ROBERT DANKOFF

AN OTTOMAN MENTALITY

The World of Evliya Çelebi

WITH AN AFTERWORD BY
GOTTFRIED HAGEN



AN OTTOMAN MENTALITY

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS HERITAGE

Politics, Society and Economy

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BY

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FOREWORD

This is the first book-length biography of Evliya Çelebi, who has some claim to be *the* Ottoman author most cited by present-day historians. There have been numerous translations and commented editions of longer or shorter sections of his work, and the entire *Seyahatname* ('Book of travels') in Latin characters is currently being published in Istanbul, with volume 8 to appear in short order.[1] Yet while the details of his biography have long since been established, there has been little attempt to link Evliya's multifarious activities in Istanbul, Cairo, the Ottoman provinces and even Vienna with what is now known of him as an author. That he was a personage of many different facets, and above all a creative writer, by now is well known to specialists but has been rarely studied *in extenso*, the one major exception being the thorough discussion of Evliya's visit to Diyarbakır as undertaken by Martin van Bruinessen, Hendrik Boeschoten and their team of Dutch fellow scholars.[2] A broadly-based overall discussion of Evliya's education, accomplishments, world view and also limitations has therefore been long overdue, and this is what Robert Dankoff has set out to provide. His previous publications uniquely qualify him for this task.

Making Evliya accessible

A critical edition of Evliya Çelebi's work does not as yet exist. But we do possess manuscripts that encompass the major part of this gigantic ten-volume travelogue and that have a reasonable claim to be regarded as the autograph. However even these manuscripts probably

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[1] Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehemmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmasının Transkripsyonu—Dizini*, vol. 6, ed. by Yücel Dağlı and Seyit Ali Kahraman and *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmasının Transkripsyonu—Dizini*, vol. 7 ed. by Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Robert Dankoff (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002 and 2003). Robert Dankoff has in fact been involved in the preparation of both these volumes.

[2] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir*, ed. and tr. by Martin M. van Bruinessen *et alii* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

do not represent the final form that Evliya intended to give to his work. Thus the editors of the Albanian, Kosovo, Montenegrin and Ohrid sections of the 'Book of travels' have concluded that what survives of volume 6 is "(per hypothesis) the earliest stage of Evliya's draft of a fair copy of his work".[3] As a result, there is room for textual conjecture, although the editors who have made available numerous selections from Evliya's work have normally confined themselves to the correction of obvious errors, especially in the sample texts and word lists collected by the traveller and pertaining to languages with an established literary tradition. But more importantly, the reader often will feel the need for explanatory notes. After all the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of numerous national states on its former territories have resulted in many towns and villages having two and even more variant names, and those used by Evliya will often bear no resemblance to those found in modern atlases. In the context of a major research project that has produced a series of maps and studies on the history of the Middle East, a special map *cum* explanatory volume has therefore been dedicated to the travels of Evliya Çelebi.[4]

Moreover when dealing with any region visited by this Ottoman traveller, it may be of advantage to plot his itineraries on a map. For as suggested many years ago by Pierre Mackay, Evliya's 'invented travels' can be weeded out quite effectively by means of mapping: in regions that he did not visit in person, Evliya often provided defective itineraries, an error that he did not commit in those places where he evidently had spent time.[5] Some of this supplementary information will be implicit in the translations that so often accompany recent editions of certain sections of Evliya's travelogue; other material will find its place in the notes. In his commented edition of Evliya Çelebi's adventures in Bitlis, Robert Dankoff for example has produced a very fine specimen of this genre.[6]

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[3] Robert Dankoff and Robert Elsie, *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions (Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid), The Relevant Sections of the Seyahatname Edited with Translation, Commentary and Introduction* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000), p. 7.

[4] Jens Peter Laut, *Materialien zu Evliya Çelebi I. Erläuterungen und Indices zur Karte B IX 6 "Kleinasien im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliya Çelebi"* (Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert, 1989).

[5] Conference paper by Pierre Mackay given orally.

[6] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis, the Relevant Sections of the Seyahatname*, edited with translation, commentary and introduction by Robert Dankoff (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990).

But we also possess a good deal of background information that is best presented in a separate volume. Inevitably Evliya visited certain regions more than once, and while he did sometimes attempt elementary cross-referencing, it also happened that the same place was described, with greater or lesser thoroughness, twice or even three times. Moreover Evliya's routes often were determined by his need to ferret out the necessary financing, in other words an elite patron who could use him as a secretary, messenger or travel companion. Thus the Ottoman writer might be obliged to move from one end of the empire to another within a fairly short space of time. This situation accounts for part of the overlap between journeys; it also explains why in books 2–9 the geographical areas covered in any single volume are often extensive. A summary that recounts Evliya's moves and stories chapter by chapter—and both journeys and anecdotes are certainly very numerous—is thus a significant aid in finding the localities needed for a given research project. Robert Dankoff and Klaus Kreiser have provided us with such a resource, with a trilingual title as a homage to European integration, supplementing it with a commented bibliography.[7]

Exploring human lives

Early attention has focused on Evliya Çelebi as a travel writer, and his nonchalant use of the sources on which he built his account has intrigued and sometimes repelled many scholars.[8] This study of Evliya's sources is by no means completed, and Robert Dankoff has contributed an investigation of the use that Evliya supposedly made of a writer that he calls 'Mığdisi'. This Armenian historian is not documented

[7] Robert Dankoff and Klaus Kreiser, *Materialien zu Evliya Çelebi II. A Guide to the Seyâhat-nâme of Evliya Çelebi, Bibliographie raisonnée* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992). Given the numerous titles on Evliya appearing every year, the bibliography by now needs to be updated.

[8] The pioneering works in this field are Richard Kreutel, *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels, Des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliya Çelebi denkwürdige Reise in das Giaurenland und in die Stadt und Festung Wien anno 1665*, tr. and commented by Richard Kreutel (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1957), which after the commentator's death appeared in a new edition augmented by his friends and colleagues: [Evliya Çelebi], *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels . . .*, tr. and commented by Richard F. Kreutel, Erich Prokosch and Karl Teply (Graz, Wien, Köln: Styria, 1987) and Meşkûre Eren, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi Birinci Cildinin Kaynakları Üzerinde bir Araştırma* (Istanbul: n.p., 1960).

in any other sources under this particular name; but he may have been identical with an author of chronicles that had spent time in Jerusalem and whose work possibly had been translated into Ottoman Turkish.[9]

Yet subsequent work on his great travelogue has made it clear that Evliya was able to do much more than write fanciful stories about both familiar and little-known places. His major innovation in Ottoman writing was doubtless the fact that he was willing to put to paper details of his own life and that of his relatives, issues that in the seventeenth century not many Ottomans cared to discuss within the covers of a 'proper' book.[10] Thus even though he did not tell us if he was married, and if so, whether he had any children, Evliya was probably the only author who before the later nineteenth century recounted in some detail a conflict between husband and wife. For obvious reasons the story was set among Evliya's relatives, namely the former grand vizier Melek Ahmed Paşa and the princess whom the latter had been obliged to marry at a fairly advanced age, very much against his will.[11] It is perhaps comforting to know that, as Robert Dankoff has demonstrated, the basic reasons for such a conflict were much the same as in our own age: demands for money, the competitive assertion of socio-political rank, memories of a more beloved partner, physical attraction or else the lack of it . . .

In a more positive vein Evliya is also one of the first persons in the Ottoman realm, if not the very first, to discuss the meanings of marital affection in Istanbul's upper class. When it came to marrying off a princess, the choices were made by the sultan, his mother and perhaps other high-ranking officers in the harem, both eunuch and female. Like the princess involved, the vizier who thus came to be related to the sultan by marriage was rarely asked for his opinion, and this was doubtless true of Melek Ahmed Paşa as well. Yet

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[9] Robert Dankoff, "'Mığdisi': an Armenian Source for the *Seyahatname*" in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 76 (1986), *Festschrift Andreas Tietze*, pp. 73–79.

[10] Apart from the exceptional case of Mustafa Ali: compare Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire, The Historian Mustafâ Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) and Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims, A Study of Mustafa 'Âli of Gallipoli's Künhü l-ahbar* (Leiden: no publisher, n. d., probably 1992).

[11] Robert Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588–1662) as Portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's* Book of Travels, introduction by Rhoads Murphey (Albany NY: SUNY Press, 1991).

Evliya makes it clear that Princess Ismihan Kaya Sultan, a daughter of Sultan Murad IV, and her husband who was also the author's relative and patron, were happy together. Moreover for a lengthy period the pasha also seems to have taken into account the princess' fears of dying in childbirth. For while this did finally turn out to be Kaya Sultan's fate, in spite of her long years of marriage, she apparently had only one child apart from the little daughter whose birth caused her death.[12] This circumstance makes the reader wonder whether perhaps the couple hesitated for a considerable time before embarking on this risky—and ultimately fatal—adventure. In any case, Evliya describes Melek Ahmed Paşa as prostrate with grief at the death of his wife. And while it was not uncommon to criticize men who showed a great deal of affection to their spouses—Süleyman the Magnificent himself had been the butt of such criticism—it is evident from Evliya's account that his sympathies were definitely with his kinsman.[13]

As another example of Evliya's interest in personal perspectives one might mention his detailed description of the behaviour of Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623–1640) among his intimates. When this sultan associated with a small circle of pages and other palace folk, a group of which Evliya at one time formed a part, he put down the mask of the terrifying ruler for which, according to the historians' perspectives, he had become infamous or else famous. For remarkably enough, Murad IV's bloodthirstiness was approved of by, for instance, a contemporary Orthodox author, just because he managed to strike terror into the hearts of 'the Turks'. Neither did Evliya voice any particular criticism, although he long outlived his royal patron.[14] In any event, when no one except a few denizens of the inner palace could see him, the sultan indulged in the jokes and horseplay to be expected from a young man in high spirits, who enjoyed showing off his powerful physique. From these intimates, Murad IV was also was quite ready to tolerate even slightly off-colour jokes at his own

[12] A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), Table XXXVI.

[13] Dankoff, *The Intimate Life*, p.

[14] [Papa Synadinos of Serres], *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVII^e siècle)*, ed. tr. and commented by Paolo Odorico, with S. Asdrachas, T. Karanastassis, K. Kostis and S. Petmézas (Paris: Association "Pierre Belon", 1996), pp. 94–95.

expense. We can guess that Evliya, also a young man at that time, must have contributed his share of stories and pranks.

While this particular episode in Evliya's great work still remains unstudied, it forms another example of the author's concern with the personal and the intimate. And while Evliya was certainly a highly original writer, in this concern with the private world of educated people he was not totally alone; it is surely not by chance that from the later seventeenth century there survive a few diaries, memoirs and personal letters written by 'ordinary' Ottoman townsmen. Such texts either were now penned somewhat more frequently than in previous centuries, or at least—and this is also an important change—they were more often regarded as worthy of preservation.[15]

Evliya the courtier

Evliya was able to associate with Murad IV because his family had long-standing connections with the Ottoman palace. His grandfather had been successful in war, was able to build a fine house from his share of the booty, and perhaps it was also due to the contacts established upon this occasion that his son, Evliya's father Derviş Mehemmed Zilli, was able to embark upon a career as a palace goldsmith. Evliya's mother was an Abaza tribeswoman, a relative of the later grand vizier Melek Ahmed Paşa, who was brought to the palace at a young age before being 'given' to the goldsmith, who seems to have been much older than she was. In all likelihood this woman, who remains unnamed, was one of the many youthful servants in the harem who had had no special success in attracting powerful patrons or patronesses, and thus was made to leave after a short while. Given these links, Evliya's handsome voice presumably was not his only recommendation in the eyes of the young sultan, even though it had reputedly gained him admittance to the palace school of pages over the objections of his teacher, who worried about the distraction this employment would cause to a religious scholar in the making.[16]

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[15] Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth-century Istanbul and First-person Narratives in Ottoman Literature", *Studia Islamica*, LXIX (1989) pp. 121–150 and *idem*, "Müteredditbir Mutasavvıf: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri 1641–43", *Topkapı Sarayı Yıllışı*, 5 (1992) pp. 168–222.

[16] Evliya Çelebi b Derviş Mehemmed Zılli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı*

We do not know what exactly prompted Evliya to leave the palace milieu, which he must have known well, and embark upon the uncharted career path of the 'world traveller and boon companion to mankind'. While he 'graduated' from the school of pages shortly before Sultan Murad's death, and claims to have started his wandering life only in 1640, he seems to have left Istanbul occasionally even before that date.[17] Possibly it was the death of Sultan Murad after all, that made Evliya come to a final decision about his role in life. For we may imagine that the excentricities of Murad IV's successor Sultan Ibrahim (r. 1640–1648) made him uncomfortable, and who knows, Evliya also may have been involved in one of the usual intrigues between the favourites of the previous ruler and those of the new one. But all this did not mean that the author's courtly connections were severed, far from it.

The skills Evliya had acquired at court doubtless stood him in good stead when he accompanied Melek Ahmed Paşa to his various Anatolian postings, and especially when he found himself at the court of the khan of Bitlis. Once again, the work of Robert Dankoff has provided us with some access to this facet of Evliya's personality. For he has produced a congenial translation of Evliya's visit to Abdal Khan, a ruler whose political power was certainly limited to a small area and who moreover was much criticised at the Ottoman court because of his financial exactions. But even so this personage, who had managed to amass a great fortune, impressed even sophisticated visitors from Istanbul by the refinement of his cuisine, the lavishness of his court entertainments and the richness of his library. Porcelain dishes, jewelled spoons and crystal ewers were used to serve food and sherbets, and among the many exotic drinks Evliya enumerated tea, as yet a rarity in the Ottoman lands.[18] Acrobats showed their skills, and as a younger man Abdal Khan seems to have taken part in such displays himself, because he was slightly lame due to a fall from a tightrope.

As to the library, it was full of the works of the most famous calligraphers and also of Iranian miniatures, which filled Evliya with

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Bagdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsyonu—Dizini, vol. 1, ed. by Orhan Şaik Gökyay and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995), pp. 102–103.

[17] Article "Evliya Çelebi" in *Islâm Ansiklopedisi* vol. 4 (Istanbul: Ministry of Education, 1945) by Cavit Baysun.

[18] *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, p. 119.

admiration even though as a former courtier of Murad IV, victor over Safavid armies, he professed to despise the Persians.[19] Yet although the Ottoman traveller was certainly a pious Sunni, he felt even less sympathy when it came to the Kadızadelis, the 'discordant revivalists' of the Ottoman seventeenth century, famous for their hostility to everything not known to have existed in the Hijaz under the first four caliphs.[20] A Kadızadeli type was responsible for the defacement of one particularly valuable illustrated *Shahname* manuscript, and Evliya gleefully recounted this man's disgrace at the hands of Melek Ahmed Paşa, an anecdote made even more picturesque by Robert Dankoff's lively translation.[21]

However as Dankoff has shown in his introduction to Evliya's stay in Bitlis, this enjoyment of courtly elegance and savoir-vivre was always fraught with danger. For as Evliya himself noted, Abdal Khan could pass from genial pleasantries to dangerous suspicions within the span of a moment, and his entourage also held some violent and power-hungry men. The Ottoman traveller was himself an involuntary eye-witness to the murder of one of the khan's sons by his own brother, and in the resulting confusion, Evliya escaped across the snowy mountains of eastern Anatolia. This feat he was able to accomplish only because in previous days and weeks, he had taken the precaution of training his horses every day.[22] Although Evliya when recounting his life as a palace companion to Sultan Murad IV did not dwell on the dangers involved in this proximity to absolute power, it is hard to imagine that he was not aware of them. Presumably he had been trained to be on the alert at an early age.

Evliya as a linguist

In the more exotic places that he visited, both in the east and in the west, Evliya tried to locate texts typical of the languages encountered, compile word-lists and also collect proper names deemed espe-

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[19] *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, pp. 293–299.
[20] Madeline Zilfi, "Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul", *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 45,4 (1986) pp. 251–269.
[21] *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, pp. 295–299.
[22] *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, pp. 10–11.

cially characteristic of the region.[23] These lists have intrigued philologists for a long time: thus several authors have tried their hands at an identification of the fragments in the Viennese dialect of seventeenth-century German as collected by Evliya. After early attempts at edition by Imre Karászon and others, Hans Joachim Kissling was able to establish that these samples are fragments of liturgical prayers to the Virgin Mary, probably linked to one of the sanctuaries outside the gates of the Habsburg capital, and not psalms as Evliya had assumed. He probably had heard them from a passing procession and therefore unavoidably distorted them. Moving from the far west to an eastern province of the Ottoman Empire, namely to the dialect of the city of Diyarbakır, Hendrik Boeschoten has studied both the poem that Evliya used as a linguistic sample, and the comments from a local informant that constituted the basis for the glossary compiled by our traveller.[24] From this study it has emerged that the seventeenth-century dialect of Diyarbakır was of the Azeri group, and that Evliya was rather successful in bringing out the latter's characteristics as opposed to Ottoman Turkish.

Once again, Robert Dankoff has made a major contribution to the study of Evliya's samples. Thus he has produced a study of the languages of the world according to the views of our traveller, and in addition a glossary of all the foreign and dialectal words occurring in the *Seyahatname*.[25] Moreover in his discussion of Evliya's visit to Bitlis, Dankoff has shown that the author has left us the earliest extant sample of the Turkish dialect of this town, which contained a fair sprinkling of Armenian loan-words—the words described by Evliya as Rozhiki Kurdish being for the most part nothing of the sort.[26] Evliya's rendering of the Bitlis dialect is so full that, as in the Diyarbakır case, statements concerning morphology have become possible. Thus Evliya's work forms a major source for historical

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[23] Hans Joachim Kissling, "Einige Sprachproben bei Evlija Çelebi," *Leipziger Vierteljahrsschrift für Südosteuropa*, 2,3 (1938) pp. 212–220. See also [Evliya Çelebi], *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels*, tr. and annotated by Richard F. Kreutel, Erich Prokosch and Karl Teply, pp. 313–314.

[24] *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir*, pp. 100–106.

[25] Robert Dankoff, "The Languages of the World according to Evliya Çelebi," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (1989) pp. 23–32 and *idem*, *An Evliya Çelebi Glossary: Unusual Dialectal and Foreign Words in the Seyahat-name* (Cambridge MA: Dept. of Near Eastern Studies, Harvard University, 1991).

[26] *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, pp. 18–19.

dialectology. On a more general level Dankoff has also devoted a separate monograph to the linguistic imbrication of Turkish and Armenian in certain dialects of eastern Anatolia.[27]

Recording contemporary artisans and historical monuments

It is never wise to discuss products of the hand and mind while disregarding their makers, and Evliya Çelebi must have been quite aware of this rule; after all his father had been a goldsmith who left works to be admired by his son in different parts of the empire.[28] While we do not know how much time Derviş Mehemmed Zilli's palace career allowed him for actually making things, or whether his functions were mainly managerial, Evliya himself showed a lively interest in crafts and craftsmen. Thus he procured himself certain official documents on the basis of which he produced major catalogues of Istanbul and Cairo artisans.[29] Typically these documents had been compiled in order to record the participation of guildsmen in festive parades marking the circumcisions of princes, the marriages of princesses or the beginnings of sultanic campaigns, and to establish precedents concerning the gifts and monetary contributions expected on such occasions from the participating craftsmen. But for reasons remaining unclear, none of the relevant official records have surfaced to date; and we depend on Evliya Çelebi and other literary men for a notion of their contents.

Evliya's discussions of Ottoman and more rarely pre-Ottoman monuments are so valuable to the historian because some of the buildings survive and thus the evidence on the ground can be checked against the descriptions in the *Seyahatname*, thus giving us some idea of Evliya's reliability. Such comparisons have shown that more than once, the author was rather careless, for instance when relaying with not always faultless accuracy information derived from historical works

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[27] Robert Dankoff, *Armenian Loanwords in Turkish* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1995).

[28] Robert Dankoff, "Evliya Çelebi's *Book of Travels* as a Source for the Visual Arts," *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 16,1 (1992) pp. 39–49.

[29] On the artisans of Istanbul compare Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, pp. 220–317.

or poetry collections.[30] Presumably Evliya's tenacious and only partly deserved reputation for unreliability has something to do with just these inaccuracies; in addition the numerous dubious figures, often meant to astonish rather than to inform, have impaired the writer's credibility yet further.

On the other hand, studies that confront Evliya's accounts with evidence from archival sources show that quite often he was in fact correct. Thus to mention but a few examples his claims that a certain minor dervish lodge had been transformed into a school for law and theology (*medrese*), or that another such establishment had passed from one order to the next, confirm what is known from official sources.[31] For Machiel Kiel, who has authored a large number of publications on Ottoman works of architecture in the Balkans, Evliya Çelebi functions mainly as a guide to the building fabric of the seventeenth century. After all the Ottoman writer has mentioned and sometimes described a good many monuments that over three centuries later, Kiel has studied either as ruins or else as structures still serving a well-defined function.[32] On the whole, this modern historian has gained rather a positive impression of the quality of Evliya's architectural information, describing him as more precise and systematic than other early travellers both eastern and western.[33]

Rather than with the reliability or otherwise of individual descriptions, Robert Dankoff in a most valuable but all-too-brief article has been interested in the overall perspective adopted by the Ottoman writer.[34] Thus Dankoff notes that Evliya was much better informed and also more sober when discussing Ottoman monuments than when he was confronted either with the ruins of antiquity or else with Christian churches; in those latter cases, he was ready to recount all matter of clichés and fables.[35] Dankoff has also suggested that the

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[30] Eren, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, passim*.

[31] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Der Bektaschi-Orden in Anatolien (vom späten fünfzehnten Jahrhundert bis 1826), Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Sonderband II (Wien: Verlag des Institutes für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1981), pp. 16–17.

[32] Machiel Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1990) compare index.

[33] Machiel Kiel, "The Physical Aspects of the City," in *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir*, ed. and tr. by Van Bruinessen *et alii*, p. 62.

[34] Dankoff, "Evliya Çelebi as a Source for the Visual Arts".

[35] Ulrich Haarmann, "Evliya Çelebi's Bericht über die Altertümer von Gize", *Turcica*, VIII, 1 (1976) pp. 157–230.

terminology through which Evliya conveys the aesthetic quality of some of the mosques that he visited would merit a closer investigation. But as yet nobody has dared to embark on this enterprise, probably because so little is known about the aesthetic perceptions current in the Ottoman world.[36]

After all these analytical explorations of Evliya's activities in their different facets, the time has evidently come for an effort at synthesis, which I have the honour and the pleasure of presenting here. In the fullness of time, Robert Dankoff's synthetic study surely will generate yet further novel and sophisticated analyses; but I hope that for the present, readers will simply give themselves up to the joys of a fascinating story.

Munich, 18 December 2003
Suraiya Faroqhi

[36] On the Arab world, with a strong emphasis on mediaeval norms, compare Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Schönheit in der arabischen Kultur* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1998).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the mid-1980s when I first read through the entire text of the *Seyahatname*—a task that took three years to accomplish—I made notes that resulted in several books. One of these, GUIDE, which considered the *Seyahatname* mainly as an autobiographical memoir, pointed to many items that illustrated the mentality of the author. It thus contained the present book *in nuce*.

At the time I had no plans to develop it in this direction, considering that to be a task for someone else. But in May of 2000, thanks to the invitation of Gilles Veinstein, I had the opportunity to present the germ of the first four chapters of the present book as lectures at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. I had already presented aspects of chapters 5 and 6 in lectures at Columbia University (1989); University of California, Berkeley (1991); University of Oslo and University of Bergen (1992); University of Wisconsin (1993); and the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales in Paris (1999). The stimulus to translate the long section in chapter 1 of Evliya's reminiscences of the Ottoman court came from Palmira Brummett's invitation to attend a mini-conference at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in May 1997. And the stimulus to translate the sections on the Celalis in chapters 2 and 3 came from Klaus Kreiser's invitation to visit the University of Bamberg in February 1999.

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Robert Dankoff
April 13, 2004

For the second edition some corrections have been incorporated into the text; and see the list of Addenda on p. 266. (R. D., February 1, 2006)

ABBREVIATIONS

ALBANIA	Robert Dankoff and Robert Elsie, *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions (Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000)
ALLTAG	Suraiya Faroqhi, *Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen Reich* (München 1995) [Turkish translation: *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam* (Istanbul 1997); English translation: *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London, New York: Tauris, 2000)]
ANATOLIEN	Korkut Buğday, *Evliyā Çelebis Anatolienreise* (Leiden: Brill, 1996)
APFEL	Richard F. Kreutel, *Im Reiche des goldenen Apfels* (Graz, 1957; 2nd ed.: stark vermehrte Ausgabe besorgt von Erich Prokosch und Karl Teply, 1987)
BITLIS	Robert Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis* (Leiden: Brill, 1990)
DIYARBEKIR	Martin van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir* (Leiden: Brill, 1988)
EDIRNE	Klaus Kreiser, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyā Çelebī* [Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 33] (Freiburg, 1975)
EI^2	*Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition*. Leiden: Brill, 1960–
FUNC	Erich Prokosch, *Ins Land der geheimnisvollen Func: Des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliyā Çelebi Reise durch Oberägypten und den Sudan nebst der osmanischen Provinz Habeş in den Jahren 1672/73* (Graz: Styria, 1994)
GLOSSARY	Robert Dankoff, *An Evliya Çelebi Glossary: Unusual, Dialectal and Foreign Words in the Seyahat-name* (Cambridge, Mass, 1991) [In: Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, ed. Şinasi Tekin & Gönül Alpay Tekin]
GUERRE	Faruk Bilici, *La Guerre des Turcs: Récits de batailles (extraits du "Livre de voyages")* (Paris [?]: Sindbad, 2000)
GUIDE	Robert Dankoff, *A Guide to the Seyāḥāt-nāme of Evliya Çeleb*, in: *Materialien zu Evliya Çelebi* II (together with Klaus Kreiser, Bibliographie raisonnée) [Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B 90/2] (Wiesbaden, 1992)

KAIRO	Erich Prokosch, *Kairo in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts beschreiben von Evliyā Çelebi* (Istanbul: Simurg, 2000)
MANISA	Nurhan Tezcan, *Manisa nach Evliya Çelebi. . . .* (Leiden: Brill, 1994)
MELEK	Robert Dankoff. *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman: Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588–1662), as portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels (Seyahat-name)*. State University of New York Press, 1991.
REISE	Christiane Bulut, *Evliya Çelebis Reise von Bitlis nach Van* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997)

References to the Seyahatname

References to Books I–VIII are to the autograph ms. as follows:

Bağdat 304	Books I and II
Bağdat 305	Books III and IV
Bağdat 307	Book V
Revan 1457	Book VI
Bağdat 308	Books VII and VIII

Reference to Book IX is to Bağdat 306 or to P (= Pertev Paşa 462). Reference to Book X is to İÜTY 5973 or to Q (= Beşir Ağa 452). For Books VII–X cross-reference is included to the Istanbul printed text, 1928–38.

INTRODUCTION[1]

In the mid-seventeenth century, the Ottoman empire stretched from the Hungarian border with the Habsburgs to the Kurdish-Armenian border with the Safavids. The Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean were Ottoman lakes; although cossack raids were a constant harrassment in the former, while the latter was marked by a shifting maritime frontier with the Venetians. Austria, Venice and Iran loomed beyond the Ottoman domain as actual or potential foes; while the icy wastes of Muscovy and the steamy jungles of the Sudan lay beyond the "well-guarded regions" of Islam.

One man, Evliya Çelebi, travelled throughout the empire and into the surrounding regions. He also left a huge account of his travels, divided into ten "Books".

For Evliya, who was born on the Golden Horn and raised in the Sultan's palace, Istanbul was naturally the center of his world, as it was of the empire. He devoted the entire first "Book" of his account to that city, which he always lovingly refers to as Islam-bol, meaning "full of Islam." All roads led there, of course; but for Evliya, Istanbul was also the touchstone and measure of everything he saw. The wall of the citadel of Van, for example, is "as tall as a Süleymaniye minaret;" while the tomb-tower of Ghazan near Tabriz "resembles the Tower of Galata."[2]

He was the opposite of parochial, however. Like most travel writers, he loved to make comparisons, and he had many other points of reference than Istanbul. The cold of Erzurum and the cats of Van; the hot springs of Bursa and the fishing weirs of Silistria; the ruins of Akhlat near Lake Van and the carnival-like fair at Maskoluri in Thessaly; the clockwork gadgetry of Vienna and the hieroglyph obelisks on the upper Nile (but there was one of these in the Istanbul hippodrome as well!)—he had experienced them all, and could refer to any when the occasion demanded.

For Evliya was that rarest of travellers: one who had made travel

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[1] The first few paragraphs of this introduction are borrowed from Bitlis 3–4.
[2] IV 262a22, 301a34.

his profession. His wanderlust was insatiable. It had been fed in childhood by his father's friends, who regaled him with tales of the campaigns they had accompanied—to Chotin in Poland, or to Revan/Yerevan in the Caucasus. In a youthful dream, the Prophet himself blessed Evliya's travel intentions. Free of marriage ties, but well-placed in court circles; renowned for his wit, his learning, and his fine voice; Evliya had no trouble attaching himself to the retinue of various pashas sent to all parts of the empire as provincial governors, or outside the empire as emissaries. He served them as secretary; as *imam* and *müezzin*—prayer-leader and caller-to-prayer; as messenger and courier; and most significantly, as *musahib*—boon-companion, confidant, and raconteur.

Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* or "Book of Travels" is a vast panorama, both an extensive description of the Ottoman Empire and its hinterlands, and an account of the author's peregrinations over roughly forty years (1640–80). Book I is devoted to Istanbul and can be considered a guidebook to Evliya's home town. The following outline of Books II–X may prove useful in keeping track of Evliya's travels.[3]

At the beginning of Book II Evliya says that he always wished to travel and to make the Hajj, but found it difficult to escape family obligations. He also refers to the dream in Book I. Finally, on 27 April 1640 (the eve of his thirtieth birthday), Evliya departed Istanbul without informing his family and went to Bursa in the company of a friend. When he returned he was careful to secure his father's blessing before setting out again, this time to Izmit, once again recalling his dream of the Prophet.[4]

These initial jaunts only whetted his appetite. In August 1640 Ketenci Ömer Pasha, a protégé of his father, was appointed governor of Trabzon and Evliya set out in his retinue. Once in Trabzon he joined a military contingent that passed through the Caucasus and went on to the Crimea. After many adventures, including shipwreck during a storm on the Black Sea, he returned to Istanbul in October 1642. The shipwreck seems to have soured him on travel, as he vowed never to board ship on the Black Sea again, and he remained at home for several years, serving as imam to the customs

[3] For a more detailed outline, see GUIDE.
[4] II 220b14, 242a5.

inspector. (He does claim to have gone to Crete to witness the Hanya/Canea campaign in 1645, but this is doubtful.) In August 1646 he found another kinsman about to set out for a provincial post—Defterdar-zade Mehmed Pasha, appointed governor of Erzurum—and he joined him in the capacities of customs clerk, chief *müezzin*, and *musahib*. Once in Erzurum the Pasha appointed him envoy to the Safavid governor of Tabriz, and in this capacity Evliya toured Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia.[5]

In November 1647 Defterdar-zade learned that he had been dismissed from office and was ordered to go to Kars. At about the same time Varvar Ali Pasha—known in other sources as Vardar Ali Pasha—the dismissed governor of Sivas province, had turned rebel ("Celali") out of disgust at the excesses of the mad sultan Ibrahim and the exorbitant demands of the sultan's henchman, the grand vizier Hezarpare Ahmed Pasha. Now Varvar invited Defterdar-zade to join forces with him; and so Defterdar-zade, instead of going off to Kars, began raising a private army and marching toward Istanbul.

Evliya gives a rather sympathetic account of these Celalis, and does not conceal his own participation in their activities. He served as messenger, and even raised some irregular troops on his own account. In Çorum and in Ankara he helped negotiate with the town notables (*aʿyan*) who in each case allowed Defterdar-zade and his followers to remain for three days. Eventually Defterdar-zade and Varvar joined forces outside of Ankara, but they were defeated in a surprise attack by the formidable Ipshir Pasha, sent out by the Porte to put down the rebels. It turns out that Ipshir was also Evliya's kinsman, and in fact that Evliya was a great favorite of his. Ipshir had Varvar put to death, but was reconciled with Defterdar-zade after Evliya pointed out their family relationship. As for himself, Evliya pleaded that he was only going along with the rebel "for travel's sake."[6]

Getting news of his father's death, Evliya returned to Istanbul in July 1648 to settle his affairs and to witness the events surrounding the deposal of Sultan Ibrahim and the accession of Sultan Mehmed IV. In September he set out for Damascus with its governor Silihdar Murtaza Pasha as his personal imam and chief *müezzin* (beginning of Book III). A year later Murtaza Pasha was appointed to Sivas instead, and Evliya followed him there, but he was dismissed from

[5] II 244b35, 268a34, 276a7.
[6] II 366a27 (*seyāḥat ḫāṭırıyçin*).

office in May 1650. Evliya returned to Istanbul in July and attached himself to another kinsman, Melek Ahmed Pasha, who had just been reappointed governor of Baghdad. Before they could depart, however, Melek Pasha was appointed grand vizier, and so Evliya remained in Istanbul until Melek's dismissal a year later and appointment to Özü/Ochakov.[7]

For the next twelve years Evliya was almost constantly in Melek's service, following him first to Özü, Silistre, and Sofia, then back to Istanbul in 1653 where the pasha served as deputy grand vizier until the arrival of Ipshir Pasha from Aleppo. In 1655 (beginning of Book IV) Evliya went to join Melek at his new post in Van; participated in Melek's expedition against the rebellious Abdal Khan of Bitlis; and once again was sent on an embassy to the Safavid governor of Tabriz. He then took the opportunity to travel to Baghdad and to make an extensive tour of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, returning to Van only in May 1656 (beginning of Book V). In Bitlis to collect arrears, Evliya had to make a dramatic escape when the angered Abdal Khan returned from exile at the news of Melek's removal from office. Melek was now reappointed to Özü, and Evliya, in his train, joined the Polish campaign against George II Rákóczi prince of Transylvania in May 1657 and assisted in repelling a cossack siege of Azov later that year. Back in Istanbul in 1658, Melek suffered the blow caused by the death of his beloved wife, Kaya Sultan, daughter of Sultan Murad IV.

Melek was appointed governor of Bosnia in March 1659, but Evliya had a falling-out with some of Melek's other retainers and so entered the service of grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha instead. He accompanied Köprülü and Sultan Mehmed IV on their expedition against Celali rebels in Western Anatolia and later was sent to Bozcaada/Tenedos to gather hunting animals for the sultan. He returned to the court at Edirne in October 1659.[8] He then participated in the Moldavia and Wallachia campaigns and the siege of Varat in Transylvania before rejoining Melek in Sarajevo in the summer of 1660. Melek sent him on a mission to Split in order to ransom a Turkish prisoner from the Venetians, and a mission to the Croatian borderland in order to ransom another Turkish prisoner

[7] II 372b3, III 4b8, 104b18.
[8] V 100a15.

from Miklós Zrínyi, the Ban of Herzegovina. In January 1661 Evliya joined Melek in Sofia where he had recently been appointed governor, but Melek was soon ordered to join the Transylvania campaign, which brought Evliya into Hungary (beginning of Book VI). Melek was recalled from the Transylvania campaign in February 1662 in order to become the deputy grand vizier and to marry the aging Fatma Sultan, daughter of Sultan Ahmed I. Before returning to Istanbul Evliya was sent to Albania to collect some of the pasha's debts. The unhappy match to Fatma sultan was short-lived, ended by Melek's death later that year.

Though left patronless, Evliya rejoiced in the lack of family attachments and went off to join the Austrian campaign the following year. After the successful siege of Uyvar in Hungary he claims to have ridden off with 40,000 Tatars on a raid into Western Europe and gotten as far as Amsterdam, all between Oct. 12 and Oct. 22 of 1663![9] More realistically, he participated in several other military campaigns in Hungary, and also in a mission to Dubrovnik.

In summer 1664 Evliya was an eye-witness to the Ottoman defeat at the Battle on the Raab or Battle of St. Gotthard (beginning of Book VII). In April of the following year he was attached to Kara Mehmed Pasha's embassy to Vienna, after which, in June, he once again claims to have gone off to Western Europe,[10] but this too is apocryphal. More down to earth, he was assigned to inspect fortresses in Transylvania and Hungary before joining Mehmed Girey Khan's Tatars on raids into Poland and Muscovy and on their return to Crimea. After spending the winter in Baghche-saray he set out in the khan's company for Daghistan in the spring of 1666, and spent the summer in Circassia, southern Muscovy and the land of the Kalmuks, returning to Azov in January 1667.

After travelling back overland, and stopping in the court at Edirne to report to grand vizier Mustafa Pasha, Evliya finally returned to Istanbul in May 1667 (beginning of Book VIII). He complains that six of his slaves died of the plague in a single week and that he suffered from eye troubles caused by the severe cold in Russia. By the end of the year he had had enough of Istanbul and decided to join the Crete campaign. After stopping in Edirne again to present

[9] VI 49a24, 125b–130a.
[10] VII 73a31 = 327.

Sultan Mehmed IV with some hawks he had obtained in Circassia, he departed on a tour of Greece, after which he took passage from Corinth to Hanya/Canea in time to participate in the siege of Candia and the final Ottoman conquest of Crete in September 1669. The following year, after the capture of Manya in the Peloponnese, the Ottoman commander 'Ali Pasha sent Evliya on a mission to Albania. He returned home in December 1670.

"I remained in Istanbul for six months, and it was like a prison" (beginning of Book IX). After getting sanction in a dream from his late father and from his teacher Evliya Efendi for his intent to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, Evliya set out with a sizable entourage in May 1671 and made his way leisurely across Western and Southern Anatolia. He made crossings to Chios, Cos and Rhodes, but his attempt to cross to Cyprus was foiled by infidel galleons, so he continued overland, reaching Jerusalem in January and Damascus in February where he joined the pilgrimage caravan. The pilgrimage month that year—Dhu'l-Hijja 1082 H.—corresponds to April 1672. Evliya's account of it is very extensive. After the Hajj ceremonies Evliya was permitted to join the Egyptian pilgrims, who departed Mecca on 25 April. Evliya was sorry he had to travel hurriedly toward Mecca with the Syrian caravan and from Mecca with the Egyptian caravan, rather than leisurely vice versa. On 3 June he arrived in Cairo where the Ottoman governor Ibrahim Pasha gave him lodging and an official appointment (beginning of Book X).[11]

Following his extensive description of Cairo, which in many ways parallels his description of Istanbul in Book I, Evliya recounts his journeys along the Nile, first down to Alexandria and the coast, then up as far as the land of the Funj in Sudan, with side trips to Abyssinia, Suakin and the Red Sea coast, and Fayyum. Aside from these journeys he spent the last years of his life in Cairo, where he describes events up until 1683, claiming finally that he has retired into obscurity after fifty-one years of travel.[12]

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In suggesting that the *Seyahatname* can be studied with a view to discerning an Ottoman mentality, I am making several assumptions:

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[11] IX 2a27 = 3, 375b23 = 816, 387a4 = 839, X 2b9 = 4.
[12] X 450b26 = IX,841.

– There is something called an "Ottoman mentality." By this I mean that the Ottomans had a special way of looking at the world. This worldview was no doubt shaped by factors such as Islam, Persianate culture, Turkish language and traditions, Ottoman dynastic interests, and the imperial outlook of Constantinople, with its Roman-Byzantine and Rumelian-Anatolian aspects.
– Evliya Çelebi can serve as the typical (archetypal?) Ottoman, and his work, unwieldy as it may be, provides the materials for getting at Ottoman perceptions of the world, not only in obvious areas like geography, topography, administration, urban institutions, and social and economic systems, but also in such domains as religion, folklore, sexual relations, dream interpretation, and conceptions of the self.

The *Seyahatname*, while a sprawling and rambling account spread over several decades, can nevertheless be studied as expressing the point of view of a single individual at a single "moment." To be sure, the author underwent change over the course of his lifetime, nor was the Ottoman empire static during this period—quite the contrary. Still, the work as a whole, like any literary work, is a unit, and the patterns it displays provide the best possible view of the Ottoman mind from the inside.

The following chapters may be considered as so many probes into this vast work, each trying to get at a different aspect of Evliya's world view. So far as possible I have tried to let Evliya speak for himself, and have included numerous quotations—some brief, others lengthy—that reveal his thought world and his expository and narrative styles.

Chapter 1: Man of Istanbul first considers the *Seyahatname* as a coherent object of study. I concentrate on the organizing schemata of Books I and X, comparing Evliya's treatment of Istanbul and Cairo as the two capital cities of the Ottoman world. I then focus in on Istanbul as the site of Evliya's upbringing and education, and end with the long reminiscence of his introduction to the court and conversations with Sultan Murad IV.

Chapter 2: Man of the World begins with the values of urbanity and civilization, surveys Evliya's geographical horizons, and compares his travels within and outside of the empire. I inquire to what

extent the notion of "tolerance" applies to Evliya, and characterize his views about Christians, Jews, Shi'is, Kızılbash, Yezidis; Turks, Safavids, Franks, Kalmuks, Sudanese Funj, etc. I then focus in on Evliya's travels in Anatolia, considering particularly his relations with some self-proclaimed political outsiders: rebels (Celalis) and bandits.

CHAPTER 3: SERVITOR OF THE SULTAN tries to get at Evliya's "Ottomanness," beginning with his notions of government, precedence, and justice. I inquire as to what institutions Evliya is particularly proud of; how he variously defends and criticises the Ottoman state; and what reforms and projects he considers should be undertaken. This chapter views the *Seyahatname* as a sober administrative manual, but at the same time draws attention to some rather extravagant passages revealing dynastic arcana and mysteries.

CHAPTER 4: GENTLEMAN AND DERVISH treats Evliya as the representative Ottoman, delineating both his typicalities and his eccentricities, and characterizing his personality and his communal roles. I discuss his social status as Ottoman gentleman or *çelebi*; his character type as dervish; his office as *müezzin* plus *musahib*; and his avocation as traveller. These categories emerge as facets of a unique individual, based on an analysis of his elaborate self-presentation, and include such topics as Evliya's attitudes toward wealth and toward sex.

CHAPTER 5: RACONTEUR develops criteria by which to distinguish fact and fiction in the *Seyahatname*. I begin with numbers and their credibility; continue with Evliya's reliability as a presenter of Ottoman daily life; then go on to discuss various narrative styles. Among Evliya's fictions one can distinguish jokes, lies, tall tales, anecdotes, satires and hoaxes, and I give examples of each.

CHAPTER 6: REPORTER AND ENTERTAINER turns the discussion to Evliya's relation with his audience and distinguishes the two registers of persuasion and amusement. After discussing who were his patrons and what were their expectations, I analyze his appeals to evidence and to rationality, as well as his frequent reliance on his audience's credulity. Prominent here are Evliya's reports of magic and sorcery and his accounts of portents and dreams.

CHAPTER ONE

MAN OF ISTANBUL

The Man and the Book

Evliya Çelebi was a Turk from Istanbul—which he invariably calls Islambol.[1] His family had close ties to the Ottoman court. As he grew up, he explored all aspects of the metropolis with seemingly endless curiosity, and at the same time he eagerly imbibed tales and accounts of Süleyman's far-flung conquests. He also received a thorough training in Islamic and Ottoman sciences and arts, especially Koran-recitation and music. As a young man he attracted the attention of the sultan himself because of his fine voice and his entertaining manner. Later he attached himself to various pashas sent out to govern the provinces, and served them as boon-companion ("bon-vivant") and raconteur, as Koran-reciter and caller-to-prayer, and as courier, tax-collector, or deputy. At a certain point he defined his career as "travel." He dubbed himself "World Traveler and Boon-Companion to Mankind" (*seyyah-ı ʿalem ve nedim-i beni-adem*). And he decided to compile his jottings into a "book of travels" or *Seyahatname*.

This is the longest and fullest travel account in Islamic literature—perhaps in world literature. The gigantic scope of the work has deterred investigators from analyzing its structure, beyond a mere enumeration of its basic contents. Characteristically, scholars have approached the *Seyahatname* as though it were a huge mine, with numerous unconnected passageways. Looking for what Evliya had to say, for example, about Iznik or Albania, or about Bektashi shrines or Karagöz entertainments, or about Caucasian languages or Sarı Saltuk legends, they have probed the text, found the vein they were seeking, and extracted the ore, leaving all else behind.

Such an approach is justified in so far as the *Seyahatname* is considered a source in any given research program. But there is another

[1] He derives it from *İslāmı bol* meaning "abounding in Islam," as it was called after being repeopled by Sultan Fatih Mehmed following the conquest (I 31b23); and says that it is the name of the city in "the language of the Ottomans" (I 14b2 *lisān-ı āl-i ʿoṡmāniyān*).

approach (which in more manageable works is generally considered prior): to see it first of all, not as a source, but as a text—i.e., as a reflection of the mind of the author. That is the approach I wish to take here.

This is no easy task. For one thing, the text is enormous. For another, much of the text has not been edited, or not edited properly, and the extant manuscripts present many large philological problems. A third obstacle is the apparent shapelessness of the text, merely following a series of journeys over a forty-year period as narrated in Evliya's rambling and digressive style.

In fact, Evliya did attempt to give some shape to his account; and any analysis of the work's structure has to begin with his more or less explicit efforts to do so. Let us glance at a schematic outline of the ten Books of the *Seyahatname*, and a more detailed outline of Books I and X.

Schematic Outline of the Seyahatname

I. Dream: 19 August 1630 (10 Muharrem 1040, i.e. his 20th birthday). Historical and geographical survey of Istanbul. Up and down the Golden Horn and the Bosphoros. Shops; parade of guilds.
II. Dream (reprisal). Beginning of travels: 27 April 1640 (5 Muharrem 1050, i.e., just before his 30th birthday): Bursa; returns and gets his father's blessing. Trabzon; gazas in Caucasus and Crimea. Crete: Canea campaign. Erzurum; Azerbaijan. Celalis; Varvar Ali Pasha. Istanbul 1648: deposal of Sultan Ibrahim and janissary revolt. The saga of Kara Haydar-oğlu
III. Syria. Istanbul 1650: vizierate of Melek Ahmed Pasha. Rumelia. Istanbul 1653–55: vizierate of Ipshir Pasha; Melek Pasha "exiled" to Van; Evliya's escape.
IV. Van and Bitlis. Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia. → Mosul.
V. Return to Van; escape from Bitlis. Istanbul 1656. Özü. Istanbul 1658: death of Kaya Sultan. With Köprülü against the Celalis. Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania campaigns. Bosnia. The saga of Seydi Ahmed Pasha.
VI. Istanbul 1662: Melek Pasha's death. Hungary. Abandonment of Yenikal'e.
VII. Battle on the Raab (St. Gotthard) 1664. With Kara Mehmed Pasha to Vienna 1665. Crimea, Circassia, Kalmukia. → Azov.

VIII. Istanbul 1667. Greece. Crete: Candia campaign. Albania. Istanbul 1670.

IX. Aegean and Mediterranean coast. The Holy Land. The Hajj. → Cairo.

X. Cairo 1672: historical and geographical survey. Shops and guilds. Down the Nile: the Delta. Up the Nile: Sudan and Abyssinia. → Cairo.

Seyahatname—*Outline of Book I*

eve of Ashura (= 10 Muharrem) 1040/19

August 1630:	the dream		
[ch. 1]	Hadiths on Istanbul		Ottomans and French royalty
ch. 2	Founding of Istanbul	ch. 12	The new palace
		ch. 13	The old palace
ch. 3	Black Sea	ch. 14	Public officers
ch. 4	Walls of Istanbul (built by Constantine)	ch. 15	Imperial mosques: Ayasofya
		[ch. 16][2]	Layout of Ayasofya
ch. 5	Circumference of Istanbul	ch. 17	Shrines at Ayasofya
		[chs. 18\19]	Küçük Ayasofya\ Zirekbaşı
ch. 6	Talismans		
ch. 7	Mines; resumption of historical narrative: the rise of Islam	[ch. 20]	Fatih
		ch. 21	Bayezid
		ch. 24	Selim I
ch. 8	Sieges	[Reign of Süleyman][3]	
ch. 9	Seljuk and Ottoman conquests of Rum	[ch. ?]	Süleymaniye
		ch. 2[_?]	Şehzade mosque
		ch. 31	Grand viziers
ch. 10	Siege and conquest	ch. 32	Viziers of the cupola
ch. 11	Capture of Frankish ships; fulfillment of Ak Şemseddin's prophecy; kin relationship of the	ch. 3[_?]	Admirals
		[ch. ?]	The organization and divisions of the empire according to the Kanun-name of Süleyman

[2] Conjectural. From here to ch. 205 the chapter numbers are indicated only in the margin or in between the lines (implying that they were an afterthought), and some of the marginal material has been cut away.

[3] From here to ch. 195 the text is organized according to the reigns of the Ottoman sultans.

[ch. ?]	Reign of Selim II	ch. 81	Husrev Pasha
ch. 41	Viziers	ch. 82	Hafiz Pasha
ch. 42	Beyler-beys	ch. 83	Receb Pasha
ch. 43	Defterdars	ch. 84\ch. 85\	
ch. 44	Ulema	ch. 86\	Evliya was
ch. 45	Physicians		admitted into
ch. 46	Shaikhs		the imperial
ch. 47	Conquests		harem at the
ch. 48	Death		age of 20
ch. 49	Reign of Murad III	ch. 88	Character of Murad IV
ch. [5]2	Reign of Mehmed III	ch. 89	Habits of Murad IV
ch. [5]3	Conquests	ch. 90	Admirals
[ch. ?]	Reign of Ahmed\ Evliya was born on 10 Muharrem 1020/25 March 1611	[ch. ?]	Şeyhülislams
		ch. 93	Ulema and mollas
		ch. 94	Janissary aghas
		ch. 95	Malta campaign
ch. [5]6	Princes	ch. 96	Death
ch. [5]7	Grand viziers	ch. 97	Reign of Ibrahim
ch. 58	Viziers		
ch. 59	Ulema	ch. 98	Viziers
ch. 60	Shaikhs	chs. 99–109\	
ch. 61	Conquests	ch. 110	Conquests
[ch. ?]	Mosque[4]	ch 11(?)	Killing of Sultan Ibrahim
ch. 64	Reign of Mustafa		
ch. 65	Reign of Osman II	ch. 11(?)	Reign of Mehmed IV
ch. 66	Chotin campaign	ch. 119	[Childhood]
ch. 67	(Second) reign of Mustafa	ch. 120	Viziers
		ch. 12[1]	Provincial governors
ch. 68	Reign of Murad IV	chs. [12]2–130	Princes, etc.
[ch. ?]	Revolt of Abaza Mehmed Pasha	chs. 131–137	Buildings, etc.
		ch. 138	Gazas and conquests
ch. 70	Revan campaign		
[ch. ?]	Baghdad campaign	chs. 139–194	
		ch. 195[5]	Valide Sultan mosque
ch. 75	Events in his reign	chs. 196–200	Other mosques

[4] Note 59b26: *bālāda onbeşinci faṣılda cāmi'ler evṣāfı taḥrīr olunmaġile yine ṣad[ed]e rücu' edüp.*

[5] Prior to this Evliya notes end of account of sultans and resumption of description of imperial mosques.

ch. 205[6] Mosques of viziers, etc.
ch. 206 Mescids
ch. 207 Medreses
ch. 208 Koran schools
ch. 209 Primary schools
ch. 210 Hadith schools
ch. 211 Tekkes (dervish convents)
ch. 212 Imarets (public soup-kitchens)
ch. 213 Hospitals
ch. 214 Palaces
ch. 215 Hans (inns)
ch. 216 Caravansarays
ch. 217 Bekar-odaları (bachelor barracks)
ch. 218 Fountains
ch. 219 Sebilhane (water dispensaries)
ch. 220 Baths
ch. 221 Imperial tombs: Fatih (+ important men of his age)
ch. 222 Bayezid II
ch. 223 Selim I
ch. 224 Süleyman
ch. 225 Selim II
ch. 226 Murad III
ch. 227 Mehmed III
ch. 228 Ahmed I; Osman II; Murad IV
ch. 229 Mustafa; Ibrahim (same tomb as Mustafa)
ch. 230 Tombs of the viziers
ch. 231 Tombs of the saints and ulema
ch. 232 Saint-fools, etc.\mention of his book *Şakaname*
[ch. ?] Kadizade; Ulema who died in reign of Murad IV; Shaikhs of the Sufi orders
ch. 235 Description of the three *mevleviyyet*s outside Stanbul: Yedikule
ch. 236 Yenikapu
ch. 237 Topçular
ch. 238 Otakçılar
ch. 239 Nişancıpaşa
ch. 240 Çömlekçiyan
ch. 241 Eyub
ch. 242 Südlice
ch. 243 Karapiripaşa
ch. 244 Hasköy
ch. 245 Kasımpaşa
ch. 246 Galata
ch. 247 Tophane; the gun foundry
ch. 248 Beşiktaş
ch. 249 Ortaköy
ch. 250 Kuruçeşme
ch. 251 Arnavudköy
ch. 252 Rumelihisarı
ch. 253 Istinye
ch. 254 Yeniköy
ch. 255 Tarabya
ch. 256 Büyükdere
ch. 257 Sarıyar (Sarıyer)
ch. 258 Boğazhisarı (Rumeli Kavağı)
ch. 259 Anadolu Kilidü'l-bahir kal'esi (Anadolu Kavağı); village of Kavak; Yoroz castle
ch. 260 Beykoz; hunting parks; İncirli; Çubuklı
ch. 261 Kanlıca
ch. 262 Anadoluhisarı; Göksu; Kandilli
ch. 263 Çengelliköyi = Çengalköyi
ch. 264 Istavriz = Istavroz; Kuzkuncık
ch. 265 Üsküdar
ch. 266 Kadiköy
ch. 267 Imperial gardens

[6] Note the resumption here of chapter indications in the text.

ch. 268 Pleasure-outings; Kağıdhane, etc.
ch. 268 (sic!) Merchants and craftsmen, their shops, their patron saints, etc.; *Fütüvvet-name*
ch. 269 The description of Istanbul made in 1048/1638
ch. 270 Guilds, shops, patron saints, etc.; 1100 guilds listed in 57 chapters (sic; error for 47)

1 parade sergeants, etc.
2 guards, police, etc.
3 military judges, etc.
4 physicians
5 farmers and peasants
6 bakers
7 Black Sea captains
8 Mediterranean captains
9 Egyptian grain-merchants
10 butchers, etc.
11 sheep-drovers, etc.
12 cooks
13 confectioners
14 fishermen
15 the imperial inspectors
16 grocers, etc.
17 fresh fruiters
18 sword-cutlers
19 musket-makers
20 blacksmiths
21 hinge-makers, etc.
22 kettle-makers
23 goldsmiths, etc.
24 bronze-founders
25 bow-makers, etc.
26 tailors
27 tent-makers
28 fur-dealers
29 tanners
30 saddlers
31 shoemakers
32 shoe-sellers
33 druggists
34 barbers
35 bath-keepers
36 painters, etc.
37 The Old Bedestan
38 The New Bedestan
39 joiners
40 military-band
41 acrobats
42 architects
43 singers
44 musicians
45 jesters, dancers, etc.
46 mimics
47 boza-sellers

ch. 271 The population of Istanbul
ch. 272 Poets and litterateurs in the reign of Murad IV
ch. 273 Hezarfens (masters of all trades)
Addendum: a freak in Unkapanı during the reign of Murad IV

Seyahatname—*Outline of Book X*

Adam's prayer for Egypt in "Hebrew" 7 Safer 1083/4 June 1672 enter Cairo
Sources for Egyptian history
ch. 1 Fustat: kings before the flood
ch. 2 kings after the flood
ch. 3 Amalekites
ch. 4 Joseph and the Fayyum
ch. 5 dynasty of the Pharoah Reyyan
ch. 6 prophets who entered Egypt
ch. 7 'Amr ibn al-'As and the dragon, etc.
ch. 8 Koranic verses and hadiths concerning Egypt
ch. 9 the Arab conquest
ch. 10 the Islamic dynasties
ch. 11 the forty-eight sultans and kings of Africa
ch. 12 the non-Islamic dynasties
ch. 14 Selim I in Damietta, Alexandria, etc.
ch. 15 *Kavanin-i Mısır fi devlet-i sultan Selim Han*

ch. 16 government officials
ch. 17 regulations of the Divan
ch. 18 garrisons; the military establishment
ch. 19 [**1st**] grand procession: Pasha's entrance
ch. 20 ulema; the religious establishment
ch. 21 Cairo: first builders
ch. 22 vizier's palace
ch. 23 city walls
ch. 24 quarters, palaces
ch. 25 Friday mosques
ch. 26 Mescids
ch. 27 Medreses
ch. 28 Hadith schools
ch. 29 Koran schools
ch. 30 primary schools
ch. 31 dervish convents
ch. 32 soup kitchens
ch. 33 public baths
ch. 34 commercial buildings
ch. 35 hospitals
ch. 36 water dispensaries
ch. 37 fountains
ch. 38 wells, water-wheels, basins, etc.
ch. 38 (sic!) canals and waterways
ch. 39 dikes
ch. 40 ponds
ch. 41 Bulaq
ch. 42 Kaytbay Yaylası
ch. 43 Fustat = Eski Mısır
ch. 44 Nile flood; the Nilometer; Roda Island
ch. 45 [**2nd**] grand procession: breaching the Nile
ch. 46 the Nile
ch. 47 Nile Animals: crocodile
ch. 48 **3rd** procession: first night of Ramazan
ch. 49 merchants and craftsmen, their shops, etc

1 police
2 farmers, etc.
3 beverages
4 linseed-oil
5 architects
6 ship's carpenters
7 bakers
8 butchers
9 cooks, greengrocers
10 dry-goods grocers
11 surgeons
12 sword-cutlers
13 blacksmiths
14 kettle-makers
15 goldsmiths, etc.
16 tailors
17 tentmakers
18 bow and arrow makers
19 furriers, etc.
20 Kaʿba-covering
21 tanners, etc.
22 shoemakers, etc.
23 saddlers, etc.
24 druggists, etc.
25 barbers
26 painters, etc.
27 Khan-ı Khalil
28 acrobats
29 musicians
30 Egyptian soldiery

ch. 49 (sic!) industries and products special to Egypt
ch. 50 trades and products lacking in Egypt
ch. 51 **4th** procession: festival of Ramazan
5th procession: festival of sacrifice
ch. 52 **6th** procession: pasha's entrance
7th procession: pasha's departure
8th procession: pasha's confirmation
9th: forwarding the Egyptian Treasure to the Porte
10th: janissaries' conveying of the Treasure
11th: forwarding of the pasha's "pocket-money" to the Sultan and high Ottoman officials
12th: arrival of sword and caftan (royal insignia)
13th: forwarding the *surre-i muhammedi* (annual gift from the Sultan to the holy cities) to Damascus

14th: Kaʿba-cover
15th: pilgrimage convoy: *mahmil-i şerif*
16th: torchbearers' forwarding the *mahmil-i şerif* to Bilbeys
16th (sic!): forwarding gifts for the Arab tribal shaikhs along the pilgrimage route
17th: expenses for repairs and gifts for the holy cities
18th: daily expenses for the pilgrimage convoy
19th: surrender of *vakıf* funds to the Emirü'l-hac
19th (sic!): military entourage
20th: Ezlem soldiery and supplies
21st: ʿAkabe soldiery and supplies
22nd: Bürke fireworks
22nd (sic!): return of pilgrimage convoy to Cairo
23rd: falconer's treasure
24th: falconer's trousers, sword, and robe
25th: entrance of Mısır mollası = kadi-ʿasker
26th: Circe Begi
27th: Sur-ı Hümayun Donanması (celebration of an imperial victory; royal birth, circumcision, marriage; enthronement of new Sultan)
28th: candles, incense, etc. for the holy cities
22nd (sic!):[7] foodstuffs for the imperial kitchens and pantries in Istanbul
23rd: gunpowder
24th: wages for the religious personnel
25th: inspection of the *evkaf*
29th: funds accruing to the pasha
33th: funds accruing to the pasha's 23 grandees
36th: funds accruing to the emirs, Circassian begs, and other notables
44th: funds to inspectors, administrators, etc.
48th: peasants' tithe
55th: taxes on merchants in the seven ports
60th: (ditto)
65th: earnings of the 170 guilds; expenditures of pilgrims
73rd: grain magazines

Total of 35 "grand processions" (*alay-ı ʿazim*) and 81 "treasures" (*eger alaylı ve eger alaysız Mısır hazineleri*)

ch. 52 (sic!) protocol of revenues
ch. 53 Mevluds
ch. 54 pleasure-outings

[7] Here *alay* ("procession, festivity, celebration") shades off into *hazine* ("treasure, funds, expenses") and the numeration becomes erratic.

ch. 55	wonders and marvels; characteristics of the populace; trades and occupations; Pyramids and Sphinx	ch. 65	Mevlud of Seyyid Ahmedü'l-Bedevi in 1083/1672; journey to Tanta
ch. 56	trees, etc., found in Egypt but not in Turkey	ch. 66	return up the Nile from Rosetta to Cairo
ch. 57	native plants, etc.	ch. 67	inspection tour to Damietta
ch. 58	things not found in Egypt	ch. 68	return up the Nile from Damietta to Cairo
ch. 59	climate; customs and characteristics of the populace	ch. 69	journey up the Nile
		[ch. 70?]	Ibrim
ch. 60	ulema	chs. 71–72	journey in the Sudan
ch. 61	notables (Ottoman beys, efendis, aghas, etc.)	ch. 73	journey to Abyssinia
		ch. 74	return journey from Abyssinia to Egypt; Egyptian governors from the time of Selim I; mollas
ch. 62	climes, etc.		
ch. 63	tombs and shrines		
ch. 64	main roads and quarters	ch. 7[5]	events in [10]94)/1683

Several points are clear from these outlines.

1. Throughout the work there is a clash between two organizing principles: on the one hand, spatial or geographical; on the other hand, temporal or chronological.

Evliya's first aim was to provide a complete description of the Ottoman Empire and its hinterlands. In pursuing this aim, the spatial or topographical survey is the favorite mode. These town descriptions (*evsaf*) are the most characteristic literary unit of the work. They generally follow the same pattern, beginning with the history and administrative organization of the town, its names in various languages and their etymologies, and its geographic position; continuing with a description of the town's topography, with particular attention to fortifications; including descripions of houses, mosques, medreses, schools, inns, baths, and fountains; town quarters and religious affiliations; climate; the appearance, dress, manners and customs of the populace; proper names and speech habits; the ulema, poets, physicians, and other notables; markets, shops, products, and comestables; and parks, gardens, and picnic-spots; and concluding with graves and shrines, along with biographies or hagiographies of the dead.

His second aim was to provide a complete record of his travels. In pursuing this aim, the first-person account of his itineraries and adventures comes to the fore.

The first mode is imperial in scope, having sources in the *mesalik ve memalik* tradition of the Muslim geographers.[8] Evliya's human geography embraces history, customs, folklore, and much else; but all tends to fit into pre-established formulas and grids. The second mode is personal or autobiographical, with sources in the *rihla* tradition of the Muslim travellers.[9] Evliya's junkets and adventures often follow recognizable narrative patterns as well, but they tend to be quirky and anecdotal, sometimes sliding into satire or fantasy. At certain points Evliya adopts a different kind of chronological ordering, viz. according to historical sequence, based on the *ta'rih* tradition of the Muslim annalists.

2. The trajectory of Evliya's travels—of his life—follows a path between the two great metropolises of the Empire: Istanbul, his birthplace and home town; and Cairo, where he lived his last ten years and where he drew up the final redaction of his magnum opus. Thus, Books I and X are devoted to these two cities. Evliya's description of Istanbul is without question the best guidebook to that city ever written. If Evliya had left us nothing but ch. 270 of Book I—the vast panorama of the Istanbul craftsmen and merchants parading before the sultan—he would still enjoy a reputation as one of the greatest Ottoman writers. His description of Cairo in Book X is equally impressive, the most elaborate and complete survey of that city written between the two *Khitat*s, that of al-Maqrizi in the fifteenth century and that of 'Ali Mubarak in the nineteenth. (Evliya was familiar with al-Maqrizi's description, which served as a model for his own.)

In Book I, the survey of the imperial mosques, which begins in ch. 15, is interrupted in ch. 25 (approximately—the chapter num-

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[8] See *EI*[2] "Djughrafiya" (S. Maqbul Ahmad).

[9] See *EI*[2] "Riḥla" (I. R. Netton); also C. F. Beckingham, "The *riḥla*: Fact or Fiction?" in: I. R. Netton (ed.), *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam* (Richmond: Curzon, 1993), 86–94. For an assessment of Evliya's place within the broad category of Ottoman travel writing, see Nicolas Vatin, "Pourquoi un Turc ottoman racontait-il son voyage? Note sur les relations de voyage chez les Ottomans des *Vaḳ'at-ı Sulṭan Cem* au *Seyaḥatname* d'Evliya Çelebi," *Études Turques et Ottomanes: Documents de travail* 4 (1995), 5–15 [Tk. tr. as "Bir Osmanlı Türkün Yaptığı Seyahati Niçin Anlatırdı," *Cogito* 19 (Yaz 1999), 161–78].

bering is uncertain) by a survey of the reigns of the sultans beginning with Süleyman; this is the second kind of chronological arrangement, not personal but historical. Only in ch. 195 is the survey of the monuments of the city resumed. The *evsaf* pattern asserts itself at this point: there follow chapters on mosques, schools, etc., ending with tombs. After an interlude (chs. 235–266) devoted to the other three sections of greater Istanbul (Eyub, Galata, Üsküdar), the *evsaf* pattern resumes with a description of the imperial gardens and public pleasure-outings (*mesire*), which generally lie outside Stanbul. Postponing the merchants, craftsmen, shops, etc. to the end is a special feature of Book I.

In Book X there is a clash between two principles as well: the topical or geographical principle (including the spatial survey of monuments); and another principle, peculiar to Cairo, comprising the institutions of the "procession" (*alay*) and the "treasury" (*hazine*).[10] These two, in turn, are not always clearly distinguished. Evliya seems to have had in mind the main public occasions over a typical year; and, as he says more than once, the people of Cairo, unlike the more staid Istanbulites, seize any and every occasion for a celebration.[11]

These two books, while serving as the frame for the larger work, appear to be modeled on each other in various respects. For example, the description of the shops and guilds in Cairo (X, ch. 49) is a reduced and more straightforward version of the corresponding sections in Istanbul (I, ch. 270). And the survey of quarters and villages up and down the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus (I, chs. 235–266) has its analogue in Evliya's trips up and down the Nile (X, chs. 65–74), although in the latter case these are tied in with the chronologies and itineraries of the work as a whole.

3. Only Books I and X have the chapter organization, which however (at least for Book I) has not been worked out quite satisfactorily. What about Books II–IX? While these do not have the same tight structure as the frame books, there is clear evidence that Evliya intended to provide a kind of shape to each book. The dividing points are not haphazard, although all ten books are roughly the same size. Book II begins with a reprisal of the dream, described

[10] Shown in bold in the outline. The first and second (not enumerated as such) occur in chs. 19 and 45, the third in ch. 48, the fourth and fifth in ch. 51, the remainder (with very erratic enumeration) in ch. 52.

[11] X 186b9 = 398, 213b2 = 451.

much more elaborately at the beginning of Book I. This is a clear indication that Evliya conceived of the *Seyahatname* as a unit, since his travels, and his account of them, all have a common motivation and share common goals. These goals include the traditional triad of *seyahat* ("travel," i.e., tourism, satisfying curiosity), *ticaret* ("commerce," i.e., making one's fortune), and *ziyaret* ("pilgrimage," i.e., fulfilling religious obligation).[12] But they also include such things as serving the Ottoman state; eulogizing patrons and associates; and providing his contemporaries—and later generations—with instruction and amusement. It is suggestive that Evliya's first foray outside of Istanbul is the old Ottoman capital of Bursa; and that his last journey before settling in Cairo is the pilgrimage to Mecca, of which his account provides a *vade mecum*. When he sets out on the pilgrimage at the beginning of Book IX, again from Istanbul, he has another (much shorter) dream in which his long-dead father and his old teacher Evliya Efendi both appear and urge him to go.[13] Compositionally, this dream parallels the reprisal of the initiatory dream at the beginning of Book II.

Although his itineraries over forty years repeat and crisscross, his accounts of them tend to be coherent and interrelated. It is not wrong to characterize Book II by the rubric "Anatolia," Book IV by "Safavid Borderlands," Book VI by "Hungary," Book VII by "Habsburg Borderlands," Book VIII by "Greece," and Book IX by "Pilgrimage." Along the way, the human element comes to the fore, although in bulk it is overshadowed by the geographic or descriptive element. It is no accident that several of the books end with what I call "sagas"—the extraordinary lives and deaths of the Celali rebel and bandit Kara Haydar-oğlu in Book II and of the brave and tragic commander Seydi Ahmed Pasha in Book V; or the account of Evliya's own adventurous escape from Istanbul when threatened by the dangerous grand vizier Ipshir Pasha in Book III (Melek ch. 4). In short, the division of the *Seyahatname* into ten books is not simply a mechanical one. There are organic unities—some I have tried to bring out here; some, no doubt, have yet to be discovered.

I have dwelt on the structure of the *Seyahatname* for two reasons.

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[12] Cf. II 369b16, VII 72b29 = 325, 131b8 = 630, IX 3a24 = 5, X Q350b5 = 1013.

[13] IX 2a27 = 3.

First, as I suggested earlier, it is important to try to apprehend the work as a whole, as a single text, before proceeding to analyze it from one or another point of view. Second, the structure of the work, the way in which Evliya ordered his vast materials and conceptualized his ambitious undertaking, itself reveals something important about his mind, and thus (according to hypothesis) about Ottoman mentalities.

Ancestry, Family History

Evliya would like us to believe that he could trace his genealogy back at least to Ahmed Yesevi, if not to the Prophet.[14] Much of the information about his Turkish ancestry can be gleaned from the careful recording of his pious acts of family obligation during his travels in Anatolia and the Holy Land in 1671–72.

First, in Iznik, he spends 20,000 akçe to repair the mosque of his forefather Yaʿkub Ece. This Ece Yaʿkub came to Anatolia with Ertuğrul, the ancestor of the Ottomans, from Mahan in Transoxania; or else was born in Kütahya, was a milk-brother of Sultan Orhan, participated in the first Ottoman raids in Rumelia, and built mosques in Çardak and also in Bursa where he is buried.[15]

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[14] At V 89b14, concerning the Ece Yaʿḳūb mosque in Çardak near Ḳarabıġa, he says: *Bu cāmiʿ Ṣāḥibi bu ḥaḳīriñ cedd-i ʿizāmları büräderlerindendir kim silsile-yi niḥāyetleri Türk-i Türkān Ḥāce Aḥmed Yesevī ḥazretlerine andan Meḥemmed Ḥanefiye andan İmām Bāḳır ve on birinci İmām Ḥüseyne müntehīlerdir.*

At VI 78a27 he gives his father's genealogy as: *Dervīş Meḥemmed Ẕıllī ibni Ḳara Aḥmed ibni Ḳara Muṣṭafā ibni Yavuz Er ibni Ece Yaʿḳūb ibni Germiyan-zāde Yaʿḳūb ilā Türk-i Türkān Ḥāce Aḥmed Yesevi ibni Muḥammed Ḥanefī ve-ilā İmām Ẕeynü'l-ʿābidīn ve ibni İmām Ḥüseyn ve ibni İmām ʿAlī ve Fāṭımatü'z-zehrā ve bi'z-zāt cedd-i ʿazīmimiz ḥażret-i risālet-penāh.*

At X 425b1 = 915 the oracle of the prophet Idris addresses Evliya in Turkish, giving his genealogy, as follows: *yā seyyāḥ-ı ʿālem ve nedīm-i benī-ādem muṣāḥib-i sulṭānān ve ḥāfiż-ı ḥamele-yi kurʾān Evliyā Şelebī ibni Dervīş Meḥemmed Ẕıllī ibni Ḳara Aḥmed ibni Demircizāde Ḳara Muṣṭafā Paşa eş-şehīd ibni Durḫan Beg ibni Yavuz Er ibni Ece Yaʿḳūb ibni Allāh-verdi Aḳay ibni Meḥemmed Kīrmānī ibni [Türk-i] Türkān Ḥāce Aḥmed Yesevī ibni Meḥemmed Ḥanefī . . . ḥażret-i İmām Ḥüseyne ve İmām ʿAlīye ve Fāṭımatü'z-zehrāya ve ḥażret-i risālete varınca . . . .*

[15] IX 4b23 = 8, 24a18 = 49, 39a17 = 80; V 89b17. Evliya apparently confuses Ece Yaʿḳūb with Yaʿḳūb Çelebi (d. 1389), son of Sultan Murad I, and also with Ece Ḫalīfe Yaʿḳūb Efendi (d. 1522); see Manisa 273. Of the mosque in Çardak, whose minaret was destroyed by lightning, Evliya states: "God willing I will repair it" (V 89b24).

Next, in his ancestral town of Kütahya, he acts as the *mütevelli* or supervisor of the (*evkaf* of) the mosque of his forefather Kara Mustafa Beg, and makes some repairs. His father's brother, Firaki Efendi, he says, used to live in the family house here, and "everyone buried in the cemetary in front of our door is a kinsman or retainer of ours." Demirci, his other ancestral seat, was conquered by Demirci-oğlu Kara Mustafa Beg, brother of Kara Ahmed Beg, Evliya's ancestor six generations back.[16]

Finally, in Jersalem Evliya finds the grave of Salim Beg, the brother of his grandfather Ahmed Beg, on the Mount of Olives, where his father told him it would be, and repairs it.[17]

Evliya once mentions a grandmother—presumably his father's mother—as the source of his interest in numismatics (on which, see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Pride). She possessed a collection of quarter-dirhem pieces that were minted in Gallipoli under Murad I. In his description of Gallipoli Evliya remarks that he saw these rare coins several times when he was a child.[18]

Acutely conscious of family obligations, Evliya's first thought at setting out on his travels was "how to get free of pressure from mother and father and teacher and brother." I have only found one other reference to a brother, named Mahmud, mentioned in connection with "our house" in the Eyne-beg quarter of Bursa. He does mention sisters several times. For example, Ilyas Pasha, when he rebelled against Murad IV in 1638, kidnapped his bride, who was Evliya's elder sister, from her father's house in Kütahya, and took refuge in Bergama; subsequently he was apprehended and beheaded. In 1653, when Evliya is sent to Konya to negotiate with the newly-appointed grand vizier, Ipshir Pasha, the Istanbul statesmen shower him with gifts so he will put in a good word for them, and he deposits these with his sister before setting out.[19] Responding to an ominous dream of his wife Kaya Sultan in 1658, Melek Ahmed Pasha says:

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[16] IX 11a12 = 21, 14a1 = 28, 24a13 = 49.

[17] IX 219a28 = 485; X 45b25 = 102.

[18] V 94a33.

[19] "Free of pressure": I 6b17; II 220b14 (omitting "and teacher"). Brother Mahmud: IX 39b19 = 81. Sisters: IX 40a15 = 82; III 177a16; Melek 125. The name Inal ascribed to his sister (e.g., Baysun 1948, 401) is based on the printed text IX, 81, a misreading of *anuñ* (39b7 = P 20b44). [M. Cavid Baysun, "Evliya Çelebi" in: *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 4 (1947), 400–12]

> Give a thousand goldpieces to the poor as alms; and two thousand each to my interior aghas and my exterior aghas; and three hundred to Evliya Çelebi; and a hundred to his sister. And let Evliya's sister leave your harem; give her in marriage to a Muslim and set her up in life.[20]

Evliya seldom mentions his mother. Speaking of Melek Ahmed Pasha, he says:

> At age fourteen he was brought to the capital and presented as a gift to Sultan Ahmed along with my own mother, who was the daughter of his maternal aunt. . . . Ahmed Khan . . . bestowed my mother upon the chief goldsmith of the Porte, Dervish Mehmed Zılli, and I came into being as a result of that union.[21]

Otherwise, we learn that she was as pretty as some of the Hazari girls of Egypt, whom he describes as "tall and willowy and smartly dressed;" that she used henna on her ankles; and that she used to embroider handkerchiefs.[22] Describing the birth-control stones from Sebil-i 'Allam in Egypt, Evliya remarks:

> When my mother gave birth to me my head passed through her womb only with great difficulty, and as a result her vagina was disfigured. To avoid getting pregnant thereafter she always used to carry some of these Sebil-i 'Allam stones, and would bind them to her waist whenever she had intercourse with my father.[23]

This is all he says about his mother.[24] But his father, as long as he lived, and even after he died, loomed large in Evliya's consciousness. He sought his father's blessing and counsel with regard to his travels, and his father was the one who told him to keep a journal, and even suggested the title *Seyahatname*. Evliya interrupted his travels when he heard of his father's death in 1648, and hastened back to Istanbul.[25] When he arrived, he first went to Eyub where he offered

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[20] V 76a3; Melek 222.
[21] V 52a2 = Melek 9; cf. I 79b2 = Melek 49.
[22] X 243a19 = 518, 237b4 = 506; I 200a16.
[23] X 230a16 = 491.
[24] In June 1640, when he returns to Istanbul after his first journey (to Bursa), he states that he kissed the hands of his father and mother (II 241a25 *peder ü mäder*); in June 1648, when he receives news of his father's death, the message refers to his step-mother (II 367b17 *ügey vālide*) and his sisters; when he arrives in Istanbul a month later, he kisses his mother's hand (II 369b *vālide-yi müşfika*) and his sisters' eyes. We do not know when his mother died, nor the identity of the mysterious step-mother, who is apparently mentioned nowhere else.
[25] II 241b23, 367b. If his father was age 117 when he died in 1648 (A.H. 1058),

a sacrifice and began a complete Koran-recital. That night he saw his father in his dream; the next day:

> I boarded a caique with my relatives at Unkapanı and we went to our graveyard behind the arsenal (on the other side of the Golden Horn). First I visited my dear father's grave, where I recited the surah *Elhakümü't-tekasür* (Surah 102) and began a complete Koran recital. Then, weeping the while, I visited the graves of all our ancestors buried there since the time of Ebu'l-Feth (Fatih Mehmed). Returning home, I took possession of the money left to me by my father, and from this pure money I devoted 2000 goldpieces to the noble Hajj.[26]

Later in the course of his travels, Evliya sometimes dreamed of his father, who gave him counsel in the dream (see *Reporter and Entertainer*: Portents and Dreams). He frequently mentions his father's handiwork, and cites his father as a source.[27]

Evliya's fullest accounts of his father's early career relate to the conquest of Cyprus in 1571 under Sultan Selim II (reg. 1566–74). On the Selimiye mosque in Edirne, Evliya writes:

> During the reign of Selim Khan, who built this mosque, my late father, Dervish Mehmed Zıilli, was a raw youth (*feta yigit*) present at the conquest of Cyprus. He served as chief *müezzin* of his shaikh, Can Pasha, and sometimes as prayer-leader. He was the first to recite the victory *ezan* at the assault on the fortress of Magosa/Famagusta. After the conquest, when all the officers who had been present at the conquest of Cyprus received robes of honor and promotions at the hands of the sultan in Istanbul, my father too donned a robe of honor because he had recited the first victory *ezan*. As he tells it, it happened to be the time of the noon prayer, and Selim Khan addressed him, saying: "Let's hear how you recited the victory *ezan* on top of the battlements."

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as Evliya claims (III 156a25; X 42a2 = 94), then his birth date was 1534 (A.H. 941). This would barely have allowed him to be a companion of Sultan Süleyman (reg. 1520–66) as Evliya asserts (VI 175b4).

[26] II 369b18. More precisely the family graveyard was in Kasım-paşa, the cemetary of the Mevlevī-ḫāne of Kulle-kapusı; see description at I 127b15 (*pederimiz Dervīş Meḥemmed Ẕıllī ve vālidesi ve dedemiz Demirci Ḳara Aḥmed ve dedemiz Yavuz Er Beg ve vālidemiz ve'l-ḥāṣıl bī-ḥisāb cümle aḳrabā ve taʿalluḳāt [u] bürāder ü hemşīrelerimiz anda medfūnlardır*), III 156a26 (*Ḳulle-ḳapusı Mevlevī-ḫānesi mezārıstanında*).

[27] Dreams of father: VI 99b27, IX 2a27. Father's handiwork: I 60b25 (Istanbul), IV 228a24 = Brıtıs 98 (signet watch made for Sultan Mehmed III), 337b7 (Baghdad), VI 95a32 (Esztergom), 135a32 (Nográd), IX 340b25 = 742, 342b1 = 746 (Mecca), X 137b3 = 299 (Cairo).

Father as source: I 14b18, 28a28, 63b11, 105a2, III 128a10, 155b26, 156a2, IV 334a25, V 111b33, 117a30, VI 43a13, 74b27, 76a17, 77b29, 78a25, 175b4, 184b1, VII 39a = 178, VIII 360b15 = 701, X 383a17 = 823.

> So he recited the Muhammedan *ezan*, David-like and Bilal-style, in a loud voice and in the Hijaz mode. All the attendants were pleased. On the spot, Selim Khan presented him with a noble decree awarding him an official post with the daily salary of two goldpieces. . . . My father began his career under Süleyman Khan [reg. 1520–66] and was present at the Szigetvar campaign. He also served under Sultan Mehmed III, the conqueror of Egri [reg. 1595–1603]. It was then that he was appointed chief goldsmith. Since he lived to an advanced age, he was on good terms with all the viziers and deputies and ulema and shaikhs, for he had many fellow-reminiscers (*yaddaş*), because his own father, Demirci-oğlu Kara Ahmed Beg, had been present at the conquest of Istanbul and had died at the age of 147—he is buried in front of our house in the Zeregen quarter of Kütahya—and my father died at the age of 117, the year Sultan Ibrahim assumed the throne [1648]. . . . The reason for this lengthy excursus is that I have inherited stories and adventures that were passed down from my father, and he from my grandfather, going back 300 years.[28]

Elsewhere Evliya mentions his father's service under Sultan Ahmed I (reg. 1603–17). While serving as *surre emini*—the officer charged with conveying the sultan's annual gifts to the Holy Cities—he supervised construction of the famous Golden Waterspout (Altın Oluk) in Mecca. He even went to England during this period, if we can believe Evliya's offhand remark to that effect. It was Sultan Ahmed who bestowed Evliya's mother on his father, at that time already quite advanced in years (see translation below). He gives the date of his birth as "the day of Ashura, the 10th of Muharrem, 1020/25th of March, 1611."[29]

Growing Up in Istanbul

If Istanbul loomed large for Evliya, it was not simply because it was the Ottoman capital. It was also the scene of his formative years, and thus deserved first place from the chronological as well as the geographical perspective. The *Seyahatname* is to some degree autobiographical, as I mentioned above. It begins, however, not with Evliya's

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[28] III 156a2–11, 20–28. For more on Evliya's father and Sultan Suleyman, see *Raconteur*: Daily Life.

[29] Mecca: IX 3a19 = 4; X 42a7 = 94. England: X 256a16 = 546. Sultan Ahmed: VI 47a26. Date of birth: I 59a2.

birth, but with his "birth" as a traveler—the dream, on his twentieth birthday, in which, by a slip of the tongue, he begged the Prophet for *seyahat* "travel" instead of *şefa'at* "intercession," and the Prophet granted him both, plus *ziyaret* "visiting tombs of saints and prophets."[30] It is not until ch. 55 (or so) of Book I that we learn his birth date. Elsewhere in Book I, and in the other books as well, we learn quite a few details about his life in the metropolis before the wanderlust took over.

Evliya relates quite a bit about his early years, some of which must have been family tradition:

> When I was born, the late Sun'ullah Efendi was in our house and he recited the call to prayer in my ear in a loud voice. The *'akika* ceremony (shaving the head six days after birth) was performed by Mevlevi Shaikh Isma'il who dubbed it "the sacrifice of Isma'il."[31] That night seventy pious men gathered in our house. Gisudar Kapani Mehmed Efendi was among them. He took me, all swaddled, in his arms and was just about to recite the call to prayer in my ear when he inquired who had done this at my birth. Among the guests was my future teacher, Dersi'am Ahfeş Efendi, who told him that Sun'ullah Efendi had done it. "Well then," said Gisudar Mehmed Efendi, "I shall recite the call to prayer as the saints do it (*'abdalan-ane fena-fi'llah ezanı okuyalım*)." He recited it in a melancholy voice, then placed the halberd which he always carried with him down next to me and said, "I have bestowed it upon him. With this halberd may he be present at many holy wars (*gaza*). May he live in poverty. May he be a dervish (*sahib-seccade ve sahib-celal*) and when he is a young man, may he fear nothing. May he dance in the sand and not get a splinter in his foot." He recited a Fatiha and departed without ceremony.
>
> Divane 'Abdi Dede, who was shaikh of the Mevlevi-hane in Kasımpaşa, removed a morsel of bread from his own blessed mouth and put in my mouth—the first bread I tasted—saying, "May he be nurtured with the morsel of the dervishes."
>
> Doğani Dede, who was shaikh of the Mevlevi-hane in Yenikapı, took me in his arms and tossed me in the air. "May this child be our kite (? *uçurma*) in this world," he said, "and may God bless him."[32]

The family house was in the neighborhood of Unkapanı in Stanbul or old Istanbul, where Evliya's father had a jewelry shop. He claims that his great-grandfather Yavuz Er Beg was Fatih's standard-bearer:

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[30] I 7b6–7.

[31] Thus playfully associating the sacrifice of the baby's hair with the prophet Abraham's "sacrifice" of his son Ishmael.

[32] I 107b13.

> He was present at the conquest of Istanbul, and as booty seized the buildings on the ground floor of the present Mosque of the Leatherworkers (Sağrıcılar Cami'i) in the middle of Unkapanı. After the conquest he had a mosque and 100 shops built, and endowed the shops as *vakıf* for the upkeep of the mosque. The house in Istanbul where I was born was built with conquest booty (*gaza mali*) by my grandfather, who resided there. The imperial warrants (*beratlar*) of the mosque and shops and houses which he built, containing the noble cipher (*tuğra*) of Fatih, and the Shari'ah documents, containing the signature of Emir Buhari, are still in my possession, having passed down to me as his descendent. Thus, I have free use of those properties, and always look after those *vakıf* documents.[33]

From Evliya's account, we get the impression that his early education took place in and around his father's shop in the Unkapanı marketplace. He says:

> One of the goldsmiths in our shop was an infidel named Simyon. He would read aloud from the history of Yanvan, and I would listen and record it in my memory. From childhood on I used to hang around with him, and being clever for my age, I learned fluent Greek and Latin. I instructed Simyon in the dictionary of Şahidi, and he instructed me in the history of Alexander the Great, which included an account of the ancestors of the Roman emperors going all the way back to the Amalekites and to Shem the son of Noah.[34]

Another incident from this period relates to the aforementioned Gisudar Mehmed Efendi. He was also called Kapani Mehmed Efendi, since he resided in Unkapanı. Evliya relates:

> He resided in our neighborhood [of Unkapanı] for forty years. In fact, at the moment of my birth Sun'ullah Efendi recited the call to prayer in my right ear, and Gisudar Mehmed Efendi recited it in my left ear. I was closely acquainted with the latter, and well aware of his

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[33] I 25a6.

[34] I 23a15. The "history of Yanvan" is probably the 10th-century Arabic work *Kītāb al-'Unwān* by Agapios; see Stefane Yerasimos, *La Fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les Traditions Turques* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1990), 63 [Turkish translation, 66]; also "Enquête sur un héros: Yanko bin Madyan, le fondateur mythique de Constantinople," in: *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, ed. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont et Rémy Dor (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1992), 213–17, p. 216. By "Latin" Evliya perhaps means Italian, although elsewhere he uses "Latin" to mean Slavic; see Robert Dankoff, "The Languages of the World according to Evliya Çelebi," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (1989), 23–32, p. 29. For the "dictionary of Şahidi" see Antoinette C. Verburg, "The *Tuhfe-i Şāhidī*: A Sixteenth Century Persian-Ottoman Dictionary in Rhyme," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 15 (1997), 5–87.

miraculous graces. . . . One day, while sitting in our jewelry shop in the Unkapanı marketplace, I was reciting the Koran and had just come to the verse (5:45): "We decreed for them a life for a life." Kapani Efendi, who happened to come along, listened to this and said, "Allah Allah!"

Just then Pehlivan ʿAli Halhali [= Dervish ʿAli] who was the shaikh of the Tekke of the Wrestlers,[35] showed up in front of the barber shop, and when he saw Gisudar in front of our shop he let our a yelp and cried, "O Friend! Our shah is Shah ʿAli—may I be his sacrifice. I have come to offer my head to Shah Husayn, as the ball in the field of calamity (*bela*). 'The field of Kerbela is our playing-field' (*Kerbela meydanıdır meydanımız*)." He saluted Kapani Mehmed Efendi respectfully and kissed his hand.

"God willing," replied Kapani Efendi, "you will attain your wish this very moment, and will earn the merit of the martyrs of the Plain of Kerbela on this day of Ashura." He was carrying a wine goblet which he now handed over to Dervish ʿAli, who proceeded to take several draughts from it. Then he let out a yelp, stripped off his garments, and entered the barber shop.

"Well," said Kapani Efendi, addressing me, "now is the time for 'We decreed . . .'—recite it again!" And the next thing we saw was Dervish ʿAli running out of the barber shop with a certain young man named Hadji Ahad-oğlu in hot pursuit, brandishing a knife. Just as Dervish ʿAli came in front of our shop Hadji Ahad-oğlu caught up with him, stabbed him above the nipple, and killed him. "So," cried Kapani Mehmed Efendi, this time addressing Dervish ʿAli, "have you gained the martyrdom of Kerbela? Have you become the object of the Koranic verse, 'We decreed for them a life for a life'?" And he went away.

At this point my late father cried out: "Arrest that Hadji Ahad-oğlu!" Our servants collared the murderer and brought him to the Agha of the Janisarries, Şehid Hasan Halife. When Ahad-oğlu's guilt had been ascertained, he was first of all deprived of his janissary ration-chit at the Agha Gate. Then he was sent to the dungeon, where he was put to death. Later that night he was thrown into the Bosphorus in front of the Çardak. In the meantime my father buried Dervish ʿAli in the garden of the Tekke of the Wrestlers.

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[35] I.e., the Tekke of Pehlevan Şücāʿ, "near the Little Market (*küçük bazar*) on the Unkapanı road across from the Cypress Bakery (*servi furunı*)" (I 190a23–24). There was a second Tekke of the Wrestlers in Istanbul, that of Pehlevan Demir, "at the foot of Zirek hill" (I 190a24); also one in Bursa (II 226a9) and a very famous one in Edirne (III 158a33–158b22; Edirne 97–103). Concerning the Tekkes (here: Clubhouses) of the Wrestlers, see Atif Kahraman, *Cumhuriyete Kadar Türk Güreşi*, II (Ankara, 1989), 9–14; *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Spor* (Ankara, 1995), 188–90.

> Thus did Kapani Mehmed reveal the answer to Dervish ʿAli's verse as soon as he uttered it. As God is my witness, that is what happened![36]

While not made explicit, Evliya hints that the motivation for the murder was the overly-Shiʿi color of Dervish ʿAli's ecstatic utterances, which must have affronted the staunch Sunni, Hadji Ahadoğlu ("Pilgrim, son of the One") in the barber shop.

Evliya occasionally gives us snippets of memory relating to his childhood and early education. Thus:

- For eleven years I studied in Saʿdi-zade Efendi's Koran school in Karaman [district of Istanbul] where I completed the Seven of Ibn Kathir and the Shatibiyya.[37]
- [Concerning the tomb of Mustafa Efendi in the tomb-compound (*hazire*) of Sultan Selim] Every morning on my way to school I recited a Fatiha for his soul as I passed by.[38]
- [Concerning the tomb of Ferişte-oğlu in Tire] When I was a child I studied the dictionary of Ferişte. Since it begins "*khubz* is bread, *qubl* is kiss," I learned how to eat bread and how to kiss people from his book. So I pray for him.[39]
- Every Friday I used to attend the litanies in honor of the prophet recited by Yahya Efendi in the Tavaşi Mehmed Agha mosque, which was in the Wednesday Bazaar, where he served as chief *müezzin* (*ser-mahfil*) and reciter of litanies (*devir*) and prophetic eulogies (*naʿt*).[40]
- [Concerning Şeyhülislam Hamid Efendi] He has a mosque and a medrese on Elephant Hill (Fil Yokuşu) in Stanbul. I was a student in that medrese and for seven years studied various sciences under Dersiʿam Ahfeş Efendi.[41]
- [Concerning Cinci Hoca] He was a theology student (*suhte*) named Şeyh-zade in the town of Safranbolu. He came to the capital and studied in the Hamid Efendi medrese on Elephant Hill in Unkapanı. When I was reading *Molla Cami* with Ahfeş Efendi and parsing Ibn-i Hacib's *Kafiye*, he was reading *Kitab-ı ʿIzzi* with my teacher Ahfeş Efendi.[42]

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[36] I 112b29.

[37] I 107b2. Ibn Kathir (born 45/665) was one of the "seven readers" of the Koran; "the Shatibiyya" refers to a versified manual of the seven canonical readings by al-Shatibi (d. 590/1194); see *EI*[2] "Ibn Kathīr" (J.-C. Vadet) and "ḳirā'a" (R. Paret).

[38] I 109a3.

[39] IX 84b29 = 166. *Ferişte-oğlu luğatı* or *Kitāb al-Mazāhir* is a rhyming Arabic-Turkish dictionary of words found in the Koran, written c. 1400 by Ferişte-oğlu otherwise known as Ibn Melek; see *EI*[2] "Firishte-oghlu" (Ö. F. Akün).

[40] I 74a6.

[41] I 121b21.

[42] I 78a27; II 370a12. *Al-Kāfiya*, on syntax, by Ibn al-Ḥājib, d. 646/1249 and *al-*

– [Concerning the books which Katib-zade Zeynel'abidin bequeathed as *vakıf* to the Vefa mosque] I borrowed the *Mülteka* and the *Kohistani* from the librarian and read them.[43]
– [Concerning Üsküdari Mahmud Efendi = Hüdayi] I was privileged to converse with him and he covered me with the skirt of his *bureşidi* patched cloak (*hırka*). He also declared me to be his spiritual son. I heard countless of his wise sermons and words of counsel, and I pride myself on having kissed his blessed hand.[44]

When Evliya was not busy with schoolwork, he would venture out into the various quarters of the metropolis, observing the other artisans and getting to know the great imperial mosques. One of the important events for his father's profession was a ten-day festival of the goldsmiths' guild, convened only once every twenty years, according to the *kanun* or statute of Sultan Süleyman. It was held in the fair grounds of Kağıdhane, outside the city. Evliya claimed that, in his capacity as *kuyumcubaşızade* or son of the chief goldsmith, he attended this festival three times, and that during the reign of Sultan Murad IV he was the first in line to kiss the sultan's hand.[45]

Of special importance to Evliya was his instructor in Koran recitation, Evliya Mehmed Efendi. The fullest account is the following, discussing his relationship to his later patron, Melek Ahmed Pasha:

> On the same day that Melek was presented to Sultan Ahmed Khan, the Sultan presented each of his courtiers with a *gulam*. And upon this humble one's father, Dervish Mehmed Agha, who was chief goldsmith of the Sublime Porte, Sultan Ahmed Khan, may his earth be sweet, bestowed my mother, saying, "Grand agha, you are an old man, but God willing, from this maiden you will have an angel-like world-adorning son."
>
> "God willing," echoed Üsküdari Mahmud Efendi, "this girl will soon conceive and give birth to a noble and upright male child."

'Izzī, on inflection, by 'Izz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 655/1256) were staples of the madrasah curriculum. *Molla Cami* is mentioned as one of the standard books on syntax by d'Ohsson 1788, II, 468n.: *Molla-djeamy*. [Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, 2 vols., Paris.] Katib Çelebi refers to it simply as *Cami*; see *Mīzān al-ḥakk fī iḫtiyār al-aḥakk* (Istanbul 1286 [1869]), 132; tr. G. L. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth* (London 1957), 141.

[43] I 108b2. For the *Multaḳā'l-abḥur*, a book on Hanefi *fiqh* by Ibrahim al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), see Şükrü Selim Has, "The Use of *Multaḳa'l-abḥur* in the Ottoman Madrasas and in Legal Scholarship," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* VII–VIII (1988), 393–418.

[44] I 144a. margin.

[45] I 186a17.

"And God willing," chimed in Evliya Efendi, "we will educate him and train him."

Praise be to God, nine months and ten days later this humble one came into the world, during the reign of Sultan Ahmed Khan, in the year—[blank] (1020/1611). And in—[blank] (1032/1623), the year in which Sultan Murad IV assumed the throne, my father gave me to the royal imam, shaikh of the readers and leader of the shaikhs, Evliya Efendi; I became one of his pupils, and he made me one of his spiritual sons. From Evliya Efendi I mastered the science of reciting the Koran from memory, and I could recite the entire Koran in eight hours, without addition or substraction, and without error whether open or hidden. . . . And every Friday eve (Thursday night) I was appointed to complete a Koran-recital. God be praised, from childhood until the present, whether at home or during my travels, I have not abandoned this practice. And I performed several hundred Koran-recitals on Friday eves in the presence of the late Melek Ahmed Pasha. In fact, he too, when I was in the imperial harem, used to take recitation lessons from Evliya Efendi, and he once performed a complete recital from memory, although he did not study the reading of Ibn-i Kethir; and he heard me recite from memory many times. God be praised, I am a bearer of the Koran; "This is from my Lord's bounty." And I mastered the reading of Ibn-i Kethir from beginning to end, as well as the book of Shatibi consisting of—couplets and the book of Cezeri consisting of—[blank] couplets; and I performed it from memory in seven hours in the presence of Evliya Efendi and all the leading shaikhs. Subsequently I learned the seven variant readings as far as the Surah of Yusuf (Surah 12).

When our master Evliya Mehmed Efendi died in the year—[blank] Şami Yusuf Efendi became royal imam, and I learned the seven variants from him as far as the noble Yasin (Surah 36). When he died in the year—[blank] I completed my study of the seven variants with Şami Efendi, who was the imam of the Haydarpaşa quarter mosque in Istanbul and later became imam of the Sultan Selim Khan Friday mosque. . . .[46]

– [Concerning the tomb of Ibn-i Hacib in Alexandria; d. 646/1248] I got several ear-twists from my master Evliya Efendi while studying his (Ibn-i Hacib's) *Kafiye*.[47]

It is generally assumed[48] that Evliya Çelebi assumed the name "Evliya" out of respect for his teacher Evliya Mehmed Efendi. But this is conjecture; nowhere does Evliya hint that he ever had any other name. In the above passage, our Evliya asserts that he was the "spiritual son" of Evliya Mehmed Efendi. In two other passages, the same

[46] VI 47a26; Melek 274.
[47] X 328a5 = 697.
[48] E.g., Baysun 1948, 400; see above, n. 19.

relationship is posited of Sultan Ahmed's other religious adviser, Üsküdari Mahmud Efendi. The first was cited above. The context of the second is a discussion of the famous poet, Veysi Çelebi (969–1037/1561–1627):

> Once, in the presence of Üsküdari Mahmud Efendi, I recited one of that saintly man's own compositions, the hymn beginning,
>
> *Açıldı çün bezm-i elest*
> *Devr eyledi peymanesi*
> *Andan içenler oldı mest*
> *Ayılmadı mestanesi*
>
> When the primoridal banquet began
> His goblet circulated.
> Those who drank from it became intoxicated;
> Those who were intoxicated did not sober up.[49]
>
> Veysi Efendi [who was present] said: "Bless you! What a fine melancholy voice this lad has—may God grant him long life and happiness in this world and the next." He asked Mahmud Efendi who I was.
>
> "This is our spiritual son," replied that saintly man, "and our protegée. Stand up, my Evliya, and kiss Veysi Çelebi's hand." I immediately arose and kissed his hand.
>
> "My lord," Veysi Çelebi said, "God willing, many significant things will appear from this talented boy. May he be accepted in both the worlds."[50]

Topkapı Saray

If Istanbul was the center of the empire, Topkapı Saray was the center of the center. Evliya sometimes attended court with his father. On 17 May 1632 (27 Shavval 1041) he happened to be present when the former grand vizier Topal Receb Pasha was put to death because of his complicity with the brigands and outlaws who, two months previously, had killed Sultan Murad's court favorite, Musa Çelebi.[51] He was also present at court when his father was ordered

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[49] Evliya cites these verses, from Üsküdari Mahmud Efendi's *ʿAṣḳ-nāme*, at greater length at I 214b23.

[50] V 172a23.

[51] I 67b6. Peçevi also gives this date, but most sources give 28 Shavval (18 May); see İsmail Hami Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi, III* (Istanbul, 1961), 354.

to go along on the Revan campaign in 1634.[52] This campaign proved wildly successful. Murad IV not only conquered Tabriz and Revan. He also took captive the Safavid governor of Revan, Mirgune, and brought him back to Istanbul to serve as musician in the Ottoman court.[53] Mirgune was nicknamed Revani—meaning the man from Yerevan—and *revani* is also the name of a sweet sop or sponge-cake. These facts will be useful to understand the witticisms that won Evliya favor at his first interview with the sultan.

The climax of Book I, at least from the autobiographical point of view, is this long and self-indulgent passage in which Evliya describes his life at the court and his relations with the sultan. It is remarkable for its colorful detail and for its frank if idealized portrayals of both the sultan and of himself as a cocky and talented youth. Evliya's musical talents were especially appreciated by Murad IV whose own cultural inclinations were more toward music and recitation and less toward architecture and painting (see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Precedence, at end).

> For three nights each year around the Night of Power of Ramazan there are special ceremonies in Aya Sofya. Now it was the year 1045 (1636). I had completed Koran-memorization with Evliya Efendi, and had also mastered the seven canonical readings according to the book of Shatibi and had begun on the ten readings. It was the Night of Power of that year. At the urging of my late father, Dervish Mehmed Agha, I began a complete Koran recital after the Teravih or supererogatory prayers. I was seated in the place of Bilal the Abyssinian, in the gallery of the prayer-callers in Aya Sofya; and I had just completed (Surah 6, called) the Surah of *En'am*, when Kozbekçi Mehmed Agha and the imperial sword-bearer Melek Ahmed Agha (he was not Pasha yet) came into the gallery and, in the midst of that huge assembly, placed a golden crown-of-Joseph on my head.
>
> "Come," they said, "the felicitous Padishah wants to see you."
>
> They took me by the hand and conducted me to the imperial gallery, where I entered the presence of Gazi Murad Khan and beheld his beautiful countenance. I kissed the ground and we exchanged greetings. He smiled broadly and said, "In how many hours can you perform a complete Koran recital?"
>
> "My Padishah," I replied, "if I hurry I can do it in seven hours,

[52] I 67b19. Revan is the Turkish name for Yerevan in Armenia, at that time a province of Safavid Persia.

[53] I 62a8, 67b34, 68a33, 146a16.

but if I go at a moderate pace, so as not to make any errors, I can do it in eight hours, God willing."

"God willing," echoed the sultan, "you will become my royal companion in place of my Musa Çelebi, who died recently, and you will have a chance to prove yourself." He stuffed my hands with gold-pieces, amounting to 623 excellent coins.

At that time I was still a raw and skinny youth of twenty or so. But I was well trained and accomplished in court manners, having served as companion to several viziers and deputies and *şeyhülislams*, for whom I had recited one-tenth Koranic portions (*ʿaşr*) and prophetic eulogies (*naʿt*).

Murad Khan departed from the congregation of Aya Sofya accompanied by torches and lanterns. I too mounted a horse and entered the palace grounds through the Cypress Gate. The sultan went to the privy chamber and handed me over to the privy chamberlain, ordering that I be outfitted with a caftan in the imperial pantry. He then proceeded to the imperial harem. Next morning I was handed over to the chief panter, Hadım Sefid ʿAli Agha,[54] and given a room in the apartment for aghas which is in front of the imperial pantry.

The chief pickler, Ahmed Agha, was appointed as my tutor; the jug-bearer, Mehmed Efendi, as my calligraphy master; my spiritual father, the royal companion Dervish ʿÖmer Gülşeni, as my music master;[55] Dersiʿam Kiçi Mehmed Efendi as my grammar instructor in the book *Kafiye*; and my old teacher Evliya Efendi in Koran recital—he congratulated me most heartily! My fellow pupil in Koran memorizing was Horos Imam, and my fellow prayer-callers were Taye-zade Handan, Farruh-oğlu ʿAssaf Bey, Maʿn-oğlu, Keçeci Süleyman and ʿAmber Mustafa. Day and night we practiced music and singing in the so-called copy-room, next to the imperial bath.

Sometimes they would dress all of us pages in sable calpacs. I generally conversed with the imperial sword-bearer Melek Ahmed Agha, since we were kinsmen on my mother's side. He took me under his

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[54] Or Hadım Gazanfer Agha, VI 47b25.

[55] Evliya's sketch of Tokatlı Dervish ʿÖmer Gülsheni (I 205b35):
He was the companion of seven Padishahs and died at the age of 140. During the reign of Süleyman Khan he and my father shared a tent at the battle of Szigetvar. . . . When I was in the harem of Murad Khan IV, he was my music master for *ḳavl* and *edvār*. He was my spiritual father (*peder-i maʿnevī*) and also my instructor in *The Book of Maʿnevi* [a Persian work by the Turkish mystic Ibrahim Gülşeni written in imitation of the *Mesnevi* of Rumi]. . . . He was deeply versed in all of the makams, but because Sultan Murad Khan was especially fond of *segāh*, he used to recite in that makam so many *kār, nakş, ṣavt, zikr, zecel, taşnīfāt, ḳavl, şarḳı*, and *varsaġı* verses that one would gain eternal life [just listening to them]. . . . Murad Khan Gazi used to address this master of mine as "father"—may God have mercy on them both!

wing and looked out for my welfare. It was he, along with the calendar keeper Ibrahim Efendi and the calligrapher Hasan Pasha who secured me access to the imperial harem.

One day they outfitted me in gold-embroidered precious garments. They stuck a cap-of-Joseph, woven in gold thread, on my head, adding an artificial lock sprayed with ambergris as a token of royal favor, and showered me with praises and benedictions. Two mutes, named Cuvan-i Dil-sera ("Heart-beguiling Youth") and Tavşan ("Rabbit") arrived and conducted me, dancing and jostling, to the apartments of the imperial sword-bearer Melek Agha and of the royal companion and former sword-bearer Mustafa Agha. They calmed me down, instructed me in court protocol and polite expressions, and introduced me into the privy chamber where I sat for an hour looking around. It is a large domed hall like a Chinese picture-gallery, with a throne in each corner, bay windows on all sides, fountains and pools, and a multicolored marble pavement.

Finally the sultan himself emerged from the imperial harem, like the sun rising out of the constellation of felicity. He greeted the forty chamberlains and the other royal friends, who returned his greetings along with benedictions. When he had seated himself like Afrasiyab on one of the thrones, I leapt forward, rubbed my face at the foot of the throne, kissed the ground, and without fear or hesitation recited these verses which suddenly occurred to me by a kind of divine inspiration:

Afakı şeha maʿdeletiñ nur pür etsin
Hurşid gibi encümen-i dehre çirağ ol
Geh nafe gibi eyle diri deşti muʿattar
Geh gonca-sıfat gülşene gül zinet-i bağ ol
Dadar-ı cihan eylemesin ʿalemi sensiz
Her kanda iseñ Padişahım dünyada sağ ol

May your justice, my king, fill the horizons with light.
Be like the sun a lamp to the council of time.
Now liven like the musk-pod the perfumed plain.
Now smile like the bud in the rose-garden and be the garden's ornament.
May the Ruler of the World not deprive the world of you.
Wherever you are in the world, my Padishah, may you be well!

I showered him with benedictions of this sort. He asked me to recite something. "My Padishah," said I, "of the seventy-two sciences; whether in Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, Syriac or Greek; of the various musical forms, whether it be *türki, şarkı, varsağı, kâr, nakş, savt, zecel, ʿamel, zikr, tasnifat, kavl or haznegir*; or else, of the various verse forms, whether it be *bahr-i tavil, kaside, tercīʿ-i bend, terkib-i bend, mersiye, ʿidiye, muʿaşşar, müsemmen, müsebbaʿ, müseddes, muhammes, penc-beyt, gazel, kıtʿa, müselles, müfred, maʿni*, or *ilahi*;—whatever you wish, I shall recite."

"Just listen to this rascal boast," cried the sultan. "Is he a sop (*revani*) with ears[56] or can he really perform everything he has listed?"

"My Padishah," said I, "if you grant me pardon and security, and give me free rein, God willing I will be your royal boon-companion and will amuse you."

"And what is a boon-companion (*nedim*)?"

"My Padishah, if a man consorts well with everyone in the company he is called 'companion,' and if it is a drinking party, then he is called boon-companion. The word *nedim* derives from *münadim* which is a metathesis of *müdamin*, and *müdam* signifies 'wine'. So boon-companionship (*nedamet*) means wine-drinking, that is to say, being drunk with wine (*mest-i müdam*). Such a one, in short, is deemed the royal friend (*musahib*) or imperial boon companion (*nedim-i şehriyari*). May God grant my Padishah long life!"

"Bravo," cried the sultan, "he's no sop with ears after all."

"My Padishah, the only sop or *revani* here is your servant Mirgune, the governor of Yerevan, who only sees Revan in his dreams now that he has surrendered it to you."

The sultan clapped his knees and burst out laughing. His cheeks turned bright red. "Mirgune," he said, "what do you think about this devil?"

"My Shah," replied the governor of Revan, "mark this lad. He would amaze the people of Turkey and Iran and Turan and Soran, for his eyes are dancing like a pendulum."

"Yes," I interjected, "the people of Turkey bring the peoples of other countries here and make them dance like pendulums"—in saying this I was alluding to the governor of Revan himself, who sometimes, when he was flushed with wine, used to get up and dance.

"My!" said the sultan, "how quick this lad is at repartee." He was so cheerful that he ordered "chakır" to be brought—that is to say, wine, according to their courtly jargon. He quaffed a glass and said, "Evliya, henceforth you will be my confidant. Don't divulge my secrets."

In reply I intoned the following verses:

Şöyle sakla sırr-ı ʿışkı tende canıñ duymasın
Yañılup ağzıña alma kim zebanıñ duymasın

So conceal love's secret in yourself
That your own soul shall not hear it.
Keep it from straying into your mouth
So that your own tongue shall not hear it.

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[56] 69b6 *işidir revānī*; Evliya uses the same expression to characterize himself at VI 56b29 in order to excuse himself for reporting something not nice that he has simply heard and is recording, in this case the bad reputation of the women of Vireca in Bulgaria; see *Man of the World*, n. 1. The eighteenth-century poet Şeyh Galib uses the phrase in a similar context (*Hüsn ü Aşk*, ed. Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, Istanbul, 1968, verse 765). Galib certainly didn't get this from Evliya, so both must be using a well-known Istanbul expression.

I also cited the hadith, "Whoever guards something between his jaws is safe from calamities." And I concluded by saying that a confidant ought to be a storehouse of secrets.

"Evliya," said the sultan, "just now in my presence you claimed mastery of so many sciences. Recite something from the science of music."

"My emperor," said I, "of the various makams, shall I perform *yekgah, dügah, segah, çargah, pençgah, şeşağaz, rast, ısfahan, nişaburek, nikriz, mahur, rehavi, ʿırak, hüseyni, neva, ʿuşşak, saba*, or *muhayyer bazar*? Or else shall I perform *buselik* (which means 'Kissing') and *gerdaniyye* (which means 'Hugging'), and come to rest in the mode of *zengule* (meaning 'Rattle' or 'Penis') and *rast* (meaning 'Erect')?"

At this last bit I winked to Mirgune's cupbearer ʿAli Can. The sultan broke out laughing, as did the other royal companions. He looked around at the pageboys, all decked out in gold brocade and jewel-studded belts, and said, "Which of you wants to listen to Evliya's 'Rattle' makam?"

"My emperor," said I, "they want the *ʿuşşak* (or 'Lovers') makam. But your servant Mirgune's favorite makam is Isfahani, which includes *büzürg* (or 'Big'), so if I perform a *zengule* (or 'Rattle') piece he will relax his tension and get pleasure from it."

"Just look at the witticisms this devil can spout!" said the sultan. He was truly amazed. "May you live long, Evliya. But we too own a workshop in this court and extract rent. How will you come to rest in the mode of 'Hugging' (*gerdaniyye*)?"

"My sultan," I replied, "as I modulate from *yekgah* (or 'One Place') to *şehnaz* (or 'Shah's Affectation') I'll slide into *buselik* (or 'Kissing'). That will be the first bar of *kirişme* (or 'Love-play'). I only have enough breath for those curtains (or modulations, *perde*). Just act like a dervish and pardon my boldness!"

"The rascal!" cried the sultan. "Every other word is either a pun or a double-entendre. Evliya," he continued, "I not only pardon you, I make you inviolable. Henceforth you are my royal companion, with no ifs, ands, or buts." He presented me with a sable fur, for which I thanked God and kissed his noble foot. "This fur piece is too long for you," he said, "send it to your father and tell him not to forget us in his prayers," and he gave me a second fur piece as well as a sable calpac which he placed on my head with his own noble hand—I actually went around for some time afterwards with that calpac on my head, just like a Tatar pageboy. Then he bade me recite a *varsağı*.

I took a tambourine in my hand—one which I had practiced on under the instruction of Dervish ʿÖmer[57]—and kissed the ground before

[57] At this point Evliya interrupts his narrative to give the following sketch of Dervish ʿÖmer Gülşeni (I 70a6–18):

the Padishah. Murad Khan looked at it, then took it in his own noble hand and said, "What a finely-wrought tambourine! Take it, I have given it to you as a gift. But I warn you not to go outside this circle (*da'ire*—which also means tambourine)."

I leapt up nimbly, kissed the foot of the throne, then bowed to Dervish ʿÖmer. "God willing, I will never be left outside this circle of the House of Osman. I know my limit." And I recited the following verse:

Kīşi haddını bilmek pek revadır
Eger derviş eger bay [u] gedadır

It is only proper that one knows one's limit,
Whether one is a dervish or rich or a beggar.

Then placing both knees very decorously on the ground, and craving the assistance of the Bounteous One, I began intoning in a loud voice like the prophet David, in the *segah* makam:

Ya hazret-i gülüm Gülşeni
Pirimiñ piri
ʿÖmer-i Ruşeni

O majestic rose Gülşeni
Pir of my pir
ʿÖmer Ruşeni

Turning slowly, and modulating from *segah* to *maye*, *bestenigar*, and the like, I settled in the *bestenigar* makam and recited the following quatrain:

My music teacher, sultan of the singers Dervish ʿÖmer, was a Gülşeni dervish, leader of the *ṭarīḳ* of ʿÖmer Ruşeni. He was a very old man, the spiritual teacher of the age, who in his youth had in fact been honored with the company of his majesty Ibrahim Gülşeni himself during the reign of Sultan Süleyman. He served for seventeen years in the Gülşeni tekke in Cairo, where so many of his *kār*, *ṣavt* and *zikr* were recited. Still, he made no pretense to be a *zākir* or cantor, but rather served humbly cleaning out the latrines and was gradually promoted to *meydāncı* or majordomo, *mihmāndar* or chief of protocol, then chief cook, and finally *zākir-başı* or chief cantor. One day, at the end of seventeen years, his majesty Ibrahim Gülşeni appeared to him [and directed him to attend on Sultan Süleyman at the battle of Szigetvar and to become leader of the Gülşeni order in Turkey]. He was present at Sultan Süleyman's funeral, and from that time until the reign of my lord Sultan Murad IV he was royal companion and leader of the Gülşeni path, a saintly boon-companion and one steeped in the science of music.

There is another sketch at I 205b35 (see above, n. 55), which also includes two of the poems cited below: *Yā ḥażret-i gülüm Gülşenī* (206a4) and *Yāruñ dehānı sırr-ı nihāndan ḫaber verir* (206a8). See also X 136b5–10 = 297; Kairo 227.

Dede ʿÖmer Ruşeni (d. 892/1487), from Aydın, was a Halveti shaikh. His disciple, Ibrahim Gülşeni (d. 940/1533), from Diyarbekir, founded the Gülşeni branch of the Halveti Sufi order (see *Gentleman and Dervish*, n. 17).

Şeha çeşm-i çirağ-ı ʿalem-i nur-ı basarsın sen
Naziriñ görmedim bir merdüm-i sahib-nazarsın sen
Görüp ben na-tüvanı kaçma lutf et ey peri-peyker
Seni görsem vücudum mahv olur kimden kaçarsın sen

O king, you are the eye of the lamp of the world of the light of my eye.
I have never seen your like, you are the pupil of those who have eyes.
When you see poor helpless me, be gracious and don't run away, O peri face.
Whenever I see you I am utterly destroyed, so who are you running from?

Then I recited the following *varsağı* about the royal companion Musa Çelebi, with melody composed by my master Dervish ʿÖmer and words by Murad Khan himself.

Yola düşüp giden dilber
Musam eglendi gelmedi
Yohsa yolda yol mı şaşdı
Musam eglendi gelmedi

Sweetheart who went off on a journey,
My Musa tarried and did not return.
Or else has he taken the wrong road?
My Musa tarried and did not return.

As I sang this in a sad voice, Murad Khan took his handkerchief in his noble hand and began to weep. "Oh," he cried, "the lad cheered me up so much at the beginning of his improvisation. Now in one moment with a *varsağı* he has brought to mind the late Musa Çelebi. Now, tell me the truth. I regretted that I wrote this song and I forbade it to be sung. Who told you to sing it in the sultan's presence? Who did you learn it from?"

"May you live long, my Padishah," I replied. "My father had two servants, now deceased, named Ferruhzad and Bihzad. They died in the plague that Armağani Mehmed Efendi wrote about. I learned it from them, and never heard it from anyone else, nor did anyone tell me to sing it in the sultan's presence." I took an oath to that effect, and fell silent.

"Well, the lad certainly is clever. He attributes it to dead men who can't be questioned about it. He must have thought that if he told me who he learned it from, they would have to answer to me as long as they were alive, so he pretends he learned it from people who are dead. Well, by God, may you have a long life!" With this benediction he ordered me to end the musical session. Once again I struck the tambourine and, modulating from *segah* to *maye*, recited the following *murabbaʿ*, with its fine words and melody:

Ɣaruñ dehan[ı] sırr-ı nihandan haber verir
Güftara gelse sihr-i beyandan haber verir
Hışm ile baksa vermez eman Rüstem-i zeman
Kirpigi kaşı tir [u] kemandan haber verir

The mouth of the beloved hints at the hidden mystery.
When he begins to speak, he hints at the magic of eloquence.
The Rustam of the age, when he looks with indignation, gives no quarter.
His lashes and brow hint at arrows and bow.

I also recited the following *semaʿi*:

Alını hüsn-i mükemmel kad-ı dil-cu da güzel
Ol siyeh gözler ile hak bu ki ebru da güzel
Hatt-ı nev-hizim ile dedi ne dersin ruhuma
Dedim ol ru da güzel hatt-ı semen-bu da güzel

His brow is perfect beauty, and his ravishing stature is very fine.
With those black eyes, truth to tell, his brow is very fine.
"What do you say of my cheek," he asked, "with its newly-sprouted down?"
"That cheek is very fine," I said, "and the jasmine-scented down is very fine."

Following the regulation set down for vocalists, I ended with an improvisation, then bowed low and stood up.

The sultan applauded and gave me a handful of goldpieces, then turned to Mirgune and said, "I composed this *murabbaʿ* (i.e., *varsağı*) which Evliya recited for my poor Musa. He was my boon companion and intimate friend, who dispelled my woes. A few years ago, when he was just a boy, I sent him one day to my tutor Receb Pasha, who was in cahoots with those outlaw brigands, so they killed him and tossed his body into the hippodrome. I composed this *murabbaʿ* as an elegy for him. Oh Mirgune, if only you had seen him! Since that time I haven't found any servant so elegant and witty and smart and pretty as he was. That rabble martyred such an innocent boy."

"My Padishah," replied Mirgune rather heatedly, "didn't you eradicate those who shed the blood of that noble martyr?"

"Yes," said Sultan Murad, "it was for his sake, and also for the sake of my dear brother, the martyred Osman Khan Gazi (Sultan Osman II), that until now I have made the heads of 307,000 brigands and outlaws roll.

"Well my Shah," said Mirgune, now with diffidence, "may God give you success. Anyway, they aren't really human beings. They spring out of the ground like mushrooms. That is why your soldiers took pity on them and avenged their comrades' blood upon me at Revan castle when they slaughtered the Iranian army for seven days."

Pleased at this repartee, the Padishah ordered "chakır" and drank a glass. The party ended after the late-afternoon prayer, when the sultan bade me recite a tenth part of the Koran. I picked up at the end of the Surah of *En'am*, where I had left off in Aya Sofya on the Night of Power, as I had seen my master Evliya Efendi do it, and started at the beginning of (Surah 7, known as) the Surah of *A'raf*. I recited 206 verses in a loud voice, going through 12 makams and 24 branches and 48 compounds. After the benediction, I dedicated the recital to the noble spirits of Sultan Osman II and his father Sultan Ahmed and all the previous sultans of the House of Osman, and closed with a Fatiha. In his noble hand the Padishah held a fishbone back-scratcher studded with jewels, which he now presented to me. Turning to Mirgune, he inquired whether the Koran was recited in Iran in this fashion.

"No my Shah," he replied, "in Iran they don't pray in a congregation, and they don't follow the precepts of the Koran at all, let alone recite it properly. God be praised that we have been ennobled with Islam (i.e., converted from Shi'ism to Sunnism) in the reign of my Padishah, that we worship day and night and enjoy concerts worthy of Husayn Baykara."[58]

Outside, on the stairway of the Audience Room which overlooks the palace square, the court *müezzin*s were beginning to recite the call to prayer in the makam of *dügah-i hüseyni*. "Go and help them out, Evliya," said the sultan. With a somersault I bounded out to the stairway and joined in at *Hayya 'ala s-sala*. After the call to prayer I went back into the Padishah's presence and waited for the prayer.

In the meantime my patron and master, the imperial imam Evliya Mehmed Efendi, arrived and caught sight of me. He greeted the sultan in the royal chapel outside the imperial mosque that is attached to the privy chamber. "My Padishah," he said, "this pupil of mine, Evliya, dear to me as a son, has not come to class ever since the Night of Power. I hear that you have taken him into the royal harem. If you please, my Padishah, I would like to keep an eye on him. He has completely memorized the Koran according to the seven readings. He has also memorized the book of Shatibi and begun the ten readings. Here in the harem, or accompanying you on campaign, he is bound to dissipate his energies. Let me bring him up and educate him properly, and then he can come back to serve my Padishah."

He made all sorts of protestations in order to rescue me, but the sultan paid no more heed to his requests than he would to the buzzing of a gnat. "Efendi," he said, "do you think this court of ours is a

[58] I.e., Sultan-Husayn Bayqara, Timurid prince of Herat, reg. 1469–1506, viewed by the Ottomans as a model of royal patronage for all the arts, and particularly of music; see Walter Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court* (Berlin, 1996), 39.

tavern or a den of idlers and thieves? There are 3000 pages here who are occupied with their studies day and night. They have their supervisor and seven lecturers. And you yourself instruct them twice a week. Be that as it may, I give him permission to return to his lessons with you. But he is no longer simply in your service: from time to time that impudent imp is going to entertain us as well. Let him be our son too for a while, just as his father, the old chief goldsmith, is our father, so he can always come with me and see his son."

My master Evliya realized that his request was not going to be honored. "At least have his books and clothing brought from his house," he said. The sultan immediately summoned the chief treasurer and asked for pen and ink. Taking his jewel-dripping pen in hand, he wrote a noble edict commanding the chief treasurer's deputy to bring me immediately one *Kafiye*, one *Monla Cami*, one *Tefsir-i Kadi*, one *Misbah*, one *Dibace*, one Muslim and Bukhari, one *Mülteka'l-abhur*, one Kuduri, one *Gülistan* and *Bustan*, one *Nisabu's-sıbyan*, one *Luğat-i Ahteri*—in short, twenty precious books penned for kings.[59] He also gave me a copy of the Koran in the handwriting of Yakut-i Musta'simi,[60] which he himself used to read from; a silver inkpot studded with jewels; and a writing board of Indian aloes-wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl. And he personally ordered the chief panter to provide me with food and drink.

So I occupied myself with study day and nights. I again took up the ten readings with Evliya Efendi three times a week; and I resorted to three other professors for lessons in Persian and Arabic and calligraphy. During this period I had frequent audiences with the sultan. We became on such familiar terms that, whenever he was slightly dejected, all the royal companions immediately sent for me and somehow managed to introduce me into his presence. As soon as he saw me he would smile and say, "Look, the dispeller of woe has arrived!" God granted me a ready tongue and glibness of speech, and I used to extemporize freely and crack jokes non-stop. And I would never repeat a joke unless he asked me to. He also was avid for my calligraphic samples in the style of Karahisari[61]—even now quite a few of them are hanging in the royal harem. Indeed, I was skilled in all the

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[59] On *Kāfiye* and *Monlā Cāmī*, see above, note 42. *Tefsīr-i Ḳāḍī* refers to the popular book on Koran interpretation, *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl* of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286). The *Miṣbāḥ* is a book on Arabic syntax by al-Matrīzī (d. 610/1213). "Muslim and Bukhari" refer to the two *Ṣaḥīḥ*s or standard compilations of hadiths by Muslim (d. 261/875) and al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870). On *Multaḳā'l-abḥur*, see above, n. 43. "Ḳudūrī" refers to *al-Mukhtaṣar*, a popular manual of Hanefi *fiqh* by Aḥmad al-Qudūrī (d. 428/1037). The *Gülistān* and *Bustān* of Sa'di, completed in 655/1257, were used as textbooks for Persian. *Luġat-i Aḫterī* is an Arabic-Turkish dictionary, completed in 952/1545.

[60] Celebrated calligrapher, d. 697/1298.

[61] Aḥmed Ḳaraḥisārī, celebrated Turkish calligrapher, d. 963/1556.

sciences, and I always cheerfully accepted the Padishah's compliments and gifts.

He was an emperor with a dervish's nature, kind-hearted and devil-may-care. One day he asked me if I loved him. "No," said I, "I don't love you."

"And why not?" he asked.

"The one you love is spirit incarnate, and because you love her I love her, since she has put in her hair a smiling (*handan*) rosebud."

"Well," he cried, "that infidel has delicately alluded to the fact that I have fallen in love with Handan! Now, recite some verses appropriate to this occasion."

Seeking assistance from God the Opener, I immediately extemporized the following:

Gelsün ol gonça-dehen gül gibi handan olsun
Ah edüp bülbül-i dil ʿaşk ile nalan olsun

Let her with the rosebud mouth come and smile like a rose.
Let the nightingale of the heart sigh and cry with love.

"My Handan,"[62] he cried, "give Evliya the rose in your hair. Let him enjoy the fragrance of one of your roses, and always keep company with Evliya. But," he went on, turning to me, "pay attention to your lessons, and from time to time I will hear you recite."

I was honored with his company countless times, and received the benedictions of such a magnanimous and royal sovereign. If I were to record all of our conversations they would fill an entire book.[63]

(Sultan Murad IV was not only a master musician and poet and calligrapher. He also performed astounding feats in archery, javelin shooting, and especially wrestling. Indeed,) Melek Ahmed, Deli Hüseyn, Hattat Hasan, Pehlivan Dişlen Süleyman—all of them were master wrestlers who wore oiled trousers. The sultan himself would strip naked in the meadow at Çemen Soffa, put on oiled trousers, and engage in the sport, while I served as the crier, shouting:

Allah Allah hvace-i ʿazim
Seyyid-i kaʾinat ve mefhar-i mevcudat
Ber kemal-i cemal-i Muhammed Mustafara salavat
Engürüde Er yatır
Rumda Muhammed-i Buhari Sarı Saltık tan geyer ve tumman çeker
Pirimiz hazret Mahmud Pir Yar-i Veli ʿaşkına
Dest-ber-dest kafa-ber-kafa sine-ber-sine

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[62] Apparently addressing one of the callers to prayer mentioned above. But the language used suggests one of the harem concubines.

[63] I 68b29–71b1.

Mahabbet-i ʿAli şir-i yezdan veli ʿaşkına
Allah oñara

God, God, great Master,
Lord of the universe and pride of existing things,
Blessings upon the perfect beauty of Muhammed Mustafa.
In Ankara lies Er,[64]
In Rum Muhammed-i Buhari Sarı Saltuk puts on trousers.
For the sake of our patron-saint Mahmud Pir Yar-i Veli,
Hand to hand, head to head, chest to chest,
For the sake of ʿAli the lion of God,
May God prosper you.

The sultan would lumber up to the arena like a dragon and shake hands in friendly rivalry with Melek Ahmed or Deli Hüseyn. Following the rule of the wrestlers they would clap each other on the head three times, hold hands, kiss and embrace, then begin grappling like dragons. The sultan, enraged, would place one knee on the ground so that his opponent could not budge him no matter how hard he tried. Using some maneuver, the sultan invariably toppled his opponent and emerged victorious. . . . The late Murad Khan, being a powerful champion, knew most of the various wrestling maneuvers, and would employ one to bring his opponent's back to the ground.

One day the sultan emerged from the harem bath glowing with perspiration. As he entered the privy chamber he met one and all with greetings from the bath, and everyone responded with "Good health!"

"My sovereign," said I, "now you are clean as a whistle. I'm sure you won't want to get oiled for wrestling today. You have already indulged in some exhausting wrestling-matches inside the harem, and I'm sure you haven't the strength to meet such opponents as Hattat and Melek."

"Haven't the strength, you say? Just watch!" He seized me by the belt just as an eagle seizes its prey, lifted me up and spun me around his head like a falconer's lure or like a children's top.

"My sovereign," I cried, "please don't let me fall!"

"Just hold on tight!" he replied.

I kept on wailing and praying to God not to let me go, and he kept on twirling me like a mace.

"My sovereign," I cried, "I'm getting nauseous from spinning about. I'm going to throw up, or even something worse, all over your royal self!"

At this he almost died laughing, and rewarded me with 48 gold-pieces.[65]

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[64] Refers to the saint Er Sultan; see *Reporter and Entertainer*: Portents and Dreams.
[65] I 71b16–72a17.

In another passage, Evliya gives an ideal portrait of Sultan Murad's typical week.

> Winter and summer, he divided the week into eight parts.
>
> On Friday eves (Thursday nights) he met with ulema and shaikhs and memorizers of the Koran and discussed the religious sciences.
>
> Saturday eves (Friday nights) he spent in the company of singers of hymns and prophetic eulogies and other vocalists and instrumentalists.
>
> Sunday eves he gathered together poets such as Tıfli, Cevri, Nef'i, 'Arzi, Nedimi, Nisari, Beyani and 'Uzleti and held literary sessions.
>
> Monday eves were reserved for Husayn Baykara entertainments, including acrobats and magicians; shadow-puppeteers such as Kör Hasan-oğlu and his son-in-law Musli Çelebi; mimics such as Çufut Hasan, Ak-baba, Sarı-celeb, Çakman-celeb and Simidci-zade; and *çengi* dancing-boy troops such as those of Patak-oğlu, Parpul, 'Osman, Nazlı, Ahmed and Şehir-oğlanı—these revelries would go on until morning.
>
> Tuesday eves he had private conversations with the old rogues and experienced graybeards of Istanbul, from whom he collected anecdotes and information.
>
> Wednesday eves he spent with pious individuals and saintly members of the community.
>
> Thursday eves he spent with dervishes and men who had wandered the world and knew various skills.
>
> In the mornings he would see to the affairs of the Muslims, amuse himself in the ways described above, wreak vengeance on his enemies, and secure the safety and security of the territories and the subjects of the Ottoman empire.
>
> If I were to recount all of his virtues and accomplishments to the degree that I have experienced them, I would need an entire book. God be praised that my noble father served as chief goldsmith to all the Ottoman sultans from Süleyman to Ibrahim, and that I was honored with the companionship of such a noble sovereign and jihad warrior as Murad Khan Gazi.
>
> Just before the Baghdad campaign (in 1638) I received his blessings and graduated from the harem into the *sipahi* corps with a daily allowance of forty *akçe*.[66]

In that year Murad IV ordered all the guilds of Istanbul to parade before him in preparation for the Baghdad campaign, and an inventory to be drawn up of all the buildings and shops of the city. After the conquest of Baghdad, and the sultan's triumphant return, that inventory fell into the hands of Melek Ahmed Pasha. Evliya borrowed it from him, and it served as the basis of his lengthy description of

[66] I 73a4–23.

the Istanbul guilds, which is the centerpiece of Book I of the *Seyahatname*.[67] This is ch. 270, which I characterized above as "the vast panorama of the Istanbul craftsmen and merchants parading before the sultan," and suggested that if he had written nothing else, he would still enjoy a reputation as one of the greatest Ottoman writers. (For excerpts and analysis, see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Precedence.)

Despite his ruthless measures, Murad IV was viewed by many Ottomans, including Evliya, as the restorer of the fortunes of the empire. When considering Evliya's attitudes it is important to remember that his formative years at court coincided with the period in which this sultan achieved stability at home and victories abroad (Revan in 1635, Baghdad in 1638). Evliya only has positive things to say about him, and he regarded himself first and foremost as Murad IV's protegée. He felt freer to criticize later sultans, Ibrahim and Mehmed IV, at least indirectly (see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique).

Conclusion

Istanbul was central for Evliya in several senses. It was the capital of his—the Ottoman—empire. It was the place of his birth and of the first thirty years of his life, and he returned to it frequently after his travel career began in earnest. It is the subject of 10% of the *Seyahatname*, the first of the ten "Books" comprising the record of his travels. For Evliya it was the measure and the touchstone. His spending two crucial years in the court as companion of the sultan only reinforced his identification of the capital city as both the nerve-center of the Ottoman state and as his *vatan* and *makʿad-i re's*—the matrix of his being, the birth place not only of himself but of his father and his father's father, his ancestral home and the source of his wealth and independence.

But his "home" in a larger sense was the empire as a whole, and Evliya's devotion to his home town was countered by the urge to explore the other regions—an imperial ambition, with pilgrimage to Mecca as one primary goal in order to satisfy religious obligation.

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[67] I 151b–215b. See abridgment in Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1963), 112–26.

(Indeed, for Evliya as for much of the Ottoman elite, Islam and empire were two sides of the same coin.) After accomplishing this goal at age sixty, and now considering Istanbul "a prison" (because of plague and other difficulties), Evliya ended up spending the final decade of his travels in Egypt. Cairo proved congenial, perhaps because of climate, but certainly because it provided sponsorship and provided the urban amenities that Evliya associated with his youth and with the glory of Islamic civilization and that he took such pains to measure and describe wherever he went. Cairo's status as his second home and, in his own mind at least, as the second Ottoman capital is enshrined in the extensive description Evliya devoted to it: 5% of the *Seyahatname*, comprising the first half ot the tenth and final "Book." Thus the personal, imperial, cultural and religious trajectories of his life—ranging between Istanbul and Cairo, with journeys, pilgrimages, wars and peaceful missions throughout the empire and beyond its borders—merge together, as reflected in the structure of his "travel epic," the *Seyahatname*.

CHAPTER TWO

MAN OF THE WORLD

Evliya was a Sunni Muslim, an Ottoman Turk, an Istanbulite, and a graduate of the Ottoman palace. He identified with the Ottoman elite, who shared these points of reference. But he was also a medium, absorbing and conveying impressions.[1] In writing the *Seyahatname* he assumed the task of conveying to his Ottoman elite audience experiences that they might find alien. He could only embody his own values, of course, but he also had to empathize with, or at least react to, values that he did not share. These he would confront as soon as he stepped out of the capital; but even before that he confronted them in the taverns of Galata and the cemetaries of Hasköy. The urbanity of his upbringing implied a certain broadmindedness.

City and Country[2]

It is commonplace that Islam is primarily an urban civilization. For Evliya, certainly, the city is the central category both for his travels and for his understanding of the world. I have pointed out that the town descriptions—termed *evsaf*—are the most characteristic literary unit of the *Seyahatname* (see *Man of Istanbul*: The Man and the Book). Another term for these descriptions is *şehrengiz*, alluding to the poetic genre eulogizing the "beautiful people" (generally the youthful apprentices of the various trades) in a given city. These include not only

[1] At VI 56b29 he compares himself to a spong-cake ("a sop with ears" *işidir revānī*, using the same expression with which the sultan characterized him during his introduction at court; see *Man of Istanbul*, n. 56) who absorbs reports, in this case about the viragoes of Vireca in Bulgaria whose loose behavior is attributed to drinking the water of the Okos River which flows through the town. Later (57a6) he states that his purpose in describing these ladies is not to denigrate or slander them but merely to warn others.

[2] Some of the discussion below first appeared in Robert Dankoff, "Evliya Çelebi's *Book of Travels* as a Source for the Visual Arts," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 16.1 (1992), 39–50.

topography and fortifications, with often lengthy descriptions of monuments and amenities, but extend to human geography—dress and cuisine, occupations and class structure, medicine and hygiene, naming practices, speech and reading habits, etc.—the social fabric of the city.

The key value for Evliya is expressed by the term *ʿamar* meaning "built up, cultivated, prosperous," akin to Ibn Khaldun's notion of *ʿumran* or "culture."[3] The measure is generally the number and quality of buildings, including houses and shops, but especially public buildings or *ʿimaret*. The latter term in Ottoman usage can also have the narrower meaning of "public soup-kitchen," as in ch. 212 of Book I, where Evliya says that in fifty-one years of travel he has seen no place with more imarets than Istanbul.[4]

From Evliya's point of view, the islamization of a city is concommitant with its prosperity and civilization. Within a short time after the conquest of Candia in 1669 he is able to give a full description of the many mosques, often converted from churches, their bell towers hastily reconstructed into minarets; and of the other new Muslim institutions—medreses, Koran-schools, dervish lodges, and baths—one of the baths converted from a church by a patron with some architectural skill. "New schools are still being built," he says, "and this city of Candia is becoming prosperous (*ʿamar olmadadır*)."[5]

Prosperity also is a function of justice (see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique). Evliya gives three different reasons why Demirci, his ancestral hometown in western Anatolia, is so prosperous: 1) the abundance of public fountains; 2) the absence of burdensome tax exactions; and 3) the fact that the populace consists of rebellious Turks who prevail upon their governors and do not let them commit injustice.[6]

Evliya frequently remarks on the rise or decline of prosperity in places he visited more than once. Thus in 1670 he noted the improvements in Edirne since the residence of Sultan Mehmed IV; and in 1671 he noted that ʿAyntab had seven or eight more city quarters

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[3] See Muhsin Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History* (The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 184–87.

[4] I 93a17.

[5] Bell tower into minaret: VIII 313a14 = 500. Church into bath: 315a10 = 509. "New schools": 315b6 = 512. He also describes a nunnery (*kızlar manastırı*) converted into a janissary barracks (316b22 = 517).

[6] IX 24b20, 25 = 50, 25a12 = 51.

and other signs of prosperity since he visited there in 1648.[7] The presence or absence of a covered market or *bedestan* is a crucial indicator; another is the number and quality of the public baths or *hammam*.[8] In places that lack a bedestan, Evliya often assures the reader that nevertheless all manner of merchandise is to be found; and in places with few hammams he often says that there are numerous private baths in people's homes.

With regard to the public baths, Evliya usually remarks on their airy and salubrious quality. The most ecstatic description is that of Abdal Khan's garden bath in Bitlis, about which Sultan Murad IV is supposed to have remarked, "If only this bath were in *my* palace!" On the other hand, if the bathhouse is oppressive or dingy (*kesif*) he tells us so. In Marmara, as a public service, he had his slaves clean out the public bathhouse. In Diyarbekir he noted that there and throughout the Arab world the baths were heated with the city's rubbish, which made them hotter than those in Turkey which were heated with wood.[9]

Evliya was aware of Ottoman urban culture beyond Istanbul even before he set out on his travels. His father, Dervish Mehmed Zılli, claimed to have participated in the building and adorning of Süleyman's great mosque in Esztergom in Hungary. When Evliya visited the mosque in 1663, over a century after it was built, he recalled that his father had told him about it forty-two years previously. His father could also supply Evliya with first-hand information concerning the architect Sinan and the building of the Selimiye in Edirne. It is hard to know whether to believe these stories (see *Man of Istanbul*: Ancestry, Family History; *Raconteur*: Daily Life). But clearly Evliya grew up in the Ottoman capital surrounded by courtiers and artisans who regaled him with accounts—whether first-hand or passed on—of Ottoman military *and* cultural activities from Baghdad to Budapest. In Istanbul itself there was visual evidence of his father's participation: witness

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[7] VIII 380b6 = 776; IX 163b18 = 355.

[8] See Klaus Kreiser, "Bedesten-Bauten im Osmanischen Reich," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 29 (1979), 367–400; also Albania 35n.; Klaus Kreiser, "Seyahatname İçindeki Hamamname," In Nuran Tezcan & Kadir Atlansoy, ed., *Evliya Çelebi ve Seyahatname* (Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, 2002), 183–95.

[9] "Salubrious": e.g. V 169a5; Albania 22–23. Bitlis: IV 230a30; Bitlis 114–15. "Dingy": e.g. V 168a20; Albania 14–15. Marmara: IX 31b3 = 64. Diyarbekir: IV 204a20; Diyarbekir 168–9.

the jewelled courtyard gate at the mosque of Sultan Ahmed. And when he went off on his travels Evliya discovered samples of his father's handiwork, aside from Esztergom, in Baghdad and in Mecca as well.[10]

Growing up in this setting, and being trained in the court for some years as a young man, Evliya developed artistic skills of his own—although he was more inclined to the arts of the tongue (music, Koran recital, storytelling) than the arts of the hand. While he did not follow in his father's footsteps as a master of the minor arts, he was apparently able to draw passably well and was versed in cartography (see *Gentleman and Dervish*: IV. Avocation: *Seyyah*). His appreciation of fine drawing and painting is evident in his catalogue of Abdal Khan's treasury in Bitlis. He particularly admired the European woodcuts and engravings, and the Persian miniatures; and he expressed horror and indignation at the philistine fanatic who rubbed out the faces of an illuminated *Shah-name* (see below, Tolerance and its Limits). In the same treasury were numerous examples of calligraphy. Evliya fancied himself an expert judge of this art. Indeed, he was himself a master, if we can credit his claims in several places.[11]

The *Seyahatname* has long been recognized as an important source for the history of monumental structures, such as mosques, bridges, etc. Ninety years ago, Georg Jacob, using the unscientific printed edition of book III, demonstrated Evliya's value in reconstructing the history of two of the imperial mosques in Edirne.[12] More recently Machiel Kiel has used Evliya to describe one of the türbes of Sarı Saltık in the Balkans and to comment on the history of the monuments of Albania and of Diyarbekir. It is worth noting Kiel's judgment: "The comparisons we can still make between Evliya's account and the surviving buildings of Diyarbekir show that Evliya can generally be relied upon. He was much more precise and systematic than all other early travellers, eastern or western."[13]

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[10] Esztergom: VI 95a–b. Selimiye in Edirne: III 155b26. Sultan Ahmed: I 60b25. Father's handiwork: IV 337b7; IX 340b25 = 742, 342b10 = 746; and see *Man of Istanbul*, n. 27.

[11] IV 275a–b, Bitlis 282–89; cf. X 306a18 = 651; I 189b35 [see *Gentleman and Dervish*, n. 90]; III 8a4; IX 352a28 = 766.

[12] "Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte islamischer Bauwerke," *Der Islam* 3 (1912), 358–68; "Säulen vom Theater in Athen als Spolien im Vorhof der Selimje zu Adrianopel," *Hermes. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie* 3 (1913), 160.

[13] "The türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobrudja," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları*

My own impression is that—apart from fortifications and bridges—Evliya attempted to be "precise and systematic" only for the living Islamic monuments of the places he visited: mosques, medreses, tekkes, baths, hospitals, fountains, and the like. When it comes to churches and to monuments of bygone civilizations he tends to omit them altogether (as e.g. the churches of Istanbul) or else he falls back on fancy and cliché. There is a fine study by Markus Köhbach comparing Evliya's descriptions of three great European cathedrals—at Jassy, Kaschau/Kosice, and Vienna—and showing how Evliya used various descriptive formulas or "Beschreibungs-topoi;" for example, he applied Islamic categories to the church paintings depicting heaven and hell.[14] Evliya's accounts of such ruined places as Ephesus and Akhlat are imaginative reconstructions, drawing in vivid colors the bygone prosperity of these ancient cities (see *Raconteur*: Numbers). Similarly his confrontation with ancient Egyptian and Nubian statues during his trip up the Nile resulted in very fanciful descriptions.[15] His description of the Pyramids has some documentary value, but is conditioned by the plethora of Muslim lore on the subject (see *Raconteur*, n. 38). And his descriptions of the Tower of the Winds in Athens and the Lion of Piraeus are valuable mainly as testimony to the views of Muslim Turks with little or no knowledge of the Classical context of these monuments.[16]

With regard to Islamic monuments he is generally much more sober, although rarely altogether free of exaggeration and distortion. A much-quoted example is his description of the Süleymaniye in Istanbul, including the famous scene of the Frankish tourists and their admiring reaction. Evliya is extremely valuable as a source for information about monuments that are now in ruins or no longer extant, e.g. the celebrated *mimber* (podium) from the great mosque

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Dergisi 6–7 (1977–78), 205–25; *Ottoman Architecture in Albania, 1385–1912* (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, 1990); DIYARBEKIR ch. 6. The quotation is from DIYARBEKIR 62.

[14] "Die Beschreibung der Kathedralen von Iaşi, Kaschau und Wien bei Evliyā Çelebi: Klischee und Wirklichkeit," *Südost-Forschungen* 38 (1979), 213–22. Some of the same topoi recur in descriptions of church paintings and carvings in Athens (VIII 250b20 = 249) and in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (IX 223b1 = 493).

[15] X 387b12 = 833, FUNC 98; 390a11 = 839, FUNC 107; 426b–427b = 918–24, FUNC 220–25.

[16] See Pierre A. MacKay, "A Turkish Description of the Tower of the Winds," *American Journal of Archaeology* 73 (1969), 468–69; Gunnar Jarring, "Evliya Çelebi ve Pire'deki mermer arslan," *Belleten* 42.168 (1978), 775–79.

in Sinop, or Abdal Khan's garden bath in Bitlis. But his accounts of certain European artworks have to be taken with a large grain of salt, e.g. the magical bronze horsemen in Varat; or the picture gallery in Saray depicting Ottoman historical scenes of the past and the future (for translation see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Mysteries); also the ancient bronze statue of the Prophet which he claims to have seen in Egypt.[17]

Evliya frequently adds a judgment to his description. From hundreds of examples, we may choose one; of the Müfti mosque in Tokat he states: "It has a finely-wrought and graceful minaret, much appreciated by those knowledgeable in the science of architecture."[18] There is no reason to think that his criterion of taste was any different from the cultured Ottoman norm of his day. One noteworthy judgment is *sade güzeli*, meaning "of plain beauty." Evliya uses the term only to describe mosques, and usually only the *mihrab* (prayer-niche) and *mimber* (podium) inside the mosque, notably when these are made of plain white marble. A frequent accompanying expression is "old-fashioned" (*tarz-ı kadim* or *babayane*), and the term is opposed to "adorned" (*müzeyyen*) or "embroidered" (*munakkaş*). Evliya's use of these terms can be compared to the three artistic styles—*sade* or plain, *canlı* or spirited, and *ciddi* or masterly—which Henry Glassie has proposed as a scheme to describe traditional Turkish arts.[19]

Occurences of the phrase sade güzeli		*accompanying description*
I 36a3	Istanbul, Ayasofya: mihrab + mimber	white marble
40a11	Istanbul, Fatih: mihrab + mimber + mahfil etc.	white marble
41b23	Istanbul, Bayezid: mihrab + mimber	white marble
125b16	Istanbul, Piyale Pasha: mihrab + mimber	*tarz-ı kadim*

[17] Süleymaniye: I 43a–45b; see abridgment in Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1963), 107–11. Sinop: II 246a; see M. Şakır Ülkütaşır, "Sinop'ta Selçuklular Zamanına ait iki tarihi eser," *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* 15 (1976), 117–24. Varat: V 126a28. Saray: VI 17b24. Statue of Prophet: X 235b10; see Ulrich Haarmann, "Heilszeichen im Heidentum—Muḥammad-Statuen aus vorislamischer Zeit," *Die Welt des Islams* 28 (1988), 210–24.

[18] V 21a3.

[19] *Turkish Traditional Art Today* (Indiana University Press, 1993), 797–806.

II	251a17	Trabzon, Süleyman Bey: mihrab + mimber	*tarz-ı kadim*
III	70a30	Aksaray, Karamanoğlu Ibrahim Bey: mihrab + mimber	
	153b32	Edirne, Sultan Bayezid Veli: interior of domes in arcade	white; <-> *munakkaş*
V	36b9	Akkirman, Sultan Bayezid	*tarz-ı kadim*
VI	63a3	Ösek, Kasım Pasha: mihrab + mimber + mahfil	*musanna'*
VIII	225b32 = 155	Salonica, Ayasofya: mihrab + mimber + mahfil	
	314a14 = 504	Candia (Crete), Ankebut Ahmed Pasha	*babayane*
IX	75a21 = 153	Aydın, Yeni Cami: mihrab + mimber	
	293b24 = 642	Medina, Cami-i Kebir	<-> *müzeyyen*
X	101b6 = 219	Cairo, Iskender Pasha: mihrab + mimber	

More typically, Evliya waxes ecstatic over the beauty and craftsmanship of what he describes. With regard to mosques he sometimes refers to a more subjective quality, that of "spirituality" (*ruhaniyet*).

Beyond the city walls are gardens and parks, pleasure-outings and picnic-spots—an important element of urban life which Evliya invariably includes in his town descriptions. The Ottoman elite, beginning with the sultan, owned such properties—including private parks and hunting-reserves—and resorted to them for recreation. There were also public recreation-grounds, the most famous in Istanbul being Kağıdhane. When Evliya had free time in the capital he betook himself to these pleasure spots—

> free of care, along with friends—to Eyub, Kağıdhane, Akbaba, Beykoz, Kanlıca, Hisar, Üsküdar, Çamlıca, Kadıköy, Sarıkadı, Alemdağı; or else we pursued our pleasure in Göksu; and especially in the Hisar cherry season, we gorged on the crimson fruit and the juicy ruby-colored cherries in Istinye, Yeniköy, Tarabya, Kefeliköy, Büyükdere, and Sarıyar.

Comparable places elsewhere in the empire included the Aspozi gardens in Malatya and the gardens of Sudak in Crimea.[20]

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[20] Kağıdhane: I 145a; III 172b14. "Free of care . . .": III 173a6; MELEK 107. Malatya: IV 195b12; Sudak: VII 136a23 = 654.

Another urban refinement played out in the countryside is the culture of the *yayla*s or summer pastures. Evliya gives separate lists of these yaylas in Rumelia and Anatolia, for the convenience of travellers.[21] Whenever he has occasion to visit one, he goes into raptures. Typical is the following, in the vicinity of Ohrid:

> *The great mountain pasture of Istok.* It is a pasture-of-paradise whose far-flung fame has reached the Arabs and the Persians. From the summit one can view an expanse covering 7 kadi-districts. In fact, one can see the city of Ohrid to the south-west, 8 hours away, also Lake Ohrid and its vast agricultural hinterland, spread out at one's feet. In this pasture our dear friend and patron, Ohri-zade Bey, has 300 sheep-folds comprising a total of 70,000 sheep of various kinds. In all the Ottoman lands, this Istok pasture nearly rivals those of Alaman and Rila and the Despot and Serres and Vitosh.[22] We went from fold to fold, staying in tents, eating the yoghurt and cheeses and beestings and curds and cream with honey and omelets with honey, drinking the buttermilk and whey, savoring the kebabs of roasted lamb and trout, quaffing water from the ice-cold streams and various kinds of honeyed sherbets, snacking on a thousand kinds of herbs and tendrils and sorrel and wild strawberries and sour cherries, and generally having a good time. The hyacinth and spikenard and poppy and jonquil and narcissus growing here rival those of the summer-pastures of Biñ Göl in the Erzurum region and of Mounts Bisutun and Demavend and Erciş.[23]

If he was lucky, Evliya, while travelling in the countryside, could stay at the *çiftlik* or farm-estate belonging to local notables, where again he could enjoy urban pleasures. Thus, in Albania, he attended a lavish wedding in the village of Libohova, near Gjirokastër, it being the site of the çiftlik of Zeynel-pasha-oğlu "with his indescribably grand villa." In the village of Mekat near Kanina he spent a week in the çiftlik of Yusuf Bey, son of Sinan Pasha, where his father had been hosted some seventy years before. And in the village of Çiçul near Elbasan, the ancestral home of Abdurrahman Pasha, he was the guest of the latter's brother Mahmud Aga:

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[21] Rumelia: III 18b17–24; Anatolia: III 89a15–24.

[22] Cf. Evliya's descriptions of Rila (V 175a23, VI 40a26), Serres (VIII 221b12 = 137) and Vitoş (III 142a15).

[23] VIII 371b17 = 743; Albania 218–19. This translation and the previous note correct errors in Albania 219.

> who resides here in his dynastic homestead, a prosperous and pleasantly breezy farm-estate situated at the top of a hill, with a view of the surroundings. We took up quarters in a gallery, and spent an entire week here partying and conversing. Friends of the Bey arrived from town in groups, and we had several musical soirées.[24]

Aside from such resort areas, the countryside for Evliya is a rarely differentiated expanse which he must traverse to get from one town to another. Typically the only information he provides is the number of hours needed to cover that stage of his journey. Very occasionally we do find a description which genuinely evokes village life. Here is his portrait of a typical (?) East Anatolian village, Ca'fer Efendi Köyü near Erzurum:

> An Armenian village of 300 houses. . . . Arriving here in the dead of winter we found eternal life. Throughout the Erzurum region the peasant houses are constructed with great pinewood beams, each one like a ship's mast, called *keran*. These beams are dovetailed together like the wings of a swallow, and the houses are warm and toasty, like a hammam. In the middle of the roof there is a smokehole, and in the middle of the floor a fireplace fueled by cow-dung. They have earth-ovens where they make wheat and noodle dishes (*kete, külümbe, herse, lahşe*) and cook soups with cress, garlic, *tarhana* and *tovğa*. These dishes are served generously to all travellers and sojourners, since living in the Erzurum region is very cheap. Also the houses are packed with water buffaloes and cattle whose breath make the houses like Turkish baths.

In Central Anatolia sheep-dung rather than cow-dung was used for fuel; when Evliya and his company were lost in a snow storm they were able to make their way to a village (which turned out to be a robbers' den) by following the sound of barking dogs and the smell of dried sheep-dung (see sheep-dung smoke) (see below, Rebels and Bandits).[25]

Geographical Horizons

In Mecca, Evliya says that the Ka'ba is the center of the world, and that he has bowed toward it from all directions and throughout his

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[24] Libohova: VIII 356a15 = 683; ALBANIA 90–91. Mekat: VIII 360b14 = 701; ALBANIA 128–29. Çiçul: VIII 364a13 = 715; ALBANIA 156–59.

[25] "An Armenian village . . .": V 16b9–16. Sheep-dung: II 353b9.

travels, from the Morea and Morocco (!) in the west to Tabriz and Nakhshivan in the east. The Ottoman realm is the only one whose sway has extended throughout the traditional seven climes, from the first—Dongola at the equator—to the seventh—the Volga River. When Evliya reaches Ibrim on the Nile, the southernmost limit of the Ottoman empire, he remarks on the intense heat of the place; contrasting it with the intense cold he experienced at the northernmost limit, Azov; and with the mild climates at the eastern and western frontiers, Baghdad on the one hand, and Stolnibelgrad on the other.[26]

The latter passage gives a clear sense of what Evliya considered to be the Ottoman realm. For the *Seyahatname*, however, his ambitions extended beyond the Ottoman borders, and in all directions. He traveled to Safavid Iran twice on official missions (in 1646–47 and 1655), although these did not take him beyond Armenia and Azerbaijan. He spent a good deal of time in the land of the Tatars, nominally under the control of the Crimean khans, and also beyond Azov in the north, among the Circassians and the Kalmuks. Southward from Ibrim, he visited the realm of the Funj in the Sudan, and also parts of Ethiopia. As for Europe, he famously accompanied the embassy of Kara Mehmed Pasha to Vienna in 1665.[27]

Beyond this, Evliya pretends to have toured Western Europe twice. From Uyvar in Hungary, in 1663 (between Oct. 12 and Oct. 22!), he claims to have ridden off with 40,000 Tatars on a raid into Western Europe and gotten as far as Amsterdam which, however,

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[26] Mecca: IX 318b3 = 694. Seven climes: VII 169b11 = 817–818. Ibrim: X 391b24 = 842.

[27] Sudan: see Func. Ethiopia: see A. Bombaci, "Il viaggio in Abissinia di Evliyā Çelebī (1673)," *Annali dell' Istituto Universwitario Orientale di Napoli*, NS 2 (1943), 259–75. Vienna: see Apfel.

[28] VI 125b–130a. For a discussion of this "supposititious expedition," see C. F. Beckingham, "The *riḥla*: Fact or Fiction?" in: I. R. Netton (ed.), *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam* (Richmond: Curzon, 1993), 86–94, pp. 88–92. Beckingham concludes: "He would appear to have acted as 'Our Own Correspondent' has been known to do, to have recorded sensational gossip, to have conflated it into a personal narrative, and to have invented particulars calculated to give it verisimilitude."

For a different take on this episode, see Gottfried Hagen, "Some Considerations on the Study of Ottoman Geographical Writings," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 18 (2000), 183–93, p. 193. And see the extended discussion in Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: Tauris, 2004), ch. 8, p. 203. Referring in particular to such highly colored passages, Faroqhi writes: "the use he made of his

he says he was unable to tour.[28] From Vienna, on the 29th of June 1665, he says that he set off to Western Europe and returned to Austria after two and a half years; there is a break in the text, but when it resumes he again mentions dates in 1665.[29] Clearly these imaginary journeys are intended as fictions, and any Ottoman reader would immediately have taken them as such, as opposed to his usual sober accounts of places that he actually visited.

Evliya felt out of his element beyond the Ottoman borders. When his patron Melek Pasha sent him off on his first mission to the Safavid realm, he warned him: "My Evliya, Iran is a place where you will find many deceitful people, who have no religion, but have instead many dissembling poets who will try to test you." He was shocked at the ritual cursing of the first three caliphs, and says that while Ottoman envoys are at liberty to kill up to four Kızılbash whom they encounter indulging in such cursing, he resisted the temptation. While in Urmia on his second trip, Evliya's host, Genc Ali Khan, forbade the practice, and Evliya himself punished a Shi'i *müezzin* who performed it. Evliya found the standard of cuisine among the Safavids not up to the Ottoman mark: only their pilavs could recommend themselves; otherwise there was nothing good to eat. He disapproved of certain Safavid administrative practices, such as the torturing of criminals (see *Gentleman and Dervish*: Redeemer), but approved of others, such as the expenditure of state monies locally, which assured the prosperity of Iranian villages.[30]

Strange Customs

Evliya seemed more at home among the Tatars, who were partially Ottomanized, although he was uneasy about eating horse meat, which he first encountered in Crimea in 1641. In connection with a later visit, in 1665, he discusses the positions of the Muslim jurists, and concludes that the Shafi'is and Hanbalis consider horse meat to be

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sources was not that of the scholar, geographer or historian, but rather that of the creative writer who employed factual accounts as an inspiration for a rather novel genre of writing, namely the romanced travelogue."

[29] VII 73a–75a.

[30] "My Evliya . . .": II 285a10. Ritual cursing: II 297a25; IV 291b26, 294b14. Cuisine: IV 290b21. Torturing of criminals: II 303a1–25. State monies: IV 304a19.

"permitted" (*halal*), while the Hanafis consider it "disapproved" (*mekruh*) although not "forbidden" (*haram*). We can compare his reaction to a meal of giraffe meat offered during his Sudan journey in 1672, in Dongola: "God willing, it is permitted; I have not found a discussion of it in the sources."[31]

One kind of meat Evliya knew was not permitted was human flesh—although he cites the pleasure of kissing as proof that human flesh is tasty.[32] Travelling among the Kalmuks in 1666 he remarks on their longevity, their belief in transmigration, and the strange ways in which they dispose of their dead:

> Some of the Kalmuks live to be two or three hundred years old. When a man's vigor is spent and he can no longer mount and dismount, his kinsfolk tire of dragging him around (*gezdir-*). They cook him a fat sheep's tail and stuff it into his mouth, forcing him to consume it entire. In this fashion they put him to death and say that he died a martyr. They also eat one another's flesh, but this is done according to lot, as follows.
>
> They have a man known as Karpa, next in authority after their Tai-shi or king. This Karpa has a four-sided wooden lot which has been passed down from his ancestors over several thousand years. Each side is painted a different color. If one of their leading men dies, they cast the lot to determine his fate. If the red side comes up, they interpret the oracle to mean "Burn him in fire," and they burn his body. If the black side comes up it means "Bury him in the black earth," and they bury his body. If the blue side comes up it means "Throw him into water," and they throw him in the Volga River or in whatever body of water they happen to have camped near. If the green side comes up they cook his body and eat it. They only act according to the instruction of the oracle lot.
>
> One day it happened that one of Moyinçak Shah's sons had died. They roasted his body, poured out the fat and blood, and were eating the flesh, accompanied by great merriment and festivity. When I passed by they invited me to the feast, saying: "Come, you too can partake of our emperor's son."
>
> "Can one eat human flesh?" I asked.
>
> "Indeed," they replied. "We eat his flesh so that his soul will enter one of us. Thus he does not die, but goes on together with us (*ölmez bile gezer*)." . . .
>
> "Sirs," I cried, "can one really eat human flesh? Isn't it bitter?"
>
> An old Kalmuk said: "It is bitter, don't eat it. But if you want to

[31] Horse meat: II 262b32; VII 107b = 510; cf. 125a = 600, 135a = 649. Giraffe meat: X 404b25 = 870; Func 152.

[32] X 125b11 = 274; Kairo 189.

know what it tastes like, just kiss a woman and see how sweet it is. If you eat human flesh you will derive eternal life from its sweetness and will live long, like us."

In that meal, the body of one man was enough to feed forty or fifty Kalmuks. As for the fat, they smeared it over their faces and eyes and bodies; and they buried the bones.[33]

Evliya was at first not so fastidious about a meal of honey in the Circassian village of Bozodok. He first describes the unusual way in which the Circassians dispose of their dead: they leave the corpse exposed inside a box in a hollow oak tree to be colonized by honeybees, believing that if the bees make honey the soul goes to paradise, if not, to hell. He continues with the following anecdote:

God is my witness that this took place. One day we were guests in a certain village[34] and the Circassian who was our host wished to do a good deed. He went outside where he tarried a while. When he returned he brought a dinner-spread made of elk[35] skin, also a wooden trough—like a small vault or portico (*latif ravak gibi*)—full of honey and other troughs with cheese and *pasta*.[36] "Eat, O guests, may it be permitted, for health of my father soul,"[37] he said. We were starving, as though we had just been released from Maʿnoğlu's prison,[38] and we laid into the honey so fast that our eyes could not keep up with our hands. But the honey was full of strange hairs which we kept pulling out of our mouths and placing on the spread. "Eat," said the Circassian, "this my father honey." Our hunger having abated, we continued to eat the honey at a slower pace, separating out the hairs.

Meanwhile Ali Can Bey, a native of Taman in the Crimea, came in. "What are you eating, Evliya Efendi?" he said.

"Join us," I replied. "It's a kind of hairy honey. I wonder if it was stored in a goatskin or a sheepskin."

Ali Can, who knew Circassian, asked our host where the honey came from. The Circassian broke out weeping. "I took from my father grave," he said. I understood the words, but didn't quite grasp the import.

Ali Can explained: "Last month his father died and he placed the

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[33] VII 176b9 = 850.

[34] Although the manuscript is vocalized *ḳonaḳ*, I assume that here as elsewhere the pointing is by a later hand and mistaken, and the correct reading is *ḳabaḳ*, the Circassian word for "village"; see Glossary 69, s.v., also 8, n. 6. On the other hand, *ḳonaḳ* "guest" is correct a few lines down; see Glossary, 75, s.v.

[35] *Ṣıġın* "elk", not *ṣıġır* "ox" as the printed text; Evliya just mentioned *ṣıġın* a few lines above; and see Glossary 82, s.v.

[36] Millet gruel; see Glossary 65, s.v.

[37] See Glossary 81, s.v. *ṣav-*. The humor of the story is compounded by this Circassian's barbaric Turkish (or rather, Tatar), an element difficult to convey in the translation.

[38] Same expression at IV 230b10 (Bitlis 116); cf. Melek 172 and n. 6.

> corpse in a box on a branch of the big tree in the courtyard outside. Honeybees colonized the area around the groin and penis. Now, as a special favor, he has offered you honey with his father's pubic hairs. These are the hairs you have been separating out while eating the honey."[39] Ali Can said this and went out.
>
> I followed him, with my gorge rising and my liver fairly bursting. "What kind of trick has this pimp of an infidel played on us?" I cried. Then what should I see? Our Circassian host also came out, climbed up the tree where his father was and refastened the lid of the coffin-box, all the while weeping and eating the horrible honey. When he descended from the tree, he said: "Hadji! When want honey I bring you much father soul honey. Just say prayer." This was certainly a strange and disturbing event.[40]

Of these two incidents, I am inclined to believe the one about the hairy honey of the animist Circassians. But cannibalism among the Buddhist Kalmuks is hard to credit.

Aside from eating habits, Evliya frequently remarks on strange customs. An example is female circumcision (*hitan-i bintan*). In a chapter on the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, he has a long disquisition on the Hadari fallahin. Here he describes an elaborate public ceremony and procession, in which they mount the girls on donkeys and parade them to the public bath accompanied by a musical band, and then to their homes where, that night, female surgeons perform the operation (which he describes in rather elusive language). He goes on to relate the custom to a well-known story about Sarah's jealousy of Hagar, and also says that reportedly the operation also increases sexual pleasure. The topic comes up again in Book I in connection with the circumcisers' guild, where Evliya gives the opinion that the benefit derived from this operation is that it eases childbirth for the women that undergo it. Here he is more explicit about the procedure, saying that they cut out the otiose piece of flesh in the middle of the girl's vagina that is called "the little red tongue" (*kırmızı dilcik*)—this being the Turkish word for "clitoris". Aside from the Hagar connection he also mentions here the patron saint of the circumcisers, a certain Abu'l-Hawaqin Muhammad, whose wife, named Rabiʿa bint ʿAbdallah ibn Masʿud, used to perform it on girls. In both passages he says that it is a custom peculiar to the Arabs.[41]

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[39] He adds a sentence difficult to translate: *Arı boḳı yeyecegiñize ḳarı boḳı yeñ*, roughly, "Rather than eating excrement of bee, eat excrement of old man."

[40] VII 155a18 = 750.

[41] X 244b27 = 522; I 198a21. Cf. Jonathan P. Berkey, "Circumcision Circumscribed:

Tales from Distant Lands

As Evliya strayed farther from the Ottoman center, his grip on reality loosened and his imagination operated more freely. His descriptions of Kalmukia in the north and the Sudan in the south are richer in fantasy than other parts of his work. He reports fantastic things he heard from the Kalmuks in 1666, and admits, with typical irony, that he is in a quandary whether to believe them or not, since the Kalmuks never tell lies. Some Buddhist pilgrims perhaps regaled him with stories of their journey to the "Gleaming Mountain" (Yıldırak Tav)—which he associates with Mt. Qaf of Muslim lore; and to their "Kaʿba"—which must be Lhasa in Tibet. Evliya concludes:

> The Portugese by sea, and the Kalmuks by land, are world travellers. There is no part of the world on which these two peoples have not set foot. And because they have many emperors (*padişah*), these Kalmuks have even travelled beyond the World of Darkness as far as the New World—indeed, the people of the New World are reported to be in fear of them. The Kalmuks truly deserve the title: travellers of the two worlds [i.e., Old and New].[42]

Similarly, in the Sudan in 1673, Evliya hears reports from travellers about the sources of the Nile and the Mountain of the Moon; he wishes he could travel the thirty-two stages to the Nile source, and is consoled for not being able to go there when he learns of its inaccessibility, and that it is now in the control of the Portugese![43]

The New World was discovered, according to Evliya, by two priests,[44] a Spaniard named Padre and a Portugese named Kolon. In 1484, when Bayezid II was besieging Akkirman, they suddenly appeared in the Ottoman camp and predicted, not only that Bayezid would conquer Akkirman, but that his son Selim would rule over Egypt and the Holy Cities, and his son Süleyman would conquer Kızıl Elma or "The Golden Apple" (i.e., Vienna or Rome).[45] They

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Female excision and Cultural accomodation in the Medieval Near East," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28 (1996), 19–38, p. 22.

[42] "Kalmuks never tell lies": VII 178b11 = 860. "Gleaming Mountain": see Glossary 100, s.v. *yıldıraq*. "The Portugese by sea . . .": VII 179a1 = 862.

[43] X 430a9 = 926; Func 230–31.

[44] Evliya calls them "priests" (*rühbān*, V 35a19; *papaslar*, X 252b3–537) and "ancient sages" (*ḥükemā-yı ḳudemā*, VIII 318a18 = 521).

[45] See Pál Fodor, *In Quest of the Golden Apple: Imperial Ideology, Politics, and Military*

announced, furthermore, that they had discovered the New World—a virgin world, with gold and other precious items ready for the taking—and they offered it to the Ottoman sultan. "Mecca and Medina and this Old World are enough to conquer," Bayezid replied, "we don't need to cross the ocean and go tremendous distances." So Padre and Kolon bid him farewell and went off to Spain to interview the pope. When they described the New World to him, Spain provided twelve galleons and took possession of it. Soon England and Holland got in the picture, and eventually all the European countries were battling each other over the mines and other resources of the New World.[46]

This legend might be interpreted as a critique of Ottoman shortsightedness and narrowmindedness. On the other hand, Evliya is able to sympathise with the victims of the European conquest, the New World Indians. He reports that during his tour of Western Europe after the Uyvar campaign (which supposedly took place in October, 1663, as we have seen) he conversed with some of these Indians in the city of Lonçat through German interpreters:

> They cursed those priests Padre and Kolon, saying, "Our world used to be peaceful, but it has been filled with a greedy people, men of this world who make war every year and shorten our lives.

In his account of that imaginary journey, Evliya mentions a strange bird from the New World which he saw in Kallevine (Cologne?) and also a cabbage-like New World vegetable named *hunza* which is cultivated in Amsterdam. That is all the information about the New World contained in the *Seyahatname*.[47]

Tolerance and its Limits

As we have seen, Evliya was proud of his Turkish ancestry. He tells us that his forebears came from Mahan in Transoxania with Ertughrul,

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Administration in the Ottoman Empire (Istanbul: Isis, 2000), 67–69, 96. For more prophecies with regard to Kızıl Elma, see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Mysteries.

[46] V 35a28; X 251b25 = 536.

[47] X 252a28 = 537. Elsewhere he attributes his knowledge about the New World to "Christian informants from Lonçat on the Atlantic coast" (IV 241b18 *baḥr-i muḥīṭ kenārında Loncaṭ şehri küffārları ḥikāye etdiler*). For Lonçat (Rotterdam?) see Apfel 209, 2nd ed. 273. Strange bird: VI 127a16. *Hunza* (?): VI 128b18.

the proto-Ottoman chieftain, and settled in Kütahya and in Demirci (see *Man of Istanbul*: Ancestry, Family History). He frequently asserts the antiquity of Turkish language, and cites ancient "Chaghatay" grave inscriptions from Crimea, Daghistan, and elsewhere.[48] Of course, he shares the pejorative Ottoman view of the Anatolian Turks as unrefined bumpkins. While they are expected to be crude and unsophisticated, however, that is not always the case. Of his ancestral region, Kütahya, for example, he says: "To be sure, this is Anatolia and Turkish country (*Türkistan vilayet*); nevertheless, it has very many religious scholars and educated people and poets."[49]

The phrases *Etrak-i bi-idrak* ("mindless Turks") and *Etrak-i na-pak* ("impure Turks") occur infrequently in the *Seyahatname*. But such opprobrious rhyming epithets are quite common: *Kazak-ı ʿak* ("cussed cossacks"), *Rus-ı menhus* ("inauspicious Ukrainians"), *Portukal-ı dal* ("straying Portugese"), *Migril-i rezil* ("shameless Mingrelians"), *Erdel-i erzel* ("shameless Transylvanians"), *Macar-ı füccar* ("fornicating Hungarians"), *Alaman-ı bi-eman* ("faithless Germans"), *ʿUrban-ı ʿuryan* ("naked Arabs"), *ʿUrban-ı bi-edyan* ("irreligious Arabs"). These are not to be taken very seriously.[50]

Europeans are always referred to disparagingly: *Fireng-i pür-reng, Fireng-i bed-reng, İfrenc-i pür-renc* ("tricky Franks"). Yet, the overall negative judgment which these terms imply does not hinder his positive evaluation of aspects of their civilization.[51] On the personal level, Evliya had no problem befriending individual Europeans. In Vienna he hobnobbed with a German physician who knew some Turkish and whom he used as an informant for phrases in German and Italian. He became so absorbed watching this physician's treatment of a patient with dropsy that he delayed returning to the Ottomans' quarters "until the time when the gates of Vienna are closed," and when he did return in the late evening he regaled the envoy, Kara Mehmed Pasha, with the amazing operation he had just observed (for more

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[48] See Robert Dankoff, "Turkic Languages and Turkish Dialects according to Evliya Çelebi," in: *Altaica Osloensia: Proceedings from the 32nd Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference*, ed. Bernt Brendemoen, Oslo, 1990, 89–102, pp. 96–97.

[49] IX 12b26.

[50] *Etrak-i bi-idrak*: IX 137b18 = 292. *Etrak-i na-pak*: IV 276b5; *Kazak-ı ʿak*: V 29a29 = Melek 202; *Rus-ı menhus*: IV 31–b3, V 29b17 = Melek 203; *Portukal-ı dal*: IV 363b4; *Migril-i rezil*: II 331a36; *Macar-ı füccar*: V 126b18; *ʿUrban-ı ʿuryan*: IV 336b11 *ʿUrban-ı bi-edyan*: IX 269b3 = 591.

[51] Cf. Alltag 103–4; Tk. tr. 100; Eng. tr. 88.

on this surgeon see *Gentleman and Dervish* n. 56). Another Viennese associate was the son of Marschall De Souche, with whom he became "very close friends" (*gayet yakın dost*), and who allowed him to inspect the Habsburg munitions. He also befriended the Moscovite envoy during his travels in southern Russia, and expressed reluctance to leave him behind after returning to Azov in 1667; for which his Crimean host reproached him in the following terms: "You have travelled so much in the land of the infidels that you have fallen in love with the infidels."[52] (*Kafiristanda geze geze kafirlere mahabbet etmişsin*).

In warlike encounters, Evliya's descriptions of the Frankish infidels is generally marked by clichés. Thus, they wear black hats and enter battle blowing horns and trumpets and crying *Yajuj Yajuj* (Hungarian for "Jesus Jesus," corresponding to the Muslim warcry *Allah Allah*). When they swear they cry *Marya Kot* (German for "Mary, God"), and the emperor's wife is named *May Frav* (German for "my wife"). In the peaceful encounters he is often appreciative of European customs. Thus, as a musician, he claims some first-hand knoweldge of European organs. Touring Uyvar after the victorious Ottoman siege in 1663, Evliya describes the Protestant or "Hungarian" church, which was converted into a mosque:

> Inside there were no statues or idols. The walls were all pearly white, with crucifixes here and there. Over a sort of pavilion there was an organ of David. The grand vizier had his captive priest play it so he could hear it: it had such a soulful and mournful sound that it dumbfounded the listener. Afterward the Muslim ghazis broke it to pieces and the organ-loft was made into a *müezzins*' gallery.

And there is an elaborate description of the organ in St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna in the course of which he describes the effect the organ has on the listener "filling the lungs with blood and the eyes with tears."[53] Other things that impressed him in Vienna were the good order of the library in St. Stephen's cathedral and the

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[52] Operation: VII 62b–63a = 282–3. "Very close friends": VII 69b15 = 311. "Fallen in love with the infidels": VII 187b2 = 903.

[53] First-hand knowledge: I 203a4–21. "Inside there were no statues or idols": VI 131a5 (note that in Evliya's eyes Catholics are idol-worshippers—VI 19a16). St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna: VII 60a–b = 269–71; Apfel 111–14, 2nd ed. 158–61; Alltag 164–5 (Tk. tr. 162–3; Eng. tr. 144–5). "Filling the lungs with blood . . .": VII 60b7.

advanced level of medical practice. He is more guarded when it comes to the extraordinary deference shown to women.[54]

As Bernard Lewis points out, Evliya "attempted a comparison between the Hungarians and the Austrians, based on direct observation."[55]

> The Hungarians are Lutherans (*luturyan*) while the Germans (or Austrians) are Catholics (*papişte*). Therefor these two infidel groups are opposites to one another, despite their both being Christians. . . . Even though the Austrians are in control, from fear of the Hungarians they never venture into the region of Esztergom and Stolnibelgrad, whether armed or unarmed, except in large force. They communicate at the point of a spear, and never cross one another. To be sure, "Unbelievers are a single community."[56] Nevertheless, the Austrian state is solid, while the Hungarian state is quite puny ever since the time of Sultan Süleyman when the "Corona" (the crown of St. Stephen) and Esztergom and 300 other walled towns were lost to the Ottomans. After that happened, the Austrians prevailed over the Hungarians and made them into their subjects.
>
> Still, compared to the Hungarians the Austrians are like the Jews: they have no stomach for a fight and are not swordsmen and horsemen. Their infantry musketeers, to be sure, are real fire-shooters; but they have only a single rapier at their waist, and when they shoot they brace their muskets on a forked gun-rest—they can't shoot from the shoulder as Ottoman soldiers do. Also, they shut their eyes and shoot at random. They wear large hats and long pointed shoes with high heels, and they never remove their gloves, summer or winter.
>
> The Hungarians, on the other hand, though they have lost their power, they still have fine tables, are hospitable to guests, and are capable cultivators of their fertile land. And they are true warriors. Like the Tatars, they ride wherever they go with a span of horses, with five or ten muskets, and with real swords at their waists. Indeed, they look just like our frontier soldiers, wearing the same dress as they, and riding the same thoroughbred horses. They are clean in their ways and in their eating, and honor their guests. They do not torture their prisoners as the Austrians do. They practice sword play like the Ottomans. In short, though both of them are unbelievers without faith,

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[54] Library: VII 59b17; Apfel 108–9; 2nd ed., 156; Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: Norton, 1982), 276. Medical practice: VII 62a–63a = 277–83; Apfel 127–37; 2nd ed., 234–45; J. W. Livingston, "Evliya Çelebi on Surgical Operations in Vienna," *Al-Abhath* 23 (1970), 223–45. Women: VII 71a25 = 319; Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, 287–88.

[55] Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, 155. The translation below incorporates that of Lewis's.

[56] A well-known hadith.

> the Hungarians are more honorable and cleaner infidels. They do not wash their faces every morning with their urine as the Austrians do, but wash their faces every morning with water as the Ottomans do.[57]

We discussed Evliya's view of the Persians above. Being Shi'is, they are lumped together as Kızılbash, always with the epithet *bedme'aş* "evil living," sometimes with others appended such as *kallaş* "treacherous," *evbaş* "rabble," and *ser-tiraş* "shaved head," or else *natiraş* "unshaven". Other derogatory epithets, apparently reserved for Safavid agents and officials, include *tülüngi*, and various phrases indicating that they bow before the Shah, or eat his bread, etc. (*diz-çöken, çig yeyen, çörek çeken, donluk geyen*).[58] Still, he is careful to absolve them of shameful practices with which they are sometimes libelled, such as "extinguishing the candle" (*mum söndürmek*):

> People say that in Persia there are still those who do it. As God is my witness . . . I never saw anything resembling "extinguishing the candle." But the people of this world are slanderers and libelers and cavilers. It is also reported about the province of Sivas . . . that they extinguish the candle and that everyone embraces another man's wife and lies with her in a corner—God forbid! This humble slave has traversed those regions often . . . and I never observed anything like that. Again, these officious people claim that there are shah-lovers and candle-extinguishers and men and women who wear the shah's diadem in Rumelia, in the province of Silistria, in the districts of Deli Orman and Kara Su, and in the Dobrudja. As God is my witness, I have sojourned in those countries perhaps fifty times, and have carried out offices there, and I never observed any such illegitimate activities—although, to be sure, there are those who fail to pray, or who run after singing girls.[59]

Evliya is not wholly free of attitudes that we would now label as ethnic stereotyping. The Kurds, for example, are crude, rebellious, and contentious and overly-concerned with points of honor. Gypsies are "tyrannical, good-for-nothing, thieving, irreligious."[60] Jews are

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[57] VII 49b17–33 = 224–225; Apfel 38–39, 2nd ed. 90–91.

[58] *Kallaş*, etc.: II 296b31, IV 298b13. *Diz-çöken* etc.: see Glossary 108. These appear to be comical epithets created by Evliya on the model of *şāh-seven* (lit. "Shah-lover"). They mean: knee-bender, raw-eater, loaf-bearer, drawers-wearer.

[59] IV 297a4; Robert Dankoff, "An Unpublished Account of *mum söndürmek* in the *Seyāḥatnāme* of Evliya Chelebi," in: *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach* (ed. A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, Istanbul: Isis, 1996), 69–73.

[60] Kurds: IV 233a25, 374b20, V 10b26. Gypsies: VIII 210a24; Victor A. Friedman

narrowminded and fanatical (*mutaʿassıb melʿunlar*). They do not eat meat slaughtered by Muslims. They only consume sesame-oil and fresh butter (*tere yağı*), not clarified butter (*say yağı*) like the Muslims. They even will not purchase pastry from shops that do not have a butter guard certifying that no clarified butter is used. "Even if you killed them they would not eat it," says Evliya.[61] Moreover,

> The Jews never accept food and drink from other people. Indeed, they do not mingle with others—if they join your company, it is an artificial companionship. All their deeds are calculated to treachery and the killing of Muslims, especially anyone named Muhammed. Even wine they refuse to buy from other people.[62]

It is especially Greeks and Laz who despise Jews. The people of Trabzon have a particular animus against them: "they kill them if they see them". The reason is the following "strange story" (*hikaye-i ʿacibe*):

> When Selim I was governing the city (before he became sultan) two boys, an older and younger brother, disappeared. Despite the efforts of the magistrates and the populace, they were unable to find them, and gave up the search. A long time passed. One day, two pieces of fine Morocco leather, one red and one yellow, were being sold in the marketplace. As people were passing them from hand to hand and admiring them, a certain dervish noticed some strange symbols written on the collar. Only someone who paid close attention would see writing there at all. The dervish scrutinized it closely and eventually deciphered it as follows: "You who wish to learn of our condition should know that we have been held captive under ground for the past twenty years by Jewish tanners. Rescue us, for God's sake and for the sake of God's messenger, and you will see wondrous things." The zealous dervish girded his loins and went directly to the court of prince Selim, where he read out what was written.
>
> The soldiers, armed to the teeth, went outside the Tanners' Gate, conducted a raid on the Jewish tanneries, and found the brothers inside

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and Robert Dankoff, "The Earliest Text in Balkan (Rumelian) Romani: A Passage from Evliya Çelebi's Seyāḥatnāme," *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 1.1 (1991), 1–20.

[61] I 160a22, 215b7, 166b35, 160a20, 170b1. More on this topic: most of the fresh butter (*tere yaġı*) salesmen in Istanbul are Jews (I 167b14). Evliya also reports—on the basis of hearsay—that the Jewish pretty boys or male prostitutes (*Yahūdī-pīçe*) have soft bodies because they consume only sesame-oil (I 179b3). His own opinion about them is that there is no more despised group of catamites than they (*bunlardan mezmūm ḥīzān olmazdır*, I 130a7). *Yahūdī-pīçe* are also mentioned at I 124a29, 209b27–27, 215a13.

[62] I 215a35.

> the cave that was mentioned on the leather. The backs of the two young victims had been flayed, then the two brothers had been attached back to back and put to work tanning. When one stood up to work, the other was left helpless loaded onto his back. When the first one finished his job, they were reversed and the other one was set to work. They were suffering terribly. Also, several hundred other young boys named Muhammed had either been killed or else were being held captive and used as apprentices and servants.
>
> When the people of Trabzon witnessed this horrible scene, they broke into a riot. Shutting the gates of the walled town, they massacred all of the Jews in the city, including women and swaddled babies in their cradles. From that time on they have had imperial edicts permitting them to kill any Jews whom they may see. This is the reason why there are no Jews in Trabzon; and if someone suggests to a Jew that he go to Trabzon, the Jew tells him to go to hell.[63]

The wry manner and tongue-in-cheek attitude with which Evliya relates this episode imply that he himself does not believe it. Nevertheless, he does not dismiss the Jewish libel, or argue against it, as he does with regard to the Kızılbash. And he clearly believes the notion that Jews have a particular hatred for the name Muhammed.

Expressing disgust at the squalid condition of the narrow streets in the Jewish quarter of Salonica, Evliya gives as the explanation the fact that the Jews are "under protection" (*himayede olmak ile*) and so the city sanitary crews are unable to clean those streets. Otherwise the perceived dirtiness of non-Muslims is associated in Evliya's mind with their bathing habits. Thus of Pınar-hisar (near Vize in Bulgaria) he reports that the town has only one small and "rather oppressive" public bath, but this is because the people (i.e., Muslims) all have private baths in their homes, and because there are so many non-Muslims and therefore the public bath is hardly used. The sugar-dealers' hammam in Cairo is the cleanest in the city because, according to a stipulation of its founder, Jews, Copts and Greeks may not enter.[64]

When it comes to fellow-Muslims Evliya displays the broad-mindedness one would expect of a court-educated Sunni Turkish Istanbulite. While frequently insisting that he himself was a tea-totaller (see *Raconteur*: Daily Life), he never disparages others for indulging

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[63] Greeks and Laz: I 137b21. "They kill them if they see them": III 124b32. "Strange story": II 253b13.

[64] Salonica: VIII 228a9 = 162. Pınar-hisar: VI 42a18. Cairo: X 117b8 = 258.

in alcohol or other vices. He satirizes the Kadızadeli sect for their narrow-mindedness and fanaticism, as in the following incident that took place during the auction of the library of the Khan of Bitlis in 1655:

> There was a person claiming to belong to the hypocritical, fanatical and pederastic sect of the followers of Kadızade,[65] a cowardly and slanderous usurer, a catamite and mischief-maker, despised even by the ignorant, an obscure and nasty individual, mothered in sin, belonging to the tribe of the deniers. He got on his high horse and bid 1600 *guruş* for a *Shah-name* although it had been pledged to someone else. When the witty fellow brought it to his tent and began leafing through, he saw that it contained miniatures. Painting being forbidden according to his belief, he took his Turkish knife and scraped the narcissus eyes of those depicted, as though he were poking out their eyes, and thus he poked holes in all the pages. Or else he drew lines over their throats, claiming that he had throttled them. Or he rubbed out the faces and garments of the pretty lads and girls with phlegm and saliva from his filthy mouth. Thus in a single moment he spoiled with his spit a miniature that a master painter could not have completed in an entire month.
>
> When the auctioneer went the next day to claim his fee, the man said, "I won't buy the ugly (*suratli*) priest's book; pictures (*surat*) are forbidden and I've destroyed them all!" and he threw the royal *Shah-name* on his head. When the auctioneer opens the book and sees that all the miniatures are ruined, he cries, "People of Muhammed! See what this philistine has done to this *Shah-name*." "I did well," says the witty fellow, "I 'forbade evil' just as my shaikh in Tire told me to do.[66] Only one picture I left alone: it reminded me of my dear son in Tire, so I didn't destroy it."
>
> The hapless auctioneer saw that he would get nowhere by arguing with the fellow. He went directly to the Pasha, crying, "Justice, O brave vizier! . . . This *Shah-name* was to go to Khan Murad Bey of Cülomerg castle, the emir of Hakkari's steward. His bid at the impe-

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[65] Kadızade Mehmed, d. 1635, founder of the Kadızadeli movement of religious reform, which was hostile to all "innovations" including painting, dervish orders, even the use of spoons. See Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600–1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), ch. 4.

[66] To "commend good and forbid evil" is a familiar Koranic injunction, e.g., 3:110. As generally interpreted, this was a communal obligation, to be carried out by the governing authorities, particularly the market inspectors. Part of the Kadızadeli program was to make it an individual obligation. Cf. Katib Çelebi, *Mīzān al-ḥaḳ fi'l-ḫtiyār al-aḥaḳ* (Istanbul 1286), 90–94; tr. G. L. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth* (London 1957), 106–9; Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45.4 (1986), 251–69.

rial auction was 1400 *guruş*. Then a certain Hadji Mustafa of Tire[67] came along and took it for 1600 *guruş*. The book lay with him for three nights. It turns out that he is a follower of Kadızade and believes that painting is forbidden. So he poked out the eyes or cut the throats of all the people in the pictures with his knife, or rubbed out their faces with a shoe-sponge. Not only has he ruined the fifty miniatures of this priceless *Shah-name*, rendering it totally valueless, he has also bilked me of my auction fee." The Pasha examined the *Shah-name* and, with a sigh, showed it to his councillors, who showered curses on the fellow, calling him Pharoah, Yezid, Haman, Mervan, Karun, Ebu Cehl, Ebu Leheb, and Balaam son of Peor.[68]

The auctioneer once again put in a plea for his fee. "Never fear, my dear auctioneer," said the Pasha, quite aroused by this time, "he has not just bilked you of your fee, he has bilked the Padishah of his property. Let that Hadji of Tire be brought here right away!" They dragged in the witty, spitty fellow kicking and screaming, as they pushed and pounded him like powder or flax. "You," said the Pasha, "why did you do this to this book?" "Oh," he said, "is that a book? I thought it was a priest's writing. I 'forbade evil.' I did well to destroy it." "You are not charged to 'forbid evil.' But I am charged to practice government. I'll show you how to destroy a book that was to be sold in the imperial auction for 2000 *guruş*. Dress him down!" "I am a *kapıkuu* janissary," he objected, but the martial executioners paid the fellow no heed. He got seventy crosswise lashes, and the kadi of Bitlis ordered him to pay 1600 *guruş*, which were sequestered. They gave the auctioneer ten *guruş*, put the spoiled *Shah-name* into the offender's hands, and banished him from the camp. As the poor fellow started out toward Diyarbekir he kept cursing his shaikh for saying that painting was forbidden. And everyone followed him out of the camp, throwing stones and saying, "He got what he deserved." They turned the fellow into a monkey. It was a comical sight![69]

When Sultan Süleyman conquered Buda and made one of the churches into his imperial mosque, the question arose concerning a marble carving of Saint George slaying the dragon. The *şeyhülislam* Ebu's-su'ud Efendi issued a *fetva* stating, "Depiction of human beings is forbidden; this statue must be destroyed." In response, Süleyman removed his cashmere shawl, covered the statue with it, and said:

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[67] A town in western Turkey, a Kadızadeli center.

[68] Pharoah, Karun (= Biblical Korah), Balaam and Haman are mentioned in the Koran (or, in Balaam's case, in Koranic commentary) as evil men during the time of the Israelites; Abu Jahl and Abu Lahab were enemies of the Prophet Muhammad; Marwan and Yazid were Umayyad caliphs who persecuted 'Ali and his family.

[69] IV 276b7–277a2; Bitlis 294–99.

"No one should look at these depictions and no Muslim should recognize them." Thus the statue was saved, and Evliya describes it in detail.[70]

Here is what Evliya says about some strange Albanian customs (1670):

> The people of Gjirokastër mourn their dead relatives for forty or fifty, indeed up to eighty years. Every Sunday, all the relatives of the dead person gather in a ramshackle house, paying professional mourners who weep and wail and keen and lament, raising a great hue and cry. No one can stand to be in town on Sundays because of all the noise and uproar. For this reason I dubbed Gjirokastër the "city of wailing." It is a great wonder how the professional mourners manage to weep and wail with such feeling—more than for their own relatives—for someone who has been dead a hundred years and to whom they are not even related. And how they lament! It is only when they are exhausted with hunger that they desist. When they finish their lamentations, they have the home owners prepare various pastries, including *pishi, jamuk and kumështuar*, and also saffron-flavored sweets to be distributed in town from house to house. These dainties are offered free of charge to rich and poor alike and to all travellers and sojourners on Sundays for the sake of the spirits of the dead. This is a generous deed, to be sure; but mourning for someone who died one hundred years ago seems to me quite pointless. Nonetheless, every country has its own rites and traditions.
>
> They themselves relate the following: One day, while having sex with his wife, a man inopportunely happened to remark, "Tomorrow is Sunday, my dear." His wife, underneath the fellow, suddenly called to mind her seventeenth husband who had been killed in the naval battle in the Mediterranean between the Ottoman admiral Cafer Pasha and some English galleys in the year 1043 (1633–34). While still engaged in intercourse, she began tearing her hair, crying, "Oh, how I long for my poor dear seventeenth husband, with whom I lived for forty years and who was martyred in the *gaza*. I had such good sex with him!" She raised such a ruckus and bathed the pillow with so many tears that the poor fellow went limp and, mourning the loss of his virility, now regretted that it was Sunday. . . .
>
> Most of the people of Gjirokastër are devoted to Ali and to the family of the Prophet. They sit down proclaiming "Ya Ali!" and stand up proclaiming "Ya Ali!" They can all read Persian. Because they so love Ali and the family of the Prophet, one group secretly curse Muawiya and openly curse Yezid—at least this is what I was told, although I never heard it myself. These people are very fond of plea-

[70] VI 83a4–10.

> sure and carousing. They shamelessly drink wine and other intoxicating beverages, such as the one called *reyhania.*
>
> They have another bad habit. In weddings, on festival days of St. George,[71] Nevruz, St. Demetrius,[72] and St. Nicholas,[73] and on the two feasts of Bairam,[74] they put on their finery and drink various alcoholic beverages. Lovers go hand in hand with their pretty boys and embrace them and dance about in the manner of the Christians. This is quite shameful behavior, characteristic of the infidels; but it is their custom, so we cannot censure it (*bu dahi bir bed-sünnetdir kim ayin-i ke[fe]redir, amma böyle göre gelmişler, bunı dahi ʿayblamazız*).[75]

Several times Evliya inveighs against Muslim fanatics who, he believes, give Islam a bad name, and hinder the progress of conversion. From the narrative perspective, the most compelling instance occurs in the winter of 1667 when Evliya is travelling home with a Tatar escort from Azov. A Kalmuk weather magician in their company performs a service by causing the Kuban River to freeze, but the magic is neutralized by some Muslim fanatics. As soon as they utter the *ezan*, the ice melts, and several of them drown as a result.[76]

In his account of Tatar and Mongol origins, Evliya relates the following:

> In the year 61 (680–81)[77] the Prophet sent his companion Muʿadh ibn Jabal as envoy with a pearl-strewn letter to Jangiz Khan, summoning him to Islam. When Muʿadh explained the five pillars of the faith, and the other requirements, Jangiz found them acceptable. Only he objected to circumcision, saying: "In our country, if a man spills one drop of another man's blood, we put him to death. The reason is the extreme cold in our country, which gives rise to spasm, so that if anyone has a wound in his hand or arm or head—let alone in his penis,

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[71] *Rūz-ı Ḫıżır*, i.e. 23 April; cf. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1929; repr. New York: Octagon, 1973), I, 320.

[72] *Ḳāsım*, i.e. 26 October.

[73] *Sarı Saltuḳ*; cf. Hasluck, *op. cit.*, I, 55.

[74] *ʿİdeyn*, the two great Muslim festivals.

[75] VIII 355a14–355b5 = 679–80; ALBANIA 82–85.

[76] VIII 193a–194a = 22–24.

[77] Kilisli Rifat, the editor of the printed text, numb to the whimsical aspect of the story, remarks: "Although the date is given thus in all five manuscripts, it is both wrong and nonsensical; in any case, the basic problem is that it is a falsehood." The literal-minded could argue that this is not the famous Mongol ruler, Jangiz Khan, who lived in the thirteenth century, but a predecessor who lived in the seventh. Muʿadh ibn Jabal was governor of Yemen while the Prophet Muhammad was alive and took a major part in the conquest of Syria after his death.

where all the veins come together—he is sure to die of spasm; all the more if one were to cut a man of seventy or eighty or a hundred years old. So if we ordered our men to cut off the tips of their penises, even a madman would refuse. At least allow us to postpone the operation until springtime, and then I will be the first to have it done; but the requirement of circumcision simply is not convenient during this winter season."

"That bit of flesh," said Muʿadh, "is an excresence, which cannot be made clean during the ablution, and which hinders enjoyment when a man has intercourse with his wife."

"The Creator of the world," Jangiz replied, "certainly did not create something without a reason. Do you think that He created it knowing that it would be an excresence? Surely he created the body of man, as all things, with wisdom and foresight."

Muʿadh began to answer these objections, but Jangiz continued:

"Now God has required five prayers daily, and that is a wonderful commandment. But you have additional, non-canonical prayers which are burdensome to the people and prevent a man from earning his living to feed his wife and children. So I won't perform any more than the canonically specified prayers.

"Furthermore, O Muʿadh, you said that the Kaʿba in Mecca is God's house, and that one who can afford it should go there once in his lifetime. That too is a wonderful commandment, fostering pilgrimage and commerce and travel.[78] But we have heard from our fathers and our grandfathers that God is free of house and home and the six directions, but is eternal and not bound by place. Now, have you fixed a place for God? Or does one who goes to God's house see God? If that is so, I will go there now!"

"No, you will not see Him," Muʿadh replied; "but there are several verses in the Koran requiring the pilgrimage."

"Well," said Jangiz, "I'm sure it would be a fine journey. But for me to travel from this city of mine, Balık-khan, all the way to God's house on the shore of the Red Sea would take an entire year. And I have many enemies along the way: how can I go back and forth to Mecca unless I can hop over their countries? This obligation is nearly as difficult as cutting my penis. . . ."

In short, Jangiz Khan objected to circumcision and pilgrimage, but he accepted all the other requirements, and converted to Islam, saying: "I believe that God is one and that Muhammad is his true prophet." But Muʿadh ibn Jabal, in an excess of zeal (*taʿassub edüp*), enumerated the eight conditions and six pillars and seven requirements of ritual prayer; the fourteen places where it may be performed; the twenty-five preferences, twelve disapprobations and fourteen corruptions; also

[78] The three traditional aims of travel; see *Man of Istanbul*: The Man and the Book.

the four canonical and ten non-canonical requirements and six preferences of ablution . . .; in sum, recounted all the categories of *farz* and *sünnet* and *vacib* and *müstehab*,[79] just like the doctors of the law (*müctehidin gibi*), and concluded: "Anyone who is deficient in any of these and who does not know all of these protocols with their conditions and restrictions cannot perform prayer properly, is not sound of faith, and does not belong to the community of Muhammad."

Such was the brow-beating answer he gave to an uncouth emperor like Jangiz Khan, who replied: "We are unlettered folk, who have now been honored with the religion of Islam. I know that God is one and that His prophet is true. As for the other regulations you speak of, I will have a jurist brought from Bukhara and learn them from him."

Muʿadh ibn Jabal flew into a rage and, forgetting to have Jangiz Khan recite the witness formula and the declaration of faith . . . he mounted his horse and hastened back to Medina . . . where he found that the Prophet had died and Abu Bakr was in charge. Abu Bakr asked him to report on his mission, and Muʿadh replied: "O Commander of the Faithful, Jangiz Khan accepted what God requires and admitted that God is one and His prophet is true; but he made excuses about the pilgrimage, saying there were rebellious rulers along the way and the journey was unsafe; and about circumcision, avering that he would suffer spasm if he were to cut his penis at his advanced age in that cold country. I told him that he could not be a true Muslim if he failed in any one of these stipulations, and came home in a rage."

"But," said Abu Bakr, "the fact that one is not circumsized and fails to perform the pilgrimage does not disqualify a person from being a believer. Did you at least have him recite the witness formula and the declaration of faith?"

"No, O Commander of the Faithful, I did not."

"But he accepted that the stipulations of Islam are necessary obligations and so he is a believer," Abu Bakr said angrily. "Return quickly with our letter and greeting, have him recite the witness formula, and instruct him in the declaration of faith in God and His angels and books and messengers." He drove Muʿadh from the council of God's messenger. Muʿadh took the letter of the Commander of the Faithful and again hastened on his journey. After a year he arrived in Kazan and was informed that Jangiz Khan had gone to Crimea. Muʿadh set out for Crimea, but when he got as far as Iraq-i Dadiyan he learned that Jangiz Khan had died in Astrakhan. . . .[80]

Jangiz Khan's "conversion" to Islam was something that Evliya could have picked up from popular lore while travelling among the Tatars.[81]

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[79] *Farż* and *vācib* both mean "obligatory;" *sünnet* means a Sunnah of the Prophet, therefor "enjoined"; *müsteḥab* means "recommended".

[80] VII 131a = 629–30; abbreviated.

[81] See Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), p. 444.

In any case, the satirical use he made of it is clearly directed against Muslim fanatics of his own day.

Rebels and Bandits

The 1640s and 1650s, when Evliya did much of his travelling in Anatolia, were turbulent years in that part of the Ottoman Empire. The so-called Celalis—at this period, mainly pashas (Ottoman officials) turned rebels—gathered private armies and carved out little kingdoms for themselves; sometimes they even threatened the capital. For recruits they often turned to the bands of landless peasants—the Segban and Sarıca regiments—which served as mercenaries at this period.[82] The Sarıcas by this time had evolved a network and the status of a quasi *tarikat* or religious brotherhood, complete with a hierarchy of Pirs (elders) and disciples, and secret initiation formulas and rituals. Evliya, as we will see, was acquainted with these.

The Sarıcas, who sought a kind of military and even spiritual legitimacy, were at times indistinguishable from simple bandits. Banditry had long been rife in the mountainous regions. Recall that Köroğlu, the bandit-minstrel of so much Turkish folklore began his career as a soldier of the original Celali type in the Bolu region in the 1580s. By Evliya's time his reputation had already assumed legendary proportions.[83] Some bandits of his own day, like the notorious Kara Haydar-oğlu and Katırcı-oğlu, were widely known and feared.[84] It was inevitable that Evliya would meet up with them sooner or later—at least in the pages of his travel epic.

Despite so much turbulence in the countryside, many of the cities were apparently flourishing in these years, to judge by Evliya's descriptions. Where imperial authority was weak, the town notables or *aʿyan* often stepped into the breach and asserted a quasi civic indepen-

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[82] For background see Halil Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), 283–337; Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Cornell University Press, 1994).

[83] Set upon by bandits in the Bolu region in 1656, Evliya talks them out of robbing him, saying, among other things: "What you are doing even Köroğlu never did in these mountains" (V 8a18). For a translation of the entire passage, see *Gentleman and Dervish*: III. Office: *Müezzin*.

[84] See *EI*[2] Ḥaydar-oghlu (Halil Inalcik), Ḳāṭırdjī-oghlu Meḥmed Pasha (Cengiz Orhonlu).

dence. In the Kurdish regions along the border with Safavid Iran, hereditary chieftains or khans maintained loose ties of affiliation with the Ottoman state but were largely independent; one of these, Abdal Khan of Bitlis, sponsored elaborate public entertainments, including tightrope-walking and other acrobatic and magical feats, which Evliya described in loving detail. We know that such performers were organized into a kind of guild, at least in the big cities. But Evliya ran into them in the central Anatolian countryside as well.[85]

In November of 1647 Evliya found himself in Erzurum where the governor, a kinsman of his named Defterdar-zade Mehmed Pasha, had just been dismissed and ordered to go to Kars. The chief Celali at this time was Varvar Ali Pasha—known in other sources as Vardar Ali Pasha. Varvar, the dismissed governor of Sivas province, had turned rebel out of disgust at the excesses of the mad sultan Ibrahim and the exorbitant demands of the sultan's henchman, the grand vizier Hezarpare Ahmed Pasha. Now Varvar invited Defterdar-zade to join forces with him; and so Defterdar-zade, instead of going off to Kars, began raising a private army and marching toward Istanbul.

Evliya gives a rather sympathetic account of these Celalis, and does not conceal his own participation in their activities. He served as messenger, and even raised some irregular troops on his own account. In Çorum and in Ankara he helped negotiate with the *aʿyan*, who in each case allowed Defterdar-zade and his followers to remain for three days. On the way between these two towns lay the shrine of Bardaklı Baba, where Defterdar-zade quartered his troops overnight. When the residents of this shrine complex complained, and began to curse the pasha, Evliya stood up and harangued them, urging them to direct their curses against the grand vizier Hezarpare Ahmed Pasha in Istanbul, who had dismissed a provincial governor in midwinter for no reason, and thus had caused the necessity for that innocent governor to quarter his troops there (see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique for translation). Eventually Defterdar-zade and Varvar joined forces outside of Ankara, but they were defeated in a surprise attack by the formidable Ipshir Pasha, sent out by the Porte to put down the rebels. It turns out that Ipshir was also Evliya's kinsman, and in fact that Evliya was a great favorite of his. Ipshir

[85] Bitlis: IV 230b–233a; Bitlis 118–39. Big cities: see Guide 18 (I 204a1): acrobats and entertainers, tightrope-walkers, fire-eaters. Anatolian countryside: II 359b15.

had Varvar put to death, but was reconciled with Defterdar-zade after Evliya pointed out their family relationship. As for himself, Evliya pleaded that he was only going along with the rebel "for travel's sake (*seyahat hatıryçin*)."[86]

Evliya's account of this rebellion is very rich and detailed.[87] Here I wish to dwell on a subordinate incident, or digression, which highlights social conditions in Anatolia at that period. This account is also an example of Evliya's colorful narrative style. It has a further interest in that it was omitted from Hammer's 1850 translation of Book II, and so has never been made available in a Western language.[88]

During a severe winter storm on the road between Çorum and Ankara, Evliya and a small band of followers became separated from Defterdar-zade's forces. Here is the story in Evliya's own words:

> Floundering in the snow, and despairing of our lives as evening drew on, we suddenly heard dogs barking and caught a whiff of dried sheep-dung smoke—it seemed to me then like musk and perfume. Following the sound of the barking and the smell of the dung-smoke, we entered a large village.[89] I went inside the fenced-in courtyard of one of the houses, where I saw twelve horses tethered but no people, and shouted loudly for the owner. At once several men rushed out the door, barefoot but with drawn swords, and leapt on their horses.
>
> "*Selamun ʿaleyküm ev sahibleri!*" I cried. "Greetings to you, owners of the house! Will you accept guests?"
>
> "Hey, we've been trapped!" shouted one of the men, and several others rushed out of the house, also with drawn swords.
>
> An old man appeared in the doorway. "Welcome, my son," he said.
>
> "How are you, baba?" I replied, dismounting. Then, fearlessly addressing the other men: "Brothers, why are you on your horses? They say that one guest doesn't like another, and that the owner of the house doesn't like either of them!"
>
> The old man also began pleading with the men, who by now were all up on their horses. "My sons," he cried, "you are ruining my house and home. You see this gentleman has dismounted. He is frozen from the storm and is seeking shelter with me. Why don't you also dismount?"
>
> "Hey Hadji Baba," replied one of them. "You don't know what is happening to us. We have brought it on ourselves. Bring us our boots!

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[86] II 366a27.

[87] See Guide 27–33.

[88] See Guide 29 (II 353b9): the robbers' den.

[89] In his "saga" of Kara Haydar-oġlu at the end of Book II (373a2–3, 374a17) he gives the name of the village as Balıḳ-ḥisār.

Bring us our armor, our furs, our muskets and quivers!" Perched on their horses, they began to arm themselves.

With cajolery and good-humored banter, I assured them that they were in no danger, and coaxed them to dismount and go back inside. As they sat around the fire having dinner, one of the men addressed their ringleader, whom they called "Bey," and another of their commanders, none other than Katırcı-oğlu. "This rascal," he said, pointing to me, "made us mount at this late hour without our boots and without our guns. This should be a lesson to us. We were sitting around the fire eating and gossiping like women. If this young man with 20 or 30 followers had surrounded us without warning, what would we have done?"

"Yes, we would certainly have been in trouble," replied the Bey.

"Why so?" said another one. "I would have gone out on the roof and opened fire. That would have kept off any attackers. Then the rest of you would have mounted and gone after them on horseback. We would have put up a good fight and either kill or be killed!"

Pleased with me, the bandits showered me with gifts and invited us to stay a few days.

"To tell the truth," I said, "I am a servant of the Pasha, and should not get too far from him. I only stopped here because we became separated in the storm. Tomorrow, God willing, when the snow subsides, I will rejoin him."

"Which Pasha is that?" asked the Bey.

"It is Defterdar-zade Mehmed Pasha, who has just been dismissed as governor of Erzurum."

"Where is he?" they cried. "We have heard that he wants soldiers; and we want him!" One of them winked at me. "Where is the Pasha now?"

"Well," I replied, "as we were crossing the Sarı Alañ pass the storm blew up and we became separated. And hundreds of men and horses and camels were swept away at the ford of the Kızıl Irmak."

The Bey jumped up and kissed my hand. "Now young man," he said, "You saved your life in the storm by coming to this house. And you truly saved your life from us, because if you had come inside the courtyard without giving greetings and dismounting, you certainly would not have escaped from us even if you had a thousand lives. On the other hand, if you and your band had attacked us while we were sitting inside the house and warming ourselves at the fire, we would not have escaped from you. May God be pleased with you: you spared us and we spared you. Now that you have informed us of the Pasha's arrival, we must not remain holed up here any longer, but must join his cause. Up! To arms!"

The whole band rose and armed themselves. The Bey removed a deerskin belt from his waist and handed it to me, saying, "This belt contains 500 goldpieces. Please take it. But I have one request. You are obviously a brave youth. We have eaten bread and salt together,

and you know the due of bread and salt. So: have you seen the camel?"

"I swear by God and all that is holy that I haven't even seen the camel foal!"[90]

He gave me his hand and whispered the secret of the Sarıca troops in my ear. "Güm," he said. I in turn indicated the secret of the Pir or spiritual leader. Then I embraced all twelve of them, and producing one of Kaya Sultan's handkerchiefs from my bosom, presented it to the Bey. At once they mounted their horses and gallopped off.

While I had spend a pleasant enough night in the company of these bandits, still I had not been able to relax. Once they were gone, house and fireplace were left for me to enjoy. Now the owner of the house, Hadji Baba, brought from the women's quarters two bags of clothing, a loaf of bread and some salt, a heavy sword inlaid with silver, and a finely-calligraphed Koran. Weeping, he kissed my hand and said, "A man does not slaughter what he has attacked (? *-kişi basdığın boğazlamaz*). Give me cover, and have compassion upon my white beard." He went on moaning in this pitiable fashion. I didn't understand what it was all about, and tried to brush him off. He was still upset, and moved around in a daze. "My son," he said, "may God be pleased with you. If you had come to my house and not dismounted and feigned friendship but had done battle with those bandits, there would have been a bloodbath, and my house and home would be ruined and my wife and children would be taken captive." He brought out more gifts, including suits of armor and quivers and swords and money and 50 rolls of Angora wool. "Take pity," he said, weeping the while, "and don't tell anyone about me. Let the secret stop here."

"Hadji Baba," said I, "keeping a secret is easy. But why are you giving me all these things?"

"Didn't the Bey tell you?" he said. "'Whatever you want to give Evliya, go ahead and give him,' is what the Bey said to me before he left. All those bandits came in the dead of winter and caused us much suffering. But what could I do? God curse them! They had run away in fear from the Pasha of Kütahya. It has been seven nights now that they were holed up here and made my house into a robbers' den. I can't tell you how much trouble they caused. But—God be pleased with you!—you came to my rescue and got rid of those infidels. If you had tried to fight them, my house and home would be ruined."

I acted as though we had done the whole thing deliberately. The poor fellow had no idea that we had just come there to save our own lives from the storm. Stringing him along, pretending that I recognized some but not others, I had him enumerate the bandits one by one. God knows, I hadn't seen a single one of them before that day.

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[90] This exchange is a playful variant of the proverb, "Have you seen the camel? I haven't even seen the camel foal," cited to advise keeping quiet about something one knows; see Robert Dankoff and Semih Tezcan, "Seyahat-name'den Bir Atasözü," *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 8 (1998), 15–28.

I realized with renewed fright that we might easily have been killed, coming as we did all frozen and hungry and exhausted, while they were warm and toasty and well-fed, and we had no idea what a ruthless band of outlaws and fugitives they were. I thanked God profusely for rescuing us from that danger, and continually recited the holy Koran.

But now a new fear seized hold of me. After all, this was the robbers' den. They always holed up here in winter. And now, out of greed, I had accepted all these items as hush money. What if they were to return that very evening and discover that Hadji Baba had given me so much of their loot?

Fortunately, ten of the Pasha's men arrived the next morning, having tracked me down. I told Hadji Baba to get them some breakfast and to prepare for a journey. The poor fellow nearly lost his wits, but I had regained mine when those ten men arrived and was feeling quite cocky and secure. Also the weather had cleared up a bit. "See here, Hadji Baba," I said. "We trusted you, but you weren't fair, and fairness is half of religion, as the saying goes. In all fairness, how can I distribute these few items among so many brave young men? Now ten more have joined us, as you see, and they also have a claim. It would be best if I accepted none of these things that you have offered me. Now I have learned that our Pasha is hereabouts, in the Hüseyn Gazi *tekke*. We are going to take you along to guide us there."

I had him tied up, and kept threatening and cajoling, and the Hadji kept moaning and groaning. Finally he promised to bring out the rest of the loot. He requested that the other soldiers wait outside, and directed his son to go get the bag that had been entrusted to him. I was a little suspicious, and told one of my servants to have all my men arm themselves and mount; but in communicating this I used a kind of pig-latin which we call "bird talk" (*kuş lisanı*); thus, rather than saying *Cümle yoldaşlarım silahlanup atlansınlar* I said: *Cücümlece yoculdacaşlacarıcım sicilacahlacanacup acatlacansıcınlacar.*

Now the Hadji's son brought the bag of gold out of the women's quarters, and his son-in-law came out of the stables leading 3 thoroughbred horses with saddles and golden stirrups, 1 train of mules, 100 rolls of wool, 12 swords, 3 scimitars, 8 quivers, 7 harnesses, 6 Aleppo shields, 1 silver penbox with gold inscription, 2 alarm watches, 7 hourhand watches, 10 rolls of Kashan velvet, and 3 purses of *guruş*. I swore on the bread and salt and on the sword and the Koran that the secret would stop there, and after sealing my oath with a Fatiha, I became deaf and dumb. . . . Releasing the Hadji, I gave him 1 talismanic bowl and 2 Kaya Sultan handkerchiefs and 2 *çargul* cups and 1 flower-engraved jar. . . .

It turned out that this house of Hadji Baba had been a robbers' den ever since the time of Kara Haydar-oğlu himself. . . . Only God knows the full amount of the treasure it contained.[91]

[91] II 353b9–355b11; condensed, with some paraphrasing.

Conclusion

If the norm for Evliya was the cosmopolitan culture of Ottoman cities—with their mosques and churches, baths, schools, crafts, government offices, etc.—furthest from the norm were the Russian steppes and African jungles, well outside the Ottoman sphere, where none of these things existed. Yet Evliya as urbane traveller adapted to those places as well, while not hiding his distaste for some of the more outlandish customs of the Kalmuks, for example.

Between the two extremes, and even within the Ottoman borders, were a gamut of ethnic, religious and social types. Evliya's basic attitude is a guarded tolerance: "It is their custom, so we cannot censure it." He may be bemused by some strange behaviors, or sympathetic to outlaws given the circumstances. One thing he is always critical of is fanaticism, whether on the part of Jews, Shi'is or Sunni fundamentalists.

CHAPTER THREE

SERVITOR OF THE SULTAN

While witnessing an elaborate ceremenoy in the Turvin plain (Transylvania) toward the end of 1661, Evliya is moved to tears when all present bare their heads and bow down at the mention of the Ottoman dynasty.[1] If we can take Evliya as the paradigmatic Ottoman, as suggested in the Introduction, we must inquire what being an Ottoman meant to him. The public values associated with Ottomanness are at issue here; a later chapter ("Gentleman and Dervish") will try to get at Evliya's concept of the ideal person.

The Need for Strong Government

Near the beginning of his long account of the Istanbul guilds, Evliya explains why guards, watchmen, gendarmes, etc. have precedence in the order of public processions, even though they have no shops in the marketplace. It is to keep law and order (*emn ü eman içün*):

If a region, whether civil (*diyar*) or military (*ordu*), does not have, first of all, a governor or magistrate (*hakim ve hekim*), then it is very dangerous to set foot in it. The ruler (*hakim*) is the soul of the world. As the hadith says: "Without a sultan, people would devour one another."[2]

Similarly, writing about the Sherifs of Mecca, he states:

> In the well-guarded kingdoms (*memalik-i mahruseler*—i.e., of the Ottoman Empire) through which I have travelled, there are innumerable desert-dwelling tribes and clans and their emirs. But because they do not mint coins and their names are not pronounced in the Friday sermons, I have not mentioned them. However, they too were possessors of sword and pen, and their rule was divinely sanctioned. A fiery sword of iron was put in their hands, by which the caliphs made the heads

[1] VI 30b8.
[2] I 155a36.

> roll of their rebellious subjects, and thus rendered the oppressed secure from their oppressors.

If the Sultan did not hold sway,

> Bullies (*ʿavan*) would seize the homes of the oppressed. The Creator has made the benefit of the glorious caliphs greater than that of the Gavs-ı Aʿzam (chief of the spiritual hierarchy) and the Men of the Unknown World (*ricalü'l-gayb*, i.e., the great saints). God preserve us, if the caliphs of the world did not exist, Islam and faith and religious practice would all go by the board. . . . As the hadith says: "Without a sultan, people would devour one another."[3]

Of Egypt in particular, Evliya insists on the need for strict government:

> Without capital punishment, for the sake of the reform of this world, it would be impossible to maintain control over the fellahin of Egypt, where even the preachers—with kohl on their eyes, prayer-beads in their hands, and toothpicks in their turbans—provide aid and cover to bandits and thieves.[4]

Evliya was amazed at the vast expenditure required for the upkeep of the grain magazines in Fustat—comparable only to the expenditures on the Istanbul arsenal (the gun foundry at Tophane), the Ottoman royal kitchens, and the annual pilgrimage. These grain magazines provided rations for the 47,370 people in Egypt in the *ʿaskeri* class. Of course, Evliya had to count himself in their number, since he enjoyed his own privileged position in Egypt due to the patronage of the governor, Kethüda Ibrahim Pasha.[5]

These figures can be compared to those for the rest of the empire. During the vizierate of Melek Ahmed Pasha (1650–51) a census of Ottoman salaried personnel (*padişah kulları*) was drawn up by imperial decree. The number was 566,000 *kuls*; their total salaries (not including Egypt) was 43,700 Rumi purses.[6] Such a vast government establishment clearly required strict law and discipline to be maintained. Parades were a public display of the might, the wealth, and

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[3] X 26b13 = 57.

[4] X 29b17 = 64. The same satirical characterization is used for the Kadızadeli Çelebis who come out to view the battle against Celali Gürci Nebi in Üsküdar in 1648 (III 31a25), and the seyyids who support the mob's demands against grand vizier Melek Pasha in 1651 (III 102b8; Melek 81).

[5] X 144a12 = 314, Kairo 254; 217a.23 = 459; 76b19 = 166, Kairo 6.

[6] I 56a35.

above all the discipline of the state. (For the parade of guilds ordered by Murad IV in 1638, see *Man of Istanbul*: Topkapı Saray, at end.)

Precedence

We began by noting that Evliya felt it necessary to explain why guards and other police authorities march first in the order of public processions. Last to march in the procession are the Jewish tavern-keepers. Evliya gives the reason (for more on Jews, see *Man of the World*: Tolerance and its Limits):

> Because they are Jews they come last of all, as a sign of disrespect (*tahkiren*). . . . The groups most indispensible to the army go in front. Thus, the parade sergeants go first, in order to muster the troops. Then come the sanitation officers to clear the way, next the sewermen and guards and police forces. The third group includes the mollas of the army, and the forth the physicians and surgeons—also indispensible to the army of Islam—along with their auxiliary guilds. Fifth are the farmers, necessary for rich and poor alike. The six group is the bread-makers, the pillar of religion, also needed by everyone. So those most indispensible take precedence in the military parade. But the Jewish tavern-keepers are the most dispensible, a breed of vermin. They are forty-seventh and last in line, and only march by imperial order so that the sultan will know how many they are. . . . The reason they march separately (from the other tavern-keepers) is that the Jews never accept food and drink from other people. . . . It is because they are so fanatical and accursed that they march in a separate unit.[7]

In his close study of Evliya's account, Robert Mantran has noted the way in which the various guilds are associated in groups:

> Cette répartition se manifeste matériellement dans le défilé où l'on constate que des métiers sont associés les uns aux autres sous l'autorité d'un seul chef; et parfois aussi l'auteur ottoman précise au cours de sa narration que telle corporation est l'assistante de telle autre, le plus souvent pour des raisons pratiques.[8]

We may note here that as Evliya lists the guilds parading before the sultan, he occasionally stops the narrative to describe a dispute over precedence. Let's take a closer look at these passages, as they

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[7] I 215a20.
[8] *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1962), 355.

provide an insight into Ottoman values as well as into Evliya's attitude. [Numbers in brackets refer to the order of listing in ch. 270; see *Man of Istanbul*: Outline of Book I.]

I: *Ship-captains [7] vs. Saddlers [30]*
Following the bakers [6], the saddlers wished to pass, but the ship-captains and sea-merchants raised a great fuss. When Sultan Murad got wind of the matter, he consulted with the ulema and the guild shaikhs. They all agreed that it made sense for the ship-captains to proceed after the bakers, because it was they who transported the wheat, and the bakers were dependent on them, and also because Noah was their patron saint.[9]

Comment: the saddlers do not reappear until much later, between the tanners [29] and the shoemakers [31].[10]

II: *Mediterranean Sea Captains [8] vs. Butchers [10]*
[After the Black Sea captains.] The butchers were supposed to pass next, according to imperial decree. But when the Mediterranean Sea captains heard about this, they all went before Sultan Murad and said: "My padishah, we have heard that the bloody butchers are to take precedence over us. My padishah, either you will have to break our hearts, or else we will break the hearts of all the butchers, and [in either case] your reign will get a bad reputation.[11] Because our peers, the Black Sea captains, are Noah's dancing-boys, they were allowed to go ahead in accordance with your decree; but we belong to the same group. We service your Cairo, which is the gate of the Holy Cities. We make Istanbul plentiful and cheap with the goods of Egypt. We transport 70,000 Muslim pilgrims annually back and forth. Why is our service valued so little that the butchers should take precedence over us?"

The felicitous padishah, in order to make peace between the butchers and the Mediterranean Sea captains, said: "It is true that they

[9] I 162a2.
[10] I 194b8.
[11] I 164b2: *yā bizim cümlemizi ḳırarsın ve-illā biz cümle ḳaṣṣābları ḳırarız, zamān-ı devletiñde bednāmlıḳ olur.* The verb *ḳırmaḳ*, translated here "to break the heart," can also mean "to massacre." Hammer (I, ii, 134) paraphrased the last part of this sentence as follows: "which would be their complete ruin, and an everlasting shame to them."

make Istanbul plentiful and cheap. What is more, their patron saint is Noah. Also, they are a band of ghazis and jihad warriors, who engage in sea-battles with the Hell-slated infidels. They are my captains, masters of the lighthouse. Let them pass in procession, and then let the butchers pass after them."[12]

III: *Egyptian Merchants [9] vs. Butchers [10]*

Following the procession of these Mediterranean Sea captains, the butchers were supposed to pass, according to imperial decree. But all the great Egyptian merchants, including the dealers in rice, hemp, Egyptian reed mats, coffee and sugar gathered together and began quarrelling with the butchers. Finally they went before the sultan and said: "My padishah, our galleons are charged with transporting rice, lentils, coffee and hemp. They cannot do without us, nor we without them. Why should these bloody and tricky butchers come between us. Plagues have arisen from cities where they shed their blood, and for fear of this their stalls and shambles in other countries are outside of the city walls. They are a bloody and filthy band of ill-omen.[13] We, on the other hand, always make Istanbul plentiful and cheap with grains of all sorts."

Now the butchers' eyes went bloodshot. "My padishah," they said, "Our patron saint is Butcher Cömerd and our occupation is with sheep, an animal which the Creator has made the object of mercy, and whose flesh He has made lawful food for the strengthening of His servants' bodies. Bread and meat are mentioned as the foremost of God's gifts to mankind: with a small portion of meat, a poor man can subsist for five or six days. We make our living with such a lawful trade, and are known for our generosity (*cömerdlik*). It is we who make Istanbul plentiful and cheap. As for these merchants and dealers and profiteers: concerning them the Koran says (2:275), 'God has made selling lawful and profiteering unlawful'. They are such a despised group that after bringing their goods from Egypt they store it in magazines in order to create a shortage, thus causing public harm through their hoarding.

"The Ottoman state has no need of their rice in the first place,

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[12] I 164a36.

[13] For the notion that slaughtering animals is ill-omened, see III 120b6. The sewer-men are also considered ill-omened (see below, # VI). Another inauspicious profession is dealing in tobacco (IX 101a3).

because there is excellent rice already available from Filibe[14] and Beg-pazarı and—[blank]. Nor do the people of Turkey have a need for the Egyptian hemp which they praise so highly, since there are various kinds of hemp available from Manastır, Florunya,[15] Serfice, Tırhala and Drama in Rumelia, and from numerous places in Anatolia, not to speak of the linen and cotton shirts from Trabzon which are sold for a straw—one can get a *beddavi* shirt for 20 dirhems—so why do we need your hemp, which anyway has been the cause of so many huge fires in Istanbul? As for the lentils you speak of, this is a product found all over Rumelia and Anatolia.

"Egyptian sugar? But in the Koran the rivers of paradise are praised as being made 'of pure honey' (47:15). Now we have honey from Turkey, Athens, Wallachia, Moldavia, each with seventy distinct qualities. Furthermore, if my padishah wished, thousands of quintals of sugar could be produced in Alanya, Antalya, Silifke, Tarsus, Adana, Payas, Antakya, Aleppo, Damascus, Sidon, Beyrut, Tripoli and other such provinces—enough to make it plentiful and cheap throughout the world—so why do we need your sugar?

"As for coffee: it is an innovation; it prevents sleep; it dulls the generative powers; and coffee houses are dens of sedition. When roasted it is burnt; and in the legal compilations known as *Bezzaziye* and *Tatarhaniye* we have the dictum that 'Whatever is carbonized is absolutely forbidden'[16]—this holds even for burnt bread. Spiced sherbet, pure milk, tea, fennel, salep, and almond-cream—all these are more wholesome than coffee.

"You speak of henna. True, it is a sunnah of the Prophet, used by women and to dye the white beards of old men. But if you pound laudanum root in a mortar, mix it with water, and rub it in your hair or beard, it makes an excellent red dye, and furthermore rids hair and beard of lice and dust; so we have no need of your henna either."

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[14] Cf. III 135b12: "If no rice came from Egypt, rice from Filibe would suffice."

[15] Probably Florina which was famous for its shirt cloth with white fringe (V 177b34). Serfice, on the other hand, was noted for its silk products (V 181a18–19,24–26). Of Manastır, Evliya states that its hemp was more famous than the hemp of Egypt (V 177a15).

[16] Cf. Katib Çelebi, *Mīzān al-ḥaḳ fi'l-ḥtiyār al-aḥaḳ* (Istanbul 1286), 45; tr. G. L. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth* (London 1957), 60 and n. 1. *Bezzāziye*: a compendium of fatwas by Ḥāfiż al-Dīn al-Bazzāzī al-Kerderī, d. 827/1414. *Tatārkhāniyye*: a compendium of Hanafi law by ʿĀlim b. ʿAlā'al-dīn al-Ḥanafī, d. ca. 752/1351.

To these objections of the butchers, the Egyptian merchants replied: "Our rice is fine and white and cooks nicely, especially that grown in the regions of Manzala, Damietta, Faraskur and Birimbal, which has a wonderfully fragrant scent when cooked with butter. Before the Prophet there was no rosewater, rice, bananas, or *ʿabdallawi* [Hammer: jujubes]; so the creation of rice is one of the miracles of the Prophet. As for our lentils, it is mentioned in the Koran (2:61: *wa-ʿadasuha*) and grows in the soil of paradise and in the water of Egypt, and is tastier and cooks better than the lentils of Turkey. No henna in any other land compares with our henna, and there is no argument that its use is a prophetic sunnah. It is true that Turkey has no need of sugar and hemp, and that European sugar[17] is also very fine. But tell us this, O band of butchers: what benefit and return do you offer to the public treasury?"

The butchers had nothing to say to this, and the Egyptian merchants continued: "My padishah, the goods arriving in our galleons provide the public treasury an annual revenue of 11,000 purses[18] from customs dues. As a matter of justice (*ʿadalet ederseñiz*) we ought to have precedence in the Muhammadan procession, and the butchers ought to come after us." The *şeyhülislam* Yahya Efendi and Muʿid Ahmed Efendi cited the hadith, "The best of men is he who is useful to mankind," and the sultan gave the Egyptian merchants a noble rescript authorizing them to go first, and the butchers to go second.[19]

IV: *Confectioners [13] vs. Fish-cooks [14]*

[After the cooks.] The *helvacı-başı* and all the confectioners and the *balık emini* and all the fish-cooks gathered together and raised a tumult, each group claiming precedence in the procession. . . . The fish-cooks said: "We too are cooks, we prepare the table of mercy. Our business is to make the food of the poor. He who consumes fish becomes free of guile and cunning. Our patron saint is the prophet Jonah. For all these reasons we deserve to go first. But he who consumes too much of your confections becomes crazy for sweets and melancholic. He is always drooling, and his children talk with a lisp."

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[17] From French colonies in the Caribbean.

[18] A purse (*kīse*) contained 500 *guruş*.

[19] I 165a28. Cf. translation (after Hammer's) in Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman, 1963), 117–20.

The confectioners replied with sugary speech and honeyed words: "Look here, you foolish fishing folk. . . . How can you say that consuming fish makes one clever and free of guile and cunning? Don't you know that when Yazıcızade Mehmed Efendi completed his book called *Muhammediyye* in the year 847 (1443) he sent a copy to the saintly men of Balkh and Bukhara. They were pleased with it and said, 'The author of this book certainly does not live near the sea, because the seaside is a place of levity, and this is a serious work.' Yazıcızade's disciples replied, 'He lives near the sea but stayed inside a cave to write this book, only emerging in order to perform his ablutions. . . .' 'Well,' said the saints of Khorasan, 'though he lives near the sea he has surely never eaten fish, otherwise he could not have written such a book, since he who consumes too much fish becomes light-witted. If a man eats fish brains for forty days he loses his intellect. The reason is that fish were created without intellect. Their mind is in their eyes (i.e., they are stupid), and their eyes are always open, like those of snakes, and they have no eyelashes and eyelids.' Hearing the Bukhara saints characterizing fish in this manner, Yazıcızade's disciples said, 'Our blessed master Yazıcızade does reside near the sea, but neither he nor his father nor his ancestors ever ate fish, so he was able to write this *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye*.'

"Thus, since fish lack intelligence, and since your business is fish, and your food is fish, you too are like animals, lacking sense and reason. Also, the fish which you catch are the usual food of drunkards, fornicators, and infidels. But our confections are made from sugar syrups, from grapes of which God has said, 'I am the creator of the grape,' and 'from pure honey' mentioned in the Koran (47:15). It is the food of believers and monotheists, of which Muhammad Mustafa spoke when he said, 'Love of sweets is part of the faith,' and 'The believer is sweet.' So, my padishah, which of us do you think should have precedence in the procession?"

After consulting with his advisors, the sultan gave the eloquent decree to the *helvacı-başı*.[20]

Comment: Yazıcızade lived in Gallipoli. Evliya relates the same story about him in his account of Gallipoli, where however meat is included with fish as bad for the heart and the mind.[21]

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[20] I 173a26.
[21] V 96a20.

V: *Furriers [28] vs. Tanners [29]*
A marvelous battle broke out between the furriers and the tanners. Finally the sultan and the nobles and grandees decided that wearing furs was a necessity, and the order was given for them to go in advance accompanied by a special military band.[22]

Comment: For the Ottoman elite, but probably not the masses, furs were more of a "necessity" than leather.

VI: *Military Band Musicians [40] vs. Architects [42]*
The head of the military band musicians and the chief architect had a great quarrel and debate in the presence of the sultan. The chief architect said: "My padishah, we are the dancing-boys of Habib-i Neccar, while that corporation's patron is the accursed Cemshid. They are people of Deccal (Antichrist), while we build palaces for my padishah. It is we who construct the imperial mosques and the light-filled mausoleums and all the wondrous buildings. It is we who repair fortresses when they are conquered, and so we have an honored place in the army of Islam. For these reasons we deserve to go first in the procession."

The chief of the band answered these objections by saying: "Our service to the sultan is of the greatest import. Whatever direction my padishah turns, we beat the drums and sound the trumpets, proclaiming the imperial majesty and glory and reputation against friend and foe alike. In wartime we encourage the Muslim *gazi*s, rattling the battle drums and pounding the royal kettledrums from 120 regiments, inspiring the army of Islam to do battle. And in peacetime, whenever my padishah is depressed, we gladden his heart with the art of music by performing in the 12 *makam*s and 24 divisions (*şu'be*) and 24 rhythmic patterns (*usul*) and 48 combinations (*terkib*). According to the ancient sages, musicians and singers and lovely boys and dancers bring delight to the human spirit, and the various groups that provide this spiritual nourishment are connected with our guild.

"But you, O chief architect, preside over a guild made up mainly of Armenian and Greek infidels. The nailers are gypsies, the putty-masons and waterpipe-masons are Albanians, and the sewer-men and filth-handlers are Armenians, the most despised and ill-omened of

[22] I 193a14.

all the professional groups. My padishah, we cannot let those guilds take precedence over us—it would break the heart of the entire corps of musicians. And it would be a stain on the sultanic honor to let a band of vermin march in front of our noble band. For wherever the flag of the Prophet is unfurled, there must the drum of the Ottomans be sounded."

This plea proved persuasive, and the imperial order was issued to allow the military band precedence in the parade.[23]

Comment: Elsewhere Habib-i Neccar is given as the patron saint of the gunstock- and powderflask-makers as well as of the carpenters and architects; Evliya visited his tomb in Antakya in 1648. The carpenters' other patron, from the time of the Prophet, is Ebu'l-kasım ʿAbdü'l-vahid.[24]

Cemshid (Jamshid) is a legendary Iranian king and founder of the civilized arts. He invented the *zurna* or shawm. Evliya notes that he is the patron-saint of the military band musicians, even though they do not have a true patron-saint since the *zurna* was not played during the life of the Prophet but only became widespread under the Umayyads. Cemshid is "accursed" because he invented wine, at the instruction of Satan. He then found a way of producing vinegar, and so is the original patron saint of the vinegar makers. He also invented gunpowder and tents; and is the patron of the linseed-oil and soap makers, rocket-makers, bottlemakers, hashish-dealers, and Jewish tavern-keepers.[25]

Giving precedence to musicians over architects seems to reverse the sentiment eloquently expressed by Cafer Efendi in his biography of Mehmed Agha (d. 1622), the chief architect who constructed the mosque of Sultan Ahmed.[26] Mehmed Agha aspired to be a musician, but then had a dream which, as interpreted by Vişne Mehmed Efendi, went to show that music is an ignoble art, associated with

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[23] I 202a27.

[24] I 182a30,34, 204b7; III 24a5; I 202a22, 204b8; III 24a17; IV 228b20 = Bitlis 102.

[25] On Cemshid see Bitlis Index, p. 416; V 87a28. Invention of *zurna*: I 208a1,2; IV 229a24. Military band musicians: I 202b7.margin. Invention of wine: I 213b33; V 87a18. Vinegar makers: I 170b24. Gunpowder, etc.: I 182a15, 192b32, 179b14, 21, 182b10,15, 196b26, 197a16, 215a12.

[26] See Howard Crane, tr., *Risāle-i miʿmāriyye: an early-seventeenth-century Ottoman treatise on architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 25–29.

Satan, jinn, and gypsies, while architecture is a noble art, associated with the prophets Seth and Abraham. In this text, written one generation before Evliya's, Seth and Abraham are the patron saints of the stonemasons and architects, while Noah is the patron of the carpenters. Evliya, on the other hand, associates Seth with weaving and makes him the patron of the sail-makers, shirt-makers and weavers.[27] Evliya's views seem to be closer to the standard Turkish *Fütüvvet-name* literature.[28]

It might be noted that Murad IV was no great builder (no imperial mosque) but was a musician and a patron of musicians. Perhaps this is why the plea of the musicians proved persuasive.

Of the sewer-men or miners (*lağımcıyan*) Evliya says:

> They are a despised (*mezmum*) and filthy lot, but an indispensible one in Cairo and in Istanbul. It is by the services of this filthy folk that Istanbul gets clean.
>
> In Istanbul, most of this group are Armenians from Kayseri. They are somewhat despised (*sehil mezmumca*), a bad-smelling lot, but indispensible filth-handlers. . . .[29]

Popular Conception of Justice

The Egyptian merchants claimed precedence "as a matter of justice (*ʿadalet*)," arguing that the sultan should favor them since they provide funds to the imperial treasury, while the butchers do not. Each year when ten imperial panters arrive in Aydonat (northwestern Greece) and collect olives for the sultan's kitchen they "do justice" (*ʿadalet edüp*) by compensating the owners of the olive trees. This rough-and-ready conception of justice appears in war-time as well as peace-time. In Evliya's account of the battle against Celali Gürci Nebi in Üsküdar in 1648, the commander promises rewards to the troops in the following terms:

> The felicitous padishah will dispense justice in the pavilion of justice (*ʿadalet köşkinde ʿadl edüp*): to everyone who brings a head (proof that he has killed an enemy) he will give a hundred goldpieces; and to

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[27] I 147a19, 162b29, 192a32, 192b9.

[28] See Ali Torun, *Türk Edebiyatında Türkçe Fütüvvet-nameler* (Ankara 1998), 128–129, 142, 277. For the *Fütüvvet-name* literature see *EI*[2] s.v. "futuwwa" (Fr. Taeschner).

[29] I 205b27, 154a28.

> everyone who brings a tongue (i.e., a captured enemy who will serve as an informant) he will give a *zeʿamet* and make him a *sipahi*.[30]

Evliya frequently alludes to to this rough-and-ready "justice" which is the popular reflection of a more sophisticated and politically charged ideal (see below: Ottoman Critique). Thus when Muslim prisoners are released and Christian prisoners are put at their disposal, this is an example of "a marvelous justice" (*ʿaca'ib ʿadalet*)—or perhaps what we would call "poetic justice."[31] Another popular usage was giving the nickname Zulmiye or "Oppression" to a mosque that was built with funds not acquired in a legitimate manner. Thus, of the Zulmiye mosque in Ohrid, Evliya remarks: "It is a splendid mosque, even though probably it was constructed with oppression (*zulm ile*)".[32] The most famous instance is the Valide Sultan mosque (= Yeni Cami) in Istanbul, begun in 1597 but left incomplete until the great Istanbul fire of 1660 when construction began anew; it was completed in 1665. According to Evliya, the original patroness, Kösem Sultan, expended "ten Egyptian treasures" but when it was left uncompleted, it acquired the nickname Zulmiye. The second patroness, Hatice Turhan Sultan, "expended 5000 purses of her own wealth," and its name was changed to ʿAdliye ("Justice").[33] The most legitimate source of funds for such a project was, of course, conquest booty (*gaza mali*)—recall Evliya's pride that his family compound in Unkapanı, and the shops and mosque built by his great-grandfather Yavuz Er Beg, were constructed by funds legimitely acquired in the conquest under Fatih (see *Man of Istanbul*: Ancestry, Family History).[34]

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[30] Aydonat: VIII 350b18 = 662; Üsküdar: III 31b7.

[31] VI 157a9.

[32] VIII 370b3; Albania 210.

[33] I 87b7. See Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, "Location, Expropriation and the Yeni Valide complex in Eminönü," in: F. Déroche et al., *Art Turc/Turkish Art: Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Geneva, 1999), 675–80; "The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex of Eminönü, Istanbul (1597–1665): Gender and Vision in Ottoman Architecture," in: D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic societies* (State University of New York Press, 2000), 69–89.

[34] I 25a6.

Ottoman Pride

There were certain Ottoman institutions in which Evliya felt particular pride. They seemed to reflect on the greatness of the empire, and his own identity was bound up with them. These include:

- The gun foundry in Istanbul at Tophane.[35]
- The mint in Istanbul and other cities: "If you have not seen this, you have not seen anything, because it is the honor of the Ottomans" (*Al-i ʿOsmanıñ ab-ruyı*); "the imperial honor" (*ʿırz-ı padişahi*).[36] Evliya's self-portrayal as a numismatist (see *Man of Istanbul*: Ancestry, Family History) is bound up with his pride in Ottoman coinage. He once possessed *akçes* from sixty-four different Ottoman mints, which he lists from Algiers to Tabriz to Sidirkapsi.[37]
- Cuisine: compared especially to that of the Persians (see *Man of the World*: Geographical Horizons) and the Austrians, Ottoman cuisine is the best. Note his interruption of the narrative about the Celali rebels in 1647 to give an elaborate description of a vizier's cuisine.[38]
- Walled cities and other fortresses (*kalʿe*).

When describing a town's fortifications, certain questions needed to be answered. How were they situated relative to the topography of the region, and in particular, were there any nearby hills or other high points (*havale*) from which an enemy might gain an advantage? What were the size and condition of the walls and battlements and moats, and the number and placement of the gates? What kind of buildings (*ʿimaret*)—mosques, baths, residences—and water supplies were inside the citadel (*iç kalʿe*)? What was the nature of the artillery (*top*) and the munitions supplies or armory (*cebe-hane*)? Who was the fortress commander (*dizdar*), and what was the size and condition of the garrison (*kul*)?

While awarding the palm to the Europeans (*kalʿe bina etmek . . . Fireng-i bed-renge kalmışdır*), Evliya frequently disputes the claim—which must have been a common perception—that the Ottomans were poor constructors of fortifications.[39] He concedes that in the early

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[35] I 130a32; see Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, "La fonderie de canons d'Istanbul et le quartier de Tophane. Texte et images commentés, I. La description de Tophane par Evliya Çelebi," *Anatolia Moderna* 8 (1999), 3–42.

[36] I 176b19, X 61b4 = 135.

[37] VIII 212a17 = 102; see also I 177a4, V 94a33, 144b19, VII 72b7 = 323–4 (Apfel 201–3; 2nd ed., 244–6), 102b6 = 481, X 79b12.

[38] Persians: IV 290b21. Austrians: VII 63b22. A vizier's cuisine: II 336b35–337b9.

[39] IV 288a33, 309a16, V 37b13, VI 57a32, VII 81a1 = 366, VIII 361a28 = 704.

years of the empire, when resources were lacking to garrison and maintain conquered cities, it was the practice to demolish their fortifications—"the Ottomans, like the Tatars, supposedly did not like walled towns, so they destroyed them and passed on" (*heman Al-i ʿOsman Tatar gibi kalʿeleri sevmeyüp berbad edüp geçerlermiş*)—and that is the reason why the walls of most of the towns around Istanbul are in ruins.[40] Aside from that, very many of the fortresses that are in the interior of the country (*iç el*)—i.e., well within the Ottoman frontiers—have fallen into ruin because of neglect.

Indeed, Evliya hardly mentions this concept of *iç el* ("the interior," always as opposed to *serhad* "the frontier") except to explain or excuse the poor quality of the fortifications or of the garrison troops:[41] (This list is probably not complete)

In Anatolia:			
II	223a26	Bursa	no garrison except gatekeepers
	280b19,23	Amasya	no balaramada guns; but garrisoned to prevent takeover by Celalis
	283a7	Niksar	small garrison, but guarded against Celalis
	343a15	Şebin-karahisar	small armory, few cannons
III	69a11	Bor	fortress in ruins
	80b6	Divrigi	garrisoned to prevent takeover by Celalis
IV	193b37	Malatya	small garrison
	198a18	Ergani	garrison outfitted by the local Beg, not by the state
	218a24	Miyafarkin	no need for a garrison
V	25b35	Turhal	fortress weak and unkempt
	85b13	Abelyond	no garrison or armory
	87b31	Aydıncık	garrison and artillery removed to Dardanelles fortresses
	8a15 = 15	Tavşanlı	no garrison
IX	19a23 = 38	Uşak	no need of armory or garrison
	26a18 = 53	Alaşehir	fortress in ruins
	27a20 = 55	Sart	no garrison

[40] VIII 381a2 = 778. See example of Izmit (II 242b27).

[41] An exception is VII 93b11 = 433 (Ihram on the Danube), explaining the presence of armed guards: "True, it is *iç el* and secure from the enemy, but they are afraid of Serbian and Bulgarian bandits in the mountains, and so they have a constant guard at the gate, since all the town notables keep their valuables inside the citadel." This usage of the phrase *iç el* is to be distinguished from the place name İç El, referring to a sandjak in the Silifke region belonging to the eyalet of Kıbrıs/Cyprus (I 51b3, 53b28, 55b27; IX 140b12 = 299).

	29b18 = 60	Akhisar	no garrison
	86a3 = 174	Birgi	no garrison
	97a2 = 197	Davaz[42]	no garrison
	132b28 = 281	Istanaz[43]	no garrison
	140a18 = 298	Alanya	small garrison (?—text incomplete)
In Syria:			
IX	181b28 = 399	Betis[44]	garrison unsalaried
In Rumelia:			
III	134a15	Filibe	no need of armory or garrison
	149b23	Edirne	moat has filled up; no buildings inside citadel
V	68b5	Hırsova	neglected
	94b25	Gelibolu	no large balaramada-guns because of Dardanelles fortresses
	109b11	Şarköy	no buildings inside fortress
	127b31	Srebrenica	few public buildings
	170a9	Üsküb	little armory and few cannons
	178a16	Gölikesri	little armory and few cannons
	181a12	Serfice	fortifications in poor repair
VI	32a12	Havale[45]	no need to maintain it in good repair
	36b24	Yenikale	fortress in ruins
	36b33, 37b1	İştib	no garrison, fortress in ruins
	42a12	Pıñarhisar	fortress neglected
	140a31	Uzice	small garrison
VII	33a9 = 151	Iloq	small garrison; fortress needs repair
	79a9 = 356	Sombor	only two cannons and no gunpowder
	79b4 = 358	Bács	small garrison
	92b33 = 430	Virse	no garrison
	95a14 = 441	Dırınkova	fortress in ruins
	99a7 = 461	Rahova	fortress in ruins
VIII	208b9 = 87	Gümülcine	no armory or garrison
	213a24 = 106	ʻAvrethisar	fortress in ruins
	222a32 = 140	Demirhisar	fortress empty
	346b32 = 648	Ioánnina	poor state of repair
	363b13 = 713	Pekin	"very secure" (*gayet emn [ü] eman*)
	365a9 = 719	Elbasan	no garrison
	374b22 = 755	Strumica	fortress in ruins, no garrison

[42] Between Denizli and Muğla.
[43] Between Elmalı and Isparta; printed text has Istanoz.
[44] Between Latakia and Tripoli.
[45] Near Belgrade.

In Crimea:

VII	121b28 = 573	Menkub	small garrison
	137a15[46] = 659	Eski Kırım	no garrison

Projects

In so far as the *Seyahatname* is a "*vade mecum* for Ottoman administrators,"[47] Evliya assumes the responsibility, not only of describing, but also of recommending steps to improve the situation. This he frequently does with regard to fortifications; but he has more grandiose projects as well. Of course Evliya knew about the failed Don-Volga canal scheme of 1568–69,[48] and this may have been a model for some of his own unrealistic proposals. These include:

– Connecting the Sakarya River, Lake Sapanca, and the Gulf of Izmit. The project was begun under a previous sultan[49] but was halted at the disuasion of the Izmit populace who argued that it would require "immense treasure and the lifetime of Noah" (*vafir genc ve ʿömr-i Nuh*). Were this to be accomplished, says Evliya,

> no longer could an enemy penetrate Anatolia by sailing up the Sakarya River from the Black Sea; and because Izmit is *iç el* (i.e., securely within the Ottoman heartland), and the area stretching from Izmit to Bolu is five stages of prosperous country, Bolu would then be near a seaport, and ships from Istanbul would be able to dock near Bolu. Then the price of a board in Istanbul would be only 3 *akçe*, and a quintal of firewood would be 5 *akçe*. This would be a great public works.[50]

Elsewhere he gives an alternate account:

> Alexander the Great cut Lake Sapanca, east of Izmit, and made it flow into the Gulf of Izmit. So the city of Koca Eli or Izmit was left

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[46] *Ḳırım cezīresiniñ iç elidir* (altered by later hand to: *iç eyāletdir*).

[47] Murphey in Melek 21.

[48] VII 174b29 = 841.

[49] Evliya leaves the name blank (II 277b8). Elsewhere (V 84a26) he reports that Sultan Süleyman planned to cut a canal near Gemlik between the Gulf and Lake Iznik, but gave up the project because of the Varadin campaign.

[50] II 277b6. The "enemy" referred to are the cossacks; see Victor Ostapchuk, "The Human Landscape of the Ottoman Black Sea in the Face of the Cossack Naval Raids," *Oriente Moderno* 81.1 (2001), 23–95.

> as an island between the Sakarya River and the Black Sea and the Gulf of Izmit. It remained thus for some time until the Tekvur of Istanbul, Küştantiş, blocked the Sapanca estuary, and Izmit was no longer an island. But were the Ottomans to desire it they could again make Lake Sapanca flow into the Gulf of Izmit. Then a quintal of firewood would be 5 *akçe*, a board would be 2 *akçe*, and the Izmit ships would be able to dock near the Düzce marketplace, turning that region into an entrepôt.[51]

– Constructing an earthworks isthmus across the Gulf of Aqaba. This would save pilgrims 6 stages of troublesome travel around the Red Sea. The project was begun by the Mamluk Sultans Faraj and Barquq, but left incomplete. Now, because of technical advances:

> Were the Ottoman authorities to issue an order to one of the Egyptian viziers, I myself would serve as the agent and would go there with substantial equipment. In the rocky cliffs at either end we would construct mineshafts at an investment of three or four [Egyptian] treasures each, similar to those used at the siege of Candia. We would secure the earthworks very solidly on the seaward side and leave it weak on the landward side, then set fire [to the mineshafts], and all the rock and rubble would collapse into the sea on both sides. There would be no need to bother about camels in order to haul rocks. In the past, these mining techniques were very crude, but now the Ottomans—and the Venetians—have perfected them.[52]

– Constructing a Suez canal. This had been accomplished in Pharaonic times under King Totis, and renewed for a period in early Islamic times "by Muhammad of the Kurds, under the direction of Imam Shafi'i."

> Were the Ottomans to spare a single Egyptian treasure it could be reopened and ships could pass back and forth between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; . . . the holy cities would benefit from cheap prices; the imperial fleet could send a thousand ships and conquer Yemen.

Evliya goes on to state that his own patron Kethüda Ibrahim Pasha, when he was governor of Egypt, petitioned the sultan to carry out the project, but then was dissuaded by a delegation of Egyptian grandees who argued that, if it were successful, the lower course of

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[51] II 242b20.

[52] IX 378a25 = 821. For the siege of Candia, see Evliya's description at VIII 288a–307b = 396–477; GUERRE 167–275.

the Nile would dry up, leaving thousands of villages unable to pay their taxes, and leaving the ports at Rosetta and Damietta deprived of their customs income. Their arguments were persuasive; but their real motivation, according to Evliya, was to prevent a long and drawn-out campaign against Yemen, which would drain their lives and property and require them to be absent from their wives and children.[53]

The pattern is clear. In each case, the project was begun or contemplated by a previous sultan, but not undertaken or left incomplete due to pusilanimity or shortsightedness. A bold effort—preferably with Evliya himself in charge of operations—and an investment of resources will have beneficial results for the Ottoman empire.

On a smaller scale, Evliya likes to depict himself as performing public services, or urging others to do so. Stopping to visit the mausoleum of Sultan Murad I in Kosovo in 1660, and noticing its sad, run-down condition, Evliya persuades Melek Pasha to invest some resources in restoring it. Finding himself in the port of Qusayra on the Red Sea in 1671, Evliya responds to the people's complaint of lack of water by prevailing on the Egyptian governor, Ibrahim Pasha, to send workers in order to dig a well.[54]

Ottoman Defense

In a conversation with Kaytmaz Khan, the Safavid governor of Tabriz, in 1655 (in Azerbaijani dialect), the khan told Evliya that one of his spies had reported from Van that Melek Ahmed Pasha, then Ottoman governor of Van, was mounting a military campaign. The spy could not determine where the campagin was directed, but the khan, suspecting it was against Iran, chided Evliya with the Ottoman duplicity of exchanging envoys while at the same time preparing to break the truce. Evliya assured the khan that Melek Pasha and the other Ottoman governors of provinces along the Safavid border were very solicitous of keeping the truce and maintaining good relations with the frontier tribes and especially with the Iranian provinces of Urmia and Tabriz; the campaign must be directed at

[53] IX 385a28 = 835, 385b23 = 836.
[54] Kosovo: V 168b8–19; Albania 18–21. Qusayra: X 381a21 = 818.

the rebellious Kurdish khan of Bitlis, Abdal Khan. The spy, who was present, said that he did see twenty boats being readied at the dock on Lake Van, and this was evidence that Evliya's surmise was correct. But Kaytmaz Khan was not convinced. "This is what is known as rabbit's sleep (*tavşan uykusu*)," he said—i.e., a trick to lull one's enemy into complacency. He went on to cite the adage: "The Ottomans hunt rabbits using a carriage" (*ʿOsmanlı tavşanı ʿaraba ile avlar*)—meaning, they pull the wool over your eyes.[55]

To the khan's aspersions, Evliya replied that, on the contrary, the Ottomans are plain and simple folk who know nothing of tricks and ruses (*Al-i ʿOsman oğuz tayfa ve mankaladır . . . hile ve hudʿa nedir bilmez*).[56] Because of their great and powerful army, they have no need to use spies, lull their enemies with tricks, or resort to other schemes that would be unworthy of the office of Servant of the Two Holy Cities. Furthermore, the Ottomans have never broken a treaty or attacked an enemy by surprise. Their practice is rather to warn the offending party first through letters and embassies, then to use overwhelming force in order to punish an enemy who has broken a treaty.

In the event, a second spy soon appeared who confirmed Evliya's surmise.

Evliya's defense of the Ottomans is natural in this context, since he was on an official mission and represented the Ottoman state.[57] What he told the khan of Tabriz can also be construed as contrasting Persian trickiness and Turkish straightforwardness (see *Man of the World*: Geographical Horizons).

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[55] IV 302b25–303a11. For the proverb, cf. Harsány (Hazai 1973, p. 19), Megiser (AOH 38 [1984], # 168), Montalbano (Gallotta 1986, # 120). [G. Hazai, *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert*, Budapest, 1973; Heidi Stein, "Eine Türkische Sprichwortsammlung des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 38 (1984), 55–104; Aldo Gallotta, "Latin Harfleri ile Yazılmış bir kaç Osmanlı Atasözü," *Türk dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 24–25 (1986), 235–49].

[56] IV 303a16.

[57] It was not in Ottoman interest to provoke Iran at this period. "The relative quiet that had prevailed along the eastern frontier with Iran since the signing of an Ottoman-Safavid truce at Kasr-i Şirin in 1639 gave ample scope for new Ottoman initiatives in Europe." (Murphey in MELEK 25)

Ottoman Mysteries

The special favor, even sanctity, enjoyed by the Ottoman dynasty is revealed in the many oracles and prognostications which Evliya is fond of recounting. His father once related to him the following concerning Sultan Ahmed I (reg. 1603–17) and the intention of conquering Crete—a conquest which began with Hanya/Canea in 1645 under Sultan Ibrahim (reg. 1640–48) and ended with Candia in 1669, under Sultan Mehmed IV (reg. 1648–87):

In 1611, the year of Evliya's birth, when Sultan Ahmed began to lay the foundation for his imperial mosque (the future "Blue Mosque"), he wished to assure its perpetuity through well-established pious foundations (*evkaf*). His advisors recommended conquering Crete from the Venetians and dedicating its wealth to the upkeep of his mosque. The sultan sent an envoy to Venice requesting them to hand over Crete to the Ottomans. In reply the Venetians said they would be happy to hand over Crete if in exchange the Ottomans gave them Acre, Sidon, Beyrut and Jerusalem. Vexed at this reply, the sultan retired to the palace garden and sought diversion by watching the royal princes play ball. During their exercises he questioned them one by one.

The first, Osman (the future Osman II, reg. 1618–22), asked if he would conquer Crete, said: "What do I have to do with Crete? I will conquer the country of the white-skinned Russian slavegirls and spill their blood"—alluding to the Chotin campaign, 1621.

The second, Mehmed, who had just been knocked down by Osman, when asked if he would conquer Crete, replied: "I would have, but my brother Osman is spilling my blood from jealousy;"—alluding to Osman's putting Mehmed to death after his return from Chotin—"but, God willing, another Mehmed will complete its conquest."

The third, Murad (the future Murad IV, reg. 1623–40), who had just knocked down Bayezid and Süleyman and given them bloody noses, when asked why he had done so, said: "Before they ganged up on me and tried to take my place; now I got the upper hand and beat them"—alluding to his having them put to death during the Revan campaign in 1626.

The fourth, Ibrahim, who had just defeated and shamed Murad, when asked if he would conquer Crete, replied that he and his own son Mehmed would accomplish it.

Evliya's father went on to give a complete interpretation of these

events, which were much more detailed than the bare summary above, pointing out how each element corresponded to some future event in the life of the Ottoman dynasty. Evliya refers to these prognostications as "divine mysteries" and the scene in the palace garden is frequently interrupted by the sultan's courtiers' commenting on the enigmatic and prophetic quality of the princes' actions and words.[58]

Another source of Evliya's knowledge of the Ottoman mysteries was his kinsman and patron Melek Ahmed Pasha, who had access to them through dreams and also through the strange prognostications in Arabic, generally ascribed to ʿAli, that circulated under the title *Cifr-i camiʿ* or "The Encompassing Onomancy." These were interpreted to refer to the achievements of the Köprülü viziers in restoring the fortunes of the Ottoman state. Because of Melek's astuteness at dream interpretation, Evliya considered him "master of mysteries" (*rümuz [u] künuz sahibi*) and at the level of the saints.[59]

In the autumn of 1661 during a ten-day halt near Vasarheld in Transylvania, Evliya had ample time to visit an elaborate palace, built as he tells us by the king of Hungary in 1453, whose 360 rooms were decorated with frescos. Those in the great halls of state were especially impressive. Evliya's fanciful description conveys his idea of the important events in Ottoman history during his own lifetime:

> Based on astrological forecast, the master painter depicted the exact moments that Mehmed the Conqueror would take Istanbul and Morea and would fail to take Belgrade. Mehmed appeared in his garments and lineaments, with a molla's turban and mounted on a mule. Indeed,

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[58] II 273b20–275b36. "Divine mysteries," etc: 274b24. margin *esrār-ı ḫafiyye-i ilāhī*, 275a6 *esrār-ı ḫafiler āşikār oldı . . . bir ʿaceb rümūz [u] künūz ḳuş dili tekellüm olundı.*

[59] Dreams: see Melek passim. Köprülü viziers: I 81b7, V 32a13; Melek 206. "Master of mysteries" (*rümūz [u] künūz ṣāḥibi*): V 18b2; Melek 196. Evliya was perhaps familiar with a work by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 1454) entitled *Miftāḥ al-Ǧifr al-Ǧāmiʿ*. (The reference in Melek 163 should be corrected.) He confused the work with the *Fuṣuṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿArabi (d. 1240). Note other instances where *Cifr-i Camiʿ* or *Cifr-i ʿAlī* or the prognostications of "Muḥyiddīn al-ʿArabī" are mentioned: I 109b19, III 149a28, 176a9 (Melek 121), IV 356b31, 384a4, V 96b13,25, VI 74a13, VII 107a23 = 506, 175a22 = 844, 180a13 = 869, IX 248a24 = 547, X 49a22 = 110, 49b26–50a26 = 111–12, 53a10 = 117, 63b19 = 139 (omitted), 81a10 = 175, 83b1 = 180, 227(ii)b22–228a5 = 486, 388a10–29 = 834. In the last cited instance, Evliya quotes *Muḫtaṣar Kītāb Miftāḥ al-Ǧifr* by Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Sālim Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥa.

according to the prognostication that there would be fifty Ottoman sultans from Osman [I] until Korkud, he portrayed each one of the sultans in his distinctive dress and form, and also all the provinces that they would conquer. He accurately painted Sultan Ahmed and his son Sultan Osman [II], and that Ahmed's brother Mustafa would be sultan twice; that Sultan Murad [IV] would destroy the "zorba" rebels and would take Revan and Baghdad; that Sultan Ibrahim would take Azov and Crete [i.e., Hanya] and would give up Klis and Dirnish to the infidels and would be martyred holding his penis in his hand; and that Ibrahim's son the brave and Joseph-countenenced Sultan Mehmed [IV]—shown holding a hawk and a falcon—would conquer Yanova and Varat and Transylvania and Uyvar and Candia; that his commanders would make war in Austria and in Moldavia with no result; that he would be the Padishah named "Velekad" who would have a vizier named "Esvedü's-safa."[60] All these scenes he painted according to the exact hour and moment; indeed, he cut the die in marble. And over the head of each sultan he wrote—both in infidel script and in Muslim script—how long he would live and how many conquests he would perform and who would rule after him and the cause of his death. What a wonderful science astrology is!

On the western side of this great hall he depicted the fifty kings of Transylvania corresponding to the Ottoman sultans, each with an Ottoman vizier on horseback before him, along with the dates of his reign and the cause of his death. He even showed that the kingdom of Transylvania would be plundered and sacked in the years from 1657 to 1662, and exactly depicted how our Seydi Ahmed Pasha would cut off king Rákóczi's head with a sword. And he showed a squat and dark vizier named Mehmed Pasha killing king Kemény Janos—I have heard that when Kemény Janos saw this picture of his own execution he was greatly discomfitted. He also depicted our commander Ali Pasha mounted on his grey horse, with his Egyptian turban and his brown fur coat and his sparse beard. There was Ali Pasha, wreaking havoc in this province, and opposite him was the repulsive form of Apaffy Mihail who was destined to reign here for thirty years.[61]

In short, it is quite a marvel that a painter 230 years ago should have had such foreknowledge. Next to the inscription he wrote, in

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[60] "The Black One of Purity," a reference to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in the mysterious language of the *Cifr-i Cami*; cf. Melek 206. The significance of "Velekad" is unclear; meaning "And indeed," it occurs 127 times in the Koran.

[61] George II Rákóczi was defeated by Ottoman and Tatar troops in 1657 and died in 1660. Kemény Janos, his successor, was favored by the Habsburgs, and the Ottomans forced the Transylvanian nobles to elect the more compliant Apaffy Mihail. Kemény Janos was killed in 1662. Apaffy actually continued to reign for twenty years, until 1682. Much of Book VI of the *Seyahatname* is devoted to these events, which Evliya witnessed and describes in detail.

> Turkish: "I would have illustrated even more. But the fiftieth Ottoman padishah will be Sultan Korkud and the corresponding king of Transylvania will be Redey Yar. During that period the Ottomans will come and tear down this palace. For this reason I have not painted Sultan Korkud and I have not written his name."[62]

Evliya accompanied Kara Mehmed Pasha on a famous Ottoman embassy to Vienna in 1665. At the beginning of his description of the city, Evliya reports a prophecy of Şem'un-i Safa or St. Peter—"he, like Jesus, was a world-traveller"—that Vienna would be besieged by the Muslims twice. The first time, when the siege would be led by Süleyman, they would not have to worry but should simply strengthen the fortifications. The second time, when the siege would be led by Sultan Yusuf Mehmed, they would be in great danger and should make peace with the Muhammedans. Evliya says that these oracles are still preserved in St. Stephen's cathedral inside the walled city; also that all the Hungarian and German and Latin and Greek chronicles contain St. Peter's clearly enunciated prophecies that the Ottomans would conquer both "Golden Apples," i.e., both Vienna (Beç Kızıl Elması) and Rome (İrim Papa Kızıl Elması).[63]

Two years later, when Evliya stopped in Edirne to pay his respects to Sultan Mehmed IV, the deputy grand vizier Mustafa Pasha inquired about Vienna, along with other places Evliya had travelled to. In his response, Evliya gave his own plan for conquering Vienna. The final redaction of the *Seyahatname* was made during Evliya's last years, when he was living in Egypt. Apparently Evliya was putting the finishing touches on his description of Vienna shortly before, or perhaps after, the Ottoman defeat in 1683. Describing his tour of Sultan Süleyman's park ouside the city walls, just before the grand entrance of the Ottoman delegation in May of 1665, Evliya says that he voiced the wish that God would one day give Vienna into the hands of Islam; but then a crazed dervish in the Ottoman retinue replied:

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[62] VI 17b24–18a12.

[63] VII 55a28–34 = 248; Apfel 77; 2nd ed. 126. "Oracles" renders *rümūz [u] künūzlar . . . elfāż-ı cifr-i cāmi'ler*—cf. phraseology above, n. 58 and n. 59. For Kızıl Elma ("Golden Apple") see *Man of the World*, n. 45. Elsewhere Evliya states that there are six "Golden Apples" of which the Ottomans possess four (Buda, Egri, Esztergom, Stolnibelgrad) and that Shaikh Muhyiddinü'l-'Arabi has indicated that the other two (Rome, Vienna) will "soon" pass into the hands of the Ottomans (VI 73b33–74a14).

"In the year '94 (i.e., 1094 = 1683) may God not give this park and the walled city of Vienna into the hands of Islam, because they will destroy all of these buildings." Evliya concludes by reiterating his wish that God may soon vouchsafe the army of Islam to march into the city. This passage, combined with his mention of the year 1094/1683 at the end of Book X, lead one to think that Evliya must have died (or at least stopped writing) in that year or shortly thereafter.[64]

Ottoman Critique

Evliya rarely says anything negative about the sultan himself, at least not directly.[65] In one of his conversations in 1655 with Genc Ali Khan, the Safavid governor of Urmia, the khan inquires why the Ottoman sultans kill their best viziers, such as Kara Mustafa Pasha, Hezarpare Ahmed Pasha, Yusuf Pasha, Salih Pasha, and Ipshir Pasha.[66]

When Evliya was caught up in the Celali troubles in 1648, as we have seen (*Man of the World*: Rebels and Bandits), he was quite sympathetic to these rebels, and had no hesitation criticizing the Istanbul authorities. Between Çorum and Ankara lay the shrine of Bardaklı

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[64] Plan for conquering Vienna: VIII 203a27 = 65. "In the year '94 . . .": VII 53a22 = 239. End of Book X: Q358a17 = 1049. For this understanding of "the year '94" see Apfel 219, 2nd ed. 280–1. The argument against this date, given by Abrahamowicz 1989, 27–31, was refuted by Prokosch 1992, 202–3. [Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, "Zwei Bücher von Richard F. Kreutel in neuer posthumer Fassung," WZKM 79 (1989), 7–33; Erich Prokosch, "Erwiderung," *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 38 (1992), 197–203.] On the basis of Evliya's description of the pinnacle atop St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna (VII 61b28–31 = 276) Karl Teply has proposed 31 October 1687 as a new (and suprising!) terminus post quem for Evliya's death; see "Evliya Çelebi in Wien," *Der Islam* 52.1 (1975), 125–31, p. 129, n. 24; Apfel 2nd ed. 299, n. 231.

[65] For the Ottoman discourse on justice, with special attention to Evliya, see Boğaç A. Ergene, "On Ottoman Justice: Interpretations in Conflict (1600–1800)," *Islamic Law and Society* 8.1 (2001), 52–87.

[66] IV 293a10. Kemankeş (Lala) Kara Mustafa Pasha was put to death in 1644 at the height of Cinci Hoca's influence over Sultan Ibrahim; see Evliya's account at I 76a25. Hezarpare Ahmed Pasha was put to death in 1648 just before Sultan Ibrahim's removal from the throne; see Evliya's account at I 78b5, II 370b13. Yusuf Pasha, the conquerer of Hanya/Canea, Crete, was put to death in 1645; see Evliya's account at II 273a34. Salih Pasha was put to death in 1647, also under Sultan Ibrahim. Ipshir Mustafa Pasha was put to death in 1655 under Sultan Mehmed IV; see Evliya's account at IV 248a7.

Baba, where in the winter of 1648 Defterdar-zade Mehmed Pasha (Evliya's Celali patron) billetted his troops overnight. When the residents of this shrine complex complained about their outrages, and began to curse the pasha, Evliya stood up and harangued them, urging them to direct their curses against the grand vizier Hezarpare Ahmed Pasha in Istanbul, who had dismissed a provincial governor in mid-winter for no reason, and thus had caused the necessity for that innocent governor to quarter his troops there. Here is his account:

> A woman appeared at the outer gate of the holy shrine, holding a baby in her arms. She placed it in front of the saint's tomb, bared her head and let her hair fall dishevelled, and scratching her eyes and face cried "My son!" What had happened was that the muleteers who were quartered in the woman's house had thrown her baby out onto the snow at night, and it had died. Following the woman into the holy shrine came a group of miserable creatures, people wounded by blows of the ax, venerable old men who were battered and crushed. "Look here, oh God of Bardaklı Baba Sultan!" they cried. "If the holy shaikh who is lying here is truly one of your saints, then for the sake of his honor, O lord God, and for the love of the prophet of the last age, Muhammad al-Mustafa, visit with calamity this day and this hour these Celali associates of the Pasha who treated us so violently, that we may be saved from their depradations."
>
> They wailed and mourned and cursed so much over Bardaklı Baba's holy tomb that I was overcome with dread and began to shake like an autumn leaf. For I knew that their curses, accompanied by cold sighs, would strike their mark. I immediately approached the miserable group, kissed some of their hands, put on a cheerful expression, even kissed their cheeks, and said: "Oh people of Muhammad! I too am one of those soldiers. I swear by God that the Pasha does not sanction violence. But in order to save his head he was constrained to gather so many men about him, and in this dead of winter there is no place to lodge or to lie down. You ought to direct your curses to the vizier of Istanbul, Ahmed Pasha, the one who caused so many soldiers to be billetted among you in this dead of winter!" "Well, he has spoken the truth," they cried.
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> Just then an ancient greybeard, a feeble centenarian who was among the crowd, bared his head and shouted: "May the vizier of Istanbul fall prey to the sword of the lord God, may his concubines and his pretty boys and he himself fall from grace. Let us cry 'Hu' upon the breath of the true saint who lies here!" All fell silent next to the tomb.
>
> I meekly kissed the old man's hand and said: "My dear sir! I was quartered in the house of your lord the imam. My men and my horses lay on the snow, while I lay under a lean-to. I beg you not to curse me and the Pasha."

"We know you," he replied, "the imam brought you gruel and porridge, which you accepted and consumed. May God keep you and your pasha from ill fortune, guard you from evil dreams, and protect you from bad companions wherever you may ride and raid. But may the lord God visit instant calamity upon his officers and upon his Sarıca and Segban troops and upon his scullions. What can I tell you? After filling their accursed throats they went to the hot bath and started guzzling wine. When it went to their heads, they demanded women and boys, shouting: 'Hey, our host, bring us chow for our groins!' We stuck all our women and children into a stable. At night those men forced open the stable. They made a hole in the wall and dragged out the women and boys. We could only commend them to God's care." They cried maledictions, and departed.[67]

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[67] II 352a4–25. The following transcription is given because of its intrinsic interest and difficulty, and because of errors in my own previous treatment (see GLOSSARY 99, etc.) and in the recent edition of Book II (*Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnemesi 2. Kitap*, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı [Istanbul 1999], p. 216).

Āsitāne-i seʿādetden ṭaşra ḳapudan bir ḥātūn żāhir olup bir maʿşūm-ı pāki dirāğūş eyleyüp ḳabr-ı ʿazīziñ öñine ḳoyup başın açup gīsūların tārmār édüp gözin ve yüzin pāre pāre édüp "Oğul!" deyü feryād etdi. Meger ḥarbendeler ḥātūnuñ ḥānesine ḳonup maʿşūmını ḳar üzre atup ol géce merḥūm olur, ḥātūnuñ ardı ṣıra yine bu ziyārete niçe fuḳarā ve żuʿafālar balta ḍarbıyle zaḥmdār ve iḫtiyār* ṣāḥib-vaḳār* kimesneler ḥaḳīr ü ḫvār olup tekyeye gelüp ḳabr-i şerīfe girüp eyitdiler: "Baḳa Bardaḳlı Baba Sulṭānuñ tañrısı! Eger bunda yatan ʿazīz pīr seniñ gerçek eriñ ise bunuñ yüzi ṣuyına olsun hey çalap Allāh ve āḫir zemān yalavacı Muḥammedü'l-muṣṭafānuñ ʿaşḳına olsun, bize żulm éden bu paşalı celālīlerini bu günde ve bu sāʿatde bir belāya uğradup avanlıḳlarından ḳurtulaḳ" deyü olḳadar ṣaġu ṣaġlayup Bardaḳlı Babanıñ ḳabr-i şerīfi üzre aġlayup tażarruʿ [u] nālişler ile feryād u fiġān eyleyüp bed-duʿālar etdi kim ḥaḳīre bir dehşet gelüp ve bir bīm [ü] ḫaşyet ʿāriż olup vücūdum berg-ı ḫazān gibi dir dir ditredim. Bildim ki bed-duʿāları hedef-i icābetde vāḳıʿ olup bir kerre āh-ı serd çeküp hemān ḥaḳīr cümle fuḳarā reʿāyālarıñ yanına varup niçesiniñ destlerin būs éderek* yüzlerine gülerek* yanaḳların öperek* eyitdim: "Ey ümmet-i Muḥammed! Ben daḫi ol ʿaskerdenim. Va'llāhi paşanıñ żulme rıżāsı yoḳdur, ammā nāçār baş ḳurtarmaḳ içün başına buḳadar adam cemʿ édüp ḳışda ḳıyāmetde ne ḳonacaḳ* ve ne duracaḳ* ve ne yatacaḳ* yer vardır. Bed-duʿā añа gerekdir kim bu ḳış u ḳıyāmetde buḳadar ʿaskeri siziñ üstüñize ḳondurmaġa sebeb olan İslāmbol vezīri Aḥmed Paşadır" deyince cümlesi "Bire gerçek ayıtdı" deyü feryādlar édüp hemān aralarından yüz yaşında bir pīr-i nā-tüvān tāb ü tüvānı ḳalmamış ol pīr-i fānī baş açup "İslāmbol vezīri çalab Allāh ḳulıcına duş gele, raḥaṭlıġınıñ ve ḳızañlarınıñ ve kendiniñ devri döne. Bu yaṭan gerçek er demine hū deyelim hū" deyü ḳabir ḳurbında sākin oldılar. Ol iḫtiyārıñ ḥaḳīr ḥaḳīrānīce dest-i şerīfin būs édüp eyitdim: "Sulṭānım, ben imām efendiñiziñ evine ḳondum, adamlarım ve atlarım ḳar üzre yaṭup ben bir ḥayāt altında yaṭırım. Lütf eyleñ bаña ve paşaya bed-duʿā etmeñ" deyü ricā eyledim. "Seni biliriz, imām saña bulamac ve yalamac ve gölemec aşı getirmiş, ḳabūl édüp aşamışsın, paşañı da seni de Allāh ḳaradan ḳadadan ve yavunculu düşden ve eşüp yordduğuñ yerde yaramaz eşden sizi Allāh ṣaḳlasun. Ammā aġaları ve ṣarıcaları segbanları ve ḳara ḳulluḳcılara hemīn çalab Allāh belāların vére, nedeyelim, ḳor giresi boğazları doyduḳdan ṣoñra ıssı dama girüp şarāb hörpüldedirler ve o ḳızıl kekremsiyi başlarına birer çanaḳ çeküp 'Bire ev issi, bize ḳasıḳ mancası getir' deyü balṭalar ile urup ʿavret ve oğlan isterler, cümle ehl [ü] evlādlarımızı bir dama duḳduḳ, geceyle damını ḳurdalayup bir yanından delüp ʿavret oğlan çıḳarmışlar, hemān anları Allāha ṣaldıḳ" deyü bed-duʿā édüp gitdiler.*

A remarkable thing about this passage is that in the Anatolian villagers' speech, Evliya piles on expressions that are otherwise characteristic of Tatar, or what he calls "Chaghatay" or ancient Turkish.[68] It is as though, in his mind, this uncorrupted Turkish is the appropriate idiom in which to express outrage against the Celali troops.

In the spring of 1659 Evliya accompanied Sultan Mehmed IV and grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha on their expedition against Celali rebels in Western Anatolia. This involved a bloody purge, in which the sultan set quotas of heads from his provincial commanders, and hundreds of men were beheaded at a time. Evliya seems to be of two minds. On the one hand, rebels like Abaza Hasan Pasha and his followers, who refused to join Köprülü in the Yanova campaign earlier that year, dissipated the energies of the Ottoman forces and cost the empire numerous fortresses in Transylvania and Hungary that otherwise would certainly have been retaken. Thus the harsh measures taken against them were justified. On the other hand, summary executions involve a measure of oppression. At one point, still in Üsküdar, a prisoner about to be executed goes berserk, violently attacks the executioners, and, although handcuffed, jumps into the sea, where he is set upon and killed. Evliya interrupts the narrative to say that he took it upon himself to fish the man out and give him a proper burial.[69]

The immediately following passages, describing Mehmed IV's progress from Üsküdar to Izmit and from Izmit to Bursa, contain other jabs at Ottoman "justice"—the sultan's insistence on a daily quota of heads; the inclusion of innocents along with the guilty; and the picture of the sultan seated upon his "pavilion of justice" along with his boon-companions in order to witness the proceedings. In Pendik, one prisoner breaks free and cries, "My Padishah, I am innocent! Have inquiries made in my province!" But to no avail: an executioner catches him up and dispatches him. In Izmit the "bloodthirsty sultan" is not satisfied with sacrifices of sheep offered him by the populace but insists on sacrifices of men. In Topyeri, for lack of

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[68] See Robert Dankoff, "Turkic Languages and Turkish Dialects according to Evliya Çelebi," in: *Altaica Osloensia: Proceedings from the 32nd Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference*, ed. Bernt Brendemoen, Oslo, 1990, 89–102. Note the use of the following terms: *tañrı, çalap, yalavaç, avanlıḳ, ḳurtulaḳ, ayıtmaḳ, ḳızañ, aşamaḳ, yavunculu, eşüp yortmaḳ, ıssı dam, hörpuldetmek.*

[69] V 80a1, 75a9, 80b14.

human victims, the Padishah goes up a mountain and hunts down three stags which he has sacrificed in front of his imperial tent as "mountain Celalis." A child appears in the royal camp, weeping and bleeding, and tells the sultan that some men had grabbed a basket of cherries from him and had beaten him when he asked for recompense. The matter is investigated and the culprits turn out to be two of the royal executioners, who are immediately put to death. Evliya informs us that the "just sultan" always had Shariah vouchers read out before the criminals were executed.[70]

Elsewhere as well Evliya expresses various criticisms—always to bemoan the low state to which the Ottoman empire has fallen, and with a view to reform. Thus, while painting in hyperbolic terms the great prosperity of such ancient cities as Akhlat, he decries the oppression on the part of Ottoman officials which has caused the ruin of so many cities. Oppressive conditions in Anatolia has caused a flood of refugees from Tokat, Sivas, Amasya and other cities; many fled to the Crimea, and as a result such cities there as Cherson are now prospering![71]

Even his beloved and much-lauded mentor, Melek Ahmed Pasha, does not wholly escape Evliya's critique. Of the two events that precipitated Melek's fall from the grand vizierate in 1651, Evliya exonerates Melek of blame for Dasnik Mirza's rebellion and subsequent execution. He depicts Melek as the cat's paw of his deputies, who by their greed alienated a public servant and by their ferocity drove him to become a rebel or Celali. When he turns to the bazaar revolt, Evliya once again depicts Melek as the wholly innocent victim of circumstances, and shifts the blame to Melek's officers, especially his manipulative deputy named Kudde. The only implied criticisms of Melek are that he was too weak to oppose his underlings, and that he reacted too impetuously when the delegation demanded justice. While exonerating his patron, Evliya nevertheless is very clear that these two events were examples of injustice.[72]

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[70] Innocents along with the guilty: V 80b20, *mazlum ve gayri-mazlum adamlar*. "Pavilion of justice": 80b22, *kasr-ı ʿadalet üzre calis ve nedimler ile hem-enis*. "Bloodthirsty sultan": 82a29, *hünkar-ı hunhvar*. "Mountain Celalis": 82b9. "Just sultan" 82b18, *padişah-ı ʿadil*.

[71] IV 240b26; VII 134a17 = 644.

[72] *Ẓulm*, III 101a31, 102a7; *nā-ḥaḳ*, 101b22, 102a31; Melek 75–79, 12–13.

Evliya considers Melek the model provincial governor and military commander—public-spirited, generous, uncorruptable, self-abnigating, and tough. When he enters Van in 1655, Melek rebukes the castle warden for expending so much gunpowder on ceremony. By the end of his stay, however—thanks especially to his successful campaign against the rebellious khan of Bitlis—"for Melek Ahmed Pasha the province of Van turned out to be a veritable Egypt".[73]

In 1662, shortly before his death, when Fatma Sultan, the aging princess whom Melek is forced to marry, makes extravagant demands on him, he replies:

> I have just returned from the Transylvania campaign. I am a vizier who fights the holy war. In that campaign I had seven thousand men to feed. I spent 170,000 goldpieces and 600 purses. I even had to sell quite a lot of equipment and arms and armor and helmets, and to borrow money from the janissary corps. I am no tyrant, that I should extract money unjustly in the posts to which I am assigned, in order to feed you so extravagantly. . . .[74]

In his eulogy of Melek, Evliya stresses his uncorruptability. Elsewhere he remarks on his distaste for lies and flattery:

> If someone told a lie in his presence, he would conceive a loathing for that person. Of course, if it was just witty talk, he took pleasure in the joke. [In this he was unlike] the grandees and viziers and princes of these days, who are inclined toward flattery and obsequiousness. It is for this reason, and because these high officials do not inquire about affairs outside the court from impartial and modest individuals, that breaches have appeared here and there in the Ottoman state[75]—may God perpetuate it until the end of time, amen![76]

Like many Ottomans, Evliya was fond of contrasting the chaotic conditions of his own days with the good order and strength of the empire in the days of Kanuni Süleyman. During the siege of Yenikal'e/Zerinvar in 1664, for example, he recalls his father's story about Süleyman's sympathy for his troops. But no one showed sympathy

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[73] IV 248a28; 284a6; Bitlis 336.

[74] VI 44a15; Melek 260.

[75] *Devlet-i Āl-i 'Oṣmāna ṭaraf ṭaraf raḫneler gelmededir*. Cf. Melek's comment to Evliya in a conversation about Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and the hope that he would bring order to the state: *Bu devlet-i Āl-i 'Oṣmāna ṭaraf ṭaraf raḫneler göründi*, "breaches have occurred here and there in this Ottoman state" (V 32a3; Melek 205).

[76] Uncorruptability: VI 49a9; Melek 281. "If someone told a lie . . .": III 53a17.

for the Ottoman troops in the campaigns Evliya witnessed, where myriads lost their lives. At Yenikal'e as well, because no one took pity on the soldiers, they died miserably, and because their officers had no kind words, the men fought sluggishly and the enemy gained strength. Evliya estimates that a total of 900,000 Ottoman soldiers lost their lives during the twenty-seven years of the Crete campaign.[77]

As an eyewitness and participant in many of these wars, Evliya frequently remarks on the killings of captives and prisoners by bloodthirsty commanders and the depradations and atrocities of the Ottoman and Tatar troops: plundering soldiers in Wallachia in 1659; Hungary in 1661; Tatar troops upon Nogay settlements in 1665—"worse than the depradations of Hulagu in Baghdad or of Nebuchadnezzar in Jerusalem"; Segban and Sarıca bands in the Greek countryside in 1668. Some of the atrocities witnessed, of course, were on the part of the Europeans. At times his ironic humor seems to be at odds with his sense of outrage, as in his description of rape and rapine at Ferdenvar in 1661:

> In every nook and cranny there was so much sexual activity that in nine months over 10,000 women had babies from this campaign; as for those who did not become pregnant, only the people of Sodom know what services they had to perform.[78]

At one point he uses the term *meskuk* to characterize the Polish cities pillaged by Tatar troops; in other contexts it would mean "coined" (of money, cf. *sikke* "coinage"), but in this context it can only be understood as a quasi-Arabic formative from the Turkish verb *sikmek* "to fuck" and means, roughly, "raped".[79] (For his attitude toward booty, see *Gentleman and Dervish*: Wealth)

In peacetime as well, Evliya was not always confident that the authorities would carry out their duties. Having fallen in with some

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[77] Yenikal'e: VI 184b1–15. Crete campaign: VIII 308b21 = 482. Twenty-five years would be more accurate: 1055–1080 (1645–1669). Compare Bilici's figures for the three years of the final Candia campaign given in Guerre 45–46: 715,297 (based on Evliya's data, added up); 139,487 (based on an official census). On troop motivation and morale in the Ottoman context, see Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700* (Rutgers University Press 1999), ch. 7.

[78] Bloodthirsty commanders: V 124a33, VI 7a13. Wallachia: V 103b1. Hungary: VI 23b7. Nogay settlements: VII 105b = 497. Greek countryside: VIII 282a17 = 371. Europeans: VII 8b18 = 36. Ferdenvar: VI 23b28.

[79] V 48a30. For other such coinages, see Glossary 6.

merchants in a mountain pass near Ayasuluk (Ephesus) in 1671, his party captured some brigands and decided to execute them then and there rather than entrust them to the courts.[80]

Egyptian government administrators are a special target of Evliya's criticism. Their wealth is based on overtaxation, "the sigh of the poor". He compares the exaction of a toll by the janissaries on visitors to one of the mosques of Fustat or Old Cairo to an ancient tyranny of the Pharoahs. He lays the blame for the janissary revolt of 1676 on greed: the viziers must resort to tyrranical measures in order to pay off so many officials in Istanbul. The pashas of Egypt rejoice during the Khamsin since so many people die, and the wealth of so many villages reverts to the government by escheat. Evliya also criticizes the Egyptian ulema for their venality: even the Azhar shaikhs will issue a fatwa on someone's behalf for two or three copper coins.[81]

In general, Evliya bemoans the poor condition of the Islamic regions (*İslam diyarı*) compared to Christendom (*Kafiristan*). Describing the Venetian gold ducats circulating in Split in 1660, he remarks:

> In the period of Sultan Ahmed [I, reg. 1603–17] I saw many of these in my father's possession. But these days we never see them—even viziers don't have them. We get by with pennies and coppers weighing ten a dram. God grant us blessings! What has happened to our zeal for Islam? We have to get our currency into good order!

Struck by the huge crowds gathered at Christmas time in Kaschau/Kosice (Slovakia) Evliya marvels at God's ways, wondering why He fosters the infidels. On Chios in 1671 he says that he has described the flourishing condition of the churches only as an admonition to the Muslims; and he blames the ulema in particular for devouring the *vakıf* endowments. More than once, with a note of bitterness, he contrasts the care of Christians for their churches and other institutions with the neglect and ruin under the Ottomans. Thus, he complains

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[80] IX 66a = 134.

[81] "Sigh of the poor" (*ah-ı fukara*): X 63b7 = 139. Pharoahs: X 142b18 = 311; Kairo 249. Janissary revolt: X Q353a = 1025. Khamsin: X 135b23 = 295; Kairo 225; 242a6 = 516. Azhar shaikhs: X 68b26 = 150. The phrase "sigh of the poor" is used by Evliya's contemporary Gafuri in a chronogram on the fire of Istanbul in 1660: "The sighs of the wretched ones have burned down Istanbul" (*yakdı İstanbulı āh-ı fukarā*); quoted in Jan Schmidt, "Poets and Poetry in mid-17th-century Istanbul: Additions to the *Dīvān* of Fā'izī . . .," *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 3.2 (2000), 165–78, p. 169 and n. 42.

about the neglect of books in the ʿAttarin mosque in Alexandria, which he visited in 1672, in contrast with the care of books in St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna, which he visited in 1665. In Bethlehem Evliya admires the jewels preserved by the Christians in the Prophet's shrine, and again criticizes the Muslims for being so careless with their endowments. Of St. Catherine's monastery at Mt. Sinai he remarks: "It has remained in the hands of the Christians. Were it in the possession of Islam, it would be in ruins."[82]

Conclusion

Conditioned by his upbringing, and reinforced by his stint in the court, Evliya's devotion to the Ottoman dynasty and state was unquestioned. The Ottomans enjoyed divine favor, in his view, as attested by numerous wonders and prognostications. But Evliya had to ask himself, especially when travelling in "Frankistan" (Christian Europe), why the infidel lands were flourishing while "breaches have appeared here and there in the Ottoman state."

His answer—like that of numeous memorialists and reformers—was that Ottoman officials were failing to live up to the ideals of justice, integrity and strong government which characterized an earlier age, in particular, the age of Suleyman the Magnificent. If more officials were as honest as Melek Ahmed Pasha; if corruption and oppression were rooted out; if the heads of state would take bold initiatives in reforming the finances and in undertaking large-scale projects that would improve trade and military strategy—then there was hope that the Ottoman empire would live up to its divine promise.

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[82] Split: V 150a19. Kaschau: VI 14b28. Chios: IX 60b27 = 123. Vienna: VII 59b17; Apfel 108–9; 2nd ed., 156; see also Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, 1982), 276. Bethlehem: IX 226b26 = 501. Mt. Sinai: IX 380b27 = 827. Cf. VIII 370a9 = 738; Albania 206–7.

CHAPTER FOUR

GENTLEMAN AND DERVISH

At the outset I suggested that the *Seyahatname* reflects an Ottoman mentality. The implication of that phrase is that Evliya may be taken as the representative Ottoman, at least of his own day. Of course, in certain respects he was anything but typical. How many Ottomans chose travel as a career? How many wrote a huge account of their life and their observations? How many were privileged to be trained as a court entertainer as well as for religious offices? How many revelled in wordplay, indulged in whimsicality, and had a thousand quirks and foibles? Still, Evliya's eccentricities do not necessarily contradict his typicalities.

In this chapter I try to get at Evliya's individuality and self-presentation. For the sake of convenience I have divided the discussion, rather arbitrarily, into four categories, assigning a Turkish rubric to each: I) status: *çelebi*; II) type: *dervish*; III) office: *müezzin*; IV) avocation: *seyyah*.

I. *Status:* Çelebi

Any Ottoman noted for refined taste and literary accomplishment could gain the nickname of *çelebi* or "gentleman". This was also a handy designation for anyone who was prominent but whose career did not fall strictly within one of the recognized lines: religious, military, or bureaucratic. In the Ottoman system, the military option was not open, at least in principle, to native Turks, who tended rather to seek careers as religious personnel (*ulema*) or as bureaucrats in the financial administration (*efendi*). Despite his Turkish origin, Evliya was introduced into the palace service as a young man (*gulam*) but he did not graduate to officer status (agha, pasha) and he avoided an official appointment. As a *müezzin* and Koran-reciter, Evliya could be considered a low-level ulema; and he is sometimes designated *efendi*. But *çelebi* better suited his status as courtier, musician, and litterateur.

Despite his preference for this title, he sometimes uses the term ironically, to designate a kind of dandy. High religious offices, he complains, are given to stupid men of good families (*ahmak çelebiler*). Those overly cautious officers during military operations along the Raab in 1664 who counselled not to do battle on Friday, Evliya characterizes as *çelebi*.[1]

We know nothing of his personal appearance, except that he was clean-shaven. In one scene he is having a conversation with grand vizier Ipshir Pasha's steward Salih Agha in 1655:

> Just then a chamberlain came and said to the steward: "My dear sir, our lord the pasha wants you."
>
> "My Evliya," said the steward, "sit here and don't go away. The Pasha will be summoning you shortly."
>
> A minute later another chamberlain appeared and said: "There is supposed to be a kadi here named Evliya Efendi. The Pasha wants him."
>
> Seeing that I was clean shaven, the poor *gulam* could not imagine that I was a kadi and a ghazi.[2] "Boy," I said, "I am the one he wants."
>
> "No, my brave, he wants a much older man named Evliya Efendi."
>
> Eventually I was introduced into the pasha's presence.

In another scene, in 1665, a raiding party greets him as a good omen and insists he accompany them; he tries to get out of a dangerous situation by pleading that he is actually an unlucky man, and furthermore that he is a Kalenderi dervish who has shaved his beard for the past 46 years. The following year, in Astrakhan, some fanatical Muslims object to the shaven condition of his slaves (he himself appears to have been bearded at this juncture):

> "Are these men of yours infidels?" they asked.
>
> "Don't you see their white turbans? And didn't you see them pray together with us just now?"
>
> "Yes," they said, "but we are amazed that men who are Muslims shave their beards."
>
> "This is the custom of Ottoman servitors (*kul*)," I replied.[3]

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[1] Dandy: III 31a26, 28. Stupid men of good families: VII 161b25 = 783. Overly cautious officers: VII 18b20 = 84; also called *efendi*, 18b14.

[2] The joining here of *ġāzī* with *ḳāḍī* is more for the sake of euphony than anything else.

[3] Clean-shaven: see III 103a31; Melek 84. "Just then a chamberlain . . .": III 184b18; Melek 156. Kalenderi dervish: VII 84a22 = 384; see Glossary 24, to be corrected as follows*: ḳırḳ altı yıldır ṣaçım ṣaḳalım ṭıraş edüp cullāḳī ışıġa döndüm*. "Are these men of yours infidels?": VII 168a29 = 811–12.

II. *Type: Dervish*

While others addressed him as *çelebi* and *efendi*, Evliya characterized himself as *mücerred* ("unmarried, free of family ties"), dervish and its equivalent *fakir*, and his rhyming favorite, *bi-riya* ("unhypocritical"). He is occasionally greeted as *ışık* and Melek refers to him as *abdal*; both terms mean "dervish". At one point an interlocutor characterizes him in this fashion:

> Evliya Çelebi is a wandering dervish (*garibü'd-diyar*) and a world traveller. He cries the chant of every cart he mounts, and sings the praises of every man who feeds him. Wherever he rests his head, he eats and drinks and is merry.

He refers to himself as *hezar-aşina* ("having a thousand acquaintances"); and very commonly as *alüfte ve aşüfte* ("easygoing, tolerant; impudent").[4]

All these terms connote a Sufi type, a man without worldly ties, not dependent on the employment or favors of others; thus one who does not have to flatter and deceive. This personality trait, if we can take it as such, coexists with what seems to be its opposite, for we often find Evliya flattering and seeking gain, and taking account of his personal goods (see below). Even the inclination to travel is itself associated in Evliya's mind with worldly attachments as contrasting with the inclination to perform pious deeds, such as sojourning at the Prophet's mosque in Medina.[5]

A few times Evliya speaks of falling in love. One Saturday eve (Friday night), presumably in his youth, he went to the Jewish cemetary in Hasköy, pining for love (*hakiriñ ʿalem-i ʿaşkda olduğu mahalde*), and cried out in desparation: "Come what may, O Fate!" Suddenly an ogre (*gulyabani*) appeared, and out of fear Evliya took refuge in the nearby Ayna Ayazma or holy spring of the Greek orthodox faith, where he spent the night shivering. To explain his familiarity with musical instruments, Evliya says that during a period when he was drowning in the sea of love (*bir zaman derya-yı ʿaşka gavvas olduğumuz mahalde*) he consorted with singers and musicians and clowns and

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[4] *Işık*: II 366a35. *Abdāl*: V 79b15. "Evliya Çelebi is a wandering dervish . . .": V 9b29; Bitlis 348–49. *Hezār-āşinā*: III 142b33. *Ālüfte ve āşüfte* I 130a21, 208b28, etc. etc.; V 12a20 = Bitlis 368–9.

[5] IX 282a19 = 617.

other public entertainers. Occasionally he reports a disturbed psychological state brought on by seeing a beautiful woman.[6]

What about sex? Evliya frequently mentions slaveboys, often by name and with an affectionate or at least possessive attitude. Among gifts he is given, slavegirls are sometimes included.[7] My assumption is that he had slavegirls and had sex with them, as was quite the norm. The Khan of Bitlis promises him his daughter in marriage, but Evliya is in no hurry to take him up on it. In Kalmukia his generous host, Moyinçak Shah, offers him a woman for the night "from the Land of Women." "God forbid," he replies, "it really isn't necessary" (*haşa lazım degildir*). In Vienna he decries the monkery of Christianity and thanks God for the religion of Islam in which "we find the strength to eat heartily, to perform prayer and *gaza*, and to perform 'the greater jihad' with our wives."[8] But he never married—indeed, he frequently expresses relief at being free of marriage ties—and he never mentions an actual instance of sexual relations; such reluctance again being quite the norm in Ottoman literature.

He does say that he lost his virility for some years. The incident, mentioned in Book I and described at length in Book X, is dubious on chronological grounds, since it supposedly took place in Bosnia in 1646, during a period when he was actually in Anatolia.[9] He was cured only after a treatment of snake broth (*tiryak-ı faruk*) in Egypt, some time after he arrived there in 1672.[10] If true, then he was

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[6] Ogre in Hasköy: I 124a34. "Drowning in the sea of love": I 208b27. Beautiful woman: VI 17a29, 53b17.

[7] E.g., two Circassian virgins, whose beauty he describes in glowing terms, a gift of his Crimean host Mehmed Girey Khan (VII 150a4 = 724).

[8] Bitlis: V 10b28 = Brtlis 356–7. Kalmukia: VII 179a30. Vienna: VII 61a33 = 274. Evliya strongly disapproves of asceticism: "We eat heartily (literally: like Ma'dikerib), get strength from worship, and know nothing of ascetic practices, diet and emaciation" (VI 29b31). Both here and in the Vienna passage he cites the hadith: "No monkery in Islam."

[9] I 77b33–78a3; X 123b18–124b21 = 270–2; Kairo 183–87. For the dubious nature of the incident, see also Baysun 1948, 406–7. [M. Cavid Baysun, "Evliya Çelebi" in: *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 4 (1947), 400–12] Another peculiarity of the narrative is Evliya's claim to have been present in the Klis campaign that year in the capacity of commissary for the janissaries (I 78a1 *ḥaḳīr ol menḥūs cengde yeñiçeri ocaġıyla idim*; X 123b24 *ḥaḳīr ol 'aṣırda yeñiçeri odasıyla gidüp vekīl-ḫarc idim*).

[10] See the summary in Gary Leiser and Michael Dols, "Evliyā Chelebi's Description of Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Egypt, II," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 72.l (1988), 49–68, pp. 62–63: "Evliya begins by describing how he was with Mustafa Pasha in 1056/1646–47 at the siege of the fortress of Shebenik in Bosnia. After the siege failed, they in turn were attacked by Christian forces who defeated the Ottoman

impotent between the ages of 35 and 61. On the other hand, the claim that a certain cure or treatment restored his virility seems to be a cliché, since he says that a month's rest in Zeila in Abyssinia in 1673 restored his strength of vision and his virility; note also that he regained his strength of vision at the Bektashi shrine of Koyun Baba near Amasya in 1646; and that he was cured of tremors incurred on the Transylvania campaign by drinking well water at the mosque of Quba in Medina in 1672.[11]

Revealing of Ottoman attitudes toward homosexuality is Evliya's account of the Fountain of Luck (Tali' Çeşmesi) near Sofia in 1653. Evliya and his party of seventy—some Ottoman gentlemen with their retainers—set out for a picnic in the mountains and were guided there by an old Yörük. He explained that this fountain refused to flow for any man who has spilt blood, or any man who was sodomized in his youth. When they reached the fountain:

> The group urged one another on, and withdrew to this corner and that to consult, but no one would dare approach to drink. Finally Şefi'i Çelebi said: "God be praised, I know that I have been innocent and pure in all respects, from the time I was a child until now." So he came forward, uttering a *besmele*, fearlessly drew some pure water from the spring, and drank it. Next to dare was Müezzin-zade 'Ali Çelebi.

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army. Evliya fell from his horse in the field, but the enemy was not able to find him. He fled to a forest where he spent a week with only wild animals for friends and roots for food. He hid his weapons and money under some stones, made the necessary ablutions, and prayed to all the prophets and saints for help. He then heard people speaking Bosnian who turned out to be Muslims. They became friends and went to the castle of Glamoch, whose constable received him as a guest and gave him horses. With his friends, he went back to the place where he had hidden his weapons and money. He retrieved everything and returned to Glamoch. That night, in his sleep, he had something like a nocturnal emission. He awoke with lumbago. He had ejaculated, and blood, pus and seminal fluid had oozed for an hour. He was ill for a week. As a result of this condition, he lost his sexual potency. Seminal fluid ceased and he was worried that his ability to have children had come to an end. Later, he came to Egypt, and on the night that he drank the two cups of snake broth with the oil in the Bimarhane of Qalā'ūn, he occasionally had two ejaculations in succession. The next morning, he explained this to the chief physician, who then gave him ten vakıyyes of snake broth and a cup of snake oil mixed with olive oil! He used this for five or six days and became so healthy that he could break nut shells on his penis. It was hard as a rock. Such was the benefit of the snake diet."

[11] Zeila: X Q338a35 = 955. Koyun Baba: II 279b29. Medina: IX 301a5 = 657. Concerning virility, cf. Glossary 89, s.v. *ṭavaḳan* and on Evliya's playful sexual vocabulary, see Glossary 6 (not mentioned there is his usual designation for the female organ: *ferc-i ḳabīḥ*).

Taking up his wooden begging-bowl, he reached out for the water, but suddenly the spring stopped flowing. Everyone made fun of him, crying, "You're a catamite." The poor fellow turned pale and couldn't say a word.

Now the party started quarreling, some claiming that they had drunk but the others could not, some saying "Let's drink," others saying "Let's go." Eventually all swore not to reveal what happened, and began to draw water one by one. When Şefiʿi Çelebi's brother approached, as soon as he stretched out his hand the water stopped flowing, and again the others started to make fun. Then there was Hımhım Mehmed Çelebi, who was Şeyh-zade Çelebi's boy: the spring stopped while he was still ten paces away from it. They all burst out laughing: "This one must have been sodomized quite a lot!" Resmi Çelebi uttered a *besmele* and drank without hesitation. When Muhzır-zade approached, the water stopped but then began flowing again and he drank—a sequence which the others in the party did not know how to interpret.

Now one of my *gulams* came forward and fearlessly took a drink. Immediately all the party fixed their attention on my staff[12] and insisted that I too should drink. "O friends and lovers," said I, "you know that I am a world-traveller, free and easy (*alüfte ve aşüfte*) and friends with all. Please don't force me to do this." The more I objected, the more they laughed and kept pressing me: "You have seen how it stands with us, now let's see about you!" Of course, I was aware of my own situation; still, I couldn't shake off a nagging fear. Seeking spiritual succor from my great ancestor, Turk of the Turks, the saintly Hoca Ahmed Yesevi, I took up the begging-bowl with a *besmele*, drew some pure water from the spring, and drank it. My friends all rejoiced.

Now Sarrac Mehmed Çelebi drew water and drank, thanking God. Then it was the turn of the old Yörük who had brought us to the spring. He expressed misgivings, saying, "Children, my luck is bad, the water might stop"—and indeed, he was unable to draw from the spring. "Hey old man," they joked, "you're a catamite too!" The upshot was that seventy individuals tried to drink from the spring at this bare rock, and only five were able to do so.[13]

Given Evliya's ironic attitude toward life in general, it is not surprising to find an ironic attitude toward sex. Discussing the Cairo mint, he says that minting coins is a calamitous thing (*bela*), but, like having sex, a "sweet calamity" (*tatlı bela*). One of the things he admired about Melek Ahmed Pasha was his chastity:

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[12] *teveccüh-i ʿaṣā-yı ḥaḳīr dikdiler*; the import of this phrase is not altogether clear.
[13] III 142b10, 142b20–143a5.

> But sometimes he would have nice wrestling matches with his wife Kaya Sultan, for the propagation of the species. In the end he would overcome Kaya Sultan and bring her down. He engaged in this sort of 'greater jihad' forty-eight times a year—he did not indulge overmuch in sexual intercourse.[14]

Evliya's sincere attachment to Sufis and to Sufism is displayed at many points. But was he a Sufi? He states more than once that in his travels he has been searching for a guide on the mystical path (*mürşid-i kamil*), implying that he has not found one.[15] He is able to exchange Sufi banter. But was he attached to one of the Sufi orders or Tarikat? He participates in a Halveti dhikr in Uzice in 1664 and again the following year in Kaçı in Crimea; founds a Halveti *tekke* and establishes three shops as a *vakıf* for it in Zarnata in 1670; and during his stay in Cairo, says that he served for one year as overseer of the Nizamiyye Halveti *tekke*; so the Halveti connection seems very solid.[16] At one point he refers to himself as Evliya-yı Gülşeni—the same designation as on one of the extant graffiti (see below); and his lengthy description of the Gülşeni *tekke* in Cairo certainly depends on first-hand acquaintance.[17] The Gülşeniyye was a branch of the Halvetiyye.

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[14] "Sweet calamity": X 61b23 = 136. "Sometimes he would have nice wrestling matches . . .": VI 48a34; Melek 279. Concerning "forty-eight times a year" cf. at note 59 below. The ironic use of the term "greater jihad" as a metaphor for sex is very typical of Evliya. He uses *ġazā* in the same sense; and "greater jihad" in its original (Sufi) sense of struggling against one's own carnal desires as opposed to "lesser jihad" for fighting the infidel (= *ġazā*). Otherwise he uses "greater jihad" or "greater gaza" for fighting the infidel. See Glossary 23 for references.

[15] He (jocularly) identifies Er Sultan as his *mürşid-i kāmil* in Ankara (see *Reporter and Entertainer*. Dreams and Portents) and Shaikh Bekkar 'Uryan in Damascus (see below: The Life of the Party). At I 150b24 Evliya distinguishes between ordinary dervishes like himself and the small class of outstanding mystics in every age (*fużalā-yı dehr*) who can answer all spiritual questions and can serve as guides on the mystical path. "Every dervish is a Sufi," he says, "but not every dervish is a superior mystic" (*her dervīş-i dil-rīş ehl-i taṣavvuf olup fāżıl-i dehr olmayup*). This passage was translated in its exact opposite sense by Hammer ("Every Dervish is not a Sûfî") and quoted thus mistakenly also by Gibb and Bowen ("Not every dervîş is a Ṣûfî"). [Joseph von Hammer, tr., *Narrative of Travels . . . by Evliya Efendi* (London, 1846), vol. I, part ii, p. 99; H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West* (Oxford University Press, 1957), vol. 1, p. 202.]

[16] Searching for a guide: I 150b25, IX 1b26 = 1. Sufi banter: III 175a; Melek 118–20. Uzice: VI 141a6. Kaçı: VII 119b15 = 572. Zarnata: VIII 334a3 = 593. Cairo: X 110b28 = 242; Kairo 135.

[17] Evliya-yı Gülşeni: X 410b23 = 884. Gülşeni tekke in Cairo: X 111a17–112b11 = 243–46; Kairo 136–41. Cf. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Takiyyat Ibrahim

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So Evliya was a Gülsheni dervish, perhaps inducted into that order by his music teacher ʻÖmer Gülşeni;[18] but he felt at home and was accepted in all dervish circles. He spent eight months recuperating from his Black Sea shipwreck at the *tekke* of Sarı Saltuk at Keligra Sultan (Dobrudja) in 1641–42. He recovered his strength of vision at the Bektashi shrine of Koyun Baba near Amasya in 1646 and was restored to health by prayers of Bektashi dervishes in Sökün (Azerbaijan) later that year. He got a blessing at the Bektashi shrine of Pir Dede in Merzifon in 1648. He donated 100 *guruş* to the dervishes of Haci Bayram Veli in Ankara. He was cured of fever at the Bektashi *tekke* of Ak-yazılı Sultan in 1652. Travelling in Anatolia in 1671 he bemoaned the ruined state of some dervish convents, including a Bektashi *tekke* in Manisa and a Mevlevi-hane in Aydın. And as long as he was in Egypt he never failed to attend the gathering every Friday after the communal prayer at the shrine of the popular saint and mystical poet, ʻUmar ibn al-Farid.[19]

Wealth

Despite his avowal of a dervish attitude, Evliya was intensely conscious of his wealth and concerned for his property. He took care-

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al-Kulshani in Cairo," *Muqarnas* 5 (1988), 43–60. And note Evliya's description of the reclusive Shaikh Ibrahim Çelebi, descendant of Ibrahim Gülşeni: "Whoever sees his noble face once becomes his lover, attaches himself to him wholeheartedly, receives from him the tokens of poverty and becomes a Gülşeni dervish" (X 248a20 = 529); and of Shaikh Gisudar Mehmed Efendi, who converted from the Kadiri to the Gülşeni *tarika* because of the attraction of the aforementioned and married his daughter, and who was "mischievous and playful, a rosy gentleman of the rosy Gülşeni order" (X 248b2 = 529 *bir lā'ubālī ve bir yārān-ı ʻālī ve şuḫ u şengül-meşreb bir gül-i gülşenī çelebidir*).

[18] See *Man of Istanbul*, n. 57. According to Suraiya Faroqhi (Alltag 223–4; Tk. tr., 219; Eng. tr. 200), Evliya "does not seem to have been an active member of any particular order." Klaus Kreiser (Edirne 117–8n.) remarks: "Evliya was probably not a member of the Gülşeni order;" he takes the self-designation Gülşeni to refer to Evliya's music teacher, Ömer Gülşeni—thus following Baysun 1948, 400 [M. Cavid Baysun, "Evliya Çelebi" in: *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 4 (1947), 400–12]—but I think this is unlikely. C. F. Beckingham 1993, 88 (see *Man of the World*, n. 27), states that Evliya "was initiated into at least one *ṣūfī* order," but does not say which one. Erich Prokosch (Kairo 141, n. 365; 339, s.v. İbrāhīm-i Gülşenī) states that Evliya was a member of the Gülşeni order.

[19] Keligra Sultan: II 266a10, 267b32. Koyun Baba: II 279b29. Sökün: II 294a30. Merzifon: II 347b16. Ankara: II 356a9. Ak-yazılı Sultan: III 123a14. Manisa: IX 36a16 = 74. Aydın: IX 78a.11 = 158. Egypt: X 222b12 = 470. On ʻUmar ibn al-Fāriḍ cf. Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Un. of S. Carolina Press, 1984), 78–79.

ful measures to safeguard his belongings[20] and kept a minute account of gifts and favors received (gift exchange being a constant among the Ottoman upper class). Typical is the following, awarded by the Crimean Khan for an unmetrical verse-chronogram that Evliya composed following a victory in the Polish campaign in 1657: "5 captive slaves, 5 horses, 1 sable fur, 1 ambling horse with silver saddle, 1 quiver firmly-woven with silver thread, plus 100 goldpieces."[21]

Travelling in Anatolia in 1648, Evliya received letters announcing his father's death and urging him to return at once to Istanbul because "all of his property has been sealed and is left in the hands of his step-mother and sisters and the inheritance-distributor (*kassam*)." Evliya's haste to return was prompted, it seems, not so much by pious motives as by the fear that he would be disinherited. After visiting his father's grave, he states: "Returning home, I took possession of the money left to me by my father, and from this pure money I devoted 2000 goldpieces to the noble Hajj."[22]

When his patron and kinsman Melek Ahmed Pasha died in 1662, Evliya states:

> This humble dervish (*garib*) was left orphaned and distraught, suffering the pangs of patronlessness. The land (*dâr*) of Istanbul seemed a gallows (*dâr*) [or narrow (*dar*)]. As luck would have it, just at that time my house and shops burned down; but with God's help, and the expenditure of 3000 royal piasters,[23] and many aches and pains, I was able to rebuild my two houses and four shops within six months, and to staff them with relatives and retainers.

He goes on to cite several Persian verses and Prophetic hadiths extolling the unmarried state, and rejoices that he is not tied down by wife and children and can go off again on his travels.[24]

Aside from the real estate in Unkapanı,[25] Evliya mentions orchards in Kadıköy; houses in Bursa, Kütahya and Manisa (see *Man of Istanbul*: Ancestry, Family History); and a farm-estate in Sandıklı near Bergama.[26]

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[20] See Guide at II 342a30, 367a, III 93a, IV 280a, V 10a21, VI 26b, VII 6b, 24b, 27b, 105b, VIII 203b14, X Q350a.

[21] V 44b28.

[22] II 367b17, 369b20.

[23] *Riyal ġuruş*, i.e., Spanish reales de la ocho.

[24] VI 49a22.

[25] This included a house which Kaya Sultan purchased for 87,000 *akçe*; she transferred the deed to him as a gift—along with 200 goldpieces and a sable fur stole—in 1656 (V 33b17; Melek 213).

[26] Kadıköy: I 141b3. Sandıklı: IX 39b11.

In one amusing account (see *Man of the World*: Rebels and Bandits), the owner of a robbers' den in Anatolia near Çorum, named Hadji Baba, showers Evliya with some of the loot, and Evliya wheedles even more out of him. When he arrives in Ankara, Evliya sells the loot and gives the money away as alms; but then deposits "the rest of his property" with his Ankara host Keder-zade Efendi. Some time later, after some adventurous incidents with the Celali rebels, he recovers this property on the way back to Istanbul.[27]

If he had qualms about stolen goods, he had none about booty, and records how he turned a profit from his raids and other ventures in the Polish, Transylvanian and Austrian campaigns. He reports with pride, for example, that by following his good counsel his Tatar raiding party were able to save their booty from the machinations of officials in Pojega; they went on to sell the booty at the Eszék fair and Evliya himself, serving as purser (*kassam*), got a double portion.[28] On the other hand, he would not touch "even a mustard grain" of the booty from the hapless Nogays captured by the Crimean Tatars (for his disgust at the Tatar outrages see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique).[29]

Happening to be in Istanbul just before the assassination of Sultan Ibrahim the Mad in August of 1648, Evliya passed by a new palace, which he gazed at admiringly, and the doorman invited him inside. It turned out to belong to Cinci Hoca, the sultan's Rasputin-like spiritual advisor and Evliya's old school-mate (see *Man of Istanbul*: Growing Up in Istanbul).[30] They had the following exchange:

> "Welcome! [To the servant:] He doesn't drink coffee; bring sherbet."
>
> "What is this palace?"
>
> "Why were you looking at it?"
>
> "My lord, it has been two and a half years since I departed from Istanbul with Defterdar-zade Mehmed Pasha. I hadn't seen this palace before. It is beautifully furnished—may God bless you."

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[27] II 355a, 359a24, 367a5.

[28] For another analysis of this event, see Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700* (Rutgers University Press 1999), 151.

[29] Raids and other ventures: V 44a28, VI 26b31, VII 6b = 27, 9a = 38–39, 27b17 = 125. Pojega: VI 187a15. Nogays: VII 106a19 = 500.

[30] For Cinci Hoca's career, see Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600–1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), 98–100.

> "Evliya Çelebi, since I was busy studying with you in a corner of the madrasa, through the blessing of that study the Lord of glory has bestowed upon me this palace and others in Üsküdar and in my home town [of Safranbolu] and farm-estates in various places and many other things—praise be to God."
>
> "God willing, my sultan, since I was your fellow student and shared in your studies, God willing I will also share in your good fortune and your worldly success."
>
> "By God, I like your straightforwardness!"

Cinci summoned his treasurer and showered Evliya with gifts, including money and furs; when he left the palace he found a caparisoned horse; and after going home Cinci's agent arrived with fifty porter-loads of groceries. "I was as happy as could be," Evliya concludes, "and before he left I gave the man a sherbet-napkin."[31]

Evliya had a special fondness for watches and rings and other such items of personal value. When he went to console the notorious bandit Kara Haydar-oğlu before his execution in 1648, the condemned man gave Evliya a watch which his father, the bandit Kara Haydar, had stolen from Evliya twenty years earlier (see *Man of the World*: Rebels and Bandits) and which was originally a gift to Evliya from Kaya Sultan. When Kara Haydar passed it on to his son before his own death, he had mentioned that it had been the property of Evliya Çelebi; Kara Haydar-oğlu had preserved this knowledge and was now returning it to its original owner. It was, as he put it, "a sweet made from the grapes of your own vineyard."[32]

Evliya owned an emerald ring with an inscription reading:

mühr ez reʾis-i etkıya vü enbiya	A ring from the chief of the pious and the prophets
dared ümmid-i şefaʿat-i evliya	has hope of intercession of the saints

When he was hosted by his namesake Evliya Beg, one of the emirs of the Kurdish Mahmudi tribe on his way to Azerbaijan in 1655, the emir insisted that Evliya give him the ring. Evliya tried to refuse, saying that the ring was good luck for him but bad luck for anyone else. But the emir would not take no for an answer: "Saints and prophets cannot be bad luck," he said; "you and I are both really saints (*evliya*), we are good luck personified." Evliya parted from

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[31] II 370a19–370b5.

[32] *kendü bağñ koruğu helvasıdır*, II 374a30.

the ring reluctantly, but in return he got from the emir (as he carefully records) 500 Mahmudi sheep, 1 sable furpiece, 1 highly-wrought Şeyhani sword, and 1 Mahmudi horse. Apparently he had replaced it by 1663, because he mentions a similar ring that he had in Budapest that year, this time with an inscription reading: *Seyyah-ı ʿalem Evliya* "The world-traveller Evliya."[33]

Evliya appears to have been solicitous for his slaves. When listing gifts from a host, he frequently adds those bestowed upon his slaves as well. While the human concern occasionally comes to the fore, the mercenary motive is rarely absent. A runaway slave meant loss of property, particularly if the culprit took gold with him as well (for examples, see *Reporter and Entertainer*: Portents and Dreams). The death of a slave meant a loss in more ways than one. Evliya returned to Melek Ahmed Pasha in Van after a lightning trip to Istanbul in 1656, only to find that his slaveboy named Kazım had died; Melek gave him two Georgian slaveboys in order to console him for the loss. When a slaveboy named Husrev died of illness near Azov in 1667, Evliya composed an elegy for him, the text of which he gives, and also raised a cairn near his grave.[34]

At a later date he again has a slaveboy named Kazım and others named Seyfi, Sührab and Rüstem. This Seyfi was a Hungarian from Transylvania whom Evliya had "raised with my own hands" (*kendi elimle çıkardığım*). He must be different from another Seyfi, also a favorite of Evliya's, who was captured while foraging during the siege of Uyvar in 1663. Evliya hoped to find him in the dungeon at Komárom when he stopped there two years later on his way to Vienna. "I asked to see him," Evliya relates, "but they refused and I gave up trying, but thought that I would tell the emperor and that, God willing, I would persuade him to have my slaveboy released." Once in Vienna, and having established good relations with the emperor, he made the request.

> The king immediately had a patent drawn up and sent it with a purse of *guruş* as the price of my slaveboy to the captain of the guard. Five days later the messenger returned with my dead slaveboy's horse and sword and clothing and weapons and armor. The boy had died the day before [the messenger had arrived], and the next day he had dug

[33] IV 287a; VI 85a30.
[34] V 8a24; VII 182b30 = 882–3.

> up the grave and cut off the little finger of his right hand and the little toe of his left foot, salted them, and put them in a box. When he came before the king with these items, along with the purse of groschen, and when I saw my dead slaveboy's finger and toe and horse and clothing, I burst out weeping. The king in his generosity bestowed the purse on me. But I was terribly depressed over the loss of such a brave and strapping lad.[35]

Otherwise Evliya treats his Christian captives as trophies of war, sharing the attitude of his Tatar companions during their raids in Hungary and Poland. After a surprise attack on the town of Holçar in 1663, he records his share of the booty as: 7 horses, 6 infidels, 1 slaveboy, 2 virgin girls. Afterward, while raiding and pillaging the surrounding countryside they observed an enemy troop approaching and decided that if the troop proved large and hostile they would first of all massacre their captives (*eger kafir çok ise heman der ceng-i evvel kendi esirlerimizi kıralım*). The troop turned out to be a Polish party allied to the Tatars who wished to ransom the recent captives. Evliya reports that he was reluctant to part with his seven infidel captives, but eventually gave them up for two purses of *guruş*. When it turned out that one of his captives had been a town official he regretted having given him up so cheaply, but it was too late to do anything about it (*meger birisi bir kal'e kapudanı imiş, peşiman oldum amma çe fa'ide, "ba'de harabi'l-Basra"*). At one point during these campaigns he was so worried over his captives and other property that he even gave up the opportunity of touring the nearby castle.[36]

The Life of the Party?

In Evliya, dervishness—implying the forswearing of worldly attachments—conflicted not only with his acquisitiveness but also with his amiableness and sociability.[37] An incident in Damascus in 1648 illustrates the point. A group of young officers, intent on spending the night in a house of ill repute, persuades Evliya to go along with

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[35] Slaveboys: VII 25a31–25b1. Another Seyfi: VI 124a. "I asked to see him . . .": VII 46a24 = 208. "The king immediately . . .": VII 70b24 = 317.

[36] Holçar: VI 129b5. Gave up the opportunity of touring: VI 31a19 (the nearby castle was Sazvarosh).

[37] One of the nicknames he acquired in Egypt was Ebu's-Safa, meaning roughly "Mr. Good Cheer" (X 224a29 = 474).

them, insisting that he is the life of the party (*Sensiz bize dirlik yokdur*, lit., "Without you we have no life"). He is saved from their indiscretions—and their disastrous consequences—by the providential appearance of Shaikh Bekkar 'Uryan ("The Naked"), a colorful local figure and a type of holy idiot (*budala ve melamiyyundan*). Evliya at one point refers to him as his "guide on the mystical path" (*mürşid-i kamilimiz*).[38]

This individual, who hailed from Baghdad and babbled ungrammatically in Arabic, used to walk around the Damascus marketplace entirely naked. The story went that he had been a *müezzin* in Baghdad, and that one night, seeing that the gate of divine mercy was open, he leapt from the minaret and found himself naked in Damascus. He used to enter the women's bath-houses with impunity, only a bath-towel around his loins, and rub the women down with soap and a bath-cloth; then he would claim to be the spiritual father of children which those women bore.[39]

Here is Evliya's account:

> One day, while I was paying court to Kara Murtaza Pasha in Damascus, ten stalwart youths in his retinue came to me and said: "Evliya Çelebi, please get a leave for us from the treasurer. We're going to visit our relatives in the Turkman district." I didn't like the idea. "Perhaps the Pasha will want to go out riding when you are gone," I said. "If he asks where you are, and is told that you went out, what will become of you?" I did not ask leave from the treasurer, but they got it anyway, using the key-boy as intermediary. Then they came to my room and said, "Without you we have no life. Don't be a spoil-sport. You have to come with us." So I went along, willy-nilly.
>
> As the eleven of us fine gentlemen were sauntering through the crowd in the Sinaniye Market, we saw coming toward us the abovementioned Shaikh Bekkar, stark naked, with his hands on his shoulders and his genitals swaying to and fro. Suddenly he came up to me and slapped my face with the slap of a holy idiot (*sille-i mecazibun*). I reeled, and blood gushed from my nose onto my green cloak. When I looked up, I saw that all my companions had fled. Shaikh Bekkar seized me by the hand and began to parade me around the marketplace as though he were a slave broker, shouting, "One sinner for sale! One new one! For sale! One new one!" (*Bayyaʿnā hāḏā'l-ġāfil al-ʿāṣi wāḥīd jadīd bayyaʿnā wāḥid jadīd*). He was actually auctioning me off! I was

[38] "Without you we have no life": IX 249b24 = 550. Holy idiot: IX 249b18. "Guide on the mystical path": IX 256a7 = 562.

[39] III 50b10–12; IX 256a12 = 562.

so humiliated that my entire body broke into goose-bumps. The crowd looked on amazed, and some boys even asked the shaikh how much he was selling me for. I was bathed in sweat from the shame of it.

He kept parading me about until we came to the convent of his holiness Shaikh Arslan. There he allowed me to renew my ablutions, after which we entered the shrine and he said: "Recite the Surah of the Emissaries." I recited it in a loud voice. "Recite the Surah of the Soul-Snatchers." I recited that as well.[40] When I finished, he opened his hands and babbled a kind of nonsensical prayer. "This prayer nice, nice," he said, addressing me. He finished with: "Say, I ask forgiveness of God," and I replied: "Turn to God in repentance." Then he stood up and kissed my forehead, saying, "This tomb my master, you my child" (*Hāḏā'l-qabr ustādī anta awlādī*). Seizing me by the hand once again, he ushered me out of the convent. As we stepped outside, he kissed my shoes and placed them in front of me. I kissed his hand and put on my shoes, thinking, "What can I do? He is naked and crazy, and he has me in his clutches."

We returned to the central marketplace. Dragging me along by the hand, he kept shouting, "O lookers, O nobles, this my son, despised, forgiven, for sale, a thousand thousand purses!" (*Yā nazzārīn wa yā nuqabā hāḏā waladī al-mazlūm al-maʿfū bayyaʿnī alf alf kīs*). He made a public scandal out of me; but I was not upset about it as I had been before. In this manner he brought me to the palace square and ushered me into the council hall, shouting the while. Then he delivered me to Murtaza Pasha, hand to hand, saying, "This my spiritual son" (*hāḏā walad al-maʿnawī*). Once again he kissed me on the forehead, then departed.

As I was recounting the entire misadventure to Murtaza Pasha, seventy or eighty Damascus janissaries, accompanied by the municipal police chief, brought three dead men loaded on horses and seven or eight wounded men through the palace gate. "My lord," they said, "we raided a party of fornicators in a house in the Turkman district, not realizing that they were your officers. They killed three of our men and wounded these others. Now they have walled themselves up inside that house and are fighting it out." They deposited the corpses in front of the Pasha and kissed the ground.

The Pasha leapt up like an eagle. "Call the treasurer!" he cried. When the treasurer arrived he pommelled him mercilessly, wounding him with his dagger in several places. Then he mounted with his retinue and bodyguard and galloped off to the den of vice. A terrific battle ensued, in which three of the officers were killed; the other seven were brought back after the evening prayer, strangled, and buried along with the first three in the vicinity of Shaikh Reyhan.

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[40] I.e., Koran, surah 77, *sūrat al-mursalāt* and surah 79, *sūrat al-nāzi*ʿ*āt*, both containing vivid depictions of punishments on Judgment Day.

> The moral of the story is: I was on my way with these men to that den of vice. But because I am one of those who bear God's holy word, having memorized the Koran, his holiness Shaikh Bekkar received a divine inspiration and seized me from the midst of those doomed men. He paraded me round about, crying, "One sinner!" and so rescued me—may his secret be sanctified. Owing to that saintly man I was saved from that abyss.[41]

Sweating with shame and being rescued by a holy man constitute a pattern: compare the incident in Ankara the same year (translated in *Reporter and Entertainer*: Portents and Dreams). Others may have regarded him as the life of the party, and he may have regarded himself as tolerant and easy-going. But this incident shows that he took his social position seriously and was careful not to have his dignity compromised, whether as an Ottoman or as a Muslim. This public attitude became crucial whenever his position took on an official character, as with his mission as envoy to the Safavids (see below).

In Croatia in 1660, Melek Pasha charged Evliya with ransoming an Ottoman officer, the captain of Bihke, who was being held captive by Miklós Zrínyi, the Ban of Herzegovina. Before crossing the border, Evliya addressed the men in his retinue:

> "See here, ghazis! The territory we are about to enter, under a truce, is the land of the infidels, where wine, women and boys are permitted. If I find any of you with a woman or a boy, or befuddled with wine or rakı, I will cook your goose and beat you black and blue. Is that understood?"
>
> "God please you," they replied, "none of us would do a thing like that."
>
> "Well, we have all been suckled on raw milk. A father cannot really vouch for his son, or a son for his father. It's the way of the world. We have come this far with so much money and goods. Let us just ransom that ghazi, according to our Sultan's command, and then take our leave. If you do something shameful, the infidel may take it as a pretext not to release the captain; if he is a gentleman he will drive us out, and if he is not he will kill us."[42]

In the event, Evliya's mission went off without a hitch.

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[41] IX 249b19–250b3. The convent of Shaikh Arslan was in the vineyards north of the city; described at IX 255a17 = 560. "May his secret be sanctified" (*kuddise sırruhu*): a formula used for saints who are deceased.

[42] V 161a16.

III. *Office*: Müezzin

Travel is not exactly a profession. Evliya chose it as his avocation, and chose "world-traveller" as his sobriquet (see below). Certain other self-designations—such as dervish (as we have seen), Koran-reciter (*hafız*), prayer-leader (*imam*), caller-to-prayer (*müezzin*) and boon-companion (*musahib, nedim*)[43]—were compatible with his identity as traveller. Others were not. In particular, he steadfastly refused an official post in the Ottoman hierarchy (*mansıb*), preferring ad-hoc attachments to provincial governors, preferably his own kinsmen, whom he could serve as companion and for whom he could perform various services—preferably ones that would facilitate his brand of tourism.

Here is an incident from 1659 when Evliya was serving as a messenger between his patron Melek Ahmed Pasha and the grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha:

> While seeing to the supplies for our journey, our lord sent this humble one perhaps twenty times to see Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. It was as though I was his marshal of the guards (*kapıcılar kethüdası*). Köprülü was fond of me. He had me recite the Koran several times and was so pleased that he said to our court agent Zühdi Efendi: "I would like your Pasha to make this *hafız* Evliya his marshal of the guards. Write your Pasha to that effect." Zühdi Efendi sent this message off to the Pasha.
>
> "All right," said the Pasha, "if only Evliya accepts the post of marshal of the guards. He is first and last our confidant and our trusted kinsman." The rest of our gate-companions (*kapı yoldaşları*) overheard the Pasha saying this, and some of the officers began to regard me with scornful looks. "Come here, Evliya," said the Pasha, "I'm going to make you my marshal of the guards in accordance with Köprülü's request."
>
> "Bless God," I replied, "albeit I am serving as my lord's *imam* and his confidant, I do not want to enter affairs or be a servant, to put up with the tribulations of others or suffer the taunts of rivals." When I said this, the Pasha gave up the notion.[44]

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[43] "Hafiz Evliya" was Ipshir Pasha's favorite way of addressing him (III 177a9, 184b20; Melek 125, 156). For Evliya's service as *müezzin* (a term often coupled with *muṣāḥib*) see Guide at: I 156a, II 259b, 276a, 329b, 372b, III 96a, V 125b, VI 6a19, 119a, 133a17, 134b, 187b, VIII 303a29, 333b. Boon-companion: VI 58a3, 160b3, VII 70b24, etc.

[44] V 79a25; Melek 239.

Again in 1668 after Evliya had presented the sultan in Edirne with hawks brought back from Circassia, Kaimmakam Kara Mustafa Paşa wanted to attach him to his retinue, but Evliya begged off, now claiming his status as *gazi* or fighter for the faith. He insisted that he be permitted to catch up with the grand vizier, Köprülüzade Mehmed Pasha, and join the Crete campaign.[45]

Especially when he was in Melek Ahmed Pasha's service, Evliya willingly performed a variety of administrative tasks, the more readily if they involved travel, such as missions abroad or carrying messages to Istanbul. Some tasks involved a degree of danger. When Melek, recently transferred from the governorship of Bosnia to that of Rumeli (Sofia), received an order to join the Transylvania campaign in January of 1661, he sent off Evliya to collect grain requisitions (*zahirebeha*) in the regions of Manastır and Gölikesri. Some Yörük villages refused to pay and put up a fight:

> One of our brave youths was killed, and ten of their men were wounded, We managed to apprehend five of their men and hauled them to the kadi's court along with our martyr. The three villages were ordered to pay 3000 *guruş* in blood-money, and we also got from them grain requisitions to the tune of three loads (*yük* = 500,000) of *akçes*.[46]

Later on, the villages in the Sheshan mountains could not pay up because they had been raided by the notorious bandit named Yano. The way Evliya dealt with the situation reminds us of the incident with the Anatolian bandits (see *Man of the World*: Rebels and Bandits):

> I left all my attendants behind and rode up Mt. Sheshan with a single *gulam*. After three hours an infidel with a mace appeared. "Hey Turk," he said, "what are you doing in this mountain?"
>
> "I have come to my friend Yano Beg. I must see him."
>
> The infidel went off, then came back and said, "Come with me." We dismounted and proceeded through thick forest. Five or six hundred infidels lined our path, each with a pike and a mace in his hands and two or three muskets in his belt. On both sides men were roasting kebabs of lamb and pork, perhaps 300 animals. Several hundred tailors were cutting out clothing for the infidels from the cloth which they had taken on their raids from the city of Manastır and the fair at Maskoluri. I viewed all this activity as I advanced.

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[45] VIII 204b30 = 72.
[46] V 179b15.

"Hello, my good man, welcome!" cried a warrior-like infidel, as he rose to his feet. He had a feather in his cap, a dark brown vest, and was clean-shaven.

"Thanks," I replied. "I've come to see your smiling face."

"How did you come up this mountain so fearlessly?"

"He who comes on foot is not put to death—that is so in the religion of Muhammad and in the religion of Jesus—but I *have* come to die. The villages in this mountain still owe three loads of *akçes* for the grain requisition. The kadi has given a court order. What if Melek Ahmed Pasha says 'Where is my money?' and we say 'I haven't got it!' and he says 'Where is the kadi's appeal?' and the kadi hasn't given an appeal? Then Melek Ahmed Pasha will put me in prison and bleed me for the money owed in this mountain. So fearing for my life I put my head behind my saddle and came to you. Do as you like—here is my head and my soul!"

"You are not to blame," Yano replied. "It is all the fault of your infidel kadi. He gave the order, and the harrassers of the province along with the kadis are oppressing the peasants. But God willing we will kill that kadi and make an example of him. Look here, young man, do you know who I am?"

"No," I said.

"Don't you recognize me? I am Yano, the one with the sherbet shop near the Mahmud Pasha bath in Istanbul. One time you withheld my tax receipt from the customs agent, Ali Agha."

"Now I know who you are," I said, and since it was in a good cause, I added, "my dear friend!" We kissed each other, exchanged pleasantries, ate a lamb kebab. Then he loaded 3 loads of *akçes* on a packhorse, and also gave us 10 rolls of Prankona cotton, 50 pieces of satin, 10 pieces of European printed cloth, and 10 packhorse loads of tobacco; also 100 Venetian goldpieces for myself, and an outfit of fine broadcloth for each of my forty attendants down below. He even accompanied me down to the valley and made sure I had rejoined my attendants before going back up, and he left all the packhorses behind. My attendants were stunned. . . .[47]

For the sake of completeness, we may note another such incident that took place in 1656 while Evliya, serving as Melek Pasha's courier (*ulak*), was crossing the mountains near Bolu on his way back to Van from Istanbul:

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[47] V 179b24–180a9. "He who comes on foot is not put to death" (*Ayağıyla gelene ölüm olmaz*) and "I put my head behind my saddle" (*Başım terkiye koyup*) are proverbial expressions.

> We ran into seven highwaymen. After some words they bared their swords and told us to strip. My three servants and I dismounted and we showed them the orders and letters in our saddlebags.
>
> "What should we do with these?" cried one of them. "Do you have gold and jewels?"
>
> "No, I swear by God, only these, and in this saddlebag our shirts and underwear."
>
> "God bless you, we are mountain men, we have need of shirts," he said, and took the bag with the shirts.
>
> I leapt to one side, thinking that I would be able to grab my sword, but all seven rushed upon me with their muskets in hand.
>
> "Ghazis!" I cried. "Attacking a courrier who has ridden until he and his horse are both exhausted is like striking a pregnant woman. Don't you know that there are no strangers among people of faith? What you are doing, even Köroğlu did not do in these mountains. If you are a man of God, let us go free."
>
> I kept talking and pleading in this fashion, until one of them untied his sword from his waist and said: "Young man, this is a very fine sword. Keep it in memory of me. And you give me the silver-decked sword at your waist: I too will wear it as a keepsake from you."
>
> "Of course," said I, and gave him my sword in return. Then we all kissed and became brothers. God be praised, they did not touch anything else.[48]

Sometimes his official duties conflicted with his religious scruples. In 1656 Melek sent him to recover 77 purses owed by Haydar Ağazade Mehmed Pasha. Evliya caught up with him in Silivri.

> "Hey Evliya," he cried, "are you still alive?"
>
> "Thank God for the Path," I replied, joking. "Begs and pashas die first, then dervishes."

While they were conversing some agents arived from Istanbul and proceeded to carry out their mission, which was to execute Ağazade. As Evliya relates what he witnessed, he breaks off the account, leaving a blank space, as though the manner of execution were too horrible to relate. Melek's reaction upon hearing Evliya's report of the incident was: "There go 77 purses!" But then all of Ağazade's property was turned over to Melek and he distributed it among his retinue—including, of course, Evliya himself.[49]

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[48] V 8a6–16. "There are no strangers among people of faith" (*Īmān ehlinde yad olmaz*) is a proverbial expression. The Celali bandit and minstrel Köroğlu was active in the Bolu region in the 1580s and a popular narrative cycle developed around his songs and exploits there.

[49] "Hey Evliya . . .": V 27a8. Blank space: 27b2 (*ol an paşayı—*).

The following year, Melek appointed him voyvoda of Babadağı and sent him to collect funds for the repairs of Kili fortress. Evliya was obliged to squeeze even the territory to which he had been assigned as overlord (*hakim*), his own *kaza* or district of Babadağı. While mentioning his fee (*kudumiyye*) several times, he considers the exactions "poison" (*semm-i helahil*) and regrets having to dirty his hands and blacken his reputation (*elimiziñ kiri ve yüzümüziñ karası kalup*).[50]

Following the final conquest of Crete in 1669, the grand vizier Köprülü-zade Fazil Ahmed Pasha charged Evliya, along with others, to compose *fethnames* or victory announcements. He then sent a contingent of troops to Manya in the southern Morea in order to pacify that region and raise war taxes. His specific charges to Evliya were to keep the tax register; regulate the rations of the troops; report on the fortifications; make sure that newly-constructed mosques had their *kıble*s properly alligned; and compose chronograms. "I was too frightened to refuse," writes Evliya, and so he accepted the tasks although he found them onerous.[51]

When stationary, Evliya tended to fall back on his religious skills, which gave him something to do wherever he found himself. He served as religious instructor (*hoca*) to the son of his patron Defterdarzade Mehmed Pasha, governor of Erzurum, in 1646. When grand vizier Dervish Mehmed Pasha was dying in 1653, his patron Melek Ahmed Pasha had him recite charms and spells in order to alleviate the vizier's symptoms. And when Kaya Sultan died in 1659 Evliya assumed the responsibility of reciting prayers and Koran recitations at her tomb—an office that proved quite remunerative. During the Wallachian campaign that same year a wealthy boyar came over to the Ottoman side along with his family and retainers, and Evliya was on hand to supervise their conversion to Islam, for which he was richly rewarded out of the plunder. In Egypt, one of the posts which his patron, the governor Ibrahim Pasha, awarded him was overseer of the Kaʿba-cover (*kisve naziri*).[52]

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[50] V 65a21; 67a22–68a3.

[51] VIII 326a32 = 558 (text of Evliya's *fethname*); 330b12 = 576.

[52] Religious instructor: II 285a19. Charms for Dervish Mehmed Pasha: III 173a23; Melek 108. Prayers for Kaya Sultan: V 78b2–4,15–16; Melek 234, 235. Conversion of a boyar: V 104a3. Overseer of the Kaʿba-cover: IX 342a5 = 744; cf. X 197b = 419.

Another office for which he was suited by his religious training was *mütevelli* or overseer of endowments or *evkaf*. This involved some auditing skills as well, and especially in his later years in Egypt he was frequently commissioned to check accounts. (For examples, see *Reporter and Entertainer*: Evidence.) So, although his training had been in the *medrese* and in the palace, he had some accounting skills as well, usually associated with the bureaucracy.

Perhaps because of the force of his personality and his talents as an entertainer, these religious offices were never seen as incompatible with the convivial demands of a courtier, envoy, or boon-companion. He frequently insists that he—and his ancestors going back to Ahmed Yesevi—never drank wine or other spirits, used tobacco or drugs, or even drank coffee or tea. When the Safavid governor of Tabriz, Kelp Ali Khan, offers him wine, and he refuses, the governor accuses him of being a fanatic (*mutaʿassıb*). Evliya rejects the designation, saying that he is simply a good Hanafi Muslim. The governor tries to get him in the mood by having his slaveboys start kissing him. Evliya accepts the kisses, but persists in his refusal to join in the wine-drinking, and offers to entertain the party with a musical performance instead.[53]

Similarly, when, as representative of Melek Pasha, he is being kept a virtual hostage of the Khan of Bitlis before his escape in 1656, he says:

> Day and night I busied myself praying and reciting the Koran, reading books of Hadith and Deylemi's Koran-commentary, and discussing matters of the Shariʿah as far as I was able with the Kurdish ulema. At the same time, I did not want them to think I had become some kind of humorless fanatic (*mutaʿassıb . . . bi-mezak*). So when I was in the Khan's presence, or in the company of his sons Bedir and Nureddehir, or with the other tribal chiefs, I would play the clown, joking and jesting, and also would sing and perform musical compositions, including *kâr, nakış, savt, zikir, zecel, ʿamel, tasnifat*, and mournful *kavıllar*. And so they accepted me as one of their retinue.[54]

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[53] Never drank wine, etc.: I 213a6 (see *Raconteur*: Daily Life), IV 312b6, V 146a9, VI 149b30, IX 3a24 = 5, 247a18 = 544 (here he admits to drinking tea and milk in the coffee-houses of Damascus, but never coffee). Tabriz, accused of being a fanatic: II 301b26. He did swallow a bit of aphrodisiac taffy under the duress of fear in the Bitlis bath (V 12b13; Bitlis 370–73).

[54] V 12a16; Bitlis 368–9.

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He does not say where he picked up the musical skills which he displayed so handily at his first interview with Sultan Murad IV; but once at court, his music master was Tokatlı Ömer Gülşeni (see *Man of Istanbul*: Topkapı Saray). He claims to have spent three years making music with the famous singer Kara-oğlan-ı Amidi in Erzurum while he was in the service of Defterdar-zade after his journey to Iran in 1656, but this is an exaggeration. Aside from singing, he also fancied himself an expert on musical instruments, although there is no evidence that he played one except for the tambourine which he used during his singing performances (see *Man of Istanbul*: Topkapı Saray). He even had some first-hand knoweldge of European organs (see *Man of the World*: Tolerance and its Limits).[55]

Ironically, the same skill that made him a fine singer and musician also made him a fine Koran reciter and caller-to-prayer. He tells us that as a child he studied Koran recitation for eleven years under Sa'di-zade Efendi, and it was this skill which caught the sultan's attention and gave him his entrée at court. Being trained in *'ilm-i tecvid*, the science of Koran recitation, must surely have facilitated his learning of languages. On the other hand, his own enunciation was adversely affected when he lost four teeth from a playful throw of the jereed javelin by Seydi Ahmed Pasha in 1647.[56]

His religious offices also meant that during battles and sieges Evliya could play a significant role—but also a relatively safe one. This is his account of his own role in the bloody battle against some Celali rebels during the vizierate of Melek Ahmed Pasha in 1650:

> While the others were carrying on their butchery, this humble slave was standing at the foot of Abdullah Pasha's banner, reciting the noble surah of Victory (Koran, surah 48). What should I see? One of my *gulams* had been mounted crosswise on his horse and was being brought to my side. I forgot all about Victory; in fact I nearly lost my wits.

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[55] Tokatlı Ömer Gülşeni: I 206a2. Three years in Erzurum: I 206a21. Expert on musical instruments: I 208b21 (see the monograph by H. G. Farmer, "Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1936, 1–43). Tambourine: e.g., III 50b8. Organs: I 203a4–21; VI 131a5.

[56] Studied Koran recitation: I 107b2. Learning of languages: see IV 394a36; Glossary 8. Loss of four teeth: II 335b28. But elsewhere he says he lost three teeth from a jereed toss at the hands of Kıblalı Mustafa Pasha below Uyvar (i.e., in 1663), and goes on to describe how a great Viennese surgeon repaired them (VII 63a31 = 282; tr. Livingston 1970, 235). [J. W. Livingston, "Evliya Çelebi on Surgical Operations in Vienna," *Al-Abhath* 23 (1970), 223–45.]

> Nothing, whether saddle, sword, or scimitar, was left on the horse. The *gulam* lifted himself a bit and then expired. I secured the horse, consigned the *gulam* to the earth, and resumed the noble Victory surah at the foot of the banner; though it seemed to me I was reciting the verse "We belong to God and to Him do we return" (Koran 2:156). Presently I recovered my wits. "Judgment is God's," thought I; "What else is in store?" So I spurred on my horse and joined the fray, performing several deeds of derring-do.

Similarly, he depicts himself mounted on an elephant and reciting the Victory surah in battles against heathen tribes during campaigns in the Sudan in 1672.[57]

Other than reciting the Koran, Evliya's chief military role seems to have been reciting the victory *ezan*. He was proud of this, and mentions it in battles from the Caucasus to Hungary and Crete. At one point he even makes a list of all the victories at which he recited the first *ezan*.[58]

As for reciting the Koran, one gets the impression that Evliya was doing this constantly, always calculating pious acts in terms of *hatm-i şerif* or complete recital. By his own count he concluded forty-eight of these every year—a deed that merited divine protection. He could also use this skill as a kind of alms, as in this scene from the Bitlis saga in which he staked Koran-recitals as a bargaining chip for human lives:

> The world-conquering Pasha announced: "Since a noble rescript has come from my felicitous Padishah, I will kill all of these. Let whoever will, execute the command, and they may take the victims' belongings."
>
> Since no one else present knew the Pasha's character, none dared to come forward and beg for these men's lives. So I once again, in that sea of men, fell at the felicitous Pasha's feet: "My lord, you said that in your dream the other night you presented this humble servant with sixteen of the ants [referring to a dream recounted earlier]. 'When the generous man makes a promise he carries it out.'"
>
> "God knows," said the Pasha, "I did see that in my dream. Go now Evliya, take sixteen of those condemned men. But for each one you must recite a complete Koran on behalf of the soul of the Prophet."

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[57] "While the others were carrying on their butchery . . .": III 100b21; Melek 73. Campaigns in the Sudan: X 400a18 = 860. At the battle on the Raab (battle of St. Gotthard) Evliya was one of twelve official Feṭḥ-ḥvān or Victory surah reciters (VII 19a4 = 86).

[58] II 329b30, V 125b15, VI 6a19, 133a17, 187b21, VII 9a26 = 39, VIII 303a26 = 460 [Guerre 253], 333b15 = 591. The list is at VI 134b30.

> "I will recite forty complete Korans, and will freely bestow the merit accrued thereby upon the noble souls of the Prophet and his four companions and the martyrs of Kerbela and all the saints, if you gave me two men for each one and let eighty go free."
>
> God be praised, he accepted my plea: "Go now Evliya, take some of these doomed men."
>
> "God willing, not all of them are doomed," I said, then cried: "A Fatiha!" All the ghazis present recited a Fatiha, as I began, with the help of my servants and some of the Pasha's tasters, to pick out forty from among the fettered men about to be killed. We actually took fifty-three, and they were led away.
>
> "Hey Evliya," said the Pasha, "will you take away all of them because of a single Fatiha?. . . . Enough now, take those and go." In short, God be praised, for saying I would perform forty Koran-recitals I was able to raise sixty men from the field of execution. I sent them all to my tent, where I loosed their hands and gave them food.

Here Evliya depicts himself as taking pity on common soldiers who happened to be on the wrong side, and performing the good deed of ransoming them. At the same time, he implies a critique of the sultan (or, the Ottoman authorities) who issued a sweeping execution order. Melek Pasha, a cog in the system, is powerless to contravene the harsh decree, but Evliya suggests that he is more than willing to soften it if he can.[59]

Redeemer

Another group that excited Evliya's pity were Muslim captives in infidel territory. On the island of Rhodes there is a dungeon where Turkish captives were kept, and when Evliya toured it in 1671 he saw scribbled on the walls such graffiti as the following:

> "I suffered and prayed here for forty years."
>
> "I fell captive three times"
>
> "I was given three thousand lashes."
>
> "They gouged my eyes, drew my teeth, and hung me by the arms for three nights."

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[59] Forty-eight every year: i.e., roughly one a week; cf. at note 14 above; a typical "diary entry" is the note at the shrine of the prophet Shuʿayb in Hattin that he completed a Koran-recital which he had left off at Surat al-Mulk (IX 203a18 = 449). Divine protection: X 394a11 = 847; Fung 118. Scene from the Bitlis saga: IV 272a10; Bitlis 260–63.

> "I was the Hanafi *kaziasker* for Sultan Inal, the ruler of Egypt, and I served as kadi to all the prisoners in this pit of woe."[60]

Evliya was proud of the Muslim captives he had rescued. In 1660, Melek Ahmed Pasha sent him to Split, in Venetian territory, to renew a trading pact and to try and rescue some of the pasha's retainers who had been captured and were held prisoner in the dungeon there. Evliya was well received by the Venetian general of Split, who readily granted him the pasha's request. Then, "of his own accord" (*kendi karihamdan*) Evliya also begged the release of ten other captives whose plight he had learned from merchants in the town, and this too was granted. When he returned to Livno in Ottoman territory, Melek Pasha was surprised to see these ten youths, of whom he had no inkling. "God be praised," they explained, "thanks to the blessings of your benediction, Evliya Çelebi performed a truly saintly deed (*evliyalık edüp*) and released us from captivity in the hands of the infidels." Melek Pasha was so pleased that he stood up from his chair, kissed Evliya on the forehead, and showered him with benedictions.[61]

While touring the southern Morea (Peloponnese) in the wake of the successful Manya campaign in 1670, he came with his retinue to the village of Kolorya:

> As we were going about on horseback, I saw a pretty young woman sitting under an olive tree. Her head was covered with a green cloth, and in her arms was a baby, also wrapped in a green cloth. When we approached, she stood up, put the baby down on the ground, and with a Greek accent cried: "O my dear Evliya Çelebi!" She caught hold of my horse's stirrup and wept bitterly.
>
> I was moved with pity, but also taken aback. "Woman," I said, "how in this land of infidels did you know I was Evliya Çelebi?"
>
> "Don't you recognize me?" she said. "I am Saime, daughter of the captain of Bardunya, Emir Hasan Agha. Don't you remember how much time you spent eating my father's bread and salt when you and your retinue stayed in our house? It is seven years now that I have been a captive." She kept weeping, as she took up her baby again into her arms.
>
> "Girl," I cried, "hurry, mount one of my *gulam*'s horses, and let's be off. I'll return you this very day to your father and mother."
>
> "O no, my dear little Çelebi," replied the hussy. "This little baby in my arms belongs to my Captain Lemberaki. I also go to church

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[60] IX 114a28 = 236.
[61] V 149a22, 150b20–25.

> with my husband. I don't want to have anything to do with the Emir." She moved off quite a bit, then smiled and said: "Go in health."
>
> It occurred to me that I ought to kill this cursed woman before I left. "Come girl," I said, "let me take you to your father, my friend Hasan Agha." As I rode up to her she ran off to her house, went inside, and locked the door behind her.
>
> This province of Manya has thousands of such Muslim captives. God be praised, this humble servant has rescued 170 Muslims from captivity in the course of my travels. I know, of course, that many thousands have been sent off to the lands of the infidels, and that hundreds are wasting away in dungeons in villages like this. But it is impossible to help them—may God in His omnipotence rescue them from captivity![62]

This may be compared with Evliya's description of the 1060 Muslim captives rescued from their dungeons after the capture of Nyitra in Hungary in 1663:

> They were all weak and emaciated with hunger, and yellow-complexioned as though they had turned to ghosts. Their brows and beards and mustaches were all plaited together, and their eyes and ears and nostrils were bitten up by lice, which had taken residence in their beards. These poor creatures had not emerged from this dungeon for the past seven months, during which time they had received 50 dirhems of oat-bread once a day. Hüseyn Pasha, out of pity, ordered ten steers to be slaughtered and a like amount of pilav and soup and onions and bread to be prepared for these men. At this point I spoke up, saying: "My lord, if these poor creatures were to eat such rich food right now they would all expire. Have them just be given bread and water and nothing else. Let them breath some fresh air, and in a day or two they can be given more food. And I recommend that we put them on carts and have them brought to Uyvar, where the grand vizier can add them to the garrison or else let those who wish go home." Hüseyn Pasha found this to be a reasonable course. He gave each one a piece of bread and put them in the care of the army of Islam. Despite this precaution, some ate so ravenously that they did in fact expire.[63]

In Egypt in 1672, while Evliya was on an inspection tour in Abukir, two Christian galleons overtook and captured a shayka full of Muslims,

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[62] VIII 337a3 = 607. Evliya's characterization of Saime's Greek dialect of Turkish seems confined to the use of the diminutives *çelebiçigim, evlādcığım* and the colloquial *ṣağlıcaḳlar*. Evliya stayed briefly in Bardunya (near Mistra) three years earlier on his way to the Crete campaign (VIII 275b8 = 345). Lemberaki Kapudan is also mentioned at 332a12 = 583 as one of the Maina envoys to whom the Turks gave up some Christian captives during negotiations before the Maina campaign.

[63] VI 123a17.

then raised truce flags, towed the shayka to the port, and began selling the captives. Evliya threatened to report the castle warden to the governor unless he did something about it. The warden took action, bombarded the galleons, blew up one and damaged the other, and released the 145 Muslim captives, who cried blessings on Evliya. The warden received a robe of honor for his action, and he in turn rewarded Evliya with 100 *guruş* and 100 bales of firewood.[64]

As we saw above, his attitude toward enemy captives was quite different. He considered them mere trophies of war. At one point he reports with sang-froid his own participation in the torturing and killing of a Croatian captive. Such hard-heartedness contrasts with his claims to be appalled at the senseless slaughter of enemy prisoners by bloodthirsty commanders (see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique). He also disapproved of the elaborate tortures inflicted on criminals by the Safavid khan or governor of Tabriz. Inquiring the reason for these tortures, he is told that they are exemplary punishments. Evliya objects that Koranic law lays down specific punishments for specific crimes (he cites Koran 5:38 and 5:45), and that such tortures went against the Shari'a. The khan accepts the argument, but does not alter the practice.[65]

Falstaff

During military operations, Evliya was clearly in his element giving advice before battle, reciting the Koran during battle and the victory *ezan* after battle, rescuing prisoners, registering newly-acquired possessions, and performing other non-combative tasks. During the siege of Candia in 1668–69 he characteristically portrays himself as treating the wounded and burying the dead (see below: Bi-riya, and *Reporter and Entertainer*: Skepticism and Credulity). By this time, to be sure, he was in his late fifties. In his younger days he does claim that he could enter combat as well, "performing deeds of derring-do" if the situation warranted it, as we saw above in the fight against the Celalis. But if we look at more descriptions of battle and other dangerous situations, we will see a pattern emerging: Evliya likes to portray himself in a Falstaffian role. "Fleeing is also an act of courage,"

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[64] X 330b7 = 703.

[65] Croatian captive: VI 3a25. Senseless slaughter: V 124a33, VI 7a13. Governor of Tabriz: II 303a1–25.

he remarks during one adventure (*kaçmak dahi erlikdendir*)—recalling Falstaff's famous line, "The better part of valor is discretion" (Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part I*, V.4.120). Thus:

- A mob threatens the peace during Melek Pasha's vizierate in 1651 and Melek appeals for someone to step forth and act the peacemaker. When Telhisi Hüseyn—too officious and tactless for the job, as everyone realizes—volunteers, Melek sends Evliya with him, presumably to act as a restraining influence. Evliya, anticipating the worst, puts on bazaar clothing (described in some detail) before entering among the mob. In the event, Evliya's judiciousness fails to save Telhisi Hüseyn; but he himself manages to slink into the crowd and avoid a beating.
- In the Bitlis episodes of 1655–56, Evliya twice faints when danger is nigh.
- Otherwise, his typical response to danger is joking and good humor; thus, confronting the brigands in Anatolia (see *Man of the World*: Rebels and Bandits).
- During the German campaigns in 1661, Evliya recounts a comical adventure in which he manages to kill an enemy while relieving himself (see below).
- In another incident, Evliya in his haste mounts a hobbled horse.[66]

The 1661 "adventure" is so revealing of Evliya's self-deprecating attitude that it deserves to be quoted in full. It occurs during the celebrations following the successful siege of Seykel Tabur under the commander Ismail Pasha, governor of Buda:

> *A strange and comical adventure, a wondrous and foolish gaza.* This adventure happened to your humble servant. If it is bad manners to relate it, I hope to be covered with the skirt of forgiveness.
>
> After the battle, heeding the call of nature I retired to a lonely spot, loosened my drawers and was busy relieving myself when, from a thicket just above my head, I heard a a rustle and a snap. Before I could determine what this noise meant, all of a sudden an infidel soldier, fearing for his life, hurled himself from a low rock just above my head and landed on top of me, so that I plopped right into my own filth. I had been holding on to the rein of my horse, but the horse started and stood off at a distance. For a moment I lost my wits: there I was, topsy-turvy with that infidel, my belt and drawers swimming at my feet and my clothes all covered in shit—I almost became "the shitty martyr."

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[66] "Fleeing is also an act of courage": X Q356a41 = 1042. Telhisi Hüseyn: III 103b19; Melek 14, 83–87. Bitlis episodes: IV 269a9–14, V 13a–b; Bitlis 238–9, 379. Joking and good humor: see also Melek 15. Hobbled horse: VI 101a34.

Thank God, I recovered my wits and wrestled with that infidel like Mahmud Pir-Yar-i Veli[67] until I was on top. Baring my dagger, I stabbed him several times in the neck and breast, then cut off his head. By this time I was soaked in blood as well as in shit, and I had to laugh, seeing that I had become "the shitty *gazi*." I used the dagger to wipe the shit off my clothes, then began to draw my drawers together when suddenly a brave youth came panting to the rock above my head and said, "My friend, I was chasing that infidel whom you just killed through the mountains. Fearing for his life he hurled himself on top of you and you cut off his head. Now that head belongs to me!"

I was still tying up my drawers. "Well," I replied, "take this head," and I showed him my little brother who was born together with me.

"What an ill-mannered man you are," said the elegant fellow and, despairing of the head, he went his way.

As I was pulling off the infidel's filth-spattered dolman with its silver buttons, and his drawers, I discovered 105 Hungarian goldpieces and 1 ring and 40 thalers in his waistband. Putting these items in my saddlebag I mounted my horse—his name was Hamis—and deposited the head before Ismail Pasha. "May the enemies' misfortunate heads always roll like this one," I said, kissed his hand, and stood at attention. Those next to me moved off because of the smell.

"My Evliya," said Ismail Pasha, "you smell strangely of shit."

"Don't ask, my lord, what calamities have befallen me!" And I recounted my adventures blow by blow. All the officers at that victory celebration laughed uproariously. Ismail Pasha too was tremendously pleased. He awarded me 50 goldpieces and a silver turban-crest, and I cheered up considerably.[68]

Bi-riya

One sometimes senses in Evliya a struggle between irony and sincerity. While irony may win out, his claim to be sincere—or unhypocritical (*bi-riya*)[69]—is not in itself insincere. A passage describing his activities during the siege of Candia in 1669 illustrates the point:

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[67] The patron-saint of wrestlers; cf. I 190a32.

[68] VI 21a28–21b13. "The shitty martyr" (*boḳlu şehīd*) and "the shitty *gazi*" (*boḳluca ġāzī*) perhaps refer to a figure in an anecdote or story. "My little brother who was born together with me" is one of Evliya's terms for his penis; see GLOSSARY 6.

[69] Very frequently; but note the ironical usage at II 273b13: *Evliyā-yı pür-riyā* ("Evliya the hypocritical").

> This humble one, full of fault, acquired some courage from constantly witnessing[70] these great battles. Day and night I girded my loins and recited the Muhammedan call-to-prayer, or I tended the Muslim ghazis who had entered the thick of battle with bloody hands and bloody sword, with burning heart and naked breast, and with the words of the holy Koran on their lips. God be praised, whenever God saved one of them from a mine or a stone or a bomb, or from the projectile of a cannon or a musket, I was ready with weapons or with ablutions. I buried several hundred martyrs, including some governors and commanders, and several hundred others who were wounded I brought to the surgeons to be tended. Indeed, I can say in all sincerity (*riya olmaya*)[71] that this poor and humble one sometimes carried bread and soup to the wounded. For some, who were poor (*garib olanlar*), I and my servants boiled and washed their clothes and re-dressed them, soothing their wounded hearts and pitying their tears. For others, whose beards and mustaches and ears were swarming with lice, I used my scissors to snip their hair, turning them into "four-stroke" Kalenderi dervishes,[72] and thus saved quite a few patients from lice.[73] There were times when all hell broke loose, when father ignored son and son ignored father. Even then I would fill my little waterskin-of-the-poor[74] with water-of-life and dole it out to the sick and wounded left behind in the old trenches without attendants and without the strength to move. So I gladdened the spirits of the martyrs in the Plain of Kerbela[75] and gladdened the grieving hearts of the wounded. May the Almighty not record this as hypocrisy (*cenab-ı kibriya riya yazmayub*), may it be found acceptable in the divine court.[76]

Putting aside the pious platitudes, the description recalls Walt Whitman's nursing of the Union troops in Washington hospitals during the American Civil War.

Mediator

Evliya often depicts himself in a mediating role, as in his negotiations with Ipshir Pasha, both during the Celali incidents in 1648 and

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[70] Reading *göre göre*, not *gördügümüze göre* as in the printed text.

[71] He uses the same phrase when swearing that he never indulged in intoxicants (I 213a27); for the entire passage, see *Raconteur*: Daily Life.

[72] See Glossary s.vv. *çār-ḍarb, cullāḳī*.

[73] Reading *kehleden*, not *tehlikeden* as in the printed text.

[74] Tentatively reading *ġurebā ṭulumı*, not *ʿarabā ṭulumı* as in the printed text.

[75] I.e., the family and followers of al-Husayn who suffered from thirst and were killed at the battle of Karbala in Iraq in the year 680.

[76] VIII 292b8 = 415; Guerre 193.

when Ipshir is appointed grand vizier in 1653. On the other hand, when he is present at treaty negotiations with Europeans, he depicts himself as tougher than the Ottoman diplomat in charge. Thus, in Uyvar in 1664, he registers his objection to tearing down the fortress of Székelyhid, but to no avail. In discussions with the Venetian commanders after their surrender of Candia in 1669, Evliya tries to include the return of Klis to the Ottomans as a point to be included in the treaty, but the chief Ottoman negotiator belittles the proposal.[77]

IV. *Avocation:* Seyyah

We have seen how Evliya likes to portray himself in wartime, and in his official capacities as an Ottoman functionary. In peacetime, and on his own initiative, he was simply a traveller or globe-trotter (*seyyah-ı ʿalem*). This is the identity he wished to claim for himself. That is the significance of the dream at the beginning of Book I, when the Prophet gave his sanction and blessing to Evliya's yearning for travel (*seyahat*) along with his desire for prophetic intercession (*şefaʿat*). But what kind of traveller was he?

For one whose primary identity was "traveller," Evliya had a strange distaste for sea travel. He soured early in his travel career when he suffered shipwreck during a storm on the Black Sea—an episode he describes with great pathos. Returning home after a long recuperation, he vowed never again to venture by boat onto the Black Sea—a vow he seems to have kept, despite subsequent journeys around the entire periphery of that body of water.[78] Mentioning a trip on the Caspian in 1666, he says that he has always had an aversion to sea travel, and that this was the main reason he did not go either to the Maghreb[79] or to India. Of course, he did go to Crete and other islands off the Turkish coast, including Cos and Rhodes. But when he boarded a frigate heading to Cyprus in 1671,

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[77] Negotiations with Ipshir Pasha: II 366a24; III 177a7; Melek 124–127. Uyvar: VII 29b20 = 134. Candia: VIII 303a9 = 459; Guerre 252.

[78] At I 138b22 he states that he made the circuit three times.

[79] In the Sudan in 1673, Evliya says that he contemplated travelling overland to the Maghreb but was dissuaded from doing so by a dream, and so returned to Egypt instead (X 431a27 = 928; see *Reporter and Entertainer*: Portents and Dreams). The claim to have bowed toward Mecca from Morocco (IX 318b3 = 694; see *Man of the World*: Geographical Horizons) is a poetic flight.

it was attacked by enemy galleons and had to return to port; Evliya disembarked, consoling himself that he had seen enough of Cyprus when he went there in 1650—a journey mentioned nowhere else![80]

Evliya rarely travelled alone. Even when not leading an offical delegation, or attached to an Ottoman governor or commander, he was generally accompanied by friends, a suite of servants and hangers-on, often a bodyguard when the roads were unsafe; not to speak of horses, for which he had a special fondness,[81] and even at times dogs. For example, setting off in 1671 from Istanbul—for the last time, as it turned out—intending to go on pilgrimage, he had in his train three travel companions, eight slaveboys, and fifteen Arab horses. More than once, his itinerary was interrupted by the need to pursue a runaway slave.[82]

Travelling in the Sudan in 1672, Evliya encounters two Bektashi dervishes, one riding a rhinocerus and one a wild mule. They join his party and accompany him all the way to Suakin on the Red Sea coast. When the rhinocerus dies and the wild mule runs away, Evliya provides camels as substitute mounts. Some of this, if not all, is surely fictional. But he did like having travel-companions. At one point, in Daghistan in 1666, he even lists the names of five of them: Baba Mansur, Dervish Ahmed Halhali, Baba Türabi-yi Selmani, Aşçı Baba Şüca‘ and Dervish Vahid—all dervishes of one stripe or another![83]

We have seen that Evliya had a broad tolerance for strange eating-habits and other outlandish customs (see *Man of the World*: Strange Customs; Tolerance and its Limits). He frequently expresses the notion that a traveller must conform to the ways of the country he

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[80] Shipwreck on Black Sea: II 264b31. Vow: II 268a34. Aversion to sea travel: VII 166b25 = 804. Cyprus: IX 149a28.

[81] During his travels in Hungary he several times mentions his horse named Ḫamīs: VI 21b8 (see translation above under Falstaff), 40b3, 124a30, 125a13,32.

[82] Fondness for horses: VIII 195a8 = 29. Dogs: VII 181b = 867–77. 1671: IX 3b23 = 5. Pursuit of runaway slave: VIII 206b28 = 80, 210b16 = 96, IX 25a14 = 51, X Q352a25 = 1021.

[83] Two Bektashi dervishes: X 411a = 884; Func 171. Camels as substitute mounts: X Q339b2 = 961, Q340a28 = 965. Daghistan: VII 165b28 = 800. Two in this list, Dervish Ahmed and Baba Türabi, first joined him at the behest of Ibrahim Kethüda when he was about to go off to Vienna. Evliya was reluctant to bring Dervish Ahmed along, since he was a notorious drunkard, but Ibrahim insisted (VII 30b14–17 = 140). Evliya mentions his "companion in the lands of the seven kings (i.e., Austria and Europe) and in the countries of the three padishahs of Islam," Hindi Baba Mansur, as one of the martyrs whom he buried at the siege of Candia in 1669 (VIII 293a11 = 417).

is in. Thus, in the Sudan in 1672, he complains of his host's stinginess but remarks: "I was in a foreign land, so I bowed to necessity" (*bu diyar-ı gurbetde iltiyam edüp tevazuʿ ederdim*). He was unaffected by the heat in the Sudan, and says that he conformed his dress to the climate.[84]

The cold was more difficult for travelling, which is perhaps why he eventually settled in Egypt. Azov is a proverbial hell because of the cold, he tells us, just as Damascus is a proverbial paradise because of the pleasant climate. In January 1667 while he was in Azov he slipped on the marble floor of a bath that was icy; and after returning to Istanbul he suffered pains and discharges in his eyes for two months, symptoms (of glaucoma?) which he attributed to the cold weather he had just endured. He occasionally complains of fever (e.g. during the siege of Candia in 1667) and other ailments, but in general had a strong constitution.[85]

For Evliya travel was not a diversion but an obsession. He had to see everything, and he had to record everything he saw. He was nothing if not systematic. The town descriptions (*evsaf*)—the most characteristic literary unit of the *Seyahatname*, as I suggested above (see *Man of Istanbul*: The Man and the Book)—generally follow the same pattern, with subheadings introduced in elaborate Persianate phraseology. Sometimes the headings are all we have, followed by a blank space where he has no information. It looks as though Evliya had a checklist drawn up, and that for each town he simply went through and filled out the list. The example of Siirt, a town in Eastern Turkey, is an extreme case, in which most of the subsections are blank. Here his information is rather full for the history and geographical setting; but as soon as he comes to describing the town itself he leaves a blank for the number of houses, remarking only that they are all of stone not wood, and describing the *sancakbeg*'s palace in cliché terms. The litany of subsection headings only takes on substance when he mentions the agricultural products and typical foods. (Here is where the anecdote about the carrots and turnips comes; see *Raconteur*: Anecdotes). One gets the definite impression that either Evliya never went to Siirt, or he only stopped there

[84] X 403b17 = 867; Func 148; 416b6 = 897; Func 188.
[85] Azov: VII 185b32 = 896, 184b14 = 891. Istanbul: VIII 203b30 = 67. Siege of Candia: VIII 289b3 = 403; Guerre 176 (mistranslated).

for a very short time. Sometimes he is at pains to explain why he cut his description short. For example, he apologizes for not counting the shops in Sidirkapsi, in Northern Greece, saying that he was too depressed (*dâğ-ı derûnum var idi*) because of the loss of his runaway slaveboy.[86]

Like many travellers, Evliya liked to leave his mark wherever he went.[87] He records graffiti, generally in very mediocre verse, at the following places (this list is probably not complete):

II	280a5	shrine of Koyun Baba near Amasya, 1646
	282b18	shrine of Pir İlyas in Amasya, 1646
	303b19	shrine of Shaikh Taki near Tabriz, 1647
	352b19	shrine of Koçı Baba between Çorum and Ankara, 1648
	353a3	shrine of Shaikh Şami between Çorum and Ankara, 1648
	355b34	shrine of Hüseyn Gazi near Ankara, 1648
III	56b17	a watermill in Urfa, 1649
	123a17	shrine of Akyazılı Sultan near Balçık, 1652
	128b15	shrine of Sarı Saltuk in Babadağı, 1652
IV	192a13	shrine of Shaikh Halil near Sivas, 1655
	208b19	shrine of Khalid ibn Walid in Diyarbekir, 1655 (DIYARBEKIR 184–5)
	209b3	shrine of Shaikh of Urmia in Diyarbekir, 1655 (DIYARBEKIR 190–1)
	220b27	shrine of Sultan Veys (Uways al-Qarani) near Bitlis 1655
	241b.margin	cemetary in Akhlat, 1655 (REISE 200–1)
	300a16	shrine of Imam Rıza near Selmas, 1655
VI	86a22	shrine of Gül Baba in Buda, 1663
	89b7	shrine of Gerz İlyas in Buda, 1663
VIII	207a10 = 81	shrine of Nefes Sultan near Megri, 1668
	234a28 = 187	shrine of Memi Baba Sultan near Alasonya, 1668
	332a7 = 583	shrine of Gerçek Er Sultan in Mistra, 1670
IX	78a11 = 158	ruined Mevlevi-hane in Güzelhisar (Aydın), 1671
	129b5 = 274	shrine of ʿAbdal Musa Baba near Finike, 1671

He sometimes left graffiti inscriptions with his name and perhaps a drawing:

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[86] Siirt: V 3b–4b. Sidirkapsi: VIII 212a2 = 10.

[87] Cf. VIII 379b9 = 771: *Rūm ve ʿArab ve ʿAcemde ve Balḫ [u] Buḫārāda elbetde her cāmiʿ ve ḫān ve ʿimāret ve tekye-gāhlarda ve'l-ḥāṣıl bu elli bir yıl seyāḥat içre on sekiz pādişāhlıḳ yerlerde elbette ve elbette üstüme iltizām-ı mā-lā-yelzem edüp ḫaṭṭ-ı nā-müstekrehimizle birer Fātiḥa ricā edüp taḥrīr etmişiz, gören ʿāşıḳlara ḫafī degildir.*

IV	257a19	a palace in Van, 1655—the drawing of some boats
V	17a14	a palace in Erzurum, 1646—"lovely painting and blue and gold calligraphy;" identifies himself as *seyyah-ı ʿalem* and protégé of Melek Ahmed Pasha (MELEK 194)
VI	131a14	a church converted into a mosque in Uyvar, 1663—also claims to have engraved the marble plaques with chronograms and received 100 goldpieces for the work
VII	4b17 = 18	a tree in Korokondar near Kanija, 1664—this one written, he says, in German, since he was in "Germany"
VIII	365b6 = 721	mosque of Sinan Pasha in Elbasan, 1670—identifies himself as *seyyah-ı ʿalem* (ALBANIA 170–71)[88]
	379b8 = 771	shrine of Osman Baba near Edirne, 1670—identifies himself as *seyyah-ı ʿalem* and protégé of Melek Ahmed Pasha
IX	106a21 = 218	a tree on Istanköy/Cos, 1671—identifies himself as *seyyah-ı ʿalem*
X	406b8 = 874	the bronze statue of a giant female Ifrit below Dongola, 1672 (FUNC 157)

In addition, we have the actual graffiti which he left on a mosque in Küstendil in 1660, two different mosques in Foça in 1664, and a mosque in Adana in 1671.[89] In these he identifies himself three times as *müezzin*, twice as protégé of Melek Ahmed Pasha, once as *seyyah-ı ʿalem*, and once as Gülşeni.

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[88] "The outer sides of its four walls are completely covered with couplets, poems, qasides, hadiths, and single verses inscribed by travellers from Turkey, Arabia and Persia, each of whom wrote in his own hand, in fine calligraphy. If one were to collect all the inscriptions, they would make up 100 volumes. This mosque has been visited by thousands of poets who have vied in displaying their skill, and so the exceptionally smooth, polished and shiny walls are covered in countless works of art. Indeed, in accordance with my old practice of leaving my mark in whatever village or town or place of worship that I visit, I too had the impertinence to write a couplet, and signed it: *Ketebehu seyyāḥ-ı ʿālem Evliyā sene 1081* (Written by the world traveller Evliya, year 1081/1670)." (ALBANIA 168–71)

[89] See Baysun 1955, Mijatev 1959, Wittek 1965, Kreutel 1971, Prokosch 1988–89. Prokosch has photographs, hand-drawn copies, transcriptions and translations of all four inscriptions. [M. Cavid Baysun, "Evliya Çelebi'ye dair Notlar," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 12 (1955), 257–64; Petar Mijatev, "Les monuments osmanlis en Bulgarie," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 23 (1959), 7–56; Paul Wittek, "Eine weitere 'Inschrift' des Evliya Çelebi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 14 (1965), 270–72 + 275; R. F. Kreutel, "Neues zur Evliyā-Çelebī-Forschung," *Der Islam* 48 (1971), 269–79; Erich Prokosch, "Die Gedenkinschriften des Evliyā Çelebi," *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen St. Georgskollegs Istanbul* (1988–89), 320–336]

Evliya prided himself as a calligrapher, and left calligraphic samples "in the style of Karahisari" at the following places:[90]

III	8a4	shrine of Seyyid Battal Gazi, 1648
IX	352a28 = 766	the Prophet's house in Mecca, 1672

He also frequently composed chronograms, sometimes quite elaborate ones on commission, as:

X	113b16 = 248	a castle in Cairo, 1671—in navy blue, on forty panels, for Kethüda Ibrahim Pasha (KAIRO 146)

Aside from the drawing of boats in Van (see above), a town plan of Anaboli, and the one example of a drawing in the *Seyahatname*—a crude plan of Lepanto—there is no indication that he could draw. He does claim to have made maps or topographical sketches "in the manner of our master, Nakkaş Hükmi-zade ʿAli Beg." And the map of the Nile which he refers to in that same passage appears to be extant in the Vatican library (see Rossi 1949).[91]

I suggested at the beginning (*Man of Istanbul*: The Man and the Book) that Evliya's main goals were to provide a complete description of the Ottoman Empire and a complete record of his travels. His other activities—as provider of religious services, as court entertainer, as factotum for Ottoman officials—while seldom conflicting and often meshing nicely with his travel plans, were ultimately subordinate to travelling and writing up his travel account. And just as it is hard to separate the imperial and the personal aspects in Evliya's motivation, so it is hard to distinguish the act of travel from the reporting of it. The *Seyahatname*, taken as a whole, is monument and witness to its author. Who touches the book touches the man.

Conclusion

The self-portrait that emerges is one of a multi-faceted personality—probably the most richly-drawn individual in Ottoman literature.

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[90] Cf. I 189b35: *Bu ḥaḳīr Evliyā-yı pür-riyā faḳīr ʿalā-ḳadri'ṭ-ṭāḳa baʿżı mertebe āṣārlarımız vardır kim baʿżı tekyelerde maṣlūbdur*. For Aḥmed Ḳaraḥiṣārī see *Man of Istanbul*, n. 61.

[91] Anaboli: VIII 279b20 = 362. Lepanto: VIII 338a14 = 612. "In the manner of our master . . .": X 392a22 = 843; FUNC 113. Vatican library: Ettore Rossi, "A Turkish Map of the Nile River, about 1685," *Imago Mundi* 6 (1949), 73–75.

Revealing so much of one's self is itself unusual and an eccentricity. To be sure, the various facets are all within the range of Ottoman types. There is surely some exaggeration and self-advertising along with the poses of humility and anti-hypocrisy; but through the inconsistencies a unified personality comes into focus.

The boon-companion of the sultan has become "boon-companion of mankind." The sop-with-ears who made such a hit at court has become the neutral sojourner who absorbs impressions and records them in his travel diary. The witty and amiable entertainer accepts kisses but refuses wine. The life of the party won't compromise the dignity of his position. The servitor of the Ottoman state avoids public office, confronts rebels and bandits with banter and charm, braves it out on the battlefield by reciting Koran and the prayer-call of victory, joins in siege warfare by nursing the wounded and burying the dead. The Ottoman gentleman, son of the chief jeweller, heir to a sizeable estate, obsessively itemizing his wealth—this gentleman wears the cloak of a dervish, insists on shunning worldly attachments, and adopts the pose of a homeless wanderer in order to pursue his wanderlust.

CHAPTER FIVE

RACONTEUR

Evliya has the reputation of being a fantasist, an exaggerator, and a liar. In recent years scholarship has tended to restore faith in Evliya's credibility.[1] All agree, however, that the *Seyahatname* does contain fictions as well as facts. One major task for anyone attempting to explicate this text is to develop criteria by which these may be distinguished.

Generally speaking, and after making the usual allowances for his hyperbolic style, we can assume that he is saying what he thinks when he is doing his main job of describing. Of Lake Balaton in Hungary he remarks: "It is fifty fathoms deep, I was told; but I did not measure it, and lying is forbidden."[2] When it comes to recounting his own experiences Evliya was somewhat less scrupulous. Where we do detect dissimulation, there has to be a motivation for it. Here I would try to distinguish between two different motives, related to the traditional twin aims of *edeb*: to instruct and to entertain.

– He pretends that something is so because he wishes to be complete, or consistent, or because he does not wish to admit ignorance. Thus, he may adjust his itinerary in order to portray himself as present at certain important events or places of importance to him; or he may borrow a list used elsewhere in order to fill a gap; or he may borrow data from a literary source and present it as though based on first-hand experience.[3]

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[1] For the most recent appraisals, see Diyarbekir xv–xvi, 62–63; Kopčan 1976, 1981; Laut 1989, 21–31 (with references to earlier literature). [Vojtech Kopčan, "Einige Anmerkungen zu Evliya Çelebis Seyahatname," *Asian and African Studies* 12 (1976), 71–84; "Zur Glaubwürdigkeit einiger Angaben Evliyā Çelebis Seyahatname," *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi* . . . (Ankara, 1981) 2, 1061–71 + Tafel 427; Jens Peter Laut, *Materialien zu Evliya Çelebi I: Erläuterung und Indices zur Karte B IX 6 "Kleinasien im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliya Çelebi"* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients B 90/1, Wiesbaden)]

[2] VII 10b12 = 45: *'umku elli kulaçdır dediler, amma ölçmedim, yalan haramdır.*

[3] Important events: see Guide, preface. Places of importance to him: see Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf, "War Evliya Çelebi in Bergama?. . . ." *Materialia Turcica* 7/8 (1981/82), 259–62. List used elsewhere: see Dankoff 1990, 91 and Appendix A (dialects of Bolu and Gördes); Bitlis 292 (books on Egypt in Abdal Khan's library). [Robert Dankoff, "Turkic Languages and Turkish Dialects according to Evliya

The imaginary journeys to Western Europe can be placed in this category (see *Man of the World*: Geographical Horizons). His account of the illness that resulted in his twenty-six years of impotence is probably a fiction (see *Gentleman and Dervish*: II. Type: Dervish), but it does give a plausible reason for that embarrasing predicament. The difficult question to answer is to what extent he intended to deceive his readers.

– He pretends that something is so because he wishes to relieve monotony, or just out of fun, or to indulge in literary license. So we have the story of the Tatar youth who was transformed into a donkey and the Arab slaveboy who died and turned up as a black goat in the shroud. His descriptions of ruined cities (see below: Numbers), and also the "Chaghatay" grave inscriptions, the Transylvanian frescoes depicting future Ottoman sultans (see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Mysteries), and the hoax about the prophet Ḳaffāḥ (see below: Hoaxes) belong in this category. Other examples are the magical feats of Molla Mehemmed in the Bitlis episodes—fine illustrations of the Turkish conjury known as *göz bağıcılık*—and various irruptions of the supernatural into Evliya's first-person narrative, as well as the more stylized dream sequences (such as Gideon in Anatolia, below; and see *Reporter and Entertainer*: Portents and Dreams).[4] Most of the fictional material in the *Seyahatname*—whether brief and anecdotal, or drawn-out and satirical—is in this vein. Here there is surely no intention to deceive.

Numbers

Let us examine in some detail Evliya's use of numbers. Generally Evliya gives round numbers (i.e. 2000, or 2060), indicating an order of magnitude. The following, rather selective, list gives an idea.

The use of 60 as a round number in the Seyahatname

160 – gardens in Beşiktaş I 135b3
– wrestling maneuvers IX 22b27 = 46
– cities along the Nile X 157a20 = 339, Kairo 295
260 – instruments used by acrobats and entertainers I 204a7
– streets in Ioannina VIII 348b25 = 655
– port cities in the Ottoman empire IX 47a11 = 96

Çelebi," in: *Altaica Osloensia: Proceedings from the 32nd Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference*, ed. Bernt Brendemoen (Oslo, 1990), 89–102]. Literary source: see Dankoff 1989, 25 (on Kaytak). [Robert Dankoff, "The Languages of the World according to Evliya Çelebi," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (1989), 23–32].

[4] Tatar youth: VII 81b34 = 372. Arab slaveboy: VIII 339b13 = 618. "Chaghatay" grave inscriptions: Dankoff 1990 (see previous note), 96; review of Reise in WZKM 89 (1999), 341–2. Molla Mehemmed: IV 221b–222a, 231a–232b, V 11a–b; Bitlis 44–49, 122–33, 360–63.

360 – kinds of tortures inflicted by the Safavids II 303a1
– wrestling maneuvers III 158b7, EDIRNE 99
– infidel *şahi* cannons and *balyemez* cannons at Raab / St. Gotthard VII 21b8 = 97
– villages in the Morea VIII 282b22 = 374
– *medreses* and *zaviyes* in Jerusalem IX 216a26 = 478
– rooms in viziers's palace in Cairo X 81b15 = 176, KAIRO 23
– shaykhs of Sufi orders in Cairo X 108a4 = 235, KAIRO 123; cf. 201b13 = 428
– *mihrabs* in Bulaq X 134a21 = 292, KAIRO 219
– *mevludu'n-nebi* in Cairo: one every night of the year X 220b21 = 465
366 – churches in Vienna VII 59a21 = 265: 66, thus APFEL 105, 2nd ed. 152
– towers along Alexandria's walls X 321b1 = 683: one for every day of the year
760 – Aegean islands conquered by Süleyman X 27b10 = 59, 30a1 = 64
– towns in Egypt X 194a7 = 413
860 – minarets in Cairo X 176a10 = 378
1060 – houses in Rumeli-hisar I 137a21
– taverns in greater Istanbul I 214a22
– complete Koran recitals in Evliya's life until now (1641) II 266a7
– shops in Amasya II 281b20
– purses Melek Pasha had to return to agents threatened by Ipshir Pasha III 174b2, MELEK 113
– purses Melek Pasha got as share of booty at Sincar IV 215b15, MELEK 173
– tribal chiefs in Kurdistan IV 338a28
– captives in Dudushka V 141b24
– purses Melek Pasha spent on the Transylvania campaign VI 32b1
– towns and villages in the Istanbul-Silivri-Burgaz-Terkoz quadrangle VI 50a6
– Muslim captives rescued from dungeon in Nyitra VI 123a17 (see *Gentleman and Dervish*: Redeemer)
– *tekkes* in Cairo X 108a26 = 236, KAIRO 124
1066 – large houses in Ankara II 357b1
1160 – streets in Galata I 129b23
1960 – churches on Chios IX 59b28 = 121
2060 – shops in Üsküdar I 146a8
– tributaries of Tigris and Euphrates III 85a14
– cartloads of fine cloth taken after conquest of Uyvar VI 130a14
– gardens and orchards in Cairo X 166b27 = 359
– Bedevi *tekkes* in Egypt X 108a28 = 236, KAIRO 124
3060 – shops in Kasımpaşa I 126a23
– Arab tribes II 256a35
– Yezidis killed in battle on Mt Sincar IV 214b28, MELEK 170
– fortresses built in the New World X 252a15 = 537

3760* – fortresses Evliya has seen VIII 308a26 = 480
4060 – houses in Nablus IX 206a17 = 456
5060 – shops from which were exacted *kol akçesi* X 590b8 = 617
6060 – *harac*-paying Jews in Cairo X 88b21 = 190, KAIRO 48: 6000
6666 – keys of Candia fortress VIII 304a3 = 462, GUERRE 256 (+ n. 257: number of verses in the Koran)
7060 – taverns in Istanbul I 213b22
– fortresses Evliya has seen V 36a18
– heads of Ottoman soldiers paraded in Vienna as battle trophies VII 70b4 = 315
9060 – private baths in Cairo X 118a14 = 259, KAIRO 164
10,060 – paces, circuit of Galata I 128b17
11,060 – captives sent from Özü to Istanbul V 64a5, MELEK 218
20,160 – miles of circumference of earth according to Ptolemy X 251b12,15 = 535

* But 3700 at VI 29a22 and IX 113b26 = 235. Note also:
77 – *gazas* Evliya has participated in VII 116a12 = 551
770 – hot baths Evliya has visited VIII 207a16 = 81

Sometimes he tries to give exact figures. In any case, it is usually clear whether he intends his estimate to be taken seriously. He often insists that he is reporting only what he has direct experience of, implying that anything else does not have the same claim to veracity (see *Reporter and Entertainer*: Evidence). He sometimes goes out of his way to assure the truth. For example he says of Afyon-karahisar:

> The visitor would surmise that this city contains 40–50,000 houses. But I took it upon myself to obtain exact information, consulting court records, the guild shaikhs, the military officers, the market supervisors, and the village chiefs, so that I could record just how many houses this city contains.

And a little later: "It has a total of 2048 shops, as I learned from the guards (*pasbanlar*)."[5]

When describing things he is familiar with—Ottoman towns, mosques, and the like—Evliya is generally quite sober in his estimates, or else the exaggeration is transparent. (Very often he simply leaves a blank space instead of giving a number.) For example Bitlis has:

[5] IX 15b21 = 31, 16a26 = 33.

110 mihrab (prayer-niche), of which he enumerates 5 cami (Friday mosque)
26 mescid (mosque)
– [blank] medrese, of which he enumerates 5
70 çeşme (fountain)
41 sebil-hane (public fountain)
20 tekke (dervish lodge)
17 Muslim quarters, 11 non-Muslim quarters
9 han (caravansaray)
1200 shops
5 hammam (public bath)

This is a small town, which Evliya knew well. With a larger city, like Cairo, he begins very precisely: 156 cami. The figure appears to be unassailable; but elsewhere he forgets it and says 700. When it comes to estimating the total number of mihrabs in the city he gives a wild number: 177,000; but qualifies this by saying that, especially in the Qarafa district which is "wall-to-wall with minarets" (*divar divara minare minareye muttasıl*), many are in ruins, so that of that huge number only 46,000 are still in use. The account continues thus:

3600 medrese, many now in ruins
860 darülhadis (hadith college)
370 darülkurra (Koran college)
2015 mekteb (primary school)

There are surely exaggerations here; but the order of magnitude indicated by the figures is not to be taken lightly.[6]

It is a different question when Evliya comes to describing ancient cities. Here the exaggerated figures clearly have no claim to veracity. There are a dozen or so examples, of which the following two will give the idea:[7] First, Ayasuluk (i.e., Ephesus): "It is clearly evident from the present remains of ancient building what a great entrepot this city was in former times. It had:

[6] Bitlis: IV 224a–225b; Bıtlıs 64–69. Cairo, cami: X 89a4 = 191, Kaıro 48; 116b25 = 256, Kaıro 158. Mihrabs, etc.: 105b20 = 230, Kaıro 114; 106a10 = 231, Kaıro 115; 106b10 = 232, Kaıro 117; 106b24 = 233, Kaıro 119; 107a24 = 234, Kaıro 121.

[7] Others are: Old Baghdad = Hiremdad (IV 332b5), Kufa (IV 356b28), Basra (IV 359b34), Kara-dara (IV 390b29), Eski Mosul (IV 399a.mid), Salonya (VII 121a5 = 578), Eski Kırım (VII 137a19 = 659), Irak-ı Dadyan (in Daghistan, VII 160b19

300 hammam
7 bedestan (covered market)
700 stone han
20,000 mescid
800 cami
200 medrese
70 imaret (public kitchen)
3000 çeşme
1500 mekteb

Also several hundred thousand palaces and several hundred thousand private houses."

Second, Akhlat. Evliya pretends to be citing an ancient Turkish inscription on a ruined wall: "When this city was thriving it is recorded to have had:

35,000 mihrab
2000 medrese
1000 hammam
2000 han
1000 darülhadis
6000 mekteb
800 tekke
18,000 çeşme
8000 sebilhane
10,000 Muslim quarters
200,000 houses
70,000 palaces
600,000 shops
150 bedestan
700 imaret

etc.; also 7000 milk fountains in the town, drawn down from the 3000 milk cisterns in the summer pasture on Mt. Subhan." The fictional, or whimsical, character of these figures is evident.[8]

Sometimes even simple numbers seem to pose a challenge to Evliya, or else his attitude toward them is simply careless. Comparing Damascus to other cities, he says that there are "twelve" great cities in the world, "four" in the land of the infidels (*Kafiristanda*) and "six" in the Ottoman empire (*Al-i ʿOsmanda*). In the first group he lists Vienna, Prague, Kaschau and Paris; in the second Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Cairo, Aleppo, Baghdad and Damascus. During one of the many military skirmishes he witnesses, he states that there were "ten" Ottoman casualties, of which "six" died and "five" lived. Similarly, the reckoning of dates sometimes simply does not add up; thus Evliya becomes hopelessly confused when trying to reckon the number of years that has passed since the time of the prophet Solomon (see Reporter and Entertainer: Skepticism and Credulity).[9]

= 778), Görgös (Korykos, near Silifke, IX 151a.top = 325), Eski Mısır (X 140a11 = 303 [Kaıro 240], 228b4 = 485).

[8] Ayasuluk: IX 67b.25 = 137; Akhlat: IV 240a1. The lactaduct is a motif borrowed from the Farhad and Shirin cycle of Persian and Turkish romance.

[9] Great cities in the world: IX 249a25 = 549. Casualties: VI 184a30 *on ʿaded gazileriñ . . . altısı şehid ve beşi gazi ve saʿid oldular.* Years since Solomon: IX 217a9 =

Daily Life: A Party at Evliya's Father's House

Suraiya Faroqhi, and many others, have been mining the *Seyahatname* for information about such things as eating habits, clothing, houses and construction, private amusements, public entertainments, saint-worship, etc. Such information, drawn largely from the descriptive sections of his work, can be deemed reliable, in so far as there is no apparent motive to falsify it. It is another matter with material drawn from the narrative sections, for here we must always reckon with Evliya's quirks, anecdotal style, and literary ambitions. For example, what are we to make of Kaya Sultan's ominous dreams, her death in childbirth, and Melek Pasha's reactions? Do these scenes give us an unmediated glimpse into the "intimate life" of an Ottoman princess and her husband? Or are they to be taken first and foremost as examples of Evliya's literary art, and analyzed from that point of view? Suraiya Faroqhi's observation is pertinent:

> Whether the story is true or not is irrelevant for our purposes. Even if Evliya invented it, the storyteller came from the same social background as the story's hero, and his interpretation of Melek Ahmed Pasha's marriage is thus as interesting as the relationship itself.[10]

Elsewhere I have drawn attention to Evliya's accounts of some events in the Anatolian countryside when he joined a Celali rebellion in 1647 (see *Man of the World*: Rebels and Bandits; and *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique), pointing out how he shaped the narrative in each case. Here I will focus on Evliya's account of an occurrence from his childhood in Istanbul. The questions to consider are: How authentic is this description? And what does it tell us about daily life in Evliya's time?

In the introductory material of Book X, Evliya's description of Egypt, there is a good deal about the exploits of Sultan Selim I (reg. 1512–20), the Ottoman ruler who conquered Egypt in 1517 and incorporated it into the Ottoman empire.[11] Introducing the story of

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479. In some contexts "twelve" seems to be code for ten, thus also Ashura is often the "twelfth" of Muharrem; or twelve is a round number, thus languages like Arabic, Kurdish, Russian, Kalmuk and Gypsy all have twelve mutually incomprehensible dialects (see Dankoff 1989 [above, n. 3], 25).

[10] Alltag 121; Tk. tr., 118; Eng. tr. 104. On Kaya Sultan's dreams, see Melek ch. 8.

[11] This section of the *Seyahatname* belongs to the genre "*Selimname*".

Selim's adventures before he became sultan, while he was still governor of Trabzon, Evliya (who was born in 1611) states that he has it on very good authority—an eyewitness and participant in the event! Here is how Evliya sets the scene (with some editorial comments in parentheses):

> My late father Dervish Mehmed Zılli died when he was 117 years old. Of course, he did not travel as much as me, but he was honored with the companionship of nine Ottoman sultans. He was with Süleyman Khan at the Szigetvar campaign (when the sultan died in 1566). He was with the commander (Lala) Mustafa Pasha at the conquest of Magosa/Famagusta during the Cyprus campaign (in 1571 [see *Man of Istanbul*: Ancestry, Family History]). After the keys were sent to Selim II and the gifts were awarded, my father was appointed chief goldsmith of the Sublime Porte, and given perpetual decrees. During the reign of Sultan Ahmed, it was my father who constructed the Golden Waterspout in Mecca, while serving as *surre emini* (agent charged with delivering the imperial purse to the holy cities).
>
> The point of this excursus is that my father was a veteran in the Ottoman service. He used to meet regularly with other veterans, such as Kuzu ʿAli Agha, Süleyman Khan's stirrup-holder—he died at age 148; ʿAbdi Efendi—he lived in the house of Pirincci-zade in Zeyrekbaşı; and Kara-kız Mehmed Efendi—he lived near the Azablar bath. Whenever they met and conversed, I was very pleased.
>
> One day, during their conversation, a gaunt and feeble old man appeared at the door, braced by his servants. They all stood up to greet him, crying "Welcome, my dear Halimi Efendi," and they sat him in the upper row. After some rounds of *berş-i rahiki* and glorious coffee, as the party warmed up, they cocked their caps and began crying *boroh boroh*. . . . (They urged Halimi Efendi to regale them with his adventures in the company of Shehzade Selim when they went out incognito from Trabzon and spied on Shah Ismaʿil.) . . . He took my father's back-scratcher in his hand (and began the story).[12]

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[12] X 42a1 = 94: *Merḥūm u maġfürün-leh pederimiz Dervīş Meḥemmed Żıllī yüz on yedi yaşında dār-ı fānīden dār-ı bāḳīye irtiḥāl etdiler . . . umūr-dīde iḫtiyār adam idi. Süleymān Ḫān rikābdārı Ḳuzu ʿAlī Aġa yüz ḳırḳ sekiz yaşında merḥūm oldı ve Żirek-başında Pirinçci-zāde ḥānesi ṣāḥibi ʿAbdī Efendi ve ʿAzablar ḥammāmı ḳurbında Ḳara-kız Meḥemmed Efendi, bu zikr olunan iḫtiyārlar bir yere gelüp muṣāḥabet etdükde ḥaḳīr ṣafā ederdim.*

Bir gün bunlar yine bizim pederle cān ṣoḥbeti ederken bir arıḳ tirīd naḥīf adamıñ ḳoltuḳlarına ḫüddāmları girüp ḳapudan ẓāhir olunca bizim pederle cümle istiḳbāle ḳalḳup ḫayli taʿẓīm edüp ṣaff-ı ʿālīde ḳarār edüp ṭaraf ṭaraf "Ṣafā geldiñ ʿömrümüñ varı Ḥalīmī Efendi" deyüp taʿẓīm ü tekrīmler edüp berş-i raḥīḳīler ve muṭanṭan ḳahveler henūz rāyic olmuşdı. Bunlar cān ṣoḥbeti edüp keyflerin yetişdirüp kellelerinden ʿaraḳıyyelerin kec ḳılup "Boroh boroh" demege başladılar. . . . Bizim pederiñ arḳa ḳaşaġasın eline alup eydür. . . .

How are we to judge this little vignette? Can we assume that Evliya is simply describing a party that occurred in his father's house when he was growing up? Or is this a fiction, and if so, what value does it have?

Let us examine each of the elements of the story in order to see how much credence we can give to them.

Evliya's father. If his father was age 117 when he died in 1058/1648, as Evliya claims (see *Man of Istanbul*: Ancestry, Family History), then his birth date was 941/1534. This would barely have allowed him to be a companion of Sultan Süleyman (reg. 1520–66) as Evliya asserts when he cites his father as a source for the Szigetvar campaign. The significance of family longevity for Evliya was that it gave him access to much earlier periods than his own.[13]

Evliya's upbringing; the other veterans. Evliya relates quite a bit about his early years (see *Man of Istanbul*). His father's association with other veterans in the Ottoman service seems plausible, as does Evliya's attending such gatherings when he was a child. Aside from the passage introducting Halimi Efendi in Book X, Evliya also mentions these sessions in Book I: "He always mingled with aged men and conversed with them about past adventures" (*da'ima müsin adamlar ile ihtılat edüp macera-yı maziden söyleşirlerdi*). In the same passage, concerning consultations following Süleyman's death at Szigetvar in 1566, Evliya mentions the sword-bearer Kuzu ʿAli Agha, the stirrup-holder Gülabi Agha, the kitchen-warden ʿAbdi Efendi who lived in Zeyrekbaşı, and Su-kemerli Koca Mustafa Çelebi.[14] These agree roughly with the list of veterans in the passage introducing Halimi Efendi in Book X.

Halimi Efendi. He appears to be a fictional personage, perhaps based, at least in part, on Halimi Çelebi of Kastamonu (d. 922/1516) who, according to Evliya, "was with Selim I before he became sultan and was present at the battle of Çaldıran and the conquest of

[13] Father's age at death: III 156a25, X 42a2 = 94. Companion of Sultan Süleyman: VI 175b4. Concerning Suleyman's death, Evliya says that his father is a particularly reliable witness (*ṣıḳa kelām*) because he was in Suleyman's sevice for forty-eight years and was present at his death. Evliya is fond of citing very old men as eyewitness authorities for events of the distant past; e.g. V 147a19; X 368b22 = 792.

[14] I 28a31, 28b4. Evliya also cites Kuzu ʿAli Agha as his source for the battle of Mohács (VI 65a23; Guide 70—to be corrected).

Egypt."[15] The point of introducing a character from the period of Selim I—a hundred years before Evliya's birth—is to provide a (pseudo-)authority for the narrative that follows, a wild tale of adventure relating to the sagas of Selim I.

Berş-i rahiki. In addition to coffee, Evliya's father served his guests something called *berş-i rahiki.* This was a confection laced with opium and named after someone called Rahiki or "Wino" because of his addiction to such substances (d. 1547).[16] We also find *berş* (a confection containing opium) and *habb-i rahiki* in the long list of intoxicants which Evliya gives in Book I. The passage occurs in the context of the description of the boza-sellers, the 47th and last of the guilds who paraded before Sultan Murad IV in 1638 (see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Precedence). In the same chapter, Evliya lists the sellers of other beverages, such as *subya*, *ʿarak*, and *müselleb*, and also the tavern-keepers of Galata and other non-Muslim quarters of Istanbul. Evliya says that while he used to frequent the taverns and boza-shops and coffee-houses, the only beverages he ever indulged in were the non-intoxicating ones of boza or millet-beer (*kutu bozası*), Egyptian rice-water (*Mısır pirinç subyası*), and mead (*maksima*), the Crimean equivalent of boza. He would drink these, he says, during the nights of Ramazan, "to fortify the body, and in conformity with the imams and preachers and shaikhs who also drank them, since they are compounds with no intoxicating effect." But he never indulged in intoxicating substances (*meʾkulat [u] meşrubatıñ mükeyyefatları*), of which he gives a staggering list—75 items all together—including tobacco, coffee and tea; various kinds of wine, beer and arrack; boza (presumably different from *kutu bozası*) and koumiss; opium and hemp (here is our *berş*); various berries or seeds (*habb*—or does this mean pills or tablets?), including *habb-i rahiki*; and finally several kinds of taffy or electuary (*maʿcun*). He concludes by saying:

> Only I am addicted to "sweetheart lips" (*dilber lebi maʿcunı*), which I do partake of in private from time to time, from the mouth of a pure silver cup, as a cure for depression. My late father was also addicted

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[15] I 101b13; IX 256b24 = 564. Cf. biography of Halimi Çelebi in Taşköprülüzāde, *Eş-Şeḳāʾiḳu n-Nuʿmānīye fī ʿUlemāʾi d-Devleti l-ʿOṣmānīye*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul, 1985), 380–82.

[16] Mehmet Zeki Pakalin, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, I–III (Istanbul 1971), I, 208; Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri: Toplum Hayatı* (Istanbul 1995), 352. On *berş* see also Alltag 242 + n. 88 [Tk. tr. 238; Eng. tr. 217: "pastes containing opium or similar substances"].

> to this vice. Otherwise, although for hospitality's sake I have served these intoxicating substances to my friends in my humble home, and so am aware of their names and properties, I swear by God, in true sincerity (*riya olmaya*), that I have no knowledge of them.[17]

Indeed, Evliya frequently insists that he—and also his ancestors going back to Ahmed Yesevi—never drank wine or other spirits, used tobacco or drugs, or even drank coffee or tea (see *Gentleman and Dervish*, n. 53).

To conclude: it seems clear that the vignette with which we began is a fictional device through which Evliya seems to claim a direct personal link with some Ottoman imperial lore, going back a hundred years before his own birth. Halimi Efendi, so aged and infirm that he has to be braced up by two servants, and the other details of the story—the *berş-i rahiki*, the cocking of the caps, the crying of *boroh boroh*, the back-scratcher[18]—all of these are brought in to lend verisimilitude to the narrative.

Here we may recall the judgment of Pertev Naili Boratav:

> Evliya's work is not simply a travel account. One can find in it samples of literary and political memoirs, historical chronicles, geography, notes on folklore, and legends. There are even some pages that give the flavor of a historical novel. A novel, to be sure, is a unit, and we can characterize it as a novel only when there is a harmony and proportion among its various parts. For this reason we are not going to call the *Seyahatname* a novel, since it lacks the proportion necessary to qualify it as a work of art. Nevertheless, we do occasionally, in his book, come upon narrative passages which would arouse the envy of a writer of historical novels. So we cannot help but characerize Evliya as "a novelist born before his time."[19]

Such novelistic passages as the ones Boratav refers to, and the one we began with, can reveal a great deal about daily life in Istanbul in the seventeenth century, just as the novels of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar provide a panorama of daily life in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

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[17] I 213a18–28. "Sweetheart lips" is mentioned as a product of the Istanbul electuary-confectioners (I 158a30,32) and again as something sold in the Cairo bazaar (X 37b26 = 78). The language Evliya uses here—*sīm-i ḫāliṣ* ("pure silver") and *ḥoḳḳa-dehān* ("a small round mouth")—are poetic clichés for the skin and mouth of the beloved, implying a playful association with *dilber lebi* "sweetheart lips".

[18] Evliya also mentions this back-scratcher, a gift from Sultan Süleyman, in a dream of his father at V 32b23; Melek 209.

[19] Pertev Naili Boratav, "Evliya Çelebi'nin Hikayeciliği," in: *Folklor ve Edebiyat*, I (Istanbul 1982), 297–303, 297–8.

Gideon in Anatolia

One narrative in the *Seyahatname* is so similar to a well-known Bible story that a comparison seems in order:

Judges 7:9–15 (tr. New English Bible)

> That night the Lord said to him [Gideon], 'Go down at once and attack the camp, for I have delivered it into your hands. If you are afraid to do so, then go down first with your servant Purah and listen to what they are saying. That will give you courage to go down and attack the camp.' So he and his servant Purah went down to the part of the camp where the fighting men lay. Now the Midianites, the Amelikites, and the eastern tribes were so many that they lay there in the valley like a swarm of locusts; there was no counting their camels; in number they were like the grains of sand on the seahore. When Gideon came close, there was a man telling his companion a dream. He said, 'I dreamt that I saw a hard, stale barley-cake rolling over and over through the Midianite camp; it came to a tent, hit it and turned it upside down, and the tent collapsed.' The other answered, 'Depend upon it, this is the sword of Gideon son of Joash the Israelite. God has delivered Midian and the whole army into his hands.' When Gideon heard the story of the dream and its interpretation, he prostrated himself. Then he went back to the Israelite camp and said, 'Up! The Lord has delivered the camp of the Midianites into your hands.'

Seyahatname III 99a23–99b16; Melek 66–70

> At midnight we all rose and set out at a leisurely pace, the army following the scout. I joined the forward skirmishers and our party reached the appointed spot well before the appointed hour. We could make out a sizeable camp of seventy or eighty tents and pavilions. Someone was sent back to report, while we skirmishers moved on ahead. But since it was still too dark to see clearly, we stopped a little ways off to rest our horses and wait for the remainder of the troops and the appointed hour. A few of us who had geldings went a bit closer, since your gelding will not neigh and whinny like a stallion and warn the enemy. As we approached unnoticed, we could see that everyone was sleeping peacefully under a tree, sounding slumber's trumpets and dreaming like the seven sleepers of Ephesus. Some were in their tents or out in the open, but most were lying in a covert. A marvel. Only there was one brave youth who had risen early. Not yet dressed, he was busy grooming his horse and, in this pleasant meadow, was singing in melancholy voice and to the Beyati measure (*makam*) the following quatrain:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *Eyle mi halim felek* | Is this my state, O fate? |
> | *Dil bilmez zalim felek* | Deaf and dumb, cruel fate. |
> | *Kesipsen can bağçesinden* | You've cut from the garden of my soul |

İki nihalim felek	Two sprigs, O fate.
Ey felek, ey felek	O fate, O fate.

Thus he complained of fate in a most philosophical manner. I was quite astounded and wished that things would turn out the best for this young man. [Two more quatrains] These were the quatrains he sang in heart-rending fashion, weeping the while. Then he called out to his friend who was sleeping beside him: "Hey Ali Can, get up! You're sleeping too long. It's nearly morning. All the birds and beasts, sheep and men rise at dawn and pray while the gates of heaven are open. Some pray for this world, some for the next. Get up, you good-for-nothing, let's the two of us pray for martyrdom. Come on, you son of a bitch, get up!"

"May it be auspicious, Veli," said his friend, who was now awake. "I was just having a dream. There was a lighted candle in my hand. You took the candle from my hand, blew it out, and struck me on the head with it. I thought you had split my head open."

"May it be auspicious," the first youth replied. "I couldn't sleep well either, so I got up and groomed my pony. You had better saddle up too, it's nearly morning."

Aside from these two, no one else of their company was awake. Our own group of seven or eight listened attentively to this conversation, then returned to our skirmishing party and reported the quatrains we had overheard. We also sent word to the main body of troops that these people were lying here quiet and oblivious. As soon as dawn broke our troops came up at a gallop, without looking backward or forward. They rushed right past us crying "Allah Allah!" and fell on that band of sleeping soldiers, toppling all their tents on their heads, and lashing out. Caught unawares, they ran off helter-skelter into the forest, naked and wailing, with our troops slashing them at the heels with their swords.

Now when the attack began, those two youths—the melancholy one who was grooming his horse and singing quatrains, and his friend who woke up and told his dream—had clapped their swords to their waists, mounted their horses bareback, and cut down three of our men each. They certainly were brave warriors! But Melek Ahmed Pasha's Kürd Haydar Agha galloped over and martyred both of them. It is a marvel and a mystery that the one sang, "Two sprigs you've cut from the garden of my soul," and the two of them were killed; and the other one dreamed that the candle he was holding was extinguished and struck on his head, and now his dream had come true: the lantern of his spirit was extinguished, and his head was struck off!

Analyzing the Biblical account in its literary context, we may note first of all that the symbolism of the dream—the barley cake knocking down a tent—reflects one of the themes of the larger narrative: the contrast of pastoral and agricultural life styles. The Midianites

are introduced (6:3–5) as nomadic raiders, with their herds, their camels, and their tents; when we first meet Gideon (6:11) he is beating out grain. The unlikely victory of the farmers over the marauding herders is wholly due to God's intervention. Only God determines the outcome of military affairs; everything else—the Israelite defenses (6:2), the disparity in numbers of the opposing forces (6:5, 7:2f., 12), the differences in social organization (nomadic versus settled)—is inconsequential.

God displays His power at night. Although Gideon's mission is preceeded by an anonymous prophet (6:8), and by an announcing angel who appears during the day, when Gideon is beating out the grain (6:12), God Himself rouses Gideon to action at night (6:25–26, 7:9). On the human level, nighttime provides a cover for Gideon to tear down the altar of Baal (6:25) and to carry out the ruse of blowing horns, shattering jars and displaying torches, which throws the Midianite camp into a panic (7:16–22).

Gideon is characterized in the story as a timorous and vacillating individual. He doubts his mission (6:13–15), acts out of fear (6:26, 7:9), and is constantly putting God to the test (6:17, 36, 39). He requires "signs" in order to stiffen his resolve. The dream is simply another "sign," like the business with the fleece and the dew. As for the dreamer, and the companion who interprets the dream—they have no life of their own (unlike Gideon), but serve simply as an anonymous enemy "oracle."

The incident in the *Seyahatname* bears an obvious resemblance to the one in Judges. Here too the hero creeps up to the enemy camp at night and overhears a man recounting a dream to his companion, a dream which prefigures the defeat of the enemy's army. Evliya's literary approach, however, is very different from the Biblical writer's.

First, Evliya takes every opportunity to personalize the narrative and to inflate the human drama. He gives names and faces (or rather, voices) to the dreamer and his companion, who do also serve as the enemy "oracle." And he plays up his own role in the events. Personalizing the enemy and playing up his own role serve two narrative purposes. On the one hand, Evliya is telling a rousing tale of military adventure and derring-do. The epic, or romantic, or personal elements link this story with a long narrative tradition. On the other hand, Evliya betrays something foreign to that tradition (and absent from the Biblical account as well): irony. His attitude toward military affairs and toward his own role in them is ambivalent. The rebels are Celalis, enemies of the state, and deserve to be crushed;

but they are men with genuine grievances, deserving of sympathy (see *Man of the World*: Rebels and Bandits; *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique). Warfare is a locus of glorious deeds, but it is also senseless slaughter. Evliya joins the fray to share in the glory, but his role often turns out to be Falstaffian (see *Gentleman and Dervish*: Falstaff).

The ambiguity extends to his view of his patron, the grand vizier Melek Ahmed Pasha. Evliya depicts Melek Ahmed, explicitly, as blameless in the events leading to his downfall. It is Melek's advisors and subordinates who, through their bloodthirstiness and greed, alienate men who were otherwise loyal public servants, driving them to become rebels or Celalis, and also alienate the bazaar merchants whose revolt is the final blow to Melek's vizierate. But Evliya also depicts Melek as rather weak and vacillating, unable or unwilling to control his subordinates, and given to violent temper storms. Thus, implicitly, he blames Melek for his own ill fate. (See *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique)

As far as warfare is concerned, the historical moment was one in which the musket, with constant technological improvements, was making the sword increasingly obsolete. As the folk poet Köroghlu said: "The musket was invented and manliness was destroyed; / The curved sword must rust in the scabbard" (*Tüfek icad oldu merdlik bozuldu / Egri kılıç kında paslanmalıdır*). It was hard to maintain a romantic and personal view of warfare in face of the increasingly impersonal nature of gunfire battles.

Thus, the narrative has been shaped by an Ottoman mentality. But what is its source? It is unlikely that Evliya read the Bible, and so far as I know the Gideon episode is not part of the *Qisas al-Anbiya* ("Stories of the Prophets") and *Isra'iliyyat* tradition in Islam. It is possible that motifs drawn from Biblical sources had some currency among Muslim intellectuals in the mid-seventeenth century due to Dutch sponsorship of Bible translations into Turkish. In particular, the most successful such translation was accomplished by ʿAli Ufki, known in the West as Ali Bey or Albertus Bobovius (Wojciech Bobowski), originally from Lvov in Galicia, who served as diplomatic interpreter and musician at the Ottoman court. His translation, sponsored by Levinus Warner, "resident" or envoy of the States General at the Sublime Porte, was completed in 1664.[20] While there is no

[20] See Barbara Flemming, "Zwei Türkische Bibelhandschriften in Leiden als Mittelosmanische Sprachdenkmäler," *Wiener Zietschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

evidence that Evliya knew ʿAli Ufki, it is plausible that he did, considering their ties to the court and their musical interests. Perhaps this conjecture is not necessary to account for Evliya's use of a motif that he might have gotten, after all, from some other source. In any case, I do not think he intended his readers to take the episode as anything more than an artful fiction.

A Night Raid

There is another episode which also has an analogue in the Book of Judges: a cossack raid on the fortress of Özü / Ochakov in 1657, which Evliya recounts in epic detail. (This account also includes one of Melek Pasha's premonitory dreams; see MELEK 215–18.) The episode in question occurs when the Özü garrison is under siege and short of supplies, and the promised reinforcements are not expected for three or four days. The commander, Yusuf Ketkhuda, proposes that they attach lighted wicks to the horns of 200 sheep and goats that are within the fortress and drive them out of the postern gate onto the enemy trenches, followed by their own sortie; also that they attach letters to the tips of rockets and discharge these in the direction of the reinforcing troops in order to communicate their dire straight. When it is discovered that there are no rockets, Evliya volunteers to make some, and the communication via rockets goes ahead as planned, followed by the midnight sortie of 300 (sic) sheep and goats with lighted wicks on their horns. The night raid that follows is a success; the Muslim ghazis return with 1060 heads, 500 live captives, and a good deal of booty, and even recover 200 of the goats.[21]

There are several reasons, aside from its inherent preposterousness, to regard this episode as a fiction. First, the entire account of

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76 (1986), 111–18; H. Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible Translation by Yaḥya bin 'Isḥak, also called Ḥaki (1659)* (Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1994), 365–82; Şükrü Elçin, *Ali Ufki: Hayati, Eserleri ve Mecmua-i saz ü söz* (Tıpkıbasım) (Istanbul: Milli Egitim Basimevi, 1976); Cem Behar, *Ali Ufki ve Mezmurlar* (Istanbul: Pan, 1990); C. G. Fisher—A. W. Fisher, "Topkapı Sarayı in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Bobovi's Description," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10, 1985 (1987), 5–81.

[21] V 56b–59b; GUERRE 79–105. Among his other skills, Evliya knew how to set off fireworks; see I 182b32, where he mentions a youthful prank involving shooting a firecracker.

the siege of Özü and the ensuing victory over the cossacks is tendentious and suspect: it is noted neither by historians of the cossacks nor by the Ottoman chroniclers, and was perhaps created by Evliya to provide Melek Ahmed Pasha with a victory on a par with Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's contemporary conquest of Tenedos from the Venetians. Second, it is unlikely that sheep and goats that may have been in the fortress at that time would have been used for any other purpose than food, since a few days previously the troops had been nearly starving. Third, Evliya added this episode in the margins of the original text—a clear indication that it, even more than the surrounding narrative, is "a story created by Evliya according to the measure of his imagination."[22]

The Biblical analogue occurs in Judges 15:3–4, where Samson takes revenge on the Philistines:

> Then Samson went and caught three hundred foxes: he took torches, turned the foxes tail to tail, and put a torch between each pair of tails. When he had set the torches on fire, he let the foxes go into the standing grain of the Philistines, and burned up both the shocks and the standing grain, as well as the vineyards and olive groves.

Not only do the motifs correspond, but the number 300 is common to both accounts (although Evliya, with his characteristic nonchalance about numbers, first says 200, then 300; see above: Numbers). Once again, Evliya probably did not derive the motif directly from the Bible; and the conjecture of a Biblical origin should be given up if anyone could suggest a source closer to home.[23]

Jokes, Lies, Tall Tales

Evliya loved jokes. He claims to have written a *Şaka-name* or "Book of Jokes."[24] While there is no other trace of this work,[25] his *Seyahatname*

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[22] Troops nearly starving: V 58a–b; Guerre 88. "A story created by Evliya . . .": Guerre 26.

[23] In his account of the siege of Szigetvár, Evliya mentions an episode involving a night maneuver using ten thousand goats with lighted wicks on their horns (VI 173a20). Needless to say, such an episode is absent from the standard histories.

[24] I 114b.

[25] Evliya also claims to have written a "Lament on the Bedbug" (X 80b11 = 174) and "Gestes of Melek Ahmed Pasha" (VI 48a7). I assume that all such claims are to be understood in a potential rather than an actual sense.

is full of witticisms and pleasantries. But when is he joking and when is he not? Evliya apparently assumed that his Ottoman readers would recognize whimsy when it occurred, and would enjoy it. For us, it may take some effort. Also, so much whimsicality may be disconcerting to serious researchers who want to tap Evliya as a source for this or that (see *Man of Istanbul*: The Man and the Book).

"Lying is forbidden in all the religions," says Melek Ahmed Pasha, as he rebukes Ipshir Pasha for exaggerating the income likely to be extracted as governor of Van. Indeed, Melek's distaste for lying is one of the characteristics that Evliya admired in his patron. In the passage previously quoted (see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique), Evliya makes a distinction between jokes, lies, and flattery:

> If someone told a lie in his presence, he would conceive a loathing for that person. Of course, if it was just witty talk, he took pleasure in the joke. (In this he was unlike) the grandees and viziers and princes of these days, who are inclined toward flattery and obsequiousness.

This comes at the end of a long section which we can paraphrase as "Tall Tales in Aleppo".[26]

Evliya begins by remarking that one thing he has observed in his years of travel and association with padishahs and men of state is that they all have a predilection for flatterers, liars and slanderers. This was true of Murtaza Pasha, who held court in Aleppo in the winter of 1649–50, with Evliya among his boon-companions. Occasionally, when Evliya would point out the exaggerated or misleading character, or outright falsehood, of something reported by another courtier, the pasha would still give it credence and prefer to accept it.

An example is the account by Molla Yahya—whom Evliya characterizes as a spouter of nonsense and purveyor of lies (*bedele-guy u hezele-guy u düruğ-gu*)—of an incident during the bitter winter of 1635–36. Revan fortress, recently conquered by Sultan Murad IV, was under siege by the Safavid shah, and a relief force sent out from Erzurum had to turn back at Deve-boynu because of the cold and snow. One of the troop, a certain Yavaşça Mehmed Agha, finding

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[26] "Lying is forbidden in all the religions": III 183a17; Melek 149. "If someone told a lie in his presence . . .": III 53a17. "Tall Tales in Aleppo": III 51b14 *bu şehr içre istimaʿ etdigimiz mine'l-garayib kelam-ı hoş-amed-i udhuke.*

his money-belt too heavy, buried it along with 2000 goldpieces in a hole in the ground which he dug out with his dagger. In order to remember the place, he drew a bead on a bluish cloud overhead. Ten months later he returned to Deve-boynu and, seeing the cloud in the same place, dug underneath it and retrieved his gold.

Evliya tried to dispute the veracity of the account, but no matter how many rational arguments he could muster, Murtaza Pasha insisted on affirming it, even drawing an analogy with the pole star that is fixed in the northern sky because of the cold. "As you know," he said, "Erzurum province is a very cold place, and in that season the clouds above Erzurum freeze up. So Yavaşça Mehmed Agha drew a bead on that blue cloud and found his money-belt."[27]

By now Evliya realized that persuasion was no avail, and so decided to join the game. He related a similar marvel of nature, the rising of the sun in six directions at once, which he observed while travelling in the Kipchak Steppe with the Khan of Crimea, also during a very cold winter. His story was approved by the other courtiers, who marvelled at God's power to do as He wills. Evliya himself draws the moral mentioned above, and takes it as an occasion to laud the honesty-loving Melek Pasha.

But there is a complication. Evliya leaves a blank space for the date of the multiple sun-rising. Prior to this he had been in Crimea for a few weeks in the spring of 1641. It was only on his later longer visit, in 1665, that he skirted the Kipchak Steppe. Travelling again in Crimea in January, 1667 he reports a similar atmospheric phenomenon—this time the sun rising in four directions simultaneously—which he again attributes to the cold weather and the freezing of the sun's rays. Even in the "Tall Tales in Aleppo" section, while admitting that his story only gave comfort to the flatterers, he insists that it actually happened.[28] We are left wondering who is being deceived in this episode: the courtiers in Aleppo? the readers of the *Seyahatname*? or Evliya himself?

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[27] III 52b24.

[28] Blank space: III 52b31. 1641: II 262b–264b. 1665: VII 107a8 = 504. 1667: VIII 188b23 = 2. "It actually happened": III 53a12 *hüda ʿalimdir böyle olmuşdur.*

Anecdotes

The anecdote, or short pointed narrative, is Evliya's favorite fictional form. One can distinguish at least two types, "personal" and "historical".

The tendency to add a personal touch characterizes Evliya's descriptive as well as narrative modes, and distinguishes his travel account from other Ottoman genres. It goes along with his insistence that he is only describing what he has witnessed himself (see *Reporter and Entertainer*: Evidence). By inserting himself into the scene (often in a self-deprecatory way; see *Gentleman and Dervish*: Falstaff), Evliya both authenticates this witness and adds some spice to what is often a colorless and tedious description.

An example is the following from Book X, ch. 59, "on the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians." Evliya says that Cairo was so full of beggars, one encountered them at every turn. One time, in fact, when he was in the privy at the mosque of Sultan Hasan, a beggar stuck his hand through the door asking for alms. Evliya put some of his own excrement into the outstretched hand. "May God increase your excrement," said the beggar, and went away. When Evliya emerged and entered the mosque, he saw a friend of his and told him what had happened. "Be careful," said the friend, "he was testing you. That is no ordinary beggar. He is a great saint. Whatever he prays for comes to pass." "And indeed," Evliya concludes, "I had diarrhoea for the next two months."[29]

The other type of anecdote, the historical vignette, may occur toward the end of a long descriptive section and act as comic relief. An example is the description of Siirt, a town in Eastern Turkey. In a subsection characteristically titled "Completion of the *şehrengiz* of Siirt," Evliya recounts a story about the rivalry between this town, famous for its carrots, and the nearby Hasan-keyf (Hisn-keyfa), famous for its turnips. Once the populace of Hasan-keyf sent to Siirt a particularly large turnip as a proud gift. The town wits of Siirt gouged out a hole in the turnip, stuck inside one of their home-grown overgrown carrots—"shaped like a penis," as Evliya tells us—and sent it back. The people of Hasan-keyf were so outraged at this gesture

[29] X 246.21= 525.

that they declared war, and hundreds of people on both sides were killed in the ensuing battle.[30]

There is a Nasreddin Hoca story which has a similar motif, although in the commonest versions the obscene implication is not made explicit. One day a friend of the Hoca took an egg and, holding it invisible in his hand, said: "Hoca, if you guess what's in my hand I'll make you an omelet." The Hoca couldn't guess. "Give me a clue," he said, and the friend replied: "It's white on the outside and yellow on the inside." "I've got it," said the Hoca. "You've gouged out a turnip and stuck in a carrot!"

Evliya was familiar with Nasreddin Hoca, and he may have known this story, which occurs in several sixteenth-century compilations.[31] If so, he has turned a good joke into a historical anecdote.

Satires: The Girl Who Gave Birth to an Elephant

Often such fictions have a satirical intent, as in "The Girl Who Gave Birth to an Elephant" which comes at the end of the very full description of Sivas.

> In the year 1059 (1649), while Silihdar Murtaza Pasha was governor of Sivas in the province of Rum, a delegation appeared before the pasha from a village near Turhal. They had a box in which was the corpse of a white baby elephant. "My lord," they said, "this little elephant was born in our village of a girl who is a virgin maiden. Now our magistrate has imprisoned the girl along with her father and mother and other relatives. The baby elephant was born alive, but the prefect had the midwife smother it. We beg my lord to dispatch one of your agents, a fair-minded officer, to have the girl and her mother freed from prison and brought here so that you may determine the truth." The provincial councilors of Rum were amazed at the sight of this baby elephant.
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> "Evliya Çelebi," said Murtaza Pasha, "this is a job for you. Let's bring all of them before the provincial council. Let's see how a virgin maid can give birth to an elephant. This is a divine mystery. Go

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[30] V 4b1.

[31] III 9a14, 73b.end. Sixteenth-century compilations: see Robert Dankoff, "Bodleian Kütüphanesi'nde Yeni Bulunan bir Nasreddin Hoca Yazması," in: *Uluslararası Türk Dili Kongresi 1992* (Ankara, 1996), 123–129, p. 127, n. 9; also Pertev Naili Boratav, *Nasreddin Hoca* (Ankara 1996), p. 107, # 61.

quickly, punish those who have committed this deed, and bring them before the council."

I was nonplussed. "You tell me to punish those who have committed this deed. But the one who has committed this deed is the Free-choosing Actor, the Lord of the Worlds. He has done this in order to manifest His creative wisdom. Whom should I punish? My lord, I beg you not to reveal this mystery. The whole world will start to say that women in the Ottoman empire give birth to elephants. Just ignore this case."

Some of the pasha's companions spoke up. "My lord, there is an issue here of income and expenditure. The matter requires a strong and brave individual, one who fears neither God nor man, who will investigate why they had the elephant killed and will haul the murderers and all the villagers in chains before the council. If they had not killed the elephant, you might have sent it to Sultan Mehmed, who recently assumed the throne, and it would have been a gift the likes of which no previous sultan has received since the world has stood."

They pointed to the elephant corpse in the box, marveling at its ears and lips, its trunk and eyes, its tail and legs. "God be praised, my lord," they said. "You should exact 10,000 *guruş* from the person who smothered this innocent baby elephant, and 40 or 50,000 from the girl who bore it and from her parents." At their insistence a decree was drawn up and the head of the military band was ordered to go and summon all the villagers and the girl who had given birth to the elephant along with all of her relatives.

Three days later seventy individuals were brought before the provincial council in chains. The first to be questioned was the girl who had given birth to the elephant. This was her story:

"My lord. Three years ago a delegation from the sultan of India, bearing two elephants as a gift for Sultan Ibrahim, stopped in our plain of Turhal. All the townsfolk and the people from the surrounding villages went to see them. I was with a group of five or ten girls. We arrived at a pleasant spot and mounted some carts to get a better view. As they passed they cried, 'You are too close, get down from the carts.' Some of the women near me were whispering to each other, 'Allah! what a big animal this is.' I went forward, saying, 'Mommy, where is the elephant?' I saw a black house on five pillars. One of the pillars was swaying back and forth. I kept going forward, saying, 'Mommy, where is the little elephant?' Then I heard everyone shouting, 'Hey, girl, stop!' The next thing I saw was that big black house walking toward me. Something snatched me up in the air. I was in a dark warm place. I floundered about, crying for help, and my hands and feet kept sticking into warm flesh. Suddenly, after about an hour, something took hold of me and left me outside in the sunlight. I lay senseless for three hours, then they took me home. My belly began to swell. It got bigger day by day. Three years later I gave birth to this

baby elephant. It was alive for one month. Then the midwife, urged on by the prefect, killed my elephant son. I demand justice."

When she made this plea all the people of Turhal and İnebazar and Kazova testified that it was so. Murtaza Pasha clapped the seventy individuals in chains and, keeping them confined for twenty days, got 20,000 *guruş* out of them. He also preserved the baby elephant in salt, planning to send it to the felicitous Threshold.

These events occurred as I witnessed them, by divine mystery. "God is capable of every thing." The Free-choosing Actor wrought His eternal will in such a way that the elephant swallowed that virgin. She became pregnant by remaining in its belly for three hours, and a baby elephant was born. "God does what He wills by His power and judges what He wishes by His might." This is clear proof of the wisdom of the Koranic verse (7:54): "For His are the creation and the command; blessed be God, Lord of the Worlds."[32]

Too long to qualify as an anecdote, the story combines elements of the historical and the personal modes distinguished above. Evliya grounds the narrative in a historical moment; characteristically plays up his mediating and peace-making roles (see *Gentleman and Dervish*: Mediator); uses dialect and other kinds of verisimilitude to portray the hapless and hilarious plight of the Anatolian villagers; disavows fantasy by appealing to popular theology; and directs his satirical barbs against the greed and corruption of the Ottoman officials on the scene (see *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique). His claim that the events "occurred as I witnessed them" has to be taken with a grain of salt.[33]

Other examples of satirical fiction are his account of Jangiz Khan's conversion to Islam, directed against the fanaticism of the religious authorities (for a translation, see *Man of the World*: Toleration and its Limits); and his description of the Kadızadeli Çelebis who come out to view the battle against Celali Gürci Nebi in Üsküdar in 1648 (untranslatable).[34]

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[32] III 79a6; Anatolien 204–09. The translation offered here was first published in Kemal Sılay, ed., *An Anthology of Turkish Literature* (Bloomington, Indiana), 208–209.

[33] 79b1: *bu ahval böyle olup manzurumuz olmuşdur*.

[34] III 31a25. Labelling it "untranslatable" is an admission of failure on my part; others may take it as a challenge.

Hoaxes: "Hebrew" and the Prophet Ḳaffāḥ

A hoax is a sustained joke. By definition, a hoax is perpetrated in order to deceive. Nevertheless, in using the word here I do not mean to suggest that Evliya intended to deceive anyone except the extremely gullible. In other words, I believe that careful readers of the *Seyahatname* would detect any hoax and interpret it as an extreme example of Evliya's whimsy.

The most elaborate hoax in the *Seyahatname* are the poems in "Hebrew" (so-called) ascribed to the prophet Ḳaffāḥ—a figure who is otherwise unknown in Muslim prophetic lore. The immediate context of these poems is Evliya's information about African languages in the second half of Book X. He records five such languages: "Hebrew" of Sinnar, "Hebrew" of Boruste, "Abyssinian" (Habeshi), "Syriac" of Hadendoa, and "Imrani" of Okut. Habraszewski identified the "Abyssinian" along with the numerals in the "Hebrew" of Sinnar as Kanuri. The remainder of this linguistic material remains unidentified. Unfortunately we lack the autograph ms. of Books IX and X in which these materials fall.[35]

To begin with, why "Hebrew"?[36] This term belongs to Evliya's linguistic mythology:

> First God commanded all the angels to speak Arabic. When the prophet Adam entered Paradise out of the earth, Gabriel taught Adam Arabic, and he spoke Arabic with Eve, with the angels, and with God Himself. . . . But after Adam fell from Paradise he forgot Arabic, out of grief at separation from God. Then Adam met with Eve on Mt. Arafat . . . and by God's command they spoke a language close to Arabic, namely Hebrew. In fact, the word for Hebrew, *ʿibri*, is merely a metathesis of the word for Arabic, *ʿarebi*; but it is an independent language, recorded below in volume—[blank]. When the descendants of Adam spread, they spoke Hebrew, Syriac, and Imrani. This was so until Ishmael was

[35] X 415b20 = 895, 423a23 = 911, Q339b14 = 962, Q339b43 = 964, Q340b20 = 967. Tomasz Habraszewski, "Kanuri—language and people—in the 'Travel-Book' (Siyahatname) of Evliya Çelebi," *Africana Bulletin* 6 (1967), 59–66. J. Spaulding drew attention to the verses in the "Hebrew" of Sinnar but was unable to identify the language; "A text in an unidentified language of seventeenth-century Sinnar," *Meroitic Newsletter* 12 (1973), 30–34. For a conspectus of these materials, see GLOSSARY 129–31.

[36] Habraszewski and Spaulding (see previous note) did not realize that the term İberi (thus in the printed text; properly ʿibrī) means "Hebrew"; Habraszewski's suggestion (p. 60, n. 4) of a connection with the term Béribéri can be ignored.

> sent on his prophetic mission, when for the first time Arabic appeared among them. As for Syriac and Imrani, these and several (other) languages have survived since the time of the prophet and scribe Idris.[37]

For Evliya, "Hebrew" is not (what we know as) Hebrew. Rather it is one of several languages once widespread in the world, and associated with such pre-Islamic prophets as Adam and Idris, displaced in the Arabian Peninsula by Arabic since the time of Ishmael, but still found in remnant form in Africa. Evliya draws here on a wealth of Muslim lore relating to the pre-Islamic prophets. Much of this lore is connected with Idris and much of it is connected with Egypt and the Nile Valley.[38] It was Idris who invented hieroglyphic writing, which Evliya fancifully connects with the difficult Siyakat script used in Ottoman chancelleries:

> The Siyakat script first appeared among the ancient Copts of Egypt. The first of mankind to take pen in hand was the prophet Idris who was tutored in writing by the angel Gabriel. He is the patron saint of all calligraphers, as well as of tailors, since he also was the first to sew garments in order to cover the pudenda. But according to the Coptic history, the first script of the prophet Idris was the Siyakat script. In fact, when I was travelling in the Sudan from Egypt, I was told that the writing on the pillars—like the one set up in the hippodrome in Istanbul—that are in the vast ruined site called Rümeyleti'l-Himal in the province of Funjistan is all by the hand of the prophet Idris, and that it is all in Siyakat script.[39]

Evliya records a good deal of this lore at the beginning of Book X. Idris is the same as Enoch (Aḫnuḫ) and Hermes (Hürmüs). He received his prophetic mission in Aswan and built 140 cities along the Nile. The Egyptians spoke Hebrew until the coming of King Qıbtim.[40] We also learn that Hürmüs (Hermes or Idris) means Shaikh or Old Man in Hebrew; and that the Hebrew for Sphinx is Bilmib.

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[37] III 29a2; Dankoff 1989 (see n. 3), 27.

[38] For Idris, see *EI*^{2}, s.v. "Imrānī" seemingly relates to 'Imran the father of Moses; see *EI*^{2}, s.v. For Evliya's recounting of legends relating to the monuments at Gizeh, and other Egyptian lore, see, U. Haarmann, "Evliyā Çelebīs Bericht über die Altertümer von Gize," *Turcica* 8.1 (1976), 157–230. For the larger literary context, see Michael A. Cook, "Pharaonic History in Medieval Egypt," *Studia Islamica* 57 (1983), 67–103.

[39] IV 275b3, Brtlis 286–87. For Rümeyleti'l-Himal or Rumeila see X 426b12 = 918, Func 220.

[40] X 7a5 = 14, 10a5 = 19, 234a11 = 499 (Belmih, error for Belhib according to Haarmann, p. 163).

Elsewhere we learn that the Hebrew name for Istanbul is Aleksandire (I 14a31); that the Hebrew name for Jerusalem is Ḥās; and that the Hebrew words for Devil are Niḥāb, Hūnāş, and Ḫajçiz.[41] So, as far as Hebrew is concerned, Evliya's information thus far is clearly a farrago of folklore, folk etymologies, legends derived from Arabic literary sources, one or two facts, and possibly some fabrication.

Turning to the first of our African languages, the "Hebrew" of Sinnar: in his introductory remarks Evliya states, in line with what we have seen above, that "ever since the prophet Idris, all of their speech has been Hebrew." He then gives the numerals 1–10 and a poem. As mentioned above, Habraszewski identified the numerals here, along with the "Abyssinian", as Kanuri, a language spoken in the Lake Chad region. His linguistic judgment is that Evliya's information "particularly in the case of numerals is amazingly precise and the lexical forms do not differ fundamentally from other records."[42]

As to the poem, Evliya states that it is by Kakan Melik (the Sinnar ruler?) and gives the musical notation: *makam-ı beyati*.[43] (meter:— — u— —)

çiçlḳdani	*güzel olanı*	The one who is beautiful
eble ttani	*sever kul anı*	The slave loves him
açli ḳtar	*canımıñ canı*	Soul of my soul
ḳabli çidan	*görsem ben anı*	If only I saw him
çitam bulaṭi	*öpsem cüvanı*	If I kissed the youth
ḳasḳli cmnac	*koynuma alsam*	If I took him to my breast
dal bladi	*şahmasın emsem*	If I sucked his flesh
bble badi	*boynuma alsam*	If I took to my neck
bḳbli mümnac	*siyah kolunu*	His black arm
acm ci ḳmnac	*sineme sarsam*	If I embraced him
bimlimçi çulṭat	*benim o yarim*	That beloved of mine
çiçlesi ḳulṭan	*dünyada varım*	My all in the world
lelel leti leblebeti	*dese oynarım*	If he said "I'll dance"
mezami lebti	*ben anı sevdim*	I loved him
ḳıraci cebti	*gönlümi verdim*	I gave my heart

[41] I 14a31; IX 2087 = 460: Ḥās: "Possibly misspelt for Ha-Ir *ha-ʿIr* 'the city' *par excellence*" according to St. H. Stephan, *Evliya Tshelebi's Travels in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1980) [reprint of articles published in *Quarterly of Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine* 1935, 1936, 1938, 1939, 1942], 55n; IV 395a15; Dankoff 1989 [see n. 3], 30.

[42] Habraszewski, p. 60.

[43] Cf. Glossary 130. The reading follows İÜTY 5973, X 415b–416a, with the order of the lines restored according to Beşir Ağa 452/2, Q325b. The readings given in the printed text and in Spaulding's article are faulty. See also Func 186–87.

ṣaç bulani	*küfür mi etdim*	Did I curse?
ḳus çelami	*ʿaşıkı oldum*	I have become his lover
silḥeleti tebbi	*koca zamanı*	Old time (?)
ḳıḳılḳı	ḳıltarı	
ḳaḳan şah	*kakan sultan*	Kakan Sultan
ḳılbet cahi	*kul oldu her an*	Became a slave every moment
ḫinzile cac	*canına dır can*	He is soul to his soul
patile ḥac	*ol ola kurban*	May he be a sacrifice
titlebti ṣahi	*eyleye sekran*	May he make (him) intoxicated

Evliya also gives a poem in "Imrani"—"a language the likes of which I have never heard"—ascribed to the prophet Samuel and specified as being in the meter *müfteʿilün müfteʿilün* (so read;—u u— — u u —), which he imitates in his translation.[44]

blnwija din ḳarida	*ah bu ʿaşkım ne yeman*	O this love of mine, how cruel
lbble şillen ḳarida	*olmadı tenimde eman*	It was not in my body, mercy
acele bl ṯrevedida	*ağlaya çeşmim bu zaman*	My eye will weep this time
ajrida ajrida	*ah aman ah aman*	O mercy, o mercy
aṭam bkil la şrwm	*adem olan şad olımaz*	He who is a man cannot be happy
keṭf kelim ya şeriwem	*ʿaşkıla mesrur olımaz*	He cannot be happy with love
żad bkilim ḫa şeriwem	*her güle bülbül olımaz*	For every rose there cannot be a nightingale
ajrida ajrida	*ah aman ah aman*	O mercy, o mercy
luʿbetina nat buʿati	*bak haliñe etme vebal*	Look at your state, do not sin
şlçgṯaṯ buġ buʿti	*ahirü'l-emr ola zeval*	The final end is destruction
ḳibbe finat ciġi bnti	*kim ki ölür ʿibretin al*	Whoever is mortal, learn the lesson
ajrida ajrida	*ah aman ah aman*	O mercy, o mercy

I have dwelt on these poems because, although the language of neither has yet been identified, they appear to be genuine—in contrast with those below, which I interpret as Evliya's hoax.

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[44] X 32a27 = 70. Cf. Glossary 129.

In the introductory part of Book X Evliya says of one of the Sudanese kingdoms, Devlet-i Melik-i Berberistan: "They call their towns Donkala . . . and their kings Kılı Donkol. . . . Their language is genuine (*dürüst*) Hebrew, since the Prophet Idris was sent on his prophetic mission to these regions." At the end of the book, when he reaches the walled town of Boruste "in the Hebrew country" (*şehr-i ʿiberistan*), he says that "their language is entirely Hebrew" (so read); and also that "the Dehlevi langauge (i.e., of the Dehlak islands in the Red Sea) is similar to this Hebrew language." And finally:

> There are various languages in Funjistan. We have recorded what we know. When the populace of Boruste town talk in this elegant language, they always precede their speech with the polite address *ajandaji* meaning "my lord" (*sultanım*).[45]

Aside from the numerals (*ja* 1 *ji* 2 *ju* 3 *ka* 4 *ki* 5 *ku* 6 *ça* 7 *çi* 8 *çu* 9 *çe* 10—in themselves preposterous, and a clue that something fishy is going on) he only gives the text of a poem ascribed to the prophet Ḳaffāḥ. He notes that the verses, both of the original and the Turkish translation, are in the meter *müfteʿilün müfteʿilün* (— u u— — u u —), and concludes: "Hence it is well-known that the science of metrics was an ancient Persian science."[46]

jaj briji jriji	*sen bu cihana gelmeden*	Before you came to this world
julu bnha jum jbji	*mader rahmine girmeden*	Before you entered your mother's womb
ḥebaj yejem şem jebeji	*ʿarş u kürs olunmadan*	Before Throne and Seat came into being
şati jesem jit jebeji	*oldu nasib yazdı kalem*	Fate was sealed, the Pen wrote
ḥam judi zḥuj dujba	*Ham babası Nuh tufanı*	Ham's father Noah's flood
bşat şudt jdju zba	*emr ile kıyamet idi*	By command (of God) arose (as a last judgment)
juja jilem jq jiṭra	*her can halas olup*	Every soul was saved
ṭıṭ jdlm çiz jṭra	*iman getirdiler çok öldü*	They bore faith, many died
ḥuj riwaji jbase nda	*Nuh peygambere beli deyen*	Those who said "yea!" to prophet Noah

[45] X 32a7 = 70; 423a23 = 911, Func 209; 423b20, Func 211.
[46] Cf. Glossary 130; Func 209–10.

flajriba flajriba	*kurtuldular kurtuldular*	They were saved, they were saved

Now the prophet Ḳaffāḥ is found elsewhere in the *Seyahatname*, associated with Idris, Daniel and Ezra; and with Hud, Salih and Thamud. In a list of the occupations of the various prophets, his is given as "gardener". Among the Jerusalem shrines, Evliya lists that of "the prophet Ḳaffāḥ son of—[blank]" on the north side of the haram.[47]

Indeed, the same poem, or a variant, is quoted in the course of the description of Ishmael's house in Mecca. Evliya takes off from the point that Ishmael and Abraham spoke Arabic, which is an ancient language "since it is cognate (*müşterek*) with Hebrew." He goes on:

> Hebrew is still used in the provinces of Berberistan, Funjistan, Kırmanika and Baganiski. These countries are situated in the Egyptian peninsula (i.e., Africa) at the equator. The fertile land (*sevad*) where the prophet Idris and the prophet Ḳaffāḥ lived was Aswan, whose populace is naked and have black skin. They all speak Hebrew. In fact, when the prophet Ḳaffāḥ was sent to them on his prophetic mission, he recited this poem in their pearl-strewn tongue (meter: *müfteʿilün*):

jaji beriji jeriji	*sen bu cihana gelmeden*	Before you came to this world
julu bnuha jum jebji	*mader-i rahme girmeden*	Before you entered your mother's womb
ḥebajijem şem jebeji	*ʿarş u kürs olunmadan*	Before Throne and Seat came into being
şat jişem jet jibeji	*oldu nasib yazdı kalem*	Fate was sealed, the Pen wrote
ḥam judij ḥuj dujiba	*Ham babası Nuha tufan*	To Ham's father Noah the flood
beşat şuzab jid jevüjiba	*oldu ʿazab buldu eman*	Was torment, he found safety
ḥuj riwaji zibes nida	*Nuha beli deyen insan*	Those who said "yea!" to Noah
felajriba felajriba	*kurtuldular kurtuldular*	They were saved, they were saved

[47] Idris, etc.: X 16b25 = 33. Hud, etc.: IX 271b18 = 596. Gardener: I 147a25 (*bāġbān*). Jerusalem: IX 217b14 = 481. Cf. Stephan, *op. cit.* (see n. 41), 93n.: "No such name could be found in Moslem hagiography." We might note here that Evliya also mentions a prophet Ṣayyāḥ son of Judah (IX 196b2 = 433).

> This sort of pompous expressions are widely used in the provinces of Berberistan, Donkola, Sinnar, Kakan and Rümeyleti'l-himal. Also the dancing girls of Mecca, on the nights of wedding feasts and in circumcision feasts, dance with drum and tambourine and with fine voices intone verses in the meter *müfteʿilün*. When I inquired, they said it was Hebrew, but it is not spoken among the people. But ever since—[blank] the child of Ishmael, Arabic has spread over the world, and for this reason the people of Mecca speak Arabic [printed text: Hebrew!] in an elegant fashion. Among all the genuine Arabs they call the people of Mecca "Arabized" and Bani Jurhum.[48]

We hear more of this a few pages earlier where Evliya discusses the origin of the water of Zamzam:

> When Ishmael the son of the prophet Abraham was a baby in the cradle, his mother Hagar once was busy with something and left him on the ground crying. As his abundant tears fell on the earth, two springs appeared. The Bani Jurhum called these springs, in Hebrew, Zamzam. [Here follows another tradition as to its origin.] When Hagar drank from it, by God's wisdom, she called the place, in Hebrew, Zamzam, and she prayed as follows:

ḥaban hu ja bij jemjem	*benim Allahum bu Zemzemden*	My God from this Zamzam
julu bnha jum bidij	*ʿavretlere hüsün ver*	Give beauty to women
jujajlm jḳ jṭja	*rahmetile yarlığa*	Pardon with mercy
zidaj drsan flwarja	*cennetiñe nice zaman koyılır(?)*	Into Your paradise for a while are put
żuj rivaji jbaş ndaj	*Nuh ile tac-ı nübüvvet ile iman ver*	With Noah and the crown of prophecy give faith
ṭuj mja jlm	*dağ kadar garik garik*	Inundated as much as mountains
jlm jida yz ḳılm jba	*cennet rahmeti ver*	Give mercy of paradise
büraj fir flajriba flajriba	*dertlerinden kurtar kurtar*	Save save from their sorrows

[48] IX 354a7 = 770. In Muslim tradition the Arab tribe of Jurhum is closely associated with Ishmael and the well of Zamzam; see Ibn Ishaq, *The Life of Muhammad*, tr. A. Guillaume (Oxford, 1955), 45–46; and *EI*² "Djurhum or Djurham" (W. M. Watt); also T. Fahd, "Gerrhéens et Gurhumites," *Spuler Festschrift* (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients*, ed. H. R. Roemer and A. Noth, Leiden, 1981), 67–78. According to Evliya (X 26b1 = 57): "The nobles of Mecca claim to descend from Ishmael. He married a Jurhumite woman when the Jurhum tribe migrated to Mecca from Yemen. A prophet—[blank space for name] was born of that union; he received a revelation in Arabic, and Arabic has remained from that time."

> Interpretation of the Hebrew: My God, make those women who drink from this water of Zamzam beautiful, give them good character, pardon them with Your mercy, for they are weak; and to those of my descendants who drink of it, give the crown of prophecy, inundate them with mercy and give balm to all their sorrows.[49]

With the fourth verse of Hagar's poem, compare the "Hebrew" name of Hisar-i Kenise (Meroë?): Celabka Jeydaz Dersan, interpreted as "Lake coming from the gate of Paradise" (*cennet kapusundan gelir buheyre*). Of this place, Evliya also remarks: "In the time of the prophet Ḳaffāḥ this mosque [sic!] was an idol temple."[50]

Finally, Evliya gives a fourth "Hebrew" poem, this time attributed to Adam rather than Ḳaffāḥ, but also specified as being in the meter: *müfteʿilün müfteʿilün* (— u u— — u u —). It occurs at the very beginning of Book X:[51]

> When Adam fell from Paradise he forgot, because of his rebellion, the language of Paradise, which is Arabic, and instructed by Gabriel he began to speak Hebrew instead. I record here his prayer for Egypt which I got from the Coptic chronicles:

ḥidām	*Allahım*	My God
ṭıṭ jedilem	*benim imanımı*	My faith
ḥuji çiji riba	*şeytandan sakla*	Preserve from the devil
felaj riba felaj riba	*kurtar beni kurtar beni*	Save me save me
şujüm jaken	*cümle melekleriñ*	All your angels
ṭarj dilem şerij tena	*baña hizmet etsinler*	May they serve me
ṣıja riyeji zeḫriba	*buğday ver ekmek edem*	Give wheat I'll make bread
jedilem jiraj jiraj	*ahir ölüm olur ölüm*	In the end death occurs, death
ḥidam kidam	*benim Allahım*	My God
ḥirj bijti jar binti	*oğullarıma bu şehrimi*	For my sons this my city
jari mjni jar mjni	*maʿmur eyle maʿmur eyle*	Make prosper make prosper

I have argued that these four "Hebrew" poems are Evliya's own compositions, offered in a spirit of whimsy and not meant to be taken seriously—although, if "hoax" is the right term for them, offered with a straight face and intended to take in the unwary reader. They seem to have been inspired by some (genuine?) poems in as yet unidentified African languages which Evliya recorded and outfitted

[49] IX 347a9 = 755. Cf. Glossary 131.
[50] X 406b27 = 874 [garbled]; Func 158.
[51] X 2a25 = 3.

with a Turkish literary gloss. They give substance to Islamic lore about Hebrew as the language of some prophets. To this lore Evliya added the figure of Ḳaffāḥ, whose very name has a comical ring and would immediately arouse suspicion in the mind of a sophisticated Ottoman reader.[52] As to the "Hebrew," it is possible that one day a specialist in African languages will identify it as a real language, and not the gibberish that it seems; or that a written source will turn up.[53] Until that happens, I would rather connect it with some other lore which Evliya purveys: in the Devil's language there is a preponderance of the letters *ḳ*, *f*, and *j*; and in the "scriptures of Abraham" a name of the Devil is Jüdaj.[54]

Conclusion

Evliya was an indifferent versifier but a master of prose—one of the greatest prose writers in Turkish. His literary skills were based on: 1) a gift for narrative, honed over the years in his capacity as entertainer and companion of sultans, viziers and pashas; 2) a superb education in Ottoman and Islamic culture, including Koran and commentaries, biographies and hagiographies of the prophets and saints, chronicles, epics, travelogues, belles-lettres, etc. Since he aimed as much to entertain as to inform, he had no compunction about inflating numbers and spicing his otherwise sober travel account with exaggerations, humerous anecdotes, tall tales and other fictions or embroidered truths. Some of these are highly polished narratives, indicative of literary sensitivity and ambition and appealing to a sophisticated Ottoman audience. The one instance where his narrative flair spills over into verse seems to be an elaborate juggling of outlandish linguistic and prophetic lore, calculated to appeal to a recherché Ottoman taste for whimsicality.

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[52] The Arabic root *q-f-ḥ* suggests "abhorrence, disgust." If the name appeared in any other Islamic source, it would no doubt be al-Qaffāḥ; but Evliya always mentions it without the Arabic definite article.

[53] Hebrew sentences, especially passages from the Bible, are quoted in some Arab writers, e.g. the Ismaʿili propagandist Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani (d. 411/1021); see Paul Kraus, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismailitischen Schriften," *Der Islam* 19 (1930), 243–63 [repr. in *Alchemie, Ketzerei, Apokryphen im frühen Islam* (New York: Olms, 1994)].

[54] Devil's language: IV 395b8; name of the Devil: IV 395a10; Dankoff 1989 (see n. 3), 30.

CHAPTER SIX

REPORTER AND ENTERTAINER

I have assumed that Evliya aimed both to inform and to entertain (see *Raconteur*: Jokes, Lies, Tall Tales). His rhetoric comprised two registers, or two discourses: one of persuasion, in which it was important that his listeners or readers give credence to what he was saying; and one of diversion, in which it was more important to arouse their wonder or delight. Some questions that arise in connection with these rhetorical ploys are: Who was his audience? What were their expectations? When did Evliya feel constrained to provide evidence for his claims? What criteria did he think his audience would use in order to judge the trustworthiness of his reports? And when did he let down his guard, seeking less to convince and more to amuse?

Audience/Patrons

Recall that his father was the one who told him to keep a journal, and even suggested the title *Seyahatname* (see *Man of Istanbul*: Ancestry, Family History).[1] It was the Ottoman elite—including the sultan; court officials and artists like his father; military leaders and statesmen like his uncle Melek Ahmed Pasha; and other administrators, religious personnel (ulema) and literati, both in Istanbul and the provinces—who provided him encouragement, employment, and patronage.

Whenever Evliya returned from one of his journeys, he found in one of these elite circles a forum for recounting his adventures. Thus in May, 1656, returning to Melek Pasha's entourage in Van after eight months travel in Kurdistan, Mesopotamia and Iran:

> I was not absent from our lord Melek Pasha's company day and night for a single moment. He inquired about my travels over eight months, the great fortresses and ancient cities that I had seen, the wonders and

[1] II 241b23.

> the marvels, and the condition of every region, whether thriving or ruined, and how justice was administered (*ʿadl u ʿadalet ʿunvanı*). I played the part of royal companion (*nedimlik edüp*) and we had wonderful conversations; the nights no less than the days were festival days.[2]

On his way back to Istanbul from travels in Özü/Ochakov and the western Black Sea region in October, 1659, he stopped in Edirne which at that time was serving as the capital:

> I resided in the houses of all the statesmen and nobles, and attended the salons (*oda sohbetleri*) during that winter season with all my patrons and lords. I regaled them with descriptions of the towns and villages I had passed through and the fortresses I had toured, and we conversed heartily, day and night.[3]

During the "Austrian" campaigns in Hungary, which were commanded by the grand vizier Köprülü-zade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, Evliya frequently went off on junkets and came back to tell the tale. Thus, returning to Uyvar after joining the Tatars on a raid into Western Europe in October 1663 (but this is largely fictional; see *Man of the World*: Geographical Horizons), Evliya was at first dejected because the grand vizier gave robes of honor to the Tatar chieftains and some Ottoman officials, but to him "not even a snakeskin." Then the grand vizier recognized him:

> "Hey, isn't that Evliya?"
>
> "Yes my lord, it is he," came the reply.
>
> "Did he go on this campaign too? He has turned into a Tatar! Well, he is the 'mother of narratives' (*ümmü'l-ahbar*). Let's inquire wisdom of Loqman.[4] Call him here!"
>
> He clothed me in a gold-embroidered robe of honor, gave me fifty goldpieces, and stuck a crest in my turban. I in turn kissed his noble hand and showered him with benedictions. . . .
>
> "Go for now," he said, "you are tired. Come back this evening and give us an account of these glorious *gaza*s."
>
> "Certainly, my lord," said I, and went off to my tent.

He again related some of his adventures to the grand vizier when he returned from a raiding party during the siege of Yenikal'e/Zerinvar

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[2] V 5a26. Cf. very similar remarks at V 135a26.

[3] V 100a19.

[4] A proverbial expression, meaning "Let's get it from the horse's mouth," Loqman being a figure of great wisdom mentioned in the Koran. Note that Evliya refers to himself as "mother of narratives" when reporting his Croatian adventures to Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in 1660 (V 164a31).

in June 1664. The following year, while Kara Mehmed Pasha waited impatiently on the outskirts of Vienna for the Habsburg emperor's invitation to court, Evliya went off touring the city and in the evening reported back what he had witnessed. He wheedled a passport out of the young emperor himself (Leopold I) after impressing him with his knowledge of the Christian holy places in Jerusalem. And following his second (largely fictional) trip to Western Europe he again regaled listeners when he set foot on Ottoman territory.[5]

A few years later Evliya's audience was the sultan himself. Sultan Mehmed IV made his court in Edirne in order to indulge his passion for hunting and also to avoid the plague which was raging in Istanbul. In May of 1667, when Evliya returned from his journey to the Crimea and the Caucasus, he first stopped at Edirne to report to the sultan's deputy Kara Mustafa Pasha, and promised to bring him the falcons which he had captured in Circassia in order to present them to the sultan. He then went home to Istanbul where, he reports, six of his slaves died of the plague in a single week. Setting out toward Crete in late December, he again stopped at Edirne:

> I went to the sultan's deputy Kara Mustafa Pasha and presented him with the falcons which he had requested from me when we had last met. He in turn instructed the memorandum-keeper to take two of the most splendid birds to the felicitous Padishah. All the chief falconers and imperial hunters marvelled at their size and beauty, declaring that they had never seen anything like them. "Tell whoever brought these to bring more," cried the Padishah. When the sultan's deputy informed me of this imperious command, I swore up and down that there were no more, but I could not get out of it so easily. Finally I showed him the wings and tails of the birds which had died in Circassia. He brought them with me to court and I respectfully presented them to the Padishah, explaining that they had frozen to death in Circassia and that I had no others. I took an oath to that effect.
>
> Vani Efendi—God bless him!—piped up and said, "My lord, I have known this Evliya Çelebi since our days in Erzurum and his service with Melek Ahmed Pasha. He is true to his word, a world-traveler and companion to mankind, and your loyal servitor. If he had other falcons he would not keep them back from my Padishah."
>
> "Yes, I know him too," replied the Sultan. "When I was a child he did us great service in the household of Kaya Sultan."

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[5] Uyvar: VI 130a18. Yenikal'e: VI 187a22. Vienna: VII 62b–63a = 282–3, 73a = 326. Western Europe: VII 77a6 = 345.

> I twice kissed the ground before him, showered him with benedictions in Tatar dialect (!), and regaled him with my adventures tracking down those birds in Muscovy, Daghistan, Circassia, the Kipchak Steppe, and the lands of the Kalmuks and the Bashkurts. . . . The felicitous Padishah questioned me for seven full days about my travels over the past three years—in Poland, Czechia, Sweden, Germany, Holland, Hungary, and Croatia—and more particularly about Vienna and Yanık (Yeñikal'e). On the eighth day he rewarded me handsomely for the falcons and I returned to the sultan's deputy.[6]

At the end of his road in 1672 Evliya found a patron in the governor of Egypt, Kethüda Ibrahim Pasha, who even provided him an apartment in the Cairo citadel where he resided, so he tells us, for seven years. Aside from Ibrahim Pasha, whom he explicitly names as his patron, Evliya provides long lists of religious personnel in Cairo during that period and of "Begs and notables who are my benefactors and to whom I owe a debt of obligation." Few in the first list, and none in the second, are Arabs. The first to be named in the second list is Özbek Beg, "Emir ül-Hac for Egypt in the 1670s, with whom Evliya had struck up a friendship during the pilgrimage journey of 1671–72." Pierre MacKay may be right in speculating that the autograph MS. of the *Seyahatname*, of which Books I–VIII have come down to us, was in Özbek Beg's private collection from the time of Evliya's death around 1684 until it was brought to Istanbul in 1742. In any event, it is clear that Evliya had no lack of patrons and supporters during the time that he was completing the final redaction of his work.[7]

Evidence

The Koran speaks of "the truth of certainty" (*ḥaqqu'l-yaqīn*, 65:95, 69:51) and says, "You will know it with the knowledge of certainty (*'ilma'l-yaqīn*). . . . You will see it with the eye of certainty (*'ayna'l-*

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[6] VIII 203a8–15 = 64; 204b12 = 71.

[7] Residence in Cairo citadel: X 76b19, 79b3 = 166, 171; Kaıro 6, 16. Ibrahim Pasha as patron: X 76b16 = 166 *bu hakir Mısır valisi Kethüda İbrahim Paşaya intisabımız sebebiyle.* Cairo lists: X ch. 60, 247a14 = 527 (for two Gülşeni shaikhs in this list, see *Gentleman and Dervish*, n. 17); ch. 61, 250b5 = 533: *Mısırda hukukın kesb etdigimiz veliyyü'n-ni'am efendilerimiz mir-miranları ve hanedan sahibi a'yanları beyan eder.* Özbek Beg: Pierre A. MacKay, "The Manuscripts of the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi, Part I: the Archetype," *Der Islam* 52 (1975), 278–98, p. 279.

yaqīn)," (102:5,7). Evliya employs these Koranic phrases very frequently, although not altogether consistently. At times *ʿaynü'l-yakin* means eyewitness as opposed to the other two which mean knowledge from some other source; at times it is lumped together with one or both of the others to indicate eyewitness. Some examples:

- Lake Urmia: "I have made it a principle of my method not to record anything that I know from hearsay alone but only what I know from my own eyewitness."[8]
- Kurdistan, near Shahrazul: "On top of the cliff there was visible a small triangular stone castle. I do not have exact knowledge about it, since I did not go inside; but I did get a good look at it [from a distance]; and I heard from some old men that. . . ."[9]
- Anatolia, near Tokat: "I have described numerous mountains in the places that my travels took me, but not this Yıldız Dağı, because I have made it a principle of my method not to record anything that I know from hearsay alone but only what I know from my own eyewitness."[10]
- Poland: "I passed six cities in 9 hours, but since I did not inspect them in person I have not undertaken to describe them."[11]
- "If I were to record all that is written in the history books it would take too long. It is not my habit to record anything that I have not witnessed; but where necessary, I do."[12]
- mosque of Sultan Tawil in Cairo: "It has a single story and one minaret. But I did not go inside and inspect it. God be praised, I have made it a principle to describe only those buildings which I have entered and worshiped in and know from my own eyewitness."[13]

Clearly Evliya felt obliged to assure his audience of his credibility in describing things he claims to have seen. I do not detect in these passages the kind of irony that I have attributed to the analogous claim in connection with tall tales and satirical fantasies (see *Raconteur*).[14]

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[8] IV 295b18 (margin): *bu hakiriñ de'bi budur kim ʿilmü'l-yakin ve hakku'l-yakin hasıl etdigim tahrir etmeyüp ʿaynü'l-yakin hasıl etdigim tahrir etmegi elzem-i ma-la-yelzem etmişim.*

[9] IV 374a20: *varup derun-ı hisar dahil olup hakku'l-ʿayn hasıl etmedik amma ʿaynü'l-yakin hasıl etdik ve ihtiyarlardan eyle istimaʿ etdik kim. . . .*

[10] V 19a33: *de'bimiz oldur kim ʿilmü'l-yakin hasıl etdigimiz tahrir etmeyüp ʿaynü'l-yakin hasıl etdigimiz tahrir etmegi üzerimize iltizam-ı ma-la-yelzem etmişiz.*

[11] V 47a13: *ʿilmü'l-yakin veʿaynü'l-yakin ve hakku'l-yakin vasıl etmedigimizden evsaflarına cür'et olunmayup.*

[12] X 24a6 = 50: *hakir ʿilmü'l-yakin ve ʿaynü'l-yakin hasıl eylemedigim şey' tahrir etmek muʿtadım degildir amma iktiza hasebiyle tahrir olundı.*

[13] X 139a28 = 305; Kairo 238: *dahil olup içinde ʿibadet edüp ʿilmü'l-yakin ʿaynü'l-yakin hasıl etdigimiz ʿimaretleri tahrir etmegi iltizam etmişizdir.*

[14] Tall tales: III 53a12 *hüda ʿalimdir böyle olmuşdur.* Satirical fantasies: 79b1 *bu ahval böyle olup manzurumuz olmuşdur.*

Establishing his *bona fides* when it came to his major task of description is something that Evliya felt it important to do. Beyond this, he seems to have been genuinely concerned with getting it right. He often reports pacing off fortifications and other structures; e.g.:

- Mosul, fortifications: "God willing, the measurements I have given are true, because I and my *gulams* paced them off several times, both inside and outside the walls, and I have made it a principle of my method to record each one in its proper place."[15]
- the great bridge at Ergene: he paces it off "to know for certain."[16]
- Vienna, fortifications: "I walked slowly along the edge of the moat, with my prayer-beads in hand, counting off the steps. The circumference abutting the moat is exactly 19,550 paces. Adding the 2000 paces along the Danube, the total circumference of the Vienna walled city is 21,550 paces."[17]
- Caffa, fortifications: "The circumference of the walls is 8000 paces exactly. In fact, it is the same as Salonica in its circumference and in its population, except that in the case of Caffa the land wall is 6000 paces while the sea wall is 2000. I paced it off myself three times."[18]

Evliya occasionally reminds us that by "pace" he is referring to that of a sturdy grown man, and not to that of an opium addict. There is even a special term for a "broad" pace used in this pacing activity. When he had the leisure to do so, Evliya made a point of counting off the measurement in feet rather than paces. This and other sorts of measuring sometimes amount to an obsession. At Kakule in Hungary, after a feast, he measures the tablecloth; and at Ademi in Circassia he measures a holy tree.[19]

Evliya loves to relate local lore; but often, if his information is second-hand, he says so. Thus, commenting on the report that lions visited the shrine of Maʿruf al-Karkhi near Baghdad, and even that

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[15] IV 401b: *inşa'llah teʿala hilaf degildir, zira bir kaç kerre bu kalʿeleriñ enderun [u] birunından hakir ve gulamlarım adımlamışlardır ve her biri mahallerinde tahrir olunmağı üzerime iltizam-ma-la-yelzem etmişizdir.*

[16] V 99b30: *hakku'l-yakin hasıl etmek içün.*

[17] VII 56a26 (252; Apfel 84, 2nd ed. 134).

[18] VII 139b11 (671).

[19] "Pace": e.g. VI 57a26 (Vidin): *ḫandaḳ kenārınca cirmi beş yüz adımdır ammā levendāne germe adımdır, tiryākī adamı gibi adım degildir, adam adımdır*; 135a14 (Novigrad): *bu ḫaḳīr adımladım, dāyiren-mā-dār kāmil sekiz yüz germe adımdır, amā benī-ādem adımdır, tiryākī adam adımı degildir, yigit adımdır*; VIII 221a20 = 136 (Siroz): *ṭūlı kāmil dörd biñ ʿaded germe adımdır ammā levendāne yürüyüşi ile dörd biñ ḫaṭvedır yoḫsa baṭī'ü'l-ḫareke meyyit-i müteḥarrik olan tiryākī ḳavmi yürüyüşiyle on biñ adım olur.* "Broad pace": see Glossary s.v. *germe.* Feet rather than paces: e.g. V 120b20 (Ortahisar in Lipova). Kakule: VI 18b15. Ademi: VIII 153a-mid = 741.

a lion always stands guard along with the keeper of the tomb, he remarks: "I visited the shrine several times, but I never saw one." Of Lake Boyana/Lake Shkodër in Albania he states:

> The hand of the Almighty Creator fashioned seven grassy islands of various sizes in the middle of the lake, no bigger than one or two or three or five threshing-floors. During some years a violent storm arises and these little islands become dislodged and move to another part of the lake. Sometimes the islands even meet in the middle of the lake and join together. They each have a variety of shrubs and grassy plots. The townsfolk like to sail out to these little islands in their caiques for picnics. Sometimes a strong wind arises and one or two of the islands get dislodged and float from one end of the lake to the other, taking the people with them as though borne on the throne of King Solomon's audience-hall. The people delight in sailing about on the islands, and they boast of their exploits in years gone by. No one ever suffers any harm, for that is the nature of these islands—"God is capable of everything" (Koran 2:20). It takes an extremely strong wind to dislodge the islands, or so it is reported. There were quite a few storms during the time that I was in Shkodër, but I never saw those islands moving, though I did see them *not* moving. In my curiosity I questioned the old people about the past, and they related the following: "In the year when Sultan Osman II advanced against Chotin (1621), there was a severe winter storm which caused even the Bosphorus in Istanbul to freeze over. Here in Shkodër the storm blew down houses and uprooted large trees, whirling them in the air like falconers' lures. That year, these little islands in Lake Boyana floated about for forty or fifty days, from north to south and from east to west." This is what the old-timers told me.

Of the city wall in Dirnish in Croatia, he states: "It is not very large; but lying is forbidden: I did not pace it out." And of Lake Balaton in Hungary: "It is fifty fathoms deep, I was told; but I did not measure it, and lying is forbidden" (see *Raconteur*: Numbers). After stating that he does not know who built Palanka-i Sotin (near Vulkovar in Hungary) he cites the Hadith: "The liar is one who speaks of everything that he hears."[20]

This brings us to the spyglass (*durbin*), an instrument that Evliya apparently had about him at all times, and with which he could discern things that were otherwise invisible. Evliya used it to observe

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[20] Ma'ruf al-Karkhi: V 1b19. Lake Boyana: VI 34a24; Albania 36–37. Dirnish: V 147b2. Lake Balaton: VII 10b12 = 45. Hadith: VI 60b15; also cited at I 38b22, 111a34, IX 70b9 = 143.

enemy movements from the top of a minaret during the Özü siege in 1657, to descry the banners of an approaching troop in Hungary in 1663, and again to observe the course of a sea battle off Glarentsa in Greece in 1667. But he usually mentions it in connection with inscriptions too difficult to read with the naked eye, as at Hilevne in Bosnia in 1660. When he could not make out the inscription, even with the spyglass, as on the citadel of Betis in Syria in 1672, he tells us so. And yet, the claim that he used his spyglass to read an ancient Turkish inscription on a ruined wall at Akhlat in 1655 hardly inspires confidence (see *Raconteur*: Numbers). So we must greet with some skepticism the claim that, using a spyglass, he was able to make out the inscription which his father left when the latter repaired the famous Spout of Mercy or Golden Spout (*Mizab-ı rahmet* = Altun Oluk) at the Kaʿba in Mecca under Sultan Ahmed, which Evliya saw during the pilgrimage in 1672.[21]

Aside from visual evidence, Evliya relied on oral and written reports. He questioned a Venetian captive for information about Zadra in 1660. The following year, in Fogaras, he asked his own Hungarian captives about the name of a plain they were passing through, but they did not know and so he could not record it. We have seen that he was fond of citing very old men as eye-witness authorities for events of the distant past (see *Raconteur*, n. 13), and we have learned to be skeptical of these. Hearsay had a special authority if it could be attributed to his own father (see *Man of Istanbul*, n. 27) or one of his father's cronies whom Evliya knew as a child. Thus Kuzu ʿAli Agha, who had served as Sultan Süleyman's swordbearer, was his source for the 1526 battle of Mohács (see *Raconteur*, n. 14) and also for information about the bronze columns at the Kaʿba in Mecca which Evliya confirmed on the spot "forty years later." Another aged veteran gave him a tour of the armory of Rhodes; Evliya asserts that the man was twenty years old when Süleyman conquered the island; since this was in 1522, he must have been 170 (!) years old when Evliya toured Rhodes in 1671.[22]

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[21] Özü siege: V 60b2; Guerre 101. Troop in Hungary: VI 129b15. Glarentsa: VIII 262a-end = 293. Hilevne: V 135a9. Betis: IX 182a6 = 399. Akhlat: IV 239b33. Spout of Mercy: IX 340b25 = 742. Frustrated at being unable to make out the chronogram on a white marble plaque on the fortress of Bender in 1657 (no mention of using a spyglass here), Evliya records something he could read: a prominent graffito, "Oh my soul Rukiye Hanım, (signed) her lover Macar Mustafa" (V 37b30).

[22] Zadra: V 140b11. Fogaras: VI 28b28, *bilmediklerinden tahrir olunmadı*. Battle of Mohács: VI 65a23. Kaʿba: IX 344b20, 345a12 = 750–51. Rhodes: IX123b2 = 256.

Especially compelling was the evidence of Ottoman administrative officials, whether living—including Evliya himself when he was in such a position, especially in Egypt—or dead—i.e., if they had entered the information in the official registers.[23] We noted above that Evliya consulted "court records, the guild shaikhs, military officers, market supervisors, and village chiefs" in order to determine how many houses were in Afyon-karahisar (see *Raconteur*: Numbers). Similarly, at the end of his very full description of Edirne:

> If someone were to inquire, "O Evliya, it is true that you are a world-traveler and boon-companion to mankind; but how is it that you know so much about every city?" I would reply, "I, your humble servant, have been eager for travel ever since childhood. In a dream I was given leave by God's messenger to perform visits of pilgrimage to the saints and the prophets. And so for the past forty-one years, as I traversed all the well-guarded kingdoms, I associated with their officials and their old and knowledgeable men, inquiring the conditions of each city. I checked many court records and *evkaf* documents, and noted down all the endowments, along with their dates. This has been my practice, and it has given me solace."

More examples:

- Mt. Subhan: doubts about multiple births quelled by checking the register
- Sarajevo: 6000 loaves of bread are consumed daily, according to the market inspector's register; "but only God knows how many are baked in private homes."
- Szigetvar: number of tile roofed houses according to kadi's registers: 2050 [printed text: 5000]; number of tile roofed houses according to his own count from the minaret: 350
- Candia: description of the city according to a register drawn up by the defeated Venetian general and given to Evliya by the *sır katibi* Ahmed Çelebi
- Afyon-karahisar: "It has a total of 2048 shops, as I learned from the guards (*pasbanlar*)."
- Denizli: Evliya knows the income of this *has* of Kaya Sultan because it was in his control for one year

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[23] Appealing to written sources has more rhetorical than evidentiary value. As the sixteenth-century French humanist Jean Bodin remarked: "The narratives of those who have only what they have heard from others, and have not seen public records, . . . deserve less approval. Therefore the best writers, to win greater authority for their works, say that they have gathered their material from public records." (Cited in Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* [Harvard Universtiy Press, 1991], 29.)

– Rhodes: one of Evliya's informants, Koca Mahmud Reis, who was twenty years old when Süleyman Khan conquered Rhodes (!—see above) brings him to the register-office (*defter-hane*) to find answers to his queries.
– Aleppo statutes: "In the year—[blank] when Melek Ahmed Pasha was governor below Aleppo, I checked the imperial register (*defter-i hakani*) and copied out these statutes"
– Damascus: when Evliya was appointed *mütevelli* of Nureddin's *evkaf* he saw a record of his expenses on the holy places in Medina
– Cairo: in 1671–72 (A.H. 1082) 800,000 people died of plague, as recorded in the registers of the four legal schools
– Kaytbay Yaylası: Evliya once saw the account book for the Kaytbay mosque; gives figures based on that
– Tanta: Evliya once examined all the *evkaf* documents of the Kaytbay mosque
– Alexandria: Evliya is knowledgable about the finances because he was sent by the governor to audit the accounts
– Alexandria: Evliya examined the *evkaf* documents of the ʿAttarin mosque
– Birimbal: "I failed to inquire of the municipal authority (*şeyh-i beled*) and so I do not know how much crown land it contains and how much interest is charged to the tax farmers."
– Asyut: population 146,000 according to the register of the *şeyhü'l-beled*[24]

Of written sources, aside from official records and documents, Evliya has frequent recourse to geographical and historical works. A careful study of Evliya's sources for Book I shows that he sometimes cites these by name, and sometimes quotes or paraphrases them without naming his source. In addition to many works in Arabic and Turkish, he knew—in translation—the Greek history of Yanvan (i.e., *Kitab al-ʿUnwan* by Agapios; see *Man of Istanbul*, n. 34); the Armenian history of Mıghdisi; and the Hungarian history of Irshek (i.e., Cardinal Verancsics—this latter only as transmitted to him orally by a Hungarian captive). He cites the "world history of Ayanta" in Greek language for the history of Crete, and says about Rhodes that all the Arabic and Turkish history books take their information on the ancient world from the Coptic and Greek histories, especially the Greek history of Yanvan. He claims to have compared Latin, Greek and Serbian chronicles for the history of Sofia, and to have

[24] Afyon-karahisar: IX 15b21 = 31. Edirne: III 166a25; Edirne 249. More examples: IV 243a31 (Mt. Subhan); V 132a28 (Sarajevo); VI 176b32, 177a1 = 516 (Szigetvar); VIII 309b1 = 485 (Candia); IX 16a26 = 33 (Afyon-karahisar); IX 94b11 = 192 (Denizli); IX123b2 = 256 (Rhodes); IX 169a13 = 368 (Aleppo); IX 286b9 = 626 (Damascus); X 64a1 = 140 (Cairo); X 138a1 = 300; Kairo 232 (Kaytbay mosque); X 285a15 = 606 (Tanta); X 319a19 = 679 (Alexandria); X 322b20 = 686 (ʿAttarin mosque); X 352a14 = 753 (Berimbal); X 368b16 = 792 (Asyut).

consulted Venetian chronicles in Latin for the history of Zadra. All Latin history books must be approved by an ecclesiastical board before they can be printed, he reports from Dubrovnik in 1664.[25]

How reliably, and how critically, Evliya uses these sources must be studied in each case. Here let us merely note that he does sometimes cite them in order to refute them. Thus, he disproves a claim in *Tuhfe Tarihi* about the Caucasus, and corrects a geographical error in the Greek historians about Miyafarkin. In the last instance, he supports his own authority by saying: "I have been traversing this region for ten years and, because I am devoted to this science, I know it point by point." The phraseology is similar to that he uses to support the authority of the historian Mıghdisi in connection with Van: "[He] described these regions inch by inch."[26]

Another kind of written evidence is inscriptions. The *Seyahatname* is full of inscriptions copied from mosques, fountains, and the like.[27] Evliya was indefatigable in recording such texts, even resorting to a spyglass if he had trouble deciphering them, as we just saw. His interest was not confined to Ottoman, or even Islamic, texts. Travelling in Cilicia on the way to the Holy Land in 1671 he noticed some ancient Greek grave inscriptions inside the empty fortress of Takyanos/Decius, with dates suggesting 630 years prior to the Hijra. He traced them very carefully, so he tells us, and when he came to Jerusalem he had them deciphered by priests. They turned out to be graves of Christians from the time of Jesus. He came across similar inscriptions in Behisa, Upper Egypt, in 1673, but there were no Greeks there to read them, so he could not record them. In the city of Salih in the Syrian desert, on his way to the Hijaz in 1672, Evliya saw some inscriptions in "Hebrew and Syriac" (i.e., Safaitic??) which he says he copied down as well as he could, and would include in

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[25] Sources for Book I: Meşkure Eren, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi Birinci Cildinin Kaynakları Üzerinde bir Araştırma* (Istanbul, 1960). Mıghdisi: Robert Dankoff, "'MIGDISI': An Armenian Source for the *Seyahatname*," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986 = Festschrift Andreas Tietze), 73–79. Irshek: Gustav Bayerle, "Hungarian History According to Evliya Çelebi," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 8 (1984 = Festschrift Tibor Halasi-Kun), 21–24. Hungarian captive: VII 100a-mid = 467. Crete: VIII 318a24. Rhodes: IX 118a8 = 243. Sofia: III 137a35. Zadra: V 140a12. Dubrovnik: VI 151a16 ("Latin" probably means Italian; see *Man of Istanbul*, n. 34).

[26] Caucasus: II 316a24. Miyafarkin: IV 218a27, *hakir bu mahalde on sene mikdarı tek ü pum vardır kim selikam bu fenne düşmek ile kırat-be-kırat dakikiyle ma'lumumdur*. Van: IV 249a11, *bu biladları kırat-be-kırat tahrir eden*.

[27] For Book I, see Yüksel Yoldaş, *İstanbul mimarisi için kaynak olarak Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* (Istanbul, 1977).

the final recension of the *Seyahatname*.[28] The "Chaghatay" grave inscriptions which he pretends to have seen in Crimea, Daghistan and Astrakhan form a special category (see *Raconteur*: Jokes, Lies, Tall Tales).

We should note, finally, that Evliya occasionally indulged in a primitive kind of paleontology and archaeology. When he was camped with a Tatar army in the Kipchak Steppe and they began digging wells, they turned up remains of crabs, crayfish, mussels, oysters, and the like. Evliya takes this as evidence for his theory that the Black Sea was at one time much larger than it is at present; it was Alexander the Great who cut open the straits between Istanbul and the Mediterranean, thus causing the Black Sea to shrink to its present dimensions. These Crimean excavations are adduced in a different context, where Evliya speaks of excavations carried out in the Salanta plain near Buda. They also turned up shells, in confirmation of a report by "an aged Latin infidel in Pravadi" who cited local chronicles to the effect that before Alexander the Great the area stretching from the southern Russian steppes to the plains of Hungary were under water and part of the Black Sea. Fishbones and remains of crabs and shellfish also turn up, Evliya reports, in the desert sands of Wadi'l-qura in the Hijaz, again proving that this region was once the sea. Now Evliya refers to a passage he saw in "the histories of the Greeks" according to which Alexander the Great cut open the strait at Gibraltar so that the Mediterranean could flow into the Atlantic. What these dubious historical reports have in common is to confirm Evliya's thesis that the Black Sea is the head and source of all the world's seas. Excavators near Ayasofya in Istanbul once unearthed an ancient tobacco pipe made of iron, and the scent of tobacco still lingered in the newly-dug area; to Evliya, this archaeological discovery simply proved the antiquity of smoking.[29]

Skepticism and Credulity

A favorite category is "marvels and wonders" (*'acayib u garayib*)—phenomena that resist rational explanation. Evliya has no hesitation in

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[28] Takyanos: IX 146a17 = 315. Behisa: X Q345b9 = 991. Salih: IX 282a19 = 617.

[29] Kipchak Steppe: I 9a31. Salanta plain: III 109b34. Wadi'l-qura: IX 271b3 = 595. Black Sea: II 268a10, III 114b36-margin, VI 51a18. Ayasofya: I 105a7.

reporting these, and the *Seyahatname* is full of them. But he does sometimes question their authenticity, particularly if the auspices of such marvels are Christian and not Muslim.

When Evliya was in Üç Kilise ("Three Churches"), the great Armenian monastic compound of Echmiadzin, in 1647, he saw an iron bar suspended in mid-air beneath a vault of one of the churches. The monks explained the phenomenon as a miracle of St. Peter (Şemʿun-i Safa). "Foolish Muslims also," says Evliya, "are amazed when they see it, and believe in it." His own explanation is that when the church was constructed, two strong magnets were embedded, one at the top of the vault and one beneath the floor, and the iron bar is suspended between them. He concludes: "This humble one, full of fault, with my faulty intellect (*ʿakl-ı kasır*), observed it to be so; God willing there is no error in my observation (*mülahaza*)."[30]

Inside the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem there was a glass lamp which hung from a chain and which "according to their false claim, burned miraculously."[31] Evliya explains that the lamp was fed by a jar of oil—"a mixture of olive oil and naphtha"—concealed at the top of the dome. He goes on to expose various tricks which the priests resort to in order to get a dramatic effect from this lamp during Easter celebrations.

We should compare Evliya's attitude to another marvelous item he observed in Jerusalem, some palm-fiber ropes tied up and inserted in the rock crevices in the courtyard of the Aqsa Mosque. His guides told him that they dated from the time of Solomon, and that Solomon had used them to bind demons. At first Evliya was skeptical about this report:

> It is implausible (*ʿakla muhalif*). Let us assume that through his miraculous power he bound the demons with those ropes. Still, according to the history of Muhammad ibn Ishaq, sixteen hundred years separate the time of the prophet Solomon from the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. By that reckoning, it has been two thousand and forty-three years [sic] from the birth of the prophet of the two realms (i.e., Muhammad) until my present pilgrimage; since this pilgrimage took place in the year 1081 (1671 C.E.), and the Prophet Muhammad lived for sixty-three years; and so the period from the time of Solomon until 1081 is three thousand six hundred and forty-one years [sic]. Do you mean to tell me that during all that time the palm-fiber ropes used to bind the demons haven't rotted?

[30] II 325b4–9.
[31] IX 222b21 = 492, *zuʿm-ı batıllarınca kudretden yanar derler*.

The Jerusalem ulema offerred the counter-argument that Solomon, although he ruled over men and jinn and birds and beasts, nevertheless made his living by weaving baskets from date-palm fronds, and that these ropes were Solomon's own handiwork; it is for this reason that they have not deteriorated. Evliya says that he was convinced (*i'timad etdim*).[32]

The wondrous deeds of Muslim holy men and saints are not usually subject to the same kind of scrutiny. The *Seyahatname* is a rich source for such legends, the more valuable in that Evliya seldom relies on written sources but often records local lore. Recall that toward the end of his *Evsaf* or "descriptions" he invariably includes a section on graves and shrines, along with biographies or hagiographies of the dead (see *Man of Istanbul*: The Man and the Book). *Ziyaret* (pilgrimage) to the tombs of the *evliya* ("friends of God," Muslim saints) is one of Evliya's main motivations for travel at all, sanctioned indeed by the Prophet himself in the initiatory dream (see *Man of Istanbul*: Growing up in Istanbul).

As world-traveller he may encounter claims to the same holy legacy in more than one place and cannot always adjudicate them. Two Anatolian towns—Tarsus and Elbistan—both claimed the Cave of the Seven Sleepers mentioned in the Koran, Surah 18. Tarsus would seem to have the stronger claim, because of a noise that issued from the cave, and also because King Takyanos/Decius, the one who persecuted the Seven Sleepers, was known from other sources to have a connection with that town. On the other hand, it was conceivable that those fleeing the king's persecutions might have gone to more than one place:

> I have visited the Cave of the Sleepers in three different places, and I do not know which is the real one. Or should we suppose that each of them fled to a different country from Takyanos's tyranny?

The renowned Sarı Saltuk was buried in seven different places, but in this case there was a legend about his corpse being placed in seven coffins which were sent to seven different places, according to his own last will and testament.[33]

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[32] IX 217a9 = 479; 217a19 = 480.

[33] Tarsus: IX 153b20–154a1 = 332. "I have visited . . .": III 73a10. Sarı Saltuk: II 266b34; III 111a3, 170a32. Cf. *EI*^{2} "Sarı Saltuk Dede" (G. Leiser); and, on the Seven Sleepers, *EI*^{2} "Ashab al-Kahf" (R. Paret).

A common motif in these hagiographies is the uncorrupted corpse. When Evliya was in Ak-hisar, Bosnia, in 1660 he was told that one of the local saints who had died some years before, a certain Shaikh Kafi, was still lying on his prayer-rug, his body uncorrupted, within the tomb attached to his *medrese* and *tekke*. Evliya hastened to visit the tomb and confirmed the report. He then consulted about the matter with some old men who had enjoyed the shaikh's company while he was still alive. They told him:

> The late saint was a master of alchemy. He consumed nothing, neither bread nor water, but every twenty-four hours he swallowed ten tablets, the size of chickpeas, made of alchemists' gold. Because of this strict diet, when he died his noble body did not decay.[34]

This is a rare example of Evliya's providing a (quasi-) rational explanation for what would otherwise be considered a saintly miracle (*kerâmet*).[35] More typical is his report in Burlos, Egypt, of the reburial of a shaikh whose body was uncorrupted after 636 years.[36] This was not something that he witnessed, but also is not something that he questions.

The uncorrupted corpse appears in some of Evliya's battle reportage as well, e.g. after the victory at Uyvar in 1663. The most spectacular instance occurs in his saga-like account of the long siege of Candia that led to the final Ottoman conquest of Crete. On the night of 30 January 1668—corresponding to Berat Gecesi, the sacred night between the 14th and 15th of the month of Sha'ban, in the year 1078 of the Muslim calendar—a fire appeared over the water

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[34] V 133b32. "Shaikh Kafi" is Hasan Kafi Akhisari, d. 1616, better known as the author of a treatise on good government; "his tomb became a place of pilgrimage" (*EI*[2] "Ak Hisari" (K. Süssheim – J. Schacht).

[35] But is alchemy science or magic? In Ishtip (Bulgaria) in 1662 Evliya marvelled that a dervish shaikh named Emir Efendi Sultan should have founded so many public amenities (*ḫayrât*), and he attributes it to his mastery of alchemy (*kîmiyâ-yı iksîr-i aʿzam*; VI 38a4). In Caffa in 1666 Evliya met a certain Naib Ibrahim Efendi, a master of alchemy (*ʿilm-i kâf, kîmiyâ*). "In the forty-one years that I had been roaming the world until this time I never saw a genuine practitioner of this art, although I saw thousands of impersonators. I rejected this science, considering that it was without foundation. But, God be praised, when I saw this Naib Ibrahim Efendi in this city of Caffa, I witnessed the genuine article (*ʿilmü'l-yaḳîn ve ḥaḳḳu'l-yaḳîn veʿaynü'l-yaḳîn vâṣıl edüp*). He even gave me an ingot of gold, which I crumbled in my hand like wax. In fact, Ibrahim Efendi used to make tablets out of these goldpieces. He would swallow one in the morning and three in the evening, and eat nothing else that entire day." (VII 141b1 = 680–1)

[36] X 342b17 = 732.

about ten miles off the coast. The Ottoman soldiers watched in amazement as it surged toward the shore on the waves and lit up the night sky. Fearing an enemy ruse, they shot at it with their cannons and muskets, roiling the sea with lead "like bulgur boiling in a pot of water," but the fire kept approaching. When it reached the shore, however, what should they see?

> Onto the shore emerged the corpse of a man, completely naked except that his genitals were concealed within a thick purse-like sack. Some of the braver soldiers, paying no heed to the flames that were emanating from his [right] hand, ripped open the sack-cloth and looked at his genitals. When they saw that he was circumcised according to the Prophetic Sunna, they knew that he was a Muslim martyr. The dead man raised his left hand and covered his genitals, at which some cried "God be praised!" while others warned that it was a fire-trick of the infidels who had put a magical spell on a Muslim's dead body.
>
> Amidst a jangle of rumors and contrary opinions they brought the blessed corpse onto the shore. Now they saw that his right arm was completely green, and from a hole in the hollow of the hand, green and blue and red flames were streaming forth. Light emanated from the skin, which was pure as crystal and unscathed by the countless bullets and cannonballs that had been shot at it. The fire emerging from the hollow of the hand turned out to be light as well, shining up to the sky. When the Muslim *gazis* observed this they realized that he was truly a noble martyr.
>
> The grand vizier's deputy, Mahmud Agha, and the other commanders obtained fatwas from the grand *mufti* of the army. By vizierial command they informed this humble one, full of fault. I veiled his face, resplendent as the full moon, with my cloak and covered his pure body with an *ihram* (seamless white pilgrim's garb used as a shroud). In the morning, the multicolored lights in his arm disappeared; only a faint light glowed like fire in the hollow of his palm.

Evliya washed and buried the corpse, dubbing him "Saint Green-Arm" (Yeşil-kollu Sultan), and over the tombstone placed a wooden banner painted green, the symbol of martyrs. "It has become a popular pilgrimage cite," Evliya concludes.[37]

Examples of such "magic realism"—irruptions of the supernatural into Evliya's first-person narrative—are not uncommon. In the case of Saint Green-Arm we can speculate that the corpse of an unknown Muslim soldier washed ashore and that, after burial, a legend grew

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[37] Uyvar: VI 120b18. Candia: VIII 292b29–293a6 = 416–17; Guerre 194–5. Note that Evliya uses "martyr" (*şehīd*) for any Ottoman soldier killed in battle.

up in the Ottoman camp about light emanating from the right hand, etc. Such a legend would serve to inspire the troops, lending a religious sanction to their wearisome siege. Alternatively, Evliya has incorporated into his narrative of the siege a motif drawn from Islamic saint lore or Turkish popular literature. In the Candia account we also have the figure of Ali Dede the Mute (Söylemez ʿAli Dede), a local holy man from whom Evliya obtained veiled predictions of Ottoman victory; and after the victory, when Ali Dede died and Evliya was washing the body, sweet fragrances suffused the air and an inscription in red appeared on the chest with the words "washed, taken into God's mercy, forgiven."[38]

Evliya's attitude toward the tricks of magicians and other entertainers is roughly the same as toward the various marvels and wonders. He relishes them, the more extravagant the better, and he usually reports them without demur. The most elaborate feats are those of Molla Mehemmed in the Bitlis episodes.[39] But Evliya witnessed similar spectacles in Acre, in Vienna, in the Balkans at the Doyran fair, in Egypt at Tanta during the annual festival for the saint Ahmad al-Badawi, and in Sudan at Abu Shoqa. Only once does he try to give a rational explanation for a magical trick. At Tanta in 1672 a Moroccan magician kept a ball suspended in midair until he collected coins from the crowd and then, when they all clapped and cried out together, the ball fell to the ground.

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[38] VIII 299a–300b, 304a = 441–48, 463; Guerre 229–37, 257–58.

[39] IV 221b–222a, 231a–232b, V 11a–b; Bitlis 44–49, 122–33, 360–63. They also overflow with folkloric exuberance, as in the oceanic contents of the Molla's sack: "There were multi-colored threads of sheep's and camel's wool; hemp cords; various medicaments in boxes; thorns of gorse; camphor, gum benzoin, and myrrh; aloes and ambergris; pitch and tar; balsam and oleander; and all sorts of camphor candles; also old rags and pieces of striped Yazdi cloth, Kashani velvet, and Damascene *qutni* not worth a penny; various ointments in small cannisters; taffies and confections; seeds of melon, watermelon, cucumber, squash, and a thousand and one kinds of seeds of this sort; also tin bottles of ink, arac, vinegar, wine, naphtha, and sandarac; sheep and goat heads and trotters, salted and unshorn; a lion's head; numerous dead snakes, skinks, lizards, scorpions and centipedes; the hooves and teeth of a donkey, a horse, a mule, a camel and a pig; several cannisters with live leeches, centipedes, dung beetles, earthworms, and large ants; and boxes with live snakes, scorpions, snails, and bugs of various sorts from Lake Van; even a dried human head; also lion, tiger and leopard heads; and all sorts of animal skins, including sable, marten, ermine, and lynx. The entire contents was not worth a dime, but all existing things were in this magic ocean of a sack. The medicinal herbs and the aromatic woods in this bag could not be found in any apothecary's or charcoal-seller's shop." (IV 232a22; Bitlis 131)

> With my faulty intellect (*ʿakl-ı kasır*) I observed (*mülahaza*) that the ball in question was full of dew, which has the property of turning into air when it is exposed to heat; and when he threw the ball into the air, the heat of the day was extreme. By the time he had finished his patter and collected his coins, the dew had all dissipated, and the ball fell to the ground. Otherwise, my trifling intellect (*ʿakl-ı cüz'i*) could not comprehend it, but I gathered it by means of "knowledge of certainty" (*ʿilmü'l-yakin*—i.e., by deduction, not ocular evidence). . . . In '74 (i.e., 1074/1663) after the conquest of Uyvar I saw a magician in the city of—[blank] in Austria who also kept a ball suspended in mid-air in this fashion. He was a great magician, and his tricks have been described in detail.[40]

The phraseology is similar to that used to expose the monks' trick in Üç Kilise (see above). This half-hearted attempt at pricking the Moroccan magician's baloon contrasts with the delight Evliya clearly felt in witnessing such performances and the exuberance he displays in narrating them.

There is a thin line between magic as entertainment and magic as the manipulation of supernatural powers. The following account, from a Bulgarian village in the winter of 1652–53, seems to be related mainly for its entertainment value:

> *Adventure of Evliya the humble.* In that mountainous Balkan region my servants and I were guests in the house of a certain infidel, and I was comfortably settled in a corner near the fire. Suddenly an old woman entered. She was very ugly, with her hair going in all directions, and was in a rage. She sat herself next to the fire and let out a stream of expletives in her peculiar dialect. From what I could understand, the servants outside had somewhat mistreated her. When I went out to scold them, they denied it. Then seven young children came in, male and female, and gathered about her, jabbering away in Bulgarian. They did not leave any place for me near the fire, so I observed the strange scene from a little distance (before falling asleep).
>
> Around midnight I was awakened by some footsteps. What should I see? The old woman came inside, took a handful of ashes from the fireplace, and rubbed them onto her vagina. Then she recited a spell over the ashes left in her hand and scattered them over the seven little boys and girls who were lying naked next to the fireplace. At once all seven turned into plump chickens and started to go "cheep cheep."

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[40] Acre: III 42a. Vienna: VII 68b–69a = 307–10; Apfel 175–79 (2nd ed. 215–18). Dojran: VIII 376a = 759. Tanta: X 291a–293b = 618–24. Abu Shoqa: X 419a–422b = 903–10; Func 197–206. "With my faulty intellect . . .": X 292b19 = 622 (there does not seem to be a record of the Austrian magician in the *Seyahatname*).

She scattered the rest of the ashes over her own head and in an instant was transformed into a big broody hen going "gurk gurk." She marched out the door with the seven chicks right behind.

"Hey, boy!" I shouted out, in a fright. My slaveboys awoke and came over, only to see that my nose was bleeding profusely. "What's going on?" I cried. "Go outside and see what that racket is." They rushed outside and saw that witch-hen and her brood of chickens marching about among our horses, which had gotten loose and were tearing at each other. This seemed unusual, since horses normally like chickens, and they also like pigs, and they are never affected by scrofula or red mite (when those animals are present), and that is why you never see farriers' shops without chickens or horse-driven mills without pigs or wealthy people's houses without Jews. But this time the horses were just tearing at each other, so some peasant infidels from the village had to come and tie them down. The bewitched hen and chickens went off. One of my slaveboys, who followed them, reported what happened next:

"One infidel took out his penis and showered the chickens with a rain of piss. At once all eight of them turned back into their human form. The one who had urinated over them gave the old hag and the children a good beating and took them away. We followed them into a house, which turned out to be their church. He gave the woman over to a priest, and the priest anathematized her."

My slaveboys swore that this account was true, and Antabi Müezzin Mehmed Efendi's servants and my chief canteen-man's servants also bore witness that they had seen human beings turn into chickens.

Whether out of fright, or because my blood was so excited, my nosebleed kept up all that night and only stopped toward dawn. In the morning I questioned my *müezzin*'s servants and also Mataracı Mehmed Agha's servants. They swore that when the infidel pissed over the chickens they turned human, and they offered to bring the very man who did it. When the infidel was brought and I questioned him, he laughed and said: "My lord, that woman is a different breed. She used to turn into a witch once a year on a winter's night, but this year she turned into a hen. She doesn't harm anyone." He went away.

Such was the adventure that this humble one, full of fault, experienced in the above-mentioned village of Çalık-kavak. It really unnerved me.[41]

Other kinds of sorcery pertain to groups at least as exotic as Bulgarian peasant women. Thus, while travelling in the Caucasus in 1666 Evliya experiences a night of lightning and reports that it was caused by a battle between the *oburs* or witches of the Circassians and the Abkhazians.[42] And the next year a Kalmuk weather magician, who

[41] III 130a25–130b16.
[42] VII 151b13.

is able to freeze water, is put to good narrative purpose while crossing the Kuban River (see *Man of the World*: Toleration and its Limits).

Evliya frequently records the healing powers of certain springs and other natural phenomena. Perhaps the most elaborate account is that of the "thousand lakes" of Biñ Göl, the water of each having distinct curative properties. Typically Evliya states that the curative effect has been "tested" (*mücerreb*), as though this statement alone would allay doubts. Thus, while extolling the curative properties—especially to women—of the sulfurous hot springs in Buda, he says that a woman experiencing a difficult labor will give birth easily if she drinks some water at the Bath of the Tanners, and that this has been "very well tested" (*gayet mücerreb*). The same water provides a virginity trial: when a virgin snuffs some of it into her nose, she immediately coughs, while a non-virgin never coughs but only farts. Skepticism about such reports is mentioned only to be squelched. After describing the medicinal virtues of the mud which bubbles out of the ground at the shrine of Bükli Baba Sultan in Firishke near Ermenak, Evliya states:

> Some scoff and say, "Why of course, when so many people trample the ground there it gets heavy and mud comes out of the ground." But this doesn't happen in other places. And isn't it miraculous that it should come out of the ground at this shrine and that it should have so many uses? And aren't prophetic miracles true according to all the books?[43]

Finally, we have the frequent report of talismans. The following is typical. In his description of Temesvar, tucked between information on street pavements and clothing styles, is a section entitled *Der beyan-ı mutalsem*:

> Mosquitoes are never to be found in this city. The reason is that buried beneath the foundation of the citadel is the image of a mosquito, made of bronze. Another thing is that people in this city are never harmed by jinn and never suffer seizures.

Without confirmation from another source, it is difficult to decide whether Evliya made this up or whether he heard it from his guide when he was touring the town. What is clear is that supernatural

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[43] Biñ Göl: III 88b22. Buda: VI 85b2–9. Firishke: IX 142a9 = 303. On the term *mujarrab* in the context of literature on magic, see Manfred Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine* (Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 110.

protection of this kind was an expected feature in the description of places, so common in fact that it deserved a category of its own. The Istanbul volume has an entire chapter devoted to the topic, where Evliya lists seventeen of the "366" talismans in the city, and then appends a section on "talismans pertaining to the sea." These turn out to be landmarks, such as the two Egyptian obelisks in the hippodrome, or other columns or images that Evliya knew about from local lore or from historical sources. A great earthquake that occurred on the night of the Prophet's birth either destroyed them or robbed them of their magical virtues—an oft-repeated motif in these accounts.[44]

Portents and Dreams

From the *Seyahatname* one gathers that not only soldiers in the trenches but even members of the elite, including Evliya's hero and patron Melek Ahmed Pasha and members of the Ottoman dynasty, were sensitive to signs and portents and predictive dreams. Some rebels, hounded by Melek during his grand vizierate in 1651, were revealed to have characteristics of holy men: after they were executed, a light was reported to descend upon their heads (which were on display outside the Topkapı palace gate in Istanbul), small fires broke out around the city, and other portents appeared that boded Melek Pasha's imminent fall from power. (For another portentous event from that episode, involving an oracular dream, see *Raconteur*: Gideon in Anatolia.) Twice, in times of stress, a Bektashi dervish appeared out of nowhere to comfort Melek—and Evliya as well—and to bring messages from the Unknown. Twice, when Melek was seriously ill, Evliya had a dream which, as interpreted by Melek himself, resulted in his cure. An elaborate dream of Melek's involving some blood-soaked bread, recounted and interpreted several times, served both as encouragement to take revenge on his enemy, the Khan of Bitlis, and as foreboding of the miscarriage and death of his wife, Kaya Sultan. Melek and Kaya shared with each other—in Evliya's presence—dreams premonitory of her death. These are the most poignant

[44] Temesvar: V 119a31. Istanbul: I 17b36; 18a1. Talismans robbed of their magical virtues on the night of the Prophet's birth: I 18a16, IV 308a4, V 130a8, VIII 254a16 = 262, etc.

of the many dreams in the *Seyahatname*. While they certainly reflect a culture of dream-narration and dream-interpretation among the Ottoman elite, what they illustrate most immediately is Evliya's literary art.[45]

Some of Evliya's own dreams also have a staged and literary quality, including the ones just mentioned realting to Melek's illness and cure, and especially the initiatory dream recounted at great length at the beginning of Book I and reprised at the beginning of Book II, and the parallel dream at the beginning of Book IX (see *Man of Istanbul*: The Man and the Book). Consider the following incident, when Evliya reached Ankara in 1648 after joining with Defterdarzade Mehmed Pasha and the Celalis.

> On the same day that I entered the walled city of Ankara I visited the shrine of Haci Bayram-ı Veli and began a complete Koran recital, then came to my quarters. Following the evening prayer and the recital of my litanies I uttered the prayer for a dream-omen (*istihare*) and went to sleep. In my dream I saw a man of middle height with a blond beard and wearing a honey-colored woolen cloak. On his head was a Muhammedan turban with twelve folds wrapped around a *veledi* cap. He approached me and said:
>
> "Look here, my son. Is it right that you should go to visit my pupil Kösec Bayram-i Veli and step over me? Is it right that you should begin a Koran recital for him and pass me by without even a Fatiha?"
>
> "Noble sir, who are you? I don't think I know you. And where do you reside?"
>
> "In your youth, when you cried the prayer for wrestlers in the Tekke of the Wrestlers and in the presence of Sultan Murad, didn't you used to say, *Engürüde Er yatır/Rumda Sarı Saltık* ('In Ankara lies Er/In Rum Sarı Saltuk')?[46] Well, I am Er Sultan in Ankara. I lie inside a dismal tomb in the Woodcutters' Market near the lower citadel. Visit me there, cheer me with a Fatiha, and you will be cheered and get your wish in this world and the next. Tomorrow after the morning prayer I will send you a man who will look just like me. Put your hand in his, tour the city with him and come to visit me. *Selamün ʿaleyküm*."

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[45] Portents of Melek Pasha's fall from power: III 101b17; Melek 77. Bektashi dervish: III 175a, VI 44b; Melek 115–23, 262–63. Evliya's dream and Melek's cure: III 144a, V 32a; Melek 100–04, 207–12. Melek's dream of blood-soaked bread: III 182a1, IV 260a34, 272b15; Melek 143–46, Bitlis 6, 170–73, 264–67. Kaya Sultan: V 75b–78b; Melek 221–34. For a recent overview of dream lore in the Ottoman context, see Gottfried Hagen, "Träume als Sinnstiftung—Überlegungen zu Traum und historischen Denken bei den Osmanen (zu Gotha, Ms. orient. T 17/1)," in: Hans Stein, ed., *Wilhelm Pertsch Orientalist und Bibliothekar, Zum 100. Todestag* (Gotha, 1999), 109–30.

[46] See *Man of Istanbul*: Topkapı Saray and n. 64.

With that he disappeared. I awoke, performed my ablutions and stood waiting for the time of the dawn prayer. After the prayer one of the pasha's servants arrived and invited me to breakfast. "No my son, today I am fasting," I said, and got rid of him.

Suddenly, the person whom I had seen that night in my dream appeared. He greeted me and said: "Evliya Çelebi, is that you? In our dream Er Dede Sultan sent me to you. Come, let's go visit him." But his speech seemed to emerge from under the ground. To be sure, his face was resplendent and his words were sweet and touching. I donned my cloak and stepped outside with a *besmele*.

As we proceeded on foot, he named and described the great saints buried in eleven places within the city, making me stop at each one and pay a pilgrimage-visit (*ziyaret*). "This is my pupil," he would say; or else, "This is the successor to the saintly Hamid Efendi." He held my hand fast and we made a complete tour of the pilgrimage sites; God willing, they will be recorded below. But, though he held my hand fast, his own hand had absolutely no bones: whichever way I bent it, it gave way like dough. Occasionally he would remove his hand from mine, point out a pilgrimage-site (*ziyaret*), and again clasp my hand.

We went on, discussing matters related to the afterlife, until we arrived at the place known as the Woodcutters' Market. At the western side of the square there was a small tomb, hardly visible. "There is the tomb of Er Sultan," he said, pointing with his right hand. I looked in that direction, and when I looked back, he had disappeared. "Oh dear," I said, "I shouldn't have let go of his hand. Now what will become of me?" I wandered about in a daze, in the dim light of dawn. The place where that person disappeared was a main road, but now it too had disappeared both in front of me and behind. "He must have gone inside that little door covered with felt," I said. I opened the door and went in.

Would you believe it? The place turned out to be a tavern![47] And there were a bunch of the Pasha's servants and muleteers and donkey-boys, some playing the *çögür* and the *tambura* (types of stringed instruments) and raising a hullabaloo. "Evliya Çelebi!" cried one of them, "Come and have some boza." When I realized that I had been seen entering a tavern, I wanted to sink into the ground from shame. I ran outside, went over to the tomb of Er Sultan, opened the door and entered.

"*Es-selamü ʿaleyküm*, oh saintly shaikh," I said, weeping the while, and rubbing this rebellious face of mine in the dust of the threshold. "You appeared in my dream and told me that you would send me a guide on the path (*mürşid-i kamil*), and you kept your word. But you took him from my hand before I could be guided aright. I have come to visit you and to rub my face at your gate. For the sake of God's

[47] Boza-ḫane; for boza see *Raconteur*: Daily Life.

beloved (i.e., the Prophet Muhammad) do not leave me forlorn in this world and the next. I swear by God that I will perform a complete Koran-recital for the sake of your noble spirit," and I began the recital then and there. Meanwhile I crawled beneath the green woolen coverlet that lay over the noble cenotaph, crying, "Protection, oh Er Sultan, protection!"

I fell asleep almost immediately—I was sweating so much that the sweat poured from my clothes—and again I saw the figure of Er Sultan, dressed as in my previous dream. He greeted me and I returned the greeting. "My lord," said I, "I lost the man you sent to conduct me here, so I have come to your gate without intermediary. Do not turn me back empty-handed."

"You will not be left forlorn," he replied, "for you are one who preserves the Koran in his memory, and one who loves God's friends and rubs his face at the thresholds of the great saints. Out of my love for you I appeared in your dream and said that I would send someone to conduct you here, and I told you to hold his hand; and the next morning I arrived and clasped your hand in mine. I am your perfect guide (*mürşid-i kamiliñim*) who will lead you to the path of Truth.

"Do not distress yourself. Your final path in the end, safe and sound, is the Straight Path. But keep to the straight and narrow while you are roaming about with these ruffians. Take pity on the poor and the weak. Try to extricate yourself from these ruffians. Tell your pasha that while he is shutting himself up as a Celali in this dear little Ankara of mine he should not harm the people who are in my precinct.

"As for you: God grant completion of your journey, faith at your final breath, intercession of the Prophet as your share [in the next world], and bodily health as you roam about [this] world. Eat little, speak little, and sleep little. Do much for the sake of knowledge—in the end one must perform good deeds in order to find the path of truth; as the Koran states (35:10): "To Him rise up good words, and good deeds exalt Him." Keep to this counsel of mine, and carry out your obligations to your parents. Do not forget me in your prayers, and hold in reverence the holy shaikhs and patron saints. Go, may God bring you right, may your end be good."

"A Fatiha on this intention," said I, and recited a noble Fatiha. As I was kissing his hand a clamor rose outside the door of the light-filled tomb, and someone shouted: "Doesn't this tomb have a keeper?" At this I awoke and crawled out from under Er Sultan's woolen cenotaph-cover, in a daze and drenched in sweat. It seems that quite a few pilgrims had come to visit the noble grave. "Are you the tomb's keeper?" they said. "Yes," I replied, "I have become a servant at this shrine." They performed their visitation, and I, uttering the Fatiha of farewell, shut the door of felicity behind me and returned weeping to my quarters.

I immediately reported my dream to the pasha. "I beg God's forgiveness," he cried. " 'Turn to God in true repentance' (Koran 66:8).

> Tell the regiment commanders and the Segban and Sarıca soldiery to bring the munitions muskets and their other weapons. Henceforth it is forbidden to shut ourselves up as Celalis in this walled city of Ankara." He gathered the arms from all the military regiments, and the town fell quiet.
>
> It turned out that the pasha had also seen Er Sultan in his dream which, as he narrated it to me, fit mine exactly. So it seems that the pasha actually had conceived the idea of shutting himself up in Ankara as a Celali.[48]

The tavern scene—and indeed, the entire sequence—itself reads like a dream. Here Evliya joins his pious and political preoccupations, as in other incidents of the Anatolian Celali period (see *Man of the World*: Rebels and Bandits; *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique). The incident also has several parallels with one in Damascus, where again Evliya sweats with shame and distress and is rescued by a holy man (see *Gentleman and Dervish*: The Life of the Party). The motif of the shared dream recurs, with even greater dramatic effect, in several of the dream narratives connected with Melek Ahmed Pasha, including the ones relating to his illness and cure, and another which displays Melek Pasha's prescience with regard to two friends and fellow-statesmen.[49]

Most of Evliya's dreams are short and pointed, lacking the literary quality of those discussed above. While occasionally ominous, they more often serve to provide him comfort or counsel when he is troubled or in a quandary. Here is a survey:

- Eve of departure from Crimea, 1641. "That night on board ship I had frightful dreams. To ward off calamity I went ashore and distributed alms, then reboarded just before we embarked." Followed by storm and shipwreck.[50]
- Return to Istanbul after news of his father's death, 1648. "That night I saw my late father in a dream. He said: 'May your travel, commerce, and pilgrimage [see *Man of Istanbul*: The Man and the Book] be blessed. May intercession of the Prophet be vouchsafed to you. Welcome and prosper—God be praised, you have not returned empty-handed. You have become a dancing-boy in the path (*tarika*) of Er Sultan [referring to the incident narrated above]. Do not forget me in your prayers.' He made me utter the *besmele* and recite *Elhakümü't-tekasür* (Koran, surah 102)

[48] II 358a23.
[49] V 15b19; Melek 196–97.
[50] II 264b11.

three times; then I awoke." Followed by visit to his father's grave (see *Man of Istanbul*: Ancestry, Family History).[51]

– Virtual prisoner in Bitlis, 1656. "In a dream I saw my late father. 'Son,' he said, 'you will manage to leave this town and flee via Akhlat castle. Don't worry, just continue to recite the Koran.' I woke up, renewed my ablution, and at once began a complete recitation of the Koran, which I completed two days later." Followed by adventures and eventual escape.[52]
– Shrine of Hindi Baba (a holy man during Süleyman's Hungarian campaigns) in Vulkovar, 1663. "Following the evening prayer and the recital of my litanies I uttered the prayer for a dream-omen (*istihare*), along with the recital of the Mu'avvizeteyn (the final two Surahs of the Koran), and lay down. In my dream I saw a man of middle height and swarthy complexion. He approached and greeted me. I realized that it was the occupant of the shrine, Hindi Baba. When I returned the greeting, he said: 'Son, God willing you will depart in good health, carry out the *gaza*, and return safe and sound to your homeland. The infidels will take one of your slaves and your chestnut horse; but you will escape, and God will again provide you with blessings, and you will travel much in the German lands.' I awoke with my heart palpitating and my wits nearly gone from my head, wondering what would become of me. I committed all my affairs to the mercy of God, recited a Fatiha for the spirit of Hindi Baba, and in the morning sacrificed a sheep for the sake of God and distributed the sacrifice to the poor who were dwelling in the precinct of the shrine."[53]
– Ciger-delen/Párkány, 1663. "One night I was guest in the house of my friend, the castle warden of Ciger-delen. After excellent conversation I lay down to sleep and in my dream saw my late father. He said: 'My Evliya, do not be afraid of this *gaza*. Continually recite the Koran. This fortress fell as booty once to the infidels under Sultan Mehmed III, and now under Sultan Mehmed IV this Esztergom and this Ciger-delen will again fall to the infidels as booty (*ganime*) according to the word *ganime*. But no harm will come to you in the city of "Whoever enters it is safe" (Koran 3:97, referring to Mecca).'" Followed by the victorious campaign; Evliya thanks God for allowing him to be present at this battle and having it turn out as in his dream; and also recalls the dream at the tekke of Hindi Baba in Vulkovar when the saint appeared to him and said: "My Evliya, you will carry out the *gaza* and will get much booty; but do not be afraid: you will be victorious."[54]

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[51] II 369b15.
[52] V 9a36; Bitlis 344–45.
[53] VI 61a19.
[54] VI 99b27; 106b28–32. "According to the word *ganime*": no doubt a chronogram is intended; but *ġānime* comes to 1096 (= 1685), whereas the action being described took place in 1074 (= 1663).

– Village of Kara-alp in Crimea, near Kerç, 1666. "As I lay sleeping in this village, a sparse-bearded Tatar stood on the opposite shore of the Taman Sea (i.e., on the Taman peninsula across the Azov strait) and called out to me: 'Evliya Akay (Tatar for Evliya Agha), cross over to this side with Mehmed Giray Khan, this is good and secure country.' He stood there in my dream, waving his hand and summoning me to cross the channel. I awoke with a start and, seeing that it was morning, performed the dawn prayer and then related the dream to my host, who was a pious individual, and asked him to interpret it. 'I tell you with my hand on my head,' he said (i.e., swearing it was true), 'the one who summoned you across the strait was me. Now cross over with Mehmed Girey Khan and take refuge with the sultan of Daghistan. The Ottoman sultan Mehmed Khan is going to remove Mehmed Girey Khan from office, and so Mehmed Girey Khan must go to Daghistan. You go with him and then come back to me.' Thus did he interpret my dream. 'May it be auspicious,' said I, and recited a Fatiha."[55]
– With Mehmed Girey Khan in Baghche-saray, 1666. "On the third night of the noble festival (3 Ramazan 1076/9 March 1666) I saw in my dream Kör Yusuf Dede, the person whose blessing I had received in Eski Kırım; and my host in the village of Kara-alp, the one who had waved to me and summoned me across the strait saying 'Go with the khan to the sultan of Daghistan.' They said: 'Do not rise up in rebellion against the Ottoman. In the morning go with the khan to Daghistan, let him be safe and sound, then you, Evliya, return to Crimea and let the khan remain in Daghistan. They will bring the khan's body to Crimea hereafter.' I awoke with my heart in my throat and, although it was not yet dawn, I went to the khan immediately, since it was the night of the festival. With a *besmele* I recounted my dream to the khan, exactly as I had seen it. 'May God make it auspicious,' cried the noble khan. He summoned the imam of the great mosque, Arab Imam, and related my dream, word for word, to that shaikh. 'God and His prophet know better,' said the shaikh. 'You will go on a journey toward Daghistan, or else you will go on a hunting expedition in some mountainous region (*dağlı taşlı yerler*) of Crimea.' Thus he tried to put a good construction on the dream. He concluded with a Fatiha and went home." Followed by Mehmed Girey Khan's dismissal; Evliya accompanies him to Daghistan.[56]
– The Crimean steppe near Azov, 1667. "While hunting here with my servants and companions and mastiffs and hounds, we ran across a wild horse. It was large and fat, the size of a Mahmudi elephant. I and my companions shot this horse with seventeen arrows and seven or eight bullets, but it still kept fleeing. Gradually the wounds took their toll and the horse slowed down, so that one of my *gulam*s shot it in the girth, at the ruddy shoulder (? *kızılca koltuk*), with a matchlock bullet. It fell once

[55] VII 142b29 = 688.
[56] VII 143b12 = 692.

or twice to its knees and rose again. Finally I hamstrung it and, together with my companions, slaughtered and cut if up and shared out the pieces. The reason I am relating this adventure is that, as God is my witness, I once had a dream during my childhood in which I was out hunting with hounds in a grassy plain, just like this Kipchak Steppe region, and I shot arrows at a wild horse and killed it. Now, forty-seven years later, my dream came true in this place, and I shot wild horses twice. It was quite a marvel!"[57]

– Doyran in northern Greece, 1668. after one of his *gulam*s had run off in Gümülcine/Komotini with some gold: "In my quarters at night I fell asleep amidst a thousand morbid thoughts. I dreamed that an old man came and woke me up, and I continued to see him with my tearful eyes as he sat down on my bed just as in my dream. 'Son,' he said, 'welcome to our city of Doyran—it will give you your fill (*doyurur*) of your property and your *gulam*. Just keep reciting the Koran for our spirit's sake. Why are you scouring hill and dale, wandering at random in these thickets and these perilous roads? Turn back. On your way to Gümülcine you will find your slave and your money. And from Gümülcine you will take your other servants and make haste to join the Crete campaign. In the third year you will be present at the conquest of Candia. Then, until the end of your life, you will travel in the lands of the Arabs, and will go to Mecca and Medina. And you will attain the happiness of both worlds.' So saying, he disappeared. One of my *gulams*, who had awoken in the meantime, said: 'Master, who were you conversing with? And the doors are locked from the inside; where did this man come from? And now where has he disappeared to?' God be praised, I felt a surge of strength in my body and tremendous joy at this good news. I looked at my watch: it was just after midnight. I uttered a prayer and remained wide-eyed until morning." He apprehends the slave and the gold in Kavala.[58]
– After reciting the victory *ezan* in Candia, 1669. "In the year when the Ghazi and martyr Yusuf Pasha conquered Hanya/Canea I had a dream in which Candia was conquered and I recited the *ezan* with sword in hand. God be praised, my dream came true twenty-five years later when I was vouchsafed to be the first to recite the victory *ezan* upon the walls of Candia."[59]
– Demirci, 1671, after two slaves had run off and efforts to find them had failed. "One night, when I was a guest in this city, I uttered the prayer for a dream-omen (*istihare*) and lay down to sleep. By divine wisdom and the blessing of prayer, I saw in my dream Şeyhi Çelebi, in whose house I had stayed as a guest when I was in Kula. At the time of my depar-

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[57] VIII 189b24 = 7.
[58] VIII 210b16 = 96, 214a6 = 109.
[59] VIII 304b1 = 464. Hanya was conquered in 1645; for Evliya's account, see II 268b–276a; he does not mention this dream there.

ture from Kula, when I had bid him farewell, he had said: 'Soon you will again be a guest in my house: I will ease your troubles, I will circumcise one of your slaves, and I will hand him over to you with the good news.' 'God willing,' I had replied, 'if I am enabled to travel to other cities as well, I will return to yours.' Now in my dream, by God's wisdom, I saw him grasp my hand with his own noble hand. 'There,' he said pointing, 'your *gulam*s are being kept in that vineyard. Let me be the first to congratulate you. I told you to come back to me, so come in the morning without fail and stay as a guest in my house.' I awoke with a start, renewed my ablution, and performed two prostrations of the compensatory prayer." He apprehends the two slaves in Kula.[60]

– Cersinqa in Sudan, 1673, after being informed that he could not travel across the desert to the Maghreb. "I was very upset. That night I uttered the prayer for a dream-omen (*istihare*) and lay down to sleep. I dreamt that I was mounted on a camel foal and riding at random in the wilderness amidst elephants and rhinoceri. I came to a big thicket. Suddenly a large camel appeared and began chasing me. It caught up and mounted on top of me, while I was mounted on top of the camel foal! The little camel fled and I was left under the big camel, terribly distressed. Amidst the commotion I recalled the Koranic verse 'And whoever trusts in God, [He will suffice him]' (65:3) and I recited it. The camel on top of me leapt off and ran away. Feeling my strength renewed I chased after this camel, caught up with it and grabbed hold of it. Tying its neck with a sword-strap, I climbed up a ruined minaret, mounted the camel, and went off to Abyssinia with my companions. When I awoke I interpreted the dream by divine inspiration to mean that it was auspicious for me to return to Egypt, and I gave up the notion of travelling to Fez and Marrakesh."[61]

Such dreams were certainly elaborated in the telling, and may have depended on an overly-devloped sense of *déja-vu*. But there is no reason to doubt that when distressed Evliya sought the comfort of divine inspiration in a dream, and that he frequently received it.[62]

Conclusion

The two discourses suggested here may be seen as two ends of a spectrum. At one extreme, Evliya reports observations that in principle could be verified by anyone who took the trouble to check.

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[60] IX 25a16 = 51.
[61] X 431a27 = 928; FUNC 234.
[62] See *EI*^{2} "istikhāra" (T. Fahd).

Here he appeals to eyewitness, "the eye of certainty." He is the systematic measurer and note-taker, with his instruments ready at hand: prayer-beads for counting off paces, spyglass for determining things beyond eyeshot. At the other extreme he reports observations—dreams, sorceries, portents, saintly miracles—that cannot be verified, that are open to manipulation by the reporter in order to rouse the listener's wonder or amusement, or that serve to display his own literary skill. In between are marvels of various kinds—cures, talismans, alchemical operations, magical performances—which, while perhaps subject to rational explanation, may also be creditworthy to various degrees.

The Ottoman elite, Evliya's patrons and audience, had a hunger for the entire range of observations that Evliya purveyed so skillfully. Book illustrations, for example, show the same range: from minute and careful observations of everyday life, to imaginitive depictions of the marvelous and the fantastic.[63] The *Seyahatname* is a huge example on the literary level of this Ottoman mentality, which oscilates between a down-to-earth realism and a love for "marvels and wonders."

[63] Examples of the first are *Surnames* or festivity books which depict the parade of guilds before the sultan; see Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı* (Istanbul: Koçbank 1997) and Esin Atil, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival* (Istanbul: Koçbank 1999). Examples of the second are books depicting prophetic miracles and the wonders of the afterlife; see Metin And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslam Mitologyası* (Istanbul, 1998).

AFTERWORD

OTTOMAN UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE WORLD IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Gottfried Hagen

Evliya Çelebi's world view is informed by a centuries-old lore of Islamic and Turkish historical and geographical interpretation.[1] In this essay I will outline some essential components of this lore and its transformation during Evliya's time, in an attempt to evoke something like the spirit of the age. I will let Ottoman sources speak for themselves, for the most part using texts contemporary to, or at least popular in, Evliya's time. While it might be debated, for any given source, how representative the text is, it is beyond the scope of this essay to quote all the parallels; yet I will indicate what I consider ideas peculiar to a given author. In the discussion of historical facts derived from Ottoman original sources modern scholarship tends to ignore the cosmos of ideas in which the events are reported. Even where longer selections of sources have been made available, elements of these ideas often appear only in fragmentary form as rhetorical elements, and are likely to be dismissed as such. Here the goal is to demonstrate that these snippets are part of a larger complex of ideas which shapes the very perception of events. I will first survey the world-picture; proceed to general concepts of history and the Ottoman historical self-image; then point out some religious developments; and finally discuss some Ottoman contacts and exchanges with the European West.

Ottoman world interpretation organized the knowledge derived from experience of the world in four dimensions. The experience of space uses the two horizontal dimensions, and the resulting description of our world is called geography. The dimension of time yields

[1] A rich if heterogeneous source for medieval Islamic worldviews is Bernd Radtke, *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im mittelalterlichen Islam*. [Beiruter Texte und Studien, 51] (Beirut, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner in Kommission, 1992).

history. The fourth dimension, the vertical, can be taken as a metaphor for the relation between man and God. As will be seen in this essay the presence of this dimension in the perception and interpretation of the "others" is a dominant feature of Ottoman culture. In other words, to keep with the metaphor, looking around (geography) and looking back (history) are inextricably linked to looking up (theology). This does not mean that the world-picture is static, as we will notice farreaching changes; nor is it unified or consistent, as some elements contradict others. Finally, it is not dogmatically exclusive: to a certain degree it allows for the integration of other ideas and is adaptable to changing perceptions.

Traditional Geography and Cosmography

In order to appreciate the Ottoman way of understanding and interpreting the world, let us begin with creation. Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican's 15th-century cosmography, after the opening section, begins thus:[2]

> Know that God—may He be praised and exalted—is One, the Everlasting Refuge,[3] the Omnipotent. He is the Creator in his might, and in his creation is pre-existent, eternal.
>
> He has no precedent, He is without beginning.
>
> He has no successor, He is without end.
>
> He is a hidden treasure, and he wished to exhibit His treasure. So He created the Throne and the Footstool and the heavens and the earths and the Tablet and the Pen, and everything. Then he created the wonders in them, and the angels, and paradise and hell, and the wonders on the earths and the Inhabited Quarter, and the mountains and the seas and the rivers, and made them flow. Then he created the trees and the stones and the realms [of nature],[4] man and jinn,

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[2] Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican, *Dürr-i Meknun. Saklı İnciler*, ed. Necdet Sakaoğlu (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 19. Although the work was written in the mid-15th century, Laban Kaptein has shown from the extant manuscripts that it was highly popular in the 17th and 18th, the earliest extant manuscript dating from the early seventeenth century (Laban Kaptein, *Eindtijd en Antichrist (ad-Daggal) in de Islam: eschatologie bij Ahmed Bican*, Leiden: Onderzoekschool CNWS, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1997).

[3] Quran 112/1; quotes from the Quran follow A. J. Arberry's poetic translation (London: Allen & Unwin, 1955, reprinted New York: Touchstone, 1996).

[4] *Emlâk*, here meaning the three realms of minerals, plants, and animals.

> so that they would acknowledge the might of the creator, and contemplate his greatness, and with their souls and tongues remember him, and worship him. As God has said: "I have not created jinn and mankind except to serve Me."[5]

The justification for the study of the world—"looking around"—was found by Ottoman authors in the Quran and in Islamic tradition. Katib Çelebi for instance quotes: "Or have they not considered the dominion of the heaven and of the earth, and what things God has created," and: "Journey on earth, and see the works of God's power."[6] More elaborately, Sipahizade, the compiler of a geographical dictionary, argued in the late sixteenth century:[7]

> All adherents of sacred laws and religions as well as all reasonable and intelligent men agree, that the greatest perfection of mankind, and the most brilliant spiritual felicity, is knowledge of the Creator in the sanctification of His essence and the transcendence of His attributes, and that this knowledge is achieved by contemplation of the originated things and their secrets, and by pondering the created things and their conditions.

Cosmography is the science of contemplating the created world in order to recognize the Creator behind it. In terms of world view, two distinct traditions merge in Islamic cosmographical writing.

One is the so called "Islamic Cosmology" which ultimately goes back to early collections of hadith on creation, cosmos, and natural phenomena, known as *kutub al-ʿazama*. As Anton Heinen has shown, these endeavors were driven by contemplative or philosophical reasoning, *tafakkur*, as opposed to *tadhakkur*, which means the recollection of existing knowledge, and thus constituted a genuinely Islamic

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[5] Quran 51/56.

[6] Katib Çelebi, *Cihannüma*, (Istanbul: Müteferrika, 1732): 9. The first quote is Quran 7/185, the second is not in the Quran, although its wording resembles familiar phrases (6/11; 30/50).

[7] University of Michigan, Hatcher Graduate Library, Special Collections Ms. ISL 215. I am grateful to the library staff who made this manuscript available to me. On the author and a list of manuscripts see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2000), 66–69; Ahmed T. Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," in: *The History of Cartography. Vol. 2, Book 1: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley, David Woodward et al. (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 221. Another manuscript is in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms.or. quart. 892, described as anonymous by Gregor Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften II. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* XVII B, 2 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), no. 195.

strain of scientific thought.[8] ʿAziz Mahmud Hüdayi (d. 1628), whom Evliya met in his youth,[9] was the founder of the Celvetiyye Dervish order, and an influential spiritual and political advisor to the sultans. Here is a brief account of creation from his book of pious instruction:[10]

> Ibn ʿAbbas said: First God created the Well-preserved Tablet which is out of white pearl. On both sides of it there is red ruby. It is unexpressably great. Then God created the Pen for the Tablet from a jewel, a five thousand years' journey long. From this Pen, instead of the ink of man's pens, light radiates. There came a call to it to write. In fear of this call it trembled like thunder. Thus on the Well-preserved Tablet all the things that will occur until judgement day appeared. The Tablet was full, and the Pen dried. Those destined to be felicitous became felicitous, those destined to be disobedient became disobedient. Then He created a white pearl as large as heaven and earth. He spoke to it. In fear of His speech the pearl melted, and turned into water from which waves surged. He spoke to the water, and it calmed down. From two large jewels he created the Throne and the Footstool, and placed them upon the waters, as He said: "And His Throne is upon the Waters".[11] [. . .]
>
> When God intended to create the Earth, mountains and seas, he commanded the wind to blow over the water. The wind blew, and the water trembled and produced waves, bringing forth foam, and the waves rose high. God ordered the foam to harden, and it dried and formed a layer of the earth. And God spread this layer over the water in two days, as he said in the Noble Quran: What, do you disbelieve in Him who created the earth in two days?[12] Then He commanded the waves, and they rested and formed the mountains. He made them the posts and pegs of the earth, as God had said: "Have we not made the earth as a cradle, and the mountains as pegs?"[13] The roots of these mountains are adjacent to that of Mount Qaf. [. . .]

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[8] On these terms see Anton Heinen, "Tafakkur and Muslim Science" *Journal of Turkish Studies* 18 (1994) (Festschrift Annemarie Schimmel), 103–10. Heinen also edited the most important representative of this tradition: *Islamic Cosmology. A study of as-Suyūtīs al-Hai'a as-saniya fi l-hai'a as-sunnīya with critical edition, translation, and commentary* [Beiruter Texte und Studien. 27] (Beirut, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner in Kommission, 1982).

[9] See *Man of Istanbul* at n. 44.

[10] ʿAziz Mahmud Hüdayi, *Khulasat al-akhbar*. This work was written in Arabic in 1025 h./1615 C.E. I am quoting from the Turkish translation by Kerim Kara and Mustafa Özdemir, *Âlemin Yaratılışı ve Hz. Muhammed'in Zuhûru (Hulasatü'l-Ahbâr). Azîz Mahmud Hüdâyî* (Istanbul: Insan, 1997), 16 ff.

[11] Quran 11/7.

[12] Quran 41/9.

[13] Quran 78/6,7.

> Then God created the Seven Seas. One of them encompasses the earth behind Mount Qaf. Each sea encompasses the next. The surface of the earth forms gulfs for these seas. God alone knows the creatures in them. Before it became stable it rocked like a ship. God sent down a strong angel and ordered him to carry the earth. The angel took it on his shoulder, and held it with one hand in the east, and one in the west, and held it by its rings. God created a stone of green corundum under the angel's feet. Under the stone he created a bull. Under that he created a fish, and under that, water. Under the water, he created air, and under the air, darkness. Here, knowledge of His creatures ends. [. . .]

Many elements in this account have a symbolic meaning. The Tablet and the Pen which stand for predestination, yet they were also accepted as physical realities. The concept of seven layered earths, the vault of the sky resting on the earth's outer border, and a cosmos resting on supernatural beings are widespread within and without the Islamic world.

The second traditions is the mathematical-geographical lore of Greek antiquity which is connected to the name of Ptolemy. Instead of the seven flat earths it assumes a spherical globe as the center of the concentric spheres which carry the heavenly bodies. One half of the globe is entirely covered with water, while the other half, extending from 0 longitude (usually the longitude of the Canary Islands) to 180 degrees longitude, east of East Asia, is mainly land. Only the northern section is suitable for human habitation and is therefore called the "inhabited quarter" (*rubʿ-i meskun, rubʿ-i maʿmur*). The southern part, which is situated in Africa, is unexplored, but known to be extremely hot. The northern hemisphere of the world is divided into parallel zones of equal latitude, called clime (ar., tk. *iklim*). The geographer Katib Çelebi explains:[14]

> The scientists have divided the world such that for the people living below the equator day and night are always twelve hours each. Then, if a country is situated further towards the north or south pole, the difference between day and night increases. Now they assumed circles of equal latitude parallel to the equator, and called the space between them a clime. Thus "clime" denotes the distance between two circles, such that in it the longest day is half an hour longer than in [the clime adjacent to it] on the side of the equator. The word clime is used to denote

[14] Katib Çelebi, *Cihannüma*, 51.

> the circle. Through this division a region's location and natural condition and difference between day and night are summarily described, since regions of the same latitude have these things in common.

The division into climes, defined through abstract mathematical-astronomical parameters, is thus used to conceptualize the experienced differences between regions and their peoples. As peoples and regions are endowed with primeval unalterable characteristics, the causal connection to the geographic location sometimes is presumed to involve the stars, as—according to some sources—each of the seven heavenly bodies rules one of the seven climes.[15]

Jan Schmidt has tentatively labeled these two traditions "unsophisticated" and sophisticated" in order to avoid the derogatory terms "popular" and "high" culture.[16] Calling them "theological" and "philosophical" would probably do more justice to the facts, since the first takes its start from pious speculation, and the second from the close observation of nature for its own sake. The theological tradition was based on a concept of causality through divine ordination, while the philosophical tradition posited innumerable individual phenomena and laws of nature which could be expressed in mathematical terms. They may appear mutually exclusive in their pure form, but what is found in texts is usually some mixture of the two. This was already the case in the Arabic texts that were translated into Turkish as early as the 14th century, and it continued with Ottoman original texts. The two classics that were widely read among the Ottomans in the original Arabic as well as in Turkish translation (and perhaps in Persian), were *ʿAjaʾib al-makhluqat wa-gharaʾib al-mawjudat* by al-Qazwini (d. 1283), and *Kharidat al-ʿajaʾib wa-faridat al-gharaʾib*, usually albeit mistakenly attributed to one Ibn al-Wardi.[17] Elements of the

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[15] See for instance Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's (d. 1600) introduction to his chronicle *Künhü l-Akhbār*.

[16] Jan Schmidt, *Pure water for thirsty Muslims. A study of Mustafa ʿAli of Gallipoli's Künhü l-Ahbar* (Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1991), 112, 129.

[17] See *EI*[2] s.v. ʿAdjaʾib; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982–), s.v. Ajaebo'l-makhluqat. On the Pseudo-Ibn al-Wardi, unduly neglected, see Rudolf Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte. Bd. 1.* Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. XVII, A, I. Wiesbaden 1976. Except for a list of translations no in-depth research has been done on the Ottoman versions: Günay Kut, "Türk Edebiyatında Acâibü'l-Mahlukat Tercümeleri Üzerine," *V. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi Bildirileri*, vol. 2/1 (Istanbul, 1985), 183–93. See also Syrinx von Hees, *Enzyklopädie als Spiegel des Weltbildes. Qazwinis Wunder der Schöpfung—eine Naturkunde des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Diskurse der Arabistik; 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

Greek or philosophical tradition are noticeable in the quote from Ahmed Bican above (the inhabited quarter), while the text as a whole is one of the purest examples of the theological tradition. A different mixture, but yet clearly a mixture, is found in the introductory section of the world history by Mustafa ʿAli, the great poet and intellectual.[18]

The title of al-Qazwini's work, meaning "The Wonders of Creation and the Wondrous among Existing Things," became the denomination for the entire genre. The pious motivation is joined by another, more worldly one, the simple enjoyment of exotic tales and marvelous events, for which there was an insatiable thirst.[19] If seen from this point of view it comes as no surprise that the earliest Ottoman book about the Americas, written around 1580, was in the form of a cosmography, in which the geographical part was limited to the new continent.[20] Ottoman geographical writing until the wholesale adoption of European science remained heavily indebted to Islamic cosmography.

Cosmographical works comprise much more than mere geography. Typically they describe the spheres and heavenly bodies, then the sublunar world, divided by the four elements, fire, air, water, and earth. In the chapter on water the ocean, the seven seas, lakes, rivers, and fountains are treated, while the chapter on earth includes geography proper, mountains and cities. Further chapters may deal with plants, scents, precious stones, and other things. A cosmography usually is framed by accounts of creation in the beginning and the signs of judgment day. Within this scope there is a limited number of topics. The focus is on those phenomena of the existing world which fit the idea of the marvelous: monuments from antiquity, the three realms of nature, meteorological phenomena, etc.[21]

The essential purpose of the cosmography—to impress the reader with the miraculous, exotic, or simply entertaining—results in an implicit tripartite division of the world, which cuts across the division of climes or historical regions. In it the own familiar milieu at the center is surrounded by foreign countries, the "others", and at

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[18] Schmidt, *Pure Water*, 111–188 passim.

[19] See Toufic Fahd, ed. *L'étrange et le merveilleux dans l'Islam médiéval.* Actes du colloque tenu au Collège de France à Paris, en mars 1974. Paris, 1978.

[20] Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990).

[21] *EI*[2] s.v. ʿAdja'ib.

the fringes of the world there are the entirely marvelous, or monstrous, creatures. In its interest in the miraculous and exotic, cosmography was paying particular attention to the unknown fringes of the world. It was there that pious speculation localized elements from legends which had no place in the known universe, but were clearly believed to exist or have existed as historical realities.[22]

According to Islamic tradition the savage people of Gog and Magog had been defeated by Alexander the Great (Iskender Zu l-karneyn), and locked behind an iron wall between two mountains, from where they would break forth again only on judgment day.[23] This wall was usually believed to be in northeast Asia and as such is found on maps in cosmographies. Mount Qaf which surrounds the inhabited world (and on which presumably the vault of the sky rests) is an element from the non-hellenic universe. Together with the Fountain of Life springing forth from it it is equally shown on maps.[24] A legendary element which Islamic geography shares with the Thousand and One Nights are the Waqwaq Islands, located somewhere in the southeast of the world, and by researchers immune to the concept of myth variously identified with Sumatra, Madagascar, and Central Asian cities. Accounts vary, but the central element is that on those islands a tree produces fruit in the shape of human (female) bodies. The only sound they give is the waq waq which has given them the name. It is said that sailors who land there sometimes pluck them, and even have intercourse with them, although, once severed from the tree they decay within a couple of days.[25] This colorful legend was seriously discussed by a man as rationalistic and critical as the

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[22] Mžik's apt term "parageographic" for these elements unfortunately never struck root: Hans von Mžik, "Parageographische Elemente in den Berichten der arabischen Geographen über Südostasien," id. (ed.), *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie und Kartographie (Fs. Eugen Oberhummer)* (Leipzig, Wien, 1929): 172–202, and more generally, id., "Mythische Geographie," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 45 (1938), 87–108.

[23] Quran 18/83 ff. See also Mžik, "Mythische Geographie", and Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, François de Polignac, Georges Bohas, "Monstres et murailles, Alexandre et bicornu, mythes et bon sens. Quelques notes," *Revue du mondes musulman et de la Méditerranée* 89–90 (2000) [Figures mythiques de l'Orient musulman, ed. Denise Aigle], 109–28.

[24] Cf. a map from the Pseudo-Ibn al-Wardi tradition in Karamustafa, Military, 209–27. It is described in the cosmographical section of *Künhü l-Akhbar*, I 162.

[25] See *Künhü l-akhbar* I 131 f. See also *EI*[2], s.v. Waqwaq; Ilhan Basgöz, "The Waqwaq Tree in the Turkish Shadow-Play Theatre Karagöz and the Story of Esther," Avigdor Levy (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994): 549–57.

17th century polymath Katib Çelebi.[26] Its popularity is attested by the fact that the janissary uprising of 1656, during which the corpses of dignitaries killed by the insurgents were hanged from a plane tree in Istanbul's central square, the Hippodrome, was remembered as the Waqwaq incident.[27]

Evliya was one of the few Ottomans who had ventured into the realm of the "others" (the Asian steppes, Austria) and even had reached the fringes of the world (Sudan, Ethiopia) to add similar mirabilia to the traditional lore. At the same time, like many chroniclers of his time he eagerly registered extraordinary and supernatural things in his own world.[28]

Knowledge of the "others" which surrounded the Ottoman and Islamic world was handed down in written sources but only few Ottomans added to it through personal exploration and travel literature. In the 1520s, a merchant named 'Ali Ekber traveled to China, and after his return produced a detailed account of Chinese administration and customs known as *Khitay-name*. In it marveling over the exotic is combined with admiration for administrative efficiency, so that it can be read as an implicit criticism of the state of the Ottoman Empire.[29] In 1554 an Ottoman naval contingent was shipwrecked in India. Its commander was an educated gentleman who easily reached out to the local princes of Inner Asian descent, who greatly appreciated his poems in Eastern Turki. The adventurous tale of his return to Istanbul gives the reader very few glimpses of Indian and Central Asian culture, but shows its author moving through a continuum of elite culture which reached from the Mediterranean to India.[30] Typically, both works stand rather detached from the rest of Ottoman

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[26] Katib Çelebi, *Cihannüma*, 153.

[27] Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, III/I (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1951), 293–4. For Evliya's account of the incident see V 5b–7a.

[28] See *Reporter and Entertainer*: Skepticism and Credulity.

[29] Ildikó Béller-Hann, "Ottoman perception of China," *Comité Internationale d'Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes. 6th Symposium. Cambridge 1.–4.7.1984. Proceedings ed. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont und E. van Donzel.* [Varia Turcica; 4] (Istanbul 1987): 55–64. Seyfi Çelebi's fancyful account of Chinese and Indian history was certainly not based on the experience of a traveler: Josef Matuz, *L'ouvrage de Seyfi Çelebi, historien ottoman du XVI^e siècle. Édition critique, traduction et commentaires* (Paris 1968).

[30] Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'âtü'l-memâlik. Inceleme, metin, indeks* haz. Mehmet Kiremit (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999); *The travels and adventures of the Turkish admiral Sidi Ali Reïs.* Transl. from the Turkish with notes by A. Vambéry (London 1899, repr. Lahore 1975).

geographical literature, and little of their information made it into the scholarly compilations. Although emissaries and spies ventured into Christian Europe their impressions remained concealed from the literary public.[31]

The Islamic world furnished mirabilia as well, such as talismans, bewitched fountains, strange buildings, ruins of buildings erected by demons and giants: Especially remnants of pre-Islamic cultures, in conjunction with aetiological legends, came in handy to supply the cosmographical interest. However, Ottoman authors were slow to add to the literary lore from their own experience.

The first to do so was Mehmed ʿAşık from Trabzon (d. after 1598). He compiled a voluminous cosmography from a number of classical sources in Arabic and Persian. A certain shift in focus manifests itself in the fact that together with cosmography proper Mehmed ʿAşık appropriated the mathematical-historical tradition of Arabic geography which was less sensational and aimed more at comprehensive coverage albeit rather brief.[32] It was primarily interested in determining exact locations in geographical coordinates (although no maps seem to have been drawn), and in cities as the seat of human civilization. Since all these sources had hardly anything substantial to say about the Ottoman domains, Mehmed ʿAşık supplemented them from what he had seen himself during several decades of travel in the retinue of Ottoman military leaders. The following description of Edirne shows the author's efforts at maximum precision, while at the same time he was extolling the building of the Selimiye Mosque as a marvel. The result, however, is less than elegant:[33]

> And then the eleventh Ottoman sultan, the mild-mannered (selim) and trustful Selim II, son of Süleyman [. . .] in Edirne on an elevated spot built an unequalled mosque and paradise-like place of worship with four minarets. This mosque is a building of such elegance that it cannot be expressed in writing. To imagine its plan and scheme is not possible from hearsay but only through eyewitness. Each of the four minarets is at one of the four corners of its four walls, and they surround the dome of the mosque. All four minarets have three balconies,

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[31] V. L. Ménage, "The mission of an Ottoman secret agent in France in 1486," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1965: 112–132.

[32] The most important name is the Syrian prince, historian and geographer Abu l-Fida al-Hamawi (d. 1331). Sipahizade, whom I quoted before, basically used his "Table of lands" (*Takwin al-Buldan*) as the basis for his compilation.

[33] Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ, Menāẓiru 'l-ʿavālim, John Rylands Library, Manchester, Lindsay Collection no. 78, fol. 195r.

> and no one is even the slightest bit higher or thicker than the others. They are equal to a degree that if the mosque is viewed from east or west or south or north from a distance of two farsakh one sees only two, but if one does not look exactly straight in one of these directions but with a slight inclination to the other the balconies become distinct, and indicate that there are four minarets. The aforementioned sultan has built a medrese to the south of this mosque for the study of the useful sciences, and a school for the recitation of the Quran to the west. Truly with these beneficent buildings Sultan Selim has given great honor and power to the city of Edirne. To the south of Edirne gardens extend for a distance of several farsakh. Other than the aforementioned beneficent buildings by the sultans Edirne has several elevated public buildings. Its thriving markets are countless in number and beyond description. Among them the market of ʿAli Pasha is built according to a strange and wondrous plan, and the bazaar is also built in a strange way. Edirne has more delightful baths than can be counted. It has a recreation area called Hızırlık which is a wonder of the world. This writer stayed in Edirne in 986 H. for a week, but then contracted a fever and could not stay longer. Then I came through Edirne again in 998 H. on my way from Kıratova to Istanbul, and stayed for two days. But it is impossible to acquaint oneself with the intricacies of its promenades and the details of its public buildings of a city of Edirne's size in so short a time. [. . .]

This section also indicates his efforts to document the veracity of all his description, in defense against charges of too much poetic license. His informations are valuable to the historian, and I assume that this was mostly the value for the reader. Rarely did an adventure of his make an entertaining narrative. Among the exceptions are his escape from captivity in the Caucasus and his visit in the Meteora monasteries, which according to Richard Kreutel was plagiarized by no other than Evliya.[34] Different from his eminent successor, Mehmed ʿAşık was no passionate traveller. He occasionally complained about the hardships of travel and prolonged absence from his native city. Very likely, he struck a chord in the hearts of his audience, as the upper echelons of the Ottoman ruling class were regularly sent back and forth from one post in the provinces to the other, so that its members were permanently on the move.[35] Again not unlike Evliya,

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[34] Richard F. Kreutel, "Neues zur Evliya Çelebi-Forschung," *Der Islam* 48 (1972): 269–79.

[35] On him see Gottfried Hagen, "The Traveller Mehmed Aşık," *Essays on Ottoman Civilization. Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of the Comité International d'Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes (CIÉPO) Praha 1996. Archív Orientální Supplementa VIII.* (Prague 1998):

Mehmed ʿAşık had much information on the amenities of daily life, such as the quality of local baths, local products such as textiles, but also flowers, and local food specialties. His notice of the slightest differences in these things reminds us that in a world where the range of products of daily consumption was so much smaller than today, people were much more sensitive to variations.

The tribulations of travelling were also on the mind of the pilgrim who wanted to perform his religious duties in Mecca. Pilgrim handbooks were written as guides to the numerous rites to be performed, and to prepare for the long and dangerous journey. While they might include bits and pieces of additional information on the places along the road, they hardly include personal reminiscence of the journey, let alone on the spiritual experience of the pilgrimage.[36]

All the writings discussed so far were essentially intended for the edification and entertainment of the reader. Even books that were intended for practical use were mainly appreciated for esthetic reasons: Piri Reis' sailing handbook of the mediterranean was never seriously revised and expanded, but by virtue of its beautiful maps ended up on the imperial coffee table next to Matrakçı Nasuh's lavishly illustrated account of Sultan Süleyman's ʿIraki campaign.[37] Throughout, factual information was appreciated as helping the individual to understand and enjoy, but geographical knowledge was not put to use on a systematic scale.

This attitude persisted into the 18th century, as manuscript copies of cosmographies attest, but during Evliya's lifetime, another strain of thought emerged, and contacts with Europe played a decisive role in this change of attitude.

145–154, and id., "Das Fremde im Eigenen—Mehmed ʿAšıqs Reisen über den osmanischen Balkan," Gabriella Schubert, Wolfgang Dahmen (eds.), *Bilder vom Eigenen und Fremden aus dem Donau-Balkan-Raum. Analysen literarischer und anderer Texte. Südosteuropa-Studie 71* (München: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 2003): 121–141. A transcribed edition of Mehmed ʿAşık's work by Mahmut Ak is awaiting publication by the Türk Tarih Kurumu.

[36] A detailed example from Evliya's time is the travelogue of ʿAbdürrahman Hibri, *Menasik-i mesalik*, ed. Sevim Ilgürel, Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi 6 (1975): 111–128; Tarih Dergisi 30 (1976): 55–72; 31 (1978): 147–162.

[37] On Piri Reis see Svat Soucek, *Piri Reis & Turkish Mapmaking After Columbus: The Khalili Portolan Atlas*. London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth and Oxford University Press, 1992 (1996 [printing]). Studies in the Khalili collection; v. 2; on Matrakçı Nasuh see J. M. Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories," *The History of Cartography. Vol. 2, Book 1: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley, David Woodward et al. (Chicago, London 1992), 228–55.

Despite its structure as a travelogue, the *Seyahatname* is closely related to the traditional Islamic cosmographies. They share the underlying theological assumption, the "looking up," although in Evliya this is often colored by irony. They also share the comprehensiveness of their interest, since a cosmographer considers virtually every phenomenon as relevant. Evliya was very thorough in collecting evidence and claimed to have verified as much as possible himself;[38] and his descriptions of cities follow an elaborate checklist.[39] This insatiable thirst for more data distinguishes him from the selectivity of earlier Muslim geographers, who rarely dedicated more than a few pages even to the major cities of the Islamic world. Finally, it is clear that Evliya shares with the more popular cosmographers the enthusiasm for the strange and the marvelous. Like them he more than once crosses over into the realm of fiction; but the tongue-in-cheek manner by which he reveals his being conscious of telling tall tales seems specific to him.[40]

Innovation in Geography: Katib Çelebi

The key figure in the field of geography was a smalltime clerk in the financial bureaucracy, mostly known as Katib Çelebi or Hacci Halife (1609–1657).[41] He was only two years older than Evliya, but, as we shall see, his antipode as a scholar and author.[42] Katib Çelebi's interest in geography originated in the war over Crete which the Ottomans had started in 1645. Katib Çelebi began to write a world geography along the lines of Mehmed Aşık, but from the outset intended to include up-to-date information on Europe and the new world. However, he had to abandon his plans when he did not find

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[38] See *Reporter and Entertainer*: Evidence.

[39] Nuran Tezcan, "Bir Üslup Ustası Olarak Evliya Çelebi", id., Kadir Atlansoy (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi ve Seyahatname* (Gazimagusa: Dogu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002): 231–43, p. 232.

[40] See *Raconteur*: Jokes, Lies, Tall Tales.

[41] On his life and extensive writing see *Kâtip Çelebi. Hayatı ve eserleri hakkında incelemeler*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. VII, 33. Ankara 1957; on the *Cihannüma* see Gottfried Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit. Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Katib Celebis Gihannnüma*, Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkvölker (ed. György Hazai), Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003.

[42] It is tempting to speculate if the two ever met. For an educated though not realistic picture of such an encounter see Orhan Pamuk's novel *The White Castle*.

sufficient sources on Europe. Only when he could lay hands on a number of European works, most notably geographical works by cartographers and geographers like Abraham Ortelius, Gerhard Mercator, Philippus Cluverius, Giovanni Lorenzo d'Anania, and others, did he resume his work, which is entitled *Cihannüma*, or "Cosmorama".[43] The second version set the standard for a new understanding of geography.

Katib Çelebi took an important step toward geography as a science of the physical appearance of the earth. In cosmography every instant, every marvel can stand alone as it attests the greatness of the creator. Now, Katib Çelebi began to synthesize the scattered bits and pieces of information in order to present a region in its entirety. For this purpose he devised a kind of checklist, which gives an idea of what he considered worth knowing about any region of the world:[44] Beginning with definitions—the name, the boundaries, internal divisions; he proceeds to the political situation—ruler, law, religion; then to the local culture: sciences, trade and commerce, art of warfare, manners and customs. The next section closely corresponds to the topics of Islamic geography: cities, famous buildings, astrological characteristics, rivers, mountains. Only now come natural conditions, which Mercator had put first: climate, flora (with a particular interest in agriculture), fauna. Finally come itineraries through the country, and a list of rulers.

Clearly, the unit in which this geography is conceived is the territorial state. The inclusion of political elements, such as an abridged history of the dynasty, and a description of the military and juridical situation were novelties. From the political situation in which this scheme was thought out it is clear that the primary object of this interest was western Europe. The Islamic geographical tradition, which Katib Çelebi had taken up and continued along with cosmography, was interested in human geography, that is, in cities as

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[43] Evliya refers several times to a triad of geographical works, *Cuġrafya* (which is Ptolemy's work as transmitted in Islamic geographical writing), *Atlas* (Mercator or Ortelius?), and *Papamonta* (from mappamundi, a world map). One is inclined to believe that he knew the latter two through Katib Çelebi, but there is no further evidence.

[44] It is largely inspired by Mercator, but adapted to his own ideas. As an itemized list it is found on the flyleaf of his rough draft, the so called Viennese draft (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. mxt. 387, no foliation). Naturally, due to source limitations it was never fully applied in any chapter of his work.

places of human activities, and places of history. Yet in the account of a region local culture and customs—in a word, ethnographical knowledge—played a minor role compared to scientific and historical facts. In such an approach, needless to say, there was no room for the entertaining digression and literary embellishment that characterize the *Seyahatname*. The *Cihanniima* was intended to provide mankind with orientation in the spatial and the historical dimension. Although Katib Çelebi believed in divine intervention in earthly matters, these were not the interest of his work: the fourth dimension is reduced to legitimating phrases in the introduction.

For Katib Çelebi geography was a scholar's occupation. Geographical knowledge was to be found in books. An overview of his sources reveals how little appreciation he had for the experiences of the traveller. He dismissed 'Ali Ekber's reports from China, which are today largely considered to be accurate, because he did not trust an unknown traveler.[45] Travel accounts, especially in literary form were highly suspicious of spinning yarns. Katib Çelebi's attitude was different towards non-literary accounts. Much of what he knew about the European part of the Ottoman Empire—if not lifted from Mehmed 'Aşık's work—seems to have come from merchants doing business there, or from Ottoman officials posted to judgeships in those regions. Such observations can be seen in a draft of the first version which he later expanded and integrated into the second version. In this draft, which often resembles a scrapbook, we find that he scribbled a description of Ohrid in Macedonia given by an informant on the back of a document which had obviously belonged to this man. Most remarkable as an example of Katib Çelebi's skeptical attitude toward personal impressions of travellers is the fact that his draft does not contain anything that originates in his own experiences, even though he marched through Anatolia several times on campaign against Erivan and Baghdad in the 1630s. The scholarly attitude towards geographical knowledge led Katib Çelebi to describe every region with the same factual, impassionate style. It is possible that the cultural consensus of his readers read a distinction between "ours" and

[45] Katib Çelebi, *Cihannüma*, 154. Yih-Min Liu has expressed some doubts, based on individual inaccuracies, but the argument that 'Ali Ekber may not have been in China is not convincing: Yih-Min Liu, "A comparative and critical study of Ali Akbar's Khitay-nama with reference to Chinese sources (English summary)," *Central Asiatic Journal* 27 (1983), 58–77.

"theirs" into Katib Çelebi's account, but a distinctly Ottoman world view seems absent in the text as we have it.

Katib Çelebi wanted to change the social function of geographical knowledge. As we have seen, knowledge about other countries served the edification of the pious and the entertainment of the elite. Katib Çelebi, in contrast, maintained that geography was primarily a practical science:

> The author of *Atlas*,[46] after briefly pointing to this issue in the preface, goes on to say that geography is one of the extremely useful sciences in human civilization and society, more important and necessary for the notables of the state and the pillars of the kingdom than any other. Some prudent scholars have preferred this sciences over all other rational sciences, because if you study books uninformed of it you are like a blind and deaf man. If a conflict arises over the borders of states this science solves the problem, and also in minor issues this science intervenes in a meaningful way. It is a wondrous science since strange things which would never cross your mind are written down in it, and thus makes man aware of the course of time and informs him on the state of countries and regions, since it presents all the climates and the peculiarities in them in detail. Especially in our times the remote regions of the world are being discovered by ships and described. Countries, rivers, islands, deserts, mountain ridges, plains, and woodlands are all depicted in their respective locations, and latitudes and longitudes of countries are correctly verified and recorded in degrees and minutes. Moreover, the strange events [in the history of] peoples of each clime in war and peace have been described accurately. Thus, this science is most useful in the conduction of politics, and whoever indulges in it will be most respected and praised.
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> The *Atlas* goes on to list a number of authors, and then, in the chapter which describes the globe, says that this science is most useful because with it the rising and setting of the stars and all their directions, the difference between day and night, the origin of summer and winter, and the location of everything that occurs in the physical world become known in the best possible way. A metaphor for the necessity of this science is this: If the owner of a large house knows all the rooms and chambers in his palace, and the stable and the kitchen and the storage and the windows and everything, but does not know in which quarter and neighborhood of the city it is situated, in case that a fire or a rebellion occurs in the city he does not know if it is far from his house, or close, and will fail to take appropriate measures. Thus it is important for him to know the environs of his house, its neighborhood, the adjacent area, even the more distant and remote

[46] Cf. Gerhard Mercator, *Atlas Minor*, edited by Iodocus Hondius, Arnheim 1612, pp. 2 ff.

> places. In sum, cosmography and geography are required for the order of human civilization and society. If someone knows its rules and maps, and can recall them, he will have learned more than someone else with thousand pains and hardships in several thousand years of travel.[47]

This idea was novel for the Ottoman intellectual, and in fact it is translated from Mercator. In another work Katib Çelebi directly attributed European military successes to their scientific and geographical superiority.[48]

Since the *Cihannüma* remained unfinished at Katib Çelebi's untimely death in 1657, the work does not seem to have reached the decision-makers of the empire. However, the idea turned out to be in line with the spirit of the age. In 1668 the Dutch ambassador presented an eleven-volume edition of Willem Janszoon Blaeuw's monumental *Atlas Maior* to Sultan Mehmed IV. His Venetian colleagues immediately feared that this up-to-date geographical knowledge could be used against them.[49] For the next years, however, the sultan seems to have restricted himself to looking at the maps, since it was only in 1675 that a translation was commissioned. The energetic grand vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha seems to have played a role in this decision.[50] The translation which was completed in 1685 is attributed to Ebu Bekr ed-Dimishki (d. 1691), a scholar who was well versed in mathematics and interested in geography.[51] Although

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[47] Katib Celebi, *Cihannüma*, 16 f.

[48] Katib Çelebi, *Tuḥfetü l-kibar fi esfari l-biḥar* (Istanbul 1329), 2–3. At the time of writing, in 1656, the Venetian navy, after several attacks over the past decade, had just dealt the Ottomans a devastating defeat at the Dardanelles and was threatening Istanbul.

[49] Heidrun Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyn b. Ğaʿfer, genannt Hezarfenn, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft des 17. Jhdts. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, 13 (Freiburg i.Br.: Klaus Schwarz, 1971), 31. Wurm also notes that in 1681 the Hapsburg court refused to provide the Sublime Porte with recent books on the Turkish wars for similar reasons.

[50] Wurm, *Hezarfenn*, 39 suggests that he might have sought access prior to the official translation initiative with the help of an interpreter at the court.

[51] He was in the possession of the autographs of the *Cihannüma*, and obviously intended to utilize them for a new and more accurate work. It was after his death that the second version of the *Cihannüma* was widely proliferated, to be printed in 1732, and thus achieved its later status as "main work" of Ottoman geography (Taeschner) (see Gottfried Hagen, "Kâtib Çelebi and Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 12 (1982–1998) (Prof. Dr. Cengiz Orhonlu Hatıra Sayısı): 101–115). The printed edition was supplemented by the editor Müteferrika from Ebu Bekr's work: Fikret Sarıcaoglu, "Cihânnümâ ve Ebûbekir b. Behrâm ed-Dımeskî-İbrahim Müteferrika," *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (Istanbul 1991): 121–142.

Ebu Bekr did not know Latin this attribution is justified because it is known that the resulting work is an expanded and improved work.[52] Next to it, several shorter versions exist, but a detailed investigation about the exact relations between these texts, and their respective scopes has not yet been carried out. The French ambassador Nointel related that during the search for a suitable translator the Chief Admiral dismissed the idea to translate all the references to Greek mythology in the chapters on Greece: The sultan, he declared, was only interested in size and population of cities and the quality of the soil.[53] Clearly, there was a utilitarian interest involved, as is evident from the following excerpt from a related work of Ebu Bekr, *El-fethü'r-rahmani fi tarz-i devlet-i 'Osmani*. This is a survey of the Ottoman Empire and its administration, comparable to a state almanach, although the historical and anecdotical side is not absent:[54]

> Next to this province is Kastamonu. The city of Kastamonu is the capital, and the capital of the Turkoman (nomads). It has mosques and bazaars and hans, and since there is a copper mine in one of its districts most vessels are manufactured in this city and shipped in all directions. Sinop is four day's journey to the north. This Sinop is a small rectangular peninsula connected to the mainland by a sandy road. The fortress and walled city are situated on that road, so that if one comes from the outside one enters through the gate on the mainland and passes through the city. The peninsula is surrounded by a mountain called Boztepe and is a beautiful promenade. A wonderful spring originates there. The old mosque has a minber, whose steps and balustrade on both sides and the gate are all from one piece of white marble, decorated with hadith. This minber is a marvelous work of art, and one of the steps has a crack more than one yard long. The reason is that Sultan Süleyman wanted to transfer this minber to the mosque he had built in Constantinople, and had begun to lift it from its place, but when at the first attempt it cracked it was pre-

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[52] G. J. Halasi-Kun, "The Map of 'şekl-i yeni felemenk maa ingiliz' in Ebubekir Dimiski's 'tercüme-i atlas mayor'," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 11 (1986): 51–70 seems to be the only detailed study so far, which finds many additional informations on the map of New England.

[53] Quoted in Wurm, *Hezarfenn*, 43.

[54] This work is a description of the Ottoman Empire, preserved in only one manuscript, today in Berlin. It is briefly announced in Ilona Dorogı and György Hazai, "Ebu Bekr Dimişkî'nin Osmanlı devletinin tarihi yapısı ve durumuna ait eseri hakkında," *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara, 5–9 Eylül 1990. Kongreye sunulan bildiriler* (Ankara 1994), 879–82. Professor Hazai is preparing an edition of this text. I am grateful that he provided me with a copy of the transliteration and gave permission to use it here.

> ferred to leave it there. In the harbor there 1,000 ships can anchor. The northern gate leads to the peninsula which is between the fortress and the sea, and the citadel is reached by a drawbridge. From the copper mines every year 10,000 batman (at nine okka each) are farmed out by the fisc. 3,000 are spent on expenses, and the rest goes to the treasury.

With some delay the fears of the Venetian ambassador in fact came true. When the army prepared for the Vienna campaign in 1683, the grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha commissioned an excerpt from *Atlas Maior* with a description of Hungary and Germany for the obvious purpose of obtaining information on the land to be conquered.[55] It is not without irony that the wideranging geographical works of Ebu Bekr have not been appreciated by later generations, while the fragmentary *Cihannüma* by Katib Çelebi turned out to be one of the best sellers of the Müteferrika press in the 18th century.[56] With Katib Çelebi and especially with Ebu Bekr, a practical and secular strain of thought became established parallel to the cosmographical tradition. The preference of the modern historian of science for the former has tended to make us forget that the religious interpretation of the cosmos continued to be a need in Ottoman society.[57]

Traditional History

In the new empirical geography of Katib Çelebi and Ebu Bekr, the Ottoman Empire no longer occupied the central position in the universe it had maintained before not only on geographical but also historical accounts.

Evliya's work bristles with allusions to all kinds of historical traditions, as historical knowledge was not only explicitly required for the highranking bureaucrats, but an integral part of Ottoman elite education—although not taught in the medreses. The more popular

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[55] Franz Taeschner, "Zur Geschichte des Djihannuma," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen. 2. Abt.* 29 (1926), 99–110, p. 107 on the Dresden manuscript.

[56] See Franz Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1919, mostly based on Giambatista Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, 3 vols., Venice 1787. I have argued elsewhere that Katib Çelebi's enormous reputation played a decisive role in this course of reception.

[57] See the classic by Abdülhak Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, 4th edition by A. Kazançıgıl und S. Tekeli (Istanbul 1982, repr. 1992).

concept of world history began with Adam and led straight to the Ottoman Empire. World history until Muhammad essentially was perceived as a sequence of prophets and revelations.[58] The first prophet was Adam himself. After being separated when they were expelled from paradise, Adam and Eve found each other again in Mecca. Here mankind began, the first law was revealed, and the first building for the worship of God, the Kaʿba, was erected. Islam is considered the natural religion, therefore the first human beings were Muslims. Subsequent prophets renewed or expanded the revelation, and at the same time brought innovations in human civilization. Adam's son Seth was the first to wage war (against Cain and his offspring), and the first to built a structure of clay and stone in the place of the Kaʿba. His great-grandson started to build houses, people started to eat meat, but also defected from Islam to worship idols. The sequence of prophets continues through Abraham and Moses to Jesus and ends with Muhammad as the "seal of the prophets." All of them preached the same religion, Islam, although some people rejected their message, or accepted and later distorted it: hence the differences between Islam and earlier religions such as Judaism and Christianity.

After the death of Muhammad the era of Muslim rule begins with the four "rightly guided caliphs".[59] A typical history of the world, like Ramazanzade Mehmed Pasha's, presents it as a sequence of dynasties, from the Umayyads and Abbasids down to the Ottomans. Later authors presented a more complex picture, but maintained the privileged position of the Ottomans in history. Müneccimbaşı (d. 1702), the last of the great world historians of the pre-modern Ottoman Empire, owes his nickname to his office as court astrologer and companion of Mehmed IV. In his chronicle, he reserved the last chapter for the Ottoman dynasty. In the introduction to it he explicitly argued the primacy of the Ottomans, which had been understood implicitly throughout the seventeenth century:[60]

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[58] There is no exact number of prophets in the Islamic tradition, the most commonly mentioned figure being 124,000, of whom only 313 were also messengers of God (mürsel), bringing divine revelation.

[59] Theoretically it begins with the hidjra and Muhammad's rule in Medina, but Muhammad is usually not portrayed as exercising worldly power.

[60] Müneccimbaşı, *Saḥā'if fī l-Akhbar* (Istanbul: Matba'a-i Amire, 1285 H.), III, 265. I am using the widespread Turkish translation by Nedim. The chapter on the Ottomans has been edited in the original Arabic and translated into modern Turkish

> Be it known that the Ottoman dynasty—may God make it everlasting with his support—is the greatest of all sultanates in its magnificence, expanse of its realm and size of its territory, sublime power, wealth of goods, beneficence, glory, zeal and power, sharpness of its sword and spear, plenty of money, troops, and weapons, and in the proper exercise of reason and righteous practice. They became the sultans of east and west, kings of the two lands and the two seas, protectors of the sacred cities. Those well-versed in the books of history know that such land as God has granted them He has not granted to anyone after Solomon. This noble family has obtained the sultanate [not through][61] wrongdoing to anybody else [but] seized all its territory from unbelievers, rebels, and evildoers. Their emergence took place in the most agreeable form, like the emergence of the great caliphs from the noble companions and followers [of the prophet]. They spent their greatest efforts exalting the word of God by campaigning against the polytheists and heretics. Thus God granted them this great kingdom gradually, and inspired them to promulgate laws (*kanun*) and to consolidate its pillars. It had happened to oppressive and wicked men like Jangiz and Timur that great kingdoms were granted to them not gradually but all at once, and this way they were lured into ultimate perdition. To sum up, this noble dynasty's virtues are numerous, and its laudable features innumerable, so that I restrict myself to this much, admitting my inability to enumerate and comprehend them all, seeking forgiveness for this.

This section combines two major elements of the Ottoman self-image as derived from history: ultimate justice which leads to a stable rule (to be discussed below), and zeal in the holy war against the infidel; both elements which Evliya also loved to indulge in. Symbolically this self-image is expressed in the famous dream in which the future world empire was announced to Osman when he was still the chief of a small nomadic tribe in northwestern Anatolia. In the chronicle of Solakzade, like Evliya a boon companion of Murad IV, it reads thus:[62]

> At that time he used to affiliate himself with the saintly mystic Shaikh Edebalı, sought his blessings and favors. One night, when he as usual

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by Ahmed Ağırakça: *Müneccimbaşı Ahmed b. Lütfullah, Cami'ü'd-düvel—Osmanlı Tarihi* (1299–1481) (Istanbul: Insan, 1995). Our passage is p. 53 f. (translation) and 6* (text).

[61] My emendation.

[62] Solak-zâde Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebi, *Solak-zâde Tarihi*, haz. Vahid Çabuk (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1989), I, 15. On the interpretation of the dream see most succinctly Colin Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth," *Turcica* 19 (1987): 7–27.

> was praising and praying to God, sleep overcame him. In his dream he saw a moon rising from Shaikh Edebali's chest, and entering his own chest. A tree sprang up from his navel, and its branches and twigs encompassed the whole world. In its shade some of the people of the world were watering their gardens, some were cultivating their fields, some were looking on, and walking around.

The tree as the symbol of world conquest here is combined with the idyllic view of a stable agricultural society and the contemplating bystanders, who seem to be Solakzade's own addition. Such an addition demonstrates that the Ottoman myth was not simply transmitted as a dead letter, but continued to live and to be adapted to changing societal needs.

Other authors added the possession of Istanbul (another point of pride for Evliya) to these tokens of Ottoman superiority. Koca Huseyn (d. after 1646), under Murad IV secretary of the imperial council (*reisü l-küttab*), says in his verbose chronicle:[63]

> The Ottoman sultans, accustomed to Holy War, were occupied with ghaza and religious warfare (mücahede ve murabata) generation after generation. Since the time of the companions of the prophet and their successors no other sultan succeeded in such ghazas and conquests as they did. The conquests of Mahmud of Ghazna and the destruction of the monastery of Somnath are recorded on the pages of history, but the conquest of the city of Constantinople which is the sultan of all cities by Sultan Mehmed the conqueror, outweighs the conquest of Hindustan, and there are several old monasteries, mosques, and temples like that of Somnath in it. The Aya Sofya which does not have no rival under the blue vault alone is [only] one of its numerous temples.

Just as the myth endowed every prophet with some emblematic properties, many of the Ottoman sultans were turned from historical individuals into idealized representatives of specific royal virtues. This is, in a nutshell, how Evliya's first patron, the dynamic but ruthless Murad IV, was remembered according to Solakzade:

> Then they set Murad IV on the throne,
> and the affairs of the sultanate gained their old balance.
> This Khosraw of ghazis came to the throne in 1032 (1623),
> this state became God's favor to this elected Shah.
> Greater in awe and firmness than his ancestors,

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[63] Khiusein, *Beda'iʿ ul-veka'iʿ (Udivitel'nye Sobytiya), Izdanie teksta, vvedenie i obshchaya redakciya A. S. Tveritinovoy, annotirovannoe oglavlenie i ukazateli Iu. A. Petrosiana* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoy Literatury, 1961): 3a.

He is "Lord of the conjunction"[64] of the world, its Sam and Neriman.[65]
He rooted out the enemies, took revenge upon the Celalis,
no one from this despicable crowd saved his life.
Showing strength he set up a wall against the sedition of Gog and Magog[66]
It is fitting if they call him a second Alexander.
Conquering Revan and Baghdad he crushed the Kızılbash.
Had he stayed alive he would have conquered Iran and Turan.[67]

Divine support of the Ottoman dynasty was not only announced in portents and dreams, but manifested itself in miraculous events, such as unexpected outcomes of battles. One of the most conspicuous cases of divine support in battle occurred at Haçova (Mezökéresztes) in 1596. There the Austrian troops had defeated the Ottomans on the battlefield, and went on to ransack their camp. The day seemed lost, when the Austrians suddenly met with desperate resistance from the household slaves of the sultan equipped only with axes and firewood. Taken by surprise they panicked, tried to flee, and many of them were driven into the swamps which surrounded the camp where they perished. As the Ottoman army regained its spirit the Austrians suffered a crushing defeat. The turnaround in this battle is described by the chroniclers (often eyewitnesses themselves, or informed by eyewitnesses) in very different ways. They attribute it to the advice of the sultan's counselor, the sheykhülislam and historian Sa'deddin (who referred to similar cases in history in which a miracle of the prophet had come to rescue), to "holy spirits" sent by God, to the prayers and the firm stand of the sultan, who had donned the Holy Mantle of the prophet, or wielded the sword of 'Ali, Zulfikar. For us there is no point in pondering what actually happened: Important is the dramatic form of the narrative and the hagiographical topoi employed to conceptualize the unexpected course of events.[68] Similar divine succor for the pious is a continuous personal experience for Evliya.

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[64] See Barbara Flemming, "Sahib-kiran und Mahdi: Türkische Endzeiterwartungen im ersten Jahrzehnt der Regierung Süleymans," *Between the Danube and the Caucasus. Oriental sources on the history of the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe*, ed. György Kara (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1987), 43–62.

[65] Persian legendary hero, great-grandfather of Rustam.

[66] See above among the parageographica.

[67] Solakzade, I, 9–10.

[68] See Jan Schmidt, "The Egri Campaign of 1596; Military History and the

On the other hand, the Ottoman dynastic myth, which is so forcefully evoked by Evliya, was seriously conflicting with political realities in the seventeenth century—in fact, this may well be the reason for his frequent references to it.[69] The frustrating experiences began with the upheaval in Anatolia known as Celali uprisings, in which Evliya himself was tangentially involved (at a later stage); continued with the traumatic downfall of the young sultan Osman II (1622); and did not end with the protracted warfare against Venice over Crete (1645–69) and the disastrous consequences of the failed siege of Vienna (1683). These events were external signifiers of a critical transformation of large sections of the Ottoman administrative and social structure.[70]

Ottoman intellectuals had no difficulties finding individual factors to blame for the political problems. In a concept of history that sees individuals as the only agents, moral qualities become key issues. Ottomans usually did not fault the sultan himself, but found that he was ill advised, especially under the influence of women, while the time-honored position of spiritual guide of the sultan, formerly occupied by men like Mahmud Hüdayi was abused by impostors and charlatans like Cinci Hoca (Evliya's former classmate). In a broader framework the primary notion in which the transformational crisis was conceptualized was that of a disrupted order, or upset balance, which brought things into movement that were supposed to be stable. In Ottoman political thought, the order of the world was built on inequality. In a moving document, a long didactic poem, the poet

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Problem of Sources," Andreas Tietze (ed.), *Habsburgisch-Osmanische Beziehungen. Ciépo-Colloque, Wien, 26.–30. September 1983. Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*; 13 (Wien 1985), 125–44, quoting illustrious historians like Peçevi, Sa'deddin, Muṣṭafa ʿĀlī, and Katib Çelebi.

[69] See his frequent references to the myth of the Golden Apple in his description of Vienna as discussed in detail by Karl Teply in the notes to Apfel and in *Türkische Sagen und Legenden um die Kaiserstadt Wien* (Wien, Köln, Graz: Böhlau, 1980). On the Golden Apple see also Stéphane Yerasimos, "De l'arbre à la pomme: La généalogie d'un thème apocalyptique," *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*, Édité par Benjamin Lellouch et Stéphane Yerasimos, Varia Turcica, XXXIII (Paris, Montréal: L'Harmattan: 1999).

[70] This is not the place to describe these transformations in detail. For a poignant description see Halil Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), 283–337. Karen Barkey's attempt to place it in a more theory-driven model of state centralization does not convince me: *Bandits and bureaucrats: the Ottoman route to state centralization* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994).

and scholar Nabi (1642–1712) advised his seven-year old son how to live a just and peaceful life. He started out describing social order:

> The groups of man exist in different classes
> With different ranks order came into being
> Without ranks whatever exists falls in ruins
> The ignoramus cannot take the place of the scholar
> Water cannot fulfill the task of fire
> Earth cannot do the wind's job
> Gold cannot do iron's work
> Sugar cannot produce salty food
> The foot cannot take care of the hand's issues
> The pen cannot take the sword's place. [. . .]
> The slave cannot do the lord's work
> Kings do not know the state of the flock[71] [. . .]
> Thus is the order of the parts of the world:
> Observe them as far as your intellect understands them.[72]

A less personal and more historical and legalist analysis of these events described the four estates on which every functioning state has to be based. The following example is from Hasan Kafi (d. 1606), whom Evliya found venerated as a saint when he visited Akhisar. He details the internal differentiation of society:[73]

> As God ordained that the world should last through the lasting of mankind, that is, that as long as mankind existed the world should exist, until the known day, which is Judgement Day, he also ordained that mankind should last through producing offspring. Offspring and [later] generations come from social and sexual relation; this however is only possible with money, and money is obtained only in business relations, that is, people do only exist due to business and trade relations. Thus a need arose for a form and rule, through which the issues of mankind would always be dealt with in the most appropriate and easy way. When this need arose, the old sages, the intelligent ones among them, by virtue of divine inspiration, divided mankind into four classes. One of the four they assigned the sword, one the pen, one sowing and harvesting, one crafts and trade. They made kingship and lordship the administration of all these classes [. . .].

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[71] My emendation; Kaplan's reading is: They don't know the situation of the flock of the kings.

[72] Mahmut Kaplan, *Hayriyye-i Nâbî (Inceleme—Metin)* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1995) vv. 20–24, 27, 33.

[73] Mehmed İpşirli, "Hasan Kâfî el-Akhisarî ve Devlet Düzenine Ait Eseri *Usûlü 'l-hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Âlem*", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 10–11 (1981), 239–278, 251.

This picture of four estates is idealized; it is not so much a model to be realized by each ruler on earth as a concept of how any human society works. As such it has to be taken into account by the ruler. Important is that it encapsulates the general idea of justice, which in Ottoman is synonymous with balance—*'adalet*. Justice thus means to treat everybody according to his preordained place in society, and not to allow transgressions of the rights of others. At the same time, the image of man, and of officials in particular, is one of a weak person, corrupt, greedy, easy to lead into temptation. It is the task of the ruler to hold such officials in check: this notion pervades Evliya's complaints of injustice.[74]

This notion of a human condition deeply entrenched in injustice and suffering gave rise to some very pessimistic outlooks. The Sufi and judge Veysi (d. 1628), whom the young Evliya met as an old man,[75] wrote a mirror for princes for Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617). This "Dreambook" of 1608 depicts a conversation between the sultan, to whom Veysi intended to give advice, and the legendary ideal of powerful rule, Alexander the Great. Sultan Ahmed complains about the problems of ruling justly in a time when the world is in ruins after forty years of warfare, the sedition of banditry burns peoples hearts, offices are given to unqualified men, uprisings occur everywhere, subjects hate the military because of high taxes, the sultan's servants refuse to obey, etc. To this description of the Ottoman crisis Alexander responds:

> O sultan of the world, from the jewels of words, which you arranged on the string of speech it is understood that the workshop of the world should have been flourishing and prosperous in the times of previous kings, and only in the time of your reign should have become ruined and devastated; that is, in the time of the sultans of the past these servants and subjects were tranquil in the corner of abstinence, and only in your felicitous time have they become ruined in the desert of misfortune. No, by God and the Lord of the Ka'ba! Ever since the waterwheel of the sky has revolved over the field of power, the world has not remained stable in one situation. O sultan of youthful fortune, if this faithless world is the world I used to know, it has never been flourishing and prosperous in the day of any king, nor did the people of the world ever find safety from its evildoing. When has the world which we call devastated in our days ever been flourishing and prosperous?

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[74] See *Servitor of the Sultan*: Ottoman Critique.
[75] See *Man of Istanbul* at n. 50.

Alexander goes on to give an overview of world history to make his point, and concludes:

> O my sultan, from the era of Adam until this moment, every day a major event happened which to hear causes depression. [. . .] The calamities and misfortunes which are registered on these pages in every period originate from the evil intentions of the subjects, and kings cannot do anything about it.[76]

This conclusion is intended to encourage the sultan to pursue justice in his rule despite all difficulty. The gloomy diagnosis of history as an unbroken chain of violence on one hand is reminiscent of Shi'i ideas of suffering of the pious, the most popular Ottoman manifestation of which is Fuzuli's *Hadikat as-su'ada*. On the other hand, this pessimism resonates with Evliya's attitude towards warfare as senseless bloodshed.

An Alternative View of History

In the seventeenth century an alternative view of history emerged which helped to conceptualize the lost balance of the social order, but ultimately could have resulted in a removal of the Ottoman Empire from the center of the cosmos in analogy to its new geographical position. Inspired by the Arab historian Ibn Khaldun (first received among the Ottomans in the 16th century)[77] Ottoman historians from ca. 1600 onwards gave up the linear development of world history in favor of a multilayered simultaneity of dynasties. These were united by being subject to the same regularities of history. In its late form this theory compared the state to the human body. The four classes Akhisari had defined were likened to the four bodily humors as known from Galenic medical theory. Moreover, the development of the body from childhood through youth, adulthood, maturity, to

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[76] Veysi, *Xab-name ("kniga snovideniya")*, ed. F. A. Salimyanov (Moscow, 1976), 114, 177.

[77] For traces in the sixteenth century historian Bostan see Petra Kappert, "Zur Charakteristik osmanischer historisch-narrativer Quellen des 16. Jahrhunderts" *XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 28. September bis 4. Oktober in Freiburg I. Br.* Ed. Wolfgang Voigt. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Supplement III (Wiesbaden, 1977), 1204–09. The later use of Ibn Khaldun is discussed by Cornell Fleischer, "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and 'Ibn Khaldûnism' in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18, nos. 3–4 (1983), 198–220.

senility provided a model of stages through which every state would go. Naʿima (d. 1716), author of a very valuable chronicle of the Ottoman Empire from 1591 to 1660 explained in his systematic introduction to history:

> The divine verse 'we created you by stages' (Quran 71/14) points to this. The natural life of man is assumed to take place in three stages, the age of growth, the age of maturity, and the age of decline. But since strength or weakness of the constitution differ, the age of decline of someone of weak stature occurs earlier than that of someone of a stronger constitution. Now, man's social manifestation which is the state, also exists in these three stages, a period of growth, a period of maturity, and a period of decline, and these three periods can also differ. Therefore, some earlier polities before long ended up in decline, and some of them—like the young man struck by a calamity—passed away in their mature age because of the calamity of bad policy. Others, of strong constitution and firm structure like this sublime state, prolonged their fate, and their period of maturity passes late. These three periods have their signs, both in the individual and in society. The expert councilors directing public affairs know them and act accordingly in curing the [ill] health, and administering the medicine, because it is the general rule in the treatment of bodily and spiritual [diseases]; otherwise he would take the wrong measures.[78]

Typically seventeenth century Ottoman authors saw their polity in the last stage, idealizing the age of Süleyman the Lawgiver as the period of maturity.[79] However, the analogy was not pursued to the final consequence that the state would vanish, just as every human being must die. Even Katib Çelebi—usually very skeptical—did not rule out that a strong ruler could revert this seemingly inexorable fate.[80]

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[78] *Naʿima Tarihi*, 6 vols. (Istanbul, 1281–83/1864–66), I 27 f. Later in the same chapter Naʿima develops a more detailed scheme based on five stages. This is discussed in detail by Lewis V. Thomas, *A Study of Naima*, ed. by Norman Itzkowitz. New York University Studies in Near Eastern Civilizations; 4 (New York: New York University Press, 1972).

[79] Cemal Kafadar, "The myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman historical consciousness in the post-süleymânic era," H. İnalcık, C. Kafadar (eds.), *Süleyman the Second and his time* (Istanbul: Isis, 1993), 37–48.

[80] Katib Çelebi, *Düsturü l-ʿamel li-ıslaḥi l-khalel*, printed as an appendix to ʿAyn ʿAli, *Ḳavanin-i Al-i ʿOṣman*, Istanbul: Ebu Ziya, 1280 H., 119–140. A modern Turkish version is Kâtip Çelebi, *Bozuklukların düzeltilmesine tutulacak yollar* (*Düsturu l-ʿamel fi islahi l-halel*), tr. Ali Can, Ankara 1982. A German translation is W. F. A. Behrnauer, "Hâgi Chalfa's Dustûru'lʿamel. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Finanzgeschichte," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 11 (1847), 111–132, 12 (1847), 330.

In its ultimate consequence the concept of comparative history with its focus on historical patterns and regularities implies that the Ottomans were a dynasty like every other, subject to the same laws of the rise and fall of states. This meant that the Ottomans would have lost their privileged status in world history, just as the new empirical geography put them on the map as one polity among others. It has to be said, however, that (to the best of my knowledge) no author drew this conclusion explicitly. Yet it is clear that this understanding of history is fundamentally different from Evliya's or Müneccimbaşı's depiction of the Ottomans as an "elected state", although the latter clearly was aware of the intellectual framework of Ibn Khaldunian history.

The same concept of history provided the main frame of reference for the advice literature and mirrors for princes, which flourished in the seventeenth century, addressing the grievances noted before as political problems. I will not discuss their practical suggestions in detail here.[81] Suffice it to say that the common denominator of the suggestions for reform was a return to a classical age of balance, embodied in the famous "circle of equity".[82] Return to the *Shari'a*, as the safeguard of justice and reasonable government is advocated by most authors, including Veysi. Strikingly, the idea of a return to the old way, *kanun-i kadim*,[83] is not really compatible with the "laws" of history as derived from Ibn Khaldunian "comparative history" but as both are based on cyclical models they are used side by side.

[81] Recent scholarship has quite unanimously rejected the idea that the crisis of the seventeenth century actually indicated a decline, and has shown that the traditional division of Ottoman history into three phases of rise (until Selim I), classical time (mainly Süleyman the Lawgiver) and decline (ever since) actually goes back to Ottoman political writing of the seventeenth century. Although this is certainly true it begs the question why the Ottomans themselves described their problems in these terms. The complex of ideas outlined before suggest that these were the available notions in which present events could be conceptualized.

[82] See Fleischer, "Royal Authority."

[83] A term in desperate need of a thorough study. For some significant occurrences see Jan Schmidt, *Mustafa 'Ali's Künhü'l-Ahbar and its preface according to the Leiden manuscript* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1987), 11; Baki Tezcan, "The 1622 Military Rebellion in Istanbul: A Historiographical Journey," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 8/1–2 (2002): 25–43, p. 42.

Religious Currents

While Nabi advised his son to retreat into private and contemplative life as the consequence of the immorality of the times, and authors of advice-to-kings books hoped to improve the head of the state, another movement earlier in the century took to radical activism from below. Birgivi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1573) had opined that the Quranic command of enjoining right and forbidding wrong was incumbent on every believer.[84] Under the preacher Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1635), a fellow townsman of Birgivi, who had come to Istanbul, this command was taken literally. Kadızade preached against smoking and coffee, two commodities widely associated with the Turks today, but introduced not too long before Evliya's time.[85] He also attacked Sufi practices like visits to saints' tombs, whirling, singing, and the like, dismissing all of it as illicit innovation. Such criticism was not really new; new was that Kadızade gained a following among guards of the palace, among shopkeepers in the bazaar, and others, and that these people were eager to enforce their view of strict orthopraxy on the city. They disrupted sermons in the mosques, attacked dervishes, and even obtained permission to tear down some dervish lodges. Although Sufi networks and Sufi sympathies were ubiquitous in the Ottoman establishment, the Kadızadeli movement (or at least certain issues on their agenda) time and again found resonance with the leadership of the state. Murad IV prohibited smoking and drinking coffee. Evliya's protector Melek Ahmed Pasha and the sheykhulislam Behai Efendi, neither of them hostile to the Sufi orders, allowed the Kadizadelis to proceed against dervish lodges, but soon retracted.[86] An attempt at an armed uprising was quelled in 1656 by Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, but soon afterwards a new generation of Kadızadelis gained the favor of his son, grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, and

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[84] Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 323–330. See also id., *Forbidding Wrong in Islam: An Introduction*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003.

[85] See Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses. The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 1985); Lutz Berger, "Ein Herz wie ein trockener Schwamm. Laqanis und Nabulusis Schriften über den Tabakrauch," *Der Islam* 78.2 (2001): 249–293. The range of topics is described in *The Balance of Truth by Katib Chelebi*, translated with an introduction and notes by Geoffrey L. Lewis (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957).

[86] Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeeth-Century Istanbul," *Near Eastern Studies* 45 no. 4 (1986): 251–269.

wielded considerable influence on state affairs. Vani Efendi as their leader managed to realize a great deal of his agenda, but there was no further violence. After the desastrous Vienna campaign of 1683 Vani Efendi fell from grace and died in exile shortly afterwards.

The Kadızadelis are mentioned here not only because Evliya was confronted with consequences of their activism,[86a] but also because they seem to pose a specific response to the Ottoman experience of the period. If considered in the framework of ideas discussed above, it is evident that their analysis and suggested solution was decidedly ahistorical, if not anti-historical. Return to the practice of the time of the prophet would erase the entire historical experience and accumulated culture. The clash between this view and that of the Ottoman elite is illustrated by an anecdote reported by Naʿima:[87]

> A witty man who used to frequent the sheykhs in worldly affairs asked: You are going to abolish good innovations and all bad innovations. To wear these pants [*çakşır*] and drawers are innovations, too. Are you going to abolish them? Türk Ahmed [a Kadızadeli leader] responded: Of course, we will immediately prohibit them. People should don a waist-wrapper or a waistcloth [*izar* ve *peştemal*, like the towels used in the bathhouses]. The fellow asked again: The use of spoons also is an innovation. What are you going to do about it?—We will prohibit it immediately, they should eat with their fingers. This is not crude, why can't they take the food into their hands?—The witty fellow was surprised and mused: Gentlemen, so you want to strip people [of their clothes] and turn them into bare-assed desert-Arabs who eat with their fingers.

The historical sources do not offer a ready answer why a movement which basically propagated centuries-old ideas of righteous behavior was so successful in the mid-seventeenth century.[88] Some expressions in the openly hostile account of Naʿima suggest that the permanent feeling of crisis in Ottoman society worked as a catalyst for a movement that claimed to rectify public morals since moral deviation was a plausible explanation of political trouble. Their protest against Sufi

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[86a] See Man of the World: Tolerance and its Limits.

[87] Naʿima VI 237 f. Thomas, *A Study of Naima*, 131 counts it among Naʿima's original sections, although at least an oral informant must have been involved.

[88] Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600–1800). Bibliotheca Islamica. Studies in Middle Eastern History. 8* (Minneapolis 1988) points to the frustrating career perspectives for low ʿulema, but this neglects the following outside the juridical and theological establishment.

rituals, their objection against the institutions of Sufi orders while appreciating the mystical experience[89] foreshadow trends which are characteristic of modernity in religion: rationality and interiorization,[90] which is why Birgivism or Kadızadeli Islam became one of the most influential strains of Turkish Islam.[91] It is interesting to note that Katib Çelebi had an affinity for Kadizadeli thought, since his work represents another aspect of proto-modernity, even secularization.

Marc Baer has explained the influence of Vani Efendi on the Ottoman palace, especially on Mehmed IV and his mother Turhan Valide Sultan, as a new "turn to piety."[92] This piety, as we have seen, was not content with individual struggle for closeness to God but resulted in an attempt to purify Islam and Muslim society in its entirety. Therefore, the conversion of non-Muslims became a central tool for the sultan to demonstrate his own piety, and the legitimacy of his sacralized rule. While conversion had been a regular phenomenon in Ottoman society, it was only now that it assumed a political dimension. More or less forced conversion was imposed on individual Christians as well as on Jews in exposed offices (such as the court physicians). The great fire of Istanbul in 1660 provided a welcome opportunity to expel the Jewish inhabitants from central quarters in Istanbul and to islamize that space, most symbolically through the completion of the Yeni Valide Mosque in Eminönü. Mass conversions in the Balkans also begin in the same period. Such

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[89] See Bernd Radtke, "Birgiwis Tariqa Muhammadiya. Einige Bemerkungen und Überlegungen," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 26, no. 2 (2002) (Barbara Flemming Armağanı), 159–74.

[90] Gustavo Benavides, "Modernity," *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 186–204.

[91] It is more than likely that this is the religion which is promulgated by the scholars from Of who are the subject of Michael Meeker, *A Nation of Empire. The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). I am basing my assumption on a series of treatises by one Mehmed Emin b. Hasan el-Ofi, published at the beginning of the twentieth century, and reprinted recently under the title *Necatü l-mü'minin*. The lasting influence of Birgivi's teachings is documented in Rudoph Peters, "Religious attitudes towards modernization in the Ottoman Empire. A nineteenth century pious text on steamships, factories and the telegraph," *Welt des Islams* 26 (1986), 76–105. I have rejected the comparison of Birgivism with European pietism earlier, and would rather endorse the parallel to Puritanism as pointed out by Ahmed Yaşar Ocak, "XVII. yüzyılda Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda dinde tasfiye (Püritanizm) teşebbüslerine bir bakış: Kadızadeliler hareketi," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları* 17–21/1–2(1979–83): 208–225.

[92] Marc David Baer, *Honored By the Glory of Islam: The Ottoman State, Non-Muslims, and Conversion to Islam in Late Seventeenth-Century Istanbul and Rumelia*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2001.

a political emphasis on orthodoxy seems hardly compatible with the indications of a secularization as mentioned above, yet can be understood also as a countercurrent in the same process of renegotiating the role of religion in the public.[93]

The Kadizadeli movement was not the only religious upheaval in the Ottoman Empire. In 1665 the Jewish community was shaken by the advent of the mystical messiah Sabbatai Sevi. Sabbatai Sevi, son of a merchant in Izmir and a charismatic kabbalist, had had visions of divine vocation since 1648, but only in 1665 his "prophet" Nathan of Gaza convinced him that he was actually the expected messiah. In the following year, Sabbatai Sevi attracted followers from everywhere in the Jewish diaspora, including Western and Eastern Europe, largely through the penitential enthusiasm of his tracts and sermons. He intentionally violated the most sacred laws and abolished the major Jewish festivals. The Ottoman authorities imprisoned him in Gallipoli in 1666; they first allowed him to continue preaching, but when they saw public order threatened—be it because of the conflicts within the Jewish community or because of Sabbatai Sevi's claim that he would take the crown from the ruler and put it on his own head—they swiftly brought him to the court in Edirne and forced him to convert to Islam. He lived there, with a nominal office, and under the close surveillance and protection of Vani Efendi, the Kadızadeli advisor to the Grand Vizier. The fundamental change of Ottoman policy towards unruly religious groups appears to be largely due to the latter's influence. Instead of execution of the leader and suppression of his followers they forced the leader to convert to Islam. Sabbatai Sevi remained at the court in Edirne until 1672, when he was banned to Albania, where he died in 1676.

Earlier messianic movements inevitably would have petered out after the apostasy of their leader. However, as Gershom Scholem in his seminal study of Sabbatai Sevi has argued, this time the tension between outer and inner truth was resolved by deliberately construing it as a paradox, which is a rational strategy, and by interiorization, as the movement had struck roots too deep to let it collapse like its predecessors.[94] Sabbatai's adherents followed him in this act

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[93] It should be added here—as Benavides, "Modernity," has emphasized—that secularization by no means implies a weakening of religion, but rather strengthens it by giving it its own realm.

[94] Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi. The Mystical Messiah 1626–1676. Bollingen Series; XCIII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980): 687 ff.

in great numbers, so that Sabbatianism continued to exist in a nominally Islamic garb, while Sabbatai Sevi himself continued to study the Kabbalah and to preach in synagogues (mainly conversion to Islam, as the way to salvation).[95]

Gershom Scholem has repeatedly pointed out parallels between Sabbatianism and Christian and Muslim mysticism, while he rejected the idea of direct Christian or Muslim influence on Sabbatianism. Yet there is sufficient evidence that Sabbatianism did not emerge in a vacuum but was conditioned by social circumstances and current religious tendencies in the Ottoman Empire and Europe. Neither Orient and Occident, nor Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, were separated from the other by watertight boundaries. In addition to the multiple connections of the Ottoman Jews to the communities in the West, Italy and the Netherlands in particular, the ongoing struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism spilled over to the Ottoman world. In the first half of the century this took the form of a fierce competition over influence on oriental Christianity. French Jesuits and Capuchins, backed by the French ambassador and directed by the notorious Congregatio de Propaganda Fide were facing Dutch and British Protestants. The conflict culminated when the patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lucaris, issued a confession of faith which brought him close to Calvinism. After a dramatic series of schemes and counter-schemes Lucaris was executed in 1638.[96] On the other hand orthodox communities in Syria concluded a union with Rome. More than in articles of faith, these groups seem to have been interested in symbolic capital which they could use in renegotiating local religious autonomy.[97]

Throughout, a growing discrepancy between religion as a social practice, and religion as system of beliefs made itself felt, as the latter was more and more individualized and "privatized." The religious attitude which contemporary observers like the British consul in Izmir, Paul Rycaut, perceived as Cryptochristianism, and which allegedly

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[95] Despite the outward coincidence I would therefore separate Sabbatianism from the socially conditioned conversion movements on which Baer has collected detailed evidence.

[96] Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity. A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968): 259–288.

[97] Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

even had an Islamic name—Hubmesihilik; not attested in Ottoman sources—emphasizes the prominence of Jesus in Islam, and may be based on a subjective re-reading of tradition.[98] The most extreme case of religious subjectivism is atheism as the last consequence, where systematic reasoning about religious ultimately leads to the denial of God. The respected scholar Mehmed Lari was officially executed in 1665 as a confessing atheist. It is told that he used to greet his friends with the exclamation "*yok*" meaning "there is no God".[99] A few decades later, Lady Montague, the wife of the British ambassador in Constantinople, wrote home from Edirne: "The most prevailing opinion if you search into the secret of the effendis is plain deism but this is kept from the people who are amused with a thousand different notions, according to the different interest of their preachers."[100] The idea that most of the elite Turks were in fact deists, meaning that they denied God's "immediate ongoing personal relation with the world," should not be taken at face value, but certainly indicates that the role of religion in their life was changing.[101]

East and West

It would be a worthwhile effort to study the numerous intersections between the three great religions and between East and West in Evliya's time in detail. Special attention would have to be paid to the question to what degree parallel developments occurred due to internal dynamics, and to what degree an exchange of ideas took place. Even the latter of course would only be possible if the recipient side offers a soil in which a new idea can thrive. Here, however, we have to limit ourselves to pointing to the role of groups and individuals who participated in these exchanges.

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[98] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler (15.–17. Yüzyıllar)* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998): 228 ff.

[99] Ocak, *Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, 247 ff., Wurm, *Hezarfenn*, 1972: 68. Lari was executed because he had transgressed a political boundary, as he was suspected of leading others astray and causing unruliness.

[100] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters* (London: Virago, 1994), p. 62.

[101] Francis Schüssler Fiorenza and Gordon D. Kaufman, "God," *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 136–159, 146. Lady Montague is also quoted, together with other sources, in Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (McGill University Press, 1964, reprinted London: Hurst, 1998), 28.

Social and political conditions did not constitute obstacles to contact. On the contrary, trade relations developed so vigorously that the Jewish community which had maintained a privileged position as mediator between Venice and the Ottomans largely lost its importance in the course of the seventeenth century.[102] Greeks from the Phanariot aristocracy went to study in Italy, and later found employment as interpreters and as physicians in the Ottoman palace. Men like Panayotis Nikusios and Alexandros Mavrokordatos were affiliated in particular with the Köprülü family of veziers, and were instrumental in some of the translation efforts of scientific literature, like the Atlas Maior mentioned above. Information from or about the West seems to have been received in a highly selective way. It is impossible to know, unfortunately, what kind of information was transmitted along with commercial goods, but it is safe to say that nothing made it from the orally transmitted realm of practical knowledge into the scriptural tradition of the Ottoman curriculum.[103] Ottoman science at the same time opened itself to Western findings. The wholesale import of modern geography and cartography has been mentioned before. In medicine, beside Mavrokordatos, we may mention Musahib Mustafa Pasha, who was a close companion of Mehmed IV for more than twenty years. He provided patronage to several poets, Nabi among them, but he was also a friend of the Venetian representative (bailo), who helped him during a severe illness by sending him his physician. Evliya's admiration for Western medical achievements as expressed on the occasion of his visit to Vienna thus dovetails with the experience of the Ottoman elite. The historian Peçevi (d. ca. 1649–50) expressed his admiration for printing with moveable letters, but his implicit hope that it would be introduced to the Ottoman Empire, came true only a century later.[104]

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[102] A most useful survey of these contacts is Suraiya Faroqhi, "Die Osmanen und ihre Kenntnisse über Europa im 'langen' 17. Jahrhundert: Ein Forschungsbericht," *Krieg und Frieden in der frühen Neuzeit. Die europäische Staatenordnung und die außereuropäische Welt*. Ronald G. Asch, Wulf Eckart Voß, Martin Wrede (eds.) (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001), 485–502; also ead. *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: Tauris, 2004).

[103] The only noticeable exception is the description of China by 'Ali Ekber, while for instance the impressions of an Ottoman secret agent in France in 1486 remained locked up in the palace archives (Ménage, "Mission of an Ottoman Secret Agent").

[104] Peçevi, *Tarikh*, Istanbul 1864–6, 1: 106–8. The reason is still being debated. See Rudi Paul Lindner, "Icons Among Iconoclasts in the Renaissance," in George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle, eds., *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 89–107, and Lutz Berger, "Zur Problematik der späten Einführung des Buchdrucks in der islamischen

Converts were the most likely group instrumental in exchanges between Europeans and Ottomans. We have mentioned the French Jesuit or Capuchin who converted to Islam and ended up helping Katib Çelebi with his European atlasses and other sources. An Italian, known only under his Muslim name Nuh ibn Abdülmennan became chief court physician.[105] A particularly interesting example is Albert Bobovsky (or Bobovius), born in Poland and educated as a captive page in the Ottoman palace. He was in charge of the pages' choir, and was employed as an interpreter, until he was expelled for excessive drinking.[106] Probably through the Dutch representative Lewinus Warner he was in contact with the Bohemian prostestant reformer Johann Amos Comenius, and contributed to his missionary efforts by translating some of his works into Turkish. Warner, who had also befriended the atheist Mehmed Lari, became pivotal in an effort to translate the Bible into Turkish. The first attempt was commissioned to an Istanbuliot Jew, known as Haki, then, for unknown reasons, a second translation was commissioned from Bobovsky.[107] Bobovsky also provided French and English clerics and diplomats with information on the Ottomans, and on Islam. Remarkably, he continued to live as a Muslim, and composed religious poetry in Turkish.

Men like Bobovsky and Warner lead us to the intellectual circles in the Ottoman capital which maintained contact with Europeans without any involvement of the state. The intellectual circles within the Ottoman elite in the capital were not very numerous, and it is fair to assume, that almost all contemporaries mentioned here met one another at some point. Still, the network of Ottoman intellectuals had major and minor nodes. The circle which is best documented first formed around the sheykhülislam and poet Zekeriyazade

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Welt," in: Ulrich Marzolph, ed., *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient* (Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002), 15–28.

[105] Wurm, *Hezarfenn*, 23.

[106] See Cem Behar, *Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar* (Istanbul: Pan, 1990); Bobovi also left one of the most detailed descriptions of the inner sections of the Topkapi Palace (Fisher, C. G., Fisher, A. W., "Topkapı Sarayı in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Bobovis's Description," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10 (1985 [1987]), 5–81), clearly made for Europeans. It is also reported that the sultans were interested in European music, and that violin was taught in the palace.

[107] See Hannah Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible Translation by Yahya bin Ishak, also called Haki (1659)* (Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1994), 365–82, and id., "A 17th Century Jew Demanding His Due," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 26, no. 2 (2002) (Barbara Flemming Armağanı), 155–58.

Yahya Efendi (d. 1644), and was later continued by his nephew Vişnezade Mehmed ʿİzzeti. Typically for the intellectual life of the time it was thus not directly linked to the court. Here several influential ʿulema met with scholars like Katib Çelebi, and later with Ebu Bekr and the historian Hüseyn Hezarfenn. Several Europeans had access at least to individual members. Hezarfenn especially seems to have systematically maintained contacts to Europeans. Bobovsky translated Greek and Latin sources for his work on Byzantine history. For social contacts no interpreters were needed, as these men knew Turkish and often other Islamic languages as well. They include the Dutch representative in Istanbul, Lewinus Warner (whose collection of oriental manuscripts is the foundation of Leiden University Library), the orientalist Antoine Galland (who later introduced the *Thousand and One Nights* to the European public), several diplomats, and a universal scholar like Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, who wrote a number of works on the Ottomans and their culture, although he is today best known as a hydrographer and founder of the Academy of Sciences in Bologna. Marsili on the other hand also met the court astronomer and historian Müneccimbaşı and exchanged recent geographical findings with an unnamed cartographer in his workshop.[108] Several of the thinkers quoted above were also part of these networks of crosscultural exchange, or at least close to them. In other cases only fragmentary evidence exists: Thus we know that one of the atlases Katib Çelebi used for his magnum opus came from the estate of a member of another prominent ʿulema family, the Karaçelebizades.[109] Therefore we have reason to believe that many more contacts than those outlined above actually existed. Interests in science, geography, and history emerged as the common denominators in these encounters.

The social setting of the intellectual exchange with Europe indicates another significant transformation which affected Evliya's world.

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[108] At that time, the Copernican system had for the first time been discussed in an Ottoman text (although probably not known to Müneccimbaşı); transfer of astronomical knowledge became more prominent with the visit of the Ottoman ambassador to Paris, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi, to the Paris Observatory. See Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Ottoman Science in the classical period and early contacts with European science and technology," *Transfer of modern science & technology to the Muslim world. Proceedings or the International symposium on "Modern sciences and the Muslim world" . . . (Istanbul, 2.–4. 9. 1987). Studies and sources on the history of science. 5* (Istanbul 1992).

[109] Otherwise they seem to have been rather detached from the circles mentioned here.

The sixteenth century had seen the most important intellectuals in the highest ranks of society, directly connected to the court. Sheykhülislams like Kemalpaşazade (d. 1534) and Sa'deddin (d. 1599) had excelled as historians, as had the pivot of the arts of the chancery, Celalzade Koca Nişancı (d. 1567). Court officials were appointed to celebrate the military deeds of the sultans in the style of the *Shahname.*[110] The most renowned poet, Baki (d. 1600), had been promoted to the rank of kadıʿasker, immediately below the sheykhülislam. Not to be promoted to a bureaucratic post appropriate to his skills as a writer had caused lasting frustration in Mustafa ʿAli.[111]

In the seventeenth century, such intellectual activities shifted to circles of a different social composition. The court-appointed historian disappeared, and the tradition of courtly chronicles trickled out with Karaçelebizade ʿAbdülʿaziz (d. 1658). Instead, more and more men from the middle and lower ranks of the bureaucracy and the *ʿilmiye* became visible as authors, which would otherwise have gone unnoticed by Ottoman biographical sources. Some of them legitimize their writing through their particular closeness to the events. Thus, the most vivid account of the downfall and murder of Sultan Osman II in 1624 was written—or, as Gabriel Piterberg has argued, told orally—by a janissary officer, Hüseyn Tuği, clearly not a skilled author but compelled to write by his experience.[112] A page of the palace, Mehmed Halife, wrote a (rather incomplete) history for his fellow pages.[113] Other authors, far away from the court, set out to compile chronicles of the Ottoman Empire, or of the world. The best known is Katib Çelebi, the small clerk with a fragmentary and privately acquired *medrese* education, but the same is true for his continuator, ʿIsazade, as well as Hezarfenn and many others.[114]

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[110] Chr. Woodhead, "An Experiment in Official Historiography: The post of Sehnameci in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1555–1605" *Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 75 (1983), 157–82.

[111] On his career and outlook see Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[112] See Gabriel Piterberg, "Speech Acts and Written Texts: A Reading of a Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Historiographic Episode," *Poetics Today* 14, no. 2 (1993), 387–418, and the critique by Tezcan, "The 1622 Military Rebellion".

[113] Buğra Atsız, *Das Osmanische Reich um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Nach den Chroniken des Vecihi (1637–1660) und des Mehmed Halifa 1633–1660* (München: Rudolf Trofenik, 1977).

[114] On Katib Çelebi as a historian see Bekir S. Kütükoğlu, *Kâtib Çelebi "Fezleke" sinin Kaynakları* (Istanbul 1974), and Hagen, *Osmanischer Geograph*. On ʿIsazade and

The general impression is that historiography, as a major genre of prose literature, but also as an essential way of world interpretation, was being decentralized and "privatized". It seems that not all of these works were submitted to powerful personalities acting as maecenas, as had been customary previously. Instead they circulated in the intellectual circles of the capital, such as the one around Vişnezade ʿİzzeti and Hüseyn Hezarfenn. The writers of mirrors for princes were not the grand viziers any more (such as Lutfi Pasha in the sixteenth century) but small time financial clerks, like Koçi Beg and Katib Çelebi, and *ʿalims* like Hasan Kafi. Contemporary observers noted that most Ottomans despised converts, yet such status-consciousness did not prevent some intellectuals from seeking contact with them.[115] I suggest, although it needs to be investigated in detail, that the secularist and modernist tendencies noted before emerged specifically from this new stratum of "middle-class" intellectuals.[116]

Evliya regarded the Köprülü family as political adversaries. His enmity may be simply due to his affiliation with Melek Ahmed Pasha, who had been sidelined by the Köprülüs; but he may also have sensed that some elements the Köprülüs stood for were threatening his own world. It was the Köprülü family which patronized much of the cultural transfer from Europe, and at the same time paved the way for the third generation of Kadızadelis to farreaching political influence.

On the other hand, Evliya himself may be counted among those authors who only in the seventeenth century find their own voice, and whose ideas and experiences were not deemed appropriate to be written down in earlier periods. His writing in the first person is part of this.[117] One of his successors, Osman Agha from Temesvar, author of several autobiographical works (an account of his adventures in German captivity among them) which are so highly inter-

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his relation to Katib Celebi see Johann Strauss, *Die Chronik des ʿIsazade. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Historiographie des 17. Jahrhunderts. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen. 108* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1991).

[115] Behar, *Ali Ufkî*, 21.

[116] Despite their being part of the ruling class they cannot realistically be counted among the elite. The ideas developed here are inspired by Max Weber, *Sociology of Religion, Introduction by Talcott Parsons, With a new Foreword by Anne Swidler*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

[117] See Cemal Kafadar, "Self and others: The diary of a dervish in seventeenth century Istanbul and first person narratives in Ottoman literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), 121–50 on the comparatively small genre of first-person narratives.

esting to the modern reader, was even less appreciated than Evliya. Yet the fact that Evliya and Osman Agha did write at all indicates a changing social background and a softening of the rigid norms of genre prevalent in Ottoman literature.

The shift in social background coincided with a shift in style. Instead of the sophisticated ornate prose cultivated by Kemalpaşazade, Mustafa ʿAli,[118] and Karaçelebizade, these new seventeenth century historians wrote in a rather simple and straightforward style. To get the message across had priority over elegance of expression.[119] A man like Naʿima who was capable of high registers of ornamental prose still used simple style as a specific device when he rendered direct speech of the actors in his narrative. Evliya's prose style which combined the simple description with the more vivid and ambitious narrative fits into these general trends although his playful attitude adds a layer of irony that is absent from the general historians.

The sense of humor and irony present in Evliya's work can also be seen in a larger perspective. Anecdotes have their place in biographical works, in particular biographies of poets, while the dilettante historians mentioned above write rather dry and factual narratives. In that respect the anecdote about the Kadızadelis, which was quoted from Naʿima above, stands out by virtue of its irony and sarcasm. It draws a fundamental divide between the Kadızadeli with their literalist interpretation of the Islamic tradition, and the Ottoman elite to which the witty interlocutor, Naʿima, and his audience, including—potentially—Evliya, belonged.[120] By distancing themselves from these "others" they at the same time reinforced the cohesion of their own we-group which was essentially built on a cultural consensus. A quite worldly appreciation of *savoir vivre* led this elite to renegotiate the application of the Islamic tradition which they of course knew no less than the puritanist activists. Countless anecdotes preserved

[118] Andreas Tietze, "Mustafa ʿAli of Gallipoli's Prose Style," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 5 (1973): 297–319.

[119] I disagree with Rhoads Murphey, "Ottoman historical writing in the seventeenth-century: A survey of the general development of the genre after the reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603–1617)," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 13 (1993–94), 277–311, p. 278 who sees the new simple style as a sign of increasing independence from Persian models. The dichotomy of Turkish limpidity vs. Persian florid expression does not do justice to 17th century realities.

[120] Evliya's gloating account of Kadızade's death is quoted in Hagen, *Osmanischer Geograph*, 35.

not only in Evliya but throughout Ottoman biographical literature attest to the degree the cultural consensus was intact. A sense of humor and irony can only function where farreaching mutual understanding is guaranteed, as they are based on the tension between what is said in words and what is implied. The anecdote shares this element of the ambiguous, of double entendre and pun, with the language of lyric poetry.[121] Moreover, the anecdote told above illustrates the wide limits of tolerance. Taken literally, it smacks of blasphemy, as do several of Evliya's, yet they were obviously transmitted and savored in a milieu in which the personal piety of the individual participant was not questioned. Again, a literal reading of poetry by the most renowned religious dignitary of the century, sheykhülislam Zekeriyazade Yahya Efendi, defies religious dogma in its praise for wine and intoxication yet expresses deep attachment to Islamic mysticism. Cases in which the unwritten boundaries of tolerance were exceeded were rare. One is the poet and notorious satyrist Nef'i: A severe thunderstorm was taken as an indication of divine disapproval of his satires, and he was dismissed from his post. He soon regained the favor of Murad IV, but before long the grand vizier who had been lampooned once more in a recent poem managed to have him strangled in 1635.

Irony requires consensus, but also puts a distance between the observer and his object. Yet, in the face of the farreaching innovation, of social transformation, political turmoil, religious confusion, in other words, in the face of shaking grounds of the old Ottoman world view, one wonders if Evliya's permanent evocation of the Islamic four-dimensional world view, and the irony of his narrative, could not be read as indications that he was preserving in his work a world that he knew was about to vanish.

[121] Walter G. Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song. Ottoman Lyric Poetry* (Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 1985).

GLOSSARY

N.B. The spelling of Turkish terms and proper names follows that of modern Turkish (thus Mehmed Köprülü for Evliya's Mehemmed Köpürli, *kapıkulu* for Evliya's *kapukuli*, etc.). But in the footnotes a more scientific transcription is used. Note that *c* is pronounced like English j, *ç* like ch, *ş* like sh. Words like pasha, vizier, khan, agha and caique that are ingrained in English have not been altered.

agha — title of officials

akçe — asper, a small silver coin, the basic unit of the older Ottoman monetary system

askeri — belonging to the "military" or non-tax-paying Ottoman establishment

aʿyan — town notables

bedestan — covered market, an enclosed stone structure in the center of a bazaar with shops for precious textiles and jewelry

bey — a military title, governor of a *sancak*

besmele — the formula "In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful," recited when undertaking an activity

boza — a beverage made of fermented millet

celali — name given to rebels against the Ottoman state

çelebi — title given to Ottoman gentlemen

çiftlik — farm estate

efendi — title given to members of the religious or bureaucratic organizations

evkaf — plural of *vakıf*

evsaf — name given to town descriptions

eyalet — an Ottoman province

ezan — call to prayer

Fatiha — the first surah or chapter of the Koran, often recited as a prayer

fetva — fatwa, legal opinion issued by a *müfti*

gaza — holy war or jihad, a term used for Ottoman military campaigns

gazi — one who engages in *gaza*, a term used for an Ottoman soldier

gulam — slaveboy

guruş	piaster, groschen: a foreign (Venetian or Spanish) silver coin worth about 80 *akçe*
hadith	a traditional saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad
hammam	Turkish bath
han	an inn or caravansary
has	an imperial grant to a governor, a *timar* providing an annual income of over 100,000 *akçe*
iç el	interior of the country as opposed to the frontier
imam	prayer-leader; one of the twelve successors to the Prophet recognized by the Shiis, and also honored by the Sunnis
imaret	public building; soup-kitchen
kadi	qadi, judge in a Shari'ah court and administrative governor of a *kadi* district
kapıkulu	designation of the sultan's servitors
kaziasker	title of the chief religious officers of Rumelia and Anatolia
khan	a title of the Ottoman sultan; Safavid provincial governor; Kurdish tribal ruler
kıble	the direction of Mecca, south
Kızılbaş	pejorative name for Shi'is or Safavids
kul	designation of the sultan's servitors, especially the janissary troops
makam	musical mode
medrese	theological school
mihrab	prayer niche in a mosque
mimber	podium in a mosque
musahib	boon-companion, royal companion
müezzin	caller to prayer
müfti	jurisconsult and head of a legal school in a region
mütevelli	administrator of a *vakıf*
padishah	a title of the Ottoman sultan; a great ruler
pasha	title of high-ranking members of the Ottoman elite
sancak	sandjak, a sub-province or county of an *eyalet*
sarıca, segban	irregular military units
sipahi	mounted cavalry
Sunna	Prophetic custom
surah	chapter of the Koran
Shari'ah	the Islamic sacred law, administered by a *kadi*

shaikh	title of the head of a religious order; Arab tribal chief
şeyhülislam	title of the chief *müfti* of Istanbul, the senior officer in the Ottoman religious hierarchy
tarikat	Sufi brotherhood
tekke	dervish lodge
timar	a grant of land in exchange for military service (see *zeamet* and *has*)
Ulema	religious personnel, including *kadi*s, *müfti*s, *imam*s, etc.
vakıf	endowment for religious or charitable purposes
valide sultan	title of the reigning sultan's mother
vilayet	same as *eyalet*
voyvoda	voyvode, a military agent appointed by a governor to oversee tax collection in a *kadi* district
yayla	summer pasture
yörük	bureaucratic name for Turkmen nomads in western Anatolia and eastern Rumelia
zaviye	dervish lodge
zeamet	a *timar* providing an annual income of over 20,000 *akçe*

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ADDENDA

pp. 29–30 Add to the list:
—[Concerning El-Hatib Zakiri] It was from him that I learned the *zikr*, *Gülşen-i vahdetde dâ'im açılup cân bülbülü.* (I 141b31)

p. 39, line 33 the plague that Armağani Mehmed Efendi wrote about: For this incident see I 113b, IV 396b.

p. 52, line 5 he tends to omit them altogether (as e.g. the churches of Istanbul): He does briefly mention the churches of Galata at I 129a30.

p. 54, line 22 "spirituality" (*ruhaniyet*).: And note his judgment about the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem: "The wonder is that with so much beautiful adornment it lacks spirituality, it is more like a tourist attraction" (IX 223a27 = 493, *ḥikmet bu kim bu ḳadar zīb ü ziynet ile rūḥāniyet yoḳdur, gūyā bir temāşāgāhdır*).

p. 69, line 20 the name Muhammed: He mentions a Jewish physician in Buda who boasted of poisoning forty people named Muhammed (I 47b23).

p. 93, line 9 no great builder (no imperial mosque): see I 62b13 for Evliya's explanation of this.

p. 121, n. 17: He again refers to himself as Evliya-yı Gülşeni in an Arabic prayer for the saints of Hebron (IX 232b4 = 513).

p. 135, n. 52: He also says that he served for three years as Koran reciter (*eczā-ḫān*) in the mausoleum of Selim I and as cantor (*devir-ḫān ve naʿt-ḫān*) in his mosque (I 100b1).

p. 137, n. 55: Note the three sources for his knowledge of musical instruments mentioned at I 208b21: 1) observation in the course of his travels; 2) mingling with musicians during the period when he was "in love" (*deryā-yı ʿışḳa ġavvāṣ olduğumuz maḥalde āşüfte ve ālüfteligimiz ḥasebiyle*); 3) recourse to Nihani Çelebi's *Sāznāme.* The use of the tambourine is mentioned again at IX 256b1.

p. 155, end Add to the list under 3060:
—buildings attributed to Miʿmar Sinan I 90b26

p. 181, n. 47: The prophet Ḳaffāḥ is also buried in Tarsus! (IX 153a2 = 330, 153b3 = 331).

p. 190 Add to the list:
—Medina, fortifications: "slowly, with pen and penbox in hand." (IX 279b15)

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