EVLİYÂ ÇELEBİ

Studies and Essays
Commemorating the 400th Anniversary
of his Birth

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# 21 Evliyâ Çelebi’s Perception of the New World

Hakan T. Karateke

In Volume 10 of the Seyahatnâme, while describing the Qaitbay Mosque in Cairo, Evliyâ Çelebi relates a legend about a rock with an imprint of the Prophet Muhammad’s foot upon it. In the story, Sultan Ahmed I (reg. 1603-17) issues a firman ordering that the rock be brought to Istanbul and placed inside a mosque that was being built under his direction and with his financial backing (the present-day Blue Mosque). An admiral by the name of Murad Reis is charged with retrieving the rock, but when he arrives in Cairo and prepares to move it, a terrible storm sweeps through the city. Although Murad Reis interprets this storm as a divine omen to leave the rock in its place, he is duty-bound by the renewed imperial order to fetch it back to Istanbul. After a difficult sea journey he delivers the rock and it is displayed to the public at Eyüp Mosque. Sultan Ahmed himself visits the rock with great reverence.

That night, the sultan dreams that all of the Muslim rulers through the ages are gathered in the presence of the Prophet Muhammad. In the dream, Sultan Qaitbay, the builder of the mosque in Cairo which formerly housed the rock, complains about the Ottoman Sultan to the Prophet. A long string of accusations, arguments, and deliberations follows. Finally Qaitbay suggests that Egypt be taken from the Ottomans as punishment for the theft of the rock. However, the Prophet, acting as the arbiter of the dispute, rejects Qaitbay’s proposal and tells him: “By God’s will, eighty-eight Ottoman sultans will rule until the Mahdi appears. They will conquer and rule over Egypt and all the infidel lands. When they achieve that, there will be no Christian left on this side of the earth (bu rûy-i arzda). They will all immigrate to the New World (Yeni Dünyâ). This event will augur the approaching end of the world.” Sultan Ahmed awakes from his dream and decides to return the rock to Egypt. (X.Y137a)

The most interesting aspect of this vignette for our purposes is the prophesy that Evliyâ writes into the end of the Sultan’s dream — the Prophet’s reference to the New World. Taken in conjunction with the two other occasions in the Seyahatnâme when the New World is mentioned as a non-Muslim abode, we cannot dismiss the reference as a mere literary device.

In Volume 5 Evliyâ relates that the Prophet Muhammad is invited by the unbelievers to a feast. He walks up to the house, climbs the first of four steps in the doorway, and greets the people inside. Upon the unbelievers’ invitation to enter the house, the Prophet remains on the first step and says: “Four worlds will be discovered on earth. The stair I am standing on now is our [the Muslims’] world and will suffice us until Judgment Day. You unbelievers will be exiled to worlds that will be discovered in the future” (V.35b).

Finally, in Volume 3, Ibn ‘Arabi (d. 1240), who was often invoked for prognostications in Ottoman culture, foretells that the entire old world will be conquered by the year with the numerical value of the word ganîm (“plunder”), which corresponds to 1100, or 1688-1689 CE. By that time, only Muslims will remain in this part of the world; the New World will be discovered and all the Christians will immigrate there and perish (III.149a).

Evliyâ’s invocation of the New World in the Seyahatnâme is a fruitful source of inquiry. His references shed light not only on Evliyâ’s personal views but on contemporary Ottoman perceptions of the New World. Taken at face value, these particular passages seem to express a hope that the Western European lands will be conquered (Evliyâ is explicit about this hope on other occasions, e.g. VI-II.203a). He describes the New World as a place to which Christians will immigrate, either voluntarily or under duress. Here he diverges from the anonymous author of the Tarihi Hind-i Garbi (History of the Western Indies), written in the early 1580s, who expresses a wish that Muslims will one day capture these lands. There is a century-long gap between these authors; Evliyâ’s perceptions were no doubt shaped by current realities, e.g. the Eu-

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1 Cümle nasârâ Yeni Dünyâ bulunan anda gidip nasârânın dâr-i behvârlar olâ.
European immigration to the New World. One wonders whether Evliyâ presented the New World as a refuge of last resort for lowly Christians in order to discredit it in the eyes of his readers. If the New World was presented as a place for Christians and unbelievers to relocate and eventually perish, as attested by the good news of the Prophet of Islam and the authoritative mystic Ibn ‘Arabi, then we can safely surmise that it would strike the reader as an undesirable place.

However, a closer reading suggests that there may be more to his remarks. Could the words Evliyâ puts into the mouth of the Prophet, that “this old world will suffice for the Muslims until Judgment Day,” be a lament for a lost opportunity of the Ottomans who missed out on the material wealth of the newly discovered territories? An interpretation of this sort would not be out of place. As Robert Dankoff has suggested, a certain amount of criticism is perceptible in Evliyâ’s narration of the encounter between Sultan Bayezid II (reg. 1481-1512) and the two priests, Padre (a Spaniard) and Kolon (a Portuguese) who, according to Evliyâ, discovered the New World. As the story goes, the explorers arrive at the Ottoman encampment during the siege of the Akkerman fortress. They predict that Bayezid will conquer the fortress, that his son Selim will take possession of the Holy Land and Egypt, and that his grandson Süleyman will capture the “Golden Apple.” They further prognosticate that the Ottomans will eventually control this entire part of the world. The priests have one more piece of good news to deliver: they have found a pleasant new land 7000 miles west of the Strait of Ceuta. After telling him that the land is abundant with gold and other precious minerals, the priests invite the Ottoman sultan to conquer it.

Bayezid replies that the “conquest of Mecca, Medina, and this world is enough for us. No need to go to faraway places!” When the sultan declines the offer, the priests approach the Pope. The rest, says Evliyâ, is history: eighteen kings, mostly Spanish, English, and Flemish, claimed lands in the New World (V.35b; X.Y252a).

If Evliyâ was indeed lamenting the fact that the Ottomans missed out on the wealth of the New World, he would have been in good company; similar sentiments were expressed in the 17th century by others as well. There are grumblings to this effect in 17th century marginal notes to the Târîh-i Hind-i Garbi manuscripts. A note in the Topkapı Palace Library copy makes the prescient remark that the Muslims are mostly still unaware of the conquests in the New World, and that the malign consequences of their obliviousness will soon be apparent. The notes end with an oft-used expression of despair: BA’de harâbi’l Basra. ci fâide! (“Then it will be too late, what good will it be?”) It seems safe to suppose that this outlook on the New World may have been commonplace, at least among educated Ottomans. Evliyâ mentions the ongoing turf wars between the European kings who staked claims in the New World — which makes it clear that he was well aware of the prospects for extreme wealth in the Americas (X.Y252a; cf. V.35a).

The traveller relates other stories that paint a picture of the New World. He claims to have met and conversed inLonçat (Rotterdam?) with “New World men” confined to a ship that sailed to and

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5 Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 1488, 3a; Goodrich, The Ottoman Turks and the New World, 351, note 4. The marginal note may be in the hand of Efendi Mustafa Efendi (d. 1622 or 1623); cf. Thomas D. Goodrich, “Marginalia - A Small Peek Into Ottoman Minds,” Türkülik Bilgisi Araştırmaları 29 (2005), 190. This manuscript was in the possession of several intellectuals, e.g., Katib Celebi and Ebu Bekr b. Behram Dimışki, before it ended up in the palace library; cf. Hagen, “Kâtib Celebi and Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi.” I am grateful to Gottfried Hagen who made the pages with the marginal notes of the Revan manuscript available to me. He had previously obtained these from Thomas D. Goodrich — to whom I also extend my thanks.

6 ... üç bin altmış pâre kal’alar inşâ olunup hâlâ ma’adin hududlararşcyan cümle krallar birbirleri ile Yeni Dünyada ceng-i azim etmedediler.
from the New World. These “short hairy people” curse Padre and Kolon, the discoverers of the New World, and bemoan their own fates: “Our world used to be a tranquil place; the greedy people of this world came and overran ours. Our lives have been cut short from constant warring” (X.252b). Elsewhere Evliyâ provides more information about the indigenous inhabitants of the New World. Based on the accounts of people he met in Lonçat who travelled to the New World, there are seventy kinds of people there who in no way resemble the inhabitants of the Old World. Their stature, features, complexion, gait, gaze, and manner of speech are utterly different. Unlike the languages of the Old World, which are based on twenty-nine letters, the people of the New World speak in guttural sounds that cannot be put to paper. Evliyâ writes that some tribes communicate, like the sages of yore, by holding hands, or merely by looking at one another (IV.241b).

Evliyâ’s description of the indigenous people of the New World may seem fantastic to a modern reader. Many of his details, however, were current in the popular accounts traded in the Mediterranean ports, where information and hearsay about the New World spread quickly. Undoubtedly these accounts were in circulation in Istanbul and other Ottoman port cities as well. If Evliyâ really had been to Lonçat, we could easily accept that he met two indigenous people from the New World. If he himself did not meet the men, he knew, at least, that they were often taken to this particular port. We do not know where or from whom Evliyâ might have heard of encounters with captives at the New World ports. We know, though, that he liked and appropriated them, positioning himself as the person who actually conversed with these indigenous people.

He might have taken the tales from sailors or Mediterranean merchants, or from the rumors trafficked in palace circles.

I do not think it likely that Evliyâ extracted his details from written sources, as his contemporary Katib Celebi did. This is probably why Evliyâ’s New World accounts seems limited and superficial compared with the written descriptions concurrently being read in the Ottoman capital. They rather give the impression of being a product of oral transmission and culture. (We must not forget, however, that Evliyâ was deliberate in his retelling and reinterpretation of other accounts, always using his own unique creativity.) He does not refer to the books that we know were in circulation among some literati in the Ottoman capital. If Evliyâ had read the Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi or a similar source thoroughly, we would expect a careful observer of his caliber to weave more detailed information into his own account. That he patently did not do so suggests that it is unnecessary to look for the roots of Evliyâ’s perceptions of the New World in written sources.

Since Evliyâ’s interpolation has the indigenous people in Lonçat complain about lives foreshortened by fighting, he likely had some knowledge of the atrocities taking place in the New World at the time. By the mid-17th century, more than 90 percent of the native populations of Meso- and South America had been killed, either by genocide at the hand of the conquistadors or by

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7 Kreutel thinks that Lonçat may be Rotterdam; cf. Im Reiche des goldenen Apfels: des türkischen Weltenbumblers Evliyâ Celebi denkwürdige Reise in das Gieuwenland und in die Stadt und Festung Wien, anno 1665. Translated by Richard F. Kreutel; expanded and edited by Erich Prokosch, Karl Teply (Graz, 1987), 273-76. Evliyâ refers to this port city several times in the Seyahatname.

8 Dünyânâmî bir âşide dâneyân iken bu dâneyân âdemleri gibi tama kâr kövuni dûnyânâmî doldurup her sene ceng ede ede îmrâmîz kîsa oldu.

9 For a reader’s note correcting the information in the Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi with the facts that he had gathered from merchants traveling to India see Goodrich, The Ottoman Turks and the New World, 366, note 78. Seydi Ali Reis also filled out his account with information he obtained from a Portuguese captain, op. cit., 14.

10 There are at least three copies of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi in the Topkapı Palace library, none of which were there when Evliyâ was being educated in the palace school. See Goodrich, The Ottoman Turks and the New World, 21-27; Hagen, “Katib Celebi and Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi.” The other two books reporting on the New World that Evliyâ may have seen are Piri Reis’s Kitab-i Bahriye and the small chapter in Seydi Ali Reis’s (d. 1562) Muhit. Cf. Piri Reis, Kitab-i Bahriye (Ankara, 1988); Sidi Ali ibn Husein, Book of the Indian Ocean: Kitab al-Muht, ed. Fuad Sezgín (Frankfurt, 1997), 109-14.
Old World illnesses; at the time of Evliyâ’s writing, massacres were ongoing in North America.\(^{11}\) Despite the publication of some truthful narratives — notably the graphic account of the Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas — somewhat whitewashed reports of the massacres were being circulated in Spain, Portugal, and England. It is conceivable that Evliyâ had access to versions of some reports about the New World. The fact that he wrote with discernible sympathy for the indigenous people adds another layer to his perceptions of Christians and their association with the New World. On the one hand, he describes the immigration of Christians to the New World as part of a divine plan; on the other, he conveys his disapproval, through the voices of the men in Lonçat, for the actions taken by the Europeans against the indigenous people.

Evliyâ’s description of the appearance and language of the people of the New World reflects common perceptions in the Old World of the 17th century. The idea that the natives could not talk, or that they only learned to talk by learning Spanish or English, was widespread from the first stages of the conquest onward.\(^{12}\) Of course, many colonies had been established in the New World by the mid-17th century, and there were a number of people, particularly missionaries, who had acquired proficiency in indigenous languages. These notwithstanding, the belief that the people of the Americas were mute was still prevalent among common people. By comparing them to the sages of yore, Evliyâ puts a curiously positive spin on the misconception that the indigenous people communicated without speech. With these remarks he again diverges from the denigrating commentary in the Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî, the majority of which was a translation from Italian sources.\(^{13}\)

Wherever Evliyâ got his information, he may also have been exposed to reflections of the views of the conquistadors, whose rhetoric dehumanized the indigenous people of the New World. The inhabitants of the New World took on many fantastic characteristics under the general rubric of “savages.”\(^{14}\) It is important to note that Evliyâ does not replicate these narratives or fabricate descriptions in a similar vein. While he clearly intended to amaze...

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\(^{11}\) The most damning figures were compiled by David E. Stannard in his American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Alfred W. Crosby gives more credit to epidemics in the extinction of the indigenous people; cf. The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492 (Westport, Conn., 2003).

\(^{12}\) See Albert Hurtado, Peter Iverson, and Thomas Paterson (eds.), Major Problems in American Indian History: Documents and Essays (Houghton Mifflin Company Collegiate Division, 2000), 46 (Christopher Colombus’s letter). For a similar note, see Goodrich, The Ottoman Turks and the New World, 362, marginal note 60. Also Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî reports that the people of the New World speak from their throats, i.e. they have guttural sounds in their languages; Goodrich, 207 and Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî veya hadis-i nev = A history of the discovery of America (Istanbul, 1987), 656. To be sure, similar disparaging views about the Europeans were also held by the indigenous people. They did not find the visitors particularly intelligent, since the Europeans could not quickly master their own languages and customs. Apparently this view was well in line with the Iroquois belief that “hairy people are dumb;” cf. Hurtado et al. (ed.), op. cit., 60.

\(^{13}\) In addition, a marginal note by Katib Çelebi in the Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî reads: “The indigenous tribes living on the coasts learned humanity from the Spaniards and became subject to them; the rest have remained savages” (Seva-ähide olanlar İspanya kavminein insanlığını öğrenip tahi oåldlar; kalan vahşi behayım gibidir). He must have gotten this from the European sources. Cf. Goodrich, The Ottoman Turks and the New World, 178, 365 note 71; “Marginalia,” 189. Seydi Ali Reis also speaks of “savages with faces like dogs, no necks and their heads on their chests” in the New Country (Yeni Memleket), as he calls it; cf. Sidi Ali ibn Husain, Book of the Indian Ocean: Kitab al-Muhit, 111.

\(^{14}\) Sir Walter Raleigh’s serious reports on the indigenous people of South America who “do not have heads, have their eyes on their shoulders, and mouths on the chests” are but one example of this genre; cf. Sir Walter Raleigh, The Discovery of Guiana (Middlesex, 2006), 34. For perceptions of American indigenous people in the context of “wonders and marvels” discourse in early modern Europe, see Stephen Jay Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World (Chicago, 1991). See also Anthony Pagden, European Encounters with the New World from Renaissance to Romanticism (New Haven, 1993). For changing perceptions in the 18th and 19th centuries, see Harry Liebersohn, Aristocratic Encounters: European Travelers and North American Indians (Cambridge and New York, 1998).
his readers, he writes of the native people not with derision but with curiosity, even sympathy.\footnote{Evlîyâ is careful to ascribe malign adjectives about the indigenous people to the mouths of Padre and KoloN. He reports that these two told Sultan Bayezid that the people of the New World never smiled (V.35a), that they were savages (dağî bagi) and four-legged creatures (X.Y.252a). Therefore I do not share the opinion of Bacqû-Grammont, who claims that Evliyâ was the one who described the indigenous people as such; cf. Jean-Louis Bacqû-Grammont, “Le nouveau monde dans l’esprit d’Evlîyâ Celebî, voyageur ottoman,” Journal Asiatique 297/2 (2009), 431, note 22.}

In fact, I believe we can comfortably view Evliyâ’s treatment of the indigenous people of the New World as operating within the discourse of “wonders and marvels” (acâyîb ve garâyîb) [see in this book # 41]. As mentioned previously in the story of the Prophet’s visit to the house of the unbelievers, the New World was one of four worlds to be discovered. The residents of this fantastic new place were the ideal literary fodder for Evliyâ to evoke amazement in his readers. In the table of contents to Volume 4 Evliyâ lists a chapter titled “On Gog and Magog, the people of the New World, and the Jinn” (IV.189b). Even though this chapter, unfortunately, remained unwritten, its intended title — grouping the people of the New World together with other figures that loomed large and marvelous in popular imagination — supports a reading of Evliyâ’s imagining of the New World as a place of wonders and marvels.

Missing from Evliyâ’s account are the proselytizing efforts of the Christian missionaries. Was he not aware of their intense activity in the New World? He certainly would not have viewed the Christians’ immigration to the New World as fetih, or “conquest,” a concept confined in Evliyâ’s language to the capture of lands by Muslims. These conquests by Muslims, however, did not necessarily translate to a concerted project of bringing Islam to the conquered masses. Evliyâ may not have been familiar with the concept of systematic forced conversion pursuant to taking territory. He is also silent about the religions and customs of the people of the New World — a lacuna in keeping with the hypothesis that he obtained his information from popular accounts. It is unlikely that Europeans who thought of the indigenous people as savage, mute, and animalistic would take note of the finer points of their communal life and social structures.

One of Evliyâ’s reports whose source cannot be ascertained concerns the Kalmyk people’s incursion into the New World. Evliyâ writes that Kalmyks have reached the New World, but that they have not yet established any fortresses. According to Evliyâ, the Kalmyks are a nation of able warriors and the native people are afraid of them. How are we to understand the story about Kalmyks reaching beyond the Unknown Territories and setting foot in the New World? It certainly fits with Evliyâ’s earlier contention that the Kalmyks were one of the world’s two greatest traveling nations along with the Portuguese (VII.178b-179a, 180a). Perhaps he wanted to support his own claims about the Kalmyk character.

In addition to the foregoing, rather general, aspects of Evliyâ’s perceptions of the New World, there are other details in the Seyahatnâme that may tell us more about the way that information, and in some cases, actual tangible materials, traveled from the New World and spread throughout the Old. There is some vague information in the Seyahatnâme about the actual discovery of the New World, its geographical position, and a few animals and plants found there. Evliyâ states several times that the Spaniards reached the New World with twelve ships after a six-month journey in 1484, a year indicated by the word futihatâ, whose numerical value is 889 in the Hijri calendar (V.35a-b; VI.128b; VII.169b; VIII.318a). In the previously mentioned Padre and KoloN episode, which took place during the siege of Akkerman, Evliyâ writes that the two places alluded to in the phrase futihatâ — Arabic for “both of them were conquered” — are Akkerman and Kili. During this encounter, the priests prognosticate that the two fortresses would be taken by the Ottomans (X.Y.251b et. seq.). There is no direct correlation of this phrase with the New World. Evliyâ may have been linking in his mind the date of the discovery of the New World with the date of the two priests’ visit to Sultan Bayezid.

EVLİYÂ ÇELEBÎ
In short and rather inscrutable notes, Evliyâ informs us that the way to reach the New World is to sail from the Mediterranean into the Ocean and then cross it (VIII.330a). He lists the Dutch ports for ships bound for the New World (the cities of Amsterdam, Looncat, Karış;16 VI.128b; VIII.322a; X.Y35a), and several other New World ports (outer France, Denmark, Sweden: VI.128b). He also mentions the Sea of Magellan and a Mappamundi showing the Ocean, the islands of the New World, and the mines thereupon (III.87b-88a).

Evliyâ several times mentions a certain hardwood tree from the New World. He writes that wood from this tree was used to build one of the chests of the Bitlis Khan, the clubs in Malkara, parts of the ceiling of the Viennese palace, and the spears in Canaia and Lvov (IV.274b; V.99a; VII.68a; VIII.305b; V.45a respectively). He also cites the belief in Egypt that the santa (acacia) is a new world tree, one that changed color due to the hot weather in its new home (X.Y237a).17 It is quite probable that he only mentions this tree as a rhetorical device when listing similar hardwood trees. Moreover, a reader who jotted down a marginal note in the Revan manuscript of the Târîh-i Hind-i Garbi claims that the guava tree (Psidium guajava) was in fact the tree that the Franks brought from the New World.18 There was obviously confusion about which tree was the New World tree; it is even unclear whether the phrase was used for a single tree. Meninski’s dictionary of 1680 does not have an entry for a “New World tree.” The loquat (Eriobotrya japonica) — or as is commonly known in modern Turkish, the “New World plum” (yeni dünya or malta eriği) — appears to have its origins in central or western China. This “New World” designation must be a popular one, and the Turkish “New World plum” is unlikely to have anything to do with the tree Evliyâ describes. Since the tree is celebrated for its hardness, I wonder if it might be guaiacum (Guaiacum officinale or Guaiacum sanctum), which is also described in the Târîh-i Hind-i Garbi.19

There are further general references to flowers and fruits from the New World, but these should be viewed as literary devices rather than reportage. For example, in a garden near Pespheyl (Schwechat) that Evliyâ claims is a survival from Sultan Süleyman’s 1529 Vienna campaign, he lists New World flowers and animals among the myriad other flora and fauna (VII.52b). He also writes that the Arzohon garden in Crete hosts trees and flowers brought from the New World (VIII.324a).

Unlike these colorful but dubious flourishes, Evliyâ’s detailed description of a specific vegetable and bird lead me to believe that he actually saw them during his peregrinations. The first is a cabbage that he reports has only recently been cultivated in Dutch lands. Evliyâ himself obtained some of this cabbage, brought it to Uuyar, and had a rice dish made with it. Those who ate it said in astonishment, “Praise God! Such a delicious dish can only be found in Paradise!” (VI.128b). The bird is one Evliyâ claims to have seen the in Kallavine (Cologne?). It is has curly feathers, a flat nose and head, eyes on top of its head, tall legs, and wings like those of a chicken; all in all it is generally reminiscent of a chicken. The bird wades and dives into the water, but as its feet are not webbed, it is unable to swim (VI.127a).20 Further investigation is necessary to determine the particular vegetable and bird Evliyâ describes in these passages.

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16 It is unclear what city this could be, perhaps Groningen?
18 Goodrich, The Ottoman Turks and the New World, 323, 366 note 79.
20 The first thing that comes to mind is of course the turkey, but Evliyâ’s description does not leave us totally sure. For the spread of that bird, see: A. W. Schorger, The wild turkey; its History and Domestication (Norman, [1966]), 3 ff.
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