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17TH CENTURY OTTOMAN WOMEN IN EVLIYA CELEBİ'S SEYAHATNAME

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Abstract

Evliya Celebi, the 17th-century Ottoman traveler, left 10 volume long travelogue behind with insights about places he visited. The depictions in his book include the names, customs, economic conditions, linguistic information, and many other aspects of the people he encountered and the land he visited. Women have played an important role in Evliya Celebi's descriptions in their appearance, names, social roles, and everyday life. In particular, piety was a significant aspect that Evliya Celebi dealt with when narrating the women of a particular place and their everyday engagement in society. When the women were not visible, or the society was segregated based on gender, he showed his appreciation by praising women's morals and the region's people. On the contrary, Evliya Celebi was disappointed in the places where the women were visible in everyday life. In this respect, Evliya Celebi is pleased with women who stay more at home and are not visible in public. This study argues that Evliya Celebi's depiction of pious women who never go out derives from his imagination of his ideal woman, Rabi'a al-Adawiyya. This imagination is thanks to Evliya Celebi's status and background, which can be summarized as pious, patriot, and loyal to the Ottoman palace.

Keywords: History of Islam, Evliya Celebi, Seyahatname, women, Rabi'a al-Adawiyya, travelogue.



EVLIYA ÇELEBİ SEYAHATNAMESİNDE 17. YÜZYIL OSMANLI KADINLARI

17. yüzyıl Osmanlı seyyahı Evliya Çelebi, gezdiği yerlerle ilgili izlenimlerini anlattığı on ciltlik bir seyahatname bırakmıştır. Kitaplarındaki betimlemeler gezdiği yerlerdeki isimler, gelenekler, ekonomik koşullar, konuşulan dillerin kuralları ve daha pek çok yönünü içermektedir. Görünüşleri, isimleri, rolleri ve davranışlarıyla kadınlar Evliya Çelebi'nin tasvirinde önemli bir yer edinmiştir. Özellikle dindarlık Evliya'nın ele aldığı önemli bir husus olmuştur. Kadınların

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görünür olmadığı ya da toplumun cinsiyete göre ayrıştırıldığı durumlarda Evliya o yörenin ahlakını överek takdir etmiştir. Evliya'nın, kadınların halk arasında sık sık görüldüğü yerlerde hayal kırıklığına uğradığı anlaşılırken, görülmedikleri bölgelerde ise kadınları iyi ahlakla nitelendirdiği dikkat çekmektedir. Evliya'nın evinden dışarı çıkmayan dindar kadın tasvirinin, ideal kadın olarak değerlendirildiği Rabi'atü'l-Adeviyye tasavvurundan kaynaklandığını savunan bu çalışma, Evliya'nın bu tasavvurunun, bireysel dindarlığı ve Osmanlı sarayına bağlılığından kaynaklandığını iddia etmektedir.

[The Extended Abstract is at the end of the article.]



Introduction

Traveler, courtier, warrior, delegate, and muezzin are only some of the titles that could (rightly) be attributed to the 17th-century Ottoman gentleman, Evliya Celebi.¹ Evliya's travels covered almost all Ottoman territories, extending far beyond its boundaries, including Azerbaijan, Iran, and Europe. He bequeathed to the world a magnificent ten-volume work, the *Seyahatname* (Book of Travel), in which he described the various things that he had seen, heard, read, or analyzed during his (approximately) forty years of traveling.² Robert Dankoff, a professor of Turkish and Ottoman Studies, portrayed the *Seyahatname* correctly 'as a vast panorama of the Ottoman world in the mid-seventeenth century.'³ This study shall defend the claim that Evliya portrays two different kinds of women in his work; in order to do so, this study shall be divided into two main sections. In the first section, Evliya's ideal Ottoman woman will be examined. This section shall primarily study Evliya's personal motivating reasons for providing this depiction as "ideal" (i.e., his beliefs, values, social class, and sense of patriotism). The best model for this depiction is Rabi'a al-Adawiyya. Her links to Evliya will also be examined in the first section. Then, in the second section, the women's everyday lives in Evliya's *Seyahatname* will be studied, including their educational, social, communal, personal, and family lives. Then, in the final section, an overall conclusion and summary of the study will be presented.

Evliya's work is quite expansive, so it is not surprising to find in his

¹ For more details about his life, education, and career, see Albert Howe Lybyer, "The Travels of Evliya Efendi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 37 (1917), 224-239.

² For more explanations about what he wrote, see D. Mehmet Dogan, "Sunuş: Edebiyatımızın "Evliya"sı 400 Yaşında," *TBY Akademi*, no. 2, (May 2011), 7-9.

³ Robert Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman: Melek Ahmed Pasha*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991, 4.

works an extensive knowledge about, and descriptions of, many fields, from food to vegetables, from water to administration, and from the names of men and women to customs. Ever since the Seyahatname emerged and became available to the general reader, many scholars from various fields have attempted to glean knowledge about the century and/or the territories through which he traveled.

Women's issues were also one of the most important topics that he analyzed at length. His analysis of women varies, from their names to their lifestyles and from their beauty to their morals. The situation of Ottoman women has always been one of the most attractive and controversial topics in academia, both for scholars from countries that were under Ottoman control at the time and foreigners.⁴ Their research has, quite expectedly, used the travelogues of both Ottoman and foreign travelers. Osman Kose studies the depiction of women on Evliya's Seyahatname on issues such as their clothes, their marriage, their role in wars, their entertainment life, and religious life.⁵ Nurettin Gemici also studies the issue in detail by looking to region by region and also by analyzing the everyday life of women including the palace women.⁶

Evliya generally holds Ottoman women — mostly Muslims — in high esteem due to their covertness, pietism, and housewifeliness. He particularly admires when women wear the hijab and when they do not go out unless it is necessary. There is one woman that he ostensibly places on a pedestal. Her name, he says, is Rabi'a al-Adawiyya. Indeed, he likens all of the women that he admires with her. Rabi'a was a saintly woman who devoted most of her life to thinking about and worshipping Allah. She will be discussed later in this study to outline what Evliya considered to be the "ideal" woman.

This study argues that, even though the "ideal" seventeenth-century Ottoman woman never went outside her house and mostly remained busy with her own housework and family, women did not stay in their homes from their births until their deaths, just as Evliya stated in many places. Contrary to this depiction, the exact text evidences the actual social lives of Ottoman women in a number of places. He frequently states the women's social,

⁴ For a discussion about Ottoman women in academia, see Asli Sancar, *Ottoman Women: Myth and Reality*, Izmir: The Light, 2007.

⁵ Osman Köse, 'Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesine Göre 17. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kadın', *Journal of Turkish Studies* Volume 15 Issue 8, no. Volume 15 Issue 8 (2020): 4063–82.

⁶ Nurettin Gemici, *17. Yüzyılda Kadınlar: Evliya Çelebi'nin Gözlemleriyle*, second edition, Kültür ve medeniyetin mimarları, İstanbul: Lamure, 2010.

communal, educational, and personal lives back then. This contradiction does not, and should not, mean that Evliya's Seyahatname is not reliable or trustworthy. Rather, his valuable judgments about women, in general, should be recognized as such and should not be confused from his declarative, more objective statements about women's social lives at that time.

Ronald C. Jennings studied seventeenth-century Ottoman women by referring to judicial records. In his work, he studies the roles that women played and the rights that they were afforded in one of the Ottoman Empire's provinces, Kayseri. He was aware, though, that his studies have some limitations, which would prevent him from generalizing about all Ottoman women. Such limitations include: (1) the place of origin; (2) the time period focused on; and (3) the nature of the sources used.⁷ It is important to note that this study suffers from the same limitations. Therefore, it is worth mentioning that the Seyahatname and the related works of the Seyehatname will be considered as primary sources for this study. Insofar as they shall be based upon these sources, this study will be restricted to Evliya's life, times, and recorded descriptions and opinions. Thus, this essay will focus on the women who lived in the specific territories that Evliya learned about. Therefore, this study will not be able to generalize about the lives of all the women that lived under the Ottoman rule for the length of its existence (i.e., around 600 years). It should also be noted that this study does not aim to prove or criticize any of the abovementioned perspectives regarding women's roles under the Ottoman Empire. This study has a much humbler aim: comparing the two types of women that Evliya mentions in his work: one, the ideal woman whom he repeatedly praises; and the other, the women he mentions throughout his entire narration going forward about their ordinary lives.

A. Evliya Celebi's Ideal Woman

It is necessary to warn the readers that Evliya does not explicitly state 'ideality' here, but rather, it can be implied from his writing because of his use of complementary adjectives and vivid descriptions of particular women. In this subsection, the ideal woman will be illustrated by several examples. The motivating reasons for this depiction and a real example of one woman in particular — Rabi'a al-Adawiyya — will be examined in the next subsection.

⁷ Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, no. 1, (January 1975), 54.

The second warning for readers is the impossibility of generalizing the following examples. Evliya's descriptions differ from one city to the next, so it is not possible to present a single image of Ottoman women. As will become clearer in the following examples, Evliya sometimes states that the women of any territory were veiled, had appropriate morals (probably referring to Islamic morals), and were not particularly present outside the family home; nevertheless, he does not necessarily state that the women of the territory were absent from the outside world completely. Moreover, even if he states that women were absent from the outside in the initial descriptions of the women of any territory, there would also be some descriptions regarding the same territory whereby Evliya encounters women in outside life, which is proof that they were seen outside. The ideality came from combining the aforementioned descriptions. When women are pious, avoid interaction with men, and behave appropriately according to Islam in his mind, then Evliya describes them as an appropriate example of the ideal woman. It should be noted that this depiction should not be understood as a total absence of women from the outside. His descriptions regarding the absence of women from the outside could be understood as an absence from very crowded places or bazaars or interaction with men. The point here is that this kind of existence of women in outside environments (i.e., the segregation of men and women) would not damage his ideal image and will still be considered as ideal women for Evliya. The next section of the study will prove that the women were not absent from the outside environment as a whole but, rather, that the outside should be considered as bazaars or male-dominated places, even in places where Evliya says that women were not present.

Cümle halkı mü'min u muvahhid ve pâk-i'tikâd u ehl-i tevhîd ve sâhib-i vera' âdemlerdir. Nisâ makûleleri gâyetü'l-gâye Râbi'a-ı Adeviyye mertebesinde ehl-i perde, zâhide sâhib-i cemâle havâtînleri var. Çârsû-yı bâzârda bir fertûte pîrezen dahi yokdur. Sûk-ı sultânîde bir bint-i sagîre görseler katl ederler yâhûd pederini te'dîb ederler. Tâ bu mertebe ehl-i ırz Diyârbekir'dir.⁸

This is an approximate translation of the above example, as it will be referred to in the following examples:

All of its people are faithful, believing in one God (referring to the fact that they are Muslims), they are people in a further process of piety. The women are exactly in the position of Rabi'a al-Adawiyya

⁸ Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, volume 4, transcribed from Ottoman Turkish script to modern Turkish script by Yuce Dagli and Seyit Ali Kahraman, Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2000, 38.

by their covertness, and they restrict themselves from worldly things. Not a single woman appears in the shopping districts or bazaars. If they see a little girl in the street, they will either kill her or teach her father the ethical rules. This is the measure of chastity of Diyarbakir.

When Evliya Celebi is traveling through the province of Van, a province near Diyarbakir, he says:

Hudâ âlimdir nisâ-ların görmedim, ammâ sikâ yâr-ı gârlarımızın nakilleri üzre cümlesi hüsn-i cemâlde ve latîf-i i'tidâlde olup her biri bir zâhide-i sâhib-cemâl havâtînlerdir ve duhter-i pâkîze-ahterleri pederlerinden gayrı er yüzü görmemişlerdir.⁹

With Allah as a witness, I have not seen their women, but according to our trustworthy friends, they are beautiful (physically) and also kind. And each of them is a pious and beautiful woman. Their girls are not seen by any man other than their fathers.

The below descriptions are recorded in Bitlis and give some information about

Der-vasf-ı mahbûb [u] mahbûbân: Kürd kavmi pür-mûy olmağile ..., ammâ nisâ tâ'ifesini çârsû-yı bâzârda görmediğimizden ma'lûmumuz değildir. Ancak Râbî'a-i Adeviyye mertebesinde ehl-i perde zâhide sâhib-i cemâl havâtînlerin kendüleri medh ederler. Hakkâ ki mestûrelerdir.¹⁰

Kurdish women and say that, since he has not witnessed them in the streets and bazaars, he cannot attest to the fact, but according to other people's descriptions, they seem to have the same covertness and beauty of face as Rabi'a i Adaviyye.

As can be seen from the above three examples, Evliya holds women who are sincere, pious and avoid interaction with the opposite sex as good examples of the gender. It should be noted that one cannot condense the ten-volume book to these three examples. Evliya also refers to women who do not conform to the above examples. When he mentions these kinds of women, he uses negative adjectives. The phrase "Evliya's ideal woman" is derived from Evliya's different attitudes towards these different kinds of women. One could claim that the aforementioned examples display neither Evliya's favor nor disfavor; one could also argue, on the other hand, that these are all merely descriptions and have nothing to do with Evliya's personal

⁹ Ibid, 115.

¹⁰ Celebi, volume 4, 63.

opinion. Thus, the next example is a very obvious example and shows that Evliya's descriptions are not merely descriptions but also imply his desire for women. Even if the Hajj (pilgrim) is one of the duties for all people who can afford it according to Islam, Evliya will suggest that women should not conduct the Hajj.

Fi zemâninâ tâife-i nisvâna Ka'be; doğup büyüdüğü kapusu eşiğinin içyüzüdür. Taşra çıkmaya, eğer merhume olursa andan ol zemân çıka! Eğer mümkün ise hanesinin bir köşesine defn edeler. Zîrâ bu râh-ı Ka'be'ye varan ehl-i ırz kimseler bilir. Bir nisvân tâifesinin çekdiği âlâm-ı şedâyidi, zîrâ nice bin nâmahrem haşerât içinde enüp binmede konup göçmede bir belâyı azîmdir. Allâhümme affnâ husûsan emn-i tarîk olma dığından sene tarihinde Konakçı Alî Paşa senesinde Reşîdoğlu nâm 'Urban huccâcı müslimini nehb ü garet uryân etdükte yigirmi taht-ı revân tâife-i nisvân ve nice yüz bin mahâfeler ile cevâri ve nisvânları 'uryân edüp ol çöl ve çolistanda pâpürehne ve serpürehne obalarına götürüp gûnâgûn rencide ederek ol nâzenin havâtınları hıdmet etdirirlerdi. Nicesi cu'dan ve nicesi şiddet-i hârdan merhûme oldılar. Nicesi bahâları ile halâs oldılar. Ve nicesi anda kalup evlâd sâhibi oldılar. Ne'üzü bi'llâh hakîr-i pür-taksîrin bu mahalde tesvîdi şer'i farza muhâlifdir. Emmâ dâğ-ı derûnumdan tahrîre cür'et etdim. Zîra ol inhizâmda hakîr hâzır idim.¹¹

For the women of our time, the Kaaba [which is at the center of the Hajj] is inside of the home of the woman in which she has grown up. Thus, it is required for her not to go out; rather, she can simply go out when she dies. In the case in which it is possible to bury her inside of her home, she should be buried in one of the corners of her home. The virtuous chaste people who are en route to the Kaaba know how difficult and torturous it is [for women to travel to the Kaaba]. It is because of this that women ride their vehicles [horses, etc.] with thousands of ill-wishing strangers and getting down and riding their vehicles with them in rest areas, which causes much trouble and calamity. May Allah forgive. ... I ask forgiveness from Allah for being one who has terrific sins for writing something that is contrary to Sharia law. Though, due to the pain inside of me, I was encouraged to write this because, at this time, I was also on my Hajj trip. The incident that I witnessed by

¹¹ Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, volume 9, transcribed from Ottoman Turkish script to modern Turkish script by Yuce Dagli, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Robert Dankoff, Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2005, 368.

myself was written due to this reason.

As can be clearly seen from this example, Evliya states his expectations of women. He first says that the holiest place for a woman is her home, saying that a woman's Hajj should be taken home. Moreover, he says that, even if it is to fulfil a religious duty, and even though the woman is very chaste and pious, she should still not go out. One should consider Evliya's opinion of women by keeping this explanation in mind. The first three mentioned examples can be read as explanations of particular territories, but this last one is not restricted to any territory. Therefore, this explanation can be seen as a summary of Evliya Celebi's ideal woman.

His ideality once again can be seen when he compares how non-Muslim women with Muslim women cover their bodies and how they interact with men. Nurettin Gemici, a Turkish scholar interested in this particular topic, argues that Evliya uses the same descriptions for Western women. In his study "Evliya Çelebi'nin Gözlemleriyle 17. Yüzyılda Kadınlar" he states that Evliya depicts women as being comfortable, not covering their faces and hair, and showing some parts of their bodies.¹²

Evliya Celebi not only states in these examples that Ottoman women were not going out but that women from many territories were not going out either. When one looks at those descriptions, one is very likely to agree that Celebi was inspired by orientalist notions that suggest that the Ottoman Empire women had little to no right in communal life. Orientalist travelers also had motivating factors for depicting the Empire in that way. For them, being "Other" was something strange and should be separated from the "self." Irene Kamberidou, a professor of Sociology, argues that eastern women were not depicted as they truly were, either by Orientalists or by Evliya and his image of the ideal woman. His introduction to his article "The East in the Eyes of Western Women Travellers of the 18th and 19th Centuries: Solidarity and Understanding the East" shows that the depiction of eastern Ottoman women was entirely wrong:

"It also may be said that in our travels, we saw only the bright side of Islam. Well! That is just what we desired to see; ... The fact of it is, we had heard quite enough of the dark side of Islam, so we determined to pursue our studies on the side looking to the sun ... Is it right, fair, or just, to visit other people in their homes, or in their countries, wherever they dwell, and come away to decry them? No!

¹² Nurettin Gemici, "Evliya Çelebi'nin Gözlemleriyle 17. Yüzyılda Kadınlar" *TBY Akademi*, no. 2, (May 2011), 48-49.

It is not right!' argues Emilie Hayacinthe Loyson, after her travels in Oriental lands in the years 1894-1896."¹³

Throughout his article, Kamberidou proves that Ottoman women did not have less rights than Western women and enjoyed no less freedom as Western women did. The motivating reasons for depicting women as being chaste, virtuous, and hidden is different for orientalist travelers and scholars vis-à-vis Evliya Celebi's. Since this study is not about comparing these depictions, though, only Evliya's motivating reasons will be studied.

1. Evliya's Motivating Reasons for Depicting his Ideal Woman

Evliya provides numerous descriptions of Ottoman women, and explicitly explains the lives of women in the places he visited, regardless of whether the territory was under the control of the Ottoman Empire or not. Clearly, he was not the first traveler to write about Ottoman women. Many travelers bequeathed extensive knowledge about this particular issue, either correctly or ideologically.¹⁴ It is one of the hardest obstacles for scholars to decide which account rightly indicates the real — or nearest to the real — situation of the particular territory that the travelers or scholars write about. One scholar who writes about this issue and compares how different travelers depict women is Ibrahim Hakan Donmez. Donmez, who wrote an article entitled "*The Ottoman Women as Narrated by One Local and One Western Traveler: A Comparative Analysis*," compares the depiction of women from an Ottoman traveler, Evliya Celebi, and a French traveler, Gerard de Nerval. Donmez argues that, even though Nerval differs from the common Western ideas in terms of his better and more objective depiction of the Ottoman people, he was still, to some extent, limited by being a westerner. Donmez blamed the orientalists for not understanding the Ottoman society correctly and having relatively biased ideas, which prevented those scholars from going beyond their own ideas and, in the end, finally led them to analyze the Ottoman society incorrectly.¹⁵

This part of the study argues that Evliya Celebi also has many

¹³ Irene Kamberidou, "The East in the Eyes of Western Women Travellers of the 18th and 19th Centuries: Solidarity and Understanding the East," International Conference of the Faculty of Arts, Kuwait University, Nov. 26-28, 2013. Presentation at conference 27/11/2013, 1.

¹⁴ From the 16th to the 19th centuries, over six thousand foreign women travelers traveled to the Ottoman Empire, with some of them bequeathing a considerable number of accounts after them regarding their travels; see Kamberidou, 1.

¹⁵ Ibrahim Hakan Donmez, "Yerli ve Batılı İki Seyyahın Gözüyle Osmanlı Kadını: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz," *International Journal of History*, vol.5, (September 2013), 93-105.

limitations and motivating factors for depicting Ottoman women the way he does. As Donmez explains, his being a local does not automatically make Evliya's narrative the most accurate, for he writes and analyses women's issues according to his own beliefs and values. Evliya's motivating factors are written independently below.

a. Evliya Celebi was a pious Muslim

This study claims that the first motivating factor for Evliya's depicting the women of his travels in the way he did was due to his Islamic identity. For example, Evliya states that his travels began with a dream which contained the Prophet Muhammed, the four caliphs, the companions of the Prophet Mohammed, and many significant saints.¹⁶ His travels, thus, began as a form of commitment to the Prophet. Therefore, he legitimized his trip with this dream because, according to a common belief in Islam, dreams containing the Prophet can be considered as being a divinely inspired dream.¹⁷ Evliya's personal and educational backgrounds are also very religious. Evliya studied the Quran and Islamic studies for seven years in a madrasah in Unkapani.¹⁸ He memorized the Quran and recited it throughout his travels.¹⁹ Evliya also took up some professions during his travels. He sometimes traveled with groups as an *imam* (prayer-leader), sometimes as a *muezzin* (caller-to-prayer), and sometimes as a *hafiz* (Quran reciter),²⁰ with all of these professions being strictly related to religious knowledge and duty. Indeed, Robert Dankoff states that Evliya could be considered a low-level *ulema* (religious scholar) due to his Islamic knowledge and his roles upon himself during his travels.²¹ Furthermore, Evliya primarily uses the hadith and Quranic verses in his Seyehatname whenever he wants to prove something. Therefore, it can be implied that his Islamic knowledge is quite extensive. In the above example, when he discourages women from taking the Hajj, Evliya is aware that his discouraging them from conducting such a significant Islamic duty cannot normally be tolerated; nevertheless, he is

¹⁶ Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Celebi*, London: Eland Publishing, 2010, 4.

¹⁷ For the Hadith, "the one who sees me in a dream has truly seen me for indeed the devil cannot take my shape to deceive people"; see, Suleyman Uludag, *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, "Tasavvuf." vol. 35, Ankara, TDV, 2008, 309.

¹⁸ Ulku Celik Savk, *Sorularla Evliya Celebi: Insanlik Tarihine Yon Veren 20 Kisiden Biri*, Ankara: Hacettepe Universitesi Basimevi, 2011, 8.

¹⁹ Dankoff and Kim, 131.

²⁰ Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Celebi*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, 131.

²¹ Dankoff, 115.

aware of other Islamic prohibitions and values as well. He justifies his opinion by saying that escaping from sin is better than practicing an Islamic duty.

In addition to Evliya's Islamic knowledge, his personal and family background is strictly pious. The anecdote below shows how Evliya is aware of his personal and family Islamic background and eventually acts in the way he is expected to.

Evliya is at one of the stops on his journey and is invited to drink wine by a group of people. When he refuses the first time, they insist that he partake, telling him that wine is given by Allah and is not *haram* (forbidden by religion). He strictly refuses it, saying that his ancestors did not smoke cigarettes or drink coffee ("İçmem gâzîler ve âbâ vü ecdâdım dahi tütün ve kahve dahi içmemişlerdir, değil ki ben şarâb içem"). He finally tells them that wine is forbidden, so he will not drink it, but that he will eat bread ("Bire kardaşlar, şarâb harâmıdır. Ben bunu içmem, ammâ ekmek yerim"). When they insist on drinking wine, he refuses to stay with them any longer and leaves their place ("Du'âlar sizi gâzîler" deyüp gitdim").

Thus, it can be said that Evliya is a wise person in religion and that he has extensive knowledge and attempts to practice it in his life. Moreover, he explains the things that he likes and sees appropriate in a commendatory attitude, while he vilifies the customs that are not appropriate to the religion, such as the interaction of men and women who are not related to one another and the use of alcohol.

b. Evliya Celebi was an elite from Istanbul who had close relations with sultans and the Ottoman Palace

Another motivating factor for Evliya's ideas is his Istanbulite identity and his ties to the Ottoman palace. Evliya was proud of Istanbul and centered his trip and ideas around Istanbul. Moreover, Istanbul for him was not only the center of the Empire and the center of his ideas, but was also the center of Islam — indeed, he called it *Islambol*. Evliya's links to the palace derived from both his maternal and paternal sides. His paternal side had close connections with the Ottoman sultans from the very beginning of the Empire. His grandfather, for example, joined the siege of Istanbul when Sultan Mehmed II achieved control of the city.

His father also proudly narrated to Celebi the wars that he participated

in.²² Moreover, Melek Ahmed Pasha, who was appointed to several positions in the Ottoman Empire, was his maternal kinsman and adopted a significant role throughout Evliya's travels. Evliya's maternal side is also strictly tied to the Palace. Evliya's mother was a sister of Melek Ahmet Pasha. Furthermore, Kaya Sultan, the daughter of Murat IV, married Melek Ahmed Pasha. This, in turn, strengthens Evliya's ties to the Ottoman royal family.

Dankoff explains the relationship between Istanbul and Evliya: "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."²³ Therefore, Evliya adopted the official Ottoman notion of being a protector of Islam. For, as is widely known, Ottoman sultans took upon themselves the responsibility of being the leader of Islam and were proud that they serve Islam and Muslims.

c. Evliya Celebi was a patriotic person

This motivating factor is derived from the two factors above. His participation in the wars against non-Muslims can be explained either as a result of his Islamic identity or as a result of his Ottoman identity. In any case, he had a strong Ottoman identity, of which he was very proud.

Evliya Celebi, himself, took part in many wars as a soldier. This also illustrates his desire to join *Gaza* (an Islamic holy war). Mehmet Yasar Ertas shares an anecdote about Evliya's desire to join that holy war as follows. Evliya had just returned from a 7-year trip when he wanted to join the Cretan Siege. The officer attempted to convince him not to join at that time in order to let Evliya spend some time with his family. Nevertheless, Evliya refused to stay at home and almost begged him not to stop him.

Evliya was not only loyal to the Empire but also personally loyal to the sultans, thereby consolidating his patriotism to the Empire. His sense of humor, pleasant voice for reciting, and ability to have lovely conversations enabled him to get closer to the sultans. Sultan Murad even proposed that he become his *nedim* (the sultan's confidant or very good friend).²⁴

2. Rabia Adawiyye

Rabia Adawiyye, or Râbi'a-i Adeviyye, is a very significant figure in the Islamic mystic tradition. As can be seen from some of the above examples, Evliya frequently likens some women with Rabia Adawiyye. The most

²² Mehmet Yasar Ertas, "Evliya Celebi'nin Seyahatnamesi'nde Gaza" *Türk İncelemeleri Dergisi*, vol. 1, (July 2012), 79-80.

²³ Dankoff, 1.

²⁴ Celebi, volume 1, 108.

prominent reason for his likening them to her are their covertness, piety, and chastity. Rabia Adawiyye is an iconic name from early Islamic literature. Arezou Azad, a researcher at the University of Oxford, argues that Rabia Adawiyye still is one of the most prominent woman figures in Islam regardless of the increasing interest in Islamic women. Moreover, she suggests that Rabia has become the archetype of the Muslim woman.²⁵

The common accepted image for Rabia Adawiyye is studied by many such as Nelle Cook, Betül Serin Çiçek, Ömer Yılmaz, Margaret Smith, and Mustafa Özdamar. Rabia's life began in a pious family, but she lost her family soon after her birth. Then, she was sold as a slave, but her love and connection to Allah was recognized by her owner, and she was then given her liberty. Rabia did not leave any space for anything else in her heart other than Allah's "true" love. Rabia spent most of her days worshipping Allah by thinking, praying and fasting. She never married and devoted her entire life to Allah. She did not care about any worldly possessions.²⁶

It is clear that the image of Rabia in Evliya's mind is very similar to the abovementioned common view. Evliya, however, is not the first person who used Rabia as an archetype. Starting from the very early years of Islam, Rabia has been used as an iconic figure for Muslim women. Abd al-Raḥmān Sulamī (11th century), Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushayrī (11th century), and Farīd ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Aṭṭār (13th century) wrote biographies about her which depicted her in this manner.²⁷

When one takes the abovementioned descriptions of Rabia into account, it should not be surprising to see Evliya depicting his "ideal" woman as a woman who does not go anywhere other than her own house. Moreover,

²⁵ Arezou Azad, "Female Mystics in Mediaeval Islam: The Quiet Legacy" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 56, (2013), 54.

²⁶ Nelle Cook, "Recontextualizing Early Şūfī Figures: Rābī'a al-'Adawiyya and Dhū'n-Nūn." (Master's Thesis, The University of Arizona, 2015), 7.; Betül Erin Çiçek, "Rābiatū'l-Adeviyye'de (95/714-185/801) Allah Aşkı ve Rızâ," (Master's Thesis, Süleyman Demirel University, 2019).; Ömer Yılmaz, "Basrali Rabia ve Avilali Teresa'nin Mistik Görüşlerinin Karşılaştırılması". *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 17 / 1 (June 2013): 5-31.; Margaret Smith, *Rābia Bir Kadın Şūfī*, translated by Özlem Eraydın, İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2016.; Mustafa Özdamar, *Hız. Rabia ve Kadın Evliyalara*, İstanbul: Kırkkandil Yayınları, 2011.

²⁷ Cook, 7-10.; Ebû Abdurrahman Muhammed b Hüseyin es-Sülemî, *Zikrū'n-nisveti'l-müteabbidâti's-süfyyât*, Kahire, Mektebetü'l-Hancı, 1993.; Ebu'l-Kâsım Abdülkerîm b. Hevâzin Kuşeyrî (ö. 465/1072), *Kuşeyrî Risâlesi*, translated by Süleyman Uludağ, İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2009.; Farīd al-Dīn abō Ḥāmed Moḥamed 'Aṭṭār Nīşāpōrī and Arthur John Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics: Episodes from the Tadhkirat al-Auliya'*, Reprint, Routledge Library Editions 41 London: Routledge, 2008.

as already stated above, Evliya states that even the dead bodies of these women should not be taken outside of their houses when dead if at all possible but, rather, they should bury her inside of their own houses. The next section will demonstrate that this ideal portrayal of all women in the Ottoman Empire at the time of Evliya's travels is simply hyperbole and that those depictions do not match up with the realities of the time.

B. The Everyday Lives of Ottoman Women

The first section of this study indicates a kind of woman who is segregated and absent from the outside world. This kind of woman was depicted as being the "ideal" type of woman of Evliya Celebi. The first part of the study also argues that Evliya's account of women in the Seyahatname. There may be some factors that motivated Evliya to depict this type of woman. To be able to prove that the "ideal" woman does not illustrate the real women of the Ottoman Empire, some real examples from the daily lives of women will be given in this section.

In the first section, Celebi was quoted as saying, "Sûk-ı sultânîde bir bint-i sagîre görseler katl ederler yâhûd pederini te'dîb ederler. Tâ bu mertebe ehl-i ırz Diyârbekir'dir" meaning that, "If they see a little girl in the street, they will either kill her, or teach her father the ethical rules. This is the measure of chastity of Diyarbakir." Can one understand this with its literal meaning (i.e., there was not even one little girl in the street)? The following part is also taken from the Seyahatname, which shows when Evliya sees women outside in Diyarbakir. Here, though, the women's being out in the streets did not damage his depiction of them. This can either be because of his first idea about this territory or because of the pleasure that he obtained from this territory's women when he exaggerates their situation.

Cümlesi beyâz çârşefe bürünüp yüzlerinde kıl nikâb ve başlarında sivri altun ve gümüş tâkiye giyüp pâlarında elbette çizme giyerler. Diyâr-ı bîkr olmağile pâkîze bâkireleri dahi câr [u] îzâr ile zer ü zîvere müstağraklardır.²⁸

All of them are covered with a white sheet [burqa], wear niqab on their faces, having gold and silver jeweler on their heads, and of course, wear boots on their feet.

Evliya depicts the clothes of women in Diyarbakir where he had already stated that the women were not outside and in which it is not possible to see even one little girl. His depictions about women's clothes

²⁸ Celebi, volume 4, 29.

proves that he did not see just one or two, but many women who, in turn, gave him an opinion about their clothes. Therefore, one should note that the first depiction that he gives of that town's women should not be understood literally.

Evliya Celebi states about Van women "Hudâ âlimdir nisâ-ların görmedim, ammâ sikâ yâr-ı gârlarımızın nakilleri üzre..." ("With Allah as witness I have not seen their women, but according to our trustworthy friends..."), but once again he gives some descriptions that prove that he witnessed some women outside who enabled him to give some knowledge about their clothes.

Der-ayân-ı kaba-yı nisvân: Cümle havâtînleri ayağı sarı çizmeli ve başlarında altun ve gümüş ve dîbâ sivri tâc giyüp yüzlerine kıl nikâb ve beyâz burka' dutak koyup üzerlerinde cümle beyâz miskâli boğası câr bürünür mestûrelerdir.²⁹

Three examples which were given in the first section (showing that women did not go outside) simply provide proof that Evliya could exaggerate the state of women, either to show how pious the particular territory was or to show his readers that there are many people who can live in an Islamic way, just like "Rabî'a Adaviyye."

The aim of this section is not only to show that women could go outside, but to also show that, no matter how Evliya says that women are covered and are completely absent from outside life, Evliya also depicts their daily lives, including their educational, social, and commercial activities. Since Evliya's work includes both depictions in great detail, one can conclude that women *did* actively partake in outside life. Indeed, Evliya gives more specific descriptions about women's daily lives than the general implication that "I do not see women in this particular territory." Therefore, the second depiction is more trustworthy, even though the first depiction is still accurate to some extent, even though not as fully as he would like for us to believe.

An example which shows that women also received educations, if not at the same degree as that received by men, can be seen in the first volume where Evliya depicts Istanbul. "*Esnâf-ı hâfızân-ı Kur'ân-ı azîm: Neferât 6000, şehri İslâmbol içre bu altı bin hâfızdan gayrı nisvândan üç bin hâfıza vardır.*" Meaning, "*There are 6000 men and 3000 women hafiz (Quran reciters).*"³⁰

²⁹ Celebi, volume 4, 116.

³⁰ Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, volume 1, transcribed from Ottoman Turkish script to modern Turkish script by Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yuce Dagli, Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2001, 245.

In the *Seyahatname*, one can encounter many waqif institutions which are either devoted to women or donated by women, including mosques, fountains, or many other social institutions. Some examples are given below:

Balı Paşa câmi'i:

Hân vezîridir. Emîr Buhârî kurbünde fevkânî bir câmi'dir. Ammâ kapusu üzre târîhi böyle tahrîr olunmuşdur

Yapdı bu câmi'i Hümâ Hâtûn

Bint-i İskenderî vezîr ol mâh

Hak kabûl ede gösterüp {dîdâr

Kıla mahşerde şefkatiyle İlâh

Dedi anın Hüdâyî târîhin

Mescid-i ümmet-i Resûlullâh. Mi'mâr Sinân binâsıdır}.³¹

The statement is written on the gate of the Bali Pasha Mosque which illustrate the building was made by Huma Hatun. The Hurrem Sultan Mosque, the Asiye Hanim Mosque, the Medrese-i Hacı Hatun, the Serife Hatun Mosque, the Amma Mosque, and the Kosem Valide Sultan Mosque are only a few examples from many which are either made by or devoted to women.

Kurdish women, who Evliya depicts as people who never go out (as in the examples of Van, Diyarbakir, and Bitlis), are shown to be people who have outside lives. In his book "Evliya Celebi Seyahatnamesinde Bitlis ve Halki" (translated from German to Turkish by Haydar Isik), Wilhelm Kohler depicts them riding horses and being very good at archery and shooting guns.³²

Furthermore, Evliya Celebi, in his trip to Izmir, states that the women could go promenade, but not every day, only Wednesdays.³³ He also describes women going to hammams (public bath), *kaplicas* (thermal spring), and many other social facilities, either on designated days and hours, or in places which were specialized especially for women. For example, thermal springs were divided into three separate groups for men, women, and children, respectively.³⁴

³¹ Celebi, volume 1, 139.

³² Wilhelm Kohler, *Evliya Celebi Seyahatnamesinde Bitlis ve Halki*, translated by Haydar Isik, Istanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1989, 23.

³³ Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, volume 9, transcribed from Ottoman Turkish script to modern Turkish script by Yuce Dagli, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Robert Dankoff, Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2005, 45.

³⁴ Evliya Celebi, *Seyahatname*, volume 2, transcribed from Ottoman Turkish script to modern Turkish script by Zekeriya Kursun, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yuce Dagli, Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 1998, 16.

Conclusion

Evliya Celebi, a 17th-century Ottoman traveler, visited areas throughout his country and many other countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Evliya bequeathed a 10-volume book, the Seyahatname, to the world. He visited Bursa for the first time after Istanbul in 1640 and traveled until his death. Evliya's Seyahatname provides rich depictions of the territories he visited. He explains their climate, vegetation, the names of men and women, the administration system, commercial life, and many other issues. The issue of women is also among the frequently mentioned issues in the Seyahatname.

Evliya generally states the names of the women that he met in the territories that he visits. He also gives information about women's general roles in the community. He describes beautiful women and their lifestyles while also providing information about how men and women interact.

This study argues that Evliya depicts two types of women. On the one hand, Evliya depicts a woman who mostly stays at home and is pious. On the other hand, he also describes a woman who has a life outside the home. In this study, the first kind of woman is depicted as his "ideal" woman — even though Evliya never mentions this term himself — who he bases on Rabia Adawiyye.

This study argues that the first kind of woman — the woman who never goes out and does anything other than housework — should not be understood as Evliya depicts because he gives examples of those same women going outside their own houses for some reason. This study is divided into two main sections and a conclusion to better defend the claim that Evliya's ideal woman also had an outside life and that there may have been some other factors that influenced Evliya to portray them in that way.

The first section was divided into three sub-sections. First, Evliya's "ideal" woman was studied. Then, the motivating factors for using this depiction are listed under the second sub-section. Finally, the ideal example of the "ideal" woman, Rabia Adawiyye, was examined.

This study claims that Evliya's ideal woman refers to a woman who never goes out, interacts with the opposite gender, and behaves according to Islamic rules, both physically and mentally. He uses complementary adjectives for this kind of woman. This depiction is not necessarily fully accurate, but there may be some motivating factors that led Evliya to use that depiction. This study argues that the main factors for using this depiction are as follows: (1) the piety of Evliya; (2) his elite status and close connections with the Ottoman Palace; and (3) his patriotism towards the Ottoman

Empire. This study argues that Evliya, either willingly or unwillingly, was affected by these three factors and that that is the reason why he exaggerated his depictions about women in certain instances. The first part also gives some information about the archetypal figure of this depiction, Rabia Adawiyye.

The second part of the study argues that the first part of the study does not describe women correctly by giving some examples from the Seyahatname that proves that Ottoman women did have outside lives and shared many social facilities, even though they did have outside lives though not as much as men. Evliya in the first part says that he never saw the women of particular areas, but in the second part, he illustrates their clothes and baubles with his own words, thereby proving that he witnessed them. In the second section, there is also an example that relates to women's receiving religious educations just like men. In the Ottoman Empire, women played a great role in establishing and using many social institutions, including public baths, mosques, madrasahs, and fountains. The fact that women played a part in their establishment and usage also proves that Evliya's ideal woman did not match to the reality of Ottoman women at the time.



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EVLİYA ÇELEBİ SEYAHATNAMESİNDE 17. YÜZYIL OSMANLI KADINLARI

 Hamdullah BAYCAR^a

Geniş Öz

Osmanlı Devleti'nin en önemli seyyahlarından Evliya Çelebi geriye bıraktığı on ciltlik seyahatname ile yaşadığı dönemi yansıtmada konusunda ayna görevi görmektedir. Evliya Çelebi, Osmanlı topraklarını aşarak Azerbaycan, İran ve Avrupa'ya kadar uzanan coğrafya ile ilgili zengin bilgiler içeren ve tarihi kaynağa dönüşen seyahatnamesini kırk yıllık bir dönemde yazmıştır. Önde gelen Osmanlı Çalışmaları uzmanı Robert Dankoff, Evliya Çelebi'nin gördüklerini ve duyduklarını ayrıntılı bir şekilde kayda geçirdiği Seyahatnamesini 17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı'sının geniş bir panoraması olarak nitelemiştir.

Evliya'nın betimlemeleri arasında gezdiği yörenin isimleri, gelenekleri, ekonomik koşulları, konuşulan dillerin kuralları ve daha birçok yönünü içermektedir. Görünüşleri, isimleri, rolleri ve davranışlarıyla kadınlar Evliya'nın tasvirinde önemli bir yer almıştır. Özellikle dindarlık, Evliya'nın ele aldığı önemli bir husus olmuştur. Eserinde kadınların görünür olmadığı ya da toplumun cinsiyete göre ayrıştırıldığı yörelerin ahlakını överek takdir eden Evliya'nın, kadınların halk arasında sık sık görüldüğü yerlerde ise hayal kırıklığına uğradığı anlaşılmaktadır. Evliya'nın evinden dışarı çıkmayan dindar kadın tasvirinin, onun ideal kadın olarak gördüğü Rabı'atu'l-Adeviyye tasavvurundan kaynaklandığını savunan bu çalışma, Evliya'nın bu tasavvurunun, kendi kişisel motivasyonlarıyla ilişkisine odaklanmaktadır. Oldukça dindar olması ve Osmanlı sarayına bağlılığı gibi kişisel motivasyonların Evliya'yı bu tasvirinde etkili olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Bu çalışma Evliya Çelebi'nin iki farklı kadın tasavvurunu ele almaktadır. Bunlardan biri Evliya'nın ideal kadını olan dindar, evinden dışarı çıkmayan ve mahremiyete önem veren kadinken diğeri mahremiyete önem vermeyen

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kadın olarak kategorize edilebilir. Evliya, birinci kategoriye giren kadınları, aklındaki kadın imajının en güçlü örneği Rabı'atu'l-Adeviyye'ye benzetmektedir.

Evliya, örtünme, dindarlık ve ev hanımlık vasıfları nedeniyle Osmanlı kadınlarını yüksek itibara sahip olmakla övmüştür. Özellikle kadınların başörtüsü takmalarına ve zorunlu olmadıkça dışarı çıkmamalarına hayran kalmıştır. Evliya Çelebi her ne kadar hayran kaldığı kadınları evinden dışarı çıkmayan ve sosyal hayatı olmayan insanlar olarak betimlemişse de aslında aynı yöredeki kadınların dışarıdaki sosyal hayatta var olduklarına dair fazlaca örnekleri de tasvir etmiştir.

Bu çalışma, Evliya'nın "ideal" 17. yüzyıl Osmanlı kadınının evinin dışına hiç çıkmamasına ve çoğunlukla kendi ev işleri ve ailesiyle meşgul olan bir insan olarak tasvir etmesine rağmen, Evliya'nın belirttiği gibi, kadınların doğumlarından ölümlerine kadar evlerinde kalmadıklarını ve sosyal hayatta ciddi anlamda yer aldıklarını savunmaktadır. Evinden çıkmayan kadın tasvirinin aksine, yine Evliya'nın metinlerinde Osmanlı kadınlarının sosyal yaşamdaki varlıklarına örnekler vermektedir. Kadınların sosyal hayattaki görünürlüklerini sosyal, toplumsal ve eğitimsel alandaki katkılarla örneklendirmektedir. Bu çelişki Evliya'nın Seyahatnamesinin güvenilir olmadığı anlamına gelmese de kendi kişisel değer yargılarının etkisi altında kaldığı ve hayran kaldığı toplumsal olaylar karşısında söz konusu betimlemeleri yaptığı düşünülmektedir.

Bu çalışma Evliya Çelebi'nin özellikle dışarı çıkmamasıyla övündüğü yörenin kadınlarına ait anekdotları inceleyerek Evliya'nın hemen bundan sonra kadınları görmüş gibi tasvirlerini ileriki bölümlerde incelemiştir. Evliya bilhassa Van, Bitlis ve Diyarbakır şehirlerinin kadınları için dışarıya çıkmadıkları için hayranlıklarını dile getirmiştir. Bazı yerler için öldükten sonra mümkün olanların evlerinde gömüldüğünü söylemişse de hemen sonrasında aynı yörenin kadınları için tasvirler etmesi Evliya'nın yöredeki kadın-erkek ilişkisinin resmîyetine duyduğu hayranlığı mübalağa sanatı ile dile getirmiş olabileceği yönündedir.

Bu durum tezat gibi görünse de uzun seyahatler sonucunda yazılan bir metin için edebi sanat olarak algılanması akıllarda tutulmalıdır. Ayrıca Evliya Çelebi'nin genel olarak seyahatnamesinde birbirine paralel olmayan bu tür betimlemeler yer yer karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu durumun Evliya'nın kendine has yazı stili ve değişen duygu yapısı çerçevesinde değişim gösterdiğiyle ilişkisinin olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Evliya'nın gezdiği yerlere dair çok ayrıntılı betimlemelere yer vermesi,

Seyahatnameyi benzerlerinden ayırdığı gibi güvenilirlik sorununa ilişkin teskin edici bir bağlam sunmaktadır. Nitekim seyahatname türü yazılar genel olarak benzeri eleştirilere maruz kalmaktadır. Bu eleştirilerin en çok bilinenlerinden biri 13. yüzyıl seyyahı Marco Polo'nun seyahat notları olmuştur.

Bu çalışma sadece Evliya Çelebi'nin Seyahatnamesiyle ilgilendiği için belli başlı bazı sınırlamalara sahiptir. Bunların başında Evliya'nın sadece gezdiği yerlerle ilgili tasvirleri incelemesinden gelir. İkincisi ise bu çalışmanın sadece Evliya'nın yaşadığı dönemi ele aldığı ve bu yüzden zamansal olarak da kısıtlı olduğu unutulmamalıdır. Üçüncü sınırlılık sadece Seyahatname üzerine yoğunlaştığı için kaynak açısından çeşitlilik gösterememesidir. Bu kısıtlılığın birçok tarihi çalışma için geçerli olduğu unutulmamalıdır. Ronald Jennings kadı kayıtlarını inceleyerek Osmanlı şehri Kayseri'deki kadınların sosyal durumunu çalışmıştır. Jennings de çalışmasında bu sınırlılıklardan bahsetmişse de hali hazır çalışma gibi kadınların sosyal hayattaki varlıklarından ve haklarından bahsetmiştir.

Sonuç olarak bu çalışma, Evliya Çelebi'nin "makul kadın" olarak tanımladığı Rabi'atu'l-Adaviyye profilinin etkisinde kalarak gezdiği yerlerdeki izlenimlerine ve duygularının etkisiyle betimlemeler yaptığına odaklanacaktır. Betimlemeler her ne kadar gördükleriyle alakalı olsa da duygu ve düşünce süzgecinden geçerken mübalağa sanatına başvurduğu ve kadını bazı bölgelerde hiç görmediği ve ancak cesetlerinin evden çıktığını ve hatta bazı durumlarda onun bile çıkmadığını dile getirmiştir. Buna rağmen daha sonra kadınları gördüğüyle alakalı betimlemelerle kadının özelliklerine yer vermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İslam Tarihi, Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatname, Kadın, Rabi'a al-Adaviyye.



Teşekkür:

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Beyanname:

1. Özgünlük Beyanı:

Bu çalışma özgündür.

2. Etik Kurul İzni:

Etik Kurul İzni gerekmemektedir.

3. Finansman/Destek:

Bu çalışma herhangi bir finansman ya da destek almamıştır.

4. Katkı Oranı Beyanı:

Yazar, makaleye başkasının katkıda bulunmadığını beyan etmektedir.

5. Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı:

Yazar, herhangi bir çıkar çatışması olmadığını beyan etmektedir.

