

Manhunt On The Austrian Border; Evliya Çelebi, Slave Raids And Enslavement

Avusturya Sınırında İnsan Avı; Evliya Çelebi, Köle Akınları ve Köleleştirme

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Abstract

The Austrian expedition in which Evliya Çelebi participates in 1663 is one of the most dramatic parts of the *Seyahatname*. Evliya participates in a series of raids, often faces death, captures people, and sells slaves in slave markets to earn large sums of money. The most important aspect of these narratives is the direct relationship between enslavement and Christianity. Especially in the seventh volume of the book, extremely derogatory language is used about the Christian people and the cruel acts committed on the bodies of Christians are explained with all clarity. At the same time, Evliya describes the vibrant cultural life of the city with admiration when he is in Vienna for peace talks. This article shows how Evliya, who is well versed in poetry and music, is also prone to acts of violence. Although Evliya is portrayed by researchers as a person who is tolerant of other identities, this article will attempt to show how the difficult conditions of war have led to a change in the discourse about Evliya's perception of Christians.

Keywords: Evliya Çelebi, slavery, Christianity.

Özet

Evliya Çelebi'nin 1663'de katıldığı Avusturya seferleri, *Seyahatname*'nin önemli bir bölümünü oluşturur. Evliya sefer boyunca bir dizi akına dahil olmuş, ölümler yüz yüze gelmiş, pek çok tutsak ve köle ele geçirmiş ve bunları yüklü meblağlar karşılığında köle pazarlarında satışa çıkarmıştır. Evliya'nın yaşadıklarını aktardığı bu bölümlerde en baskın söylem Hıristiyanlık ve köleleştirme arasında kurduğu doğrudan bağlantılardır. Hıristiyanlar hakkında oldukça ağır bir dil kullanmış ve Hıristiyanlara yapılan fiziksel şiddet tüm açıklığıyla metne yansıtılmıştır. Aynı zamanda Evliya barış görüşmeleri için Viyana'da bulunduğu sırada şehrin canlı kültür hayatını adeta hayranlıkla betimler. Bu makale şiir ve müzik konusunda iyi bir birikime sahip olan Evliya Çelebi'nin aynı zamanda şiddet eylemlerine ne kadar yatkın olduğunu göstermektedir. Her ne kadar Evliya araştırmacılar tarafından farklı kimliklere karşı tolerans sahibi birisi olarak gösterilse de, bu makalede zorlu savaş koşullarının Evliya'nın Hıristiyan algısı üzerine ne şekilde bir söylem değişikliğine gittiği gösterilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Evliya Çelebi, kölelik, Hıristiyanlık.

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1. Introduction

Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* has a unique significance for understanding the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century. Evliya's work reveals the mentality and values of the society in which he lived. Therefore, today it constitutes a valuable resource for history, anthropology and geography. Evliya used different definitions for the people he encountered in various times and places during more than fifty years of travel. Although it is not possible to search for a basic consensus and integrity in these views and thoughts, he made many positive and negative definitions for people of different identities he encountered. In this article, I will examine Evliya's discourse that he used for the Christian people he encountered on the battlefield in the Hungarian region and Vienna. In his seventh volume of *Seyahatname*, Evliya participated in the raids and wars, took part in the peace talks in Vienna, and visited churches and presented his primary observations about the lives of the people in this region. First, Evliya did not speak positively about Christians in general as a Muslim, but he made objective observations and gave some positive evaluations, especially in his narrative concerning Vienna. However, what makes the seventh volume historically valuable are the raids and wars in which Evliya himself participates, and Evliya presents us the defeat of Ottomans in St. Gothard. The hallmark of Evliya's account is his description of the Christians who are presented captives and slaves.

It is almost impossible to trace Evliya Çelebi's thoughts about non-Muslims, so I will focus only on his discourse about Christians living on the Austrian border. The border that separated Austria and Ottoman Empire played a crucial role in shaping Evliya's expressions. On the Hungarian border, he encountered wartime conditions, death, starvation, and danger. However, when he arrived in Vienna, he came across a pleasant and cultured palace atmosphere; thus, his discourse fundamentally changed. Researchers have linked these changes in Evliya's interpretation of non-Muslims to the different conditions and opportunities (Faroqi, 2019: 6). Evliya's relatively positive views of Viennese Christians may not solely concern peaceful living conditions. The passages describing the city and its developed living conditions can also be seen as the heralds of wealth and opportunity awaiting the Ottomans if they conquer the city. In addition, Evliya's personal friendships with Christians (Dankoff, 2013) and business relationships demonstrate that he does not have any problems communicating with Christians. However, his general discourse about Christians includes a series of Islamic judgments and acceptances. Although personal contacts and experiences were a significant factor in forming Evliya's friendships, his prejudices about different religions were rooted in preconceived notions and stereotypes.

2. Hungarian Frontier, Endless Wars and Slavery

After the death of King Zapolya in 1540 and the attack of Ferdinand, the Ottomans felt that the delicate balance between the Habsburgs and themselves in Central Europe had been shaken. Therefore, Sultan Suleiman made Buda an Ottoman province in 1541, while Erdel became a semi-independent principality. In the period following the conquest, the Ottomans sent large numbers of soldiers to the fortresses along the border and formed timar-style landed cavalry groups that made their living from the land revenues there. Now aware of the limits of their military influence, they felt compelled to

allocate more human and material resources to defensive expenditures. They built frontier defenses and captured new forts and lands to ensure frontier security (Agoston, 2000). Feeding and economically supporting the forts on the border was an expensive process. The Ottoman bureaucracy, on the other hand, was trying to turn these regions into places that could achieve their economic cycle as much as possible.

Although the frontiers have gained a certain stability, it would be wrong to say that raids were completely over. For the next 150 years, the region remained a military area where wars and conflicts continued. Apart from the two major wars of 1606 and 1699, campaigns on the western front were characterized mainly by smaller sieges on the frontier, mostly based on the use of local forces. The Ottoman wars in the region began to develop a structure that consisted more of small-scale raids and the defense of previously conquered places than of new territorial conquests.

Those raids took the form of small-scale troops on both sides crossing the border to hunt slaves, livestock, and valuables. Even during the reign of Matthias Hunyadi, which is considered one of the safest periods from the Hungarian point of view, the Ottomans continued their attacks. They even continued their attacks on Austrian territory in Nagyvarad and Transylvania. Despite the peace concluded between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in 1646, the plundering, raids and captures continued, and the "Captain GENERAL" of Transdanubia, Adam Bathyany I, was striving to preserve the Holy Peace. As this example shows, every responsible Hungarian politician and soldier knew about the traumatic and devastating nature of the peace with the Ottomans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many Muslims and Christians, who did not voluntarily consent to the treaties, participated in the hunt for captives and slaves to increase their income with the prisoners. Even in the years of peace, such as between 1633 and 1649, the Ottomans killed or kidnapped 4200 people in Kanizsa and its surroundings, captured 1760 animals, and burned dozens of houses in the area. Especially in 1646, the violence of the attacks increased, and in 1646 more than 1000 people died in Kemenesalja alone (Ujvary, 2007, pp.142-5).

During the raids, the Ottomans were able to capture several thousand captives at once. In the books written by the ones who were later released from captivity, the information about the sufferings and kidnapping stories attracts attention. According to Georgius de Hungaria, the raiders took so many captives that a single captive could be sold for a fur hat. There was little chance for the kidnapped people to be released. The nobles and wealthy had to pay a high price to return home but the vast majority were sent to various parts of the empire to be sold into slavery (Csukovits, 2007, pp.3-7). Slavery was a part of daily life in the Islamic world, as it was for other peoples in the early modern period, and its importance and extent increased more in the Middle East through conquests after a series of wars. The slaves were mostly used for their free labour, protection, and cleaning of the accommodation or palace to increase the comfort of the people who enslaved them. Moreover, they were also used as eunuchs, concubines.

Endless wars and the demand for slaves led to an extensive and well-managed slave trade. In the fifteenth century, slaves came to the imperial lands from four main regions. Tatar raids into Poland and Russia were an important source of slave labor of the Empire. A considerable number of Western European slaves took their place in the Ottoman slave markets through pirate activities in the Mediterranean. As a result of the endless wars in the Balkans, captured enemy soldiers were most likely enslaved. Of course, there were also slaves from sub-Saharan Africa. This article will focus on the wars and raids in the Hungarian region, and therefore the Austro-Hungarian border and the Tatar raids will be examined as the basis for these captive and slave resources.

The slave trade forms an interesting and lively chapter in Ottoman and Hungarian history. Two periods can be distinguished: the period of intense military expeditions and the second, more peaceful period with reciprocal incursions by both sides. In the first period, both sides captured quite a large number of slaves. The Ottoman side sent the Christian captives to slave trading centers such as Sarajevo and Istanbul or the Muslim captives were sold to Austrian, Venetian and Florentine merchants. The second period constituted a larger period of relations, both sides attempting to obtain the captives for ransom. This was the direct result of the coexistence of both powers on the border and their attacks on the enemy territory. Ransom slavery on the Ottoman-Hungarian border reached its peak during the long period of peace from 1606-1663 (Palffy, 2007, pp.38-9).

Tatars were in action in Hungary between 1521 and 1717, but it should be noted that unlike the wars against Russia and Poland, the slave raids against Hungary were much more limited. In principle, however, it was possible for the Tatars to hunt slaves in all three parts of Hungary. Due to the great distance between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Crimea, the transportation of slaves was not possible, so the available documents indicate that Hungarians were not brought to the Crimea, but were sold in Buda or in the lower Danube region (Ivanics, 2007, pp.201-3).

In times of peace, the best opportunities to capture slaves were through raids on enemy territory. During attacks, both the Ottomans and the Hungarians entered the enemy's territory in the form of large groups, without hiding their open plans (Palffy, 2007, p.42). These depredations could be considered a clear violation of the peace treaty. Ottoman and Christian captives caught in the looting were taken to the prisons located on the opposite side of the empire. The life of the person captured as a prisoner depended on a number of important factors, primarily his family background, title, and position in the military. At that time, people's position in society was particularly important, and people's hierarchies were taken seriously. In the exchange of prisoners, people were exchanged only with their peers. The wealth of these people was not always based on criteria such as the position they held in the state, but also their wealth, family, health, age and stamina. Of course, captives and their relatives tried to hide their wealth and position in society but the owners of the captives were able to learn about the position of people across the border through the networks they created. At the same time, the captive's clothing, weapons, and horse could reveal much about his position and wealth (Ujvary, 2007, p.150). Both the Ottoman and Hungarian fortress soldiers were unhappy that their emperor demanded the best slaves for them. Therefore, the real reward for the soldiers on both sides ~~were ordinary mid-level captives. Such people were sent to the capitals only in exceedingly rare~~

exceptional cases. As a rule, they were held captive in the castles of the surrounding areas and returned to their countries after a certain period, but by making their captors rich (Palffy, 2007, p.46).

The slaves did not seem to expect any outside help and they could try to obtain their freedom by resorting to means other than the payment of money. Accepting the religion of the region to which they were taken was one of these options. Even a small number of captives were able to renounce them in order to gain spiritual salvation (Palffy, 2007, p.54). However, since the main purpose of capture was to obtain ransom, smugglers had no intention of converting slaves. Considering the uncertain prices they would receive from families in exchange, they preferred the slave markets. At the same time, the people involved in this trade tried to leave the Hungarian territory as soon as possible. So, since it would take time to make these agreements on Hungarian territory, they tried to leave the slaves behind as soon as possible (Csukovits, 2007, p.14).

A captive was not legally a slave, but that could easily happen if the ransom demanded had not been paid. For the Ottoman Empire, the 15th century was a period when slave raids from Hungary were at their highest. The most important reason for capturing people was the ransom because it was a fairly reliable source of income (Fodor, 2007). The payment of the ransom required an agreement between the owner of the prisoner and the family. This was an exceptionally long and arduous process, as the owners of the captives demanded extremely high prices in the initial stages of negotiations. If the prisoner was not satisfied with the money offered, which was usually the case, negotiations began. The owner of the prisoner tried to set the price as high as possible. After a certain period, half or even a quarter of the demanded price was accepted (Ivanics, 2007, p.210; Ujvary, 2007, p.152).

3. Evliya Çelebi as a Reflection of the Seventeenth Century, Its Sources and Narration Technique

Studies on Evliya Çelebi have increased considerably since the last half of the twentieth century. The works of Robert Dankoff offered an important perspective to understand the great Ottoman traveler. He attempted to read Ottoman mentality and identity through these texts by looking at the *Seyahatname* as a whole. However, despite all these studies on *Seyahatname*, there is confusion among researchers on how to interpret *Seyahatname* today. There are endless debates about whether *Seyahatname* is an account or an autobiography and whether it should be seen as a literary product or a historical source (Tezcan, 2012). Therefore, it is not considered important to what extent Evliya's narrative reflects his own real-life testimony, to what extent it is based on folk tales, and to what extent it reflects direct observations and historical reality. What is important for us is that Evliya is able to present us with a great panorama of the seventeenth century through his ten-volume work (Faroqhi, 1997, p.118).

Generally, the date of birth of most prominent Ottomans is unclear to the researchers, while their date of death is mainly recorded. He probably died in Egypt but when exactly he died is uncertain. Evliya said that he was born in 10 Muharram 1020 (March 25, 1611) on the Day of Ashura. Evliya's family was

closely associated with the Ottoman palace: his father Mehmed Zilli Efendi was a goldsmith in the palace and his mother was a young slave in the harem, a relative of Melek Ahmed Pasha. Unfortunately, Evliya rarely speaks about his mother in his extensive work, and when he does, he does not even think it necessary to mention her name. Nevertheless, the father figure is fundamental in Evliya's work; he often dreams about his father, talks about his craft (Dankoff, 2010, pp.44-47).

From what Evliya narrates, we get the impression that he received his first education in the Unkapanı marketplace, near his father's store. The Qur'an teacher Evliya Mehmed Efendi occupies a special place in Evliya's life (Dankoff, 2010, pp.49-52). Evliya's mistakes in quoting Arabic works in his *Seyahatname* and giving the names and authors of the works incorrectly, started discussions about Evliya's knowledge of Arabic (Gemici, 2012). However, in the field of prose, he created a unique form at a time when poetic writing completely dominated the literary field. His fusion of palace culture with Islamic Turkish epic and folk culture and his knowledge of the tradition of Islamic tafsir and history books, gave him a unique advantage over prose. The informative aspect of his writings, which aimed to persuade the audience, and his ability to combine this with entertaining elements to increase people's satisfaction made his work unique (Dankoff, 2010, p.205).

According to Evliya's account, he had contact with Murad IV, which almost reached a friendship. These sections in which Evliya described his life in the palace and his relationship with the sultan contain colorful details, and his intimate activities, such as musical meetings and wrestling matches with the sultan were also interesting in terms of giving a different portrait of Murad IV (Dankoff, 2010, p.55). He was a good observer and traveler, and at the same time, over a long period of his life, he took the companionship of state officials and showed himself as a representative of people like Mehmed IV and Melek Ahmed Pasha. He was entrusted with various tasks by the Ottoman pashas, actively fought in some wars and participated in plundering. He devoted a large part of his life to travel, and due to his ability to use humor well, he became the friend of leading state administrators, including Murad IV, and attained palace culture by achieving the privilege of growing up in Enderun. With all these interesting things, Evliya was not classified into any particular category; thus he claimed the title of *çelebi* (Dankoff, 2010, p.138).

The great similarity in the description of the events showed that Evliya had read the written historical sources. He also attached great importance to how they were transmitted from generation to generation in the memory of people. In order to give his narrative an impressive impact, he quoted Mustafa Ali and Peçevi directly, not using dry language but using analogies without completely excluding the amusing, dramatic and humorous elements (Vatin, 2012). Given the weakness of the formidable power of written books in front of a wide audience, it may seem reasonable to assume that oral traditions gain popularity more easily (Karatake, 2012). Looking at the writing style of these historical works, which are suitable for reading and listening together, Evliya's connections to the Ottoman tradition of historiography become clear. Evliya made simplifications, created a different style of construction, and minimized similarities to increase the curiosity of readers. This is an important indication that we should perceive Evliya as a traveler of his time rather than a historical source (Sarıcaoğlu, 2012)

4. Beyond Borders: Slavery and Christianity

According to Evliya's *Seyahatname*, he spent more time in Hungary than anywhere else. The last part of the fifth volume, a large part of the sixth volume and the first parts of the seventh volume are the sections devoted to Hungary. Evliya's interest in Hungary was not caused by a special love for this place. The war was drawn him to that land. He traveled the region between 1660 and 1666, accompanying a number of *serdars*. A total of six years of Evliya's stay in Hungary are full of wars, looting, raids, victories and defeats. Therefore, Evliya needs less additional creativity in order to make his transfer even more interesting. The stories he tells are in every way dramatically more intense than the ones he recounts in the previous volume (Bayerle, 2012).

The history of Hungary is not important to Evliya, it does not take much effort to learn it. He knows neither Latin nor Hungarian. It must have been someone who gave him information about the Hungarian region, but he either took it halfway or was misrepresented. These must have been used primarily for literary purposes. The historical significance of the *Seyahatname* should be sought in its narration of the Uivar expedition of its time rather than the semi-mythical narratives about past periods. He is a particularly good observer as can be seen in his mastery of describing the Transylvanian Campaign of 1661 and his detailed account of the death of Janos Kemeny and the election of Mihaly Apafi. The narration of the victory of Ottomans at Parkany and the defeat at St. Gotthard were equally meticulous in the *Seyahatname*.

The seventh volume starts with going directly to plunder to the "province of infidelity" and continues with the narration of the castles by saying "You've had enough, Evliya, don't stop and take action" (Evliya, 2011, p.2). The features that define the courage of the Ottoman soldiers, the victories in the wars and the sufferings along the way are the main characteristic expressions accompanying the narrative. But the search and waiting that continues throughout the volume is the desire for the enslavement of the war captives. Evliya must have been very scared during the journey; his life was definitely affected when he entered a war with a limited number of soldiers in enemy territory, the outcome of which he could not foresee. The long journeys in the forests, the threatening weapons of the enemy castles, the thought of going on an uncertain road without hearing from anyone, the cannons thrown at them must have been frightening for Evliya and those around him. The murderous events caused by the war were also reflected in Evliya's narrative:

There are so many wounded horses, infidel carcasses, horse carcasses and fresh graves of our martyrs in the forests that there is no limit. They cut the genital organs of all our martyrs and put them in their mouths. Hundreds of martyrs are covered in dust and lie down freshly (Evliya, 2011, p.30).

The roads were mostly swamps and the forests were made up of dense trees, and the mountainous structure of the region put them in a tricky situation in this foreign region (Evliya, 2011, p.20). When they were hungry, they ate their tired horses and enjoyed themselves (Evliya, 2011, p.6). Those actions were depicted in a constant state of movement; certain castles and regions were briefly described, hostile Christians were severely criticized, the booty obtained was proudly described, and the abducted captives and booty opportunities were conveyed with sadness and sorrow.

There were also efforts to rescue the enslaved Muslims encountered along the way. He narrated that when one hundred and fifty Muslim captives called for help around Kapornok Castle, the Islamic soldiers bravely entered the war and both rescued these Muslim captives from captivity and killed three hundred infidels. According to Evliya, these Muslim captives were tied in chains with up to thirty arrows on their feet; thus the Ottoman army was not equipped with a tool to cut these chains and to survive them (Evliya, 2011, p.5). Many signs of death were visible for him and his companions on the roads. Some of his friends died along the way for various reasons, the bodies of these people were tried to be preserved until they were taken to a different place and a proper funeral ceremony was held (Evliya, 2011, p.13). Evliya always commemorated the graves of Muslims who were martyred in the wars that took place in the time of Sultan Suleiman (Evliya, 2011, p.9). According to Evliya's account, the Christians in the region were very respectful towards these Muslim tombs. They dig ditches around the cemeteries so that the animals they grazed would not trample on these graves. In fact, Evliya even read the names of the people buried (Evliya, 2011, p.10).

In the seventh volume, Evliya describes a series of raids into the Transdanubian region. Köprülü Fazıl Pasha gives permission to Tatar auxiliary forces to pillage the Habsburg border and Evliya joins this plundering gang. However, things do not go as planned by the Ottomans and the army retreats irregularly across the river and thousands of Ottoman soldiers drown. Known as the Raba War or St. Gorhard's defeat, Evliya states that the harsh weather conditions and roads after reaching the river's edge weaken the motivation of the soldiers. He mentions that the constant hunger completely breaks the motivation of the army, soldiers kill each other only because of food and even the goods they looted become worthless due to food shortage (Evliya, 2011, pp.64-66). Evliya criticized the Grand Vizier's desire to continue the war while the seasonal conditions have deteriorated, ignoring the long-standing war (Evliya, 2011, p.68). Soldiers have fallen into complacency and do not consider the military power against them.

Evliya's accounts of the war are brutal in certain cases. For example, in their attack on the Great Purunduk city, Evliya cites the general descriptions of the city based on his observations. Evliya and his fellow gaza friends come to the city quite early in the morning, they surround the city like a wall and climbed the roofs and walls and set the city on fire with fiery arrows. Evliya expresses this moment of fire with immense joy.

The centuries-old structure was on fire, and all the unbelievers were caught in the fire of *Nemrud*, and some of the people immediately took their son in their arms and left their house with their husbands, and they were captured and taken prisoner.

This action for the purpose of taking the people out of the castle and seizing the castle quickly results in success. After killing the people who attacked them, they enter the castle and start a big pillage.

After closing the castle gates and having a feast for exactly seven hours, we took so many silver vessels, so many candlesticks and censers, such precious fabrics, such rare clothes, such rare precious gems, so many jewels, idols, crosses of pure gold from the churches and 700 clergy were taken captive. When the merciless Tatars cut off the breasts of a few women and put them on their heads, they asked, "Where is the property?"

So many hidden and buried goods underground and silver utensils, so many buried items were found that we could not afford to take them, leaving many Egyptian treasures in the dust. In short, 170 cars of precious goods and 3,000 beautiful-faced boys and moon-faced virgin German girls were captured (Evliya, 2011, p.11).

Throughout the text, Evliya describes the Christians he encounters as "infidels", the word can be translated as a person who does not believe in the existence of Allah and Prophet Muhammad's message. However, it contains more cultural coding than expressing one's religious belief and it also has a dimension used for humiliation in the Ottoman mental world. Evliya tried to create a pleasant sense of partnership between himself and the Ottoman reader by comparing the Christians they encountered in raids and wars to "hell infidels" (Evliya, 2011, p.90), "religious infidels like a dog" (Evliya, 2011, p.124), "infidels who came to the ground" (Evliya, 2011, p.49) "junk soldiers" (Evliya, 2011, p.170) and "pigs" (Evliya, 2011, p.11). Christians are depicted as wearing black hats in order to show their bad luck, and their houses and churches are basically depicted in black (Evliya, 2011, p.171). The bravery of the Islamic soldiers over the Christian soldiers and their superiority in the war is another element in the text. According to this narrative, infidels have no chance against Muslims and Christians are portrayed as fleeing because of their fear of Muslims. In the event of a collision, Christians die with a single sword blow from a Muslim soldier (Evliya, 2011, p.10). Their fortified castles are blown up by the Muslims and all the booty inside is captured by them (Evliya, 2011, p.6). Evliya conveys people's desperate escape from the castles as "they came out of the castle like pigs" (Evliya, 2011, p.11) and their helplessness on the battlefield as "We turned the unbelievers into monkeys" (Evliya, 2011, p.28). He is very happy about those who could not escape from the castle and died in the fire that was started by the Muslims in their own houses, "all the priests became a sizzling *kebab* in their churches" (Evliya, 2011, p.91).

According to Evliya, Ottoman soldiers killed many "infidels" in intermittent wars. Of course, valuable items on these people were taken as booty. However, in some cases, actions were taken on the corpses of "infidels" by going even further than this. "The heads of the infidels" were placed on poles and exhibited, the flags with the cross on them were taken down, the captive infidels were forced to play musical instruments and have fun. "The next morning, we shaped all the heads of infidels as spear ornaments on poles. By making the unbelievers sound their drums, horns and trumpets, and have the Crusader flags raised upside down" (Evliya, 2011, p.31). The reason for this ruthlessness and cruelty cannot be explained by the ongoing war, even the Christian tombs get their share from the anger of the Muslims during their stay in the region. "The Vizier of Budin, Ismail Pasha, would throw this church with a sewer, and the walls of the church with all its priests would be blown up, and the cadavers of all priests and clergymen would lie on the ground" (Evliya, 2011, p.23). Not only the soldiers but also the common people, however pitiful, had their fair share of Evliya's wrath. In fact, when they came to Eđirvar Castle, which had been conquered and devastated by the Grand Vizier, Evliya and his companions found ten people whose houses had been burned. They first seized their property and then killed them for no reason (Evliya, 2011, p.24).

The narratives about the captured people are also particularly important, the beauty and strength of these people have been specially depicted: "Boys and girls who shined like the sun were taken, their faces are like a bud of roses." (Evliya, 2011, p.12). The beauty and sexual attractiveness of these captives, whether male or female, are discussed: "They gave three beautiful German boys and three virgin girls to this poor person" (Evliya, 2011, p.21). The presentation of men as sexual objects should be related to sexual purposes as well as to the portrayal of the enemy-Christian concept in the Ottoman mentality as women as seen naturally powerless. Although all these raids were quite dangerous and troublesome, the financial gain in the end was quite high. Evliya and the veterans around him captured a large number of slaves and many valuables following those raids. The seizure of the spoils in this way was not only a material gain but also an important gain in terms of increasing the psychological strength of the Muslim soldiers and ordinary people.

We tied 3,760 captives in chains, put all the women and boys on horses in pairs, set 500 cars on fire again, and again, thank God, we slept one night by the Morava River and one night by the Raba River, and the next day we crossed the Raba River. (Evliya, 2011, p.18). ... In the morning, we took all our booty to the market and sold all the infidels, horses, clothes, swords, belts, and other kinds of goods expensively and finished them in five days. Five of our infidels were sold for one thousand gold and five of our infidels for five hundred gold, the rest for two and three hundred gold each, and we gave one fifth of the ten captives to the pasha, according to the law, but we fought a lot (Evliya, 2011, p.31).

However, Evliya and his companions were not lucky in disposing of these slaves everywhere. When they tried to sell these slaves in the army, they were very unsuccessful and got rid of them at an extremely low price. After the negative situation caused by the continuous rain and the loss of their slaves and captives due to the negative living conditions, they sought ways to dispose of them quickly. "We gave some 1,060 distinguished boys and girls from our captives to the soldiers at the border cheaply we set the cars on fire and lightened the load a little." (Evliya, 2011, p.21). But when they arrived in Kanije, they achieved satisfactory financial results: "The next day, we took all the prisoners and their booty to the market, seven days and seven nights, all the soldiers on the border heard about our prisoners, and all our goods were sold for high prices."

In 1665, Köprülü Fazıl Pasha sent Evliya to accompany Rumelili Muhammed Pasha to the peace talks in Vienna. He gave information about the churches, streets, and palace he visited in Vienna. After this episode, he made statements about his most likely untrue travel to Germany, Belgium, France and the Netherlands. He then recounted his trip to Southern Hungary, Moldavia and from there to Crimea. With the crossing of the border, Evliya began to describe the relationships, living conditions and traditions among people. Evliya said that the "infidels" on the enemy's side have degenerated due to their continuing traditions, men were coward and powerless, while women were overpowered. The dominance of women in all areas of society had also shown its negative effects on the social and

family structure. Women were extremely free, even though they were married, they were in a comfortable relationship with different men.

The narration of Evliya is in some cases reminiscent of the nineteenth century orientalist paintings of Eastern societies in delight and lethargy, according to which men and women spend months of pleasure and entertainment together and enjoy each other in arms while drinking wine (Evliya, 2011, p.197). People wrestle naked and play all kinds of sexual games in pools located in various parts of the cities. Both men and women are depicted with all the beauties of their youth, their bodies are soft, their hair and whole body smell the most fragrant. Aside from Evliya's intermittent portrayal of Austrian infidels in black hats washing their faces with urine (Evliya, 2011, p.192), these parts of the text are a pretty good depiction of the Austrian people and can be read as potential enslavement.

Evliya has an almost ready-made plan for each city and places this information in his mind for each city he deals with. The history of the city, its organization, the etymological meaning of the city name and its geographical location are the main topics (Dankoff, 2010, p.40). Observation of the city is portrayed as it appears from the outside, the solidity of the city walls, the bell towers of the city are depicted in detail. The etymological explanations are quite interesting, most likely bearing traces of the folklore of the region. Evliya embellishes these etymological transfers with interesting narratives about the founders of the settlements. Of course, there is no such thing as "real", even the founder of the castles in Hungary is shown as Alexander the Great. Houses, schools, religious buildings, fortifications, baths, parks are described as a part of urban life (Dankoff, 2010, p.74). It then continues with the narrative of agricultural products, food culture, people's clothing styles and traditions (Dankoff, 2010, p.168).

Vienna has an eminent position in city depictions as it is shown as a well-ordered, clean and beautiful city. Moreover, the city is depicted as a place where there are many pools and gardens (Evliya, 2011, p.201). The gardens of the Austrian king consist of countless trees. The shops in the city are extraordinarily rich in terms of goods, Evliya mentions that there are goods that can be seen as equivalent to an Egyptian treasure (Evliya, 2011, p.222). The domes of the churches are covered with precious metals such as lead, tin, gold and brass (Evliya, 2011, p.197). Evliya's aim in creating such exaggerated descriptions is to create economic justifications for aggressive policies towards enemy lands by creating an attractive effect on the Ottoman military and administrative mentality.

In the later parts of the text, Evliya begins the definition of the *İstefani* Church: a magnificent church with its domes reaching up to the sky, embroidered ceilings, a roof covered with lead, marble stones in which various precious stones are placed, and decorated glass with najaf, containing enough gold to be equivalent to a gold mine (Evliya, 2011, p.229). The expression of the organ in the church is especially important. Evliya, who is also interested in music is overly impressed by this organ, says that this musical instrument cannot be described in any way but its value and importance can be understood by seeing and hearing it. He mentions that the instrument, which consists of three hundred different components, sounds in harmony and unity, and that this musical instrument can be played by masters at the level of Abdullah-ı Fâryabî and Hüseyin Baykara (Evliya, 2011, pp.232-4).

He says that there are books from anatomy, geography, and many other sciences in the church's library. These books are very well organized, clean and well-preserved. Evliya compares the church's library with the libraries in the Islamic world and criticizes the Islamic world by giving examples of the harsh conditions of the libraries with many books being destroyed by moths, mice, and different animals, and damaged in the rain (Evliya, 2011, p.230). He says that people who are competent in useful sciences such as philosophy, mathematics, medicine, surgery, astronomy and geometry meet at regular intervals and discuss their experiences and knowledge about sciences (Evliya, 2011, p.237). He mentions that many master doctors in Vienna can easily perform surgeries, their hospitals are rich in all kinds of tools (Evliya, 2011, p.246).

He praises the fact that the infidels is able to create "a garden of paradise" like Vienna, by spending almost a Croesus treasure. In a part of the text, Evliya stridently expresses his wish for this city to fall into the hands of Islam. However, according to his own statement, a *çâşnigir* who heard this and said that this should not happen because in this case the city would be destroyed (Evliya, 2011, p.204). Although Evliya insults the person who says this by calling him a fool, he is aware of the destruction caused by the soldiers of Islam in the places they entered. In addition, in the later parts of the text, Evliya, while talking about the magnificent state of Vienna, states that there is no place in the Islamic world where justice, security and peace are at this level and prays to Allah that this city would be kept away from the evil of the enemy and that if foreigners enter the city, the city would be devastated. Considering the proximity of the city to the Ottoman border, it is quite clear against whom this prayer is made. However, Evliya wishes that the city will finally be in the hands of the Muslims in peace (Evliya, 2011, p.247).

5. Conclusion

Evliya Çelebi worked as the confidant and attendant of many great viziers for years, had a good taste in poetry and music but was also remarkably close to crime and violence. Long before he joined these wars, he cooperated sometimes with rebellious Jalali leaders in Anatolia (Dankoff, 2010: 97). During the long years he spent in turmoil, he must have learned how to protect himself from danger. These intertwined contrasting features manifested themselves in the chapters in which he described his experiences on the Austrian border. Evliya quickly adapted himself to the psychology of war, took part in many raids, killed and enslaved people when conditions allowed. Everything he told about Christianity during the war conditions was quite negative. But his narratives when he participated in the peace talks in Vienna were quite different. He quickly got over the psychological state brought by the war conditions, and according to his own account, he easily adapted himself to the lively entertainment, science, and artistic activities in Vienna.

Evliya's judgments on cultural and religious identities were also multi-layered. Although he lived during the Kadizade movement, he openly expressed his dissatisfaction with this movement in various parts of his work (Finkel, 2017: 454). As Dankoff stated, Evliya did not see any problem in communicating with Christians. Evliya described the development and orderliness of the Westerners in the technological, scientific and many other fields with envy, especially when he was describing his

observations in Vienna. However, when he commented about Christianity in general, he often used derogatory language (Dankoff, 2013). As an Ottoman and Muslim, Islam maintained its decisive position in constructing his own identity. Although the Ottoman Empire, based on Islamic values, gave Christians and Jews the right to practice their own religion, their role as secondary citizens did not change throughout history. Evliya Çelebi also shared these general tendencies of the culture he lived in since he was a devoted Muslim and inherited the Ottoman mental tradition (Çapar, 71).

When verses 38 and 39 of Surat al-Tawbah are taken into consideration, does Evliya put forward a new pro-war discourse on the rhetoric of the infidel enemy through these writings (Şakul, 2021, pp.53-55)? As Dankoff pointed out, certain judgments about different ethnic and religious identities appeared in his mind, since gypsies were described as tyrants, useless, thieves and irreligious and Jews were vilified for their fanatical and unchanging will (Dankoff, 2010, 87). Therefore, for Evliya Çelebi, non-Muslims could easily be enslaved under war conditions. Despite voicing his criticism of the injustices committed by state officials in different parts of his work, he openly conveys stories of rape, murder, and enslavement not only on enemy soldiers but also on ordinary Christians, without censoring. In a sense, this was reflected in the *Seyahatname*, as it was an acceptable action according to sharia under war conditions for a Muslim.

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