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Part I

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# Does the Qatar Map of the Tigris and Euphrates belong to Evliya Çelebi?\*

Zekeriya Kurşun\*\*

Katar'daki Dicle ve Fırat haritası Evliya Çelebi'ye mi aittir?

Özet • Bu makale, Katar'da, Şeyh Hassan bin Muhammed es-Sani'nin özel koleksiyonunda yer alan Dicle ve Fırat haritası hakkındadır. Haritanın, Evliya Çelebi'nin (1611 - yaklaşık olarak 1685) Seyahatnâme adlı kitabı ile yapılan detaylı bir mukayesesi yoluyla, bu çalışma haritanın ya Evliya'nın kendisi, ya da maiyetindeki bir kişi tarafından ve onun gözetiminde yapılmış olması gerektiğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Dicle ve Fırat'ın Katar'daki haritası, Seyahatnâme, Evliya Çelebi.

When one examines the magnificent work of Evliya Çelebi (1611 – c.1685), one of the greatest travelers the world has ever known, one is struck by something lacking — viz., maps. This despite the fact that Evliya frequently mentions ancient books of geography and atlases in his work, and lays particular stress on the importance of the guild of mapmakers in seventeenth-century Istanbul. Despite this, there are no maps in the manuscripts of the work that have come down to us. It seems rather strange that Evliya Çelebi, who aimed to provide information on every topic and who, moreover, was evidently knowledgable about cartography, should have left his work — and left us — deprived of maps. Indeed, Evliya Çelebi experts have always drawn attention to this situation. This concern led researchers to look for such maps, and already in 1949 one researcher suggested that a seventeenth-century map of the Nile in the Vatican Library might belong to Evliya Çelebi.¹ Unfortunately it took another sixty years before this suggestion was confirmed. Today, thanks to the research of Robert Dankoff and Nuran

<sup>\*</sup> Translated by Robert Dankoff; all images published in this article are published thanks to the courtesy of Shaikh Hassan bin Muhammad al-Thani.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Marmara University.

I Ettore Rossi, "A Turkish Map of the Nile River, about 1685," Imago Mundi 6 (1949): 73-75.

Tezcan, it is established that the Vatican map of the Nile does indeed belong to Evliya Çelebi, although it is not in his own hand.<sup>2</sup>

Evliya Çelebi mainly used land routes for his travels. But in the Ottoman geography of the seventeenth century river transport provided water routes that buttressed the land routes. For this reason Evliya in his *Seyahatnâme* also gave special importance to rivers and their depiction. In this regard, it is possible that alongside the map of the Nile, whose attribution to Evliya is accepted today, we will find other river maps belonging to Evliya.

Here we will discuss a map whose story resembles that of the Nile map. It first appeared in Europe (London) and later returned to Asia. It is a map of the Tigris and Euphrates, and we believe that it can also be attributed to Evliya Çelebi.

In the 1980s the firm of Bernard Quaritch, which has been dealing with rare books and manuscripts in London since 1847, offered a map for sale under the heading "A Rare Ottoman Chart of the Gulf and Mesopotamia." It gave a brief description of the form and contents of the map, and also its source. According to the sales announcement, the map emerged from the library of William Trumbull (1639-1716). Trumbull was an English statesman who lived in the same period as Evliya. At the same time he was a scholar and a traveler. More importantly, he served as ambassador in Istanbul from 17 August 1687 to 31 Julty 1691, a period immediately following Evliya's death. He was particularly active in the development of English trade in Ottoman territories, and it is highly likely that he had an interest in maps showing trade routes. However, no information was provided as to how this map, now offered for sale, entered Trumbull's library. Bernard Quaritch also reported in the sales advertisement that information on the map would be included in *The History of Cartography* that was forthcoming from the University of Chicago Press.

But before this publication occurred, the map was acquired in 1988 by Shaikh Hassan bin Muhammad al-Thani, a member of the Qatar ruling family. His interest in the map probably stemmed from the fact that it is the oldest Ottoman map that includes the Persian Gulf. Shaikh Hassan bin Muhammad al-Thani had a limited number of facsimiles made of the map and a brochure describing it. The boxed facsimile and the brochure, with an introduction by the Shaikh, were prepared by Touch Editions in England, using photos of the map made in Switzerland by A. G. Neueschwitte Verlag and printed in Germany by Zeitung Memminger. Despite this careful attention, a full description of the map was not

<sup>2</sup> For an extensive description of the Vatican map of the Nile see: Robert Dankoff and Nuran Tezcan, *Evliyâ Çelebi'nin Nil Haritası "Dürr-i bî misîl în ahbâr-i Nîl"* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011).

made. The brochure described it as the oldest Ottoman map of the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia and reported that it contained the areas in that region that were ruled by the Ottoman empire at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It explained that the map began with the source of the Tigris, showing Anatolia and Iraq, and ended in the south at the Persian Gulf, and that it was a very important source of information for the Gulf region.<sup>3</sup> While the brochure described the physical features of the map — albeit with some errors — it only listed the place names on the map and some interesting features according to the publisher, without giving any details. Thus it drew attention to the fact that in northern Iraq a place along the Tigris was clearly labelled *menba'-1 zift* meaning "source of petroleum"; that Abadan was drawn with exaggerated size; and that the areas of present-day Kuwait and Qatar were each shown with a castle and without mention of any name.<sup>4</sup> But there was no discussion of who might be the author of the map.

As for the publication mentioned in the sales announcement, it did not appear until 1992. In this publication there was no mention of the brochure and facsimile mentioned above; apparently the map was lost to view after it was sold. In a section on regional maps, Ahmet T. Karamustafa, author of the chapter on Ottoman cartography, discussed the map based on a black-and-white reproduction obtained from Bernard Quaritch. He also briefly discussed the Vatican Nile map, which had been pointed to by Ettore Rossi and which today, thanks to Robert Dankoff and Nuran Tezcan, is recognized as belonging to Evliya Çelebi; and he included a picture of that. Karamustafa reiterated Rossi's view that the Nile map might belong to Evliya Çelebi, but explicitly refrained from such a judgment with regard to the Tigris and Euphrates map, which he compared rather with the maps of Istanbul waterways. After touching on Ottoman cartography before the 17th century, he evaluated the Tigris and Euphrates map as follows:

Both of the two known extant regional maps chart rivers. The map of the Euphrates and the Tigris seems to date from the mid-seventeeth century. Drawn in color on eight double-folio sheets of paper attached in strip form, this map resembles, physically and conceptually, the scroll maps of Istanbul waterways discussed earlier. It is arranged like a graphic itinerary, and important sites along the course of the two rivers are noted in pictorial elevation. Major routes in the area depicted are schematically indicated. The topography of the terrain itself is left uncharted, with only major mountains being shown in conventional wave patterns. Every feature in the map is clearly identified in writing.

<sup>3</sup> Manuscript Chart of the Gulf and Mesopotamia, SAEC XVII (UK, 1988), 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 10.

While suggesting a primarily commercial function for the map, Karamustafa concluded: "Nonetheless, the legends of the map do not allow us to venture much beyond such elementary speculation." 5

The present writer had occasion to view the original map in the private collection of Shaikh Hassan bin Muhammad al-Thani in 1998, but at the time I did not have the opportunity to pursue the topic. Later I obtained one of the facsimile reproductions and, with permission of the owner, began to work on it.<sup>6</sup> Here I wish to discuss briefly my initial findings; I plan to publish the larger study as a book.

The map, consisting of eight attached folios, has the dimensions 343.5 x 43 cm. The legends are written in black ink and conform with seventeenth century Ottoman rsh'a script. Mountains are indicated in yellow and green, rivers in blue ink. The above-mentioned "source of petroleum" is colored black. Many places, beginning with the deserts, are left without color. Some of the buildings and historical monuments have their domes, columns or roofs colored red — presumably to give them special prominence. Beginning at Erzurum, the map follows the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers in a north-south direction, ending at the Shatt al-Arab region. Except for a few of the mountains, which are colored, the map does not indicate topographical features. It only shows, in carefully delineated drawings, special features of the period, including castles, mosques and shrines on both banks of the two rivers, and sometimes also bridges, crossings, stages and hans (caravansarais).

As with the Nile map, there is no indication of who drew the Tigris-Euphrates map and who wrote the legends. Yet there are indications that this map too must belong to Evliya Çelebi. We may list these indications in two categories, based on the physical properties of the map and on its contents.

Thus, the paper, writing and format of the map leave no doubt that it belongs to the seventeenth century — i.e., to the age of Evliya Çelebi. Although no chemical analysis of the paper and the ink has been made, there is no doubt as to its provenance. While the dimensions of the two maps are different, the Tigris-

<sup>5</sup> Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, book 1: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 209-26, at 222-3.

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Shaikha Moza bint Nasır of Qatar, who arranged access to the map; to Shaikh Hassan bin Muhammed al-Thani, who purchased the map and added it to his collection and who gave permission to study it, and to his personal secretary Muhammad F. Hammam; and to the Qatar Embassy in Ankara which arranged access to the map and its owner.

Euphrates map resembles the Nile map in the style of writing and of drawing. Only on the Nile map the regions are delineated and described, while on the Tigris-Euphrates map we have only the drawings of the places shown and their bare names. This difference can be explained by the difference of the settlements along the two routes. The area from Eastern Anatolia to the Persian Gulf is filled with historical towns and castles, which is not the case for the length of the Nile. On the other hand, because castles, mosques, shrines and even town plans are so prominently featured on the Tigris-Euphrates map, little room was left for descriptions, which were perhaps omitted for that reason.

With regard to contents, the map is in nearly perfect agreement with the corresponding sections of the *Seyahatnâme*. The drawings of towns and castles correspond very closely with their descriptions in the book. The cities, mosques, shrines and tombs on the map are characterized in the same way as they are in the *Seyahatnâme* — e.g., Halebu'ş-Şahba for Aleppo. In the *Seyahatnâme* Evliya carefully records road conditions, distances between stages, customs duties, hans (caravansarais), and bridges; and one observes the same care for these matters on the map. The roads between towns are labelled as such (*yoldur*) and are indicated with drawing. As in the book, the distances and number of stages between towns are included — crucial information for the traveler. The drawings on the map give the impression that they were made from observation of the places shown. The layout of castles and towers is not merely symbolic; rather it corresponds exactly to the form indicated in the *Seyahatnâme*.

There is another interesting agreement between the map and the book with regard to contents. Some places that Evliya describes in the *Seyahatnâme* without having seen them are also found on the map, but in these cases the drawings were evidently *not* done from observation. The best example is the drawing of Lahsa castle toward the end of the map: it is larger than the actual Lahsa castle we know today, and the town is not situated within the castle walls (see Figure 1).<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, we have no other Ottoman maps of this type belonging to the seventeenth century or later. The only one that resembles it as a map of journeys and routes is the Nile map that we have recognized as belonging to Evliya Çelebi. While the map prominently features the castles along the Tigris and Euphrates from Erzurum to the Persian Gulf, it does not omit other places that

<sup>7 &</sup>quot;Andan öte şarka Lahsa'nın hükmüdür. Ammâ hakîr Hind'e ve Lahsa'[ya] varmadım (Beyond that to the east is governed by Lahsa. But I did not go to India and Lahsa);" Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, vol. 10, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, and Robert Dankoff (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 480 [= İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar 5973, 442b].

would only attract the interest of a traveler. This proves that it was not drawn up for military purposes but that it aims to depict the completed route of a journey. On the other hand, there is no other Ottoman traveler in the seventeenth century who followed this precise route. We may conclude that this map issued from the hand of Evliya Çelebi or else from the hand of someone close to him and under his direction.

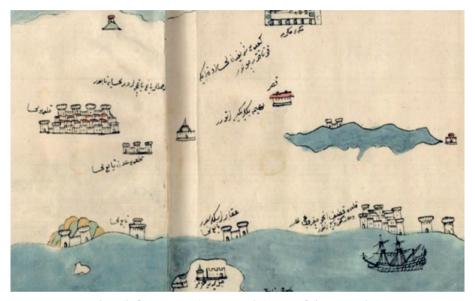


Figure 1: Lahsa (left), Mecca (upper right), Qatîf (lower right)

Let us give a few examples. The map begins in Eastern Anatolia at the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates and ends at the Shatt al-Arab, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. It shows Hurmuz, where the Gulf opens out to the Ocean, and also shows the holy city of Mecca, despite its distance from the Tigris and Euphrates. Thus, while showing Lahsa and its surrounding region as an Ottoman province in the seventeenth century, it also shows *Mekke-i Mükerreme* (Mecca the Noble) in symbolic form southwest of Lahsa. After the road from Mecca to Lahsa, labelled as twelve stages and desert (*Ka'be-i Şerif'den Lahsa'ya on iki konakdır çöldür*), we have a drawing at the map's extremity of the place where the Kaaba is found. Only here, in contrast with other such drawings on the map, instead of the Kaaba itself we find a drawing of the surrounding porticoes and domes and a minaret with two balconies in Ottoman style. The legend below is not *Ka'be* but *Mekke-i Mükerreme*. We can explain this feature with the supposition that the map was drawn up before Evliya performed the Haj journey (i.e., before 1671)

when he gave a very detailed description of the Kaaba in the *Seyahatnâme*. Or perhaps he was reluctant to depict the holiest building of the Muslims on a map that would be passed from hand to hand.

Evliya Çelebi, when he begins his description of the Tigris, explicitly states that it is not simply these two rivers that assure a connection between the two distant places of their headwaters and the Persian Gulf. In fact, his description has the character of a source of inspiration for a map of this kind. The connection he establishes between the source of the rivers and the Gulf where they disembouch constitutes a brief and pithy description of our map:

These streams join together and the river [Shatt or Tigris] flows at the foot of Diyarbekir on its eastern side and beneath Fis Kaya, watering the gardens of Cay and Reyhân, then below Diyarbekir, under the bridge where the rafts dock that go to Baghdad and Basra on the Shatt, flowing toward Hasankeyf and Cezîre, watering 100 castles and towns and cities (or Medain) and the entrepôt of Mosul and other regions. By the time it reaches Baghdad, as many as 150 great streams have joined together. Below Baghdad it is joined by the Diyala and Charka and the Greater Zab and other great rivers. Then above Basra at the promontory of Qurna castle the two brother rivers — the Euphrates and the Shatt [Tigris] — join with a single heart and purpose. Before Basra the united river becomes like the sea. Ships from India, Portugal, Laristan and Multan, England and Holland, Oman and Yemen and Aden and Jedda and Ethiopia come to port at Basra bringing valuable merchandise and taking away invaluable stuffs.... And again carracks and filipots and bargias from Dunkirk and Denmark and galleons and Yemen jalabas come to this entrepot of Basra from Lahsa and San'a and Aden and Mocha, from Ahmedabad and Ferahabad and Divabad (Diu) and Meymun-1 Mustafaabad and Dabul and the entrepot of Peyguvar and a thousand ports that cannot be expressed in words. This Shatt al-Arab is such a sea of the water of life before Basra. And the Shatt River before Basra is a tidal basin.8

<sup>8</sup> Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, vol. 4, eds. Seyid Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000), 33 [text corrected according to Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (TSK hereafter), ms Bağdat 305, 205a]: Andan cümlesi bir olup cereyân ederek Diyârbekir'in cânib-i şarkîsi dibinde Fıs kayası altından ubûr ederek Çay bostânlığın ve Reyhân gülistânlığın ray edüp andan aşağı Diyârbekir'in Şat üzre Bağdâd ve Basra'ya giden Kelek Cisri İskelesinden aşağı Hasankeyf'e doğru ve Cezîre'ye doğru yüz yetmiş pâre kılâ' u kasabât ve Medâyinler'i ve bender-i şehr-i Musul'u ve gayrı diyârları sakî ederek tâ Bağdâd-ı behişt-âbâd'a varınca yüz elli aded enhâr-ı azîmler mahlût olup Bağdâd'dan aşağı nehr-i Diyâle ve Çerka ve Zarb-ı Alî ve niçe nehr-i kebîrler karışup ba'dehû Basra'dan yukaruda Kurna kal'ası burnunda nehr-i Furât ile Şat birâderi bir olup yek-dil yek-cihet nehreyn-i birâdereyn ittifâkıyla deryâ-misâl cereyân edüp Basra önüne vardıklarında deryâ-misâl olup Hindûstân ve Portakal ve Laristân ve Moltân ve İngilis ü Felemenk ve Ummân ve Yemen ve Aden ve Cidde ve Habeş gemileri gelüp Basra'ya yanaşup metâ'-ı zî-kıymet getirüp kâlâ-yı bî-minnet

The connection that Evliya mentions — i.e., the parallel course of the Tigris and Euphrates from their source to where they disembouch — is what he has shown on a single map. In scale and method it is a kind of map not encountered with heretofore in the Ottoman cartographic tradition. In addition we find a rather large sailboat drawn in the Gulf in order to indicate that ships reach the Shatt al-Arab from various places of the world, just as mentioned in the above text.

Evliya, who expresses the connection between the rivers by saying that they join below Qurna castle "like two brothers," shows this on the map as well. And



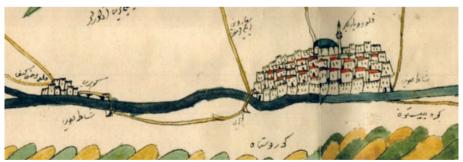


Figure 2: Basra and Qurna (above); and Hasankeyf and Diyarbekir (below).

alırlar.... Ve yine Basra'ya Lahsa ve San'ân ve Aden ve Moha ve Ahmed-âbâd ve Ferah-âbâd ve Div-âbâd ve Meymun-ı Mustafâ-âbâd ve Dâbûl ve Bender-i Peyguvar'dan ve niçe bin iskelelerden bu bender-i Basra'ya karaka ve filipot ve Donkarkıza ve Danimarka barçaları ve kalyonları ve Yemen celebe gemileri gelir kim diller ile ta'bîr olunmaz. Basra önünde bu Şattu'l-Arab böyle bir deryâ-yı âb-ı hayâtdır ve Basra önünde nehr-i Şat medd-i cezirdir.

he shows the relation of the two rivers to the Indian Ocean in a detailed drawing, which must have its source in the following text of the *Seyahatnâme*:

The place below Basra where this Shatt al-Arab joins the Sea of Oman — i.e., the ocean — is called Merece'l-bahreyn (Confluence of Two Seas). As this unhypocritical slave has observed, this Shatt al-Arab [Tigris] has its headwaters in four places in the mountains of Diyarbekir to the north and flows southward. Between its rise and its setting is a total of (---) (---) stages. It disembouches into the ocean below Basra. Several historians record that 2060 tributaries, great and small, flow into the three rivers of this Shatt [Tigris], the Euphrates and the Murad from their headwaters until they flow into the Sea of Oman in the vicinity of Basra. The tributaries are noted and mapped out in books of cosmography such as the Atlas, Mappamundi, Atlas Minor, Geographia, the atlases of Padre and Kolon [i.e., Chrisopher Columbus] and in nautical charts. God willing, this lowly one, whose nature is given over to travel and who has seen the tributaries of the Shatt over 41 years and tasted their waters and journeyed along each one in those regions from their rise to their setting, will record them to the best of my ability, if not in great detail.9

Similarly, just as he describes in detail in various volumes all the places shown in drawings on the map along both banks of the two rivers, he gives an overview in Volume 2 in his discussion of the Euphrates. This comprehensive description gives the impression of being a guide to the drawing when the map was being drawn up:

The great river Euphrates takes its rise in the middle of the Erzurum plain, emerging at the foot of a cliff at the shrine of Dumlu Baba Sultân toward Georgia in the east. It flows west, breaking up in the Erzurum plain into swamps and straits and

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 33 [text corrected according to ms. Bağdat 305, 205a]: Ammâ Basra'dan (---) (---) aşağıda bu Şattu'l-Arab bahr-i Ummân'a ya'nî bahr-i Muhît'e kavuşduğu mahalle derler. Bu abd-i bî-riyânın manzûru olduğu üzre bu Şattu'l-Arab cânib-i şimâlde Diyârbekir dağlarında başı dörd yerden tulû' edüp cânib-i cenûba akarak tulû' u gurûbu mâbeyni kâmil (---) (---) menzil yerdir kim Basra'dan aşağıda bahr-i Muhît'e munsab olur. Niçe müverrihler bu nehr-i Şatt'ın ve nehr-i Furât ve nehr-i Murâd'ın tâ tulû'larından bu Basra kurblarında bahr-i Ummân'a mahlût olunca bu üç nehr-i azîme sağîr ü kebîr iki bin altmış aded enhârlar mahlût olur, deyü hey'et kitâblarının Atlas'ında ve Papamonta'sında ve Atlas-ı Minor'unda ve Atlas-ı Coğraf'da ve Atlas-ı Kolon'da ve Atlas-ı Padre'de ve gayrı mellahân-ı keştîbânların harîtalarında mezkûr Şatt'a rîzân olan nühûr-ı cüz'î ve küllileri tahrîr ve terkîm etmişlerdir. Ammâ inşâallah bu kemter-i dâ'înin selîkası cânib-i seyâhata düşüp kırk bir seneden berü bu Nehr-i Şatt'a mahlût olan nehirleri görüp ve nûş edüp her birinin tulû'u gurûbuyla ol cânibleri seyâhat etdiğimiz üzre ale't-tafsîl olmazsa da alâ kadri'l-imkân terkîm olunur.



Figure 3: Sources of the Euphrates (right) and Tigris (left)

lakes and tributaries that serve as nesting grounds for hundreds of thousands of Baghdadi cranes. Passing below the village of Kân, at the second stage it flows below the castle of Kemah, then joins the Murad River coming from Bingöl summer pasture in the territory of the İzolı Kurds. It flows sea-like near Malatya; visits the castles of Semisat and Kal'atü'r-Rûm and Birecik, the bridge of Bombuç, Balis, the castles of Ja'bar and Raqqa, Ruhba, Qarqisa, Ana, Hadditha, Hit, Abyar, Taquq, Hilla and Kufa; then joins the Shatt al-Arab [Tigris] in the swamps (Batâyıh) at the foot of Qurna castle and turns into a great sea before Basra where India ships come to port.<sup>10</sup>

Readers of Evliya Çelebi's work know that he gives detailed descriptions of the castles (or walled towns - *kale*) that he has visited — these being the places of refuge that a traveler over a broad range of territory wishes most to see. At the same

<sup>10</sup> Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, vol. 2, eds. Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998), 103 [text corrected according to TSK, ms. Bağdat 304, 286a]: Erzurûm sahrâsının tâ ortasından nehr-i azîm mâ-i Furât cereyân eder kim Gürcîstân tarafının cânib-i şarkîsinde Dumlu Baba Sultân ziyâretgâhının kayası dibinden çıkup cânib-i garba cereyân ederek Erzurûm sahrâsında niçe batak ve halîc ve buhayre ve tur'alar olup niçe kerre yüz bin Bağdâdî turnalara kân-ı mekân olup andan karye-i Kân dibinden geçüp ikinci konakda kal'a-i Kemâh dibinden ubûr edüp andan İzolı Ekrâdı içre Bingöl yaylasından gelen nehr-i Murâd'a mahlût olup deryâ-misâl Malatiyye kurbundan cereyân eder ve kal'a-i Semisat'a Kal'atü'r-Rûm'a ve kal'a-i Birecik'e ve Cisr-i Bombuç'a ve Balis'e ve kal'a-i Ca'ber'e ve kal'a-i Rıkka'ya ve Ruhbe'ye ve Karkisa'ya ve Ane'ye ve Haddîse'ye ve Hît'e ve Ebyâr'a ve Takuk'a ve Hılle'ye ve Kûfe'ye uğrayup andan Batâyıh'da Kurna kal'ası dibinde Şattu'l-Arab'a mahlût olup deryâ-misâl bir nehr-i azîmdir kim Basra önüne Hindistân gemileri gelir nehr-i deryâdır.

time it is certain that Evliya, who prided himself on being an Ottoman, saw these castles as symbols of the state and of authority. This attitude, much apparent in the book, is also reflected on the map which is full of drawings of castles large and small along the two rivers. These drawings fit both the actual shapes of the castles and the way they are described in the *Seyahatnâme*. For example, Erzurum castle is described in the *Seyahatnâme* as follows:

It is a strong square-shaped fortress, with two walls all around, made of pumice stone. The area between the walls, known as *hisâr-pîçe*, is 70 paces. It is surrounded by a moat.... The inner castle (citadel) has nothing looming over it; the outer castle has looming over it a tall tower like a minaret, made of brick.<sup>11</sup>

#### Van castle is described as follows:

It is a prominent cliff, variegated and ruby-colored, rising in back toward the sky like a camel collapsed beneath its load.  $^{\scriptscriptstyle 12}$ 

#### And Birecik castle is described as follows:

A small hexagonal castle rising to the sky above a bare cliff, situated toward the northeast of the Euphrates River. The battlements are very solid, with the towers looking toward one another. There is no moat, because it consists of sheer cliffs on all six sides like the pit of hell and serving as nesting places for falcons and eagles and kites.<sup>13</sup>

The castle drawings on the map fit these descriptions perfectly. While the map does not show other details relating to the topography of the region, it does

II Ibid., 104 [text corrected according to ms. Bağdat 304, 286b]: Mezkûr bayır üzre şekl-i murabba' küfeke taşlı dâiren-mâdâr iki kat hisâr-ı üstüvârdır kim iki haytın mâbeyni yetmiş adımdır, hisâr-pîçe derler ve dâiren-mâdâr handakı vardır... Gâyet havâlesiz iç kal'adır. Taşra kal'aya havâle, eflâke ser çekmiş bir tula minâre gibi kulle-i âlîsi var. Kesik kulle nâmıyla şöhre-i şehr olmuş, üstü bir tahta örtülü kasr-ı âlîdir.

<sup>12</sup> Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, vol. 4, 109 [text corrected according to ms. Bağdat 304, 250b]: yükün yüklenüp çökmüş deve gibi arkası evc-i âsumâna çıkmış gûnâ-gûn ebrî ve la'l-gûn ve nakş-ı bûkalemûn kaya-yı ibret-nümûndur.

<sup>13</sup> Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, vol. 3, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 88 [text corrected according to ms. Bağdat 305, 53b]: Nehr-i azîm-i Furât'ın cânib-i şarkı ve şimâline meyyâl bir yalçın kaya üzre eflâke ser-çekmiş seng-binâ bir küçük kal'a-i ra'nâ-yı şekl-i müseddesdir. Burc-ı bârûları gâyet metânet üzre metîndir kim her kullesi birbirine nâzırdır. Handakı yokdur. Zîrâ cânib-i müseddesi çâh-ı gayyâdan nişân verir kayalardır kim şâhin ve karakuş ve devlingeçler murgına âşiyân olmuşdur.

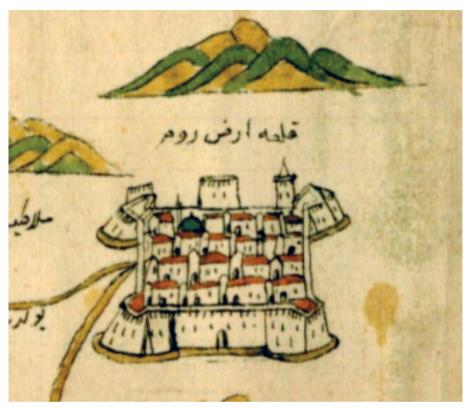


Figure 4a: Erzurum

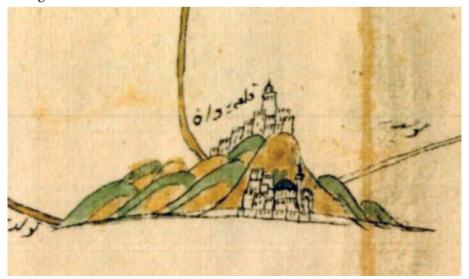


Figure 4b: Van

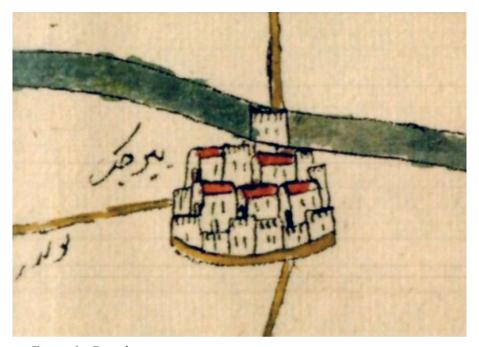


Figure 4c: Birecik

indeed depict Van castle as "a camel collapsed beneath its load." And Birecik castle is depicted exactly as in the book, atop a high cliff, six-sided, with towers that look onto one another.

One of the most important indications that the map under discussion belongs to Evliya Çelebi is the depiction of the castle of Ruha (Urfa) and the two columns immediately in front of it. As with other castles, Evliya has drawn the castle and below has written *kal'e-i Ruha*. Then, in front of the castle, he has drawn the two columns that still stand today, and below them has written *mancinik-i hazreti İbrahim Aleyhisselam* (Mangonel of Abraham). As is well-known, the prophet Abraham lived in this region and fought against idolatry. Thereupon he was hurled into the fire prepared by Nimrod, using these two columns. This report, mentioned in the Koran, is also related by Evliya. But what is important for us is the special attention he pays to these columns, which he mentions several times and which he terms *manciniklar* (mangonels). Thus, discussing the founding of the city of Urfa, he writes: "The mangonels used to hurl Abraham into the fire of Nimrod are clearly visible in this city;" and again, describing Urfa castle: "The two man-made tall columns [constituting] the mangonel of the fire-temple of Nimrod with

which Nimrod the damned hurled Abraham into the fire are in this castle." <sup>14</sup> Not content with this, Evliya takes up the remnants of the mangonels under a separate heading:

Description of the wondrous mangonel of Abraham the Friend [of God]: It is the remnant of a mangonel on a red rock overlooking the city rising to heaven atop a bare hill within the upper castle of Urfa. When the prophet Abraham summoned Nimrod the damned to the religion, Nimrod put Abraham in prison and contrived this mangonel. There are two man-made columns on that rock, like two stylus-shaped minarets, rising to heaven. At that time it had spring-mechanisms and a balance-pan (*keff*), like the balance-pan of a sling, and thick ropes. They put Abraham in that balance-pan, like seating someone in the novel contraption set up in our day during festivals and called "swing" (*salnncak*). Several hundred Nimrodites swung him until, when he reached a certain point, they let loose the springs and let him fly in the air. Gabriel descended seven times like lightning, offering to save him, but Abraham refused, saying "God will save me, He is my refuge." When he fell into the fire the Lord turned it into a rose garden for Abraham. Still today those two mangonel columns are visible in the castle, a noteworthy monument; but the mechanisms are no longer there.<sup>15</sup>

Just as Evliya, whenever he mentions the mangonels in the *Seyahatnâme*, says that they are clearly visible; so on the map he has drawn these two columns very prominently compared to the other pictures. Even the legend below is slightly more prominent; so the special attention he gives this topic in his written work seems to be reflected in the map. The fact that no other Ottoman source — at least, of those known so far — refers to these columns as mangonels confirms our

<sup>14</sup> Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, vol. 3, 87, 89 [text corrected according to ms. Bağdat 305, 55a, 55b]: Hazret-i İbrâhîm aleyhi's-selâmı bu şehirde âteş-i Nemrûd'a atduğı mancınıkları zâhir ü bâhirdir.... Ve Hazret-i İbrâhîm'i Nemrûd-ı la'în âteşe atduğu âteş-gede-i Nemrû[d] mancınığı bu kal'a içre iki amelî sütûn-ı müntehâlar bu kal'adadır.

<sup>15</sup> Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, vol. 3, 94 [text corrected according to ms. Bağdat 305, 58a] Evsâf-ı âsâr-ı acîbe-i mancınık-ı İbrâhîm Halîl: Urfa'nın yukaru kal'ası içinde bir yalçın püşte üzre evce ser-çekmiş şehre havâle bir kızıl kaya üzre alâmet-i mancınık oldur kim kaçan Nemrûd-ı la'îni Hazret-i İbrâhîm dîne da'vet etdükde İbrâhîm Nebî'yi habs edüp bu mancınıkı îcâd u ihdâs etmişdir. Mezkûr kaya üzre mîl minâre-misâl iki aded amelî sütûnlar vardır kim eflâke ser çekmişdir. Ol asırda zemberekleri ve sapan keffî gibi keffî ve kalın ipleri var imiş. Hâlâ zamânımızda ıydeyn-i mübârekelerde bid'at olan salıncak ta'bîr etdikleri gibi salıncak keffîne Hazret-i İbrâhîm'i koyup niçe yüz kavm-ı Nemrûdî salup tâ mahall-i ma'hûda gelince İbrâhîm Nebî ber-hevâ olduğu ân zembereklere rehâ buldurunca İbrâhîm Nebî evc-i hevâya tayerân edüp yedi kerre berk-ı hâtif gibi Cibrîl nâzil olup "Yâ İbrâhîm seni halâs edeyim" dedikde "Beni Allâh halâs eder, penâhım oldur" dedikde âteş içine düşünce Cenâb-ı Kibriyâ Hazret-i İbrâhîm'e nâr[ı] gülzâr eyledi. Hâlâ ol iki aded mancınık amûdları kal'ada zâhirdir kim ibret-nümâ âsâr-ı binâdır, ammâ hâlâ âletleri yokdur.

view of the relation between the *Seyahatnâme* and the Qatar map, suggesting that the map too belongs to Evliya Çelebi. 16



Figure 5: Urfa

The excerpts given here from the *Seyahatnâme* have the character of a source of inspiration for the map. It appears that Evliya Çelebi again and again, albeit in indirect fashion, provided illustrations on the map for information in his book. In conclusion, the Qatar map of the Tigris and Euphrates that we have tried to introduce here was drawn up either by Evliya himself or else by someone in his retinue and under his supervision.

Does the Qatar Map of the Tigris and Euphrates belong to Evliya Çelebi?

Abstract This article discusses the map of the Tigris and Euphrates in the private collection of Shaikh Hassan bin Muhammad al-Thani of Qatar. Through a detailed comparison of the map with the text of Evliya Çelebi's (1611-c.1685) *Seyahatnâme* (Book of Travels), this study demonstrates that the map in question was drawn up either by Evliya himself or else by someone in his retinue and under his supervision.

Keywords: the Qatar Map of the Tigris and Euphrates, Seyahatnâme, Evliya Çelebi.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Kâtib Çelebi, *Cihannüma* (Istanbul [Muteferrika edition], 1732), 443: *Urfa şehrinin iç kal'esi bir mahall-i mürtefi'de duvarı üzerinde iki amûd-ı refi' vaz' olunmuştur* (The Urfa citadel is on raised ground and two high columns have been erected on its wall).