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d'Evliyâ Çelebi*

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# İbrāhīm and the White Cow – Guild Patrons in Evliyâ Çelebi's Seyahatnâme

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- 1 Public ceremonies organized by the Ottoman court on such occasions as the weddings of the sultan's daughters, the circumcisions of his sons, and the beginnings of campaigns, frequently included processions by the various guilds. The most splendid and famous guild parades were held in the 16th and 17th centuries.<sup>1</sup> In the 18th century and later, these parades became less frequent and less lavish, because public taste changed and they were not so important a part of public entertainment any more. Of those guild parades which took place in the Ottoman capital Istanbul, the parade of 1638 definitely was the largest and most spectacular in terms of participants. It was held during preparations for Murād IV's campaign in Persia. All the guilds of the town, divided into groups and sub-groups, processed through the streets of Istanbul. This event is elaborately described in the first volume of Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme*, which deals with Evliyâ's home-town, Istanbul.
- 2 Evliyâ's portrayal of this guild parade is one of the most famous and frequently discussed parts of the *Seyahatnâme* and is a valuable source on Ottoman cultural and economic history. As early as 1822 J. von Hammer-Purgstall published a shortened version of it in German.<sup>2</sup> Ten years later, in his *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the seventeenth century*, he provided an extended translation of it into English.<sup>3</sup> No subsequent historian seriously dealing with guild or labor history in Ottoman Turkey has disregarded Evliyâ's account.
- 3 In this paper I wish to briefly consider one previously neglected aspect of this text: Evliyâ's more or less detailed discussion of the *pîrs*, the guild patrons. I will begin with a

general overview about how Evliyâ introduces these *pīrs*: some he discusses in detail; others he mentions only marginally; and many he ignores completely. Next, I will discuss the longer stories or legends about these *pīrs* which Evliyâ narrates – though there are not many, unfortunately. Then I will highlight the most significant themes of these stories to show why particular individuals were chosen as *pīrs* for certain guilds.<sup>4</sup> Finally, I will briefly summarize the similarities and differences between these *pīrs* and the patrons of the Christian guilds of Europe.

## How Evliyâ introduces the *pīrs*

- 4 There are two reasons for choosing the *Seyahatnâme* for such an investigation:
- Evliyâ's descriptions of an Ottoman guild parade is the most detailed and informative we have. Other descriptions of guild parades can be found in the so-called *sūrnāmeler*, “books of feasts”, which especially report on public ceremonies. This genre of Ottoman literature has its roots in Ottoman chronicles. However, even though guild parades frequently have a prominent place in these *sūrnāmeler*, we only occasionally find allusions to the *pīrs*. For example, the *Sūrnāme-i hümayūn* of 1582, which deals almost exclusively with the guild parade held in the course of a long and lavish circumcision ceremony, mentions only three or four *pīrs* – and only metaphorically at that. This text mainly incorporates its infrequent allusions to *pīrs* into melodious *sec'*-passages. For example, when the butchers appear, the text tells us *āmeden-i cemā-at-i qaşşābān-i cōmerd-unvān*, Cōmerd/Cuvānmerd being the parton-saint of the butchers.<sup>5</sup> Upon the arrival of the arrow-makers, we read *Ḥayrū l-Ḥalāş dēyū mānend-i Sa-d Vaqqāş tīrine ter Ḥalāş vērīb*.<sup>6</sup> When the jugglers' guild appears, an allusion is made to İbn Sīnā by describing them as *Bū 'Alī Sīnā-mānend*, İbn Sīnā being *the* magician *par excellence*.<sup>7</sup>
  - Evliyâ can be regarded as the archetype of *the* educated, literate Istanbulite of his time. Moreover, he is famous for stories, legends, and tales: if he knows a story related to his subject, he will tell it. Thus Evliyâ can be taken as an indicator of the best-known and most frequently-narrated stories.<sup>8</sup> But his eagerness to tell stories often leads him into digressions, as his description of the guild parade demonstrates. So, for example, he writes that İdrīs, the patron of the tailors, is now in Paradise tailoring clothes for the celestials (SN I : 191b).<sup>9</sup> The mention of Paradise prompts him to mention Jesus, who is in Paradise, too. Evliyâ then states that İdrīs and Jesus are the only prophets that entered Paradise without dying, and this leads him to the stories of their resurrection. Thus Evliyâ tells us all he knows about this *pīr*, except *why* İdrīs is the *pīr* of the tailors!<sup>10</sup> And such is often the case in his account of the guild parade – especially as the parade draws to a close, and he presents more and more stories, frequently as a kind of intro when a group of related guilds enters the scene, such as those of the producers of *boza* (SN I : 212b f.) and the musicians (SN I: 206b f.).
- 5 The conception and development of the *fütüvvet* movement and Ottoman guild patrons has been studied by F. Taeschner. Especially important is his monograph on the development of the Aḥī brotherhoods and the *fütüvvet* movement, one chapter of which concerns the position of the *fütüvvet* and its role vis-à-vis the Ottoman guilds. Not until Ottoman times, when the *fütüvvet* movement in the Arab world was already in decay, did it establish an alliance between the Anatolian Aḥīs and the Bektaşīya on one hand and the Ottoman guilds on the other. According to Taeschner the *fütüvvet* began to play an increasingly important role within the Ottoman guilds,<sup>11</sup> and only in Ottoman times did

guild patrons became “institutionalized”. The so-called *fütüvvet-nâmeler* were then written, the most important of which was the 1524 *Fütüvvetnâme-i kebîr* of Seyyid Meḥammed b. Seyyid ‘Alā’eddīn el-Ḥüseynī el-Rizavī.<sup>12</sup> Large parts of this were translated by Taeschner into German. Ibn ‘Alā’eddīn narrates the sequences in which the *pîrs* were appointed: First there were the four patriarchs, *çahār pîr*: Ādem, ūit, İbrāhīm, and Muḥammed. Then Muḥammed, who had been girded by Cibrīl, girds ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib at the famous event of Ghadīr Khumm.<sup>13</sup> By order of the Prophet, ‘Alī in turn girds 17 Companions, making them *pîrs* of certain guilds and giving them “license” to gird further persons. The first one girded by ‘Alī was Selmān al-Fārisī, who by order of ‘Alī then girded 55 more Companions. The *Fütüvvetnâme-i kebîr* was the main source for numerous later and shorter *fütüvvetnâmes*.<sup>14</sup> As we shall see, the well-read Evliyâ knew such books and obviously consulted them to learn the *pîrs*.

- 6 But the *fütüvvetname* of Ibn ‘Alā’eddīn has practically no stories about the *pîrs*, so Evliyâ’s information and narratives about them must have come from either other sources, such as various *qışaṣü l-enbiyâ*’ or, more probably, from his own recollections of popular stories and legends.
- 7 In his account of the guild parade, Evliyâ mentions some 500 to 550 groups,<sup>15</sup> each of which he treats in various degree of detail. Some of the groups are described only in two lines; others receive more attention. Insofar as he knows them, he takes care to mention their *pîrs*, naming more than 250 individuals, many of them being *pîr* for more than one guild. The prophets Muḥammed, İbrāhīm, and Nūḥ, for example, are *pîr* for seven guilds each. The semi-historical Persian king Cemṣīd, the central figure in a good many stories and myths, is *pîr* for eight guilds.<sup>16</sup> Dāvūd is by far the most popular *pîr*, being patron for 18 guilds.
- 8 Frequently individual *pîrs* are the patron for several thematically-related guilds. For example, the Qur’ān says Dāvūd invented forging<sup>17</sup> when he produced his chain armor: thus we find him the patron of the many guilds dealing with metal or weapons. But there were also many guilds which, according to Evliyâ, had two or even three *pîrs*. In most of these cases one *pîr* is a pre-Islamic figure and the second one a girded Companion of the Prophet. Evliyâ frequently takes care to emphasize that the girded *pîr* is the “real” one.

Examples:

- 9 The paste producers: “In old times their *pîr* was Fisagores-i Tevhīdī, but in the age of the Prophet their real *pîr* is Ḥazret-i ‘Ubeyd-i ‘Aṭṭār.”<sup>18</sup> The ancient patron of the ship-builders was of course Nūḥ, builder of the Ark; but later a certain Ebū l-maḥż-ı ‘Ummānī became “officially” girded as their *pîr*.<sup>19</sup> These two examples illustrate the fact that the proper names of the *pîrs* frequently had some concrete association with the profession or trade of which they were patron.
- 10 The guild patrons fall into several categories:
- Companions of the Prophet.
  - Prophets (Noah, Salomon, Adam, David, Abraham, and so on).
  - Figures from Persian mythology and history: Cemṣīd, Hūṣeng, and Afrasiyāb.
  - Certain later individuals who had no connection with the Prophet.<sup>20</sup>
  - Several obscure figures, even one non-Muslim, whom Evliyâ himself states to be legendary.
- 11 Evliyâ obviously did some research concerning the *pîrs* of some of the guilds: in about 85 instances we find the phrase “their patron is \_ \_ \_” followed by a gap, which shows that Evliyâ planned to fill in a name later. These gaps become more frequent near the end of

the guild description. The above-mentioned *Fütüvvetnâme-i kebîr* obviously was one of his sources, as he alludes to it several times. For example, concerning the *pîr* of the producers of suits of armor he says: “In the *fütüvvetnâme-i kübrâ* is written that he was mauled by lions at Hillah near Baghdad. His grave is unknown.”<sup>21</sup> Sometimes Evliyâ admits that he could not determine a guild's *pîr*, because there was no mention of it in the literature: “I do not know their *pîr*: I did not see him in any *siyer*, *fütüvvet*, and the *fütüvvetnâme-i kebîr*; and I did not visit him (i.e. his grave) during my travels.” Or: “Their *pîr* is unknown: I have not seen the guild of suitcase-makers in any *fütüvvet*.”<sup>22</sup>

- 12 Frequently Evliyâ also mentions the “number” of a *pîr* – that is, what his rank was in the *pîrs* girded by a certain saint. For example, “He is the third *pîr* girded by Selmân-ı Pāk”<sup>23</sup>. When comparing these numbers with the *Fütüvvetnâme-i Kebîr*, as edited by Taeschner, we observe that they always are in accordance with that text.<sup>24</sup>

Guilds without a *pîr*:

- 13 Evliyâ states that there are guilds without a *pîr*. He calls 23 guilds *pîrsiz*, and gives several reasons why they are such. Some were *pîrsiz* because they were non-Muslim or gypsy groups. Two were the fur-traders from Rumeli, whom he calls “a group of Greeks without religion and without patron”,<sup>25</sup> and the gypsies with dancing bears from the quarter of Sultân Balat şâh, whom he vilifies as “pharaonics without patrons”.<sup>26</sup> Concerning the Jewish butchers he writes, “These cursed ones do not eat the meat that Muslims slaughter: they are one more of these damned groups without a patron.”<sup>27</sup>
- 14 Another reason a guild might lack a patron is its low social status or its reputation for dubious dealings. Among such were the thieves, the pimps, and the panderers. More than once Evliyâ contemptuously writes of a guild “Heaven forfend that they have a patron”, or “Heaven forfend the audience that they have a patron.”<sup>28</sup> Sometimes Evliyâ simply does not accept a guild's claim that it has a certain patron. For instance, of the *asesân*, the night-watch, he writes, “According to their superstitious belief, their patron is Amr-i ‘Ayyâr, but this is certainly not the case. Beware!”<sup>29</sup> Evliyâ states that the actual patron of the silk mercers is ‘Abdullâh, son of Ca‘fer-i Tayyâr, despite their claim that their patron is Imâm Ğazzâlî. Also the claim of the *boza*-makers that their *pîr* is Şarı Şaltıq, is commented on by Evliyâ only with *hâşâ* (SN I : 212b).
- 15 But Evliyâ sometimes offers a very pragmatic explanation for a *pîrsiz* guild. He states, for example, that the horse-millers and the gun-makers have no patrons because their handicrafts were unknown in the Prophet's time. However, he then contradicts himself by saying that Dāvūd is the patron of the gun-makers because he battled Goliath with a metal blowtube and small clay balls (SN I : 182a). Similarly, according to Evliyâ the bandmasters (*mehterân*) have only the pre-Islamic Cemşîd as a patron because no bands existed at the time of the Prophet.<sup>30</sup>
- 16 According to Taeschner (1979 : 455f.), who compared concerning this point Ibn ‘Alâeddîn's *Fütüvvetnâme-i Kebîr* with al-Burğâzî,<sup>31</sup> there are twelve groups which do not deserve the *fütüvvet*:<sup>32</sup> the unbelievers (*kâfir*), the wine drinkers (*Ḥamr içenler*),<sup>33</sup> the hypocrites (*münâfiq*), and nine professional groups – specifically the fortune-tellers (*remmâl* and *müneccim*), the servers in the *ḥammâms* (*dellâk*), the agents (*dellâl*), the weavers (*cullâh*), the butchers (*qaşşâb*), the surgeons (*cerrâh*), the hunters (*şayyâd*), the tax-tenants (*‘ameldâr*), and the crop speculators (*maṭrabâz*). However, Evliyâ does not list any of these groups as *pîrsiz*: he does not mention the *‘ameldâr* and *maṭrabâz* at all, and for each of the other ten professional groups he gives the name of a *pîr*. Only the *Jewish*

butchers mentioned above have no *pîr* – not because they are butchers, but because they are non-Muslims.

Female *pîrs*:

- 17 Among the patrons are five women, one of them even designated by the feminine form *pîre*: The patron for the female Qur'ân recitators was Sitti Hafza, the daughter of 'Umar bin Ḥattāb (SN I : 156a). The patron of the *kehhālān* was an un-named pre-islamic Jewish lady.<sup>34</sup> The patron of the *kettānciyān*, which included the farmers who grew linen as well as the producers of linen thread, was Ḥadīce-i Kübrā, wife of Muḥammad and girded by the Prophet himself. As patron of those involved with linen production, she was the Islamic successor of the early Iranian hero-king Hūşeng şāh.<sup>35</sup> The patron of the napkin-embroiderers, *yağlıkçı*, was Belqīs, wife of Salomon, because she herself had embroidered a napkin (SN I : 192b). Particularly interesting is Evliyâ's mention of a female *pîr* among the circumcisers (“*esnâf-ı berberân-ı sünnetciyân*”): After explaining that the Prophet was born circumcised, he introduces Rābi'a bint 'Abdullāh ibn Mes'ūd, wife of Ebū l-Ḥavāqīn Muhammed, as the *pîr* for circumcising girls, as it was she who cut “the peace of redundant meat called little red tongue which is situated in the middle of the girls' *maşdar* (lit. ‘place of origin’)”. He claims this circumcision is very useful, as it facilitates delivery.<sup>36</sup>
- 18 What were the characteristic features of a guild patron? What must he or she have done? What virtues did they possess? In his chapter on girding – which is not part of the guild account – Evliyâ describes a typical *pîr* as “one who is innocent and clean and free of any sin and blemish: his belief is wholehearted”. He later adds that a *pîr* is “one who is girded in the presence of the Prophet by the belt of one of the Four, who are girded by Him”.<sup>37</sup>

## Stories or legends about these *pîrs*

- 19 Unfortunately, contrary to our expectations, Evliyâ does not provide us with an abundance of stories, legends, and sayings about the patrons. Because, as was stated at the beginning, we can take Evliyâ to be an indicator of what we might expect to find in the “mental furniture” of the typical educated Ottoman, we must conclude that few legends concerning *pîrs* were actually in circulation. Usually Evliyâ states why someone is *pîr* only in a single sentence. Sometimes he mentions the location of the *pîr*'s grave and the *pîr*'s age at death – always far beyond a hundred years. Evliyâ also tells us if he himself has visited the person's grave, describing its appearance or any special rites performed there.
- 20 There were a variety of reasons why certain individuals became patrons of certain guilds. According to the legends, certain Companions of the Prophet became girded because:
- The Prophet had decided that the Companion in question should work in that particular profession, or the Companion had done the Prophet a service characteristic of that profession. Thus Bilāl, the first *müezzin*, became patron of the *müezzins*; and Selmān, who shaved the Prophet, became patron of the barbers.
  - The Companion did something which somehow can be associated with the profession in question or provided the Prophet or the Prophet's household with a certain product. Thus Ebū l-Kevşer şādū l-kürdī was patron of the water-carriers because he distributed water to the fighters during the Battle of Kerbela (SN I : 160b). Also, Reyān-i Hindī was the patron of the *simitçi* because he had presented *simits* to Ḥasan and Ḥüseyn (SN I : 159b f.), and eş-şeyh

Ḥālīd-i 'Ummānī was the patron of the pearl-divers because he gave pearls to Muḥammed (SN I : 163a f.). Another Companion, 'Iṭriddīn-i Hindī, regularly provided the Prophet with rose-water, and therefore had been made the *pīr* of the *gūlābcı* (SN I : 158b).

- Another reason certain individuals were *pīrs* of particular professions was that they were believed to have invented or introduced things used in those professions.<sup>38</sup> This was especially true concerning the pre-Islamic prophet-patrons. An example is Yūsuf, *pīr* of the clockmakers, who invented the clock while sitting in a dark well because he needed to know the correct time to perform the prayers (SN I: 163a).

## The Legends<sup>39</sup>

- 21 As was said before, no elaborate texts should be expected. In fact, only about 30 stories concerning the *pīrs* are longer than two or three sentences.
- 22 What is really striking and interesting about this material is that two-thirds of the stories deal with pre-Islamic figures. This implies that the stories of the “old ones”, and therefore the sources which included these stories, were widely known. Stories from various books on the miracles of the prophets (*qıṣāṣü l-enbiyā'*) obviously belonged to the common popular knowledge of the time, which – of course – was also true of the stories in the Koran.<sup>40</sup> By contrast, stories concerning the Companions of the Prophet are significantly fewer and shorter. Often the pre-Islamic patron and his special relationship with a guild is described in detail whereas the name alone of the “real” *pīr* is provided by Evliyâ without further comment.
- 23 The main features of the protagonists are the following:
- Miracles (*mu'cizāt, kerāmāt*) such as transformations and metamorphoses are rare. However, the miracles that are narrated are not restricted to the Prophet but include miracles performed by Companions of the Prophet and by other prophets. One miracle story is even about a non-Muslim woman, the Jewish *kehhāl* mentioned above, who healed the prophet Mūsā's eyes. One set of miracle stories relate that the patron of the fishermen, Naṣrullāh Semmād, threw his net onto the sand of the desert and magically drew forth a multitude of fish. Evliyâ mentions that he himself, when on the *hajj*, ate of fish caught in the sand.<sup>41</sup>
- 24 İbrāhīm, patron of several guilds involved with milk production (milk, *hallūm* cheese, cream/*kaymak*, yoghurt), had a miraculous cow in Aleppo which never dried up. He milked her every day and distributed the milk to the city's poor. And the trough in which the cow's milk had been kept provided milk to the people for hundreds of years afterwards, always remaining full (SN I : 167b).<sup>42</sup>
- 25 İbrāhīm was also the patron of the salt traders because of another miracle he had performed: After he had finished building the Kaaba, a small bowl of dust remained. When İbrāhīm asked God for wages for his labour, God told him to cast the dust in the bowl in all directions. İbrāhīm obeyed, and the dust was distributed across the whole world as salt: “And to this day all the creatures of God eat of the salt of İbrāhīm”.<sup>43</sup>

## Miraculous coincidents

- 26 Stories of this type mainly relate the very unlikely chance through which a *pīr* invented, or learned how to do, something.

- 27 For example, after Cain, patron of the gravediggers, killed his brother Abel, he did not know what to do with the body. But then he observed a raven digging up a coconut and got the idea of hiding the corpse in the earth (SN I : 154a). This – less the coconut – basically is how the story is told in the Quran.<sup>44</sup>
- 28 Another example is the Iranian hero Cemşid, patron of the soap makers as well as of several other guilds: He failed in his first efforts to produce soap from olive oil and was so disappointed that he started crying. When his tears dripped into the oil, it immediately coagulated, becoming soap. Cemşid realized that the coagulation was caused by the salt in the tears and thus learned how to make soap. According to Evliyâ, Cemşid invented 366 different crafts (SN I : 179b).
- 29 The creation of flax was the result of another happy accident: Hüşeng, the mythical Iranian king, grew cotton and watered it with urine. God then turned Hüşeng's cotton into flax. Evliyâ says that this is why flax has the aroma of urine. However he does not enlighten his readers about what had inspired Hüşeng to water his cotton with urine in the first place (SN I : 166a).<sup>45</sup>

### Order by God

- 30 There are stories relating how God ordered certain arts and crafts to be taught to human beings. The agent of God's will in these stories is Cibrîl. Thus Cibrîl showed Adam how to grow wheat and then how to grind the wheat and bake bread: Adam therefore became the patron of the bakers. Cibrîl also showed Noah, patron of the ship-wrights, how to build a ship “in the design of a goose's breast-bone”.<sup>46</sup>

### Pîrs and Christian patrons

- 31 Finally, I will briefly compare Christian<sup>47</sup> traditions about guild patrons with those of Evliyâ. As sources I used the *Legenda Aurea*, a 13<sup>th</sup> century collection of legends by Jacobus de Voragine, and the Ecumenical Online Lexicon of Saints by Joachim Schäfer.<sup>48</sup> One striking parallel is that among the many legends about Christian saints there are disappointingly few concerning their role as guild patrons: I had in fact expected the works I consulted to be much more detailed on this subject than the *Seyahatnâme*. First the differences between Christian and Muslim guild patrons: In contrast to the Muslim pîrs, we find few biblical prophets as Christian guild patrons. The Apostles, like the prophet's Companions, were guild patrons, but the overwhelming majority of Christian guild patrons were saints who lived in late Antiquity and during the Middle Ages. And – of course – we find many more female Christian than female Muslim guild patrons.
- 32 But there are also several parallels between the two guild-patron traditions:
- As with the Muslim pîrs, occasionally we find one individual as the patron for more than a single Christian guild. Indeed, some saints – for example St. Nicolaus and St. Catharina – served 25 to 30 guilds as a patron.
  - Like the Muslim guilds, some Christian guilds had more than one patron.
  - And unfortunately as with the Muslim pîrs, we find few explanations, or even hints, about why certain saints became patrons for certain guilds. Often it is far from clear from their biographies why these particular saints should have been the patrons of these particular



guilds. However, there are some cases in which there is – as with Muslim *pīrs* – a clear connection between a saint's life and his or her patronage of specific guilds:

- Some of the saints had pursued the guild's work. Thus the Apostle Andreas, who was a fisherman, is the patron of the fishermen. And Thomas, who drafted the plan of a palace for the King of India, is the patron not only for the architects but also for some other groups in the construction sector.
  - Some acts of certain saints have associations with the activities of certain guilds. Thus Christophorus, who carried the baby Jesus across a river, became the patron of ferrymen. And Caecilia, because her chorus of nuns sang so beautifully that they tamed the attackers of their convent, became the patroness of singers.
  - As in the case of the *pīrs*, one Christian patron is frequently responsible for a whole cluster of related professions. Consequently Ibrāhīm – remember the Cow of Aleppo – was *pīr* for many professions dealing with milk. And Catharina, who was martyred on the wheel, is the patron for numerous guilds connected with wheels, or whose working equipment is turned by wheels – such as the potters, the carriage-makers, the millers, and the scissor sharpeners.
- 33 And, by the way, there was even a patron common to Muslim and Christian guild traditions: Dāvūd / David, the patron of the musicians. The only difference is his instrument: In the Judeo-Christian tradition he played the harp (for Salomon), whereas in Muslim tradition he played the *zurna*.
- 34 The table below is a preliminary conclusion of the differences and similarities in the concepts and ideas, as embodied in the legends, between both Muslim Ottoman and Christian European guild patrons.

### *Pīrs* and patrons – differences

<i>Pīrs</i> many pre-Islamic prophets	Christian patrons
Companions and contemporaries of Muhammed	few biblical prophets from the Old Testament Apostles; but only a few other contemporaries of Jesus
few figures from the time after Muhammed	many figures from the time after Jesus
very few female <i>pīrs</i>	many female patrons

### *pīrs* and patrons – common features

- 35 one *pīr*/patron for several guilds
- 36 frequently the same *pīr*/patron for related guilds
- 37 several *pīrs*/patrons for the same guild
- 38 David/Dāvūd *pīr*/patron of the musicians

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## NOTES

1. Public ceremonies which were famous for especially splendid guild parades include Murād III's 1582 celebration of the circumcision of his son Meḥmed, the 1638 festivities preceding Murād IV's campaign against Persia, the 1675 celebrations of the circumcisions of two sons and the wedding of one daughter of Meḥmed IV, and that Sultan's 1678 festivities prior to his campaign against Russia. For the details of all these celebrations see: Arslan, 1999; Atasoy, 1997; Aynur 1995; Nutku, 1972; Öztekin, 1996; and Procházka-Eisl, 1995.
2. Hammer-Purgstall, J.v., 1822.
3. Hammer-Purgstall, J.v., 1850.
4. I must emphasize that this paper is *not* about guild patrons in general, only about their portrayal in the *Seyahatnâme* of Evliyâ Çelebi.
5. Procházka-Eisl, 1995 : f. 55v.
6. Sa'd b. Vaqqāṣ (600?-678), one of the most important Companions of the Prophet, was famed for his skill in archery, which he demonstrated at the battle of Uḥud. Procházka-Eisl 1995, f. 54v.
7. Procházka-Eisl, 1995 : f. 22v.
8. But this is only *one* aspect in which the *Seyahatnâme* can be regarded as an indicator: E. Prokosch in his forthcoming article on Ottoman lexicography, states that the *Seyahatnâme*, together with Hammer-Purgstall's *History of the Ottoman Empire* would suffice to write a lexicon on *hadithes* relevant in specific Ottoman contexts, which would be more useful for Ottomanists than Wensinck. Prokosch, 2012 : forthcoming.
9. *SN* = *Seyahatnâme*. To avoid irritations between the first and the second revised edition I do not quote the relevant page but the manuscript folio, which of course is the same in both editions.
10. Busse/at-Ta'labī 2006: 64: "İdrīs war der erste, [...]der Kleider nähte und genähte Kleidung trug."
11. Taeschner, 1979 : 406.
12. Its actual title is *Miftāḥu d-daqqā'iq fi bayāni l-futuwwa wa-l-ḥaqā'iq*.
13. This is the reason that 'Alī commonly is seen in Islam as the founder of the guilds. Taeschner, 1979 : 408.
14. Various guilds took parts of it and changed it according to their special needs. Taeschner, 1979 : 414.
15. This number is suggested by Yi, 2004 : 42, n. 2. According to Yücel Dağlı's index in the *Seyahatnâme*, there are around 550 groups.
16. Later on, Evliyâ states that Cemşid is *pīr* for 366 guilds; see below. The source for the many narratives concerning Cemşid's uncanny ability to invent and teach numerous skills is Ferdousi's *ṣāhnâme*. Cf. Yarshater, *EIr* 2008 : 505. The *ṣāhnâme* obviously belonged to the books consulted by

Evliyâ, as he refers to this book when introducing the painters: "...as it was written in the *şâhnâme*". SN I : 199b.

17. Q 34 : 10 -11: "And We made pliable for him iron, [Commanding him], 'Make full coats of mail and calculate [precisely] the links, and work [all of you] righteousness." www.corpus.quran.com, accessed 16-03-2012.

18. "kadîm-i evvelde pîrleri Hazret-i Fisagores-i Tevhîdî idi. {Ammâ} Hazret-i Risâlet asrında pîr-i hakîkîleri Hazret-i Ubeyd-i Attâr'dır". SN I : 158a.

19. "Pîrleri Hazret-i Nûh'dur. Ammâ Hazret-i Resûl asrında Mekke deryâsı kim Süveys deryâsıdır, andan bir re'îs Hazret huzûruna gelüp İslâm ile müşerref olan Ebü'l-mahz-ı Ummânî'dir". SN I : 162a.

20. Such as Salsâl Tatar for the *boza*-makers (SN I : 212b f.) and – before ẖamza took over – Tohtamış Bay from the dynasty of the Cingizids (SN I : 194b). I will not discuss the already thoroughly-researched Aḫi Evrân, for whom see Taeschner, 1941, 1955, and 2012.

21. "fütüvvetnâme-i kübrâda "Bağdâd Hillesi'nde arslan paralamışdır, kabri nâ-ma'lûmdur" deyü yazmış. *Rahmetullâh*." SN I: 190a.

22. "pîrleri ma'lûmum olmayup bir siğer ü fütüvvetde ve fütüvvetnâme-i kebîrde görmeyüp seyâhat etdiğimiz yerlerde ziyâret dahi etmedik". (barber razor grinders) SN I: 189a; "pîrleri nâ-ma'lûmdur. Varulcu esnâfın bir fütüvvetde görmedik" (suitcase makers) SN I : 202a. Evliyâ states of the *pîr* of the tanners: "Ca'fer-i Sâdık'ın *Fütüvvetnâme-i Kebîr*'inde mastûrdur" SN I : 193b.

23. "Selmân-ı Pâk 'in kemer-beste etdüğü üçüncü pîrdir". SN I: 159a.

24. For a comparison of the relevant parts in the *Seyâhatnâme* and the *Fütüvvetnâme-i Kebîr* see Eren, 1960: 69-74.

25. "...bunlar cümle Rûmeli'nde Serfice ve Filorunya ve Liçista ve Gölikesri şehirlerinde sâkin bir alay bî-dîn ve bî-pîr Urumlardır" SN I: 193b.

26. "pîrsizân-i Fir'avniyân" SN I: 169a.

27. "bu mel'ûnlar müselmânın boğazladuğu lahmı yemeyüp başka pîrsiz mel'ûnlardır" SN I: 166b.

28. "hâşâ mine's-sâmi'în pîrleri ola" for the *pâzvengân*, "hâşâ pîrleri ola" for the *deyyûsân*; both SN I: 154b.

29. "zu'm-ı bâtillarınca pîrleri Amr-ı Ayyâr'dır ammâ hâşâ ve kellâ". SN I: 154b.

30. "Pîrleri Cemşîd'dir. Hazret asrında zurna çalınmayup pîr-i hakîkîleri yokdur." SN I: 202b.

31. The *Fütüvvetnâme* of Yaḫyâ b. Ḥalîl al-Burgâzî also is translated into German in Taeschner, 1979: 318-402.

32. The *Fütüvvetnâme-i Kebîr* also gives the reasons why these guilds are not worthy of the *fütüvvet*.

33. Evliyâ says the Jewish tavern-keepers are *pîrsiz*, though they have Cemşîd SN I: 215a.

34. She cured Moses of an eye illness by rubbing some dust into his eyes which she had taken from beneath his feet. She was *kehhâl* for 200 years. Only in the time of the Prophet was she replaced by a new *pîr* (whose name is left blank in the SN). SN I: 158a.

35. "kettân ekenlere ve eğriüp iplik edenlere Hadîce-i Kübrâ pîre oldu." SN I: 166a.

36. "Ammâ sünnet edicilerin pîri Ebü'l-havâkîn Muhammed'in hâtûnu Râbi'a binti Abdullâh ibn Mes'ûd' {dur}, duhter-i pâkîze-ahterlerin masdarı ortasındaki kırmızı dilçik nâm lahm-ı zâ'idi kesüp sünnet ederdi. Hazret-i İbrâhîm hâtûnu olan (---) Ana Hâcer Ana'ya gazab edüp ol lahmı kesüp sünnet edüp ol asırdan berü bintânları sünnet etmek Arabistân'a mahsûsdur. Hâlâ Mısır'da Hazarî derler bir gûne kavm vardır, kız sünnetleri gecesinde azîm şâdumânlar ederler. Nisvân tâ'ifesine bu sünnetin fâ'idesi oldur kim vaz'-ı haml etdikde âsân vech ile doğurmuş." SN I: 198a.

37. "Pîr oldur kim her muharremât [u] memnû'âtden müberrâ ve ma'sûm [u] pâk ola. Anın îmânî dürüstdür." SN I, 150a and: "pîr oldur kim Hazret huzûruna dörd miyân-bestenin şeddin kuşanmış ola." SN I, 185a.

38. The chapter “Evsâf-ı sanâyi’-i meşâhîr-i enbiyâ-i izâm” contains a long list of the professions of the prophets. SN I: 147a. Evliyâ said he used the *Fütüvvetnâme-i Muḥammedî*, which is another name for the *Fütüvvetnâme-i kebîr* mentioned above. Cf. Eren, 1960: 66-67.
39. The question of the sources for these stories definitely deserves further research and a much more in-depth investigation – an enterprise which would exceed the scope of the present paper. A good research was done Eren 1960, who identified an abundance of sources used by Evliyâ. Cf. for example the edition of the *Qışaş al-anbiyâ* of Busse, 2006 and Boeschoten et al., 1995, in which are extracts of many of the narratives.
40. For a Koranic story of Dâvûd see note 17. For a story in the Koran concerning Cain, see below.
41. “Bi-emrillâhi Ta’âlâ çölde ve çölistânda ve berr ü beyâbânda şebekesin ya’nî ağın kum üzre atsa gûnâ-gûn mâhîler ile ağı mâl-â-mâl olurdu. Hattâ bu hakîr şâm-ı şerîf’den Hacc-ı şerîfe giderken Bi’r-i Zümürüd nâm mahalle vardığımızda cümle huccâc-ı müslimîn peştemâl peştemâl kum içinden ufacak ve iri balıklar getirüp pişirüp tenâvül etdik.” SN I: 174a.
42. This legend is still well-known in Aleppo; for its origins see Tomkins 1897: 80.
43. “...ilâ hâze'l-ân cem’i mahlûk-ı Hudâ, İbrâhîm Halîl tuzundan tenâvül ederler aceb hikmetdir.” SN I: 159b.
44. Q 5 : 31: “Then Allah sent a crow searching in the ground to show him how to hide the disgrace of his brother. He said, ‘O woe to me! Have I failed to be like this crow and hide the body of my brother?’ And he became of the regretful.” www.corpus.quran.com accessed 16-03-2012.
45. Hüşeng is mentioned in the *şâhnâme* as the inventor of various crafts: he “dug canals for irrigation and promoted cultivation”. Cf. Yarshater, *Elr* 2004: 491.
46. “kaz göğsü kemigine göre” SN I : 162b.
47. Especially Roman Catholic.
48. De Voragine 1912 and Schäfer, www.heiligenlexikon.de accessed 14-03-2012.

## ABSTRACTS

The most splendid and famous guild parades in Istanbul were held in the 16th and 17th centuries; of those guild parades, the parade of 1638 definitely was the largest and most spectacular in terms of participants. This event is elaborately described in the first volume of Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme*. In this paper I wish to briefly consider one previously neglected aspect of this text: Evliyâ's more or less detailed discussion of the pîrs, the guild patrons. I will begin with a general overview about how Evliyâ introduces these pîrs ; next, I will discuss the longer stories or legends about these pîrs which Evliyâ narrates – though there are not many, unfortunately. Then I will highlight the most significant themes of these stories to show why particular individuals were chosen as pîrs for certain guilds. Finally, I will briefly summarize the similarities and differences between these pîrs and the patrons of the Christian guilds of Europe.

Les plus splendides et fameuses parades de corporations à Istanbul ont eu lieu aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles ; parmi elles, celle de 1638 fut, sans aucun doute, la plus spectaculaire et la plus grande en termes de participants. Cet événement est largement décrit dans le premier volume du *Seyahatnâme* d'Evliyâ Çelebi. Dans cet article je veux aborder brièvement un aspect jusque-là négligé : la discussion plus ou moins détaillée par Evliyâ des pîrs, les dirigeants des corporations. Je commencerai par un survol général de la façon dont Evliyâ introduit ces pîrs, ensuite je discuterai les légendes et récits – peu nombreux malheureusement – qu'Evliyâ nous raconte à

leur sujet. Ensuite je mettrai en lumière les thèmes les plus significatifs de ces histoires pour montrer pourquoi des individus en particulier étaient choisis comme pîrs pour certaines corporations. Enfin je conclurai rapidement sur les similitudes et les différences entre ces pîrs et les patrons des corporations chrétiennes en Europe.

## INDEX

**Subjects:** Histoire, Histoire des mentalités

**Mots-clés:** Evliyâ Çelebi (1611-1682), Seyahatnâme, corporations

**Geographical index:** Empire ottoman

**motsclesel** Εβλίγιας Τσελεμπή (1611-1682), Σεγιαχατνάμε, Εσνάφια, Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία, Δεκατός έβδομος αιώνας, Ιστορία, Ιστορία των νοοτροπιών, Οδοιπορικά

**motsclesmk** ЕВЛИЈА ЧЕЛЕБИЈА, (1611-1682) СЕЈАХАТНАМЕ, КОРПОРАЦИИ, ОТОМАНСКАТА ИМПЕРИЈА, СЕДУЧИАЕСЕТИОТ ВЕК, ИСТОРИЈА, ИСТОРИА НА МЕНТАЛИТЕТ, ПАТЕПИСИ

**Chronological index:** dix-septième siècle

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