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OTTOMAN PILGRIMAGE NARRATIVES

AND NABI'S *TUHFETÜ'L-HAREMEYN*

by

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

CENTRE FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

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Declaration

No portion of this thesis has previously been submitted by me for another degree in this or any other university.

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Abstract

This PhD thesis has two principal objectives. The first is to edit and study the most literary and celebrated Ottoman pilgrimage narrative, that is the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* by Nabi (d. 1712). The second is to establish and examine the main types and contents of pre-nineteenth-century Ottoman pilgrimage narratives, to the genre of which Nabi's text belongs.

The thesis consists of two parts. In Part I, the introduction discusses cultural and literary influences on Ottoman approaches to the composition of pilgrimage accounts. Chapter I presents an outline of known pre-modern pilgrimage narratives in Arabic and Persian literature. Chapter II introduces and classifies more than fifteen Ottoman pilgrimage texts in both prose and verse, most being examined for the first time in this study.

Chapters III and IV concentrate exclusively on Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. The former examines the background to Nabi's undertaking of the pilgrimage journey and to the composition of his account, the timetable of the journey, the prose style of his narrative and the place of the work within the genre. The latter presents a summary translation of Nabi's impressive account to make the work more immediately accessible. Chapter V scrutinizes the general themes in the corpus of Ottoman pilgrimage texts, such as the pilgrimage journey and stations between Istanbul and Mecca, shrines, sanctuaries and superstitions.

Part II presents for the first time a modern critical edition of Nabi's pilgrimage narrative on the basis of the three oldest and most reliable manuscript copies. These are compared also with the nineteenth-century printed copy.

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System of Transliteration

In the transliteration of Turkish, Arabic and Persian words, the usual system employed in Turkey for the transliteration of Ottoman texts is used with the following exceptions in Part I:

Long vowels are not marked.

Diacritics not available in the modern Turkish alphabet are not used, except for the Arabic consonants *hemze* (') and '*ayn* (').

Compound personal names and Arabic months are spelled as one word, e.g. Şemseddin, Zilhicce.

The common spellings of certain words, particularly place names, have been preferred, e.g. Mecca, Medina, Hijaz, Cairo, Jerusalem, Alexandria and hajj.

In Chapter I, which is devoted solely to Arabic and Persian texts, the standard IJMES transliteration system has been employed, but long vowels have not been marked..

Abbreviations

<i>DIA</i>	: <i>Diyanet Islam Ansiklopedisi</i>
<i>EI</i>	: <i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
<i>HOP</i>	: E.J.W. Gibb, <i>History of Ottoman Poetry</i>
<i>IA</i>	: <i>Islam Ansiklopedisi</i>
<i>IJTS</i>	: <i>International Journal of Turkish Studies</i>
<i>IUEF</i>	: <i>Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi</i>
<i>IUTBK</i>	: <i>Istanbul Üniversitesi Türkçe Basmalar Kataloğu</i>
<i>JTS</i>	: <i>Journal of Turkish Studies / Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları</i>
<i>KTB</i>	: <i>Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı</i>
<i>MEB</i>	: <i>Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı</i>
<i>OM</i>	: Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, <i>Osmanlı Müellifleri</i>
<i>Rh.</i>	: Sir James W. Redhouse, <i>Turkish and English Lexicon</i>
<i>Sg.</i>	: F. Steingass, <i>A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary</i>
<i>TDEA</i>	: <i>Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi</i>
<i>TDK</i>	: <i>Türk Dil Kurumu</i>
<i>TSMKTYK</i>	: <i>Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu</i>
<i>TTK</i>	: <i>Türk Tarih Kurumu</i>

Introduction

CULTURAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND TO THE COMPOSITION OF PILGRIMAGE NARRATIVES BY OTTOMANS

Medieval Muslims left their homelands only for a few important purposes such as war, the hajj, to acquire an advanced level of knowledge, for trade, and for an official or religious mission. In these motivations for travel, the hajj had a significant place. The hajj is the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca with its attendant specified rituals, which is the duty of a life time for those Muslims who are free, sane, adult, and rich enough to meet the expense of travel and those of dependents left behind.¹ In order to perform the pilgrimage, every year for more than a millennium large numbers of Muslims have undertaken a long, risky and arduous journey from various lands. Having begun their journeys in a small local caravan or in a group of friends, medieval pilgrims generally joined a large pilgrimage caravan at certain points, particularly Cairo and Damascus. Passing through the desert between Damascus and Mecca or between Cairo and Mecca under the hot sun with a limited amount of water was not only the most arduous part of the journey but also the riskiest, first because of possible attack by the Bedouins.² It

¹For information about the rituals of the hajj, see Ahmad Kamal, *The sacred journey: being pilgrimage to Makkah* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1964). It is necessary here to clarify that the English word 'pilgrimage' is used as the equivalent of the Islamic terms hajj and *ziyaret* (visit) together. In Islam visiting of the shrines of saints, even that of the Prophet in Medina is not considered as the hajj. Pilgrimage to the tombs of the saints are called just *ziyaret* (visit), which is not more than a voluntary act. With regard to the usage of the word 'pilgrim', even though travellers going on pilgrimage are called pilgrims in Christian culture from the beginning of their journeys, Muslim travellers going on the hajj are not entitled to be called *hacı* unless they complete the rituals of the hajj. However the term pilgrim is customarily used to represent both those who set out to perform the hajj and those who qualified for the title *hacı*. For information about tomb-visiting, see Nancy Tapper, 'Ziyaret: gender, movement, and exchange in a Turkish community', in Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim Travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination* (London 1990), pp. 236-255

²Münir Atalar, *Osmanlı devletinde surre-i humayun ve surre alayları* (Ankara: Diyanet, 1991), pp. 136-143

required great devotion and piety to undertake such a long and dangerous journey. For most it was the journey of a lifetime.

Those pilgrims who departed from Wadan in Morocco, Granada in modern Spain, Herat, Bombay and central Asia spent many months on the journey. An eighteenth-century Ottoman pilgrim travelling in an official caravan from Istanbul had a journey of more than eight months.³ An ordinary medieval pilgrim from Morocco had to travel 15-18 months,⁴ or two years.⁵ Qazvini's pilgrimage journey in 1087/1676 from Delhi took twelve months.⁶ Such durations were valid for ordinary pilgrims who undertook the journey principally to perform the hajj and to return back home as soon as possible.

However, some pilgrims combined their aim of fulfilling the duty of the hajj with other motives, e.g. seeking a better level of knowledge, either of Islamic learning or of different Muslim lands; earning a better living, making propaganda for their belief or sects or a combination of these. Making the pilgrimage served for some as an initial and legitimate stage of a longer journey. Many great Muslim scholars, poets and mystics, including Ebu Hafs Sühreverdi (d. 632/1234), Ibn el-'Arabi (d. 638/1240), Fahreddin 'Iraki (d. 688/1289), Muhammed Parsa (d. 822/1419), and Cami (d. 898-9/1492), left their homelands to perform the hajj and to improve their Islamic learning. In the course of their journeys, most often during the hajj, they met other scholars and benefited from their knowledge. For example, Sühreverdi (d. 1234) met the sufi Arab poet Ibn el-Farid (d. 1235) in Mecca in 1231;⁷ Ibn el-'Arabi (d. 1240) met the father of Sadreddin Konevi (d. 1274) in Mecca in 1204,⁸ and Sadreddin himself in Konya, where Fahreddin 'Iraki

³See the entry 'The pilgrimage journey' in Chapter V below.

⁴Abderrahmane El Moudden, 'The ambivalence of *rihla*: community integration and self-definition in Moroccan travel accounts, 1300-1800', in Eickelman and Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim Travellers*, p. 75

⁵M.N. Pearson, *Pious passengers: the hajj in earlier times* (London: Hurst & Company, 1994), p. 44

⁶Pearson, p. 46

⁷Angelika Hartmann, 'al-Suhrawardi', *EF* IX, p. 779

⁸A. Ateş, Ibn al-'Arabi, *EF* 3, p. 708

(d. 1289) also met the latter, after having performed the hajj.⁹ The Iranian saint Muhammed Parsa, who died in Medina, is said to have encountered and influenced Cami on his way to Mecca in 1419.¹⁰

The journeys of such people took many years, sometimes continuing until the end of their lives so that they never returned to their native lands. Nabi states that some pilgrims endured the difficulty of a journey of seven or eight years in order to perform the hajj.¹¹ The journeys of some West African pilgrims in pre-modern times are said to have lasted for eight years.¹² Therefore even though in modern times a pilgrim comes back to his home ‘physically and financially unchanged’ from a short journey of a few weeks,¹³ in olden times the long journeys would have engendered many physical, cultural and spiritual changes in pilgrims. Upon their return or during their journeys, some scholar pilgrims undertook an active mission to communicate their knowledge and experience to people. For example, the eleventh-century Persian poet Nasir-i Husrev, who was influenced by Fatimid scholars during his stay in Egypt, is reported to have preached the Isma‘ili version of his faith in his community after his return from his pilgrimage journey.¹⁴ Basing his argument on the examples of the Almoravid and Almohad revolutions, Moudden states that pilgrims ‘even initiated broad changes in the Maghrib’.¹⁵ Probably because of this, it is often emphasized that the hajj in medieval ages served to constitute a significant ‘network of cultural communication’ between Muslim communities.¹⁶

⁹H. Massé, ‘Iraki, Fakhr al-Din Ibrahim’, *EF* 3, p. 1269

¹⁰A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1958), p. 426

¹¹See the entry ‘*Vakfe* at ‘Arafat’ in Chapter IV.

¹²Pearson, p. 44

¹³Mary Byrne McDonnell, ‘Patterns of Muslim pilgrimage from Malaysia, 1885-1985’, in Eickelman and Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travellers*, p. 119

¹⁴See below p. 32.

¹⁵Moudden, p. 70; see B. Lewis, ‘Hadjdj’, *EF* 3, p. 38

¹⁶Lewis, p. 37; Ross E. Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and California: University of California Press, 1986), p. 10; Moudden, p. 71

Although in comparison with less regulated Christian pilgrimages, the hajj journey was more stable, protected and well-attended, Muslim communities do not appear to have produced a well-established genre of pilgrimage narratives to rival the bulky corpus of medieval Christian pilgrimage accounts.¹⁷ Howard reports that ‘between 1100 and 1500 some 526 accounts were written that have survived, and doubtless many more that have not’.¹⁸ The reference works on Persian literature contain a very limited number of pre-nineteenth-century pilgrimage narratives, which suggest that medieval Persian pilgrims did not write about their pilgrimage experiences. Likewise medieval West African pilgrims except for Moroccans, seem not to have penned their accounts.¹⁹ As for South Asian pilgrims, Metcalf suggests that prior to the late eighteenth century they did not produce travel accounts ‘except in so far as they recorded visions or wrote treatises while there’. The first Indian account is thought to have been composed by the scholar Mevlana Refi‘eddin Muradabadi, who went on the hajj in 1787.²⁰

1. The cultural background to the composition of pilgrimage accounts

The reasons for the composition of pilgrimage accounts are closely related to the objectives and motivations of a pilgrim for undertaking the journey in the first place. One of the reasons for the proliferation of pilgrimage narratives in the west was the ‘fascination’ of the journey undertaken. Christian pilgrims made a risky and exciting

¹⁷Barbara D. Metcalf, ‘The pilgrimage remembered: South Asian accounts of the hajj’, in Eickelman and Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travellers*, p. 86: ‘Despite the splendid travelogues written in Arabic in the centuries after the ‘Abbasids, there does not seem to be a continuous genre of travel writing in Muslim societies generally’.

¹⁸Donald R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980), p. 17

¹⁹Umar Al-Naqar, *The Pilgrimage tradition in West Africa* (Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, 1972), p. xxviii

²⁰Metcalf (pp. 86-87) states that the tradition of travel and pilgrimage account writing in the Indian sub-continent developed gradually from the nineteenth century. The tradition of Indian hajj narratives followed a rather different trend after the nineteenth century taking shape initially in the period of British rule. ‘Several dozens’ of pilgrimage accounts were published between 1870-1950. ‘Since then, ever more people have written accounts, probably as many in the last four decades as in the eight decades before’. Having pointed out unpublished and undiscovered accounts and private letters, Metcalf concludes that hajj narratives seem ‘a modern phenomenon’ having common scope with other writings.

journey through strange lands and societies, by either walking ‘three thousand miles’ or undertaking ‘six weeks in a tiny, unstable boat’.²¹ Howard states that ‘it was largely the fascination of travel itself that made men go on pilgrimages, that made pilgrimages such a fundamental institution of medieval societies and made written sources of them so interesting to read’.²² According to the thirteenth-century Christian preacher Jacques de Vitry, a number of Christian pilgrims ‘go on pilgrimages not out of devotion, but out of mere curiosity and love of novelty. All they want to do is travel through unknown lands to investigate the absurd, exaggerated stories they have heard about the east’.²³ While discussing ‘European travel and travel accounts’, J.R. Hale says that ‘by now curiosity was widely accepted as one among, if not the chief of the reasons, why a man might travel’.²⁴

Unlike for Christian pilgrims, it is hard to consider the fascination of travel among the principal motivations for Ottoman pilgrims generally, since they undertook the journey not for pleasure or out of curiosity but for the required performance of the hajj. The Muslim pilgrims’ principal concern was to reach the Hijaz in time, and after the performance of the hajj to come back home safely. In other words, they made the journey not to see and write interesting things but to perform a religious duty. As Thayer says, ‘To be sure, the attraction of the hajj may ultimately lie beyond any social benefit that accrue to the participants. It may rest instead in the fundamental religious sensibility of the pilgrims’.²⁵

²¹Jonathon Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of mediaeval religion* (London 1975), p. 182

²²Howard, p. 24

²³Sumption, p. 257

²⁴J.R. Hale (ed.), *The travel journal of Antonio de Beatis: Germany, Switzerland, the low countries France and Italy 1517-1518* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1979), p. 18

²⁵James Steel Thayer, ‘Pilgrimage and its influence on West African Islam’ in A. Morinis (ed.), *Sacred Journeys: the anthropology of pilgrimage* (London: Greenwood Press, 1992), p. 186

The routine, predictable, yet exhaustive nature of the journey Ottoman pilgrims endured may have discouraged them from recording their journeys. The route was relatively well-defined, and the caravan orderly and well-protected. Moreover, Ottoman pilgrims, unlike Christian travellers, were travelling across the lands of the same state, thus seeing people of the same Muslim culture, without needing to speak different languages, use different currencies, or negotiate borders between states. Even during the journey, some pilgrims were more interested in the conversation of their fellow pilgrims, particularly in listening to knowledgeable persons, than in experiencing the journey itself.

The uniqueness and peculiarity of a journey would motivate the traveller to record it and the result would be of interest to an audience. Conversely, the more routine a journey, the less remarkable and more monotonous its telling would be. The vast majority of Ottoman pilgrims travelled in an official caravan, the route and actions of which were predetermined, routine and fairly predictable. Like soldiers, they travelled under the leadership of certain officials, hence their personal influence upon the course of the journey was negligible. All this made their journeys less personal, less risky, less dangerous and so less worthy to record. In contrast, many medieval Christian pilgrims travelled in small groups; and were recommended to take no money with them except for the purpose of delivering it to the poor as alms.²⁶ Such factors certainly made their journey less guaranteed and more personal, dangerous and exciting; it also made their written accounts more interesting, but open to fabrications.

As for the Ottomans, the predictability of the journey may have deterred a traveller from composing a narrative. If the texts which were composed to help future pilgrims with *practical* information are excluded, the majority of known narratives, are written by

²⁶Sumption, pp. 124-5

those authors such as Ahmed Fakih, Fevri, Evliya Çelebi, and Nabi, who undertook at least some parts of their journeys independently of the official caravan. The well-known pilgrimage-centred accounts in Arab and Persian literature were composed by those including Ibn Cübeyr, Ibn Battuta and Nasır-ı Husrev who also made their journeys in a private group. It was partly the support of generous patrons for either travel or composition that played a role in the existence of certain well-known pilgrimage narratives. Some of their authors are reported to have received financial support either for the expenses of the journey or for the composition of an account of it or for both.²⁷ For instance, Evliya Çelebi enjoyed the help and patronage of local governors during his journey. Nabi was not only given leave but also supported by his patrons to undertake his journey. He composed his narrative in a high-flown artistic style and presented it to Mehmed IV.

It is possible that the detailed narratives composed by those who had made a relatively unusual journey might have deterred some ordinary pilgrims travelling in an official pilgrimage caravan from composing accounts of their own, presumably less eventful, adventures. In addition, existing geographical texts on the Hijaz written by previous scholars must have discouraged ordinary pilgrims from writing a description of the holy cities from their limited observations. Pearson reaches similar conclusions about the low number of Indian pilgrimage texts: ‘It appears that all these pilgrims assumed there was nothing new to say about the hajj. Qazvini wrote that he would not say much about the hajj itself, or Mecca and the Ka‘be “on account of the brevity of this treatise and availability of the relevant details in many books and compilations.”’²⁸ By producing a work, an author simply either introduces a new subject or challenges the previous ones,

²⁷See ‘Conclusion’ in Chapter I.

²⁸Pearson, p. 17

considering them insufficient. To make a challenge, the author is required to have either more knowledge or a different perspective or superior literary ability.

The mode of travel may also have had something to do with whether or not a narrative was composed. Sumption notes that Christian pilgrims who travelled by sea had to occupy themselves during a boring and monotonous journey. They spent their days drinking, or playing dice, cards or chess, or reading and praying, or sleeping or writing 'travel diaries'.²⁹ This last occupation may be put forward as an element for the relative proliferation of narratives by Andalusian and Moroccan travellers, who as far as we know at present, wrote more than those who lived relatively close to the Hijaz. However, South Asian pilgrims, many of whom also travelled by sea, did not write down their pilgrimage experiences prior to the nineteenth century. It appears, therefore, that making an exciting and unpredictable journey through unknown lands and societies could add some more accounts but would not necessarily generate a clear trend towards narrative composition. In other words, merely undertaking such a journey was not a sufficient motivation for most literate medieval Muslims to set down their personal experiences of it.

It appears that in general Ottomans were reluctant to write down their personal lives or adventures, or to insert their selves into the description of an occurrence they experienced.³⁰ The authors of the few known pilgrimage narratives, except Evliya Çelebi, did not put much of themselves into their descriptions, and clearly did not intend to write about their own journeys for their own sakes. Kafadar suggests that the lack of personal literature might be due to lack of a 'strong sense of individuality' in medieval

²⁹Sumption, p. 186

³⁰Madeline C. Zilfi, 'The diary of a müderris: a new source for Ottoman biography', *JTS* I (1976), p. 157: 'It is a commonplace in Ottoman studies that, prior to the mid-nineteenth century, diaries, letters and collections of personal papers of the sort that enriched Western European biography are lacking for comparable Ottoman dignitaries'.

people.³¹ Unless a religious or practical or literary purpose was intended, the portrayal of their daily lives or a single episode like the pilgrimage journey, in an artless manner for its own sake must have been regarded by Ottomans as an occupation which would take some time and money; and in return it would have won its author no material or spiritual benefit, no honour or credit in the eyes of contemporaries.

The very limited copies of a few known or recently discovered narratives of personal lives suggest that such works did not even attract much attention from Ottoman readers.

A quick comparison of the reception of Evliya's extraordinary narrative with that of the English author John Mandeville's *Travels* exemplifies the low level of interest of Ottomans in such written accounts and hence of lack of motivation to compose such works. Despite being perhaps the most interesting and exciting Ottoman travel narrative, written in a descriptive manner and unpretentious language, the *Seyahatname* was virtually unknown even by major Ottoman biographers until its discovery by the nineteenth-century Austrian scholar von Hammer,³² and only a few manuscripts of it have survived.³³ As for Mandeville's *Travels*,³⁴ it was widely read and known all over Europe for about six centuries. 'Well over three hundred manuscripts' of it have survived,³⁵ and it 'was printed again and again well into the nineteenth century'.³⁶

An apparent lack of demand from contemporary audiences for *written* travel narratives may have resulted from a lively interest in *oral* narration. It is likely that a pilgrim's immediate audience would have preferred to hear his stories directly from him, and would not spare time and money to copy, buy or read such stories, even if they

³¹Cemal Kafadar, 'Self and others: the diary of a dervish in seventeenth century Istanbul and first-person narratives in Ottoman literature', *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), p. 124

³²Kafadar, p. 126

³³Pierre A. MacKay, 'The manuscripts of the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi', *Der Islam* 52 (1975), p. 280

³⁴See Malcolm Letts, *Mandeville's Travels: text and translations* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953)

³⁵Sumption, p. 258

³⁶Howard, p. 54

contained a breathtaking journey experience. To satisfy the curiosity of their immediate audience about the journey and sacred places, many pilgrims must have enjoyed telling their accounts directly to fellow countrymen.³⁷ Indeed, the oral tradition was widespread among Turks for communicating their personal or mundane experiences. Even great Turkish legends were preserved only in oral tradition.

Consequently, there existed no established tradition of memoirs, diary-writing, autobiography or works of autobiographical character in pre-Tanzimat Ottoman literature. Although modern researchers have discovered a few first-person narratives,³⁸ at the present stage these do not constitute a continuous genre, being independent from each other as to style and content. On the other hand, there was a strong tradition of *tezkire* (biographical dictionary) writing, adopted from Arabic and Persian literature, on the lives and anecdotes of prominent individuals of certain classes or professions, such as saints, scholars and poets.³⁹ Motivations behind the composition of such works were educational, religious and in some cases partially literary. Nevertheless, the tradition of *tezkire* writing does not seem to have been paralleled by autobiographical writing or memoir writing until the nineteenth century when scholarly and literary works diversified and flourished under the influence of western literature.

³⁷This seems to be the case for returning Persian pilgrims. See Chapter I, and Hafez Farmayan and Elton L. Daniel, *A Shi'ite pilgrimage to Mecca: the Safarnameh of Mirza Mohammad Hosayn Farahani* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), p. xxiii.

³⁸Having introduced a few works of autobiographical character Kafadar (p. 149) suggests that 'systematic research in manuscript collections will yield many more diaries, dream-logs, autobiographies, memoirs of captivity, or letters'. For the introduction of such single texts of autobiographical character see Andreas Tietze, 'The poet as critique of society: a 16-century Ottoman poet', *Turcica* 9 (1977) pp. 120-160; Madeline C. Zilfi, 'The diary of a müderris: a new source for Ottoman biography', *JTS* I (1976), pp. 157-176. Carter Vaughn Findley, 'A Muslim's pilgrim's progress: Aşçı Dede İbrahim Halil on the hajj 1898' in C.E. Bosworth et al. (ed.), *The Islamic world from classical to modern times: essays in honor of Bernard Lewis* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1989), pp. 479-512.

³⁹J. Stewart-Robinson, 'The tezkere genre in Islam', *Journal of Near Eastern studies* 23 (1964), p. 60; Barbara Flemming, 'Glimpses of Turkish saints: another look at Lami'i and Ottoman biographers', *JTS* 18 (1994), pp. 59-73; Abdülkadir Karahan, *Eski Türk edebiyatı incelemeleri* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1980), p. 107.

2. Influences of Ottoman literary conventions on the writing of pilgrimage narratives

The development of an Ottoman genre pilgrimage narrative writing must be seen in the context of existing literary forms on the one hand, and of existing ways of writing about the pilgrimage journey on the other. The pilgrimage journey is generally not acknowledged as a topic or theme which occurs frequently in Ottoman texts either in verse or in *inşa* (high prose). Ottoman poetic forms, namely *gazel*, *rüba'i*, *kıt'a*, *terci'-i bend*, *kaside* and *mesnevi*, which had been inherited from classical Persian and Arabic literature,⁴⁰ have been considered to deal with certain well-determined themes through a rather set range of concepts and clichés. The most prevalent form, *gazel*, and other shorter forms such as *rüba'i* and *kıt'a* are clearly not suitable for relating a long story such as a pilgrimage journey. Of all these verse forms, the *mesnevi* is the most appropriate for extensive descriptions. Everything including particularly religious, ethical, mystical, epic, mythical and love subjects are eligible to be the subject of a *mesnevi*.⁴¹ However, poets who composed a *mesnevi* or *hamse* (collection of five *mesnevis*) tended to deal with certain classical topics. Therefore, several subjects were treated repeatedly by several poets. Description of the pilgrimage journey and of the sanctuaries are not counted among the chosen topics for the *mesnevi* form.

None of the most prominent Ottoman poets, except Nabi, are reported to have produced a description of the hajj journey either in verse or in prose. Even the leading sixteenth-century poets Fuzuli, who spent an important part of his life in Kerbela,⁴² and Baki, who went to Mecca as a *kadı* (judge), did not compose a travel account or a depiction of the sacred places they saw. A number of minor Ottoman men of letters are also reported by

⁴⁰For the Ottoman literary forms see Cem Dilçin, *Örneklerle Türk şiir bilgisi* (Ankara: TDK, 1983); Haluk Ipekten, *Eski Türk edebiyatı: nazım şekilleri* (Ankara: Birlik, 1985)

⁴¹Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* 1 (Ankara: TTK, 1973), p. 103

the major biographers⁴³ to have gone to the Hijaz either for the hajj⁴⁴ or for other reasons. Some poets such as Gazali (d. 941/1535)⁴⁵ and Fevzi (d. 1666) are reported to have spent the rest of their lives in the Hijaz. There must also be a number of poets and men of letters who probably made the hajj or must at least have seen the sanctuaries since they were appointed to several posts in the Hijaz, such as judge and inspector of the two holy cities.⁴⁶ However, despite having gone to the Hijaz, these poets are not reported to have produced a work either on their journeys to Mecca or on the sacred places. Similarly, the accomplished stylists Mustafa Ali of Gelibolu (d. 1600),⁴⁷ and Okçuzade (d. 1630),⁴⁸ although both performed the hajj, were not reported to have produced a work on their pilgrimage experiences. This case seems to be true for medieval Persian pilgrims also.⁴⁹

⁴²Kerbela is a sacred place in Iraq for Shiite Muslims.

⁴³For the survey of biographies of the Ottoman poets, I generally consulted the composite biographical study the *Tezkirelere göre divan edebiyatı isimler sözlüğü*, which is meant to cover all factual information from the Ottoman biographies (*tezkiyeler*): Haluk Ipekten, Mustafa Isen, Recep Toparlı, Naci Okçu, Turgut Karabey, *Tezkirelere göre divan edebiyatı isimler sözlüğü* (Ankara: KTB, 1988). For some poets who made the hajj see E.J.W. Gibb, *HOP* IV (London 1905), p. 108, 212; Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, p. 286; A.F. Tansel, 'Divan şairlerimizden Fenni'nin boğazıcı kıyılarını canlandıran mesnevisi', *Belleten* XL (no: 158, April-1976), p. 331

⁴⁴Among the literary figures who went on the hajj are 'Abdülvasi Çelebi (lived in the period of Bayezid II), Kadri Dede (early 16th century), Askeri (16th century), Kadri 'Abdülkadir Çelebi (d. 1548), Fevzi (d. 1090/1679), Gazali (d. 941/1535), Vasi (d. 945/1538), Muhlisi (d. 1027/1618), Vehbi (d. 1112/1700-01), Seyyid Vehbi (d. 1149/1736-37), Arifi, Tabi, Refi'a (the father of Hoca Neş'et), Hoca Neş'et, Muhyiddin, Nali Molla Hızır (d. 1873).

⁴⁵It is worth noting that the poet Gazali's letter sent from Mecca to Istanbul is not related to the pilgrimage journey or the sanctuaries. In the letter Gazali, having summarised the condition of his life in Mecca in prose, composed a long poem in the *kaside* form, asking about the poets of his acquaintance (see Günay Kut (Alpay), 'Gazali'nin Mekke'den İstanbul'a yolladığı mektup ve ona yazılan cevaplar', *Türk dili ve araştırmalar yillığı-Belleten* (Ankara 1974), pp. 223-252).

⁴⁶Among them were Şah Mehmed (d. 926/1520), 'Abdi (d. 954/1547-48), Meyli (1001/1593), Mahir (d. 1021/1612-13), Razi (1026/1617), Fevzi (d. 1077/1666), Beyani Mustafa Efendi (d. 1006/1597), Baki (d. 1008/1600), Baki (d. 1090/1679-80), 'Azizi (d. 1068/1658-59), 'Abdi Efendi (d. 1118/1706-07), Şeyhi (1118/1706-07), Tevfik (d. 1128/1715-16), Fenni Efendi (d. 1158), Sahib (d. 1183/1769-70), Nimet (d. 1185/1771), Behcet (d. 1197/1781), Cevdet (1209/1794-95), Ref'et (d. 1209/1794-95), Nihad (d. 1210/1795-96), Mekki (d. 1213/1789-90), 'Arif (d. 1247/1831-32), Yüsri (1077/1666-7), Ref'i (d. 1234/1818-19), Şifayi, Sıddik, Safahi and Sadullah.

⁴⁷J. Schmidt, *Mustafa Ali's Kühnü'l-Ahbar and its preface according to the Leiden manuscript* (Istanbul 1987), p. 2

⁴⁸Christine Woodhead, 'Ottoman *inşa* and the art of letter-writing: influences upon the career of the nişancı and prose stylist Okçuzade (d. 1630)', *The journal of Ottoman studies* VII-VIII (Istanbul 1988), p. 151

⁴⁹See 'Persian pilgrimage narratives' in Chapter I.

Instead of producing detailed pilgrimage narratives, it is known that some poets produced shorter compositions on the pilgrimage, producing a brief poem or several fragmentary couplets. Indeed, poetry itself was a sufficient motivation for skilled poets to produce a work on almost every phenomenon, including the pilgrimage experience. For a master poet, it was more memorable and effortless than a lengthy treatise. One of the first Turkish poets to compose poems on the pilgrimage journey and the Ka'be was Yunus Emre, some of whose verses are still on the tongue of modern Turkish people.⁵⁰ He is reported on the evidence of a poem to have gone to the Hijaz.⁵¹ The great mystic Mevlana Celaleddin had been in Mecca when he was young, and perhaps composed 'his famous invocation' to the Prophet Muhammed there.⁵² The pilgrim poet Nabi's Turkish *Divan* includes numerous verses containing his reflections on his experience of the hajj.⁵³ The nineteenth-century folk poet Neşati describes a cruel attack on pilgrims by robbers between Damascus and Ma'an in a plain poem of eleven couplets.⁵⁴ Needless to say, the sacred points in the Hijaz including the Ka'be, the Zemzem well, and the Black Stone have been used commonly as metaphors in Ottoman poetry.⁵⁵

Producing treatises on educational topics was always a stimulating motivation for both poets and stylists. When the subject was the hajj or the hajj journey or the sanctuaries Ottomans produced ethical and religious treatises either on the rituals of the hajj or on the stations or on the history of the Hijaz, either by compilation or by translation. The content of these works probably varied in accordance with popular demand. The

⁵⁰Gölpınarlı claims that the poems which suggest that Yunus went on the hajj are composed by another poet called 'Aşık Yunus (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre* (Istanbul: Bozkurt Basımevi, 1939), p. 64

⁵¹Emel Esin, *Mecca the blessed Madinah the radiant* (Novara 1963), p. 171

⁵²Mine Mengi, *Eski Türk edebiyatı Tarihi: edebiyat tarihi - metinler* (Istanbul: Akçağ, 1999), p. 43; Esin, p. 169

⁵³See 'Sources and influences' in Chapter III.

⁵⁴For this poem see Atalar, pp. 141-143.

⁵⁵Numerous examples can be found for the usage of the sacred sites as metaphors in Ottoman poetry. For an immediate example see Walter G. Andrews, Najaat Black, and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *Ottoman lyric poetry: an anthology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), p. 291.

fifteenth-century poet Yazıcıoğlu Muhammed devotes a section to the description of ‘the farewell pilgrimage’ in his lengthy didactic *mesnevi* called the *Muhammediyye*.⁵⁶ His brother Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed-i Bican allocates an entry to the religious aspect of the hajj in his work *Envaru’l-aşikin*. He explains the importance and spiritual benefits of the hajj in prose by citing Qur’anic verses, hadiths of the Prophet, and the saying of scholars, and by incorporating his personal assumptions. Bican discusses the rites of the hajj in a separate section.⁵⁷

Several authors who performed the hajj or at least went to the Hijaz produced works concerning the history of the Hijaz. Upon the order of Sokullu Mehmed Paşa, Baki (d. 1600) made a Turkish translation of an Arabic work called the *I’lamu bi-a’lami beleda’llahi’l-harem* by Kutbeddin Muhammed b. Ahmed el-Mekki (d. 990/1582).⁵⁸ Among the treatises on the Hijaz are ‘Abdurrahman Gubari (d. 1566)’s *Ka’be-name*,⁵⁹ Hanif Ibrahim (d. 1189/1775)’s *La’lü musaffa fî-ziyareti’l-Mustafa*,⁶⁰ Mehmed Yemeni’s *Feza’il-i Mekke ve Medine* [ve Kudüs],⁶¹ Şikari-zade Derviş Ahmed’s *Tayyibetü’l-ezkar fî-medineti’l-envar*,⁶² Hasan Tahsin’s *Coğrafya ve tarih-i hutta-i Hicaziyye ve evsaf-ı haremeyn*,⁶³ and Eyüb Sabri Paşa (d. 1890)’s *Mir’atü’l-haremeyn*.⁶⁴

This does not mean that the Ottomans altogether refrained from writing about their actual pilgrimage experiences. However, a very limited number of pilgrimage texts is

⁵⁶Yazıcıoğlu Muhammed, ed. A. Çelebioğlu, *Muhammediye II* (Istanbul: MEB, 1996), pp. 218-224

⁵⁷Yazıcıoğlu, Ahmed-i Bican, *Envaru’l-‘aşikin* (Istanbul: Matba’a-i ‘Osmaniye), pp. 325-27

⁵⁸Baki, *Tercüme-i i’lamu bi-a’lami beledallahi’l-harem* of Kutbeddin Muhammed b. Ahmed el-Mekki (d. 990/1582), Süleymaniye Ktp., Lala Isma’il, no: 327. The text was named by its copyist *the Tercüme-i tarih-i Mekke* li-‘Abdülbaki. According to a note, the manuscript was owned by Es-seyyid Ibrahim bin Eşşeyh Mustafa in Istanbul, in 1052/1642. The text consists of 150 folios. Baki says at the beginning of the work that it was completed in the time of Sultan Murad III (1574-95).

⁵⁹Ali Alparlan, ‘Gubari Abdurrahman’, *DIA* 14, p. 168

⁶⁰Cemil Akpınar, ‘Hanif Ibrahim Efendi’, *DIA* 16, p. 40; see also Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *TSMKTYK 1* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), p. 403.

⁶¹Karatay, *TSMKTYK 1*, p. 463; Edward G. Browne, *A hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts in the library of the University of Cambridge*, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1900), p. 303

⁶²Karatay, *TSMKTYK 1*, p. 462

⁶³Hasan Tahsin, *Coğrafya ve tarih-i hutta-i Hicaziyye ve evsaf-ı haremeyn* (Istanbul 1297)

known to students of Ottoman literature. Among the known texts are the seventeenth-century writer ‘Abdurrahman Hibri’s *Menasikü’l-mesalik*, Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyahatname*, and the eighteenth-century writer Mehmed Edib’s *Nehcetü’l-menasik*.⁶⁵ There is no comprehensive study dealing with Ottoman pilgrimage texts as a whole, and little research has been done to reveal whether or not there are pilgrimage texts undiscovered in manuscript libraries. Even the most literary and well-known Ottoman pilgrimage narrative, Nabi’s *Tuhfetü’l-haremeyn* has not been given sufficient attention by modern researchers, being neither edited critically nor studied thoroughly. The studies on Nabi and his works allocate a few remarks of introduction to the narrative, suggesting its significance as a distinguished example of travel literature, the difficulty of its prose style, and its neglect by researchers. Study of the narrative is overlooked to such an extent that even the solar year when Nabi performed the hajj is wrongly cited in existing works. There has been no attempt to place the narrative in the context of its genre and to confirm basic facts about Nabi’s journey.

It is the foremost objective of the present study to analyse Nabi’s pilgrimage narrative. To pursue this objective, the first thing we need to do is to prepare a reliable critical edition of the text, upon which to base analysis and discussion, including the circumstances or elements which determined the existence of the narrative, the identification of literary sources used by Nabi, and the place of Nabi’s narrative in its literary and cultural context.

Shedding light on the corpus of Ottoman pilgrimage narratives constitutes another important objective of the study. The limited number of pilgrimage texts known to us

⁶⁴Eyüb Sabri Paşa, *Mir‘atü’l-haremeyn: Mir‘atü Mekke* (Istanbul 1301), *Mir‘atü Medine* (Istanbul 1304), *Mi‘atü cezireti’l-Arab* (Istanbul 1306)

⁶⁵Suraiya Faroqhi, ‘Ottoman Documents concerning the hajj during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’, in Abdeljelil Temimi (ed.), *La vie sociale dans les provinces arabes a l’époque ottomane* 3 (Zaghouan 1988), p. 159

was doubled through an initial survey of several manuscript libraries in Turkey and Britain. Narratives of more or less personal nature on the journey, route and the sanctuaries have been preferred while texts on the history of the Hijaz and on the rites of the hajj have been overlooked, except for those by Gubari and Bahti who both incorporated their own sentiments in their verse descriptions. The corpus identified has been classified into several categories in terms of their contents and the reasons for which they were produced. In the course of the study, it became clear that a separate section was necessary for comparative analysis of these texts, which are inevitably composed of similar data and themes.

The close relation of Ottoman literature to Arabic and Persian literature led me to prepare an overview of the little-studied genre of pilgrimage narratives in both languages. Chapter I, though based on secondary sources, attempts to bring together what is currently known about pre-nineteenth-century Arabic and Persian pilgrimage narratives as a whole genre, and may well be regarded as an extension of the Introduction. In short, the need to place Nabi's narrative in the cultural and literary context of its genre led me to develop the initial scope of the thesis into a challenging and pioneering study of the little known corpus of Ottoman pilgrimage texts, determining its main types and characteristics.

Chapter I

PILGRIMAGE NARRATIVES IN ARABIC AND PERSIAN LITERATURE

Introduction

The principal aim of this chapter is to provide a background to the study of Ottoman pilgrimage narratives by drawing a general and preliminary picture of pilgrimage narratives in Arabic and Persian literature. Unfortunately, the genre of pilgrimage narratives generally appears one of the most neglected study areas in these literatures too, in spite of the fact that some of the best individual exemplars of the genre were given close attention by some late nineteenth and early twentieth-century researchers who published editions and/or translations. Occasional translations and studies, again on single travel texts, have been published in the last few decades, and hence more pilgrimage narratives previously unknown have been introduced. These include texts by the eighteenth-century Iraqi scholar Shaykh ‘Abd Allah ibn Husayn al-Suwaydi,¹ the eighteenth-century Damascene nobleman Murtada b. ‘Ali b. ‘Alawan,² and the nineteenth-century Mauritanian scholar Ahmad b. Tuwayr al-Janna.³ Nevertheless, despite these recent publications the volume of research on pilgrimage narratives remains small.

In the course of building up a basic framework of Arabic pilgrimage texts I had to depend on very limited number of sources. Of these, Ahmad Ramadan Ahmad’s

¹Hala, Fattah ‘Representation of self and the other in two Iraqi travelogues of the Ottoman period’, *International journal of Middle Eastern studies* 30 (1998), pp. 51-76

²Ulrich Haarmann, ‘Murtada b. ‘Ali b. ‘Alawan’s journey through Arabia in 1121/1709’, in Abdelgadir Mahmoud Abdalla, Sami Al-Sakkar, Richard T. Mortel, Abd Al-Rahman, T. Al-Ansari (eds.), *Sources for the history of Arabia* 1 (1979), pp. 247-251

³H.T. Norris, *The pilgrimage of Ahmad, son of the little bird of paradise: an account of a 19th century pilgrimage from Mauritania to Mecca* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., c1977)

detailed study, *al-Rihla wa al-rahhalah al-Muslimun*⁴ deals with Muslim traveller-writers generally, classifying them into three categories: geographers, eastern travellers, and western travellers. Ahmet Özel presents an overview of Muslim pilgrimage narratives in his entry in the *Diyanet Islam Ansiklopedisi*.⁵ Husayn Amin deals with the observations of Muslim and western travellers who visited the Hijaz.⁶ After mentioning the contents of the texts of just two early medieval Muslim travellers, namely Ya‘qubi and Ibn Jubayr, Husayn proceeds to describe the observations of western travellers to the Hijaz, devoting comparatively more space to Ibn Jubayr from the first group and to Burckhardt from the second. There are also a few individual studies and translations of some accounts, among which most attention is paid to the two well-known pilgrimage-centred travel narratives by the late twelfth-century Andalusian traveller Ibn Jubayr and the fourteenth-century Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta.

While trying with difficulty to form a framework of Persian pilgrimage accounts, I had to rely on sources lacking both in quantity and in information on the subject generally. Modern researchers including Farmayan,⁷ Ahmad Ramadan Ahmad, Ahmet Özel and Peters⁸ give information about only one pilgrimage account in Persian composed prior to the nineteenth century, that is the eleventh-century scholar Nasir-i Khusraw’s *Safarnama*. The lack of study on Persian pilgrimage narratives generally led me to concentrate on two well-known narratives, Nasir-i Khusraw’s *Safarnama* and the

⁴Ahmad Ramadan Ahmad, *al-Rihla wa al-rahhalah al-muslimun*, Dar al-bayan al-‘Arabi, Jeddah (n.d.)

⁵Ahmet Özel, ‘Hacc: Seyahatnameler’, *DIA* 14, pp. 413-416

⁶Husayn Amin. ‘*Nazrat ba‘d al-rahhalah al-muslimin wa ba‘d al-rahhalah al-gharbiyyin ‘inda ziyaratihim li mintaqat al-Hijaz*’ in Abdalla et al. (eds.), *Sources for the History of Arabia* 1, pp. 385-402

⁷Hafez Farmayan and Elton L Daniel (tr), *A Shi‘ite pilgrimage to Mecca: the Safarnameh of Mirza Mohammad Hosayn Farahani* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990)

⁸F.E. Peters, *The hajj: the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy places* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996)

twelfth-century poet Khaqani's *Tuhfat al-'Iraqayn*, to both of which prominent modern literary histories of Persian literature in English devote relatively detailed entries.⁹

Given that it has been possible for this study to identify previously unknown Ottoman pilgrimage texts, it may be assumed that there could be more pre-nineteenth-century pilgrimage narratives in Arabic and Persian composed by less privileged pilgrims, which have been neither identified yet nor introduced to the general reader.

1. Pilgrimage narratives in Arabic

The accounts of pilgrimage journeys form certainly the most significant part of the body of Arabic travel texts, commonly called the *rihla* texts. The findings of the secondary sources used for this section show that the majority of Arabic pilgrimage narratives were left by those who lived in lands distant from the Hijaz, including particularly Andalusia and Morocco. Pilgrims living in countries relatively close to the Hijaz perhaps felt little need to produce their own pilgrimage accounts of the journey for audiences to whom the sacred cities were relatively familiar and who may have already made the pilgrimage themselves. The comparative lack of Arabic texts from central Muslim regions is therefore less surprising. The further the distance the pilgrim had to travel, the greater the adventure, experiences and hardships of his journey, and the more likely it was that he would find ready audiences at home interested in his account, and so motivation for composing it. Early writers generally tended to produce texts on different countries and routes for practical purposes, rather than writing their personal pilgrimage experiences.¹⁰ 'The earliest form of travel literature known to us' says Bosworth when dealing with travel literature in Arabic literature 'is that of the practical

⁹Edward G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia: from Firdawsi to Sa'di* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1906; C.A. Storey, *Persian literature: a bio-bibliographical survey* I (London: Luzac & Co., Ltd., 1953); A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1958); Jan Rypka (ed.), *Persian literature to the beginning of the 20th century* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1968)

manuals, the road books'.¹¹ Moudden says of Moroccan pilgrimage texts that 'many *rihla* texts are in the form of market guides, advising future pilgrims about the best way to carry on advantageous trade on the way to the Hijaz'.¹² The tradition of writing this sort of text developed into detailed or scholarly geographical writings which flourished in the second half of the Abbasid period.¹³

The Hijaz itself and/or routes to it are indeed paid special attention in many of these geographical texts. The tenth-century geographer Abu al-Ishaq al-Farisi al-Istakhri tells in his work, the *Masalik al-mamalik*, that Muslim lands can be divided into twenty regions, of which the Ka'ba and Mecca constitute the heart.¹⁴ The authors who dealt with Mecca presumably went to the Hijaz and performed the hajj before describing it. In fact, many of them are specifically reported to have done so.¹⁵ In this respect, their texts might be regarded at least partly as a type of pilgrimage account writing.

These geographical treatises also contain historical, sociological and administrative data about cities and regions, in different proportions. They present their materials from varying perspectives in compliance with the aims and preoccupation of their authors, whose occupations ranged from mailman to tax collector as in the case of Ibn Hurdazbih (205-272-300/820-912) and Qudama b. Ja'far (d.310 or 320/932) respectively. Thus, Ibn Hurdazbih's predilection in his text *al-Masalik wa al-mamalik* differs naturally from that of Qudama b. Ja'far, the author of the *Kitab al-kharaj*, as can be perceived from the

¹⁰Ahmad, p. 53

¹¹C.E. Bosworth, 'Travel literature' in Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature* 2 (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 779

¹²Moudden, p. 75

¹³Ahmad, pp. 55-232: among the early geographical texts in Arabic are the *Kitab al-buldan* by Ya'qubi (d. 284/897), the *al-Masalik wa al-mamalik* by Ibn Hurdazbih (205-272-300/820-912), the *Kitab al-kharaj* by Qudama b. Ja'far (d. 310 or 320/932), *Masalik al-mamalik* by Abu Ishaq al-Farisi al-Istakhri known as al-Karhi (d. 340/951 or later), *Muhtasar kitab al-buldan* by Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani (9th century), *al-A'laq al-nafisa* by Ibn Rusta, the *al-Masalik wa al-mamalik* by Abu Ubayd al-Bakri, the *Akhbar Makka* by Azraqi, the *Taqwim al-buldan* by Abu al-Fida (d. 732/1331), *Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar* by Ibn Fazl (d. 749/1348).

¹⁴Ahmad, p. 80.

titles of the texts. The authors of these treatises generally appeared to have made use of existing geographical and historical texts, and made quotations from them besides their own observations.¹⁶ For instance, the tenth-century geographer Ibn Hawqal al-Nasibi in his principal work *Kitab al-masalik wa al-mamalik* presented his travel experiences in his personal style from the perspective of a merchant and missionary, benefiting considerably from the text of al-Istakhri.¹⁷

These texts can hardly be called travel accounts as they are not necessarily the product of a journey. They fall in the first group of the classification of Ahmad Ramadan Ahmad, geographers. The second group of texts in Ahmad's classification were produced by travellers from the eastern countries including Iran, Syria and Yemen to certain major cities such as Mecca, Medina and Cairo in order to improve their knowledge and/or to perform the hajj. These authors generally drew upon their own experience of the journey, and did not resort to existing historical and geographical sources as much as the authors of the first group did. Many of these authors tended to describe their journeys in a literary style, interspersing fragmentary verses into their texts.¹⁸ The third group is travellers from the western lands, including Morocco and Andalusia, who journeyed principally to the Hijaz, and left accounts of their pilgrimage-centred journeys. Of the second and third group of travellers, the works of those who aimed to perform the hajj and to advance their education are commonly regarded as pilgrimage narratives.

¹⁵Ahmad, pp. 55-232; Bosworth, p. 779

¹⁶George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab seafaring: in the Indian ocean in ancient and early medieval times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 67

¹⁷Ibn Hawkal', *EF* 3, p. 787

¹⁸Ahmad, pp. 239-315: among the examples of texts produced by travellers from the east are the following: the *Kitab al-manazil wa al-diyar* by Abu al-Muzaffar Usama b. Murshid b. Ali b. Munakkid al-Kanani (488-584/1090-1188); the *al-'Isharat fi ma 'rifa al-ziyarat* by Abu al-Hasan 'Ali b. Abi Bakr b. 'Ali al-Harawi (d. 611/1214); the *Kitab al-ifada wa al-i'tibar fi al-umur al-mushahada wa al-hawadith al-mu'ayana bi ard Mizr* by 'Abd al-Latif Muwaffaq al-din Abu Muhammad al-Tabib al-Baghdadi (b.

As indicated before, pilgrimage narratives in Arabic were written down by travellers generally from distant lands, and are called generically *al-rihla al-Hijaziyya*. The principal aims of their authors in making their journeys were to perform the hajj and to improve their learning by benefiting directly from the contemporary authorities of Islamic learning. Therefore these texts give a lively description of the sanctuaries in the Hijaz, and of contemporary scholars they met as well as depicting certain stages en route, paying attention to shrines, ‘ecology, wells, sweet or salt water, hot or cold weather, and the ease and safety of the route’.¹⁹ In order to produce a useful and ample description authors generally made use of the texts of their predecessors.

The first well-known pilgrimage narrative in Arabic is said to have been left by the early thirteenth-century Andalusian writer and poet Ibn Jubayr (540-614/1145-1217). His work, the *Rihla*, has been translated into several languages including Italian, English and French, and was first published by William Wright in Leiden in 1852. Ibn Jubayr was born at Valencia, where his father was a civil servant, and where he received a traditional education in religious sciences and belles-lettres. Ibn Jubayr was offered some pieces of gold by his patron, the governor of Granada, who is said to have forced him to drink wine. Obtaining leave from his patron Ibn Jubayr left Granada for the hajj together with his friend Ahmad b. Hasan on 19 Shawwal 578/3 February 1183, passing through Tarifa and Ceuta where he embarked on a ship bound for Alexandria. Having stayed for nine months in Mecca, and for five days in the Prophet’s city of Medina,²⁰ Ibn Jubayr extended his journey to Kufa, Baghdad, Mosul, Aleppo and Damascus. Then he proceeded to Acre, where he embarked on a Genoese vessel on 10 Rajab 580/18

557/1182); the *Asar al-bilad wa akhbar al-‘ibad* by Abu Abd Allah Zakariyya b. Muhammad al-Qazvini al-Ansari (b. 600/1203).

¹⁹Moudden, pp. 73-74

²⁰Özel, p. 414.

October 1184 to return to his homeland. He returned to Granada on 22 Muharram 581/25 April 1185.²¹

The *Rihla* portrays Ibn Jubayr's immediate observations on societies and on renowned people and places he saw during his journey, which makes it an invaluable historical source for its era. In particular, it includes a vivid description of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. His literary style is consciously elaborate: 'His style, though in certain narrative passages lively and vivid in a way which recalls the manner of modern reporters, is over-florid and resorts to the devices of rhymed prose when giving generalities on a country, describing towns and also in expressing sentiments which storms inspire in this poet.'²² The *Rihla* provided a model for succeeding travel writers, some parts of it being freely 'borrowed' by several authors including Ibn Juzayy who was the editor of Ibn Battuta's *Rihla*, al-Sharishi, al-Abdari and al-Maqrizi.²³

As Dunn states, the florescence of *rihla* literature took place 'in North Africa between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries'.²⁴ The Andalusian scholar Salih b. Yazid b. Musa al-Rindi (d. 684/1285) included his pilgrimage journey in his work the *Ravd al-üns wa nuzhat al-nafs*, which consists of twenty chapters, the second of which contains a vast description of the Hijaz.²⁵ The late thirteenth-century scholar Ibn Rushayd is reported to have been the first Moroccan pilgrim to produce a pilgrimage account.²⁶ The fifth volume of his *Mil'u al-'ayb bi ma jumi'a bi tul al-ghayb fi wijhat al-wajih ila al-Haramayn Makka wa Tayb* is allocated to a depiction of Mecca and Medina, Cairo and

²¹Ibn Jubayr, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst, *The travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), pp. 15-16; Ch. Pellat, 'Ibn Djubayr', *EF* 3, p. 755

²²Pellat, p. 755

²³Pellat, p. 755; J.N. Mattock, 'Ibn Battuta's use of Ibn Jubair's *Rihla*' in R. Peters (ed.), *Proceedings of the ninth congress of the union Europeene des Arabisants et Islamisants* (Leiden 1981), p. 212: 'On the whole, however, Ibn Jubayr's accounts are adapted, rather than merely rearranged, and they are usually compressed.'

²⁴Ross E. Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and California: University of California Press, 1986), p. 3

²⁵Ahmad, pp. 339-341

Alexandria.²⁷ Setting out on the hajj from Morocco, Ibn Rushayd embarked at Ceuta for Alexandria in 683/1284, from where he proceeded to the Hijaz,²⁸ and completed his journey in 1287. The Moroccan traveller Abu Muhammad al-Abdari in his *al-Rihla al-Maghribiyya* details the pilgrimage journey of 688/1289, giving a geographical and social descriptions of the lands and cities he passed through on the way to the Hijaz, including Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Carthage, Alexandria and Cairo. He is reported to have made use of Ibn Jubayr's pilgrimage narrative.²⁹

One of the most comprehensive travel narratives ever written is the *Tuhfat al-nuzzar fi-ghara'ib al-amsar wa 'aja'ib al-asfar*, commonly called the *Rihla*, by the fourteenth-century Moroccan traveller Shams al-din Abu 'Abd Allah al-Tanji (703-770/1304-1368 or 779/1377), known as Ibn Battuta. The work was first translated from its abridged manuscript copies by Samuel Lee in 1829, and later in 1853-8 the translation was edited by C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti.³⁰ As well as extensive geographical, social and political information on numerous countries the work contains valuable data on the life, personality and intellect of its author as a medieval Muslim traveller. Having set out from Tangiers on 2 Rajab 725/13 June 1325, Ibn Battuta traversed many countries including Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Hijaz, Turkey, India and China in the course of his thirty years' journey, during which he performed the hajj seven times. After Ibn Battuta's return to Fez in 1354, Abu 'Inan, the Marinid ruler of the time, was interested in his account, and commissioned his secretary Ibn Juzayy to set down Ibn Battuta's account in an acceptable language and style. Ibn Juzayy illustrates his method of editing in such terms: 'I should bring it [Ibn Battuta's account] out enhancing its beauty and

²⁶Ahmad, p. 343

²⁷Özel, p. 414

²⁸Ahmad, p. 344.

²⁹Ahmad, p. 348

³⁰Ibn Battuta, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Battuta* 1 (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1958), pp. xiii-xiv

utility in such a manner that it might captivate every heart and prove illuminative, interesting and useful to all kinds of readers at all times and places.... I exhibited Shaykh Abu ‘Abdallah’s thoughts and ideas in clear and impressive language. While doing so, I often kept intact the words and phrases in the same order as he had dictated without the slightest alteration’.³¹

On the other hand, there is a strong argument to suggest that Ibn Juzayy did not remain entirely faithful to his declaration, incorporating rhetorical embellishments and fragmentary verses,³² and rearranging certain itineraries regardless of ‘the logical chronology of the journeys’,³³ thus creating ‘artificial’ itineraries in many sections of the narrative.³⁴ Dunn suggests that while composing the text Ibn Juzayy and Ibn Battuta might have made use of earlier texts on geography and travel literature without giving references to them.³⁵ For instance, it has been proved that Ibn Juzayy incorporated descriptions borrowed from Ibn Jubayr’s account.³⁶

The fourteenth-century Andalusian traveller Khalid b. Isa al-Balawi’s pilgrimage-centred journey lasted approximately five years from Jumada I 735-Zilhicce 740/January 1335-June 1340, beginning and ending from Qanturiya in Granada. He describes in a literary style his journey and the scholars he became acquainted with in his *Taj al-mafriq fi tahliyat ‘ulama’ al-mashriq*. The fifteenth-century Andalusian pilgrim Qalasadi set out from his homeland, Baza in Granada, for the Hijaz in 840/1436, and made a journey of about fifteen years. He wrote down his account under the title of

³¹Ibn Battuta, tr. Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta: (India, Maldiv Islands and Ceylon) translation and commentary* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1953), pp. xvii-xviii.

³²Dunn, p. 311

³³A. Miquel, ‘Ibn Battuta’, *EF* 3, p. 736.

³⁴Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. xv

³⁵Dunn, p. 313

³⁶See Mattock, pp. 209-18

Tamhid al-talib wa muntaha al-raghib ila a'la al-manazil wa al-manaqib, which was published by M. Abu al-Afjan in Tunisia in 1398/1978.³⁷

After the fourteenth century there is a decline in the number of pilgrimage accounts by Andalusians and Moroccans owing to the fact that the scholars of the time issued *fatwas*³⁸ saying that the obligation of the hajj was not valid in the absence of security.³⁹

From the seventeenth century onwards, the Arabic pilgrimage narratives identified were composed not only by pilgrims from distant western Muslim lands such as Morocco but also by those from lands closer to the Hijaz such as Tunisia, Egypt and Iraq. The celebrated seventeenth-century Moroccan traveller and scholar Abu Salim al-'Ayyashi (1037-1090/1628-1679) depicts his pilgrimage journeys undertaken in 1059/1649, 1064/1654, and 1076/1666, with long sojourns in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Cairo. His travel account the *Ma' al-mawa'id*, commonly known as *al-Rihla al-'Ayyashiyya*, details his observances and experiences, and describes the saints and scholars he met during his journey. His narrative gains merit through his sensitive and keen commentaries on the social, economic and political conditions of the places he passed through. His account was partly translated into French by Berbrugger in 1846, and by Motylinski in 1900.⁴⁰

The seventeenth-century writer 'Abd al-Ghani b. al-Nablusi narrates his pilgrimage-centred journey in his *al-Haqiqah wa al-majaz fi al-rihla ila bilad al-Sham wa Misr wa al-Hijaz*, a copy of which was printed in facsimile in Cairo 1986. The third chapter of the work is allocated to the two sacred cities Mecca and Medina. It presents the daily

³⁷Özel, p. 415.

³⁸fatwa: 'a judicial or religious sentence pronounced by a *mufti*' (Sg).

³⁹Ahmad, pp. 320-1; Özel, p. 415

⁴⁰Abderrahmane El Moudden, 'The ambivalence of *rihla*: community integration and self-definition in Moroccan travel accounts, 1300-1800' in Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination* (London 1990), p. 77, 83; and Özel, p. 415

depiction of al-Nablusi's journey to Syria, Egypt and the Hijaz undertaken between 1 Muharram 1105-5 Safar 1106/2 December 1693-25 September 1694, and gives extra information on the sanctuaries, making use of travel books, historical, geographical and religious sources. The author also mentions the scholars he became acquainted with during his journey.⁴¹

The eighteenth-century Damascene nobleman Murtada b. 'Ali b. 'Alawan's *rihla*, which constitutes a part of 'a unique Berlin manuscript' collection, is a description of his pilgrimage journey of about ten months in 1120-1/1709 from Damascus to Mecca with an extension of travel to Najd, al-Hasa, Kuwayt, Najaf, Hilla, Baghdad, and Samarra. The narrative of 28 folios which is an autograph, seems to have been produced on the basis of the author's daily jottings, without reproducing anything from written sources.⁴²

The celebrated Iraqi scholar 'Abd Allah ibn Husayn al-Suwaydi (1692-1761) describes his pilgrimage journey of 1744-45 in his *al-Nafkhat al-miskiyya fi al-rihla al-Makkiyya*, a copy of which is available in the British Library (Add. 23385). The text contains a strong critique of intellectual and religious institutions in Damascus.⁴³ The Algerian scholar Husayn b. Muhammad al-Warsilani narrates his pilgrimage journey which he made in the year 1179/1765 in his *Nuzhat al-anzar fi fadl 'ilm al-tarikh wa al-akhbar*, commonly known as *al-Rihla al-Warsilaniyya*, which was published by Muhammad b. Abu Shanab in Algeria 1908. The sacred cities of Mecca and Medina form the biggest part of the text, which contains information on the hajj and contemporary scholars Warsilani became acquainted with. The author provides some quotations from al-'Ayyashi's account.⁴⁴

⁴¹Özel, p. 415

⁴²Haarmann, p. 247

⁴³Fattah, p. 53, 57

⁴⁴Özel, p. 415

To complete the survey, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was a noticeable increase in the writing of Arabic pilgrimage accounts. The Mauritanian traveller and scholar Ahmad b. Tuwayr al-Janna (d.1256/1848-9) left an account of his pilgrimage journey, an English translation of which has been published under the title *The pilgrimage of Ahmad, son of the little bird of paradise*. The narrative is considered ‘a journal’ reflecting the ‘typical’ pilgrimage experience of African pilgrims over the centuries.⁴⁵ His pilgrimage journey commenced from Mauritania in 1838, and continued through Fez, where he met the Moroccan *shaykh* and *sharif* ‘Abd al-Rahman. After passing through Marrakesh Ahmad proceeded to Egypt by sea. Upon arriving at Alexandria and then Cairo, Ahmad visited tombs and religious authorities. During the journey he was welcomed and accommodated by the religious elite of the cities, and was given books. Having performed the hajj Ahmad returned to Morocco along a slightly different route, passing through Tripoli, Tunis and Gibraltar. The journey lasted about six years. Being a pious and educated man Ahmad founded a *zawiya* (dervish-convent) after returning from the pilgrimage.⁴⁶ His fame rests on his pilgrimage narrative, copies of which are abundant, and widely read ‘in many parts of the Sahara’ in order both to take pleasure and to acquire religious knowledge.⁴⁷ Ahmad’s text was reported to have been ‘composed or dictated in a kind of continuous colloquial adaptation of Classical Arabic narrative’.⁴⁸ The chronological order of the events is sometimes incompatible. Contrary to the general tendency Ahmad allocates more space to his return journey than to his outward journey and the Hijaz. The text is interspersed with verses, religious maxims, quotations and anecdotes.⁴⁹ The translator of the text

⁴⁵James Steel Thayer, ‘Pilgrimage and its influence on West African Islam’ in A. Morinis (ed.), *Sacred journeys: the anthropology of pilgrimage* (London: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 180-181

⁴⁶Thayer, pp. 180-181

⁴⁷Norris, p. xvii

⁴⁸Norris, p. vii

⁴⁹Norris, p. vii

claims that it might be the most celebrated Mauritanian pilgrimage narrative known to us.⁵⁰

The Damascene scholar Sayyid Muhammad ‘Arif ibn al-Sayyid al-Munir gives a description of the pilgrimage route from Damascus to Mecca as well as of the social and economic condition of the places along the route in his work *al-Sa‘ada al-namiya al-abadiyya fi al-sikka al-hadidiyya al-Hijaziyya*, which was translated into English by Jacob M. Landau. This work was prepared ‘to refute the opposition and advocate the advantages of the Hejaz Railway for all concerned, most probably during the latter part of the year 1900’.⁵¹ It deals with several issues related to the Hijaz railway, including the Bedouin tribes concerned with the railway, the road from Damascus to Mecca, the *surra* procession, pilgrimage ceremonies in Istanbul and Damascus, some aspects of Damascus pilgrimage caravan and the advantages and the consequences of the railway. Through drawing a vivid picture of the pilgrimage route from Damascus to Mecca at the beginning of the twentieth century ‘Arif’s work serves as a concluding description of the route from Damascus to Mecca.⁵²

Apart from these works there are a number of pilgrimage narratives composed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which concern other routes to Mecca. Among these are *al-Rihla al-Hijaziyya* by the Tunisian writer Muhammad b. ‘Uthman al-Sanusi, who undertook his pilgrimage journey through Italy and Turkey in 1299-1300/1882-1883; *al-Rihla al-Hijaziyya* by the Mauritanian scholar Muhammad Yahya b. Muhammad al-Walati, who made his journey in 1311-1317/1894-1900; *al-Rihla al-Hijaziyya* by the Egyptian writer Muhammad Labib al-Batanuni, who describes *khedive* ‘Abbas Hilmi’s pilgrimage journey of 1327/1909. Ibrahim Rif‘at Pasha, who served as

⁵⁰Norris, p. xix

⁵¹Jacob M. Landau, *The Hejaz railway and the Muslim pilgrimage: a case of Ottoman political propaganda* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1971), p. 23

leader of the pilgrimage caravan in 1320/1903, 1321/1904, and 1325/1908, recounts his vast knowledge and experience on the Hijaz in his *Mir'at al-Haramayn aw al-rahalat al-Hijaziyya wa al-hajj wa masha'iruh al-diniyya*, which was published in Cairo in 1344/1925. This work presents a documentary description of the Hijaz through religious, historical and geographical data and pictures taken.⁵³

2. Pilgrimage narratives in Persian

There is a very limited number of medieval Persian pilgrimage accounts known to modern researchers.⁵⁴ Faroghi, basing her argument on biographical dictionaries, states that the eleventh and twelfth-century Persian scholars and men of letters of Nishapur 'often' went on the hajj before assuming their careers, but that 'Unfortunately, we do not possess a pilgrimage account by a Neyshapuri traveller... We therefore have no way of knowing what the Neyshapuri scholars brought home as their most important experiences'.⁵⁵

While dealing with the tradition of Muslim travel accounts, Ahmad Ramadan, Özel and Farmayan mention only one Persian narrative composed before 'the florescence of travel literature' in the nineteenth century, that is the eleventh-century author Nasir-i Khusraw's *Safarnama*.⁵⁶ A general survey of literary histories, encyclopedias and catalogues of manuscript libraries may add to the list a few more pre-nineteenth-century pilgrimage narratives. Among these are the twelfth-century poet Khaqani's *Tuhfat al-Iraqayn* and the fifteenth-century poet Muhyi's *Futuh al-Haramayn*. Although

⁵²Landau, p. 28

⁵³Özel, p. 415; See Ibrahim Rif'at Pasha, *Mir'at al-haramayn*, 2 vols., (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1344/1925)

⁵⁴On the other hand it is worth noting that there are some Arabic geographical texts which were composed by travellers of Iranian origin (see the section on the eastern travellers in Ahmad, pp. 239-317).

⁵⁵Suraiya Faroghi, *Pilgrims and sultans: the hajj under the Ottomans 1517-1683* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1994), p. 15

⁵⁶Farmayan. p. xxiv

lithographed editions of these two verse narratives were published in the second half of the nineteenth century in Lucknow,⁵⁷ they were not given as much attention as that of Nasir-i Khusraw, which was translated into several languages.

Pre-modern Persian pilgrims probably communicated mundane sides of their pilgrimage experiences orally rather than producing written accounts of them. Some, like the fifteenth-century poet Jami may have composed guide books and short descriptive works on the sanctuaries in the Hijaz. Farmayan says that ‘At home they told fine stories of their extraordinary adventures to welcoming relatives, friends, and wide-eyed, would-be pilgrims. Some even wrote about their experiences, not only for the sake of recording their personal adventures, but mainly for the pious purpose of providing information and instruction for their fellow Muslims’.⁵⁸ Among such works is the *Manazil al-hajj* by Band-i ‘Ali b. Mirza Khayrat ‘Ali, who wrote down the work in 1214/1799-1800.⁵⁹

In the nineteenth century, especially during the Qajar period (1794-1924) Persian literature witnessed an exceptional development in the writing of pilgrimage accounts and other travels, mainly due to encouragement by Nasir al-din Shah (1834-96), who himself produced several literary travel accounts of his own.⁶⁰ Farmayani states that ‘Neither since nor before this time [Qajar period] have so many fine works of this nature been produced by Persians’.⁶¹ He identifies around seventeen accounts of the hajj journey surviving from the Qajar period, with probably more texts which have not been discovered yet.⁶² Storey gives bibliographic information about several pilgrimage

⁵⁷Ahmet Ateş, ‘Khaqani’ *IA* 5, p. 92; Muhammed Ahmad Simsar, *Oriental manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis collection in the free library of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia 1937), p. 141

⁵⁸Farmayan, p. xxiii

⁵⁹Felix Tauer, ‘Geography’ in Rypka (ed.), p. 462

⁶⁰Farmayan, p. xxiv

⁶¹Farmayan, p. xxiv

⁶²Farmayan, p. xxv

narratives produced in the nineteenth century, such as the *Manazil-i safar-i hajj*, an account of 1277-8/1870-1 by Hajji Habib Punnochhi; the *Qindil-i Haram* by Nawwab M. Kalb 'Ali Khan (d.1887); *Hidayat al-sabil wa kifayat al-dalil* by Farhad Mirza (d. 1888).⁶³ These pilgrimage narratives were created generally by well-educated celebrities with the encouragement of Nasir al-din Shah, and present an extensive description of numerous Muslim cities and communities in the nineteenth century.

The foremost Persian pilgrimage account is certainly the *Safarnama* by Nasir-i Khusraw (d. 467-70/1074-77).⁶⁴ Being originally from Balkh in modern Afghanistan, Nasir served as an administrative official in the Seljuk government. Having had a dream of admonishing in the autumn of 1045, he decided to perform the hajj. After resigning his post, Nasir set out from Marv for Mecca together with his brother and a servant, passing through Nishapur, Rayy, Azerbaijan, Diyarbakır, Aleppo, Beirut and Jerusalem. Having performed the hajj he proceeded to Egypt by the way of Jerusalem, Ramla, Asqalan and Salahiya, and reached Cairo in 439/1047. He remained in Egypt for about three years, where he greatly admired the administrative, social and intellectual prosperity of the Fatimids, and is said to have embraced the 'Isma'ili version of Shi'ism'. On the other hand, some scholars including Iwanow and Corbin suggest that Nasir's faith did not change but developed through his contact with Fatimid scholars.⁶⁵ During his stay in Egypt Nasir performed the hajj two more times. On his return journey he departed from Cairo in 441/1050, and came to Mecca, where he stayed for six months and performed his fourth hajj. He then proceeded to Balkh through Basra and Isfahan.⁶⁶ Upon his return

⁶³Storey, pp. 1155-1160

⁶⁴The *Safarnama* was translated into many languages including French, English, Arabic and Turkish, and it was first printed by Charles Schefer in 1881 in Paris.

⁶⁵Azim Nanji, 'Nasir-i Khusraw', *EF*² VII, p. 1006; see also Rypka, p. 186

⁶⁶W.M. Thackston (tr), *Nasir-e Khosraw's book of travels* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986), p. vii

to his country, Nasir propagandized the Isma‘ili doctrine, in which he came to hold a high position.⁶⁷

The *Safarnama* presents a vivid panorama of certain central Muslim lands and societies from the perspective of an intellectual and keen observer. The text appears autobiographical in character, and was apparently composed after Nasir completed his seven year journey. He might have consulted books collected during the journey in the course of composing his narrative. Much of his material seems to have been collected by talking to local people during the journey. Throughout the account, the author refers occasionally to anonymous persons, saying ‘I heard from those trustworthy people’ ‘according to what is said’, ‘it is said that’.⁶⁸ At the end of his account Nasir declares that ‘I have recorded my adventures as I saw them. If some of what I heard narrated by others does not conform to the truth, I beg my readers to forgive and not to reproach me.’⁶⁹ The episodes in the *Safarnama* are presented in an easy-flowing writing style and plain language, often addressing the reader directly. The informative purpose of the text takes precedence over its literary pretensions. At intervals the author interrupts his story to give extensive information on a particular subject.⁷⁰

The prominent twelfth-century Persian poet and traveller Afdal al-din Ibrahim b. ‘Ali Najjar of Shirvan (520-595/1126-1198), commonly known as Khaqani, gives a poetical description of his pilgrimage journey of 551/1156 in his *Tuhfat al-‘Iraqayn*.⁷¹ This is thought to be the first pilgrimage account composed in verse in Persian literature. After obtaining permission from the ruler Minuchihr, he set out on a journey, travelling to Isfahan, Hamadan and Baghdad probably in the hope of seeking a new patron. He

⁶⁷Rypka, pp. 186-7

⁶⁸Nasir-i Husrev, tr. Abduüvehhab Tarzi, *Sefername* (Istanbul: MEB, 1994), p. 63

⁶⁹Thackston, p. 104

⁷⁰Nasir-i Husrev, tr. Tarzi, p. 132

⁷¹A lithographed edition of the *Tuhfat al-‘Iraqayn* was published in Lucknow in 1294/1877.

composed panegyric poems for statesmen he encountered on his way. Having repented from his sins including drinking wine, Khaqani finally joined a pilgrimage caravan and proceeded to the Hijaz through Kufa.⁷² After performing the hajj Khaqani followed the Damascus route on his return journey, and came to Mosul where his old patron Jamal al-din-i Isfahani (d. 1164) granted him a sum of one thousand gold pieces. Thence he set out for Baghdad, where he composed the *Tuhfat al-'Iraqayn* in 1157, and dedicated it to the vezir Jamal al-din-i Isfahani. From Baghdad Khaqani proceeded to Isfahan and his homeland. It is possible to trace the inspiration of his pilgrimage journey in many of his successful *qasidas*. Khaqani also describes his third hajj journey from Baghdad to Mecca in a *qasida* composed in Mecca.⁷³

The *Tuhfat al-'Iraqayn* is an allegoric description of Khaqani's pilgrimage journey in the *masnawi* form. According to Brown, the content of the *Tuhfat al-'Iraqayn* can be classified into five discourses. The first chapter consists of 'doxologies', formulaic prayers to God. The second includes autobiographical information, through which his biography can be established with the help of verses in his *divan*. The third chapter describes the cities he passed through during his journey, which are Hamadan, Iraq and Baghdad; the fourth is on Mecca, and the fifth on Medina.⁷⁴

The narrative can be regarded as a fragmentary autobiography of Khaqani, who portrays poetically scenes from his external and internal life through satires, elegies, laments, religious and ascetic poems recited on different occasions during his journey to the Hijaz.⁷⁵ Accordingly, the poet called his work *Tuhfat al-khawatir wa zubdat al-*

⁷²Ateş, p. 88

⁷³Ateş, p. 91

⁷⁴Browne, p. 397; Mohammed Ashraful Hukk & Hermann Ethé & Edward Robertson. *A descriptive catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons Ltd., 1925), p. 77

⁷⁵B. Reinert, 'Khakani', *EL*² 4, pp. 915-16

nawadir.⁷⁶ Apart from a description of the lands he passed through on his journey the poet composes elegies for those noblemen who welcomed him during the journey. He introduces the members of his family including his mother, his father, his uncle and his grandfather.⁷⁷

Another famous Persian poet to express his pilgrimage experience through verse is the master poet Jami (817-898-9/1414-1492). He went on the hajj in 877/1472 from Herat, by way of Hamadan and Baghdad, where he stayed for about three months.⁷⁸ On his return journey he was the subject of protests at Baghdad owing to 'certain verses from the poem of an allegedly anti-Shi'ite complexion'.⁷⁹ Jami returned to Herat via Aleppo and Tabriz at the beginning of 1474.⁸⁰ He is reported to have produced a number of verses on the sanctuaries of the Hijaz, which hold an influential place in the genre of pilgrimage narratives, being quoted extensively by the succeeding authors of literary pilgrimage accounts in Persian and in Ottoman, namely Muhyi and Nabi respectively. Apart from his popularly quoted verses Jami wrote a separate prose work on the rituals of the hajj, which is called the *Kitab-i manasik-i hajj* or *Risala dar manasik-i hajj*, of which there are several copies in the Süleymaniye manuscript library of Istanbul.⁸¹

Muhyi al-din Lari (d. 933/1526), whose pen-name was Muhyi, describes the sacred places of Mecca and Medina, and the rites of the hajj in his *Futuh al-Haramayn*.⁸² Completed in 911/1506, the work is said to have been dedicated to Sultan Muzaffar b. Mahmud Shah of Gujarat (1511-26). Its manuscript copies include more than ten

⁷⁶Rypka, p. 205

⁷⁷Arberry, p. 120

⁷⁸Cl. Huart-[H. Masse], 'Djami' *EF* 2, p. 421; and Zeki Velidi Togan, 'Cami', *IA* 3, p. 17

⁷⁹Arberry, p. 438

⁸⁰Togan, p. 17

⁸¹Jami, *Kitab-i manasik-i hajj (Risala dar manasik al-hajj)*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Ayasofya, no: 1181, 4206, 4207 (original copy), 4208, Carullah Ef, no: 1682, Fatih, no: 4044, 4045, Hekimoglu Ali Paşa, no: 660, Pertevniyal Sultan, no: 642

⁸²E. Berthels, 'Muhyi'l-Din Lari', *EF* VII, p. 478

drawings illustrating the sacred cities.⁸³ Although the name Muhyi is apparently placed ‘both in the introduction and conclusion’, the work has been attributed to Jami.⁸⁴

The Indian author Safi b. Vali Qazvini’s *Anis al-Hujjaj* is a Persian account of his pilgrimage journey, including a description of the sanctuaries in Mecca. He set out from Delhi on 12 Rajab 1087/21 September 1676, after obtaining permission from Aurangzib’s daughter, Zib al-Nisa, who supported the author, and to whom the account was presented. Upon his return Qazvini arranged his notes taken in the course of the journey, and formed his narrative of twelve chapters, drawing upon relevant works.⁸⁵

Conclusion

The present survey of medieval Arabic pilgrimage narratives indicates that a number of celebrated pilgrimage-centred travel narratives were composed between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. During the succeeding centuries until the nineteenth century only a few were added to the number. However when the large number of Arabic-speaking communities is taken into consideration the present number seems small. Of the geographical texts in Arabic written generally during the Abbasid period, most include a description of the Hijaz within their primary scope, but are not rendered as pilgrimage narratives.

With respect to medieval Persian pilgrimage narratives, only a few have so far been identified from before the nineteenth century. Of these, Nasir-i Khusraw’s narrative, like those produced in the nineteenth century, is composed in an unpretentious language with a clearly informative purpose. Other pre-nineteenth-century narratives, that is

⁸³Muhyi, *Futuh al-Haramayn*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Lala Ismail, no: 102; see also Simsar, p. 141.

⁸⁴Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum* II (London 1881), p. 655; Simsar, p. 140; For a discussion of this misattribution see the entry ‘Sources and influences’ in Chapter III.

⁸⁵Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum* III (London 1883), p. 980; see also Pearson, p. 44

Khaqani's *Tuhfat al-'Iraqayn*, the fifteenth-century poet Jami's verses on the sanctuaries, and the fifteenth-century poet Muhyi's *Futuh al-Haramayn* were composed in verse in a metaphorical style.

In some well-known Arabic and Persian narratives, a motivation for undertaking the journey may be given as repentance for a past dissolute life. The most frequent cause of repentance is given as having drunk wine, which appears as a motif in several works. For instance, Nasir-i Khusraw experienced a dream in which he was persuaded to give up wine and to go on the hajj.⁸⁶ Before undertaking the hajj journey Ibn Jubayr had been pressed into drinking wine, and was full of remorse for this sinful act. Khaqani went on the hajj after giving up wine and repenting of his previous sins.

Whatever the stated reasons for travel, such authors intended not only to perform the hajj but also to pursue other goals, principal among which would have been the opportunity to advance their knowledge in the Islamic sciences by meeting and studying with the most distinguished scholars of their era, and the satisfaction of their curiosity about other Muslim states and societies. They certainly travelled with the intention of compiling a detailed account of their journeys, keeping frequent jottings during the journey and taking the time to compile a fluent narrative afterwards. Ibn Battuta and Ibn Juzayy are said to have taken about two years to write down Ibn Battuta's account.⁸⁷

It is possible to discern the traces of royal assistance behind the composition of some of these comprehensive narratives. These accounts were composed not by 'ordinary' pilgrims but by members of the educated elite, who had a close relationship with the ruling class, to whom they dedicated their works. For most, permission to travel to the Hijaz and other principal lands might also be accompanied by material assistance. More

⁸⁶Thackston, p. 1; the motif of a guiding dream recurs in the narrative of Evliya Çelebi the entry 'The *Seyahatname* by Evliya Çelebi' in Chapter II.

specifically, Ibn Jubayr was granted by his patron an ample allowance to undertake his pilgrimage travel, as well as permission for it.⁸⁸ After his return to Fez, Ibn Battuta, who was descended from a family prominent in ‘administration of the judiciary’ and ‘the hospice’,⁸⁹ was ordered by the ruler of Morocco to dictate his experiences of the journey to Ibn Juzayy, the ruler’s literary secretary.⁹⁰ Ibn Battuta is also reported by al-Bailuni to have been granted an amount of 10,000 *tankas*, together with ‘proper escort’ by the Indian emperor.⁹¹ Khaqani submitted his narrative to Jamal al-din-i Isfahani, who had been very generous to the poet as a patron. The Persian poet Muhyi dedicated his verse account to Sultan Muzaffar b. Mahmud Shah of Gujarat, who might have encouraged Muhyi to compose his account. The importance of royal encouragement is seen particularly in the noticeable increase in the production of Persian pilgrimage accounts during the nineteenth century.

These travellers were clearly outstanding individuals whose experiences go far beyond those of the mass of ordinary pilgrims whose itineraries and experiences were comparatively limited and probably similar to each other. Combining their jottings with factual data derived from the manuscripts in hand or/and from their general knowledge in memory, they left the most detailed and lively travel narratives not only on the Hijaz but also on other principal Muslim centres. It can be inferred from the above discussion that without governmental support neither such lengthy journeys nor such comprehensive narratives might have been accomplished.

⁸⁷Dunn, p. 310

⁸⁸Ibn Jubayr, p. 15

⁸⁹Husain, p. liv

⁹⁰Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. xiii

⁹¹Husain, p. viii

Chapter II

OTTOMAN PILGRIMAGE NARRATIVES

Introduction

The annual arrangement and maintenance of pilgrimage caravans had a crucial place in the affairs of the Ottoman state, particularly after 1517, when the Hijaz became a part of the Ottoman lands, and the Ottoman sultans, assuming the title of the *hadimü'l-haremeyn* (the servitor of the two sanctuaries), committed to deal closely with the affairs of pilgrims.¹ Ottoman pilgrimage narratives portray the experiences and observations of pilgrims during their journey of generally more than eight months, and are eye-witness sources by participants for the study of these pilgrimage journeys, caravans and the conditions of the places en route. Such narratives serve also indirectly for studying the mentality, beliefs, education and language of their authors as pilgrims and in a wider sense as individuals within Ottoman society.² Illustrating a vast geography of Ottoman lands from Istanbul to Mecca, they contain indirect but useful data on the prosperity or civil development of major Ottoman cities en route.

However, study of their corpus generally has been a neglected topic within Ottoman literature. No attempt has been made previously to study the genre as a whole. Not only the corpus of pilgrimage narratives but also some single texts have not been given sufficient attention by scholars of Ottoman history and literature. Modern major literary histories and reference works devote no single or satisfying entry to the genre of

¹See Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and sultans: the hajj under the Ottomans 1517-1683* (London: I.T. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1994); For a study of how the Ottomans cared for the affairs of Muslim pilgrims all over the world see Naim R. Faroqhi, 'Moguls, Ottomans, and pilgrims: protecting the routes to Mecca in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *The international history review* X (May 1988), pp. 198-220.

pilgrimage accounts, or usually, to travel literature more widely.³ Of these, Agah Sırrı Levend in his bibliographic history of Turkish literature allocates a small entry to *seyahat-nameler* (travel narratives);⁴ and the *Diyanet Islam Ansiklopedisi* lists a few Ottoman texts on the religious aspects of the hajj,⁵ but devotes only a sub-entry to well-known pilgrimage accounts in Muslim literature.⁶

This lack of study is probably because of the fact that such pilgrimage texts seem at first glance to be very few and biographical dictionaries and the catalogues of the manuscript libraries do not list a substantial number of such texts. Even though my survey of certain manuscript libraries incorporated several more texts into the list of the few known narratives, the total identified so far remains small considering the length of the Ottoman period as a whole. The second reason for this neglect seems to be the fact that these accounts do not present as much direct data as archives for those who are seeking factual and long term statistical data, nor do they bear as much literary value as poetical texts to attract the attention of researchers of Turkish literature.⁷

This study is a preliminary attempt to introduce and classify types and examples of Ottoman pilgrimage narratives through analysis of their contents. To pursue this objective, I surveyed a number of manuscript libraries including the libraries of Süleymaniye, Millet, Bayezid, Köprülü, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul Üniversitesi in

²See Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Ottoman documents concerning the hajj during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in Abdeljelil Temimi (ed.), *La vie sociale dans les provinces arabes à l'époque ottomane* (Zaghouan 1988), pp. 151-163

³Hence the editors of the few single pilgrimage accounts published recently have almost nothing to say about the place of their texts within the genre.

⁴Levend's list of Turkish travel narratives, including pilgrimage accounts, consists of seven works: the *Mir'atü'l-memalik* by Seydi Ali Reis; the *Hıta-yi-name* by an anonymous author written in Chaghatai Turkish; the *'Aca'ibü'l-leta'if*, translated from a Persian work by Küçük Çelebi-zade Isma'il 'Asım; the *Seyahatname* by Bursalı Hatif, and those by Evliya Çelebi, Mehmed Edib and Nabi (see Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1973, p. 157).

⁵Rahmi Yaran, 'Hacc: literatür', *DİA* 14, 410-413

⁶Ahmet Özel, 'Hacc: Seyahatnameler', *DİA* 14, 413-416: this entry contains predominantly Arabic pilgrimage narratives, while mentioning only one text in Ottoman Turkish and one text in Persian.

Turkey and the British Library, the John Rylands Library of Manchester University and Cambridge University Library in Britain. Consequently, eleven pilgrimage texts remaining in manuscript and inaccessible to non-experts have been added to seven previously known texts, some of which have not been studied properly yet.

It should be noted that it is sometimes difficult to locate short pilgrimage texts, which are either misleadingly titled or concealed in composite manuscripts. Therefore it is very probable that a number of similar works exist elsewhere waiting to be detected as in the cases of previously located texts, including Ahmed Fakih's *Kitabu evsafı mesacidi's-şerife* discovered in the British Museum by Hasibe Mazıoğlu; 'Abdurrahman Hibri's *Menasik-i mesalik-i* found by Klaus Kreiser and edited by Sevim Ilgürel; Süleyman Şefik Söylemezoğlu's *Hicaz seyahatnamesi* discussed by Sadettin Buluç; and Aşçı Dede's account found by Osman Ergin and studied by Carter Vaughn Findley.⁸

With regard to the classification of all these texts it is very difficult and sometimes misleading to make sharp distinctions between them, due to the fact that some texts bear elusive or unique characteristics, and so might be placed either in a category not completely appropriate or they may require a category of their own. While most texts were composed with informative purposes, their narrative scope and perspectives differ considerably, and they show considerable variety in literary style. Therefore, some texts have characteristics of more than one group because while resembling each other in some respects they differ in others.

Identifying proper terms for the types of the Ottoman pilgrimage texts gathered is another initiative task of this study. There seem to be very few studies examining and/or

⁷The opening of the rich Ottoman archives attracted the attention of Ottomanists, diminishing interest in literary sources (see Cemal Kafadar, 'Self and others: the diary of a dervish in seventeenth century Istanbul and first-person narratives in Ottoman literature', *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), pp. 122- 123).

⁸For discussion of these texts see later in this chapter.

classifying pilgrimage accounts in other literatures of Muslim nations, which might be of use in forming a methodology. There could be found some similarities between the types of western pilgrimage accounts, which are ‘the *log*, the *guide*, and the *narration*’,⁹ and those of modern South Asian pilgrimage accounts which have developed under the influence of western literature after the nineteenth century when India was a part of the British empire.¹⁰ In the western tradition, the log is a brief daily record of the journey, listing itineraries and expenses made for personal or official interests. The journal describes the journey also on a daily basis, recording itineraries and important and interesting events. It seems that the main distinguishing characteristic of these two types is that they describe their journey day by day under daily entries, which perhaps seems more suitable for those who are travelling by steamer or ship, so could always find some spare time for recording the journey. Medieval Ottoman pilgrims appear not to have kept proper *diaries* of their exhausting pilgrimage journeys which lasted about eight months or more over land. Instead of keeping an account under daily entries, they prefer to record occasionally some dates at the milestones of their journeys, while giving other dates in a rather ambiguous way by using terms such as tomorrow, one day later, on the morning, on the second, tenth day etc. Even Nabi and Evliya Çelebi, who were both privileged travellers, and presumably had more time to write, do not describe their accounts on a day-by-day basis.

Unlike logs, the brief Ottoman texts on halting places generally seem to have been intended as guides or handbooks although in some of them there is no stated purpose. In the titles of Ottoman pilgrimage accounts identified so far there can be found no term

⁹Donald R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980), p. 18

¹⁰Metcalf divides South Asian accounts of the hajj into four types: ‘travelogues, journals, letters and guides’; see Barbara D. Metcalf, ‘The pilgrimage remembered: South Asian accounts of the *hajj*’, in Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim Travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination* (London 1990), p. 86

like *ruzname* or *günlük*¹¹ corresponding to the terms *diary* and *journal*. However, there might be found a few texts which have some points in common with logs in terms of the purpose for which they were intended. Yet, it should be declared that no Ottoman author had in mind to produce logs or journals for the sake of it, and hence their texts do not show proper characteristics of logs and journals.

Ottoman pilgrimage texts can be classified into four categories at this stage in terms of their contents and the purposes for which they were written: (i) guidebooks on the *menazil* (stations) and *menasik* (rites); (ii) guide-type narratives of pilgrimage stations and journey; (iii) travelogues, and (iv) literary pilgrimage narratives composed from various perspectives. It should nevertheless be noted that such classification, although it appeared to be the best way to sort these versatile texts initially, may seem rather arbitrary, and is obviously not the only way in which Ottoman hajj texts might be ordered. What follows is an introduction to and possible classification of pre-nineteenth-century pilgrimage texts Ottoman authors produced as an outcome of their pilgrimage journeys. In the present study, each text is examined according to its basic format, style, and general contents; brief biographical information on their authors is given where available. A more detailed, comparative discussion of the texts follows in Chapter V below.

1. Guidebooks on *menazil* (stations) and *menasik* (rites)

Texts which seem to have been intended simply to provide practical information either on the stations or on the rites of the hajj or on both, are defined as guidebooks. These texts appear not to be based on a particular pilgrimage journey, regardless of the fact that their authors might have performed the hajj. There is a great body of such texts in

¹¹The Turkish term *günlük* as a literary type appears to be used exclusively in modern Turkish literature.

manuscript libraries despite the probability that many of them deteriorated through wear and tear when used for the purpose for which they were intended, and disappeared. Their relatively large number suggests that there was a great demand for them in the Ottoman era, which encouraged writers to produce such texts.

Most guidebooks present their practical data in an impersonal manner, eliminating their authors' selves and experiences of the journeys if they had indeed made the hajj. Some might be a compilation from a pilgrimage narrative or a detailed guidebook. Accordingly, most contain neither the writer's name nor colophon nor date of completion, describing the same stations of the hajj route and the rites of the hajj, albeit in varying phrases, and clearly had a practical rather than a literary value. These guidebooks, according to their titles and primary scope of their contents, are called either the *menazil-i hacc* (the stations of the hajj), or the *menasik-i hacc* (the rites of the hajj). Whereas modern means of transport have eliminated completely the genre of *menazil* guidebooks, the *menasik* type under the new title *hac rehberi* (guidebook to the hajj) has survived.

As stated above, there are various types of guide texts written by Ottomans from different points of view. Those which seem not to be an account of a particular pilgrimage journey, and which generally repeat basic information on either the stations or on the rites are of secondary importance for this study. Therefore being very selective from such numerous texts found, I preferred those which were composed by literary figures namely Sulhi, Gubari and Bahti.

1.1. Guidebooks on the stations or the *menazil-i hacc* texts

Guidebooks principally on the stations recount briefly the halting places en route, giving their names, sequential numbers, hour distances from the previous station, and one or

two pieces of useful information and/or advice. While describing the stations, the concerns of the authors reflect the nature of the journey. For instance, while focusing on the availability or condition of lodging, mosques and shrines in the stations between Istanbul and Damascus, for the stations between Damascus and Mecca they report the availability and condition of water or wells. Most *menazil* texts include also a brief description of the performance of the hajj. Although it is possible to compare some *menazil* texts with the ‘log’ type of Christian pilgrimage writings it is superficial and misleading to call them logs or journals, since the latter record journeys under daily entries.

Repeating more or less the same data on the stations in everyday language, *menazil* guides do not have much original or literary value. Their contents are included in the guide-type narratives of the pilgrimage stations and journey. Although the *menazil* texts were generally written in a workaday prose I have chosen a verse text as an example since its poet attempted to add literary value to his text using his own poetical skill.

1.1.1. The *Der-beyan-ı ‘aded-i menazil-i Hicaz* (Description of the number of stations to the Hijaz)¹² by Sulhi (17th century ?)

Sulhi’s text is a very brief verse description of the stations written in a factual and impersonal manner in order to help future pilgrims without mentioning a particular pilgrimage journey by its poet. In the second couplet of the poem, Sulhi states that: ‘For pilgrims who come from Damascus, these are the names and descriptions of their stations’.¹³ This couplet suggests that the poet might have been staying in Mecca at least at the time of composition. Sulhi does not say or imply that he is describing his own pilgrimage journey, nor does he use a personal manner in the poem.

¹²Sulhi, *Menasik-i hacc*, Millet Ktp., Şry., no: 445

¹³Sulhi, f. 22a: Hacılar kim daim Şam’dan gele - Menzilinün ism ü resmi bu ola

The biographical dictionaries contain very short entries for two poets with this pen-name. Yumni reports that Sulhi's original name was Salih, and he was known as Kasım-zade. Other biographers report that Sulhi's original name was Mehmed Salih, the son of Kazım, the wolf. This Sulhi became a *mülazım* [assistant] under the supervision of Şeyhülislam Yahya. While he was a *müderres* at the *medrese* of Süleymaniye he was appointed *kadı* of Yenişehir. He died in 1071/1660.¹⁴ It is likely that these two poets are the same person. These poet(s) are reported neither to have gone on the hajj nor to have produced any work on the pilgrimage. Therefore at this stage it is unclear whether he/they is the author of this text.

The present verse description of 67 couplets is to be found under the heading the *Derheyan-ı 'aded-i menazil-i Hicaz* in a composite manuscript. It is composed in the *mesnevi* form, and appears to be complete, having introductory and concluding couplets. The poem occupies folios 21b-24a of a manuscript of 25 folios called the *Menasik-i hacc* (The rituals of the hajj) in the Millet library.¹⁵ The first and main part of the manuscript until folio 21b, is a description of the rituals of the hajj, which is admitted by the writer to have been compiled from several sources at the request of some of his friends. The work includes several lists or tables, such as a list of the gates of Mecca (21b), of the stations from Üsküdar to Damascus (24a-24b), and a list of the stations from Egypt to Mecca (24b-25a). The inclusion of such basic tables in the nature of appendices, and the fact that both major pilgrimage routes to Mecca, from Damascus and from Egypt, are given suggests that the author intended to produce such a composite guide book for future pilgrims. The poet expresses his ultimate aim for this text in the

¹⁴Haluk Ipekten, Mustafa Isen, Recep Toparlı, Naci Okçu & Turgut Karabey, *Tezkirelere göre divan edebiyatı isimler sözlüğü* (Ankara: KTB 1988), p. 453

¹⁵Sulhi, f. 21b

last couplet: ‘O Sultan, Sulhi composed this in verse, (thus) he expects prayers from the reader.’¹⁶

Sulhi gives the number and names of the stations in the first line of a couplet, and gives a piece of necessary information concerning the station in the second. The piece of information in Sulhi’s text often relates to the availability and condition of the water sources. While allocating a couplet to the description of each station, Sulhi normally devotes a number of couplets to eulogy of the Prophet Muhammed and of the Ka‘be. He notes that the leader of a pilgrimage caravan can make slight differences en route.¹⁷ Sulhi regards Müzeyrib as the starting point for the journey, and justifies it by saying that experts do so, and counts Ur‘a as the first station. In his description, Sulhi does not resort to metaphorical elements, and often employs direct forms of address in his poetry, such as ‘O king, ‘O prince (*hümmam*): ‘Its seventh station is ‘Aneze [‘Uneyze], know that it has no water, o beloved!’¹⁸

1.2. Guidebooks on the rites or the *menasik-i hacc* texts

The *menasik* texts aim to guide pilgrims on how to perform the hajj rites according to the canonical rules derived from authentic sources by scholars. Some of these texts also contain brief descriptions or lists of the stations with hour distances from one another. There is a much larger body of manuscript texts of this kind, which notably exceeds that of the *menazil* type, and indicates that these texts were highly in demand, thus motivating scholars to write such texts.

There are some texts on the rituals which go beyond the guidebook, dealing with the hajj and its rites either in a scholarly manner or in a literary way, and which can be regarded as learned treatises on the hajj or literary guides. The treatises on the hajj might

¹⁶Sulhi, f. 24a: Sulhi bunı nazm kıldı ey şeha - Okuyandan iltimas eyler du‘a

¹⁷Sulhi, f. 24a: Kah u geh tebdil u tağyir buluna - Mir-i haccın ol tasarrufı ola

have served as reference works for the more basic handbooks. Among the authors of scholarly treatises are Şeyh Sinan (d. 991/1583) whose work was used and copied widely;¹⁹ Şemseddin-i Ahmed Sivasi²⁰ (d. 1006/1597); Beğzade Mustafa b. ‘Ali (d. 1200/1785) whose work was printed in the Ottoman alphabet in 1264/1847;²¹ Babakaleli ‘Abdül‘aziz Ahmed Efendi²² (appointed *kadı* in 1277/1860), and Gümüşhaneli Ahmed Ziya‘eddin Efendi²³ (d. 1311/1893). Such treatises on the rites of hajj are not pertinent to the primary scope of this study.

The texts recounting the hajj and its rites in verse might be called literary guides. Examples of this type identified are the sixteenth-century poet ‘Abdurrahman Gubari’s *Menasikü’l-hacc*, the seventeenth-century poet Bahti’s *Manzume fi-menasikü’l-hacc*, and the twentieth-century scholar Bekir Sıdkı’s *Menasik-i hacc manzumesi*, which consists of 30 couplets and was printed in 1329/1911 in Istanbul.²⁴ Gubari and Bahti’s texts are worth examining for they both present their information in a slightly more personal manner, and being in verse they were intended to be memorable. While Gubari, who had lived in Mecca, based his description on his own accumulated experience, Bahti derived his data from written and/or oral sources.

¹⁸Sulhi, f. 22b: ‘Aneze’dir menzilin yedincisi - Suyı yokdur hic bil ey can-paresi

¹⁹For just a few copies of his work see Süleymaniye Ktp.: Lala Ismail 104/3; Ayasofya, no: 1469/1; Serez, no: 1032.

²⁰OM 1, p. 95

²¹Beğzade Mustafa Efendi was a scholar of the Nakşibendi order. During his journey to Mecca to perform the hajj for the second time he died in Jedda (OM 1, pp. 49-50)

²²Babakaleli ‘Abdülaziz Ahmed Efendi, who was reported by Bursali Mehmed Tahir to have composed a number of works on religious issues. In the entry in OM (1, p. 384), there is no mention of his going on the hajj.

²³Gümüşhaneli Ahmed Ziya‘eddin Efendi was a *şeyh*, and wrote a number of works pertaining to religious topics (OM 1, p. 107).

²⁴Yaran, p. 412

1.2.1. The *Menasikü'l-hacc* (The rites of the hajj)²⁵ by Gubari (d. 974/1566)

The earliest verse guide found is the *Menasikü'l-hacc* by the sixteenth-century poet 'Abdurrahman Gubari, who is among the lesser known poets. According to his *Ka'be-name*, he was born in Akşehir.²⁶ He began his education first in his native land, then continued it in Istanbul, benefiting from the prominent scholars of his time. Gubari learnt different styles of calligraphy, and his pen-name Gubari apparently derived from his mastery in the *gubar* style of calligraphy. After teaching at several *medreses* for a number of years he took part in Kanuni Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566)'s conquest of Iraq in 1534-6 as secretary of the army. After his return to Istanbul he became interested in the Nakşibendi dervish order. Having been appointed a member of the *surre* convoy Gubari went to Mecca in 944/1537-38, and stayed there until 1546. On his return journey he went to Kütahya, where he was employed by the prince Bayezid, the youngest son of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman. Upon the defeat of Bayezid by his brother Selim, Gubari was imprisoned for a while for political reasons. Having been set free he was sent to Mecca as the judge of the *mahmil* in 1562, and died there in 974/1566-67 according to the biographer 'Aşık Çelebi, and in 982/1574-75 according to others.²⁷

This study uses the copy of the *Menasikü'l-hacc* found in the Millet library in Istanbul. It consists of 23a folios. According to the colophon at the end of the copy the work was completed in 968/1561 in the month of Receb. The work might have been submitted to Sultan Süleyman, to whom Gubari also dedicated his *Ka'be-name*, a description of the construction work in the Hijaz carried out by the Sultan himself and other Ottomans.²⁸

²⁵Gubari 'Abdurrahman, *Menasikü'l-hacc*, Millet Ktp, Manzum, no: 820, f. 21, copied in 1203/1788

²⁶'Gubari Abdurrahman', *TDEA* III, p. 375

²⁷For more biographical information on Gubari, see Ali Alparslan, 'Gubari Abdurrahman', *DIA* 14, pp. 167-169.

²⁸Alparslan, p. 168

The *Menasikü'l-hacc* is a brief and useful description of the rites of the hajj for intending pilgrims, as Gubari himself states in the work. He recounts the information a pilgrim should know about the rites of the hajj probably depending only on his own memory. The importance of Gubari's *Menasikü'l-hacc* lies not only on its guiding information but also on its autobiographical dimension. In it Gubari incorporates a few short poems in the *gazel* form, in which he reflects his own comments, mood and circumstances. In a *gazel* at the end of the work, the poet states that it is a misfortune for an inhabitant of Mecca [himself], to be far away from Mecca. While his family remained there he came to Istanbul, and was put into a dungeon. For this reason, the poet begins with an invocation asking God to set him free from prison. Then he prays to God to grant a long life, health and prosperity to Kanuni Süleyman.²⁹ The poet praises the Sultan at every opportunity, and advises his audience when praying on Mount 'Arafat to pray for the Sultan, who had made pilgrimage easier for pilgrims.³⁰ The work was probably composed in prison, where Gubari felt a shortage of paper to write. A few couplets suggest that Gubari had gone to Mecca before he wrote this work and desperately desired to go there again.³¹ As recorded above, the biographical works inform us that Gubari went to Mecca for the second time after being released from prison.

Gubari presents his material in a direct and authoritative voice, being confident of the veracity of his information. Gubari implies that he as a dweller in Mecca is an authority on the issue of the hajj. He occasionally refers to the Qur'an and sayings of the Prophet and scholars in an indirect way. For instance, he says 'Come and listen to the matters of

²⁹Gubari, f. 2b, 3a

³⁰Gubari, f. 19a

³¹Gubari, f. 23a

the hajj, the correct sayings of the scholars'.³² Pilgrims are warned against misinformation given by ignorant persons. The poet describes his subject in a plain language of his time in the *mesnevi* form, but prefers Persian for the subtitles. He does not strive to produce eloquent expressions but employs common metaphors such as the comparison of the *ihram* to a shroud, and the gathering on 'Arafat to the Day of Judgment.

1.2.2. The *Manzume fi-menasiki'l-hacc*³³ by Bahti (17th century)

The second example of verse guidebooks on the rites of the hajj is Bahti's *Manzume fi-menasiki'l-hacc*, which is probably the most comprehensive and well-ordered literary guidebook in Ottoman literature. Towards the end of the work a couplet documents that it was composed by a poet whose pen-name was Bahti.³⁴ The identity of its author, Bahti, is not known for certain. He is described as being from the Morea,³⁵ and is said to have lived in the sixteenth century, but he is not reported to have produced a work called the *Manzume fi-menasiki'l-hacc*.³⁶ The other Bahti is called Mehmed and known as Imamzade. He taught at several *medreses* and died in 1168/1754-5.³⁷ Another poet called Bahti was Sultan Ahmed I, who died in 1617, and who is also not reported to have composed such a work.³⁸ All these Bahtis appear not to be the poet in question because according to the chronogram, the work was written in 1056/1646, which suggests that the poet in question lived until at least 1056/1646. Apart from Bahti, the work is also ascribed to Na'ili or Nali Mehmed Efendi in several manuscripts, including

³²Gubari, f. 4a

³³Bahti (Morali ?), *Manzume fi-menasiki'l-hacc*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Aşir Efendi, no: 123

³⁴Na'ili Mehmed Efendi, *Manzume der-menasikü'l-hacc*, Köprülü Ktp., Hafız Ahmed Paşa, no: 334, f. 17b: Geldi ilahi kapuna bi-delil- Bahti-i naşad u 'alil u zelil

³⁵See Yaran, p. 412

³⁶OM 2, p. 98; Ipekten, p. 65; 'Bahti', *TDEA* 1, p. 298

³⁷Ipekten, p. 65

³⁸Mücteba Ilgürel, 'Ahmed I', *DIA* 2, pp. 30-33

that of the Köprülü library.³⁹ It seems at the present stage that the Bahti in question must be the pen name of Nali Mehmed Efendi of Konya, who died in 1674 in Selanik, and who is reported to have composed a verse *Menasik-i hacc*.⁴⁰

This study is based mainly on the copy of Bahti's text in the Süleymaniye library of Istanbul. It consists of 40b folios. It is a complete work containing introductory and concluding couplets. The text contains a number of colourful pictures which are related to the topics dealt with. The language of the work is neither in straightforward language nor heavily laden with Persian and Arabic vocabulary. Communicating his message in unpretentious language seems more important to the poet than producing an elaborate text. However he forms the subtitles of the sections either in Arabic or in Persian, and begins his composition with an Arabic couplet.⁴¹ The content of Bahti's detailed text consists of systematic descriptions of the hajj rites, of the holy sites, and here and there the poet's counsels and comments. While describing the holy places Bahti, like many other authors, mentions events which played a significant role in the life of the Prophet or in Muslim history.

The text contains several themes, some of which appear to be derived from Cami [Jami]'s verses and/or Muhyi's *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*.⁴² For example, pilgrims are advised to be pious and well-behaved while visiting the shrine of the Prophet.⁴³ After using Cami's verses at the beginning of several of his entries Bahti proceeds to communicate his own thoughts and sentiments, which give the work a personal dimension. The ingredients of his description suggest that he did not base his whole description of a sacred site on Cami's. Instead of quoting a couplet as a whole Bahti sometimes

³⁹Köprülü Ktp., Hafız Ahmed Paşa, no: 334; See also Yaran, p. 412

⁴⁰'Nali Mehmed Efendi', *TDEA* 6, p. 509; *OM* 2, p. 446;

⁴¹Bahti, f. 1: El-hamdü li'llahi'llezi 'ala külli hal - Keyfe yü'eddihi lisani'l-makal

⁴²See 'Introduction' and 'Sanctuaries' in Chapter V.

⁴³Bahti, ff. 31b-32a

paraphrases it, or sometimes translates a line of it into Turkish, forming it into a couplet called *mülemma*. It is difficult to know whether he did this on purpose or whether his poor memory urged him to do so. Bahti does not conceal the use he made of Cami's verses, declaring at the end of his text that: 'The book has been completed through the aid of God, the Ruler and the All-Munificent, from the word of the reverend Cami at the order of the All-Forgiving.'⁴⁴ Indeed, the text is an example of imaginary pilgrimage account of the author, who composed it as he was suffering separation from the sanctuaries:

'O rose with hundred leaves of the religion! Where can this lonely heart find the smell of your gate?'⁴⁵

'I have not sacrificed my soul for you, then I deserve to be kept apart from you.'⁴⁶

'Evil fate has kept me away from [the Ka'be], and put separation as an obstacle (between us).'⁴⁷

'My heart was full of the pleasure of imagining [Ka'be], but my hand did not reach its skirt.'⁴⁸

To sum up, Bahti, whose work is a compilation, left a more vivid and detailed guidebook in comparison to that of Gubari, who performed the hajj and spent some time in Mecca. Bahti states that he collected as much data as he could and wrote it down.⁴⁹ However, the author does not name his sources, but occasionally refers to them in general terms, such as 'experts'.⁵⁰ There are a few phrases and verses which also appear in

⁴⁴Bahti, *Manzume fi-menasiki'l-hacc*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Aşir Ef., no: 123, f. 41: Temmetü'l-kitab bi 'avni'llahi 'l-Meliki'l-Vehhab - Min kelamihi Mevlana Cami bi emri't-Tevvab

⁴⁵Bahti, f. 23a: Kande bula ey gül-i sad berg-i din - Buy-ı derin bu dil-i 'uzlet-nişin

⁴⁶Bahti, f. 23a: Eylemedüm yoluna canım feda - Şimdi reva bana olursam cüda

⁴⁷Bahti, f. 23a: Gerçi ki dur etdi beni baxt-ı bed - Vuslatına eyledi hicran sedd

⁴⁸Bahti, f. 38a: Şevk-i hayaliyle pür idi dilim - İrmedi damanına likin elüm

⁴⁹Bahti, f. 38b: Mümkün olan mertebe aldım haber - Yazdım anı meclis edüb ser-be-ser

⁵⁰Bahti, f. 29a: Kavl-i imaman budur itme galat

Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. It cannot however be asserted that Bahti definitely influenced Nabi, suggesting that both Bahti and Nabi made use of a similar source.⁵¹

2. Guide-type narratives of pilgrimage *menazil*

Guide-type narratives were intended to be practical for those going on the hajj and to be informative and interesting for those otherwise interested in the stations of the hajj and the sanctuaries of the Hijaz. Since these texts pay special attention to recording practical information of interest to an intending pilgrim, they bear the characteristics of a guidebook. As in the titles of many guidebooks, the term *menazil* is commonly used as a core element in the titles of these texts. It is therefore sometimes difficult to distinguish, at least at first glance, the guide-type pilgrimage narratives from the guidebooks on the stations, for the intention to provide necessary information for future pilgrims is clearly discernible in both types of pilgrimage account. The difficulty of classifying the texts is also the case for some Christian pilgrimage texts: 'Two categories [guide and travel account] are not always distinct. For example some documents which have the appearance of being Guides have a paragraph at the end which announces their authorship'.⁵² Howard distinguishes narrations from logs saying that if pilgrimage texts 'recount the journey itself or describe things seen or heard, they become narrations and so move in the direction of literature'.⁵³

In this study, guide-type narratives are distinguished from guidebooks by the fact that they are based on an actual pilgrimage journey of their authors. Within their descriptions the authors are present to varying degrees either individually or as members of caravans; hence they can be called pilgrimage narratives. Under the title 'guide-type narratives of

⁵¹See 'Sources and influences' in Chapter III.

⁵²John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill & W.F. Ryan, *Jerusalem pilgrimage 1099-1185* (London: The Hakylut Society, 1988), p. 2

⁵³Howard, p. 19

pilgrimage stations' eight texts have been collected so far. Four were composed in prose and the remaining four in verse. They could therefore be divided into two groups in terms of their written formats, that is prose and verse, which distinctly shaped the contents and structures of the texts. While the authors of prose texts added a scholarly aspect to their pilgrimage accounts by presenting their material in a systematic and more detailed way, the poets of verse texts intended to attach a literary value to their pilgrimage accounts by making a conscious effort to compose them in verse.

2.1. Guide-type narratives of pilgrimage stations in verse

Verse descriptions of the stations on the basis of an actual pilgrimage journey form the first group of the guide-type narratives. In the titles of these texts, like previous texts, the term *menazil* also attracts attention. The verse texts are comparable to the prose texts discussed below through the fact that these are also meant to give both practical assistance to future pilgrims and counsel on the stations, and clear descriptions to the audience who are wondering about the journey. However, while the prose narratives present their material in a systematic and detailed way, verse narratives present aim above all to present it concisely and memorably.

These narratives were composed in the poetical forms of the *kaside* or more particularly the *mesnevi*, both of which are appropriate forms in Ottoman poetry for long descriptions. Verse pilgrimage accounts found so far were composed by minor poets, whose styles are comparatively free, both of metaphor and of unfamiliar Persian and Arabic vocabulary. Unlike the literary narratives of Fevri and Nabi, the literary style of these texts serves as a means of communicating messages in an impressive manner rather than as part of the aim for composition. Identified and introduced here are four verse descriptions by Bahri, Hasan Rıza'i, Cudi and Kamil.

2.1.1. The *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a kadar konaklar* (Stations from Üsküdar to Damascus)⁵⁴ by Bahri (late 17th century ?)

The *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a kadar konaklar* is a verse enumeration of stations in a relatively plain Turkish by Bahri. The Ottoman biographers mention at least four poets called Bahri, but none are reported to have gone on the hajj.⁵⁵ The sixteenth-century biographer 'Aşık Çelebi (1520-1571) allocates an entry to a poet called Bahri who gained fame with his *mesnevis*. The present poem is also composed in the *mesnevi* form. 'Aşık's account suggests that Bahri was a contemporary of his, and was working at the registry office of Aleppo when 'Aşık was compiling his biography.⁵⁶ A modern study which touches upon the Syrian pilgrimage caravan mentions a certain Muhammed Bahri (d. 979/1571) as *mir-i ahur-ı hacc* (officer in charge of the horses for the hajj [caravan]), who may be the same person.⁵⁷ However, the present text does not include any biographical information enabling us to identify its poet. From the point of view of flaws in application of the 'aruz meter in his poetry, and the lack of biographical information in the biographies, it can be inferred that Bahri was not a proficient poet. Since his caravan did not pass through Aleppo, which was excluded from being a station in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century for the caravan coming from Istanbul, Bahri must have lived not earlier than the seventeenth century.

Bahri's short poem is to be found on folios 14 and 15 in a manuscript in the Süleymaniye library. It is a complete work with introductory and concluding couplets, and is entitled *Üsküdar'dan Şam-ı şerife varınca yolda vaki' olan konaklar 'ale't-tertib tahrir ü inşa olundu* (Stations from Üsküdar to Damascus, the noble, have been described in succession). Even though the library's catalogue does not record it, the

⁵⁴Bahri, *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a kadar konaklar*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Mihrişah Sultan, no: 322/5

⁵⁵Ipekten, pp. 64-5

⁵⁶Aşık Çelebi, ff. 15-16

poet's pseudonym is cited towards the end of the poem: '(O God!) Make easy the way of Paradise, especially for Bahri, Your wounded slave.'⁵⁸

Little factual information on Bahri's actual journey can be compiled from this verse work. His caravan followed the usual pilgrimage route from Üsküdar to Damascus. It preferred the Lefke-Eskişehir route after Iznik, and the Antakya-Hama route after Belen. Bahri briefly describes the stations on the road, numbering each of them in the first line of a couplet, and giving a piece of information or advice in the second. In this respect, Bahri's poem is akin to Sulhi's poem above. What distinguishes Bahri's text from Sulhi's is that the former bases its description on an actual pilgrimage journey using a personal manner, while the latter does not give any clue that he is basing his description on an actual pilgrimage journey, preserving his impersonal manner throughout. For instance, Bahri declared in his concluding couplet that he accomplished his visit to the Ka'be: 'Thanks to God! I have visited His house, His aid has reached me from His grace'.⁵⁹ The poem is composed in a plain language, without resorting to metaphorical elements. His typical description of a station is as follows: 'Our third stage was Hersek, God's reward increase as much as we go!'⁶⁰

2.1.2. The *Tuhfetü'l-menazili'l-Ka'be* (Gift of the stations of the Ka'be)⁶¹ by Hacı Seyyid Hasan Rıza'i (17th century ?)

The *Tuhfetü'l-menazili'l-Ka'be* was identified by Browne, and ascribed to Seyyid Hasan Rıza'i of Aksaray.⁶² The colophon at the end of the verse narrative says that the text was

⁵⁷M. Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century* (Beirut 1982), p. 110

⁵⁸Bahri, f. 15a: Hususan Bahri-i mecruh kulunı - Yessir kıl ana cennet yolunı

⁵⁹Bahri, f. 15a: Bihamdilillah kılup beytin ziyaret - İrişdi bana lufundan 'inayet

⁶⁰Bahri, f. 14a: Üçüncü menzilimiz oldi Hersek - Sevab artar ne denlü biz gidersek

⁶¹*Tuhfetü'l-menazil ve Tuhfetü'l-huffaz*, Cambridge University Library, no: 284 (t), or. 662 (8), f. 57b

⁶²Edward G. Browne, *A supplementary hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts in the libraries of the University and colleges of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 49: Browne describes the manuscript as follows: 'two Turkish works in verse, the first, entitled *Tuhfetü'l-menazil*,

completed in 1075/1664-5 by Hacı Seyyid Hasan Rıza'i of Aksaray. The text is a description of the stations from Üsküdar to Mecca in the *kaside* form. According to the text, Seyyid Hasan's caravan set out from Üsküdar and followed the usual route. The caravan reached Damascus on 11 Ramazan, after travelling for 53 days.⁶³ This suggests that his caravan departed from Üsküdar around 18 Receb. On 20 Şevval his caravan left Damascus for Mecca.

The author's own experience is central to the description, and providing practical information for pilgrims seems of secondary importance to him. The narrative is composed in a very personal manner employing the first person singular and plural suffixes in a straightforward but sometimes banal and flawed narration: 'I said to the mule which was turning the wheel 'turn back!' [and] at that very moment, without stopping, it turned and walked, wonderful to behold!⁶⁴

2.1.3. The *Merahilü Mekke mine'ş-Şam* (Stages from Damascus to Mecca)⁶⁵ by Cudi (18th century)

The *Merahilü Mekke mine'ş-Şam* is the most literary of the verse texts concerning the pilgrimage stations and journey. A couplet at the end of the work identifies the poet's pen-name as Cudi. The Ottoman biographical dictionaries include four poets called Cudi, three of whom lived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁶ Since the present copy was completed in 1218/1803 these later poets can be eliminated at the first instance. The remaining Cudi's original name was Ahmed, and he was born in one of

treats of the stages of the pilgrimage; the second, entitled *Tuhfe-i Huffaz-i Qastamoni*, of those who knew the Qor'an by heart. The author is son of Hacı Abdu'r-Rahman of Qaraman.'

⁶³*Tuhfetü'l-menazi*, f. 17b

⁶⁴*Tuhfetü'l-menazil*, f. 15b: Tolabı döndüren katıra didim irci' ol demde - Tevekkuf itmedi döndi yürüdi ol temaşadır

⁶⁵Cudi [not identified in the catalogue], *Merahilü Mekke mine'ş-Şam*, [entitled wrongly as *Istanbul ile Şam arasındaki konakları bildiren merhalename*] Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, no: 4886/3

⁶⁶Ipekten, p. 93; *TDEA*, p. 86

the cities of Rumeli.⁶⁷ He taught at the *medrese* of Süleyman Paşa in Iznik 1098/1686, and in Bursa. When *müderri* in Bursa Cudi went to Mecca, where he stayed until his death. Salim does not mention his appointment to Bursa, but says that while teaching in Iznik Cudi moved to Medina, where he died in 1112/1700.⁶⁸ However, it appears that the poet of the present poem is not that Cudi either. This is because the text says that the fortress of Cuğaymen was built by ‘Abdullah Paşa *recently*. We know that the fortress of Cuğaymen was constructed by Aydınlı ‘Abdullah Paşa in 1730-3.⁶⁹ Secondly, although the Cudi who died in 1700 is reported never to have returned from the Hijaz, toward the end of the poem a couplet implies that the poet of the present text probably returned to Damascus, then to Karaman,⁷⁰ rather than remaining in the Hijaz. More clearly, the phrase ‘*mazhar-ı cudi*’ in the chronogram couplet indicates that the narrative was composed in 1754: ‘O Cudi, God has showed you his grace, that is enough, Hatif (a voice from heaven) has said this gently as the chronogram.’⁷¹ The poet also states that having stayed for 40 days the pilgrimage caravan left Damascus under the protection of the garrison led by Es‘ad Paşa, who was also the leader of the caravan. We know that there was a certain Es‘ad Paşa who was the governor of Damascus from 1743 to 1757.⁷² As a governor of Damascus he must have led the pilgrimage caravan.⁷³ However, no poet called Cudi has been found. This Cudi’s identity therefore remain unclear at present.

⁶⁷Salim, pp. 203-204

⁶⁸‘Cudi’, *TDEA* 2, p. 86

⁶⁹Karl K. Barbir, *Ottoman rule in Damascus 1708-1758* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press 1980), p. 196

⁷⁰Cudi, f. 69a: Irişdür gülşen-i eltafına bad-i seher-asa - Hususan maksad-ı aksa ta Şam u Karaman’a

⁷¹Cudi, f. 69b: Seni Hakk çünkü ey Cudi düşürdü mazhar-ı cudi - Yiter tarih için bu didi hatif nazeninane

⁷²Bakhit, p. 178

⁷³There was also a certain Es‘ad Efendi who served as *surre emini* in 1214/1799, four years before the completion of the present copy of Cudi’s text (see Atalar, Münir, *Osmanlı devletinde surre-i humayun ve surre alayları* (Ankara: Diyanet, 1991), p. 180).

The copy of Cudi's verse narrative used here occupies folios from 52b to 81b in a manuscript of several works in the Süleymaniye library in Istanbul. According to the colophon at the end, the text was copied by Hafız Osman in 1218/1803. The narrative is composed in the *kaside* form. A remark at the beginning indicates that this poem was written as a gift to a certain Müfti Efendi, and a later couplet is further evidence that the poem was a gift.⁷⁴ It is not known what lay behind the presentation of the *kaside* to Müfti Efendi. Towards the end of the *kaside* are cited a few prayer couplets. These couplets suggest that el-hacc Lokman visited the Ka'be, spending all his belongings.⁷⁵ It may be that Lokman is either the poet's original name or that of Müfti, to whom Cudi presented this *kaside*.

The first part of the *kaside*, the *nesib*, is a vivid scene of a landscape which is not related to the pilgrimage journey. From the 28th couplet Cudi enters upon his principal subject, the description of his pilgrimage journey, beginning from Damascus, the portrayal of which occupies an important place in the poem. Cudi depicts Damascus as having pleasant weather, safe districts, and a number of rivers flowing through it. Besides a charming landscape, Damascus contains numerous *ziyaretgah* (places of visitation). The bodies of many prophets and those of some of the Prophet's companions are buried in the earth of Damascus.

Cudi's principal intention in composing this poem is to give an informative and literary description of his pilgrimage journey and of the stations between Damascus and Mecca. A simple list of stations from Üsküdar to Damascus with certain places of visitations on the way is also included in order to be helpful to future pilgrims. The text is full of practical data and counsels. He communicates his experience and knowledge in a direct

⁷⁴Cudi, f. 69a: N'ola bu tuhfe-i rengin girse hil'at-i tahsine - Ki taze güfteler şirin gelür pakize-guyane

⁷⁵Cudi, f. 68b: Nigah-ı şefkat it cana senindür 'izz ü istiğna - Yolunda 'ömr ü mal ifna iden el-hacc Lokman'a

and didactic manner, hoping thereby to receive the favourable prayers of his readers. The author with his experience and comments is always discernible in the description. Usage of first person plural suffixes grants the text a more personal air. Cudi's *kaside* was composed in a clear and understandable language of its time. He applies the 'aruz meter to his poem more skillfully than the poets of the verse texts discussed above, and occasionally resorts to metaphors and literary embellishments.

2.1.4. The *Menasik-i hacc*⁷⁶ by Kamil (19th century)

The final guide-type narrative studied here is Kamil's verse description of the stations between Damascus and Mecca. The copy on which this study is based is found in the library of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, entitled the *Menasik-i hacc*. The copy consists of 40 folios. The colophon at the end of the work indicates that it was copied in 1268/1851. According to the verses on the reason for the composition, the poet Kamil, who is assumed to have lived in the period of Sultan 'Abdülmeçid (1839-61), was asked by a statesman to compose a work on the route of the hajj.⁷⁷ However, the biographical dictionaries do not provide us with sufficient information to identify him for certain.⁷⁸

Kamil describes the halting places from Damascus to Mecca, allocating a few couplets under separate sub-titles to each description. In this respect, his account seems to be a developed form of the verse narratives by Bahri, Hasan Rıza and Cudi. Unlike the descriptions of Hasan Rıza and Cudi, who make their descriptions in a personal manner, using the first person singular or plural suffixes, Kamil depicts the stations in a rather factual and impersonal manner. Kamil's text therefore appears more static. At the end, relatively more couplets are devoted to the description of the Ka'be. The hour distances between the halting places are occasionally given. The text is written in the *mesnevi*

⁷⁶Kamil, *Menasik-i hacc*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Ktp., no: 280, A 3546

⁷⁷Kamil, f. 38

form, and in a plain Turkish of its time but Persian words were preferred in forming sub-titles. The poet had an apparent difficulty with application of the '*aruz* meter to many verses. Its literary style is illustrated by the following translations of a few couplets:

'Damascus is a sacred place, everywhere is honoured by its honour.'⁷⁹

'Salihyye is also another place, it is Paradise-like in the environs of Damascus.'⁸⁰

'When twelve hours have passed, its [Müzeyrib's] fortress has been seen by people [pilgrims].'⁸¹

2.2. Guide-type narratives of the pilgrimage stations in prose

Presenting their descriptions of the journey and especially of the stations more methodically, the prose guide-type narratives appear to be one step in the further development of forms of prose handbook, and include geographical and historical information on the stations. The authors of the texts examined here are 'Abdurrahman Hibri, 'Abdülkadir (Kadri), Ibrahim Hanif, Mehmed Edib and Anonymous. Their texts show close similarities to each other in terms of their contents, structure, style and reason for which they were composed, and all were composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Despite their practical purposes, such texts appear not to have been significantly in demand by pilgrims, since only a limited number of copies has been found. Neither does it seem that their authors were given much attention by the major biographers of their time.

⁷⁸Ipekten, pp. 242-243

⁷⁹Şam kim 'arz-ı mukaddesdir bu - Şerefi ile müşerref her su

⁸⁰Salihyye dahi bir başka kaza - Kurban-ı Şam'da o da cennet-asa

⁸¹On iki sa'at olunca itmam - Kal'ası oldu nümudar-ı enam

2.2.1. The *Menasik-i mesalik* (The rites of the ways)⁸² by ‘Abdurrahman Hibri (1012-1069/1604-1658)

The earliest guide-type prose pilgrimage account identified so far is the *Menasik-i mesalik* (Rituals of the road) by ‘Abdurrahman Hibri, who was born and died in Edirne. He held the position of *müderris* at several *medreses*, and wrote several works on historical and religious topics, including a history of Edirne called the *Enisü’l-müsamir*. He went on the hajj in 1041/1632, and on his return composed the present text, containing the account of his pilgrimage journey.⁸³ The work was transcribed and published by Sevim Ilgürel from a manuscript in the Süleymaniye library (Lala Ismail Efendi, no: 104), and the following study is based on her transcription.⁸⁴

Hibri’s pilgrimage journey began from Edirne on 7 Receb 1041/29 January 1632, and after passing several stations his caravan entered Istanbul through Yenikapı on 15 Receb 1041/6 February 1632. In Istanbul, he stayed in the hospice of Piri Paşa known as Kilidçiler Hanı. On 25 Receb/16 February he crossed to Üsküdar, where he stayed until 13 Şaban/6 March when his caravan left Üsküdar for Pendik. In Eskişehir the caravan stayed in the hospices near the hot spring. In Konya, Hibri stayed in a hospice which had been established by ‘Abdülfettah Ağa in 1041/1631, to the east of Arıkoğlu mosque. The arrival of the caravan in Aleppo occurred on 23 Ramazan/14 April and they stayed in the hospice of Musullu. After a five-day stay in Aleppo, the caravan departed on 28 Ramazan/19 April. The caravan reached Damascus on 10 Şevval/1 May, and stayed there for 12 days, resting in the hospice and the *tabhanes* (winter habitations) in front of the Sultan Süleyman mosque. On 22 Şevval/13 May the caravan departed from

⁸²Sevim Ilgürel (ed.), ‘Abdurrahman Hibri’nin Menasik-i Mesaliki’, *IUEF Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* (Istanbul 1975), pp. 111-128 & *IUEF Tarih Dergisi* (Istanbul 1976), pp. 55-72 & *IUEF Tarih Dergisi* (Istanbul 1978)

⁸³Ilgürel, pp. 147-162

Damascus, and arrived at Müzeyrib. The pilgrimage caravan left Müzeyrib on 1 Zilkade/21 May. Having stayed for two days in Medina, the pilgrims spent the third day in Zülhalife, which is a place for pilgrims to change into the *ihram*. After performing the rituals of the hajj Hibri rented a house opposite the Harir gate, and stayed there until 1 Muharrem 1042/19 July 1632. On the return journey Hibri's caravan followed a slightly different route between certain stations.

The structure of the *Menasik-i mesalik* is based on ten chapters and a supplement. The first chapter deals with the stages from Edirne to Damascus, the second describes the halting places from Damascus to Mecca. The third chapter covers events which happened in Istanbul, Anatolia and the Hijaz while Hibri was on the journey. The fourth and fifth chapters discuss those who repaired the Ka'be and the Harem mosque in Mecca. The sixth enumerates the most acceptable places for prayers at the Ka'be. The seventh chapter deals with those who repaired the mosque of the Prophet in Medina. The eighth chapter describes the rites of the hajj, and the ninth comprises prayers to be recited during performance of the hajj. The tenth chapter is devoted to the manner of visiting the Prophet's tomb. The supplement includes verses Hibri composed while he was in the Hijaz. Unfortunately Ilgürel's transcription ends with the tenth chapter, excluding the supplement.

Hibri aimed to produce a treatise mainly on the stations, the rites of the hajj and the Ka'be. The present study is concerned only with Hibri's description of the pilgrimage journey of 1041/1632, narrated in the first and second chapters. Here, Hibri intends to provide the necessary information a contemporary pilgrim would have needed or a contemporary reader be interested in. He gives the hourly distances between the stations, the availability, condition and builders of public buildings such as mosques,

⁸⁴For more biographical information about Hibri see Sevim Ilgürel, 'Hibri, Abdurrahman Efendi', *DIA*

hospices and baths, the availability and condition of water and other necessities (particularly at the stations in Arabia) and the condition of the roads.

While giving practical and factual information Hibri generally excludes himself from the subjects he describes, generally giving the objects in an impersonal and factual manner, and the actions in third person passive form. For example, although he makes passing mention of Battal Gazi's shrine, he does not state that he or his fellow pilgrims visited it. However, the author's presence is discernible in the description of major halting places including Aleppo, Damascus, Müzeyrib and Mecca, citing the dates of his arrival in them. While noting public buildings at the stations Hibri reports historical information, recording sultans and vezirs who built them. His particular interest as a historian is clear. He employs very simple and monotonous phraseology, employing repeatedly more or less the same structure and vocabulary throughout the text. The text contains numerous grammatical mistakes of a sort not expected from a learned person in his writings.

2.2.2. The *Menazilü't-tarik ila beyti'llahi'l-'atik* (Stations of the road to the ancient house of God)⁸⁵ by Kadri (17th century)

Kadri's *Menazilü't-tarik ile beyti'llahi'l-'atik* contains much interesting information on the route and characteristics of the pilgrimage caravan. Like the other authors of this group, he composed his pilgrimage account with a practical and informative purpose in mind, dividing it into chapters. The work has been neither transliterated nor studied properly so far. The copy of the text in the Millet library appears to be complete, having introductory and concluding sections. The text consists of 59b folios, and a folio consists of 15 lines and a line constitutes approximately 11 words. By this reckoning the

17, pp. 426-428.

⁸⁵[Kadri]*Menazilü't-tarik ile beyti'llahi'l-'atik*, Millet Ktp., Trh., no: 892;

account consists of around eighteen thousand words. Although the catalogue of the library gives the work as anonymous,⁸⁶ while describing the sacred places of Medina, the author states his name clearly as ‘Abdülkadir, and uses his pen-name Kadri in the poems cited in the text.

Neither the author nor his present work appears to have been well-known. Even the author’s identity is not known for certain. Biographical dictionaries contain a number of entries for poets whose pen-names are Kadri, among whom only one, ‘Abdülkadir Çelebi, is reported to have lived in the seventeenth century. He was born in Antep and died in Istanbul in 1082/1671.⁸⁷ The present work informs us that Kadri went on the hajj in 1056/1646. The proportion of Arabic and Persian words and frequent quotations of the Qur’anic verses and hadiths in the introduction of the present text may suggest that Kadri might have had some training especially on religious subjects. However in the remainder of the text his trifling phraseology and his remarkable interest in superstition indicate his poor education and intelligence. In this respect, Kadri represents the characteristics of the simple-minded religious person, and his narrative is perhaps closer than to the pilgrimage experience of such people.

The work is structured in eight chapters, some of which include sub-sections. The first chapter describes the manners appropriate for pilgrims, making some recommendations to pilgrims: to keep their body healthy, to choose an appropriate comrade, to ensure that they have enough money, and to be generous. Pilgrims are also advised not to fight, not to miss their ritual prayers, and to visit the three mosques: the Haram mosque in Mecca, the Prophet’s mosque in Medina, and the Aksa mosque in Jerusalem. The author often

⁸⁶Another copy of the text is held in Belediye Kütüphanesi, Muallim Cevdet Yazmaları, K/113. This copy is also described by A. Latif Armağan, who must have depended on the handlist of the library, as belonging to an anonymous author (see A. Latif Armağan, *Osmanlılar zamanında hac yolu ve menziller* (unpublished master thesis, İÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Turizm Anabilim Dalı, 1990).

⁸⁷‘Kadri, Abdülkadir Çelebi’, *TDEA* 5, p. 84

makes references to hadiths and to Qur'anic verses to justify his recommendations. The second chapter contains descriptions of the halting places from Üsküdar to Damascus. The third is on the description of Damascus, and the fourth on the depiction of stages between Damascus and Jerusalem. The fifth describes the stages between Damascus and Medina, and the sixth is a description of Medina. The seventh portrays the stages from Medina to Mecca, and the eighth chapter Mount 'Arafat.

Kadri's intention was obviously to provide his audience with factual, interesting and curious information rather than narrating solely his own journey observations. He rarely incorporates his own comments and feelings into his description. In many passages the author prefers to be impersonal and factual rather than personal, and accordingly presents some of his material in passive form. For example he says 'Having departed from Pendik, Gekbuze is reached' instead of 'After Pendik, I/we reached Gekbuze.' He does not say when he arrived in even major cities, how long he stayed there, with whom he travelled, etc. It is therefore difficult to draw the outline of his own pilgrimage journey unique to him. There is little doubt, however, that his account is based upon his own pilgrimage. He reports that through the inspiration or request of his friends at the beginning of his journey in 1056/1646-7 he decided to write down every detail of it as well as he could.⁸⁸

Like most authors of pilgrimage accounts, Kadri gives factual information on the prosperity of the stations he passed through, recording hour distances between stations, and their public buildings. He records availability of water sources at stations between Damascus and Mecca. The local foods sometimes deserve mention, as do the origins of the names of some of the stations. He reports the condition of the road and alternative

⁸⁸Kadri, f. 24a

roads between the stations. His text contains factual data shedding light on the formation, safety, customs and other characteristics of the Ottoman pilgrimage caravan.

The author gives special attention to descriptions of the three sacred mosques in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, allocating relatively lengthy entries to them. This is obviously because of the fact that the visitation and description of these places constitutes an objective of the author, and the main interest area of the readers of such texts. However, the inclusion of the description of the Aksa mosque and places of visitation around is surprising because the usual pilgrimage caravan did not pass through Jerusalem. Even the author himself confirms this, saying that even though the visitations in or around the Aksa mosque are not included in the acts of the pilgrimage, it is better to visit them if possible.⁸⁹ The author does not describe the return journey from Jerusalem to Damascus, but passes to the fifth chapter that deals with the stages between Damascus and Medina. Nevertheless, the personal and vivid description of them suggests that the author visited them. Hearsay and superstition relating especially to the Aksa mosque form a significant proportion of Kadri's account. He presumably quoted as being of special interest either to his own superstitious mind or to his contemporary audience.

While composing his text, Kadri seems to have depended both on his own observations and on written or oral sources. Particularly in the descriptions of major cities such as Damascus, Jerusalem and Mecca, he must have compiled some of his data from other sources. The author often makes references to hadiths or Qur'anic verses to justify his occasional recommendations. Some quotations are left without references, or refer to anonymous works. For instance, he says that the histories narrate that Mecca from one side to another is 1270 *zira*'.⁹⁰ At the end of his description of sacred points in Mecca,

⁸⁹Kadri, f. 32b

⁹⁰Kadri, f. 55b

the author suggests that those who desire to know more places of visitation should consult the history books.⁹¹

Kadri's language in his narrative is characterized by the simplicity and mistakes of the spoken language of an ordinary person of little education, although the introduction is written in a relatively elaborate prose. Like Hibri, Kadri employs very limited phraseology and vocabulary, with monotonous repetition throughout the text. On the other hand, Kadri attempts to give a literary flavour to his text by interspersing his own verses in the description of significant places such as the city of Damascus, the Aksa mosque, the mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammed in Medina and the Ka'be.⁹² Kadri's narrative, which contains much factual information on the characteristics of the pilgrimage caravan, will be used extensively in the content analysis of Ottoman pilgrimage texts generally in the fifth chapter.

2.2.3. A work on the stations⁹³ by an anonymous author (18th century)

This text is a description of the pilgrimage stations from Üsküdar to 'Arafat in a generally impersonal style though based on the actual journey of its author. The author conceals himself in his account to such an extent that neither his name nor the title of his account have yet been identified. In this respect his account approaches the *menazil*-type guidebook. However the content of the description suggests that the author aims both to provide future pilgrims with practical information and to satisfy the curiosity of general readers about the pilgrimage journey. In this respect, this text is akin to other examples

⁹¹Kadri, f. 56b

⁹²The following extracts from the text exemplify Kadri's language:dan kalkıldıkta nam mahalle varılır (a format used repeatedly); sa'atte dahi varılmak olur (another format); hanları ve çarşusu ve bazarı mükemmeldir (another format); Sultan Ala'eddin validesi anda medfun (7a); İki küçük hanları vardır (7b); birkaç meşhur saraylar vardır (15b); Bu ana gelince kimseye topuz ile helva yedirmek olmamıştır (fol. 10a); Acayibden bir nesne dahi ol sudur (11a); Ol ortalığa cümle Havran dirler (34a); Ol gice acayibdan seyre muhtac bir gecedir (34b); Kuzular her konakda ekser bulunur (40b); Bi'r-i Zümürüd'i merhum Sultan İbrahim'in valideleri itdirmiştir (41a); merhum cirid itmişlerdir (15a).

⁹³*Janib-i Misr'dan Makka Mukarrama*, The John Rylands Library of Manchester University, no: 88

of guide-type narratives of pilgrimage stations. On the other hand, this account differs from them in terms of its presentation and structure. While other guide-type narratives present their data in a more learned way, dividing it into chapters and including much factual information derived from other sources the author of this text makes his description more straightforward. On arriving at Medina, on leaving the mausoleum of the Prophet, on describing 'Arafat, on leaving the Ka'be, the author quotes poems by Nabi from the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*.⁹⁴ It seems that he was interested in poetry but not as much as to practice his ability since unlike Hibri and Kadri, he does not incorporate his own verses in his text.

The text is found in the John Rylands Library of Manchester University, the catalogue of which entitles the work '*Janib-i Misrdan Makka Mukarrama*' (From Egypt to Mecca the blessed) and gives the date 'about 1760' for its completion. The text is about thirty folios, which were not numbered in the manuscript itself. Nineteen lines fall to a folio, and a line consists of around eight words. Therefore the work is roughly nine thousand words. The above title is taken mistakenly from the first part of a phrase describing the halting places from Egypt to Mecca. However, in the main text the author describes briefly stations between Üsküdar and Mecca.⁹⁵ He devotes more space to the important stations such as Damascus (nearly 2 folios), Medina (5 folios), and Mecca (5 folios), and records the total hours of his journey between each *oturak* (halt). The clock begins from Üsküdar, and starts again from Damascus. He records in total 53 hours to Eskişehir, 114 hours until Konya, 154 hours to Ereğli, 202 hours to Adana, 278 hours until Hama, 325 hours until Damascus. From Damascus he records 14 hours to Kal'a-i Müzeyrib, 90 hours to Kal'a-i Ma'an, 251 hours to Kal'a-i 'Ula, 347 to Medina, 397 to

⁹⁴See 'The place of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* in the genre' in Chapter III.

⁹⁵'Üsküdar'dan cebel-i 'Arafat'a varınca menazillerin mikdar-i mabeynleri ve esna-i rahda ba'zı ziyaretler 'ala vechi'l-ihtisar bu mahalle ketb u tahrir olundu.'

Bedr-i Huneyn, 431 hours to Mecca. The distance between Medina and Istanbul is recorded as 1382 miles.

2.2.4. The *Hasıl-ı hacc-ı şerif li-menazili'l-haremeyn* (Outcome of the hajj to the stations of the two sanctuaries)⁹⁶ by Seyyid Ibrahim Hanif (d. 1217/1802)

The *Hasıl-ı hacc-ı şerif li-menazili'l-haremeyn* is a description of the pilgrimage journey of 1786-7 from a mystic point of view by Seyyid Ibrahim Hanif. Although basing his account on the description of the stations and naming it accordingly Hanif's work digressed greatly from the tradition of guide-type texts, being a compilation of stories and poems composed to entertain and occupy pilgrims on the way. Since little but regular mention of the stations serves to tie the narrative to the tradition of the *menazil* text, Hanif's work appears most appropriate in the category of the guide-type pilgrimage narratives.

Little is known about the life and career of the author. Biographical works confuse him with two other persons of the same name.⁹⁷ Most of the works ascribed wrongly to him by Bursalı Mehmed Tahir were actually penned by other poets whose pseudonyms were also Hanif.⁹⁸ Biographical dictionaries cite a few works as written by him, among which the *Hasıl-ı hacc-ı şerif li-menazili'l-haremeyn* is absent.⁹⁹ The present copy of the work, on which this study is based, is found in the Süleymaniye library. It consists of 70 folios, with 23 lines to a folio, and about ten words to a line. There is no colophon found at the end of the work. The text appears complete including introductory remarks at the beginning and a poem of conclusion at the end.

⁹⁶Ibrahim Hanif Efendi, *Hasıl-ı hacc li-menazilü'l-haremeyn*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Lala Ismail, no: 220.

⁹⁷Cemil Akpınar, 'Hanif Ibrahim Efendi', *DIA* 16, p. 40

⁹⁸See *OM*, 1, pp. 281-282; Akpınar, pp. 39-42

⁹⁹Ipekten, pp. 183-4

Hanif Ibrahim is not much interested in illustrating his journey until he arrives at the Hijaz, giving very little information on the stations from Üsküdar to Medina, simply their names and hour distances from one to another. All the factual information about his journey and the stations might be collected in a few pages. This scant information on the journey is interspersed throughout the work. His pilgrimage journey could be outlined as follows. Setting out from Üsküdar in Receb 1201/April or May 1787, his caravan followed the usual route. They entered Medina through the Damascus gate and visited the tomb of the Prophet on 25 Zilka'de 1201/8 September 1787. After the performance of the rituals of the hajj in Mecca, Hanif stayed for fifteen days in the house of Bosnian Şeyh Ali, which was opposite the Altun Oluk, and every day visited the sacred places of Mecca such as the house in which the Prophet was born, the house of Hadice, the Prophet's first wife and the latter's tomb. He also performed the *'umre* (lesser pilgrimage). Toward the end of Zilhicce 1201/(11) October 1787 Hanif's caravan set off from Mecca on return journey. In Muharrem 1202/October 1787 his caravan reached Medina, where he stayed for three days, and visited the cemetery of Baki and other sacred places. On 12 Safer 1202/23 November 1787 his caravan entered Damascus, and spent thirty days there.¹⁰⁰ In the middle of Rebiülahir (24 January 1788) he reached Konya, and paid a visit to the tomb of Mevlana. On 1 Cemaziyelevvel 1202/8 February 1678 Hanif arrived at Üsküdar.¹⁰¹ On this reckoning his return journey had lasted about four months. He returned with gratitude to the Ottoman state since it provided pilgrims with a safe route to the Hijaz.¹⁰²

The text is composed predominantly of *na'ts* (verses addressed to the Prophet Muhammed), and amusing stories. On reaching the Hijaz, Hanif begins to describe his

¹⁰⁰Hanif, 68a; However pilgrimage caravans stayed thirty days or more in Damascus during the *outward journey* in order to spend the month of Ramazan.

¹⁰¹Hanif, f. 68b

journey, leaving his stories aside. The stories generally concern pious people, containing their incredible acts and interpretation of dreams. While some stories are related to contemporary religious figures such as Ali Dede, Kıyami Dede, others concern certain eminent historical figures such as Mevlana, Nasreddin Hoca, Bayezid-i Bistami. His aim seems to have been to provide entertainment and avoid melancholy during the journey.¹⁰³ He supports this explanation later in a couplet, rendering these verses and stories as the joy of the hajj journey.¹⁰⁴ While some stories are related to the places Hanif passed through during the journey, many others seem irrelevant to the subject of the text.

It seems that Hanif Ibrahim wrote some stories from hearsay and others from his own experience. He generally leaves names of some protagonists and the sources of his tales anonymous. For instance, in one story a fortune-teller deems the members of a convent to be cowardly, treacherous and foolish, and their *şeyh* to be a thief. After expressing their indignities to their face, he says that if he were in the place of the *şeyh* he would become a thief. Such stories suggest Ibrahim Hanif was a simple-minded man, fond of unusual and sometimes absurd stories. It may be inferred from some anecdotes, in which Hanif mentions the *dedes* (leaders) of several Mevlevi convents as being his acquaintances that he was probably an attendant at such convents.

Verses scattered throughout the text occupy a significant place in the work. Most are composed in praise of the Prophet, and of other significant people such as Ertuğrul Gazi, Mevlana, Baha'eddin, Şems-i Tebrizi, Habib-i Neccar, the four caliphs, Fatımatü'z-Zehra, and the Prophet's uncle 'Abbas. He also eulogizes several sacred sites including Mina and 'Arafat. In addition to composing *mediha* (panegyrics) at the time of visiting a

¹⁰²Hanif, f. 52a

¹⁰³Hanif, f. 2a: 'Ol gice anda dane-çin-i ikamet ve bu na't-ı şerif ve hikaye-i latife ile def-i vahşet olundu'.

site or grave Hanif composes *vedaiyye* (poems of farewell) while leaving it. The majority of poems in the work are by Hanif Ibrahim himself, bearing his own pen-name Hanif. There are a few Persian verses with no pen-name. Toward the end of the work Hanif tries to interpret a few Persian couplets of Mevlana Celaleddin. Following this poem the author quotes a *kit'a* by Cami.¹⁰⁵ For the most part the verses are, although differently expressed, repetitive in meaning, and do not fit properly to the *'aruz* meter. Therefore they hold very little value in every respect. In spite of the simplicity of his verses, Hanif employs a relatively ornate and elaborate style in his prose descriptions throughout the work.

2.2.5. The *Nehcetü'l-menazil* (The Highway of stations) by Mehmed Edib (18th century)

The best known guide-type pilgrimage narrative appears to have been the *Nehcetü'l-menazil* of Mehmed Edib, who went on the hajj in 1193/1779.¹⁰⁶ The work was published in the Ottoman script in 1232/1816-7 in Istanbul, and the summary translation of the text into French by Bianchi was made after less than a decade.¹⁰⁷ It is probably the only Ottoman *menazil* text to have been printed. Its printed copy consists of 256 pages in total. The work has been used as a primary reference in some modern studies especially by western researchers. The fact that it was published in Ottoman alphabet, and is readily available, major biographical works do not provide us with sufficient

¹⁰⁴Hanif, f. 52a: Hacc yollarının neş'esidir nazm u nesrde - Berceste olan ma'ni-i asar-ı hidayet

¹⁰⁵The well-known stanza is as follows:

Dil be-dest-i o ki hacc-ı ekber-est - Ez-hezaran Ka'be yek dil bihter-est

Ka'be bünyad-ı Halil-i Azar-est - Dil nazargah-i Celil-i Ekber-est (Hanif, f. 69b)

¹⁰⁶Some researchers including Victor Berard and Bianchi wrongly report that Mehmed Edib went on the hajj in 1093/1682 although Edib himself clearly asserts at the beginning of his work that he set out for the hajj in 1193/1779 (see Mehmed Edib, p. 2). The work is also called the *Menasik-i hacc* or *Behcetü'l-menazil*, although Mehmed Edib (p. 3) noted in his introductory remarks that its name is the *Nehcetü'l-menazil* (see Atalar, p. 153; V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: a catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts and miniatures*, Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co. Ltd, 1958, p. 98-9; Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Istanbul Üniversitesi Türkçe basmalar kataloğu* 1, Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi, 1956, p. 179).

information about either the work nor Mehmed Edib.¹⁰⁸ According to a brief entry, Mehmed Edib (d. 1824) was the son of Hacı Mehmed Hasan Efendi. He became *müderris*, and *kadı* of Medina. He used the pseudonyms Derviş and Edib in his poetry.¹⁰⁹ However, no mention is made about either his pilgrimage or his pilgrimage narrative.

The *Nehcetü'l-menazil* is meant to be an informative pilgrimage account, recounting Edib's experiences and giving practical information on the stations and on the rituals of the hajj. After introductory remarks, Mehmed Edib, like Kadri, makes a number of suggestions to the reader who intends to go on the hajj. Then he proceeds to describe the stations he passed through during his journey (until page 225). The pages from 225 to 253 are allocated to a number of canonical issues concerning the hajj, which are reported to have been compiled from canonical sources.

At the end of the text (on pages 254-255), Mehmed Edib lists the total number of days travelled from initial departure on the hajj to his return to Üsküdar.¹¹⁰ He says that pilgrims depart from Üsküdar generally on 25 Receb, and return there on about 20 Rebiülahir of the following year. On this reckoning, the total outward and inward journey from and to Istanbul took 265 days. Then the author gives statistical data about the number of stations, the number of *oturaks* (halts), and the hours distance between each halt.

Mehmed Edib tends to give general information on the hajj journey in the third person.

He states in his preliminary remarks that he left Istanbul in 1193/1779 in order to

¹⁰⁷M. Bianchi, *Itineraire de Constantinople a la Mecque* (Paris 1825); the French translation is based on the description of the journey, excluding the section on the issues and rites of the hajj.

¹⁰⁸See the entries on poets called 'Edib, Mehmed' in Ipekten, p. 106-107; and in *TDEA* 2, pp. 449-451.

¹⁰⁹'Mehmed Edib', *TDEA* 6, pp. 202-203

¹¹⁰Mehmed Edib, pp. 254- 255

perform the hajj,¹¹¹ presumably on 25 Receb 1193/16 November 1779. He reports that the leader of the hajj caravan normally departs from Damascus on 15 Şevval, and the pilgrims would leave the city between 15-18 Şevval, and meet at Müzeyrib, where they would stay for four or five days.

Edib's narrative resembles those of Hibri and Kadri in style and content. Like others, Mehmed Edib devotes more space to certain significant stages like Damascus, Medina and Mecca. While dealing with these cities, he relies on written or oral sources more than on his own observations. He presents historical information about such cities, and narrates certain historical events associated with them. Edib often uses the expression 'it is related that' without identifying the sources. For instance, he quotes from a book that Medina is 1382 miles from Istanbul according to the account of an astrolabe maker.¹¹² That the same figure is also recorded by Anonymous indicates a common source for the data. On a few occasions Edib specifies the name of the sources he used, among which are the *Tarih-i Dımişk*,¹¹³ and the *Sahiheyn* (the two hadith compilations by Buhari and Muslim).¹¹⁴

The prose style of Mehmed Edib is neither as elaborate as that of Nabi, nor as simple as that of Hibri. Rather it stands in the middle. His language contains a number of Arabic expressions, perhaps derived from the Arabic sources he used. He sometimes quotes hadiths in Arabic. Like Kadri and Anonymous, he intersperses a few fragmentary verses on appropriate places. On visiting the burial sites of the Prophet Yahya (John) in Damascus, on leaving Damascus itself, on arriving at Medina and visiting the tomb of the Prophet Muhammed, and on leaving the Ka'be Mehmed Edib quotes verses, which are cited in Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* in the same contexts. Apart from these, he

¹¹¹Mehmed Edib, p. 2

¹¹²Mehmed Edib, p. 115

¹¹³Mehmed Edib, p. 58, 61

quotes Arabic verses on the wells of Medina, which must have been quoted from a work other than Nabi's.¹¹⁵

3. Travelogues, memoirs or report-type pilgrimage narratives

Texts which contain a picture of what their authors saw and learnt during their journeys in a personal manner for the sake of journey memoirs and/or information can be called travelogues, memoirs or report-type pilgrimage narratives. These are generally called by their authors *seyahatname* (travel book). Neither providing practical information on stations and on the rites of the hajj for future pilgrims nor presenting their accounts in a consciously literary style appear among the manifest objectives of the authors of these texts. The presence of their authors is clearly visible in the scenes drawn in these writings.

A few Ottoman pilgrimage narratives produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth century enter this category, and merit a brief mention here although they are late and rather different specimens of the genre from those upon which we are mainly concentrating. Unlike the nineteenth-century Persian pilgrimage accounts produced in the Qajar period, these narratives do not constitute a harmonious genre since they were composed with different perspectives and structures being either a report, or a memoir or a letter. Of these, Söylemezoğlu Süleyman Şefik's very detailed account, the *Hicaz seyahatnamesi*,¹¹⁶ is based on his pilgrimage journey, which was undertaken by sea in 1890 in the company of his father, who was assigned as *surre emini* (the trustee of the *surre*). The account was composed to be submitted to Sultan 'Abdülhamid II (1876-

¹¹⁴Mehmed Edib, p. 122

¹¹⁵Mehmed Edib, p. 123

¹¹⁶Söylemezoğlu Süleyman Şefik b. 'Ali Kemali, *Hicaz Seyahatnamesi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Ktp. (TY. 4199)

1909) in 1892 as a report on the condition of Arabia from various perspectives,¹¹⁷ giving comprehensive information on the weather, inhabitants, mountains, rivers, lakes, hot springs, trees, products, trade products and public buildings of Arab cities. It also contains information on the trend of Wahhabism (from folio 275 to the end).¹¹⁸ The work consists of 385 folios including maps and watercolour pictures (e.g. the Müzeyrib fortress and lake).¹¹⁹ Despite its rich and original content, it appears to have been neither edited nor properly studied so far, remaining still in manuscript. It was first introduced by Sadettin Buluç in the congress held in 25 October 1981 by the Turkish Historical Society.¹²⁰

There is also an incomparably brief report of the pilgrimage journey undertaken in 1335/1916, called the *Surre-name* by the *surre emini* Memduh Bey, who presented it to Mehmed V (1909-18). It consists of nine folios.¹²¹

Unlike these report-type pilgrimage narratives, there are a few memoirs, which were composed not for the sake of extensive information but for the sake of personal experience of the journey. Of these, Aşçı Dede (1828-ca.1910) penned an account of his pilgrimage journey in 1897. It is a first person singular active narrative in a flowing language free from metaphorical elements. It was translated into English by Carter Vaughn Findley.¹²² The late nineteenth and early twentieth-century poet Cenab Şahabeddin (1870-1934) illustrates his journey observation in the *Hac yolunda*, which is

¹¹⁷About ten years later in 1900, another work on the condition of central Arab lands particularly those on the pilgrimage route was submitted by the Damascene scholar Seyyid Muhammed 'Arif b. el-Münir to 'Abdülhamid's government; see Jacob M. Landau, *The Hejaz railway and the Muslim pilgrimage: a case of Ottoman political propaganda* (Detroit 1971).

¹¹⁸Atalar, pp. 157-159

¹¹⁹Söylemezoğlu, f. 58

¹²⁰Atalar, p. 126

¹²¹This was studied by Münir Atalar (pp. 164-5). See also Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *TSMKTYK 1* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), p. 603

¹²²Carter Vaughn Findley, 'A Muslim's pilgrim's progress: Aşçı Dede İbrahim Halil on the hajj 1898' in C.E. Bosworth *et al.* (eds.), *The Islamic world from classical to modern times: essays in honor of Bernard Lewis* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1989), pp. 479-512

composed of his 17 letters written in the course of the journey to Mecca, travelling by steamer from Istanbul to Alexandria, and then passing through Cairo, Suez, and Tih.¹²³

The *Hac yolunda* is completed in 1909.¹²⁴

Unfortunately, there is only one pre-nineteenth-century Ottoman pilgrimage narrative in hand to enter this category, that is Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*. It is unique in its genre like that of Nasır-ı Husrev in pre-modern Persian literature.

3.1. The *Seyahatname* (Book of travel)¹²⁵ by Evliya Çelebi (1611-84)

Evliya Çelebi's description of his pilgrimage journey of 1082/1671 constitutes one of the most vivid and interesting section of his *Seyahatname*, which stands at the apex of the Turkish travel texts known to us. As a product of over 40 years of travelling to so many places Evliya's *Seyahatname* presents extensive information on the geography, administration and society of localities inside and outside the Ottoman world in the mid seventeenth century.¹²⁶ It is therefore one of the richest travel narratives among the great geographical works of the Muslim world.¹²⁷ Despite its importance for Ottoman literature, Evliya's narrative failed to be noticed by Ottoman biographers and researchers before it was discovered by the nineteenth-century Austrian scholar Joseph von Hammer.¹²⁸

¹²³Cenab Şahabeddin, *Hac yolunda* (Istanbul: Matba'a-i 'Amire-i İhsan, 1325/1907)

¹²⁴Cenab Şahabeddin', *TDEA* 2, pp. 44-8

¹²⁵Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671-1672)*, 9 (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935)

¹²⁶At the time of completion of the drafts of his travels in Egypt Evliya says that, it was 51 years since he began travelling (See Evliya, 9, p. 841).

¹²⁷Mustafa Bilge, 'Arabia in the work of Awliya Chalaby (The XVIIth century Turkish Muslim traveller)', in Abdelgadir Mahmoud Abdalla, Sami Al-Sakkar, Richard T. Mortel, Abd Al-Rahman, T. Al-Ansari (eds.), *Sources for the history of Arabia* 1 (1979), p. 215

¹²⁸Kafadar, p. 126

The *Seyahatname* is the only source for the life of Evliya Çelebi.¹²⁹ Evliya was born on 10 Muharrem 1020/25 March 1611¹³⁰ into a family which had a close relationship with the Palace.¹³¹ After completing his elementary education at the *medrese* of the Şeyhülislam Hamid Efendi in Istanbul, Evliya studied the Qur'an under the supervision of Evliya Mehmed Efendi from whom he took his name. Evliya's impressive recitation of the Qur'an on the Kadir night of 1045/1636 enabled him to be presented to Murad IV by his patron and relative Melek Ahmed Paşa, and appointed a clerk in the office of the pantry at the Palace. He subsequently spent a great part of his life travelling while holding various posts. After visiting the sanctuaries in the Hijaz, he then proceeded to Egypt, where he appears to have lived for eight or nine years.¹³² He is supposed to have died in 1095/1684 in Istanbul.

Evliya's pilgrimage journey is the subject of the ninth volume of his *Seyahatname*. This volume is a complete and independent work containing an introduction and conclusion, and consisting of 157 folios in manuscript copy and 893 pages in the printed edition.¹³³ It was edited by a committee 'on the basis of three manuscripts found in the Pertev Paşa, Beşir Ağa and Baghdad Kiosk collections respectively' and was published in modern Turkish through the sponsorship of the Ministry of National Education of Turkey in 1934.¹³⁴

¹²⁹For detailed information on Evliya's biography see Cavit Baysun, 'Evliya Çelebi' *IA* 4, pp. 400-412; J.H. Mordtmann [H.W. Duda], 'Ewliya Çelebi' *El*², 2, pp. 717-720

¹³⁰The month of Muharrem seems to have had a surprising place in the phases of his life and travels. Not only was he born, but also he resumed his major journeys, in the month of Muharrem. In Muharrem 1050/1640, when Evliya was about thirty, he set out for Bursa and its neighbourhood.

¹³¹Baysun, p. 400

¹³²Baysun, pp. 400-412

¹³³Bilge, pp. 213-227

¹³⁴Kortepeter, p. 232

Having been encouraged in a dream by his deceased tutor, Evliya Mehmed Efendi, and his father, Derviş Mehmed Zilli,¹³⁵ Evliya set out on the hajj together with three friends, eight servants and fifteen horses,¹³⁶ on 12 Muharrem 1082/21 May 1671 when he was at the age of 60.¹³⁷ Evliya, like celebrated Muslim pilgrim-authors such as Nasır-ı Husrev (Nasir-i Khusraw), Ibn Cübeyr (Ibn Jubayr), and Ibn Battuta, preferred to undertake his pilgrimage journey in a group independent from the ordinary pilgrimage caravan. He was thus able to widen his description into different regions which were not described by pilgrim-authors who travelled in the official caravan. He is recorded as having passed through places such as Pendik, Iznik, Inegöl, Kütahya, Afyon, Uşak, Simav, Kula, Alaşehir, Akhisar, Manisa, Menemen, İzmir, Çeşme, Sakız, Sivrihisar, Bodrum, Tire, Nazilli, Denizli, Muğla, Milas, Rodos, Cyprus, Crete, and many islands around, Elmalı, Isparta, Antalya, Alanya, Ermenek, Silifke, Adana, Misis, Maraş, Antep, Kilis, Aleppo, Beirut and Jerusalem. On the way from one place to another his caravan was guided and protected by a number of local guards, who were paid by Evliya.¹³⁸

Before joining the Damascus caravan, Evliya visited the Aksa mosque and the places of visitation nearby. While he was in Jerusalem, the Sultan sent a letter to Harmuş Paşa of Jerusalem, commanding him to set out on the hajj from Damascus ten days earlier than usual. Although Evliya's earlier intention had been to go to Egypt and join the Egyptian caravan, he altered his decision, and decided to join the Damascus caravan due to lack of time. Therefore, having performed the prayer of the Ramazan festival of 1082/1671 at

¹³⁵The author might have assumed that his dream, which occurred in a religious setting, granted a kind of legitimacy to his journeys, and so to his narrative.

¹³⁶Evliya, 9, p. 5

¹³⁷Like the month of Muharrem, motivation through a dream, plays interesting role in the turning points of Evliya's life as well as his travel narratives. He relates that before starting his proper travels and their compositions he had a dream on 10 Muharrem 1040/19 August 1630, his twentieth birthday. In the dream Evliya was recommended by the Prophet to make the journey, and by Sa'd b. Ebi Vakkas to write down what he would see during his journey. On the following morning Evliya asked several scholars' interpretation of the dream. 'Abdullah Dede, the *şeyh* of Kasım Paşa Mevlevi-convent house,

the Aksa mosque, Evliya left Jerusalem for Damascus in order to join the Damascus pilgrimage caravan led by Hüseyin Paşa, the governor of Damascus.¹³⁹ When Evliya and his escort reached Damascus on 5 Şevval 1082/4 February 1672, Hüseyin Paşa welcomed him, and presented him with necessary provisions for the journey ahead, including five camels, and one dromedary, one mare, one tent, a carrier of water, a torch bearer and five servants.¹⁴⁰ Evliya's adventurous pilgrimage journey in the Damascus caravan began on 20 Şevval 1082/19 February 1672.¹⁴¹

Unlike the majority of Ottoman pilgrims authors, Evliya's aim in undertaking the pilgrimage journey was not simply to perform the hajj but also, perhaps primarily, to give descriptions of as many places as possible in accordance with his general aim for his narrative rather than to recount exclusively his own travels and observations for their own sake. His journey from Istanbul to Damascus appears to have been a continuation of his previous journeys rather than a direct pilgrimage journey. He deliberately extended his journey by passing through many places which he had not previously seen, mostly in western and southern Anatolia. Even after joining the Damascus pilgrimage caravan Evliya made extra travels with an armed escort to some nearby places, presumably in order to incorporate their descriptions into his narrative. Moreover, after performing the hajj he proceeded to Egypt and perhaps to some other African lands. He was apparently planning to continue the journey toward India.¹⁴² It might be suggested that the Hijaz was not an ultimate stage for Evliya but rather a crucial link in his incessant journeys.

recommended him to begin his description with Istanbul, which constitutes the subject of the first volume. The second volume of his *Seyahatname* also begins with the same dream (Baysun, p. 402).

¹³⁸Evliya, 9, p. 324, 326. For the usual pilgrimage route, see 'Stations' in Chapter V.

¹³⁹Evliya, 9, p. 518

¹⁴⁰Evliya, 9, p. 566

¹⁴¹For fragmentary translation of some relevant passages in Evliya's account, see Bilge, pp. 216.

¹⁴²Evliya, 9, p. 4

With regard to Evliya's reason for the composition of his travel narratives, he says that since he was fond of journeying, he had been travelling through the cities and countries, observing interesting things of the world and developing his knowledge and perspectives. After reviewing his situation he decided to make use of his journeys by describing the places he passed through. He aimed to depict the principal possessions of the places, such as hospices, mosques, forts, shrines, and mountains as shown in geographical works, and also intended to incorporate interesting anecdotes and events he witnessed.¹⁴³

Evliya generally describes his journeys in a factual manner, occasionally interspersing his adventurous episodes. In comparison to the descriptions of other pilgrim-authors, the *Seyahatname* contains more concrete and factual information, sometimes giving exact dates for the construction of buildings, specifying the names of their builders, citing the number of soldiers in a fort, recording the brief history of a place from its foundation, and mentioning the events and persons involved in its history. His more colourful description of the pilgrimage journey begins when he joins the Damascus pilgrimage caravan, and undertakes the journey with a privileged status under the protection of Sarı Hüseyin Paşa. In other words, while drawing black and white pictures of the places from Istanbul to Damascus by generally excluding himself from the depiction, Evliya gives a more vivid description of his pilgrimage journey from Damascus to Mecca, putting himself in the scenes he portrays, and depending mostly on his observation and experiences during the journey.

Evliya's account includes not only autobiographical information but also biographical information. The protagonist of his descriptions is not always himself. Some officials or men of great influence play a remarkable role in his descriptions. Since he undertook his

¹⁴³Evliya, 9, p. 5

travels in the company of a high-level statesman, and spent much time with the elite of a place in which he stayed, he puts them in his depictions. In this respect, an important protagonist of his pilgrimage account is the leader of the caravan, Sarı Hüseyin Paşa. The author draws the portrait of the Paşa with many compliments, some of which, although with the appearance of eulogy, are perhaps ironical.¹⁴⁴ In some cases Evliya, like a novel writer, tries to present the inner thoughts of his heroes.

Evliya, like other well-known travellers including Ibn Battuta and Marco Polo, composed or formed his account after the journey. Yet he must have kept taking notes during the journeys. While describing the places where the prophets Hud, Salih and Semud are supposed to have lived, Evliya refers to the final revision of his drafts. ‘On the gates of this city are inscribed two or three line chonograms written in the Hebrew and Syriac languages. We examined those inscriptions as well as possible, and recorded them. God willing, they will be written down when these drafts have been revised’.¹⁴⁵ He obviously tried to collect as much geographical, historical and sociological information about a place as he could, and mixed this with his own experiences and observations at a later stage. For example, although he had been eleven times to Aleppo, due to the frequency of his travels he did not describe Aleppo before his pilgrimage journey.¹⁴⁶ He therefore incorporates all his data concerning Aleppo accumulated from his previous journeys into his description of the pilgrimage journey.

The composition, at least of the ninth volume, is stated by Evliya himself to have been accomplished in Egypt,¹⁴⁷ to which he went after the performance of the hajj, and spent

¹⁴⁴For Evliya’s vivid depiction of relation between Hüseyin Paşa and the *şerif* Sa’d b. Zeyd, see Carl Max Kortepeter, ‘A source for the history of Ottoman-Hijaz relations: the Seyahatname of Evliya Chalaby and the rebellion of Sharif Sa’d b. Zayd in the years 1671-1672/1081-1082’, in Abdalla *et al.* (eds.), *Sources for the history of Arabia* 1, pp. 229-246

¹⁴⁵Evliya, 9, p. 597

¹⁴⁶Evliya, 9, p. 381

¹⁴⁷Evliya (9, p. 841) says that his disordered folios or notes (*evrak-ı perişanımız*) were completed in Egypt; and the composition was accomplished in the year in the time of the governor of Egypt

eight or ten years there.¹⁴⁸ The narrative contains sufficient evidence to back up this, in particular his references early in the narrative to buildings which he would not yet have seen at that stage of the journey. When depicting the coffee-houses of Manisa early in his account, Evliya refers to coffee-houses in Damascus and Egypt, which he visited later.¹⁴⁹ While describing the library of a church in the fortress of Bec seen during his journey to Vienna in 1075/1664, Evliya makes a comparison of the library to that of a mosque in Alexandria in Egypt.¹⁵⁰

Evliya also announces that he had been travelling for 51 years, and owing to his frequent travels he had found no time to read and benefit from history books.¹⁵¹ He declares that he has not incorporated anyone's exploits and writings into his texts, and acknowledges only the Egyptian scholar Şeyh 'Ali el-Şabramallisi, for the latter taught some Qur'anic verses and *hadiths* which were properly cited by Evliya in the relevant places of the narrative.¹⁵² He must have meant by the above declaration that he did not make use of written sources directly, because it is evident that he did take much information from various texts, historical, geographical, biographical, literary and anecdotal works. The sources identified in the first volume are classified into three groups, which might be the case for the ninth volume: the first group is those which are both mentioned and used by Evliya in his narrative; the second are those which are mentioned but not used by the author; the third group are sources made use of but not referred to.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸Baysun, pp. 400-412

¹⁴⁹Evliya, 9, p. 78

¹⁵⁰Meşkure Eren, *Evliya Çelebi seyahatnamesi birinci cildinin kaynakları üzerinde bir araştırma* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1960), p. 11; See also Evliya, 7, p. 267

¹⁵¹Evliya, 9, p. 841

¹⁵²Evliya, 9, p. 841

¹⁵³Eren, p. 37

In the ninth volume, when elucidating the historical geography of a place Evliya occasionally refers to history books, and to *siyers* (biographies of the Prophet) without identifying their compilers,¹⁵⁴ which implies that he narrates some additional information from his memory.¹⁵⁵ For example, he says ‘I saw in the chronicles of the Greeks...’;¹⁵⁶ ‘These valleys were called provinces of Hayberistan in the history books’.¹⁵⁷ He occasionally specifies the titles of the sources he used, such as the *Tarih-i Iskender*, *Kitab-ı siyer* and *Tevarih-i Taberi*.¹⁵⁸ Evliya leaves some dates and names unrecorded, which may indicate that he did not use written sources directly at the time of composition, and planned to fill in the details later.¹⁵⁹ What MacKay said of Evliya is worth noting ‘However long he might have chanced to live, Evliya would never have left the *Seyahatname* alone. There would always be *Kanun-names* to extract from, histories to plagiarise, and outright fabrications to compose.’¹⁶⁰

Evliya might have been informed orally by some officials and/or gained access to official documents of cities.¹⁶¹ The traveller sometimes presents statistical data about a city such as its population, the number of soldiers, the salaries of officials, and the number of public buildings and shops, which would have been difficult for an ordinary traveller to obtain. For example, Evliya reports that the number of houses in Muğla was 2170, and the governor of Muğla received 408,000 *akçes*. In total it had 2000 soldiers

¹⁵⁴Evliya, 9, p. 367, 592, 597,

¹⁵⁵His memory held not only his own gaining from written sources, but also exploits and anecdotes of his ancestors and acquaintance, because he says that he inherited from his grandfather and father the exploits and anecdotes of three hundred years (Baysun, p. 402; see also Evliya, 3, p. 444).

¹⁵⁶Evliya, 9, p. 596

¹⁵⁷Evliya, 9, p. 603

¹⁵⁸Evliya, 9, p. 603, 604 and 829 respectively

¹⁵⁹See Evliya, 9, p. 182

¹⁶⁰Pierre A. MacKay, ‘The manuscripts of the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi’, *Der Islam* 52 (1975), p. 292

¹⁶¹Schur says ‘Evliya Çelebi and Abd al-Ghani al-Nablusi in the 17th century usually enjoyed much easier access to the local rulers and had a better understanding of the workings of local government.’ (Nathan Schur, ‘Itineraries by pilgrims and travelers as source material for the history of Palestine in the Ottoman period’, in David Kushner (ed.), *Palestine in the late Ottoman period: political, social and economic transformation* (Jerusalem, Leiden 1986), p. 384

‘in compliance with the rule’.¹⁶² In fact, it must not have been difficult for Evliya to receive information from local governors who welcomed him warmly, and enabled him to make a safe journey in their territories. When he arrived in Damascus, the governor Hüseyin Paşa welcomed Evliya as if he was a special reporter or historian commissioned by the central government. Under the Paşa’s patronage Evliya began his account of Damascus, and continued on his pilgrimage journey to Mecca. On another occasion, after giving some information about Aleppo, and recording the exact number of soldiers appointed to that city, Evliya says that he had acquired this data by consulting the *Defter-i hakani* when Melek Ahmed Paşa was the governor of Aleppo.¹⁶³ On another occasion, he refers to a *sicil* (official register) by Koca Hüsrev Paşa.¹⁶⁴

Evliya quotes a number of verses in Turkish, Persian and Arabic in order to give a literary flavour to his descriptions. However, in general their poets are not specified. The verses whose composers Evliya did not identify might have been derived from his memory, and he might have forgotten or confused their authors at the time of his composition. For example, he quotes a verse from a well-known *gazel* of Şeyhülislam Bahayi,¹⁶⁵ without referring to him. While describing the rain-storm in Müzeyrib, Evliya uses a metaphor that seems to have been derived from a well-known verse by the famous thirteenth-century poet Yunus Emre.¹⁶⁶

Evliya Çelebi’s language is not always grammatically accurate, but is full of confusing and flawed phrases, similar to the ‘flaws’ in spoken language. This may be a significant factor in early neglect of his narrative. It is worth alluding here to the two representatives of the most celebrated travel narratives in the world literature, who

¹⁶²Evliya, 9, 201

¹⁶³Evliya, 9, 368

¹⁶⁴Evliya, 9, 381

¹⁶⁵Evliya, 9, p. 492

¹⁶⁶Evliya, 9, p. 572: ‘semadan bir baran-ı rahmet yağdı ki güya ebrle(r) saçın çözüp ağladı’.

dictated their accounts to a literate man. One of them is the thirteenth-century traveller Marco Polo, who ‘dictated his experiences in a Genoese prison in 1298 to a fellow-captive, the Pisan romance-writer Rusticello’.¹⁶⁷ It has been suggested that Polo cooperated with other writers in the production of other versions of his account.¹⁶⁸ Ibn Battuta dictated his own version of his account to Ibn Cüzeyy, the literary secretary of the contemporary ruler, who was commissioned by that ruler himself to give a literary identity to Ibn Battuta’s account. Had Evliya found a literate co-author for his work, it may have been more widely recognized. Nor did he find a patron to whom to submit his work. MacKay suggests that ‘the entire main text, and many of the marginal notes, are the work of a *gulam* (male slave) scribbling away under Evliya’s direction, copying sometimes from dictation, sometimes from Evliya’s notes of hand.’¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, it is asserted that Evliya’s language is of great value presenting seventeenth-century colloquial Turkish.¹⁷⁰

4. Literary pilgrimage narratives composed from various perspectives

Apart from pilgrimage texts written to provide their readers with descriptions of the stations and the journey in a predominantly factual and informative manner, there are several pilgrimage narratives which present their material from a particular point of view in a consciously literary manner. The authors of these texts were more selective in the reflection of what they saw during their journeys in accordance with their pre-determined intentions or outlook; they had little interest in describing the stations and the journey for their own sakes. The aim to help future pilgrims during their journeys as in the guidebooks and guide-type pilgrimage narratives is not readily discernible in the

¹⁶⁷Jackson, p. 84

¹⁶⁸Jackson, p. 84

¹⁶⁹MacKay, p. 292

¹⁷⁰M.M. Lazarescu-Zobian, ‘Evliya Çelebi and the language of the rebellious Eflaks’, *Archivum Ottomanicum* VII (1983), p. 330

composition of these texts. Unlike the authors of prose texts in the second and third groups, the authors of this group also do not, in general, strive to collect extensive factual information about a place they passed through or about their personal journey adventures. They devoted their descriptions mainly to the major cities and sanctuaries.

These narratives were composed by those whose literary identities were more evident in comparison to those of preceding groups. Accordingly, the accounts in this group were composed either in verse or in a high-flown prose with extensive verse sections. The number of texts so far found to enter this category is three, and they were composed by poets, namely Ahmed Fakih, Fevri and Nabi. While Fakih's text is in verse; those of Fevri and Nabi are in a literary prose style with extensive and/or fragmentary verse sections. Despite their own peculiar perspectives, intentions and styles, all these authors consciously attached a literary value to their accounts.

4.1. The *Kitabu evsafı mesacidi's-şerife* (Book of descriptions of the noble mosques)¹⁷¹ by Ahmed Fakih (early 15th century)

The *Kitabu evsafı mesacidi's-şerife* is the earliest of the pilgrimage accounts in Ottoman Turkish literature. The work illustrates the experience and observations of its author, Ahmed Fakih, mainly concerning the holy mosques at the significant stages of the journey, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. Until recently it was thought that Ahmed Fakih was one of the oldest poets of Turkish literature, that he lived in Konya in the second half of the thirteenth century, and that he had been a disciple of Mevlana Celaleddin's father Baha'üddin Veled. However, Osman Fikri Sertkaya has demonstrated that there were five individuals called Ahmed Fakih. Distributing most of the biographical information ascribed to one Ahmed Fakih to another four Ahmed Fakihs, Sertkaya claims that the Ahmed Fakih in question must have lived in the second half of the

fourteenth century or in the first half of the fifteenth century, relying on the characteristics of the language in this text.¹⁷²

The *Kitabu evsafı mesacidi'ş-şerife* is a work of 21 folios, containing 339 couplets. The work was for the most part composed in the *mesnevi* form, with some verses in the *gazel-kaside* form. After the 339th couplet, a further three poems on the Aksa mosque were added. The work was published in transcription by Hasibe Mazıoğlu with an introduction and the facsimile of the only copy of the text in the British Museum (Turkish manuscripts hand-list, Or. 9848). The following study of Fakih's narrative is based on Mazıoğlu's transcription.

The content of Fakih's work is organised in six sections: preliminary couplets (couplets 1-21); the sacred sites, particularly the Prophet's tomb in Medina (22-65); those in Mecca (66-168); salutations to God (66-168), the Aksa mosque (189-234); the Prophet Abraham (235-303); and Damascus (304-339). After that there are three poems in praise of the Aksa mosque. Fakih not only emphasizes the significance of each mosque, but also gives factual information. He lists the number of the gates, stairs, columns and pinnacles of the mosques, and measures their widths and lengths. Within these descriptions Ahmed Fakih includes some of his experiences, beliefs and advice.

Although the text seems to be well-ordered, being divided into certain sections, the contents of the sections are intricate and often incoherent. For instance, while depicting Medina and its places of visitations, the poet begins to narrate the story of the Prophet Yusuf (Joseph), and mentions a mosque, inside and around which many prophets and saints are said to have been buried. The mosque mentioned might be either the Prophet

¹⁷¹Ahmed Fakih, ed. Hasibe Mazıoğlu, *Kitabu evsafı mesacidi'ş-şerife* (Ankara 1974), p. 7

¹⁷²O.F. Sertkaya, 'Ahmed Fakih', *DIA* 2, pp. 65-67

Muhammed's mosque in Medina or the mosque near the well of the Prophet Yusuf in the vicinity of Jerusalem.¹⁷³

Ahmed Fakih did not intend to write an account of his pilgrimage *journey*. Information on this is interspersed randomly throughout the descriptions of the sanctuaries. Most couplets on travel clearly function merely to connect the major sections. He set out from his native land in Anatolia, presumably from Konya, together with a group of pilgrims.¹⁷⁴ Having passed through Anatolia and Damascus he came to Jerusalem, and visited the Aksa mosque. Fakih states that he stayed in Jerusalem for two months with a group of his pilgrim comrades.¹⁷⁵ This stay of two months is assumed by Mazioğlu to have occurred during his return journey. However, Ahmed Fakih clearly states in the 382nd couplet that after leaving Anatolia and Damascus he reached the Aksa mosque.¹⁷⁶ In the eleventh century, the Persian pilgrim Nasır-ı Husrev stated that pilgrims especially from Anatolia, Iran and Syria regularly passed through Jerusalem on their way to Mecca.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, Fakih does not mention the Aksa mosque at all while summarizing his return journey, presumably because he came from Medina to Damascus, joining the Damascus caravan.

After Jerusalem, he proceeded on his journey to Halilullah [Halilürrahman].¹⁷⁸ Having visited the tombs of certain prophets and saints such as those of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, their wives, and Joseph, it is likely that his convoy reached Mecca in 35 days.¹⁷⁹ Upon

¹⁷³For the mosque near Yusuf's well, see Evliya, 9, p. 523.

¹⁷⁴Ahmed Fakih, p. 45

¹⁷⁵Ahmed Fakih, p. 33, 45

¹⁷⁶Rum ile Şam'ı geçdüm 'Arab illerine düşdüm - Şükür kim sana kavışdum i canum Kuds-i mübarek

¹⁷⁷Lutfi, p. 221

¹⁷⁸Ahmed Fakih, p. 35; Halilürrahman is seven hours from Jerusalem according to Evliya (9, p. 504).

¹⁷⁹In the sixty-fifth couplet he concludes the section on the description of the Prophet's mosque by saying that they reached Mecca within 35 days (p. 25). However, immediately before the section on the Prophet's mosque in Medina, he says in the twenty-first couplet that they left Mecca, and arrived at Medina within ten days (p. 22). In this case, it might be rendered that the poet probably reached Mecca from Jerusalem not from Medina within 35 days because in the proceeding couplets the poet mentions the Prophet's Yusuf's well, which is located near Jerusalem.

seeing the Ka'be for the first time Fakih burst into tears.¹⁸⁰ In Mecca he stayed for seven days together with the Egyptian pilgrims before the Damascus pilgrimage caravan came, which clearly indicates that the poet had not joined the annual Damascus caravan on his outward journey. After the performance of the rituals of the hajj Fakih and his companies departed from Mecca, and reached Medina within 10 days.¹⁸¹ He spent three days in Medina, and visited the tomb of the Prophet Muhammed. Then they set out for Damascus, the inhabitants of which welcomed them on the way, a probable indication that Fakih was travelling in the Damascene caravan on his return journey. He stayed for seven days in a hospice in Damascus.¹⁸² On arriving home he was asked to narrate what he had seen during his journey.¹⁸³

As stated above, Fakih's principal aim in the work was to give a vivid description of the sacred places, and to present his observations and advice related to these places. He declares that his expectation in composing such work is to receive the reader's prayers to God for him whenever they read it.¹⁸⁴ He generally ends his descriptions with direct advice, a lesson or an illustration from Islamic history. For instance, having visited the tomb of the Prophet and those of his companions, Fakih speaks about the transient nature of this world, and reminds his audience and readers to be aware of death, and to be prepared for the Hereafter. He consciously makes his description very vivid in order to encourage the reader to visit the holy places on every occasion: 'Now listen, let me describe to you the Aksa mosque; once you have heard it you will say, let me go too'.¹⁸⁵

Ahmed Fakih's language in the text bears some characteristics of old Anatolian Turkish, as illustrated by Mazıoğlu. Fakih often uses the second person pronoun and direct forms

¹⁸⁰Ahmed Fakih, p. 25: Segirdüben tavaf itdüm i kardeş - Akar gözümde dem-be-dem yaş

¹⁸¹Ahmed Fakih, p. 22

¹⁸²Ahmed Fakih, p. 40

¹⁸³Ahmed Fakih, p. 41

¹⁸⁴Ahmed Fakih, p.41 Okundukca gerek kim yad idesin - Du'a idüb canumuz şad idesin

of address, and prefers to use a plain Turkish to communicate his experiences and thoughts to the reader, without resorting to metaphorical elements. He has a noticeable difficulty applying the *aruz* meter to his verses.

4.2. The *Risale* (letter)¹⁸⁶ by Fevri (d. 1571)

The *Risale* is a letter describing briefly Fevri's pilgrimage journey of 952/1545-6, mainly in the sacred cities, with eulogies to its recipient, the renowned biographer 'Aşık Çelebi, who in return wrote to him too. The present copy of the text includes 'Aşık's writings as well. It was composed in a consciously high-flown prose with verse sections. Fevri is not among the well-known Ottoman poets although he was reported by the biographers 'Aşık Çelebi and Hasan Çelebi to have been a prominent poet of his time.¹⁸⁷ Fevri, whose given name was Ahmed, was from Drach in Albania.¹⁸⁸ Having been freed from slavery, he received a sound education benefiting from the great scholars of his time such as Taşköprüzade Efendi, 'Arab-zade 'Abdülbaki Efendi and Bostan Efendi. When the latter was appointed *kadı* of Bursa in 951/1544 Fevri became a *mülazım* to him, and a year later he went on the hajj. In 960/1552 he took part in Kanuni Süleyman's campaign to Nahçıvan. After the campaign, Fevri was appointed *müderris* to Kapluca, and later to the Sultaniye Medresesi in Istanbul. While holding the post of *müfti*¹⁸⁹ of Damascus Fevri died in 978/1571.¹⁹⁰ Besides his *Divan*, Fevri is reported to have composed a few works on religious topics.

¹⁸⁵Ahmed Fakih, p. 33: İşit imdi sana vasfın diyeyin - İşidicek cü dursin ben gideyin

¹⁸⁶Fevri (mis-attributed mistakenly to 'Aşık Çelebi), *Risale fi'l-menasik*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Şehid Ali Paşa, no: 2828, ff. 16b-29b

¹⁸⁷The most detailed information on Fevri's biography can be found in his friend 'Aşık's biographical dictionary: 'Aşık Çelebi, ed. G.M. Meredith-Owens, *Meşa'ir üş-şu'ara or Tezkere of 'Aşık Çelebi*, (London 1971), ff. 203a-208b; For information on his life see also Ali Nihat Tarlan, *Şiir mecmualarında XVI ve XVII asır divan şiiri Rahmi ve Fevri*, Seri 1 (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1948); Abdülkadir Karahan, 'Fawri' *EF* 2, p. 869; *TDEA* 3, p. 212; Mehmet Kalpaklı, 'Fevri', *DIA* 12, pp. 505-6; Walter G. Andrews, Najaat Black and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *Ottoman lyric poetry: an anthology* (Austin: University of Texas press, 1997), pp. 232-3

¹⁸⁸Kalpaklı, p. 505

¹⁸⁹müfti: authority on Islamic law

Fevri's *Risale* is found inside a manuscript collecting several works in the Süleymaniye library, covering folios from 16b to 29b. The typed hand-list of the library names the work the *Hicaz seyahatnamesi*, and ascribes it to 'Aşık Çelebi. However, on the first folio of the manuscript, the work is entitled, probably by the copyist, the *Risale fi'l-menasik-i hacc* (Letter on the rituals of the hajj). On the other hand, Flugel ascribes a work called the *Risale-i Mekkiye* to Fevri, which must be the same work.¹⁹¹ Use of the name 'Aşık several times in some couplets may have confused the cataloguer with regard to the real writer of the work. In fact, it is quite explicit from the last couplet that the person who went on the hajj, and who set down this work was Fevri: 'The one who circled the house of God and visited the door of the Prophet [is] Fevri, in other words, [he is] the dust on the path of the household and of the companions of the Prophet'¹⁹²

In his entry on Fevri, 'Aşık Çelebi gives a detailed description of Fevri's going on the hajj. He reports that he wrote a poem when Fevri intended to go on the hajj, making recommendations to Fevri, and asking the latter to remember him in his prayers at 'Arafat. After quoting his own poem to Fevri, 'Aşık states that while returning from the hajj Fevri sent him a letter with the *müjdecibaşı*, the official messenger who brings good news of the safe return of the hajj caravan. This indicates that Fevri returned in the official pilgrimage caravan. Moreover, two couplets at the end of the present text imply that Fevri wrote his letter in the course of his journey:

'May the standing finish here; may those who know us be informed'¹⁹³

'If we survive the aim is to meet; if we die, greetings to you.'¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰Tarlan, p. 56

¹⁹¹Tarlan, p. 57

¹⁹²Ta'rif-i beyt-i Huda ve zayir-i bab-ı rasül - Fevri ya'ni hak-i rah-ı al u ashab-ı rasül

¹⁹³Fevri, f. 29b: Vakfe burda tamam olsun - Bizi bilenlere payam olsun

¹⁹⁴Fevri, f. 29b: Sağ olursak buluşmadır maksud - Biz ölürsek size selam olsun

Fevri's main object in this letter was to give 'Aşık Çelebi a literary portrayal of his observations and experiences in the Hijaz. Whereas he gives a very brief description of his journey he tends to be elaborate in the description of the sacred places he visited, such as the Ka'be, the *vakfe* at 'Arafat and the mausoleum of the Prophet. Fevri starts his work with a lengthy eulogy in verse and prose (16b to 19a), emphasizing repeatedly that 'Aşık was a descendant of the Prophet Muhammed, and comparing him to the most well-known exponents of various sciences such as 'Ali b. Sina, Sa'd-ı Taftazani, Kaşani, Farazdak, Buhari, Ptolemy, Taberi, and Nu'man (Ebu Hanife). It almost seems as if Fevri composed this letter in order to eulogize 'Aşık on the pretext of describing the sacred places in Mecca.

The description of the journey begins on folio 19a. Having set out on the journey by sea from Istanbul on 9 Rebiülevvel 952/21 May 1545 Fevri arrived at Gelibolu, and paid a visit to the tomb of Yazıcızade, the author of the *Muhammediye*, and visited the burial places of martyrs around. He next visited the burial places of certain saints in Alexandria, and in Reşid, Karafe, Suez, Tur, and Jidda. Among the shrines he particularly mentions are those of prophets Daniel, John, and Moses; and of Eve, Ibn el-Farid, Imam Şafi'i, Şeyh San'an and Şeyh Garibi. His hazardous journey from Istanbul to Mecca by sea and land lasted 31 days.¹⁹⁵ Fevri entered the Haram mosque on the night of 8 Receb 952/15 September 1545, and stayed in Mecca until the middle of Şevval. During his stay in Mecca he performed the *'umre*, and attended meetings of scholars. Then he went to Medina, and stayed there for about one month. He must then have returned to Mecca to make the hajj proper. Having performed the rites of the hajj Fevri set out again for Medina on 27 Zilhicce/1 March 1546. On the way to Medina he visited the places where the companions of the Prophet were martyred at the battles of

Bedr and Huneyn, and visited the places of the forty martyrs. On 7 Muharrem 953/10 March 1546 he reached Medina, where he stayed for three days. After visiting the mausoleum of the Prophet he set out for Damascus on 10 Muharrem/13 March. The fact that the Damascene caravan customarily left Medina around 10 Muharrem of the lunar year indicates that Fevri returned Damascus in the official caravan. In Damascus he met scholars, and visited the shrines.

The text contains also a single poem in the *mesnevi* form, outlining Fevri's experiences from beginning of his journey to the performance of the hajj. Apart from a few Persian couplets cited in the description of the Ka'be, he composes several poems concerning it in the *mesnevi* form. Surprisingly, after completing the description of his journey in the Hijaz, Fevri begins to describe again the rites, particularly the *vakfe* at 'Arafat, in detail although he outlined these earlier. According to the subsequent detailed description, Fevri prays to God firstly for Kanuni Süleyman, then for the various groups in Ottoman society like vezirs, governors, scholars, judges, the poor, and students. Then he devotes a poem of twenty couplets in the *mesnevi* form to 'Aşık Çelebi. This unexpected description of the *vakfe* and the long prayer remarks remind us of the request of 'Aşık Çelebi who himself states to have asked Fevri to pray to God for him during his *vakfe*.¹⁹⁶ He perhaps preferred to end his letter with prayers and compliments said during the *vakfe* at 'Arafat, for those who are meant to have read his letter.

Fevri employs a literary and elaborate prose style, especially, in the description of the sacred places such as the Ka'be, 'Arafat, and the shrine of the Prophet, as well as in his eulogies for 'Aşık Çelebi. The author hides pieces of information in long remarks interspersed with verses. In this respect the reader may sometimes have to read many

¹⁹⁵ 'müdde-i sefer-i bahr u berr ve zaman-i tayy-ı tarik-i havf u hatar 31 gün olunca, Nazm fi sıfatü'l-Ka'be...'

¹⁹⁶ 'Aşık Çelebi, f. 205b

lines in order to derive a single, sometimes small piece of information. Whereas the prose sections are written in an elaborate language, the verses are composed in a relatively straightforward language. The author rarely employs literary embellishments or metaphors, and uses clichés in his verses.

4.3. The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* by Nabi (17th century)

This narrative is examined in detail in Chapters III and IV.

Conclusion

As seen in the above classification of the Ottoman pilgrimage texts, the majority of the pre-nineteenth-century texts were composed to provide future pilgrims with practical information on the stations and the rites of the hajj, and have been termed guidebooks or guide-type pilgrimage narratives. These texts constitute an observable genre, having structural and developmental relations to each other. The few remaining texts, which were produced for various purposes from varying perspectives, do not form a homogeneous genre, each bearing almost unique characteristics, and do not fit easily into a developmental pattern.

The earliest and longest-lasting forms of Ottoman pilgrimage writing must be treatises on the importance and performance of the hajj, which were written in an impersonal manner for religious and educational purposes. Intending or potential pilgrims needed a practical description of the rituals of the hajj in their own languages in a straightforward manner. This need brought into existence a large number of prescriptive guidebooks on the *rites* of the hajj, namely *menasik-i hacc* texts in Ottoman manuscript libraries, although many other such texts may not have survived. Many guidebooks seem to have been summary or abridged forms of detailed texts. The genre of the *menasik* texts was

brought closer to literature by the sixteenth and seventeenth-century poets Gubari and Bahti respectively.

After the establishment of the route of the official pilgrimage caravan from Istanbul to Mecca, Ottoman pilgrims needed not only the description of the rites but also of the stations en route. The fact that many *menasik* texts contain a brief description of the stations as a supplement, and that some texts describing both the rites and stations were called *menasik-i hacc* indicates that the *menazil* texts probably came into existence as adjunct to *menasik* texts, and continued along with them for centuries. The tradition of *menazil* texts became extinct in the twentieth century when modern modes of travel eliminated the traditional journey and hence the demand for such texts. While, on the one hand, the fixed itinerary and customs of the pilgrimage caravan encouraged pilgrims to compose a description of the itinerary for the use of future pilgrims, on the other hand this caused writers to produce single type of impersonal, routine work. Inevitably, these guidebooks or handbooks after a while tended towards repetition since the subject and treatment were more or less the same.

While the basic level of guidebooks maintained their existence in compliance with the demand for them, certain cultured men developed these into personal and learned accounts while still holding to practical purposes for their works. The first known text of this sort is the prose narrative by the seventeenth-century *müderris* Hibri, who was a writer with an interest in historical and religious topics. He therefore describes the stations he passed through in a historical perspective, giving the names of those individuals who played a significant role in the historical development of those places by founding public buildings, such as mosques, hospices, and baths. The second text in hand is the minor poet Kadri's illustrative narrative. He elaborates basic data on the pilgrimage journey and the stations more through his extensive factual information. The

early eighteenth century writer Mehmed Edib, who was also a *müderris*, treats the stations and journey with an eye to the historical backgrounds of things described. The eighteenth-century dervish poet Ibrahim Hanif aimed at not only giving brief practical data on the stations but also entertaining and busying his audience with amusing stories and simple verses.

The genre of guide texts on the stations was also developed into literature by several poets who set down their description in verse. Given the content and style of these texts it is possible to talk about a tradition of verse guide texts on the rites and the stations. More verse guide texts are found on the stations of the pilgrimage route. The poets Bahri and Sulhi each gave a very brief descriptions of the stations in the *mesnevi* form, without resorting to metaphors or rhetorical devices. The seventeenth-century poet Seyyid Hasan Rıza'î and the eighteenth-century poet Cudi describe the stations and their journey experience in the *kaside* form in a partly didactic, partly literary and partly personal manner. The nineteenth-century poet Kamil portrayed the stations on the route of the pilgrimage caravan in a predominantly informative but impersonal manner in the *mesnevi* form.

There are a few pilgrimage narratives which were composed for various reasons other than providing readers with practical information on the stations and the rites. It is difficult to consider these as developed forms of the *menazil* tradition. In any case, their authors did not make their whole outward journey in a conventional pilgrimage caravan, and thus their itinerary and journey would not have served as a guidebook for the stations. According to the aims and tendencies of their authors these narratives differ from each other. This limited number of works is each unique in some respects. The late fourteenth/early fifteenth-century poet Ahmed Fakih in his *mesnevi* depicts his observation in the holy places in order to educate his audience about the holy mosques,

and induce them to go on the hajj. The sixteenth-century poet Fevri in his letter to ‘Aşık Çelebi gives a brief summary of his journey and an elaborate description of his performance of the hajj in prose with frequent verse sections. The seventeenth-century court poet Nabi aims to describe the mosque and tombs on his way and particularly the sanctuaries in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem in a highly metaphorical prose. Evliya Çelebi compiled an informative travelogue or treatise of geographical, historical and autobiographical character. A few narratives produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries enriched the context of the genre. Aşçı Dede İbrahim’s first person narrative is a story with autobiographical characteristics, in which the author’s self is evidently prevalent. Süleyman Şefik Söylemezoğlu’s large informative pilgrimage narrative was prepared as a report on Arabia for ‘Abdülhamid II. In addition, there are a few descriptive treatises on the history and geography of Arabia composed in either Turkish or Arabic. The authors of such texts incorporate to a varying extents their own experiences and observations into their factual descriptions. Common experiences and sentiments of these pilgrim authors will be treated in a separate section, which analyses the contents of all the pilgrimage texts introduced here, after studying exclusively the most literary of them, that is Nabi’s *Tuhfetü’l-haremeyn*, in the next chapter.

Chapter III

NABI'S *TUHFETÜ'L-HAREMEYN*: AUTHOR, TEXT, INFLUENCES

Introduction

The most literary and celebrated pilgrimage narrative composed in Ottoman Turkish is the leading seventeenth-century poet Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. The work, which is one of the most successful examples of Ottoman *inşa* (artistic prose), includes historical, sociological, geographical and autobiographical information. However, despite its importance and celebrity, it has not been studied properly so far. Modern studies on the pilgrimage in Ottoman times have rarely made use of Nabi's pilgrimage narrative, presumably owing to the fact that it has not been edited critically and studied thoroughly.

A few recent works on Nabi's narrative remain unsatisfactory. The first modern Turkish version, which is a popular paraphrase with many inaccuracies, was published by Mahmut Karakaş in 1989, and re-issued unchanged under the name Seyfettin Ünlü in 1996.¹ This is not a scholarly edition. Besides mistakes in understanding and interpreting many of Nabi's more complicated verses and remarks, several Turkish verses, not paraphrased by the editor presumably on account of their simplicity, are wrongly read and transcribed.² The language of Nabi in the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* has been studied by Muhsin Kalkışım, who emphasizes the stylistic importance of Nabi's work, and gives statistical information about the percentage of Persian and Arabic

¹Seyfettin Ünlü, *Şa'ir Nabi ve Hicaz seyahatnamesi* (Istanbul: Timaş, 1996); see Nabi, ed. Mahmut Karakaş, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn: Hac hatıraları* (Şanlıurfa: Özdal, 1989)

²Although it is understandable that researchers might make mistakes in reading Nabi's metaphorical remarks, the mistakes in Ünlü's text are not excusable since many of them are too simple, as in: *gelin* (should be read *gülün*); *çarşıyu bağda* (*çarsu-yı bağda*); *zülf-i ham der-i hamında* (*zülf-i ham-der-*

words in it.³ A transcription of the printed copy of the text was made by Selami Turan in his MA thesis.⁴ In his introduction Turan allocates three and a half pages to analysis of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. After repeating general information on the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, and its printed copy, depending probably on Karahan's work on Nabi,⁵ he lists Nabi's itinerary and the names of the tombs, mosques etc. Nabi visited during the journey. After emphasizing the merit of Nabi's style in a single paragraph he concludes his discussion with a list of seven manuscript copies of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, which were not consulted for his transcription. These previous studies on Nabi's account do not contribute much to existing knowledge on the narrative given in the major reference works. They do not attempt to discuss even basic facts about Nabi's journey and narrative, probably because of the difficulty of his style. Indeed, compiling data from Nabi's tricky and metaphorical expressions is like walking on ice.

In this chapter, I will first provide a brief introduction to Nabi's life, his works and his literary identity. My principal intention is to concentrate on the main aspects of Nabi's pilgrimage journey and narrative, which have been overlooked in previous studies, seeking answers either factual or speculative to a number of basic questions, among which are the following: Where does Nabi's narrative stand in its genre? What motivated Nabi to compose such an elaborate text, which certainly required special effort and much time? What were his aim and priorities in his account? In what year did Nabi complete his text, was it 1090, 1093 or 1094? Where do a great number of the verse quotations come from? What route did he follow? What made him undertake an independent and long journey through Jerusalem and Egypt while the annual official

hamında); For example, he renders 'kal'a-i Çehrin' (the Çehrin fortress) as 'the front of the fortress' (see Ünlü, p. 50; Nabi, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Istanbul 1265/1848, pp. 31-32).

³Muhsin Kalkışım, 'Nabi'nin *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*'i ve dil hususiyetleri', *İslami edebiyat* 16 (Nisan 1992), pp. 13-15

⁴Selami Turan, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* (unpublished MA thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi, 1994)

⁵Abdulkadir Karahan, *Nabi* (Ankara: KTB, 1987), pp. 48-9

caravan was more direct and presumably more secure? Which month or season of 1089/1678 did Nabi set out on the journey? How long did his journey last? The present study therefore sheds light on several aspects of Nabi's journey and narrative, which have not been clearly examined before.

1. Nabi

1.1. His life

Nabi (1642-1712) was unquestionably one of the best known Ottoman poets and is considered a foremost exponent of the didactic trend (*hikemi tarz*) in Ottoman Turkish literature.⁶ The main outline of his life has long been known and will be sketched only briefly here. Much of his life story is derived from his own writings, by bringing together certain verses and statements from, in particular, his Turkish *Divan*, the *Hayriyye* and the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. The Ottoman biographers Şeyhi Mehmed, Salim and Mehmed Süreyya each devote a relatively detailed entry to Nabi, but add little to the information given by Nabi himself. Indeed, their accounts are sometimes contradictory.

Nabi, whose given name was Yusuf, was born in Urfa (then known as Ruha) in 1052/1642. He is said to have been descended from a distinguished religious family, whose members generally adopted the title of *seyyid*.⁷ It is commonly reported that Nabi had three brothers, whose names were Seyyid Ahmed, Hacı Mahmud and Hacı Mehmed.⁸ However, Nabi states in the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* that he met with his 'two

⁶Mine Mengi, *Divan şiirinde hikemi tarzın büyük temsilcisi Nabi* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültürk Merkezi 1987); Hüseyin Yorulmaz, *Divan edebiyatında Nabi ekolü: eski şiirde hikemiyat* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1996)

⁷Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 3; *Seyyid* is generally given as honorific title to those who are descendants of the Prophet Muhammed.

⁸Karahan, p. 5; see also Meserret Diriöz, 'Nabi'nin ailesine dair yeni bilgiler', *Türk Kültürü* 167 (Ankara 1976), pp. 668-73; *TDEA* 6, pp. 492-5

brothers and two sisters, who are the result of his parents' marriage'.⁹ Nabi calls one of his sisters Hacı Hemşire,¹⁰ in a chronogram for her death in 1112/1700 in Aleppo.¹¹

There is no verified information about his life before he came to Istanbul.¹² He is said to have been either a petition writer or a disciple of a *şeyh* of a Kadiri dervish-convent in his teenage years in Urfa, and was guided by an official or by the *şeyh* to pursue his career in the capital, Istanbul.¹³ He arrived in Istanbul in 1076/1665 at the age of twenty-three, during the reign of Mehmed IV (1648-87). In one of his *mesnevis* addressed to Mehmed IV and Müsahib Mustafa Paşa (d. 1687), he referred to the difficult days of his early life in Istanbul, revealing his determination to come to the capital and his hopes of gaining access to the palace with the help of a patron.¹⁴ However at the beginning Nabi did not find what he had hoped, and became lonely and despondent. While in this desperate state, he was guided to resort to the vezir Müsahib Mustafa Paşa,¹⁵ who appointed Nabi his secretary. After that, his fortune began shining day by day.¹⁶ In 1082/1671 he took part in the Ottoman military campaign in Poland, in the retinue of Müsahib Paşa.

Having spent thirteen years in Istanbul Nabi desired to go to Mecca to perform the hajj. In 1089/1678, at around 37 years of age,¹⁷ he set out in a small private caravan from Istanbul, passing through Konya, Urfa, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo, where he joined the main Egyptian pilgrimage caravan. After his return from the pilgrimage, presumably

⁹See *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 292

¹⁰*Hemşire* means sister in Persian.

¹¹Nabi, ed. Ali Fuat Bilkan, *Nabi Divanı* (Istanbul: MEB, 1997), p. 247; Karahan records the date of her death as 1121/1709 (Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 5)

¹²Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i 'Osmani yahud Tezkire-i meşahir-i 'Osmaniyye* 4 (Istanbul: Matba'a-i 'Amire, 1316/1898), p. 540

¹³Karahan, *Nabi*, pp. 4-5

¹⁴*Nabi Divanı*, pp. 393-433: *Mesnevi der-sena-kari-i Sultan Muhammed Han müzeyyel be-medh-i Müsahib Mustafa Paşa*

¹⁵Mehmed Emin Salim, *Tezkire-i Salim* (Istanbul: Ikdam Matbaası, 1315/1897), p. 628

¹⁶See *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 290

in mid 1090/1679, Nabi was appointed to the post of *kethüda* (steward) to Müsahib Mustafa Paşa.¹⁸ In 1096/1684 he went to the Morea in Müsahib Paşa's retinue. following the latter's appointment as *kaptan-ı derya* (admiral-in-chief) in 1095/1683.

After the Paşa's death in 1097/1686 Nabi moved to Aleppo and lived there for about 25 years, apparently with some governmental support.¹⁹ Nabi's family life proper must have begun in Aleppo, his sons Ebulhayr Mehmed and Mehmed Emin being born there in 1106/1694 and 1110/1698 respectively.²⁰ In 1122/1710 Nabi left Aleppo for Istanbul with Baltacı Mehmed Paşa (d. 1712), former governor of Aleppo, now appointed grand vezir for the second time.²¹ Towards the end of his life Nabi was appointed to several offices, including chairmanship of 'the accounting office for Anatolia'.²² Before his death on 3 Rebi'ülevvel 1124/12 April 1712 he is reported to have composed a chronogram to be inscribed on his tombstone at the cemetery of Karaca Ahmed in Üsküdar.²³

1.2. His works and literary identity

Nabi was a prominent and prolific litterateur, who produced distinguished verse and prose works in several fields of Ottoman literature. Indeed, after coming to the capital from such a distant city as Urfa, his becoming the *şeyh* (the master) of the poets in his period,²⁴ and winning a remarkable position among the great Ottoman poets emphasizes

¹⁷Emel Esin wrongly states that Nabi was over fifty when he set off on the hajj (see Emel Esin, *Mecca the blessed Madinah the radiant*, Novara 1963, p. 175)

¹⁸Osmanzade Ta'ib Ahmed, ed. D. Robischon, *Hadiqat ül-vüzera* (Freiburg 1969), p. 128; and Salim, p. 629

¹⁹Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 12; E.G. Ambros, 'Nabi', *EF*² VII, p. 839

²⁰Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 12

²¹Süreyya, p. 530; Agah Sırrı Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi* (Istanbul: Inkilap, 1944), p. 14

²²Süreyya, p. 530; Salim, p. 629; Ambros, p. 839

²³Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 72

²⁴*Nabi Divanı*, p. 50: Elli yıldır ki müsellemin sana seccade-i nazm - Şimdi sensin şu'ara zümresine şeyh-i kebir

his ability and achievement. Nabi's works are: the *Divan* of his Turkish poems;²⁵ the *Divançe* of Persian poems;²⁶ the *Fetih-name-i Kamenice* (a portrayal of the conquest of the Polish fort Kameniece in 1083/1672);²⁷ the *Surname* (a description of the 15 days' feast of circumcision of Mehmed IV's sons);²⁸ the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* (the account of his pilgrimage journey);²⁹ the *Tercüme-i hadis-i erba'in* (a Turkish translation of Cami (Jami)'s forty hadiths in verse);³⁰ the *Hayriyye or Hayri-name* (his advice poem to his son);³¹ the *Hayrabad* (a romance);³² the *Zeyl-i siyer-i Veysi* (a supplement to Veysi's (d. 1037/1628) biography of the Prophet);³³ and the *Münşe'at* (collection of his official and private letters).³⁴ The fact that, seven of his works were printed by Ottomans during the 19th and in the early 20th centuries, testifies to the enduring popularity of his writing.

Two trends are observable in the contents and literary style of Nabi's works: conservative and progressive. While on the one hand, there is no doubt about his being a conservative poet, who remained faithful to the formal rules of Ottoman literature, on

²⁵The *Divan* was published in Bulak in 1257/1841, and in Istanbul in 1292/1875. A scholarly critical edition of the *Divan* is now available. Bilkan (*Nabi Divanı*, pp. xxv-xxx) says that the *Divan* comprises 29 *kasides*, 156 *tarihs* (chronogram), 10 *mesnevis*, 888 *gazels*, 114 *kıt'as*, 218 *rüba'is*, 61 *matla's*, 74 *müfreds*, 186 *mu'ammas*, and 30 *lugazes*.

²⁶Nabi, *Divançe-i Farisi* (Istanbul 1292/1875). The *Divançe-i Farisi* includes 32 *gazels*, and a number of *tahmis*' to the *gazels* of well-known Persian poets. (see Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 45). The *Divançe* also contains a number of Turkish poems, some of which are given in the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*.

²⁷The *Fetih-name-i Kamenice* was composed at the request of Müsahib Mustafa Paşa. The text was printed under the name *Tarih-i Kamenice* in Istanbul in 1281/1864.

²⁸The *Surname*, composed in the *mesnevi* form, consists of 587 couplets. Its full title is the *Vakayi'-i hitan-ı şehzadegan-ı hazret-i Sultan Mehmed Gazi* (Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 5).

²⁹Nabi, ed. Mehmed Reça'i, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Istanbul 1265/1848

³⁰The *Tercüme-i hadis-i erba'in*, published by Necip Asım in the *Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası* in 1331/1913 in Istanbul; see Abdülkadir Karahan, *İslami Türk edebiyatında kırk hadis toplama, tercüme ve şerhler* (Istanbul 1954), pp. 230-232.

³¹The *Hayriyye* was printed in Istanbul in 1292/1875 and 1307/1889. See Pavet de Courteille, *Conseils de Nabi Efendi* (Paris 1857); Mehmed Kaplan, 'Nabi ve Orta İnsan Tipi', *Türk edebiyatı üzerinde araştırmalar 1* (Istanbul: Dergah, 1976), pp. 214-34; Mengi, *Divan şiirinde hikemi tarzın büyük temsilcisi Nabi*; Iskender Pala, *Şair Nabi Hayriyye* (Istanbul: Bedir, 1989); Tunca Kortantamer, 'Nabi'nin Osmanlı imparatorluğunu eleştirisi', *Eski Türk edebiyatı makaleleri* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1993), pp. 151-192; Ali Fuat Bilkan, 'Nabi'nin "Hayriname" adlı eseri', *Milli kültür* 71 (Nisan 1990), pp. 52-55

³²The *Hayrabad* is Nabi's last *mesnevi*, based on a classical love story, deriving its theme from the Persian poet Feridüddin Attar (d. 1230)'s *İlahi-name* (Divine Book).

³³Nabi, *Zeyl-i siyer-i Veysi* (Bulak 1248/1832)

³⁴The *Münşe'at*, consisting of his private and official letters might be invaluable for the study of the seventeenth century social life of the Ottomans. Mahmut Kaplan is carrying out a study on it (see Hatice

the other he broadens the themes of the literature by putting his personal life and insights into his several works more realistically. Nabi's works demonstrate much evidence of his admiration of certain major Persian and Ottoman poets. He wrote *tahmis* to poems by Fuzuli, Ruhi-i Bağdadi and Şeyhülislam Bahayi.³⁵ His citation of verses from Fuzuli, Baki, Şeyhülislam Yahya and Naili in his *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* is certainly an indication of his appreciation of their poetry. Nabi, who knew Persian and Arabic very well, benefited greatly from Persian master poets when establishing his style and composing some of his works. He is considered by Gibb one of the last exponents of 'Turco-Persianism'.³⁶ It was stated first by Şeyh Galib and then confirmed by modern researchers that when composing his romance, the *Hayrabad*, Nabi emulated the Persian poet Feridüddin 'Attar.³⁷ The small collection of his Persian verses (the *Divançe-i gazeliyat-ı Farisi*) includes *tahmis*' of certain poems by Mevlana, Hafız, Cami, Şifa'i, Örfi, Sa'ib, Kelim, Naziri, Şevket and Meyli.³⁸ Among these poets, the poetry of Cami (1414-1492) and Sa'ib (d. 1088/1677) seem to be preferred by Nabi, since he wrote more *tahmis* to their poems.³⁹ The influence of Cami is particularly noticeable in Nabi's other works. His *Kırk hadis* (forty hadiths), which is one of the most successful examples of its genre, was a Turkish translation of Cami's collection of forty hadiths in verse.⁴⁰ Nabi's idea of communicating his views directly to his son in verse may also have been adopted from Cami, who wrote some verses of counsel to his son Yusuf

Aynur, *Üniversitelerde eski Türk edebiyatı çalışmaları: tezler, yayınlar, haberler* 8 (Istanbul 1997), p. 50).

³⁵*Nabi Divanı*, pp. 172-7

³⁶*HOP* III, p. 246, 328; *HOP* IV, p. 6

³⁷Victoria Rowe Holbrooke, *The Unreadable shores of love* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), pp. 62-66, 76

³⁸Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 45

³⁹Abdülkadir Karahan, *Eski Türk edebiyatı incelemeleri* (Istanbul: IUEF, 1980), p. 208; Gibb says Nabi emulated Sa'ib's 'highly meritorious and original style' in his poetry (*HOP* III, p. 248).

⁴⁰Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 44; See also Abdülkadir Karahan, *İslami Türk Edebiyatında kırk hadis toplama, tercüme ve şerhler* (Istanbul 1954)

Ziya'eddin in the final part of his *Tuhfetü'l-ahrar*.⁴¹ As illustrated below, Nabi quoted several verses from Cami in his *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. Furthermore, Nabi on his pilgrimage journey visits the tombs or burial places of certain Muslim philosophers, including Muhyiddin-i 'Arabi (Ibn al-'Arabi), Fahreddin Ibrahim-i 'Iraki, Şeyh Muhammed Parsa, and 'Ömer ibn Farid, who all had an impact on Cami's works and philosophy.⁴² It thus appears that Nabi was greatly inspired by Cami.

While maintaining the classical line of Ottoman poetry Nabi brought fresh air to Ottoman literature, being more personal and realistic in his descriptions. Many aspects of his life, his feelings, his philosophy, his family and his society constituted possible subjects for his works. Following his appointment as secretary to Müsahib Mustafa Paşa, Nabi served as a kind of poet laureate to the Ottoman court, writing poems on almost every incident concerning the Palace, including the ascent of sultans to the throne, military triumphs of the sultans and grand vezirs, births, circumcisions and marriages of the sultan's children. He also commented on a wide spectrum of topics ranging from his son Ebulhayr Mehmed's beard to the Celali uprisings. Nabi's *Divan*, which is one of the largest *divans* in Ottoman literature, thus constitutes a rich source not only for his personal life but also for the political and social life of the Ottomans in the late seventeenth century. Nabi also communicated his insight and advice directly to his son in a separate verse text, the *Hayriyye*, in a very plain language.

Nabi's accomplished literary style appeared to have been appreciated by a vast variety of people during his lifetime, ranging from sultans to local governors, and from prominent poets to ordinary people. The composition of two of his early works, the *Fetih-name-i Kamenice* and the *Surname*, was at the request of the vezir Müsahib

⁴¹Z.V. Togan, and H. Ritter. 'Cami', *IA* 3, p. 19

⁴²Ali Asgar Hikmet, *Cami: mutazammin-ı tahkikat der harih-i ahval u asar-ı manzum u mensur-i hatemü ş-şu'ara* (Tahran 1320), p. 169, 171, 177, 181

Mustafa Paşa and of Mehmed IV respectively. The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, which was said to have been submitted to Mehmed IV, may also have been commissioned. His *Divan* was apparently collected with the help of his friend Silahdar Ibrahim Paşa (d. 1102/1690), governor of Aleppo.⁴³ The well-known poet Naili (d. 1077/1666) is reported to have been fascinated by the young Nabi's poetry.⁴⁴ Nabi's fame and influence continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Sabit (d. 1124/1712-13) admired his poetry.⁴⁵ In several verses Seyyid Vehbi (d. 1149/1736-37), who like Nabi composed a *Surname* and a *Tercüme-i hadis-i erba'in*,⁴⁶ compliments Nabi's poetry and considers himself a follower.⁴⁷ Seyyid Vehbi is also reported to have gone on the hajj, but unlike Nabi, he did not write an account of his pilgrimage journey.⁴⁸ The poet Sümbülzade Vehbi (d. 1809) emulated Nabi's *Hayriyye* in his didactic poem, the *Lutfiyye*.⁴⁹ The last distinguished classical Ottoman poet Şeyh Galib, while censuring Nabi's *Hayrabad* in the prologue to his romance the *Hüsn ü Aşk*,⁵⁰ unintentionally reveals the fact that Nabi was still popular among the men of letters in his era. Galib also cannot help appreciating Nabi's poetry in one of his *gazels*: 'Galib, I am fond of the rose garden of poetry of Nabi, each well-adjusted verse is in fact my

⁴³For information about Silahdar Ibrahim Paşa, see Ali Fuat Bilkan, 'Nabi'nin sanat çevresi ve sanatçı dostları', *Yedi iklim* 65 (Ağustos 1995), p. 65

⁴⁴*Nabi Divanı*, p. 50: O zamanlar sana teslim idi meydan-ı sühan - Ki senün sözlerine Na'ili olmuşdı esir

⁴⁵*HOP* IV, p. 17:

'Is there any man of eloquence like Sabit in Aleppo
Who can write a *nazira* to his reverence the master Nabi'

Sabit (tr. Gibb)

'At present, O Sabit, there is no demand in Constantinople
For the silk of talent if the Aleppo stamp be not thereon'

Sabit (tr. Gibb)

⁴⁶Mine Mengi, *Eski Türk edebiyatı Tarihi: edebiyat tarihi - metinler* (Istanbul: Akçağ, 1999), p. 213

⁴⁷Hamit Dikmen, 'Seyyid Vehbi'nin hayatı, eserleri, edebi kişiliği ve şairliğinin değerlendirilmesi', *JTS* 22 (1998), pp. 95-96; Kemal Sılay, *Nedim and the poetics of the Ottoman court: medieval inheritance and the need for change* (Bloomington, Indiana 1994), p.129

⁴⁸*HOP* IV, p. 108

⁴⁹*HOP* IV, p. 246, 254

⁵⁰Holbrook, p. 63

elegant cypress.'⁵¹ Sedid Yüksel finds a few couplets which may suggest some influence of Nabi on Şeyh Galib, probably before the latter established his own style. It is also narrated that when Nabi's *Hayrabad* was being read in a gathering in which Galib was present, someone argued that such a work could never be composed again. Galib, who was then about 26, rejected this exaggerated eulogy and promised to compose a *mesnevi* better than Nabi's.⁵² Apart from the aforementioned poets there are numerous others who are reported to have been influenced by Nabi, including Sami (d. 1146/1733-34), Raşid (d. 1148/1734-35), Hami (d. 1156/1743), Antakyalı Münif (d. 1156/1743), Çelebizade 'Asım (d. 1173/1759), Hoca Rağıp Paşa (d. 1176/1763), and İbrahim Hakkı of Erzurum (d. 1194/1780).⁵³

2. The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* (The gift of/from the two sanctuaries)

2.1. Background, aim and content

The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* as a literary narration of the pilgrimage journey produced in a very elaborate and metaphorical language by one of the best known Ottoman poets, stands unique in its genre. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the authors of other pilgrimage narratives were little-known poets or authors, whose works generally seem not to have been registered and acknowledged even by major Ottoman biographers. No other leading Ottoman court poet either produced a pilgrimage narration, or was reported by the biographers to have undertaken a pilgrimage journey. Therefore, one may wonder what made Nabi undertake such an arduous pilgrimage journey via Cairo and produce such an elaborate narrative. Among Nabi's motivations were his personal attachment to the sanctuaries in the Hijaz; official support and, perhaps a commission

⁵¹Pesendim gülistan-ı şî'r-i Nabi'dir Galib - Benim her tab'-ı mevzun gerçi bir serv-i revanımdır (Sedid Yüksel, *Şeyh Galib: eserlerinin dil ve sanat değeri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1963), p. 111

⁵²George W. Gawrych, 'Şeyh Galib and Selim III: Mevlevism and the Nizam-i Cedid', *IJTS* 4, no: 1 (Summer 1987), p. 97; Yüksel, p. 95

for the work; the popularity of the subject in society, combined with the lack of an eloquent work on it; his literary aptitude and tendency to describe his real life experience, as mentioned earlier, and the influence of the fifteenth century Persian poet Cami (and perhaps Muhyi)'s verses on his perception of the sanctuaries.

In order to explore Nabi's personal affinity to the hajj and the Hijaz it is necessary to investigate his family background, which was the first influence upon his personality and ambitions. As noted above, Nabi grew up in a notable religious family in Urfa. His two brothers and one sister also held the honorary title *hacı* in front of their names, which suggests that they had presumably performed the hajj. Even if the word *hacı* was a part of their original name this again testifies to their parents' affection towards the hajj.⁵⁴ Growing up in such a family, Nabi must have listened often to the accumulated accounts of pilgrimage journeys of his pilgrim ancestors or relatives. He relates that from his childhood whenever he heard the description of the sanctuaries he felt a strong feeling to go there. He used to shed tears, and sigh when he thought about the sacred places.⁵⁵ During his journey we see him crying and sighing when seeing for the first time the sanctuaries in the Hijaz and upon leaving them. He says he was almost going to die due to the excitement of seeing the Ka'be. In fact, living and dying in the Hijaz seems to have been an objective for him according to both his *divan*,⁵⁶ and his *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*.⁵⁷ He also confesses that he had a life-long desire to see the Prophet's tomb in Medina, and was habitually sending his salutation to him from afar.⁵⁸ In addition to his personal attachment to the sanctuaries in the Hijaz, there were other inducements to

⁵³Karahan, *Eski Türk edebiyatı incelemeleri*, p. 211; Ambros, p. 839; see Iskender Pala, 'Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakki'da Nabi tesiri', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* X (1990), 195-209

⁵⁴On the usage of the complimentary title *hacı* by Ottomans, see Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Anatolian townsmen as pilgrims to Mecca: some evidence from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in Gilles Veinstein (ed.), *Süleyman le Magnifique et son temps* (Paris 1992), pp. 309-326

⁵⁵*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 368

⁵⁶*Nabi Divanı*, p. 168: 'Hezar hayf u hezaran dirig u sad efsus - Ki anda olmaya masruf 'ömr-i bi-namus'

⁵⁷*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 469

produce such a work. Nabi says that it was 'demanded eagerly by the elite and ordinary people',⁵⁹ perhaps suggesting both popular demand and the lack of a literary work.

As a member of such a family and an individual of such a disposition, and as a poet, who liked to portray his inner and outer experiences, Nabi was personally ready to undertake a journey to the Hijaz and to set down an eloquent account of his journey, the experience of his lifetime. Accordingly, having achieved a position of good standing with his patrons, Müsahib Mustafa Paşa and Mehmed IV, Nabi revived his long-standing desire to perform the hajj.

In his preliminary remarks, Nabi indicates that he had received governmental help for his journey. He relates that he first obtained leave for the hajj from his patron Müsahib Mustafa Paşa, and then submitted a *kaside* to Mehmed IV, describing the sacred places. Although I could not find such a *kaside* submitted to Mehmed IV in the edited *Divan* of Nabi, there are two *gazels* of ten and nine couplets describing the Ka'be and Medina respectively.⁶⁰ The sultan provided Nabi with a letter of recommendation addressed to 'Abdurrahman Paşa (d. 1691), governor of Egypt, ordering him to enable Nabi to make a comfortable journey.⁶¹ In one of his *mesnevis* Nabi acknowledges Mehmed IV's assistance to him for the pilgrimage journey: 'O sultan of justice, you made me once a dweller in God's house'.⁶² Apart from the sultan's letter there may have been other assistance the government supplied to Nabi, since making a special and independent journey in a vast and mostly very dangerous terrain certainly required other arrangements for the maintenance of security and necessities like food. However, Nabi

⁵⁸ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 452

⁵⁹ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 275

⁶⁰ *Nabi Divanı*, pp. 534-35.

⁶¹ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 275; Salim, p. 629

⁶² *Nabi Divanı*, p. 432: 'Eyledin ey Hidiv-i adl-penah - Beni bir kez mukim-i beyt-i Ilah'

does not mention this, nor does he even record handing over the sultan's letter to 'Abdurrahman Paşa.

In Nabi's preliminary remarks there is no implication that he undertook the journey for any reason other than to see the sacred places and perform the hajj. He says that only while making preparations for the journey did he then decide to give a description of his pilgrimage experience. These remarks suggest that composing an account was something almost incidental which occurred to him at the start of his journey. If we however assume that his aim for the journey was primarily to perform the hajj and to describe the sanctuaries in the Hijaz one may wonder why he did not simply follow the usual route from Damascus to Mecca, which was much safer and more direct. Why did he prefer a long, arduous and risky journey via Egypt, lasting nearly one year, to reach Mecca, which by his own admission dampened the enthusiasm he had at the start of the journey? There is no explicit explanation of his choice of Egypt. In terms of the content of his description the first answer seems to be that he wished to describe the mosques and tombs there. Since the presence of official support behind Nabi's journey is discernible, one might speculate that Nabi had been commissioned or motivated by his patrons Mehmed IV or Müsahib Mustafa Paşa to produce in return for their help a description of the significant mosques in the major Muslim cities, namely Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo, Mecca and Medina. In Ottoman literature numerous prose works were written upon the order and sponsorship of the ruling class, to whom such works were generally dedicated. Therefore we have a justifiable reason to seek a more specific motivation behind the composition of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. Moreover, Nabi is

reported to have submitted the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* to Mehmed IV, who in return granted him some rewards and a sable skin coat.⁶³

Yet when we are told that Nabi restricted his visit to the Aksa mosque to three days⁶⁴ this explanation becomes less convincing. Rather, visiting the Aksa mosque seems not to have been a significant part of Nabi's objective for the journey. Nevertheless, inclusion of the description of the mosque was crucial for his narrative. Nabi's mention of Mehmed IV's letter to 'Abdurrahman Paşa indicates that going to Cairo, or joining the Egyptian caravan was more important to him, and that this was decided at the beginning of the journey.

Nabi specifies and restricts his subject by saying that he intends to portray the sacred places, and the different and noteworthy things he would observe during the journey. In the course of his text, having depicted the coffee houses of Damascus, Nabi feels it necessary to remind the reader of his primary interest, the description of the mosques and shrines,⁶⁵ and of the sanctuaries, as confirmed by the title of the work and by the large percentage of the space allocated to them in the text. Accordingly, when he reached the Hijaz and described the sanctuaries, he preferred, like other pilgrim authors, to end his text there, for his main objective was achieved.

Nabi is also careful to mention the tombs and burial places of the prophets, companions of the Prophet Muhammed, and saints he visited. In addition to the shrines noted in other pilgrimage narratives, such as those of Hibri, Kadri, and Hanifi, Nabi also visited relatively less-frequented tombs or burial places, including those of Mahmud-ı Hayrani and Seyyid Ni'metullah-i Nahcivani in Akşehir, Şeyh Şehabeddin-i Maktül in Ereğli,

⁶³Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 11; It is worth noting that a certain Kasım Efendi, who brought the keys of the Ka'be and the veil of threshold of the Ka'be to Istanbul in 1078/1667, was rewarded also with a sable skin coat, and asked by the Sultan [Mehmed IV] to describe the condition of the two sanctuaries (Atalar, p. 125).

⁶⁴See *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 346

Cemaleddin Kutup in Hıms, Şeyh Fahreddin İbrahim-i 'Iraki in Salihyye of Damascus, 'Ukbe b. 'Amir, Imam Şafi'i and 'Ömer b. Farid in Karafe, Şeyh İbrahim Gülşeni in Cairo, and Muhammed Parsa in Medina.⁶⁶

Nabi, as a court poet and author writing for the elite and the sultan, pays particular attention to visiting the tombs, burial places or mosques of previous Muslim rulers. He gives several anecdotes related to Ahmed I (1603-1617), Murad IV (1623-1640), Nureddin Zengi (1146-1174), the Mamluk sultans Ka'it Bay (1468-1496) and Tulun (d. 1479). For instance, Nabi visits 'a palace' in a pleasant valley between two mountains in Akşehir, where Murad IV (1623-40) and Şeyhülislam Yahya (d. 1644) had rested on the campaign to Baghdad in 1638. During the stay, having composed a few verses, Murad IV inscribed them on a window of the palace, and Şeyhülislam Yahya composed on the same day a poem parallel to the sultan's poem. We learn from other sources that the name of the valley is Baş Tekke, 'which lies on the south side' of Akşehir, and that Murad IV wrote his verses 'over a window in a kiosk there'.⁶⁷ Unlike other pilgrim-authors such as Hibri, Kadri and Hanifi, Nabi as a man of letters records this literary activity and the poems involved in it.

Though neglecting to describe in great detail the cities in Anatolia, Nabi gives occasional information about topographic, architectural, social and educational aspects of important Arab cities including Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo. His descriptions of these cities are unsatisfactory as to content but methodical in character, going from generalities to specific. Two descriptions which reflect directly the social life of seventeenth-century Damascus society need mentioning. One is the description of

⁶⁵However the eloquent and elaborate sentences in the description may hint at that he described them by willingly.

⁶⁶For information on these individuals, see notes to Chapte IV, and major reference works, *passim*.

⁶⁷Naci, *Osmanlı şa'irleri* (Istanbul 1307/1889), p. 39; *HOP* III, p. 275; *IA* 8, 632-64

the coffee-house,⁶⁸ the other of the public celebration of the conquest of the Polish fortress Çehrin.⁶⁹ They are among the most elaborate passages of the narrative. According to Nabi, the portrayal of the coffee-house is something he did not previously intend to record but he could not keep himself from describing when he saw it. However, this explanation seems to be something of a rhetorical excuse because this very elaborate portrayal is not something he could have made unwillingly or unconsciously.

2.2. His journey

Nabi's pilgrimage journey of more than one year began in 1089/1678. Although Nabi does not give a specific date for his departure it is possible to estimate at least its season by using circumstantial though sometimes ambiguous details. To begin with, since his itinerary was much longer than that of the annual pilgrimage caravan and since he spent his time generously in certain cities he must have departed from Istanbul certainly several months earlier than the official caravan, which would have left Istanbul in the month of Receb 1089/August 1678. Secondly, his statement that he waited for suitable weather to cross to Hersek by boat indicates that he might have set out in late winter/early spring. Thirdly, on the occasion of celebration of the conquest of Çehrin⁷⁰ in Damascus Nabi says that at the campaign time of the spring of that year [by which was meant 1678] Mustafa Paşa embarked on a campaign to the fortress of Çehrin. When reporting this news he uses the word '*meğher*' which suggests that he had not known of the Paşa's departure, and which enables us to assume that Nabi set out on his journey before the decision in favour of the campaign, which occurred on 11 April 1678, with

⁶⁸ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 308

⁶⁹ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 320

⁷⁰ The Çehrin fortress was captured from Russia by the grand vezir Kara Mustafa Paşa on 3 Receb 1089/12 August 1678 (I.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi* III, Ankara: TTK, 1951, p. 442).

the army marching on 8 Rebi'ülevvel 1089/30 April 1678.⁷¹ This circumstantial detail implies that Nabi started his journey before 11 April. Since Nabi is fond of hiding facts within similes it is worth noting that when he states metaphorically that he set out in the year 1089 he uses the word '*delv*' which means 'bucket'. Another meaning of this word is 'Aquarius', which is the eleventh sign of the Zodiac, corresponding to the period between 20 January and 19 February. If Nabi used the word metaphorically we may assume that he started his journey in this period. However since the first day of the lunar year 1089 corresponds to 23 February 1678, this rendering suggests a certain vagueness.

Like Evliya Çelebi, Nabi travelled in a small private caravan, which he probably led in person, since the caravan extended its route to Nabi's homeland, Urfa, and spent about fifty days there. We do not know precisely who constituted this small caravan since Nabi does not give the names of his comrades, and does not relate any anecdotes about them. However, other sources inform us that Nabi made his journey together with a friend Mehmed Rami, who after returning from the hajj became secretary to Müsahib Mustafa Paşa in place of Nabi, who by then had been appointed to the office of *kethüda* (steward) to Müsahib Paşa.⁷² Mehmed Rami later in his career ascended to the office of *kubbe veziri* and then to that of grand vezir in 1114/1703.⁷³ When Nabi draws a picture of the caravan in the middle of a desert⁷⁴ he reveals that he and his friend(s) travelled [perhaps in palanquin(s)] on horses or camels, and that they were accompanied by some pedestrians, presumably slaves as in the case of Evliya Çelebi.

In general, Nabi's itinerary on his outward journey appears to have been determined by his visitations of mosques, tombs and burial places. If there is no tomb or a historically important place to visit Nabi seems not to care about recording the name of his halting

⁷¹Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* III, p. 440

⁷²Osman Ta'ib, p. 128

⁷³F. Babinger, 'Mehmed Pasha Rami', *EF* VI, p. 999

places. It appears that he generally followed the usual route of the pilgrimage caravan from Istanbul to Damascus, passing through Kartal, Gebze, Hersek, Iznik, Eskişehir, Seyitgazi, Akşehir, Ilgın, Ladik, Konya, Ereğli, Adana, Misis bridge, Payas, Antakya, Aleppo (with a long detour to Urfa and back to Aleppo via Antep), Hama, Hims and the Kuteyfe strait. The fact that in Payas he or his friends suffered from shortness of breath due to extreme heat indicates he was there at least at the beginning of summer. During the fifty days' halt in Urfa, apart from visiting his brothers, sisters and old friends, Nabi visited the ancient places which were associated with the story of the Prophet Abraham. There seems no remark enabling us to anticipate exactly when Nabi arrived in Damascus and how long he stayed there. However, we know that before his departure from Damascus he attended the celebrations for the conquest of Çehrin, which occurred on 21 August 1678. After three days and nights of Çehrin celebrations, Nabi departed for Cairo. Within about ten days he reached Ramle where he stored his baggage, and paid a visit of just three days to Jerusalem and the Aksa mosque. He then returned to Ramle, and proceeded to Cairo through Askelon, Gazze, 'Ariş, Suez, and Salihiyye of Egypt.

Nabi reached Cairo in the autumn of 1089/1678. Like the seventeenth-century Moroccan traveller Ebu Salim el-'Ayyaşı (Abu Salim al-'Ayyashi),⁷⁵ Nabi was overwhelmed by the density of the population of Cairo. He was also fascinated with the splendid architecture of the buildings, with the bazaars and the crowding of mosques built side by side by Kurdish and Circassian rulers. Nabi gives a general description of the city of Cairo, the Nile, the two reservoirs of the city, park lands, the Ahram hills and the immediate neighbourhood of the city. In Cairo he must have received hospitality

⁷⁴*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 348

from 'Abdurrahman Paşa, who was a friend of his.⁷⁶ While elaborating on some aspects of his journey, Nabi overlooks others, including where and how he spent the month of Ramazan and its festival. On 20 Şevval 1089/5 December 1678 Nabi departed from Cairo in the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan bound for Mecca, passing through 'Adiliyye, Birketü'l-hacc, the valley of Tih, Mount Sinai, 'Akabe-i Mısr, Bedr-i Huneyn (on 1 Zilhicce 1089/14 January 1679) and Rabiğ. Having travelled independently for most of the first part of his journey, presumably travelling by day and sleeping at night, Nabi was clearly struck by the customs of the pilgrimage caravan, which even during the winter months travelled at night.

In Mecca Nabi visited the sacred sites enthusiastically, and performed the hajj in January 1679.⁷⁷ He gives a moving account of his experience as a pious emotional pilgrim. It appears that Nabi stayed in Mecca more than twenty days. On or immediately after 1 Muharrem 1090/12 February 1679, he set out for Medina, presumably in the Damascus caravan. A couplet in his Turkish *Divan* confirms that Nabi stayed in Mecca at least until the beginning of Muharrem 1090/February 1679: 'Nabi, we were at the Ka'be in [at the beginning of] 1090, it has been thirty years since we returned.'⁷⁸

It is known that the caravan generally arrived at Medina around 10 Muharrem.⁷⁹ While in Medina Nabi served at the tomb of the Prophet by lighting the candles, since his name was on the honorary list of attendants who were determined by the central government to serve the sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina. Nabi regards these services as a testimony to the legitimacy of Ottoman rule. He summarizes his return journey

⁷⁵ Abderrahmane El Moudden, 'The ambivalence of *rihla*: community integration and self-definition in Moroccan travel accounts, 1300-1800' in Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim Travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 77

⁷⁶ Bılkan, 'Nabi'nin sanat çevresi...', p. 68; Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergün, *Türk şairleri I* (1936), p. 180, 182

⁷⁷ It is worth noting a small but common mistake about the year of Nabi's performance of the hajj. Nabi performed the hajj in 1089/1679 not in 1678 as usually stated.

⁷⁸ *Nabi Divanı*, p. 1237: Bin doksanı biz Ka'bede itdik Nabi - 'Avdet ideli oldı selasin sene

⁷⁹ See Chapter V, p. 207

from Medina to Damascus and Istanbul in a few general words. If he travelled from Damascus to Istanbul in the official caravan he would have arrived in Istanbul in late Rebi'ülahir or Cemaziyelevvel 1090/June 1679. As soon as he returned to Istanbul Nabi must have begun to form his narrative.

2.3. The date of the completion of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*

Modern researchers give two different dates for the completion of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, depending presumably on the chronogram for the narrative. While Levend⁸⁰ and Karahan⁸¹ state that the Nabi completed his narrative in 1094/1683, Gibb, Rieu and Ambros say that it was in 1093/1682.⁸² The chronogram in my calculation also makes 1093: '*Bu (8) Tuhfe-i (493) haremeynim (348) kabul (138) ide (20) Mevla (86)*'. It is necessary here to amend a small but common mistake concerning the date of completion. Karahan and several researchers state that the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* was completed five years after Nabi returned from the hajj.⁸³ In fact, even if Nabi completed his text in 1094 it is wrong to say that he composed his text strictly 'five years after his return'. This would imply that he returned in 1089. However, as seen above, Nabi was still in the Hijaz in Muharrem 1090/February 1679.

The copies of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* do not give a single date beneath the chronogram upon which all researchers can agree. The dates for the chronogram in the copies of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* in the Süleymaniye library, the John Rylands Library of Manchester University, Cambridge University Library and the British Library bear varying dates including 1084,⁸⁴ 1085,⁸⁵ 1089,⁸⁶ 1090,⁸⁷ 1092⁸⁸ and 1093,⁸⁹ and 1095.⁹⁰ These varying

⁸⁰Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 16

⁸¹Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 48. Karahan also cites both dates 1093 and 1094 in the same entry on Nabi in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, and accepts the former date in another study on Nabi (see Karahan, *Eski Türk*, p. 200).

⁸²*HOP* III, p. 327; Ambros, p. 839.

⁸³Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 48; Iskender Pala, *Şair Nabi: Hayriyye* (Istanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1989), p. 13; Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 16; Turan, p. xvii

⁸⁴Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, no: 4939, 2862 and 4920.

dates for the same chronogram must be due to different calculations of it. The placement of different dates indicates that the original copy did not bear a numerical date under the chronogram, and that the early copyists themselves calculated the chronogram, and reached different dates. Calculation of the earlier dates, 1084, 1085, 1089, are clearly wrong, as Nabi had not completed the hajj journey by these dates.

On the other hand, the date 1090, which is placed under the chronogram for the completion of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* in Nabi's Turkish *Divan*, suggests that the date of completion was the year of his return to Istanbul.⁹¹ As noted, the date 1090 is also accepted in a copy of the work in the Süleymaniye library, which is one of the earliest and most reliable manuscripts, copied in 1095, when Nabi was still alive. The same date 1090 is also cited in a copy found in the John Rylands Library of Manchester University.⁹² A later note at the beginning of the copy declares that it is the most reliable copy and must have been written by Nabi himself. The biographer Salim reports that the composition took place during the journey.⁹³ This may be derived from Nabi's assertion that at the beginning of the journey he decided to write down every detail of his journey.⁹⁴ However, when mentioning an event that occurred in 1089 Nabi refers to 'that year' instead of 'this year'.⁹⁵ This suggests that Nabi did not compose his narrative, or at

⁸⁵Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, no: 4886/1

⁸⁶Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Reşid Bey, no: 43

⁸⁷The John Rylands Library of Manchester University, Turkish mss., no: 134, 45 fols., (5b-50b), dated 1090 with no colophon; Süleymaniye Ktp., Lala Ismail Paşa, no: 400/1, 62 fols., dated 1090/1679 with a colophon.

⁸⁸Cambridge University Library, Or. 598 (7), 85 fols., dated 1092/1681 with no colophon; See Edward. G. Browne, *Supplementary hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts: presented to the libraries of the University and colleges of Cambridge* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1922), p. 47

⁸⁹TSMK, no: R 840, 67 fols., dated 1093/1682 with no colophon; Köprülü Ktp., Hacı Ahmed Paşa (II), no: 260, 53 fols., dated 1093 with no colophon.

⁹⁰The date is placed in a copy (copied in 1142) in the private library of Emel Esin (Esin, p. 217).

⁹¹*Nabi Divanı*, p. 218

⁹²The John Rylands Library of Manchester University, Turkish mss., no: 134; See also Crawford, *Handlist of oriental manuscripts* (Aberdeen 1897).

⁹³Salim, p. 629

⁹⁴*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 275

⁹⁵*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 320: 'meger ol sene-i 'amimetü'l-meymenenün hengam-ı cünbüş-i sipah-ı fasl-ı baharında'

least not the *final* version of it, in the year 1089. Combination of his journey jottings, if any, with mostly poetical material he had either in mind or in front of him may have taken some time after his return. The question is how long did it take or when exactly did he complete his composition? Since Nabi, as a secretary to a high official, had proficiency in producing high-flown prose very easily and quickly, it is quite possible that he could have finished his text in late 1090/1679 as recorded in the *Divan* and in the above-mentioned two reliable manuscripts. Also possible, however, are either 1093 or 1094, as the calculations of the chronogram suggest.

2.4. Sources and influences

When the topic of a work is the description of a journey, what might be said about influences upon the work other than the personal experiences and observations of the traveller? In fact, the study of sources serves to identify if the text was based on the author's actual journey, or if the author derived all or some of his information from other relevant sources, and how authentic his account is. From the perspective of authenticity of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, an ambiguous phrase at the very start of the section on the reason for composition needs recording here: 'The commander of the army of imagination arranges the caravans of words in the following way'.⁹⁶ This vague expression may be a rhetorical disclaimer, or alternatively it may suggest that Nabi constructed his account out of his imagination. There are, however, several specific assertions testifying to the authenticity of his pilgrimage journey. Besides Nabi's statements in his account and his verses in his *Divan*, certain biographers assure us that Nabi went on the hajj through Egypt and produced his narrative.⁹⁷

⁹⁶*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 274: 'Ka'id-i ketibe-i hayal bu tarik üzre tertib-i kavafil-i makal ider ki'

⁹⁷*Nabi Divanı*, p. 957, 981: Mısır u Irak u Rum'ını gördüm bu alemin - Hiç görmedim esas-ı beka bir diyarda (p. 981); Seyl-i eşküm gibi hergiz nehr-i cari görmedüm - Vardum ey Yusuf-cemalüm Nil'e de Ceyhun'a da (p. 957)

What matters therefore is to determine the sources of the material which constitutes Nabi's narration since his pilgrimage account is not only a narration of what he saw during his journey but also a skillful combination of things seen and heard with those memorised or quoted from texts he may have had in front of him during the course of writing. In fact, this type of combination is a principal characteristic of many detailed medieval pilgrimage narratives, including those of Ibn Battuta,⁹⁸ Mandeville,⁹⁹ Marco Polo¹⁰⁰ and Evliya Çelebi, and appears to have been part of Nabi's method too. After giving an external description of a mosque, shrine or a sacred site Nabi adds a piece of relevant information or an anecdote either from memory or from the jottings of the journey or from written sources. He may have occasionally used local written sources. For instance, he gives tangible information about the manuscript copies of Muhyiddin-i 'Arabi's *Fütuhat-ı Mekkiyye* in the library of Mevlana's shrine in Konya, suggesting that he gained access to the library of the shrine. On the other hand, one of the more extended descriptions in the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* is that on the Aksa mosque, but surprisingly Nabi says that he stayed in Jerusalem for just three days, which seems a very short time to produce such a long description. He gives the measurement of the Aksa mosque in *zira*', and determines its location and how much space it occupies in the city. The nature of the information, which is statistical, historical and descriptive, implies that he must have made use of a relevant source, either oral or written.

However Nabi leaves his sources unspecified, using terms such as: 'as it is related by the narrators of the events of the past',¹⁰¹ 'which is related by the historians of Egypt',¹⁰²

⁹⁸Ross E Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and California, 1986), p. 313

⁹⁹Donald R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity* (Berkeley 1980), p. 54

¹⁰⁰Peter Jackson, 'Marco Polo and his travels' *Bulletin of the school of oriental and African studies* 61 (1998), pp. 82-101

¹⁰¹*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 287: 'elsine-i nakala-i ahbar-ı ezmine-i sabıkada cari olduğu üzere'

¹⁰²*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 354: 'zeban-güzar-ı tevarih-şinasan-ı vekayi'-i Mısıryyedir'

'from the words of the tongues of learned men',¹⁰³ 'as it is written by the tongue of reed[pens] of narrators'.¹⁰⁴ His ambiguous descriptions of his references suggest that he depended generally on oral sources, but wished to confirm their truthfulness by implied reference to written sources. Indeed, Nabi's main concern was the skilful employment of his own prose style, not the detailed treatment of the subject.¹⁰⁵ Several pilgrim-writers including Evliya Çelebi, Mehmed Edib and Kadri who give more priority to subject than to prose style refer occasionally to specific written sources.

It is unnecessary to investigate the sources of information which seemingly come from Nabi's general knowledge. But it is worthwhile exploring the sources of his direct quotations, which clearly inspired him. In this respect, the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* is full of Turkish, Persian and Arabic verses, a significant number of which appear to be quoted from other poets. Numerous Persian verses cited in the narrative are available in Persian works called the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*, which describe the sacred places of Mecca and Medina, and the ceremonies of the hajj in more or less same or similar verses. There is a problem in identifying the real composer of the original work of the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*(s). Since the work constitute the most crucial source for the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* it is worth concentrating on determining its poet. It is stated by several modern researchers that the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* was written by Muhyi of Lari (d. 933/1526-27), and that it was misattributed for a long time to Cami.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, biographical entries on Cami in reference works do not include any work called the

¹⁰³*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 347: 'aklam-ı elsine-i ashab-ı vukufdan'

¹⁰⁴*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 296: 'çekide-i zeban-ı yara'a-i rüvat olduğu üzre'

¹⁰⁵See the section on Nabi's prose style.

¹⁰⁶Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum* II (London 1881), p. 655; E. Berthels, 'Muhyi'l-Din Lari', *EF* 7, p. 478. While introducing Muhyi's *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*, Rieu (p. 654) gives some biographic information on the author: 'Muhyi Lari, a native of the island of Lar in the Persian Gulf, lived, according to Riyaz ush-Shu'ara, fol. 411, from the time of Sultan Ya'kub (A.H. 883-896) to the reign of Shah Tahmasp, who succeeded A.H. 930. He wrote a commentary upon the *Ta'yyah* of Ibn Fariz, and dedicated the present poem, on his return from Mecca, to Sultan Muzaffar B. Mahmud Shah (who reigned in Gujrat [Gujarat] from A.H. 917 to 932). That dedication is not found in the present

Fütuhu'l-haremeyn among his works. Instead, we are told that Cami, who went on the hajj in 877/1472, wrote a prose work on the rites of the hajj called the *Risale der-menasik* in Baghdad on his outward journey.¹⁰⁷

It seems that there is no descriptive study on Muhyi and his works, and the ascription of the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* to Muhyi must have been made by cataloguers due to the fact that the name Muhyi is placed at the beginning and in the introduction to copies of the work.¹⁰⁸ Muhammed Ahmed Simsar says that Muhyi quotes from Cami, depending probably on Rieu who says that Muhyi incorporated an extract from Cami's *Tuhfetü'l-ahrar* in full.¹⁰⁹ The latter work consists of twenty sections, the seventh of which concerns Cami's visit to the Ka'be.¹¹⁰ Muhyi clearly quotes many verses from Cami in the work.¹¹¹

In the manuscript libraries of Istanbul there are several copies of the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* which were ascribed by cataloguers to Muhyi.¹¹² However, a copy of the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* found in the Millet library defies the attribution of the work to Muhyi, and suggests that it was written by Cami, for the pseudonym Cami is placed instead of Muhyi in the same verses.¹¹³ Besides the placement of Cami, there are certain differences between this copy and others. In this copy, which was made in Mecca, the pictures are different. Numerous verses are cited in different places and sometimes in different contexts. The copy, which is complete with introductory and concluding verses, does not contain the panegyrics for Cami and some others which appear in other

copy.' Muhyi died in 933/1526. See also Muhammed Ahmed Simsar, *Oriental manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis collection in the free library of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia 1937), p. 140

¹⁰⁷Ömer Okumuş, 'Cami, Abdurrahman', *DIA* 7, p. 98; Cl. Huart-[H. Masse], 'Djami' *EP* 2, pp. 421-22; and Zeki Velidi Togan. 'Cami', *IA* 3, p. 17

¹⁰⁸Simsar, p. 140

¹⁰⁹Rieu, p. 655

¹¹⁰Hikmet, p. 194

¹¹¹Muhyi, *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* (Süleymaniye Ktp., Lala Ismail, no: 102, dated 942/1542), f. 2, 6, 7, 46

¹¹²Several copies of the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* in the Süleymaniye library are held in the following sections: Hacı Mahmud, no: 3494; Reşid Bey, no: 1176; Laleli, no: 1183/3; Lala Ismail, no: 102/2

texts, and which must have been composed later by Muhyi. Therefore, the copy is shorter than 'Muhyi's version' in the Süleymaniye library and others in the British Museum and the Chester Beatty Library.¹¹⁴ The copies in the Millet library and the Chester Beatty Library were copied in Mecca in 1007/1598 and 1003/1595 respectively.

It is still too early to reach a final conclusion without a thorough study. But it is very possible that Muhyi based his compilation on Cami's verse description and added his own verses. The competent Ottoman author Eyüb Sabri Paşa (d. 1890), author of a very detailed book on the historical and geographical description of the Hijaz, ascribes a number of quotations from the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* to Cami in his work *Mir'atü'l-haremeyn*.¹¹⁵ It is worth noting that Sabri mistakenly ascribes a few verses from the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* to the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*.¹¹⁶ Nabi himself must have attributed the verses in question to Cami although he does not refer to him in his narrative. This is because while we do not sense Muhyi's presence in Nabi's works at all, Cami's influence is evident both on Nabi's philosophy and his other works including the Persian *Divançe*, the *Tercüme-i hadis-i erba'in*, and probably the *Hayriyye*. Indeed, Cami's *Tuhfetü'l-ahrar* appears to have been among the favourite works of the Ottoman literati, for this work was given as a gift to sons of Mehmed IV by the grand vezir of the time in 1086/1675,¹¹⁷ and is also complimented by Nev'izade 'Atayi in his *Suhbetü'l-ebkar*.¹¹⁸

Despite a great number of quotations from the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*, Nabi rarely quotes verses from other master poets unless he finds them particularly appropriate for his

¹¹³See a copy of the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* in the Millet library, Farsça, no: 478.

¹¹⁴A.J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library: a catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures* III, (Dublin 1962), p. 22-23.

¹¹⁵Eyüb Sabri, *Mir'atü'l-haremeyn: mir'at-ı Mekke* 4 (Istanbul, Bahriyye Matbaasi, 1302/1884), p. 1147

¹¹⁶Eyüb Sabri Paşa, p. 1159

¹¹⁷See Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 42

¹¹⁸Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi* (Ankara: TTK, 1973), p. 107.

immediate subject. Among the poets we can identify are Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, Fuzuli (d. 1556), Baki (1526-1600), and Naili (d. 1077/1666). There are a few poems the poets of which were identified by Nabi himself. These are by Murad IV (r. 1623-40), Şeyhülislam Yahya (1644) and Ahmed I (r. 1603-17). The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* also contains several of Nabi's own verses, some of which are included in his Turkish *Divan* and Persian *Divançe*.¹¹⁹ It seems that these panegyrics to persons such as the Prophet Muhammed, Ibn el-'Arabi and Mevlana were composed in the course of the journey.¹²⁰

In conclusion, Nabi's sources for the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* can be identified as his own experiences and observations; material collected from oral and written sources; his general culture as a learned man; and his specific knowledge of existing poetry. In some cases, especially in the description of the sacred cites in the Hijaz, his remarks appear to be a prose paraphrase of the Persian verses cited. Yet, in spite of a large number of quotations from other poets, particularly from Cami and/or Muhyi, Nabi seems not to have imitated them much as to content and style. While portraying *his own story* in his Persianised language and elaborate style, Nabi generally used the verses of other poets as marginal embellishments or as additions to his own pictures.

¹¹⁹The opening couplets of the poems Nabi included in his *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* are the followings: El-veda' ey hak-i rahun kuhl-i iman el-veda'

Seng-i kuyun gevher-i tac-ı Süleyman el-veda'

(*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 470; *Nabi Divanı*, p. 738; *Persian Divançe*, p. 34,)

El-veda' ey merdüm-i çeşm-i basiret el-veda'

El-veda' ey sümbül-i bağ-ı hakikat el-veda'

(*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 434; *Nabi Divanı*, p. 738; *Persian Divançe*, p. 35)

Sakın terk-i edebden ku-yı mahbub-ı Huda'dur bu

Nazargah-ı İlahi'dür makam-ı Mustafa'dur bu

(*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 443; *Nabi Divanı*, p. 952; *Persian Divançe*, p. 35)

Pişani-i şevkun kadem-i rah-ı necat it

Müjganunı çarub-ı gubar-ı 'Arafat it

(*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 389; *Nabi Divanı*, p. 473; *Persian Divançe*, p. 35)

¹²⁰*Nabi Divanı*, p. 138

2.5. Nabi's prose style and language in the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*

In terms of language and style, Nabi composed his various works in two very dissimilar styles: the first is relatively direct, plain and dry, and the second is elaborate, Persianised and metaphorical. Agah Sırrı Levend states best this apparent incompatibility, saying that when Nabi's prose works are compared to his verse works it is difficult to believe that they all were composed by the same person.¹²¹ It is therefore very misleading to judge Nabi's general literary style and language on the basis of any single work of his. The criticism of Nabi as an imitator of Persian poetry, which was made by Şeyh Galib on the basis of his heavily Persianised romance, the *Hayrabad*, and developed later by Gibb¹²² and Holbrook,¹²³ contradicts some fragmentary comments made by Ziya Paşa, Fuad Köprülü and Tanpınar, and some modern researchers who detected in Nabi's style and language in his other works the first lights of original and local motifs or colours.¹²⁴ This does not mean what they said is wrong but emphasizes that the comments on a single or a few works of Nabi do not reflect Nabi's style as a whole, as the above-mentioned researchers must have been aware. For example, the criticism of Nabi by Şeyh Galib on account of his Persianised style in the *Hayrabad* was accepted by Ziya Paşa.¹²⁵

Indeed, Nabi employed a relatively plain language in many of his poems, particularly the *mesnevis* in the *Divan*, the *Surname* and the *Hayriyye*, which are closer to the modern Turkish language than many works produced in the nineteenth century. For instance, in one of his *mesnevis* in his Turkish *divan* Nabi depicts a phase of his life story in a very clear and idiomatic language by using dialogues, as well as addressing

¹²¹Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 17

¹²²HOP IV, p. 6; HOP III, p. 246, 370

¹²³Holbrook, pp. 63-64

¹²⁴Mengi, p. 29, 33, 38-39; Fuad Köprülü, *Edebiyat araştırmaları* (Ankara: TTK, 1966), p. 294; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. asır Türk edebiyatı tarihi* 1, (Istanbul: İbrahim Horoz, 1956), p. xxxv

himself directly: 'Go to the threshold of the sultan! Rub your face at that convent!'¹²⁶; 'I said, O sultan of the kingdom of prosperity, the mirror of my fate, the light of my eye.'¹²⁷

In another *mesnevi* the poet sets up a story of four individuals, who came to Istanbul to receive 'ulufe (salary). Like a playwright he first introduces the main characters of the story, and then proceeds to dramatize their actions and dialogues in a straightforward language which is very close to today's spoken Turkish, as in: 'Ahmed Ağa! Do not be mean, like these, O reverend!'¹²⁸ Nabi not only composed such poems but also explicitly criticises those who used a language full of unfamiliar words: 'O one who uses strange expressions in poetry, a *divan* of *gazel*(s) is not [should not be] a copy of a dictionary.'¹²⁹

However, contrary to his plain verse works and his opposition to the use of foreign and ambiguous words in 'poetry', Nabi employed very metaphorical language full of borrowings from Persian and Arabic in his 'prose' texts and his romance the *Hayrabad*. Levend suggests that Nabi's real art is exhibited in his prose texts, and that the *Zeyl-i siyer-i Veysi* and the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* are two of the most impressive examples of Ottoman prose literature.¹³⁰ While evaluating his works in a *mesnevi* addressed to Mehmed IV Nabi devotes most space to the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. He regards it as a masterpiece, stressing its superiority over other texts and its reputation:

¹²⁵Mengi, pp. 31-2

¹²⁶*Nabi Divanı*, p. 405: Varsan a astane-i şaha - Yüzünü sürsen e o dergaha

¹²⁷*Nabi Divanı*, p. 410: Didüm ey şah-ı mülk-i ma'muri - Bahtum ayinesi güzüm nuri

¹²⁸*Nabi Divanı*, p. 447: Ahmed Ağa olma sakın dun-himem - Sen dahi bunlar gibi ey muhterem

¹²⁹Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme safhaları* (Ankara: TDK, 1949), p. 94: Ey şi'r meyanında satan lafz-ı ğaribi - Divan-ı gazel nüsha-i kamus değildir

¹³⁰Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 17

‘The purified work the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* is a source [treasury] of embroidery in the kingdom of prose.’¹³¹

‘It has become, like the radiant sun, the jewel in the crown of stylists of the world’¹³²

‘Nowadays, who can produce such a work? Listen everybody! (?), Here are the men of skill!’¹³³

At the very beginning of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Nabi asserts that he intended to produce a description that would give pleasure to those who had already performed the hajj, and would incite those who had not been there to go. He aimed to do this through his lively and high-flown prose style more than through a factual and detailed description in a dry language. This would have been expected of him since he was neither a *müderris* nor another member of the *‘ülema* (learned men) such as a *müfti* (authority on Islamic law). As a secretary, his profession was determined by writing and composition not by education or scholarship. In the above verses Nabi himself evaluates his narration on the basis of its prose style not of its contents. Moreover, in a *kaside* to Ahmed III (1703-30), Nabi complains about his lack of productivity in the field of prose: ‘What has happened to you, why are you staying idle, why are you hiding? How long will you postpone writing this bejeweled prose?’¹³⁴

In his narrative, while disregarding a number of factual features of his journey, Nabi gives elaborate descriptions of some relatively insignificant details. However such descriptions sometimes contain factual information about the journey almost unintentionally. For example, while omitting the names of numerous stations he passed

¹³¹*Nabi Divanı*, p. 429: Eser-i pak-i *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* - Mülk-i inşaya oldı maye-i zeyn

¹³²*Nabi Divanı*, p. 429: Oldı manend-i neyyir-i rahşan - Güher-i tac-ı münşiyan-i cihan

¹³³*Nabi Divanı*, p. 429: Şimdi kimdür iden bir böyle eser - Es-sala işte reh-revan-ı hüner

¹³⁴*Nabi Divanı*, p. 50: Sana n’oldı ne turursın ne güne saklarsın - Ta-be-key nesr-i cevahirde bu denlü te’hir

through he draws a vivid picture of the progress of his caravan in the desert through rhetorical language.¹³⁵

His description sometimes becomes very systematic. In the description of the coffee-houses in Damascus, he gives a brief general definition of a coffee-house, then describes one coffee house in particular. He first introduces the milieu in which he will dramatize poetically his observations there. Then the heroes, including waiters, musicians, story tellers, dervishes and even two vagrants called Bedi and Kasım, come into the scene. The descriptions of the physical appearances of some heroes are also not neglected. Another animated description is on the celebration for the conquest of fortress of Çehrin, through which Nabi portrays the tradesmen of Damascus, parading through the street. The presence of Nabi himself in many of such descriptions is either shadowy or not detectable at all. For instance, while determining the positions of all the people in the coffee-house, he does not specify where he himself was standing and what he was doing or drinking. However, it is possible to detect his personal approach towards the attendants of the coffee-house from his adjectives for them.

The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* contain numerous fragmentary simple verses in Turkish, which are appropriate to those who 'say' them in terms of language and content.¹³⁶ For instance when Nabi conveys the thoughts of his brothers and sisters about himself he uses an unpretentious language: 'I wonder if we will see that face again, or if that man far away from his home will stay where he is, and never come again!'¹³⁷

In the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Nabi employs very aptly the devices of high prose style, among which are 'internal rhyme', 'multiple rhyme', 'structural parallelism',

¹³⁵*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 347

¹³⁶It appears that Nabi did not include most of these verses in his *Divan* (see Bilkan's edition).

¹³⁷*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 292: 'Aceb görür miyüz ol ruyı bir dahi - Yohsa kalur gider o ğaribü'd-diyar gelmez mi

'alliteration', and 'loose phonic association'.¹³⁸ In fact, most of these devices are not consciously constructed by a stylist because to some extent they come naturally to a highly literate author because of the nature of the language. Since Nabi was employed as secretary to Müsahib Mustafa Paşa he must have had an easy command of Ottoman stylistic elements. Those who were involved in official writing by profession may well have used such devices of prose style in their spoken language.¹³⁹ Therefore, more or less the same things can be said for the prose styles of almost all accomplished Ottoman stylists such as Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, Mustafa 'Ali and Nabi.

Nabi is fond of playing with words, placing them as if he was playing chess, which confuses his unwary reader. He uses some words which could be mistaken for words more familiar to the reader since both words are spelled the same in Arabic alphabet but are pronounced and meant differently. It seems that Nabi does this on purpose as if to test the reader's knowledge of vocabulary, and ultimately to demonstrate the richness of his vocabulary in using the devices of Ottoman prose notwithstanding his criticism of poets who uses elusive words in poetry.¹⁴⁰ Through such things he keeps the reader's attention awake, and occasionally bestows on the reader the pleasure of identifying his deliberately obscure expression. If Nabi's aim was really to confuse his readers with word-play he seems to have achieved his aim. For example, the word '*zin*' (saddle) in the phrase *mukim-i misafîrhane-i zin olup*, which means 'rested in the guest house of 'saddle', can be wrongly read as '*zeyn*' (embellishment). In another remark, Nabi plays with the word '*nili*' (blue), which can be read also as '*Nil'i*' which means either 'its Nile' or 'the Nile in accusative case'.¹⁴¹ Since the subject of the remark is related to

¹³⁸A. Tietze, 'Mustafa Ali of Gallipoli's prose style', *Archium Ottomanicum* 5 (1973), p. 299-311

¹³⁹Tietze, p. 311

¹⁴⁰Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 17

¹⁴¹*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 360: 'yine bir sefineye hama'il-kerden kılınup canib-i Mısır'a i'ade olundukda, bu kez levha-i mihr-i münir yedi def'a gerden-i 'arus-ı nili burku'-ı gerduna avizan olduğu müddetde sahil-i Mısır'a lenger-endaz-ı istikrar'

Egypt and the word Egypt is used a few times in the same sentence the reader is lead deliberately by Nabi to read the word in question as '*Nil'i*'. Again, if the reader reads the word wrongly he will think that the auxiliary verb '*ol-*' (to become) is used wrongly instead of '*et-*' (to make, to cause). Even if one can read a phrase correctly he might not catch the correct or figurative meaning of it. For instance, the phrase '*nesr-i ta'ir*' may be misunderstood even by a competent researcher as 'the birds of prey',¹⁴² although it means 'the constellation called the Eagle'.¹⁴³

Use of metaphors is the most common feature of Ottoman *inşa*. In terms of the originality of metaphors, Nabi's prose style deserves high praise. He does not restrict himself to common metaphors such as rose, sapling, ocean, sun, moon, but employs original and surprising metaphors which are related to items Nabi either saw or presumably sometimes used during his journey: the hooked stick and ball, chess, magnet, chameleon, a pair of compasses, camel, bell appended to the neck of a camel, Arabian horse, spur, bridle, saddle, cock, peacock, decoy-bird, dove, eagle, seed, plant, water-wheel, bride, and arteries. In the narrative he employs more widely and freely almost all the metaphorical devices a poet could use in his poems. Of them, Nabi frequently resorted to the *hüsn-i ta'lil*, interpretation of a real or natural event with a poetic or imaginary reason, etc. For instance, the author compares the chameleon of Nimrod to the two dragons of Dahhak and to the Arabic letter '*la*'. He interprets poetically the formation of the chameleon in the form of '*la*' as if it refutes Nimrod's false claims. He interprets the fact that the leaves and flowers of trees around the ponds of Damascus fall into the ponds as the favour of the trees to the ponds since the latter

¹⁴²Emel Esin, *Mecca the blessed Madinah the radiant* (Nowara: Paul Elek Productions Limited, 1963), p. 176

¹⁴³F. Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary* (Beirut 1970), p. 1400

provided the garden of the trees with water.¹⁴⁴ Having portrayed the course of the Nile, which goes first in a single line and then divides into two before reaching the Mediterranean sea, Nabi compares it to the *Zülfikar*, Caliph 'Ali's two pointed sword, and the Mediterranean sea to a round shield.

Nabi employed a very Persianised Ottoman Turkish in the narrative. Persian vocabulary and verse quotations are overwhelmingly dominant in it. What Şeyh Galib said of Nabi's *Hayrabad* in the prologue of his *Hüsn ü 'Aşk* is applicable to the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*: 'The poem of Persian-like verses, full of sequential compounds throughout'.¹⁴⁵ Instead of using proper/single-word Turkish verbs Nabi prefers Turkish auxiliary verbs *ol-*, *et-/it-*, *kıl-*, *eyle-* combined with long Persian phrases and compounds. He sometimes, though rarely, employs a Persian verb, e.g. *yad bad...*, *feramuş me-bad*. He expresses Turkish idioms in a Persianized Turkish. For instance, he utters the idiom 'a day was stolen from the life' as '*ömrden bir gün duzdide kılındı*' instead of '*ömrden bir gün çalındı*'. It is possible to translate numerous remarks into Persian just by making a few minor grammatical changes as is shown in the free translation of the last part of the narration in the so called *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyni'l-Farisi*.¹⁴⁶

Nabi sometimes makes mistakes in using the auxiliary verbs *ol-* and *et-* as in: '*-cesed-i mutahher-i Muhammedi*'[yi] *sav kafes-bend-i şübbak olan [iden] sultan; nazmın*

¹⁴⁴*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 306

¹⁴⁵Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme safhaları*, p. 94, quoting from the *Hüsn ü 'Aşk*: Manzume-i Farisi-veş ebyat - Bi'l-cümle tetabu'-ı izafat

İnşaya virir eğerçi ziynet - Türki söz içinde ayn-ı sıklet

¹⁴⁶*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 445: 'Ey bimiran-ı pister-i hasret, bu ol darü's-şifa-yı 'illet-i ma'siyetdür ki ğubar-ı sahn-ı mu'allasından terki olunan ma'cun-ı müferrih-i visal-i cevahir takviyet-bahş-ı dil-haste-gan-ı 'isyan olmasa teb ü tab-ı humma-yı hamimden ifakat na-müyesser idi. Beyt'

The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyni'l-Farisi* (Süleymaniye Ktp., Erzincan, no: 135, f. 201b) reads:

'Ey bimiran-ı pister-i 'illet, in an darü's-şifa-yı 'illet-i ma'siyet-est ki eger ez ğubar-ı sahn-ı mu'allayeş terki-i yaftegi-i ma'cun-ı müferrih-i takviye-bahş-ı dil-haste-gan-ı 'isyan nemi-şüd ez tab-ı teb-ı humma-yı hamim halas müyesser na-bud, Nazm'

*makam-ı evcde usul-i devri uzre terennüm-riz oldukça [itdikçe].*¹⁴⁷ There are a number of phrases and grammatical usages which sound strange according to modern Turkish usage: *..hatta-i Endülüs olmak [olması] mersum-ı ..ezeldir; sükkân-ı şehre yetişmek [yetişmesi] hayli ma'nadur; istirahat oldılar [etdiler]; huna [hunu] müteakib; ne gördüm!; halde* with the meaning of *zaman*; *fazla* with the meaning of *başka*. He uses the construction of *belirtisiz isim tamlaması* (indefinite noun phrase) lavishly. Examples include 'ol hak-i pak [ol hak-i pakin] züvvarından', 'merkad-i mukaddes [mukaddesin] müşahedesinden', *ol mahalde sıhhat* [sıhhatin] *vuku'ı müberhendir*', 'bülend-şükuh [bülend-şükuhun] dameninde; and *mihrab-ı Meryem* [Meryem'in] *pişgahında*.

2.6. The place of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* in the genre

Even though Nabi's narrative is placed in the fourth group of Ottoman pilgrimage narratives as defined in the previous chapter, it stands unique in its genre in several respects. Unlike the authors of the first and second group of texts who aimed to provide the reader with practical data about the stations, Nabi does not give proper descriptions of the stations for practical purposes. In terms of style and content his narrative also does not resemble the works gathered in the third group which aim to give detailed geographical and historical information in a factual manner.

Like Ahmed Fakih, Fevri, and Aşçı Dede Ibrahim, Nabi does not pay attention to producing a description of the stations he passed through. With respect to written format Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* stands beside the narrations of Fevri and Ibrahim Hanif, who composed their texts in prose with extensive verse sections. It is possible to see a parallel between Nabi's aim and that of Ahmed Fakih, who in his *Kitabu evsafı*

¹⁴⁷The auxiliary verb *et-* (to cause, to make) accepts an object in the accusative case, the auxiliary verb *ol-* (to become) takes a noun but not an object.

mesacidi's-şerife focuses on describing in verse the sacred places in the holy cities of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, overlooking the journey itself.

Despite major differences as to the aim and style of their narrative, there can be found some similarities between Evliya Çelebi and Nabi in terms of the way they undertook the journey. They both made a relatively comfortable and exceptional journey, not joining the official pilgrimage caravan until it was necessary. It seems that they both enjoyed official assistance during their journeys. While Evliya was helped by Harmuş Paşa, governor of Jerusalem, and Hüseyin Paşa, governor of Damascus, Nabi must have been assisted by 'Abdurrahman Paşa, governor of Egypt, and others. Like Evliya Çelebi, who was accompanied by his close friend Sa'ili Çelebi and seven slaves, Nabi was accompanied by his friend Mehmed Rami, and probably by some slaves. Both travellers visited the sacred sites in Jerusalem and intended to join the Egyptian caravan although Evliya had to join the Damascus caravan.¹⁴⁸ Neither man's description could be regarded as a proper reflection of the pilgrimage experience of the vast majority of Ottoman pilgrims.

In order to establish the place of Nabi's narrative in its genre it is necessary to identify similarities between the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* and other pilgrimage texts composed previously and subsequently. The narrative contains a number of verses similar to those cited in earlier pilgrimage texts. For example, where the sixteenth-century poet Bahti's *Manzume fi'l-menasik-i hacc* reads:

'It is a temple; it is in reality the place where God is worshipped; it became a place of prostration; in fact, it is the place of prostration before God.'¹⁴⁹

Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* reads:

¹⁴⁸See Chapter II, p. 81.

'That is the place of prostration and the place of prostration before God. That is the temple and the place where God is worshipped.'¹⁵⁰

The latter couplet is found in the Persian pilgrimage narration the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*,¹⁵¹ which proves that neither Nabi nor Bahti composed it. Rather, while Nabi quotes it Bahti paraphrases it in Ottoman Turkish.

The following example of similarity is a couplet, the first line of which is in Arabic and the second in Persian. This type of couplet is called *mülemma*, and is also cited in Muhyi's compilation. While Nabi quotes it in its original form, Bahti translates the Persian line into Turkish. The couplet was originally composed to greet someone on the festival day, hence the most proper place to cite it is the description of Mina, where pilgrims celebrate the festival of *adha* (*kurban bayramı*, festival of sacrifice): 'May God grant you a happy morning! May this festival day be blessed for you!'¹⁵²

There are several similar expressions and metaphors found in Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* and Kadri's *Menazilü't-tarik ila beyti'llahi'l-'atik*. However, these may be simply echoes of common expressions and are not sufficient evidence to show that Nabi made a particular use of Kadri's text:

Kadri's text reads:

'One who sees the river in the middle of that meadow, as if it wears silver belt and green cloth of velvet/brocade'¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹Bahti, *Manzume fi-menasiki'l-hacc*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Aşir Efendi, no: 123, f. 2: Ma'bededür ma'nide ma'bud-ı Hakk - Secdegeh oldı veli mescud-ı Hakk

¹⁵⁰*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 271: Secde-geh an başed ve mescud-ı Hakk - Ma'bede an başed ve ma'bud-ı Hakk

¹⁵¹Muhyi [Cami], *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*, Millet Ktp., f. 7 (This copy seems to have numbered by a later hand)

¹⁵²The *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* (f. 31b) and the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* (Part II, p. 412) reads: Sabbaha-ke'llahü sabahe's-sa'id - Ber-tü mübarek bud in ruz-i 'id

Bahti (f. 20b) reads: Sabbaha-ke'llahü sabahe's-sa'id - Ola mübarek sana bu yevm-i 'id

¹⁵³Kadri, f. 21a: Dir gören ab-ı revanı ol çemende der meyan - San kuşanmış sim kemer giymiş yeşil-kemha kaba

Nabi's narrative reads:

'the river of 'Asi which is the silver belt round the middle of the black clothes of Hama'¹⁵⁴

Kadri's reads:

'Look up and down of that ambergris-coloured line! They say that paradise is either above or below Damascus'¹⁵⁵

Nabi's reads:

'Those who say that paradise was either below or above Damascus have said that beyond any doubt it is above.'¹⁵⁶

The above-cited similar verses between Nabi's narrative and previous texts may indicate the similarity of their sources although it might be in some cases a different version of the same sources.

Now it is necessary to ascertain what was the place of Nabi's narrative in the context of the succeeding pilgrimage texts. It should be noted immediately that Nabi's pilgrimage narrative was used as a model by several authors of succeeding centuries in their pilgrimage texts. Of these, the first work to be mentioned is the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyni'l-Farisi*, which is a brief Persian paraphrase of Nabi's description of the sacred sites in the Hijaz. The only known copy of the work is available in a manuscript including other works by Nabi in the Süleymaniye library (Erzincan, no: 135). Folios 200b-207b of the manuscript are occupied by this work, which seems complete, containing introductory and concluding remarks. The existing copy of the work was made in 1176/1762 by Muhammed Sadık. The writer sometimes translates, sometimes paraphrases, sometimes

¹⁵⁴*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 300.: 'nitak-ı simin-i miyan-ı sevad-ı Hama olan nehr-i 'Asi'

¹⁵⁵Kadri, f. 23a: 'Zir u balasına bak ol hatt-ı 'anber-famun - Cennet üstünde ya altında dimişler Şam'un'

summarizes and sometimes adds different verses and remarks. The text could not therefore be deemed a proper translation of the relevant parts of Nabi's description. Several couplets are placed in different contexts. The order sometimes differs from Nabi's. The introduction and conclusion of the Persian work are totally different from Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. However towards the end of his introductory remarks the writer summarizes his journey, which can be reconciled with that of Nabi. According to the summary in the Persian account the author rested in his homeland, traversed a desert full of robbers and went along the dangerous coast of the deep sea. Consequently, with the help of God he succeeded in visiting the Ka'be and the tomb of the Prophet Muhammed.¹⁵⁷ After introductory remarks and couplets the author starts his main narration with a description of his observations and of the sacred sites in Mecca and in Medina.

It is highly probable that the identical verses and similar description led the cataloguer to ascribe the work to Nabi, and to name it the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyni'l-Farisi*. The adapter of the work intentionally eliminates Nabi's name and puts Rafi' instead several times as is shown in the following verse and prose examples, which also exemplify the relationship between the two texts:

The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyni'l-Farisi* reads:

'Siyah-ruy vü güneş-kar **Rafi'**-i bi-dil

Küned ümid-i 'ata ya Muhammed-i 'Arabi¹⁵⁸

The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* reads:

'Siyah-ruy vü güneş-kar **Nabi**-i bed-kar

¹⁵⁶ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 321: 'Ref' idüb şübheyi üstinde 'ıyandur didiler - Cennet altında ya üstinde diyenler Şam'un'

¹⁵⁷ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyni'l-Farisi*, f. 201a

İder ümid-i 'ata ya Muhammed-i 'Arabi'¹⁵⁹

The *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyni 'l-Farisi* reads:

'Ba'z zeban-ı hod-ra mahi-i cuybar-ı salavat ve ba'z tuti-i natıka-i hod-ra ğarka-i şekeristan-ı tahiyyat sahte nahl-bend-i hadika-i eser-i **Rafi'** ez-zerre-i kemter in sünbül-i nev-demide-i ihlas-ra dest-aviz-i ser-i kuy-ı Hayru'l-beşer mi-kerd'.¹⁶⁰

The *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn* reads:

'Kimi zebanın mahi-i cuybar-ı salavat ve kimi tuti-i natıkasın ğarka-i şekeristan-ı tahiyyat itmegin nahl-bend-i hadika-i eser ya'ni **Nabi-i** kemter dahi bu sünbül-i nev-demide-i zemin-i ihlası dest-aviz-i ser-i kuy-ı hazret-i Hayru'l-beşer eylemişdür.'¹⁶¹

Unfortunately, the major eighteenth and the nineteenth-century biographical dictionaries including Safayi, Salim, Şefkat do not help us identifying a poet called Rafi'.¹⁶²

The eighteenth-century author Mehmed Edib's *Nehcetü 'l-menazil*, which is reported as a popular pilgrimage narration, has a number of verses identical with those in Nabi's *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*. There is therefore the possibility of a common source which both Nabi and Mehmed Edib used in their descriptions. However, the fact that these verses were not quoted by other pilgrim authors such as Hibri and Kadri, who both produced their texts before Nabi in more or less the same manner as Mehmed Edib supports the assumption that Mehmed Edib made direct use of Nabi's text. Several verses are identical in the pilgrimage narratives by both Nabi and Mehmed Edib, who might have quoted from Nabi's narrative.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyni 'l-Farisi*, f. 203b

¹⁵⁹ *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 443

¹⁶⁰ *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyni 'l-Farisi*, f. 203b

¹⁶¹ *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 441

¹⁶² Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, pp. 305-352

¹⁶³ The following verses are included by both Nabi and Mehmed Edib in a similar context:

'Gör Hama şehrin dolanmış guşe guşe ablar

Besides these identical verses, Mehmed Edib quotes a poem by Nabi, which is implied by Nabi to have been composed in Medina.¹⁶⁴ Only one couplet, which begins with 'küşade', is missing in Edib's text. This couplet is also lost in the copy of *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* in British Museum.¹⁶⁵ The opening couplets of the poem are as follows: 'O beloved of God, O Arab Muhammed! The intercessor on Doomsday, O Arab Muhammed!'¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, it is obvious that Mehmed Edib, who gives more detailed and factual information from other sources, including the *Tarih-i Dımişk*,¹⁶⁷ does not base his entire description on Nabi's.

The eighteenth-century Anonymous pilgrimage narration testifies strongly to the celebrity of Nabi's narrative.¹⁶⁸ The Anonymous author quotes verses from Nabi on several occasions such as on arriving at Medina, on leaving the mausoleum of the Prophet, on describing 'Arafat and on leaving the Ka'be. The first couplets of these poems are the following: 'O leader of the descendants of Adam, greetings to you! O

Nehr-i 'Asi'ye muti' olmuş döner dulablar'

Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn, Part II, p. 301; *Nehcetü'l-menazil*, p. 108

'Mazhar-ı merhamet-i hazret-i Mevla olduk

Ravza-i hazret-i Yahya'ya cebin-sa olduk'

Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn, Part II, p. 316; *Nehcetü'l-menazil*, p. 57

'Zülf-i ham-der-hamunda buldı karar

Şam'dan çıkmak istemez dil-i zar'

Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn, Part II, p. 320; *Nehcetü'l-menazil* p. 65

'Ya hayra men düfinet fi'l-ka'i a'zamüh

Ve tabe men tibehünne el-ka'u ve'l-ekem

Ruhi'l-fida' el-kabra ente sakinüh

Fihi el-'ifafü ve fihi el-cudu ve'l-kerem

Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn, Part II, p. 451; *Nehcetü'l-menazil*, p. 117

Firak-ı Ka'be'den sen sanma çeşm-i hun-feşan ağlar

Ser-i ku-yı hakikatdür bu tenler içre can ağlar

Degül giryan olan ancak beni Adem veda'ından

Feleklerde melek inler zemin u asman ağlar

Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn, Part II, p. 433-4; *Nehcetü'l-menazil*, p. 225

¹⁶⁴*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 441

¹⁶⁵Nabi, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, British Museum, add 7853, f. 65a

¹⁶⁶*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, p. 95. *Nehcetü'l-menazil*, p. 114: 'Eya habib-i Huda ya Muhammed-i 'Arabi - Şefi'-i ruz-ı ceza ya Muhammed-i 'Arabi'

¹⁶⁷Mehmed Edib, p. 55

reason for the creation of the world, greetings to you!' ¹⁶⁹ 'Make the forehead of your enthusiasm the foot of the road of salvation; Make your eyelash the sweeper of the dust of 'Arafat' ¹⁷⁰

The biographer Bursalı Mehmed Tahir states that Nabi wrote a poem to be hung in the mausoleum of the Prophet in Medina, and cites that poem in his biographical dictionary. ¹⁷¹ The opening couplet of this famous poem, which is given in the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, is the following: 'Take care not to behave improperly, this is the home of the beloved of God! This is the place God holds high in esteem, the position of the Chosen' ¹⁷²

However, Nabi does not mention hanging this poem at the tomb. The poem which he stated in his narrative to have been composed to be hung in the tomb of the Prophet is a different one. ¹⁷³ However, the *gazel* rhyming in 'bu' (this) seems to have been more popular. There is even a story regarding this poem, probably made up by an imaginative reader of Nabi's text. ¹⁷⁴ In addition, the nineteenth-century Persian author Muhammed Ma'sum in his pilgrimage narrative also called the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, cites a Turkish poem which must have been composed as a parallel to Nabi's *gazel* rhymed 'bu'. The

¹⁶⁸ Anonymous, *Janib-i Mısrđan Makka Mukarrama* (Route book for pilgrims) about 1760, The John Rylands Library, Turkish mss., no: 88; see Chapter II, pp. 69-71.

¹⁶⁹ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 450; Anonymous (the folios of the text are not numbered):

'Es-selam ey server-i evlad-ı adem es-selam - Es-selam ey badi-i icad-ı 'alem es-selam'

¹⁷⁰ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 389; Anonymous (not numbered): 'Pişani-i şevkun kadem-i rah-ı necat it - Müjganunı çarub-ı ğubar-ı 'Arafat it'

¹⁷¹ *OM* 2, p. 449

¹⁷² *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 443: 'Sakın terk-i edebden kuy-ı mahbub-ı Huda'dır bu - Nazargah-ı İlâhî'dür makam-ı Mustafa'dur bu'

¹⁷³ *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 458

¹⁷⁴ Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 10-11; Halil Aktüccar, *Nabi, hayatı, sanatı ve eserleri* (Istanbul: Gökşin, 1984), pp. 13-14.

first couplet of the parallel is the following:¹⁷⁵ 'This is the position of 'Ali, the lion, the reverend, the pleasant; This is the visiting place of the souls of all saints'¹⁷⁶

3. Conclusion

Nabi successfully inserted much of his life experience and personal thoughts and wisdom into his verse and prose works, particularly the *Divan*, the *Hayriyye*, the *Tarihçe-i Kamenice* and the *Surname*. The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* is a product of his lengthy and significant pilgrimage journey of over one year in 1089-1090/1678-1679. In order to pursue his long-standing desire of performing the hajj, Nabi set out from Istanbul, several months earlier than the official caravan, passing through Üsküdar, Konya, Urfa, Damascus, Jerusalem and Egypt, where he joined the official pilgrimage caravan. Like Evliya Çelebi, he made a privileged journey in a small private caravan, enjoying official support.

His principal aim in his narrative appears to be to give an eloquent description of the mosques, shrines and other sacred sites he saw in the course of his journey. He manages to insert his shrewd and comparative observations into his static and factual descriptions. Besides portraying such religious sites, Nabi occasionally incorporates incidental information of sociological, historical, geographical, and autobiographical characteristics. Descriptions of his meeting with his brothers, sisters and fellow countrymen in Urfa, of a Damascene coffee-house, of an official and public celebration of a conquest in Damascus, and of the progression of Egyptian pilgrimage caravan constitute the most vivid and interesting depictions of the narrative.

¹⁷⁵Na'ibü's-Sadr-ı Şirazi, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn: sefername-i Na'ibu's-Sadr-i Sirazi der-ziyaret-i Mekke ve seychat-i Iran u Hind* 1 (Iran 1362/1943), pp. 50-1

¹⁷⁶Na'ibü's-Sadr-ı Şirazi, p. 50: Makam-ı Haydar-ı hazret-i 'Aliyy-i Murteza'dır bu - Ziyaretgah-ı ervah-ı 'umum-ı evliyadır bu

Nabi employed a high-flown prose style and language which is overwhelmingly dominated by Persian vocabulary and rhetorical elaboration. He embellished and enlivened his descriptions through verse quotations from major Persian and Ottoman poets, including Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi, Cami, Fuzuli, Baki, Şeyhülislam Yahya and Na'ili. Particularly Persian verses by Cami and/or by other poets including particularly Muhyi, occupies a significant place in Nabi's narrative. However, his excessive quotation of Cami's verses does not prove that Nabi modelled or based his account upon the former's work, for the latter portrays his own personal experience in his own original metaphorical style.

Whilst quoting such verses, Nabi put his own original poems in his narrative for he as a master poet aimed to produce a masterpiece which would be regarded and used as an ornament by men of letters, and indeed he achieved his aim. Nabi had no precedent or successor in composing an account of the pilgrimage experience among the most well-known Ottoman court poets. His verses in his narrative have been loved and quoted widely by succeeding Ottoman authors, including particularly Mehmed Edib and Anonymous. Not only his verses but also his whole account must have been popular among Ottoman readers, particularly among those of literary interest. While other Ottoman pilgrimage narratives survive in only a very small number of copies, his work exists in a considerable number of manuscript copies, which are found in almost all relevant libraries in Turkey and across Europe, and was printed in 1848.

Chapter IV

NABI'S *TUHFETÜ'L-HAREMEYN*: SUMMARY TRANSLATION

Introduction

Studying Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* in various respects is one of the principal goals of this thesis. To this end, his text is examined from different perspectives in the previous chapter, and a reliable critical edition of the original text is presented in the second part of the thesis. However, the original edited text itself would mean very little to those readers, who do not have a very good command of Ottoman *inşa*. That the narrative is composed in an elaborately metaphorical style laden heavily with Persian and Arabic elements may deter a non-specialist, even sometimes a specialist, from making use of it, or cause him to misunderstand certain passages. The summary translation of the text offered here is an attempt to convey the format and content, the atmosphere and sincerity of Nabi's text. There will always be room for debate as to how such a summary should be attempted, if at all. In essence, this chapter is meant as a guide for intending readers of the Ottoman text and as a coherent abridgement in English for others. Otherwise, Nabi's text would remain largely unappreciated.

The present chapter therefore summarizes Nabi's account by eliminating most of the metaphors, similes and rhetorical embellishments in the text, which often overshadow the factual content of certain passages. While preserving the flow of Nabi's recounting, the third person passive verbs have been changed into the first person active form where it is clear that Nabi is writing about what he himself did. In order to exemplify our transformation of Nabi's metaphorical, prolix and passive style of narration into a simple, short and active account, it is worth giving a full translation of a passage by way of example:

‘One morning early, when the caravan of the radiant stars of the old inn removed the luggage (or ray) of lodging from the leaden ceiling of the heaven, and when the mouths of ardent riders communicated the [following] notion into the ear of reason: “A foot which stepped on the road of God’s house, it is appropriate that the place of that foot should be the home of my eye”¹, having dwelled in the guest-house of saddle, the wing of haste was set in motion towards the station called Kartal from the emerald-faced district of Üsküdar, while reciting prayers to God for blessing’.

Our summary of this remark is this: ‘One morning early, our caravan set out from Üsküdar for Kartal as we recited prayers to God.’

1. Salutations to God and the Prophet and the reason for the composition²

May many thanks be to God, Who has established firmly the Ka‘be in Mecca in order to reinforce the faith of believers, and to lead sinners into the right path as stated in the following Qur’anic verse: ‘Verily, the first house (of worship) appointed for mankind was that at Bakkah (Makkah), full of blessing, and a guidance for Al-‘Alamin (the mankind and jinns)’.³

The Ka‘be is the direction for worshippers, and a place of prostration and worshipping to God. It is the house of God, which is called the Ümmü’l-kura. May many compliments be to God, Who invites Muslims who are able to make their way to Mecca to perform the hajj as announced by the Qur’anic verse: ‘whosoever enters it, he attains

¹Nabi, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, 276-7: ‘Bir sepide-dem kafil-i şu‘le-bar-ı ahteran-ı köhne-ribat üsrübi(yyü’s-)sakf-ı asmandan ref‘-i raht-ı ikamet itdükde dehan-ı rükkab-ı şevk-intisab

Beyt

Bir kadem kim ola cünban-ı reh-i beyt-i Huda

Cayı ol payüñ olursa hane-i çeşmüm seza

me‘alin avihte-i guş-ı huş itmegin müteyemminen bi-zikri’llahi te‘ala feza-yı zümür-rüd-sima-yı Üsküdar’dan, muqim-i müsafir-hane-i zin olup, Kartal nam menzile tahrik-i bal-ı isti‘cal olundu.’

²The text is divided into sections as in Nabi’s original.

³The Qur’an, 3/96; the above translation is quoted from M.T. AL-Hilali and M.M. Khan, *The noble Qur’an* (Riyadh 1995), p. 136.

security'.⁴ May prayers and greetings be upon the Prophet Muhammed who said that 'There is a garden of paradise between my tomb and my pulpit'. Those who visit the Prophet's grave would secure his intercession and be saved from hellfire since he declared that 'It is incumbent on me to intercede (with God) for one who visited my grave'. It is also essential to pray to God for Sultan Mehmed,⁵ who provided pilgrims with a secure route to the Hijaz.

'The commander of the army of imagination' narrates that when it was 1089 years since the Prophet Muhammed had fled to Medina in order to guide people, having obtained permission from Müsahib Mustafa Paşa, the kind *vezir* and broom of the Sultan,⁶ I resorted to the help of the Sultan through a *kaside* praising him with a description of the two sacred places. The latter provided me with a reference letter addressed to 'Abdurrahman Paşa, governor of Egypt.'⁷

When I was preparing what was necessary for the journey, I decided to record the events I would experience during the journey. The description of the journey is of interest to everyone. It should be eloquent in manner, which would give pleasure to those who had already been there, and would increase the aspiration of those who had not been there yet. I hope the readers will pray for me. Therefore, I started to detail the whole journey from its beginning to the end, and called the work the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* (Gift of/from the two sacred places). My real aim for doing this is that God would forgive my sins, and put me in paradise because of the pretext of the service that I performed by portraying the sacred places.

⁴The Qur'an, 3/97; AL-Hilali, p. 136.

⁵Mehmed IV (1058-99/1648-87)

⁶Musahib Mustafa Paşa (d. 1687) was a vezir, whom Nabi served as secretary and *kethüda* (steward) (Ali Fuat Bilkan, 'Nabi'nin sanat çevresi ve sanatçı dostları, *Yedi İklim* 65 (Ağustos 1995), p. 68).

⁷Abdurrahman Paşa (d. 1691) was a statesman and poet who adopted 'Abdi as his pseudonym (Ali Fuat Bilkan, 'Nabi'nin sanat çevresi., p. 68). According to the biographer Salim, the Sultan states in the letter

2. From Üsküdar to Aleppo

Early one morning, our caravan set out from **Üsküdar** for **Kartal** as we recited prayers to God. Having rested in **Gebze**, on the second day we crossed the spit (gulf) of Izmit to **Hersek** by boat. On the fourth day, having reached the city of **Iznik**, we visited the shrine of Eşref-zade.⁸ Upon arriving next at **Eskişehir**, we bathed in the hot springs favoured by travellers to cleanse themselves of the dust of the road.⁹ The following day the caravan proceeded on its way to the town of **Seyyidgazi** and visited the tomb of Seyyid Gazi within the Seyyid Gazi *tekke* (dervish convent), an edifice constructed on a hilltop with brilliant marble and polished wood.¹⁰

In **Akşehir** we visited the tombs of Şeyh Mahmud Hayrani¹¹ and Seyyid Ni'metullah Nahçevani.¹² We also amused ourselves by visiting the shrine of Hoca Nasreddin, whose celebrated wit and wisdom reduce the world to helpless laughter. The caravan then reached a palace in a pleasant valley situated in the midst of paradise-like mountain, where Murad IV and Şeyhülislam Yahya Efendi had rested on the way to the conquest of Baghdad.¹³ Murad IV, much taken by the place, had composed a poem describing the pleasant resting place with its fresh and delightful environment, and inscribed it on its

'It is my imperial demand that he [Nabi] is helped to make a comfortable pilgrimage' (*Tezkire-i Salim*, Istanbul: Ikdam Matbaası, 1315/1897, p. 629).

⁸Eşrefzade (d. 874/1469-70?), poet and *şeyh* of the Kadiri *derviş* order ('Eşrefoglu Rumi', *DIA* II, 480-82).

⁹In the province of Eskişehir, there are four hot springs: Alpanos in the city centre of Eskişehir, Yarıkcı in Mihallıççık, Ilıcaköy in Seyitgazi and Laçın madensuyu in Sarıcakaya (see *Yurt Ansiklopedisi* IV, p. 2823).

¹⁰Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Seyyid Gazi revisited: the foundation as seen through sixteenth and seventeenth century documents, *Turcica* XIII (1981), pp. 90-1: 'Just as impressive are the Ottoman sections of the building, which include a kitchen, a bakehouse, meeting-rooms, and living-quarters, which have been described in detail by Menzel and Wulzinger.'

¹¹Mahmud Hayrani (d. 1268)'s tomb was built in the year when he died, and restored by Seydi Muhiddin in 1409 in the period of Karamanoğlu Mehmed II (*Yurt Ansiklopedisi* VII, p. 5246).

¹²Seyyid Ni'metullah Nahçevani (d. 902/1496 according to the date on his grave in Akşehir).

¹³As indicated in the poem of Murad IV (1623-40) quoted by Nabi in his narrative, Murad IV, following the Iran campaign in 1635, set out from Istanbul on 8 May 1638 together with the Şeyhülislam Zekeriyazade Yahya (1552-1644) for the conquest of Baghdad, and passed through Eskişehir, Ereğli, Payas, Iskenderun, Aleppo, Antep, Birecik, Urfa. It is also reported that during the outward journey he stopped in the palace situated at a *mesire* (parkland) called Baş-tekke in Akşehir. See Chapter III, p. 115.

wall. In response, Şeyhülislam Yahya had composed a *gazel* of five couplets as a *nazire* (reply in parallel) to the Sultan's poem.¹⁴ While watching that place, I said prayers for their spirits.

After passing through **Ilgın** and **Ladik**, our caravan reached the city of **Konya**, which had been a capital city of the Greeks, and in which Plato had been born. The earth of Konya is mingled with the blood and tears of saints. Most importantly, the city contains the shrine of the celebrated saint and mystical poet Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi, author of the *Mesnevi*.¹⁵ Visiting his tomb in wonder and reverence, I was temporarily struck dumb by its spiritual awe. Under the lofty dome of the mausoleum are situated Mevlana's magnificent resting place and that of his father Baha'üddin.¹⁶ Under other domes linked to the central one are located the tombs of his son Sultan Veled, of his followers Salahaddin, the gold-beater,¹⁷ Çelebi Hüsameddin,¹⁸ and other children of Mevlana. Tombs of other saints encircle these like stars. We next visited the tomb of Sadreddin of Konya,¹⁹ a simple construction in accordance with his maxim that 'it is better to be like a lord in life, but humble in death'. There was a library containing several special cupboards holding works on the sacred mysteries of divinity, which he had written while teaching at his *medrese*. In another cupboard of the library [was a chest containing] thirty four volumes of the *Fütühat-ı Mekkiye* by Muhyiddin-i 'Arabi.²⁰

¹⁴Nabi includes both these well-known poems in the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. For a translation of these poems see *HOP* III, p. 275.

¹⁵Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi (1207-1273). Nabi here incorporates a poem of thirteen couplets composed by him as a result of his visit to Mevlana's tomb, and the poem is also included in Nabi, ed. Ali Fuat Bilkan, *Nabi Divanı* (Istanbul: MEB, 1997), pp. 36-38.

¹⁶Muhammed bin Huseyn el-Katibi el-Bekri, popularly known as Baha'üddin (d. February 628/1231).

¹⁷Salahaddin-i Zerkub (d. 662/1263-64).

¹⁸Hüsameddin Hasan (d. 683/1284-85).

¹⁹Sadreddin Konevi (d. 673/1274) was a celebrated sufi writer and a disciple of Ibn al-Arabi (see W.C. Chittick, 'Sadr al-Din al-Konawi', *EP* VIII, pp. 753-5).

²⁰Muhyiddin ibn el-'Arabi (d. 638/1240), a celebrated mystic scholar and poet born at Murcia. Setting out from his native land, he performed the hajj, and spent remaining of his life in several cities such as Konya, Malatya and Damascus, where he died. (A. Ateş, 'İbn al-'Arabi', *EP* 3, p. 708).

Also kept in this library is the *hırka* (mantle) of ‘Abdülkadir-i Geylani,²¹ which had been handed down through the *şeyh* of the Kadiri order. In accordance with *şeyh* ‘Abdülkadir’s saying ‘It is marked by the moth of the court of Eternity that after some years, the light of the torch of our secrets will illuminate once more the society of Andalusia’, the *hırka* had come into the possession of the Andalusian scholar Muhyiddin-i Arabi, after whose death it had passed to Şeyh Sadreddin.²² Thanks to God, I paid a visit to this *hırka* and above-mentioned works in the library.

Having visited the grave of Şeyh Şehabeddin²³ in the town of **Ereğli**, the caravan continued on to Adana, where we stayed for one day. **Adana** city is situated on the river called Kızılırmak, and contains a splendid mosque. We crossed the Misis bridge, well-known as the place where, according to legend, the archangel Gabriel threw into the river with his wing the pages of the sacred scriptures which were being looked for there by the Prophet Daniel there with the hope of finding the secret of immortality. Having remained one day at the town of **Payas** suffering from shortness of breath due to the extreme heat of that place, we proceeded to **Bakras** and thence to **Antakya**. Antakya is an unusual city, only one quarter of it inhabited, and the rest unoccupied, and with a huge fortress on top of a high hill. Having visited the shrine of Habib-i Neccar²⁴ in the middle of the city, we departed, and on the third day reached Aleppo.

²¹‘Abdülkadir-i Geylani (d. 470/1078) the founder of the Kadiri order.

²²It is related that Sadreddin possessed many of Ibn al-Arabi’s books, which were preserved in the library he established in Konya (A. Ateş, ‘Ibn al-‘Arabi’, *EL*² 3, p. 708; see also Chittick, W.C. ‘Sadr al-Din’ *EL*² VIII, p. 753). Ibn al-Arabi is reported to have come to Konya in 1215 (*Yurt Ansiklopedisi* VII, p. 5217).

²³Şihabeddin Sühreverdi el-Maktül was the founder of the doctrine of the *ışrakiyye* (illumination), who was executed in 587/1191 in Aleppo, because of his ‘heretical ideas and political matters’ He was probably ‘the first to introduce allegorical tales into Persian poetry’. See Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian literature* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1968), p. 220; ‘al-Suhrawardi’, *EL*² VIII, p. 782

²⁴Habib-i Neccar is belived to have lived in Antakya where he was killed by infidels.

3. Arrival at Aleppo

Aleppo is a flourishing city full of wonders having spectacular buildings, palaces, halls with spacious vaults, well-established rooms, restful gardens, numerous mosques and dervish convents. In particular, it contains on the southern side of the great mosque, the burial place of the Prophet Zekeriyya (Zacharias),²⁵ which is visited by people in amazement. In the middle of the city is the fortress, built upon a raised mound and surrounded by a deep moat full of water. There is also the wonderful dervish convent of Şeyh Ebubekr, with its beautiful cypress trees and courtyard ponds brimful of water. For ten days we rested, sometimes in the city, sometimes in pleasant areas round about.

4. Journey to my homeland

Overcome by the desire to see my homeland, I seized the opportunity to visit Urfa (Ruha). Halfway there, we crossed the Euphrates by boat, near the castle of Beyrutu'l-Firat, and two days later reached Urfa. Thirteen pages of the years of my life had turned since I had left Urfa for the capital city, Istanbul, and I had been successful and had gradually achieved there what I had hoped for. Yet, like Joseph in Egypt, whenever I thought of home I used to shed tears of longing, remembering the maxim 'The love for homeland is due to belief'.

On finally reaching Urfa, I was overcome with joy and emotion. When I entered the house in which I had been born, it was as if the whole building was welcoming me with excitement. My two sisters and two brothers at the door of the house, who had been yearning to see me, could hardly believe their eyes, and embraced me with tears of happiness. We then spent a whole day joyfully talking over all that had happened while I had been absent. Wherever I went, I met contemporaries and friends from schooldays,

²⁵Zachariah, the father of the John the baptist.

some bearded, some gray-haired, and talked over old happy times. I also had conversations with the young who had been little children and babies at the time of my departure from the city. Truly, I was overwhelmed with hospitality and was fully occupied visiting friends and favorite local shrines.

I visited in particular the cave where the Prophet Abraham had been born, on account of which Urfa is famous. Although it is impossible for water to ooze into the cave, which is formed out of a single piece of marble [?], the fact that it is filled with pure water is taken as a miracle attributed to Abraham. His birthplace is situated on the west side of the cave. To the east is another cave in which Abraham's mother is said to have placed his cradle to keep him safe from the cruel agents of Nimrod.²⁶ God protected Abraham by means of a spider's web across the mouth of the cave. I also visited the place where Abraham searched for God through stars, and upon their disappearance he devoted his prayers to One who created the whole universe.

There is also an enormous pool located on the site of a fountain said to have come into existence upon the touch of the knees of the Prophet Abraham once he was cast into the fire by Nimrod. This pond has very pure and clean water, and is full of fish, which seem black in the water,²⁷ and which can clearly be seen gathering by the feet of visitors from whom they seek food. On the western side of the pond and in the shadow of the castle is a *tekke* (dervish-convent) with many balconies and high domes. Around the pond stand shady trees remaining from the rose-garden of Abraham. As it flows outward from the castle, this divinely-created source supplies water to gardens, mosques, *tekkes*, houses, mills, baths, and coffee-houses, and to numerous gardens outside the city. On the

²⁶Nimrod: 'the impious king of the Chaldeans and type of proud rebels against God; he cast Abraham into the fire on his refusal to worship idols; he built the tower of Babel, and was killed by a gnat' (Rh).

²⁷Nabi here must have alluded to a supersition that when the Prophet Abraham was thrown at the fire made by Nimrod, the place where he fell became a pool and the burnt wood turned into fishes, the backs of which remained black from their burning (*Yurt Ansiklopedisi* 10, p. 7439).

southern side of the pond, by the fort on top of the hill, is a catapult fashioned out of two rocks, like minarets, which look like two snakes of Dahhak²⁸ in the shape of the [Arabic] letter *la* [no], as if to refute the argument of Nimrod.

I spent more than fifty days in Urfa, looking at ancient monuments and strolling around the city, before the desire to continue the pilgrimage journey again took hold of me.

5. Leaving Urfa for Aleppo

[Renewing my enthusiasm for the pilgrimage to Mecca as expressed in my poem], I left Urfa for Aleppo in the morning. Having re-crossed the Euphrates, the red coloured river, by boat, we were obliged to divert from the main route because of the fear of Arab highwaymen, and hastened to **Antep**, known as the bride of Arabia, where we rested for three days. We then stayed more than ten days in Aleppo again, before setting off for Damascus. On the way into **Hama** we were fascinated by the water-wheels in the Nehr-i 'Asi (the rebellious river), which encircles the city.

We proceeded on the journey toward **Hims**, and having crossed over a bridge halfway along the route, visited the grave of the prominent saint Bayezid-i Bistami.²⁹ The caravan then arrived at Hims, a ruined city containing the graves of numerous distinguished people. We saw the burial places of several companions of the Prophet Muhammed, including Halid bin Velid, Sa'd bin Ebi Vakkas, 'Amr bin Ümeyye, Dihye bin Halifetü'l-Kelbi, 'Ukkase and 'Abdullah bin Mes'ud, 'Abdu'llah bin 'Ömer, 'Abdurrahman bin 'Avf, Ebu Musa 'l-Eş'ari, Ka'b u'l-Ahbar; 'Abdurrahman bin Halid bin Velid, 'Abdullah bin Ca'fer-i Tayyar, 'Abdurrahman bin Ca'fer-i Tayyar and Vahşi,

²⁸Dahhak: 'name of a king of the Peshadian dynasty, proverbial for his cruelty' (Sg).

²⁹Ebu Yezid (Bayezid) Tayfur b. 'Isa b. Suruşan el-Bistami is one of the well-known Islamic mystics, who lived in Bistam of Kumis province, and died in d. 261-264/874-877-78. A dome was erected over his grave by Ilkhanid Hicaytu Muhammed Khudabanda in 713/1313 (*EP*² 1, p. 162).

who killed Hamza bin 'Abdūlmuttalib. We also visited the grave of the saint Cemaleddin-i Kutb.

To the right of the niche of the mosque on the slope leading to the castle is the copy of the Qur'an made by the third caliph 'Osman on pages of antelope leather, which he was reading when he was murdered. His blood spilled onto the page containing the verse '(and every nation has its appointed term) when their term is reached, neither can they delay it nor can they advance it an hour (or a moment)'.³⁰ Mindful of the belief that the foreheads of Believers which touch 'Osman's copy stained with his blood will radiate on Judgment day, I touched my forehead to the page.

6. Arrival in Damascus

Having spent a night camped in the courtyard of the famous caravansary at **Kuteyfe**, we crossed the Kuteyfe Boğazı (Kuteyfe strait), and found ourselves faced with a vast green sea of tall trees. The abundance of these trees was such that it was impossible to see the remainder of the grove. Since the famed city of Damascus is hidden inside the grove it is impossible to see the buildings of the city before reaching its inner quarters. It is difficult to reach the city in less than five or six hours from Kuteyfe. We travelled on a green path under over-arching trees until the entrance to the inner streets of the city. On arrival in Damascus, a friend of mine resident there invited me to stay in his house. Leaving my possessions there in safety, I was able to go out and about in the city.

7. Description of Damascus

The inner streets of Damascus are wide, and its walls are elevated, the windows on its balconies are like the eyes of lovers, and the arches of its porches are in harmony and alignment with each other. Although the rough/ruined exteriors of its houses are covered

with earth-coated brick, their interiors are beautifully clean and gleaming, with their gilded and dark-blue windows which reflect the light on their ceilings, and with picturesque and colourful marble on their floors. Damascus contains seven rivers, which descend from the hill that is specifically mentioned in the Qur'an,³¹ and which flow to all districts of the city, providing water for rich and poor alike.³² There is a pond made from glass-like marble. Its pleasant gardens are watered by the ponds that carry leaves and flowers falling from the trees.

There is an arched, clean and bright street of shops, into which the heat of the sun can not enter owing to their proximity to each other. This market is comprehensive and well-stocked, with decorated and arched halls. Its shops are very clean, and its porticos are decorated. In the middle of the street of shops are fascinating hot baths, with shining marble floors, bubbling fountains in the hallways, and pleasant private rooms connected to the hot water springs. The baths are very spacious.

8. Coffee-houses of Damascus³³

Coffee-houses are like home for those who are away from their homes. The coffee-houses in Damascus have separate areas for winter and summer.³⁴ The winter rooms have colourful carpets, a fountain (*fevvere*) and painted ceilings. The summer courtyards have *şadırvan* fountains under shady trees. Waiters are constantly moving around

³⁰The Qur'an, 16/61; Al-Hilali, pp. 497-8.

³¹The Qur'an, 23/50: 'And We made the son of Maryam (Mary) and his mother as a sign, And We gave them refuge on high ground, a place of rest, security and flowing streams' Al-Hilali, p. 634.

³²Evliya Çelebi gives more concrete information about the rivers in Damascus. Yet he says that Damascus has eight rivers, and he records their names (Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671-1672)*, 9, Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935, p. 546-7)

³³For a detailed study on coffee-houses in Mamluk and Ottoman lands see, Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee-houses and urban society in the Mamluk and Ottoman lands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, (PhD thesis, Princeton University, University microfilm 1984).

³⁴Evliya Çelebi gives factual information about the coffee-houses in Damascus. He says that they were open for six months in summer period, in the winter period they were not open. When the Şeyh Mansur, the blind, played his *mizmar* and *ud* in the tone (*makam*) of Hijaz, the lover were inspired deeply (see Evliya Çelebi, 9, p. 544-45).

serving coffee. When musicians played on the *ney*,³⁵ the audience joined in, old and young Arabs beating out the rhythm, and Iraqis and Persians lamenting as if it was the Nevruz.³⁶ The mournful beat of the *def* brought forth dervish-like cries; the mournful plucking of the *tanbur* inspired the opium-takers. The quavering of the *kemançe* and the melodies of the *kanun* relieved the audience.³⁷

While storytellers were telling heroic tales, opium addicts raised their twisted bodies with difficulty to listen; the collars of many were stained with juices from the drug. Two vagrants of unknown origin, Bedi and Kasım, spread terror in the coffee-house with their airs and challenges. Many troubled persons were taking opium. In another corner were heedless dervishes of the Kalendari type, with heavy halters round their waists, the dreadful notion of death in their heads, leather cloths round their shoulders, jade earrings in their ears, and ebony sticks laid across their knees. In accordance with their maxim 'senseless farce and chaotic mingling' they turned the place into a madhouse.

Having been distracted into describing the coffee-houses, I have neglected my main aim, that of describing the mosques and shrines. Let us turn to the Umayyad mosque.

9. The Umayyad mosque³⁸

Since the universe was created, there has existed no building as high as the Umayyad Mosque, and nobody has ever been able to devise such drawings and decorations as are on its walls and ceiling. Its marble floors and walls hold are decorated with images of the angels. It is a very lofty building. It is commonly narrated that in the shadow of its southern wall are located the burial places of seventy prophets. On the right side of its

³⁵*Ney*: reed flute

³⁶*Nevruz*: 'New-year's day (22 March) according to the Persian calendar.

³⁷*Def*: drum; *tanbur*: 'a large six stringed lute'; *kemançe*: a small violin; *kanun*: dulcimer (Rh).

³⁸The Umayyad mosque was established by the Umayyad Caliph Velid I (r.705-15), and probably completed by his brother Caliph Süleyman (r.715-17) (see Ross Burns, *Monuments of Syria*, London 1992, p. 34).

main niche placed on this wall is situated the niche of Ebu'l-'Abbas,³⁹ above which are placed two decorated windows, which contain the name of God, indicating the place of Hızır,⁴⁰ whose spiritual presence is frequently detected here by pious people.

In particular, the mosque contains the grave of the Prophet John, by which I said prayers. I also beheld the copy of the Qur'an made by the third caliph Osman, which is situated on the right side of the main niche. I prayed at the private prayer place of Mu'aviye hidden in the cavity of the southern wall of the mosque. To the east side of the mosque I visited the white minaret called the minaret of Jesus because of the fact that this minaret will be the first place where the Prophet Jesus, the dweller in the fourth heaven, steps on when he descends from heaven. I visited the minaret and offered my supplication to the Prophet Jesus with the hope of receiving his help on Judgment day.

I came to see a spectacular water jet called the Karpuzkaldıran (the water-melon-lifting) in the middle of the marbled pool of seven chambers which is seen from the eastern door or window of the mosque.⁴¹ Having sat on the seat near the jet for a while, I visited the grave of Nureddin-i Zengi⁴², who upon the call of the Prophet Muhammed in a dream caught European smugglers who were trying to smuggle the body of the Prophet out by digging a passage under the ground of his mausoleum in Medina.⁴³ I then visited the grave of Bilal of Abyssinia, and that of Ca'fer-i Tayyar, the son of the Prophet's

³⁹Ebu'l-'Abbas el-Saffa ('Abdullah b. Muhammmmed b. 'Ali b. 'Abdullah b. el-Abbas), the first 'Abbasid caliph. On 12 Rebi' II 132/28 November 749 he was declared as caliph in the great mosque. He died in Zilhicce 136/June 754 (*EF*² 1, p. 103).

⁴⁰Hızır is 'reputed to have found and drunk of the Water of Life, and therefore to be immortal; he performs miracles, but disappears if suspected; he is confused with Elias and with St. George, both of whom are called Hızır-ı Ilyas.' (Rh).

⁴¹Ibn Battuta when describing the eastern door of the Umayyad Mosque, says 'In the center of the vestibule which we have been describing there is a large circular basin, made of marble, surmounted by an unroofed cupola, which is supported by marble columns, and in the center of the basin is a copper pipe which violently forces out water so that it raises into the air more than a man's height' (Ibn Battuta, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Battuta* 1, Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1958, p. 131).

⁴²Nureddin Ebu'l-Kasım Mahmud b. Imameddin Zengi (1118-1174) was ruler of Aleppo and Damascus (see *EF*² IX, pp. 358-361).

⁴³The story is also narrated by Evliya Çelebi (9, pp. 621-3).

uncle and the brother of the fourth Caliph 'Ali. I also visited the burial places of the wives of the Prophet and those of nearly two hundred companions of the Prophet.

10. Salihyye of Damascus

At the foot of a high mountain to the north-west of Damascus the small town of Salihyye is situated.⁴⁴ Between Damascus and Salihyye is a picturesque landscape created by trees and rivers on a green land. Salihyye is located a little bit higher than Damascus. On the western and eastern sides of Salihyye are located two villages called Erze and Berze, between which, according to tradition, are found the graves of seventy prophets. On the mountain is situated also the abode of the forty and of the seven, which can be seen from a distance. We visited in particular the tomb of Şeyh Muhyiddin ibn el-'Arabi,⁴⁵ the author of the *Fütühat-i Mekkiye* and an exponent of the philosophy of *vahdet-i vücud* (the unity of being) and that of Şeyh Fahreddin Ibrahim Iraki,⁴⁶ which are both located in the mosque built by Sultan Selim.⁴⁷

11. The order to celebrate (31-36)

While we tarried in Damascus with its captivating landscape, an edict was delivered from Istanbul ordering celebrations for the capture of the fortress of Çehrin by the grand vezir Mustafa Paşa.⁴⁸ On this occasion, the market place of the city, ordinarily a

⁴⁴The name of the mountain on which Salihyye is situated is Kasiyun (see Evliya Çelebi, 9, p. 547; *EF*² VIII, p. 898).

⁴⁵The tomb of Ibn el-Arabi, situated at the slope of Kasiyun mountain, was rebuilt by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I when he was in Damascus following the conquest of Egypt in 923-4/1517-8. Selim also ordered the construction of a mosque and a *tekke* (convent) near the tomb (see Sevim Ilgürel (ed.), 'Abdurrahman Hibri'nin 'Menasik-i mesalik'i', *IUEF Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* (1975), p. 123; A. Ateş, 'Ibn al-'Arabi', *EF*² 3, p. 708; M. Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1982, p. 115).

⁴⁶Fahreddin Iraki (d. 688/1289), a celebrated Iranian mystic and poet (see W. Montgomery Watt, 'Iraki, Fakhr al-Din Ibrahim', *EF*² 3, pp. 1269-70).

⁴⁷The Ottoman Sultan Selim I (1512-20).

⁴⁸Having marched on 30 April 1678, Kara Mustafa Paşa conquered the Polish fortress of Çehrin from Russia on 21 August 1678/3 Receb 1089 (see Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* III, Ankara:

wonderful sight, became much more fascinating, every corner being filled with merriment, bazaars illuminated and shops adorned with the finest rugs and carpets. Guns were fired from the towers up into the sky, the vibrations causing great excitement to everyone. At night the shops and archways were all illuminated with lamps. Each night of celebration, members of twelve of the city's craft guilds, carrying in their hands white candles as large as the staff of Moses, together with young soldiers also with candles in their hands and with rifles on their shoulders and swords at their waists - all paraded through the streets and bazaars and in front of the city officials.⁴⁹

Just as in Istanbul at the start of an imperial campaign, each military group in Damascus first exhibited the sample-product of their profession through one of their representatives on a palanquin carried high on men's shoulders. At the end came riders on horses, with in front of them, *şatıran* with gold cups and silver axes, *mataracıyan* with tall gold Bektaşî-like caps, *şehsüveran* with their swords, and *silahdaran* and *çokadaran* with their swords and daggers.⁵⁰

Then came a second grouping led by another paşa. First came the farmers, followed by millers, bakers, kebab makers, cooks, makers of sweet drinks, grocers, vinegar sellers, perfume sellers, sweet sellers, *helva* makers, barbers, confectioners, butchers, tailors, silk-workers, shoemakers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, farriers, saddlers, and public bath attendants.⁵¹

TTK, 1951, p. 440); see also 'Osmanzade Ta'ib Ahmed, ed. D. Robischon, *Hadiqat ül-vüzera*, (Freiburg 1969), pp. 109-110.

⁴⁹For other descriptions of parades of craft guilds, see Metin And, *Osmanlı şenliklerinde Türk sanatları* (Ankara: KTBY, 1982), pp. 239-243

⁵⁰*Şatır*: 'a running footman employed formerly by a certain high officials'; *mataracı*: 'a man designated to carry a leather water-bottle from which traveller in a caraven receive water'; *silahdar*: 'a sword-bearer', *silahdaran*: 'the regular Ottoman life-guards of Janissary period'; *çokadar*: 'a lackey who walks by the side of his lord's horse, and acts as a footman indoors' (Rh).

⁵¹Ottoman terms for these craftsmen are the followings: *bezrgeran*, *asyabıyan*, *habbazan*, *kebabiyan*, *aşpezan*, *şerbetiyan*, *bakkalan*, 'attaran, *şeker-füruşan*, *helva'iyan*, *ser-teraşan*, *kassaban*, *hayyatan*, *kazzazan*, *keşfgeran*, *zergeran*, *ahengeran*, *na'lbendan*, *sarracıyan*, *dellakan*.

After three days and nights of celebrations, without respite for sleep, the spectators became weary and longed for rest. I resolved yet again to continue my journey, and leaving the beautiful city of Damascus with reluctance, departed for Cairo in Egypt.

12. Departure from Damascus

At the third station on the way we crossed the bridge of the Prophet Jacob. We observed that the stones of that district are full of holes caused by the tears of Jacob who, according to tradition, cried continuously until he found his missing son Joseph. We then saw the well, into which the Prophet Joseph had been put by his jealous brothers. After passing through various stations for seven days, we arrived at the town of Ramle [Ramla], where we left our baggage while we hastened on to visit Jerusalem.

13. Toward Jerusalem

Having rested several days in the guest house, built by Mamluk Sultan Ka'it Bay,⁵² a very tall building with wonderfully decorated walls, we went straightway to visit the Aksa mosque. The sacred complex of the mosque covers a vast area 840 *zira'* in length and 525 *zira'* wide.⁵³ One third of the old city is taken up by this mosque; the other two thirds are occupied by mosques and houses.

The Aksa mosque is located on the southern and eastern sides of the fortress. Its length stretches from south to north, its width from east to west. The western and northern sides of the mosque adjoin the inhabited parts of the city where there are many *medreses*. To the eastern and southern sides are a valley and hills. More than ten windows of the mosque look out over the valley to the south. The mosque precinct has

⁵²Ka'it Bay (Kayıtbay) (872-901/1468-1496), Circassian sultan of Egypt and Syria.

⁵³Julian Raby & Jeremy Johns (eds.) *Bayt al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, part one, (Oxford 1991), p. 37: 'The length of the Mosque [i.e. the Haram] from the qible [i.e. south] to the north is seven hundred and sixty five cubits, and its width is four hundred and sixty five cubits...' For the dimensions of

nine entrances, the most famed of which is the Babu'l-hıtta, on the eastern corner of the north wall, which is praised in the Qur'anic verse: “and say, ‘(O Allah) forgive our sins’, ‘and enter the gate in prostration (or bowing with humility), and say: ‘Forgive us,’ and We shall forgive you your sins and shall increase (reward) for the good-doers.”⁵⁴

All prophets had entered the mosque through this gate when they wished to visit the precinct. In particular, the Prophet Muhammed had passed through it guided by Gabriel on the night of his ascent to heaven, and tied his mount Burak to the ring reserved for the prophets to tie their mounts. The Isbat gate is close to that of Hıtta.

Within the sacred precinct, the mosque itself is situated near the southern wall, facing the Harem mosque. On the western side is situated the Mağaribe mosque, and on its east side the delightful mosque of ‘Ömer, restored by the caliph ‘Ömer after his conquest of Jerusalem.⁵⁵ It has innumerable columns of cloud-coloured marble. To the right of the pulpit is situated a tall column, on which hang crystal lamps. Pious people believe that the Prophet Muhammed often prayed to God below this column and hence that prayers said here must be acceptable.

At the eastern corner of the mosque of ‘Ömer is a long corridor with about ten small archways, beneath which is located the Prophet Solomon’s prison for devils. It is filled with a thousand gigantic columns and horrifying pits which disappear into the ground and it is beyond the strength of mankind to destroy it. Next to this dungeon, to the east, is the small room where the saint Mary used to rest, hidden away down several steps below ground. On the southern wall of this room, in front of Mary’s prayer niche is a

the Haram area as recorded by several authorities, see Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: a description of Syria and the holy land from A.D. 650 to 1500* (London 1890), pp. 192-197

⁵⁴The Qur'an, 2/58; Al-Hilali, pp. 33

⁵⁵The caliph ‘Ömer conquered Jerusalem in 637-638.

marble trough which was the cradle of the Prophet Jesus. In the porch to the eastern side of Mary's room is the niche of the Prophets of Christ, lit by a lamp.

In the middle of the eastern fort, which stretches from the eastern to the southern corner, are two entrances, the gate of mercy and the gate of repentance. In front of these gates is a deep and dreadful depression holding graves of Jews, which is still visible on the ground. On this terrifying depression between the gate of mercy and the cradle of Jesus, is a column three *zira'* high, which determines the location of the bridge of Sırat, across which people will pass to paradise or hell on the Day of Judgment.

When the Prophet Solomon, having been commanded by God to complete the construction of the temple, entered the sanctuary at night through the Hıtta gate, he saw that it was full of the light of God and fell on his knees, and crawled forward. At God's command a part of the mass of rock therein left its place and rose up to meet him. Upon a gesture from the Prophet Solomon it stopped and remained where it was, and he constructed a dome over it. The ground of the precinct of the mosque is covered by God with meadow and shady trees.

In the middle of the precinct/interior of the mosque is the special area of Blessed Rock presumably 300 *zira'* wide and in length, which is placed on five or six *zira'* high ground. The bottom of it is surrounded by a small wall one *zira'* high. At the mosque's western corner, where the measurement of people's deeds will be done on Judgment Day, are a pulpit and prayer niche. On all four sides of this area, at eight places, are stairs consisting of more than twenty five steps.⁵⁶ Its base step is wider and more spacious than the others. Its steps/stairs are in the capacity of letting twenty peoples to ascend together.

⁵⁶For a picture the twenty five stepped stairs, see Alistair Duncan, *The noble sanctaary: portrait of a holy place in Arab Jerusalem* (London: Longman, 1972), p. 19.

In the very middle of this area the dome of the Blessed Rock appears like the egg of a bird of fortune. The dome is surrounded by eight marble parts⁵⁷ reaching halfway up it, and from the middle to the turret of the golden dome is covered with wonderfully decorated tiles. This dome, which had been originally constructed by the Umayyad ruler Süleyman bin 'Abdūlmelik,⁵⁸ was decorated with tiles and marble by Sultan Süleyman.⁵⁹ At the bottom of the huge dome is situated the Blessed Rock, approximately twenty *zira* in length, and eighteen *zira* in width, facing the *kible* (prayer direction). By the order of God it remains in the air like a bird without any attachment on six sides. At the right side of it is the foot-print of the Prophet Muhammed, which has remained there since his miraculous journey to heaven.⁶⁰ Ahmed I had it covered with a silver cage, which is perfumed constantly with rose water.⁶¹

The Blessed Rock also bears the marks of the finger-tips of Gabriel, who, by the order of God, rested on the rock in the middle of his journey while accompanying the Prophet Muhammed in his miraculous journey or ascent to heaven. On another side of the rock are more than ten foot-prints of the Prophet Idris. The bottom of the blessed rock is in the form of a cave, into which one descends from the south side by means of stairs with seven steps.

Also visible on the rock is the mark of the Prophet's tongue, made when he asked for intercession [for sinners] on the night of his journey. Visitors rub their mouths and

⁵⁷See the picture of the dome in Duncan, p. 15.

⁵⁸The Dome of the Rock was built by the Umayyad caliph 'Abdūlmelik in 72/691-92.

⁵⁹Duncan (p. 64) states that in 1545-6 Süleyman, the magnificent, 'replaced the mosaics on the drum below the dome with lovely coloured tiles...These tiles have been repaired repeatedly since artisans from Kashan first placed them.'

⁶⁰For the picture of the shrine of the relics of the prophet Muhammed beside the Blessed Rock, see Duncan, p. 43.

⁶¹Emel Esin, *Mecca the blessed Madinah the radiant*, Nowara 1963, p. 172: 'An outline of the Prophet's footprint was placed on a wall of the Ottoman palace, and Ahmed I (998-1026), the builder of famous Blue Mosque, wore the same image on his turban.'

foreheads on that place. On either side of the stairs are the prayer niches of the prophets David and Solomon, where they often prayed to God.

A candle is permanently lit at the spot where the Prophet Muhammed's turban marked out a hollow on the rock when he acted as prayer leader to the gathering of all the prophets during the night of his miraculous journey. On a ledge at another corner of the rock sleeps a stone cat, remaining there since the time of the journey, when a cat fell asleep on the Prophet's sleeve and he preferred to cut the material rather than to disturb the cat. The cat was turned into stone by God; its place remains there as a site of prayer. On yet another corner of the rock is the Prophet Abraham's prayer niche, where he has been seen many times by pious people.

Above the blessed rock is the Prophet David's tree of iron leaves, and the shield of Hamza. Within the dome the spot which will be the door of paradise is marked by a piece of green marble known as the door of paradise, and the spot where a divine table will be set is determined by a table-like piece of marble. The spot where pious people saw 'Ali bin Ebi Talib who was the reason for the revelation of the Qur'anic section '*hel eta*',⁶² and praised as a unique valiant and scholar, is known as the abode of 'Ali, which is a place of visitation.

On the dome of the blessed rock are wonderful decorations; the multi-coloured light and reflections from the windows make colourful patterns on the faces of visitors and on the walls as if God had made these specifically to beautify the wall. Visitors particularly wonder at the figures of two peacocks feeding from a bowl.

The Blessed Rock occupies a special place in the destiny of the universe; it became a place of visitation for prophets, and above all it was the place on earth from which the

⁶²See the Qur'an, 76/1.

Prophet Muhammed made his miraculous ascent. Here is where, on the Day of Judgment, those destined for paradise will be distinguished from those bound for hell, and where sinners will ask for intercession. Thanks be to God, I was able to visit it and to rub my forehead on it before my death.

To one side of the Blessed Rock is a polished dome called the dome of ascent, a place visited by both men and angels. There is another niche called the Red Niche, where the Prophet Muhammed first started to perform daily ritual prayers having returned from his ascent bringing God's command of five daily prayers.

The dome of Silsile, resting upon the eight marble vaults, in the place known as the court of David, is to the east side of the Blessed Rock. Sultan Süleyman had the following Qur'anic verse inscribed on the dome, which is covered with painted and glazed tiles: 'O Davud (David)! Verily! We have placed you as a successor on earth'.⁶³ Nearby is a marble indicating the abode of Hızr.

Outside the fortress of Jerusalem, in front of the Hitta gate, is located the grave of Mary. We also visited the burial place of the Prophet David in a mosque outside the fortress on the west side. On the east side of the sacred territory is a high mountain called **Tur-i Zita**, on which are the final resting places of numerous prophets and martyrs including the Prophet 'Uzeyr, the footprint of the Prophet Jesus, the place of lamentation of the Prophet Moses, and the burial place of the saint Rabi'atü'l-'Adeviyye. Unfortunately due to our fear of Arab highwaymen we could not visit the shrines of the prophets Abraham, Moses, and those buried at the cemetery of Abraham, namely Isaac, Jacob and Joseph.

⁶³The Qur'an, 38/26; Al-Hilali p. 829.

14. The desert on the way to Egypt

Having stayed for three days in Jerusalem we set off again in the direction of **Ramle** and **Gazze**. We prayed for the martyrs of Askelon at a cemetery near **Gazze**. The fifth station from Gazze is the fort of **el-Ariş**, which is five stations (*merhale*) from **Salihhiyye**⁶⁴ in Egypt. Since it was known that the desert ahead was without water and food, we put food and water for the next five days' journey on camels. We arrived at the gulf of Suez travelling along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, which is five or six *menzils* in width and twenty in length. In the desert there were raised sand hills, constantly driven by wind and moving like waves on the sea. Progress through this sinking sea of sand was difficult. The legs of animals were lifted up to their stomachs, and their stomachs touched the ground. Riders seemed to be pedestrians, and the legs of those on foot were drowned in sand up to their knees. As it was impossible to pitch tents we used to long for the nights in order to avoid the heat of the sun, and for firm ground for the animals to walk on. Having travelled thus for five days we eventually arrived at the palm grove of **Salihhiyye** in Egypt, and put up our tents under the tall shady palms.

15. The region of Egypt

At the end of the autumn, the weather was moderate, and the water of the Nile covered the whole **Cario** region. The area around four or five stations between **Salihhiyye** and **Cairo** was covered by flood water, with only a raised road of approximately four or five *zira*'s width left for travellers to pass along. The villages encompassed by the flood are situated one *hadeng* distance from each other, connected by a thin path. While this area of Egypt is regularly covered by water, as the flood water gradually recedes the land is

⁶⁴Salihhiyye was established 'as a frontier fortress' by the Ayyubid Sultan el-Melik el-Salih Eyyub (r. 1240-9)' (Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 71).

turned in slow stages into green grass, as if Hızr had passed through. Watching various birds flying over the Nile we proceeded joyfully to Cairo.

16. Cairo, the mother of the world

Cairo is so large a city that is extremely difficult to go all round it or to estimate how big it is. It has tall five-storied buildings, *eyvan* (balconies) with soaring pinnacles, high arches one after another, crowded minarets adorned by eight golden crescent moons, and innumerable domes. Its streets are very neat, wide, straight, as well-ordered as the carefully lined pages of a *divan* of poetry. Its shops and marketplaces are well-decorated and spacious. Its roads and bazaars lie in the shadow of buildings, and hence are protected from the heat of the sun. One house in a hundred is a nobleman's palace, with windows shaded by decorated arches above.⁶⁵ As the walls of each house are covered with colourful ornamentation it seems always to be spring on both sides of the streets.

The crush of inhabitants is such that even outlying districts described as uncrowded are actually densely populated. The city has so many mosques, large and small, that even the fastest visitor could not see them all in a year. When I tried to count the minarets from the top of the fortress, which looks out over most districts of the city, I concluded that the number of minarets visible is more than one thousand. The number of those minarets too low or too distant to be visible is unknown. Only God can know how many mosques there are in outlying districts.

The Circassian and Kurdish rulers established their rival mosques side by side with existing ones but in different styles. In some districts their mosques are even close enough for an athletic man to jump from one to another. The insides and outsides of their courtyards and their walls are furnished with fascinating decorations of marbles.

The most famed of these mosques is the Azhar mosque, located in the centre of Cairo, the mother of the world. Day and night it is full of thousands of students attending lectures on religious subject such as hadith and *tefsir*. Another mosque is that of Sultan Kansu Gavri⁶⁶, with its high and gold-painted cylindrical dome.

The mosque of Sultan Tulun is built to a length and width identical with that of the Harem mosque in Mecca.⁶⁷ Contrary to its original plan, the stairs leading up the minaret to the topmost balcony twist around it like a vine around a young tree. Historians account for this amazing appearance with the following story. One day during the course of construction of the mosque a man presented a petition to Sultan Tulun, who twisted the document round his hand as a child might and formed it into a cone. Upon realizing his childish act, which was inappropriate for a ruler of his status he wished to restore his dignity in the eyes of those who had witnessed the act. He therefore summoned the architect of the mosque, gave him the cone and ordered him to construct the stairs of the minaret in the form he had devised.

Yet another mosque is that of Sultan Hasan, a unique building in Rumeli square, which is formed by four arches facing each other. I was able to count eighty lines of stone just up to the middle of its wall. This mosque is really a remarkable building. The mosque built by the conqueror of Egypt, 'Amr bin 'As, is said to have a thousand and one columns. To the right and left sides of its niche are placed copies of the Qur'an, one made by caliph 'Osman and the other by caliph 'Ali.

⁶⁵For the distribution of 'the residences of the emirs in Cairo in 1789' see André Raymond, *The great Arab cities in the 16th-18th centuries: an introduction* (New York, London 1984), p. 67.

⁶⁶Kansu Gavri (d. 922/1516) was a Mamluk sultan of Egypt and Circassian in origin. He was 'a *mamluk* of Sultan Kayıtbay' (P.M. Holt, 'Kansawh al-Ghawri' *EF* 4, p. 552-3).

⁶⁷The Tulun mosque is founded by Sultan Ahmed ibn Tulun (d. 884) in 265/870 in the Katayi district of Cairo (see Mohammad Makki Sibai, *Mosque libraries: an historical study* (London 1987), p. 63); Evliya Çelebi reports that Tulun mosque was built to the size of the Haram mosque (he says to the size of the Ka'be) (Evliya Çelebi, 10, p. 196).

Cairo has two reservoirs of water, the Fil and the Özbekiyye,⁶⁸ both of which are nearly two miles in width and length, and are round. They are surrounded by circles [?] of houses and villas, the windows of which look through trees and cypresses onto the mirror-like surface of the water.⁶⁹ People sitting at the water's edge when the east wind blows put their fingertips on the water, and watch shapes rippling over the water. As these reservoirs are fed by the Nile floods, their reserves last for six months, and for the other six months they are emerald green. Nearby residents benefit both from use of the water and from the pleasure of the green landscape.

The Nile, like a blue-coloured ruler, lies to the west of Egypt. A rock situated on the east shore of the Nile holds the foot-prints of the Prophet which is surrounded by numerous palaces and a pleasant mosque known as the Kadem-i Nebi. The Nile after initially touching the bottom of this rock flows along the old city centre of Cairo going by the *mesire* (excursion spot) of the 'Ayn palace, and then passes through the Sebtiyye *mesire* in the town of Bulak, Iskenderiyye [Alexandria], Dimyat and Reşid [Rosetta], where it divides into two parts before reaching the Mediterranean sea. In the opposite direction of old Cairo and on the edge of the Nile are located two small towns called Cize [Giza] and Imbaba, where day and night many ships come and go.

The water of the Nile encompasses a *cezire* (island), where are five-floored villas established upon stony vaults erected at the bottom of the water. At the bottom of that building is a four sided [square] marble pool, and in the middle of it is placed a famous

⁶⁸For the two reservoirs, see the map in Raymond's work (p. 65).

⁶⁹Raymond, p. 63: 'During the seventeenth century, the places of the beys and officers were mainly grouped around the Birka al-Fil, which was, around 1700, the chic district, par excellence (40% of the residences of the emirs between 1650 and 1755), so much so that we have located no resident there during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who was not an emir..... The Birka al-Azbakiyya, which had long been a place of residence for the local bourgeoisie...'

four-cornered marble column. The lines drawn on it to show the varying height of the water of the Nile were waving like fingers.⁷⁰

The well-known and well-established Ahram hills, which are more than thirty or forty in number, are two hours journey away from the Nile. Two of them very close together are like two breasts of the mother of the world, in the shape of four sided cones, each side measuring four hundred *zira* 's, and four hundred *zira* 's in height.

On the east side of Cairo there are innumerable *kasabats* (small towns) and buildings, the most remarkable of which are buildings in the vicinity of the grave of the Circassian Sultan Ka'it Bay. By this grave is a stone bearing the Prophet Muhammed's footprint. After intending to build the shrine of the Prophet one night the Sultan shed tears due to his love and longing for the Prophet. In return for his sincere passion, he was shown in a dream the stone containing the footprints, and he subsequently had it placed in his own coffin. When Sultan Ahmed I ascended the throne, he wished to bring the footprint to Istanbul out of respect for the Prophet. The wind stopped blowing in compliance with the order of God, and thus the ship carrying the stone arrived in Istanbul during the period in which 'the ship of the illuminating moon of seven pieces unloaded and loaded'.⁷¹ When it arrived Sultan Ahmed embraced it enthusiastically, and composed the following poem:

'I wish I could constantly bear it on my head as my soul,

It is the picture of the foot of the sultan of the prophets,

⁷⁰Joseph Pitts relates that 'They [Egyptians] have a particular mark when the flood is at its height. And they say that, if it rise a finger's breadth above it, it is a sign of plenty; but if it come so much short of it, 'tis a sign of scarcity.' (Sir William Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the seventeenth century as described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel and Charles Jacques Poncet* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1949), p. 9

⁷¹*Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 358: 'zevrak-ı mah-ı münir-i heft pare tehi vü pür oluncaya dek'

The rose of garden of prophecy is the owner of that foot,

O Ahmed! Do not wait, rub your face on the foot of that rose.'

It is said that Sultan Ahmed had the stone placed in a silver cage, enhancing the value of the private house [the palace]. At night while he was asleep, he was admonished by a voice saying 'O Ahmed! is it not against the spirit of *tevekkül*⁷² to request [Ka'it Bay's] final portion, which had been given by God?'. Hence in the morning the Sultan put the stone in a ship, and sent it back to Egypt. The ship reached Egypt within seven days, and the stone was returned to the grave of Ka'it Bay.⁷³

In Cairo there are innumerable tombs of prominent people, the most celebrated of which is that of 'Ukbe⁷⁴ in **Karafe-i Kübra**.⁷⁵ Near to it is the tomb of Imam Şafi'i, the founder of one of the four sects, beneath a high dome. The place where the Prophet is said to have descended to visit this tomb is determined by a gold-embroidered veil on the west wall. The burial place of the prominent saint 'Ömer bin Farid (or Fariz)⁷⁶ is also in Karafe, and that of the saint Şeyh Ibrahim-i Gülşeni⁷⁷ in Cairo.

In short, as it was impossible to give a full description of all the extraordinary districts of Cairo, we decided to proceed to our real destination. Toward the end of Şevval, the veil woven yearly for Ka'be was paraded in front of the governor of Egypt, accompanied by the prayers recited by *şeyhs*, and it was held at the burial place of the head of Hüseyin, the son of the fourth caliph 'Ali, for a few days.

⁷²tevekkül: 'a putting one's trust, especially, a putting one's trust in God' (Rh).

⁷³For a picture of the mausoleum of Ka'it Bay see plate XX in *EF* 4.

⁷⁴'Ukbe b. 'Amir el-Cüheni (d. 58/678), a companion of the Prophet.

⁷⁵El-Karafe-i Kübra is the main cemetery of Cairo. For a picture of the tomb of Imam Şafi see plate XIII in *EF* 4.

⁷⁶'Ömer b. Farid (d. 632/1235) was a renowned mystic poet, who spent most of his life in Cairo and Hijaz. (R.A. Nicholson [J. Pedersen], 'Ibn al-Farid', *EF* 3, p. 763)

⁷⁷Ibrahim Gülşeni (d. 940/1534), a mystic, founded the Gülşeni division of the Halveti mystical-order. (see *OM* 1, pp. 19-20)

17. Departure of the Egyptian *mahmil*⁷⁸ from Cairo

On the twentieth of the month [Şevval], from the gate of Nasr to 'Adiliyye on both sides of the road for three hours distance are narrow streets, balconies, shops, open spaces, houses and palaces, which were all occupied by a huge crowd as big as that on Doomsday.⁷⁹ Wherever I looked there were the lips, the faces and the eyebrows of the people. As the crowd watched, officials or soldiers and *şeyhs* delivered the *mahmil* on their shoulders to the camp of the pilgrims, reciting prayers loudly.⁸⁰

18. Departure of the pilgrims for Birketü'l-hacc

Five days later, the pilgrims loaded their possession onto camels and set out for the Ka'be. Those who were rich travelled comfortably in palanquins, a four cornered cell consisting of four legs, on camel backs. Others travelled privately inside the litters of the camels. The pilgrims rested in their tents near the well called **Birketü'l-hacc**. It is customary for the pilgrimage caravan to stay here for two days in order to replenish main supplies. At night, numerous candles are lit on columns called *işare* (sign) placed in front of the tents of the most important pilgrims. The customs of departure and halting of the pilgrims vary from that of other journeys. Their march generally takes place after sunset, and making camp occurs before dawn. Just as lost travellers find their way by the stars, pilgrims distinguish their tents by means of *işares*, each of which is decorated differently from all the others.

⁷⁸*Mahmil* is called by Nabi *mahfil* throughout the text. The *mahmil* was first sent by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars (see Fr. Buhl - [J. Jomier] 'mahmal', *El*² VI, p. 45)

⁷⁹Five or ten days before the departure of the pilgrimage caravan on 23 Şevval, a bazaar took place in Cairo, a practice initiated by Sultan Baybars (1260-1277) (see Evliya Çelebi, 9, p. 422; Abdülkadir Özcan, 'Hacc: Osmanlılar dönemi', *DİA* 14, p. 401).

⁸⁰Here Nabi was describing the ceremony of farewell of held customarily for the pilgrimage caravan carrying the *mahmil*. For the description of the same ceremony by Evliya Çelebi (9, pp. 423-426).

19. Departure of the pilgrims

In the morning, after hearing the sound of the kettledrum for departure, we set off. Having passed through the valley of **Tih** and **Mount Sinai**, we reached a difficult passage called '**Akabe-i Mısır** (the pass of Egypt) on the ninth day. The peaks of the mountains on both sides of it are higher than the place of the constellation called the Eagle, with a thin deep gorge in the middle resembling the back of an ox or fish. Coming through exhausted we pitched our tents on the shore of the ocean. Having passed numerous stations along the shore we visited the prayer house of the Prophet Şu'ayb, the orator of the prophets, in the neighbourhood of **Medyen**.

At the beginning of the month of Zilhicce,⁸¹ we reached **Bedr-i Huneyn**, where we set up our tents, and enjoyed visiting the burial places of the martyrs of the battle of Bedr. We also visited the 'Ariş mosque, which had been built in the proximity of the vine beneath which the Prophet Muhammed took refuge in order to pray to God for help during the battle.

20. Arrival at the *mikat*⁸²

After two days, we reached **Rabiğ**, which is the place where Egyptian pilgrims change into the *ihram*, and pitched our tents there. All pilgrims put off their ordinary clothes, and after bathing donned the *ihram*, a sacred white cloth in two pieces put on the shoulders and the waist. Bare footed and bare headed we proceeded to recite aloud the prayer called *lebbeyk*.⁸³ The recitation continued for five days. One morning, as the sun

⁸¹1 Zilhicce 1089=14 January 1679

⁸²*Mikat*: the place traditionally designated for pilgrims to change into the *ihram*.

⁸³Having put on the *ihram* the pilgrim begins reciting a certain formula of prayer called the *telbiye*, starting with 'Lebbeyk Allahümme lebbeyk..'

'Here I am O Lord, in answer to your call!
What is thy call, here I am! (3 times)
Here I come You Who is without any partner,
Thou art without companion!

rose and lit up the peak of the mountains of **Mecca** we rushed ardently toward the Ka'be.

As I had been compelled to accept the invitation of Abraham before coming into the world [e.g. being born in Abraham's city, Urfa], after coming into it I was commanded by God to visit the Ka'be. From my childhood onwards whenever I have heard the description of the sanctuaries I felt a strong desire to go there, shedding tears, and sighing. From the day I set out on the journey I was very eager to visit the sanctuaries. However, such a long journey had wearied me, although knowing beforehand how delightful it would be to arrive in Mecca and to pray to God and ask forgiveness for my past sins. Nevertheless, after such an arduous and long journey it is difficult for one to arrive at the holy place in full awareness and patience.

Two hours away from the sanctuary of Mecca is a place called 'Umre, which is the beginning of the sacred territory, marked by two lofty signs, one on each side of the road. Upon seeing the sacred territory we had been yearning for, we all fell to the ground before proceeding enthusiastically on foot. This is the time for one to leave behind all worldly ties and to pursue spiritual goals. Bravo to the pilgrim who has left his material possessions so as to win God's grace in the two worlds (this world and the Hereafter). A thousand thanks to God, who has not deprived me of seeing the sacred place, and of rubbing my forehead on the earth of the sacred territory before passing away from this world.

On seeing the domes of the cemetery of **Mu'alla** in the shadow of the garden of palms, I gave a cry of joy. Since numerous pious persons are buried here, the cemetery is even

What is your call, here I am!

Praise and blessings are thine, and the Dominion.' (this translation is quoted from Ziauddin Sardar, 'The spiritual and physical dimensions of hajj: a systems over-view' in Ziauddin Sardar and Zaki Badawi (eds.), *Hajj Studies* (London 1978), p. 27)

considered to be a little bit higher than heaven. In particular, Hadice, the pious wife of the Prophet, is buried there; the dome of her tomb is the most exalted of all. Once the buildings of Mecca appeared behind the cemetery, I was amazed and gazed at the city. I focused my attention on Müdde'a, a hill in the middle of Mecca, from which one can see for the first time the wall of the Harem mosque. It is beyond any doubt that prayers said at this hill will be acceptable because it is certain that the Prophet used to pray to God whenever he passed by there.

21. Seeing the Ka'be

Leaving Müdde'a, I gazed in wonder at the pinnacles of the elevated minarets of the Harem mosque. On reaching the holy gate of Selam, I was completely overwhelmed by the sight of the courtyard of the Harem mosque, and I felt that I could almost die from excitement.

22. Description of the Ka'be

The Ka'be of graceful stature is a source of fascination even for the angels and the kingdom of heaven. Those in the earth and heaven gaze at the Ka'be, which stands in the middle of the area of circumambulation, while circumambulating it. It is a cypress in valley of blessing, at the top of which the birds of sanctity turn around as the turtle-doves do. It is a radiant candle of guidance, which attracts the seven planes like moths. Since beyond its black veil is the fount of eternal life, people beg [God] for eternity (paradise) life beneath the Mizab⁸⁴ through the guidance of the Hızr. They seek forgiveness at the Hatim,⁸⁵ which is around the Ka'be.

⁸⁴Mizab: 'The spout from the roof of' the Ka'be (Rh).

⁸⁵Hatim: 'the space included between the north wall of the Ka'be and the low circular wall to the north of it' (Rh).

The Ka'be is the centre of the universe, the pulpit of divine sovereignty, the cage for the bird of endless grace and the treasure chest of spiritual dominion. When its veil is blown by the breeze it ripples like the sea of light, and spectators take much pleasure from it. Since its gate of forgiveness faces east, the sun rises every morning in order to worship at its threshold.⁸⁶ Its perfumed veil with a golden girdle is loved by both earthy and heavenly beings, and the strength of its foundation amazes the residents of heaven. Visitors kiss and rub their foreheads on its threshold. Those who rub their foreheads to the Mültezim-i Şerif would be saved from the hellfire.

23. The Hacer-i Esved (the black stone)

On the eastern corner [of the Ka'be] is situated the Hacer-i Esved, which is at approximately two-*zira*'s height from the ground, and enclosed within a silver circle. The Hacer-i Esved is the brightest jewel in the crown of creation, the pupil of the eye and the black core of the heart of the universe.

24. The Makam-ı Ibrahim (the place of Abraham)

At the opposite side of the door of the Ka'be is a blessed stone called Makam-ı Ibrahim surrounded by a cage with a golden ceiling. The stone, which had jumped from beneath of the foot of Abraham to an appropriate place during the construction of the Ka'be, bears Abraham's foot-print. As it lies in the sacred courtyard of the Ka'be, it is mentioned in a line of the Holy Qur'an.⁸⁷ It is adorned with a golden-embroidered veil painted with a Qur'anic verse.

⁸⁶As a classical poet Nabi describes his observation through poetical expression by resorting to certain devices of Ottoman poetry. In this remark, Nabi employs the device if *hüsn-i ta'lil* (interpretation of the reason of a natural event through an imaginary perspective).

⁸⁷The Qur'an, 3/97: 'In it are manifest signs (for example) the Makam (place) of Ibrahim (Abraham)...' Al-Hilali, p. 136.

25. The well of Zemzem

Opposite the Hacer-i Esved is located the refreshing, pure and restorative Zemzem well, which is incomparable even by the fountains of paradise. Above the well is a lofty dome given over to *muezzins* of the Şafi'i sect. Although the well of Zemzem is used all day by over a hundred thousand pilgrims for drinking and ablution, the quantity of its water, which comes from the divine treasure, has never been known to change.

Outside the area of *metaf* (circumambulation) are lamps set on forty pillars, and in the courtyard of the mosque pigeons are flying around. Around the courtyard of the Ka'be are placed seven lofty minarets like seven cypresses. On the four sides of the *metaf* are designated places for the followers of the four sects, with a niche for each.

Since such an observation of the house of God increased my sense of wonder, I stood motionless for a while at the gate of Selam, and gazed at the Ka'be. If the desire to see Hacer-i Esved had not helped me to regain my consciousness I would never have managed to move.

26. The *tavaf* of arrival⁸⁸

After shedding tears, I rubbed my hand on the Hacer-i Esved, and performed the *tavaf* (circumambulation) in compliance with the Prophet's custom. A complete *tavaf* consists of seven circuits, each of which represents a level of heaven as determined by God. There are four well-established corners known as the *rükn* of the Hacer-i Esved, of Irak, of Şam (Damascus), and of Yemen. I tended to complete the *tavaf* by performing the customary supplications to God on reaching those corners and as well as the Hacer-i

⁸⁸For information on the rites of the hajj see A.J. Wensinck, 'Hadjdj: the Islamic hadjdj', *El*² 3, pp. 33-7 Ahmad Kamal. *The sacred journey: being pilgrimage to Makkah* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1961)

Esved, the Mültezim-i Şerif (the noble place of holding),⁸⁹ Makam-ı Ibrahim, and the Mizab-ı Rahmet (the spout of blessing).

During the first three circuits of the *tavaf* of arrival, everybody runs boldly. In the remaining four circuits, pilgrims pretend to be weak and humble. The starting point of the circle of *tavaf* is the Hacer-i Esved, which we kissed at the end of each circuit. After completing seven circuits at the Hacer-i Esved, I proceeded to make supplications to God at the Mültezim-i Şerif. Then I performed a prayer of two *rek'ats* near the Makam-ı Ibrahim, and had a drink from the Zemzem well. I then left through the gate of Safa for the area where the *sa'y*⁹⁰ is performed.

27. Performing the *sa'y* between Safa and Merve

On the east side of the Harem mosque are located Safa to the south and Merve to the north. Between them is a space of one mile to perform the *sa'y*. During the performance of *sa'y* there, at times when I faced towards the Harem mosque I said prayers beginning with 'inne 's-Safa ve'l-Merve' in accordance with a practice of the Prophet.

I made haste in the place between the four green columns facing each other around the Harem mosque and the house of 'Abbas. In particular, I watched the house of God each time I passed by the seven gates of the Harem mosque, the gates of Safa, Bağla, Bazan, 'Ali, 'Abbas, Cena'iz, and Selam since they face the *sa'y* area. Having completed the *sa'y* of seven circles I rested several days in a place looking over the Harem mosque, waiting for the day of *vakfe*.

⁸⁹Mültezim: 'the Place of Holding', 'between the elevated gold and silver doors and the sacred Black Stone' (Kamal, p. 51);

⁹⁰*Sa'y*: 'a pilgrim's course of walking and running between Safa and Merva' (Rh).

28. Moving to 'Arafat and Mina

On the eighth day of Zilhicce [21 January 1679], when the time to depart for 'Arafat approached, the pilgrims became impatient to set off. The blowing of the trumpet for departure like that of Doomsday revived those resting, and they began to sigh and cry with yearning. The noises of pilgrims and mounts caused a great tumult. It was as if the water of Zemzem together with tears of lovers would flow to Mina; and the veil of the Ka'be would fly to Arafat through sighs of lovers. The pilgrims proceeded together with mass of mounts toward Mina through Batha and Mu'alla, raising great clouds of dust behind them, and reciting prayers very loudly.

29. Mina and the Hayf mosque

Mina is a pleasant valley situated one and a half hours to the east of Mecca. On both sides of the road to Mina are hundreds of tall buildings with balconies and porticos, the grounds floors of which are shops used by tradesmen on the days of the *teşrik*.⁹¹ Overlooking the valley is a high mountain, at the skirt of which is the Hayf mosque. Behind this mosque is a cave, which is called the Mürselat because a part of the Qur'an called el-Mürselat had been revealed to the Prophet there through the angel Gabriel when the Prophet was sitting with his companions.

We spent the night of the ninth of Zilhicce at Mina, and as it was a custom of the Prophet to perform five prayers for a whole day at the Hayf mosque, we spent a day there, praying from the noon prayer until the day-break prayers. At dawn, I was overcome with impatience, and hastened to 'Arafat in a state of great excitement.

⁹¹ *Teşrik*: 'A reciting the usual formula at the end of a service of worship, and especially at the end of each service of worship during the Greater Bairam and on the day immediately preceding that fast' (Rh). The *teşrik* days correspond the 11-13th days of Zilhicce (Wensinck, p. 36).

30. 'Arafat, the mount of blessing

Mount 'Arafat is a captivating area located three hours to the east of Mina. Its earth is more perfumed than the hair of the houris of paradise, and its half-dry grass makes mock of those around Tesnim. The sun is jealous of every particle of its jewel-like stones. Every drop of its water, which washes out sins, claims superiority over the fountains of paradise. Its every tree bestows fruits to the branches of Tuba, and its every thorn points into the eye of the sun.

The valley of 'Arafat is so large that even if all the caravans of prayers and all angels descending from heaven were to put up their tents there in the disguise of human beings there would still be some empty space. In the middle of it is Mount 'Arafat, on the top of which is a dome, and at the skirt of which is a river, near which the Prophet Adam had prepared food. The vicinity of the mount is occupied by crowds of colourful tents, and the mount is like a full-moon in the middle.

31. Congestion of pilgrims at the Abraham mosque

At noon, all pilgrims went to the Abraham mosque in order to pray.⁹² As directed by the angel Gabriel, the mosque is situated in an empty area between the two flags determining the edge of the precinct of the Harem mosque and that of 'Arafat. Noon and afternoon prayers are performed together by pilgrims exclusively at this mosque. The courtyard of the mosque was filled by pilgrims wearing the *ihram*. It was like a garden full of fallen white almond petals, and like the white-coloured lines of book of deeds of past saints. At noon, *mü'ezzins* called people to pray, and the preacher delivered an appropriate sermon. Then pilgrims performed the prayers of *zuhr* (noon) and of '*asr*

⁹²Kamal (p. 68) called this mosque 'Masjid Namirah'.

(afternoon) together and in shortened form,⁹³ which amazes the pilgrims who have not performed the *hajj* before. Having completed the prayers, we recited loudly the prayer called *telbiye*, and offered supplications to God. We then set off enthusiastically for 'Arafat.

32. The *vakfe* at 'Arafat⁹⁴

Before the great assembly of pilgrims gathered at 'Arafat, *ferraşan*⁹⁵ loaded belongings on camels, and the pilgrims prepared themselves for the *vakfe* at 'Arafat. The Egyptian and Damascus *mahmils* were put in the valley of Arafat. As is customary, the judge of Mecca ascended to the pulpit, and began to recite prayers. In the intervals between the prayers the congregation recited the *lebbeyk* on the signals of *mü'ezzins*. As this was the best time to ask for forgiveness, everybody offered sincere supplications to God.

Trembling because of our sins, with tears in our eyes and pale faces, we prayed to God by prostrating, suffering, sighing and shedding tears. The valley of 'Arafat with partly naked pilgrims was like 'Arasat, the meeting place on the day of Judgment. The pilgrims continued to cry out and to sigh, reciting the *lebbeyk* very loudly in accordance with the signals of *müezzins*.

Suddenly, although the sky had been very clear, a cloud as big as the valley of 'Arafat appeared, and cast a shadow over the pilgrims. As if the vapour of the pilgrims' sighs had been raised into clouds, it gradually began to rain on the faces of the pilgrims. It was as if God was showing the pilgrims his grace. In fact, every precious drop is a sign of God's acceptance of prayers. The rain made our hopes flourish, and was regarded as

⁹³Pilgrims perform noon and afternoon prayers in two *rek'ats* for each (Kamal, p. 68).

⁹⁴The *vakfe* or *vukuf* at the valley of 'Arafat on 9 Zilhicce in the *ihram* state is necessary for the validity of the *hajj*.

⁹⁵*Ferraş*: an officer who superintends the pitching of tents (Sg).

the start of God's graces. Therefore the pilgrims began to pray more loudly. After one-hour raining, the cloud was driven away by a wind.

It is an extraordinary time when the residents of Muslim lands gather in order to perform one-hour *vakfe* at 'Arafat at a determined time after undertaking a journey of seven or eight years by land and sea, the nearest of which is forty *merhales*.⁹⁶ How wonderful is that time when pious people from distant lands come to offer prayers to God to pursue their salvation! What a moment it is when all the accumulated heaps of sins are blown away faster than dry grass, and became rarer than the elixir of life. What a place it is when the black lines of sins became white by God's grace, the devil beats his breast in desperation, realizing that he wasted his time deceiving people for hundreds of years.

In this sacred place the pilgrims also made supplications to God for their relatives and friends to save them from the hellfire. On that day the gates of mercy are open, and these pilgrims would return with their sins forgiven. Apart from these countless bestowals, God addresses the angels on the day of the *vakfe*: He has changed into good all sins of those who gather at the 'Arafat valley to perform the *vakfe* with the hope of forgiveness after leaving their properties and families, and who are still weeping, sad, prostrating, sighing with hands praying and heads bowed.

Thanks be to God, He has enabled me to perform the hajj before becoming too old to do so. May He enable all who wish to perform it!

33. Back to Müzdelife

We completed the rite of the *vakfe* at 'Arafat, and as the sun set the pilgrims all at once moved in a great uproar. The pilgrims who felt now their sins forgiven rushed into

Müzdelif. The Damascus and Egyptian caravan entrusted their palanquins to each other in order to prevent any possible rivalry, and the pilgrims set out in peace.⁹⁷

34. Meş'aru'l-harem

Müzdelif is an area between 'Arafat and the valley of Mina, and in the middle of this area is located [the mosque of] Meş'aru'l-harem (the sacred grove) with a spacious *suffe*⁹⁸ and a high dome. It is reported that the sins committed against the rights of other people, which were not forgiven at 'Arafat would be forgiven here.⁹⁹ Therefore we pitch our tents there, and performed early evening and evening prayers consecutively in separate congregations on every side of the mosque. Throughout the night the pilgrims begged God to pardon their sins involving other people. Some pilgrims spent the night sleeping, for sleeping at that place of forgiveness is also a means of being pardoned.

The pilgrims collected pebbles there to stone Satan, for it was a custom of the Prophet Muhammed to do so. Before dawn, we loaded our belongings onto camels, and having performed the early morning worship we made the *vakfe* of Müzdelif, saying prayers.

35. Departure from Müzdelif for Mina

When the dawn broke [on 10 Zilhicce/23 January], the pilgrims moved on to Mina. The valley of Mina was occupied by tents of the pilgrims, who rushed to the Cemre-i 'Akabe.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶*Merhale*: a day's journey, a stage of journey.

⁹⁷The procedure of exchange of the *mahmils* is also reported by Evliya Çelebi (9, p. 702).

⁹⁸*Suffe*: 'a porch or hall with benches on which to rest' (Rh).

⁹⁹The pardoning of the offences committed against people recurs also in Evliya Çelebi's narrative (9, p. 704).

¹⁰⁰Upon arriving at Mina on the tenth of Zilhicce, pilgrims threw seven pebbles at the Cemre-i 'Akabe, which is a monument, 'which stands against the mountain at the western exit from the valley of Mina.' (Wensinck, p. 36); The *Cemretü'l-'akabe*, in Kamal (p. 87)'s terms is 'a masonry monument about three meters high, built against a low cliff-side at the summit of the valley'.

36. The Cemre-i Ula ¹⁰¹

The Cemre-i Ula is located on the northern side of the entrance to the valley of Mina in the direction of Mecca. At the foot of the mountain is a *wall* five *zira*‘ wide and five *zira*‘ high, where the Prophet Abraham threw pebbles at Satan, who had tried to deceive him into not sacrificing his son.¹⁰²

The second and third *cemres* (heaps of pebbles), which are at a distance of approximately a hundred paces from each other, are in the middle of the valley of Mina. The rebellious Satan was also stoned there because of his deceit. For this reason they each are defined by an column. On the first day [10 Zilhicce] we threw almond-shaped seven pebbles at ‘Akabe at Mina.

37. Sacrifice and haircut

On that day there were innumerable flocks of sheep ready to be sacrificed. Everybody slaughtered one or more sheep in accordance with their wealth. Sacrifice having been made the pilgrims hastened to cut their hair.

38. Taking off the *Ihram*

Having ended the days of *ihram* by cutting our hair, we put off our *ihrams*, and put on our clothes for the festival, and began using combs, rose-water and aloes, and wearing warm clothes, turban and shoes. On that day the pilgrims gathered at the bazaar of Mina were very cheerful.

¹⁰¹Kamal (p. 86) describes the *cemretü 'l-ula* as a ‘thick phallus-like pillar with rounded top, at its base closely surrounded by a low, circling wall’. Cemre-i ula: ‘the easternmost heaps of pebbles at Mina’ (Rh).

¹⁰²It is also related that Ismail, the son of Abraham, stoned Satan when the latter tried to deceive him (see Kamal., p. 86).

39. Returning to the Ka'be

Having stayed away from Ka'be for three days in order to perform the rites of the stoning, the sacrifice, and the haircut, we hastened to the Ka'be to perform the obligatory *tavaf* of visitation.¹⁰³ That day the courtyard of the Harem mosque was again thronged with the pilgrims who saw the Ka'be with its [new] captivating veil and gold-embroidered girdle.¹⁰⁴ When its black veil was rippled waived by the breeze, it was as if the holy spirits were scattered at its base. On that day of festival,¹⁰⁵ the pilgrims tried to touch the cloth of the Ka'be. Those who were unable to touch the Ka'be owing to the great crowd, made the *tavaf* longingly from a distance. They visited Mültezim-i Şerif, and the Hacer-i Esved. Some were shedding tears at the Hıcr,¹⁰⁶ which is like the pupil of the eye of the Hatim¹⁰⁷ under the Mizab-ı Rahmet (the spout of blessing). Some were offering supplications to God by the Makam-ı Ibrahim, some were drinking water from the well of Zemzem.

40. Entering the house of God

On that day the crowded assembly of the pilgrims moved together to see the Ka'be, and gathered enthusiastically like a raging sea around it. The rush caused some pilgrims to lose their consciousness, and some to die. Some hasty persons trampled on other pilgrims. Since powerless and poverty are acceptable to God I viewed the Ka'be in longing and desperation from a distance, avoiding the vast crowd of pilgrims owing to the fact that I was too weak. I completed my visitation easily. However, it would never

¹⁰³This is the *tawaf* of the *ifada*, which forms an indispensable part (*rükün*) of the pilgrimage. It is best if it is done on the 10th' (Wensinck, p. 36).

¹⁰⁴The pilgrims coming to the Haram mosque to perform 'the *tavaf* around the Ka'be' see 'for the first time' the 'new exterior hangings (*kiswa*)' of the Ka'be, which was annually brought from Cairo and replaced (A.J. Wensinck [J. Jomier], p. 34, 36).

¹⁰⁵Id al-Adha or the feast of Kurban (sacrifice) occurs on the 10-13th of Zilhicce.

¹⁰⁶Hıcr: 'The space included between the north wall of the Cubical House of Mekka and low circular wall to the north of it' (Rh).

have been possible for me to visit this sanctuary if God had not helped me. This place which is superior to paradise, and which is revered by angels, would certainly astonish its visitors. It is impossible to make a proper portrayal of it. In that sacred place, some performed prayer, and some rubbed their faces ecstatically to the courtyard or the walls, being not aware of others.

41. Returning back to Mina again

Having offered supplications at the Ka'be, the pilgrims returned to their tents already pitched at Mina to spend the nights of the *teşrik* days¹⁰⁸ in compliance with the custom of the Prophet Muhammed. During this period of three days the bazaar of Mina burst into life, full of gold and silver. Some nimble-fingered people stole purses from the pockets and under the arms of heedless people, and made money from the audience's carelessness.

42. Decoration with lamps of the Damascus and Egyptian caravans

At sunset, the caravans of Egypt and Damascus made a display of torches in order to show each other how large they were, putting an *işare*¹⁰⁹ [composed of] numerous torches in front of tents. These *işares* were different in appearance. Drums were beaten and trumpets sounded fiercely; the firing of balls made the earth shake. The light of firing reflected upon everything around such as falcons, cocks, rams, springs, beards and turbans.¹¹⁰ The rockets circled the sky, and seemed to be driving thieving devils away

¹⁰⁷Hatim: 'A name of the inclosed space north of the Kaaba at Mekka' (Rh).

¹⁰⁸The 11-13th days of Zilhicce

¹⁰⁹*Işare* literally means 'sign'; Mehmed Edib describes the *işare* in similar terms: the figure of the torches put on the tall columns that are placed in front of the tents of certain officials such as the leader of pilgrimage caravan, and *surre emini* (the trustee of *surre*) (see Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü 'l-menazil*, Istanbul 1232/1816-7, p. 64).

¹¹⁰Here Nabi draws an imaginative picture of the real things he saw. He imagines everything that was lightened by fire as a part of fire. A similar image occurs in the eighteenth century poet Şeyh Galib's well-known *gazel* rhymed '*ateş*'.

from the earth and heaven, collaborating with meteors in order to protect the congregation of pilgrims. The earth with massive numbers of lamps and candles surpassed the glow of heaven. The night was illuminated by the lights of lamps and rockets which were forming figures of bunches of flowers in the air, and they disappeared in the light of morning. We remained at Mina until the end of the *teşrik* days. Each afternoon we threw seven pebbles at the *cemerat* (monuments).¹¹¹ We then returned to the Ka'be.

43. Returning from Mina to the Ka'be

While returning from Mina we rested for one hour at Muhassabe,¹¹² which is at the entrance to Mecca, in compliance with a custom of the Prophet. We also visited certain places in the vicinity of the Harem mosque. Everybody made *tavaf* and visited the sacred sites inside and the outside Mecca.

44. The mountain of Ebi Kubeys

One of the places of visitation is the mountain of Ebi Kubeys to the southeast of the Ka'be. There are buildings all the way up to the top of the mountain. It was on this mountain that the Prophet split the moon with his finger.

45. The birth-place of the Prophet

Another place to visit is the house in which the Prophet was born. It is situated near the fig tree in a corner of the bazaar of Suku'l-leyl. In the middle of the house is placed a green sarcophagus-like structure showing his birthplace.

¹¹¹Wensinck (p. 36) states 'Each day normally between mid-day and sunset, every pilgrim has to throw seven stones at each of the three djimar of Mina, ending with that of 'Akaba (the only one which had been stoned on the 10th)'.

¹¹²Muhassab(a): 'Name of the pebbly road between the plain of Mekka and the village of Mina' (Rh).

46. The villa of Hadice-i Kübra

Another place is the house of Hadice. Through an opening within it is reached the Prophet's private prayer room. The room where [the Prophet's daughter] Fatıma-i Zehra was born is reached through another opening. Her stones for grinding flour are still there waiting bewildered. The house of Ebubekr and the birthplace of 'Ali are also nearby. The stone which spoke to the Prophet when he was passing by, is placed in the wall here, and revered by visitors.

Yet another place is the house of Hizran where 'Ömer ibn Hattab accepted Islam as the fortieth Muslim while the Prophet and his thirty nine companions were holding a meeting. 'Ömer's birthplace, which is in the direction of the Birke-i Yemeni, is another place for pilgrims to visit.

47. Mount Nur

Pilgrims also visit Mount Nur, which is less than one *fersah*¹¹³ away from Mecca, and where the Prophet Muhammed's breast was 'opened' by the angel Gabriel when he was young,¹¹⁴ and where in the cave of Hira, Muhammed was decreed a prophet.

48. Mount Sevr

Mount Sevr is about one *fersah* from Mecca. On the top of the mountain is the cave, in which the Prophet and Ebu Bekr had sheltered during their *hicre* (migration) to Medina. During their stay in the cave a spider and a couple of pigeons had deceived the Kureyşi pursuers [into thinking that the cave was empty]. In short, it is impossible for my weary pen to describe properly the sacred city of Mecca, where prophets and saints lived.

¹¹³Fersah: three miles (Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 51); 'about 18,000 feet in length'. (Sg);

¹¹⁴This occurrence is described in the Qur'an (94/1): 'Have We not opened your breast for you (o Muhammed)?' (translated by Al-Hilali).

49. Leaving Mecca with the *tavaf* of farewell

When the time came to leave Mecca on the first day of Muharrem, the pilgrims began to grieve and to cry. In fact, in this world there is no enjoyment lasting forever. Just as we had shed tears of joy when we arrived at the Ka'be, now at the time of departure we shed tears of grief. Whereas we had performed the *tavaf* of arrival with great pleasure and speed, we were reluctant to make the *tavaf* of farewell. What could we have done? We proceeded willingly or unwillingly to perform the *tavaf*. That day from morning to evening lamentations of pilgrims did not stop at the Harem mosque. During the *tavaf*, after visiting the Hacer-i Esved and the Mültezim-i Şerif I kissed the threshold of the Ka'be, conforming to a custom of the Prophet, and I wrote a poem of farewell on its threshold through my tears and eyelashes. We proceeded reluctantly to the gate of farewell. When the Ka'be could no longer be seen, I suffered so much that it can only be understood by those experienced the sadness of that situation.

When I was in shock I came to myself when I was reminded that I was going to visit the tomb of the Prophet. If these glad tidings and desire for the Prophet's shrine had not helped me I would have been devastated. With such help from God I proceeded with pleasure to Medina.

50. Seeing Medina

One morning having ascended to the mountain of Müferrah, which is about half an hour from Medina, I suddenly saw the ramparts of Medina, in the midst of which is situated the green dome of the shrine of Prophet, encompassed by four minarets. I sighed and cried out [with joy]. It is a significant dome, beneath which is the burial place of the Prophet, the sultan of the world, and around which fly the inhabitants [angels] of the seven heavens. Its dome reflected lights and dazzled the pilgrims watching. We

approached the gate of Medina. While other pilgrims were reciting prayers for the Prophet, I presented my heartfelt poem at the entrance of the Prophet's city.¹¹⁵

51. Arrival at the gate of Selam

We finally passed through the outer gate of Medina, and reached the gate of Selam (greeting), where angels warned us as expressed in my poem.¹¹⁶

‘O devoted visitors of this place! This is a sacred place which is admired by angels and holy spirits. It is the twin to the Ka‘be, and bears the Prophet’s footprint. It is an honour for the wings of the angel Gabriel to sweep the dust of this court. This hospital-like place contains remedies for sinful people. This is such a sanctuary, which contains the Prophet, who had been educated by God to intercede for all sinners who lived in this world between its creation and its destruction. This is a place which holds such a person whose name comes first in the list of creation, and he is the reason for the creation of whole universe. He is the sultan of the prophets, to whose community other prophets seek to belong. This grave belongs to He who does not ‘speak of (his own) desire’¹¹⁷ and who ‘speaks eloquently’, and who ‘is together with God’. He was created before the Prophet Joseph existed. Nine heavens expected his visit for a long time. The eight levels of paradise are prepared for those who follow his way, and the eight levels of hell are assigned for those who oppose the divine message he conveyed.’

With this advice from the unseen I was overwhelmed by the awe-inspiring mausoleum of the Prophet. I entered it great meekness, and worshipped God at the niche of the Prophet. After completing the prayer of salutation I proceeded to offer my prayers and

¹¹⁵For the poem, see *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 440

¹¹⁶This poem is also included in *Nabi Divanı* (ed. Bilkan), p. 952.

¹¹⁷The Qur'an, 53/3; Al-Hilali, p. 961.

salutations for him. I prayed in reverence and sadness, moving lips, looking down at my feet, and raising my hands up to my breast.

How pleasant it was to visit the tomb of the Prophet, a place I had been yearning for since I was born. How memorable it was to offer my supplications and salutations in his presence, when I had been used to send my prayers from afar. I then prayed at the nearby [tombs of] Ebubekr and 'Ömer, and visited [the tomb of] Fatıma outside the chamber of the Prophet.

52. Visit to the Cemetery of Baki'

I prayed by the window of the cemetery of Baki'. Then passing through the door of Gabriel I visited the graves in the neighbourhood of the Prophet's tomb. The cemetery of Baki' is in fact a sacred place, each mound and tree of which is radiant like the mountain of Nur and the Eymen tree.¹¹⁸ Every particle of its dust is more honoured than the essence of the elixir, and every small fragrant of its luminous stones is superior to the ring of Solomon.

Every visitor prays to God in order to die there. There is no better resting place than this cemetery because the residents of the cemetery would be saved from hell. They will probably not even feel the heat of hell. It is a wonderful opportunity that they will arise on the Day of Judgment together with the Prophet, and gather under his banner. May God not deprive me of joining this assembly under the Prophet's banner!

At the gate of the cemetery of Baki' is buried the Prophet's aunt under a dome, near which are the graves of the Prophet's wives, and that of his son Ibrahim. Under another dome are buried the Prophet's uncle 'Abbas and four saints namely Hasan bin 'Aliyyü'l-mürtaza, Zeyne'l-'abidin, Muhammed Bakır and Ca'fer-i Sadık. 'Akil bin Ebi

Talib, Imam-ı Malik, Nafi' bin Kesir, Fatıma bint Esed, each lie under separate domes. There are also graves of so many companions of the Prophet, buried without a dome.

In addition, are buried countless number of rulers, scholars and saints. One tomb may contain corpses of more than a hundred individuals. The tomb of the prominent master Muhammed Parsa is determined by a marble plate.¹¹⁹ In a remote corner of the cemetery of Baki' is the tomb of 'Osman bin 'Affan under a dome. I have visited and prayed for them all.

Then I came back to the Prophet's tomb for another visit. It is customary to stay in Medina for ten days. From morning til night we prayed to God for the Prophet, and asked for his intercession. I copied onto a plaque a poem of mine revealing my feelings, and hung it facing the Prophet's grave.¹²⁰ Since my name was on the list of the *feraşet* service,¹²¹ which bestows a kind of legitimacy upon Ottoman rule, I put on the honourable belt of *feraşet*, and served by lighting candles at the Prophet's tomb. Thanks to God, before my death, I have been to that sanctuary, and my wish has come true.

53. Description of the martyrs of Uhud

On Thursday pilgrims went riding and walking to visit the martyrs of Uhud for it was a custom of the Prophet. The mountain of Uhud, on which the battle of Uhud took place [in 625], is one hour distant from Medina. On the way we first visited the place where the Prophet armed. We prayed in the place where he rested for a while. I sighed and cried out loud upon seeing the place where the Prophet's teeth had broken. We stared at

¹¹⁸Eymen is the name of the burning bush, through which God appeared to the Prophet Moses.

¹¹⁹Hace Muhammed b. Mahmud (Muhammed) el-Hafizi al-Buhari (d. 822/1419), whose nick name is Parsa (the devout) was the founder of a branch of Nakşibendiyye order called Parsa'ıyye. His shrine in Medina is a place of visitaion for pilgrims (See 'Parsa'ıyya' in *EI* VII, pp. 272-273). Muhammed Parsa went on the hajj in 1419 (A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1958, p. 426).

¹²⁰This poem is also included in *Nabi Divanı* (ed. Bilkan), pp. 955- 956.

¹²¹*feraşet*: 'the titular office of sweeper to the mosques of Medina and Mekka' (Rh).

the stone which bears the print of the head of the Prophet, who had put his head on it to rest during the battle. Then we prayed for all the martyrs of Uhud, especially for Hamza bin ‘Abdūlmuttalib, who was buried there under a dome. In that district I visited also the Feth mosque and the well of the Prophet

54. Description of the Zülkibleteyn mosque

The Zülkibleteyn mosque, which is located in the same area, has two niches, one on the south facing the Harem mosque and the other on the north side facing the Aksa mosque. Having used the Aksa mosque as the *kible* for seventeen months at the beginning of his migration [to Medina], one day while performing a prayer toward the Aksa mosque the Prophet faced the Harem mosque in compliance with the following Qur’anic verse conveyed by Gabriel: ‘So turn your face in the direction of Al-Mascid al-Haram (at Makkah)’.¹²²

55. The Kuba mosque

Since it was a custom of the Prophet to visit the Kuba mosque on Saturday, and it is as good as the performance of the *‘umre* (the lesser pilgrimage), the pilgrims went to visit it. It is a blessed mosque in the midst of a palm grove, at a distance of one hour from Medina. It is a illuminated and mysterious mosque as is evident from its gate and walls.

When the Prophet and his companions arrived in the vicinity of Medina during the migration, they constructed the Kuba mosque by the order of God on the ground which had been determined by the Prophet’s camel: ‘Verily, the mosque whose foundation was laid (from the first day) on piety.’¹²³

¹²²The Qur’an, 2/144; AL-Hilali, p. 56

¹²³The Qur’an, 9/10; AL-Hilali, p. 348

At the time of construction all companions of the Prophet worked, and the Prophet helped them by preparing clay and stone. Prayer is acceptable at its niche. The Prophet had seen the Ka'be from the niche situated on its east side. The mosque has also another niche, on the ground of which the aforementioned camel had sat while searching for a place to rest.

I prayed at the mosques of 'Ali and Fatima, which both are situated in the neighbourhood of the Kuba mosque. Then I visited the well of Kuba and prayed by it. One day when the Prophet was troubled by hot weather he together with his four friends [the first four caliphs] put down his legs into the well, and then his ring fell down into it from his finger. Those who have drunk from its water will recover from their illness. Furthermore, when the Prophet was passing through the palm grove of Kuba, a palm extended its neck politely, and asked him to eat its dates, and hence to make it eminent among others. Having visited it I returned to Medina again.

There is no place inside and outside Medina that the traces of the revelation of the Qur'an and of miracles would not be sensed. In fact it is impossible to describe properly each place of Medina in detail.

56. Description of the departure

Once the day of departure came I was very distressed, and began to groan loudly. What a difficult time it is when you say 'farewell' to the Prophet instead of offering prayers in his presence. O unfortunate man, from now on be sorrowful that you are leaving the fortune of being and praying in the presence of the Prophet! O disloyal man, you still did not pass away at this sanctuary which you had been yearning for since you were born! O senseless man, although you have found the body of the Prophet, you are going back to do mundane deeds!

Whereas at the first day of visit I was very ardent, now I felt impotent to bid farewell to the tomb of the Prophet. In the end, I bid farewell unwillingly and shamefully to the Prophet's tomb, and went away slowly and in bewilderment. It is impossible to portray the sadness of that time. In this mood we set out from Medina for the desert, weeping, and proceeded to Damascus, seeing the sanctuaries in our minds, and sometimes talking about them. Once we arrived in Damascus the pilgrims proceeded to their own home towns. As for me, God enabled me to come to the Palace in Istanbul safe and secure.

Chapter V

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF OTTOMAN PILGRIMAGE TEXTS

Introduction

The journey of the official Ottoman pilgrimage caravans has been examined in detail by several scholars including Faroqhi,¹ Rafeq², Barbir³ and Bakhit.⁴ They generally approached the subject from political and historical points of view, and accordingly based their arguments and descriptions mostly on official and historical sources. Their aims were principally to investigate how Ottoman sultans and/or local governors, particularly those of Damascus, dealt with the arrangement and maintenance of the caravans' welfare. The present study considers the pilgrimage experience of Ottomans from a rather different perspective, bringing the issue on to a personal level while benefiting from the above studies whenever appropriate. It aims to illustrate what Ottoman pilgrims as individuals preferred to say about their journeys and what they felt when they reached the sanctuaries. Its discussion is based upon on several written accounts introduced in the previous chapters.

Of the Ottoman pilgrimage texts, guidebooks and guide-type pilgrimage narratives constitute an observable genre bearing similar characteristics as to their contents and structures. These authors generally preferred to record what a future pilgrim needed to know, such as the name of stations, the hour distances between stations, the availability of fortress, hospice, bazaar, bath and mosque at the stations. Their descriptions are generally

¹Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and sultans: the hajj under the Ottomans 1517-1683* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1994)

²Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The province of Damascus 1723-1783* (Beirut: Khayats, 1966), p. 59;

³Karl K. Barbir, *Ottoman rule in Damascus 1708-1758* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980)

static since they record only customary and impersonal aspects of the things seen. On the other hand, several authors, generally poets, managed more aptly to reflect upon their own experiences and sentiments in their narratives.

One of the most pertinent questions about a travel narrative is its originality and authenticity; whether or not it reflects the actual experience of its author's journey, and if not what were the sources he made use of. Recent studies on the sources of pre-modern travel narratives have shown that many travel works, no matter how popular or vivid they are, may have been compiled from, or be heavily reliant upon, previous such works. The most striking example of this is the fourteenth-century author Sir John Mandeville, whose *Travels*, one of the most popular pilgrimage narratives, was read with interest for about six hundred years. In the nineteenth century it was revealed to be a compilation from certain works including essentially the encyclopedia of Vincent of Beauvais⁵ 'with a few colourful fictions added'⁶ in spite of Mandeville's persuasive claim to authenticity.⁷ It is also noticed that certain Arab travel writers, including Ibn Battuta, made quotations from Ibn Cübeyr [Jubayr]'s narrative.⁸ Dunn suggests that Ibn Cüzeyy [Juzayy], the editor of Ibn Battuta's narrative, may have made use of a rich library of travel books and geographical works, during the two-year composition of the *Rihle*.⁹ As Howard says 'the traveller sees what he wants or expects to see, which is often what he has read'.¹⁰ Many themes in the texts of Bahti and Nabi appeared to have been derived from Cami [Jami]'s verse description of the sanctuaries in the Hijaz. However, in some cases, what Bahti and

⁴M. Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1982)

⁵Malcolm Letts, *Mandeville's Travels: text and translations* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953), p. xxxiii

⁶Jonathon Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of mediaeval religion* (London 1975), p. 258

⁷Donald R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980), p. 54

⁸J.N. Mattock, 'Ibn Battuta's use of Ibn Jubair's *Rihla*' in R. Peters (ed), *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Europeene des Arabisants et Islamisants* (Leiden 1981), pp. 209-18

Nabi took from Cami was not so much the latter's themes but his eloquent and impressive expressions because many of these themes are commonplace, some being compiled from the Prophet's hadiths. Ottoman writers readily cited the verses of Persian master poets in order to enhance the literary standard of their texts,¹¹ and to demonstrate their deep literary knowledge. However they rarely identify the references for their quotations, especially for those that were known to their contemporary readers. Verse citation is frequently resorted to in literary descriptions, but rarely in informative or scholarly treatises. Bahti generally puts Persian verses at the beginning of a sub-section, before proceeding on his description.

Nabi, while quoting a large number of Persian verses as merit-raising material, also included many of his own original poems in his *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, for he as a master poet aimed at producing a masterpiece especially for men of literary interest. Certain of his verses were popular and quoted by subsequent writers such as Mehmed Edib and Anonymous. While the authors of literary narratives frequently quoted the verses of master poets in their consciously literary descriptions, the authors of informative treatises drew upon certain historical works, but some including Kadri, Evliya¹² and Mehmed Edib, occasionally cite fragmentary verses as well. The learned authors Hibri and Mehmed Edib use historical works on Damascus called the *Feza'il-i Dımışk* and the *Tarih-i Dımışk* respectively.¹³ Among the works Evliya referred to are the *Tarih-i Iskender*, *Kitab-ı siyer*

⁹Ross E. Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and California: University of California Press, 1986), p. 310, 313, 314

¹⁰Howard, p. 10

¹¹Such tendency to quote Persian verses is observed by Metcalf in Indian works composed by sufis (see Barbara D. Metcalf, 'The pilgrimage remembered: South Asian accounts of the hajj' in Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds), *Muslim Travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination*, London: Routledge, 1990, p. 92).

¹²Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671-1672)* 9 (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935), p. 685, 702; and *Evliya Çelebi seyahatnamesi: Mısır, Sudan, Habeş (1672-1680)* 10 (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1938), p. 430.

¹³Hibri Abdurrahman, ed. Sevim Ilgürel, 'Abdurrahman Hibri'nin 'Menasik-i mesalik'i', *IUEF Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* (1975), p. 122; Mehmed Edib b. Mehmed Derviş, *Menasikü'l-hacc-ı şerif* (Istanbul 1232/1816-7), p. 55, 58, 61. Katip Çelebi allocates an entry to *Tevarih-i Dımışk* (chronicles of Damascus) in his broad bibliographic work, the *Kesfü'z zünun*, referring especially to Imam el-Hafız Ebu el-Hüseyn

and *Tevarih-i Taberi*.¹⁴ What follows is an examination of the contents of the Ottoman pilgrimage texts introduced earlier in the second and third chapters, concentrating upon certain themes such as the journey, stations, shrines and sanctuaries. The analysis is based upon the texts themselves, and is an attempt to discuss these topics in broader terms.

1. The pilgrimage journey

The authors of the Ottoman pilgrimage texts do not describe the journey on a clear day-by-day basis as in the format of journals, logs or diaries. Most authors do not provide us with much direct or concrete data on their own or their fellow pilgrims' exploits or their relations to each other. Ahmed Fakih, Nabi and Fevri focus their attention on the sanctuaries, largely overlooking the journey they undertook and the stations they passed through. In their eyes the journey seems to be no more than a means to reach the significant places, and was therefore not something worth elaborating on.

Instead of recording the journey for its own sake, the author of a guide-type pilgrimage text gives a few random dates and figures: e.g. the year in which he travelled, how long the journey took from Istanbul to Damascus; when he arrived in a major station such as Damascus, Medina or Mecca and back to Istanbul, and how long he stayed in a major station. Authors generally avoid giving exact dates for their arrival at minor stations, using general and unclear time words such as 'tomorrow' and 'on the third day'. They might have consciously disregarded daily descriptions of the journey because they did not see any practical benefit for their readers, generally future pilgrims, in doing so owing to the seasonal variations as a result of the lunar calendar. There was also no rigidly fixed time for the departure of the caravan, and the leader of the caravan held the authority to make

¹⁴Ali b. Hasan, known Ibn 'Asakir (d. 571/1175)'s voluminous chronicle (see Katip Çelebi, *Keşf-el-zunun* 1 (Maarif Matbaası, 1941), p. 294).

¹⁴Evliya, 9, p. 603, 604 and 829 respectively.

some changes to the itinerary.¹⁵ However this does not mean that all authors failed to make any notes during the journey.

Prior to their departure for the Hijaz, pilgrims were supposed to make amends to family, neighbours and acquaintances whom they had consciously or unconsciously wronged.¹⁶ Some would have given a farewell meal, especially to the poor.¹⁷ A number of routine recommendations were made to pilgrims in order to make them ready for the hajj in spirit. For instance, Bahti recommends intending pilgrims to cleanse themselves from mundane desires, and to be honest, good-natured and devout.¹⁸ They were also advised to undertake the journey in good health, in the company of a good friend, with enough money, and to be generous.¹⁹

Pilgrims from Istanbul met at Üsküdar for the official caravan bound for Damascus and then for Mecca. The caravan was joined by intending pilgrims on the way through Anatolia to Damascus.²⁰ It had officially to leave Üsküdar for Damascus in mid or late Receb, four months before the performance of the hajj in Zilhicce. Although it is said that the departure date for the caravan from Istanbul was 12 Receb, it seems that it was not a rigid custom to set out on that day.²¹ According to Mehmed Edib the caravan departed from Üsküdar on 25 Receb.²² However, in 1041/1632, having come from Edirne to Istanbul in the middle of Receb, Hibri's caravan departed from Üsküdar on 13 Şaban.²³

¹⁵Sulhi, *Menasik-i Hacc*, Millet Ktp., Şer'iyye, no: 445, f. 24a

¹⁶Bahti, f. 2

¹⁷Sumption (pp. 168-170) says of medieval Christian pilgrims that they were expected to pay their debts, make a will, the rich men would make donations to the poor, make amends to those he has wronged, and seek permission from certain persons including his wife, his parish priest and his feudal lord.

¹⁸Bahti, ff. 1-2

¹⁹Kadri [not identified], *Menazilü't-tarik ila beyti'llahi'l-'atik*, Millet Ktp., Tarih., no: 892, f. 3a

²⁰Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Mekke-i Mükەرreme emirleri* (Ankara: TTK, 1972), p. 57

²¹For description of the ceremony for the departure of *surre* held in Istanbul, see Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü* III (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1954), pp. 280-3, 285; Esad Efendi, introduced by Yavuz Ercan, '(Her yıl gelenek haline gelmiş olan) Sürre-i hümayun gönderme töreni', *Tarih ve toplum* 3 (1985), pp. 377-80; Zeynep Menemencioğlu, 'Sürre emini ve sürre alayının Hicaz kutsal şehirlerine hareketi', *Tarih ve toplum* 3 (1985), pp. 380-1

²²Mehmed Edib, p. 254

²³Hibri, p. 115

Pilgrim groups particularly from Istanbul, Anatolia and Central Asia gathered in Damascus.²⁴ Those from Istanbul arrived in Damascus generally in the first or second week of Ramazan, and stayed for as long as 40 days, spending there the whole or the last portion of the fasting month of Ramazan, as seen in the narratives of Seyyid Hasan Rıza, Cudi and Mehmed Edib.²⁵ A number of independent pilgrims stayed in Damascus four or five months, having arrived much earlier.²⁶ Pilgrims stayed in hospices and ‘*tabhanes*’ (winter habitations) in front of the Sultan Süleyman mosque.²⁷ According to the seventeenth-century authors, Hibri, Evliya and Seyyid Hasan, the caravan set out from Damascus for Mecca on 20 or 22 Şevval. In the eighteenth century, Mehmed Edib reports that the leader of the pilgrimage caravan normally departed from Damascus on 15 Şevval, and the pilgrims would leave the city between 15-18 Şevval.²⁸ Dates are given by Ibrahim Hanif for the departure of the caravan leader and pilgrims from Damascus are similar to those given by Mehmed Edib.²⁹

As mentioned before, the existing pilgrimage texts have little data on the social lives of pilgrims travelling in a pilgrimage caravan. It can be inferred from Ibrahim Hanif’s narrative that he and his (probably dervish) comrades spent some of their time by telling amazing stories to each other.³⁰ Another pilgrim-writer Ahmed Efendi says that, after setting out from Damascus, at each stage ‘Ali el-Kari’s Arabic work on the rites of the hajj was discussed by his friends ‘Ali Efendi and Hafız Efendi, and as a result, he wrote down

²⁴Rafeq, p. 59; Bakhit, p. 107

²⁵Hacı Seyyid Hasan Rıza‘i, *Tuhfetü’l-menazil ve Tuhfetü’l-huffaz*, Cambridge University Library, no: 284 (t), or. 662 (8), ff. 17b-19b; Cudi, *Merahilü Mekke mine’ş-Şam*, Hacı Mahmud Efendi, no: 4886/3, f. 56b ; Mehmed Edib, p. 254

²⁶Rafeq, p. 62

²⁷Hibri, p. 123; Rafeq (p. 60) states ‘while in Damascus most of the pilgrims encamped in an open space to the east of al-madrasa al-Sulaymaniyya’.

²⁸Mehmed Edib, p. 64

²⁹Ibrahim Hanif, *Menazilü’l-haremeyn*, Süleymaniye Ktb., Laleli, no: 220, f. 37a

³⁰See the entry on Ibrahim Hanif’s text in Chapter II.

his work the *Menasik-i hacc* in a plain Turkish to be understood by everyone.³¹ Likewise, Giridi Ahmed Efendi who made the hajj in 1172/1759 composed his treatise on the hajj by benefiting from discussions which took place in the course of the journey.³² Indeed, studying or lecturing during the journey seems to be not unusual among medieval Muslim travellers. For example, it is related that when travelling to Cairo in a group, Sadreddin of Konya 'taught his comrades Ibn el-Farid's *Ta'iyye* on the way'.³³

The pilgrimage texts do occasionally include general data on the characteristics of the caravan, such as their formation, safety and customs. Kadri describes the formation of the Damascus caravan as follows: In front of the caravan was the *serdar* (commander) and the *başçavuş* (assistant commander) with six cannons and a flag. They were followed by the *surre emini* with the *mahmil* guarded on both sides by janissaries. The *surre* was followed by those travelling in palanquins, then by the *kiler emini* (officer in charge of cellar) and by the mass of pilgrims. The leader of the caravan came after pilgrims.³⁴ A number of designated people pitched tents at each station before the arrival of the pilgrims. At a station, after eating meals and drinking coffee a trumpet was blown, or on certain occasions a cannon was fired, to inform the pilgrims that the caravan was due to depart.³⁵ When the time of ritual prayer came, a drum was beaten in front of the *mahmil*, and the prayer for that time was performed in assembly together with an appointed prayer leader. Pilgrims were provided with provisions at certain stations. For example, sugar was delivered at the Hediye Eşmesi station.³⁶ Evliya says that at the station of Bi'r-i Zümürüd, in the evening all pilgrims were given water supplied by charitable foundations

³¹Ahmed Efendi, *Menasik-i hacc-ı şerif*, Millet Ktp., Şer'iye, no: 442, f. 1b; 'Ali el-Kari's work must be *ed-Dürretü'l-mudiyye*.

³²Giridi Ahmed Efendi, *Menasik-i hacc-ı şerif*, Millet Ktp., Şer'iye, no: 442/2; f. 13b (or f. 14b in a different numbering).

³³W.C. Chittick, 'Sadr al-Din al-Kunawi', *EF* VIII, p. 753

³⁴Kadri, f. 35a; Bakhit (p. 112) says: 'Attached to the caravan were a qadı, a mu'adhdhin, an imam, and a sanjaqdar. The official known as amir al-manzil was responsible for encampments at the stops.'

³⁵Kadri, f. 40a

established by the mothers of Murad IV and Mehmed IV.³⁷ For the protection and delivery of supplies, a cellar trustee and a cellar secretary were appointed. Some subsidy carried by certain camels was allocated for poor pilgrims. Such camels were called the camels of the poor.³⁸

A precise and detailed description of the procession of the Egyptian *mahmil* in Kara Meydan (Black Square) in Cairo is given by Evliya Çelebi. Fifteen days before this ceremony, the people of Cairo rented shops for five or ten *guruş*.³⁹ On the day of the ceremony, the *mahmil* was decorated, and brought into Kara Meydan on a camel. The *mahmil* was set down at the *sebilhane* (fountain) of Tahir Baybars. The soldiers and scholars of Egypt set up their tents. After evening prayer, hundreds and thousands of oil lamps were lit. The inhabitants of the city and scholars surrounded the *mahmil*, reciting prayers until the morning. The governor of Egypt gave a feast to those who recited the Qur'an and the *mevlid*.⁴⁰ When dawn broke, big drums were beaten and the tents removed. Goods were loaded onto the camels. Persons assigned led the camels around Kara Meydan. Soldiers were placed on both sides of the road in expectation of the arrival of the leader of the pilgrimage caravan. Escorted by soldiers he walked along, greeting both sides, and informed the governor of the readiness of the soldiers. Having entrusted all provisions and subsidies to the leader of the pilgrimage caravan in the presence of the elite, the governor ordered his secretary to record the handover.⁴¹

Kadri describes the departure of the Damascus caravan as follows: some day between 7 and 10 Şevval, a great ceremony took place in Damascus. The richly-adorned *mahmil* was

³⁶Hibri, p. 127; Kadri, f. 42a; Cudi, f. 61a

³⁷Evliya, 9, p. 600

³⁸Bakhit, p. 111: 'Sixty camels were assigned for special duties. Twenty of these carried *biqismat* and twenty transported water. The remaining twenty carried litters for the transport of the sick and disabled.'

³⁹*guruş*: a piastre, the smallest Turkish coin used in the past.

⁴⁰*mevlid*: a panegyric poem principally depicting the birth of the Prophet Muhammed, which is generally read on the birthday of the Prophet.

⁴¹Evliya, 10, p. 425; For further information see Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and sultans*, pp. 37-40

paraded through the streets of Damascus, with the governor and the city elite joining in the procession. During the ceremony the shrine of Şeyh Arslan was visited, and sheep were slaughtered there.⁴² The inhabitants of Damascus watched the procession attentively. One week later, on the occasion of the *mahmil*'s departure from Damascus another similar ceremony took place.⁴³ After leaving the city and marching one and a half hours the caravan reached 'a dome',⁴⁴ where the governor of Damascus entrusted the *mahmil* to the leader of the caravan, with a prayer being said by the *kadı* of Damascus. A feast took place in the palace built by Küçük Ahmed Paşa from the account of his foundation. After the feast, the people of Damascus returned to the city.⁴⁵ Moreover, Cudi says that a great number of inhabitants of Damascus accompanied the pilgrims to Müzeyrib, where a celebrated bazaar took place, and pilgrims purchased what they needed.⁴⁶ Pilgrims stayed for seven or ten days until 1 Zilkade at Müzeyrib, where the leader of the caravan delivered the *surre* to local Arabs, and hired camels to use as far as 'Ula.⁴⁷ Evliya relates that Hüseyin Paşa purchased 3000 camels, 2000 of which were allocated to carry water. Each camel was loaded with four goat-skins of water. The remaining 1000 camels were to carry barley and beans.⁴⁸ Before the departure from Müzeyrib on 1 Zilkade, a celebration took place: candles were lit, cannons and guns were fired. Following the caravan's departure, most of the Damascus garrison returned to Damascus while a designated number accompanied the caravan.⁴⁹

Prior to entering Medina the leader of the caravan stayed one day in a place called Kuyular, one hour from Medina, and on the following day led his escort into Medina with

⁴²Kadri, f. 32b

⁴³Kadri, f. 33a; Barbir, p. 153: 'Between the twelfth and twentieth of Şevval a second ceremony took place, leading to the departure of the caravan'; see also Bakhit, p. 112-3.

⁴⁴Kadri, f. 33a; This dome is called Kubbetü'l-hacc.

⁴⁵Kadri, f. 33a

⁴⁶Cudi, ff. 57a-57b

⁴⁷Hibri, p. 125, 127

⁴⁸Evliya, 9. p. 572

the *mahmil*.⁵⁰ The arrival of the caravan at Medina was celebrated with the firing of cannon.⁵¹ Pilgrims were welcomed by the inhabitants of Medina, carrying *zenbil* (baskets woven of palm-leaves).⁵² Pilgrims gave them gifts for pious reasons.⁵³ Before entering Mecca the leader of the caravan decorated the *mahmil* at Sebil, half an hour away from the city, and made his way to Mecca in the company of his escort.⁵⁴

Nabi notes that prior to departure from ‘Arafat, the Damascus and Egyptian caravans entrusted their *mahmils* to each other in order to prevent a possible competition between the two sides, enabling the pilgrims to march in peace.⁵⁵ Having completed the rites of the hajj the pilgrims came to Mina, where a great bazaar took place, and where they spent three days. On the third day of the festival before returning to Mecca, a celebration was held with candles lit, cannons and rifles fired. In Mecca the pilgrims dwelt in houses and *medreses* rather than in tents.⁵⁶

The Ottoman texts in hand, except for Evliya Çelebi, do not provide us with an estimate of the total number of pilgrims visiting Mecca. Evliya Çelebi who made his hajj in 1082/1671 states that at the Müzeyrib fort there were around 40,000 or 50,000 pilgrims.⁵⁷ The same number is repeated later in Medina.⁵⁸ Evliya also makes an estimation of 70,000 pilgrims gathered around Mount ‘Arafat.⁵⁹ On another occasion he claims in an exaggerated manner that there were several hundreds of thousands of people from various lands come together in Mecca.⁶⁰ When emphasizing the abundance of the Zemzem well,

⁴⁹Kadri, f. 34b

⁵⁰Kadri, f. 42a

⁵¹Ibrahim Hanif, f. 56a; see Evliya, 9, p. 607

⁵²Kadri, f. 43a; Evliya, 9, p. 607; see also Cudi, f. 61b

⁵³Evliya, 9, p. 607

⁵⁴Kadri, f. 52a

⁵⁵Nabi, *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 408; Evliya, 9, p. 702; see also Bakhit, p. 114

⁵⁶Kadri, f. 59a.

⁵⁷Evliya, 9, p. 571

⁵⁸Evliya, 9, p. 610

⁵⁹Evliya, 9, p. 694

⁶⁰Evliya, 9, p. 683

Nabi indicates the presence of over a hundred thousand pilgrims in the year 1089/1679.⁶¹

In determining the total number of pilgrims visiting Mecca annually it is necessary at this stage to depend on works written by non-Turkish travellers or chroniclers, since there is 'no direct documentation' of the number of medieval Muslim pilgrims. According to the sixteenth-century writer Jazari, the Egyptian and Damascus caravans were each composed of 40,000 people.⁶² The seventeenth-century Indian pilgrim-author Qazvini reports that the number of pilgrims from Aleppo [Damascus] and Cairo was each 30,000 or 40,000.⁶³ According to the nineteenth-century author 'Ali Beg, the number of men gathered in Mecca in 1807 was 80,000, with a further 2,000 women and 1000 children. In 1814 John Lewis Burckhardt estimated the whole number of pilgrims as being approximately 70,000.⁶⁴

The pilgrimage texts generally give little attention to a depiction of the return journey; some describe it very briefly, while others completely disregard it.⁶⁵ The reason travellers did not describe their return journeys might be that they did not find any different things to record because the route was generally the same. Since they generally produced their accounts after returning home they probably integrated any new data they obtained on the return journey into the description of the outward journey. It is also not surprising that once a pilgrim had achieved his objective of performing the hajj, nothing else was of interest to him except to return home as quickly and safely as possible.

Kadri's brief summary of the return journey of the Damascus caravan informs us that after the performance of the hajj, the caravan left Mecca for Medina on 1 Muharrem or one day

⁶¹*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 380

⁶²Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Anatolian townsmen as pilgrims to Mecca: some evidence from the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries', in Gilles Veinstein (ed), *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps* (Paris 1992) p. 309; Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and sultans*, p. 46

⁶³M.N. Pearson, *Pious Passengers: the hajj in earlier times* (London: Hurst & Company, 1994), p. 46

⁶⁴Faroqhi, 'Anatolian townsmen', p. 310

⁶⁵This is also case in the narratives of medieval Christian pilgrims (see Howard, pp. 47-51).

earlier. The Egyptian caravan customarily left Mecca before that of Damascus. By or on 10 Muharrem, the day of 'Aşure, the Damascus caravan reached Medina, where it stayed seven or ten days. On the way to Damascus at the stage called 'Asi Hurması, the pilgrims were welcomed by a number of residents of Damascus. At 'Akabe, the special messengers or footmen of the government left the caravan to inform the central government of the safe return of the pilgrimage caravan. At Mafrak some pilgrims left the caravan, and set out for their homelands. The arrival of all remaining pilgrims in Damascus occurred between 20 and 24 Safer. The pilgrims stayed in Damascus as long as they liked, and then set out for their native lands.⁶⁶ According to Mehmed Edib, on the return journey three days were allocated to resting in Damascus. From Damascus to Üsküdar they travelled for 43 days: 37 days for travel, 6 days for resting. The latest pilgrims returned to Istanbul by 20 Rebiülahir.⁶⁷ The caravan of Ibrahim Hanif came back to Damascus on 12 Safer, and stayed there for 30 days.⁶⁸ Its arrival at Konya occurred in the middle of Rebiülahir, and at Üsküdar on 1 Cemaziyelevvel.⁶⁹

The duration of the journey from Istanbul to Damascus took about 53 days.⁷⁰ Hibri's 1632 journey, with a stay of five days in Aleppo, took approximately 57 days from Üsküdar to Damascus. Ibrahim Hanif's journey of the same distance in 1786 lasted 47 days.⁷¹ The journey from Damascus to Mecca took approximately 35 days.⁷² Mehmed Edib records that the duration of travel from Istanbul to Damascus was 336 hours, from Damascus to Mecca 490 hours, from Mecca to 'Arafat six hours, in total 832 hours.⁷³ The whole journey from Üsküdar to Mecca and back varies from text to text. It lasted about 8.5

⁶⁶Kadri, ff. 59a-59b

⁶⁷Mehmed Edib, pp. 254-255

⁶⁸Hanif, f. 68a

⁶⁹Hanif, f. 68b

⁷⁰Seyyid Hasan Rıza'i, f. 17b

⁷¹Ibrahim Hanif, f. 37a

⁷²Rafeq, p. 63; see Mehmed Edib, p. 39, 86.

⁷³Mehmed Edib, pp. 254-255

months according to the eighteenth-century writer Mehmed Edib's account, lasting 265 days as a whole. Hanif's journey in 1201-2/1786-87 lasted about ten months.⁷⁴

The pilgrimage caravan marched after sun-set, and halted at a station before morning. Upon hearing the sound of the kettledrum for departure, they set out.⁷⁵ Nabi, who travelled in the late autumn 1678, recorded these as features of the Egyptian caravan, which were obviously new to him. However, Hibri says that during the return journey from Damascus to Istanbul, the caravan passed through Şeyzer [or Şecer] at midnight.⁷⁶ Evliya, who travelled all the way in the Damascus caravan, relates that when the trumpets were blown, his caravan set out at night in the lights of torches.⁷⁷ Cudi, who travelled in the Damascus caravan in winter time,⁷⁸ also hints that his caravan travelled at night.⁷⁹

A passing mention about the security of the caravan is made by some authors. It is known that the Ottomans made a great effort in order to keep the pilgrimage route safe.⁸⁰ Ottoman sultans and officials established a network of fortresses and hospices at the stations on the caravan routes for the use of pilgrims and other travellers.⁸¹ Local governors on the pilgrimage route from Üsküdar to Damascus were commanded to protect and help the caravan, which carried the *surre*.⁸² Kadri's text contains much specific information on security issues: The small fortress of Han-ı Tuman was guarded by soldiers from Aleppo, and these soldiers, together with another group of soldiers (also from Aleppo), escorted pilgrims as far as the station of Ma'arra.⁸³ A number of janissaries were appointed from

⁷⁴Hanif, f. 68b

⁷⁵*Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 363

⁷⁶Hibri, p. 123

⁷⁷Evliya, 9, p. 588, 600

⁷⁸Cudi, f. 58b

⁷⁹Cudi, f. 58a, 59a

⁸⁰Naim R. Faroqi, 'Moguls, Ottomans, and pilgrims: Protecting the routes to Mecca in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *The international history review* X (May 1988), 198-220.

⁸¹Bakhit, p. 94, 98, 115-118; Barbir, pp. 167-177

⁸²Münir, Atalar, *Osmanlı devletinde surre-i humayun ve surre alayları* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1991), pp. 133 -135 ; Bakhit, pp. 97-9

⁸³Kadri, ff. 16a-16b

Damascus in order to escort the pilgrims, and their provisions together with those of certain pilgrims were provided from the treasury at Damascus.⁸⁴ The Tebuk fortress was guarded by ten soldiers appointed from Damascus.⁸⁵ The soldiers stationed in the fortresses between Damascus and Mecca, who were replaced by those coming with the pilgrimage caravan of the next year, performed the hajj and returned to Damascus in that caravan.⁸⁶

In order to provide pilgrims with a secure and easy journey, the Ottomans not only built fortresses and recruited soldiers but also commissioned and encouraged local people to protect fortresses and wells en route, and to meet the needs of pilgrims by selling them their products at bazaars on the way.⁸⁷ The mother of Ibrahim I (1640-8), had set up a fund for forty camels to carry water for poor pilgrims, and an officer called *sakabaşı* was appointed to distribute this water.⁸⁸ Evliya reports that on the way from Egypt to Mecca, there was a number of tribes to whom the leader of the caravan handed out *surre* on the condition that they provided pilgrims with essential items such as food and camels, and guided them between each halting place. He reports, however, that they nowadays did not help pilgrims, suggesting that this system did not sometimes work, because if their *surre*s were decreased they would make trouble for the pilgrims either by closing or dirtying the reservoirs on the way or by attacking and plundering the caravan.⁸⁹ According to Kadri's text, some villagers living near the Zümürüd reservoir were commissioned to protect the

⁸⁴Kadri, f. 41a

⁸⁵Kadri, f. 37b

⁸⁶Kadri, f. 38b

⁸⁷Adopting the Mamluk *darak* system, Ottomans commissioned certain local residents to carry out certain works for the benefit of pilgrims in return for their exemptions from certain taxes (see Faroqhi, *Pilgrims*, p. 54; Bakhit, p. 100; Barbir, p. 118, 134); Faroqhi concludes her study on the security of the pilgrimage caravan, saying that 'even though the pilgrim of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had to expect a good deal of trouble and even danger, major attacks upon the pilgrimage caravan were not all that frequent during this period' (Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and sultans*, p. 72). For the products sold at certain stations see Barbir, p. 165.

⁸⁸Kadri, f. 41a

⁸⁹Evliya, 10, p. 433

reservoir in return for the *surre*.⁹⁰ Kadri acknowledges the effort of the Ottoman state in making such arrangements and ensuring provisions to make the journey easier and safer for pilgrims.⁹¹ Ibrahim Hanif also expresses his gratitude to the Ottoman state since it provided pilgrims with sufficient security on the hajj route.⁹²

2. Stations

Since the principal objective of the guides or guide-type pilgrimage texts on stations was to record what a possible Ottoman pilgrim needed to know about the stations of the journey, such texts principally include descriptions of the stations, recording their names in sequence, hour distances between them, and their public buildings such as fortresses, mosques, hospices, baths and shrines. Those who founded these public buildings, such as Kanuni Süleyman, Sinan Paşa (d. 1004/1595),⁹³ Piri Paşa⁹⁴ and Kara Mustafa Paşa (d. 1053/1643)⁹⁵ are occasionally reported. When treating the stations from Damascus to Mecca they tend to concentrate on the availability and condition of water sources.⁹⁶ Among these details, a careful record of the duration of march between the stations was particularly important. This is probably because during an exhaustive journey travellers wondered impatiently when they would reach the next station. According to Kadri's account, when a station was approached the drummers of the *mahmil* beat their drums and collected money. An official was assigned to inform the pilgrims that they were

⁹⁰Kadri, f. 41a

⁹¹Kadri, f. 33b, 39a

⁹²Hanif, f. 52a: Memnun-ı 'ata oldı Hanifa gibi huccac - Her yerde görüldükde çemenzar-ı selamet

⁹³For biographical information about Sinan Paşa see Osmanzade Taib Ahmed, *Hadiqat ül-vüzera*, (Freiburg 1969), pp. 35-37

⁹⁴Probably Pir Mehmed Paşa (d. 940/1533), known as Piri Paşa, who is reported by Osmanzade Ta'ib Ahmed to have built a number of public buildings such as mosque, *medrese* and *hospice* (see Osmanzade Ta'ib, p. 23)

⁹⁵On Kara Mustafa Paşa see Osmanzade Ta'ib, p. 83

⁹⁶Recording the places where water was available is also a recurring theme in Moroccan pilgrimage accounts (see El Moudden, Abderrahmane. 'The ambivalence of *rihla*: community integration and self-definition in Moroccan travel accounts, 1300-1800' in Eickelman and Piscatori (eds), *Muslim Travellers*. p. 74)

approaching the next station.⁹⁷ Since the descriptions of the stations occupy the most significant part of the content of the largest type of Ottoman pilgrimage texts, they are presented here in tabular form for ease of reference. Kadri's narrative has been chosen as the base text because it is detailed and little known.

2.1. Stations of the pilgrimage route from Üsküdar to Mecca via Damascus on the basis of Kadri's *Menazilü't-tarik ila beyti'llahi'l-'atik*⁹⁸

no	station	hr ⁹⁹	Description
	Üsküdar		
1	Pendik	5	Having passed through Maltepe/Kartal on the way within two hours, the caravan spends the first night in Pendik, which has one hospice. Pendik and Kartal are on the coast, and inhabited by infidels.
2	Gekbuze (Gebze)	4-6	Gekbuze has two <i>hamams</i> (baths) and three mosques, one of which is the Mustafa Paşa mosque. ¹⁰⁰ Its hans (hospices), bazaar and shops are excellent. Everything needed can be found.
3	Dil- Hersek - Derbend	2 0.5 5	At the two ends of Dil are hospices. After crossing Dil [the spit] by boat pilgrims arrive at Hersek, which has a mosque, a bath and hospices. The caravan spends the night at Derbend, which is an infidel village.

⁹⁷Kadri, f. 37b

⁹⁸In the numbering of the stations some modifications are made, taking other *menazil* texts into account. For the Üsküdar-Damascus-Mecca route see the map at the end of Part I.

⁹⁹Hour distance from previous stations

¹⁰⁰Hibri (p. 115) reports that one of the mosques was built by Mustafa Paşa (d. 935/1528) and around the mosque were a *medrese*, public bath and five or six hospices.

4	Iznik	6-7	<p>Iznik is a town situated next to a big lake, having an old kale (fortress). Its hospices and market-place are excellent. All essential provisions are available. It contains six mosques, those of Eşrefzade, Sultan Orhan, Süleyman Paşa, İbrahim Paşa Mahmud Çelebi and Yeşil mosque. It has two baths, the Yeni Hamam and Eski Hamam. It includes also the shrine and convent of Eşrefzade.¹⁰¹</p> <p>After Iznik the road divides into two: one is the road via Lefke [7hrs.], which passes through Vezirhanı [5hrs.] and Söğüt [8 hrs.], and which takes three days to reach Eskişehir; the other is that via Yenişehir, which goes through Bazarcık and Bozüyük.¹⁰²</p>
5	Yenişehir	6	<p>This town has a river running through it, a big hospice, two baths, and three mosques, the Sultan Orhan mosque, Bali Paşa mosque and the Eski mosque. Essential provisions are found here.¹⁰³</p>
6	Bazarcık	11	<p>After passing Akbıyık in 5 hours without stopping the caravan reaches Bazarcık. On the way there is a large mountain across which the caravan walks for about eight hours. Bazarcık village has a mosque, the Mustafa Paşa Hamamı, and [two]</p>

¹⁰¹Hibri (p. 115) reports that Iznik has three mosques, two *medreses*, two *tabakhane*s, and four hospices.

¹⁰²It can be inferred from guidebooks or lists on the stations that Lefke road was much preferred (see Adanavi, f. 45; Anonymous author, *Menasik-i hacc*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Yahya Tevfik, no: 1457/145; Bahri, *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a kadar konaklar*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Mihrişah Sultan, no: 322/5, ff. 14-15; [Anonymous], *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a Medine ve Mekke ve cebel-i 'Arafat'a giden menziller*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Hüsrev Paşa, no: 639/2, f. 195a.

¹⁰³Hibri (p. 116) reports that Sinan Paşa, the conquerer of Yemen and Yanık, built there a mosque, a big hospice, and an *imaret*.

			hospices. Essential provisions are found.
7	Bozüyük	4.5	It is called Kasım Paşa or Bozüyük because of a few small, barren hills around. It has a mosque, a bath and hospices. ¹⁰⁴ The halting place is a meadow.
8	Eskişehir	10-11	Having passed the village of Kavaklı without stopping, pilgrims arrive at Eskişehir, which has two mosques: the Sultan ‘Alaeddin and Mustafa Paşa mosques, and four kablucas (spas). Its marketplace and hospices are excellent. Essential provisions are found. It has very delicious watermelon. The caravan customarily halts in Eskişehir for one day.
9	Seyyid gazi	9	Inside the town is situated Seyyid Gazi’s great shrine, the door of which is covered with silver. Attached to the shrine is a mosque. The town has also the shrines of Koyun Baba and of Sultan ‘Alaeddin’s mother. Necessary commodities are found.
10	Hüsrev Paşa Hanı/ Yeni Han	8.5	The hospice is amazingly large. ¹⁰⁵ Essential provisions are found. Near the hospice is a bazaar, a bath and a mosque that was a church in origin.
11	Bayat	5-6	A village having a small mosque without a minaret, a small bath, and two small hospices. Some essential provisions are found.
12	Bolvadin	8.5	A town whose shopping centre, bazaar and hospices are

¹⁰⁴Hibri (p. 116) says that the mosque, the hospice and the bath were built by Kasım Paşa.

¹⁰⁵According to Hibri (p. 117) this hospice was built by Hüsrev Paşa (d. 1041/1631) upon the request of local people in 1039/1629 when he was on a campaign for Baghdad.

			excellent. ¹⁰⁶ Essential provisions are found. It has three mosques those of Sinan Paşa, Şeyh Hacı Efendi, and Hacı Efendi. It also has two public baths.
13	Akşehir	10	After passing through Ishaklı village ¹⁰⁷ within 5.5 hours, the caravan reaches Akşehir, a big city with a bazaar, a bezistan (covered market), hospices, five baths, and three mosques, those of Sultan Süleyman, Sultan ‘Alaeddin and Hasan Paşa. ¹⁰⁸ There is a lake near the city. It is related that this city was previously called Ah Şehri (the city of sighs), but when a ruler saw so many white flowers in the spring there, he changed the name of the city to Akşehir.
14	Ilgın	10-11	A village with a bazaar, a covered market, the Mustafa Paşa bath, the Mustafa Paşa mosque and the Turgudbegzade mosque, the latter being converted from a church. Essential provisions are found. Near Ilgın is a lake and outside the village are two spas.
15	Ladik	10	The caravan route passes Arslanlı village within seven hours, and reaches Ladik, a village with a mosque, a bath, and hospices. ¹⁰⁹ Essential provisions are found.
17	Konya ¹¹⁰	10	Konya is a big city with an enormous fortress covering part of it. Its covered market is inside the city. There are many

¹⁰⁶Hibri (p. 117) reports that the great hospice was built by Rüstem Paşa.

¹⁰⁷Hibri (p. 117) records Ishaklı as a station.

¹⁰⁸According to Hibri (p. 118) the Hasan Paşa mosque was built in 916/1510.

¹⁰⁹Hibri (p. 118) says that one of the hospices was built by Piri Paşa.

¹¹⁰Bahri (f. 14b) says that Konya was the 17th halting place, which the caravan reached on the 17th day.

			mosques, two of which are the Sultan Süleyman mosque outside the fortress, and the Sultan ‘Alaeddin mosque, in which Sultan ‘Alaeddin was buried, and which was converted from a church inside the fortress. The makam (station) of Şems-i Tebrizi is situated somewhere inside the fortress. The shrine of Mevlana Celaledin was built by Gedik Paşa, and those of his father and his sons are inside the shrine, which is located outside the fortress. Konya includes six public baths, two of which are outside the fortress. The sweet shops in the city are celebrated. Meram is a pleasant district having gardens and a bath. It is an old custom for the pilgrimage caravan to stay one day in Konya.
18	Göçi [?] ¹¹¹	9.5-10	After Konya, the road separates into two: the road via Ismil and that via Göçi. Since it is difficult to cross the Ismil pass (Ismil Geçidi), the travellers usually use the Göçi road. ¹¹² Ismil is a village where some essential provisions are available. ¹¹³
19	Karapınar	13	Contains a mosque with two minarets and a şadırvan ¹¹⁴ in its precinct, a bath, and a furnished hospice, all established by Selim’s foundation. ¹¹⁵
20	Ereğli	11	A pleasant city with a mosque and two public baths, hospices, a bazaar, gardens and a river flowing inside. Essential

¹¹¹The other pilgrimage texts and lists suggest that pilgrimage caravans generally passed through the Ismil station instead of Göçi, which is not cited even as an alternative option in the texts I have read.

¹¹²However Kadri’s claim does not seem to reflect the truth (see the preceding footnote).

¹¹³According to Hibri (p. 119) Ismil has a mosque and a *çifte-han* (hospice) built by Kılavun Yusuf Paşa.

¹¹⁴şadırvan: ‘a tank of water, sometimes with a jet in the center, and with taps at the sides for ablutions’ (Rh).

¹¹⁵Selim II (1566-74) according to Hibri (p. 119).

			provisions are found. Ereğli is a halt where the pilgrims rest for one day. Some people say that Ereğli is in the middle of the road [from Istanbul] to Damascus.
21	Ulukışla	10	This station has a big hospice built by Mehmed Paşa, and a mosque and a bath inside. Necessary commodities are found.
22	Çiftehan	6	This station has two little hospices between two mountains. Near the station is a spa. Necessary commodities are found.
23	Yaylak or Ramazan- oğlu Yaylası	8	After passing the pass of Kırk (Kırk Geçidi) and a fountain called Bunar-ı Sükker, the caravan arrives at Yaylak. This is the summer camping-ground of the Ramazanoğlu Türkmen, and a place where the inhabitants of Adana spend the summer. Some essential provisions are found.
24	Bayram Paşa Hanı and Çavuş Hanı	10- 12	Near the hospice of Bayrampaşa is another hospice called Çavuş Hanı. Bayrampaşa Hanı includes a mosque, and provides necessary commodities. In front of it flows a river called Çakıt.
25	Adana	8-9	A big city having three mosques, two baths, a bazaar, and shops, a covered market, and gardens with various fruit trees such as lemon, seville orange and pomegranate. ¹¹⁶ On the one side of the city is a river called Kızılırmak. There is a water-wheel, supplying water the whole city. It has a palace called Hünkar Köşkü in parkland.

¹¹⁶Hibri (pp. 119-20) records that in Adana Ramazanoğlu Piri Paşa built a mosque, a medrese, a *tabhane*, a hospice and a bath; and its fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman.

26	Cisr-i Misis	6	Misis is a village near the river Ceyhun. The caravan halts on the edge of the river.
27	Kurd Kulağı	7	A village with a mosque, and a hospice also called Bayrampaşa Hanı. ¹¹⁷ Essential provisions are available.
28	Payas	10	A town situated on the Mediterranean coast, with a mosque and a bath built by Koca Mehmed Paşa's foundation. It also contains hospices, shops, coffee-houses, and gardens with various fruits such as lemon, seville orange, grape, fig and water melon. Essential provisions are available. ¹¹⁸
29	Bakras or Belen	10	Having left Payas, the caravan reaches Iskenderun within 6 hours. Iskenderun is a village port inhabited by infidels, to which European ships come. ¹¹⁹ The caravan may not stop at Iskenderun, which is five hours from Bakras. This station is a pleasant village called Belen. Bakras is the name of the mountains around. The village has a mosque, a hospice, and a bath, all built by Kanuni Süleyman. Necessary commodities are found.
30a	Antakya	10	Antakya is within a fortress with 366 kulles (turrets). Its mosques, baths, hospices, street of shops, and bazaar are

¹¹⁷According to Hibri (p. 120), it has a hospice and mosque built by Eski Mehmed Paşa.

¹¹⁸Bahri (f. 14b) says that the cities of Payas and Antakya, the thirtieth station, are not secure for pilgrims since there are many brigands.

¹¹⁹Hibri (p. 120) says that this village served as a port for Aleppo.

			excellent. Habib-i Neccar was buried there.
31a	Zanbakiyye	11	A village with a hospice. ¹²⁰ Some essential provisions are found.
32a	Cisr-i Şu'ur	6	Pilgrims rest at a place near the Cisr-i Şu'ur (the bridge of Şu'ur), which is situated on the edge of the river called 'Asisu. There is a hospice. Villagers living nearby supply pilgrims with what they need.
33a	Mudik Şecer ¹²¹	11	Mudik is a desert where pilgrims rest near the 'Asisu river. There is hospice which was built by Mustafa Ağa, ¹²² and a fortress which includes a mosque. After 5 hours' march the caravan reaches Şecer, which is a desert next to the 'Asisu river. It has a hospice and a fortress which contains some houses and a coffee-house. The needed commodities are found. [Not: this route will continue with Hama (no: 34)]
30b	Akbunar via Murad Paşa Cisri	10- 12	[ALTERNATIVE OLD ROUTE STARTS] ¹²³ After Bakras [no: 29] the road divides into two: one is via Antakya, the other is via the Murad Paşa bridge which will be described. The bridge is so long that it takes half an hour for the caravan to cross it Both sides of it are marshes or reed beds

¹²⁰Hibri (p. 124) states that its hospice was built by Sinan Paşa.

¹²¹Şecer is recorded as Şeyzer by Hibri (p. 123), whose caravan did not stop there. Şecer is not mentioned as a station in other *menazil* texts.

¹²²According to Hibri (p. 123), Mustafa Ağa lived in the period of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-17).

¹²³The *menazil* texts document that this route via Aleppo was abandoned completely after the seventeenth century. Rafeq (p. 59) says 'The Rumi pilgrims usually came alone to Damascus, because of their large numbers and also because they did not pass through Aleppo'.

			with mosquitoes. Many thieves are around. It is dangerous for small groups of travellers to follow this road owing to the presence of robbers around. There are a few spas, called Hammamat on the road.
31b	Halaka	10	Halaka is a valley surrounded by villages.
32b	Haleb [Aleppo]	8	Haleb is a prosperous city inhabited by traders. Its market place, bazaar, covered market and hospices are excellent. It has a lot of mosques, public baths, and about fifty coffee-houses, the most famous of which is known as Arslan Dede. The city also includes a well-established bazaar, a covered bazaar, hospices, and a number of palaces, one of which belongs to Canbolatzade. It has ten gates. The bread of Aleppo is very white and its grapes and water-melons are very delicious.
33b	Han-ı Tuman	3	This station is a small fortress in the vicinity of a village. The fortress is guarded by a few soldiers and an ağa (chief) appointed from Aleppo. These soldiers, with those assigned from Aleppo, accompany the caravan until Ma'arra.
34b	Serakıb [?]	8	<p>After Han-ı Tuman the route divides into two, one of which passes through Serakıb village, which has a hospice, and provides travellers with other necessary things.</p> <p>The other road goes through Sermin,¹²⁴ which is eight hours away from Han-ı Tuman, and a cultivated village having a mosque, a public bath, and gardens of grapes and water</p>

¹²⁴It is also read by Ilgürel as Serbin in Hibri's text (p. 121).

			melons.
35b	Ma'arra	6.5	<p>On the way to Ma'arra is a hospice called Han-ı Yezid. Ma'arra is a town having a mosque and a furnished hospice. From Ma'arra to Hama is 15 hours. On the way to Hama is a place called Han-ı Şeyhun where the caravan does not halt.¹²⁵</p> <p>ALTERNATIVE ROUTE ENDS</p>
34	Hama ¹²⁶	6	<p>[continued from Şecer (no: 33a)]</p> <p>Hama from Şecer is 6 hours, and from Ma'arra 15 hours. Pilgrims customarily stay there for one day. The river of 'Asisu passes through the city centre. On the river several water-wheels are established, one of which is called the water-wheel of Muhammed.</p>
35	Hıms	11	<p>On the way to Hıms pilgrims encounter a bridge and then the shrine of Bayezid-i Bistami. Hıms is a city containing mosques, baths, a bazaar and fortress surrounding the city. A copy of the Qur'an copied by the third caliph 'Osman is preserved in the inner fortress. The grave of Halid bin Velid is situated outside the city.</p>
36	İki Kapulu or Hasiyye Kal'ası	8-9	<p>Hasiyye is a fortress called İki Kapulu on the account of its having two gates on both sides. It includes a hospice and a mosque. Outside the fortress is a small public bath repaired by the deceased Bayram Paşa. Essential provisions are found.</p>

¹²⁵Hibri (p. 121) counts Han-ı Şeyhun as a station where they halted.

¹²⁶Hibri (p. 121) reports that this ancient city had about ten mosques and a few hospices.

37	Nebk	11	After departure from İki kapulu the caravan reaches a little fortress called the Burc fortress within four hours. After passing another place called Karalar the caravan reaches Nebk, a village with a hospice and some necessary commodities.
38	Han-1 Kuteyfe	9	The Kuteyfe station has a fortress and a hospice built by Sinan Paşa. The hospice includes a mosque, a public bath, a market place and a bazaar. Between Hama and Damascus cavalymen are appointed to accompany the pilgrimage caravan from station to station.
39	Şam [Damascus]	8	Damascus is a prosperous city having a fortress, mosques, baths, bazaars, coffee-houses and gardens. There are two royal mosques, built by Selim I and Kanuni Süleyman. The Umayyad mosque with three minarets is located in the middle of the city. Gökmeydan is a pleasant district having a river and the mosque of Süleyman, and is close to the Safsatiyye coffee-house and the Mevlevihane [a Mevlevi convent house]. Damascus contains a number of coffee-houses, one of the most celebrated of which is the Sinaniyye coffee-house in the city centre. Salihyye is a pleasant place one hour away from Damascus, having a river, gardens, and bazaar. Inside is the Sultan Selim mosque near which is buried Şeyh Muhyiddin-i ‘Arabi. Kırklar Makamı (the station of the forty) is a cave situated on a mountain near Salihyye. It is possible to find all fruits in Damascus except for cherries and morello cherries.

1	Kubbetü'l-hacc, ¹²⁷ Kisve, ¹²⁸ Tarhana Hanı	1.5 2 0.5	Having left Damascus the caravan reaches Kubbetü'l-hacc. ¹²⁹ After Kubbetü'l-hacc, the caravan reaches Kisve in two hours. If pilgrims do not rest at Kisve they proceed half an hour more to Tarhana Hanı.
2	Dili	12	It is an empty/void place with water. It is surrounded by villages, the inhabitants of which sell pilgrims their products. The station Sanameyn exists in the vicinity of this station. ¹³⁰
3	Müzeyrib ¹³¹	7	Müzeyrib has a fortress and water. ¹³² The caravan stays for a few days, and customarily departs from it on 1 Zilka'de. On the night of departure a fascinating celebration takes place.
4	Mafrak	9	Mafrak has no water source. ¹³³ The name Mafrak originated from the fact that returning pilgrims separate at this station, setting off for their home lands.
5	'Ayn-ı	9	This station has a water source. ¹³⁴

¹²⁷The numbering of stations starts again here since pilgrims from Istanbul join the Damascus caravan, which consists of pilgrim groups not only from Istanbul but also from Aleppo, Persia and other lands (see Rafeq, p. 59).

¹²⁸Evliya (p. 567) reports that at the station of Kisve village the pilgrims were presented by the villagers with chicken, yoghurt, pastry, and clotted cream on the account of their piousness on the way of God.

¹²⁹According to Evliya's account of 1082/1671, at this station, the *mahmil* was entrusted to the *emiru'l-hacc* by the governor of Damascus. After praying to God, they slaughtered a number of animals [sheep] there. The people of Damascus accompanying the caravan as far as this place returned to the city (Evliya, 9, p. 567). According to Rafeq (p. 69), after 1120/1708-9, 'the governors of Damascus were regularly appointed commanders of the pilgrimage'.

¹³⁰The Sanameyn fort was built by Selim I (Barbir p. 196).

¹³¹According to Sulhi (f. 22a), the pilgrimage caravan stays about seven or ten days at Müzeyrib, which takes place between 23 Şevval and 1 Zilka'de according to Hibri (p. 125). The leader of the pilgrimage caravan customarily stays in Müzeyrib, where he delivers the *surre* to Arabs, and hires camels from them (Hibri, p. 125 Cudi, f. 57a).

¹³²The Müzeyrib fortress was built by Selim I (Barbir, p. 196). According to Cudi (f. 57a), Müzeyrib is a residential area, having nice weather, water, and a fertile valley.

¹³³Cudi (f. 57b) says that since the Mafrak station is without a water source pilgrims are recommended to carry water from Müzeyrib.

	Zerka		
6	Belka	9	Belka is an empty place with no water source. After resting for a while on level ground, eating food, and drinking coffee the caravan sets off upon the firing of the guns for departure.
7	Kal'a-i Katran	14	Katran is a small fort with a reservoir. ¹³⁵ The villagers around sell some provisions to pilgrims.
8	Hasa or Tabut Korusu	11	This station has a stream source, which comes down from the Aclun mountains. ¹³⁶
9	'Aneze ['Unayza]	9	An empty area with no water source. There is a ruined hospice.
10	Kal'a-i Ma'an	8.5	Ma'an has a fortress ¹³⁷ which is guarded by soldiers from Damascus. It has a mosque. Around the fortress are villages. Water is obtainable from the reservoir. Halilürrahman near Jerusalem is three days distant from this station. Pilgrims coming from the Aksa mosque meet with those of Damascus

¹³⁴Cudi (f. 57b) describes 'Ayn-ı Zerka as situated in a green and watery land, having a river and old *hisar* (fort). Pilgrims are advised to take water for the next station (Cudi, f. 58a).

¹³⁵The Katran fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196).

¹³⁶Cudi (f. 58b) says that Hasa was a station in the past, yet his caravan stopped there.

¹³⁷Cudi (f. 58b) says that Ma'an is a prosperous place which provides a rich variety of foods, and has two strong fortresses. He also recommends that pilgrims must take water with them for the next part of their journey (f. 59a). The Ma'an fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196).

			here.
11	Akabe Başı ¹³⁸	13	Akabe Başı is without a water source. It is a custom to eat helva here.
12	Cuğaymen ¹³⁹	14	It has water. While the area from Damascus to Akabe Başı is a desert, from this station onward the road passes between two mountains.
13	Eşmeler or Zatü'l-hacc	10	A small fortress guarded by Damascus janissaries. ¹⁴⁰ Its water comes from a reservoir. ¹⁴¹
14	Ka'u'l-basit [Bast]	8	This station has no water source. ¹⁴²
15	Tebük or 'Asi Hurma	11	Its fortress is guarded by ten janissaries from Damascus, whose necessities are provided from the treasury of Damascus. The fortress is surrounded by gardens growing dates, pomegranate, and water-melon. ¹⁴³ Water is available in its reservoir.

¹³⁸It is also called Şam Akabesi (by Cudi) or Zahra'l-'akabe. Its fortress was built by Gürcü Osman Paşa in the eighteenth century (Barbir, p. 196). Cudi (f. 59a) says that it is a sandy place, and pilgrims should bring water from Ma'an.

¹³⁹¹³⁹It is also called el-Müdevvere (Barbir, p. 138). After the Cuğaymen fortress there is a reservoir built by Esmâ Han Sultan, daughter of Kanuni Süleyman (Evliya, 9, p. 585). The Cuğayman fortress was built by Aydınlı 'Abdullah Paşa in 1730-33 (Cudi, f. 59a; Barbir, p. 196).

¹⁴⁰The fortress of Zatü'l-hacc was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196).

¹⁴¹Evliya (9, p. 586) reports that the fortress of Peygamber Eşmesi (Eşmeler) was founded by Mu'aviye [b. Ebu Sufyan ?] in 56/675. Inside the fortress were a soup-maker and two hundred armed janissaries from Damascus. The water of its well, which was formed by the Prophet Muhammed, restores those having diarrhea. The pilgrims purchased their needs from farmers near the fortress.

¹⁴²Cudi (f. 59b) says that the soft ground of the Ka'u'l-bast station is not suitable to pitch a tent.

¹⁴³The Tebük fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196). Evliya (9, p. 587) states that the 'Asi Hurma fortress, which was initially founded by Nureddin-i Şehid, was repaired upon the order of Sultan Mehmed IV. A bazaar took place for returning pilgrims there. It was guarded by two hundred Damascene soldiers. Near the fortress were wells, and gardens where lemon, seville orange, *ağaç kavunu* (grapefruit?), fig, water-melon and melon were grown. The pilgrims purchased their needs from the shops and stores there, and left some of their belongings at the fortress for safe-keeping.

16	Mağaralar or Mağayir ¹⁴⁴	10	Called Mağaralar (the caves) because there are said to be some caves although there are none in sight. This station has no water source.
17	Kal'a-i Haydar [Ukhaydir]	6	A narrow pass on the way to this station causes crowding of the pilgrims. The Haydar station, which is situated between two mountains, has a fortress guarded by Damascus soldiers, ¹⁴⁵ a mosque and a reservoir, ¹⁴⁶ from which pilgrims take supplies for the next part of the journey. The Arabs around the Haydar fort are provided with three kantars ¹⁴⁷ of peksimet (grape-molasses). The district beyond the Haydar fort is called the Hijaz.
18	Birke-i Mu'azzama or [Sa'idü'l- Melik]	16- 17	After leaving the Haydar station the caravan reaches Haydar strait within two and half hours. From this strait, the Hijaz district starts. It has a big reservoir supplied by rain water. It has a fort built by Sultan 'Osman, ¹⁴⁸ yet it is unoccupied.
19	Şakku'l- 'acuz ¹⁴⁹	19	This station is in an empty area. The route is full of muğeylan (thorny acacias).
20	'Ula	15	The caravan arrives the strait of Salih within seven hours, and

¹⁴⁴Mağayir is also called Medayin-i Salih or Medine-i Salih (see Hibri, p. 127). Its fortress was built by Gürcü 'Osman Paşa (Barbir, p. 196).

¹⁴⁵The Haydar fortress was built Kanuni Süleyman in 1531 (Barbir, p. 196).

¹⁴⁶According to Cudi (f. 60a) at this station water is brought out by means of a water-wheel.

¹⁴⁷kantar: 'A weight of forty-four Turkish oqqa' or about 120 pounds avoirdupois' (Rh).

¹⁴⁸Hibri (p. 126) reports that Osman II (1618-1623) had the reservoir repaired; Barbir (p. 196) notes that the fortress of Mu'azzama was built by the Ayyubid sultan Şerafeddin 'Isa (1218-1227). According to Evliya's unclear statement (9, p. 590) the fortress and the reservoir were built by the Ayyubid Turan Şah b. Necmeddin. The fortress [?] was built [rebuilt?] by Koca Sinan upon the order of Murad [III, 1574-95 ?] in 981/1574.

¹⁴⁹Şakku'l-'acuz is also called Pirinç Ovası (Cudi, f. 60a; Hanif, f. 50a) since the road is covered with something like rice (Hibri, p. 127). It has a *sarnıç* (cistern), which depends on rain water (Hibri, p. 127).

			passes it, playing drums and firing rifles. Pilgrims who pass through the strait first wait for the remainder of the caravan to come through, resting and drinking coffee. Once all pilgrims have come through, a departure cannon is fired. After passing through the Abyar station without stopping pilgrims arrive at 'Ula in five hours. They usually halt for one day at 'Ula, which has reservoirs, a fortress ¹⁵⁰ and gardens growing dates, lemon, water-melon, cucumber etc. ¹⁵¹ In particular, sheep are available at a low price in stations. 'Ula is six stations away from Medina, and some inhabitants of Medina come to welcome the pilgrims. The time of departure is marked by the firing of rifles and cannon.
21	Matran	9	After passing through Kuyular ¹⁵² within five hours the caravan reaches Matran. The road is full of thorny acacias. It is an uninhabited place with no water. The caravan might not halt at this station.
22	Bi'r-i Zümürrüd ¹⁵³	7	Bi'r-i Zümürrüd (The emerald reservoir) was built by Sultan Ibrahim's mother, ¹⁵⁴ and is guarded by a number of appointed inhabitants of a nearby village in return for an annual surre from the government.
23	Şi'âbu'l-	4	Şi'âbu'l-ahmer [Şa'bu'l-ahmer] is not an old stage, and has no

¹⁵⁰The 'Ula fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 197).

¹⁵¹Cudi (f. 60b) says that grass, barley and straw is also abundant for mounts. He also reports that the inhabitants of 'Ula are unbelievers and traitorous.

¹⁵²Kuyular is also called Abar-ı Ğanem, which has a fortress (Cudi, f. 60b).

¹⁵³The fortress of Zümürrüd was constructed by Mehmed Paşa in about 1779 (Barbir, p. 139)..

¹⁵⁴Ibrahim I (1640-48)

	ahmer Şa‘bu’n- na‘am	12 155	water. Şa‘bu’n-na‘am is also without water. ¹⁵⁶
24	Hediye Eşmesi ¹⁵⁷	4 ¹⁵⁸ [19]	It has a stream with a slightly salty taste. Because of the salty water, sugar and sweets are given at this station. The name Hediye (the present) is said to have originated from the story that when the Prophet Muhammed arrived here during the campaign of Hayber, some of his companions presented gifts to him. ¹⁵⁹
25	Fahleteyn ¹⁶⁰ or Selam Kayası	15	Having left Hediye Eşmesi, the caravan arrives at a place called Sükker ‘Akabesi after one hour’s march. It is called Sükker ‘Akabesi because sugar is delivered there. Fahleteyn is also called Selam Kayası because it had two rocks that are said to have greeted the Prophet.
26	Vadi’l-kura	14	This station has a reservoir covered by a white dome.
27	Medina ¹⁶¹	13	Pilgrims visit the tomb of the Prophet, and other shrines at the Baki cemetery in Medina. The caravan stays for two days in Medina.

¹⁵⁵Hibri (p. 127) records that Şa‘bu’n-na‘am is 15 hours from Bi’r-i Zümürüd, and without fortress and water. Şa‘bu’n-na‘am is not mentioned by Cudi (f. 61a).

¹⁵⁶Evliya (p. 601) records its name as Bi’r-i Cedid (The new reservoir), and says that the reservoir was built by the mother of Mehmed IV in 1081/1670. Barbir (p. 137) says ‘A well shaft was ordered dug by the mother of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617); the site became known as Valide Kuyusu’.

¹⁵⁷The Hediye fortress was built by Süleyman Paşa (?), and repaired by Nasuh Paşa in the eighteenth century (Barbir, p. 197).

¹⁵⁸According to Hibri (p. 127) Hediye is 19 hours from Şa‘bu’n-na‘am.

¹⁵⁹From this station to Damascus, the returning pilgrimage caravan was accompanied by the relief force called the *cerde* provided by Damascus province (see Barbir, p. 137).

¹⁶⁰It is also called Nahleteyn. Barbir (p. 197) records that the ‘Nahleteyn’ fortress was built by Gürcü Osman Paşa.

28	Bi'r-i 'Ali ¹⁶² or Zü'l-halife	2.5	The caravan then spends the third day in Bi'r-i 'Ali, which comprises a few reservoirs. This is the place where pilgrims coming from Damascus change into ihram.
29	Kuburu 'ş-şüheda	11	It is without water. Since this station is located on high ground pilgrims feel cold at night.
30	Cüdeyde	14	A village with a stream and palm trees.
31	Bedr-i Huneyn	10	A big village with a stream, gardens and a market place, where necessary commodities are available. The Egyptian pilgrims also stop by this station, where many thieves live. ¹⁶³
32	Bi'r-i Meymun ¹⁶⁴	15. 5	Located on the desert, and has no water.
33	Rabi'a Eşmesi or Rabığ	15	Close to the sea of Suez. It is possible to see ships from this station. Some essential provisions are to be found. When its earth is dug a little, water comes out from it. Pilgrims coming

¹⁶¹The caravan arrives at Medina before the end of Zilka'de (see Bakhit p. 113).

¹⁶²It is also called Abar-ı 'Ali (see Cudi, f. 62b).

¹⁶³The inhabitants of 'Bedru'l-huneyn' are dangerous to pilgrims and disobedient to the Ottoman state (Cudi f. 62a). Evliya (9, p. 670) narrates that the Damascus caravan's route combines with that of Egypt at the station of Bedr-i Huneyn. The Egyptian pilgrims stay for two days at this station, where they celebrate the victory of Bedr, firing cannons and rifles.

¹⁶⁴It is also called Meymun Ovası (Cudi, f. 63a).

¹⁶⁵Evliya (9, p. 672) reports that Rabi'a Eşmesi is a properous place near the sea of Suez. The Egyptian pilgrims stay for one day there in order to change into the *ihram*. Cudi (f. 63b, 64a), who travelled in the Damascus caravan, says that all pilgrims put on the *ihram* at this station.

			from Egypt put on the ihram at this station. ¹⁶⁵
34	Güzelce Birke or Halis	20	A village with an enormous reservoir, palm trees and some necessary commodities. The reservoir is covered with a dome. ¹⁶⁶
35	‘Affan	6-7	A village with a reservoir and some necessary provisions.
36	Vadi-i Fatıma	14	A village with pleasant gardens and abundant water. ¹⁶⁷
37	Mecca	6	The pilgrims stay at Mu‘alla, pitching their tents. The leader of the caravan stops at Sebil, which is half an hour away from Mecca to decorate the mahmil.

2.2. Stations between Damascus and Jerusalem according to Kadri’s account¹⁶⁸

no	station	hr s.	description
1	Sa’sa’	7.5	After passing through the village of Dariyye, which is one and a half hours away from Damascus, the pilgrims reach Sa’sa’a within seven and half hours. Sa’sa’a has a little fortress having a hospice, a bath, and a mosque with a reservoir.
2	Kuneytra ¹⁶⁹	7	It has a fortress encompassing a hospice, a mosque and a

¹⁶⁶According to Evliya’s text (9, p. 673-4) the reservoir is located on the west side of the fort, and is fed by a waterway.

¹⁶⁷Vadi-i Fatıma is a prosperous residential area, having two hundred houses and eighty shops (Evliya, 9, p. 674).

¹⁶⁸The Damascus caravan did not go to Jerusalem, hence did not follow this route. However, some independent pilgrims like Ahmed Fakih, Nabi and Evliya Çelebi went to Jerusalem to visit the Aksa mosque, following this route.

			bath.
3	Cisr-i Ya'kub	7	Near the Ya'kub (Jacob) bridge is a hospice and the reservoir of Yusuf (Joseph).
4	Sina Gölü	5	Near the Sina Gölü is located a village and a hospice.
5	'Uyun-ı Tüccar	5	It has a fortress, mosque, imâret, bath, and a hospice built by Sinan Paşa. ¹⁷⁰ In front of the hospice, a bazaar takes place on Fridays.
6	Cüneyn	7	A village with a fortress containing a hospice, a mosque and a bath. The fortress is surrounded by gardens.
7	Nablus	10	Nablus is a sancak, having three mosques, two public baths and a market place.
8	Jerusalem	15- 16	Travellers might stop on the way at a village called Bi'r or Çeşmeli Köy, which is three hours distant from Jerusalem. Jerusalem is a big city situated inside a fort, and surrounded by gardens. The city has six gates, five public baths, and a market place. The Aksa mosque, for which the pilgrims come to Jerusalem, is obviously the most significant place for pilgrims to see and describe. There exist a number of places of visitation outside the city, such as the river of Selva, and the burial places of certain prophets.

¹⁶⁹Bakhit (pp. 116-7) says that Lala Mustafa Paşa, governor of Damascus, (971-975/1563-67) 'caused an *'amara* to be built in Qunaytra, which included a caravansarays, a mosque, a school, and lodges for the poor and travellers. Stables, a bath and kitchen were also attached. Only three months were allowed during which travellers could occupy it at one time, and food was served free of charge in the evenings'.

¹⁷⁰Bakhit (p. 118) states that the grand vizier Sinan Paşa (d. 1004/1595) constructed buildings in Sa'sa' and 'Uyun-ı Tüccar.

9	Halilürrahman	9 ¹⁷¹	Pilgrims particularly go to visit the burial place of the Prophet Abraham in the town of Halilürrahman. On the way is Beytullah village, which is two hours from Jerusalem, and contains a church, in which the Prophet Jesus is assumed to have been born. Beyond the village of Beytullah is located a reservoir built by Kanuni Süleyman, and a fort established by Ahmed [I]. ¹⁷² The town of Halilürrahman has a public bath and a mosque, the latter of which is supposed to include the burial places of the Prophet Abraham, his wife, the Prophet Jacob, his wife, and the Prophet Joseph in the inner court. The burial place of the Prophet Isaac and that of his wife is placed inside the mosque. The burial places of the above prophets are believed to be located inside the cave that is situated beneath the mosque, although there is no clear indication to the burial places.
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As seen above, the number of stations from Üsküdar to Damascus was around 39.¹⁷³ Mehmed Edib, however, says it was 37,¹⁷⁴ with a note that pilgrimage caravan sometimes had to stop in between the regular stations, and thus the number of stations would be more than usual.¹⁷⁵ Pilgrims halted for one day at certain determined *oturaks* (halts), including Eskişehir, Konya, Ereğli, Antakya, Adana and Hama.¹⁷⁶ From Damascus to Mecca there

¹⁷¹7 hrs. in Evliya's account (see Evliya, 9, p. 504).
¹⁷²Ahmed I (1603-17)
¹⁷³See also Bahri, f. 15a
¹⁷⁴Mehmed Edib, p. 254
¹⁷⁵See M. Bianchi, *Itineraire de Constantinople a la Mecque* (Paris 1825), p. 111.
¹⁷⁶Seyyid Mustafa Adanavi, *Menasik-i hac risalesi*, Bayezid Ktp. No: 1875/3, f. 45

were 36 stations according to Sulhi,¹⁷⁷ 39 stations according to Mehmed Edib.¹⁷⁸ The caravan rested customarily for one day at certain halts,¹⁷⁹ such as Müzeyrib (7-10 days), Ma'an, 'Ula, Medina (2 days), Zü'l-halife (1), and Bedr-i Huneyn.¹⁸⁰ Evliya Çelebi gives concrete information about the journey of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan. He says that as a general rule, the number of stations from Egypt to Mecca was 36.¹⁸¹ The Egyptian caravan stayed for 20 days in Mecca, and 2 days in Medina. Travel between Mecca and Medina lasted for ten days. Then pilgrims returned to Egypt in 36 days. They made a journey of 104 days in total. However, in general the journey of the Egyptian caravan lasted 110 days.¹⁸²

3. Shrines

Since the hajj is a religious duty, and the journey in Ottoman times required great devotion and piety to undertake it, pilgrims were expected on the way to Mecca to visit the tombs or burial places of saints and notable persons. However, it should be noted that visiting shrines is not at all a part of the hajj. While a Christian conception of 'pilgrimage' might include 'various individual pilgrimages to various shrines',¹⁸³ in Islam visiting of shrines, even that of the Prophet in Medina, is regarded neither as the hajj, nor as a part of it. Pilgrimage to the tombs of the saints is called *ziyaret* (visit), and is no more than a voluntary act fulfilled when a traveller has time and inclination. Tapper says, the shrines of saints are visited 'because of the greater respect which they showed to God'.¹⁸⁴ In general, Muslim travellers when going anywhere, not necessarily on the hajj, visited the tomb of

¹⁷⁷Sulhi, f. 23b

¹⁷⁸Mehmed Edib, p. 254

¹⁷⁹Bahri (ff. 14-15) says that the caravan stays for two days at the halts.

¹⁸⁰Adanavi, f. 45, Anonymous in the John Rylands Library, its folios are not numbered.

¹⁸¹For the names of the stations from Cairo to Rabiğ on the basis of Eyüb Sabri's *Mir'at-ı ceziretü'l-'Arab'a dair ma'lumat*, see Güliden Sarıyıldız, *Hicaz Karantina teşkilatı* (Ankara: TTK, 1996), pp. 36-7

¹⁸²Evliya, 10, p. 434

¹⁸³Howard, pp. 18-19

saints or great men of the past. For instance, the celebrated Ottoman captain Seydi ‘Ali Reis on his travel to India devoted visits to shrines, including those of Şeyh Necmeddin-i Kubera, Molla Hüseyin-i Harizmi, Bayezid-i Bistami and Imam ‘Ali Musa.¹⁸⁵

The tomb or burial places of the following saints and remarkable individuals of the past are mentioned by authors. Eşrefzade in Iznik, Orhan Gazi in Söğüt, Şeyh Edebali in Eskişehir, Seyyid Gazi, Sultan ‘Ala’eddin’s mother in Seyitgazi, Hoca Nasreddin, Mahmud Hayrani, Ni‘metullah-ı Nahcivani in Akşehir, Mevlana Celaleddin, Baha’eddin, Sultan Veled, Şems-i Tebrizi, Salahaddin Zerkub, Çelebi Hüsameddin, Şeyh Sadreddin in Konya, Habib-i Naccar in Antakya; the Prophet Zekeriyya, Şeyh Ebubekr; Halid bin Velid, Sa’d b. Ebi Vakkas, ‘Amr bin Ümeyye, Dihye b. Halifetü’l-Kelbi, ‘Ukkaşe and ‘Abdullah b. Mes‘ud, ‘Abdu’llah b. ‘Ömer, ‘Abdurrahman b. ‘Avf, Ebu Musa el-Eş‘ari, Ka‘bü’l-Ahbar; ‘Abdurrahman b. Halid b. Velid, ‘Abdullah b. Ca‘fer-i Tayyar, ‘Abdurrahman b. Ca‘fer-i Tayyar, and Vahşi in Hims; Şeyh Arslan, Ebu’l-‘abbas, the Prophet Yahya, Mu‘aviye b. Ebu Süfyan, Bilal Habeşi, Cafer-i Tayyar, Ümmü Habibe and Ümmü Seleme, and numerous companions of the Prophet in Damascus; Ibn el-Arabi, Fahreddin ‘Iraki in Salihyye; ‘Abbas b. ‘Abdülmuttalib, Imam Malik, Fatıma binti Esed in Medina. Those who made their journeys via Egypt, visited the tombs or burial places of ‘Ukbe b. ‘Amir, Imam Şafi’i,¹⁸⁶ Ibn el-Farid and Şeyh Ibrahim Gülşeni in Cairo; the Prophet Şu‘ayb in Medyen.

This list of the tombs and burial places of famous people of the past is derived from several accounts. It is impossible to find all of them in a single text in hand. While some authors of *menazil* texts mention a shrine as an element of their description of a station,

¹⁸⁴Nancy Tapper, ‘*Ziyaret: gender, movement, and exchange in a Turkish community*’, in Eickelman and Piscatori (eds), *Muslim Travellers*, p. 247

¹⁸⁵Sidi ‘Ali Reis, tr. A. Vambery, *The Travels and Adventures of Turkish Admiral Sisi Ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the years 1553-1556* (London 1899), pp. 2-3, 5-7, 8, 9, 32, 35.

without specifying whether or not they personally visited it, others even neglect mentioning it. The authors of more personal texts such as Nabi, Fevri, and Ibrahim Hanif state that they visited certain tombs or burial places. For example, Ibrahim Hanif allocates more space to his visiting of the tomb of Celaleddin Rumi. Pilgrim authors generally do not mention visiting a tomb or burial place on their return journeys.

The authors generally do not show much interest either in describing or visiting all the shrines on their way. For example, although they all passed through Akşehir, they generally do not mention that they visited the shrine of Mahmud Hayrani and that of Ni'metullah-ı Nahçevani, though they generally mention the shrine of Nasreddin Hoca, which is located in the city centre. This was probably because they did not find much free time to visit the shrine of Hayrani or Nahçevani's grave. As for Nabi, who visited them, he travelled in his own private caravan and therefore had more free time. Some of the shrines that Nabi visited are not mentioned by the pilgrim authors including Hibri, Kadri and Ibrahim Hanif who travelled in the pilgrimage caravan. Among these shrines or burial places are those of Şihabeddin Maktul (1154-1191) in Ereğli¹⁸⁷ and Muhammed Parsa (d. 1419) in Medina. The assumption that they did not find enough time to visit them seems not to be an issue here since they rested for one day in Ereğli and several days in Medina. The reason Nabi visited them might be because Nabi probably felt sympathy with the former's philosophy of *işrakiyye* (illumination)¹⁸⁸ and the latter's dervish-order called Parsaiyye.

¹⁸⁶For the picture of the mausoleum of Imam Şafi'i, see *ET* 4, plate XIII

¹⁸⁷It is worth noting that Şihabeddin was executed in Aleppo.

¹⁸⁸For information on *işrakiyye* see Ian Richard Netton, 'The neoplatonic substrate of Suhrawardi's philosophy', in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.) *The legacy of medieval Persian sufism* (New York, London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992), pp. 247-261

4. Sanctuaries in the holy cities

Description of the sanctuaries naturally occupies a significant place in Ottoman pilgrimage narratives as these are the principal objects of a pilgrimage journey, and of main interest to the readers.¹⁸⁹ Ahmed Fakih devoted almost the whole of his work to description of the sacred sites in the holy cities, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. While shortening the account of his journey into a few connecting remarks, Fevri allocates much more space to his observations in the holy places. More than half of Nabi's narrative is on the three sacred cities, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, and much of that remaining is on mosques and tombs elsewhere. Ibrahim Hanif also depicts his journey in a more detailed manner when he reaches Damascus and particularly the Hijaz while making very brief and routine mention of other stations he passed through. Not only these authors but also the authors of the guide-type texts on the stations allocate relatively much space to the sacred places.

Certain common themes and metaphors recur, particularly in the literary descriptions of the sanctuaries. Comparison of the *ihram* to the shroud, or the congestion of pilgrims at 'Arafat to that on Judgment day, are among popular metaphors. Comparison of the Ka'be to a bride occurs in the narratives by Nabi and Cudi.¹⁹⁰ It was also a popular theme among Arab writers. Ibn Battuta likened the Ka'be to 'a bride who is displayed upon the bridalchair of majesty, and walks with proud step in the mantles of beauty'.¹⁹¹ Young, detecting the same metaphor in some Arabic texts, remarks that Arab pilgrims served, addressed, and even dressed the Ka'be like a bride.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹Fevri, f. 19a: 'Fi'l-hakika feza-yi sahn-i Ka'be-i 'ulya ve sahra-yı memalik-i Yesrib u Batha (gibi) matlab-ı 'ala-yı hass u 'amm ve maksad-ı aksa-yı efazıl-ı enamdır.'

¹⁹⁰Cudi, f. 69a: 'İçinden görünür ra'na 'arus-ı 'alem-i ma'na - Gelür şuridelik cana dil-i sihr-aferinane'

¹⁹¹H.A.R. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge 1958), p. 188

¹⁹²William C. Young, 'The Ka'ba, gender, and the rites of pilgrimage', *IJMES* 25 (1993), p. 285

Prior to reaching Medina, ‘feeling the fragrance from Medina through the morning breeze’ is a common expression, said most eloquently by Cami, quoted by Nabi¹⁹³ and paraphrased by Bahti¹⁹⁴: ‘The wind of morning scattered the skirt of the rose, the smell of Medina reached my nose’¹⁹⁵

4.1. Greeting, bidding farewell and on proper behaviour

Upon entering the tomb of the Prophet through the Babü’s-selam the visitor is expected to greet [the soul of] the Prophet. The poet visitors versified the expression of this salutation as seen in the texts by Muhyi,¹⁹⁶ Sulhi¹⁹⁷ and Nabi.¹⁹⁸ There are some occasions on which the emotions of the pilgrims were particularly aroused. When seeing the Ka‘be for the first time their emotion was shown by hastening their paces, and particularly by shedding tears. Ahmed Fakih says: ‘When I saw the Harem, I thanked God thousands of times.’¹⁹⁹; ‘I circumambulated running, O brother, with tears flowing from my eyes.’²⁰⁰ Cudi states that upon seeing the Ka‘be, he became thrilled.²⁰¹

The time of farewell to the sacred places, particularly the Ka‘be and the tomb of the Prophet, was another time of extreme emotion for pilgrims. Such times of overwhelming sadness are emphasized by some pilgrim-authors in their accounts. The word ‘*el-veda*’ (farewell) is used as a core element in such verses. The following is a couplet from Cami’s

¹⁹³*Tuhfetü’l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 437

¹⁹⁴Bahti, f. 30b : Bad-ı saba eyle beni subh u şam - Nükhet-i Yesrib’le muattar-ı meşam

¹⁹⁵Cami, f. 37b/11: Bad-ı saba damen-i gül ber-feşaned - Nükhet-i Yesrib be-meşamem resaned

¹⁹⁶Muhyi, f. 6: Es-selam ey seyyid-i evlad-ı Adem es-selam - Es-selam ey server-i efrad-ı ‘alem es-selam

¹⁹⁷Sulhi, f. 23a

¹⁹⁸*Tuhfetü’l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 449: Es-selam ey server-i evlad-ı Adem es-selam - Es-selam ey badi-i icad-ı ‘alem es-selam

¹⁹⁹Ahmed Fakih, ed. Hasibe Mazıoğlu, *Kitabu evsafı mesacidi’ş-şerife* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1974), p. 25: Kaçan girdüm Hareme gördi gözüm - Hezaran şükr kıldı Hakka özüm

²⁰⁰Ahmed Fakih, p. 25: Segirdüben tavaf itdüm i kardeş - Akar gözümünden dem-be-dem yaşı

²⁰¹Cudi, f. 69a

farewell poem, which was made use of by Bahti²⁰²: ‘O rose of the garden of the angels, farewell! Your perfume is the nourishment of my soul, farewell!’²⁰³

Fevri composes a long poem in the *terci‘-i bend* form,²⁰⁴ expressing his farewell to the Ka‘be. The poem consists of five *hanes* (stanza), seven couplets to a *hane*, and a *vasita* distich (refrain), which is as follows: ‘O sacred house of God, farewell!; O pleasure-giving *metaf* (circumambulation of the Ka‘be) farewell!’²⁰⁵ In the last *hane*, Fevri invokes the Ka‘be to intercede in the Hereafter. Even though the Ka‘be in Islamic belief is never granted the power of intercession, it is likely that a poetical approach to some sacred objects leads some poets to express the idea in this way. Nabi devotes considerably more space to the dramatization of his sadness when leaving the Ka‘be. The opening couplet of his farewell poem is the following: ‘Farewell, O pupil of the eye of discernment, Farewell! Farewell, O hyacinth of the garden of truth, farewell!’²⁰⁶

The same theme recurs in guide-type pilgrimage texts including those by Cudi²⁰⁷ and Kamil.²⁰⁸ Ibrahim Hanif makes a habit of citing poems of farewell called the *veda‘iyye* when leaving certain tombs on the way and the sacred sites, including the Ka‘be.²⁰⁹ Mehmed Edib describes the orthodox manner of leaving the Ka‘be in his dry and normative style, citing relevant traditions and scholarly views. He says that when leaving the Haram mosque visitors should walk backwards.. After conveying necessary

²⁰²Bahti, f. 22: El-veda’ ey gül-i bag-ı melekut el-veda’ - Nükheti can u dile kut el-veda’

²⁰³Cami, f. 37b; Muhyi, f. 33b: Ey gül-i bağ-ı melekut el-veda’ - Buy-ı tu can-ra şüde kut el-veda’

²⁰⁴*Terci‘-i bend*: ‘a poem where the extra distichs at the end of the stanzas are mere repetitions of the first (Rh).

²⁰⁵Fevri, *Risale fi‘l-menasik*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Şehit Ali Paşa, no: 2828/4, (folios are not numbered properly): El-veda’ ey harim-i beyt-i Huda - El-fırak ey metafi ruh-efza

²⁰⁶*Tuhfetü‘l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 433: El-veda’ ey merdüm-i çeşm-i basiret el-veda’ - El-veda’ ey sünbül-i bağ-ı haqiqat el-veda’

²⁰⁷Cudi, f. 68a

²⁰⁸Kamil, *Menasik-i hacc*, TSMK, A 3546, f. 37b: El-veda’ ey mebdet-i icad-ı ‘alem el-veda’ - El-veda’ ey menşe’-i ihdas-ı Adem el-veda’

²⁰⁹Hanif, f. 67a

information and relevant prayers, Mehmed Edib cites two verses,²¹⁰ expressing the sadness of leaving the Ka'be. He quotes these verses from Nabi.²¹¹

Recommendation of appropriate behaviour at the tomb of the Prophet was one of the most recurring themes. Bahti advises visitors to be good-mannered at the tomb by paraphrasing Cami's relevant verses.²¹² His initial couplet of the poem treating the theme is as follows:

'Be on good behaviour from your foot to your head; Be careful, be well-behaved!' ²¹³

Apart from quoting verses from Cami, Nabi also adds his own original poem in the *gazel* form,²¹⁴ which was regarded as a masterpiece of expression of this theme by the authors of the subsequent centuries, who quoted it.²¹⁵ There is even a story invented, interpreting the reason for the composition of this poem.²¹⁶ The theme is found not only in the literary narratives but also in those of informative manner. Evliya Çelebi devotes a sub-section to how to behave during a visit to the Prophet's tomb.²¹⁷ Mehmed Edib describes how to leave the Ka'be in his authoritative and impersonal manner.²¹⁸

4.2. Desire to die in the Hijaz

Dying on the hajj or in the sacred places seems to have been welcomed by some pilgrims.²¹⁹ The fifteenth-century writer Ahmed Bican notes that those who died on the

²¹⁰Mehmed Edib, p. 225

²¹¹See Chapter III, p. 140

²¹²Cami's verses on this theme are the following:

'Ayn-ı edeb şev zi-kadem ta ser - Bu ki sayı zi-seg o nazar (?) (f. 38b/3)

Cay-ı ser-est in ki tu pa me-nihi - Pay ne-dani ki küca mi-nihi

Dur şev ez-xiş lisan-ı heva - İnne-ke fi-akdesi vadi 'l-tuva

Zi-anek der-anca edeb ayed be-kar -Bi-edeb anca ne-bud der-şümar (f. 39a/3-5)

²¹³Bahti, f. 31b: 'Ayn-ı edeb ol zi-kadem ta ser - Bekle edeb rahını eyle hazer

²¹⁴The opening couplet of the *gazel*, which was translated in Chapter III, is as follows: Sakın terk-i edebden kuy-ı mahbub-ı Huda'dır bu - Nazargah-ı İlâhî'dür makam-ı Mustafa'dur bu (*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 442).

²¹⁵See 'The place of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* in the genre' in Chapter III.

²¹⁶Halil Aktüccar, *Nabi: hayatı, sanatı ve eserleri*, pp. 13-4.

²¹⁷Evliya, 9, pp. 631-2

²¹⁸Mehmed Edib, pp. 223-4

²¹⁹Demand for death in Jerusalem is detectable among medieval Christian pilgrims (see Howard, pp. 47-48; and Sumption, pp. 130-132).

hajj would be rewarded generously by God.²²⁰ It was believed at least by Indian pilgrims that dying on pilgrimage is ‘one of the 21 ways’ of being a martyr.²²¹ Gubari, who himself died in Mecca, advised possible pilgrims to be desirous for such a martyrdom: ‘Say [appeal to God] “Grant me tomorrow the [rank of] martyrdom; [Hence] be passionate to me and be intercessor for me’.²²² Farmayan rightly says that ‘Those who undertook it were ready to die for their faith.’²²³ Medieval pilgrims were very aware of the fact that they might not return to their home lands again for several reasons, including illness, natural disaster and the danger of Bedouins who attacked the pilgrimage caravan and murdered so many pilgrims.²²⁴

At the tomb of the Prophet, Nabi expresses his sadness due to not having died whilst there.²²⁵ Cami expressed his desire to die in the Hijaz, believing that those who are buried there will be lucky on the day of Judgment.²²⁶ The demand for death in the sacred places does not seem a false pretension for a medieval pilgrim, given that for most it involved considerable personal and financial hardship, which certainly required much devotion and piety.²²⁷ Cudi says ‘O Beloved (God)! honour and independence are all yours, show mercy to the pilgrim Lokman, who spent his life and belongings in your path.’²²⁸

As stated above, asking forgiveness or making amends to those whom one has offended was common practice for pilgrims and travellers prior to their journeys. By doing this,

²²⁰Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed-i Bican, *Envaru’l-‘aşikin*, (Istanbul: Matba‘a-i ‘Osmaniye, 1301/1883 (?)), p. 325

²²¹M.N. Pearson, *Pious passengers: the hajj in earlier times* (London: Hurst & Company, 1994), p. 41

²²²Gubari ‘Abdurrahman, *Menasikü’l-hacc*, Millet Ktp, Manzum, no: 820, f. 22b: Di ki yarın şehadet eyle bana - Şefkat idub şefa’at eyle bana

²²³Hafez Farmayan and Elton L Daniel, *A Shi‘ite pilgrimage to Mecca: the Safarnameh of Mirza Mohammad Hosayn Farahani* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), p. xxiii.

²²⁴For concrete information see Barbir (p. 200).

²²⁵*Tuhfetü’l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 467: ‘Ey ta’ir-i ruh-ı bi-hamiyyet, aşyane-i şah-sar-ı ‘illiyyinden hak-dan-ı esfeli’s-safiline giriftar olaldan beri pervazgah-ı asl hevasıyla bal-zen-i ıztırab olurken hala darü’l-eman-ı harem-i risaletde fırsat-yab-ı fūrce-i reha olasun da efsus ki yine şikest-i kafes-i çar çube-i cisme kadir olmayasın.’

²²⁶Cami, f. 42b: Baht-ı kerem yar şevved ‘an karib - Hak şevem ber ser-i kuy-ı Habib

²²⁷Ahmed Fakih, p. 31: Anun için ki malun terk idersin - Imanun Hak yolına berk idersin
Tenüni incidirsin zahmet ile - Canunı toyurursun rahmet ile

they probably aspired to go to the Hereafter without those sins which they had committed consciously or unconsciously against other people if they died during the journey. If they came back home alive they would be in a purified state after performing the hajj, having offered prayers to God at places where these are most acceptable. Before the departure for the hajj pilgrims therefore behave as if they will never return again. McDonnel expresses the presence of the same attitude in modern Malay pilgrims.²²⁹

However not all pilgrims necessarily show a desire for death in the Hijaz. Fakih and Bahti in their sermonic descriptions do not suggest that their audience pray to die in the Hijaz. What they said or recommended is important since both poets tended to portray how an ideal pilgrim should act, and even how to behave and think. Fakih does not say anything revealing a desire to die in the Hijaz. Instead, he wanted to live the remainder of his life in Jerusalem, but after a while he missed his children, and returned back to his homeland. He was aware of the possibility of his death on the way, but would have been content with the outcome: ‘I set out. If I die, there is no return for me; I am thankfully content with Your presence [command?], no matter whether hungry or full.’²³⁰ Fevri’s following verse suggests that he also seems to be not willing to die but he recognizes the possibility of death on his return journey: ‘If we survive, the aim is to meet; if we die, greetings to you.’²³¹ Cudi leaves the sanctuaries in Mecca in sadness, wishing that God would enable him to visit them again in the future.²³²

²²⁸Cudi, f. 68b: Nigah-ı şefkat it cana senindür ‘izz ü istiğhna - Yolunda ‘ömr ü mal ifna iden el-hacc Lokman’a

²²⁹Mary Byrne McDonnel, ‘Patterns of Muslim pilgrimage from Malaysia, 1885-1985’, in Eickelman and Piscatori (eds), *Muslim Travellers*, p. 121: ‘The pilgrim prepared himself as if he expected to die, and performed rituals marking important junctures in the Malay life cycle.’

²³⁰Ahmed Fakih, p. 21: Gönüldüm ölirisem dönüşüm yok - Tapuna şükr iderem aç eger (tok)

²³¹Fevri, f. 29b: Vakfe burda tamam olsun - Bizi bilenlere payam olsun

Sağ olursak buluşmadır maksud - Biz ölürsek size selam olsun

²³²Cudi, f. 68a

4.3. Superstition and tradition

Pilgrims readily collected superstitions, curiosities and traditions they heard in the sacred places. Inclusion of often surprising materials into pilgrimage accounts must have been a typical way to attract the attention of readers. A medieval pilgrim writer who came to visit a sanctuary with great difficulty must have sought something unusual in such places. Existing pilgrimage narratives suggest that medieval pilgrims were not only ready to believe existing superstitions but were also inclined themselves to interpret strange things as signs from persons, generally prophets, whose particular acts were associated with the history of such places.

A pilgrim of mystical disposition was ready in the sacred spots to interpret an unusual action as a divine message. This tendency is observable in Nabi's interpretation of rain when the pilgrims were at the 'Arafat as a sign of divine mercy and acceptance of pilgrims' prayers. The remaining remarks suggest that such an interpretation was shared by other pilgrims who thereby enhanced their prayers.²³³

There is no doubt that some less educated and intelligent pilgrim-authors recorded some superstitions as authentic tradition. As Faroghi pointed out, the pilgrimage accounts constitute important sources for a neglected study of 'mentalities'.²³⁴ It is however deceptive to make a judgment on the mentality or outlook of a great number of Ottoman pilgrims relying upon relatively few accounts. The logical aspect of a superstition might be used as an indication of the cultural and intellectual level of the writer, provided that we distinguish why he mentioned them. Some writers intended to amaze their readers through such sayings, taking their intellectual and cultural levels into consideration. Some

²³³*Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 401-2

²³⁴Suraiya Faroghi, 'Ottoman documents concerning the hajj during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in Abdeljelil Temimi (ed), *La vie sociale dans les provinces arabes à l'époque ottomane* (Zaghouan 1988), p. 159

apparently did not believe what they heard, judging through their knowledge and reason, and finding some superstitions ridiculous. For instance, Kadri says that some ignorant people claim that one who passes through between two marble pillars [at the Aksa mosque] will enter Paradise.

The Aksa mosque is strikingly full of superstitions accumulated over centuries. Superstitions and traditions relating to it are abundant in the narratives of Kadri, Evliya Çelebi, Nabi and Mehmed Edib. Indeed almost all pilgrim writers, Muslim and Christian, who left a depiction of the Aksa mosque recorded numerous superstitions associated with certain sites within it. The majority of superstitions are related to the Rock. Ahmed Fakih begins his description of the Aksa mosque by emphasizing the presence of strange things concerning the Rock.²³⁵ Kadri relates that on the stone of Paradise at the mosque had been eighteen nails, of which three remained, and these three will not disappear before Doomsday.²³⁶ Among the superstitions Nabi enumerates are the marks of the finger-tips of Gabriel, more than ten foot-prints of the Prophet Idris, of the Prophet Muhammed's tongue, a hollow marked by the Prophet Muhammed's turban, a stone cat, the prayer niches of numerous prophets, the ring reserved for the Prophets to tie their mounts, the Prophet David's tree of iron leaves, the shield of Hamza, the Prophet Solomon's prison for devils and the cradle of the Prophet Jesus. Some of these superstitions existed in several variants. For example, Nabi narrates that 'when the Prophet Solomon, having been commanded by God to complete the construction of the temple, entered the sanctuary at night through the Hitta gate, he saw that it was full of the light of God and fell to his knees and advanced a few steps. At God's command a part of the mass of rock therein left its place and rose up to meet him. Upon a gesture from the Prophet Solomon it stopped and

²³⁵Ahmed Fakih, p. 33

²³⁶Kadri, ff. 27b-28a

remained where it was, and he then constructed a dome over it.²³⁷ In Kadri's version of the same story, the actor of the story was the Prophet Muhammed, and the circumstance was his ascent into heaven.²³⁸ The most common belief about the Aksa mosque is that the Day of Judgment will take place there. This is an old belief which was also believed by Jews²³⁹ and Christians. The superstition is therefore cited by almost all visitor-writers including Ahmed Fakih,²⁴⁰ Kadri, Evliya Çelebi, Nabi, and the Persian writer Nasır-ı Husrev [Nasir-i Khusraw].²⁴¹

There are a few superstitions related to other places. Kadri narrates that the Prophet Muhammed sent a piece of his saliva to a river in Ereğli, and as a result the river began to flow very vigorously, and divided into 366 rivers. The pebbles on the road near the Haydar fort are compared to the worms fallen from the Prophet Eyyub.²⁴² Kadri also reports that during the reign of Caliph 'Ömer, 6666 cities were conquered.²⁴³ The numbers 366 and 6666, corresponding roughly to the number of days of a solar year, and the number of the *ayets* of the Qur'an respectively, seem to have been included to amaze simple-minded readers. Nabi records a tradition that the Prophet Jesus will put his foot first on the minaret of Jesus in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus when he descends from heaven.²⁴⁴ The same tradition is reported by Hibri.²⁴⁵ Mehmed Edib quotes from the *Tarih-i Dımışk* that the mosque of Damascus will survive forty years after the end of the world.²⁴⁶ Kadri says that the Prophet Jacob's tears for his missing son Joseph made holes

²³⁷Chapter IV, p. 162

²³⁸Kadri, f. 26b

²³⁹Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1985), p. 112

²⁴⁰Ahmed Fakih, p. 30: Yarın Kudüs'de olur 'arz-ı mahşer - Odından dökiserdür niçeler der

²⁴¹Lutfi, p.79.

²⁴²Kadri, f. 38a

²⁴³Kadri, f. 17a.

²⁴⁴In Islamic tradition, it is believed that the prophet Jesus will descend from the heaven at the end of the world in order to guide people to the right path.

²⁴⁵Hibri, p. 123

²⁴⁶Mehmed Edib, pp. 58-59

on the stones of the vicinity of the well of Joseph, which is near the Sina lake.²⁴⁷ The same image with slight variations is available in the account of Nabi, who states that the tears of the Prophet had caused stones to break up.²⁴⁸

Evliya relates that the reason a station is called Şakku'l-'acuz is that the fourth caliph 'Ali is said to have cut a witch into two pieces there.²⁴⁹ He also narrates that the name Naka Kayası is reported to have originated from the story of the Prophet Salih,²⁵⁰ who had been asked to pray to God to create a cow with a calf from this rock. When the cow was killed by the people, the calf cried on the rock. Evliya was very interested in this story, and went to investigate the rock.²⁵¹ It was said that the camels, which heard the cry of the calf would die at that place. In order to prevent camels from hearing the cry of the calf, pilgrims had customarily made a noise while passing that place. Evliya's caravan also cried out loudly 'Allah Allah', while passing that place, and cannons and guns were fired. He reports that in this place, 70-80 camels did not continue on the road, and their owners said that their camels must have heard the cry. The same superstition is also reported by Kadri with his disapproval of its veracity.²⁵²

Conclusion

Ottoman pilgrimage narratives are the most important sources in learning the lengthy and arduous *pilgrimage experience* of pre-nineteenth-century Ottoman individuals, despite the fact that these 'pious passengers' did not want much to talk about themselves and mundane aspects of their journeys. The themes and structures of these narratives varied in accordance with each author's aim in producing his text. Writers such as Hibri, Kadri,

²⁴⁷Kadri, f. 24b

²⁴⁸*Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 331

²⁴⁹Evliya, 9, p. 591

²⁵⁰The Prophet Salih was sent to the tribe of Samud (Sg).

²⁵¹Evliya, 9, p. 592

²⁵²Kadri, f. 39b

Mehmed Edib, who intended to produce practical and informative works on the stations or on the rites of the hajj, produced guide or guide-type pilgrimage texts, employing not only more or less the same data, but also similar structure and language. However what they recorded is important for they reflected upon the common experience of masses of pilgrims. Pilgrimage caravans had a number of peculiar customs. The night travel of Damascus and Egyptian caravans amazed some pilgrims, like Nabi, who had not had that experience before. They passed through around 39 stations between Üsküdar and Damascus, and around 37 between Damascus and Mecca. Certain stations were determined as halts where pilgrims stayed for one day during which they rested and met their needs. Having eaten food and drunk coffee at a station, pilgrims set off upon hearing the sound of the trumpet or cannon. On the way from Istanbul to Damascus they visited several shrines or burial places, prominent among them being those of Seyyid Gazi, Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, Bayezid-i Bistami and the Prophet's several companions. The authors including Kadri and Ibrahim Hanif expressed their gratitude to Ottoman state which obviously made much effort in order to provide pilgrims with safe and easy journey.

Authors including Ahmed Fakih, Fevri, Evliya Çelebi and Nabi who intended to describe their pilgrimage experiences from a mere personal perspective incorporated their personal or collective insights and sentiments in their descriptions. Since these were generally poets or literary men, lively presentation of the subject was important to them. Therefore, instead of just reporting what they know or saw in a sober and impersonal manner, they as artists dramatize what they felt or thought as well, using their literary skills and their vigilant observations. Recurring themes may reflect upon the common characteristics of the pilgrim authors. It is however difficult to distinguish whether these themes are spontaneous reflections upon their own experiences, because an author may describe what

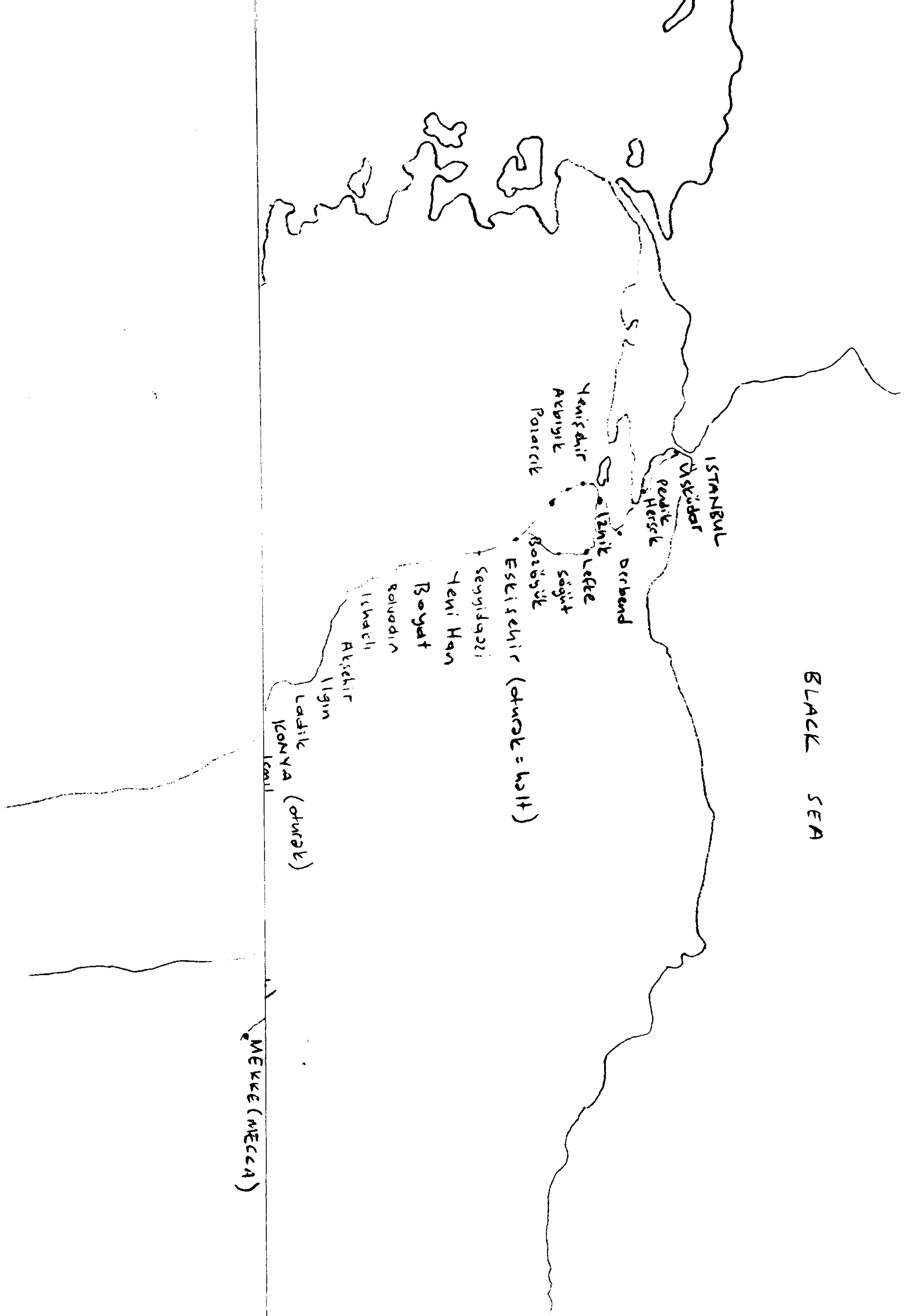
an ideal pilgrim should do and how he should behave, instead of what he himself actually did. In other words, what they said did not always originate from their own experiences. They derived some of their themes from their master predecessors' texts. Apparently the most admired and quoted pieces in the genre of literary pilgrimage narratives belong to Cami and Nabi.

Description of experiences in the sacred places constitutes the most vivid and literary part of pilgrimage narratives. The authors of literary pilgrimage texts, including Ahmed Fakih, Gubari, Fevri, Bahti and Nabi, tended to include their own sentiments in their descriptions. When seeing certain sanctuaries, particularly the Ka'be and the Prophet's tomb, their enthusiasm reached its climax, which was portrayed by some poets through a poem of greeting. At the time of leaving them their grief culminated, and they composed poems of farewell. Some even desired to die in the Hijaz, as they consciously put their lives into danger for their faiths by undertaking a dangerous and arduous journey. The authors recommend their pilgrim readers to be good-mannered at the sanctuaries. Superstitions and unknown traditions concerning the sacred sites, particularly in the Aksa mosque, were included in the narratives.

Map

The map of the Ottoman pilgrimage route from Istanbul to Mecca via Damascus, which is based dominantly on the seventeenth-century pilgrim writer Kadri's *Menazilü't-tarik ila beyti'llahi'l-'atik*.

**CONTAINS
PULLOUTS**



BLACK SEA

MEKKE (MECCA)

GLOSSARY¹

‘aruz	: metrical system used for Arabic, Persian and Turkish poetry
‘umre	: lesser pilgrimage
akçe	: Ottoman silver coin, a third part of a para
bi’r	: reservoir, well
divan	: a collection of poems by one author
divançe	: a small collection of poems by one author
emir-i hajj	: the leader of a pilgrimage caravan
ferraş	: an officer who superintends the pitching of tents
fersah	: a league, equal to about five kilometres; about 18,000 feet in length
gazel of	: an ode, of not more than twelve distichs, of which hemistichs must be the same metre, those of the first distich, and the last one of all other distichs rhyming together
hajj	: Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca
harem	: a sacred territory; especially, the territory of Mecca or of Medina; the inner court of a mosque
hisar	: a fort, a castle
ihram	: the special pilgrim cloth, consists of the two white seamless parts
inşa	: artistic prose
kadı	: judge
kal‘a (kale)	: fortress

¹Ottoman Turkish terms which appear regularly in the text are glossed with the meaning most applicable to this study. Terms which appear only one or twice are glossed in the text as they appear. The rendering of words here is from primarily Sir James W. Redhouse, *Turkish and English lexicon* (Beirut: Librairie Du Liban, 1987); F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English dictionary* (Beirut: Librairie Du Liban, 1970); and Hans Wehr, ed. J.M. Cowan, *Arabic-English dictionary* (New York: Spoken Language Services, Inc., 1976).

kaside	: a poem of more than seven or twelve distichs, with all the distichs rhyming together, usually a panegyric poem
kiler emini	: cellar trustee
kuyu	: well, shaft
kible	: prayer direction
kıt'a	: stanza
mahmil	: a richly decorated palanquin which carries the <i>surre</i>
makam	: a station, an abode
medrese	: a college, especially one connected with a mosque
mehter	: special musical band, Janissary band
menasik	: rites, rituals of the hajj
menazil	: stations
mesire	: excursion spot, parkland
mesnevi	: lengthy verse composition/narrative in rhymed couplets, each distich being of a different rhyme
mihrab	: prayer niche
na't	: panegyric verses for the Prophet Muhammed
nazire	: a parallel or an imitative piece of poetry
oturak	: halt during a journey
sarnıç	: cistern
surre	: purse or bag of money, the treasure sent by sovereigns, etc., for certain people generally in the Hijaz
surre emini	: the official into whose charge is confined the <i>surre</i> sent to the Hijaz
tahterevan	: palanquin
tavaf	: circumambulation
vakfe	: standing on Mount 'Arafat as a ritual of the hajj on the ninth of Zilhicce
zenbil	: a basket woven of rushes or palm-leaves

zira' : measurement of length, a yard, a cubit

ziyaret : visit to a shrine or tomb

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PART II

CRITICAL EDITION OF NABI'S *TUHFETÜ'L-HAREMEYN*

Notes on manuscripts, edition and transcription

There are more than 30 manuscripts of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* exclusively in the Süleymaniye library, and about 14 in the Topkapı palace museum library,¹ 3 in The British Library,² 4 in the Bibliotheque Nationale³, 1 in The John Rylands Library of Manchester University,⁴ and 1 in the Cambridge University Library.⁵ Many of these copies have no colophon, which makes impossible for us to reach reliable conclusions not only in evaluating them but also in identifying the earliest and the latest of all the copies. Knowledge of the date of copying would have enabled us to speculate about the popularity of the work in the subsequent centuries. Among the copies that have a colophon, the earliest was copied in Rebi'ülevvel 1095/ March 1684, and the latest one in 1156/1743. They differ considerably as to the date for the completion of the text by its author, ranging from 1084/1673, 1085/1674, 1089/1678, 1090/1679, 1092/1681, and 1093/1682. While my calculation of the chronogram supports that the text was composed in 1093, a few reliable manuscript copies and Nabi's Turkish *Divan* cite 1090 as date of completion of the work.⁶

¹Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *TSMKTYK* (2 vols., Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), vol. 1: pp. 452-4; vol. 2: p. 266

²Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1888), p. 113, 253, 260

³E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits Turcs I* (Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale, ; 1932), pp. 189-190

⁴Manchester, John Rylands Library, Turkish manuscripts, no: 134, 45 folios (5b-50b).

⁵Cambridge University Library, Or. 598, 86 folios. At the end, after the chronogram the date 1092 was put. No colophon is added at the end. The date 1092/1681, which is more likely to be a calculating of the chronogram, is considered wrongly as the date of its copy by Brown (Edward G. Brown, *A supplementary hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts presented in the libraries of the University and colleges of Cambridge*, At the University Press, Cambridge 1922, p. 47). The copy occasionally uses the terms *nesr* to show the prose section, and places no title to a number of verses.

⁶See 'The date of the completion of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*' in Chapter III in Part I.

At the present stage the autograph has not been identified. However, the copy in the Köprülü library contains a number of corrections that might have been made by Nabi. Under most of these corrections the Arabic letters n, m, and s are placed, which might allude to Nabi, *mü'ellif* (author) and *sahh* (corrected) respectively. However, if these corrections really belong to Nabi, it might be argued that he did not review the text thoroughly because the copy still contains a number of mistakes and omissions.

At the beginning of the copy in the John Rylands Library of Manchester University, which has no colophon, is a note written down by a certain Es-seyyid el-hacc 'Abdülhalim (?) in 1242/1826, claiming that this manuscript was written by Nabi himself in the course of the journey. Fortunately, after that, an explanation reveals that this was his own assumption. He states that he had come to such conclusion after studying this text and finding no mistakes in it. Then he claims that even if this had not been written by Nabi, it must have been copied by a learned person like Nabi. The copy identifies some verses as *mesnevi* and *kıt'a*. Some words have been glossed in the folio margins.

1. The manuscripts consulted

The present edition has been produced by collating the three oldest and most reliable manuscript copies of the text and by comparing these with the 19th-century printed edition:

1. L: Lala Ismail in Süleymaniye Ktp., no: 400/1, 62 folios, 21 lines, written in *nesih* (but verses in *ta'lik*), copied by Es-Seyyid Mehmed Halim in Rebiü'levvel 1095/ March 1684 in Istanbul. At the end of the chronogram the date 1090/1679 was placed. This manuscript, which appears to be the earliest among those with colophons, is used as the basis for the edition, with errors and omissions rectified by comparison with those

below. In other words, in the case of variations of a word(s), the one that is thought most appropriate is preferred.

2. B: The British Library, Add. 7853, 76 folios, 21 lines, written in *nesih*, copied by Derviş Ibrahim el-Gülşeni in 1099/1688.

3. K: Köprülü Ktp., Hacı Ahmed Paşa (II), no: 260, 53 folios, 21 lines, written in *ta'lik*, with no colophon, the chronogram is dated 1093/1682.⁷

P: Printed copy, consists of 112 pages, printed in 1265/1848 in Istanbul, edited by Mehmed Reca'i. It is not known on which manuscript copy or copies Mehmed Reca'i based his reading. That he occasionally gives variations of some words in the margin without identifying their source(s) indicates he used more than one copy of the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* in his reading.⁸ Most of the marginal notes are renderings of unusual words, some of which are derived from dictionaries, cited by Reca'i as Vankulu, Ni'metullah, Hilmi, 'Azmizade, Şeyh (probably in Arabic) and Şerefnâme (probably in Persian).

The verses identified as quoted by Nabi from other poets are determined in footnotes. Numerous Persian verses cited in the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* exist also in the Persian *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* compilations,⁹ which are generally ascribed to Muhyi of Lari (d. 933/1526-27), who admittedly quoted many verses from Cami (1414-1492). 'FH' in a footnote stands for the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*.

⁷This copy has no colophon, excepting for the date 1093/1682 under the chronogram, and a Persian short remark saying 'it has been completed'.

⁸Since Recai'i's work is printed in the Ottoman alphabet, it does not help the reader to identify adjectives(s) and noun(s) in long phrases nor subjects, predicates and other parts of sentences, which constitute the real difficulty in transcription of Nabi's elaborate and metaphorical phraseology. In this respect, Reca'i's edition differs little from a well-written manuscript copy, and gives little assistance towards a correct reading of the text.

⁹Muhyi [Cami], *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*, Millet Ktp., Farsça, no: 478, 45 folios, copied in 1007/1598
Muhyi, *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Lala Ismail, no: 102, 67 folios, copied in 942/1542

The Turkish poems and verses found in Nabi's Turkish *Divan* and Persian *Divançe* are also indicated. 'D' in a footnote indicates that the verse(s) referred to be found in *Nabi Divanı*, edited critically by Ali Fuat Bilkan.¹⁰ 'DF' stands for Nabi's *Divançe-i Farisi*, which was published in 1292/1875 in the Ottoman alphabet.

2. Notes on transliteration

In the transliteration of the present text, including the Persian and Arabic verses and phrases within it, the most common system used in Turkey by Turkish scholars for the transliteration of Ottoman Turkish texts is adopted.¹¹

'u' vowelising is preferred in certain suffixes (e.g. it-düğ-i, gel-üp, sen-ün) throughout the text as used by Ali Fuat Bilkan in the modern edition of Nabi's Turkish *Divan*, since there is no consistency not only between the chosen copies of the text but also within any one of these.

Where some words are written as they would have been pronounced in the spoken language, it was decided to use their correct written forms, e.g. *kava'im* instead of *kavayim*; *neş'e* instead of *neşve*.

In a footnote, firstly the accepted form of a word (or words) is given, and then its variation(s) followed by the letter of the manuscript in which the variation occurs, e.g.:

nâsiye-sâyî-i: nâsiye-i K

deng ü lâî: reng-i zülâl P

'-' in a footnote refers to missing word(s), e.g. itmege fermân: - L [i.e. both words are missing in L]

¹⁰Nabi, ed. Ali Fuat Bilkan, *Nabi Divanı* (Istanbul: MEB, 1997)

¹¹It must be noted that because of font/printing constraints, the diacritic 'g' will appear as 'ğ'; and Arabic letter 'dat' will always appear as *ḍ* (e.g. Ramadan).

Folio numbers of the manuscripts consulted are given in brackets inside the text, e.g. [K14b].

The variations for titles of verses are not given in order not to enlarge footnotes. There is no consistency among the titles given to verses. While one copyist puts *nazm* to a distich or a piece of poem, others put either *beyt* or *kit'a*. Some copies use further titles such as *mesnevi* and *rüba'i*. Such dissimilarity implies that Nabi himself did not put titles to verses in the original copy, and that subsequent copyists put titles they thought appropriate. The earlier copyists apparently did not feel free to entitle verses, and just distinguished verse and prose sections probably in order to prevent intricacy. For example, manuscript L generally determines sections by putting *nazm* for verse(s) and *nesr* for prose sections. Manuscript K places a sign resembling 'X' in front of many verses as an indication of poetry, and writes *nesr* at the beginning of prose sections. In entitling of verses, manuscript L is followed. Since verses are easily distinguishable from prose sections in the present edition, the word *nesr* is not placed before the prose sections.

TUḤFETÜ'L-ḤAREMEYN

Bi-smi'llāhi'r-Raḥmāni'r-Raḥim

Ey Beyt-i Ḥarām'ı şaff-ı ğufrāna maḳām

V'ey Bāb-ı Selām'ı medḥal-i dār-ı selām¹

Ey Mültezim-i Şerif'i müstelzim-i 'afv

V'ey Zemzem'i şafḥā-şū-yı 'iṣyān-ı enām²

Şümār-ı kâfile-i enfās-ı huccācdan birün şükr ü minnet³ ḥadret-i Mün'im-i bi-'illete ki
 mā-şadaḳ-ı āyet-i kerime-i⁴ 'Inne evvele beytin vüdi'a li'n-nāsi ellezi⁵ bi-bekkete
 mübāreken ve hüden li'l-'ālemīn'⁶ üzre serāy-ı cihān-ārā-yı Ka'be-i mu'azzamayı
 zemīn-i dil-nişin-i Mekke-i⁷ mübāreke de ḥ'āst-kārān-ı istiḥkām-ı aḥkām-ı⁸ erkān-ı
 imān⁹ içün temhīd idüp güm-şüdegān-ı beyābān-ı 'iṣyāna vesile-i hidāyet eyledi.

Beyt

Ka'be binā geşt ki rū-yı niyāz

Sū-yı [suvī] vey ārend be-vakt-i namāz¹⁰ [?]

Secdegeh ān bāşed ve mescūd Ḥaḳḳ

Ma'bede ān bāşed ve ma'būd Ḥaḳḳ¹¹¹ selām: islām D² These two couplets are also included in *Nābī Dīvān*. See Nabi, Ali Fuat Bilkın (ed.), *Nābī Dīvān* (Istanbul: MEB, 1997), p. 1212³ minnet: minnet ol P⁴ āyet: - K⁵ ellezi: - L⁶ The Kur'an, 3/96⁷ Mekke-i: Bekke-i B⁸ aḥkām: - B K P⁹ imān içün: imān olmağıçün K¹⁰ Cf. Muḥyi [the pen-name Cami is put at the end of the teḥt], *Fütūḥu'l-ḥaremeyn*, Millet Ktp., Farsça, no: 478, f. 7b; Muḥyi, *Fütūḥu'l-ḥaremeyn* (Lala Ismail, no: 102), f. 51b: be-vakt-i namāz: ve beden der-namāz FH¹¹ Cf. Muḥyi (Millet), f. 7b; Muḥyi (Lala), f. 51b

Geşte mekân-ı ḥarem-ı kibriyâ

Kerde Hudāyeş laḳab-ı Ümmü'l-kurâ¹²

Ve kıtâr-ı kaṭarât-ı sirişk-i iştîyâḳdan efzûn ḥamd ü şenâ Cenâb-ı Vehhâb-ı ḥafiyyü'l-
ḥikmete ki ber-feḥvâ-yı naẓm-ı kerîm-i 'Ve'llâhi 'alâ'n-nâsi ḥuccu'l-beyti men istetâ'a
ileyhi sebîlâ¹³, ḥoş-nişinân-ı memâlik-i Islâmı diyâfet-ḥâne-i 'amîmü'n-nevâl-i
muḥteremine¹⁴ da'vet ve [B1a] ber-müceb-i vahy-i kadîm-i 'Ve men deḥale-hü kâne
âminen¹⁵, [P3] mâ'ide-i emân u ğufrânı nihâde-i piş-h'ân-ı 'inâyet eyledi.

Beyt

Ka'be k'ez-ô der-heme dilhâ reh-est

Cüz-i vey¹⁶ ez-eczâş yeminü'llâh-est¹⁷

Cevher-i 'âyine-i dilhâ vey-est

Gevher-i gencîne-i dilhâ vey-est

Ve 'ıkdü'l-le'al-i girân-ḳadr-ı şalât¹⁸ ü taḥiyyât-nişâr [K2a] ser-ḥâk-i sultân-ı serîr-i
levlâk [L2a] olsun ki ebr-i nâtıḳa-i gevher-bârlarından şudûr iden 'Beyne ḳabrî ve
minberî ravḍatün min-riyâdi'l-cennet' ḥadiş-i şerîfi ile pirâste olan gülistân-ı
muḳâddesde ruḥşat-yâfte-i gül-geşt-i ziyâret olanlar 'Men zâra ḳabrî vecebet lehü
şefâ'atî' mişdâkıncâ gül-çin-i nihâl-i şefâ'at ve ḥâr-ı âzâr-kâr-ı fermâyân-ı¹⁹
düzahdan dâmen-âzâde-i istirâḥat olurlar.

Beyt

¹² Cf. Muḥyi (Millet), f. 6a ; Muḥyi (Lala), f. 49a

¹³ The Ḳur'ân, 3/97

¹⁴ muḥteremine: mağfirete K

¹⁵ The Ḳur'ân, 3/97

¹⁶ cüz vey: cüz'i P

¹⁷ Muḥyi (Lala), f. 51b

¹⁸ şalât: şalavât B K

¹⁹ ḥâr-ı âzâr-kâr: ḥârzâr-kâr K

Seyyid-i evlād-ı 'Ādem Cebra'ileş hā^vnde-em²⁰

Raḥmeten li'l-'ālemineş Hakk te'ālā sāhte

Āl u aşhābeş ki bāşed aḥterān-ı çerh-i dīn

Be-her-şān lutf-ı ezel cennet müheyyā sāhte

Ve tuḥfe-i kem-yāb-ı du'ā-yı²¹ icābet-i der-kaḥā²² dāver-i dīn, pādīşāh-ı rūy-ı zemīn, tāc-dār-ı 'ālī-güher, şehriyār-ı mekārīm-perver, hürşid-i ufḥ-ı saltanat, gevher-bāzū-yı ma'delet, Husrev-i kām-baḥşā, şāhib-kırān-ı 'ālem-küşā, ebu'l-fetḥ ve'l-mağāzī Sultān Meḥmed Hān Ğāzī, eyyedeḥü'llāhü²³ ve ibḳāhü, ḥadretlerinüñ ber-dāşte-i pāy-ı serir-i ma'delet-maşirleri kılınmak sezādur ki āşār-ı ḥimāye-i 'aliyye-i mülūkāneleri ile²⁴ [B1b] rāh-ı raḥmet-penāh-ı Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn ğā'ile-i bīm-i reh-zenāndan āzāde ve naẓar-ı himmet-i celile-i Husrevāneleriyle²⁵ reh-revān-ı beyt-i Hudā'ya esbāb-ı emn u āsāyiş āmādedür.

Nazm

'Arūs-ı Ka'be ki Ümmü'l-kurā-yı āfāk-est

Vazīfe-hā^vrī-i ō ve ḳabile-i ecdād

Cihān çū şafḥā-i takvīm pür zi-hāne şüde

Çünān ḥimāye-i ō sāye-efkend be-bilād

Müdām gülşen-i 'ömreş bahār u hurrem bād

Berū-yı devlet u baḥteş nigāh-ı bed-mirsād

²⁰ hā^vnde-em: hā^vnde nām K

²¹ du'ā-yı: du'ā P

²² der-kaḥā: iḳtiḥā P, rüfekā L

²³ eyyedeḥü'llāhü: eyyede'llāhü L K

²⁴ ile: - L

²⁵ Husrevāneleriyle: Husrevānileriyle L

1. Sebeb-i teraşşuh-ı şehāb-ı kalem be-kişt-zār-ı merām ve āğāz-ı sūhan der-
'azîmet-i rāh-ı'²⁶ Beyt-i Harām²⁷

Qā'id-i ketibe-i hayāl bu tarîk üzere tertîb-i kavāfil-i maḳāl ider ki zülāl-i şāf-ı ser-
çeşme-i risālet, 'aleyhi's-şalātü [P4] ve's-selām, ḥadretleri menba'-ı mā'ü'l-hayāt-ı²⁸
Mekke'den sir-āb-sāz-ı teşne-lebān-ı imān olmağıçün cānib-i Medine-i Münevvere'ye
hicret buyurdıkları tārīḥden [K2b] beri tolab-ı düvāzde-per-i sinin delv-i mihr ü māh
ile [L2b] kişt-zār-ı rûzgār üzere biñ seksen toḳuz kere devr eyledügi sâlde burka'-küşā-
yı şāhid-i nev-hıram-ı beyān olan Nābi-i²⁹ nātüvānuñ āsar-ı cāzibe-i elṭāf-ı³⁰ ilāhiyye
ile revzene-i süveydā-yı dil-i sevdā-zedesi mehebb-i hevā-yı Hicāz ve bisāt-ı şabr u
ārāmı perçide-i dest-i şevk-i rāḥat-güdāz olmağın

Nazm

Şevk-i harem der-dil-i men cūş zed³¹

Kevkebe-i 'aşk reh-i hūş zed³²

Āble-i pā bih³³ ez-ān çeşm ü ser

K'ō ne-keşūd-est der-ān k'ō naẓar³⁴

maḍmūnı dahı tevsen-i tünd-hız-i şevke tāzyāne-i iḳdām olıcak [B2a] evvelā Cenāb-ı
Veliyyü'n-ni'am, āşaf-ı sūtūde-himem, vezir-i pākize-nijād, müşir-i şir-nihād, destūr-ı
vālā-güher, fādıl-ı efādıl-perver, dāmād-ı şehinşāh-ı 'ālem-küşā Müşāhib Muşafā
Pāşā ḥadretlerinüñ izn-i 'ālilerinden soñra evşāf-ı 'arş-ittişāf-ı Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn

²⁶ rāh: - L

²⁷ Beyt-i harām: Beytül-harām B

²⁸ hayāt-ı: hayāt P

²⁹ Nābi: Yūşuf Nābi P

³⁰ elṭāf: - L

³¹ cūş zed: cūş kerd L

³² zed: kerd L; Cf. Muḥyî (Millet), f. 12a

³³ pā bih: pāy B; pā reh L

³⁴ Cf. Muḥyî (Millet), f. 10a

siyâkında medâyiḥ-i cemile-i ḥusrevāneyi³⁵ ḥāvi bir kaşide-i³⁶ şevḳ-āviz ile isti'tā-yı mekârim-i pâdişāhi olunmağın³⁷ merāḥim-i ḥümāyūn-ı³⁸ kām-baḥşâları cilveger-i mevḳi'-i zuhūr olup mehāmm-ı tarīḳ-i merām muḥāfız-ı Mısr, vezir-i kârdân 'Abdurrahmân Pâşâ ḥadretleri cānibinden tertib olunmak bābında³⁹ ḥaṭṭ-ı ḥümāyūn-ı sa'ādet-maḳrūn-ı ḍamime-i iḥsān izān⁴⁰ buyurulmağın güncide-i ḥar-vār-ı imkān olduğu kadar levāzım-ı tarīḳa mübāşeret olunduğı hılālde⁴¹ zemin-i dilden bir tohum-ı ârzū ser-zede oldu ki vaḳāyi'-i āmed-şūd-i⁴² rāh-ı⁴³ Beytü'l-ḥarām ki manzūr-ı nigāh-ı rağbet-i ḥāşş u 'āmmdur nev-be-nev şüret-nümā-yı mir'āt-ı zuhūr oldukça meşāta-i ḥāme-i turfe-nigār zülf-i ḥam-be-ḥam-ı silsile-i sūtūr-ı 'anberin ile pirāye-baḥş-ı ruḥsāre-i levḥa-i⁴⁴ āsār ola tā ki⁴⁵

Nazm

Miṣal-i Ka'be eyā nūr-ı dide-i 'uṣṣāk

Gören cemālūñi⁴⁶ müştāk görmeyen müştāk

vefkince bu şāhid-i nev-ḥıram-ı kūçe-i melāḥatuñ girişme-i nühüfte ile [P5] deḳā'ik [K3a] ḥüsn-i edāsı ve şive-i nā-nümūde ile reviş-i ḥāṭır-rübāsı evvelden nā'il-i vişāl-ı Haremeyn olanlara [L3a] vesile-i şevḳ-i cedid ve ḥasret-keşān-ı ârzū-yı⁴⁷ 'azimete

³⁵ ḥusrevāneyi: ḥusrevāniyi L

³⁶ kaşide-i: kaşide-i naḍide-i P

³⁷ olunmağın: olmağın B

³⁸ merāḥim-i ḥümāyūn: ḥümāyūn-ı merāḥim B

³⁹ bābında: üzre K

⁴⁰ izān: endāz B

⁴¹ hılālde: ḥālde B

⁴² -şūd: -şüde-i K

⁴³ rāh: - L

⁴⁴ levḥa-i: - P

⁴⁵ ki: kim K

⁴⁶ cemālūñi: cemālini P

⁴⁷ ârzū-yı: - K

māye-i te'kid olmağla⁴⁸ [B2b] deryūzeger-i deriçe-i 'irfān ya'nî Nābi-i perişān beyānı⁴⁹ dahî süķāta-i nevāle-i du'ādan ferāmūş eylemeyeler!

Bināberin fātiha-i 'azimetden hātme-i 'avdete dek çeşm-güzār-ı i'tibār olan emākin-i müteberrike ve piçide-i minvāl-ı⁵⁰ eyyām u leyāl olan metā'-ı nev-zuhūr-ı vaķāyi'-i mu'tebere deffe-i hāme-i 'ācizāne ile bāfte-i kārgāh-ı beyān kılınmağa şürū' olunmağın tesmiye-i Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn ile tamğā-zede-i revācgāh-ı iştihār kılındı.

Recā-yı vāsıķ ve ümid-i şādık⁵¹ budur ki ḥadret-i⁵² Ğafūr-ı güneḥ-baḥşā bu bahāne ile müsvedde-i ceride-i seyyi'atımı kalem-i 'afv ü mağfiret ile beyād idüp ḥıdmet-i evşāf-ı Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn berekātında reh-rev-i cān terk-i taht-ı revān-ı çehār-pāye-i beden eyledükde⁵³ murāfaķāt-ı meş'ale-i imān-ı kāmil ile reh-peymā-yı derecāt-ı bāğ-ı na'im eyleye! Āmin!

Beyt

Nist ṭama'-ı cşā'ize ez-kes me-rā

Cā'ize-em 'afv hemin bes me-rā

Mi-ṭalebem cā'ize-i in sūḥan,

Ez-kerem ü merḥamet-i zü'l-minen

2. Kerden ez-Üsküdar ref'-i hıyām be-süy-ı rāh-ı ḥüccetü'l-Islām

Bir sepide-dem kāfile-i şu'le-bār-ı aḥterān-ı köhne-ribāt üsrübiyyü's-sakf-ı āsmāndan ref'-i raht-ı ikāmet eyledükde⁵⁴ dehān-ı rükkāb-ı şevķ-intisāb

⁴⁸ olmağla: olmağın K

⁴⁹ perişān beyānı: perişānı L; nātüvānı K

⁵⁰ minvāl: - L

⁵¹ Recā-yı şādık ve ümid-i vāsıķ: Recā-yı vāsıķ ve ümid-i şādık K

⁵² ḥadret: Rabb K

⁵³ eyledükde: itdükde K

⁵⁴ eyledükde: itdükde K

Beyt

Bir kadem kim ola cünbân-ı reh-i beyt-i Hudâ

Câyı ol pâyüñ olursa hâne-i çeşmüm sezâ

me'âlin âvihte-i gūş-ı hūş itmegin müteyemminen bi-zikri'llâhi te'âlâ fedâ-yı zümür-rüd-simâ-yı **Üsküdâr**'dan muķim-i müsâfir-hâne-i zin olup **Ķartâl** nâm menzile tahrik-i bâl-ı isti'câl olundu. [B3a]

Nazm

Himmetem bedraķa-i rāh kün ey tã'ir-i ĳuds

Ki dırāz-est reh-i maķşad ve men nev-sefer-em

Rūz-ı düvüm **Gekbūze**'de⁵⁵ bir miķdār [L3b] celse-i istirāhatdan [K3b] soñira **Halıc-i Ķonstantıniyye**'den 'ubūr elsine-i enāmda su'ūbet ile meşhūr⁵⁶ olmağla emvāc-ı felek-sā-yı [P6] teşviş⁵⁷ deryā-yı⁵⁸ dilde āmed-şūde āmāde olmağın hemān ol gün⁵⁹ müsā'ade-i vakte müsā'ade-i hevāyı maķrūn bulmağla

Mışra'

Kenāre 'azm idelüm böyle bir hevā düşmez

zemzemesiyle sāhil-i **Halıc**'e şitāb olunup sūhān-ı 'ömr-i 'aziz-i⁶⁰ reh-revān olan pest ü bülend emvācdan hālî āyine-i hemvār gibi şūret-nümā-yı murād müşāhede olunmağın miķzāf-ı⁶¹ tevfiķ ile sāhil-i **Hersek**'e güzār olundu. Rūz-ı çārum bedraķa-i tevfiķ belde-i **Iznik**'e delālet itmegin

Nazm

⁵⁵ Gekbūze'de: Gekibūze L; Gibez'de B; Gibze nām maħal de K

⁵⁶ meşhūr: mezkūr B K

⁵⁷ teşviş: teşviş-fermāsı P

⁵⁸ deryā-yı: - L

⁵⁹ müsā'ade-i vakte müsā'ade-i hevāyı maķrūn bulmağla, Mışra': - K

⁶⁰ 'aziz: - K

⁶¹ miķzāf: muķaddemāt L

Ger dilerseñ olasın vāhimedēn āzāde

Olsun ārāmgehüñ dergeh-i Eşref-zāde

dest-āvizi ile hāk-i āstān-ı iksir-feşānı tekyegāh-ı cebin-i niyāz kılındı.

Eskişehir nām kaşabada⁶² nümüne-i eşk-i germ-i ‘uşşāk olan germābe-i bi-külhan-ı kudretde gerd-i rāhdan taḥīr-i ebdān⁶³ ‘ādet-i reh-revān olmağın

Mışra‘

Yā Rabb Eskişehir’e yeñi ‘ādet olmasun

diyü ebnā-yı sebīl ile ol āb-ı Selsebīl-āsāda şüret-nümā-yı nilüfer olup ferdāsında **Seyyidğāzī**’ye nühdāt olundı. Bir kūh-ı ser-bülend üzre ruḥām-ı terāşide-i⁶⁴ mücellādan mebnī ve cīlā-yı aḥcār-ı divārı āviziş-i mir’ātdan müstağnī tekye-i ‘ālī-şān ki resm-i maşnū‘ ve tarḥ-ı maṭbū‘ı şikest-āver-i endāze-i [B3b] āsmān-peymā-yı efkār-ı dürbīn-i mühendisān-ı rüzgārdur. Huşūşan miyān-ı kıbāb-ı ḥabāb-ı şümārda medfen-i ḥadret-i Seyyid Ğāzī olan kubbe-i felek-müvāzī ki, ṭā’ir-i nigāh def’aten küngüresine pervāza mecāl muḥāldür, peymūde-i endāze-i nigāh-ı ḥayret kılınup mezār-ı feyḍ-bārları ziyāreti ile dīde-i dil tenvir olundı.

Akşehir kaşabasında kuṭb-ı dā’ire-i ‘irfān Şeyḥ Maḥmūd-ı Ḥayrān [L4a] ḥadretlerinüñ

Naẓm⁶⁵

Bākiyā hānḳah-ı ‘ālem-i ḥayretde hemān

Her gelen kimse bu esrār ile ḥayrān ancāk

⁶² nām kaşabada: kaşabasında K

⁶³ ebdān: ābdān P

⁶⁴ terāşide-i: terāşide L B

⁶⁵ This couplet is by Bāki (d. 1599); see Bāki, Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergün (ed.), *Bāki Divānı* (Istanbul 1935), p. 226.

mađmūnı naķş-ı kitābesi olan āstān-ı ‘ālisi ve⁶⁶ Seyyid Ni‘metü’llāh-i Nahçevānī
 hadretleri ziyāret olunup [K4a] be-tahşış leṭā’if-i meşhūre-i muhtemilü’ş-şıdkı
 devā’ir-i āfākı⁶⁷ nümūdār-ı kal‘a-i kaķķaha eyleyen H^vāce Naşre’d-din [P7] ‘aleyhi’r-
 raḥmenüñ ziyāret-i hāk-i za‘ferān-ı hāşıyyet-i⁶⁸ hānde-fermāsı ile iktisāb-ı inşirāh-ı⁶⁹
 derūn olunduktan soñra miyān-ı kūh-ı bihişt-şükūhda vāķi‘ vādi-i hātır-rübāda olan
 kaşr-ı İrem-nümūn ki sultān-ı bihişt-mekān Murād Hān Ğāzī, ṭābe şerāh, hadretleri
 ‘azimet-i feth-i Bağdād eşnāsında Şeyhü’l-islām-ı ‘āli-maķām Yahyā Efendi⁷⁰ ile
 sāye-endāz-ı teşrif olduklarında hevā-yı hātır-zidāsı kāk-rūb-ı damir-i şehriyārī⁷¹
 olmağın nüzhet-i nişimen-i⁷² şevķ-güster⁷³ ve ṭarāvet-i havāli-i rūḥ-perverin
 mutađammın nev-nihāl-i ravḍa-i saltanat ile şafḥa-i divārın tezyin⁷⁴ buyurmuşlar.

Güfte-i Sultān Murād Hān Ğāzī el-merḥūm⁷⁵

Bihiştten kıt‘adur [B4a] haķķā ki bu ‘işret-fezā me’vā

Buñā dāhil olan mürde olur zevķi ile ihyā

Murādī feth-i Īrān’dan kaçan kim gitdi Bağdād’a

Tene‘‘um eyleyüp içdük bu kevşerden şerāb-āsā

Ve Yahyā Efendi bi-ṭariķi’n-nażire bu penç beyti mānende-i dest-i inşāf nihāde-i sine-i
 tahsin itmişlerdür.⁷⁶

Nazire-i Yahyā Efendi⁷⁷

⁶⁶ ve: - K

⁶⁷ āfākı: eflākı B

⁶⁸ hāşıyyet: - K

⁶⁹ inşirāh: inşirāh-ı şafā-yı K

⁷⁰ Efendi: Efendi merḥūm K

⁷¹ şehriyārī: şehriyār K

⁷² nişimen: nişimen ü L P

⁷³ -güster: güsterin P

⁷⁴ ile şafḥa-i divārın tezyin buyurmuşlar: ile tezyin-i şafḥa-i divār buyurmuşlar K

⁷⁵ Güfte-i Sultān Murād Hān Ğāzī el-Merḥūm: Güfte-i Sultān Murād Hān B; Güfte-i Sultān Murād P; Güfte-i Murād Hān Ğāzī K

⁷⁶ This remark cited later in K B

Zihî cāy-ı⁷⁸ ferāh-bahş-ı⁷⁹ şafā-güster-i hayāt-efzā

Nebâtından ise bir mürğ olupdur tūṭi-i gūyā⁸⁰

Bihiştüñ kıt'ası dirdüm velî reşk-i bihişt olmuş

Ḳudüm-ı pâdişāhile bu nüzhetgāh-ı bî-hemtā

Şuyın kevşer diyü nazmında ögmüş ol şeh-i 'ādil

Hōşā pākize-nazm-ı⁸¹ rūḥ-perver⁸² āb-ı hayāt-efzā⁸³

İlāhî ḥadret-i Sultān Murād'a 'ömr-i sermed vir

Musahhar ola añā cümlet-i⁸⁴ dünyā vü mā-fihā

Diye ihlāş ile yerde beşer gökde melek āmin

Du'ā itdükce ol şāh-ı cihāna şıdkıla Yah3yā

⁸⁵ Ol gūşe-i dil-ārā temāşası dımnında rūḥ-ı şeriflerine tuḥfe-i kem-yāb-ı du'ā ihdā olundu.

İğn ve **Lādik** menzilleri⁸⁶ zamime-i⁸⁷ menāzil-i maṭviyye olunduḡdan soñra dārü'l-mülk-i Yūnān-zemin ve maskaṭ-ı re's-i Eflātūn-ı ḥam-nişin olan şehir-i **Konyā** ki zerre zerre ḥāk-i 'ıtr-nāki eczā-yı ebdān-ı⁸⁸ [K4b] evliyā ve kaṭre kaṭre āb-ı feyḍ-nāki [P8]

⁷⁷ Nazire-i Yahyā Efendi: Ğazel-i Yahyā Efendi B, Güfte-i Yahyā Efendi K; In L this poem is written in margin.

⁷⁸ cāy: çāy P; cāyi L

⁷⁹ bahş: bahşā K

⁸⁰ tūṭi-i gūyā: tūṭi gibi gūyā L K

⁸¹ nazm-ı rūḥ: nazm u rūḥ P B

⁸² rūḥ-perver: rūḥ-bahş B

⁸³ hayāt-efzā ; hayāt-bahşā K; rūḥ-efzā P; nazm-ı rūḥ-perver āb-ı hayāt-efzā: Nazm-ı rūḥ-ı hayāt-bahşā K, but *rūḥ-bahş-ı āb-ı hayāt-āsā* added later in the margin of K

⁸⁴ cümlet-i: dā'imā K; cümleten L

⁸⁵ In K and B, the remark 've Yahyā Efendi bi-ṭarīḳi'n-nazire bu penç beyti mānende-i dest-i inşāf nihāde-i sine-i taḥsin itmişlerdür (itmede K)' is inserted here.

⁸⁶ menzilleri: menzilleri dahi B

⁸⁷ zamime-i: temime-i L

⁸⁸ ebdān: ābdān P

sirişk-i hūn-ı aşfiyādur. Huşūşan müsteğrāk-ı deryā-yı ‘irfān, bālā-nişin-i encümen-i ‘āşıkān, bülbül-i rengin-nevā-yı [L4b] gülistān-ı hakikat ve tūti-i destān-serā-yı şekeristān-ı tarikat, nahl-bend-i gülşen-i hevā-şiken-i Meşnevî, perde-şikāf-ı⁸⁹ dekā’ik-ı [B4b] şūrî vü ma’nevî, şehriyār-ı memālik-i irşād, tāk-dār-ı serir-i rüşd ü sedād, merhem-i sine-i dil-suhtegān, ārām-ı hātır-ı sevdā-zedegān, pişvā-yı aşfiyā ve mahdūm-ı zümre-i⁹⁰ evliyā ḥadret-i Mevlānā Celāle’d-din-i Rūmî, kıddese sırrahü’l-‘azîz⁹¹, ḥadretlerinüñ şevk-i nāşiye-sāyi-i⁹² āstān-ı bihişt-nişānları ile bu sebze-i nev-hiz-i⁹³ mezra‘a-i dil vesile-i⁹⁴ izn-i duhūl kılındı:

Li-mü’ellifih^{95 96}

Virür neşāt-ı mü’ebbed mekân-ı Mevlānā

İder cebini münir āstān-ı Mevlānā

Libās-ı haṭve-gir-i ebruvānı şevkinden

Olunca nāşiye-sā ‘āşıkān-ı Mevlānā

Revāc-ı kuhl-i cevāhir mi kor nazarlarda

Safā-yı hāk-i cevāhir-feşān-ı Mevlānā

Bulur mı bülbül-i bigāne ruhşat-ı feryād

Na‘im-i kurbdedür gülistān-ı Mevlānā

Olur mu buse-zen-i zir-i pāy-ı küngür-i çerh

⁸⁹ perde-şikāf: perde-i şikāf K

⁹⁰ zümre-i: P L B

⁹¹ kıddese sırrahü’l-‘azîz: kıddese’llāhü sırrahü’l-‘azîz B ; kıddese sırrahü’s-sāmi P

⁹² nāşiye-sāyi-i: nāşiye-i K; nāşiye-sāyi L

⁹³ sebze-i nev-hiz-i: sebzār-ı nev-hiz L; sebze-i mezra‘a-i K

⁹⁴ vesile-i: reside-i B K

⁹⁵ Li-mü’elli fih: Nazm P B, Medh-i Mevlānā K

⁹⁶ Verses matched are identical with beyts 1-4, 11-12, 19-23 of the poem ‘Nağme-ı rāz-ı nāy-i kalem-i rūḥānī-edā der-āstāne-i ḥadret-i Mevlānā kıddese sırrahü’l-‘azîz’ in *Nābî Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan), pp. 36-38).

Tenezzül eylemese zâ'irân-ı Mevlânâ⁹⁷

N'ola cevâhir ile olsa Meşnevî memlû'

Kilid-i genc-i hikemdür zebân-ı Mevlânâ

Ne Meşnevî dürrer-i şāhvār-ı mahzen-i feyḍ

Ne Meşnevî çemen-i bî-hazân-ı Mevlânâ

Sütür-ı şaff-ı sipāh-ı kalem-rev-i tahkik

Ne fevc-i mevc-i yemm-i bi-kerân-ı Mevlânâ⁹⁸

Reh-i vücūda başaldan kadem bu idi ümid

K'olam cebin-zede-i āstân-ı Mevlânâ

Hudā'ya şükr naşib oldu bülbül-i nigehe

Gül-i müşāhede-i būstân-ı Mevlânâ

Hōşā sūtūde reh-āverd-i⁹⁹ rehber-i tevfiḳ

Ziyāret-i ḥarem-i 'arşsân-ı Mevlânâ

Ümidi şimdi budur Nābî-i siyeh-kāruñ

K'anuñçün eyleyeler dōstân-ı Mevlânâ

Kenār-ı defter-i dilde bu [B5a] gūne nāmını kayd

Kemine ḥāk-i der-i bendegān-ı¹⁰⁰ Mevlânâ

maḳalın vesīle-i izz-i duḥūl eyledükde¹⁰¹ istikbāl-i emvāc-ı rūḥāniyetden¹⁰² dide vü

dil şināver-i deryā-yı dehşet [L5a] ü ḥayret olup

⁹⁷ This couplet is not included in *Nābî Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan).

⁹⁸ This couplet is not included in *Nābî Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan).

⁹⁹ reh-āverd: reh-i verd P

¹⁰⁰ bendegān: ḥānedān-ı D

¹⁰¹ maḳalın vesīle-i izz-i duḥūl eyledükde: - L P; added in the margin of B

¹⁰² rūḥāniyetden: rūḥāniden L

Nazm

Ḳadem be-hūş be-bāyed¹⁰³ nihād¹⁰⁴ ey müştāk

Ki in hıızāne-i feyḍ-est ve Ka'be-i 'uşşāk

[K5a] şadāsı der u divār-ı feyḍ-bārından¹⁰⁵ sāmī'a-i cānı pür idüp [P9]

Nazm

Tāb-ı şevḳ eyleyince dil-i senginüñi mūm

Nice mümkün k'olasın¹⁰⁶ nā'il-i bezm-i şeh-i Rūm

hiṭābı zebān-ı ḳandil-i meh-simāsından hānḳah-ı derūne āteş şalmağın bir müddet dāver-i ḥayret memleket-i dilde ḥükümet eyledükden soñra yine i'ānet-i feyḍ-i hūş-baḥşası ile sermāye-i endek-i şu'ūrā dest-res müyessser olıcak biñ cānla¹⁰⁷ haridār-ı tavāf-ı merḳad-ı nūr-āmizleri olup pervāne-i nūr-ı nigāh bālā-yı ser-i şem'-i mezārlarında vakf-ı gerdiş kılındı.

Ḥaḳḳā¹⁰⁸ bir ḳubbe-i rafī'a-i gerdün-nümündür¹⁰⁹ ki 'ıḳd-ı süreyyā āvize-i gerd-i küngüre-i berrāk ve nevk-i küngürü mil-i sürme-i dide-i sükkān-ı seb' tıbāḳdur. Zır-i ḳubbe-i celālet destgāhında¹¹⁰ mücerred kendülerün¹¹¹ ve peder-i 'ālī-güherleri ḥadret-i¹¹² sultānū'l-'ulemā Bahā'e'd-din ḥadretlerinüñ āsāyişgāh-ı hāşşāları olup ṭāḳ-ı ḳubbe ile bāzū-be-bāzū-yı ittişāl¹¹³ olan ṭāḳlar sāyesinde ferzend-i edib-i vālā-nijādıları ḥadret-i Sultān Veled ve yine kenāre-nişin-i h'ān-ı ni'met-i velāyet olanlardan sikke-

¹⁰³ be-bāyed: ne-bāyed K

¹⁰⁴ nihād: nihāden K

¹⁰⁵ -bārından: -bārlarından K

¹⁰⁶ k'olasun: k'olasuñ P

¹⁰⁷ bin cānla: - L

¹⁰⁸ ḥaḳḳā: ḥaḳḳā ki K

¹⁰⁹ nümündür: nümün B

¹¹⁰ destgāhında: destgāhlarında K; destgāhda B

¹¹¹ kendülerün: kendülerinüñ K

¹¹² ḥadret-i: - P

¹¹³ bāzū-be-bāzū-yı ittişāl: bāzū-yı ve be-bāzū-yı K; bāzū-bend-i ittişāl P

dār-ı hālisü'l-'ayyār-ı darb-hāne-i ma'nā¹¹⁴ ve müzehhib-i ser-şafha-i [B5b] nüsha-i hüda Şalaḥa'd-din-i Zer-küb-ı Konevî ve şimşir-i tiz-bāzū-yı¹¹⁵ tevfiḳ, ser-firū-bürde-i¹¹⁶ niyām-ı tahkik ḥadret-i Çelebi Hüsāme'd-din ve sā'ir evlād-ı emcādları āsūde-i hābgāh-ı rahmet-penāh-ı mezārları¹¹⁷ olup kendi zebān-ı gevher-feşānlarından ziver-i āgūş-ı zuhūr olan kelām-ı hikmet-nizām üzre¹¹⁸ pehlū-zede-i pister-i rāḥat-güster-i hāk olmaları pādīşāhāne vāḳi' olmaḡla sā'ir merākīd-i evliyā-yı kirām, ḳaddese'llāhü sırrahüm¹¹⁹, gūyā zir-i ḳubbede tertīb-i divān-ı şüreyyā-nizām itmişlerdür.

Ba'de şadru'ş-şudūr-ı encümen-i ḥaḳīḳat, [L5b] merkez-i devā'ir-i pergār-ı tarīḳat¹²⁰, dāver-i ḳalem-rev-i¹²¹ ma'nā, dest-bürde-i¹²² sermāye-i¹²³ hüda, reh-nümün-ı kār-vān-ı 'ālem-i 'illiyin, gencūr-ı hızzāne-i¹²⁴ dārü'l-mülk-i yakīn, cenāb-ı Şeyḥ Şadre'd-din-i Konevî, [K5b] ḳaddese sırrah¹²⁵, ḥadretlerinüñ hāk-i müşkīn-i feyḍ-āḡinleri¹²⁶ 'abir-i turra-i müjgān kılınup ol rāst-gū-yı encümen-i ḳuds ḥadretlerinüñ [P10] dāhi lisān-ı bedi'ü'l-beyānlarından 'Murabba'-nişin-i çār-bāliş-i ḥayāt olmamız emirāne ve ḡunūde-i h'ābgāh-ı memāt olmamız faḳirāne olsun' diyü şudūr iden maḳāl-i hikmet-iştimāl vefḳince bālā-yı mezār-ı 'ıtr-āmizlerinde mānende-i mücmer-i müşebbek çüb-terāşideden sāhte bir ḳubbe-i ḳafes-simā vāḳi' olmışdur ki¹²⁷ tā'ir-i küngüre-i eflāk olan rūḥ-ı lā-mekān-pervāzlarınuñ¹²⁸ kālbidi ārām-gir-i künc-i ḳafes olmışdur. [B6a]

¹¹⁴ darb-hāne-i ma'nā: darbgāh-ı ma'nevî K

¹¹⁵ tiz: ber-tiz B

¹¹⁶ bürde-i: bürde P

¹¹⁷ mezārları: mezār K

¹¹⁸ üzre: - L

¹¹⁹ sırrahüm: esrārahüm K P

¹²⁰ tarīḳat: ḥaḳīḳat L

¹²¹ ḳalem-rev-i ma'nā: ḳalem ü ma'nā B

¹²² -bürde-i: -ber-āverde-i L

¹²³ sermāye-i: māye-i K

¹²⁴ hızzāne-i: ḥazāne P

¹²⁵ sırrahü: sırrahü'l-'aziz K

¹²⁶ feyḍ-āḡinleri: feyḍ-iksirleri K

¹²⁷ ki: - B

¹²⁸ lā-mekān-pervāzlarınuñ: lā-mekānları K

Henüz şadr-nişin-i medrese-i şühūd iken nātıka-i sāmi'a-pirāları miftāhü'l-ğayb-ı gencine-i hikem olduğu dārü'l-ifādeleri ki ḥazā'in-i pür-zer ü sim-i kibār aña nisbet külhān-ı pür-hākister ve ma'ādin-i cevāhir-i ābdār aña naẓar[an] evrām-ı şudūrdan bed-terdür¹²⁹. Ve anuñ ṭabaḳa-i fevkānisinde vāḳi' kitāb-ḥāne-i rahmet-nişānları ki

Nazm

Hıfz için nüsha-i muḥabbetüñi

Eyledüm çāk-i sinemi dūlāb

fehvasını ḥāvi bir niçe dūlāb-ı maḥşūş cenāb-ı kirāmilerinüñ mizāb-ı mā'ü'l-ḥayāt-ı çeşme-sār-ı dil-i ilhām-āsārları olan ḥāme-i 'anber-efşānlarından çekide-i şaḥife-i¹³⁰ te'lif olmuş esrār-ı ḳudsiye-i İlāhiyyeden memlū' nüsaḥ-ı mu'tebere ile māl-ā-māl olduğundan ḡayrı ḳutb-ı Rabbāni fādıl-ı Şāmedāni, şināver-i baḥr-i esrār, ḡavvāş-ı le'āl-i efkār, pişvā-yı vāşilin, reh-nümā-yı muḥaḳḳıḳin Şeyḥ Muḥyi'd-din-i 'Arābi, ḳaddese'llāhü sırrahü'l-'aziz, ḥadretlerinüñ kālā-yı kārgāh-ı iḳān ve maḥşūl-i mezra'a-i 'irfānları olan kitāb-ı sa'ādet-nişāb¹³¹ [L6a] Fütūḥāt-ı Mekkiyye ki bi'l-cümle¹³² cenāb-ı velāyet-penāhlarınuñ ḳalem-i feyḍ-bārlarından otuz dört mücelled üzre keşide-i şaḥife-i¹³³ beyāḍ olup ve her cildinüñ ḥātime-i şerīfesi[ni] kendi ism-i sāmileri ile¹³⁴ isfār-ı tesvidden evrāk-ı tebyide naḳl buyurduḳlarında nā'il-i devlet-i müşāreket-i muḳābele olan 'azizüñ nām-ı nāmileri ile [K6a] ḥatm u tezyil buyurup mecmū'-ı mücelledātı arzū-yı devlet-i ḥıfḍıy2le¹³⁵ āḡūş-ı ḥızāne-i cennet-ḥamyāze-keş-i ḥasret

¹²⁹ bed-terdür: bed-ter L

¹³⁰ şaḥife-i: şaḥife B

¹³¹ nişāb: nişābları B K

¹³² bi'l-cümle: bi'l-cümle yine K

¹³³ keşide-i şaḥife-i: keşide şaḥife B K

¹³⁴ ile: ve ile L B

¹³⁵ ḥıfzıyle: ḥıfzla L; ḥıfz K

olan bir şandūkda¹³⁶ cāy-gir ve ol kitāb-hāne-i 'aliyyenin bir¹³⁷ dūlābında [B6b] takrİR olunmıřdur. [P11]

Hattā sultān-ı evliyā, bürhānū'l-ařfiyā, āftāb-ı felek-i velāyet, niřāngāh-ı sūbhā-i silsile-i siyādet, kā'id-i ceyř-i¹³⁸ rūhānī Şeyh Abdü'l-kādir-i Geylānī, kaddese sırrah, ḥadretlerinüñ şem'a-i diyā-bařş-i lisānlarından 'Bu miqdār sālden řofra bir def'a dahı pertev-i çerāğ-ı esrārimuz encümen-efrüz-ı hıttā-i Endülüs olmak mersüm-ı pervāne-i¹³⁹ divān-hāne-i ezeldür' diyü şudür iden kelām-ı¹⁴⁰ kerāmet-nizāmları¹⁴¹ vefkince hırka-i laţifeleri 'alā-tarıki't-tavřiye devr-i ebdān-ı hulefā-i Kādiriyye iderek

Nazm

Oldı baña Kays u Kūhken'den vāřıl

Gül-deste-i sırr-ı 'aşk olup dest-be-dest¹⁴²

vefkince Şeyh¹⁴³ Muḥyi'd-din-i 'Arabī ḥadretlerine vāřıl olup cenāb-ı Muḥyi'd-din dahı pūřış-i ḥayātdan tecerrüd buyurduklarından řofra¹⁴⁴ divān-hāne-i ma'nāda Şeyh Sadre'd-din cenābına ilbās olunmağın ḥālā şandūkıyle¹⁴⁵ mađbūt-ı genc-i kitāb-hāneleridür. Bi-ḥamdi'llāhi te'ālā ol nüsaḥ-ı řerife ve ol hırka-i laţifenüñ 'abir-i gisü-yı hūrān-ı bihiřte rāciḥ olan ğubārları tūtiyā-yı çeřm-i iftiḥār kılındı.

¹³⁶ şandūkda: şandūk ile L P

¹³⁷ bir: - PL

¹³⁸ ceyř: 'l-ceyř B L K

¹³⁹ pervāne-i: pervāne B

¹⁴⁰ kelām: kelimāt L

¹⁴¹ -nizāmları: -nizām B

¹⁴² be-dest: nezr B

¹⁴³ şeyh: - L P

¹⁴⁴ řofra: - K

¹⁴⁵ şandūkıyle: şandūka ile K; şandūkla B

3. Residen be-kaşaba-i Eregli¹⁴⁶

Eregli kaşabasında piş-rev-i aşhâb-ı kabûl Şeyh Şihâbe'd-dîn-i Maqtûl'ün¹⁴⁷ hâk-i hûn-âmizi¹⁴⁸ merhem-i sine-i i'tibâr kılındı.

Nümüne-i eşk-i gül-gün-i hasretiyân olan **Kızılırmak** kenârında [L6b] vâki' şehr-i¹⁴⁹ **Adana**'da bir gün tahliye-i hâne-i zîn olunup dil-i sengin-i hûbân-ı cevri-âyinden¹⁵⁰ nümüne ruhâm-ı cilâ-dâde-i âyine-simâ ile binâ olunmuş câmi'-i meşhûr-ı¹⁵¹ bî-nazîrinün temâşâsında [B7a] şüret-i inşirâh müşâhede olundu.

Elsine-i nakala-i ahbâr-ı ezmine-i sâbıkada cârî olduğu üzre hadret-i Danyâl, 'aleyhi's-selâm, çâre-cüyi-i mevt-i bî-dermân¹⁵² [K6b] arzûsıyla eczâ-yı nüsha-i hikmeti istişhâb ile şahrâya şitâb eşnâsında hadret-i Rûhu'l-emîn gûşe-i cenâhıyla nüsha-i hikmeti endâhte-i âb itdügi maḥall olmak üzre şöhet-yâb olan **Cisr-i Misis**'den güzer olundu.

Hevâ-yı teb-fermâsına nisbet âh-ı germ-i 'âşıkân nefes-i zemherîr olan **Payâs** kaşabasında [P12] bir gün germi-i hevâdan leb-i deryâ-şifat kef-zenân-ı mübtelâ-yı maraḍ-ı şoluḡan olup sünbül-şifat nefes-i sūhte ve dūd-ı kebūd ile **Bakrad'a** [Bakras] 'azîmet, andan **Antakiyye**'ye nühdat olundu¹⁵³.

Rü'ûs-ı cibâl-ı şahikaya âḡuş-ı istiḥkâm şalmış hişâr-ı vesî'u'l-ercâsı ki peyk-i hîred bir günde havâlisin devre 'adîmü'l-iḡtidârdur ve¹⁵⁴ rub'-ı rub'ı miḡdârı¹⁵⁵ ancak

¹⁴⁶ Residen be-Kaşaba-i Eregli: written in the margin of L and P

¹⁴⁷ maqtûlün: maqtûl hadretlerinin K

¹⁴⁸ hûn-âmizi L: hûn-âmizleri ile K, hûn-âmizleri B

¹⁴⁹ şehr-i: - L P

¹⁵⁰ cevri-âyinden: hûr-âyinden B

¹⁵¹ meşhûr: - K

¹⁵² bî-dermân: bî-âmân K

¹⁵³ olundu: olunup K

¹⁵⁴ ve: - L B

¹⁵⁵ miḡdârı: miḡdâr K

meskûn ve bakıyyesi pâ-zede-i¹⁵⁶ nev'-i insânî olmak ğā'ilesinden maşûn bir şehir-i u'cûbedür. Miyâne-i şehirde vâkı' mi'mâr-ı mebânî-i¹⁵⁷ âsar cenâb-ı Habîb-i Neccâr hadretlerinüñ meşhed-i rahmet-âmizleri ziyaretlerine¹⁵⁸ dil-i nâlân mânend-i¹⁵⁹ âb-ı 'Âşî cereyân eyledükden soñra üçüncü gün şehir-i **Halebü's-sehbâ** manzûr-ı çeşm-i şevk-peymâ olmak müyesser oldu.

4. zıkr-i resîden be-diyâr-ı **Haleb**¹⁶⁰

Vâkı'a belde-i ğaribe-i **Haleb** bir ma'mûre-i bû'l-'acebdür ki revâk-ı bünyânı külâh-efgen-i bâsıra-i¹⁶¹ nuzzaragiyân ve tıbâk-ı kuşûrî 'acz-fermâ-yı bâsıra-i¹⁶² temâşâyyiândur¹⁶³. [B7b] Tâk-ı eyâvini kavs-ı felekden ferâh u rengin, tarh-ı kavâ'isi kâh-ı bihişt-kadr-ı [L7a] dil-nişin, nakş-ı ruhâmı hayret-dih-i şûret-i girân-ı deyr-i evhâm, ferş-i ruhâmına pây-ı nâ-berehne harâm, leţâfet-i hıyâdı çin-resân-ı nevâşî-i rahîk u tesnîm, nezâhet-i¹⁶⁴ riyâdı müstağnî-i âmed-şüd-i kârvân-ı¹⁶⁵ nesim, cevâmi' u mesâcidi bisiyâr, hâvânîk u zevâyâsı bigâne-i hadd u şümârdur¹⁶⁶. Huşûşan câmi'-i kebirinüñ divâr-ı¹⁶⁷ kıblisinde vâkı'¹⁶⁸ meşhed-i re's-i mübârek-i hadret-i Zekerîyyâ, şalavâtü'llâhi 'alâ-nebiyyinâ ve 'aleyh, ki [K7a] hengâm-ı ziyaretinde¹⁶⁹ minşâr-ı hayret dil-i¹⁷⁰ züvvârı mâh gibi dû nîm ve meşâmm-ı iştiyâkı nâ'il-i büy-ı gül-zâr-ı na'im ider.

¹⁵⁶ pâ-zede-i: pâ-zede L

¹⁵⁷ mebânî-i: mebânî L

¹⁵⁸ ziyaretlerine: ziyaretine B

¹⁵⁹ mânend-i: mânende-i B K

¹⁶⁰ zıkr-i resîden be-diyâr-ı **Haleb**: written in the margin of L and P

¹⁶¹ -efgen: -efgen-i bâsıra-i K

¹⁶² bâsıra-i: - K

¹⁶³ temâşâyyiân: temâşâyândur P

¹⁶⁴ nezâhet: nüzhet-i L

¹⁶⁵ kârvân: kârbân K

¹⁶⁶ şümârdur: şümâr P L B

¹⁶⁷ divâr: cânib P

¹⁶⁸ vâkı': - P L B

¹⁶⁹ ziyâretinde: tufûliyetde K

¹⁷⁰ dil-i: dil ve B

Miyân-ı şehrde vâki‘ h̄andek-i ba‘idü’l-ğavr-ı pür-âb ihâtasında bir tûde-i maşnû‘adan müstaḥkem bir ḳal‘a-i ser-be-gerdün ki ḡāyet-i¹⁷¹ irtifā‘ından nāṣi efvāh-ı ehl-i bilāddan reside-i gūṣ-ı hilāl olan gülbāng-ı şayt u şadā mesāmi‘-i sükkānına nā-resā ve bālā-yı burūcında¹⁷² atılan tōb-ı ra‘d-āṣūbuñ¹⁷³ şadāsı gūṣ-ı sükkān-ı şehre yetişmek ḥayli ma‘nādur.

Huṣūṣan [P13] elsine-i enāmda nazīri mestūr-ı perde-i ibhām¹⁷⁴ olan ḥānḳāh-ı nüzhet-penāh-ı Şeyḥ Ebū Bekr ki miyān-ı ḳıbāb-ı bī-ḥesābında ser-keşide olan servler¹⁷⁵ beyān-ı imtinā‘¹⁷⁶ miṣāline lisān-ı ḥāl¹⁷⁷ ve sāḥa-i rāḥat-baḥşāsında olan ḥıyād-ı māl-ā-māl iddi‘ā-yı rüçḥān-ı āb-ı ḥayvān içün baş-ı zülāl-i maḳāl itmededür. Gāḥ şehr-i dil-ārā¹⁷⁸ ve gāḥ mesā’ir-i rūḥ-baḥşāda eyyām-ı ‘aşere-i kāmile tekye-zede-i¹⁷⁹ visāde-i istirāḥat [B8a] olduğdan¹⁸⁰ soñra,

5. zıkr-i ‘azm-i fakīr be-sū-yı vaṭan¹⁸¹

Nazm

Sineyi¹⁸² mahzen-i şevḳ eyledi¹⁸³ sevdā-yı vaṭan

Çeşmi¹⁸⁴ bigāne-i ḥ^vāb itdi temāşā-yı vaṭan

Ḳalmadı kārgeh-i dilde metā‘-ı ārām

Oldı ḡāret-zede-i pençe-i yağmā-yı vaṭan

¹⁷¹ ḡāyet: - K

¹⁷² burūcında: burcundan P

¹⁷³ tōb-ı ra‘d-āṣūbuñ: tōb u tūfeng K

¹⁷⁴ ibhām: evhām K

¹⁷⁵ servler: serviler B

¹⁷⁶ imtinā‘: imtinā‘-i ḳabūl P

¹⁷⁷ ḥāl: ḥāldür B

¹⁷⁸ dil-ārā: dil-ārāda B

¹⁷⁹ -zede-i: -zede B

¹⁸⁰ olduğdan: olundüğdan K

¹⁸¹ zıkr-i ‘azm-i fakīr be-sū-yı vaṭan: - P L

¹⁸² sineyi: sinemi K

¹⁸³ eyledi: itdi K

¹⁸⁴ çeşmi: çeşmimi K

Dār-ı ğurbetde ğarīb añduğı demde vaṭanı

Dil çeker¹⁸⁵ cānları cānlar teni ten pıreheni

maḍmūnı nāṣıye-i ḥālde be-dīdār olmağla¹⁸⁶ [L7b] 'inān-ı ihtiyār rubūde-i dest-i heves¹⁸⁷ ve nāle-i iştıyāk hem-nefes-i ceres kılınup perverişgāh-ı cism-i¹⁸⁸ 'acz-penāh olan **Rūhā** cānibine sevk-i maṭıyye-i şevk olundu.

Nazm

Çünān be-şevk hırāmān şüdem der-ān kişver

Ki sūy-ı hacle şitābān 'arūs-ı nev-dāmad

Miyān-ı¹⁸⁹ ṭarıkde vāki' ḳal'a-i **Beyrutü'l-Fırat** dāmanında numūne-i kākheşān olan¹⁹⁰ nehr-i Fırāt'dan sefāyin-i hilāl-simā ile gūzer ve ikinci günde südde-i dervāze-i ma'mūre-i vaṭan-ı ğurbet-şiken busegāh-ı pişāni-i nigāh olunmak¹⁹¹ [K7b] müyesser oldu.

Ārāmgāh-ı vaṭandan āstāne-i devlet cānibine kemer-bend-i 'azīmet olaldan beri nüshā-i dū reng kırtās-ı sininden on üç varak gerdān olup bi-ḥamdi'llāhi te'ālā ḥuṣūl-i esbāb-ı kāmranī ve vüṣūl-i derece-i āmāl u emānī ile her şaḥıfe-i sāl şaḥıfe-i¹⁹² māḍiyeden ḥūb-ter ve 'aṭā-hāne-i elṭāf-ı Yezdāniyye'den teveccüh iden her bir ni'met mukaddeme-i ni'met-i diger olmuş iken yine

Nazm

Yūsuf ki be-Mıṣr pādişāhi mī-kerd

¹⁸⁵ çeker: geçer in B K L

¹⁸⁶ olmağla: olmağın K

¹⁸⁷ heves: hūş B

¹⁸⁸ cism: çeşm B

¹⁸⁹ miyān: miyāne-i B P K

¹⁹⁰ olan: - L K P

¹⁹¹ olunmak: kılınmak K

¹⁹² şaḥıfe-i sāl: - P

Mi-güft gedā-būden-i Ken'ān hōş-ter

mişdākı üzre her bār yād-ı vaṭan havālî-gerd-i¹⁹³ şeh-r-bend-i hātır oldukça teselsül-i
 kaṭarāt-ı [B8b] eşk-i lāle-gün dil-i divāneye 'Hubbu'l-vaṭan mine'l-īmān' nālesin¹⁹⁴
 iş'ār [P14] ider, zencir-i cünün olurdu¹⁹⁵. Bu kadar sūziş-i ḥasret¹⁹⁶ ile ol sevād-ı dil-
 āvizüñ deriçesine kadem-zen-i duhūl olmak müyesser oldukça buḥār-ı sürūr muḳa'ar-ı
 dimāğa şu'ūd ve kesb-i ruṭūbet ile rāh-ı çeşmden¹⁹⁷ vürūd idüb¹⁹⁸ eger dide-i arzūya
 iksir-i a'zamdan mu'teber görinen ğubār-ı durūbı¹⁹⁹ tūtiya kılinmasa hurūş-ı seylāb-ı
 sirişk kışsa-i tūfān-ı Nūḥ'ı şaḥā'if-i eyyāmdan şüste idecek mertebeler nümāyān idi²⁰⁰.
 Bu ḥālet-i girye-ḥiz-i sürūr-engiz ile şahrā-yı 'ademden dārū'l-beriyye-i²⁰¹ imkāna
 kadem nihāde olduğum ḥānenüñ çeşm-i deriçesine ğubār-ı rāh ile duhūl müyesser
 oldukça [L8a] nesim-i şevkle deriçeleri sine-çāk,²⁰² revzenleri şevk-nāk, revākları
 bāl-küşā-yı pervāz-ı şafā, tākları āġuş-efrāz-ı merḥabā, evrāk u eşcārı birer zebān-ı
 hōş-āmed-gūyān, sebze-i şaḥāsı tūṭi-i²⁰³ şekker-hā-yı şükr-i Yezdān olup

Nazm

Revāk-ı manzar-ı çeşm-i men āşyāneet-est

Kerem-nümā ve firūd-ā ki ḥāne ḥāne-et-est²⁰⁴

¹⁹³ havālî-gerd: havālî-i gerd B

¹⁹⁴ nālesin: nālesini K B

¹⁹⁵ olurdu: olurlardı K

¹⁹⁶ ḥasret: - K

¹⁹⁷ çeşmden: çeşmümden L

¹⁹⁸ idüb: olup K

¹⁹⁹ durūbı: ğubār-rūbı B; durūb L; derūnı K

²⁰⁰ idi: olurdu P

²⁰¹ dārū'l-beriyye: dārū't-terbiye B

²⁰² -çāk: -çāk ve B L

²⁰³ tūṭi-i: tūṭi L

²⁰⁴ This couplet is written in the margin of K, and inside the teht of K the following hemistich was written, and was crossed later: mışra' in ki mī-binem be-bidārī-st yā Rabb yā be-h'āb ; The section from this couplet until the couplet beginning with 'Aceb görür müyüz' is written in the margin of K

zemzemesi çār divār-ı meserret-endūdından istimā' olunurdu. Huşūşan ki²⁰⁵ semere-i
izdivāc-ı ebeveyn ya'nî uhteyn ü²⁰⁶ ehāveyn ki

Beyt

Me-rā ümīd-i vişāl-i tū zinde mī-dāred

Ve ger ne her demem ez-hicr-et-est bīm-i helāk

terennümüyle bu kadar müddetden beri dideleri revzene-i rāh-ı hasret ve sāmi'aları
mevkūf-ı peyām-ı beşāret olup

Nazm

'Aceb görür miyüz ol rūyı bir dahī [B9a]

Yohsa kalur gider o ğarībū'd-diyār gelmez mi

nālesin dem-sāz-ı āh u enīn-i dil-i hāzin itmekle peyğüle-nişin oldukları hālde [K8a]
bu²⁰⁷ sūziş-azmā-yı āteş-i²⁰⁸ firāk²⁰⁹ dahī deriçe-i haremnden şūret-nümā-yı vüşūl
oldukda bir müddet her biri hücum-ı hayretle nümüne-i şūret-i divār olup

Mışra'

İn ki mī-binem be-bidāri-st²¹⁰ yā Rabb yā be-h^vāb

mazmūnın mantūk-ı²¹¹ lisān-ı hāl iderek²¹² yemīn ü şimālden²¹³ āğūş-ı hasretlerin
hamā'il-i gerden-i cism-i nizār²¹⁴ itdüklerinde neş'e-i ma'cūn-ı müferrih-i vişāl bir
zamān dahī cümleyi deng ü lāl²¹⁵ idüp kāfile-i şu'ūr [P15] dest-māye-i hayretle bir

²⁰⁵ ki: - B K

²⁰⁶ ve: - K

²⁰⁷ bu: bir K

²⁰⁸ āteş: - K

²⁰⁹ -azmā-yı āteş-i firāk: azmāyiş-i firāk ile L

²¹⁰ be-bidāri-st: bidāri-st P L; bidār-est K

²¹¹ mantūk: - P

²¹² mazmūnın mantūk-ı lisān-ı hāl iderek: - K

²¹³ şimālden: şimālde B L

²¹⁴ nizār: zār L

²¹⁵ deng ü lāl: reng-i zülāl P

niçe def'a âmed-şüdden soñra âḥir istiṣmām-ı rāyiḥa-i üns-i ḳadīm ile ribāṭ-ı penç
gūşe-i havāssda²¹⁶ istiḳrār bulıcaḳ ṭarafeynden kālā-yı dırāz-ı mācerā-yı iştıyāk, piş-
keş-i pāy-ı tellāk ḳılınmağā²¹⁷ āğāz olundı. Fe-ḥamden, sümme ḥamden, sümme
ḥamden! Ḥaḍret-i Ḳādir-i 'Allām cümle-i²¹⁸ üftādegān-ı peygūle-i ḥasreti müşāhede-i
sūret-i maṭlūbıyle fā'izü'l-merām ve heme zehr-ābe-keşān-ı ğurbeti ü kürbeti²¹⁹
gerdiş-i kāse-i mürāca'at-ı evṭān²²⁰ ile [L8b] şırın-kām eyleye, āmin!

Güyyā ol ḥin-i meserret-āyin muraḳḳa'-i eyyām-ı ḥayātda²²¹ bir meclis-i muşavver
yā nüsha-i kem-yāb-ı zindegānide bir maḥall-i mu'teber olmışdur ki ol hengām-ı dil-
ārāmda peymāne-i ḥātırı leb-riz iden şahbā-yı neşātuñ taḥrır-i²²² keyfiyyeti ḥāme-i
mestāne-ḥırāma ḥarām ve ol rüz-ı keder-süzde telāṭum iden emvāc-ı [B9b] inbisātuñ
taḥrır-i kemmiyyeti²²³ taşvır-i²²⁴ ressam-ı evhāmdur. Müvāşalat-ı cismāniden neş'et
iden zevḳ-i rūḥānī ile gāḥ mükāleme-i ser-güzeşt-i eyyām-ı²²⁵ firāk ve gāḥ müzākere-i
müşkilāt-ı nüsha-i iştıyāk iderek gencine-i 'ömrden bir gün düzdide ḳılındı.

Hengām-ı tufüliyyetde ki nev-āmede-i şehristān-ı ğayb olmağla henüz kise-i
havāssda²²⁶ dest-māye-i üns-i rūḥāniden bakıyye bulunmağın²²⁷ be-her sū şarf-ı
naḳdine-i nigāḥ²²⁸ olundukça²²⁹ çāşnī-i riyād-ı cinān iḥsās olunan gülistānlar²³⁰

²¹⁶ havāssda: havāssdan L

²¹⁷ ḳılınmağā: ḳılınmağla B

²¹⁸ cümle-i: cümle P

²¹⁹ ğurbet ü kürbeti L: kürbet ü ğurbeti B P K

²²⁰ evṭān: - K

²²¹ ḥayātda: ḥayretde K L

²²² taḥrır: taḥrır ve K

²²³ kemmiyyeti: germiyyeti K

²²⁴ taşvır: taşvır-i taḥmīn K

²²⁵ eyyām: - K

²²⁶ havāssda: hevesde P

²²⁷ bakıyye bulunmağın: bāḳı kalmağın K

²²⁸ şarf-ı naḳdine-i nigāḥ: naḳdine-i şarf-ı nigāḥ K

²²⁹ olundukça: oldukça K

²³⁰ gülistānlar: gülistānlarda K

huşūşan halka-bend-i genc-i debistān olduğumuz zamānlarda gāh sebek-dāş-ı nüsha-i
ülfet ve gāh meşq-nüvis-i 'aşk u muhabbet olduğumuz etfāl ve emsāl ki

Nazm

Hārlar dabṭ eylemiş tahtını sultān gülüñ [K8b]

Zāğlar tutmuş dirîğā cāygāhın bülbülüñ

resmi üzre her biri haṭṭ-āverde-i kenār-ı gülistān-ı 'ızār, belki ekseri

Mışra'

Şüküfe-i çemen-i rahmet-est mû-yı sefid

vefkince yâsemen-nümâ-yı miyâne-i sünbül-zâr olup

Nazm

Şüd ez-feşār-ı gerdün mû-yı sefid ve ser-zed

Şirî ki h^vârde būdem²³¹ der-rūzgār-ı tıfli

makālin terceme-i beyān-ı hāl itmişler. Tecdid-i zikr-i [P16] hālāt-ı güzeste ile
iktisāb-ı²³² neşāt-ı eyyām-ı şebāb iderek be-tahşîş tılsım-ı hamā'il-i gerdem-i fakire
ta'vîz-i²³³ müsāferet muntekîş olduğu eyyāmdan beri niçe nev-reftār-ı se sāle-i kûçe-i
melāhat ve niçe ziver-i düş-ı dāye olan metā'-ı hüsn-i behcet ve niçe cünbüş-i
kehvâreden ta'allüm-i tarz-ı hırām iden nāzenin ve niçe ufḫ-ı meşime-i erḥāmdan
[B10a] tulū'a āmāde olan [L9a] meh-cebinler ki her biri bir serv-i ser-efrāhte-i
būstān-ı iftiḥār ve her biri bir māh-pāre-i āhū-nigāh u²³⁴ 'āşık-şikār olmuşlar²³⁵.

Beyt

²³¹ būdem: būdim L B

²³² iktisāb: - K

²³³ ta'vîz-i: - L B

²³⁴ u: - K B

²³⁵ olmuşlar: olmuşlar idi P

Bi'llāh be-gū çe nām dārī

Ve ender-i çe felek maḳām dārī

diyerek gāh istiṭlā'-i esāmī vü²³⁶ aḥvālleri ile evḳāt-güzār-ı²³⁷ muḥaṣṣılu'l-āmāl ve gāh muṭāla'a-i ṣaḥā'if-i cemāl u kemālleri ile münşeriḥu'l-bāl olarak geşt ü güzār ve seyr-i çemen ü gülzār olundı. El-minnetü li'llāh²³⁸ ! Maḳdem-i ḥaḳirānemüz ile ahālī-i diyārumuzuñ daḥi²³⁹ miḥmān-serāy-ı kulübı menzil-geh-i ḳāfile-i inşirāḥ olup icrā-yı levāzım-ı ülfet ü şoḥbet ve edā-yı merāsım-i ikrām u ri'āyet ve geşt-i emākin ve seyr-i mesākinde ve ziyāret-i mevātın-ı müteberrikede bir²⁴⁰ daḳıka mestūr-ı perde-i ihmāl ḳılınmadı.

Ḥuṣūṣan mā-bihi'l-iftihār-ı²⁴¹ diyārumuz²⁴² olan Rasūl-i Yezdān, Ḥalilü'r-Raḥmān, ber-güzide-i Rabb-i Raḥım, cenāb-ı ḥullet-penāh İbrāhim, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḥadretlerinüñ bih-terin metā'-i kār-ḥāne-i āferiniş olan vücūd-ı cūd-nümūdları zinet-efzā-yı revācgāh-ı imkān oldukları ğār ki gencine-i envār ve şehir-i mezbūr 'dih-i mevlid-i Ḥalil' nāmıyle reside-i ḥadd-i iştihārdur; ferş ü saḳf u çār divārı yek-pāre ruḥām-ı bī-mesāmdan terāşide [K9a] olmağla ṭuruk-ı ihtimāl-i terāşuḥ mesdūd iken bir āb-ı zülāl-mişāl ile māl-ā-māl olduğı mu'cize-i İbrāhimiyyeye dāldur. Ve²⁴³ ol ğārun cānib-i ğarbisinde vāḳi' maskaṭ-ı re's-i mübārekleri maḥşūş bir şandūka-i sebz ile müte'ayyendür. Ol ğār ile taraf-ı şarkiden hem-pehlū bir ğār-ı [B10b] diger²⁴⁴ ki vālide-i mükerrerremeleri ol nāzenin [P17] mehd-i

²³⁶ ü: - K

²³⁷ evḳāt-güzār-ı: -L B P

²³⁸ li'llāhi: li'llāhi te'ālā P

²³⁹ daḥi: -K

²⁴⁰ mesākinde ve ziyāret-i mevātın-ı müberrikede bir: mesākinde daḳıka fevt olmayup bir K

²⁴¹ mā-bihi'l-iftihār: māye'l-iftihār B

²⁴² diyārumuz: diyārumuzda B

²⁴³ ve: - L B P

²⁴⁴ ğār-ı diger: ğārdur K

hılkatı²⁴⁵ vāhime-i mütecessisān hademe-i zaleme-i Nemrūd-ı bed-būddan muhāfaza için vedi'a-i āgūş-ı ğār eyledüğünde fermān-ı Kādir-i Settār ile def'-i mazanne-i eşrār ve ketmān-ı cevāhir-i esrār için pīrāmen-i dehān-ı ğārı²⁴⁶ tār-ı 'ankebūt ile [L9b] memhūr kılmışidi²⁴⁷.

Ve ol tıfl-ı nev-ders-i kütüb-hāne-i tahkik mükteḍā-yı isti'dād-ı ezeliyye ile nüsha-i nüh varak-ı pīrūze-gün-ı gerdūnda mürtesem olan nuḳat-ı hurd u büzürg encūmden istikşāf-ı maṭlūb-ı ḥaḳīkī için ḳur'a-endāz-ı tefahḥuş oldukları ḥālde mersūm-ı levḥ-i cebin-i sitāregān olan dāğ-ı ufūl māni'-i ḳabūlleri olıcaḳ Fātıru's-semāvāti ve'l-arḍ cānibine tevcih-i vecche-i²⁴⁸ 'ubūdiyyet buyurduḳları emākin-i hidāyet-engizūñ ğubār-ı müşk-'ıyārıyle tenvir-i ebşār olundu.

Ve yine ol şahbāz-ı bāzū-yı 'ināyet āşyāne-i keffe-i mancanıḳdan miyān-ı āteş-i Nemrūd'a pervāz eyledüklerinde feyḍ-nümā²⁴⁹ baḥşā-yı bāğbān-ı ḳadr²⁵⁰ ḳāmet-i zebāne-i bālā-keş-i nāra ilbās-ı cāme-i gülzār idüp çekide-i zebān-ı yerā'a-i rüvāt olduḡı üzre ol mükerrrem mihmān-ı şehr-bend-i i'cāz āgūş-ı āteşde cāy-sāz olduklarında çeşme-i²⁵¹ dū zānū-yı mübārekleri taḳbili ile nāz-ı şeker-i Bihişt-i berin olan ḳıt'a-ı zeminden feverān iden āb-ı ḥayāt-baḥşā ki bürüdet u selāmeti sübūt-yāfte-i būstān-ı nazm-ı kerīmdür. Hālā havāli-i menba'ında²⁵² sāhte-i mi'mār-ı himmet olmuş bir ḥavḍ-ı 'aẓīm-i tūlānī ki eḥad-ı ṭarafeynde olan kimesnenüñ teşḥiṣ-i zātında perde-i²⁵³ iştibāh [B11a] mürtefi' deḡıldür²⁵⁴. Ol āb-ı zülāl-mişālūñ 'umḳı üç nizeden

²⁴⁵ hılkatı: hulleti P

²⁴⁶ dehān-ı ğārı: dehānı L K

²⁴⁷ kılmışidi: olmuş idi K

²⁴⁸ vecche-i: vecih L; vech P

²⁴⁹ nümā: nümā-yı P

²⁵⁰ ḳadr-i: ḳudretüñ K

²⁵¹ mihmān-ı şehr-bend-i i'cāz āgūş-ı āteşde cāy-sāz olduklarında çeşme-i: -B

²⁵² menba'ında: menba'da B K P

²⁵³ perde-i: perde L

²⁵⁴ mürtefi' deḡıldür: mürtefi'dür L

mütecāviz iken yine kemāl-i şafvetinden nāşî teh-i ābda²⁵⁵ olan remmāl [K9b] enāmil-i enzār ile şümār olunmak mertebe-i imkāndadır. Ol havd-ı mevzūn derūnında āb-ı sim-gūn üzre sevād menzilesinde olan hōş-nümüne²⁵⁶ mähiler ki perde-i āb nümāyiş-i endāmlarına hicāb olmayup kenār-ı havddan güzër iden züvvāruñ kudūmine şad hezārı birden şitāb idüp h^vāhiş-i nān-pāre için [P18] şüret-i lisān-ı hāliyle

Nazm

Būs-i leb-i meh-veşānı²⁵⁷ añlamaz hergiz

Būs-i leb-i nānedür sipihr ile nizā‘

[L10a] mađmūnını icrā iderler.

Ol havd-ı hātır-küşānuñ cānib-i ğarbisinde sāye-i hişārda bir tekye-i Firdevs-nümün ki şeh-nişinleri²⁵⁸ meclis-i muşavver²⁵⁹ gibi şahife-i pîrūze-gūn-ı āb üzre keşide, küngüre-i zer-endūde-i kıbābı muķa‘‘ar-ı felek-esire residedür. Pirāmen-i havd-ı şafā-āyini henüz āsar-ı gülşen-i külhān-şiken-i İbrāhimiyyeden bāķi eşcār-ı mültefe-i²⁶⁰ sāye-efgen ile müzeyyen ve ilā‘l-ān zemini kende-i tüşe-i bāġbān oldukça niçe nize miķdārı hākister zuhūriyle ol maħalde şihhat vukū‘ı müberhendür.

Ve ol ser-çeşme-i²⁶¹ hūdānuñ hişār-ı şehrden birūn oluncaya dek mecrāsında vāķi‘ riyād u cevāmi‘ u mesācid u havānık u büyüüt u tavāhın²⁶² u maġāsıl u kahve-hānelere - işāl-ı feyd itdüğinden ğayrı²⁶³ birūn-ı şehride dahî hadā‘ık-ı bî-şümār²⁶⁴ ifādasiyle muġtenemdür.

²⁵⁵ teh-i ābda: türābda B

²⁵⁶ hōş-nümüne: hōş-nümün K

²⁵⁷ mehveşānı: mehveşān B L

²⁵⁸ şeh-: şah- L

²⁵⁹ muşavver: muşavver-i Şeh-nāme P

²⁶⁰ mülteffe-i: mülteķa’ B

²⁶¹ ser-: - L

²⁶² tavāhın: tavāhın B

²⁶³ ğayrı: mā‘ada P B

²⁶⁴ bî-şümār: bî-hisāb B

Ve ol cūy-ı keder-şūyuñ [B11b] cānib-i cenūbisinde vāķi' zirve-i kūh-ı gerdūn-
 şükūh²⁶⁵ üzre ser-efrāhte olan kal'a-i felek-resūñ²⁶⁶ ferāzında mühendis-i būnyān-ı
 kefere vü dālāl, mu'allim-i debistān-ı mekr ü ihtiyāl Iblis 'aleyhi'l-la'nenūñ rihte-i
 kālīb ibdā' eyledügi iki kıt'a aḥcār-ı terāşideden perdāhte mancanık-ı mināre-simā ki
 gūyā Nemrūd-ı bed-būduñ nefy-i iddi'ā-yı bātılı için şūret-i 'lā'da nümūdār veyāhūd
 dūş-ı Dāḥḥāk'a²⁶⁷ iki mār-ı mağz-h^vārdur.

Gāh ol meşāni'-i bū'l-'aceb mütala'asıyle şahife-i dili tahta-i ta'lim-i vaķāyi'-i
 rūzgār-ı kādīm ve gāh ol nūzhetgāh-ı keder-fersā müşāhedesiyle [K10a] istifā-yı neş'e-
 i zevķ-i na'im iderek şümār-ı eyyām-ı istirāḥat derece-i ḥamsini tecāvüzden soñra
 kām-et-i kūtāh-ı vişāl tebdil-i libās-ı firāk itmege [L10b] karīb olup arzū-yı şadā-yı
 derā-yı rāh-ı Hicāz encūmen-i dilde nağmeye āğāz itmegin

6. zıkr-i nūḥdat zi-vaṭan be-sū-yı Haleb²⁶⁸

²⁶⁹ Gel gönül 'azm-i der-i²⁷⁰ beyt-i Hudā eyleyelüm

Sa'y idüp [P19] Merve'ye taḥşil-i şafā eyleyelüm

Işimüz eylesün altun dū cihānda Mevlā

Nāvidān-ı zerūñ altında du'ā eyleyelüm

'Arafāt'ūñ sürelüm ḥākine yüzler gözler

Sürh-rūy olmağa iksir-i recā eyleyelüm

Leb-i lebbeyk-zen ü çeşm-i sirişk-efşānı

²⁶⁵ gerdūn: gerden L

²⁶⁶ -resūñ: -reşk B P

²⁶⁷ Dāḥḥāk'a: Dāḥḥāk'da P

²⁶⁸ zıkr-i nūḥdat zi-vaṭan be-sū-yı Haleb kaşide: - P; Haleb: Halebü's-şehbā K

²⁶⁹ Kaşide is put before the poem in P; This poem is also included in *Nābī Dīwān* (ed. Bilkan, II, pp. 866-67)

²⁷⁰ der: reh P

Kūçe-i ḥ^vāhiş-i raḥmetde gedā eyleyelüm

Kāse kāse çeh-i Zemzem'den içüp āb-ı ḥayāt

Cān-ı pür-‘illeti leb-rîz-i şifā eyleyelüm

Alalum gevher-i raḥmet virelüm naḳd-ı günāh

Dili sevdāger-i²⁷¹ bāzār-ı Minā eyleyelüm [B12a]

Bāb-ı sultān-ı serā-perde-i levlāke varub

Ḳaddimüz bār-ı taḍarru‘la dū-tā eyleyelüm

Virelüm ravḍa-i pākine şalāt ile selām

‘Illet-i cürme şefā‘atle şifā eyleyelüm

Olalum ḥāk-i der-ı ravḍasına nāşiye-sā²⁷²

Cebhemüz meşriḳ-i ḥürşid-i hüdā eyleyelüm

Geçirüp bendeleri defterine nāmımızı

Yerimüz ḥaşrde de zir-i livā eyleyelüm

Defter-i cürmi yakup eyleyelüm ḥākister

Nābiyā āyine-i ḳalbe cilā eyleyelüm

maḳālın zād-ı rāh-ı şevḳ iderek bir şubḥ-dem rehā-yāfte-i ārāmgāh-ı Ruhā olup tırāz-ı dāmen-i sevād-ı bî-reh menzilesinde olan nehr-i sürḥ-fām-ı Fırāt piçide-i aḳdām-ı süfün-i²⁷³ bî-sebāt ḳılınduḳdan soñra bîm-i reh-zenān-ı ‘Arāb rāh-ı rāstdan inḥirāfa sebeb olmağın ḥüsn-i simā ve lutf-ı āb u²⁷⁴ hevā ile ‘arūs-ı ‘Arābistān olmak üzre şöhret-yāb olan şehir-i ‘Ayntāb’a²⁷⁵ şitāb ve üç gün müşāhede-i şafā-yı cemāliyle²⁷⁶

²⁷¹ sevdāger: sūdāger D

²⁷² sā: sāy D

²⁷³ aḳdām-ı süfün: süfün-i aḳdām L; süfün: sefāyin K

²⁷⁴ u: - B

²⁷⁵ ‘Ayntāb: Antāb K

²⁷⁶ cemāliyle: ḥāl ile B

neş'e-i meserret-iktisābından şofıra yine **Halebü's-şehbā**'da on günden mütecāviz
ittikā'-i visāde-i istirāhat olundu.

Nazm

Çin-i zülfi kadar olmaz saña cāy-ı ārām

Ba'de ez-in ey dil-i āvāre 'aleyküm bi's-Şām

[L11a] terānesi ḥady-ı cemmāze-i 'azm olmağın cānib-i Şām-ı Şerif'e tevcih-i licām-ı
matiiyye-i iḳdām / aḳdām olundu.

Nazm

Yā beride'l-Ḥamā ḥamā-ke'llāh

Merḥabā merḥabā te'āl te'āl

[K10b] terānesi nümüne-i ḳavs-ı²⁷⁷ felek olan Dülāb-ı Muḥammedi'den istiḳbāl
itmegin niṭāḳ-ı sīmīn-i miyān-ı sevād-ı **Ḥamā** olan Nehr-i 'Āṣi mecārisinde [B12b]
gerden-i gerdūna āğūş-ı [P20] ḥamā'il itmiş dülāblar

Nazm

Ḳande bir şāf derūnı ki görür āb gibi

Dil-i ser-geşte döner üstine dülāb gibi

maḳālin idāre ile riyād-ı çeşm ü gūş-ı temāşāyiyānı sir-āb-ı neşāt²⁷⁸ itmişler. Ba'dısı

Nazm

Birbirine girdiler dülāblarla²⁷⁹ āblar

Āblar ḡālib olunca döndiler dülāblar

maṭla'ına nazīre-perdāzlık vādisinde

²⁷⁷ ḳavs: ḳades or ḳuds P

²⁷⁸ neşāt: - L

²⁷⁹ dülāblarla: dülāblar ile B

Nazm

Gör Hamā şehrin dolanmış gūşe gūşe āblar

Nehr-i 'Āşī'ye muṭī' olmuş döner dūlāblar

nazmın maḳām-ı evcde uşūl-i devri üzre terennüm-riz oldukça sitem-keşān-ı devrān
vājgūn-ı gerdūna şüst u şūyī-i²⁸⁰ keder-i derūn iderler.

Nazm

Mā-ḥaşal-ı şehir-i Hamā bir māye-i sevdā imiş

Āb-ı 'Āşī bir şarāb-ı āfiyet-bahşā imiş

Ol neş'e-i ḥāṭır-küşā ile cūy-ı 'Āşī'den dūlāb-veş rū-gerdān ve cānib-i **Hımş**'a 'inān-
cūnbān olup nīm-i rāhda vāḳi²⁸¹ cısr-i rāstdan güzere olundukda hūrşid-i felek-i
ḥaḳīkat, merkez-i dā'ire-i şerī'at, sultān-ı bārgāh-ı 'irfān, şehriyār-ı kalem-rev-i iḳān,
nūr-ı çeşm-i evliyā, meş'al-i²⁸² diyā-pāş-ı²⁸³ kāfile-i āşfiyā, mesned-nişin-i şadr-ı
şuffe-i 'ārifin, reh-nümā-yı kārīvān-ı vāşılın, kālā-peymā-yı kārgāh-ı ebrār, tenhā-süvār-
ı memālik-i envār cenāb-ı **Bāyezid-i Bistāmī**, ḳaddese'llāhü sırrahü's-sāmī,
ḥadretleriniñ ḥāk-i 'ıtr-nāk-i mezār-ı feyḍ-nişārları²⁸⁴ busegāh-ı cebin-i niyāz kılınup
li'llāhi'l-ḥamd cevāhir-i server mahzūn-ı ḳalb-i mahzūn²⁸⁵ [B13a] kılınmak müyesser
oldı.

Andan soñra sevād-ı virāne-nümā-yı Hımş manzūr-ı naẓar-ı iştiyāk olundı. Ḥaḳḳā
ki²⁸⁶ bir virāne-i şūrī ki her gūşesinde [L11b] bir genc-i ma'nevī defin ve her cānibinde
bir şir-i ğarīn-i bişe-zār-ı velāyet mekin olmuşdur. [K11a] Ez-cümle sultān-ı 'ālem-gir-

²⁸⁰ şūyī-i: şū-yı B

²⁸¹ vāḳi': - K

²⁸² meş'al: meş'ale-i B

²⁸³ diyā-pāş: şafā-bahş L

²⁸⁴ feyḍ-nişārları: feyḍ-āsārları B

²⁸⁵ ḳalb-i mahzūn: - B

²⁸⁶ ki: - L

i serir-i velâyet-i²⁸⁷ risâlet, şalle'llâhü te'âlâ 'aleyhi ve sellem, hadretlerinüñ divân-ı bihişt-ünvân-ı halka-ı aşhâb-ı kirâmileri²⁸⁸ beyninde bālâ-nişin-i kürsi-i i'tibâr ve dârü'd-darb-ı meydân-ı ğazâda sikke-yäfte-i iştihâr olanlardan²⁸⁹ Hâlid bin Velid ve Sa'd bin Ebî Vakķâş ve gülle-rübâ-yı küngüre-i felek-i a'zam, [P21] peyk-i tüz-tek-i rukkâb-ı seyyid-i âlem, şalle'llâhü te'âlâ 'aleyhi ve sellem²⁹⁰, 'Amr' bin Ümeyye ve peyâm-resân-ı cihân-âferin ekseriyyâ²⁹¹ simâ-yı pesendidelerin isti'âre itdükleri Dihye-i Kelbi²⁹², rađiye'llâhü te'âlâ 'anhüm²⁹³, ve rüvât-ı hadîş-i nebevîden²⁹⁴ hadret-i²⁹⁵ 'Ukkâşe ve 'Abdu'llâh ibn²⁹⁶ Mes'ûd ve 'Abdu'llâh bin 'Ömer ve 'Abdu'r-Rahmân bin 'Afv ve Ebû Mûsâ el-Eş'ârî ve Ka'b el-Ahbâr, rađiye'llâhü te'âlâ 'anhüm, bunlardan ğayrı 'Abdu'r-Rahmân ibn Hâlid bin²⁹⁷ Velid ve 'Abdu'r-Rahmân ibn Ca'fer-i Tayyâr ve 'Abdu'llâh ibn Ca'fer-i Tayyâr²⁹⁸ düş-ı seyyid-i şühedâ Hamza bin 'Abdü'l-Muttalib hil'at-püş-ı sürh-fâm-ı şehâdet olmışiken yine telâţum-ı cüy-bâr-ı mağfiret-i Izdi kâmet-i nedâmetine ilbâs-ı câme-i rahmet iden Vahşi, 'aleyhi'r-rahme²⁹⁹, ve meşâhir-i aşhâb-ı kemâlden Cemâle'd-dîn³⁰⁰ Kutb rahmetü'llâhi 'aleyh³⁰¹ merâkıdında dū dest-i du'â [B13b] şahife-i seb'a'l-meşâni kılindukdan şofıra³⁰² kal'a-i felek-resün³⁰³ şa'bu's-su'ûdında vâki' câmi'-i şerifün

²⁸⁷ velâyet: - P

²⁸⁸ kirâmileri: kirâmları P

²⁸⁹ olanlardan: olanlardan hadret P

²⁹⁰ şalle'llâhü 'aleyhi ve sellem: ayn mim K

²⁹¹ ekseriyyâ: ekser B

²⁹² Dihye-i Kelbi: Dihyetü'l-Kelbi B K; Dihye bin Hali fetü'l-Kelbi P

²⁹³ 'anhüm: 'anhüm ecma'in K

²⁹⁴ hadîş-i nebevîden: hadîşden K

²⁹⁵ hadret-i: - P L

²⁹⁶ ibn: bin P K

²⁹⁷ bin: ibn K B

²⁹⁸ 'Abdu'r-Rahmân ibn Ca'fer-i Tayyâr ve 'Abdu'llâh ibn Ca'fer-i Tayyâr: 'Abdu'llâh ibn Ca'fer-i

Tayyâr ve 'Abdu'r-Rahmân ibn Ca'fer-i Tayyâr B P

²⁹⁹ 'aleyhi'r-rahme: rađiye'llâhü 'anh P; - L

³⁰⁰ Cemâle'd-dîn: - L

³⁰¹ 'aleyh: 'aleyhün P

³⁰² kılindukdan şofıra: kılindugundan ğayrı B K

³⁰³ -resün: -res L P; re's B

cānib-i yemin-i mihrābında şahā'if-i pūstīn-i ğazāl üzre nigāşte-i kalem-i müşkīn-
raḳam-ı³⁰⁴ 'Osmānī³⁰⁵ olan kelām-ı Yezdānī ki

Nazm/

Ez-çeşm-i hezār hūn ber-ō rīzān-est

Berg-i gül-i sürh mushaf-ı 'Osmān-est

me'ālī kenār-ı evrāk-ı hūn-ālūdesinde³⁰⁶ hüveydādur. Ol gül-i³⁰⁷ sürh-ruh-ı gülistān-ı
ḥayā, raḍīya'llāhü te'ālā 'anh, ḥadretlerinūñ çeşm ü zebānları şināver-i emvāc-ı sūtūr-
ı baḥr-i ḳadīm-i Yezdānī olduğu hālde dendān-ı neheng-i deryā-yı³⁰⁸ ḳaḍā ya'nī deşne-
i ser-tiz-i cefā-yı a'dā³⁰⁹ ile beden-i bihişt-ārālarından [L12a] feverān iden cūy-bār-ı
hūn-ı kerīme-i³¹⁰ 'izā cā'e ecelühüm lā-yeste'ḥurūne sā'aten ve lā-yesteḳdimūn'³¹¹
meştūr olduğu [K11b] şahīfeye ilbās-ı cāme-i gül-gün itdüğü dahī başka bir hikmet-i
ġāmiḍa-i Ḳādir-i bī-ḳūn idüğü aşḥāb-ı i'tibāra nümāyāndur. O³¹² ḥālet-i rikḳat-hiz
müṣāhede³¹³ ḳāk-efgen-i girībān-ı ciger olmağın bī-iḥtiyār saṭr-ı cebin-i siyāh-günāh-
āğın³¹⁴ ol şahīfe-i hūnine sāyide ḳılınmağā ictirā' olundu³¹⁵.

Ümid-vār-ı eltāf-ı kerem-i³¹⁶ Kirdgār'ım³¹⁷ ki ol beşāret-yāfte-i mağfiret-i [P22] Izdi
olan ḥadret-i zī'n-nūreyn'ūñ kendi raḳam-zede-i kalem-i müşk-bārları olan vaḥy-ı
münzel-i Rabbānī ki reşāḥāt-ı hūn-ı nāfe-rizleri dahī gül-güne-i 'izār-ı şahā'if-i³¹⁸

³⁰⁴ müşkīn: müşkīn-raḳam P

³⁰⁵ 'Osmānī: ḥadret-i 'Osmān K

³⁰⁶ ālūdesinde: ālūdesinden L

³⁰⁷ gül: - L

³⁰⁸ dendān-ı neheng-i deryā-yı: deryā-yı neheng-i dendān B

³⁰⁹ cefā-yı a'dā: cefā K

³¹⁰ kerīme-i: - K

³¹¹ The Ḳur'ān, 7/34

³¹² o: ol B P

³¹³ müṣāhede: müṣāhedeyle K

³¹⁴ saṭr-ı cebin-i siyāh-günāh-āğın: saṭr-ı siyāh cebin-ı günāh K

³¹⁵ olundu: ḳılındı B

³¹⁶ kerem: - L B P

³¹⁷ Girdgār'um: Kibriyāyum B

³¹⁸ 'izār-ı şahā'if: şahā'if-i 'izār K

evrākı olmağla ziyāretgāh-ı hazine-i firdevs idügi maḥsūm iken aña mālīde kılınan pişānı³¹⁹ [B14a] encümen-i restā-hizde mānend-i³²⁰ hūrşid-i kıyāmet fūrūğ-ı mağfīret ile nūrānī olmadan maḥrūm olmaya! Āmin³²¹ !

7. Āmeden der-i diyār-ı Şām-ı Şerīf

Andan şofıra meşhūr-ı elsine-i ‘avām olan kārban-serā-yı Kuteyfe sāhasında darb-ı hıyām-ı ārām olunup sepide-dem Kuteyfe Boğāzı nām memerrden güzer olunduğda dide-i iştiyāk-pervere bir baḥr-i aḥḍar be-didār oldu ki taḥrik-i nesim-i rūḥ-baḥşādan şufūf-ı emvācı sevāḥil-i āfāka peyveste olmağla ihāta-i pergār-ı medd-i³²² başardan³²³ birün ve endāze-i bāşıra mesāḥa-i sāhasında³²⁴ kūtāh olmak mertebesinden efzūn idi.

Vākı‘ā keşret-i eşcār bir mertebe pehn-güster-i dāmen-i vüs‘atdūr ki her ne kadar itāre-i şāhbāz-ı tiz-pervāz-ı enzār olunsa akāşisinde³²⁵ āşyān-gir olmak muḥāl ve her ne deñlü idāre-i beftere-i efkār olunsa yine³²⁶ nihāyetinden şikār-ı tātīr-i aḥbār olunmak ‘adimü’l-iḥtimāldür.[L12b] Nihālistān-ı ruṭūbet-pirā bir derecede nemā-yāfte-i sāḥa-i zuhūr olmuştur ki eşher-i büldān-ı ‘ālem³²⁷ olan Şām gibi bir sevād-ı a‘zam sāye-i çin-gisū-yı hıyābānda pūnhān olup deriçe-i maḥallātına vaḍ‘-ı kadem olunmadukça āşār-ı mebānī-i şehir verā-yı perde-i hafādan³²⁸ şūret-nümā-yı zuḥūr olmaz.

³¹⁹ pişānı: pişānī-i B

³²⁰ mānend: mānende-i P

³²¹ āmin: - B P; āmin yā Muğayyir K

³²² medd: - L

³²³ başardan: naẓardan B K

³²⁴ sāhasında: mesāḥasında K

³²⁵ akāşisinde: akāşisinden K B

³²⁶ yine: - L

³²⁷ ‘ālem: - K

³²⁸ hafādan: hafāda K

Ol bāğ-zār-ı bihişt-kirdāruñ akreb eṭrāfı Kuṭeyfe cānibi iken yine beş altı sâ'atdan muḳaddem peymūde-i³²⁹ endāze-i aḳdām-ı huyūl kıılınmaḳ hāric-i [K12a] ḥayz-ı imkāndur. Pā-nihāde-i medāhil-i maḥallāt oluncaya dek³³⁰ ser-te-ser³³¹ 'aḳs-i maḫalle-i³³² eşcārdan naḳş-pezir [B14b] olmuş ḳālīçe-i āb-gūn-ı çemen-tırāz üzre reftār olunub

Naẓm

Bid āba dimiş³³³ ki luṭfuñdan³³⁴

Dem-be-dem reşḥa-i³³⁵ zülāl iḫerüz

Āb³³⁶ bide dimiş³³⁷ ki biz de senüñ

Sāye-i devletüñde hōş geçerüz

[P23] me'ālī nağme-i teselsül-i emvācından nümāyāndur. Ma'mūre-i dil-nişin-i Şām'da vaṭan-sāz olan doōstān-ı mihmān-nevāzdan biri kendi mesken-i gülşen-şikeninde³³⁸ gūşe-gir-i āsāyiş-i çend rūze olmağıçün mıḳnātıs-pençe-i ibrāmın ḥalka-i licām itmegin ḥall-i 'uḳde-i aḫmāl olup geşt u güzāra nesim-āsā taḫrik-i aḳdām-ı ihtimām olundu.

8. zıkr-i vaşf-ı³³⁹ sevād-ı Şām-ı Şerif

Hōşā, sevād-ı dil-ārām-ı Şām³⁴⁰ ki kūçeleri mezāhib-i rindān gibi vesī', divārları himmet-i merdān gibi refi', revzen-i³⁴¹ şeh-nisinleri hem-ḥāl-ı dide-i 'uşşāk, revāk-ı

³²⁹ peymūde-i: peymūne-i L

³³⁰ dek: degin K

³³¹ ser-te-ser: ser-tā-ser B; ser-tā-be-ser K

³³² maḫalla-i: maḫalle-i naḳş K

³³³ dimiş: di di L

³³⁴ luṭfuñdan: feyḍüñden L; *luṭfında* crossed, and instead *devletinde* written in K

³³⁵ reşḥa-i: şerbet L

³³⁶ āb: āb da L

³³⁷ dimiş: di di L

³³⁸ şikeninde: şeklinde B

³³⁹ vaşf: evşāf K

ṭākları dest-be-dest-i ittifāk, birün-ı büyüti hışt-ı gil-endüdeden³⁴² perdāhte olmağla egerçi nev'an şüret-nümā-yı nemed-pūşān-ı fenā olmuştur. Ammā derün-ı bihişt-nümünı mānende-i kulüb-ı şāfiye muṭahher u mücellādur. Nuḳūş-ı zer-cūş-ı lāciverd-fāmıyle³⁴³ tāvān-tābende [L13a] cāmları reng-şiken-i saḳf-ı āsmān, vaḍ'-ı tişe-kār-i heft reng-i hezār-pāre ile ferş-i ruḥāmları ḥayret-baḥş-ı mecāmi'-i aḥterāndur. Ol ma'müre-i dil-ārāya gülşen-i kādīm-i nazm-ı kerimde bi'l-iḥtişāş zikri cāri olan 'rebve-i'³⁴⁴ zāt-ı qarārdan heft cūy-ı kevşer-sirişt tevārüd idüp bi'l-cümle emākininde cāri ve mānende-i rūḥ-ı ḥayvānī mecmū'-ı mevāḍı'ına [B15a] sārī olmağın bi'l-cümle ḥāne-i teng u ferāḥ-ı şıḡār u kibārınunı mevāḍı'-ı 'adidesinde sāk-ı simin ü semin-i ḥūbān-şıfat āb-ı şāf³⁴⁵ müteselsilü'l-vürüd ve³⁴⁶ şüret-nümā-yı şerāyin-i ecsām olduğundan ḡayrı elbette ruḥām-ı āyine-fāmdan bir ḥavḍ-ı mütenāsib-endām sāhte-i dest-i iltizām olmuştur. Riyāḍ-ı nüzhet-āyini āb-ḥörde-i kāse-i iḥsān-ı [K12b] ḥıyāḍ olmağın nihālistān-ı riyāḍ dahi dūş-ı ḥıyāḍa evrāk³⁴⁷ u ezhārdan nev-be-nev ilbās-ı hil'at-i rengin ile edā-yı şükr-i ni'met itmededür.

Germi-i āftāb reh-yāb-ı duḥūl olmamak için şedd-i niṭāk-ı ittifāk itmiş ṭāk-ber-ṭāk rūşen u berrāk çārsūlar ki sevdāger-i naẓar her ne kadar ıḍā'a-i biḍā'a-i [P24] nigāh eylese yine pāyānından taḥşil-i re'sü'l-māl-i istiḥbār itmek ba'id ve dellāl-ı efkār her ne deñlü³⁴⁸ ḥaṭve-fürüş-ı şitāb olsa yine müşāhede-i şüret 'Hel min-mezid'³⁴⁹ dūr.

³⁴⁰ dil-ārām-ı Şām: dil-ārā K

³⁴¹ revzen: revzene-i B K

³⁴² endüdeden: endüddan P

³⁴³ fāmıyle: nāmıyle P; fāmıla K

³⁴⁴ The Kur'an, 23/50

³⁴⁵ şāf: şāfi B

³⁴⁶ ve: - L P

³⁴⁷ evrāk: evrāk u eşcār K

³⁴⁸ deñlü: kadar K

³⁴⁹ The Kur'an'an, 50/30

Nezāfet-i şahın-ı dekākini ğıbtāgāh-ı kīse-i aşhāb-ı fenā ve zīnet-i tāk-ı eyāvini
hamyāze-bahş-ı kubbe-i semādur.

Nazm

Būd be-mertebe-i dil-pezir zīnet-i ō

Ki ger vücūd reved sāye ne-y-āyed ez-denbāl

Miyān-ı çārsū-yı keder-şūyında cā-be-cā hātır-zidā vü dil-küşā germābeler ki
mücerred müşāhede-i tarh-nizām-ı cāmekeni insānı libās-ı kederden ‘ārī ve derūn-ı
halvet-i neşātda³⁵⁰ mütevārī ider. Cilā-yı ruhām-ı ferş-i hürde-kārı i‘tibār-ı āyine-i
şādef-kārīye vāsıta-i inkisār ve feverān-ı şādırvānı hātır-ı āb-ı³⁵¹ hayvāna [L13b]
vesile-i ğubārdur. [B15b] Her halvetinde niçe halvet nihān³⁵² ve her şuffesinde³⁵³ niçe
şuffe ‘iyān olup ne bir şuffesi şādırvāndan tehī ve ne bir halveti bir havda ğayr-ı³⁵⁴
müntehidür. Hammām, ne tāk-ı ‘ibret-nümā! Bir gūşesinde güm-şüde-rāh³⁵⁵ olmak
mübālağātdan degildür.

Beyt

Hemīn ki dīde be-nazẓāreeş muḳayyed şüd

Ez-ō be-sa‘y be-der-bürden-i dil-est muḫāl

9. zıkr-i evşāf-ı kahve-hāne-i Şām

Huşūşan vaṭān-ı telhābe-keşān-ı ğurbet ve ārām-cāy-ı sevdā-zedegān-ı kürbet olan
kahve-hāneler ki yine ferş-i münakkaş ile meştāsı meşifinden rengin meşifi

³⁵⁰ neşātda: neşātında K; nişānda L

³⁵¹ āb: - K

³⁵² nihān: pūnhān K

³⁵³ şuffesinde: şafhasında P

³⁵⁴ ğayr: - K

³⁵⁵ şüde-rāh: şüde-i rāh P

meştâsından dil-nişin; şahın-ı meştâsı hâtır-şiken-i sermâ-yı³⁵⁶ vahşet, sāha-ı³⁵⁷ meşifi
 ta'dil-bahş-ı mizâc-ı³⁵⁸ ülfet; fevvâre-i meştâsı peyâm-âver-i germâbe-i merâm,
 şadırvân-ı meşifi ğubâr-şû-yı dest ü dâmen-i ârâm, sakf-ı divâr-ı meştâsı nukûş-ı
 Mâni-pesend ile cilveger, ferş-i meşifine nihâl-i şükûfe-dâr³⁵⁹ sāye-güsterdür³⁶⁰; sāki-
 i³⁶¹ zibende-reftâr-ı kahve-fürûş-ı peymâne-be-kef [K13a] devr-i mecâlis eyledükce³⁶²
 taraf taraf hōş-nişinân-ı nişimen-i neşât

Beyt³⁶³

Kahve sevdâsını sükker³⁶⁴ giderürmiş dirler

Sâkiyâ la'lün ile kahveyi³⁶⁵ Zemzemle de şun³⁶⁶

edâsiyle harf-endâz-ı mu'amele-i nâz u niyâz oldukça hûbân-ı kahve-fürûş dahî [P25]

Nazm³⁶⁷

Şunulmadı baña kahve demiyesin³⁶⁸

Naşibün var ise gelür Yemen'den

mağâliyle şeker-rîz-i tebessüm olurlar idi. Râmişgerân-ı muṭribân-ı³⁶⁹ şevk-tırâz

Nazm

Künc-i ferâğ ehl-i dile kahve-hânedür

Habbeyle³⁷⁰ kahve mürğ-i dile dâm u dânedür

³⁵⁶ sermâ-yı: sermâye-i K

³⁵⁷ sāha-i: sāye-i L

³⁵⁸ mizâc: ferâh B

³⁵⁹ şükûfe-dâr: şükûfe K

³⁶⁰ sāye-güsterdür: sāye-güster P; sāye-dâr ve K; diyâ-güster L

³⁶¹ sāki-i: sāki L

³⁶² eyledükçe: itdükçe K B

³⁶³ This couplet is replaced with the following one in K.

³⁶⁴ sükker: şeker B

³⁶⁵ kahveyi: kahve-i K

³⁶⁶ şun: vir P

³⁶⁷ This couplet replaces the previous one in K.

³⁶⁸ demiyesin: dime sen P

³⁶⁹ muṭribân: muṭrib-hâne-i B

³⁷⁰ habbeyle: habbe ile K

[B16a] takşimi ile nağme-perdâz oldukça gūşe-girân-ı zîr-i ṭâķ-ı şuffe-i³⁷¹ inbisât

Nazm

Bir mehlikâdan olmadı ḥālî zamānede

Eksik degil çerāğı ‘aceb āstānedür

mantûķı ile hem-āvâz olurlar idi. Şabâ-yı nây-ı rāst-nevâ

Nazm³⁷² [L14a]

Be-şinev tū³⁷³ zi-ney çehâ çehâ mi-gūyed

Esrār-ı nihüft-i Kibriyâ mi-gūyed

Ruḥ-ı zerd ve şikem-i teḥî ve ser-dāde be-yād

Bî-nuṭķ u zebân Ḥudâ Ḥudâ mi-gūyed³⁷⁴

şadāsı ile evc-i muṭrib-ḥāneden pençgāh-ı havāss-ı ‘uşşākı muḥayyer itdükce büzürg ü
küçük ‘Arabān-āheng-i muḥālîf-i Ḥicāz üzre taraf taraf ahālî-i ‘İrāk u ‘Acem, Nevruz
reside gibi, feryādların Ḥüseynî’ye çıkarup ḥişār-ı dā’ire-i mecālîsi mānende-i zemin-i
Nişābūr zelzele-nāk iderek

Dū beyt

Ğālibā nāyüñ içi pür gibi sūz-ı dilden

Anuñçün katı parmak başabilmez neyzen

edāsı ile taḥķik-i maķām iderler idi³⁷⁵. ³⁷⁶Deff-i şadef-kārı dest-i ḥunyāgerān-ı māh-
simā-yı zemzeme-sāzdan feryāda gelüp

Beyt

³⁷¹ şuffa-i: - K

³⁷² Nazm: Beyt P, Rübā ‘i K; These couplets are by Mevlānā Celāleddin-i Rūmî.

³⁷³ tū zi: zi-tū B

³⁷⁴ This couplet is missing in K.

³⁷⁵ iderler idi: iderlerdi B; iderler P

³⁷⁶ deff: ve deff P

Çün dā'ire ān māh-vešem mi-dāred

Gāhī be-ṭabanca dil-i hōšem mi-dāred

Ger nāle-künem be-rüyem efşāned āb

Hāmūş şevem ber-ātešem mi-dāred

velvelesi ile leşker-i ālām müstemi'ine dā'ire-keş-i ḥişār-ı mümāna'at oldukça tüfeng-
endāzān-ı dühān-ı āh

Dū beyt

Tā dā'ire zīb-i keff-i yār oldu yine

Hūrşide seḥāb perde-dār oldu yine

Tāb-ı ruhı çıkdı taşraya dā'ireden

Meh hāle içinden āşikār oldu yine

ğulğūlesi ile tōb-endāz-ı gülbāng-ı dervişāne-i hū hū olurlar idi.

Nazm

Cihānda [B16b] kāse-tehilik belā-yı cān idügi

Hırāş-ı sine-i ṭanbūrdan nümāyāndur

me'ālin zebān-ı mıdrāb-ı cigergāh i'lām ider³⁷⁷.

Nazm

Dil dā'ire-veş sille-hōr-ı dest-i ğāmuñdur

Feryād senüñ ey şeh-i bi-dād elüñden

mađmūnını zebān-ı celācil ifhām itdükce [P26] āfyōn-zedegān-ı³⁷⁸ kahve-perestüñ

Nazm

³⁷⁷ ider: idüp K

³⁷⁸ -zedegān-ı: -zedegān u P

Tiryākī eger sīne şeved şad çā-keş

Ez-dil ne-reved habāset-i imsākeş

Mānende-i haşhaş ser-āverde be-piş³⁷⁹

Ser ber-ne-küned tā ne-resed tiryākeş

müdde‘āsını mübeyyin³⁸⁰ olan kām̄et-i ham-geşteleri³⁸¹ mār-ı pīçide gibi hem-şūret-i
çenber-i deff iken [L14b]

Nazm

Afyōn müferraḥi-st ki der-kā'ināt nīst

Ān-rā ki nīst neş'e-i afyōn ḥayāt nīst

diyerek dū dest-i ḥokḳa-peyvestleri mıdrāb-ı sine-hırāş-ı şevk u şaḡaf³⁸² olmuşidi.

Zemzeme-i kemānçe nāvek-endāz-ı şaff-ı³⁸³ vahşet ve nağme-i kânūn şifā-baḥş-ı haste-
dilān-ı muḥabbet olup³⁸⁴

‘Arābi³⁸⁵

Āh vāy³⁸⁶ Rişā'³⁸⁷ [?] esma'-nī el-kānūnā

Fī-ḥācibihi'l-ezeccü ve'l-kānūnā [K13b]

Aḳsamtü bi-men fī'l-yemmi'l-kānūnā

I'ya' maraḍi Buḳrātu ve'l-Kānūnā

āvāzesi encümen-i bālā-hāne-i eflāka peyveste olurdı.

³⁷⁹ be-piş: pīş L

³⁸⁰ mübeyyin: mütebeyyin B

³⁸¹ kām̄et-i ham-geşteleri: ham kām̄et-geşteleri B

³⁸² şaḡaf: şafak K; şeref B; ş-r-n L

³⁸³ şaff: şıfat K

³⁸⁴ olup: - B

³⁸⁵ ‘Arabi: beyt B

³⁸⁶ āh vāy: e-h-v-y B L

³⁸⁷ Rişā' [?]: rişā'en L; rişā'an B

Bir taraftan ise³⁸⁸ germ-sāzān-ı hengāme-i cenk-cūyān-ı dīrīn ve kışşa-perdāzān-ı
ma'reke-i pehlūvānān-ı pīşīn

Nazm

Edā-yı şūh ile la'lin-ķabā-yı şīşe-i mey

Maḥall-i Cem'de bu gün kim hikāye başlamadı

vefķince dest-i be-hem-zen ve nīze-i ḥayzurān ile ķalb-şikāf-ı şaff-ı sūḥan oldukça
berş-ḥ^vārān-ı ser-be-zānū gürz-i girān-ı ḥoķķa-i [B17a] berşden ḥam-şüde olan
ķāmetlerin hezār renc ü 'anā³⁸⁹ ile bālā idüp Bedī' ü Kāsım nāmında iki şahş-ı
mechūlü'l-aşl ü 'adimū'l-vuķū'ıñ ğavġā-yı terciḥ [?] şecā'atı içün³⁹⁰ na'ra-i ḥāy ḥāy-
ı³⁹¹ bengiyāne ile şahn-ı ķahve-ḥāneyi meydān-ı veġāya döndürürlerdi. Niçe pā-
bestegān-ı peygūle-i felāket ḥāme-i mible'ayı³⁹² zebān u³⁹³ dehān-ı³⁹⁴ ḥoķķa-i berş
idüp lū'āb-ı seyyāl-ı berş-ālūd ile şahīfe-i girībān-ı ķirk-āġınlerine

Nazm³⁹⁵

Māye-i māi'de-i cāndur berş

Merhem-i ķalb-i perişāndur berş

Ḥāl-i ruḥsār-ı şafādur afyōn

Ṭurra-i 'ārıd-ı 'irfāndur berş

Virür insāna ḥayāt-ı ebedi

Cān-bahā olsa da erzāndur berş

³⁸⁸ ise: ise beng-ḥūrān-ı K

³⁸⁹ ü 'anā: - B P K

³⁹⁰ şecā'atı içün: şecā'atçün B K

³⁹¹ ḥāy ḥāy: ḥāy ḥūy K

³⁹² mebla'ayı: miblaġayı B K

³⁹³ u: - K

³⁹⁴ dehān: dehānı P

³⁹⁵ This poem is also included in *Nābī Dīwānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 723).

Rütbe-i [K14a] neş'esin idrāk idene

Āb-ı hayvān ile³⁹⁶ [P27] yeksāndur berş

Renc-i³⁹⁷ endūh komaz dillerde

Bād-zehr-i³⁹⁸ ğam-ı devrāndur berş

[L15a] maḳālin taştir iderlerdi.

Bir gūşede ise abdālān-ı beng-h^vār-ı nā-hüşyār vādī-i ḳalenderāne ile pālehang-i sengini zīb-i miyān ve fenāyī-i³⁹⁹ nuyyem-şikenî ziver-i ser-i bī-sāmān, sofrā-i çermīnī⁴⁰⁰ bār-ı hayret gibi ber-dūş ve⁴⁰¹ mengūş-ı yeşimî sūḥan-ı girān gibi der-gūş ve ser-deste-i ābnūsı pīrāye-i zānū ve ekşeri⁴⁰² kūçek nāmında bir meh-rūyı hem-pehlū idinüp eṭvār-ı ḥāne-i⁴⁰³ berdūşāne ile

Nazm

Mestāne yeter geşt idelüm her sūḳı

Pür-şayyit⁴⁰⁴ u şadā eyleyelüm 'ayyūḳı

Ey hemdem-i cān be-gūrī-i⁴⁰⁵ ef 'ā-i ğam

Meydāna getür zümür-rūd-i meshūḳı

edāsı ile cūr'a-dān-ı esrār-ı hayret-baḥşāyı şafā-naẓar-ı yārān ve baḥş-ı ḳalenderān

[B17b] idüp iştīlāḥāt-ı maḥşūşaları olan 'tūrrehāt-ı bī-ma'nā ve ḥalḥıyyāt-ı bī-nizām'

³⁹⁶ ḥayvān ile: ḥayvānla P

³⁹⁷ renc: renc u D

³⁹⁸ bād-zehr: pādzehr L; pānzehr-i B

³⁹⁹ fenāyī-i: fenā-yı B

⁴⁰⁰ çermīnī: çeri P

⁴⁰¹ ve: - B

⁴⁰² ekşeri: ekşer B

⁴⁰³ ḥāne-i: ḥāne L B

⁴⁰⁴ şayyit: şayd P

⁴⁰⁵ gūrī-i: gūrī L

ile gūşe-i kahve-hāneyi hem-reng-i timār-hāne-i mecānin idüp bir başka 'ālem iderler
idi. Mā-haşal⁴⁰⁶

Nazm

Ğarađum milk-i beķā idi 'adem-i rāhından

Uğrayup şehir-i vücūda oyalandum⁴⁰⁷ kaldum

mişdāķı üzre akşā-yı maķāsıd evşāf-ı 'aliyye-i mesācid ü merākıd iken reh-güzār-ı
hāme-i⁴⁰⁸ herze-gerd evşāf-ı kahve-hāne-i⁴⁰⁹ Şām'a düşmekle ser-germ-i neş'e-i
ma'cūn şohbeti ve firifte-i āb u tāb cem'ıyyeti olmağla

Nazm

Dil-i tıflı ki āvāreligüñ lezzetin aldı

Hayr itmez o bir dahı debistān-ı ümide

vefķince ceyb-edā rubūde-i dest-i hevā olmağın pençe-i giribān-gir-i şaħne-i nedāmet
ile rāh-ı Cāmi'-i Emeviyye'ye imāle-i kubāle-i a'zimet olundu.

10. zıkr-i evşāf-ı Cāmi'-i Emevī

Beyt⁴¹⁰

Me-rā berid be-bābu'l-berid-i cāmi'-i Şām

Ki bi-berid ne-y-ārem berid-i rāh-ı merām

El-haķķ binā'-i kār-hāne-i kader kıbāb-ı seb' tıbāķa esās-efgen-i istiħkām olaldan
beri ne ol cāmi'-i şerifüñ zānū-yı irtifā'ına ser-sūde olacak bir binā' ser-efrāhte-i
[L15b] 'arşa-i zuhūr olmuş ve ne kubbe-i lāciverd-gün-ı gerdūna kandil-i zerrin-i māh

⁴⁰⁶ mā-haşal: - L

⁴⁰⁷ oyalandum: oyalandın / o yalandan P

⁴⁰⁸ hāme-i: hāme L

⁴⁰⁹ kahve-hāne-i: - L P

⁴¹⁰ beyt: - P B

u hürşid āvihte olalı ol 'ibādetgāh-ı rahmet-penāhuñ ārāyiş-i sakf u [K14b] [P28] divārı bir āferidenüñ şafha-ı⁴¹¹ mütehayyilesine mürtesem olmuş. Harem-i tāb-nākinüñ ferş-i⁴¹² ruhāmında 'aks-i nevāş-i kerrūbiyān [B18a] nümāyān ve divār-ı feyd-nākinüñ sine-i bī-kinesinde rüsüm-ı ecniha-i rūhāniyān⁴¹³ cilve-künāndur. Peyk-i nigāh sermenzil-i tūlına vüşülden 'ard-ı i'tizār ve kemend-i āh sakfına irtikā'dan baş-ı muḳaddeme-i inkisār ider.

Nazm

Kıblegāh-ı şaff-ı maḳsūd olamazsın ey dil

Sine-çāk olmayıcaḳ şūret-i mihrāb gibi

vefkince sāye-i rahmet-māyesi⁴¹⁴ h'ābgāh-ı heftād enbiyā, şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhim, olmak üzre şübūt-yāfte-i tevātür olan divār-ı kıblisinüñ⁴¹⁵ dide-i bināsı menzilesinde olan mihrāb-ı a'zamuñ cānib-i yemininde vāḳi' mihrāb-ı mahşuş-ı Ebū'l-'Abbās ḥadret-i Hıdr, 'aleyhi's-selām, ki bālāsında levha-i muraşşa'-i⁴¹⁶ seniyye-i divār meşābesinde iki revzen-i müzeyyenüñ ārāyiş-i kitābe-i cām-ı mülevveni olan iki lafza-i Celāl'e ta'yin-i ḥudūd-ı maḳām-ı Hıdr'a dāll ve ekser ezmān⁴¹⁷ ol mihrāb-ı sa'ādet-nişābda meşhūd-ı āşināyān-ı 'ālem-i ḥāl olduḡı⁴¹⁸ perde-pezir-i eşkāl⁴¹⁹ degildir.

'Ale'l-ḥuşuş şem'-i ser-endāz-ı encümen-i⁴²⁰ nübüvvet, şāh-bāz-ı ser-bāz-ı meydān-ı risālet Yahyā peygamber, şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḥadretlerinüñ ravḍa-

⁴¹¹ şafha-i: şahife-i B

⁴¹² ferş: - L

⁴¹³ rūhāniyān: rūhiyān B

⁴¹⁴ māyesi: pāyesi B

⁴¹⁵ divār-ı kıblisinüñ: divārı kıblinüñ B

⁴¹⁶ muraşşa'-i: muraşşa'a-i P

⁴¹⁷ ezmān: ezmānda P

⁴¹⁸ olduḡı: oldukları P K

⁴¹⁹ eşkāl: istişkāl B

⁴²⁰ encümen: encüm L

i şerife-i nūr-peymāları ki⁴²¹ mäh-ı münir-āsā hāle-i āgūş-ı cāmi'-i şerifde münezzel
ve beden-i cāmi'de cā-nişin-i süveydā-yı dildür. Bi-ḥamdi li'llāhi ve'l-minne, cevher-
i hāk-i⁴²² pāki vedī'a-i gencine-i⁴²³ çeşm-i 'ālem-bin ve 'aks-i naķş-ı ḥaşir-ı ferş-i
āstān-ı şefā'at-ünvānı pirāye-i [B18b] cebin kılındı.

Nazm

Mazhar-ı merḥamet-i ḥaḍret-i Mevlā olduk

Ravḍa-i ḥaḍret-i Yahyā'ya cebin-sā⁴²⁴ olduk

Yine mihrāb-ı a'zamuñ cānib-i yemininde çekide-i kalem-i elem-sūz-ı ḥaḍret-i zi'n-
nūreyn [L16a] olan muşḥaf-ı şerifüñ sebze-i mezra'a-i rahmet olan şufūf-ı sūtūrından
dest-i nigāh şüküfe-çin-i intibāh kılındı. Yine cevfi dīvār-ı kıblide nihüfte⁴²⁵ 'ibādet-
hāne-i ḥaşşa-i ḥaḍret-i Mu'āviye, raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā 'anh⁴²⁶, ziyāretine baş-ı
seccāde-i himmet [P29] olundu. Yine cāmi'-i ḥayāt-baḥşānuñ rükn-i şarkisinde vāқи'
mināre-i beydā ki hem-sāye-i neyyir-i a'zam, mihmān-ı diyāfet-hāne-i [K15a] tārem-i
çārum ya'nı ḥaḍret-i⁴²⁷ 'İsā bin Meryem, şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh,
ḥaḍretleri sāḥa-i sürādikāt-ı meleküt-dan hem-rāhi-i şufūf-ı rüḥāniyān ile bāl-cünbān-ı
ḥıttā-i nāsūt olacakları hengāmda

Nazm

Intizār-ı reh-i vuşlatda ğubār oldı tenüm

Başum üstinde yer itsün o gözüm nūrı benüm

⁴²¹ ki: - L

⁴²² hāk: - B

⁴²³ gencine-i: gencine L

⁴²⁴ sā: -sāy B

⁴²⁵ nihüfte: nihüfte-i P

⁴²⁶ raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā 'anh: - L B

⁴²⁷ ḥaḍret: - B

edāsı ile şüret-nümā-yı lisān-ı hāl olmağla⁴²⁸ menzil-i evvelin-i kadem-i vālā-terin-i
 'İsevi olup neyl-i devlet-i pā-būslerinde eczā-yı ardıyyeden çevgān-ı gūy-rübā-yı
 müsābaķat olmağın Mināre-i 'İsā nāmı ile ser-efrāz-ı⁴²⁹ evc-i iştihār olmışdur.
 Bi'hamdi li'llāhi⁴³⁰ derecāt-ı mirķāti hem-āğūş-ı huṭūṭ-ı cebhe-i ta'zīm ve ṭarīķa-i
 niyāz-mendān-ı şefā'at üzre şaḥīfe-i şerīfe-i 'anberīnine⁴³¹ midād-sūde-i merdüm-i
 dide ile

Nazm

Divān-ı şefā'atde eyā ḥadret-i 'İsā

Nābī kuluñ [B19a] it bir dem-i cān-baḥşla iḥyā

me'āliyle 'arḍ-ı hāl-i dil-i sergeşte terķim olundı.

Yine ol cāmi'-i Firdevs-simānuñ nazargāh-ı derīçe-i şarkisinde bir ḥavḍ-ı heft⁴³² hāne-
 i ruhāmiye miyānında Karpuzkaldıran nāmıyle bir fevvāre-i tūfān-hız-ı āvāze-endāz
 şöhet olmışdur ki sā'id-i⁴³³ serin-i⁴³⁴ semin-i simin-i hūbāndan efzūn bir āb-ı şaff-ı
 kemāl kuvvet-i şu'ūd ile çerḥ-ı nā-şafa⁴³⁵ itāle-i lisān idüp gerdiş-i hindūvāne degül
 belki⁴³⁶ bir kubbeye-i sengini dest-hōş-ı bāziçe-i imtiḥān itmek maķūle-i ğulūvv-ı iğrāk
 olmaduğı meşhūd-ı çeşm-i nuzḫārdur.

Ol fevvāre-i sevdā-sūz [L16b] u şafvet-sāza dide-küşā-yı temāşā olan nişimen-i neşāt-
 güsterde tertīb-i damağ-ı istikrārdan şoñra cevher-i nā-yāb-ı kevneyn-bahā-yı ma'den-
 i nübüvvet, cesed-i melekūt-ārā-yı sultān-ı risālet, şalle'llāhü te'ālā⁴³⁷ 'aleyhi ve

⁴²⁸ olmağla: ile B

⁴²⁹ ser-efrāz: ser-firāz P

⁴³⁰ li'llāhi: li'llāhi te'ālā P

⁴³¹ 'anberīnine: 'anberīne L

⁴³² heft: heşt B

⁴³³ sā'id: - B L

⁴³⁴ serin: serin ü L

⁴³⁵ nā-şafa: nūh tāķa P

⁴³⁶ belki: - L

⁴³⁷ te'ālā: -L

sellem, gencine-i Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere'de⁴³⁸ dest-zede-i düzdân naḳb-zen-i⁴³⁹ mûş-ı fenn-i kefere-i Efrenc olmağa⁴⁴⁰ ḳarib olduğda sāḥa-i 'ālem-i mişālde zebān-ı gevher-feşānlarından [P30] 'Edrake-ni yā Nūre'd-dīn' ḥiṭābı gūş-vāre-i⁴⁴¹ sāmi'a-i isti'dādı olmağla şubḥ-dem ḥāk-i pāk-i Medine-i Münevvere'ye 'inān-engiz-i müsāra'at ve ol ḳuttā'u't-ṭarīḳ-i mār-kirdārı zīr-i ḥākde maḥfūr-ı tūşe-i ḥud'aları olan rāḥ-ı pinhānda [K15b] gezide-i ef'ā-i şimşir-i himmet itdükden şofıra ṭā'ir-i 'arş-ı āşyān, cesed-i⁴⁴² muṭahher-i Muḥammed'i⁴⁴³, şalle'llāhü te'ālā⁴⁴⁴ 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḳafes-bend-i şübbāk olan sultān-ı 'azimü's-şānuñ meşhed-i nūr-āmizleri ziyāretiyle [B19b] tenvir-i nazar olunmak müyesser oldı⁴⁴⁵.

Andan ğayrı cānib-i cenūb-i Şām'da āsūde-nişinān-ı maḥalle-i ḥāmūşāndan bülbul-i maḥfil-ṭirāz-ı Mescid-i Nebevī ya'nī Bilāl-i Ḥabeşī, raḍiye'llāhü⁴⁴⁶ 'anh, ḥaḍretlerinüñ ve ibn-i 'amm-i ḥaḍret-i Ḥabīb-i Muḥtār ve birāder-i zībende-güher-i Ḥaydar-ı Kerrār Ca'fer-i Ṭayyār ḥaḍretlerinüñ ve ezvāc-ı ṭāhirātdan mā'ada iki yüze ḳarib⁴⁴⁷ ḥalka-bendān-ı dā'ire-i meclis-i nebevī olan aşḥāb-ı kirām⁴⁴⁸ merākıdı ziyāreti ile iktisāb-ı inşirāḥ-ı derūn olundı.

11. zikr-i evşāf-ı Şālihiyye-i Şām

Ma'mūre-i Şām-ı zībende-maḳāmuñ ğarba mā'il şimālī cānibinde zirve-i ḳullesi paleheng-i niṭāk-ı abdāl-ı çerḥ-i nemed-puş olan kūh-ı bülend-şükūh dāmeninde

⁴³⁸ muṭahherede: muṭahherde P

⁴³⁹ naḳb-zen: naḳb-zen ve B L

⁴⁴⁰ olmağa: olmağla P

⁴⁴¹ gūşvāre-i: gūşvāre B

⁴⁴² cesed: cesede-i B

⁴⁴³ Muḥammed'i: Muḥammed'iyi P

⁴⁴⁴ te'ālā: - B

⁴⁴⁵ oldı: olundı B

⁴⁴⁶ raḍiye'llāhü: raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā P

⁴⁴⁷ ḳarib: mütēḳarib B K P

⁴⁴⁸ kirām: kirām raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā 'anhüm ecma'in ḥaḍarātınuñ P

kasaba-i Şāliḥiyye vāḳi' olmışdur ki⁴⁴⁹ sevād-ı Şām ile miyânında olan leṭāfete lisân-ı cerriyyü'l-beyân-ı eşcâr u enhâr vesile-i [L17a] fayşal ve dū şaḥife-i rengin-i Şāliḥiyye⁴⁵⁰ vü Şām eṭrâfında olan veşşâle-i sebz-gün üzre huṭûṭ-ı enhâr-ı simden mükerrer cedvel olmışdur. Gūyâ Şāliḥiyye vü Şām dū keffe-i terâzû-yı leṭāfet-sencdür ki⁴⁵¹ keffe-i Şāliḥiyye'de ḥıffet bünyân olmağla sevād-ı Şām'a nisbet ile nev'an şüret-i irtifâ' nümâyân olup

Mışra'⁴⁵²

Biri birinden aḥsendür biri birinden a'lâdur

mışra'ına mâ-şadak vāḳi'⁴⁵³ olmışdur.

Kasaba-i Şāliḥiyye'nüñ tarafeyn-i şark u ğarbında vāḳi' Erze⁴⁵⁴ vü Berze nâm iki karye-i karinü'l-i'tibâr beyninde yetmiş nefer-i cevâhir-i gencine-i nübüvvet defin-i maṭmûre-i⁴⁵⁵ [P31] ḥâk olduğu ḥadiş-i mu'ciz-beyân-ı [B20a] sultân-ı tahtgâh-ı⁴⁵⁶ levlâk ile reside-i derece-i şihḥat idügi cā'iz-i ḥadd-i tevâtür olduğundan ğayrı kūh-ı cennet-şükūhuñ şadr-ı vālāsında⁴⁵⁷ çille-i [çile-i]⁴⁵⁸ merdân-ı Hudâ olan Kırklar Maḳâmı ve medâr-ı seb'a-i seyyâre-âsâ Yediler Maḳâmı mesâfe-i ba'ideden nümâyân ve envâriyla dâ'ire-i Şām dırahşân olmışdur.

'Ale'l-ḥuşûş muḳim-i ravḍa-i na'im merḥûm Sultân Selim-i Qadim⁴⁵⁹ 'aleyhi'r-raḥmenüñ âşâr-ı himmet-i 'âlem-küşâları olan cāmi'-i şerîfde tenhâ-süvâr-ı miḍmâr-ı

⁴⁴⁹ ki: - L

⁴⁵⁰ Şāliḥiyye: Şāliḥiyye ki L

⁴⁵¹ ki: - P L

⁴⁵² Mışra': - B

⁴⁵³ vāḳi': - B

⁴⁵⁴ Erze: Üzre B

⁴⁵⁵ maṭmûre: - K B

⁴⁵⁶ tahtgâh: taht B

⁴⁵⁷ vālāsında: vālāsından L

⁴⁵⁸ çille-i: ecille-i P K

⁴⁵⁹ qadim: - B

velāyet, [K16a] yeke-tāz-ı⁴⁶⁰ fedā-yı haqikat, sālīk-i rāh-ı vaḥdet-i vücūd, kāşif-i rūmūz-ı būd u ne-būd, bāğbān-ı hıyābān-ı tırāz-ı **Fütūḥāt-ı Mekkiye**, tūṭi-i pāk-lehce-i şekeristān-ı sūnūḥāt-ı ğaybiyye, eşherü'l-vāşılın, ekberü'l-muḥakḳıķın Şeyḥ Muḥyi'd-din-i⁴⁶¹ 'Arabī ḥaḍretlerinüñ ve cenāb-ı velāyet-penāhi⁴⁶² ile hem-pehlū-yı nişimen-i ḥāk olan Şeyḥ Fahre'd-din İbrāhīm-i 'İrāķi⁴⁶³, ḳaddese'llāhü esrārahümā⁴⁶⁴, ḥaḍretlerinüñ ḥāk-i āstān-ı feyḍ-resānları ḥil'at-i dūş-ı ecfān ḳılındı⁴⁶⁵.

12. zıkr-i fermān berāy-ı şehrayin⁴⁶⁶

Beyt

Zülf-i ḥam-der-ḥamuñda buldı ḳarār

Şām'dan çıķmak istemez dil-i zār

[L17b] resminde sevād-ı dil-ārām-ı Şām'ıñ eşcār-ı mültefe-i ser-be-āsmānı ḳafes-i tā'ir-i ḍamir ve emvāc-ı müselsel-i enhārı pāy-ı dil-i divāneye zencir olduğı ḥālde⁴⁶⁷ meger ol sene-i 'amīmetü'l-meymenenüñ hengām-ı cünbüş-i sipāh-ı faşl-ı bahārında āşaf-ı ekrem, destūr-ı a'zam-ı şadru'l-vüzerā ḥaḍret-i Muştafā Pāşā ḳal'a-i menī'a-i Çehrin tahribine [B20b] 'alem-engiz-i 'azm-i⁴⁶⁸ 'adıv-şiken olduklarına binā'en⁴⁶⁹ destyār-i-i elṭāf-ı Kirdgārī ile ḳal'a-i mezbüreyi nümüdār-ı ḳulüb-ı virāne-i küffār buyurdıkları nüvīdi ile ṭaraf ṭaraf⁴⁷⁰ aḳṭār-ı memālik-i Islāmiyyeye ḥ^vān-ı pehnā-yı fütūḥdan tevzī'-i ḥışşe-i meserret olunmağla⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁰ yeke-tāz (yektāz): teke-tāz K

⁴⁶¹ Muḥyi'd-din: Muḥyi'd-din ibn P

⁴⁶² -penāhi: -pehāhları B P K

⁴⁶³ 'İrāķi: - L

⁴⁶⁴ esrārahümā: esrārahümā'l-'aziz P; sırrahümā'l-'aziz B

⁴⁶⁵ ḳılındı: ḳılındı muḥaşşıl B

⁴⁶⁶ This title is cited later in B

⁴⁶⁷ The previous title is inserted here in B

⁴⁶⁸ 'azm: - L

⁴⁶⁹ olduklarına binā'en: olduklarına binā' B P; olduklarında K

⁴⁷⁰ ṭaraf ṭaraf: ṭaraf P

⁴⁷¹ olunmağla: olduklarında L; buyurdıkları K

Nazm

Her taraf nâme-resân-ı peyk-i muraşşa' kemer-est

vefkince ser-şâtırân-ı rükkâb-ı hümâyûn nesim-i müjde-resân-ı bahâr gibi tezyin-i şehir
ü bazar için iblâğ-ı fermân-ı [P32] şehryârî itmekle

Nazm

Gülüñ teşrifine bülbül nidâ eyler donanmaya

Yine gel çarsû-yı bâğda seyr it temâşâyı

ķavlince zînet-i 'ârıdıyyeye kâlâ-fürûş-ı istiğnâ olan müferrih çarsûlar libâs-ı âher ile
dahî cilveger olup evvelden müşâhede-i dū çeşm-i temâşâ'iyânı keffe-i terâzû-yı
hayret iderken bu zînet-i tâze dahî 'ilâve-i leṭâfet-i 'aşliyyesi olmağla medd-i nigâh-ı
nuẓẓârı endâze-i dîbâ-peymâ-yı dehşet eyledi. Her gūşe bir müferrih kâşâne ve her
dükkân bir müzeyyen hâneye dönüp

Nazm

Ref' idüp şübheyi üstinde 'iyândur didiler

Cennet altında yâ üstinde diyenler Şâm'ıñ

[K16b] şa'sa'a-i emti'a-i zer-târ ile⁴⁷² her bazar bir meşriķ-ı envâr ve âviziş-i
aķmîşe-i pür-naķş u nigâr ile her dükkân bir gûlzâr şekline girdi.

Nazm

Ḥayâl hest cihân-râ ki per be-zed ez-şevķ

Ki kerde-end zi-âyin-i zîneteş per u bâl

Rü'ûs-ı ķulel u burûcdan endâhte olan tōb u tūfeng mecâlis-i mele'-i a'lâyı haber-
yâfte-i neşât ve gûlbâng-ı edevât-ı nârı irâş eylediği zelzele-i ķarâr-fersâ [L18a]

⁴⁷² zer-târ ile: zer-târıyla P

[B21a] āsūdegān-ı lihāf-ı hāki neş'e-mend-i⁴⁷³ inbisāt eyledi. Tāk-ı āfāka perde-i siyeh-fām-ı şām āvizān olduğda ğalebe-i çerāğān ile her dükkāndan niçe mäh tābān ve kanādil-i ferāhem-şüdeden⁴⁷⁴ her tākda bir pervin fūrūzān oldu.

Nazm

Şebeş çünān be-leṭāfet ki dide-i a'mā

Zi-ceyb-i şām bih bined⁴⁷⁵ cemāl-i subḥ u mesā

Huṣūṣan bu maḳūle leyālī-i şādmānide esvāk-ı Şām'a muhteşş olan ālāy-ı erbāb-ı şanāyi' ki be-her şeb on ikişer sınıf aşḥāb-ı ḥıref ki her bir şınıfuñ dest-i ihtiyārında 'aşā-yı āteş-efşān-ı⁴⁷⁶ Musā-āsā bir şem'-i kāfūr ve sâ'ir nev-residegān-ı bāzār-ı melāḥatūñ dahi pençe-i siminlerinde birer şem'-i sūzān ve dūş u miyānlarında sâ'id-i 'uşşāk gibi tiğ-ı hūn-feşān ve tūfeng-i zer-nişān ile geşt-i şehir ü bāzār ve hükkām-ı şehir pişgāhından güzār iderler.

Nazm

Be-fevc⁴⁷⁷ fevc zarifān ve levn levn libās

Cihān be-cilve der-āmed⁴⁷⁸ be-aḥseni'l-eşkāl

Mevāsīm-i [P33] esfār-ı hümayūn-ı şehryārīde dārū's-saltāna-i 'aliyyede cārī olan ordu alāyı şeklinde her fırka maṭla'-ı cem'iyetlerinde nümüne-i kārların a'nāk-ı eşḥāşda mürūr iden taht-ı revānlarda sāde-rūyān-ı hūrşid-cemāl yedinden iş'ār ve maḳṭa'-i nizām-ı ḥırfetde⁴⁷⁹ şāh-beyt-i ḳasīde şeklinde birer tenhā-süvār-ı meydān-ı ḥüsn⁴⁸⁰ ü letāfeti lapāçe-i fāḥire⁴⁸¹ ile pāşā nāmına⁴⁸² birer rahş-ı nāzende-ḥırāma

⁴⁷³ neş'e: neş'e-i L

⁴⁷⁴ ferāhem: ferāḥim P

⁴⁷⁵ bih bined: ne bined B; be-bined L

⁴⁷⁶ -efşān: -feşān B

⁴⁷⁷ be: zi B

⁴⁷⁸ der-āmed: der-āyed B

⁴⁷⁹ ḥırfetde: ḥırfetlerde B

⁴⁸⁰ ḥüsn: ḥüsn-i cemāl P

süvār idüp pişgâhında⁴⁸³ bir güstüvân-ı girân-bahâ ile bir niçe habîb-i pür-zînet⁴⁸⁴ ve
sâ'ir [B21b] levâzım-ı âyin-i pâşâyiden⁴⁸⁵ şâtırân-ı zerrîn-ţâs ü simin-teber ve
maţaracıyân-ı zer-üskûf-i⁴⁸⁶ Bektâşi-peyker tertîb olunup niçe şehsüvârân-ı hürşid-
manzar-ı tîr-keş ve tiğ u hançer ile silâhdâr u çoķa-dâr tavrında

Nazm [K17a]

Âh kim bir sipâhi dildârı

Beni itdi şoķak silâhdârı

me'âlin izhâr iderek kafâ-rev olup tarafeynde [L18b] şaff-zede olan temâşâ'iyâna

Nazm

Hergiz nigâh-ı kerem be-men rû ne-mî-künend

Tâ meşveret be-güşe-i ebrû ne-mî-künend

mađmûnı üzre cünbüş-i ebrû-yı müşkin ile şûret-i selâmda nigâh-ı iltifâtla⁴⁸⁷ ifâda-i⁴⁸⁸

neş'e-i⁴⁸⁹ hayât iderek ve ba'dı lâ'übâliyân-ı⁴⁹⁰ bî-pervâ-meşreb

Nazm

Recâ-yı vaşlle ol şâha 'ard-ı hâller itdük

Ne bir muhallâ didürdik ne der-kenâr idebildük

vefķince niyâz-ı vişâli mutađammın ref'-i varâķ-pâre-i 'ard-ı hâl itdükce

Nazm

⁴⁸¹ fâhire: fâhir B

⁴⁸² pâşâ nâmına: - L P

⁴⁸³ pişgâhında: - L P

⁴⁸⁴ -zînet: -zîb P

⁴⁸⁵ pâşâyiden: pâdişâhiden L

⁴⁸⁶ zer-üskûf: üskûf-i zer B K

⁴⁸⁷ iltifâtla: iltifâtıyla B P

⁴⁸⁸ iltifâtla ifâda-i: iltifât eylese K

⁴⁸⁹ neş'e: neşve L

⁴⁹⁰ lâ'übâliyân: lâ'übâlî L

Göz uciyle 'āşıkā geh luṭf ider gāhī 'itāb

Bir su'āle yer kımaz ol ğamze-i ḥādır cevāb

ḥokḳa-i la'lin-leb-i şeker-feşānını⁴⁹¹ meşriḳ-ı tebessüm-i pinhānı ve ba'd siyeh-
baḥtān-ı perişān-ı rüzgārı cünbüş-i çin-cebīn ile 'itāb u āzāra⁴⁹² erzānī ve niçe nā-
murāduñ 'arḍ-ı ḥālin giribān-ı şabr u ārāmı gibi çāk ve niçe nā-şādı cellād-ı bī-āmān-ı
şimşir-i müjgānıyle helāk ve niçe āzāde dilleri maḥbūs-ı zindān-ı⁴⁹³ zenahdan itmege
fermān⁴⁹⁴ [B22a] ve niçe dil-besteleri ber-dār-ı zülf-i perişān itmege şāyān ve niçe bi-
kesleri divān-ı zīr-i ṭāḳ-ı ebrūsına ihdār içün isti'cāl ve niçe bū'l-hevesleri kāḍi-i
maḥkeme-i [P34] hicrānda mürāfa'aya irsāl idüp levāzım-ı dād ü sited⁴⁹⁵ ve merāsım-
i dār-ı vekirde bir daḳıḳa-i kem-ter nā-mer'ī kımayup güzer itdükden soñra bir fırka
dahī ṭavr-ı aḥer ve pāşā-yı diger ile mürūra başladı. Evvelā⁴⁹⁶ ṭā'ife-i bezrgerān⁴⁹⁷

Nazm

Dāne-i ḥāline bak cennet-i ruḥsārında

Niçe şabreylesün Allāh'ı severseñ ādem

terānesiyle zemīn-i dil-i nuzḫāra⁴⁹⁸ toḥm-ı muḥabbet ekerek ve fırka-i āsyābiyān

Nazm

Giribān-ı çākī-i 'uşşāk ez-zevḳ fenā bāşed

Elf der-sīne-i gendüm zi-şevḳ-i āsyā bāşed

⁴⁹¹ -feşānını: -feşānın B

⁴⁹² cebīn ile 'itāb u āzāra: cebīn-i 'itāb ile āzāra L

⁴⁹³ zindān: zindān-ı çāh P

⁴⁹⁴ itmege fermān: - L

⁴⁹⁵ dād u sited: dōstdur B

⁴⁹⁶ ewvelā: ewvel B

⁴⁹⁷ bezrgerān: bezrgān B

⁴⁹⁸ nuzḫāra: nuzḫāra-i B

maḳāliyle gülü-yı 'uṣṣāk-ı ser-geşte-ḥāl-i bî-ḳarāra⁴⁹⁹ dāne-riz-i⁵⁰⁰ ḥayret oldılar. Ve
germ-bāzārān-ı ḥabbāzān

Nazm

Ey dil ğıdā-yı rūḥ ez-in ḥākdān me-ḥ^vāh [L19a]

Ṭufān der-in tennūr müheyyā-st nān me-ḥ^vāh

me'āliyle tennūr-ı derūn-ı 'uṣṣākı fūrūndan füzūn germ itdiler⁵⁰¹. Ve āteş-destān-ı
kebābiyān

Nazm

Kebāb-āsā belā bezminde gördüm ḳalb-i 'uṣṣākı

Muḥālif [K17b] devr elinden bir dem ağlar bir zamān inler

nālesiyle ğuṣṭ-pāre-i ḳalb-i müştākı köfte-şifat nerm eylediler. Ve cerib-destān-ı
ḥübān-ı āşpezān

Nazm

Ḥ^vān-ı⁵⁰² iḥsānına aġyārı toyurmuş dilber

Gönlün ey ḥaste-i hicrān nenün āşın ister

maḍmūniyla sir-sāz-ı mi'de-i iştihā-perver-i⁵⁰³ intizār oldılar. Ve şerbetiyān-ı
benefşe-ḥāl-i⁵⁰⁴ gül-ruḥān dahı⁵⁰⁵

Nazm

Şerbet-i la'l-i revān-baḥşına 'ālem teşne

⁴⁹⁹ -ḥāl-i bî-ḳarāra: -ḥāle P B K

⁵⁰⁰ -riz: zīn P

⁵⁰¹ itdiler: eylediler P B K

⁵⁰² ḥ^vān: ḥūn L

⁵⁰³ -perver: -perver ve K

⁵⁰⁴ ḥāl: ḥāk B

⁵⁰⁵ gül-ruḥān dahı: gül-ruḥsār K B; gül-ruḥān P

O cefâ-piše leṭāfetde bir içim [B22b] şudur

zemzemesiyle ḥarāret-güzār-ı ciger-i sūhtegān-ı inkisār oldılar. Girişme-sencān-ı
baḳḳālān

Nazm

Bir āfet-i baḳḳāl-ı sitem-sencüñ elinden

Taşlarla döker sinesini keffe-i mizān

vezni üzre bādām-çeşm ü piste-dehān ve leb-i engebīn ü revġan-ı serin ile⁵⁰⁶ ḡehre-i⁵⁰⁷
sirke-fürüşān-ı bāzār-ı intizārı⁵⁰⁸ ṭable-i ḥande-i nemekīn itdiler⁵⁰⁹. Ve ibrişim-tenān-ı
'aṭṭārān⁵¹⁰

Nazm

Şayd itmege mürġ-ı dili ol dilber-i 'aṭṭār

Dirhemle terāzūsın ider dām ile dāne

vefkince ḥāl-i ḳaranfıl-fām-ı⁵¹¹ 'anberīn-bū⁵¹² ve ṭurra-i 'ābir-ālūd-ı müşkīn-mū ile
ta'tir-i meşāmm-ı iştiyāk-ı 'uşşāk-ı reh-nişin [P35] eylediler. Ve şirīn-lebān-ı şeker-
fürüşān⁵¹³

Beyt

Kānd başka [?] başına küleh geġer⁵¹⁴ bir⁵¹⁵ er idi

Çāşni-i leb-i cānānı görünce⁵¹⁶ eridi

⁵⁰⁶ ile: - L

⁵⁰⁷ ḡehre-i: ḡehre K

⁵⁰⁸ intizārı: - K

⁵⁰⁹ itdiler: eylediler K B

⁵¹⁰ 'aṭṭārān: 'aṭṭār B

⁵¹¹ -fām: nām P

⁵¹² 'anberīn: 'anber B L

⁵¹³ şirīn-lebān-ı şeker-fürüşān: şeker-fürüşān-ı şirīn-lebān P

⁵¹⁴ küleh geġer: küleh çeker P; kelle geġinür B [?]

⁵¹⁵ bir: - B

⁵¹⁶ görünce: gördi B

terānesiyle⁵¹⁷ telḥ-kāmān-ı zehrābe-nūṣān-ı hicrānı⁵¹⁸ leb-i kand-rizlerinden ḥiṭāb-ı
mükerrer ile şirin-mezāk eylediler⁵¹⁹. Ve ḥelva'ıya⁵²⁰ şirin-ḥarekāt

Nazm

Belini koçmadadur ol şanemüñ derd ü belā

Yoksa şirin lebi 'āşıqlara ḥādır ḥelvā

edāsiyle damāğ-ı ḥanḫal-āṣāmān-ı ḥırmānı çāṣnı-i nebāt-ı iltiflātla⁵²¹ ferāmūş-kerde-i
merāret-i iştıyāk eylediler. Sim-sā'idān ser-terāşān

Nazm [L19b]

Ol ser-terāşa bende olur sinesin gören

Kor nakd-i cānın⁵²² üstine āyinesin gören

nāğmesiyle zır-i tiğ-i⁵²³ cāy-ı āsāyiş 'addiden ser-berehnegān-ı mināşsa-i [B23a]
teslimi ser-i bī-sāmānından⁵²⁴ āṣār-ı sevdāyı tirāş idüp ve ḥün-rizān-ı kaşşābān-ı bī-
rahm dil

Nazm

Kaşşāb dilberi ciger-i ḥalkı pāreler

Kanlar döker ğam müjesiyle kanāreler

Kaşāb çengi itmede ağyar ile veli

'Uşşāk-ı sine-şāfını gördükçe [K18a] aralar / erreler

⁵¹⁷ terānesiyle: - L

⁵¹⁸ zehrābe-nūṣān-ı hicrānı: zehrābe firākı nūṣān-ı hicrān K

⁵¹⁹ eylediler: iderler B K

⁵²⁰ helva'ıyān: helvāıyān B K

⁵²¹ iltiflātla: iltiflātıyla B P

⁵²² cānın: cānı L

⁵²³ zır-i tiğ: zır-i tiğ-i ser-tizi P

⁵²⁴ ser-i bī-sāmānından: bī-ser ü sāmānından B

manṭūḳı üzre sātūr-nigāh-ı pūstīn-şikāfıyle pāre-i ciger-i ḳurbānıyān-ı bismilgede-i⁵²⁵
muḥabbeti zıver-i ḳannāre-i müjgān-ı hūn-pāş eylediler. Zibende-ḳadān-ı hayyātın⁵²⁶

Nazm⁵²⁷

Açdum metā'-ı rāzumı bir derzi şūhına

Çok ölçdi⁵²⁸ biçdi⁵²⁹ gördi çıkışmaz⁵³⁰ tekelledi⁵³¹

fehvası üzre mikrād-ı nigāh ve sūzen-i müjgan ve ibrişim-tār-ı gīsū vü tebāşir-i ğurre-
rū-yı⁵³² dil-cūylarıyla ḳāmet-i enzār-ı nuẓẓāra cāme-dūz-ı ıdṭırāb oldılar. Ve
ṭannāzān-ı ḳazzāzān⁵³³

Nazm

Iderdüm düğmesine rişte-i cānum ilik dilden

Benümle ol meh-i ḳazzāz eger bāzāra el virse

resmince tār-ı⁵³⁴ şa'şā'a-i cemālleri ile giribān-ı şabr-ı 'uşşāḳa tügme-bāf-ı inḳılāb
olurlar idi. Civānān-ı keşşgerān

Nazm

Pā-berehne kūçe-gerd-i āzāde-i bī-ḳayd iken

Āh bir şūh keşşger pāy-bend itdi beni

ḳavlince āvāregān-ı⁵³⁵ kūçe-i hevāyı ayak ḥaffāfı eylediler. Ve sim-tenān zergerān

Nazm

⁵²⁵ bismilgede: bismilgeh L

⁵²⁶ hayyātın: hayyātān P

⁵²⁷ This couplet is also included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 1262).

⁵²⁸ ölçdi: kesdi B

⁵²⁹ biçdi: dökdi L P

⁵³⁰ çıkışmaz: çıkmaz D

⁵³¹ tekelledi: tenükledi D

⁵³² ğurre: ğurre-i P; şubḥ-ı ğurre K

⁵³³ ḳazzāzān: ḳazzāz B

⁵³⁴ tār: tāb L

⁵³⁵ āvāregān: āzādegān K

Ten-i zer sîm-sirişk ve küre-i [P36] âhum ile

Meskenüm çârsû-yı zergere döndi cānā

maḳāliyle pūte-i muḥabbetde⁵³⁶ ḳāl olan dil-sühtegān-ı sikke-dār-ı ḥālişü'l-‘ayyārı
dilber şarrāfı eylediler. Silsile-mūyān-ı⁵³⁷ āhengerān

Nazm

Düşdi [B23b] dāmān-ı dile bir şerer-i şūr-efgen⁵³⁸

‘Aşk-ı āhengeri zencir-i cünūn işler iken

nālesi ile āhen-i serd döken mecānīn-i bi-ḳaydı der-zencir eylediler⁵³⁹. Ve hilāl-
ebrūyān-ı na‘l-bendān

Nazm

Hussād iken yārı biri birine çaḳarlar

Bu ḥalk gehi⁵⁴⁰ na‘le gehi⁵⁴¹ miḥa ḳaḳarlar [L20a]

āvāzesiyle na‘l-i der-āteş olan⁵⁴² bi-ḳarārān-ı pā-der-hevāyı teshir itdiler⁵⁴³. Sürh-
rūyān-ı sarrāciyān

Nazm

‘Inānum aldı bir sarrāc-ı zerdūz-ı melek-peyker

Ki çerhi⁵⁴⁴ ‘aks-i ruḥsārı gül-i şeftālū-reng eyler

vefkince ‘inān-ı ihtiyār-ı nuẓẓārı⁵⁴⁵ rubūde-i dest-i nāz eylediler. Ve nāzük-tenān-ı
dellākān

⁵³⁶ muḥabbetde: miḥnetde B

⁵³⁷ Silsile-mūyān: Silsile-i mūmyān P

⁵³⁸ şūr-efgen: sūz-efgen B

⁵³⁹ eylediler: eylerler idi B

⁵⁴⁰ gehi: kimi K

⁵⁴¹ gehi: kimisi K

⁵⁴² na‘l-i der-āteş olan: - L

⁵⁴³ itdiler: eylediler K B

⁵⁴⁴ çerhi: illegible in B

Nazm

Siyeh fūṭayla⁵⁴⁶ gör ḥamāmda ol mäh-ı tābānı

Eger görmek dilerseñ zulmet içre āb-ı ḥayvānı

mā-şadaķınca berehne-cismān-ı⁵⁴⁷ kūy-ı melāmeti germābe-nişin-i pür-tef ü tāb-ı
niyāz⁵⁴⁸ eylediler.

El-ḥāşıl se şebāne-rüz ‘ale’t-tevālī ahālī-i Şām’uñ ku‘üdları kıyāma ve ārāmları
ḥırāma mübeddel oldu. Cünbüş-i mikrād-ı eşi‘‘a⁵⁴⁹ ile mecmū‘a-i eyyāmdan evrāk-ı
leyāl munķaṭı‘ ve tevassuṭ-ı [K18b] meserret ü inbisāt ile ecfān-ı enāmda hey’āt-ı
ittişāl mündefi‘ oldu. Cāme-ḥ^vābları maḥmil-i nisyānda perçide, çārşebleri⁵⁵⁰ ebdān-ı
ta‘ṭilde piçide olup taraf taraf ḥalka-i encümen-i yārān şayd-ı tā’ir-i⁵⁵¹ ‘işrete ḥalka-i
dām ve müşāhede-i cemāl-i ḥübān didelerde⁵⁵² cāy-gir-i menām oldu.

Nazm

Ne ‘aceb tiz geçer zevk u sürür eyyāmı

Irmedin nişf-ı nehārı irüşür ahşamı

maḍmūnı ḥātime-i⁵⁵³ şaḥife-i şādmānide [B24a] nümüne-i imḍā-yı⁵⁵⁴ encām olup

Nazm

Libās-ı ‘āriyedür heb geçer göñül olma

Firib-ḥörde-i tezyin-i çārsū-yı cihān

⁵⁴⁵ nuzṣān: - K

⁵⁴⁶ fūṭayla: fūteyle P L K B

⁵⁴⁷ cismān-ı: cismā-yı B

⁵⁴⁸ niyāz: - K

⁵⁴⁹ eşi‘‘a: - B

⁵⁵⁰ çārşebleri: çārşebler K B

⁵⁵¹ şayd-ı ta’ir: şaydgāh L

⁵⁵² ḥübān didelerde: ḥübān ile dide K

⁵⁵³ ḥātime-i: - B

⁵⁵⁴ imḍā-yı encām: imḍāyü'l-ḥadd K

me'ālī⁵⁵⁵ şūret-i ārayiş-i eyyāmdan perde-küşā-yı ibhām-ı devām olup⁵⁵⁶

Nazm

Şām'ı gördük yine tahrik-i rikāb eyleyelüm

Gel gönül [P37] maqşad-ı aqsāya şitāb eyleyelüm

diyerek çeşmsār-ı Şām'dan dest-şū-yı ārām ve **Mısır-ı Kāhire**'ye imāle-i licām olundu.

13. Nühdat ez-belde-i latife-i Şām

Üçüncü menzilde mesned-ārā-yı⁵⁵⁷ Külbe-i Ahzān, pīr-i pākīze-ḡamīr-i hānkāh-ı Ken'ān, ḡafīd-i cedd-i enbiyā⁵⁵⁸, nāle-senc-i vā-āsafā ya'nī cenāb-ı Ya'kūb, şalavātü'llāhi [L20b] 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḡadretlerinüñ

Nazm

Sirişk-i dīdesi üstinde pul gibi ḡam idi

Firāk-ı Yūsuf ile ḡaddi pīr-i Ken'ān'ıñ

maḡmūnını mübeyyen-sāhte-i⁵⁵⁹ mi'mār-ı himmet-i nebevīleri olup yine idāfe-i ism-i sāmīleri ile nā'il-i rütbe-i ifāda olan **Cisr-i Ya'kūb** 'aleyhi's-selāmdan mānend-i⁵⁶⁰ seyl-i eşk ḡüzār olundu. Ve bihte-i ḡırbāl-ı tevātür olan ḡubūb-ı aḡbār vefkince merdüm-i çeşm-i 'ālem-bīnleri pey-rev-i Yūsuf, 'aleyhi's-selām, oluncaya dek peykān-ı ḡāra-ḡudāz-ı⁵⁶¹ sirişk-i⁵⁶² āteşinleri ile⁵⁶³ ol ḡavālinüñ aḡcārı sūrāḡ sūrāḡ olduğu maḡall⁵⁶⁴ memerr-i nazar-ı ḡayret kılınarak

⁵⁵⁵ me'ālī: me'ālīn K

⁵⁵⁶ olup: olmaḡın K B

⁵⁵⁷ -ārā-yı: - B

⁵⁵⁸ cedd-i enbiyā: ceddü'l-enbiyā P K B

⁵⁵⁹ sāhte-i: sāhte L

⁵⁶⁰ mānend: mānende-i B P

⁵⁶¹ ḡudāz: ḡüzār L

⁵⁶² sirişk: eşk L

⁵⁶³ ile: - B

⁵⁶⁴ maḡall: - P

Nazm

Yūsuf ez-bi-mihri-i ihvān be-çāh üftāde-est

Bî-ḥased ne-būd birāder ger peyember-zāde-est

mişdāķı üzre ol mihrāb-ı ebrūvānı secdegāh-ı kevākib olan māh-ı münir-i evc-i risālet
üftāde-i çāh-ı raşad-ı ḥased-i⁵⁶⁵ ihvān [B24b] olup hāle-i āgūş-ı ğıyābesinde
cilveger⁵⁶⁶ olduğı⁵⁶⁷ çāh-ı şafvet-penāha ilķā-yı kemend-i nūr-ı nigāh ve āb-ı dil-
zidāsı ziyāretgāh-ı efvāh-ı ecfān kılındukdan soñra heft rūze⁵⁶⁸ tayy-ı menāzil ile
kaşaba-i **Ramle**⁵⁶⁹ pā-zede-i [K19a] huyūl-i vüşūl oldukda⁵⁷⁰ aḥmāl u eşķālden
tecerrüd tarīķiyle ziyāret-i Beytū'l-maķdis'e tahrik-i kādime-i⁵⁷¹ şitāb olundu.

14. 'Azm-kerden be-sū-yı Kuds-i Şerif

Reh-nümūnī-i feyḍ-i Hudā ile revzen-küşā-yı ḥarem-i Akşā olan mihmān-serā-yı çerh-
āşnā-yı⁵⁷² sulṭāniyye ki mülūk-i memdūḥü's-sülūk-i Mışriyye'den Sulṭān Kaytbāy⁵⁷³
'aleyhi'r-raḥmenün irtifā'-i derecāt-ı dāreynine dāl ve nukūş-ı hurde-kār-ı ruḥāmiye-
i⁵⁷⁴ ferş ü⁵⁷⁵ divār u sakf-ı şa'şā'a-bārı⁵⁷⁶ şüret-nümā-yı imtinā'-ı⁵⁷⁷ kabūl-i
mişāldür⁵⁷⁸. [P38] Ol menzil-i vālāda ḥaṭṭ-ı⁵⁷⁹ rāḥile-i çend rūze kılınup rüy-māl-i
ḥāk-i 'ıtr-nāk-i ḥarem-i Akşā'ya müsāra'at olundu.

⁵⁶⁵ ḥased illegible in K.

⁵⁶⁶ cilveger: ḥalveger P

⁵⁶⁷ olduğı: olduğı üzerine K

⁵⁶⁸ rūze: rūze-i B

⁵⁶⁹ Ramle: Ramle'ye K

⁵⁷⁰ oldukda: olundukda B

⁵⁷¹ kādime-i: kāme-i P

⁵⁷² āşnā-yı: āşyān-ı B

⁵⁷³ Kaytbāy: Kaytbā B K

⁵⁷⁴ ruḥāmiye-i: ruḥāmiye L P

⁵⁷⁵ hurde-kār-ı ruḥāmiye-i ferş ü: hurdekārı ile ferş-i K

⁵⁷⁶ -bārı: -pāşı P

⁵⁷⁷ imtinā': irtifā' B

⁵⁷⁸ mişāldür: imtişāldür K

⁵⁷⁹ ḥaṭṭ-ı: ḥıṭṭa-i P

Hakkā harem-i nūr-peymā-yı [L21a] Mescid-i Akşā bir sāha-i rūḥ-baḥşādur ki sekiz yüz kırk zirā' tūli ve beş yüz yigirmi beş zirā' 'ardı fermān-ı Bennā-yı kār-hāne-i kaderle resm-keşide-i pergār-ı gūşe-i⁵⁸⁰ bāl-i⁵⁸¹ Rūḥu'l-emīn'dür. Dā'ire-i sūr-ı ma'mūre-i Kuds-i mübārekūn⁵⁸² miqdār-ı sülüşi sāha-i şihḥat-baḥşā-yı harem-i Akşā olup sülüşān-ı ahiri mesācid ü mevādi'-i⁵⁸³ büyüti-nās idügi karar-dāde-i hendesiyān-ı⁵⁸⁴ diyārdur.

Evvelā harem-i mükerrerem-i Akşā ḥişār-ı cenūbī ve şarkīnün rükninde [B25a] ḡāyet-i irtifā' üzre vāki'⁵⁸⁵ olup tūli cenūbdan şimāle ve 'ardı şarkdan ḡarba düşmüşdür. Ve bu harem-i şerifün taraf-ı ḡarbī vü şimālisi ma'amūre-i şehre muttaşıl olup⁵⁸⁶ bi'l-cümle medāris ve⁵⁸⁷ taraf-ı şarkī vü cenūbisi vādi' vü⁵⁸⁸ kūhsār vāki' olup hattā ondan ziyāde revzene-i ḥātır-küşāsı bālā-yı ḥişārdan cānib-i cenūbī-i⁵⁸⁹ şahrāya kūşāde vāki' olmuşdur. Ve⁵⁹⁰ harem-i şerif-i Akşā'nun şümār-ı tabakāt-ı eflāk üzre⁵⁹¹ nüh deriçe-i melā'ik-nişini olup eşref-i eşheri⁵⁹² divār-ı şimālinün rükn-i şarkisine karīb maḥalde vāki' olan Bābü'l-ḥittā'dur ki ma'mūre-i nazm-ı kerīm-i⁵⁹³ İlāhī'de kerīme-i⁵⁹⁴ 've'd-**ḥulū'l-bābe sücceden ve kulu ḥittatün neḡfir-leküm ḥatāyāküm ve senezidü'l-muḥsinin**⁵⁹⁵ ile i'tilā-yı şānı⁵⁹⁶ mübeyyen olduğundan ḡayrı bi'l-cümle enbiyā-yı

⁵⁸⁰ gūşe-i: gūşe B

⁵⁸¹ bāl: - K

⁵⁸² mübārekūn: şerifün K

⁵⁸³ mevādi'-i: mevādi' u L

⁵⁸⁴ hendesiyān: mühendisiyān P

⁵⁸⁵ vāki': - K

⁵⁸⁶ olup: olup ve B

⁵⁸⁷ ve: - B

⁵⁸⁸ ve: - K

⁵⁸⁹ cenūbī-i: cenūbī P B

⁵⁹⁰ ve: ve ol K

⁵⁹¹ üzre: üzerine L

⁵⁹² eşref-i eşheri: eşher-i eşrefi L

⁵⁹³ kerīm: - P

⁵⁹⁴ kerīme-i: kavlih K

⁵⁹⁵ The Kur'an, 2/58; muḥsinin: muḥsinin ilā-ahiri K

⁵⁹⁶ şānı: şānı-i B

kirām, şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhim,⁵⁹⁷ ḥaḍretleri kādime-cünbān-ı ziyāret olduklarında ol bāb-ı sa'ādet-intisābdan dāhil olup 'ale'l-huṣūṣ [K19b] tenhā-süvār-ı⁵⁹⁸ meydān-ı isrā, šalle'llāhü te'alā 'aleyhi ve sellem⁵⁹⁹, ḥaḍretleri dahi ṣeb-i mu'ciz-nümā-yı⁶⁰⁰ mi'rācda reh-nümūni-i Rūḥu'l-emīn⁶⁰¹ ile ol bāb-ı āsmān-ı cenāb süddesin maḡbūt-ı kıbāb-ı nüh revāk buyurup 'inān-ı Burāk-ı bāşıra-reftārı merbaṭ-ı ezimme-i huyūl-ı enbiyā olan ḥalka-i⁶⁰² [L21b] sa'ādet-medāra beste buyurmışlardır. Ve Babü'l-esbaṭ dahi Babü'l-ḥıṭṭa [P39] ile⁶⁰³ [B25b] 'alāka-gir-i teḳārüb olmuştur⁶⁰⁴.

Egerçi⁶⁰⁵ mersūm-ı gūşe-i bāl-ı Rūḥu'l-emīn olan dā'ire-i ḥarem-i mükerrerem bi'l-cümle Mescid-i Akṣā idügi müteḥayyiz-i derece-i taḥkik idügi müsellemdür⁶⁰⁶. Lākin ḥālā ihāta-i da'ire-i ḥaremde Mescid-i Akṣā nāmıyle ser-efrāz-ı evc-i ihtizāz olan cāmi'-i şerif divār-ı cenūbide⁶⁰⁷ cānib-i Beytü'l-ḥarām'a⁶⁰⁸ teveccüh üzre zānū-zede-i ka'de-i istiḥkām olup cānib-i ğarbisinde Mescid-i Maḡāribe⁶⁰⁹ nām bir mescid-i tūlāni ve cānib-i şarkisinde ḥaḍret-i 'Ömerü'l-Fārūk, raḍiye'llāhü'llāhü 'anh, sevād-ı murakka'-i ma'mūre-i Kuds-i mübāreki dest-i 'ālem-küşālarıyle şūr-ı vücūd-ı bed-būd-ı küffārdan taḥliye ve taḥhīr buyurduklarında ta'mir-kerde-i mi'mār-ı himmet-i bi-hemtāları⁶¹⁰ olan mescid-i hem-zānū-yı şaff-ittişāl vāki' olup cāmi'-i Akṣā'dan pā-

⁵⁹⁷ 'aleyhim: aleyhim ecma'in K; 'aleyhimü's-selām P

⁵⁹⁸ süvār: süvārān B

⁵⁹⁹ šalle'llāhü te'alā 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'aleyhi's-şalātü ve's-selām K

⁶⁰⁰ mu'ciz-nümā-yı: - B K P

⁶⁰¹ reh-nümūni-i Rūḥu'l-emīn: reh-numūni(-i) kabḍ-i Hudā ile Rūḥu'l-emīn K

⁶⁰² ḥalka-i: ḥalka L

⁶⁰³ ve bābü'l-isbaṭ dahi bābü'l-ḥıṭṭa ile: ve bābü'l-ḥıṭṭa dahi bābü'l-isbaṭ ile K

⁶⁰⁴ olmuştur: olmağın K

⁶⁰⁵ egerçi: eger B

⁶⁰⁶ taḥkik idügi müsellemdür: taḥkikdür L

⁶⁰⁷ cenūbide: cenūbında K

⁶⁰⁸ ḥarāma: ḥarām B

⁶⁰⁹ Maḡāribe: Mu'āviye B

⁶¹⁰ bi-hemtāları: - K

ber-cā-yı kıyām olan sūtūn-ı ruhām-ı ebr-fām⁶¹¹ hāric-i merātib-i şümār ve zahm-resān-ı sebbābe-i⁶¹² ta'accüb-i nuzzārdur⁶¹³. Cānib-i yemin-i⁶¹⁴ minberde kāmēt-efrāz-ı sāha-i i'zāz bir sūtūn ki hālā āviziş-i⁶¹⁵ gūşvāre-i minā-fām-ı kanādil ile icrā-yı merāsım-i ta'zīm olunmuşdur.

Ol serv-i riyād-ı Kuds'ün sāye-i devlet-māyesinde gülçin-i gülşen-serāy-ı eflāk, bāla-nişin-i serir-i levlāk⁶¹⁶, şalle'llāhū te'ālā⁶¹⁷ 'aleyhi ve sellem, hadretleri ekseriyyā dū dest-i hazā'in-küşā-yı şefā'atlerin kufl-ı gencine-i şalāt⁶¹⁸ buyurdıkları meşhūde-i⁶¹⁹ küşāde⁶²⁰-çeşmān-ı şūret u ma'nā olmağla ol mesned-i vālāda [B26a] tahte-i deryūze-i⁶²¹ dest-i du'ā vü niyāz nakd-i icābetden tehī olmaduğı istibāhdan hālidür⁶²².

Mescid-i 'Ömeri'den⁶²³ rükn-i şarkīye varınca rütbe-i 'aşereye karib tākçelerle bir şuffe-i⁶²⁴ tūlānī sāk-zede-i istikrār olup tahtı maḥbes-i 'afārīt-i cenāb-ı⁶²⁵ Süleymān nebī şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhdür ki⁶²⁶ hezār 'imād-ı dīv-şiken ile meğāk-ı hevl-nāk zir-i zeminde miyāne-i⁶²⁷ takvim-i fenāda [L22a] mānende-i şeb-i yeldā tārık u tūlānī, kulüb-ı şeyātın gibi zūlmānī-i⁶²⁸ cāvidānī vāki' olup hedm ü tahribi birūn-ı yārā-yı kuvvet-i insānī olmağla binā-yı [P40] Süleymānī'den bāki kalmışdur.

⁶¹¹ ebr: ebri B K

⁶¹² sebbābe-i: şebāne B

⁶¹³ ta'accüb-i nuzzārdur: ta'accüb u intizārdur K

⁶¹⁴ cānib-i yemin: cāmi'-i yemini K

⁶¹⁵ āviziş: āferiniş B

⁶¹⁶ gülşen-serāy-ı eflāk, bālā-nişin-i serir-i levlāk: gülşen-i şefa'at K

⁶¹⁷ te'ālā: - L

⁶¹⁸ şalāt: şalavāt K

⁶¹⁹ meşhūde-i: meşhūd K

⁶²⁰ küşāde: ne-küşāde P; küşāde-i B

⁶²¹ deryūze-i: deryūze B

⁶²² hālidür: hālī degildür K

⁶²³ Ömeri'den: 'Omer rādiye'llāhū 'anhū-den P

⁶²⁴ tākçelerle bir şuffe-i: tākçelerle bir mescid ve bir şuffe-i K

⁶²⁵ cenāb: - L

⁶²⁶ 'aleyhdür ki: - L

⁶²⁷ miyāne-i: miyāne B

⁶²⁸ zūlmānī-i: zūlmānī B; zūlümāt K

Ol zindân-ı vâhime-resâna muttaşıl rûkn-i hâkîkî-i⁶²⁹ şarkîde⁶³⁰ hadret-i Meryem radiye'llâhü 'anhânuñ eyyâm-ı hayâtlarında [K20a] ikâmetgâh-ı istirâhatları olan bir hücre-i rûşen ki nerdübân-ı çend pâyeye ile zir-i zeminde gûşe-nişin-i hafâ olup divâr-ı kıblide⁶³¹ sine-küşâ-yı hüdâ olan mihrâb-ı Meryem pişgâhında ruḥâm-ı mücellâdan bir tekne-i rûḥânî ki hamîr-i mâye-i enfâs-ı cân-bahşâ⁶³² ya'nî zât-ı âsmân-mesned-i Mesihâ henüz piçide-i kımât-ı şîr-h^vâregî oldukları hâlde mehd-i vücûd-ı nâzeninleri olmağla cânib-i târem-i⁶³³ çârûma hamyâze-keş-i hasret olmuşdur. Ve yine ol hücre-i dil-pezirûñ divâr-ı şarkisinde vâkî' şuffede mihrâb-ı Havâriyyîn-i kandil-fürûz⁶³⁴ [B26b] ta'yîn olmuşdur.

Rûkn-i şarkîden rûkn-i şimâliye⁶³⁵ varınca te'sis-kerde-i endâze-i mi'mâr-ı hikmet olan hişâr-ı mağfiret-medâr-ı şarkî ki vasaatında Bâbü'r-raḥme ve Bâbü't-tevbe nâm iki bâb-ı devlet-me'âb sine-küşâ-yı maṭla'-ı âftâb olmuşdur. Ol iki der-i hikmet-eşer pişgâhında, i'âzenâ'llâhü te'âlâ⁶³⁶, vâdi-i hevl-nâk-i ba'idü'l-ğavr-ı⁶³⁷ meğâk-i caḥîmdür ki ber-mükteḍâ-yı ta'yîn-i ezeli hâlâ maḳbere-i 'azab-nümûde-i⁶³⁸ kefere vü⁶³⁹ Yehûd ol vâdi-i kâfir-sûz⁶⁴⁰ derûnında şûret-nümâ-yı cedrî-i rûy-ı zemîn olup rûz-ı ciger-sûz-ı restâ-hizde güzergâh-ı reh-revân-ı na'im u caḥîm olan cisr-i şîrât vad' olunacak maḥalli ta'yîn ü işâret içün Bâbü'r-raḥme ile Mehd-i 'Îsâ beyninde bâlâ-yı

⁶²⁹ hâkîkî-i: hâkîkî: B

⁶³⁰ şarkîde: ser-vakıde L

⁶³¹ kıblide: kıblisinde P K

⁶³² cân-bahşâ: hayât-bahşâ K B P

⁶³³ târem: - L

⁶³⁴ -fürûz: -fürûzan K B

⁶³⁵ şimâliye: şimâliyyeye P

⁶³⁶ te'âlâ: - B L

⁶³⁷ 'l-ğavr: 'l-fevr P

⁶³⁸ nümûde-i: nümûd P B

⁶³⁹ kefere vü: kefere-i P B K

⁶⁴⁰ kâfir-sûz: kâfir-sûzdur ve B

hişār-ı şarkide üç zirā' mîkdārı bir sûtün-ı ruhām yine ol vādî-i dehşet-endāz üzre hāric-i⁶⁴¹ hişāre itāle olunmuşdur.

Cenāb-ı hādet-i⁶⁴² Süleymān, [L22b] şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, hādetleri fermān-ı Mübdi'-i kār-hāne-i icād ile itmām-ı binā-yı Beytü'l-makdis buyurdukları şām-ı meserret-encāmda niyyet-i ziyāretle Bābü'l-hıttā'dan derūn-ı harem-i muhtereme kām-zen-i duhūl olup⁶⁴³ dā'ire-i⁶⁴⁴ harem-i beyt-i⁶⁴⁵ Maqdis'i leb-riz-i nūr-ı İlāhî müşāhede itmeleriyle tāb-āver-i tāb-ı tecelli olmaduklarından pāy-ı 'azimetlerin girih-bend-i zemīn-i hayret idüp [P41] āyine-i zānūların nihāde-i rū-yı zemīn iderek ol neş'e-mend-i şahbā-yı bi-humār-ı tecelli reviş-i mestāne ile bir niçe⁶⁴⁶ kadem [B27a] tayy itdüklerinde fermān-ı hādet-i Kerīm-i çāre-sāz-ı dil-nevāz ile⁶⁴⁷ şahra-i mübārekenüñ bir kıt'ası istikbāl için seng-i [K20b] felāhan-ı sür'at olduğunda⁶⁴⁸ işāret-i Süleymān nebî ile ol menzilde⁶⁴⁹ gūşe-gir-i ārām-ı ber-devām⁶⁵⁰ olmağın bālā-yı ser-i sa'ādet-eşerine bir⁶⁵¹ kubbe bünyād buyurup, yine fermān-ārāyi-i⁶⁵² ins ü cin ü⁶⁵³ vuhūş u tuyūr için⁶⁵⁴ tertīb-i divān buyurduklarında kürsî-i hükümet-i nübüvvet-tev'emleri⁶⁵⁵ ol cāygāha qarīb maḥalde mevdū' olduğunun⁶⁵⁶ işāreti hālā hüveydādur.

⁶⁴¹ hāric-i: hārici ol B

⁶⁴² hādet: - B K P

⁶⁴³ olup: olduğda P ; - L

⁶⁴⁴ dā'ire-i: - L

⁶⁴⁵ beyt: - B P

⁶⁴⁶ niçe: niçe mîkdār K

⁶⁴⁷ dil-nevāz ile: bende-nevāzıyle B; dil-nevāzıyle K

⁶⁴⁸ olduğunda: olduğına L; olduğta K;

⁶⁴⁹ menzilde: menzil-i vālāda K

⁶⁵⁰ ber-devām: - K

⁶⁵¹ bir: ebr K P

⁶⁵² fermān-ārāyi-i: fermān-rānî-i B; fermān-rāyi-i L; fermān-rāyi K

⁶⁵³ cin ü: cin ile ve K

⁶⁵⁴ için: ile K

⁶⁵⁵ hükümet-i nübüvvet-tev'emleri: nübüvvet-i hükümet-tev'emleri L

⁶⁵⁶ olduğunun: olduğundan B

Ammā zemīn-i ḥarem-i İrem-tev'em-i Akṣā'ya dest-i ferrāş-ı şun'-ı ezel ile kalıçe-i birişem-tār-ı⁶⁵⁷ sebze-i⁶⁵⁸ hemvār⁶⁵⁹ güsterānide kılınup cā-be-cā āşyāne-i tā'ir-i⁶⁶⁰ kudsiyān olacak eşcār-ı sāye-dār rişe-endāz-ı zemīn-i istikrār olmuştur.

Miyāne-i ḥaremde ḥarem-i maḥşuş-ı şahra-i mübāreke⁶⁶¹ beş altı zirā' miqdārı irtifā'la üzre⁶⁶² tahmīnen üçer yüz zirā' tūl u 'arḍ ile mir'āt-ı şüret-nümā gibi ruḥām-ı mücellādan binā' olunup⁶⁶³ pirāmeni yine ruḥāmdan bir zirā' miqdārı divārçe⁶⁶⁴ ile ihāta olunmuştur.

Rükn-i ğarbisinde rüz-ı bāzār-ı kıyāmetde mizān-ı 'amel-senc-i enām mevdū' olacak maḥalde niçe sütūn-ı mevzūn-ruḥām üzre bir minber-i maṭbū'u's-simā ve bir mihrāb-ı sine-küşā binā olunmuştur. Ve bu sāḥa-i tāb-nākūñ cevānib-i erba'asından sekiz yerden yigirmişer [L23a] pāyeden efzūn silm-i selāmet-fermāya⁶⁶⁵ irtikā'⁶⁶⁶ olunup pāye-i [B27b] pāyini⁶⁶⁷ mesāfe-i ba'ideden te'sis olunmağın ğāyet pehn ü ferāḥ vāki' olup her pāyesinde pehlū-be-pehlū yigirmişer ādem pā-nihāde-i⁶⁶⁸ su'ūd olmak ḥayz-ı imkāndadır. Ve bu sāḥa-i dil-ārānuñ āğūş-ı miyānesinde kubbe-i şahra-i mübāreke beyḍa-i⁶⁶⁹ tā'ir-i⁶⁷⁰ sa'ādet şeklinde cılve-nümā olmuştur. Kubbe-i nūr-peymānuñ nişfina bāliğ oluncaya dek eṭrāfı libās-ı ruḥāmiye ile bir ḥarem-i heşt-hāne hāle-vār

⁶⁵⁷ birişim: ibrişim B

⁶⁵⁸ sebze-i: sebze B

⁶⁵⁹ hemvār: hemvāre P B

⁶⁶⁰ tā'ir: ṭayārān K

⁶⁶¹ mübāreke: mübāreke ki P B

⁶⁶² irtifā' üzre: irtifā'la L

⁶⁶³ olunup: - K

⁶⁶⁴ divārçe: divār-ı peççe B

⁶⁶⁵ -fermāya: -fermā ile B K

⁶⁶⁶ irtikā': irtifā' P

⁶⁶⁷ pāyini: pāye B

⁶⁶⁸ -nihāde-i: -nihade L

⁶⁶⁹ beyḍa-i: beyḍā B

⁶⁷⁰ tāir: - K

ihâta idüp andan yukarı tâ küngüre-i zerrîn-[P42]kubbeye dek⁶⁷¹ hil'at-ı kâşî-i⁶⁷² nâ-
dide nuķuş ile cilve-nümâ-yı tarz-ı âhar olmışdur.

Ol kubbe-i 'alışānuñ binā-yı 'aşlisi mülük-i Emeviyye'den Süleymān ibn 'Abdü'l-
Melik'ün beyda-i tã'ir-i himmeti iken ba'de ilbās-ı kâşî vü ruhām bihişt-āşyān Sultān
Süleyman merhūmun⁶⁷³ dühte-i kargāh-ı himmet-i⁶⁷⁴ bi-hemtālarıdur.

Zir-i⁶⁷⁵ kubbe-i sipihr-mümāssda tahminen tūlen yigirmi ve 'arḍan on sekiz zirā'
mikḍarı kafes ihâtasında tã'ir-i zibende-pervāz-ı evc-i sa'âdet ya'nî şahrā-i mübāreke
[K21a] cānib-i kıbleye teveccüh⁶⁷⁶ üzre āsūde-bāl-ı āşyān-ı istikrār olup şeş cihetden
kat'-ı revābı ü ittisāl ile 'alāqa-pezir-i vakfe-i imtisāl-i emr-i⁶⁷⁷ zü'l-Celāl⁶⁷⁸ idügi
peyvend-güsil-i hıbāl-i kıl ü kâldür. Düş-ı yemininde naķş-ı tamğā-yı eṣer-i pāy-ı
Muhammedi, 'aleyhi's-şalātü ve's-selām⁶⁷⁹, ki teşrif-i⁶⁸⁰ sürādikāt-ı melekūt
buyurdıkları şām-ı tarab-fercāmdan⁶⁸¹ yādigār ḳalup mānende-i [B28a] dehān-ı
gevher-feşān

Nazm

Çün ğulāmi-st ki güm-kerde haṭṭ-ı āzādi

Her ki bi-dāğ-ı tū der-'arṣa-i maḥşer kered

terennümiyle lebriz-i mübāhāt olmadadır. Bihişt-mekîn⁶⁸² merhūm Sultān Ahmed-i

Evvel / ol şüret-nümā-yı fāhte-i şāhsār-ı Hudā'yı ta'zimen mekîn-i kafes-i simin idüp

⁶⁷¹ dek: degin K

⁶⁷² kâşî-i: kaşî B

⁶⁷³ Sultān Süleymān-ı merhūmun: merhūm Sultān Süleymān'ın P B; merhūm Sultān Süleymān
'aleyhi'r-raḥme'nin K

⁶⁷⁴ himmet: - K

⁶⁷⁵ zir: - K

⁶⁷⁶ teveccüh: - L

⁶⁷⁷ emr: - L K

⁶⁷⁸ zü'l-Celāl: - K

⁶⁷⁹ 'aleyhi's-şalātü ve's-selām: - L B P

⁶⁸⁰ teşrif: teşrif-i şerāperde-i B

⁶⁸¹ tarab-fercāmdan: tarab-encāmda K

⁶⁸² mekîn: mesned P K

nev-be-nev gülâbla pür olmağın ol feytle vücūh-i nevāşī-i züvvār meşāriḳ-i envār [L23b] olmadadır.

Mihmān-ı girāmi-terin-i Izdi, şalle'llāhü te'alā 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥadretleri⁶⁸³ rahş-rān-ı āsmān olduğda⁶⁸⁴ şahrā-i mübāreke keşiş-i cezbe-i muḥabbet ile bî-ḳarār olup āmāde-i pervāz-ı mürāfaḳat olduğu ḥālde fermān-ı Yezdānī ile ḥadret-i Rūḥu'l-emīn⁶⁸⁵ nīm-i rāḥda temkīn buyurmalarıyle āşār-ı ḥāme-i⁶⁸⁶ enāmil-i Rūḥu'l-ḳuds şahīfe-i⁶⁸⁷ şahrā-i mübāreke mürtesem olmuşdur.

Ve bir cānibinde dahī⁶⁸⁸ ruḥşat-yāfte-i gül-geşt-i çemenzār-ı ferādis cenāb-ı Idrīs, şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḥadretlerinüñ⁶⁸⁹ ondan mütecāviz naḳş-ı ḳadem-i mükerrerleri dide-küşā-yı cānib-i āsmān olmuşdur. Zīr-i sāye-i devlet-māye-i şahrā-i mübāreke bir ğār [P43] şeklinde nümūdār olup cānib-i ḳıbliden nerdübān-ı heft-pāye ile ol mahzen-i iksir-i sa'ādete⁶⁹⁰ vaḳ'-ı ḳadem-i ziyāret olunmadadır.

Leyle-i Mi'rāc'da ümidgāh-ı kāffe-i 'aceze-i 'uşāt, şalle'llāhü te'alā⁶⁹¹ 'aleyhi ve sellem, cenābından nāṭıka-senc-i recā-yı şefā'at olan lisān-ı [B28b] belīgü'l-beyānı cism-i mübārek-i⁶⁹² şahrādan mütemeyyiz olup mālīşgāh-ı efvāh u cibāh olmuşdur.

Ṭarafeyn-i nerdübānında mihrāb-ı Dāvud u Süleymān, şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhime's-selām, şūret-nümā-yı dū çeşm-i cihān-bindür ki ekser evḳāt-ı ḥayātlarında ol mihrāblarda secde-ber-i dergāh-ı⁶⁹³ Ḳāḍiyyü'l-ḥācāt olmuşlardır.

⁶⁸³ ḥadretleri: - K

⁶⁸⁴ olduğda: olduğu K

⁶⁸⁵ emīn: emīn ile K

⁶⁸⁶ ḥāme-i: ḥaşa-i B

⁶⁸⁷ şahīfe-i: şahīfe-i beden B

⁶⁸⁸ dahī: - B

⁶⁸⁹ Idrīs şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh: ḥadret-i Idrīs 'aleyhi's-selām K

⁶⁹⁰ sa'ādete: sa'adet ṭarafına K

⁶⁹¹ te'alā: - L

⁶⁹² mübārek: mübāreke-i B

⁶⁹³ secde-ber-i dergāh: secde-i perverdigār B

Kāfile-sālār-ı nübüvvet, şalle'llāhü 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretleri leyle-i Mi'rāc'da imāme-i sübḥa-i aşfiyā ya'nî imām-ı şaff-ı enbiyā, şalavātü'llāhi⁶⁹⁴ 'aleyhim ecma'in⁶⁹⁵, [K21b] olmağıçün merdümek-i dide-i mihrāb olduklarında eşer-i 'imāme-i mübārekeleri sine-i şahrada eşer itmegin bir hey'āt-ı muḳa'ar cilverge olup şām u seher bir⁶⁹⁶ kandil-i diyā-pāş fūrūzān olmadadır.

Bir gūşesinde daḥi bir şuffe-i muhtaşara ki yine şeb-i pür-ṭarab-ı Mi'rāc'da tenhā-nişin-i mināşşa-i risālet, şalle'llāhü 'aleyhi ve sellem⁶⁹⁷, ḥaḍretlerinüñ gūşe-i dāmen-i devlet-i pīrāmenlerini bir gürbe pister-i [L24a] ḥ^vāb⁶⁹⁸ itmegin itāre-i ḥ^vāb-ı rāḥat-ı⁶⁹⁹ gürbe-i miskīn tecvīz-kerde-i şefkat-ı dil-nevāzāne-i nebevīleri olmamağla⁷⁰⁰ gūşe-i me'men-i dāmenlerin bürde-i mikrāz-ı merḥamet⁷⁰¹ buyurduklarında gürbe-i nā-hüşyār fermān-ı Muğayyirü's-şuver ile şüret-i ḥacerde cilverge olup tā-be-kiyāmet⁷⁰² ḥ^vāb-ı senginde müşāhede-i şüret-i bīdārīden vāye-gir-i ḥirmān olmuştur. Hālā 'alāmeti hüveydā ve maḥall-i icābet-i du'adur.

Bir gūşesinde [B29a] cenāb-ı ceddü'l-enbiyā' Halil-i Hudā, şalavātü'llāhi 'aleyhi ve 'alā-nebiyyinā⁷⁰³, ḥaḍretleri niçe def'a aşḥāb-ı başā'ire hüveydā olmağla mihrāb-ı İbrāhim nām ile mersūm-ı şāḥife-i divār-ı⁷⁰⁴ iştihār olmuştur.

Bālā-yı şahr-i mübārekede Dāvud, 'aleyhi's-selām⁷⁰⁵, ḥaḍretlerinüñ sāhte-i dest-i i'cāz-ı⁷⁰⁶ āhen-güdāzları olan dıraḥt-ı pür-şāḥ u⁷⁰⁷ berg-i [P44] āhenin ile siper-i

⁶⁹⁴ şalavātü'llāhi: nūvānu'llāhi L

⁶⁹⁵ ya'nî imām-ı şaff-ı enbiyā şalavātü'llāhi 'aleyhim ecma'in: - K

⁶⁹⁶ bir: - L

⁶⁹⁷ şalle'llāhü 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'aleyhi's-şalātü ve's-selām K

⁶⁹⁸ ḥāb: ḥāb u rāḥat K

⁶⁹⁹ rāḥat: raḥmet B

⁷⁰⁰ dil-nevāzāne-i nebevīleri olmamağla: dil-nevāzları olmağla K

⁷⁰¹ merḥamet: - K

⁷⁰² be: - L; kıyāmet: maḥşer K

⁷⁰³ şalavātü'llāhi 'aleyhi ve 'alā-nebiyyinā: şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhi K

⁷⁰⁴ divār: - K

⁷⁰⁵ 'aleyhi's-selām: - L

⁷⁰⁶ i'cāz: - K

seyyidü's-şühedā Hamza-i bā-şafā, radiye'llāhü 'anh⁷⁰⁸, sāye-endāz-ı şöhret olmışlardır⁷⁰⁹.

Yine derün-ı kubbe-i Şahratu'llāh'da ümidgāh-ı ahāl-i imān⁷¹⁰ der-i ravḍa-i cinān olacak maḥalde⁷¹¹, yessir-nā'llāhü ve iyyāküm, Bābü'l-cenne tesmiyesi ile bir ruḥām-ı sebz-gün vaḍ'ı ile işāret olunup mā'ide-i āsmānī dahī piş-nihād-ı miḥmānān-ı Yezdānī olan maḥall bir ruḥām-ı sofra-simā ile ta'yin olunmuştur. Vāsıta-i nüzül-i kerime-i 'hel etā',⁷¹² mā-şadaḳ-ı vaşf-ı 'lā-fetā', bāb-ı medīne-i 'ilm-i Ahmedi, şākird-i ders-hāne-i Muhammedi 'Ali ibn⁷¹³ Ebi Tālib, kerreme'llāhü⁷¹⁴ vecheh, manzūr-ı aşḥāb-ı şudūr olduğu maḥall maḳām-ı 'Ali ta'yini ile ziyāretgāh-ı aşḥāb-ı intibāhdur.

Ammā derün-ı kubbe-i rafī'a-i şahr-i mübārekede nigāşte-i ḳalem-i üstād-ı ezel⁷¹⁵ olan nuḳūş-ı ḥayret-fezā nūr-ı nigāh-ı mahrūṭiyyü's-şekli hem-reng-i düm-i tāvus ve 'aks-i cām-ı revzeni nuẓẓārı hem-çeşm-i ḥorōs idüp ḥuṣūşan sāḥa'if-i cidārında⁷¹⁶ şikāfte-i erre-i ḥikmet ve nigāşte-i ḳalem-i ḳudret olmuş ruḥām-ı āyine-endāmlar⁷¹⁷ [K22a] ki çār [L24b] [B29b] kıt'asından birer kitābe-i mevzūn yāḥūd birer⁷¹⁸ şemse-i ḥōş-nümün be-didār olup güyā Mi'mār-ı⁷¹⁹ Ezel⁷²⁰, 'azze ve cell, nigār-hāne-i şun'-ı ezelide muṭlak ārāyiş-i divār-ı şahr⁷²¹ için resm ü icād eylemiştir. Be-tahşış iki

⁷⁰⁷ u: - K

⁷⁰⁸ şafā: şafā radiye'llāhü 'anh L

⁷⁰⁹ olmışlardır: olmuştur K

⁷¹⁰ imān: imān ya'ni P

⁷¹¹ maḥalde: maḥalle B P

⁷¹² The Kur'an, 76/1

⁷¹³ ibn: bin P

⁷¹⁴ kerreme'llāhü: kerreme'llāhü te'ālā K

⁷¹⁵ üstād: üstād-ı ezel P

⁷¹⁶ cidārında: cüdrânında B P

⁷¹⁷ āyine-endāmlar: āyine-i endamları K

⁷¹⁸ birer: bir L

⁷¹⁹ Mi'mār: Hallāk P

⁷²⁰ Ezel: Ezel ya'ni Hakk K

⁷²¹ şahr: şahr-i mübāreke P

ṭāvus-ı tamāmü'l-a'dā bir kâseye ser-endâz olmak şüreti hüveydâ olduğu aşhâb-ı başireti⁷²² ser-efkende-i zânû-yı istiğrâb itmededür.

Hōşâ şahrâ-i mübâreke ki miyâne-i eczâ-yı arđiyyede zât-ı maḳdis-i İlâhiyyeye ihtîşâş ile hem-seng-i terâzû-yı kader-i 'arş-ı a'zam olup fırka-i enbiyâ-yı kirâma ziyâretgâh ve aḳdâm-ı⁷²³ feydgâhlarına busegâh olduğundan ğayrı sultân-ı 'arş-mesned, şalle'llâhü te'âlâ 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretlerinüñ ḥalvet-hâne-i ḥaşşü'l-ḥaşş-ı kurbe 'urûcları hengâmında bâm-ı âsmândan âvizân olan⁷²⁴ silm-i nûrâninüñ müttekâ-yı derece-i pâyini⁷²⁵ olmağla eser-i kadem-i şefâ'at-tev'emlerin halka-i gûş-ı iftiḥâr itmek mertebesinden faḍla rûz-ı ciger-sûz-ı [P45] restâ-hizde dahî tefriḳ-i ahâli-i bihişt ü düzah için menişsa-i maḥkeme-i ḳaḍiyyü'l-hâcât olup zümre-i 'usât-ı züvvârine leb-cünbân-ı⁷²⁶ şefâ'at ola!

Hezâr hezâr⁷²⁷ şükr⁷²⁸ Hâlîḳ-ı bî-çûna ki mihmân-ı ribât-ı çâr şuffe-i beden ya'nî rûḥ-ı pür-miḥen râhile-bend-i bender-i fenâ olmadın nâşiye-i siyâh-günâh-âlûd ol seng-i mübâreke⁷²⁹ mālîde ḳılınmağla⁷³⁰ dāḥil-i şümâr-ı züvvâr olmak müyesser oldu⁷³¹, el-minnetü li'llâhi [B30a] te'âlâ⁷³² ve teḳaddes.

Kenâr-ı şahrâ-i mübârekede ruḥâm-ı mücellâdan [K22b] bir ḳubbe-i hōş-nümâ binâ olunup Ḳubbetü'l-mi'râc ismiyle ṭavafgâh-ı ins ü melek olmışdur. Sevdâger-i bâzâr-ı melekût, şalle'llâhü te'âlâ⁷³³ 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretleri rāh-âverd-i şalât-ı⁷³⁴

⁷²² başireti: başirete L

⁷²³ aḳdâm: aḳvâm L

⁷²⁴ olan: - L B P

⁷²⁵ pâyini: pāsı L; pāyi P

⁷²⁶ leb: - K

⁷²⁷ hezâr: - B K

⁷²⁸ şükr: şükr ḥaḍret P

⁷²⁹ mübâreke: mübârekede K

⁷³⁰ ḳılınmağla: ḳılınmağa P

⁷³¹ oldu: oldu mışa' L

⁷³² te'âlâ: - K

⁷³³ şalle'llâhü te'âlâ: - K; te'âlâ: - L

⁷³⁴ şalât: şalavât P

[şalavāt] hams⁷³⁵ ile nāzil-i maṭmüre-i hāk olduklarında ibtidā'-i taḥrime-bend-i⁷³⁶ iftitāḥ-ı şalāt oldukları maḥalde⁷³⁷ daḥi bir mihrāb-ı sa'ādet-nişāb pā-ber-cāy-ı kıyām olup [L25a] şāhid-i bālā-hırām-ı du'ā ol mihrāb-ı şerīfde gül-güne-i⁷³⁸ te'sīr-i du'ā⁷³⁹ ile sürh-rüy olagelmegin⁷⁴⁰ Kızıl Mihrāb nāmıyle şöhret-yāb olmuştur.

Ve yine hāric-i kubb-e-i şāh-ra-i mübārekenüñ cānib-i şarkisinde maḥkeme-i Dāvud, şalavātu'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, olan mevḍi' üzre Kubbetü's-silsile nāmında⁷⁴¹ heşt taḥ-ı ruḥām üzre [K22b] bir kubb-e-i zibende-simā cılve-nümā olup bihişt-mekān Sultān Süleymān ziver-bend-i kāş-i-i⁷⁴² hōş-naḡş olmağın 'Yā Dāvud⁷⁴³ innā ce'alnā-ke ḥalīfeten fi'l-ard'⁷⁴⁴ nazm-ı kerīmin, ilā-āhīrih, ārāyiş-i kitābe-i bālā-yı taḥ⁷⁴⁵ itmişlerdür⁷⁴⁶.

Ve⁷⁴⁷ yine ol maḥall-i mu'tebere karīb maḡām-ı ḥaḡret-i Hıdr, 'aleyhi's-selām, bir ruḥām-ı ābrī ile ta'yin ü işāret olunmuştur. Hāric-i ḥiṣār-ı Kuds-i mübāreke de pişgāh-ı Bābü'l-ḥıṭṭa'da mezār-ı 'ismet-medār-ı Meryem defin-i āğūş-ı zemīn olup yine hāric-i ḥiṣārda cānib-i ġarbide merḡad-ı nūr-ālūd-ı ḥaḡret-i Dāvud, şalavātu'llāhi'l-Meliki'l-Vedūd⁷⁴⁸, bir mescid-i vālā-kıbāb⁷⁴⁹ [B30b] dāḥilinde ḥücre-i bihişt-eşer derūnında

⁷³⁵ hams: hamse B

⁷³⁶ -bend-i: -bend-i tekbir-i K

⁷³⁷ maḥalde: maḥallinde L

⁷³⁸ güne-i: güne L

⁷³⁹ te'sīr-i du'ā: te'sīr-nümā P

⁷⁴⁰ olagelmegin: olmağın K

⁷⁴¹ nāmında: nāmıyle K

⁷⁴² kaş-i-i: kāşī P

⁷⁴³ yā Dāvudu: - K

⁷⁴⁴ The Kur'ān, 38/26

⁷⁴⁵ taḥ: - K

⁷⁴⁶ itmişlerdür: itmişler K; eylemişlerdür B P

⁷⁴⁷ ve yine ol maḥall: yine maḥall K

⁷⁴⁸ şalavātu'llāhi'l-Meliki'l-Vedūd: şalavātu'llāhi 'alā nebiyyi-nā ve 'aleyh B; 'aleyhi's-selām K

⁷⁴⁹ vālā: - L B

mütevâri-i⁷⁵⁰ lihâf-ı hâk olup estâr-ı zerrin-târ-ı şandûka-i müşk-bârları nûr-bahşâ-yı efvâh-ı züvvâr olmuşdur⁷⁵¹.

[P46] Ve yine ma'mûre-i Beytü'l-mağdis'ün cānib-i şarkisinde ser-ber-âverde-i muḳa'ar-ı gerdûn olan kūh-ı bihişt-şükūh Tūr-ı Zitā'da⁷⁵² meḳāci'-i enbiyā vü şühedā⁷⁵³ mānende-i encüm cā-be-cā diyā-bahşā olup emkine-i müte'ayyineden mezār-ı lāmi'u'l-envār-ı ḥaḍret-i 'Uzeyr ve eşer-i ḳadem-i Rūḥu'llāh ve ḥālet-i ra'y-ı ağnāmda nālişgāh-ı Kelimu'llāh şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhimden mā'ada⁷⁵⁴ mezār-ı Rābi'a-i 'Adeviyye, raḳiye'llāhü⁷⁵⁵ 'anhā, ziyāretgāh-ı ḳudsiyāndur.

Feryād-ı girye-ḥiz-ı hāy⁷⁵⁶ hāy-ı ḥasret, zelzele-efgen-i esās-ı gerdûn⁷⁵⁷ ve şu'le-i āh-ı 'ālem-süz-ı nedāmet dağ-zen-i derûn-ı çerḥ-i nîl-gûn olmak sezadur ki bîm-i nîze-i ser-tiz-i reh-zenān-ı⁷⁵⁸ āmān-nidān-ı 'urbān cenāb-ı Ḥalil-i Ḥudā ḥaḍret-i İbrāhîm ve ḥaḍret-i Mūsā-yı Kelim, şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā [L25b] ve 'aleyhimā⁷⁵⁹, ḥaḍretlerinüñ ve gencîne-i⁷⁶⁰ medfen-i İbrāhîm'de medfûn olan cevāhir-fürüzende-i⁷⁶¹ dürc-i nübüvvet ya'nî cenāb-ı⁷⁶² İshāḳ u Ya'ḳûb u Yūsuf nebi⁷⁶³ ḥaḍretlerinüñ ziyāret-i riyād-ı muḳaddeselerine ḥār-ı divār-ı mûmāna'at olup şevḳ-i hâk-i āstānlarıyle⁷⁶⁴ āğûş-ı nāşiye-i ümîd ḥamyāze-keş-i taḥassür ḳalmışdur.

⁷⁵⁰ mütevâri-i: müvâri-i P

⁷⁵¹ olmuşdur: olmuşlardır B

⁷⁵² Zitā'da: Zibā'da L K B

⁷⁵³ enbiyā vü şühedā: enbiyā olan müşāhid K

⁷⁵⁴ mā'ada: ḡayr B P K

⁷⁵⁵ raḳiye'llāhü: raḳiye'llāhü te'ālā P

⁷⁵⁶ hay: - K

⁷⁵⁷ zelzele-efgen-i esās-ı gerdûn: - L

⁷⁵⁸ reh-zenān: zehr-nān P

⁷⁵⁹ Kelim şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyi-nā ve 'aleyhimā: Kelimu'llāh K

⁷⁶⁰ gencîne-i: gencîne B

⁷⁶¹ fürüzende-i: fürüzende B

⁷⁶² cenāb: - B

⁷⁶³ nebi: şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhim P; - B K

⁷⁶⁴ āstānlarıyle: āstāneleriyle B; āstānelerine K; āstānlarına P

15. Vaşf-ı [B31a] rîg-i bî-āmān-ı rāh-ı Mısr⁷⁶⁵

Ḳuds-i mübārekde se rūze⁷⁶⁶ ārāmdan soñra yine **Ramle** ve **Ğazze** cānibine ‘atf-ı⁷⁶⁷
 ‘inān-gerdān olup Ğazze’ye qarīb maḥalde ḳubūr-ı şühedā-yı ‘**Asḳalān**’a āmed-şüd-i
 sefir-i du‘ā der-kār ḳılındı. ⁷⁶⁸ Ğazze’den beşinci menzilde vāḳi‘ ḳal‘a-i ‘**Ariş** ile
Şalīhiyye-i Mısr⁷⁶⁹ beyni ki beş merḥaledür, āb u dāneden [K23a] tehi rīgistān olmağın

Nazm

Çün güzeştî ez-ribāt-ı⁷⁷⁰ ten diger ma‘mûre nîst

Zād-ı rāhi ber-ne-mi-dārî ez-in menzil çerā

āvāzesi aḳlām-ı elsine-i aşḥāb-ı vuḳūfdan⁷⁷¹ mersûm-ı şahîfe-i sāmî‘a olmağın me’kel
 ü meşārîb-i penc rūze taḥmîl-i düş-ı cimāl ḳılınmağla deryā-yı rimâlde şināya⁷⁷² ‘azm
 olundı.

Vaḳı‘a ‘arḳan⁷⁷³ beş altı menzil ve⁷⁷⁴ tûlen yigirmi menzil miḳdârı maḥall-i leb-i
 Baḥr-i Sepîd’den kenār-ı Baḥr-i⁷⁷⁵ Süveys’e varınca biḥte-i ğırbāl-ı teng-çeşm [P47]
 olmış rîg sâ‘at meşābesinde rîg-i sefid güsterde-i⁷⁷⁶ dest-i ferrâş-ı ḳudret olup
 miyānede tāk-ı gerdūna peyveste kūhlar ki tâziyāne-i taḥrik-i bād ile mevce-i deryā
 gibi bî-ḳarār ve⁷⁷⁷ dest-hūş-ı bâziçe-i rûzgār olup

Nazm

⁷⁶⁵ Vaşf-ı rîg-i bî-āmān-ı rāh-ı Mısr: put later in K B

⁷⁶⁶ se rūze: ise rūze-i B

⁷⁶⁷ ‘atf: - L B P

⁷⁶⁸ ḳılındı: ḳılındı. Vaşf-ı rîg-i bî-āmān-ı rāh-ı Mısr B K

⁷⁶⁹ Şalīhiyye-i Mısr: Şalīhiyye K

⁷⁷⁰ ribāt: libās K

⁷⁷¹ vuḳūfdan: vuḳūfda K

⁷⁷² şināya: şitāba B P

⁷⁷³ ‘arḳan: - K

⁷⁷⁴ ve: - B P

⁷⁷⁵ baḥr: - K

⁷⁷⁶ güsterde-i: güsterde L

⁷⁷⁷ u: - K

Rūzgārī-st⁷⁷⁸ ki bā-rīg revān bā-seferem

Mi-revem rāh⁷⁷⁹ zi-menzil haberī nist me-rā

vefkince dest-i üstād-ı şun'la⁷⁸⁰ mānend-i ālāt-ı şatranc bir sā'at bir hānede⁷⁸¹ ārāmı muḥāl ve cünbüş-i çevgān-ı rūzgār ile gūy-şifat bir sāḥada istikrārı mün'adimü'l-i ihtimāldür⁷⁸².

Nazm

Bā-derd-i 'aşk tākat ü bī-tākatı yek-est [L26a]

Temkīn-i kūh u kāh der-incā berāber-est

El-hāşıl ol baḥr-i mevvāc-ı rīg içre ğavṭa-h'ārī-i ıdtırāb ile 'azimet olunduğda kavā'im-i huyūl kārūna karīn ve hum-ı husrevānī gibi şikemleri zīb-i zemīn olup [B31b] şafḥa-i⁷⁸³ rīg üzre āşār-ı aqdām-ı metāyā yerine naqş-ı taḥta-i rukkāb hüveydā. Ve resm-i kavā'im-ı cimāle bedel 'aks-i dāğ-ı sineleri peyda idi. Süvārlar piyādeler⁷⁸⁴ şeklinde nümūdār, piyādelerün ise⁷⁸⁵ ancak 'uḳde-i zānūları āşikār idüğü mübālağa vü iğrāk degildir.

Evtād-ı hıyāma istikrār ḥayyız-ı imkāndan dūr olmağın dest-bürd-i tāb-ı āftābdan sāye-i şeb⁷⁸⁶ çeşm-i i'tibara sürme-i Sifahani'den ber-ter ve pāy-ı devvāb karar-dāde olacak⁷⁸⁷ mertebe zemīn-i saht taht-ı Süleymānī'den nāzik-ter görünürdi.

Ne ḥāl ise bu gūne renc-i rāḥat-fersā ile penc şebāne-rūz üftān u hīzān

⁷⁷⁸ rūzgārī-st: rūzgār-est L

⁷⁷⁹ rāh: rāh ve K

⁷⁸⁰ üstād-ı şun'la: şun'-ı ezel ile K

⁷⁸¹ şatranc bir sā'at bir hānede: şatranc bir hānede nīm sā'at ārāmı K

⁷⁸² mün'adim: 'adim K

⁷⁸³ şafḥa-i: şahife-i K

⁷⁸⁴ piyādeler: piyāde B P

⁷⁸⁵ ise: - L

⁷⁸⁶ şeb: - K

⁷⁸⁷ olacak: idecek K

Mıṣra‘

İdelüm tayy-ı beyāban bir içim su diyerek

Nahlistān-ı kaşaba-i Şālihiyye [K23b] āşyāne-i tā’ir-i nigāh olduğda **Hikāyāt-ı Ferec**⁷⁸⁸ **Ba‘de’ş-şidde** şaḥife-i dilde merķūm olup⁷⁸⁹ sāye-i nihāl-i bālā-keş-i ḥurmāda vaḍ‘-i⁷⁹⁰ ḥıyām-ı ārām olundu⁷⁹¹.

16. zıkr-i vaşf-ı zemīn-i ḥarem-i Mısr

Evāḥir-i faşl-ı mihrcān evā’il-i ferverdīn-i Mısr olmağın tamām hengām i’tidāl-ı hevāsına müşādife olduğından⁷⁹² faḍla⁷⁹³ āb-ı Nīl tamām-ı arāḍi-i sāhire-i⁷⁹⁴ ğabrā-yı **Kāhire**’yi mestūr-ı dāmen-i himmet itdūgi [P48] mevsim olmağla girībān-ı Şālihiyye’den dāmen-i Mısr’a varıncaya dek⁷⁹⁵ dört beş menzil miķdārı fedā libas-ı āb-gūn-ı⁷⁹⁶ āyine-simada nā-peydā⁷⁹⁷ olup ancak güzergāh-ı reh-revān içün tahmīnen dört beş zirā‘ ‘arḍında⁷⁹⁸ bir rāh-ı mürtefi‘ u müferraḥ⁷⁹⁹ ḳalup miyāne-i [B32a] āb-ı kevser-simada bir menzil-i hadeng miķdārı maḥalde birer⁸⁰⁰ ḳarye-i kaşaba-nümün⁸⁰¹ cāy-gir olup bir rāh-ı bārik [L26b] ile yek-digere ittişālī olmağla her çār ḳaryenüñ mābeyni bir ḥavḍ-ı dil-pezir şeklini iş‘ār idüb⁸⁰² sāḥa-i ḳarāda olan her nahl-ı ser-efrāz

⁷⁸⁸ ferec: el-ferec P

⁷⁸⁹ olup: olmağın K

⁷⁹⁰ vaḍ‘: ref K

⁷⁹¹ olundu: kılındı K

⁷⁹² olduğından: itmekle K

⁷⁹³ faḍla: bundan mā‘ada K

⁷⁹⁴ sāhire-i: sāhire L

⁷⁹⁵ varıncaya dek: varınca L

⁷⁹⁶ abgūn: abgūn üzre K

⁷⁹⁷ nā-peydā: nā-bedid L

⁷⁹⁸ ‘arḍında: ‘arḍide L; ‘arḍıyle B K

⁷⁹⁹ mürtefi‘ u müferraḥ: müferraḥ-ı mürtefi‘ K

⁸⁰⁰ birer: - L

⁸⁰¹ ḳarye-i kaşaba-nümün: kaşaba-miṣāl ḳarye K

⁸⁰² şeklini iş‘ār idüb: ile K

Nazm

Miyân-ı Nîl'de her nahl-ı hürmâ beñzedi gūyâ

Şinâverlik iden bir dilber-i kâkül-i perişâna

mađmūnını⁸⁰³ ifādeye lisân-ı hâl olmuşdur. Ammâ hayyât-ı şun'-ı İlāhî zemîn-i dil-nişîn-i Mısr'ı gâh libās-ı āb-gūn ve gâh perde-i sebz-reng ile⁸⁰⁴ cilveger itmegin, şāhid-i mestāne-reftār-ı⁸⁰⁵ Nîl tedricle dāmen-keş olduğu mahallerden āsar-ı kadem-i Hıdr gibi sebze-i birişem-tār-ı⁸⁰⁶ ferş-i zümür-rūd-gūn ser-zede olmağa⁸⁰⁷ yüz tutup miyāne-i Nîl'de tuyūr-ı mütenevvi'a tayarān u cereyān itdüklerin⁸⁰⁸ şikār-ı şāhbāz-ı nigāh iderek her mesāfede bir mevc-i meserret istiķbālî ve her gāmda bir girih-i dil inḥilālında⁸⁰⁹ tıfl-ı ser der-hevā-yı dil-āğūş-ı ümmü'd-dünyāda ğunūde-iistirāhat kılındı.

17. zıkr-i evşāf-ı māder-i dünyā

Hōşā belde-i mu'azzama-i Kāhire ki füşhat-ı dā'ire-i sevādı pergār-ı kıyāsı⁸¹⁰ fersūde-kadem⁸¹¹ ve kebūter-i tiz-gām-ı⁸¹² tahmīni gūsiste-dem⁸¹³ ider. Sāḥa-i⁸¹⁴ irtifā'-ı tabakāt-ı pençgāne-i⁸¹⁵ bünyānı birūn-ı yārā-yı medd-i başar ve küngüre-i sūtūḥ-ı sürādikāt-ı eyvānı şikest-āver-i endāze-i nazardur. Mu'ānaḳa-i 'imārāt-ı tāk-

⁸⁰³ mađmūnını: mađmūnı L

⁸⁰⁴ ve gâh perde-i sebz-reng ile: gâh sebz ile L; ile perde ve gâh libās-ı perde-i sebz-rengle P

⁸⁰⁵ reftr̄: hırm̄ K

⁸⁰⁶ birişem: ibrişim B K

⁸⁰⁷ olmağa: olmağla K

⁸⁰⁸ itdüklerin: itdüklerini K

⁸⁰⁹ inḥilālında: inḥilālîyle B K

⁸¹⁰ kıyāsı: kıyās K

⁸¹¹ fersūde: fersūde-i B

⁸¹² gām: - K

⁸¹³ gūsiste: ketibe L

⁸¹⁴ sāḥa-i: mesāḥa-i B

⁸¹⁵ pençgāne-i: pençāne-i L; pençgāh K

ber-ṭāk-ı⁸¹⁶ ebr-mümāssı südde-i ciger-i felek ve⁸¹⁷ [K24a] müzāheme-i minārāt-ı [B32b] revāk-ber-revāk-ı engüşt-nümāssı māni'-i cünbüş-i bāl-i⁸¹⁸ melekdür. Reşk-i keşret-i kıbāb-ı encüm-ḥesābı ḥarāb-sāz-ı ḥāndān-ı ḥabāb ve mähçe-i zer-endüde-i minārāt-ı rafı'ası ṭabanca-zen-i şüret-i āftābdur. Durüb-ı nezāhet-i maşḥūbı⁸¹⁹ cedāvil-i saḥā'if-i devāvin⁸²⁰ gibi pehn ü rāst u neseḳ; ārāyiş-i dekākin ü esvākı⁸²¹ niẓām-ı [P49] pervin gibi bi-kem-kāsdur⁸²². Sāye-i meẓalle-i bünyānında mecmū'-ı ṭuruk u esvākı dest-bürd-i pençe-i āftābdan āsüde [L27a] ve ser-cümle 'uyūn-ı eyvānı⁸²³ āğūş-ı dāye-i şafā-per-ver-i ṭāk-ı sāye-güsterde ğunude⁸²⁴. Her ḥāne-i⁸²⁵ şad-beyti bir devlet-seray-ı 'ālī ve her deriçesi münakkaş kemer ile bir 'arūs-ı la'übālī. Her ḥānenün⁸²⁶ şaḥife-i divārı pür-naḳş u nigar olmağla bi'l-cümle ṭarafeyn-i ṭurukı⁸²⁷ her dem bahār olmuştur. Güyā her kaşrı letāfet ile bir kaşr-ı Yūsuf ve⁸²⁸ naḳş u nigār ile ḥalvet-ḥāne-i Zeliḥa'dur. Ğalebe-i ziḥām-ı sükkānı bir rütbededür ki aḳāş-i ḥavāli-i şehirde ğāyet-i tenhāyi⁸²⁹ ile muttaşif olan gūşelerinde⁸³⁰ bile kaṭarat-ı⁸³¹ bārān ziḥām-ı ecsāmdan rū-yı zemīne ḥasret-keşidedür.

Keşret-i mecāmi'⁸³² ü mesācid bir mertebededür ki bir kāşıd-ı çāpuk-ḥiz eyyām-ı ḥayāt-ı yek-sālesin vakf-ı devr-i mecāmi'⁸³³ eylese yine ṭayy-ı ṭavāmīr-ḥesābı

⁸¹⁶ ṭāk-ber-ṭāk: ṭāk-ı P

⁸¹⁷ ve: - L

⁸¹⁸ bāl-ı: bāl u K

⁸¹⁹ maşḥūbı: maẓmūnı B

⁸²⁰ devāvin: devāyin B

⁸²¹ esvākı: esvāk B

⁸²² kem-kāsdur: kem ü kās B L; kem-kās: K

⁸²³ eyvānı: ebvābı B

⁸²⁴ ğunūde: ğunūdedür P

⁸²⁵ ḥāne-i: ḥāne L

⁸²⁶ ḥānenün: ḥāne K

⁸²⁷ ṭurukı: ṭurafı P B

⁸²⁸ ve: - B

⁸²⁹ tenhāyi: tenhā K

⁸³⁰ gūşelerinde: gūşesinde K

⁸³¹ kaṭarat: kaṭre-i L

⁸³² mecāmi': cevāmi' B K

⁸³³ mecāmi': mesācid ü cāmi' B; mecāmi' u mesācid P

merhûn-ı derece-i istihâledür. Hattâ kalem-gir-i şahîfe-i tahrîr bâlâ-yı kal'ada [B33a] sevâd-ı Mısr'uñ ekser havâlisi muhât-ı⁸³⁴ silsile-i enzâr olacak maḥalde istikşâf-ı kemmiyet-i i'dâd-ı menâr⁸³⁵ içün tahrik-i⁸³⁶ ser-engüşt-i nigâh eyledükde⁸³⁷ ğâyet-i irtifâ'la nümüdâr olan menâr⁸³⁸ şümârı derece-i hezârı güzâr itdüğinden⁸³⁹ mâ'ada⁸⁴⁰ kuşûr-ı kâmet ve bu'd-ı mesâfe ile mütevâri-i perde-i hafâ olanlaruñ hesâbı mestûr-ı perde-i ibhâm olmuştur⁸⁴¹. Sevâd-ı şehrden hâric arâdi-i hâliyede olan cevâmi'-i bi-cemâ'at⁸⁴²uñ hesâbı muhât-ı 'ilm-i İlâhidür.

Sevâd-ı hōş-naķş-ı Kâhire⁸⁴² kalem-rev-i Çerâkise vü Ekrâd olduğı eyyâmda birbiriyle hem-çeşm-i reşk ü ḥased olup kendi etbâ'ı aḥer⁸⁴³uñ câmi'inde hem-zânû-yı şaff-ı şalât olması münâfi-i kâ'ide-i ḥamiyyet olmak i'tikâdiyle hemsâye-i⁸⁴³ divâr-be-divâr⁸⁴⁴ şeklinde cevâmi' binâ idüp [K24b] yekdigere teşâbühden teḥâşi vechi üzre⁸⁴⁵ libâs-ı aḥerde cilveger itmişlerdür. Hattâ⁸⁴⁶ ba'dı mevâdi'de bir merd-i çâlâk minâreden minâreye pertâb idecek [L27b] mertebeye takrîb itmişlerdür. Medâhil ü mehâric-i şahın-ı⁸⁴⁷ sâḥalarında [P50] ve hütân u⁸⁴⁸ cidârlarında⁸⁴⁹ olan nuķûş-ı ruḥâmiye-i ḥurde-kârı pây-ı enzâra zencir-i ḥayret olmuştardur.

⁸³⁴ muhât-ı: muhâta-i P

⁸³⁵ menâr: minârât P

⁸³⁶ tahrik: tahrîr L

⁸³⁷ eyledükde: eyledüğümde P

⁸³⁸ menâr⁸³⁸: minârât⁸³⁸uñ P

⁸³⁹ itdüğinden: itdükden B; eyledükden K

⁸⁴⁰ mâ'ada: sonra K

⁸⁴¹ olmuştur: kalmışdur K

⁸⁴² Kâhire: - P

⁸⁴³ hemsâye-i: hemsâye L P

⁸⁴⁴ be: ber K

⁸⁴⁵ vech-i üzre: - K

⁸⁴⁶ hattâ: dahi K

⁸⁴⁷ şahın: şahın u K

⁸⁴⁸ u: - K

⁸⁴⁹ cidârlarında: cüdrânlarında P K

Cümlenüñ eşheri Cāmi‘-i Ezher’dür ki vasaṭ-ı cesed-i ümmü’d-dünyāda menzile-gir-i kalb-i vesī‘ olup şām u seher niçe biñ bālā-nişinān⁸⁵⁰ ser-h^vān-ı taḥkīk u takrīr ve ḥalka-güzinān istifāde-i ḥadiṣ ü tefsire [B33b] maḳarr olmadan⁸⁵¹ ḥālī degildür.

Birisi daḥi Cāmi‘-i Sultān Ğavri’dür ki şemse-i zer-endūde-i⁸⁵² tāvānı vāsıta-i keder-güzer-i⁸⁵³ ḍamir-i mihr-i enver ve üstüvāne-i ser-be-gerdünı kanādil-i nücūma müstaḳarrdur.

Birisi daḥi Cāmi‘-i Tülün’dür ki tūlen ve ‘arḍan mesāḥa-i sāḥa-i Beytü’l-ḥarām⁸⁵⁴ üzre binā olunup

Nazm

Başından āteşi eksük degil olup⁸⁵⁵ pā-māl

Mināre gibi olan kec-derün u⁸⁵⁶ rāst-nümā

ḳavlınce derün-ı minārede olan i‘vicācdan rū-gerdān olup

Nazm

Egerçi naḥl-i ḥurmā-veş degilse zāhirüm hemvār

‘Aşā-yı Mūsevī-veş bāṭınım da istikāmet var

maḍmūnı şaḥife-i müteḥayyile-i bānisinde nümāyān olmağın ḥilāf-ı resm-i ma‘hūd⁸⁵⁷

derecāt-ı mirḳāt-ı mināresi müntehā-yı şürefāta varınca ḳāmet-i nihāli der-āğüş iden

tañ-şıfat zāhirinden piçide olmışdur.

⁸⁵⁰ -nişinān: -nişin B

⁸⁵¹ olmadan: olmaḳdan P

⁸⁵² endūde-i: endūde P

⁸⁵³ keder: - L B P

⁸⁵⁴ mesāḥa-i sāḥa-i Beytü’l-ḥarām: sāḥa-i ḥarem-i Beytü’l-ḥarem K

⁸⁵⁵ olup: olur B

⁸⁵⁶ u: - B

⁸⁵⁷ ma‘hūd: ma‘hūd üzre P

Bu gūne uḥdūse-i engüşt-nümānuñ menşe'i budur ki güzeşte-i ceride-i⁸⁵⁸ zıkr olan Sultān⁸⁵⁹ Tālūn ol⁸⁶⁰ cāmi'-i vālānuñ bināsına i'māl-ı mi'mār-ı⁸⁶¹ himmet itdügi eyyāmda bir gün bir şahsuñ merfū'-ı pāye-i serir itdügi 'arḍ-ı ḥālin⁸⁶² bāziçe-i dest-i endişe-i tıflāne iderek ser-i engüştine piçide idüp ol varak-pārede bi-hasbi'l-'āde bir hey'et-i mahrūtī nümāyān olduğı ḥālde raḳde-i efkārdan bīdār olmağın ol maḳūle meşğale-i lu'bet 'ārıda-i vaḳār-ı saltanat olmak mülāḥazası meşhūd-ı sebbābe-i nabḍ-ı āšnā-yı idrāki [B34a] olmağla dāmen-i temkīn-i [L28a] mülūkānesinden izāle-i ḡubār-ı ḥıffet fikrine düşüp nesim-i cihān-gerd-i ḥired ile ḥalvet-ḥāne-i sīnesinde [K25a] 'aḳd-i encūmen-i⁸⁶³ meşveret itmegin ol maḥalde mi'mār-ı cāmi'i ihḍār idüp 'Hālā⁸⁶⁴ ser-efrāhte-i sāḥa-i [P51] zuhūr olacak cāmi'⁸⁶⁵ minaresinūñ⁸⁶⁶ bu resm üzre metā'-ı derecātı bāfte-i⁸⁶⁷ minvāl-ı muşavverüm⁸⁶⁸ olmağın bu kār-nāme-i⁸⁶⁹ maşnū'a üzre riḥte-i ḳālīb-ı istiḥkām olmak maḳşūdumdur' diyü dest-i mi'māra teslim itmekle dide-i nuẓẓārı ḥalka-i deriçe-i iḡfāl itmek tekellüfātına düşdügi zebān-güzār-ı tevāriḥ-şināsān-ı veḳāyi'-i Mışrıyyedür.

Birisi daḥi Rūm ili meydānında Cāmi'-i Sultān Ḥasan'dur ki zir-i künbed-i firūze-fāmda nazīri cilveger-i sāḥa-i in'idām idügi ḳarār-dāde-i ḥavāşş u 'avāmdur⁸⁷⁰. Zīrā esās-efgen-i istiḥkām-ı 'imāret⁸⁷¹ olan sultān-ı bülend-himmet, 'alā-vechi'l-iltizām,

⁸⁵⁸ ceride-i: ḥaride-i L

⁸⁵⁹ sultān: - L P

⁸⁶⁰ ol: - K

⁸⁶¹ mi'mār: - L

⁸⁶² ḥālin: ḥālini B K

⁸⁶³ encūmen: encüm P

⁸⁶⁴ Hālā: Hāl a eser P

⁸⁶⁵ cāmi': cāmi'ūñ P

⁸⁶⁶ minaresinūñ: mināresi P

⁸⁶⁷ pāfte-i: yāfte-i B; bāfte L

⁸⁶⁸ muşavverüm: taşavvurum B K

⁸⁶⁹ kār-nāme-i: kār-ḥāne-i B

⁸⁷⁰ ḥavāşş u 'avāmdur: ḥaşş u 'āmdur K

⁸⁷¹ 'imāret: imāreti P

endāze-i tāk-ı Kistrā ihdārından sonra altı zirā' dahî terakkî ile birbirine mukābil çār tāk üzre bāzū-zede-i istihkām itmişdür.

Bānī-i mebānī-i⁸⁷² beyān olan Nābī-i nā-tüvān şufūf-ı aḥcār-ı divārın şümāra⁸⁷³ ikāmet-i⁸⁷⁴ süllem-i enzār⁸⁷⁵ eyledükde mertebe-i münteşifina irtikā' idinceye dek heştād şaff⁸⁷⁶ güzër idüp nısf-ı a'lāsınuñ teşhīş-i fevāşılından sebbābe-i bāşıra izhār-ı 'aciz itmegın nısf-ı esfeline muḳāyese vechi üzre iktifā' olundı. 'Dest-i irtifā'ı külāh-efgen-i temāşā'iyāndur' [B34b] diyü zebān-zed-i enām⁸⁷⁷ olan ta'bir-i⁸⁷⁸ meşhūr bu cāmi'-i vālānuñ nısfı⁸⁷⁹ mertebesinde cilveger-i zuhūrdur⁸⁸⁰.

Birisi dahî⁸⁸¹ fātih-i burku'-ı ümmü'd-dünyā 'Amr' bin 'Āş raḍiye'llāhü 'anhuñ Mısr-ı 'Atıḳ' de āşār-ı himmet-i 'ulyāları⁸⁸² olan cāmi'-i refi'ü'l-i'tibārdur ki hezār yek sütün-ı ruhām⁸⁸³ üzre pā-ber-cāy-ı sāḥa-i istihkām olup yemin ü yesār-ı mihrābında [L28b] iki muşḥaf-ı şerif nihāde-i rahle-i ta'zīm kılınmışdur ki⁸⁸⁴ biri çekide-i hāme-i 'anber-feşān ḥadret 'Osmān birisi⁸⁸⁵ nemika-i kalem-i gevher-bār-ı⁸⁸⁶ Ḥaydar-ı Kerrār raḍiye'llāhü 'anhümādur⁸⁸⁷.

Ve sevād-ı beden-i ümmü'd-dünyada iki dide-i binā menzilesinde iki birke-i laṭife⁸⁸⁸ biri Birke-i Fıl ve biri Birke-i Özbekiyye ile⁸⁸⁹ nām-yäfte-i elsine-i enām⁸⁹⁰ olmuşdur.

⁸⁷² mebānī-i: mebānī K

⁸⁷³ şümāre B; şümāra-i L; şümārda K

⁸⁷⁴ ikāmet: kāmēt L

⁸⁷⁵ enzār: enzāra B; nazar K

⁸⁷⁶ şaff: şıfat B

⁸⁷⁷ enām: - K

⁸⁷⁸ ta'bir: ta'yin B

⁸⁷⁹ nısfı: nısf B

⁸⁸⁰ mertebesinde cilveger-i zuhūrdur: mertebesindedür K

⁸⁸¹ birisi: birisi dahî P

⁸⁸² 'ulyāları: 'aliyyeleri K

⁸⁸³ ruhām: - K

⁸⁸⁴ ki: - K

⁸⁸⁵ dahî: - K

⁸⁸⁶ bār: - bār ḥadret P

⁸⁸⁷ 'anhümādur: raḍiye'llāhü 'anhümā L

⁸⁸⁸ laṭife: laṭife vardır ki P

⁸⁸⁹ ile: - B

Her biri takriben tūlen⁸⁹¹ ve ‘arḍan iki mīl [P52] miḳdārı şekl-i müstedir ile cāy-gir [K25b] olup beş ṭabaḳa⁸⁹² dūr u kuşūr-ı⁸⁹³ bī-kuşūr ihāta idüp revzenleri verā-yı çin-gisū-yı eşcār ve girih-i zūlf-i piç-der-piç-i serv-i⁸⁹⁴ hevādārdan⁸⁹⁵ āyine-i āba⁸⁹⁶ çeşm-küşā-yı temāşā olmuşlardur⁸⁹⁷. Murabba‘-nişinān-ı sevāhil-i āb dā’ire-i zevrākaya hevā-yı şabāda ḍarb-ı enāmīl-i miḳzāf iderek uşūl-i devriyle seyr-i maḳāmāt itmeleri muḥayyir-sāz-ı çenber-i evc-i gerdündür. Ammā bu iki birke-i matbū‘a cūşiş-i iḥsān-ı Nīl’den ḥişşe-yāb olmalarıyle şeş māh miḳdārı gencineleri pürdür ve şeş māh miḳdārı⁸⁹⁸ pür-zümürüd [B35a] olmağın ḥavāle-nişin olanlar⁸⁹⁹ gāh sirāb ile şifā-yāb-ı ‘illet-i sevdā ve gāh müşāhede-i sebze-i zümürüd-fāmla⁹⁰⁰ gūr-sāz-ı ef‘ā-i ālām-ı dünyā olmadadurlar.

Cūybār-ı Nīl-i mübārek cedvel-i nīl-gün gibi sevād-ı mecmū‘a-i Mısr’uñ kenār-ı ğarbisine keşide olup sāhil-i şarkide ḳadem-nihāde-i ‘arş-ı berin cenāb-ı sultānū’l-mürselin, şalle’llāhü te‘ālā ‘aleyhi ve sellem⁹⁰¹, ḥadretlerinüñ iki nakş-ı pay-ı melekūt-peymāları ki⁹⁰² bir seng-i mübārek şahīfesi üzre iki dide-i binā gibi cilveger olup eṭrāfına niçe kāh-ı dil-ārā ve bir cāmi‘-i bī-hemtā binā olunup Ḳadem-i Nebi nāmıyle şöhret-yāb-ı ‘arşa-i rūzgārdur.

⁸⁹⁰ ile nām-yāfte-i elsine-i enām: nāmıyle elsine-i avāmda şöhret-yāb K

⁸⁹¹ tūlen: - K

⁸⁹² ṭabaḳa: ṭabaḳa-i P

⁸⁹³ kuşūr: - B; kuşūr ile K

⁸⁹⁴ serv: server P

⁸⁹⁵ hevādārdan: hevādan P

⁸⁹⁶ āba: aya P

⁸⁹⁷ olmuşlardur: olmuşdur K

⁸⁹⁸ miḳdār: - P

⁸⁹⁹ ḥavāle-nişin olanlar: ḥavāli-nişinān K

⁹⁰⁰ -fāmla: -fām ile B; -fāmıyle P

⁹⁰¹ mürselin şalle’llāhü te‘ālā ‘aleyhi ve sellem: mürselin L P; mürselin ‘aleyhi’ş-şalātü ve’s-selām K

⁹⁰² ki: - L P

Evvelâ leb-i Nil ol maḳām-ı mübârek dâmenin būs idüb, ba'de ma'mûre-i Mısr-ı 'atık pişgâhında⁹⁰³ icrâ-yı merâsim-i rûy-mâl iderek [L29a] mürûrdan sonra nüshâ-i heşt bihiştten yek varak şeklinde pirâye-bahş-ı maḥâfil-i hûr-ı 'ayn olan Kaşr-ı 'Ayn nâm mesîre-i dil-küşâ sāyesinde kef-zenân-ı ilticâ ve ba'de **Bolâk** kaşabasında **Sebtüyye** nâm mesîre-i cennet-firîb temâşâsından iktisâb-ı şafâ iderek sevâd-ı **Iskenderiyye** ve⁹⁰⁴ **Dimyât**⁹⁰⁵ ve **Reşid**'e varınca ikiye münkaşım olmağın siper-i müstedir-i Baḥr-i Sepid'e havâle-i resm-i zü'l-fikâr eylemişdür⁹⁰⁶.

Mısr-ı 'Atık muḳâbilinde **Cize**⁹⁰⁷ ve **İnbâbâ** [Imbaba] nâm iki kaşaba-i maṭbû'a kenâre-gir-i⁹⁰⁸ cû-yı Nil olmağın şâm u seḥer hezâr sefâ'in-i şarşar-şitâb bâdban-küşâ-yı iyâb [P53] u zihâb olmadadır.

[B35b] Miyânede bir cezîre-i nâzende-simâyı âb-ı Nil kemer-i simin gibi ihâta itmegin bun-ı âbda püşt-i mâhiye zaḥm-resân olacak [K26a] esâs-ı müsteḥilü'l-indirâs üzre sengin-ṭâklar binâ olunup bālâsında beş ṭabaḳa üzre mu'allâ kâḥlar vâsıta-i kelef-i 'arîd-ı mâh olmuşdur. Ol binānuñ ṭabaḳa-i süflisinde memerr-i âbda bir⁹⁰⁹ genc-i pinhân gibi bir havḍ-ı ruḥâmiye-i murabba'u'l-aḍlâ⁹¹⁰ ihtirâ' olup vasaṭında ruḥâmdan⁹¹¹ çâr gûşe bir sûtûn-ı mevzûn mânende-i⁹¹² nokṭa-i nûn müstaḳarr olup irtifâ'-ı Nil'e derecât-ı süllem-i irtikâ' olmak üzre işâret olunan huṭûṭ-ı hesâb-ı eşâbi⁹¹³ giribân-ı lepâçe-i istikâmetinde çeb u râst⁹¹⁴ şeklin gösterüp

⁹⁰³ 'atık pişgâhında: 'atıkde K

⁹⁰⁴ Iskenderiyye ve: - L

⁹⁰⁵ ve Dimyât: - K B

⁹⁰⁶ eylemişdür: itmişdür K

⁹⁰⁷ Cize: Cizâh K; Cizze B

⁹⁰⁸ -gir: kūy B

⁹⁰⁹ bir: - K

⁹¹⁰ aḍlâ': azlâḥ B

⁹¹¹ ruḥâmdan: - B

⁹¹² mânende-i: mânend P K

⁹¹³ eşâbi': - K

⁹¹⁴ çep u râst: çep-râst L P

Nazm

Muntazırken müjde-i in'āmına ser-cümle nās

Niçe bir barmaq hesābın gösterür ümmü'l-kıyās

şöhretiyle müşāru⁹¹⁵ bi'l-benān olmışdur. Kelime-i ümmü'l-kıyās ğalaṭ-ı meşhūr-ı
elsine-i 'avām olmağla

Nazm

Dem-be-dem ğarḳa-i seylāb-ı sirışk oldı tenüm

Döndi Nıl içre key-i miḳyāsa ğamuñdan bedenüm

me'ālin beyāna lisān-ı ḫāl olmışdur.

Verā-yı Nıl'de iki sā'at miḳdārı mesāfede kemāl-i irtifā' ü istiḫkāmla ser-efrāhte-i
evc-i iştiḫār olan [L29b] cibāl-ı aḫrām tecāvüz-kerde-i 'aded-i sülüsün ve erba'ındur.

Ammā ikisi birbirine ḳarīb dū pistān-ı ümmü'd-dünyā menzilesinde ḳār rükn-i
maḫrūṭıyyü'ş-şekl ile be-didār olup her cānibi ḳār şad zirā' ve irtifā'ı daḫi ḳār şad
zirā' olmak [B36a] üzere⁹¹⁶ hey'āt-ı ğaribe ile murabba'-nişin-i esās-ı temkin idügi
tüde-i rāh-ı nigāh-ı ḫayretdür.

Ve Mısr'ıñ cānib-i şarkisinde olan ḳaṣabāt u 'imārātuñ şümārı ḫāric-i ḫavşala-i
erḳāmdur. Lākin⁹¹⁷ aḫsen ü eşheri vāsıṭatü'l-'aḳd-i silsile-i selāṭin-i Çerākise olan
Sultān Ḳaytbāy merḫūmuñ⁹¹⁸ 'imārāt-ı ḫavāli-i mezār-ı feyḍ-bārlarıdur ki yine bir
seng-i mübārek üzre iki naḳş-ı ḳadem-i seyyidü'l-'ālem, şalle'llāhü te'ālā⁹¹⁹ 'aleyhi
ve sellem, gevher-i tāc-ı iftiḫār-ı mezārıdır.

⁹¹⁵ müşār: müşārun ileyh L

⁹¹⁶ olmak üzere: - L P

⁹¹⁷ lākin: velākin K; - L

⁹¹⁸ Ḳaytbāy merḫūmuñ: Ḳaytbā'nuñ P B

⁹¹⁹ te'ālā: - L B

Pādişāh-ı sālifü'z-zikr harem-i bihişt-tev'em-i nebevî ve Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere-i Muştafavî [P54], şalle'llāhü te'ālā⁹²⁰ 'aleyhi ve sellem, bināsına şarf-ı gencine-i⁹²¹ himmet itdükden şofra bir şeb âteş-i muḥabbet-i fahr-i kā'ināt ile dik-i pür-hün-ı derūnı ğaleyān ve şu'ūd-ı buḥār-ı ḥasretiyle⁹²² serpüş-ı perde-i züccāci-i⁹²³ didesinden kaṭarāt-ı eşk-i lāle-gün meyl-i āġüş-ı dāmān iderek raḳde-i ḥafife⁹²⁴ mihmān-ı ribāt-ı [K26b] ecfānı olıcaḳ dārü'l-'aṭā-yı 'ālem-i mişālde resm-i ḳadem-i şerif-i nebevî nukra-i eşk-i ḥulūş-āmizine bedel i'tā ve vedī'a-i şandūka-i emānet olan maḥalli ta'yin ü imā buyurmaġla ol pādişāh-ı kām-yāb kendi ḥayātında tavṭin-i⁹²⁵ cism-i fenā-pezir⁹²⁶ içün maḥfūr-ı tişe-i intibāh itdüġi medfene levḥ-i sine idinüp lezzet-çeş-i⁹²⁷ ḥ'ān-ı 'amimü'n-nevāl-i memāt olduḳdan şofra şem'-i mezār eylemişler idi.

Firdevs-mesned merḥūm Sultān Aḥmed zinet-baḥş-ı⁹²⁸ serir-i saltanat olduḳlarında anlar daḥi hevā-dār-ı pā-būs-ı sultān-ı [B36b] risālet, şalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem⁹²⁹, [L30a] olmalarıyle ol ḳadem-i şerifi istiḥḍāra iḳdām itmegin⁹³⁰ bi-emr-i Hālīḳ-ı bi-çün mizāc-ı rüzgāra sükün ṭārī olup ol gevher-i 'ālem-tāb-ı gerān-bahāya gencine olan sefine zevrāk-ı māh-ı münir-i heft pāre tehī vü pür oluncaya dek⁹³¹ sāḫil-i Ḳonşantıniyye'ye bādbān-ı çin vüşül olduḳda dāver-i maġfūr kemāl-i şevḳe⁹³² binā'en

⁹²⁰ te'ālā: - K B

⁹²¹ gencine-i: gencine L

⁹²² ḥasretiyle: meserret ile B

⁹²³ züccāci-i: züccāci B

⁹²⁴ ḥafife: ḥafife-i L

⁹²⁵ tavṭin: tavaṭṭun B

⁹²⁶ pezir: pezir K

⁹²⁷ -çeş: -çeşn L B

⁹²⁸ zinet: - zib L B

⁹²⁹ şalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'aleyhi's-şalātu ve's-selām K

⁹³⁰ itmegin: itdüklerinde K

⁹³¹ dek: degin K

⁹³² şevḳe: şevḳine P

Nazm

Bülbüllere viridi müjde-i⁹³³ muḳaddem-i gül

H̱oş geldi ḳadem getürdü gülzāra şabā

terānesiyle ol seng-i mübāreki baḡrına basup midād-ı eşk ve ẖāme-i müjgānıyle

Nazm⁹³⁴

N'ola cānum gibi başumda götürsem dā'im

Ḳademi resmidür ol⁹³⁵ ḥadret-i şāh-ı rusulūñ

Gül-i gülzār-ı nübüvvet o⁹³⁶ ḳadem şāhibidür

Aḥmedā ṭurma yüzüñ sür ḳademine ol gülüñ

mandūmesin 'ıḳd-ı mervārīd gibi nişār-ı şükrāne-i ḳudūm itdükden soñra ol resm-i hümā-yı sa'ādet içün āmāde olan ḳafes-i simin içre mekīn ve⁹³⁷ bāzū-yı ṭāḳ-ı ẖāne-i ẖāşşayı ol gevher-i nūr-baḥşā ile tezyin itmegin şebāngāh-ı revzene-i çeşm-i 'ālem-bīnleri mestūr-ı ḡışāve-i ẖ'āb olduğda kār-fermāyān-ı 'ālem-i ma'nādan 'Yā Aḥmed, [P55] divān-ẖāne-i ḳismet-i ezeliyyede ta'yin olunan ẖisşe-i āhire itāle-i dest-i taleb münāfi-i ḳā'ide-i tevekkül degil midür?'

Nazm

Be-şinev in nükte ki dil-rā zi-ḡam āzāde küni

H̱ün-ẖōrī ger⁹³⁸ taleb-i rūzī-i⁹³⁹ ne-nihāde küni

⁹³³ müjde-i: müjde P B K

⁹³⁴ Nazm: *Ḳit'adur* written in the margin of K This poem is by Ahmed I (1589-1617), whose pseudonym is Bahti, see 1, p. 298

⁹³⁵ ol: - L

⁹³⁶ o: ol K

⁹³⁷ ve: - P K

⁹³⁸ ger: - B

⁹³⁹ rūzī-i: rūzī P

mađmūnı ile mazhar-ı serzeniş olmalarıyla şubh-dem yine bir sefineye⁹⁴⁰ [B37a] hamā'il-kerden kılınup cānib-i Mısr'a i'āde olundukda bu kez levha-i mihr-i münir yedi def'a gerden-i 'arūs-ı nīl burku'-ı gerdūna āvizān olduğı müddetde sāhil-i Mısr'a lenger-endāz-ı istikrār ve yine ser-i⁹⁴¹ mezār-ı [K27a] Kaytbāy'a şa'sa'a-bār olduğı meslūk-ı kadem-i kalem-i aşhāb-ı āşardur.

Egerçi medīne-i Qāhire'de meşāhid-i meşāhīr-i kibār bi-gāne-i hadd ü şümārdur.⁹⁴² Ammā eşheri zānū-zedegān-ı halka-i encūmen-i [L30b] aşhāb rađiye'llāhū⁹⁴³ 'anhūmden ḥadret-i 'Ukbe'dür ki kubbe-i mezār-ı lāmi'u'l-envārı dibāce-i şahīfe-i Karafe-i Kübrā'dur. Aña mütekārib rükn-i vāhid-i erkān-ı erba'a-i mezāhib⁹⁴⁴ Imām Şāfi'i, 'aleyhi'r-raḥme, ḥadretlerinüñ cevāhir-i gerān-kadr-ı cesed-i laṭifleri şandūka-i sebz-pūş⁹⁴⁵ ile bir kubbe-i āsmān-sāy sāyesinde muķim olup cenāb-ı seyyidü's-sakaleyn, şalle'llāhū⁹⁴⁶ 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥadretleri ol kubbe-i mu'allaya teşrif-baḥş-ı kādime-i āsmān-mesir⁹⁴⁷ oldukları⁹⁴⁸ meşhūd-ı⁹⁴⁹ erbāb-ı başā'ir olmağın divār-ı ğarbide mevrid-i sa'ādet-eşerleri bir perde-i zer-tār ile iş'ār olunmuşdur.

Ve fāris-i meydān-ı velāyet 'Ömer bin Fāriḍ, kuddise sırrahū'l-'aziz, ḥadretlerinüñ⁹⁵⁰ dahī⁹⁵¹ h'ābgāh-ı feyd-penāhları ser-saṭr-ı cerīde-i hamūşān-ı Karafe-i Kübrā'dur. Ve gül-i gülşen-tırāz-ı velāyet Şeyh İbrāhim-i Gülşenī ḥadretlerinüñ dahī kıt'a-i

⁹⁴⁰ sefineye: sefine-i K

⁹⁴¹ ser: - K

⁹⁴² şümārdur: şümār L

⁹⁴³ rađiye'llāhū: rađiye'llāhū te'ālā K

⁹⁴⁴ mezāhib: - P

⁹⁴⁵ -pūş: - K

⁹⁴⁶ şalle'llāhū: şalle'llāhū te'ālā P

⁹⁴⁷ āsmān-mesir: - K

⁹⁴⁸ oldukları: buyurdıkları K

⁹⁴⁹ meşhūd: meşhūd-ı aşhāb B P

⁹⁵⁰ ḥadretlerinüñ: - K

⁹⁵¹ Fāriḍ, kuddise sırrahū'l-'aziz, ḥadretlerinüñ dahī: Fāriḍ ḥadretleri, kuddise sırrahū'l-'aziz, L

çemenzâr-ı [B37b] bihişt olan merkad-ı mü'eyyedleri cılve-sâz-ı sine-i⁹⁵² sevâd-ı Kâhire olmuşdur.

Mâ-ḥaşal tahrîr-i evşâf-ı mevâdi'-i ğarbiyye ve emâkin-i 'acibe-i Kâhire birün-ı yârâ-yı havşala-i kalem olmağın cānib-i şahrâ-yı merâma tahrîk-i licām olundu. Kālâ-yı siyeh-fām-ı⁹⁵³ zalâm kisve-i kâmet-i şâm olmağičün dâmen-i [P56] bedr-i Şevvâl şeb-be-şeb bürîde-i⁹⁵⁴ mikrâd-ı naqd olmağa şürû' eyledükde bālâ-yı şahid-i Beyt-i İlâhî içün bâfte-i kârgâh-ı yek-sâle olan kisve-i şerife-i 'anberin-târ ğulğule-i ezkâr-ı meşâyih-i bi-şümâr ile vâli-i Mısr pişgâhından güzâr ve medfen-i re's-i pür-nür ḥadret-i Hüseyin ibn⁹⁵⁵ 'Aliyyü'l-mürteḍâ raḍiye'llâhü 'anhümâda çend rûze vedi'a-i vakfe-i istikrâr eylediler.

18. Birün-reften-i maḥfil-i Mısrıyân

'Alem-i 'âlem-tâb-ı kamer-i münevver şukka-i sîm-gün-ı muraşşa' -tırâz 'ısrîne küşâd virdükde dârü'l-hikem-i memleket-i Kâhire'den⁹⁵⁶ hâric-i Bābu'n-naşr'da⁹⁵⁷ kaşaba-i 'Adiliyye'ye varınca [L31a] üç sâ'at mesâfenüñ tarafeyn-i reh-güzârında vâki' durûb u eyvân u⁹⁵⁸ dekâkin u meyâdin ve [K27b] tabakât-ı büyüṭ u kuşûr bi'l-cümle sükkân-ı Mısr ile nümüne-i şaḥife-i divân-ı eş'âr olup⁹⁵⁹ ğalebe-i müzâheme-i nüfûs-ı insân cem'iiyet-i ma'şer-i maḥşere perde-keş-i nisyân olmak şüretlerin nümâyân eyledi. Ecsâm-ı enâm ğarkâ-i emvâc-ı zihâm olup birbiri⁹⁶⁰ fevkinde ancak devâ'ir-i vücûh u a'mâm be-didâr olmuş idi.

⁹⁵² sine-i: - K

⁹⁵³ siyeh-fām: sine-fām B P

⁹⁵⁴ bürîde-i: bürîde B

⁹⁵⁵ ibn: bin P

⁹⁵⁶ Kâhire'den: Kâhiriyye'den L

⁹⁵⁷ bābü'n-naşr'da: - K

⁹⁵⁸ eyvân u: ebvâb B K

⁹⁵⁹ olup: olunup K

⁹⁶⁰ birbiri: biri biri B K

Her ne tarafa [B38a] imrâr-ı nazar⁹⁶¹ olursa yeksere leb ü rû vü⁹⁶² çeşm ü ebrû müşâhede olunup gūyâ Nessâc-ı kârgâh-ı şun' tarafeyn-i reh-güzâra nakş-ı beşere-i insâniyye ile müzeyyen birer perde-i⁹⁶³ müşavver âvîhte idüp ol mertebe cilve-i 'alem şûret-i manzûr-ı dide-i 'ibret-bin olmamış idi. zirve-i rû'ûs-ı sevâbık sûtûn-ı zenh-i levâhık ve şudûr-ı levâhık bâliş-i ektâf-ı sevâbık olup huţût-ı nevâşî-i esâfil çep-râst-⁹⁶⁴ sine-i e'âli⁹⁶⁵ ve erkâm-ı⁹⁶⁶ zîr-i leb-i e'âli haţt-ı pîşânî-i esâfil olmuş idi.

Bu hâlet ile herkes dide-küşâ-yı⁹⁶⁷ râh-ı temâşâ iken bi'l-cümle mevâcib-h'ârân-ı divân ve meşâyih-i celilü'l-'ünvân gûlgûle-i ezkâr ile mesâmi'-i nâsı derîçe-i hânkâh-ı hakikat⁹⁶⁸ iderek mahfil-i şerîfi zîver-i dūş-ı ta'zîm idüp muhayyem-i huccâca işâl eylediler.

19. Reften-i hâciyân be-Birke-i Hacc-ı şerîf⁹⁶⁹

[P57] Ol günden sonra ceres-i mihr-i münir beş def'a âvîhte-i gerden-i cemmâze-i eyyâm olduğda⁹⁷⁰ bi'l-cümle âmâdegân-ı râh-ı beyt-i Hudâ⁹⁷¹ dūş-ı cimâle tahmîl-i eşkâl idüp mâye-dârân-ı kuvvet-ı mâliyye olanlar mesned-nişîn-i hudûr olmağîçün vakf-ı zelzele-i bi-infişâl ve meşrûta-i ra'se-i bi'l-ittisâl, kafes-i tã'ir-i Hicâz, halvet-hâne-i sâlik-i râh-ı dırâz, beyt-i çâr fıkra-i bahr-i remel, serîr-i çâr⁹⁷² pây-e-i dūş-ı cemel, [L31b] habâb-ı 'ummân-ı beyâbân, ya'nî hâne-i pâ-der-hevâ-yı taht-ı revânda

⁹⁶¹ nazar: - B

⁹⁶² rû vü: rû-yı K

⁹⁶³ perde-i: perde L

⁹⁶⁴ çep-râst: çirast P K ; çep B

⁹⁶⁵ e'âli: e'âli-i B

⁹⁶⁶ erkâm: erkâmı P

⁹⁶⁷ dide: dide-i K

⁹⁶⁸ hakikat: hayret K

⁹⁶⁹ şerîf: - P B K

⁹⁷⁰ âvîhte-i gerden-i cemmâze-i eyyâm olduğda: âvîhte olup B

⁹⁷¹ Hudâ: Hudâ dahi K

⁹⁷² çâr: çehâr B P

güşe-nişin-i istirâhat⁹⁷³ olup niçeler dahî dü şuffe-i mütekâbile-i miḥaffede⁹⁷⁴ bādām-ı
dū mağz-ı şüretin [B38b] gösterüp Birketü'l-hacc⁹⁷⁵ ta'bir olunan ğadır-i pākize-zamir
kenârında ârām-gir-i sāye-i⁹⁷⁶ hıyām oldılar.

İki gün ol feḫāda itmām-ı kuşūr-ı mehām içün ârām olunmak mersüm-ı ceride-i i'tiyād
olduğına⁹⁷⁷ binā'en künbed-i firūze-fām-ı gerdūna ğışāve-i 'anberin ta'lik olunduğı
dem a'yân-ı⁹⁷⁸ huccācuñ pişgāh-ı hıyāmında işāre ta'bir olunur [K28a] birer sütün üzre
kanādil-i bi-şümār ile şüret-i 'ıkd-ı süreyyā firūzân olup reh-revân-ı Beytü'llāh'ıñ
merāsım-i rukūb u nüzūli muğāyir-i esfār-ı sā'ire olmağın ekseriyyā hareketleri⁹⁷⁹
tabl-ı zerrin-i āftāb-ı ziver zir-i⁹⁸⁰ na'l-ı⁹⁸¹ fey'-i zevāl olduğı vākitlere teşādūf itmekle
hengām-ı nüzūlleri dahî kâfile-i şubḥdan muḫaddem vāki' olmağın şebgerdān-ı güm-
kerde-i⁹⁸² rāh⁹⁸³ delālet-i nücūm ile reh-bürde-i⁹⁸⁴ menzil-i maḫşūd olduğı gibi herkes
semūt-ı⁹⁸⁵ hıyāmın isti'lām içün 'el-'ārifü yekfihî'l-işāret' diyerek her işārenüñ⁹⁸⁶
naḫşı nuḫūş-ı sā'ireden mümtāz olmak üzere tertib olunup gūyā şeb-i rüzede bir
ma'müre-i 'azimü's-sevāduñ rü'ūs-ı şürefāt-ı minārâtı kanādil ile tezyin olunmuş idi.

20. İbtidā-yı 'azîmet-i huccāc

Nefes-i şubḥ-ı ahîr itfa'-i kanādil-i nücūm itdükde turre-i kūs-ı rıḫlet midakḫa-i
münebbih-i sā'at-ı hareket olmağın⁹⁸⁷

⁹⁷³ istirâhat: rāhat K

⁹⁷⁴ mütekâbile-i miḥaffede: mütekâlibede ya'nî miḥaffede K

⁹⁷⁵ hacc: huccāc L

⁹⁷⁶ sāye-i: sāḫa-i K

⁹⁷⁷ olduğına: olunduğın B P; olduğdan nāşî K

⁹⁷⁸ a'yân: - L

⁹⁷⁹ hareketleri: hareketlerini K

⁹⁸⁰ zir: - K

⁹⁸¹ na'l: bağl B

⁹⁸² -kerde-i: -kerde B L

⁹⁸³ rāh: - K

⁹⁸⁴ reh-bürde-i: rehber-dih K

⁹⁸⁵ semūt: simāt K

⁹⁸⁶ işārenüñ L: işāretüñ P

⁹⁸⁷ olmağın: olunmağ B

Nazm

Göñül tayy it bisāt-ı a'yş ı hengām-ı⁹⁸⁸ 'azimetdür

Yürü berk-i sefer-āmāde it⁹⁸⁹ kim vakt-i rihletdür

me'ālin ceres-i ḥadīdū'l-lisān⁹⁹⁰ [B39a] mengūş-ı sāmī'a-i intibāh itmegin yine dū
mışra'-ı [P58] miḥaffe-beyt-i kaside-i meşhūre⁹⁹¹ [L32a] şütür u ḥıcreye nazīre⁹⁹²
kılınup kalben ve kāliban cānib-i kıble-i⁹⁹³ āmāle⁹⁹⁴ tevcih-i kubāle-i⁹⁹⁵ iḳbāl olundu.

Nazm⁹⁹⁶

Mā rāh-revān-ı ḥarem-i Ka'be-i⁹⁹⁷ cān-im

Bā-kāfile-i eşk-i revān hem-reh ez-ān-im

Esnā-yı⁹⁹⁸ ṭarīḳde Şahrā-yı Tih ve⁹⁹⁹ Tūr-ı Sīnā güzār¹⁰⁰⁰ olunduḳdan şofıra tokuzuncu
günde 'Akabe-i Mısr nāmıyle meşhūr-ı elsine-i enām¹⁰⁰¹ olan rāh-ı¹⁰⁰² 'usret-penāh ki
tarafeynde olan kulel-i cibālī¹⁰⁰³ āşyāne-i nesr-i ṭā'irden ber-ter¹⁰⁰⁴ ve miyānede olan
memerr-i bārik-i 'amıḳi püşt-i gāv ü māhiye berāberdür.¹⁰⁰⁵ Mānende-i mār-ı piçide
pāy-ı¹⁰⁰⁶ meṭāyā olarak leb-i Bahr-i Muḥit buse-dāde-i¹⁰⁰⁷ dāmen-i ḥıyām kılındı.

⁹⁸⁸ hengām: eyyām K

⁹⁸⁹ it: kıl P

⁹⁹⁰ lisān: beyān K

⁹⁹¹ meşhūre: meşhūre-i L

⁹⁹² nazīre: nazar K

⁹⁹³ kıble-i: kıbleye K

⁹⁹⁴ āmāle: āmāle-i K

⁹⁹⁵ kubāle-i: kubāle K B

⁹⁹⁶ Nazm: - B

⁹⁹⁷ Ka'be: kıble-i K

⁹⁹⁸ esnā-yı: esnā-i L B

⁹⁹⁹ ve: - K

¹⁰⁰⁰ güzār: güz'er B

¹⁰⁰¹ enām: 'avām B; a'vām-ı enām K

¹⁰⁰² rāh: - L

¹⁰⁰³ kulel-i cibālī: kulel u cibāl B

¹⁰⁰⁴ berter: berterdür K

¹⁰⁰⁵ The neht couplet is wrongly cited here in the copy of K, and noted in the margin that 'Bu beyt bu şarırdan mu'ahhar dur'.

¹⁰⁰⁶ pāy: rāh L

¹⁰⁰⁷ -dāde-i: -dād B P

Nazm¹⁰⁰⁸

Leb-i deryâ-st çün leb-i dilber

Zi-birün¹⁰⁰⁹ sebze ve zi-derün gevher

Mânende-i deryâ şafâ-yı¹⁰¹⁰ hâtır ile bir niçe menzil dahî kenâr-ı varâk-ı pirûze-fâm-ı deryâdan bürîde-i mikrâd-ı kavâ'im-i meṭâyâ kılındukdan soñra zelzele-i zemîngerdân-ı İlâhî ile gûy-ı çevgân-ı kaḍâ olan ard-ı **Medyen** kurbinde 'ibâdet-hâne-i haṭibü'l-enbiyâ ḥadret-i Şu'ayb, şalavâtü'llâhî 'alâ-nebiyyinâ ve 'aleyh, ḥadretlerinün¹⁰¹¹ [K28b] ziyâretiyle kaṭ'-ı medâric-i minber-i merâm olundı¹⁰¹².

Meş'al-i kamer-i zi'l-hicce zîver-i dūş-ı sipihr olduğda 'arşa-i **Bedr-i Huneyn** cilvegâh-ı hıyâm olup rûz-ı nuşret-endûz-ı ğazâ-yı kübrâ-yı Bedr'de şahbâ-keşân-ı peymâne-i şehâdetün hâk-i hûn-âmezleri ziyâretiyle ser-germî-i neş'e-i rûḥânî [B39b] iktisâbından ğayrı sultân-ı manşûr-ı livâ'-ı¹⁰¹³ nübüvvet 'aleyhi's-şalâtü ve's-selâm¹⁰¹⁴, ḥadretleri ol ma'reke-i hıred-fersâ hengâmında ümid-i hıram-ı şâhid-i nuşret ile dū keff-i istid'âların mir'ât-ı rû-yı recâ kılmak içün tevârî buyurdukları sāye-i nahl-ı tākde bünyâd olunan Mescid-i 'Arîş ziyâreti ile dest-i ümid nâ'il-i hūşe-i merâm kılındı.

¹⁰⁰⁸ The following remark put in the margin of: 'Beyt-i bālâ taḥrîr olunur'.

¹⁰⁰⁹ zi: ez B L K

¹⁰¹⁰ şafâ-yı: şafâ B K

¹⁰¹¹ ve 'aleyh ḥadretlerinün: - B K

¹⁰¹² olundı: oldu B L

¹⁰¹³ livâ'-ı: el-livâ'-ı P B

¹⁰¹⁴ 'aleyhi's-şalâtü ve's-selâm: 'aleyhi ekmelü't-taḥiyye K

21. Residen be-mikāt-ı ihrāmghāh

Andan ikinci günde mikāt-ı kâfile-i Mısrıyye olan **Rābık** nām şahrā-yı sine-küşā
[L32b] pirāhen-i cengār-gün-ı hıyām ile pirāye-gır¹⁰¹⁵ olduğda bi'l-cümle sālīkân-ı
rāh-ı Beyt-i İlāh elbise-i 'ādiyeden¹⁰¹⁶ te'arri idüb

Nazm

Penbe-i dāğ-ı derūn içre [P59] nihāndur bedenüm¹⁰¹⁷

Diri olduğca libāsum budur ölsem kefenüm

beyti¹⁰¹⁸ ile şüst u¹⁰¹⁹ şū-yı ebdāndan soñra¹⁰²⁰ lepāçe-i divān-ı muḳaddes-i İlāhī olan
iki kıt'a ihrām-ı sepīd-fāmı¹⁰²¹ zīver-i dūş u miyān eyleyüp ser u pā berehne āvāze-i
ğulğule-i felek-resā-yı lebbeyki āmihte-i¹⁰²² ezkār-ı müsebbihān-ı mele'-i a'lā
eylediler.

Beyt

Ka'be-rā mestāne lebbeyk ārem ez-mikāt-ı 'aşk

K'ez-elestem hem bā-in¹⁰²³ lebbeyk gūyā kerde-end¹⁰²⁴

Teselsül-i zemzeme-i lebbeyk penç şebāne-rüz inkıṭā' bulmayup bir¹⁰²⁵ şubḥ-dem
hāci-i berehne-ser¹⁰²⁶ hūrşid devr-i meṭāf-ı gerdün için şubḥ-ı evvel ü ahīrden iki kıt'a
ihrām-ı kāfūr-fāmı ārāyiş-i endām eyledükde nāgāh tūğ-i cibāl-ı zemīn-i **Baṭḥā'**

¹⁰¹⁵ -gır: - L

¹⁰¹⁶ 'ādiyeden: 'āriyeden L K

¹⁰¹⁷ This hemistich is missing in B

¹⁰¹⁸ beyti: niyyeti B

¹⁰¹⁹ u: - K

¹⁰²⁰ soñra: - K

¹⁰²¹ sepīd: sefid P

¹⁰²² āmihte-i: āmihte B

¹⁰²³ bā-in: bāyīn B

¹⁰²⁴ kerde-end: kerde-em K

¹⁰²⁵ bir: - K

¹⁰²⁶ berehne-ser: berehne-i K

leme'ân itmegın kâfile-i ârzû-bâr-ı huccâcuñ 'inân-ı ârâmı güsiste olup herkesüñ
[B40a] şāhā'if-i pişānī-i¹⁰²⁷ hālinde dā'yye-i şitāb mürtesem olmağın

Nazm

Rıdāyı şora şora Ka'be'yi bulur âdem

Hemân yola düşelüm kūy-ı dil-rübā diyerek

harem-i şerif şavbına müsāra'ât eylediler.¹⁰²⁸

Nazm¹⁰²⁹

Dilem be-nāle der-āyed ki¹⁰³⁰ bi-şabūrī-rā¹⁰³¹

Zi-hadd me-ber ki der-in rāh kes me-bād şabūr

Vākı'an şāhīn-i melekūt-āşyān-ı cān henüz āzāde-pervāz-ı¹⁰³² hevā-yı 'ālem-i ıtlāk
iken gerdiş-i beftere-i da'vet-i Haliliyye'ye bāl-küşā-yı icābet olmada¹⁰³³ [?]
ıdtırārından ğayrı şehr-bend-i¹⁰³⁴ meşīme-i 'ademden¹⁰³⁵ nā'il-i dest-māye-i [K29a]
vücūd olduğdan şofıra hadret-i Kādir-i istiṭā'at-baḥşā celle şānühü'nüñ ārāste-i nevāl-i
mağfiret olan diyāfet-hāne-i kübrāsına teklifi dahī zencir-i gerdem-i ihtiyār olup
huşūşan sevdā-ger-i çārsū-yı hayāt olaldan beri dükkānçe-i sāmī'a kālā-yı güft-ü-gū-yı
Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn¹⁰³⁶ ile pür olduğca şandūkça-i mütehayyile naḳd-i iştīyāk ile
[L33a] mālāmāl olmağla

Nazm

¹⁰²⁷ pişānī-i: pişānī B

¹⁰²⁸ In K this phrase is in the margin, and *ba'de* added at the end of it.

¹⁰²⁹ In K this couplet is in the margin.

¹⁰³⁰ ki: - L

¹⁰³¹ bi: ez P; - B; illegible in K

¹⁰³² āzāde: āzāde-i P; āzādī K

¹⁰³³ olmada ıdtırārından: olmada. İdtırābdan B; olmadadır. Bu ıdtırābdan K

¹⁰³⁴ -bend: tyh /t bh L

¹⁰³⁵ 'ademden: 'ademde B P

¹⁰³⁶ şerifeyn: - P

Key bûd yâ Rabb ki rû¹⁰³⁷ der-Yeşrib ü Baḥḥā künem

Geh be-Mekke menzil ve geh der-Medine cā künem

terānesiyle nev-be-nev deryā-yı eşk-i şevk mevce-dār-ı rıkkat ve nefes-be-nefes
sefine-i dil bādbān-keşā-yı āh-ı ḥasret olmak mu'tādından¹⁰³⁸ olduğundan faḍla¹⁰³⁹
[P60] āsār-ı hikem-i takdiri-i ezel zuhūra karib olmağın ol gülistān-ı mağfiret-i İlāhî
ziyāretine 'azm olunduğı günden beri şebnem-i şabr rubūde-i neyçe-i mihr-i iştiyāk
olmağla tayy-ı menāzil-i ba'ide-dāmen-i [B40b] ārzūya ğubār olup bir gün
mukaddemce menzil-i maḳşūda vüṣūl ve teslim-i naḳd-ı eşk-i niyāz ümidiyle¹⁰⁴⁰
'avārıd-ḥāne-i ceride-i 'ömrden bir miḳdār ḥāne-i eyyām firū-nihāde kılınmaḳ cāna
minnet bilinürken ne ḥāl ise ol mertebe¹⁰⁴¹ tayy-ı merāḥil-i¹⁰⁴² bi-ḥesābdan soñra
reside-i kurb-ı¹⁰⁴³ Beytü'l-ḥarām olduğda kārban-ı 'aḳl u şu'ūr ve meleke-i şabr u
karār maḥallinde pāydār olmaḳ niçe müteşavverdür!

Naẓm¹⁰⁴⁴

Çün eşer-i kurb muşavver şeved

Cāzibe-i şevk füzūn-ter şeved

Harem-i Mekke-i mu'aẓẓama'ya iki sâ'at miḳdārı 'Umre nām maḥall ki ibtidā-yı
hadd-i ḥarem-i Izdi olduğın iş'āra¹⁰⁴⁵ tarafeyn-i tarīḳde¹⁰⁴⁶ iki mīl-i ser-bülend lisān-ı
ḥāl olmuşdur. Çeşm-güzār-ı reh-neverdān be-vādi-i¹⁰⁴⁷ ḥasret olduğda yekpāre¹⁰⁴⁸

¹⁰³⁷ rûy: - B

¹⁰³⁸ mu'tādından: mu'tādı K P; mu'tād L

¹⁰³⁹ faḍla: faḍla-i B

¹⁰⁴⁰ ümidiyle: ile K

¹⁰⁴¹ mertebe: mertebe-i B

¹⁰⁴² merāḥil: - L B

¹⁰⁴³ kurb: - K

¹⁰⁴⁴ Beyt: naẓm B

¹⁰⁴⁵ olduğın iş'āra: olduğına iş'ār K

¹⁰⁴⁶ tarīḳde: tarīḳinde P

¹⁰⁴⁷ be-vādi-i: - K

¹⁰⁴⁸ yekpāre: yekpāre-i K

ķāfile-i huccāc cūnbūş-i şarşar şevķiyle evrāk-ı hazān-zede gibi üftāde-i¹⁰⁴⁹ zemin olup piyāde-i bāziçe-i şevķ u maḥabbet oldılar¹⁰⁵⁰.

Nazm

Cümle ḥalā'ik çe 'Arab çe 'Acem

Bādiye-peymā¹⁰⁵¹ be-hevā-yı ḥarem¹⁰⁵²

Zi-āteş şu'le be-nümūd āmedend

Cümle der-ān 'arşa firūd-āmedend

Hōşā, ol hengām-ı dil-ārā¹⁰⁵³ ki mikrād-ı şevķ ü ğarām şaḥife-i kulūbdan ḥavāş-i ta'allukāt-ı hevāy¹⁰⁵⁴ kat' idüp rismān-bāz-ı ārzū ser-menzil-i āmāle¹⁰⁵⁵ ḥatve-cūnbān-ı şitāb ola! [K29b]

Ve ḥabbazā, ol müvahlid-i pākize-sirişt¹⁰⁵⁶ ki cezbe-i maḥabbet-i İlāhiyye ile [L33b] pīrāhen-i 'alā'ik-ı¹⁰⁵⁷ emvāl u 'iyālden āstin-feşān-ı tecerrüd olup ḥ'ān-ı bi-imtinān-ı mağfiret-i [B41a] İlāhiden loķma-çin-i ni'met-i dāreyn ola!

Nazm

Ni'met-i ō hest birün ez-ḥayāl

Keyf būd sırr-ı lisānü'l-makāl

Hezār şükr Kādir-i bi-çūna ki şem'a-i¹⁰⁵⁸ sine-fürüz-ı¹⁰⁵⁹ ḥayāt küşte-i nefes-i vā-pesin olmadan¹⁰⁶⁰ gürm-i nazar kandil-i tāk-ı meṭāf olmağla dide-rūşen olmak sa'ādetinden bi-naşib eylemedi.

¹⁰⁴⁹ üftāde-i: üftāde B

¹⁰⁵⁰ oldılar: eylediler K

¹⁰⁵¹ peymā: peymā-yı K

¹⁰⁵² Muḥyi (Lala), f. 40a

¹⁰⁵³ dil-ārā: dil-ārām P

¹⁰⁵⁴ hevāy: sivāy B; sivāy P

¹⁰⁵⁵ āmāle: āmāle-i K

¹⁰⁵⁶ -sirişt: -sirişte B

¹⁰⁵⁷ 'alā'ik: 'alā'ik u L

Ve şenā-yı bî-hadd ḥadret-i Vehhāb-ı 'amimü'r-rahmete ki¹⁰⁶¹ kālā-yı kem-yāb-ı
zindegānī tārāc-hōrde-i¹⁰⁶² reh-zen-i¹⁰⁶³ merg-i nāgehānī [P61] olmazdan muḳaddem
perniyān-ı pişānı pāy-endāz-ı¹⁰⁶⁴ ḥāk-i ḥarem-i Yezdānī kılınmak devletinden mahrūm
komadı.

Nazm

Minnet Hudā ki her¹⁰⁶⁵ ki taleb-kerdem ez-Hudā

Ber-minnethā-yı himmet-i hōd kāmran şüdem

Mā-ḥaşal havālî-i Mekke-i Mu'azzama'da nāgāh kıbāb-ı mezāristān-ı Mu'allā sāye-i
ḥurmāzārdan hüveydā olmağla ḥadeḳa-i 'uyūn peymāne-i lebrîz-i neşāt olup mestî-i
şevḳ-i serhōşı olmağa başladı.

Nazm

Hāk-i Mu'allā-st ki tāk-ı ser-est

Nūr-dih¹⁰⁶⁶ dide-i māk u hūr-est¹⁰⁶⁷

Her ṭarafeş mağrib-i şad āftāb

Perde-i gil geşte ber-işān niḳāb¹⁰⁶⁸

Hezārān nūcūm-ı zāhire-i¹⁰⁶⁹ sipihr-i kerāmet ol ḥāk-i pākde mütevārî-i gūşe-i ḥafā
olmağın¹⁰⁷⁰ ḳadrî āsmāndan mu'allā olmak mevḳî-i çūn u çerā degildir.

¹⁰⁵⁸ şem'a-i: şem'-i B K

¹⁰⁵⁹ sîne: sîne-i B

¹⁰⁶⁰ olmadan: olmadın K

¹⁰⁶¹ ki: - B

¹⁰⁶² hōrde-i: h'ārde-i P

¹⁰⁶³ reh-zen-i: - L

¹⁰⁶⁴ pāyendāz: pā-bendāz P

¹⁰⁶⁵ her: her çe P

¹⁰⁶⁶ -dih: - K

¹⁰⁶⁷ Muḥyî (Lala), f. 11b

¹⁰⁶⁸ Muḥyî (Lala), f. 11b

¹⁰⁶⁹ zāhire-i: zühre-i P

¹⁰⁷⁰ gūşe-i ḥafā olmağın: perde-i ḥafā olmazdı K

Huṣūṣan ṣem'-i ṣebistān-ı 'işmet, pervāne-i çerāğ-ı nübüvvet ḥadret-i¹⁰⁷¹ Ḥadice-i Kübrā, raḍiye'llāhü¹⁰⁷² 'anhā, ḥadretleri dahı ol sāḥada ārayış-i zinet-i serāy-ı cāvidāni olmağla kubbe-i merḳadleri a'zam-ı kıbāb-ı mu'allādur.

Andan soñra nāgāh āṣār-ı 'imārāt-ı [B41b] belde-i Mekke-i mu'aẓẓama verā-yı niḳāb-ı ḥafādan nümāyān olmağla yek-pāre hücum-ı seylāb-ı ḥayret bünyān-ı ḥavāssı nümüne-i dil-i müştākān idüp şavlecān-ı meḥābet-i ḳudsiyye ile gūy-şıfat bāz-ı sergerde

Nazm [L34a]

Kūyuñ gibi ehl-i dile bāğ-ı İrem olmaz

Bāğ-ı İrem ol cennet-i feyde ḥarem olmaz

¹⁰⁷³ zemzemesiyle miyāne-i kūçe-i Mekke-i muḥteremed¹⁰⁷⁴ devr iderek [K30a]

Nazm

Müdde'āmuz bir nigāh-ı merhametdür yārdan

İki 'ālemde dahı bir müdde'āmuz var¹⁰⁷⁵ bizüm

vefkince şahın-ı Müdde'ā ārāmgāh-ı pāy-ı nigāh kıldı. Müdde'ā nāmıyle şöhret-yāb olan miyāne-i kūçe-i Ümmü'l-ḳurā'da bir püştüdür ki şaḥife-i divār-ı ḥarem-i Rabbāni ibtidā' ol maḥalde memerr-i tıfl-ı nev-āmūz-ı naẓar olmağla ol maḥalde çekide-i yarā'a-i zebān olan¹⁰⁷⁶ manẓūme-i du'ā mersūm-ı levḥa-i icābet olmak mevḳı'-i iştibāhdan mütebā'id olduğı¹⁰⁷⁷ sultān-ı kevneyn, şalle'llāhü 'aleyh ve sellem,

¹⁰⁷¹ ḥadret-i: - P B L

¹⁰⁷² raḍiye'llāhü: raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā K

¹⁰⁷³ zemzemesiyle: vefkince zemzemesiyle K

¹⁰⁷⁴ Mekke-i muḥteremed: kūçe-i Ümmü'l-ḳurā K

¹⁰⁷⁵ var: yok P K L

¹⁰⁷⁶ olan: olup B

¹⁰⁷⁷ olduğı: olmaduğı K

hadretlerinin mevkıf-ı mezbûrda her bār dest-küşā-yı¹⁰⁷⁸ bārgāh-ı eḥadiyyet oldukları
şübüt-yāftedür. [P62]

Nazm

Rû-yı taleb nih be-sû-yı Müdde‘ā

Bi-şekk ü şübhe-est kabûl-i du‘ā¹⁰⁷⁹

22. Diden-i¹⁰⁸⁰ ruhsāre-i¹⁰⁸¹ Beyt-i llāh

Bi'l-āhare Müdde‘ā'dan dahî güz̄er¹⁰⁸² olunup tār-ı enzār şürefāt-ı minārāt-ı harem-i
mükerrem-i ser-be-gerdūna piçide kılınarak südde-i sidre-fersā-yı Bābü's-selām
secdegāh-ı pişāni-i cān olup şahın-ı sāḥa-i¹⁰⁸³ Haremü'llāh'a¹⁰⁸⁴ itāre-i ḥammāme-i
nigāh olunduḡda nüsha-i [B42a] müteḥayyileden şirāze-i¹⁰⁸⁵ şu'ūr¹⁰⁸⁶ bi'l-küllîye
güsiste olup eczā-yı perişān-ḥavāss bāziçe-i bād-ı āh olmaḡa āḡāz eyledi.

Nazm

Geşt dilem ġarkā-i baḥr-i vişāl

Güm-şüdem ez-ḥōd be-fürūḡ-ı cemāl

Seyl-i sirişk ez-müje-i eşk-bār

Ser-zed ve Ceyḥūn şüd¹⁰⁸⁷ ez-ān-em kenār

¹⁰⁷⁸ dest-küşā-yı: dest-i du‘ā-küşā-yı K

¹⁰⁷⁹ Muḥyî (Lala), f. 11b

¹⁰⁸⁰ diden: el-hamdü li'llāh diden K

¹⁰⁸¹ ruhsāre-i: ruhsār-ı K

¹⁰⁸² güz̄er: güzār B

¹⁰⁸³ sāḥa-i: sāḥada ya'ni K

¹⁰⁸⁴ ḥaremu'llāh: ḥaremu'llāhda K

¹⁰⁸⁵ şirāze-i: şirāze K

¹⁰⁸⁶ şu'ūr: şu'ūra B

¹⁰⁸⁷ şüd: şüd ve P

Ğalebe-i dehşet-i vişâlden az kaldı ki iksir-i 'âlem-bahâ-yı cân hâk-rîz-i mesemmât-ı
bedenden rîzân ola¹⁰⁸⁸ ve istilâ-yı mehâbet-i beyt-i zi'l-celâl'den karîb oldu ki şîr-i¹⁰⁸⁹
rûh zencir-i enfâsı kaṭ' idüp girîve-i teng-i¹⁰⁹⁰ tenden gürîzân ola!

Nazm

Didim¹⁰⁹¹ in-çünin dem-i vaşl¹⁰⁹² ve¹⁰⁹³ ne-mürde-im [L34b]

Mâ-râ be-saht-ı cânî-i hōd in gümân ne-būd¹⁰⁹⁴

Bu keyfiyyet ile şaḥne-i mehâbet-i celâl¹⁰⁹⁵ bir zamân kalem-rev-i hîredde
taşarrufdan¹⁰⁹⁶ soñra¹⁰⁹⁷ te'ākub-ı lem'a-i tebessüm-i cemâl¹⁰⁹⁸ nev'an inâre-i¹⁰⁹⁹
çerâğ-ı¹¹⁰⁰ şu'ûr itmegin kemâl-i şermiyle¹¹⁰¹ verâ-yı çâr-çûpe-i müjgândan kâmet-i
hōş-rübâ-yı şâhid-i Beytü'l-harâm'a revzene-i¹¹⁰² çeşm-i ḥasret küşâde kılındı.
[K30a]

23. zîkr-i evşâf-ı Ka'be-i 'ulyâ

Ne gördüm¹¹⁰³, bir nâzenin-i encümen-i melâḥatdur¹¹⁰⁴ ki kâmet-i sidre hîrâmına
pîrâye-i kıyâm virmekle temâşâyiyân-ı melek ü melekûtı üftâde-i¹¹⁰⁵ nazra-i¹¹⁰⁶ ḥayret

¹⁰⁸⁸ ola: olan B

¹⁰⁸⁹ şîr: - L

¹⁰⁹⁰ teng-tenden: teng ü tenden K

¹⁰⁹¹ didim: didem K

¹⁰⁹² vaşl: vişâl K

¹⁰⁹³ ve: - B

¹⁰⁹⁴ ne-būd: - B

¹⁰⁹⁵ celâl: zi'l-celâl K

¹⁰⁹⁶ taşarrufdan: taşarrufundan L

¹⁰⁹⁷ soñra: - P

¹⁰⁹⁸ cemâl: celâl K

¹⁰⁹⁹ inâre-i: inâre B

¹¹⁰⁰ çerâğ: - L

¹¹⁰¹ şermiyle: şermle K

¹¹⁰² revzene: revzen K

¹¹⁰³ ne gördüm: - P

¹¹⁰⁴ melâḥatdur: melâḥat K

¹¹⁰⁵ üftâde-i: üftâde P

¹¹⁰⁶ nazra-i: nazra K

eylemiş. Ve bir mäh-ı âftâb-sûzdur ki ağuş-ı hâle-i meṭâfda¹¹⁰⁷ cilveger olmağla
kettân-ı şabr-ı¹¹⁰⁸ nuṣṣâragiyân-ı zemîn ü âsmânı giribân-ı ‘uṣṣâka döndürmiş.

Nazm

Zi-fark tâ-be-ḳadem her kücâ¹¹⁰⁹ ki mî-nigerî

Girişme¹¹¹⁰-dâmen-i dil mî-keşed ki cā incâ-st

Bir serv-i [B42b] dâmen-çide-i sâḥa-i¹¹¹¹ rahmetdür ki muraşsa‘-bâlân-ı¹¹¹² âşyân-ı
ḳuds gird-i serinde fâhte-i muṭavvaḳa gibi¹¹¹³ devre girmiş.¹¹¹⁴ Bir şem‘-i encümen-
tâb-ı hidâyetdür ki seb‘a-i seyyâre pirâmen-i şu‘le-i [P63] cemâl-i¹¹¹⁵ ‘âlem-sûzına
pervâne olmak ârzûsıyla sūzân olmuş.

Nazm

Küşte heme fâhte o serv-i nâz

Cümle çü pervâne ve o şem‘-i râz

Şem‘ eger hest der-in bezmgâh

Rüşenî-i o-st zi-nûr-ı İlâh

Verâ-yı perde-i siyeh-fâmda ser-çeşme-i ḥayât-ı ebedidür ki delâlet-i Hıdr-ı tevfiḳ ile
leb-i teşnegân-ı bâdiye-i ârzû zir-i Mîzâb-ı Rahmet’inden¹¹¹⁶ istifâda-i¹¹¹⁷ mâ’ü’l-
ḥayât murâd itmededürler. Bir kâse-i ser-püşide-i¹¹¹⁸ nevâl-i hidâyetdür ki dâ’ire-i

¹¹⁰⁷ meṭâfda: meṭâfında K

¹¹⁰⁸ şabr: çeşm P

¹¹⁰⁹ her kücâ: ger nigâh L

¹¹¹⁰ girişme: girişme-i K

¹¹¹¹ sâḥa-i: - B

¹¹¹² bâlân: bālâ-i P

¹¹¹³ gibi: ki P

¹¹¹⁴ girmiş: girmiş ve K

¹¹¹⁵ cemâl: - K

¹¹¹⁶ rahmetinden: rahmetden P B

¹¹¹⁷ isti fâda-i: isti fâda B

¹¹¹⁸ ser-püşide-i: ser-püşide L P

h^vān-ı meṭāfında olan nīm-şahn-ı Hāṭim'den¹¹¹⁹ gürisne-çeşmān teng-nāy-ı ma'şiyet
içün¹¹²⁰ taḥşil-i nevāle-i mağfiret itmededürler.

Nazm

Ez-gil ü ābeş germ mī-bāred¹¹²¹ in ḥāne-est

Hıdr-rā sakḳā' ve İbrāhim bennā kerde-end

Ne Ka'be! Nāf-ı¹¹²² müşkīn-i 'ālem-i āb u ḥāk, merkez-i 'anberīn-i devā'ir-i eflāk,
kürsi-i memleket-i [L35a] İlāhī, kafes-i tā'ir-i feyd-i nā-mütenāhī, şundūḳa-i geneline-i
melekūt, dürc-i mazrūf-ı cevher-i çārsū-yı ceberūt; pīrāmen-i müşk-fāmı¹¹²³ taḥrīk-i
nesim ile cünbüş-pezir olduğca temevvüc-i kulzüm-i envār nümāyān ve ḫulūb-ı dil-
bestegān-ı nazḳāre-i¹¹²⁴ ḫayret 'ummān-ı zevḳ-i¹¹²⁵ istiğrākda ḡavṭa-zenān¹¹²⁶
olmuşlar.

Nazm

Tih-i¹¹²⁷ libās-ı müşkīn çū be-cilve ender āyed

Be-bürd hezār dil-rā be-girişme-i nihānī

ve zir-i niḳāb-ı 'anber-āginden¹¹²⁸ gūşe-i 'ızārı lemā'an itdükce [B43a] mihr-i sipihr-
efrūz ḫurūş-ı ḳiyāda nihān olmadadır.

Nazm¹¹²⁹

Şüd müteḫarrik zi-nesīmeş niḳāb

¹¹¹⁹ Hāṭimden: 'azimde K

¹¹²⁰ içün: - L K

¹¹²¹ mī-bāred: mī-yāred B

¹¹²² nāf: nāfe-i K

¹¹²³ pīrāmen-i müşk-fāmı: pīrāhen-fām-ı müşk B

¹¹²⁴ nazḳāre-i: nazḳāre K

¹¹²⁵ zevḳ: zevḳ ü K

¹¹²⁶ ḡavṭa: ḡata-i B

¹¹²⁷ tih: b-t-h L B

¹¹²⁸ 'anber-āginden: 'anberīn-āginden L

¹¹²⁹ Nazm: Kıt'a K

Geşte münevver zi-ruheş âftâb

Burku‘-ı müşkin zi-ruheş ber-şikest¹¹³⁰

Nerh-ı gül ve kıymet-i ‘anber şikest

Ümidgâh-ı kâffe-i [K31a] kâ’inât olan bâb-ı mağfiret-me’âbı cānib-i şarka tevcih-i çeşm-i iltifât itmekle her şubh dāver-i hāver evreng-i pîrūze-fāma şu‘ūd hengāmında südde-i sa‘ādet-penāhına nāşiye-sāy olmağla kalem-rev-i āfākı zîr-i¹¹³¹ nigîn eylemişdür¹¹³².

Nazm

Mihr-i Süleymân ki cihân ber-girift

Sikkeş ez-halka-i¹¹³³ in der-girift

Ger be-şeref mihr ü meh efsâne-end

Halka be-güş-ı der-in hāne-end

Dest der-in halka zened Cebra’îl

Tā şineved [P64] bang zi-Rabb-i Celil

Cāme-i ‘anberin-i¹¹³⁴ zer-niṭākla¹¹³⁵ cilve-i maḥbūbānesi māye-i sevdā-yı ins ü melek ve erkân-ı maḥbū‘a üzre kâ‘ide-i¹¹³⁶ temkîn-i muḥteremānesi vāsıta-i sergerdānî-i kâh-ı felekdür.

Nazm

Āmede bā-hil‘at-ı ‘anber-sirişt

¹¹³⁰ ber: per P

¹¹³¹ zîr: zer B

¹¹³² eylemişdür: itmişdür K

¹¹³³ ez: - B

¹¹³⁴ ‘anberin: - L

¹¹³⁵ niṭākla: niṭākıyle P

¹¹³⁶ kâ‘ide-i: kâ‘id K

Sünbül-i müşkîn-i riyâd-ı bihişt

Bürde be-râh-ı¹¹³⁷ keremeş 'arş râh

Meş'aledâr-ı haremeş mihr ü mâh

'Atebe-i bâb-ı¹¹³⁸ 'âlî-cenâbı muhâzî-i¹¹³⁹ sûtûh-ı nevâşî olmağın efvâh u pişâni-i züvvâr şeref-i mâliş ile meşerref-i¹¹⁴⁰ envâr olmadadır.

Nazm

Ten-i melek¹¹⁴¹ râst çün dil-i hâk-râ süveydâ

Be-çehâr hadd küşâde der-i feyḍ-i cāvidānî

Çū vü zed nesim-i kūyeş ki reved pey-i Mesihâ

Çū resed şarîr-i bâbeş ki zened dem ez-ağānî¹¹⁴²

Nefeḥât-ı âsmānî zi-ḥarîm-i ō mütercem [L35b]

Zi-ḥiṭâb-ı âstāneş şüde 'arş tercemānî¹¹⁴³ [B43b]

Ve bâb-ı rahmet-nişâbla rükn-i şarkî beyni üç zirâ' miqdârı Mültezim-i Şerîf nâmıyle mu'ayyen¹¹⁴⁴ olan mevķıf-ı cürm-efkendür¹¹⁴⁵ ki o şafḥâya sâyide olan cibâh u şudûr dest-zede-i¹¹⁴⁶ dūzah olmak ğâ'ilesinden dūrdur.

¹¹³⁷ rāh: zıll B K

¹¹³⁸ bâb: 'aliyye K

¹¹³⁹ muḥāzî-i: muḥāzî B

¹¹⁴⁰ müşerref: meşriḳ P

¹¹⁴¹ mülk: felek L

¹¹⁴² ez: - P

¹¹⁴³ tercemānî: rahmānî P

¹¹⁴⁴ mu'ayyen: müte'ayyin K B

¹¹⁴⁵ cürm: ḥarām K'

¹¹⁴⁶ şudûr dest-zede-i: şudûr şafḥa-i dest K

24. Vaşf-ı¹¹⁴⁷ haccer-i es 'ad-ı¹¹⁴⁸ vālā-yı¹¹⁴⁹ mükerrerem

Rükn-i şarkide tahminen zeminden iki zirā' miqdārı rif'at ile Haceru'l-esved-i es'ad-ı mübārek bir da'ire-i simin ihātasında nūr-bahşā-yı¹¹⁵⁰ encümen-i harem olmuşdur.

Nazm

Nūr-ı siyaheş lema'ân ez-Hudā-st

Hāl-i siyāheş Haceru'l-esved-est

Ne Haceru'l-esved! Bir şeb-çerāğ-ı efser-i¹¹⁵¹ āferiniş, merdümek-i dide-i biniş, süveydā-yı dil-i kā'ināt, hāl-i cemāl-i mümkināt, gūşvāre-i 'arş-ı Raḥmāni¹¹⁵², bāzū-bend-i hāne-i Yezdāni, kūy-ı giribān-ı envār, nokta-i nüh dā'ire-i esrār, [K31b] nigīn-i hātem-i şun'-ı ezel, yemin-i Hudāvend-i cihān-ı 'azze ve cell, busegāh-ı enbiyā-yı¹¹⁵³ kirām, miḥakk-ı şifāh-ı evliyā-yı 'ızām, levḥa-i sine-i 'ināyet, gevher-i kemer-i hidāyet,

Nazm

Nokta-i nüh dā'ire-i āsmān

Nokta-şifat hest ez-ān der-miyān

Sürme-keş çeşm-i ğazālān-ı Çin

Dāde siyāhiyeş¹¹⁵⁴ güvāhi¹¹⁵⁵ ber-in

¹¹⁴⁷ vaşf: - B

¹¹⁴⁸ es'ad: esved P

¹¹⁴⁹ vālā-yı: vālā-yı esved K

¹¹⁵⁰ bahşā-yı: bahşā-yı zemīn K

¹¹⁵¹ efser: - B

¹¹⁵² Raḥmāni: Rabbāni B P

¹¹⁵³ enbiyā-yı: enbiyā P

¹¹⁵⁴ siyāhiyeş: siyāheş B

¹¹⁵⁵ güvāhi: güvāhi-i K

25. zıkr-ı¹¹⁵⁶ vaşf-ı Makām-ı İbrāhīm¹¹⁵⁷

[P65] Der-i melā'ik-maḳarra muḳābil bir ḳafes-i rūyīn-i zerrīn¹¹⁵⁸-saḳf derūnında Maḳām-ı İbrāhīm ile müsemmā hücre-i mübāreke ki¹¹⁵⁹ eṣnā-yı binā-yı Beyt-i İlāhī'de zır-pāy-ı İbrāhīm ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh'de mürğ-āsā maḥall-i iḳtiḍā'ya pervāz itmekle eṣer-i ḳadem-i mükerrerleri¹¹⁶⁰ ḥālā sinesinde¹¹⁶¹ dāğ-ı muḥabbet olup kendüsi ḥarem-i sāḥa-i¹¹⁶² [B44a] sübhānide gūşe-nişin-i yakīn¹¹⁶³ olduğu gibi zıkrı daḥi kerīme-i 'fi-hi āyātün beyyinātün maḳāmu İbrāhīm¹¹⁶⁴ şerefiyle müteḥayyiz-i miyāne-i ḥıyābān-ı sūtūr-ı gülşen-i¹¹⁶⁵ kelām-ı ḳadīm olmuştur. Anuñ daḥi hey'āt-ı pākizesine münāsib bir kisve-i zer-tār-ı āyet-nigār [L36a] ilbās olunmağla¹¹⁶⁶ beyt-i siyeh-ḳabā ile hem-seng-i terāzū-yı i'tibārdur.

Beyt

Ka'be-est incā melek-i ḥayrān-kār üftāde-est

Āsmān ez-şevḳ-i ṭavafeş¹¹⁶⁷ bī-ḳarār üftāde-est

26. Evṣāf-ı¹¹⁶⁸ ḳāh-ı rūḥ-dih-i Zemzem-i şerīf¹¹⁶⁹

Muḳābele-i Ḥacer-i Esved'de menba'-i şire-i¹¹⁷⁰ cān, mevrīd-i zülāl-i revān ya'nī ḳāh-ı şifā-penāh-ı Zemzem-i mükerrrem ki ḥāşıyyet-i zātı ser-çeşme-i ḥayātı ḥayme-

¹¹⁵⁶ zıkr: - P

¹¹⁵⁷ İbrāhīm: İbrāhīm ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyi-nā ve 'aleyh P

¹¹⁵⁸ zerrīn: - K

¹¹⁵⁹ ki: - B K

¹¹⁶⁰ mükerrerleri: mübārekleri K

¹¹⁶¹ sinesinde: sine-i sengde P

¹¹⁶² ḥarem-i sāḥa: sāḥa-i ḥarem B K

¹¹⁶³ yakīn: ta'ayyün B

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¹¹⁶⁵ gülşen: - K

¹¹⁶⁶ olunmağla: olunmağın K

¹¹⁶⁷ ṭavafeş: ṭūfāneş L

¹¹⁶⁸ evṣāf: zıkr-i evṣāf K

¹¹⁶⁹ şerīf: - B

¹¹⁷⁰ şire-i: şire B

nişin-i zulmet ve rahîk ü Tesnîmi müveccih-i zîr-i haclet itmek vaşfa¹¹⁷¹ şâyeste degildir.

Nazm

Be-mezāk-ı Hāk-şināsān kefi ābeş er be-senced

Ne-dihend lāy-ı Zemzem be-zülāl-i zindegānī

Meh eger mecāl bāyed¹¹⁷² ki şeved muķim-i çāheş

Kūnedeş zi-cirm delvî zi-şu‘‘ā‘ rismānī

Bālā-yı çāhda burc-ı ābiye mümāss olan kûbbe-i ‘ālî-şānuñ¹¹⁷³ tabaka-i ‘ulvisi mü’ezzinān-ı Şāfi‘iyye’ye maķām olmışdur. Şebāne-rûz şad hezārdan efzûn teşnelebān-ı huccāc şûrb ü ğusl u vuđûda ber-vech-i istifā isti‘māl iderler iken gencine-i ğaybiyye-i İlāhiyye’den feverān idüp merkez-i ‘aşlisinden tefāvüt-i cüz’iyyesi gūş-güzār degildir.

Hāric-i dā’ire-i meţāfda olan çihil sûtûn-ı rûyîn üzre āvîhte olan kanādîl hātır-şiken-i ahter-i felek ve sāha-i [B44b] haremde pervāz iden gürûh gürûh hamāme-i tîz-per vāsıta-i [K32a] inkisār-ı bāl-i melekdür.

Nazm

Vađ‘-ı kanādîl vey ez-her taraf

Ahter-i cān-rā şüde beytû’ş-şeref

Hayl-i kebüter [P66] be-hevā per-be-per

Der-ţayarān çûn melekeş kerd ser

¹¹⁷¹ vaşfa: vaşf K

¹¹⁷² bāyed: yābd P

¹¹⁷³ alîşānuñ: alîşānı L P

Ol çemenistân-ı kudsün havâli-i¹¹⁷⁴ harem-i hurreminde heft menâr¹¹⁷⁵ heft serv gibi
ser-ber-âverde-i evc-i¹¹⁷⁶ i'tibâr ve kumriyân-ı pervâzgâh-ı kudse cây-ı qarârdur.

Nazm

Der-şifat-ı¹¹⁷⁷ tûl-i kıdd-ı¹¹⁷⁸ her menâr

Nükte-zede¹¹⁷⁹ ber-felek-i zer-nigâr

Pāye zi-evc-i felekeş¹¹⁸⁰ mürtefi‘

Bā-şecer-i Sidre şüde müctemi‘

Cevānib-i erba‘a-i meṭāf cemā‘at-ı mezāhib-i erba‘aya cāy¹¹⁸¹ olup [L36b] her
birinüñ¹¹⁸² mecma‘ında birer mihrāb sine-küşā-yı aşhāb olmuşdur.

Nazm

Çetr-i maḳāmāt-ı rübā‘i der-ān

Ber-ser-i her kavm şüde sāyebān

El-hāşıl bu gūne tertib-i niḳām-ı hāne-i Hudā temāşası ‘ilāve-i hayret-i ‘aşli olmağın
bir zamān pāy-ı zemin-peymā derūn-ı Bābü’s-selāmda pirāye-i reftārdan ‘ātıl olup
naḳar-ı¹¹⁸³ medhūşāne şāhin-i çeşm-i dūhte gibi bālā-yı nigeḥ-rübā-yı¹¹⁸⁴ Beytü’l-
ḥarām’a ta‘alluk-ı bi-hūşāneye başladı.

Nazm

Bes ki mehābet be-dil-em rū-nümūd

¹¹⁷⁴ havâli-i: havâli K

¹¹⁷⁵ menâr: mināre K

¹¹⁷⁶ evc: - B

¹¹⁷⁷ şifat: şāf B

¹¹⁷⁸ kıdd: kıddi B

¹¹⁷⁹ nükte: tekye B L K

¹¹⁸⁰ pāye zi-evc-i felekeş: pāye-i evc-i felekeş K

¹¹⁸¹ cāy: havi L

¹¹⁸² her birinüñ: her biri K

¹¹⁸³ naḳar: naḳra-i B

¹¹⁸⁴ nigeḥ: nigāh B

Çeşm-i ne-y-ârestem ez-ân der-keşûd

Eger cezbe-i mîknâtis-i Hacer-i Esved pençe-zen-i giribân-ı şu'ûr olmasa incimâd-ı dehşet ile sindân-şîfat ol maḥalden tahrik-i ḥaṭveye¹¹⁸⁵ ḥuṣûl-ı kudret nâ-mümkün idi¹¹⁸⁶.

Beyt

Çünân¹¹⁸⁷ ez-pâ fikendem rûzem [?]¹¹⁸⁸ ez-¹¹⁸⁹ ruḥsâr u kâmet hem

Ki ferdâ ber-ne-ḥîzem belki ferdâ-yı kıyâmet hem

27. zîkr-i teveccüh [B45a] be-ṭavâf-ı kudûm

Hele seylâb-ı sirişk sâḥa-i dilde ref'-i ḥayme-i ḥayrete bir miqdâr himmet itdükde

Nazm

Âḥir ey Ka'be delili ki be-câyî be-resem

Derd-mendem mededi tâ be-devâyî be-resem

beyti¹¹⁹⁰ ile muşâfaḥa-i Hacer-i Esved'e mübâderet ve ṭarîka-i sünnet üzre devre-i¹¹⁹¹ ṭavâf-ı kudûme¹¹⁹² müsâra'at olunup ol şem'-i şebistân-ı ḥaḳîkatüñ pirâmeninde temâsil-i ecsâm-ı tâ'ifin ile şûret-i fânûs-ı ḥayâl hüveydâ kılındı.

Nazm

Zi-âteş-i şem'-i ruḥ-ı cân-pervereş

Sûhte pervâne-şîfat ber-sereş

¹¹⁸⁵ ḥaṭveye: ḥaṭve-i K

¹¹⁸⁶ idi: - L; written in the margin of K

¹¹⁸⁷ çünân: çünân ki B

¹¹⁸⁸ fikendem rûzem: fikend imrûz B; fikend imrûzem K; fikende-em rûzem P

¹¹⁸⁹ ez: ân L B

¹¹⁹⁰ beyti: niyyeti B L

¹¹⁹¹ devre-i: devr P

¹¹⁹² ṭavâf-ı kudûme: ṭavâfa K

Nist der-in encümen ân şem'-i nūr

Yek nefes ez-gerdiş pervāne dūr

Bir tavāf-ı kāmīl yedi devrden 'ibāretdür ki her bir devri¹¹⁹³ tabakāt-ı kıbāb-ı [P67]

çerh-i devvāruñ birer tabağasına teb'ıyyet vechi üzre ta'yin-kerde-i Şāni'-i ezeldür.

Beyt

Her yek ez-in devre zi-rū-yı nazar

Tābi'-i devre-st¹¹⁹⁴ zi-çerh-i diger

[L37a] Çār rükn-i rekīn ki rükn-i [K32b] Hacer-i Esved ve Rükni-i 'Irākī ve Rükni-i Şāmī ve Rükni-i Yemānī nāmıyle sübūt-yāfte-i 'arşa-i iştihārdur; anlara vüşülde ve Bāb-ı Rahmet-me'āb¹¹⁹⁵ ve Hacer-i Esved ve Mültezim-i Şerif ve Maḳām-ı İbrāhīm ve Mizāb-ı Rahmet¹¹⁹⁶ mukābelelerine¹¹⁹⁷ vüşülde¹¹⁹⁸ olan¹¹⁹⁹ ed'ıye-i mahşūşa-i¹²⁰⁰ mesnūne edāsı ile itmām-ı tavāf-ı kudūme iḳdām olındı.

Nazm

Tā'if-i in hāne ne-bāşed be-ferş

Bel çū melek tavaf küned havl-i 'arş

Tavāf-ı kudūmuñ¹²⁰¹ eşvāt-ı selese-i¹²⁰² [slāse-i] ūlāsında remel ü idtībā' merāsimini¹²⁰³ mürā'āt için herkes taraf-ı ihrāmı düş-ı yemininden isḳāt itmekle¹²⁰⁴

¹¹⁹³ her bir devri: - K

¹¹⁹⁴ devr-est: devri-st B

¹¹⁹⁵ -me'āb: -me'ābda L

¹¹⁹⁶ rahmet: - K B

¹¹⁹⁷ mukābelelerine: mukābelelerinde K

¹¹⁹⁸ vüşülde: - K

¹¹⁹⁹ olan: - K B

¹²⁰⁰ mahşūşa-i: mahşūşa K

¹²⁰¹ kudūmuñ: kudūm ki P L

¹²⁰² selese-i: selese L

¹²⁰³ merāsimini: merāsimin B

¹²⁰⁴ itmekle: idüp K

kālā-yı [B45b] tecerrüdi ziver-i düş-ı rıdā idüb¹²⁰⁵ şitāb-ı¹²⁰⁶ bahadırāne ile ser-
düş¹²⁰⁷ cilvegāh-ı cünbüş-i şeci'āne¹²⁰⁸ idüp

Nazm

Cür'et-i¹²⁰⁹ izhār-ı tecerrüd ne-gōst

Hāşşa¹²¹⁰ be-şuğlı ki būd be-her dōst

eşvāt-ı erba'a-i bākıyyesinde¹²¹¹ hālet-i meskenet ü iftikārı şı'ār¹²¹² eylediler.

Nazm

İn se būd cür'et ü ferhundeği

Çār-ı diger rāhat u efgendeği

Mebde'-i dā'ire-i tavaf ki nokta-i siyāh-ı¹²¹³ Hacer-i Esved'dür her bir şavı
makta'ında¹²¹⁴ yine ruhsāre-i cihān-tābından¹²¹⁵ leb-i edeble buse-çin olarak heft
devre-i tavāf hıtām-ı 'anberin-i¹²¹⁶ Hacer-i Esved ile mahtūm olduğı maḥalde 'arḍ-ı
hāl-i dergāh-ı Kādiyyü'l-hacāt için Mültezim-i Şerif dahi¹²¹⁷ der-kenār ve ceride-i
damirde mürtesem olan meṭālib-i nihüfte ber-dāşte-i bārgāh-ı¹²¹⁸ Settār kılındı.

Nazm

Mültezim ez-şevk der-āğüş gır

Zinde be-cānan şev¹²¹⁹ ez-cān be-mir

¹²⁰⁵ idüb: itmekle K

¹²⁰⁶ şitāb: - P

¹²⁰⁷ düş: - K

¹²⁰⁸ cilvegāh-ı cünbüş-i şeci'āne: cünbüş ü cilvegāh-ı şüccā'āne K

¹²⁰⁹ Cür'et: Cür'et ü P

¹²¹⁰ hāşşa: haşş P

¹²¹¹ bākıyyesinde: bākıyyesinde yine B K

¹²¹² şı'ār: izhār K

¹²¹³ siyāh: dā'ire-i K

¹²¹⁴ makta'ında: makta'ından L

¹²¹⁵ cihān-tābından: cihān-tābdan K

¹²¹⁶ 'anberin-i: 'anberin ile ya'nı K

¹²¹⁷ dahi: - B

¹²¹⁸ bargāh: bār-kār B

¹²¹⁹ şev: şeved B L

Ādet-i pervāne ne-dānī meger

Çerh zened evvel ve sūzed diger

Ba'de verā-yı maḳām-ı İbrāhīm'de¹²²⁰ dū rek'at namāz-ı tavāf 'aḳabinde dest-i sāḳıyān-ı Zemzem'den bir ḳadeh-i şirin-güvār ile teskīn-i nā'ire-i ārzū ḳılındukdan¹²²¹ soñra ḳādime-i 'azm ārām-gir-i¹²²² vaḳfe-i¹²²³ te'hīr olmağa mesāğ olmamağın bāb-ı şafādan [L37b] sāḥa-i mes'āya [P68] tahrik-i huṭuvāt-ı ihtimām olındı.

Nazm

Yāfti ez-mertebe-i tavaf kām

Zūd pey-i sa'y be-mes'ā hīrām¹²²⁴

Tāk-ı şafā reşk-i revāk-ı felek

Ber-ser-i ō şaf-zede hayl-i melek¹²²⁵

28. Sa'y kerdn be-Şafā vü Merve¹²²⁶

Şafā ile Merve serāy-ı İlāhī'nüñ cānib-i şarkisinde birbiriyle zānū-zede-i tekābül iki tāk-ı [B45a] bülend-revāḳdur ki tāk-ı Şafā cānib-i cenūbide [K33a] ve tāk-ı Merve cānib-i şimālīde¹²²⁷ maḳdem-i germ-revān-ı āmed-şūd-i sa'ye āğüş-küşā-yı merḥabā olmışlardır.

Nazm

Yek tarafeş Merve ve yek sū Şafā

¹²²⁰ İbrāhīm'de: İbrāhīmiyye'de K

¹²²¹ ḳılındukdan: ḳıldukdan L; olundukdan K

¹²²² ārām-gir: 'alem-gir K

¹²²³ vaḳfe-i: vefḳa-i P

¹²²⁴ Muḥyi (Lala), f. 57b

¹²²⁵ Muḥyi (Lala), f. 57b

¹²²⁶ Şa'y kerdn be-Şafā vü Merve: - K

¹²²⁷ şimālīde: şimāl de P L

Sā'i-i¹²²⁸ ān nüst cüz ehl-i vefā¹²²⁹

Miyānede olan sāḥa-i¹²³⁰ mes'ā¹²³¹ bir mīle qarīb bir¹²³² mesāfe-i hidāyet-pirādur ki
aşḥāb-ı sa'y ol şekeristān-ı mağfiret üzre kâfile-i mūr gibi cūş itmişlerdür.

Nazm

Vādi-i mes'ā-st ki rīg ez-şeref¹²³³

Sürme-i çeşm-i 'uzmā-yı selef¹²³⁴

Naḳş-ı kef-i pāy-ı tū ber-ān zemin

Revzen-i Firdevs şevved rüz-ı dīn¹²³⁵

Her bir def'a ser-menzil-i Şafā vü Merve'ye ḳādem-nih-i vüṣūl olduḳda zīr-i¹²³⁶ ṭāḳda
şūret-nümā-yı cedāvil-i takvīm olan derācāt üzre irtikā ve ṭarīḳa-i sūnnet-i seniyye
üzre cānib-i ḥarem-i mūkerreme¹²³⁷ tevcīh-i ḳubāle-i ḥuṣū' ile āyet-i¹²³⁸ kerime-i
'Inne's-şafā ve'l-merve'¹²³⁹ ilā āḥirih¹²⁴⁰, ser-nāme-i dībāce-i du'ā ḳılındı.

Nazm

Sa'y kūn ez-Merve diḥ dil-rā şafā

'Leyse li'l-insāni illā mā se'ā'¹²⁴¹

¹²²⁸ sā'i-i: sā'i P L

¹²²⁹ Cf. Muḥyī (Lala), f. 57b in the margin.

¹²³⁰ sāḥa-i: sāḥa P

¹²³¹ mes'ā: be-sa'y P; sa'y L

¹²³² bir: - K

¹²³³ ez: - P

¹²³⁴ Cf. Muḥyī (Lala), f. 57b: Sürme-i çeşm-i 'uzmā-yı selef: Geşte der-ān sürme-i ehl-i selef FH

¹²³⁵ Cf. Muḥyī, f. (Lala), f. 57b: ber: der FH; revzen: ravza-i FH

¹²³⁶ zīr: ber L

¹²³⁷ mūkerreme: mūkerremeye K

¹²³⁸ āyet: - B

¹²³⁹ The Ḳur'ān, 2/158.

¹²⁴⁰ inne's-şafā merve ilā-āḥirih: inne's-şafā ilā-āḥirih B; inne's-şafā ve'l-merve P, inne's-şafā ve'l-merve fi-şe'āri'llāh K

¹²⁴¹ The Ḳur'ān, 53/39

Divār-ı¹²⁴² harem-i mükerrerem ile hāne-i ‘Abbās, raḍiye’llāhü ‘anh, cidārında¹²⁴³
 birbirlerine¹²⁴⁴ muḳābil çār sūtün-ı ahḍar miyānında olan mesāfede¹²⁴⁵ dūş-ı hatveye
 ilbās-ı hil‘at-ı sür‘at olunup huşūşan harem-i hurrem-i¹²⁴⁶ Ilāhî’nüñ Bāb-ı Şafā¹²⁴⁷
 Bāb-ı¹²⁴⁸ **Bağla**, Bāb-ı¹²⁴⁹ **Bāzān**¹²⁵⁰, Bāb-ı ‘Alī, Bāb-ı ‘Abbās, Bāb-ı Cenā’iz ve¹²⁵¹
 Bābü’s-selām nām yedi deriçe-i muṭahheresi rāh-ı mes‘āya dide-küşā olmağla eṣnā-yı
 sa’yde her bāb-ı mu‘allā-cenāb muḳābiline geldükde şāhid-i tenhā-nişin-i [L38a]
 Beyt-i Ilāhî’nüñ cilve-i [B46b] istihzāzı¹²⁵² meşhūd olmağın dest-i nigāh gülzār-ı
 cemālinden şükūfe-çin-i temāşā olarak maṭla‘-ı Şafā’dan maḳṭa‘-i Merve’ye dek
 tekāpū-yı heft pāre tekmili ile her heft [P69] ‘arūs-ı merām itmāmına¹²⁵³ iḳdām olındı.

Nāzm

Hiç nebiyi ve veliyi ne-būd¹²⁵⁴

K’ō ḳadem-i sa’y der-in reh ne-sūd¹²⁵⁵

Ber-eşer-i pāy kesī pā¹²⁵⁶ nihi¹²⁵⁷

K’ez-ḳademeş ‘arş girifte mehi

Āhır tūmār-ı heft-varaḳ-ı sa’y tayy olunduḳdan şofıra sāha-i harem-i muḥtereme¹²⁵⁸
 revzen-küşā-yı nazāret olan bir menzilde başt-ı bisāt-ı ārām ve yevm-i vakfeye intizār
 ile çend rūze idāre-i¹²⁵⁹ evrāḳ-ı leyālī vü¹²⁶⁰ eyyām ḳılındı¹²⁶¹.

¹²⁴² divār: divān P L

¹²⁴³ cidārında: cūdrānında K; civārında P

¹²⁴⁴ birbirlerine: birbirine P

¹²⁴⁵ mesāfede: mesāfeye B

¹²⁴⁶ hurrem: - L

¹²⁴⁷ bāb-ı Şafā: bābü’s-Şafā B

¹²⁴⁸ bāb: - B, ve bāb L

¹²⁴⁹ bāb: ve bāb L

¹²⁵⁰ bāzān: bārān L; zān K

¹²⁵¹ ve: - B

¹²⁵² istihzāzı: ihtizāzı B

¹²⁵³ itmāmına: itmām itmeye K

¹²⁵⁴ *nebiyi* replaced with *veliyi* in L

¹²⁵⁵ ne-sūd: ne-şevd P

¹²⁵⁶ pā: pāy L

¹²⁵⁷ nihi: tehi B

Nazm

Çün ki ne-y-em mahrem-i didâr-ı 0

Mi-nigerem ber-der u¹²⁶² divâr-ı 0 [K 33b]

Hâne-i 0 hâne-i¹²⁶³ çeşm-i men-est

Zi-ân ki cihân ber-men ez-0 rûşen-est

29. zıkr-i vaşf-ı 'azîmet-i 'Arafât

Âhir ceres-i simîn-ḫilâl-ı zi'l-hicce¹²⁶⁴ def'a-i heştümde¹²⁶⁵ buhtî-i¹²⁶⁶ gerd-en-keş-i
gerdûna¹²⁶⁷ âvîzân olduğda zamân-ı 'azîmet-i 'Arâfat karîb olmağla pây-ı şabra 'uğde-
i ârâm ḫarâm olmağın âmâde-nişînân-ı girîve-i ḫasret

Nazm

Müjde şehîdân-ı 'aşk¹²⁶⁸ rûz-ı kıyâmet resîd

me'âliyle birbirine¹²⁶⁹ iblâğ-ı peyâm-ı beşâret itmege başladılar. Şeş cihet-i
'âlemden¹²⁷⁰

Nazm¹²⁷¹

Pişânî-i şevkuñ kadem-i râh-ı necât it

Müjgānuñ cārûb-ı ğubâr-ı 'Arafât it

¹²⁵⁸ muḫtereme: muḫterem K

¹²⁵⁹ idâre-i: âvâre-i B

¹²⁶⁰ vü: - K

¹²⁶¹ kılındı: olundı K

¹²⁶² u: - B

¹²⁶³ hâne-i 0 hâne-i: hâne hâne-i K

¹²⁶⁴ zi'l-hicce: zi'l-ka'de K

¹²⁶⁵ heştümde: heştümle L

¹²⁶⁶ buhtî-i: buhtî B

¹²⁶⁷ gerd-en: gerdün B

¹²⁶⁸ 'aşk: - K

¹²⁶⁹ birbirine: birbirlerine K

¹²⁷⁰ cihet-i 'âlemden: cihetden K

¹²⁷¹ Nazm: Li-mü'ellifih P; - L K This poem is also included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 473-74) and Persian *Dīvānçe* (Nābī, *Dīvānçe-i Fārisī*, Istanbul 1292/1875, p. 35).

Ṭayy eyle cebinüñle reh-i kūy-ı¹²⁷² Hudāyı

Ebrūlaruñ āmāde-i feyḍ-i huṭuvāt¹²⁷³ it

Divān-ı Ilāhīde döküp nakḍ-i sirişkūñ¹²⁷⁴

Ma'mūre-i Islāmuña tecdid-i berāt it

Virṣün saña 'ömr-i ebedi girye-i [B47a] ḥasret

Hūn-i dili hem-hāşıyyet-i āb-ı ḥayāt it

Nābi niye geldüñ ne ṭurursun bu maḳāma

Var bārgēh-i Hālīk'a kesb-i derecāt it

āvāzesi sāmi'a-i cānı gencine-i gevher idüp ṭaraf ṭaraf āvāze-i nefir-i ümerā-yı
ḥuccāc¹²⁷⁵ emvāt-ı¹²⁷⁶ berehne-hiz-ı intizāra şūr-şifat [L38b] ifāda-i ḥayāt itmegin
kimi nāka-i āha hevdec-i şu'leyi ziver, kimi cemmāze-i sirişke 'amārī-i¹²⁷⁷ ḥabābı
ber-ser¹²⁷⁸ idüp ğırive-i¹²⁷⁹ na'ra-keşān¹²⁸⁰ dem-sāz-ı süheyl-i feres ve āvāze-i¹²⁸¹
ceres nāle-i derd-nāk-i 'uşşāḳla hem-nefes olup bir ḥālet-i ārām-rübā hüveydā oldu
ki¹²⁸², ḳarīb oldu ki āb-ı Zemzem ser-cūş-ı [P70] şevḳ olup seylāb-ı eşk-i ḥuccāc ile
kef-zenān-ı vādī-i¹²⁸³ Minā'ya cereyān eyleye! Ve az ḳaldı ki şāhbāz-ı āşyāne-i 'ināyet
ya'nı beyt-i mūkerrem iḥrām-ı siyeh-fāmın bāl-i müşḳin gibi āmāde-i¹²⁸⁴ pervāz idüp

¹²⁷² kūy: beyt K

¹²⁷³ huṭuvāt: ḳaṭarāt DF

¹²⁷⁴ sirişkūñ: sirişk B

¹²⁷⁵ ḥuccāc: ḥacc B

¹²⁷⁶ emvāt: - L

¹²⁷⁷ amārī-i: mārī B

¹²⁷⁸ ber-ser: ser ber-B

¹²⁷⁹ ğırive-i: ğıriv K B

¹²⁸⁰ na'ra-keşān: na'ra-kesān P

¹²⁸¹ āvāze-i: āvāz B

¹²⁸² oldu ki: olup P

¹²⁸³ vādī-i: vādī P

¹²⁸⁴ āmāde-i: āmāde L K

hem-rāhi-i şufûf-ı rûḥānî ve¹²⁸⁵ şehâb-ı âh-ı 'uşşâk ile fedâ-yı 'Arafât'a tayarân eyleye!

Nazm

Nâka ser-âsime şüd ve şevk-nâk

Mürde ber-âverde ser ez-ceyb-i ḥāk

Sîne-i Ümmü'l-kurâ'da şerḥa şerḥa¹²⁸⁶ durûb laht laht¹²⁸⁷ ciger-i suhte-dilândan tennûr-ı kebâbiyân gibi âteşin ve dâmen-i Bathâ ile giribân-ı Mu'allâ'da olan çāk çāk tıruk ḥurûş-ı eşk-i ḥünin ile memerr-i seylâb-ı bahârdan ber-terin olup dil-i ḥākden ber-ḥâste¹²⁸⁸ olan gubâr perde-i ruḥsâre-i¹²⁸⁹ mihr-i münir ve âvâze-i züvvâr ile âmihte ḡulḡule-i ezkâr şamem-resân-ı sâmi'a-i felek-esir olmuş idi. Mübâlağa-i [K34a] teşâ'üd-i ḡubârdan meş'al-i [B47b] âftâb-ı 'âlem-tâb¹²⁹⁰ düş-ı felekde nâ-peydâ ve müzâheme-i meṭâyâdan küre-i zemîn zîr-i pâda nâ-hüveydâ idi¹²⁹¹.

Nazm

'Inan be-dest-i 'inayet siper-dih bûd er ne

Şaff-ı melâ'ike der-zîr-i dest ü pâ mi-reft

Bu ḡulḡule-i tarab-ḥîz ile vâdi-i¹²⁹² Minâ cânibine vürûd olundı¹²⁹³.

¹²⁸⁵ şufûf-ı rûḥānî ve: - P B L

¹²⁸⁶ şerḥa şerḥa: şerḥa-i K

¹²⁸⁷ laht laht: laht P

¹²⁸⁸ ḥâste: ḥ'âste P

¹²⁸⁹ ruḥsâre-i: ruḥsâr K

¹²⁹⁰ âftâb-ı 'âlem-tâb: 'âlem-tâb-ı âftâb B P

¹²⁹¹ idi: oldı K

¹²⁹² vâdi-i: vâdi L

¹²⁹³ olundı: oldı P

30. zıkr-i vaşf-ı Minā ve Mescid-i Hayf¹²⁹⁴

Vādī-i Minā belde-i mübāreke-i¹²⁹⁵ Mekke'nün cānib-i şarkisinde bir buçuk sā'at miqdārı mesāfede¹²⁹⁶ bir vādī-i cān-feḍādur ki ṭarafeyn-i ṭarīkde¹²⁹⁷ bir niçe yüz¹²⁹⁸ hāne-i mu'allā [L39a] binā¹²⁹⁹ şehnişin-ber-şehnişin revāk-ber-revāk¹³⁰⁰ şaf-keşide-i rāh-ı intizār-ı huccāc olup ṭabaḳa-i süflisi¹³⁰¹ sevdāgerān-ı eyyām-ı teşrīk¹³⁰² içün dekākin-i nüzhet-āyin tertib olunmuşdur. Ve ol vādī üzre sāye-güster olan kūh-ı bihişt-şükūh dāmeninde Mescid-i Hayf nām ma'bed-i fesihu'l-ercā esās-yāfte-i kavā'id-i istihkām olmuşdur.

Nāzm¹³⁰³

Kurb-i¹³⁰⁴ dū şad gām zi-sūk-ı Minā

Mescid-i Hayf-est¹³⁰⁵ şafā-der-şafā

Hāk u gil-i ān heme 'anber-sirişt

Füşhat-ı ō vüs'at-ı şalın-ı bihişt

Ol mescid-i pür-feyd verāsında cilveger bir ğār-ı pür-envār ki dürr-i yetim-i¹³⁰⁶ şadef-i kevneyn [P71] ḥadretleri ol ğārda vāsīṭatü'l-'ıkd-ı encümen-i aşhāb oldukları hālde peyām-resān-ı cihān-āferin Cibril-i¹³⁰⁷ Emin, 'aleyhi's-selām, emvāc-ı baḥr-i

¹²⁹⁴ Hayf: - K

¹²⁹⁵ mübāreke-i: mukerreme-i K

¹²⁹⁶ mesāfede: mesāfeden K

¹²⁹⁷ ṭarafeyn-i ṭarīkde: - L P

¹²⁹⁸ yüz: - P

¹²⁹⁹ binā: binā olup ṭarafeyn-i ṭarīkde P

¹³⁰⁰ revāk-ber-revāk: revāk P

¹³⁰¹ süflisi: süflası L

¹³⁰² teşrīk: teşrif B

¹³⁰³ Nāzm: Beyt P

¹³⁰⁴ kurb: karīb B

¹³⁰⁵ hayf-est: hayfi-st P

¹³⁰⁶ yetim: yetime-i K

¹³⁰⁷ Cibril: Cebrā'il B

kadimden sübha-i süre-i ve'l-Mürselât'ı dest-âviz-i pişgâh-ı nebevî itmeleriyle ğâr-ı ve'l-Mürselât nâmıyle şadef-i gevher-i iştihâr olmuşdur.

Beyt

Hest yekî ğâr der-ân k'ez-şifât

Âmede meşhûr bû'l-Mürselât¹³⁰⁸ [B48a]

Ez-pey-i ferrâşi-i ân ebr ü bād

Mî-resed ez-çerh be-her bā-midād

Leyle-i tāsî'a-i zi'l-hicce'de vādî-i Minā'da ārām-ı şebāne ve Mescid-i Hayf'da edā-yı namāz-ı pencgāne sünnet-i kâ'id-i rāhile-i risālet olmağın hayme-i zer-ıtnāb-ı hūrşid sāha-i fey'-i zevālde be-dîd¹³⁰⁹ olmazdan muḳaddem sūtūn u evtād-ı¹³¹⁰ hıyāmda hey'āt-ı rükū' u sūcūd u¹³¹¹ ḳu'ūd u ḳıyām cilveger olmağa başlayup¹³¹² dibāce-i zer-efşān-ı zuhrdan hātîme-i sepîd-fām-ı namāz-ı bāma dek¹³¹³ Mescid-i Hayf'a¹³¹⁴ mülāzemet ve 'aḳs-i huṭūt-ı cebhe-i sūcūd musaṭṭar-ı nüshā-i ḳarā'at kılındı.

Nazm

Halk der-ân 'arşa bā-fiğān u zār [K34b]

Cem' be-her gūşe hezārān hezār

Kāfile-i sepîd-pūş-ı şubḥ¹³¹⁵ h'ābgāh-ı ufḳdan ser-zede olup¹³¹⁶ ceyş-i ḳıyā¹³¹⁷ fedā-yı pîrūze-fām üzre vürūda āğāz [L39b] eyledükde

¹³⁰⁸ bû: ebû P

¹³⁰⁹ bedîd: be-dîdār K B

¹³¹⁰ evtād: evtād u B

¹³¹¹ sūcūd u: - L B

¹³¹² olmağa başlayup: olmağla K

¹³¹³ dek: deḡin K

¹³¹⁴ Hayf'a: Ḥarîf'de K

¹³¹⁵ şubḥ: şubḥ ile P

¹³¹⁶ olup: olan L

¹³¹⁷ ḳıyā: - K

Nazm¹³¹⁸

Qad ʔala‘a’ş-şubhu ve hebbe ‘ş-şimāl

İkterabe’l-vaktü enihū‘l¹³¹⁹-cimāl

Nazm¹³²⁰

Bār¹³²¹ be-bendīd ki fursat ne-māned

Tız ber-āyend¹³²² ki mūhlet ne-māned

me‘ālin zebān-dırāz-ı¹³²³ edā itmegin kīse-i kulūb naqd-ı ārāmdan hālī ve kāh-ı dīmāğ
hevā-yı şevkden mālī¹³²⁴ olup cānib-i mevķıf-i ‘Arafāt’a şitāb içün¹³²⁵ huṭuvāt-ı şevk
peyk-i nigāhı taqaddūme başladı.

Nazm

Ān¹³²⁶ ‘Arafāt-est¹³²⁷ būd kūy-ı Hakk

Hest güriz heme kes sū-yı Hakk

Ba‘de ez-in ne hāne-i¹³²⁸ dilde māye-i¹³²⁹ şabr ve ne elde ‘inān-ı ihtiyār ve ne tende
hil‘at-ı tāb ve ne cānda neş‘e-i iktidār ʔalup¹³³⁰, zimām-ı irādet ser-pençe-i hayrete
müsellem ve varak-ı şu‘ūrda mes‘ele-i bi-hūşı muraqķam olup mehābet-i [B48b]
divān-ı ceberūt ‘ummāl-ı havāssı menāşib-ı şu‘ūrdan ma‘zūl ve ğışāve-i tütük-ı
melekūt [P72] ṭurra-i idrāki mesbūl eyledi.

¹³¹⁸ Nazm: Beyt K; Nazm-ı ‘Arabī P

¹³¹⁹ enihū: enih B

¹³²⁰ Nazm: - L B K

¹³²¹ bār: bāl L

¹³²² ber-āyend: ber-āyed K

¹³²³ -dırāz-ı: -zed-i P; illegible in B K

¹³²⁴ mālī: nālī B

¹³²⁵ şitāb içün: sur‘at ile K

¹³²⁶ ān: in K B

¹³²⁷ -est: -est ve P

¹³²⁸ hāne: - K B

¹³²⁹ māye-i: - K

¹³³⁰ ʔalup: ʔaldı K

Nazm

Pây nih tâ ser künem ey reh-i dānā-firib

Zehre nih tâ bū künem in mey-i dāniş-zidā

Nev-be-nev istikbāl-i emvāc-ı rūḥāniyyet¹³³¹ sefine-i vücūdı laṭme-h^vār-ı tūfān-ı
inḳılāb ve dem-be-dem teşādüm-i şarşar-ı mehābet-i ‘avālim-i me‘ānī bādbān-ı nefesi
gencine-i ḥafaḳān-ı ıdṭırāb iderek her ne ḥāl ise üftān u ḥizān ḥāk-i revān-baḥş-ı
‘Arafāt’a işāl-ı¹³³² cān-ı nā-tüvān olundı.

31. zıkr-i ‘Arafāt ve kūh-ı rahmet

Fedā-yı rahmet-ara-yı ‘Arafāt vādī-i Minā’dan üç sa‘ātlık miḳdārı cānib-i şarkīde bir
sāḥa-i inşirāḥ-baḥşādur ki her zerre-i¹³³³ ḥāk-i müşk-sāsı¹³³⁴ gīsū-yı ḥūrān-ı bihiştten
āstīn-feşān-ı istiḡnā ve kem-ter giyāḥ-ı nīm-ḥuşk-ı nāfe-küşāsı sebze-i cūy-bār-ı¹³³⁵
kevşer-i¹³³⁶ Tesnime ḥande-fermādur. Her rīze-i¹³³⁷ seng-i gevher-şikeninüñ¹³³⁸ reşk-i
kıymeti zer-i ḥürşidi güdāhte-i küre-i küre-i eşir¹³³⁹ ve her ḳatre-i¹³⁴⁰ āb-ı günāḥ-
şüyınuñ keyfiyyeti ser-çeşme-i rahīḳ u Selsebil’i¹³⁴¹ emvāc-ı [L40a] infī‘āl ile der-
zencir eylemişdür. Her¹³⁴² nahl-i bihişt-āşūbı ağşān-ı tūbāya meyve-baḥş-ı pīç u tāb
ve her ḥār-ı ḥançer-dārīnuñ ḥamyāze-keş-i ḥasreti āḡūş-ı dīde-i āftābdur.

Beyt

Rīg me-pendār be-zāhir der-ān

¹³³¹ rūḥāniyyet: rūḥānī K B

¹³³² işāl: ittişāl K

¹³³³ zerre-i: zerre reh L; zerrede ḥāk-i P; zerre zerre B

¹³³⁴ müşk-sāsı: müşkbāsı B

¹³³⁵ cūy-bār: küşāsı B

¹³³⁶ kevşer: - L

¹³³⁷ rīze-i: rīze B

¹³³⁸ - şikeninüñ: -şikenüñ P; şeklinüñ B

¹³³⁹ küre-i küre-i eşir: küre-i kevşer-eşir K

¹³⁴⁰ ḳatre-i: ḳatre L

¹³⁴¹ Selsebili: Tesnimi K

¹³⁴² her: ve her K

Ki āb-ı hayāt-est cevāhir der-ān [K35a]

Hakkā bir şahrā-yı vesī'ū'l-etṛāfdur ki ol fihrist-i tefāşil-i 'avālim-i 'ulviyye vü süfliyye olan rüz-ı rahmet-endūzda ribāt-ı nüh-kıbāb-ı āsmāna şu'ūd iden kavāfil-i du'ā' [B49a] ve bıķā'-ı heft-şuffe-i zemīne nüzūl iden ser-ā-pāy-ı mele'-i a'lā dahı şūret-i merāsım-i insāniyyede medd-i tınāb-ı hıyām itseler yine ekşer mevādı'ı ol günde cerīde-i seyyi'āt-ı 'uşātdan hāli-ter kalacağı mevķıf-i iştibāh degildür. Tā vasaṭında tūde-i rāh-ı mağfiret ya'nī cebel-i rahmet hey'āt-ı muhtaşarada¹³⁴³ bir nāfıcetü'l-misk-i dürc-i hidāyetdür ki būy-ı dimāğ-pirāsı mebde'-i 'atse-i¹³⁴⁴ şubḥ ve menşe'-ı zükām-ı şāmdur¹³⁴⁵. Bālā-yı ser-i rahmet-eşerde bir kubbeye-i dil-nişin zānū-zede-i temkīn olup sirişk-i 'uşşāk gibi [P73] dāmeninden güzer iden āb-ı revān kurbinde maṭbah-ı¹³⁴⁶ Ādem, 'aleyhi's-selām, dūd-engiz-i micmer-i¹³⁴⁷ āsmān olmuştur.

Nazm

Ger çe be-şūret zi-cibāl¹³⁴⁸ aşğar-est

Lik be-ma'nā zi-heme ekber-est

Pür¹³⁴⁹ būd ez-rahmet-i Hakk dāmeneş

Ins ü melek cem' be-pirāmeneş

Sāye-i ō der-'araşāt-ı cinān

Mi-dihed ez-zıll-ı İlāhī nişān

¹³⁴³ muhtaşarada: muhtaşarda L

¹³⁴⁴ 'atse: 'aṇyye-i B

¹³⁴⁵ şāmdur: meşāmdur B

¹³⁴⁶ maṭbah: maṭbah-ı ḥadret P

¹³⁴⁷ micmer: micmere-i K

¹³⁴⁸ cibāl: ḥayāl B

¹³⁴⁹ pür: ber L

Ol cebel-i vālā-maḥall ḥavālisi¹³⁵⁰ gird-ā-gird tınāb-der-tınāb¹³⁵¹ hıyām-ı reng-ā-
 rengle tezyin olunup ol gevher-i¹³⁵² gencine-i rahmet gūyā¹³⁵³ ihāta-i divār-ı minā-
 kārīde bir nigın ve ol merkez-i dā'ire-i 'ināyet meh-i¹³⁵⁴ çārdeh-şifat āgūş-ı hālede
 mekin olup

Nazm

Ez-cebel ü deşt vey-i āşār ney

Hiç be-cüz-i ḥalk nümūdār ney

Dāmeneş ez-ḥayl u¹³⁵⁵ şütür fevc fevc

Geşte çū deryā ki der-āmed¹³⁵⁶ be-mevc [L40b]

zıkr-i¹³⁵⁷ cem'ıyyet-i ḥuccāc-est der-Mescid-i İbrāhım¹³⁵⁸

Vaḳtā ki 'ārıd-ı hūrşidde reng-i zevāl [B49b] nümāyān olmağa qarīb oldı. Yek-sere
 ḥuccāc-ı qarınü'l-ibtihāc Mescid-i İbrāhım 'aleyhi's-selāmda güzeşte-i silk-i şufūf-ı
 namāz olmağa 'azm eylediler. Ta'yin-i Rūḥu'l-emīn üzre¹³⁵⁹ ḥudūd-ı Beytü'l-ḥarām
 ile ḥudūd-ı 'arşa-i 'Arafāt imtiyāzı içün iki maḥalde vad' olunan 'alemeyn beynindeki
 ard-ı ḥāliyyede Mescid-i İbrāhım, 'aleyhi's-selām, bir 'ibādetgāh-ı ferāḥ u
 münevverdür [K35b] ki namāz-ı pişin ü pesin birbiriyle¹³⁶⁰ hem-zānū-yı şoḥbet-i
 mu'āḥāt¹³⁶¹ olmak ol cāmi'-i şerife muhtaşşdur.

¹³⁵⁰ ḥavālisi: vālisi B

¹³⁵¹ tınāb-der-tınāb: tınāb K

¹³⁵² gevher: - L B P

¹³⁵³ gūyā: olan K

¹³⁵⁴ meh: - L P

¹³⁵⁵ u: - K

¹³⁵⁶ der-āmed: der-āyed K

¹³⁵⁷ zıkr: - L B P

¹³⁵⁸ İbrāhım: İbrāhım 'aleyhi's-selām P

¹³⁵⁹ üzre: ile K

¹³⁶⁰ birbiriyle: -P B L

¹³⁶¹ mu'āḥāt: muvāḥāt P

Bināberin ol mescid-i şerif ihrām-keşān-ı sepīd-fām ile şükūfe-i bādām rihte olmuş
 gülzārdan nümüne olup şaḥife-i sāḥa-i dil-ārāsı¹³⁶² 'amel-nāme-i¹³⁶³ raḥmetiyān gibi
 sūtūr-ı sepīdāc-gūnı ile cilveger oldu. Āḥir 'akreb-i zer-endūde-i hūrşid sā'at-ı minā-
 zarf-ı gerdūn¹³⁶⁴ medārındaki derece-i zuhra¹³⁶⁵ ser-nihāde olduğda mü'ezzīnān-ı
 pākize-nefes münebbih-i vakt-i şalāt olmağın ḥaṭīb-i bedi'ü'l-beyān-ı minber-i feşāḥat
 mukteḍā-yı ḥāle muṭābık bir ḥuṭbe-i belīğā edāsından soñra kıyās-ı nāsa muḥālif ref'u
 tenāfür¹³⁶⁶ beyne's-şalāteyn [P74] ile cem' u kāsır-ı zuhr¹³⁶⁷ u 'aşr eylediler. Bu
 ḥālet-i endişe-fersā¹³⁶⁸ nā-mesbūk-ı cerīde-i a'māl olmağla mübtediyān-ı hacca
 vesile-i ġarābet ve ḍamime-i ḥayret olmağın 'akīb-i selāmda yekpāre¹³⁶⁹ gülbāng-ı
 na'ra-i lebbeyk ile çāk-efgen-i girībān-ı eflāk oldılar. [B50a] Bir müddet ol maḥalde
 dest-i du'ā kāse-i deryūze-i dergāh-ı kibriyā kılınduğdan soñra¹³⁷⁰,

Nazm

Vakt şūd eknūn ki¹³⁷¹ be-muvakkıf revī¹³⁷²

Vākıf-ı esrār-ı ma'ārif şevī

me'ālī girībān-ı cāna dest urup hengām-ı teşebbüs-i dāmen-i 'Arafāt ḥulūl itmegin
 [L41a] hemān ol maḥalde nakd-i hūş vedī'a-i şandūka-i ḥayret kılınup cāzibe-i mihr-i
 'ināyet ile şebnem-āsā bī-iḥtiyār 'azm-i dāmen-i 'Arafāt olundu.

Nazm¹³⁷³

¹³⁶² dil-ārāsı: dil-ārāmı K

¹³⁶³ 'amel-nāme-i: 'alem-nāme-i P B

¹³⁶⁴ gerdūn: gerden P

¹³⁶⁵ zuhra: zuhurda karib-i K; zuhrda P

¹³⁶⁶ ref'u tenāfür: ref'u't-tenāfür B

¹³⁶⁷ zuhr: zuhūr P

¹³⁶⁸ -fersa: -fermā K

¹³⁶⁹ yekpāre: yekpāre-i K

¹³⁷⁰ kılınduğdan soñra: kıldı B

¹³⁷¹ ki: ke-i P

¹³⁷² revī K B L: şevī P

¹³⁷³ In K this couplet is written in the margin.

Kemāl-i cezbe-i tū āstīn keşānem bered¹³⁷⁴

Be-zirve'i ki yekī būd reng-i sāye ve nūr

32. Vāsf-ı hengām-ı vakfe der-'Arafāt

Yine¹³⁷⁵ kāfile-i mūr-şümār-ı huccāc pīrāmen-i hırmen-i¹³⁷⁶ cebel-i rahmetde¹³⁷⁷
halka-bend-i cem'iyet oluncaya dek¹³⁷⁸ ferrāşān-ı çāpuk-dest-i şabā-simā aḥmāl u
eşkalī ber-çide-i mifreşe-i dūş-ı cimāl idüp taraf taraf divān-ı muḳaddes-i İlāhī'de
herkes vakfe-gīr-i gūşe-i meskenet ü iftiḳār olmak tedārikine iştiḡāl itdiler¹³⁷⁹.

Nāzm

İn 'Arafāt-est ferāḡat kücā-est

Herkesi imrūz be-hūd mübtelā-st

Māhçe-i maḥfil-i Mışrī¹³⁸⁰ vü Şāmī ol kūh-ı¹³⁸¹ felek-i 'ināyet dāmeninde şūret-nümā-
yı ferḳadān olup tūḡlaruñ perçemi pūr-ham ve 'alemleruñ [K36a] şuḳḳaları der-hem
kılındı. Kādi-i maḥkeme-i Mekke-i mūkerreme-i¹³⁸² mübāreke bi-ḥasbi'l-'āde¹³⁸³
derecāt-ı minbere şu'ūd idüp ref'-i dest-i münācāt ile feth-i ebvāb-ı ḥacāt
muḳaddemātına şürū' eyledi¹³⁸⁴. Fevāşıl-i fıḳarāt-ı münācātıda 'āmmе-i huccācdan
tahrik-i silsile-i lebbeyke işāret [B50b] için bāzū-yı mü'ezzinān bāl-i mürḡān gibi
vakf-ı cünbüş oldu. Hengām-ı zinet-i rüz-ı bāzār-ı maḡfiret olmaḡla sū-be-sū cān-

¹³⁷⁴ bered: burde B

¹³⁷⁵ yine: - B

¹³⁷⁶ hırmen: - L

¹³⁷⁷ rahmetde: rahmetle P, rahmetdür K

¹³⁷⁸ dek: deḡin K

¹³⁷⁹ itdiler: eylediler B; oldu K

¹³⁸⁰ Mışrī: Mışr K

¹³⁸¹ kūh: - K L B

¹³⁸² mūkerreme-i: - B K L

¹³⁸³ 'āde: 'ād B

¹³⁸⁴ şürū' eyledi: şürū'a başladı K B

fürüşân-ı sevdâger-i¹³⁸⁵ muhabbet lifâfe-i metâ'-ı niyâza küşâyîş-i burûdet¹³⁸⁶ virüp
mu'âmele-i germ-â-germ-i sūz u güdâz ve şevk u niyâza derkâr oldılar. [P75]

Nazm

Z-in heme yekpâre ber-âmed nüfûr

H^vâst kıyâmet meger¹³⁸⁷ nefh-i sūr

Şive-i şiven be-beden rāh yāft

Teng-dili destgeh-i āh yāft

Kāh bīm-i 'ișyān ile bedenler sīmāb-şifat lertzān ve gāh teşne-i rahīk ümīd-i ğufrān¹³⁸⁸
ile dīdeler giryān olup¹³⁸⁹ çehreler dem-serdī-i āh-ı nedāmet ile [L41b] hīzānī ve
sirişkler ārzū-yı nev-bahār-ı¹³⁹⁰ rahmet ile erġuvānī olmağa yüz tutdı.

Nazm

Müje-hā¹³⁹¹ ber-'ızār-ı Dicle feşāned

Āstīn-hā zi-girye Ceyhūn şūd

Niçe cebheler seccāde-i hāk üzre naķş-bend, niçe bedenler āteş-i ıdıtırāb içre¹³⁹²
sipend olup şerāre-i āh nişāngāh-ı mehce-i¹³⁹³ süreyyā ve kaţarāt-ı sirişk gül-güne-i
ruhsāre-i şerā olmağa 'azm eyledi.

Nazm

Dil be-derūn germ¹³⁹⁴ çü hūrşīd şūd

¹³⁸⁵ sevdâger-i: sevdâ-yı B

¹³⁸⁶ burûdet: - L K P

¹³⁸⁷ meger: ve meger B

¹³⁸⁸ teşne-i rahīk ümīd-i ğufrān: neş'e-i ümīd-i rahīk-i ğufrān L

¹³⁸⁹ olup: - B

¹³⁹⁰ nev-bahār: nev-bahār-ı arzū-yı B

¹³⁹¹ -hā: - B

¹³⁹² içre: üzre B P

¹³⁹³ mehce-i: sūbhā-i B K

¹³⁹⁴ germ written in the margin of K

Ra'ş-e-i ten ber-nehc beyd şüd [?]

Na'ra-i yâ Rabb zi-felek ber-güzeşt

Eşk-i revan âmed ü ez-ser güzeşt

Giribân-ı kefen-i iḥrâmdan ser-zede olan berehne tenler ile şahrâ-yı 'Arafât nümüne-i ḥesâbgâh-ı 'Araşât olup belki ğavġâ-yı şûr-engiz-i maḥşer aña nazâr[an] encümen-i sûrdan nazik-ter idi.

Nazm

Mürde-i ô bâ-kefen-i pâre [B51a] bih

'Âciz ü üftâde vü bi-çâre bih

Cûşiş-i seylâb-ı eşk-i nedâmet âsyâb-ı çerḥı¹³⁹⁵ gerdân ve hûbûb-ı 'avâşif-ı âh-ı ḥasret keşti-i nüh-¹³⁹⁶ bâdbân-ı eflâkı virân itmege qarib oldı¹³⁹⁷.

Nazm

Lenger-i lutf-ı tû ey keşti-i tevfiķ kücâ-st

Ki der-in balır-i kerem ğarķ-ı güneḥ âmede-im [K36b]

İşâret-i mü'ezzînân ile şad hezâr efvâhdan def'aten zuhûr iden gülbâḡ-ı felek-şikâf-ı lebbeyk¹³⁹⁸ bünyân-ı melek u melekûtı bir hem-zede-i zelzele-i ıdtırâb belki leb-i sükkân-ı nâsût u lâhûtı¹³⁹⁹ tebḥâle-zâr-ı¹⁴⁰⁰ teb ü tâb iderdi. Sâḡa-i ḥâk üzre müzâḡame-i rû-yı niyâzdan gül-gûn-ı eşk 'arş-a-i cevelân göremezdi. Ve rû-yı hevâda keşret-i dest-i du'âdan tâ'ir-i nigâḡ fırsat-ı ṭayarân bulamazdı.

Beyt

¹³⁹⁵ çerḥı: çerḥ B

¹³⁹⁶ nüh: - B

¹³⁹⁷ oldı: olmış idi P

¹³⁹⁸ lebbeyk: lebbeyk ile K

¹³⁹⁹ nâsûtı u lâhûtı: nâsûtı K

¹⁴⁰⁰ tebḥâle-zâr: teb-ḥâle-i B

Dest-i du‘āyi-st¹⁴⁰¹ ki ber-āsmān¹⁴⁰²

Dāšte her sū-yı zemīn ü zamān

El-ḥāşıl herkes endāze-i kāmēt-i [P76] isti‘dādı üzre gencine-i ‘aṭā-yı¹⁴⁰³ Rabbānî‘den
ḥ^vāhişger-i metā‘-ı mağfiret olmak sevdāsiyle¹⁴⁰⁴ naḳd-i şümār-ı eşk-i iftikār
oldukları [L42a] vāḳitde derūn-ı künbed-i aḥḍar sine-i ḥuccācdan sāde-ter iken āsār-ı
raḥmet-i İlāhî zuhūra gelüp¹⁴⁰⁵

Nāzm

Fevc-der-fevc küned ḥüsn-i ḳabūl isti‘cāl

Halk-rā leşker-i āmin u¹⁴⁰⁶ du‘ā der-sefer-est

veḳince nāgāh taḥminen dā‘ire-i¹⁴⁰⁷ ‘Arafāt miḳdārınca bir ḳıṭ‘a seḥāb-ı ‘anber-
efşān¹⁴⁰⁸ sāye-bān-ı ser-berehne¹⁴⁰⁹ ḥācıyān olmağa¹⁴¹⁰ āğāz eyledi. Gūyā teşā‘ūd-i
ebḥara-i āh libās-ı ebrde cilveger olup [B51b]

Nāzm

Āb-rū¹⁴¹¹ mī-reved ey ebr-i ḥaṭā-pūş be-bār

Ki be-divān-ı ‘amel-nāme siyāh āmede-im

niyāzınıñ te’siri nümāyān olup resm-i¹⁴¹² gülāb-efşānî-i miḥmān-nevāzāne üzre tedricle
şafahāt-ı vücūh-ı ‘uṣāta jāle-bār olmağa başladı.

Nāzm

¹⁴⁰¹ du‘ayî-st: du‘ā-bîn P

¹⁴⁰² ber-: der- P K

¹⁴⁰³ ‘aṭā-yı: ‘aṭāyā-yı P

¹⁴⁰⁴ sevdāsiyle: üzere K

¹⁴⁰⁵ gelüb: gelür L

¹⁴⁰⁶ u: - B

¹⁴⁰⁷ dā‘ire-i: dā‘ire K

¹⁴⁰⁸ -efşān: -feşān K

¹⁴⁰⁹ ser-berehne: ser-berehne-i P

¹⁴¹⁰ olmağa: olup K

¹⁴¹¹ ābrū: ebr B

¹⁴¹² resm: - L B P

Geşt felek zaḥm ki tîr-i âh¹⁴¹³

Raḥmet-i Ḥaḳḳ riḥt der-ân câygâh

Ez-nem-i deryâ-yı kerem kūh kūh

Feyd-i Hudâ riḥte ber-in gürūh

Gūyâ Ḥakīm-i ḥaste-nevâz-ı şifâ-ḥâne-i ezel ‘ārıd-ı bî-hūşân-ı neş’e-i muḥabbete¹⁴¹⁴
müşâhede-i şâhid-i¹⁴¹⁵ lutfâ çeşm-küşây olmağışün reşehât-ı âb-ı¹⁴¹⁶ ‘ināyet pâşide
eyledi. Ne bārân! Her kaṭresi mürsele-i ribâtu’l-ḥıcâl-ı elṭâf-ı Yezdâniye bir dürr-i
şâh-vâr ve vişâhu’ş-şadr-ı ‘arâ’is-i ḳabûl-i Rabbâniye birer gevher-i âbdâr idi.¹⁴¹⁷

Nazm

Ber-felek bürde du‘â-râ per ü bâl ve sūz u tâb¹⁴¹⁸

Ber-zemin âverde raḥmet-râ du‘â-yı müstecâb

Bu gūne hengâm-ı ‘acz u niyâzda âb-yârî-i ebr-i ‘ināyetüñ¹⁴¹⁹ ser-sebzî-i geştzâr-ı
âmâle delâleti vâdıh olup, bu mu‘âmele-i merḥamet [K37a] muḳaddemât-ı cūşış-i
deryâ-yı mağfîret olduğı istiş‘âr¹⁴²⁰ olmağın

Mısrâ‘¹⁴²¹

Kerem gördükce ey Bâḳî gedâlardan recâ¹⁴²² artar

¹⁴¹³ tîr-i âh: tîre âh B

¹⁴¹⁴ neş’e-i muḥabbete: neş’e-mend-i K

¹⁴¹⁵ şâhid: - K

¹⁴¹⁶ âb: - B

¹⁴¹⁷ Ne bārân! Her kaṭresi mürsele-i ribâtu’l-ḥıcâl-ı elṭâf-ı Yezdâniye bir dürr-i şâh-vâr ve vişâhu’ş-şadr-ı ‘arâ’is-i ḳabûl-i Rabbâni’ye birer gevher-i âbdâr idi: - L

¹⁴¹⁸ tab: saz B

¹⁴¹⁹ ‘ināyetüñ: ‘ināyet K

¹⁴²⁰ olduğı istiş‘âr: - K

¹⁴²¹ This line is by Bâḳî (1526-1600); see Nâcî, ‘Osmânî şâ‘irleri, Istanbul 1308/1889, p. 36

¹⁴²² recâ: niyâz K

vefkince feryād-ı girye-hızı niçe perde dahî tiz itdiler¹⁴²³. Bir sâ'at miqdârı tekâtur-ı reşahât-ı ğamâm dahî ol mevkıf-ı mu'allâda vakfe-gir-i ârâm olduğdan soñra¹⁴²⁴ hırmnen-i berg-i nesrîn gibi tefrika-i târâc-ı şabâ ile yine nâ-peydâ oldu.

El-hakķ ne hengāmdur ol hengām¹⁴²⁵ ki sükkān-ı kalem-rev-i Islām¹⁴²⁶ [B52a] divān-ı mağfiret-i¹⁴²⁷ İlāhîde bir sâ'at vakfe-i [P77] mefrūda ârzūsı ile heft sâle ve heşt sâle ve en akrebi çihl merhāleden¹⁴²⁸ irtikāb-ı meşākķ-ı bahr ü berr ile¹⁴²⁹ tayy-ı menāzil-i iştiyāk¹⁴³⁰ iderek [L42b] ol zamān u mekāna hān-resān¹⁴³¹ olup

Nazm

Dest tehî pāy tehî ser tehî

Kalb tehî rūh tehî ber tehî

gedā-yı kûçe-i rahmet-i hadret-i Ğani-i¹⁴³² çāre-sāz ve nā'il-i dest-māye-i 'arḍ-ı niyāz olalar!

Ne hōşdur ol faşl-ı bahār-ı çemenistān-ı kuds ki bülbülān-ı lāne-pirā-yı¹⁴³³ hevā-yı itā'at şahsār-ı 'afv-ı İlāhî'den gül-çin olmak ümidiyle mesāfe-i dūr u dırāzdan ol gülşen-i mağfirete pervāz ve dest-i du'ā ve dāmen-i niyāzı dırāz eyleyeler!

Ne demdür ol dem ki¹⁴³⁴ hırmnen hırmnen zünüb-ı dūzah-āşüb şadme-i şarşar-ı 'ināyet-i bi-ğāyet¹⁴³⁵ ile berg-i kāhdan¹⁴³⁶ sebük-ter ve tūde tūde ğubār-ı ma'sıyyet hurūş-ı¹⁴³⁷ seylāb-ı mağfiret ile iksirden nā-yābter ola!

¹⁴²³ itdiler: eylediler B K P

¹⁴²⁴ soñra: - B

¹⁴²⁵ ne hengāmdur ol hengām: ol hengām ne hengāmdur K

¹⁴²⁶ Islām: - L

¹⁴²⁷ mağfiret: - L

¹⁴²⁸ merhāleden: merhāleden gelüp L

¹⁴²⁹ ber ile: ber eyleyüp K

¹⁴³⁰ iştiyāk: - K

¹⁴³¹ hān: - L B K

¹⁴³² rahmet-i hadret-i Ğani-i: rahmet-i İlāhî'de K; ğani-i: ğani B P

¹⁴³³ lāne-pirā: lāne-bizār P B

¹⁴³⁴ ki: kim K

Ne maḥaldür ol maḥall ki müsvedde-i ceride-i seyyi'ât kalem-i 'afv ile beyâda çıkup
pişâni-i şeb-fâm-ı 'uşât tulû'-ı âftâb-ı rahmet ile mânende-i dibâce-i şubḥ-ı münevver
olduḡda İblis-i nâ-ḡabûl renc-i idlâl-i şad-sâlesi hebâ olduḡına sine-kûb-ı âh u vâveylâ
ola!

Nazm

Bār-ı güneḥ¹⁴³⁸ ez-heme kes laḥt laḥt

Riḥte çün berg zi-şāḥ-ı¹⁴³⁹ dıraḥt

Bār-ı diğeri âmede ez-nev bedid [?]

Her ki der-in vakt be-incā resid¹⁴⁴⁰

Ne ni'metdür bu ni'met ki gürisne-ṭab'ân-ı rûze-i 'aciz u niyâz bu [B52b] diyâfetgâh-ı
'animü'n-nevâl-ı ḡufrândan kendileri sır-i mi'de olduḡından faḡla aḡrabâ vü
aḡıbbâsına¹⁴⁴¹ daḡi ifrâz-ı ḡiṣṣe-i ḡā'ib içün dest-efrâz-ı niyâz olalar!

Ne sa'âdetdür bu sa'âdet ki ḡalḡa-girân-ı [K37b] bâb-ı 'atâ-yı Ğaffârı pençe-i zebâne-
i¹⁴⁴² âteşden kendilerin taḡliş-i giribân-ı cân itdüḡinden mâ'ada emânet-sipârlaruñ daḡi
şāḡife-i raḡabesini¹⁴⁴³ raḡam-dâşt-ı i'tâḡ olmaḡa¹⁴⁴⁴ vesile olalar!

Ne gündür ol gün ki ebvâb-ı rahmet dest-i du'â gibi küşâde ve kâlâ-yı 'inâyet [L43a]
rû-yı niyâz gibi âmâde olup ser u pâ berehne dergâh-ı kerem-penâha müctemi' olan

¹⁴³⁵ bi-ḡāyet: - K

¹⁴³⁶ kāhdan L: ḡiyāhdan P

¹⁴³⁷ ḡurūş: - K

¹⁴³⁸ güneḥ: ḡunāḥ B

¹⁴³⁹ şāḡ: şāḡ u K

¹⁴⁴⁰ The hemistiches of this couplet are replaced each other in K

¹⁴⁴¹ aḡrabâ vü aḡıbbâsına: aḡrabâsına K

¹⁴⁴² zebâne-i: zebâne L

¹⁴⁴³ raḡabesini: raḡabesi P

¹⁴⁴⁴ olmaḡa: olmaḡla K

bendeler pirāhen-i çirkīn-i günāhdan 'ārī olup¹⁴⁴⁵ teşrīf-i [P78] hil'at-ı mağfīret ile
'avdet eyleyeler!

Nazm

Ber-der-i erbāb-ı kerem men' nīst

H^vāh der-āy ez-der ve¹⁴⁴⁶ h^vāhi be-īst¹⁴⁴⁷

Ber-der-i dergāh-ı kerimān çe bāk¹⁴⁴⁸

Ger heme āfāk der-āyend pāk

Ne keremdür bu kerem ki hicāb-ı cürm ü takşir ile niķāb-ı 'ızār olan eyādi-i du'ā naķd-
i icābet ile gencīne-i i'zāz ve bār-ı gerān-ı şerm-i 'iştān¹⁴⁴⁹ ile ham olan ķāmetler
pāy-müjdi-i neş'e-i elķāf ile¹⁴⁵⁰ serv-āsā ser-efrāz olalar!

Bu cümle mevāhib-i bī-kerāndan¹⁴⁵¹ ğayrı ne devletdür bu devlet¹⁴⁵² ki hadret-i
Kerim-i zi'l-celāl¹⁴⁵³, 'azze şānüh, ol rüz-ı mağfīret-firūzda melā'ike-i muķarrabini
nā'il-i lutf-ı hiķāb buyurup 'Ey ma'şer-i sürādikāt-ı melekūt dīde-küşā-yı temāşā oluñ
ki¹⁴⁵⁴ ümīd-i 'afv ü rahmetle rāh-ı rıdā-h^vāhi-i 'izzetümde pūyān olan bendelerüm
[B53a] ki¹⁴⁵⁵ şevķ-i iķā'atümde¹⁴⁵⁶ milk u māl u evlād u 'iyāliyle müvāda'at ve
mevķıf-i muķaddesüme üftān ü hīzān müsāra'at idüb, hālā dīdeleri çeşmesār-ı nem ve
sīneleri çāķzār-ı elem ve¹⁴⁵⁷ cebheleri hūrmengāh-ı ğubār-ı mezellet ve dehenleri nāle-

¹⁴⁴⁵ olup: - K

¹⁴⁴⁶ ve: - P

¹⁴⁴⁷ be-īst: berī-st L

¹⁴⁴⁸ bāk: pāk B

¹⁴⁴⁹ şerm-i 'iştān: şerm ü 'iştān P L

¹⁴⁵⁰ elķāf ile: elķāfi ile K; elķāfiyle B P

¹⁴⁵¹ bī-kerāndan: - K

¹⁴⁵² bu devlet: - L

¹⁴⁵³ zi'l-celāl: zū'l-celāl B

¹⁴⁵⁴ ki: - L B

¹⁴⁵⁵ ki: - K

¹⁴⁵⁶ iķā'atümde: iķā'atümle B

¹⁴⁵⁷ ve: - K

rîz-i feryâd-ı melâmet, ve¹⁴⁵⁸ destleri gezîde-i dendân-ı¹⁴⁵⁹ infi'âl ve¹⁴⁶⁰ serleri kûfte-i seng-i melâl, deryûzeger-i der-i ğufrânum ve halka-gerdân-ı bâb-ı ihsânım olmuşlardır. Siz cümle nigâşte-i şaḥîfe-i şehâdet oluñ ki bunların ser-cümle seyyi'âtın¹⁴⁶¹ libâs-ı ḥasenâtda¹⁴⁶² cilveger ve rahmet ü mağfiretüme mazhar eyledüm' diyü ruh-sûde-i ḥâk-i 'Arafât olan kemînelerin encümen-i kudsiyânda 'azamet ü kibriyâsıyla vesile-i¹⁴⁶³ mübâhât eyleye!

Nâzm

Zihî merâtib-i 'ulyâ ve sa'âdet-i 'uzmâ [L43b]

Meleklerine mübâhât ide senüñle Hudâ¹⁴⁶⁴

El-ḥamdü'li-l'llâh şümme el-ḥamdü'li-l'llâh bu¹⁴⁶⁵ herze-gerd-gû-yı ma'sıyyeti¹⁴⁶⁶ [K38a] âvâre-i vâdi-i ye's ü ḥırmân itmeyüb¹⁴⁶⁷ kuvvet-i reftâr¹⁴⁶⁸ pây-ı iktidârdan dâmen-keş olmadın¹⁴⁶⁹ ol ḥâk-i pâke vad'-ı kâdem ile fâ'iz-i derece-i iğtinâm eyledi.

Nâzm

İrdüm ol cāye ki maḫşûd-ı dil u cānum idi

Gördüm ol vakti ki ârâyiş-i imānum idi

Buldum ol maṭlabı ki göñlüm iderdi ḥ^vâhiş [P79]

Başdum ol ḥâke ki kuḥl-ı başar-ı cānum idi

¹⁴⁵⁸ ve: - L B

¹⁴⁵⁹ dendân: didân B

¹⁴⁶⁰ ve: - L

¹⁴⁶¹ seyyi'âtın: seyyi'âtda P

¹⁴⁶² ḥasenâtda: ḥasenâtla L

¹⁴⁶³ vesile-i: - L

¹⁴⁶⁴ Hudâ: Mevlâ K

¹⁴⁶⁵ bu: ol K

¹⁴⁶⁶ ma'sıyyet: 'ısyân olan fakîri K

¹⁴⁶⁷ itmeyüb: eylemeyüp K

¹⁴⁶⁸ reftâr: reftân K

¹⁴⁶⁹ olmadın: olmayup B

Hâdret-i Kâdir-i Mucib¹⁴⁷⁰ cümle¹⁴⁷¹ ârzû-mendân-ı peygûle-nişin-i¹⁴⁷² hasrete naşib eyleye! Âmin!¹⁴⁷³

33. zikr-i 'avdet be-sû-yı Müzdelife

Mâ-ḥaşal tekmil-i mertebe-i vücûba dek¹⁴⁷⁴ mevķıf-i [B53b] güneḥ-güzārı 'Arafât'da ikāmet-i pāy-ı şebāt olunup micmer-i zerrin-i ḥürşid zir-i dāmen-i ufķda¹⁴⁷⁵ nā-bedid olmak inşirāf-ı miḥmānān-ı mağfirete işāret olmağın, el-'azāmetü'llāhi te'ālā¹⁴⁷⁶, yekpāre-i¹⁴⁷⁷ emvāt-ı 'Arafāt nā'il-i rütbe-i ḥayāt olup¹⁴⁷⁸ bir ğulğule-i āsmān-gir zuhūr eyledi¹⁴⁷⁹ ki az kaldı ki itfā'-i nā'ire-i felek-eşir eyleye!

Āsar-ı rahmet-i Ğaffārı¹⁴⁸⁰ bi'l-cümle kulūba sārı olmağın sineler gencine-i sürür ve ḥatırlar encümen-i ḥudūr oldu. Ceyş-i elem hezimet-ḥörde-i sipāh-ı inbisāt ve ğubār-ı ğam ḥ'ābide-i reşehāt-ı neşāt olup müddetü'l-'ömr dāmen-i¹⁴⁸¹ vişāline dest-res müyesser olmayan¹⁴⁸² şahid-i şafā-yı derün cilve-i nā-ma'hūdāne ile 'arḍ-ı cemāle başladı. Bu dest-māye-i şafā taḥşiliyle birbirin pā-māl iderek cānib-i Müzdelife'ye imāle-i 'inān-ı mürāca'at kılındı.

Nāzm

Halk heme bār-ı güneḥ rihte

Rāḥile ez-cāy ber-āngihte

¹⁴⁷⁰ Mucib: 'Allām K

¹⁴⁷¹ cümle: - B

¹⁴⁷² nişin: - K

¹⁴⁷³ āmin: āmin Ya Mu'in K

¹⁴⁷⁴ tekmil-i mertebe-i vücûba dek: tekmil-i vücûb mertebesine degin K

¹⁴⁷⁵ 'ufķda nā-bedid: 'ufķdan be-didār K

¹⁴⁷⁶ te'ālā: - P L B

¹⁴⁷⁷ yekpāre-i: yekpāre P L

¹⁴⁷⁸ olup: olmağla K

¹⁴⁷⁹ eyledi: itdi B

¹⁴⁸⁰ Ğaffār: Ğaffār-i B

¹⁴⁸¹ dāmen: dām L

¹⁴⁸² müyesser olmayan: müyesser olmağın K

Geşte sebük-bār¹⁴⁸³ zi-bār-ı günāh

Rūz ser-i şevk nihāde be-rāh

Ol maḥalde birbirine [L44a] müsābaḳat menşe'-i nizā' u cidāl olmak ihtimālını def' içün bi-ḥasbi'l-'āde maḥfil-i Mıṣriyān dest-i Şāmiyāna ve maḥfil-i Şāmiyān dest-i Mıṣriyāna idā' olunup kemāl-i inşirāḥ u ibtihāc ile rūy-māl-ı dāmen-i¹⁴⁸⁴ Meş'aru'l-ḥarāma taḥrīk-i gām-ı ihtimām olundu.

Nazm

Reh-revān-rā bezmānī çünin

Pāy ne-y-āyed zi-ferāḥ ber-zemīn

Ez-'Araşāt ān ki be-bāğ-ı cinān

Rūy nihed çün ne-būd şādmān

34. Evşāf-ı mağfiret-eşer-i Meş'aru'l-ḥarām

Müzdelife [B54a] nāmıyle [K38b] mersüm-ı ceride-i şöhret olan maḳām-ı feyḍ-irtisām 'Arafāt'la vādi-i Minā beyninde bir şahrā-yı cān-feḍādur ki Meş'aru'l-ḥarām ol şahrā-yı ma'siyet-rübā sinesinde olan bir şuffe-i vesī'a¹⁴⁸⁵ ve¹⁴⁸⁶ vasaatında olan ḳubbe-i rafi'adan 'ibāretdür. Mevkıf-i 'Arafāt'da¹⁴⁸⁷ ceride-i 'işyāndan [P80] sütünde-i gizlik-i 'afv olmayan sevād-ı ḥuḳūk-ı 'ibād ol maḳām-ı mübārekde şüste-i şābūn-ı 'ināyet olmak nigāşte-i şafaḥāt-ı¹⁴⁸⁸ tevātürdür. Bināberīn pirāmen-i pür-emn-i Meş'aru'l-ḥarām maḳām-ı ḥıyām ḳılınup vakt-i 'işā vü mağrib birbiriyle dūçar olmak

¹⁴⁸³ -bār: -sāz B

¹⁴⁸⁴ dāmen: -K

¹⁴⁸⁵ vesī'a: - L

¹⁴⁸⁶ ve: - K

¹⁴⁸⁷ 'Arafāt'da: 'Arafāt'la L

¹⁴⁸⁸ şafaḥāt: sāḥa'if K

dahî ol makâm-ı mağfîret-nizâma mahşûş olmağın her gūşesinde bir cemâ'at şîrâze-bend-i eczâ-yı¹⁴⁸⁹ nüshâ-i 'ibâdet olmağa şürû' eylediler.

Nazm

Pervâne-i rahmet be-dih ey şem' ki imşeb

Ez-âteş-i dil¹⁴⁹⁰ piş-i tû çûn şem' güdâzem¹⁴⁹¹

Ol leyle-i mübârekede hûkûk-ı 'ibâd gibi bir bâr-ı belâdan âzâd olmak şevkiyle zeyl-i mu'âfât-ı Rabbü'l-'ibâda teşebbüs tarîkiyle yine kâfile-i âh u feryâd çerh-i berine peyveste oldu.

Nazm

Imşeb ki yâr ber-ser-i lûtf u 'inâyet-est

Ey nâle germ bâş ki vâkt-i sirâyet-est

Ol leyle-i havf u recâda nâ'ire-i kulûbdan zebâne-keş olan dūd-ı bîm ve şem'-i ümîd ile¹⁴⁹² bir başka şeb-i pür-ahter dahî bedîd¹⁴⁹³ olup¹⁴⁹⁴ destler nihâl-i du'â¹⁴⁹⁵ gibi sū-yı âsmâna küşûde¹⁴⁹⁶ ve cebheler [L44b] eşk-i niyâz gibi zemîne sūde olup¹⁴⁹⁷

Nazm

Çendân sūdend rû-yı hasret be-zemin [B54b]

Ki in¹⁴⁹⁸ tūde-i¹⁴⁹⁹ hāk-râ be-teng-âverdend¹⁵⁰⁰

¹⁴⁸⁹ eczâ-yı: - K

¹⁴⁹⁰ dil: tû B; In K *dil* is written in the margin.

¹⁴⁹¹ -güdâzem: -güzârem B

¹⁴⁹² ile: - K

¹⁴⁹³ bedîd: be-dîdâr K

¹⁴⁹⁴ olup: idüp B

¹⁴⁹⁵ du'â: - K

¹⁴⁹⁶ küşûde: keşide ve K

¹⁴⁹⁷ olup: oldu B K

¹⁴⁹⁸ ki in: k'in B

¹⁴⁹⁹ tūde-i: sūde-i L P

¹⁵⁰⁰ âverdend: âverend B

deriçe-i hazā'in-i¹⁵⁰¹ ebşār kilid-i ümid ile meftūh ve kālā-yı h^vāb-ı girān ser-pençe-i düzd-i bīm ile merfū' oldu.

Nazm

Reft zi-dil miḥnet u ğurbet be-der

Şām-ı ğarībān diger-est in diger

Ol merāḥ-ı [mürāḥ] şāfiyye-i şafāda ḥāl-i mādī vü müstaḳbellerine¹⁵⁰² girye ile mu'tellū'l-'ayn olanlar fā'iz-i 'izz-i¹⁵⁰³ maḳşūd ve ol mültekā-yı baḥr-i rā'ik-i¹⁵⁰⁴ hidāyetden dürer-i hıẓāne-i mağfiret için nüṣḥa-i eşbāh-ı āh ile tenvīr-i ebşār idenler vāṣıl-ı mes'ele-i şühūd oldılar.

Nazm

Zulmet-i jeng ez-ruḥ-ı āyine reft

Ez-teh-i dil miḥnet-i dirine reft¹⁵⁰⁵

Kevkeb-i ümid ez-ō şūd bedid

Şām çünin bih būd ez-rūz-ı 'id

Ol sāḥa-i rāḥat-baḥşā-yı 'amimetü'l-mağfiretde bāzū-yı müjgān der-āğuş-ı 'arūs-ı [K39a] h^vāb itmek daḥi vesile-i muşāhede-i şūret-i merām olmağın niçeler daḥi girībān-ı [P81] ecfāna gül-riz-i h^vāb-ı istirāḥat eylediler oldılar.

Nazm

Dide-i ān baḥt ki ne-ğünūde¹⁵⁰⁶ būd

Kerd¹⁵⁰⁷ meded tāli' āncā ğünūd

¹⁵⁰¹ Hazā'in: hıẓāne-i B

¹⁵⁰² müstaḳbellerine: müstaḳbeline K

¹⁵⁰³ 'izz: - K

¹⁵⁰⁴ rā'ik: ravābık B

¹⁵⁰⁵ In K, this couplet is written in margin.

¹⁵⁰⁶ ne-ğünūde: ne-ğünūd P

¹⁵⁰⁷ kerd: ger K

Çün ki şüdi pāk zi-ālūdegī

Ez-bi-pāki¹⁵⁰⁸ būd āsūdegī

Şikest-i kâse-i derûn-ı ebālise için endāhte olunacak rîze-i seng-i cemerāt ol sâha-i mübârekeden ber-çide-i gūşe-i dāmen-i himmet olmak sünnet olduğına binā'en ol cevāhir-i kân-ı sa'âdet birer birer zîver-i ser-engüşt-i cem'ıyyet kılındı¹⁵⁰⁹.

Nazm

Rîze-i sengeş heme tesbîh-gū-st

Nîst tehî yek-nefes ez-zıkr-i dōst

Der-tū kusûrî-st ki ân gūş nîst

V'er ne vey ez-zemzeme hāmūş [B55a] nîst

Varağ-ı 'anber-fām-ı şām 'amel-nāme-i¹⁵¹⁰ siyāh-kārān¹⁵¹¹ gibi rîzeş-i қаатарāt-ı nücūm ile şüste-rūy olduğda hūrūs-ı [horōs-ı] mülemma'-bāl-ı şubh

Nazm¹⁵¹²

Şabbāha-ke'llāhü şabāhe's-sa'id

Ber-tū mübārek būd in rûz-ı 'id [L45a]

În çe¹⁵¹³ şabāh-est ki şeş şad hezār

Bende şüd āzād şığār u kibār

zemzemesiyle leb-rîz-ı bāng-ı beşāret olmağın āftāb-ı secde-güzār dest-i eşi'a ile cūybār-ı şafağdan vuđū'-sāz olmazdan¹⁵¹⁴ muqaddem

¹⁵⁰⁸ bi: pey L

¹⁵⁰⁹ kılındı: kıldı P

¹⁵¹⁰ 'amel: - B

¹⁵¹¹ siyāh: siyeh B P

¹⁵¹² Cf. Cami, f. 31b; Bahti, f. 20b

¹⁵¹³ çe: ki K

¹⁵¹⁴ olmazdan: olmakdan B

Nazm

Dilā ber-hiz ve¹⁵¹⁵ t̄ā‘at kün ki t̄ā‘at bih zi-her kār-est

Sa‘adet ān kesī dāred ki vaqt-i şubḥ bīdār-est

me‘ālin delīl-i¹⁵¹⁶ şabā mesāmi‘-i mecāmi‘-i ḥuccāca ilḳā itmegin aḥmāl u eṣḳāl
taḥmīl-i zahr-i cimāl kılınup edā-yı farīda-i şubḥdan şoñra Meş‘aru’l-ḥarāma¹⁵¹⁷
tevcih-i kubāle-i huşū‘ üzre vakfe-i Müzdelife’ye kıyām ve esās-ı dest-i du‘ā
ihkām¹⁵¹⁸ olundu.

35. Reften ez-Müzdelife be-sū-yı Minā

Pençe-i mişbāḥ-ı āftāb izhār-ı miftāḥ-ı fūrūğ itdügi sâ‘at pây-ı kıyāmdan def‘aten¹⁵¹⁹
‘iḳāl-ı ārām küşāde olmağın ‘Kandesin kurbāngāḥ-ı Minā?’ diyü cān-endāz oldılar.

Nazm

Kes ne-keşed be-her kesī intizār

Şevḳ-i Minā bürde zi-dilhā qarār

Yine vādī-i Minā keşret-i hıyām ile nümüne-i baḥr-i pür-ḥabāb kılındı¹⁵²⁰ sâ‘at fevc
fevc dāmen-i Cemre-i ‘Aḳabe’ye şitāb itdiler¹⁵²¹.

36. zıkr-i evşāf-ı Cemre-i Ūlā¹⁵²² [P82]

Cemre-i Ūlā ‘aḳabe-i vādī-i Minā’nuñ Mekke-i Mükerrreme cānibinde olan medḥalinüñ
taraf-ı¹⁵²³ şimālinde bir mevḍi‘dür ki dāmen-i kūhda¹⁵²⁴ tūlen ve ‘arḍan [K39b]

¹⁵¹⁵ ve: - B

¹⁵¹⁶ delīl: - B

¹⁵¹⁷ ilḳā itmegin aḥmāl u eṣḳāl taḥmīl-i zahr-i cimāl kılınup edā-yı farīda-i şubḥdan şoñra Meş‘aru’l-ḥarāma: - K

¹⁵¹⁸ ihkām: istiḥkām K

¹⁵¹⁹ def‘aten: vakfe-i B K

¹⁵²⁰ kılındı: olduğı K

¹⁵²¹ itdiler: eylediler B P K

¹⁵²² ūlā: evvel B K

[B55b] beş zirā' miqdārı bir divār binā olunmuşdur. Cenāb-ı İbrāhīm nebī, şalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḥaḍretleri ber-vefḳ-i fermān-ı Yezdānī gerdən-i ciger-gūşe-i girāmilerin busegāh-ı dehen-i tığ itmege dāmen-ber-zede-i 'azimet oldukları hālde, İblis, 'aleyhi'l-la'ne, ol cān-sipārān-ı rāh-ı vefāyı güm-şüde-i beyābān-ı nā-fermānī itmek sevdasıyle ibtidā ol mevḍi'de tahrik-i muḥabbet-i pederāne idecek [L45b] kelime-i şefkat-engiz muḥaddemātiyle tertib-i dām-firib itmegin mānende-i seg-i herze-feryād ¹⁵²⁵ dest-i İbrāhīm 'aleyhi's-selāndan seng-hörde-i recm ü ib'ād olmuşdur.

Cemre-i sāniye vü sāliṣe daḥi tahminen biribirinden¹⁵²⁶ şad gām miqdārı bu'd ile vasat-ı bāzār-ı Minā'da vāḳi'dür ki ol şāh-ı zaḳḳūm-ı ḍalāl ya'nī İblis-i şakāvet-me'al ol mevḍi'lerde daḥi¹⁵²⁷ itāle-i rişe-i tezvīr itdügi eclden¹⁵²⁸ seng-i reddile berg-riz-i ḥırmān olmağın binā'en-'aleyh ol mevḍi'ler daḥi birer mīl bināsıyle ta'yin ü işāret olmuşdur¹⁵²⁹. Rūz-ı¹⁵³⁰ nuḥustinde faḳaṭ mevḗi'-i 'Aḳabe'ye remy-i cemerāt olunmağla hem-endām-ı bādām heft seng-i elmās-reng felāḥan-ı nāḥundan pāy-ı 'Aḳabe'ye pertāb olundu.

Nāẓm

Heft kerret seng ber-ān mīl zen

Mīl çe ber-rū-yı 'Azāzil zen

Ḳavm ki şimşir-i ğazā mī-zened

Na'ra-i tekbir-i fenā mī-zened

¹⁵²³ taraf: cānib K

¹⁵²⁴ kūhda: kūhdan K

¹⁵²⁵ feryād: feryād yine K

¹⁵²⁶ biribirinden: birbirinden B P

¹⁵²⁷ daḥi: - L

¹⁵²⁸ eclden: cihetden K

¹⁵²⁹ olmuşdur: olunmuşdur K

¹⁵³⁰ rūz: rūz-ı ferdāda K

37. zıkr-i kurbān u ser-terāşiden

Ol rûz-ı ciger-sûzda bezl-i naḳdine-i ḥayât sevdâsıyle¹⁵³¹ teslim-i gerden-i rıdâ itmege
 âmâde olan reme-i gûsfendân [B56a] rîg-i beyâbândan efzûn olmağın herkes kâse-i
 iktidârınca irâka-i dem itmekle gül-güne-sâ-yı ‘ârıd-ı âmâl ve sûrh-nüvis-i fuşûl u
 ebvâb-ı nüsha-i a‘mâl olmağa teşmîr-i sâ‘id-i ihtimâm eylediler.

Nazm

Küşte der-ân bâdiye kurbân-ı besî

Teşne be-hûn tîğ be-kef-i her kesî

Her ki ne-şüd küşte-i şimşîr-i dōst

Lâşe-i murdâr bih ez-cân-ı ō-st [P83] [K40a]¹⁵³²

Ol bismilgâh-ı rahmet-penâhda¹⁵³³ hil‘at-ı hûnîn ile gerden-ferâz¹⁵³⁴ olan kurbâniyân-ı
 ser-bâz kudûm-i şâhid-i kabûle atlas-ı sûrhden baş-ı pây-endâz ve pây-ı ‘arûs-ı
 inâbete nişâr-ı gül-berg-i i‘zâz eylediler.

Nazm

Bismil-i kurbân ki ō ger bûd şayd-ı ḥarem [L46a]

Ber-zemin hûneş helâl ve¹⁵³⁵ buriden-i cânêş ḥarâm

Isâle-i cûy-bâr-ı hûna müte‘âkıb tûde-i ser-i sevdâ-zededen izâle-i giyâh-ı hōd-rû-yı
 mûya sür‘at olunup ol kurbāngâh-ı¹⁵³⁶ vefâda tîğ-i fermân-ı Rabbânî’ye ser-nihâde-i
 teslim ü rıdâ olmamış âferide kalmadı.

Nazm

¹⁵³¹ sevdâsıyle: ümidiyle K

¹⁵³² K 40a- ?

¹⁵³³ -penâhda: penâha P

¹⁵³⁴ ferâz: efrâz K

¹⁵³⁵ ve: - L

¹⁵³⁶ kurbāngâh: kurbāngeh K

Ger ser mūyī-st 'alā'ik tū-rā

Nist yekī tā'at lā'ik tū-rā

Ez-ser teslim rıdā pīş-gir

Der-reh-i dīn terk-i ser-i h^viş gir

Ser be-terāş er çe ki mū endekī-st

Endek ü bisiyār der-in kū yekī'st

38. zikr-i¹⁵³⁷ evşāf-ı birūn-āmeden ez-ihrām-est

Āhīr-i nüshā-i ef'āl-i eyyām-ı ihrām terāşe-i mū-yı 'anberin-fām ile miskiyyü'l-hıtām olıcağ mürdegān-ı kefen der-kerden-i ihrām dest-bürde-i berāt-ı hayāt olmağın ba'de ez-in pīrāhen-i¹⁵³⁸ ihrām vedi'a-i lifāfe-i ta'tīl [B56b] kılınup herkes şandūka-i istiṭā'atında āmāde olan elbise-i 'iydiyye-i 'ādiye ile ārāyiş-i beden-i 'üryāna¹⁵³⁹ şitābān oldılar.

Nazm

Virdi cān 'iyd-ı bahār itdi yine¹⁵⁴⁰ tāze kabā

Kefen-i nergis-i bīmār hele çāk itdi yine

Şāneler dest-keş-i dāmen-i meḥāsin iken yine birbiriyle hem-āğūş-ı muşāfaḥa-i tehniyet oldılar. Gülāb u 'ūd rūy u meşāmıyle āb u āteş iken hāk ü bād gibi ref'-i ḡubār-ı vahşet eylediler. Elbise ile ecsām beyninde vesāṭat-ı ihrām ile ḥāşıl olan burūdet yine libās-ı germiyyetde cilve-riz oldu. Ve ser ile destār miyānesinde müfāraḳat-ı dūr u dırāz kāt kāt ülfet ile¹⁵⁴¹ tāzelendi. Endāhte-i bām-ı nisyān olan

¹⁵³⁷ zikr: - K

¹⁵³⁸ pīrāhen: pīrāmen L

¹⁵³⁹ üryāna şitābān oldılar: üryān itmege şitāb eylediler K

¹⁵⁴⁰ yine:- K

¹⁵⁴¹ ülfet ile: ülfetiyle P

na'leynler taleb-i muşālaḥa ile pāylara üftāde olmağın ba'de ez-in rūḥ u cism gibi¹⁵⁴²
ittiḥādda ṣābit-ka-dem olmak şerā'itī [K40b] kālīb-ı istiḥkāma ifrāğ olundu. Ol rüz-ı
meserret-efrūzda bāzār-ı Minā'da [P84] küşāyiş bulan teng-i kālā-yı sürūr ḥāric-i
kārṽānsarāy-ı¹⁵⁴³ taşavvur idi.

Nazm¹⁵⁴⁴

Ne sūḳdur bu ki sevdāgerān-ı züvvāruñ

Füruḥti ola cürm ve ḥarīdi ola şevāb

39. Reften be-Ka'be behr-i tavāf-ı ziyāret-est¹⁵⁴⁵

[L46b] Ammā se¹⁵⁴⁶ şebāne-rüz müşāhede-i ruḥsār-ı dil-ārā-yı beyt-i Hudā'dan cüdā
düşmekle nefes-be-nefes peyk-i ḥayāl cānib-i ḥarem-i¹⁵⁴⁷ mükerrreme āmed-şüdden
ḥālī degül iken levāzım-ı remy ü zebḥ u tırāşdan āzāde-ser olduḡdan¹⁵⁴⁸ şofıra edā-yı
farīda-i tavāf-ı ziyāret cerīde-i zimmetde bākī [B57a] kalmağla kemend-i cāzibe-i
muḥabbet gerden-i dile mün'aḳid olup mānende-i cūybār-ı bahār mevc mevc ol lücce-
i mağfīret cānibine cereyān olundu. Ol günde yine şaḥn-ı ḥarem-i Rabbānide sāḥa-i
biḥişt gibi şūriş-i cem'ıyyet-i neşāt-āmiz¹⁵⁴⁹ hüveydā olup gördiler ki ol şāhid-i
murabba'-nişin-i serīr-i 'izz u temkīn yine¹⁵⁵⁰ ḥil'at-ı 'abāsı ile¹⁵⁵¹ cilve-i ihtizāza āğāz
eylemiş. Kemer-i zer-tār-ı gevher-nigārı dīde-i melā'ik ile terşī' olunmuş.

Nazm

¹⁵⁴² gibi: kadar B K

¹⁵⁴³ kārṽānsarāy: kārḃānsarāy K

¹⁵⁴⁴ This couplet is also included in *Nābī Dīvān* (ed. Bilkan, p. 167).

¹⁵⁴⁵ Reften be-Ka'be behr-i tavāf-ı ziyāret-est: - L

¹⁵⁴⁶ se: - K

¹⁵⁴⁷ ḥarem: Mekke K

¹⁵⁴⁸ ḥālī degül iken levāzım-ı remy ü zebḥ u tırāşdan āzāde-ser olduḡdan: - K

¹⁵⁴⁹ neşāt: şafā K

¹⁵⁵⁰ yine might be *yeni*.

¹⁵⁵¹ ḥil'at-ı 'abāsı ile: - K

Behr-i hemîn beste kemer tâ diger

Cân küned âvîze-i bend-i kemer

Zülf-i siyâh-ı ham-ber-ham-ı¹⁵⁵² ‘anber-sâyi¹⁵⁵³ pervîzen-i dest-i nesîm oldukça
ervâh-ı muḳaddese biḥte-i iksir-i ‘ināyet gibi hâk-i pâyine rîzân olmadadır¹⁵⁵⁴.

Naẓm

Pîş-i ō ber-pā sitāde çār erkân-ı vücūd

Kerde ez-cân hizmeteş-râ mültezim-vār iltizām

Ol nihâl-i ser-efrāhte-i bûstân-ı ‘ināyet mu‘ānaḳa-i nesîm-i ‘anber-bîz¹⁵⁵⁵ ile hırāma
geldükce bāl-küşâyân-ı hevâ-yı ḳuds ḳumrî-vārî bālâ-yı serinde ḥalka-nümâ-yı gerdiş-
i niyâz olmışlar. Ol hengām-ı feyḍ-i ‘ām olan rûz-ı ‘iydde bunca nâ-kāmlar

Naẓm¹⁵⁵⁶

Çekme dāmen nāz idüp üftādelerden raḥm ḳıl

Göklere açılmasun eller ki dāmānuñdadur

nālesiyle ‘arḍ-ı ḥâl içün dāmen-i astār-ı feyḍ-bārına tevessül itmişler.

Naẓm

Dāmen-i ō der-kef-i merdüm-i besî

Ō ne-keşed dāmen-i nāz ez-kesî

Niçeler zihām-ı enām sebebi ile dest-i ümîdi gūşe-i¹⁵⁵⁷ dāmen-i cāme-i müşk-
fāmından kûtāh olmağın

¹⁵⁵² ham-ber-ham: ham-be-ham P; ham-der-ham K

¹⁵⁵³ ‘anber-sâyi: anber-fāmı K

¹⁵⁵⁴ olmadadır: olmada B

¹⁵⁵⁵ -bîz: -rîz P

¹⁵⁵⁶ This couplet is by Fuḳûlî (d. 1556). See Walter G. Andrews, Najaat Black and Mehmet Kalpaklı, (Austin: University of Teḥas Press, 1997), p. 282

¹⁵⁵⁷ gūşe-i: - B

Nazm¹⁵⁵⁸ [K41a]

Yüz sürmek umar¹⁵⁵⁹ pāyuña üftādeler [P85] ammā [B57b]

Nevbet mi deger kimseye dāmānuñ ucından

me'ālin dest-māye-i tesliyet eylemiş. Niçeler ise

Nazm

Başuña devr ideyüm mihr-i cihān-tāb gibi [L47a]

Payüñe yüz süreyüm şu'le-i mehtāb gibi

zemzemesiyle kebāb-ı sūziş-i şevk-i tavāf olmuş.

Nazm

Gerden-i kerrūbiyān ve dest ü dūş-ı hāciyān

Der-tavāfeş bi-siper geşte zi-farṭ-ı izdiḥām

Niçeler Mültezim-i Şerif'e

Nazm

Men ger¹⁵⁶⁰ āmurziş-i tū behre bezm-i [?] sūd künem

Ger tū bahşi günehem-rā çe ḍarar ber-dārī

me'āliyle sine-sā-yı niyāz olmuşlar. Niçeler sevdā-yı tamğā-yı Hacer-i Esved ile
metā'-ı cānı kārgāh-ı ziḥāmda tenge çekmiş.

Nazm

Geşte zi-hāleş dū cihān müşk-bū

Ham şüde çerḥ ez-şiken-i mū-yı ō

Būse-zenend in heme ber-hāl-i ō

¹⁵⁵⁸ This couplet is by Bākī (1526-1600); see Nācī, 'Osmānlı şā'irleri, Istanbul 1307/1889, p. 36

¹⁵⁵⁹ umar: umar ve P

¹⁵⁶⁰ ki: ger B

Hiç diger-gün ne-şüd hâl-i 0

Niçeler zir-i¹⁵⁶¹ Mizâb-ı Raḥmet'de merdümek-i dide-i Ḥaṭim olan Hıcr-i Isma'il,
'aleyhi's-selâm, üzre nâvidân-ı dū didesin ser-şâr-ı hûnâbe-i niyâz itmiş.

Nazm

Müje piş-i Nâvidâneş be-ceze¹⁵⁶² çünân be-girid

Ki zi-şahm-ı Hıcr-em¹⁵⁶³ âred be-dereş zi-seyl-i rânî

Ve niçeler Makâm-ı İbrâhîm 'aleyhi's-selâmda nâşiye-i huḍû'¹⁵⁶⁴ ferş-i secdegâh-ı
namâz idüb¹⁵⁶⁵ niçeler pîrâmen-i çâh-ı Zemzem'de teskîn-i nâ'ire-i sūz u güdâz için
kadeh-gerdân-ı ümid olmuşlar.

Nazm

'Âfiyetler ola ol teşne-i tavf-ı ḥareme¹⁵⁶⁶

Ki ser-i çâhda peymâne-keş-i Zemzem ola

40. Duhûl-i ḥâcıyân der-beyt-i Mevlâ

Huşûşan ol pîrâye-i cemâl-i mevcûdâta ol gün ilbâs-ı câme-i merdümek-gün itmek
içün dide-i [B58a] bâb-ı 'âlem-tâbı tāk-ı 'arş-ı berîn gibi küşâde olmağın ol lücce-i
envârda iştiyâk-ı istiğrâk ile pişgâh-ı südde-i raḥmetde zihâm-ı ecsâm-ı enâm deryâ-
yı şarşar-dide gibi mevc-hîz-i hurûş olup niçeler ma'sara-i teng-nây-ı zihâmda şîre-i
şu'ürdan cüdâ ve niçelerün zir-i aqdâm-ı enâmda [K41b] 'ıkd-ı gevher-i enfâsı nâ-

¹⁵⁶¹ zir: - K

¹⁵⁶² be-ceze': be-çeze' P

¹⁵⁶³ hıcr-em: ḥarem L

¹⁵⁶⁴ huḍû': huşû' K

¹⁵⁶⁵ idüb: kılup K

¹⁵⁶⁶ ḥareme:'l-ḥareme B

peydâ oldu. Niçe çālâklar püşte-i a'nâk üzre refîâr ve niçe [L47b] sebük-pâlar tûde-i rû'ûs¹⁵⁶⁷ üzre güzâr eyledi. Ammâ¹⁵⁶⁸

Nazm [P86]

‘Acz be-dergâh-ı tû nâşiye-sâ-yı ğurûr

Fakr be-ıkbâl-i tû havşala-sûz-ı ğınâ

vefkince çârsû-yı kabûl-ı kibriyâda kâlâ-yı ‘acz ü iftikâr kadar cins-i râ’ic olmaduğı tamğâ-yâfte-i şübût olmağın kâdime-cünbân-ı deriçe-i beyân olan Nabî-i nâ-tüvân semen-beden¹⁵⁶⁹ u da‘f-ı hareketden nâşi¹⁵⁷⁰ seylâb-ı hurûşân-ı ziḥâmdan güzâre fırsat-yâb olamayup¹⁵⁷¹ ḥasret ile nâ-ümidâne dürdan¹⁵⁷² nigerân iken

Nazm

Be-dereş çünân be-nâlem ki zi-ğâyet-i teraḥḥüm

Zi-derûn nidâ ber-âyed¹⁵⁷³ ki der-â der-â fülânî

vefkince dest-yârî-i câzibe-i ‘inâyet ile ol ‘atebe-i felek-fersâya eshel vech üzre çehre-sâ-yı vüşûl olmak devletine muvaffak oldu¹⁵⁷⁴.

Mıṣra‘¹⁵⁷⁵

El-‘izzetü li’llâhi te‘âlâ ve tekaddese

Nazm

Feyd-i ezel be-zûd ve be-zer âmedi be-dest

Âb-ı Hıdr nâşiye-i Iskender âmedi

¹⁵⁶⁷ rû'ûs: dūş L

¹⁵⁶⁸ ammâ: - K

¹⁵⁶⁹ semen: simin P

¹⁵⁷⁰ nâşi: nâsi P

¹⁵⁷¹ olamayup: olmayup P

¹⁵⁷² nâ-ümidâne: nâ-ümidâne çeşm-i derûn K

¹⁵⁷³ ber-âyed: der-âyed K

¹⁵⁷⁴ oldu: eyledi K

¹⁵⁷⁵ No title K

Vākı'an eger āftāb-ı 'ināyet-i ezeli kemend-endāz-ı kabūl olmasa pā-beste-i cürm ü taqşır olan [B58b] bu 'abd-i faqır ol mahzen-i envāra pā-nihāde olmak niçe mütasavver idi!

Nazm

Īn būd ez-farṭ-ı¹⁵⁷⁶ 'aṭā vü kerem

K'o¹⁵⁷⁷ çū Minā bār dihed der-ḥarem

Dād me-rā der-ḥarem-i ḥōd maḳām

Kerd me-rā ṭā'if-i Beyt-i Ḥarām

Īn ḥarem-i muḥterem-i kibriyā-st

Mahzen-i ān ḥalvet-i ḥāşş-ı Hudā-st

Ol serāy-ı cihān-ārā-yı dārü'l-mülk-i ḥaḳıḳat ki ğubār-ı kem-terini tūtiyā-yı çeşm-i ḥazne-i¹⁵⁷⁸ ferādis-i cinān ve ol nihān-ḥāne-i¹⁵⁷⁹ üns-ā-üns-i¹⁵⁸⁰ esrār-ı vaḥdet ki ferş-i 'arş-'ayārı cā-rūb-zede-i müjgān-ı ḳudsiyān ola; aña pā-nihāde olanlaruñ sūtūn-ı şu'ūrı ber-pā ve erkān-ı idrāki ber-cā ḳalmamak mütevārī-i¹⁵⁸¹ perde-i ḥafā degildür.

Nazm

Mā-rā çe i'tibār u¹⁵⁸² eşer bā-vücūd-ı dōst [L48a]

Cāyi ki¹⁵⁸³ cilve-kerd ḥaḳıḳat mecāz nist

Ol āyine-ḥāne-i şāf-ittişāf-ı¹⁵⁸⁴ ḥaḳıḳatde tūṭi-i şeker-ḥā-yı ḥāme-i sürḥ-minḳāra mesāğ-ı medd-i nefes olmamağın

¹⁵⁷⁶ farṭ: feyḳ K

¹⁵⁷⁷ k'o: ki L

¹⁵⁷⁸ ḥazne-i: ḥızāne-i K

¹⁵⁷⁹ cinān ve ol nihān-ḥāne-i: cinān olan ol gussa-ḥāne-i K

¹⁵⁸⁰ üns-ā-üns: üns B

¹⁵⁸¹ mütevārī-i: mütevārī B

¹⁵⁸² u: - L B

¹⁵⁸³ cāyi ki: cā'i L

¹⁵⁸⁴ şāf-ittişāf: şaffu's-şāff B

Nazm

Men be-rāhi mi-revem k'āncā kadem nā-maḥrem-est

Ve zi-makāmi ḥarf mi-güyem ki dem nā-maḥrem-est

makāli [K42a] ser-nüvišt-i şaḥife-i i'tizār kılınmışdur.

Nazm

Tebāreke'llāhü ez-ān şaḥn-ı bī-zevāl¹⁵⁸⁵ ki būd

Zi- [P87] nūr-ı ḥüsn leb-ā-leb zi-dōstī¹⁵⁸⁶ ma'mūr

Ol kıble-i melek u melekūt derūnında kimi rū-be-rū kimi kafā-ber-kafā ve kimi düş-be-düş namāz-güzār-ı taḥıyyet, kimi şaḥn ve kimi dīvāra¹⁵⁸⁷ ruḥ-sūde-i mezellet olup ol ben-i kulzüm-i esrārda¹⁵⁸⁸ ğarık-vār biribirinden bī-ḥaber ḥarekāt-ı bī-iḥtiyār iderler idi¹⁵⁸⁹.

Nazm

Şarılsa ḥayretle n'ola zūlfine yārūñ

Nigāhı [B59a] ğarķa-i ḥüsn oldı 'āşık-ı zāruñ

41. 'Azimet-i diger¹⁵⁹⁰ bār¹⁵⁹¹ sū-yı Minā

Mā-ḥaşal ol gün ğavvāşān-ı baḥr-i ḥarem-i Yezdānī¹⁵⁹² dāmen dāmen¹⁵⁹³ ḥırmen ḥırmen gevher-i bihişt-efrūz-ı murād taḥşilinden¹⁵⁹⁴ şoñra yine Minā'da āmāde¹⁵⁹⁵

¹⁵⁸⁵ zevāl: zāl P

¹⁵⁸⁶ dūstī: dūstī-i B

¹⁵⁸⁷ dīvāra: dīvāh P

¹⁵⁸⁸ kulzüm-i esrārda: kulzüm-i envār-ı esrāra K

¹⁵⁸⁹ idi: - K

¹⁵⁹⁰ diger: - B

¹⁵⁹¹ bār: bā K

¹⁵⁹² Yezdānī: Yezānī P

¹⁵⁹³ dāmen dāmen: - K

¹⁵⁹⁴ taḥşilinden: taḥşil itdükden K

¹⁵⁹⁵ āmāde: - K

olan hıyāma tevcih-i meṭāyā-yı 'azîmet ve leyālî-i eyyām-ı teşriḳde encümen-gîr-i
feḍā-yı Minā olmak sümnetine teba'ıyyet eylediler.

Nazm

Sû-yı Minā rân ve kerâmet be-bîn

Germi-i bâzâr-ı kıyâmet be-bîn

Se şebâne-rûz sūḳ-ı Minā nişân-dâde-i bâzâr-ı restâ-hîz olmağın kâlâ-yı¹⁵⁹⁶ 'ayş u
neşât her deriçeye ferş-i bisât idüp bâr-ı metâ'-ı gûn-â-gûn-ı felek gibi teng-ber-teng
ve¹⁵⁹⁷ hürmen hürmen sim ü zer tûde-i râh ile hem-seng olmuş idi.

Nazm

Rûmî vü Hindî-st¹⁵⁹⁸ ki bā-yekdigir

Kerde mûmâssât çû şîr u¹⁵⁹⁹ şeker

Bes ki be-hem rihte hemeyân-ı zer

Geşte dükkânhâ-yı Minā kân-ı zer

Niçe çâpuk-destân-ı sefide-kâr¹⁶⁰⁰ dahî sâde-levhân-ı temâşâ'iyānuñ teng-nây-ı¹⁶⁰¹
[L48b] ceyb u bağalından¹⁶⁰² kîse-i nihüftelerin dest-zede-i nîreng-i düzdâne itmekle
ğam-ı nesiyelerin nakd iderler idi.

Nazm

Kîse-bürân-end der-in reh-güzer

Her ki tehi-kîse-ter âsûde-ter

¹⁵⁹⁶ kâlâ-yı: kâr L P

¹⁵⁹⁷ ve: - K

¹⁵⁹⁸ Hindî-st: Hind-est L

¹⁵⁹⁹ u: - K

¹⁶⁰⁰ sefide: sefid K; sepide B

¹⁶⁰¹ teng-nây: ten-küşâ-yı P

¹⁶⁰² bağalından: bağal dan L

42. Kerdn-i zib-i çerāğān-ı Şāmiyān u Mısrıyān

Sevdāger-i gerdūn zer-i hūrşid ile harid itdūgi perde-i ‘anber-gūnı dükkān-ı āfāka āvihte itdükde kâfile-i Mısrıyān u Şāmiyān birbirine izhār-ı haşmet u iktidār için muhayyem-i mahşûşalarına¹⁶⁰³ tertib-i āyin-i çerāğān eylediler. Her bir hayme [B59b] pişgāhında hezār kanādil ile birer işāre¹⁶⁰⁴ naqş-ı ahir üzre iş‘āl olunup, [K42b] tabl u sūrnā ‘ālem-i bālāya velvele ve tōplar eczā-yı zemine [P88] zelzele şalup âteşin çerhler küre-i nārī gibi devvār, horōslar kaqnūs-sıfat âteşin-minķār, kebşler semender-mişāl âteş-nişār, fevvāreler şerāre-bār ve¹⁶⁰⁵ delice¹⁶⁰⁶ fişekler âteş-zen-i hānumān-ı riş u destār olmuş idi. Hevāyī fişekler¹⁶⁰⁷ yıldıza kemend atup tār-ı şihāb ile cevvi-i hevāda ‘aķd-i rābıta-i uhuvvet eylediler. Gūyiyā¹⁶⁰⁸ dest-bürd-i düzdān-ı ebāliseyi kâfile-i huccācdan¹⁶⁰⁹ ib‘ād için zemin u āsmāndan i‘māl-i¹⁶¹⁰ edevāt-ı recm u¹⁶¹¹ tārđ eylediler. Ğalebe-i meşā‘il ü kanādil zemini hem-reng-i āsmān ve āsmānı¹⁶¹² hāke yeksān idüp cā-be-cā gül-i meşā‘il ve hōşā-i kanādil ve rişte-i kec-reviş-i¹⁶¹³ fişekden dūş-ı¹⁶¹⁴ şāma gūyā bir cāme-i zincir-bāf-ı gül-dārı ilbās itmişler idi. Tūlū‘-ı yed-i beydā-yı şubh ibtāl-ı hıbāl-ı âteşin itdükden sonra āhir-i eyyām-ı teşriķa dek vād-i Minā’da direng ve her vakt-i zevāde dāmān-ı emyāl-ı cemerāt siper-i heft seng kılınup yine ārzū-yı cemāl-i beyt-i zi’l-celāl¹⁶¹⁵ ‘inān-rübā-yı ārām olmağın ğubār-ı¹⁶¹⁶ rāh-ı harem ile tenvir-i dide-i rükkāb olundu.

¹⁶⁰³ mahşûşalarına: mahşûşaların K

¹⁶⁰⁴ işāre: işār ile B

¹⁶⁰⁵ ve: - B P

¹⁶⁰⁶ delice: deli B

¹⁶⁰⁷ âteş-zen-i hānumān-ı riş u destār olmuş idi. Hevāyī fişekler: - L

¹⁶⁰⁸ gūyiyā: gūyā K

¹⁶⁰⁹ huccācdan: huccācdan recm ü K

¹⁶¹⁰ i‘māl-i: a‘māl u B

¹⁶¹¹ recm ü: - K

¹⁶¹² āamānı: āamānı her K

¹⁶¹³ reviş: rü’us B

¹⁶¹⁴ dūş: dūş-ı cām-ı K

¹⁶¹⁵ zi’l: zü’l B K

¹⁶¹⁶ ğubār: ğubāre-i L

43. 'Avdet zi Minā be¹⁶¹⁷ -beyt-i eşref

[L49a] Minā'dan 'avdetde medhal-ı Mekke-i Mübāreke'de¹⁶¹⁸ Baḥḥā nām zemīn-i dīl-
nişinde vāḳi' Muḥaṣṣabe'de bir sā'at miqdārı celse-i ḥafife-i¹⁶¹⁹ istirāḥat sünnetini¹⁶²⁰
mürā'ātdan soñra ḥavāli-i ḥarem-i mükerremde [B60a] olan menāzil-i mu'ayyenede
başt-ı ḥaşır-ı iḳāmet olunup evḳāt-ı ḳarīnū'l-berekāt-ı leyāl¹⁶²¹ ü eyyāmda herkes
endāze-i şevḳi mertebesince¹⁶²² metā'-ı bihişt-bahā-yı metāfi

Nazm

Ümid-i nevbet¹⁶²³ ṭavāfiyle tā be-ḥaşr olmaz

Ribāt-ı dīde-i kerrūbiyān nişimen-i ḥ^vāb

mişdāḳı üzre peymūde-i ḥuṭuvāt-ı ṭavāf¹⁶²⁴ itdüğinden¹⁶²⁵ ḡayrı derūn u birūn-ı
Ümmü'l-ḳurā'da olan emkine-i mütemeyyine¹⁶²⁶ ziyāreti ile tenvir-i dīde-i cān iderler
idi.

44. Vaşf-ı cebel-i Ebī Ḳubeys-est¹⁶²⁷

Cümleden biri cebel-i Ebī Ḳubeys'dür ki beyt-i¹⁶²⁸ muḥteremüñ şarka mā'il cenūbında
ser-ber-āverde-i giribān-ı felekdür ki ḳullesine¹⁶²⁹ varıncaya dek¹⁶³⁰ mebānī-i¹⁶³¹

¹⁶¹⁷ be: der K

¹⁶¹⁸ mübārekede: mükerremde K

¹⁶¹⁹ ḥafife-i: - B P K

¹⁶²⁰ istirāḥat sünnetini: istirāḥat ve sūnen-i nebī K

¹⁶²¹ leyāl: leyālī B P

¹⁶²² mertebesince: mertebesinde K

¹⁶²³ nevbet: - K

¹⁶²⁴ ṭavāf: - L

¹⁶²⁵ itdüğinden: itdüğimden L

¹⁶²⁶ mütemeyyine: mütemeyyineyi P; müte'ayyinede ki pür-meymenetdür K

¹⁶²⁷ est: - K

¹⁶²⁸ beyt: Mekke-i B

¹⁶²⁹ ḳullesine: nişfina P

¹⁶³⁰ dek: degin K

¹⁶³¹ mebānī-i: miyānı L

'imārāt¹⁶³² ile [K43a] cilveger olup hattā hürşid-i [P89] felek-i nübüvvet, şalle'llāhü te'ālā¹⁶³³ 'aleyhi ve sellem, hadretlerinüñ dendāne-i kilidi-i hıızāne-i i'cāz olan ser-engüşt-i 'ālem-küşāları¹⁶³⁴ sine-i māhı giribān-ı 'uşşāk gibi çāk itdükleri ol küh-ı bihişt-şükūhuñ¹⁶³⁵ kemerinde reside-i zirve-i vukū' olmuştur.

Nazm

Kān-ı kerāmet cebel-i Bū Kubeys

Seng-i ğameş ber-¹⁶³⁶ dil-i Ferhād u Kays¹⁶³⁷

Der-kemereş mevdi'-i şakku'l-kamer

Geşte be-hürşid¹⁶³⁸ be-'ālem şemer¹⁶³⁹

Ka'be çū gül¹⁶⁴⁰ ser-zede ez-dāmeneş

Heşt bihişt āmede pīrāmeneş¹⁶⁴¹

45. zıkr-i evşāf-ı mevlid-i nebevī¹⁶⁴²

Biri dahı ol¹⁶⁴³ mā-ḥaşal-ı mezra'a-i kā'ināt, 'aleyhi ezkā's-şalavāt¹⁶⁴⁴, hadretlerinüñ nihāl-ı vücūd-ı 'arş-ārāları hırāmān-ı sāḥa-i imkān¹⁶⁴⁵ olduğu [L49b] hāne-i melā'ik-hademdür ki Sūku'l-leyl nām¹⁶⁴⁶ bāzār-ı 'ināyet-zār gūşesinde olan şecer-i cümmeysz kurbinde nūr-baḥşā-yı[B60b] zemin u zamān¹⁶⁴⁷ olup miyāne-i şahın-ı hānede ser-

¹⁶³² imārāt: ibāret K

¹⁶³³ te'ālā: - L; şalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'aleyhi ekmelü't-taḥiyye K

¹⁶³⁴ -küşāları: küşāları ile K

¹⁶³⁵ şükūhuñ: şükūh ki B

¹⁶³⁶ ber: bā L

¹⁶³⁷ Cf. Muḥyi (Lala), f. 60a: kerāmet: vefā-bin FH

¹⁶³⁸ be: çū K

¹⁶³⁹ Cf. Muḥyi (Lala), f. 60a-12: şakku'l-kamer: şakk-ı kamer FH; be- hürşid: çū hürşid FH

¹⁶⁴⁰ gül: - B

¹⁶⁴¹ Cf. Muḥyi (Lala), f. 60a

¹⁶⁴² nebevī: nebevī, ekmelü't-taḥiyye K

¹⁶⁴³ ol: - K

¹⁶⁴⁴ 's-şalavāt: 't-taḥiyyāt K

¹⁶⁴⁵ imkān: imkān-ı vücūd P

¹⁶⁴⁶ nām: - K

¹⁶⁴⁷ zamān: āsmān K

zede-i çemen-zâr-ı şühûd oldukları maķâm bir şandūķa-i sebz-pūş-ı serv-simâ ile imâ olunmuşdur.

Nazm

Nükhet-i cennet dihed ez-Sūk-ı Leyl

Hāk keş kūçe-i ō gül-i bezil¹⁶⁴⁸

Ser-zede hürşid-i cihân-tâb ez-ō

Ravda-i cennet şüde der-tâb ez-¹⁶⁴⁹ō¹⁶⁵⁰

46. Beyân-ı vaşf-ı sarây-ı Hadice-i Kübrâ¹⁶⁵¹

Ve birisi dahî¹⁶⁵² devlet-serây-ı hāşşü'l-hāşş-ı Hadice-i Kübrâ radiye'llāhü 'anhādur ki h^wāce-i sermāye-dār-ı¹⁶⁵³ şefā'at, şalle'llāhü te'ālā¹⁶⁵⁴ 'aleyhi ve sellem,¹⁶⁵⁵ hadretlerinüñ halvet-hāne-i üns-ā-üns-i 'ibādetgāh-ı haşşaları hāne-i hazine maķāmında revzeninden güzër olup¹⁶⁵⁶ bir hücre-i muṭahhere-i muṭaşaradur¹⁶⁵⁷ ki şüret-i divārında olan dide-i mihrāb-ı melekût-ārāsı kāmēt-i tūbā-şiken-i Muhammedi firākıyle hālā küşāde kalmışdur. Güşvāre-i bünā-güş-ı beķā ya'nî hadret-i Fāṭıma-i Zehrā, radiye'llāhü te'ālā¹⁶⁵⁸ 'anhā, dahî dest-efrūz-ı şühûd oldukları maḥall yine revzen-i digerden güzër olup bir hücre-i pākize-derün şahnında bir pūşide-i sebzile cilveger olup dest-i āsyā-yı¹⁶⁵⁹ senginleri hālā firāk-ı dest-i mekārım¹⁶⁶⁰ - peyvestleriyle [K43b] [P90] sergerdān-ı¹⁶⁶¹ daķıķa-i hicrān olmuşdur.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Muḥyi (Lala), f. 11a

¹⁶⁴⁹ ez: - L

¹⁶⁵⁰ Muḥyi (Lala), f. 11: cennet: nıdvān FH

¹⁶⁵¹ kübrā: kübrā-st K

¹⁶⁵² -si dahî: - B

¹⁶⁵³ sermāye: sermāye-i P

¹⁶⁵⁴ te 'ālā: - L

¹⁶⁵⁵ şalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'ayn mim ['aleyhi's-selām] K

¹⁶⁵⁶ olup: olunur L

¹⁶⁵⁷ muṭahhere-i muṭaşaradur: mutahheredür B

¹⁶⁵⁸ te'ālā: - B

¹⁶⁵⁹ āsyā: āsā K

Nazm

Bām u dereş yek-be-yek ez-hem cüdā

Bāred ez-ō rahmet-i hāşş-ı Hudā

Müşterī vü zühre vü şems ü kamer

Būde kırān-şān heme bā-yekdiger

Maṭla‘-ı neyyir-i zāt-ı Şiddik-ı Ekber ve ğābe-i şir-i Hudā ya‘nī vilādetgāh-ı ‘Aliyy-i Mürteḍā dahī ol kūçe-i kimyā-ğubāra mütekāribdür.

Nazm

Cāy-ı ‘Alī-yest¹⁶⁶² der-ān şî‘b hem

Hāne-i Şiddik [B61a] be-yek dū kadem

Ol mir’āt-ı cilā-dāde-i cemāl-i kādīm, ‘aleyhi efḍalü’t-taḥiyyet ve’t-teslim, cenābına [L50a] eşnā’-i güzerde mānende-i tūṭi-i gūyā sükker-pāş-ı¹⁶⁶³ senā olan¹⁶⁶⁴ seng-i mübāreke¹⁶⁶⁵ dahī ol kūçe divārına kevkebe-baḥş-ı envār ve busegāh-ı efvāh-ı züvvārdur¹⁶⁶⁶.

Nazm

Ser-be-ser ān kūy-ı nişib ü ferāz

Būde hırāmişgeh-i ān serv-i nāz

Ber-ser-i¹⁶⁶⁷ ān kūy çe sāl pā-nihem

Bī-edeb-est ān ki nihed dide¹⁶⁶⁸ hem

¹⁶⁶⁰ mekārim: kerem K

¹⁶⁶¹ sergerdān: ser-gerdūn K

¹⁶⁶² ‘Alī-yest: ‘alīm-est K

¹⁶⁶³ sükker: şeker B P K

¹⁶⁶⁴ tūṭi-i gūyā sükker-pāş-ı senā olan: tūṭi-i şeker-pāş olan senā olan K

¹⁶⁶⁵ mübāreke: mübārek K

¹⁶⁶⁶ busegāh-ı efvāh-ı züvvārdur: busegāh-ı züvvār olmuşdur K

¹⁶⁶⁷ ser: - K

¹⁶⁶⁸ dide: dīd P

Birisi dahî tāk-ı Şafāya hem-sāye dār-ı hayzurāndur ki cenāb-ı seyyidü'l-verā, 'aleyhi şalavātü'l-'ulyā¹⁶⁶⁹, ol hānede otuz tokuz nefer aşhābıyle verā-nişin-i perde-i hafā oldukları hālde cenāb-ı 'Ömer ibnü'l-Haṭṭāb,¹⁶⁷⁰ raḍiye'llāhü'llāhü te'ālā¹⁶⁷¹ 'anh¹⁶⁷², ol hānede reşehāt-ı şehāb-ı 'ināyet ile çirk-i şirkden¹⁶⁷³ taḥhīr-i pirāhen-i cān itmekle tekmīl-i rütbe-i erba'in itmişler.

Nazm

Hāk-i dereş sürme-i ehl-i naẓar

Geşte der-ān hāne müselmān 'Ömer¹⁶⁷⁴

Mevlid-i ḥaḍret-i 'Ömer, raḍiye'llāhü'llāhü te'ālā 'anh,¹⁶⁷⁵ dahî Birke-i Yemeni¹⁶⁷⁶ cānibinde¹⁶⁷⁷ bir tūde-i refi'a üzre merci'-i i'tibār-ı züvvārdur.

47. zıkr-i vaşf-ı kūh-ı Nūr-ı ser-bülend

Birisi dahî Mekke-i Mükerrreme'ye bir fersahdan eḳall¹⁶⁷⁸ Cebel-i Nūr'dur ki gül-i gülşen-ṭirāz-ı risālet, 'aleyhi efḍalü's-şalavāt, ḥaḍretleri henüz ğonca-i ne-şiküfte iken sineleri¹⁶⁷⁹ nesīm-i dest-i Rūḥu'l-emīn ile¹⁶⁸⁰ ol maḳāmda münşeriḥ olduğundan ğayrı zirvesinde vāḳi'¹⁶⁸¹ Ğār-ı Hırā'da mazhar-ı teşrif-i risālet olmağın kubbe-i felek-mümāssında bir kubbe-i beyḍā dide-i nuzḏāra¹⁶⁸² [B61b] nūr-baḥşādur.

Nazm

¹⁶⁶⁹ 'ulyā: a'lā P

¹⁶⁷⁰ ibnü: bin L

¹⁶⁷¹ te'ālā: - B

¹⁶⁷² raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā 'anh: - K

¹⁶⁷³ çirk-i şirkden: şirk-i çirkden K

¹⁶⁷⁴ Cf. Muḥyi (Lala), f. 60b

¹⁶⁷⁵ 'anh: - K

¹⁶⁷⁶ Yemeni: Yemen L

¹⁶⁷⁷ Yemeni cānibinde: Yemeni'de K

¹⁶⁷⁸ eḳall: evvel K

¹⁶⁷⁹ sineleri: - L

¹⁶⁸⁰ ile: - L B

¹⁶⁸¹ vāḳi': vāḳi' olan K

¹⁶⁸² nuzḏāra: nuzḏāre-i B

Zāviye-i ḥaḍret-i Mevlā-st in

Mehbiṭ-i envār-ı tecellā-st in¹⁶⁸³

Ṭal‘at-ı [P91] Cibril ki dide Rasūl

Kerde der-ān ġār bā-y-iṣān nüzūl¹⁶⁸⁴

48. zıkr-i vaṣf-ı kūh-ı Sevr-i cān-fedā

Birisi dahı yine bir fersah miḳdārı¹⁶⁸⁵ maḥalde cebel-i [K44a] Sevrdür ki zirvesine
 karib bir ġār-ı [L50b] teng ceybinde gevher-i nüh dürc-i kā'ināt, ‘aleyhi efdalü’s-
 şalavat, ḥaḍretleri yār-ı ġār Şiddik ile hengām-ı hicretde nihüfte olduklarında¹⁶⁸⁶ bā-
 fermān-ı Şāni‘-i ḥikmet-nümā¹⁶⁸⁷ ‘anākib-i rişte-bāf perde-keş-i iştibāh olup bir çift
 kebüter-i zibende-fer mihre-i bāziçe-i müş‘abizāne resminde bir niçe beyda-i nuḫāra
 firib vaḍ‘ıyle çeşm-bend-i mütecessisān-ı Kureyş olmuşlardır.

Nāzm

La‘l eger şüd be-Bedaḥşān mukim

Mu‘tekif-i ō şüde dürr-i yetim¹⁶⁸⁸

Ez-şadefeş riht der-şeb çerāğ¹⁶⁸⁹

Dād cihān-rā zi-kevākib ferāğ^{1690 1691}

¹⁶⁸³ Muḥyi (Lala), f. 15a

¹⁶⁸⁴ Muḥyi (Lala), f. 15a: ki dide: ne-dide FH; kerde: kerd FH; bā-y-iṣān: binā ki FH

¹⁶⁸⁵ miḳdār: - P

¹⁶⁸⁶ olduklarında: oldukları vākitde K

¹⁶⁸⁷ Şāni‘-i ḥikmet: Şāni‘-i Kirdgār-ı ḥikmet K

¹⁶⁸⁸ Muḥyi (Lala), f. 15a: dürr: dürrī FH

¹⁶⁸⁹ çerāğ: ferāğ K

¹⁶⁹⁰ ferāğ: çerāğ K

¹⁶⁹¹ Muḥyi (Lala), f. 15a

El-hāşıl ser-be-ser tecelli-zār-ı envār-ı Hudā ve cilvegāh-ı enbiyā vü evliyā¹⁶⁹² olan
hāk-i pāk-i Mekke-i¹⁶⁹³ Mu‘azzama’nuñ beyān-ı evşāf-ı şāyegānı birün-ı kudret-i
kalem-i fersūde-ka-dem olduğı vesile-i i‘tizār-ı ihtisārdur.

49. zıkr-i dem-i hicr ve tavāf-ı vedā‘

Āhır-i nüsha-i eyyām-ı ikāmet reside-i hadd-i nihāyet olduğına¹⁶⁹⁴ hātem-i simin-i
ğurre-i Muḥarrem hātem-zen-i imdā olmağla āşār-ı muḥaddemāt-ı firāk sineleri meṭāf-
ı ğam ve dideleri mānende-i¹⁶⁹⁵ çeşme-i Zemzem itmege başladı.

Nazm

Dil-bāz haridār-ı metā‘ diger-est

Rencide ser ez-dest-i şudā‘ diger-est [?]

İn turfe niger ki şabr der-hāne-i h^viş

Ne-nişeste henüz der-i vedā‘ diger-est¹⁶⁹⁶

Bu ribāt-ı mihmān-firib-i ‘ālemde dest-sāz-ı [B62a] mizbān-ı eyyām¹⁶⁹⁷ olan kaŋğı
mādde-i sürürdur¹⁶⁹⁸ ki ‘akıbet dest-i iştihā şüste-i āb-ı çeşm-i firkat olmaya! Ve bu
şahbā-kede-i mest-endāz-ı cihānda bahşide-i sāķi-i rüzgār olan ne gūne cām-ı lebriz-i
safādur ki āhır leb-i ārzūyı peymāne-i hamyāze-i humār itmeye!

Nazm

Dem-i vaşla hücum-ı ceşş-i hicrāndan emān olmaz

Fenā gülzārıdur bunda bahār-ı bi-hazān olmaz

¹⁶⁹² vü evliya: - K

¹⁶⁹³ Mekke: beyt K

¹⁶⁹⁴ olduğına: olduğı K

¹⁶⁹⁵ mānende-i: - B K

¹⁶⁹⁶ This couplet is placed later in B

¹⁶⁹⁷ eyyām: - K

¹⁶⁹⁸ The previous couplet is inserted here in B

Ka'be-i Mükerrreme'ye rûz-ı nuḥustîn-i vüṣûl'da cereyân iden giryeye-i sürûr bu def'a [L51a] libâs-ı ḥünâbe-i ḥüzn u firâḳ'da feverân idüp [K44b] [P92] muḳaddemâ tâziyâne-i şevḳ-i tavâf-ı kudûmle tevsen-i Berâḳ'a [Burâḳ'a]¹⁶⁹⁹ müsâbaḳat iden kâm-ı ârzû tavâf-ı vedâ'a geldükde sûtûn-ı meṭâfdan cây-gir-ter olup ğalebe-i¹⁷⁰⁰ cünbüş-i ḥatve-i 'azîmetden dâmen-keş oldu. Ammâ ne çâre! Bu ḥâlet-i cân-güdâz ile 'âkıbet kâm u nâ-kâm dâ'ire-i meṭâfa vaḳ'-ı ḳadem olundu.

Nazm

Bâ-ḥafaḳân-ı dil ve renc-i şudâ'

Mi-revem eknûn be-tavâf-ı vedâ'

Ḥûn-giri ey dide be-şad hây u hûy

Vaḳt-i cüdâ-yist ez-ân ḥâk-i kūy

Ol rûz-ı gülû-sûzda dibâce-i zer-nigâr-ı şubḥdan ḥâtime-i miskiyy-i şâma dek nâle-i dil-rîşân-ı¹⁷⁰¹ hicrân ile ḥarem-i Ka'be-i siyeh-libâs mâtem-kede-i pür-şivenden nişân virür idi.

Nazm

Firâḳ-ı Ka'be'den sen¹⁷⁰² şanma çeşm-i ḥûn-feşân ağlar

Ser-i kūy-ı haḳîḳatdûr bu tenler içre cân ağlar

Degül giryân olan ancak benî Âdem vedâ'ından

Feleklerde melek inler zemin u âsmân ağlar¹⁷⁰³

¹⁶⁹⁹ berâḳa: berḳa-i P

¹⁷⁰⁰ ğalebe-i: ḥilye-i B K

¹⁷⁰¹ dil-rîşân: dil-rîşâne-i K

¹⁷⁰² sen: - K

¹⁷⁰³ This couplet is missing in B

Her bir devre-i tavāf t̄ā'ir-i ſikeſte-bāl-ı [B62b] dile¹⁷⁰⁴ bir halka-i dām olup dāne-i hātır-rübā-yı Hacer-i Esved'den 'alaqa-i ittiſāl kābil-i infiſāl olamadı¹⁷⁰⁵. Ammā ne çāre! Mürā'āt-ı ādāb-ı mücāveret hāric-i 'uhde-i kudret olmağla devri-i¹⁷⁰⁶ ſūrī-i¹⁷⁰⁷ darūrī lüzūmına binā'en Mültezim-i ſerīf ile mu'ānaqa-i mevādi'a-i¹⁷⁰⁸ iftirāk olunduğundan¹⁷⁰⁹ ſoñra reſm-i meſnūn üzre südde-i ſeniyye-i 'arſ-i'tibār ruhsārından dañi leb-i edeble buse-çin-i haſret olduğda midād-ı eſk ve hāme-i müjgān ile ſahīfe-i südde-i ma'ādına¹⁷¹⁰ bu manzūme-i firkaſat-āmiz terķim olundu:

Nazm¹⁷¹¹

El-vedā' ey merdūm-i çeſm-i baſiret el-vedā'

El-vedā' ey ſünbül-i bāğ-ı haķikat el-vedā'

El-vedā' ey hāl-ı¹⁷¹² müſķin-i cihān-tābuñ¹⁷¹³ ſenüñ

Māye-i dāğ-ı dil-i hūrān-ı cennet el-vedā'

El-vedā' ey kaṭre-i āb-ı zülāl-ı Zemzem'üñ [L51b]

Selsebīl'e¹⁷¹⁴ mevc-baḥſā-yı hacālet el-vedā'

El-vedā' ey çirk-ſū-yı cāme-i cürm-i 'uſāt

Güſe-i bāmuñdaki Mizāb-ı Raḥmet el-vedā'

Eyle Nābī'nüñ edā-yı haccına rüz-ı cezā

Piſgāh-ı haḍret-i Haķķ'da ſehādet el-vedā'

¹⁷⁰⁴ -bāl-i dile: bāle K

¹⁷⁰⁵ olamadı: olmadı L

¹⁷⁰⁶ devri-i: devri B P

¹⁷⁰⁷ ſūrī-i: ſūrī vü B

¹⁷⁰⁸ mevādi'a-i: mu'āda'a-i L; mu'āda'a ol B

¹⁷⁰⁹ olunduğundan: olunduğdan B; olduğdan P; iftirāk olunduğundan L; iftirākdan K

¹⁷¹⁰ ma'adına: sa'ādete B K

¹⁷¹¹ This poem is also included in *Nābī Divānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 738) and Persian *Divānçe* (p. 35).

¹⁷¹² hāl: hāk DF

¹⁷¹³ cihān-tabuñ: siyeh-fāmuñ K

¹⁷¹⁴ Selsebile: Selsebil DF

Âhîr dâmen dâmen hûn-âbe-i seng-güdâz-ı [K45a] hicrân dökerek [P93] cihân cihân
âh-ı gerdûn-sûz-ı hasret çekerek kadem kadem ric'at-i kahkarâ ile Bâb-ı Vedâ''a 'azm
olundu.

Nazm

Ez-ser-i kûy-ı tû men bâ-çeşm-i giryân mi-revem

Bâ-giribân pür ez-gül¹⁷¹⁵ ez-gülistân¹⁷¹⁶ mi-revem

Birûn-ı 'atebe-i Bâb-ı Vedâ''da cemâl-i cihân-ârâ-yı beyt-i Hudâ dide-i nigerândan
nihân olduğu sâ'at hâne-i derûna nüzûl iden kârvân-ı hayret ü [B63a] melâlûn¹⁷¹⁷ tahrîr
keyfiyyeti güncide-i tâb-hâne-i¹⁷¹⁸ ta'bir olmadığı ancak¹⁷¹⁹ bâr-keşân-ı hicrâna
nümâyândur.

Nazm

Hurûş-ı eşki ne bilsün kenâre-gîr-i vişâl

Düşen bilür yemm-i tākāt-güdâz-ı hicrâna

Ğalebe-i hasret ü¹⁷²⁰ firāk ile rā'id-i hayret dū dideden cereyân iden licâm-ı sürh-fâm-
ı sirişki ser-pençe-i taşarrufdan çıkarup tevsen-i zūd-remide-i cān nüh cānibe¹⁷²¹ devân
eyledügin¹⁷²² istiş'âr idemedi.

Nazm

'Inān¹⁷²³ çeşm-i giryân aldı dest-i ihtiyārumdan

Şavulsun baña seng-i rāh olanlar reh-güzārumdan

¹⁷¹⁵ ez: - L

¹⁷¹⁶ ez: - B

¹⁷¹⁷ melâlûn: melā'ik B

¹⁷¹⁸ tâb-hâne-i: teb-hâne-i P

¹⁷¹⁹ ancak: - L

¹⁷²⁰ ü: - L P

¹⁷²¹ nüh cānibe: cānibine K

¹⁷²² eyledügin: idigin B; idügin L

¹⁷²³ 'inān: 'inānda P

Firāk-ı Leyli-i¹⁷²⁴ siyeh-hāne¹⁷²⁵ ile Mecnūn-ı melāmet-zede-vār dāmen-i şahrāyı
tutup miyāne-i emvāc-ı hayretde ğarkā-i fenā olmağa¹⁷²⁶ bir iki nefes ancak kalmış
idi. Nāgāh

Nazm

Me-şev melūl ki Fettāh-ı bāb-ı müşkilhā

Eger deri ki¹⁷²⁷ be-bended hezār der¹⁷²⁸ be-küşāyed

zemzemesiyle bir taraftan Hıdr-ı feryād-res-i 'ināyet kemend-endāz-ı ta'bir-i
istimālat olup 'Ey fütāde-i girdāb-ı ıdṭırāb¹⁷²⁹ hiç tahta-pāre-i cism-i nizāruñ bu
mertebe¹⁷³⁰ tūfān-zede-i inkılāb itme ki¹⁷³¹ eger baḥr-ı rahmet-hiz-i harem-i
muḥteremden sāhil-i hicrāna düşdük ise 'an-karīb vāsıṭatü'l-'ıkd-ı nizām-i¹⁷³²
mevcūdāt olan bir dürr-i gerān-bahā-yı şadef-i kevneynüñ rüy-māl-ı hāk-i dergāhına
[L52a] fā'iz olursuñ ki henüz heft hokḳa-i¹⁷³³ muraşşa'-i eflāk muḥit-i cevāhir-i āb
u¹⁷³⁴ hāk olmadın¹⁷³⁵ anuñ zāt-ı güheri kenz-i hafāda manzūr-ı¹⁷³⁶ Kādir-i Perverdigār
idi.

Nazm

Gevher-i taḥkik be-'ālem ne-būd [B63b]

K'o der-¹⁷³⁷ gencine-i ma'nā¹⁷³⁸ keşūd¹⁷³⁹

¹⁷²⁴ Leyli-i: Leyli B

¹⁷²⁵ hāne: cāme K

¹⁷²⁶ olmağa: olmağla K

¹⁷²⁷ eger deri ki: be-yek deri ki L

¹⁷²⁸ der: - L P

¹⁷²⁹ girdāb-ı ıdṭırāb: girdāb hiç ve ıdṭırāb K

¹⁷³⁰ mertebe: mertebede K

¹⁷³¹ itme ki: itmekle K

¹⁷³² nizām: - K

¹⁷³³ hokḳa-i: kubbe-i K

¹⁷³⁴ āb u: - K

¹⁷³⁵ olmadın: olmadın yine K

¹⁷³⁶ manzūr: manzūr-ı nazar K

¹⁷³⁷ k'o der-: gevher K

¹⁷³⁸ ma'nā: 'ālem L

¹⁷³⁹ Muḥyī (Lala), f. 15a

Ve eger gülistân-ı âstân-ı İlâhî gül-geştinden¹⁷⁴⁰ cüdâ olduñ ise bir verd-i [P94]
muṭarrâ-yı çemenzâr-ı kudsüñ ravḍa-i [K45b] bihişt-ârâsında¹⁷⁴¹ bûlbûl gibi nâlân
olacaḡsın ki henûz ḥıyâbân-ı sünbüle-dâr-ı çerḥ-i berîn keşide-i dâ'ire-i¹⁷⁴² bâğçe-i
zemîn olmadın anuñ vücûd-ı 'âlem-ârâsı ser-şîşe-i ḥalvet-ḥâne-i envâr¹⁷⁴³ idi.

Nazm

Âb der-cevv dâşt der-faşlı¹⁷⁴⁴ ki 'âlem bûd âb

Dest der-kil dâşt ân rûzi ki 'âlem bûd tîn

Bu¹⁷⁴⁵ nüvîd-i meserret ruḥsâr-ı câna gülâb-pâş-ı tesliyet olmağla micmere-i dilde¹⁷⁴⁶
bir miḡdâr¹⁷⁴⁷ 'anber-i şu'ur ġaleyâna¹⁷⁴⁸ başladı. El-ḡaḡḡ eger hevâ-yı şevḡ-i
Medîne-i Münevver'e ol sâ'atde tahṛîk-i cârûb-ı 'inâyet itmeyeydi cevher-i nâ-yâb-ı
rûḡ zir-i tûde-i ġubâr-ı ġamda¹⁷⁴⁹ ġüm olmak muḡarrer idi.

Nazm

Dil olurdı pây-mâl-ı leşker-i cân-sûz-ı hier

Ceyş-i cân-baḡş-ı nüvîd-i vaşl imdâd itmese

Ve eger reşehât-ı şehâb-ı ârzû-yı Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere ol maḡalde ifâda-i ḡatarât-ı
'inâyet itmeyeydi ḥırmân-ı hierân-zede-i hestî tu'me-i berḡ-i fenâ olmamak nâ-
mûtaşavver idi.

Nazm

¹⁷⁴⁰ gül-geştinden: gülşeninden L

¹⁷⁴¹ ârâsında: ârâsından K

¹⁷⁴² da'ire-i: - L

¹⁷⁴³ ḥalvet-ḥâne-i envâr: envâr-ı ḥalvet-ḥâne K

¹⁷⁴⁴ der-: ân B K

¹⁷⁴⁵ bu: - K

¹⁷⁴⁶ dilde: dilden K B

¹⁷⁴⁷ miḡdâr: miḡdân P

¹⁷⁴⁸ ġaleyâna: ġaleyân itmege K

¹⁷⁴⁹ ġamda: ġam içre K

Eger şu sepmeseydi¹⁷⁵⁰ dem-be-dem¹⁷⁵¹ endişe-i vuşlat

Ne cān kordı ne ten yandurmaduk sūz-ı ğam-ı ḥasret

Hele Fermān-revā-yı kalem-rev-i hidāyet şem'-i nīm-mürde-i¹⁷⁵² cāna bu vechle
pervāne-baḥş-ı tesliyet olmağla ba'd ez-in kāse-i dilden rihte olan ḥün-ābe-i endūha
bedel bāde-i neş'e-zāy-ı şevk-i¹⁷⁵³ cedid pür¹⁷⁵⁴ olup

Beyt

Vādi-i [B64a] Yeşrib kücā-st āh zi-ḥırmān-ı ō

Dāmen-i dil mi-keşed ḥār-ı muğaylān-ı ō

zemzemesiyle cezbe-i kemend-i muḥabbete teslim-i gerdan-i¹⁷⁵⁵ irādet olunup ḥāk-i
revān-baḥş-ı tayyibe-i mübārekeye taḥrīk-i kādime-i iştıyāk kılındı¹⁷⁵⁶.

Beyt [L52b]

Hevā-yı 'aşka uyup kūy-ı yāre dek giderüz

Nesim-i şubḥa refikuz bahāra dek giderüz¹⁷⁵⁷

Metā'-ı gerān-ḳadr-ı menāzil-i beyne'l-ḥaremeynde bār-ı tamğā-zede-i mihr-i münir
oldukda bir şubḥ-dem

Nazm

Bād-ı şabā dāmen-i gül ber-feşāned

Nükhet-i Yeşrib be-meşāmem resāned¹⁷⁵⁸

¹⁷⁵⁰ sepmeseydi: sepmeyeydi P

¹⁷⁵¹ dem-be-dem: dem dem P

¹⁷⁵² mürde-i: mürde B; mürd P

¹⁷⁵³ neşe-zāy-i şevk: neş'e-i şevk K

¹⁷⁵⁴ pür: - L

¹⁷⁵⁵ gerdan: gerdān K

¹⁷⁵⁶ kılındı: olundı K

¹⁷⁵⁷ This couplet is by Naili (d. 1077/1666); see Necmettin Halil Onan, *İzahlı divan şiiri anatolojisi* (Istanbul 1946), p. 286

¹⁷⁵⁸ Cf. Muḥyi (Millet), f. 38a

Nükhet-i gül ber-serem ez-bād riht

Hāne-i hestīm zi-bünyād riht

50. Nümāyān gešten-i¹⁷⁵⁹ şehir-i¹⁷⁶⁰ Medīne

Medīne-i Münevvere'ye nısf sā'at miqdārı¹⁷⁶¹ maḥalde Cebel-i Müferrah¹⁷⁶² nām
 [P95] bir püšte-i [K46a] āsmān-ḳadr üzre irtikā olunduḳda¹⁷⁶³ mir'āt-ı 'ālem-tāb-ı¹⁷⁶⁴
 ḥiṣār-ı Medīne def'aten şüret-nümā-yı cılve-i zuhūr olup ol gülşen-i muḳaddes
 miyānesinde günbed-i ḥadrā-yı nebevī ihāta-i āḡuş-ı çār menārda¹⁷⁶⁵ nūr-bahşā-yı
 çeşm-i iştıyāk olduḳda¹⁷⁶⁶, el-'āzametü'llāhi te'ālā¹⁷⁶⁷, yekpāre ḳāfile-i āh u feryād
 mihmān-serāy-ı gerdūnı pür-metā'-ı eşk-i lāle-gün eyledi. Reng-i¹⁷⁶⁸ rûlar tã'ir-i
 bâşıradan evvel pervāz ve¹⁷⁶⁹ rûh-ı revānlar peyk-i ḥayālden muḳaddem¹⁷⁷⁰ şitāba
 āḡāz idüp ḳafes-i bî-can-ı ebdān laṭme-i eşkle¹⁷⁷¹ revān olmağa başladı.

Nazm

Tā-bā-ḡam-ı 'aşk-ı tū hem-āḡuş şüdim

Biḡāne zi-'aḳl u ḥired u hūş şüdim

Der-vādī-i 'aşk ān çünān güm-geştım [B64b]

K'ez-ḥātır-ı ḥ'ışten ferāmūş şüdim

¹⁷⁵⁹ gešten: şud K; nişesten L

¹⁷⁶⁰ şehir: be-şehir L

¹⁷⁶¹ miqdār: miḳdār P

¹⁷⁶² Müferrah: Ferah B

¹⁷⁶³ olunduḳda: olunup K

¹⁷⁶⁴ 'ālem-tāb: 'ālem-tābı K

¹⁷⁶⁵ menārda: mināre-i B

¹⁷⁶⁶ olduḳda: olunca K

¹⁷⁶⁷ te'ālā: - P B L

¹⁷⁶⁸ reng: reng ü B

¹⁷⁶⁹ ve: - K

¹⁷⁷⁰ muḳaddem: muḳaddem yine K

¹⁷⁷¹ eşkle: eşkiyle B P

Ne künbed-i hadrā cetr-i zer-felke-i¹⁷⁷² pîrûze-fâm-ı ‘arş-penâh ki sâye-i sa‘âdet-
mâyesi âsâyişgâh-ı sultân-ı serâ-perde-i zemîn ü zamân ve pîrâmen-i kûngüre-i¹⁷⁷³ la-
mekân-güzârı pervâzgâh-ı kudsiyân-ı heft âsmândur. Havâli-i kûbbe-i felek-fersâsında
tele’lû’-i emvâc-ı envâr şevket-şiken-i¹⁷⁷⁴ âftâb ve televvün-i ecniha-i melâ’ike-i
züvvâr tefrika-bahş-ı şehâb idügi bî-irtiyâbdur.

Beyt

Günbed-i hadrā-st¹⁷⁷⁵ çe mi-pürsi-ş

‘Arş bedân pâye şüde kürsiş¹⁷⁷⁶

Nûr-ı tecelli-st k’ez-ô tâ semâ-st

Nûr kücâ âteş-i Mûsâ kücâ-st¹⁷⁷⁷ [L53a]

Ber-ser-i her kûngüreeş tâ-felek¹⁷⁷⁸

Cây-girifte-est melek-ber-melek

Ol ser-çeşme-i envâr-ı¹⁷⁷⁹ dū cihân mu‘âyenesi ile yekpâre kâfile-i müştākân¹⁷⁸⁰,
huffâş-ı âftâb-dide gibi, zemîne dökülüp ol bahâristân-ı vişâlde ğubâr-ı seylâb-zede-
vâr kef-zenân ü na‘re-keşân memerr-i derice-i Medîne’ye¹⁷⁸¹ vürüd eylediler.

Nâzm

Be-müjgân refte-em¹⁷⁸² hâk-i dereş ammâ peşimân-em

Me-bādâ der-reheş üftâde bâşed hâr-ı müjgânem

¹⁷⁷² felke-i: felke L B

¹⁷⁷³ kûngüre-i: k-n-g-r L B K

¹⁷⁷⁴ -şiken: -şikest K

¹⁷⁷⁵ hadrā-st: hadrā B

¹⁷⁷⁶ Cf. Muḥyi (Millet), f. 39a

¹⁷⁷⁷ Cf. Muḥyi (Millet), f. 39a: nûr: Tûr FH;

¹⁷⁷⁸ felek: felek Nâzm L

¹⁷⁷⁹ envâr: envâra B

¹⁷⁸⁰ müştākân: müştākân-zede B

¹⁷⁸¹ Medîne’ye: Medîne-yi Münnevver’e K

¹⁷⁸² Be-müjgân refte-em: be-müjg-reften K

Kimi zebânın mâhi-i¹⁷⁸³ cûybâr-ı şalavât ve kimi tûti-i¹⁷⁸⁴ nâtıkasın ğarka-i şekeristân-ı taḥiyyât itmegin naḥl-bend-i ḥadıka-i eşer ya'nî Nâbi-i kem-ter dahî bu sünbül-i nev-demide-i zemîn-i ihlâş¹⁷⁸⁵ dest-âvîz-i ser-i kûy-ı ḥadret-i¹⁷⁸⁶ Hayru'l-beşer eylemişdür.

Nazm¹⁷⁸⁷

Eyâ ḥabîb-i Hudâ [K46b] yâ¹⁷⁸⁸ Muḥammed-i 'Arabî

Şefî'-i rûz-ı cezâ yâ¹⁷⁸⁹ Muḥammed-i 'Arabî

Hevâ-yı gerdiş-i mihrüñle¹⁷⁹⁰ [P96] çerhe girmişdür

Sürâdikât-ı semâ yâ Muḥammed-i 'Arabî

O şeh-süvâr-ı [B65a] hünersin ki cilvegâhuñdur

Fezâ-yı nûr u diyâ yâ Muḥammed-i 'Arabî

Sen ol ṭabîb-i şifâ-baḥşsın ki her nefesüñ

Virür 'uşâta şifâ yâ Muḥammed-i 'Arabî

Hakîm-i şun' komış ḥokḳa-i dehânuñda

Marîd-i cürme devâ yâ Muḥammed-i 'Arabî

Şefâ'atüñle olur zîb-i kâmet-i rahmet

Pelâs-ı cürm ü ḥaṭâ yâ Muḥammed-i 'Arabî

Esîr-i la'l-i şefâ'at-nişâruñ olmışdır

¹⁷⁸³ mâhi-i: mâhi B

¹⁷⁸⁴ zebânın mâhi-i cûybâr-ı şalavât ve kimi tûti-i: - K

¹⁷⁸⁵ ihlâş: ihlâş L

¹⁷⁸⁶ ḥadret: - P L B

¹⁷⁸⁷ Nazm: Li-münşih K This poem is the first twelve couplets and the last couplet of a *kaşide* of thirty four couplets called 'Feryâd-ı 'andelîb-i ḥāme-i rengîn-nağam der-gülşeristân-ı senâ-yı Ḥabîb-i Ekrem şalla'llāhü 'aleyhi ve sellem' in *Nâbi Dvânı* (ed. Bilkan, pp. 27-30).

¹⁷⁸⁸ yâ: eyâ P

¹⁷⁸⁹ yâ: eyâ P

¹⁷⁹⁰ mihrüñle is written in the margin of K instead of *lutfüñla*.

Kemāl-i ḥüsn-i edā¹⁷⁹¹ yā Muḥammed-i ‘Arabī
 Tefāhur itmededür¹⁷⁹² ḥıdmet-i rikābuñ ile¹⁷⁹³
 Emīn-i vahy-i Ḥudā yā Muḥammed-i ‘Arabī
 Kilid-i kufl-küşā-yı ḥazā’in-i rahmet
 Elüñde cılve-nümā yā Muḥammed-i ‘Arabī
 Kılındı rüz-ı ezel cılve-i cemālüne ḥaşş
 Kalem-rev-i dū serā yā Muḥammed-i ‘Arabī
 Küşāde-yāfte-i¹⁷⁹⁴ tiğ-i berķ-i ḥüsnüñdür
 Der-i sevād-ı¹⁷⁹⁵ recā¹⁷⁹⁶ yā Muḥammed-i ‘Arabī¹⁷⁹⁷
 Libās-ı sāyede¹⁷⁹⁸ olduñ berehne-cism itdün
 O deñlü terk-i hevā¹⁷⁹⁹ yā Muḥammed-i ‘Arabī
 Çemenistān-ı bihişte seḥāb-ı feyḍüñdür
 Medār-ı neşv ü nemā yā Muḥammed-i ‘Arabī¹⁸⁰⁰
 Siyāh-rüy vü güneḥ-kār Nābī-i bed-kār
 İder ümid-i ‘aṭā yā Muḥammed-i ‘Arabī [L53b]

¹⁷⁹¹ ḥüsn-i edā: ḥüsn ü edā B

¹⁷⁹² itmededür: itmedür L

¹⁷⁹³ rikābuñ ile: rikābuñla L

¹⁷⁹⁴ küşāde: küşād K D.

¹⁷⁹⁵ sevād: serā D.

¹⁷⁹⁶ recā: dücā D.

¹⁷⁹⁷ This couplet is missing in L B.

¹⁷⁹⁸ sāye-de: sāyeden D

¹⁷⁹⁹ hevā: sivā D.

¹⁸⁰⁰ In K this line is written in margin.

51. Residen zi-şahrā be-babü's-selām

Muḥaṣṣal[an] mānende-i sāye-i bī-cān rūy-māl-i cādde-i āmāl iderek ğubār-ı rāh ile
dide-i¹⁸⁰¹ bāb-ı Medine-i Münevvere'den¹⁸⁰² güzer olunduğda

Nazm

Key būd südde-i ān ravḍa be-şevīm¹⁸⁰³ bā-şekk

'Idḥalūhā' şinevīm ez-ḥarem-i vālāyeş¹⁸⁰⁴

zemzemesiyle her kademde şufūf-ı rūḥāniyān istikbāliyle¹⁸⁰⁵ iktisāb-ı şafā-yı derūn
iderek 'atebe-i 'arş-pirā-yı Bābü's-selām cān-ı iştīyāk-zedeye cāy-ı ārām olduğda
nigehbānān-ı mevākıf-ı melekūt ve perde-dārān-ı sürādikāt-ı ceberūt bu zemzeme ile
kar'-ı sāmī'a-i¹⁸⁰⁶ [B65b] intibāh eylediler ki

Nazm¹⁸⁰⁷

Şakın terk-i edebden kūy-ı maḥbūb-ı Hudā'dur bu

Nazargāh-ı İlāhī'dür maḳām-ı Muştafā'dur bu

Ḥabīb-i Kibriyānuñ ḥ^vābgāhıdur faḍiletde

Tefevvuk-kerde-i 'arş-ı cenāb-ı Kibriyā'dur bu

Bu ḥākūñ pertevinden oldı deycūr-ı 'adem zā'il

'Amādan açdı mevcūdāt çeşmin¹⁸⁰⁸ tūtiyādur bu

Felekde¹⁸⁰⁹ mäh-ı nev Bābü's-selāmuñ sine-çākidür

¹⁸⁰¹ dide-i: - L P

¹⁸⁰² Münevvere'den: Münevvere'ye K

¹⁸⁰³ be-şevīm: be-şev hem L

¹⁸⁰⁴ vālā-yeş: bālā-yeş K

¹⁸⁰⁵ istikbāliyle: istikbāl ile L

¹⁸⁰⁶ sāmī'a-i: sāmī' or mesāmī' K

¹⁸⁰⁷ This *gazel* is also found into *Nābī Dīvānu* (ed. Bilkan, p. 952), and his Persian *Dīvānçe* (p. 35).

¹⁸⁰⁸ çeşmin: çeşmi D

¹⁸⁰⁹ felekde: felek D

Bunuñ [K47a] kandilidür hūr¹⁸¹⁰ maṭla‘-ı nūr-ı¹⁸¹¹ diyādur bu¹⁸¹²

Mürā‘āt-ı edeb şartıyla gir Nābī bu dergāha [P97]

Meṭāf-ı kudsiyāndur busegāh-ı enbiyādur bu

Ey bādiye-peymāyān-ı iştiyāk, bu ol devlet-serāy-ı cihān-ārā-yı ḥaḳīkatdur ki ferş-i berrāk-ı ‘ināyet-endūzı ser-be-ser dide-i ḥayrān-ı kerrūbiyān ve kandil-i ṭāq-ı āsmān-efrūzı sine-sūzān-ı¹⁸¹³ kudsiyāndur.

Nazm

Ber-sebīl ṭavaf mī-kerdend gird-i merḳadeş

Piş Cibril ve melā’ik der-ḳafā-yı Cebra’il

Ey pūyende-kān-ı rāh-ı¹⁸¹⁴ merām, bu ol ḥarem-i Ka‘be-tev’emdür ki sāḥa-i sa‘ādet-baḥşāsında¹⁸¹⁵ mekin olan Sulṭānu’l-mürselin, şalle’llāhü te‘ālā¹⁸¹⁶ ‘aleyhi ve sellem, ḥadretlerinüñ eşer-i ḳadem-i lā-mekān-pirāları¹⁸¹⁷ vesīle-i mübāḥāt-ı cebin-i ‘arş-ı berindür.

Ey ārzū-mendān-ı peygūle-i hicrān, bu ol āstāne-i şefā‘at-‘ünvāndur¹⁸¹⁸ ki ruft ü rüb-ı ğubār-ı şaḥn-ı bihişt-āşūbı māye-i¹⁸¹⁹ iftiḥār-ı bāl-ı Rūḥu’l-emin’dür.

Nazm

Ṭa‘ne be-iksir¹⁸²⁰ zened ḥāk-i ō

Der-ḥacel-est ez-ḥas u ḥāşāk-i ō¹⁸²¹ [L54]

¹⁸¹⁰ hūr: cevzā DF

¹⁸¹¹ nūr: nūr u D

¹⁸¹² This couplet comes second in DF

¹⁸¹³ sine-sūzān: sine-i sūzān K

¹⁸¹⁴ rāh: - K

¹⁸¹⁵ sa‘ādet: illegible in L

¹⁸¹⁶ te‘ālā: - K L

¹⁸¹⁷ -pirāları: -peymāları L

¹⁸¹⁸ şefā‘at: sa‘ādet P

¹⁸¹⁹ māye-i: mā-bihi’l K

¹⁸²⁰ be: ber K FH

¹⁸²¹ Cf. Muḥyī (Lala), f. 59b: der: gül FH

Rîg-i zemineş çû nücûm-ı semâ

Geşte besî güm-şüde-râ reh-nümâ¹⁸²²

Ey binārân-ı pister-i hasret, [B66a] bu ol dārü's-şifâ-yı 'illet-i ma'siyetdür ki ğubâr-ı şahın-ı mu'allāsından terkib olunan ma'cûn-ı müferrih-i vişâl-i¹⁸²³ cevâhir takvîyet-bahş-ı dil-hastegân-ı 'işyân olmasa teb ü tâb-ı hummâ-yı hamimden ifâkat nâ-müyesser idi.

Nazm

Ân ki dāmân-ı şefâ'at be-miyân ber-ne-zened

Gerd-i endüh nişined be-cemâl-i kevser

Ey âbile-pâyân-ı hâristân-ı fîrâk, bu ol Ravḍa-i Muṭahheredür ki zemîn-i dil-nişininde nişân-dih olan nihâl-i bâlâ-keş-i risâlet, şalle'llâhü te'âlâ¹⁸²⁴ 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥadretlerini¹⁸²⁵ bahâr-ı vücûddan ḥazân-ı¹⁸²⁶ 'ademe dek mezra'a-i âferînişden ser-zede olan 'uşât-ı ümem¹⁸²⁷ üzre ḥırmengâh-ı restâ-hizde sāye-endâz-ı şefâ'at olmak için bâġbân-ı ezel hâşşaten terbiye¹⁸²⁸ eylemişdür.

Nazm

Gül nigâr ez-cilveeş ferş-i ruh-ı huld-ı na'im¹⁸²⁹

'İtr-riz ez-ravḍaeş cārüb-ı zülf-i hür-ı 'in

Ey çeşm-küşâyân-ı [K47b] şahîfe-i merâm, bu ol hücre-i mükerrermedür¹⁸³⁰ ki şadr-ı vâlâ-terin-müttekâ iden ḥ'âce-i kâ'inât 'aleyhi efdalü't-taḥiyye¹⁸³¹ ve's-şalavātuñ nâm-

¹⁸²² Cf. Muḥyî (Lala), f. 59b: semâ: semâ-st FH; reh-nümâ: reh-nümâ-st FH

¹⁸²³ vişâl-i: - P L B

¹⁸²⁴ te'âlâ: - L

¹⁸²⁵ ḥadretlerini: ḥadretlerin B P

¹⁸²⁶ ḥazân: ḥızâne-i L

¹⁸²⁷ ümem: ümmet L

¹⁸²⁸ terbiye: tertib B

¹⁸²⁹ na'im: berin L

¹⁸³⁰ mükerreme: muḥteremedür B P

¹⁸³¹ t-taḥiyye: - P L B

ı nāmileri dibāce-tırāz-ı¹⁸³² [P98] cerīde-i āferiniş olmasa eczā-yı ecrām-ı ‘ulviyye vü
süfliyye şirāze-pezir-i intizām olmaz idi.

Nazm

Ṭūr-ı şad-ı Mūsā ber-engized zi-hāk-ı āstān

Şem‘-i şad-ı ‘İsā ber-efrūzed¹⁸³³ be-bād-ı¹⁸³⁴ āstīn

Ey harīdārān-ı bāzār-ı ümīd, bu ol meḍce‘-i muḳaddes-i ‘arş-ı zībdür ki āğūş-ı
şandūka-i müşk-sāsında defīn¹⁸³⁵ olan¹⁸³⁶ cevher-i¹⁸³⁷ yektā-yı kevneyn-bahā¹⁸³⁸ dürc-i
[B66b] hafādan dırāhşān olmasa gencine-i melek ü melekūt zir-i ḳufl-ı ‘ademde cılve-i
vücūddan mahrūm ḳalurdı.

Nazm

Zi-āstīn ne-resīdi¹⁸³⁹ be-ceyb-i dest-i vücūd

Eger ne gevher-i ō dāştī hevā-yı zuhūr

Ey çāk-zedegān-ı girībān-ı ḥasret, bu ol merḳad-i münevverdür ki şefir-i ḥafırinde
[L54b] āsūde olan metā‘-ı kārghāh-ı levlāk zīnet-i çārsū-yı imkān olmasa bāzār-ı kevn ü
mekān āyīn-bend-i ārāyiş-i zuhūr olamaz idi.

Nazm

Ān ki bī-ḥablü’l-metīn-i mihr-i zāt-ı pāk-i ō

Hil‘at-ı hilḳat ne-dīdi¹⁸⁴⁰ tā-ḳıyāmet tār u pūd¹⁸⁴¹

¹⁸³² dibāce: dibāce-i P B

¹⁸³³ ber-: be- P

¹⁸³⁴ be-bād: zi-bād K

¹⁸³⁵ defīn: āsūde B; - K

¹⁸³⁶ olan: - K

¹⁸³⁷ cevher: gevher B K

¹⁸³⁸ bahā: - K

¹⁸³⁹ ne-resīdi: be-resīdi L

¹⁸⁴⁰ ne-dīdi: be-dīdi L

¹⁸⁴¹ pūd: būd B

Ey ümid-dārân-ı şefâ'at, bu ol sultân-ı serâ-perde-i risâletdür ki dâhil-i şümâr-ı ceride-i ümmeti olmak mersûm-ı sâḥa'if-i âmâl-i enbiyâdır.

Nazm

Şân-ı dîneş heme bâzâr-ı milel kerde kesâd

Enbiyâ cân be-kef ender heves-i sevdâyeş

Ey dâne-pâşân-ı eşk-i firāk, bu kafeş-ārâ-yı¹⁸⁴² şübbāk olan ol¹⁸⁴³ tūṭi-i şirin-edâ-yı 've mā-yenṭıku 'anî'l-hevâ'¹⁸⁴⁴ dur ki henüz zebân-ı imkân dehân-ı 'ademden nümâyân olmadın nâtıka-i revân-baḥşâ-yı 'innâ efsāḥa' ile ḥalvet-serây-ı ḥaşşu'l-ḥaşş-ı¹⁸⁴⁵ 'lī-ma'a'llāh'de şeker-pâş-ı zemzeme-i güft-gū idi.

Ey dil-bestegân-ı müşâhede-i murād, bu ol tâbende-cemâl-i pirâye-i 'innâ emleḥa'dur ki ḥüsn-i melekût-ārâ-yı ezel-pesendi cilvegâh-ı kurbü'l-kurb-ı vaḥdetde manzûr-ı Kirdgâr iken henüz mäh-ı Mışr-âşûb-ı Ken'ânî nihüfte-i [B67a] bun-ı çâh-ı 'amâ idi.

Ey bâdiye-peymâyân-ı ârzû, bu ol tenhâ-süvâr-ı feḍâ'-ı¹⁸⁴⁶ mele'-i a'lâdur ki ârzû-yı kadem-i cihân-küşâsıyle nüh¹⁸⁴⁷ [K48a] rahş-ı muraşşa'-püş-ı eflāk merbûṭ-ı tavile-i intizâr olmuşlardır.

Ey sine-rişân-ı [P99] muḥabbet, bu ol şāhbāz-ı bâzû-yı 'ināyetdür ki āşyâne-i kudsden şikārgāh-ı imkāna nüzülleri içün şayyād-ı kader niçe müddet idāre-i peftere-i [beftere-i] mihr ü mäh eylemişdür.

Nazm

Dide sidrü'l-müntehâ-yı ma'rifet-râ berg ü ber

¹⁸⁴² -ārâ-yı: -ārâ-yı verâ-yı K

¹⁸⁴³ ol: - L K

¹⁸⁴⁴ The Qur'ân, 53/3

¹⁸⁴⁵ ḥaşşu'l-ḥaşş: - L

¹⁸⁴⁶ feḍâ'-ı: feḍâ-yı P; - B

¹⁸⁴⁷ nüh: - K

Vādî-i taḥkîk-râ tayy tâ-be-aḳşâ sâhte

Ey sine-şāfān-ı bezmgāh-ı ḥulūş, bu ol ser-defter-i enbiyā-yı kirāmdur ki ārzū-yı ism-i mükerrerleriyle¹⁸⁴⁸ şāḥa'if-i dū reng-i eyyām u leyāl niçe müddet cilā-dāde-i mihre-i mihr ü māh [L55a] olmuşdur.

Ey cān-sipārān-ı rāh-ı vefā, bu ol ḥabib-i nāzende-i Hālîk-ı yektādur ki diyāfet-ḥāne-i heşt¹⁸⁴⁹ derece-i na'im sālîkān-ı cādde-i muvāfaḳati içün müzeyyen ve 'azābgāh-ı heft dereke-i caḥîm¹⁸⁵⁰ ser-keşān-ı beyābān-ı muḥālefeti içün mu'ayyen olmuşdur.

Nazm

Cāy-ı ser-est¹⁸⁵¹ ān¹⁸⁵² ki tū pā mî-nihî

Pāy ne-dānî ki kücā mî-nihî¹⁸⁵³

Her ki der-in gūne zi-ser pā-küned

Bî-ḥired-est¹⁸⁵⁴ er¹⁸⁵⁵ be-felek cā-küned

Lik der-incā edeb āmed be-kār

Bî-edebān-rā ne-būd i'tibār¹⁸⁵⁶

diyü servşān-ı ğayb¹⁸⁵⁷ tavşîyye-i ṭarîḳa-i ādābda te'kid itdükde istî'āb-ı şevket-i āstān-ı risālet terkîb-i cism-i nāçizden izāle-i neş'e-i ḥayāt idecek mertebelere ḳarîb olmağın¹⁸⁵⁸

Nazm

¹⁸⁴⁸ mükerrerleriyle: mübārekleri ile K

¹⁸⁴⁹ heşt: heft K

¹⁸⁵⁰ caḥîm: caḥîm yine K

¹⁸⁵¹ ser-est: sirişt P

¹⁸⁵² ān: in B

¹⁸⁵³ Cf. Muḥyî (Millet), f. 40a: ān: in FH;

¹⁸⁵⁴ -est: - B

¹⁸⁵⁵ er: ez L B

¹⁸⁵⁶ Cf. Muḥyî (Millet), f. 40a:

¹⁸⁵⁷ ğayb: 'ālem-i ğaybdan K

¹⁸⁵⁸ olmağın: olduğda K

Pençe-i hayret zi-giribân girift [B67b]

‘Aql serāsime şüd ender şikift¹⁸⁵⁹

Geştem ez-ân vālih u hayrān u mest

Şabr be-reft ez-dil ve dil şüd zi-dest

bu hālet-i şu‘ūr-güdāz ile mürde-i¹⁸⁶⁰ şad sāle simāsında Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere’ye vaḍ‘-ı
kadem-i ḍarā‘at ve mihrāb-ı mağfiret-me’āb-ı nebevīde nāşiye-sā-yı secde-i taḥiyyet
kılınmak müyesser oldu.

Nazm

Ravḍa ki āmed zi-riyād-ı bihişt

Hışt-be-hışteş heme ‘anber-sirişt¹⁸⁶¹

Her ki der-ān¹⁸⁶² ravḷa zamānī nişest

Tā-ebedü’ d-dehr zi-endūh rest

Edā-yı taḥiyyetü’l-mescid ‘akābinde¹⁸⁶³ reh-nümūnī-i delil-i ‘ināyet ile müvācehe-i
şerife-i seyyidü’l-enāmda edā-yı lāzıme-i şalāt ü selāma kıyām olundu¹⁸⁶⁴. [K48b]

Ammā

Nazm

Tāb-ı likā ne-dāred bimār-ı ğam-keşide

Der-āftāb üfted divār-ı nem-keşide

¹⁸⁵⁹ şiki ft: giri ft L

¹⁸⁶⁰ mürde-i: - K

¹⁸⁶¹ Cf. Muḥyi (Lala), f. 26b

¹⁸⁶² ān: in K

¹⁸⁶³ ‘akābinde: ‘akābinde L

¹⁸⁶⁴ kıyām olundu: kıyāma şürü’ olundu K

vefkince rişte-i enfās [P100] rehīn-i ‘uḳde-i ıdṭırāb¹⁸⁶⁵ ve leb-i niyāz ma‘den-i ra‘şe-i
şerm-i hiṭāb olmuş iken yine dest-i edeb ḳufl-ı şandūḳa-i sine ve tār-ı enṣār merbūṭ-ı
püşt-i pāy-ı sekine ḳılınup zebān-ı müştāḳ [L55b] ruḥsat-yafte-i cünbüş-i selām ḳılındı.

Nazm¹⁸⁶⁶

Es-selām ey server-i evlād-ı Ādem es-selām

Es-selām ey bādī-i icād-ı ‘ālem es-selām

Es-selām ey gevher-i yektā-yı zāt-ı aḳdesüñ

Ziver-i bālā-yı ṭāḳ-ı ‘arş-ı a‘zam es-selām

Es-selām ey ḳufl-ı genc-i raḥmet-i Hakk tā-ezel

Dest-i isti‘dāduña olmuş müselleḡ es-selām

Es-selām ey intisāb-ı zāt-ı pāküñle¹⁸⁶⁷ senüñ

Oldı böyle nev‘-i insānī mükerrerem es-selām

Es-selām ey ceddüñ olmakla Halil’e itdi [B68a] Hakk

Āteş-i Nemrūd’ı bir gülzār-ı hurrem es-selām¹⁸⁶⁸

Es-selām ey ḳurb-ı ‘ahdüñ feyḍinüñ te’siridür

K’eyledi iḥyā-yı emvāt ibn-i Meryem es-selām

Işte geldi Nābī-i dil-haste ḥāk-i pāyüñe

Eyle¹⁸⁶⁹ zaḥm-ı cürmine luṭfuñla merhem es-selām

‘Arabī¹⁸⁷⁰

Yā ḥayra men düfinet fi’l-ḳā‘ a‘zamüh

¹⁸⁶⁵ ıdṭırāb: ıdṭırāb olup K

¹⁸⁶⁶ This poem is also included in *Nābī Dīvānu*, (ed. Bilkan, pp. 865-66).

¹⁸⁶⁷ pāküñle: pākile K

¹⁸⁶⁸ This couplet follows the neḥt couplet in L

¹⁸⁶⁹ eyle: ide P

¹⁸⁷⁰ ‘Arabī: - B

Ve t̤ābe men t̤ibehünne el-kā‘u ve’l-ekem

Rūhī’l-fidā’ li-kabri ente sākinüh

Fīhi’l-‘ifāfū ve fīhi’l-cūdu ve’l-kerem

Hōṣā ol hengām-ı hayāt-bahṣā ki seyyāh-ı ‘illiyyin-neverd-i rūḥ rākib-i cemmāze-i
beden olaldan beri ol āstān-ı şefā‘ata rū-māl ārzūsı ile mānend-i ceres leb-riz-i feryād
iken i‘ānet-i kā‘id-i ‘ināyet ile vāşıl-ı ser-menzil-i merām ola!

Habbezā ol vaqt-i dil-zidā ki fānūs-ı şikest-āzmā-yı beden nişimen-i çerāğ-ı hayāt
olaldan beri ol encümen-i muḳaddes şevḳiyle gencine-i sūz u güdāz iken ol şu‘le-i
cemāl-i mevcūdāta bī-perde itāre-i pervāne-i nigāh eyleye!

Yād bād ol bahār-ı vişāl ki ‘andelib-i hūnin-terāne-i dil āşyān-gir-i¹⁸⁷¹ şāhçe-i cism-i
nizār olaldan beri hevā-yı ravḍa-i muḳaddese ile zimistān-ı hicrānda nālān iken
imdād-ı nesīm-i hidāyetle ol gül-i gülşen-efrūz-ı nübüvvetüñ pişgāh-ı ‘izzetinde bi-
vāşıta [K49a] girih-küşā-yı nāle vü¹⁸⁷² feryād ola!

Nazm

Çe hōṣ-est piş-i maḥbūb leb-i rāz bāz-kerden

Gelehā-yı hicr ḳurbān be-ser be-nāz-kerden¹⁸⁷³ [P101]

Ferāmūş me-bad ol [B68b] dem-i mükerrem¹⁸⁷⁴ ki bāl-ı ḥammāme-i āh ile irsāli
mu‘tād olan [L56a] nāme-i şalāt u selām bi’l-müşāfehe resānide-i ma‘riḳ-i¹⁸⁷⁵ mu‘allā
ḳılınup recā-yı gevher-i firdevs-bahā-yı şefā‘at ile başt-ı dāmen-i niyāz oluna! El-
minnetü li’llāhi te‘ālā ve teḳaddes!

¹⁸⁷¹ āşyān: āşām L

¹⁸⁷² nāle vü: nāle-i P

¹⁸⁷³ be-nāz: niyāz K B L

¹⁸⁷⁴ mükerrem: mükerreme K

¹⁸⁷⁵ ma‘riḳ: ma‘rūḳ L

Ba'de hem-nişin-i encümen-i zindegānī hem-hücre-i āsāyişgāh-ı¹⁸⁷⁶ cāvidānileri¹⁸⁷⁷ ya'nī¹⁸⁷⁸ cenāb-ı Şiddik u Fārūk, raḍiye'llāhü'llāhü te'ālā 'anhümā, muḳābelelerinde daḥi iblāğ-ı levāzım-ı taḥıyyet ü teslim olunduḳdan¹⁸⁷⁹ soñra verā-yı hücre-i muḳaddesede dürre-i şādef-i hüdā, seyyidetü'n-nisā' ḥaḍret-i Fāṭimatü'z-zehrā, raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā¹⁸⁸⁰ 'anhā, pişgāhında cevāhir-i taḥıyyet ü şenā nişār olundu.

Nazm

Meyve-i dil ḳurretü'l-'ayn-ı¹⁸⁸¹ Rasūl

Zühre-i gerdün-ı nübüvvet Betül

Seyyide-i cümle zenān-ı bihişt

Mānde¹⁸⁸² der-pāy-ı Nebi ser be-hışt

52. 'Azm-i ziyāret be-¹⁸⁸³ Bakī'-i Şerif

Bülbül-i ḥōş-h'ān-ı vahy-tenzil ḥaḍret-i Cibril 'aleyhi's-selāmuñ¹⁸⁸⁴ rāh-ı āmed-şüdləri¹⁸⁸⁵ olan revzene-i pür-meymenede dū dest-i du'ā bāl-ı t̄ā'ir-i recā ḳılındı. Yine aña ḳarib Bābü'l-Cibril¹⁸⁸⁶ 'aleyhi's-selāmdan güzer olunup ḥāk-i mağfıret-nāk-i Bakī'-i Şerif de āsüde olan hem-sāyegān-ı nebevī ziyāretine şitāb olundu.

Nazm

Şev müteveccih be-zemin-i Bakī'

'Arş-ı berin bin ve maḳām-ı refi'

¹⁸⁷⁶ āsāyişgāh: ābişgāh P

¹⁸⁷⁷ cāvidānileri: cāvidānī K

¹⁸⁷⁸ ya'nī: olan L

¹⁸⁷⁹ olunduḳdan: olunduḳlarından L

¹⁸⁸⁰ te'ālā: - L K

¹⁸⁸¹ ḳurretü'l L: ḳurret B; ḳurre-i P

¹⁸⁸² mānde: mānde-i L

¹⁸⁸³ be: - K

¹⁸⁸⁴ selāmuñ: selām cenābınuñ L

¹⁸⁸⁵ şüdləri: şüdle K

¹⁸⁸⁶ Bābü'l-Cibril: Bāb-ı Cibril P

1887 Her ṭarafı nūr-dihed z-ān zemin
 Hem-çū nücūm ez-felek-i heştümîn
 Zinde-dilān bîn ki¹⁸⁸⁸ be-ḥōd¹⁸⁸⁹ mürde-end
 Ser be-giribān-ı 'adem bürde-end [B69a]

Vākı'an mezāristān-ı cennet-nişān-ı Bakī' bir şaḥn-ı rahmet-nümādur ki her tūdesi bir ṭūr-ı Nūr ve her nahli bir dirāht-ı Eymen gibi¹⁸⁹⁰ leme'ān itmededür. Her zerre-i ḡubār-ı maḡfired-āşārı māye-i iksir-i devletden muḥterem ve her rize-i seng-i tāb-dārı nigîn-i Süleymāniden mükerreremdür.

Ol ḥāk-i pāk züvvārından hic bir ten yokdur ki [L56b] çār dürc-i 'anāşır ceybinde nihān olan gevher-i nā-yāb-ı rūḥın ol ḥākde¹⁸⁹¹ nişār itmek istid'āsiyle dest-küşā olmaya. Hiç bir cān yokdur ki ḥil'at-ı çār¹⁸⁹² kıt'a-i cismin ol zemine etkende itmek içün leb-riz-i temennā olmaya. [P102] [K49b]

Bundan a'lā¹⁸⁹³ cāy-ı āsāyiş olur mı ki zemîn-i Bakī''den ber-ḥāste olanlar dest-bürd-i 'amele-i derekāt-ı dūzahdan¹⁸⁹⁴ emîn olup belki dūrdan bile itāle-i silsile-i nigāh-ı āteşine fırsat bulmayalar¹⁸⁹⁵.

Ve bundan efdal¹⁸⁹⁶ devlet olur mı ki rüz-ı bāz-ḥāstde¹⁸⁹⁷ şehriyār-ı kişver-i şefā'at, şalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem¹⁸⁹⁸, ile bālin-i ḥākden bile¹⁸⁹⁹ ser-ber-āverde olup sāye-i Livā'ü'l-ḥamd-i nebevīde 'azîmet-i gül-geşt-i¹⁹⁰⁰ bāğ-ı na'im eyleyeler¹⁹⁰¹!

¹⁸⁸⁷ heştümîn: hem-nişîn B

¹⁸⁸⁸ ki: - L P

¹⁸⁸⁹ be-ḥōd: nücūm P

¹⁸⁹⁰ gibi: - B

¹⁸⁹¹ ḥākde: ḥāk içre K

¹⁸⁹² çār: çehār B P

¹⁸⁹³ a'lā: a'lā yine bir K

¹⁸⁹⁴ dūzahdan: ḥacimden K

¹⁸⁹⁵ bulmayalar: bulamayalar P

¹⁸⁹⁶ efdal: efdal bir K

¹⁸⁹⁷ bāz-ḥāstde: bāz-ı restā-ḥızde P

¹⁸⁹⁸ şalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'aleyhi efdalü't-taḥıyyet K

Nazm

Rūz-ı kıyāmet ki būd nefh-i şūr

İn heme hizāned der-estār-ı nūr

Ser çū ber-ārend zi-ceyb-i ğubār

Dide-küşāyend be-didār-ı yār

Hādret-i Rabbü¹⁹⁰² 'l-Ğafūr, Nābi-i ma'siyet-me'ābı daḥi āsūde nişinān-ı Baḳi' mürāfaḳatı ile sāye-i Livā'ü'l-ḥamd-i Muḥammedi'den mehcūr itmeye! Āmin bi-hurmeti Muḥammedi'l-emīn¹⁹⁰³.

Deriçe-i Baḳi'-i Şerif'de ibtidā' 'amme-i¹⁹⁰⁴ Seyyidi'l-mürselin bir ḳubbe-i 'aliyye derūnında [B69b] meḳin olup aña ḳarīb bir ḳubbede¹⁹⁰⁵ daḥi maḥremān-ı serā-perde-i sa'ādet ya'nī ezvāc-ı tāhirāt-ı h^vāce-i kā'ināt, 'aleyhi efḍalü's-şalavāt¹⁹⁰⁶, perde-nişin-i şebistān-ı beḳā olmışlardır.

Nazm

Ber-ser-i ān reh ki ṭarīḳ-i Hudā-st

Hücre-i ezvāc-ı Rasūl-i Hudā-st

Sāḥa-i ān meşhed-i firdevs-bū

Hūr be-gīsū küne-de-ş¹⁹⁰⁷ ruft-u-rū

¹⁸⁹⁹ bile: - K

¹⁹⁰⁰ geşt: -şikest B

¹⁹⁰¹ eyleyeler: eyleye K

¹⁹⁰² Rabbü'l-Ğafūr: Hudā-yı Ğafūr K

¹⁹⁰³ bi-hurmeti'l-Muḥammedi'l-emīn: bi-hurmeti'l-emīn K

¹⁹⁰⁴ 'amme-i: 'ammet B; 'amme-i ḥādret K; 'amm L

¹⁹⁰⁵ ḳubbede: ḳubbe K

¹⁹⁰⁶ 's-şalavāt: 't-taḥiyye K

¹⁹⁰⁷ küne-deş L

Bir ḵubbe-i nūr-āmiz derūnında dahī perverde-i dūş u kinār-ı dāye-i ‘izzet, dürr-i şāhvār-ı efser-i sa‘ādet, ḵurret-i¹⁹⁰⁸ ‘ayn-ı kabūl İbrāhīm bin ḥaḍret-i Rasūl [L57a], şalle’llāhū te‘ālā¹⁹⁰⁹ ‘aleyhi ve sellem, ğunūde-i kehvāre-i ‘adem olmışlardır.

Nazm

Nist mecāl der-¹⁹¹⁰ ḵadem-i ecnebī

Huḥte der-ān gevher şulb-i Nebī

Kerde der-ān mahzen-i ‘anber-sirişt

Cāy be-her gūşe tuyūr-ı bihişt

Bir ḵubbe-i gerdūn-mümāss sāyesinde dahī amm-i mükerrerrem-i Seyyidü’n-nās ḥaḍret-i ‘Abbās, raḍiye’llāhū te‘ālā¹⁹¹¹ ‘anh, ile¹⁹¹² çār gevher-i ma‘den-i velāyet ve çār ḵandil-i ṭāq-ı emānet ya‘nī ḥaḍret-i Imām¹⁹¹³ Ḥasan ibn¹⁹¹⁴ ‘Aliyyü’l-mürteḍā ve Imām Zeyne’l-‘ābidin ve Imām-ı Muḥammed Bākır ve Imām-ı Ca‘fer-i Şādık, raḍiye’llāhū ‘anhüm, encümen-gir-i ḥalvet-serāy-ı [P103] ḥuld olmışlardır.

Nazm

Günbed-i ‘Abbās ki ḥuld-i āşyān-est¹⁹¹⁵

Ḵubbe-i¹⁹¹⁶ ez-nūr be-‘alem ‘iyān-est¹⁹¹⁷

Ez-felek cūd u seḥā vü kerem

Kerde ḵırān çār sitāre be-hem

¹⁹⁰⁸ ḵurret: kurre-i P

¹⁹⁰⁹ te‘ālā: - P B L

¹⁹¹⁰ der: - L B K

¹⁹¹¹ te‘ālā: - L

¹⁹¹² ile: - K

¹⁹¹³ ya‘nī ḥaḍret: - B K

¹⁹¹⁴ ibn: bin P; - K

¹⁹¹⁵ nist: - P

¹⁹¹⁶ ḵubbe-i: ḵubbe K

¹⁹¹⁷ est: - P

Bir kûbbe-i mu'allā¹⁹¹⁸ derûnında dahî ḥadret-i 'Akîl ibn¹⁹¹⁹ Ebî Tâlib, raḍiye'llāhü 'anh¹⁹²⁰, ve¹⁹²¹ bir kûbbede dahî Imām Mâlik, raḍiye'llāhü 'anh, gûşe-güzîn-i pister-i ḥ^vâb-ı 'adem olup bir kûbbede dahî Imāmü'l-kurrā'[B70a] ḥadret-i Nâfi' bin Keşir, raḍiye'llāhü 'anh, ser-firû-bürde-i rahle-i¹⁹²² rihlet olmuştur¹⁹²³. Bir kûbbede dahî māder-i şir-i Hudā Fâtıma bint-i Esed, raḍiye'llāhü anhā, peygûle-nişîn-i ğābe-i¹⁹²⁴ fenā olmuştardur. Ammā sāye-bân-ı kîbābdan sâde olan merākıd-ı aşḥāb-ı kirām ḥāric-i ḥîta-i ḥesābdur.

Nazm

Ḥayl-i şahābe çe büzürg u çe ḥurd

Biş ez-ân-est ki tüvānî şümured

Ḥuşuşan kîbār-ı mücāvirinden mülûk u meşāyih u 'ulemā vü şuleḥā şümār-ı ğubār-ı¹⁹²⁵ Bakî''den efzûn-terdür belki her bir merḳadde yüzden mütecāviz ḥāmûşân-ı menzilgāh-ı fenā āsāyîş-güzîn-i ḥalvet-i beḳā olmuştardur.

Ser-ḥalka-i encümen-i ḥ^vācegān Ḥ^vāce¹⁹²⁶ Muhammed-i Pārsā, ḳuddise sırrahü'l 'azîz¹⁹²⁷, ḥadretlerinüñ mezār-ı feyḍ-āsārları¹⁹²⁸ dahî bir levḥ-i ruḥām ile i'lām olunmuştur. [L57b]

Ammā ğāyet-i ḥudūd-ı Bakî''de bir kûbbe-i 'ālem-tāb-ı āsmān-cenāb āġuşında câmi'-i āyāt-ı Qur'ānî, kâtib-i vahy-i āsmānî ya'nî¹⁹²⁹ 'Osmān ibn¹⁹³⁰ 'Affān, raḍiye'llāhü¹⁹³¹

¹⁹¹⁸ mu'allā: dil-ārā L

¹⁹¹⁹ ibn: bin P

¹⁹²⁰ 'anh: 'anh ve K P

¹⁹²¹ ve: - K P

¹⁹²² rahle-i: - L

¹⁹²³ olmuştur: olmuştur ve L

¹⁹²⁴ ğābe: ğār L

¹⁹²⁵ ğubār: - K

¹⁹²⁶ ḥ^vāce: - K

¹⁹²⁷ 'l 'azîz: - B K P

¹⁹²⁸ -āsārları: -bārları K

¹⁹²⁹ ya'nî: - L

¹⁹³⁰ ibn: bin P

‘anh, ḥaḍretleri mütevārī-i ḥicāb-ı beḳā ve ḥōṣ-niṣinān-ı ser-zemīn-i Baḳī‘a¹⁹³²
nigehbān-ı ser-ḥadd-i intihā olmuşlardır¹⁹³³.

Nazm

Günbed-i ‘Osmān ki nümāyed zi-dūr

Z-īn heme yek nūr dihed z-ān dū nūr

Geşte ḥayā perde-i dergāh-ı ō

Beste zi-pes¹⁹³⁴ ḥayl-i melek rāh-ı ō

Herbirinüñ ğubār-ı mezār-ı feyḍ-bārlarıyle dīde-i¹⁹³⁵ dil tenvir ve zebān-ı ḥāme-i āh
ile kitābe-i bālā-ḥāne-i āsmāna sūre-i seb‘u’l-meṣāni taḥrīr olunduğdan soñra yine
maḳsad-ı aḳsā-yı¹⁹³⁶ [B70b] ins ü cān ya‘nī Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere-i Ḥabīb-i Yezdān¹⁹³⁷
ziyāretine i‘āde-i rū-yı ḍarā‘at olundu.

Medīne-i Münevvere’de müddet-i iḳāmet on gün olmak ‘ādet olmağın maṭla‘-ı
nehārdan [P104] maḳta-i leyale dek¹⁹³⁸ ve girībān-ı şāmdan dāmen-i bāma dek
müvācehe-i şulṭānu’l-enbiyāda ğulğule-i şalāt u selām¹⁹³⁹ infişām bulmayup girye-i
hā-yı hāy-ı¹⁹⁴⁰ nedāmet ve nāle-i recā-yı şefā‘at ile ṭabaḳāt-ı gerdūn perişān ve
züvvār-ı kerrūbiyān ramān olacak ḥāletler zuhūr eyledi. Irāḳa-i eşk-i firāḳa hengām-ı
fırşat¹⁹⁴¹ ve itāle-i tūmār-ı ārāma ruḥṣat¹⁹⁴² elvirmegin herkes āviḥte-i dāmān-ı şefā‘at
olmağa şarf-ı maḳdūr eylediler. Ḥattā raḳam-ṭirāz-ı levḥa-i maḳāl Nābi-i şikeste-

¹⁹³¹ raḍiye’llāhü: raḍiye’llāhü te‘ālā P

¹⁹³² Baḳī‘a: Baḳī‘da B

¹⁹³³ olmuşlardır: olmuşdır P

¹⁹³⁴ pes: - K

¹⁹³⁵ dīde-i: dīde vü K

¹⁹³⁶ aḳsā-yı: a‘lā-yı P B

¹⁹³⁷ Yezdān: Raḥmān K

¹⁹³⁸ dek: - L B

¹⁹³⁹ selām: selām kâbil K

¹⁹⁴⁰ girye-i hā-yı hāy: giryehā-yı K

¹⁹⁴¹ fırşat: ruḥṣat B K

¹⁹⁴² ārāma ruḥṣat: āmāle fırşat K B

bāl¹⁹⁴³ dahî bu 'arḍ-ı hāl-i derd-iştimâli bir levḥaya¹⁹⁴⁴ tenmîk ve müvâcehe-i server-i
iḳlîm-i şefâ'ata küstâhâne¹⁹⁴⁵ ta'lik eyledi¹⁹⁴⁶.

Nazm¹⁹⁴⁷

Bi-ḥamdi li'llāh naşib oldu sa'âdet yâ Rasûla'llāh

Ki itdüm hāk-i dergāhuñ ziyâret yâ Rasûla'llāh

Zihî hüsrân-ı güher-pâş olmadın bu hāke itseydüm

Gözüm gencine-i h^vâb-ı ferâğat yâ Rasûla'llāh [L58a]

Günehkârum sefihkârum siyekhârum tebehkârum

Beni redd itme ferdâ-yı kıyâmet yâ Rasûla'llāh

Halâşa dest-bürd-i kâr-fermâyân-ı dūzahdan

Nigāh-ı kemterüñ¹⁹⁴⁸ eyler kifâyet yâ Rasûla'llāh

Firib-i sâkî-i peymâne-gerdân-ı dalâletden

Dem-i âhirde imānum emānet¹⁹⁴⁹ yâ Rasûla'llāh

Kemineñ¹⁹⁵⁰ Yūsuf Nâbi'yi aḥbâb [B71a] u aḳâribile

Şefâ'at yâ Rasûla'llāh¹⁹⁵¹ şefâ'at yâ Rasûla'llāh

'Ale'l-huşuş ḥasretgāh-ı ecfân-ı selâtin-i cihân ve māye-i¹⁹⁵² mübâhāt-ı âl-i 'Osmân
olan hıdmet-i ferâşet cerîdesinde nām-ı fakîr dahî nigâşte-i hāme-i tevfiḳ olmağla
hengām-ı şāmda niṭâḳ-ı 'ubūdiyyet ârāyiş-i miyân-ı müfâḥarat kılinup derûn-ı

¹⁹⁴³ -bāl: -makāl K

¹⁹⁴⁴ bir levḥaya: birle L

¹⁹⁴⁵ küstâhâne: - K

¹⁹⁴⁶ eyledi: eylediler K

¹⁹⁴⁷ Nazm: li-münşih Nâbi K This *gazel* is found in the *Nâbî Dīvânı* (ed. Bilkan, pp. 955- 956).

¹⁹⁴⁸ kemterüñ: kemterin P

¹⁹⁴⁹ emānet: emîn it D.

¹⁹⁵⁰ kemineñ: keminen D.

¹⁹⁵¹ Rasûla'llāh: Ḥabibe'llāh P D

¹⁹⁵² māye-i: - K

şübbākde pīrāmen-i hücre-i muḳaddesede hıdmet-i¹⁹⁵³ iş‘āl-i ḳanādille iştiğalle¹⁹⁵⁴
 çehre-fürüz-ı āmāl olmak müyesser oldu.

Bi-ḥamdi li’llāhi tebāreke ve te‘ālā kīse-i fersūde-i vücūd naḳd-i ḥayātdan tehi
 olmadın ol ḥāk-i şeref-nākde şarf-ı naḳdine-i evḳāt olmağla müşāhede-i şūret-i āmāl
 olundu. [K51a]

Nazm

Hezār şükr-i gül ez-ravḍa-i muḳaddese çidem

Be-āstān-ı şefā‘at bedīn günāh residem

53. zıkr-i vaşf-ı şühedā-yı Uhūd-est [P105]

Nişāngāh-ı sübhā-i eyyām u leyāl¹⁹⁵⁵ olan rūz-ı pençşenbe sīlk-i zuhūrda¹⁹⁵⁶ nümāyān
 olduğda ziyāret-i şühedā-yı Uhūd sünnet-i seniyye-i Rasūlü’s-ṣaḳaleyn, ‘aleyhi’s-
 şalātü ve’s-selām¹⁹⁵⁷, olmağın bi’l-cümle ḥuccāc piyāde vü süvār ol ser-zemīne¹⁹⁵⁸
 güzār eylediler.

Kūh-ı¹⁹⁵⁹ Uhūd Medīne-i Münevvere’nüñ bir sâ‘at miḳdārı cānib-i¹⁹⁶⁰ şimālinde bir
 kūh-ı bülend-i sürḥ-fāmdur ki ma‘reke-i meşhūre-i ğazā-yı Uhūd dāmen-i dil-nişininde
 reside-i¹⁹⁶¹ mevḳi‘-i zuhūr olmuştur.

Nazm

Dāmen-i gerdūn ki şafaḳ-gün būd

¹⁹⁵³ hıdmet: - B

¹⁹⁵⁴ iştiğalle: iştiğalde P

¹⁹⁵⁵ u leyāl: - L P K

¹⁹⁵⁶ zuhūrda: eyyāmda L P

¹⁹⁵⁷ ‘aleyhi’s-şalātü ve’s-selām: şalle’llāhü ‘aleyhi ve sellem K

¹⁹⁵⁸ ser: - K

¹⁹⁵⁹ kūh: cebel P

¹⁹⁶⁰ cānib: - B P K

¹⁹⁶¹ reside-i: - P B

Ez-eşer-i sürhî-i ân hûn bûd

Evvelâ ser-i rāhda dāver-i memālik-küşā-yı risālet, 'aleyhi's- şalātü ve's-selām, hadretleri cism-i muṭahher-i cihān-zīblerine pīrāye-bend-i¹⁹⁶² [L58b] eşliḥa-i düşmen-efgen [B71b] oldukları maḥall ziyāretgāh-ı tūr-i nigāh kılındı. Çetr-i sāye-dār-ı 'ināyetleri medd-i tınāb-ı iḳāmet eyledikleri¹⁹⁶³ maḥalde sūtūn-i du'ā ḥayme-i āsmāna ref' olundu. Deryā-yı kārzār ḥurūşān olduğu maḥalde¹⁹⁶⁴ şimşir-i āh ḥavāle-i çerh-i sitize-kār kılındı. Dürc-i la'lin-dehān-ı şefā'at-feşānlarından dürr-i 'ālem-bahā-yı dendānları üftān olduğu mekānda қаатарāt-ı sirişk-i ḥasret gül-güne-i 'arīd-ı dāmān kılındı.

Nazm

Çünān 'uḳde ez-kār-ı ümmet küşād

Ki dendān der-in kār ber-bād bād¹⁹⁶⁵

Nahl-ı nāz-perverd-i¹⁹⁶⁶ cism-i nāzeninleri esnā-yı ḥarbde bir miḳdār istirāḥat içün¹⁹⁶⁷ bir seng-i ḥārā şikāfına nüzūl buyurduklarında eşer-i ser-i¹⁹⁶⁸ 'arş-sāları dil-i¹⁹⁶⁹ sengde cāy-gir olduğu maḥall müşāhedesi tāc-ı ser-tāc-ı nazar¹⁹⁷⁰ kılındı. Ba'de mecmū'-ı şühedā-yı Uhud ki¹⁹⁷¹ cümlesi bir zeminde dahme-nişin-i milk-i beḳā olmuşlar, ervāḥ-ı muṭahherelerine iblāğ-ı hediye-i du'ā kılındı.¹⁹⁷²

Nazm

¹⁹⁶² -bend: - B

¹⁹⁶³ eyledikleri: itdükleri P

¹⁹⁶⁴ maḥalde: zeminde B; zemine K

¹⁹⁶⁵ bād: dād L

¹⁹⁶⁶ -perverd: perver P

¹⁹⁶⁷ içün: içün yine K

¹⁹⁶⁸ ser: - K

¹⁹⁶⁹ dil: ol P

¹⁹⁷⁰ tāc-ı ser-tāc-ı nazar: ser-tāc-ı nazar K; tāc-ı ser-i nazar B P

¹⁹⁷¹ ki: - K

¹⁹⁷² Ba'de mecmū'-ı şühedā-yı Uhud ki¹⁹⁷² cümlesi bir zeminde dahme-nişin-i milk-i beḳā olmuşlar ervāḥ-ı muṭahherelerine iblāğ-ı hediye-i du'ā kılındı: - B

Būy-ı vefā mī-dihed ez-hāk-şān

Ğarkā be-hūn türbet-i nem-nāk-şān

Rūz-ı kıyāmet ki ber-ārend ser

Bā-ciger-i huşk ve kefenhā-yı ter

Bā-ruh çūn mihr dihend ez-zemin

Tohum-ı vefā bār-ne-y-āred cüz-in

Anlardan¹⁹⁷³ mā'ada¹⁹⁷⁴ bir kubbe-i 'aliyye-i [K51b] bihişt-nümā şadrında 'amm-i Rasūl-i kibriyā, seyyidü's-şühedā ḥaḍret-i Ḥamza ibn¹⁹⁷⁵ 'Abdü'l-muṭṭalib raḍiye'llāhü'llāhü¹⁹⁷⁶ 'anhūñ¹⁹⁷⁷ ser-i mezār-ı lem'a-bārlarında navek-i du'ā na're-i¹⁹⁷⁸ [P106] āh u feryād ile havāle-i siper-i āsmān kılındı.

Nazm

Ḥamza ki kurbān şüde der-rāh-ı dōst

Seyyid-i her cā ki şehid-est¹⁹⁷⁹ ō-st

Lāle zi-hūneş şüde hūnin-i kefen

Dāğ nihāde be-dil-i h^vişten

Sürh-i küh-ı [B72a] Uḥud ez-hūn-ı ō-est

Rīg-be-rigeş heme tesbih-i ō-st¹⁹⁸⁰ [L59a]

Yine ol havālīde Mescid-i Feth nāmıyle müsemmā 'ibādet-hāne-i dil-küşā ve bi're-i mahşūş-ı Sultānū'l-enbiyā dahī māye-i fütūḥ-ı derūn u birūn kılındı.

¹⁹⁷³ anlardan: andan K

¹⁹⁷⁴ mā'ada: ğayrı B K P

¹⁹⁷⁵ ibn: bin P

¹⁹⁷⁶ raḍiye'llāhü: raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā B

¹⁹⁷⁷ 'anhūñ: 'anhūñ B; 'anh ḥaḍretlerinūñ K

¹⁹⁷⁸ na're-i: - B

¹⁹⁷⁹ şehid-est: şehidi-st B

¹⁹⁸⁰ ō-st: k'ō-st B K

Nazm

Mescid-i Feth in şüd ve bi'r-i Rasûl

Cây-ı du'âyî-st maḥall-i kabûl

Bi'r-i Rasûl-est ki ez-¹⁹⁸¹ âb-ı¹⁹⁸² ḥayât

Mevc-zen üftâde çû nehr-i Fırât

54. zıkr-i vaşf-ı Mescid-i zü'l-kibleteyn

Yine ol taraflarda¹⁹⁸³ Mescid-i zü'l-kibleteyn bir ma'bed-i münevver-i ğayr-ı mükerrerdür ki dīvār-ı cenūbî ve şimālîsi birbirine ebrū-nümā-yı mihrāb olup biri Mescidü'l-ḥarām'a ve biri Mescid-i Akşā'ya istizhār ile hem-çeşm-i kâ'ide-i 'izz ü temkîn olmuşlardır¹⁹⁸⁴. Kerime-i 'Fe-le-nüvellî-ke kibleten terdāhā'¹⁹⁸⁵ cemālinden ref'-i burka'-i ibhām iden pîrāye-bendān-ı 'ārıd-ı taḥkîk ta'yîni¹⁹⁸⁶ üzre evā'il-i hicretde cebhe-i 'arş-tāb-ı Muhammedî, 'aleyhi's-şalātü ve's-selām, on yedi ay cānib-ı¹⁹⁸⁷ Beytü'l-makdis'e secde-ber-i itā'at olmağın bir gün¹⁹⁸⁸ mescid-i ma'hūdde şu'le-i beşere-i lā-mekān-efrūzları kandil-i mihrāb-ı kible-i¹⁹⁸⁹ kadime¹⁹⁹⁰ olduğu hâlde ḥadret-i¹⁹⁹¹ nāmūs-ı ekber¹⁹⁹² fermān-ı cihān-gerdān-ı 'Fe-vellî veche-ke şatra'l-mescidi'l-ḥarām'¹⁹⁹³ iblāğıyle ol āftāb-ı felek-i nübüvveti cānib-i Beytü'l-

¹⁹⁸¹ ki: - B; ki ez: k'ez K; ez-: - L

¹⁹⁸² âb: - L

¹⁹⁸³ taraflarda: tarafda B

¹⁹⁸⁴ temkîn olmuşlardır: temkîn olup K

¹⁹⁸⁵ The Kur'ân, 2/144

¹⁹⁸⁶ ta'yîni: vefkince K; ta'ayyûni B

¹⁹⁸⁷ cānib: cenāb P

¹⁹⁸⁸ gün: gün yine K

¹⁹⁸⁹ kible-i: - K

¹⁹⁹⁰ kadime: kadim B P

¹⁹⁹¹ ḥadret: - K

¹⁹⁹² ekber: ekber Cebra'il 'aleyhi's-selām in the margin of K

¹⁹⁹³ The Kur'ân, 2/144.

harām'a tahvil itmegın mihrāb-ı kādım kafā-yı Seyyidü'l-enbiyāya dide-küşā-yı hasret olup kalmışdur¹⁹⁹⁴.

55. Vaşf-ı¹⁹⁹⁵ makām-ı pür-şeref-i Mescid-i Kubā

Zuhūr-ı talī'a-i şabāh-ı [B72b] şenbede¹⁹⁹⁶ ziyāret-i Mescid-i Kubā¹⁹⁹⁷ sünnet-i sultān-ı risālet¹⁹⁹⁸ ve mevāzī-i sevāb-ı 'umre idügi müşebbit olmağın gürüh gürüh ol cānibe 'azimet eylediler. Bir sâ'at miqdārı maḥalde miyāne-i [L59b] [K52a] nahlistānda bir mescid-i mükerremdür ki leme'ān-ı¹⁹⁹⁹ envār ve āşār-ı esrār der u divārında hüveydādur.

Kāfile-sālār-ı enbiyā', 'aleyhi'ş-şalātü ve's-selām, [P107] ḥadretleri hengām-ı hicretde havālī-i Medīne-i mübārekeye şeref-baḥşā-yı kādime-i vüsül olduklarında ta'yin-i kā'id-i taḳdir ile nāka-i feyḍ-bārları ol maḥalde bast-ı nāfe-i²⁰⁰⁰ istikrār itmegın fermān-ı mi'mār-ı kār-ḥāne-i āferiniş ile Mescid-i Kubā bināsına mübāşeret buyurup naşş-ı kerīm-i 'le-mescidün üssise 'alā't-taḳvā²⁰⁰¹ ile esās-ı mağfiret-sāsı²⁰⁰² temhid olunmışdur.

Hengām-ı bināda bi'l-cümle aşḥāb-ı kirām, raḍiye'llāhü te'āla²⁰⁰³ 'anhüm, edā-yı²⁰⁰⁴ hıdmet-i müjdeverī²⁰⁰⁵ itdüklerinden mā'ada sultān-ı memālik-i mā' u tın, 'aleyhi'ş-şalātü ve's-selām, ḥadretleri dahi mālīk-i mefātih-i maḥāzin-i raḥmet olan dest-i

¹⁹⁹⁴ olup kalmışdur: olmuşdur K

¹⁹⁹⁵ vaşf: zıkr P

¹⁹⁹⁶ şenbe: pençşenbe K

¹⁹⁹⁷ Kubā: Kubā yine K

¹⁹⁹⁸ risālet: - K

¹⁹⁹⁹ leme'ān: leme'āt B K

²⁰⁰⁰ nāfe-i: nāka-i B

²⁰⁰¹ The Kur'an, 9/108

²⁰⁰² mağfiret-sāsı: mağfiret-mümāssı K

²⁰⁰³ te'āla: - B P

²⁰⁰⁴ edā-yı: ḥaḍerātu K

²⁰⁰⁵ müjdeverī: mezkūr B

kerem-peyvestleri ile bi'z-zāt²⁰⁰⁶ ihdār-ı levāzım-ı gil ü senge mübāşeret buyurmuşlardır²⁰⁰⁷.

Nazm

Ka'be be-şad cāy zi-şevk-i Kubā

Sāhte pirāmen-ı 'iffet-i Kubā

Mihrāb-ı sa'ādet-nişābı revzene-i kaşr-ı icābet olduğundan ğayrı mihrāb-ı rükn-i şarkisinde başıra-i 'arş-peymā-yı nebeviye beyt-i siyeh-kabā-yı²⁰⁰⁸ Hudā perde-ber-endāz-ı hafā olmağla cilvegāh-ı kabūl-i du'ādur. Nāka-i Refref-vaqarları dū zānū-yı pākize tekāpūsına²⁰⁰⁹ [B73a] 'ukde-i istikrār virdügi zemīn-i mübārek dahi²⁰¹⁰ vasaṭ-ı mescidde bir mihrāb ile secdegāh-ı şeyh u şābbdur.

Nazm

Hest der-ān şahın maḳām-ı diger

H'ābgeh-i nāka-i Hayru'l-beşer

Sāye-i divār-ı Kubā'da Mescid-i 'Aliyyü'l-murtaḍā, raḍiye'llāhü 'anh, ve Mescid-i Fāṭima-i Zehrā raḍiye'llāhü 'anhāda²⁰¹¹ ham-dāde-i kāmet-i taḥiyyet olduğdan soñra Bi'r-i Kubā nām ḳāh-ı zemzem-simā āyine-i şüret-i istid'ā-yı şifā kılındı.

Bir gün [L60a] server-i kā'ināt, 'aleyhi's-şalātü ve's-selām²⁰¹², ḥaḍretlerinüñ gül-berg-i cism-i nāzeninleri te'sir-i germā-yı hevādan āzürde olmağla ḳehār²⁰¹³ yār-ı güzin ile sāk-ı 'arş-mesākıların²⁰¹⁴ ol ḳāh-ı 'ālī-cāh delvine ilkā buyurduklarında

²⁰⁰⁶ bi'z-zāt: - K

²⁰⁰⁷ buyurmuşlardır: buyurmuşlar K

²⁰⁰⁸ kabā-yı: 'abā-yı K

²⁰⁰⁹ pākize tekāpūsına: pākizesine K

²⁰¹⁰ dahi: - P

²⁰¹¹ 'anhāda: anḥadır L; 'anhümā K; 'anhā B

²⁰¹² 'aleyhi's-şalātü ve's-selām: 'aleyhi efdalü's-şalavat K

²⁰¹³ ḳehār: ḳār K

²⁰¹⁴ mesākıların: mesākilerin B; mesākıların L

engüşt-i meh-şikâflarından engüştlerin-i Yūsuf-cebinleri [K52b] bun-ı çāha üftāde olmağın ol ābdan tecerru' idenlerüñ pīrāmen-i kalem-rev-i ṭabī'atlarından²⁰¹⁵ leşker-i emrāḍ u 'ilel güzer itmek²⁰¹⁶ için dārü's-şifā-yı İlāhī'den i'tā'-yı berāt [P108] memhūr olunmuşdur.

Yine ol bāğbān-ı rıyāḍ-ı şefā'at, 'aleyhi's-şalātü ve's-selām, ḥaḍretleri naḥlistān-ı Ḳubā'dan güzer esnāsında bir naḥl-i sa'ādet-semer reh-güzer-i nebevīye itāle-i gerd-i ḍarā'at idüp 'Yā Rasūla'llāh bu zaḥm-hōrde-i tūşe-i inkisāruñ bir niçe ḥurmāsın reside-i leb-i şefā'at-nişār itmekle ten-i bī-cānumı beyne'l-emşāl ser-efrāz buyuruñ' diyü baş-ı kelām-ı²⁰¹⁷ şükr-i simāt itmekle ilā-hāzā'l-ān rū-yı ḍarā'at [B73b] ber-zemīn Naḥl-i Mütেকellim nāmıyle reh-güzār-ı Ḳubā'da mekīn olmuşdur. Anuñ dahi²⁰¹⁸ ziyāreti ile zā'ika-i merām şīrīn-kām kılınup yine Medīne-i Münevvere'ye 'avdet olundu.

Ammā derūn u birūn-ı Medīne-i Münevvere'de bir gūşe yokdur ki envār-ı²⁰¹⁹ āyāt-ı beyyināt leme'ān itmeye, ve bir maḥall bulunmaz ki āsār-ı mu'cizāt-ı fā'īdatü'l-berekāt²⁰²⁰ ilā'l-ān maḥsūs olmaya!

Nazm²⁰²¹

Ḳande yüz sürsem o māhuñ cilvegāh-ı pāyidür

Ḳande baḳsam pertev-i ruḥsār-ı cennet-sāyıdur

Der-her kücā ki mī-nigerem cilvegāh-ı ō-st

Der-her kücā ki rūy-nihem²⁰²² ḥāk-i²⁰²³ rāh-ı ō-st

²⁰¹⁵ ṭabī'atlarından: ṭabī'atından K

²⁰¹⁶ güzer itmek: güzār itmek L B K

²⁰¹⁷ kelām: kelimāt P kelām-ı kelimāt B

²⁰¹⁸ dahi: - L

²⁰¹⁹ envār: envā' P

²⁰²⁰ fā'īdat: fā'īḍ K

²⁰²¹ These hemistiches are reversed in K

²⁰²² nihem: - B

Bināberin yegān yegān tefāşil-i keyfiyyet-i ahvāli güncide-i ma'mûre-i beyān olmak muhāt-ı havza-i imtinā' idügi hışn-ı haşin-i i'tizārdur.

Nazm

Evşāf-ı muhabbet dehen-i hāmeve sığmaz

Ta'bir-i mezāyā-yı nihān nāmeve sığmaz

56. zikr-i²⁰²⁴ rûz-ı vedā'-ı 'ālem-sûz²⁰²⁵ [L60b]

'Ākıbet ser-engüşt-i şubh-ı vedā' rûz-nāme-i eyyām-ı ikāmetden varak-gerdān olmağın şimşir-i ser-tüz-i firāk dilleri ebvāb-ı harem gibi çāk çāk ve nāvek-i dil-düz-ı hicrān sineleri nümüne-i şübbāk itmege āğāz eyledi. Āh u²⁰²⁶ enin-i niş-hörde-i hicrān ol kevāre-i engebin-i şefā'at pirāmeninde nāle-i zenbürden efzûn-ter oldu²⁰²⁷.

Nazm [K53a]

Rûz-ı cüdāyî ki ne-bined kesî

Tire-ter-est ez-şeb hicrān besî

Rûz-ı vedā'a-st ve ecel der-kemin

Hāşşa vedā'-ı güher-i in-çünin

El-hakḳ ne kār-ı düşvārdur bu ki ümidgāh-ı kâffe-i mevcūdāt olan dāver-i ins ü cānuñ müvācehe-i 'aliyyesinde nā'il-i fırsat-ı niyāz olmuş iken kendi [B74a] [P109] ihtiyāruñla leb-i nātıkayı mevrîd-i kelime-i²⁰²⁸ el-vedā' eyleyesin. Ve ne²⁰²⁹ emr-i müşkildür bu ki dest-gir-i 'āmme-i mevcūdāt olan maḥbûb-ı Hudā'nuñ pişgāh-ı

²⁰²³ hāk: hāh L

²⁰²⁴ zikr: vaşf B P K

²⁰²⁵ vedā'-ı 'ālem-sûz: 'ālem-sûz-ı vedā' K

²⁰²⁶ u: - P

²⁰²⁷ oldu: idi K

²⁰²⁸ kelime-i: - K

²⁰²⁹ ne: ne bir K

sa'âdetinde²⁰³⁰ girih-bend-i sâ'id-i edeb olmuş iken pây-ı irâdetüñle şahrâ-yı hicrâna revân olasin.

Nazm

Ağla ey dide ki giryân olacağsın âhır

İñle ey dil ki perişân olacağsın âhır

Destüñe girmiş iken gūşe-i dāmān-ı murād

Aldurup vālih u ḥayrān olacağsın âhır

Ey ser-i bî-sāmān, ba'd ez-in kūfte-i seng-i nedāmet ol ki 'atebe-i 'aliyye-i āstān-ı ḥarem gibi bâliş-i istirāḥatdan ber-ḥāste olursın.

Ve ey cebhe, cilvegāh-ı dāğ-ı ğam ol ki mālîşgāh-ı ruḥsāre-i ḳudsiyān olan Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere'de²⁰³¹ secde-güzār olmak devletinden cüdā olursuñ.

Ey dide-i ğam-dide²⁰³² fevvāre-i ḥūn-ı derūn ol ki nazargāh-ı Hālîḳ-ı zî'l-celāl²⁰³³ olan merḳad-ı muḳaddes müşāhedesinden sedd-i derîçe-i nigāh idersin.

Ey meşām-ı bed-kām, menba'-i zükām-ı ālām ol ki nūkhet-i gül-i riyād-ı ḳurbden yine tahliye-i dāmān idersin²⁰³⁴.

Ey dehen-i pür-miḥen, kāse-i engüşt-ḥörde gibi leb-riz-i feryād ol ki müvācehe-i pâdişāh-ı [L61a] dū serāda ser-şār-ı zemzeme-i şalāt ü selām olmak devletinden mehcūr olursın.

Ey sine-i bî-sekine, mevcezār-ı şerḥa-i²⁰³⁵ endūh ol ki yine ḳāmet-i mevzūn-²⁰³⁶ sūtūn-ı ḥarem der-āğūşından bi-naşib ḳalursın.

²⁰³⁰ Hudā'nuñ pişgāh-ı sa'âdetinde: Hudā pişgāhında K

²⁰³¹ Muṭahhere'de: Muṭahhere'den B K

²⁰³² dide: dide-i K

²⁰³³ zî'l-Celāl: zū'l-Celāl B

²⁰³⁴ idersin: eyleyesin L

²⁰³⁵ şerḥa-i: şūrḥa-i L

Ey dest, efsürde-i sermā-yı nedāmet ve²⁰³⁷ gezide-i dendān-ı hayret ol ki yine dāmen-i şübbāk-ı şerife tevessülinden tehi kalursın.

Ey pāy-ı herze-girāy [B74b] pergār-ı şafha-i nedāmet ol ki nā'il-i gül-geşt-i cemenzār-ı na'im iken yine āvāre-i beyābān-ı firāk olursın. [K53b]

Ey dil, şem'-i encümen-i derd ol ki pişgāh-ı maḥbūb-ı İlāhi'de²⁰³⁸ yanup yakılurken yine bāziçe-i tünd-bād-ı hicrān olursın.

Ey t̄a'ir-i rūḥ-ı bī-ḥamiyyet, āşyāne-i şāh-sār-ı 'illiyyinden ḥāk-dān-ı²⁰³⁹ esfeli's-sāfiline giriftār olaldan beri pervāzgāh-ı aşı²⁰⁴⁰ hevāsiyle bāl-zen-i ıdṭirāb olurken ḥālā dārü'l-emān-ı ḥarem-i risāletde fırsat-yāb-ı fūrce-i²⁰⁴¹ [P110] rehā olasuñ da efsūs ki yine şikest-i²⁰⁴² kafes-i çār çūbe-i cisme kādir olmayasın.

Beyt

Ḥāk bādā be-ser-i ḡayret-i āşüftegiyem

Ki tü-rā didem ve cān bürdem ve kurbān ne-şüdem

Ey 'aql-ı bī-hūde-kerd, 'ille-i ḡā'iyeye-i²⁰⁴³ muḳaddemāt-ı icād olan vücūd bulmuş iken efsūs ki varup teng-nāy-ı umūr-ı nā-şāyeste-i²⁰⁴⁴ dünyāda yine sergerdān olursun.

Nazm

Āfāk pür-dirig ve cihān pür-nedāmet-est

Īn rüz-ı hicreti-st ki rüz-ı kıyāmet-est

²⁰³⁶ mezzūn: mezzūn-ḥirām P

²⁰³⁷ ve: - L

²⁰³⁸ İlāhi'de: Ḥudā'da K

²⁰³⁹ ḥākdan: ḥāk B

²⁰⁴⁰ aşı: aşl P

²⁰⁴¹ fūrce-i: fūrce B

²⁰⁴² şikest: - B K

²⁰⁴³ ḡā'iyeye-i: ḡāyibe-i B

²⁰⁴⁴ nā-şāyeste: illegible L

Evvelin rûz-ı vişâlde şevk-i müşâhede-i Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere ile tîz-pervâz olan
 ‘andelib-i cân hengâm-ı vedâ‘da şikeste-bâl u nâ-tüvân olup pişgâh-ı kafeş-i
 muḳaddesde nâle-senc-i el-vedâ‘ olmağıçün cünbüş-i bâle mecâl bulamadı.

Nazm

Çünân ki geşte-em ez-renc-i intizâr ḍa‘if

Nigâh-râ be-ruḥeş tākāt-residen nîst

‘Âkıbet ḥ^vâh [L61b] u nâ-ḥ^vâh, ḥilâf-ı dil-ḥ^vâh, üftân u ḥizân, müvâcehe-i ‘aliyye-i
 tākāt-güdâzında²⁰⁴⁵ dest-i şerm ü hicâb niḳâb-ı çehre-i i‘tizâr kılındı. Ammâ bir hâl
 ile ki ser-tâ-ser şerâyîn-i beden [B75a] mecârî-i sîmâb ve kuvvet-i nâtıka esir-i teb-i
 lerze-i hicâb olup

Nazm

Dî-rûz heme vişâl-ı cân-efrûzî

Imrûz heme firâk-ı ‘âlem-sûzî

Feryâd ki der-defter-i ‘ömr²⁰⁴⁶ eyyâm

Ân-râ rûzî şümâred in-râ rûzî

me‘âli her bin müydan teraşşuḥ-künân-ı eşk-i ḡaltân ve dil-i ṭapân²⁰⁴⁷ ile maḳâl-i
 derd-âmiz-i vedâ‘a âğâz olundı.

Li-mü‘ellifih²⁰⁴⁸ [K54a]

El-vedâ‘ ey ḥāk-i râhuñ kuḥl-i imân el-vedâ‘

Seng-i kūyuñ gevher-i tâc-ı Süleymân el-vedâ‘

²⁰⁴⁵ -güdâzında: güzârlarında B; -güdâzlarında P K

²⁰⁴⁶ ‘ömr: ‘ömrem B P

²⁰⁴⁷ ṭapân: tâbân P

²⁰⁴⁸ Li-mü‘ellifih: Nazm B P; ḳasîde-i vedâ‘a-st li-münşihî Nâbî Efendî, sellemehü’llahü te‘âlâ fi’ d-
 dâreyn K This ḡazel is also included in the *Nâbî Dîvânı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 738) and his Persian *Dîvânçe*
 (p. 34).

Pençe-i hürşid-i tâbuñ şâne-i zülf-i vücūd²⁰⁴⁹

Şafvet-i nūr-ı ruḥuñ mir'āt-ı Kur'ân el-vedā'

Gevher-i beyḍā-yı yektā-yı²⁰⁵⁰ vücūduñ tā ezel

Revnaḳ-ı ḥalvet-serā-yı kurb-ı Yezdān el-vedā'

Hıdmet-i isḳāya me'mūr olduğından devr ider²⁰⁵¹

Kiştzār-ı şer'üñe dūlāb-ı devrān el-vedā'

Kuḥl-i gerd-i²⁰⁵² āstānuñdan²⁰⁵³ olurken vāye-gir

Ḳande şarf itsün nigāhın çeşm-i ḥayrān el-vedā'

Ḳāmet-i naḥl-i ḥarīm-i āstānuñdan cüdā

Nice gelsün bir yere āḡūş-ı müjgān el-vedā' [P111]

Piştḡāhuñda olurken naḡme-senc-i²⁰⁵⁴ es-selām

Ḳande olsun bülbul-i dil zār u nālān el-vedā'

Ḥasret-i ravḍañla ey verd-i bihişt-ārā-yı²⁰⁵⁵ kurb

İtmesün mi dide dāmānın gülistān el-vedā'

Şerm-sārum yā Rasūla'llāh vedā'uñdan senüñ

Böyle olmuş neyleyem taḳdir-i Yezdān el-vedā'

Keşt-i cism-i nizārum mevc-i tūfān-ı kader

İtmek ister sāḫil-i hicrānda vīrān el-vedā'

Dūr düşdüm āstān-ı devletüñden şūretā

²⁰⁴⁹ vücūd: vücūh DF

²⁰⁵⁰ beyḍā-yı yektā-yı: yektā-yı beyḍā-yı DF

²⁰⁵¹ devr ider: tā ebed DF

²⁰⁵² gerd: gerde DF

²⁰⁵³ āstānuñdan: āstānuñda DF

²⁰⁵⁴ naḡme-senc: na're-senc D; senc: şeyḥ DF

²⁰⁵⁵ bihişt: - B

Lik ma'nâda mücāvirdür dil ü cān el-vedā'

Ya Rasūla'llāh nigāh-ı şefkatüñ her hâlde

Eyle Nâbi-i [B75b] hazin üzre nigh-bân el-vedā'

Laḥza laḥza cānib-i meḍce'-i muḳaddese i'āde-i naẓara-i ḥayret iderek dāğ-ı ğam ve
kāmet-i ham ile hāric-i deriçe-i ḥareme vaḍ'-ı kadem olundu. [L62a]

Nazm

Fiğān ki rüz-ı vedā'a-st ve giryehā dārem

Egerçi mi-revem ammā sırr-ı vefā dārem

Çe gūne pāy be²⁰⁵⁶-seng-i melāmet-em n-āyed [?]

Ki tünd mi-revem ve rü-yı der-kaḥā dārem

Ol ḥin-i derd-āğinde ḥayme-i ḥuṣk-ı eczā-yı²⁰⁵⁷ a'dāya işābet iden sūziş-i firākuñ
beyānı hāric-i ḳudret-i ḳalem-i ter-zebāndur.

Nazm

Nigh-i gülçin-i²⁰⁵⁸ ḥasret-i²⁰⁵⁹ dāmenüm pür-hār-ı miḥnetdür

Gel ey bülbul benümçün nāle it kim rüz-ı firḳatdür

Bu ḥālet-i pür-melālet ile ğubār-ı kūçe-i Medine-i Münevvere'yi sirāb-ı seylāb-ı²⁰⁶⁰
eşk-i ḥün-pāş iderek dāmen-i şahrā girifte-i pençe-i sevdā kılandı.

Nazm

Mi-reftem ve ḥün-i dil²⁰⁶¹ be-rāhem mi-riht

Dūzah dūzah şerār²⁰⁶² zi-āhem mi-riht

²⁰⁵⁶ be: ki P

²⁰⁵⁷ eczā-yı: - K

²⁰⁵⁸ gül-çin: pürçin B

²⁰⁵⁹ ḥasret-i: ḥayret-i L

²⁰⁶⁰ seylāb: - K

²⁰⁶¹ dil: - L

Mi-reftem ve ez-hasret-i ân gülşen-i kūy

Şahrā şahrā gül²⁰⁶³ ez-nigāhem mi-rīht

Gāh hıyām-ı hayāl-ı Haremeyn ārāyiş-i [K54b] şahrā-yı cinān ve gāh müzākere-i evşāf-ı maḳāmeyn rā'id-i gül-gün-ı zebān olarak rāh-ı Şām'a tahrik-i 'inān-ı mürāca'at olundu²⁰⁶⁴.

Nazm

Dem-i vişāl geçer neş'e-i şerāb gibi

Kalur gözüñde²⁰⁶⁵ o demler hayāl-i h^vāb gibi

Idāre-i²⁰⁶⁶ sübḥa-i eyyām u leyāl ile bir gün yine hıttā-i Şām menzil ki ārām²⁰⁶⁷ olıcak ol maḥalde rişte-i nizām-ı huccāc rehīn-i iftirāk olmak i'tiyādına binā'en herkes dest-māye-i huşūl-i [P112] merām ile vaṭan-ı me'lūfına tevcīh-i rū-yı 'azm-i²⁰⁶⁸ ğarām itmegin ḥadret-i sultān-ı bārgāh-ı [B76a] eḥadiyyet, celle şānüh, bu 'abd-i nā-tüvānı dahi rehīn-i bedraḳa-i tevfiḳ idüp ḳāfile-i emn ü āsāyiş ile yine bir gün āstāne-i 'aliyyede²⁰⁶⁹ baş-ı visāde-i istirāḥat müyesser eyledi²⁰⁷⁰.

Tārīḥ-i kitāb-ı ra'nā²⁰⁷¹

Cenāb-ı Hakk'a hezārān hezār ḥamd ü şenā

Ki itdi luṭfi ile²⁰⁷² bu 'abd-i kem-terin iḥyā

Ne istedimse naşib itdi rāh-ı beytinde

²⁰⁶² şerār: şerer K

²⁰⁶³ gül: - L

²⁰⁶⁴ olundu: kılındı K

²⁰⁶⁵ gözüñde: gözümde P K

²⁰⁶⁶ idāre-i: āvāre-i B

²⁰⁶⁷ ārām: merām P L B

²⁰⁶⁸ 'azm-i ğarām L: ğarām P B; 'azm K

²⁰⁶⁹ āstāne-i 'aliyyede: hıttā-i āstānede K

²⁰⁷⁰ müyesser eyledi: müyesser oldu B

²⁰⁷¹ Tārīḥ-i kitāb-ı ra'nā: Nazm P B; Kıt'a-yı tārīḥ-est K This poem is also included in *Nābī Divānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 218) under the title of '*Tārīḥ ber āy-ı tamām-süder-i (kitāb-ı) Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*'.

²⁰⁷² luṭfi ile: luṭfla L B P

Ne ḥācetüm var ise eyledi keremle revā²⁰⁷³

‘Ale’l-ḥuṣūṣ ki²⁰⁷⁴ bu şāhid-i nev-āmedenüñ

Ki ḥüsn-i lafzı virür cāna neşve-i şahbā [L62b]

Edā-yı dil-keşi ta‘bır-i şive-āmizi²⁰⁷⁵

Olur muḥayyir-i ṭab‘-ı ahāli-i inşā

‘Aceb mi cāme-i ḳadd-i ḳabūl olursa budur

Metā‘-ı tāze-zuhūr-ı ḳalem-rev-i ma‘nā

Bu feyḍ ḥāme-i Nābi’ye rāh-ı²⁰⁷⁶ Ḥaḳḳ’ dandur

Ki oldı²⁰⁷⁷ böyle ‘arūs-ı laṭife çehre-küşā

Didüm tamāmına Nābi bu nüshanuñ tārīḥ

Bu Tuḥfe-i Ḥaremeyn’üm ḳabūl ide Mevlā

1090 L

²⁰⁷³ revā: atā D

²⁰⁷⁴ ki: - K

²⁰⁷⁵ şive: neşve K

²⁰⁷⁶ rah: -K

²⁰⁷⁷ ki oldı: k’oldı K

