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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

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1999

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Declaration

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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.

Acknowledgment

I express my gratitude to the Ministry of National Education of Turkey, which has provided me with a scholarship, without which this study would not have been undertaken.

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I thank the helpful staffs of the libraries of Süleymaniye, Millet, Bayezit, Köprülü, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul Üniversitesi, the John Rylands and Cambridge University. I would like to thank the University of Durham, which supported me with financial assistance for a part of the expenses I made in order to carry out a study in Istanbul manuscript libraries for several weeks, and to present a paper in a conference in Istanbul.

Last but not least, my thanks go to my wife, Hatice, who helped me in the final checking of the thesis, to my sister Fatma Coşkun, who provided me with some materials I needed, and to my son A. Edip, my daughter Ş. Betül and my parents for their moral support and encouragement.

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

DIA : *Diyanet Islam Ansiklopedisi*

EI : *Encyclopedia of Islam*

HOP : E.J.W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*

IA : *Islam Ansiklopedisi*

IJTS : *International Journal of Turkish Studies*

IUEF : *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi*

IUTBK : *Istanbul Üniversitesi Türkçe Basmalar Kataloğu*

JTS : *Journal of Turkish Studies / Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları*

KTB : *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanılğı*

MEB : *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*

OM : Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*

Rh. : Sir James W. Redhouse, *Turkish and Eglish Lexicon*

Sg. : F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*

TDEA : *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*

TDK : *Türk Dil Kurumu*

TSMKTYK : *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*

TTK : *Türk Tarih Kurumu*

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

[1]For 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 volunatary 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

[2]Münir 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

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[3]See the entry 'The pilgrimage journey' in Chapter V below.
[4]Abderrahmane 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
[5]M.N. Pearson, *Pious passengers: the hajj in earlier times* (London: Hurst & Company, 1994), p. 44
[6]Pearson. p. 46
[7]Angelika Hartmann, 'al-Suhrawardi', *EI*^{2} IX, p. 779
[8]A. Ateş, Ibn al-'Arabi, *EI*^{2} 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 Nasır-ı 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]

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[9]H. Massé, ''Iraki, Fakhr al-Din Ibrahim', *EI*^{2} 3, p. 1269
[10]A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1958), p. 426
[11]See the entry '*Vakfe* at 'Arafat' in Chapter IV.
[12]Pearson, p. 44
[13]Mary Byrne McDonnel, 'Patterns of Muslim pilgrimage from Malaysia, 1885-1985', in Eickelman and Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travellers,* p. 119
[14]See below p. 32.
[15]Moudden, p. 70; see B. Lewis, 'Hadjdj', *EI*^{2} 3, p. 38
[16]Lewis, 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

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[17]Barbara 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'.

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

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

[20]Metcalf (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]

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[21]Jonathon Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of mediaeval religion* (London 1975), p. 182
[22]Howard, p. 24
[23]Sumption, p. 257
[24]J.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
[25]James 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 predictibility 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

[26]Sumption, 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 jouneys 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,

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[27]See 'Conclusion' in Chapter I.
[28]Pearson, 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

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[29]Sumption, p. 186

[30]Madeline 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

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[31]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), p. 124

[32]Kafadar, p. 126

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

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

[35]Sumption, p. 258

[36]Howard, 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.

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[37]This 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.

[38]Having 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 Ibrahim 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

[39]J. 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 cliches. 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 *mesnevi*s) 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

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

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

the major biographers[43] to have gone to the Hijaz either for the hajj[44] 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]

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

[43]For 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 (*tezkireler*): 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 boğazici kıyılarını canlandıran mesnevisi', *Belleten* XL (no: 158, April-1976), p. 331

[44]Among 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).

[45]It 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 Istanbul'a yolladığı mektup ve ona yazılan cevaplar', *Türk dili ve araştırmalar yıllığı-Belleten (*Ankara 1974), pp. 223-252).

[46]Among 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.

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

[48]Christine 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

[49]See '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

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[50]Gölpınarlı 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

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

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

[53]See 'Sources and influences' in Chapter III.

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

[55]Numerous 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-aşıkin*. 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 fi-ziyareti'l-Mustafa*,[60] Mehmed Yemeni's *Feza'il-i Mekke ve Medine* [ve Kudüs],[61] Şikari-zade Derviş Ahmed's *Tayyibetü'l-ezkar fi-medineti'l-envar*,[62] Hasan Tahsin's *Coğrafya ve tarih-i hıtta-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

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

[57]Yazıcıoğlu, Ahmed-i Bican, *Envaru'l-'aşıkin* (Istanbul: Matba'a-i 'Osmaniye), pp. 325-27

[58]Baki, Tercüme-*i i'lamu bi-a'lamı 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 mauscript was owned by Es-seyyid Ibrahim bin Eş-şeyh 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).

[59]Ali Alparslan, 'Gubari Abdurrahman', *DIA* 14, p. 168

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

[61]Karatay, *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

[62]Karatay, *TSMKTYK* 1, p. 462

[63]Hasan Tahsin, *Coğrafya ve tarih-i hıtta-i Hicaziyye ve evsaf-i 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

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

[65]Suraiya 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

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[1]Hala, 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

[2]Ulrich 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

[3]H.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-rahhala 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 Peters[8] 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

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[4]Ahmad Ramadan Ahmad, *al-Rihla wa al-rahhala al-muslimun*, Dar al-bayan al-'Arabi, Jeddah (n.d.)
[5]Ahmet Özel, 'Hacc: Seyahatnameler', *DIA* 14, pp. 413-416
[6]Husayn Amin, *'Nazrat ba'd al-rahhala al-muslimin wa ba'd al-rahhala al-gharbiyyin 'inda ziyaratihim li mintaqat al-Hijaz'* in Abdalla *et al.* (eds.), *Sources for the History of Arabia* 1, pp. 385-402
[7]Hafez 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)
[8]F.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

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[9]Edward 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 a*l-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

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[10]Ahmad, p. 53

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

[12]Moudden, p. 75

[13]Ahmad, 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).

[14]Ahmad, 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.

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[15]Ahmad, pp. 55-232; Bosworth, p. 779

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

[17]'Ibn Hawkal', *EI*^{2} 3, p. 787

[18]Ahmad, 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-'Işarat fi ma'rifa al-ziyarati* 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 Misr* 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).

[19]Moudden, pp. 73-74

[20]Özel, 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

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[21]Ibn Jubayr, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst, *The travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), pp. 15-16; Ch. Pellat, 'Ibn Djubayr', *EI*^{2} 3, p. 755

[22]Pellat, p. 755

[23]Pellat, 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.'

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

[25]Ahmad, 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

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[26]Ahmad, p. 343
[27]Özel, p. 414
[28]Ahmad. p. 344.
[29]Ahmad, p. 348
[30]Ibn 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

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[31]Ibn Battuta, tr. Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta: (India, Maldive Islands and Ceylon) translation and commentary* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1953), pp. xvii-xviii.
[32]Dunn, p. 311
[33]A. Miquel, 'Ibn Battuta', *EI*^{2} 3, p. 736.
[34]Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. xv
[35]Dunn, p. 313
[36]See 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 Motylinksi in 1900.[40]

The seventeenth-century writer 'Abd al-Ghani b. al-Nablusi narrates his pilgrimage-centred journey in his *al-Haqiqa 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

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[37]Özel, p. 415.
[38]fatwa: 'a judicial or religious sentence pronounced by a *mufti'* (Sg).
[39]Ahmad, pp. 320-1; Özel, p. 415
[40]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 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]

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[41]Özel, p. 415
[42]Haarmann, p. 247
[43]Fattah, p. 53, 57
[44]Özel, 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

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[45]James 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

[46]Thayer, pp. 180-181

[47]Norris, p. xvii

[48]Norris, p. vii

[49]Norris, 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

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[50]Norris, p. xix

[51]Jacob 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] Faroqhi, 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 posses 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

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[52]Landau, p. 28

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

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

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

[56]Farmayan. 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

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[57]Ahmet 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

[58]Farmayan, p. xxiii

[59]Felix Tauer, 'Geography' in Rypka (ed.), p. 462

[60]Farmayan, p. xxiv

[61]Farmayan, p. xxiv

[62]Farmayan, 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 Salihiya, 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

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[63]Storey, pp. 1155-1160

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

[65]Azim Nanji, 'Nasir-i Khusraw', *EI*^{2} VII, p. 1006; see also Rypka, p. 186

[66]W.M. Thackston (tr), *Naser-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

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[67]Rypka, pp. 186-7
[68]Nasır-ı Husrev, tr. Abduüvehhab Tarzi, *Sefername* (Istanbul: MEB, 1994), p. 63
[69]Thackston, p. 104
[70]Nasır-ı Husrev, tr. Tarzi, p. 132
[71]A 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 *qasida*s. 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-*

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[72]Ateş, p. 88
[73]Ateş, p. 91
[74]Browne, 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
[75]B. Reinert, 'Khakani', *EI*[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 there 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

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[76]Rypka, p. 205
[77]Arberry, p. 120
[78]Cl. Huart-[H. Masse], 'Djami' *EI*^{2} 2, p. 421; and Zeki Velidi Togan, 'Cami', *IA* 3, p. 17
[79]Arberry, p. 438
[80]Togan, p. 17
[81]Jami, *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
[82]E. Berthels, 'Muhyi'l-Din Lari', *EI*^{2} 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

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[83]Muhyi, *Futuh al-Harameyn*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Lala Ismail, no: 102; see also Simsar, p. 141.
[84]Charles 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.
[85]Charles 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

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[86] Thackston, 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.

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[87]Dunn, p. 310
[88]Ibn Jubayr, p. 15
[89]Husain, p. liv
[90]Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. xiii
[91]Husain, 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

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[1]See 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 Universitesi in

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[2]See 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

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

[4]Levend's list of Turkish travel narratives, including pilgrimage accounts, consists of seven works: the *Mir'atü'l-memalik* by Seydi Ali Reis; the *Hıtayi-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).

[5]Rahmi Yaran, 'Hacc: literatür', *DIA* 14, 410-413

[6]Ahmet Özel, 'Hacc: Seyahatnameler', *DIA* 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'ş-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

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[7]The 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).
[8]For 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

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

[10]Metcalf 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

[11]The 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.

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

[13]Sulhi, 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 *müderris* 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 *Der-beyan-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

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

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[16]Sulhi, f. 24a: Sulhi bunı nazm kıldı ey şeha - Okuyandan iltimas eyler du'a
[17]Sulhi, 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 Sivasi[20] (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 Efendi[22] (appointed *kadı* in 1277/1860), and Gümüşhaneli Ahmed Ziya'eddin Efendi[23] (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.

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[18]Sulhi, f. 22b: 'Aneze'dir menzilinin yedincisi - Suyı yokdur hic bil ey can-paresi

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

[20]*OM* 1, p. 95

[21]Beğzade 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)

[22]Babakaleli '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.

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

[24]Yaran, 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 *medrese*s 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]

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

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

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

[28]Alparslan, 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

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[29]Gubari, f. 2b, 3a
[30]Gubari, f. 19a
[31]Gubari, 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 *medrese*s 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

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[32]Gubari, f. 4a

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

[34]Na'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

[35]See Yaran, p. 412

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

[37]Ipekten, p. 65

[38] Mücteba 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

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[39]Köprülü Ktp., Hafız Ahmed Paşa, no: 334; See also Yaran, p. 412
[40]'Nali Mehmed Efendi', *TDEA* 6, p. 509; *OM* 2, p. 446;
[41]Bahti, f. 1: El-hamdü li'llahi'llezi 'ala külli hal - Keyfe yü'eddihi lisani'l-makal
[42]See 'Introduction' and 'Sanctuaries' in Chapter V.
[43]Bahti, 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 ocasionally refers to them in general terms, such as 'experts'.[50] There are a few phrases and verses which also appear in

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[44]Bahti, *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

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

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

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

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

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

[50]Bahti, 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

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[51]See 'Sources and influences' in Chapter III.
[52]John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill & W.F. Ryan, *Jerusalem pilgrimage 1099-1185* (London: The Hakylut Society, 1988), p. 2
[53]Howard, 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 *mesnevi*s. 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 olundı* (Stations from Üsküdar to Damascus, the noble, have been described in succession). Even though the library's catalogue does not record it, the

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[54]Bahri, *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a kadar konaklar*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Mihrişah Sultan, no: 322/5
[55]Ipekten, pp. 64-5
[56]Aşık 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

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

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

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

[60]Bahri, 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

[62]Edward 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

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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 Haci 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 yüridi ol temaşadır

[65] Cudi [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

[66] Ipekten, 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 *müderris* 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.

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[67]Salim, pp. 203-204

[68]'Cudi', *TDEA* 2, p. 86

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

[70]Cudi, f. 69a: Irişdür gülşen-i eltafina bad-i seher-asa - Hususan maksad-ı aksa ta Şam u Karaman'a

[71]Cudi, f. 69b: Seni Hakk çünki ey Cudi düşürdü mazhar-ı cudı - Yiter tarih içün bu didi hatif nazeninane

[72]Bakhit, p. 178

[73]There 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 Hafiz 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

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

[75]Cudi, 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 'Abdülmecid (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*

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

'Salihiyye 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.

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[78]Ipekten, pp. 242-243
[79]Şam kim 'arz-ı mukaddesdir bu - Şerefi ile müşerref her su
[80]Salihiyye dahi bir başka kaza - Kurb-ı Şam'da o da cennet-asa
[81]On iki sa'at olunca itmam - Kal'ası oldı 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

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[82]Sevim 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)

[83]Ilgürel, 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,

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[84]For 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

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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

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[86]Another 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, IÜ 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

[88]Kadri, 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,

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[89]Kadri, f. 32b
[90]Kadri, 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 ordinarly 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 stations[93] 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

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[91]Kadri, f. 56b

[92]The 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 çarşusı ve bazarı mükemmeldir (another format); Sultan Ala'eddin validesi anda medfun (7a); Iki küçük hanları vardır (7b); birkaç meşhur saraylar vardır (15b); Bu ana gelince kimseye topuz ile helva yedirmek olmamışdır (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 Zümürrüd'i merhum Sultan Ibrahim'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

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

[95]'Üsküdar`dan cebel-i 'Arafat'a varinca 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.

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[96]Ibrahim Hanif Efendi, *Hasıl-ı hacc li-menazilü'l-haremeyn*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Lala Ismail, no: 220.
[97]Cemil Akpınar, 'Hanif Ibrahim Efendi', *DIA* 16, p. 40
[98]See *OM*, 1, pp. 281-282; Akpınar, pp. 39-42
[99]Ipekten, 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't*s (verses addressed to the Prophet Muhammed), and amusing stories. On reaching the Hijaz, Hanif begins to describe his

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

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[102]Hanif, f. 52a

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

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 *kıt'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

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

[105]The 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)

[106]Some 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 Türkşe basmalar kataloğu* 1, Istanbul: Istanbul Universitesi, 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 *oturak*s (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

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[107]M. 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.
[108]See 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
[110]Mehmed 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 Dımışk,*[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

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[111]Mehmed Edib, p. 2
[112]Mehmed Edib, p. 115
[113]Mehmed 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-

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[114]Mehmed Edib, p. 122

[115]Mehmed Edib, p. 123

[116]Söylemezoğlu Süleyman Şefik b. 'Ali Kemali, *Hicaz Seyahatnamesi*, Istanbul 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

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[117]About 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).

[118]Atalar, pp. 157-159

[119]Söylemezoğlu, f. 58

[120]Atalar, p. 126

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

[122]Carter Vaughn Findley, 'A Muslim's pilgrim's progress: Aşçı Dede Ibrahim 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]

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[123]Cenab Şahabeddin, *Hac yolunda* (Istanbul: Matba'a-i 'Amire-i Ihsan, 1325/1907)
[124]'Cenab Şahabeddin', *TDEA* 2, pp. 44-8
[125]Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671-1672),* 9 (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935)
[126]At 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).
[127]Mustafa 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
[128]Kafadar, p. 126

The *Seyahatname* is the only source for the life of Evliya Çelebi.[129] Evliya was born on 10 Muharrem 1020/25 March 1611[130] 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]

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

[130]The 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.

[131]Baysun, p. 400

[132]Baysun, pp. 400-412

[133]Bilge, pp. 213-227

[134]Kortepeter, 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, Izmir, Ceşme, 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

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[135]The 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.

[136]Evliya, 9, p. 5

[137]Like 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 recomended 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.

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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).

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

[139]Evliya, 9, p. 518

[140]Evliya, 9, p. 566

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

[142]Evliya, 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

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[143]Evliya, 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

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[144]For 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

[145]Evliya, 9, p. 597

[146]Evliya, 9, p. 381

[147]Evliya (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 *hadith*s 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]

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[148]Baysun, pp. 400-412
[149]Evliya, 9, p. 78
[150]Meşkure Eren, *Evliya Çelebi seyahatnamesi birinci cildinin kaynakları üzerinde bir araştırma* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1960), p. 11; See also Evliya, 7, p. 267
[151]Evliya, 9, p. 841
[152]Evliya, 9, p. 841
[153]Eren, p. 37

In the ninth volume, when elucidating the historical geography of a place Evliya occasionally refers to history books, and to *siyer*s (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-name*s 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 *akçe*s. In total it had 2000 soldiers

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[154]Evliya, 9, p. 367, 592, 597,

[155]His 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).

[156]Evliya, 9, p. 596

[157]Evliya, 9, p. 603

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

[159]See Evliya, 9, p. 182

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

[161]Schur 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

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[162]Evliya, 9, 201
[163]Evliya, 9, 368
[164]Evliya, 9, 381
[165]Evliya, 9, p. 492
[166]Evliya, 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

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[167]Jackson, p. 84
[168]Jackson, p. 84
[169]MacKay, p. 292
[170]M.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'ş-şerife* (Book of descriptions of the noble mosques)[171] by Ahmed Fakih (early 15th century)

The *Kitabu evsafı mesacidi'ş-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 evsafi mesacidi'ş-şerife* is a work of 21 folios, containing 339 couplets. The 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

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[171]Ahmed Fakih, ed. Hasibe Mazıoğlu, *Kitabu evsafi mesacidi'ş-şerife* (Ankara 1974), p. 7
[172]O.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 Mazıoğlu 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

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[173]For the mosque near Yusuf's well, see Evliya, 9, p. 523.
[174]Ahmed Fakih, p. 45
[175]Ahmed Fakih, p. 33, 45
[176]Rum ile Şam'ı geçdüm 'Arab illerine düşdüm - Şükür kim sana kavışdum i canum Kuds-i mübarek
[177]Lutfi, p. 221
[178]Ahmed Fakih, p. 35; Halilürrahman is seven hours from Jerusalem according to Evliya (9, p. 504).
[179]In 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 counciously 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

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[180]Ahmed Fakih, p. 25: Segirdüben tavaf itdüm i kardeş - Akar gözümden dem-be-dem yaş
[181]Ahmed Fakih, p. 22
[182]Ahmed Fakih, p. 40
[183]Ahmed Fakih, p. 41
[184]Ahmed 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 Nahçivan. 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.

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[185]Ahmed Fakih, p. 33: Işit imdi sana vasfın diyeyin - Işidicek cü dirsin ben gideyin

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

[187]The 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' *EI*^{2} 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

[188]Kalpaklı, p. 505

[189]müfti: 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]

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[190]Tarlan, p. 56
[191]Tarlan, p. 57
[192]Ta'if-i beyt-i Huda ve zayir-i bab-ı rasül - Fevri ya'ni hak-i rah-ı al u ashab-ı rasül
[193]Fevri, f. 29b: Vakfe burda tamam olsun - Bizi bilenlere payam olsun
[194]Fevri, 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

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[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'i 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 Ibrahim'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

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

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

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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).

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

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

[5]Abdulkadir 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

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

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

[8]Karahan, 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 *mesnevi*s 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

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[9]See *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 292
[10]*Hemşire* means sister in Persian.
[11]Nabi, 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)
[12]Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i 'Osmani yahud Tezkire-i meşahir-i 'Osmaniyye* 4 (Istanbul: Matba'a-i 'Amire, 1316/1898), p. 540
[13]Karahan, *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*
[15]Mehmed Emin Salim, *Tezkire-i Salim* (Istanbul: Ikdam Matbaası, 1315/1897), p. 628
[16]See *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

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[17]Emel 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)
[18]Osmanzade Ta'ib Ahmed, ed. D. Robischon, *Hadiqat ül-vüzera* (Freiburg 1969), p. 128; and Salim, p. 629
[19]Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 12; E.G. Ambros, 'Nabi', *EI*^{2} VII, p. 839
[20]Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 12
[21]Süreyya, p. 530; Agah Sırrı Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi* (Istanbul: Inkilap, 1944), p. 14
[22]Süreyya, p. 530; Salim, p. 629; Ambros, p. 839
[23]Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi,* p. 72
[24]*Nabi Divanı*, p. 50: Elli yildur ki müsellem 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 Kameniçe* (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

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[25]The *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*.

[26]Nabi, *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*.

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

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

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

[30]The *Tercüme-i hadis-i erba'in,* published by Necip Asim in the *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* in 1331/1913 in Istanbul; see Abdülkadir Karahan, *Islami Turk edebiyatinda kirk hadis toplama, tercüme ve şerhler* (Istanbul 1954), pp. 230-232.

[31]The *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 Insan Tipi', *Turk edebiyati 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 makaleler* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1993), pp. 151-192; Ali Fuat Bilkan, 'Nabi'nin "Hayriname" adlı eseri', *Milli kültür* 71 (Nisan 1990), pp. 52-55

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

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

[34]The *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, Hafiz, 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

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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

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

[38]Karahan, *Nabi,* p. 45

[39]Abdülkadir 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).

[40]Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 44; See also Abdülkadir Karahan, *Islami 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 *divan*s 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

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

[42]Ali 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 Sünbülzade 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 *gazel*s: 'Galib, I am fond of the rose garden of poetry of Nabi, each well-adjusted verse is in fact my

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[43]For 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 sözlerüne Na'ili olmışdı 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)

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

[47]Hamit 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

[50]Holbrook, 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 Rağıb Paşa (d 1176/1763), and Ibrahim 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

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[51]Pesendim gülistan-ı şi'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

[52]George 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

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

[54]On the usage of the complimentary title *hacı* by Ottomans, see Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Anatolian townsmen as pilgrims to Mecca: some evidence from the sixteenth and seventeeth 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 *gazel*s 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 *mesnevi*s 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

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[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 days[64] 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,

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[63]Karahan, *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).
[64]See *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 346

Cemaleddin Kutup in Hıms, Şeyh Fahreddin Ibrahim-i 'Iraki in Salihiyye of Damascus, 'Ukbe b. 'Amir, Imam Şafi'i and 'Ömer b. Farid in Karafe, Şeyh Ibrahim 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), Nuredddin 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 kiosque 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

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

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

[67]Naci, *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 Çehrin[70] 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 '*meğer*' 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

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[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* vezir*i* and then to that of grand vezir in 1114/1703.[73] When Nabi draws a picture of the caravan in the middle of a desert[74] 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

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[71]Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* III, p. 440
[72]Osman Ta`ib, p. 128
[73]F. Babinger, 'Mehmed Pasha Rami', *EI*^{2} 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, Hıms 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-'Ayyaşi (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

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[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 Rabığ. 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

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[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] Bilkan, '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 began 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 Levend[80]and Karahan[81] 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] 1092[88] and 1093,[89] and 1095.[90] These varying

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[80]Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi,* p. 16

[81]Karahan, *Nabi*, p. 48. Karahan also cites both dates 1093 and 1094 in the same entry on Nabi in *Islam 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.

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

[84]Süleymaniye 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

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

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

[87]The 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.

[88]Cambridge 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

[89]TSMK, 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.

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

[91]*Nabi Divanı*, p. 218

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

[93]Salim, 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]

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[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: Mısr 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 Polo[100] 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]

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[98]Ross E Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and California, 1986), p. 313
[99]Donald R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narraives and their posterity* (Berkeley 1980), p. 54
[100]Peter 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 olduğı üzre'
[102]*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 354: 'zeban-güzar-ı tevarih-şinasan-ı vekayi'-i Mısrıyyedür'

'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

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[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 olduğı üzre'

[105] See the section on Nabi's prose style.

[106] Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum* II (London 1881), p. 655; E. Berthels, 'Muhyi'l-Din Lari', *EI*^{2} 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'iyyah* 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

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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

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

[108]Simsar, p. 140

[109]Rieu, p. 655

[110]Hikmet, p. 194

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

[112]Several 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

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[113]See a copy of the *Fütuhu'l-haremeyn* in the Millet library, Farsça, no: 478.
[114]A.J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library: a catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures* III, (Dublin 1962), p. 22-23.
[115]Eyüb Sabri, *Mir'atü'l-haremeyn: mir'at-ı Mekke* 4 (Istanbul, Bahriyye Matbaasi, 1302/1884), p. 1147
[116]Eyüb Sabri Paşa, p. 1159
[117]See Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 42
[118]Agah 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.

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[119]The 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 sünbül-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 Ilahi'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 ğubar-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 Gibb[122] 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 *mesnevi*s 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 *mesnevi*s 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

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[121]Levend, *Nabi'nin Surnamesi*, p. 17
[122]*HOP* IV, p. 6; *HOP* III, p. 246, 370
[123]Holbrook, pp. 63-64
[124]Mengi, p. 29, 33, 38-39; Fuad Köprülü, *Edebiyat araştırmaları* (Ankara: TTK, 1966), p. 294; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. asır Türk edebiyatı tarihi* 1, (Istanbul: Ibrahim 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:

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[125]Mengi, pp. 31-2
[126]*Nabi Divanı*, p. 405: Varsan a astane-i şaha - Yüzüni sürsen e o dergaha
[127]*Nabi Divanı*, p. 410: Didüm ey şah-ı mülk-i ma'muri - Bahtum ayinesi güzüm nurı
[128]*Nabi Divanı*, p. 447: Ahmed Ağa olma sakın dun-himem - Sen dahi bunlar gibi ey muhterem
[129]Agah 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
[130]Levend, *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

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[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',

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

[136] It 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 misafirhane-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

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

[139]Tietze, p. 311

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

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

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

[143]F. 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*

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

[145]Agah 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
Inşaya virir eğerçi ziynet - Türki söz içinde ayn-ı sıklet

[146]*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 445: 'Ey bimaran-ı pister-i hasret, bu ol darü'ş-şifa-yı 'illet-i ma'siyetdür ki ğubar-ı sahn-ı mu'allasından terkib 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 bimaran-ı pister-i 'ıllet, in an darü'ş-şifa-yı 'illet-i ma'siyet-est ki eger ez ğubar-ı sahn-ı mu'allayeş terkib-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: *..hıtta-i Endülüs olmak [olması] mersum-ı ..ezeldir; sükkan-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 evsafi*

[147]The 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'ş-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:

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[148]See 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]

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[149]Bahti, *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

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

[152]The *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

[153]Kadri, 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

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

[155] Kadri, 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 güneh-kar **Rafi'-i** bi-dil
Küned ümid-i 'ata ya Muhammed-i 'Arabi[158]

The *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* reads:

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

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[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

Ider 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]

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[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 Dımışk*,[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' olmış 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
[165]Nabi, *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'
[167]Mehmed 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

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[168]Anonymous, *Janib-i Mısrdan 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 Ilahi'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.

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[175]Na'ibü's-Sadr-ı Şirazi, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn: sefername-i Na'ibu's-Sadr-i Sirazi der-ziyaret-i Mekke ve seyehat-i Iran u Hind* 1 (Iran 1362/1943), pp. 50-1

[176]Na'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 Usküdar, 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 composition[2]

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

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[1]Nabi, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, 276-7: 'Bir sepide-dem kafile-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 zümürrüd-sima-yı Üsküdar'dan, muqim-i müsafir-hane-i zin olup, Kartal nam menzile tahrik-i bal-ı isti'cal olundı.'

[2]The text is divided into sections as in Nabi's original.

[3]The 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.

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[4]The Qur'an, 3/97; AL-Hilali, p. 136.
[5]Mehmed IV (1058-99/1648-87)
[6]Musahib Mustafa Paşa (d. 1687) was a vezir, whom Nabi served as secretary and *kethüda* (steward) (Ali Fuat Bilkan, 'Nabi`nin sanat çevresi ve sanatçi dostlari, *Yedi Iklim* 65 (Ağustos 1995), p. 68).
[7]Abdurrahman 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 Hayrani[11] 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 laugher. 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

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'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).

[8]Eşrefzade (d. 874/1469-70?), poet and *şeyh* of the Kadiri *derviş* order ('Eşrefoglu Rumi', *DIA* II, 480-82).

[9]In the province of Eskişehir, there are four hot springs: Alpanos in the city centre of Eskişehir, Yarıkcı in Mihallıççık, Ilıcaköy in Seyitgazi and Laçin madensuyu in Sarıcakaya (see *Yurt Ansiklopedisi* IV, p. 2823).

[10]Suraiya 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.'

[11]Mahmud 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).

[12]Seyyid Ni'metullah Nahçevani (d. 902/1496 according to the date on his grave in Akşehir).

[13]As 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 Bagdad, and passed through Eskisehir, 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]

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[14]Nabi includes both these well-known poems in the *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*. For a translation of these poems see *HOP* III, p. 275.

[15]Mevlana 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.

[16]Muhammed bin Huseyn el-Katibi el-Bekri, popularly known as Baha'üddin (d. February 628/1231).

[17]Salahaddin-i Zerkub (d. 662/1263-64).

[18]Hüsameddin Hasan (d. 683/1284-85).

[19]Sadreddin Konevi (d. 673/1274) was a celebrated sufi writer and a desciple of Ibn al-Arabi (see W.C. Chittick, 'Sadr al-Din al-Konawi', *EI*^{2} VIII, pp. 753-5).

[20]Muhyiddin 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, 'Ibn al-'Arabi', *EI*^{2} 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 Şehabeddin[23] 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 Neccar[24] in the middle of the city, we departed, and on the third day reached Aleppo.

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[21]'Abdülkadir-i Geylani (d. 470/1078) the founder of the Kadiri order.

[22]It 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', *EI*^{2} 3, p. 708; see also Chittick, W.C. 'Sadr al-Din' *EI*^{2} VIII, p. 753). Ibn al-Arabi is reported to have come to Konya in 1215 (*Yurt Ansiklopedisi* VII, p. 5217).

[23]Şihabeddin Sühreverdi el-Maktül was the founder of the doctrine of the *işrakiyye* (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', *EI*^{2} VIII, p. 782

[24]Habib-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-Fırat, 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,

[25]Zachariah, 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, *tekke*s, houses, mills, baths, and coffee-houses, and to numerous gardens outside the city. On the

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[26]Nimrod: '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).
[27]Nabi 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 Dahhak[28] 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 than 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 **Hıms**, 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 Hıms, 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, 'Ukkaşe 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,

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[28]Dahhak: 'name of a king of the Peshadian dynasty, proverbial for his cruelty' (Sg).

[29]Ebu 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 (*EI*^{2} 1, p. 162).

who killed Hamza bin 'Abdülmuttalib. 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 Damascus[33]

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 (*fevvare*) and painted ceilings. The summer courtyards have *şadırvan* fountains under shady trees. Waiters are constantly moving around

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[30]The Qur'an, 16/61; Al-Hilali, pp. 497-8.
[31]The 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.
[32]Evliya Çelebi gives more conrete 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)
[33]For 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).
[34]Evliya Çelebi gives factual information about the coffe-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 insprired 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 mosque[38]

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

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[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).

[38]The 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 Hızr,[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 Zengi[42], 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

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[39]Ebu'l-'Abbas el-Saffa ('Abdullah b. Muhammmed 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 (*EI*^{2} 1, p. 103).

[40]Hızır 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 Hızr-ı Ilyas.' (Rh).

[41]Ibn 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).

[42]Nureddin Ebu'l-Kasım Mahmud b. Imameddin Zengi (1118-1174) was ruler of Aleppo and Damascus (see *EI*^{2} IX, pp. 358-361).

[43]The 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. Salihiyye of Damascus

At the foot of a high mountain to the north-west of Damascus the small town of Salihiyye is situated.[44] Between Damascus and Salihiyye is a picturesque landscape created by trees and rivers on a green land. Salihiyye is located a little bit higher than Damascus. On the western and eastern sides of Salihiyye 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

[44]The name of the mountain on which Salihiyye is situated is Kasiyun (see Evliya Çelebi, 9, p. 547; *EI*^{2} VIII, p. 898).
[45]The 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', *EI*^{2} 3, p. 708; M. Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1982, p. 115).
[46]Fahreddin Iraki (d. 688/1289), a celebrated Iranian mystic and poet (see W. Mongomery Watt, 'Iraki, Fakhr al-Din Ibrahim', *EI*^{2} 3, pp. 1269-70).
[47]The Ottoman Sultan Selim I (1512-20).
[48]Having 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, *mataraciyan* with tall gold Bektaşi-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.

[49]For 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).

[51]Ottoman terms for these craftsmen are the followings: *bezrgeran, asyabiyan, habbazan, kebabiyan, aşpezan, şerbetiyan, bakkalan, 'attaran, şeker-füruşan, helva'iyan, ser-teraşan, kassaban, hayyatan, kazzazan, keşfgeran, zergeran, ahengeran, na'lbendan, sarraciyan, 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

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[52]Ka'it Bay (Kayıtbay) (872-901/1468-1496), Circassian sultan of Egypt and Syria.

[53]Julian 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

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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

[54]The Qur'an, 2/58; Al-Hilali, pp. 33

[55]The 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.

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[56]For 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 parts[57] 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 'Abdülmelik,[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 *kıble* (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

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[57]See the picture of the dome in Duncan, p. 15.
[58]The Dome of the Rock was built by the Umayyad caliph 'Abdülmelik in 72/691-92.
[59]Duncan (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.'
[60]For the picture of the shrine of the relics of the prophet Muhammed beside the Blessed Rock, see Duncan, p. 43.
[61]Emel 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

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[62]See 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 Hıtta 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-ı 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.

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[63]The 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 Salihiyye[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 *menzil*s 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 **Salihiyye** 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 Salihiyye 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

[64]Salihiyye 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 Gavri[66], 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.

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[65]For 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.
[66]Kansu 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' *EI*^{2} 4, p. 552-3).
[67]The 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

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[68]For the two reservoirs, see the map in Raymond's work (p. 65).

[69]Raymond, 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 *kasabat*s (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,

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[70]Joseph 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 avove it, it is a sign of plenty; but it 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 Jacoues 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 'Ukbe[74] 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 Gülşeni[77] 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 *şeyh*s, and it was held at the burial place of the head of Hüseyn, the son of the fourth caliph 'Ali, for a few days.

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[72]tevekkül: 'a putting one's trust, especially, a putting one's trust in God' (Rh).
[73]For a picture of the mausoelmn of Ka'it Bay see plate XX in *EI*^{2} 4.
[74]'Ukbe b. 'Amir el-Cüheni (d. 58/678), a companion of the Prophet.
[75]El-Karafe-i Kübra is the main cemetery of Cairo. For a picture of the tomb of Imam Şafi see plate XIII in *EI*^{2} 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', *EI*^{2} 3, p. 763
[77]Ibrahim 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 *şeyh*s 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 *işare*s, each of which is decorated differently from all the others.

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[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', *EI*^{2} VI, p. 45)

[79]Five 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', *DIA* 14, p. 401).

[80]Here Nabi was describing the ceromony of farewell of held customarily for the pilgrimage caravan carrying the *mahmil*. For the description of the same ceromony 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 Mısr** (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 **Rabığ**, 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

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[81] 1 Zilhicce 1089=14 January 1679

[82] *Mikat*: the place traditionally designated for pilgrims to chance into the *ihram*.

[83] Having 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

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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 Mizab[84] through the guidance of the Hızr. They seek forgiveness at the Hatim,[85] which is around the Ka'be.

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[84]Mizab: 'The spout from the roof of' the Ka'be (Rh).
[85]Hatim: '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.

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[86]As 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).

[87]The 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 *muezzin*s 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 arrival[88]

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

[88]For information on the rites of the hajj see A.J. Wensinck, 'Hadjdj: the Islamic hadjdj', *EI*^{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'at*s 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*.

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[89]Mültezim: '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.

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[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'ezzin*s called people to pray, and the preacher delivered an appropriate sermon. Then pilgrims performed the prayers of *zuhr* (noon) and of '*asr*

[92]Kamal (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 'Arafat[94]

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 *mahmil*s 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'ezzin*s. 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 *müezzin*s.

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

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[93]Pilgrims perform noon and afternoon prayers in two *rek'at*s for each (Kamal, p. 68).
[94]The *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 *merhale*s.[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

Müzdelife. 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

Müzdelife 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 Müzdelife, saying prayers.

35. Departure from Müzdelife 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]

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[96]*Merhale*: a day's journey, a stage of journey.
[97]The procedure of exchange of the *mahmil*s is also reported by Evliya Çelebi (9, p. 702).
[98]*Suffe*: 'a porch or hall with benches on which to rest' (Rh).
[99]The pardoning of the offences commited against people recurs also in Evliya Çelebi's narrative (9, p. 704).
[100]Upon arriving at Mina on 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 *cemre*s (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 *ihram*s, 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.

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[101]Kamal (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).
[102]It 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-embroided 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 Hatim[107] 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

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[103]'This is the *tawaf* of the *ifada*, which forms an indispensible part (*rükn*) of the pilgrimage. It is best if it is done on the 10th' (Wensinck, p. 36).

[104]The 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).

[105]Id al-Adha or the feast of Kurban (sacrifice) occurs on the 10-13th of Zilhicce.

[106]Hıcr: '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 spent the nights of the *teşrik* days[108] 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 pursues 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 *işare*s 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

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[107]Hatim: 'A name of the inclosed space north of the Kaaba at Mekka' (Rh).
[108]The 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).
[110]Here 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.

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[111]Wensinck (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)'.

[112]Muhassab(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 way 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.

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[113]Fersah: three miles (Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 51); 'about 18,000 feet in length'. (Sg);
[114]This 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. Afer completing the prayer of salutation I proceeded to offer my prayers and

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[115]For the poem, see *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 440
[116]This poem is also included in *Nabi Divanı* (ed. Bilkan), p. 952.
[117]The 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

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[118]Eymen is the name of the burning bush, through which God appeared to the Prophet Moses.
[119]Hace Muhammed b. Mahmud (Muhammed) el-Hafızi al-Buhari (d. 822/1419), whose nick name is Parsa (the devout) was the founder of a branch of Nakşibendiyye order called Parsa‘iyye. His shrine in Medina is a place of visitaion for pilgrims (See ‘Parsa‘iyya’ 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).
[120]This 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 'Abdülmuttalib, 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 Zülkıbleteyn mosque

The Zülkıbleteyn 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 *kıble* 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]

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[122]The Qur`an, 2/144; AL-Hilali, p. 56
[123]The 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 Fatıma, 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] Rafeq[2], Barbir[3] 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

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[1]Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and sultans: the hajj under the Ottomans 1517-1683* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1994)
[2]Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The province of Damascus 1723-1783* (Beirut: Khayats, 1966), p. 59;
[3]Karl 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 Beauvais[5] '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

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[4]M. Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman province of Damascus in the sixteenth century* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1982)

[5]Malcolm Letts, *Mandeville's Travels: text and translations* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953), p. xxxiii

[6]Jonathon Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of mediaeval religion* (London 1975), p. 258

[7]Donald R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims: medieval pilgrimage narraives and their posterity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980), p. 54

[8]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), 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, Evliya[12] 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*

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[9]Ross E. Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and California: University of California Press, 1986), p. 310, 313, 314

[10]Howard, p. 10

[11]Such 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).

[12]Evliya 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.

[13]Hibri 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 *Keşfü'z zünun*, referring especially to Imam el-Hafız Ebu el-Hüseyin

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

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'Ali b. Hasan, known Ibn 'Asakir (d. 571/1175)'s voluminous chronicle (see Katip Çelebi, *Keşf-el-zunun* 1 (Maarif Matbaası, 1941), p. 294).

[14]Evliya, 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]

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[15]Sulhi, *Menasik-i Hacc*, Millet Ktp., Şer'iyye, no: 445, f. 24a
[16]Bahti, f. 2
[17]Sumption (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.
[18]Bahti, ff. 1-2
[19]Kadri [not identified], *Menazilü't-tarik ila beyti'llahi'l-'atik*, Millet Ktp., Tarih., no: 892, f. 3a
[20]Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Mekke-i Mükerreme emirleri* (Ankara: TTK, 1972), p. 57
[21]For description of the ceromony 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
[22]Mehmed Edib, p. 254
[23]Hibri, 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 Hafiz Efendi, and as a result, he wrote down

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[24]Rafeq, p. 59; Bakhit, p. 107

[25]Hacı 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

[26]Rafeq, p. 62

[27]Hibri, 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'.

[28]Mehmed Edib, p. 64

[29]Ibrahim Hanif, *Menazilü'l-haremeyn,* Süleymaniye Ktb., Laleli, no: 220, f. 37a

[30]See 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 Hediyye Eşmesi station.[36] Evliya says that at the station of Bi'r-i Zümürrüd, in the evening all pilgrims were given water supplied by charitable foundations

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[31]Ahmed 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*.
[32]Giridi Ahmed Efendi, *Menasik-i hacc-ı şerif*, Millet Ktp., Şer'iye, no: 442/2; f. 13b (or f. 14b in a different numbering).
[33]W.C. Chittick, 'Sadr al-Din al-Kunawi', *EI*[2] VIII, p. 753
[34]Kadri, 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.'
[35]Kadri, 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

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[36]Hibri, p. 127; Kadri, f. 42a; Cudi, f. 61a

[37]Evliya, 9, p. 600

[38]Bakhit, 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.

[41]Evliya, 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

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[42]Kadri, f. 32b

[43]Kadri, f. 33a; Barbir, p. 153: 'Between the twelfth and twentieth of Şevval a second ceromony took place, leading to the departure of the caravan'; see also Bakhit, p. 112-3.

[44]Kadri, f. 33a; This dome is called Kubbetü'l-hacc.

[45]Kadri, f. 33a

[46]Cudi, ff. 57a-57b

[47]Hibri, p. 125, 127

[48]Evliya, 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 *mahmil*s 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 *medrese*s 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,

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[49]Kadri, f. 34b
[50]Kadri, f. 42a
[51]Ibrahim Hanif, f. 56a; see Evliya, 9, p. 607
[52]Kadri, f. 43a; Evliya, 9, p. 607; see also Cudi, f. 61b
[53]Evliya, 9, p. 607
[54]Kadri, f. 52a
[55]Nabi, *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 408; Evliya, 9, p. 702; see also Bakhit, p. 114
[56]Kadri, f. 59a.
[57]Evliya, 9, p. 571
[58]Evliya, 9, p. 610
[59]Evliya, 9, p. 694
[60]Evliya, 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

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[61] *Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 380

[62] Suraiya 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

[63] M.N. Pearson, *Pious Passengers: the* hajj *in earlier times* (London: Hurst & Company, 1994), p. 46

[64] Faroqhi, 'Anatolian townsmen', p. 310

[65] This 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

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[66]Kadri, ff. 59a-59b
[67]Mehmed Edib, pp. 254-255
[68]Hanif, f. 68a
[69]Hanif, f. 68b
[70]Seyyid Hasan Rıza'i, f. 17b
[71]Ibrahim Hanif, f. 37a
[72]Rafeq, p. 63; see Mehmed Edib, p. 39, 86.
[73]Mehmed 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

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[74]Hanif, f. 68b
[75]*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 363
[76]Hibri, p. 123
[77]Evliya, 9, p. 588, 600
[78]Cudi, f. 58b
[79]Cudi, f. 58a, 59a
[80]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), 198-220.
[81]Bakhit, p. 94, 98, 115-118; Barbir, pp. 167-177
[82]Münir, Atalar, *Osmanlı devletinde surre-i humayun ve surre alayları* (Ankara: Diyanet Işleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1991), pp. 133 -135 ; Bakhit, pp. 97-9
[83]Kadri, 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 Zümürrüd reservoir were commissioned to protect the

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[84]Kadri, f. 41a
[85]Kadri, f. 37b
[86]Kadri, f. 38b
[87]Adopting 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.
[88]Kadri, f. 41a
[89]Evliya, 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 Paşa[94] 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

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[90]Kadri, f. 41a

[91]Kadri, f. 33b, 39a

[92]Hanif, f. 52a: Memnun-ı 'ata oldı Hanifa gibi huccac - Her yerde görüldükde çemenzar-ı selamet

[93]For biographical information about Sinan Paşa see Osmanzade Taib Ahmed, *Hadiqat ül-vüzera*, (Freiburg 1969), pp. 35-37

[94]Probably 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)

[95]On Kara Mustafa Paşa see Osmanzade Ta'ib, p. 8 3

[96]Recording 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 *hamam*s (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.

[97]Kadri, f. 37b

[98]In 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.

[99]Hour distance from previous stations

[100]Hibri (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	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, Ibrahim 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] 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 Bozöyük.[102]
5	Yenişehir	6	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]
6	Bazarcık	11	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]

[101]Hibri (p. 115) reports that Iznik has three mosques, two *medrese*s, two *tabakhane*s, and four hospices.
[102]It 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.
[103]Hibri (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	Bozöyük	4.5	It is called Kasım Paşa or Bozöyük 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

[104]Hibri (p. 116) says that the mosque, the hospice and the bath were built by Kasım Paşa.
[105]According 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 campaing 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

[106]Hibri (p. 117) reports that the great hospice was built by Rüstem Paşa.
[107]Hibri (p. 117) records Ishaklı as a station.
[108]According to Hibri (p. 118) the Hasan Paşa mosque was built in 916/1510.
[109]Hibri (p. 118) says that one of the hospices was built by Piri Paşa.
[110]Bahri (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 Celaleddin 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

[111]The 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.
[112]However Kadri's claim does not seem to reflect the truth (see the preceding footnote.
[113]According to Hibri (p. 119) Ismil has a mosque and a *çifte-han* (hospice) built by Kılavun Yusuf Paşa.
[114]şadırvan: 'a tank of water, sometimes with a jet in the center, and with taps at the sides for ablutions' (Rh).
[115]Selim 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.

[116]Hibri (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

[117]According to Hibri (p. 120), it has a hospice and mosque built by Eski Mehmed Paşa.
[118]Bahri (f. 14b) says that the cities of Payas and Antakya, the thirtieth station, are not secure for pilgrims since there are many brigands.
[119]Hibri (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

[120]Hibri (p. 124) states that its hospice was built by Sinan Paşa.
[121]Şecer 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.
[122]According to Hibri (p. 123), Mustafa Ağa lived in the period of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-17).
[123]The *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	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. 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

[124]It is also read by Ilgürel as Serbin in Hibri's text (p. 121).

			melons.
35b	Ma'arra	6.5	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] ALTERNATIVE ROUTE ENDS
34	Hama[126]	6	[continued from Şecer (no: 33a)] 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.
35	Hıms	11	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.
36	Iki Kapulu or Hasiyye Kal'ası	8-9	Hasiyye is a fortress called Iki 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.

[125]Hibri (p. 121) counts Han-ı Şeyhun as a station where they halted.
[126]Hibri (p. 121) reports that this ancient city had about ten mosques and a few hospices.

37	Nebk	11	After departure from Iki 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-ı 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 cavalrymen 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. Salihiyye 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 Salihiyye. 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]

[127]The 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).

[128]Evliya (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.

[129]According 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 slaugtered 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'.

[130]The Sanemeyn fort was built by Selim I (Barbir p. 196).

[131]According 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 caavan customarily stays in Müzeyrib, where he delivers the *surre* to Arabs, and hires camels from them (Hibri, p. 125 Cudi, f. 57a).

[132]The 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.

[133]Cudi (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

[134]Cudi (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).
[135]The Katran fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196).
[136]Cudi (f. 58b) says that Hasa was a station in the past, yet his caravan stopped there.
[137]Cudi (f. 58b) says that Ma'an is a prosperous place which provides a roch 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.

[138]It 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.

[139][139]It is also called el-Müdevvere (Barbir, p. 138). After the Cuğaymen fortress there is a reservoir built by Esma Han Sultan, daughter of Kanuni Süleyman (Evliya, 9, p. 585).The Cuğyaman fortress was built by Aydınlı 'Abdullah Paşa in 1730-33 (Cudi, f. 59a; Barbir, p. 196).

[140]The fortress of Zatü'l-hacc was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196).

[141]Evliya (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.

[142]Cudi (f. 59b) says that the soft ground of the Ka'u'l-bast station is not suitable to pitch a tent.

[143]The 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

[144]Mağayir 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).
[145]The Haydar fortress was built Kanuni Süleyman in 1531 (Barbir, p. 196).
[146]According to Cudi (f. 60a) at this station water is brought out by means of a water-wheel.
[147]kantar: 'A weight of forty-four Turkish oqqa' or about 120 pounds avoirdupois' (Rh).
[148]Hibri (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.
[149]Şakku'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

[150]The 'Ula fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 197).
[151]Cudi (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.
[152]Kuyular is also called Abar-ı Ğanem, which has a fortress (Cudi, f. 60b).
[153]The fortress of Zümürrüd was constructed by Mehmed Paşa in about 1779 (Barbir, p. 139)..
[154]Ibrahim I (1640-48)

	ahmer Şa'bu'n- na'am	 12 155	water. Şa'bu'n-na'am is also without water.[156]
24	Hediyye 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 Hediyye (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 Hediyye 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.

[155]Hibri (p. 127) records that Şa'bu'n-na'am is 15 hours from Bi'r-i Zümürrüd, and without fortress and water. Şa'bu'n-na'am is not mentioned by Cudi (f. 61a).
[156]Evliya (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'.
[157]The Hediyye fortress was built by Süleyman Paşa (?), and repaired by Nasuh Paşa in the eighteenth century (Barbir, p. 197).
[158]According to Hibri (p. 127) Hediyye is 19 hours from Şa'bu'n-na'am.
[159]From 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).
[160]It 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

[161]The caravan arrives at Medina before the end of Zilka'de (see Bakhit p. 113).
[162]It is also called Abar-ı 'Ali (see Cudi, f. 62b).
[163]The inhabitans 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.
[164]It is also called Meymun Ovası (Cudi, f. 63a).
[165]Evliya (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 account[168]

no	**station**	**hrs.**	**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

[166]According 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.

[167]Vadi-i Fatıma is a prosperous residential area, having two hundred houses and eighty shops (Evliya, 9, p. 674).

[168]The 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 Göli	5	Near the Sina Göli 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.

[169]Bakhit (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'.
[170]Bakhit (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.

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 *oturak*s (halts), including Eskişehir, Konya, Ereğli, Antakya, Adana and Hama.[176] From Damascus to Mecca there

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[171]7 hrs. in Evliya's account (see Evliya, 9, p. 504).
[172]Ahmed I (1603-17)
[173]See also Bahri, f. 15a
[174]Mehmed Edib, p. 254
[175]See M. Bianchi, *Itineraire de Constantinople a la Mecque* (Paris 1825), p. 111.
[176]Seyyid 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

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[177]Sulhi, f. 23b
[178]Mehmed Edib, p. 254
[179]Bahri (ff. 14-15) says that the caravan stays for two days at the halts.
[180]Adanavi, f. 45, Anonymous in the John Rylands Library, its folios are not numbered.
[181]For the names of the stations from Cairo to Rabiğ on the basis of Eyüb Sabri's *Mir'at-ı cezîretü'l-'Arab'a dair ma'lumat*', see Gülden Sarıyıldız, *Hicaz Karantina teşkilatı* (Ankara: TTK, 1996), pp. 36-7
[182]Evliya, 10, p. 434
[183]Howard, 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 Hüseyn-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, Dıhye 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 Hıms; 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 Salihiyye; '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,

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[184]Nancy Tapper, '*Ziyaret*: gender, movement, and exchange in a Turkish community', in Eickelman and Piscatori (eds), *Muslim Travellers*, p. 247

[185]Sidi '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 Ereğli[187] 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.

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[186]For the picture of the mausoleum of Imam Şafi'i, see *EI*^{2} 4, plate XIII

[187]It is worth noting that Şihabeddin was executed in Aleppo.

[188]For 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 depict 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]

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[189]Fevri, 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.'

[190]Cudi, f. 69a: 'Içinden görünür ra'na 'arus-ı 'alem-i ma'na - Gelür şuridelik cana dil-i sihr-aferinane'

[191]H.A.R. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge 1958), p. 188

[192]William 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 Nabi[193] and paraphrased by Bahti[194]: '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] Sulhi[197] 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

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[193]*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 437
[194]Bahti, f. 30b : Bad-ı saba eyle beni subh u şam - Nükhet-i Yesrib'le muattar-ı meşam
[195]Cami, f. 37b/11: Bad-ı saba damen-i gül ber-feşaned - Nükhet-i Yesrib be-meşamem resaned
[196]Muhyi, f. 6: Es-selam ey seyyid-i evlad-ı Adem es-selam - Es-selam ey server-i efrad-ı 'alem es-selam
[197]Sulhi, 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
[199]Ahmed 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
[200]Ahmed Fakih, p. 25: Segirdüben tavaf itdüm i kardeş - Akar gözümden dem-be-dem yaş
[201]Cudi, f. 69a

farewell poem, which was made use of by Bahti[202]: '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 *hane*s (stanza), seven couplets to a *hane*, and a *vasıta* 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 Cudi[207] 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

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[202]Bahti, f. 22: El-veda' ey gül-i bag-ı melekut el-veda' - Nükheti can u dile kut el-veda'
[203]Cami, 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).
[205]Fevri, *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-firak ey metaf-ı 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'
[207]Cudi, f. 68a
[208]Kamil, *Menasik-i hacc*, TSMK, A 3546, f. 37b: El-veda' ey mebde'-i icad-ı 'alem el-veda' - El-veda' ey menşe'-i ihdas-ı Adem el-veda'
[209]Hanif, 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

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[210]Mehmed Edib, p. 225

[211]See Chapter III, p. 140

[212]Cami's verses on this theme are the following:
'Ayn-ı edeb şev zi-kadem ta ser - Bu ki sayi 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 - Inne-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)

[213]Bahti, f. 31b: 'Ayn-ı edeb ol zi-kadem ta ser - Bekle edeb rahını eyle hazer

[214]The 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 Ilahi'dür makam-ı Mustafa'dur bu (*Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 442).

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

[216]Halil Aktüccar, *Nabi: hayatı, sanatı ve eserleri*, pp. 13-4.

[217]Evliya, 9, pp. 631-2

[218]Mehmed Edib, pp. 223-4

[219]Demand 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,

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[220]Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed-i Bican, *Envaru'l-'aşıkin*, (Istanbul: Matba'a-i 'Osmaniye, 1301/1883 (?)), p. 325
[221]M.N. Pearson, *Pious passengers: the* hajj *in earlier times* (London: Hurst & Company, 1994), p. 41
[222]Gubari 'Abdurrahman, *Menasikü'l-hacc*, Millet Ktp, Manzum, no: 820, f. 22b: Di ki yarın şehadet eyle bana - Şefkat idub şefa'at eyle bana
[223]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.
[224]For 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 'ılliyyinden hak-dan-ı esfeli's-safiline giriftar olaldan beri pervazgah-ı asl hevasıyle bal-zen-i ıztırab olurken hala darü'l-eman-ı harem-i risaletde firsat-yab-ı fürce-i reha olasun da efsus ki yine şikest-i kafes-i çar çube-i cisme kadir olmayasın.'
[226]Cami, f. 42b: Baht-ı kerem yar şeved 'an karib - Hak şevem ber ser-i kuy-ı Habib
[227]Ahmed 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]

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

[229]Mary 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.'

[230]Ahmed Fakih, p. 21: Gönüldüm ölirisem dönüşüm yok - Tapuna şükr iderem aç eger (tok)

[231]Fevri, f. 29b: Vakfe burda tamam olsun - Bizi bilenlere payam olsun
Sağ olursak buluşmadır maksud - Biz ölürsek size selam olsun

[232]Cudi, 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 Faroqhi 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

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[233] *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 401-2

[234] Suraiya 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* (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 Hıtta 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

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[235]Ahmed Fakih, p. 33
[236]Kadri, 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 Jews[239] 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 *ayet*s 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

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[237]Chapter IV, p. 162
[238]Kadri, f. 26b
[239]Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1985), p. 112
[240]Ahmed Fakih, p. 30: Yarın Kudüs'de olur 'arz-ı mahşer - Odından dökiserdür niçeler der
[241]Lutfi, p.79.
[242]Kadri, f. 38a
[243]Kadri, f. 17a.
[244]In 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.
[245]Hibri, p. 123
[246]Mehmed 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,

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[247]Kadri, f. 24b
[248]*Tuhfetü 'l-haremeyn*, Part II, p. 331
[249]Evliya, 9, p. 591
[250]The Prophet Salih was sent to the tribe of Samud (Sg).
[251]Evliya, 9, p. 592
[252]Kadri, 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

ISTANBUL
Üsküdar
Pendik
Hersek
Derbend
İznik
Lefke
Yenişehir
Akbıyık
Polarcık
Söğüt
Bozöyük
Eskişehir (otturak = halt)
Seyyidgazi
Yeni Han
Boyat
Bolvadin
Ichaicli
Akşehir
Ilgin
Ladik
KONYA (otturak)
Icmil
MEKKE (MECCA)

GLOSSARY[1]

‘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	: an ode, of not more than twelve distichs, of which hemistichs must be of 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

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[1]Ottoman 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-Enlglish 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

kıble : prayer direction

kıt'a : stanza

mahmil : a richly decorated palanquin which carries the *surre*

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 *surre* 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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[2]The sign * indicates the most used manuscripts in this study.

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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 Nationale[3], 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]

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[1]Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *TSMKTYK* (2 vols., Istanbul: Topkapş Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), vol. 1: pp. 452-4; vol. 2: p. 266

[2]Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1888), p. 113, 253, 260

[3]E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscripts Turcs* I (Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale, ; 1932), pp. 189-190

[4]Manchester, John Rylands Library, Turkish manuscripts, no: 134, 45 folios (5b-50b).

[5]Cambridge 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.

[6]See '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*.

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[7]This copy has no colophon, excepting for the date 1093/1682 under the chronogram, and a Persian short remark saying 'it has been completed'.

[8]Since 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.

[9]Muhyi [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' vowelling is preferred in certain suffixes (e.g. it-düğ-i, gel-üp, sen-üñ) 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 lâl: 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]

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[10]Nabi, ed. Ali Fuat Bilkan, *Nabi Divanı* (Istanbul: MEB, 1997)

[11]It must be noted that because of font/printing constraints, the diacritic 'ğ' 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 *kıt'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-Raḥīm

Ey Beyt-i Ḥarām'ı ṣaff-ı ğufrāna maḳām

V'ey Bāb-ı Selām'ı medẖal-i dār-ı selām[1]

Ey Mültezim-i Şerīf'i müstelzim-i 'afv

V'ey Zemzem'i ṣafḥā-şū-yı 'iṣyān-ı enām[2]

Şümār-ı ḳāfile-i enfās-ı ḥuccācdan bīrūn şükr ü minnet[3] ḥaḍret-i Mün'im-i bī-'illete ki mā-ṣadaḳ-ı āyet-i kerīme-i[4] **'Inne evvele beytin vüḍi'a li'n-nāsi ellezī[5] bi-bekkete mübāreken ve hüden li'l-'ālemīn'**[6] üzre serāy-ı cihān-ārā-yı Ka'be-i mu'aẓẓamayı zemīn-i dil-nişīn-i Mekke-i[7] mübārekede ẖ[v]āst-kārān-ı istiḥkām-ı aḥkām-ı[8] erkān-ı īmān[9] içün temhīd idüp güm-şüdegān-ı beyābān-ı 'iṣyāna vesīle-i hidāyet eyledi.

Beyt

Ka'be binā geşt ki rū-yı niyāz

Sū-yı [suvī] vey ārend be-vaḳt-i namāz[10] **[?]**

Secdegeh ān bāşed ve mescūd Ḥaḳḳ

Ma'bede ān bāşed ve ma'būd Ḥaḳḳ[11]

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[1] selām: islām D
[2] These two couplets are also included in *Nābī Dīvānı*. See Nabi, Ali Fuat Bilkan (ed.), *Nābī Dīvānı* (Istanbul: MEB, 1997), p. 1212
[3] minnet: minnet ol P
[4] āyet: - K
[5] ellezi: - L
[6] The Ḳur'ān, 3/96
[7] Mekke-i: Bekke-i B
[8] aḥkām: - B K P
[9] īmān içün: īmān olmağı çün K
[10] Cf. Muḥyi [the pen-name Cami is put at the end of the teẖt], *Fütūḥu'l-ḥaremeyn*, Millet Ktp., Farsça, no: 478, f. 7b; Muḥyi, Fütūḥu'l-ḥaremeyn (Lala Ismail, no: 102), f. 51b: be-vaḳt-i namāz: ve beden der-namāz FH
[11] Cf. Muḥyi (Millet), f. 7b; Muḥyi (Lala), f. 51b

Geşte mekān-ı ḥarem-ı kibriyā

Kerde Ḫudāyeş laḳab-ı Ümmü'l-ḳurā[12]

Ve ḳıṭār-ı ḳaṭarāt-ı sirişk-i iştiyāḳdan efzūn ḥamd ü ṣenā Cenāb-ı Vehhāb-ı ḫafiyyü'l-ḥikmete ki ber-feḥvā-yı naẓm-ı kerīm-i **'Ve'llāhi 'alā'n-nāsi ḥıccu'l-beyti men isteṭā'a ileyhi sebīlā**[13]' ḫōş-nişīnān-ı memālik-i Islāmı ḍiyāfet-ḫāne-i 'amīmü'n-nevāl-i muḥteremine[14] da'vet ve [**B1a**] ber-mūceb-i vaḥy-i ḳadīm-i **'Ve men deḫale-hū kāne āminen**[15]' [**P3**] mā'ide-i emān u ğufrānı nihāde-i pīş-ḫ^{v}ān-ı 'ināyet eyledi.

Beyt

Ka'be k'ez-ō der-heme dilhā reh-est

Cüz-i vey[16] ez-eczāş yemīnü'llāh-est[17]

Cevher-i 'āyīne-i dilhā vey-est

Gevher-i gencīne-i dilhā vey-est

Ve 'ıḳdü'l-le'āl-i girān-ḳadr-ı ṣalāt[18] ü taḥiyyāt-niṯār [**K2a**] ser-ḫāk-i sulṭān-ı serīr-i levlāk [**L2a**] olsun ki ebr-i nāṭıḳa-i gevher-bārlarından ṣudūr iden '**Beyne ḳabrī ve minberī ravḍatün min-riyāḍi'l-cennet**' ḥadiṯ-i şerīfi ile pīrāste olan gülistān-ı muḳāddesde ruḫṣat-yāfte-i gül-geşt-i ziyāret olanlar '**Men zāra ḳabrī vecebet lehü şefā'atī**' miṣdāḳınca gül-çīn-i nihāl-i şefā'at ve ḫār-ı āzār-kār-ı fermāyān-ı[19] dūzaḫdan dāmen-āzāde-i istirāḥat olurlar.

Beyt

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[12] Cf. Muḥyi (Millet), f. 6a ; Muḥyi (Lala), f. 49a
[13] The Ḳur'ān, 3/97
[14] muḥteremine: mağfirete K
[15] The Ḳur'ān, 3/97
[16] cüz vey: cüz'ī P
[17] Muḥyi (Lala), f. 51b
[18] ṣalāt: ṣalavāt B K
[19] ḫār-ı āzār-kār: ḫārzār-kār K

Seyyid-i evlād-ı ʻĀdem Cebra'īleş ẖāᵛnde-em[20]

Raḥmeten li'l-ʻālemīneş Ḥaḳḳ teʻālā sāẖte

Āl u aṣḥābeş ki bāşed aẖterān-ı çerẖ-i dīn

Be-her-şān luṭf-ı ezel cennet müheyyā sāẖte

Ve tuḥfe-i kem-yāb-ı duʻā-yı[21] icābet-i der-ḳafā[22] dāver-i dīn, pādişāh-ı rūy-ı zemīn, tāc-dār-ı ʻālī-güher, şehriyār-ı mekārim-perver, ẖūrşīd-i ufḳ-ı salṭanat, gevher-bāzū-yı maʻdelet, Ḫusrev-i kām-baẖşā, ṣāḥib-ḳırān-ı ʻālem-küşā, ebu'l-feṯḥ ve'l-mağāzī Sulṭān Meḥmed Ḫān Ğāzī, eyyedehü'llāhü[23] ve ibḳāhü, ḥaḍretlerinüñ ber-dāşte-i pāy-ı serīr-i maʻdelet-maṣīrleri ḳılınmaḳ sezādur ki āṯār-ı ḥimāye-i ʻaliyye-i mülūkāneleri ile[24] **[B1b]** rāh-ı raḥmet-penāh-ı Ḥaremeyn-i Şerīfeyn ğā'ile-i bīm-i reh-zenāndan āzāde ve naẓar-ı himmet-i celīle-i Ḫusrevāneleriyle[25] reh-revān-ı beyt-i Ḫudā'ya esbāb-ı emn u āsāyiş āmādedür.

Naẓm

ʻArūs-ı Kaʻbe ki Ümmü'l-ḳurā-yı āfāḳ-est

Vaẓīfe-ẖāᵛrī-i ō ve ḳabīle-i ecdād

Cihān çū ṣafḥā-i taḳvīm pür zi-ẖāne şüde

Çünān ḥimāye-i ō sāye-efkend be-bilād

Müdām gülşen-i ʻömreş bahār u ẖurrem bād

Berū-yı devlet u baẖteş nigāh-ı bed-mirsād

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[20] ẖᵛānde-em: ẖᵛānde nām K
[21] duʻā-yı: duʻā P
[22] der-ḳafā: iḳtifā P, rüfeḳā L
[23] eyyedehü'llāhü: eyyede'llāhü L K
[24] ile: - L
[25] Ḫusrevāneleriyle: Ḫusrevānileriyle L

1. Sebeb-i teraşşuḥ-ı seḥāb-ı ḳalem be-kişt-zār-ı merām ve āğāz-ı süḫan der-'azīmet-i rāh-ı[26] Beyt-i Ḥarām[27]

Ḳā'id-i ketībe-i ḫayāl bu ṭarīḳ üzre tertīb-i ḳavāfil-i maḳāl ider ki zülāl-i ṣāf-ı ser-çeşme-i risālet, 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü [P4] ve's-selām, ḥaḍretleri menba'-ı mā'ü'l-ḥayāt-ı[28] Mekke'den sīr-āb-sāz-ı teşne-lebān-ı īmān olmağıçün cānib-i Medīne-i Münevvere'ye hicret buyurduḳları tārīḫden [K2b] beri ṭolab-ı düvāzde-per-i sinīn delv-i mihr ü māh ile [L2b] kişt-zār-ı rūzgār üzre biñ seksen ṭoḳuz kere devr eyledügi sālde burḳa'-küşā-yı şāhid-i nev-ḫırām-ı beyān olan Nābī-i[29] nātüvānuñ āṣār-ı cāẕibe-i elṭāf-ı[30] ilāhiyye ile revzene-i süveydā-yı dil-i sevdā-zedesi mehebb-i hevā-yı Ḥicāz ve bisāṭ-ı ṣabr u ārāmı perçīde-i dest-i şevḳ-i rāḥat-güdāz olmağın

Naẓm

Şevḳ-i ḥarem der-dil-i men cūş zed[31]
Kevkebe-i 'aşḳ reh-i hūş zed[32]

Āble-i pā bih[33] ez-ān çeşm ü ser
K'ō ne-keşūd-est der-ān k'ō naẓar[34]

maḍmūnı daḫi tevsen-i tünd-ḫīz-i şevḳe tāzyāne-i iḳdām olıcaḳ [B2a] evvelā Cenāb-ı Veliyyü'n-ni'am, āṣaf-ı sütūde-himem, vezīr-i pākīze-nijād, müşīr-i şīr-nihād, destūr-ı vālā-güher, fāḍıl-ı efāḍıl-perver, dāmād-ı şehinşāh-ı 'ālem-küşā Müṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pāşā ḥaḍretlerinüñ iẕn-i 'ālīlerinden ṣoñra evṣāf-ı 'arş-ittiṣāf-ı Ḥaremeyn-i Şerīfeyn

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[26] rāh: - L
[27] Beyt-i ḥarām: Beytü'l-ḥarām B
[28] ḥay"āt-ı: ḥayāt P
[29] Nābī: Yūṣuf Nābī P
[30] elṭāf: - L
[31] cūş zed: cūş kerd L
[32] zed: kerd L; Cf. Muḥyī (Millet), f. 12a
[33] pā bih: pāy B; pā reh L
[34] Cf. Muḥyī (Millet), f. 10a

siyāḳında medāyiḥ-i cemīle-i ḫusrevāneyi[35] ḥāvī bir ḳaṣīde-i[36] şevḳ-āmīz ile isti'ṭā-yı mekārim-i pādişāhī olunmağın[37] merāḥim-i hümāyūn-ı[38] kām-baḫşāları cilveger-i mevḳi'-i ẓuhūr olup mehāmm-ı ṭarīḳ-i merām muḥāfiẓ-ı Mışr, vezīr-i kārdān 'Abdurraḥmān Pāşā ḥaḍretleri cānibinden tertīb olunmaḳ bābında[39] ḫaṭṭ-ı hümāyūn-ı sa'ādet-maḳrūn-ı ḍamīme-i iḥsān īẕān[40] buyurulmağın güncīde-i ḫar-vār-ı imkān olduğı ḳadar levāzım-ı ṭarīḳa mübāşeret olunduğı ḫılālde[41] zemīn-i dilden bir toḫum-ı ārzū ser-zede oldı ki vaḳāyi'-i āmed-şüd-i[42] rāh-ı[43] Beytü'l-ḥarām ki manẓūr-ı nigāh-ı rağbet-i ḫāṣṣ u 'āmmdur nev-be-nev ṣūret-nümā-yı mir'āt-ı ẓuhūr olduḳca meşāṭa-i ḫāme-i ṭurfe-nigār zülf-i ḫam-be-ḫam-ı silsile-i süṭūr-ı 'anberīn ile pirāye-baḫş-ı ruḫsāre-i levḥa-i[44] āṣār ola tā ki[45]

Naẓm

Miṣal-i Ka'be eyā nūr-ı dīde-i 'uşşāḳ
Gören cemālüñi[46] müştāḳ görmeyen müştāḳ

vefḳince bu şāhid-i nev-ḫırām-ı kūçe-i melāḥatuñ girişme-i nühüfte ile [P5] deḳā'iḳ [K3a] ḥüsn-i edāsı ve şīve-i nā-nümūde ile reviş-i ḫāṭır-rübāsı evvelden nā'il-i viṣāl-ı Ḥaremeyn olanlara [L3a] vesīle-i şevḳ-i cedīd ve ḥasret-keşān-ı ārzū-yı[47] 'azīmete

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[35] ḫusrevāneyi: ḫusrevāniyi L
[36] ḳaṣīde-i: ḳaṣīde-i naḍīde-i P
[37] olunmağın: olmağın B
[38] merāḥim-i hümāyūn: hümāyūn-ı merāḥim B
[39] bābında: üzre K
[40] īẕān: endāz B
[41] ḫılālde: ḥālde B
[42] -şüd: -şüde-i K
[43] rāh: - L
[44] levḥa-i: - P
[45] ki: kim K
[46] cemālüñi: cemālini P
[47] ārzū-yı: - K

māye-i te'kīd olmağla[48] **[B2b]** deryūzeger-i derīçe-i 'irfān ya'nī Nābī-i perīşān beyānı[49] daḫi sükāṭa-i nevāle-i du'ādan ferāmūş eylemeyeler!

Bināberīn fātiḥa-i 'azīmetden ḫātime-i 'avdete dek çeşm-güẕār-ı i'tibār olan emākin-i müteberrike ve pīçide-i minvāl-ı[50] eyyām u leyāl olan metā'-ı nev-ẓuhūr-ı vaḳāyi'-i mu'tebere deffe-i ḫāme-i 'ācizāne ile bāfte-i kārgāh-ı beyān ḳılınmağa şürū' olunmağın tesmiye-i **Tuḥfetü'l-ḥaremeyn** ile tamğā-zede-i revācgāh-ı iştihār ḳılındı.

Recā-yı vāṣıḳ ve ümīd-i ṣādıḳ[51] budur ki ḥaḍret-i[52] Ğafūr-ı güneh-baḫşā bu bahāne ile müsvedde-i cerīde-i seyyi'ātımı ḳalem-i 'afv ü mağfiret ile beyāḍ idüp ḫıdmet-i evṣāf-ı Ḥaremeyn-i Şerīfeyn berekātında reh-rev-i cān terk-i taḫt-ı revān-ı çehār-pāye-i beden eyledükde[53] murāfaḳāt-ı meş'ale-i īmān-ı kāmil ile reh-peymā-yı derecāt-ı bāğ-ı na'īm eyleye! Āmīn!

Beyt

Nīst ṭama'-ı cṣā'ize ez-kes me-rā

Cā'ize-em 'afv hemīn bes me-rā

Mī-ṭalebem cā'ize-i īn süḫan,

Ez-kerem ü merḥamet-i ẕü'l-minen

2. Kerden ez-Üsküdar ref'-i ḫıyām be-sūy-ı rāh-ı ḥüccetü'l-Islām

Bir sepīde-dem ḳāfile-i şu'le-bār-ı aḫterān-ı köhne-ribāṭ üsrübiyyü's-saḳf-ı āsmāndan ref'-i raḫt-ı iḳāmet eyledükde[54] dehān-ı rükkāb-ı şevḳ-intisāb

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[48] olmağla: olmağın K
[49] perīşān beyānı: perīşānı L; nātüvānı K
[50] minvāl: - L
[51] Recā-yı ṣādıḳ ve ümīd-i vāṣıḳ: Recā-yı vāṣıḳ ve ümīd-i ṣādıḳ K
[52] ḥaḍret: Rabb K
[53] eyledükde: itdükde K
[54] eyledükde: itdükde K

Beyt

Bir ḳadem kim ola cünbān-ı reh-i beyt-i Ḫudā

Cāyı ol pāyüñ olursa ḫāne-i çeşmüm sezā

me'ālin āvīḫte-i güş-ı hūş itmegin müteyemminen bi-ẕikri'llāhi te'ālā feḍā-yı ẕümürrüd-sīmā-yı **Üsküdār**'dan muḳīm-i müsāfir-ḫāne-i zīn olup **Ḳartāl** nām menzile taḥrīk-i bāl-ı isti'cāl olundı. [**B3a**]

Naẓm

Himmetem bedraḳa-i rāh kün ey ṭā'ir-i ḳuds

Ki dırāz-est reh-i maḳṣad ve men nev-sefer-em

Rūz-ı düvüm **Gekbūze**'de[55] bir miḳdār [**L3b**] celse-i istirāḥatdan [**K3b**] ṣoñra **Ḫalīc-i Ḳonsṭanṭıniyye**'den 'ubūr elsine-i enāmda su'ūbet ile meşhūr[56] olmağla emvāc-ı felek-sā-yı [**P6**] teşvīş[57] deryā-yı[58] dilde āmed-şūde āmāde olmağın hemān ol gün[59] müsā'ade-i vaḳte müsā'ade-i hevāyı maḳrūn bulmağla

Mıṣra'

Kenāre 'azm idelüm böyle bir hevā düşmez

zemzemesiyle sāḥil-i **Ḫalīc**'e şitāb olunup sūhān-ı 'ömr-i 'azīz-i[60] reh-revān olan pest ü bülend emvācdan ḫālī āyīne-i hemvār gibi ṣūret-nümā-yı murād müşāhede olunmağın miḳẕāf-ı[61] tevfiḳ ile sāḥil-i **Hersek**'e güẕār olundı. Rūz-ı çārum bedraḳa-i tevfiḳ belde-i **Izniḳ**'e delālet itmegin

Naẓm

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[55] Gekbūze'de: Gekībūze L; Gibez'de B; Gibze nām maḥalde K
[56] meşhūr: meẕkūr B K
[57] teşvīş: teşvīş-fermāsı P
[58] deryā-yı: - L
[59] müsā'ade-i vaḳte müsā'ade-i hevāyı maḳrūn bulmağla, Mıṣra': - K
[60] 'azīz: - K
[61] miḳẕāf: muḳaddemāt L

Ger dilerseñ olasın vāhimeden āzāde

Olsun ārāmgehüñ dergeh-i Eşref-zāde

dest-āvīzi ile ḫāk-i āstān-ı iksīr-feşānı tekyegāh-ı cebīn-i niyāz ḳılındı.

Eskişehir nām ḳaṣabada[62] nümūne-i eşk-i germ-i 'uşşāḳ olan germābe-i bī-külḫan-ı ḳudretde gerd-i rāhdan taṭhīr-i ebdān[63] 'ādet-i reh-revān olmağın

Mıṣra'

Yā Rabb Eskişehr'e yeñi 'ādet olmasun

diyü ebnā-yı sebīl ile ol āb-ı Selsebīl-āsāda ṣūret-nümā-yı nilūfer olup ferdāsında **Seyyidğāzī**'ye nühḍāt olundı. Bir kūh-ı ser-bülend üzre ruḫām-ı terāşīde-i[64] mücellādan mebnī ve cilā-yı aḥcār-ı dīvārı āvīziş-i mir'ātdan müstağnī tekye-i 'ālī-şān ki resm-i maṣnū' ve ṭarḥ-ı maṭbū'ı şikest-āver-i endāze-i **[B3b]** āsmān-peymā-yı efkār-ı dürbīn-i mühendisān-ı rūzgārdur. Ḫuṣūṣan miyān-ı ḳıbāb-ı ḥabāb-ı şümārda medfen-i ḥaḍret-i Seyyid Ğāzī olan ḳubbe-i felek-müvāzī ki, ṭā'ir-i nigāh def'aten küngüresine pervāza mecāl muḥāldür, peymūde-i endāze-i nigāh-ı ḥayret ḳılınup mezār-ı feyḍ-bārları ziyāreti ile dīde-i dil tenvir olundı.

Akşehir ḳaṣabasında ḳuṭb-ı dā'ire-i 'irfān Şeyḫ Maḥmūd-ı Ḥayrān **[L4a]** ḥaḍretlerinüñ

Naẓm[65]

Bāḳiyā ḫānḳah-ı 'ālem-i ḥayretde hemān

Her gelen kimse bu esrār ile ḥayrān ancāḳ

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[62] nām ḳasabada: ḳasabasında K
[63] ebdān: ābdān P
[64] terāşīde-i: terāşīde L B
[65] This couplet is by Bāḳī (d. 1599); see Baḳi, Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergün (ed.), *Bāḳī Dīvānı* (Istanbul 1935), p. 226.

maḍmūnı naḳş-ı kitābesi olan āstān-ı 'ālisi ve[66] Seyyid Ni'metu'llāh-i Naḫçevānī ḥaḍretleri ziyāret olunup [**K4a**] be-taḫṣīṣ leṭā'if-i meşhūre-i muḥtemilü'ṣ-ṣıdḳı devā'ir-i āfāḳı[67] nümūdār-ı ḳal'a-i ḳahḳaha eyleyen Ḫ^{v}āce Naṣre'd-dīn [P7] 'aleyhi'r-raḥmenüñ ziyāret-i ḫāk-i za'ferān-ı ḫāṣiyyet-i[68] ḫande-fermāsı ile iktisāb-ı inşirāḥ-ı[69] derūn olunduḳdan ṣoñra miyān-ı kūh-ı bihişt-şükūhda vāḳi' vādī-i ḫāṭır-rübāda olan ḳaṣr-ı Irem-nümūn ki sulṭān-ı bihişt-mekān Murād Ḫān Ğāzī, ṭābe ṯerāh, ḥaḍretleri 'azīmet-i feṭḥ-i Bağdād eṯnāsında Şeyḫü'l-islām-ı 'ālī-maḳām Yaḥyā Efendi[70] ile sāye-endāz-ı teşrīf olduḳlarında hevā-yı ḫāṭır-ẕidāsı kāḫ-rūb-ı ḍamīr-i şehriyārī[71] olmağın nüzhet-i nişīmen-i[72] şevḳ-güster[73] ve ṭarāvet-i ḥavālī-i rūḥ-perverin mutaḍammın nev-nihāl-i ravḍa-i salṭanat ile ṣafḥa-i dīvārın tezyīn[74] buyurmışlar.

Güfte-i Sulṭān Murād Ḫān Ğāzī el-merḥūm[75]

Bihişṭden ḳıt'adur [**B4a**] ḥaḳḳā ki bu 'işret-fezā me'vā
Buña dāḫil olan mürde olur ẕevḳi ile iḥyā

Murādī feṭḥ-i Īrān'dan ḳaçan kim gitdi Bağdād'a
Tene''um eyleyüp içdük bu kevṯerden şerāb-āsā

Ve Yaḥyā Efendi bi-ṭarīḳi'n-naẓīre bu penç beyti mānende-i dest-i inṣāf nihāde-i sīne-i taḥsīn itmişlerdür:[76]

Naẓīre-i Yaḥyā Efendi[77]

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[66] ve: - K
[67] āfāḳı: eflākı B
[68] ḫaṣiyyet: - K
[69] inşirāḥ: inşirāḥ-ı ṣafā-yı K
[70] Efendi: Efendi merḥūm K
[71] şehriyārī: şehriyār K
[72] nişīmen: nişīmen ü L P
[73] -güster: güsterin P
[74] ile ṣafḥa-i dīvārın tezyīn buyurmuşlar: ile tezyīn-i ṣafḥa-i dīvār buyurmuşlar K
[75] Güfte-i Sulṭān Murād Ḫān Ğāzī el-Merh3ūm: Güfte-i Sulṭān Murād Ḫān B; Güfte-i Sulṭān Murād P; Güfte-i Murād Ḫān Ğāzī K
[76] This remark cited later in K B

Zihī cāy-ı[78] ferāḥ-baḫş-ı[79] ṣafā-güster-i ḥayāt-efzā

Nebātından ise bir mürğ olupdur ṭūṭī-i gūyā[80]

Bihiştüñ ḳıt'ası dirdüm veli reşk-i bihişt olmış

Ḳudūm-ı pādişāhile bu nüzhetgāh-ı bī-hemtā

Ṣuyın kevŝer diyü naẓmında ögmüş ol şeh-i 'ādil

Ḫōşā pākize-naẓm-ı[81] rūḥ-perver[82] āb-ı ḥayāt-efzā[83]

Ilāhī ḥaḍret-i Sultān Murād'a 'ömr-i sermed vir

Musaḫḫar ola añа cümlet-i[84] dünyā vü mā-fīhā

Diye iḫlāṣ ile yerde beşer gökde melek āmin

Du'ā itdükce ol şāh-ı cihāna ṣıdḳıla Yah3yā

[85] Ol güşe-i dil-ārā temāşāsı ḍımnında rūḥ-ı şerīflerine tuḥfe-i kem-yāb-ı du'ā ihdā olundı.

Īğın ve **Lādīk** menzilleri[86] ẓamīme-i[87] menāzil-i maṭviyye olunduḳdan ṣoñra dārü'l-mülk-i Yūnān-zemīn ve masḳaṭ-ı re's-i Eflāṭūn-ı ḫam-nişīn olan şehr-i **Ḳonyā** ki ẕerre ẕerre ḫāk-i 'ıṭr-nāki eczā-yı ebdān-ı[88] [**K4b**] evliyā ve ḳaṭre ḳaṭre āb-ı feyḍ-nāki [**P8**]

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[77] Naẓīre-i Yaḥyā Efendi: Ğazel-i Yaḥyā Efendi B, Güfte-i Yaḥyā Efendi K; In L this poem is written in margin.
[78] cāy: çāy P; cāyī L
[79] baḫş: bahşā K
[80] ṭūṭī-i gūyā: ṭūṭī gibi gūyā L K
[81] naẓm-ı rūḥ: naẓm u rūḥ P B
[82] rūḥ-perver: rūḥ-baḫş B
[83] ḥayāt-efzā ; ḥayāt-baḫşā K; rūh-efzā P; naẓm-ı rūḥ-perver āb-ı ḥayāt-efzā: Naẓm-ı rūḥ-ı ḥayāt-baḫşā K, but *rūḥ-baḫş-ı āb-ı ḥayāt-āsā* added later in the margin of K
[84] cümlet-i: dā'imā K; cümleten L
[85] In K and B, the remark 've Yaḥyā Efendi bi-ṭarīḳi'n-naẓīre bu penç beyti mānende-i dest-i inṣāf nihāde-i sīne-i taḥsīn itmişlerdür (itmede K)' is inserted here.
[86] menzilleri: menzilleri daḫi B
[87] zamīme-i: temīme-i L
[88] ebdān: ābdān P

sirişk-i ḫūnīn-ı aṣfiyādur. Ḫuṣūṣan müsteğrāḳ-ı deryā-yı 'irfān, bālā-nişīn-i encümen-i 'āşıḳān, bülbül-i rengīn-nevā-yı **[L4b]** gülistān-ı ḥaḳīḳat ve ṭūṭī-i destān-serā-yı şekeristān-ı ṭarīḳat, naḫl-bend-i gülşen-i hevā-şiken-i Meşnevī, perde-şikāf-ı[89] deḳā'iḳ-ı **[B4b]** şūrī vü ma'nevī, şehriyār-ı memālik-i irşād, tāc-dār-ı serīr-i rüşd ü sedād, merhem-i sīne-i dil-suḫtegān, ārām-ı ḫāṭır-ı sevdā-zedegān, pīşvā-yı aṣfiyā ve maḫdūm-ı zümre-i[90] evliyā ḥaḍret-i Mevlānā Celāle'd-dīn-i Rūmī, ḳaddese sırrahü'l-'azīz[91] , ḥaḍretlerinüñ şevḳ-i nāṣiye-sāyī-i[92] āstān-ı bihişt-nişānları ile bu sebze-i nev-ḫīz-i[93] mezra'a-i dil vesīle-i[94] iẕn-i duḫūl ḳılındı:

Li-mü'ellifih[95 96]

Virür neşāṭ-ı mü'ebbed mekān-ı Mevlānā

Ider cebini münīr āstān-ı Mevlānā

Libās-ı ḫaṭve-gīr-i ebruvānı şevḳinden

Olunca nāṣiye-sā 'āşıḳān-ı Mevlānā

Revāc-ı kuḥl-i cevāhir mi ḳor naẓarlarda

Safā-yı ḫāk-i cevāhir-feşān-ı Mevlānā

Bulur mı bülbül-i bīgāne ruḫṣat-ı feryād

Na'īm-i ḳurbdedür gülistān-ı Mevlānā

Olur mu būse-zen-i zīr-i pāy-ı küngür-i çerh

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[89] perde-şikāf: perde-i şikāf K
[90] zümre-i:- P L B
[91] ḳaddese sırrahü'l-'azīz: ḳaddese'llāhü sırrahü'l-'azīz B ; ḳaddese sırrahü's-sāmi P
[92] nāṣiye-sāyī-i: nāṣiye-i K; nāṣiye-sāyī L
[93] sebze-i nev-ḫīz-i: sebzezār-ı nev-ḫīz L; sebze-i mezra'a-i K
[94] vesīle-i: resīde-i B K
[95] Li-mü'ellifih: Naẓm P B, Medḫ-i Mevlānā K
[96] Verses matched are identical with beyts 1-4, 11-12, 19-23 of the poem 'Nağme-ṭırāz-ı nāy-i ḳalem-i rūḥānī-edā der-āstāne-i ḥaḍret-i Mevlānā ḳuddise ṣırrahü'l-'azīz' in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan), pp. 36-38).

Tenezzül eylemese zā'irān-ı Mevlānā[97]

N'ola cevāhir ile olsa Meṣnevī memlū'

Kilīd-i genc-i ḥikemdür zebān-ı Mevlānā

Ne Meṣnevī dürer-i şāhvār-ı maḫzen-i feyḍ

Ne Meṣnevī çemen-i bī-ḫazān-ı Mevlānā

Süṭūr-ı ṣaff-ı sipāh-ı ḳalem-rev-i taḥḳīḳ

Ne fevc-i mevc-i yemm-i bī-kerān-ı Mevlānā[98]

Reh-i vücūda başaldan ḳadem bu idi ümīd

K'olam cebīn-zede-i āstān-ı Mevlānā

Ḫudā'ya şükr naṣīb oldı bülbül-i nigehe

Gül-i müşāhede-i būstān-ı Mevlānā

Ḫōşā sütūde reh-āverd-i[99] rehber-i tevfīḳ

Ziyāret-i ḥarem-i 'arşsān-ı Mevlānā

Ümīdi şimdi budur Nābī-i siyeh-kāruñ

K'anuñçün eyleyeler dōstān-ı Mevlānā

Kenār-ı defter-i dilde bu [**B5a**] güne nāmını ḳayd

Kemīne ḫāk-i der-i bendegān-ı[100] Mevlānā

maḳalin vesīle-i iẕn-i duḫūl eyledükde[101] istiḳbāl-i emvāc-ı rūḥāniyetden[102] dide vü dil şināver-i deryā-yı dehşet [**L5a**] ü ḥayret olup

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[97] This couplet is not included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan).
[98] This couplet is not included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan).
[99] reh-āverd: reh-i verd P
[100] bendegān: ḫānedān-ı D
[101] maḳalin vesīle-i iẕn-i duḫūl eyledükde: - L P; added in the margin of B
[102] rūḥāniyetden: rūḥānīden L

Naẓm

Ḳadem be-hūş be-bāyed[103] nihād[104] ey müştāḳ

Ki in ḫızāne-i feyḍ-est ve Ka'be-i 'uşşāḳ

[**K5a**] ṣadāsı der u dīvār-ı feyḍ-bārından[105] sāmi'a-i cānı pür idüp [**P9**]

Naẓm

Tāb-ı şevḳ eyleyince dil-i sengīnüñi mūm

Nice mümkün k'olasın[106] nā'il-i bezm-i şeh-i Rūm

ḫiṭābı zebān-ı ḳandīl-i meh-sīmāsından ḫānḳah-ı derūne āteş ṣalmağın bir müddet dāver-i ḥayret memleket-i dilde ḥükūmet eyledükden ṣoñra yine i'ānet-i feyḍ-i hūş-baḫşāsı ile sermāye-i endek-i şu'ūrā dest-res müyessser olıcak biñ cānla[107] ḫarīdār-ı ṭavāf-ı merḳad-ı nūr-āmīzleri olup pervāne-i nūr-ı nigāh bālā-yı ser-i şem'-i mezārlarında vaḳf-ı gerdiş ḳılındı.

Ḥaḳḳā [108] bir ḳubbe-i rafi'a-i gerdūn-nümūndur[109] ki 'ıḳd-ı süreyyā āvīze-i gerden-i küngüre-i berrāḳ ve nevk-i küngüri mīl-i sürme-i dīde-i sükkān-ı seb' ṭıbāḳdur. Zīr-i ḳubbe-i celālet destgāhında[110] mücerred kendülerüñ[111] ve peder-i 'ālī-güherleri ḥaḍret-i[112] sulṭānü'l-'ulemā Bahā'e'd-dīn ḥaḍretlerinüñ āsāyişgāh-ı ḫāṣṣāları olup ṭāḳ-ı ḳubbe ile bāzū-be-bāzū-yı ittiṣāl[113] olan ṭāḳlar sāyesinde ferzend-i edīb-i vālā-nijādları ḥaḍret-i Sulṭān Veled ve yine kenāre-nişīn-i ḫ^{v}ān-ı ni'met-i velāyet olanlardan sikke-

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[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] nümūndur: nümūn B
[110] destgāhında: destgāhlarında K; destgāhda B
[111] kendülerün: kendülerinüñ K
[112] ḥaḍret-i: - P
[113] bāzū-be-bāzū-yı ittiṣāl: bāzū-yı ve be-bāzū-yı K; bāzū-bend-i ittiṣāl P

dār-ı ḫālisü'l-'ayyār-ı ḍarb-ḫāne-i ma'nā[114] ve müẕehhib-i ser-ṣafḥa-i [**B5b**] nüsḫa-i hüdā Ṣalaḥa'd-dīn-i Zer-kūb-ı Ḳonevī ve şimşīr-i tīz-bāzū-yı[115] tevfīḳ, ser-firū-bürde-i[116] niyām-ı taḥḳīḳ ḥaḍret-i Çelebi Hüsāme'd-dīn ve sā'ir evlād-ı emcādları āsūde-i ḫābgāh-ı raḥmet-penāh-ı mezārları[117] olup kendi zebān-ı gevher-feşānlarından zīver-i āğūş-ı ẓuhūr olan kelām-ı ḥikmet-nizām üzre[118] pehlū-zede-i pister-i rāḥat-güster-i ḫāk olmaları pādişāhāne vāḳi' olmağla sā'ir merāḳid-i evliyā-yı kirām, ḳaddese'llāhü sırrahüm[119], gūyā zīr-i ḳubbede tertīb-i dīvān-ı süreyyā-nizām itmişlerdür.

Ba'de ṣadru'ṣ-ṣudūr-ı encümen-i ḥaḳīḳat, [**L5b**] merkez-i devā'ir-i pergār-ı ṭarīḳat[120], dāver-i ḳalem-rev-i[121] ma'nā, dest-bürde-i[122] sermāye-i[123] hüdā, reh-nümūn-ı kārvān-ı 'ālem-i 'illiyyīn, gencūr-ı ḫızāne-i[124] dārü'l-mülk-i yaḳīn, cenāb-ı Şeyḫ Ṣadre'd-dīn-i Ḳonevi, [**K5b**] ḳaddese ṣırrah[125], ḥaḍretlerinüñ ḫāk-i müşkīn-i feyḍ-āgīnleri[126] 'abīr-i ṭurra-i müjgān ḳılınup ol rāst-gū-yı encümen-i ḳuds ḥaḍretlerinüñ [**P10**] daḫi lisān-ı bedī'ü'l-beyānlarından 'Murabba'-nişīn-i çār-bāliş-i ḥayāt olmamuz emīrāne ve ğunūde-i ḫ[v]ābgāh-ı memāt olmamuz faḳīrāne olsun' diyü ṣudūr iden maḳāl-i ḥikmet-iştimāl vefḳince bālā-yı mezār-ı 'ıṭr-āmīzlerinde mānende-i mücmer-i müşebbek çūb-terāşideden sāḫte bir ḳubbe-i ḳafes-sīmā vāḳi' olmışdur ki[127] ṭā'ir-i küngüre-i eflāk olan rūḥ-ı lā-mekān-pervāzlarınuñ[128] kālbidi ārām-gīr-i künc-i ḳafes olmışdur. [**B6a**]

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[114] darb-ḫāne-i ma'nā: darbgāh-ı ma'nevī K
[115] tīz: ber-tīz B
[116] bürde-i: bürde P
[117] mezārları: mezār K
[118] üzre: - L
[119] ṣırrahüm: 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] ḫızāne-ı: ḫazīne P
[125] ṣırrahū: ṣırrahü'l-'azīz K
[126] feyḍ-āgīnleri: feyḍ-iksīrleri K
[127] ki: - B
[128] lā-mekān-pervāzlarınuñ: lā-mekānları K

Henūz ṣadr-nişīn-i medrese-i şühūd iken nāṭıḳa-i sāmi'a-pīrāları miftāḥü'l-ğayb-ı gencīne-i ḥikem olduğı dārü'l-ifādeleri ki ḫazā'in-i pür-zer ü sīm-i kibār aña nisbet külḫān-ı pür-hākister ve ma'ādin-i cevāhir-i ābdār aña naẓar[an] evrām-ı ṣudūrdan bed-terdür[129]. Ve anuñ ṭabaḳa-i fevkānīsinde vāḳi' kitāb-ḫāne-i raḥmet-nişānları ki

Naẓm

Ḥıfẓ içün nüsḫa-i muḥabbetüñi

Eyledüm çāk-i sīnemi dūlāb

feḥvāsını ḥāvī bir niçe dūlāb-ı maḫṣūṣ cenāb-ı kirāmīlerinüñ mīzāb-ı mā'ü'l-ḥayāt-ı çeşme-sār-ı dil-i ilhām-āṣārları olan ḫāme-i 'anber-efşānlarından çekīde-i ṣaḥīfe-i[130] te'līf olmış esrār-ı ḳudsiye-i Ilāhiyyeden memlū' nüsaḫ-ı mu'tebere ile māl-ā-māl olduğından ğayrı ḳutb-ı Rabbāni fāḍıl-ı Ṣāmedānī, şināver-i baḥr-i esrār, ğavvāṣ-ı le'ālī-i efkār, pīşvā-yı vāṣılīn, reh-nümā-yı muḥaḳḳıḳīn Şeyḫ Muḥyi'd-dīn-i 'Arābī, ḳaddese'llāhü sırrahü'l-'azīz, ḥaḍretlerinüñ kālā-yı kārgāh-ı iḳān ve maḥṣūl-i mezra'a-i 'irfānları olan kitāb-ı sa'ādet-nişāb[131] **[L6a]** Fütūḥāt-ı Mekkiyye ki bi'l-cümle[132] cenāb-ı velāyet-penāhlarınuñ ḳalem-i feyḍ-bārlarından otuz dört mücelled üzre keşide-i ṣaḥīfe-i[133] beyāḍ olup ve her cildinüñ ḫātime-i şerīfesi[ni] kendi ism-i sāmīleri ile[134] isfār-ı tesvīdden evrāḳ-ı tebyīḍe naḳl buyurduḳlarında nā'il-i devlet-i müşāreket-i muḳābele olan 'azīzüñ nām-ı nāmileri ile **[K6a]** ḫatm u tezyīl buyurup mecmū'-ı mücelledātı arzū-yı devlet-i ḥıfḍıy2le[135] āğūş-ı ḫızāne-i cennet-ḫamyāze-keş-i ḥasret

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[129] bed-terdür: bed-ter L
[130] ṣaḥīfe-i: ṣahīfe B
[131] nişāb: nişābları B K
[132] bi'l-cümle: bi'l-cümle yine K
[133] keşīde-i ṣahīfe-i: keşīde ṣaḥīfe B K
[134] ile: ve ile L B
[135] ḥıfẓıyle: ḥıfẓla L; ḥıfẓ K

olan bir ṣandūḳda[136] cāy-gīr ve ol kitāb-ḫāne-i 'aliyyenin bir[137] dūlābında [**B6b**] taḳrīr olunmışdur. [**P11**]

Ḥattā sulṭān-ı evliyā, bürhānü'l-aṣfiyā, āftāb-ı felek-i velāyet, nişāngāh-ı sübḥa-i silsile-i siyādet, ḳā'id-i ceyş-i[138] rūḥānī Şeyḫ Abdü'l-ḳādir-i Geylānī, ḳaddese sırrah, ḥaḍretlerinüñ şem'a-i ḍiyā-baḫş-ī lisānlarından 'Bu miḳdār sālden ṣoñra bir def'a daḫi pertev-i çerāğ-ı esrārımuz encümen-efrūz-ı ḫıṭṭa-i Endülüs olmaḳ mersūm-ı pervāne-i[139] dīvān-ḫāne-i ezeldür' diyü ṣudūr iden kelām-ı[140] kerāmet-nizāmları[141] veḫince ḫırḳa-i laṭīfeleri 'alā-ṭarīḳi't-tavṣiye devr-i ebdān-ı ḫulefā-i Ḳādiriyye iderek

Naẓm

Oldı baña Ḳays u Kūhken'den vāṣıl

Gül-deste-i sırr-ı 'aşḳ olup dest-be-dest[142]

veḫince Şeyḫ[143] Muḥyi'd-dīn-i 'Arabī ḥaḍretlerine vāṣıl olup cenāb-ı Muḥyi'd-dīn daḫi pūşiş-i ḥayātdan tecerrüd buyurduḳlarından ṣoñra[144] dīvān-ḫāne-i ma'nāda Şeyḫ Ṣadre'd-dīn cenābına ilbās olunmağın ḥālā ṣandūḳıyle[145] maḍbūṭ-ı genc-i kitāb-ḫāneleridür. Bi-ḥamdi'llāhi te'ālā ol nüsaḫ-ı şerīfe ve ol ḫırḳa-i laṭīfenüñ 'abīr-i gisū-yı ḥūrān-ı bihişte rāciḥ olan ğubārları tūtiyā-yı çeşm-i iftiḫār ḳılındı.

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[136] ṣandūḳda: ṣandūḳ ile L P
[137] bir: - PL
[138] ceyş: 'l-ceyş B L K
[139] pervāne-i: pervāne B
[140] kelām: kelimāt L
[141] -nizāmları: -nizām B
[142] be-dest: nezr B
[143] şeyḫ: - L P
[144] ṣoñra: - K
[145] ṣandūḳıyle: ṣandūḳa ile K; ṣandūḳla B

3. Resīden be-ḳaṣaba-i Eregli[146]

Eregli ḳaṣabasında pīş-rev-i aṣḥāb-ı ḳabūl Şeyḫ Şihābe'd-dīn-i Maḳtūl'üñ[147] ḫāk-i ḫūn-āmīzi[148] merhem-i sīne-i i'tibār ḳılındı.

Nümūne-i eşk-i gül-gūn-i ḥasretiyān olan **Ḳızılırmaḳ** kenārında [**L6b**] vāḳi' şehr-i[149] **Adana**'da bir gün taḫliye-i ḫāne-i zīn olunup dil-i sengīn-i ḫūbān-ı cevr-āyīnden[150] nümūne ruḫām-ı cilā-dāde-i āyīne-sīmā ile binā olunmış cāmi'-i meşhūr-ı[151] bī-nazīrinüñ temāşāsında [**B7a**] ṣūret-i inşirāḥ müşāhede olundı.

Elsine-i naḳala-i aḫbār-ı ezmine-i sābıḳada cārī olduğı üzre ḥaḍret-i Dānyāl, 'aleyhi's-selām, çāre-cūyī-i mevt-i bī-dermān[152] [**K6b**] arzūsıyle eczā-yı nüsḫa-i ḥikmeti istiṣḥāb ile ṣaḥrāya şitāb eṣnāsında ḥaḍret-i Rūḥu'l-emīn güşe-i cenāḥıyle nüsḫa-i ḥikmeti endāḫte-i āb itdügi maḥall olmaḳ üzre şöhret-yāb olan **Cisr-i Misis**'den güẕer olundı.

Hevā-yı teb-fermāsına nisbet āh-ı germ-i 'āşıḳān nefes-i zemherīr olan **Payās** ḳaṣabasında [**P12**] bir gün germī-i hevādan leb-i deryā-ṣıfat kef-zenān-ı mübtelā-yı maraḍ-ı ṣoluğan olup sünbül-ṣıfat nefes-i sūḫte ve dūd-ı kebūd ile **Baḳraḍ'a** [**Baḳraṣ**] 'azīmet, andan **Anṭakiyye**'ye nühḍat olundı[153].

Rü'ūs-ı cibāl-ı şāhiḳaya āğūş-ı istiḥkām ṣalmış ḥiṣār-ı vesī'u'l-ercāsı ki peyk-i ḫıred bir günde ḥavālisin devre 'adīmü'l-iḳtidārdur ve[154] rub'-ı rub'ı miḳdārı[155] ancaḳ

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[146] Resīden be-Ḳaṣaba-i Eregli: written in the margin of L and P
[147] maḳtūlün: maḳtūl ḥaḍretlerinüñ K
[148] ḫūn-āmīzi L: ḫūn-āmīzleri ile K, ḫūn-āmīzleri B
[149] şehr-i: - L P
[150] cevr- āyīnden: ḫūr-āyīnden B
[151] meşhūr: - K
[152] bī-dermān: bī-āmān K
[153] olundı: olunup K
[154] ve: - L B
[155] miḳdārı: miḳdār K

meskūn ve baḳiyyesi pā-zede-i[156] nev'-i insānī olmaḳ ğā'ilesinden maṣūn bir şehr-i u'cūbedür. Miyāne-i şehrde vāḳi' mi'mār-ı mebānī-i[157] āṯār cenāb-ı Ḥabīb-i Neccār ḥaḍretlerinüñ meşhed-i raḥmet-āmīzleri ziyāretlerine[158] dil-i nālān mānend-i[159] āb-ı 'Āṣī cereyān eyledükden ṣoñra üçüncü gün şehr-i **Ḥalebü'ş-şehbā** manẓūr-ı çeşm-i şevḳ-peymā olmaḳ müyesser oldı.

4. ẕikr-i resīden be-diyār-ı Ḥaleb[160]

Vāḳı'a belde-i ğarībe-i **Ḥaleb** bir ma'mūre-i bū'l-'acebdür ki revāḳ-ı bünyānı külāh-efgen-i bāṣıra-i[161] nuẓẓāragiyān ve ṭıbāḳ-ı ḳuṣūrı 'acz-fermā-yı bāṣıra-i[162] temāşāyiyāndur[163]. [**B7b**] Ṭāḳ-ı eyāvīni ḳavs-ı felekden ferāḫ u rengīn, ṭarḥ-ı ḳavā'īsi kāḫ-ı bihişt-ḳadr-ı [**L7a**] dil-nişīn, naḳş-ı ruḫāmı ḥayret-dih-i ṣūret-i girān-ı deyr-i evhām, ferş-i ruḫāmına pāy-ı nā-berehne ḥarām, leṭāfet-i ḥıyāḍı çīn-resān-ı nevāṣī-i raḥīḳ u tesnīm, nezāhet-i[164] riyāḍı müstağnī-i āmed-şüd-i kārvān-ı[165] nesīm, cevāmi' u mesācidi bisiyār, ḫāvānīḳ u zevāyāsı bīgāne-i ḥadd u şümārdur[166]. Ḫuṣūṣan cāmi'-i kebīrinüñ dīvār-ı[167] ḳıblīsinde vāḳi'[168] meşhed-i re's-i mübārek-i ḥaḍret-i Zekeriyyā, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ki [**K7a**] hengām-ı ziyāretinde[169] minşār-ı ḥayret dil-i[170] züvvārı māh gibi dū nīm ve meşāmm-ı iştiyāḳı nā'il-i būy-ı gül-zār-ı na'īm ider.

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[156] pā-zede-i: pā-zede L
[157] mebānī-i: mebānī L
[158] ziyāretlerine: ziyāretine B
[159] mānend-i: mānende-i B K
[160] ẕikr-i resīden be-diyār-ı Ḥaleb: written in the margin of L and P
[161] -efgen: -efgen-i bāṣıra-i K
[162] bāsira-i: - K
[163] temāşāyiyān: temaşāyāndur P
[164] nezāhet: nüzhet-i L
[165] kārvān: kārbān K
[166] şümārdur: şümār P L B
[167] dīvār: cānib P
[168] vāḳi': - P L B
[169] ziy2retinde: ṭufūliyetde K
[170] dil-i: dil ve B

Miyān-ı şehrde vāḳi‘ ḫandeḳ-i ba‘īdü'l-ğavr-ı pür-āb iḥāṭasında bir tūde-i maṣnū‘adan müstaḥkem bir ḳal‘a-i ser-be-gerdūn ki ğāyet-i[171] irtifā‘ından nāşī efvāh-ı ehl-i bilāddan resīde-i güş-ı hilāl olan gülbāng-ı ṣayt u ṣadā mesāmi‘-i sükkānına nā-resā ve bālā-yı burūcında[172] atılan ṭōb-ı ra‘d-āşūbuñ[173] ṣadāsı güş-ı sükkān-ı şehre yetişmek ḫayli ma‘nādur.

Ḫuṣūṣan [**P13**] elsine-i enāmda naẓīri mestūr-ı perde-i ibhām[174] olan ḫānḳāh-ı nüzhet-penāh-ı Şeyḫ Ebū Bekr ki miyān-ı ḳıbāb-ı bī-ḥesābında ser-keşide olan servler[175] beyān-ı imtinā‘[176] miṣāline lisān-ı ḥāl[177] ve sāḥa-i rāḥat-baḫşāsında olan ḥıyāḍ-ı māl-ā-māl iddi‘ā-yı rücḥān-ı āb-ı ḥayvān içün basṭ-ı zülāl-i maḳāl itmededür. Gāh şehr-i dil-ārā[178] ve gāh mesā'ir-i rūḥ-baḫşāda eyyām-ı ‘aşere-i kāmile tekye-zede-i[179] visāde-i istirāḥat [**B8a**] olduḳdan[180] ṣoñra,

5. ẕikr-i ‘azm-i faḳīr be-sū-yı vaṭan[181]

Naẓm

Sīneyi[182] maḫzen-i şevḳ eyledi[183] sevdā-yı vaṭan

Çeşmi[184] bīgāne-i ḫ^{v}āb itdi temāşā-yı vaṭan

Ḳalmadı kārgeh-i dilde metā‘-ı ārām

Oldı ğāret-zede-i pençe-i yağmā-yı vaṭan

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[171] ğāyet: - K
[172] burūcında: burcundan P
[173] ṭōb-ı ra‘d-āşūbuñ: ṭōb u tüfeng 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] olduḳdan: olunduḳdan K
[181] ẕikr-i ‘azm-i faḳīr be-sū-yı vaṭan: - P L
[182] sīneyi: sīnemi K
[183] eyledi: itdi K
[184] çeşmi: çeşmimi K

Dār-ı ğurbetde ğarīb añduğı demde vaṭanı

Dil çeker[185] cānları cānlar teni ten pīreheni

maḍmūnı nāṣiye-i ḥālde be-dīdār olmağla[186] [**L7b**] 'ināh-ı iḫtiyār rubūde-i dest-i heves[187] ve nāle-i iştiyāḳ hem-nefes-i ceres ḳılınup perverişgāh-ı cism-i[188] 'acz-penāh olan **Rūhā** cānibine sevḳ-i maṭiyye-i şevḳ olundı.

Naẓm

Çünān be-şevḳ ḫırāmān şüdem der-ān kişver

Ki sūy-ı ḥacle şitābān 'arūs-ı nev-dāmad

Miyān-ı[189] ṭarīḳde vāḳi' ḳal'a-i **Beyrutü'l-Fırat** dāmanında numūne-i kāhkeşān olan[190] nehr-i Fırāt'dan sefāyin-i hilāl-sīmā ile güẕer ve ikinci günde südde-i dervāze-i ma'mūre-i vaṭan-ı ğurbet-şiken būsegāh-ı pişānī-i nigāh olunmaḳ[191] [**K7b**] müyesser oldı.

Ārāmgāh-ı vaṭandan āstāne-i devlet cānibine kemer-bend-i 'azīmet olaldan beri nüsḫa-i dū reng ḳırṭās-ı sininden on üç varaḳ gerdān olup bi-ḥamdi'llāhi te'ālā ḥuṣūl-i esbāb-ı kāmrānī ve vüṣūl-i derece-i āmāl u emānī ile her ṣaḥīfe-i sāl ṣaḥīfe-i[192] māḍiyeden ḫūb-ter ve 'aṭā-ḫāne-i elṭāf-ı Yezdāniyye'den teveccüh iden her bir ni'met muḳaddeme-i ni'met-i diger olmış iken yine

Nazm

Yūsuf ki be-Mışr pādişāhī mī-kerd

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[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] olunmaḳ: ḳılınmaḳ K
[192] ṣaḥīfe-i sāl: - P

Mī-güft gedā-büden-i Ken'ān ḫōş-ter

mişdāḳı üzre her bār yād-ı vaṭan ḥavālī-gerd-i[193] şehr-bend-i ḫāṭır olduḳca teselsül-i ḳaṭarāt-ı [**B8b**] eşk-i lāle-gün dil-i dīvāneye '**Ḥubbu'l-vaṭan mine'l-īmān**' nālesin[194] iş'ār [**P14**] ider, zencīr-i cünūn olurdı[195]. Bu ḳadar sūziş-i ḥasret[196] ile ol sevād-ı dil-āvīzüñ derīçesine ḳadem-zen-i duḫūl olmaḳ müyesser olduḳda buḫār-ı sürūr muḳa'ar-ı dimāğa ṣu'ūd ve kesb-i ruṭūbet ile rāh-ı çeşmden[197] vürūd idüb[198] eger dide-i arzūya iksīr-i a'ẓamdan mu'teber görinen ğubār-ı durūbı[199] tūtiya ḳılınmasa ḫurūş-ı seylāb-ı sirişk ḳıṣṣa-i ṭūfān-ı Nūḥ'ı ṣaḥā'if-i eyyāmdan şüste idecek mertebeler nümāyān idi[200]. Bu ḥālet-i girye-ḫīz-i sürūr-engīz ile ṣaḥrā-yı 'ademden dārü'l-beriyye-i[201] imkāna ḳadem nihāde olduğum ḫānenüñ çeşm-i derīçesine ğubār-ı rāh ile duḫūl müyesser olduḳda [**L8a**] nesīm-i şevḳle derīçeleri sīne-çāk, [202] revzenleri şevḳ-nāk, revāḳları bāl-küşā-yı pervāz-ı ṣafā, ṭāḳları āğūş-efrāz-ı merḥabā, evrāḳ u eşcārı birer zebān-ı ḫōş-āmed-güyān, sebze-i saḥāsı ṭūṭī-i[203] şekker-ḫā-yı şükr-i Yezdān olup

Naẓm

Revāḳ-ı manẓar-ı çeşm-i men āşyāneet-est

Kerem-nümā ve fīrūd-ā ki ḫāne ḫāne-et-est[204]

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[193] ḥavālī-gerd: ḥavālī-i gerd B
[194] nālesin: nālesini K B
[195] olurdı: olurlardı K
[196] ḥasret: - K
[197] çeşmden: çeşmümden L
[198] idüb: olup K
[199] durūbı: ğubār-rūbı B; durūb L; derūnı K
[200] idi: olurdı P
[201] dārü'l-beriyye: dārü't-terbiye B
[202] -çāk: -çāk ve B L
[203] ṭūṭī-i: ṭūṭī L
[204] This couplet is written in the margin of K, and inside the teḫt of K the following hemistich was written, and was crossed later: mışra' īn ki mī-bīnem be-bīdārī-st yā Rabb yā be-ḫ'āb ; The section from this couplet until the couplet beginning with 'Aceb görür müyüz' is written in the margin of K

zemzemesi çār dīvār-ı meserret-endūdından istimā‘ olunurdı. Ḫuṣūṣan ki[205] ṣemere-i izdivāc-ı ebeveyn ya‘nī uḫteyn ü[206] eḫāveyn ki

Beyt

Me-rā ümīd-i viṣāl-i tū zinde mī-dāred

Ve ger ne her demem ez-hicr-et-est bīm-i helāk

terennümiyle bu ḳadar müddetden beri dīdeleri revzene-i rāh-ı ḥasret ve sāmi‘aları mevḳūf-ı peyām-ı beşāret olup

Naẓm

‘Aceb görür miyüz ol rūyı bir daḫi [**B9a**]

Yoḫsa ḳalur gider o ğarībü'd-diyār gelmez mi

nālesin dem-sāz-ı āh u enīn-i dil-i ḥāzin itmekle peyğūle-nişīn olduḳları ḥālde [**K8a**] bu[207] sūziş-azmā-yı āteş-i[208] firāḳ[209] daḫi derīçe-i ḥaremden ṣūret-nümā-yı vüṣūl olduḳda bir müddet her biri hücūm-ı ḥayretle nümūne-i ṣūret-i dīvār olup

Mıṣra‘

Īn ki mī-bīnem be-bīdārī-st[210] yā Rabb yā be-ḫ[v]āb

maḍmūnın manṭūḳ-ı[211] lisān-ı ḥāl iderek[212] yemīn ü şimālden[213] āğūş-ı ḥasretlerin ḥamā'il-i gerden-i cism-i nizār[214] itdüklerinde neş'e-i ma‘cūn-ı müferriḥ-i viṣāl bir zamān daḫi cümleyi deng ü lāl[215] idüp ḳāfile-i şu‘ūr [**P15**] dest-māye-i ḥayretle bir

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[205] ki: - B K
[206] ve: - K
[207] bu: bir K
[208] āteş: - K
[209] -azmā-yı āteş-i firāḳ: azmāyiş-i firāḳ ile L
[210] be-bīdārī-st: bīdārī-st P L; bīdār-est K
[211] manṭūḳ: - P
[212] mazmūnın mantūk-ı lisān-ı ḥāl iderek: - K
[213] şimālden: şimālde B L
[214] nizār: zār L
[215] deng ü lāl: reng-i zülāl P

niçe def'a āmed-şüdden ṣoñra āḫir istişmām-ı rāyiḥa-i üns-i ḳadīm ile ribāṭ-ı penç gūşe-i ḥavāssda[216] istiḳrār bulıcaḳ ṭarafeynden kālā-yı dırāz-ı mācerā-yı iştiyāḳ, pīş-keş-i pāy-ı tellāḳ ḳılınmağa[217] āğāz olundı. Fe-ḥamden, ṣümme ḥamden, ṣümme ḥamden! Ḥaḍret-i Ḳādir-i 'Allām cümle-i[218] üftādegān-ı peyğūle-i ḥasreti müşāhede-i ṣūret-i maṭlūbıyle fā'izü'l-merām ve heme zehr-ābe-keşān-ı ğurbeti ü kürbeti[219] gerdiş-i kāse-i mürāca'at-ı evṭān[220] ile [**L8b**] şīrīn-kām eyleye, āmīn!

Gūyiyā ol ḥīn-i meserret-āyīn muraḳḳa'-i eyyām-ı ḥayātda[221] bir meclis-i muṣavver yā nüsḫa-i kem-yāb-ı zindegānīde bir maḥall-i mu'teber olmışdur ki ol hengām-ı dil-ārāmda peymāne-i ḫāṭırı leb-rīz iden ṣahbā-yı neşāṭuñ taḥrīr-i [222] keyfiyyeti ḫāme-i mestāne-ḫırāma ḥarām ve ol rūz-ı keder-sūzde telāṭum iden emvāc-ı [**B9b**] inbisāṭuñ taḳrīr-i kemmiyeti[223] taṣvīr-i [224] ressām-ı evhāmdur. Müvāṣalat-ı cismānīden neş'et iden ẕevḳ-i rūḥānī ile gāh mükāleme-i ser-güẕeşt-i eyyām-ı[225] firāḳ ve gāh müẕākere-i müşkilāt-ı nüsḫa-i iştiyāḳ iderek gencīne-i 'ömrden bir gün düzdīde ḳılındı.

Hengām-ı ṭufūliyyetde ki nev-āmede-i şehristān-ı ğayb olmağla henūz kīse-i havāssda[226] dest-māye-i üns-i rūḥānīden baḳıyye bulunmağın[227] be-her sū ṣarf-ı naḳdīne-i nigāh[228] olunduḳca[229] çāşnī-i riyāḍ-ı cinān iḥsās olunan gülistānlar[230]

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[216] ḥavāssda: ḥavāssdan L
[217] ḳılınmağa: 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] taḥrīr: taḥrīr ve K
[223] kemmiyyeti: germiyyeti K
[224] taṣvīr: taṣvīr-i taḥmīn K
[225] eyyām: - K
[226] ḥavāssda: hevesde P
[227] baḳıyye bulunmağın: bāḳī kalmağın K
[228] ṣarf-ı naḳdīne-i nigāh: naḳdīne-i ṣarf-ı nigāh K
[229] olunduḳca: olduḳca K
[230] gülistānlar: gülistānlarda K

ḫuṣūṣan ḥalḳa-bend-i genc-i debistān olduğumuz zamānlarda gāh sebeḳ-dāş-ı nüsḫa-i ülfet ve gāh meşḳ-nüvīs-i ʻaşḳ u muḥabbet olduğumuz eṭfāl ve emṡāl ki

Naẓm

Ḫārlar ḍabṭ eylemiş taḫtını sulṭān gülüñ [**K8b**]

Zāğlar ṭutmış dirīğā cāygāhın bülbülüñ

resmi üzre her biri ḫaṭṭ-āverde-i kenār-ı gülistān-ı ʻıẓār, belki ekṡeri

Mıṣraʻ

Şükūfe-i çemen-i raḥmet-est mū-yı sefid

veḳince yāsemen-nümā-yı miyāne-i sünbül-zār olup

Naẓm

Şüd ez-feşār-ı gerdūn mū-yı sefid ve ser-zed

Şīrī ki ḫ[v]ārde būdem[231] der-rūzgār-ı ṭıflī

maḳālin terceme-i beyān-ı ḥāl itmişler. Tecdīd-i ẕikr-i [**P16**] ḥālāt-ı güẕeşte ile iktisāb-ı[232] neşāṭ-ı eyyām-ı şebāb iderek be-taḫṣīṣ ṭılsım-ı ḥamā'il-i gerden-i faḳīre taʻvīz-i[233] müsāferet münteḳış olduğı eyyāmdan beri niçe nev-reftār-ı se sāle-i kūçe-i melāḥat ve niçe zīver-i dūş-ı dāye olan metāʻ-ı ḥüsn-i behcet ve niçe cünbüş-i kehvāreden taʻallüm-i ṭarz-ı ḫırām iden nāzenīn ve niçe ufḳ-ı meşīme-i erḥāmdan [**B10a**] ṭulūʻa āmāde olan [**L9a**] meh-cebīnler ki her biri bir serv-i ser-efrāḫte-i būstān-ı iftiḫār ve her biri bir māh-pāre-i āhū-nigāh u[234] ʻāşıḳ-şikār olmışlar[235].

Beyt

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[231] būdem: būdīm L B
[232] iktisāb: - K
[233] ta'vīz-i: - L B
[234] u: - K B
[235] olmışlar: olmışlar idi P

Bi'llāh be-gū çe nām dārī

Ve ender-i çe felek maḳām dārī

diyerek gāh istiṭlā'-i esāmī vü[236] aḥvālleri ile evḳāt-güẕār-ı[237] muḥaṣṣılu'l-āmāl ve gāh muṭāla'a-i ṣaḥā'if-i cemāl u kemālleri ile münşeriḥu'l-bāl olaraḳ geşt ü güẕār ve seyr-i çemen ü gülzār olundı. El-minnetü li'llāh[238]! Maḳdem-i ḥaḳīrānemüz ile ahālī-i diyārumuzuñ daḫi[239] mihmān-serāy-ı ḳulūbı menzil-geh-i ḳāfile-i inşirāḥ olup icrā-yı levāzım-ı ülfet ü ṣoḥbet ve edā-yı merāsim-i ikrām u ri'āyet ve geşt-i emākin ve seyr-i mesākinde ve ziyāret-i mevāṭın-ı müteberrikede bir[240] daḳīḳa mestūr-ı perde-i ihmāl ḳılınmadı.

Ḫuṣūṣan mā-bihi'l-iftiḫār-ı[241] diyārumuz[242] olan Rasūl-i Yezdān, Ḫalīlü'r-Raḥmān, ber-güzīde-i Rabb-i Raḥīm, cenāb-ı ḫullet-penāh Ibrāhim, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḥaḍretlerinüñ bih-terīn metā'-i kār-ḫāne-i āferīniş olan vücūd-ı cūd-nümūdları zīnet-efzā-yı revācgāh-ı imkān olduḳları ğār ki gencīne-i envār ve şehr-i mezbūr 'dih-i mevlid-i Ḫalīl' nāmıyle resīde-i ḥadd-i iştihārdur; ferş ü saḳf u çār dīvārı yek-pāre ruḫām-ı bī-mesāmdan terāşīde [**K9a**] olmağla ṭuruḳ-ı iḫtimāl-i teraşşuḥ mesdūd iken bir āb-ı zülāl-miṣāl ile māl-ā-māl olduğı mu'cize-i Ibrāhimiyyeye dāldur. Ve[243] ol ğārun cānib-i ğarbīsinde vāḳi' masḳaṭ-ı re's-i mübārekleri maḫṣūṣ bir ṣandūḳa-i sebz ile müte'ayyendür. Ol ğār ile ṭaraf-ı şarḳīden hem-pehlū bir ğār-ı [**B10b**] diger[244] ki vālide-i mükerremeleri ol nāzenīn [**P17**] mehd-i

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[236] ü: - K
[237] evḳāt-güẕār-ı: -L B P
[238] li'llāhi: li'llāhi te'ālā P
[239] daḫi: -K
[240] mesākında ve ziyāret-i mevāṭın-i müberrikede bir: mesākında daḳīḳa fevt olmayup bir K
[241] mā-bihi'l-iftiḫār: māye'l-iftiḫār B
[242] diyārumuz: diyārumuzda B
[243] ve: - L B P
[244] ğār-ı diger: ğārdur K

ḫılḳati[245] vāhime-i mütecessisān ḫademe-i ẓaleme-i Nemrūd-ı bed-būddan muḫāfaẓa içün vedī'a-i āğūş-ı ğār eyledüginde fermān-ı Ḳādir-i Settār ile def'-i maẓanne-i eşrār ve ketmān-ı cevāhir-i esrār içün pīrāmen-i dehān-ı ğārı[246] tār-ı 'ankebūt ile [L9b] memhūr ḳılmışidi[247].

Ve ol ṭıfl-ı nev-ders-i kütüb-ḫāne-i taḥḳīḳ müḳteḍā-yı isti'dād-ı ezeliyye ile nüsḫa-i nüh varaḳ-ı pīrūze-gūn-ı gerdūnda mürtesem olan nuḳaṭ-ı ḫurd u büzürg encümden istikşāf-ı maṭlūb-ı ḥaḳīḳi içün ḳur'a-endāz-ı tefaḥḥuṣ olduḳları ḥālde mersūm-ı levḥ-i cebīn-i sitāregān olan dāğ-ı ufūl māni'-i ḳabūlleri olıcaḳ Fāṭıru's-semāvāti ve'l-arḍ cānibine tevcīh-i veche-i[248] 'ubūdiyyet buyurduḳları emākin-i hidāyet-engīzüñ ğubār-ı müşk-'ıyārıyle tenvīr-i ebṣār olundı.

Ve yine ol şahbāz-ı bāzū-yı 'ināyet āşyāne-i keffe-i mancanīḳdan miyān-ı āteş-i Nemrūd'a pervāz eyledüklerinde feyḍ-nümā[249] baḫşā-yı bāğbān-ı ḳadr[250] ḳāmet-i zebāne-i bālā-keş-i nāra ilbās-ı câme-i gülzār idüp çekīde-i zebān-ı yerā'a-i rüvāt olduğı üzre ol mükerrrem mihmān-ı şehr-bend-i i'cāz āğūş-ı āteşde cāy-sāz olduḳlarında çeşme-i[251] dū zānū-yı mübārekleri taḳbīli ile nāz-ı şeker-i Bihişt-i berīn olan ḳıt'a-ı zemīnden feverān iden āb-ı ḥayāt-baḫşā ki bürūdet u selāmeti şübūt-yāfte-i būstān-ı naẓm-ı kerīmdür. Ḥālā ḥavālī-i menba'ında[252] sāḫte-i mi'mār-ı himmet olmış bir ḥavḍ-ı 'aẓīm-i ṭūlānī ki eḥad-ı ṭarafeynde olan kimesnenüñ teşḫīṣ-i ẕātında perde-i[253] iştibāh [B11a] mürtefi' değüldür[254]. Ol āb-ı zülāl-miṣālüñ 'umḳı üç nīzeden

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[245] ḫılḳati: ḫulleti P
[246] dehān-ı ğārı: dehānı L K
[247] ḳılmışidi: olmış idi K
[248] veche-i: vecih L; vech P
[249] nümā: nümā-yı P
[250] ḳadr-i: ḳudretüñ K
[251] mihmān-ı şehr-bend-i i'cāz āğūş-ı āteşde cāy-sāz olduḳlarında çeşme-i: -B
[252] menba'ında: menba'da B K P
[253] perde-i: perde L
[254] mürtefi' degildür: mürtefi'dür L

mütecāviz iken yine kemāl-i ṣafvetinden nāşī teh-i ābda[255] olan remmāl [**K9b**] enāmil-i enẓār ile şümār olunmaḳ mertebe-i imkāndadur. Ol ḥavḍ-ı mevzūn derūnında āb-ı sīm-gūn üzre sevād menzilesinde olan ḫōş-nümūne[256] māhīler ki perde-i āb nümāyiş-i endāmlarına ḥicāb olmayup kenār-ı ḥavḍdan güẕer iden züvvāruñ ḳudūmıne ṣad hezārı birden şitāb idüp ḫ[v]āhiş-i nān-pāre içün [**P18**] ṣūret-i lisān-ı ḥāliyle

Naẓm

Būs-i leb-i meh-veşānı[257] añlamaz hergiz

Būs-i leb-i nāndedür sipihr ile nizā'

[**L10a**] maḍmūnını icrā iderler.

Ol ḥavḍ-ı ḫāṭır-küşānuñ cānib-i ğarbīsinde sāye-i ḥiṣārda bir tekye-i Firdevs-nümūn ki şeh-nişīnleri[258] meclis-i muṣavver[259] gibi ṣaḥīfe-i pīrūze-gūn-ı āb üzre keşide, küngüre-i zer-endūde-i ḳıbābı muḳa''ar-ı felek-esīre resīdedür. Pīrāmen-i ḥavḍ-ı ṣafā-āyīni henūz āṯār-ı gülşen-i külḫān-şiken-i Ibrāhīmiyyeden bāḳī eşcār-ı mültefe-i[260] sāye-efgen ile müzeyyen ve ilā'l-ān zemīni kende-i tīşe-i bāğbān olduḳca niçe nīze miḳdārı ḫākister ẓuhūriyle ol maḥalde ṣıḥḥat vuḳū'ı müberhendür.

Ve ol ser-çeşme-i[261] hüdānuñ ḥiṣār-ı şehrden bīrūn oluncaya dek mecrāsında vāḳi' riyāḍ u cevāmi' u mesācid u ḫavānıḳ u büyūt u ṭavāḥīn[262] u mağāsil u ḳahve-ḫānelere - īṣāl-ı feyḍ itdüginden ğayrı[263] bīrūn-ı şehrde daḫi ḥadā'iḳ-ı bī-şümār[264] ifāḍasıyle muğtenemdür.

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[255] teh-i ābda: türābda B
[256] ḫōş-nümūne: ḫōş-nümūn K
[257] mehveşānı: mehveşān B L
[258] şeh-: şāh- L
[259] muṣavver: muṣavver-i Şeh-nāme P
[260] mülteffe-i: mülteḳa' B
[261] ser-: - L
[262] tavāḥīn: ṭavāḥin B
[263] ğayrı: mā'ada P B
[264] bī-şümār: bī-ḥisāb B

Ve ol cūy-ı keder-şūyuñ **[B11b]** cānib-i cenūbīsinde vāḳi‘ ẕirve-i kūh-ı gerdūn-şükūh[265] üzre ser-efrāḫte olan ḳal‘a-i felek-resüñ[266] ferāzında mühendis-i bünyān-ı kefere vü ḍalāl, mu‘allim-i debistān-ı mekr ü iḫtiyāl Iblīs ‘aleyhi’l-la‘nenüñ rīḫte-i ḳālıb ibdā‘ eyledügi iki ḳıt‘a aḥcār-ı terāşīdeden perdāḫte mancanīḳ-ı mināre-sīmā ki gūyā Nemrūd-ı bed-būduñ nefy-i iddi‘ā-yı bāṭılı içün ṣūret-i ‘lā’da nümūdār veyāḫūd dūş-ı Ḍaḥḥāk’a[267] iki mār-ı mağz-ḫ^{v}ārdur.

Gāh ol meṣāni‘-i bū’l-‘aceb müṭala‘asıyle ṣaḥīfe-i dili taḫta-i ta‘līm-i vaḳāyi‘-i rūzgār-ı ḳadīm ve gāh ol nüzhetgāh-ı keder-fersā müşāhedesiyle [**K10a**] istifā-yı neş’e-i ẕevḳ-i na‘īm iderek şümār-ı eyyām-ı istirāḥat derece-i ḫamsīni tecāvüzden ṣoñra ḳāmet-i kūtāh-ı viṣāl tebdīl-i libās-ı firāḳ itmege [**L10b**] ḳarīb olup arzū-yı ṣadā-yı derā-yı rāh-ı Ḥicāz encümen-i dilde nağmeye āğāz itmegin

6. ẕikr-i nühḍat zi-vaṭan be-sū-yı Ḥaleb[268]

[269] Gel göñül ‘azm-i der-i[270] beyt-i Ḫudā eyleyelüm

Sa‘y idüp **[P19]** Merve’ye taḥṣīl-i ṣafā eyleyelüm

Işimüz eylesün altun dū cihānda Mevlā

Nāvidān-ı zerüñ altında du‘ā eyleyelüm

‘Arafāt’uñ sürelüm ḫākine yüzler gözler

Sürḫ-rūy olmağa iksīr-i recā eyleyelüm

Leb-i lebbeyk-zen ü çeşm-i sirişk-efşānı

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[265] gerdūn: gerden L
[266] -resüñ: -reşk B P
[267] Ḍaḥḥāk’a: Ḍaḥḥāk’da P
[268] ẕikr-i nühḍat zi-vaṭan be-sū-yı Ḥaleb ḳaṣīde: - P; Ḥaleb: Ḥalebü’ş-şehbā K
[269] *Ḳaṣīde* is put before the poem in P; This poem is also included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, II, pp. 866-67)
[270] der: reh P

Kūçe-i ḫ̲ᵛāhiş-i raḥmetde gedā eyleyelüm

Kāse kāse çeh-i Zemzem'den içüp āb-ı ḥayāt

Cān-ı pür-'illeti leb-rīz-i şifā eyleyelüm

Alalum gevher-i raḥmet virelüm naḳd-ı günāh

Dili sevdāger-i[271] bāzār-ı Minā eyleyelüm [**B12a**]

Bāb-ı sulṭān-ı serā-perde-i levlāke varub

Ḳaddimüz bār-ı taḍarru'la dū-tā eyleyelüm

Virelüm ravḍa-i pākine ṣalāt ile selām

'Illet-i cürme şefā'atle şifā eyleyelüm

Olalum ḫ̲āk-i der-ı ravḍasına nāṣiye-sā[272]

Cebhemüz meşriḳ-i ḫ̲ūrşīd-i hüdā eyleyelüm

Geçirüp bendeleri defterine nāmımuzı

Yerimüz ḥaşrde de zīr-i livā eyleyelüm

Defter-i cürmi yaḳup eyleyelüm ḫ̲ākister

Nābiyā āyine-i ḳalbe cilā eyleyelüm

maḳālin zād-ı rāh-ı şevḳ iderek bir ṣubḥ-dem rehā-yāfte-i ārāmgāh-ı Ruhā olup ṭırāz-ı dāmen-i sevād-ı bī-reh menzilesinde olan nehr-i sürḫ̲-fām-ı Fırāt pīçide-i aḳdām-ı süfün-i[273] bī-ş̲ebāt ḳılınduḳdan ṣoñra bīm-i reh-zenān-ı 'Arāb rāh-ı rāstdan inḥirāfa sebeb olmağın ḥüsn-i sīmā ve lutf-ı āb u[274] hevā ile 'arūs-ı 'Arābistān olmaḳ üzre şöhret-yāb olan şehr-i '**Ayntāb**'a[275] şitāb ve üç gün müşāhede-i ṣafā-yı cemāliyle[276]

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[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 ṣoñra yine **Ḥalebü'ş-şehbā**'da on günden mütecāviz ittikā'-i visāde-i istirāḥat olundı.

Naẓm

Çīn-i zülfi ḳadar olmaz saña cāy-ı ārām

Ba'de ez-īn ey dil-i āvāre 'aleyküm bi'ş-Şām

[L11a] terānesi ḥady-ı cemmāze-i 'azm olmağın cānib-i Şām-ı Şerīf'e tevcīh-i licām-ı matiyye-i iḳdām / aḳdām olundı.

Naẓm

Yā berīde'l-Ḥamā ḥamā-ke'llāh

Merḥabā merḥabā te'āl te'āl

[K10b] terānesi nümūne-i ḳavs-ı[277] felek olan Dūlāb-ı Muḥammedī'den istiḳbāl itmegin niṭāḳ-ı sīmīn-i miyān-ı sevād-ı **Ḥamā** olan Nehr-i 'Āṣī mecārisinde **[B12b]** gerden-i gerdūna āğūş-ı **[P20]** ḥamā'il itmiş dūlāblar

Naẓm

Ḳande bir ṣāf derūnı ki görür āb gibi

Dil-i ser-geşte döner üstine dūlāb gibi

maḳālin idāre ile riyāḍ-ı çeşm ü güş-ı temāşāyiyānı sīr-āb-ı neşāṭ[278] itmişler. Ba'ḍısı

Naẓm

Birbirine girdiler dūlāblarla[279] āblar

Āblar ğālib olunca döndiler dūlāblar

maṭla'ına naẓīre-perdāzlık vādīsinde

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[277] ḳavs: ḳades or ḳuds P
[278] neşāt: - L
[279] dūlāblarla: dūlāblar ile B

Naẓm

Gör Ḥamā şehrin dolanmış güşe güşe āblar

Nehr-i 'Āṣī'ye muṭī' olmış döner dülāblar

naẓmın maḳām-ı evcde uṣūl-i devri üzre terennüm-rīz olduḳça sitem-keşān-ı devrān vājgūn-ı gerdūna şüst u şūyī-i[280] keder-i derūn iderler.

Naẓm

Mā-ḥaṣal-ı şehr-i Hamā bir māye-i sevdā imiş

Āb-ı 'Āṣī bir şarāb-ı āfiyet-baḫşā imiş

Ol neş'e-i ḫāṭır-küşā ile cūy-ı 'Āṣī'den dülāb-veş rū-gerdān ve cānib-i **Ḥımṣ**'a 'inān-cünbān olup nīm-i rāhda vāḳi'[281] cisr-i rāstdan güẕer olunduḳda ḫūrşīd-i felek-i ḥaḳīḳat, merkez-i dā'ire-i şerī'at, sulṭān-ı bārgāh-ı 'irfān, şehriyār-ı ḳalem-rev-i iḳān, nūr-ı çeşm-i evliyā, meş'āl-i[282] ḍiyā-pāş-ı[283] ḳāfile-i āṣfiyā, mesned-nişīn-i ṣadr-ı ṣuffe-i 'ārifīn, reh-nümā-yı kārvān-ı vāṣılīn, kālā-peymā-yı kārgāh-ı ebrār, tenhā-süvār-ı memālik-i envār cenāb-ı **Bāyezīd-i Bisṭāmī,** ḳaddese'llāhü sırrahü's-sāmī, ḥaḍreterinüñ ḫāk-i 'ıṭr-nāk-i mezār-ı feyḍ-niṣārları[284] būsegāh-ı cebīn-i niyāz ḳılınup li'llāhi'l-ḥamd cevāhir-i server maḫzūn-ı ḳalb-i maḥzūn[285] [**B13a**] ḳılınmaḳ müyesser oldı.

Andan ṣoñra sevād-ı vīrāne-nümā-yı Ḥımṣ manẓūr-ı naẓar-ı iştiyāḳ olundı. Ḥaḳḳā ki[286] bir vīrāne-i ṣūrī ki her güşesinde [**L11b**] bir genc-i ma'nevī defīn ve her cānibinde bir şīr-i ğarīn-i bīşe-zār-ı velāyet mekīn olmışdur. [**K11a**] Ez-cümle sulṭān-ı 'ālem-gīr-

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[280] şūyī-i: şū-yı B
[281] vāḳi': - K
[282] meş'al: meş'ale-i B
[283] ḍiyā-pāş: ṣafā-baḫş L
[284] feyḍ-niṣārları: feyḍ-āṣārları B
[285] ḳalb-i maḥzūn: - B
[286] ki: - L

i serīr-i velāyet-i[287] risālet, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretlerinüñ dīvān-ı bihişt-'ünvān-ı ḥalḳa-ı aṣḥāb-ı kirāmileri[288] beyninde bālā-nişīn-i kürsī-i i'tibār ve dārü'ḍ-ḍarb-ı meydān-ı ğazāda sikke-yāfte-i iştihār olanlardan [289] Ḫālid bin Velīd ve Sa'd bin Ebī Vaḳḳāṣ ve gülle-rübā-yı küngüre-i felek-i a'ẓam, [**P21**] peyk-i tīz-tek-i rükkāb-ı seyyid-i ālem, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem[290], 'Amr[v] bin Ümeyye ve peyām-resān-ı cihān-āferīn ekṣeriyyā[291] sīmā-yı pesendīdelerin isti'āre itdükleri Diḥye-i Kelbī[292], raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā 'anhüm[293], ve rüvāt-ı ḥadīṯ-i nebevīden[294] ḥaḍret-i[295] 'Ukkāşe ve 'Abdu'llāh ibn[296] Mes'ūd ve 'Abdu'llāh bin 'Ömer ve 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān bin 'Afv ve Ebū Mūsā el-Eş'ārī ve Ka'b el-Aḥbār, raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā 'anhüm, bunlardan ğayrı 'Abdu'r-Rahmān ibn Ḫālid bin[297] Velīd ve 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān ibn Ca'fer-i Ṭayyār ve 'Abdu'llāh ibn Ca'fer-i Ṭayyār[298] dūş-ı seyyid-i şühedā Ḥamza bin 'Abdü'l-Muṭṭalib ḫil'at-pūş-ı sürḫ-fām-ı şehādet olmışiken yine telāṭum-ı cūy-bār-ı mağfiret-i Izdī ḳāmet-i nedāmetine ilbās-ı cāme-i raḥmet iden Vaḥşī, 'aleyhi'r-raḥme[299], ve meşāhir-i aṣḥāb-ı kemālden Cemāle'd-dīn[300] Ḳutb raḥmetü'llāhi 'aleyh[301] merāḳıdında dū dest-i du'ā [**B13b**] ṣaḥīfe-i seb'a'l-meṯānī ḳılınduḳdan ṣoñra[302] ḳal'a-i felek-resüñ[303] ṣa'bu'ṣ-ṣu'ūdında vāḳi' cāmi'-i şerīfüñ

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[287] velāyet: - P
[288] kirāmileri: kirāmları P
[289] olanlardan: olanlardan ḥaḍret P
[290] ṣalle'llāhü 'aleyhi ve sellem: ayn mim K
[291] ekṣeriyyā: ekṣer B
[292] Dihye-i Kelbī: Dihyetü'l-Kelbī B K; Dihye bin Ḫalifetü'l-Kelbī P
[293] 'anhüm: 'anhüm ecma'īn K
[294] ḥadīṯ-i nebevīden: ḥadīṯden K
[295] ḥaḍret-i: - P L
[296] ibn: bin P K
[297] bin: ibn K B
[298] 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān ibn Ca'fer-i Ṭayyār ve 'Abdu'llāh ibn Ca'fer-i Ṭayyār: 'Abdu'llāh ibn Ca'fer-i Ṭayyār ve 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān ibn Ca'fer-i Ṭayyār B P
[299] 'aleyhi'r-raḥme: raḍiye'llāhü 'anh P; - L
[300] Cemāle'd-dīn: - L
[301] 'aleyh: 'aleyhüñ P
[302] ḳılınduḳdan ṣoñra: ḳılınduğından ğayrı B K
[303] -resüñ: -res L P; re's B

cānib-i yemīn-i miḥrābında ṣaḥā'if-i pūstīn-i ğazāl üzre nigāşte-i ḳalem-i müşkīn-raḳam-ı[304] 'Oşmāni[305] olan kelām-ı Yezdānī ki

Naẓm/

Ez-çeşm-i hezār ḫūn ber-ō rīzān-est

Berg-i gül-i sürḫ mushaf-ı 'Oşmān-est

me'āli kenār-ı evrāḳ-ı ḫūn-ālūdesinde[306] hüveydādur. Ol gül-i[307] sürḫ-ruḫ-ı gülistān-ı ḥayā, raḍiya'llāhü te'ālā 'anh, ḥaḍretlerinüñ çeşm ü zebānları şināver-i emvāc-ı süṭūr-ı baḥr-i ḳadīm-i Yezdānī olduğı ḥālde dendān-ı neheng-i deryā-yı[308] ḳaḍā ya'nī deşne-i ser-tūz-i cefā-yı a'dā[309] ile beden-i bihişt-ārālarından [**L12a**] feverān iden cūy-bār-ı ḫūn-ı kerīme-i[310] **'iẕā cā'e ecelühüm lā-yeste'ḫirūne sā'aten ve lā-yesteḳdimūn'**[311] meşṭūr olduğı [**K11b**] ṣaḥīfeye ilbās-ı cāme-i gül-gūn itdüği daḫi başḳa bir ḥikmet-i ğāmiḍa-i Ḳādir-i bī-çūn idügi aṣḥāb-ı i'tibāra nümāyāndur. O[312] ḥālet-i riḳḳat-ḫīz müşāhedesi[313] çāk-efgen-i girībān-ı ciger olmağın bī-iḫtiyār saṭr-ı cebīn-i siyāh-günāh-āgīn[314] ol ṣaḥīfe-i ḫūnine sāyide ḳılınmağa ictirā' olundı[315].

Ümīd-vār-ı elṭāf-ı kerem-i[316] Kirdgār'ım[317] ki ol beşāret-yāfte-i mağfiret-i [**P22**] Izdī olan ḥaḍret-i ẕi'n-nūreyn'üñ kendi raḳam-zede-i ḳalem-i müşk-bārları olan vaḥy-ı münzel-i Rabbānī ki reşaḥāt-ı ḫūn-ı nāfe-rīzleri daḫi gül-güne-i 'ıẕār-ı ṣaḥā'if-i[318]

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[304] müşkīn: müşkīn-raḳam P
[305] 'Osmānī: ḥaḍret-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] müşāhedesi: müşāhedesiyle K
[314] saṭr-ı cebīn-i siyāh-günāh-āgīn: saṭr-ı siyāh cebīn-ı günāh K
[315] olundı: ḳılındı B
[316] kerem: - L B P
[317] Girdgār'um: Kibriyāyum B
[318] 'ıẕār-ı ṣaḥā'if: ṣaḥā'if-i 'ıẕār K

evrāḳı olmağla ziyāretgāh-ı ḫazne-i firdevs idügi maḥsūm iken aña mālide ḳılınan pişānı[319] **[B14a]** encümen-i restā-ḫizde mānend-i[320] ḫūrşīd-i ḳıyāmet fürūğ-ı mağfiret ile nūrānī olmadan maḥrūm olmaya! Āmīn[321] !

7. Āmeden der-i diyār-ı Şām-ı Şerīf

Andan ṣoñra meşhūr-ı elsine-i 'avām olan kārbān-serā-yı **Ḳuṭeyfe** sāḥasında ḍarb-ı ḫıyām-ı ārām olunup sepīde-dem **Ḳuṭeyfe Boğāzı** nām memerrden güẕer olunduḳda dīde-i iştiyāḳ-pervere bir baḥr-i aḫḍar be-dīdār oldı ki taḥrīk-i nesīm-i rūḥ-baḫşādan ṣufūf-ı emvācı sevāḥil-i āfāḳa peyveste olmağla iḥāṭa-i pergār-ı medd-i[322] başardan[323] bīrūn ve endāze-i bāṣıra mesāḥa-i sāḥasında[324] kūtāh olmaḳ mertebesinden efzūn idi.

Vāḳı'ā keşret-i eşcār bir mertebe pehn-güster-i dāmen-i vüs'atdür ki her ne ḳadar iṭāre-i şāhbāz-ı tīz-pervāz-ı enẓār olunsa aḳāṣısında[325] āşyān-gīr olmaḳ muḥāl ve her ne defʿlü idāre-i beftere-i efkār olunsa yine[326] nihāyetinden şikār-ı ṭā'ir-i aḫbār olunmaḳ 'adīmü'l-iḥtimāldür.**[L12b]** Nihālistān-ı ruṭūbet-pīrā bir derecede nemā-yāfte-i sāḥa-i ẓuhūr olmışdur ki eşher-i büldān-ı 'ālem[327] olan Şām gibi bir sevād-ı aʿẓam sāye-i çīn-gisū-yı ḫıyābānda pünhān olup derīçe-i maḥallātına vaḍʿ-ı ḳadem olunmaduḳca āṣār-ı mebānī-i şehr verā-yı perde-i ḫafādan[328] ṣūret-nümā-yı ẓuhūr olmaz.

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[319] pīşānı : pīşānī-i B
[320] mānend: mānende-i P
[321] āmīn: - B P; āmīn yā Muğayyir K
[322] medd: - L
[323] başardan: naẓardan B K
[324] sāḥasında: mesāḥasında K
[325] aḳāṣīsinde: aḳāṣīsinden K B
[326] yine: - L
[327] 'ālem: - K
[328] ḫafādan: ḫafāda K

Ol bāğ-zār-ı bihişt-kirdāruñ aḳreb eṭrāfı Ḳuṭeyfe cānibi iken yine beş altı sā'atdan muḳaddem peymūde-i[329] endāze-i aḳdām-ı ḫuyūl ḳılınmaḳ ḫāric-i [**K12a**] ḥayz-ı imkāndur. Pā-nihāde-i medāḫil-i maḥallāt oluncaya dek[330] ser-te-ser[331] 'aḳs-i maẓalle-i [332] eşcārdan naḳş-pezīr [**B14b**] olmış ḳāliçe-i āb-gūn-ı çemen-ṭırāz üzre reftār olunub

Naẓm

Bīd āba dimiş[333] ki luṭfuñdan[334]

Dem-be-dem reşḥa-i[335] zülāl içerüz

Āb[336] bīde dimiş[337] ki biz de senüñ

Sāye-i devletüñde ḫōş geçerüz

[**P23**] me'āli nağme-i teselsül-i emvācından nümāyāndur. Ma'mūre-i dil-nişīn-i Şām'da vaṭan-sāz olan doōstān-ı mihmān-nevāzdan biri kendi mesken-i gülşen-şikeninde[338] güşe-gīr-i āsāyiş-i çend rūze olmağiçün mıḳnāṭıs-pençe-i ibrāmın ḥalḳa-i licām itmegin ḥall-i 'uḳde-i aḥmāl olunup geşt u güẕāra nesīm-āsā taḥrīk-i aḳdām-ı ihtimām olundı.

8. ẕikr-i vaṣf-ı[339] sevād-ı Şām-ı Şerīf

Ḫōşā, sevād-ı dil-ārām-ı Şām[340] ki kūçeleri meẕāhib-i rindān gibi vesī', dīvārları himmet-i merdān gibi refī', revzen-i[341] şeh-nisīnleri hem-ḥāl-ı dīde-i 'uşşāḳ, revāḳ-ı

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[329] peymūde-i: peymūne-i L
[330] dek: degin K
[331] ser-te-ser: ser-tā-ser B; ser-tā-be-ser K
[332] maẓalla-i: maẓalle-i naḳş K
[333] dimiş: didi L
[334] lutfuñdan: feyḍüñden L; *luṭfında* crossed, and instead *devletinde* written in K
[335] reşḥa-i: şerbet L
[336] āb: āb da L
[337] dimiş: didi L
[338] şikeninde: şeklinde B
[339] vaṣf: evṣāf K

ṭāḳları dest-be-dest-i ittifāḳ, bīrūn-ı büyūtı ḫışt-ı gil-endūdeden[342] perdāḫte olmağla egerçi nev'an ṣūret-nümā-yı nemed-pūşān-ı fenā olmışdur. Ammā derūn-ı bihişt-nümūnı mānende-i ḳulūb-ı ṣāfiye muṭahher u mücellādur. Nuḳūş-ı zer-cūş-ı lāciverd-fāmıyle[343] tāvān-tābende [**L13a**] cāmları reng-şiken-i saḳf-ı āsmān, vaḍ'-ı tīşe-kārī-i heft reng-i hezār-pāre ile ferş-i ruḫāmları ḥayret-baḫş-ı mecāmi'-i aḫterāndur. Ol ma'mūre-i dil-ārāya gülşen-i ḳadīm-i naẓm-ı kerīmde bi'l-iḫtiṣāṣ ẕikri cāri olan 'rebve-i'[344] ẕāt-ı ḳarārdan heft cūy-ı kevṯer-sirişt tevārüd idüp bi'l-cümle emākininde cāri ve mānende-i rūḥ-ı ḥayvānī mecmū'-ı mevāḍı'ına [**B15a**] sārī olmağın bi'l-cümle ḫāne-i teng u ferāḫ-ı ṣığār u kibārınuñ mevāḍı'-ı 'adīdesinde sāḳ-ı sīmīn ü semīn-i ḫūbān-ṣıfat āb-ı ṣāf[345] müteselsilü'l-vürūd ve[346] ṣūret-nümā-yı şerāyin-i ecsām olduğından ğayrı elbette ruḫām-ı āyīne-fāmdan bir ḫavḍ-ı mütenāsib-endām sāḫte-i dest-i iltizām olmışdur. Riyāḍ-ı nüzhet-āyīni āb-ḫōrde-i kāse-i iḥsān-ı [**K12b**] ḫıyāḍ olmağın nihālistān-ı riyāḍ daḫi dūş-ı ḫıyāḍa evrāḳ[347] u ezhārdan nev-be-nev ilbās-ı ḫil'at-i rengīn ile edā-yı şükr-i ni'met itmededür.

Germī-i āftāb reh-yāb-ı duḫūl olmamaḳ içün şedd-i niṭāḳ-ı ittifāḳ itmiş ṭāḳ-ber-ṭāḳ rūşen u berrāḳ çārsūlar ki sevdāger-i naẓar her ne ḳadar iḍa'a-i biḍā'a-i [**P24**] nigāh eylese yine pāyānından taḥṣīl-i re'sü'l-māl-i istiḫbār itmek ba'īd ve dellāl-ı efkār her ne deñlü[348] ḫaṭve-fürūş-ı şitāb olsa yine müşāhede-i ṣūret '**Hel min-mezīd**'[349] dür.

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[340] dil-ārām-ı Şām: dil-ārā K
[341] revzen: revzene-i B K
[342] endūdeden: endūddan P
[343] fāmıyle: nāmıyle P; fāmla K
[344] The Ḳur'ān, 23/50
[345] ṣāf: ṣāfı B
[346] ve: - L P
[347] evrāḳ: evrāḳ u eşcār K
[348] deñlü: ḳadar K
[349] The Ḳur'ān'an, 50/30

Neẓāfet-i ṣaḥn-ı dekākīni ğıbṭagāh-ı kīse-i aṣḥāb-ı fenā ve zīnet-i ṭāḳ-ı eyāvīni ḫamyāze-baḫş-ı ḳubbe-i semādur.

Naẓm

Būd be-mertebe-i dil-peẕīr zīnet-i ō

Ki ger vücūd reved sāye ne-y-āyed ez-denbāl

Miyān-ı çārsū-yı keder-şūyında cā-be-cā ḫāṭır-zidā vü dil-küşā germābeler ki mücerred müşāhede-i ṭarḥ-nizām-ı cāmekeni insānı libās-ı kederden 'ārī ve derūn-ı ḫalvet-i neşāṭda[350] mütevārī ider. Cilā-yı ruḫām-ı ferş-i ḫūrde-kārı i'tibār-ı āyīne-i ṣadef-kārīye vāsıṭa-i inkisār ve feverān-ı şādırvānı ḫāṭır-ı āb-ı[351] ḥayvāna [**L13b**] vesīle-i ğubārdur. [**B15b**] Her ḫalvetinde niçe ḫalvet nihān[352] ve her ṣuffesinde[353] niçe ṣuffe 'iyān olup ne bir ṣuffesi şādırvāndan tehī ve ne bir ḫalveti bir ḥavḍa ğayr-ı[354] müntehīdür. Ḥammām, ne ṭāḳ-ı 'ibret-nümā! Bir güşesinde güm-şüde-rāh[355] olmaḳ mübālağātdan degildür.

Beyt

Hemīn ki dīde be-naẓẓāreeş muḳayyed şüd

Ez-ō be-sa'y be-der-bürden-i dil-est muḥāl

9. ẕikr-i evṣāf-ı ḳahve-ḫāne-i Şām

Ḫuṣūṣan vaṭan-ı telḫābe-keşān-ı ğurbet ve ārām-cāy-ı sevdā-zedegān-ı kürbet olan ḳahve-ḫāneler ki yine ferş-i münaḳḳaş ile meştāsı meṣīfinden rengīn meṣīfi

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[350] neşāṭda: neşāṭında K; nişānda L
[351] āb: - K
[352] nihān: pünhān K
[353] ṣuffesinde: ṣafḥasında P
[354] ğayr: - K
[355] şüde-rāh: şüde-i rāh P

meştāsından dil-nişīn; ṣaḥn-ı meştāsı ḫāṭır-şiken-i sermā-yı[356] vaḥşet, sāḥa-ı[357] meşīfi ta'dīl-baḫş-ı mizāc-ı[358] ülfet; fevvāre-i meştāsı peyām-āver-i germābe-i merām, şādırvān-ı meşīfi ğubār-şū-yı dest ü dāmen-i ārām, saḳf-ı dīvār-ı meştāsı nuḳūş-ı Mānī-pesend ile cilveger, ferş-i meşīfine nihāl-i şükūfe-dār[359] sāye-güsterdür[360]; sāḳī-i[361] zībende-reftār-ı ḳahve-fürūş-ı peymāne-be-kef [**K13a**] devr-i mecālis eyledükce[362] ṭaraf ṭaraf ḫōş-nişīnān-ı nişīmen-i neşāṭ

Beyt[363]

Ḳahve sevdāsını sükker[364] giderürmiş dirler

Sāḳīyā la'lüñ ile ḳahveyi[365] Zemzemle de ṣun[366]

edāsıyle ḥarf-endāz-ı mu'amele-i nāz u niyāz olduḳca ḫūbān-ı ḳahve-fürūş daḫi [**P25**]

Naẓm[367]

Ṣunulmadı baña ḳahve demiyesin[368]

Naṣībüñ var ise gelür Yemen'den

maḳāliyle şeker-rīz-i tebessüm olurlar idi. Rāmişgerān-ı muṭribān-ı[369] şevḳ-ṭırāz

Naẓm

Künc-i ferāğ ehl-i dile ḳahve-ḫānedür

Ḥabbeyle[370] ḳahve mürğ-i dile dām u dānedür

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[356] sermā-yı: sermāye-i K
[357] sāḥa-i: sāye-i L
[358] mizāc: ferāḥ B
[359] şükūfe-dār: şükūfe K
[360] sāye-güsterdür: sāye-güster P; sāye-dār ve K; ḍiyā-güster L
[361] sāḳī-i: sāḳī L
[362] eyledükçe: itdükçe K B
[363] This couplet is replaced with the following one in K.
[364] sükker: şeker B
[365] ḳahveyi: ḳahve-i K
[366] ṣun: vir P
[367] This couplet replaces the previous one in K.
[368] demiyesin: dime sen P
[369] muṭribān: muṭrib-ḫāne-i B
[370] ḥabbeyle: ḥabbe ile K

[B16a] taḳsīmi ile nağme-perdāz olduḳca güşe-girān-ı zīr-i ṭāḳ-ı ṣuffe-i[371] inbisāṭ

Naẓm

Bir mehliḳādan olmadı ḫālī zamānede

Eksik degil çerāğı 'aceb āstānedür

manṭūḳı ile hem-āvāz olurlar idi. Ṣabā-yı nāy-ı rāst-nevā

Naẓm[372] **[L14a]**

Be-şinev tū[373] zi-ney çehā çehā mī-güyed

Esrār-ı nihüft-i Kibriyā mī-güyed

Ruḫ-ı zerd ve şikem-i tehī ve ser-dāde be-yād

Bī-nuṭḳ u zebān Ḫudā Ḫudā mī-güyed[374]

ṣadāsı ile evc-i muṭrib-ḫāneden pençgāh-ı ḥavāss-ı 'uşşāḳı muḥayyer itdükce büzürg ü küçük 'Arabān-āheng-i muḫālif-i Ḥicāz üzre ṭaraf ṭaraf ahālī-i 'Īrāḳ u 'Acem, Nevrūz resīde gibi, feryādların Ḥüseynī'ye çıkarup ḥiṣār-ı dā'ire-i mecālisi mānende-i zemīn-i Nişābūr zelzele-nāk iderek

Dū beyt

Ğālibā nāyüñ içi pür gibi sūz-ı dilden

Anuñçün ḳatı parmaḳ başabilmez neyzen

edāsı ile taḥḳīḳ-i maḳām iderler idi[375]. [376] Deff-i ṣadef-kārı dest-i ḫunyāgerān-ı māh-sīmā-yı zemzeme-sāzdan feryāda gelüp

Beyt

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[371] ṣuffa-i: - K
[372] Naẓm: Beyt P, Rübā 'i K; These couplets are by Mevlānā Celāleddīn-i Rūmī.
[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-veşem mī-dāred

Gāhī be-ṭabanca dil-i ḫōşem mī-dāred

Ger nāle-künem be-rūyem efşāned āb

Ḫāmūş şevem ber-āteşem mī-dāred

velvelesi ile leşker-i ālām müstemi'îne dā'ire-keş-i ḥiṣār-ı mümāna'at olduḳca tüfeng-endāzān-ı düḫān-ı āh

Dū beyt

Tā dā'ire zīb-i keff-i yār oldı yine

Ḫūrşīde seḥāb perde-dār oldı yine

Tāb-ı ruḫı çıḳdı ṭaşraya dā'ireden

Meh hāle içinden āşikār oldı yine

ğulğūlesi ile ṭōb-endāz-ı gülbāng-ı dervīşāne-i hū hū olurlar idi.

Naẓm

Cihānda [**B16b**] kāse-tehīlik belā-yı cān idügi

Ḫırāş-ı sīne-i ṭanbūrdan nümāyāndur

me'ālin zebān-ı mıḍrāb-ı cigergāh i'lām ider[377].

Naẓm

Dil dā'ire-veş sille-ḫōr-ı dest-i ğāmuñdur

Feryād senüñ ey şeh-i bī-dād elüñden

maḍmūnını zebān-ı celācil ifhām itdükce [**P26**] āfyōn-zedegān-ı[378] ḳahve-perestüñ

Naẓm

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[377] ider: idüp K

[378] -zedegān-ı: -zedegān u P

Tiryākī eger sīne şeved ṣad çā-keş

Ez-dil ne-reved ḫabāṣet-i imsākeş

Mānende-i ḫaşḫaş ser-āverde be-pīş[379]

Ser ber-ne-küned tā ne-resed tiryākeş

müdde'āsını mübeyyin[380] olan ḳāmet-i ḫam-geşteleri[381] mār-ı pīçide gibi hem-ṣūret-i çenber-i deff iken [**L14b**]

Naẓm

Afyōn müferraḥī-st ki der-kā'ināt nīst

Ān-rā ki nīst neş'e-i afyōn ḥayāt nīst

diyerek dū dest-i ḥoḳḳa-peyvestleri mıḍrāb-ı sīne-ḫırāş-ı şevḳ u şağaf[382] olmışidi. Zemzeme-i kemānçe nāvek-endāz-ı ṣaff-ı[383] vahşet ve nağme-i ḳānūn şifā-baḫş-ı ḫaste-dilān-ı muḥabbet olup[384]

'Arābī[385]

Āh vāy[386] Rişā'[387] [?] esma'-nī el-ḳānūnā

Fī-ḥācibihi'l-ezeccü ve'l-ḳānūnā [**K13b**]

Aḳsamtü bi-men fi'l-yemmi'l-ḳānūnā

I'ya' maraḍī Buḳrāṭu ve'l-Ḳānūnā

āvāzesi encümen-i bālā-ḫāne-i eflāka peyveste olurdı.

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[379] be-pīş: pīş L
[380] mübeyyin: mütebeyyin B
[381] ḳāmet-i ḫam-geşteleri: ḫam ḳāmet-geşteleri B
[382] şağaf: şafaḳ K; şeref B; ş-r-n L
[383] ṣaff: ṣıfat K
[384] olup: - B
[385] 'Arabī: beyt B
[386] āh vāy: e-h-v-y B L
[387] Rişā' [?]: riṣā'en L; riṣā'an B

Bir ṭarafdan ise[388] germ-sāzān-ı hengāme-i cenk-cūyān-ı dirīn ve ḳıṣṣa-perdāzān-ı ma'reke-i pehlüvānān-ı pişīn

Naẓm

Edā-yı şūḫ ile la'līn-ḳabā-yı şişe-i mey

Maḥall-i Cem'de bu gün kim ḥikāye başlamadı

vefḳince dest-i be-hem-zen ve nīze-i ḫayzurān ile ḳalb-şikāf-ı ṣaff-ı süḫan olduḳca berş-ḫ^{v}ārān-ı ser-be-zānū gürz-i girān-ı ḥoḳḳa-i [**B17a**] berşden ḫam-şüde olan ḳāmetlerin hezār renc ü 'anā[389] ile bālā idüp Bedī' ü Ḳāsım nāmında iki şaḫṣ-ı mechūlü'l-aṣl ü 'adīmü'l-vuḳū'uñ ğavğā-yı tercīh [?] şecā'ati içün[390] na'ra-i hāy hāy-ı[391] bengiyāne ile ṣaḥn-ı ḳahve-ḫāneyi meydān-ı veğāya döndürürlerdi. Niçe pā-bestegān-ı peygūle-i felāket ḫāme-i mible'ayı[392] zebān u[393] dehān-ı[394] ḥoḳḳa-i berş idüp lü'āb-ı seyyāl-ı berş-ālūd ile ṣaḥīfe-i girībān-ı çirk-āgīnlerine

Naẓm[395]

Māye-i māi'de-i cāndur berş

Merhem-i ḳalb-i perīşāndur berş

Ḥāl-i ruḫsār-ı ṣafādur afyōn

Ṭurra-i 'ārıḍ-ı 'irfāndur berş

Virür insāna ḥayāt-ı ebedī

Cān-bahā olsa da erzāndur berş

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[388] ise: ise beng-ḫūrān-ı K
[389] ü 'anā: - B P K
[390] şecā'ati içün: şecā'atçün B K
[391] hāy hāy: hāy hūy K
[392] mebla'ayı: miblağayı B K
[393] u: - K
[394] dehān: dehānı P
[395] This poem is also included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 723).

Rütbe-i [**K14a**] neş'esin idrāk idene

Āb-ı ḥayvān ile[396] [**P27**] yeksāndur berş

Renc-i[397] endūh ḳomaz dillerde

Bād-zehr-i[398] ğam-ı devrāndur berş

[**L15a**] maḳālin tasṭīr iderlerdi.

Bir güşede ise abdālān-ı beng-ḫ^{v}ār-ı nā-hüşyār vādi-i ḳalenderāne ile pāleheng-i sengīni zīb-i miyān ve fenāyī-i[399] nuyyem-şikeni zīver-i ser-i bī-sāmān, sofra-i çermīni[400] bār-ı ḥayret gibi ber-dūş ve[401] mengūş-ı yeşimi süḫan-ı girān gibi der-güş ve ser-deste-i ābnūsı pīrāye-i zānū ve ekserī[402] küçek nāmında bir meh-rūyı hem-pehlū idinüp eṭvār-ı ḫāne-i[403] berdūşāne ile

Naẓm

Mestāne yeter geşt idelüm her sūḳı
Pür-ṣayyit[404] u ṣadā eyleyelüm 'ayyūḳı

Ey hemdem-i cān be-gūrī-i[405] ef 'ā-i ğam
Meydāna getür zümürrüd-i meshūḳı

edāsı ile cür'a-dān-ı esrār-ı ḥayret-baḫşāyı ṣafā-naẓar-ı yārān ve baḫş-ı ḳalenderān [**B17b**] idüp iṣṭılāḥāt-ı maḫṣūṣaları olan **'türrehāt-ı bī-ma'nā ve ḫalṭıyyāt-ı bī-nizām'**

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[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] çermīni: çeri P
[401] ve: - B
[402] ekserī: ekser B
[403] ḫāne-i: ḫāne L B
[404] ṣayyit: ṣayd P
[405] gūrī-i: gūrī L

ile güşe-i ḳahve-ẖāneyi hem-reng-i tīmār-ẖāne-i mecānīn idüp bir başḳa ʻālem iderler idi. Mā-ḥaṣal[406]

Naẓm

Ğaraḍum milk-i beḳā idi ʻadem-i rāhından

Uğrayup şehr-i vücūda oyalandum[407] ḳaldum

miṣdāḳı üzre aḳṣā-yı maḳāsıd evṣāf-ı ʻaliyye-i mesācid ü merāḳıd iken reh-güẕār-ı ẖāme-i[408] herze-gerd evṣāf-ı ḳahve-ẖāne-i[409] Şām'a düşmekle ser-germ-i neş'e-i maʻcūn ṣoḥbeti ve firīfte-i āb u tāb cemʻiyyeti olmağla

Naẓm

Dil-i ṭıflī ki āvāreligüñ leẕẕetin aldı

Ḫayr itmez o bir daḫi debistān-ı ümīde

veḳince ceyb-edā rubūde-i dest-i hevā olmağın pençe-i girībān-gīr-i şaḫne-i nedāmet ile rāh-ı Cāmiʻ-i Emeviyye'ye imāle-i ḳubāle-i aʻzīmet olundı.

10. ẕikr-i evṣāf-ı Cāmiʻ-i Emevī

Beyt[410]

Me-rā berīd be-bābu'l-berīd-i cāmiʻ-i Şām

Ki bī-berīd ne-y-ārem berīd-i rāh-ı merām

El-ḥaḳḳ binā'-i kār-ẖāne-i ḳader ḳıbāb-ı sebʻ ṭıbāḳa esās-efgen-i istiḥkām olaldan beri ne ol cāmiʻ-i şerīfüñ zānū-yı irtifāʻına ser-sūde olacaḳ bir binā' ser-efrāẖte-i

[L15b] ʻarṣa-i ẓuhūr olmış ve ne ḳubbe-i lāciverd-gūn-ı gerdūna ḳandīl-i zerrīn-i māh

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406 mā-haṣal: - L
407 oyalandum: oyalandın / o yalandan P
408 ẖāme-i: ẖāme L
409 ḳahve-ẖāne-i: - L P
410 beyt: - P B

u ḫūrşīd āvīḫte olalı ol ‘ibādetgāh-ı raḥmet-penāhuñ ārāyiş-i saḳf u [**K14b**] [**P28**] dīvārı bir āferīdenüñ ṣafḥa-ı[411] müteḫayyilesine mürtesem olmış. Ḥarem-i tāb-nākinüñ ferş-i[412] ruḫāmında ‘aks-i nevāṣī-i kerrūbiyān [**B18a**] nümāyān ve dīvār-ı feyḍ-nākinüñ sīne-i bī-kīnesinde rüsūm-ı ecniḥa-i rūḥāniyān[413] cilve-künāndur. Peyk-i nigāh ser-menzil-i ṭūlına vüṣūlden ‘arḍ-ı i‘tiẕār ve kemend-i āh saḳfına irtiḳā’dan basṭ-ı muḳaddeme-i inkisār ider.

Naẓm

Ḳıblegāh-ı ṣaff-ı maḳsūd olamazsın ey dil
Sīne-çāk olmayıcaḳ ṣūret-i miḥrāb gibi

vefḳince sāye-i raḥmet-māyesi[414] ḫ[v]ābgāh-ı heftād enbiyā, ṣalavātü'llāhi ‘alā-nebiyyinā ve ‘aleyhim, olmaḳ üzre ṣübūt-yāfte-i tevātür olan dīvār-ı ḳıblisinüñ[415] dīde-i bīnāsı menzilesinde olan miḥrāb-ı a‘zamuñ cānib-i yemininde vāḳi‘ miḥrāb-ı maḫṣūṣ-ı Ebū'l-‘Abbās ḥaḍret-i Ḫıḍr, ‘aleyhi's-selām, ki bālāsında levḥa-i muraṣṣa‘-i[416] seniyye-i dīvār meṣābesinde iki revzen-i müzeyyenüñ ārāyiş-i kitābe-i cām-ı mülevveni olan iki lafẓa-i Celāl'e ta‘yīn-i ḥudūd-ı maḳām-ı Ḫıḍr'a dāll ve ekṣer ezmān[417] ol miḥrāb-ı sa‘ādet-nişābda meşhūd-ı āşināyān-ı ‘ālem-i ḥāl olduğı[418] perde-pezīr-i eşkāl[419] degildür.

‘Ale'l-ḫuṣūṣ şem‘-i ser-endāz-ı encümen-i[420] nübüvvet, şāh-bāz-ı ser-bāz-ı meydān-ı risālet Yaḥyā peyğamber, ṣalavātü'llāhi ‘alā-nebiyyinā ve ‘aleyh, ḥaḍretlerinüñ ravḍa-

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[411] ṣafḥa-i: ṣaḥīfe-i B
[412] ferş: - L
[413] rūḥāniyān: rūḥiyān B
[414] māyesi: pāyesi B
[415] dīvār-ı ḳıblīsinüñ: dīvārı ḳıblīnüñ B
[416] muraṣṣa‘-i: muraṣṣa‘a-i P
[417] ezmān: ezmānda P
[418] olduğı: olduḳları P K
[419] eşkāl: istişkāl B
[420] encümen: encüm L

i şerīfe-i nūr-peymāları ki[421] māh-ı münīr-āsā hāle-i āğūş-ı cāmi'-i şerīfde münezzel ve beden-i cāmi'de cā-nişīn-i süveydā-yı dildür. Bi-ḥamdi li'llāhi ve'l-minne, cevher-i ḫāk-i[422] pāki vedī'a-i gencīne-i[423] çeşm-i 'ālem-bīn ve 'aks-i naḳş-ı ḥaṣīr-ı ferş-i āstān-ı şefā'at-'ünvānı pīrāye-i **[B18b]** cebīn ḳılındı.

Naẓm

Maẓhar-ı merḥamet-i ḥaḍret-i Mevlā olduḳ

Ravḍa-i ḥaḍret-i Yahyā'ya cebīn-sā[424] olduḳ

Yine miḥrāb-ı a'ẓamuñ cānib-i yemīninde çekīde-i ḳalem-i elem-sūz-ı ḥaḍret-i ẕi'n-nūreyn **[L16a]** olan muṣḥaf-ı şerīfüñ sebze-i mezra'a-i raḥmet olan ṣufūf-ı süṭūrından dest-i nigāh şükūfe-çīn-i intibāh ḳılındı. Yine cevf-i dīvār-ı ḳıblīde nihüfte[425] 'ibādet-ḫāne-i ḫaṣṣa-i ḥaḍret-i Mu'āviye, raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā 'anh[426], ziyāretine basṭ-ı seccāde-i himmet **[P29]** olundı. Yine cāmi'-i ḥayāt-baḫşānuñ rükn-i şarḳīsinde vāḳi' mināre-i beyḍā ki hem-sāye-i neyyir-i a'ẓam, mihmān-ı ḍiyāfet-ḫāne-i **[K15a]** ṭārem-i çārum ya'nī ḥaḍret-i[427] 'Īsā bin Meryem, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḥaḍretleri sāḥa-i sürādiḳāt-ı melekūtdan hem-rāhī-i ṣufūf-ı rūḥāniyān ile bāl-cünbān-ı ḫıṭṭa-i nāsūt olacaḳları hengāmda

Naẓm

Intiẓār-ı reh-i vuṣlatda ğubār oldı tenüm

Başum üstinde yer itsün o gözüm nūrı benüm

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[421] ki :- L
[422] ḫāk: - B
[423] gencīne-i : gencīne L
[424] sā: -sāy B
[425] nihüfte: nihüfte-i P
[426] raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā 'anh: - L B
[427] ḥaḍret: - B

edāsı ile ṣūret-nümā-yı lisān-ı ḥāl olmağla[428] menzil-i evvelīn-i ḳadem-i vālā-terīn-i ʻĪsevī olup neyl-i devlet-i pā-būslarında eczā-yı arḍıyyeden çevgān-ı gūy-rübā-yı müsābaḳat olmağın Mināre-i ʻĪsā nāmı ile ser-efrāz-ı[429] evc-i iştihār olmışdur. Bi'hamdi li'llāhi[430] derecāt-ı mirḳāti hem-āğūş-ı ḫuṭūṭ-ı cebhe-i taʻẓīm ve ṭarīḳa-i niyāz-mendān-ı şefāʻat üzre ṣaḥīfe-i şerīfe-i ʻanberīnine[431] midād-sūde-i merdüm-i dide ile

Naẓm

Dīvān-ı şefāʻatde eyā ḥaḍret-i ʻĪsā

Nābī ḳuluñ [**B19a**] it bir dem-i cān-baḫşla iḥyā

me'āliyle ʻarḍ-ı ḥāl-i dil-i sergeşte terḳīm olundı.

Yine ol cāmiʻ-i Firdevs-sīmānuñ naẓargāh-ı derīçe-i şarḳīsinde bir ḥavḍ-ı heft[432] ḫāne-i ruḫāmiye miyānında Ḳarpuzkaldıran nāmıyle bir fevvāre-i ṭūfān-ḫīz-ı āvāze-endāz şöhret olmışdur ki sāʻid-i[433] serīn-i[434] semīn-i sīmīn-i ḫūbāndan efzūn bir āb-ı ṣaff-ı kemāl ḳuvvet-i ṣuʻūd ile çerḫ-ı nā-ṣāfa[435] iṭāle-i lisān idüp gerdiş-i hindūvāne degül belki[436] bir ḳubbe-i sengīni dest-ḫōş-ı bāzīçe-i imtiḥān itmek maḳūle-i ğulüvv-ı iğrāḳ olmaduğı meşhūd-ı çeşm-i nuẓẓārdur.

Ol fevvāre-i sevdā-sūz [**L16b**] u ṣafvet-sāza dide-küşā-yı temāşā olan nişīmen-i neşāṭ-güsterde terṭīb-i damağ-ı istiḳrārdan ṣoñra cevher-i nā-yāb-ı kevneyn-bahā-yı maʻden-i nübüvvet, cesed-i melekūt-ārā-yı sulṭān-ı risālet, ṣalle'llāhü teʻālā[437] ʻaleyhi ve

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[428] olmağla: ile B
[429] ser-efrāz: ser-firāz P
[430] li'llāhi: li'llāhi teʻālā P
[431] ʻanberīnine: ʻanberīne L
[432] heft: heşt B
[433] sāʻid: - B L
[434] serīn: serīn ü L
[435] nā-ṣafā: nüh tāḳa P
[436] belki: - L
[437] teʻālā: -L

sellem, gencīne-i Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere'de[438] dest-zede-i düzdān naḳb-zen-i [439] mūş-ı fenn-i kefere-i Efrenc olmağa[440] ḳarīb olduḳda sāḥa-i 'ālem-i miṣālde zebān-ı gevher-feşānlarından **[P30] 'Edrake-nī yā Nūre'd-dīn'** ḫiṭābı gūş-vāre-i[441] sāmi'a-i isti'dādı olmağla ṣubḥ-dem ḫāk-i pāk-i Medīne-i Münevvere'ye 'inān-engīz-i müsāra'at ve ol ḳuṭṭā'u'ṭ-ṭarīḳ-i mār-kirdārı zīr-i ḫākde maḥfūr-ı tīşe-i ḫud'aları olan rāh-ı pinhānda **[K15b]** gezīde-i ef'ā-i şimşīr-i himmet itdükden ṣoñra ṭā'ir-i 'arş-ı āşyān, cesed-i[442] muṭahher-i Muḥammed'i[443], ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā[444] 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḳafes-bend-i şübbāḳ olan sulṭān-ı 'aẓīmü'ş-şānuñ meşhed-i nūr-āmīzleri ziyāretiyle **[B19b]** tenvīr-i naẓar olunmaḳ müyesser oldı[445].

Andan ğayrı cānib-i cenūbī-i Şām'da āsūde-nişīnān-ı maḥalle-i ḫāmūşāndan bülbül-i maḥfil-ṭırāz-ı Mescid-i Nebevī ya'nī Bilāl-i Ḥabeşī, raḍiye'llāhü[446] 'anh, ḥaḍretlerinüñ ve ibn-i 'amm-i ḥaḍret-i Ḥabīb-i Muḫtār ve birāder-i zībende-güher-i Ḥaydar-ı Kerrār Ca'fer-i Ṭayyār ḥaḍretlerinüñ ve ezvāc-ı ṭāhirātdan mā'ada iki yüze ḳārib[447] ḥalḳa-bendān-ı dā'ire-i meclis-i nebevī olan aṣḥāb-ı kirām[448] merāḳıdı ziyāreti ile iktisāb-ı inşirāḥ-ı derūn olundı.

11. ẕikr-i evṣāf-ı Ṣāliḥiyye-i Şām

Ma'mūre-i Şām-ı zībende-maḳāmuñ ğarba mā'il şimālī cānibinde ẕirve-i ḳullesi paleheng-i niṭāḳ-ı abdāl-ı çerḫ-i nemed-pūş olan kūh-ı bülend-şükūh dāmeninde

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[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] ḳarīb: müteḳārib B K P
[448] kirām: kirām raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā 'anhüm ecma'īn ḥaḍarātınuñ P

ḳasaba-i **Ṣāliḥiyye** vāḳi‘ olmışdur ki[449] sevād-ı Şām ile miyānında olan leṭāfete lisān-ı cerriyyü'l-beyān-ı eşcār u enhār vesīle-i **[L17a]** fayṣal ve dū ṣaḥīfe-i rengin-i Ṣāliḥiyye [450] vü Şām eṭrāfında olan veṣṣāle-i sebz-gūn üzre ḫuṭūṭ-ı enhār-ı sīmden mükerrer cedvel olmışdur. Gūyā Ṣāliḥiyye vü Şām dū keffe-i terāzū-yı leṭāfet-sencdür ki[451] keffe-i Ṣāliḥiyye'de ḫıffet bünyān olmağla sevād-ı Şām'a nisbet ile nev‘an ṣūret-i irtifā‘ nümāyān olup

Mıṣra‘[452]

Biri birinden aḥsendür biri birinden a‘lādur

mıṣra‘ına mā-ṣadaḳ vāḳi‘[453] olmışdur.

Ḳasaba-i Ṣāliḥiyye'nüñ ṭarafeyn-i şarḳ u ğarbında vāḳi‘ **Erze**[454] vü **Berze** nām iki ḳarye-i ḳarīnü'l-i‘tibār beyninde yetmiş nefer-i cevāhir-i gencīne-i nübüvvet defin-i maṭmūre-i[455] **[P31]** ḫāk olduğı ḥadīṯ-i mu‘ciz-beyān-ı **[B20a]** sulṭān-ı taḫtgāh-ı[456] levlāk ile resīde-i derece-i ṣıḥḥat idügi cā'iz-i ḥadd-i tevātür olduğından ğayrı kūh-ı cennet-şükūhuñ ṣadr-ı vālāsında[457] çille-i [çile-i][458] merdān-ı Ḫudā olan Ḳırḳlar Maḳāmı ve medār-ı seb‘a-i seyyāre-āsā Yediler Maḳāmı mesāfe-i ba‘īdeden nümāyān ve envārıyla dā'ire-i Şām dıraḫşān olmışdur.

‘Ale'l-ḫuṣūṣ muḳīm-i ravḍa-i na‘īm merḥūm Sulṭān Selīm-i Ḳadīm[459] ‘aleyhi'r-raḥmenüñ āṯār-ı himmet-i ‘ālem-küşāları olan cāmi‘-i şerīfde tenhā-süvār-ı miḍmār-ı

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[449] ki: - L
[450] Ṣāliḥiyye: Ṣāliḥiyye ki L
[451] ki: - P L
[452] Mıṣra‘: - B
[453] vāḳi‘: - B
[454] Erze: Üzre B
[455] maṭmūre: - K B
[456] taḫtgāh: taḫt B
[457] vālāsında: vālāsından L
[458] çille-i: ecille-i P K
[459] ḳadīm: - B

velāyet, [**K16a**] yeke-tāz-ı[460] feḍā-yı ḥaḳīḳat, sālik-i rāh-ı vaḥdet-i vücūd, kāşif-i rümūz-ı būd u ne-būd, bāğbān-ı ḫıyābān-ṭırāz-ı **Fütūḥāt-ı Mekkiye**, ṭūṭī-i pāk-lehce-i şekeristān-ı sünūḥāt-ı ğaybiyye, eşherü'l-vāṣılīn, ekberü'l-muḥaḳḳıḳīn Şeyḫ Muḥyi'd-dīn-i[461] 'Arabī ḥaḍretlerinüñ ve cenāb-ı velāyet-penāhı[462] ile hem-pehlū-yı nişīmen-i ḫāk olan Şeyḫ Faḫre'd-dīn Ibrāhīm-i 'Īrāḳī[463], ḳaddese'llāhü esrārahümā[464], ḥaḍretlerinüñ ḫāk-i āstān-ı feyḍ-resānları ḫil'at-i dūş-ı ecfān ḳılındı[465].

12. ẕikr-i fermān berāy-ı şehrāyīn[466]

Beyt

Zülf-i ḫam-der-ḫamuñda buldı ḳarār

Şām'dan çıḳmaḳ istemez dil-i zār

[**L17b**] resminde sevād-ı dil-ārām-ı Şām'uñ eşcār-ı mültefe-i ser-be-āsmānı ḳafes-i ṭā'ir-i ḍamīr ve emvāc-ı müselsel-i enhārı pāy-ı dil-i dīvāneye zencīr olduğı ḥālde [467] meger ol sene-i 'amīmetü'l-meymenenüñ hengām-ı cünbüş-i sipāh-ı faṣl-ı bahārında āṣaf-ı ekrem, destūr-ı a'ẓam-ı ṣadru'l-vüzerā ḥaḍret-i Muṣṭafā Pāşā ḳal'a-i menī'a-i Çehrin taḫrībine [**B20b**] 'alem-engīz-i 'azm-i[468] 'adüv-şiken olduḳlarına binā'en[469] destyārī-i elṭāf-ı Kirdgārī ile ḳal'a-i mezbūreyi nümūdār-ı ḳulūb-ı vīrāne-i küffār buyurduḳları nüvīdi ile ṭaraf ṭaraf[470] aḳṭār-ı memālik-i Islāmiyyeye ḫ^{v}ān-ı pehnā-yı fütūḥdan tevzī'-i ḥıṣṣe-i meserret olunmağla[471]

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[460] yeke-tāz (yektāz): teke-tāz K
[461] Muḥyi'd-dīn: Muḥyi'd-dīn ibn P
[462] -penāhı: -pehāhları B P K
[463] 'Īrāḳī: - L
[464] esrārahümā: esrārahümā'l-'azīz P ; sırrahümā'l-'azīz B
[465] ḳılındı: ḳılındı muḥaṣṣıl B
[466] This title is cited later in B
[467] The previous title is inserted here in B
[468] 'azm: - L
[469] olduḳlarına binā'en: olduḳlarına binā' B P; olduḳlarında K
[470] ṭaraf ṭaraf: ṭaraf P
[471] olunmağla: olduḳlarında L; buyurduḳları K

Naẓm

Her ṭaraf nāme-resān-ı peyk-i muraṣṣa' kemer-est

veḥince ser-şāṭırān-ı rükkāb-ı hümāyūn nesīm-i müjde-resān-ı bahār gibi tezyīn-i şehr ü bāzār içün iblāğ-ı fermān-ı [**P32**] şehryārī itmekle

Nazm

Gülüñ teşrīfine bülbül nidā eyler donanmaya

Yine gel çārsū-yı bāğda seyr it temāşāyı

ḳavlince zīnet-i 'ārıḍıyyeye kālā-fürūş-ı istiğnā olan müferriḥ çārsūlar libās-ı āḫer ile daḫi cilveger olup evvelden müşāhedesi dū çeşm-i temāşā'iyānı keffe-i terāzū-yı ḥayret iderken bu zīnet-i tāze daḫi 'ilāve-i leṭāfet-i 'aṣliyyesi olmağla medd-i nigāh-ı nuẓẓārı endāze-i dībā-peymā-yı dehşet eyledi. Her gūşe bir müferriḥ kāşāneye ve her dükkān bir müzeyyen ḫāneye dönüp

Naẓm

Ref' idüp şübheyi üstinde 'iyāndur didiler

Cennet altında yā üstinde diyenler Şām'uñ

Ḫayāl hest cihān-rā ki per be-zed ez-şevḳ

Ki kerde-end zi-āyīn-i zīneteş per u bāl

[K16b] şa'şa'a-i emti'a-i zer-tār ile[472] her bāzār bir meşriḳ-ı envār ve āvīziş-i aḳmişe-i pür-naḳş u nigār ile her dükkān bir gülzār şekline girdi.

Naẓm

Rü'ūs-ı ḳulel u burūcdan endāḫte olan ṭōb u tüfeng mecālis-i mele'-i a'lāyı ḫaber-yāfte-i neşāṭ ve gülbāng-ı edevāt-ı nārı īrāṣ eyledügi zelzele-i ḳarār-fersā **[L18a]**

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[472] zer-tār ile: zer-tārıyla P

[B21a] āsūdegān-ı liḥāf-ı ḫāki neş'e-mend-i[473] inbisāṭ eyledi. Ṭāḳ-ı āfāḳa perde-i siyeh-fām-ı şām āvīzān olduḳda ğalebe-i çerāğān ile her dükkāndan niçe māh tābān ve ḳanādil-i ferāhem-şüdeden[474] her ṭāḳda bir pervīn fürūzān oldı.

Naẓm

Şebeş çünān be-leṭāfet ki dide-i a'mā
Zi-ceyb-i şām bih bīned[475] cemāl-i subḥ u mesā

Ḫuṣūṣan bu maḳūle leyālī-i şādmānide esvāḳ-ı Şām'a muḫteṣṣ olan ālāy-ı erbāb-ı ṣanāyi' ki be-her şeb on ikişer ṣınıf aṣḥāb-ı ḥıref ki her bir ṣınıfuñ dest-i iḫtiyārında 'aṣā-yı āteş-efşān-ı[476] Musā-āsā bir şem'-i kāfūr ve sā'ir nev-resīdegān-ı bāzār-ı melāḥatüñ daḫi pençe-i sīmīnlerinde birer şem'-i sūzān ve dūş u miyānlarında sā'id-i 'uşşāḳ gibi tīğ-ı ḫūn-feşān ve tüfeng-i zer-nişān ile geşt-i şehr ü bāzār ve hükkām-ı şehr pişgāhından güẕār iderler.

Naẓm

Be-fevc[477] fevc ẓarīfān ve levn levn libās
Cihān be-cilve der-āmed[478] be-aḥseni'l-eşkāl

Mevāsim-i **[P33]** esfār-ı hümāyūn-ı şehryārīde dārü's-salṭana-i 'aliyyede cārī olan ordu alāyı şeklinde her fırḳa maṭla'-ı cem'iyyetlerinde nümūne-i kārların a'nāḳ-ı eşḫāṣda mürūr iden taḫt-ı revānlarda sāde-rūyān-ı ḫūrşīd-cemāl yedinden iş'ār ve maḳṭa'-i nizām-ı ḥırfetde[479] şāh-beyt-i ḳasīde şeklinde birer tenhā-süvār-ı meydān-ı ḥüsn[480] ü letāfeti lapāçe-i fāḫire[481] ile pāşā nāmına[482] birer raḫş-ı nāzende-ḫırāma

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[473] neş'e: neş'e-i L
[474] ferāhem: ferāhīm P
[475] bih bīned: ne bīned B; be-bīned 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 pişgāhında[483] bir güstüvān-ı girān-bahā ile bir niçe ḥabīb-i pür-zīnet[484] ve sā'ir **[B21b]** levāzım-ı āyīn-i pāşāyīden[485] şāṭırān-ı zerrīn-ṭās ü sīmīn-teber ve maṭaraciyān-ı zer-üskūf-i[486] Bektāşī-peyker tertīb olunup niçe şehsüvārān-ı ḫūrşīd-manẓar-ı tīr-keş ve tīğ u ḫançer ile silāḥdār u çoḳa-dār ṭavrında

Naẓm **[K17a]**

Āh kim bir sipāhi dildārı

Beni itdi ṣoḳaḳ silāḥdārı

me'ālin iẓhār iderek ḳafā-rev olup ṭarafeynde **[L18b]** ṣaff-zede olan temāşā'iyāna

Naẓm

Hergiz nigāh-ı ḳerem be-men rū ne-mī-küned

Tā meşveret be-güşe-i ebrū ne-mī-künend

maḍmūnı üzre cünbüş-i ebrū-yı müşkīn ile ṣūret-i selāmda nigāh-ı iltifātla[487] ifāḍa-i[488] neş'e-i[489] ḫayāt iderek ve ba'ḍı lā'übāliyān-ı[490] bī-pervā-meşreb

Naẓm

Recā-yı vaṣlle ol şāha 'arḍ-ı ḥāller itdük

Ne bir muḫallā didürdik ne der-kenār idebildük

veḳince niyāz-ı viṣāli mutaḍammın ref'-i varaḳ-pāre-i 'arḍ-ı ḥāl itdükce

Naẓm

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[481] fāḫire: fāḫir B
[482] pāşā nāmına: - L P
[483] pişgāhında: - L P
[484] -zīnet: -zīb P
[485] pāşāyīden: pādişāhīden L
[486] zer-üsküf: üsküf-i zer B K
[487] iltifātla: iltifātıyla B P
[488] iltifātla ifāḍa-i: iltifāt eylese K
[489] neş'e: neşve L
[490] lā'übāliyān: lā'übālī L

Göz ucıyle 'āşıḳa geh luṭf ider gāhī 'itāb

Bir su'āle yer ḳomaz ol ğamze-i ḥāḍır cevāb

ḥoḳḳa-i la'līn-leb-i şeker-feşānını[491] meşriḳ-ı tebessüm-i pinhānı ve ba'ḍ siyeh-baḫtān-ı perīşān-ı rūzgārı cünbüş-i çīn-cebīn ile 'itāb u āzāra[492] erzānī ve niçe nā-murāduñ 'arḍ-ı ḥālin girībān-ı ṣabr u ārāmı gibi çāk ve niçe nā-şādı cellād-ı bī-āmān-ı şimşīr-i müjgānıyle helāk ve niçe āzāde dilleri maḥbūs-ı zindān-ı[493] zenaḫdan itmege fermān[494] **[B22a]** ve niçe dil-besteleri ber-dār-ı zülf-i perīşān itmege şāyān ve niçe bī-kesleri dīvān-ı zīr-i ṭāḳ-ı ebrūsına iḥḍār içün isti'cāl ve niçe bū'l-hevesleri ḳāḍī-i maḥkeme-i **[P34]** hicrānda mürāfa'aya irsāl idüp levāzım-ı dād ü sited[495] ve merāsim-i dār-ı vekīrde bir daḳīḳa-i kem-ter nā-mer'ī ḳomayup güẕer itdükden ṣoñra bir fırḳa daḫi ṭavr-ı aḫer ve pāşā-yı diger ile mürūra başladı. Evvelā[496] ṭā'ife-i bezrgerān[497]

Naẓm

Dāne-i ḫāline baḳ cennet-i ruḫsārında

Niçe ṣabreylesün Allāh'ı severseñ ādem

terānesiyle zemīn-i dil-i nuẓẓāra[498] toḫm-ı muḥabbet ekerek ve fırḳa-i āsyābiyān

Naẓm

Girībān-ı çākī-i 'uşşāḳ ez-ẕevḳ fenā bāşed

Elf der-sīne-i gendüm zi-şevḳ-i āsyā bāşed

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[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] evvelā: evvel B
[497] bezrgerān: bezrgān B
[498] nuẓẓāra: nuẓẓāra-i B

maḳāliyle gülū-yı ʻuşşāḳ-ı ser-geşte-ḥāl-i bī-ḳarāra[499] dāne-rīz-i[500] ḥayret oldılar. Ve germ-bāzārān-ı ḫabbāzān

Naẓm

Ey dil ğıdā-yı rūḥ ez-īn ḫākdān me-ḫ^{v}āh **[L19a]**

Ṭūfān der-īn tennūr müheyyā-st nān me-h^{v}āh

me'āliyle tennūr-ı derūn-ı ʻuşşāḳı fürūndan füzūn germ itdiler[501]. Ve āteş-destān-ı kebābiyān

Naẓm

Kebāb-āsā belā bezminde gördüm ḳalb-i ʻuşşāḳı

Muḫālif **[K17b]** devr elinden bir dem ağlar bir zamān iñler

nālesiyle güşt-pāre-i ḳalb-i müştāḳı köfte-ṣıfat nerm eylediler. Ve cerib-destān-ı ḫūbān-ı āşpezān

Naẓm

Şerbet-i laʻl-i revān-baḫşına ʻālem teşne

Ḫ^{v}ān-ı[502] iḥsānına ağyārı ṭoyurmış dilber

Göñlüñ ey ḫaste-i hicrān nenüñ āşın ister

maḍmūnıyla sīr-sāz-ı miʻde-i işтihā-perver-i [503] intiẓār oldılar. Ve şerbetiyān-ı benefşe-ḫāl-i[504] gül-ruḫān daḫi[505]

Naẓm

Şerbet-i laʻl-i revān-baḫşına ʻālem teşne

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[499] -ḥāl-i bī-ḳarāra: -ḥāle P B K
[500] -rīz: zīn P
[501] itdiler: eylediler P B K
[502] ḫ^{v}ān: ḫūn L
[503] -perver: -perver ve K
[504] ḫāl: ḫāk B
[505] gül-ruḫān daḫi: gül-ruḫsār K B; gül-ruḫān P

O cefā-pīşe leṭāfetde bir içim [B22b] ṣudur

zemzemesiyle ḥarāret-güẕār-ı ciger-i sūḫtegān-ı inkisār oldılar. Girişme-sencān-ı baḳḳālān

Naẓm

Bir āfet-i baḳḳāl-ı sitem-sencüñ elinden

Ṭaşlarla döker sīnesini keffe-i mīzān

vezni üzre bādām-çeşm ü piste-dehān ve leb-i engebīn ü revğan-ı serīn ile[506] çehre-i[507] sirke-fürūşān-ı bāzār-ı intiẓārı[508] ṭable-i ḫande-i nemekīn itdiler[509]. Ve ibrişīm-tenān-ı ʻaṭṭārān[510]

Naẓm

Ṣayd itmege mürğ-ı dili ol dilber-i ʻaṭṭār

Dirhemle terāzūsın ider dām ile dāne

vefḳince ḫāl-i ḳaranfil-fām-ı[511] ʻanberīn-bū[512] ve ṭurra-i ʻābir-ālūd-ı müşkīn-mū ile taʻṭīr-i meşāmm-ı iştiyāḳ-ı ʻuşşāḳ-ı reh-nişīn [P35] eylediler. Ve şīrīn-lebān-ı şeker-fürūşān[513]

Beyt

Ḳānd başḳa [?] başına küleh geçer[514] bir[515] er idi

Çāşnī-i leb-i cānānı görünce[516] eridi

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[506] ile: - L
[507] çehre-i: çehre K
[508] intiẓārı: - K
[509] itdiler: eylediler K B
[510] ʻaṭṭārān: ʻaṭṭār B
[511] -fām: nām P
[512] ʻanberīn: ʻanber B L
[513] şīrīn-lebān-ı şeker-fürūşān: şeker-fürūşān-ı şīrīn-lebān P
[514] küleh geçer: küleh çeker P; kelle geçinür B [?]
[515] bir: - B
[516] görünce: gördi B

terānesiyle[517] telḫ-kāmān-ı zehrābe-nūşān-ı hicrānı[518] leb-i ḳand-rīzlerinden ḫiṭāb-ı mükerrer ile şīrīn-meẕāḳ eylediler[519]. Ve ḥelva'iya2n-ı[520] şīrīn-ḥarekāt

Naẓm

Belini ḳoçmadadur ol ṣanemüñ derd ü belā

Yoḳsa şīrīn lebi 'āşıḳlara ḥāḍır ḥelvā

edāsıyle damāğ-ı ḥanẓal-āşāmān-ı ḥırmānı çāşnī-i nebāt-ı iltiflātla[521] ferāmūş-kerde-i merāret-i iştiyāḳ eylediler. Sīm-sā'idān ser-terāşān

Naẓm [**L19b**]

Ol ser-terāşa bende olur sīnesin gören

Ḳor naḳd-i cānın[522] üstine āyīnesin gören

nāğmesiyle zīr-i tīği[523] cāy-ı āsāyiş 'addiden ser-berehnegān-ı minaṣṣa-i [**B23a**] teslīmi ser-i bī-sāmānından[524] āṯār-ı sevdāyı tirāş idüp ve ḫūn-rīzān-ı ḳaṣṣābān-ı bī-rahm dil

Naẓm

Ḳaṣṣāb dilberi ciger-i ḫalḳı pāreler

Ḳanlar döker ğam müjesiyle ḳanāreler

Ḳaṣāb çengi itmede ağyar ile velī

'Uşşāḳ-ı sīne-ṣāfını gördükçe [**K18a**] aralar / erreler

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[517] terānesiyle: - L
[518] zehrābe-nūşān-ı hicrānı: zehrābe firāḳı nūşān-ı hicrān K
[519] eylediler: iderler B K
[520] helva'iyān: helvāyiyān B K
[521] iltiflātla: iltiflātıyla B P
[522] cānın: cānı L
[523] zīr-i tīği: zīr-i tīğ-i ser-tīzi P
[524] ser-i bī-sāmānından: bī-ser ü sāmānından B

manṭūḳı üzre sāṭūr-nigāh-ı pūstīn-şikāfiyle pāre-i ciger-i ḳurbāniyān-ı bismilgede-i[525] muḥabbeti zīver-i ḳannāre-i müjgān-ı ḫūn-pāş eylediler. Zībende-ḳadān-ı ḫayyāṭīn[526]

Naẓm[527]

Açdum metā'-ı rāzumı bir derzi şūḫına

Çoḳ ölçdi[528] biçdi[529] gördi çıḳışmaz[530] tekelledi[531]

feḥvāsı üzre miḳrāḍ-ı nigāh ve sūzen-i müjgan ve ibrīşim-tār-ı gīsū vü tebāşīr-i ğurre-rū-yı[532] dil-cūylarıyla ḳāmet-i enẓār-ı nuẓẓāra câme-dūz-ı ıḍṭırāb oldılar. Ve ṭannāzān-ı ḳazzāzān[533]

Naẓm

Iderdüm dügmesine rişte-i cānum ilik dilden

Benümle ol meh-i ḳazzāz eger bāzāra el virse

resmince tār-ı[534] şa'şa'a-i cemālleri ile girībān-ı ṣabr-ı 'uşşāḳa tügme-bāf-ı inḳılāb olurlar idi. Civānān-ı kefşgerān

Naẓm

Pā-berehne kūçe-gerd-i āzāde-i bī-ḳayd iken

Āh bir şūḫ kefşger pāy-bend itdi beni

ḳavlince āvāregān-ı[535] kūçe-i hevāyı ayaḳ ḫaffāfı eylediler. Ve sīm-tenān zergerān

Naẓm

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[525] bismilgede: bismilgeh L
[526] *ḫayyāṭīn:* ḫayyāṭān P
[527] This couplet is also included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 1262).
[528] ölçdi: kesdi B
[529] biçdi: dökdi L P
[530] çıḳışmaz: çıḳmaz D
[531] tekelledi: tenükledi D
[532] ğurre: ğurre-i P; ṣubḥ-ı ğurre K
[533] ḳazzāzān: ḳazzāz B
[534] tār: tāb L
[535] āvāregān: āzādegān K

Ten-i zer sīm-sirişk ve küre-i **[P36]** āhum ile

Meskenüm çārsū-yı zergere döndi cānā

maḳāliyle pūte-i muḥabbetde[536] ḳāl olan dil-süḫtegān-ı sikke-dār-ı ḫālişü'l-'ayyārı dilber ṣarrāfı eylediler. Silsile-mūyān-ı[537] āhengerān

Naẓm

Düşdi **[B23b]** dāmān-ı dile bir şerer-i şūr-efgen[538]

'Aşḳ-ı āhengeri zencīr-i cünūn işler iken

nālesi ile āhen-i serd döken mecānīn-i bī-ḳaydı der-zencīr eylediler[539]. Ve hilāl-ebrūyān-ı na'l-bendān

Naẓm

Ḥussād iken yārı biri birine çaḳarlar

Bu ḫalḳ gehī[540] na'le gehī[541] mīḫa ḳaḳarlar **[L20a]**

āvāzesiyle na'l-i der-āteş olan[542] bī-ḳarārān-ı pā-der-hevāyı teshīr itdiler[543]. Sürḫ-rūyān-ı sarrāciyān

Naẓm

'Inānum aldı bir sarrāc-ı zerdūz-ı melek-peyker

Ki çerḫi[544] 'aks-i ruḫsārı gül-i şeftālū-reng eyler

veḳince 'inān-ı iḫtiyār-ı nuẓẓārı[545] rubūde-i dest-i nāz eylediler. Ve nāzük-tenān-ı dellākān

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[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] çerḫi: illegible in B

Naẓm

Siyeh fūṭayla[546] gör ḥamāmda ol māh-ı tābānı

Eger görmek dilerseñ ẓulmet içre āb-ı ḥayvānı

mā-ṣadaḳınca berehne-cismān-ı[547] kūy-ı melāmeti germābe-nişīn-i pür-tef ü tāb-ı niyāz[548] eylediler.

El-ḥāṣıl se şebāne-rūz 'ale't-tevālī ahālī-i Şām'uñ ḳu'ūdları ḳıyāma ve ārāmları ḫırāma mübeddel oldı. Cünbüş-i miḳrāḍ-ı eşi''a[549] ile mecmū'a-i eyyāmdan evrāḳ-ı leyāl munḳaṭı' ve tevassuṭ-ı [**K18b**] meserret ü inbisāṭ ile ecfān-ı enāmda hey'āt-ı ittiṣāl mündefi' oldı. Cāme-ḫ^{v}ābları maḥmil-i nisyānda perçīde, çārşebleri[550] ebdān-ı ta'ṭīlde pīçīde olup ṭaraf ṭaraf ḥalḳa-i encümen-i yārān ṣayd-ı ṭā'ir-i[551] 'işrete ḥalḳa-i dām ve müşāhede-i cemāl-i ḫūbān dīdelerde[552] cāy-gīr-i menām oldı.

Naẓm

Ne 'aceb tīz geçer ẕevḳ u sürūr eyyāmı

Irmedin nıṣf-ı nehārı irüşür aḫşamı

maḍmūnı ḫātime-i[553] ṣaḥīfe-i şādmānīde [**B24a**] nümūne-i imḍā-yı[554] encām olup

Naẓm

Libās-ı 'āriyedür heb geçer göñül olma

Firīb-ḫōrde-i tezyīn-i çārsū-yı cihān

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[545] nuẓẓārı: - 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] ṣayd-ı ta'ir: ṣaydgāh L
[552] ḫūbān dīdelerde: ḫūbān ile dīde K
[553] ḫātime-i: - B
[554] imḍā-yı encām: imḍāyü'l-ḫadd K

me'āli[555] ṣūret-i ārāyiş-i eyyāmdan perde-küşā-yı ibhām-ı devām olup[556]

Naẓm

Şām'ı gördük yine taḥrīk-i rikāb eyleyelüm

Gel göñül [**P37**] maḳṣad-ı aḳsāya şitāb eyleyelüm

diyerek çeşmsār-ı Şām'dan dest-şū-yı ārām ve **Mışr-ı Ḳāhire**'ye imāle-i licām olundı.

13. Nühḍat ez-belde-i laṭīfe-i Şām

Üçüncü menzilde mesned-ārā-yı[557] Külbe-i Aḥzān, pīr-i pākīze-ḍamīr-i ḫānḳāh-ı Ken'ān, ḥafīd-i cedd-i enbiyā[558], nāle-senc-i vā-āsafā ya'nī cenāb-ı Ya'ḳūb, ṣalavātü'llāhi [**L20b**] 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḥaḍretlerinüñ

Naẓm

Sirişk-i dīdesi üstinde pul gibi ḫam idi

Firāḳ-ı Yūsuf ile ḳaddi pīr-i Ken'ān'uñ

maḍmūnını mübeyyen-sāḫte-i[559] mi'mār-ı himmet-i nebevīleri olup yine iḍāfe-i ism-i sāmīleri ile nā'il-i rütbe-i ifāḍa olan **Cisr-i Ya'ḳūb** 'aleyhi's-selāmdan mānend-i[560] seyl-i eşk güẕār olundı. Ve bīḫte-i ğırbāl-ı tevātür olan ḥubūb-ı aḫbār vefḳince merdüm-i çeşm-i 'ālem-bīnleri pey-rev-i Yūsuf, 'aleyhi's-selām, oluncaya dek peykān-ı ḫāra-güdāz-ı[561] sirişk-i[562] āteşīnleri ile[563] ol ḥavālīnüñ aḥcārı sūrāḫ sūrāḫ olduğı maḥall[564] memerr-i naẓar-ı ḥayret ḳılınaraḳ

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[555] me'āli: me'ālin K
[556] olup: olmağın K B
[557] -ārā-yı: - B
[558] cedd-i enbiyā: ceddü'l-enbiyā P K B
[559] saḫte-i: saḫte L
[560] mānend: mānende-i B P
[561] güdāz: güẕār L
[562] sirişk: eşk L
[563] ile: - B
[564] maḥall: - P

Naẓm

Yūsuf ez-bī-mihrī-i iḫvān be-çāh üftāde-est

Bī-ḥased ne-būd birāder ger peyember-zāde-est

miṣdāḳı üzre ol miḥrāb-ı ebrūvānı secdegāh-ı kevākib olan māh-ı münīr-i evc-i risālet üftāde-i çāh-ı raṣad-ı ḥased-i[565] iḫvān [**B24b**] olup hāle-i āğūş-ı ğıyābesinde cilveger[566] olduğı [567] çāh-ı ṣafvet-penāha ilḳā-yı kemend-i nūr-ı nigāh ve āb-ı dil-zidāsı ziyāretgāh-ı efvāh-ı ecfān ḳılınduḳdan ṣoñra heft rūze[568] ṭayy-ı menāzil ile ḳaṣaba-i **Ramle**[569] pā-zede-i [**K19a**] ḫuyūl-i vüṣūl olduḳda[570] aḥmāl u eṣḳālden tecerrüd ṭarīḳiyle ziyāret-i Beytü'l-maḳdis'e taḥrīk-i ḳādime-i[571] şitāb olundı.

14. 'Azm-kerden be-sū-yı Ḳuds-i Şerīf

Reh-nümūnī-i feyḍ-i Ḫudā ile revzen-küşā-yı ḥarem-i Aḳṣā olan mihmān-serā-yı çerḫ-āşnā-yı[572] sulṭāniyye ki mülūk-i memdūḥü's-sülūk-i Mışriyye'den Sulṭān Ḳaytbāy[573] 'aleyhi'r-raḥmenüñ irtifā'-i derecāt-ı dāreynine dāl ve nuḳūş-ı ḫurde-kār-ı ruḫāmiye-i[574] ferş ü[575] dīvār u saḳf-ı ṣa'ṣa'a-bārı[576] ṣūret-nümā-yı imtinā'-ı[577] ḳabūl-i miṣāldür[578]. [**P38**] Ol menzil-i vālāda ḥaṭṭ-ı[579] rāḥile-i çend rūze ḳılınup rūy-māl-i ḫāk-i 'ıṭr-nāk-i ḥarem-i Aḳṣā'ya müsāra'at olundı.

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[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] olduḳda: olunduḳda B
[571] ḳadīme-i: ḳāme-i P
[572] āşnā-yı: āşyān-ı B
[573] Ḳaytbāy: Ḳaytbā B K
[574] ruḫāmiye-i: ruḫāmiye L P
[575] ḫurde-kār-ı ruḫāmiye-i ferş ü: ḫurdekārı ile ferş-i K
[576] -bārı: -pāşı P
[577] imtinā': irtifā' B
[578] miṣāldür: imtiṣāldür K
[579] ḥaṭṭ-ı: ḫıṭṭa-i P

Ḥaḳḳā ḥarem-i nūr-peymā-yı **[L21a]** Mescid-i Aḳṣā bir sāḥa-i rūḥ-baḫşādur ki sekiz yüz ḳırḳ ẕirā‘ ṭūli ve beş yüz yigirmi beş ẕirā‘ ‘arḍı fermān-ı Bennā-yı kār-ḫāne-i ḳaderle resm-keşide-i pergār-ı güşe-i[580] bāl-i[581] Rūḥu'l-emīn'dür. Dā'ire-i sūr-ı ma‘mūre-i Ḳuds-i mübāreküñ[582] miḳdār-ı sülüsi sāḥa-i ṣıḥḥat-baḫşā-yı ḥarem-i Aḳṣā olup sülüsān-ı aḫiri mesācid ü mevāḍi‘-i[583] büyūt-i nās idügi ḳarār-dāde-i hendesiyān-ı[584] diyārdur.

Evvelā ḥarem-i mükerrem-i Aḳṣā ḥiṣār-ı cenūbī ve şarḳīnüñ rükninde **[B25a]** ğāyet-i irtifā‘ üzre vāḳi‘[585] olup ṭūli cenūbdan şimāle ve ‘arḍı şarḳdan ğarba düşmüşdür. Ve bu ḥarem-i şerīfün ṭaraf-ı ğarbī vü şimālīsi ma‘amūre-i şehre muttaṣıl olup [586] bi'l-cümle medāris ve[587] ṭaraf-ı şarḳī vü cenūbīsi vādi' vü[588] kūhsār vāḳi‘ olup ḥattā ondan ziyāde revzene-i ḫāṭır-küşāsı bālā-yı ḥiṣārdan cānib-i cenūbī-i[589] ṣaḥrāya küşāde vāḳi‘ olmışdur. Ve [590] ḥarem-i şerīf-i Aḳṣā'nuñ şümār-ı ṭabaḳāt-ı eflāk üzre[591] nüh deriçe-i melā'ik-nişīni olup eşref-i eşheri[592] dīvār-ı şimālinüñ rükn-i şarḳīsine ḳarīb maḥalde vāḳi‘ olan Bābü'l-ḥıṭṭā'dur ki ma‘mūre-i naẓm-ı kerīm-i[593] Ilāhī'de kerīme-i[594] **‘ve'd-ḫulū'l-bābe sücceden ve ḳūlū ḥıṭṭatün neğfir-leküm ḫaṭāyāküm ve senezīdü'l-muḥsinīn’**[595] ile i‘tilā-yı şānı[596] mübeyyen olduğından ğayrı bi'l-cümle enbiyā-yı

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[580] güşe-i: güşe B
[581] bāl: - K
[582] mübāreküñ: şerīfüñ K
[583] mevāḍī‘-i: mevāḍī‘ u L
[584] hendesiyān: mühendisiyān P
[585] vāḳi‘: - 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: ḳavlih K
[595] The Ḳur'ān, 2/58; muḥsinīn:muḥsinūn ilā-aḫirih K
[596] şānı: şānī-i B

kirām, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhim,[597] ḥaḍretleri ḳādime-cünbān-ı ziyāret olduḳlarında ol bāb-ı sa'ādet-intisābdan dāḫil olup 'ale'l-ḫuṣūṣ [**K19b**] tenhā-süvār-ı[598] meydān-ı isrā, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem[599], ḥaḍretleri daḫi şeb-i mu'ciz-nümā-yı[600] mi'rācda reh-nümūnī-i Rūḥu'l-emīn[601] ile ol bāb-ı āsmān-ı cenāb süddesin mağbūṭ-ı ḳıbāb-ı nüh revāḳ buyurup 'inān-ı Burāḳ-ı bāṣıra-reftārı merbaṭ-ı ezimme-i ḫuyūl-ı enbiyā olan ḥalḳa-i[602] [**L21b**] sa'ādet-medāra beste buyurmışlardur. Ve Babü'l-esbaṭ daḫi Babü'l-ḥıṭṭa [**P39**] ile[603] [**B25b**] 'alāḳa-gīr-i teḳārüb olmışdur[604].

Egerçi[605] mersūm-ı güşe-i bāl-ı Rūḥu'l-emīn olan dā'ire-i ḥarem-i mükerrem bi'l-cümle Mescid-i Aḳṣā idügi müteḥayyiz-i derece-i taḥḳīḳ idügi müsellemdür[606]. Lākin ḥālā iḥāṭa-i da'ire-i ḥaremde Mescid-i Aḳṣā nāmıyle ser-efrāz-ı evc-i ihtizāz olan cāmi'-i şerīf dīvār-ı cenūbīde[607] cānib-i Beytü'l-ḥarām'a[608] teveccüh üzre zānū-zede-i ḳa'de-i istiḥkām olup cānib-i ğarbīsinde Mescid-i Mağāribe[609] nām bir mescid-i ṭūlānī ve cānib-i şarḳīsinde ḥaḍret-i 'Ömerü'l-Fārūḳ, raḍiye'llāhü'llāhū 'anh, sevād-ı muraḳḳa'-i ma'mūre-i Ḳuds-i mübāreki dest-i 'ālem-küşālarıyle ṣūr-ı vücūd-ı bed-būd-ı küffārdan taḫliye ve taṭhīr buyurduḳlarında ta'mīr-kerde-i mi'mār-ı himmet-i bi-hemtāları[610] olan mescid-i hem-zānū-yı ṣaff-ittiṣāl vāḳi' olup cāmi'-i Aḳṣā'dan pā-

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[597] 'aleyhim: aleyhim ecma'in K; 'aleyhimü's-selām P
[598] süvār: süvārān B
[599] şalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām K
[600] mu'ciz-nümā-yı: - B K P
[601] reh-nümūnī-i Rūḥu'l-emīn: reh-numūnī(-i) ḳabḍ-i Ḫudā ile Rūḥu'l-emīn K
[602] ḥalḳa-i: ḥalḳa L
[603] ve bābü'l-isbaṭ daḫi bābü'l-ḥıṭṭa ile: ve bābü'l-ḥıṭṭa daḫi bābü'l-isbaṭ ile K
[604] olmışdur: olmağın K
[605] egerçi: eger B
[606] taḥḳīḳ idügi müsellemdür: taḥḳīḳdür L
[607] cenūbīde: cenūbında K
[608] ḥarāma: ḥarām B
[609] Mağaribe: Mu'āviye B
[610] bī-hemtāları: - K

ber-cā-yı ḳıyām olan sütūn-ı ruḫām-ı ebr-fām[611] ḫāric-i merātib-i şümār ve zaḫm-resān-ı sebbābe-i[612] ta'accüb-i nuẓẓārdur[613]. Cānib-i yemīn-i[614] minberde ḳāmet-efrāz-ı sāḥa-i i'zāz bir sütūn ki ḥālā āvīziş-i[615] güşvāre-i mīnā-fām-ı ḳanādīl ile icrā-yı merāsim-i ta'ẓīm olunmışdur.

Ol serv-i riyāḍ-ı Ḳuds'üñ sāye-i devlet-māyesinde gülçin-i gülşen-serāy-ı eflāk, bālā-nişīn-i serīr-i levlāk[616], ṣalle'llāhū te'ālā[617] 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretleri ekseriyyā dū dest-i ḫazā'in-küşā-yı şefā'atlerin ḳufl-ı gencīne-i ṣalāt[618] buyurduḳları meşhūde-i[619] küşāde[620]-çeşmān-ı ṣūret u ma'nā olmağla ol mesned-i vālāda [**B26a**] taḫte-i deryūze-i[621] dest-i du'ā vü niyāz naḳd-i icābetden tehī olmaduğı iştibāhdan ḫālīdür[622].

Mescid-i 'Ömerī'den[623] rükn-i şarḳiye varınca rütbe-i 'aşereye ḳarīb ṭāḳçelerle bir ṣuffe-i[624] ṭūlānī sāḳ-zede-i istiḳrār olup taḥtı maḥbes-i 'afārīt-i cenāb-ı[625] Süleymān nebī ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhdür ki[626] hezār 'imād-ı dīv-şiken ile meğāk-ı hevl-nāk zīr-i zemīnde miyāne-i[627] taḳvīm-i fenāda [**L22a**] mānende-i şeb-i yeldā tārīk u ṭūlānī, ḳulūb-ı şeyāṭīn gibi ẓülmānī-i[628] cāvidānī vāḳi' olup hedm ü taḫrībi bīrūn-ı yārā-yı ḳuvvet-i insānī olmağla binā-yı [**P40**] Süleymānī'den bāḳī ḳalmışdur.

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[611] ebr: ebri B K
[612] sebbābe-i: şebāne B
[613] ta'accüb-i nuẓẓārdur: ta'accüb u intiẓārdur K
[614] cānib-i yemīn: cāmi'-i yemīni K
[615] āvīziş: āferīniş B
[616] gülşen-serāy-ı eflāk, bālā-nişīn-i serīr-i levlāk: gülşen-i şefa'at K
[617] te ālā: - L
[618] ṣalāt: ṣalavāt K
[619] meşhūde-i: meşhūd K
[620] küşāde: ne-küşāde P; küşāde-i B
[621] deryūze-i: deryūze B
[622] hālīdür: hālī degildür K
[623] Ömeri'den: 'Omer rāḍiye'llāhü 'anhü-den P
[624] ṭāḳçelerle bir ṣuffe-i: ṭāḳçelerle bir mescid ve bir ṣuffe-i K
[625] cenāb: - L
[626] 'aleyhdür ki: - L
[627] miyāne-i: miyāne B
[628] ẓülmānī-i: ẓülmānī B; ẓülümāt K

Ol zindān-ı vāhime-resāna muttaṣıl rükn-i ḥaḳīḳī-i[629] şarḳīde[630] ḥaḍret-i Meryem raḍiye'llāhü 'anhānuñ eyyām-ı ḥayātlarında [**K20a**] iḳāmetgāh-ı istirāḥatları olan bir ḥücre-i rūşen ki nerdübān-ı çend pāye ile zīr-i zemīnde gūşe-nişīn-i ḫafā olup dīvār-ı ḳıblīde[631] sīne-küşā-yı hüdā olan mihrāb-ı Meryem pişgāhında ruḫām-ı mücellādan bir tekne-i rūḥānī ki ḫamīr-i māye-i enfās-ı cān-baḫşā[632] ya'nī ẕāt-ı āsmān-mesned-i Mesīḥā henūz pīçīde-i ḳımāṭ-ı şīr-ḫ^{v}āregī olduḳları ḥālde mehd-i vücūd-ı nāzenīnleri olmağla cānib-i ṭārem-i[633] çāruma ḫamyāze-keş-i ḥasret olmışdur. Ve yine ol ḥücre-i dil-pezīrüñ dīvār-ı şarḳīsinde vāḳi' ṣuffede miḥrāb-ı Ḥavāriyyīn-i ḳandīl-fürūz[634] **[B26b]** ta'yīn olmışdur.

Rükn-i şarḳīden rükn-i şimālīye[635] varınca te'sīs-kerde-i endāze-i mi'mār-ı ḥikmet olan ḥiṣār-ı mağfiret-medār-ı şarḳī ki vasaṭında Bābü'r-raḥme ve Bābü't-tevbe nām iki bāb-ı devlet-me'āb sīne-küşā-yı maṭla'-ı āftāb olmışdur. Ol iki der-i ḥikmet-eẕer pişgāhında, i'āzenā'llāhü te'ālā[636], vādī-i hevl-nāk-i ba'īdü'l-ğavr-ı[637] meğāk-i caḥīmdür ki ber-müḳteḍā-yı ta'yīn-i ezelī ḥālā maḳbere-i 'aẕab-nümūde-ı[638] kefere vü[639] Yehūd ol vādī-i kāfir-sūz[640] derūnında ṣūret-nümā-yı cedrī-i rūy-ı zemīn olup rūz-ı ciger-sūz-ı restā-ḫīzde güẕergāh-ı reh-revān-ı na'īm u caḥīm olan cisr-i ṣırāṭ vaḍ' olunacaḳ maḥalli ta'yīn ü işāret içün Bābü'r-raḥme ile Mehd-i 'Īsā beyninde bālā-yı

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[629] ḥaḳīḳī-i: ḥaḳīḳī: B
[630] şarḳīde: ser-vaḳtde L
[631] ḳıblīde: ḳıblīsinde P K
[632] cān-baḫşā: ḥayāt-baḫşā K B P
[633] ṭārem: - L
[634] -fürūz: -fürūzan K B
[635] şimālīye: şimāliyyeye P
[636] te'ālā: - B L
[637] 'l-ğavr: 'l-fevr P
[638] nümūde-i: nümūd P B
[639] kefere vü: kefere-i P B K
[640] kāfir-sūz: kāfir-sūzdur ve B

ḥiṣār-ı şarḳide üc ẕirā‘ miḳdārı bir sütūn-ı ruḫām yine ol vādī-i dehşet-endāz üzre ḫāric-i [641] ḥiṣāre iṭāle olunmışdur.

Cenāb-ı ḥaḍret-i[642] Süleymān, [**L22b**] ṣalavātü'llāhi ‘alā-nebiyyinā ve ‘aleyh, ḥaḍretleri fermān-ı Mübdi‘-i kār-ḫāne-i īcād ile itmām-ı binā-yı Beytü'l-maḳdis buyurduḳları şām-ı meserret-encāmda niyyet-i ziyāretle Bābü'l-ḥıtta'dan derūn-ı ḥarem-i muḥtereme kām-zen-i duḫūl olup[643] dā'ire-i[644] ḥarem-i beyt-i[645] Maḳdis'i leb-rīz-i nūr-ı Ilāhī müşāhede itmeleriyle tāb-āver-i tāb-ı tecellī olmaduḳlarından pāy-ı ‘azīmetlerin girih-bend-i zemīn-i ḥayret idüp [**P41**] āyīne-i zānūların nihāde-i rū-yı zemīn iderek ol neş'e-mend-i ṣahbā-yı bī-ḫumār-ı tecellī reviş-i mestāne ile bir niçe[646] ḳadem [**B27a**] ṭayy itdüklerinde fermān-ı ḥaḍret-i Kerīm-i çāre-sāz-ı dil-nevāz ile[647] ṣaḫra-i mübārekenüñ bir ḳıṭ‘ası istiḳbāl içün seng-i [**K20b**] felāḫan-ı sür‘at olduğında[648] işāret-i Süleymān nebī ile ol menzilde[649] güşe-gīr-i ārām-ı ber-devām[650] olmağın bālā-yı ser-i sa‘ādet-eşerine bir[651] ḳubbe bünyād buyurup, yine fermān-ārāyī-i[652] ins ü cin ü[653] vuḥūş u ṭuyūr içün[654] tertīb-i dīvān buyurduḳlarında kürsī-i ḥükūmet-i nübüvvet-tev'emleri[655] ol cāygāha ḳarīb maḥalde mevḍū‘ olduğınuñ[656] işāreti ḥālā hüveydādur.

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[641] ḫāric-i: ḫārici ol B
[642] ḥaḍret: - B K P
[643] olup: olduḳda P ; - L
[644] dā'ire-i: - L
[645] beyt: - B P
[646] niçe: niçe miḳdār K
[647] dil-nevāz ile: bende-nevāzıyle B; dil-nevāzıyle K
[648] olduğında: olduğına L; olunduḳta K;
[649] menzilde: menzil-i vālāda K
[650] ber-devām: - K
[651] bir: ebr K P
[652] fermān-ārāyī-i: fermān-rānī-i B; fermān-rāyī-i L; fermān-rāyī K
[653] cin ü: cin ile ve K
[654] içun: ile K
[655] ḥükūmet-i nübüvvet-tev'emleri: nübüvvet-i hukūmet-tev'emleri L
[656] olduğınuñ: olduğundan B

Ammā zemīn-i ḥarem-i Irem-tev'em-i Aḳṣā'ya dest-i ferrāş-ı ṣun'-ı ezel ile ḳaliçe-i birīşem-tār-ı[657] sebze-i[658] hemvār[659] güsterānīde ḳılınup cā-be-cā āşyāne-i ṭā'ir-i[660] ḳudsiyān olacaḳ eşcār-ı sāye-dār rīşe-endāz-ı zemīn-i istiḳrār olmışdur.

Miyāne-i ḥaremde ḥarem-i maḫṣuṣ-ı ṣaḫra-i mübāreke[661] beş altı ẕirā' miḳdārı irtifā'la üzre[662] taḫmīnen üçer yüz ẕirā' ṭūl u 'arḍ ile mir'āt-ı ṣūret-nümā gibi ruḫām-ı mücellādan binā' olunup[663] pīrāmeni yine ruḫāmdan bir ẕirā' miḳdārı dīvārçe[664] ile iḥāṭa olunmışdur.

Rükn-i ğarbīsinde rūz-ı bāzār-ı ḳıyāmetde mīzān-ı 'amel-senc-i enām mevḍū' olacaḳ maḥalde niçe sütūn-ı mevzūn-ruḫām üzre bir minber-i maṭbū'u's-sīmā ve bir miḥrāb-ı sīne-küşā binā olunmışdur. Ve bu sāḥa-i tāb-nāküñ cevānib-i erba'asından sekiz yerden yigirmişer [**L23a**] pāyeden efzūn silm-i selāmet-fermāya[665] irtiḳā'[666] olunup pāye-i [**B27b**] pāyīni[667] mesāfe-i ba'īdeden te'sīs olunmağın ğāyet pehn ü ferāḫ vāḳi' olup her pāyesinde pehlū-be-pehlū yigirmişer ādem pā-nihāde-i[668] su'ūd olmaḳ ḥayz-ı imkāndadur. Ve bu sāḥa-i dil-ārānuñ āğūş-ı miyānesinde ḳubbe-i ṣaḫra-i mübāreke beyḍa-i[669] ṭā'ir-i[670] sa'ādet şeklinde cilve-nümā olmışdur. Ḳubbe-i nūr-peymānuñ nışfına bāliğ oluncaya dek eṭrāfı libās-ı ruḫāmiye ile bir ḥarem-i heşt-ḫāne hāle-vār

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[657] birişim: ibrişim B
[658] sebze-i: sebze B
[659] hemvār: hemvāre P B
[660] ṭā'ir: ṭayārān K
[661] mübāreke: mübāreke ki P B
[662] irtifā' üzre: irtifā'la L
[663] olunup: - K
[664] dīvārçe: dīvār-ı peççe B
[665] -fermāya: -fermā ile B K
[666] irtiḳā': irtifā' P
[667] pāyīni: pāye B
[668] -nihāde-i: -nihade L
[669] beyḍa-i: beyḍā B
[670] ṭāir: - K

iḥāṭa idüp andan yuḳarı tā küngüre-i zerrīn-[P42]ḳubbeye dek[671] ḫil'at-ı kāşī-i[672] nādide nuḳūş ile cilve-nümā-yı ṭarz-ı āḫar olmışdur.

Ol ḳubbe-i 'ālişānuñ binā-yı 'aṣlīsi mülūk-i Emeviyye'den Süleymān ibn 'Abdü'l-Melik'üñ beyḍa-i ṭā'ir-i himmeti iken ba'de ilbās-ı kāşī vü ruḫām bihişt-āşyān Sulṭān Süleyman merḥūmuñ[673] dūḫte-i kārgāh-ı himmet-i[674] bī-hemtālarıdur.

Zīr-i[675] ḳubbe-i sipihr-mümāssda taḫmīnen ṭūlen yigirmi ve 'arḍan on sekiz ẕirā' miḳdārı ḳafes iḥāṭasında ṭā'ir-i zībende-pervāz-ı evc-i sa'ādet ya'nī ṣaḫra-i mübāreke [K21a] cānib-i ḳıbleye teveccüh[676] üzre āsūde-bāl-ı āşyān-ı istiḳrār olup şeş cihetden ḳat'-ı revābıṭ ü ittiṣāl ile 'alāḳa-pezīr-i vaḳfe-i imtiṣāl-i emr-i[677] ẕü'l-Celāl[678] idügi peyvend-güsil-i ḥıbāl-i ḳīl ü ḳāldür. Dūş-ı yemīninde naḳş-ı tamğā-yı eṣer-i pāy-ı Muhammedī, 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām[679], ki teşrīf-i [680] sürādiḳāt-ı melekūt buyurduḳları şām-ı ṭarab-fercāmdan[681] yādigār ḳalup mānende-i [B28a] dehān-ı gevher-feşān

Naẓm

Çūn ğulāmī-st ki güm-kerde ḫaṭṭ-ı āzādī

Her ki bī-dāğ-ı tū der-'arṣa-i maḥşer kerded

terennümiyle lebrīz-i mübāhāt olmadadur. Bihişt-mekīn[682] merḥūm Sulṭān Aḥmed-i Evvel / ol ṣūret-nümā-yı fāḫte-i şāḫsār-ı Ḫudā'yı ṭa'ẓīmen mekīn-i ḳafes-i sīmīn idüp

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[671] dek: degin K
[672] kāşī-i: kaşī B
[673] Sulṭān Süleymān-ı merḥūmun: merḥūm Sulṭān Süleymān'uñ P B; merḥüm Sulṭān Süleymān 'aleyhi'r-raḥme'nin K
[674] himmet: - K
[675] zīr: - K
[676] teveccüh: - L
[677] emr: - L K
[678] ẕü'l-Celāl: - K
[679] 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām: - L B P
[680] teşrīf: teşrīf-i ṣerāperde-i B
[681] ṭarab-fercāmdan: ṭarab-encāmda K
[682] mekīn: mesned P K

nev-be-nev gülābla pür olmağın ol feyḍle vücūh-i nevāṣī-i züvvār meşāriḳ-i envār [L23b] olmadadur.

Mihmān-ı girāmī-terīn-i Izdī, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretleri[683] raḫş-rān-ı āsmān olduḳda[684] ṣaḫra-i mübāreke keşiş-i cezbe-i muḥabbet ile bī-ḳarār olup āmāde-i pervāz-ı mürāfaḳat olduğı ḥālde fermān-ı Yezdānī ile ḥaḍret-i Rūḥu'l-emīn [685] nīm-i rāhda temkīn buyurmalarıyle āṯār-ı ḫāme-i[686] enāmil-i Rūḥu'l-ḳuds ṣaḥīfe-i [687] ṣaḫra-i mübārekede mürtesem olmışdur.

Ve bir cānibinde daḫi[688] ruḫṣat-yāfte-i gül-geşt-i çemenzār-ı ferādis cenāb-ı Idrīs, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḥaḍretlerinüñ[689] ondan mütecāviz naḳş-ı ḳadem-i mükerremleri dīde-küşā-yı cānib-i āsmān olmışdur. Zīr-i sāye-i devlet-māye-i ṣaḫra-i mübāreke bir ğār [**P43**] şeklinde nümūdār olup cānib-i ḳıblīden nerdübān-ı heft-pāye ile ol maḫzen-i iksīr-i sa'ādete[690] vaḍ'-ı ḳadem-i ziyāret olunmadadur.

Leyle-i Mi'rāc'da ümīdgāh-ı kāffe-i 'aceze-i 'uṣāt, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā[691] 'aleyhi ve sellem, cenābından nāṭıḳa-senc-i recā-yı şefā'at olan lisān-ı [**B28b**] belīğü'l-beyānı cism-i mübārek-i[692] ṣaḫradan mütemeyyiz olup mālişgāh-ı efvāh u cibāh olmışdur.

Ṭarafeyn-i nerdübānında miḥrāb-ı Dāvud u Süleymān, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'ala-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhime's-selām, ṣūret-nümā-yı dū çeşm-i cihān-bīndür ki ekṣer evḳāt-ı ḥayātlarında ol miḥrāblarda secde-ber-i dergāh-ı[693] Ḳāḍiyyü'l-ḥācāt olmışlardur.

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[683] ḥaḍretleri: - K
[684] olduḳda: olduğı K
[685] emın: emīn ile K
[686] ḫāme-i: ḫaṣṣa-i B
[687] ṣahīfe-i: ṣahīfe-i beden B
[688] daḫi: - B
[689] Idrīs ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh: ḥaḍret-i Idrīs 'aleyhi's-selām K
[690] sa'ādete: sa'ādet ṭarafına K
[691] te'ālā: - L
[692] mübārek: mübāreke-i B
[693] secde-ber-i dergāh: secde-i perverdigār *B*

Ḳāfile-sālār-ı nübüvvet, ṣalle'llāhü 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretleri leyle-i Mi'rāc'da imāme-i sübḥa-i aṣfiyā ya'nī imām-ı ṣaff-ı enbiyā, ṣalavātü'llāhi[694] 'aleyhim ecma'īn[695], [**K21b**] olmağiçün merdümek-i dīde-i miḥrāb olduḳlarında eṯer-i 'imāme-i mübārekeleri sīne-i ṣaḫrada eṯer itmegin bir hey'āt-ı muḳa''ar cilveger olup şām u seḥer bir[696] ḳandīl-i ḍiyā-pāş fürūzān olmadadur.

Bir güşesinde daḫi bir ṣuffe-i muḫtaṣara ki yine şeb-i pür-ṭarab-ı Mi'rāc'da tenhā-nişīn-i minaṣṣa-i risālet, ṣalle'llāhü 'aleyhi ve sellem[697], ḥaḍretlerinüñ güşe-i dāmen-i devlet-i pīrāmenlerini bir gürbe pister-i [**L24a**] ḫ^{v}āb [698] itmegin iṭāre-i ḫ^{v}āb-ı rāḥat-ı[699] gürbe-i miskīn tecvīz-kerde-i şefḳat-ı dil-nevāzāne-i nebevīleri olmamağla[700] güşe-i me'men-i dāmenlerin būrīde-i miḳrāz-ı merḥamet[701] buyurduḳlarında gürbe-i nā-hüşyār fermān-ı Muğayyirü'ṣ-ṣuver ile ṣūret-i ḥacerde cilveger olup tā-be-ḳıyāmet[702] ḫ^{v}āb-ı sengīnde müşāhede-i ṣūret-i bīdārīden vāye-gīr-i ḥırmān olmışdur.

Ḥālā 'alāmeti hüveydā ve maḥall-i icābet-i du'ādur.

Bir güşesinde [**B29a**] cenāb-ı ceddü'l-enbiyā' Ḫalīl-i Ḫudā, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'aleyhi ve 'alā-nebiyyinā[703], ḥaḍretleri niçe def'a aṣḥāb-ı baṣā'ire hüveydā olmağla miḥrāb-ı Ibrāhīm nām ile mersūm-ı ṣaḥīfe-i dīvār-ı[704] iştihār olmışdur.

Bālā-yı ṣaḫra-i mübārekede Dāvud, 'aleyhi's-selām[705], ḥaḍretlerinüñ sāḫte-i dest-i i'cāz-ı[706] āhen-güdāzları olan dıraḫt-ı pür-şāḫ u[707] berg-i [**P44**] āhenīn ile siper-i

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[694] ṣalavātu'llāh: rıḍvānu'llāhi L
[695] ya'ni imām-ı ṣaff-ı enbiyā ṣalavātü'llāhi 'aleyhim ecma'īn: - K
[696] bir: - L
[697] ṣalle'llāhü 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'aleyhi's-ṣalātü ve's-selām K
[698] ḫāb: ḫāb u rāḥat K
[699] rāḥat: raḥmet B
[700] dil-nevāzāne-i nebevīleri olmamağla: dil-nevāzları olmaḳla K
[701] merḥamet: - K
[702] be: - L; ḳıyāmet: maḫşer K
[703] ṣalavātü'llāhi 'aleyhi ve 'alā-nebiyyinā: ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhi K
[704] dīvār: - K
[705] 'aleyhi's-selām: - L
[706] i'cāz: - K

seyyidü'ş-şühedā Ḥamza-i bā-ṣafā, raḍiye'llāhü 'anh[708], sāye-endāz-ı şöhret olmışlardur[709].

Yine derūn-ı ḳubbe-i Ṣaḫratu'llāh'da ümīdgāh-ı ahālī-i īmān[710] der-i ravḍa-i cinān olacaḳ maḥalde[711], yessir-nā'llāhü ve iyyāküm, Bābü'l-cenne tesmiyesi ile bir ruḫām-ı sebz-gūn vaḍ'ı ile işāret olunup mā'ide-i āsmānī daḫi pīş-nihād-ı mihmānān-ı Yezdānī olan maḥall bir ruḫām-ı sofra-sīmā ile ta'yīn olunmışdur. Vāsıṭa-i nüzūl-i kerīme-i '**hel etā**',[712] mā-ṣadaḳ-ı vaṣf-ı '**lā-fetā**', bāb-ı medīne-i 'ilm-i Aḥmedī, şākird-i ders-ḫāne-i Muhammedī 'Ali ibn[713] Ebī Ṭālib, kerreme'llāhü [714] vecheh, manẓūr-ı aṣḥāb-ı ṣudūr olduğı maḥall maḳām-ı 'Alī ta'yīni ile ziyāretgāh-ı aṣḥāb-ı intibāhdur.

Ammā derūn-ı ḳubbe-i rafī'a-i ṣaḫra-i mübārekede nigāşte-i ḳalem-i üstād-ı ezel[715] olan nuḳūş-ı ḥayret-fezā nūr-ı nigāh-ı maḫrūṭiyyü'ş-şekli hem-reng-i düm-i ṭāvus ve 'aks-i cām-ı revzeni nuẓẓārı hem-çeşm-i ḫorōs idüp ḫuṣūṣan sāḥa'if-i cidārında[716] şikāfte-i erre-i ḥikmet ve nigāşte-i ḳalem-i ḳudret olmış ruḫāın-ı āyīne-endāmlar[717] **[K22a]** ki çār **[L24b]** **[B29b]** ḳıt'asından birer kitābe-i mevzūn yāḫūd birer[718] şemse-i ḫōş-nümūn be-dīdār olup gūyā Mi'mār-ı[719] Ezel[720], 'azze ve cell, nigār-ḫāne-i ṣun'-ı ezelīde muṭlaḳ ārāyiş-i dīvār-ı ṣaḫra[721] içün resm ü īcād eylemişdür. Be-taḫṣīṣ iki

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[707] u: - K
[708] ṣafā: ṣafā radiye'llāhü 'anh L
[709] olmışlardur: olmışdur K
[710] īmān: īmān ya'ni P
[711] maḥalde: maḥalle B P
[712] The Ḳur'ān, 76/1
[713] ibn: bin P
[714] kerreme'llāhü: kerreme'llāhü te'ālā K
[715] üstād: üstād-ı ezel P
[716] cidārında: cüdrānında B P
[717] āyīne-endāmlar: āyīne-i endamları K
[718] birer: bir L
[719] Mi'mār: Ḫallāḳ P
[720] Ezel: Ezel ya'nī Ḥaḳḳ K
[721] ṣaḫra: ṣaḫra-i mübāreke P

ṭāvus-ı tamāmü'l-a'ḍā bir kāseye ser-endāz olmaḳ ṣūreti hüveydā olduğı aṣḥāb-ı baṣīreti[722] ser-efkende-i zānū-yı istiğrāb itmededür.

Ḫōşā ṣaḫra-i mübāreke ki miyāne-i eczā-yı arḍiyyede ẕāt-ı maḳdis-i Ilāhiyyeye iḫtiṣaṣ ile hem-seng-i terāzū-yı ḳader-i 'arş-ı a'zam olup fırḳa-i enbiyā-yı kirāma ziyāretgāh ve aḳdām-ı[723] feyḍgāhlarına būsegāh olduğından ğayrı sulṭān-ı 'arş-mesned, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretlerinüñ ḫalvet-ḫāne-i ḫaṣṣü'l-ḫaṣṣ-ı ḳurbe 'urūcları hengāmında bām-ı āsmāndan āvīzān olan[724] silm-i nūrāninüñ müttekā-yı derece-i pāyīni[725] olmağla eṣer-i ḳadem-i şefā'at-tev'emlerin ḥalḳa-i güş-ı iftiḫār itmek mertebesinden faḍla rūz-ı ciger-sūz-ı [**P45**] restā-ḫīzde daḫi tefrīḳ-i ahālī-i bihişt ü dūzaḫ içün menişşa-i maḥkeme-i ḳaḍiyyü'l-hācāt olup zümre-i 'usāt-ı züvvārīne leb-cünbān-ı[726] şefā'at ola!

Hezār hezār[727] şükr[728] Ḫālıḳ-ı bī-çūna ki mihmān-ı ribāṭ-ı çār ṣuffe-i beden ya'nī rūḥ-ı pür-miḥen rāḥile-bend-i bender-i fenā olmadın nāṣiye-i siyāh-günāh-ālūd ol seng-i mübāreke[729] mālide ḳılınmağla[730] dāḫil-i şümār-ı züvvār olmaḳ müyesser oldı [731], el-minnetü li'llāhi [**B30a**] te'ālā[732] ve teḳaddes.

Kenār-ı ṣaḫra-i mübārekede ruḫām-ı mücellādan [**K22b**] bir ḳubbe-i ḫōş-nümā binā olunup Ḳubbetü'l-mi'rāc ismiyle ṭavafgāh-ı ins ü melek olmışdur. Sevdāger-i bāzār-ı melekūt, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā[733] 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretleri rāh-āverd-i ṣalāt-ı[734]

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[722] baṣireti: baṣīrete L
[723] aḳdām: aḳvām L
[724] olan: - L B P
[725] pāyīni: pāsı L; pāyi P
[726] leb: - K
[727] hezār: - B K
[728] şükr: şükr ḥaḍret P
[729] mübāreke:mübārekede K
[730] ḳılınmağla: ḳılınmağa P
[731] oldı: oldı mışa' L
[732] te'ālā: - K
[733] ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā: - K; te'ālā: - L
[734] ṣalāt: ṣalavāt P

[ṣalavāt] ḫams[735] ile nāzil-i maṭmūre-i ḫāk olduḳlarında ibtidā'-i taḥrīme-bend-i [736] iftitāḥ-ı ṣalāt olduḳları maḥalde[737] daḫi bir miḥrāb-ı sa'ādet-nişāb pā-ber-cāy-ı ḳıyām olup [**L25a**] şāhid-i bālā-ḫırām-ı du'ā ol miḥrāb-ı şerīfde gül-güne-i[738] te'ṣīr-i du'ā[739] ile sürḫ-rūy olagelmegin[740] Ḳızıl Miḥrāb nāmıyle şöhret-yāb olmışdur.

Ve yine ḫāric-i ḳubbe-i ṣaḫra-i mübārekenüñ cānib-i şarḳīsinde maḥkeme-i Dāvud, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, olan mevḍi' üzre Ḳubbetü's-silsile nāmında[741] heşt ṭaḳ-ı ruḫām üzre [**K22b**] bir ḳubbe-i zībende-sīmā cilve-nümā olup bihişt-mekān Sulṭān Süleymān zīver-bend-i kāşī-i[742] ḫōş-naḳş olmağın **'Yā Dāvudu[743] innā ce'alnāke ḫalīfeten fi'l-arḍ'**[744] naẓm-ı kerīmin, ilā-āḫirih, ārāyiş-i kitābe-i bālā-yı ṭāḳ[745] itmişlerdür[746].

Ve[747] yine ol maḥall-i mu'tebere ḳarīb maḳām-ı ḥaḍret-i Ḫıḍr, 'aleyhi's-selām, bir ruḫām-ı ābrī ile ta'yīn ü işāret olunmışdur. Ḫāric-i ḥiṣār-ı Ḳuds-i mübārekede pişgāh-ı Bābü'l-ḥıṭṭa'da mezār-ı 'ismet-medār-ı Meryem defīn-i āğūş-ı zemīn olup yine ḫāric-i ḥiṣārda cānib-i ğarbīde merḳad-ı nūr-ālūd-ı ḥaḍret-i Dāvud, ṣalavātu'llāhi'l-Meliki'l-Vedūd[748], bir mescid-i vālā-ḳıbāb[749] [**B30b**] dāḫilinde ḥücre-i bihişt-eşer derūnında

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[735] ḫams: ḫamse B
[736] -bend-i: -bend-i tekbīr-i K
[737] maḥalde: maḥallinde L
[738] güne-i: güne L
[739] te'ṣīr-i du'ā: te'ṣīr-nümā P
[740] olagelmegin: olmağın K
[741] nāmında: nāmıyle K
[742] kaşī-i: kāşī P
[743] yā Dāvudu: - K
[744] The Ḳur'ān, 38/26
[745] ṭāḳ: - K
[746] itmişlerdür: itmişler K; eylemişlerdür B P
[747] ve yine ol maḥall: yine maḥall K
[748] ṣalavātu'llāhi'l-Meliki'l-Vedūd: ṣalavātu'llāhi 'alā nebiyyi-nā ve 'aleyh B; 'aleyhi's-selām K
[749] vālā: - L B

mütevāri-i[750] liḥāf-ı ḫāk olup estār-ı zerrīn-tār-ı ṣandūḳa-i müşk-bārları nūr-baḫşā-yı efvāh-ı züvvār olmışdur[751].

[**P46**] Ve yine ma'mūre-i Beytü'l-maḳdis'üñ cānib-i şarḳīsinde ser-ber-āverde-i muḳa''ar-ı gerdūn olan kūh-ı bihişt-şükūh Tūr-ı Zītā'da[752] meḍāci'-i enbiyā vü şühedā[753] mānende-i encüm cā-be-cā ḍiyā-baḫşā olup emkine-i müte'ayyineden mezār-ı lāmi'u'l-envār-ı ḥaḍret-i 'Uzeyr ve eṯer-i ḳadem-i Rūḥu'llāh ve ḥālet-i ra'y-ı ağnāmda nāliṣgāh-ı Kelīmu'llāh ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhimden mā'ada[754] mezār-ı Rābi'a-i 'Adeviyye, raḍiye'llāhü[755] 'anhā, ziyāretgāh-ı ḳudsiyāndur.

Feryād-ı girye-ḫīz-ı hāy[756] hāy-ı ḥasret, zelzele-efgen-i esās-ı gerdūn[757] ve şu'le-i āh-ı 'ālem-sūz-ı nedāmet dağ-zen-i derūn-ı çerḫ-i nīl-gūn olmaḳ sezadur ki bīm-i nīze-i ser-tīz-i reh-zenān-ı[758] āmān-nidān-ı 'urbān cenāb-ı Ḫalīl-i Ḫudā ḥaḍret-i Ibrāhīm ve ḥaḍret-i Mūsā-yı Kelīm, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā **[L25b]** ve 'aleyhimā[759], ḥaḍretlerinüñ ve gencīne-i[760] medfen-i Ibrāhīm'de medfūn olan cevāhir-fürūzende-i[761] dürc-i nübüvvet ya'nī cenāb-ı[762] Isḥaḳ u Ya'ḳūb u Yūsuf nebi[763] ḥaḍretlerinüñ ziyāret-i riyāḍ-ı muḳaddeselerine ḫār-ı dīvār-ı mümāna'at olup şevḳ-i ḫāk-i āstānlarıyle[764] āğūş-ı nāṣiye-i ümīd ḫamyāze-keş-i taḥassür ḳalmışdur.

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[750] mütevārī-i: müvārī-i P
[751] olmışdır: olmışlardır B
[752] Zītā'da: Zībā'da *L K B*
[753] enbiyā vü şühedā: enbiyā olan müşāhid K
[754] mā'ada: ğayrı B P K
[755] raḍiye'llāhü: raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā P
[756] hay: - K
[757] zelzele-efgen-i esās-ı gerdūn: - L
[758] reh-zenān: zehr-nān P
[759] Kelīm ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyi-nā ve 'aleyhimā: Kelīmu'llāh K
[760] gencīne-i: gencīne B
[761] fürūzende-i: fürūzende B
[762] cenāb: - B
[763] nebi: ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyhim P; - B K
[764] āstānlarıyle: āstānelerıyle B; āstānelerine K; āstānlarına P

15. Vaṣf-ı [B31a] rīg-i bī-āmān-ı rāh-ı Mıṣr[765]

Ḳuds-i mübārekde se rūze[766] ārāmdan ṣoñra yine **Ramle** ve **Ğazze** cānibine 'aṭf-ı[767] 'inān-gerdān olup Ğazze'ye ḳarīb maḥalde ḳubūr-ı şühedā-yı '**Asḳalān**'a āmed-şüd-i sefīr-i du'ā der-kār ḳılındı. [768] Ğazze'den beşinci menzilde vāḳi' ḳal'a-i '**Ariş** ile **Ṣalīḥiyye-i Mıṣr**[769] beyni ki beş merḥaledür, āb u dāneden [**K23a**] tehī rīgistān olmağın

Naẓm

Çūn güẕeştī ez-ribāṭ-ı[770] ten diger ma'mūre nīst

Zād-ı rāhī ber-ne-mī-dārī ez-īn menzil çerā

āvāzesi aḳlām-ı elsine-i asḥāb-ı vuḳūfdan[771] mersūm-ı ṣaḥīfe-i sāmi'a olmağın me'kel ü meşārib-i penc rūze taḥmīl-i dūş-ı cimāl ḳılınmağla deryā-yı rimālde şināya[772] 'azm olundı.

Vaḳı'a 'arḍan[773] beş altı menzil ve[774] ṭūlen yigirmi menzil miḳdārı maḥall-i leb-i Baḥr-i Sepīd'den kenār-ı Baḥr-i[775] Süveys'e varınca biḫte-i ğırbāl-ı teng-çeşm [**P47**] olmış rīg sā'at meṣābesinde rīg-i sefīd güsterde-i[776] dest-i ferrāş-ı ḳudret olup miyānede ṭāḳ-ı gerdūna peyveste kūhlar ki tāziyāne-i taḥrīk-i bād ile mevce-i deryā gibi bī-ḳarār ve[777] dest-ḫūş-ı bāzīçe-i rūzgār olup

Naẓm

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[765] Vaṣf-ı rīg-i bī-āmān-ı rāh-ı Mıṣr: put later in K B
[766] se rūze: ise rūze-i B
[767] 'aṭf: - L B P
[768] ḳılındı: ḳılındı. Vaṣf-ı rīg-i bī-āmān-ı rāh-ı Mıṣr B K
[769] Ṣālīḥiyye-i Mıṣr: Ṣālīḥiyye K
[770] ribāṭ: libās K
[771] vuḳūfdan: vuḳūfda K
[772] şināya: şitāba B P
[773] 'arḍan: - K
[774] ve: - B P
[775] baḥr: - K
[776] güsterde-i: güsterde L
[777] u: - K

Rūzgārī-st[778] ki bā-rīg revān bā-seferem

Mī-revem rāh[779] zi-menzil ḫaberī nīst me-rā

vefḳince dest-i üstād-ı ṣun'la[780] mānend-i ālāt-ı şaṭranc bir sā'at bir ḫānede[781] ārāmı muḥāl ve cünbüş-i çevgān-ı rūzgār ile gūy-ṣıfat bir sāḥada istiḳrārı mün'adimü'l-iḥtimāldür[782].

Naẓm

Bā-derd-i 'aşḳ ṭāḳat ü bī-ṭāḳatī yek-est [**L26a**]

Temkīn-i kūh u kāh der-īncā berāber-est

El-ḥāṣıl ol baḥr-i mevvāc-ı rīg içre ğavṭa-ḫ^{v}ārī-i ıḍṭırāb ile 'azīmet olunduḳda ḳavā'im-i ḫuyūl ḳārūna ḳarīn ve ḫum-ı ḫusrevānī gibi şikemleri zīb-i zemīn olup [**B31b**] ṣafḥa-i[783] rīg üzre āṯār-ı aḳdām-ı metāyā yerine naḳş-ı taḫta-i rükkāb hüveydā. Ve resm-i ḳavā'im-ı cimāle bedel 'aks-i dāğ-ı sīneleri peyda idi. Süvārlar piyādeler[784] şeklinde nümūdār, piyādelerüñ ise[785] ancaḳ 'uḳde-i zānūları āşikār idügi mübālağa vü iğrāḳ degildür.

Evtād-ı ḫıyāma istiḳrār ḥayyız-ı imkāndan dūr olmağın dest-bürd-i tāb-ı āftābdan sāye-i şeb[786] çeşm-i i'tibara sürme-i Sifahani'den ber-ter ve pāy-ı devvāb ḳarār-dāde olacaḳ[787] mertebe zemīn-i saḫt taḫt-ı Süleymānī'den nāzik-ter görinürdi.

Ne ḥāl ise bu güne renc-i rāḥat-fersā ile penc şebāne-rūz üftān u ḫīzān

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[778] rūzgārī-st: rūzgār-est L
[779] rāh: rāh ve K
[780] üstād-ı ṣun'la: ṣun'-ı ezel ile K
[781] şaṭranc bir sā'at bir ḫāṇede: şaṭranc bir ḫānede nīm sā'at ārāmı K
[782] mün'adim: 'adim K
[783] ṣafḥa-i: ṣaḥīfe-i K
[784] piyādeler: piyāde B P
[785] ise: - L
[786] şeb: - K
[787] olacaḳ: idecek K

Mıṣra‘

Idelüm ṭayy-ı beyāban bir içim su diyerek

Naḫlistān-ı ḳaṣaba-i Ṣāliḥiyye **[K23b]** āşyāne-i ṭā'ir-i nigāh olduḳda **Hikāyāt-ı Ferec**[788] **Ba‘de'ş-şidde** ṣaḥīfe-i dilde merḳūm olup[789] sāye-i nihāl-i bālā-keş-i ḫurmāda vaḍ‘-ı[790] ḫıyām-ı ārām olundı[791].

16. ẕikr-i vaṣf-ı zemīn-i ḥarem-i Mıṣr

Evāḫir-i faṣl-ı mihrcān evā'il-i ferverdīn-i Mıṣr olmağın tamām hengām i‘tidāl-ı hevāsına müṣādife olduğından[792] faḍla[793] āb-ı Nīl tamām-ı arāḍī-i sāhire-i[794] ğabrā-yı **Ḳāhire**'yi mestūr-ı dāmen-i himmet itdügi **[P48]** mevsim olmağla girībān-ı Ṣāliḥiyye'den dāmen-i Mıṣr'a varıncaya dek[795] dört beş menzil miḳdārı feḍā libas-ı āb-gūn-ı [796] āyīne-sīmada nā-peydā[797] olup ancak güẕergāh-ı reh-revān içün taḫmīnen dört beş ẕirā‘ ‘arḍında[798] bir rāh-ı mürtefi‘ u müferraḥ[799] ḳalup miyāne-i **[B32a]** āb-ı kevṯer-sīmāda bir menzil-i hadeng miḳdārı maḥalde birer[800] ḳarye-i ḳasaba-nümūn[801] cāy-gīr olup bir rāh-ı bārīk **[L26b]** ile yek-digere ittiṣālī olmağla her çār ḳaryenüñ mābeyni bir ḥavḍ-ı dil-pezīr şeklini iş‘ār idüb[802] sāḥa-i ḳarāda olan her naḫl-ı ser-efrāz

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[788] ferec: el-ferec P
[789] olup: olmağın K
[790] vaḍ‘: ref‘ K
[791] olundı: ḳılındı 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-bedīd L
[798] ‘arḍında: ‘arḍīde L; ‘arḍıyle B K
[799] mürtefi‘ u müferraḥ: müferraḥ-ı mürtefi‘ K
[800] birer: - L
[801] ḳarye-i ḳaṣaba-nümūn: ḳaṣaba-miṯāl ḳarye K
[802] şeklini iş‘ār idüp: ile K

Naẓm

Miyān-ı Nīl'de her naḫl-ı ḫurmā beñzedi gūyā

Şināverlik iden bir dilber-i kākül-i perīşāna

maḍmūnını[803] ifādeye lisān-ı ḥāl olmışdur. Ammā ḫayyāṭ-ı ṣun'-ı Ilāhī zemīn-i dil-nişīn-i Mıṣr'ı gāh libās-ı āb-gūn ve gāh perde-i sebz-reng ile[804] cilveger itmegin, şāhid-i mestāne-reftār-ı[805] Nīl tedrīcle dāmen-keş olduğı maḥallerden āṯār-ı ḳadem-i Ḫıḍr gibi sebze-i birīşem-tār-ı[806] ferş-i zümürrüd-gūn ser-zede olmağa[807] yüz ṭutup miyāne-i Nīl'de ṭuyūr-ı mütenevvi'a ṭayarān u cereyān itdüklerin[808] şikār-ı şāhbāz-ı nigāh iderek her mesāfede bir mevc-i meserret istiḳbāli ve her gāmda bir girih-i dil inḥilālında[809] ṭıfl-ı ser der-hevā-yı dil-āğūş-ı ümmü'd-dünyāda ğunūde-i istirāḥat ḳılındı.

17. ẕikr-i evṣāf-ı māder-i dünyā

Ḫōşā belde-i mu'aẓẓama-i Ḳāhire ki füsḥat-ı dā'ire-i sevādı pergār-ı ḳıyāsı[810] fersūde-ḳadem[811] ve kebūter-i tīz-gām-ı[812] taḫmīni güsiste-dem[813] ider. Sāḥa-i[814] irtifā'-ı ṭabaḳāt-ı pençgāne-i[815] bünyānı bīrūn-ı yārā-yı medd-i baṣar ve küngüre-i süṭūḥ-ı sürādiḳāt-ı eyvānı şikest-āver-i endāze-i naẓardur. Mu'ānaḳa-i 'imārāt-ı ṭāḳ-

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[803] maḍmūnını: maḍmūnı L
[804] ve gāh perde-i sebz-reng ile: gāh sebz ile L; ile perde ve gāh libās-ı perde-i sebz-rengle P
[805] reftār: ḫırām K
[806] birīşem: ibrīşim B K
[807] olmağa: olmağla K
[808] itdüklerin: itdüklerini K
[809] inḥilālında: inḥilāliyle B K
[810] ḳıyāsı: ḳıyās K
[811] fersūde: fersūde-i B
[812] gām: - K
[813] güsiste: ketībe L
[814] sāḥa-i: mesāḥa-i B
[815] pençgāne-i: pençāne-i L; pencgāh K

ber-ṭāḳ-ı[816] ebr-mümāssı südde-i ciger-i felek ve[817] [**K24a**] müzāḥeme-i minārāt-ı [**B32b**] revāḳ-ber-revāḳ-ı engüşt-nümāsı māni'-i cünbüş-i bāl-i [818] melekdür. Reşk-i keşret-i ḳıbāb-ı encüm-ḥesābı ḫarāb-sāz-ı ḫāndān-ı ḥabāb ve māhçe-i zer-endūde-i minārāt-ı rafī'ası ṭabanca-zen-i ṣūret-i āftābdur. Durūb-ı nezāhet-i maṣḥūbı[819] cedāvil-i saḥā'if-i devāvīn[820] gibi pehn ü rāst u neseḳ; ārāyiş-i dekākīn ü esvāḳı[821] niẓām-ı [**P49**] pervīn gibi bī-kem-kāsdur[822]. Sāye-i meẓalle-i bünyānında mecmū'-ı ṭuruḳ u esvāḳı dest-bürd-i pençe-i āftābdan āsūde [**L27a**] ve ser-cümle 'uyūn-ı eyvānı[823] āğūş-ı dāye-i ṣafā-per-ver-i ṭāḳ-ı sāye-güsterde ğunude[824]. Her ḫāne-i[825] ṣad-beyti bir devlet-seray-ı 'ālī ve her derīçesi münaḳḳaş kemer ile bir 'arūs-ı la'übālī. Her ḫānenüñ[826] ṣaḥīfe-i dīvārı pür-naḳş u nigar olmağla bi'l-cümle ṭarafeyn-i ṭuruḳı[827] her dem bahār olmışdur. Gūyā her ḳaṣrı leṭāfet ile bir ḳaṣr-ı Yūsuf ve[828] naḳş u nigār ile ḫalvet-ḫāne-i Zelīḫa'dur. Ğalebe-i ziḥām-ı sükkānı bir rütbededür ki aḳāṣī-i ḥavālī-i şehrde ğāyet-i tenhāyi[829] ile muttaṣıf olan güşelerinde[830] bile ḳaṭarat-ı[831] bārān ziḥām-ı ecsāmdan rū-yı zemīne ḥasret-keşīdedür.

Keşret-i mecāmi'[832] ü mesācid bir mertebededür ki bir ḳāṣıd-ı çāpuk-ḫīz eyyām-ı ḥayāt-ı yek-sālesin vaḳf-ı devr-i mecāmi'[833] eylese yine ṭayy-ı ṭavāmīr-ḥesābı

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[816] ṭāḳ-ber-ṭāḳ: ṭāḳ-ı P
[817] ve: - L
[818] bāl-ı: bāl u K
[819] maṣḥūbı: maẓmūnı B
[820] devāvīn: devāyīn B
[821] esvāḳı: esvāḳ B
[822] kem-kāsdur: kem ü kās B L; kem-kās: K
[823] eyvānı: ebvābı B
[824] ğunūde: ğunūdedür P
[825] ḫāne-i: ḫāne L
[826] ḫānenüñ: ḫāne K
[827] ṭuruḳı: ṭurafı P B
[828] ve: - B
[829] tenhāyī: tenhā K
[830] güşelerinde: güşesinde K
[831] ḳaṭarāt: ḳaṭre-i L
[832] mecāmi': cevāmi' B K
[833] mecāmi': mesācid ü cāmi' B; mecāmi' u mesācid P

merhūn-ı derece-i istiḥāledür. Ḥattā ḳalem-gīr-i ṣaḥīfe-i taḥrīr bālā-yı ḳal'ada [**B33a**] sevād-ı Mıṣr'uñ ekṣer ḥavālīsi muḥāṭ-ı[834] silsile-i enẓār olacaḳ maḥalde istikṣāf-ı kemmiyet-i i'dād-ı menār[835] içün taḥrīk-i[836] ser-engüşt-i nigāh eyledükde[837] ğāyet-i irtifā'la nümūdār olan menāruñ[838] şümārı derece-i hezārı güẕār itdüginden[839] mā'ada[840] ḳuṣūr-ı ḳāmet ve bu'd-ı mesāfe ile mütevārī-i perde-i ḫafā olanlaruñ ḥesābı mestūr-ı perde-i ibhām olmışdur[841] . Sevād-ı şehrden ḫāric arāḍī-i ḫāliyede olan cevāmi'-i bī-cemā'atūñ ḥesābı muḥāṭ-ı 'ilm-i Ilāhīdür.

Sevād-ı ḫōş-naḳş-ı Ḳāhire[842] ḳalem-rev-i Çerākise vü Ekrād olduğı eyyāmda birbiriyle hem-çeşm-i reşk ü ḥased olup kendi etbā'ı aḫerüñ cāmi'inde hem-zānū-yı ṣaff-ı ṣalāt olması münāfi-i ḳā'ide-i ḥamiyyet olmaḳ i'tiḳādıyle hemsāye-i[843] dīvār-be-dīvār[844] şeklinde cevāmi' binā idüp [**K24b**] yekdigere teşābühden teḥāşi vechi üzre[845] libās-ı aḫerde cilveger itmişlerdür. Ḥattā[846] ba'ḍı mevāḍi'de bir merd-i çālāk mināreden mināreye pertāb idecek [**L27b**] mertebeye taḳrīb itmişlerdür. Medāḫil ü meḫāric-i ṣaḥn-ı[847] sāḥalarında [**P50**] ve ḥīṭān u[848] cidārlarında[849] olan nuḳūş-ı ruḫāmiye-i ḫurde-kārı pāy-ı enẓāra zencīr-i ḥayret olmışlardur.

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[834] muḥāṭ-ı: muḥāṭa-i P
[835] menār: minārāt P
[836] taḥrīk: taḥrīr L
[837] eyledükde: eyledügümde P
[838] menaruñ: minārātuñ P
[839] itdüginden: itdükden B; eyledükden K
[840] mā'ada: şoñra K
[841] olmışdur: ḳalmışdur K
[842] Ḳāhire: - P
[843] hemsāye-i: hemsāye L P
[844] be: ber K
[845] vech-i üzre: - K
[846] ḥattā: daḫi K
[847] ṣaḥn: ṣaḥn u K
[848] u: - K
[849] cidārlarında: cüdrānlarında P K

Cümlenüñ eşheri Cāmi'-i Ezher'dür ki vasaṭ-ı cesed-i ümmü'd-dünyāda menzile-gīr-i ḳalb-i vesī' olup şām u seḥer niçe biñ bālā-nişīnān[850] ser-ḫ^{v}ān-ı taḥḳīḳ u taḳrīr ve ḥalḳa-güzīnān istifāde-i ḥadīṯ ü tefsīre [**B33b**] maḳarr olmadan[851] ḫālī degildür.

Birisi daḫi Cāmi'-i Sulṭān Ğavrī'dür ki şemse-i zer-endūde-i[852] tāvānı vāsıṭa-i keder-güẕer-i[853] ḍamīr-i mihr-i enver ve üstüvāne-i ser-be-gerdūnı ḳanādil-i nücūma müstaḳarrdur.

Birisi daḫi Cāmi'-i Tūlūn'dur ki ṭūlen ve 'arḍan mesāḥa-i sāḥa-i Beytü'l-ḥarām[854] üzre binā olunup

Naẓm

Başından āteşi eksük degil olup[855] pā-māl
Mināre gibi olan kec-derūn u[856] rāst-nümā

ḳavlince derūn-ı minārede olan i'vicācdan rū-gerdān olup

Naẓm

Egerçi naḫl-i ḫurmā-veş degilse ẓāhirüm hemvār
'Aṣā-yı Mūsevī-veş bāṭınumda istiḳāmet var

maḍmūnı ṣaḥīfe-i müteḫayyile-i bānīsinde nümāyān olmağın ḫilāf-ı resm-i ma'hūd[857] derecāt-ı mirḳāt-ı mināresi müntehā-yı şürefāta varınca ḳāmet-i nihāli der-āğūş iden tañ-ṣıfat ẓāhirinden pīçīde olmışdur.

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[850] -nişīnān: -nişīn 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 güne uḥdūşe-i engüşt-nümānuñ menşe'i budur ki güzeşte-i cerīde-i[858] zikr olan Sulṭān[859] Ṭālūn ol[860] cāmi'-i vālānuñ bināsına i'māl-ı mi'mār-ı[861] himmet itdügi eyyāmda bir gün bir şaḥṣuñ merfū'-ı pāye-i serīr itdügi 'arḍ-ı ḥālin[862] bāzīçe-i dest-i endīşe-i ṭıflāne iderek ser-i engüştine piçide idüp ol varaḳ-pārede bi-hasbi'l-'āde bir hey'et-i maḥrūtī nümāyān olduğı ḥālde raḳde-i efkārdan bīdār olmağın ol maḳūle meşğale-i lu'bet 'ārıḍa-i vaḳār-ı salṭanat olmaḳ mülāḥaẓası meşhūd-ı sebbābe-i nabḍ-ı āşnā-yı idrāki **[B34a]** olmağla dāmen-i temkīn-i **[L28a]** mülūkānesinden izāle-i ğubār-ı ḫıffet fikrine düşüp nesīm-i cihān-gerd-i ḫired ile ḫalvet-ḫāne-i sīnesinde **[K25a]** 'aḳd-i encümen-i[863] meşveret itmegin ol maḥalde mi'mār-ı cāmi'i ihḍār idüp 'Ḥālā [864] ser-efrāḫte-i sāḥa-i **[P51]** ẓuhūr olacaḳ cāmi'[865] minaresinüñ[866] bu resm üzre metā'-ı derecātı bāfte-i[867] minvāl-ı muṣavverüm[868] olmağın bu kār-nāme-i[869] maṣnū'a üzre rīḫte-i ḳālıb-ı istiḥkām olmaḳ maḳṣūdumdur' diyü dest-i mi'māra teslīm itmekle dīde-i nuẓẓārı ḥalḳa-i derīçe-i iğfāl itmek tekellüfātına düşdügi zebān-güzār-ı tevārīḫ-şināsān-ı veḳāyi'-i Mıṣrıyyedür.

Birisi daḫi Rūm ili meydānında Cāmi'-i Sulṭān Ḥasan'dur ki zīr-i künbed-i fīrūze-fāmda naẓīri cilveger-i sāḥa-i in'idām idügi ḳarār-dāde-i ḫavāṣṣ u 'avāmdur[870]. Zīrā esās-efgen-i istiḥkām-ı 'imāret[871] olan sulṭān-ı bülend-himmet, 'alā-vechi'l-iltizām,

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[858] cerīde-i: ḫarīde-i L
[859] sulṭān: - L P
[860] ol: - K
[861] mi'mār: - L
[862] ḥālin: ḥālini B K
[863] encümen: encüm P
[864] Ḥāla: Ḥāla eşer P
[865] cāmi': cāmi'üñ P
[866] minaresinüñ: mināresi P
[867] pāfte-i: yāfte-i B; bāfte L
[868] muṣavverüm: taṣavvurum B K
[869] kār-nāme-i: kār-ḫāne-i B
[870] ḫavāṣṣ u 'avamdur: ḫaṣṣ u 'āmdur K
[871] 'imāret: imāreti P

endāze-i ṭāḳ-ı Kisrā ihḍārından ṣoñra altı ẕirā‘ daḫi terakḳī ile birbirine muḳābil çār ṭāḳ üzre bāzū-zede-i istihkām itmişdür.

Bānī-i mebāni-i[872] beyān olan Nābī-i nā-tüvān ṣufūf-ı aḥcār-ı dīvārın şümāra[873] iḳāmet-i[874] süllem-i enẓār[875] eyledükde mertebe-i münteṣıfına irtiḳā' idinceye dek heştād ṣaff[876] güẕer idüp nıṣf-ı a'lāsınuñ teşḫīṣ-i fevāṣılından sebbābe-i bāṣıra iẓhār-ı 'acz itmegin nıṣf-ı esfeline muḳāyese vechi üzre iktifā' olundı. 'Dest-i irtifā'ı külāh-efgen-i temāşā'iyāndur' **[B34b]** diyü zebān-zed-i enām[877] olan ta'bīr-i[878] meşhūr bu cāmi'-i vālānuñ nıṣfı[879] mertebesinde cilveger-i ẓuhūrdur[880].

Birisi daḫi[881] fātiḥ-i burḳu'-ı ümmü'd-dünyā 'Amr[v] bin 'Āṣ raḍiye'llāhü 'anhuñ Mıṣr-ı 'Atīḳ'de āṣār-ı himmet-i 'ulyāları[882] olan cāmi'-i refi'u'l-i'tibārdur ki hezār yek sütūn-ı ruḫām[883] üzre pā-ber-cāy-ı sāḥa-i istiḥkām olup yemīn ü yesār-ı miḥrābında **[L28b]** iki muṣḥaf-ı şerīf nihāde-i raḥle-i ta'ẓīm ḳılınmışdur ki[884] biri çekīde-i ḫāme-i 'anber-feşān ḥaḍret 'Oṣmān birisi[885] nemīḳa-i ḳalem-i gevher-bār-ı [886] Ḥaydar-ı Kerrār raḍiye'llāhü 'anhümādur[887].

Ve sevād-ı beden-i ümmü'd-dünyada iki dīde-i binā menzilesinde iki birke-i laṭīfe[888] biri Birke-i Fīl ve biri Birke-i Özbekiyye ile[889] nām-yāfte-i elsine-i enām[890] olmışdur.

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[872] mebānī-i: mebānī K
[873] şümāre B; şümāra-i L; şümārda K
[874] iḳāmet: ḳāmet L
[875] enẓār: enẓāra B; naẓar K
[876] ṣaff: ṣıfat B
[877] enām: - K
[878] ta'bīr: ta'yīn B
[879] nısfı: nısf B
[880] mertebesinde cilveger-i ẓuhūrdur: mertebesindedür K
[881] birisi: birisi daḫi P
[882] 'ulyāları: 'aliyyeleri K
[883] ruḫām: - K
[884] ki: - K
[885] daḫi: - K
[886] bār: - bār ḥaḍret P
[887] 'anhümādur: raḍiye'llāhü 'anhümā L
[888] laṭīfe: laṭīfe vardur ki P
[889] ile: - B

Her biri taḳrīben ṭūlen[891] ve 'arḍan iki mīl [**P52**] miḳdārı şekl-i müstedīr ile cāy-gīr [**K25b**] olup beş ṭabaḳa[892] dūr u ḳuṣūr-ı[893] bī-ḳuṣūr iḥāṭa idüp revzenleri verā-yı çin-gīsū-yı eşcār ve girih-i zülf-i pīç-der-pīç-i serv-i[894] hevādārdan[895] āyīne-i āba[896] çeşm-küşā-yı temāşā olmışlardur[897]. Murabba'-nişīnān-ı sevāḥil-i āb dā'ire-i zevrāḳaya hevā-yı ṣabāda ḍarb-ı enāmil-i miḳẕāf iderek uṣūl-i devriyle seyr-i maḳāmāt itmeleri muḥayyir-sāz-ı çenber-i evc-i gerdūndur. Ammā bu iki birke-i matbū'a cūşiş-i iḥsān-ı Nīl'den ḥiṣṣe-yāb olmalarıyle şeş māh miḳdārı gencīneleri pürdür ve şeş māh miḳdārı[898] pür-ẕümürrüd [**B35a**] olmağın ḥavāle-nişīn olanlar[899] gāh sīrāb ile şifā-yāb-ı 'illet-i sevdā ve gāh müşāhede-i sebze-i ẕümürrüd-fāmla[900] gūr-sāz-ı ef'ā-i ālām-ı dünyā olmadadurlar.

Cūybār-ı Nīl-i mübārek cedvel-i nīl-gūn gibi sevād-ı mecmū'a-i Mışr'uñ kenār-ı ğarbīsine keşīde olup sāḥil-i şarḳīde ḳadem-nihāde-i 'arş-ı berīn cenāb-ı sulṭānü'l-mürselīn, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem[901], ḥaḍretlerinüñ iki naḳş-ı pay-ı melekūt-peymāları ki[902] bir seng-i mübārek ṣaḥīfesi üzre iki dide-i binā gibi cilveger olup eṭrāfına niçe kāḫ-ı dil-ārā ve bir cāmi'-i bī-hemtā binā olunup Ḳadem-i Nebī nāmıyle şöhret-yāb-ı 'arṣa-i rūzgārdur.

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[890] ile nām-yāfte-i elsine-i enām: nāmıyle elsine-i avāmda şöhret-yāb K
[891] ṭūlen: - K
[892] ṭabaḳa: ṭabaḳa-i P
[893] ḳuṣūr: - B; ḳuṣūr ile K
[894] serv: server P
[895] hevādārdan: hevādan P
[896] āba: aya P
[897] olmışlardur: olmışdur K
[898] miḳdārı: - P
[899] ḥavāle-nişīn olanlar: ḥavālī-nişīnān K
[900] -fāmla: -fām ile B; -fāmıyle P
[901] mürselīn ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem: mürselīn L P; mürselīn 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām K
[902] ki: - L P

Evvelā leb-i Nīl ol maḳām-ı mübārek dāmenin būs idüb, ba'de ma'mūre-i Mıṣr-ı 'atīḳ pīşgāhında[903] icrā-yı merāsim-i rūy-māl iderek [**L29a**] mürūrdan ṣoñra nüsḫa-i heşt bihiştden yek varaḳ şeklinde pīrāye-baḫş-ı maḥāfil-i ḥūr-ı 'ayn olan Ḳaṣr-ı 'Ayn nām mesīre-i dil-küşā sāyesinde kef-zenān-ı iltićā ve ba'de **Bolāḳ** ḳaṣabasında **Sebtiyye** nām mesīre-i cennet-firīb temāşāsından iktisāb-ı ṣafā iderek sevād-ı **Iskenderiyye** ve[904] **Dimyāṭ**[905] ve **Reşīd**'e varınca ikiye münḳaṣım olmağın siper-i müstedīr-i Baḥr-i Sepīd'e ḥavāle-i resm-i ẕü'l-fikār eylemişdür[906].

Mıṣr-ı 'Atīḳ muḳābilinde **Cīze**[907] ve **Īnbābā** [Imbaba] nām iki ḳaṣaba-i maṭbū'a kenāre-gīr-i[908] cū-yı Nīl olmağın şām u seḥer hezār sefā'in-i ṣarṣar-şitāb bādban-küşā-yı iyāb [**P53**] u ẕihāb olmadadur.

[**B35b**] Miyānede bir cezīre-i nāzende-sīmāyı āb-ı Nīl kemer-i sīmīn gibi iḥāṭa itmegin bun-ı ābda püşt-i māhiye zaḫm-resān olacaḳ [**K26a**] esās-ı müsteḥīlü'l-indirās üzre sengīn-ṭāḳlar binā olunup bālāsında beş ṭabaḳa üzre mu'allā kāḫlar vāsıṭa-i kelef-i 'ārıḍ-ı māh olmışdur. Ol binānuñ ṭabaḳa-i süflīsinde memerr-i ābda bir[909] genc-i pinhān gibi bir ḥavḍ-ı ruḫāmiye-i murabba'u'l-aḍlā'[910] iḫtirā' olunup vasaṭında ruḫāmdan[911] çār güşe bir sütūn-ı mevzūn mānende-i[912] noḳṭa-i nūn müstaḳarr olup irtifā'-ı Nīl'e derecāt-ı süllem-i irtiḳā' olmaḳ üzre işāret olunan ḫuṭūṭ-ı hesāb-ı eṣābi'[913] girībān-ı lepāçe-i istiḳāmetinde çeb u rāst[914] şeklin gösterüp

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[903] 'atīḳ pīşgāhında: 'atīḳde K
[904] Iskenderiyye ve: - L
[905] ve Dimyāṭ: - K B
[906] eylemişdür: itmişdür K
[907] Cīze: Cīzāh K; Cizze B
[908] -gīr: kūy B
[909] bir: - K
[910] aḍlā': aẓlāḥ B
[911] ruḫāmdan: - B
[912] manende-i: mānend P K
[913] eṣābi': - K
[914] çep u rāst: çep-rāst L P

Naẓm

Muntaẓırken müjde-i in'āmına ser-cümle nās

Niçe bir barmaḳ ḥesābın gösterür ümmü'l-ḳıyās

şöhretiyle müşāru[915] bi'l-benān olmışdur. Kelime-i ümmü'l-ḳıyās ğalaṭ-ı meşhūr-ı elsine-i 'avām olmağla

Naẓm

Dem-be-dem ğarḳa-i seylāb-ı sirişk oldı tenüm

Döndi Nīl içre key-i miḳyāsa ğamuñdan bedenüm

me'ālin beyāna lisān-ı ḥāl olmışdur.

Verā-yı Nīl'de iki sā'at miḳdārı mesāfede kemāl-i irtifā' ü istiḥkāmla ser-efrāẖte-i evc-i iştihār olan [**L29b**] cibāl-ı aḥrām tecāvüz-kerde-i 'aded-i sülüsīn ve erba'īndür. Ammā ikisi birbirine ḳarīb dū pistān-ı ümmü'd-dünyā menzilesinde çār rükn-i maẖrūṭiyyü'ş-şekl ile be-dīdār olup her cānibi çār ṣad ẕirā' ve irtifā'ı daẖi çār ṣad ẕirā' olmaḳ [**B36a**] üzere[916] hey'āt-ı ğarībe ile murabba'-nişīn-i esās-ı temkīn idügi tūde-i rāh-ı nigāh-ı ḥayretdür.

Ve Mıṣr'uñ cānib-i şarḳīsinde olan ḳaṣabāt u 'imārātuñ şümārı ẖāric-i ḥavṣala-i erḳāmdur. Lākin[917] aḥsen ü eşheri vāsıṭatü'l-'aḳd-i silsile-i selāṭīn-i Çerākise olan Sulṭān Ḳaytbāy merḥūmuñ[918] 'imārāt-ı ḥavālī-i mezār-ı feyḍ-bārlarıdur ki yine bir seng-i mübārek üzre iki naḳş-ı ḳadem-i seyyidü'l-'ālem, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā[919] 'aleyhi ve sellem, gevher-i tāc-ı iftiẖār-ı mezārlarıdur.

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[915] müṣār: müṣārun ileyh L
[916] olmaḳ üzere: - L P
[917] lākin: velākin K; - L
[918] Ḳaytbāy merḥūmuñ: Ḳaytbā'nuñ P B
[919] te'ālā: - L B

Pādişāh-ı sālifü'ẕ-ẕikr ḥarem-i bihişt-tev'em-i nebevī ve Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere-i Muṣṭafavī **[P54]**, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā[920] 'aleyhi ve sellem, bināsına ṣarf-ı gencīne-i[921] himmet itdükden ṣoñra bir şeb āteş-i muḥabbet-i faḫr-i kā'ināt ile dīk-i pür-ḫūn-ı derūnı ğaleyān ve ṣu'ūd-ı buḫār-ı ḥasretiyle[922] serpūş-ı perde-i züccācī-i[923] dīdesinden ḳaṭarāt-ı eşk-i lāle-gūn meyl-i āğūş-ı dāmān iderek raḳde-i ḫafīfe[924] mihmān-ı ribāṭ-ı **[K26b]** ecfānı olıcaḳ dārü'l-'aṭā-yı 'ālem-i miṣālde resm-i ḳadem-i şerīf-i nebevī nuḳra-i eşk-i ḫulūṣ-āmīzine bedel i'ṭā ve vedī'a-i ṣandūḳa-i emānet olan maḥalli ta'yīn ü īmā buyurmağla ol pādişāh-ı kām-yāb kendi ḥayātında tavṭīn-i[925] cism-i fenā-pezīri[926] içün maḥfūr-ı tīşe-i intibāh itdügi medfene levḥ-i sīne idinüp leẕẕet-çeş-i[927] ḫ^{v}ān-ı 'amīmü'n-nevāl-i memāt olduḳdan ṣoñra şem'-i mezār eylemişler idi.

Firdevs-mesned merḥūm Sulṭān Aḥmed zīnet-baḫş-ı[928] serīr-i salṭanat olduḳlarında anlar daḫi hevā-dār-ı pā-būs-ı sulṭān-ı **[B36b]** risālet, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem[929], **[L30a]** olmalarıyle ol ḳadem-i şerīfi istiḥḍāra iḳdām itmegin[930] bi-emr-i Ḫālıḳ-ı bī-çūn mizāc-ı rūzgāra sükūn ṭārī olup ol gevher-i 'ālem-tāb-ı gerān-bahāya gencine olan sefine zevrāḳ-ı māh-ı münīr-i heft pāre tehī vü pür oluncaya dek[931] sāḥil-i Ḳonsṭanṭıniyye'ye bādbān-ı çīn vüṣūl olduḳda dāver-i mağfūr kemāl-i şevḳe[932] binā'en

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[920] te'ālā: - K B
[921] gencīne-i: gencīne L
[922] ḥasretiyle: meserret ile B
[923] züccācī-i: züccācī B
[924] ḫafīfe: ḫafīfe-i L
[925] tavṭīn: tavaṭṭun B
[926] pezīri: pezīr K
[927] -çeş: -çeşn L B
[928] zīnet: - zīb L B
[929] ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātu ve's-selām K
[930] itmegin: itdüklerinde K
[931] dek: degin K
[932] şevḳe: şevḳine P

Naẓm

Bülbüllere virdi müjde-i[933] muḳaddem-i gül

Ḫōş geldi ḳadem getürdü gülzāra ṣabā

terānesiyle ol seng-i mübāreki bağrına basup midād-ı eşk ve ḫāme-i müjgānıyle

Nazm[934]

N'ola cānum gibi başumda götürsem dā'im

Ḳademi resmidür ol[935] ḥaḍret-i şāh-ı rusulüñ

Gül-i gülzār-ı nübüvvet o[936] ḳadem ṣāhibidür

Aḥmedā ṭurma yüzüñ sür ḳademine ol gülüñ

manḍūmesin 'ıḳd-ı mervārīd gibi niṯār-ı şükrāne-i ḳudūm itdükden ṣoñra ol resm-i hümā-yı sa'ādet içün āmāde olan ḳafes-i sīmīn içre mekīn ve[937] bāzū-yı ṭāḳ-ı ḫāne-i ḫāṣṣayı ol gevher-i nūr-baḫşā ile tezyīn itmegin şebāngāh-ı revzene-i çeşm-i 'ālem-binleri mestūr-ı ğışāve-i ḥ[v]āb olduḳda kār-fermāyān-ı 'ālem-i ma'nādan 'Yā Aḥmed, [P55] dīvān-ḫāne-i ḳısmet-i ezeliyyede ta'yīn olunan ḥıṣṣe-i āḫire iṭāle-i dest-i ṭaleb münāfī-i ḳā'ide-i tevekkül degil midür?'

Naẓm

Be-şinev īn nükte ki dil-rā zi-ğam āzāde künī

Ḫūn-ḫōrī ger[938] ṭaleb-i rūzī-i[939] ne-nihāde künī

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[933] müjde-i: müjde P B K
[934] Naẓm: *Ḳıt'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

maḍmūnı ile maẓḥar-ı serzeniş olmalarıyle ṣubḥ-dem yine bir sefîneye[940] [**B37a**] ḥamā'il-kerden ḳılınup cānib-i Mıṣr'a i'āde olunduḳda bu kez levḥa-i mihr-i münîr yedi def'a gerden-i 'arūs-ı nīlî burḳu'-ı gerdūna āvīzān olduğı müddetde sāḥil-i Mıṣr'a lenger-endāz-ı istiḳrār ve yine ser-i[941] mezār-ı [**K27a**] Ḳaytbāy'a ṣa'ṣa'a-bār olduğı meslūk-ı ḳadem-i ḳalem-i aṣḥāb-ı āṯārdur.

Egerçi medîne-i Ḳāhire'de meşāhid-i meşāhīr-i kibār bī-gāne-i ḥadd ü şümārdur.[942] Ammā eşheri zānū-zedegān-ı ḥalḳa-i encümen-i [**L30b**] aṣḥāb raḍiye'llāhü[943] 'anhümden ḥaḍret-i 'Uḳbe'dür ki ḳubbe-i mezār-ı lāmi'u'l-envārı dībāce-i ṣaḥîfe-i Ḳarafe-i Kübrā'dur. Aña müteḳārib rükn-i vāḥid-i erkān-ı erba'a-i meẕāhib[944] Imām Şāfi'i, 'aleyhi'r-raḥme, ḥaḍretlerinüñ cevāhir-i gerān-ḳadr-ı ceseḍ-i laṭîfleri ṣandūḳa-i sebz-pūş[945] ile bir ḳubbe-i āsmān-sāy sāyesinde muḳīm olup cenāb-ı seyyidü'ṯ-ṯaḳaleyn, ṣalle'llāhü[946] 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretleri ol ḳubbe-i mu'allaya teşrîf-baḫş-ı ḳādime-i āsmān-mesīr[947] olduḳları[948] meşhūd-ı [949] erbāb-ı baṣā'ir olmağın dîvār-ı ğarbîde mevrid-i sa'ādet-eṯerleri bir perde-i zer-tār ile iş'ār olunmışdur.

Ve fāris-i meydān-ı velāyet 'Ömer bin Fāriḍ, ḳuddise sırrahü'l-'azīz, ḥaḍretlerinüñ[950] daḫi[951] ḫ^{v}ābgāh-ı feyḍ-penāhları ser-saṭr-ı cerîde-i ḫamūşān-ı **Ḳarafe-i Kübrā**'dur. Ve gül-i gülşen-ṭırāz-ı velāyet Şeyḫ Ibrāhīm-i Gülşenī ḥaḍretlerinüñ daḫi ḳıt'a-i

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[940] sefîneye: sefîne-i K
[941] ser: - K
[942] şümārdur: şümār L
[943] raḍiye'llāhü: raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā K
[944] meẕāhib: - P
[945] -pūş: - K
[946] ṣalle'llāhü: ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā P
[947] āsmān-mesīr: - K
[948] olduḳları: buyurduḳları K
[949] meşhūd: meşhūd-ı aṣḥāb B P
[950] ḥaḍretlerinüñ: - K
[951] Fāriḍ, ḳuddise sırrahü'l-'azīz, ḥaḍretlerinüñ daḫi: Fāriḍ ḥaḍretleri, ḳuddise sırrahü'l-'azīz, L

çemenzār-ı [**B37b**] bihişt olan merḳad-ı mü'eyyedleri cilve-sāz-ı sīne-i[952] sevād-ı Ḳāhire olmışdur.

Mā-ḥaṣal taḥrīr-i evṣāf-ı mevāḍi'-i ġarbiyye ve emākin-i 'acībe-i Ḳāhire bīrūn-ı yārā-yı ḥavṣala-i ḳalem olmağın cānib-i ṣaḥrā-yı merāma taḥrīḳ-i licām olundı. Kālā-yı siyeh-fām-ı[953] ẓalām kisve-i ḳāmet-i şām olmağiçün dāmen-i [**P56**] bedr-i Şevvāl şeb-be-şeb būrīde-i[954] miḳrāḍ-ı naḳḍ olmağa şürū' eyledükde bālā-yı şāhid-i Beyt-i Ilāhī içün bāfte-i kārgāh-ı yek-sāle olan kisve-i şerīfe-i 'anberīn-tār ġulġule-i ez̲kār-ı meşāyiḫ̲-i bī-şümār ile vālī-i Mıṣr pīşgāhından güz̲ār ve medfen-i re's-i pür-nūr ḥaḍret-i Ḥüseyn ibn[955] 'Aliyyü'l-mürteḍā raḍiye'llāhü 'anhümāda çend rūze vedī'a-i vaḳfe-i istiḳrār eylediler.

18. Bīrūn-reften-i maḥfil-i Mıṣriyān

'Alem-i 'ālem-tāb-ı ḳamer-i münevver şuḳḳa-i sīm-gūn-ı muraṣṣa' -ṭırāz 'ışrīne küşād virdükde dārü'l-ḥikem-i memleket-i Ḳāhire'den[956] ḫāric-i Bābu'n-naṣr'da[957] ḳaṣaba-i '**Ādiliyye'ye** varınca [**L31a**] üc sā'at mesāfenüñ ṭarafeyn-i reh-güz̲ārında vāḳi' durūb u eyvān u[958] dekākīn u meyādīn ve [**K27b**] ṭabaḳāt-ı büyūt u ḳuṣūr bi'l-cümle sükkān-ı Mıṣr ile nümūne-i ṣaḥīfe-i dīvān-ı eş'ār olup[959] ġalebe-i müzāheme-i nüfūs-ı insān cem'iyyet-i ma'şer-i maḥşere perde-keş-i nisyān olmaḳ ṣūretlerin nümāyān eyledi. Ecsām-ı enām ġarḳa-i emvāc-ı ziḥām olup birbiri[960] fevḳinde ancaḳ devā'ir-i vücūh u a'mām be-dīdār olmış idi.

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[952] sīne-i: - K
[953] siyeh-fām: sīne-fām B P
[954] būrīde-i: būrīde B
[955] ibn: bin P
[956] Ḳāhire'den: Ḳāhiriyye'den L
[957] bābü'n-naṣr'da: - K
[958] eyvān u: ebvāb B K
[959] olup: olunup K
[960] birbiri: biri biri B K

Her ne ṭarafa [**B38a**] imrār-ı naẓar[961] olunsa yeksere leb ü rū vü[962] çeşm ü ebrū müşāhede olunup gūyā Nessāc-ı kārgāh-ı ṣun‘ ṭarafeyn-i reh-güẕāra naḳş-ı beşere-i insāniyye ile müzeyyen birer perde-i[963] müṣavver āvīḫte idüp ol mertebe cilve-i ‘alem ṣūret-i manẓūr-ı dide-i ‘ibret-bīn olmamış idi. ẕirve-i rü’ūs-ı sevābıḳ sütūn-ı zenḫ-i levāḥıḳ ve ṣudūr-ı levāḥıḳ bāliş-i ektāf-ı sevābıḳ olup ḫuṭūṭ-ı nevāṣī-i esāfil çep-rāst-i[964] sīne-i e‘ālī[965] ve erḳām-ı[966] zīr-i leb-i e‘ālī ḫaṭṭ-ı pişānī-i esāfil olmışidi.

Bu ḥālet ile herkes dide-küşā-yı[967] rāh-ı temāşā iken bi’l-cümle mevācib-ḫ^{v}ārān-ı dīvān ve meşāyiḫ-i celīlü’l-‘ünvān ğulğule-i ezkār ile mesāmi‘-i nāsı derīçe-i ḫānḳāh-ı ḥaḳīḳat[968] iderek maḥfil-i şerīfi zīver-i dūş-ı ta‘ẓīm idüp muḫayyem-i ḥuccāca īṣāl eylediler.

19. Refteн-i ḥāciyān be-Birke-i Ḥacc-ı şerīf[969]

[**P57**] Ol günden ṣoñra ceres-i mihr-i münīr beş def‘a āvīḫte-i gerden-i cemmāze-i eyyām olduḳda[970] bi’l-cümle āmādegān-ı rāh-ı beyt-i Ḫudā [971] dūş-ı cimāle taḥmīl-i eṣḳāl idüp māye-dārān-ı ḳuvvet-ı māliyye olanlar mesned-nişīn-i ḥuḍūr olmağiçün vaḳf-ı zelzele-i bī-infiṣāl ve meşrūṭa-i ra‘şe-i bi’l-ittiṣāl, ḳafes-i ṭā’ir-i Ḥicāz, ḫalvet-ḫāne-i sālik-i rāh-ı dırāz, beyt-i çār fıḳra-i baḥr-i remel, serīr-i çār[972] pāye-i dūş-ı cemel, [**L31b**] ḥabāb-ı ‘ummān-ı beyābān, ya‘nī ḫāne-i pā-der-hevā-yı taḫt-ı revānda

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[961] naẓar: - B
[962] rū vü: rū-yı K
[963] perde-i: perde L
[964] çep-rāst: çīrast P K ; çep B
[965] e‘ālī: e‘ālī-i B
[966] erkām: erkāmı P
[967] dide: dide-i K
[968] haḳīḳat: ḥayret K
[969] şerīf: - P B K
[970] āvīḫte-i gerden-i cemmāze-i eyyām olduḳda: āvīḫte olup B
[971] Ḫudā: Ḫudā daḫi K
[972] çār: çehār B P

güşe-nişin-i istirāḥat[973] olup niçeler daḫi dū ṣuffe-i müteḳābile-i miḥaffede[974] bādām-ı dū mağz-ı ṣūretin [**B38b**] gösterüp Birketü'l-ḥacc[975] ta'bīr olunan ğadīr-i pākīze-ẓamīr kenārında ārām-gīr-i sāye-i[976] ḫıyām oldılar.

Iki gün ol feḍāda itmām-ı ḳuṣūr-ı mehām içün ārām olunmaḳ mersūm-ı cerīde-i i'tiyād olduğına[977] binā'en künbed-i firūze-fām-ı gerdūna ğışāve-i 'anberīn ta'līḳ olunduğı dem a'yān-ı[978] ḥuccācuñ pişgāh-ı ḫıyāmında işāre ta'bīr olunur [**K28a**] birer sütūn üzre ḳanādīl-i bī-şümār ile ṣūret-i 'ıḳd-ı süreyyā fürūzān olup reh-revān-ı Beytü'llāh'uñ merāsim-i rukūb u nüzūli muğāyir-i esfār-ı sā'ire olmağın ekseriyyā ḥareketleri[979] ṭabl-ı zerrīn-i āftāb-ı zīver zīr-i[980] na'l-ı[981] fey'-i zevāl olduğı vāḳitlere teṣādüf itmekle hengām-ı nüzūlleri daḫi ḳāfile-i ṣubḥdan muḳaddem vāḳi' olmağın şebgerdān-ı gümkerde-i[982] rāh[983] delālet-i nücūm ile reh-bürde-i[984] menzil-i maḳṣūd olduğı gibi herkes semūt-ı[985] ḫıyāmın isti'lām içün '**el-'ārifü yekfīhi'l-işāret**' diyerek her işārenüñ[986] naḳşı nuḳūş-ı sā'ireden mümtāz olmaḳ üzere tertīb olunup gūyā şeb-i rūzede bir ma'mūre-i 'aẓīmü's-sevāduñ rü'ūs-ı şürefāt-ı minārātı ḳanādīl ile tezyīn olunmış idi.

20. Ibtidā-yı 'azīmet-i ḥuccāc

Nefes-i ṣubḥ-ı aḫīr iṭfa'-i ḳanādīl-i nücūm itdükde ṭurre-i kūs-ı rıḥlet midaḳḳa-i münebbih-i sā'at-ı ḥareket olmağın[987]

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[973] istirāḥat: rāḥat K
[974] müteḳābile-i miḥaffede: müteḳābilebede ya'nī miḥaffede K
[975] ḥacc: ḥuccāc L
[976] sāye-i: sāḥa-i K
[977] olduğına: olunduğına B P; olduḳdan nāşī K
[978] a'yān: - L
[979] ḥareketleri: ḥareketlerini K
[980] zīr: - 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

Naẓm

Göñül ṭayy it bisāṭ-ı a'yşı hengām-ı[988] 'azīmetdür

Yüri berk-i sefer-āmāde it[989] kim vaḳt-i rıḥletdür

me'ālin ceres-i ḥadīdü'l-lisān[990] [**B39a**] mengūş-ı sāmi'a-i intibāh itmegin yine dū mışra'-ı [**P58**] miḥaffe-beyt-i ḳasīde-i meşhūre[991] [**L32a**] şütur u ḥıcreye naẓīre[992] ḳılınup ḳalben ve ḳālıban cānib-i ḳıble-i[993] āmāle[994] tevcīh-i ḳubāle-i[995] iḳbāl olundı.

Naẓm[996]

Mā rāh-revān-ı ḥarem-i Ka'be-i[997] cān-īm

Bā-ḳāfīle-i eşk-i revān hem-reh ez-ān-īm

Eṣnā-yı[998] ṭarīḳde **Ṣaḥrā-yı Tīh** ve[999] **Ṭūr-ı Sīnā** güẕār[1000] olunduḳdan ṣoñra toḳuzuncu günde '**Aḳabe-i Mışr** nāmıyle meşhūr-ı elsine-i enām[1001] olan rāh-ı[1002] 'usret-penāh ki ṭarafeynde olan ḳulel-i cibāli[1003] āşyāne-i nesr-i ṭā'irden ber-ter[1004] ve miyānede olan memerr-i bārīk-i 'amīḳi püşt-i gāv ü māhiye berāberdür. [1005] Mānende-i mār-ı piçide pāy-ı[1006] meṭāyā olaraḳ leb-i **Baḥr-i Muḥīṭ** būse-dāde-i[1007] dāmen-i ḫıyām ḳılındı.

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[988] hengām: eyyām K
[989] it: ḳıl P
[990] lisān: beyān K
[991] meşhūre: meşhūre-i L
[992] naẓīre: naẓar K
[993] ḳıble-i: ḳıbleye K
[994] āmāle: āmāle-i K
[995] ḳubāle-i: ḳubāle K B
[996] Naẓm: - B
[997] Ka'be: ḳıble-i K
[998] eṣnā-yı: eṣnā-i L B
[999] ve: - K
[1000] güẕār: güẕer B
[1001] enām: 'avām B; a'vām-ı enām K
[1002] rāh: - L
[1003] ḳulel-i cibāli: ḳulel u cibāl B
[1004] berter: berterdür K
[1005] The neḫt couplet is wrongly cited here in the copy of K, and noted in the margin that 'Bu beyt bu ṣanṛdan mu'aḫḫardur'.
[1006] pāy: rāh L
[1007] -dāde-i: -dād B P

Naẓm[1008]

Leb-i deryā-st çūn leb-i dilber

Zi-bīrūn[1009] sebze ve zi-derūn gevher

Mānende-i deryā ṣafā-yı[1010] ḫāṭır ile bir niçe menzil daḫi kenār-ı varaḳ-ı pīrūze-fām-ı deryādan būride-i miḳrāḍ-ı ḳavā'im-i meṭāyā ḳılınduḳdan ṣoñra zelzele-i zemīn-gerdān-ı Ilāhī ile gūy-ı çevgān-ı ḳaḍā olan arḍ-ı **Medyen** ḳurbinde 'ibādet-ḫāne-i ḫaṭībü'l-enbiyā ḥaḍret-i Şu'ayb, ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh, ḥaḍretlerinüñ[1011] **[K28b]** ziyāretiyle ḳaṭ'-ı medāric-i minber-i merām olundı[1012].

Meş'al-i ḳamer-i ẕi'l-hicce zīver-i dūş-ı sipihr olduḳda 'arṣa-i **Bedr-i Ḥuneyn** cilvegāh-ı ḫıyām olup rūz-ı nuṣret-endūz-ı ğazā-yı kübrā-yı Bedr'de ṣahbā-keşān-ı peymāne-i şehādetüñ ḫāk-i ḫūn-āmīzleri ziyāretiyle ser-germī-i neş'e-i rūḥānī **[B39b]** iktisābından ğayrı sulṭān-ı manṣūr-ı livā'-i[1013] nübüvvet 'aleyhi's-ṣalātü ve's-selām[1014], ḥaḍretleri ol ma'reke-i ḫıred-fersā hengāmında ümīd-i ḫırām-ı şāhid-i nuṣret ile dū keff-i istid'āların mir'āt-ı rū-yı recā ḳılmaḳ içün tevārī buyurduḳları sāye-i naḫl-ı tākde bünyād olunan Mescid-i 'Arīş ziyāreti ile dest-i ümīd nā'il-i ḫūşe-i merām ḳılındı.

[1008] The following remark put in the margin of: 'Beyt-i bālā taḥrīr olunur'.
[1009] zi: ez B L K
[1010] ṣafā-yı: ṣafā B K
[1011] ve 'aleyh ḥaḍretlerinüñ: - B K
[1012] olundı: oldı B L
[1013] livā'-i: el-livā'-i P B
[1014] 'aleyhi's-ṣalātü ve's-selām: 'aleyhi ekmelü't-taḥiyye K

21. Resīden be-mīḳāt-ı iḥrāmgāh

Andan ikinci günde mīḳāt-ı ḳāfile-i Mıṣrıyye olan **Rābıḳ** nām ṣaḥrā-yı sīne-küşā **[L32b]** pīrāhen-i cengār-gūn-ı ḫıyām ile pīrāye-gīr[1015] olduḳda bi'l-cümle sālikān-ı rāh-ı Beyt-i Ilāh elbise-i 'ādiyeden[1016] te'arrī idüb

Naẓm

Penbe-i dāğ-ı derūn içre **[P59]** nihāndur bedenüm[1017]

Diri olduḳca libāsum budur ölsem kefenüm

beyti[1018] ile şüst u[1019] şū-yı ebdāndan ṣoñra[1020] lepāçe-i dīvān-ı muḳaddes-i Ilāhī olan iki ḳıt'a iḥrām-ı sepīd-fāmı[1021] zīver-i dūş u miyān eyleyüp ser u pā berehne āvāze-i ğulğule-i felek-resā-yı lebbeyki āmīḫte-i[1022] eẕkār-ı müsebbiḥān-ı mele'-i a'lā eylediler.

Beyt

Ka'be-rā mestāne lebbeyk ārem ez-mīḳāt-ı 'aşḳ

K'ez-elestem hem bā-īn[1023] lebbeyk gūyā kerde-end[1024]

Teselsül-i zemzeme-i lebbeyk penç şebāne-rūz inḳıṭā' bulmayup bir[1025] ṣubḥ-dem ḥācī-i berehne-ser[1026] ḫūrşīd devr-i meṭāf-ı gerdūn içün ṣubḥ-ı evvel ü aḫīrden iki ḳıt'a iḥrām-ı kāfūr-fāmı ārāyiş-i endām eyledükde nāgāh tīğ-i cibāl-ı zemīn-i **Baṭḥā'**

[1015] -gīr: - 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: sefīd P
[1022] āmīḫte-i: āmīḫte B
[1023] bā-īn: bāyīn B
[1024] kerde-end: kerde-em K
[1025] bir: - K
[1026] berehne-ser: berehne-i K

leme'ān itmegin ḳāfile-i ārzū-bār-ı ḥuccācuñ 'inān-ı ārāmı güsiste olup herkesüñ [**B40a**] ṣāḥā'if-i pīşānī-i[1027] ḥālinde dā'iyye-i şitāb mürtesem olmağın

Naẓm

Rıḍāyı ṣora ṣora Ka'be'yi bulur ādem

Hemān yola düşelüm kūy-ı dil-rübā diyerek

ḥarem-i şerīf ṣavbına müsāra'āt eylediler.[1028]

Naẓm[1029]

Dilem be-nāle der-āyed ki[1030] bī-ṣabūrī-rā[1031]

Zi-ḥadd me-ber ki der-īn rāh kes me-bād ṣabūr

Vāḳı'an şāhīn-i melekūt-āşyān-ı cān henūz āzāde-pervāz-ı[1032] hevā-yı 'ālem-i ıṭlāḳ iken gerdiş-i beftere-i da'vet-i Ḫalīliyye'ye bāl-küşā-yı icābet olmada[1033] [?] ıḍṭırārından ğayrı şehr-bend-i[1034] meşīme-i 'ademden[1035] nā'il-i dest-māye-i [**K29a**] vücūd olduḳdan ṣoñra ḥaḍret-i Ḳādir-i istiṭā'at-baḫşā celle şānühü'nüñ ārāste-i nevāl-i mağfiret olan ḍiyāfet-ḫāne-i kübrāsına teklīfi daḫi zencīr-i gerden-i ihtiyār olup ḫuṣūṣan sevdā-ger-i çārsū-yı ḥayāt olaldan beri dükkānçe-i sāmi'a kālā-yı güft-ü-gū-yı Ḥaremeyn-i Şerīfeyn[1036] ile pür olduḳca ṣandūḳça-i müteḫayyile naḳd-i iştiyāḳ ile [**L33a**] mālāmāl olmağla

Naẓm

[1027] pīşānī-i: pīşānī 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] bī: ez P; - B; illegible in K
[1032] āzāde: āzāde-i P; āzādī K
[1033] olmada ıḍṭırārından: olmada. Iḍturābdan B; olmadadır. Bu ıḍṭırābdan K
[1034] -bend: tyh /t bh L
[1035] 'ademden: 'ademde B P
[1036] şerīfeyn: - P

Key būd yā Rabb ki rū[1037] der-Yeṣrib ü Baṭḥā künem

Geh be-Mekke menzil ve geh der-Medīne cā künem

terānesiyle nev-be-nev deryā-yı eşk-i şevḳ mevce-dār-ı riḳḳat ve nefes-be-nefes sefīne-i dil bādbān-keşā-yı āh-ı ḥasret olmaḳ mu'tādından[1038] olduğından faḍla[1039] **[P60]** āṣār-ı ḥikem-i taḳdīri-i ezel ẓuhūra ḳarīb olmağın ol gülistān-ı mağfiret-i Ilāhī ziyāretine 'azm olunduğı günden beri şebnem-i ṣabr rubūde-i neyçe-i mihr-i iştiyāḳ olmağla ṭayy-ı menāzil-i ba'īde-dāmen-i **[B40b]** ārzūya ğubār olup bir gün muḳaddemce menzil-i maḳṣūda vüṣūl ve teslīm-i naḳd-ı eşk-i niyāz ümidiyle[1040] 'avārıḍ-ḫāne-i cerīde-i 'ömrden bir miḳdār ḫāne-i eyyām firū-nihāde ḳılınmaḳ cāna minnet bilinürken ne ḥāl ise ol mertebe[1041] ṭayy-ı merāḥil-i[1042] bī-ḥesābdan ṣoñra resīde-i ḳurb-ı[1043] Beytü'l-ḥarām olduḳda kārbān-ı 'aḳl u şu'ūr ve meleke-i ṣabr u ḳarār maḥallinde pāydār olmaḳ niçe müteṣavverdür!

Naẓm[1044]

Çūn eṣer-i ḳurb muṣavver şeved

Cāzibe-i şevḳ füzūn-ter şeved

Ḥarem-i Mekke-i mu'aẓẓama'ya iki sā'at miḳdārı **'Umre** nām maḥall ki ibtidā-yı ḥadd-i ḥarem-i Izdī olduğın iş'āra[1045] ṭarafeyn-i ṭarīḳde[1046] iki mīl-i ser-bülend lisān-ı ḥāl olmışdur. Çeşm-güẕār-ı reh-neverdān be-vādī-i[1047] ḥasret olduḳda yekpāre[1048]

[1037] rūy: - 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] ḳurb: - K
[1044] Beyt: naẓm B
[1045] olduğın iş'āra: olduğına iş'ār K
[1046] ṭarīḳde: ṭarīḳinde P
[1047] be-vādī-i: - K
[1048] yekpāre: yekpāre-i K

ḳāfile-i ḥuccāc cünbüş-i ṣarṣar şevḳiyle evrāḳ-ı ḫazān-zede gibi üftāde-i[1049] zemin olup piyāde-i bāzīçe-i şevḳ u maḥabbet oldılar[1050].

Naẓm

Cümle ḫalā'iḳ çe 'Arab çe 'Acem

Bādiye-peymā[1051] be-hevā-yı ḥarem[1052]

Zi-āteş şu'le be-nümūd āmedend

Cümle der-ān 'arṣa firūd-āmedend

Ḫōşā, ol hengām-ı dil-ārā[1053] ki miḳrāḍ-ı şevḳ ü ğarām ṣaḥīfe-i ḳulūbdan ḥavāşī-i ta'alluḳāt-ı hevāyı[1054] ḳat' idüp rismān-bāz-ı ārzū ser-menzil-i āmāle[1055] ḫatve-cünbān-ı şitāb ola! [**K29b**]

Ve ḥabbaẕā, ol müvaḥḥid-i pākīze-sirişt[1056] ki cezbe-i maḥabbet-i Ilāhiyye ile [**L33b**] pīrāhen-i 'alā'iḳ-ı [1057] emvāl u 'iyālden āstīn-feşān-ı tecerrüd olup ḫ^{v}ān-ı bī-imtinān-ı mağfiret-i [**B41a**] Ilāhīden loḳma-çīn-i ni'met-i dāreyn ola!

Naẓm

Ni'met-i ō hest bīrūn ez-ḫayāl

Keyf būd sırr-ı lisānü'l-maḳāl

Hezār şükr Ḳādir-i bī-çūna ki şem'a-i[1058] sīne-fürūz-ı[1059] ḥayāt küşte-i nefes-i vā-pesīn olmadan[1060] gürm-i naẓar ḳandīl-i ṭāḳ-ı meṭāf olmağla dide-rūşen olmaḳ sa'ādetinden bī-naṣīb eylemedi.

[1049] üftāde-i: üftāde B
[1050] oldılar: eylediler K
[1051] peymā: peymā-yı K
[1052] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 40a
[1053] dil-ārā: dil-ārām P
[1054] hevāyı: sivāy B; sivāyı P
[1055] āmāle: āmāle-i K
[1056] -sirişt: -sirişte B
[1057] 'alā'iḳ: 'alā'iḳ u L

Ve ş̲enā-yı bī-ḥadd ḥaḍret-i Vehhāb-ı 'amīmü'r-raḥmete ki[1061] kālā-yı kem-yāb-ı zindegānī tārāc-ḫ̲ōrde-i[1062] reh-zen-i[1063] merg-i nāgehānī [**P61**] olmazdan muḳaddem perniyān-ı pīşānı pāy-endāz-ı[1064] ḫ̲āk-i ḥarem-i Yezdānī ḳılınmaḳ devletinden maḥrūm ḳomadı.

Naẓm

Minnet Ḫ̲udā ki her [1065] ki ṭaleb-kerdem ez-Ḫ̲udā

Ber-minnethā-yı himmet-i ḫ̲ōd kāmrān şüdem

Mā-ḥaṣal ḥavālī-i Mekke-i Mu'aẓẓama'da nāgāh ḳıbāb-ı mezāristān-ı Mu'allā sāye-i ḫ̲urmāzārdan hüveydā olmağla ḥadeḳa-i 'uyūn peymāne-i lebrīz-i neşāṭ olup mestī-i şevḳ-i serḫ̲ōşı olmağa başladı.

Naẓm

Ḫ̲āk-i Mu'allā-st ki tāc-ı ser-est

Nūr-dih[1066] dīde-i māh u ḫ̲ūr-est[1067]

Her ṭarafeş mağrib-i ṣad āftāb

Perde-i gil geşte ber-īşān niḳāb[1068]

Hezārān nücūm-ı zāhire-i[1069] sipihr-i kerāmet ol ḫ̲āk-i pākde mütevārī-i güşe-i ḫ̲afā olmağın[1070] ḳadrī āsmāndan mu'allā olmaḳ mevḳi'-i çūn u çerā degildür.

[1058] şem'a-i: şem'-i B K
[1059] sīne: sīne-i B
[1060] olmadan: olmadın K
[1061] ki: - B
[1062] ḫ̲ōrde-i: ḫ̲'ārde-i P
[1063] reh-zen-i: - L
[1064] pāyendāz: pā-bendāz P
[1065] her: her çe P
[1066] -dih: - K
[1067] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 11b
[1068] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 11b
[1069] zāhire-i: zühre-i P
[1070] güşe-i ḫ̲afā olmağın: perde-i ḫ̲afā olmazdı K

Ḫuṣūṣan şem'-i şebistān-ı 'iṣmet, pervāne-i çerāğ-ı nübüvvet ḥaḍret-i[1071] Ḫadīce-i Kübrā, raḍiye'llāhü[1072] 'anhā, ḥaḍretleri daḫi ol sāḥada ārāyīş-i zīnet-i serāy-ı cāvidānī olmağla ḳubbe-i merḳadleri a'ẓam-ı ḳıbāb-ı mu'allādur.

Andan ṣoñra nāgāh āṯār-ı 'imārāt-ı [**B41b**] belde-i Mekke-i mu'aẓẓama verā-yı niḳāb-ı ḫafādan nümāyān olmağla yek-pāre hücūm-ı seylāb-ı ḥayret bünyān-ı ḥavāssı nümūne-i dil-i müştāḳān idüp ṣavlecān-ı meḥābet-i ḳudsiyye ile güy-ṣıfat bāz-ı sergerde

Naẓm [**L34a**]

Kūyuñ gibi ehl-i dile bāğ-ı Irem olmaz

Bāğ-ı Irem ol cennet-i feyḍe ḥarem olmaz

[1073] zemzemesiyle miyāne-i küçe-i Mekke-i muḥteremede[1074] devr iderek [**K30a**]

Naẓm

Müdde'āmuz bir nigāh-ı merhametdür yārdan

Iki 'ālemde daḫi bir müdde'āmuz var[1075] bizüm

veḥince ṣaḥn-ı Müdde'ā ārāmgāh-ı pāy-ı nigāh ḳılındı. Müdde'ā nāmıyle şöhret-yāb olan miyāne-i küçe-i Ümmü'l-ḳurā'da bir püştedür ki ṣaḥīfe-i dīvār-ı ḥarem-i Rabbānī ibtidā' ol maḥalde memerr-i ṭıfl-ı nev-āmūz-ı naẓar olmağla ol maḥalde çekīde-i yarā'a-i zebān olan[1076] manẓūme-i du'ā mersūm-ı levḥa-i icābet olmaḳ mevḳı'-i iştibāhdan mütebā'id olduğı[1077] sulṭān-ı kevneyn, ṣalle'llāhü 'aleyh ve sellem,

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[1071] ḥaḍret-i: - P B L
[1072] raḍiye'llāhü: raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā K
[1073] zemzemesiyle: veḥince zemzemesiyle K
[1074] Mekke-i muḥteremede: küçe-i Ümmü'l-ḳurā K
[1075] var: yoḳ P K L
[1076] olan: olup B
[1077] olduğı: olmaduğı K

ḥaḍretlerinüñ mevḳıf-ı mezbūrda her bār dest-küşā-yı[1078] bārgāh-ı eḥadiyyet olduḳları şübūt-yāftedür. [**P62**]

Naẓm

Rū-yı ṭaleb nih be-sū-yı Müdde'ā

Bī-şekk ü şübhe-est ḳabūl-i du'ā[1079]

22. Dīden-i[1080] ruḫsāre-i[1081] Beyt-i llāh

Bi'l-āḫare Müdde'ā'dan daḫi güẕer[1082] olunup tār-ı enẓār şürefāt-ı minārāt-ı ḥarem-i mükerrem-i ser-be-gerdūna pīçīde ḳılınaraḳ südde-i sidre-fersā-yı Bābü's-selām secdegāh-ı pişānī-i cān olup ṣaḥn-ı sāḥa-i[1083] Ḥaremü'llāh'a[1084] iṭāre-i ḥammāme-i nigāh olunduḳda nüsḫa-i [**B42a**] müteḫayyileden şirāze-i[1085] şu'ūr[1086] bi'l-külliye güsiste olup eczā-yı perişān-ḥavāss bāzīçe-i bād-ı āh olmağa āğāz eyledi.

Naẓm

Geşt dilem ğarḳa-i baḥr-i viṣāl

Gün-şüdem ez-ḫōd be-fürūğ-ı cemāl

Seyl-i sirişk ez-müje-i eşk-bār

Ser-zed ve Ceyḥūn şüd[1087] ez-ān-em kenār

[1078] dest-küşā-yı: dest-i du'ā-küşā-yı K
[1079] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 11b
[1080] dīden: el-ḥamdü li'llāh dīden K
[1081] ruḫsāre-i: ruḫsār-ı K
[1082] güẕer: güẕār B
[1083] sāḥa-i: sāḥada ya'ni K
[1084] ḥaremu'llāh: ḥaremu'llāhda K
[1085] şīrāze-i: şīrāze K
[1086] şu'ūr: şu'ūra B
[1087] şüd: şüd ve P

Ğalebe-i dehşet-i viṣālden az ḳaldı ki iksīr-i 'ālem-bahā-yı cān ḫāk-rīz-i mesemmāt-ı bedenden rīzān ola[1088] ve istīlā-yı mehābet-i beyt-i ẕi'l-celāl'den ḳarīb oldı ki şīr-i[1089] rūḥ zencīr-i enfāsı ḳaṭ' idüp girīve-i teng-i[1090] tenden gürīzān ola!

Naẓm

Dīdīm[1091] īn-çünīn dem-i vaṣl[1092] ve[1093] ne-mürde-īm [**L34b**]

Mā-rā be-saḫt-ı cānī-i ḫōd īn gümān ne-būd[1094]

Bu keyfiyyet ile şaḥne-i mehābet-i celāl[1095] bir zamān ḳalem-rev-i ḫıredde taṣarrufdan[1096] ṣoñra[1097] te'āḳub-ı lem'a-i tebessüm-i cemāl[1098] nev'an ināre-i[1099] çerāğ-ı[1100] şu'ūr itmegin kemāl-i şermiyle[1101] verā-yı çār-çūpe-i müjgāndan ḳāmet-i hōş-rübā-yı şāhid-i Beytü'l-ḥarām'a revzene-i[1102] çeşm-i ḥasret küşāde ḳılındı. **[K30a]**

23. ẕikr-i evṣāf-ı Ka'be-i 'ulyā

Ne gördüm[1103], bir nāzenīn-i encümen-i melāḥatdur[1104] ki ḳāmet-i sidre ḫırāmına pīrāye-i ḳıyām virmekle temāşāyiyān-ı melek ü melekūtı üftāde-i[1105] naẓra-i[1106] ḥayret

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[1088] ola: olan B
[1089] şīr: - L
[1090] teng-tenden: teng ü tenden K
[1091] dīdīm: dīdem K
[1092] vaṣl: viṣāl K
[1093] ve: - B
[1094] ne-būd: - B
[1095] celāl: zi'l-celāl K
[1096] taṣarrufdan: taṣarrufundan L
[1097] ṣoñra: - P
[1098] cemāl: celāl K
[1099] ināre-i: ināre B
[1100] çerāg: - L
[1101] şermiyle: şermle K
[1102] revzene: revzen K
[1103] ne gördüm: - P
[1104] melāḥatdur: melāḥat K
[1105] üftāde-i: üftāde P
[1106] naẓra-i: naẓra K

eylemiş. Ve bir māh-ı āftāb-sūzdur ki āğūş-ı hāle-i meṭāfda[1107] cilveger olmağla kettān-ı ṣabr-ı[1108] nuẓẓāragiyān-ı zemīn ü āsmānı girībān-ı 'uşşāḳa döndürmiş.

Naẓm

Zi-farḳ tā-be-ḳadem her kücā[1109] ki mī-nigerī

Girişme[1110]-dāmen-i dil mī-keşed ki cā īncā-st

Bir serv-i [**B42b**] dāmen-çide-i sāḥa-i[1111] raḥmetdür ki muraṣṣa'-bālān-ı[1112] āşyān-ı ḳuds gird-i serinde fāḫte-i muṭavvaḳa gibi[1113] devre girmiş. [1114]Bir şem'-i encümen-tāb-ı hidāyetdür ki seb'a-i seyyāre pīrāmen-i şu'le-i [**P63**] cemāl-i[1115] 'ālem-sūzına pervāne olmaḳ ārzūsıyle sūzān olınış.

Naẓm

Küşte heme fāḫte ō serv-i nāz

Cümle çū pervāne ve ō şem'-i rāz

Şem' eger hest der-īn bezmgāh

Rūşenī-i ō-st zi-nūr-ı Ilāh

Verā-yı perde-i siyeh-fāmda ser-çeşme-i ḥayāt-ı ebedīdür ki delālet-i Ḫıḍr-ı tevfīḳ ile leb-i teşnegān-ı bādiye-i ārzū zīr-i Mīzāb-ı Raḥmet'inden[1116] istifāḍa-i[1117] mā'ü'l-ḥayāt murād itmededürler. Bir kāse-i ser-pūşide-i[1118] nevāl-i hidāyetdür ki dā'ire-i

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[1107] meṭāfda: meṭāfında K
[1108] ṣabr: çeşm P
[1109] her kücā: ger nigāh L
[1110] girişme: girişme-i K
[1111] sāḥa-i: - B
[1112] bālān: bālā-i P
[1113] gibi: ki P
[1114] girmiş: girmiş ve K
[1115] cemāl: - K
[1116] raḥmetinden: raḥmetden P B
[1117] istifāḍa-i: istifāḍa B
[1118] ser-pūşide-i: ser-pūşide L P

ḫ^vān-ı meṭāfında olan nīm-ṣaḥn-ı Ḥaṭīm'den[1119] gürisne-çeşmān teng-nāy-ı ma'ṣiyyet içün[1120] taḥṣīl-i nevāle-i mağfiret itmededürler.

Naẓm

Ez-gil ü ābeş germ mī-bāred[1121] in ḫāne-est

Ḫıḍr-rā saḳḳā' ve Ibrāhīm bennā kerde-end

Ne Ka'be! Nāf-ı[1122] müşkīn-i 'ālem-i āb u ḫāk, merkez-i 'anberīn-i devā'ir-i eflāk, kürsī-i memleket-i **[L35a]** llāhī, ḳafes-i ṭā'ir-i feyḍ-i nā-mütenāhī, ṣındūḳ-ı genc-i melekūt, dürc-i maẓrūf-ı cevher-i çārsū-yı ceberūt; pīrāmen-i müşk-fāmı[1123] taḫrīk-i nesīm ile cünbüş-pezīr olduḳca temevvüc-i ḳulzüm-i envār nümāyān ve ḳulūb-ı dil-bestegān-ı naẓẓāre-i[1124] ḥayret 'ummān-ı zevḳ-i[1125] istiğrāḳda ğavṭa-zenān[1126] olmışlar.

Naẓm

Tīh-i[1127] libās-ı müşkīn çū be-cilve ender āyed

Be-bürd hezār dil-rā be-girişme-i nihānī

ve zīr-i niḳāb-ı 'anber-āgīnden[1128] güşe-i 'ıẕārı lemā'an itdükce [illegible] mihr-i sipihr-efrūz ḫurūş-ı ḍiyāda nihān olmadadur.

Naẓm[1129]

Şüd müteḥarrik zi-nesīmeş niḳāb

[1119] Ḥaṭımden: 'aẓīmde K
[1120] içün: - L K
[1121] mī-bāred: mī-yāred B
[1122] nāf: nāfe-i K
[1123] pīrāmen-i müşk-fāmı: pirāhen-fām-ı müşk B
[1124] naẓẓāre-i: naẓẓāre K
[1125] zevḳ: zevḳ ü K
[1126] ğavṭa: ğata-i B
[1127] *tīh*: b-t-h L B
[1128] 'anber-āgīnden: 'anberīn-āgīnden L
[1129] Naẓm: Ḳıt'a K

Geşte münevver zi-ruḫeş āftāb

Burḳu'-ı müşkīn zi-ruḫeş ber-şikest[1130]

Nerḫ-ı gül ve ḳıymet-i 'anber şikest

Ümīdgāh-ı kāffe-i **[K31a]** kā'ināt olan bāb-ı mağfiret-me'ābı cānib-i şarḳa tevcīh-i çeşm-i iltifāt itmekle her ṣubḥ dāver-i ḫāver evreng-i pīrūze-fāma ṣu'ūd hengāmında südde-i sa'ādet-penāhına nāṣiye-sāy olmağla ḳalem-rev-i āfāḳı zīr-i[1131] nigīn eylemişdür[1132].

Naẓm

Mihr-i Süleymān ki cihān ber-girift

Sikkeeş ez-halḳa-i[1133] īn der-girift

Ger be-şeref mihr ü meh efsāne-end

Ḥalḳa be-güş-ı der-īn ḫāne-end

Dest der-īn ḥalḳa zened Cebra'il

Tā şineved **[P64]** bang zi-Rabb-i Celīl

Cāme-i 'anberīn-i[1134] zer-niṭāḳla[1135] cilve-i maḥbūbānesi māye-i sevdā-yı ins ü melek ve erkān-ı maṭbū'a üzre ḳā'ide-i[1136] temkīn-i muḥteremānesi vāsıṭa-i sergerdānī-i kāḫ-ı felekdür.

Naẓm

Āmede bā-ḫil'at-ı 'anber-sirişt

[1130] ber: per P
[1131] zīr: zer B
[1132] eylemişdür: itmişdür K
[1133] ez: - B
[1134] 'anberīn: - L
[1135] niṭāḳla: niṭāḳıyle P
[1136] ḳā'ide-i: ḳā'id K

Sünbül-i müşkīn-i riyāḍ-ı bihişt

Bürde be-rāh-ı[1137] keremeş ʻarş rāh

Meşʻaledār-ı ḥaremeş mihr ü māh

ʻAtebe-i bāb-ı[1138] ʻālī-cenābı muḥāzī-i[1139] süṭūḥ-ı nevāṣī olmağın efvāh u pişānī-i züvvār şeref-i māliş ile meşerref-i[1140] envār olmadadur.

Naẓm

Ten-i melek[1141] rāst çūn dil-i ḫāk-rā süveydā

Be-çehār ḥadd küşāde der-i feyḍ-i cāvidānī

Çū vü zed nesīm-i kūyeş ki reved pey-i Mesīḥā

Çū resed ṣarīr-i bābeş ki zened dem ez-ağānī[1142]

Nefeḫāt-ı āsmānī zi-ḥarīm-i ō mütercem [**L35b**]

Zi-ḫiṭāb-ı āstāneş şüde ʻarş tercemānī[1143] [**B43b**]

Ve bāb-ı raḥmet-nişābla rükn-i şarḳī beyni üc ẕirāʻ miḳdārı Mültezim-i Şerīf nāmıyle muʻayyen[1144] olan mevḳıf-ı cürm-efkendür[1145] ki o ṣafḥāya sāyīde olan cibāh u ṣudūr dest-zede-i[1146] dūzaḫ olmaḳ ğā'ilesinden dürdur.

[1137] rāh: ẓıll B K
[1138] bāb: ʻaliyye K
[1139] muḥāzī-i: muḥāzī B
[1140] müşerref: meşriḳ P
[1141] mülk: felek L
[1142] ez: - P
[1143] tercemānī: raḥmānī P
[1144] muʻayyen: müteʻayyin K B
[1145] cürm: ḥarām K'
[1146] ṣudūr dest-zede-i: ṣudūr ṣafḥa-i dest K

24. Vaṣf-ı[1147] ḥacer-i es ʻad-ı[1148] vālā-yı [1149] mükerrem

Rükn-i şarḳide taḫminen zemînden iki ẕirāʻ miḳdārı rifʻat ile Ḥaceru'l-esved-i esʻad-ı mübārek bir da'ire-i sîmîn iḥāṭasında nûr-baḫşā-yı [1150] encümen-i ḥarem olmışdur.

Naẓm

Nûr-ı siyaheş lemaʻān ez-Ḫudā-st

Ḫāl-i siyāheş Ḥaceru'l-esved-est

Ne Ḥaceru'l-esved! Bir şeb-çerāğ-ı efser-i[1151] āferîniş, merdümek-i dîde-i bîniş, süveydā-yı dil-i kā'ināt, ḫāl-i cemāl-i mümkināt, gūşvāre-i ʻarş-ı Raḥmāni[1152], bāzū-bend-i ḫāne-i Yezdānî, kūy-ı girîbān-ı envār, noḳta-i nüh dā'ire-i esrār, [**K31b**] nigîn-i ḫātem-i ṣunʻ-ı ezel, yemîn-i Ḫudāvend-i cihān-ı ʻazze ve cell, bûsegāh-ı enbiyā-yı[1153] kirām, miḥakk-ı şifāh-ı evliyā-yı ʻıẓām, levḥa-i sîne-i ʻināyet, gevher-i kemer-i hidāyet;

Naẓm

Noḳṭa-i nüh dā'ire-i āsmān

Noḳṭa-ṣıfat hest ez-ān der-miyān

Sürme-keş çeşm-i ğazālān-ı Çîn

Dāde siyāhiyeş[1154] güvāhî[1155] ber-în

[1147] vaṣf: - B
[1148] esʻad: esved P
[1149] vālā-yı: vālā-yı esved K
[1150] baḫsā-yı: baḫsā-yı zemîn K
[1151] efser: - B
[1152] Raḥmāni: Rabbānî B P
[1153] enbiyā-yı: enbiyā P
[1154] siyāhiyeş: siyāheş B
[1155] güvāhî: güvāhî-i K

25. ẕikr-i[1156] vaṣf-ı Maḳām-ı Ibrāhīm[1157]

[P65] Der-i melā'ik-maḳarra muḳābil bir ḳafes-i rūyīn-i zerrīn[1158]-saḳf derūnında Maḳām-ı Ibrāhīm ile müsemmā ḥücre-i mübāreke ki[1159] eṣnā-yı binā-yı Beyt-i Ilāhī'de zīr-pāy-ı Ibrāhīm ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyinā ve 'aleyh'de mürğ-āsā maḥall-i iḳtiḍā'ya pervāz itmekle eṣer-i ḳadem-i mükerremleri[1160] ḥālā sīnesinde[1161] dāğ-ı muḥabbet olup kendüsi ḥarem-i sāḥa-i[1162] [**B44a**] sübḥānīde güşe-nişīn-i yaḳīn[1163] olduğı gibi ẕikri daḫi kerīme-i '**fī-hi āyātün beyyinātün maḳāmu Ibrāhīm**'[1164] şerefiyle müteḥayyiz-i miyāne-i ḫıyābān-ı süṭūr-ı gülşen-i[1165] kelām-ı ḳadīm olmışdur. Anuñ daḫi hey'āt-ı pākīzesine münāsib bir kisve-i zer-tār-ı āyet-nigār [**L36a**] ilbās olunmağla[1166] beyt-i siyeh-ḳabā ile hem-seng-i terāzū-yı i'tibārdur.

Beyt

Ka'be-est īncā melek-i ḥayrān-kār üftāde-est
Āsmān ez-şevḳ-i ṭavafeş[1167] bī-ḳarār üftāde-est

26. Evṣāf-ı[1168] çāh-ı rūḥ-dih-i Zemzem-i şerīf[1169]

Muḳābele-i Ḥacer-i Esved'de menba'-i şīre-i[1170] cān, mevrid-i zülāl-i revān ya'nī çāh-ı şifā-penāh-ı Zemzem-i mükerrem ki ḫāṣıyyet-i ẕātı ser-çeşme-i ḥayātı ḫayme-

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[1156] ẕikr: - P
[1157] Ibrāhīm: Ibrāhīm ṣalavātü'llāhi 'alā-nebiyyi-nā ve 'aleyh P
[1158] zerrīn: - K
[1159] ki: - B K
[1160] mükerremleri: mübārekleri K
[1161] sīnesinde: sīne-i sengde P
[1162] ḥarem-i sāḥa: sāḥa-i ḥarem B K
[1163] yaḳīn: ta'ayyün B
[1164] The Ḳur'ān, *3/97*
[1165] gülşen: - K
[1166] olunmağla: olunmağın K
[1167] ṭavafeş: *ṭüfāneş L*
[1168] evṣāf: ẕikr-i evṣāf K
[1169] şerīf: - B
[1170] şīre-i: şīre B

nişīn-i ẓulmet ve raḥīḳ ü Tesnīmi müveccih-i zīr-i ḫaclet itmek vaṣfa[1171] şāyeste degildür.

Naẓm

Be-meẕāḳ-ı Ḥaḳ-şināsān kef-i ābeş er be-senced

Ne-dihend lāy-ı Zemzem be-zülāl-i zindegānī

Meh eger mecāl bāyed[1172] ki şeved muḳīm-i çāheş

Künedeş zi-cirm delvī zi-şu''ā' rismānī

Bālā-yı çāhda burc-ı ābīye mümāss olan ḳubbe-i 'ālī-şānuñ[1173] ṭabaḳa-i 'ulvīsi mü'eẕẕinān-ı Şāfi'iyye'ye maḳām olmışdur. Şebāne-rūz ṣad hezārdan efzūn teşne-lebān-ı ḥuccāc şürb ü ğusl u vuḍūda ber-vech-i istifā isti'māl iderler iken gencine-i ğaybiyye-i Ilāhiyye'den feverān idüp merkez-i 'aṣlīsinden tefāvüt-i cüz'iyyesi güş-güẕār degildür.

Ḫāric-i dā'ire-i meṭāfda olan çihil sütūn-ı rūyīn üzre āvīḫte olan ḳanādil ḫāṭır-şiken-i aḫter-i felek ve sāḥa-i [**B44b**] ḥaremde pervāz iden gürūh gürūh ḥamāme-i tīz-per vāsıṭa-i [**K32a**] inkisār-ı bāl-i melekdür.

Naẓm

Vaḍ'-ı ḳanādīl vey ez-her ṭaraf

Aḫter-i cān-rā şüde beytü'ş-şeref

Ḫayl-i kebūter [**P66**] be-hevā per-be-per

Der-ṭayarān çūn melekeş kerd ser

[1171] vaṣfa: vaṣf K
[1172] bāyed: yābd P
[1173] ālīşānuñ: ālişānı L P

Ol çemenistān-ı ḳudsün ḥavālī-i[1174] ḥarem-i ḫurreminde heft menār[1175] heft serv gibi ser-ber-āverde-i evc-i[1176] i'tibār ve ḳumriyān-ı pervāzgāh-ı ḳudse cāy-ı ḳarārdur.

Naẓm

Der-ṣıfat-ı[1177] ṭūl-i ḳadd-ı[1178] her menār

Nükte-zede[1179] ber-felek-i zer-nigār

Pāye zi-evc-i felekeş[1180] mürtefi'

Bā-şecer-i Sidre şüde müctemi'

Cevānib-i erba'a-i meṭāf cemā'at-ı meẕāhib-i erba'aya cāy[1181] olup [**L36b**] her birinüñ[1182] mecma'ında birer miḥrāb sīne-küşā-yı aṣḥāb olmışdur.

Naẓm

Çetr-i maḳāmāt-ı rübā'ī der-ān

Ber-ser-i her ḳavm şüde sāyebān

El-ḥāṣıl bu güne tertīb-i niẓām-ı ḫāne-i Ḫudā temāşāsı 'ilāve-i ḥayret-i 'aṣlī olmağın bir zamān pāy-ı zemīn-peymā derūn-ı Bābü's-selāmda pirāye-i reftārdan 'āṭıl olup naẓar-ı[1183] medhūşāne şāhīn-i çeşm-i dūḫte gibi bālā-yı nigeh-rübā-yı[1184] Beytü'l-ḥarām'a ta'alluḳ-ı bī-hūşāneye başladı.

Naẓm

Bes ki mehābet be-dil-em rū-nümūd

[1174] ḥavālī-i: ḥavāli K
[1175] menār: mināre K
[1176] evc: - B
[1177] ṣıfat: ṣāf B
[1178] ḳadd: ḳaddī B
[1179] nükte: tekye B L K
[1180] pāye zi-evc-i felekeş: pāye-i evc-i felekeş K
[1181] cay: havi L
[1182] her birinüñ: her biri K
[1183] naẓar: naẓra-i B
[1184] nigeh: nigāh B

Çeşm-i ne-y-ārestem ez-ān der-keşūd

Eger cezbe-i mıḳnāṭīs-i Ḥacer-i Esved pençe-zen-i girībān-ı şu'ūr olmasa incimād-ı dehşet ile sindān-ṣıfat ol maḥalden taḥrīk-i ḫaṭveye[1185] ḥuṣūl-ı ḳudret nā-mümkün idi[1186].

Beyt

Çünān[1187] ez-pā fikendem rūzem [?][1188] ez-[1189] ruḫsār u ḳāmet hem

Ki ferdā ber-ne-ḫīzem belki ferdā-yı ḳıyāmet hem

27. ẕikr-i teveccüh [B45a] be-ṭavāf-ı ḳudūm

Hele seylāb-ı sirişk sāḥa-i dilde refʿ-i ḫayme-i ḥayrete bir miḳdār himmet itdükde

Naẓm

Āḫir ey Kaʿbe delīlī ki be-cāyī be-resem

Derd-mendem mededī tā be-devāyī be-resem

beyti[1190] ile muṣāfaḥa-i Ḥacer-i Esved'e mübāderet ve ṭarīḳa-i sünnet üzre devre-i[1191] ṭavāf-ı ḳudūme[1192] müsāraʿat olunup ol şemʿ-i şebistān-ı ḥaḳīḳatüñ pirāmeninde temāṯīl-i ecsām-ı ṭā'ifin ile ṣüret-i fānūs-ı ḫayāl hüveydā ḳılındı.

Naẓm

Zi-āteş-i şemʿ-i ruḫ-ı cān-pervereş

Sūḫte pervāne-ṣıfat ber-sereş

[1185] ḫaṭveye: ḫaṭve-i K
[1186] idi: - L; written in the margin of K
[1187] çünān: çünān ki B
[1188] fikendem rūzem: fikend imrūz B; fikend imrūzem K; fikende-em rūzem P
[1189] ez: ān L B
[1190] beyti: niyyeti B L
[1191] devre-i: devr P
[1192] ṭavāf-ı ḳudūme: ṭavāfa K

Nīst der-īn encümen ān şem'-i nūr

Yek nefes ez-gerdiş pervāne dūr

Bir ṭavāf-ı kāmil yedi devrden 'ibāretdür ki her bir devri[1193] ṭabaḳāt-ı ḳıbāb-ı [**P67**] çerḫ-i devvāruñ birer ṭabaḳasına teb'ıyyet vechi üzre ta'yīn-kerde-i Ṣāni'-i ezeldür.

Beyt

Her yek ez-īn devre zi-rū-yı naẓar

Tābi'-i devre-st[1194] zi-çerḫ-i diger

[L37a] Çār rükn-i rekīn ki rükn-i [**K32b**] Ḥacer-i Esved ve Rükn-i 'Irāḳī ve Rükn-i Şāmī ve Rükn-i Yemānī nāmıyle şübūt-yāfte-i 'arṣa-i iştihārdur; anlara vüṣūlde ve Bāb-ı Raḥmet-me'āb[1195] ve Ḥacer-i Esved ve Mültezim-i Şerīf ve Maḳām-ı Ibrāhīm ve Mīzāb-ı Raḥmet[1196] muḳābelelerine[1197] vüṣūlde[1198] olan[1199] ed'ıye-i maḫṣūṣa-i[1200] mesnūne edāsı ile itmām-ı ṭavāf-ı ḳudūme iḳdām olındı.

Naẓm

Ṭā'if-i in ḫāne ne-bāşed be-ferş

Bel çū melek ṭavaf küned ḥavl-i 'arş

Ṭavāf-ı ḳudūmuñ[1201] eşvāṭ-ı şeleşe-i[1202] [şlāşe-i] ūlāsında remel ü iḍṭıbā' merāsimini[1203] mürā'āt içün herkes ṭaraf-ı iḥrāmı dūş-ı yemīninden isḳāṭ itmekle[1204]

[1193] her bir devri: - K
[1194] devr-est: devrī-st B
[1195] -me'āb: -me'ābda L
[1196] raḥmet: - K B
[1197] muḳābelelerine: muḳābelelerinde K
[1198] vüṣūlde: - K
[1199] olan: - K B
[1200] maḫṣūṣa-i: maḫṣūṣa K
[1201] ḳudūmüñ: ḳudūm ki P L
[1202] şeleşe-i: şeleşe L
[1203] merāsimini: merāsimin B
[1204] itmekle: idüp K

kālā-yı [**B45b**] tecerrüdi zīver-i dūş-ı rıḍā idüb[1205] şitāb-ı[1206] bahādırāne ile ser-dūş[1207] cilvegāh-ı cünbüş-i şecī'āne[1208] idüp

Naẓm

Cür'et-i[1209] iẓhār-ı tecerrüd ne-gōst

Ḫāṣṣa[1210] be-şuğlī ki būd be-her dōst

eşvāṭ-ı erba'a-i bāḳıyyesinde [1211] ḥālet-i meskenet ü iftiḳārı şi'ār[1212] eylediler.

Naẓm

Īn se būd cür'et ü ferḫundegī

Çār-ı diger rāḥat u efgendegī

Mebde'-i dā'ire-i ṭavaf ki noḳṭa-i siyāh-ı[1213] Ḥacer-i Esved'dür her bir şavṭ maḳṭa'ında[1214] yine ruḫsāre-i cihān-tābından[1215] leb-i edeble būse-çīn olaraḳ heft devre-i ṭavāf ḫıtām-ı 'anberīn-i[1216] Ḥacer-i Esved ile maḫtūm olduğı maḥalde 'arḍ-ı ḥāl-i dergāh-ı Ḳāḍiyyü'l-ḥācāt içün Mültezim-i Şerīf daḫi[1217] der-kenār ve cerīde-i ḍamīrde mürtesem olan meṭālib-i nihüfte ber-dāşte-i bārgāh-ı[1218] Settār ḳılındı.

Naẓm

Mültezim ez-şevḳ der-āğūş gīr

Zinde be-cānan şev[1219] ez-cān be-mīr

[1205] idüb: itmekle K
[1206] şitāb: - P
[1207] dūş: - K
[1208] cilvegāh-ı cünbüş-i şecī'āne: cünbüş ü cilvegāh-ı şüccā'āne K
[1209] Cür'et: Cür'et ü P
[1210] ḫāṣṣa: ḫaṣṣ P
[1211] bāḳıyyesinde: bāḳıyyesinde yine B K
[1212] şi'ār: iẓhār K
[1213] siyāh: dā'ire-i K
[1214] maḳṭa'ında: maḳṭa'ından L
[1215] cihān-tābından: cihān-tābdan K
[1216] 'anberīn-i: 'anberīn ile ya'nī K
[1217] daḫi: - B
[1218] bargāh: bār-kār B
[1219] şev: şeved B L

Ādet-i pervāne ne-dānī meger

Çerḫ zened evvel ve sūzed diger

Ba'de verā-yı maḳām-ı Ibrāhīm'de[1220] dū rek'at namāz-ı ṭavāf 'aḳabinde dest-i sāḳıyān-ı Zemzem'den bir ḳadeh-i şīrīn-güvār ile teskīn-i nā'ire-i ārzū ḳılınduḳdan[1221] ṣoñra ḳādime-i 'azm ārām-gīr-i[1222] vaḳfe-i[1223] te'ḫīr olmağa mesāğ olmamağın bāb-ı ṣafādan [**L37b**] sāḥa-i mes'āya [**P68**] taḥrīk-i ḫuṭuvāt-ı ihtimām olındı.

Naẓm

Yāftī ez-mertebe-i ṭavaf kām

Zūd pey-i sa'y be-mes'ā ḫırām[1224]

Ṭāḳ-ı ṣafā reşk-i revāḳ-ı felek

Ber-ser-i ō ṣaf-zede ḫayl-i melek[1225]

28. Sa'y kerden be-Ṣafā vü Merve[1226]

Ṣafā ile Merve serāy-ı Ilāhī'nüñ cānib-i şarḳīsinde birbiriyle zānū-zede-i teḳābül iki ṭāḳ-ı [**B45a**] bülend-revāḳdur ki ṭāḳ-ı Ṣafā cānib-i cenūbide [**K33a**] ve ṭāḳ-ı Merve cānib-i şimālide[1227] maḳdem-i germ-revān-ı āmed-şüd-i sa'ye āğūş-küşā-yı merḥabā olmışlardur.

Naẓm

Yek ṭarafeş Merve ve yek sū Ṣafā

[1220] Ibrāhīm'de: Ibrāhīmiyye'de K
[1221] ḳılınduḳdan: ḳılduḳdan L; olunduḳdan K
[1222] ārām-gīr: 'alem-gīr K
[1223] vaḳfe-i: vefḳa-i P
[1224] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 57b
[1225] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 57b
[1226] Ṣa'y kerden be-Ṣafā vü Merve: - K
[1227] simālīde: şimālde P L

Sā'ī-i[1228] ān nīst cüz ehl-i vefā[1229]

Miyānede olan sāḥa-i[1230] mes'ā[1231] bir mīle ḳarīb bir[1232] mesāfe-i hidāyet-pīrādur ki aṣḥāb-ı sa'y ol şekeristān-ı mağfiret üzre ḳāfile-i mūr gibi cūş itmişlerdür.

Naẓm

Vādī-i mes'ā-st ki rīg ez-şeref[1233]

Sürme-i çeşm-i 'uẓmā-yı selef[1234]

Naḳş-ı kef-i pāy-ı tū ber-ān zemīn

Revzen-i Firdevs şeved rūz-ı dīn[1235]

Her bir def'a ser-menzil-i Ṣafā vü Merve'ye ḳadem-nih-i vüṣūl olduḳda zīr-i[1236] ṭāḳda ṣūret-nümā-yı cedāvil-i taḳvīm olan derācāt üzre irtiḳā ve ṭarīḳa-i sünnet-i seniyye üzre cānib-i ḥarem-i mükerreme[1237] tevcīh-i ḳubāle-i ḫuşū' ile āyet-i[1238] kerīme-i **'Inne'ṣ-ṣafā ve'l-merve'**[1239] ilā āḫirih[1240], ser-nāme-i dībāce-i du'ā ḳılındı.

Naẓm

Sa'y kün ez-Merve dih dil-rā ṣafā

'Leyse li'l-insāni illā mā se'ā'[1241]

[1228] sā'ī-i: sā'ī 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 'uẓmā-yı selef: Geşte der-ān sürme-i ehl-i selef FH
[1235] Cf. Muḥyī, f. (Lala), f. 57b: ber: der FH; revzen: ravẓa-i FH
[1236] zīr: ber L
[1237] mükerreme: mükerremeye K
[1238] āyet: - B
[1239] The Ḳur'ān, 2/158.
[1240] inne'ṣ-ṣafā merve ilā-āḫirih: inne'ṣ-ṣafā ilā-āḫirih B; inne'ṣ-ṣafā ve'l-merve P, inne'ṣ-ṣafā ve'l-merve fī-şe'āri'llāh K
[1241] The Ḳur'ān, 53/39

Dīvār-ı[1242] ḥarem-i mükerrem ile ḫāne-i ʻAbbās, raḍiye'llāhü ʻanh, cidārında[1243] birbirlerine[1244] muḳābil çār sütūn-ı aḫḍar miyānında olan mesāfede[1245] dūş-ı ḫatveye ilbās-ı ḫil'at-ı sürʻat olunup ḫuṣūṣan ḥarem-i ḫurrem-i[1246] Ilāhī'nüñ Bāb-ı Ṣafā[1247] Bāb-ı[1248] **Bağla, Bāb-ı**[1249] **Bāzān**[1250], Bāb-ı ʻAlī, Bāb-ı ʻAbbās, Bāb-ı Cenā'iz ve[1251] Bābü's-selām nām yedi deriçe-i muṭahheresi rāh-ı mesʻāya dide-küşā olmağla eṣnā-yı saʻyde her bāb-ı muʻallā-cenāb muḳābiline geldükde şāhid-i tenhā-nişīn-i [**L38a**] Beyt-i Ilāhī'nüñ cilve-i [**B46b**] istihzāzı[1252] meşhūd olmağın dest-i nigāh gülzār-ı cemālinden şükūfe-çīn-i temāşā olaraḳ maṭlaʻ-ı Ṣafā'dan maḳṭaʻ-i Merve'ye dek tekāpū-yı heft pāre tekmīli ile her heft [**P69**] ʻarūs-ı merām itmāmına[1253] iḳdām olındı.

Naẓm

Hīç nebīyī ve velīyī ne-būd[1254]

K'ō ḳadem-i saʻy der-īn reh ne-sūd[1255]

Ber-eṣer-i pāy kesī pā[1256] nihī[1257]

K'ez-ḳademeş ʻarş girifte mehī

Āḫir ṭūmār-ı heft-varaḳ-ı saʻy ṭayy olunduḳdan ṣoñra sāḥa-i ḥarem-i muḥtereme[1258] revzen-küşā-yı naẓāret olan bir menzilde basṭ-ı bisāṭ-ı ārām ve yevm-i vaḳfeye intiẓār ile çend rūze idāre-i[1259] evrāḳ-ı leyālī vü[1260] eyyām ḳılındı[1261].

[1242] dīvār: dīvān P L
[1243] cidārında: cüdrānında K; civārında P
[1244] birbirlerine: birbirine P
[1245] mesāfede: mesāfeye B
[1246] hurrem: - L
[1247] bāb-ı Ṣafā: bābü's-Ṣafā 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] *nebīyī* replaced with *velīyī* in L
[1255] ne-sūd: ne-şeved P
[1256] pā: pāy L
[1257] nihī: tehī B

Naẓm

Çūn ki ne-y-em maḥrem-i dīdār-ı ō

Mī-nigerem ber-der u[1262] dīvār-ı ō [**K 33b**]

Ḫāne-i ō ḫāne-i[1263] çeşm-i men-est

Zi-ān ki cihān ber-men ez-ō rūşen-est

29. ẕikr-i vaṣf-ı 'azīmet-i 'Arafāt

Āḫir ceres-i sīmīn-ḥilāl-ı ẕi'l-hicce[1264] def'a-i heştümde[1265] buḫtī-i[1266] gerden-keş-i gerdūna[1267] āvīzān olduḳda zamān-ı 'azīmet-i 'Arāfat ḳarīb olmağla pāy-ı ṣabra 'uḳde-i ārām ḥarām olmağın āmāde-nişīnān-ı girīve-i ḥasret

Naẓm

Müjde şehīdān-ı 'aşḳ[1268] rūz-ı ḳıyāmet resīd

me'āliyle birbirine[1269] iblāğ-ı peyām-ı beşāret itmege başladılar. Şeş cihet-i 'ālemden[1270]

Naẓm[1271]

Pīşānī-i şevḳuñ ḳadem-i rāh-ı necāt it

Müjgānuñı cārūb-ı ğubār-ı 'Arafāt it

[1258] muḥtereme: muḥterem K
[1259] idāre-i: āvāre-i B
[1260] vü: - K
[1261] ḳılındı: olundı K
[1262] u: - B
[1263] ḫāne-i ō ḫāne-i: ḫāne ḫāne-i K
[1264] ẕi'l-hicce: ẕi'l-ḳa'de K
[1265] heştümde: heştümle L
[1266] buḫtī-i: buḫtī B
[1267] gerden: gerdūn B
[1268] 'aşḳ: - K
[1269] birbirine: birbirlerine K
[1270] cihet-i 'ālemden: cihetden K
[1271] Naẓm: 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 cebīnüñle reh-i kūy-ı[1272] Ḫudāyı

Ebrūlaruñ āmāde-i feyḍ-i ḫuṭuvāt[1273] it

Dīvān-ı Ilāhīde döküp naḳd-i sirişküñ[1274]

Ma'mūre-i Islāmuña tecdīd-i berāt it

Virsün saña 'ömr-i ebedī girye-i **[B47a]** ḥasret

Ḫūn-i dili hem-ḫāṣıyyet-i āb-ı ḥayāt it

Nābī niye geldüñ ne ṭurursun bu maḳāma

Var bārgeh-i Ḫālıḳ'a kesb-i derecāt it

āvāzesi sāmi'a-i cānı gencīne-i gevher idüp ṭaraf ṭaraf āvāze-i nefīr-i ümerā-yı ḥuccāc[1275] emvāt-ı[1276] berehne-ḫīz-ı intiẓāra ṣūr-ṣıfat **[L38b]** ifāḍa-i ḥayāt itmegin kimi nāḳa-i āha hevdec-i şu'leyi zīver, kimi cemmāze-i sirişke 'amārī-i[1277] ḥabābı ber-ser[1278] idüp ğırīve-i[1279] na'ra-keşān[1280] dem-sāz-ı süheyl-i feres ve āvāze-i[1281] ceres nāle-i derd-nāk-i 'uşşāḳla hem-nefes olup bir ḥālet-i ārām-rübā hüveydā oldı ki[1282], ḳarīb oldı ki āb-ı Zemzem ser-cūş-ı **[P70]** şevḳ olup seylāb-ı eşk-i ḥuccāc ile kef-zenān-ı vādī-i[1283] Minā'ya cereyān eyleye! Ve az ḳaldı ki şāhbāz-ı āşyāne-i 'ināyet ya'nī beyt-i mükerrem iḥrām-ı siyeh-fāmın bāl-i müşkīn gibi āmāde-i[1284] pervāz idüp

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[1272] kūy: beyt K
[1273] ḫutūvāt: ḳaṭarāt DF
[1274] sirişküñ: sirişk B
[1275] ḥuccāc: ḥacc B
[1276] emvāt: - L
[1277] amārī-i: mārī B
[1278] ber-ser: ser ber-B
[1279] ğırīve-i: ğırīv K B
[1280] na'ra-keşān: na'ra-kesān P
[1281] āvāze-i: āvāz B
[1282] oldı ki: olup P
[1283] vādī-i: vādī P
[1284] āmāde-i: āmāde L K

hem-rāhī-i ṣufūf-ı rūḥānī ve[1285] seḥāb-ı āh-ı 'uşşāḳ ile feḍā-yı 'Arafāt'a ṭayarān eyleye!

Naẓm

Nāḳa ser-āsīme şüd ve şevḳ-nāk

Mürde ber-āverde ser ez-ceyb-i ḫāk

Sīne-i Ümmü'l-ḳurā'da şerḥa şerḥa[1286] durūb laḫt laḫt[1287] ciger-i suḫte-dilāndan tennūr-ı kebābiyān gibi āteşīn ve dāmen-i Baṭḥā ile girībān-ı Mu'allā'da olan çāk çāk ṭuruḳ ḫurūş-ı eşk-i ḫūnīn ile memerr-i seylāb-ı bahārdan ber-terīn olup dil-i ḫākden ber-ḫāste[1288] olan gubār perde-i ruḫsāre-ı[1289] mihr-i münīr ve āvāze-i züvvār ile āmīḫte ğulğule-i eẕkār ṣanem-resān-ı sāmi'a-i felek-eşīr olmış idi. Mübālağa-i [**K34a**] teṣā'üd-i ğubārdan meş'al-i [**B47b**] āftāb-ı 'ālem-tāb[1290] dūş-ı felekde nā-peydā ve müzāḥeme-i meṭāyādan küre-i zemīn zīr-i pāda nā-hüveydā idi[1291].

Naẓm

'Inan be-dest-i 'inayet siper-dih būd er ne

Ṣaff-ı melā'ike der-zīr-i dest ü pā mī-reft

Bu ğulğule-i ṭarab-ḫīz ile vādī-i[1292] Minā cānibine vürūd olundı[1293].

[1285] ṣufūf-ı rūḥānī ve: - P B L
[1286] şerḥa şerḥa: şerḥa-i K
[1287] laḫt laḫt: laḫt P
[1288] ḫāste: ḫ^{v}āste P
[1289] ruḫsāre-i: ruḫsār K
[1290] āftāb-ı 'ālem-tāb: 'ālem-tāb-ı āftāb B P
[1291] idi: oldı K
[1292] vādī-i: vādī L
[1293] olundı: oldı P

30. Ẕikr-i vaṣf-ı Minā ve Mescid-i Ḫayf[1294]

Vādī-i Minā belde-i mübāreke-i[1295] Mekke'nüñ cānib-i şarḳīsinde bir buçuḳ sā'at miḳdārı mesāfede[1296] bir vādī-i cān-feḍādur ki ṭarafeyn-i ṭarīḳde[1297] bir niçe yüz[1298] ḫāne-i mu'allā [**L39a**] binā[1299] şehnişīn-ber-şehnişīn revāḳ-ber-revāḳ[1300] ṣaf-keşīde-i rāh-ı intiẓār-ı ḥuccāc olup ṭabaḳa-i süflīsi[1301] sevdāgerān-ı eyyām-ı teşrīḳ[1302] içün dekākīn-i nüzhet-āyīn tertib olunmışdur. Ve ol vādī üzre sāye-güster olan kūh-ı bihişt-şükūh dāmeninde Mescid-i Ḫayf nām ma'bed-i fesīḥu'l-ercā esās-yāfte-i ḳavā'id-i istiḥkām olmışdur.

Naẓm[1303]

Ḳurb-i[1304] dū ṣad gām zi-sūḳ-ı Minā

Mescid-i Ḫayf-est[1305] ṣafā-der-ṣafā

Ḫāk u gil-i ān heme 'anber-sirişt

Füsḥat-ı ō vüs'at-ı ṣalın-ı bihişt

Ol mescid-i pür-feyḍ verāsında cilveger bir ğār-ı pür-envār ki dürr-i yetīm-i[1306] ṣadef-i kevneyn [**P71**] ḥaḍretleri ol ğārda vāsıṭatü'l-'ıḳd-ı encümen-i aṣḥāb olduḳları ḥālde peyām-resān-ı cihān-āferīn Cibrīl-i[1307] Emīn, 'aleyhi's-selām, emvāc-ı baḥr-i

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[1294] Ḫayf: - K
[1295] mubāreke-i: mukerreme-i K
[1296] mesāfede: mesāfeden K
[1297] ṭarafeyn-i ṭarīḳde: - L P
[1298] yüz: - P
[1299] binā: binā olup ṭarafeyn-i ṭarīḳde P
[1300] revāḳ-ber-revāḳ: revāḳ P
[1301] süflīsi: süflāsı L
[1302] teşrīḳ: teşrīf B
[1303] Naẓm: Beyt P
[1304] ḳurb: ḳarīb B
[1305] ḫayf-est: ḫayfī-st P
[1306] yetīm: yetīme-i K
[1307] Cibrīl: Cebrā'il B

ḳadīmden sübḥa-i sūre-i ve'l-Mürselāt'ı dest-āvīz-i pişgāh-ı nebevī itmeleriyle ğār-ı ve'l-Mürselāt nāmıyle ṣadef-i gevher-i iştihār olmışdur.

Beyt

Hest yekī ğār der-ān k'ez-ṣıfāt

Āmede meşhūr bū'l-Mürselāt[1308] **[B48a]**

Ez-pey-i ferrāşī-i ān ebr ü bād

Mī-resed ez-çerḫ be-her bā-midād

Leyle-i tāsi'a-i ẕi'l-hicce'de vādī-i Minā'da ārām-ı şebāne ve Mescid-i Ḫayf'da edā-yı namāz-ı pencgāne sünnet-i ḳā'id-i rāḥile-i risālet olmağın ḫayme-i zer-ṭınāb-ı ḫūrşīd sāḥa-i fey'-i zevālde be-dīd[1309] olmazdan muḳaddem sütūn u evtād-ı[1310] ḫıyāmda hey'āt-ı rükū' u sücūd u[1311] ḳu'ūd u ḳıyām cilveger olmağa başlayup[1312] dībāce-i zer-efşān-ı ẓuhrdan ḫātime-i sepīd-fām-ı namāz-ı bāma dek[1313] Mescid-i Ḫayf'a[1314] mülāzemet ve 'aḳs-i ḫuṭūṭ-ı cebhe-i sücūd musaṭṭar-ı nüsḫa-i ḍarā'at ḳılındı.

Naẓm

Ḫalḳ der-ān 'arṣa bā-fiğān u zār **[K34b]**

Cem' be-her güşe hezārān hezār

Ḳāfile-i sepīd-pūş-ı ṣubḥ[1315] ḫ[v]ābgāh-ı ufḳdan ser-zede olup[1316] ceyş-i ḍiyā[1317] feḍā-yı pīrūze-fām üzre vürūda āğāz **[L39b]** eyledükde

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[1308] bū: ebū P
[1309] bedīd: be-dīdār K B
[1310] evtād: evtād u B
[1311] sücūd u: - L B
[1312] olmağa başlayup: olmağla K
[1313] dek: degin K
[1314] Ḫayf'a: Ḥanīf'de K
[1315] ṣubḥ: ṣubḥ ile P
[1316] olup: olan L
[1317] ḍiyā: - K

Naẓm[1318]

Ḳad ṭala'a'ṣ-ṣubḥu ve hebbe 'ş-şimāl

Iḳterabe'l-vaḳtü enīḫū'l[1319]-cimāl

Naẓm[1320]

Bār[1321] be-bendīd ki fursat ne-māned

Tīz ber-āyend[1322] ki mühlet ne-māned

me'ālin zebān-dırāz-ı[1323] edā itmegin kise-i ḳulūb naḳd-ı ārāmdan ḫālī ve kāḫ-ı dimāğ hevā-yı şevḳden mālī[1324] olup cānib-i mevḳıf-i 'Arafāt'a şitāb içün[1325] ḫuṭuvāt-ı şevḳ peyk-i nigāhı taḳaddüme başladı.

Naẓm

Ān[1326] 'Arafāt-est[1327] būd kūy-ı Ḥaḳḳ

Hest gürīz heme kes sū-yı Ḥaḳḳ

Ba'de ez-īn ne ḫāne-i[1328] dilde māye-i[1329] ṣabr ve ne elde 'inān-ı iḫtiyār ve ne tende ḫil'at-ı tāb ve ne cānda neş'e-i iḳtidār ḳalup[1330], zimām-ı irādet ser-pençe-i ḥayrete müsellem ve varaḳ-ı şu'ūrda mes'ele-i bī-hūşı muraḳḳam olup mehābet-i [**B48b**] dīvān-ı ceberūt 'ummāl-ı ḥavāssı menāṣıb-ı şu'ūrdan ma'zūl ve ğışāve-i tütuḳ-ı melekūt [**P72**] ṭurra-i idrāki mesbūl eyledi.

[1318] Naẓm:Beyt K; Naẓm-ı 'Arabī P
[1319] enīḫū: enīḫ B
[1320] Naẓm: - 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: īn K B
[1327] -est:: -est ve P
[1328] ḫāne: - K B
[1329] māye-i: - K
[1330] ḳalup: ḳaldı K

Naẓm

Pāy nih tā ser künem ey reh-i dānā-firib

Zehre nih tā bū künem īn mey-i dāniş-zidā

Nev-be-nev istiḳbāl-i emvāc-ı rūḥāniyyet[1331] sefīne-i vücūdı laṭme-ḫ^{v}ār-ı ṭūfān-ı inḳılāb ve dem-be-dem teṣādüm-i ṣarṣar-ı mehābet-i 'avālim-i me'ānī bādbān-ı nefesi gencīne-i ḫafaḳān-ı ıḍṭırāb iderek her ne ḥāl ise üftān u ḫizān ḫāk-i revān-baḫş-ı 'Arafāt'a īṣāl-ı[1332] cān-ı nā-tüvān olundı.

31. ẕikr-i 'Arafāt ve kūh-ı raḥmet

Feḍā-yı raḥmet-ara-yı 'Arafāt vādi-i Minā'dan üç sa'ātlik miḳdārı cānib-i şarḳide bir sāḥa-i inşirāḥ-baḫşādur ki her ẕerre-i[1333] ḫāk-i müşk-sāsı[1334] gīsū-yı ḥūrān-ı bihiştden āstīn-feşān-ı istiğnā ve kem-ter giyāh-ı nīm-ḫuşk-ı nāfe-küşāsı sebze-i cūy-bār-ı[1335] kevṯer-i[1336] Teṯnīme ḫande-fermādur. Her rīze-i[1337] seng-i gevher-şikeninüñ[1338] reşk-i ḳıymeti zer-i ḫūrşīdi güdāḫte-i kūre-i küre-i eṯīr[1339] ve her ḳaṭre-i[1340] āb-ı günāh-şūyınuñ keyfiyyeti ser-çeşme-i raḥīḳ u Selsebīl'i[1341] emvāc-ı [**L40a**] infi'āl ile der-zencīr eylemişdür. Her [1342] naḫl-i bihişt-āşūbı ağṣān-ı ṭūbāya meyve-baḫş-ı pīç u tāb ve her ḫār-ı ḫançer-dārīnuñ ḫamyāze-keş-i ḥasreti āğūş-ı dīde-i āftābdur.

Beyt

Rīg me-pendār be-ẓāhir der-ān

[1331] rūḥāniyyet: rūḥānī K B
[1332] īṣāl: ittiṣāl K
[1333] ẕerre-i: ẕerre reh L; ẕerrede ḫāk-i P; ẕerre ẕerre B
[1334] müşk-sāsı: müşkbāsı B
[1335] cūy-bār: küşāsı B
[1336] kevṯer: - L
[1337] rīze-i: rīze B
[1338] - şikeninüñ: -şikenüñ P; şeklinüñ B
[1339] kūre-i küre-i eṯīr: küre-i kevṯer-eṯīr K
[1340] ḳaṭre-i: ḳaṭre L
[1341] Selsebīli: Tesnīmi K
[1342] her: ve her K

Ki āb-ı ḥayāt-est cevāhir der-ān [**K35a**]

Ḥaḳḳā bir ṣaḥrā-yı vesī'u'l-eṭrāfdur ki ol fihrist-i tefāṣīl-i 'avālim-i 'ulviyye vü süfliyye olan rūz-ı raḥmet-endūzda ribāṭ-ı nüh-ḳıbāb-ı āsmāna ṣu'ūd iden ḳavāfil-i du'ā' [**B49a**] ve bıḳā'-ı heft-ṣuffe-i zemīne nüzūl iden ser-ā-pāy-ı mele'-i a'lā daḫi ṣūret-i merāsim-i insāniyyede medd-i ṭınāb-ı ḫıyām itseler yine ekṣer mevāḍı'ı ol günde cerīde-i seyyi'āt-ı 'uṣātdan ḫālī-ter ḳalacağı mevḳıf-i iştibāh degildür. Tā vasaṭında tūde-i rāh-ı mağfiret ya'nī cebel-i raḥmet hey'āt-ı muḫtaṣarada[1343] bir nāficetü'l-misk-i dürc-i hidāyetdür ki būy-ı dimāğ-pīrāsı mebde'-i 'aṭse-i[1344] ṣubḥ ve menşe'-ı zükām-ı şāmdur[1345]. Bālā-yı ser-i raḥmet-eṣerde bir ḳubbe-i dil-nişīn zānū-zede-i temkīn olup sirişk-i 'uşşāḳ gibi [**P73**] dāmeninden güẕer iden āb-ı revān ḳurbinde maṭbaḫ-ı [1346] Ādem, 'aleyhi's-selām, dūd-engīz-i micmer-i[1347] āsmān olmışdur.

Naẓm

Ger çe be-ṣūret zi-cibāl[1348] aṣğar-est

Līk be-ma'nā zi-heme ekber-est

Pür[1349] būd ez-raḥmet-i Ḥaḳḳ dāmeneş

Ins ü melek cem' be-pīrāmeneş

Sāye-i ō der-'araṣāt-ı cinān

Mī-dihed ez-ẓıll-ı Ilāhī nişān

[1343] muḫtaṣarada: muḫtaṣarda L
[1344] 'aṭse: 'aṭyye-i B
[1345] şāmdur: meşāmdur B
[1346] maṭbaḫ: maṭbaḫ-ı ḥaḍret P
[1347] micmer: micmere-i K
[1348] cibāl: ḫayāl B
[1349] pür: ber L

Ol cebel-i vālā-maḥall ḥavālisi[1350] gird-ā-gird ṭınāb-der-ṭınāb[1351] ḫıyām-ı reng-ā-rengle tezyīn olunup ol gevher-i[1352] gencīne-i raḥmet güyā[1353] iḥāṭa-i dīvār-ı mīnā-kārīde bir nigīn ve ol merkez-i dā'ire-i 'ināyet meh-i[1354] çārdeh-ṣıfat āğūş-ı hālede mekīn olup

Naẓm

Ez-cebel ü deşt vey-i āṣār ney

Hīç be-cüz-i ḫalḳ nümūdār ney

Dāmeneş ez-ḫayl u[1355] şütür fevc fevc

Geşte çū deryā ki der-āmed[1356] be-mevc **[L40b]**

ẕikr-i[1357] cem'iyyet-i ḥuccāc-est der-Mescid-i Ibrāhīm[1358]

Vaḳtā ki 'ārıḍ-ı ḫūrşidde reng-i zevāl **[B49b]** nümāyān olmağa ḳarīb oldı. Yek-sere ḥuccāc-ı ḳarīnü'l-ibtihāc Mescid-i Ibrāhīm 'aleyhi's-selāmda güẕeşte-i silk-i ṣufūf-ı namāz olmağa 'azm eylediler. Ta'yīn-i Rūḥu'l-emīn üzre[1359] ḥudūd-ı Beytü'l-ḥarām ile ḥudūd-ı 'arṣa-i 'Arafāt imtiyāzı içün iki maḥalde vaḍ' olunan 'alemeyn beynindeki arḍ-ı ḫāliyyede Mescid-i Ibrāhīm, 'aleyhi's-selām, bir 'ibādetgāh-ı ferāḫ u münevverdür **[K35b]** ki namāz-ı pīşīn ü pesīn birbiriyle[1360] hem-zānū-yı ṣoḥbet-i mu'āḫāt[1361] olmaḳ ol cāmi'-i şerīfe muḫtaṣṣdur.

[1350] ḥavālisi: vālisi B
[1351] ṭınāb-der-ṭınāb: ṭınāb K
[1352] gevher: - L B P
[1353] güyā: olan K
[1354] meh: - L P
[1355] u: - K
[1356] der-āmed: der-āyed K
[1357] ẕikr: - L B P
[1358] Ibrāhīm: Ibrāhīm 'aleyhi's-selām P
[1359] üzre: ile K
[1360] birbiriyle: -P B L
[1361] mu'āḫāt: muvāḫāt P

Bināberīn ol mescid-i şerīf iḥrām-keşān-ı sepīd-fām ile şükūfe-i bādām rīḫte olmış gülzārdan nümūne olup ṣaḥīfe-i sāḥa-i dil-ārāsı[1362] 'amel-nāme-i[1363] raḥmetiyān gibi süṭūr-ı sepīdāc-gūnı ile cilveger oldı. Āḫir 'aḳreb-i zer-endūde-i ḫūrşīd sā'at-ı mīnā-ẓarf-ı gerdūn[1364] medārındaki derece-i ẓuhra[1365] ser-nihāde olduḳda mü'eẕẕinān-ı pākīze-nefes münebbih-i vaḳt-i ṣalāt olmağın ḫaṭīb-i bedī'ü'l-beyān-ı minber-i feṣāḥat muḳteḍā-yı ḥāle muṭābıḳ bir ḫuṭbe-i belīğa edāsından ṣoñra ḳıyās-ı nāsa muḫālif **ref'u tenāfür**[1366] **beyne'ṣ-ṣalāteyn** [P74] ile cem' u ḳasr-ı ẓuhr[1367] u 'aṣr eylediler. Bu ḥālet-i endīşe-fersā[1368] nā-mesbūḳ-ı cerīde-i a'māl olmağla mübtediyān-ı ḥacca vesīle-i ğarābet ve ḍamīme-i ḥayret olmağın 'aḳīb-i selāmda yekpāre[1369] 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 ḳılınduḳdan ṣoñra[1370],

Naẓm

Vaḳt şüd eknūn ki[1371] be-muvaḳḳıf **revī**[1372]

Vāḳıf-ı esrār-ı ma'ārif şevī

me'ālī girībān-ı cāna dest urup hengām-ı teşebbüṣ-i dāmen-i 'Arafāt ḥulūl itmegin [L41a] hemān ol maḥalde naḳd-i hūş vedī'a-i ṣandūḳa-i ḥayret ḳılınup cāẕibe-i mihr-i 'ināyet ile şebnem-āsā bī-iḫtiyār 'azm-i dāmen-i 'Arafāt olundı.

Naẓm[1373]

[1362] dil-ārāsı: dil-ārāmı K
[1363] 'amel-nāme-i: 'alem-nāme-i P B
[1364] gerdūn: gerden P
[1365] ẓuhra: ẓuhurda ḳarīb-i K; ẓuhrda P
[1366] ref'u tenāfür: ref'u't-tenāfür B
[1367] ẓuhr: ẓuhūr P
[1368] -fersa: -fermā K
[1369] yekpāre: yekpāre-i K
[1370] ḳılınduḳdan ṣoñra: ḳılndı 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 bered[1374]

Be-ẕirve'i ki yekī būd reng-i sāye ve nūr

32. Vaṣf-ı hengām-ı vaḳfe der-'Arafāt

Yine[1375] ḳāfile-i mūr-şümār-ı ḥuccāc pirāmen-i ḫırmen-i[1376] cebel-i raḥmetde[1377] ḥalḳa-bend-i cem'iyyet oluncaya dek[1378] ferrāşān-ı çāpuk-dest-i ṣabā-sīmā aḥmāl u eṣḳāli ber-çīde-i mifreşe-i dūş-ı cimāl idüp ṭaraf ṭaraf dīvān-ı muḳaddes-i Ilāhī'de herkes vaḳfe-gīr-i güşe-i meskenet ü iftiḳār olmaḳ tedārikine iştiğāl itdiler[1379].

Naẓm

Īn 'Arafāt-est ferāğat kücā-est

Herkesī imrūz be-ḫōd mübtelā-st

Māhçe-i maḥfil-i Mıṣrī[1380] vü Şāmī ol kūh-ı[1381] felek-i 'ināyet dāmeninde ṣūret-nümā-yı ferḳadān olup tūğlaruñ perçemi pür-ḫam ve 'alemlerüñ [**K36a**] şuḳḳaları der-hem ḳılındı. Ḳāḍī-i maḥkeme-i Mekke-i mükerreme-i[1382] mübāreke bi-ḥasbi'l-'āde[1383] derecāt-ı minbere ṣu'ūd idüp ref'-i dest-i münācāt ile feṭḥ-i ebvāb-ı ḥācāt muḳaddemātına şürū' eyledi[1384]. Fevāṣıl-i fıḳarāt-ı münācātda 'āmme-i ḥuccācdan taḥrīk-i silsile-i lebbeyke işāret [**B50b**] içün bāzū-yı mü'ezzinān bāl-i mürğān gibi vaḳf-ı cünbüş oldı. Hengām-ı zīnet-i rūz-ı bāzār-ı mağfiret olmağla sū-be-sū cān-

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[1374] bered: burde B
[1375] yine: - B
[1376] ḫırmen: - L
[1377] raḥmetde: raḥmetle P, raḥmetdür K
[1378] dek: degin K
[1379] itdiler: eylediler B; oldı K
[1380] Mıṣrī: Mıṣr K
[1381] kūh: - K L B
[1382] mükerreme-i: - B K L
[1383] 'āde: 'ād B
[1384] şürū' eyledi: şürū'a başladı K B

fürūşān-ı sevdāger-i[1385] muḥabbet lifāfe-i metā'-ı niyāza küşāyiş-i burūdet[1386] virüp mu'āmele-i germ-ā-germ-i sūz u güdāz ve şevḳ u niyāza derkār oldılar. [P75]

Naẓm

Z-in heme yekpāre ber-āmed nüfūr

Ḫ^{v}āst ḳıyāmet meger[1387] nefḫ-i sūr

Şive-i şīven be-beden rāh yāft

Teng-dilī destgeh-i āh yāft

Kāh bīm-i 'iṣyān ile bedenler sīmāb-ṣıfat lerzān ve gāh teşne-i raḥīḳ ümīd-i ğufrān[1388] ile dīdeler giryān olup[1389] çehreler dem-serdī-i āh-ı nedāmet ile [L41b] ḫızānī ve sirişkler ārzū-yı nev-bahār-ı [1390] raḥmet ile erğuvānī olmağa yüz ṭutdı.

Naẓm

Müje-hā[1391] ber-'ıẕār-ı Dicle feşāned

Āstīn-hā zi-girye Ceyḥūn şüd

Niçe cebheler seccāde-i ḫāk üzre naḳş-bend, niçe bedenler āteş-i ıḍṭırāb içre[1392] sipend olup şerāre-i āh nişāngāh-ı mehce-i[1393] ṣüreyyā ve ḳaṭarāt-ı sirişk gül-güne-i ruḫsāre-i ṣerā olmağa 'azm eyledi.

Naẓm

Dil be-derūn germ[1394] çü ḫūrşīd şüd

[1385] sevdāger-i: sevdā-yı B
[1386] burūdet: - L K P
[1387] meger: ve meger B
[1388] teşne-i raḥīḳ ümīd-i ğufrān: neş'e-i ümīd-i raḥīḳ-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: sübḥa-i B K
[1394] *germ* written in the margin of K

Ra'şe-i ten ber-nehc beyd şüd [?]

Na'ra-i yā Rabb zi-felek ber-güẕeşt

Eşk-i revan āmed ü ez-ser güẕeşt

Girībān-ı kefen-i iḥrāmdan ser-zede olan berehne tenler ile ṣaḥrā-yı 'Arafāt nümūne-i ḥesābgāh-ı 'Araṣāt olup belki ğavğā-yı şūr-engīz-i maḥşer aña naẓar[an] encümen-i sūrdan nazik-ter idi.

Naẓm

Mürde-i ō bā-kefen-i pāre [**B51a**] bih

'Āciz ü üftāde vü bī-çāre bih

Cūşiş-i seylāb-ı eşk-i nedāmet āsyāb-ı çerḫı[1395] gerdān ve hübūb-ı 'avāṣıf-ı āh-ı ḥasret keştī-i nüh-[1396] bādbān-ı eflākı vīrān itmege ḳarīb oldı[1397].

Nazm

Lenger-i luṭf-ı tū ey keştī-i tevfīḳ kücā-st

Ki der-īn baḥr-i kerem ğarḳ-ı güneh āmede-īm [**K36b**]

Işāret-i mü'eẕẕinān ile ṣad hezār efvāhdan def'aten ẓuhūr iden gülbāng-ı felek-şikāf-ı lebbeyk[1398] bünyān-ı melek u melekūtı bir hem-zede-i zelzele-i ıḍṭırāb belki leb-i sükkān-ı nāsūt u lāhūtı[1399] tebḫāle-zār-ı[1400] teb ü tāb iderdi. Sāḥa-i ḫāk üzre müzāḥame-i rū-yı niyāzdan gül-gūn-ı eşk 'arṣa-i cevelān göremezdi. Ve rū-yı hevāda keşret-i dest-i du'ādan ṭā'ir-i nigāh fırṣat-ı ṭayarān bulamazdı.

Beyt

[1395] çerḫı: çerḫ B
[1396] nüh: - B
[1397] oldı: olmış idi P
[1398] lebbeyk: lebbeyk ile K
[1399] nāsūtı u lāhūtı: nāsūtı K
[1400] tebḫale-zār: teb-ḫāle-i B

Dest-i du'āyī-st[1401] ki ber-āsmān[1402]

Dāşte her sū-yı zemīn ü zamān

El-ḥāṣıl herkes endāze-i ḳāmet-i [**P76**] isti'dādı üzre gencīne-i 'aṭā-yı[1403] Rabbānī'den ḫ[v]āhişger-i metā'-ı mağfiret olmaḳ sevdāsıyle[1404] naḳd-i şümār-ı eşk-i iftiḳār olduḳları [**L42a**] vaḳitde derūn-ı künbed-i aḫḍar sīne-i ḥuccācdan sāde-ter iken āṯār-ı raḥmet-i Ilāhī ẓuhūra gelüp[1405]

Naẓm

Fevc-der-fevc küned ḥüsn-i ḳabūl isti'cāl

Ḫalḳ-rā leşker-i āmīn u[1406] du'ā der-sefer-est

vefḳince nāgāh taḫmīnen dā'ire-i[1407] 'Arafāt miḳdārınca bir ḳıt'a seḥāb-ı 'anber-efşān[1408] sāye-bān-ı ser-berehne[1409] ḥācıyān olmağa[1410] āğāz eyledi. Gūyā teşā'üd-i ebḫara-i āh libās-ı ebrde cilveger olup [**B51b**]

Naẓm

Āb-rū[1411] mī-reved ey ebr-i ḫaṭā-pūş be-bār

Ki be-dīvān-ı 'amel-nāme siyāh āmede-īm

niyāzınuñ te'ṯīri nümāyān olup resm-i[1412] gülāb-efşānī-i mihmān-nevāzāne üzre tedrīcle ṣafaḥāt-ı vücūh-ı 'uṣāta jāle-bār olmağa başladı.

Naẓm

[1401] du'ayī-st: du'ā-bīn P
[1402] ber-: der- P K
[1403] 'aṭā-yı: 'aṭāyā-yı P
[1404] sevdāsıyle: 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 zaḫm ki tīr-i āh[1413]

Raḥmet-i Ḥaḳḳ rīḫt der-ān cāygāh

Ez-nem-i deryā-yı kerem kūh kūh

Feyḍ-i Ḫudā rīḫte ber-īn gürūh

Gūyā Ḥakīm-i ḫaste-nevāz-ı şifā-ḫāne-i ezel 'ārıḍ-ı bī-hūşān-ı neş'e-i muḥabbete[1414] müşāhede-i şāhid-i[1415] luṭfa çeşm-küşāy olmağiçün reşeḥāt-ı āb-ı[1416] 'ināyet pāşīde eyledi. Ne bārān! Her ḳaṭresi mürsele-i ribāṭu'l-ḥıcāl-ı elṭāf-ı Yezdānīye bir dürr-i şāh-vār ve vişāḥu'ṣ-ṣadr-ı 'arā'is-i ḳabūl-i Rabbānīye birer gevher-i ābdār idi.[1417]

Naẓm

Ber-felek bürde du'ā-rā per ü bāl ve sūz u tāb[1418]

Ber-zemīn āverde raḥmet-rā du'ā-yı müstecāb

Bu güne hengām-ı 'acz u niyāzda āb-yārī-i ebr-i 'ināyetüñ[1419] ser-sebzī-i geştzār-ı āmāle delāleti vāḍıh olup, bu mu'āmele-i merḥamet [**K37a**] muḳaddemāt-ı cūşiş-i deryā-yı mağfiret olduğı istiş'ār[1420] olmağın

Mıṣrā'[1421]

Kerem gördükce ey Bāḳī gedālardan recā[1422] artar

[1413] tīr-i āh: tīre āh B
[1414] neş'e-i muḥabbete: neş'e-mend-i K
[1415] şāhid: - K
[1416] āb: - B
[1417] Ne bārān! Her ḳaṭresi mürsele-i ribāṭü'l-ḥıcāl-ı elṭāf-ı Yezdānīye bir dürr-i şāh-vār ve vişāḥü'ṣ-ṣadr-ı '*arā'is-i ḳabūl*-i Rabbānī'ye birer gevher-i ābdār idi: - L
[1418] tab: saz B
[1419] 'inayetüñ: 'ināyet K
[1420] olduğı istiş'ār: - K
[1421] This line is by Bāḳī (1526-1600); see Nācī, '*Osmānlı şā'irleri*, Istanbul 1308/1889, p. 36
[1422] recā: niyāz K

vefḳince feryād-ı girye-ḫīzı niçe perde daḫi tīz itdiler[1423]. Bir sā'at miḳdārı teḳāṭur-ı reşaḥāt-ı ğamām daḫi ol mevḳıf-ı mu'allāda vaḳfe-gīr-i ārām olduḳdan ṣoñra[1424] ḫırmen-i berg-i nesrīn gibi tefrīḳa-i tārāc-ı ṣabā ile yine nā-peydā oldı.

El-ḥaḳḳ ne hengāmdur ol hengām[1425] ki sükkān-ı ḳalem-rev-i Islām[1426] [**B52a**] dīvān-ı mağfiret-i[1427] Ilāhide bir sā'at vaḳfe-i [**P77**] mefrūḍa ārzūsı ile heft sāle ve heşt sāle ve en aḳrebi çihl merḥaleden [1428] irtikāb-ı meşāḳḳ-ı baḥr ü berr ile[1429] ṭayy-ı menāzil-i işṭiyāḳ[1430] iderek [**L42b**] ol zamān u mekāna ḥān-resān[1431] olup

Naẓm

Dest tehī pāy tehī ser tehī

Ḳalb tehī rūḥ tehī ber tehī

gedā-yı kūçe-i raḥmet-i ḥaḍret-i Ğanī-i[1432] çāre-sāz ve nā'il-i dest-māye-i 'arḍ-ı niyāz olalar!

Ne ḫōşdur ol faṣl-ı bahār-ı çemenistān-ı ḳuds ki bülbülān-ı lāne-pīrā-yı[1433] hevā-yı iṭā'at şāḫsār-ı 'afv-ı Ilāhī'den gül-çīn olmaḳ ümīdiyle 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 ki[1434] ḫırmen ḫırmen ẕünūb-ı dūzaḫ-āşūb ṣadme-i ṣarṣar-ı 'ināyet-i bī-ğāyet[1435] ile berg-i kāhdan[1436] sebük-ter ve tūde tūde ğubār-ı ma'ṣıyyet ḫurūş-ı[1437] seylāb-ı mağfiret ile iksīrden 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] merḥaleden: merḥaleden gelüp L
[1429] ber ile: ber eyleyüp K
[1430] işṭiyāḳ: - K
[1431] ḥān: - L B K
[1432] raḥmet-i ḥaḍret-i Ğanī-i: raḥmet-i Ilāhī'de K; ğanī-i: ğanī B P
[1433] lāne-pīrā: lāne-bīzār P B
[1434] ki: kim K

Ne maḥaldür ol maḥall ki müsvedde-i cerīde-i seyyi'āt ḳalem-i 'afv ile beyāḍa çıkup pīşānī-i şeb-fām-ı 'uṣāt ṭulū'-ı āftāb-ı raḥmet ile mānende-i dībāce-i ṣubḥ-ı münevver olduḳda Iblīs-i nā-ḳabūl renc-i iḍlāl-i ṣad-sālesi hebā olduğına sīne-kūb-ı āh u vāveylā ola!

Naẓm

Bār-ı güneh[1438] ez-heme kes laḫt laḫt

Rīḫte çūn berg zi-şāḫ-ı[1439] dıraḫt

Bār-ı diger āmede ez-nev bedīd [?]

Her ki der-īn vaḳt be-īncā resīd[1440]

Ne ni'metdür bu ni'met ki gürisne-ṭab'ān-ı rūze-i 'acz u niyāz bu [**B52b**] ḍiyāfetgāh-ı 'amīmü'n-nevāl-ı ğufrāndan kendileri sīr-i mi'de olduğından faḍla aḳrabā vü aḥibbāsına[1441] daḫi ifrāz-ı ḥiṣṣe-i ğā'ib içün dest-efrāz-ı niyāz olalar!

Ne sa'ādetdür bu sa'ādet ki ḥalḳa-gīrān-ı [**K37b**] bāb-ı 'aṭā-yı Ğaffārı pençe-i zebāne-i[1442] āteşden kendilerin taḫlīṣ-i girībān-ı cān itdüginden mā'ada emānet-sipārlaruñ daḫi ṣaḥīfe-i raḳabesini[1443] raḳam-dāşt-ı i'tāḳ olmağa[1444] vesīle olalar!

Ne gündür ol gün ki ebvāb-ı raḥmet dest-i du'ā gibi küşāde ve kālā-yı 'ināyet [**L43a**] rū-yı niyāz gibi āmāde olup ser u pā berehne dergāh-ı kerem-penāha müctemi' olan

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[1435] bī-gāyet: - K
[1436] kāhdan L: giyāhdan P
[1437] ḫurūş: - K
[1438] güneh: günāh B
[1439] şāḫ: şāḫ u K
[1440] The hemistiches of this couplet are replaced each other in K
[1441] aḳrabā vü aḥibbāsına: aḳrabāsına K
[1442] zebāne-i: zebāne L
[1443] raḳabesini: raḳabesi P
[1444] olmağa: olmağla K

bendeler pīrāhen-i çirkīn-i günāhdan 'ārī olup[1445] teşrīf-i [P78] ḫil'at-ı mağfiret ile 'avdet eyleyeler!

Naẓm

Ber-der-i erbāb-ı kerem men' nīst

Ḫ^{v}āh der-āy ez-der ve[1446] ḫ^{v}āhī be-īst[1447]

Ber-der-i dergāh-ı kerīmān çe bāk[1448]

Ger heme āfāḳ der-āyend pāk

Ne keremdür bu kerem ki ḥicāb-ı cürm ü taḳṣīr ile niḳāb-ı 'ıẕār olan eyādī-i du'ā naḳd-i icābet ile gencīne-i i'zāz ve bār-ı gerān-ı şerm-i 'iṣyān[1449] ile ḫam olan ḳāmetler pāy-müjdī-i neş'e-i elṭāf ile[1450] serv-āsā ser-efrāz olalar!

Bu cümle mevāhib-i bī-kerāndan[1451] ğayrı ne devletdür bu devlet[1452] ki ḥaḍret-i Kerīm-i ẕi'l-celāl[1453], 'azze şānüh, ol rūz-ı mağfiret-fīrūzda melā'ike-i muḳarrabīni nā'il-i luṭf-ı ḫiṭāb buyurup 'Ey ma'şer-i sürādiḳāt-ı melekūt dide-küşā-yı temāşā oluñ ki[1454] ümīd-i 'afv ü raḥmetle rāh-ı rıḍā-ḫ^{v}āhī-i 'izzetümde pūyān olan bendelerüm [**B53a**] ki[1455] şevḳ-i iṭā'atümde[1456] milk u māl u evlād u 'iyāliyle müvāda'at ve mevḳıf-i muḳaddesüme üftān ü ḫīzān müsāra'at idüb, ḥālā dideleri çeşmesār-ı nem ve sīneleri çākzār-ı elem ve[1457] cebheleri ḫırmengāh-ı ğubār-ı meẕellet ve dehenleri nāle-

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[1445] olup: - K
[1446] ve: - P
[1447] be-īst: berī-st L
[1448] bāk: pāk B
[1449] şerm-i 'iṣyān: şerm ü 'iṣyān P L
[1450] elṭāf ile: elṭāfi ile K; elṭāfiyle B P
[1451] bī-kerāndan: - K
[1452] bu devlet: - L
[1453] ẕi'l-celāl: ẕü'l-celāl B
[1454] ki: - L B
[1455] ki: - K
[1456] iṭā'atümde: iṭā'atümle B
[1457] ve: - K

rīz-i feryād-ı melāmet, ve[1458] destleri gezīde-i dendān-ı[1459] infi'āl ve[1460] serleri kūfte-i seng-i melāl, deryūzeger-i der-i ğufrānum ve ḥalḳa-gerdān-ı bāb-ı iḥsānum olmışlardur. Siz cümle nigāşte-i ṣaḥīfe-i şehādet oluñ ki bunlaruñ ser-cümle seyyi'ātın[1461] libās-ı ḥasenātda[1462] cilveger ve raḥmet ü mağfiretüme maẓhar eyledüm' diyü ruḫ-sūde-i ḫāk-i 'Arafāt olan kemīnelerin encümen-i ḳudsiyānda 'aẓamet ü kibriyāsıyle vesīle-i[1463] mübāhāt eyleye!

Naẓm

Zihī merātib-i 'ulyā ve sa'ādet-i 'uẓmā [**L43b**]

Meleklerine mübāhāt ide senüñle Ḫudā[1464]

El-ḥamdü'li-l'llāh ṣümme el-ḥamdü'li-l'llāh bu[1465] herze-gerd-gū-yı ma'ṣıyyeti[1466] [**K38a**] āvāre-i vādī-i ye's ü ḥırmān itmeyüb[1467] ḳuvvet-i reftār[1468] pāy-ı iḳtidārdan dāmen-keş olmadın[1469] ol ḫāk-i pāke vaḍ'-ı ḳadem ile fā'iz-i derece-i iğtinām eyledi.

Naẓm

Irdüm ol cāye ki maḳṣūd-ı dil u cānum idi

Gördüm ol vaḳti ki ārāyiş-i īmānum idi

Buldum ol maṭlabı ki göñlüm iderdi ḫ^{v}āhiş [**P79**]

Başdum ol ḫāke ki kuḥl-ı başar-ı cānum idi

[1458] ve: - L B
[1459] dendān: dīdān B
[1460] ve: - L
[1461] seyyi'ātın: seyyi'ātda P
[1462] ḥasenātda: ḥasenātla L
[1463] vesīle-i: - L
[1464] Ḫudā: Mevlā K
[1465] bu: ol K
[1466] ma'ṣıyyet: 'ışyān olan faḳīri K
[1467] itmeyüb: eylemeyüp K
[1468] reftār: reftārı K
[1469] olmadın: olmayup B

Ḥaḍret-i Ḳādir-i Mucīb[1470] cümle[1471] ārzū-mendān-ı peyğūle-nişīn-i[1472] ḥasrete naṣīb eyleye! Āmīn![1473]

33. Ẕikr-i 'avdet be-sū-yı Müzdelife

Mā-ḥaṣal tekmīl-i mertebe-i vücūba dek[1474] mevḳıf-i [**B53b**] güneh-güẕārı 'Arafāt'da iḳāmet-i pāy-ı ṣebāt olunup micmer-i zerrīn-i ḫūrşīd zīr-i dāmen-i ufḳda[1475] nā-bedīd olmaḳ inṣirāf-ı mihmānān-ı mağfirete işāret olmağın, el-'aẓametü'llāhi te'ālā[1476], yekpāre-i[1477] emvāt-ı 'Arafāt nā'il-i rütbe-i ḥayāt olup[1478] bir ğulğule-i āsmān-gīr ẓuhūr eyledi[1479] ki az ḳaldı ki iṭfā'-i nā'ire-i felek-eṣīr eyleye!

Āṣār-ı raḥmet-i Ğaffārı[1480] bi'l-cümle ḳulūba sārī olmağın sīneler gencīne-i sürūr ve ḫāṭırlar encümen-i ḥuḍūr oldı. Ceyş-i elem hezīmet-ḫōrde-i sipāh-ı inbisāṭ ve ğubār-ı ğam ḫ[v]ābīde-i reşeḥāt-ı neşāṭ olup müddetü'l-'ömr dāmen-i[1481] viṣāline dest-res müyesser olmayan[1482] şāhid-i ṣafā-yı derūn cilve-i nā-ma'hūdāne ile 'arḍ-ı cemāle başladı. Bu dest-māye-i ṣafā taḥṣīliyle birbirin pā-māl iderek cānib-i Müzdelife'ye imāle-i 'inān-ı mürāca'at ḳılındı.

Naẓm

Ḫalḳ heme bār-ı güneh rīḫte

Rāḥile ez-cāy ber-āngīḫte

[1470] Mucīb: 'Allām K
[1471] cümle: - B
[1472] nişīn: - K
[1473] āmīn: āmīn Ya Mu'īn K
[1474] tekmīl-i mertebe-i vücūba dek: tekmīl-i vücūb mertebesine degin K
[1475] 'ufḳda nā-bedīd: 'ufḳdan be-dīdār K
[1476] te'ālā: - P L B
[1477] yekpāre-i: yekpāre P L
[1478] olup: olmağla K
[1479] eyledi: itdi B
[1480] Ğaffār: Ğaffārī-i B
[1481] dāmen: dām L
[1482] müyesser olmayan: müyesser olmağın K

Geşte sebük-bār[1483] zi-bār-ı günāh

Rūz ser-i şevḳ nihāde be-rāh

Ol maḥalde birbirine [**L44a**] müsābaḳat menşe'-i nizā' u cidāl olmaḳ iḥtimālini def' içün bi-ḥasbi'l-'āde maḥfil-i Mışriyān dest-i Şāmiyāna ve maḥfil-i Şāmiyān dest-i Mışriyāna ıdā' olunup kemāl-i inşirāḥ u ibtihāc ile rūy-māl-ı dāmen-i[1484] Meş'aru'l-ḥarāma taḥrīk-i gām-ı ihtimām olundı.

Naẓm

Reh-revān-rā bezmānī çünin

Pāy ne-y-āyed zi-feraḥ ber-zemin

Ez-'Araṣāt ān ki be-bāğ-ı cinān

Rūy nihed çūn ne-būd şādmān

34. Evṣāf-ı mağfiret-eşer-i Meş'aru'l-ḥarām

Müzdelife [**B54a**] nāmıyle [**K38b**] mersūm-ı cerīde-i şöhret olan maḳām-ı feyḍ-irtisām 'Arafāt'la vādī-i Minā beyninde bir ṣaḥrā-yı cān-feḍādur ki Meş'aru'l-ḥarām ol ṣaḥrā-yı ma'ṣıyet-rübā sīnesinde olan bir ṣuffe-i vesī'a[1485] ve[1486] vasaṭında olan ḳubbe-i rafi'adan 'ibāretdür. Mevḳıf-i 'Arafāt'da[1487] cerīde-i 'iṣyāndan [**P80**] sütürde-i gizlik-i 'afv olmayan sevād-ı ḥuḳūḳ-ı 'ıbād ol maḳām-ı mübārekde şüste-i ṣābūn-ı 'ināyet olmaḳ nigāşte-i ṣafaḥāt-ı[1488] tevātürdür. Bināberîn pīrāmen-i pür-emn-i Meş'arü'l-ḥarām maḳām-ı ḫıyām ḳılınup vaḳt-i 'işā vü mağrib birbiriyle düçār olmaḳ

[1483] -bār: -sāz B
[1484] dāmen: -K
[1485] vesī'a: - L
[1486] ve: - K
[1487] 'Arafāt'da: 'Arafāt'la L
[1488] safaḥāt: sāḥa'if K

daḫi ol maḳām-ı mağfiret-niẓāma maḫṣūṣ olmağın her güşesinde bir cemā'at şirāze-bend-i eczā-yı[1489] nüsḫa-i 'ibādet olmağa şürū' eylediler.

Naẓm

Pervāne-i raḥmet be-dih ey şem' ki imşeb

Ez-āteş-i dil[1490] pīş-i tū çūn şem' güdāzem[1491]

Ol leyle-i mübārekede ḥuḳūḳ-ı 'ibād gibi bir bār-ı belādan āzād olmaḳ şevḳiyle ẕeyl-i mu'āfāt-ı Rabbü'l-'ıbāda teşebbüṣ ṭarīḳiyle yine ḳāfile-i āh u feryād çerḫ-i berīne peyveste oldı.

Naẓm

Imşeb ki yār ber-ser-i luṭf u 'ināyet-est

Ey nāle germ bāş ki vaḳt-i sirāyet-est

Ol leyle-i ḫavf u recāda nā'ire-i ḳulūbdan zebāne-keş olan dūd-ı bīm ve şem'-i ümīd ile[1492] bir başḳa şeb-i pür-aḫter daḫi bedīd[1493] olup[1494] destler nihāl-i du'ā[1495] gibi sū-yı āsmāna küşūde[1496] ve cebheler [**L44b**] eşk-i niyāz gibi zemīne sūde olup[1497]

Naẓm

Çendān sūdend rū-yı ḥasret be-zemīn [**B54b**]

Ki īn[1498] tūde-i[1499] ḫāk-rā be-teng-āverdend[1500]

[1489] eczā-yı: - K
[1490] dil: tū B; In K *dil* is written in the margin.
[1491] -güdāzem: -güẕārem B
[1492] ile: - K
[1493] bedīd: be-dīdār K
[1494] olup: idüp B
[1495] du'ā: - K
[1496] küşūde: keşīde ve K
[1497] olup: oldı B K
[1498] ki īn: k'īn B
[1499] tūde-i: sūde-i L P
[1500] āverdend: āverend B

derīçe-i ḫazā'in-i[1501] ebṣār kilid-i ümīd ile meftūḥ ve kālā-yı ḫ^{v}āb-ı girān ser-pençe-i düzd-i bīm ile merfū' oldı.

Naẓm

Reft zi-dil miḥnet u ğurbet be-der

Şām-ı ğarībān diger-est īn diger

Ol merāḥ-ı [mürāḥ] şāfiyye-i ṣafāda ḥāl-i māḍī vü müstaḳbellerine[1502] girye ile mu'tellü'l-'ayn olanlar fā'iz-i 'ızz-i[1503] maḳṣūd ve ol mülteḳā-yı baḥr-i rā'iḳ-i[1504] hidāyetden dürer-i ḫızāne-i mağfiret içün nüsḫa-i eşbāh-ı āh ile tenvīr-i ebṣār idenler vāṣıl-ı mes'ele-i şühūd oldılar.

Naẓm

Ẓulmet-i jeng ez-ruḫ-ı āyīne reft

Ez-teh-i dil miḥnet-i dīrīne reft[1505]

Kevkeb-i ümid ez-ō şüd bedīd

Şām çünīn bih būd ez-rūz-ı 'īd

Ol sāḥa-i rāḥat-baḫşā-yı 'amīmetü'l-mağfiretde bāzū-yı müjgān der-āğūş-ı 'arūs-ı **[K39a]** ḫ^{v}āb itmek daḫi vesīle-i muşāhede-i ṣūret-i merām olmağın niçeler daḫi girībān-ı **[P81]** ecfāna gül-rīz-i ḫ^{v}āb-ı istirāḥat eylediler oldılar.

Naẓm

Dīde-i ān baḫt ki ne-ğunūde[1506] būd

Kerd[1507] meded ṭāli' āncā ğunūd

[1501] Ḫazā'in: ḫızāne-i B
[1502] müstaḳbellerine: müstaḳbeline K
[1503] 'izz: - K
[1504] rā'iḳ: ravābıḳ B
[1505] In K, this couplet is written in margin.
[1506] ne-gunūde: ne-gunūd P
[1507] kerd: ger K

Çūn ki şüdī pāk zi-ālūdegī

Ez-bī-pākī[1508] būd āsūdegī

Şikest-i kāse-i derūn-ı ebālise içün endāḫte olunacaḳ rīze-i seng-i cemerāt ol sāḥa-i mübārekeden ber-çide-i güşe-i dāmen-i himmet olmaḳ sünnet olduğına binā'en ol cevāhir-i kān-ı sa'ādet birer birer zīver-i ser-engüşt-i cem'iyyet ḳılındı[1509].

Naẓm

Rīze-i sengeş heme tesbīḥ-gū-st

Nīst tehī yek-nefes ez-ẕikr-i dōst

Der-tū ḳusūrī-st ki ān güş nīst

V'er ne vey ez-zemzeme ḫāmūş [**B55a**] nīst

Varaḳ-ı 'anber-fām-ı şām 'amel-nāme-i[1510] siyāh-kārān[1511] gibi rīzeş-i ḳaṭarāt-ı nücūm ile şüste-rūy olduḳda ḫurūs-ı [ḫorōs-ı] mülemma'-bāl-ı ṣubḥ

Naẓm[1512]

Ṣabbaḥa-ke'llāhü ṣabāḥe's-sa'īd

Ber-tū mübārek būd in rūz-ı 'īd [**L45a**]

Īn çe[1513] ṣabāḥ-est ki şeş ṣad hezār

Bende şüd āzād ṣığār u kibār

zemzemesiyle leb-rīz-ı bāng-ı beşāret olmağın āftāb-ı secde-güẕār dest-i eşi''a ile cūybār-ı şafaḳdan vuḍū'-sāz olmazdan[1514] muḳaddem

[1508] bī: pey L
[1509] ḳılındı: ḳıldı P
[1510] 'amel: - B
[1511] siyāh: siyeh B P
[1512] Cf. Cami, f. 31b; Bahti, f. 20b
[1513] çe: ki K
[1514] olmazdan: olmaḳdan B

Naẓm

Dilā ber-ḫīz ve[1515] ṭā'at kün ki ṭā'at bih zi-her kār-est

Sa'ādet ān kesī dāred ki vaḳt-i ṣubḥ bīdār-est

me'ālin delīl-i[1516] ṣabā mesāmi'-i mecāmi'-i ḥuccāca ilḳā itmegin aḫmāl u eṣḳāl taḥmīl-i ẓahr-i cimāl ḳılınup edā-yı farīḍa-i ṣubḥdan ṣoñra Meş'aru'l-ḥarāma[1517] tevcīh-i ḳubāle-i ḫuşū' üzre vaḳfe-i Müzdelife'ye ḳıyām ve esās-ı dest-i du'ā iḥkām[1518] olundı.

35. Reften ez-Müzdelife be-sū-yı Minā

Pençe-i miṣbāḥ-ı āftāb iẓhār-ı miftāḥ-ı fürūğ itdügi sā'at pāy-ı ḳıyāmdan def'aten[1519] 'iḳāl-ı ārām küşāde olmağın 'Ḳandesin ḳurbāngāh-ı Minā?' diyü cān-endāz oldılar.

Naẓm

Kes ne-keşed be-her kesī intiẓār

Şevḳ-i Minā bürde zi-dilhā ḳarār

Yine vādī-i Minā keṣret-i ḫıyām ile nümūne-i baḥr-i pür-ḥabāb ḳılınduğı[1520] sā'at fevc fevc dāmen-i Cemre-i 'Aḳabe'ye şitāb itdiler[1521].

36. ẕikr-i evṣāf-ı Cemre-i Ūlā[1522] [P82]

Cemre-i Ūlā 'aḳabe-i vādī-i Minā'nuñ Mekke-i Mükerreme cānibinde olan medḫalinüñ ṭaraf-ı[1523] şimālinde bir mevḍi'dür ki dāmen-i kūhda[1524] ṭūlen ve 'arḍan [**K39b**]

[1515] ve: - B
[1516] delīl: - B
[1517] ilḳā itmegin aḫmāl u eṣḳāl taḥmīl-i ẓahr-i cimāl ḳılınup edā-yı farīḍa-i ṣubḥdan ṣoñra Meş'aru'l-ḥarāma: - K
[1518] iḥkām: istiḥkām K
[1519] def'aten: vaḳfe-i B K
[1520] ḳılınduğı: olduğı K
[1521] itdiler: eylediler B P K
[1522] ūlā: evvel B K

[B55b] beş ẕirā‘ miḳdārı bir dīvār binā olunmışdur. Cenāb-ı Ibrāhīm nebī, ṣalavātü'llāhi ‘alā-nebiyyinā ve ‘aleyh, ḥaḍretleri ber-veḳ-i fermān-ı Yezdānī gerden-i ciger-gūşe-i girāmīlerin būsegāh-ı dehen-i tīğ itmege dāmen-ber-zede-i ‘aẓīmet olduḳları ḥālde, Iblīs, ‘aleyhi'l-la‘ne, ol cān-sipārān-ı rāh-ı vefāyı güm-şüde-i beyābān-ı nā-fermānī itmek sevdāsıyle ibtidā ol mevḍi‘de taḥrīk-i muḥabbet-i pederāne idecek **[L45b]** kelime-i şefḳat-engīz muḳaddemātiyle tertīb-i dām-firīb itmegin mānende-i seg-i herze-feryād [1525] dest-i Ibrāhīm ‘aleyhi's-selāmdan seng-ḫōrde-i recm ü ib‘ād olmışdur.

Cemre-i sāniye vü sāliṣe daḫi taḫmīnen biribirinden[1526] ṣad gām miḳdārı bu‘d ile vasaṭ-ı bāzār-ı Minā'da vāḳi‘dür ki ol şāḫ-ı zaḳḳūm-ı ḍalāl ya‘nī Iblīs-i şaḳāvet-me'āl ol mevḍi‘lerde daḫi[1527] iṭāle-i rīşe-i tezvīr itdügi ecl den[1528] seng-i reddile berg-rīz-i ḥırmān olmağın binā'en-‘aleyh ol mevḍi‘ler daḫi birer mīl bināsıyle ta‘yīn ü işāret olmışdur[1529]. Rūz-ı[1530] nuḫustīnde faḳaṭ mevḍi‘-i ‘Aḳabe'ye remy-i cemerāt olunmağla hem-endām-ı bādām heft seng-i elmās-reng felāḫan-ı nāḫundan pāy-ı ‘Aḳabe'ye pertāb olundı.

Naẓm

Heft kerret seng ber-ān mīl zen

Mīl çe ber-rū-yı ‘Azāzīl zen

Ḳavm ki şimşīr-i ğazā mī-zened

Na‘ra-i tekbīr-i fenā mī-zened

[1523] ṭaraf: cānib K
[1524] kūhda: kūhdan K
[1525] feryād: feryād yine K
[1526] biribirinden: birbirinden B P
[1527] daḫi: - L
[1528] ecl den: cihetden K
[1529] olmışdur: olunmışdur K
[1530] rūz: rūz-ı ferdāda K

37. ẕikr-i ḳurbān u ser-terāşīden

Ol rūz-ı ciger-sūzda beẕl-i naḳdine-i ḥayāt sevdāsıyle[1531] teslīm-i gerden-i rıḍā itmege āmāde olan reme-i gūsfendān **[B56a]** rīg-i beyābāndan efzūn olmağın herkes kāse-i iḳtidārınca irāḳa-i dem itmekle gül-gūne-sā-yı 'ārıḍ-ı āmāl ve sürḫ-nüvīs-i fuṣūl u ebvāb-ı nüsḫa-i a'māl olmağa teşmīr-i sā'id-i ihtimām eylediler.

Naẓm

Küşte der-ān bādiye ḳurbān-ı besī

Teşne be-ḫūn tīğ be-kef-i her kesī

Her ki ne-şüd küşte-i şimşīr-i dōst

Lāşe-i murdār bih ez-cān-ı ō-st **[P83]** **[K40a]**[1532]

Ol bismilgāh-ı raḥmet-penāhda[1533] ḫil'at-ı ḫūnīn ile gerden-ferāz[1534] olan ḳurbāniyān-ı ser-bāz ḳudūm-i şāhid-i ḳabūle aṭlas-ı sürḫden basṭ-ı pāy-endāz ve pāy-ı 'arūs-ı inābete niṣār-ı gül-berg-i i'zāz eylediler.

Naẓm

Bismil-i ḳurbān ki ō ger būd ṣayd-ı ḥarem **[L46a]**

Ber-zemīn ḫūneş ḥelāl ve[1535] burīden-i cāneş ḥarām

Isāle-i cūy-bār-ı ḫūna müte'āḳıb tūde-i ser-i sevdā-zededen izāle-i giyāh-ı ḫōd-rū-yı mūya sür'at olunup ol ḳurbāngāh-ı[1536] vefāda tīğ-i fermān-ı Rabbānī'ye ser-nihāde-i teslīm ü rıḍā olmamış āferīde ḳalmadı.

Naẓm

[1531] sevdāsıyle: ümīdiyle K
[1532] K 40a- ?
[1533] -penāhda: penāha P
[1534] ferāz: efrāz K
[1535] ve: - L
[1536] ḳurbāngāh: ḳurbāngeh K

Ger ser mūyī-st 'alā'iḳ tü-rā

Nīst yekī ṭā'at lā'iḳ tü-rā

Ez-ser teslīm rıḍā pīş-gīr

Der-reh-i dīn terk-i ser-i ḫ̲ᵛīş gīr

Ser be-terāş er çe ki mū endekī-st

Endek ü bisiyār der-īn kū yekī'st

38. ẕikr-i[1537] evṣāf-ı bīrūn-āmeden ez-iḥrām-est

Āḫir-i nüsḫa-i ef'āl-i eyyām-ı iḥrām terāşe-i mū-yı 'anberīn-fām ile miskiyyü'l-ḫıtām olıcaḳ mürdegān-ı kefen der-kerden-i iḥrām dest-bürde-i berāt-ı ḥayāt olmağın ba'de ez-īn pīrāhen-i[1538] iḥrām vedī'a-i lifāfe-i ta'ṭīl [**B56b**] ḳılınup herkes ṣandūḳa-i istiṭā'atında āmāde olan elbise-i 'iydiyye-i 'ādiye ile ārāyiş-i beden-i 'üryāna[1539] şitābān oldılar.

Naẓm

Virdi cān 'iyd-ı bahār itdi yine[1540] tāze ḳabā

Kefen-i nergis-i bīmār hele çāk itdi yine

Şāneler dest-keş-i dāmen-i meḥāsin iken yine birbiriyle hem-āğūş-ı muṣāfaḥa-i tehniyet oldılar. Gülāb u 'ūd rūy u meşāmıyle āb u āteş iken ḫ̲āk ü bād gibi ref'-i ğubār-ı vaḥşet eylediler. Elbise ile ecsām beyninde vesāṭat-ı iḥrām ile ḥāṣıl olan burūdet yine libās-ı germiyyetde cilve-rīz oldı. Ve ser ile destār miyānesinde müfāraḳat-ı dūr u dırāz ḳāt ḳāt ülfet ile[1541] tāzelendi. Endāḫ̲te-i bām-ı nisyān olan

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[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 ṭaleb-i muṣālaḥa ile pāylara üftāde olmağın ba'de ez-īn rūḥ u cism gibi[1542] ittiḥādda ṣābit-ḳadem olmaḳ şerā'iṭi [**K40b**] ḳālıb-ı istiḥkāma ifrāğ olundı. Ol rūz-ı meserret-efrūzda bāzār-ı Minā'da [**P84**] küşāyiş bulan teng-i kālā-yı sürūr ḫāric-i kārvānsarāy-ı[1543] taṣavvur idi.

Naẓm[1544]

Ne sūḳdur bu ki sevdāgerān-ı züvvāruñ

Füruḫti ola cürm ve ḫarīdi ola ṣevāb

39. Reften be-Ka'be behr-i ṭavāf-ı ziyāret-est[1545]

[**L46b**] Ammā se[1546] şebāne-rūz müşāhede-i ruḫsār-ı dil-ārā-yı beyt-i Ḫudā'dan cüdā düşmekle nefes-be-nefes peyk-i ḫayāl cānib-i ḥarem-i[1547] mükerreme āmed-şüdden ḫālī degül iken levāzım-ı remy ü ẕebḥ u tırāşdan āzāde-ser olduḳdan[1548] ṣoñra edā-yı farīḍa-i ṭavāf-ı ziyāret cerīde-i ẕimmetde bākī [**B57a**] ḳalmağla kemend-i cāzibe-i muḥabbet gerden-i dile mün'aḳid olup mānende-i cūybār-ı bahār mevc mevc ol lücce-i mağfiret cānibine cereyān olundı. Ol günde yine ṣaḥn-ı ḥarem-i Rabbānīde sāḥa-i bihişt gibi şūriş-i cem'iyyet-i neşāṭ-āmīz[1549] hüveydā olup gördiler ki ol şāhid-i murabba'-nişīn-i serīr-i 'izz u temkīn yine[1550] ḫil'at-ı 'abāsı ile[1551] cilve-i ihtizāza āğāz eylemiş. Kemer-i zer-tār-ı gevher-nigārı dīde-i melā'ik ile terṣī' olunmış.

Naẓm

[1542] gibi: ḳadar B K
[1543] kārvānsarāy: kārbānsarāy K
[1544] This couplet is also included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 167).
[1545] Reften be-Ka'be behr-i ṭavāf-ı ziyāret-est: - L
[1546] se: - K
[1547] ḥarem: Mekke K
[1548] ḫālī degül iken levāzım-ı remy ü ẕebḥ u tırāşdan āzāde-ser olduḳdan: - K
[1549] neşāṭ: şafā K
[1550] *yine* might be *yeni*.
[1551] ḫil'at-ı 'abāsı ile: - K

Behr-i hemīn beste kemer tā diger

Cān küned āvīze-i bend-i kemer

Zülf-i siyāh-ı ḫam-ber-ḫam-ı[1552] ʻanber-sāyi[1553] pervīzen-i dest-i nesīm olduḳca ervāḥ-ı muḳaddese bīḫte-i iksīr-i ʻināyet gibi ḫāk-i pāyine rīzān olmadadur[1554].

Naẓm

Pīş-i ō ber-pā sitāde çār erkān-ı vücūd

Kerde ez-cān hizmeteş-rā mültezim-vār iltizām

Ol nihāl-i ser-efrāḫte-i būstān-ı ʻināyet muʻānaḳa-i nesīm-i ʻanber-bīz[1555] ile ḫırāma geldükce bāl-küşāyān-ı hevā-yı ḳuds ḳumrī-vārī bālā-yı serinde ḥalḳa-nümā-yı gerdiş-i niyāz olmışlar. Ol hengām-ı feyḍ-i ʻām olan rūz-ı ʻiydde bunca nā-kāmlar

Naẓm[1556]

Çekme dāmen nāz idüp üftādelerden raḥm ḳıl

Göklere açılmasun eller ki dāmānuñdadur

nālesiyle ʻarḍ-ı ḥāl içün dāmen-i astār-ı feyḍ-bārına tevessül itmişler.

Naẓm

Dāmen-i ō der-kef-i merdüm-i besī

Ō ne-keşed dāmen-i nāz ez-kesī

Niçeler ziḥām-ı enām sebebi ile dest-i ümīdi güşe-i[1557] dāmen-i cāme-i müşk-fāmından kūtāh olmağın

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[1552] ḫam-ber-ḫam: ḫam-be-ḫam P; ḫam-der-ḫam K
[1553] ʻanber-sāyi: anber-fāmı K
[1554] olmadadır: olmada B
[1555] -bīz: -rīz P
[1556] This couplet is by Fuḍūlī (d. 1556). See Walter G. Andrews, Najaat Black and Mehmet Kalpaklı, (Austin: University of Teḫas Press, 1997), p. 282
[1557] güşe-i: - B

Naẓm[1558] **[K41a]**

Yüz sürmek umar[1559] pāyuña üftādeler **[P85]** ammā **[B57b]**

Nevbet mi deger kimseye dāmānuñ ucından

me'ālin dest-ınāye-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 şevḳ-i ṭavāf olmış.

Naẓm

Gerden-i kerrūbiyān ve dest ü dūş-ı ḥāciyān

Der-ṭavāfeş bī-siper geşte zi-farṭ-ı izdiḥām

Niçeler Mültezim-i Şerīf'e

Naẓm

Men ger[1560] āmurziş-i tū behre bezm-i [?] sūd künem

Ger tū baḫşī günehem-rā çe ḍarar ber-dārī

me'āliyle sīne-sā-yı niyāz olmışlar. Niçeler sevdā-yı tamğā-yı Ḥacer-i Esved ile metā'-ı cānı kārgāh-ı ziḥāmda tenge çekmiş.

Naẓm

Geşte zi-ḫāleş dū cihān müşk-bū

Ḫam şüde çerḫ ez-şiken-i mū-yı ō

Būse-zenend īn heme ber-ḫāl-i ō

[1558] This couplet is by Bāḳī (1526-1600); see Nācī, *'Oṡmānlı şā'irleri*, Istanbul 1307/1889, p. 36
[1559] umar: umar ve P
[1560] ki: ger B

Hīç diger-gūn ne-şüd ḥāl-i ō

Niçeler zīr-i[1561] Mīzāb-ı Raḥmet'de merdümek-i dīde-i Ḥaṭīm olan Ḥıcr-i Isma'īl, 'aleyhi's-selām, üzre nāvidān-ı dū dīdesin ser-şār-ı ḫūnābe-i niyāz itmiş.

Naẓm

Müje pīş-i Nāvidāneş be-ceze'[1562] çünān be-girīd
Ki zi-ṣaḥn-ı Ḥıcr-em[1563] āred be-dereş zi-seyl-i rānī

Ve niçeler Maḳām-ı Ibrāhīm 'aleyhi's-selāmda nāṣiye-i ḫuḍū'ı[1564] ferş-i secdegāh-ı namāz idüb[1565] niçeler pīrāmen-i çāh-ı Zemzem'de teskīn-i nā'ire-i sūz u güdāz içün ḳadeh-gerdān-ı ümīd olmışlar.

Naẓm

'Āfiyetler ola ol teşne-i ṭavf-ı ḥareme[1566]
Ki ser-i çāhda peymāne-keş-i Zemzem ola

40. Duḫūl-i ḥācıyān der-beyt-i Mevlā

Ḫuṣūṣan ol pīrāye-i cemāl-i mevcūdāta ol gün ilbās-ı câme-i merdümek-gūn itmek içün dīde-i [**B58a**] bāb-ı 'ālem-tābı ṭāḳ-ı 'arş-ı berīn gibi küşāde olmağın ol lücce-i envārda iştiyāḳ-ı istiğrāḳ ile pīşgāh-ı südde-i raḥmetde ziḥām-ı ecsām-ı enām deryā-yı ṣarṣar-dīde gibi mevc-ḫīz-i ḫurūş olup niçeler ma'ṣara-i teng-nāy-ı ziḥāmda şīre-i şu'ūrdan cüdā ve niçelerüñ zīr-i aḳdām-ı enāmda [**K41b**] 'ıḳd-ı gevher-i enfāsı nā-

[1561] zīr: - K
[1562] be-ceze': be-çeze' P
[1563] ḥıcr-em: ḥarem L
[1564] ḫuḍū'ı: ḫuşū'ı K
[1565] idüb: ḳılup K
[1566] ḥareme:'l-ḥareme B

peydā oldı. Niçe çālāklar püşte-i a'nāḳ üzre reftār ve niçe [**L47b**] sebük-pālar tūde-i rü'ūs[1567] üzre güẕār eyledi. Ammā[1568]

Naẓm [**P86**]

'Acz be-dergāh-ı tū nāṣiye-sā-yı ğurūr

Faḳr be-iḳbāl-i tū ḥavṣala-sūz-ı ğınā

veflḳince çārsū-yı ḳabūl-ı kibriyāda kālā-yı 'acz ü iftiḳār ḳadar cins-i rā'ic olmaduğı tamğā-yāfte-i ṣübūt olmağın ḳādime-cünbān-ı derīçe-i beyān olan Nabī-i nā-tüvān semen-beden[1569] u ḍa'f-ı ḥareketden nāṣī[1570] seylāb-ı ḫurūşān-ı ziḥāmdan güẕāre fırṣat-yāb olamayup[1571] ḥasret ile nā-ümīdāne dūrdan[1572] nigerān iken

Naẓm

Be-dereş çünān be-nālem ki zi-ğāyet-i teraḥḥüm

Zi-derūn nidā ber-āyed[1573] ki der-ā der-ā fülānī

veflḳince dest-yārī-i cāzibe-i 'ināyet ile ol 'atebe-i felek-fersāya eshel vech üzre çehre-sā-yı vüṣūl olmaḳ devletine muvaffaḳ oldı[1574].

Mıṣra'[1575]

El-'ızzetü li'llāhi te'ālā ve teḳaddese

Naẓm

Feyḍ-i ezel be-zūd ve be-zer āmedī be-dest

Āb-ı Ḫıḍr nāṣiye-i Iskender āmedī

[1567] rü'ūs: dūş L
[1568] ammā: - K
[1569] semen: sīmīn P
[1570] nāṣī: nāsī P
[1571] olamayup: olmayup P
[1572] nā-ümīdāne: nā-ümīdāne çeşm-i derūn K
[1573] ber-āyed: der-āyed K
[1574] oldı: eyledi K
[1575] No title K

Vāḳı'an eger āftāb-ı 'ināyet-i ezelī kemend-endāz-ı ḳabūl olmasa pā-beste-i cürm ü taḳṣīr olan [**B58b**] bu 'abd-i faḳīr ol maḫzen-i envāra pā-nihāde olmaḳ niçe mütaṣavver idi!

Naẓm

Īn būd ez-farṭ-ı[1576] 'aṭā vü kerem

K'o[1577] çū Minā bār dihed der-ḥarem

Dād me-rā der-ḥarem-i ḫōd maḳām

Kerd me-rā ṭā'if-i Beyt-i Ḥarām

Īn ḥarem-i muḥterem-i kibriyā-st

Maḫzen-i ān ḫalvet-i ḫāṣṣ-ı Ḫudā-st

Ol serāy-ı cihān-ārā-yı dārü'l-mülk-i ḥaḳīḳat ki ğubār-ı kem-terīni tūtiyā-yı çeşm-i ḫazne-i[1578] ferādīs-i cinān ve ol nihān-ḫāne-i[1579] üns-ā-üns-i[1580] esrār-ı vaḥdet ki ferş-i 'arş-'ayārı cā-rūb-zede-i müjgān-ı ḳudsiyān ola; aña pā-nihāde olanlaruñ sütūn-ı şu'ūrı ber-pā ve erkān-ı idrāki ber-cā ḳalmamaḳ mütevārī-i[1581] perde-i ḫafā degildür.

Naẓm

Mā-rā çe i'tibār u[1582] eṣer bā-vücūd-ı dōst [**L48a**]

Cāyī ki[1583] cilve-kerd ḥaḳīḳat mecāz nīst

Ol āyīne-ḫāne-i ṣāf-ittiṣāf-ı[1584] ḥaḳīḳatde ṭūṭī-i şeker-ḫā-yı ḫāme-i sürḫ-minḳāra mesāğ-ı medd-i nefes olmamağın

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[1576] farṭ: feyḍ K
[1577] k'o: ki L
[1578] ḫazne-i: ḫızāne-i K
[1579] cinān ve ol nihān-ḫāne-i: cinān olan ol gussa-ḫāne-i K
[1580] üns-ā-üns: üns B
[1581] mütevārī-i: mütevārī B
[1582] u: - L B
[1583] cāyī ki: cā'ī L
[1584] ṣāf-ittiṣāf: ṣaffu'ṣ-ṣāff B

Naẓm

Men be-rāhī mī-revem k'āncā ḳadem nā-maḥrem-est

Ve zi-maḳāmī ḥarf mī-gūyem ki dem nā-maḥrem-est

maḳāli **[K42a]** ser-nüvişt-i ṣaḥīfe-i i'tiẕār ḳılınmışdur.

Nazm

Tebāreke'llāhü ez-ān ṣaḥn-ı bī-zevāl[1585] ki būd

Zi- **[P87]** nūr-ı ḥüsn leb-ā-leb zi-dōstī[1586] ma'mūr

Ol ḳıble-i melek u melekūt derūnında kimi rū-be-rū kimi ḳafā-ber-ḳafā ve kimi dūş-be-dūş namāz-güẕār-ı taḥıyyet, kimi ṣaḥn ve kimi dīvāra[1587] ruḫ-sūde-i meẕellet olup ol ben-i ḳulzüm-i esrārda[1588] ğarīḳ-vār biribirinden bī-ḫaber ḥarekāt-ı bī-iḫtiyār iderler idi[1589].

Naẓm

Ṣarılsa ḥayretle n'ola zülfine yārüñ

Nigāhı **[B59a]** ğarḳa-i ḥüsn oldı 'āşıḳ-ı zāruñ

41. 'Azīmet-i diger[1590] bār[1591] sū-yı Minā

Mā-ḥaṣal ol gün ğavvāṣān-ı baḥr-i ḥarem-i Yezdānī[1592] dāmen dāmen[1593] ḫırmen ḫırmen gevher-i bihişt-efrūz-ı murād taḥṣīlinden[1594] ṣoñra yine Minā'da āmāde[1595]

[1585] zevāl: zāl P
[1586] dūstī: dūstī-i B
[1587] dīvāra: dīvāh P
[1588] ḳulzüm-i esrārda: ḳulzüm-i envār-ı esrāra K
[1589] idi: - K
[1590] diger: - B
[1591] bār: bā K
[1592] Yezdānī: Yezānī P
[1593] dāmen dāmen: - K
[1594] taḥṣīlinden: taḥṣīl itdükden K
[1595] āmāde: - K

olan ḫıyāma tevcīh-i meṭāyā-yı ʻazīmet ve leyālī-i eyyām-ı teşrīḳde encümen-gīr-i feḍā-yı Minā olmaḳ sünnetine teba'ıyyet eylediler.

Naẓm

Sū-yı Minā rān ve kerāmet be-bīn

Germī-i bāzār-ı ḳıyāmet be-bīn

Se şebāne-rūz sūḳ-ı Minā nişān-dāde-i bāzār-ı restā-ḫīz olmağın kālā-yı[1596] ʻayş u neşāṭ her deriçeye ferş-i bisāṭ idüp bār-ı metā'-ı gün-ā-gün-ı felek gibi teng-ber-teng ve[1597] ḫırmen ḫırmen sīm ü zer tūde-i rāh ile hem-seng olmış idi.

Naẓm

Rūmī vü Hindī-st[1598] ki bā-yekdiger

Kerde mümāssāt çū şīr u[1599] şeker

Bes ki be-hem rīḫte hemeyān-ı zer

Geşte dükkānhā-yı Minā kān-ı zer

Niçe çāpuk-destān-ı sefīde-kār[1600] daḫi sāde-levḥān-ı temāşā'īyānuñ teng-nāy-ı[1601] **[L48b]** ceyb u bağalından[1602] kīse-i nihüftelerin dest-zede-i nīreng-i düzdāne itmekle ğam-ı nesiyelerin naḳd iderler idi.

Naẓm

Kīse-bürān-end der-īn reh-güẕer

Her ki tehī-kīse-ter āsūde-ter

[1596] kālā-yı: kār L P
[1597] ve: - K
[1598] Hindī-st: Hind-est L
[1599] u: - K
[1600] sefīde: sefīd K; sepīde B
[1601] teng-nāy: ten-küşā-yı P
[1602] bağalından: bağaldan L

42. Kerden-i zīb-i çerāğān-ı Şāmiyān u Mıṣrıyān

Sevdāger-i gerdūn zer-i ḫūrşīd ile ḫarīd itdügi perde-i 'anber-gūnı dükkān-ı āfāḳa āvīḫte itdükde ḳāfile-i Mıṣrıyān u Şāmiyān birbirine iẓhār-ı ḥaşmet u iḳtidār içün muḫayyem-i maḫṣūṣalarına[1603] tertīb-i āyīn-i çerāğān eylediler. Her bir ḫayme **[B59b]** pīşgāhında hezār ḳanādīl ile birer işāre[1604] naḳş-ı aḫer üzre iş'āl olunup, **[K42b]** ṭabl u sūrnā 'ālem-i bālāya velvele ve ṭōplar eczā-yı zemīne **[P88]** zelzele ṣalup āteşīn çerḫler küre-i nārī gibi devvār, ḫorōslar ḳaḳnūs-ṣıfat āteşīn-minḳār, kebşler semender-miṣāl āteş-niṣār, fevvāreler şerāre-bār ve[1605] delice[1606] fişekler āteş-zen-i ḫānumān-ı rīş u destār olmış idi. Hevāyī fişekler[1607] yıldıza kemend atup tār-ı şihāb ile cevv-i hevāda 'aḳd-i rābıṭa-i uḫuvvet eylediler. Gūyiyā[1608] dest-bürd-i düzdān-ı ebāliseyi ḳāfile-i ḥuccācdan[1609] ib'ād içün zemīn u āsmāndan i'māl-i[1610] edevāt-ı recm u[1611] ṭard eylediler. Ğalebe-i meşā'il ü ḳanādīl zemīni hem-reng-i āsmān ve āsmānı [1612] ḫāke yeksān idüp cā-be-cā gül-i meşā'il ve ḫōşā-i ḳanādīl ve rişte-i kec-reviş-i[1613] fişekden dūş-ı [1614] şāma gūyā bir câme-i zincīr-bāf-ı gül-dārı ilbās itmişler idi. Ṭulū'-ı yed-i beyḍā-yı ṣubḥ ibṭāl-ı ḥıbāl-ı āteşīn itdükden ṣoñra āḫir-i eyyām-ı teşrīḳa dek vādī-i Minā'da direng ve her vaḳt-i zevālde dāmān-ı emyāl-ı cemerāt siper-i heft seng ḳılınup yine ārzū-yı cemāl-i beyt-i zi'l-celāl[1615] 'inān-rübā-yı ārām olmağın ğubār-ı[1616] rāh-ı ḥarem ile tenvīr-i dīde-i rükkāb olundı.

[1603] maḫsūsalarına: maḫsūsaların K
[1604] işāre: işār ile B
[1605] ve: - B P
[1606] delice: deli B
[1607] āteş-zen-i ḫānumān-ı rīş u destār olmış idi. Hevāyī fişekler: - L
[1608] gūyiyā: gūyā K
[1609] ḥuccācdan: ḥuccācdan 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 be[1617] -beyt-i eşref

[L49a] Minā'dan 'avdetde medẖal-ı Mekke-i Mübāreke'de[1618] Baṭḥā nām zemīn-i dil-nişīnde vāḳi' Muḥaṣṣabe'de bir sā'at miḳdārı celse-i ẖafīfe-i[1619] istirāḥat sünnetini[1620] mürā'ātdan ṣoñra ḥavālī-i ḥarem-i mükerremde **[B60a]** olan menāzil-i mu'ayyenede basṭ-ı ḥaṣīr-ı iḳāmet olunup evḳāt-ı ḳarīnü'l-berekāt-ı leyāl[1621] ü eyyāmda herkes endāze-i şevḳi mertebesince[1622] metā'-ı bihişt-bahā-yı meṭāfi

Naẓm

Ümīd-i nevbet[1623] ṭavafiyle tā be-ḥaşr olmaz

Ribāṭ-ı dīde-i kerrūbiyān nişīmen-i ẖ^{v}āb

mişdāḳı üzre peymūde-i ẖuṭuvāt-ı ṭavāf[1624] itdüginden[1625] ğayrı derūn u bīrūn-ı Ümmü'l-ḳurā'da olan emkine-i mütemeyyine[1626] ziyāreti ile tenvīr-i dīde-i cān iderler idi.

44. Vaṣf-ı cebel-i Ebī Ḳubeys-est[1627]

Cümleden biri cebel-i Ebī Ḳubeys'dür ki beyt-i[1628] muḥteremüñ şarḳa mā'il cenūbında ser-ber-āverde-i girībān-ı felekdür ki ḳullesine[1629] varıncaya dek[1630] mebānī-i[1631]

[1617] be: der K
[1618] mübārekede: mükerremede K
[1619] ẖafīfe-i: - B P K
[1620] istirāḥat sünnetini: istirāḥat ve sünen-i nebī K
[1621] leyāl: leyālī B P
[1622] mertebesince: mertebesinde K
[1623] nevbet: - K
[1624] ṭavāf: - L
[1625] itdüginden: itdügimden L
[1626] mütemeyyine: mütemeyyineyi P; müte'ayyinede ki pür-meymenetdür K
[1627] est: - K
[1628] beyt: Mekke-i B
[1629] ḳullesine: nışfına P
[1630] dek: degin K
[1631] mebānī-i: miyānı L

'imārāt[1632] ile [**K43a**] cilveger olup ḥattā ḫūrşīd-i [**P89**] felek-i nübüvvet, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā[1633] 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretlerinüñ dendāne-i kilīdi-i ḫızāne-i i'cāz olan serengüşt-i 'ālem-küşāları[1634] sīne-i māhı girībān-ı 'uşşāḳ gibi çāk itdükleri ol kūh-ı bihişt-şükūhuñ[1635] kemerinde resīde-i zirve-i vuḳū' olmışdur.

Naẓm

Kān-ı kerāmet cebel-i Bū Ḳubeys

Seng-i ğameş ber-[1636] dil-i Ferhād u Ḳays[1637]

Der-kemereş mevḍi'-i şaḳḳu'l-ḳamer

Geşte be-ḫūrşīd[1638] be-'ālem semer[1639]

Ka'be çū gül[1640] ser-zede ez-dāmeneş

Heşt bihişt āmede pīrāmeneş[1641]

45. Ẕikr-i evṣāf-ı mevlid-i nebevī[1642]

Biri daḫi ol[1643] mā-ḥaṣal-ı mezra'a-i kā'ināt, 'aleyhi ezkā's-ṣalavāt[1644], ḥaḍretlerinüñ nihāl-ı vücūd-ı 'arş-ārāları ḫırāmān-ı sāḥa-i imkān[1645] olduğı [**L49b**] ḫāne-i melā'ikḫademdür ki Sūḳu'l-leyl nām[1646] bāzār-ı 'ināyet-zār gūşesinde olan şecer-i cümmeyz ḳurbinde nūr-baḫşā-yı[**B60b**] zemīn u zamān[1647] olup miyāne-i ṣaḥn-ı ḫānede ser-

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[1632] imārāt: ibāret K
[1633] te'ālā: - L ; ṣalle'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. Muḥyī (Lala), f. 60a: kerāmet: vefā-bīn FH
[1638] be: çū K
[1639] Cf. Muḥyī (Lala), f. 60a-12: şaḳḳu'l-ḳamer: şaḳḳ-ı ḳamer FH; be- ḫūrşīd: çū ḫūrşīd FH
[1640] gül: - B
[1641] Cf. Muḥyī (Lala), f. 60a
[1642] nebevī: nebevī, ekmelü't-taḥiyye K
[1643] ol: - K
[1644] 's-şalavāt: 't-taḥıyyāt K
[1645] imkān: imkān-ı vücūd P
[1646] nām: - K
[1647] zamān: āsmān K

zede-i çemen-zār-ı şühūd olduḳları maḳām bir ṣandūḳa-i sebz-pūş-ı serv-sīmā ile īmā olunmışdur.

Naẓm

Nükhet-i cennet dihed ez-Sūḳ-ı Leyl

Ḫāk keş küçe-i ō gül-i bezīl[1648]

Ser-zede ḫūrşīd-i cihān-tāb ez-ō

Ravḍa-i cennet şüde der-tāb ez-[1649] ō[1650]

46. Beyān-ı vaṣf-ı sarāy-ı Ḫadīce-i Kübrā[1651]

Ve birisi daḫi[1652] devlet-serāy-ı ḫāṣṣü'l-ḫāṣṣ-ı Ḫadīce-i Kübrā raḍiye'llāhü 'anhādur ki ḫ[w]āce-i sermāye-dār-ı[1653] şefā'at, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā[1654] 'aleyhi ve sellem,[1655] ḥaḍretlerinüñ ḫalvet-ḫāne-i üns-ā-üns-i 'ibādetgāh-ı ḫaṣṣaları ḫāne-i ḫazīne maḳāmında revzeninden güẕer olunup[1656] bir ḥücre-i muṭahhere-i muḫtaṣaradur[1657] ki ṣūret-i dīvārında olan dīde-i miḥrāb-ı melekūt-ārāsı ḳāmet-i ṭūbā-şiken-i Muḥammedī firāḳıyle ḥālā küşāde ḳalmışdur. Güşvāre-i bünā-güş-ı beḳā ya'nī ḥaḍret-i Fāṭıma-i Zehrā, raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā[1658] 'anhā, daḫi dest-efrūz-ı şühūd olduḳları maḥall yine revzen-i dīgerden güẕer olunup bir ḥücre-i pākīze-derūn ṣaḥnında bir pūşīde-i sebzile cilveger olup dest-i āsyā-yı[1659] sengīnleri ḥālā firāḳ-ı dest-i mekārim[1660]-peyvestleriyle **[K43b]** **[P90]** sergerdān-ı[1661] daḳīḳa-i hicrān olmışdur.

[1648] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 11a
[1649] ez: - L
[1650] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 11: cennet: rıḍvān FH
[1651] kübrā: kübrā-st K
[1652] -si daḫi: - B
[1653] sermāye: sermāye-i P
[1654] te 'ālā: - L
[1655] ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'ayn mim ['aleyhi's-selām] K
[1656] olunup: olunur L
[1657] muṭahhere-i muḫtaṣaradur: mutahheredür B
[1658] te'ālā: - B
[1659] āsyā: āsā K

Naẓm

Bām u dereş yek-be-yek ez-hem cüdā

Bāred ez-ō raḥmet-i ḫāṣṣ-ı Ḫudā

Müşterī vü zühre vü şems ü ḳamer

Būde ḳırān-şān heme bā-yekdiger

Maṭla'-ı neyyir-i ẕāt-ı Ṣıddīḳ-ı Ekber ve ğābe-i şīr-i Ḫudā ya'nī vilādetgāh-ı 'Aliyy-i Mürteḍā daḫi ol kūçe-i kīmyā-ğubāra müteḳāribdür.

Naẓm

Cāy-ı 'Alī-yest[1662] der-ān şi'b hem

Ḫāne-i Ṣıddīḳ **[B61a]** be-yek dū ḳadem

Ol mir'āt-ı cilā-dāde-i cemāl-i ḳadīm, 'aleyhi efḍalü't-taḥiyyet ve't-teslīm, cenābına **[L50a]** eṣnā'-i güẕerde mānende-i ṭūṭī-i gūyā sükker-pāş-ı[1663] ṣenā olan[1664] seng-i mübāreke[1665] daḫi ol kūçe dīvārına kevkebe-baḫş-ı envār ve būsegāh-ı efvāh-ı züvvārdur[1666].

Naẓm

Ser-be-ser ān kūy-ı nişīb ü ferāz

Būde ḫırāmişgeh-i ān serv-i nāz

Ber-ser-i[1667] ān kūy çe sān pā-nihem

Bī-edeb-est ān ki nihed dīde[1668] hem

[1660] mekārim: kerem K
[1661] sergerdān: ser-gerdūn K
[1662] 'Alī-yest: 'alīm-est K
[1663] sükker: şeker B P K
[1664] ṭūṭī-i gūyā sükker-pāş-ı ṣenā olan: ṭūṭī-i şeker-pāş olan ṣenā olan K
[1665] mübāreke: mübārek K
[1666] būsegāh-ı efvāh-ı züvvārdur: būsegāh-ı züvvār olmuşdur K
[1667] ser: - K
[1668] dīde: dīd P

Birisi daḫi ṭāḳ-ı Ṣafāya hem-sāye dār-ı ḫayzurāndur ki cenāb-ı seyyidü'l-verā, 'aleyhi ṣalavātü'l-'ulyā[1669], ol ḫānede otuz ṭokuz nefer aṣḥābıyle verā-nişīn-i perde-i ḫafā olduḳları ḥālde cenāb-ı 'Ömer ibnü'l-Ḫaṭṭāb,[1670] raḍiye'llāhü'llāhü te'ālā[1671] 'anh[1672], ol ḫānede reşeḥāt-ı seḥāb-ı 'ināyet ile çirk-i şirkden[1673] taṭhīr-i pīrāhen-i cān itmekle tekmīl-i rütbe-i erba'īn itmişler.

Naẓm

Ḫāk-i dereş sürme-i ehl-i naẓar

Geşte der-ān ḫāne müselmān 'Ömer[1674]

Mevlid-i ḥaḍret-i 'Ömer, raḍiye'llāhü'llāhü te'ālā 'anh,[1675] daḫi Birke-i Yemenī[1676] cānibinde[1677] bir tūde-i refī'a üzre merci'-i i'tibār-ı züvvārdur.

47. ẕikr-i vaṣf-ı kūh-ı Nūr-ı ser-bülend

Birisi daḫi Mekke-i Mükerreme'ye bir fersaḫdan eḳall[1678] Cebel-i Nūr'dur ki gül-i gülşen-ṭırāz-ı risālet, 'aleyhi efḍalü's-ṣalavāt, ḥaḍretleri henūz ğonca-i ne-şiküfte iken sīneleri[1679] nesīm-i dest-i Rūḥu'l-emīn ile[1680] ol maḳāmda münşeriḥ olduğından ğayrı ẕirvesinde vāḳi' [1681] Ğār-ı Ḥırā'da maẓhar-ı teşrīf-i risālet olmağın ḳubbe-i felek-mümāssında bir ḳubbe-i beyḍā dide-i nuẓẓāra[1682] [**B61b**] nūr-baḫşādur.

Naẓm

[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] Yemenī: Yemen L
[1677] Yemenī cānibinde: Yemenī'de K
[1678] eḳall: evvel K
[1679] sīneleri: - L
[1680] ile: - L B
[1681] vāḳi': vaḳi' olan K
[1682] nuẓẓāra: nuẓẓāre-i B

Zāviye-i ḥaḍret-i Mevlā-st īn

Mehbiṭ-i envār-ı tecellā-st īn[1683]

Ṭal'at-ı [**P91**] Cibrīl ki dīde Rasūl

Kerde der-ān ğār bā-y-işān nüzūl[1684]

48. ẕikr-i vaṣf-ı kūh-ı Ṣevr-i cān-feḍā

Birisi daḫi yine bir fersaḫ miḳdārı[1685] maḥalde cebel-i [**K44a**] Ṣevrdür ki ẕirvesine ḳarīb bir ğār-ı [**L50b**] teng ceybinde gevher-i nüh dürc-i kā'ināt, 'aleyhi efḍalü's-ṣalavat, ḥaḍretleri yār-ı ğār Ṣıddīḳ ile hengām-ı hicretde nihüfte olduḳlarında[1686] bā-fermān-ı Ṣāni'-i ḥikmet-nümā[1687] 'anākib-i rişte-bāf perde-keş-i iştibāh olup bir çift kebūter-i zībende-fer mihre-i bāzīçe-i müş'abiẕāne resminde bir niçe beyḍa-i nuẕāra firīb vaḍ'ıyle çeşm-bend-i mütecessisān-ı Ḳureyş olmışlardur.

Naẓm

La'l eger şüd be-Bedaḫşān muḳīm

Mu'tekif-i ō şüde dürr-i yetīm[1688]

Ez-ṣadefeş rīḫt der-şeb çerāğ[1689]

Dād cihān-rā zi-kevākib ferāğ[1690] [1691]

[1683] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 15a
[1684] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 15a: ki dīde: ne-dīde FH; kerde: kerd FH; bā-y-işān: binā ki FH
[1685] miḳdārı: - P
[1686] olduḳlarında: olduḳları vāḳitde K
[1687] Ṣāni'-i ḥikmet: Ṣāni'-i Kirdgār-ı ḥikmet K
[1688] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 15a: dürr: dürrī FH
[1689] çerāğ: ferāg K
[1690] ferāg: çerāğ K
[1691] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 15a

El-ḥāṣıl ser-be-ser tecellī-zār-ı envār-ı Ḫudā ve cilvegāh-ı enbiyā vü evliyā[1692] olan ḫāk-i pāk-i Mekke-i[1693] Mu'aẓẓama'nuñ beyān-ı evṣāf-ı şāyegānı bīrūn-ı ḳudret-i ḳalem-i fersūde-ḳadem olduğı vesīle-i i'tiẕār-ı iḫtiṣārdur.

49. ẕikr-i dem-i hicr ve ṭavāf-ı vedā'

Āḫir-i nüsḫa-i eyyām-ı iḳāmet resīde-i ḥadd-i nihāyet olduğına[1694] ḫātem-i sīmīn-i ğurre-i Muḥarrem ḫatem-zen-i imḍā olmağla āṯār-ı muḳaddemāt-ı firāḳ sīneleri meṭāf-ı ğam ve dideleri mānende-i[1695] çeşme-i Zemzem itmege başladı.

Naẓm

Dil-bāz ḫarīdār-ı metā' diger-est

Rencīde ser ez-dest-i ṣudā' diger-est [?]

Īn ṭurfe niger ki ṣabr der-ḫāne-i ḫ^{v}īş

Ne-nişeste henūz der-i vedā' diger-est[1696]

Bu ribāṭ-ı mihmān-firīb-i 'ālemde dest-sāz-ı [**B62a**] mīzbān-ı eyyām[1697] olan ḳanğı mādde-i sürūrdur [1698] ki 'āḳıbet dest-i iştihā şüste-i āb-ı çeşm-i firḳat olmaya! Ve bu ṣahbā-kede-i mest-endāz-ı cihānda baḫşīde-i sāḳī-i rūzgār olan ne güne cām-ı lebrīz-i ṣafādur ki āḫir leb-i ārzūyı peymāne-i ḫamyāze-i ḫumār itmeye!

Naẓm

Dem-i vaṣla hücūm-ı ceyş-i hicrāndan emān olmaz

Fenā gülzārıdur bunda bahār-ı bī-ḫazān 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 Mükerreme'ye rūz-ı nuḫustīn-i vüṣūlda cereyān iden girye-i sürūr bu def'a **[L51a]** libās-ı ḫūnābe-i ḥüzn u firāḳda feverān idüp **[K44b]** **[P92]** muḳaddemā tāziyāne-i şevḳ-i ṭavāf-ı ḳudūmle tevsen-i Beraḳ'a [Burāḳ'a][1699] müsābaḳat iden kām-ı ārzū ṭavāf-ı vedā'a geldükde sütūn-ı meṭāfdan cāy-gīr-ter olup ğalebe-i[1700] cünbüş-i ḫatve-i 'azīmetden dāmen-keş oldı. Ammā ne çāre! Bu ḥālet-i cān-güdāz ile 'āḳıbet kām u nā-kām dā'ire-i meṭāfa vaḍ'-ı ḳadem olundı.

Naẓm

Bā-ḫafaḳān-ı dil ve renc-i ṣudā'

Mī-revem eknūn be-ṭavāf-ı vedā'

Ḫūn-girī ey dīde be-ṣad hāy u hūy

Vaḳt-i cüdā-yīst ez-ān ḫāk-i kūy

Ol rūz-ı gülū-sūzda dībāce-i zer-nigār-ı ṣubḥdan ḫātime-i miskiyy-i şāma dek nāle-i dil-rīşān-ı[1701] hicrān ile ḥarem-i Ka'be-i siyeh-libās mātem-kede-i pür-şīvenden nişān virür idi.

Naẓm

Firāḳ-ı Ka'be'den sen[1702] ṣanma çeşm-i ḫūn-feşān ağlar

Ser-i kūy-ı ḥaḳīḳatdür bu tenler içre cān ağlar

Degül giryān olan ancaḳ benī Ādem vedā'ından

Feleklerde melek iñler zemīn u āsmān ağlar[1703]

[1699] beraḳa: berḳa-i P
[1700] ğalebe-i: ḥılye-i B K
[1701] dil-rīşān: dil-rīşāne-i K
[1702] sen: - K
[1703] This couplet is missing in B

Her bir devre-i ṭavāf ṭā'ir-i şikeste-bāl-ı [**B62b**] dile[1704] bir ḥalḳa-i dām olup dāne-i ḫāṭır-rübā-yı Ḥacer-i Esved'den 'alaḳa-i ittiṣāl ḳābil-i infiṣāl olamadı[1705]. Ammā ne çāre! Mürā'āt-ı ādāb-ı mücāveret ḫāric-i 'uhde-i ḳudret olmağla devrī-i[1706] ṣūrī-i[1707] ḍarūrī lüzūmına binā'en Mültezim-i Şerīf ile mu'ānaḳa-i mevādi'a-i[1708] iftirāḳ olunduğından[1709] ṣoñra resm-i mesnūn üzre südde-i seniyye-i 'arş-i'tibār ruḫsārından daḫi leb-i edeble būse-çīn-i ḥasret olduḳda midād-ı eşk ve ḫāme-i müjgān ile ṣaḥīfe-i südde-i ma'ādına[1710] bu manẓūme-i firḳat-āmīz terḳīm olundı:

Naẓm[1711]

El-vedā' ey merdüm-i çeşm-i baṣīret el-vedā'

El-vedā' ey sünbül-i bāğ-ı ḥaḳīḳat el-vedā'

El-vedā' ey ḫāl-ı[1712] müşkīn-i cihān-tābuñ[1713] senüñ

Māye-i dāğ-ı dil-i ḥūrān-ı cennet el-vedā'

El-vedā' ey ḳaṭre-i āb-ı zülāl-ı Zemzem'üñ [**L51b**]

Selsebīl'e[1714] mevc-baḫşā-yı ḫacālet el-vedā'

El-vedā' ey çirk-şū-yı cāme-i cürm-i 'uṣāt

Güşe-i bāmuñdaki Mīzāb-ı Raḥmet el-vedā'

Eyle Nābī'nüñ edā-yı ḥaccına rūz-ı cezā

Pīşgāh-ı ḥaḍret-i Ḥaḳḳ'da şehādet el-vedā'

[1704] -bāl-i dile: bāle K
[1705] olamadı: olmadı L
[1706] devrī-i: devrī B P
[1707] ṣūrī-i: ṣūrī vü B
[1708] mevādi'a-i: mu'āda'a-i L; mu'āda'a ol B
[1709] olunduğından: olunduḳdan B; olduḳdan P; iftirāḳ olunduğından L: iftirāḳdan K
[1710] ma'adına: sa'ādete B K
[1711] This poem is also included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 738) and Persian *Dīvānçe* (p. 35).
[1712] ḫāl: ḫāk DF
[1713] cihān-tabuñ: siyeh-fāmuñ K
[1714] Selsebīle: Selsebīl DF

Āḫir dāmen dāmen ḫūn-ābe-i seng-güdāz-ı [**K45a**] hicrān dökerek [**P93**] cihān cihān āh-ı gerdūn-sūz-ı ḥasret çekerek ḳadem ḳadem ric'at-i ḳahḳarā ile Bāb-ı Vedā''a 'azm olundı.

Naẓm

Ez-ser-i kūy-ı tū men bā-çeşm-i giryān mī-revem
Bā-girībān pür ez-gül[1715] ez-gülistān[1716] mī-revem

Bīrūn-ı 'atebe-i Bāb-ı Vedā''da cemāl-i cihān-ārā-yı beyt-i Ḫudā dide-i nigerāndan nihān olduğı sā'at ḫāne-i derūna nüzūl iden kārvān-ı ḥayret ü [**B63a**] melālüñ[1717] taḥrīr keyfiyyeti güncide-i tāb-ḫāne-i[1718] ta'bīr olmaduğı ancaḳ[1719] bār-keşān-ı hicrāna nümāyāndur.

Naẓm

Ḫurūş-ı eşki ne bilsün kenāre-gīr-i viṣāl
Düşen bilür yemm-i ṭāḳat-güdāz-ı hicrāna

Ğalebe-i ḥasret ü[1720] firāḳ ile rā'iḍ-i ḥayret dū dideden cereyān iden licām-ı sürḫ-fām-ı sirişki ser-pençe-i taṣarrufdan çıkarup tevsen-i zūd-remīde-i cān nüh cānibe[1721] devān eyledügin[1722] istiş'ār idemedi.

Naẓm

'Inānın[1723] çeşm-i giryān aldı dest-i iḫtiyārumdan
Ṣavulsun bañа seng-i rāh olanlar reh-güẕārumdan

[1715] ez: - L
[1716] ez: - B
[1717] melālüñ: melā'ik B
[1718] tāb-ḫāne-i: teb-ḫāne-i P
[1719] ancaḳ: - L
[1720] ü: - L P
[1721] nüh cānibe: cānibine K
[1722] eyledügin: idigin B; idügin L
[1723] 'inānın: 'inānda P

Firāḳ-ı Leylī-i[1724] siyeh-ḫāne[1725] ile Mecnūn-ı melāmet-zede-vār dāmen-i ṣaḥrāyı ṭutup miyāne-i emvāc-ı ḥayretde ğarḳa-i fenā olmağa[1726] bir iki nefes ancaḳ ḳalmış idi. Nāgāh

Naẓm

Me-şev melūl ki Fettāḥ-ı bāb-ı müşkilhā
Eger derī ki[1727] be-bended hezār der[1728] be-küşāyed

zemzemesiyle bir ṭarafdan Ḫıḍr-ı feryād-res-i ʻināyet kemend-endāz-ı taʻbīr-i istimālat olup ʻEy fütāde-i girdāb-ı ıḍṭırāb[1729] hīç taḫta-pāre-i cism-i nizāruñ bu mertebe[1730] ṭūfān-zede-i inḳılāb itme ki[1731] eger baḥr-ı raḥmet-ḫīz-i ḥarem-i muḥteremden sāḥil-i hicrāna düşdük ise ʻan-ḳarīb vāsıṭatü'l-ʻıḳd-ı niẓām-ı[1732] mevcūdāt olan bir dürr-i gerān-bahā-yı ṣadef-i kevneynüñ rūy-māl-ı ḫāk-i dergāhına **[L52a]** fā'iz olursuñ ki henūz heft ḥoḳḳa-i[1733] muraṣṣaʻ-i eflāk muḥīṭ-i cevāhir-i āb u[1734] ḫāk olmadın [1735] anuñ ẕāt-ı güheri kenz-i ḫafāda manẓūr-ı [1736] Ḳādir-i Perverdigār idi.

Naẓm

Gevher-i taḥḳīḳ be-ʻālem ne-būd **[B63b]**
K'ō der-[1737] gencīne-i maʻnā[1738] keşūd[1739]

[1724] Leylī-i: Leylī B
[1725] ḫāne: cāme K
[1726] olmağa: olmağla K
[1727] eger derī ki: be-yek derī ki L
[1728] der: - L P
[1729] girdāb-ı ıḍṭırāb: girdāb hīç ve ıḍṭırāb K
[1730] mertebe: mertebede K
[1731] itme ki: itmekle K
[1732] niẓām: - K
[1733] ḥoḳḳa-i: ḳubbe-i K
[1734] āb u: - K
[1735] olmadın: olmadın yine K
[1736] manẓūr: manẓūr-ı naẓar K
[1737] k'o der-: gevher K
[1738] maʻnā: ʻālem L
[1739] Muḥyī (Lala), f. 15a

Ve eger gülistān-ı āstān-ı Ilāhī gül-geştinden[1740] cüdā olduñ ise bir verd-i [**P94**] muṭarrā-yı çemenzār-ı ḳudsüñ ravḍa-i [**K45b**] bihişt-ārāsında[1741] bülbül gibi nālān olacaḳsın ki henūz ḫıyābān-ı sünbüle-dār-ı çerḫ-i berīn keşide-i dā'ire-i[1742] bāğçe-i zemīn olmadın anuñ vücūd-ı 'ālem-ārāsı ser-şīşe-i ḫalvet-ḫāne-i envār[1743] idi.

Naẓm

Āb der-cevv dāşt der-faṣlī[1744] ki 'ālem būd āb

Dest der-kil dāşt ān rūzi ki 'ālem būd ṭīn

Bu[1745] nüvīd-i meserret ruḫsār-ı cāna gülāb-pāş-ı tesliyet olmağla micmere-i dilde[1746] bir miḳdār[1747] 'anber-i şu'ur ğaleyāna[1748] başladı. El-ḥaḳḳ eger hevā-yı şevḳ-i Medīne-i Münevver'e ol sā'atde taḥrīk-i cārūb-ı 'ināyet itmeyeydi cevher-i nā-yāb-ı rūḥ zīr-i tūde-i ğubār-ı ğamda[1749] güm olmaḳ muḳarrer idi.

Naẓm

Dil olurdı pāy-māl-ı leşker-i cān-sūz-ı hicr

Ceyş-i cān-baḫş-ı nüvīd-i vaṣl imdād itmese

Ve eger reşeḥāt-ı seḥāb-ı ārzū-yı Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere ol maḥalde ifāḍa-i ḳaṭarāt-ı 'ināyet itmeyeydi ḫırmen-ı hicrān-zede-i hestī ṭu'me-i berḳ-i fenā olmamaḳ nā-mütaṣavver idi.

Naẓm

[1740] gül-geştinden: gülşeninden L
[1741] ārāsında: ārāsından K
[1742] da'ire-i: - L
[1743] ḫalvet-ḫāne-i envār: envār-ı ḫalvet-ḫāne K
[1744] der-: ān B K
[1745] bu: - K
[1746] dilde: dilden K B
[1747] miḳdār: miḳdān P
[1748] ğaleyāna: ğaleyān itmege K
[1749] ğamda: ğam içre K

Eger ṣu sepmeseydi[1750] dem-be-dem[1751] endişe-i vuṣlat

Ne cān ḳordı ne ten yandurmaduḳ sūz-ı ğam-ı ḥasret

Hele Fermān-revā-yı ḳalem-rev-i hidāyet şem'-i nīm-mürde-i[1752] cāna bu vechle pervāne-baḫş-ı tesliyet olmağla ba'd ez-īn kāse-i dilden rīḫte olan ḫūn-ābe-i endūha bedel bāde-i neş'e-zāy-ı şevḳ-i[1753] cedīd pür[1754] olup

Beyt

Vādī-i [**B64a**] Yeṣrib kücā-st āh zi-ḥırmān-ı ō

Dāmen-i dil mī-keşed ḫār-ı muğaylān-ı ō

zemzemesiyle cezbe-i kemend-i muḥabbete teslīm-i gerden-i[1755] irādet olunup ḫāk-i revān-baḫş-ı ṭayyibe-i mübārekeye taḥrīk-i ḳādime-i iştiyāḳ ḳılındı[1756].

Beyt [**L52b**]

Hevā-yı 'aşḳa uyup kūy-ı yāre dek giderüz

Nesīm-i ṣubḥa refīḳuz bahāra dek giderüz[1757]

Metā'-ı gerān-ḳadr-ı menāzil-i beyne'l-ḥaremeynde bār-ı tamğā-zede-i mihr-i münīr olduḳda bir ṣubḥ-dem

Naẓm

Bād-ı ṣabā dāmen-i gül ber-feşāned

Nükhet-i Yeṣrib be-meşāmem resāned[1758]

[1750] sepmeseydi: sepmeyeydi P
[1751] dem-be-dem: dem dem P
[1752] mürde-i: mürde B; mürd P
[1753] neşe-zāy-i şevḳ: neş'e-i şevḳ K
[1754] pür: - L
[1755] gerden: gerdān K
[1756] ḳılındı: olundı K
[1757] This couplet is by Naili (d. 1077/1666); see Necmettin Halil Onan, *Izahlı divan şiiri anatolojisi* (Istanbul 1946), p. 286
[1758] Cf. Muḥyī (Millet), f. 38a

Nükhet-i gül ber-serem ez-bād rīḫt

Ḫāne-i hestīm zi-bünyād rīḫt

50. Nümāyān geşten-i[1759] şehr-i[1760] Medīne

Medīne-i Münevvere'ye nıṣf sā'at miḳdārı[1761] maḥalde Cebel-i Müferraḥ[1762] nām **[P95]** bir püşte-i **[K46a]** āsmān-ḳadr üzre irtiḳā olunduḳda[1763] mir'āt-ı 'ālem-tāb-ı[1764] ḥiṣār-ı Medīne def'aten ṣūret-nümā-yı cilve-i ẓuhūr olup ol gülşen-i muḳaddes miyānesinde günbed-i ḫaḍrā-yı nebevī iḥāṭa-i āğūş-ı çār menārda[1765] nūr-baḫşā-yı çeşm-i iştiyāḳ olduḳda[1766], el-'aẓametü'llāhi te'ālā[1767], yekpāre ḳāfile-i āh u feryād mihmān-serāy-ı gerdūnı pür-metā'-ı eşk-i lāle-gūn eyledi. Reng-i[1768] rūlar ṭā'ir-i bāṣıradan evvel pervāz ve[1769] rūḥ-ı revānlar peyk-i ḫayālden muḳaddem [1770] şitāba āğāz idüp ḳafes-i bī-can-ı ebdān laṭme-i eşkle[1771] revān olmağa başladı.

Nazm

Tā-bā-ğam-ı 'aşḳ-ı tū hem-āğūş şüdīm

Bīgāne zi-'aḳl u ḫıred u hūş şüdīm

Der-vādī-i 'aşḳ ān çünān güm-geştīm **[B64b]**

K'ez-ḫāṭır-ı ḫ[v]īşten ferāmūş şüdīm

[1759] geşten: şud K; nişesten L
[1760] şehr: be-şehr L
[1761] miḳdārı: miḳdār P
[1762] Müferraḥ: Feraḥ 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 ḫaḍrā cetr-i zer-felke-i[1772] pīrūze-fām-ı ʻarş-penāh ki sāye-i saʻādet-māyesi āsāyişgāh-ı sulṭān-ı serā-perde-i zemīn ü zamān ve pīrāmen-i küngüre-i[1773] la-mekān-güẕārı pervāzgāh-ı ḳudsiyān-ı heft āsmāndur. Ḥavālī-i ḳubbe-i felek-fersāsında tele'lü'-i emvāc-ı envār şevket-şiken-i[1774] āftāb ve televvün-i ecniḥa-i melā'ike-i züvvār tefriḳa-baḫş-ı seḥāb idügi bī-irtiyābdur.

Beyt

Günbed-i ḫadrā-st[1775] çe mī-pürsī-ş

ʻArş bedān pāye şüde kürsīş[1776]

Nūr-ı tecellī-st k'ez-ō tā semā-st

Nūr kücā āteş-i Mūsā kücā-st[1777] **[L53a]**

Ber-ser-i her küngüreeş tā-felek[1778]

Cāy-girifte-est melek-ber-melek

Ol ser-çeşme-i envār-ı[1779] dū cihān muʻāyenesi ile yekpāre ḳāfile-i müştāḳān[1780], ḫuffāş-ı āftāb-dīde gibi, zemīne dökülüp ol bahāristān-ı viṣālde ğubār-ı seylāb-zede-vār kef-zenān ü naʻre-keşān memerr-i derīce-i Medīne'ye[1781] vürūd eylediler.

Naẕm

Be-müjgān refte-em[1782] ḫāk-i dereş ammā peşimān-em

Me-bādā der-reheş üftāde bāşed ḫār-ı müjgānem

[1772] felke-i: felke L B
[1773] küngüre-i: k-n-g-r L B K
[1774] -şiken: -şikest K
[1775] ḫadrā-st: ḫadrā B
[1776] Cf. Muḥyī (Millet), f. 39a
[1777] Cf. Muḥyī (Millet), f. 39a: nūr: Ṭūr FH;
[1778] felek: felek Naẕm L
[1779] envār: envāra B
[1780] müştāḳān: müştāḳān-zede B
[1781] Medine'ye: Medine-yi Münewwere'ye K
[1782] Be-müjgān refte-em: be-müjg-reften K

Kimi zebānın māhī-i[1783] cūybār-ı ṣalavāt ve kimi ṭūṭī-i[1784] nāṭıḳasın ğarḳa-i şekeristān-ı taḥiyyāt itmegin naḫl-bend-i ḥadīḳa-i eşer ya'nī Nābī-i kem-ter daḫi bu sünbül-i nev-demīde-i zemīn-i iḫlāṣı[1785] dest-āvīz-i ser-i kūy-ı haḍret-i[1786] Ḫayru'l-beşer eylemişdür.

Naẓm[1787]

Eyā ḥabīb-i Ḫudā [**K46b**] yā[1788] Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Şefi'-i rūz-ı cezā yā[1789] Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Hevā-yı gerdiş-i mihrüñle[1790] [**P96**] çerḫe girmişdür

Sürādiḳāt-ı semā yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

O şeh-süvār-ı [**B65a**] hünersin ki cilvegāhuñdur

Fezā-yı nūr u ḍiyā yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Sen ol ṭabīb-i şifā-baḫşsın ki her nefesüñ

Virür 'uṣāta şifā yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Ḥakīm-i ṣun' ḳomış ḥoḳḳa-i dehānuñda

Marīḍ-i cürme devā yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Şefā'atüñle olur zīb-i ḳāmet-i raḥmet

Pelās-ı cürm ü ḫaṭā yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Esīr-i la'l-i şefā'at-niṣāruñ olmışdır

[1783] māhī-i: māhī B
[1784] zebānın māhī-i cūybār-ı ṣalavāt ve kimi ṭūṭī-i: - K
[1785] iḫlāṣı: iḫlāṣ L
[1786] ḥaḍret: - P L B
[1787] Naẓm: Li-münşih K This poem is the first twelve couplets and the last couplet of a *ḳaṣīde* of thirty four couplets called '*Feryād-ı 'andelīb-i ḫāme-i rengīn-nağam der-gülşenistān-ı ṣenā-yı Habīb-i Ekrem ṣalla'llāhü 'āleyhi ve sellem*' in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, pp. 27-30).
[1788] yā: eyā P
[1789] yā: eyā P
[1790] *mihrüñle* is written in the margin of K instead of *lutfuñla*.

Kemāl-i ḥüsn-i edā[1791] yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Tefāẖur itmededür[1792] ẖıdmet-i rikābuñ ile[1793]

Emīn-i vaḥy-i Ḫudā yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Kilid-i ḳufl-küşā-yı ẖazā'in-i raḥmet

Elüñde cilve-nümā yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Ḳılındı rūz-ı ezel cilve-i cemālüñe ẖaṣṣ

Ḳalem-rev-i dū serā yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Küşāde-yāfte-i[1794] tīğ-i berḳ-i ḥüsnüñdür

Der-i sevād-ı[1795] recā[1796] yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī[1797]

Libās-ı sāyede[1798] olduñ berehne-cism itdüñ

O deñlü terk-i hevā[1799] yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī

Çemenistān-ı bihişte seḥāb-ı feyḍüñdür

Medār-ı neşv ü nemā yā Muḥammed-i 'Arabī[1800]

Siyāh-rūy vü güneh-kār Nābī-i bed-kār

Ider ümīd-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. Resīden zi-ṣaḥrā be-babü's-selām

Muḥaṣṣal[an] mānende-i sāye-i bī-cān rūy-māl-i cādde-i āmāl iderek ğubār-ı rāh ile dīde-i[1801] bāb-ı Medīne-i Münevvere'den[1802] güẕer olunduḳda

Naẓm

Key būd südde-i ān ravḍa be-şevīm[1803] bā-şekk
'Idẖalūhā' şinevīm ez-ḥarem-i vālāyeş[1804]

zemzemesiyle her ḳademde ṣufūf-ı rūḥāniyān istiḳbāliyle[1805] iktisāb-ı ṣafā-yı derūn iderek 'atebe-i 'arş-pīrā-yı Bābü's-selām cān-ı iştiyāḳ-zedeye cāy-ı ārām olduḳda nigehbānān-ı mevāḳıf-ı melekūt ve perde-dārān-ı sürādiḳāt-ı ceberūt bu zemzeme ile ḳar'-ı sāmi'a-i[1806] [**B65b**] intibāh eylediler ki

Naẓm[1807]

Şaḳın terk-i edebden kūy-ı maḥbūb-ı Ḫudā'dur bu
Naẓargāh-ı Ilāhī'dür maḳām-ı Muṣṭafā'dur bu

Ḥabīb-i Kibriyānuñ ḫ^{v}ābgāhıdur faḍīletde
Tefevvuḳ-kerde-i 'arş-ı cenāb-ı Kibriyā'dur bu

Bu ḫāküñ pertevinden oldı deycūr-ı 'adem zā'il
'Amādan açdı mevcūdāt çeşmin[1808] tūtiyādur bu

Felekde[1809] māh-ı nev Bābü's-selāmuñ sīne-çākidür

[1801] dīde-i: - L P
[1802] Münevvere'den: Münevvere'ye K
[1803] be-şevīm: be-şev hem L
[1804] vālā-yeş: bālā-yeş K
[1805] istiḳbāliyle: istiḳbāl ile L
[1806] sami'a-i: sami' or mesami' K
[1807] This *gazel* is also found into *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 952), and his Persian *Dīvānçe* (p. 35).
[1808] çesmin: çesmi D
[1809] felekde: felek D

Bunuñ [**K47a**] ḳandīlidür ḫūr[1810] maṭla'-ı nūr-ı[1811] ḍiyādur bu[1812]

Mürā'āt-ı edeb şarṭıyla gir Nābī bu dergāha [**P97**]

Meṭāf-ı ḳudsiyāndur būsegāh-ı enbiyādur bu

Ey bādiye-peymāyān-ı iştiyāḳ, bu ol devlet-serāy-ı cihān-ārā-yı ḥaḳīḳatdur ki ferş-i berrāḳ-ı 'ināyet-endūzı ser-be-ser dide-i ḥayrān-ı kerrūbiyān ve ḳandīl-i ṭāḳ-ı āsmān-efrūzı sīne-sūzān-ı[1813] ḳudsiyāndur.

Naẓm

Ber-sebīl ṭavaf mī-kerdend gird-i merḳadeş

Pīş Cibrīl ve melā'ik der-ḳafā-yı Cebra'il

Ey pūyende-kān-ı rāh-ı[1814] merām, bu ol ḥarem-i Ka'be-tev'emdür ki sāḥa-i sa'ādet-baḫşāsında[1815] mekīn olan Sulṭānu'l-mürselīn, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā[1816] 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretlerinüñ eṯer-i ḳadem-i lā-mekān-pīrāları[1817] vesīle-i mübāhāt-ı cebīn-i 'arş-ı berīndür.

Ey ārzū-mendān-ı peyğūle-i hicrān, bu ol āstāne-i şefā'at-'ünvāndur[1818] ki ruft ü rūb-ı ğubār-ı ṣaḥn-ı bihişt-āşūbı māye-i[1819] iftiḫār-ı bāl-ı Rūḥu'l-emīn'dür.

Naẓm

Ṭa'ne be-iksīr[1820] zened ḫāk-i ō

Der-ḫacel-est ez-ḫas u ḫāşāk-i ō[1821] [**L54**]

[1810] ḫūr: cevzā DF
[1811] nūr: nūr u D
[1812] This couplet comes second in DF
[1813] sīne-sūzān: sīne-i sūzān K
[1814] rāh: - K
[1815] sa'ādet: illegible in L
[1816] te'ālā: - K L
[1817] -pīrāları: -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

Rīg-i zemineş çū nücūm-ı semā

Geşte besī güm-şüde-rā reh-nümā[1822]

Ey bīmārān-ı pister-i ḥasret, [**B66a**] bu ol dārü'ş-şifā-yı 'illet-i ma'ṣıyetdür ki ğubār-ı ṣaḥn-ı mu'allāsından terkīb olunan ma'cūn-ı müferriḥ-i viṣāl-i[1823] cevāhir taḳviyet-baḫş-ı dil-ḫastegān-ı 'iṣyān olmasa teb ü tāb-ı ḥummā-yı ḥamīmden ifāḳat nā-müyesser idi.

Naẓm

Ān ki dāmān-ı şefā'at be-miyān ber-ne-zened

Gerd-i endūh nişīned be-cemāl-i kevṯer

Ey ābile-pāyān-ı ḫāristān-ı firāḳ, bu ol Ravḍa-i Muṭahheredür ki zemīn-i dil-nişīninde nişān-dih olan nihāl-i bālā-keş-i risālet, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā[1824] 'aleyhi ve sellem, ḥaḍretlerini[1825] baḥār-ı vücūddan ḫazān-ı[1826] 'ademe dek mezra'a-i āferīnişden ser-zede olan 'uṣāt-ı ümem[1827] üzre ḥırmengāh-ı restā-ḫīzde sāye-endāz-ı şefā'at olmaḳ içün bāğbān-ı ezel ḫāṣṣaten terbiye[1828] eylemişdür.

Naẓm

Gül nigār ez-cilveeş ferş-i ruḫ-ı ḫuld-ı na'īm[1829]

'Iṭr-rīz ez-ravḍaeş cārūb-ı zülf-i ḥūr-ı 'īn

Ey çeşm-küşāyān-ı [**K47b**] ṣaḥīfe-i merām, bu ol ḥücre-i mükerremedür[1830] ki ṣadr-ı vālā-terīn-müttekā iden ḫ^{v}āce-i kā'ināt 'aleyhi efḍalü't-taḥiyye[1831] ve'ṣ-ṣalavātuñ nām-

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[1822] Cf. Muḥyī (Lala), f. 59b: semā: semā-st FH; reh-nümā: reh-nümā-st FH
[1823] viṣāl-i: - P L B
[1824] te'ālā: - L
[1825] ḥaḍretlerini: ḥaḍretlerin B P
[1826] ḫazān: ḫızāne-i L
[1827] ümem: ümmet L
[1828] terbiye: tertib B
[1829] na'īm: berīn L
[1830] mükerreme: muḥteremedür B P
[1831] t-taḥiyye: - P L B

ı nāmileri dībāce-ṭırāz-ı[1832] **[P98]** cerīde-i āferīniş olmasa eczā-yı ecrām-ı 'ulviyye vü süfliyye şirāze-pezīr-i intiẓām olmaz idi.

Naẓm

Ṭūr-ı ṣad-ı Mūsā ber-engīzed zi-ḫāk-ı āstān

Şem'-i ṣad-ı 'Īsā ber-efrūzed[1833] be-bād-ı[1834] āstīn

Ey ḫarīdārān-ı bāzār-ı ümīd, bu ol meḳce'-i muḳaddes-i 'arş-ı zībdür ki āğūş-ı ṣandūḳa-i müşk-sāsında defīn[1835] olan[1836] cevher-i[1837] yektā-yı kevneyn-bahā[1838] dürc-i **[B66b]** ḫafādan dırāḫşān olmasa gencīne-i melek ü melekūt zīr-i ḳufl-ı 'ademde cilve-i vücūddan maḥrūm ḳalurdı.

Naẓm

Zi-āstīn ne-resīdī[1839] be-ceyb-i dest-i vücūd

Eger ne gevher-i ō dāştī hevā-yı ẓuhūr

Ey çāk-zedegān-ı girībān-ı ḥasret, bu ol merḳad-i münevverdür ki şefīr-i ḥafīrinde **[L54b]** āsūde olan metā'-ı kārgāh-ı levlāk zīnet-i çārsū-yı imkān olmasa bāzār-ı kevn ü mekān āyīn-bend-i ārāyiş-i ẓuhūr olamaz idi.

Naẓm

Ān ki bī-ḥablü'l-metīn-i mihr-i ẕāt-ı pāk-i ō

Ḫil'at-ı ḫilḳat ne-dīdī[1840] tā-ḳıyāmet tār u pūd[1841]

[1832] dībāce: dībāce-i P B
[1833] ber-: be- P
[1834] be-bād: zi-bād K
[1835] defīn: āsūde B; - K
[1836] olan: - K
[1837] cebher: gevher B K
[1838] bahā: - K
[1839] ne-resīdī: be-resīdī L
[1840] ne-dīdī: be-dīdī L
[1841] pūd: būd B

Ey ümīd-dārān-ı şefā'at, bu ol sulṭān-ı serā-perde-i risāletdür ki dāḫil-i şümār-ı ceride-i ümmeti olmaḳ mersūm-ı sāḥa'if-i āmāl-i enbiyādır.

Naẓm

Şān-ı dineş heme bāzār-ı milel kerde kesād

Enbiyā cān be-kef ender heves-i sevdāyeş

Ey dāne-pāşān-ı eşk-i firāḳ, bu ḳafeş-ārā-yı [1842] şübbāk olan ol[1843] ṭūṭī-i şīrīn-edā-yı '**ve mā-yenṭiḳu 'ani'l-hevā**'dur[1844] ki henūz zebān-ı imkān dehān-ı 'ademden nümāyān olmadın nāṭıḳa-i revān-baḫşā-yı '**innā efṣāḥa**' ile ḫalvet-serāy-ı ḫaṣṣu'l-ḫaṣṣ-ı[1845] '**lī-ma'a'llāh**'de şeker-pāş-ı zemzeme-i güft-gū idi.

Ey dil-bestegān-ı müşāhede-i murād, bu ol tābende-cemāl-i pīrāye-i '**innā emleḥa**'dur ki ḥüsn-i melekūt-ārā-yı ezel-pesendi cilvegāh-ı ḳurbü'l-ḳurb-ı vaḥdetde manẓūr-ı Kirdgār iken henūz māh-ı Mışr-āşūb-ı Ken'ānī nihüfte-i [**B67a**] bun-ı çāh-ı 'amā idi.

Ey bādiye-peymāyān-ı ārzū, bu ol tenhā-süvār-ı feḍā'-i[1846] mele'-i a'lādur ki ārzū-yı ḳadem-i cihān-küşāsıyle nüh[1847] [**K48a**] raḫş-ı muraṣṣa'-pūş-ı eflāk merbūṭ-ı ṭavīle-i intiẓār olmışlardur.

Ey sīne-rīşān-ı [**P99**] muḥabbet, bu ol şāhbāz-ı bāzū-yı 'ināyetdür ki āşyāne-i ḳudsden şikārgāh-ı imkāna nüzūlleri içün ṣayyād-ı ḳader niçe müddet idāre-i peftere-i [beftere-i] mihr ü māh eylemişdür.

Naẓm

Dīde sidrü'l-müntehā-yı ma'rifet-rā berg ü ber

[1842] -ārā-yı: -ārā-yı verā-yı K
[1843] ol:- L K
[1844] The Ḳur'ān, 53/3
[1845] ḫaṣṣu'l-ḫaṣṣ: - L
[1846] feḍā'-i: feḍā-yı P; - B
[1847] nüh: - K

Vādī-i taḥḳīḳ-rā ṭayy tā-be-aḳṣā sāḫte

Ey sīne-ṣāfān-ı bezmgāh-ı ḫulūṣ, bu ol ser-defter-i enbiyā-yı kirāmdur ki ārzū-yı ism-i mükerremleriyle[1848] ṣāḥa'if-i dū reng-i eyyām u leyāl niçe müddet cilā-dāde-i mihre-i mihr ü māh [**L55a**] olmışdur.

Ey cān-sipārān-ı rāh-ı vefā, bu ol ḥabīb-i nāzende-i Ḫālıḳ-ı yektādur ki ḍiyāfet-ḫāne-i heşt[1849] derece-i na'īm sālikān-ı cādde-i muvāfaḳati içün müzeyyen ve 'aẕābgāh-ı heft dereke-i caḥīm[1850] ser-keşān-ı beyābān-ı muḫālefeti içün mu'ayyen olmışdur.

Naẓm

Cāy-ı ser-est[1851] ān[1852] ki tū pā mī-nihī

Pāy ne-dānī ki kücā mī-nihī[1853]

Her ki der-īn güne zi-ser pā-küned

Bī-hıred-est[1854] er[1855] be-felek cā-küned

Līk der-incā edeb āmed be-kār

Bī-edebān-rā ne-būd i'tibār[1856]

diyü servşān-ı ğayb[1857] tavṣiyye-i ṭarīḳa-i ādābda te'kīd itdükde istī'āb-ı şevket-i āstān-ı risālet terkīb-i cism-i nāçīzden izāle-i neş'e-i ḥayāt idecek mertebelere ḳarīb olmağın[1858]

Naẓm

[1848] mükerremleriyle: mübārekleri ile K
[1849] heşt: heft K
[1850] caḥīm: caḥīm yine K
[1851] ser-est: sirişt P
[1852] ān: īn B
[1853] Cf. Muḥyī (Millet), f. 40a: ān: īn FH;
[1854] -est: - B
[1855] er: ez L B
[1856] Cf. Muḥyī (Millet), f. 40a:
[1857] ğayb: 'ālem-i ğaybdan K
[1858] olmağın: olduḳda K

Pençe-i ḥayret zi-girībān girift **[B67b]**

'Aḳl serāsīme şüd ender şikift[1859]

Geştem ez-ān vālih u ḥayrān u mest

Ṣabr be-reft ez-dil ve dil şüd zi-dest

bu ḥālet-i şu'ūr-güdāz ile mürde-i[1860] ṣad sāle sīmāsında Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere'ye vaḍ'-ı ḳadem-i ḍarā'at ve miḥrāb-ı mağfiret-me'āb-ı nebevīde nāṣiye-sā-yı secde-i taḥiyyet ḳılınmaḳ müyesser oldı.

Naẓm

Ravḍa ki āmed zi-riyāḍ-ı bihişt

Ḫışt-be-ḫışteş heme 'anber-sirişt[1861]

Her ki der-ān[1862] ravẓa zamānī nişest

Tā-ebedü'd-dehr zi-endūh rest

Edā-yı taḥıyyetü'l-mescid 'aḳībinde[1863] reh-nümūnī-i delīl-i 'ināyet ile müvācehe-i şerīfe-i seyyidü'l-enāmda edā-yı lāzıme-i ṣalāt ü selāma ḳıyām olundı[1864]. **[K48b]**

Ammā

Naẓm

Tāb-ı liḳā ne-dāred bimār-ı ğam-keşīde

Der-āftāb üfted dīvār-ı nem-keşīde

[1859] şikift: girift L
[1860] mürde-i: - K
[1861] Cf. Muḥyī (Lala), f. 26b
[1862] ān: īn K
[1863] 'aḳībinde: 'aḳabinde L
[1864] ḳıyām olundı: ḳıyāma şürū' olundı K

veflkince rişte-i enfās [**P100**] rehīn-i ʻuḳde-i ıḍṭırāb[1865] ve leb-i niyāz maʻden-i raʻşe-i şerm-i ḫiṭāb olmış iken yine dest-i edeb ḳufl-ı ṣandūḳa-i sīne ve tār-ı enẓār merbūṭ-ı püşt-i pāy-ı sekīne ḳılınup zebān-ı müştāḳ [**L55b**] ruḫsat-yafte-i cünbüş-i selām ḳılındı.

Naẓm[1866]

Es-selām ey server-i evlād-ı Ādem es-selām

Es-selām ey bādī-i icād-ı ʻālem es-selām

Es-selām ey gevher-i yektā-yı ẕāt-ı aḳdesüñ

Zīver-i bālā-yı ṭāḳ-ı ʻarş-ı aʻẓam es-selām

Es-selām ey ḳufl-ı genc-i raḥmet-i Ḥaḳḳ tā-ezel

Dest-i istiʻdāduña olmış müsellem es-selām

Es-selām ey intisāb-ı ẕāt-ı pāküñle[1867] senüñ

Oldı böyle nevʻ-i insānī mükerrem es-selām

Es-selām ey ceddüñ olmaḳla Ḫalīl'e itdi [**B68a**] Ḥaḳḳ

Āteş-i Nemrūd'ı bir gülzār-ı ḫurrem es-selām[1868]

Es-selām ey ḳurb-ı ʻahdüñ feyḍinüñ teʼsīridür

K'eyledi iḥyā-yı emvāt ibn-i Meryem es-selām

Işte geldi Nābī-i dil-ḫaste ḫāk-i pāyüñe

Eyle[1869] zaḫm-ı cürmine luṭfuñla merhem es-selām

ʻArabī[1870]

Yā ḫayra men düfinet fi'l-ḳā' aʻẓamüh

[1865] ıḍṭırāb: ıḍṭırāb olup K
[1866] This poem is also included in *Nābī Dīvānı*, (ed. Bilkan, pp. 865-66).
[1867] pāküñle: pākle K
[1868] This couplet follows the neḫt couplet in L
[1869] eyle: ide P
[1870] ʻArabī: - B

Ve ṭābe men ṭıbehünne el-ḳā'u ve'l-ekem

Rūḥī'l-fidā' li-ḳabri ente sākinüh

Fīhi'l-'ifāfü ve fihi'l-cūdu ve'l-kerem

Ḫōşā ol hengām-ı ḥayāt-baḫşā ki seyyāḥ-ı 'illiyyīn-neverd-i rūḥ rākib-i cemmāze-i beden olaldan beri ol āstān-ı şefā'ata rū-māl ārzūsı ile mānend-i ceres leb-rīz-i feryād iken i'ānet-i ḳā'id-i 'ināyet ile vāṣıl-ı ser-menzil-i merām ola!

Ḥabbeẕā ol vaḳt-i dil-zidā ki fānūs-ı şikest-āzmā-yı beden nişīmen-i çerāğ-ı ḥayāt olaldan beri ol encümen-i muḳaddes şevḳiyle gencīne-i sūz u güdāz iken ol şu'le-i cemāl-i mevcūdāta bī-perde iṭāre-i pervāne-i nigāh eyleye!

Yād bād ol bahār-ı viṣāl ki 'andelīb-i ḫūnīn-terāne-i dil āşyān-gīr-i[1871] şāḫçe-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 bī-vāṣıṭa [**K49a**] girih-küşā-yı nāle vü[1872] feryād ola!

Naẓm

Çe ḫōş-est pīş-i maḥbūb leb-i rāz bāz-kerden

Gelehā-yı hicr ḳurbān be-ser be-nāz-kerden[1873] [**P101**]

Ferāmūş me-bad ol [**B68b**] dem-i mükerrem[1874] ki bāl-ı ḥammāme-i āh ile irsāli mu'tād olan [**L56a**] nāme-i ṣalāt u selām bi'l-müşāfehe resānīde-i ma'rıḍ-i[1875] mu'allā ḳılınup recā-yı gevher-i firdevs-bahā-yı şefā'at ile basṭ-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'rıḍ: ma'rūḍ L

Ba'de hem-nişīn-i encümen-i zindegānī hem-ḥücre-i āsāyişgāh-ı[1876] cāvidānileri[1877] ya'ni[1878] cenāb-ı Ṣıddīḳ u Fārūḳ, raḍiye'llāhü'llāhü te'ālā 'anhümā, muḳābelelerinde daḫi iblāğ-ı levāzım-ı taḥıyyet ü teslīm olunduḳdan[1879] ṣoñra verā-yı ḥücre-i muḳaddesede dürre-i ṣadef-i hüdā, seyyidetü'n-nisā' ḥaḍret-i Fāṭımatü'z-zehrā, raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā[1880] 'anhā, pişgāhında cevāhir-i taḥıyyet ü ŝenā niŝār olundı.

Naẓm

Meyve-i dil ḳurretü'l-'ayn-ı[1881] Rasūl

Zühre-i gerdūn-ı nübüvvet Betūl

Seyyide-i cümle zenān-ı bihişt

Mānde[1882] der-pāy-ı Nebī ser be-hışt

52. 'Azm-i ziyāret be-[1883] Baḳī'-i Şerīf

Bülbül-i ĥōş-ĥ^{v}ān-ı vaḥy-tenzīl ḥaḍret-i Cibrīl 'aleyhi's-selāmuñ[1884] rāh-ı āmed-şüdleri[1885] olan revzene-i pür-meymenede dū dest-i du'ā bāl-ı ṭā'ir-i recā ḳılındı. Yine añа ḳarīb Bābü'l-Cibrīl[1886] 'aleyhi's-selāmdan güẕer olunup ĥāk-i mağfiret-nāk-i Baḳī'-i Şerīf'de āsūde olan hem-sāyegān-ı nebevī ziyāretine şitāb olundı.

Naẓm

Şev müteveccih be-zemīn-i Baḳī'

'Arş-ı berīn bīn ve maḳām-ı refī'

[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] şüdleri: şüdle K
[1886] Bābü'l-Cibrīl: Bāb-ı Cibrīl P

1887 Her ṭarafi nūr-dihed z-ān zemīn

Hem-çū nücūm ez-felek-i heştümīn

Zinde-dilān bīn ki[1888] be-ḫōd[1889] mürde-end

Ser be-girībān-ı 'adem bürde-end [**B69a**]

Vāḳı'an mezāristān-ı cennet-nişān-ı Baḳī' bir ṣaḥn-ı raḥmet-nümādur ki her tūdesi bir ṭūr-ı Nūr ve her naḫli bir dıraḫt-ı Eymen gibi[1890] leme'ān itmededür. Her ẕerre-i ğubār-ı mağfiret-āṣārı māye-i iksīr-i devletden muḥterem ve her rīze-i seng-i tāb-dārı nigīn-i Süleymānīden mükerremdür.

Ol ḫāk-i pāk züvvārından hic bir ten yoḳdur ki [**L56b**] çār dürc-i 'anāṣır ceybinde nihān olan gevher-i nā-yāb-ı rūḥın ol ḫākde[1891] niṣār itmek istid'āsıyle dest-küşā olmaya. Hīç bir cān yoḳdur ki ḫil'at-ı çār[1892] ḳıt'a-i cismin ol zemīne etkende itmek içün leb-rīz-i temennā olmaya. [**P102**] [**K49b**]

Bundan a'lā [1893] cāy-ı āsāyiş olur mı ki zemīn-i Baḳi''den ber-ḫāste olanlar dest-bürd-i 'amele-i derekāt-ı dūzaḫdan[1894] emīn olup belki dūrdan bile iṭāle-i silsile-i nigāh-ı āteşine fırṣat bulmayalar[1895].

Ve bundan efḍal [1896] devlet olur mı ki rūz-ı bāz-ḫāstde[1897] şehriyār-ı kişver-i şefā'at, ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem[1898], ile bālīn-i ḫākden bile[1899] ser-ber-āverde olup sāye-i Livā'ü'l-ḥamd-i nebevīde 'azīmet-i gül-geşt-i[1900] bāğ-ı na'īm eyleyeler[1901]!

[1887] heştümīn: hem-nişīn B
[1888] ki: - L P
[1889] be-ḫōd: nücūm P
[1890] gibi: - B
[1891] ḫakde: ḫāk içre K
[1892] çār: çehār B P
[1893] a'lā: a'lā yine bir K
[1894] dūzaḫdan: ḥacīmden K
[1895] bulmayalar: bulamayalar P
[1896] efḍal: efdal bir K
[1897] bāz-ḫ"āstde: bāz-ı restā-ḫīzde P
[1898] ṣalle'llāhü te'ālā 'aleyhi ve sellem: 'aleyhi efḍalü't-taḥıyyet K

Naẓm

Rūz-ı ḳıyāmet ki būd nefḫ-i ṣūr

Īn heme ḫīzāned der-estār-ı nūr

Ser çū ber-ārend zi-ceyb-i ğubār

Dīde-küşāyend be-dīdār-ı yār

Ḥaḍret-i Rabbü[1902] 'l-Ğafūr, Nābī-i ma'ṣıyet-me'ābı daḫi āsūde nişīnān-ı Baḳī' mürāfaḳatı ile sāye-i Livā'ü'l-ḥamd-i Muḥammedī'den mehcūr itmeye! Āmīn bi-ḥurmeti Muḥammedi'l-emīn[1903].

Derīçe-i Baḳī'-i Şerīf'de ibtidā' 'amme-i[1904] Seyyidi'l-mürselīn bir ḳubbe-i 'aliyye derūnında **[B69b]** mekīn olup aña ḳarīb bir ḳubbede[1905] daḫi maḥremān-ı serā-perde-i sa'ādet ya'nī ezvāc-ı ṭāhirāt-ı ḫ[v]āce-i kā'ināt, 'aleyhi efḍalü's-ṣalavāt[1906], perde-nişīn-i şebistān-ı beḳā olmışlardur.

Naẓm

Ber-ser-i ān reh ki ṭarīḳ-i Ḫudā-st

Ḥücre-i ezvāc-ı Rasūl-i Ḫudā-st

Sāḥa-i ān meşhed-i firdevs-bū

Ḥūr be-gīsū künede-ş[1907] ruft-u-rū

[1899] bile: - K
[1900] geşt: -şikest B
[1901] eyleyeler: eyleye K
[1902] Rabbü'l-Ğafūr: Ḫudā-yı Ğafūr K
[1903] bi-ḥurmeti'l-Muhammedi'l-emīn: bi-ḥurmeti'l-emīn K
[1904] 'amme-i: 'ammet B; 'amme-i ḥaḍret K;` 'amm L
[1905] ḳubbede: ḳubbe K
[1906] 's-ṣalavāt: 't-taḥıyye K
[1907] künedeş L

Bir ḳubbe-i nūr-āmīz derūnında daḫi perverde-i dūş u kināŕ-ı dāye-i ʻizzet, dürr-i şāhvār-ı efser-i saʻādet, ḳurret-i[1908] ʻayn-ı ḳabūl Ibrāhīm bin ḥaḍret-i Rasūl [**L57a**], ṣalle'llāhü teʻālā[1909] ʻaleyhi ve sellem, ğunūde-i kehvāre-i ʻadem olmışlardur.

Naẓm

Nīst mecāl der-[1910] ḳadem-i ecnebī

Ḫufte der-ān gevher ṣulb-i Nebī

Kerde der-ān maḫzen-i ʻanber-sirişt

Cāy be-her güşe ṭuyūr-ı bihişt

Bir ḳubbe-i gerdūn-mümāss sāyesinde daḫi amm-i mükerrem-i Seyyidü'n-nās ḥaḍret-i ʻAbbās, raḍiye'llāhü teʻālā[1911] ʻanh, ile[1912] çār gevher-i maʻden-i velāyet ve çār ḳandīl-i ṭāḳ-ı emānet yaʻnī ḥaḍret-i Imām[1913] Ḥasan ibn[1914] ʻAliyyü'l-mürteḍā ve Imām Zeyne'l-ʻābidīn ve Imām-ı Muḥammed Bāḳır ve Imām-ı Caʻfer-i Ṣādıḳ, raḍiye'llāhü ʻanhüm, encümen-gīr-i ḫalvet-serāy-ı [**P103**] ḫuld olmışlardur.

Naẓm

Günbed-i ʻAbbās ki ḫuld-i āşyān-est[1915]

Ḳubbe-i[1916] ez-nūr be-ʻalem ʻiyān-est[1917]

Ez-felek cūd u seḫā vü kerem

Kerde ḳırān çār sitāre be-hem

[1908] ḳurret: ḳurre-i P
[1909] teʻālā: - P B L
[1910] der: - L B K
[1911] teʻālā: - L
[1912] ile: - K
[1913] yaʻnī ḥaḍret: - B K
[1914] ibn: bin P; - K
[1915] nīst: - P
[1916] ḳubbe-i: ḳubbe K
[1917] est: - P

Bir ḳubbe-i mu'allā[1918] derūnında daḫi ḥaḍret-i 'Aḳīl ibn[1919] Ebī Ṭālib, raḍiye'llāhü 'anh[1920], ve[1921] bir ḳubbede daḫi Imām Mālik, raḍiye'llāhü 'anh, güşe-güzīn-i pister-i ḫ[v]āb-ı 'adem olup bir ḳubbede daḫi Imāmü'l-ḳurrā'[**B70a**] ḥaḍret-i Nāfi' bin Keşīr, raḍiye'llāhü 'anh, ser-firū-bürde-i raḥle-i[1922] rıḥlet olmışdur[1923]. Bir ḳubbede daḫi māder-i şīr-i Ḫudā Fāṭıma bint-i Esed, raḍiye'llāhü anhā, peyğūle-nişīn-i ğābe-i[1924] fenā olmışlardur. Ammā sāye-bān-ı ḳıbābdan sāde olan merāḳıd-ı aṣḥāb-ı kirām ḫāric-i ḥīṭa-i ḥesābdur.

Naẓm

Ḫayl-i ṣaḥābe çe büzürg u çe ḫurd

Bīş ez-ān-est ki tüvānī şümured

Ḫuṣūṣan kibār-ı mücāvirīnden mülūk u meşāyiḫ u 'ulemā vü ṣuleḥā şümār-ı ğubār-ı[1925] Baḳī''den efzūn-terdür belki her bir merḳadde yüzden mütecāviz ḫāmūşān-ı menzilgāh-ı fenā āsāyiş-güzīn-i ḫalvet-i beḳā olmışlardur.

Ser-ḥalḳa-i encümen-i ḫ[v]ācegān Ḫ[v]āce[1926] **Muḥammed-i Pārsā**, ḳuddise sırrahü'l 'azīz[1927], ḥaḍretlerinüñ mezār-ı feyḍ-āṣārları[1928] daḫi bir levḥ-i ruḫām ile i'lām olunmışdur. [**L57b**]

Ammā ğāyet-i ḥudūd-ı Baḳī''de bir ḳubbe-i 'ālem-tāb-ı āsmān-cenāb āğūşında cāmi'-i āyāt-ı Ḳur'ānī, kātib-i vaḥy-i āsmānī ya'nī[1929] 'Oṣmān ibn[1930] 'Affān, raḍiye'llāhü[1931]

[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] olmışdur: olmışdur ve L
[1924] ğābe: ğār L
[1925] ğubār: - K
[1926] ḫ[v]āce: - K
[1927] 'l 'azīz: - B K P
[1928] -āṣārları: -bārları K
[1929] ya'nī: - L
[1930] ibn: bin P

ʻanh, ḥaḍretleri mütevārī-i ḥicāb-ı beḳā ve ḫōş-nişīnān-ı ser-zemīn-i Baḳīʻa[1932] nigehbān-ı ser-ḥadd-i intihā olmışlardur[1933].

Naẓm

Günbed-i ʻOs̱mān ki nümāyed zi-dūr

Z-īn heme yek nūr dihed z-ān dū nūr

Geşte ḥayā perde-i dergāh-ı ō

Beste zi-pes[1934] ḫayl-i melek rāh-ı ō

Herbirinüñ ğubār-ı mezār-ı feyḍ-bārlarıyle dīde-i[1935] dil tenvīr ve zebān-ı ḫāme-i āh ile kitābe-i bālā-ḫāne-i āsmāna sūre-i sebʻu'l-meş̱āni taḥrīr olunduḳdan ṣoñra yine maḳsad-ı aḳsā-yı[1936] **[B70b]** ins ü cān yaʻnī Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere-i Ḥabīb-i Yezdān[1937] ziyāretine iʻāde-i rū-yı ḍarāʻat olundı.

Medīne-i Münevvere'de müddet-i iḳāmet on gün olmaḳ ʻādet olmağın maṭlaʻ-ı nehārdan **[P104]** maḳta-i leyle dek[1938] ve girībān-ı şāmdan dāmen-i bāma dek müvācehe-i şulṭānu'l-enbiyāda ğulğule-i ṣalāt u selām [1939] infiṣām bulmayup girye-i hā-yı hāy-ı[1940] nedāmet ve nāle-i recā-yı şefāʻat ile ṭabaḳāt-ı gerdūn perīşān ve züvvār-ı kerrūbiyān ramān olacaḳ ḥāletler ẓuhūr eyledi. Irāḳa-i eşk-i firāḳa hengām-ı fırṣat[1941] ve iṭāle-i ṭūmār-ı ārāma ruḫṣat[1942] elvirmegin herkes āvīḫte-i dāmān-ı şefāʻat olmağa ṣarf-ı maḳdūr eylediler. Ḥattā raḳam-ṭırāz-ı levḥa-i maḳāl Nābī-i şikeste-

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[1931] raḍiye'llāhü: raḍiye'llāhü teʻālā P
[1932] Baḳīʻa: Baḳīʻda B
[1933] olmışlardur: olmışdır P
[1934] pes: - K
[1935] dīde-i: dīde vü K
[1936] aḳṣā-yı: aʻlā-yı P B
[1937] Yezdān: Raḥmān K
[1938] dek: - L B
[1939] selām: selām ḳābil K
[1940] girye-i hā-yı hāy: giryehā-yı K
[1941] fırṣat: ruḫṣat B K
[1942] ārāma ruḫṣat: āmāle fırṣat K B

bāl[1943] daḫi bu 'arḍ-ı ḥāl-i derd-iştimāli bir levḥaya[1944] tenmīḳ ve müvācehe-i server-i iḳlīm-i şefā'ata küstāḫāne[1945] ta'līḳ eyledi[1946].

Naẓm[1947]

Bi-ḥamdi li'llāh naṣīb oldı sa'ādet yā Rasūla'llāh

Ki itdüm ḫāk-i dergāhuñ ziyāret yā Rasūla'llāh

Zihī ḫüsrān-ı güher-pāş olmadın bu ḫāke itseydüm

Gözüm gencine-i ḫ^{v}āb-ı ferāğat yā Rasūla'llāh [**L58a**]

Günehkārum sefihkārum siyehkārum tebehkārum

Beni redd itme ferdā-yı ḳıyāmet yā Rasūla'llāh

Ḫalāṣa dest-bürd-i kār-fermāyān-ı dūzaḫdan

Nigāh-ı kemterüñ[1948] eyler kifāyet yā Rasūla'llāh

Firīb-i sāḳī-i peymāne-gerdān-ı ḍalāletden

Dem-i āḫirde īmānum emānet[1949] yā Rasūla'llāh

Kemineñ[1950] Yūsuf Nābī'yi aḥbāb [**B71a**] u aḳārible

Şefā'at yā Rasūla'llāh[1951] şefā'at yā Rasūla'llāh

'Ale'l-ḫuṣūṣ ḥasretgāh-ı ecfān-ı selāṭīn-i cihān ve māye-i[1952] mübāhāt-ı āl-i 'Oṯmān olan ḫıdmet-i ferāşet cerīdesinde nām-ı faḳīr daḫi nigāşte-i ḫāme-i tevfīḳ olmağla hengām-ı şāmda niṭāḳ-ı 'ubūdiyyet ārāyiş-i miyān-ı müfāḫarat ḳılınup derūn-ı

[1943] -bāl: -maḳāl K
[1944] bir levḥaya: birle L
[1945] küstāḫāne: - K
[1946] eyledi: eylediler K
[1947] Naẓm: li-münşih Nābī K This *gazel* is found in the *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, pp. 955- 956).
[1948] kemterüñ: kemterīn P
[1949] emānet: emīn it D.
[1950] kemīneñ: kemīnen D.
[1951] Rasūla'llāh: Ḥabībe'llāh P D
[1952] māye-i: - K

şübbākde pīrāmen-i ḥücre-i muḳaddesede ḫıdmet-i[1953] iş'āl-i ḳanādille iştiğālle[1954] çehre-fürūz-ı āmāl olmaḳ müyesser oldı.

Bi-ḥamdi li'llāhi tebāreke ve te'ālā kīse-i fersūde-i vücūd naḳd-i ḥayātdan tehī olmadın ol ḫāk-i şeref-nākde ṣarf-ı naḳdine-i evḳāt olmağla müşāhede-i ṣūret-i āmāl olundı. [**K51a**]

Naẓm

Hezār şükr-i gül ez-ravḍa-i muḳaddese çidem

Be-āstān-ı şefā'at bedīn günāh resīdem

53. ẕikr-i vaṣf-ı şühedā-yı Uḥud-est [P105]

Nişāngāh-ı sübḥa-i eyyām u leyāl[1955] olan rūz-ı pençşenbe silk-i ẓuhūrda[1956] nümāyān olduḳda ziyāret-i şühedā-yı Uḥud sünnet-i seniyye-i Rasūlü'ṣ-ṣaḳaleyn, 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām[1957], olmağın bi'l-cümle ḥuccāc piyāde vü süvār ol ser-zemine[1958] güẕār eylediler.

Kūh-ı[1959] Uḥud Medīne-i Münevvere'nüñ bir sā'at miḳdārı cānib-i[1960] şimālinde bir kūh-ı bülend-i sürḫ-fāmdur ki ma'reke-i meşhūre-i ğazā-yı Uḥūd dāmen-i dil-nişīninde resīde-i[1961] mevḳi'-i ẓuhūr olmışdur.

Naẓm

Dāmen-i gerdūn ki şafaḳ-gūn būd

[1953] ḫıdmet: - B
[1954] iştiğālle: iştiğālde P
[1955] uleyāl: - L P K
[1956] ẓuhūrda: eyyāmda L P
[1957] 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām: ṣalle'llāhü 'aleyhi ve sellem K
[1958] ser: - K
[1959] kūh: cebel P
[1960] cānib: - B P K
[1961] resīde-i: - P B

Ez-eṣer-i sürḫī-i ān ḫūn būd

Evvelā ser-i rāhda dāver-i memālik-küşā-yı risālet, 'aleyhi's- ṣalātü ve's-selām, ḥaḍretleri cism-i muṭahher-i cihān-zīblerine pīrāye-bend-i[1962] [**L58b**] eşliḥa-i düşmen-efgen [**B71b**] olduḳları maḥall ziyāretgāh-ı tīr-i nigāh ḳılındı. Çetr-i sāye-dār-ı 'ināyetleri medd-i ṭınāb-ı iḳāmet eyledikleri[1963] maḥalde sütūn-i du'ā ḫayme-i āsmāna ref' olundı. Deryā-yı kārzār ḫurūşān olduğı maḥalde[1964] şimşīr-i āh ḥavāle-i çerḫ-i sitīze-kār ḳılındı. Dürc-i la'līn-dehān-ı şefā'at-feşānlarından dürr-i 'ālem-bahā-yı dendānları üftān olduğı mekānda ḳaṭarāt-ı sirişk-i ḥasret gül-güne-i 'ārıḍ-ı dāmān ḳılındı.

Naẓm

Çünān 'uḳde ez-kār-ı ümmet küşād

Ki dendān der-īn kār ber-bād bād[1965]

Naḫl-ı nāz-perverd-i[1966] cism-i nāzenīnleri eṣnā-yı ḥarbde bir miḳdār istirāḥat içün [1967] bir seng-i ḫārā şikāfına nüzūl buyurduḳlarında eṣer-i ser-i[1968] 'arş-sāları dil-i[1969] sengde cāy-gīr olduğı maḥall müşāhedesi tāc-ı ser-tāc-ı naẓar[1970] ḳılındı. Ba'de mecmū'-ı şühedā-yı Uḥud ki[1971] cümlesi bir zemīnde daḫme-nişīn-i milk-i beḳā olmışlar, ervāḥ-ı muṭahherelerine iblāğ-ı hediyye-i du'ā ḳılındı.[1972]

Naẓm

[1962] -bend: - B
[1963] eyledikleri: itdükleri P
[1964] maḥalde: zemīnde B; zemīne 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 naẓar: ser-tāc-ı naẓar K; tāc-ı ser-i naẓar B P
[1971] ki: - K
[1972] Ba'de mecmū'-ı şühedā-yı Uḥud ki[1972] cümlesi bir zemīnde daḫme-nişīn-i milk-i beḳā olmışlar ervāḥ-ı muṭahherelerine iblāğ-ı hediyye-i du'ā ḳılındı: - B

Būy-ı veſā mī-dihed ez-ḫāk-şān

Ğarḳa be-ḫūn türbet-i nem-nāk-şān

Rūz-ı ḳıyāmet ki ber-ārend ser

Bā-ciger-i ḫuşk ve kefenhā-yı ter

Bā-ruḫ çūn mihr dihend ez-zemīn

Toḫum-ı vefā bār-ne-y-āred cüz-in

Anlardan[1973] mā'ada[1974] bir ḳubbe-i 'aliyye-i **[K51b]** bihişt-nümā ṣadrında 'amm-i Rasūl-i kibriyā, seyyidü'ş-şühedā ḥaḍret-i Ḥamza ibn[1975] 'Abdü'l-muṭṭalib raḍiye'llāhü'llāhü [1976] 'anhüñ[1977] ser-i mezār-ı lem'a-bārlarında navek-i du'ā na're-i[1978] **[P106]** āh u feryād ile ḥavāle-i siper-i āsmān ḳılındı.

Naẓm

Ḥamza ki ḳurbān şüde der-rāh-ı dōst

Seyyid-i her cā ki şehīd-est[1979] ō-st

Lāle zi-ḫūneş şüde ḫūnīn-i kefen

Dāğ nihāde be-dil-i ḫ[v]īşten

Sürḫī-i kūh-ı **[B72a]** Uḥud ez-ḫūn-ı ō-est

Rīg-be-rīgeş heme tesbīḥ-i ō-st[1980] **[L59a]**

Yine ol ḥavālide Mescid-i Feṯḥ nāmıyle müsemmā 'ibādet-ḫāne-i dil-küşā ve bi're-i maḫṣūṣ-ı Sulṭānü'l-enbiyā daḫi māye-i fütūḥ-ı derūn u bīrūn ḳılındı.

[1973] anlardan: andan K
[1974] mā'ada: ğayrı B K P
[1975] ibn: bin P
[1976] raḍiye'llāhü: raḍiye'llāhü te'ālā B
[1977] 'anhüñ: 'anhünüñ B; 'anh ḥaḍretlerinüñ K
[1978] na're-i: - B
[1979] şehīd-est: şehīdī-st B
[1980] ō-st: k'ō-st B K

Naẓm

Mescid-i Feṯḥ in şüd ve bi'r-i Rasūl

Cāy-ı du'āyi-st maḥall-i ḳabūl

Bi'r-i Rasūl-est ki ez-[1981] āb-ı[1982] ḥayāt

Mevc-zen üftāde çū nehr-i Fırāt

54. ẕikr-i vaṣf-ı Mescid-i ẕü'l-ḳıbleteyn

Yine ol ṭaraflarda[1983] Mescid-i ẕü'l-ḳıbleteyn bir ma'bed-i münevver-i ğayr-ı mükerrerdür ki dīvār-ı cenūbī ve şimālīsi birbirine ebrū-nümā-yı miḥrāb olup biri Mescidü'l-ḥarām'a ve biri Mescid-i Aḳṣā'ya istiẓhār ile hem-çeşm-i ḳā'ide-i 'izz ü temkīn olmışlardur[1984]. Kerīme-i '**Fe-le-nüvellī-ke ḳıbleten terḍāhā**'[1985] cemālinden ref'-i burḳa'-i ibhām iden pīrāye-bendān-ı 'ārıḍ-ı taḥḳīḳ ta'yīni[1986] üzre evā'il-i hicretde cebhe-i 'arş-tāb-ı Muḥammedī, 'aleyhi's-ṣalātü ve's-selām, on yedi ay cānib-ı[1987] Beytü'l-maḳdis'e secde-ber-i iṭā'at olmağın bir gün [1988] mescid-i ma'hūdde şu'le-i beşere-i lā-mekān-efrūzları ḳandīl-i miḥrāb-ı ḳıble-i[1989] ḳadīme[1990] olduğı ḥālde ḥaḍret-i[1991] nāmūs-ı ekber[1992] fermān-ı cihān-gerdān-ı '**Fe-velli veche-ke şaṭra'l-mescidi'l-ḥarām**'[1993] iblāğıyle ol āftāb-ı felek-i nübüvveti cānib-i Beytü'l-

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[1981] ki: - B; ki ez: k'ez K; ez-: - L
[1982] āb: - L
[1983] ṭaraflarda: ṭarafda B
[1984] temkīn olmışlardur: temkīn olup K
[1985] The Ḳur'ān, 2/144
[1986] ta'yīni: vefḳince K; ta'ayyüni B
[1987] cānib: cenāb P
[1988] gün: gün yine K
[1989] ḳıble-i: - K
[1990] ḳadīme: ḳadim B P
[1991] ḥaḍret: - K
[1992] ekber: ekber Cebrā'īl 'aleyhi's-selām in the margin of K
[1993] The Ḳur'ān, 2/144.

ḥarām'a taḥvīl itmegin miḥrāb-ı ḳadīm ḳafā-yı Seyyidü'l-enbiyāya dide-küşā-yı ḥasret olup ḳalmışdur[1994].

55. Vaṣf-ı[1995] maḳām-ı pür-şeref-i Mescid-i Ḳubā

Ẓuhūr-ı ṭali'a-i ṣabāḥ-ı **[B72b]** şenbede[1996] ziyāret-i Mescid-i Ḳubā[1997] sünnet-i sulṭān-ı risālet[1998] ve mevāzī-i ş̲evāb-ı 'umre idügi müş̲ebbit olmağın gürūh gürūh ol cānibe 'azīmet eylediler. Bir sā'at miḳdārı maḥalde miyāne-i **[L59b]** **[K52a]** naḫlistānda bir mescid-i mükerremdür ki leme'ān-ı[1999] envār ve āş̲ār-ı esrār der u divārında hüveydādur.

Ḳāfile-sālār-ı enbiyā', 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām, **[P107]** ḥaḍretleri hengām-ı hicretde ḥavālī-i Medīne-i mübārekeye şeref-baḫş̲ā-yı ḳādime-i vüsūl olduḳlarında ta'yīn-i ḳā'id-i taḳdīr ile nāḳa-i feyḍ-bārları ol maḥalde basṭ-ı nāfe-i[2000] istiḳrār itmegin fermān-ı mi'mār-ı kār-ḫāne-i āferīniş ile Mescid-i Ḳubā bināsına mübāşeret buyurup naṣṣ-ı kerīm-i **'le-mescidün üssise 'alā't-taḳvā'**[2001] ile esās-ı mağfiret-sāsı[2002] temhīd olunmışdur.

Hengām-ı bināda bi'l-cümle aṣḥāb-ı kirām, raḍiye'llāhü te'āla[2003] 'anhüm, edā-yı[2004] ḫıdmet-i müjdeverī[2005] itdüklerinden mā'ada sulṭān-ı memālik-i mā' u ṭīn, 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām, ḥaḍretleri daḫi mālik-i mefātīḥ-i maḫāzin-i raḥmet olan dest-i

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[1994] olup ḳalmışdur: olmışdur K
[1995] vaṣf: ẕikr P
[1996] şenbe: pençşenbe K
[1997] Ḳubā: Ḳubā yine K
[1998] risālet: - K
[1999] leme'ān: leme'āt B K
[2000] nāfe-i: nāḳa-i B
[2001] The Ḳur'ān, 9/108
[2002] mağfiret-sāsı: mağfiret-mümāssı K
[2003] te'ālā: - B P
[2004] edā-yı: ḥaḍerātı K
[2005] müjdeverī: meẕkūrı B

kerem-peyvestleri ile bi'ẕ-ẕāt[2006] iḥḍār-ı levāzım-ı gil ü senge mübāşeret buyurmuşlardur[2007].

Naẓm

Ka'be be-ṣad cāy zi-şevḳ-i Ḳubā

Sāḫte pīrāmen-ı 'iffet-i Ḳubā

Miḥrāb-ı sa'ādet-nişābı revzene-i ḳaṣr-ı icābet olduğından ğayrı miḥrāb-ı rükn-i şarḳīsinde bāṣıra-i 'arş-peymā-yı nebevīye beyt-i siyeh-ḳabā-yı[2008] Ḫudā perde-ber-endāz-ı ḫafā olmağla cilvegāh-ı ḳabūl-i du'ādur. Nāḳa-i Refref-vaḳarları dū zānū-yı pākize tekāpūsına[2009] **[B73a]** 'uḳde-i istiḳrār virdügi zemīn-i mübārek daḫi[2010] vasaṭ-ı mescidde bir miḥrāb ile secdegāh-ı şeyḫ u şābbdur.

Naẓm

Hest der-ān ṣaḥn maḳām-ı diger

Ḫ^{v}ābgeh-i nāḳa-i Ḫayru'l-beşer

Sāye-i dīvār-ı Ḳubā'da Mescid-i 'Aliyyü'l-murtaḍā, raḍiye'llāhü 'anh, ve Mescid-i Fāṭıma-i Zehrā raḍiye'llāhü 'anhāda[2011] ḫam-dāde-i ḳāmet-i taḥiyyet olduḳdan ṣoñra Bi'r-i Ḳubā nām çāh-ı zemzem-sīmā āyīne-i ṣūret-i istid'ā-yı şifā ḳılındı.

Bir gün **[L60a]** server-i kā'ināt, 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām[2012], ḥaḍretlerinüñ gül-berg-i cism-i nāzenīnleri te'ṯīr-i germā-yı hevādan āzürde olmağla çehār[2013] yār-ı güzīn ile sāḳ-ı 'arş-mesāḳların[2014] ol çāh-ı 'ālī-cāh delvine ilḳā buyurduḳlarında

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[2006] bi'ẕ-ẕāt: - K
[2007] buyurmuşlardur: buyurmışlar K
[2008] ḳabā-yı: 'abā-yı K
[2009] pākize tekāpūsına: pākizesine K
[2010] daḫi: - P
[2011] 'anhāda: anhādır L; 'anhümā K; 'anhā B
[2012] 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām: 'aleyhi efdalü's-ṣalavat K
[2013] çehār: çār K
[2014] mesāḳların: mesāḳilerin B; mesāḳları L

engüşt-i meh-şikāflarından engüşterīn-i Yūsuf-cebīnleri [**K52b**] bun-ı çāha üftāde olmağın ol ābdan tecerru' idenlerüñ pīrāmen-i ḳalem-rev-i ṭabi'atlarından[2015] leşker-i emrāḍ u 'ılel güẕer itmek[2016] içün dārü'ş-şifā-yı Ilāhī'den i'ṭā'-yı berāt [**P108**] memhūr olunmışdur.

Yine ol bāğbān-ı rıyāḍ-ı şefā'at, 'aleyhi'ṣ-ṣalātü ve's-selām, ḥaḍretleri naḫlistān-ı Ḳubā'dan güẕer eṣnāsında bir naḫl-i sa'ādet-ṣemer reh-güẕer-i nebevīye iṭāle-i gerden-i ḍarā'at idüp 'Yā Rasūla'llāh bu zaḫm-ḫōrde-i tīşe-i inkisāruñ bir niçe ḫurmāsın resīde-i leb-i şefā'at-niṣār itmekle ten-i bī-cānumı beyne'l-emṣāl ser-efrāz buyuruñ' diyü basṭ-ı kelām-ı[2017] şükr-i simāṭ itmekle ilā-hāẕā'l-ān rū-yı ḍarā'at [**B73b**] ber-ẕemīn Naḫl-i Mütekellim nāmıyle reh-güẕār-ı Ḳubā'da mekīn olmışdur. Anuñ daḫi[2018] ziyāreti ile ẕā'iḳa-i merām şīrīn-kām ḳılınup yine Medīne-i Münevvere'ye 'avdet olundı.

Ammā derūn u bīrūn-ı Medīne-i Münevvere'de bir güşe yoḳdur ki envār-ı[2019] āyāt-ı beyyināt leme'ān itmeye, ve bir maḥall bulunmaz ki āṣār-ı mu'cizāt-ı fā'iḍatü'l-berekāt[2020] ilā'l-ān maḥsūs olmaya!

Naẓm[2021]

Ḳande yüz sürsem o māhuñ cilvegāh-ı pāyidür

Ḳande baḳsam pertev-i ruḫsār-ı cennet-sāyıdur

Der-her kücā ki mī-nigerem cilvegāh-ı ō-st

Der-her kücā ki rūy-nihem[2022] ḫāk-i[2023] rāh-ı ō-st

[2015] ṭabī'atlarından: ṭabī'atından K
[2016] güẕer itmek: güẕār itmemek L B K
[2017] kelām: kelimāt P kelām-ı kelimāt B
[2018] daḫi: - L
[2019] envār: envā' P
[2020] fā'iḍat: fā'iḍ K
[2021] These hemistiches are reversed in K
[2022] nihem: - B

Bināberīn yegān yegān tefāṣīl-i keyfiyyet-i aḥvāli güncīde-i ma'mūre-i beyān olmaḳ muḥāṭ-ı ḥavza-i imtinā' idügi ḥışn-ı ḥaṣīn-i i'tiẕārdur.

Naẓm

Evṣāf-ı muḥabbet dehen-i ḫāmeye sığmaz

Ta'bīr-i mezāyā-yı nihān nāmeye sığmaz

56. ẕikr-i[2024] rūz-ı vedā'-ı 'ālem-sūz[2025] *[L60b]*

'Āḳıbet ser-engüşt-i ṣubḥ-ı vedā' rūz-nāme-i eyyām-ı iḳāmetden varaḳ-gerdān olmağın şimşīr-i ser-tīz-i firāḳ dilleri ebvāb-ı ḥarem gibi çāk çāk ve nāvek-i dil-dūz-ı hicrān sīneleri nümūne-i şübbāk itmege āğāz eyledi. Āh u[2026] enīn-i nīş-ḫōrde-i hicrān ol kevāre-i engebīn-i şefā'at pīrāmeninde nāle-i zenbūrden efzūn-ter oldı[2027].

Naẓm [**K53a**]

Rūz-ı cüdāyī ki ne-bīned kesī

Tīre-ter-est ez-şeb hicrān besī

Rūz-ı vedā'a-st ve ecel der-kemīn

Ḫāṣṣa vedā'-ı güher-i īn-çünīn

El-ḥaḳḳ ne kār-ı düşvārdur bu ki ümīdgāh-ı kāffe-i mevcūdāt olan dāver-i ins ü cānuñ müvācehe-i 'aliyyesinde nā'il-i fırṣat-ı niyāz olmış iken kendi [**B74a**] [**P109**] iḫtiyāruñla leb-i nāṭıḳayı mevrid-i kelime-i[2028] el-vedā' eyleyesin. Ve ne [2029] emr-i müşkildür bu ki dest-gīr-i 'āmme-i mevcūdāt olan maḥbūb-ı Ḫudā'nuñ pīşgāh-ı

[2023] ḫāk: ḫāh L
[2024] ẕikr: vaṣf B P K
[2025] vedā'-ı 'ālem-sūz: 'ālem-sūz-ı vedā' K
[2026] u: - P
[2027] oldı: idi K
[2028] kelime-i: - K
[2029] ne: ne bir K

sa'ādetinde[2030] girih-bend-i sā'id-i edeb olmış iken pāy-ı irādetüñle ṣaḥrā-yı hicrāna revān olasın.

Naẓm

Ağla ey dīde ki giryān olacaḳsın āḫir

Iñle ey dil ki perīşān olacaḳsın āḫir

Destüñe girmiş iken gūşe-i dāmān-ı murād

Aldurup vālih u ḥayrān olacaḳsın āḫir

Ey ser-i bī-sāmān, ba'd ez-īn kūfte-i seng-i nedāmet ol ki 'atebe-i 'aliyye-i āstān-ı ḥarem gibi bāliş-i istirāḥatdan ber-ḫāste olursın.

Ve ey cebhe, cilvegāh-ı dāğ-ı ğam ol ki mālişgāh-ı ruḫsāre-i ḳudsiyān olan Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere'de[2031] secde-güẕār olmaḳ devletinden cüdā olursuñ.

Ey dīde-i ğam-dīde[2032] fevvāre-i ḫūn-ı derūn ol ki naẓargāh-ı Ḫālıḳ-ı ẕi'l-celāl[2033] olan merḳad-ı muḳaddes müşāhedesinden sedd-i derīçe-i nigāh idersin.

Ey meşām-ı bed-kām, menba'-i zükām-ı ālām ol ki nükhet-i gül-i riyāḍ-ı ḳurbden yine taḫliye-i dāmān idersin[2034].

Ey dehen-i pür-miḥen, kāse-i engüşt-ḫōrde gibi leb-rīz-i feryād ol ki müvācehe-i pādişāh-ı [**L61a**] dū serāda ser-şār-ı zemzeme-i ṣalāt ü selām olmaḳ devletinden mehcūr olursın.

Ey sīne-i bī-sekīne, mevcezār-ı şerḥa-i[2035] endūh ol ki yine ḳāmet-i mevzūn-[2036] sütūn-ı ḥarem der-āğūşından bī-naṣīb ḳalursın.

[2030] Ḫudā'nuñ pīşgāh-ı sa'ādetinde: Ḫudā pīşgāhında K
[2031] Muṭahhere'de: Muṭahhere'den B K
[2032] dīde: dīde-i K
[2033] ẕi'l-Celāl: ẕü'l-Celāl B
[2034] idersin: eyleyesin L
[2035] şerḥa-i: şürṭa-i L

Ey dest, efsürde-i sermā-yı nedāmet ve[2037] gezīde-i dendān-ı ḥayret ol ki yine dāmen-i şübbāk-ı şerīfe tevessülinden tehī ḳalursın.

Ey pāy-ı herze-girāy [**B74b**] pergār-ı ṣafḥa-i nedāmet ol ki nā'il-i gül-geşt-i çemenzār-ı na'īm iken yine āvāre-i beyābān-ı firāḳ olursın. [**K53b**]

Ey dil, şem'-i encümen-i derd ol ki pīşgāh-ı maḥbūb-ı Ilāhī'de[2038] yanup yaḳılurken yine bāzīçe-i tünd-bād-ı hicrān olursın.

Ey ṭā'ir-i rūḥ-ı bī-ḥamiyyet, āşyāne-i şāḫ-sār-ı 'ılliyyinden ḫāk-dān-ı[2039] esfeli's-sāfilīne giriftār olaldan beri pervāzgāh-ı aṣlī[2040] hevāsıyle bāl-zen-i ıḍṭırāb olurken ḥālā dārü'l-emān-ı ḥarem-i risāletde fırṣat-yāb-ı fürce-i[2041] [**P110**] rehā olasuñ da efsūs ki yine şikest-i[2042] ḳafes-i çār çūbe-i cisme ḳādir olmayasın.

Beyt

Ḫāk bādā be-ser-i ğayret-i āşüftegiyem
Ki tü-rā dīdem ve cān bürdem ve ḳurbān ne-şüdem

Ey 'aḳl-ı bī-hūde-kerd, 'ille-i ğā'iye-i[2043] muḳaddemāt-ı īcād olan vücūdı bulmuş iken efsūs ki varup teng-nāy-ı umūr-ı nā-şāyeste-i[2044] dünyāda yine sergerdān olursun.

Naẓm

Āfāḳ pür-dirīğ ve cihān pür-nedāmet-est
Īn rūz-ı hicretī-st ki rūz-ı ḳıyāmet-est

[2036] mevzūn: mevzūn-ḫırām P
[2037] ve: - L
[2038] Ilāhī'de: Ḫudā'da K
[2039] ḫākdan: ḫāk B
[2040] aṣlī: aṣl P
[2041] fürce-i: fürce B
[2042] şikest: - B K
[2043] ğā'iye-i: ğāyibe-i B
[2044] nā-şāyeste: illegible L

Evvelīn rūz-ı viṣālde şevḳ-i müşāhede-i Ravḍa-i Muṭahhere ile tīz-pervāz olan ‘andelīb-i cān hengām-ı vedā‘da şikeste-bāl u nā-tüvān olup pīşgāh-ı ḳafeṣ-i muḳaddesde nāle-senc-i el-vedā‘ olmağiçün cünbüş-i bāle mecāl bulamadı.

Naẓm

Çünān ki geşte-em ez-renc-i intiẓār ḍa‘īf
Nigāh-rā be-ruḫeş ṭāḳat-resīden nīst

‘Āḳıbet ḫ^{v}āh [**L61b**] u nā-ḫ^{v}āh, ḫilāf-ı dil-ḫ^{v}āh, üftān u ḫīzān, müvācehe-i ‘aliyye-i ṭāḳat-güdāzında[2045] dest-i şerm ü ḥicāb niḳāb-ı çehre-i i‘tiẓār ḳılındı. Ammā bir ḥāl ile ki ser-tā-ser şerāyīn-i beden [**B75a**] mecārī-i sīmāb ve ḳuvvet-i nāṭıḳa esīr-i teb-i lerze-i ḥicāb olup

Naẓm

Dī-rūz heme viṣāl-ı cān-efrūzī
Imrūz heme firāḳ-ı ‘ālem-sūzī

Feryād ki der-defter-i ‘ömr[2046] eyyām
Ān-rā rūzī şümāred īn-rā rūzī

me’ālī her bin mūydan teraşşuḥ-künān-ı eşk-i ğalṭān ve dil-i ṭapān[2047] ile maḳāl-i derd-āmīz-i vedā‘a āğāz olundı.

Li-mü’ellifih[2048] [**K54a**]

El-vedā‘ ey ḫāk-i rāhuñ kuḥl-i īmān el-vedā‘
Seng-i kūyuñ gevher-i tāc-ı Süleymān el-vedā‘

[2045] -güdāzında: güẕārlarında B; -güdāzlarında P K
[2046] ‘ömr: ‘ömrem B P
[2047] ṭapān: tābān P
[2048] Li-mü’ellifih: Naẓm B P; ḳaṣīde-i vedā‘a-st li-münşihi Nābī Efendi, sellemehü'llahü te‘ālā fi'd-dāreyn K This *ğazel* is also included in the *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 738) and his Persian *Dīvançe* (p. 34).

Pençe-i ḫūrşīd-i tābuñ şāne-i zülf-i vücūd[2049]

Ṣafvet-i nūr-ı ruḫuñ mir'āt-ı Ḳur'ān el-vedā'

Gevher-i beyḍā-yı yektā-yı[2050] vücūduñ tā ezel

Revnaḳ-ı ḫalvet-serā-yı ḳurb-ı Yezdān el-vedā'

Ḫıdmet-i isḳāya me'mūr olduğından devr ider[2051]

Kişţzār-ı şer'üñe dūlāb-ı devrān el-vedā'

Kuḥl-i gerd-i[2052] āstānuñdan[2053] olurken vāye-gīr

Ḳande ṣarf itsün nigāhın çeşm-i ḥayrān el-vedā'

Ḳāmet-i naḫl-i ḥarīm-i āstānuñdan cüdā

Nice gelsün bir yere āğūş-ı müjgān el-vedā' [P111]

Pişgāhuñda olurken nağme-senc-i[2054] es-selām

Kande olsun bülbül-i dil zār u nālān el-vedā'

Ḥasret-i ravḍañla ey verd-i bihişt-ārā-yı[2055] ḳurb

Itmesün mi dide dāmānın gülistān el-vedā'

Şerm-sārum yā Rasūla'llāh vedā'uñdan senüñ

Böyle olmış neyleyem taḳdīr-i Yezdān el-vedā'

Keşţī-i cism-i nizārum mevc-i ţūfān-ı ḳader

Itmek ister sāḥil-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] nağme-senc: na're-senc D; senc: şeyḫ DF
[2055] bihişt: - B

Lik ma'nāda mücāvirdür dil ü cān el-vedā'

Ya Rasūla'llāh nigāh-ı şefḳatüñ her ḥālde

Eyle Nābī-i [**B75b**] ḥazīn üzre nigeh-bān el-vedā'

Laḥẓa laḥẓa cānib-i meḳce'-i muḳaddese i'āde-i naẓara-i ḥayret iderek dāğ-ı ğam ve ḳāmet-i ḫam ile ḫāric-i derīçe-i ḥareme vaḍ'-ı ḳadem olundı. [**L62a**]

Naẓm

Fiğān ki rūz-ı vedā'a-st ve giryehā dārem

Egerçi mī-revem ammā sırr-ı vefā dārem

Çe güne pāy be[2056] -seng-i melāmet-em n-āyed [?]

Ki tünd mī-revem ve rū-yı der-ḳafā dārem

Ol ḥīn-i derd-āgīnde ḫayme-i ḫuşk-ı eczā-yı[2057] a'ḍāya işābet iden sūziş-i firāḳuñ beyānı ḫāric-i ḳudret-i ḳalem-i ter-zebāndur.

Naẓm

Nigeh-i gülçīn-i[2058] ḥasret-i[2059] dāmenüm pür-ḫār-ı miḥnetdür

Gel ey bülbül benümçün nāle it kim rūz-ı firḳatdür

Bu ḥālet-i pür-melālet ile ğubār-ı kūçe-i Medīne-i Münevvere'yi sīrāb-ı seylāb-ı[2060] eşk-i ḫūn-pāş iderek dāmen-i ṣaḥrā girifte-i pençe-i sevdā ḳılındı.

Naẓm

Mī-reftem ve ḫūn-i dil[2061] be-rāhem mī-rīḫt

Dūzaḫ dūzaḫ şerār[2062] zi-āhem mī-rīḫt

[2056] be: ki P
[2057] eczā-yı: - K
[2058] gül-çīn: pürçīn B
[2059] ḥasret-i: ḥayret-i L
[2060] seylāb: - K
[2061] dil: - L

Mī-reftem ve ez-ḥasret-i ān gülşen-i kūy

Ṣaḥrā ṣaḥrā gül[2063] ez-nigāhem mi-rīḫt

Gāh ḫıyām-ı ḫayāl-ı Ḥaremeyn ārāyiş-i [**K54b**] ṣaḥrā-yı cinān ve gāh müẕākere-i evṣāf-ı maḳāmeyn rā'iḍ-i gül-gūn-ı zebān olaraḳ rāh-ı Şām'a taḥrīk-i 'inān-ı mürāca'at olundı[2064].

Naẓm

Dem-i viṣāl geçer neş'e-i şerāb gibi

Ḳalur gözüñde[2065] o demler ḫayāl-i ḫ^{v}āb gibi

Idāre-i[2066] sübḥa-i eyyām u leyāl ile bir gün yine ḫıṭṭa-i Şām menzil ki ārām[2067] olıcaḳ ol maḥalde rişte-i niẓām-ı ḥuccāc rehīn-i iftirāḳ olmaḳ i'tiyādına binā'en herkes dest-māye-i ḥuṣūl-i [**P112**] merām ile vaṭan-ı me'lūfına tevcīh-i rū-yı 'azm-i[2068] ğarām itmegin ḥaḍret-i sulṭān-ı bārgāh-ı [**B76a**] eḥadiyyet, celle şānüh, bu 'abd-i nā-tüvānı daḫi rehīn-i bedraḳa-i tevfīḳ idüp ḳāfile-i emn ü āsāyiş ile yine bir gün āstāne-i 'aliyyede[2069] basṭ-ı visāde-i istirāḥat müyesser eyledi[2070].

Tārīḫ-i kitāb-ı ra'nā[2071]

Cenāb-ı Ḥaḳḳ'a hezārān hezār ḥamd ü şenā

Ki itdi luṭfı ile[2072] bu 'abd-i kem-terīn iḥyā

Ne istedimse naṣīb itdi rāh-ı beytinde

[2062] şerār: şerer K
[2063] gül: - L
[2064] olundı: ḳılındı 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: ḫıṭṭa-i āstānede K
[2070] müyesser eyledi: müyesser oldı B
[2071] Tārīḫ-i kitāb-ı ra'nā: Naẓm P B; Ḳıt'a-yı tārīḫ-est K This poem is also included in *Nābī Dīvānı* (ed. Bilkan, p. 218) under the title of '*Tārīḫ berāy-ı tamām-süden-i (kitāb-ı) Tuḥfetü'l-ḥaremeyn.*
[2072] luṭfı ile: luṭfla L B P

Ne ḥācetüm var ise eyledi keremle revā[2073]

'Ale'l-ḫuṣūṣ ki[2074] bu şāhid-i nev-āmedenüñ

Ki ḥüsn-i lafẓı virür cāna neşve-i şahbā [**L62b**]

Edā-yı dil-keşi ta'bīr-i şīve-āmīzi[2075]

Olur muḥayyir-i ṭab'-ı ahāli-i inşā

'Aceb mi câme-i ḳadd-i ḳabūl olursa budur

Metā'-ı tāze-ẓuhūr-ı ḳalem-rev-i ma'nā

Bu feyḍ ḫāme-i Nābī'ye rāh-ı[2076] Ḥaḳḳ'dandur

Ki oldı[2077] böyle 'arūs-ı laṭīfe çehre-küşā

Didüm tamāmına Nābī bu nüsḫanuñ tārīḫ

Bu Tuḥfe-i Ḥaremeyn'üm ḳabūl ide Mevlā

[2073] revā: aṭā D
[2074] ki: - K
[2075] şīve: neşve K
[2076] rah: -K
[2077] ki oldı: k'oldı K