Journey to the Sublime Porte

The Arabic Memoir of a Sharifian Agent's Diplomatic Mission to the Ottoman Imperial Court in the era of Suleyman the Magnificent

Richard Blackburn



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Late in 1557 Shaykh Qutb al-Din al-Nahrawali, a Meccan religious figure, was sent by the Sharif of Mecca to Istanbul to plead in the Imperial Council of State for the removal of a local Ottoman official. The object of the mission and its failure are less important than al-Nahrawali's diary-like memoir of the journey which yields rich information on the Ottoman heartlands, capital and court in what is held to have been the heyday of the empire. Accompanying the returning Syrian pilgrimage caravan as far as Damascus, where it wintered over for two months, his small party then crossed Anatolia to the Bosphorus. Along the way he met with Prince Bayezid, who sought his support against his brother, the future Sultan Selim II. Once in the capital, where his two-month sojourn accounts for a quarter of the diary, he met with Rustem Pasha, the powerful grand vizier, had audiences with Sultan Suleyman I (the Magnificent) and with Abu al-Su'ud Efendi, the empire's celebrated chief religious official, and witnessed the funeral procession of Hurrem (Roxelana), Suleyman's influential consort. He returned by sea to Alexandria, and from Cairo he accompanied the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan to Mecca.

The value of this mission memoir to scholarship is substantial. For example, it reveals aspects of life in the Ottoman heartlands and at the sultan's capital and court. Through it we gain insight into the reception, deportment and behind-the-scenes activities of a lobbyist at work to achieve a modest goal which kept him remote from his home for a year. It allows one to trace the routes and study the way stations of both the Syrian and the Egyptian caravans for the annual pilgrimage a central Islamic rite and within one Islamic calendar year. And its author's concern to remain within budget affords an opportunity to study his accounts, the cost of food, services and pack animals, etc., and the various currencies in use and where. But equally fascinating to the reader is the work's considerable corpus of trivia, all of which contributes to our appreciation of 16th-century Muslim Ottoman society.

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The Relevant Text from Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī's *al-Fawā'id al-sanīyah fī al-riḥlah al-Madanīyah wa al-Rūmīyah*, Introduced, Translated and Annotated by

Richard Blackburn

BEIRUT 2005

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For

Michael Marmura

Scholar, Teacher, Colleague,
Mentor and Friend

A Homage

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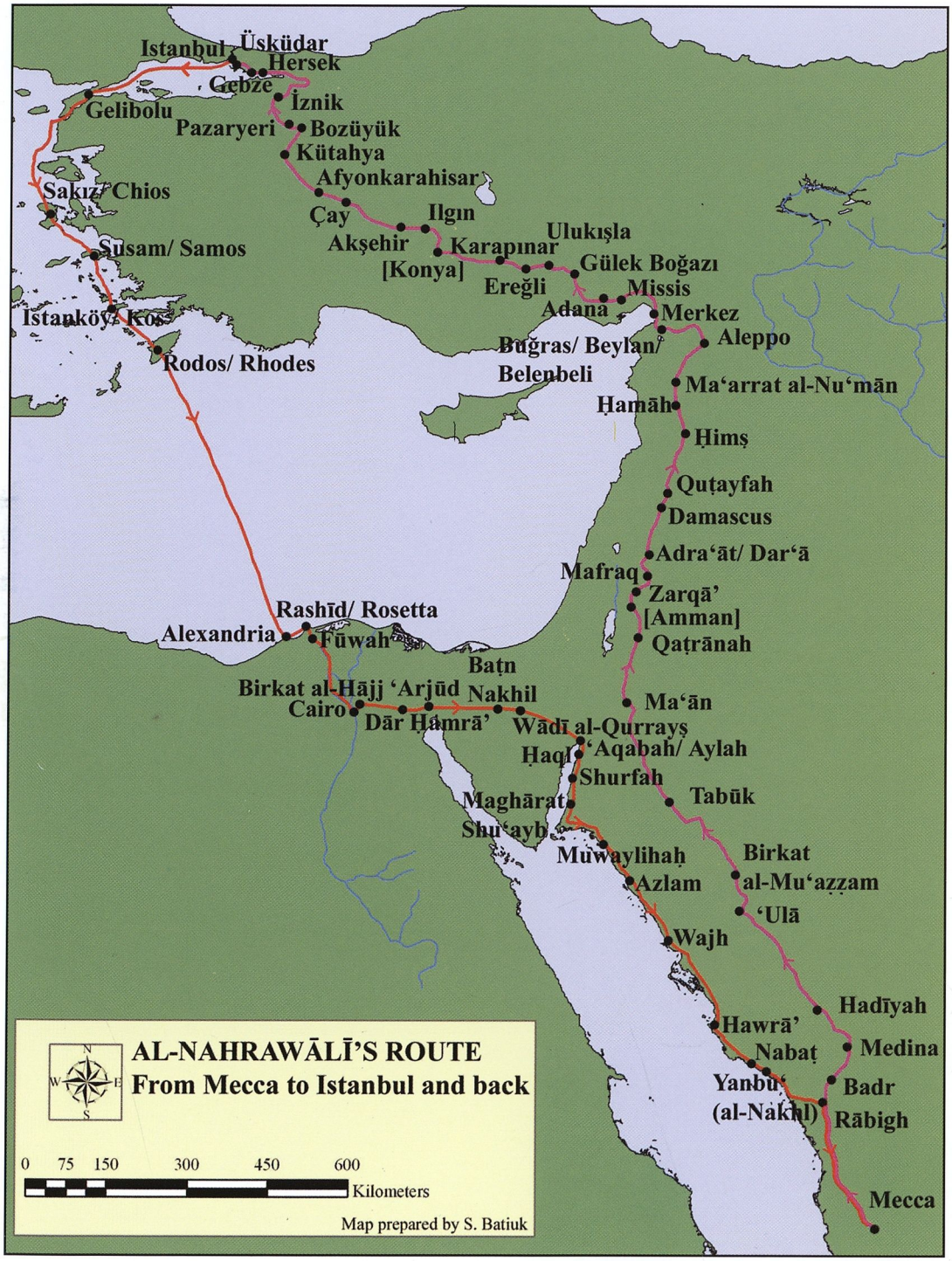

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INTRODUCTION

Sometime during the latter part of the Islamic year 964 (1557 C.E.) a middle-aged Meccan religious figure known as Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad was chosen by Sharīf Ḥasan, then co-ruler of the Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina with his father, Sharīf Muḥammad Abū Numayy, to head a modest but pressing mission to the Ottoman court in Istanbul. His being selected for this undertaking was likely due to a combination of factors in his favour. These included his recognised skills in Arabic, especially his expertise in drafting official chancery composition (*inshāʾ*) for the *sharīfs*; his proven fluency in Turkish, and the contacts with visiting, transient and resident Ottoman officials and dignitaries that this talent made possible; his earlier acquaintance with Istanbul and the Ottoman court where as a young man he participated in an Indian embassy and was presented to the sultan; and, as important as any of the reasons, his credentials as a follower and scholar of the Sunnī legal rite (*madhhab*) of Abū Ḥanīfah, the official one of the Ottomans, the new overlords of western Arabia (the Ḥijāz). The *shaykh*'s assignment was to secure the removal of a rather minor but troublesome Istanbul-appointed official, Delü Pīrī, the garrison commander at Medina known for his disrespect for the *sharīf*s, the Ottoman local vassal rulers, and for his challenging of their authority in Medina.

Accompanied by a suite of fewer than a dozen individuals, including his brother, Shaykh Muḥibb al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh, and several slaves, and with some hired draft animals for bearing supplies and gifts, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn set out from Mecca in the early days of Muḥarram, the first month of 965/October, 1557. They traveled under the protection of the returning Syrian pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) caravan as far as Damascus. From there, after wintering over for nearly two months, they proceeded unescorted through central and northern Syria and across Anatolia to Istanbul, seat of the Ottoman imperial court and the mission's destination. However, despite Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn's strenuous and dogged efforts to succeed for his master, the *sharīf*, his mission failed after two months. This was owing in significant part to the politics of Medina being played out in the empire's capital and its

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undermining of the *shaykh*'s credibility with the grand vizier and other ranking officials.

The small but by then divisive mission broke up amid acrimony and rancour, with its members returning towards Mecca, randomly and alone or in small groups. Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn, its out-maneuvered, frustrated, dejected and near penniless chief, made his way back by boat through the islands of the eastern Aegean and across the Mediterranean to Alexandria, a city familiar to him from an earlier visit. In Cairo he sojourned briefly with an old friend from their student days and had meetings with Ottoman provincial officials, before returning overland with the Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan making its way through arid Sinai and the Ḥijāz coastal region to Mecca, his point of departure some eleven months earlier. News of his failure having reached there before his arrival home, he found that no friendly reception awaited him, and that even his closest friends and associates had been deceived by his detractors.

Throughout his lengthy journey, even in his darkest hours of despair following personal failure, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn kept in Arabic a record of his travels and sojourns, often in diary form. Not much of interest to him escaped his written observation, it seems. The people he encountered, the sights he beheld, the situations he experienced, the legends and folklore he heard, the itemised inventories of gifts he delivered, the political machinations of the Medinese community in Istanbul he faced, the many places along the Syrian and Egyptian *ḥajj* routes where he halted, even the summaries of his monthly expenses – all of these and much more were recorded by him in varying degrees of detail and often rich description. While crossing Anatolia he was summoned to meet with Prince Bāyezīd, Sultan Süleymān's son who was alienated from his father and preparing for open conflict with his brother over the approaching succession to the throne. Once in Istanbul, the mission chief described, among his many experiences there, an audience with the sultan, attendance at the funeral of Ḫurrem (or Roxelana, as she was known to Europeans), the sultan's beloved wife and the mother of his only two surviving sons, Selīm and Bāyezīd, and meetings with numerous members of the empire's administrative and learned hierarchies, including ones with the grand vizier, Rüstem Pasha, the three other viziers, and the grand *muftī* (*şeyḫ ül-Islām*), Ebū 's-Suʿūd Efendi. It was the era of a mature Sultan Süleymān I (*r.* 926-74/1520-66), known to Ottomans as "the Law-giver (Ḳānūnī)" and to westerners as "the Magnificent," a time when the Ottoman realm is held to have been at its height of wealth, sway and glory. Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn's often detailed memoir of his journey through the empire's Islamic heartlands yields valuable insight and data concerning that empire at mid-sixteenth century. This travel account, or *riḥlah* as it is termed in Arabic,

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is presented here in English translation and with extensive annotations for clarification and elaboration of its rich content.

* * *

The *Riḥlah*'s author was Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāḍī Khān Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad, and he was further identified as, variously, al-Nahrawālī, al-Hindī, al-Ḥanafī, al-Makkī, al-Kharqānī and al-Qādirī to reflect his origins, legal rite, adopted home and brotherhood association. His birth occurred during 917/1511-12 in India, probably at Nahrawālah, a town (the present-day Patan) situated in what was then the sultanate of Gujarāt in western India. This accounts for the attributive agnomen (*nisbah*) al-Nahrawālī attached to the family name, which from the 11th/17th century appears corrupted into al-Nahrawānī in some biographical accounts. Arab in origin, a family ancestor, namely the *faqīh* Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAdanī, had moved to there in the 7th/13th century from the southwest Arabian port town of Aden. Quṭb al-Dīn's father, Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad (871-949/1466/7-1542/3), a distinguished Ḥanafī scholar and the young Quṭb al-Dīn's first teacher, had served as *muftī* (expounder of Islamic law) of Gujarāt. Following his pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) in 899/1494, Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad stayed on at Mecca for further study before going back to Nahrawālah the next year.

When sometime later the father returned to Mecca to take up a teaching position at the Kanbāʾīyah college (*madrasah*) founded there by Sultan Aḥmad Shāh of Gujarāt (*r.* 813-46/1410-42), he may have taken his young son Muḥammad al-Nahrawālī with him. It has not been determined just when this relocation occurred, but in later years Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad recalled events he witnessed at Mecca traceable to late in the year 932/1526, when he was about fifteen years of age. Much of the youth's education awaited him at Mecca, where he studied both with members of the holy city's learned establishment and with eminent scholars from elsewhere participating in the *ḥajj* and sojourning there for pious reasons. The Mecca of the young Muḥammad al-Nahrawālī having only recently come under imperial Ottoman sovereignty, he prepared himself early to exploit the inherent opportunities that this presented by adding a knowledge of Turkish to his language skills, which already included fluency in Arabic and competence in Persian. Scope for his advancement in Turkish was doubtless widened when later he resided in Ottoman Egypt, at least briefly and on more than one occasion. There too he furthered his studies under some of the pre-eminent Islamic scholars of the age, includ-

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ing former students of the Egyptian polymath, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505); and he as well took in the sights of Cairo and was introduced both to a Turkish Ottoman governor and to the last member of the ʿAbbāsid caliphal family of any note.

As a young man in his twenties, the Indian-born Muḥammad al-Nahrawālī was invited at Mecca to accompany an Indian mission to the court of Sultan Süleymān in the Ottoman capital. Sultan Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt (*r.* 934-43/1526-37), under attack from both the Portuguese and the Moguls, and fearing for the safety of his treasury and harem, had in 942/1535 sent off his wealth and womenfolk to the security of Mecca, escorted by his vizier, Āṣāf Khān (*ca.* 908-61/1502/3-54). The following year, under the instructions of his master, this vizier organised an embassy to Istanbul, where he was to seek Ottoman military assistance against the infidel Portuguese in western India. At the imperial court Quṭb al-Dīn, whose Indian origin and facility in Turkish doubtless accounted in large part for his participation in this undertaking, had the opportunity to learn about the empire's center of power and to meet with a number of its officials. Among the latter was the then grand vizier Ayās Meḥmed Pasha who, being an acquaintance of and sometime correspondent with al-Nahrawālī's father, arranged for him to be presented to the sultan.

After returning to Mecca by way of Egypt, where later in 943/1536-7 he had embarked on his first period of study there, Quṭb al-Dīn concentrated on building a career. The more than two decades that preceded his accepting to head the mission to Istanbul in 965/1557-8 saw his reputation as scholar, teacher, guide, consultant and author grow dramatically. Recognition of his learning in jurisprudence (*fiqh*), prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth*) and Qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr*), as well as of his skills in Arabic, including poetry, led to professorships in Mecca's colleges. Like his father before him, he taught at the Indian-endowed Kanbāʾīyah. As well, although dates are generally absent from the biographical literature, it seems to have been during this period that he first received appointment to the city's pre-emenient Ashrafīyah *madrasah* founded in *ca.* 883-4/1478-80 by the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāʾitbāy (*r.* 872-91/1468-96). His known passion for books brought him the added responsibility of restoring the neglected manuscript collections belonging to this college and its sister institution at Medina. In part to support the expansion of his personal library of manuscripts, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī developed a thriving consulting business, especially among the growing number of Turkish-speaking Ottoman officials, pilgrims and visitors in the city. Having produced his own manual on the rituals of the pilgrimage (*manāsik*), demand for

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his services increased greatly, especially among Ḥanafī pilgrims. On one occasion, when there was discord at Mecca, he was contracted to serve as guide for Sultan Süleymān's paternal aunt, a sister of Sultan Selīm I (*r.* 918-26/1512-20); and on another he was richly rewarded by Luṭfī Pasha (d. *ca.* 970/1562-3), the recently dismissed Ottoman grand vizier then on pilgrimage, for translating the latter's treatise on a work by Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767) into both Arabic and Persian. His growing links with the Ottoman Turks, which had not yet developed into any overt expression of political promotion of their sultans, especially at a time when the traditional exercise of local authority was being increasingly curbed from the imperial center, enhanced al-Nahrawālī's value to the vassal *sharīf*s, who made occasional use of his talents to meet their chancery and diplomatic needs.

In these decades prior to his heading the *sharīf*'s mission to Istanbul, Quṭb al-Dīn was active as well in producing learned compositions, including a work on the prophetic Tradition and a four-volume history of Ḥanafī religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*). Neither of these, it seems, survived the fire which in 959/1552 suddenly engulfed his house, destroying it and his library. The latter, which he is said generously to have made available to other scholars, contained 1,500 manuscripts, some of them inherited from his late father but most acquired by him. The suggestion is made that this conflagration was set deliberately, for it occurred within only a few days of al-Nahrawālī's having given his support, along with that of most but not all other Meccan legal figures, to a locally contentious pronouncement (*fatwā*) by the grand *muftī* in Istanbul authorising repair work to be carried out on the roof of the sacred Kaʿbah. But another factor may have been at work here as well: al-Nahrawālī's growing success and influence had, perhaps inevitably, excited some degree of envy and resentment among his peers and competitors, some of whom doubtless continued to look upon him as a *mujāwir*, a pious Muslim sojourner in the holy city, rather than as the Meccan (al-Makkī) he considered himself to be.

The failure of Quṭb al-Dīn's mission during 965/1557-8, and any sense of disgrace or loss of face that this may have caused him, did not impede his career, at least for long. It does, however, appear to have shifted, perhaps in part unconsciously, the direction of his loyalty away from the *sharīf*s of the Ḥijāz and towards their suzerain, the Ottoman sultan. By his own admission, he and members of his family benefited from the rich generosity of Sultan Süleymān and his son, Selīm II (*r.* 974-82/1566-74), and grandson, Murād III (*r.* 982-1003/1574-95); and this imbued his later writings with identifiable praise for and promotion of the ruling Ottoman dynasty, although not at the cost of

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denigrating the *sharīf*s or even of diminishing his respect for them. When the *madrasah* endowed by Süleymān at Mecca for instruction in each of the four Sunnī canonical rites was completed in 975/1567, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn was appointed, by Selīm II, professor of the Ḥanafī division at a handsome daily compensation of fifty *ʿuthmānī*s/*akçe*s, a figure later raised by Murād III to sixty. The construction of this school next to the city's sacred precinct, which was both inspired by the Mamlūk example of the Ashrafīyah *madrasah* and intended to supersede it in prestige, necessitated the demolition of the Kanbāʾīyah college where al-Nahrawālī got his start in teaching. Although no confirmatory date has been found in the biographical literature, it was probably sometime following this appointment to the Ḥanafī college, the official rite of the Ottoman state, that al-Nahrawālī was named *muftī* of Mecca, making him holder of the pre-eminent jurisprudential position in the holy city and affording him even greater income.

In line with his career path, Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad's later written work, which included the best known of his compositions, generally reflects his attachment to the Ottoman sultan and ruling elite. An exception is this *Riḥlah*, which is arguably his most important work since in it he candidly recounts what he witnessed, did and heard, as well as whom he met, in the course of his mission through the Ottoman heartlands to the sultan's court and back during the empire's heyday. From its English translation presented here, the reader can gain clear evidence of al-Nahrawālī's loyalty and dedication to the *sharīf*s, his employers, of his deep concern to see his mission on their behalf succeed, and of his intense agonising over its ultimate failure. His two greatest works, to judge from their having survived in numerous manuscript copies and later appeared in print, are his history of early Ottoman Yemen and his book on Mecca, both of them completed in the author's mature years. The former of these, originally entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-ʿUthmānīyah li'l-aqṭār al-Yamānīyah* but known best in its later, expanded and reworked version called *al-Barq al-Yamānī fi'l-fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, was commissioned in 978/1571 at Mecca by the vizier (and later grand vizier) Ḳoca Sinān Pasha when he was returning from having commanded the reconquest of Yemen for the sultan. For his source, Quṭb al-Dīn largely followed the Turkish versified epic of the reconquest (976-8/1569-71) composed by Muṣṭafā Rumūzī Beg, a participant, and supplied to him by Sinān Pasha. But this information was much added to by the author of *al-Barq* to cover the previous history of Yemen from the outset of the 10th/16th century. His work on Mecca, entitled *al-Iʿlām bi-aʿlām Bayt* (also *Balad*) *Allāh al-ḥarām* and completed in 985/1577, contributes a rich corpus of interesting information about the city and its history, but

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as well includes capsulised histories of the Ottoman sultans and yields important biographical details about the author.

According to Meccan authors most familiar with him, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nahrawālī died in his adopted city on 26 Rabīᶜ II, 990/20 May, 1582. Some later biographical accounts, seemingly relying on an erroneous Arabic chronogram, place this event in the year following. He was predeceased by his two brothers, each trained for membership among the Ḥanafī *ᶜulamāʾ*. One of them, Muḥibb al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh, who accompanied the mission to Istanbul during 965/1557-8, apparently emigrated to Mecca from India only some time after 961/1554. Quṭb al-Dīn worked his influence with Ottoman authorities to secure for Muḥibb al-Dīn in 969/1561-2 the Ḥanafī judgeship of Jiblah in Yemen, whence he was compelled by forces loyal to a Zaydī rebellion against the Ottomans to flee in 974/1567, abandoning several of Quṭb al-Dīn's prized manuscripts then in his possession. About another brother, referred to only as Abū Muḥammad, almost nothing is known beyond the fact that, during the two years preceding his death in 979/1571-2, he was Ḥanafī judge of Zabīd, in southern Yemen, a posting doubtless secured as well through his eminent brother's influence with the Ottomans. Although most sources, including those closest to him in time and place, state that Quṭb al-Dīn was not survived by any male offspring, this seems belied by the fact that the author of a surviving biography of a later Ottoman governor of Yemen, completed in 1005/1596, had the name Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nahrawālī al-Makkī, apparently a son. The one family member of some profile to outlive Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn was his nephew, ᶜAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥibb al-Dīn, who was born at Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt during 961/1554, moved to Mecca as a child with his father, studied with his eminent uncle whom he succeeded as *muftī* of Mecca, and died in 1020/1611-12.

Indian by birth, Meccan by adoption, Arab in culture, and Ottoman in political adherence, Shaykh or, as the Ottomans referred to him, Mevlā Quṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī was recognised among later writers for his depth and breadth of learning and for his skills in Arabic, particularly in poetry and epistolary composition. Modesty was not one of his salient traits, however. The products of his pen, including this mid-career *Riḥlah*, reveal that he did not want for a healthy self-image and that he had an abrasive side to his personality. He could be dismissive, even contemptuous, of others and their work, while unabashedly boastful of his own accomplishments. Essentially, though, more than of anything else he projected in his writings the image of one forthright in his honesty: just as he could be cruel in his criticism, so too could he recognise merit and talent with undiluted praise;

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and his advocacy of the sultans did not cause him to withhold criticism of Ottoman officials or policy when he judged these to be deserving of it.[1]

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1 The most comprehensive treatment of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nahrawālī's life and writings remains that by Ḥamad al-Jāsir, which appears in the substantial introduction (pp. 11-59) to his edition of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nahrawālī al-Makkī, *Ghazawāt al-jarākisah wa al-atrāk fī junūb al-Jazīrah, al-Musammā al-Barq al-Yamānī fī al-fatḥ al-ᶜUthmānī* (al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Yamāmah, 1387/1967). The foregoing brief discussion of him and members of his family owes much to al-Jāsir who, in addition to manuscript sources not available to this researcher, too used many of the following materials consulted here: Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *al-Iᶜlām bi-aᶜlām Bayt Allāh al-ḥarām*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3 of *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig, 1857; repr. Beirut: Khayats, 1964), *passim* and editor's *Vorrede*; ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawᵓ al-lāmiᶜ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiᶜ* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1353-5/1936-8), ii, 166f; ᶜAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāᵓid al-munaẓẓamah fī akhbār al-ḥājj wa ṭarīq Makkah al-muᶜaẓẓamah*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, 1 vol. in 3 parts (al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Yamāmah, 1403/1983), pp. 94, 95f, 908, 965, 1061, 1911; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab fī tārīkh aᶜyān Ḥalab*, eds. M. H. al-Fākhūrī and Y. Z. ᶜAbbārah, 2 vols. in 4 parts (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1972-4), ii, 439f; Muḥyī al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-ᶜAydarūsī, *Tārīkh al-nūr al-sāfir ᶜan akhbār al-qarn al-ᶜāshir* (Baghdād, 1934), pp. 242f, 383, 388; ᶜAṭāᵓullāh Nevᶜīzāde ᶜAṭāᵓī, *Ḥadāᵓiḳ ül-ḥaḳāᵓiḳ fī takmilat iş-Şaḳāᵓiḳ* [= *Ẕeyl üş-Şaḳāᵓiḳ*] (Istanbul, 1268/1852), pp. 268f; Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāᵓirah bi-aᶜyān al-miᵓah al-ᶜāshirah*, ed. Jibrāᵓil Jabbūr, 3 vols. (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1945-59), iii, 44f; Kātib Çelebi [Ḥācī Ḫalīfe], *Kashf al-ẓunūn ᶜan asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn*, 2 vols. (repr. Istanbul, 1941-3), i, 126; ii, 239f, 1098, 1298, 1513, 1832f; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat al-alibbāᵓ wa zahrat al-ḥayāh al-dunyā*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilū, 2 vols. (n.p. 1386/1967), i, 407-16; Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāᵓ wa al-ṣayf* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1965), p. 152; ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy b. al-ᶜImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols. (Cairo, 1350-1/1931-2), viii, 420-2; Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aᶜyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ᶜashar*, 4 vols. (repr. Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir. 1970), i, 422 and iii, 8f; and Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliᶜ bi-maḥāsin man baᶜd al-qarn al-tāsiᶜ*, ed. Muḥammad Zabārah, 2 vols. (repr. Beirut: Dār al-Maᶜrifah, n.d.), ii, 57f.

Modern works incorporating details on him include Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (Göttingen, 1882), Abtheilung 3, pp. 81-3; Jirjī Zaydān, *Tarīkh ādāb al-lughah al-ᶜArabīyah*, new printing, 4 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 1960), iii, 331f; ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir wa bahjat al-masāmiᶜ wa al-nawāẓir*, 2nd ed., 7 vols. (Hyderabad, 1957-62), iv, 289-90; Yūsuf E. Sarkīs, *Muᶜjam al-maṭbūᶜāt al-ᶜArabīyah wa al-muᶜarrabah* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat Sarkīs, 1346/1928), pp. 1871f; ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy b. ᶜAbd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa al-athbāt wa muᶜjam al-maᶜājim wa al-Mashyakhāt wa al-musalsalāt*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1402/1982), ii, 944-61; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, 2nd printing, 10 vols. (Cairo, 1954-9), vi, 234; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "al-Nahrawālī" (Brockelmann), iii, 835f, and 2nd ed. (Blackburn),

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Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī's Arabic travel memoir presented here in English translation appears under the title *al-Fawāʾid al-sanīyah fī al-riḥlah al-Madanīyah wa al-Rūmīyah* ("Splendid Rewards from Travel to Medina and Turkey"). Yet this caption covers much more than the recounting of his year-long mission to the Ottoman royal court that is the subject of the present undertaking. It also includes the records of several journeys he made to Medina down to the year 980/1572-3, starting with the one in 959/1552 when he visited the Prophet's tomb there in search of consolation following the loss of his house and library in a fire. As well, interspersed with these travel accounts are notes by him on a variety of subjects, selections of poetry (his own and that by others), excerpts from books, maxims, Qurʾānic aphorisms, etc.. All of these materials appearing under the above title have been methodically identified and briefly described elsewhere by Ḥamad al-Jāsir.[2]

This manuscript,[3] of which there is no other known copy, is found in a binding which was prepared for Quṭb al-Dīn in 959/1552 as a workbook (*daftar*) for his use as a *tadhkirah ʿāmmah* (also *tadhkirah jāmiʿah*). The latter was a Muslim scholar's notebook, a sort of *vade mecum* which its owner took with him on journeys and in which he copied or jotted down, in no particular order, a variety of notes, quotes, recollections, poetry, etc. for their possible future value to him in his writings. With the passage of time, changes in its ownership and, possibly, careless use of it by later scholars, this *tadhkirah* has acquired multiple, inconsistent and confusing foliation *and* pagination sequences, to the point that serious editing of the whole of it would present a daunting challenge. Throughout much, though not all, of it, the bound manuscript, when laid open, shows up to five different numbers. There is consecutive pagination in Arabic numerals, which most users of the manuscript have employed when citing it; but this pagination has slips, does not take account of blank pages, and disappears completely towards the end of the manuscript. As well, in the upper left corner appear two different folio numbers in Arabic numerals, and one in English. The numbering sequence followed here is foliation according to the bolder in appearance of the two Arabic folio numerals. This has the

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vii, 911f; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. and 3 suppl. vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1937-49), ii, 500f (381-2) and suppl. ii, 514f; Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *Maṣādir tārīkh al-Yaman fī al-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī* (al-Qāhirah: al-Maʿhad al-ʿIlmī al-Faransī liʾl-Āthār al-Sharqīyah, 1974), pp. 213-15; and Clive R. Smith, *Lightning over Yemen: a History of the Ottoman Campaign (1569-71)* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002), pp. 3f.

2 In the introduction to his edition of al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp.41f, 45.

3 Istanbul: Beyazit Umumi Kütüphanesi, Veliyeddin Efendi collection, Arabic MS no.2440.

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virtue of accurate consecutive numbering for at least that part of the manuscript with which this study is concerned. What is presented here in annotated English translation, namely the memoir of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī's travels and sojourns from Mecca to Istanbul and back in 965/1557-8, appears between ff. 123b and 168b, of which two folios (132b-134b) do not form part of the *Riḥlah*. It is to be noted that, in view of what has just been explained, f. 124a bears, as well, both page number 194 and folio number 125 in Arabic numerals, and folio number 108 in English numerals. In its entirety, the *tadhkirah* contains about three hundred folios.

Long and vertical in shape, the folios of this manuscript average about thirty-five lines to the side and include numerous instances of textual overrun or notes added later in the margins. The somewhat dull but normally readable script is that of the author and is of the common *naskhī* calligraphic type. This manuscript is unique and in rough draft (*muswaddah*), which seemingly has never been made into a fair copy, in part or in whole. Thus, it retains its warts, such as occasional errors in grammar, agreement and spelling, plus the odd colloquialism. As well, it lacks a formal conclusion and a signing off by its author. The text is, as is to be expected in normal Arabic, unvocalised, except for the occasional inclusion of a key vowel to obviate ambiguity, and for the full vocalisation of several of the more obscure place names. There is no way of determining, however, whether such vowel marks were supplied by the author or added later by someone studying the manuscript. It is noted, at the appropriate point in the translation of the Arabic text, that al-Nahrawālī lost his *tadhkirah* while crossing Anatolia and, before its recovery, was without it for a brief time.

Two further features about this work merit some recognition here. First, not untypically, the text of the *Riḥlah* contains a good deal of poetry, both the author's own and that quoted by him from the works of others, the latter being not always accurately recalled or copied by Quṭb al-Dīn. Although this poetic content adds almost nothing of informational or factual value, it was decided, for the sake of completeness, to render this poetry into non-rhyming English, at least to the extent that the translator is fairly confident of having understood the Arabic original. The other noteworthy feature of this text is the inclusion of a significant number of inventories of gifts bestowed by al-Nahrawālī for the *sharīf* of Mecca upon numerous dignitaries and officials, high and low, and mainly, but not exclusively, at the center of government in Istanbul. These are set forth in the Arabic text in the manner of entries in account books, including the appearance of problematic and sometimes undecipherable textile terms, and the use of code-like and often ambiguous *dīvānī* numerals.

The *riḥlah*, or travel memoir, flowered as an art form in Islamic northwest Africa and Spain between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries C.E..

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Through it, learned Muslims performing the pilgrimage to Mecca wrote for literate audiences back home descriptions of Islamic monuments and religious institutions, of the prominent religious figures in the great cities of Islam, such as Cairo, Damascus and Mecca, and of the halting places (*manāzil*) along the pilgrimage route to Mecca.[4] The *riḥlah* under study here retains some of this, in that al-Nahrawālī both imparts details about Muslim institutions and figures in cities where he sojourned, notably Damascus, Istanbul and Cairo, and follows the well established tradition of enumerating, consistently and often in some detail, the *ḥajj* stations of the Damascus and Cairo pilgrimage caravans. But perhaps owing at least partly to the fact that its author was primarily reporting on a diplomatic mission, this item is very much a record of his encounters, interactions and experiences. As distinct from the *riḥlah* literary genre, which one needs to be cautious about using as a historical source, this work is rich in historical information. Such features of it as the author's recounting his lengthy audience with Prince Bāyezīd near Kütahya in western Anatolia, his rounds of diplomatic and lobbying activities in the Ottoman capital, his meetings with a wide array of the empire's administrative and learned figures, his observance of the funeral of Ḫurrem, arguably the most famous Ottoman woman, and his witnessing of the gruesome execution of a Shīᶜī leader, etc. are of considerable historical worth. As much as of anything here of value to the historian, however, is the candid and uncontrived picture it provides of how a minor mission from a remote, albeit important, corner of the empire dealt with the Ottoman government in the time of its most celebrated sultan.

Characteristic of the *riḥlah* form, but normally observabale only in rough draft as it exists here, is the provision of blank spaces for later completion or additions when needed information became available to the author. This results in both empty spaces, where the subject either was not further developed or its completion did not require the amount of space provided for it, and in textual overruns into the manuscript's margins, where the space left blank was insufficient for what the author later sought to add. It also raises the question of just when this work was completed. The extensive use here of the *māḍī* aspect (past tense) of the Arabic verb creates the pervasive sense of much of it having been written after the fact; but as for how long after the fact (at the end of the day on which something happened, or at some considerable time later?) cannot always be easily

4 Ross E, Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 3f, 50, 63, n. 15; and Ian Richard Netton, ed., *Golden Roads: Migration Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1993), p. x.

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determined. As observed in various annotations to this translation, material was added to it later, as much, in fact, as a decade after the author's mission had been completed. While on the road, Quṭb al-Dīn seems to have made his notations regularly, if not daily, since dates abound here. But when staying over in large centers for longer periods of time, he did not maintain his journal daily, made evident by his near total abandonment of the inclusion of dates.

Although not previously published, this *Riḥlah* has occasionally been used by researchers as a primary historical source. References to a few of them appear here in the annotations, including the Jordanian historian, Bakhit, and such Turkish scholars as Köprülü, Uzunçarşılı, Ş. Turan, Sümer and Necipoğlu. The latter were able to consult a modern Turkish paraphrase of the Turkey segment of it published in 1937.[5] As well, the eleventh/seventeenth-century Arab traveler and fellow *riḥlah* author, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Kibrīt (d. 1070/1660), refers to having learned about al-Nahrawālī's travel memoir from another scholar. Although he claims not to have examined it, there is ample evidence not only that he did so but that he followed this *Riḥlah* extensively, in places very closely.[6]

Just as germane to the matter of the use of this work by others is the extent to which, if any, Quṭb al-Dīn himself followed sources not identified by him. The only place where there seems to be some possibility of this concerns the last leg of his long journey, namely that from Cairo to Mecca accompanying the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan. Al-Nahrawālī was a contemporary and long-time friend of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Jazīrī al-Ḥanbalī, with whom he corresponded. Like his father before him, this individual, who reveals that he was born in 911/1506,[7] only a few years before the author of this *Riḥlah*, but whose year of death is not known, had a long career as an official with the Cairo pilgrimage bureau. Whether in the company of his father or performing duties required of his employment, al-Jazīrī several times traveled the Cairo-Mecca land route, in whole or in part; and in later life he authored a comprehensive and very informative work on all features of the Egyptian *ḥajj*.[8] It will be apparent to the reader of

5 Ekrem Kâmil, "Hicri Onuncu – Milâdî On Altıncı – Asırda Yurdumuzu Dolaşan Arab Seyyahatlarından Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," *Tarih Semineri Dergisi*, i (1937), 1-90.

6 See his *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 152. His disclaimer of not having examined this *Riḥlah* notwithstanding, in several instances he provides lines of poetry and other information cited by al-Nahrawālī.

7 See his *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 789.

8 *Ibid.* This has been published twice, the version consulted for this study appearing in three stout bindings with consecutive pagination.

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the annotations to this translation that, the existence of many differences between them notwithstanding, there is, in places, a marked overlap in material on the Cairo-Mecca halting places (*manāzil*) provided by Quṭb al-Dīn and al-Jazīrī. To determine whether the one is, in fact, following the other, and, if so, who is following whom is difficult to do with any certainty.

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A few technical matters relating to the preparation of this translation and of its many annotations merit some comment here. Chief among these is the matter of transliteration of Arabic and Ottoman Turkish words into English script which, it seems, always presents challenges. The situation with this *Riḥlah* is unusually complex in this regard. Although the text is in Arabic, it was composed in and about the Ottoman era by one knowledgeable in Ottoman Turkish, and it deals in large measure with the Ottomans and their institutions and society. Shortly after departing Aleppo, in northern Syria, its author passed through Turcoman communities and into Turkey (*bilād al-Rūm*); and, during this physical and cultural transition, his use of Ottoman names and terms, either Turkish or Turkified Arabic, becomes increasingly evident. An example of the latter is the Arabic combination making up the Ottoman term *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*, which shifts to *ḳāżī ᶜasker*, a version more Turkish in appearance.

In view of these factors, the following, admittedly somewhat complicated, scheme has been devised and pursued. Throughout the text of the translation, Turkish words, Turkish words accepted into Arabic, and Arabic and Persian words, components or combinations in Ottoman usage, are transliterated according to the Ottoman Turkish system of transliteration, which omits macrons over long vowels in purely Turkish words and components but not otherwise (e.g. Baldırzāde Çelebi, *ḫan, sancaḳbegi*, ᶜAbdürraḥmān Efendi, *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker, mülāzım*, etc.).[9] For Arabic words appearing in an Arabic context, the system devised for the American Library of Congress is generally followed, with a consistent preference for *fatḥah* and Fāṭimah, etc. over *fatḥa* and Fāṭima. It should be noted, however, that in the case of Turkish place names appearing in the text, several of which are obscure, the transliteration retains, for greater clarity, more elements of the Arabic scheme (e.g. Ereklī, Kayūbzeh, Kūtāhiyah, Uskūdār, etc.). Arabic Islamic words or terms such as *madrasah*, *muftī*, *shaykh al-Islām*, *jāmiᶜ*, *qāḍī*, etc., where first encountered in an Arabic

9 Essentially, the system provided by Eleazar Birnbaum, "The Transliteration of Ottoman Turkish for Library and General Purposes," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lxxxvii (1967), 125-56.

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context, retain, for the sake of consistency, the same Arabic transliteration throughout the entire text of the translation. Once into the Anatolian setting, persons identified by Arabic names are, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, assumed to be Turkish-speaking Ottomans and, accordingly, their names are transliterated in conformity with the scheme for Ottoman Turkish. Furthermore, major Middle Eastern place names retain their Anglicised forms (e.g. Cairo, Damascus, Jedda, Aleppo, Baghdad, Shiraz, etc.), as do such terms as pasha, sultan, keddah, etc., which have been accepted into English dictionaries.

With respect to the annotations to the text of the translation, transliteration practice is generally less rigid. Of particular note is the shift, in a purely Turkish setting, to the Ottomanised *medrese*, *müftī*, *şeyḫ ül-Islām*, *cāmiᶜ*, *ḳāżī*, etc., normally introduced as *cāmiᶜ* (= Ar. *jāmiᶜ*), *ḳāżī* (= Ar. *qāḍī*) or *cāmiᶜ/jāmiᶜ*, *ḳāżī/qāḍī*, etc. on first occurrence. As well, modern Turkish appears in the annotations, usually for certain Turkish place names. But editorial vigilance notwithstanding, transliteration errors and inconsistencies are bound to persist, and the critic in search of them will doubtless be rewarded.

Additional comments which may assist the reader are, briefly, the following. The many Islamic (*Hijrī*) dates appearing in the text and annotations to it have in most cases been converted into the common era (C.E.) equivalent, the latter being the higher number of the two. Where only the year is cited, the common era date follows it and is separated from it by a solidus (/); and where only a single year date is given, it is that of the common era. In the English translation some care has been taken to distinguish the use of round from square brackets, since barely a paragraph escapes the occurrence of one or both. Round brackets enclose something appearing in the text but considered parenthetical, for example a formula such as "(God bless him and grant him salvation!)" or a word in the Arabic text translated into English, "caravansary (*ḫan*)." Square brackets generally enclose wording not explicit in the Arabic text but implied, for example, "We set out [and traveled] until sundown." Also, folio numbers are provided between square brackets. Any quotations from Arabic and Turkish sources translated into English in the annotations to the text are, unless indicated otherwise, those of the annotator. Finally, a few instances in this *Riḥlah* of excessively repetitive descriptive language, which was acceptable in older Arabic as artistic conceit, but which does not translate well into most other languages, have not been rendered word for word.

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From when work on this annotated translation began until the present, much time has elapsed, including two full sabbatical leaves devoted to it.

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The product is another of those single-authored undertakings which continue to characterise much research in the humanities. Yet it could never have reached completion without the great collective assistance and encouragement of several people who have been ungrudging and generous, even enthusiastic, in sharing with its author their skills, experience, wisdom and inspiration in response to his myriad inquiries and expressions of frustration. To mention names is to court despair and anguish at having overlooked someone who merits inclusion. Such risk notwithstanding, much deserving of recognition are, in particular, Michael Marmura, as well as Michael Wickens, George Sawa, Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, Cemal Bayak, Maryna Kravets, Albert Mutlak, Cornell Fleischer, Ghada Jayyusi-Lehn, Sebastian Günther, Tim Harrison, Ted Lutz, James Reilly, Faika Çelik, Stephen Batiuk, Stephan Dähne, Ruth Hartmann and Barbara Collier Blackburn, all of them wonderful colleagues, research assistants or helpful friends. The reader is reminded, however, that the translator's copyright includes title to any errors, inconsistencies, shortcomings or other blemishes that may be identifed.

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MECCA TO DAMASCUS: THE FAMILIAR AND THE NEW

[123b] In the name of God, who is merciful and compassionate.

What follows is a modest account of the circumstances of my journey to the imperial Sublime Porte[1] as an emissary of our lord and master of noble exalted rank, the distinguished and esteemed descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad and the guardian of the two noble sanctuaries,[2] Sayyid Ḥasan the son of Abū Numayy[3] (God almighty perpetuate their[4] rule and propel their vessel through the sea of bliss!), to the

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1 The reference here is to the public gateway to the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, the symbolic focal point of the power of the Ottoman sultans and known for generations of Europeans as the Sublime Porte, itself basically the French rendering of the term *Bāb-ı ʿĀlī* (Arabic: *al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī*), 'the Exalted Portal.' The gate to the royal palace as symbolic of the seat of government was deeply rooted in Near Eastern civilizations. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Bāb-ı ʿĀli" (Deny), i, 836; and Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 5.

2 Namely Mecca and Medina, Islam's two holiest places.

3 At this time (965/1557-8) Sayyid Ḥasan was sharing rule with his father, Muḥammad Abū Numayy (*r.* 931-73/1525-66), whom he succeeded as grand *sharīf* of Mecca (*r.* 973-1009/1566-1601). From the four explicit references to Sayyid Ḥasan in this *Riḥlah* it is clear that Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī was engaged for this mission by him rather than by his father. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Makka (From the ʿAbbāsid to the Modern Period)" (Wensinck/Bosworth), vi, 150; and, for co-rulership with his father, Gerald De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca* (London: Harrap, 1951), p. 132.

Following the Ottoman conquest of the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt and Syria in 922/1516-17, the *sharīf* of Mecca and Medina, Ḥasan's grandfather, voluntarily recognised the suzerainty of the Ottoman sultan, who inherited from the Mamlūk sultan the cherished title of *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn* (servitor of the two holy places (of Mecca and Medina)). Thereafter, the Ottomans established their own administration in the Ḥijāz based on Jedda, thereby placing themselves in tension with the *sharīf*s, who gradually lost tax revenues to the central government and were reduced to a secondary administrative and political role, at least outside the cities of Mecca and Medina. See Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 322.

4 The Arabic dual pronoun is employed here to refer to both Sayyid Ḥasan and his father, Muḥammad Abū Numayy, who were co-rulers (*cf.* the preceding note).

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august and magnificent ruler, master of the kings of Arabs and non-Arabs alike, pre-eminent sultan of the age, pride of the Ottoman monarchs, Sultan Süleymān Ḫan (God almighty make him triumphant and render permanent his rule!).[5]

The auspicious departure from exalted Mecca[6] took place a third of the way into the night of Thursday, 5 Muḥarram, at the beginning of the year 965 A. H.[7] The commander of the Syrian pilgrimage caravan (*amīr al-ḥājj al-Shāmī*) was the *amīr* Yūnus, governor (*sancaḳ*) of Ḥimṣ.[8]

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5 Sultan Süleymān I (*r.* 926-74/1520-66).

6 The reference here is to the departure from Mecca of the returning Syrian pilgrims' caravan, which al-Nahrawālī accompanied, following completion of the annual Muslim pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). For information on most aspects of the *ḥajj*, including excerpts from numerous eyewitness accounts, see F. E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

7 The conversion of dates from the Muslim lunar to the Christian solar calendar here and throughout this study follows, as far as is practicable, H.-G. Cattenoz, *Tables de concordance des ères chrétienne et hégirienne*, 3rd ed. (Rabat: Éditions Techniques Nord-Africaines, 1967). These dates, however, are calculated dates and may not always accurately reflect the real date cited in a work such as this one. Although the Islamic lunar year of 354 days was conveniently divided into twelve months of alternating thirty and twenty-nine days duration, making an average of 29.53 days for each month, in reality there was no guarantee that the crescent moon of the new month could be sighted when it was anticipated. Aside from the unavoidable non-alignment of natural lunar cycle with devised calendar, the weather could obscure the sighting. Thus, the sighting could be delayed for as much as a day, leaving the reality of instances of 31-day months (or of 29-day months lasting thirty days). Because of its nature, this text yields an abundance of dates, often consecutive and many of which are out of alignment – though usually only by one day – with the calculated dates. In most cases where the *Riḥlah*'s author appears to be in error, the calculated date is provided for the purpose of conversion to the Christian solar-based calendar (see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ta'rīkh – I. Dates and Eras in the Islamic World" (De Blois), x, 258f).

The traditional Muslim day, like the Jewish and early Christian one, is reckoned from sunset to sunset, the time usually being separated into two 12-hour periods, from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. (*layl* (nighttime)), and from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. (*nahār* (daytime)). Thus, the approximate time of the departure of this caravan was, according to the Muslim day, at 0400 hours on Thursday, 5 Muḥahham, 965, and, according to the modern reckoning of the Christian day, at 2200 hours on Wednesday (i.e. the eve of Thursday), 27 October, 1557. See G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Muslim and Christian Calendars* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 3.

8 Following the conquest of the Mamlūk sultanate, the Ottomans took over and carried on the custom of organising the annual pilgrimage caravans to Mecca from Egypt and Syria. The commander of each, of which the Egyptian took precedence, had the title of *amīr al-ḥājj* (sometimes *amīr al-ḥajj*). His authority over the pilgrims and others, such as merchants, traveling under the security of the caravan was absolute; and his responsibilities, which were shared by a specialised staff, included the provision of a military escort, the supply of draft animals, water and food, the paying off of tribal chiefs (*shaykh*s) with gifts of money to prevent beduin marauding, and the maintenance

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I had arrived in al-Wādī[9] with seven camels and a couple of mules to carry my baggage and that of my attendants. The rental fee for each camel as far as Damascus was nineteen new gold *dīnār*s.[10] Accompanying me

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of Islamic law. Before 979/1571 the *amīr al-ḥājj*ship for Syria was usually awarded to the holder of a Syrian *sancaḳ* (Modern Turkish: *sancakbeyi*, Ottoman Turkish: *sancaḳbegi*) – governor – or to a senior official from the large province of Damascus (al-Shām), hence the tenure in 964/1557 of Yūnus, the *amīr* or *sancaḳ* of Ḥimṣ in central Syria. See M. Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut: Libraire du Liban, 1982), pp. 108f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Sandjaḳ" (Deny/Kunt), ix, 11-13; *ibid.*, 2nd ed., art. "Amīr al-Ḥādjdj" (Jomier), i, 443; and, for the traditional duties of the *amīr al-ḥājj*, Abdullah ʿAnkawi, "The Pilgrimage to Mecca in Mamlūk Times," *Arabian Studies*, i (1974), 152f. On the Ottoman *sancaḳ* at this time see Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 14.

9 The place referred to here was in the 10th/16th century still known principally was Wādī Marr al-Ẓuhrān, but somewhat later as Wādī Fāṭimah. A well watered and cultivated valley (*wādī*) north of Mecca, it was crossed by the "imperial road (*al-darb/al-ṭarīq al-sulṭānī*)," which proceeds in a northwesterly direction out of Mecca and follows fairly close to the Red Sea coast before veering inland towards Medina. This series of oases is often referred to as simply al-Wādī (the Valley). See John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 2 vols. (London, 1829), ii, 90-2; Eyyūb Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1301-6/1883-9), iii, 223; Eldon Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, 2 vols. (London: G.P. Putnam, 1928), ii, 154-7; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyat shibh jazīrat al-ʿArab* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Ḥadīthah, 1964), pp. 156f; and Muḥammad L. al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyah* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Jamālīyah, 1329/1911), pp. 36, 209.

At the point, about twenty kms. from Mecca, where the imperial road passes through Wādī Marr al-Ẓuhrān/Wādī Fāṭimah, is a community which Evliyā Çelebi, the celebrated Ottoman travel memoirist who visited it in 1082/1672 while traveling to Mecca with the Syrian pilgrimage caravan for that year, described as a prosperous town with 200 houses, a mosque and market places for eighty shops (*Seyāḥatnāme*, 10 vols. (Istanbul, 1897-1935), ix, 674f; and Mustafa Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," in A. R. al-Ansary, ed., *Sources for the History of Arabia*, 1 vol. in 2 pts. (Riyadh: Riyadh University Press, 1979), pt. 2, p. 222). This was the first station or halting place (*manzil*) for the pilgrimage caravan returning from Mecca to either Syria or Egypt. In his pilgrimage memoir for the year 1041/1632, the future Ottoman professor (*müderris*) and historian, ʿAbdürraḥmān Ḥibrī Efendi, reckoned the traveling time of the caravan from Wādī Fāṭimah to the Kaʿbah in Mecca to be seven hours (Sevim İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin *Menāsik-i Mesālikʾi*," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, vi (1975)), 128).

Wādī Fāṭimah appears on the maps included in Jacques Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque, xiii-xxe siècles* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1953), facing p. 224; and in Rifʿat Bāshā, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn,* 1 vol. in 2 pts. (Cairo, 1925), pt. 2, facing p. 244.

10 According to Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 129, n. 62, who cites Ottoman *Tapu Defterleri* (land deed registers) documents and the *sharīʿah* (Islamic law) court records of Aleppo as his sources, this new gold *dīnār* (*dīnār dhahab jadīd*) appears only infrequently in recorded transactions. His sources give it a value of 50-52 *akçe*s (the Ottoman basic currency unit of accounting) in 930/1523-4 and of 60 *akçe*s in 990/1582.

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were my brother, our lord Muḥibb al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh,[11] and Jawhar, Surūr, Yāqūt, Kaywān, Ismāʿīl al-Kurdī, Jawhar al-Sharīfī, Farḥān al-Sharīfī and Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī.[12]

When at daybreak I went on ahead to the encampment at Abū ʿArwah,[13] I saw that the pilgrims had already departed. However, I caught up

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Elsewhere in his study (p. 111, n. 123) Bakhit cites the very reference under examination here. The qualifying adjective "new (*jadīd*)," which appears in combination with *dīnār dhahab* only in this single instance, almost certainly refers to "newly minted" gold (*cf.* al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1706f for the example *miʾah dīnār min al-dhahab...al-jadīd al-ḍarb*). For a clear distinction in this text between *dhahab* and *dhahab jadīd* see below, p. 99 and n. 256. On the great diversity of coinage in use in the Ottoman empire after the 9th/15th century, see Şevket Pamuk in İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History*, pp. 948, 956f.

11 For biographical details about him see above, Introduction, p. xv.

12 The names of these eight men accompanying Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī and his brother to Istanbul suggest that most, if not all, of them were of slave status. Kaywān and Ismāʿīl al-Kurdī are never referred to again in this memoir; and Yāqūt's name appears in only two other places, in one of which (see below, p. 212 and n. 579) his slave status is confirmed. Surūr is identfied as a young slave (*fatā*) of al-Nahrawālī (see below, p. 122) and as an Abyssinian (see below, pp. 210f). The two Jawhars can be confused, at least in theory. Jawhar al-Sharīfī is in several places referred to as Jawhar Ṣaghīr (Young or Small Jawhar). He had been a bondsman of Sayyid Aḥmad, Sayyid Ḥasan's late brother who in 946/1539-40 had accompanied to Istanbul Ḫādım Süleymān Pasha on the latter's return there from having led the Ottoman naval expedition to India (see al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 90; and De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, p. 129). It is later revealed (see below, pp. 164, 167f) that he had been Sayyid Aḥmad's chief treasurer (*ḫazīnedār başı*) but was by this time in the service of Sayyid Ḥasan. The same references reveal that Farḥān (al-Sharīfī) had been Sayyid Aḥmad's chief butler (*kılarcı başı*) before entering the service of Sayyid Ḥasan. Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī, the spelling of whose name is conjectural, too had been an officeholder (*haccāna ḫāṣṣa*: personal camel courier?) under Sayyid Aḥmad (see below, p. 164). It is possible that Jawhar al-Sharīfī/Ṣaghīr, Farḥān al-Sharīfī and Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī had accompanied Sayyid Aḥmad to Istanbul in 1539-40 and were attached to this subsequent mission for their knowledge of Istanbul and of the imperial Ottoman court; for according to al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 90, Sayyid Aḥmad was accompanied to Istanbul by a large personal retinue (*jamʿ kabīr*). As mentioned in the Introduction, p. xii, al-Nahrawālī too had earlier (943/1536-7) been to Istanbul as a member of a foreign embassy. For the junior status of Jawhar Ṣaghīr and Farḥān (al-Sharīfī) on this present mission relative to that of al-Nahrawālī, see below, p. 189.

13 Abū ʿArwah is described by Harry St.-J. Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia* (London: Ernest Benn, 1955), p. 320 (and indicated on the inset map), as being "in the middle reaches of Wadi Fatima," and Kaḥḥālah (*Jughrāfiyah*, p. 157) lists it among the springs of Wādī Fāṭimah. In 1089/1679 the Ottoman pilgrim Meḥmed Edīb noted in his memoir (*Menāsik-i ḥacc-ı şerīf*, Fr. trans. by M. Bianchi, "Itinéraire de Constantinople à la Mecque," in *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires de la Société de géographie*, ii (1825), 154f) the fertile and well watered village of "Aroueh" to the west of Sabīl Kharāb, the latter being a location on the (imperial) road six hours from Wādī Fāṭimah. The more usual second halting place (*manzil*) north from Mecca was ʿUsfān.

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with the caravan in the forenoon at the narrow pass in Fam al-Shiʿb,[14] where I was told that our camels had not yet departed. And so I returned to al-Wādī, much wearied and fearful of robbers.[15] My brother was with me, but [part of] our suite had become separated from us.[16] Once back in al-Wādī, we loaded up and traveled all day before overtaking the encamped [pilgrimage] caravan shortly after sunset. Scarcely had we arrived when they set out, and we with them; [and we proceeded] until we encamped by the pool at Khulayṣ.[17]

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14 Fam al-Shiʿb has not been identified. Rather than a place name, it may be a descriptive term meaning "at the head/mouth of the declivity (*al-shiʿb*)." Both al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyah*, p. 209 and Rutter, *Holy Cities*, ii, 168 locate on the (imperial) road, north of ʿUsfān, a very narrow rock corridor through which camels could pass only in single file. This could be the spot being referred to here.

15 Just about any study or memoir of the Muslim annual pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) caravan, and for all periods down to the beginning of the twentieth century, alludes – sometimes quite graphically and at length – to the serious threat to the caravans posed by beduins and thieves in the Syrian and Arabian deserts and along the imperial road (*al-darb al-sulṭānī*) linking Mecca with Medina. The whole matter of security for the Egyptian and Syrian pilgrimage caravans during the later 10th/16th and the 11th/17th centuries is discussed by Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans* (London and New York: Tauris & Co., 1994), pp. 54-73. Also, references to beduin depredations on the pilgrims, or the near constant fear of such, appear frequently in both the text and the excerpted pilgrimage memoirs in Peters, *The Hajj*.

While most accounts specify beduin or Arab attacks, inattentive or straggling members of the caravan could be set upon by common thieves, who might even be lesser members of the caravan staff. As late as 1315/1898 an elderly Ottoman pilgrim observed: "The Ḥicāz road is a strange one. The stopping places (*konak*) are rather far apart; and one generally reaches the stopping places at night four or five hours after sundown ... The camel drivers, helping people down from the camels, cry out that there are many thieves. In fact, there are not any thieves; they are the thieves. One had best not stray far from his camel-litter. One even relieves nature right beside it. If one goes five or ten paces, he gets hit with a stick and is deprived of whatever he has. We saw a lot of this kind of thing." (Carter V. Findley, "A Muslim 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), p. 487).

16 A few lines further along al-Nahrawālī reveals that only two of his staff had, in fact, become separated briefly from the others.

17 A long-established halting place on the imperial road described in 1925 by Rutter (*Holy Cities*, ii, 168) as a large village, it is situated in a well watered and cultivated oasis. The 3rd/9th-century work by Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq al-Ḥarbī , *Kitāb al-manāsik wa amākin ṭuruq al-ḥajj wa maʿālim al-jazīrah,* ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir (al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Yamāmah, 1389/1969), pp. 460-3 *passim*, identifies it and attests to its agricultural richness. In the second quarter of the 14th century C.E., the Moroccan pilgrim Ibn Baṭṭūṭah noted both the gushing spring and strongly built fortress at Khulayṣ (*The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah AD 1325-1354*, trans. and ed., H. A. R. Gibb, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (for the Hakluyt Society), 1958-71), i, 186f). The Ottoman pilgrim ʿAbdürraḥmān Ḥibrī Efendī in 1041/1632 mentioned it by its Turkish name, Güzelce Birke, and

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In the forenoon of Friday, the 6th of Muḥarram,[18] we alighted at Khulayṣ, where we were rejoined by those of our staff, namely Surūr and Yāqūt, who had become cut off from us and who caught up with us only here (Praise God!). [We encamped] on Saturday, the 7th, in the low plain of Kullayyah,[19] and on Sunday, the 8th, at Rābigh.[20] On Monday, the 9th,

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observed that it was twenty hours travel time from Wādī Fāṭimah, with ʿUsfān about midway between (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 128). Evliyā Çelebi referred to it in 1081/1672 as Ḳalʿa-ı Güzelce Birke and estimated that its pool (*birke*) was the largest on the pilgrimage route (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 673f and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 222). Less than a decade later, another Ottoman pilgrim, Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 154) located Khulayṣ not far from Güzelce Birke and noted that it had been a flourishing village where by then there remained only vestiges of a former prosperity. For a description of Khulayṣ and its environs in the early 19th century see Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 100-03. It is clearly indicated on most maps of the Ḥijāz. See below, p. 243 for a subsequent reference to this place and anecdotal information about it.

18 6 Muḥarram, 965 = Friday, 29 October, 1557.

19 The evening/night of 7 Muḥarram, 965 = Friday/Saturday, 29-30 October, 1557. Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 105) in 1815 called this station (*manzil*) of the *ḥajj* Kolleya (noting that it was also called Kobeyba) and described it as being twelve hours travel from Khulayṣ and from six to eight hours from the Red Sea. It is mentioned in the 3rd/9th-century work of al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 458 and n. 3. The word *khabt* preceding this and occasionally other place names is a topographical term referring to a low plain or depressed tract of land. This place appears on maps variously as: el-kolēʿa (Adolphe D'Avril, *L'Arabie contemporaine* (Paris, 1868), inset at back); Coléya (Badia y Leyblich (Ali Bey), *Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Turkey between the years 1803 and 1807*, 2 vols. (London, 1816; repr. London: Gregg, 1970), ii, opp. p. 27); (El-)Kulea (A.J.B. Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca and a Siege in Sanaa* (London, 1912), opp. p. 345); D.G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia; A Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (London and New York, 1904), inset at the back; and Kuleiah on Ritter's map of Arabia in 1852 (*ibid.*, opp. p. 170).

That al-Nahrawālī here does no more than simply mention the halting places (*manāzil*) of the returning Damascus pilgrimage caravan is doubtless owing in some measure to his having traveled along and described the imperial road (*al-darb/al-ṭarīq al-sulṭānī*) between Mecca and Medina on previous occasions. Accounts of two of his trips to Medina made prior to this one, namely those in 959/1552 and 964/1557, are contained in his *Tadhkirah* (Workbook) of which the item under study here forms part (al-Jāsir, in his introduction to al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp. 41f).

20 8 Muḥarram, 965 = Sunday, 31 October, 1557. This collection of villages located both near and on the coast of the Red Sea, and sometimes confused with al-Juḥfah, a short distance to the east, appears on most maps. Burckhardt described Rābigh as it was in 1815 and placed it at nine hours travel from Kullayyah (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 107f). To 11th/17th-century Ottoman pilgrims it was known as Rābıġa Eşmesi (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 128; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 672; and Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 153).

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we alighted in the low plain of al-Bazwah,[21] and in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 10th, we reached Badr.[22] Here we spent the rest of the day, as well

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Accounts generally emphasise the role of Rābigh as the designated station (*mīqāt*) for pilgrims from Egypt, North Africa and Syria to enter the temporary state of consecration (*iḥrām*) before proceeding onwards to Mecca (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Iḥrām" (Wensinck/Jomier), iii, 1052f) to perform the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumrah* (the so-called "minor *ḥajj*"). For a brief eyewitness description of pilgrims entering the *iḥrām* in 1685 or 1686, see Joseph Pitts, "The Journey of Joseph Pitts from Algiers to Mecca and Back," in *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Sir William Foster (London: Oxford University Press (for the Hakluyt Socity), 1949), p.21. For a subsequent reference to Rābigh (and al-Juḥfah) in this *Riḥlah* see below, pp. 241f.

21 9 Muḥarram, 965 = Monday, 1 November, 1557. From Rābigh the imperial road divides into a multiplicity of parallel tracks that pass through the hills and mountains of the Ḥijāz in the direction of Medina (see Rutter, *Holy Cities*, ii, 171; and Rifʿat Bāshā, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*, pt. 2, pp. 202f). The caravan that al-Nahrawālī accompanied continued northwards from Rābigh, following close to the coast and bypassing Mastūrah, a popular *manzil*, until it alighted at what our author identifies as the low plain (*khabt*) of al-Bazwah. Gibb, in his rendering of the early 14th-century pilgrimage by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, refers to it as the "Flat of Bazwa" and describes it as "the broken region between the coast and the ridge of Jabal Ṣubḥ, which runs parallel to the coast and rises to heights of 4500 feet" (*Travels*, i, 186 and n. 118). Passing along this route in 1041/1632, the Ottoman pilgrim ʿAbdürraḥmān Ḥibrī Efendī identified this halting place as Bedr-i Meymūn (as distinct from Bedr-i Ḥunayn (*cf.* next note)) and gives Ḳā'-ı Bazra (*sic* – a misreading by the editor?) as its other name (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 128). Evliyā Çelebi, who visited it in 1082/1672, called it Ṣaḥrā-yı Meymūn and described it as a desert requiring seven hours to traverse (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 670f and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 222). A few years later (1089/1678-9), another Ottoman pilgrim, Meḥmed Edīb, recorded its name as Ḳāʿ al-Bazwā and its former names as "Meimoun-Ovassi" and "Tiarān." He described it as an immense sandy valley close to the sea and possessing no fresh water except for that transported from the previous halt. He measured the travel time between this halt and Rābigh to be seventeen hours (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 152). At the end of the 17th century, the Damascus scholar and mystic ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī referred to it as the *manzil* al-Qāʿ (*al-Ḥaqīqah wa al-majāz fī al-riḥlah ilā bilād al-Shām wa Miṣr wa al-Ḥijāz* (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmmah li'l-Kitāb, 1986), pp. 438f). It is absent from any of the maps consulted here except for that provided in Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, opp. p. 27, where it appears as El-Hhabt (for Al-Khabt).

22 10 Muḥarram, 965 = Tuesday, 2 November, 1557. This place, located north northwest of Rābigh and al-Bazwah, appears on most maps as Badr, Badr Ḥunayn or some recognisable variation of either. Without fail, it seems, eyewitness accounts of it include reference to its having been the site of a significant early victory for the Prophet Muḥammad and his Medina followers over a much larger force of Meccan polytheists in the year 2/624 (see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Badr" (W. Montgomery Watt), i, 867f). The pilgrim and travel memoirist Ibn Jubayr, who passed through it in 580/1184, described Badr as a village with a flowing spring, a fortress upon a high hill, and a succession of palm groves, one of which then occupied the famous battle site (*Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir wa Dār Bayrūt, 1379/1959), pp. 165f, with an English translation in Peters, *The Hajj*, pp. 102f). Nearly a century and a half later, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah offered a description of it

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as Wednesday (the 11th).[23] We put up in al-Khayf on Thursday, the 12th,[24] and on Friday, the 13th, we reached Shiʿb ʿAlī.[25]

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which in places copied that of Ibn Jubayr almost word for word (*Travels*, i, 185f). In 1082/1672 Evliyā Çelebi observed (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 670) that Badr consisted of 400 mud brick houses and was surrounded by steep red rocks. He noted that it possessed a mosque, a large cistern/reservoir (*birkah*), a public bath (but no guest house (*ḫan*)) and a market with 200 shops. He, like others, remarked on the fact that the Egyptian and Syrian roads converge here, though the caravans do not normally overlap, something which al-Nahrawālī confirms later in this work (see below, p. 239). The description recorded a few years later by Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 151f) adds little to that of Evliyā Çelebī beyond attributing the construction of the reservoir to the generosity of the second last Mamlūk sultan, Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (*r.* 906-22/1501-16), something which al-Nahrawālī too asserts later (see below, p. 239). The fairly substantial depiction of Badr provided by Burckhardt, who passed through it in 1815 (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 301-7), too includes reference to the alleged origin of the *birkah* there.

23 11 Muḥarram, 965 = Wednesday, 3 November, 1557.

24 12 Muḥarram, 965 = Thursday, 4 November, 1557. Al-Khayf seldom appears on maps of the Ḥijāz. It is described by Philby (*Saʿudi Arabia*, p. 121) as a place situated midway between Medina and the coast, and at the narrowest point in Wādī al-Ṣafrāʾ. Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 130f), while passing through it on his way to Medina in 1815, identified it as the last in a series of villages in Wādī Judaydah and as "one of the most important positions in the Hedjaz, because it is the only way by which caravans can proceed from Mekka and Yembo [Yanbuʿ] to Medina." Sir Richard F. Burton, who was there in 1853, gives al-Khayf as another name for Judaydah (*Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage at al-Madinah and Meccah*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), i, 262). This accords with the observations of the scholar and mystic al-Nābulusī, who towards the close of the 17th century recorded that Judaydah was "a large and ample village having water, and called al-Khayf owing to an abundance of date palms in its valley" (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 438). Being known by two names could account for why all three 11th/17th-century Ottoman pilgrims and travel memoirists, *viz.* ʿAbdürraḥmān Ḥibrī Efendī, Evliyā Çelebi and Meḥmed Edīb, mentioned calling at Judaydah but not at al-Khayf.

25 13 Muḥarram, 965 = Friday, 5 November, 1557. Shiʿb ʿAlī (the Pass of ʿAlī) is named for the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law and the fourth of the so-called rightly guided caliphs (*al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*), ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Identified as being located about five miles and two or three hours travel time from Medina, it is either the same place as or in close proximity to Biʾr ʿAlī (the Well of ʿAlī) by which name (or one of its plurals, Ābār/Biʾār/Biyār ʿAlī) it appears on several maps. Nearby is the mosque of Dhū al-Ḥulayfah where, in following the example held to have been set by the Prophet Muḥammad, the pilgrims Mecca-bound from Medina enter into the state of ritual consecration (*iḥrām*) and replace their usual vestments with the simple habit of the pilgrim (Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat*, p. 167; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Travels*, i, 184; İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 128; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 664 and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 221; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 148); Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 136; Burton, *Personal Narrative*, i, 279 and n. 2; Mirzā Mohammad Ḥosayn Farāhāni, *A Shīʿite Pilgrimage to Mecca 1885-1886*, ed., trans. and annot. by Hafez Farmayan and Elton L. Daniel (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), p. 256; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 226; and al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyah*, p. 210). In the note to his translation of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (i, 184), Gibb

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[124a] We arrived in illustrious Medina in the forenoon of Saturday, the 14th of Muḥarram, and set up camp in a courtyard close by the residence of Sayyid ʿIjl b. ʿArār.[26] We had the honour of paying a visit to [the tomb of] the Lord of mankind (God bless him and grant him salvation!).[27] The governor of Medina was the above-named Sayyid ʿIjl. Its [Ḥanafī] judge was ʿAbdürraḥmān, known as Baldırzāde,[28] an inflexible

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appears to have confused Shiʿb ʿAlī with Shiʿb al-Ḥajj: in Muḥammad ʿĀrif b. Aḥmad, *The Hejaz Railway and the Muslim Pilgrimage: a Case of Ottoman Political Propaganda*, by Jacob M. Landau (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971), p. 52, a clear distinction is drawn between Biyār [i.e. the Shiʿb of this text] ʿAlī at three hours from Medina and Shiʿb al-Ḥajj at sixteen hours.

26 14 Muḥarram, 965 = Saturday, 6 November, 1557. The returning Syrian pilgrimage caravan, which al-Nahrawālī accompanied, thus covered the distance from Mecca to Medina in nine and a half days. Burckhardt, who in 1815 traveled the same route with a smaller group of pilgrims, took thirteen days, including two days of halting; and he observed that the pilgrimage caravan usually completed this leg of the journey in eleven days, even in ten, if necessary (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 88, 136f). This same account includes (ii, opp. p. 145) a hand-drawn map of Medina showing on the city's southern confines the location of the governor's residence next to a large courtyard for the pilgrims arriving from Mecca.

Sayyid ʿIjl b. ʿArār, who shortly is identified here as the governor (*amīr*) of Medina, was almost certainly the same Meccan notable whom al-Nahrawālī described elsewhere (*al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 124) as having commanded at Mecca a large mounted escort for a recently dismissed Ottoman governor of Yemen performing the *ḥajj* in 967/1560.

27 The reference here is to the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad, which is located adjacent to the Mosque of Medina, the Prophet's Mosque. For a diagram of this complex see Rutter, *Holy Cities*, ii, 232. It was the enjoined practice at Medina that all visitors should, without delay, fulfil the duty of attending the mosque and paying their respects at the Prophet's place of burial.

28 Details concerning the background and the teaching and legal careers of ʿAbdürraḥmān Efendi b. ʿAlī Baldırzāde, a member of a family of Ottoman religious scholars dating back at least until the era of Sultan Meḥmed II Fātiḥ (*r.* 848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81), are provided in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 129. According to this biographical account, the (Ḥanafī) judgeship of Medina was, with ʿAbdürraḥmān's appointment to it in 962/1555, elevated in status to that of a *mevlevīyet*, or chief justiceship. He was dismissed from Medina in 967/1560 and, in 971/1564, was appointed to the same position in Aleppo. His death occurred in 977/1570, after his retirement. On him see too Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 386 (which gives Muṣliḥ al-Dīn for his agnomen (*laqab*) and 976/1568-9 as the year of his death); Meḥmed Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, 4 vols. (repr. Istanbul: Gregg International Publishers, 1971), iii, 311; and R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul* (London: Ithaca Press, 1986), p. 46, n. 56. ʿAbdürraḥmān's posting, which may have been part of an Ottoman initiative to place appointees from Istanbul in senior posts at Medina, caused some measure of local resentment. As will be seen later in this *Riḥlah* (pp. 160, 205), al-Nahrawālī's Medinese detractors in Istanbul sought, and with some success, to frustrate his mission by accusing him of failing to join in what he judged a spurious condemnation of Qāḍī ʿAbdürraḥmān Efendi's personal deportment.

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one whose contribution to learning is paltry. Its *shaykh* of the sacred precinct[29] was Müstedām Beg,[30] and its garrison commander Delü Pīrī.[31] Our only reason for repairing to the sultan's gate was to have Delü Pīrī removed from Medina on account of his severity and rudeness, and of his hatred for the family of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!) and mistreatment of them (God almighty destroy him!).

We remained three days in illustrious Medina, and on the fourth took our leave, heading for Damascus. I added up my itemised expenses from the day of my setting out from exalted Mecca until the departure from noble Medina – including the hire of camels as far as Damascus, travel provisions, supplies and such like – and these amounted to 341 *dīnār*s of new[ly minted] gold[32] and twenty-five *muḥallaq*s.[33]

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29 The sacred prophetic precinct (*al-ḥaram al-nabawī*) at Medina, which includes the mosque and tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad, is one of Islam's two sanctuaries (*al-ḥaramayn*), the other being at Mecca and including the sacred mosque (*al-masjid al-ḥarām*). The *shaykh al-ḥaram*, also known as the *aġa* of the *ḥaram*, was, in the early Ottoman period, prefect of the sacred precinct and the one in charge of civilian government in the city (Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 278).

30 The name of this individual, who has not been identified, seems likely to have been that of an Ottoman, despite its apparent Arabic pattern.

31 This obscure individual, whose removal from office al-Nahrawālī goes on at once to reveal was the purpose of his mission to the Ottoman court, elsewhere in this *Riḥlah* comes in for severe criticism of his behaviour. He is as well accused of having earlier been expelled from the palace service and having been suspected of treasonous conduct (see below, p. 172), as well as of having drawn a weapon in the Prophet's sanctuary at Medina (see below, p. 168). In *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp. 142f, Al-Nahrawālī identifies the person who succeeded Delü Pīrī as garrison commander of Medina at some unspecified point before 972/1564-5.

That by this time, just forty years after the *sharīf* of Mecca's acceptance of Ottoman suzerainty, the three seniormost judicial, civil and military offices at Medina were held by appointees from Istanbul reflects how firmly Ottoman authority had become entrenched there. The role of the *sharīf*'s appointee as city governor appears to have been more symbolic than real. In fact, al-Nahrawālī's mission should perhaps be viewed in the context of *sharīf*ian resistance to such an advanced degree of local governance by a remote suzerain power. The narrative later (see below, pp. 203, 204) appears to support this, as does the sultan's obduracy in refusing to withdraw the unsavoury Delü Pīrī and his garrison.

32 *Min al-dhahab al-jadīd*... See above p. 3, n. 10.

33 This unit of silver currency, which elsewhere in this text (p. 117, n. 311) appears in its full form *al-fiḍḍah al-muḥallaqah* ("round silver piece"), was a new coin in western Arabia. First mentioned by Meccan chroniclers in 883/1478-9, it quickly became the principal unit of exchange (see Richard T. Mortel, "Prices in Mecca During the Mamluk Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, xxxii (1989), 302). The reference here seems to establish that twenty-five *muḥallaq*s amounted to a fraction of one *dīnār* of new gold. For reference to its use in Jedda in 932/1526 see al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 43 (where in one of two instances

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Departure from illustrious Medina took place following the afternoon prayer on Tuesday, the 16th of Muḥarram (May God almighty, by His favour and kindness, allow [our] objectives to be achieved!).[34] A halt was made at al-Ābār[35] following the evening prayer, and we resumed our journey after midnight. On Wednesday, the 17th of Muḥarram, we encamped at Wādī al-Qurā[36] in the afternoon and departed at midnight.

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it is given its feminine ending). Mention by the south Arabian chronicler Bā Faqīh al-Shiḥrī of its use at Aden in 946/1539-40 appears in R.B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast* (Oxford: The Clarenden Press, 1963), p. 143 and nn. 3,4.

34 The 16th of Muḥarram, 965 fell not on Tuesday but on Monday, 8 November, 1557. Al-Nahrawālī is seemingly in error here on dates and days: his arrival at Medina on Saturday, the 14th of Muḥarram, his remaining there three days, and his leaving on the fourth day, the 16th of Muḥarram, cannot be reconciled. This incongruity in day of the week and month (on which see above, p. 2, n. 7) persists over the following two weeks. Such misalignment, which occurs many times in this text, especially during lengthy journeys through sparsely populated lands, may be an early indication of al-Nahrawālī's failure to maintain his diary on a daily basis. An abundance of internal evidence establishes that he subsequently added to it, in some cases several years later. Throughout this *Riḥlah* the author follows the usual practice of measuring the phases of the day according to the five times of prayer: *ṣubḥ* (dawn), *ẓuhr* (midday), *ʿaṣr* (afternoon), *maghrib* (sunset) and *ʿisha'* (evening).

35 Al-Ābār, meaning 'the wells' and being located only a few miles north of Medina, probably refers to Abyār (=Ābār) Ḥamzah (the Wells of Ḥamzah, the Prophet Muḥammad's uncle), which in the account of his pilgrimage in 1089/1679 Meḥmed Edīb gives as another name for 'Djerf'. The same observer noted that this place, which had wells and abundant water, was where the Syrian pilgrims performed ablutions and donned fresh garments before entering Medina (Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 139f)). It was here that in 1503 the youthful Italian Ludovico di Varthema, held to have been the first Christian to enter Mecca, halted with the Syrian *ḥajj* caravan (*Les Voyages de Ludovico di Varthema*, Fr. trans. J.Balarin de Raconis, ed. Ch. Schefer (Paris, 1888), p. 30). Al-Jarf (or al-Jurf) is the name by which this place was known both to the Medinese traveler Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khiyārī, who left a memoir of his journey from Medina to Istanbul in 1080/1669 (*Tuḥfat al-udabā' wa salwat al-ghurabā'*, ed. Rajā' Maḥmūd al-Sāmarā'ī, Part 1 (Baghdad: al-Mu'assasah al-ʿĀmmah li 'l-Ṭibāʿah wa al-Ṣiḥāfah, 1969), p. 36) and, a couple of decades later, to the Damascus scholar al-Nābulusī (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 480). Reference is often made to al-Jarf's fine climate and abundance of fresh water, which attractive attributes are reflected in the present-day Saudi Arabian name for this fertile area, Mazāriʿ al-ʿUyūn, or 'fields of springs'. For the returning Syrian pilgrimage caravan it was a staging point for taking on water and receiving stragglers.

36 17 Muḥarram, 965 = Tuesday, 9 November, 1557. The name of this halting-place, which means 'the valley of communities,' is found, with variant spellings, on most maps and is listed as the 25th stop on Barbir's chart of the Syrian pilgrimage fortress network in the 12th/18th century (Karl K. Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708-1758* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 12). Several travelers in the 11th/17th century recorded their observations on this place. Among them, the young Ottoman pilgrim Ḥibrī noted in 1041/1632 that it had neither a fort nor water, the latter having to be obtained some distance off the road (İlgürel, "ʿAbdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 127). Kibrīt, an

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Shortly before the afternoon prayer on Thursday, the 18th of Muḥarram, we dismounted in Wādī al-Nakhlatayn. In front of the camp in this place is a lofty mountain with a dilapidated fort on it.[37]

Along the way the pilgrimage caravan commander (*amīr al-ḥājj*), the *amīr* Yūnus,[38] passed some grazing camels belonging to the ʿAnazah [tribe].[39] So he herded them along, together with some donkeys, while

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Arab traveler, observed in 1039/1629-30 that, of its former thousand villages, nothing remained but ruins (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 239). Al-Khiyārī described it in 1080/1669 as a broad valley with severe heat and blowing wind (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 37). Evliyā Çelebi (1082/1672) remarked on the friendliness and helpfulness of the local inhabitants to the pilgrims (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 604 and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 220). Meḥmed Edīb, another Ottoman pilgrim, described it as being eleven hours travel time from al-Jurf; besides attesting to its erstwhile prosperity, he adds that nearby is a fertile place named Osman's Well (Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéaire," p. 139)). The latter is probably the same place which appears on several modern maps as Biʾr/Ābār ʿUthmān or as some variant on either. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, the editor of al-Ḥarbī's 3rd/9th-century work, cites documentation to identify Wādī al-Qurā's former name as Dhū Khushub; being situated on the Wādī al-Qurā road, the latter name was, he asserts, mistakenly given to Dhū Khushub from the 10th/16th century on (al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 651, n. 2). Burton (*Personal Narrative*, i, 347) cites the Arab historian al-Ṭabarī in identifying this as one of several Ḥijāz towns where Jews settled. This could tie in with Di Varthema's rather fantastic observations (1503) on a large mountain inhabited by Jews just one stop north of al-Jurf (*Voyages*, pp. 28f). On Wādī al-Qurā and the identifying of the important ancient and early Islamic town of Qurḥ within it, see Abdullah A. Nasif, "The identification of the Wādi 'l-Qurā and the ancient Islamic site of al-Mibyāt," in *Arabian Studies*, v (1979), 1-19.

37 18 Muḥarram, 965 = Wednesday, 10 November, 1557. The names (Wādī) al-Nakhlatayn and al-Faḥlatayn were used interchangeably, each apparently denoting two palm trees which the two peaks on the mountain at this place resemble (al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 656, n. 9; and Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 239). Barbir gives this as stop #24 on the Syrian *ḥajj* route (*Ottoman Rule*, p. 12). Meḥmed Edīb located it at fifteen hours travel time from Wādī al-Qurā and noted the presence there of its fort and a reservoir fed by seven wells (Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 138)). The same account reveals that this place was also known as Iṣṭabl ʿAntar (ʿAntar's Stable). The latter name, which appears below (p. 273 and n. 766) in reference to a different place, is provided as well by Ch. Schefer, the editor of Di Varthema's *Voyages*, p. 29, n. 1; and, according to C-E. Bonin, "Le Chemin de fer du Hedjaz," in *Annales de Géographie, xviii (1909), 427,* the last but one stop on the Ḥijāz railway before Medina was Stabl Antar. Al-Khiyārī depicted this place, which he remarks also bore the name Ḥiṣn ʿAntar (ʿAntar's Fortress), as having extensive sand, withered vegetation, and a scarcity of water and inhabitants (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 38). Al-Nābulusī visited it at the end of the 17th century but relied on al-Khiyārī's account for his description of it (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p.481). This place must have been the Fuḥlīn referred to by Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 127).

38 See above, p. 2 and n. 8.

39 The reference here is to the large, powerful and frequently disruptive tribal confederation of the ʿAnazah beduins who in the 10th/16th century were concentrated in this region of

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those tending them ran away. The camels numbered about sixty, and the donkeys about ten. The *amīr* sold them among the beduins who were with him. That night the ʿAnazah seized any pilgrims who were wandering about. It was a perilous evening. The [supply of] water here was in a narrow ditch on the right as one proceeds in the direction of Damascus.[40] A number of the *amīr al-ḥājj*'s troops[41] were wounded that night. Departure [from Wādī al-Nakhlatayn] took place at midnight.

In the forenoon of Friday, the 19th of Muḥarram, we arrived at a halting place called Hadīyah, where there is water oozing on the ground's surface.[42] We remained there until a third of the night had elapsed[43] and then set out. On Saturday, the 20th, we arrived in the forenoon at a place

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northwestern Arabia (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "ʿAnaza" (Gräf), i, 482f). As noted by Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus 1723-1783*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Khayats, 1970), p. 71, n. 6, when al-Nābulusī, the author of *al-Ḥaqīqah*, passed through this region in 1106/1694, he observed that these people, who had spread into the lands between Medina and al-ʿUlā (see below, p. 14 and n. 47), caused difficulties for the pilgrims. In the present instance the ʿAnazah clearly were provoked.

40 The point of this vague remark may be to indicate that pilgrims needing water had to leave the encampment to obtain it, thereby risking misadventure at the hands of the ʿAnazah.

41 According to an Ottoman document cited by Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, p. 69, the Syrian pilgrimage caravan of 966/1558-9, the year following the one reported on here, included 150 janissaries and garrison soldiers, as well as one hundred cavalrymen.

42 19 Muḥarram, 965 = Thursday, 11 November, 1557. A stop both on the Syrian *ḥajj* route and, early in the 20th century, on the Ḥijāz railway, Hadīyah is situated in a broad valley and was observed to be about fifteen hours by caravan travel from Wādī al-Nakhlatayn/al-Faḥlatayn. To its Ottoman visitors it was known as the Hadīyah watering hole (Hediyye *eşmesi*). It seems that just about all who recorded their impressions of this barren place were struck by its vile brackish water obtained by excavating holes in subterranean watercourses which oozed on the surface. Such water was known to be extremely laxative, owing to the abundance thereabouts of the senna plant (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 163; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 239; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 127); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 39; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 603; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 137f); and al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 481). The injurious quality of the water at Hadīyah was noted as well by the mid 10th/16th-century official with the Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1263. The fortress and pool planned for there in 984/1576 (Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 110, n. 114, citing Ottoman documents) may have been completed, but in 1041/1632 Ḥibrī noted the absence of any fortress. The way ahead for the Syrian *ḥajj* route to Damascus was never, according to archaeologist Andrew Petersen, "... a fixed, single route but rather a network of forts and facilities which could be used at different times, depending on circumstances" ("Two Forts on the Medieval Hajj Route in Jordan," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, 35 (1991), p. 355).

43 *Viz.* approximately 0400 hours according to the Muslim day and 2200 hours according to the modern Christian day. See above, p. 2, n. 7.

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named Shiᶜb al-Niᶜām,[44] where we remained three quarters of the night before resuming our journey.[45] During the afternoon of Sunday, the 21st, we reached a place called al-Ṭawāmīr;[46] we stayed [there] until three quarters of the night had elapsed and then set out. On Monday, the 22nd, [124b] we arrived at al-ᶜUlā[47] some time following the afternoon prayer.

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44 20 Muḥarram, 965 = Friday, 12 November, 1557. It was by this name or some variation on it that this *ḥajj* station was known until beyond the mid 11th/17th century. It was noted as well that it had no fort and little water (Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 238; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 127); and al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 39f). By 1082/1672, however, Evliyā Çelebi referred to it as Bīr-i Cedīd ('new well'), ostensibly in token of the large well built the previous year through a pious endowment established by Turḫān Sultan, the influential mother (*vālide sulṭān*) of Sultan Meḥmed IV (r. 1058-99/1648-87). His identification of a valley nearby as being Shuᶜayb al-Niᶜam suggests that, along with a name change, the station had been relocated (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 601; also al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p.481). Less than a decade later Meḥmed Edīb gave as its two names Vālide Ḳuyusu, *viz*. "the sultan's mother's well" (for the erroneous Vālide Ḳapusu of Bianchi's translation) and Shiᶜb al-Naᶜāmah. He also reported the presence there of a fort and a reservoir, and noted that one of its wells had been sunk through a gift from the mother of Sultan Aḥmed I ((r. 1012-26/1603-17) Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 137). It appears as Valide Kuyusu on Barbir's list of *ḥajj* forts/stations (*Ottoman Rule*, p. 12), but as Shiᶜb al-Naᶜām on Rafeq's list (*Province of Damascus*, p. 341). As a station on the Ḥijāz railway it was known as Biʾr al-Jadīdah (Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p. 30). On pious endowments established by influential women at the Ottoman court, including Turḫān Sultan, both in general and in institutions connected with the Muslim holy cities and the pilgrimage, see, for example, Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem, Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 205-16.

45 *Viz*. approximately 0900 hours according to the Muslim day and 0300 hours according to the modern Christian day.

46 21 Muḥarram, 965 = Saturday, 13 November, 1567. Al-Ṭawāmīr is but one of several names by which this station is known, others being Biyār/Abyār Ghanam, (Abyār) Maṭrān, and Khifaʾ al-Zīr. The few brief references to it usually focus upon its being a difficult and barren valley with rather salty water (Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 238; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahmān Hibrī'nin," p. 127); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 136 (who noted that it possessed a fort and reservoir)); and al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 482).

47 22 Muḥarram, 965 = Sunday, 14 November, 1557. Without fail, it seems, the accounts of those who called at this sizeable town and important station on the Syrian *ḥajj* route alluded to its excellent supply of fresh water and to the abundance and variety of its fruit and vegetable crops. It was a place where pilgrims could obtain fresh provisions and camels, as well as deposit for safekeeping with its dependable inhabitants any of their surplus provisions for the return journey. By later in the 11th/17th century, the trustworthiness of the population is called into question, while the local beduins are reported as creating difficulties for the pilgrims. Evliyā Çelebi in 1082/1672 noted that the local garrison of Arab troops was without pay, gunpowder, rifles or artillery. For these and other details, such as references to the survival there of ancient monuments, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 162f; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1263; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, pp. 236f; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 127); al-Khiyārī,

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Al-ʿUlā is a village surrounded by lofty mountains. It possesses a natural well and date palms in abundance. In the days of the Circassians[48] and early in the period of Ottoman sway, [the population of] al-ʿUlā was exempt from taxation. But when a gang of Arabs raided them and they brought their plight to the attention of ʿĪsā Pasha, governor of Damascus,[49] he instructed that a fortress be built there with a sentry garrison stationed in it. He also ordered that the village be taxed at the

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Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ, pp. 41f; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 598-600; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 136); and al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 482. Numerous observations on a variety of matters relating to al-ʿUlā are found in Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* 3rd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1921). Its author, an unusual, even eccentric, Victorian traveler, visited al-ʿUlā ("El-Ally") and its environs several times in the later nineteenth century. More recently it has been described as "...the most strikingly beautiful oasis in all North Arabia" (F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, *Ancient records from North Arabia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 42). This same study includes (pp. 113-20) a discussion of the old inscriptions of al-ʿUlā, the ancient Dedan.

48 The reference here is to the later period of the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt and Syria, the era when the Circassian slave element was dominant and the sultanate had responsibility for the safety of Muslim pilgrims traveling along the Egyptian and Syrian *ḥajj* routes. The last significant Circassian sultan was its penultimate incumbent, Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (*r.* 906-22/1501-16), whose defeat by Sultan Selīm I (*r.* 918-26/1512-20) and death at Marj Dābiq in northern Syria during 922/1516 led to the Ottoman conquest of the Mamlūk state. Al-Nahrawālī's account of how al-ʿUlā came to have its fort and have taxes levied on its date palms to maintain the fort and its garrison is also found in Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, pp. 236f, who adds that by his time (1039/1629-30) the garrison there had been discontinued.

49 According to the contemporary Damascus observer, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭulūn, *Iʿlām al-warā bi-man wulliya nāʾib min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Jāmiʿat ʿAyn Shams, 1973), pp. 276-8, he was ʿĪsā Beg b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Fanarī, who was Ottoman governor (*amīr al-umarāʾ/beglerbegi*) of Damascus three times: 934-7/1528-31; 940/1533-4; and 942-/1536- (Ibn Ṭulūn's work concludes at this point). Another contemporary, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, author of a sixteenth-century biographical dictionary of Aleppo, notes that he died at Damascus in 950/1543-4 while still in the governorship (*wizārah*) of it, and identifies him, incorrectly (see below, p. 132, n. 362), as the son of the famous, influential and ill-fated Ottoman grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha (d. 942/1536) (Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 105, 1057-9). Other accounts relate that, before becoming a provincial governor, ʿĪsā Pasha, who forever loved learning and was the friend of mystics and the learned, had been a *müderris* (professor) in Istanbul and Edirne, and then secretary of state (*nişāncı/muwaqqiʿ*). See Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭaşköprüzāde (Taşköprülüzade), *al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʿmānīyah fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawlah al-ʿUthmānīyah*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul: Manshūrāt Jāmiʿat Istanbul, 1985), p. 423; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 235f; Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, iii, 610; Ismail Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, 4 vols. (Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947-61), ii, 449; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 186.

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rate of one *ʿuthmānī*[50] per date palm to defray the cost of the troops, and that the village be protected from the beduins. That impost rose to the point where 40,000 *ʿuthmānī*s were being taken from the villagers. They complained but to no avail, so that the injustice has continued to this day.

We stayed at al-ʿUlā over Monday and Tuesday, and departed at daybreak on Wednesday, the 24th of Muḥarram.[51] We passed through Qurā Ṣāliḥ (Peace be upon him!). It consists of houses carved into mountains wherein there is nothing familiar but [drawings of] gazelles and camels.[52] We dismounted in the forenoon at a place called al-Ḥijr, where there are

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50 The *ʿuthmānī/ʿoṣmānī* was the term commonly employed for the *akçe*, the basic unit of currency in use in the Ottoman heartlands, including Syria, during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. It is derived from the reduction of the Turkish combination *akçe-i ʿoṣmānī* (Ottoman little silver piece). See Sir Hamilton Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 1 vol. in 2 pts. (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950-7), pt. 2, p. 49; Jean-Paul Pascual, *Damas à la fin du xvie siècle d'après trois actes de waqf ottomans* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1983), Tome 1, Annexe: les Monnaies; and Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914," in Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 949. For al-Nahrawālī's having later to convert his silver *muḥallaq*s (*cf.* above, p. 10, n. 33) into silver *ʿuthmānī*s at the rate of fifty-nine *ʿuthmānī*s to the gold *ashrafī*, see below, p. 117 and n. 312.

51 24 Muḥarram, 965 = Tuesday, 16 November, 1557.

52 This name, meaning "the villages of Ṣāliḥ," has, since at least as early as the 11th/17th century, come to be known as Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, that is 'the towns/cities of Ṣāliḥ,' of which there are said to have been seven. Other names referring to it are Ābār/Abyār Ṣāliḥ/Thamūd and al-Ḥijr (see the next note). In Islamic folklore it is named for the Arabian prophet Ṣāliḥ, whose name appears nine times in the *Qurʾān* (see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ṣāliḥ" (Rippin), viii, 984). Along the way from al-ʿUlā to Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ the pilgrimage route (*ṭarīq al-ḥajj*) passes through a corridor of remarkable funereal monuments hewn into the faces of large sandstone rocks and having elaborate sculptured entrances. Like that of al-Nahrawālī, almost all accounts by travelers passing this way note these abandoned chambers and observe how (according to Islamic legend) their inhabitants, the people of Thamūd, all died in their rock "houses" as a result of a sudden tremor, God's punishment for their rejecting the Islamic monotheism to which Ṣāliḥ sought to convert them. For this see in particular Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp. 62f. Rafeq's suggestion (*Province of Damascus*, n. p. 184) that Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ had no fortress before Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm had one built in the mid 18th century appears contradicted by Meḥmed Edīb, who in 1089/1679 noted there a fort and pool (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 135). This place was an important stop on the Ḥijāz railway, beyond which no non-Muslims could proceed, since it was held to mark the frontier of the Ḥijāz and of the sacred Kaʿbah at Mecca (Bonin, "Chemin de Fer," p. 426; Wavell, *Modern Pilgrim*, p. 57; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 594-7; and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 220). The accounts vary in giving between five and nine hours' travel time for the stretch between al-ʿUlā and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ/al-Ḥijr. For observations on features of this place see too the works of Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrīʾnin," p. 127); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 43; and al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 482. That these carved chambers contained drawings of animals, including antelope and camels, is noted in A. J. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1909-22), i, 122.

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excavations amid mountains and narrow passes.[53] Early on the afternoon of that same day we got under way and traversed a number of steep sandy inclines, tors and defiles. Once by those obstacles, we encamped after sunset on Thursday, the 25th,[54] in a place named al-Mabrak,[55] and remained there until three quarters of the night had elapsed. Then we rode

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53 The name al-Ḥijr, derived from the Nabataean Ḥegrā, is generally held to be the same place as Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ. Like al-Nahrawālī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Travels*, i, 162) referred, in the early 8th/14th century, to this pilgrimage station as al-Ḥijr, but later accounts called it Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ. After Petra in southern Jordan, this was the second most important center of ancient Nabataean culture. From here the Nabataeans were able to control caravans bound for Syria with rich cargoes of goods from southern Arabia, India and eastern Africa (Winnett and Reed, *Ancient Records*, p. 37). Although the many carved rock tombs and some statuary are identified as being Nabataean, the large numbers of inscriptions found here include ones in Arabic, Aramaic, Thamudic, Nabataean, Minaean, Lihyanite, Hebrew and even Greek and Latin (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Ḥidjr" (Vidal), iii, 365f). The first European to visit al-Ḥijr and record its monuments and inscriptions was Charles Doughty, in 1876, whose work (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*) abounds in references to a variety of matters relating to it and to Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ. For a detailed description (with photos and plans) of the fort and pilgrimage station at Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ/al-Ḥijr, as well as of the archaeologically rich vicinity, consult Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, i, 107-37. The atlas published separately to vol. ii of *ibid.* is a remarkably rich photographic archive of the carved tomb ruins, statuary and inscriptions of both al-ʿUlā and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ. Survival of the use of the name al-Ḥijr to refer to the same place as Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ is noted by Nasif, "Identification of Wādī 'l-Qurā," p. 9. A concise historical sketch of al-Ḥijr in classical and Islamic times, and constructed from original sources, is contained in Alois Musil, *The Northern Ḥiğâz* (New York, 1926), pp.299-301. Chapter XV of the *Qurʾān* is entitled al-Ḥijr (the Rocky Tract) and refers to this place.

54 The evening of 25 Muḥarram, 965 = Tuesday/Wednesday, 16/17 November, 1557 (see above, p. 2, n. 7).

55 This place, called Mabrak or Mabrak al-Nāqah, and meaning 'where the (hamstrung) cow-camel (*nāqah*) collapsed' (on her knees and was killed), is a narrow pass between two large rock masses located about three hours' travel time from al-Ḥijr. According to Islamic folklore, it was here that the people of Thamūd symbolized their rejection of the Arabian prophet Ṣāliḥ's Islamic monotheism (see above, p. 16, n. 52) by slaying the cow-camel which he had created for them out of one of these two rocks in return for their adherence. As part of this tradition, it was long held that here the cries of the cow-camel's calf continued to distract camels to their perdition. Thus, as late as the time of Doughty (1876), pilgrimage caravans would create tumultuous noise to drown out the calf's phantom groans. Another tradition has it that this narrow defile, where once a gate was constructed, marked the border between Egypt/Syria and the Ḥijāz. See Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 236; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 44f; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 592-4 (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 219); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 134); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 482f (which mistakenly cites Shaqq al-ʿAjūz where al-Mabrak is clearly described); Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 81, 83; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, p. 61; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, i, 103-6 (with a photo of the place); and Alois Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, p. 329.

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until the afternoon, when we alighted at a spot called Mafārish al-Ruzz.[56] On Friday, the 26th,[57] we left Mafārish al-Ruzz while it was still dark,[58] and journeyed most of the day before dismounting in the afternoon.

Saturday, the 27th: We encamped at Birkat al-Muʿaẓẓam later on Friday afternoon,[59] and remained there Saturday night before departing two thirds of the way through the night. This cistern (*birkah)* is of ample dimensions and built of stone, gypsum and lime; and it is solidly constructed, in that torrents flow into it from all four directions during the rainy season and it holds water for some time. Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, the lord of Aleppo,[60] erected it for the pilgrims. Some years the pilgrims made it to

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56 Although other accounts too give for this *ḥajj* station the name Mafārish al-Ruzz (carpets/beds of rice) or some variation of it (Maghāris/Maghārish al-Ruzz/al-Rīz), descriptions of it suggest that it was a stretch of territory rather than a specific encampment. In fact, Musil (*Northern Ḥeǧâz*, p. 330 and on the inset portion of the enclosed map) has it extending more than twenty kms. It is said to have derived its name from the fine rice-like pebbles abounding thereabouts. Other names appearing for this halt on the Syrian *ḥajj* route are Shaqq al-ʿAjūz, al-ʿUqayrīʿ and (al-)Dār al-Ḥamrāʾ, each one a place separate from the others. The station on the Ḥijāz railway was named Dār al-Ḥamrāʾ (Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p.30). Mafārish al-Ruzz had an unreliable cistern dependent on the collection of rain water, and it remained without a fort until the 12th/18th century. See Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 236; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrīʾnin," pp. 126f); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 45f; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 591; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 133f); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 483; Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Kannān, *al-Mawākib al-Islāmīyah fī al-mamālik wa al-maḥāsin al-Shāmīyah*, ed. Ḥikmat Ismāʿīl, 2 parts (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1993), pt. 2, p. 354, n. 7; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 80f; and Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, i, 95-7.

57 26 Muḥarram, 965 = Thursday, 18 November, 1557.

58 Literally "after the elapsing of three quarters of the night," a type of temporal expression al-Nahrawālī and others were fond of employing. This in theory would be about 0300 hours according to the modern understanding of the day.

59 27 Muḥarram, 965 = Friday, 19 November, 1557. "Later on Friday afternoon (*baʿd ʿaṣr yawm al-Jumʿah*)" would, according to the traditional Muslim day which begins and ends at sunset, refer to the last hours of Friday (in this instance Thursday, owing to the incongruity here of days of the week and of the month (see above, p. 11, n. 34)).

60 This *ḥajj* station, known as either Birkat (the cistern of) or Qalʿat (the fortress of) al-Muʿaẓẓam, and which may originally have had the name al-Muḥdathah (Musil, *Northern Ḥeǧâz*, p. 327), was later also a main stop on the Ḥijāz railway (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḥidjāz Railway" (Zaidi), iii, 364). A striking feature of this caravan halting place was its remarkably large and well constructed cistern (*birkah*) for the collection and storage of rain water. Al-Nahrawālī's assertion that its builder was the lord of Aleppo is probably in error. It is generally held to have been constructed, possibly in 600/1203-04 (Meḥmed Edīb), under the patronage of the Ayyūbid prince of Damascus, al-Malik al-Muʿẓẓam ʿĪsā b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (576-624/1180-1227), who was actively involved in providing wells and other amenities along the Damascus-Mecca pilgrimage route (*ibid*., 2nd ed., art. "al-Muʿaẓẓam" (Humphreys), vii, 273f). This accounts for the name al-Muʿaẓẓam having become attached to this place. Petersen's

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there only to find no water in it, either for the lack of rain or because of the refractoriness of [local] Arabs, who empty out its water so that the pilgrims are weakened by thirst.

Sunday, the 28th: During Saturday afternoon we arrived at a place named al-Ukhayḍir,[61] [125a] the halfway point on the pilgrimage route from

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suggestion that this large reservoir may be of early or even pre-Islamic provenance ("The archaeology of the Syrian and Iraqi Hajj routes," *World Archaeology*, xxvi (1994), p. 51) raises the possibility that the work carried out on it in *ca.* 600/1203-4 was of a restorative nature. That al-Nahrawālī makes no reference to a fort (*qalʿah*) here is significant. According to Ḥibrī, who visited this station in 1041/1632, Sultan Oṣmān II (*r.* 1027-31/1618-22), just a decade earlier (1030/1620-1), had had the cistern repaired and a large fortress constructed nearby in preparation for his intended pilgrimage to Mecca. It was for a time garrisoned but shortly was abandoned, possibly in *ca.* 1035/1625-6 (Evliyā Çelebi), after beduins attacked and massacred its defenders. The 11th/17th-century accounts consulted here generally attest to the ruinous fort and the neglected and, because of overuse of it by beduins, undependable supply of water in the cistern. Both the latter and the fort (with a photo of it) are described by Jaussen and Savignac (*Mission archéologique*, i, 88). See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 162; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1262; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, pp. 235f; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrīʾnin," p. 126); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 46-9; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 590f; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 133); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 483; Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, p. 254; and Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 78f.

61 28 Muḥarram, 965 = Saturday, 20 November, 1557. Usually referred to by this name or by al-Akhḍar, this important *ḥajj* station was located about eighteen hours' travel from al-Muʿaẓẓam. It appears on modern maps as Qalʿat al-Akhḍar, by which name its station on the Ḥijāz railway was also known. The sparse greenery thereabouts is said to account for its diminutive pattern name al-Ukhayḍir (little green place) or al-Wādī al-Ukhayḍir (slightly green valley). However, some accounts link its name with al-Khaḍir/al-Khiḍr, a popular figure of Arabian legend, while those of the Ottoman pilgrims appear to confuse its name, possibly for reasons of language, with that of a mystic called Ḥaidar Bābā, who is said to be buried within its fort. This being one of the places called at by the Prophet Muḥammad during his raid on Tabūk in the year 9/630-1 (see below, p. 25 and n. 78), a mosque of the Prophet was built there, although none of the accounts consulted here refers to its survival. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in the early 8th/14th century, called this place the valley of hell, whereas in 1080/1669 al-Khiyārī found it a pleasant spot. This contrast may in part be accounted for by the fact that the intervening period saw the (re)construction of its well, three cisterns, and large, square stone fortress. The latter was erected in less than forty days during 938/1531-2 by sultanic decree in response to the need to protect its fresh water from beduin depredations. The strength of its twenty-man garrison, which arrived annually with the *ḥajj* caravan for a year's tour of duty, seems to have been maintained for long after this period. See al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 655; Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbdallāh al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā istaʿjama min asmāʾ al-bilād wa al-mawāḍiʿ*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqā, 4 parts in 2 vols. (Cairo, 1945-51), pt. 2, p. 124; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 161; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1262; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 235; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrīʾnin," p. 126); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 50-2; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 588-90 (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of

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Damascus to Mecca. Supply caravans are usually to be found here,[62] and we in fact encountered the forwardmost of these. Al-Ukhayḍir is a commodious halting place [situated] amid mountains. It has a fortress manned by twenty troops from Damascus who guard it against beduins. Inside the fortress is a well from which three pools closeby get their water. The *amīr* Ṭurabāy b. Qarājā, chief of the Ḥārithah Arabs, built this fort in 938 [1531-2][63] at the command of Muṣṭafā Pasha, governor of

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Awliya Chalaby," p. 219); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 132f); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 483f; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 76f; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mir'āt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 239; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, i, 75-8 (including photos of the fort); Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 98; and Petersen, "Early Ottoman Forts of the Darb al-Hajj," *Levant*, xxi (1989), 99.

62 During the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, the returning Syrian *ḥajj* caravan was met, at various points along the route, by reception groups or supply caravans called *mulāqāt* (s. *mulāqāh*) from Damascus and other centers. The primary function of these was the provisioning of the returning pilgrims and their animals with much-needed supplies of food and fodder. Retail merchants accompanying these relief convoys gave them a distinctively commercial character. With an increase in beduin marauding commensurate with the loosening of Ottoman authority along much of the caravan route during the 12th/18th century, the term *mulāqāh* (reception, meeting) gave way to that of *jardah* (colloq. *jurdī*), referring to the armed escort by then so essential for the protection of both provisions and returning pilgrims. The Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan too was met by a *mulāqāh* relief convoy (Barbir, *Ottoman Rule*, p. 170, n. 179). For further instances of this particular *ḥajj* caravan being met and supplied by *mulāqāt* at other points along the route, as well as for identification of the goods purveyed, see below, pp. 25f, 29, 30, 32. For both *mulāqāh* and *jardah* (*jurdī*) see too Barbir, *Ottoman Rule*, pp. 167-74; Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 65; and Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "New Light on the Transportation of the Damascene Pilgrimage during the Ottoman Period," in R. Olson, ed., *A Festschrift in Honor of Wadie Jweideh* (Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 1987), p. 128; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, index (under 'jurdy'); and Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp. 91, 97.

63 That the *amīr* (Ṭurabāy) Ibn Qarājā was in 938/1531-2 sent, along with the *amīr* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Ṭālū and builders and equipment, to construct, by sultanic decree, a fortress over the well at al-Akhḍar (al-Ukhayḍir) is noted by Muḥammad b. Jumʿah al-Maqqār, *Kitāb al-bāshāt wa al-quḍāt fī Dimashq*, p. 12 (in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Wulāt Dimashq fī al-ʿahd al-ʿUthmānī* (Damascus, 1949)). Ṭurabāy b. Qarājā, whose name appears in translation also as Ṭarābāy b. Qarāja, was the chief (*shaykh*) of the north Palestinian Ḥārithah clan of settled Arabs in the Nablus region. He became a strong supporter of the Ottomans following the conquest of Syria and Egypt by Sultan Selīm I in 922-3/1516-17, and the Ṭurabāy family remained a political force in Ottoman Syria until 1088/1677. For Ṭurabāy b. Qarājā and his family see, especially, the section devoted to them in Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria 1575-1650* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1985), pp. 183-98, as well as Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 14, 197, 204, 209-10, 212, 220 (in places challenged by Abu-Husayn). Aspects of the history of this family are discussed in Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, 4 vols. (Leizig and Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1939-68), ii, 51-5.

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Damascus.[64] It was erected because, whenever tribesmen of the Banū Lām, Banū ʿUqbah[65] or others were in revolt against the government, they would fill this well with earth and drain the water from the pools, thereby discomforting the pilgrims and making them vulnerable. So the authorities raised this strongpoint to protect the well and pools from beduins.

We spent Sunday night in al-Ukhayḍir and set out at daybreak that same day, arriving at the narrow pass (*maḍīq*), a steep trail [situated] between two high mountains and called Naqb al-Ukhayḍir.[66] However, we found it filled with large stones rolled down from the heights of the two mountains, to the point where they almost blocked the pathway. The ones

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64 Usually referred to in Turkish sources as Palāḳ Muṣṭafā Pasha, this person, who was possibly of Albanian but more likely of Bosnian origin, had, before his brief tenure as governor of Damascus in 938/1531-2, served in the inside service (*enderūn*) of the imperial palace and subsequently as admiral of the fleet (*ḳapudān-ı deryā*). In the latter office, which he held during 926-9/1520-2, he was present at the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes (928/1522), although actual command of the fleet was exercised by one of Ḫayreddīn Barbarossa's naval commanders. He died in 940/1533-4 and was buried at Eyüp, just outside the Ottoman capital. See Ibn Jumʿah, *Kitāb al-bāshāt*, p. 12; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iv, 372; and Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, iv, 77, 437.

65 Depredations made in this region against the *ḥajj* caravan, by the Banū Lām and Banū ʿUqbah beduins in particular, were legendary. In 1313 the Banū Lām are reported by the Syrian historian Abū al-Fidā to have gathered and attacked merchant caravans traveling to Tabūk to meet the returning Syrian *ḥajj* caravan (as cited by Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, p. 43, n. 14). And both Kibrīt in 1039/1629-30 (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 135) and Meḥmed Edīb in 1089/1679 (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 132f) refer in their accounts to the need for the fortress at al-Ukhayḍir to protect its critical water supply from periodic destructive raids by these tribes. Not long after the time of al-Nahrawālī's visit here (965/1557), most of the Banū Lām relocated to southern Iraq (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Lām" (Minorsky/Burrell), v, 645f). Both the remaining Lām and the Banū ʿUqbah roamed in the inland and coastal regions of the northern Ḥijāz and present-day southern Jordan. For a subsequent reference to the Banū Lām as a periodic threat to the Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan along the fringes of the nothern Red Sea coast, see below, pp. 260f. On these tribes see too Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 102, 114, 230 n. 61, 323; Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 89 n. 96 and 194 and n. 13; and Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, 333-5.

66 Reported as being located at from one to three hours' travel time beyond al-Ukhayḍir, and at the head of the valley in which the latter station is situated, this place, referred to variously as Naqb or Buġaz or ʿAqabat al-Akhḍar/al-Ukhayḍir/Ḥaydar, is noted by all for its combination of extreme narrowness and rough terrain. Al-Khiyārī, in 1080/1669, encountered there a team of government personnel collecting a tax (*bāj al-buhār*) on merchandise and slaves intended for commercial sale (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, 52f). Ten years later, Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 132, 133) observed troops stationed there to protect the area. Doughty, heading in the opposite direction in 1876, discovered at Boghrāz (*sic*) al-Akhḍar his first specimens of Nabataean inscriptions (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 76). See too Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 126); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 235; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 484; and Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, p. 354.

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who did this were the Banū Lām Arabs and their chief, Nuᶜaym b. Salāmah b. Jughaymān, *shaykh* of the Mafārijah clan of the Banū Lām.[67] That was because he was in revolt against the Ottomans[68] for their having wanted, on several occasions, to kill or lay hands on him. They attacked his encampment but had failed to seize him. Rather, he had fallen upon some of their *amīr*s and had killed the *amīr* Qarājā[69] and many Syrian troops. He was exceedingly intrepid.

The commander of the pilgrimage caravan (*amīr al-ḥājj*) detailed a party to clear the road and remove the stones from it. They did as best they could but had to leave what they were unable to remove. In crossing among those boulders the pilgrims experienced severe hardship, while being weighed down with fear that Nuᶜaym might attack at the mouth of the narrow trail or thereabouts.

We got clear of that place shortly before the time of the noon prayer and continued our journey until just before sunset, when we dismounted at Maghārat al-Qalandarīyah. The Arabs of the desert call this place al-Bark.[70] It is what the eloquent and highly expressive poet, Aḥmad b.

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67 For the sometimes cooperative but often hostile relations in the 10th/16th century between the Ottomans, at Damascus, and the beduins of the Mafārijah clan of the Banū Lām, centered in the Ḥawrān region of present-day southern Syria, as well as for references to Nuᶜaym b. Salāmah b. Jughaymān's son and father, both called Salāmah, see Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 101, 194 and n. 13, 221f, 223. In his monumental cosmographical work, entitled the *Cihān-numā* and composed in the mid-11th/17nth century (Istanbul: Dār al-Ṭibāᶜah al-ᶜĀmirah, 1145/1732-3), the Ottoman Ḥācī Ḫalīfe [Kātib Çelebi] noted (p. 523) that the Banū Lām were in the habit of obstructing passage through Naqb al-Ukhayḍir with boulders.

68 Here, as elsewhere, there is a need to translate *salṭanah* (sultanate, government) by "Ottomans," since al-Nahrawālī construes it as representing people and employs the 3rd masculine plural for agreement with it.

69 The reference here is ambiguous; if, as seems likely, it is to Qarājā, the father of the *amīr* Ṭurabāy (see above, p. 20 and n. 63), Abu-Husayn informs (*Provincial Leaderships*, pp. 185, 186) that this person was put to death in 1519 [925 A.H.] by Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, the then Ottoman governor of Damascus, seemingly for his having attacked and plundered pilgrims on their way back to Damascus.

70 This station, identified with present-day Ẓahr al-Ḥajj and located thirty-five kms. northwest of al-Ukhayḍir, is the point where the typography of the northbound Damascus *ḥajj* route emerged from a long series of rugged mountains and crags, and entered an extensive and comparatively pleasant plain. Its closest stop on the Ḥijāz railway was Dār al-Ḥajj (Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfīyah*, p. 29). Although it lacked a natural source of water, the Ottomans built there a cistern for rainwater, and a fort, both of which were noted by Meḥmed Edīb in 1089/1679 (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 131f). The numerous caves thereabouts account, at least in part, for its name Maghārat – more frequently, Maghā'ir – al-Qalandarīyah (cave(s) of the dervishes). Al-Jazīrī (*al-Durar al-farā'id*, p. 1261) alludes briefly to the legend of seven dervishes (*ṣūfī*s) who, while on pilgrimage, became lost in one of these caves and perished.

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al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUlayf,[71] had in mind when in a *qaṣīdah* (ode) he eulogized Sharīf Barakāt b. Muḥammad b. Barakāt b. Ḥasan b. ʿAjlān[72] at the time the Turks betrayed him and manacled him in the year 9–.[73] [125b] Its opening verses are:

Difficult for the bloodline of prophethood and kingship
Is watching o'er the ignominy of shame and destruction.

High rank, generosity, fortitude and magnanimity notwithstanding,
Thou, O Abū ʿAjlān, hast fallen into the clutches of the Turk!

Other names supplied for this station are Maqābir, Dār al-Maghīr, Birkah, Maḳābir-i Ḳalenderiyye, and Ẓahr al-Mughr. Some accounts provide Maghāʾir Shuʿayb, which is not to be confused with the comparatively fertile place with the same name located on the Egyptian *ḥajj* route a short distance inland from the eastern shore of the Gulf of ʿAqabah. The latter place appears later in this *Riḥlah* (p. 261 and n. 735) as Maghārat Shuʿayb. This writer has not succeeded in locating elsewhere confirmation of the seemingly popular name al-Bark, which appears vocalised in this text. Presumably, the beduins identified it in some way with camels in their kneeling position (*bark*). See too Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 539; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 54 and n. 168; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 588 (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 219); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 484; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 239; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, p. 61; and Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 232, n. 62, 329-31.

71 Two of the three lines of poetry which follow are, with some variations, cited as well in Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 124, along with additional lines. This poet, whose name was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Makkī, known as Ibn al-ʿUlayf, was born and died in Mecca (851-926/1447-1520). He composed a versified history in praise of the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd II (*r.* 886-918/1481-1512), for which he was rewarded with a pension. As well, he glorified Sharīf Barakāt (II) b. Muḥammad of Mecca and remained in the latter's favour. See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 123; al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, pp. 126f; and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 115.

72 Known as Barakāt II, he either shared rule or ruled alone as *sharīf* of Mecca for much of the period 878-931/1473-1525. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Barakāt" (Rentz), i, 1032; and De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, pp. 113-5, 124, 126.

73 The removal of Sharīf Barakāt II to Cairo in chains occurred during 908 or 909/1502-3, during the period (903-10/1497-1504) when he was challenged for power by three of his brothers. His Turkish captor was a corrupt Mamlūk official acting in his own interests and not in those of his sultan. See Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 124; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Barakāt" (Rentz), i, 1032; and De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, pp. 113f.

The appearnace of an incomplete date here is the first instance of what is a marked feature of this travel memoir recorded, seemingly for the most part, along the route. Where al-Nahrawālī was uncertain of his data, such as dates, etc., he left in his notebook (*daftar*) a blank area to be filled in later, once he could ascertain the needed information. As will be noted, the process of filling in these blanks continued over a considerable time – in one case more than a decade (see below, p. 62, n. 164) – after al-Nahrawālī's return to Mecca, and often included information postdating the *Riḥlah*. In some instances, as here, the author failed to fill the lacuna.

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Could thee, with sword unsheathed, lead horsemen, thou wouldst impel them
Against the Turk [all the way] from al-Ghimār[74] to al-Bark.

This was one of the best of his celebrated odes in praise of Sayyid Barakāt. I met up with him [only] when he was old. It wasn't possible for me to learn from him because he died in, I believe (And only God knows!), the year 924 [1518].

Monday, the 29th of Muḥarram:[75] We stayed the night until near daybreak in the forenamed al-Bark. Then we journeyed until, around the [time of the] afternoon [prayer], we arrived at Tabūk, a halting place (*manzil*) with water but few date palms. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī, the author of *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī akhbār al-aqṭār*,[76] which is an important book in its class, has said:

It is said that at Tabūk were the Companions of the Wood, to whom was sent [the Arabian prophet] Shuʿayb (Peace be upon him!) from Madyan.[77] Tabūk was the furthest point that God's Messenger [Muḥammad] (God bless him and grant him salvation!) reached. It was related that Shuʿayb participated in a raid on Tabūk while the Companions of the Wood were sinking its water hole with a scoop,

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74 Only one reference to al-Ghimār has been located, that appearing in the 5th/11th-century work of al-Bakrī, *al-Muʿjam*, pt. 3, p. 1001, where it is described as a valley (*wādī*) in the lands of the Ṭayyiʾ (tribe). The latter were almost certainly located in the Jabal Shammar district on the southern edge of the Great Nafūd region in north-central Saudi Arabia. Thus, the poet's notion of opposite geographical extremes seems modest in the present-day context. Curiously, this place name occurs in the only line (of the three) not included in the larger excerpt of the same poem (attributed to Ibn al-ʿUlayf) in Kibrīt's *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ* (see above, n. 71).

75 29 Muḥarram, 965 = Sunday, 21 November, 1557.

76 For details on this 9th/15th-century North African author and on this geographical dictionary of his, completed at Jedda in 866/1461, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī" (Lewicki), iii, 675f. It was published in 1975 (see Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī khabar al-aqṭār*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1975)). The extract from it appearing here is found on p. 130 of the published edition.

77 Reference to *aṣḥāb al-aykah* (Companions of the Wood) occurs four times in the *Qurʾān*, *viz*. XV: 78; XVII: 176-91 (the only passage with any details); XXXVIII: 13; and L: 14. For Shuʿayb as God's apostle sent to Madyan see the *Qurʾān*, VII, 85-93. (The printing of the *Qurʾān* consulted here is the 2nd ed. (1977) of that printed by American Trust Publications for the Muslim Students Association, with translation and commentary by A. Yusuf Ali.) See too *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, lst ed., art. "Shuʿayb" (Buhl), iv, 388f and "Tabūk" (Buhl), iv, 593f; and 2nd ed., art. "Madyan Shuʿayb" (Buhl/ Bosworth), v, 1155f.

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> that is, inserting the scoop inside it and moving it so that water would stream [into the water hole]. Shuᶜayb (God bless him and grant him slavation!) said, 'You are still sinking (*tabūkūna*) it.' And thus was it given the name Tabūk! In [the year] 9 A. H. God's Messenger (God bless him and grant him salvation!) carried out a raid against the Greeks at Tabūk. It was the furthest point he reached and he built there a mosque. (End of Quote)[78]

We met here with the supply caravan arriving from Damascus to bring relief to the pilgrims at Tabūk. It consists of a number of merchants, each having with him a variety of fruit, prepared foods, confectionary, fodder,

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78 Tabūk, described as the northern gateway to Arabia (Dunn, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 67), was an important station on both the Syrian *ḥajj* route and the Ḥijāz railway, for the latter of which it was the last depot complex before al-ᶜUlā. Located halfway between Damascus and Mecca, just inside the present-day Saudi Arabian border with Jordan, it is an oasis rich in dates and other produce. In fact, Ottoman travelers also identified this place as ᶜĀṣī Ḫurmā, here probably with the sense of "wild, or bitter, dates," allegedly deriving from a remark by the Prophet Muḥammad on his inhospitable reception by the local populace. Doughty described it in 1876 (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 72) as follows: "The ancient village, built of raw clay, appears of an ochre colour, pleasantly standing before a palm-grove, in a world of weary desert." The account here of the origins of the name Tabūk appears, with supporting evidence, in the 5th/11th-century geographical dictionary by al-Bakrī (*Muᶜjam*, pt. 1, p. 303). The Ottoman fort there, described in some detail by al-Khiyārī (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 73f), was ordered built and garrisoned in 967/1559-60 (al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 157), partly in response to the obstructive activities of Nuᶜaym b. Salāmah at Naqb al-Ukhayḍir referred to above, pp. 16f (Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 223), and was restored by order of Sultan Meḥmed IV in 1064/1654. A well inside the fort yielding copious fresh water fed a large pool constructed outside it. 19th-century accounts portray Tabūk as an all but uninhabited place gone to ruin; but the coming of the Ḥijāz railway in the early 20th century led to community revival (Bonin, "*Chemin de fer*," p. 426; and F. R. Maunsell, "The Hejaz Railway," *Geographical Journal*, xxxii (1908), 579). Most accounts note that, in the year 9/630-1, the Prophet Muḥammad led from Mecca his most distant raid (*ghazwah*), to Tabūk, then situated on the border with Byzantine territory. A lengthy account of features of this *ghazwah* is provided by al-Khiyārī (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 55-73). See too Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 161; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1259f; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 235; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 126); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iv, 587f (and C.M. Kortepeter, "A Source for the History of Ottoman-Hijaz Relations: the *Seyahatname* of Awliya Chalaby," in al-Ansary, *Sources for the History of Arabia*, pt. 2, p. 238); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 130); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 484; Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, p. 354; Muḥammad ᶜĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, p. 60; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, i, 57-64 (which provides photos and a town plan of Tabūk plus a description of the fort which in origin, the authors suggest, could be early Islamic); Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 318-21; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "Tabūk" (Buhl), iv, 593f.

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etc.[79] The one in charge of [that] caravan was İlyās Beg, deputy (*kiyaḫyā*) to the late Ḫusrev Pasha[80] and a person of some importance.

Tuesday, the 1st of Ṣafar:[81] We stayed at Tabūk during it purposely to afford the pilgrims some rest. We as well passed the night of Wednesday, the 2nd,[82] there, and then traveled from sunup until afternoon before reaching Qāᶜ al-Busayṭah and dismounting.

Thursday, the 3rd of Ṣafar: We spent Thursday night in Qāᶜ al-Busayṭah and set out shortly before dawn. During the forenoon we arrived at Dhāt Ḥijr, a place having date palms and water [drawn] from excavated pits.[83]

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79 For an earlier reference to and brief comment on the institution of the supply caravan (*mulāqāh*) to assist the returning pilgrims, see above, p. 20 and n. 62. Towards the close of the 17th century, al-Nābulusī noted (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 484) the hardship felt by members of the returning *ḥajj* caravan when the people of the *mulāqāh* from Damascus failed to show up at Tabūk.

80 Ilyās Beg has not been identified; and for the deceased Ḫusrev Pasha, whom he had served as deputy, there seems to be no other likely candidate than Dīvāne (fearless) Ḫusrev Pasha (d. 951/1544). The latter's administrative and military service embraced several provincial governorships, including those of Damascus (940/1534) and of Egypt (941-3/1535-6), as well as terms as fourth and second vizier of the dome (*ḳubbe vezīri*) in Istanbul. For a documentary study on Ḫusrev Pasha's career see Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, "Notes et documents sur Dīvāne Ḫüsrev Paşa," in *Racznik Orientalistczny*, xli, pt. 1 (1979), 21-55. See too *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khosrew Pasha, Dīvāne or Delī," (Bacqué-Grammont), v, 35; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṣmānī*, ii, 272; Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 23, 27, 165, 247f; and Ibn Ṭulūn, *Iᶜlām*, p. 279.

81 1 Ṣafar, 965 = Tuesday, 23 November, 1557. For the first time since departing from Medina, al-Nahrawālī has brought the day of the month into line with the day of the week. He did so by excluding any reference to the 30th of Muḥarram. This and subsequent misalignments of days of the week with days of the month are, as here, usually resolved at the end of the lunar month (see above, p. 2, n. 7), when the new moon marking the first day of the next month may be observed. On the determination of the first day of the Islamic month see Freeman-Grenville, *Muslim and Christian Calendars*, pp. 2f.

82 2 Ṣafar, 965 = Wednesday, 24 November, 1557.

83 3 Ṣafar, 965 = Thursday, 25 November, 1557. Qāᶜ al-Busayṭah, for which al-Nahrawālī provides full vocalisation, appears in other sources consulted here under such names as al-Qāᶜ, al-ᶜArāʾid, Qāᶜ al-Bazwah, Wādī Balhaḥ, Makhār, Rahībah, Ḳāzıḳ Ṭūtmār, and Qāᶜ al-Ṣaghīr. Devoid of water or buildings, and situated on an open sandy plain, it was, at least during the pilgrimage season, a tent city where the *ḥajj* caravan normally stopped only briefly for food and rest. Although the caravan which al-Nahrawālī accompanied remained overnight there, none of the subsequent travelers referred to here did so. Qāᶜ al-Busayṭah, apparently no longer known by any of the names mentioned above, was situated close by the Ḥijāz railway station called al-Ḥazm.

Dhāt (al-)Ḥajar, for which al-Nahrawālī's text provides the seemingly unique vocalisation of Dhāt Ḥijr, is referred to in the sources variously as Dhāt/Dār (al-)Ḥajj/Ḥājj, Ḥajar, Peyġāmber Eşmesi and Eşmeler, and it yet exists as Dhāt al-Ḥajj, formerly a stop on the Ḥijāz railway. Located in a sandy valley about seven hours' caravan travel from Qāᶜ al-Busayṭah, its stone fort was, along with three others on the Syrian *ḥajj* route,

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We remained there for the rest of Thursday as well as part of Friday night. Halfway through the night of Friday, the 4th of Ṣafar, we traveled from Dhāt Ḥijr and, in the late morning, alighted in al-Ṭubaylīyāt,[84] a place with

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constructed and garrisoned following receipt in Damascus of an imperial Ottoman decree in 967/1560. Although in *ca.* 1693-5 the Damascene traveler al-Nābulusī observed that the fort was large, spacious and garrisoned by troops from Damascus, barely a decade later the *sayyid* Murtaḍā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlawān reported that in 1118/1706-7 half of one of its walls had collapsed and the place was deserted (see Ulrich Haarmann, "Murtaḍā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlawān's Journey through Arabia in 1121/1709," in al-Ansary, *Sources for the History of Arabia*, pt. 2, pp. 248f). Its reservoir (*birkah*), fed from a spring inside the fort, provided abundant, if brackish, water. The wild palm trees and other growth there were sustained by numerous water pools barely below the land surface, thus accounting for one of its Turkish names, Eşmeler (the wells/water holes). As usual, Evliyā Çelebī provides both extravagant figures and some gleanings from Islamic folklore, in this case reference to its Turkish name of Peyġāmber Eşmesi (the Prophet's well) in token of Muḥammad's having excavated one of its wells with his own hands.

For both stations see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 160; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1259; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 233; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 126); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 77f; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 586 (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 218); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 129f); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 484f; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 157; Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, p. 354; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn,* iii, 238; John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1983), p. 659; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 92; Maunsell, "Hejaz Railway," pp. 576, 579; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, i, 53-7 (which includes photos of the Ottoman fort at Dhāt al-Ḥajj); Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 328-31; Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfīyah*, p. 29; Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 98, 223; and Barbir, *Ottoman Rule*, p. 135.

84 4 Ṣafar, 965 = Friday, 26 November, 1557. Al-Ṭubaylīyāt, vocalised in full both here by al-Nahrawālī and elsewhere by al-Nābulusī (see below), was also known as Jughaymān, and is the present-day al-Mudawwarah, the latter being the name of the Ḥijāz railway stop located two miles from the pilgrimage station. It was reported variously as from fourteen to sixteen hours' caravan travel from Dhāt al-Ḥajj/Ḥajar. Modern maps locate al-Mudawwarah on the Jordanian side of that country's frontier with Saudi Arabia. The water supply at this small oasis was at best seasonal, of poor quality, and very limited in quantity. The eyewitness accounts consulted here differ on the existence of a fort at this station. According to Barbir (*Ottoman Rule*, p. 138), a castle and two cisterns were later built there by Aydınlı ʿAbdallāh Pasha when he was governor of Damascus (1730-3). See Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 126); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 78f; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 585f (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 218); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 129); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 485; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 659; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 58; Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, p. 329 (citing Kātib Çelebī's *Cihān-numā*); and Maunsell, "Hejaz Railway," p. 576. Features of this and other *ḥajj* forts situated in present-day Jordan have been studied by Andrew Petersen. See in particular his "The Fortification of the Pilgrimage Route During the First Three Centuries of Ottoman Rule (1516-1757)," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, v (1995), 299-305, as well as his "Early Ottoman Forts."

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palms but little water. [126a] The rest of Friday and a portion of Saturday night were passed there before we resumed our journey.

On Saturday, the 5th of Ṣafar, we crossed a great pass to arrive at ʿAbbādān,[85] which is the object of the saying, "ʿAbbādān is in the middle of nowhere," or so I believe.[86] This was a lengthy stretch of the journey, [since] we arrived there [only] around the time of the afternoon prayer. Then we set out at midnight on Sunday, the 6th of Ṣafar, and by late morning had reached Maʿān, a halting place where the water is not good.

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85 5 Ṣafar, 965 = Saturday, 27 November, 1557. The next halt on the *ḥajj* route northbound from al-Ṭubaylīyāt is identified by a variety of names, which in some cases appear to refer to different places situated along a steep and lengthy incline (*ʿaqabah*) descending abruptly from a high escarpment. These names include al-ʿAqabah, al-ʿAqabah al-Shāmīyah/al-Ḥijāzīyah (to distinguish it from the Egyptian ʿAqabah at the head of the gulf bearing the same name), ʿAqabat al-Ṣawwān, ʿAqabat al-Ḥalāwah, Ẓahr al-ʿAqabah, Baṭn al-Ghūl, the Turkish ʿAḳebebaşı, and ʿAbbādān. The account in Kibrīt (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, pp. 232f) locates ʿAbbādān south of ʿAqabat al-Ṣawwān. At this *manzil*, where there was no natural source of water, the pilgrims had to dismount to negotiate the narrow, difficult and dangerous canyon. Somewhat later than the period here discussed, officers of the central government (*çavuşes*) would meet the *ḥajj* caravan here to receive from the Turkish pilgrims mail for advance delivery to Istanbul. The area was served by two stations on the Ḥijāz railway, al-ʿAqabah (al-Ḥijāzīyah) and Baṭn al-Ghūl. Both Bonin, ("Chemin de Fer," p. 425) and Maunsell ("Hejaz Railway," p. 575) commented on the remarkable change here in the geology and landscape, and on the magnificent prospect from the top of the escarpment. ʿAqabat al-Ṣawwān, wherein ʿAbbādān is located, was considered by at least some Arab geographers as the southern border of the southern district of al-Karak in historical Syria (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1923), P. 129). According to Petersen ("Early Ottoman Forts," p. 100), it was only in the mid-eighteenth century that the Ottomans erected a fort for this *ḥajj* station, at a place named al-Faṣṣūʿah, which he identifies with ʿAqabat al-Ṣawwān/al-Shāmīyah. See too Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 160; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1259; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 126); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 79f; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 585 (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 218); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 128); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 485; Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, p. 354; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 658f; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, i, 51f; and Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, 328f, 331.

86 The English translation here reflects the ambiguity of the Arabic original, since it is not clear whether the author's doubt, reflected in the clause *fī-mā aẓunn* ("or so I believe"), relates to the accuracy of the saying or of the correct ʿAbbādān. The same expression appears in Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 233, where there is no abiguity: its author declares that the reference is not to this ʿAbbādān but to the one "on the shore of the sea." The latter, which in 1935 underwent a change in name to Ābādān, is situated on the Iranian side of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, near Baṣrah. It was originally on the coast but, with unchecked alluvial silting, it now lies some distance from the sea (see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "ʿAbbādān" (Lockhart), i, 5).

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Here we encountered more supply caravans (*mulāqāt*) with fruit and provender. The weather was quite chilly.[87]

At midnight on Monday, the 7th, we left Maʿān and kept on going until shortly before the time of the afternoon prayer, when we came to Ẓahr ʿUnayzah[88] and made a halt there. Part of the night of Tuesday, the

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87 6 Ṣafar, 965 = Sunday, 28 November, 1557. At from twelve to sixteen hours' caravan travel from ʿAbbādān, and known also as Muʿān and Maʿāl, this present-day, southernmost Jordanian town called Maʿān was the last pilgrimage station within historical greater Syria. The coolness in the weather experienced there by al-Nahrawālī was doubtless owing to the combination of season (late November) and of Maʿān's location in a desert setting at 3,525 feet above sea level. While in classical times it was a major stop on the caravan route linking southern Arabia with Damascus, in the early Islamic era it for a time was the domicile of the Banū Umayyah, who went on to establish the Umayyad caliphate at Damascus (661-750). The construction of Maʿān's fort was ordered in 966/1559, along with those at Dhāt al-Ḥajj (Ḥajar) and Tabūk (see above, p. 26, n. 83 and p. 25, n. 78), and at al-Qaṭrānah (see below, p. 31, n. 93). By the 1660s this fort was observed to be occupied by local residents, its garrison of Damascus troops having been killed or driven off by beduins and not replaced. All accounts attest to the abundance of water thereabouts, although most, like that of al-Nahrawālī, note it to be of poor quality. Petersen notes ("Early Ottoman Forts," p. 114) that at just three kms. from Maʿān fort is a vast rectangular Roman cistern. For Muslim pilgrims this was an important market centre where they could purchase provisions, either those grown locally or those imported from al-Khalīl (Hebron) and Ghazzah, and deposit personal possessions for safekeeping. (For an earlier note on supply caravans (*mulāqāt*) see above, p. 20, n. 62.) By 1904 the Ḥijāz railway reached Maʿān, two kms. east of which its station and other buildings, including a hospital and hotel, were developed into a major depot on the line. Not far west of Maʿān lie the ruins of the rock city of Petra, the former Nabataean capital. See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 160; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1259; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 232; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrīʾnin," pp. 125f); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 80-3; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 584f; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 127f); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 485; Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, pp. 353f; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 436f, 658; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 19, 32f, 35, 43, 50; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 238; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp. 15, 59; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, i, 33-40; Bonin, "Chemin de fer," pp. 423-5; Maunsell, "Hejaz Railway," pp. 572, 575; Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 2-6, 243-8, 327-9; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Maʿān" (Elisséeff), v, 897; and Peters, *The Hajj*, pp. 291-3.

88 7 Ṣafar, 965 = Monday, 29 November, 1557. Known also as ʿUnayzah or ʿAnazah (the latter of which spellings is provided by al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 485, and is the one given to this stop on the Ḥijāz railway), the pilgrimage caravan halt at Ẓahr ʿUnayzah is recorded as being from eight to twelve hours' travel from Maʿān. Its water supply, limited to rain water collected in a cistern, was forever precarious, especially in summer. Both Kibrīt (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 232), in 1039/1629-30, and al-Khiyārī (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 83), in 1080/1669, noted the existence there of an old caravansary (*ḫan/khān*). The stretch of the route between Maʿān and al-Qaṭrānah was particularly trying for the pilgrims, owing both to the unstable supply of water and, more particularly, to the depredations of the beduin tribesmen. When Evliyā Çelebī

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8th,[89] was spent at Ẓahr ʿUnayzah before we took our leave of it sometime after midnight. The road was difficult. In mid-morning we arrived at al-Ḥasā,[90] where it was quite cool. Dismounting, we met with supply trains from al-Karak and Shawbak[91] bringing cooking oil, straw, flour and

performed the pilgrimage in 1082/1672, he described clashes between the caravan escort and beduins both here and at al-Ḥasā, the next stop north (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 582-4; and Kortepeter, "Source," pp. 237f). Meḥmed Edīb, in 1089/1679, noted the existence here of a fort (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 126), which Barbir establishes (*Ottoman Rule*, pp. 135f) was built by the early 17th century, probably even in the latter part of the 16th. Petersen, in fact, gives 1576 for the date of its construction, without indicating clearly his source ("Early Ottoman Forts," p. 100). A second fort was erected much later. See too Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 125, where this stop is called Aran); Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 658; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp. 50, 57; Bonin, "Chemin der fer," p. 423; R. Tresse, *Le Pèlerinage Syrien aux villes saintes de l'Islam* (Paris: Imprimerie Chaumette, 1937), p. 221; and C. P. Grant, *The Syrian Desert, Caravans, Travel, Exploration* (London: Black, 1937), p. 224.

89 The night of 8 Ṣafar, 965 = Monday/Tuesday, 29/30 November, 1557.

90 After a journey of from eight to twelve hours over challenging and dangerous terrain, the northbound caravan arrives at al-Ḥasā (also called al-Aḥsā and Tābūt), a pilgrim and, later, Ḥijāz railway station located in a valley where the spring-fed water supply was abundant much of the year. Most accounts corroborate al-Nahrawālī in reporting the existence here of supply trains (*mulāqāt*, on which see above, p. 20, n. 62) and of a bridge which pilgrims had to cross. The bridge referred to by Petersen ("Early Ottoman Forts," p. 114) as having been built by Aydınlı ʿAbdallāh Pasha between 1730 and 1733 for protection against sudden flooding was probably a replacement for the one described here by al-Nahrawālī. In fact, Jaussen and Savignac (*Mission archéologique*, i, 31, n. 2) provide a photo of this bridge, parts of which they suggest could date from Roman times. Meḥmed Edīb, who passed southbound through here in 1089/1679, is the only observer among those consulted for this study to note the presence of a fort (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 125f); yet Jaussen and Savignac (*Mission archéologique*, i, 32, n. 1) cite epigraphic evidence dating this fort (or its replacement?) from the late 18th century. Meḥmed Edīb also commented on the chance occurrence thereabouts of devastating torrents and washouts, one instance of which was recorded by a chronicler in the 12th/18th century (Aḥmad al-Budayrī al-Ḥallāq, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-yawmīyah 1154-1175/1741-1762*, ed. Aḥmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm (Cairo, 1959), p. 36 and n. 3). See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 232; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 125); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 84; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 582f (and Kortepeter, "Source," p. 237); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 486; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 400f, 658; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 26f; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 237; and Tresse, *Pèlerinage Syrien*, p. 221.

91 Both of these places, located within present-day southern Jordan, were strongholds which during the Ottoman period slowly lost the considerable strategic value each enjoyed in the age of the Crusades. According to Bakhit (*Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 194), in the 10th/16th century the two formed, within the province of Damascus, the mainly beduin sub-province (*sancaḳ*) of Karak-Shawbak. For further information on al-Karak, situated between al-Qaṭrānah (see below, n. 93) and the Dead Sea, and on (al-)Shawbak, lying west of (Ẓahr) ʿUnayzah (see above, n. 88) and south of the Dead Sea, consult the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "al-Karak" (Sourdel), iv, 609 and "al-Shawbak" (Bakhit), ix, 373f. On the supply/relief caravans (*mulāqāt*) for returning pilgrims, see above, p. 20, n. 62.

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suchlike. It is a halting place with water, and nearby is a bridge that we crossed over before pitching camp.

We passed the night of Wednesday, the 9th of Ṣafar,[92] at al-Ḥasā and traveled from near dawn until halting at sundown. Thursday night, the 10th, was spent in the hostel (*ḫan*) at al-Qaṭrānī.[93] At dawn we started off [and traveled] until between the times of the afternoon and sunset prayers, when we stopped in a place called al-Balāṭah.[94]

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92 The night of 9 Ṣafar, 965 = Tuesday, 30 November/Wednesday, 1 December, 1557.

93 The night of 10 Ṣafar, 965 = Wednesday/Thursday, 1/2 December, 1557. Present-day al-Qaṭrānah, a former *ḥajj* and Ḥijāz railway station located about fifty kms. south of Amman and twelve hours' caravan travel north of al-Ḥasā, also appears with the spellings (al-) Qaṭrānī, Qaṭrānā and Ḳaṭrān. Al-Nahrawālī's reference to the existence there of a functioning hostel (*ḫan*) is uncorroborated by other accounts consulted here, suggesting that it may have fallen into disuse not long after his visit in 965/1557. According to Evliyā Çelebī, who passed there in 1082/1672, this place was governed as a dependency of Karak (-Shawbak). Its fortress dates from just after 967/1560 when Sultan Süleymān ordered its construction, along with that of several others (see above, p. 29, n. 87). Haarmann notes ("Murtaḍā," p. 248) that its architecture and building materials were carefully described by Murtaḍā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlawān, who passed there in 1121/1709. Both al-Khiyārī, in 1080/1669, and Evliyā Çelebī, two years later, reported that the fort's gate was locked shut, seemingly because of beduin disturbances. The primary function of this stronghold, garrisoned by troops from Damascus, was to protect the very large adjacent reservoir, which measures seventy meters square and four meters deep. Fed by winter rain water, it was often found dry during the summer months. See Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 232; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin,' p. 125); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 85; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 581 (and Kortepeter, "Source," p. 236); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 125); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 486; Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, p.353; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 237; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, p. 57; Tresse, *Pèlerinage Syrien*, p. 215; Barbir, *Ottoman Rule*, p. 135; Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 98, 219, 223; and Petersen, "Early Ottoman Forts," pp. 99f, 114, and "Fortification of the Pilgrimage Route," pp. 303f.

94 Al-Balāṭ(ah), known also as (Qalʿat) al-Ḍabʿah and, most often, as al-Balqāʾ, refers usually not to a hamlet but to an extensive agricultural district, one moreover which remained prosperous after the Islamic conquest and embraced several Umayyad caliphal residences. This *ḥajj* station, also a stop on the Ḥijāz railway with the name Ḍabʿah, is described as being between twelve and sixteen hours' caravan travel from al-Qaṭrānī, a distance of about forty miles. Most 11th/17th-century eyewitness accounts fail to mention the presence there of either a fort or a cistern, except for that of Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 124) in 1679, which notes the existence of both. Certainly the 19th-century travelers Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 658) and Doughty (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 17, 19f) reported the presence of a fort. The latter structure, in fact, has been studied and diagramed by Petersen ("Early Ottoman Forts," pp. 97-116 *passim*), who notes that it was erected on the site of an earlier Islamic or even Byzantine edifice, and that it was restored in the 16th and 18th centuries. As usual with such remote halting places, it may be the case that, through time, its precise location and name have changed when a neglected fort or cistern became bypassed. See too Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Qaramānī,

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On Friday, the 11th of Ṣafar, we stayed the first part of the night[95] in al-Balāṭah. Towards midnight we departed, traveling through seven passes before arriving in the forenoon at al-Zarqāʾ, where we halted. Here we met with supply caravans (*mulāqāt)* bringing bread, fruit, chickens, meat and prepared food. It is a halting place with good water.[96] The entire night of Saturday, the 12th,[97] we spent in al-Zarqāʾ. At dawn we set out and continued [our journey] until, towards sunset, when we arrived and encamped at al-Mafraq.[98]

Akhbār al-duwal wa āthār al-uwal, eds. Fahmī Saʿd and Aḥmad Ḥaṭīṭ, 3 vols. (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1992), iii, 321; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p.232; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrīʾnin," p. 125); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 86f; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 486; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 237; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp. 50, 57; Bonin, "Chemin de fer," p. 423; Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems, a Description of Syria and the Holy Land from 650 to 1500* (Beirut: Khayats, 1965), p. 416; Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfīyah*, p. 29; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Balḳāʾ" (Sourdel-Thomine), i, 997f.

95 The first half of the night of 11 Ṣafar, 965 = Thursday, 2 December, 1557.

96 From the pilgrimage station at al-Balāṭah/al-Balqāʾ, the returning Syrian caravan passed east of Amman, making for (ʿAyn) al-Zarqāʾ, now a large city located less than twenty kms. northeast of the Jordanian capital and once a stop on the Ḥijāz railway. For much of the way the route followed a long valley depicted as challenging terrain filled with gorges, defiles and sharp bends, and referred to as the *qallābāt* (topsy-turvy ground?). Whereas al-Nahrawālī here notices seven passes (*ʿaqabāt*), al-Nābulusī (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p.486) referred to fifteen or sixteen *qallābāt*, and al-Khiyārī (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p.88) to fourteen. A few travelers, among them al-Nahrawālī, either bypassed the small fort here or failed to comment on it, but most alluded to this structure known as Qaṣr Shabīb. Its architectural features have been reported on by Petersen ("Two Forts," pp. 347-50), who believes it to have been of Mamlūk/Ayyūbid provenance. The ample supply here of potable water for the pilgrims was provided by the Zarqāʾ river, a tributary of the Jordan. For an earlier comment on the supply/reception caravans (*mulāqāt*) which the returning Syrian *ḥajj* caravan encountered at various points along the route, see above, p. 20, n. 62. See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 232; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrīʾnin," p. 125); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 577; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 123f); Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 657; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii, 12f; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 236; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp.57-9, 97f; Bonin, "Chemin de fer," p. 421; and Maunsell, "Hejaz Railway," p.572.

97 The night of 12 Ṣafar, 965 = Friday/Saturday, 3/4 December, 1557.

98 The *ḥajj* station of al-Mafraq, in Arabic meaning literally "point of separation," was apparently so named because at this place many of the pilgrims returning with the Syrian caravan would disperse to their respective domiciles in the region. Now a town in Jordan near the Syrian frontier and about 40 kms. northeast of al-Zarqāʾ, it was reported at between eight and thirteen hours' caravan travel from the latter. Other names appearing for it are al-Faḍayn, Wādī al-Qadīm, Maʿrif/Maghrib and Mıẓrāḳ. That 11th/17th-century accounts are at odds over the presence or absence there of a fort and water supply suggests that the site of this station may have been subject to periodic relocation. Mafraq was also a stop on the Ḥijāz railway. See Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 231; Ḥibrī (İlgürel,

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In the middle of the night of Sunday, the 13th of Ṣafar,[99] we set out from al-Mafraq under a gentle rain. We passed on by Adraʿāt,[100] which is the [usual] halting place (*manzil*) for the pilgrims. They didn't stop there for fear of flooding. We [instead] remained on the backs of [our] camels, driving them on through the slippery mud until after the time of the evening prayer. We passed through several villages and hamlets.

[126b]Following the evening prayer on Monday, the 14th of Ṣafar, we stopped in a place named al-Kutaybah,[101] camels and men alike having become night-blinded with the rain continuing to fall. We stayed there briefly and then, in the middle of the night, resumed our journey, continu-

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"Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 125); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 90f; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix 577 (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 217); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 123); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 487; Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, p. 353, n. 2; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 657; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 9; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp. 50, 57; Bonin, "Chemin der fer," p. 421; Grant, *Syrian Desert*, pp. 223f; Tresse, *Pèlerinage Syrien*, p. 253; and Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p. 29.

99 13 Ṣafar, 965 = Sunday, 5 December, 1557.

100 The name of this place, now the southernmost Syrian city of Darʿā situated a mere three kms. from the Jordanian frontier, is said to be of Canaanitic origin. Throughout much of the Islamic era it has been known as Adhriʿāt or some variation on it. Although, as indicated here (and supported by al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1266, 1270), it was a *ḥajj* stage in the mid-10th/16th century, the accounts of travelers in the following century either fail to mention it at all or allude to it only ambiguously. It was an important Ḥijāz railway junction, from where a branch line was laid through Palestine to Haifa on the Mediterranean. Bakhit's researches, based on Turkish documents (*Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 86), indicate that Christians outnumbered Muslims there in the early Ottoman period. See too Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 123); Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 236; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, p. 15; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 383; N. Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamlūks* (Beirut: American University, 1953), p. 13; Bonin, "Chemin de fer," p. 419; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamluks*, pp. 65f; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris: Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1927), pp. 323-7 *passim*; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Adhriʿāt" (Buhl/Elisséeff), i, 194; Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p. 29; Rafeq, "New Light," p. 129; and Muṣṭafā Ṭalās, ed., *al-Muʿjam al-jughrāfī li'l-quṭr al-ʿArabī al-Sūrī*, 4 vols. (Damascus: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-ʿAskarīyah, 1990-2), iii, 322-8.

101 The evening of 14 Ṣafar, 965 = Sunday, 5 December, 1557. While al-Nahrawālī provides this vocalisation, al-Nābulusī (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 487) gives al-Kutayyibah, and in other references it appears as al-Katībah. Situated about seven kms. south of a place named al-Ṣanamayn, and about fourteen hours caravan travel from Damascus, it is described as a hill with a spring-fed cistern (*birkah*) at its base. In 1041/1632 Ḥibrī noted a fort there (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 125); and while passing there in 1080/1669 al-Khiyārī observed just south of it a bridge for channeling water. See too Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 569f; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 5f; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 236; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp. 50, 57; and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 260 and n. 2.

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ing on until reaching Maqām al-Sayyid Dhū al-Nūn in the forenoon. We found [there] the semblance of a fort enclosed by a wall, and, on the left, a cook shop in which a soup was prepared from beets for all of the pilgrims.[102] We ate this, without dismounting from our camels, and came to a place called al-Kiswah,[103] where the pilgrims are taxed. For every camel [load] one silver *muḥallaq* is collected, and for every slave twenty *muḥallaq*s.[104] We carried on thus until we entered Damascus.

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102 This village, usually referred to as Ḫan Dhū al-Nūn, but also as Kashīnah, Ḫan ül-Keşk, Terḫane Ḫanı and Denoun, is indicated as being about ten hours' caravan travel from al-Kutaybah and approximately four from Damascus. By calling it Maqām al-Sayyid Dhū al-Nūn, al-Nahrawālī almost certainly connects its origin in some way with the 2nd/8th-century Egyptian mystic Abū al-Fayḍ Dhū al-Nūn, although this finds no corroboration among any of the other accounts consulted here. Besides a fort, this place had at least one *ḫan* (caravansary) endowed by a pious foundation (*waqf*) to provide hot food for returning pilgrims; but by the time of Meḥmed Edīb's visit in 1089/1679, it had fallen into disuse (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 121). The two Turkish names given this place, namely those of Keşk and Terḫane, relate to dried milk curds used in the preparation of soup. See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, p. 231; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 125); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, p. 95; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 567 (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 216); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 487; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 656; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mir'āt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 235; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp. 50, 57; and Tresse, *Pèlerinage Syrien*, pp. 215, 253.

103 This was the first Syrian *ḥajj* station, located about twelve miles south of Damascus and only an hour or so of caravan travel north of Ḫan Dhū al-Nūn. Historical tradition has it that its name, al-Kiswah (also al-Kuswah), which means clothing, is derived from Ghassānid times when the king executed at this place Byzantine tribute collectors and distributed their garments (*kiswah*) (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 488). It was here that Damascene and other pilgrims were first marshaled by the *amīr al-ḥājj* and his staff for the long, difficult, and often dangerous march ahead (Dunn, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 67). Set in a shallow valley by the Aʿwaj River, it was described by Evliyā Çelebi in *ca.* 1082/1672 as a prosperous place with gardens, two hundred houses, three mosques, a bath (*ḥammām*), and an inn (*ḫan*) (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 567 (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 216)). Al-Kiswah was also the second stop on the Ḥijāz railway from the Damascus terminal (Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfīyah*, p. 29). See too Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 158; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, p. 1254; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, p. 230; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 121); Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 656; Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, p. 57; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 49, n. 9; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 321; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Madīnat Dimashq ʿinda al-jughrāfiyīn wa al-raḥḥālīn al-Muslimīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1967), p. 14; and ʿAnkawi, "Pilgrimage to Mecca," p. 149.

104 For an earlier note on the silver *muḥallaq* unit of Arabian currency see above, p. 10, n. 33. Using Ottoman documentary sources, in addition to the text under study here, Bakhit determined that taxes levied on commodities passing through al-Kiswah with the pilgrimage caravan yielded significant revenues for the exchequer (*Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 115 and n. 152). See too İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 196; and on Mamlūk taxation on merchandise returning with the *ḥajj* caravans see ʿAnkawi, "Pilgrimage to Mecca," p. 150.

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DAMASCUS: WINTERING OVER

On Tuesday, the 15th of Ṣafar, we entered Damascus the divinely protected following the evening prayer.[105] It was still raining and the mud was everywhere. At the pleasure of Aḥmed Pasha, the governor of the province of Damascus,[106] we halted at Bayt

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105 The night of 15 Ṣafar, 965 = Monday/Tuesday, 6/7 December, 1557. If, in fact, al-Nahrawālī departed Medina with the Syrian *ḥajj* caravan on 16 Muḥarram, 965/8 November, 1557, as he recorded, albeit possibly somewhat erroneously (see above, p. 11, n. 34), then the trip from there to Damascus required twenty-nine days, with stopovers for rest in twenty-six stations (*manāzil*), including two nights at al-ʿUlā and three in Tabūk. These figures are generally in line with those provided by other accounts. See, for example, Di Varthema, *Voyages*, p. 23; al-Jazīrī, al-*Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1254-64; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 605; Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, 353-6; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 656-61; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* i, 5; and Muḥammad ʿĀrif (Landau), *Hejaz Railway*, pp. 49f.

106 Al-Shām, in both Arabic and Turkish, can refer either to the province of Damascus/Syria or to the city of Damascus, the province's administrative center. From shortly after the Ottoman conquest of Syria by Sultan Selīm I (r. 918-26/1512-20) in 922/1516, and throughout the 10th/16th century, the province of Damascus/al-Shām, which was divided into *sancaḳs/liwā*s (sub-provinces) and *nāḥiyah*s (districts), comprised the southern sectors of present-day Syria and Lebanon, as well as much of Jordan and Palestine/Israel. Here reference is made consistently to the province of Damascus (rather than to al-Shām or Syria) or, where clearly required, to the city of Damascus. On the Ottoman province of Damascus consult Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 91 and *passim*; Rafeq, *Province of Damascus*, pp. 1f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Dimaṯḳ" (Elisséeff), ii, 286-8 and "al-Shām – Syria under the Ottomans" (Lammens/Bosworth), ix, 269-73.

Aḥmed Pasha, the then governor of Damascus who elsewhere in this *Riḥlah* (see below, pp. 175f and n. 197, and p. 171 and n. 467) appears as Aḥmed Pasha b. Isfendiyār (= Turkish: Isfendiyāroġlu Aḥmed Pasha), was a descendant of the Isfendiyārid princely family that held sway in the Kastamonu region of north central Anatolia before it was absorbed into the Ottoman empire in the time of Sultan Meḥmed (II) the Conqueror (r.848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81). Although biographical information on him is not wanting, accurate dates and consistent details on his career are: besides his governorship of Damascus, which has (obviously incorrectly) been dated to the period 959-62/1552-5 (Ibn Jumʿah, *Kitāb al-bāshāt*, p. 14 and Henri Laoust, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1952), p. 185), he is reported to have held subsequently the governorships of Sivas and Konya (of the latter, twice) before becoming governor-general of Rumelia (*Rūmili beġlerbeġi*), in which capacity he participated in the Szigetvár campaign in 974/1566 (Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 349). As a poet of some note he adopted the pen name (*makhlaṣ*) Şemsī, and so is sometimes referred to as Şemsī (Aḥmed) Pasha. Historical tradition also has it that he was a close companion to both Sultans Selīm II (*r.* 974-82/1566-74) and Murād III (*r.* 982-1003/1574-95). According to his biographical entry in al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-aʿyān min abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, 2 vols. (Damascus: al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī, 1959-63), i, 188-90, he erected and endowed in Damascus a dervish convent (*khāneqāh*) near the citadel.

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al-Asad,[107] where he arranged for us a hospitable reception and honoured us. It was he who sent us five head of sheep, five loaves of sugar, five *mawkibīyāt* (chests?)[108] of candles, five (camel) loads (*ḥiml*s) of barley,[109] and some bread. I met with him early in the morning and observed him to be a good-natured man of some importance and refinement who composes mediocre verse in Turkish. He enjoys a splendid close association with [our] most exalted sultan, Sultan Süleymān Ḫān (God almighty make him victorious!). Their poetry is similar. Whenever the sultan produces a poem he sets it down in a letter, enfolds it in a cloth covering, affixes his seal to it, and sends it off to this Aḥmed Pasha. The latter then

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His brief biography provided in Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, i, 204, which cannot here be relied on, states that he died in 996/1588 and was buried in his mausoleum (*türbe*) in the Üsküdar quarter of Istanbul. For his family's spurious claim to be descended from the early Arab Muslim warrior hero Khālid b. al-Walīd (d. 21/642) – and, hence, the occasional reference to Aḥmed Pasha's agnomen (*nisbah*) al-Khālidī – see below, pp. 75f and n. 197; and for al-Nahrawālī's later meeting with Aḥmed Pasha's two brothers see below, p. 171 and n. 467. Also consult *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "İsfendiyār Oghlu" (Mordtmann), iv, 108.

107 Bayt al-Asad was doubtless the al-Asad guest house (*ḫan*) which in 1089/1678-9 Meḥmed Edīb, who may have lodged there as well, described as one of the city's handsome structures (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 118). It was located near the city's al-Jābiyah western gate, and nearby were a public bath (*ḥammām*) and dervish convent (*khāneqāh*) known by the same name. In fact, a lane just inside this gate was called the Darb al-Asadīyīn. Although the latter is said to have owed its name to the pre-Islamic Banū Asad tribe, the bath, and possibly the inn and convent as well, is reported to be named for the Ayyūbid Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh (d. 564/1169), the paternal uncle of Saladin (d. 589/1193). Elsewhere it is reported that on this occasion al-Nahrawālī alighted in the Qarāmānī quarter of Damascus (al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 45). See too Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Irbilī, "Madāris Dimashq wa ḥammāmāt-hā," ed. M. A. Duhmān, in *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī bi-Dimashq*, xxii (1947), p. 324, editor's n. 2; and Ibn ʿAsākir, *La Description de Damas d'Ibn ʿAsākir*, by Nikita Elisséeff (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1959), pp. 138, n. 1, 241, 283 and n. 3, and the fold-out diagram.

108 The sense of *mawkibīyāt* in this context has not been determined. It appears, however, on parallel with three of the other four items here, to be functioning as a unit of counting (*cf.* loaves of sugar, head of sheep, loads of barley, etc.).

109 The *ḥiml*, or camel load, was a measure of capacity which in weight varied with area, era and content but which, according to W. Hinz (*Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden: Brill, 1955), pp. 13f), was generally close to 250 kgs. Although commonly encountered in reference (as here) to cereal crops, it had wider usages, especially in the Ottoman empire where İnalcık observes its Turkish equivalent, the *yük*, to have been "... one of the most varied and imprecise measures of the Ottoman Empire" ("*Yük (Ḥiml)* in Ottoman Silk Trade, Mining, and Agriculture," *Turcica*, xvi (1984), p. 131). Presumably the substantial quantity of barley (approx. 1,250 kgs.) provided by the governor was fodder for the pack animals, which earlier in the *Riḥlah* (see above, p. 3) al-Nahrawālī identifies as seven camels and two mules. See too Richard T. Mortel, "Weights and Measures in Mecca during the late Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods," *Arabian Studies*, viii (1990), p. 182.

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produces one just like it, seals it, and sends it to the sultan. But Aḥmed Pasha's poetry lacks eloquence and polish, and his level of erudition is this and no more.

I had a meeting with the then [Ḥanafī] judge (*qāḍī*) of Damascus, namely Mevlānā Müḥyīddīn Meḥmed Çelebi, the son of Mevlānā Ebū 's-Suᶜūd b. Maḥmūd [*sic* Meḥmed] el-ᶜImādī, the [Ḥanafī] interpreter of Islamic law (*müftī 'l-Islām*) in Constantinople the most exalted.[110] I set to verse an ode (*qaṣīdah*) in praise of him, and here it is:

Whene'er lightning winks radiantly o'er [Wādī] Iḍam,
To my loved ones at Dhū Salam[111] doth my mind turn.

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110 He was eldest of the four sons of Ebū 's-Suᶜūd Meḥmed b. Müḥyīddīn Meḥmed b. el-ᶜImād Muṣṭafā el-ᶜImādī (896-982/1490-1574), Qurᵓānic commentator, Ḥanafī scholar and, from 952/1545 until his death, the pre-eminent 10th/16th-century Ottoman interpreter of Islamic law (*şeyḫ ül-Islām* (= Ar. *shaykh al-Islām)*) and head of the empire's religious hierarchy. For al-Nahrawālī's subsequent meeting with Ebū 's-Suᶜūd in Istanbul see below, pp. 176-80. Müḥyīddīn Meḥmed Çelebi, who remained chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāh*) of the province of Damascus from *ca.* 964/1557 until 967 or 968/1560-1, and who died while chief judge of Aleppo in 971/1564, is reported in a conversation which al-Nahrawālī had with Meḥmed's brother, Aḥmed Çelebi, in Istanbul (see below, pp. 184f) to have been born in 931/1524-5. Other biographical details about him are revealed there as well. See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭulūn, *al-Thaghr al-bassām fi dhikr man wulliya qaḍāᵓ al-Shām*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid as *Quḍāt Dimashq* (Damascus: al-Majmaᶜ al-ᶜIlmī al-ᶜArabī bi-Dimashq, 1956), pp. 327f; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 137 and iii, 12; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 365; Ibn Jumᶜah, *Kitāb al-bāshāt*, p. 15; Laoust, *Gouverneurs de Damas*, pp. 185-6; *Islām Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ebüssuᶜūd Efendi" (Baysun), iv, 97; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Abu 'l-Suᶜūd" (Schacht), i, 152.

The chief judge of the province of Damascus, as in other Ottoman provincial jurisdictions, was almost always of the Ḥanafī legal rite (*madhhab*), the official one of the state (Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 119; and, with reference to Medina, see above, p. 9, n. 28). Al-Nahrawālī employs here *müftī 'l-Islām* for the more usual *shaykh al-Islām*/*şeyḫ ül-Islām* to refer to the empire's chief jurisconsult.

111 Ḥamad al-Jāsir, the editor of al-Ḥarbī's 3rd/9th-century geographical work on the Arabian pilgrimage routes, identifies Iḍam as Wādī Iḍam, one of several *wādī*s (valleys) which converge near Medina (*Kitāb al-manāsik*, pp. 412, n. 1, 413, n. 3, and 651, n. 2). This Arabic vocalisation is confirmed in Asᶜad Sulaymān ᶜAbduh, *Muᶜjam al-asmāᵓ al-jughrāfiyah al-maktūbah ᶜalā kharāᵓiṭ al-Mamlakah al-ᶜArabīyah al-Saᶜūdīyah* (Jedda: Maktabat al-Madanī, 1984), p. 58. Al-Ḥarbī's work also includes reference to a Wādī Salam on the road from Fayḍ, southeast of Jabal Shammar, to Medina (*Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 519), while the Arabic vocalisation of this name is provided in ᶜAbduh, *Muᶜjam al-asmāᵓ*, p. 247. Three different entries for Salam are to be found in United States Government, Department of The Interior: Office of Geography, *Arabian Peninsula: Official Standard Names* (Washington: Superintendent of Documents, 1961), p. 368. No reference with Dhū preceding Salam has been located.

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– Lightning such that, whene'er its redness blazes in the sky,
Match it do I, from the passion in my heart, with that which is aflame;

And whene'er its watery droplets pour o'er the meadow,
Enhance them doth [my] ardour with an outpouring of my tears.

How wonderful a night passed in dark concealment,
How dear the companions in al-Bān and al-ʿAlam![112]

How lovely the noble Kaʿbah which, in its black veils,
Hath to the loved ones become manifest!

[127a] And, when thirsty, how good is a draught given
From Zamzam's water which heals each one infirm!

– Places of inspiration and universal emanation
For all mankind, and the nurturing place for the lord of nations.

Who be there in the land of Syria for [consoling] the one strange to it,
One who hath gone there away from kinsfolk, loved ones and household?

Snow hath capped my head with hoariness, just as
You see it hath capped the hairlines of lofty peaks and hills.

Worry, more than all else, exhausts the heart with distress,
And the greatest worry follows upon the greatest high-minded acts.

Gratitude I am not without. For the mount have I a hand
Wherein bits desire the rank of halters.

These have brought close to my sight the courtyards of the exalted and the celebrated,
So that by traveling have I beheld the *imām* of the age.

And these set out traveling [with me] from the Kaʿbah of the open square [in Mecca]
To the protection of the *kaʿbah* of [thy] kindness and generosity.

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112 Al-Bān has not been identified. The wells of al-ʿAlam are cited by Philby (*Saʿudi Arabia*, p. 133) as being located near al-Ḥanākīyah, a town little more than 100 kms. east of Medina. ʿAbduh lists both Jibāl al-ʿAlam and Khashm al-ʿAlam (*Muʿjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 331), while no less than nine listings for Alam appear in U. S. Government, *Arabian Peninsula: Official Standard Names*, p. 25.

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Was the [holy] house aware that I, on separating from it,
Did not but move from one sanctuary to another?

High estate do I descry: it had me imagine,
In my waking state, that it was part of a dream

Where perfections have spread their canopies
O'er the leader of guidance, rule and wisdom:

The judge of Damascus, alone the incomparable one of his age,
Son of the noble master who be the *muftī* of the time;

A father and [his] offspring, both of whose virtue hath spread
A protective shading o'er the parting of days and o'er nations.

Should you espy the splendour of the flash of his blaze,
Thou wouldst behold the lord of the lords of Arabs and others.

Seeing [him] provides us of his attractive qualities
Many times what hearing retains of [his] good traits.

In determination and high-mindedness hath he surpassed old men,
Whilst his sideburns want for maturity. So how much more [would he surpass] those of his own age?

With him hath Syria become an object of pilgrimage, both major and lesser,
As though distinguished by unsacred and sacred alike it be.

Came I from my country seeking him
As did my pen pursue him to praise him.

Betwixt us, if he doth see that it would me make worthy,
There be a relationship [deriving] from the milk of learning, not from blood.

This is the nearest of what service he grants
A foreign visitor who hath come among the servants.

Would that the stars draw nigh unto me that I might string them
Into necklaces of praise such that my words would him satisfy!

But even were I to versify the shining stars,
To the eminent one [so] brilliant in greatness would I not do justice.

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Though my verses be pearls, yet inappropriate would they be
For dedication to that sea so overflowing in generosity and liberality.

But the medium for the like of me in getting to know
The like of him is the essence of fine literature and words.

Thanks be to God if in my travel I have chanced upon
One for whom excellence in values is not hid.

O generous one of good stock whose planting ground is pleasant,
Thou has become perfected. Sneeze, then, through a nose [held]
high with pride.

God hath among mankind in His world [great] favours,
And thou art the best of [God's] favours that are on earth.

So, till the errant pair of heavenly spheres[113] together return, live
Neath the shade of the glory of thy father, the singular outstanding
one!

As you can judge, this is an ode endowed with elegance, gracefulness and integrity in the utmost measures; yet it didn't particularly delight him, because of his inadequate sophistication [127b] in literature and lack of experience with diction among eloquent Arabs. Nothing of consequence came my way from this ode beyond its surviving in the pages of notebooks over the passage of time. The people of Damascus in general I regard as dominated by harshness, rudeness and studied inattentiveness to outsiders. I wasn't on intimate terms with a single one of them.

The harshness of the cold and the accumulation of snowfalls delayed my departure. I had to remain in Damascus for about two months, from which time of residence I have verses that reflect my condition [there]. Among them are:

Perchance my season of plentitude will come round anew;
For in this do I covet God's charity.

113 The translator and annotator is indebted to Professor Emeritus G.M. Wickens, his colleague and former teacher, for the suggestion that al-Nahrawālī has here mistakenly given al-Qārizān, which lacks meaning, for al-Fāriṭān, which carries the sense of two associated wandering stars which from time to time return to visibility.

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If my many sins thou makest me forget, restore to me
My hope, for farreaching is the favour of the one discerning.

For times gone by do I weep, indeed,
In the way that cooing doves do mourn.

I wail as do they; yet while my lachrymal springs
Do overflow, theirs appear not to be.

One of time's adversities is separation – a place
Of desolation, wherein the compatible friend is far removed.

There would meet with me in Damascus a refined man of letters named Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī,[114] the author of considerable poetry of middling quality. He paid tribute to me in an ode, part of which is:

An eye from whose pupil tears pour forth
Due to its destiny, the offender against its possessor.

In gardens similar springs hath the eye,
Such that the torrents in the lands issue from their streaming.

How wonderful be ardent love by nightingales aroused,
When yonder doves on their perches coo!

Woe to my heart in its longing for a gazelle,
Enticed by the beguilement of its eyes!

Syrian in utterance, Babylonian in looks,
Abyssinian in beauty spot, and possessed of the authority of a father's brother.

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114 In his very brief notice on ʿAlī Çelebi b. Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī, al-Ghazzī merely alludes to Shaykh Muḥammad b. Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī as being ʿAlī's brother (*al-Kawākib*, iii, 196). A fuller entry for him appears in Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, iii, 342f. His name is given there as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shihāb al-Dīn (with the agnomen Shams al-Dīn) b. Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī (in origin), al-Dimashqī, and he is described as a celebrated Ḥanafī jurisprudent (*faqīh*) of Damascus, who as well both had a good knowledge of literature and was a poet. His recognized skill in jurisprudence and ability to provide written notes on legal interpretations (*iftāʾ*) made him, in effect, the (Ottoman) Ḥanafī *muftī* of Damascus. His birth and death dates are given as 920/1514-15 and 1004/1595, whereas he is reported by al-Nahrawālī to have told him that he was born in 937/1530-1 (see below, p. 43).

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My fondness of him is of a slender stature which, when in motion,
Doth chastise the bough of the ben tree in its swaying.

Both rising sun and gazelle did he eclipse when he appeared.
O my God, what destruction among His gazelles doth the white antelope inflict!

When he gazed, from his eye and bearing
Did he strike the heart with his arrows and lancehead.

By his comely looks did he the beautiful ones surpass, as
Did he, the pole of his time, transcend the people of the age.

... to the point where al-Ḥimṣī concluded (and it's a lengthy *qaṣīdah*):

All the necks of those of virtues possessed have bowed down
To the exaltedness of his standing and state.

God protect him and, through His keeping
And safety, sustain him through time!

So I sent him a suit of clothing of modest fashion, along with these verses wherein I had in mind the prominent persons of Damascus being exposed:

How fair hast thou spake in rhyme, O cultured one of the people of his time
And the one who surpasses [all] in his age and season!

From the sea of poetry hast thou gems made manifest;
And from their bed hast thou blooms of verse plucked.

[128a] Save for excessive encomium, it is without flaw.
Of his standing have I observed my work falling short.

Wonder did I when thou with the folk of Damascus didst differ
O'er befriending the stranger, and perplexed was I at such being possible.

The truth established, I think that thou art here,
Like me, a stranger far removed from his homeland.

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Shaykh al-Ḥimṣī related to me that his birth year was 937 [1530-1] and that he studied with Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. al-ʿImād,[115] under whose tutelage he read the *Talwīḥ*, the *Muṭawwal*, al-Iṣfahānī's commentary on the *Ṭawāliʿ*,[116] and that by al-Quṭb on the *Shamsīyah*.[117] He as well studied with Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭubulbī al-Maghribī, the scholar of

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115 He was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī, known as Ibn ʿImād al-Dīn, a learnèd Shāfiʿī scholar of Damascus whose proficiency in jurisprudence and knowledge of the Prophetic traditions led him, at different times, to serve as judge and as professor in several colleges. He was born in Damascus in 917/1511 and died there in 971/1563. In 946/1539-40 he sojourned in Istanbul where his learning is said to have amazed local scholars. Further details on his life and education appear in the biographical sketches on him provided by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 94-7; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 182-6; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 363f (which is taken almost word for word from *al-Kawākib*).

116 The *Talwīḥ*, of which the full title is *al-Talwīḥ ilā kashf ḥaqāʾiq al-tanqīḥ*, is a work dealing with the principles of jurisprudence written by Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī (*ca.* 722-91/1322-89), a Shāfiʿī writer on law, theology, rhetoric, metaphysics and logic whose textbooks survived in use into the 20th century. The *Talwīḥ* was completed in 758/1357 and is a commentary on an earlier, Ḥanafī work, the *Tanqīḥ al-uṣūl* by ʿUbayd Allāh Masʿūd al-Maḥbūbī (d. 747/1346-7). The principles of jurisprudence were taught from the *Talwīḥ* in Istanbul *madrasah*s in al-Nahrawālī's time (see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "al-Taftāzānī" (Storey), iv, 606; *ibid.*, 2nd ed., art. "Hanafiyya" (Heffening/Schacht), iii, 163; and Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: the Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), pp. 167n, 169). Al-Taftāzānī was as well the author of the *Muṭawwal*, short for *al-Sharḥ al-Muṭawwal* or *Sharḥ al-talkhīṣ al-muṭawwal*, a work on rhetoric completed in 748/1347 and long used thereafter in the *madrasah*s (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "al-Taftāzānī" (Storey), iv, 605).

The *Ṭawāliʿ*, of which the full title is *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār min maṭāliʿ al-anẓār*, is a work on scholastic theology by the Shāfiʿī ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī (d.*ca.* 685/1286). Al-Iṣfahānī, the author of the commentary on it referred to here, has not been identified. Al-Ghazzī (*al-Kawākib*, i, 187) refers to the *Sharḥ al-ṭawāliʿ* by al-Iṣbahānī but without further details. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Bayḍāwī" (Robson), i, 1129.

On the transmission of knowledge in classical Islamic education and the paramount importance of one's teacher and the texts studied, rather than of the institution of learning, consult the excellent study by Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: a Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: University Press, 1992), especially the chapter on instruction (pp. 21-43).

117 The reference here is evidently to the *Taḥrīr al-qawāʿid al-manṭiqīyah fī sharḥ al-Shamsīyah* by the Shāfiʿī scholar Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (possibly Maḥmūd) b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (694-766/1295-1365). It is a commentary on the *Shamsīyah*, a work on rhetoric composed in 675/1276-7 by Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 693/1294), a student of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). See Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭaşköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿādah wa miṣbāḥ al-siyādah*, 3 vols. (Hyderabad, India, 1911), i, 246; Kātib Çelebī, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1063; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 207; and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vii, 268.

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Tripoli [in Syria] and pupil of our very learnèd master and the last word among scholars, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghūsh al-Tūnisī al-Mālikī,[118] and under his supervision read Ibn Hishām's *al-Mughnī*.[119] Al-Ḥimṣī also told me that, under the highly erudite Aleppo scholar Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanbalī,[120] he studied our master Jāmī's

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118 Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṭubulbī al-Maghribī al-Tūnisī al-Mālikī, noted for his erudition in Arabic and rhetoric, was, despite his *nisbah* indicating North African origin, a resident of Syrian Tripoli (now in Lebanon) where, depending on which biographical source one follows, he died in Ṣafar, 962/1555 or Ṣafar, 972/1564. The *nisbah* al-Ṭubulbī also appears as al-Ṭubulnī, relating to a village in Tunis named Ṭubulnah or Ṭubulnā. Brief biographical accounts of him are to be found in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-Ḥabab*, ii, 262f; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 77; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 368; and Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa āthār al-muṣannifīn*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Ministry of Education, 1951-5), ii, 245. See too Kātib Çelebī, *kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1789, 1790.

Shaykh al-Ṭubulbī's teacher cited here was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Maghūsh al-Tūnisī al-Mālikī, a scholar in the jurisprudence of the Mālikī rite (*madhhab*) who received his education from Mālikī scholars in his native North Africa. He was chief justice (*qāḍī 'l-ʿaskar*) of Tunis for its independent Ḥafṣid ruler, but left for Istanbul where he was honoured and given an allowance by Sultan Süleymān. In 944/1537-8 he sought and received permission to return to his homeland by way of Syria and Egypt. Accompanied by his student al-Ṭubulbī, he paused to teach in Aleppo, Tripoli and Damascus before proceeding to Cairo where he died in 947/1540. For further details on him consult the biographical information provided in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-Ḥabab*, ii, 212-15; Ṭaşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, p. 555; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 15-19; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-nūr al-zakīyah fī ṭabaqāt al-Mālikīyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1349/1930-1), p. 273; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 270f; and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vii, 285.

119 The Ibn Hishām referred to here was Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Naḥwī, a specialist in both Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī jurisprudence who was born in Cairo in 708/1310 and lived there until his death in 761/1360. As his *nisbah* 'al-Naḥwī' indicates, Ibn Hishām was also a skilled grammarian; and his *Mughnī*, of which the full title is *Mughnī al-labīb ʿan kutub al-aʿārīb*, is a far-reaching treatise on Arabic syntax. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn Hishām" (Fleisch), iii, 801f.

120 He was Raḍī al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī al-Tādhifī al-Ḥalabī al-Qādirī, known as Ibn al-Ḥanbalī. A citizen of Aleppo, where he was born in 908/1502 and died in 971/1563, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī was a religious scholar, man of letters, and biographer of considerable stature. A prolific writer, he is reported to have authored more than fifty works, that of greatest lasting importance probably being his *Durr al-ḥabab fī tārīkh aʿyān Ḥalab*. This is a biographical dictionary of the notables of Aleppo, not just of its natives but also of anyone of note who even sojourned there for any time. See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 42f; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 365f; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 245 (which provides titles for forty-eight of his compositions); ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn: tarājim muṣannifī al-kutub al-ʿArabīyah*, 15 vols. in 8 (Damascus: al-Maktabah al-ʿArabīyah, 1957-61), viii, 223; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 483 (368) and suppl. ii, 495; and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 193.

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commentary on the *Kāfiyah*.[121] Reckoned among al-Ḥimṣī's preceptors too are Shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, the Damascus scholar, and Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Çelebi b. Uṭāsī.[122] Al-Ḥimṣī is reported to be the author of a great amount of poetry, including [one poem] incorporating Imruʾ al-Qays' *qaṣīdah* (ode) into the second hemistich [of each line]. From this he recited to me:

How much will my weaning and humiliation through estrangement be?
Gently now, Fāṭima! A little less disdainful.

It is for loving you that I have become more famous than
"Halt, friends both! Let us weep, recalling a love and a lodging."[123]

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121 The references here are to the commentary produced by the great Persian mystical poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Jāmī (817-98/1414-92) on the widely known *al-Kāfiyah*, a concise textbook on Arabic syntax composed in Egypt by Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥājib al-Mālikī (570-646/1174/5-1249). A fuller title, namely *al-Kāfiyah al-ḥājibīyah wa al-jazarīyah*, appears later in the text of the *Riḥlah* (see below, p. 79). The title of Jāmī's commentary is *al-Fawāʾid al-Ḍiyāʾīyah* (named for Jāmī's son) or *al-Fawāʾid al-wāfiyah bi-ḥall mushkilāt al-Kāfiyah*. See Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, i, 367-9 (304), ii, 266f (207), and suppl. i, 531-3; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Ibn al-Ḥādjib" (Fleisch), iii, 781, and "Djāmī" (Huart/Massé), ii, 421f.

122 Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī was Shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ghazzī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī, member of a prominent Damascus family of Shāfiʿī scholars deriving from Ghazzah but established in Damascus. Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad, who was born in Damascus in 862/1458 and died there in 935/1529, was a highly educated scholar, sometime deputy judge, and author of numerous works on subjects ranging from Sufism to language and medicine. His most complete biographical notice is that provided by his grandson, the author of *al-Kawākib*, ii, 3-6, a rich biographical source cited widely here and elsewhere for personages of 10th/16th-century Damascus and Syria. See too Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 209f; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 233; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vii, 284; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, ix, 184f.

The other of al-Ḥimṣī's teachers referred to here was Aḥmad b. Khalīl b. ʿAlī al-Ḥimṣī al-Ḥanafī, known as Ibn al-Uṭāsī, the scion of a family of Turcoman (al-Turkmānī) origin. He was a Ḥanafī jurisprudent (*faqīh*), interpreter of Islamic law (*muftī*), and professor *(mudarris)* in his native Ḥimṣ as well as in Aleppo and Damascus. His birth and death dates are 914-1004/1508-94. For further details on his life and career see Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 280f; and Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat at athar*, i, 184f.

123 The second hemistich in each of these two lines of poetry is taken from lines 19 and 1 respectively of the *qaṣīdah* of Imruʾal-Qays (al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-muʿallaqāt al-sabʿ* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir and Dār Bayrūt, 1963), pp. 7, 15). The English renderings of the half-lines from Imruʾ al-Qays are those of A. J. Arberry, *The Seven odes: The First Chapter in Arabic Literature* (London: Allen and Unwin; New York: MacMillan, 1957), pp. 61, 62.

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Among the Damascus intellectuals I met with is our master the *shaykh al-Islām* (interpreter of Islamic law), Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿImād al-Dīn al-Shāfiʿī, the learnèd scholar of Damascus and its distinguished man of culture, *muftī* (authority on Islamic law), and consummate one.[124] He was professor (*mudarris*) in the Fārisīyah[125] [college, receiving] at that time twenty-seven *ʿuthmānī*s [daily].[126] He told me that he was born in 917 [1511-2] and that he studied under our master Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghūsh al-Tūnisī,[127] under Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Qārī, the [former official] reciter of the Qurʾān (*ḥāfiẓ*) in Damascus and its jurisprudent (*faqīh*), and under the city's former *muftī*, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulṭān al-Ḥanafī (God almighty have mercy on them!). He as well acquired knowledge from Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Kafrsūsī, from Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥimṣī, the pupil of the *shaykh al-Islām* Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, from Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḥamzah, and from Shaykh Abū al-Fatḥ al-Shabastarī (God almighty have mercy on

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124 On this person see above, p. 43, n. 115. Since al-Nahrawālī proceeds to identify various religious scholars of Damascus with their respective legal rite (*madhhab*), it may be useful here to list the four canonical schools of law accepted within Sunnī Islām: 1. Ḥanafī, after Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767), and the official *madhhab* of the Ottoman state; 2. Mālikī, after Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795); 3. Shāfiʿī, after Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820); and 4. Ḥanbalī, after Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). For Ottoman use of the term *shaykh al-Islām*/*şeyḫ ül-Islām* interchangeably with *muftī*/*müftī* see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Shaykh al-Islām – In the Ottoman empire" (Repp), ix, 400a, and the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers (Leiden: Brill, 1953), p. 519. In several of the pages that follow, it is not always clear whether al-Shām refers to the Ottoman province or to the city of Damascus (*cf.* above, p. 35, n. 106). In most instances the reference appears to be to the city, and the translation reflects this.

125 This Shāfiʿī college, known as the Fārisīyah and situated near Bāb al-Ziyādah, was endowed as a charitable foundation (*waqf*) in 808/1405 and named after the Mamlūk *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Fāris (d. 810/1407-8), who was *dawādār* (executive secretary) to Tanam, Mamlūk governor of Damascus (d. 822/1419). The endower's tomb was located nearby. See ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī tārīkh al-madāris*, ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīnīyah, 1988), i, 426-9; and H. Sauvaire, "La Description de Damas," *Journal Asiatique*, 9e série, iii (1894), 434f.

126 For the *ʿuthmānī*/*ʿoṯmānī* unit of currency see above, p. 16, n. 50. Although in the more than twenty-five references in this *Riḥlah* to salaries received by members of the *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars) al-Nahrawālī only once mentions explicitly that such pay was daily, and that in reference to the stipend of the *khaṭīb* (mosque orator) of the grand mosque of Adana (see below, p. 108), compensation in the Ottoman empire was generally calculated on a daily basis, although payment intervals varied. However, when the pious endowment (*waqf*) for this college was established in 808/1405, that is, in Mamlūk times, stipends for its professors and students were calculated on a monthly basis (al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 427).

127 On this person see above, p. 44, n. 118.

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them!).[128] Shaykh ʿĀlāʾ al-Dīn is one of the very outstanding people of present-day Damascus (God prolong his existence!).

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128 On Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Qārī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 945/1538), a *qāḍī*, teacher of jurisprudence, Qurʾān reciter and, at different times, the Shāfiʿī *imām* of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, see Ibn Ṭulūn, *Iʿlām*, p. 269 and n. 2, and the same author's *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 2 vols. (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīyah li'l-taʾlīf wa al-tarjamah 1962-4), i, 332, 336, 338, 386, 387 and ii, 120; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 187, 204, 205 and iii, 49, 119, 126, 182; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 137.

For Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Sulṭān al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī Abū ʿAbdallāh, known as Ibn Sulṭān (870-950/1465-1544), a chronicler, professor of Ḥanafī law, and Ḥanafī *muftī* of Damascus known for his independent judgement, consult al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 12-14; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 283f; Muḥammad Khalīl b. ʿAlī al-Murādī, *ʿArf al-bashām fī man waliya fatwā Dimashq al-Shām*, eds. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Ḥāfiẓ and Riyāḍ ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Murād (Damascus: Maṭbūʿāt Majmaʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabīyah, 1399/1979), pp. 29-31; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 373 (289) and suppl. ii, 400; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vii, 285; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, xi, 254; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 132.

Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kafrsūsī al-Shāfiʿī Abū ʿAbdallāh (d. 932/1526) was recognised as a great Damascus Shāfiʿī scholar and teacher. For features of his life and work see Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, i, 102 and ii, 9; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 54f; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 188; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 232; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, x, 149f; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 9, n. 44.

Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ḥimṣī al-Shāfiʿī (851-934/1447-1528) was a noted Damascus *qāḍī*, mosque orator (*khaṭīb*), scholar of the prophetic Tradition (*muḥaddith*), and chronicler who composed a supplement to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *Inbāʾ al-ghumr fī abnāʾ al-ʿumr*. On him see al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 97; and Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, i, 50, n. 19.

For Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Kinānī Abū al-Faḍl, known as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773-852/1372-1449), the famous Egyptian scholar of the prophetic Tradition, historian and judge, and for his numerous compositions, consult al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, ii, 36-40; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, i, 87-93; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, suppl. ii, 72f; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 173f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī" (F. Rosenthal), iii, 776-8.

Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (850-933/1446-1527), a late Mamlūk specialist in Islamic jurisprudence and its sources, was known principally for his having served as Shāfiʿī interpreter of law (*muftī*) at the Dār al-ʿAdl in Damascus. On him see Ibn Ṭulūn, *Iʿlām*, pp. 210 and 227, n. 2; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 40-6; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 194f; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, ix, 271; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 187.

Although Shaykh Abū al-Fatḥ al-Shāfiʿī's *nisbah* al-Shabastarī appears elsewhere as al-Sabastarī, al-Nahrawālī's rendering of it is corroborated, complete with full vocalisation, in another mid 10th/16th-century work, that of Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 244 and n. 3. Originally from Iran (another of his *nisbah*s is al-Tabrīzī), he was a sojourner in Damascus, where his teaching in the religious sciences and his fine

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Another such eminent one is the very erudite Qurʾānic authority and *muftī*, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. al-ʿAllāmah al-Shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī al-Shāfiʿī. He is of an old cultured family, his father being one of the celebrated religious scholars of Damascus. He has [to his credit] a number of compositions, as did his father (God almighty have mercy on him!).[129] [In fact,] Shaykh Badr al-Dīn's works number more than 150 and include three commentaries on the *Minhāj*, plus a Qurʾānic commentary set to poetry, as well as a versified commentary on the *Alfīyah*. Many religious authorities have criticized him for casting the Qurʾānic commentary in verse, because setting it to meter leads to altering [in the commentary] the glorious Qurʾān from its sublime measured [prose] form. Also by him is a condensed version of the *Qāmūs*.[130] His exalted preceptors in-

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character are reported to have attracted many students. He died of plague in al-Ṣāliḥīyah during 962/1554 and was buried at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn, outside Damascus. See also al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 94; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 331.

129 He was Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī Abū al-Barakāt, the son of Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (see above, p. 45, n. 122) and the father of Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, the author of *al-Kawākib*, which account contains his fullest biographical sketch (iii, 3-10). A member of the al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī family, one of the leading scholarly houses of Damascus (John Voll, "Old ʿUlamāʾ Families and Ottoman Influence in Eighteenth-century Damascus," *American Journal of Arabic Studies*, iii (1975), 50 and n. 7), Shaykh Badr al-Dīn spent most of his life (904-84/1499-1577) in Damascus, where he was highly recognised as a Shāfiʿī jurisprudent (*faqīh*), Qurʾānic commentator (*mufassir*), scholar of the prophetic Tradition (*muḥaddith*), and grammarian (*naḥwī*), etc. His compositions are reported by his son to have exceeded a hundred. For details on his life, education, students, teaching positions, and written works see too Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 436-9; al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, i, 138-44; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 403-6; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālīʿ*, ii, 252; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 254; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 473f (361) and suppl. ii, 488; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vii, 288f; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, xi, 270f.

130 The *Minhāj* referred to here is the *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn*, a work on jurisprudence completed in 669/1270-1 by Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (631-76/1233-77), a prominent Shāfiʿī jurist with an exceptional knowledge of the prophetic Tradition (see Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al ḥabab*, ii, 437, n. 5; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Nawawī" (Heffening), vii, 1041f). The *Alfīyah*, or *al-Khulāṣah al-alfīyah*, is a versified treatise on Arabic grammar by the celebrated Shāfiʿī scholar Abū ʿAbdallāh Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mālik (*ca*. 600-72/1203-74) of Damascus (see Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 437; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn Mālik" (Fleisch), iii, 861f). Without further textual information it is difficult to identify the author and full title of the *Qāmūs*, a word (meaning ocean/dictionary) frequently encountered in book titles relating to dictionaries or other philological studies. However, the reference here is probably to the *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa al-qābūs al-wasīṭ al-jāmiʿ li-mā dhahaba min al-ʿArab shamaṭīṭ*, the summary of a planned sixty-volume Arabic dictionary by the Shāfiʿī scholar Abū al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Shīrāzī al-Fīrūzābādī (729-817/1329-1415). See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Fīrūzābādī" (Fleisch), ii, 926f.

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clude his father as well as the *shaykh al-Islām* (expounder of Islamic law) Zakarīyā [128b] al-Anṣārī and Burhān al-Dīn b. Abī Sharīf.[131] Shaykh Badr al-Dīn is presently an instructor at the Muqaddamīyah [college][132] with [a daily stipend of] twenty *ʿuthmānīs*. He is the showpiece of religious scholars in Damascus, indeed, in the entire world (God almighty prolong his survival and safeguard him!).

Other distinguished people in present-day Damascus include:

Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Falūjī, one of the pupils of our Shaykh al-Maghūsh and of al-Shihāb Aḥmad al-Ramlī.[133] Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn is

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131 As an adolescent, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī accompanied his father to Egypt where for five years he studied under several outstanding scholars of the day, including these two. Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Sunaykī al-Qāhirī al-Azharī al-Shāfiʿī, whose life spanned a century (823-926/1420-1520), and who for twenty years was the Shāfiʿī chief justice in Mamlūk Cairo, was a celebrated jurisprudent, Qurʾānic commentator, and specialist in the prophetic Tradition. For information on his life and numerous compositions consult al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 196-207; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 134-6; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, i, 252f; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqīyah al-jadīdah li-Miṣr al-Qāhirah*, 20 pts. (Būlāq, 1304-6/1886-9), pt. 12, pp. 62f; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 374; Sarkīs, *Muʿjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, pp. 483-8; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 122f (99) and suppl. ii, 117f; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, iii, 80f; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, iv, 182f.

For Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Abū Isḥāq b. Abī Bakr al-Muqaddasī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfiʿī, known as Ibn Abī Sharīf, another long-lived Shāfiʿī jurisprudent, teacher, author and chief justice (*qāḍī al-quḍāh*) of Egypt, who was born in Jerusalem in 836/1433 but passed most of his life in Cairo where he died in 923/1517, see Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols. (repr. Cairo, 1984), v, 161; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, i, 244 and ii, 61; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 102-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 118-20; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, i, 26f; and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 23.

132 There were in Damascus two *madrasah*s with the name al-Muqaddamīyah. The one almost certainly referred to here was located just inside the city's northern Farādīs Gate, adjacent to the grand house of its endower, the *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muqaddam (d. 583/1187), a senior officer in the time of Saladin (d. 589/1193). The other, built either by the same *amīr* or by his son, Fakhr al-Dīn, was located outside the walls of Damascus, on Jabal Qāsiyūn. On these see al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 594-600; al-Murādī, *ʿArf al-bashām*, p. 36, n. 7; and Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iv (1894), 284-6 and 324, n. 198.

133 Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Falūjī, who died in 981/1573-4, was a professor and Shāfiʿī *imām* at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus (al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-aʿyān*, i, 25f; and al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 205 and iii, 130). For Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghūsh see above, p. 44, n. 118. Described as the leading Egyptian Shāfiʿī jurist of his day, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ḥamzah al-Ramlī al-Manūfī al-Anṣārī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 957/1550), a student of Shaykh Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī (see above, n. 131), was a scholar teaching at the al-Azhar Mosque and an interpreter of Islamic law whose opinions (*fatwā*s) were later compiled by his son. On him consult al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii. 119f; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 316f; Brockelmann,

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an influential authority on the canonical readings of the Qurʾān and is, as well, instructor at the Shāmīyah Barrānīyah[134] [college] with [a daily stipend of] twenty *ʿuthmānī*s.

Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyibī,[135] the *imām* (prayer leader) at the Umayyad Mosque for those [of its congregation] adhering to the Shāfiʿī school of law. He is an authority on Qurʾānic readings, religious duties, and arithmetic, as well as an author of both poetry and prose.

Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā b. Mazlaq al-Shāfiʿī al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī,[136] who comes from a long-established learnèd family. He gives

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Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, ii, 416 (319) and suppl. ii, 440; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 117; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, i, 224; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Ramlī" (Zysow), viii, 424f.

134 Although, as its name indicates, the Shāmīyah Barrānīyah *madrasah* was located outside the city's walls, it was one of the major colleges of Damascus and certainly its premier Shāfiʿī institution. Built in 582/1186-7 through an endowment established by Sitt al-Shām (d. 616/1220), the daughter of Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (d. 578/1182-3) and sister of Saladin and Shams al-Dīn Tūrānshāh (d. 574/1178-9), it has also been referred to as the Ḥusāmīyah after Ḥusām al-Dīn, Sitt al-Shām's son who is buried within the *madrasah*. For features of this institution and of its history and architecture consult al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 277-301; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iii (1894), 407-9 (which confirms that Shaykh Aḥmad al-Falūjī was one of its professors); J. Sauvaget, *Les Monuments historiques de Damas* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1932), pp. 56f; and Akram Ḥasan al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq* (Damascus: Dār al-Ṭabbāʿ, 1989), pp. 124-6.

135 He was Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Badr al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ṭayyibī al-Shāfiʿī, an eminent Damascene Shāfiʿī scholar and professor in jurisprudence, grammar and, especially, Qurʾānic recitation. He taught in several of the city's *madrasah*s and at the Umayyad Mosque, where he as well served for long as the Shāfiʿī *imām*; and it is reported that his basic income was derived from formulating documents of pious endowment (*waqf*) for the wealthy Manjak family of *amīr*s in Damascus. While his birth is confirmed as having occurred in 910/1505, on the year of his death accounts differ between 979/1571-2 and 981/1573-4. Concerning him and his several compositions see al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 114-6; al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-aʿyān*, i, 9-15; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 393; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 137f; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 88; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 417 (320); and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, i, 146f.

136 Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā b. al-Mazlaq al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī, who died in 966/1558, was a popular Shāfiʿī preacher at the Umayyad Mosque in his native Damascus. He studied jurisprudence with, among others, Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Qārī (see above, p. 47 and n. 128) and Qāḍī Zakarīyā (see above, p. 49 and n. 131). For brief biographical sketches of him consult al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 135f; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 346f.

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written *fatwā*s (legal opinions)[137] and has a good active knowledge of grammar, rhetoric, scholastic theology, logic and the principles [of Islamic jurisprudence]. He is the instructor at the Atābakīyah[138] [college] with [a daily stipend of] twenty *ʿuthmānī*s.

The *qāḍī* (judge) Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-S-n(-)fī al-Miṣrī, who is deputy judge (*nāʾib*) of the Kubrā Court.[139] He is knowledgeable about Arabic

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137 Here and several places elsewhere in this composition al-Nahrawālī employs the Arabic expression *kataba ʿalā al-futyā* with the sense of "to write legal justifications on *fatwā* pronouncements," or more simply, "to give written *fatwā*s" (since most legal pronouncements (*fatāwā/futyā*) were rendered with little or no writing). Elizabeth Sartain, in her study of the Egyptian Mamlūk polymath al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), describes the situation when she refers to the method al-Suyūṭī followed in rendering *fatwā*s: "In most cases, the problem is stated first, followed by al-Suyūṭī's decision. Then comes the justification for his decision: quotations from the Qurʾān, if it contains any relevant material, quotations from traditions, and the opinions of earlier scholars." See her *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background*, v. i of two vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1975), p. 68. For a clear and concise description of the preparation of a *fatwā* and the pronouncement on it see *ibid.*, p. 53.

138 The pious bequest endowing the constuction and maintenance of the Shāfiʿī al-Atābakīyah *madrasah* in the village of Ṣāliḥīyah, outside Damascus on Mount Qāsiyūn, was created in 640/1242, on the death of its endower, the princess Turkān Khātūn. The latter, who was the sister of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān b. Atābak (d. 607/1211), lord of Mosul, the wife of al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mūsā, lord of Ḥarrān, and the daughter of Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd b. Atābak Zankī b. Āq Sunqur (d. 589/1193), lord of Mosul, had established on the *madrasah*'s site her tomb (*turbah*) in which she was buried. For further details concerning this college and some of its professors consult al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 129-50; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭulūn, *al-Qalāʾid al-jawharīyah fī tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, 2 vols. (Damascus: Maktab al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah, 1949-56), i, 102-21; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iii (1894), 385f; and al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq*, p. 97.

139 Although al-Nahrawālī provides the spelling al-Sh-n(-)fī, the few other accounts mentioning him give al-S-n(-)fī. He was Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-S-n(-)fī al-Miṣrī–later al-Dimashqī–al-Shāfiʿī, a jurisprudent and judge who was born in Egypt in 901/1495-6 and who studied there jurisprudence and related subjects, as well as Arabic, under several of Egypt's distinguished scholars, including Qāḍī Zakarīyā (see above, p. 49 and n. 131). After moving to Damascus, he held the Shāfiʿī deputy judgeship at the Kubrā Court. His death occurred probably in 991/1583, although one account (*al-Kawākib*) gives 978/1571 See Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 245, n. 4; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 193f; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 444.

According to Bakhit (*Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 120f), the Kubrā Court (al-Maḥkamah al-Kubrā), which was second in importance only to that of the Bāb al-Efendī (court of the chief judge), was held at various *madrasah*s, seemingly in rotation. It had a deputy judge (*nāʾib al-qaḍāʾ*) for each of the four Sunnī legal rites (*madhhab*s), with the Ḥanafī incumbent usually being an Ottoman and the other three drawn from the local legal establishment. For the status and role of the Ottoman deputy judge see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "ʿIlmiyye" (Heyd and Kuran), iii, 1153a, "Nāʾib" (Gibb), vii, 915, and "Ḳāḍī – Ottoman Empire" (Káldy-Nagy), iv, 375; and Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, pp. 123f.

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and religious duties, and gives written *fatwās* according to the Shāfiʿī school of law (*madhhab*) (God be pleased with him!).

Shaykh Yūnus al-ʿAythāwī, the mosque orator (*khaṭīb*) at the New Mosque (al-Jāmiʿ al-Jadīd). He has produced a work on Shāfiʿī jurisprudence (*fiqh*) which students of the subject consult regularly.[140] And he has a treatise on the prohibiting of coffee, which his contemporaries rejected. They [even] organized against him a meeting with Sinān Pasha, the governor (*nāʾib*) of Damascus,[141] and pressed Shaykh Yūnus to consider it lawful; but he didn't alter his view and has remained steadfast.

Shaykh Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Nābulusī al-Shāfiʿī. He is a man of refinement, knowledge and unexceptional poetry, and the student of the previously mentioned Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. al- ʿImād.[142]

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140 He was Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr al-ʿAythāwī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (898-976/1496-1569), a noted Damascene jurisprudent, mosque orator (*khaṭīb*), *imām*, and author of several works, mainly on Shāfiʿī jurisprudence. Although the text of the *Riḥlah* shows clearly the spelling al-Ghaythāwī, all other references give al-ʿAythāwī. The title of his composition on jurisprudence alluded to here is *al-Jāmiʿ al-mughnī li-ūlī al-raghabāt fi maʿrifat al-khilāf* (or *al-khilāfiyāt*). The New Mosque, where al-ʿAythāwī was *khaṭīb* and *imām*, is located outside the city's northern wall, in the vicinity of the Faraj and Farādīs gates and on the bank of the Bardā River. An existing mosque with another name became known as the "new (*jadīd*)" mosque following an extensive restoration of it. See al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, ii, 219; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 222f; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 573; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ix, 346; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 416 (320) and suppl. ii, 441; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, xiii, 349f.

141 The Ottoman official referred to here was Ḫādım Sinān Pasha, a former *aġa* (officer) in the palace service who was appointed governor of Damascus province in 952/1545-6 and who remained in that office until 957/1550. According to Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iii, 106 he died in the latter year. It is noted in U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V. Ménage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 212, that the Topkapı Palace Archives contain a register of 197 folios on the inquiry conducted in 956/1549 into this Sinān Pasha's allegedly tyrannical and unjust acts. The title of al-ʿAythāwī's treatise on prohibiting the consumption of coffee by Muslims is given in Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, xiii, 350 as *Qawl ahl al-sunnah fi taḥrīm al-qahwah*. See too al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 222; Ibn Jumʿah, *Kitāb al-bāshāt*, pp. 13f; Laoust, *Gouverneurs de Damas*, p. 184; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 140.

142 Shaykh Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī (937-93/1531-85), an ancestor, possibly the grandfather, of the ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī whose travel memoir (*al-Ḥaqīqah wa al-majāz*) is frequently cited in this study, was an eminent Damascene language and religious authority, theologian, and interpreter of Islamic law (*muftī*) according to the Shāfiʿī rite. He authored a number of scholarly works and is reported to have known Turkish and Persian in addition to Arabic. He taught in several of the *madrasah*s of Damascus and at the Umayyad Mosque. For further details on him see al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-aʿyān*, ii, 61-79; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 130-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 429f; al-Murādī, *ʿArf al-bashām*, p. 41, n. 3; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, 258.

For an earlier reference to Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. al-ʿImād see above, p. 43 and n. 115.

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The Ḥanafī *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars) in Damascus include:

Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-ʿAkkārī al-Turkmānī. He was born in about 890 [1485],[143] and among his preceptors was Ibn Kalaf.[144] Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad issued written *fatwā*s, and when Pīrī Pasha the son of Ramażān, lord of Adana, became governor of Syria, he used to hold the *shaykh* in high regard.[145] Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad had a fund of recallable knowledge of jurisprudence. I had a meeting with him previous to this journey [of mine], when he participated in the annual pilgrimage [to Mecca] in 951 [1545]. He has been resident in Damascus for some time and had charge of the al-ʿĀdilīyah al-Kubrā *madrasah* (college) with [a daily stipend of] forty *ʿuthmānī*s. I met with him during this [present] trip of mine when he was in poor health. He died later this same year, namely 965 [1557-8], after I had left him to go to Turkey (Bilād al-Rūm) (God almighty have mercy on him!).[146] [129a] The eldest of his sons is Shaykh Ibrāhīm who has the agnomen (*laqab*) 'Adham.'

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143 Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿAkkārī al-Turkmānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 965/1558) was a noted teacher of Ḥanafī jurisprudence associated with various Damascus *madrasah*s. He became a *muftī* and, being of the Ḥanafī Islamic legal school (the official Ottoman *madhhab*), was for a time towards the end of his life chief *muftī* of Damascus. The biographical literature alludes to his having earlier experienced adversity at the hands of the tyrannical Ottoman governor, Ḫādım Sinān Pasha (see above, n. 141). On him see Ibn Ṭulūn. *Iʿlām*, p. 279 and n. 3; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 280 and n. 7; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 168; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii. 344; and al-Murādī, *ʿArf al-bashām*, pp. 31f.

144 On Ibn Kalaf, whose (too brief) name is vocalised in the text, and who presumably was a (Damascus?) Ḥanafī scholar of some stature during the first half of the sixteenth century, no biographical references have been identified.

145 Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha, who was a scion of the Anatolian Ramażānoğulları principality (*beglik*) based on Adana, and who remained the loyal Ottoman vassal ruler of that province for much of the 10th/16th century after its absorption into the empire, served twice as Ottoman governor of Damascus, first in 950-2/1543-5, and then in 957-8/1550-1. At the behest of Sultan Süleymān, he was involved militarily in support of Prince Selīm (the future Sultan Selīm II) against his only surviving brother, Bāyezīd, in their contest near Konya in 966/1559 to secure the succession to their aging father. Described as a cultured and refined man with an equal command of Turkish and Persian, Pīrī Pasha died in 976/1568-9, in his nineties. On him see Ibn Jumʿah, *Kitāb al-bāshāt*, pp. 13f; Laoust, *Gouverneurs de Damas*, pp. 183f; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, ii, 44; *Islām Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ramazan-oğulları," (Sümer), ix, 618; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ramaḍān Oghulları," (Babinger), viii, 418f; Faruk Sümer, "Çukur-ova Tarihine dair Araştırmaları," *Tarih Araştırmaları*, i (1963), 56-8; Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 312-14 *passim*; and Cahid Baltacı, *XV-XVI Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri* (Istanbul: Irfan Matbaası, 1976), pp. 340f.

146 Construction of the al-ʿĀdilīyah al-Kubrā *madrasah*, which was erected in the center of Damascus and was judged by one eminent 8th/14th-century observer to have been the city's largest Shāfiʿī college, was commenced by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī in 568/1172-3 and continued by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ayyūb

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Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn b. Sulṭān[147] licensed Ibrāhīm to render formal legal opinions. He possesses sufficient familiarity with the various disciplines and an excellent fund of recallable knowledge in jurisprudence. I have been the recipient of his hospitality and expression of honour (God almighty preserve and make good use of him!).

Shaykh Abū al-Baqāʾ al-Biqāʿī, orator (*khaṭīb*) at the Umayyad Mosque and instructor at the Khātūnīyah [college]. He is one who gives written *fatwās*. Previously, he adhered to the Shāfiʿī school of law (*madhhab*), but then went over to the Ḥanafī rite and became a pupil of Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn b. Sulṭān. He had a sufficient knowledge of the fundamental princiciples [of Islamic jurisprudence], etc., and was an author of poetry and epistolary composition (*inshāʾ*). His birth was in about the year 890 [1485] and he died after my departure for Turkey (God the exalted have mercy on him!).[148]

(d. 615/1218), the first of the Ayyūbids and a brother of Saladin (d. 590/1193). Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil's son, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, completed it in 619/1222-3, endowed it generously, and had it named after his father, whose remains were reburied within it. For these and other details on its foundation, architectural features, history, and celebrated faculty, consult al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 359-67; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iii (1894), 423f; Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas*, (1894) pp. 62f; and al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq*, pp. 141-3.

A precise date provided for Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's death is 8 Rajab, 965/26 April, 1558, nearly two months after al-Nahrawālī's departure from Damascus (al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 168; and al-Murādī, *ʿArf al-bashām*, p. 32). This is a striking example of al-Nahrawālī's having later added information to the original text, once such information became known to him (see above, p. 23, n. 73).

147 For Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn b. Sulṭān see above, p. 47, n. 128. No additional biographical details on Shaykh Ibrāhīm Adham b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-ʿAkkārī have been located.

148 In Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 345, the only account among those consulted here to provide a brief biographical notice on Shaykh Abū al-Baqāʾ al-Biqāʿī [al-Ḥanafī], his name (*ism*) is given as Muḥammad and it is confirmed that he was born in 890/1485 and died in 965/1558 (after al-Nahrawālī's departure from Damascus).

The text fails to indicate in which of the city's two Ḥanafī *madrasah*s with the name al-Khātūnīyah Shaykh al-Biqāʿī taught. One of them, that referred to as al-Khātūnīyah al-Barrānīyah, was located at Ṣanʿāʾ al-Shām, just west of Damascus, and was endowed in 526/1131-2 by Ṣafwat al-Mulk Zumurrud Khātūn (d. 557/1161), the wife of the *atābak* ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (d. 541/1146), father of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 565/1174). The other, known as al-Khātūnīyah al-Jawwānīyah and located in the city's Ḥajar al-Dhahab quarter, was endowed in 570/1174-5 for Khātūn ʿIṣmat al-Dīn bint Muʿīn al-Dīn Anar (d. 581/1185-6), the wife of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī and, later, of Saladin. The accounts consulted report that both of these colleges became neglected and fell into disuse during the early Ottoman period. On them see al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 502-18; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iv (1894), 254-7, 302-6; and al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq*, pp. 185-7.

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Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the Ḥanafī *imām* at the Umayyad Mosque. He issues written *fatwās*, was a student of [the *muftī*] Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn b. Sulṭān, and possesses adequate knowledge in jurisprudence and the canonical readings of the Qurʾān.[149]

Shaykh Shams al-Dīn b. al-Minqār al-Ḥalabī. He is instructor at the Jawharīyah [College] with [a daily stipend of] fifteen *ʿuthmānī*s and is the composer of tender poetry.[150]

Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bahnasī, a pupil of Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn b. Sulṭān. He is qualified to write legal opinions (*fatwās*) and is a person with perceptivity, discernment and seriousness of

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Construction of the Umayyad Mosque, also known as the Great Mosque of Damascus, was begun in 87/706 by order of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd (I) b. ʿAbd al-Malik and required almost his entire caliphate (86-96/705-15) to reach completion. It is still considered Islam's fourth holiest sanctuary (*ḥaram*) after those of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. On it see K.A.C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Muslim Architecture* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1958), pp. 44-81.

149 On Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn b. Sulṭān see above, p. 47, n. 128. None of the biographical sources consulted here includes an entry on Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥanafī; but he is twice referred to by al-Ghazzī (*al-Kawākib*, ii, 47f and iii, 13) as the Ḥanafī *imām* of the Umayyad Mosque, once in reference to the year 946/1539-40.

150 Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. al-Minqār al-Ḥalabī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī, usually referred to as Ibn al-Minqār, is identified as one of the leading *ʿulamāʾ* of Damascus in the late 10th/16th century. According to most accounts, he was born at Aleppo in 931/1524-5 and moved to Damascus, probably in either 957/1550 or 961/1554, where he became a Ḥanafī *muftī*, drafter of pious endowments (*waqf*s), and, at different times, professor in several *madrasah*s. His daily emolument at the Jawharīyah *madrasah*, which professorship he is reported to have gained in 965/1557-8, is confirmed by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (*Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 420) as having been fifteen *dirham ʿUthmānī*. Most accounts suggest that in later life Ibn al-Minqār became boastful and cantankerous. His death occurred in 1005/1597. For further biographical details of his life as well as for selections from his generally well regarded poetry, see *ibid*., ii, 418-25; Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdawī, *al-Ziyārāt bi-Dimashq*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus: al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī bi-Dimashq, 1956), p. 102; Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *Lutf al-samar wa qatf al-thamar*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Shaykh, 2 vols. (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfah wa al-Irshād al-Qawmī, 1981-2), i, 143-51; al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, i, 120-30; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, iv, 115-22; and al-Murādī, *ʿArf al-bashām*, pp. 40-6. His son Aḥmad, also known as Ibn al-Minqār, as well became a poet of note (Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Nafḥat al-rayḥānah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad Ḥilū, 5 vols. and suppl. (Cairo: ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1967-9), i, 360).

For details on the Jawharīyah, a Ḥanafī *madrasah* in Damascus endowed in 676/1277-8 and completed four years later through the patronage of Najm al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAyyāsh al-Tamīmī al-Jawharī (d. 694/1295), a government official in Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk times, see al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 498-501; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iv (1894), 251f; al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq*, pp. 182f; and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 419, ed. note #14.

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purpose in studying. It is expected that he will excell through his pursuit of knowledge and his superior understanding. His birth was in the year 926 [1519-20].[151]

Shaykh Aḥmad b. Uṭāsī al-Turkmānī, who has sufficient knowledge in Qurʾānic commentary and other [religious] sciences. He is a discriminating person of good companionship and an instructor in the Qaṣṣāʿīyah [college][152] at [a daily stipend of] fourteen *ʿuthmānī*s.

And our master the eminent *shaykh* and consummate *muftī*, Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulṭān. His birth was in the year 903 [1497-8], in al-Ṣāliḥīyah [near] Damascus.[153] He

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151 Shaykh Shams (also Najm) al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Rajab al-Bahnasī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī, known as Ibn al-Bahnasī, was a leading Damascus Ḥanafī scholar, *muftī* and *khaṭīb* (orator) at the Umayyad Mosque, whose family was long identified with religious scholarship (Voll, "Old ʿUlamāʾ Families," p. 50, n. 7). Biographical accounts agree that he was born in Ṣafar, 927/January-February, 1521 at Damascus, where he was educated and where, except for two occasions when he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, he lived and died, probably in Jumādā II, 986/August, 1578. From Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn b. Sulṭān (see above, p. 47 and n. 128) he received a practical training in Ḥanafī legal interpretation (*iftāʾ*) through writing up his blind master's pronouncements (*fatwā*s). He at different times held professorships at the Umayyad Mosque and in several of the city's *madrasah*s, and towards the end of his career was receiving the handsome daily stipend of eighty *ʿuthmānī*s. For further biographical information on him consult al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 13-15; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 410f; al-Murādī, *ʿArf al-bashām*, pp. 35-7; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 255; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, xi, 217.

152 On Shaykh [Shams al-Dīn] Aḥmad b. Uṭāsī al-Turkmānī see above, p. 45 and n. 122. The Ḥanafī Qaṣṣāʿīyah *madrasah*, known for the quarter in Damascus where it was located (Ḥārat al-Qaṣṣāʿīn), was erected in 593/1196-7 and endowed by a woman (*khātūn*) named Fāṭimah bint al-Amīr Kūkujā. It was apparently still an active educational institution in the 11th/17th century. For further information on it, particularly as it relates to aspects of its endowment document and to several of its professors, consult al-Nuʿaymī. *al-Dāris*, i, 565-9; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iv (1894), 274f; Muḥammad Adīb Āl Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī, *Kitāb Muntakhabāt al-tawārīkh li-Dimashq* (Damascus: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Ḥadīthah, 1927), p. 956; al-Murādī, *ʿArf al-bashām*, p. 30, n. 1; ʿAbd al-Qādir Badrān, *Munādamat al-aṭlāl wa musāmarat al-khayāl* (Damascus: al-Maktab al-Islāmī li-al-Ṭibāʿah wa al-Nashr, 1960), pp. 194f; and al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq*, p. 210.

153 When al-Nahrawālī was in Damascus in 965/1557-8, much remained of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Yaman Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn b. Sulṭān al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanafī's career as teacher and distinguished *muftī*. He was, at different times, professor in several Ḥanafī *madrasah*s, and from 987/1579 served as chief *muftī* of Damascus until his death early in 997/1589. When late in life he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, he is reported to have been the companion there of the author of this *Riḥlah*, who is referred to as Quṭb al-Dīn al-Hindī. This is the only account to provide a date of birth for Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar. On him see al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 196f; al-Murādī, *ʿArf al-bashām*, pp. 37f, 218; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 133.

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studied the prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth*) under his paternal uncle, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn b. Sulṭān, and under Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ṭulūn al-Ḥanafī, the *imām* of the Salīmīyah [mosque].[154] As well, he studied Arabic with Mullā Muḥibb Allāh al-ʿAjamī; logic and grammar with our master ʿAlī al-Kurdī, the pupil of the Islamic scholar Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (God almighty be pleased with him!); and rhetoric, eloquence, syntax and morphology with our master Abū al-Fatḥ al-Shabastarī and with Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿImād al-Dīn.[155] Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar is

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154 On Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn [Muḥammad] b. Sulṭān, known as Ibn Sulṭān, see above, p. 47 and n. 128.

Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad (called Muḥammad) b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Khumārwayh al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanafī, known as Ibn Ṭulūn, and one of the leading intellectuals of Damascus during the late Mamlūk and early Ottoman periods, was born in *ca.* 880/1475 in the Damascus suburb of al-Ṣāliḥīyah and was buried there in 953/1546. Although in his own time he was best known as a Ḥanafī scholar of the prophetic Tradition, and as a jurisprudent and grammarian, he is remembered most for his numerous historical works, which number about sixty from his total lifetime production of about 750 compositions, small and large and dealing mainly with Ḥanafī *fiqh*. For details on him, his principal compositions, his teachers – including the Egyptian al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) – and his distinguished students, consult, among others, al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 52-4; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 298f; Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, in the introduction to vol. ii (pp. vii-xxi) of his edition of Ibn Ṭulūn's *Mufākahat*; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vii, 184f; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 481-3 (367) and Suppl. ii, 494f; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *al-Muʾarrikhūn al-Dimashqīyūn fī al-ʿahd al-ʿUthmānī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1964), pp. 17f; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ed. Fuʾād Afrām al-Bustānī, 14 vols. (Beirut, 1956-83), art. "Ibn Ṭulūn" (al-Munajjid), iii, 318-20; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, xi, 51f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn Ṭulūn" (Brinner), iii, 957f.

The mosque where Ibn Ṭulūn served as *imām* (and apparently for some time) was the great mosque in al- Ṣāliḥīyah restored and enlarged during 923-4/1517-18 by order of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I and named for him (Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," vii (1896), 256-8, 287 n. 183.)

155 For Shaykhs Abū al-Fatḥ al-Shabastarī and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿImād al-Dīn respectively see above, p. 47 and n. 128, and p. 43 and n. 115. Mullā Muḥibb Allāh al-ʿAjamī has not been identified. The only Shaykh ʿAlī al-Kurdī referred to in the biographical literature for 10th/16th-century Damascus was a well known *ṣūfī* saint (*walī*) who died in 925/1519 (al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 283f).

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Qāhirī al-Shāfiʿī (899-952/1493-1545) was a member of the prominent Cairo al-Bakrī *ṣūfī* family. He excelled in learning to become widely recognised as a jurisprudent (*faqīh*) within the Shāfiʿī legal rite, scholar of prophetic Tradition (*muḥaddith*), Qurʾānic commentator (*mufassir*), *ṣūfī* master, and poet, on all of which topics he produced compositions mentioned by title in several biographical accounts. He taught at the Azhar Mosque in Cairo and was a frequent visitor to Mecca and Medina. For further details on him consult *ibid.*, ii, 194-7; al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, ii, 219 (editor's note); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 292f; Ismāʿīl Ṣasha al-Baghdādī,

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orator (*khaṭīb*) at the Dankuz Mosque and instructor in the Shiblīyah [college], and he was entrusted with the deputy judgeship in the Ṣāliḥīyah quarter [of Damascus].[156] Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad[157] had licensed him to give written *fatwās*. Also among his masters were Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Maʿrūf, professor at the Taqawīyah [college], Shaykh Abū al-Fatḥ al-Mālikī, and Shaykh [129b] Sayf al-Dīn al-ʿAjamī.[158]

Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn, i, 744f; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 438f (334) and suppl. ii, 461f; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vii, 285f; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, xi, 229f.

156 The great mosque of Tenkiz/Dankuz, attractively situated outside the city's walls and by the Bānyās River, was completed during 717-8/1317-8 under the patronage of the grand *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Khalīl Tankiz al-Nāṣirī, Mamlūk viceroy of Syria during whose incumbency of more than a quarter of a century (712-40/1312-40) Damascus is held to have experienced prosperity and a flourishing cultural life. Tenkiz eventually fell from favour and died in prison at Alexandria (741/1340), his remains being returned later for interment in his mausoleum adjacent to this mosque. The latter suffered neglect over time, was converted to a military school, and was finally demolished in the 1950s to make way for commercial development. On it and its founder see Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Thimār al-maqāṣid fī dhikr al-masājid*, ed. Muḥammad Asʿad Ṭalas (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1975), p.202; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Iʿlām*, pp. 12-16; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iii (1894), 313-5, n.126, vi (1895), 232, and vii (1896), 237f; Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas*, pp.68f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Dimashḳ" (Elisséeff), ii, 285a; and al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq*, pp. 316-18.

What is referred to here as the Shiblīyah was the al-Madrasah al-Shiblīyah al-Barrānīyah, a Ḥanafī college erected through an endowment by the eunuch Shibl al-Dawlah Kāfūr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusāmī (d. 623/1226), the slave of Ḥusām al-Dīn Muḥammad b.Lājīn. It was situated at the foot of Jabal Qāsiyūn on the road to al-Ṣāliḥīyah, and adjacent to it were a mausoleum (*turbah*) and *ṣūfī* convent (*khāneqāh*) endowed by the same person. Nothing of it now remains. This eunuch also endowed the al-Madrasah al-Shiblīyah al-Jawwānīyah in the Balāṭah quarter of Damascus, but it appears not to have survived for any substantial period of time. For additional details consult al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 530-7; Badrān, *Munādamat al-aṭlāl*, pp. 176-8; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iv (1894), 263-6; al-Ḥiṣnī, *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 954f; and al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq*, 194-6.

On the office of deputy judgeship (*niyābat al-qaḍāʾ*) see above, p. 51, n. 139.

157 This is the same Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad [b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿAkkārī al-Turkmānī al-Ḥanafī] appearing above, p. 53 and discussed briefly in n. 143.

158 Qāḍī Zayn al-Dīn (also Nūr al-Dīn?) Maʿrūf al-Ṣ-h(-)yūnī al-Shāfiʿī, who was born in 895/1490 and died at Üsküdar, Istanbul, in 971/1564, was recognised both for his learning and for his having abandoned the Shāfiʿī legal rite (*madhhab*) for the Ḥanafī (al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 207-10; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iii (1894), 400; and Badrān, *Munādamat al-aṭlāl*, p.90).

The Shāfiʿī al-Taqawīyah college has been described as having been one of the most splendid *madrasah*s of Damascus. It was erected just inside the city's Farādīs gate in 574/1178 through the endowment of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī al-Dīn ʿUmar

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Included among the Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars) in Damascus is Shaykh Abū al-Fatḥ b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tūnisī (and, later) al-Dimashqī, the city's belletrist (*adīb*) and man of culture and refinement. While having sufficient knowledge in other fields, he has achieved superiority in letters. He is mellifluent, excellent with banter, and charming in eloquence, as well as the author of literary witticisms.[159]

The *ʿulamāʾ* of Damascus within the legal rite (*madhhab*) of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (God be pleased with him!) include Shaykh Mūsā al-Ḥujāwī, a resident of al-Ṣāliḥīyah [quarter] who writes legal interpretations (*fatwās*), and Shaykh Abū Bakr b. al-Dhabbāḥ, the *muftī* of the Ḥanbalīs in Damascus. As well, there is the *qāḍī* (judge) Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Mufliḥ, who belongs to an eminent family recognized for [its] excellence. He was deputy judge (*nāʾib*) in the court of the chief judge (Maḥkamat al-Bāb) and then was dismissed.[160] {*The author's marginal note here adds:* He

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b. Shāhanshāh b. Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (534-87/1139-91), the ruler of Ḥamāh and a nephew of Saladin, for the Shāfiʿī scholar Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (who died in the year in which the college was built). It seems to have fallen into disuse as a college later in the 10th/16th century. For details on its history and faculty see al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, i, 216-25; Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iii (1894), 399f; Badrān, *Munādamat al-aṭlāl*, pp. 90f; al-Ḥiṣnī, *Muntakhabāt*, p. 944; and al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ*, p. 112.

Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn al-ʿAjamī has not been further identified; and for Shaykh Abū al-Fatḥ al-Mālikī see the next note.

159 Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Fatḥ (b. Muḥammad?) b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Aḥmad al-Tūnisī al-Dimashqī al-Mālikī, who was born in 901/1495 and came in his youth to Damascus from his native North Africa, rose to prominence as the city's pre-eminent scholar of the Mālikī *madhhab*. In addition to functioning as *muftī* (interpreter of Islamic law) and *nāʾib* (deputy judge) at the Kubrā Court (al-Maḥkamah al-Kubrā, on which see above, p. 51, n. 139) for his legal rite, he was celebrated for his poetry, eloquent use of language, and knowledge of Arabic. He died in 975/1567. For details on him and for specimens of his poetry see Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 143-55; al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-aʿyān*, i, 249-55; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 21-6; al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, i, 174-87; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 380.

At this point in the text of the *Riḥlah* al-Nahrawālī leaves a blank space, presumably to be filled in later with the names and details of other Mālikī scholars of Damascus, something he never got round to doing.

160 For an earlier reference to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal see above, p. 46, n. 124. Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Najā Mūsā b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Sālim b. ʿĪsā b. Sālim al-Muqaddasī (later al-Ṣāliḥī) al-Ḥanbalī, known as al-Ḥujāwī, was born in Jerusalem but moved to Damascus, where he resided in the nearby community of al-Ṣāliḥīyah and, through recognition of his scholarship, rose to become chief *muftī* for the Ḥanbalīs of Damascus. The *al-Iqnāʿ li-ṭālib al-intifāʿ*, his principal composition and long considered a fundamental treatise on Ḥanbalī jurisprudence, has twice been published. His death occurred in Rabīʿ I, 968/December, 1560. On him and features of his life and career see al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 215f; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 327; Ismāʿīl

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(God the exalted have mercy on him!) died in...[161] His son, the *qāḍī* Akmal al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Mufliḥ, performed the pilgrimage [to Mecca] in 975 [1568] with the Syrian caravan. I met with him and judged him to be distinguished, well educated in the various disciplines, genial, very knowledgeable, an able calligrapher, and one of good fortune. As well, he has an elegant style of formal composition (*inshāʾ*) and good delivery. Still only a young man, it is expected that he (God almighty willing!) will advance in the various (religious) sciences and in leadership.[162]}

Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 481; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, suppl. ii, 447; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, xiii, 34f; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, viii, 267; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "al-Buhūtī" (Laoust), i, 949 and "Ḥanābila" (Laoust), iii, 162.

Shaykh Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm b. Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muqaddasī (later al-Ṣāliḥī al-Dimashqī) al-Ḥanbalī, known as Ibn al-Dhabbāḥ, is reported to have been born in Yemen in 909/1503-4. Having moved to Damascus, apparently after a period of residence in Jerusalem, he taught jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and the prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth*) according to the Ḥanbalī legal rite. Although recognized as a Ḥanbalī *muftī* in Damascus, he was well known for his writings on Islamic mysticism (Sufism) and is said to have transcribed several copies of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah fī asrār al-mālikīyah wa al-mulkīyah* by Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). See al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-aʿyān*, i, 279-82; and al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 93f.

Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm b. Mufliḥ al-Ḥanbalī, a member of the Mufliḥ family, one of the most important religious houses of Damascus (Voll, "Old ʿUlamaʾ Families," p. 50 and n. 7), was born in Rabīʿ II, 903/December, 1497. As well as being a Ḥanbalī judge in Damascus, he was also a professor and recognised Ḥanbalī *muftī* in nearby al-Ṣāliḥīyah. His death occurred in Shaʿbān, 969/April, 1562. On him see al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 90f; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 355.

The Maḥkamat al-Bāb, often referred to simply as al-Bāb, was almost certainly the same institution as the Bāb al-Efendī (court of the chief judge). According to Bakhit's researches (*Ottoman Province of Damscus*, pp. 120f), this was the most important Damascus court, which was presided over by the chief (Ḥanafī) judge and to which one native deputy (*nāʾib*) was attached from each of the other *madhhab*s. On the position of deputy judge (*nāʾib*) see above, p. 51, n. 139.

161 Al-Nahrawālī left a short space here for entering the year of this person's death, once it had been ascertained, but failed to record it.

162 Qāḍī Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm is considered the last among the eminent members of the Damascus Mufliḥ family of Ḥanbalī religious scholars and judges. He was born at Damascus in Jumādā II, 930/April, 1524 and, except for a period of study in Istanbul and terms as Ḥanbalī judge of Baalbek and Sidon in modern-day Lebanon, appears to have passed the rest of his life in the city of his birth, where he died in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 1011/May, 1603. He is reported to have been a companion of the Ḥanafī chief judge of Damascus, Meḥmed Çelebī, a son of the pre-eminent Ottoman *şeyḫ ül-Islām*, the *müftī* Ebū 's-Suʿūd Meḥmed Efendi (see above, p. 37 and n. 110). Al-Nahrawālī's confidence in Qāḍī Akmal al-Dīn's professional and intellectual promise may have been misplaced, since at least one early biographical account (al-Ghazzī, *Lutf al-samar*, i, 73-7) imputes to him mismanagement of charitable bequests and unlawful

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The notables (*aʿyān*) of Damascus include:

Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn al-Salṭī. For a time he had charge of supervising the pious endowments (*awqāf*) for the two holy cities [of Mecca and Medina]. He increased them, and people were thankful for his efforts with these. He was entrusted with the management of, among others, the Umayyad Mosque, an exalted function. His son, Sayyid Maḥmūd,was closely associated with him in his various offices; but he subsequently died, after my return to Mecca, and his father bore it calmly and was resigned to God's will.[163]

The *qāḍī* (judge) Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥamrāwī. He [too] had charge of supervising the pious endowments for the two holy cities. He took pains with them, augmented them, and assigned various things to [members of] a group [of beneficiaries]. He is a person with manly qualities, enthusiasm, and noble-mindedness. His father was a professional witness (*shāhid*) associated with the late *qāḍī* Ibn Farfūr (God the exalted have mercy on him!). The *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥamrāwī

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acquisition of title deeds. On him see too Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, iii, 314-16; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 193; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, viii, 211.

For an earlier comment on the addition to the text of the *Riḥlah* of information postdating al-Nahrawālī's return to Mecca – in this instance by a full decade – see above, p. 23, n. 73.

163 Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Salṭī (also al-Ṣaltī and al-Ṣalṭī) al-Dimashqī, who was born in *ca.* 885/1480-1 into a family of *sayyid*s (descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad), was made *naqīb al-ashrāf* (marshal of the descendants of the Prophet in Damascus) early in 922/1516, on the eve of the Ottoman conquest. He still held this position in 926/1520 but subsequently pursued a career as financial supervisor (*nāẓir*) of, at different times, various colleges and mosques, as well as of the Damascus pious foundations for the two Muslim holy cities, before ultimately becoming general supervisor of the city's *madrasah*s and mosques. His son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, also referred to as Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, was born in 922/1515-16 and followed a career like that of his father. He died in 971/1564, nearly six years after al-Nahrawālī's return to Mecca and his composition of this *Riḥlah*, predeceasing his father who died in 979/1571-2 or 982/1575. Al-Nahrawālī speaks favorably here of al-Salṭī's performance of his duties, whereas others criticise him for his lack of learning, his suspected malappropriation of endowment funds, and his protracted conflicts with others. See Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, ii, 5, 121; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 44, 177f, 205; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 186f.

The *awqāf al-ḥaramayn*, pious endowments in support of the poor or otherwise needy of Mecca and Medina, existed throughout the empire. Overall supervision and administration of these were among the responsibilities of the chief black eunuch (*ḳızlar aġası*) of the imperial palace, who with the annual pilgrimage caravan forwarded to Mecca the income from these endowments. The reference here is to such endowments in the Damascus area, for which there was a local establishment and staff, including a *nāẓir* (superintendent), *kātib* (clerk) and *jābī*s (tax collectors). See *ibid.*, p. 137; Barbir, *Ottoman Rule*, pp. 52f; Jean-Paul Pascual, *Damas*, i, 72, 76, 84; and Midhat Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1986), p. 138.

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passed away (God almighty be merciful to him!) in the year 976 [1568-9].[164]

Our master the *aġa* al-Tabrīzī. He mixes freely with the *amīr*s, *nāʾib*s (deputy judges) and *qāḍī*s of Damascus and is one having noble-mindedness, generosity and fairness. A brother of his named Mullā ʿAbdallāh produces excellent calligraphy presently without equal in its class in the

164 The life of the *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣafadī (and later) al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī, generally known as al-Ḥamrāwī, largely paralleled those of Tāj al-Dīn al-Salṭī and his son Maḥmūd (see previous note), with whom he was in conflict. He was popular for his qualities of generosity and probity, seemingly in contrast with the Salṭīs. See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 43f, 177, 205; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 382f; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 187. It is noteworthy that the date given here for al-Ḥamrāwī's death shows that al-Nahrawālī was still adding to this work more than a decade after his return to Mecca from Istanbul (see above, p. 23, n. 73).

The Ibn Farfūr referred to here was Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī, known as Ibn (al-)Farfūr, member of a distinguished family of jurisprudents and judges. Born in 894 or 895/1489 or 1490, he received his education with the principal scholars of Damascus and Cairo before succeeding his father as the Mamlūk Shāfiʿī chief justice (*qāḍī al-quḍāh*) of Damascus. Dismissed at the time of the Ottoman conquest, he was in Ṣafar, 924/ February, 1518 reappointed to the by then sole but jurisdictionally expanded chief judgeship of Damascus by Sultan Selīm personally, who had discontinued the Mamlūk policy of having a chief judgeship for each of the four legal rites (*madhhab*) in favour of just one representing the official Ottoman Ḥanafī *madhhab*. Ibn al-Farfūr is generally held to have gone over to the Ḥanafī rite, although the sources are contradictory on this; he in any case ended his life as a Shāfiʿī. He filled this position several times and as well served as *qāḍī* of Aleppo. He seems to have aroused the ire ʿĪsā Pasha, Ottoman governor of Damascus (see above, p. 15, n. 49), although the sources give no details beyond mentioning that his death occurred in 937/1531 while he was under investigation and in detention in the Damascus citadel. He was in any case held to have been corrupt and to have purloined charitable funds and made illegal confiscations to build upon his considerable personal fortune. On him see Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat* and *Iʿlām*, numerous references *passim*; *idem*, *al-Thaghr al-bassām*, p. 309; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 135-8; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 168f, ii, 22-4; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, viii, 224f; Laoust (Ibn Jumʿah), *Gouverneurs de Damas*, pp. 171-9; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 245; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, ix, 20; Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 127; and Rafeq, *Province of Damascus*, p. 45.

On the Ottoman role of a *shāhid*, a permanent career witness with some knowledge of Islamic law and one recognised as being a person of good moral character, and who was, as in this instance, often associated with a particular judge in his capacity of professional witness to both oral testimony and document preparation (including pious endowments (*awqāf*)), see Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 124 and Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, p. 130, n. 7 and p. 175.

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Arab lands, despite his having become withrawn from people and a recluse in al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[165]

[130a] Among the masters (*mashāyikh)* of the mystical brotherhoods in Damascus are:

Shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn b. Ḥusayn b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Jinnānī al-Wafāʾī of the order of our lord Abū al-Wafāʾ al-Kurdī. One of their distinguishing traits is that, whosoever of them dies and others wish to take his place, they proceed to the tomb of the great [founding] *shaykh*, where the one for whom the door by itself opens is awarded the succession. Other traits of theirs are the healing of the mad and, for all those who wear their *ṣūfī* cloak (*khirqah)* and who are their pupils, the grasping of snakes without harm. Shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn is a resident of al-Qubaybāt, outside Damascus. He is a person of great magnanimity, fine character, and affection, who has made me his guest and honoured and blessed me (God the exalted preserve him!).[166]

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165 None of the biographies of the al-Tabrīzīs of Damascus appearing in the accounts consulted accord in time or detail with the limited data yielded here on these two brothers. Al-Nahrawālī introduces each of them as *mawlā/mullā* (master), suggesting elevated status in civil society and culture, whereas one of them was an *aġa* (officer), normally a term associated with Ottoman military society. There is the possibility of their having been related to the *amīr* Asad (al-Dīn) b. Ṣunʿ Allāh al-Tabrīzī (d. 936/1529), superintendent of the Nūrī hospital (*bīmāristān*) in Damascus (al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 121). On the *nāʾib* (deputy judge) see above, p. 51, n. 139.

166 The Islamic *ṣūfī* order (*ṭarīqah*) referred to here is not that of the Wafāʾīyah, an Egyptian-centered sub-order of the Shādhilīyah, but rather that of the Saʿdīyah (also Jabāwīyah/Jabāʾīyah), a Shāfiʿī family-led (by the Banū Saʿd al-Dīn) order claiming special powers to cure madness. It is usually considered a sub-order of the Rifāʿīyah, but not all accounts agree on this. Founded in the 7th/13th or 8th/14th century in the Ḥawrān village of Jabā (also Jibā) by one Saʿd al-Dīn al-Shaybānī al-Jabāʾī, from whom the order derives its name, it was moved to Bayt Jinn (hence the *nisbah* al-Jinnānī) on Mt. Hermon (Jabal al-Shaykh) and, probably towards the end of the 9th/15th century, to Damascus where the order established a Friday chanting circle (*ḥalqah*) in the Umayyad Mosque and a centre (*zāwiyah*) in the southern Damascus quarter of al-Qubaybāt, outside the old city walls and originally a separate village. The erecting of the *zāwiyah* is reported as having been endowed by Sultan Selīm I when he was in Damascus at the time of the Ottoman conquest, thus possibly accounting for the order's subsequent history of close relations with local Ottoman officials. The person referred to here was Shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Jabāwī (also al-Jabāʾī) al-Jinnānī al-Dimashqī al-Qubaybātī al-Shāfiʿī al-Wafāʾī (although only al-Nahrawālī includes the last component), who inherited the order's leadership (*mashyakhah*) following his brother Aḥmad's death in 963/1556 and held it until his own death in 986/1578 when he was succeeded by two of his sons in succession. The Abū al-Wafāʾ al-Kurdī referred to here has not been identified , but the name Abū al-Wafāʾ was a popular *kunyah* (agnomen) in the names of the order's leaders, especially after the 10th/16th century. The order later spread to Egypt, Turkey and the Balkans where it became identified with extreme practices. For information on features of the history, traits and practices of the Saʿdīyah, as well as on

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Shaykh Muḥammad b. Qayṣar, one of the successors of Shaykh al-Malik al-Sayyid ᶜAlī b. Maymūn (God be pleased with him!). He is noted for (his) intuitive knowledge of astrological forecasting (*al-zāyirjah*) and of divine luminous radiance (*al-lumᶜah al-nūrānīyah*) and the like. I met with him and he blessed me. He is radiant in his aging countenance and very affable (God almighty preserve him!).[167]

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its leaders and some of its distinguished followers in the 10th/16th century, see al-Nuᶜaymī, *al-Dāris*, ii, 221f; al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-aᶜyān*, i, 40-3, 305f; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 174f, 185, ii, 103f, iii, 56f, and *Lutf al-samar*, i, 56-61; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, i, 33-5, ii, 208, iv, 160f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "Saᶜdiyya" (Margoliouth), iv, 42f, and 2nd ed., art. "Saᶜdiyya" (von Schlegell), viii, 728-32; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 73, n. 2; and Éric Geoffroy, *Le Sufisme en Égypte et en Syrie* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1995), pp. 224f.

167 Abū al-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Maymūn b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAlī b. Maymūn al-Hāshimī al-Qurashī al-Maghribī al-Ghumārī al-Fāsī al-Mālikī was a famous Moroccan propagator of moderate Sufism in early 10th/16th century Syria. Born near Fez in *ca.* 854/1450, in the same mountainous Ghumāra district that was the birthplace of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), the founder of the Shādhilīyah *ṣūfī* order, ᶜAlī trained and served as a Mālikī judge before moving to Tunisia where he was converted to the Madyanīyah line of the Shādhilīyah order. He arrived in *ca.* 901/1495-6 at Beirut where he met with Muḥammad b. ᶜArrāq (d. 933/1526), his future disciple and successor (*khalīfah*). It was only after his return in 911/1505 from a six-year residence at Bursa, in Turkey, that his *ṣūfī* teachings gained wide popularity in Syria. He resided in Ṣāliḥīyah, a village adjacent to Damascus, but after experiencing a *ṣūfī* contraction (*qabṭ*) from excessive public exposure, he retreated to a hamlet near Beirut where shortly he died, in 917/1511. Under the leadership of his successor, Muḥammad b. ᶜArrāq, the group came to be known as the Khawāṭirīyah or ᶜArrāqīyah. ᶜAlī b. Maymūn is regareded as having breathed new spirit into a stagnant Syrian Sufism. He authored numerous compositions, the titles of many of which appear in some biographical accounts of him. On him consult Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, i, 312, 313, 359; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 951-61; Ṭaşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqā'iq*, p. 352; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 271-8; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 81-4; Ismāᶜīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ᶜārifīn*, i, 741; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 152 (124) and suppl. ii, 153; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, v, 180; Kaḥḥālah, *Muᶜjam al-muᵓallifīn*, vii, 251f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "ᶜAlī b. Maymūn" (Brockelmann), i, 388; Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 89f, 278; and Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, pp. 218-22. For a modern study of ᶜAlī b. Maymūn, one moreover which assembles many of his biographical details, see Michael Winter, "Sheikh ᶜAlī ibn Maymūn and Syrian Sufism in the Sixteenth Century," *Israel Oriental Studies*, vii (1977), 281-308.

Recognition of ᶜAlī b. Maymūn's successors seems to end in the sources with Muḥammad b. ᶜArrāq's son ᶜAlī, who died in 963/1556. Thus, Muḥammad b. Qayṣar who, it appears, led the organization in 965/1557-8 and obviously made an impression on al-Nahrawālī, receives few references. His presence at Damascus in 948/1541 and 967/1560 is noted, in the latter instance for his attendance at the grand opening of the Sulaymānīyah convent, mosque and *madrasah* complex (al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 245 and iii, 157); and he is reported to have been responsible for the erecting of a building over the supposed tomb of the prophet Mūsā in Damascus (al-ᶜAdawī, *al-Ziyārāt*, p. 96).

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Shaykh Muḥammad b. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṣamādī, a resident in the Shāghūrīyah [quarter]. Their [order's] ritual practice is to beat drums. Shaykh Muḥammad has a teaching circle (*ḥalqah*) at the Umayyad Mosque, and Damascus grandees and *ʿulamāʾ* alike give credence to him.[168]

Shaykh Ḥasan b. Saʿd al-Dīn, one of the descendants of our lord Saʿd b.ʿUbādah.[169] His mother belongs to Shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn al-Jinnānī's [*ṣūfī*]

On *zāyirjah* see R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1881), i, 577. It is possible that the terms *al-zāyirjah* and *al-lumʿah al-nūrānīyah* here refer to reduced book titles, perhaps to *Zāyirjat al-shuhūr fī iẓhār al-umūr* by Shams al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-Khazrajī al-Sabtī (d. *ca.* 698/1298-9) (Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, suppl. i, 909) and to *al-Lumʿah al-nūrānīyah fī ḥall mushkilāt al-Shajarah al-Nuʿmānīyah* by Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Qūnawī (d.672/1263) (*Ibid.*, suppl. i, 799, 807).

168 Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Ṣamādī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī al-Qādirī was born in 911/1505-6 and, on the death of his father in 948/1541, inherited leadership of the hereditary family-led Ṣamādīyah (also Ṣimādīyah/Ṣumādīyah) branch of the Qādirīyah *ṣūfī* order, which in his father's time was relocated to Damascus from the community of Ṣamād in the Ḥawrān region. It was his father too who, in an audience with Sultan Selīm I in Istanbul, succeeded in securing royal support for the order, whose founder, Shaykh Sālim, was a student of the celebrated *ṣūfī shaykh* ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī (d. 561/1166) (see below, p. 86 n. 219). The order's first *zāwiyah* (centre) in Damascus was erected in the then satelite community of al-Ṣāliḥīyah in 926-7/1520; but its principal focus of activities shifted to a new *zāwiyah* built in the Shāghūr (sometimes, as here, Shāghūrīyah) quarter in 932/1525-6. For biographical details on Shaykh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl, who died in 994/1586 and was succeeded by his son Muslim (d. 1015/1606), as well as for further information on the Ṣamādīs, their practices, including the use of drums during their ritual chant (*dhikr*), and the numerous eminent Damascene dignitaries associated with them, consult Ibn Ṭulūn, *al-Qalāʾid*, i, 210; al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, ii, 219-21; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 31f and iii, 16-20; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 275f, 435f; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, iv, 363; Badrān, *Munādamat al-aṭlāl*, 381-3; Voll, "Old ʿUlamāʾ Families," p. 50; Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp.100, 183f; Pascual, *Damas*, i, 18 (table); and Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, pp. 227f. A modern study of the order is that by F. Meier, "Die Ṣumādiyya, ein Zweigorden der Qādiriyya in Damaskus," in *Festschrift H. R. Roemer* (Beyrouth, 1979), pp. 445-70.

The Umayyad Mosque, also known as the Great Mosque of Damascus, was erected in the 1st/8th century under the patronage of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd (*r.* 86-96/705-15) and is still regarded as the fourth holiest sanctuary of Islam, after those of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.

169 The near total absence of any reference to Shaykh Ḥasan b. Saʿd al-Dīn in the biographical literature consulted here suggests his relative obscurity. It is likely, but not certain, that he is the Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Saʿdī al-Shāghūrī al-Shāfiʿī, known as Ḥasan al-Saʿdī, for whom a very brief biographical notice appears in al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 139. According to this, his death occurred in 988/1580-1.

On Saʿd b. ʿUbādah, an important early convert to Islam at Medina who did much to support and promote the Prophet Muḥammad there, consult the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Saʿd b. ʿUbādah" (Montgomery Watt), viii, 698.

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group. He is a refined person to whom people give credence. A dweller in the Shāghūrīyah [quarter], Shaykh Ḥasan has his own *zāwiyah* (convent) and *ṣūfī* students (*fuqarāʾ*), and he gives a course of study at the Ummayad Mosque.[170]

As well, there are Shaykh al-Qaṭanānī, Shaykh Yūnus al-Zabbāl, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Shaykh Mubārak, and Shaykh Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Qārī. The latter is a distinguished person living in the Bāb al-Salāmah [district]. He is endowed with noble-mindedness and an agreeable nature. His father was well known for spiritual nearness to God and mystical illumination, as is he. People have faith in Shaykh Aḥmad.[171]

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170 Shaykh Ḥasan b. Saʿd al-Dīn's biographical entry in al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 139 confirms his residency in the Shāghūr/Shāghūrīyah quarter of Damascus and notes that his lineage is said to be traceable to Shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn al-Jabāwī (also al-Jinnānī), presumably the person held to have been the founder of the Saʿdīyah/Jabāwīyah *ṣūfī* order (see above, p. 63 and n. 166). For a particularly useful discussion of the *ṣūfī zāwiyah* see Berkey, *Transmission*, p. 58.

171 The first of the four individuals mentioned here remains unidentified, although the vocalisation al-Qaṭanānī is that adopted by both Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, p. 279 and Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, p. 280 in reference to other persons with the same attributive agnomen (*nisbah*). The latter account refers to the Qaṭanānīyah sub-order of the Rifāʿīyah *ṣūfī*s founded by or associated with one Ḥasan al-Rāʿī al-Qaṭanānī al-Dimashqī. This at least suggests that the person referred to here was the *shaykh* of this brotherhood at the time of al-Nahrawālī's visit. A brief description of the Qaṭanānīyah *zāwiyah* in al-Ṣāliḥīyah and of its founding is provided in Ibn Ṭulūn, *al-Qalāʾid*, p. 208.

For a biographical notice on Yūnus al-Zabbāl consult al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 223. From this reference it is learned that this individual, who died in 977/1569-70, rose from the humble status of a gatherer of pigeon manure in Damascus to that of one of the city's pre-eminent *ṣūfī* spiritual guides with his own regular gathering of followers and circle for spiritual exercise (*dhikr*).

The third figure mentioned here, namely Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārak b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qābūnī, whose celebrated *ṣūfī* father (d. 944/1537) of probable Abyssinian origin settled in a *zāwiyah* built for him in the village of al-Qābūn, close by Damascus, was recognised for his delicate voice, knowledge of music, and masterful recitation of the Qurʾān. He was also one of the city's pre-eminent muezzins. For further details on him, his father, and the *zāwiyah* founded by the latter in al-Ṣāliḥīyah see Ibn Ṭulūn, *al-Qalāʾid*, p. 209; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 245f and iii, 74; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 259f; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 7, n. 30.

Although the *laqab* al-Qārī attached by al-Nahrawālī to the name of the fourth person referred to here is unmistakably clear, it may be a slip for al-Qādirī, both since Aḥmad and his father Sulaymān each were leaders of the small band of the Qādirīyah *ṣūfī* brotherhood in Damascus, and since other sources apply the *laqab* al-Qādirī to their names. This very popular figure lived most of his life (920s-1005/1597) in a restored Damascus *madrasah* and convened spiritual exercise circles (*ḥalqat al-dhikr*) at the Umayyad Mosque on Fridays and at his *madrasah* on Tuesdays. On him see al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-aʿyān*, i, 36-9; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, i, 207f; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 185.

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The prominent merchants of Damascus are Khawājā Aḥmad al-Qārī, Khawājā Amīn al-Dīn b. Amīn al-Dīn, Ibn Baṭūḥ, Ibn al-Kurkīyah, the sons of ʿAqūr, and Khawājā Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ.[172]

[130b] We remained in Damascus until Wednesday, the 12th of Rabīʿ II, 965, the duration of our residence [there] being about two months.[173] The total amount of expenses, from the day of our departure from illustrious Medina to that of our exit from Damascus, including the hire of mules as far as Turkey (Bilād al-Rūm), provisions, outer apparel, broadcloth, clothing, the hire of servants, etc., was, in new gold, 497 gold pieces [*dīnārs*].[174] This amount was exclusive of what I spent [on the journey] from Mecca to the day of leaving exalted Medina.[175]

DAMASCUS TO ALEPPO

On Wednesday, the 12th of Rabīʿ II,[176] we took our leave of Damascus. Our friend, Meḥmed Çelebi, clerk for the pious foundations of the two holy cities (*awqāf al-ḥaramayn*), went forth to bid us farewell (God the

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172 Eminent men of commerce, usually referred to as *khawājā*s, were not, it seems, as popular among biographers as were members of the religious class, even though such people of wealth were often knowledgeable participants and generous patrons in matters concerning the faith. With one possible exception, none of the Damscene merchants mentioned by al-Nahrawālī appears to have earned a biographical notice in the published sources consulted here, and at best only passing and usually imprecise references appear in other works. For Ibn Baṭūḥ, the sons (*awlād*) of ʿAqūr, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ (the spellings of the first two of which are conjectural) no references have been located. The al-Qārī was an important religious family which by the 12th/18th century had become very wealthy (Voll, "Old ʿUlamāʾ Families," p. 51). The member of it referred to here was probably Khawājā Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Qārī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 989/1581), whose brief entry in al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 109 refers only to his religious knowledge and piety. The Khawājā Amīn al-Dīn b. Amīn al-Dīn cited here could be the same person as or a close relative of the "ebn Amîn ed-dîn le khawādja" mentioned by Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," iii (1894), 441, and of the "Ḫawāǧā Amīn al-Dīn b. al-ʿAnbārī" appearing in Pascual. *Damas*, i, 68 and n. 2. The Ibn al-Kurkīyah (spelling approximate) referred to was almost certainly a descendant, possibly even a son, of the Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-Kurkīyah al-Ḥarīrī whose shop was robbed of much cloth in 918/1513 and who was murdered in 922/1516 (Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, i, 374 and ii, 22).

173 12 Rabīʿ II, 965 = Tuesday, 1 February, 1558. Once again, an-Nahrawālī's day of the week is one day out of line with the calculated day of the month (see above, p. 2, n. 7). He had arrived in Damascus on 15 Ṣafar/7 December, 1557 (see above, p. 35).

174 For 'new gold (*dhahab jadīd*)' and '*dīnārs* of new gold (*dīnār dhahab jadīd*)' see above, p. 3, n. 10.

175 The expenses of the first leg of the journey were 341 *dīnārs* of new gold and twenty-five *muḥallaqs* (see above, p. 10).

176 See above, n. 173.

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exalted remember him with good deeds, bless him and multiply his favour!). He is one endowed with tremendous manly qualities (God almighty bless him instead of us!) and much benevolence. From the Damascus purse of money (*ṣarr*) [for disbursement from the endowments benefiting the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina] he assigned me more than a hundred gold pieces (God be with him and favour him!).[177]

Thus, after taking leave of the bustling life of Damascus, we departed and continued as far as Ḫan Lāçīn,[178] where we dismounted. From here, at daybreak on Thursday, the 13th of Rabīᶜ II, we set out, passing by al-

177 Meḥmed Çelebī, who seems to have befriended al-Nahrawālī in Damascus, has not been identified further. Since he was clerk of the *awqāf al-ḥaramayn* (on which see above, p. 61, n. 163), he was evidently in a position to secure for al-Nahrawālī, a member of the religious establishment and a citizen of Mecca, some money from the Damascus pious endowments in support of the two Muslim holy cities. On the beneficiaries of these *awqāf* see Barbir, *Ottoman Rule*, pp. 126f. Of the three 16th-century clerks of the Damascus *awqāf al-ḥaramayn* identified by Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 137, two, including this individual, were Ottomans and the other was a native of Damascus.

It seems likely that the Arabic word *ṣarr* is used here by al-Nahrawālī to denote a "purse" of (a usually substantial sum of) money designated for specific disbursement, in this case the annual yields of the Damascus *awqāf al-ḥaramayn* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 826). The Ottoman sultan's *ṣurrah/ṣürre*, both an administrative and financial term which "...defined all expenses of the Pilgrimage caravan, payments to the Bedouin tribes for its safe-conduct, payments to the Sharīf of Mecca, as well as payments to the people connected with the services in religious institutions in Mecca and Medina" (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ṣurra" (Heidemann), ix, 894), took on profile as an important Ottoman institution somewhat later than the period referred to here.

178 It appears that Ḫan (Khān) Lāçīn, which has been identified with the modern Khān ᶜAyyāsh, was a caravansary (*ḫan*) separate from any surrounding community (Jean Sauvaget, *La Poste aux chevaux dans l'Empire des Mamelouks* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1941), p. 89; *idem*, "Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge," *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 1-3; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Mardj Rāhiṭ" (Elisséeff), vi, 544). It is reported to have been erected in 690/1291 under the patronage of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāçīn al-Manṣūrī, a generous endower who was the powerful Mamlūk governor of Damascus throughout the 1280s and who later became sultan (696-8/1296-9). On him see *ibid.*, art. "Lādjīn" (Holt), v, 594f; P. M. Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn (696-8/1296-9)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxxvi (1973), 521-32; and Shah Morad Elham, *Kitbuġā und Lāğīn* (Freiburg: Schwarz, 1977). This place appears twice in the text here, both as Lājīn and as Lāçīn, the latter spelling reflecting its natural Turkish pronunciation. Al-Nahrawālī's route to Aleppo generally followed a more easterly course than that taken by most others. Nowhere in the text is there any suggestion that this small caravan accompanied any other group(s) on this leg of the journey.

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Quṭayfah,[179] Ḫan al-M-ᶜ(-)zā,[180] and other inns (*ḫanāt*). There was intense cold and much snow. In the afternoon we arrived at al-Qasṭal,[181] where we intended to halt but could not for want of animal fodder there. So

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179 13 Rabīᶜ II, 965 = Wednesday, 2 February, 1558. Al-Quṭayfah, a modern-day Syrian city (Ṭalās, *al-Muᶜjam*, iv, 581f), was in the 10th/16th century but a village situated on a rich agricultural plain 40 kms. northeast of Damascus. In Mamlūk times it was the second post (*barīd*) station from Damascus on the road to Aleppo (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 244). Late 10th/16th-century Ottoman documents report that it had been in ruins since the time of the conquest (Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 187f), which probably accounts for al-Nahrawālī's having by-passed it. Some time shortly after his appointment to the governorship of Damascus in 994/1586, the fabulously rich Ḳoca Sinān Pasha, several times Ottoman grand vizier, and remembered as the (re-)conqueror of Yemen (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Sinān Pasha, Khodja" (Babinger/David), ix, 631f), endowed the erecting there of a large and handsome caravansary (*ḫan*). This structure, which survives, also incorporated a fort, mosque, dervish hospice (*takīyah*) and pool, as well as baths, stables and kitchens, all of these apparently part of Sinān Pasha's endowment. Architectural features of it have been described and illustrated by Jean Sauvaget, "Les Caravansérails syrien du ḥadjdj de Constantinople," *Ars Islamica*, iv (1937), 115-20 (who also examined and reported on the earlier, Ayyūbid, *ḫan* there in *ibid*., vi (1939), 49). Later pilgrims and travelers customarily called at al-Quṭayfah, and some of them, including Kibrīt in 1039/1629-30 (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 210), Ḥibrī in 1041/1632 (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 122), Evliyā Çelebi in 1058/1648 (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 66f), al-Khiyārī in 1080/1669 (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 177f), Meḥmed Edīb in 1089/1679 (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 111), and Ali Bey in 1803-7 (*Travels*, ii, 283), left written observations on this *ḫan* and its amenities. See too Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 181, 221.

180 Although al-Nahrawālī's text shows the name of this *ḫan* as ending unmistakably with the Arabic letter *alif*, it is clearly the same structure as the Khān al-M-ᶜ(-)z referred to in an editorial note to al-Khiyārī's *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 178, n. 750 as being one of two abandoned *ḫan*s on the road northbound from al-Quṭayfah and as dating from the Mamlūk era. Khān al-M-ᶜ(-)zah is, along with nearby Khān al-ᶜArūs, identifed as a former post station by Aḥmad Waṣfī Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah fī baᶜḍ al-bilād al-Shāmīyah*, 2nd ed. (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), p. 382. Some detailed modern maps show a Khān al-Māᶜiz(ah) (Fr. Khâne el Maaze) located about two miles north of al-Quṭayfah.

181 The present-day village of al-Qasṭal appears on most detailed maps and is located seventy-one kms. northeast of Damascus on the road to Ḥimṣ. According to Bakhit's researches based on 10th/16th and early 11th/17th-century Ottoman documents, it was a village with a fort and twenty-five households exempted from extraordinary taxes in return for guarding the road in an area sometimes troubled by beduin marauding. In 971/1563 it is reported to have had a watch-tower manned by fifteen sentries (*Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 96, 100f, 218f). Al-Khiyārī referred to this place as al-Jisr, which the editor of his memoir has identified as al-Qasṭal (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 178 and n. 751). On the modern community of al-Qasṭal see Ṭalās, *al-Muᶜjam*, iv, 555; and for its location relative to other places and as a point on several routes in Mamlūk times consult Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 244, n. 11. An instance of bloody beduin depredations on a caravan near there in 934/1527-8 is cited in Laoust, *Gouverneurs de Damas*, p. 179.

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we pushed on until, shortly before the evening prayer, we reached al-Nabk. The animals had come to a standstill, the men were exhausted, and the baggage was soaked. Encountering extremely cold weather, we lodged in a hostal there.[182] This spot is well known for being very cold: Ibn Maṭrūḥ says of it in a *qaṣīdah* (ode):

Whene'er in the mid-day heat he to me his spittle doth give to drink,
'Twixt Qārah and al-Nabk am I, do I think.

It is one of the finest *qaṣīdah*s, and it begins as follows:

Beware the Indian swords among the chattels of the Turk.
Ne'er be they drawn save to announce destruction.

Beware those shapely figures, for
They beyond doubt be but spears prepared for piercing.

If against swords and spears be thou brave, [then advance];

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182 Al-Nabk, today a town on the road to Ḥimṣ about eighty kms. from Damascus, was without exception referred to in the accounts consulted here as a village (*qaryah*), one, moreover, fabled for its extreme cold, as al-Nahrawālī attests. Most travelers noted its rich fruit and cereal crops, its cool fresh water, even in summer, and its mosques and other amenities.

The matter of there being a caravansary (*ḫan*) there is of some interest: whereas both al-Nahrawālī, in 965/1558, and Ḥibrī, in 1041/1632 ("Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 122), reported the existence of one, Evliyā Çelebi, in 1058/1648 (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 66), observed that this flourishing village could be even more prosperous if a *ḫan* were to be built there. Then, in 1080/1669, al-Khiyārī commented on its attractive *ḫan*, which included a fine mosque with minaret (*Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, pp. 178f and nn. 753,755). Al-Nābulusī, who passed through al-Nabk in 1105/1693 and commented on it in some detail, is helpful on this point. He informs that the *ḫan* there was (re?)built in 1074/1663-4 at the initiative of the then Ottoman governor of Damascus, Ṣāliḥ Pasha (confirmed by Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 242f and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Wulāt Dimashq*, p. 39, but in the year 1075/1664-5), who established pious endowments for it in Damascus (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 28). The fact that, according to the latter account, the (re?)construction took place between the visits of Evliyā Çelebī and al-Khiyārī probably accounts for this seeming contradiction in these sources.

Among other travelers who remarked on al-Nabk were Ibn Jubayr (*Riḥlat*, p. 233) in the late 6th/12th century, Kibrīt (*Riḥlat al-shitā'*, p. 210) in 1039/1629-30, Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 111) in 1089/1679, and Ali Bey (*Travels*, ii, 284) at the beginning of the 19th century. See too Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 511; Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens du ḥadjdj de Constantinople," p. 117; Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah* p. 378; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 220, n. 46 (who cites an Ottoman document of 932/1525 showing that al-Nabk was then a fief (*tīmār*) held by the large southern Syrian tribe of the Āl ʿAlī). For memoirs on aspects of social and economic life in the small town of al-Nabk in the mid-nineteenth century, consult Yūsuf Mūsā Khanashat, *Ṭarā'if al-ams gharā'ib al-yawm aw ṣuwar min ḥayāt al-Nabk wa Jabal al-Qalamūn fī awāsiṭ al-qarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar* (Ḥarīsā, Lebanon: Maṭbaʿat al-Qiddīs Būlis, 1936).

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Otherwise hast thou to destruction exposed thyself.

Many a gazelle among them hath passed the night in my embrace.
From him the couches with musk be fragrant.

Whene'er the verse doth he give me to drink...[183]

We passed the night of Friday, the 14th of Rabīᶜ II, at al-Nabk and took our departure in the morning. By noon we arrived in Qārah, which is but a short leg of the journey. Qārah is a center (*qaṣabah*) where there is a judge who receives forty *ᶜuthmānī*s [daily].[184] [131a] Situated there is a mosque (*jāmiᶜ*), a market, and an inn, [the latter of] which was built by Sultan Barqūq (God the exalted have mercy on him!).[185] Both Qārah and al-Nabk

183 On this Ayyūbid poet and official (592-649/1196-1251) consult Jawdat Rikabi, *La Poésie profane sous les Ayyûbides et ses principaux représentants* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1949), pp. 105-20; and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn Maṭrūḥ" (Rikabi), iii, 875f. This same line is quoted, with modifications, by both al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāᵓ*, p. 179 and al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 29.

184 14 Rabīᶜ II, 965 = Thursday, 3 February, 1558. Qārah, also appearing with the spelling Qārā, remains a village on the Damascus-Ḥimṣ road, twelve kms. north of al-Nabk and sixty-five kms. south of Ḥimṣ. Noted for its rich gardens, it served as a regional administrative center in both Mamlūk and Ottoman times, which doubtless accounts for al-Nahrawālī's referring to it as a *qaṣabah*, or center. Its Ottoman administrative status was that of a *nāḥiye* (Arabic: *nāḥiyah* = district). Whereas when Ibn Jubayr called there in the late 6th/12th century, he observed that its entire population was Christian (*Riḥlat*, p. 233), Bakhit's study of relevant Ottoman documents (*Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 37f) shows that by the time of al-Nahrawālī's visit the population was predominantly Muslim. This same study (*ibid.*, pp. 100f) shows that, as in Mamlūk times, the inhabitants were exempted from certain taxes in return for guarding the road from marauding beduins. Another Ottoman document, dated c. 936/1529, confirms the presence there of a judge with an income (monthly) of 1,200 *akçe*s which, given that the *akçe* and *ᶜuthmānī* were the same basic unit of currency (see above, p. 16, n. 50), amounts to the forty *ᶜuthmānī*s/*akçe*s per day (*ibid.*, p. 127, n. 48) appearing in the text here. See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāᵓ*, p. 210; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāᵓ*, pp. 179f and n. 756; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 29f; Ibn Kannān, *al-Mawākib*, pt. 2, p. 33; Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 284; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 478; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, p. 77; Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, pp. 375f; and Ṭalās, *al-Muᶜjam*, iv, 501.

185 According to Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge," vi, 53f and vii, 18, there were two *ḫan*s at Qārā (Qārah), one of them of Mamlūk provenance, which for architectural reasons he dates to between 1380 and 1401. Although he makes no mention of the one responsible for its being erected, it is the case that al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barqūq, to whom al-Nahrawālī attributes the *ḫan*'s origin, was Mamlūk sultan of Egypt and Syria for most of the period 784-801/1382-99 (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Barḳūḳ" (Wiet), i, 1050f). The other *ḫan* there, which Ibn Jubayr described in the late 6th/12th century as being fortress-like (*Riḥlat*, p. 233), is dated by Sauvaget to the Ayyūbid era (late 12th/early 13th century).

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have abundant gardens and harshly cold weather. We stayed overnight at Qārah on Saturday, the 15th of Rabīᶜ II, and resumed our journey following the dawn prayer. Toward mid-afternoon we came to a place with a fortress and a detachment of sentries (*nevbetcīyet ᶜasker*).[186] We entered the stronghold, dismounted and spent in it the night of Sunday, the 16th of Rabīᶜ II. Setting out at dawn, we reached Ḥimṣ in the forenoon, this being but a very short stage of the trip.[187]

Although Ḥimṣ is quite a large town, most of it is in a dilapidated state. It possesses an imposing fortress with an inner fastness. The Orontes River flows through Ḥimṣ which, its present tumbledown state notwithstanding, was one of the beauties of Syria. Currently found [recorded] in the register of extraordinary levies (*defter ül-ᶜavārıż*) are 4,400 households (*bayt*), not including about one thousand households not [appearing] in the register because they don't pay any extraordinary levies. The women of Ḥimṣ possess an elegance and beauty which others in that country do not. Ḥimṣ is named after an Amalekite man who was the first to settle there. Its

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186 15 Rabīᶜ II, 965 = Friday, 4 February, 1558. The unnamed fort referred to here was probably that at Ḥasiyā (Ḥasyah, Ḥisyah, etc.), a small community forty kms. south of Ḥimṣ on the road to Damascus. Because its spacious caravansary (*ḫan*) had two gates, this stop was long referred to by the Turks simply as Iki Ḳapılı (the Two-Gated). Almost all travelers passing that way noted the presence there of a sentry detachment drawn from the Damascus garrison and commanded by a resident officer (*aġa*) having responsibility for the wider district. Noted too was the availability of food and fodder, as well as an abundance of fresh water. Al-Khiyārī, who stopped there in 1080/1669, described (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 80) the arrival of a courier (*ulaḳ*) on a mission from the imperial palace in Istanbul to the governor of Egypt and accompanied by the intendant of the sultan's stables (*emīr āḫūr*). Sauvaget, who reported on its few surviving architectural remains, concluded that there had been three distinct structures: a pre-Ottoman *ḫan*, apparently endowed by a Mamlūk *amīr* named Manjak; a fort with a permanent garrison intended mainly for the protection of the Syrian pilgrimage route; and a second *ḫan*, for which there is an inscription confirming that it was built/restored by order of Sultan Süleymān I (*r.* 926-74/1520-66) ("Caravansérails syriens du ḥadjdj de Constantinople," pp. 112, 117, and "Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge," vii, 9f). See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 210; Ḥibrī (Ilgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 122); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 66; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 110); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 30; C. F. Volney, *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie*, ed. Jean Gaulmier (Paris: Mouton, 1959), p. 324; Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 287; and Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, p. 365.

187 16 Rabīᶜ II, 965 = Saturday, 5 February, 1558. Ḥimṣ, usually appearing in English and French as Homs, and in Latin as Emesa, is a large and ancient central Syrian city with a population of nearly half a million people. Concise but informative coverage of its physical features, history and archaeology can be found in, for example, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḥimṣ" (Elisséeff), iii, 397-402, and, in Arabic, Ṭalās, *al-Muᶜjam*, iii, 143-7; and a much fuller account of the city appears in Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, pp. 329-57.

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climate is the most balanced [and] comfortable among the Syrian cities.[188]

The author of *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*[189] has said that "Ḥimṣ is protected by a talisman: no snake or scorpion can enter it without perishing. Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ (God almighty be pleased with him!) captured the city [for Islam] in the year 14 [635-6], during the caliphate of our lord ʿUmar (God be pleased with him!)."[190] I saw with my own eyes this talisman against scorpions. It is a square-shaped structure with closed-in sides, so that one doesn't know what is inside it. It is [located] in the blacksmiths' market, near the tomb of our lord ʿAmr b. ʿAbasah (God be pleased with him!). The latter embraced Islam when God's Messenger (God bless him and grant him salvation!) was first sent.[191] Upon asking the Prophet (God bless him and grant him slavation!) about those [who

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188 The *defter ül-ʿavārıż* here refers to the register (*defter*) in which was inscribed the names of all households within a defined fiscal unit liable for the payment of the special extraordinary taxes (*ʿavārıż-ı dīvānīye*) levied from time to time to meet the Ottoman state's needs in times of emergency, such as major wars or military campaigns. Such taxes, commencing later in the 10th/16th century, became regular annual levies. Those exempted from such taxes included mainly the privileged state officials, who normally did not pay taxes, or individuals or groups providing necessary goods or services to the state, such as guarding important roads. On this tax and those liable to or exempt from it, consult, for example, Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys," in M. A. Cook, ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (Oxford: University Press, 1970), pp. 165f; *idem*, "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: a Turning Point in the Economic History of the Near East," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vi (1975), pp. 25, 26; Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Heyday and Decline," in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), i, 345; and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "ʿAwāriḍ" (Bowen), i, 760f.

The name of the Amalekite who is said to have given his name to the city of Ḥimṣ was, according to the Arab geographer Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), Ḥimṣ b. al-Mahr b. Hāf b. Muknīf al-ʿAmāliqī (as reported in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., iii, 397).

189 For an earlier reference to and annotation on this 9th/15th-century geographical dictionary by Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī see above, p. 24 and n. 76. The brief extracts from it appearing here are to be found on p. 198 of the published edition.

190 For Abū ʿUbaydah ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Jarrāḥ, an early Meccan convert to Islam, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Abu ʿUbaydah al-Ḏjarrāḥ" (Gibb), i, 158f. He commanded the Muslim army which took Ḥimṣ without bloodshed in 16/637 (and not in 14/635-6 as reported here; *ibid.*, art. "Ḥimṣ," iii, 397). The caliph referred to here was ʿUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb (*r.* 13-23/634-44), second of the four so-called orthodox or rightly guided caliphs (*al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*).

191 Ḥimṣ is held to have been a popular burial place for Companions (*al-ṣaḥābah*) of the Prophet Muḥammad. A brief discussion of this man and of the proper rendering of his name, ʿAmr b. ʿAbasah (which is vocalised by al-Nahrawālī), appears, together with references to earlier sources, in al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 42. He seems to have been the person referred to by Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 122) as Baba ʿAmr. Both al-Khiyārī (*Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 181) and Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 110) refer to the tomb at Ḥimṣ of another ʿAmr, namely ʿAmr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī

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had joined] with him, the Prophet replied, "One freeman and one slave, namely Abū Bakr and Bilāl (God be pleased with them!)."[192] ʿAmr b. ʿAbasah remarked, "(Now) you have seen me, and I am one quarter of Islam." [This occurs] in a lengthy prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth*), part of which the author of *al-Istīʿāb* has recited with regard to the names of those who were the Companions of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!).[193]

When I stood at the southern (*qiblī*) wall of this talisman, I saw people taking clay, rolling it in a ball, and striking with it a stone in the southern wall of this building. Whatever of it drops they leave, but whatever of it

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(d. *ca.* 55/675), who, since he is said to have participated in the skirmishes at Badr and Uḥud on the side of the polytheists (al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, v, 238), could hardly have been the fourth person to accept Islam, as the anecdote in the text of the *Riḥlah* goes on to claim.

It seems that Ḥimṣ was long known for its talismans held to be effective against different types of poisonous or otherwise vexatious creatures and insects. The one mentioned here as a protection from scorpion and snake bites is referred to in Arabic texts dating back to at least the 3rd/9th century. The descriptions of this talisman vary considerably, with no two coinciding completely. Summaries of these appear, in English, in Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 353-7, and, in Arabic, in Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, pp. 329-35. And for a modern-day attempt to account for the perceived efficacy of this talisman, consult *ibid.*, pp. 336f. For this striking feature of Ḥimṣ see too Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, trans. and annot. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1957), p. 21 and n. 4; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, p. 198; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 122); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 64f; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 110); Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, pp. 2f, 76; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḥimṣ," iii, 401.

192 Abū Bakr, known later as al-Ṣiddīq (the truthful or upright one), who was born in *ca.* 570 A.D. and is popularly held to have been the first male after the Prophet Muḥammad to accept Islam, was the Prophet's father-in-law and principal adviser. After Muḥammad's death in 11/632, Abū Bakr was chosen to be his successor (*khalīfah*), his caliphate lasting only two years before he died in 13/634 (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Abū Bakr" (Montgomery Watt), i, 109-11.

Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, a slave of Abyssinian stock born in Mecca but later made free by the caliph Abū Bakr, was a very early convert to Islam and became a close Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, serving him in various functions but principally as his official muezzin (*muʾadhdhin*) (*ibid.*, 2nd ed., art. "Bilāl b. Rabāḥ" (ʿArafat), i, 1215).

193 The full title of the work referred to here is *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* by Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namrī al-Qurṭubī (d. 463/1071), an alphabetically-arranged compendium of the Companions (*aṣḥāb*) of the Prophet Muḥammad, based on traditions (*ḥadīth*) about the Prophet. It was published, at least in part, in three volumes edited by ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (al-Fajjālah, Egypt: Maṭbaʿat Nahḍat Miṣr, 1960). The tradition referred to here appears in iii, 1192f. On this work and its author see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, i, 453 (367) and suppl. i, 628. The work and its author are cited, along with part of the same tradition, by al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 42.

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adheres to the stone they take away to the(ir) various lands as gifts. It is a proven remedy for scorpions, which they both feed to the one who has been stung and apply to the sting, so that he recovers. They as well dissolve it in water and bespatter [131b] the sides of the house containing scorpions, so that they die. I brought away a quantity of it with me.

I have also seen at Ḥimṣ, in a desolated spot, a talisman against hornets. And in that city too is a place now in ruins which used to be a talisman for ants. A Circassian *amīr* had demolished it, thinking that there was treasure beneath it. But he found there [only] a bronze dish with a gold ant at its center, by which Ḥimṣ has, since that day, been purged of ants.[194]

Among the shrines that I visited in Ḥimṣ is the tomb of our lord Khālid b. al-Walīd (God be pleased with him!) and that of his son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[195] Aḥmed Pasha b. Isfendiyār, the present governor of the province of Damascus,[196] has restored it because of his claim to be one of

194 On Arabic talismans and talismanic bowls, a form of magic mixing religion, astrology and medicine, consult Annette Ittig, "A Talismanic Bowl," *Annales islamologiques*, xviii (1982), 79-94, and H. Henry Spoer, "Arabic Magic Medieval Bowls," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lv (1935), 237-57; and for a 17th-century description of the talismanic structures of Istanbul, most of which were of Greek origin, see Evliyā Efendi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, trans. Joseph von Hammer, 2 vols. in one (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1834; repr. 1968), i, pt. 1, pp. 16-20. In reference to Ḥimṣ see *idem*, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 64f. A brief note on the talisman and its Greek origins, together with a (now dated) bibliography, appears in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "Tilsam" (Ruska), iv, 767.

195 Notwithstanding an early Islamic tradition which tended to discredit him, Khālid b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī, dubbed the Sword of God (*sayf Allah*), emerged through time with the reputation of having been Islam's most formidable warrior in the eras of the Prophet Muḥammad and of the first caliph Abū Bakr (see above, p. 74, n. 192), perhaps in particular against the Byzantine Greeks in Syria. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd is, like his father, regarded as having been one of the Companions of the Prophet. Much attention has, since the time of the Arab traveler Ibn Jubayr in the 6th/12th century (*Riḥlat*, p. 232), been given to the existence, just north of Ḥimṣ, of Khālid's tomb, as well as to that of an adjacent mosque named after him but demolished and rebuilt in the Ottoman style in 1326/1908. Yet the Arabic historical tradition is divided on whether he died (in 21/642) and was buried at Medina or at Ḥimṣ, with perhaps the former held by most to be the accurate site. Besides his son, his wife Faḍḍā too is said to be buried with him at Ḥimṣ. Most essentials about him appear in the articles "Khālid b. al-Walīd" found in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed. (Zetterstéen), ii, 878f and 2nd ed. (Crone), iv, 928f. See too *ibid.* 2nd ed., art. "Ḥimṣ" (Elisséeff), iv, 401f; al-Harawī, *Guide*, pp. 18f; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Travels*, i, 90; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 122); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, p. 182; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 38f; Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 355f; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 77 and n. 1; Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, pp. 331-4, 345-8; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ii, 341f; and Ṭalās, *al-Muʿjam*, iii, 144.

196 For an earlier note on this person see above, p. 35, n. 106; and for reference to two of his brothers in senior government service see below, p. 171 and n. 467.

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Khālid b. al-Walīd's descendants. A number of historians have held the view that Khālid b. al-Walīd left no offspring, whereas the Banū Isfendiyār, who are called the Ḳızıl Aḥmedoġulları, and who are a family of princelings in Turkey (Bilād al-Rūm) who became subservient to the Ottomans, allege that they are among Khālid's progeny.[197] In India there is a large group called the Afghans (*Evġān*), including Shīr Ḫan, the rebel against Sultan Humāyūn Shāh b. Bābur, who assert that they are among Khālid b. al-Walīd's descendants.[198] Only God knows for sure in this matter!

Another of the shrines I saw in Ḥimṣ is the grave of Fiḍḍah, the slave (*mawlāh*) of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!). Al-Dhahabī mentioned her in [his] *Tajrīd asmāʾ al-ṣaḥābah*, saying that she was a Nubian in the service of Fāṭimah (God be pleased with them

197 On the Isfendiyārid Anatolian princely family see above, p. 35, n. 106. According to Mordtmann (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Isfendiyār Oghlu," iv, 108), it was this very Aḥmed Pasha, often referred to as Aḥmed Pasha al-Khālidī or Şemsī Aḥmed Pasha (see, for example, al-Munajjid, *Wulāt Dimashq*, p. 14 and n. 1; Laoust, *Gouverneurs de Damas*, p. 185; al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-ʿyān*, i, 188; Damişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 281; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 191), who fabricated a family genealogy tracing the Isfendiyārids back to Khālid b. al-Walīd, and who introduced the Turkish designation Ḳızıl Aḥmedlu for the Isfendiyārid dynasty. This same source states that Şemsī (Aḥmed) Pasha was a grandson of both Ḳızıl Aḥmed (a contemporary of Sultan Meḥmed II (*r.* 855-86/1451-81)) and Sultan Bāyezīd II (*r.* 886-918/1481-1512), and that both he and his brother, Muṣṭafā Pasha (on whom see below, p. 171 and n. 467), enjoyed high office and much influence at court in the sultanates of Selīm II (*r.* 974-82/1566-74) and Murād III (*r.* 982-1003/1574-95).

Besides being survived by his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who, it is claimed, was killed by order of the first Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān (*r.* 41-60/661-80), there is reference to a grandson, Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was serving as a military commander in 48/668-9 (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khālid b. al-Walīd" (Crone), iv, 928).

198 Nāṣir al-Dīn Humāyūn (b. 913/1508), son of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, was the second Mogul ruler of Hindūstān and Kābul (*r.* 937-47/1530-40 and 962-3/1555-6) and the father of Akbar, the third and the greatest of the Mogul rulers (*r.* 963-1014/1556-1605). The person referred to here as Shīr/Shēr Ḫan was Farīd al-Dīn Shīr Ḫan (later Shāh) Sūr, son of Miyān Ḥasan Sūr and founder of the Sūrī sultans of Dihlī, a short-lived but significant dynasty which prevailed in northern India during the fifteen-year interval (947-62/1540-55) between Humāyūn's first and second reign. They belonged to a small Afghan tribe from the Indian northwest frontier. Shīr Shāh, whose reign spanned but five years (947-52/1540-5), is held to have been one of India's great rulers. Al-Nahrawālī's suggestion of a relationship of these Afghans to Khālid b. al-Walīd remains unconfirmed here, although the possibility of claim to descent from such an illustrious early Muslim warrior should not be discounted. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Humāyūn" (Digby), iii, 575-7, "Shīr Shāh Sūr" (Siddiqi), ix, 448, and "Sūrs" (Bosworth), ix, 894. Specialised studies on Shīr Shāh include those by K. Qanungo, *Sher Shah and his Times* (Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1965); Husain Siddiqi, *History of Sher Shah Sur* (Aligarh: Dwadash Shreni, 1971); and I. H. Siddiqui, *Sher Shah Sur and his Dynasty* (Jaipur: Publication Scheme, 1995).

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both!).[199] I also observed there the tombs of Saʿd b. al-Waqqāṣ, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, Jaʿfar al-Ṭayyār, Thawbān (the bondsman of God's Messenger (God bless him and grant him salvation!)), Waḥshī, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd (concerning who[se burial place] I have a difference of opinion), and Diḥyah al-Kalbī (God almighty be pleased with them all!).[200]

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199 The prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth*) concerning the Nubian Fiḍḍah, who was a maidservant of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah (d. 11/632-3), and who is considerned one of the Prophet's Companions, appears in Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Dhahabī, [*al-Iṣābah fī*] *Tajrīd asmāʾ al-ṣaḥābah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn, 2 vols. (Bombay: Sharaf al-Dīn al-Kutubī and Sons, 1390/1970), ii, 297. The author al-Dhahabī (673-748/1270-1348), a prolific Damascene scholar of Turcoman origin, regarded this *ḥadīth* as contrived. Accounts of this tradition are also presented, with ascriptions, in ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī b. al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥābah*, ed. Khalīl Maʾmūn Shayḥā, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1418/1997), v, 376, and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAsqalānī b. Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 4 vols. (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, 1358/1939), iv, 376. On al-Dhahabī see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 57-9 (46-8) and suppl. ii, 45; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 222f; and Kaḥḥālah, *al-Muʿjam*, viii, 289-91.

200 As mentioned above (p. 73, n. 191), Ḥimṣ has claimed to be the final resting place for many of the Prophet's Companions; but only a fraction of them are known to be buried there. Like al-Nahrawālī, most travelers visiting Ḥimṣ have identified some of these tombs. Evliyā Çelebi recorded sixteen of them, not one of which is in al-Nahrawālī's list (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 65), while Meḥmed Edīb noted four (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 232). Al-Nābulusī commented on six of those named in the text here, as well as on several others (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 32-40).

Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, who died and was buried at Medina between 50 and 58/670-8, was an early convert to Islam and one of the Prophet's leading Companions. A participant in all of the Prophet's battles, he commanded the Muslim armies during the conquest of Iraq (*ibid.*, p. 34; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, iii, 137f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ" (Hawting), viii, 696f).

Abū Isḥāq Kaʿb al-Aḥbār was a Yemenite Jew who converted to Islam (probably in 17/638) and came to be considered a Muslim authority on the Judaeo-Islamic traditions. Various dates for his death between 32/652-3 and 35/655-6 appear in accounts, and most early histories relate that he was buried at Ḥimṣ (Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Travels*, i, 139f and n. 271; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 34; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 85; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Kaʿb al-Aḥbār" (Schmitz), iv, 316f).

Jaʿfar al-Ṭayyār is allegedly a posthumous name given by the Prophet to Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, a cousin of Muḥammad and the brother of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's son-in-law and the fourth caliph (*r.* 35-40/656-61). An early convert to Islam and a Companion, he was slain in the battle at Muʾtah (8/629) and buried nearby (al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ii, 118).

The Companion Abū ʿAbdallāh Thawbān b. Yujdad (d. 54/674) was originally a slave from southern Arabia bought and manumitted by the Prophet. He continued to serve Muḥammad until the latter's death, when he moved to Syria where at Ḥimṣ he died and was buried (al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 37, and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ii, 88).

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The *amīr* and governor (*ḥākim*) of Ḥimṣ was Yūnus Beg, the commander of the Syrian pilgrimage caravan and our companion along the pilgrimage route.[201] He received us as his guest on two occasions and we stayed a couple of days at his place, where he treated us hospitably. He was commander of the pilgrimage caravan (*amīr al-ḥājj*) from the year 963/1556 until the present date [965/1558]. Subsequently, after our departure for Anatolia (al-Rūm), he died (God the exalted have mercy on him!).[202]

At Ḥimṣ there is a splendid mosque, with a spacious courtyard and of sturdy construction, built by the Kurdish Ayyūbids. Its prayer leader (*imām*) is Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn ᶜAbdallāh b. Asad, known as al-Naṣīf.[203]

Waḥshī b. Ḥarb al-Ḥabashī was a Meccan black slave who, after accepting Islam, became a Companion of the Prophet and participated in the conquest of Syria. He lived at Ḥimṣ where he died in the time of the third caliph ᶜUthmān (*r.* 23-35/644-56) (al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 37, and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, ix, 125).

The Companion ᶜUbayd Allāh was the son of the caliph ᶜUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He converted to Islam after his father, lived at Medina, and died while commanding the future Umayyad caliph Muᶜāwiyah's cavalry at the battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657) (al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, iv, 351; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ṣiffīn" (Lecker), ix, 554).

ᶜAbdallāh b. Masᶜūd b. Ghāfil, an early convert to Islam, was an eminent Companion and confidant of the Prophet, transmitter of prophetic Traditions (*ḥadīth*s), and early Qurᵓānic reader and interpreter. He settled at Kūfah in Iraq in 21/642 and died in 32/653, at either Medina or Kūfah (al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 38; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, iv, 280; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn Masᶜūd" (Vadet), iii, 873-5).

Diḥyah (or Daḥyah) b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī, regarded as the most handsome of Muḥammad's Companions, has been cast by the Islamic historical tradition in the role of diplomat for the Prophet. Most accounts have him settling in Damascus, near where he died and was buried in *ca.* 50/670 (al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 32; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, iii, 13f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Diḥyah" (Lammens/Pellat), ii, 274).

201 For an earlier reference to this person see above p. 2 and n. 8.

202 The text here appears to indicate not only that Yūnus Beg served as Syrian *amīr al-ḥājj* during the years 963/1556 and 964/1557, but that he was expected to continue in this role during the pilgrimage season of 965/1558 as well. Appointment to this office for two or more years in succession is corroborated by the researches of Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 108. The reference to Yūnus Beg's death is a further instance of al-Nahrawālī having later added to his *Riḥlah* information as it became known to him (see above, p. 23, n. 73).

203 The mosque referred to here is the Great Mosque (*al-Jāmiᶜ al-Kabīr*) situated within the old city's fortress complex. Originally, the site was of pagan religious importance before a church was built on it. Following the Muslim conquest, the church was divided into a church and a mosque. The present structure, which is of impressive dimensions, underwent major restoration in the time of al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (d. 569/1174), when he was Zangid ruler (*r.* 541-69/1146-74) of Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt; and for this reason it has since been referred to as the Mosque of Nūr al-Dīn. For features of it and of its history consult Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Travels*, i, 90;

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He has a young son who is learnèd and nearing maturity. This boy recited to me from memory a number of books, including the *Jamᶜ al-jawāmiᶜ* by al-Subkī on the basic principles of jurisprudence, the *Alfīyah* of Ibn Mālik, the *Kāfiyah al-ḥājibīyah wa al-jazarīyah*, and the *Nuqāyah fi al-fiqh*. I inscribed for him an authorisation (*ijāzah*) [to transmit these works].[204] [132a] He related to me that he had recited that [as well] to our master Meḥmed b. ᶜAbdülkerīm, the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* (chief justice) for Anatolia, when the latter was passing through Ḥimṣ.[205]

Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 122); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 64; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, p. 181 and n. 769; Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, pp. 342-5; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, viii, 46; Philip K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1957), p. 511; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḥimṣ" (Elisséeff), iii, 401; and Talās, *al-Muᶜjam*, iii, 144.

On the Kurdish Ayyūbid dynasty, which was founded by Saladin (d. 589/1193) and which dominated Egypt, Syria and large parts of Iraq and Yemen in the late 6th/12th and first half of the 7th/13th centuries, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ayyūbids" (Cahen), i, 796-807. Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn ᶜAbdallāh b. Asad al-Naṣīf, *imām* of the Great Mosque when al-Nahrawālī visited Ḥimṣ, has not been further identified. He is mentioned below (p. 80) for being something of a poet.

204 Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Naṣr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb b. Taqī al-Dīn ᶜAlī al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), an eminent member of the celebrated Subkī dynasty of Shāfiᶜī religious scholars in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, served as professor in several Damascus *madrasah*s, *khaṭīb* (orator) at the Umayyad Mosque, and Shāfiᶜī chief justice (*qāḍī al-quḍāh*). He was the author of numerous, mainly Shāfiᶜī-related, compositions, among which the one referred to here treats the essentials of Shāfiᶜī jurisprudence. On him and his compositions consult Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 221f; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 108-10 (89) and suppl. ii, 105-7; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, iv, 335; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Subkī" (Schacht/Bosworth), ix, 743-5.

For earlier references to and brief notes on *(al-Khulāṣah) al-Alfīyah* by Ibn al-Mālik and *al-Kāfiyah al-ḥājibīyah wa al-jazarīyah* by Jamāl al-Dīn ᶜUthmān b. al-Ḥājib, respectively, see above, p. 48 and n. 130, and p. 45 and n. 121. The author of *al-Nuqāyah fī al-fiqh* has not been identified.

On the *ijāzah* (license) to teach and issue legal opinions consult Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, p. 158; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Madrasa - I. The Institution in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish speaking Lands" (Pedersen/Makdisi), v, 1124; and, especially, Berkey, *Transmission*, pp. 31f. The latter account provides a succinct explantion of the *ijāzah* instrument for accreditation of scholarly accomplishment and qualification for teaching and legal interpretation in the Mamlūk era. Among the abuses that developed in the system, Berkey notes the authorisation of an *ijāzah* for a student encountered only briefly by the teacher, which seemingly covers the situation recounted here, given that al-Nahrwālī remained only a couple of days in Ḥimṣ.

205 Meḥmed b. ᶜAbdülkerīm, known in Turkish usually as ᶜAbdülkerīmzāde Meḥmed Efendi, was, at various times, a college professor (*müderris*) in Istanbul and chief judge of Aleppo, Egypt, Damascus and Bursa, before being appointed *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* (judge of the army = chief justice) of Anatolia in 964/1557. The holder of such office was effectively the third highest ranking religious official in the mid 10th/16th-century Ottoman legal administration, with responsibility for judicial, teaching and mosque

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The *imām* Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn is the author of mediocre, even inferior, verse, including what he recited to me in extolling the forenamed Meḥmed b. ʿAbdülkerīm:

A return filling the air with ambergris and fragrance,
And concluding with musk and camphor.

Fair news for Damascus, since to take pleasure in good fortune,
Mirth and the spreading of glad tidings is its circumstance.

Such happiness is, through the course of time, owing to the leader
With high standing and the eminent one of this age;

And to the coming of a master who exceeds the utmost rank
To the point where the Pleiades are 'neath him far.

By this do I mean the judge superior, the one who delivers the judgement
Of the noble holy law, and the one who hath governance.

What can I say? And what can my praise for him be,
When my praise, like me, falls short?

And it is a lengthy item. He has a panegyric as well for the *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* Sinān Efendi:[206]

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appointments in Anatolia and the Arab provinces. Meḥmed Efendi is reported to have died in 975/1568. The most helpful account of him is the brief entry in the not always reliable Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iv, 118. Others, which fail to mention his serving as *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker*, include ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 13; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 63f; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 378f.

Brief informative comments on the history and role of the Ottoman *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* appear in Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1951-5), ii, 229-34; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, pp. 83-9; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1976-7). Vol. I: *Empire of the Ghāzīs, the Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280-1808*, pp. 138f; G. R. Bosscha Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity: Ottoman-Dutch Relations during the Embassy of Cornelis Calkoen at the Sublime Porte 1726-1744* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1975), p. 58; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḳāḍī ʿAskar" (Káldy Nagy), iv, 375f.

206 Mevlā Sināneddīn Yūsuf b. Ḥusāmeddīn Ḥuseyn b. İlyās el-Amāsī er-Rūmī el-Ḥanafī was an eminent 10th/16th-century judge and professor recognised widely for his knowledge of jurisprudence and Qurʾānic interpretation. Born, according to al-Nahrawālī (see below, p. 194), in 896/1490-1, though possibly two or three years earlier, in a village near Amasya in north-central Anatolia, he studied with several of the great Ottoman scholars of the age. Beginning his career as a *madrasah/medrese* teacher, he was in 947/1540-1 appointed *qāḍī/ḳāżī* of Aleppo where he remained until 949/1542-3. From there

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O for the doves of the sand dune at al-Mashāhid!
And O for the breezes of the ben tree from a majestic quarter!

Did it pass you by? Or did you perceive a zephyr
That stirs the thoughts of unmoving hearts?

Presently the breeze returned, imploring:
Is it lightning that appears from the direction of Ṭayyiʾ and Khālid?[207]

How much the brethren have blamed me, and I said, "Be gentle!
Is there none among you who is just and helping?"

This breeze has gladdened us for its having wafted
Us with the good news of nearness after separation.

And it continues for some length.

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he advanced to the chief judgeships of, respectively, Damascus, Bursa and Edirne. Promotion to the *ḳāżī*ship of Istanbul in 954/1547 was apparently pre-empted by his being named *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* (chief justice) of Anatolia, which office he held until 958/1551. He then returned to academic life before dying in 986/1578 at an advanced age. Best known among his compositions, which were written in Arabic, is his supercommentary (*ḥāshiyah*) on the work on Qurʾānic interpretation by al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286). The fullest biographical note on him appears to be that in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 248-51. Others include those found in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 604-8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 412f; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifin*, ii, 564; Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, iii, 108f; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOs̱mānlı mü'ellifleri*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-ı ʿĀmire, 1333-42/1914-23), ii, 54f; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ix, 209; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifin*, xiii, 289.

On the office of *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Anatolia, see the preceding note. Sinān Efendi is mentioned later in the *Riḥlah* in two places, on p. 185 and n. 496, and on p. 194 and n. 524, in the latter of which he is mistakenly referred to as chief justice of Rumelia (Ottoman Europe).

207 Ṭayyiʾ and Khālid refer to two large tribal confederations situated within the Arabian peninsula. The Banū Ṭayyiʾ (see above, p. 24, n. 74), originally a south Arabian tribe dating from pre-Islamic times, came to be settled in north central Arabia and southern Syria, including much of Palestine and present-day Jordan (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "al-ʿArab" (Marçais), i, 528, "Djarrāḥids" (Canard), ii, 482, and "Ṭayyiʾ" (Shahīd), x, 402f). The Banū Khālid, on the other hand, who dominated much of the eastern provinces of what is now Saudi Arabia and whose lords were masters of al-Aḥsāʾ (or al-Ḥasāʾ), emerged into history only during the 10th/16th century (*ibid.*, 2nd ed., art. "(Banū) Khālid" (Di Meglio), iv, 925). Their names appear in this line of poetry purely as literary symbolism.

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Ḥimṣ as well possesses a *ṣūfī* convent (*takīyah*) established by the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha. Our Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn has [composed] verses about the date of its construction,[208] these being:

At Ḥimṣ is a hospice completed
By the prudent decision of a grand vizier (be he in blessing increased!).

Rüstem is he called among mankind,
To him do viziers and princes repair.

In his regime of good fortune do celestial spheres revolve,
And in his time do blessings prevail.

Whosoever makes good the void, (and) in whatsoever year,
We, in praise of God, record the date its completion was brought near.

Among the Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ* in Ḥimṣ is Shaykh Shams al-Dīn b. Ḥasnawah. And one of its Ḥanafī scholars is Shaykh Aḥmad b. Khalīl, widely known as Ibn al-Ḥāmī al-Turkmānī al-Ḥanafī, who is professor at the Qaṣṣāʿīyah [college] in Damascus at [a daily stipend of] fourteen *ʿuthmānī*s. I was told that he was the pupil of our master Shaykh Shams al-Dīn

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208 Rüstem Pasha, who was of Balkan and probably Christian origin, and who was trained in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, rose through the administrative ranks to become Sultan Süleymān I's longest-serving grand vizier. First appointed to this supreme office in 951/1544, he was dismissed, possibly at his own request, in 960/1553 in the face of public anger over his perceived involvement in the execution of the popular Prince Muṣṭafā. He was reappointed in 962/1555 and served until his death in 968/1561. His marriage in 946/1539 to Mihrimāh, the daughter of Süleymān and his favourite, Ḫurrem Sultan (see below, p. 200 and n. 544), brought him high office and extraordinary influence at court. Although no further reference to the *ṣūfī* convent (*takīyah*; Ottoman Turkish: *tekye*) erected under the patronage of Rüstem Pasha has been located, he was known for lavishing his accumulated vast personal fortune on the endowment of mosques, *madrasah*s and other religious and public buildings throughout the empire. The most succinct and accessible sources for information on him are the articles contained in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "Rustem Pasha" (Babinger), iii, 1188f, and 2nd ed., art. "Rüstem Paşha" (Woodhead), viii, 640f. See too *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Rüstem Paşa" (Ş. Altundağ and Ş. Turan), ix, 800-2. Ottoman Turkish sources include Oṣmānzāde Tāʾib Aḥmed, *Ḥadīḳat ül-vüzerā* (repr. Freiburg: D. Robischen, 1969), pp. 28-30, and S̱üreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, ii, 377f.

The numerical value of the Arabic consonants making up the last three words in the final line of poetry that follows, namely *bi-ḥamd Allāh tammat*, represent a chronogram (*tārīkh*) for the year of this convent's construction, and it totals 960/1553.

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[Muḥammad] al-Ṭubulbī al-Mālikī al-Maghribī (God the exalted show him mercy!).[209]

Of the distinguished people who met with me at Ḥimṣ is Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, the *imām* for the Ḥanafīs in the Great Mosque. He too was the student of our departed master, Shaykh [Shams al-Dīn] Muḥammad al-Ṭubulbī al-Mālikī (God almighty shelter him with His grace!). I also met there with Shaykh ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAlī al-Badīwī, the student of the forenamed Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn [b. Aḥmad]. Shaykh ᶜUthmān has, this year, been assigned the prayer leadership during the [two] feast[s] (*imāmat al-ᶜīd*) in the special open prayer place (*muṣallā*).[210] He has a good knowledge of grammar, Arabic and such-like.[211] [135a] And at Ḥimṣ I had a meeting as well with Shaykh Yūnus

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209 No further reference to Shaykh Shams al-Dīn b. Ḥasnawah (al-Shāfiᶜī) has been located. While the "Ḥasna" portion of his name appears vocalised in the text, the reading of the ending of it (Ḥasnawah? Ḥasnaq?) remains uncertain. Shaykh Aḥmad b. Khalīl, known as Ibn al-Ḥāmī al-Turkmānī al-Ḥanafī, is a reference to the scholar usually known as Ibn al-Uṭāsī (see above, p. 45 and n. 122). On the Qaṣṣāᶜiyah *madrasah* in Damascus see above, p. 56 and n. 152. Shaykh Shams al-Dīn [Muḥammad] al-Ṭubulbī is mentioned above, p. 44 and n. 118.

210 None of the biographical works consulted yields any reference to either of these two obscure religious figures in mid tenth/sixteenth-century Ḥimṣ. The rendering of the final element in the name of ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAlī as al-Badīwī is conjectural. Since Fakhr al-Dīn b. Aḥmad is identified as the Ḥanafī *imām* of the Great Mosque (on which see above, p. 78 and n. 203), it is likely the case that Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn ᶜAbdallāh b. Asad al-Naṣīf, whom al-Nahrawālī also identifies as the mosque's *imām* (*ibid.*), served the members of the (dominant) Shāfiᶜī community at this religious establishment.

Shaykh ᶜUthmān's being appointed to the *imāmat al-ᶜīd* refers to his serving as leader (*imām*) for public prayers engaged in by the whole community at the times of the two canonical annual Muslim feasts, those of the *ᶜīd al-aḍḥā* on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, at the time of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and of the *ᶜīd al-fiṭr* on 1 Shawwāl, marking the end of the fast during the month of Ramaḍān. Such special prayers traditionally were, and often still are, held in the open air on a designated place of prayer (*muṣallā*). See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "ᶜĪd" (Mittoch), iii, 1007, and "Muṣallā – Historical and Legal Aspects" (Wensinck), vii, 658f.

211 Here, in the bottom margin of this folio (132a), appear three words, the ends of each of which have been worn away through time and usage. Since, however, the next two and a half folios (132b through 134b) relate not to the *Riḥlah* but to something else altogether, these three words appear to be *iqdam thalāthah awrāq* ("advance three folios"). This seeming interposition of unrelated material is explained by the fact that this *Riḥlah* forms but part of al-Nahrawālī's bound workbook referred to as his *tadhkirah ᶜāmmah* (general record book), an intellectual's *vade mecum* containing various notes, quotes, memoirs of journeys and conversations, and any manner of record copied for its potential usefulness to the owner at a later date. The text of the *Riḥlah* continues at the top of f. 135a.

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b. Anas al-Turkmānī al-Ḥanafī, the *imām* of Rüstem Pasha's *takīyah* and a pious and good man.[212]

We emerged from Ḥimṣ at dawn on Tuesday, the 18th of Rabīᶜ II.[213] It was a rainy day, [and in fact] the rain was with us the whole way until we entered Ḥamāh.[214] We found the inns (*ḫanāt*) [there] full and so, after petitioning the city's governor (*amīr*), we [were] lodged in the *dār al-wakālah* (commercial inn). The governor of Ḥamāh is Ḳurt Beg, the son of Ḫusrev Pasha. He had been commander of the Syrian pilgrimage caravan following the year of the sedition [at Mecca during the pilgrimage season], which was 958 [1551], and so he performed this function in the year 959 [1552].[215] His father was the governor (pasha) of Egypt before becoming a vizier at the Sublime Porte. He was subsequently dismissed and died in the year 95__ .[216]

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212 For this minor *ṣūfī* figure no reference has been located in any of the biographical sources consulted for this study. Ottoman practice in the early period following the conquest of Syria and Egypt was unlikely to have differed markedly from that of the later Mamlūk era, when it was not uncustomary for *takīyah*s, especially endowed ones, to have at least a small staff, including an *imām* (prayer leader) who often doubled as the convent's *shaykh* (leader). Such people had usually received a certain level of training in the Islamic religious sciences. On this see Berkey, *Transmission*, pp. 78, n. 74 and 194f; and for an earlier reference to and note on this *takīyah* and its eminent founder, see above, p. 82 and n. 208.

213 18 Rabīᶜ II, 965 = Monday, 7 February, 1558.

214 The well-traveled road between Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāh, a distance of about fifty kms., was usually covered in a day's journey, although often travelers and caravans would break the trip with a stopover at (al-)Rastan (the ancient Arethusa), a community on the banks of the Orontes River midway between the two cities. Ḥamāh, the biblical Hamath, is a city with a present-day (1995) population of more than a million people, and is situated on the main north-south highway, roughly halfway between Syria's southern and northern frontiers.

215 According to the note on him in Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṣmānī*, ii, 272, Ḫusrevoġlu Ḳurd Beg was a companion of Prince Selīm, the future Sultan Selīm II (*r.* 974-82/1566-74), and served as governor of minor provinces before dying in the reign of Murād III (*r.* 982-1003/1574-95). No reference is made in this brief account to his having been governor of Ḥamāh, although it is possible that the inclusion of Ṣafad is an error for Ḥamāh. On the Syrian *amīr al-ḥājj* and the awarding of that office, before 979/1571, to district governors (*sancaḳbegi*s) and senior officers within the province of Damascus, see above, p. 2, n. 8. The sedition caused at Minā, near Mecca, during the Muslim annual pilgrimage in 958/1551 was almost certainly that reportedly caused by Maḥmūd [Paşha], an unsavoury figure who was Egyptian *amīr al-ḥājj* for that year and a future Ottoman governor of Yemen and of Egypt (al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 126; J. R. Blackburn, "The Collapse of Ottoman Authority in Yemen, 968/1560-976/1568," *Die Welt des Islams*, xix (1980), 123; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Maḥmūd Pasha" (Blackburn), vi, 72). For the term *dār al-wakālah* appearing here in reference to an inn for traveling (and usually foreign) merchants where they could both lodge and transact business, see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 846.

216 For an earlier reference to (Dīvāne) Ḫusrev Pasha see above, p. 26 and n. 80. The year of his death, which al-Nahrawālī failed later to determine and add (*cf.* p. 23, n. 73), was 951/1544.

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Ḥamāh is a pleasant city containing a number of colleges and mosques. Running through it is the Orontes River, which is given the name 'rebel' (*al-ʿĀṣī*) merely because its flow is in the opposite direction to [that of] the other rivers. The ancients [in fact] called it the "reversed river (*al-nahr al-maqlūb*)".[217] The river's water is pleasant and its environment agreeable. In reference to it in an ode (*qaṣīdah*), Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn b Ḥajar says:

Lady friendships of distraction in a wooded park exhaust,
But [my] passion for Ḥamāh is what wears me out.

Comply, and mention not such a garden retreat [in the same breath] with the Orontes.
Nought be there beyond the river to give me pleasure.

"Console thyself with the fruits of its banks!" have they declaimed.
"By [its] figs and olives, No!" retorted I.

O you who reproach [my] love for it, you have
In that act your religion, while mine own faith have I.[218]

And, by someone else is:

When the Orontes flowed and my obedient tears [were]
By the people [openly seen], "O river!" exclaimed they.

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217 This explanation of al-ʿĀṣī, the usual name among Arabs for this important river in northern Syria flowing through both Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāh, is said to be a popular etymology without foundation. See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-ʿĀṣī" (Hartmann), i, 706. On Ḥamāh and features of its history, including references to its mosques and *madrasah*s, see, for examples, *ibid.*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḥamāt" (Sourdel), iii, 119-21; Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, pp. 237-62; Ṭalās, *al-Muʿjam*, iii, 127-31; and James A. Reilly, *A Small Town in Syria: Ottoman Hamā in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford and New York: P. Lang, 2002). The description of Ḥamāh left by the 11th/17th-century Ottoman traveler Evliyā Çelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 57-63) has been studied and annotated in Arabic by Aḥmad Waṣfī Zakarīyā, "Riḥlat Awliyā Jalabī fī al-bilād al-ʿArabīyah," in *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī bi-Dimashq*, xii (1932), 672-80.

218 The last hemistich appears to include a partial paraphrase of the *Qurʾān*, CIX: 6. The poet Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn b. Ḥajar has not been identified. It is possible, however, that the *laqab* (agnomen) Taqī al-Dīn is an error for Shihāb al-Dīn, in which case the person intended would likely be Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajar, known as Ibn Ḥajar, the eminent 9th/15th-century Egyptian *ḥadīth* (prophetic Tradition) scholar, judge and chronicler (773-852/1372-1449), who was also a poet and sometime traveler, student and lecturer in Syria (see above, pp. 46f and n. 128).

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The rain being incessant, we stayed on in Ḥamāh over Wednesday as well. During it I had a meeting with my lord the *shaykh* who has perfect knowledge of God the exalted, the one descended from the most distinguished saints, the pride of the offspring of the preeminent one among God's Messengers (*sayyid al-mursalīn*, namely the Prophet Muḥammad), our master Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Sayf al-Dīn Zakarīyā – and this one [namely Sayf al-Dīn Zakarīyā] was the first ancestor of his to arrive in Ḥamāh from Baghdād and settle there, in 734 [1333-4] – b. al-Sayyid Abī Ṣāliḥ Naṣr b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq. The latter [namely ʿAbd al-Razzāq] was the son of our lord and master, the one long possessed of high standing, the source of generosity, kindness and noble-mindedness, to whose foot the necks of saints everywhere submitted when he said, "By God's permission, this foot of mine is on the neck of every saint of God." And he was granted leave to dismiss whoever didn't bow his neck to this foot out of friendship [with God]. And he was the *sayyid*, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī [al-Jīlānī] (God almighty be pleased with him and profit us through his blessings!) b. Jankādust [Jengi Dost] b. Abī ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Zāhid b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Dāʾud b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. [135b] Mūsā al-Jūn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Maḥḍ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan, the son of our lord and master, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (God be pleased with him and honour him!). Through the maternal line of descent his noble lineage (*nasab*) is connected with the two *shaykh*s [the first two caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar] (God be pleased with them!) and with the Commander of the Faithful [the third caliph] ʿUthmān (God be pleased with him!).[219]

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219 The second day of al-Nahrawālī's stay in Ḥamāh was 19 Rabīʿ II, 965 = Tuesday, 8 February, 1558.

Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Abī Ṣāliḥ Jengi Dost was a theologian of the Sunnī Ḥanbalī legal rite (*madhhab*), a preacher, and a *ṣūfī*. He was born of a Persian father in Caspian Jīlān in 470/1077-8 and died in 561/1166 at Baghdad, to where he moved at the age of eighteen and remained for the rest of his long life. His lasting reputation grew from his having given his name to the Qādirīyah *ṣūfī* order, which took on full shape only in the 8th/14th century (Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 154). While many look upon him as the greatest saint of Islam, others such as Trimingham assert (*Sufi Orders*, p. 41) that he was very much a Ḥanbalī *ʿālim* (religious scholar) and not a *ṣūfī*. His family tree provided here by al-Nahrawālī is probably inaccurate or incomplete: certainly his Persian origin calls into question his claim to be a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad through the latter's grandson al-Ḥasan. ʿAbd al-Qādir's legendary remark "This foot of mine is on the neck of every saint of God" was used to assert his preeminence among all *ṣūfī* saints. The Qādirīyah order became well established in Syria, especially in Palestine, Damascus and Ḥamāh, in the latter of which there was a Kīlānī quarter that was destroyed by the Syrian army in 1982 during the troubles there (Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, p. 227 and n. 150). In the mid 11th/17th century Evliyā Çelebi referred to the *takīyah* (*ṣūfī* hospice) of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī as being the most famous one in Ḥamāh (*Seyāḥatname*, iii, 59). On him and

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Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad is possessed of splendid grace and radiant devotion, and he is a man giving off light who can achieve ecstasy and who acts freely with the esoteric. What I saw of him amazed me, and I was attracted to him by his essence. I learned unexpectedly, under scrutiny, that his grandfather was the teacher of our master Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kharqānī al-Qādirī,[220] who was my late father's teacher. Thus, my desire to become his pupil and learn from him grew. When I proposed that to him, he accepted and made me aware of some of his and of his father's compositions on *ṣūfī* practice. I held out my hand to him and he shook it, and he instructed me to chant "There is no god but Allāh" three times. He related the uninterrupted chain [of leadership] of his *ṣūfī* order [back] through his distinguished ancestors to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!). My brother, our master Muḥibb al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh, was present with me; and when he too held out his hand, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad shook it and taught him the *ṣūfī* chant [as well]. Thus did we receive his blessing. And he thereby filled my heart with light so that I experienced a glorious intimacy [with God] previously unknown to me. Even had this journey of mine yielded no more than this one acquisition, a great pleasure would have been granted to the full (God be praised for him!).

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the *ṣūfī* order named after him see too the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḏjīlānī" (Braune), i, 69 and "Ḳādiriyya" (Margoliouth), iv, 380-4; and Brockelmann, *Geschichte des Arabischen Litteratur*, i, 560-3 (435-6) and suppl. ii, 777-9. Recent studies on ʿAbd al-Qādir and the order named for him include those by André Demeerseman, *Nouveau regard sur la voie spirituelle d'ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī et sa tradition* (Paris: Libraire Philosophique J. Vrin, 1988) and Muḥammad Darnīqah, *Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī wa aʿlām al-Qādirīyah* (Tripoli, Lebanon: Dār al-Maʿārif al-ʿUmūmīyah, 1412/1992).

The *shaykh* of the Ḥamāh branch of the Qādirīyah with whom al-Nahrawālī met was Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Wafāʾ Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Yaḥyā ... b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī/Kīlānī (902-70/1496-7 - 1562-3), a person seemingly of little lasting consequence. Of the several biographical sources consulted for this study, only that by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī includes an account of him (*Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 427-30). A brief and vague entry on him appears in Darnīqah, *Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī*, p. 294.

220 Al-Nahrawālī's father (871-949/1466-7 - 1542-3), on whom a biographical notice appears in al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, ii, 166f, was a religious scholar who spent much of his time away from his native Gujarati town of Nahrawālah, studying and teaching at Mecca (see above, Introduction, p. XI). His name was Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāḍī Khān Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdanī. Further information on him appears in Ḥamad al-Jāsir's introduction to al-Nahrawālī's *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp. 15f. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kharqānī al-Qādirī, al-Nahrawālī's father's *ṣūfī* instructor, has not been identified; but parts of his name were seemingly passed on to the author of this *Riḥlah*, who is perhaps best known by the *laqab* (agnomen) Quṭb al-Dīn and who includes in his full name the attributives (*nisbah*s) al-Kharqānī and al-Qādirī.

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Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (God the exalted be pleased with him!) told me that he was born in the year 902 [1496-7], and that, in Ḥamāh, he studied under Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bāzilī al-Kurdī, Shaykh Aḥmad b. Aghmas and Shaykh ʿAlwān (God almighty be pleased with them!).[221] He (God be pleased with him!) related to me that his brother, Sayyid Aḥmad, had sent him to Shaykh ʿAlwān (God the exalted sanctify the secret of both of them!) with some offering of oranges.[222] And Shaykh ʿAlwān wrote to Sayyid Aḥmad as follows, and I have copied it from the handscript of Shaykh ʿAlwān (God almighty be pleased with him!): "In the name of God the merciful and compassionate one who is our sufficiency, and how perfect He is! And God bless our lord Muḥammad and his family!" ... And [Shaykh ʿAlwān] its writer (God the exalted's favour protect ʿAlī b. ʿAṭīyah, who has the agnomen (*laqab*) ʿAlwān

221 The first of his teachers mentioned by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad was Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Dāʾud b. Muḥammad al-Bāzilī (also al-Bādhilī) al-Ḥamawī al-Kurdī al-Shāfiʿī, a Shāfiʿī jurisconsult, legist and teacher. Born of Kurdish stock in 845/1441 at Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, an island town in the Tigris River northwest of Mosul, he studied at Tabriz for about ten years before moving to Syria in 870/1465, where in *ca.* 876/1471 he settled in Ḥamāh and remained there until his death in 925/1519. For further information on him and his compositions see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, vii, 240; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 203-8 (who was acquainted with al-Bāzilī); al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 47; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 138; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 228; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 122 (99) and suppl. ii, 117; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 355; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, ix, 297f.

The Shaykh ʿAlwān referred to was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAṭīyah b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaddād al-Hītī al-Ḥamawī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ṣūfī al-Shādhilī, a celebrated Shāfiʿī jurisconsult and preacher, and a poet and *ṣūfī* won over to a branch of the Shādhilī mystical order by ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Maghribī (on whom see above, p. 64 and n. 167). His probable birth year was 873/1468 and he died at Ḥamāh in 936/1530. Quite substantial biographical notices on him, including excerpts of his poetry and references to his numerous compositions, appear in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 961-78 (who elsewhere in the same work (ii, 428) refers to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad's frequenting Shaykh ʿAlwān's *majlis* (study session)); and in al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 206-13. Other sources of information on him include Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 217f; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 742f; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 437f (333); al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, v, 128f; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, vii, 150f. The ʿAlwān *ṣūfī* family of Ḥamāh has remained well known down to the present time. For a detailed description of ʿAlī b. ʿAṭīyah's tomb there as it was in 1931 consult Jean Gaulmier, "Pèlerinages populaires à Hama," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français à Damas*, i (1931), 143-5.

On Shaykh Aḥmad b. Aghmas (spelling conjectured), Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad's third teacher mentioned, no further references have been located.

222 Although the next fifteen lines of Arabic text are in places vague and ambiguous, the translator remains confident that the English rendering reflects al-Nahrawālī's language.

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al-Shāfiʿī (God pardon him and [all] Muslims and be kind to them!)) says, "When it was Sunday, the 8th of Jumādā I, 935,[223] the unique and everlasting One bestowed a blessing and conferred a benefit through the dispatch of a gift from the noble, distinguished, sublime, faultless and Qādirī[224] family [of the Prophet] by the hand of the one loved by God the exalted, our lord [Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad] Abū al-Wafāʾ." And Shaykh ʿAlwān mentioned that the gift was one of the kind deeds of [Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Wafāʾs] elder brother, Shihāb al-Dīn [Aḥmad] (May his high standing last, through obedience, in this world and the next!) and [that] that gift was oranges. And so there came to the mind of the [*ṣūfī*] *faqīr* [Shaykh ʿAlwān] verses with symbols signifying rich treasures in the form of the rewards of following the example of the practice of the Prophet (*sunnah*) with respect to form. And God is the one responsible for protection from bribery through flattery, from straying [136a] from proper behaviour, and from change of heart. These verses contain wondrous allusions and unusual hints which can be received only by the one possessing great good fortune from God the exalted and the capacity to intone them at the rising of their new moon.[225] And success comes through God:

Greetings to a dwelling place wherein my estrangement finds solace,
And the mercy of our lord and the purest of salutations too!

Greetings to thee, may God enhance the greatness of thy standing
And make an increase to thee from His bounty and pure excellence!

To my heart hath thy gift restored life,
Which gift hath aroused me from the widening of my intoxication.

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223 Sunday, 8 Jumādā I, 935 = Monday, 18 January, 1529.

224 The inclusion of the adjective *al-Qādirī* here has the principal purpose of reminding the reader that the family of the Prophet Muḥammad includes among its descendants both ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī, founder of the Qādirīyah *ṣūfī* order, and the persons bestowing and delivering this gift, namely Sayyid Aḥmad and his brother Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, the latter of whom related this anecdote to al-Nahrawālī when they met in Ḥamāh.

225 The translator remains mindful of his lacking in God's "great good fortune," since he feels that many of the "wondrous allusions and unusual hints (*talwīḥāt ʿajībah wa talmīḥāt gharībah*)" have eluded him while seeking to comprehend and convey in English what is a very challenging mystical poem. The reference to the intoning of such verses "at the rising of their new moon" may refer to a *ṣūfī* practice of reciting verses, prescriptions, incantations, etc. on certain auspicious days of the month in order to know God better.

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By the one who forgets not thy earlier kindness art thou recalled;
Gratitude matching my affection is due him.

Thou hast recalled him in past pledges
[And] in their covenant on a day manifesting an atom.

By God, how most sweet be the discourse I have heard
At the taking of a covenant with the strongest bond.

At a session of truth in compartments of seclusion,
In the unveiling of beauty, through adulation and nearness.

In their [Mount] ʿArafāt is the divulging of their beneficences;
Kindness like crumbled musk doth their mystical perception possess.

Brethren of truth, of whose discourse I weary never,
Have in the heart of love the glorifying of sanctity.

When, with kindness, fruits they bestowed,
[They did so] with the symbol of allusions to the signification of truth.

As a gift they offered oranges having the meaning of a copy of the holy book;
And lo! thus do we have oranges that increase in abundance.

I transmitted, whilst uttering my ardent love for it;
My composing verse for it is the diffusing of abundant tears.

With your oranges the fire of my love did I poke;
And what existed of my friendship's sincerity it did confirm for me.

My desire's fire spoke in the kindling of its hue.
Its clearly pure interior is the clarity of my quintessence.

Its sourness is for me most delicious sweetness,
Its fragrance surpassing all others.

And it continues at great length.

Shaykh [Shams al-Dīn] Muḥammad Abū al-Wafāʾ (God be pleased with him!) related to me that when his ancestor, our lord Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī [al-Jīlānī] (God be pleased with him!), intended to perform the pilgrimage [to Mecca] from Baghdād, he was presented

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with a camel for his mount. And of his ancestor's words Shaykh Muḥammad Abū al-Wafāʾ recited:

O He to whom our steps [are directed],
Have mercy on all of our misjudgement!

To you came we hungry,
To return replenished do we aspire.

And, having reached Mecca the exalted and beheld the Kaʿbah [draped] with a threadbare covering (*kiswah*), he recited:

Umm ʿAmr is ever beautiful,
Be it her threadbare cloak or her new one she dons.

We are but clients in all tribes,
But, in the tribe of Laylā, among the most trifling of its slaves [are we].[226]

He showed me a very instructive work by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Tādhifī, which contains biographies of the descendants of our lord Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī [al-Jīlānī] (God be pleased with him!) and includes valuable points. It is [in length] about twenty fascicles (*kurrās*) of *niṣf al-Shāmī*.[227] I was with the *shaykh* for about half a

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226 The Umm ʿAmr mentioned in the first hemistich refers to no one in particular, but is a name appearing, along with others, in early Arabic poetry to represent various images of the complete woman. For reference to its use in portraying, for example, the sensual and licentious woman see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Suḥaym" (Arazi), ix, 776f. The Laylā referred to in the last hemistich is almost certainly Laylā al-ʿĀmirīyah, the relative of Qays b. al-Mulawwaḥ al-Majnūn (d. between 65/685 and 80/699) whose intense but thwarted love for Laylā inspired him to produce the collection of Arabic poetry which has come down to us as "Majnūn Laylā (the Madman of Laylā)." See *ibid.*, 2nd ed., art. "Madjnūn Laylā – In Arabic Literature" (Pellat), v, 1102f; and *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*, Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey, eds., 2 vols. (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), art. "Qays ibn al-Mulawwaḥ, al-Majnūn" (Leder), ii, 636f.

227 The author referred to here is Jamāl al-Dīn (also Shams al-Dīn) Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf al-Rabaʿī al-Tādhifī al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanbalī (later) al-Ḥanafī, a native of Aleppo where he was born in 899/1493 and died in 963/1556. A judge and son of a judge, al-Tādhifī served in various tribunals in Syria and Egypt before retiring in 949/1542 for a time to Ḥamāh, where he composed the *Qalāʾid al-jawāhir fī manāqib al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir*, the work described here by al-Nahrawālī and the only one for which he is known. For biographical information on him consult al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 60f; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 339f; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 245; Sarkīs, *Muʿjam al-maṭbūʿāt*,

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day and was the recipient of his kindness and hospitality, as was my brother. It saddened me to part from him.

[136b] At Ḥamāh I also met with the *shaykh* who knows God almighty intimately, our lord Abū al-Wafāʾ, the son of Shaykh ʿAlwān and brother of Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAlwān.[228] The latter and his father are well known in that quarter for brilliant erudition. Shaykh Abū al-Wafāʾ received me hospitably, and I paid a visit to the tomb of his father and brother (God almighty be pleased with them!). He told me that he was born in the year 920 [1514-15] and that he had studied under his father and several [other] religious scholars. He has his own students and *zāwiyah* (convent) and is one of the celebrated [*ṣūfī*] *shaykh*s in that region. He informed me that he had seen a composition on the history of Ḥamāh in which the author mentioned that [the name] Ḥamāh is traceable to a prophet named Ḥāmūtā and that he lies buried there. Shaykh Abū al-Wafāʾ informed me [as well] that Ḥamāh had possessed talismans against both bedbugs and snakes, and that when each [of these] was ruined, the bedbugs and snakes reappeared but didn't cause any appreciable harm. What a wonderful man he is for learning, fine character, and magnanimity!

On Thursday, the 20th of Rabīʿ II,[229] we set out from Ḥamāh at daybreak and alighted in Ḫan Shaykhūn during the afternoon. It is a caravansary (*ḫan*) built for caravans by one of the Circassian [Mamlūk] *amīr*s.[230] Cooked victuals and fowl are available there.

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p. 287; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 440 (335) and suppl. ii, 463; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*,viii, 11; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, xii, 113.

The *kurrās(ah)* (fascicle) usually consisted of eight folded pages yielding sixteen folios (Johannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, trans. Geoffrey French (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 67). *Al-Shāmī* here refers to Syrian-made paper, the quality of which in the 4th/10th century was between the superior *Baghdādī* and inferior *Miṣrī* (Egyptian). *Niṣf* was the smaller of two sizes of *Shāmī* paper. See Gulnar Bosch, John Carswell and Guy Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking* (Chicago: University of Chicago, The Oriental Institute, 1981), pp. 30f.

228 For an earlier mention of Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAṭīyah, known as Shaykh ʿAlwān al-Ḥamawī, see above, p. 88 and n. 221. He had two sons named Muḥammad (al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 51, 209 and iii, 94; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 304). The one with whom al-Nahrawālī met in Ḥamāh was Muḥammad Abū al-Wafāʾ, a person of lesser account than his brother, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Fatḥ, who died in 954/1547 and whose biography appears in several of the works consulted for this study.

229 20 Rabīʿ II, 965 = Wednesday, 9 February, 1558.

230 Northwards from Ḥamāh, the route followed by travelers bound for Anatolia forks into two: while the road taken by al-Nahrawālī proceeds north to Aleppo, whence it veers westwards to the Mediterranean littoral north of Antioch, the other proceeds in a northwesterly direction towards Antioch. Khān Shaykhūn, now a town situated about forty kms. north of Ḥamāh, was until the 12th/18th century a solitary caravansary (*ḫan*)

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We spent the night of Friday, the 21st of Rabīᶜ II[231] at Ḫan Shaykhūn, departed at dawn, and reached Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān[232] before noon, this being a very short leg of the journey. Our intention was to provide rest there for the animals. This place used to be one of the administrative adjuncts of Ḥimṣ before it was segregated into a separate sub-province (*sancaḳ*). The one presently in charge of it is Yaḥyā Beg, an in-law of Ferhād Pasha, the governor (*nāʾib*) of Aleppo who used to be governor (*beglerbegi*) in Yemen.[233] Its judge is Sinān Ḫalīfe, a protégé-candidate (*mülāzım*) of Aḥmed Çelebi, known as Ḳāżīzāde, one of the great *mevlā*s and

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situated on rugged but watered ground with no adjacent village. The one for whom the *ḫan* is named was the Mamlūk *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Shaykhū/Shaykhūn al-Nāṣirī (also al-ᶜUmarī), who was originally a member of the household of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kalāwūn (d. 741/1341), and who saw service in Syria and rose to the senior rank of *al-amīr al-kabīr al-atābak* before dying from an assassin's wound in 758/1357. On Khān Shaykhūn and its founder see Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 205; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrīʾnin," p. 121); Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, p. 197; Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge," vii (1940), 7f; and Ṭalās, *al-Muᶜjam*, iii, 206f. Information on Amīr Shaykhū/Shaykhūn appears in Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aᶜyān al-miʾah al-thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jādd al-Ḥaqq, 5 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1385/1966-7), ii, 293f; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aᶜyān al-ᶜaṣr wa aᶜwān al-naṣr*, ed. ᶜAlī Abū Zayd *et al*, 6 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Muᶜāṣir, 1418/1998), ii, 531-6; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 183f; M. Gaston Wiet, *Les Biographies du Manhal Safi*, Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte, no. xix (1932), p. 169, #1181; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Mamlūks" (Holt), vi, 327 and "al-Nāṣir – 1. Muḥammad b. Kalāwūn" (Holt), vii, 991f.

231 The night of 21 Rabīᶜ II, 965 = the night of Wednesday/Thursday, 9/10 February, 1558.

232 The town of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān is located about twenty-five kms. north of Khān Shaykhūn, and, according to one tradition, was named after al-Nuᶜmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī, a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad. Politically, it has throughout Islamic history usually been under the sway of either Damascus to the distant south or Aleppo to the immediate north. The town's prosperity is held to have been in decline at the time of the Ottoman conquest, although most travelers passing through it, in different eras, attested to the area's agricultural prosperity. These include Ibn Jubayr (*Riḥlat*, p. 229) in the 6th/12th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Travels*, i, 93) in the 8th/14th century, and Kibrīt (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 203) and Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrīʾnin," p. 121) in the first half of the 11th/17th century. Evliyā Çelebi, who visited Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān while returning from Palestine in 1059/1649, makes similar observations but as well comments at length on the political status and administrative and military structure of the *sanjaḳ* (sub-province) of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 136f).

233 For the term *sancaḳ* (meaning, in the 10th/16th century, a sub or lesser province), the holder of which was called a *sancaḳbegi*, see above, p. 2, n. 8. From the same period, the office of *beglerbegi* in the Ottoman empire referred to the governor of a large province (*beglerbegilik*), which towards the end of Sultan Süleyman I's reign (926-74/1520-66) numbered only some fifteen or sixteen in total (İnalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 105; and Kunt, *Sultan's Servants*, pp. 26f). See too *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.,

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presently the chief justice (*qāḍī*) of Aleppo.[234] The judgeship of al-Maʿarrah [pays] forty *ʿuthmānī*s [daily].

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art. "Beglerbegi" (Ménage), i, 1159f. On the province of Yemen's evolution from *sancaḳ (begilik)* to *beglerbegilik* to two *beglerbegiliks*, see J. R. Blackburn, "Two Documents on the Division of Ottoman Yemen into Two *Beglerbegiliks* (973/1565)," *Turcica*, xxvii (1995), 223-36.

No further identification of Yaḥyā Beg has been made. For his in-law (Ṣolaḳ) Ferhād Pasha, who was governor of Aleppo in 965/1558 when al-Nahrawālī called there (see below, p. 97), and who subsequently was governor of, first, Ḳaramān, and then of Baghdad, where he died in 968/1560-1, see the biographical account of him in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 14-16, as well as the lesser and unreliable references to him in Peçuyī Ibrāhīm, *Tārīḫ*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1283/1866-7), i, 35; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iv, 16; and Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 271f. His largely unchronicled term as *beglerbegi* of Yemen (954-6/1547-9) is discussed, on the basis of Arabic and Turkish sources, in J.R. Blackburn, *Turkish-Yemenite Political Relations, 1538-1568* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation: University of Toronto, 1971), pp. 154-6, 158, 162f, 171f.

234 Mevlā (Mollā) Şemseddīn Aḥmed b. Bedreddīn Maḥmūd, who was known as Ḳāżīzāde (the son of the judge) because his father was *ḳāżī/qāḍī* of Edirne, had a distinguished career as professor, judge, author and senior administrator in the Ottoman learned hierarchy (*ʿilmīye*). After teaching in several *madrasah*s/*medrese*s, mainly in Istanbul, he was appointed judge of Aleppo in 963/1555-6, where he remained until 967/1560. In 971/1563 he was promoted to the judgeship of Istanbul, which office he held until 974/1566, when he was made *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmili. He was reappointed to this office in 983/1575, and was promoted from it to the highest office of the *ʿilmīye*, namely that of *muftī* of Istanbul (*shaykh al-Islām/şeyḫ ül-Islām*), in 985/1577. His death occurred in 988/1580. On him see Repp, *Müfti*, pp. 9, 66, 343 n. 145, 287 and n. 262. A substantial biographical entry for him appears in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 259-61. Other sources of information on him include al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 109; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 414f; Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 362, iii, 49, 524; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, 171.

No further identification of the seemingly minor figure Sinān Ḫalīfe has been made. The term *ḫalīfe* (assistant), however, identifies him as an aide to a senior member of the *ʿulamāʾ*, in this instance to Mollā Aḥmed Ḳāżīzāde.

A very helpful discussion of the use of the term *mülāzım* (one constant in attendance) to refer to a qualified candidate (usually, though not always, a newly qualified one) for office in the Ottoman learned hierarchy is provided by Repp, *Müfti*, pp. 51-5. See too *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Mülāzemet" (Göçek), vii, 545 and "Mülāzım" (Repp), vii, 545f; Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: the Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), p. 57; and, for the usage of the term, along with its synonym *ṣuḥbah*, in Mamlūk higher education, consult Berkey, *Transmission*, p. 34.

From the second half of the 10th/16th century the judgeship of Aleppo became a *mevlevīyet* judgeship, namely an important one held by a *mollā/mevlā*, a senior member of the learned hierarchy. The *mevlevīyet* judgeships of Aleppo and Damascus ranked high after those of Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa, the three Ottoman capitals. Holders of the judgeship of Aleppo became eligible for promotion to the judgeship of Istanbul, to one of the *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker*ships (of Rūmili or Anadolu) and, ultimately, to the highest office,

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Al-Maᶜarrah has sturdy buildings, ancient edifices, a grand mosque, baths, and a market, but they are being overcome with obsolescence and dilapidation. It contains the tomb of ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz (God be pleased with him!),[235] and it is related that near one of the town's gates is [located] the tomb of Shīth b. Ādam ((Seth) God bless him and grant him salvation!). Within al-Maᶜarrah is the grave of Yūshaᶜ (Joshua) b. Nūn.[236]

From Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān [came] Abū al-ᶜAlāᵓ Aḥmad b.ᶜAbdallāh b. Sulaymān al-Maᶜarrī, the eloquent philologist and poet, who is accused of embracing the faith of high caste Hindus and of deeming inappropriate the infliction of suffering on animals.[237] He lived to the advanced age of eighty-six, and during his lifetime he recited, to a tapping rhythm, eighty-six elegies, one of the most splendid of which is that for Sharīf al-Raḍī, where he says, among [other] verses:

If, from self-denial, thou hast blood not shed,
This day from mine eyelid hast thou so done.[238]

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that of *muftī* of Istanbul (*şeyḫ ül-Islām*). The career of Mevlā Şemseddīn Aḥmed Ḳāżīzāde, in fact, illustrates well this pattern of advancement, since he received all three promotions. On the *mevlevīyet* judgeships see Repp, *Müfti*, 34, 44f and *passim*; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Mewlewiyyet" (Göçek), vi, 1029f.

235 The tomb of the Umayyad caliph ᶜUmar (II) b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz (*r.* 99-101/717-20) is located a short distance east of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān, at Dayr Naqīrah/Dayr Samᶜān (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Dayr Murrān" (Sourdel), ii, 198 and "Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān" (Elisséeff), v, 926; al-Jundī, *Tārīkh Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān*, ed. ᶜUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, 3 vols. (Damascus: Maṭbaᶜat al-Taraqqī, 1963-7) i, 97; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 109; and Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah,* pp. 185, 187f).

236 What is held to be the burial place of the prophet Yūshaᶜ (Joshua) b. Nūn is located inside a small mosque beyond the town's southern wall, while that of of Shīth (Seth), the third son of Adam, is situated near the gate (*bāb*) bearing his name (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān" (Elisséeff), v, 926; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 496; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 109; Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, 183, 185, 188; and al-Jundī, *Tārīkh Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān*, i, 33, 97, 329, 354-62, 432).

237 On this celebrated blind Arab poet (363-449/973-1058) and most famous son of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān, where he passed almost all of his long life, much of it as an ascetic, consult the comprehensive entry on him in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Maᶜarrī" (Smoor), v, 927-35. Besides providing bibliographical details on his surviving works and the considerable scholarly literature about him, this contribution includes brief references both to the suggestion that he was influenced by religious thought other than Islamic (p. 927) and to his interest in vegetarianism (p. 930).

238 Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā (d. *ca.* 406/1016), known as al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (al-Mūsawī al-ᶜAlawī), was recognised principally for his skills in poetry. He was born at Baghdad in 359/970 into a distinguished and sophisticated Shīᶜī family and was descended from the Prophet Muḥammad through both parents (hence the *sharīf* component of his name). See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Sharīf al-Raḍī" (Djebli), ix, 340-3.

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Abū al-ʿAlāʾ was blind and, in comparing him with Ibn Sīdah, people say, "Two blind men, two leaders, and two persons with incredible memories, one in the East and the other in the West,"[239] He produced books on literature, language and poetry. By him is a collection of poetry (*dīwān*) which is entitled *Saqṭ al-zand*. Many scholars have produced commentaries on it, including the pre-eminent one among learnèd men ...[240]

[137a] We spent Saturday night, the 22nd of Rabīʿ II,[241] at al-Maʿarrah, in a mosque outside the town and in front of a caravansary (*ḫan*) in which we stabled [our] animals. Departure took place at dawn. It was a rainy day, and in the course of it a white slave named Kaywān fled to us. Just before noon we came to a *ḫan* named Sarāqib, where we dismounted owing to the rain's intensity. This caravansary was built by Uzdamir, al-Malik al-Nāṣir's treasurer (*khāzindār*).[242] At it there is a supplier of provender who has fodder on hand. They sell [here] by a dry measure (*mikyāl*) called the *shunbul*,[243] which is

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239 Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī (b. Aḥmad?) b. Ismāʿīl, a contemporary of al-Maʿarrī and known as Ibn Sīdah (Sīduh), was born at Murcia in Andalusia and became a famous philologist and lexicographer (*ibid.*, art. "Ibn Sīda" (Talbi), iii, 940). These comparisons between al-Maʿarrī and Ibn Sīdah, as well as the line from al-Maʿarrī's verse, appear word for word in Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 203.

240 Here is a further instance of al-Nahrawālī's having left a lacuna for a name to be filled in later and of his having failed to do so (see above, p. 23 n. 73). Curiously, Kibrīt (*ibid.*), who copies al-Nahrawālī here, does the same. Al-Maʿarrī left two collections of poetry which have survived, the *Saqṭ al-zand* (First Spark of the Tinder) dating from his early years, and the *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* (Self-imposed Compulsion) containing poems from his mature years (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Maʿarrī," v, 928, 930f). Each has been published in more than one edition and commented on extensively.

241 The night of 22 Rabīʿ II, 965 = Thursday/Friday, 10/11 February, 1558.

242 The market town of Sarāqib appears on most modern maps as situated about thirty kms. north-northeast of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. Kibrīt described it in 1039/1629-30 as a pretty hamlet with a *ḫan* (caravansary) and solidly constructed buildings, mosques and baths (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 203). Sauvaget found the *ḫan* in ruins in the 1930s when he examined it, but observed that it appeared to date from the 14th century ("Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge," vii, 12f). That this *ḫan* at Sarāqib was erected through the patronage of the Mamlūk *amīr* and *khāzindār* (keeper of the sultan's treasures) ʿIzz al-Dīn Uzdamir al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī (d. 769/1367), is confirmed by Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, i, pt. 2, p. 73. Ibn Iyās adds that this *amīr* was one of his own ancestors. A very brief biographical entry for him (#883) appears in Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, i, 378. The person referred to here as al-Malik al-Nāṣir was the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwun (*r.* 748-52/1347-51 and 755-62/1354-61) (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Nāṣir - Mamlūk sultans" (Holt), vii, 992f.

243 Hinz, who refers to it as the *sunbul*, describes this Syrian dry measure as being equal to 3.206 kgs. or about 4.16 liters (*Islamische Masse*, p. 51). According to Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 789, it was a "mesure de six ou de huit *mudd*."

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three[244] [units] of fodder, at four *niṣf fiḍḍah*s.[245] We stayed over in that inn so as to make inquiries about the slave on the run. We remained at the *ḫan* of Sarāqib on Sunday, the 23rd of Rabīᶜ II,[246] and sent off messengers, one to Sarmīn[247] and another to al-Maᶜarrah; but we could learn nothing about the slave.

On Monday, the 24th of Rabīᶜ II,[248] we departed from Sarāqib at midnight and passed by numerous villages, caravansaries, and enclosed plantations before entering Aleppo after the noonday prayer. It was an excessively large leg of the journey owing to the rain that we had to endure. We took lodgings in one of the three caravansaries known [there] as the *üç ḫan*.[249] Ferhād Pasha, the governor of Aleppo,[250] sent us three

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244 In attempting to correct his text, al-Nahrawālī has left a word which is illegible but which appears most likely to be the number three (*thalāth*).

245 On the (*al-fiḍḍah*) *al-muḥallaqah* ("round silver piece") see above, p. 10, n. 33. This small unit of silver coinage (known also as the *niṣf* and *medīn*) first minted by the Mamlūks in the 9th/15th century for usage in Egypt and Syria, but which also was in circulation in Arabia and Yemen, continued to be a common unit of currency in the early Ottoman period (10th/16th century), although it gradually came to be known as the *para* (Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914," p. 957; and Halil Sahillioğlu, "The Role of International Monetary and Metal Movements in Ottoman Monetary History 1300-1750," in *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, ed. J. F. Richards (Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1983), p. 277 and n. 19).

246 23 Rabīᶜ II, 965 = Saturday, 12 February, 1558.

247 Located about eight kms. northwest of Sarāqib, and today only a small village absent from most maps, Sarmīn in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries was the principal town in the Aleppo district. Suggestive of its former grandeur are the ruins there of a hospital, three large mosques, and seven *ḫan*s (Abdel Nour, *Introduction à l'histoire urbaine*, pp. 292-4).

248 24 Rabīᶜ II, 965 = Sunday, 13 February, 1558.

249 This is Ottoman Turkish (which henceforth al-Nahrawālī increasingly has need to employ) for "The Three Caravansaries" (modern Turkish: *üç han*). Being an important commercial center, Aleppo possessed many fine *ḫan*s. None of the sources consulted for this study employs this term or its Arabic equivalent. Given the date of this reference (965/1558), however, it likely refers not to *ḫan*s constructed under Ottoman patronage but rather to late Mamlūk structures, possibly to one or more of the three mentioned by Sauvaget (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḥalab," (Sauvaget) iii, 88), the Khāns/Ḫans of Abrak, Özdemir (Uzdamir) and Khayr Bak. Photos of these are included in the same author's *Alep: Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1941), plates xxi-xxiii.

250 On Ferhād Pasha see above, p. 93 and n. 233. The Ottoman province of Aleppo (Ḥaleb), administered from the city with that same name and including northern Syria and parts of south-central Anatolia in present-day Turkey, was formed following the conquest in 922/1516. Its oldest surviving detailed tax register (*mufaṣṣal defter*) drawn up following a cadastral survey of land and resources (*taḥrīr*) dates from 924/1518 (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḥalab," iii, 88).

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(camel) loads of barley, three head of sheep, three sugar loaves and some candles. As well, the town judge, Aḥmed Çelebi Efendi, known as Ḳāżīzāde,[251] sent us two head of sheep, four sugar loves, four large candles, two (camel) loads of barley and a green woollen garment. The pasha subsequently began to pay us visits from time to time.

In Aleppo I had a meeting with our master, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Naṣībī, the town's [leading] scholar, foremost individual, man of letters, and expounder of Islamic law (*muftī*). I was the recipient of his hospitality, and he sent me sweetmeats, soap and suchlike. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn has an erudite son named Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn[252] and is a descendant of our lord ʿUthmān (God be pleased with him!).[253] Shaykh Ḥusayn was born in the year 911 [1505-6]. He performed the pilgrimage in the years 932 [1526] and 938 [1532], and remained resident [in Mecca] during 939 [1532-3]. He has composed some attractive poetry, including:

When, deceptively, the manifestation of my affection I diminish,
And 'twixt [my] ribs rancour conceal,

It is to show ignorance of what I know
Therein to be concealed, the fear of falling out having made
this seem fit.

While he was resident in Mecca, we had literary exchanges and [carried on] correspondence in verse and prose.

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251 For an earlier reference to and note on (Mevlā/Mollā) Aḥmed Çelebi Ḳāżīzāde see above, p. 93 and n. 234.

252 He was Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn b. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī al-Shāfiʿī, known as Ibn al-Naṣībī, an intellectual whose biography appears in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 561-70. There it is reported that he had a brother named Ḥasan, who too bore the agnomen Badr al-Dīn; and, according to al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 136, the latter (907-56/1501-49) spent his career in the Ottoman administration, in both Istanbul and his native Aleppo. Badr al-Dīn Ḥusayn moved for a time to Ḥamāh, where he became both a *ṣūfī* disciple (*murīd*) and son-in-law of Shaykh ʿAlwān (*cf.* above, p. 88, n. 221). An issue of this union was the son Jalāl al-Dīn mentioned here. The shorter biographical account of al-Naṣībī provided by Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 442 gives 1000/1591-2 as the year in which he died. As well, his name appears in a dialogue reported in Abū al-Wafāʾ b. ʿUmar al-Ḥalabī al-ʿUrḍī, *Maʿādin al-dhahab fī al-aʿyān al-musharrafah bi-him Ḥalab*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī (Aleppo: Dār al-Mallāḥ li'l-Ṭibāʿah wa al-Nashr, 1407/1987), pp. 57-61

253 The reference here is obviously to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, the third (*r.* 23-35/644-56) of the so-called rightly-guided caliphs (*al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*), although none of the biographical accounts of al-Naṣībī referred to in the previous note alludes to this noble descent.

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I [also] met in Aleppo with the *shaykh al-Islām* (interpreter of Islamic law) Shams al-Dīn b. al-Marᶜashī,[254] who is an instructor with [a daily salary of] fifty *ᶜuthmānīs*. He and his distinguished and excellent sons belong to a cultured and prominent family. He was friendly to me, and several times he received me as his guest in Aleppo without our having known each other previously. His visits to me were frequent, and when I ventured outside the town he accompanied me (God reward him for me!).

CROSSING ANATOLIA

We stayed in Aleppo until the end of the month. [Our] expenditures for the month of Rabīᶜ I (*sic* Rabīᶜ II)[255] alone were two hundred gold pieces (*dhahab*) as well as nineteen pieces of new[ly minted] gold (*dhahab jadīd*).[256] The first day of the month of Jumādā I was Saturday.[257] [137b] Having gotten away from Aleppo following the early morning prayer on Sunday, the 2nd, we arrived a little before the afternoon prayer in a village just short of al-Ḥalqah, called Tiqād,[258] where we stayed over in the home of the village *shaykh*. For twenty gold pieces I had rented mules for the litter in which I traveled. The *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn b. [al-]Dughaym, the

254 Despite the fact that the Marᶜashī family was well established at Aleppo, where seemingly this member of it was of some eminence, none of the accounts consulted here, including both biographical collections and the few histories of Aleppo covering that era, make any reference to Shams al-Dīn b. al-Marᶜashī, whose name, as rendered by al-Nahrawālī, is insufficiently complete for tracing in most indexes. On the term *shaykh al-Islām* to refer simply to an acknowledged expounder of Islamic law (*muftī*) for a particular legal rite (*madhhab*) rather than to the chief *muftī* of Istanbul (*şeyḫ ül-Islām)*, the head of the Ottoman learned hierarchy (*ᶜilmīye*), see above, p. 46, n. 124.

255 Clearly al-Nahrawālī has made a slip here, giving Rabīᶜ I where Rabīᶜ II, the month just ended, is intended.

256 For an earlier comment on the (*dīnār*) *dhahab* and (*dīnār*) *dhahab jadīd* see above, p. 3, n. 10.

257 1 Jumādā I, 965 = Saturday, 19 February, 1558. Here, as elsewhere in this composition, al-Nahrawālī is able, at the beginning of a new month, to correct his misalignment of days of the week with days of the month (see above, p. 2, n. 7 and p. 26, n. 81).

258 2 Jumādā I, 965 = Sunday, 20 February, 1558. The agricultural village of Tiqād, situated in the southern part of the Jabal Samᶜān area, about twenty-five kms. due west of Aleppo, is given a brief description in Ṭalās, *al-Muᶜjam*, ii, 460. It appears on a French-language Ottoman military map of 1897 as Tokad, and as Tekat on the 1956 revised version of a 1934 map of the Malatya area issued by the Harita Umum Müdürlüğü in Ankara. On al-Ḥalqah see below, p. 100 and n. 262.

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chief of Aleppo (?) and its superintendent of charitable bequests,[259] gave it and its covering to me as a gift (God reward him![260]).

The night of Monday, the 3rd of Jumādā I,[261] was spent in Tiqād. At daybreak we resumed our journey and passed through al-Ḥalqah, which contains remarkable buildings, awesome religious structures, and tombs of earlier infidels.[262] The town's road is difficult [to travel over] because of boulders and mud. At noon we arrived at the village of Tīzīn,[263] which has a splendid mosque and minaret, the work of those in bygone times.

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259 Although no reference to this member of the Dughaym family of Aleppo has been located, he was likely a close relative, possibly even a son, of Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 948/1451), who held the professorship for the Ḥanbalīs at the Umayyad Mosque in Aleppo and is described as having been the last of the Ḥanbalīs there (Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 999f; and al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 193f). The expression "*raʾīs* Ḥalab" (lit. "chief of Aleppo") used here is vague. It is unlikely that the term *raʾīs al-balad* (mayor of the town) survived at Aleppo into the Ottoman period. Another member of the family, Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-Dughaym, is referred to (by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 355) as having held the *riʾāsah* (superintendency) of the seven canonical readings (*al-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ*) of the Qurʾān at the Umayyad Mosque in Aleppo; and, in view of this, it may be that this function was associated with the Dughaym family and that this could account for the use of *raʾīs* (chief, superintendent) here.

260 The tightness of the binding of the manuscript obscures the end of this line; yet the combination *kāf* [*ā-hu*] *Allāh* appears to be the only plausible reading.

261 The night of 3 Jumādā I, 965 = the night of Sunday/Monday, 20/21 February, 1558.

262 No other reference to this place has been found; but in the early 19th century the traveler Ali Bey observed thereabouts an excavated circular structure which he described as being about one hundred feet in diameter and forty in depth, and which some asserted was an ampitheatre (*Travels*, ii, 298). Since the Arabic word *ḥalqah* means a ring or circle, it seems likely that Ali Bey described the place referred to here by al-Nahrawālī. Another 19th-century traveler, William F. Ainsworth, noted a "circular mound, with successive terraces of small stones," and remarked on the presence in this area of numerous ruinous villages and Christian religious structures, including churches, monasteries, tombs, hermits' cells, etc. (*Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Armenia*, 2 vols. (London: John W. Parker, 1842), ii, 96-8.

263 The village of Tīzīn, sometimes referred to as Tīzīn al-ʿUmq (Tīzīn of (the plain of) al-ʿUmq, to the west of it) to distinguish it from a place near Ḥamāh with the same name (Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, p. 72), is located just inside the present Republic of Turkey, about forty-five kms. west of Aleppo and eight east of the town of Reyhanlı (al-Rayḥānīyah). On maps it appears variously as Tisin, Taizīn, Nezin, etc. It was important as one of several fortified villages in the region of Antioch during the Crusades era, after which the area was resettled by Turcomans. In fact, as early as 1432 the traveler Bertrandon de la Brocquière (in Thomas Wright, ed., *Early Travels in Palestine* (London: Henry Bohn, 1848), p. 313) observed that in this area one was entering Turcomania. The remains of its caravansary (*ḫan*) were noted briefly by Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge," vii (1940), p. 16. See too Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 103; and Ṭalās, *al-Muʿjam*, ii, 587.

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We stayed the night of Tuesday, the 4th,[264] at a guest house (*ḫan*) in the village of Tīzīn. Following the early morning prayer, we set out and passed by a number of villages, [some] dilapidated and [others] flourishing. We also crossed through river fords and over two bridges of hewn stones. Then we crossed over another great bridge, followed by [yet] another one, lengthy and with railings, called Yāġrā Kūprī [Köprü]. A merchant of Aleppo built it in 960 [1553].[265] We subsequently passed through sloughs, across river fords, and over another bridge, one built by one Ḥājjī Badān. It was a trying stage of the journey, one in which the pieces of baggage tumbled down, one after another. The mules advanced until, a little before sunset, we reached a village named Kunduzlī, in which there were about two hundred Turcoman households with their cattle, sheep and horses.[266]

The night of Wednesday, the 5th of Jumādā I,[267] we spent at Kunduzlī, in the house of one of the Turcomans. Departing at daybreak, we crossed over a bridge and through river fords and mires. Then we ascended the pass (*ʿaqabah*) of Buġrās[268] and traversed peaks, chasms and sharp turns in

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264 The night of 4 Jumādā I, 965 = the night of Monday/Tuesday, 21/22 February, 1558.

265 From Tīzīn al-Nahrawālī's party changed course from one due west towards Antioch to one northwest in the general direction of Alexandretta, a region watered by several rivers. On this route and features of it see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-ʿAmḳ" (Sourdel), i, 446f. The place mentioned here, which is not on any of the maps consulted, and which al-Nahrawālī attempts to render into Turkish, appears in Arabic texts as Yaghrā, Jisr Yaghrā or Yaghrā al-ʿUmq/al-ʿAmq. This village, once inhabited by Christian fishermen but later by Turcomans, was located on the Yaghrā River which flows into the Black River (al-Nahr al-Aswad/Kara Su) before both debouch into Lake Antioch. Yaghrā was in Crusader times a fort near which two battles were fought in 543/1148-9 between the Crusaders of Antioch and Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (d. 565/1174). It is likely that the unidentified merchant of Aleppo *re*built this bridge, since the place has usually been identified with having a bridge (*jisr*). On Yaghrā see Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 594; Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 42, 60, 71; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, pp. 17f, 248; and Zakaraīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, pp. 62, 66, 67, 69, 99, 136.

266 Ḥājjī Badān, whose name al-Nahrawālī vocalises and presumably saw inscribed on the bridge, has not been identified. Neither has any reference to the village of Kunduzlī, the vocalisation of which is here conjectural, been located in any of the sources, including maps, consulted for this study. Being a community of Turcoman pastoralists, however, it is possible that it later either was abandoned (*cf.* De la Brocquière, in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 316) or underwent a change in name.

267 The night of 5 Jumādā I, 965 = the night of Tuesday/Wednesday, 22/23 February, 1558.

268 Bughrās (rendered as such in the text), which is usually vocalised Baghrās, and which is the ancient Pagrae, is situated at the southern end of the Baghrās or Baylān pass (ʿAqabat Baghrās/Baylān or, in modern Turkish, Belen Beli) through the Amanus mountains (Elma Dağ), and is considered the southernmost point of the southern section of the Syrian Gates, which in the north end at Arslān Boğazı (Arabic: Darband Arslān) in Cilicia. Being historically a place of transit between Syria and Cilicia,

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lofty mountains before alighting, in the afternoon, at a hospice (*takīyah*). Sultan Süleymān had ordered its contruction in 959 [1552] and had brought there those whom he lodged in it for the purpose of protecting the route; for it was a spot through which the road passes. It is a big caravansary (*ḫan*) with stone benches and with chambers large enough for five hundred camels. The place has, in front of the inn, a pool with running water; it also possesses a mosque, a pulpit and a minaret.[269] Rice soup with meat and bread are prepared at the inn for the wayfarers. We received

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it occupied a strategic position for traffic in either direction. Its fortress was built by the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas in 968 C. E., and it was rebuilt or restored on subsequent occasions when it was occupied by Greeks, Arabs, Selcūḳs, Ayyūbids, Crusaders, Armenians and Mamlūks before the coming of the Ottomans in 922/1516. Evliyā Çelebi, passing by the fortress (which he renders Baḳrāṣ) in the mid 11th/17th century, described it (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 48f) as having a fortress warden (*dızdār*) and accomodation for 150 men. Its almshouse is held to have been founded under the patronage of Zubaydah, wife of the ᶜAbbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (*r.* 170-93/786-809). It was recaptured from Crusader control by Saladin in 584/1188. For an appreciation of the history and importance of Baghrās, as well as of its strategic position relative to other points in the area, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Baghrās" (Cahen), i, 909f; "Baylān" (Parry), i, 1134; "al-ᶜAmḳ" (Sourdel), i, 446f; and *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Bagrās" (Hartmann), ii, 216. See too Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 104 and n.140; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 120); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 597; Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 407f; Zakarīyā, *Jawlah atharīyah*, pp. 59-62 (which includes a photo of the fortress); Ṭalās, *al-Muᶜjam*, ii, 340; and Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Dominion in the Middle East: the Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485-1491* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), pp. 53f, 179.

269 Al-Nahrawālī seemingly employs the term *takīyah* here in the non-*ṣūfī* sense of a *ḫan* which also provides food for wayfarers. Although it is not mentioned by name, the place described here is Baylān/Belen, the small town at the northern end of the pass with the same name. Its caravansary and mosque, which are on the northern side of the community and adjacent to the road through the pass, were erected by Sultan Süleymān. While some accounts give 959/1552 as the year in which this was done, Sauvaget, who studied the remains of this *ḫan* erected primarily to serve pilgrims ("Caravansérails syriens du hadjdj de Constantinople," pp. 103f), transcribes its dedication inscription bearing the date 957/1550. Some accounts attribute the construction of the mosque to Sultan Selīm (I or II?). Sultan Süleymān also posted there a garrison of troops to guard the pass (*derbendcis*). For details on this place see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Baylān" (Parry), i, 1134; *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Belen" (Darkot), iii, 473-5; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 48; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, p.192; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 597 (who writes of Bughrās but in fact is referring in part to Baylān/Belen); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p.104); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 93; and Ṭalās, *al-Muᶜjam*, ii, 432.

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from its manager five bowls of soup and five loaves of bread, with each bowl of soup containing a couple of pieces of meat.[270]

Thursday night, the 6th of the month,[271] was spent at the hospice. At daybreak we set out, traversing bends, ravines and high points in the mountains, and passing by a new guest house (*ḫan*) not yet fully constructed. Then we traveled along side the sea before ascending a mountain. Shortly before the time of the afternoon prayer, we came to a fort by the sea erected by Sultan Süleymān as a means of protecting the road. Christians (God almighty abandon them!) were in the habit of coming to this place from the sea in boats, and of cutting off the road and taking Muslims captive there.[272] So the sultan dispatched people to this place, erected in it an imposing citadel containing shops, and channeled to it fresh water. The fortress was built in 953 [1546-7] and has the name Merkez.[273] This day's journey was a slight one.

On Friday, the 7th of Jumādā I,[274] we left Merkez at dawn and passed along the seacoast and through streams and river fords. We then crossed over an old bridge, before which was a large fortress in ruins and, near it,

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270 The number of portions of soup and bread doled out to al-Nahrawālī's party begs the question concerning its complement at this stage. At the outset of the journey there were, including al-Nahrawālī and his brother, ten members of it, all of whose names are mentioned and several of whom likely were slaves (see above, p. 4 and n. 12). As well, outside Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān they picked up the white slave Kaywān (see above, p. 96), who presumably was still with them. It thus seems likely either that two people shared a portion or that only certain ones received food, possibly sharing it with their slave(s).

271 The night of 6 Jumādā I, 965 = the night of Wednesday/Thursday, 23/24 February, 1558.

272 Atacks from the sea by Christian navies and corsairs on this exposed coast of intermittent marshy lowlands and mountains had no doubt increased with the intensification of Ottoman-Habsburg naval warfare in the Mediterranean after about 936/1530.

273 Al-Nahrawālī bypassed Alexandretta, proceeding directly to the lofty, square-shaped stone fortress of Merkez (Merkez Ḳalᶜesi), the "Mergues Calassy" observed in 1549-50 by Monsieur d'Aramon (in Jean Chesneau, *Le Voyage de Monsieur D'Aramon, Ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant*, ed. and annot. Ch. Schefer (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1887), p. 145). In *ca.* 1840 Ainsworth noted (*Travels and Researches*, ii, 92) the village of "Merkets," adjacent to "a modern castle of the same name." In *ca.* 1058/1648 Evliyā Çelebi described it (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 46) as being an arrow's shot from the sea, as having been built by the (Byzantine) emperors, and as having habitations and a mosque within it. According to Har-El (*Struggle for Dominion*, p. 54) the old fort here dating from the Byzantine period was known as the castle of the Crusader Godfrey de Bouillon. Describing it in 1089/1679, Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 104) noted the existence there of a special garrison. See too Franz Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach Osmanischen Quellen* (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1924), p. 148. Al-Nahrawālī is the only one to provide for it a date of completion, which he may well have seen in a dedication inscription.

274 7 Jumādā I, 965 = Friday, 25 February, 1558.

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another strong point. Then [138a] we forded more streams before coming to Ḳirān Ḳāpī, which is a large dilapidated gateway, a narrow pass between two mountains. Through it we entered a village of Turcoman houses.[275] The sultan had compulsorily sent them to inhabit this place, and had exempted them from [having to pay] the emergency war taxes (*ʿavārıż*).[276] This was a substantial day's journey, our arrival there being close to sunset.

Our departure was at dawn on Saturday, the 8th of the month.[277] We crossed over fords and bridges and through bogs. Then we passed by on the right a strong point called the Fortress of Serpents (Qalʿat al-Thaʿābīn), wherein is their great basilisk. It is a tumble-down citadel atop a lofty mountain on our right.[278] We next followed the bank of the Jayḥūn

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275 What is vocalised as Ḳirān Ḳāpī in the text is what Har-El refers to as Karanlık-Kapı (*Struggle for Dominion*, p. 53), another name by which Tīmūr/Demīr Kapı (Iron Gate or Tīmūr (=Tamerlane)'s Gate) was known. Situated closeby the sea on the northern tip of the Gulf of Alexandretta, it was a stone arch, apparently all that remained of a larger wall dating from antiquity (the Pylae Amanica). People moving in either direction had to pass through it, which meant that it could be used as a convenient place for the collection of certain taxes. Not far northwest of it was the place named Ḳurt Kulaġı (also referred to as Ḳurt Ḳalʿesi), the usual halting place for caravans; but no evidence has been found to link it with the village of Turcoman houses referred to by al-Nahrawālī. On this see too De la Brocquière, in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 316; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 196; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 120); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 41f; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 195f; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 103); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 89f; Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, pp. 146f; and Faroqhi, in Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 485.

Once in Turkish-speaking territory, al-Nahrawālī increasingly resorts to Turkish or Perso-Turkish words where previously he employs Arabic ones: an example here is the use of the Perso-Turkish *derbend* instead of the Arabic *ʿaqabah* or *naqīl* to refer to a

276 On the *ʿawāriḍ*/*ʿavārıż* taxes and those exempted from payment of them, see above, p. 73, n. 188.

277 8 Jumādā I, 965 = Saturday, 26 February, 1558.

278 Yılan Ḳalʿesi (Snake Castle), which appears on some maps as Ilan Kalesi and which al-Nahrawālī simply translates into Arabic, is a large ruinous fortress with rounded towers perched on a mountain cliff between Ḳurt Ḳulaġı and Miṣṣīṣ. E. J. Davis, who passed there in 1875, both speculates on the Armenian origins of it and provides the legend of the castle as told to him by a local villager (*Life in Asiatic Turkey, a Journal of Travel* (London: Edward Stanford, 1879), pp. 69, 73-5). The mythological great basilisk, a deadly monster part human and part serpent, was held to inhabit this place, a notion possibly spawned by an abundance of snakes in its rocky ruins. Accounts usually refer to the great basilisk by its Persian name, Shāh Mārān (the serpent king), which al-Nahrawālī merely renders into Arabic (*malik al-thaʿābīn*). On this see too Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 602; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 41; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 102); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 89; and Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, pp. 145f.

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[River],[279] passing a large dilapidated enclosure, said to be the fastness (*ḥiṣn*) of Maṣṣīṣā, as well as lots of ruins.[280] On the shore [of the river] is a large bridge, with ten arches, and a commodious hostel built by some merchant in 949 [1542-3]. Nearby are a new mosque and some shops, around which is a village; and opposite it is another one. Close by are various [other] villages. A toll (*maks*) was imposed at this bridge but we were exempted.[281]

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279 This large river, the ancient Pyramus, which rises northeast of Elbistan and debouches into the Gulf of Alexandretta on its northern shore, near the modern-day port of Yumurtalık, and which has numerous tributaries, was called by the Arabs the Jayḥān, the name taken into modern Turkish as Ceyhan (Nehri). According to a traditional view, the early Arabs saw this river and its neighbouring river a short distance to the west, the Sayḥūn (the ancient Saros), as separating them from the Greeks, just as in Central Asia the rivers Jayḥūn (Oxus) and Sayḥūn (Jaxartes) separated them from the Turks. This is used to explain why it is often, as here, referred to as the Jayḥūn. Occasionally it is found rendered (probably erroneously) the Jihān (River of the World). On maps and in some accounts it as well appears as, variously, Jaihon, Jihun, Djihoun, Jyhoon, Jāyiḥ, etc. On it see, especially, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Djayḥān," (Canard), ii, 502f; and *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ceyhan" (Darkot), iii, 128f. See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, pp. 195f; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, p. 196; and Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 102).

280 This place, rendered Miṣṣīṣ in Ottoman Turkish, Misis in modern Turkish, and (al-) Maṣṣīṣah in Arabic, is the ancient Mopsuestia situated on both sides of the Jayḥān/ Jayḥūn river about eighteen miles or six hours' travel by caravan from the city of Adana to its west. While Maṣṣīṣah proper, which al-Nahrawālī seemingly misspells as Maṣṣīṣā, was located on the river's right or western bank, its suburb on the left or eastern bank was known in medieval times as Kafarbayyā, which later became corrupted into Kufrbinā' (meaning "of infidel construction"). Several accounts, one as early as that of De la Brocquière in 1432, report on its ruinous and neglected state (in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, pp. 316f), perhaps in part explained by the fact that Maṣṣīṣah, a strategic point on the path of invaders, was forever caught up in a cycle of capture, destruction, recapture and reconstruction (Har-El, *Struggle for Dominion*, p. 51). As late as the 1830s, Ainsworth noted that it scarcely had thirty families living among ruinous houses (*Travels and Researches*, pp. 87f). On the other hand, when al-Khiyārī passed through it in 1080/1669 parts of its fabric, notably its *ḫan*, bridge and public bath (*ḥammām*), had been newly restored, and this impressed him favorably (*Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, pp. 196f). For further observations on it see Chesneau, *Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, p. 146; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 120); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 602; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 41; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 102); Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, pp. 65-9 (which includes the sketch of a town plan opposite p. 66); and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Maṣṣīṣa" (Honigmann), vi, 774-9 (which provides a detailed history of it throughout the Islamic era).

281 Most accounts include reference to a stone bridge linking Maṣṣīṣah with its suburb on the left (eastern) bank. It is usually described as having nine arches and dating from Roman times. Like the town's other public structures, it was several times damaged or destroyed, usually by invaders but also from flooding, and had to be restored or rebuilt. In fact, in 1432 De la Brocquière noted (in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 316)

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We left the hostel by the bank of the Jayḥūn [River] at dawn on Sunday, the 9th of Jumādā I.[282] Sometime late in the afternoon we reached Adana, the territory of Ibn Ramażān, over which Pīrī Pasha is governor. In the late Mamlūk era (*ayyām Çerākise*), this was a ruling family of minor kings who at times submitted to the ruler of Egypt and at other times followed the lord of Anatolia. They retain their pride of rule to this day.[283] We lodged in the caravansary and paid our respects to Pīrī Pasha, a rather important man with noble traits of character and one who is somewhat charitable and high-minded. He sent us one (camel) load (*ḥiml*) of barley, four sugar loaves, and four head of sheep. When subsequently I was shown round the various quarters, I observed the city to have two large mosques and two colleges (*madrasah*s), each of the latter [providing its instructor with a daily stipend of] fifty *ʿuthmānī*s and each being perfect in structure.

I met with the city's then[284] *muftī*, our master Caʿfer b. Şeyḫ Meḥmed b. Maḥmūd, who was instructor in the *madrasah* of Ḫalīl Beg b. Ramażān at fifty *ʿuthmānī*s [daily]. He used to be a special assistant (*teẕkereci*) with the *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* Meḥmed b. Ḳuṭbeddīn and then became a protégé-candi-

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that the bridge was then a wooden one replacing the stone structure washed away by floods. When al-Khiyārī crossed it in 1080/1669, he observed that the bridge was a sturdy one and that, according to an inscription at its center, it had been rebuilt by the authority of Sultan Meḥmed [IV] in 1072/1661-2 (*Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, p. 197). For this bridge see too Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 120); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 602; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 102); Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, p. 65; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Maṣṣīṣa," vi, 778f.

A bridge spanning an unfordable river of over three hundred feet in width was an ideal location for authorities to collect taxes, in this case a toll or market due (*maks/bāc*) imposed only on merchants (Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 120); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 602; and Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 102)).

282 9 Jumādā I, 965 = Sunday, 27 February, 1558.

283 On Pīrī Pasha and the Ramażānoġulları, an independent principality (*ca.* 780-916/1379-1510) based in Cilicia with its court at Adana, see above, p. 53, n. 145. A buffer state lodged throughout its history between two powerful neighbours, the dynasty's leaders turned for protection principally southwards to the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria but occasionally northwards to the Ottoman Turks, depending on which held sway in the region at any particular time. It was Ottoman practice to leave in charge of their ancestral lands or to post elsewhere in the state members of ruling families, such as Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha and his offspring, who had become loyal Ottoman subjects. In addition to the sources cited in n. 145 above, Meḥmed Nüzhet, "Ramażānoġulları," *Tārīḫ-i ʿOṣmānī Encümeni Memūʿası*, no. 12 (1327/1909), pp. 169-772; Sümer, "Çukur-ova," pp. 35-62; and Har-El, *Struggle for Dominion*, pp. 40-2 may be consulted on Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha and the Ramażānoġulları.

284 The use of the word *yawma'idh* (meaning 'at that time') in the Arabic text here adds to the already abundant evidence that substantial parts of this work were written (or altered) later (see above, p. 23, n. 73).

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date (*mülāzım*) with him.[285] He showed me a marginal commentary which he had written on jurisprudence. He has both knowledge of divine law and erudition.[286] I was the recipient of his hospitality, and he rode with me out of the city to see me off.

I also encountered our master Muṣliḥeddīn Muṣṭafā b. ᶜAlī el-Ḳaramānī, well-known as Verrāḳzāde, who is the professor at the Pīrī Beg *madrasah* with [a daily stipend of] fifty *ᶜuthmānī*s. He is a refined person

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285 Of the three names appearing here in the text, no further reference to the *müftī* of Adana, Caᶜfer b. Şeyḫ Meḥmed b. Maḥmūd, has been located. Arslān Dāvudoğlu Ġarseddīn Ḫalīl (b. Ramażān), the father of Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha, was chief of the Ramażānoġulları state from 885/1480 until his death in battle in 916/1510, when he was succeeded for a time by his brother Maḥmūd. Although no further identification of the *medrese* mentioned here has been made, Ḫalīl Beg is reported as having been a generous endower of buildings, including "some" *medrese*s, of which this obviously was one (Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṣmānī*, ii, 283f; Nüzhet, "Ramażānoġulları," p. 770; Kasım Ener, *Tarih boyunca Adana Ovasına bir Bakış*, 5th printing (Istanbul: Berksoy Matbaası, 1961), pp. 231f; Nazmi Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri* (Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. Şirketi Matbaası, 1959), p. 20; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ramaḍān Oghulları" (Babinger), viii, 418).

Detailed information on the early life of Mollā Muḥyīddīn Meḥmed b. Ḳuṭbeddīn Meḥmed b. Meḥmed er-Rūmī el-Ḥanafī, identified variously as Ḳāżīzāde Rūmī, Mīrim Kösesi and Ibn Quṭb al-Dīn, is provided in Ṭaşköprüzāde, *Ḥadā'iḳ üş-Şaḳā'iḳ (=Şaḳā'iḳ tercümesi)*, trans. Meḥmed Mecdī el-Edirnevī (Istanbul, 1269/1852), pp. 448f. His first major appointment was to the chief judgeship of Aleppo, followed by postings to the same offices in Edirne and Istanbul respectively before he was named *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Anatolia in 945/1538-9, which office he apparently held until 954/1547 (*cf.* p. 94, n. 234 above for this type of career line). He died in 957/1550, the year following his appointment as professor in the prestigious Ṣaḥn *medrese*s attached to the mosque of Sultan Meḥmed II in Istanbul. On him see Repp, *Müfti*, p. 256, n. 177 (citing Ṭaşköprüzāde's *al-Shaqā'iq*, its Turkish translation by Mecdī, and the extension of the latter by ᶜAṭā'ī); Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 246-50; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 320; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṣmānī*, iv, 113; and Ismāᶜīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ᶜārifīn*, ii, 243.

On the term *mülāzım* see above, p. 94, n. 234. In the Ottoman learned hierarchy the *teẕkereci* was one of three principal assistants attached to a *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*, his responsibility being the distribution of pay among the provincial judges within the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*'s broad jurisdiction (Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, p. 87 and n. 2).

286 There may be ambiguity here arising from a textual error. The Arabic reads: *arā-nī ḥāshiyah kataba-hā ᶜalā al-dirāyah la-hu faqāhah wa faḍl*. There appear to be two statements here unconnected by the coordinating conjunction *wa*, the second of which begins with *la-hu* and refers to the *muftī* Caᶜfer. However, if *la-hu* is in error for *la-hā*, it must then be construed as one statement in which *la-hā* introduces a second *ṣifah* relative clause descriptive of *ḥāshiyah*, yielding something like "He showed me a marginal commentary which he had written on jurisprudence (and) which possesses (= reveals/ exhibits) both knowledge of divine law and erudition.

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and one of [the late] Saʿdī Efendī's[287] protégé-candidates (*mülāzım*). As well, I had a meeting with the orator (*khaṭīb*) of Adana's grand mosque. He is a person of a certain intellectual attainment, and his remuneration is eight *ʿuthmānī*s daily.

We remained [there] all day Monday, and Tuesday night too, in order to rest the animals; and we emerged from Adana in the forenoon of Tuesday, the 10th of Jumādā I,[288] which was a rainy day. Caʿfer Efendī, the local *muftī,* accompanied me beyond the city, while Pīrī Pasha sent along with us some troops to escort us to the [next] halting place. From Adana there is one route, called İncīrlū,[289] which is quite boggy [but] conveniently close by, and another one, called Ḳūsūnlū,[290] which is fairly dry but which is in

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287 No other references to Müṣliḥeddīn Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī el-Ḳaramānī Verrāḳzāde have been located. According to Evliyā Çelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 334) the *medrese* attached to the Eski Cāmiʿ in Adana was built by Pīrī [Meḥmed] b. Ḥalīl in 965/1557-8, the year in which al-Nahrawālī visited the town. Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha was, however, a generous endower, and his *medrese* referred to here may have been of earlier provenance.

Saʿdī Efendi/Çelebi was Saʿd Allāh b. ʿĪsā b. Amīr Ḫan, a senior member of the Ottoman learnèd hierarchy who hailed originally from the village of Ṭāṭāy, near Kastamonu. After teaching in various *medrese*s in Istanbul and Bursa, including one of the eight (Ṣaḥn) attached to the mosque of Sultan Meḥmed II, he was appointed *ḳāżī* of Istanbul in 930/1523, a position he held for about a decade before being released to return to teaching in the *Ṣaḥn medrese*s. Shortly, in 940/1534, he was named to succeed Kemālpaşazāde as *müftī* of Istanbul (*şeyḫ ül-Islām*), which office he still held when he died in 945/1539. For further information on him and his compositions see Ṭaşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, p. 265 and the much expanded entry in Ṭaşköprüzāde/Mecdī, *Şaḳāʾiḳ tercümesi*, pp. 443-5; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iii, 25; Sāmī Bey Fraschery, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, 6 vols. (Istanbul: Mihrān Maṭbaʿası, 1306-16/1889-98), iv, 2570; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 386; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṣmānlı müʾellifleri*, i, 323; and Repp, *Müfti*, pp. 240-4.

288 10 Jumādā I, 965 = Monday, 28 February, 1558. Al-Nahrawālī again has a misalignment of the day of the week with the calculated day of the month (see above, p. 2, n. 7), this time by negligently giving his departure date as the morning of Tuesday, *ʿāshir-hu* (10th Jumādā I) instead of the correct *ḥādiyah ʿashar-hu* (11th = Tuesday, 1 March). As noted earlier (see above, p. 106 and n. 282), he arrived in Adana late on Sunday, 9 Jumādā I/27 February.

289 Of the several maps consulted for this study only one, a multi-segment late 19th-century French military map of the Ottoman empire, shows the village of 'Indjirli' as being located a few kms. northeast of Adana. None of the other travel accounts followed here refers to this place, which probably should not be confused with Incirlik, a small community appearing on some maps as being a short distance east of Adana on the road to Misis, over which al-Nahrawālī had just passed.

290 Curiously, no reference to Ḳūsūnlū, which several lines further along al-Nahrawālī renders also as Ḳūṣūnlī, appears on any map or in any travel account consulted for this study. Sümer, however, locates its ruins seventeen kms. to the northeast of Tarsus and five kms. east of the present-day main road linking Tarsus through the Taurus mountains with mid-Anatolia ("Çukur-ova," p. 75, n. 273 plus photo (#3) of its ruins included at the

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the mountains and is somewhat lengthy. Taking the latter road, [138b] we arrived, towards the time of the afternoon prayer, in a village named Ḳūsūnlū [located] at the foot of a mountain. It is a flourishing community with a *qāḍī* [who receives a daily stipend of] forty *ʿuthmānī*s. I couldn't meet with him since he was absent from town. At Ḳūsūnlū there is a teacher at the Alay Beg *madrasah* [whose daily remuneration is] fifteen *ʿuthmānī*s. He has the name Himmet Ḫalīfe and is a protégé-candidate (*mülāzım*) of ʿAṭāʾ Efendi, preceptor to the [royal Ottoman] prince, Sultan Selīm Ḫan [II].[291] I had a meeting with him and, on the whole, [found him to be] a person of merit.

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end of the article). Its name is derived from a branch of the Varsak Turcoman tribe called the Ḳūsūnoġulları, who were allied with the Ramażānoġulları and long held sway over the southern approaches to the Gülek Pass (Gülek Boğazı). This place was at the southern end of the so-called Cilician Gates (the ancient Pylae Ciliciae), of which the northern terminus was considered to be the town of Ereğli (Har-El, *Struggle for Dominion*, pp. 36, 123). Prior to 925/1519, when it was canceled, a tax known as the Ḳūsūnlū *bāc* was imposed there by the Ḳūsūnoġulları on travelers in transit with goods (*ibid.*, p. 123; and Sümer, "Çukur-ova," p. 61). As a source for the Ḳūsūnoġulları within his wider study on Çukur-ova, Sümer quotes (*ibid.*, p. 75) al-Nahrawālī's observations from the translation of them into modern Turkish, largely unabridged, by Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahat-namesi," pp. 24f. On the several place names associated with this area in the various travel memoirs see too Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, pp. 142f.

291 That Ḳūsūnlū was still the center or a judicial district (*ḳażā*) in the mid-11th/17th century is seemingly corroborated by Evliyā Çelebi, who refers to the *ḳażā* of Ḳuṣūn in the province (*eyālet*) of Adana (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 40).

Among the photos included by Sümer at the conclusion of his article on "Çukur-ova" is one taken of the ruins of a *medrese* (#5) at Ḳūsūnlū, possibly the one referred to here. It seems likely, but is not certain, that the *alay begi* after whom this institution was named was the ʿĪsā Beg mentioned presently by al-Nahrawālī as the then chief of the Ḳūsūn Turcomans, as well as the *alay begi* ʿĪsā Beg whose name appears still further along in the text (see below, p. 111 and n. 295; and Sümer, "Çukur-ova," pp. 75f). Next to the provincial governor (*sancaḳbegi*), the *alay begi* was the seniormost officer among a province's feudal cavalry (*sipāhī*s), it being his responsibility to muster the province's feudal forces when summoned to do so (Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, p. 70, n. 2; and Caroline Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare: the Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606* (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1988), p. 49. This *medrese*'s modest-salaried professor does not appear to have gained anything more than local recognition, at least under the name Himmet. For earlier comments on both *ḫalīfe* and *mülāzım* see above, p. 94, n. 234.

The ʿAṭāʾ Efendi referred to here was the religious scholar and professor (*müderris*) ʿAṭāʾ Allāh Aḥmed Birgevī Efendi, a native of the town of Birgi in the Aegean province of Aydın. He taught in several *medrese*s before being appointed *muʿallim* (personal religious tutor) to Sultan Süleymān's son, Prince Selīm [II] in 957/1550. Upon the latter's elevation to the sultanate in 974/1566, ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's status was elevated to that of

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The inhabitants of this place are all *sipāhī* (cavalry) officers descended from Ḳūsūn, a prince whose offspring have governed in this region for four hundred years. They are [now] subordinate to the district governor (*sancaḳ[begi])* of Ṭarsūs. Their present chief is ʿĪsā Beg, who has a brother named Maḥmūd Beg.[292] On the day of our arrival one of the latter's sons died at the age of ten and his father and family were much stricken with grief over his loss. The citizens of the community all turned out to prepare him for interment. Their burial ground is some distance removed from the town.

Our overnight lodging was in the centre of the village, at a new guest house (*ḫan*) not yet fully constructed. Early Wednesday morning, the 11th of Jumādā I, we left Ḳūṣūnlū[293] in the rain and crossed

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preceptor to the monarch (*ḫoca-ı pādışāhī*). When his death occurred in Ṣafar, 979/ July, 1571, public prayers for him at the Süleymānīye Mosque in Istanbul were led by the famous *müftī* (*şeyḫ ül-Islām*), Ebū 's-Suʿūd Efendi. The principal biographical account of him is that appearing in ʿAṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iḳ ül-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, pp. 149-51. Other, shorter notices include those found in Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 388; and Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iii, 474f. On the importance and influence of the sultan's preceptor (*ḫoca/muʿallim*) see Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, p. 90.

For use of the title sultan preceding the name of an Ottoman prince, as in the instance here of Sultan Selīm Ḫan [II], see A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (repr. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press. 1986), pp. 118f; and Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 18.

292 Ṭarsūs is the present-day Turkish town of Tarsus located about forty kms. west of Adana.

One researcher to address the Ḳūsūnoġulları Turcomans, at least briefly, is Faruk Sümer, who discusses them (in "Çukur-ova," pp. 74-6) on the basis of what little and often conflicting information on them is yielded by early Ottoman historical literature. According to legend, Ḳūsūn was one of half a dozen *beg*s who came to Çukur-ova (Cilicia) with the son of an important Turkish tribal chief named Üç Ok. Sümer notes that while al-Nahrawālī's claim that these people held sway for four centuries is likely an exaggeration, there is evidence of their having been long established in the area. He quotes from the Turkish translation of the portion of the *Riḥlah* encompassing geographical modern Turkey and cites it as a seemingly unique source attesting to the survival and vitality of these people in the mid-10th/16th century. He notes as well that a *defter* (register) for the year 950/1543 shows an ʿĪsā Beg of this community as possessing a *zeʿāmet* (large fief), a status commensurate with the holder of the rank of *alay begi*, as well as the names of several other Ḳūsūnoġulları who were *sipāhī*s (*umarā' ispāhīyah* in al-Nahrawālī's text), farmers – in this instance pastoralists – holding their lands as fiefs in return for military service when required.

293 11 Jumādā I, 965 = Tuesday, 1 March, 1558. His rendering of the name of this community is here altered by al-Nahrawālī from Ḳūsūnlū to Ḳūṣūnlī.

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mountains, peaks and gorges before reaching the pass of al-Kūlak,[294] where there was a good deal of mud. We passed through a new village named Ḳızıl Işıḳ. Nearby, to the left as one heads in the direction of Turkey (al-Rūm,) is a guest house built by the *alay beg* ʿĪsā Beg.[295] Facing the guest house is a lengthy enclosure resembling a dilapidated wall. We then came to three guest houses constructed by Meḥmed Beg, the treasurer (*defterdār*) of Egypt when Dāvud Pasha was [governor] there, and the

294 The Gülek Pass (Arabic: ʿAqabat al-Kūlak; Ottoman Turkish: Gūlek Boġazı; and modern Turkish: Gülek Boğazı), which appears on maps and in texts as, variously, Golek, Gulek, Guelek, Gülek, Kulek, Külek, etc., was at the center of the Cilician Gates, the principal route through the Taurus mountains linking the Cilician plain in the south with central Anatolia to the north (see above, p. 108, n. 290). Besides the pass, there was both a village and, perched on a high peak on the western side, a fortress with the same name, the latter sometimes being referred to as the Genoese fort. Travelers without fail were greatly impressed with this dramatic defile which is close to four thousand feet above sea level and as narrow as twenty-five feet at its center. On both sides of the trail, which lay along side a stream, were steep rock faces rising to a hundred feet. Descriptions of it appear in De la Brocquière, in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, pp. 319f; the Arabic travel account of 937/1530-1 (*al-Maṭāliʿ al-Badrīyah fi manāzil al-Rūmīyah*) left by Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī and in large part translated into modern Turkish by Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 24; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 601; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 39f; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 200f; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 99f); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 72-8; Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, pp. 206-14; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, v, 3925; W.M. Ramsay, "Cilicia, Tarsus and the Great Taurus Pass," *The Geographical Journal*, xxii (1903), pp. 378-83; and Har-El, *Struggle for Dominion*, p. 49.

295 No other reference to this "new" village of Ḳızıl Işıḳ has been located among the accounts and maps consulted for this study. This is the only citation of the name among the many itineraries of travelers in the Ottoman empire compiled by Stephane Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman (XIVe - XVIe siècles)* (Ankara: Imprimerie de la Société Turque d'Histoire, 1991), p. 248). The traveler Meḥmed Edīb observed in the late 11th/17th century that local places with caravansaries having names such as Ṣarı Işıḳ (Yellow Light) and, by implication, Ḳızıl Işıḳ (Red Light), derived these from the ruined mines thereabouts where gold, silver and copper had been extracted (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 100). The *alay begi* ʿĪsā Beg who had its *ḫan* built is almost certainly the same person identified by al-Nahrawālī as being the then chief of the Ḳūsūn Turcomans still dominating this region (see above, n. 292).

That al-Nahrawālī should here, at a point well within Anatolia and present-day Turkey, speak of still heading towards Turkey (al-Rūm) must be seen in the light of this area having, until less than half a century before this time, been under the independent rule of the local Ramażānoġulları, a dynasty more under the influence of the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria to their south than of the Ottomans to their north. In fact, as will shortly be seen (see below, p. 117 and n. 312), it is only some fifty kms. northwest of this point, at modern-day Ulukışla, where the author of the *Riḥlah* considered himself as entering Turkey (al-Rūm).

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one who was wrongfully killed at the time of ʿAlī Pasha['s governorship there]. He was a fair and kind person (God almighty have mercy on him!).[296] Nearby these three guest houses is [another] village, [this one] called Ṣārū Işıḳ.[297] These two villages were given new life by this Meḥmed Beg (God the exalted show him mercy!), whose fief they were and who attracted people to them, made them prosperous, and erected the three guest houses.

Our arrival [at the three guest houses] was following the afternoon prayer and we passed the night there. At sunup on Thursday, the 12th of the month,[298] we set out, traversing mountain passes, stony inclines, river

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296 The Meḥmed Beg referred to here as having served as *defterdār* (treasurer) of Egypt under the Ottoman governor Dāvud Pasha was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jarkasī, possibly a holdover from the Mamlūk era who was known personally by al-Nahrawālī and who, the latter noted, was well disposed to religious scholars like himself. See below, p.252; and al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq*, pp.78, 91 (where his name is mistakenly given as Aḥmad) and 92. Though possible, it remains to be proven that he was the Ḳāżīzāde Meḥmed Beg mentioned by Danişmend (*Izahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 106) as having been *defterdār* of Egypt when the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha was there in 931/1525. Meḥmed Beg's Anatolian fief shortly referred to by al-Nahrawālī would have been a substantial one awarded for part of his income as a senior provincial administrator (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khāṣṣ" (Orhonlu), iv, 1094-7).

Dāvud Pasha was Ottoman governor of Egypt from 944/1538 until his death, in office, in 956/1549 (Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, ii, 324f). Although there was more than one ʿAlī Pasha who served as governor there in the 10th/16th century, the one referred to here likely was Semīn ʿAlī Pasha (see below, p.163 and n.447), whose tenure extended from 956/1549 until *ca.* 961/1554. He held various provincial posts before succeeding Rüstem Pasha as grand vizier when the latter died in 968/1561 (*ibid.*, iii, 499 (which contains errors)); and *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ali Paşa Semiz (Semin, Kalın)" (Gökbilgin), i, 341f). Although it is suggested here that ʿAlī Pasha was in some way associated with the wrongful murder of Meḥmed Beg, al-Nahrawālī, a friend of the latter, judged ʿAlī Pasha to have been one of the best governors of the province (see below, p.246). On Semīn ʿAlī Pasha's career see below, p.163 n.447.

297 For a theory on the origin of the name Ṣārū Işıḳ, which is Ṣarı/Ṣaru Işıḳ in Ottoman Turkish and Sarı Işık in modern, see above, n.295.

298 12 Jumādā I, 965 = Wednesday, 2 March, 1558. Just where al-Nahrawālī lodged overnight on this date – in actuality, Thursday, 13 Jumādā I (see above, p.108, n.288) – remains somewhat vague in the text beyond reference to the three guest houses (*ḫans*). Ekrem Kâmil, the translator of this section of the *Riḥlah* into modern Turkish, gives it as being Sarı Işıḳ which, although not clearly justified by the Arabic original, finds support from John Sanderson who passed along this route in 1597 and included in his itinerary an overnight stop at "Sareshik" (*The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584 - 1602*, ed. Sir William Foster (London: Hakluyt Society, 1931), pp.62f). On the other hand, the fact that some accounts locate Ṣaru Işıḳ *south* of the Cilician Gates/Gülek Boğazı (Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p.100); Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, map opp. p. ix; and Ramsay, "Cilicia," p.385 and on the three appended maps) either challenges the accuracy here of al-Nahrawālī, perhaps with regard to his sense of "near

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fords, ravines, and boulder-strewn pathless terrain. We as well passed by a new inn on our right and then came to a spot where a toll of one *muḥallaq* per camel is collected.[299] [The income from this] is expended upon the sentry garrison (*nevbetcīye*) of about forty men who guard the road from a strong point atop a lofty mountain. Nearby are three guest houses, a mosque with a prayer niche (*miḥrāb*) and pulpit, and a public kitchen (*ʿimāret*) where, during the six months of winter, soup is provided for travelers. Each month ten Meccan *uqqah*s[300] of jerked meat are cooked, along with small loaves of bread. That is supported by pious foundations[301] [139a] established in Ṭarsūs. I noticed above the entrance to this guest

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(*bi-qurb*)" in particular, or raises the rather unlikely possibility of there having been two places with the same name separated by the Gülek Pass. Taeschner (*Anatolische Wegenetz*, pp. 137f), basing himself on Ḥācī Ḫalīfe's *Cihān-numā*, points out differences in the amount of transit time and the number of stops required between winter and summer passages along this section of road through the Taurus range.

299 For an earlier comment on this unit of Arabian silver currency see above, p. 10, n. 33. The description here of this short stretch of the road through the Taurus mountains suggests that al-Nahrawālī's party had been passing through the defile known in classical and medieval, but not Ottoman, times as the Bozanti Pass. On the basis of certain 11th/17th-century Ottoman travel accounts Taeschner concludes that the inn located here was probably the one appearing in several accounts under the name Sulṭān Ḫanı (*Anatolische Wegenetz*, pp. 137f). There remains in the area today the village of Pozantı.

300 The reading of *ʿasharat uqqāt* (ten *uqqah*s) is somewhat uncertain, since the second of the two words is so crampted and buried in the binding of the manuscript that al-Nahrawālī – or someone else – felt the need to place the final consonant (*tāʾ*) in the margin at the beginning of the next line. It is also the case that, in accordance with the rule of polarity in the governance of Arabic numerals, such a combination should be *ʿashr uqqāt*. There seems, however, no other possibility here than *uqqāt (Makkīyah)*. Hinz (*Islamische Masse*, p. 24) gives the *oqqa* as an Ottoman weight equivalent to 1.283 kgs., a figure generally in line with those yielded by most Arabic and Turkish dictionaries. To what extent, if any, the Meccan *uqqah* varied from this has not been determined.

301 Besides referring specifically to an endowed structure from which victuals were prepared and distributed to wayfarers, the sick and the needy, in Ottoman usage the terms *ʿimāret* and *küllīye* could designate a complex of structures meeting public needs, such as a mosque, *medrese*, *ḫan*, bath, hospital and public kitchen, etc. Ottoman senior officers of state, from the grand vizier (as in this instance) down, were encouraged by both the faith (*dīn*) and the sultan/state (*devlet*) to endow through *waqf*s/*vaḳıf*s these complexes for civic purposes. Obviously this example is but a modest version of the concept. On this see Halil İnalcık, "The Ottoman Economic Mind and Aspects of the Ottoman Economy," in M. A. Cook, ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (Oxford: University Press, 1970), p. 208; Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vii (1976), 193; and Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 328, n. 46.

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house[302] [the following inscription]: "Meḥmed Pasha the son of el-Cemālī, grand vizier to the family of ʿOṣmān, ordered the erection of this *ḫan* in Shawwāl, 928."[303] This inn is known as the *ḫan* of Pīrī Pasha, but the latter's given name (*ism*) is Meḥmed.[304] This was a brief day's journey. We elected to stay there because of the raininess.

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302 The text here is somewhat ambiguous on whether al-Nahrawālī is referring to just one of three *ḫan*s mentioned by him, to all three collectively, or to another one altogether. The latter possibility seems to be supported by Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 601.

303 Shawwāl, 928 = August-September, 1522. At the top left corner of this folio, and positioned diagonally to it, appears the Arabic combination *al-thālith ʿashar* ("the thirteenth"). Since it bears no direct relationship to the text at this point, it would appear either to be connected with the preparation of the manuscript's binding or to be serving as a layout device by the workbook's owner. The probability of either of these is supported by the fact that the combinations *al-thānī ʿashar* ("the twelfth") and *al-rābiʿ ʿashar* ("the fourteenth") appear twelve folios earlier (f. 127a) and subsequently (f. 151a).

304 The endower of this guest house, which the author of the *Riḥlah* refers to as the *ḫan* of Pīrī Pasha, was Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha, a native of Amasya and a descendant – but not a son – of the famous religious scholar Cemāleddīn Aḳsarāy'ī. Given a traditional religious education, Pīrī Meḥmed had an early career as judge in several towns before switching first to the area of treasury, where he became *baş defterdār* (chief treasurer) of Rūmili, and then to the third viziership and, in 923/1517, to the grand viziership (*ṣadr-ı aʿẓamlıḳ*). He held this supreme office until 929/1523, when he was dismissed and pensioned, having retained the position continuously for more than five years under Sultans Selīm I and Süleymān I. Perhaps owing to his religious background and involvement with the *ṣūfī*s (mystics), he was a generous endower of mosques, *ʿimāret*s, colleges, *ṣūfī* centers (*zāwiyah*s/*zāviye*s), etc., in various parts of the empire. For further details on him consult ʿOṣmānzāde Tā'ib Aḥmed, *Ḥadīḳat ül-vüzerā*, pp. 22-4; Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, ii, 43; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṣmānlı müʾellifleri*, ii, 111f; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, ii, 1585f; İslâm Ansiklopedisi, art. "Pîrî Mehmed Paşa" (Ş. Turan), ix, 559-61; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha" (Babinger), viii, 307f.

Travelers in the 11th/17th century identified this halting place (*manzil*) as Çifte (Arabic Jiftah) Ḫan, seemingly because there was by then a pair (*çifte*) of adjacent *ḫan*s. According to Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 119), the third *ḫan*, built by a Murtażā Pasha, burned down, leaving just two during most of the 11th/17th century. It is interesting to note that, in his itinerary for the Iraq campaign of 941-3/1535-6, Nasūḥ al-Silāḥī Maṭraḳçi (as cited by Yerasimos, *Voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman*, p. 185) gives for this station the name Bācdār Ḫanı ("the *ḫan* with the (commercial) tax"), thereby confirming that an impost was being collected there more than two decades before al-Nahrawālī's visit. See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 194; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 601; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 39; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p. 203; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 98f); Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 72f (who calls it Chiftlik Khan); Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, p. 219; and Ramsay, "Cilicia," pp. 396f (which includes a photo of the pair of *ḫan*s as they were in the late 19th century).

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Friday, the 13th of Jumādā I, marked the conclusion of the *ḥasūm* season and of [late winter's] incapacitation before the vernal equinox.[305] We departed at daybreak on an intensely cold day, crossing mountain passes and river fords, and passing inns built by the road as well as warm, running sulfurous waters [with structures] built over them like baths.[306] Then, in the afternoon, we came to two guest houses close by a hamlet called Kāvur Ṣındūġī Köy.[307] This was a lengthy leg of the journey.

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305 13 Jumādā I, 965 = Thursday, 3 March, 1558. According to the explanation of *ḥasūm* provided by Dozy (*Supplément*, i, 287), it was generally held that before and after this seven-day *ḥasūm* period, which began on the 25th of February and ended on the 3rd of March, there would be such storms that, for example, one would not put to sea for a fortnight. James W. Redhouse, in his *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople: A. H. Boyajian, 1890; repr. Beirut: Libraire du Liban, 1974), p. 876) defines this as a period of seven or eight days of cold weather anticipated about a week before the vernal equinox. The notion of incapacitation conveyed by the word *ʿ*jāz* added to the Arabic text here probably relates to a combination of winter's ending with harsh climatic conditions and an inherent unwillingness by people to undertake undue physical activities during this period. The dates provided here by these two descriptions, in combination with the adjustment to the Christian calendar in the late 16th century, are in line with the modern date for the vernal equinox, *viz*. 20 March.

306 Several travelers commented on the presence of warm thermal springs in the vicinity of Çifte Ḫan. In 1058/1648 Evliyā Çelebi remarked (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 39) on a bath (*ḥammām*) with warm water housed in a small stone building roofed over by a dome. Davis too, in the 1870s, observed (*Life in Asiatic Turkey*, pp. 218f) a hot mineral spring supplying a bath of Roman consrtuction with vaulted masonry roofing, about ten minutes off the main road. He noted it to be somewhat ruinous but still useful and popular. Only a few years later, Ramsay found it ("Cilicia," p. 396) to be in very poor shape, with no trace of any of the original Roman building materials in evidence. These warm springs were noted briefly as well by Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 98) and Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, p. 73.

307 As it appears in the text of the *Riḥlah*, the name of this halting place has the meaning "the village where the infidel (*kāvur=kāfir=giaour=infidel*) was defeated," doubtless signifying it as a spot where, at some point in history, Muslim forces triumphed over Christians in a military engagement. It is also rendered Kāfir Ṣındı ([where] the infidel was routed). Among the 11th/17th-century travel accounts consulted here it is mentioned in those of Ḫibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 119) and Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 98 & n. 3); and doubtless it is the *ʿaqabah* (steep incline) alluded to by Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 194. Ramsay, who refers to it as Giaour Sindikh ("Cilicia," p. 400 and on two of the three maps appended to his account), described it as a "gigantic staircase," denoting the steep fall in the road where it passes by it. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall included it in the itinerary of Sultan Süleymān's Iraq/Persian campaign of 941-3/1535-6 as Kafir ssindüghi (*Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 10 vols. (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, 1963), iii, 689; but in the French translation of it by J. Hellert, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, 16 vols. (repr. Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993-2000), v, 270 it is given as Kazir Sindüghi). On it see too Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, pp. 141f.

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We departed Kāvur Ṣındūġī at sunrise on Saturday, the 14th of the month,[308] and traversed ravines, mountains and stony patches. Then we crossed over a ramshackle bridge and passed two inns on our right before coming out onto level ground. Late in the day[309] we came to a small prosperous community. It has a mosque, a hostel (*ḫan*) and a number of houses, and bears the name Ūlū Ḳışlāḳ.[310] We lodged in the residence of one named Nāṣif b. Ḥusayn, who has an adolescent boy named Muṣṭafā and two brothers [with the names] Ḥasan and Yūsuf. They are people who

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308 14 Jumādā I, 965 = Friday, 4 March, 1558.

309 The author of the *Riḥlah* more than once employs the Arabic expression *bayn al-ṣalātayn* ("between the two prayers") to designate late afternoon, towards the end of the traditional day, and thus to refer to the period between the afternoon (*ʿaṣr*) and sunset (*maghrib*) prayers. See above, p.31 where he explicitly uses *mā bayn al-ʿaṣr wa al-maghrib* in this sense. Traditionally, the five Islamic canonical prayers were grouped into morning (*ṣubḥ* or *fajr*), midday (*ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr*) and late day (*maghrib* and *ʿishāʾ*), with the expression *bayn al-ṣalātayn* denoting the period between the latter two groupings.

310 Ūlū Ḳışlaḳ/Ḳışla, now the town of Ulukışla with a population (1980) of 7,000, is located twenty-eight kms. west of Çifte Ḫan (Ekrem Üzümeri *et al*, *Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 6 vols. (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1956-8), vi, 122f; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, 11 vols. (Istanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1981-4), viii, 6203). Its name conveys the sense of a great winter encampment (for pastoralist Turcomans), although 19th-century observers construed *ḳışlaḳ* as meaning a winter barracks, since its great rectangular *ḫan* was apparently used as an army barracks throughout much of that century. While the origins of the mosque and hostel noted by al-Nahrawālī in 965/1558 have not been determined, some 11th/17th-century and later accounts refer to two *ḫan*s, one of which was adjoined by a mosque and several other structures, such as a public bath, *ṣūfī* lodge (*zāviye*), public kitchen (*ʿimāret*), etc., and was constructed with an arched roof for winter use. The whole complex of buildings, including the *ḫan*, was constructed of cut stone in 1028/1619 (Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi* (Istanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1986), pp.338-40, with photos), and was endowed by Dāmād Meḥmed Pasha, better known as Öküz Meḥmed Pasha, who was twice grand vizier (1023-5/1614-16 and 1028/1619), and who died at Aleppo in 1028/1619 (İslâm Ansiklopedisi, art. "Meḥmed Paşa. Damad" (Tekindağ), vii, 581-3).

On features of this place and its structures consult Sanderson, *Travels...in the Levant*, p.62 (Uluckislia); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 194; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 119); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 618; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 37f; Paul of Aleppo, *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch*, trans. F.C. Belfour, 2 vols. (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1836), i, 6 (who in 1652 refers to the "Khan *Mohammed Pasha*" as the *Yenghi* [= *Yeni*, "new"] *Khan*, or *Olen Kushluk*); al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, p.205 (providing in graceful Arabic an informative and clear description of the place as it was in 1080/1669); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p.98); Ali Bey, *Travels,* ii, 309; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 71f (Kolu Kishla); Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, pp. 224-31; and Ramsay, "Cilicia," p.405 (who gives this place as the northern terminus of the Cilician Gates (*cf.* above, p. 108, n. 289)).

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are firm in their faith. At this point the conducting of business in the silver *muḥallaq*[311] ceases. From here on only *ʿuthmānī*s are available [and at the rate of] fifty-nine for one gold *ashrafī*.[312]

Our departure was at daybreak on Sunday, the 15th of Jumādā I,[313] a clear and mild day; and after crossing hills, ravines and marshlands, we entered Ereklī following the time of the afternoon prayer. I met with the *imām* of its mosque, Sinān Ḫalīfe, the *dānişmend* (advanced *madrasah* student) of Sinān Efendi, the former *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker*.[314] He told me

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311 On the *fiḍḍah muḥallaqah* (round silver piece) unit of Arabian currency see above, p. 10, n. 33.

312 On the *ʿuthmānī/ʿoşmānī* (= *akçe*), the silver currency which was the basic unit of account in the Ottoman empire throughout much of its history, see above, p. 16, n. 50. The Mamlūk gold *ashrafi*, which was introduced in 829/1425-6 by Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy (*r.* 825-41/1422-38) in imitation of the Venetian ducat (*iflūrī*, *ifrantī*, *efrencī*), and which ultimately succeeded in countering the domination of the latter currency in Mamlūk markets, remained in use until the Ottoman conquest and for some considerable time afterwards, its name being transformed from *ashrafi/eşrefi* to *Şerīfi* (= *sulṭānī* = *altūn*). In the late 9th/15th century its value at Bursa varied from 42.5 to 43 *akçe*s against the ducat, which had the worth of between 45.5 and 46 *akçe*s (İnalcık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, iii (1960), 147); and between 1550 and 1566 – the period of this *Riḥlah* – the Ottoman gold piece (*altūn/sulṭānī*), with which the *ashrafi* was close to par, had the value of sixty *akçes*/*ʿuthmānī*s (Barkan, "Price Revolution," p. 12). The *ashrafi* was recorded in use in Arabia as early as 834/1431 (Mortel, "Prices in Mecca," p. 302). On this currency and its use see too M. Gaston Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane, 642-1517*, vol. iv of G. Hanotaux, gen. ed., *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, 7 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire nationale, 1931-40), p. 554; Robert Mantran, *La Vie quotidienne à Constantinople au temps de Soliman le Magnifique et de ses successeurs* (Paris: Hachette, 1965), p. 174; Jere L. Bacharach, "The Dinar versus the Ducat," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, iv (1973), 77; *idem.*, "Monetary Movements in Medieval Egypt," in J. F. Richards, ed., *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1983), p. 171; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "ʿOthmānlı – ix. Numismatics," (Darley-Doran), viii, 228; and Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire," pp. 953, 955. Clearly, this apparently compulsory conversion of currency at Ulu Ḳışlaḳ, essentially from Arabic into Turkish, is of some significance in attempting to identify the Arab-Turkish frontier zone as it was, barely four decades after the Ottoman conquest of Mamlūk Syria and Egypt.

313 15 Jumādā I, 965 = Saturday, 5 March, 1558.

314 This place, which appears in historical accounts and on maps as, variously, Eregli, Erekli, Erekle, Elégri, Regli, Erehli, Arqalah, etc., is the modern town of Ereğli. As there are, or have been, several communities in Anatolia with the same name, it has been, where necessary, distinguished as Konya Ereğlisi (the Ereğli of (the province of) Konya) or, formerly, as Ḳaramān Ereğlisi. It is now a town of 57,000 inhabitants (1980) located about forty kms. west of Ulukışla and 150 kms. east of Konya. According to the Ottoman pilgrim Meḥmed Edīb, who was there in 1089/1679, it was situated half way along the pilgrimage route from Istanbul to Damascus (Bianchi,

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that this town owed its origins to Heraclius, [but that] the hoipolloi have [over time] corrupted its spelling and altered its letters.[315] He also related to me that Heraclius saw the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!) in a dream while the latter was urging him to become a Muslim. So Heraclius sought from him a miracle, saying, "This town of mine has little water and I would like to have a stream flowing through it." The Prophet responded, "Take any verse from God the exalted's book and write it down on a [piece of] papyrus. Then put it anywhere you wish and water will flow from it and pervade your town." When Heraclius awakened and related this

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"Itinéraire," pp. 97f). Generally, the pleasant appearance of its well irrigated rich gardens, orchards and foliage gave travelers a favorable impression of it, at least from a distance. In fact, one Arab visitor, in 1080/1669, called it Little Damascus, owing to its abundance of trees and water, as well as to the presence of a nearby mountain (al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, pp.205-8). However, Karamanid Ereğli was described in 1432 as being in the greatest state of ruin (De la Brocquière, in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p.320); and 19th-century travelers, although usually conveying an overall favorable image of the place, commented on the ruinous state of its predominantly mud-brick urban fabric and on the high incidence of malaria caused by the many nearby marshlands. Al-Nahrawālī's reporting of the legend about the origins of the town's copious water supply due to prophetic miracle appears, with variations, in other accounts. See too the reflections of the Arab traveler Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī in 937/1530-31 (in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p.27); Chesneau, *Voyage de Monsieur D'Aramon*, p.147; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, pp. 193f (who here follows closely al-Nahrawālī's *Riḥlah*); Hibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p.119); Ḥācī Ḫalîfe, *Cihān-numā* (as cited in İbrahim H. Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitâbeleri ile Ereğli Tarihi* (Istanbul: Fatih Matbaası, 1970), pp. 26f); Evliyā Çelebi *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 28f; Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 310; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 70f; Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, pp.237-44; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ereğli" (Taeschner), ii, 705; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ereğli" (Darkot), iv, 307-9; Üzümeri, *Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 469f; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vii, 5193.

While no further identification of the *imām* Sinān Ḫalîfe has been made, for an earlier reference to and note on Sinān(eddīn) Efendi, the *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* (chief justice) of Anatolia (*ca.* 954-8/1547-51), see above, p.80 and n. 206. The term *dānişmend* was usually reserved for a senior *medrese* student who was a student or graduate of the advanced Ṣaḥn-ı Ṯemān *medrese* complex established in Istanbul by Sultan Meḥmed II (d. 886/1481). On this term see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin ılmiye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965), pp.12, 14, 315; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, p.146; Repp, *Müfti*, p.37; and *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, 7 vols. (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayıları, 1977-90), ii, 191.

315 Although this place had classical, possibly even ancient, origins (Cybistra), its name, both the variants Erāklīyah/Hirāḳlah/Hiraḳlīyah of Ottoman and the Ereğli of modern, is a Turkish representation of the Greek Heracleia (Latin Heraclea and Arabic Hiraqlah), named for the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (*r.* 610-41 C.E.), who (re)built the town as a frontier fortification. Al-Nahrawālī's rendering of Hiraqlīnūs for Hiraqliyūs, an Arabic spelling of this emperor's name (more usually Hirqil or Hiraql), is almost certainly an error. See Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 28; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ereğli" (Taeschner), ii, 705.

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to his patricians and state ministers, [139b] they thought it farfetched but promised to embrace Islam should that turn out to be true. He thus took a verse from the Qurʾān, wrote it out on parchment, and came [with it] to a dried up ravine near them. When he slipped it within the crevice of a rock, water gushed forth with such force that it struck him in the face. All of his town was [soon] permeated by water which became a mighty river. And so he and the people of his state had faith in the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!). He put all that accrued to him from this water into a charitable trust for the City of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him peace!). From the time of Heraclius down to the present that [charitable trust] for the district of Medina the exalted has been strictly observed.

Within Ereklī are about four hundred residences, while round about it are some fifteen hundred dwellings, as well as villages and hamlets. The judgeship of the place [pays] thirty-five *ʿuthmānī*s [daily]. It has a mosque and minaret built by Ḳılıç Arslān the Selcūḳid. In its mosque I observed a preacher named ʿAbdülkerīm Efendi el-Lārendelī.[316]

316 Whereas 11th/17th-century accounts generally describe a prospereous and vibrant Ereğli with more than twenty town quarters (*maḥalle*), nearly each with its own mosque (*masjid/mescid*), plus four Friday mosques (*jāmiʿ/cāmiʿ*) and such other public amenities as *ḫan*s and baths (*ḥammām)*, etc., in the 10th/16th century the situation, while perhaps no less flourishing, appears to have been somewhat more modest. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, who stopped there in 937/1530-1, refers to its (seemingly one) attractive solidly-constucted *cāmiʿ* with a wooden *minber* (pulpit) and a very lofty free-standing minaret (in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p.27); and al-Nahrawālī's remarks seem to suggest the existence of just the one (Friday) mosque. The provenance of this structure, long called the Ulu Cami, has yet to be determined accurately. According to Konyalı, who gives considerable space to it (*Ereğli Tarihi*, pp. 477-95 with photos), a charitable endowment document dating from 992/1582 (*sic* 1584) indicates that this mosque was built in 860/1456 by Ḳaramānoġlu Meḥmed Beg, a son of İbrāhīm Beg II (who was Tāceddīn İbrāhīm, the last great Ḳaramānid ruler (d. 869/1464), who had many sons (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḳaramān-Oghulları" (Sümer), iv, 619)). Although Konyalı could find no documentary evidence of an Ereğli mosque built by any of the four Seljūḳid rulers named Kılıç Arslan, the brief coverage of this edifice provided by Ernst Diez, Oktay Aslanapa and M. M. Koman, *Karaman Devri Sanatı* (Istanbul: Doğan Kardeş Yayınları, 1950), pp.117-20 (with photos) raises the possibility that the Ḳaramānid İbrāhīm (*sic* Meḥmed) Beg may have *restored* a mosque of Selcūḳid origin. 19th-century observers saw Ereğli as a rather poor, neglected and unhealthy place with 650-850 houses and an estimated population (in the 1870s) of less than 3,000 (Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 70; and Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, p.240). No further identification of Imām ʿAbdülkerīm Efendi el-Lārendeli has been made. See too Chesneau, *Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, p.147; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p.119); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p.616 (as cited in Konyalı, *Ereğli Tarihi*, pp.26f); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp.97f); *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ereğli" (Darkot), iv, 308f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ereğli" (Taeschner), ii, 705.

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We stayed in a guest house near the mosque and market for two days, and left Ereklī at sunrise on the third day, Tuesday, the 17th of the month.[317] Turning off the road to Konya because it was muddy, we arrived at Ḳāra Būñār[318] following the time of the evening prayer. It was an exceptionally lengthy day's journey. Along the way Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī[319] found and apprehended an escaped black slave, who disclosed that his master was one Ḫıżr the cameleer. We lodged at a villager's house where there was a shortage of water.

On Wednesday, the 18th of Jumādā I,[320] we set out from Ḳara Būñār at daybreak and passed through a village called K-līh.[321] Here a person named Yūsuf came [to us] asserting that he was a brother of the *yuvācı*,[322] namely the intendant of the bureau of inheritances and unclaimed proper-

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317 17 Jumādā I, 965 = Monday, 7 March, 1558.

318 This place, now known as Karapınar, appears on maps and in descriptions as Karab(o)unar, Kārá Būnār, Carabig-nar, Qarābiyār, Caribonar, etc. It is a town on the Ereğli-Konya road, situated one hundred kms. east of the latter and fifty kms. west of the former. In *ca.* 1970 it had a population of 15,850 (Üzümeri, *Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 335; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat ve Ansiklopedisi*, 12 vols. (Istanbul: Meydan Yayınevi, 1969-73), vi, 945; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vii, 5196). Contrary to what the author of the *Riḥlah* indicates here, Karapınar was a fairly regular stop on the caravan route, some nine to twelve hours travel time from Ereğli. It was only after leaving Karapınar that al-Nahrawālī's party was compelled by poor traveling conditions to detour around Konya and pass through some obscure hamlets. Perhaps it was because the Ereğli-Karapınar stretch was unusually lengthy and he arrived in the latter place after sunset that al-Nahrawālī didn't bother to inspect and comment on the town's buildings. It could be the case, however, that at that time there was not much to comment on; for the mosque and other public amenities were erected by Sultan Süleymān (d.974/1566). In fact, it was related to the Arab traveler al-Khiyārī in 1080/1669 that construction of this mosque and other buildings was urged on that sultan by his son, Selīm (II) (*Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, pp.208f). According to Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 119), work on the mosque was completed in 982/1573-4. See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, p.193; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p.616; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 27f; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p.97); Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 310f; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, pp.69f; and Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, pp. 132f.

319 For an earlier reference to and note on Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī, a member of al-Nahrawālī's suite, see above, p. 4 and n. 12.

320 18 Jumādā I, 965 = Tuesday, 8 March, 1558.

321 None of the maps or sources consulted yields a place name in any way resembling what in the *Riḥlah* text is unmistakably K/G -l (–) y (–) h, which Ekrem Kâmil construes as Kilye ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p.30). Possibly al-Nahrawālī misspelled the true name; or the place underwent a name change; or the village was later abandoned. Although the text is unhelpful, it seems likely that this detour took al-Nahrawālī east of Konya rather than south and then west of it.

322 The text's vocalisation of this word with a *ḍammah* vowel (u) notwithstanding, it would seem that the intended word/term for this context is *yavācı*/*yāvacı*/*yāveci* with the sense of an official who is concerned with the recovering of runaway slaves (Ömer Lûtfi

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ties (*multazim bayt al-māl*) and the one responsible for [recovering] escaped slaves.[323] He demanded the slave from al-Shuwaymī; and when the latter refused, he took him from him by force and made off with him.

A halt was made in a village called Saruḫān, the populace of which is originally from the well-known district of Saruḫān.[324] We saw [there] a providential woman named Erṣāndıḳ who brought us gifts of bread and butter. She sought our invocation of God, mentioning that she has a boy called Maḥmūd, whose other name is Ḥaydar,[325] and that he is an advanced student (*dānişmend*) with [the *ṣūfī* teacher] Ezelīzāde in Konya.[326]

Barkan, *XV ve XVIıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı ımparatorluğunda Ziraî ve Malî Esasları, v. i: Kanunlar* (Istanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası, 1943), pp.233, 243, 276). On this sense of *yāva/yāve/yavā*, etc. see Türk Dil Kurumu, *Tarama Sözlüğü*, 8 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1963-77), vi, 4398f; Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p.2196; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, iii, 607; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḍarībah (3) – Ottoman Empire" (Inalcık), ii, 147. A brief study on the *yuvācı* and the retrieval of runaway slaves is that by Wojciech Hensel, "Some Notes Concerning the Apprehension of Runaway Slaves in the Ottoman Empire," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, xxxviii (1976), 161-8. I am much indebted to Ms. Maryna Kravets, my research assistant, for leading me to this understanding of *al-yuwājī* as it appears in the Arabic text.

323 Ottoman practice was to employ for this official the terms *emīn beyt ül-māl* or *beyt ülmālci*. For *beyt ül-māl(ci)* in general see *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Beytülmāl" (E. Mardin), ii, 591-3; and Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, i, 222-6. On its use in this context as the one responsible for recovering lost or runaway slaves, animals, etc. (=*yāvacı/yavācı*), consult in particular the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Bayt al-Māl – Ottoman state" (Lewis), i, 1147.

324 No further reference to the village of Saruḫān has been located. What al-Nahrawālī refers to here as the district (*nāḥiyah*) of Saruḫān was, in fact, the Aegean principality (*uc begilik*; Arabic *imārah*) of Ṣarūḫan (modern Turkish Saruhan) with Manisa as its capital. It came into existence probably in the early years of the 8th/14th century and survived as an independent polity for about a century before being absorbed permanently by the Ottoman state, wherein it had the status of a province (*sancaḳbegilik*). Although removal by the Ottomans of pastoralist Turcomans from Saruhan to Rūmili is attested, corroborative evidence of their being transferred to the Konya area, where they maintained identity with their roots, has not been uncovered. On the principality of Saruhan see *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Saruhan-Oğulları" (Uluçay), ix, 239-44; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ṣarūkẖān" (Zachariadou), ix, 69.

325 Whereas the vocalisation of the woman's name as Erṣāndıḳ is conjectural, identification of the second part of the boy's name as Ḥaydar is fairly certain, even though it is largely lost in the binding of the ms.

326 For the term *dānişmend* see above, p. 117, n. 314; and, in particular, for its broad usage being a challenge to modern scholarship, consult Repp, *Müfti*, p.37.

This *ṣūfī* teacher was ʿAbdürraḥmān Efendi, the son of Konyalı İbrāhīm. He was authorised by a Şeyḫ Cemāl to initiate others into Sufism and became *şeyḫ* of the Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā *zāviye/ḫāneḳāh* in Konya (on which institution see İbrahim H. Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitâbeleri ile Konya Tarihi* (Konya: Yeni Kitap Basımevi, 1964), pp.927-34). His death occurred in 974/1567 (Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, iii, 311).

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The *sharīf* [of Mecca]'s slaves showed stubbornness and resistance, and they encamped off by themselves. The reason for this was that they had vilified and struck the muleteers[327] and [140a] drawn [their] swords against them. The ones who did this were Jawhar Ṣaghīr, the slave of [the late] Sayyid Aḥmad, and Farḥān; and the two of them were joined by my servant Surūr.[328] When I struck my slave for his having committed this disgraceful act, the *sharīf*'s slaves were angered and left me. They were followed by [Aḥmad] al-Shuwaymī, and I was left alone on my own (God almighty hear my grievance!).

The night of Thursday, the 19th of Jumādā I,[329] was spent in Saruḫān. We resumed our journey at dawn, proceeding across level terrain until coming to a village by the name of M-skīr,[330] [situated] at the foot of a mountain. Our overnight stay there was in a mosque having an *imām* named Feḳīh İsrāfīl b. Sinān. The latter, who has a small boy of three named Yaʿḳūb, reported that the mosque is about thirty years old and was built by one Feḳīh Baḫşīş.[331] This *imām* related as well that he is Arab in origin. We were subjected by the [local] pimp to remarks which it would be improper to mention (One's future reward is in the hands of God the exalted!).

We left M-skīr at daybreak on Friday, the 20th, and experienced rain along the road. It was [the Persian solar] New Year's and the first day of [the zodiacal sign of] Aries.[332] Towards the time of the afternoon prayer, we

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327 Although yet again the final word of the (final) line is largely lost in the binding of the ms., close inspection shows it to be *ḍarabū-hum*. This is the first evidence of there having been other members (*viz. ḳāṭırcīye* = muleteers) of al-Nahrawālī's party in addition to those mentioned above, p. 4 and n. 12.

328 For an earlier mention of these people (and others), consult the cross reference appearing in the previous note.

329 19 Jumādā I, 965 = Wednesday, 9 March, 1558.

330 This is another of the yet unidentified villages or hamlets along al-Nahrawālī's by-pass of Konya. None of the accounts or maps examined yields a place name even approximating that of M-skīr, which Ekrem Kâmil vocalises as Miskir in modern Turkish ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 30).

331 Neither of these two names appears in the biographical accounts consulted for this study and must be counted among several such minor acquaintances made by al-Nahrawālī along his route.

332 20 Jumādā I, 965 = Thursday, 10 March, 1558. Given that, owing to al-Nahrawālī's negligence, this date should be 21 Jumādā I, 965 = Friday 11 March, 1558 (see above, p. 108, n. 288), in combination with the adjustment to the Christian calendar made in 1582 when the Gregorian calendar was adopted with a difference of ten days from the Julian calendar, the date provided here equates with March 20/21, the modern Christian solar date for the vernal equinox, which is the same as Persian New Year's (*nawrūz/nayrūz*). This day was celebrated as a holiday throughout much of the Ottoman empire. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Nawrūz – 1. Ottoman Heartlands" (Levy/Bosworth), vii, 1047; and see above, p. 115, n. 305.

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came to a hamlet known as Būzuḳ.[333] The yellow flower known among people hereabout as the *çiyik-m*[334] had begun to bloom. It makes its appearance around New Year's. We lodged at a local guest house (*ḫan*) when the rain kept falling.

I saw there a young man descended from ʿĀşıḳ Pasha.[335] He is a trusted *shaykh* named Şeyḫ ʿAbdülkerīm b. Şeyḫ Nūrullāh. He said that his roots are in Ḳīr Şehir, some four days distant,[336] and that his father had come to this village where he became related to Mūsā Ḫalīfe[337] by marrying the latter's daughter. ʿAbdülkerīm was born to him in the year 923 [1517-18]; and the father, Nūrullāh, died in 961 [1553-4]. Şeyḫ ʿAbdülkerīm has sons named ʿAbdüsselām, Mūsā and Nūrullāh.

As this village has a large mosque, I made my way to it through the rain and, with the worshipers assembled, performed the sunset and evening prayers. It's an old mosque which, I'm told, dates back about 350 years,

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333 Although the village (in the text: *ḳayʿah* = hamlet, small village) of Bozoḳ (Arabic Būzuq, modern Turkish Bozok), which may derive its name from the Boz Ok clans of the Oğuz Turcomans (S. S. Üçer and M. M. Koman, *Konya İli Köy ve Yer Adları üzerinde bir Deneme* (Konya: Yeni Kitap ve Basımevi, 1945), p.9; and Har-El, *Struggle for Dominion*, pp. 39f), appears on none of the maps used for this study, it is mentioned as a halting place (*ḳonaḳ*) along the return route of Sultan Süleymān's Iraq/Persian campaign of 941-3/1535-6 (Aḥmed Ferīdūn Beg, ed., *Münşeʾāt üs-selāṭīn*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1274-5/ 1858), i, 598; and Naşūḥü's-Silāḥī Maṭraḳçi, *Beyān-ı menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn-i Sulṭān Süleymān Ḫān*, ed. Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976), p. 113). See too Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, p. 129, n. 4 and Tafel 10.

334 It seems likely that what in the partly vocalised text of the *Riḥlah* resembles *çiyik-m* or *çiyiğim* is an error for *çığdem/çıydem* (modern Turkish *çiğdem*), namely the crocus or meadow saffron (described in the Arabic text as *zahr aṣfar*, a yellow flower).

335 The person referred to here was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, known as ʿĀşıḳ Pasha (670-733/1272-1333), an eminent early Anatolian Turkish poet and mystic (*ṣūfī*) associated with the city of Kırşehir, where he died and his tomb sanctuary has for long been a place of pilgrimage. His great-grandson was the famous 9th/15th-century Ottoman chronicler ʿĀşıḳ Pashazāde (803/1400 – post 889/1484). On ʿĀşıḳ Pasha see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "ʿĀshıḳ Pasha" (İz), i, 698f; and *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Aşık Paşa" (M. F. Köprülü), i, 701-6. The latter of these goes into considerable detail about ʿĀşıḳ Pasha's origin, career and works, as well as about his family's connections with various *ṣūfī* orders. It also alludes to this meeting of al-Nahrawālī with ʿĀşıḳ Pasha's descendant at Bozok (Bozoḳ) in 965/1558 (p. 703).

336 No further reference has been located for Şeyḫ ʿAbdülkerīm, who obviously was carrying on at Bozok his family's tradition of involvement with Sufism. The place here referred to is, of course, the modern small city of Kırşehir, the administrative center for the province with the same name. It is located about two hundred kms. northeast of Konya and in 1980 had a population of 50,000. See *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vii, 4913f, 4918, 4939.

337 This person, who, given the context in which his name here appears, was seemingly a local *ṣūfī* of some standing, has not been further identified. The designation *ḫalīfe* has, in this setting, a *ṣūfī* application, for the principal possibilities of which see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khalīfa – (iii) In Islamic Mysticism" (De Jong), iv, 950-2.

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and which contains an ancient pulpit. Its orator (*khaṭīb*) is one ʿAlī Ḫalīfe, whose sobriquet is Çīnī Feḳīh.[338] He has a pleasant voice, and his father had the name Bülbül ('Nightingale') Feḳīh. In a meeting with the *khaṭīb* he told me that he was a student of Ḥāmid Efendī, the *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker*.[339] He also mentioned that he delivered exhortations to God the exalted without compensation, and he begged me to bring him to the attention of the *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker*, should I encounter the latter.

I then went back to the guest house, where we slept until sunup on Saturday, the 21st of Jumādā I.[340] [140b] We left Būzuḳ amid rain, abundant mud, and harsh cold. In the afternoon we reached the small town of Īlġīn[341] and lodged in a caravansary built by one Ḥācī Ḫıżr, better known as

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338 That a small village – indeed, a hamlet – having a large old mosque dating back possibly to Selcūḳ times in the early 7th/13th century should elude identification among the maps and other reference materials consulted for this study seems rather odd, unless it is the case that it underwent one or more changes in name before and/or after al-Nahrawālī's visit (*cf.* n. 333 above). No further identification of the minor figure ʿAlī Ḫalīfe, known as Çīnī Feḳīh, has been made. The use of the term *ḫalīfe* here appears to relate to the sense of an aide or assistant among the corps of *ʿulamāʾ/ʿulemāʾ*, usually to one of its senior members (*cf.* above, p. 94, n. 234).

339 The Ḥāmid Efendi referrred to here appears in biographical accounts as, variously, Ḥāmid Aḥmed, Ḥāmid b. Meḥmed b. Durūz or Ḥāmid Maḥmūd Efendi. Born into a *ṣūfī* family at Konya in 900/1494-5, he prepared himself for a career in the Ottoman learned hierarchy (*ʿilmīye*). After teaching at a number of *medreses*, he served as judge of Manisa, Damascus, Cairo, Bursa and Istanbul before being appointed *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmili in 964/1557. He held this post for a decade, being dismissed from it only in 974/1566. In 982/1574 he was named *muftī* of Istanbul and *şeyḫ ül-Islām*, three years before his death in 985/1577. He is referred to as *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmili later in this *Riḥlah* (p. 172). Biographical notices of him are found in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 242f; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, ii, 104; and Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, iii, 1917.

340 21 Jumādā I, 965 = Friday, 11 March, 1558.

341 This community, the name of which appears in the map, reference and narrative sources consulted here as Elquinn, Ilghun, Ilghīn, Īlghin, Algham, Eelghun, etc., is usually described as being a small town. According to Evliyā Çelebi, who has a good deal to say about it (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 17f), its name is derived from *ılıca*, meaning a bath fed by naturally warm mineral springs. As this and other texts point out, the principal feature of this place is just such a bath located close by it. It survives as the small town of Ilgın, situated about seventy-five kms. northwest of Konya and with a population (in *ca.* 1970) of about 11,000. (See Sanderson, *Travels in the Levant*, p. 62; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 192; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 619; Paul of Aleppo, *Travels of Macarius*, i, 8; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 215f; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 93); Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 315; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 64; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, ii, 1159; Üzümeri, *Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 112; and Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, vi, 945). Sultan Süleymān's army passed through there on its return from the Iraq/Persian campaign of 941-3/1535-6 (Maṭraḳçi, *Menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn*, p. 224, and including a miniature painting of Ilgın and its vicinity (Resim 16b)). With its arrival at Ilgın, al-Nahrawālī's party completed the by-pass of Konya from Ḳara Būñār/Karapınar, having missed such usual stops as Ismil, Konya and Lâdik.

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Dilgīrzāde.[342] We remained Sunday, the 22nd of the month,[343] in Īlġīn owing to severe cold, much snow, and frigid wind [driving against the body] like pins. The paths became obscured by the quantity of snow.

This is a community having a judge [who receives] twenty-five *ʿuthmānīs* [daily]. I didn't meet with him because he was away [at the time]. There is here a large mosque with a learnèd orator (*khaṭīb*) named ʿAlāʾeddīn Ḫalīfe. Close by the town is a bath (*ḥammām*) for men and another one for women. We rode there and found [it to be] an imposing complex of structures built in 665 [1266-7] for Sultan Ġiyāṣeddīn Kayḫusrev b. Ḳılıç Arslan at the behest of Sultan ʿAlī b. ül-Ḥuseyn.[344] The water for the

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342 As Ilgın was long one of the way stations (*manāzil*) on the pilgrim, commercial and military route crossing Anatolia and connecting Syria with Istanbul, it is fair to assume that it has always had at least one caravansary (*ḫan*) in operation. An early endower of such a structure dating from 666/1267-8 was the Selcūḳ vizier Faḫreddīn ʿAlī, known as Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Saljūḳids – Art and Architecture 2. In Anatolia" (Rogers), viii, 967); and as late as the 1830s Ainsworth noted the existence of a functional *ḫan* there (*Travels and Researches*, ii, 64). Most references to *ḫan*s in Ilgın postdate al-Nahrawālī's visit and mention the one built for Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 988/1580), who endowed there a *küllīye* (*ʿimāret*) complex, among which the *ḫan* is reported to have been completed in 992/1584 (Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 17; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Mustafa Paşa, Lala, Kara" (Kütükoğlu), viii, 736; and Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi*, pp. 288f). Attribution of the provenance of this *ḫan* to the generosity of (the grand vizier?) Rüstem Pasha by Ḥācī Ḫalife (*Cihān-numā*, p. 619) and Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 93) is probably an error for Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha. However, no further reference has been found for this *ḫan* endowed by one Dilgīrzāde Ḥāccī Ḫıżr, whose name the author of the *Riḥlah* probably noted in a cornerstone or inscription on the building.

343 22 Jumādā I, 965 = Saturday, 12 March, 1558.

344 When Evliyā Çelebi wrote of Ilgın in the mid-11th/17th century, its judgeship paid 150 *akçe*s (= *ʿuthmānī*s) daily (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 17).

The Friday mosque (*cāmiʿ*) at Ilgın referred to in most accounts is that endowed by the vizier Lala/Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 988/1580) and completed in 984/1576 as part of his *küllīye* (*ʿimāret*) complex constructed there, and so postdating al-Nahrawālī's visit in 965/1558 by nearly a quarter century. The large *cāmiʿ* to which the author of the *Riḥlah* refers, and which seemingly is depicted, with one minart, in the miniature included in the published ms. of Maṭraḳçi, *Menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn*, Resim 16b, is that erected in 826/1423 under the patronage of Pīr Ḥuseyn Beg, an outstanding leader of the powerful Ṭorġud tribe in the lands of the Ḳaramānid state. See Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 192; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 118); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 93); *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, arts. "Mustafa Paşa, Lala, Kara" (Kütükoğlu), viii, 736 and "Turgutlular" (Sümer), xii, 121; M. Zeki Oral, "Turgut Oğulları, Eserleri – Vakfiyeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iii (1956), 42f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ṭorghud" (Leiser), x, 570. No further reference to the mosque's *khaṭīb*/*ḫaṭīb* (orator), ʿAlāʾeddīn Ḫalīfe, has been located.

Although the references in Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 619) and Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 93) suggest the existence of two public baths (*ḥammām*), one located in the town of Ilgın and the other about a mile west of it, most accounts note only the latter, which is depicted in the miniature included in the published ms. of Maṭraḳçi,

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bath flows from God the exalted and is not [provided] through the contrivance of any mortal.[345] There is a large caravansary at Īlġīn, as well as tall sturdy structures bespeaking the greatness and precision of their builder.

Monday, the 23rd of Jumādā I,[346] we departed Īlġīn on a day that was icy and very windy and cold. Along the way we came upon and entered the bath whose [water] we believe [flows] from God the exalted. I had to leave [my] mule at the doorway to the bath, since it wasn't possible to bring it in with its saddle on; and the saddle couldn't [conveniently] be removed from it and left. When I emerged from the bathhouse the mule was overcome with a kind of trembling. Only through strenuous urging would it move, for it was nearly frozen stiff from the cold. So I dismounted from it and got into a litter, [traveling in this manner] until we reached Aḳ Şehir[347] in the afternoon. With great difficulty the mule arrived after us. Recited to us was [the following verse]:

(*Menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn*, Resim 16b). Fed by natural warm springs and fitted with separate men's and women's facilities, this bath, known since Roman times and apparently still in use today, has been recognised for its salutary effects in alleviating symtoms of a wide rage of ailments. In Selcūḳid times a bath was erected over the springs in 633/1236 by Sultan ʿAlāʾeddīn Kayḳubād I (*r.* 618-34/1220-37), who apparently suffered from rheumatism or arthritis. In 666/1267-8, when Sultan Ġiyāşeddīn Kayḫusrev III b. Rukneddīn Ḳılıç Arslān (*r.* 663-81/1265-82), the one mentioned in the text of the *Riḥlah*, was still a child, it was rebuilt in his name by the architect Kālūyān el-Ḳūnevī under the patronage of the Selcūḳ vizier Faḫreddīn ʿAlī b. Ḥuseyn, known as Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā (*cf.* above, n.342) and here referred to erroneously as Sultan. On this bath and its endowers see too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p.192; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 17f; Paul of Aleppo, *Travels of Macarius*, p. 8; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 215f; William Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1842), ii, 187f; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, ii, 1159; Ḫalīl Edhem, *Ḳayşerīye şehrī* (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-yı Orḫānīye, 1334/1918), pp. 105, 106; M. Ferit and M. Mesut, *Selçuk Veziri Sahip Ata ile Oğullarının Hayat ve Eserleri* (Istanbul: Türkiye Matbaası, 1934), pp. 24, 31, 37, 82-5 (which reproduces the bath's dedicatory inscription (*kitābah*) on p. 83); L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and their Works* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1956), pp. 78f; Üzümeri, *Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, iii. 113; Kurt Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1961), i, 199; Zeki Sönmez, *Başlangıçtan 16. Yüzyıla kadar Anadolu Türk – İslam Mimarisinde Sanatçılar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989), pp. 282f and photos (pp. 288f); *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Keyhusrev III," vi, 629; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, arts. "Kaykhusraw" and "Kayḳubād" (Cahen), iv, 817f, and "Saljūḳids – VI Art and Architecture 2. In Anatolia" (Rogers), viii, 964, 967.

345 Clearly, the perception here is that of a bath erected over natural hot springs sustained by the Almighty. Both Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 619) and Evliyā Çelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 17f) depict water flowing by pipe and pouring into a pool from the mouth of a lion's

346 23 Jumādā I, 965 = Sunday, 13 March, 1558.

347 Aḳ Şehir, presently a town or small city of more than 40,000 inhabitants (1980) situated at the foot of a mountain, has been identified throughout its history with abundant water,

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Her staff she tossed, her destination reached,
Just as the wayfarer came to rest with the absence of returning.

We remained overnight in Aḳ Şehir on Tuesday, the 24th of the month,[348] because of the severity of the cold. The town's *qāḍī* was Ḥācī ʿAlī Efendi, with whom I had an earlier association when, prior to the present year, he performed the pilgrimage. So I called on him and greeted him. Although he recognized me, he wavered. When I asked him if the disabled mule could be left with him until our return from Istanbul, [with the understanding that] we would compensate him for whatever he spent on it, he refused. I thus parted company with him. He is an extremely avaricious and niggardly man, and there are stories related about him to this effect. Yet he is also one possessed of excellence, and one skilled in divine law. When [previously] he came to perform the pilgrimage, he compiled a book on its rituals (*manāsik*), getting most of the book's contents from the one which I had put together on the same subject.[349] His distinguished son

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rich gardens and orchards, a cool and salubrious climate, and prosperity. The name of the place, now spelled Akşehir, has appeared in Arabic script as Aḳ Shār, Akhshar, Akhshehir, etc. According to one legend it was given its name by a visiting monarch who, seeing a host of white flowers in bloom thereabouts, opined that the place should be called Aḳ Şehir, namely "white town" (Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 92f)). Known in classical times as Philomelium, it was a place of note in both the Selcūḳid and Ḳaramānid eras, and features of its town fabric are buildings of religious, social and economic importance dating from those periods. A traveler passing that way in 1465-6 described it as being three days from Konya (the Ḳaramānid capital) and one day from the land of the (Ottoman) Turks ("Pèlerinage du Marchand Basile 1465-1466," in *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, trans. B. De Khitrowo (repr. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1966), p. 256); and Muḥammad b. Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, an Arab northbound traveler who visited it in 936/1530, observed it to be the last and best place in the Ottoman province of Ḳaramān (Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 32). On it see too De la Brocquière, in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 328; Chesneau, *Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, pp. 148f; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 191; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurraham Hibrī'nin," p. 117); Ḥācī Ḫalife, *Cihān-numā*, p. 619; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 15-17; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 217f; ʿAlī Bey, *Travels*, ii, 315; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii, 63; Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, ii, 185f; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, i, 266; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Aḳ Shehr" (Huart/Taeschner), i, 313; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Akşehir" (Darkot), i, 277; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, i, 251; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vii, 5190.

348 24 Jumādā I, 965 = Monday, 14 March, 1558.

349 No further identification of the *qāḍī* Ḥācī ʿAlī Efendi has been made, although possibly he was the Murat zade Ali Efendi referred to by I. H. Konyalı as having been an Akşehir writer who in 973/1565-6 authored a book about the office of *ḳāżī* (*Nasreddin Hocanın Şehri Akşehir* (Istanbul: Nūmune Matbaası, 1945), p. 649). Al-Nahrawālī's guide to the pilgrimage rituals (*manāsik*) was included by Kātib Çelebi in his *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1832f, whereas the allegedly plagiarised version by Ḥācī ʿAlī Efendi seemingly was not.

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teaches in the Ṣāḥibī college at [a daily salary of] thirty ʿuthmānīs.[350]

We lodged [141a] in the hospice (*ʿimāret*) of Ḥasan Pasha, a decent and attractively built place. Ḥasan Pasha was Sultan Bāyezīd b. Meḥmed Ḫan's slave who fell martyred during Sultan Selīm's combat with Shāh Ismāʿīl at Çaldırān in 920 [1514].[351] Aḳ Şehir has a congregational mosque (*masjid jāmiʿ*) containing a pulpit, where the orator (*khaṭīb*) is ʿAbdürraḥmān b.

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350 The college (*medrese*) referred to here as the Ṣāḥibī is, in fact, the Ṭaş Medrese, also known as the Sahip Ata, the Halkalı and the Atabek Gazi. It was constructed in 648/1250 under the patronage of the Selcūḳ vizier Faḫreddīn ʿAlī b. Ḥuseyn, known as Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā (*cf.* above, p. 125, nn. 342, 344), as part of a complex (*küllīye/ʿimāret*) of several structures which he endowed in Akşehir, and which was completed in *ca.* 659/1261. Having fallen into disuse, it was refurbished in 1961 into a local museum. A 19th-century faulty reading of the building's endowment inscription (*kitābah*) resulted in some later accounts of it carrying the incorrect completion date of 613/1216. A quite comprehensive treatment of it, including photos, diagrams, architectural details, and extracts from Ottoman documents, as well as the reproduction of its endowment inscription, is that provided in Konyalı, *Akşehir*, pp. 279-95. On it see too Ferit and Mesut, *Selçuk Veziri Sahip Ata*, pp. 87-91; Aptullah Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri* (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1969), pp. 79f (with plans and diagrams); Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, i, 250f (with photos); Metin Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri Selçuklu ve Beylikler Devri*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1970-2), i, 22-4; Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 348-50; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Akşehir" (Darkot), i, 277; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Aḳ Shehr" (Hurat/Taeschner), i, 313.

Confirmation of a daily stipend of thirty *aḳçe*s paid by this institution's endowment to its professor(s) in the period 925-44/1519-38 appears in Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, p. 484; whereas by 990/1582-3 it had been increased to fifty *aḳçe*s (*ibid.*, p. 350).

351 On the *ʿimāret*, as either a discrete institution endowed principally for the provision of prepared food to the wayfarer and the needy, as well as a complex of structures serving a variety of social and economic purposes, see above, p. 113, n. 301; and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "ʿImāret" (Huart), ii, 475.

The battle at Çaldıran in northwestern Iran between Sultan Selīm I (*r.* 918-26/1512-20) and the Ṣafavid Shāh Ismāʿīl (*r.* 907-30/1501-24) was fought on 2 Rajab, 920/23 August, 1514. On this significant contest, from which the Ottoman sultan emerged the victor, see *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çaldıran Muharebesi" (Gökbilgin), iii, 329-31; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Cāldırān" (Walsh), ii, 7f.

Ḥusāmeddīn Ḥasan Pasha, a product of the Ottoman *devşirme* system for recruitment of male youths among mainly Balkan Christians, received a training in the royal palace in the time of Sultan Bāyezīd II (*r.* 886-918/1481-1512). From the palace service he emerged to join the provincial administration, where he rose to become *beglerbegi* of Rūmili, which office he held when he was killed at Çaldıran. See Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, ii, 119; Konyalı, *Akşehir*, p. 329, n. 285; and Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, i, 476 and ii, 7, 11, 12.

The hospice referred to here formed part of a small complex (*küllīye*) endowed by Ḥasan Pasha at Akşehir. It also included a school and a Friday mosque, of which only the latter has survived. Details of the endowment document (*vaḳfīye*), which includes those for the *ʿimāret* and which was drafted in 914/1508 and added to in 917/1511-12, are provided in Konyalı, *Akşehir*, pp. 328-39.

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Maḥmūd. There is another *madrasah* (college) whose instructor [receives daily] fourteen *ʿuthmānī*s. This instructor is ʿAbbās Çelebi, one of the offspring of Tāj Ḫalīfe 'l-Ḫalvetī.[352] It was a very cold winter's night. We received food from the hospice and passed the night there.

I met with Ḥācī ʿAlī b. Pīrī Ṣūfī b. Maḥmūd, a [*ṣūfī*] lodge brother of our master Mevlānā ʿAbdürraḥmān el-Ġubārī,[353] and raised with him the matter of

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352 Over time Akşehir had several mosques (*cāmiʿ*s), of which probably only three were in use when al-Nahrawālī called there in 965/1558: The Ulu Cāmiʿ (Great Mosque), dating from Selcūḳid times (early 7th/13th century); the Anbardār Kerīm Mosque, also known as the İpikçi; and that of (Ḥusāmeddīn) Ḥasan Pasha, known as well by the name ʿImāret Cāmiʿ. Although the Arabic of the text here is somewhat ambiguous and provides no conclusive evidence, it would seem that the author of the *Riḥlah* has in mind the latter of these, especially as he has just referrred to the *ʿimāret* endowed by the same patron as part of his complex (*küllīye*) in Akşehir (*cf.* the previous note). On the mosques of Akşehir see, in particular, Konyalı, *Akşehir*, pp. 263, 268, 269, 284 n. 250, 305-7, 317-27 and 347-54 (which includes excerpts from documents), as well as Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 117); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 92); Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, ii, 186; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, i, 266; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Akşehir" (Darkot), i, 177; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Aḳ Shehr" (Hurat/Taeschner), i, 313; And Üzümeri, *Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, i, 135. No further reference to the mosque's orator, ʿAbdürraḥmān b. Maḥmūd, has been located.

The second *medrese* referred to here has not been identified. According to Konyalı, *Akşehir*, p. 272, of the four colleges in Akşehir at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Ḳaramān, only one, that of Sahip Ata, better known as the Taş Medrese (*cf.* above, n. 350) was in operation by *ca.* 881/1476. Furthermore, among the brief descriptions of the twenty-one *medrese*s of Akşehir, throughout its history, provided in *ibid.*, pp. 275-8, there is no evidence linking any of them with the town's other *medrese* referred to here in the text. ʿAbbās Çelebi, its instructor, was almost certainly ʿAbbās Efendi, the son of Tāc Aḥmedzāde ʿAbdallāh, who was a long-time instructor in the Sahip Ata/Taş Medrese in Akşehir. As his death is recorded as having occurred in 1000/1591, it is conceivable that he was teaching at the lesser *medrese* early in his career (ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 54; and Konyalı, *Akşehir*, p. 642). Tāc Aḥmed (Ḫalīfe) el-Berdeʿī, ʿAbbās Çelebi's grandfather, was a prominent local Ḫalvetī *ṣūfī* leader who died in 906/1500. Although there was a *tekke* (dervish hospice) founded in Akşehir by/for him at the end of the 15th century C.E., his influence seems to have been limited to the town and district, since his name does not appear in literature relating to the Ḫalvetī order. See Ṭaşköprüzāde/Mecdī, *Şaḳāʾiḳ tercümesi*, p. 503; ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 53f; and Konyalı, *Akşehir*, pp. 407f, 642, 680, 687f. For the terms *ḫalīfe* and *tāc* in Islamic mysticism see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Khalīfa – (iii) In Islamic Mysticism" (De Jong), iv, 950-2, and "Tādj" (Björkman), x, 58.

353 While efforts to identify Ḥācī ʿAlī b. Pīrī Ṣūfī b. Maḥmūd have been without success, ʿAbdürraḥmān (b. ʿAbdallāh) el-Ġubārī, his lodge brother, was a native of Akşehir and a *ṣūfī*, probably a member of the Naqshbandī order. A fine calligrapher as well as a poet who wrote under the pen name Ġubārī, he became teacher, friend and companion to Prince Orḫan, the son of Prince Bāyezīd and grandson of Sultan Süleymān. His death is recorded as having occurred in 974/1567. See ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 192f; ʿAbdüllaṭīf Laṭīfī, *Tedkire-i Laṭīfī* (Istanbul: İḳdām Maṭbaʿası, 1314/1896-7), pp. 252f; Mustakīmzāde Süleymān Saʿdeddīn, *Tüḥfe-i ḫaṭṭāṭīn* (Istanbul: Devlet Maṭbaʿası, 1928), pp. 246f; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṣmānlı müʾellifleri*, iii, 58f; and Konyalı, *Akşehir*, pp. 644f. For al-Nahrawālī's later encounter with him see below, p. 139 and n. 381.

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the [disabled] mule. His suggestion was that we leave it with a horse dealer named Naᶜlbend Meḥmed Çelebi[354] and let him deal with it until our return from Istanbul. We did just that and gave him a gold *dīnār* for his trouble and for the animal's food. It came to our attention later that the mule died.

From Aḳ Şehir we resumed our journey at dawn on Wednesday, the 25th of Jumādā I,[355] passing by villages, hamlets and lakes to the east of us. The sky was cloudless. In the afternoon we came to a village called Çāy,[356] where we took lodgings in an old perfectly-constucted caravansary. I noticed in the community a stately structure, a [combined] *madrasah* and mosque, over the portal of which is inscribed: "Sultan Ġiyāṣ-eddīn Kayḫusrev b. Ḳılıç Arslan instructed that this college be built. Ebū 'l-Mucāhid Meḥmed b. Yūsuf b. Yaᶜḳūb built it."[357] It was too difficult for me to make out the date [of its erection].

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354 Curiously, the author of the *Riḥlah* here spells the Turkish term Çelebi correctly; elsewhere in the text he usually deletes the three dots of the Turkish letter *çe*, leaving it to be misread as Ḥalabī (of or pertaining to Aleppo). Doubtless, now that he has reached the center of Anatolia, al-Nahrawālī is communicating more in Turkish, and this is reflected in his writing. The designation Çelebi attached to the name of this farrier (*naᶜlbend*) and horse dealer (*tājir fī al-khayl*) Meḥmed identifies him more likely as head of a local *ṣūfī* lodge than as a poet or man of letters (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Çelebī" (Barthold/Spuler), ii, 19.

355 25 Jumādā I, 965 = Tuesday, 15 March, 1558.

356 Çay is a small town or large village located about fifty kms. southeast of Afyon (-Karahisar) and mid way between the latter and Akşehir. It seems that it was seldom used as a halting place (*ḳonaḳ*), although it appears as Ḳuru Çay in the itineraries of Selīm I's Persian (920/1514) and Egyptian (922/1516) campaigns (Ferīdūn Beg, *Münşe'āt üs-selāṭīn*, i, 397, 450). In the 1830s Hamilton described it (*Researches in Asia Minor*, ii, 182) as "...embosomed in trees and gardens, ... [and]...pleasingly situated at the foot of steep hills, and at the mouth of a ravine watered by a torrent." In 1980 it had a population of about 11,000. On it see too Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, pp. 629f (map), 641; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aᶜlām*, iii, 1867; Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, Tafel 9 (opp. p. 126); Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, iii, 160; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, i, 295f, 299.

357 For an earlier reference to the Selcūḳ sultan Ġiyāṣeddīn Kayḫusrev III b. Rukneddīn Ḳılıç Arslān see above, p. 125 and n. 344.

The foundation inscriptions (*kitābah*) for both the *ḫan* and the combined mosque and *medrese*, which is today known as the Taş Medrese and retains its function as a mosque, are reproduced in Uzunçarşılıoğlu Ismail Hakkı [I. H. Uzunçarşılı], *Kitabeler* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1347/1929), pp. 49f. These give the name of the endower of both structures as being Ebū Mucāhid Yūsuf b. Yaᶜḳūb, who seemingly was a prominent Seljcūḳ military person, and a completion date of 677/1278-9 for both. Studies on these buildings point to their having been part of a small complex which possibly included a public bath (*ḥammām*) and fountain (*çeşme*) as well, and likely all of which had the same endower and were erected by the architect Oġul Beg b. Meḥmed, whose name appears in the founding inscription of the *medrese* located a mere 150 meters from the *ḫan*. See too Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray*, i, 147-50 and illustrations #282-5; Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, pp.57-9 and photo #122-32; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, ii, 75-9; and Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp.179f.

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I saw the teacher at this *madrasah*, a hospitable and engaging young man named ʿAlī Çelebi b. Ṣarı ʿAlī b. Müḥyīddīn et-Toḳātī. He said that he is a descendant of Anas b. Mālik (God be pleased with him!), the servant of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!).[358] He remarked as well that his instructorship [paid] twenty-five *ʿuthmānī*s [daily], and that he was a protégé-candidate (*mülāzım*) of Ṣamsūnzāde Efendī.[359] He took me to his home where he entertained me handsomely with a variety of victuals, even fresh fish. I met with complete courteousness on his part, despite the absence of any previous acquaintance with him.

On Thursday, the 26th of the month,[360] we took our leave of Çāy at daybreak, and crossed over barrens, wetlands and bridges until, at the time of our afternoon prayer, we reached Ḳara Ḥiṣār.[361] There we lodged in a

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358 None of the reference materials consulted for this study yields information about this young *madrasah* instructor. For Anas b. Mālik (d. *ca.* 91-3/709-11), a servant and Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad as well as an important source for traditions about him, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Anas b. Mālik" (Wensinck/Robson), i, 482.

359 Ṣamsūnzāde/Sām(ī)sūnīzāde was the name of a family of Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*, which was founded by one Ḥasan Efendi (d. 891/1486) and flourished into the late 10th/16th century. The member of it referred to here would likely have been Ḥasan Efendi's grandson, Aḥmed b. Meḥmed b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdüṣṣamed (d. 978/1571), who, after commencing his career as a *müderris* (professor), served briefly as judge, first of Bursa and then of Edirne, before being appointed to the same office in Istanbul in 945/1539. Following his dismissal from this position in 949/1542, he spent much of the rest of his life as a *medrese* teacher. Although he never succeeded in being appointed *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker*, which position he coveted, he was a high-ranking member of the learned hierarchy and the one best qualified in his family to sponsor a *mülāzım* (*cf. Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Mulāzım" (Repp), vii, 545f). On him consult ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 145-7; and Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, i, 200.

According to Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, p. 180, in 1005/1597 the instructor at this *medrese* received fifty *akçes*/*ʿuthmānī*s daily as compensation.

360 26 Jumādā I, 965 = Wednesday, 16 March, 1558.

361 This place, known in Ottoman and pre-Ottoman Turkish times as both Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār and Ḳara Ḥiṣār-ı Ṣāḥib, is the modern Afyonkarahisar, a town located approxminately halfway between Konya and Bursa. It derives the Afyūn/Afyon (opium) part of its name (to distinguish it from several other places in Anatolia called Ḳara Ḥiṣār) from the extensive cultivation of poppies in the area (Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i, 462-4); and, according to al-Ghazzī, who described it in 936/1530 (in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," pp. 34f), the Ḳara part is derived from the black (*ḳara*) stone of the town's fortress. The Ṣāḥib component of the other version of its name refers to the famous Selcūḳ vizier, Faḫreddīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥuseyn, known as Ṣāḥib ʿAṭā (see above, p. 125 and n. 342), who retired to there with his wealth (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār" (Mordtmann/Taeschner), i, 243f). The town lies around the base of its landmark, a cone-like tor which rises sharply more than two hundred meters above the ground and on top of which are the ruins of a Byzantine fortress later restored by the Germiyānoġulları

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guest house. The town's governor is Ḫalīl Beg b. ʿĪsā Pasha, tutor (*lala*) to Sultan (Prince) Orḫan b. Bāyezīd.[362] He extended to me his hospitality

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(fl. 7th/13th century). This place was in Turkish possession by 606/1209 and under Ottoman control by 832/1428-9. See too De la Brocquière, in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 328; Basile,"Pèlerinage," p.256; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 641 (as well as the map opp. p.629); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 29-33 (which provides a detailed description of it in the late 11th/17th century); Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und den umliegenden Ländern, Reisen durch Syrien und Palästina*, 3 vols. (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1968), iii, 131-4 (which includes two sketches of the town and of its layout in 1181/1766-7); Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 317f; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, v, 3626f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Karahisar – 1. Afyon-Karahisar" (Darkot), vi, 277-80; Üzümeri, *Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, i, 63-5; and Meydan-Larrouse, *Büyük Lûgat*, i, 124-6.

362 Ḫalīl Beg b. ʿĪsā Pasha is generally considered the last serving member of the Çandarlıs, a celebrated family of *ʿulamāʾ* whose early members occupied the Ottoman (grand) viziership during much of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. ʿĪsā Pasha, Ḫalīl's father, was *nışacı* (secretary of state) briefly and died in 950/1543-4 as governor (*beglerbegi*) of Damascus (for an earlier reference to him see above, p. 15 and n. 49). Known principally as a poet and literary person, Ḫalīl began a *medrese* teaching career as early as 947/1540-1; but, like earlier members of his family, he switched to an administrative career. In the present context, while acting as tutor to an Ottoman royal prince resident nearby, he occupied the office of *sancaḳbegi* (district governor) of Ḳara Ḥiṣār; and after that prince's premature demise a short while later, he became *defterdār* (treasurer) of the province of Buda. Dismissed from there, he died in Istanbul during 976/1568-9. See ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p.122; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çandarlı" (Uzunçarşılı), iii, 351-7 (where Ḫalīl Beg appears as the last entry on the family tree); and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Djandalı" (Ménage), ii, 444-5.

On the use of the title sultan preceding the name of an Ottoman prince see above, p. 109, n. 291. Prince Bāyezīd, the younger of Sultan Süleymān's two sons still living at this time, was born in 932/1525-6. He was appointed governor of Konya in 953/1546, some time after which he was transferred to the stewardship of the province (*sancaḳ*) of Kütahya. Whether he held that post continuously until al-Nahrawālī's visit to the area in Jumādā I, 965/March, 1558 has not been determined. Later this same year (Dhū al-Qaʿdah/September) he was transferred to the governorship of Amasya. Both Prince Orḫan, whose age has not been established, and his father were subsequently executed, but accounts differ on the date for this event, placing it between 967/1560 and 969/1562. See Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, i, 25; Şerafettin Turan, *Kanunî'nin oğlu Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1961), pp.44-52; Petra Kappert, *Die Osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Institut, 1976), pp.114-18 and 187, nn. 12, 32; and Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, p.31 and table xxx.

Although the author of the *Riḥlah* refers here to Ḫalīl Beg as being the *ḥākim al-balad* (town governor) of Ḳara Ḥiṣār, he was, in fact, its *sancaḳbegi*, since Ḳara Ḥiṣār was one of several *sancaḳ*s (sub-provinces) within the large province (*beglerbegilik*) of Anadolu, with Ankara as its capital at this time (*İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Kütahya" (Gökbilgin), vi, 1121; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Anadolu" (Taeschner), i, 480). For Evliyā Çelebi's enumeration of the fourteen *sancaḳ*s of Anadolu in the later 11th/17th century see his *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 17.

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and requested that I call on him. I judged him a man of intelligence, sincerity and honour. He questioned me on what I had [141b] in the way of an offering for Sultan (Prince) Bāyezīd. When I replied that I had a thoroughbred stallion sent to the prince by [our] noble *sayyid* [of Mecca] (God the exalted make him triumphant!), the governor was delighted.[363] I fashioned for the steed silver bridle straps which in Ḳara Ḥiṣār I fastened to its neck. As well, I obtained for it a red woollen blanket and cared for the animal.

Ḳara Ḥiṣār has a number of *madrasah*s, as well as a grand mosque erected by Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, the vizier of Sultan Bāyezīd b. Meḥmed Ḫan.[364] This mosque has a dervish hospice (*takīyah*) where victuals are

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363 By this time Prince Bāyezīd's competition with his older brother, Prince Selīm (the future Sultan Selīm II, *r.* 974-82/1566-74), to succeed their aging father, Sultan Süleymān, was already well under way. Open conflict between the two was held in check largely by the efforts of their mother, Ḫurrem Sultan (Roxelana), long their father's influential favourite. As will become apparent in what follows shortly in this text, Prince Bāyezīd was by this time involved, from his governorship of the province of Kütahya, in seeking to enlist support for himself, especially among such persons of perceived status in the empire as the author of the *Riḥlah*, who was acting as emissary for the *sharīf* of Mecca, an Ottoman vassal in a position of influence in the wider Muslim world. After their mother's death in Jumādā II, 965/April, 1568 (for al-Nahrawālī's notice of which see below, p. 200 and n. 544), Prince Selīm, with vital military support from the empire's center, succeeded in defeating Bāyezīd and his mainly provincial forces in an engagement near Konya in 966/1559. The loser took refuge in Persia with Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (*r.* 930-84/1524-76); but through influence and pressure brought to bear on the latter by Sultan Süleymān, Bāyezīd was assassinated, probably in 969/1562, along with his sons (including Prince Orḫan). On this significant historical issue see, in particular, Turan, *Şehzāde Bayezid Vak'ası*, *passim*, as well as *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Selim II" (Ş. Turan), x, 434-41 (pp. 434f specifically); *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Selīm II" (Woodhead), ix, 131f; and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, i, 110. Ottoman governors and vassal chiefs of the Arabian provinces often gave as gifts to the sultan or members of his family quality horses for the privy stable (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Mīr-Ākẖūr" (Murphey), vii, 88f).

364 A Serbian-born Christian product of the *devşirme* (child levy) recruitment and palace training systems, Gedik Aḥmed Pasha rose in the Ottoman administration to become *beglerbegi* (governor-general) of Anatolia, vizier, grand vizier and *ḳapudān* (admiral of the fleet), all in the time of Meḥmed II Fātiḥ (*r.* 855-86/1451-81). He was, in particular, associated with the ongoing military actions in Anatolia against the Ḳaramānids and Aḳ Ḳoyunlus (873-9/1469-74), with the Ottoman conquest of Kaffa and acquisition of the Crimean Khanate as a vassal state (880/1475), and with the capture of Otranto on the heel of Italy (885/1480). As well, his role in support of Bāyezīd II (*r.* 886-918/1481-1512) against his brother Cem Sultan was decisive in securing the throne for the former. However, Gedik Aḥmed Pasha's popularity among the Ottoman military was too much for Sultan Bāyezīd, who at an opportune moment had him executed (887/1482). See Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, i, 193; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ahmed Paşa, Gedik" (Yınanç), i, 193-9; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Aḥmad Pasha Gedik" (İnalcık), i, 292f.

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prepared for the wayfarer and there is an instructor [paid] fifty *ʿuthmānī*s [daily]. The holder of the instructorship was Sinān Ḫalīfe, best known as Maḥṣī Ḳulu.[365]

We spent Friday, the 27th of Jumādā I,[366] at Ḳara Ḥıṣār and joined in the mid-day communal prayer at the said mosque. Then on Saturday, the

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Gedik Aḥmed Pasha was a generous endower of pious foundations (*vaḳıf*s), several of them located in a quarter of Istanbul named after him for that reason. As well, he endowed at Afyonkarahisar, in an area of Anatolia where he saw considerable military service, an *ʿimāret/küllīye* complex of structures, which is known as the *ʿimāret küllīyesi* and which included the mosque of Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, an *ʿimāret* (public kitchen), a public bath, a *medrese* (known as the Ṭaş Medrese) and a *ḫan* (inn). The *vaḳıf* endowment document for the complex was drawn up in 879/1475; and the Mosque of Gedik Aḥmed, which is held to be a fine specimen of old Ottoman architecture (*ibid.*, p. 293), was completed in 882/1477-8. The complex was constructed by the architect Ayās Aġa, a freedman of Gedik Aḥmed. For this and related information on the *küllīye*, including photos and plans, see Süleyman Gönçer, *Afyon İli Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Izmir: Karınca Matbaacılık ve Ticaret, 1971-9), ii, 196-209. Earlier accounts referring to features of this complex include al-Ghazzī (in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," pp. 34f); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 641; and Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 32. Modern works including brief (and sometimes conflicting) information, often with illustrations, are Uzunçarşılıoğlu, *Kitabeler*, pp. 24-6; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, i, 124; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, i, 321f, 325; and Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi*, pp. 91-3.

Several accounts refer to (Afyon) Kara Hisar as having more than one *medrese* in this period, although not more than three or four of them, and usually with special attention given to the Ṭaş Medrese (presently a museum) endowed by Gedik Aḥmed Pasha as part of his *küllīye* complex. See Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 641; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 32f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Karahisar – 1. Afyon-Karahisar" (Darkot). vi, 280; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār" (Mordtmann/Taeschner), i, 244; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, i, 324; and Gönçer, *Afyon İli Tarihi*, ii, 82f.

365 Among accounts consulted here the only other one reporting the existence of a *takīyah* (*tekye*) in (Afyon) Karahisar (in the 11th/17th century) is that of Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 641), who did not write as an eyewitness. The possibility of this premier local mosque doubling as a dervish lodge notwithstanding, it may be that al-Nahrawālī is referring here to the almost adjacent *medrese*, endowed as well by Gedik Aḥmed Pasha and known as the Ṭaş Medrese, the Gedik Aḥmed Pasha Medrese, or the ʿImāret Medrese (erected in 878/1473). The use of the *medrese* as a dervish *takīyah* is known in the Islamic world (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Madrasa 1. The Institution in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish Lands" (Pedersen/Makdisi), v, 1129). On the other hand, the Gedik Aḥmed Pasha *ʿimāret küllīyesi* derives its name from the food-dispensing public kitchen (*ʿimāret*) which was part of the endowment and presumably was situated near the mosque and *medrese*. See Göçer, *Afyon ıli Tarihi*, ii, 83, 196, 200, 207.

Baltacı notes (*Osmanlı Medreseleri*, p. 210) that the daily compensation for the instructorship at this *medrese* rose from thirty to fifty *akçe*s between 951/1544 and 973/1565-6. No further information about its incumbent in 965/1558, the spelling of whose name is conjectured (Muḥaşşī/Muḥaşşī/Muḥşī?), has been located.

366 27 Jumādā I, 965 = Thursday, 17 March, 1558.

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28th of the month,[367] we departed from Ḳara Ḥıṣār at daybreak. Ḫalīl Beg sent with us *sipāhī*s,[368] about five of them, to escort us to Prince Bāyezīd. We crossed over bridges and through streams, bogs and villages before arriving at a small community called Dūkar.[369] It has three caravansaries, a school (*maktab*), houses with upper floors (*buyūt fawqānīyah*?) and a Friday congregational mosque, all of which owe their fabrication to Aḥmed Aġa, a slave of the late grand vizier Ayās Pasha.[370] Aḥmed Aġā completed constructing them in 960 [1553] (God make his end be good!). Then he performed the annual Muslim pilgrimage, returned home and subsequently died in Istanbul.

On Sunday, the 29th of Jumādā I,[371] we set out from Dūkar and, at the time of the afternoon prayer, the pack train halted in the village of

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367 28 Jumādā I, 965 = Friday, 18 March, 1558.

368 The *sipāhī*s (cavalrymen) referred to in this context were probably feudal *sipāhī*s (rather than those of the elite corps of regular *sipāhī*s) who held their lands in return for military service when required (*cf.* above, p. 110 and n. 292).

369 This small community, the name of which occasionally appears in books and on maps as, variously, Döger, Döğer, Düger, Düğer, Duguér, Düver and Duvalar, etc., is a village or small town which in *ca.* 1980 had a population of 3,643 people. It lies about thirty kms. north-northwest of Afyonkarahisar on the road to Kütahya. Its name may be derived from the Döger Turcoman tribe which by the 8th/14th century was located in parts of southern Anatolia and of Syria. None of the travelers whose accounts have been utilised for this study appears to have called at this somewhat out-of-the-way place. See Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, p. 128; Turkey: Dāḫilīye Vekāleti, *Şoñ teşkīlāt-ı mülkīyede köylerimiziñ adları* (Istanbul: Hilāl Maṭbaʿası, 1928), p. 102; Gönçer, *Afyon İli Tarihi*, i, 382f; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, iii, 851; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, i, 297.

370 What little information has been found concerning the town fabric of Döğer identifies its two-storeyed *ḫan*, its school (*maktab/mekteb*), and its mosque, the latter originally a *masjid/mescid* later upgraded to a *cāmiʿ* (Friday mosque), with the era of Sultan Murād II (*r.* 824-48, 850-5/1421-44, 1446-51). See Gönçer, *Afyon İli Tarihi*, i, 382-5, ii, 80; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, i, 325; and Gabriel Mandel, *I Caravanserragli Turchi* (Bergamo: Lucchetti, 1988), pp. 82f.

No further identification of the slave Aḥmed Aġa has been made. Ayās Pasha (886-7?-946/1482?-1539), his master, was Albanian in origin. Recruited through the *devşirme* system and educated in the royal palace, he was commander (*aġa*) of the janissaries at the battle of Çaldıran in 920/1514, which rank he seemingly held until 925/1519. After serving as *beglerbegi*, first of Anadolu and then of Rūmili, he became third and then second vizier before being named grand vizier to succeed the exceuted İbrāhīm Pasha in 942/1536. He still held this office when he died in 946/1539. For al-Nahrawālī's having met with the grand vizier Ayās Meḥmed Pasha in Istanbul some years earlier and, through him, been granted an audience with Sultan Süleymān, see his *al-Iʿlām*, p. 299; and above, p. XII of the Introduction. On Ayās Pasha see too Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṯmānī*, i, 446f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ayās Pasha" (Parry), i, 779f; and *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ayas Paşa" (Baysun), ii, 43-7.

371 29 Jumādā I, 965 = Saturday, 19 March, 1558.

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Saḳā.[372] This is a hamlet of average size where there is a mosque built by an *alay beg* in 949 [1542-3]. Above its door there is water flowing through a pipe into a small cistern. Facing the mosque is a caravansary where travelers lodge and from which Kütāhiyah may be seen at a distance.[373] I separated from the pack train and went off on my own to Kütāhiyah.

> {*The author's marginal note here adds:* Kütāhiyah is a large town fashioned by the sultan of Germiyān.[374] It possesses three mosques (*jāmiᶜ*s) and seven *madrasah*s. The seniormost among the latter [pays its instructor] forty *ᶜuthmānī*s [daily]. Its incumbent is Emīnzāde Aḥmed Çelebi, whose father is an instructor at the Dār ül-Ḥadīṯ in Istanbul [where he receives] a hundred *ᶜuthmānī*s each

372 Saka (Köy), now known as Büyük Saka, is a small village located about thirteen kms. east-southeast of Kütahya. In 1965 it had a population of 768 people. References to it appear in Richard Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien in 24 Blatt* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1902), sheet B II; Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, p. 128; Turkey: Dāḫilīye Vekāleti, *Köylerimiziñ adları*, p. 890 (as Saka); Turkey: Dahiliye Vekâleti, *Köylerimiz* (Istanbul: Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat Türk Anonim Şirketi, 1933), p. 639; and *Kütahya 1967 İl Yıllığı* (Ankara, 1967), pp. 43 (map), 47.

373 On the rank of *alay begi* see above, p. 109 and n. 291. No further identification of the mosque (*cāmiᶜ*) and *ḫan* referred to here has been made. A *begerbegi* of Anatolia named Caᶜfer Pasha endowed a mosque there before 987/1579 (I.H. Uzun Çarşılıoğlu [Uzunçarşılı], *Bizans ve Selçukiylerle Germiyan ve Osman Oğulları zamanında Kütahya Şehri* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1932), pp. 150, 160); but unless this endowment was for the restoration or major alteration of the existing *alay begi* mosque, such a structure would have postdated al-Nahrawālī's visit.

374 The present-day large town of Kütahya, with a population of over 100,000 people, was known in classical times as Cotyaeum. Held at least briefly by the Selcūḳs as early as the end of the 5th/11th century, and regained by them in 631/1233-4, it was the center of the independent Germiyānoğulları *beglik* in the 8th/14th century. It came into permanent Ottoman possession in 832/1429 when Yaᶜḳūb, its last *beg*, died and bequeathed it to Sultan Murād II. Soon it became the administrative center of the Ottoman *sancaḳ* (province) of the same name, as well as, from the middle of the 9th/15th century, the seat of the *beglerbegilik* of Anadolu (western Anatolia). Some early accounts allude briefly to its being situated at the foot of a rock upon which the town's ancient citadel is perched. In the 11th/17th century, Evliyā Çelebi described it in some detail and estimated it to have 7,000 households, including a minority owned by Armenians and Greeks (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 16-28); and in the next century Niebuhr judged it to have 11,000 abodes (*Reisenbeschreibung*, iii, 135f). On it see too De la Brocquière, in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 329; Basile, "Pèlerinage," p. 256; Maṭraḳçi, *Menāzil-i sefer-i ᶜIrāḳeyn*, resim 15b (for the town depicted in a miniature); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, pp. 629-30 (map), 632; Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 319f; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aᶜlām*, v, 3910f; *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Kütahya" (Darkot and Gökbilgin), vi, 1118-26; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, vii, 738-41; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vii, 5343.

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day.[375] The [instructorship at the] second *madrasah* is held by Yorġancıoġlu. The instructor at the third *madrasah*, that of the

375 According to Ara Altun, "Kütahyaʾnın Türk Devri Mimarisi "bir deneme"," in *Kütahya: Atatürkʾün Doğumunun 100. Yılına Armağan* (Istanbul: Formül Matbaası, 1981-2), pp. 171-700, seemingly the most recent comprehensive treatment of the subject, there were at least six *jāmiᶜs/cāmiᶜs* (Friday mosques) in Kütahya at the time of al-Nahrawālī's visit. These are the Ulu Cāmiᶜ (pp. 199-215, 480f); the Balıklı Cāmiᶜ (pp. 216-20, 496f); the Kurşunlu Cāmiᶜ (pp. 226ff, 507f); the Meydan Cāmiᶜ (pp. 238-42, 525f); the Saray Cāmiᶜ (pp. 242-7, 530f); and the Cāmiᶜ of Karagöz Ahmet Pasha (pp. 247-53, 537ff). These and other Friday mosques are also discussed briefly in *Yurt Ansiklepedisi*, vii, 5379-81. Curiously, Ḥācī Ḫalīfe lists (*Cihān-numā*, p. 632) as names for *cāmiᶜs* the same five which al-Nahrawālī gives for *medreses*. Furthermore, the fact that these appear in the same order as those in the *Riḥlah* suggests either that Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, writing almost a century after al-Nahrawālī, saw the latter's text but somehow confused *cāmiᶜs* with *medreses*, or that both writers followed an earlier account for this information. According to Evliyā Çelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 20-2), in the latter half of the 11th/17th century the town had eleven *jāmiᶜs*.

Although al-Nahrawālī gives a total of seven *medreses* in Kütahya, he goes on to discuss very briefly only five of them, the same five that Ḥācī Ḫalīfe designates as *cāmiᶜs*. Evliyā Çelebi (*ibid.*, ix, 22f) identified eight *medreses*, at least three and probably four of which correspond to those listed by al-Nahrawālī. The modern researcher Altun describes a total of seven *medreses* that existed then but the names of only three of them correspond with those appearing here in the text ("Kütahyaʾnın... Mimarisi," pp. 247-53, 288f, 312ff, 322-38, with photos, pp. 537-625). Al-Nahrawālī doesn't identify the town's seniormost *medrese*, but since it paid forty *ᶜuthmāmīs/akçes* daily it was almost certainly the *medrese* of Rüstem Pasha, the only one in Kütahya paying its professor that amount of compensation at that time (Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, p. 140). This college was endowed in 957/1550 by Rüstem Pasha, the grand vizier and son-in-law of Sultan Süleymān (see above, p. 82 and n. 208). On it see too Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 23; and Altun, "Kütahyaʾnın...Mimarisi," pp. 336f, 623f. Its Arabic dedicatory inscription (*kitābah*) is included in Uzun Çarşılıoğlu, *Kütahya Şehri*, p. 120.

In the text of the *Riḥlah* the name of the *müderris* appears to have been recorded first as Aḥmed and then altered to something resembling Lāmiᶜ. Whatever may have been intended, no reference to this individual has been located. He must, however, have been a son of Yaḥyā Çelebi b. Emīn Ḥamzah Nūreddīn Beg, also known as Emīnzāde, as Yaḥyā b. Nūreddīn Ḥamzati 'l-Emīn, and as Emīn Kösesi. The latter (892-967/1487-1560) is reported to have had a long career as a *medrese* professor before being brought out of retirement in 964/1556-7 and appointed instructor in the Süleymānīye's Dār ül-Ḥadīṣ in Istanbul with a daily pay of one hundred *akçes*. Notices on him appear in Taşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, pp. 530-2; ᶜAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 18f; Taşköprüzāde/Mecdī, *Şaḳāʾiḳ tercümesi*, pp. 516f; and ᶜAbdülᶜazīz Ḳaraçelebizāde, *Süleymānnāme* (Cairo: Būlāḳ, 1867), pp. 227f.

The Dār ül-Ḥadīṣ, one of the *medreses* endowed by Sultan Süleymān and erected opposite the Süleymānīye Mosque, became the highest educational grade in the Ottoman empire. Devoted to the study of the Islamic Tradition, its instructors were drawn from among the empire's most eminent scholars (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Dār al-Ḥadīth" (Sezgin), ii, 165 and " ʿİlmiyye" (Heyd and Kuran), iii, 1153; Gibb and

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Mollā Vācid, is Velī Efendi [who receives] thirty *ʿuthmānī*s [daily].[376] The fourth one is the *madrasah* of Ḫalīl Çelebi, the *ḳāżī ʿasker* of the former Sultan Bāyezīd. The teacher at this college is Vıldān Efendi [who receives] twenty *ʿuthmānī*s [daily].[377] The

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Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, p. 145; and Repp, *Müfti*, p. 44). Although its endowment document stipulated a daily stipend of fifty *akçe*s (K.E. Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi* (Ankara: Resimli Posta Matbaası, 1962), p. 8), Baltacı speculates (*Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 48f, 601f) that, upon its completion in 964/1556-7, its first instructor was paid double that amount, making it the top-paying *medrese* in the empire.

376 Both Uzun Çarşılıoğlu (*Kütahya Şehri*, p. 10) and Ekrem Kâmil, ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 37), basing themselves solely on the *Riḥlah*, give Yorġancıoğlu for the name of the institution rather than of its professor, as does Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 632) but in reference to a *cāmiʿ*. Although such may reflect the reality of the situation, the wording of the *Riḥlah* is nevertheless clearly *al-madrasah al-thāniyah bi-yad Yūrġāncī oġlu* ("the second *madrasah* is held by/in the charge of Yorġancıoğlu").

What is here referred to as the Mollā Vācid *medrese* is known principally as the Vācidiye but also as the Demirkapı or the Molla Abdülvācid *medrese*. It was built in 714/1314-15 under the patronage of Mübārizeddīn ʿUmar b. Savcı, the maternal grandfather of the Germiyānid *beg* Yaʿḳūb II (*r.* 789-92/1387-90; 805-14/1402-11; and 816-32/1413-28; see C. E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: a Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 224). Its foundation inscription (*kitābah*) is provided in Arabic script by Uzun Çarşılıoğlu, *Kütahya Şehri*, p. 72 and in modern script by Altun, "Kütahya'nın...Mimarisi," p. 326. For these and other details on this institution see Uzun Çarşılıoğlü, *Kütahya Şehri*, pp. 72f; Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 111f; Sözen, *Anadolu Medreseleri*, ii, 80-3; and Altun, "Kütahya'nın...Mimarisi," pp. 322-6.

ʿAbdülvācid b. Meḥmed, after whom this *medrese* gets its principal name, was a religious scholar of Persian origin known for his knowledge of Qur'ānic exegesis, Islamic Tradition, and astronomy. Settling at Kütahya in the late 8th/14th century, he taught at the *medrese* founded by Mübārizeddīn ʿUmar b. Savcı, which subsequently became identified with its distinguished instructor's name. He died in 838/1435 and was buried in the *medrese*. Information on him is provided in Ṭaşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqā'iq*, pp. 44f; *idem*/Mecdī, *Şaḳā'iḳ tercümesi*, p. 66; Mustaḳīmzāde, *Tüḥfe-i ḫaṭṭāṭīn*, pp. 682f; and Aydın Sayılı, "The Wājidiyya Madrasa of Kütahya," *Belleten*, xii (1948), 667-73. No further identification of Velī Efendi, its instructor at the time of al-Nahrawālī's visit, has been made.

377 According to its extant endowment document, this no longer surviving *medrese*, known as the Ḫalīlīye or Mollā Ḫalīl *medrese*, was built in *ca.* 910/1504 with a stipulated daily stipend of twenty *akçe*s for its incumbent instructor. Its founder, Ḫalīl Çelebi, also known as Ḫalīlī, was a native of Germiyān who was first recognised for his *ṣūfī* activities but who went on to pursue a teaching career which included appointments to one of the Ṣaḥn *medrese*s in Istanbul and to the *medrese* of Sultan Bāyezīd II at Edirne. In 914/1508-9 he became judge of Istanbul, following which he was promoted in 918/1512 to chief justice (*ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker*) of Rūmili. His death is reported to have occurred early in the sultanate of Selīm I (*r.* 918-26/1512-20). No further reference to the school's instructor, Vıldān Efendi, has been located. See Ṭaşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqā'iq*, p. 310; *idem*/Mecdī,

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fifth[378] is the *madrasah* of Ḳaraca Pasha, a vizier to the former Sultan Selīm.[379] Its instructor is Aḥmed Çelebī, [who is] the son-in-law of ʿAbdülcebbār Efendi, Prince Bāyezīd's present teacher, [and who receives] thirty *ʿuthmānī*s [daily].}[380]

I had a meeting with our master Mevlānā ʿAbdürraḥmān el-Ġubārī, the teacher (*ḫoca*) of Prince Bāyezīd's sons.[381] The night was passed at his place, where he treated me hospitably and provided me with a variety of victuals; and at daybreak he accompanied me outside the town [to see me off]. I also met there with Mullā Firāḳī, who is an excellent preacher. By

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Şaḳāʾiḳ tercümesi, p. 324; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 632 (who refers to it as a mosque); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 23; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, ii, 284; Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 86f; and Altun, "Kütahyaʾnın... Mimarisi," p. 335.

378 The appearance in the text here of *al-rābiʿah* ("the fourth") is clearly in error for *al-khāmisah* ("the fifth").

379 This *medrese* formed part of a complex of structures (*küllīye*), including a mosque, an adjoining *medrese*, and a school, founded at Kütahya by Ḳaragöz Aḥmed Pasha in 915/1509. At the latter's death, construction of the complex was still in progress and was completed by his widow, who had the (surviving) document of endowment drafted in 917/1512. Today only the mosque, which contains two foundation inscriptions (*kitābah*), remains. In 942/1535-6 the *medrese*'s instructor received a daily stipend of twenty *aḳçe*s, which figure had been raised to thirty *aḳçe*s by 989/1581. The author of the *Riḥlah* is apparently mistaken in his identification of the institution's founder. The latter was Ḳaragöz (not Ḳaraca) Aḥmed Pasha, a Christian-born slave product (ibn ʿAbdülḥayy) of the *devşirme* system of recruitment who was a janissary officer (*ocaḳ aġası*) by 906/1500-1, and who advanced in the provincial administration in Sultan Bāyezīd II's time to become governor of Kastamonu in 911/1505-6 and, subsequently, governor-general (*beglerbegi*) of Anatolia. While still holding this office he was killed in the conflict with the rebel leader Şāh Ḳulu in 917/1511. See Luṭfī Pasha, *Tevārīḫ-i āl-ı ʿOs̱mān* (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-ı ʿĀmire, 1341/1922-3), p. 201; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 23; Uzun Çarşılıoğlu, *Kütahya Şehri*, pp. 117-19; Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, i, 418; Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 101f; and Altun, "Kütahyaʾnın...Mimarisi," pp. 247-53.

380 Al-Nahrawālī shortly refers again to ʿAbdülcebbār Efendi (see below, p. 145 and n. 399), whom he identifies more fully as Mevlānā ʿAbdülcebbār b. Mevlānā Velī ʿAcemī Tebrīzī, an immigrant to the Ottoman lands who had a long career as a *medrese* teacher. Elsewhere it is reported that he was born in Ṣafavid Azerbaijan, entered an Ottoman teaching career through a protégé-candidacy (*mülāzemet*), and taught in *medrese*s in Bursa, Gebze and Edirne before being appointed to, first, one of the Ṣaḥn schools in Istanbul, and then to the Murādīye *medrese* in Bursa. He was chosen mentor (*muʿallim/ḫoca*) to Prince Bāyezīd in Ṣafar, 965/November-December, 1557 and died the next year. On him see, in particular, ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 14f, as well as Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, i, 105; and Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 509f. No further information on Aḥmed Çelebi, his son-in-law, has been found.

381 On ʿAbdürraḥmān (b. ʿAbdallāh) el-Ġubārī see above, p. 129 and n. 353.

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some time in the afternoon I reached the pack train, which was in Ġırbālcī.[382]

Monday, the end of the month [of Jumādā I]: We didn't sight the new moon, so we rounded out the [present] month at thirty [days].[383] The pack train departed from Saḳā at dawn, the same time that I left Kūtāhiyah; and we converged in Ġırbālcī, where we stayed overnight at an inn constructed with uniform masonry and a wooden roof. The expenses for the month of Jumādā I were ... [pieces] of new gold (*dhahab jadīd*) ...[384]

[142a] By [our] rounding off [the month of Jumādā I], the 1st of Jumādā II was Tuesday.[385] We traveled from Ġırbālcī at first light. Here

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382 Ġırbālcı, which is derived from the Arabic word *ghirbāl* (sieve) and which in modern Turkish is Kalburcu (*Redhouse Yeni Türkçe-ıngilizce Sözlük* (Istanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 1968), p.585), appears as Kalburdji about thirty kms. north-northeast of Kütahya on the map by Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien*, sheet B II. It was identified by Evliyā Çelebi as a village near Kütahya (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 27), and, in Turkey, Dahiliye Vekâleti, *Köylerimiz*, p.389, as a *çiftlik* (rural estate) in that province. It also appears in Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, p.128 as Qalburdjy; in Uzun Çarşılı, *Kütahya Şehri*, p.234, n. 1 as Kalburcı and on p.290 as Kalburcu Köyü; in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p.38 as Garbilci; and in Yerasimos, *Voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman*, p.249 as Garbılcı.

The Mullā Firāḳī referred to here was Firāḳī ʿAbdürraḥmān Çelebi, a noted poet, preacher (*wāʿiẓ/vāʿıẓ*) and *ṣūfī shaykh* who died in 988/1580 and was buried in Kütahya, his native town. He composed a lengthy ode in celebration of Prince Bāyezīd's transfer from the governorship of Karaman to that of Kütahya; and there survives a poetic fragment by him on the defeat of Bāyezīd by his brother Selīm (II) and his subsequent death. Evliyā Çelebi, who counted Firāḳī among his ancestors, mentions his tomb and his father's house still extant in Kütahya in the 11th/17th century (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 28). See too Laṭīfī, *Tezkire-i Laṭīfī*, p. 260; ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi, *Meşāʿir üş-şuʿarā, or Tezkere of ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi*, facsimile of ms. ed. by G. M. Meredith-Owens (London: Luzac and Company, 1971), ff. 187a - 188a; Beyâni Mustafa Bin Carullah, *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarā*, ed. Ibrahim Kutluk (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997), pp.202f; Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ*, ed. Ibrahim Kutluk, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1978-81), ii, 743f; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, v, 3253 (which alone gives 980/1572-3 as the year of his death); Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṣmānlı müʾellifleri*, ii, 110f; Uzun Çarşılı, *Kütahya Şehri*, p. 234; and Atilla Özkırımlı, *Türk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, 5 vols. (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1982-7), ii, 510.

383 30 Jumādā I, 965 = Sunday, 20 March, 1558. Having looked for but failed to observe the new moon marking the beginning of Jumādā II, the next Muslim lunar month (*cf.* above, p.2, n.7), al-Nahrawālī rounded out the present month (Jumādā I) at thirty days (*fa-akmalnā-hu thalāthīn*). This has no bearing on the fact that his days of the month and week have been misaligned by one day since 10 Jumādā I (see above, p.108, n.288).

384 This brief entry on monthly expenses for Jumādā I was added diagonally at the very bottom left of the folio, which over time has become worn away to the extent that the stated number of gold pieces disbursed has disappeared and the last word, that following *jadīd*, is obscured beyond recognition. On *dhahab jadīd* see above, p.3, n. 10.

385 1 Jumādā II, 965 = Monday, 21 March, 1558.

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we and the *sharīf* [of Mecca]'s slaves had, of necessity, reached a favourable compromise for the sake of the meeting with Prince Bāyezīd. Jawhar Ṣaghīr, Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī and my brother [Muḥibb al-Dīn] came along with me. And I made Farḥān[386] chief and camp manager with the pack train. The latter headed away from us, while we ascended to where Prince Bāyezīd was. We advanced with difficulty until, after sundown, we came to Ḳaraca Köy. Prince Bāyezīd was in a village named Ḳara Uyūk, meaning 'black mountain.'[387] So we changed course for that village, where we lodged with Dostī Beg because of our previous acquaintanceship. As soon as we dismounted, a selection of delicious prepared victuals and sweets was brought to us from Prince Bāyezīd's kitchen; and Muṣṭafā, the grand equerry (*emīr āḫūr*), met with us.[388] We remained [there] overnight till

386 For reference to al-Nahrawālī's having had a falling out with Jawhar Ṣaghīr, Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī and Farḥān twelve days earlier, see above, p. 122.

387 It is difficult to identify and locate with certainty both Ḳaraca Köy and Ḳara Uyūk, which in modern Turkish are Karacaköy and Karaüyük (-öyük, -hüyük or -höyük) respectively. The more likely of two problematic possibilities, based mainly on Kiepert's late 19th-century detailed map of Asia Minor (*Karte von Kleinasien*, sheet B II), is that, while the pack train continued northbound with Farḥān from Kalburcu (Ġırbalcı), al-Nahrawālī and his small party proceeded almost due east to Karacahısar, also known as Karacaşehir and located about twenty-five kms. from Kalburcu and less than ten from the town of Eskişehir. From here they proceeded eastwards, either about fifteen kms. to Karacahüyük, east of Eskişehir, or to Karahüyük (=Karaüyük), almost thirty kms. from Eskişehir and about thirty-five from Karacahısar/Karacaşehir. Two problems with this scenario are, first, trying, without success, to find corroboration for equating Ḳaraca Köy with Karacahısar/Karacaşehir, and, second, accepting that al-Nahrawālī and his companions traveled "after sunset" (and so in the dark of night), either fifteen kms. to Karacahüyük or thirty-five kms. to Karahüyük. The other possibilty is that al-Nahrawālī's party and the pack train continued in the same northward direction, although separately and at different rates of progress, until al-Nahrawālī arrived at Karaköy, about 10 kms. north of Bozüyük (where the pack train subsequently halted), and then proceeded about 5 kms. southeastwards to Karabayır (Kiepert's map: Kara Baghyr). *Üyük, hüyük, bayır* and (Arabic) *jabal*, etc. all have meanings indicating an elevation of land (mound, slope, hill, mount, etc.). The principal problem here is that, contrary to what the *Riḥlah* text states, al-Nahrawālī's party and the pack train would have been taking the same route. Also, one has to assume here that Karaköy equals the *Riḥlah*'s Karaca Köy and that Karabayır is the same as Kara Üyük. These two possibilities would locate Prince Bāyezīd's camp about ninety and sixty kms. from Kütahya respectively. See too *Eskişehir İl Yıllığı 1967*, map and p. 26; *Bilecik 1967 İl Yıllığı*, maps and pp. 140, 179; and the map Ana Basım Sanayi ve Ticaret A. Ş. (1983), sheets XV/XVI.

388 Neither Dostī Beg, possibly a *ṣūfī* but referred to later as Mollā Dostī Beg (see below, p. 152), nor Muṣṭafā the *emīr āḫūr* has been identified. Owing to his long residence in Mecca and his multilingual skills, and as he was both a ranking member of the Holy City's learned hierarchy and a *ṣūfī* of the Qādirīyah order, al-Nahrawālī had ample reasons and opportunities to develop a wide circle of acquaintanceships. On the office of *emīr āḫūr* in the Ottoman empire, see the highly informative entry in the

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dawn, while [our] pack train headed away from Ġırbālcī to the hostel (*ʿimāret*) of Ḳāsim Pasha at Boz Uyūk, where its members lodged for the night.[389]

On Wednesday, the 2nd of Jumādā II,[390] our companions with the pack train left the hostel of Ḳāsim Pasha at daybreak and, in the afternoon, alighted at a dilapidated caravansary in Kūcuk Bāzār.[391] We, for our part,

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Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., art. "Mīr-Ākẖūr" (Murphey), vii, 88f (where the term is rendered into English as Master of the Stables). The visit by this particular official may have been owing to the fact that al-Nahrawālī was bearing the gift of a stud horse from the *sharīf* of Mecca (see above, p. 133 and n. 363). In his hostilities with his brother Selīm (II) the following year, Ḥasan Aġa, and not Muṣṭafā, is mentioned as the name of Bāyezīd's *emīr āḫūr* (Turan, *Şehzāde Bayezid Vak'ası*, p. 115).

389 Boz Uyūk is the modern Turkish town of Bozüyük, situated on the old Istanbul-Baghdād route, about fifty-five kms. north of Kütahya and ninety kms. southeast of Bursa, and with a population (*ca.* 1970) of 10,800 (Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, xxv, 5410). It was called at, mentioned or described by Maṭraḳçi, *Menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn*, pp. 62, 223, map, and resim 15a; Hans Dernschwam, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/5)*, ed. Franz Babinger (repr. Berlin und München: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1986), pp. 164-7 (appears as Boz Gywgck); Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, trans. E. S. Forster (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927), pp. 45f; Sanderson, *Travels...in the Levant*, p. 62 (appears as Bosuke); Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 116); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, pp. 629f (map), 643; Paul of Aleppo, *Travels of Macarius*, i, 9 (appears as Bazojik); Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, ii, 1381; and Yerasimos, *Voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman*, p. 231. See too *Yürt Ansiklopedisi*, ii, 1283f.

The Ḳāsım Pasha referred to here was Güczelce Ḳāsım Pasha, an unremarkable although very active soldier and administrator who, by the time of his retirement in 948/1541, had served in several provincial governorships and had held the offices of *beglerbegi* (governor-general) of Anadolu and Rūmili and of third vizier. He was noted for his charitable interests, including his role in the reconstruction of the quarter in Istanbul now called after him. On him see Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iv, 46f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Kasım Paşa, Güzelce" (Sümer), vi, 386-8; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. Ḳāsım Pasha" (Sümer), vi, 386-8.

According to Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi*, pp. 172-5 (with photos), Güzelce Ḳāsım Pasha endowed at Bozüyük a complex of structures (*küllīye*), including a Friday mosque (*cāmiʿ*), a primary school, a hospice (*ʿimāret*), two kitchens, a *medrese*, a caravansary (*ḫan*) and a public bath (*ḥammām*). Among these the mosque, the best known in the complex, bears the date 935/1528-9; the public bath's foundation inscription (*kitābah*) includes the date 932/1525-6; and the *medrese*, *ḫan*, *ḥammām* and one of the kitchens have not survived. See too Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, p. 165; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 116); Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, ii, 1381; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, ii, 1306.

390 2 Jumādā II, 965 = Tuesday, 22 March, 1558.

391 Kūcuk Bāzār (small market), which in modern Turkish would be Küçükpazar, is the present-day town of Pazaryeri, which in *ca.* 1970 had a population of 5,600. Situated approximately ninety kms. east-southeast of Bursa, thirty kms. from Bilecik, and four hours caravan travel northwest of Bozüyük, it was long known mainly as Pazarcık (also

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spent the night in Dostī Beg's house at Ḳara Uyūk. During the night, as well as in the morning, very elegantly prepared food and confectionery were brought to us from the kitchen of Prince Bāyezīd.

We were called on by the standard-bearer (*emīr ʿalem*) named Aḥmed Aġa.[392] He had been a slave (*mamlūk*) of Sultan [Qānṣawh] al-Ghawrī but in his youth had been taken by Sultan Selīm b. Bāyezīd at the conquest of Egypt[393] and raised in the sultan's palace. At the time when Prince Bāyezīd emerged from his father's quarters,[394] he asked the latter for Aḥmed

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meaning small market), but also as Derbend-i Ermenī, Bāzār-ı Ermenī, and Ermenī Bāzārı, down to 1954 when its name was changed to Pazaryeri. On it see al-Ghazzī (in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 42), who referred to it as Ermenī Bāzār (Ermenipazar); Maṭraḳçi, *Menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn*, p. 223 and resim 15a (where it appears as Derbend-i Ermenī); Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, pp. 163, 164-7; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 116); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 671; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, ii, 1194; A. Memduh Turgut Koyunluoğlu, *Iznik ve Bursa Tarihi* (Bursa: Bursa Halkevi, 1937), map; Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, *Matrakçi Nasuh* (Ankara: Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963), p. 62; *Bilecik 1967 İl Yıllığı*, p. 178 and maps; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, ix, 954; and Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri I* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), p. 161.

According to *ibid.*, a caravansary (*ḫan*; text: kârbansaray) and *zāviye* (*ṣūfī* center) had been endowed at Ermeni Pazarı (= Kūcuk Bāzār, Pazarcık, Pazaryeri) by a certain Mustafa Pasha who was deceased by 1487, by which year the complex was already in need of repair. This same source (pp. 169-70) lists the property given in endowment, as well as the staff positions, their salaries, and other expenses provided in the *defter*s (registers) for 927/1521 and 981/1573. In 1555 Dernschwam observed (*Tagebuch*, p. 163) there an inn with twenty chambers able to accommodate 150-200 horses. In 1041/1632 Ḥibrī noted (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 116) that Pazarcık had two *ḫan*s and a Friday mosque (*cāmiʿ*).

392 Aḥmad Aġa has not been identified beyond what al-Nahrawālī proceeds to report about him. His position, that of *emīr ʿalem* or *mīr-i ʿalem*, was one of importance and honour usually awarded to former janissary officers (*aġa*s). Such an official performed various functions, usually connected with the royal court and including attendance at the sultan's meeting with important persons and envoys. The context here shows the same officer serving an Ottoman prince in calling upon a visiting envoy. On this office see Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarihi Deyimleri*, i, 526; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, p. 83; and Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 226.

393 For earlier references to the Mamlūk sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (also rendered Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī) see above, p. 7, n. 22 and p. 15, n. 48. His defeat and death in 922/1516 during hostilities with Sultan Selīm I at Marj Dābiq, in northern Syria, led directly to the Ottoman conquest of the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt and Syria.

394 This is an allusion to that point in an Ottoman royal prince's life when, as a political mark of his coming of age, he ceremoniously departed, complete with household and entourage, from his father's royal palace to take up the post of provincial governor, always in Anatolia and usually in what was the capital of an earlier independent Turkish principality (Amasya, Konya, Manisa, Kütahya, etc.). This practice of princely governorships was gradually abandoned towards the end of the 10th/16th century (Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, pp. 45-7; and Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, pp. 17-24). In the

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Aġā and was given him. Aḥmed Aġā remained with Bāyezīd as one of the supports of his regime and of him personally. He was a prudent and consummate man of fine character and noble-mindedness. There also came to us the grand equerry (*emīr āḫūr*) Muṣṭafā Beg, who was one of the sultan's servitors, as well as the chief warder (*ḳabucu başı*) Meḥmed Beg, one of the *sipāhī*s of Damascus who was employed by Prince Bāyezīd and who remained his assistant. These people were the [principal] supports of Prince Bāyezīd's government.[395] The holder of the *aġa*ship of the Porte (*aġat ül-ḳabu)* was ᶜAnbar Aġa, an Abyssinian whom the late Sayyid Aḥmad had presented to the mother of the princes. Under him was another *aġa*, also a favourite, named Ḳudmet Muṣṭafā 'n-Neşşār.[396]

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case of Sultan Süleymān's son Prince Bāyezīd, who was born in 932/1526, this event occurred in 953/1546, when at about the age of twenty-one he was appointed governor of Karaman based at Konya (*ibid.*, p. 23; and see above, p. 132, n. 362).

395 For Muṣṭafā Beg and his office of grand equerry (*emīr āḫūr*) see above, p. 141 and n. 388. The Meḥmed Beg referred to here as a ranking member of Prince Bāyezīd's suite is doubtless the individual identified by Turan as the *kapıcıbaşı* Arap Mehmed, who subsequently followed the prince into exile in Iran where he was instrumental in betraying Bāyezīd (*Şehzade Bayezid Vak'ası*, pp. 140f, 221). On the office of *ḳapıcı başı*, of which there were four in the imperial Topkapı Palace in the mid 10th/16th century, and the holders of which, in addition to guarding the sultan within and outside the palace, performed such roles as preparing foreign ambassadors for royal audience and carrying secret missives for the sultan to governors and viziers, etc., see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḳapıdjı" (Mantran), iv, 568; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Kapıcı" (Uzunçarşılı), vi, 201f; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, ii, 167-9; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 173; and Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 83, 347. It has not been determined how many *ḳapıcı başı*s were employed at Prince Bāyezīd's court, which was modeled on the imperial one (Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 46).

In his referring to Meḥmed Beg's being one of the *sipāhī*s (cavalrymen) of Damascus (al-Shām), it is not clear whether al-Nahrawālī meant a feudal *sipāhī* deriving an income (*dirlik*) from holding a fief (*tīmār, zeᶜāmet*) in that province in return for military service, or intended a member of one of the Ottoman standing army's elite six cavalry divisions (*altı bölük*) in receipt of regular pay and usually serving close to the sultan. On Ottoman *sipāhī*s see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Sipāhī 1. Ottoman Empire" (Bosworth), ix, 656f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Sipâhi" (Gökbilgin), x, 689-94; and Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, iii, 230-5. In his study of the Ottoman province of Damascus in the 10th/16th century, Bakhit refers only to feudal *sipāhī*s (*Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 99f, 111f).

396 *Aġat ül-ḳabu* is the Arabic version of the Ottoman Turkish term *ḳapı aġası*, the chief chamberlain who at the time of al-Nahrawālī's mission remained the most senior officer in the imperial palace. Chief among the white eunuchs, and with the rank of vizier, he was the sultan's close adviser and his mediator with the outside world. Since his office was located by the Bāb üs-Seᶜādet, or Gate of Felicity (also referred to as the Inner Gate), he was known too as the *Bāb üs-Seᶜādet aġası* (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Ḳapu Aghası" (Inalcık), iv, 570f and "Agha" (Bowen), i, 245f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* art. "Ağa" (Huart/Uzunçarşılı), i, 146f; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, ii, 166f; Sertoğlu,

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I went forth to greet [142b] Prince Bāyezīd's mentor. He is an educated man of average intellectual achievement whose name is Mevlānā ʿAbdülcebbār b. Mevlānā Velī ʿAcemī Tebrīzī.[397] Having come to Anatolia in the time of Sultan Bāyezīd b. Meḥmed Ḫan,[398] he was made a protégé-candidate (*mülāzım*) through Ḥusām Ḫalīfe, the *qāḍī* of Bursa. He subsequently advanced through various teaching positions until, at more than seventy years of age, he became instructor at the Murādīye [college] with [a daily stipend of] sixty *ʿuthmānīs*.[399] Then he was made personal preceptor to Prince Bāyezīd.

Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı, pp. 10f; and Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 78, 331f). In the absence of specific information on this office-holder's functions at the princely court, one can only assume that these reflected those performed in the imperial palace in Istanbul.

That ʿAnbar Aġa, Prince Bāyezīd's *ḳapı aġası*, about whom nothing has been discovered beyond his origin and how he came to be in Ottoman service, was a black eunuch rather than a white one is probably of little account in the context of a princely court. His donor, Sayyid Aḥmad (d. *ca.* 947/1540-1), brother of Sayyid Ḥasan who was co-ruler at Mecca and al-Nahrawālī's employer, had presented him as a gift to Ḫurrem, Sultan Süleymān's favourite and the mother of Princes Selīm and Bāyezīd (as well as of the by then deceased Meḥmed and Cihāngīr), at the time of his mission to Istanbul in 946/1539-40 (see above, p. 4, n. 12). For the death of Ḫurrem, who is referred to in this text as *wālidat al-salāṭīn* (mother of the princes) see below, p. 201 and n. 547.

No further identification of Ḳudmet Muṣṭafā 'n-Neşşār Aġa has been made. It is possible, though rather unlikely, that he was a relative (grandson?) of en-Neşşār Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 962/1555), twice Ottoman governor of Yemen and the first posted there (in 947-8/1540-2) with the title of *beglerbegi*. See Blackburn, *Turkish-Yemenite Political Relations*, pp. 109ff, 175ff, 194ff; and Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, iv, 373 (Muṣṭafā Pasha Neşşār) and 126 (Meḥmed Pasha).

397 For an earlier reference to and note on him see above, p. 139 and n. 380.

398 Namely Sultan Bāyezīd II (*r.* 886-918/1481-1512).

399 The Murādīye *medrese* formed part of a complex of structures meeting public needs (*küllīye*) endowed in Bursa by Sultan Murād II (*r.* 824-48, 850-5/1421-44, 1446-51) and constructed during his reign. According to Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, p. 509, ʿAbdülcebbār ʿAcemī was appointed to the professorship in this school during 958/1551. For further information on the school and other buildings in the Murādīye complex see *ibid.*, pp. 505-13; Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque: Brousse Bursa*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1958), i, 105-18 and ii, planche li; Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), pp. 65f, 70f; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 1769; and Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Bursa Anıtlar Ansiklopedisi* (Bursa: Yenigün Yayınları, 1994), pp. 94, 95.

The Ḥusām Ḫalīfe referred to here was probably Ḥusāmeddīn Ḥuseyn b. ʿAbdürraḥmān, known as Mevlā/Mollā Ḥusām Çelebi, a career teacher and judge whose numerous appointments included the *ḳāżī*ship of Bursa, a former Ottoman capital, and who when he died in 926/1520 was receiving eighty *akçe*s daily compensation for teaching in one of the eight *medrese*s attached to the mosque of Sultan Meḥmed II (the Ṣaḥn *medrese*s) in Istanbul (Ṭaşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqā'iq*, pp. 387f; Ṭaşköprüzāde/Mecdī, *Şaḳā'iḳ tercümesi*, p. 391; and Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, ii, 111).

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Next, Prince Bāyezīd sent word to me that I should come to him when the call to the noon prayer was announced. As soon as this occurred, I did my ablutions and prayed. Scarcely had I finished the prayer when the grand equerry (*emīr āḫūr*) appeared and led the [gift] stallion and me away with him. Dostī Beg had indicated that I should offer gifts to the prince and to his chief officers.[400] To Prince Bāyezīd I offered ten [pieces of] *shāsh bez* (fine muslin cloth?), ten *pişkīr* (napkins) and three [measures of] *quṭnī Baghdādī* (Baghdād silk and cotton fabric); to Aḥmed Aġā, the standard-bearer (*emīr ʿalem*), three [pieces of] *shāsh bez* and three [measures of] *quṭnī Shāmī* (Syrian silk and cotton fabric); to the grand equerry three [measures each of] *shāsh bā tarī* (coarse muslin?) and *quṭnī Shāmī*; to the *ḫoca* (teacher) three [measures of] *shāsh bā tarī* and one of *quṭnī Shāmī*; and to each of ʿAnbar Aġa and the chief warder (*ḳabucu başı*) one [measure of] *shāsh bā tarī*.[401]

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400 Although the Arabic text here is slightly faulty and vague, it seems apparent from it that, since the stallion was a gift from the *sharīf* of Mecca, additional gifts should be given to the prince and leading members of his retinue by the *sharīf*'s mission chief.

401 This is the first of several inventories of gifts of woven goods presented by al-Nahrawālī for his Meccan lord to a wide range of Ottoman dignitaries and officials. Nearly fifty different items appear in these lists. The challenges presented by these to the translator are basically two. First, the Arabic is often lacking in the diacritical points which distinguish one letter from a similar one, suggesting perhaps that al-Nahrawālī was unfamiliar with many of these (mainly Indo-Persian) terms, and that he may even have simply copied several of these from labels attached to bundles of such goods he brought with him in bulk. Secondly, the number of each item bestowed is recorded in code-like abbreviated *dīvān* style. While manuals, such as that by Salâhaddin Elker, *Divan Rakamları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1953), aid considerably with the latter problem, the first remains a challenge for the non-specialist in Islamic textiles. Thus, several of these items are presented in tansliteration only, while the renderings of those for which an English translation is attempted are mainly dictionary-based conjectures and may not always accurately describe the item. The secondary literature on 10th/16th-century textiles popular in the Middle East is generally not very helpful for the translation or description of these; however, found to have been of some assistance are Halil İnalcık, "The Ottoman Cotton Market in India: the Role of Labor Cost in Market Competition," in his *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), pp. 264-306; J.M. Rogers, "An Ottoman Palace Inventory of the Reign of Bayezid II" in *Comité international d'études pré-ottomanes et ottomanes, VIth Symposium* (Istanbul, Paris and Leiden, 1987), pp. 39-53; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḳuṭn – 2. In the Ottoman Empire" (Inalcık), v, 557-66.

Nowhere in the *Riḥlah* does its author indicate the source for the procurement of these cotton and silk textiles much valued among Middle Eastern and Ottoman elites during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. Most likely, he brought them with him from Mecca, which is located close to the Red Sea harbour of Jedda, at that time still a point of disembarkation for such goods from India destined for Damascus, Aleppo and Bursa, etc. Yet al-Nahrawālī remained a full week in Aleppo, possibly by then the most important center for trade in Indian textiles and Iranian silks. Since he records (see above, pp. 97ff)

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Having arrived at where Prince Bāyezīd was, they seated me on a chair in a fully furnished anteroom, and provided a sweet beverage which I drank. With me were my brother [Muḥibb al-Dīn] and Jawhar Ṣaghīr. They showed us into the prince's presence. The corridor [leading there] was covered over, as were the walls, for it was raining and the sky was overcast with heavy dark clouds. I observed the prince seated on a dais. To his right were silver candle sticks with the candles lit because it was dark at the time owing to the cloud overcast. There was perfumed incense burning in abundance in pretty holders [set] before him. I kissed his right hand which was perfumed with musk and ambergris. Upon his head was a turban bearing the aigrette [worn by] the elite of the empire or by the sultan's permission. He half stood up for me before resuming his sitting position. I remained standing until my brother and Jawhar Ṣaghīr had each conveyed his greetings and gone out. Then he motioned to me to be seated on a cushioned bench which he had arranged for me about two cubits in front of him.

When the prince began questioning me about the circumstances [143a] of [our] trip, I replied, "All of the journey's hardships vanished with beholding your blissful countenance." He then signalled to all in his presence to withdraw, so that the two of us remained alone together. He inquired about all of the noble *sayyid* [of Mecca]'s affairs and circumstances in everything that he does. I responded to that by exalting the *sayyid*'s[402] matter and dignity. When next he asked me about our masters Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bakrī and Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad

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having met there with only two local religious figures plus the province's governor during that unexplained lengthy stopover, it is possible for him to have spent much of this time in obtaining such goods in this important entrepôt. Although, on departing from Damascus after wintering there, the author of the *Riḥlah* mentions (see above, p. 67) having purchased there outer apparel (*thiyāb*), broadcloth (*jūkh*) and clothing (*malbūs*), it seems likely that he is referrring to meeting such needs for himself and the members of his suite. The price for these, as well as for the purchase of provisions and the hire of mules and servants, is included in the cost of his expenses from the time of departure from Medina until that from Damascus, which in total was 497 gold pieces, hardly enough to include the purchase of quality and luxury items for distribution as gifts to a large number of dignitaries and officials. On the importance of Indian textiles among the Ottomans, and of the roles of Jedda and Aleppo in this trade generally, see, for example, İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History*, pp. 338-40, 345 and 354.

Although appearing six times in this one inventory, only once is *shāsh* (fine muslin) spelled accurately. *Bez* (cloth) is given here twice without diacriticals. *Pişkīr* (modern Turkish *peşkir*) is fully spelled in a later inventory (see ms. f. 150a, l. 6). *Shāsh bā tarī* is fully rendered as such, including diacriticals, on f. 148a, l. 18 of the ms. The rendering of the manuscript here differs in several details from that of Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 39.

402 Curiously the text here yields *amri-him wa sharafi-him* (their matter and dignity), which is taken to be erroneous for *amri-hi wa sharafi-hi* (his matter and dignity).

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b. Ḥajar,[403] I extolled them and spoke of their excellence. The latter of these two had left with me both a treatise, in which he addressed the merit of probity, and a letter. As I had these with me, I removed them from my sleeve, rose, and handed them over to the prince. He received them and placed them down in front of him. Then he wanted to know about Shaykh Abū Suᶜūd al-Majdhūb (the divinely attracted one),[404] and his marvels, some of whose circumstances I recalled for him. Next he bagan to speak of the very learnèd ones and to inquire about them.

Prince Bāyezīd then talked about the Turkish alms[405] and its [total] amount. I reported that at present it is 31,000 gold pieces, and that the

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403 Both of these individuals with whom al-Nahrawālī was acquainted were Egyptian-born scholars having close associations with Mecca. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Shāfiᶜī al-Miṣrī (some accounts give Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad) was born in Cairo in 930/1524 into the venerable Bakrī family of religious scholars tracing descent from the first caliph, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (*r.* 11-13/631-4). Recognised as a Shāfiᶜī jurisprudent, mystic, writer and poet, he was several times a visiting resident (*mujāwir*) in Mecca, where he maintained a house, and followed the practice of performing the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) every second year. In fact, his name appears later in the *Riḥlah*'s text (p. 237) as a member of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan for 965/1558 which al-Nahrawālī accompanied to Mecca. He died in Cairo in 993 or 994/1585-6. See al-ᶜAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, pp. 414-32; al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, ii, 220f; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 67-72; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 431-3; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 447 (339); al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, vii, 289; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muᶜjam al-muᵓallifīn*, xi, 281.

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Abū al-ᶜAbbās b. Muḥammad b Muḥammad b. Ḥajar al-Haytamī al-Saᶜdī al-Anṣārī was born at Maḥallat Abī al-Haytam in rural Egypt during the year 909/1503-4. A graduate of the al-Azhar Mosque where, before the age of twenty, he was authorised to give legal interpretations (*fatwās*) and to teach at the *madrasah* level, he became recognised for his proficiency in Qurᵓānic commentary, the prophetic Tradition, Shāfiᶜī jurisprudence and Islamic mysticism. He performed the *ḥajj* three times, following the last of which he took up residence with his family in Mecca, where he taught, gave legal interpretations and was prolific in producing compositions before dying there in 973/1565-6. See al-ᶜAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, pp. 287-92; Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, i, 435f; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliᶜ*, i, 109; Ismāᶜīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ᶜārifīn*, i, 146 (which gives the fullest list of his compositions); al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, i, 223; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muᶜjam al-muᵓallfīn*, ii, 152.

404 Efforts to identify and locate further references to this ecstatic *ṣūfī* (mystic), presumably of Mecca, have met with no success even though, for an Ottoman prince to have known of him, he must have enjoyed a wide reputation for his miraculous accomplishments.

405 Al-Nahrawālī's use here of the Arabic combination *ṣadaqat al-Rūmīyah* (alms of Turkey) seemingly refers to alms intended for the support of pious Muslims residing and performing religious functions in the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Such dedicated donations were raised from pious foundations (*waqf*s) endowed for that purpose, principally in Anadolu (Anatolia) and Rūmili (Ottoman Europe) but not in the major Arab provinces of Egypt and Syria. The latter Islamic heartlands had long had for that purpose their own trusts which continued to function after the Ottoman conquest in the early 10th/16th century.

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source of it is the pious foundations of Muslims [the revenue from which] they accumulate in the treasury, but [of which revenue] they send [to the holy cities] only this amount. I stated as well that what God almighty (Praise be to him!) granted to the House of ʿOṣmān from the [whole Islamic] domain amounts to more than the wealth of the [early] caliphs. And I mentioned that when, in the time of [the caliph] al-Muqtadir bi'llāh, a vizier named ʿĪsā b. al-Jarrāḥ performed the pilgrimage in the year.. ...,[406] he returned to Baghdād where, from his own private wealth, he instituted for the two noble holy cities a charitable trust yielding 13,000 gold *dīnār*s monthly! Al-Ṣafadī mentioned this in [his] *al-Wāfī bi'l-wafayāt*.[407] That

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For a helpful discussion of the financing of the two Muslim holy cities and of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, including outside charitable support for Muslims living and functioning there for pious reasons, see Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, pp. 74-91. Her researches, deriving in part from documentary and chronicle evidence, indicate that such foundations (based in the central Ottoman lands of Anadolu and Rūmili) yielded, on average, about 28,000 gold pieces annually in the second half of the 10th/16th century (pp. 83, 89), a figure close to the 31,000 gold pieces which al-Nahrawālī provides here.

406 Al-Muqtadir bi'llāh Abū al-Faḍl Jaʿfar was the youngest ʿAbbāsid caliph (*r.* 295-320/908-32) ever when he succeeded his brother al-Muktafī in that office at the age of thirteen. During his twenty-four years in office, the longest of any incumbent to that time, he had fourteen viziers. Significant among these was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Dāʾud b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Baghdādī (245-334/859-946), a member of the Jarrāḥ secretarial family long established in the service of the caliphate, and an individual recognised for being upright, conscientious and generous in distributing his wealth for the faith (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "al-Muḳtadir" (Zetterstéen/Bosworth), vii, 541f and "ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā" (Bowen), i, 386f; and Dominique Sourdel, *Le Vizirat ʿAbbāside de 749 à 936 (132 à 324 de l'Hégire)*, 2 vols. (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1959-60), ii, 399-414, 441-8 and 519-51). It was probably during his two exiles in Mecca, when he was out of political favour, that ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā performed the pilgrimage referred to here. This lacuna is one more of several which al-Nahrawālī never got round to filling at a later date (see above, p. 23, n. 73).

407 The multi-volume *Al-Wāfī bi'l-wafayāt* by the prolific writer and copyist Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696-764/1297-1363) is a vast biographical dictionary which began to be published in 1931 by H. Ritter in his Bibliotheca Islamica series under the editorship of various scholars. On al-Ṣafadī and his work see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Ṣafadī" (Rosenthal), viii, 759f. Al-Ṣafadī's biographical entry for ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā appears in Volume XXI, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥujayrī (Stuttgart: Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner Wiesbaden GMBH, 1988), pp. 368-70. There the account of the endowment yielding 13,000 gold *dīnār*s monthly differs in some details from what al-Nahrawālī here recounts, albeit from memory: according to it, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā advised al-Muqtadir to award this and other amounts of endowment income to be shared by Islam's two holy cities and the frontier fortresses (*thughūr*), medieval Islam's first line of defence against the infidel (Byzantium).

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[amount alone] is many times what the needy receive from the exchequer (*dīwān*) of the sultanate.[408]

The prince was quite amazed at that and asserted, "If God the exalted ordains that I should become ruler, I shall spend [on the holy cities] all of [the revenues from] the Muslims' pious foundations – fully and completely. And quite apart from that [source], I shall from my own resources increase the amount of that. If you wish, I shall swear for you this oath." In response I said, "O our lord prince! Oathtaking and pledging are for the likes of us; for people of your exalted standing your very utterance is an oath and pledge without any act of swearing." "Still," the prince insisted, "I am, by God, resolved on that, just as I am on bestowing benefits and gifts liberally on the people. And I ask God the exalted to grant me success in this." I quoted for him, "Allah will establish in strength those who believe, with the Word that stands firm, in this world and in the Hereafter,"[409] and went on to say, "But more important than generosity is justice; for countries are destroyed by tyranny." Whereupon, he faced me, asking, "How's that?" "Countries are destroyed by tyranny," I repeated, and I recalled for him certain acts of injustice which I had witnessed in such Arab lands as Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo. To set this forth in detail [here] would take too long. He gave ear to me, was noticeably affected, and promised to put a stop to all that. [143b] I told him a well-known tale about [the Persian king] Kisrā Anūshīrwān at the time he beheld his vizier speaking to the owl.[410] Prince Bāyezīd paid close attention to it and marveled at it.

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408 Just what the author of the *Riḥlah* meant by the Arabic combination *dīwān al-salṭanah* (the chancellery or, in the present context, exchequer of the sultanate), which is not an Ottoman institutional term, is unclear and conjectural. Whether in his mind this was merely another way of referring to the *ṣadaqat al-Rūmīyah* (the Turkish alms; *cf.* above, n. 405), which the conversation here seems to favour, or whether he had in mind the Ottoman treasury, either the *ḫazīne-i ʿāmire* (the state, or outer, treasury) or the *ḫazīne-i enderūn* (the sultan's privy, or inner, treasury), cannot be determined with any certainty. That the pious needy of the holy cities were funded regularly from the Ottoman treasury is confirmed by Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, pp. 76-8 (including Table 3), although she does not indicate whether such disbursements were made from the state or the sultan's privy treasury.

409 From the *Qurʾān*, XIV: 27.

410 The one referred to here was the Persian ruler Khusraw (= Arabic: Kisrā; Ottoman Turkish: Ḫusrev) Anūshīrwān, or Nūshīrwān, the Just (531-79 C.E.), the last strong Sāsānid monarch and the one who in about 555 C.E. founded in Persian ʿIrāq the Jundī Shāpūr academy where Greek medicine and philosophy were taught into the era of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Kisrā" (Morony), v, 184f; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 6th ed. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1958), p. 309; Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), p. 358; and E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols. (Cambridge:

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We went on to speak at some length in a similar vein. Each time I wanted to get up he would detain me, saying, "How quickly you have tired of us!" and then sink back into social intercourse. He was a cultivated, perceptive and clever person possessing a good nature, humility and a love for what is good, as well as boldness, audacity and courage. His male offspring are Prince Orḫan, who is the eldest of his children and who is strikingly handsome, Prince Oṣmān, Prince Maḥmūd and Prince ʿAbdallāh. His daughters include Princess Mihrimāh, the eldest of them who was then eleven, Princess Ḫadīce, who was eight, and the princesses ʿĀʾişe and Ḫanzāde.[411] They are [all] the issue of different mothers, except for the princes Oṣmān and Maḥmūd, who are full brothers.

Prince Bāyezīd led a soft life. Each year his mother, the *ḫāṣṣikīye*,[412] would send him purses of money which he used for his table and for spending freely. He had with him about seven thousand soldiers, all of them bold-spirited. And the prince is the donor of a charitable gift which each year reaches the two exalted holy cities and is distributed among the

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University Press, 1956), i, 181). On the Indo-Iranian perception of the owl (*būm*) as a sinister and macabre creature considered inauspicious and malevolent, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1985 -), art. "Būf" (Aʿlam), iv, 505-9. This article does not, however, yield any allusion to Anūshīrwān's vizier in conversation with the owl.

411 For earlier references to Prince Orḫān see above, p. 129, n. 353 and p. 132 and n. 362. According to Table xxx appended to Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, Prince Bāyezīd had eleven children living at the time of al-Nahrawālī's visit, the eight mentioned here and three additional sons, namely Meḥmed, Murād and Süleymān. Of his sons, Alderson's table shows Murād and Oṣmān as being executed in 967/1560, and four others, namely ʿAbdallāh, Maḥmūd, Meḥmed and Orḫān as meeting the same fate on 25 September, 1561 (= 15 Muḥarram, 969), along with their father as a result of the latter's rebellion and subsequent flight to Iran. On the other hand, of the princes executed with their father, Turan substitutes Oṣmān for Meḥmed, and documents a preference for 21 Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 969/23 July, 1562 for the date of this event (*Şehzāde Bayezid Vakʾası*, pp. 121, 154 and n. 3, 155). The embalmed bodies of the executed were brought to Sivas for interment (*ibid.*, pp. 155f). A touching account of the execution at Bursa of an (unnamed) infant son of Bāyezīd is recounted by Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, p. 226. Brief accounts of Princes ʿAbdallāh, Oṣmān, Meḥmed and Murād appear in Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, i, 53, 56, 69, 76, where the deaths of all four are given as 967/1559-60.

412 This is a reference to Sultan Süleymān's wife and favourite, Ḫurrem Sultan who, having produced four princes, including the surviving Bāyezīd and Selīm (II), as well as the princess Mihrimāh, wife of the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha (see above, p. 82, n. 208), had earned the title *ḫāṣṣeki* or *ḫāṣṣeki sulṭān* (Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, p. 73; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khāṣṣekī" (Orhonlu), iv, 1100; and *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Haseki" (Uzunçarşılı), v, pt. 1, p. 338). The term *ḫāṣṣeki* used alone is usually construed as the sultan's concubine or favourite (see, for example, Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, pp. 58, 63, etc.). For further on Ḫurrem, known to Europeans as Roxelana, see below, p. 200 and n. 544.

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needy. It [consists of] about two thousand pieces of new gold, as well as woollen gift robes and prayer rugs in his name for the notables (*aʿyān*) and religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*). He queried me about its reaching [there], the manner of its distribution, and whether it achieves its intended goal, to which I replied that I had no knowledge of that. The prince has also donated a deluxe copy of the *Qurʾān* which is recited in the noble sanctuary [at Mecca]. He made me senior user [*shaykh*] of that text and appointed our master, the religious authority Qāḍī Ḥusayn al-Mālikī,[413] its endowment administrator.

My remaining seated before him became drawn out until the muezzin announced the call to the afternoon prayer, whereupon I sought the prince's leave to rise. He granted me such permission, but obliged me to pay him a return visit, promising me good things. I kissed his hand in assent,[414] and he rose part way as I made my departure for the home of Mollā Dostī Beg. He subsequently sent me, with his apologies, a woollen garment and three thousand *ʿuthmānī*s; and to [my] brother he gave a woollen garment and

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413 Usually identified simply as the *qāḍī* Ḥusayn al-Makkī (al-Mālikī), his close associate al-Nahrawālī identifies him elsewhere as Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥusaynī (*al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 446). He was almost certainly a native of Mecca, although little is recorded in the biographical literature consulted here of his education and career before 975/1567-8, when he was appointed Mālikī professor at the newly completed Sulaymānīyah *madrasah* in Mecca for the four orthodox rites at a daily stipend of fifty *akçe*s. In 982/1574-5 he was made judge of Medina for a time. Al-Nahrawālī refers to him, more than once and over several years, as the administrator (*nāẓir*) of Mecca's holy mosque (*ibid.*, pp. 147, 206, 245, 446), and in one instance (p. 206) as overall chief of Mecca (*raʾīs Makkah ʿalā al-iṭlāq*). Ḥamad al-Jāsir too, in the introduction to his edition of *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, alludes to him as *shaykh* of the Meccan *ḥaram* (sanctuary), a status almost equal to that of the *sharīf* of Mecca (pp. 35, 42). His death occurred in 990/1582, the same year as that of the author of the *Riḥlah*, the two of them being interred in the same burial place at Mecca. Biographical and related information on him is scanty, but accounts of him appear in al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, pp. 380-2; ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 269; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 146f; al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, i, 438f; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 419f; and Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, ii, 184.

414 Although the Arabic here (*fa-qabbaltu yad-hu wa wādaʿtu-hu*) is mildly suggestive of the possibility of al-Nahrawālī's having reached some manner of agreement with Prince Bāyezīd, it nevertheless is construed in the sense of reconciliation at leave-taking. The point merits some reflection, however, in view of the ultimate failure of al-Nahrawālī's mission: if he had, in fact, come to some agreement with Prince Bāyezīd on the eve of the latter's contest for the succession with his only surviving brother, Selīm (II), who was favoured by their father and the state's ranking officials, and if news of that preceded or accompanied him to Istanbul, it would certainly have placed the outcome of his modest undertaking in jeopardy. Even knowledge of his merely having met with the prince could have been detrimental to al-Nahrawālī's task. Writing almost twenty years later, the latter reflected that, on the occasion of this meeting, the prince in fact did ask him to remain with him as an associate, but that he excused himself – twice – from accepting this invitation. See his *al-Iʿlām*, p. 294.

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three hundred *ʿuthmānī*s. From his larder he supplied us with confectioneries and sweetmeats, and from his kitchen came prepared food.

We stayed over that night at Dostī Beg's place and departed at dawn on Thursday, the 3rd of Jumādā II.[415] When we got under way from Ḳara Uyūk, Prince Bāyezīd provided us with a *sipāhī* escort to Istanbul. The bag suspended from [my] saddle containing [my] inkwell and writing utensil, as well as this notebook (*daftar*), dropped and I don't know how it happened. I was troubled by this because the notebook included my record of the stages and stations of the journey, as well as of what I had both experienced and disbursed. So I sent back a letter to Prince Bāyezīd with one of the *sipāhī*s he had provided for us. I instructed this person to return to Prince Bāyezīd and seek information about the bag. He did so, and the prince, once in possession of [my] note, summoned together the elders among the village folk thereabouts and required them to spare nothing in searching for the bag. These leaders thus went forth inquiring about [144a] it. They found it with a woman and brought her to the prince, who rewarded her. Prince Bāyezīd noticed the notebook and read some of the rough notes [it contained]. He then returned these to the bag, placed everything in a sack, affixed his seal to it, and handed it over to the *sipāhī*, who returned towards us and caught up with us in Istanbul.[416]

[145a] Meanwhile, [our] pack train had set out from Ġırbālcī on Tuesday [the 1st of Jumādā II][417] and stayed the night of Wednesday, the 2nd of the month, in a run-down inn (*ḫan*) at Kūcuk Bāzār.[418] At dawn on Thursday, the 3rd of Jumādā II,[419] the members of the pack train[420]

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415 3 Jumādā II, 965 = Wednesday, 23 March, 1558.

416 On the apparent reason for why the *Riḥlah*'s author left the remainder of f. 144a and all of f. 144b blank, see below, p. 157, n. 427.

417 1 Jumādā II, 965 = Monday, 21 March, 1558. For the previous reference to this date on which al-Nahrawālī and three others in his party separated from the pack train led by Farḥān, see above, p. 140 and n. 385.

418 2 Jumādā II, 965 = Tuesday, 22 March, 1558. For an earlier reference to this place and its neglected *ḫan* see above, p. 142 and n. 391.

419 3 Jumādā II, 965 = Wednesday, 23 March, 1558. Missing here is any reference to al-Nahrawālī's having earlier recorded (see above, p. 142 and n. 389) that the pack train spent the night of Wednesday (= Tuesday), 2 Jumādā II in the hostel (*ʿimāret*) of Ḳāsim Pasha at Boz Uyūk/Bozüyük *before* proceeding on to stay over in Kūcuk Bāzār. Blending al-Nahrawālī's two versions, it seems likely that the pack train spent the night of the 1st in Ġırbālcī, that of the 2nd in Boz Uyūk, and that of the 3rd in Kūcuk Bāzār. The fact of the Islamic day beginning and ending at sundown (see above, p. 2, n. 7) is central to an understanding of such sequences.

420 Here the author of the *Riḥlah* personalises the pack train (*al-aḥmāl*) by shifting the Arabic verb's pronoun subject for it from the 3rd feminine singluar (normal Arabic practice where the reference is to inanimate objects) to the 3rd masculine plural.

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resumed their journey and spent the night at Āḳ Uyūk, in a caravansary which Rüstem Pasha, the present grand vizier, had had erected.[421] They departed at sunrise on Friday, the 4th of the month, and reached İznīḳ[422] where they remained waiting for us. When we didn't show up, they stayed

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421 Āḳ Uyūk (*cf.* Āḳhöyük/Āḳöyük), the present-day village of Akbıyık with a population (in 1967) of little more than a thousand persons, is located about fifty-five kms. due south of İznik, and was a fairly regular stop on one of the trans-Anatolian routes. It was called at or noted by Maṭraḳçi, *Menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn*, pp. 61, 223 and *resim* (miniature) 14b; Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, pp. 161-3 (as Agk Byuck); Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, p. 45 (as Achbyuck); Sanderson, *Travels...in the Levant*, p. 62 (as Auc Biuke); Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 116); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, pp. 641f; Paul of Aleppo, *Travels of Macarius*, i, 9 (as Ak Beyik); Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, i, 256; and Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, Tafel 5 and p. 119 (as Aq Byjyk). As well, it appears on the map of Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien*, sheet B II as Ak Bijik; and on map 19 in Yerasimos, *Voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman*. For references to the modern village see Turkey: Dāḫiliye Vekāleti, *Köylerimiziñ adları*, p. 456 (Ac biyc); Turkey: Dahiliye Vekâleti, *Köylerimiz*, p. 22; and *Bursa İl Yıllığı – 1967* (Istanbul: Fono Matbaası, 1968), p. 55 and map of Yenişehir İlçesi.

Although the existence of a *ḫan* at Āḳ Uyūk/Bıyık was noted by Ḥibrī and Paul of Aleppo, only Hans Dernschwam, who visited there in 1555, just three years before al-Nahrawālī, has left a description of it. According to him (*Tagebuch*, p. 162) it was a caravansary recently built by (the grand vizier) "Rustan bascha" (on whom see above, p. 82 and n. 208) and was large enough to accommodate two hundred horses. It had thirty-two chambers and was supported by six square stone and brick columns.

422 4 Jumādā II, 965 = Thursday, 24 March, 1558. The town of İznik, with a population of 10,000 (1970) and situated at the eastern end of a large lake having the same name, is of significance for Byzantine, Selcūḳid and early Ottoman history. Byzantine Nicaea, for which İznik is the Turkicised version, and which gave its name to the Nicene Creed elaborated there, was the setting for the Council of Nicaea, the first universal Christian council convened in 325 C.E. A modest Turkish polity, known as the Selcūḳ Sultanate of Rūm, was established there for a time in the second half of the 5th/11th century before it was driven back by the troops of the First Crusade (1097 C.E.). Even at the time of the town's absorption in 731/1331 by the small Ottoman *uc begilik* of Orḫan Beg, later known as the second Ottoman sultan (*r. ca.* 724-63/1324-62), Nicaea was losing its importance and beginning to suffer neglect.

Several of the accounts consulted for this study carry descriptions of Islamic İznik with its mosques, colleges, public baths, hostels and markets, etc., and these include Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," pp. 43f; Chesneau, *Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, pp. 149f; Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, pp. 158-60, 235-8; Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, p. 45; The Polish Armenian Simeon, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Hrand D. Andeasyan (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1964), pp. 21f; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 189; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," pp. 115f); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 662; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 6-9; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabāʾ*, pp. 234f; and Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 87f). See too Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, ii, 851f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "İznik" (Anhegger), v, pt. 2, pp. 1256-64; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Iznīḳ" (Mordtmann/Fehérvri), iv, 291f; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, vi, 636f; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 1725f.

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over there on Saturday, the 5th,[423] as well. İznīḳ is a town where İznīḳ ceramic ware (*ṣīnī*) is produced and in which there are several colleges.[424] The pack train party left [İznīḳ] on Sunday, the 6th of the month, and, at the end of the day, alighted at Hersekzāde and passed the night in a hostel (*ʿimāret*) there. Hersekzāde is a village containing this hostel, and adjacent to this place is a body of water over which one is ferried, with land [always] visible nearby.[425]

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423 5 Jumādā II, 965 = Friday, 25 March, 1558.

424 Throughout the 10th/16th and much of the 11th/17th centuries, İznik was the center of a large and very active ceramic pottery industry producing fine quality vessels and tiles. Several of Istanbul's mosques, notably those of the grand viziers Rüstem Pasha (d. 968/1561) and Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha (d. 987/1579) and that of Sultan Aḥmed I (d. 1026/1617), as well as parts of Topkapı Palace and other public buildings, were adorned with tiles and other luxury ceramics turned out by the workshops of İznik. The industry went into decline during the 11th/17th century, although in 1039/1629-30 the Arab traveler Kibrīt noted the town's link with İznik pottery (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 189). An important study of it is that by John Carswell, *İznik Pottery* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), which includes Evliyā Çelebi's observation that, in 1058/1648, only nine workshops were yet in operation compared with more than three hundred (doubtless an exaggerated figure) less than half a century earlier (p. 106).

If the same inveterate traveler and observer is to be believed, İznik had seven *medreses* (and seven *ṣūfī* convents and seven soup kitchens too!) at the time of his visit (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 7f). Whatever their number over time, only two of them receive any detailed comment, those of (Sultan) Orḫan Ġāzī, the town's conqueror, and of his son, Süleymān Pasha (d. *ca.* 758/1357). Orḫan's *medrese*, generally held to have been the first in the Ottoman state, was established soon after the town's conquest. Although it is thought to have been converted from an existing Christian structure, its endowment deed suggests that it was housed in a building erected for that purpose. The *medrese* of Süleymān Pasha, which is regarded as a fine specimen of early Ottoman architecture and distinctive from Selcūḳ style, was probably founded not long after the town's conquest, before Süleymān Pasha was drawn to the European theatre of operations. Unlike the *medrese* of Orḫan Ġāzī, that of Süleymān Pasha survives; but its unkempt appearance reflects its use as a depository in recent times. On these see Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Das Islamische ıznik* (Berlin: Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, 1941), pp. 69-72 (with plans); *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Orhan" (Gökbilgin), ix, 401; Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 326f, 428-33; S. Yıldız Ötüken *et al*, *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler IV* (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1986), pp. 247-50; and Semavi Eyice, *İznik Tarihçesi ve Eski Eserleri* (Istanbul: Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi Yayınları, 1988), p. 42 (with plan and photo).

425 6 Jumādā II, 965 = Saturday, 26 March, 1558. Hersekzāde, which over time has become reduced to simply Hersek, is now but a tiny village located on a headland (Hersek Burnu) on the south shore of the Gulf of İzmit, about twenty-five kms. east of Yalova. Close by it is an old and important landing stage for travelers and caravans crossing the Gulf of İzmit and proceeding into Anatolia. Named for Hersekzāde Aḥmed Pasha (860-932/1456-1517), an Ottoman statesman of Balkan origin with the family name of Hercegovıc, it previously was known simply as Dil, meaning tongue (of land). Its location is indicated on Kiepert's *Karte von Kleinasien*, sheet A II, as well as on the sketch map

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On Monday, the 7th of Jumādā II, the pack train came to Kayūbzeh, where its members lodged in the hostel of Muṣṭafā Pasha.[426] It was there that we caught up with the pack train that same day. When [my] journal and notations went missing I wasn't able to record the localities through

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in *Kocaeli İl Yıllığı 1967* (Istanbul: Doğan Kardeş Matbaacılık Sanayii, 1970), betw. pp. 32, 33. The place is also noted or discussed in Sanderson, *Travels...in the Levant*, p. 62 (as Dil); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, p. 188 (as al-Dīl); Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 115); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 662 and map betw. pp. 629, 630; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 4f and ix, 7; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, pp. 236f (who describes being ferried over the gulf); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 86f); Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 324; Taeschner, *Anatolische Wegenetz*, p. 110 and Tafel 1-3; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, v, 797; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, viii, 4985; and Halil Inalcık, "Oṣmān Ghāzī's Siege of Nicaea and the Battle of Bapheus," in E. Zachariadou, ed., *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389)* (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1993), p. 93.

Hersekzāde Aḥmed Pasha, who was grand vizier five times over two decades (902-21/ 1497-1516), endowed in the village of Dil a mosque and soup kitchen/hostel (*ʿimāret*). Only the foundations of the latter survive, while the mosque, regarded by some as an exemplar of Ottoman architecture, was restored in 1965 after being reduced for many years to a ruinous state. The body of Aḥmed Pasha, whose endowment document (*vaḳfiye*) has survived and been studied and published, and who died in southern Anatolia while returning from Egypt, was borne to Dil for interment in the courtyard of his mosque there. On him and his endowment at Dil/Hersek see Ṣüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, i, 195; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, i, 792; Muhammad Ahmed Simsar, *The Waqfiyah of ʾAḥmed Pāšā* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), pp. 179-89; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Hersek-zāde" (Šabanovıc), iii, 340f; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, arts. "Hersekzâde Ahmed Paşa" (Ş. Turan), "Hersekzâde Ahmed Paşa Camii" (Eyice), and "Hersekzâde Ahmed Paşa Camii ve Türbesi" (Eyice), xvii, 235-9.

426 7 Jumādā II, 965 = Sunday, 27 March, 1558. Ekrem Kâmil erroneously gives Monday, 1 Jumādā II ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamess," p. 47).

This is present-day Gebze, a town of 58,000 (*ca.* 1980) located on a height of land not far from the northern shore of the Gulf of İzmit and having a commanding view of this important waterway. A major stop for armies and commercial caravans en route into Anatolia via the large town of İzmit, fifty kms. to its east, its name appears in historical accounts as, variously, Gebise/Gebize, Gebs, Geğibüze/ Guegbuze, Geğbize, etc. It was there that Sultan Meḥmed II (Fātiḥ) died in 886/ 1481, and nearby is the burial place of Hannibal. See Üzümeri, *Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ii, 359f; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, v, 50; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Gebze" (Taeschner), ii, 982f; and *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vii, 5048f. Early accounts mentioning or describing it include those of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 47; Maṭraḳçi, *Menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāḳeyn*, pp. 59, 223 and *resim* (miniature) 12b; Chesneau, *Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, p. 150; Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, pp. 152f; Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, p. 43; Sanderson, *Travels...in the Levant*, p. 62; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, p. 188; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 115); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 662 and map betw. pp. 629, 630; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 167-70 and iii, 4; al-Khiyārī, *Tuḥfat al-udabā'*, p. 237; and Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 84-6).

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which we passed.[427] We [all] spent Tuesday night at Kayūbzeh where I beheld an attractive mosque built by Muṣṭafā Pasha. Having been governor of Egypt, he had some of its marble transported to his mosque so that it is tiled with marble.[428] Food is distributed (at the *ʿimāret*), and (the town) has an impressive *madrasah*. Kuyūbzeh is a single day's journey from Istanbul.

The *küllīye* complex of public buildings at Gebze, which, besides the hostel (*ʿimāret*), included a Friday mosque (*cāmiʿ*), college (*medrese*), dervish hospice (*tekke*), caravansary (*ḫan*), public bath (*ḥammām*) and library, was endowed by Çoban Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 935/1529), a vizier and brother-in-law of Sultan Süleymān I who served as the second Ottoman governor of Egypt (928-9/1522-3). The *ʿimāret*, which is nowhere else described as having overnight accommodation, dispensed food for travelers and fodder for their animals; and it consisted of two dining rooms, a kitchen, a pantry and a bakery. Inscriptions indicate that this *küllīye*, which also includes the mausoleum (*türbe*) of its benefactor, was being completed in the years 929-30/1522-4. On features of it and on Çoban Muṣṭafā Pasha see Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (who observed the mosque and noted its benefactor less than a decade after its completion) in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 47; Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, p. 153; Ḥibrī (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 115); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 662; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 167-70; Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," pp. 85f); Aḥmad Shalabī b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Awḍaḥ al-ishārāt fī-man waliya Miṣr al-qāhirah min al-wuzarāʾ wa al-bāshāt*, ed. Fuʾād Muḥammad al-Māwī (Cairo: Dār al-Anṣār, 1977), p. 144; Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, iv, 372; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, vi, 4307; Metin Sözen, *Türk Mimarisinin Gelişimi ve Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1975), pp. 163-5; Erdem Yücel and Cihat Soyhan, *Gebze ve Eskihisar* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1976), pp. 28-35, 78-81; Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 320-2; Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi*, pp. 163-9; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Gebze," ii, 982; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çoban Mustafa Paşa Külliyesi" (Seyhan), viii, 351-4; and Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule* (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994), pp. 34f, 55.

427 It appears that al-Nahrawālī, once in repossession of his bound workbook (*daftar*) and writing utensils (*cf.* above, p. 153), left space – the remainder of f. 144a and all of f. 144b – to fill in his itinerary from Ḳara Uyūk to Kayūbze/Gebze. Curiously, although for whatever reason he never got round to doing this, he *was* able to reconstruct the itinerary of the pack train that traveled separate from him. Presumably someone with the latter recorded or recounted its route for him.

428 This remarkable mosque, completed at Gebze in 930/1523-4 as part of the complex of buildings (*küllīye*) endowed there by Çoban Muṣṭafā Pasha, was noted by most travelers passing through the town. With its single dome and minaret, and its rich decorations and polychrome Mamlūk marble tiling selected and cut in Egypt, this Friday mosque is held to be very distinctive. Although, along with the other buildings of the complex, its design has long been attributed to a young Miʿmār Sinān Pasha (895-996/1490-1588), the most famous of all Ottoman architects, it is now considered more likely to have been mainly the work of Aḥmad b. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Ṭulūnī, the chief architect of the late Mamlūk court (*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çoban Muṣṭafā Paşa Külliyesi" (Seyhan), viii, 352-4). On this mosque see too Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 168f; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgat*, v, 50; Sözen, *Türk Mimarisinin Gelişimi*,

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ISTANBUL: FRUSTRATION AND FAILURE

We departed from Kayūbzeh on Tuesday, the 9th of Jumādā II,[429] and arrived at Uskūdar following the afternoon prayer. There we stayed at the hostel of Sinān Pasha, Rüstem Pasha's brother who was a naval captain (*qubṭān*) and is buried in that place.[430] The night of Wednesday, the 10th,[431] was passed there until dawn when I boarded a small boat for Istanbul. It was very cold. I stopped at the home of ʿAbdülbāḳī Efendi[432] and was accommodated there for the night, while the pack train remained in Uskūdar.

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p. 164; Yücel and Soyhan, *Gebze ve Eskihisar*, pp. 29-32, 78f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Gebze," ii, 982; Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi*, pp. 163-7; and Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, pp. 226, 245, 246.

429 9 Jumādā II, 965 = Tuesday, 29 March, 1558. By progressing from Monday the 7th of Jumādā II to Tuesday the 9th of the same month, al-Nahrawālī has brought the day of the week and of the month once more into alignment.

430 Al-Nahrawālī's Uskūdar (Ottoman Turkish: Üsküdār = Scutari) is, of course, the modern-day Üsküdar, situated on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, across from old Istanbul and Pera. Now an integral part of Istanbul, even in the 10th/16th century it was a large and vibrant community known for its beautifully-executed, Islamic public buildings and its thriving markets.

The career of Sinān Pasha, also referred to (perhaps mistakenly) as Ḳoca Sinān Pasha, is virtually unrecorded before 957/1550 when, through the influence of his brother, the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha, he was appointed to succeed Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha as commander of the Ottoman fleet (*ḳapudān paşa*). His lack of qualifications for the position and the fact that his appointment was purely political caused resentment in the navy and meant that others had to command the fleet at sea. Sinān Pasha held this office until his death in 961/1554, and was the endower of the Sinān Pasha mosque at Beşiktaş on the European shore of the Bosphorus. See Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 264, 266, 278, 296, 488; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1975), ii, 383; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Rüstem Paşa" (Altundağ/Ş. Turan), ix, 800; V. J. Parry, "The Reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent, 1520-1566," in M. A. Cook, ed., *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730* (Cambridge: University Press, 1976), p. 97, n. 2; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, i, 105, 106; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Rüstem Pasha" (Woodhead), viii, 640.

431 The night of 10 Jumādā II, 965 = Tuesday/Wednesday, 29/30 March, 1558.

432 Although full corroboration is still wanting, evidence indicates that this ʿAbdülbāḳī Efendi was almost certainly a son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-ʿArabī, known as Mollā ʿArab, who was *muftī* of Istanbul (chief expounder of law) from *ca.* 893/1488 until his death in 901/1496. On him see Repp, *Müftī*, especially pp. 174-87. A source cited in *ibid.*, p. 187, n. 165 confirms that Mollā ʿArab, who is alleged to have sired many male offspring and given to each of them one of the names of God, had a son named ʿAbdülbāḳī. The latter (895-971/1490-1564), for whom there is a substantial biographical entry in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 38f, held several *medrese* professorships and judgeships in the empire. These included two terms as judge of Mecca, the first in 953/1546, when he would have come to know al-Nahrawālī, and the other during 967-9/1559-61, some time after al-Nahrawālī's return to Mecca from this mission. Presumably the two were on

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I fell ill and so sent the person in charge of my accommodation (*amīr manzil*)[433] to Rüstem Pasha to inform him of our arrival and to request his permission for [our] pack train to disembark from Uskūdar without interference from any of the officials (*ʿummāl*) on shore. The grand vizier assigned us an escort (*çavuş*)[434] named Ḥasan, who went to the pack train and directed us to lodge at the *saḳḳā başı*'s residence in the Maḥmūd Pasha quarter.[435]

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friendly terms and al-Nahrawālī had been invited to lodge initially at ʿAbdülbāḳī's residence in the Ottoman capital. For some reason Ekrem Kâmil ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 63) failed to include any reference to ʿAbdülbāḳī Efendi in his otherwise close rendering of this part of the *Riḥlah* into modern Turkish. On ʿAbdülbāḳī Efendi see too Ṣüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṯmānī*, iii, 295.

433 According to Bakhit, *Damascus*, p. 112 (based on two Ottoman *Mühimme* documentary references for the years 964/1557 and 968/1561), within the context of the Syrian pilgrimage caravan the *amīr al-manzil* was an official responsible for encampments and halts. In the present context, it seems to refer to someone (unnamed) traveling with al-Nahrawālī, probably an assistant assigned to him on his arrival in Istanbul. The fact that the same term is used in a later context (see below, p. 206), where the (still unnamed) individual is paid off following the failure of this factious mission, appears to preclude any possibility of it referring here to the one responsible for ʿAbdülbāḳī's residence.

434 The Ottoman Turkish term *çavuş* is found translated into English as, variously, pursuivant, attendant, bailiff, messenger, herald, usher, guard, marshal, envoy, even interpreter and executioner, etc., depending on which of a wide range of functions is involved (*cf.* above, p. 28, n. 85). Employed here in a 10th/16th-century context, it refers to a personal escort or attendant supplied from a large contingent of *çavuş*es retained by the palace and, in particular, the grand vizier. See Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, pp. 7, 91; A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1913), p. 130; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, i, 332-6; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 349f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çavuş" (M. F. Köprülü), iii, 362-7; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Çāʾūsh" (Mantran), ii, 16; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, pp. 71 (Çavuş), 87f (Divan-ı Hümayun Çavuşları); *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çavuş" (O. Köprülü), viii, 236-8; and Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis: a Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: İsis Press, 1997), p. 29.

435 The author of the *Riḥlah* may here have confused the term *saḳḳābaşı* with that of *şubaşı*, for later in the text he refers, when bestowing gifts on various officials at the court who assisted him during his mission, to "the *şubaşı* whose residence was made available to us" (see below, pp. 191f). Whereas the *saḳḳābaşı* headed a small corps of individuals whose responsibilities included attending to certain needs of the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn* (imperial council of state) when it met several times each week (see Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, iii, 96; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, p. 354; and Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 297), the term *şubaşı* referred, in the 10th/16th century, to an official who performed the duties of a prefect of police in the service of a *ḳāżī* (judge), presumably in this instance the chief *ḳāżī* of the Ottoman capital (see Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, iii, 260f; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 153f, 325; and Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, p. 56, n. 1).

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On Thursday afternoon, the 11th of Jumādā II, the baggage arrived accompanied by a special guard (*yasaḳçı*).[436]

Having taken up quarters in the house designated for us, members of the [local] Ḥijāz community came to welcome us. Most of these people hail from Medina and make up the retinue of the *qāḍī* Jalāl b. Khiḍr,[437] who also came to greet me. He and the Medinese were slandering the *qāḍī* of Medina, [145b] ʿAbdürraḥmān Efendi,[438] and speaking ill of him at every opportunity, so that people dismissed them for their appearing to victimise him. The *qāḍī* Jalāl brought me a falsified report written in Istanbul, indicating that it had come to him from exalted Medina. It was a formal complaint about ʿAbdürraḥmān to the effect that he is a sinner who commits sodomy, gets drunk, accepts bribes, and commits [other] reprehensible acts. [His detractors carried it] to the point where they dispossessed him completely of [credibility in matters of] the faith. Several times they disclosed the like of that report and, in so doing, were [themselves] disclosed; and their faking and true design were found out. So I said to Qāḍī Jalāl, "Leave this report with me so that there may be scope and opportunity for talking [about it], and I can turn it over to the grand vizier." His reply was, "Your first move must inevitably be to denigrate ʿAbürraḥmān." Then he handed over this report and left me, while I remained indisposed.

I was visited by a college instructor [named] ʿAbdülġanī Vefāʾ Efendi, with whom I had an earlier acquaintance and friendship. Also calling on me was Mawlānā Badr al-Dīn al-Qaysūnī, the head physician of the imperial palace (*ḥekīm başı*) and source of pride among the great religious

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On this quarter of Istanbul named for Maḥmūd Pasha (d. 879/1474), an eminent grand vizier of Sultan Meḥmed II, the conqueror (Fātiḥ) of Constantinople, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Istanbul" (Inalcık), iv, 230 and map.

436 11 Jumādā II, 965 = Thursday, 31 March, 1558. *Yasaḳçıs* were guards supplied by the janissary corps for various special duties, including that of protecting the persons and property of foreign envoys. See Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 2185; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, iii, 606; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 361; and Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, p. 158.

437 Although attempts to identify him further have been without result, it seems likely that the *ḳāżī* Jalāl (al-Dīn) b. Khiḍr, who seemingly was a native of Ḥijāz and probably of Medina, and who was then residing in Istanbul, was the Ḳāżī Celāl/Jalāl whom ʿAṭāʾī alludes to as the judge at Medina replaced by Baldırzāde ʿAbdürraḥmān b. ʿAlī Efendi in 962/1555 (*Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 129; and *cf.* the next note). His name appears several times subsequently in the text of the *Riḥlah* as he increasingly assumes a leadership role in undermining the success of al-Nahrawālī's mission.

438 For an earlier reference to this locally unpopular judge of Medina, ʿAbdürraḥmān Efendī, known as Baldırzāde, see above, p. 9 and n. 28.

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scholars.[439] He was a true friend with whom I had a long-standing association and fraternal relationship. I took counsel with these two in the matter of the *qāḍī* of Medina (ʿAbdürraḥmān Efendī) and they told me, "Qāḍī Jalāl and the Medinese are well known among us here for misrepresentation and deception, and people in government have proof of that about them. So don't be fickle like them and start defaming him. But if the grand vizier questions you about him, do mention to him what has occurred in the way of ʿAbdürraḥmān Efendī's blundering, severity, toughness, failure to do what is right, and his subbornness and continuing to act wrongfully. And don't add to that [or else] you will be accused of [having a] selfish interest, and no one will listen to you."

The *sharīf* [of Mecca]'s officers being present with me [at that time], they informed Qāḍī Jalāl of what I had in mind to do. He immediately sent

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439 Although the evidence is far from conclusive, it may be that the ʿAbdülġanī Vefāʾ Efendi alluded to here was the then young Mollā Bolulu ʿAbdülġanī b. Emīrşāh b. Maḥmūd Efendi, who at the time of al-Nahrawālī's writing would have been in the early stages of his career as *medrese* professor and future senior judge. He went on to become judge of Damascus, Egypt and Istanbul, in each case on two different occasions, as well as chief justice (*ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker*) of Anadolu. He died in 995/1587 after returning from Egypt to Bursa, where he began his career and was buried. Biographical accounts of him, of which none carry any reference to the Vefāʾ Efendi part of his name appearing here, are provided in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 294f; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 153, 168; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 440 (which gives 999/1590-1 for the year of his death); Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iii, 341; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 590; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, vi, 273 (which has his death occurring in 991/1583).

Mollā Badr al-Dīn al-Qaysūnī, who is referred to several times subsequently, was a member of the celebrated Egyptian Qaysūnī (also Qayṣūnī and Qūṣūnī) family of physicians dating from the early 8th/14th century. The scant and conflicting biographical information suggests that this individual may have been named Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Qaysūnī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī, and that he was chief physician (*ḥekīm başı*) to Sultan Süleymān from 951/1545 to 970/1562, when the former is said to have died and apparently been succeeded by another member of his family. Later in the text of the *Riḥlah*, however, al-Nahrawālī, when praising him at some length, gives as his name Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qūṣūnī (see below, p. 188); and elsewhere he records (*al-Iʿlām*, p. 324) that this individual was still alive and serving as the sultan's chief physician in 974/1566 during the Szigetvár campaign in Hungary. On him and his father see Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, ii, 120f; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 95; Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iv, 312; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 231, 413; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, vii, 199; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḳahwah" (van Arendonk), iv, 451; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Hekimbaşı – Osmanlı Dönemi" (Sarı), xvii, 161-4 (with list of incumbents).

At the Ottoman court the sultan's personal head physician (*ḥekīm başı/reʾīs ül-eṭibbāʾ*) was also the realm's chief medical officer, who was counted among the highest ranks of the *ʿulamāʾ* (Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, pp. 90, 149; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḥekīm-Bashı" (Gökbilgin), iii, 339f).

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to have the falsified document taken away from me; and he, the Medinese and the rest of the envious Meccans began to accuse me, saying that this was because of my liking ʿAbdürraḥmān and those who find him acceptable. They spread that about and lost no time in writing letters about it to Egypt, Damascus, Mecca and Medina. Their purpose in divulging that was to damage [my credibility] (God is our sufficiency, and what a perfect counsel, protector and ally is He!)

Since I was ill it wasn't possible for me to meet with the grand vizier or anyone else. He sent me ten sheep, [146a] ten sugar loaves and ten *mudd*s[440] of barley, and I gave him ten gold *dīnār*s. Then he assigned to us daily from the sultan's larder (*kılar*) one sheep, one sugar loaf, forty loaves of bread, a case (*mawkibīyah*?) of candles, and some honey, butter, rice and barley. This hospitality continued until....[441] From the time that it [first] came until when it ceased, I didn't make any inquiries about it. Sometimes it would be al-Shuwaymī who received it, while at other times [it would be] the *sharīf*'s[442] slaves or their cronies, or one of our slaves. Of it, half a sheep and two keddahs[443] of rice were prepared each day among us, at breakfast and at supper.

Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-Qaysūnī, the sultan's head physician (*ḥekīm başı*), paid me another visit and gave me [freshly] butchered chickens, a generous quantity of a variety of flowers (since it was the blooming season), sugar and some small lambs, etc. Not knowing what rapport and openness already existed between us, people wondered at how he deferred to me so. He treated me with kindness and attended to my [health] needs.

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440 Use of the early Arabic term *mudd*, a dry measure of capacity applied principally to grain, rice and flour, spread throughout the western Islamic world. It varied considerably, not just from one area to another but from one grain to another. Thus, in Istanbul during the second half of the 9th/15th century it is reckoned to have equalled 513.12 kgs. of wheat but only 445 kgs. of barley. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, p. 47; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Makāyil – In the Arabic, Persian and Turkish Lands" (Ashtor), vi, 117-21; and Amnon Cohen and Bernard Lewis, *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton: University Press, 1978), p. 114, n. 26.

441 This is another instance of a lacuna left for a date which al-Nahrawālī never got round to completing. On the uncertainty of the sense of *mawkibīyah* see above, p. 36 and n. 108.

442 The person referred to here is, of course, Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī, a member of al-Nahrawālī's suite (see above, p. 4 and n. 12) who, along with the *sharīf*'s slaves, had had an earlier falling out with his mission chief (see above, p. 122). The *sharīf* mentioned here was almost certainly Sayyid Ḥasan, co-ruler of Mecca with his father, Muḥammad Abū Numayy II (see above, p. 1, n. 3).

443 Usage of the *qadaḥ*, a dry measure of capacity, spread from Egypt to western and southern Arabia, Syria, and Anatolia; and it has been calculated to have equalled 2.062 litres (Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, pp. 41, 48; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 166; and Halil Inalcık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology," *Turcica*, xv (1983), p. 324).

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When he inquired whether I had a gift for the sultan's consort (*ḫāṣṣikīye*),[444] I replied that I did. "She is quite ill and of sallow complexion," he observed, "yet since she has heard of your arrival, it's impossible for you not to present her with a gift. I am of the opinion, however, that you should split the gift for her between her and her daughter, Ḫanım Sultan, the wife of the grand vizier [Rüstem Pasha]." This was truly an excellent suggestion, the advice of a friend; and so we did what he advised.[445]

Thereafter, however, her ladyship (the *ḫāṣṣikīye*) was our only boon, for (Qāḍī) Jalāl's unfounded rumours about me grew numerous; and, as well, Jawhar Ṣaghīr, who was single-minded in his hatred of me, came forth and falsely accused me. [Associated] with them were Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, al-Shuwaymī, Muḥammad b. Barakāt, and Ibrāhīm, Aḥmad, Fakhr al-Dīn and Najm al-Dīn, sons of the *qāḍī* Tāj al-Dīn.[446] From the time that we first took up residence in Istanbul, they began spreading it about [146b] that I was on friendly terms with the *qāḍī* of Medina (ʿAbdürraḥmān Efendī) and with ʿAlī Pasha,[447] and sending letters about that to Damascus, Cairo and Mecca, stirring up anger against me.

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444 The term *ḫāṣṣeki* here refers to Ḫurrem Sultan/Roxelana, Sultan Süleymān's wife and favourite. For her and this title see above, p. 151, n. 412 and below, p. 200 and n. 544.

445 The wife of the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha was Mihrimāh (*cf.* above, p. 82, n. 208), the influential daughter of Sultan Süleynān and Ḫurrem Sultan, and the full sister of Princes Bāyezīd and Selīm (II). Born probably in 928/1522, she was the second child of the sultan and Ḫurrem after Prince Meḥmed (927-50/1521-43). She was her father's beloved only daughter and, when she died in 986/1578, her remains were interred in Süleymān's tomb (Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, table xxx; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Mihr-ü-Mâh" (Baysun), viii, 307f; M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padışahların Kadınları ve Kızalrı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1980), pp. 38f; and Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, pp. 60, 190f).

446 Of the several names appearing in the text here, those of Jawhar Ṣaghīr and (Aḥmad) al-Shuwaymī have already been identified as members of al-Nahrawālī's suite (see above, p. 4 and n. 12), and that of the *ḳāżī* Jalāl (al-Dīn b. Khiḍr) has been introduced and possibly identified (see above, p. 160 and n. 437). The remaining names have not been identified, although it seems fair to assume that at least a couple of them were members of the local Medinese/Ḥijāz community in Istanbul. Muḥammad b. Barakāt is cited four times subsequently, once with the added identifier al-Mālikī. The only Tāj al-Dīn of note at this time was the professor (*müderris*) Tāj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥamīdī, who at the time of al-Nahrawālī's visit was teaching at the Aya Sofya *medrese* (ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 49-51; and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 369f). But neither account refers either to any sons or to his being considereded a *ḳāżī*.

447 ʿAlī Pasha, who shortly is referred to as second vizier (see below, p. 168), was Semiz (or Semīn) ʿAlī Pasha, a Christian-born *devşirme* recruit from Herzegovina who had a lengthy and varied career in Ottoman military and administrative service. Among the

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The situation was such that, owing to my being indisposed, I had not yet met with the grand vizier; and, before I could do so, the latter once asked the *qāḍī* Jalāl about me, the one whom the noble *sayyid* had sent. Qāḍī Jalāl reported that the *sharīf* [of Mecca] sent merely his bond-servants, they being his chief treasurer (*ḫazīnedār başı*) Jawhar Ṣaghīr, his chief butler (*kılarcı başı*) Farḥān, and his *haccāna ḫāṣṣa* (personal camel courier?) al-Shuwaymī,[448] but that they were accompanied by one of the *qāḍī* Ḥusayn's[449] associates who was completely unkown to the noble *sayyid* and not previously in his service. He said as well that the noble *sayyid* had commanded this person to accompany them on account of his knowledge of Turkish. That became lodged in the vizier's mind until later, when it was obvious that such talk was falsehood. [That was] when he saw that the letters of the noble *sayyid* (God the exalted grant him success!) contained no reference to these people whatsoever, and that only I was mentioned in them. Still, that served as a means for them to enter the sultan's presence with me and, thereafter, to wear his robe of honour. As I heard later from [Shaykh Badr al-Dīn] al-Qaysūnī, the [sultan's chief] physician, and from Dilsiz, the mute,[450] the sultan was astonished at the appearance and sight of them.

These [three] people would gather each day at the *qāḍī* Jalāl's residence, along with [Aḥmad] ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, [Muḥammad] ibn Barakāt

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many positions he held were those of *aġa* (commander) of the janissaries, *beglerbegi* of Rūmili, governor of Egypt (*cf.* above, p. 112, n. 296), third vizier, and then second vizier. Finally, upon the death of Rüstem Pasha in 968/1561, he was made grand vizier, which office he held until his own demise in 972/1565. Busbecq, who was the imperial Habsburg ambassador to the Porte in the mid-10th/16th century and had diplomatic dealings with ʿAlī Pasha, described him as "a delightfully intelligent person ... by no means lacking in humanity" (*Turkish Letters*, p. 63). ʿAlī's lengthy career is said to have aroused the envy and resentment of others. His dislike of Jalāl b. Khiḍr is made quite explicit (see below, p. 168). On him see Oṣmānzāde Tāʾib Aḥmed, *Ḥadīḳat ül-vüzerā*, pp. 31f; Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iii, 499; Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 87f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ali Paşa, Semiz (Semin, Kalın)" (Gökbilgin), i, 341f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "ʿAlī Pasha Semiz" (Mantran), i, 398.

448 For these and other members of the mission sent by the *sharīf* (Sayyid Ḥasan) with al-Nahrawālī see above, p. 4 and n. 12. Although the text gives here an unambiguous Farḥāt, this seemingly is an error for Farḥān (al-Sharīfī), whom al-Nahrawālī had earlier placed in charge of the pack train (see above, p. 141).

449 On the *qāḍī* Ḥusayn al-Makkī al-Mālikī see above, p. 152 and n. 413.

450 It appears that al-Nahrawālī here (and below, p. 192) treats Dilsiz as a personal nickname, although both it (*dilsiz* = tongueless) and *al-abkam* are words meaning dumb in Turkish and Arabic respectively. Such dumb mutes found employment at the sultan's court for confidential services (Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, p. 80 and n. 1; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 85; Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, p. 37; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Dilsiz" (Lewis), ii, 277).

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and those people from the Ḥijāz who were hateful of me. They would contrive [misleading] written pieces, accusing me of [certain] things and of failings with respect to the mission for which I had been selected. They caused the utmost degree of difficulty among myself, al-Shuwaymī and al-Qaysūnī, and they made [underhanded] arrangements whereby they wrote deceitful, foolish and slanderous letters which they dispatched posthaste to Cairo, Damascus and Mecca. I remained all on my own with no one to help me but God almighty (God is our sufficiency, and what a perfect counsel, friend and defender is He!)

[147a] I was still sick on Friday, the 12th of Jumādā II, and unable to have an audience with any of the viziers.[451] There visited me for a third time the sultan's chief physician, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-Qaysūnī, who treated me to a generous quantity of sugar and fowl, as well as to fruit, to rose and orange blossom water, and to some sherbets and medicaments. Then I was visited by the one who is *imām* (prayer leader) of the Ayāṣūfīyah [mosque] and *ḫaṭīb* (orator) at the mosque of Sultan Meḥmed. He is Shaykh Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuᶜaymī, a distinguished person with a fine voice, a comrade delightful in banter and conversation, and one who consults with viziers and [other] senior-ranking people. His father is the historian of Damascus and lives there.[452]

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451 12 Jumādā II, 965 = Friday, 1 April, 1558. In this period of Ottoman history there were at any given time several viziers, among whom certain ones were referrred to as viziers of the dome (*ḳubbe vezīrleri*). The latter, who attended meetings of the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn* (the imperial council of state), included the first or grand vizier (*vezīr-i evvel/ṣadr-ı aᶜẓam*) who convened the *dīvān* and who, after the sultan, was the seniormost administrator and army commander in the Ottoman state. After the grand vizier, the other viziers – all of them of slave status – were ranked in numerical order as second, third and fourth vizier, etc. Al-Nahrawālī refers elsewhere in this text to ᶜAlī Pasha the second vizier (see below, p. 168 and above, n. 447), to Meḥmed Pasha the third vizier (see below, p. 169), and to Pertev Pasha the fourth vizier (see below, p. 170). Often, but not always, advancement in rank was based on seniority, a good example being that of the second vizier Semiz ᶜAlī Pasha, who succeeded Rüstem Pasha as grand vizier when the latter died in 968/1561 (see above, n. 447). On the viziers of the dome and aspects of the identifiable career path from palace training and service to provincial governor, vizier and, finally, grand vizier, see Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 163-7; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 192; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 114-16; Inalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 80ff; Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 72; and Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, p. 99.

452 Among the biographical literature consulted here, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn (also Bahāʾal-Dīn?) Aḥmad al-Nuᶜaymī al-Shāfiᶜī (and, later) al-Ḥanafī (d. 998/1590) receives notice in al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 119f; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, suppl. ii, 452; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muᶜjam al-muʾallifīn*, i, 280). His father, whom al-Nahrawālī refers to as the historian of Damascus, can be none other than the well known Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū al-Mafākhir ᶜAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar b. Muḥammad b.Yūsuf b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Nuᶜaym al-Nuᶜaymī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiᶜī

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On both Saturday, the 13th of Jumādā II, and Sunday, the 14th,[453] I remained unwell and unable to meet with the grand vizier. However, by Monday, the 15th,[454] I was sufficiently recovered to go forth for an audience with Rüstem Pasha, who invited me into his private chamber. Although he was exceedingly concerned over the illness of the sultan's wife, he wasn't showing it. He received me with solicitude and referred to each of the noble *sayyid*s [of Mecca] by his name; as well, he extolled our distinguished and exalted lord (God almighty protect him!) and also our master, Sayyid Ḥasan.[455] When he brought up the matter of Pīrī and of what had taken place in Medina the exalted, I spoke of some of his circumstances and of his harshness and incivility towards people; and I passed on the rest of the information about him in accordance with the *sharīf*'s submissions. On being asked about the *qāḍī* of Medina, I mentioned his obstinacy, boorishness and display of dislike for the *sharīf*s, but I didn't add to that. He inquired about the *qāḍī* of Mecca and I spoke profusely in praise of him and on his excellent professional deportment and his civility.[456] My line of response with the rest of the viziers and with the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*s was in the same manner, and without anything added to that.

(845-927/1442-1521). The latter's compositions, best known of which is *al-Dāris fī tārīkh al-madāris* on the *madrasah*s and other educational institutions of Damascus, deal mainly with history, biography and aspects of the prophetic Tradition. Al-Nahrawālī's suggestion that Aḥmad's father was then living in Damascus (*wālid-hu... mawjūd fī al-Shām*) must be erroneous, since he had been dead for almost forty years. On him see al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 250; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 153; Ismāᶜīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ᶜārifīn*, i, 598; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 165 (133) and suppl. ii, 164; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, iv, 168; Kaḥḥālah, *Muᶜjam al-muᵓallifīn*. v, 301; and al-Munajjid, *al-Muᵓarrikhūn al-Dimashqīyūn*, pp. 14f. Along with that of Sultan Bāyezīd II, the mosques of Aya Sofya and Sultan Meḥmed II (Fātiḥ), where Aḥmad al-Nuᶜaymī held positions, were the three most important imperial mosques in the Ottoman capital before the completion of the Süleymānīye in *ca.* 964/1557 (Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 329, n. 70). Given that he subsequently became *ḫaṭīb* of the Süleymānīye as well, Shaykh Aḥmad was, indeed, well placed to mix with the empire's administrative elite.

453 13 and 14 Jumādā II, 965 = Saturday and Sunday, 2 and 3 April, 1558.

454 15 Jumādā II, 965 = Monday, 4 April, 1558.

455 The two dignitaries referred to here were the *sharīf* Muḥammad Abū Numayy II and his son Sayyid Ḥasan, co-rulers in Mecca at that time (see above, p. 1, n. 3).

456 Deli Pīrī was the disliked Ottoman garrison commander at Medina whose removal from office was the object of al-Nahrawālī's mission (see above, p. 10 and n. 31). The *qāḍī* of Medina was the locally unpopular Ottoman appointee, ᶜAbdürraḥmān Baldırzāde (see above, p. 9 and n. 28). Although the *qāḍī* of Mecca, whom the author of the *Riḥlah* obviously held in high esteem, is nowhere identified by name, the reference here may be to Qāḍī Ḥusayn al-Makkī al-Mālikī (see above, p. 152 and n. 413).

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The grand vizier then pursued some of the questions at length and I responded to him on them. When next he asked about Jawhar and Farḥān, I said, "They are bond-servants, confidential attendants, and employees of the exalted *sayyid* (God almighty grant him victory!)." Thereupon he said to me, "[But] is not this one, namely Jawhar, the *sharīf*'s chief treasurer? And is not that one, namely Farḥān, the *sharīf*'s chief butler?" And that was how Jalāl b. Khiḍr had introduced them for the vizier prior to their [actually] meeting with him. "The two of them did fill the offices to which you have referred," I observed, "only with the late Sayyid Aḥmad.[457] [147b] At present, however, they are among the servants and employees of our master, Sayyid Ḥasan (God the exalted protect him!)." Taking offence at this treatment, Jawhar Ṣaghīr showed hatred and animosity, and he complained to Jalāl b. Khiḍr and others.

That same day we presented the gift which the exalted *sayyid* (God almighty protect him!) had sent to Rüstem Pasha. I had Jawhar Ṣaghīr and Farḥān deliver it to him.[458] Its itemized contents are the following: fifteen [measures of] *quṭnī Hindī* (Indian silk and cotton fabric), five bales of *ḥarīr* (silk), three bales of *murazzaz ḥarīr* (sized silk?), ten *kamarband ᶜāl* (quality waist sashes?), ten [measures of] *shāsh arbaᶜīnī* (?), five [measures of] *shāsh malmalshāhī khāṣṣah* (?), ten [measures of] *shāsh Qandahārī* (Qandahār muslin?), twenty [measures of] *beiz* [=*bez*] *ᶜāl al-ᶜāl* (?), twenty *pişkīr Dakanī* (Indian/Deccan napkins), two hundred [measures of] *shāsh bez muᶜtād* (?), one hundred [measures of] *shāsh mahkar* (quality muslin?), one hundred [measures of] *shāsh bā tarī* (coarse muslin?), and, in cash, three hundred pieces of new gold.

{*The author's marginal note here adds:* As well, at Rüstem Pasha's portal we distributed *shāsh* (fine muslin) [as gifts]: to Muṣṭafā, the deputy (*kiyaḫyā*), seven [measures]; to Behrām, [another] deputy, five; to Caᶜfer, the palace major-domo (*aġat üs-sarāy*), three; to Maḥmūd, the chief warder (*ḳabıcı başı*), three; and the same amount to Sinān Aġa and Manṣūr Aġa.}

457 On this deceased brother of Sayyid Ḥasan see above, p. 4 n. 12.

458 By having these two perform this menial task al-Nahrawālī may have been seeking to affirm for the grand vizier that they in fact were "servants and employees" of Sayyid Ḥasan. As will be seen, he had the same two deliver the *sharīf*'s gifts to the other three viziers as well.

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The grand vizier accepted the cloth material but declined the gold and sent it back.[459] Despite my returning to the matter several times, he made his excuses and remained adamant in his refusal. The warders (*ḳabıcīye*) at his gate accepted one hundred *ʿuthmānī*s from us. The(ir) *kiyaḫyā* (deputy) was on the lookout for something, and so we promised it to him and subsequently sent him seven [measures of] *shāsh* (fine muslin).

On Tuesday, the 16th of Jumādā II, I called on ʿAlī Pasha, the second vizier.[460] He made [me] feel completely welcome and is less formal than Rüstem Pasha in manner and speech. He inquired about the *sayyid*s, our exalted lords (God almighty keep them!), and he distanced himself from Maḥmūd's activity in the 'year of the squall' (*sanat al-habbah*), swearing sacred oaths that he had had no part in that.[461] The second vizier showed strong affection for and attachment to the highborn *sayyid*s, something we remarked to be manifestly evident. We went along with him in what he mentioned, and he was delighted by what we had to say. [148a] He started to complain about Jalāl b. Khiḍr, stating that the latter was trying to have my blood shed and had secured access to Rüstem Pasha only by denigrating me. [In response] I said, "God the exalted protect you from the wickedness of every evil one and shield you from all harm!"

When next ʿAlī Pasha asked about the purpose of our having come, I referred to certain of Pīrī's activities, to his having drawn a weapon in the sanctuary of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!), to his

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459 On the names of woven goods appearing in several inventories of gifts listed in this *Riḥlah*, and on the problems these present to the researcher and translator, see above, p. 146, n. 401. The rendering of the ms. here differs in details with that of Ekrem Kâmil ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," pp. 67f) who, for example, has Rüstem Pasha also rejecting jewels (*mücevher*) which are not mentioned in the text. Gülru Necipoğlu cites this very source (but mistakenly under the year 1577 rather than 1558) as an example of Rüstem Pasha's unwillingness to accept jewels and gold as diplomatic gifts ("Süleymân the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," in *Süleymân the Second and his Time*, Halil Inalcık and Cemal Kafadar, eds. (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993), p. 187).

460 16 Jumādā II, 965 = Tuesday, 5 April, 1558. On the second vizier, (Semiz/Semin) ʿAlī Pasha, see above, p. 112, n. 296 and p. 163 and n. 447.

461 This vague and bewildering passage is a reference to the year 958/1551, when Maḥmūd Beg, the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan commander (*amīr al-ḥājj*) for that year, was blamed for widespread sedition and destruction at Mecca, allegedly because of a grudge he bore the *sharīf*, Abū Numayy b. Barakāt b. Muḥammad, from an earlier occasion. ʿAlī Pasha, who was Ottoman governor of Egypt at the time, came in for criticism when subsequently he actively promoted the career of Maḥmūd Beg, who went on to become Ottoman governor of Yemen and then of Egypt. Al-Nahrawālī expands upon this incident in his *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 126, while al-Jazīrī recounts it in minute detail in *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 895-913. On the self-seeking and problematic Maḥmūd Beg/Pasha, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Maḥmūd Pasha" (Blackburn), vi, 72.

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liking for discord, and to his obduracy and crudeness. The vizier responded, "I don't think that the sultan will so quickly accept to dismiss him, but [perhaps] God almighty will assist you." Then he spoke of various matters and stretched out the meeting, until we left him and I returned to [my] residence.

I had Jawhar and Farḥān deliver to him our exalted *sayyid*'s gift for him, its itemized contents being: fifteen [measures of] *quṭnī Hindī* (Indian silk and cotton fabric), five bales of *beiz* (cotton cloth), three bales of *murazzaz ḥarīr* (sized silk?), five *kamarband ᶜāl* (quality waist sashes?), forty [measures of] *shāsh arbaᶜīnī* (?), forty [measures of] *shāsh mal-malshāhī khāṣṣah* (?), twenty [measures of] *shāsh mahkar ᶜāl* (high quality muslin?), twenty [measures of] *shāsh beiz ᶜāl al-ᶜāl* (?), twenty *pişkīr* (napkins), two hundred [measures of] *shāsh beiz ᶜādah* (?), sixty [measures of] *shāsh mahkar ᶜādah* (?), and one hundred [measures of] *shāsh bā tarī* (coarse muslin?).[462] At the forenamed ᶜAlī Pasha's gate we as well distributed three [measures of] *shāsh* (fine muslin) each to the *kiyaḫyā* (deputy), the *ḳabıcı başı* (chief warder) and the *kiyaḫyet ül-ḳabıcīye* (deputy chief of the warders).[463]

On Wednesday, the 17th of Jumādā II, I had an audience with Meḥmed Pasha, the third vizier.[464] He is a tall youthful person who is quite refined

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462 The translation of this inventory remains, for reasons discussed earlier (p. 146, n. 401), incomplete and conjectural with respect to both English equivalents and, to some extent, recorded quantities.

463 On the *ḳabıcı* (= *kapıcı*) *başı* see above, p. 144, n. 395. The term *kiyaḫyā* is the Arabic rendering of the popular Turkish pronunciation of the Ottoman term *ketḫudā*, which was taken over from the Persian *kadkhudā* and which had a wide range of palace, (grand) household, guild, military and administrative usage in reference to an authorised deputy or assistant (for which see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ketkhdā (i) In Ottoman Turkish Administrative Usage" (Orhonlu), iv, 893f). Here the reference would appear to be to the *kiyaḫyā* of the second vizier, ᶜAlī Pasha. The combination *kiyaḫyet ül-ḳabıcīye* is essentially an Arabic construct conveying the sense of the deputy (*kiyaḫyā*) in charge of the gatekeepers/warders (*ḳapıcılar*) at ᶜAlī Pasha's quarters in the imperial palace.

464 17 Jumādā II, 965 = Wednesday, 6 April, 1558. Meḥmed Pasha, the third vizier at the time of al-Nahrawālī's mission, was Şoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha Ṭavīl (the tall), who was to become one of the most famous of all Ottoman grand viziers and the only one to serve three sultans in succession (Süleymān, Selīm II and Murād III). Born in *ca.* 910-11/1505 in the Bosnian village of Sokolovici (hence his epithet) of Serbian parents, he entered Ottoman service through the *devşirme* (child levy) system of recruitment. After extensive palace training and service, he became admiral of the fleet (*ḳapudān pasha*; see above, p. 158, n. 430) and governor-general of Rumelia (*Rūmili beglerbegi*), before being appointed third vizier in 961 or 962/1554. After the death of the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha in 968/1561, he was promoted to second vizier in succession to Semiz ᶜAlī Pasha (see above, p. 163 and n. 447) who, through seniority, had become gand vizier. When the latter died in 972/1565, Meḥmed Pasha was made grand vizier, which office he retained until being assassinated in 987/1579. Biographical accounts of him

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and decent, and who gave me a perfect reception. He asked about the noble *sayyid*s, showing affection, sympathy and support for them. And he gave a promising assurance in the matter of what had brought us, was candid with us, and spoke with the utmost civility and politeness. [148b] We then took our leave of him, and I had Jawhar and Farḥān deliver to him his gift from the exalted *sayyid* (God almighty protect him!). Its itemized contents were: forty [measures of] *shāsh beiz* (fine muslin cloth), sixty [measures of] *shāsh mahkar* (quality muslin?), forty *kamarband*s (waist sashes), six [measures of] *quṭnī* (silk and cotton fabric) and thirty *pişkīr* (napkins). As well, to his *kiyaḫyah* (deputy) we sent two [measures of] *shāsh* (fine muslin), and to the *ḳabıcı başı* (chief warder) one.

Next I betook myself to the fourth vizier, Pertev Pasha,[465] and had a meeting with him. In my judgement, he is a good-natured and quite modest and sincere man. He asked about the exalted *sayyid*s, showed great affection and support for them, and felt sorry for them on account of Pīrī's affairs and of his harshness. When I spoke to Pertev Pasha of the boorishness of the Efendi of Medina (the *qāḍī* ʿAbdürraḥmān), he observed, "The fact that Pīrī is one of his ornaments says it all!" Then he showed me into his house, where he provided victuals and summoned his two sons from the sultana, the daughter [*sic* widow] of Prince Meḥmed.[466] "Pray for them!"

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appear in Oşmānzāde Tā'ib Aḥmed, *Ḥadīḳat ül-vüzerā*, pp. 32-4; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, vi, 4195f; and Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOşmānī*, iv, 122f. As well, concise and informative coverage of him may be found in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Mehmed Paşa Sokullu Ṭavīl" (Gökbilgin), vii, 595-605; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha" (Veinstein), ix, 706-11.

465 The fouth vizier was Pertev Meḥmed Pasha, an Albanian *devşirme* recruit who received training and saw service in the imperial harem. Some time following his emergence from the latter, he became commander (*aġa*) of the janissaries, a post he is reported to have held for twelve years; and in 961/1554 he was appointed governor-general of Rumelia (*Rūmili beglerbegi*). His promotion to fourth vizier occurred in the following year, and subsequently he was elevated, through seniority, to the ranks of third (968/1561) and second vizier (972/1565). Present and active in the major land engagements on the empire's western and eastern frontiers, he later saw extensive service at sea as a fleet commander. However, he was dismissed in disgrace after his return from the Ottoman failure at Lepanto (979/1571) and died in Istanbul in 982/1574-5. See Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOşmānī*, ii, 37f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Pertev Paşa, Meḥmed" (Ş. Turan), ix, 552-4; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Pertew Meḥmed Pasha" (Babinger), viii, 295 (faulty).

466 Al-Nahrawālī, it seems, is in error here in his use of the word *bint* (daughter) since, with one exception, the sources consulted have Pertev Pasha being married to (Aya,) the widow (not the daughter) of the late Prince Meḥmed (Sultan Meḥmed), Süleymān and Ḫurrem's first born (927/1521) who died in 950/1543. See Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, p. 81 and note; Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, Table xxx, n. 6; and Mehmed Süreyya, *Osmanlı Devletinde Kim Kimdi: Osmanoğulları*, ed. Gültekin Oransay (Ankara: Küğ Yayını, 1969), p. 62. Şerafettin Turan, however, states that Pertev Pasha was married

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the vizier said. I could see that they were like two gems, the one approaching adolescence and the other one younger, and that their father was very fond of them. So I invoked God in their favour, and then we ate. Over food the pasha was at ease with us and showed pleasure at our having come to him. Then we prayed for him and for his children before taking our leave. Subsequently I had Jawhar and Farḥān deliver to him the noble *sayyid*'s present, of which the details were the same as those of Meḥmed Pasha's gift in respect of substance, magnitude and quantity. As well, we sent one [measure of] *shāsh* (fine muslin) each to his deputy and to [his] chief warder.

I then had an audience with the *beglerbegi* (governor-general) of Rumelia, Muṣṭafā Pasha, who is the brother of Aḥmed Pasha, the governor of Damascus. The two of them have another brother, the *emīr āḫūr başı* (master of the stable), with whom I had a meeting as well.[467] They are among the descendants of Isfendiyār, their forefathers having been princelings in the time of Sultan Oṣmān (God almighty have mercy on him!). They claim to be descended from Khālid b. al-Walīd (God be pleased with him!), yet transmitters of fifty-seven Prophetic traditions have reported that he had no successor. Only God almighty knows for sure about that.[468]

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to the widow of Prince Muṣṭafā, who was slain in 960/1553 (*İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Pertev Paşa, Meḥmed," ix, 553). The matter passes without comment in Kâmil's rendering of the Arabic text into modern Turkish ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 70).

467 Ḳızıl Aḥmedlü/Isfendiyāroğlu Muṣṭafā Pasha and his brother Aḥmed Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Damascus and better known by his pen name Şemsī Pasha (see above, p. 35, n. 106), were the grandsons of Sultan Bāyezīd II (*r.* 886-918/1481-1512) and of Ḳızıl Aḥmed of the north Anatolian Isfendiyārid princely family (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Isfendiyār Oghlu" (Mordtmann), iv, 108f). According to Şüreyyā (*Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iv, 375), Muṣṭafā Pasha, who emerged from the inner service of the imperial palace, was appointed governor-general of Rumelia (Rūmili) in 962/1555 and promoted to fifth vizier in 969/1561. In the latter capacity he commanded the land forces that accompanied the large Ottoman armada mounted against Malta in 972/1565 (see Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 330-2, 336-9; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 389f). Shortly he retired from office and died at Mecca during 976/1568-9.

On the office of *emīr āḫūr*, of which Muṣṭafā Pasha's unnamed brother was the senior incumbent (*baş*), see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Mīr Ākhūr" (Murphey), vii, 88f.

468 There is no firm evidence on exactly when the reign of Oṣmān I, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman polity, commenced, but recent scholarship indicates that he probably died and was succeeded by his son Orḫan in 724/1324 (Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, in Robert Mantran, ed., *Histoire de l'empire ottoman* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), p. 20; and Stanford J. Shaw, "Recent Catalogues and Inventories of Coins of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic," *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, i (1979-80), 116).

On the Isfendiyārid family ancestry of Muṣṭafā and Aḥmed Pashas, as well as on its fabricated genealogy linking it to Khālid b. al-Walīd, the famous Muslim Arab warrior of the Prophet's era, see above, p. 76 and n. 197.

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I judged Muṣṭafā Pasha to be a venerable person with charm and a good nature. [149a] Showing full support and earnest concern for the noble *sayyid*, he censured Pīrī severely and denounced him, citing some of his vile actions at the time when he was in the imperial palace [service]. He noted that he was expelled [from that service] for a misdeed and that he vanished without a trace until he was in Egypt. Muṣṭafā Pasha related that Pīrī had belonged to a unit of imperial guards (*khuddām al-bustān*)[469] suspected of having shot at the sultan with arrows; while some of them had been killed, others, including this one, had taken flight. His name was none other than Deli Pīrī, that is "Pīrī the foolhardy one." The pasha made it apparent that he would help us in having Pīrī removed. Along with Ḥāmid Efendī, the *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Rumelia,[470] Muṣṭafā Pasha was senior-most among those whom we met willing to support us. But having no gift for him from the exalted *sayyid*, we created one and presented it to him. It consisted of five [measures] each of *shāsh beiz* (fine muslin cloth) and of *shāsh bā tarī* (coarse muslin?), and three each of napkins (*pişkīr*) and waist sashes (*kamarband*).

That same day we dispatched the *sharīf*'s gift for the *nişāncı* (secretary of state), Meḥmed Beg Ebū Aḥmed Çelebi.[471] It was [composed of] ten

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469 This is clearly the Arabic for the Ottoman Turkish *bostāncıs*, literally gardeners. Only a portion of the members of this substantial corps (*ocaḳ*) were occupied with maintaining the gardens of the imperial palaces in Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa, etc. Others performed a variety of tasks, such as caring for and rowing the royal boats, as well as assisting with the maritime transport of construction materials for palaces and mosques. Their principal responsibility, however, was that of policing the palace areas and the many ports dotting the shorelines of the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara. In the main, the recruits for this corps, which was commanded overall by a high official called the *bostāncı başı*, were drawn from the Christian-born foreign boys (*ʿacemī oğlanlar*) recruited through the *devşirme*. For many of them, this was part of a lengthy training for admission to the janissary corps. See Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 80f; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1945), pp. 474f; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, i, 239; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, p. 84; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, pp. 55f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Bostāndjı" (Uzunçarşılı), i, 1277f; Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, p. 23; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Bostancı" (Özcan), vi, 308f.

470 For Ḥāmid Efendi, *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmili, see above, p. 124 and n. 339, and below, p. 197.

471 The *nişāncı*, also termed the *tevḳīʿī/muvaḳḳiʿ* and the *muftī-i ḳānūn*, was the chancellor or secretary of state, who in the 10th/16th century was an important senior member of the Ottoman administratrion (*erkān-ı devlet*). Under his supervision all new laws (*ḳānūn*s) and widely applied imperial edicts (*fermān*s) were framed and closely checked for inconsistencies with Islamic law (*sharīʿah*) and existing administrative law (*ḳānūn*) before he applied the sultan's stylised signature (*nişān/ṭuġra*) to them. Because of the need for the *nişāncı* to have a solid knowledge of Islamic law, appointees to this office

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[measures] each of *shāsh bez* (fine muslin cloth) and of *shāsh mahkar* (quality muslin?), and five *pişkīr* (napkins). We as well sent to Muṣṭafā b. Celāl, the previous *nişāncı*,[472] the *sharīf*'s gift for him, it being ten [measures] each of *shāsh bez* and of *shāsh mahkar*, and five *pişkīr*.

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were drawn from the ranks of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The *nişāncı* was a member of the imperial council of state (*dīvān-ı hümāyūn*) as well as secretary to it. See İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1948), pp. 214f; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, ii, 697-700; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 124-6; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, pp. 336f (*tevkiʾi*); *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Nıs̲hāndjı" (Babinger), viii, 62; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Nişancı" (Gökbilgin), ix, 299-302; Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajackowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*, trans. A. S. Ehrenkreutz (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), p. 164; and Erdbrink, *Threshold of Felicity*, pp. 59f.

Born in 920/1514, Meḥmed Beg, son of Mudurnulu ʿAbdallāh Efendi (known too as Egri ʿAbdī), received an *ʿulamāʾ* education, became a scribe (*kātib*) in the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn*, and, in 959/1552, rose to the rank of chief secretary of chancery (*reʾīs ül-küttāb*). His advancement to the office of *nişāncı*, following some provincial and treasury service, occurred in 964/1557; but since he was transferred in Ṣafar, 965/late 1557 to the post of chief treasurer of the realm (*baş/ser defterdār*), he was no longer *nişāncı* during al-Nahrawālī's mission. Meḥmed Beg was in 970/1562-3 again made *nişāncı*, which office he held until his death in the Szigetvár campaign of 974/1566. He was survived by five sons, one of whom was the poet and *dīvān* scribe Aḥmed (d. 1002/1593-4), as well as by two daughters, one of them the mother of ʿAṭāʾī, author of the continuation of Ṭaşköprüzāde's *al-Shaqāʾiq*. See ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 58f; Aḥmed Resmī, *Sefīnet ür-rüʾesāʾ* (Istanbul: Taḳvīmḫāne-i ʿĀmire, 1269/1853), pp. 6f; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̲mānī*, iv, 117 (faulty); and Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 446, 452f.

472 The official referred to here was Ṭosyalı Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi, known also as Ḳoca Nişāncı, an Ottoman administrator, historian and poet, and another of the eminent personalities at the court of Süleymān the Magnificent. Born in *ca.* 896/1490-1, he trained for a career in scholarship before switching to one in administration in 922/1516, when he became a scribe in the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn*. After serving as private secretary to the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha (d. 942/1536), Muṣṭafā was appointed chief secretary of chancery (*reʾīs ül-küttāb*) in 931/1525. Ten years later he was promoted to the office of *nişāncı* (secretary of state), which he retained with distinction until 964/1557, when the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha induced him to accept a lesser, honorific post. He was recalled to the office of *nişāncı* following the death of Sultan Süleymān at Szigetvár in 974/1566, but died a year later and was interred near the mosque endowed by him in the Istanbul suburb of Eyüp.

As well as being a poet of note with the pen name (*makhlaṣ*) Nişānī, Muṣṭafā Çelebi set out to write a 30-volume work on the Ottoman realm and its government entitled *Ṭabaḳāt ül-memālik ve derecāt ül-mesālik*; of this project, however, only the last volume, a comprehensive history of Sultan Süleymān's reign to 962/1555, is known to be in existence. He also produced a history of Süleymān's father, Selīm I (*r.* 918-26/1512-20). In addition to those found in 10th/16th-century biographical works on Ottoman poets (see ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi, *Meʿāşir üş-şuʿarāʾ*, ff. 134a-135a; Laṭīfī, *Tezkire-i Laṭīfī*, pp. 335-7; Beyānī, *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ*, pp. 82f, 293f; and Kınalızade, *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ*, ii, 743f), accounts of him appear in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 113f; Aḥmed

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To ʿAbdürraḥmān Çelebi, the chief secretary of chancery (*reʾīs ül-küttāb*)[473], we sent the *sharīf*'s gift for him. However, we detected with him no sign of being pleased or of finding [it] attractive, it being said that he was never one for mirth. His gift was three [measures] each of *shāsh bez* and of *shāsh mahkar* as well as three towels and a waist sash.

Resmī, *Sefīnet ür-rüʾesāʾ*, pp. 5f; and Süreyyā, *Siçill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, iv, 375f. The most comprehensive study of him remains that by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Celâl zâde Mustafa ve Salıh Çelebiler," *Belleten,* xxii (1958), 391-422. Among other accounts may be mentioned Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *Osmanlı müʾellifleri*, iii, 37-9; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Celâl-zâde 1. Mustafa Çelebi" (Gökbilgin), iii, 61-3; Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 451f, 453f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi" (Ménage), ii, 400; Celia J. Kerslake, "The *Selīm-nāme* of Celāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi as a Historical Source," *Turcica*, ix/2 - x (1978), 39f; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Celâlzâde Mustafa Çelebi" (Kerslake), vii, 260-2.

473 In Sultan Süleymān's time the position of *reʾīs ül-küttāb* was yet but the humble one of chief scribe of the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn*, an employee of the grand vizier supervised by the *nişāncı*, to whose dignity the *reʾīs ül-küttāb* could be promoted (*cf.* the previous two notes) and whose office in time was supplanted by his. Although this title is mentioned in the 9th/15th-century administrative codex (*ḳānūnnāme*) of Sultan Meḥmed II in reference to the one who in the *dīvān* read out the correspondence for deliberation to the grand vizier, before whom he stood, it was apparently not in regular use before 930/1524 and began to gain prominence only in *ca.* 977/1569-70. The importance of the *reʾīs ül-küttāb* or, as he was later termed, the *reʾīs efendi*, grew as more and more responsibilities devolved upon the grand vizier, his employer, from an increasingly sequestered sultanate. He was given charge of diplomatic correspondence during the 12th/18th century, and in 1836 his office was transformed into that of minister for foreign affairs. On this office see, among others, Lybyer, *Goverment of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 185; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, pp. 242-8; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 117, 121; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, iii, 25-7; Reychman, *Handbook*, p. 160; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Reis ül-kuttab" (Inalcık), ix, 671-83; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Reʾis ül-küttāb" (Deny), viii, 481-3; and Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, pp. 126f.

The ʿAbdürraḥmān Çelebi appearing here is probably, though not certainly, the one discussed briefly in Aḥmed Resmī (*Sefīnet ür-rüʾesā*, p. 9) as ʿAbdürraḥmān Pasha. He seemingly is the same person whose short biography appears in Süreyyā (*Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, ii, 312), where he is reported to have been promoted to this office only in *ca.* 970/1562-3, five years after al-Nahrawālī's mission, and later to have served as *defterdār* (treasurer) or governor in various, mainly Asiatic, provinces before his death in or shortly after 982/1574-5 at Baghdād. According to the list of incumbents provided by Reychman (*Handbook*, p.160), he held this office from 1556 or after until 1561 (*ca.* 963-9); yet a *mühimme* document cited by Uzunçarşılı (*Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, p. 244, n. 3) dated 962/1555 refers to the *reʾīs* ʿAbdürraḥmān as one of the secretaries of the *dīvān* with a fief (*zeʿāmet*) valued at 66,867 *akçes*.

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[149b] On Thursday, the 18th of Jumādā II, we repaired to the Old Palace (*eski sarāy*), the residence of the sultan's consort (*ḫāṣṣikīye*).[474] We met with ʿAlī Aġa and asked his permission to present the gift for her. To the *aġa* himself we gave, in the name of the exalted *sayyid*, five [measures of] *shāsh bez*, five napkins and one waist sash.[475] And we brought him the *ḫāṣṣikīye*'s present from the noble *sayyid*, it being five [measures of] *quṭnī* (silk and cotton fabric), five bales of *ḥarīr mukhattam* (particoloured (?) silk), three bales of *ḥarīr abyaḍ* (polished (?) silk), three *bayārim ḥarīr (a)l-ḥawāshī* (silk-hemmed cotton vests?), twenty *bayārim khāmshūr* (rough-washed vests?), four bales of *muqaṣṣab malmalshāhī* (royal muslin brocadewear?), ten [measures of] *aṭlas ḥarīr Hindī* (Indian silk satin?), four bales of *kamarband murazzaz* (waist sashes with sizing), four cotton and silk napkins, four [measures] each of *shāsh maṣbūgh aḥmar* (red-tinted muslin?) and *shāsh ʿanbarī* (ambergris-perfumed muslin?), one *mulāyeh ḥarīr bayḍāʾ* (woman's polished-silk

474 18 Jumādā II, 965 = Thursday, 7 April, 1558. So devoted was Sultan Süleymān to his slave concubine (*ḫāṣṣeki*) Ḫurrem, known to Europeans as Roxelana, that allegedly on her insistance he broke with family custom and formally married her, this being held to have been the first instance in Ottoman history of a sultan's slave concubine becoming his legal wife. The date of this event remains undetermined, but it is likely to have taken place during or before late 940/mid-1534. About that time or not long thereafter, Ḫurrem was instrumental in having the harem transferred to the New Palace (later known as Topkapı Sarāyı) from the Old Palace. The latter had continued to house the royal women and their children and attendants since 872-3/1468, when Meḥmed II abandoned it in favour of his New Palace, by then largely completed. Ottoman documents, however, confirm that by the time of al-Nahrawālī's mission to the Ottoman capital, Ḫurrem, whose health was failing her, was again resident in the Old Palace, doubtless to receive care in the hospital for women there. See Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, pp. 61-3, 119 (citing Italian and Ottoman primary sources and providing an undated description of the ceremony of Süleymān's marriage to Ḫurrem). On the *ḫāṣṣeki* Ḫurrem see too above, p. 151 and n. 412, and below, p. 200 and n. 544.

475 ʿAlī Aġā, an officer of the imperial harem, has not been further identified. Although, in view of Ḫurrem's seniormost status among the Ottoman royal women, this person could conceivably have been the harem's chief officer (*ḥarem aġası*, also called, somewhat later, the *dār üs-saʿāde aġası* and *ḳızlar aġası*), it is more likely that he was her personal attendant, one of several eunuchs (at this time possibly but not necessarily black ones) in the service of the individual women of the Ottoman royal family. On the *ḥarem aġası/dār üs-seʿāde aġası/ḳızlar aġası* and 16th-century changes in this office see Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı*, pp. 172-83; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, p. 76; Inalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 86; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 136; Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power, the Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1991), pp. 160f; and *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Dârüssaâde" (Altındağ), ix, 1.

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cloak?), one bundle of waist sashes, and one hundred [measures of] *shāsh beiz* (fine muslin cloth).[476]

We then betook ourselves to her daughter, the wife of Rüstem Pasha.[477] Having no gift for her, we set apart some of the present for the *ḫāṣṣikīye* and gave it to this daughter of hers.[478] First, we had a meeting with Maḥmūd Aġa[479] and, in the name of the noble *sayyid*, presented him with a gift, it being one [measure of] *quṭnī Hindī* (Indian silk and cotton fabric), five [measures of] *shāsh bez*, five napkins and a waist sash. He sought for us permission regarding the gift to the sultana [150a] and, she being agreeable, we presented her with the offering, consisting of one hundred [measures of] *shāsh beiz*, forty [measures of] *shāsh mahkar* (quality muslin?), five [measures of] *quṭnī Hindī*, ten *bayram khāmshūr* (rough-washed vests?), five [measures of] *aṭlas Hindī* (Indian satin), forty *ḳuşaḳ*s (sashes) and ten napkins. She, for her part, brought forth a brocade robe of honour and garbed me with it. Until then this was the first time that we had seen this sort of thing, and it came from her and no one else.

Then we went to pay our respects to his eminence the supreme *muftī*, our master Ebū 's-Suᶜūd (God the exalted perpetuate all traces of his benefit!).[480] He rose, took about five steps in my direction, and embraced

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476 This being the first of the *sharīf*'s offerings presented by al-Nahrawālī to an influential woman of high station, its contents differ markedly from those of most others. On the names and quantities of woven fabrics appearing in the several inventories of gifts listed in this *Riḥlah*, and on the problems these present to the researcher and translator, see above, p. 146, n. 401.

477 For want of details here concerning the time sequence and venue for these visits and presentations of gifts, it is unclear whether the daughter of Ḫurrem and Sultan Süleymān and wife of the grand vizier, Rüstem Pasha, received al-Nahrawālī in the Old Palace, where her mother lay ill, or at her own residence.

478 This Ottoman princess, whom al-Nahrawālī discreetly never refers to by name, was Mihrimāh. She was born in 928/1522, the second of at least six offspring of Süleymān and Ḫurrem, and the sultan's only surviving daughter (Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 160). In 950/1543-4 she became the wife of Rüstem Pasha (on whom see above, p. 82, n. 208), who the following year was made grand vizier. She was perhaps the most influential of any of the daughters of reigning Ottoman sultans.

479 Although the Maḥmūd Aġa referred to here has not been further identified, he was likely a eunuch in the personal service of the sultan's daughter and wife of the grand vizier (*cf.* n. 475 above in reference to ᶜAlī Aġa).

480 For an earlier reference to and brief comment on this great legal mind and most celebrated Ottoman *muftī/şeyḫ ül-Islām* (interpreter or expounder of Islamic law), see above, p. 37 and n. 110. Details on his life, career and scholarship appear in the works of, among others, ᶜAṭāᵓī, *Ḥadāᵓiḳ ül-ḥaḳāᵓiḳ*, pp. 183-8; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 35-7; al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, ii, 275f; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 399f; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ᶜOṣmanlı müᵓellifleri*, i, 225f; and, in particular, Repp, *Müfti*, pp. 272-96.

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me. Then he began to speak to me in his splendid eloquent Arabic, and, with the utmost propriety, to inquire about the circumstances of the noble *sayyid*. I presented him with a letter from the latter. He accepted it, rose in honour of him, and commenced considering it, word for word, and praying for assistance, support, and proper guidance on behalf of the exalted *sayyid*. When I mentioned the situation regarding Pīrī, he was visibly distressed by that and said, "It is our hope that God will demote him from that honoured station to the lowest status, and that Muslims there will be relieved of him."

Ebū 's-Suʿūd spoke in a friendly manner with me and cited for me a subject from the beginning of the commentary (*tafsīr*) on the *sūrah* of "Cattle,"[481] as well as [various] juristic cases. He related that, with regard to the latter, he had given a legal opinion contrary to that rendered by Shaykh Meḥmed b. Ilyās, known as Çivizāde Efendi.[482] Owing to what I beheld of Ebū 's-Suʿūd's exalted standing and rank, I remained attentive to, benefiting from, and appreciative of what he had to say, as well as giving ear to him and being drawn to his refinement. I recited to him my ode (*qaṣīdah*) in which I eulogized him, it being:

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481 The text is vague here on which Qurʾānic commentary is being referred to, Ebū 's-Suʿūd's own or that of someone else. The *sūrah* "Cattle" is the sixth chapter of the Qurʾān.

482 Mollā Çivizāde Muḥyīddīn Meḥmed b. Ilyās, who was born into a scholarly family of Milas, in the region of Menteşe, and probably in 896/1491, moved at a young age to Istanbul, where he trained for a learned career. He held professorships at *medreses* in Edirne, Bursa, Çorlu and Istanbul before being appointed chief Ḥanafī judge of Cairo, most likely in 937/1530-1. He subsequently was promoted to the office of *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Anadolu in 944/1537 and, in the following year, to the supreme learned office of *muftī* of Istanbul and *şeyḫ ül-Islām* (chief expounder of Islamic law). In less than four years, however, he became possibly the first incumbent of this office to be dismissed, an act generally held to have been owing to his bias against Islamic mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) and some of the tenets of its early eminent practitioners. He was handsomely pensioned but then returned to teaching; and when he died in 954/1547, he was serving as *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Rūmili. Whatever differences Ebū 's-Suʿūd may later have had with Çivizāde's legal interpretations, it was he who led the prayers during the latter's funeral at the Mosque of Sultan Meḥmed II (Fātiḥ).

A scholarly and highly informative, yet succinct, resurrection of this man's life and career in the learned hierarchy, one, moreover, based on manuscript and printed primary materials (including the biographical entries for him in Ṭaşköprüzāde's *al-Shaqāʾiq* and Mecdī's expanded Turkish translation of it), is that found in Repp, *Müfti*, pp. 244-56. Other accounts of Çivizāde appear in al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 28f; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 303; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iv, 344f; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 265; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çivi-zâde" (Baysun), iii, 438f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Çiwi-zāde" (Ménage), ii, 56f; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çivizāde Muhyiddin Mehmed Efendi" (İpşirli), viii, 348f.

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May there be acceptance, for how oft the questing of thoughts falls short.
May there be absolution, for how oft the gate for pardons hath narrowed.

And may there be kindness for a servant whose commodity is remoteness
And who separation seeks, as do merchants claim.

[150b] A lord's winking can, for the stranger on the road,
Turn anguish into sought-for pearls, and into betterment.

Benefit he affords at the arrival of the entourage of his lofty rank.
And what would be the value of an entourage that does not [with generosity] overwhelm?

The high deeds of a lord whose good turn requires of me
Prolonged praise, of which the end does not fall short.

Had not his ignoring [my faults] encouraged me, my precaution
Against the embarrassment of temerity would have restrained me.

He is not one whose meeting is allowed
Out of shyness or paying respect through some trifling idea of mine.

But, after hesitation, I ventured forward
In the hope of some attention from the one of noble thoughts.

Would a rank with the insignificant ones advance
In worth, if not through the attention of the great ones?

For his good deeds to me I have only
Good praise perpetuated in the copybooks.

I cannot fulfill [even] some of what he deserves,
Nor do I claim that I am capable of such.

Yet the fruits of my contemplation remain
Distinguished in a garden radiant from glory.

How many people hast thou in perfection surpassed,
People whose high level the steps of poet and prose writer [alike] have fallen short?

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But the people's most eloquent one is dumbfounded in your presence;
In gatherings with you Quss becomes Bāqil.[483]

O revered master who is pure
In origin and descent, and whose inner soul is chaste!

O Muftī of Islam and scholar, whom
People of vision take as their model in matters of the faith!

O unique one of the world and a lord whose feats
have the ornaments of high things and objects of pride produced!

O one ascending the heights of good fortune [and] one who rises high
To a degree which does not agitate the conscience!

Vast deserts have I encountered in traveling to meet you.
By hardships am I tested at night and at noon.

And I withstood the dread of land and sea, covering quickly
The earth's surface as one does copybooks,

Until your countenance appeared to me unveiled
And I was made to forget my toil, and my thoughts did tranquility find.

Vouchsafe me a voluntary glance,
For your regard is the elixir among those who gaze.

Perhaps, by taking pride in it, I shall rise high above
The peoples of my land; for it is the most splendid of my treasures.

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483 Quss b. Sāʿidah of Iyād was a semi-legendary, late pre-Islamic Arab figure depicted as the most effective orator among the Arab tribes and cast as a heroic character with all of the skills and sagacity of a poet. He is held to have cited at the celebrated fair of ʿUkāẓ a speech so effective that the young (Prophet) Muḥammad in attendance learned it by heart and later transmitted it. On him see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḳuss b. Sāʿida" (Pellat), v, 528f; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 135f; and Abdullah el Tayib, in A.F.L. Beeston, T.M. Johnstone, R.B. Serjeant and G.R. Smith, eds., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), p. 29. Bāqil, for whom no further reference has been found, was seemingly a fictitious or legenday figure projecting the very reverse image, namely that of a dumbfounded one bereft of eloquence.

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And how many a planting of [your] grace have you in the soil of sublimity,
One that causes hands to open in prayer like blossoms?

What be I but one of their number?
But if you accept me, I'll spread your glad tidings.

Behold O high-minded one! From me [comes] a composition
That, like brilliant stars, gives light.

In fine capes of splendour it came shining brightly,
Strutting in a garment of radiant beauty.

Should it strike the ears of those who recite, they,
Be they wandering or settled folk, would its rhymes sing.

Among them there would be those who retain consciously, those who are cautious,
And those who listen when they hear, and who recite and recall.

A stranger away from home who towards your land hath traveled –
Is it your habit to console the wayfaring alien?

The time hath come for me to fold the carpet of my squatting,
For my detailed utterance hath grown too long and my temerity hath waxed.

May you go on affording protection, enjoying
Your two sons, protected [from] the misfortunes of [Time's] afflictions!

The *muftī* was delighted with the verses and recited them repeatedly, [151a] to the point where he declared, "Indeed, some words are truly pearls, and this is surely the case here."[484] Our conversation and exchange of pleasantries had grown lengthy when I begged leave to depart from him. He acceded, but invited me to be his guest the following day.

I then went to pay my respects to Ebū 's-Suʿūd's son, Aḥmed Çelebi, who was instructor in one of the Eight Colleges (al-Madāris

484 For a likely explanation of the appearance of the numerical combination *al-rābiʿ ʿashar* ("the fourteenth") situated at the top left of this folio but without relevance to the text, see above, p. 114, n. 303.

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al-Thamāniyah) even though he had yet to have his first shave.[485] We met, and he received me with much joy and delight. I could see that he is a distinguished person with great intelligence and a considerable fund of recallable knowledge. I observed that he was surrounded by a group of advanced students (*dānişmendīye*) who were older than he was:

How many a youth hath God's providence
Favoured, such that the elders had need of him!

In his magnificent expressions, his purity of speech, and his Arab-like qualities, he was similar to his father, inasmuch as he recited to me from memory, and with the utmost mastery, chasteness of speech, and harmony of sense, a number of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*,[486] as well as some verses from his own Arabic, Persian and Turkish poetry. He remarked that he had fashioned one of Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī's celebrated odes into a

485 Al-Nahrawālī had earlier met with Müḥyīddīn Meḥmed (d. 971-2/1564), Aḥmed Çelebi's eldest brother, when he wintered over in Damascus where Meḥmed was serving as chief judge (see above, p. 37 and n. 110). In this encounter with Aḥmed Çelebi, the *şeyḫ ül-Islām* Ebū 's-Suʿūd's third son, which al-Nahrawālī here recounts, further biographical details about him emerge, including his birth date of 3 Shaʿbān, 944/5 January, 1538. His death is reported to have occurred in 970/1563 (ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 33; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 357; and Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOs̱mānī*, i, 169). Mollā Şemseddīn Aḥmed's short but mercurial teaching career which brought him, prematurely, to a professorship in one of the prestigious eight *medreses* built by Sultan Meḥmed II adjacent to his mosque in Istanbul, and also referrred to as the *Ṣaḥn* (Courtyard) *medreses* (Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, p. 145), is noted by Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 217. It is clear from this narrative of his encounter with Aḥmed Çelebi that al-Nahrawālī added details postdating the time of their meeting: Aḥmed's appointment to one of the Ṣaḥn *medreses* occurred only in 967/1559 (ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 33; and Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, p. 515). For Aḥmed Çelebi see *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ebüssuʿūd Efendi" (Baysun), iv, 98.

486 Referred to here is the famous *Maqāmāt* of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥarīrī (446-516/1054-1122), a minor ʿAbbāsid official from Baṣrah who became a poet, man of letters, and pre-eminent Arabic philologist. This most famous of his works is a collection of fifty anecdotal urban narratives (*maqāmāt*, namely sessions or assemblies) composed in rhymed prose (*sajʿ*) interspersed with pure verse, and all linked by the presence of two individuals, the narrator and the protagonist. On this enduring work, which has delighted Arabic reading audiences for centuries, and on its composer see, among others, Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 229-36; H.A.R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature, an Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 123-6; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Ḥarīrī" (Margoliouth/Pellat), iii, 221f; Beeston, in Julia Ashtiany, T.M. Johnstone, J.D. Latham, R.B. Serjeant and W. Rex Smith, eds., *ʿAbbasid Belles-Lettres* (Cambridge: University Press, 1990), pp. 132-5; and *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*, art. "al-Ḥarīrī" (Drory), i, 272f.

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quintain (*takhmīs*),[487] and that he had adapted it to his own verses with a precision of which [even] extraordinarily eloquent Arabs are incapable. He recited for me several verses, among which the quintaining of one line in particular has stuck in my mind. I was greatly moved by it: from its cup was I intoxicated by licit wine which reproached the daughter of the vine; and from the garden of its language did I harvest blossoms of culture and refinement. This quintain is:

> The pearls of my necklaces o'er the horizons have I strewn.
> And my instructive thoughts have I set to verse in the path of poetry.
> Who, then, would my equal be, when such are my singular gems of poesy?
>
> Time is but one of my odes' reciters;
> Whenever I a poem utter, Time becomes a reciter.[488]

And it's enough to mention this extraordinary verse and luxuriant verdure, whose blossoms surpass the calyxes of the primrose, from a [yet] ripening and unsullied young man in youth's cloak, who has not traveled the lands of the Arabs, whom no Nabᶜ tree has sheltered, who has never been a stranger,

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487 Many have hailed Abū al-Ṭayyib b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Juᶜfī, known as al-Mutanabbī (the one who claims to be a prophet) as the last great Arab poet. His verse, which reflects his remarkable skills in exemplary poetic forms, rich Arabic idiom, and panegyrics, is often boastful and heroic, even cavalier, such that his detractors sought to diminish his reputation by pointing to his heretical beliefs and plagiarisms. He was born at Kūfah, in Iraq, in 303/915 but, owing to political conflict there, his family moved. In *ca*. 318/930 he made his way to Syria, where by 337/948 his recognised poetic talent secured for him the patronage of the Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawlah (*r*. 336-56/947-67). The poetic output of his nine years there as court panegyrist is held to include his finest work. After being dismissed in 346/957, he found lesser patrons elsewhere, and was killed by beduins in 353/954, while returning to Iraq from Iran. See, among others, Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 304-12; Gibb, *Arabic Literature*, p. 91; A. Hamori, in Ashtiany *et al*, *ᶜAbbasid Belles-Lettres*, pp. 300-14; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Mutanabbī" (Blachère/Pellat), vii, 769-72; and *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*, art. "al-Mutanabbī" (Meisami), ii, 558-60.

On *takhmīs*, a poetic form where three hemistiches are added by a poet to each *bayt* (line = two hemistiches) of an existing poem in order to develop or modify the original thought, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Takhmīs" (Kennedy), x, 123-5.

488 The first three hemistiches of this quintain (*takhmīs*) are those of Aḥmed Çelebi. The latter two, which constitute a single line (*bayt*), are those of al-Mutanabbī and are found in his *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir and Dār Bayrūt, 1384/1964), p. 373. A. J. Arberry, in his *Poems of al-Mutanabbī* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 82f, has translated these hemistiches of al-Mutanabbī as:

> "And time is merely a rhapsode of my necklaces–
> Whenever I compose a poem, time becomes a reciter."

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who has neither sniffed these lands' Shīḥ bush or Qayṣūm plant nor chewed their Arāk shrub or Tunawim flower (seeds), whom time has not yet made worldly-wise, and who has not run unrestrained in life's arena.[489]

[151b] Aḥmed Çelebi informed me that his noble date of birth was Saturday, the 3rd of Shaʿbān, 944.[490] He as well related that he had studied mainly with his father and with our master Şemseddīn Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā, known as Ṭaşköprüzāde Efendi, the author of *al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʿmānīyah*;[491] that in 962[1554-5] he became his father's assistant instructor (*muʿīd*) at the Sultan Bāyezīd College (*madrasah*) before becoming [full] instructor in the college of the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha at fifty *ʿuthmānīs* [daily];[492] and that he was at that time giving instruction on the *Hidāyah*,

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489 Ekrem Kâmil's paraphrase ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 74) of the flowery imagery employed by al-Nahrawālī to show Aḥmed Çelebi's youth and promise, as well as his profound knowledge of the Arabic language and of Arabia without ever having left home, differs in details from the literal Arabic of the text of the *Riḥlah*, which includes references to Arabian flora.

490 3 Shaʿbān, 944 = Saturday, 5 January, 1538.

491 *Al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʿmānīyah fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawlah al-ʿUthmānīyah* is the basic source for biographical details on senior *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars) in the Ottoman state from its beginning down to the mid-10th/16th century. Its author is Mollā ʿIṣāmeddīn Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā b Ḫalīl, known as Ṭaşköprü(lü)zāde (901-68/1495-1561), one of several members of an eminent Ottoman learned family spanning a number of generations. An expanded and enriched translation of the Arabic *al-Shaqāʾiq* into Turkish was completed in 995/1586-7 by Mollā Meḥmed Mecdī 'l-Edirnevī (d. 999/1590-1), whose work bears the title *Ḥadāʾiḳ üş-Şaḳāʾiḳ* but is usually known as the *Şaḳāʾiḳ tercümesi*. An important Turkish continuation (*zeyl*) to Mecdī's Turkish translation is the *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī takmilet iş-Şaḳāʾiḳ*, completed in 1044/1634 by ʿAṭāʾullāh b. Yaḥyā b. Pīr ʿAlī b. Naṣūḥ, often referred to as Nevʿīzāde ʿAṭāʾī (d. 1045/1635).

Ṭāşköprüzāde added his autobiography at the conclusion of *al-Shaqāʾiq*, pp. 552-60. This was expanded upon by both Mecdī, *Şaḳāʾiḳ tercümesi*, pp. 524-6, and by ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 8-11. Brief notices on him and his career appear in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Taşköpri-zāde" (Aktepe), xii/1, 42-4, and in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ṭashköprüzāde" (Flemming), x, 351f. A succinct but well documented discussion of him and his principal contribution to scholarship is provided by Repp, *Müfti*, pp. 3-7, whose study is based primarily upon *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, its Turkish translation, and its principal *zeyl*.

Al-Nahrawālī must have added this reference to *al-Shaqāʾiq* some time after his departure from Istanbul in mid-Shaʿbān, 965/early June, 1558, for Ṭaşköprüzāde himself noted that he completed this work on 30 Ramaḍān, 965/16 July, 1558 (Repp, *Müfti*, p. 3, n. 3).

492 When, as part of a complex (*küllīye*) of structures in Istanbul associated with his mosque, Sultan Bāyezīd II (*r.* 886-918/1481-1512) endowed his *medrese*, probably completed in 913/1507-8, he stipulated that its professorship be held by the *muftī* of Istanbul, namely the *şeyḫ ül-Islām*, a practice maintained until late in the empire's history. It remained a very important *medrese*; and the daily compensation of fifty *akçe*s was in addition to the incumbent's salary as grand *muftī*. This institution, later referred to

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on the commentary on the *Mawāqif*, and on the commentary on the *Miftāḥ*, as well as translating the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (That is God's gift which He bestows on whom He so wishes!).[493] Aḥmed Çelebi also told me that the birth date of his brother Mevlānā Meḥmed Çelebi Efendi, the [Ḥanafī]

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popularly as the Havuzlu Medrese owing to the presence of a pond (*havuz*) close by it, was originally outfitted with a classroom and nineteen dormitory chambers. Aḥmed Çelebi's father, the *muftī* Ebū 's-Suᶜūd Efendi, was its seventh professor. See *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Reşad Ekrem Koçu, iv (Istanbul: Neşriyat Kollektif Şirketi, 1960), 2246f; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 397; Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 163-5, 168; Repp, *Müfti*, pp. 64f, 67, 108, 181, 208, 291, 292, n. 272; Yüksel Y. Demircanlı, *İstanbul Mimarisi için Kaynak Olarak Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* (Istanbul: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayıları, 1989), pp. 338f; *Türkiyye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Beyazit II Camii ve Külliyesi" (Eyice), vi, 48f; and Howard Crane, trans. and annot., *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin Ayvansarayī's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 16.

The Rüstem Pasha *medrese*, endowed by and named for the grand vizier and son-in-law of Sultan Süleymān (see above, p. 82 and n. 208), was erected in the Maḥmūd Pasha quarter of Istanbul and designed and constructed by the renowned architect Miᶜmār Sinān Pasha (see above, p. 157, n. 428). Opened in 954/1547-8, it had one classroom and twenty-two dormitory chambers; and its professor received fifty *akçe*s daily as compensation. Şemseddīn Aḥmed Çelebi was its fourth incumbent, when appointed there in 963/1555-6. See ᶜAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 33; Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 343-5, 515; Demircanlı, *İstanbul Mimarisi*, p. 336 and n. 1037; and *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vi (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1993), 374-6.

Before his promotion to the Ṣaḥn *medrese*s in 967/1559, Aḥmed Çelebi served briefly as *müderris* at the Ḫāṣṣeki *medrese* in Istanbul (Baltacı, *Osmanlı Müdreseleri*, p. 515).

On the position and function within a *medrese* of the *muᶜīd*, an assistant instructor who repeated the professor's lessons, see Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 2, p. 158; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Madrasa – The Institution in the Arabic, Persian and Turlisk Lands" (Pedersen/Makdisi), v, 1124f, 1133.

493 The first three of the four titles alluded to here were standard handbooks used in the Ottoman *medrese* curriculum, though often by way of later summaries and commentaries. They are the *Hidāyah*, regarded as more comprehensive than any other work on Ḥanafī jurisprudence (*fiqh*), by Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAbd al-Jalīl al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197); *al-Mawāqif fī ᶜulūm al-kalām* by ᶜAḍud al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rukn al-Dīn b. ᶜAbd al-Ghaffār al-Bakrī al-Shaybānkārī, known as al-Ījī (d. 756/1355), another work on jurisprudence; and the *Miftāḥ al-ᶜulūm*, a study of all Arabic linguistic disciplines, by Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Yaᶜqūb Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī, known as al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229). See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "al-Marghīnānī" (Heffening), vi, 357f, "al-Ījī" (van Ess), iii, 1022, and "al-Sakkākī" (Heinrichs), viii, 893f; and Inalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 168 and nn., 177.

The fourth title, the *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, was a major early work on the Sunnī Islamic tradition and the one which most Sunnīs have held to be the most important book after the *Qurʾān*. It was compiled by Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mughīrah al-Juᶜfī, known as al-Bukhārī (194-256/810-70). See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl" (Robson), i, 1296f.

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judge of Damascus,[494] was 931 [1524-5]; that Meḥmed had been a protégé-candidate (*mülāzım*) for the late Mevlānā Müḥyīddīn Efendi el-Fenārī, the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Rūmili (God the exalted be merciful to him!); and that he has [another] brother, born recently, named Muṣṭafā, whose date of birth was 964[1556-7].[495]

Aḥmed Çelebi was one with a very proud spirit and a tremendous sense of importance over his contemporaries, even those of his father's class in age and standing. But what befell him is as follows. Sinān Efendi, the dismissed *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*,[496] had a prayer rug spread for himself in the Mosque of Sultan Meḥmed for the Friday [communal] prayer. Aḥmed

494 For al-Nahrawālī's encounter at Damascus with Aḥmed Çelebi's brother and a note on him see above, p. 37 and n. 110.

495 Mollā Müḥyīddīn Meḥmed b. ᶜAlā'eddīn ᶜAlī b. Yūsuf Bālī b. Şemseddīn el-Fenārī, known as Fenārīzāde Müḥyīddīn Çelebi, was a member of the prominent Fenārīzāde family of Ottoman jurists and scholars, his great-grandfather, Mollā Şemseddīn Meḥmed (d. 834/1431), being considered to have been the first Ottoman *muftī*. Born probably some time after 883/1478-9, and educated for a career in *medrese* teaching that culminated with his appointment to the Ṣaḥn *medrese*s, he was named chief judge of Edirne in 925/1519 and of Istanbul the next year. In 929/1523 he became *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Anadolu, but the following year was promoted to the same office in Rūmili, from which he was removed only in 944/1537. After a time as a pensioner, he was called in 949/1542-3 to the office of *muftī* of Istanbul/*şeyḫ ül-Islām*, from which he resigned in 952/1545. His death occurred in 954/1548. If al-Nahrawālī is correct here, Ebū 's-Suᶜūd's son, Meḥmed Çelebi, became the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Rūmili's *mülāzım* (on which see above, p. 94, n. 234) before the age of fifteen. A useful modern study of Mollā Müḥyīddīn Efendi and his career is that provided by Repp, *Müfti*, pp. 263-72, which sorts out some incorrect details appearing in earlier accounts, including that in Ṭaşköprüzāde/Mecdī, *Şaḳā'iḳ tercümesi*, pp. 387-9. See too Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOs̱mānī*, iv, 344; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ᶜOs̱mānlı mü'ellifleri*, i, 390f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Fenārī-zāde" (Walsh), ii, 879; A. Altunsu and V.R. Sevig, *Osmanlı şeyhülislâmları* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1972), pp. 25-7; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Fenârîzâde Muhyiddin Çelebi" (İpşirli), xii, 339f.

Ebū 's-Suᶜūd Efendi's line survived through his youngest son, Muṣṭafā Efendi, whose accurate birth year may be the one provided by this text, and who too pursued a career in jurisprudence. After holding a number of college teaching positions, he secured a professorship in one of the Ṣaḥn *medrese*s. He then served as judge in several centers, including Bursa, before being elevated in 1001/1593 to the judgeship of the Ottoman capital. He became *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Anadolu in 1003/1595, but left this office later the same year. In 1005/1597 he returned to the judgeship of Istanbul, and two years later he moved to the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*ship of Rūmili, a post he held for less than a year. He died in 1007 or 1008/1598-9. On him see ᶜAṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iḳ ül-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, pp.428f; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOs̱mānī*, iv, 380; and *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ebüssu'ûd Efendi" (Baysun), iv, 98.

496 For an earlier reference to and note on the former *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* (of Anadolu) Sinān(eddīn Yūsuf) Efendi see above, p. 80 and n. 206. He is also mentioned, somewhat incorrectly, below, p. 194 and n. 524.

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Çelebi came along with his crowd and ordered his attendants to lift Sinān Efendi's prayer rug, toss it aside, and spread his in its place. They did that; and when Sinān Efendi arrived and couldn't find his rug, he jostled some of those who were praying in the mosque. Consequently, he suffered great dejection, and it is said that he invoked God against Aḥmed Çelebi. Because of this did the strength of this learnèd young man's youth snap [just] when he was flourishing and in bloom; and thus was his life's source of light eclipsed [just] when it was more perfect than the radiant full moon. His distinguished father was distressed and saddened by him, and anyone with a merciful heart grieved for him. His death occurred .....[497] Then his older brother, Meḥmed Çelebi Efendi, died in ..... when he was *qāḍī* of Aleppo.[498] Their father was stricken by [the loss of] these two offspring and he wept much over their passing.

[152a] On Sunday, the 21st of Jumādā II,[499] I had a meeting with the *shaykh* who is intimately acquainted with God almighty, who follows the spiritual path, and who adheres to the canonical law of Islam (*sharīʿah*), to the rule of life (*ṭarīqah*), and to the truth, our master Ḥakīm Çelebi Efendi (God the exalted prolong his existence!).[500] He is deemed one who has devoted himself to the conventional branches of knowledge to the extent that he is adept in such areas of learning as jurisprudence, prophetic Tradition, Qurʾānic commentary, the two material sources of jurisprudence (the

497 Since Aḥmed Çelebi lived for five years beyond al-Nahrawālī's departure from Istanbul (see above, p. 181, n. 485 for 970/1563 as the year of his death), and since the account here of his treatment of Sinān Efendi clearly postdates al-Nahrawālī's meeting with Aḥmed Çelebi, this is another of several instances in this ms. where its author, who in this case must later have learned of this young man's sad fate and early demise, was adding information postdating the events of this mission (*cf.* above, p. 23, n. 73).

498 It has been indicated above (p. 37, n. 110) that Meḥmed Çelebi became deceased in 971/1564, a detail which obviously eluded the author of the *Riḥlah* at the time of revising this section of the text.

499 21 Jumādā II, 965 = Sunday, 10 April, 1558.

500 Ḥakīm Çelebi was the popular name of Muḥammad b. Aḥmed Efendi, a prominent and respected *ṣūfī* and the leader of the Naqshbandī mystical order in Istanbul. He was born in İzmit, of undetermined date, and died in Istanbul in late 974/mid-1567. Evidently, much of this biographical sketch of Ḥakīm Çelebi was added later, after the conclusion of al-Nahrawālī's mission. In addition to the entries for him in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadīḳat ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 216f, and Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iv, 117, mention of him as an Ottoman Naqshbandī leader appears, with little accompanying detail, in İrfan Gündüz, *Osmanlılarda Devlet-Tekke Münasebetleri* (Ankara: Seha Neşriyat, 1984), pp. 54-6; Hamid Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandi Order," in Marc Gaborieau, A. Popovic and Th. Zarcone, eds., *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman* (Istanbul and Paris: Éditions İsis, 1990), p. 18; and Mustafa Kara, "Molla İlahi: un Précurseur de la Naḳşbandiye en Anatolie," in *ibid.*, p. 306.

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Qurʾān and the *sunnah* (usage of the Prophet)),[501] logic, and wisdom. As well, he occupied himself with the science of medicine and made efforts with medical treatment. Then he took up Sufism, followed the path of the Naqshbandī masters and, under Maḥmūd Çelebi Efendi en-Naḳşbendī,[502] studied to become a *faqīr* (mendicant dervish). He subsequently achieved splendid excellence. Several times he performed the annual Muslim pilgrimage to the sacred city of God (Mecca). He was resident there for awhile, during which time I came to know him. Later, he resided in Cairo, then in Bursa, and then in Istanbul, where he gained standing with Sultan Süleymān and the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha. In Istanbul he acquired a *ṣūfī* monastery (*ziwāyah*) and students (*fuqarāʾ*). With viziers and *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*s his intercession found acceptance; and he had an agreeable and commendable manner. Ḥakīm Çelebi Efendi received me, honoured me, and was good to me (God almighty be charitable to him!). When I sought his counsel he obliged me with the right advice (God the exalted reward him for me with the best, most excellent, and perfect recompense!).

Next day[503] I was called on and greeted by the very learnèd, consummate, most distinguished and exemplary *shaykh*, the one with faultless

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501 The term *aşlayn* used here seemingly refers to the first two of the four *uṣūl al-fiqh* (sources of Islamic jurisprudence), namely to the *Qurʾān* and the *sunnah* (usage of the Prophet), which two Schacht refers to (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "Uṣūl," iv, 1055) as the two material sources of Islamic jurisprudence, the other two being the condition of *ijmāᶜ* (consensus) and the method of *qiyās* (analogy).

502 The Naqshbandī *ṣūfī* order, which originated in Transoxania and eastern Khurāsān, was introduced to Anatolia in the 9th/15th century through Mollā ᶜAbdallāh İlāhī (d. 895/1490), who returned to his native Anatolia from Samarkand. With its strong Sunnī identity and adherence to the *sharīᶜah* (holy law), this order found ready acceptance among the Ottomans. See *ibid.*, 2nd ed., art. "Naḳshbandiyya 2. In Turkey" (Algar), vii, 936f; and Algar, "A Brief History of the Nakshbandi Order," pp. 17-19.

Maḥmūd Çelebi Efendi en-Naḳşbendī, known as Shaykh Maḥmūd al-ᶜĀrif bi'llāh, was the *murīd* (disciple) of Emīr Aḥmed Buḫārī (d. 922/1516), Mollā ᶜAbdallāh İlāhī's principal successor. He became Buḫārī's son-in-law and, ultimately, succeeded him as head of the order in Istanbul, where in the Edirne Kapısı district he had a mosque and *ṣūfī* center built. Maḥmūd Çelebi died in 938/1531-2. The account of him in Ṭaşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, pp. 534f, is strong in anecdote but weak in detail. More information is provided in Mecdī's expanded Turkish translation, *Şaḳāʾiḳ tercümesi*, pp. 518f. See too Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṣmānī*, iv, 310f. He should not be confused with the prolific Ottoman writer, poet and translator named Shaykh Maḥmūd b. Oṣmān Lāmiᶜī of Bursa (on whom see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Lāmiᶜī" (Flemming), v, 649-51), even though both were Naqshbandī *shaykh*s and poets, and both became deceased close in time, possibly in the same year.

503 22 Jumādā II, 965 = Monday, 11 April, 1558.

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taste and boundless refinement, and the one who incorporates both the rational and the received branches of knowledge and is surpassing in ethics, our master the full moon of the community and of the creed, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Quṣūnī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī, the head physician in Egypt and at the imperial [Ottoman] court.[504] He made me a present of about fifty gold pieces in cash, some woolen garments from the [imperial] ward-robe (*aṣwāf khazā'inīyah*), and other items, such as sheep, chickens and flowers, etc.; and he treated me with kindness. Shaykh Muḥammad was a man of great standing, one who was influential and adhered to, whose intercession was welcomed, and who possessed exalted rank and ample erudition. We knew each other previously, when he was in Egypt, and we carried on a literary correspondence.[505] He has authored poetry softer than the gentle breeze and prose more serene than the nectar of Paradise. His letters to me were like carpets of primrose, while his spoken words yield clarity for every extraordinary signification (God the exalted preserve him as master, authority, protector and mainstay!).

[152b] On Monday, the 22nd of Jumādā II,[506] we were instructed to present to the imperial court the gift of our lord and master, the exalted *sayyid* (of Mecca).[507] I was summoned to a spot in the chamber (*dīvān*)[508]

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504 On this ranking personage, who had already visited the author of the *Riḥlah* more than once since the latter's arrival in Istanbul, and whose celebrated family name al-Nahrawālī unaccountably renders elsewhere as al-Qaysūnī, a recognised variant, see above, p. 161 and n. 439. Ekrem Kâmil's loose Turkish rendering of this part of the *Riḥlah* ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 75) inadequatley identifies this person as being the sultan's chief physician only in Egypt, whereas the Arabic text states clearly that he was also *ra'īs al-aṭṭibā'* at the imperial court (*bi'l-abwāb al-sulṭānīyah*).

505 The author of the *Riḥlah* was in Egypt on more than one occasion, and doubtless it was at one of those times when he first made the acquaintance of al-Qaysūnī/al-Quṣūnī, possibly in *ca.* 943-4/1537 when al-Nahrawālī is reported to have remained to study there for a time (Ḥamad al-Jāsir, in his introduction to al-Nahrawālī's *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp. 21f; and above, Introduction, p. iv).

506 22 Jumādā II, 965 = Monday, 11 April, 1558, seemingly yet the same day that al-Nahrawālī was visited by al-Qaysūnī/al-Quṣūnī, the chief physician (*ḥekīm başı*).

507 The reference here is likely to Sayyid Ḥasan, although it could also be to the latter's father, Muḥammad Abū Numayy II, with whom he shared rule at Mecca at this time (see above, p. 1, n. 3).

508 Here the author of the *Riḥlah* uses the word *dīvān* (council) to refer not to the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn* (imperial council of state), which by this time sultans had long since ceased to attend, but rather to the *ʿarż odası*, the audience or petition chamber where, in addition to other functions occasioning the presence of the sultan, gifts delivered by envoys

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where the chief usher (*çavuş başı*), his deputy (*çavuşlar kedḫudāsı*) and Meḥmed Çelebi, the scribe of the ushers (*ḳapıcılar yazıcısı*),were seated. I noticed [that] Jawhar Ṣaghīr had gotten to that place ahead of me and was seated there. That was the doing of Qāḍī Jalāl b. Khiḍr and of Muḥammad b. Barakāt al-Mālikī, who had recommended to Jawhar that he do obeisance to the sultan along with me, and that he not hang back from undertaking that. The chief usher asked me, "Has this person been sent along as your associate?" I responded, "I am unaware that the exalted *sayyid* sent anyone but me to the imperial court to kiss the sultan's hand. He did, however, dispatch along with me this one and another person, named Farḥān, telling me that they were intended to augment the numbers in my party and to serve me. Should this person be selected to enter [the sultan's presence] with me, then let the other one do so as well so that this person is not the only one [of the two] to enter along with me." Thereupon, the chief usher sent for Farḥān, and he came. This was [achieved] through the artifice and envy of the two men (Qāḍī Jalāl b. Khiḍr and Muḥammad b. Barakāt).

I then presented the gift for the sultan, which consisted of: thirty [measures of] *quṭnī Hindī ʿāl* (fine Indian silk and cotton fabric), ten [measures of] *shāsh khamsīnī ʿāl* (?), ten [measures of] *shāsh arbaʿīnī ʿāl* (?), one hundred [measures of] *shāsh beiz* (fine muslin cloth), one hundred [measures of] *shāsh mahkar* (quality muslin?), ten [measures of] *shāsh khāṣṣah Bengālī* (Bengali muslin?),[509] fifty *pişkīr deñizī ʿāl* (fine bath towels?), ten *thiyāb m-hr ḳūlī ʿāl* (?), fifty bales of *ḥarīr Hindī* (Indian silk?), ten *milāyāt bīḍ ḥarīr ʿāl* (white sheets of quality silk?), ten *miʿjar ḥarīr ʿāl* (fine silk veils?), and ten *kamarband ḥarīr ʿāl* (quality silk waist sashes?).[510] They dealt out all of that into the hands of pages (*ʿacem-i oġlan*), two pieces to each; and the pages stood before the chamber in a long file, while a detailed register of that was recorded. Then the gift was deposited into the imperial treasury

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were presented, displayed and inventoried. See Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 20; Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, p. 109; Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, pp. 9f; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Arz Odası" (Eyice), iii, 445f.

509 There seems no other way to construe the last in the combination of three words here. That it appears without any diacritical points suggests that al-Nahrawālī himself may simply have seen it as such on a label and been unfamiliar with it.

510 That the recipient of this gift was no lesser mortal than the Ottoman sultan, "God's shadow on earth," doubtless accounts for the inclusion in its inventory of several items appearing neither previously nor subsequently in this *Riḥlah*, as well

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(*al-khazīnah al-ᶜāmirah*).[511] The one assigned to this job was Ḥuseyn Aġa, the warder (*ḳapıcı*).

Next the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜaskers* entered [the chamber] and came out; and they were followed by the viziers, with whom I entered after I had been outfitted in a royal robe of honour. At the entrance I encountered the palace major-domo (*aġat üs-sarāy*) and other *aġas*. Once inside, I found Sultan Süleymān (God the exalted protect him!) seated on the edge of a throne with a railing; and he had on (a garment of) green wool. He has bright white hair and is clean shaven and slender in build. {*The author's marginal note here adds*: I saluted him and bowed down for him, and the chief warder (*ḳapıcı başı*) responded [for him] in a strong voice. I advanced until I came to a halt before him and was seated.} Taking up the fringe of his coat tail, I kissed it. Then I rose and withdrew. I [again] saluted, was acknowledged by the *ḳapıcı* [*başı*], and went out. Those with me did the same.

To those at the royal court having some association with me [through this mission] I made a small distribution, as follows: to Yaᶜḳūb Aġa, the

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as for the frequent occurrence here of the Arabic attributive *ᶜāl* (meaning excellent, of first quality). On the difficulties facing the researcher and translator in dealing with these and other Indo-Persian cotton and silk woven goods see above, p. 146, n. 401.

511 While most of the *devşirme*-recruited *ᶜacemī oġlans*, translated elsewhere as "Christian-born foreign boys" (see above, p. 172, n. 469), entered the janissary corps following a basic training that usually lasted several years, the most promising among them were taken into the sultan's household service in the palace. There, serving first as pages in various departments, they could advance in rank to hold high positions before being appointed to either elite cavalry units or senior offices in the provincial administration. The *ᶜacemī oġlans* referred to here were usually termed *iç oġlans*, boys or pages of the inner palace (*enderūn*) service. In this instance, they were serving in the treasury where, in a formal ceremony like the one described here, gifts to the sultan were received, displayed, recorded, and either retained for the sultan's pleasure or tansferred ultimately to the outer or state treasury. See Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 127; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 56 and n. 6 (on the potential confusion of *ᶜacemī oġlans* with *iç oġlans*), 57, 71,79; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ad̲jamī ogh̲lān" (Bowen), i, 206f; Kunt, *Sultan's Servants*, p. 47; Gilles Veinstein, in Robert Mantran, directeur, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), pp. 172f; Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, pp. 1f, 84; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Arz Odası" (Eyice), iii, 446.

The author of the *Riḥlah* may here have confused the *khazīnah ᶜāmirah*/*ḫazīne-i ᶜāmire*, the outer or state teasury, with the *ḫazīne-i enderūn*/*ḫazīne-i ḫāṣṣa*, the sultan's inner or privy treasury. See above, p. 150, n. 408; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, i, 787f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Kh̲azīne" (Orhonlu), iv, 1183-6; Necipoğlu, *Architecure, Ceremonial and Power*, p. 109; and Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 77 (on the contents of the sultan's inner treasury, including luxury textiles).

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aġa of the Porte (*ḳapı aġası*),[512] to Sinān Aġa, the chief treasurer (*ḫazīnedār başı*),[513] and to the chief butler (*kılarcı başı*),[514] seven [measures of] *shāsh* (fine muslin) each; [153a] to Behrūz Aġa, the master of the chamber (*oda başı*), four [measures];[515] to Ḥuseyn, the warder who took receipt of the [sultan's] gift, six; to Ḥasan, the escort (*çavuş*) whom they placed at our service,[516] six; to the prefect (*ṣubaşı*), whose residence was

512 For an earlier reference to this office and a brief note on it, see above, p. 144, n. 396.

513 The *ḫazīnedār başı*, at that time one of four senior white eunuchs (*aḳ aġalar*) in the inner palace (*enderūn*) service dependent on the chief eunuch (*ḳapı aġası*), was head treasurer of the sultan's inner or privy treasury (*ḫazīne-i enderūn*), and, as such, had in his employ a large number of people, including many pages (*iç oğlans*). He was as well responsible for the sultan's prayer rug and turban. See Bosscha Erdbrink, *Threshold of Felicity*, p. 67; Uzunçarğılı, *Saray Teşkilatı*, pp. 318, 354-7; Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 127; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, i, 785f; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 86, 331f; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 147; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Hazinedar" (Merçil), xvii, 142f.

514 For an earlier appearance of this term in a more limited context, see above, p. 4, n. 12. The *kılarcı başı*, another of the senior white eunuchs in the inner service of the palace, was head of the imperial larder (*kılar-ı ʿāmire*) and the one ultimately responsible for the procurement, preparation and presentation of all victuals and beverages both for the sultan's table and for the entire imperial household. Under his direction was a large number of food, drink and etiquette specialists. On him and his section in the palace see Bosscha Erdbrink, *Threshold of Felicity*, p. 67; Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 127; Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı*, pp. 69, 313-15; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, ii, 281; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 332 and n. 4, 336; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 188 (*kilerkoğuşu*); and Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, p. 98.

515 Information on the *oda başı* who served in the inner (*enderūn*) service of the palace (as distinct from the use of the same term in reference to the janissary and *bostancı* corps) is rather scant in the usual reference materials. A senior member among the sultan's personal attendants (*aḳ aġalar*), and one close in rank to the *ḳapı aġası* (see above, p. 144, n. 396), he was master of the chamber (*oda*) within the inner palace which served as a dormitory for the numerous pages (*iç oğlans*), among whom he himself usually received his introduction to the imperial household service. One of the duties of the *oda başı* was to robe and disrobe the sultan, which function placed him among those few officials closest to the sovereign. See Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 244; Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilatı*, p. 310; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, ii, 716; and Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, p. 121.

516 For the earlier reference to the assignment of the *çavuş* Ḥasan to al-Nahrawālī's party, as well as for a note on the office of *çavuş* and its varied functions see above, p. 159 and n. 434.

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made available to us, two;[517] to Dilsiz the mute,[518] three; to Ḫusrev, the intendant of the arsenal (*emīn eṭ-ṭobḫāne*), five;[519] to Muṣṭafā Çavuş, the interpreter (*tercümān*),[520] four; to the usher (*el-ḳabıcı*) who brought the

517 As remarked earlier, when the *çavuş* Ḥasan escorted an ailing al-Nahrawālī for lodgement at the residence of this official located in the Maḥmūd Pasha quarter, the author of the *Riḥlah* may have confused the minor office of *saḳḳā başı* with the more elevated and quite unrelated one of *ṣubaşı*, prefect of police (see above, p. 159 and n. 435); and, in view of the paltriness of the gift, it seems more likely that its recipient was the *saḳḳā başı* rather than the *ṣubaşı*, the office referred to here.

518 For an earlier reference to this person see above, p. 164 and n. 450.

519 There were numerous *emīn*s (salaried commissioners) in Ottoman civil and military administration (see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Emīn" (B. Lewis), ii, 695), and that of the *emīn-i ṭopḫāne*, the comptroler of the imperial arsenal in Istanbul, was one of the most important military ones (others being those of the imperial *cebeḫāne* (armoury), *tersāne* (dockyard), and *bārūṭḫāne* (gunpowder works)). His responsibilities, as distict from those of the *nāẓır* (inspector) of the *ṭopḫāne*, related to keeping the accounts of all purchases and commercial dealings at the imperial arsenal. See Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve Bahriye Teşlilâtı*, p. 354; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 341; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art "Emîn - Osmanlı devlet teşkilâtında" (Sahillioğlu), xi, 111f. One can only speculate that this gratuity for Ḫusrev, who has not been further identified, was for his having assisted the passage of al-Nahrawālī's baggage from Üsküdar over the Bosphorus to Istanbul without interference from minor officials (see above, p. 159).

520 The *tercümān*, which became corrupted into dragoman, was the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn tercümānı*, the interpreter for the imperial council of state, among whose duties it was to act as interpreter when, as here, a foreign ambassador or emissary was being received by the sultan. Incumbents of this office, who were compensated with revenue-yielding *tīmār*s (fiefs), were, until quite late in Ottoman history, almost always Christian-born subjects converted to Islam, often of Hungarian, Greek, Armenian or Slavic, etc. origin, thus reflecting the early direction of Ottoman foreign relations. Possibly dating from the time of Sultan Meḥmed II in the 9th/15th century, the office was certainly in existence at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Later, *tercümān*s proliferated in number, both in the capital, where the *dīvān*'s need for interpreters grew, and where foreign embassies employed their own dragomans, as well as in the provincial centers, where they performed specific functions (for an example see Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, p. 56). On this important office and its functions see Bosscha Erdbrink, *Threshold of Felicity*, pp. 56f; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, pp. 71f; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, pt. 1, pp. 122, n. 8, and 123; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, i, 466; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Tercüman 1. Divân-ı hümâyûn tercümanları" (Orhonlu), xii/1, 176-8; Reychman, *Handbook*, p. 166; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, pp. 88f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Tardjumān 2. In the Ottoman Empire" (Bosworth), x, 237f; and Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, p. 145.

The name Muṣṭafā Çavuş does not appear in the brief and incomplete list of holders of this office in the reigns of Sultans Selīm I and Süleymān I provided in Reychman, *Handbook*, p. 166. Ekrem Kâmil errs in reading *at-Türkmān* for *et-tercümān* ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyanatnamesi," p. 76).

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robes of honour, a like amount; and to Shāhīn Çelebi, the *kātib ül-aḥkām*,[521] four [measures] as well.[522]

I had turned over the submissions of the exalted *sayyid* [of Mecca] along with the gift to the grand vizier, and I was awaiting his response in that matter. The sum and substance of what the[se] submissions contained was the removal from noble Medina of Pīrī and his troops, and the disclosure of his affairs. When nothing resulted in the way of the grand vizier's responding on the matter of the discord [in Medina] and of the request for Pīrī's removal, I began to frequent [the quarters of] the viziers and to seek to gain influence with them concerning that. But they made known to me the sultan's resolve to retain Pīrī and his unwillingness to agree to the latter's removal. Although each day I attended the grand vizier in his council (*dīvān*),[523] the sultana's illness

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521 The *kātib ül-aḥkām*, one of several clerks in the service of the imperial council of state (*dīvān-ı hümāyūn*) and compensated by either salaries or incomes from fiefs, was involved with recording in the registers (*defterler*) the summaries of decrees (*aḥkām*) issued by the grand vizier in the name of the sultan to a wide range of officials within the Ottoman dominions. Among the reference works consulted for this study, only that by Sertoğlu (*Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 88) refers specifically to *ahkâm kâtipleri* as here described. For the preparation of Ottoman administrative decrees and of their summaries in the *mühimme defterleri* (registers of important matters), but without reference to this particular clerk, a standard account remains that by Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, pp. 3-31. Şāhīn Çelebi has not been further identified.

522 Unlike other inventories of gifts appearing in this *Riḥlah*, the enumerating here of the quantity of the gift of fine muslin (*shāsh*) to each recipient is inconsistent. Of the inventory's total of twelve entries, seven are recorded in unambiguous Arabic figures, four appear in *dīvānī* script, and yet another has simply the Arabic *ka-dhā* (meaning the same quantity as the previous item). Although three of the *dīvānī* entries closely resemble in appearance the Arabic word for seven, they can also be construed as the *dīvānī* number 4. In support of the *dīvānī* reading, why, one might ask, would the writer enter here the Arabic *word* for seven immediately following three consecutive entries containing the Arabic *figure* 7? Ekrem Kâmil ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 76) differs in his reading of the *dīvānī* entries.

523 The *dīvān* referred to here by the author of the *Riḥlah* was almost certainly the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn*, the imperial council which served as the Ottoman state's delibertative and executive body composed of the viziers and senior administrative and military officers, and which was convened and presided over by the grand vizier (representing the sultan) four days a week, Saturday through Tuesday. For succinct informative accounts of its functions, operations and membership see, among others, those of Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 187-93; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, i, 462-5; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Dīwān-ı Humāyūn" (B. Lewis), ii, 337-9; Inalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 89-96; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, pp. 86f; Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, pp. 38f; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Dîvân-ı Hümâyun" (Mumcu), ix, 430-2.. On the appearance in this text of a related usage of the term *dīvān* to refer to the *ʿarż odası* (the audience or petition chamber) see above, p. 188, n. 508.

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had worsened, something I was unaware of since they were keeping it secret.

During this period I met with our master Sinān Efendi, the chief justice (*ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*) of Rūmili.[524] He was one whom I had known previously, a man who was one of the great religious scholars of Turkey (al-Rūm). By him are compositions which are studied in the [various] colleges, such as [his] supercommentary on al-Bayḍāwī written about the *sūrah* "Cattle," and so on.[525] By him too is a commentary on the last part of the *Hidāyah*, as well as other [works]. Sinān Efendi informed me that he was born during the early part of 896 [1490-1].[526] He authorized me to transmit his compositions. And he is one with important rank and exalted standing.

I also [at this time] had a meeting with Mevlānā Baba Çelebi Efendi, the religious preceptor (*ḫoca*) of the sultana, the daughter of Rüstem Pasha.[527] His [true] name is Maḥmūd Çelebi, the son of the *qāḍī* of Filibe. He has composed excellent verse under the pen name Riḍāᵓī and has splendid erudition.[528] In his possession are a number of

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524 For an earlier reference to and note on this influential religious figure whom al-Nahrawālī identifies mistakenly as chief justice of Rūmili rather than of Anadolu, which latter office he held from 954/1547 until 958/1551 before being retired, see above, pp. 80 and n. 206, 185.

525 On Nāṣir al-Dīn ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUmar al-Bayḍāwī (d. late 7th/13th century)), an eminent Shāfiᶜī Qurᵓānic commentator, jurisprudent, theologian and grammarian whose most famous work is his commentary on the *Qurᵓān* entitled *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-taᵓwīl*, see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Bayḍāwī" (Robson), i, 1129. Also, see above, p. 80, n. 206. The *sūrah* (chapter) "Cattle (*al-Anᶜām*)" forms the sixth chapter of the *Qurᵓān*.

526 The *Hidāyah* referred to here is doubtless the same standard comprehensive work on Ḥanafī jurisprudence (*fiqh*) by Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ᶜAlī al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197) mentioned above (pp. 183f and n. 493). Other accounts yield 893/1488 as the year of Sinān Efendi's birth (see above, p. 80, n. 206).

527 The union of Rüstem Pasha with Sultan Süleymān's daughter, Mihrimāh, produced only one surviving daughter, Hümāşāh ᶜĀᵓişe, as well as two sons who died in young adulthood. See Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṣmānī*, i, 83; Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, table xxx; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Mihr-ü-māh" (Baysun), viii, 308; Uluçay, *Padışahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 39; and Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 66. Once again, al-Nahrawālī discreetly avoids identifying an adult Ottoman princess by name (*cf.* above, p. 176, n. 478).

528 Ḳāżīzāde Filibeli Maḥmūd Çelebi is recognised as a scholar, poet and calligrapher from Filibe, the present-day Bulgarian city of Plovdiv. He was known in his home town as Yeşilzāde Maḥmūd, but popularly as Baba Çelebi, Baba Efendi, Shaykh Maḥmūd Baba, etc. Pursuing a traditional higher education and a learnèd career, his success in securing the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha as his patron and employer brought him wealth and standing. He later turned to mysticism, joining the Naqshbandī *ṣūfī* order and serving Ḥakīm Çelebi (on whom see above, p. 186 and n. 500) in Istanbul. It is recorded that he died in 987/1579 and was buried in the Istanbul suburb of Eyüp. Biographical notices

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treatises and numerous books on every branch of knowledge, which he has collected during the time of the grand vizier (Rüstem Pasha) and earlier. He abandons this world and gives his attention to the next one, is occupied with studying books, has excellent perceptivity, a gentle nature, abundant intelligence, and a full share in graciousness and perfection, and he is [truly] one of the attractions of the present age. He [continues to] correspond with me and send me exquisite letters.[529]

[153b] I had a session too with Bostān Efendi, who had been discharged from the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*ship of Anadolu and whose [real] name is Muṣṭafā from the region of Aydın.[530] He is a man of dazzling excellence, sharp intellect and full perfection. By him is a supercommentary on al-Bayḍāwī ['s commentary] on the *sūrah* "Cattle", with

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on him appear in ᶜĀṣıḳ Çelebi, *Meşāᶜir üş-şuᶜarā'*, ff. 234a-237a; Laṭīfī, *Teẕkire-i Laṭīfī*, pp. 165f; Beyānī, *Teẕkiretü 'ş-şuarâ*, p. 102; Kınalı-zade, *Teẕkiretü 'ş-şuarâ*, i, 408f; ᶜAṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iḳ ül-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, pp. 356f; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṯmānī*, iv, 313 (which curiously alone associates him with Trabzon); and Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aᶜlām*, iii, 2286.

529 The double usage of the Arabic unbounded present tense (*muḍāriᶜ*) in this last statement supports the contention that this version of the *Riḥlah* was written, at least in part, some time *after* the actual event (see above, p. 23, n. 73). In his rendering of it into modern Turkish, however, Ekrem Kâmil unaccountably employed the aorist past tense for these verbs ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 77).

530 The Muṣṭafā encountered here was the first of the Bustānzādes (more usually Bostānzāde), an influential family of Ottoman *ᶜulamā'* during the 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries. Born at Tire in the Aegean province of Aydın during 904/1498-9, and the son of a wealthy merchant named Meḥmed, Muṣṭafā's education, which he received in both his native town and Istanbul, prepared him for a learnèd career. He held several *medrese* professorships before being named *ḳāżī* of Istanbul in 952/1545. Two years later he was appointed *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Anadolu but within days was promoted to the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*ship of Rūmili. Dismissed in 958/1554, allegedly for a judgement that angered the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha, he subsequently devoted his time mainly to his scholarship on Qur'ānic commentary and theology. He died in 977/1570 and was interred at Eyüp, with the *şeyḫ ül-Islām* Ebū 's-Suᶜūd Efendi leading the prayers. His son Meḥmed followed the same career and was the first to serve as *şeyḫ ül-Islām* twice (Repp, *Müfti*, p.291). According to H. G. Yurdaydın, Muṣṭafā Bostān Efendi, and not some poet with the pen name Ferdî, authored the detailed chronicle of Sultan Süleymān's reign down to 949/1542 (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ferdī," ii, 880; see too his "Bostan'ın Süleymannâmesi (Ferdî-ye Atfedilen Eser)," *Belleten*, xix (1955), 137-202). Biographical accounts of him include the lengthy entry provided by ᶜAṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iḳ ül-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, pp. 129-32 (where his name is confused with that of a descendant), as well as those appearing in Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṯmānī*, iv, 376; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ᶜOṯmānlı mü'ellifleri*, i, 253 (which gives 968/1560-1 as the year of his death and locates his interment in a *ṣūfī* compound outside Istanbul's Edirne Gate); and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Bostānzāde" (B. Lewis), i, 1279.

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which Sinān Efendī took issue.[531] It is very precise, elegant and beautifully written.

As well, I met with Mevlānā Müḥyīddīn Efendi, known as ʿArabzāde.[532] He is a highly regarded learnèd one and discriminating scholar from a family of learning, leadership and distinction. His father had combined knowledge of the canonical law of Islam (*sharīʿah*) with knowledge of Sufism, and his learning and erudition were flawless. Müḥyīddīn Efendi participated in the annual Muslim pilgrimage in the year 950 [1544]. He was at that time a professor [receiving] thirty *ʿuthmānī*s [daily]. Throughout his life he has been known widely for consummate erudition, perspicacity and penetrating insight. He (God the exalted bestow honours on him!) treated me hospitably and honoured me.

I had a meeting with Mevlānā Müṣliḥeddīn Efendi, known as Miʿmārzāde.[533] He was *qāḍī* in Istanbul, a scholar, an expounder of Islamic

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531 On the *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* Sinān(eddīn Yūsuf), whose career was contemporary with and seemingly rivaled that of Muṣṭafā Bostān Efendi, see above, p. 80 and n. 206, p. 185, and p. 194, nn. 524,525, the latter of which refers to Sinān's own supercommentary (*ḥāshiyah*) on al-Bayḍāwī's commentary on the *sūrah* "Cattle." Reference to Bostān Efendi's supercommentary on al-Bayḍāwī's Qurʾānic exegesis for the same *sūrah* appears in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 130, and in Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṡmānlı mü'ellifleri*, i, 253. Ekrem Kâmil's omission of part of al-Nahrawālī's text here creates confusion with the next individual alluded to in the *Riḥlah* text ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 77).

532 The only profile in the biographical literature resembling this individual is that of (Müḥyīddīn) Meḥmed b. Meḥmed, referred to as ʿArabzāde Efendi or ʿArabī Efendi. Born the son of a preacher (*vāʿiẓ*) of Antioch known as Mollā ʿArabī, he trained for and pursued a *medrese* teaching career. By 958/1551 he had advanced to a professorship in one of the Ṣaḥn *medrese*s, but then lost it. After a spell in Bursa, he returned to the Ṣaḥn schools, from which in 963/1555-6 he was promoted to the Süleymānīye *medrese* complex. In 969/1560 he received appointment to the chief judgeship of Cairo, but died in a storm at sea while making for Alexandria. He produced commentaries and marginalia on various works, most notably al-Bayḍāwī's Qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr*); and, under the pen name Ḳudsī, was a trilingual poet of some repute. Biographical notices on him may be consulted in Beyānī, *Tezkiretü 'ş-şuʿarâ*, p. 224; Kınalızade, *Tezkiretü 'ş-şuarâ*, ii, 797-800; ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 26-8; and Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, iv, 3141.

533 Müṣliḥeddīn Muṣṭafā b. Müḥyīddīn Meḥmed, known as Miʿmārzāde or Ibn al-Miʿmār, was another notable member of the learnèd hierarchy in Sultan Süleymān's era. The son of a twice Ottoman Ḥanafī judge of Aleppo (on whom see Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, ii, 400), he held professorships in a number of *medrese*s in Istanbul, Bursa and Trabzon before being appointed in 958/1551 to one of Meḥmed II's Ṣaḥn *medrese*s in the capital through the patronage of the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha. Named judge of Bursa in 963/1555-6, he was later the same year dismissed for a questionable judgement; yet shortly he was made judge of Edirne. His appointment to the judgeship of Istanbul occurred in 965/1558, although ʿAṭāʾī and Ṣüreyyā, the two principal sources for him, differ on which month, Rabīʿ II/January-February and Shawwāl/July-August

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law (*muftī*), and one of Ḳāżīzāde Efendi's[534] associates. He honoured me, treated me hospitably and held me in high regard (God almighty honour him!). I met as well with the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Rūmili, Ḥāmid Efendi,[535] who took a great interest in me and assisted me with my problems. Likewise, [did I meet] with the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Anatolia, Mevlānā ....[536] known as ᶜAbdülkerīmzāde,[537] who is an eminent religious scholar. He is as well familiar with literature and has composed poetry in Arabic. From him I was the recipient of much that is beneficial.

I met too with Yaḥyā Çelebi, the sultan's foster brother,[538] a person of learning and virtue who has turned his back on the [high] offices of state in

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respectively. His posting to Medina as its judge in 969/1562 was to be his last appointment before his death in 971/1564. Among his compositions are commentaries and marginalia on a number of standard works on Ḥanafī jurisprudence (*fiqh*) in use at that time. See ᶜAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 39-42; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṣmānī*, iv, 374; and, for a short note that includes a list of his compositions, Ismāᶜīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ᶜārifīn*, ii, 435. He as well receives a brief mention in Repp, *Müfti*, p. 285, n. 258. Ekrem Kâmil omits completely al-Nahrawālī's notice of Miᶜmārzāde ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 77).

534 This appears to be a reference to Mollā Müḥyīddīn Meḥmed b. Ḳuṭbeddīn Meḥmed, known as Ḳāżīzāde Rūmī, a former judge of Istanbul and *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Anatolia. On him see above, pp. 106f and n. 285.

535 For an earlier reference to and note on Ḥāmid Aḥmed b. Meḥmed Efendi, the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Rūmili, see above, p. 124 and n. 339.

536 This is another of several instances in this text where al-Nahrawālī failed later to fill in a space purposely left at the time of initial writing (*cf.* above, p. 23, n. 73).

537 ᶜAbdülkerīmzāde was the popular name of Mollā Meḥmed b. ᶜAbdülvehhāb b. ᶜAbdülkerīm Efendi, who rose in the Ottoman learnèd hierarchy to serve as *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Anadolu from 964/1556-7 to 971/1563-4. His grandfather, Mollā ᶜAbdülkerīm, was *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* and then chief *muftī* in the sultanate of Meḥmed II (*r.* 849-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81); see Repp, *Müfti*, pp. 126f; and his father, ᶜAbdülvehhāb, a noted poet with the pen name Ḥayālī who passed on his talent to his son, served as a *defterdār* (chief treasurer) to Sultan Selīm I (*r.* 918-26/1512-20). After receiving a traditional *medrese* education, to which the (later) chief *muftī* Ebū 's-Suᶜūd Efendi (see above, p. 37 and n. 110; and p. 176 and n. 480), Kemālpaşazāde, an eminent chronicler and former *muftī* (d. 940/1534), and other leading intellectuals are reported to have contributed, ᶜAbdülkerīmzāde held a number of professorships before (and after) his appointment to one of the Ṣaḥn *medreses* in 954/1547. He moved to the judicial service when in 958/1551 he became *ḳāżī* of Aleppo. Shortly, he held the same position in Damascus (twice), Cairo and Bursa before being named *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Anadolu. He died in 975/1568 and was interred outside the Edirne Gate, beside Kemālpaşazāde. Like many of his peers serving at similar levels in the learnèd hierarchy, he produced commentaries on the works of others, most notably a partial one on al-Bayḍāwī's Qurʾānic interpretation (*tafsīr*). On him see ᶜAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 114-17; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 379f; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṣmānī*, iv, 118; and Repp, *Müfti*, p. 227 and n. 236.

538 Yaḥyā Çelebi is reported to have been born at Trabzon in 900/1495 within a week of the birth of Prince Süleymān, the future Sultan Süleymān I and son of Prince Selīm, who at

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favour of seclusion from people. In Beşiktaş[539] he has cultivated a garden which produces food. He intercedes with statesmen and is received favourably. He used to take liberties with the sultan, and the latter tolerated him and was forever doing him favours. But when Sultan Süleymān executed his son, Sultan Muṣṭafā,[540] Yaḥyā Çelebi spoke rudely to the sultan. The latter felt offended by that and Yaḥyā Çelebi's standing with him dropped, even though it remained indeed lofty with God almighty. Yaḥyā Çelebi is so

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the time was serving there as its governor (*sancaḳbegi*). Yaḥyā's father was Mollā ʿUmar Efendi, the town's judge (or possibly its *muftī*) who came originally from Syria. Whether the latter is the same person as the Ḫayreddīn Efendi mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed., art. "Süleymān" (Veinstein), ix, 833) as the prince's teacher at Trabzon has not been determined. That Yaḥyā Çelebi is referred to here and elsewhere as Prince Süleymān's foster brother (Arabic: *raḍīʿ*; modern Turkish: *süt kardeşi*) indicates that Yaḥyā's mother wet-nursed both her son and the Ottoman prince, thereby establishing between the two infants a special and enduring relationship. Yaḥyā Çelebi moved to Istanbul, where he studied for and pursued a learnèd career, one which led to various *medrese* professorships and culminated in his appointment to one of the Ṣaḥn *medrese*s in 960/1553. Shortly dismissed for an indiscretion concerning the execution of the popular Prince Muṣṭafā (to which the text of the *Riḥlah* refers), the pensioned Yaḥyā devoted himself to Sufism and withdrew from public life to his estate on the European shore of the Bosphorus. A poet of some note, he adopted the pen name "Müderris." His death occurred in 979/1572, the prayers at his funeral being led by the chief *muftī* and *şeyḫ ül-Islām*, Ebū 's-Suʿūd Efendi. Biographical details on him appear in ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 147-9; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṯmānī*, iv, 633; and Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṯmānlı müʾellifleri*, i, 200. Additionally, under his pen name "Müderris" he is noticed in three biographical collections of 10th/16th-century Ottoman poets (Beyānī, *Tezkiretü iş-şuarâ*, p. 257; Kınalızade, *Tezkiretü 'ş-şuarā*, ii, 882f; and ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi, *Meşāʿir üş-şuʿarā'*, ff. 120a - 121a), none of which refers to his foster brother relationship with Sultan Süleymān. Unaccountably, Ekrem Kâmil gives his name as Mehmed Çelebi ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 77).

539 Then but a village, Beşiktaş is located on the European shore of the Bosphorus and only a few kms. upstream from the center of Istanbul, of which it is now an integral part.

540 Sultan Süleymān's eldest son, Prince Muṣṭafā, who generally was judged capable and was popular among key sectors of the Ottoman army, was, on his father's orders, executed in 960/1553 near Konya, while the sultan was on campaign in the region. Süleymān suspected the prince, who was not a son of Ḫurrem Sulṭān, of planning to raise a rebellion and seize the throne, a suspicion held by most historians to have been justified. Following the execution there was widespread discontent, not least among scholars and poets, one of whom, Ṭaşlıcalı Yaḥyā Beg (not the Yaḥyā Çelebi discussed in the previous note but one), composed an inflamatory elegy in the prince's memory. For the dismissal of the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha, the sultan's son-in-law who was seen as the principal schemer behind Muṣṭafā's demise, see above, p. 82, n. 208. On Prince Muṣṭafā and the circumstances of his execution, see, among others, Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, pp. 28-33; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 401-4; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, i, 108-9; Parry, "Reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent," pp. 97f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Mustafa – 4. Mustafa Sultan" (Uluçay), viii, 690-2; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Muṣṭafā – Son of Süleymān Ḳānūnī" (A. Fisher), vii, 713.

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generous in spending that, because of that, he is suspected of having a knowledge of alchemy. He is a *ṣūfī*, an unpretentious person, and a good companion (God the exalted bestow honours on him and elevate his rank!).

As well, I had an audience with Muṣṭafā Çelebi b. Celāl, the secretary of state (*nişāncı*) who [at the time] had been dismissed and with whom I had a previous acquaintance.[541] His residence was in Ebū Eyyūb el-Anṣārī.[542] Muṣṭafā Çelebi had surpassing skill in the art of epistolary composition (*inshā'*), [and] by him was a chronicle [154a] of the House of Oṣmān.[543] He related to me, "The sultan (God the exalted protect him!) has under his dominion 1,200 fortresses. Whenever in mentioning one of

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541 For an earlier reference to and note on the celebrated Ottoman administrator, historian and poet Ṭosyalı Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi, known as Ḳoca Nişāncı, who was secretary of state (*nişāncı*) from 941/1534 to 964/1557 (and again, in 974/1566-7), see above, p. 173 and n. 472. Al-Nahrawālī's earlier acquaintance with Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi was probably made in 943/1535-7 when he accompanied the mission of Āṣāf Khān, the vizier of Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat, to the court of Süleymān seeking assistance against the Portuguese interlopers in western India (see below, pp. 219, 222; Ḥamad al-Jāsir, in his introduction to al-Nahrawālī's *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp. 16f; and Blackburn, *Turkish-Yemenite Political Relations*, pp. 73f).

542 This refers to the present-day Istanbul suburb of Eyüp, situated outside the city walls on heights overlooking the south shore of the Golden Horn (Haliç). It is a particularly hallowed place owing to the (probably legendary) discovery there of the remains of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, a Companion of the Prophet, at the time of the city's conquest by Sultan Meḥmed II (Fātiḥ) in 857/1453. Abū Ayyūb, in whose house the Prophet first lodged when he emigrated to Medina (*al-hijrah*), was a participant in all of the military contests of early Islam, including the siege of Constantinople in *ca.* 52/672 when he died of natural causes and was buried beneath the city's walls. Shortly, Meḥmed II had erected on the site a mosque which became the focal point of a district since identified for its Islamic fervour. Among the rites observed by Ottoman sultans was, upon their accession, a state visit to the tomb of Ebū Eyyūb to be girt with the sword of Oṣmān (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī" (Lévi-Provençal, Mordtmann and Huart), i, 108f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ebû Eyyûb," iv, 16f; İnalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 62; Veinstein, in Mantran, directeur, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, p. 167; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ebû Eyyûb el-Enṣârî" (Algül), x, 123-5.

543 On this multi-volume work see above, p. 173, n. 472. According to the sources cited there, Muṣṭafā Çelebi continued work on the *Ṭabaḳāt ül-memālik ve derecāt ül-mesālik*, which must be the "chronicle of the House of Oṣmān" to which al-Nahrawālī refers, after his retirement from the *nişāncı*ship in 964/1557, indicating that it was still a work in progress when he met with al-Nahrawālī. Of the work's contemplated thirty parts, only the last one, an account of the reign of Sultan Süleymān down to the completion of the Süleymānīye Mosque in 966/1558-9, has survived. Uzunçarşılı, who examined the *Riḥlah* under study here, provides a Turkish translation of al-Nahrawālī's quote of Muṣṭafā Çelebi which immediately follows this annotation in the text ("Tosyalı Celâl zâde Mustafa," p. 407).

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them I have employed a description and rhyming prose, especially in reference to [its] grandeur, strength and sturdiness, I have not used the same again when referring to any other fortress." This represents a tremendous degree in ability to be versatile in mode of expression. He possesses noble traits of character and a generosity through which he has surpassed the people of his time.

Muṣṭafā Çelebi received me hospitably and was very charitable to me. An example of the latter was at the time of [my] departure [from Istanbul] when he inquired, "Are you going by land or by sea?" On my saying "By sea", he observed, "Why would you risk traveling by sea?" "For lack of money" was my reply. Thereupon, he gave me more than a hundred gold pieces in cash in addition to some fine woolens and comely garments. I stayed overnight with him and received the utmost hospitality and honour (God almighty esteem and honour him, exalt his standing, and multiply his likes!).

The *ḫāṣṣikīye* sultana [and] mother of the princes died on Friday, the 26th of Jumādā II.[544] She had been in failing health for some time. The cause of her illness was colic resulting from consuming fresh fish. The malady reached a climax, yet they kept it secret. She was the founder of splendid pious foundations in the two exalted Holy Places, in Jerusalem,

544 26 Jumādā II, 965 = Friday, 15 April, 1558. The one referred to here is, of course, Ḫurrem, Sultan Süleymān's wife and favourite known in western sources as Roxelana. For an earlier reference to her as the mother of Süleymān's two surviving sons in 965/1558, Bāyezīd and Selīm (II), and of the princess Mihrimāh, wife of the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha, see above, p. 82, n. 208. For other details about her see too above, p. 175, n. 474. So important and influential a figure was Ḫurrem that no serious historical treatment of the era of Süleymān can avoid giving attention to her. On her Russian, Polish, Ukrainian or Ruthenian slave origins, the sultan's passionate devotion and marriage to her, her becoming the mother of five of his eight known children, her move in *ca.* 947/1541 from the Old Palace to the New (Topkapı) Palace where she began to influence the course of events, and her seeking the death of the able Prince Muṣṭafā, the son of another woman, in 960/1553 (see above, p. 198 and n. 540) with the help of her son-in-law so that one of her own sons could succeed to the throne, etc., see, among others, Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, iii, 2035; Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 141-3; Barnette Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte* (New Haven, 1931; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1970), p. 86-95; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Hurrem Sultan" (Gökbilgin), v, pt. 1, 593-6; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khurrem" (Skilliter), v, 66f; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, i, 108-10; Uluçay, *Padışahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, pp. 34f, 38f; Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, espec. pp. 57-90 *passim*; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Hürrem Sultan" (Baltacı), xviii, 498-500.

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and in many of the grand cities [of the state].[545] It is alleged that she was of Russian nationality. She was the servant of Sultan Süleymān's paternal aunt, Ḫancerlu Sultan, who brought her to Süleymān when he was still a prince (*şehzāde*) and offered her to him.[546] He admired her and held her in great esteem. The sultana was free to mix with him to the point where she came to possess authority in all matters. She bore a number of children by him, [namely] Selīm, Bāyezīd, Meḥmed, Cihāngīr and Ḫanım Sultan.[547] She was a good luck charm for her children and was able to maintain peace among them: as long as she was alive no enmity among them was visible; but when she died that cohesion split apart and dissension occurred.[548]

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545 Ḫurrem Sultan's many monuments and endowments established by and for her, in both the empire's urban centers and in Islam's three holy cities of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, receive effective coverage and interpretation by Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, pp. 199-201. Foremost among her monuments was a domed Friday mosque erected in what became the Haseki district of the Ottoman capital; and it is said to have been the first commission for the new chief architect, Miʿmār Sinān Pasha (see above, p. 157, n. 428). This mosque, completed in 945/1538-9, became the center of a complex (*küllīye*) of structures when shortly added adjacent to it were a fountain, college, junior school, public kitchen, and hospital. See too *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Hurrem Sultan," v, pt. 1, 595f; Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, p. 143, n. 1; *Encycoplaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khurrem," v, 67; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, arts. "Hürrem Sultan," xviii, 500, and "Haseki Külliyesi," (Doğan), xvi, 370-2.

546 Genealogical reference works identify Ḫancerlu (Hançerli) Fāṭimah Ḫanım Sultan as a daughter of Prince Maḥmūd (881-913/1476-1507), a son of Sultan Bāyezīd II (d. 918/1512) and brother of Sultan Selīm I (*r.* 918-26/1512-20). She would thus have been Sultan Süleymān's paternal cousin rather than his paternal aunt as the author of the *Riḥlah* states. She is reported as having been married to a *sancaḳbegi* named Meḥmed, and as having died in 939/1532-3 and been buried at Eyüp. See Süreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, i, 59; Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, Table no. xxviii; and Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, p. 26, n. 2. Ekrem Kâmil ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 78) translates the Arabic word *ʿammah* (paternal aunt) into modern Turkish as *anne* (mother).

547 Ḫurrem Sultan's union with Sultan Süleymān produced the four sons and one daughter named here by al-Nahrawālī, as well as another son, ʿAbdallāh, who died a child (929-32/1523-6). The eldest, Prince Meḥmed (see above, p. 170, n. 466), who was born in 927/1521, was his father's favourite; and when he died young, in 950/1543, the sultan was deeply affected. In the following year, 928/1522, the princess Mihrimāh, here and elsewhere referred to, out of modesty, as simply Ḫanım Sultan (Madam Princess), was born. On her see above, p. 82, n. 208 and p. 163 and n. 445. Prince Selīm, the future Sultan Selīm II (*r.* 974-82/1566-74) to whom the author of the *Riḥlah* refers but this once, was born in 930/1524. He was followed in 931/1525 by Prince Bāyezīd, Selīm's only competitor for the succession and with whom al-Nahrawālī was granted an audience in Anatolia (see above, pp. 147-51). Finally, Cihāngīr, a hunchback whom the sultan was fond of, was born in 937/1531 but died in 960/1553 in young adulthood. For these dates see Alderson, *Ottoman Dynasty*, Table no. xxx; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khurrem" (Skilliter), v, 66; and Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 60.

548 In view of the Ottoman practice of royal fratricide once a prince had succeeded to the throne, enmity and competition between Princes Selīm and Bāyezīd, Süleymān's only

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They say that her name was Ḫurrem Sultan. Süleymān experienced tremendous grief over her [passing]. The viziers bore her [body] until they arrived with it at the mosque of Sultan Bāyezīd. The grand *muftī* prayed for her in the square (*maydān*) of Sultan Bāyezīd[549] and he had her lowered into her tomb. Istanbul was convulsed by her death and [its populace] gave alms in abundance.

[154b] On Saturday, the 18th of Rajab,[550] I repaired to the sultan's council (*dīvān*)[551] seeking a satisfactory response on the matter of Pīrī and of his removal from Medina the venerated with his troops. Instructed to

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surviving sons, had been simmering since the execution of their older half brother, Muṣṭafā, in 960/1553 (see above, p. 198 and n. 540). Most accounts, including this one, correctly relate that, for as long as she lived, Ḫurrem, who successfully concealed any personal preference, was able to hold in check both their inevitable conflict and their father's dislike of Bāyezīd. But when, following her death, hostilities soon broke out between them, Bāyezīd's forces were worsted by the superior ones of Selīm near Konya in 966/1559. The luckless Bāyezīd took refuge in Persia with four of his sons, but all five of them were executed through Süleymān's connivance with Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (*r.* 930-84/1524-76) in 969/1562 (although some accounts place their demise somewhat earlier). Historians generally attach great significance to these princely struggles as the starting point for major and deleterious transformation in the Ottoman empire. An important study on the Selīm-Bāyezīd contest is the monograph by Turan, *Şehzāde Bayezid Vak'ası*. Other helpful but concise accounts include Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 405-8; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, ii, 110; Parry, "Reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent," pp. 98f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Selim II" (Turan), x, 434f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Selīm II" (Woodhead), ix, 131. See too above, pp. 133, n. 363, and 151, n. 411.

Al-Nahrawālī's observation here on the outbreak of this conflict is yet another instance of his having later added information about events subsequent to his sojourn in Istanbul.

549 The Arabic text of the *Riḥlah* indicates here quite clearly that Ḫurrem's remains were interred (at least initially) near the mosque of Sultan Bāyezīd (II). All other accounts consulted locate her (final) resting place near the Süleymānīye Mosque beside that of her husband, who later had a special mausoleum (*türbe*) designed by the architect Sinān and erected over her tomb. See Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, iii, 2035; *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Hurrem Sultan" (Gökbilgin), v, pt. 1, p. 595; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khurrem" (Skilliter), v, 67; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Hürrem Sultan" (Baltacı), xviii, 500; and Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 52. Until the completion of the mosques of Sultan Süleymān and, later, of Sultan Aḥmed I, that of Sultan Bāyezīd II, where the grand *muftī* (*şeyḫ ül-Islām*) Ebū 's-Suʿūd Efendi led the prayers at Ḫurrem's funeral, was one of the three most important imperial mosques, the others being those of Aya Sofya and Meḥmed II Fātiḥ (*ibid.*, p. 329, n. 70).

550 18 Rajab, 965 = Friday, 6 May, 1558. The fact that the last date recorded by al-Nahrawālī previous to this one was 26 Jumādā II, 965/15 April, 1558, an interval of three weeks, shows that he has abandoned his diary, for a time at least, in favour of a less date-specific memoir.

551 As was the case in a slightly earlier context (see above, p. 188 and n. 508), the author of the *Riḥlah* here appears to employ the Arabic term "sultan's council (*dīwān al-sulṭān*) to

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remain seated until the viziers could enter and lay the matter before the sovereign, I did so until the meeting was over. The *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*s and viziers went in, and then they emerged and traveled to their residences. I rode with the grand vizier to his house. He reported to me that the sultan refused to withdraw Pīrī and the troops. Rather, he ordered an investigation of him; and should there be any apparent misdemeanour on his part he is to be removed from Medina. This response put me at my wit's end. "How," I asked, "do we investigate an iniquitous oppressor who does with his power whatsover he wants and is restrained by neither reason nor faith?" His reply was, "The *qāḍī* of the holy law, ᶜAbdürraḥmān Efendi,[552] will conduct his review." In answer I said, "He is Pīrī's helper and supporter, and the person who [first] brought him to Medina the exalted." "Thus has the sovereign commanded," the grand vizier asserted, "and it is not within my competence to dissuade him from what he has ordered."

Having given up on the grand vizier, I went to ᶜAlī Pasha[553] and received the same response from him. Then I betook myself to the remaining viziers, but speaking with them was to no avail. I passed a long and dark night before rising in the morning. The noble *sayyid* (God the exalted make him triumphant!) had committed to writing [and sent] with me a submission and he had sealed it shut, saying, "If they refuse to withdraw Pīrī with his troops, give them this petition and let the tumult ensue." The purport of the communication was: "In the event of the sultan's decision to keep Pīrī and his troops in Medina, we shall relinquish the city. It will then be the charge of Pīrī and his garrison. We shall disclaim any responsibility for the one who is expected to unsettle its affairs, and the situation will be due to the sultan's decision."

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refer not to the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn* (imperial council of state; on which see above, p. 193, n. 523) but to the *ᶜarż odası* (audience or petition chamber), to which those members of the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn* with the right of audience with the sultan (*ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker*s, viziers, and sometimes others) could repair, after the adjournment of the *dīvān*, to report to the sultan on its proceedings or to seek from him decisions in pressing matters. (A clear instance of these two phases, namely discussion in the *dīvān-ı hümāyūn* followed by consultation with the sultan, is revealed on pp. 204f below.) The fact that in the Süleymānid era the *dīvān* met only four days a week, Saturday through Tuesday, adds doubt to the date appearing here: 18 Rajab, 965 is reckoned as having occurred on a Friday. See Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 191; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Dīwān-ı Humāyūn" (B. Lewis), ii, 338; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 87; Inalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 92f; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Dîvân-ı Hümâyun" (Mumcu), ix, 431.

552 For earlier references to ᶜAbdürraḥmān Efendi Baldırzāde, Medina's locally unpopular Ottoman judge of whom al-Nahrawālī had a negative opinion but whom he discreetly refused to denounce, see above, p. 9 and n. 28, and pp. 160f.

553 On (Semiz/Semīn) ᶜAlī Pasha, the then second (and a future grand) vizier, see above, p. 163 and n. 447, and pp. 168f.

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I made up my mind to hand over this communication, but [first] solicited the advice of a trusted group, including Muṣṭafā b. Celāl and the chief physician (*reʾīs ül-ḥukemāʾ*), Badr al-Dīn al-Qaysūnī.[554] The two of them counseled me not to submit this petition but to be forbearing and to put [it] off. Yet our master the exalted *sayyid* had insisted with me upon its submission as a last resort. Badr al-Dīn al-Qaysūnī and Muṣṭafā [b. Celāl] restrained me from [doing] that, asserting: that, with the submission of this communication, the matter could become very serious; that the sultan was a somewhat obstinate and inflexible man and it might be suggested to him that, by [using] such language, the *sharīf*s were being contemptuous of him; and that nothing good could come from that.

I passed the night thinking about what to do. Since I could not disobey the noble *sayyid*'s command, when morning came I left for the sultan's council where I said to the grand vizier, "This is a petition that the high-born *sayyid* [of Mecca] instructed me to turn over to you [155a] in the council (*dīvān*) as a last resort. I have become compelled to present it to you." He took it (from me), opened it in the council, read it, and became familiar with its contents. He then turned to me and inquired, "And we are to lay this before the sovereign?" When I replied "yes," he stated, "It is inappropriate to submit this, for the emperor's sword has a long reach and it is not beyond his ability to defend Medina, regardless of its distance from his seat of government. This petition carries a suggestion of his being incapable of that. If he understands it in this way he may decide to abolish the authority of the *sharīf*s [altogether]. It would then be difficult for us to reverse what is the consequence of this [submission], and you would be the cause of that." In response I declared, "I am commanded to hand over this petition as a last resort, and I am not at liberty to disobey the order of the one who has dispatched me with it."

The verbal exchange between us went on at length until my final remark to him was that the noble *sayyid* is the authorised representative of the exalted [Ottoman] sultanate in Medina the honoured, and it is his contention that "The territory [of Medina] is the property of the sovereign: either he retains me there, as I have been, and frees me from Pīrī and his troops; or he takes away my authority and maintains Pīrī there. Two governors cannot remain in harmony in one town just as one scabbard cannot accommodate two swords. The matter rests with the distinguished sultanate." [I added,] "This is my last word. I'll not tell you anything different."

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554 Both of these individuals have appeared more than once in this text. For Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi, known as Ḳoca Nişāncı, see above, pp. 173 and n. 472, and 199f and n. 541; and for Badr al-Dīn al-Qaysūnī see above, pp. 161 and n. 439, and 188 and n. 504.

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The grand vizier arose from the council and, together with the *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜaskers*, went to the sultan and laid that entire matter before him. Then he emerged [and went] to his residence, as was his custom, and I rode there with him. He summoned me [in] and pronounced, "I submitted all that you have mentioned. The sultan, however, has ordered the retention of both Pīrī and the exalted *sayyid*, as has been [the case], and he has not sanctioned the removal of one of them. He has issued instructions for the investigation of Pīrī. This is the end of the noble imperial command. It is not possible to alter or modify it." I went back to my residence heart-stricken. Subsequently I traveled to ᶜAlī Pasha and the rest of the viziers and consulted them about that. But each indicated that [further] discussion of it was not possible, that I had developed the matter thus [far], but that seeking further recourse on it would be to no avail. I remained distressed and anxious.

[155b] The envious types were delighted and wagged their tongues, as each attributed to me whatever failing he wished. Sometimes they accused me of calling on ᶜAlī Pasha too frequently and of being in agreement with him, while at others they charged me with being soft on Qāḍī ᶜAbdürraḥmān.[555] They were masterful in that. Muḥammad b. Barakāt al-Mālikī and Jalāl b. Khiḍr were the most delighted, owing not to any misfortune they had sustained on my account but to their own intrinsic wickedness. The two of them won over Jawhar Ṣaghīr, so that he became one of them.[556] They wrote whatever they wanted in letters to Cairo, Damascus and Mecca. And they incited against me Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī, who, out of spite, took from me a brocade robe of honour. His real motive was to leave Istanbul for Mecca so that he could pass through various small and large provincial jurisdictions and, by making it appear as though he was on his way to the noble *sayyid* and yet was without mounts, he would receive from their governors riding animals, etc. Thus could he travel through Aleppo, Adana, Damascus and Ghazzah, etc., as he wished. Whenever I sought to delay him, these grudging types would come to Jawhar Ṣaghīr who, with others, would be moved to action on the grounds that proceeding expeditiously to send news to Mecca was mandatory. My expressed view was that we could send [such news] once we reached Damascus or Egypt; but they rejected that and compelled me to fit him out. I composed

555 Earlier references to ᶜAlī Pasha are given in n. 553. On the likely reason for why al-Nahrawālī's Ḥijāz detractors in Istanbul so disliked the second vizier see above, p. 168, n. 461. For previous references to the *qāḍī* ᶜAbdürraḥmān Efendi Baldırzāde, see above, p. 203, n. 552.

556 All three of those named here, two of them from the Medina community in Istanbul and the third (Jawhar Ṣaghīr) a member of this mission, have already appeared in the text of the *Riḥlah* as opponents of al-Nahrawālī. See especially pp. 160, 164f above.

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letters reflecting the reality of the situation, while they wrote [and sent] with him whatever lies they wished.

Jawhar Ṣaghīr set out after receiving his travel allowance (*tasfīr*) of twenty-five gold pieces. His apparel [cost] eight gold pieces, while the price of his camels was fifteen. And he took from me a robe of honour worth twenty gold pieces. Our travel allowance, worth 5,000 *ʿuthmānī*s, had reached us from the Ottoman government.[557] Jawhar Ṣaghīr got 1,500 *ʿuthmānī*s of it, the [caravan] chief (*qāʾid*), Farḥān, received a like amount, and the accommodation officer (*amīr manzil*) who was with us received 1,000 *ʿuthmānīs*, as did Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī.[558]

And they cut off our provisions. We had been receiving each day a sheep, one sugar loaf, fifty loaves of bread, a little cooking butter, some honey (how much I don't know), and some barley for the animals.[559] I wasn't aware of how they distributed this rationing among themselves or who got it, beyond the fact that we prepared food for the morning and evening meals. Of that [provisioning] a little meat, less than a quarter of a ram, reached the kitchen. Such was their control over us and their insolence. But I remained steadfastly patient [156a] and forbearing.

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557 The latent antipathy of Jawhar Ṣaghīr and Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī to al-Nahrawālī has surfaced previously in this memoir (see above, pp. 122, 163, 167 and 189; and on these two, as well as other members of the mission, see above, p. 4 and n. 12). Since Jawhar Ṣaghīr's name is not specifically mentioned as the one departing at this point, thus creating pronominal ambiguity, the overall sense of this passage and what follows suggests that Jawhar Ṣaghīr departed before Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī. This interpretation is reflected as well in Ekrem Kâmil's rendering ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 81).

It was for long Ottoman diplomatic practice to host foreign missions and supply them with transportation, lodgings and provisions, once they were within the Ottoman realm (for a 12th/18th-century instance of which see Norman Itzkowitz and Max Mote, trans. and annot., *Mubadele – An Ottoman-Russian Exchange of Ambassadors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970, p. 27)). All of this has been made evident in this *Riḥlah* of al-Nahrawālī's mission in Istanbul, namely the provision by the grand vizier of transport, escort and accommodation (see above, p. 159), of supplies (see above, p. 162), and, here, of a travel allowance for the return journey. It is to be noted, however, that in this case it was not a foreign mission but one despatched, albeit at great distance, by an Ottoman vassal ruler, the *sharīf* of Mecca.

558 In reckoning Jawhar Ṣaghīr's share of the travel allowance, al-Nahrawālī appears to calculate 1,500 *ʿuthmānīs*/*ʿoṣmāmīs*/*akçe*s (see above, p. 16, n. 50: *akçe-i ʿoṣmānī*) to be equivalent to twenty-five gold pieces (*dhahab*), making the *dhahab* (= *altūn*/*sulṭānī*?) worth sixty *ʿuthmānīs*/*akçe*s. For al-Nahrawālī's earlier appointment of Farḥān as (caravan) chief (*qāʾid*) see above, p. 141.

559 This list of basic provisions supplied daily by the grand vizier to al-Nahrawālī's suite at the unsuccessful completion of its mission differs but slightly from that provided at the time of its arrival in the Ottoman capital: ten additional loaves of bread but no rice (an oversight?) or candles (see above, p. 162).

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Al-Shuwaymī left on the 28th of Rajab[560] in shame and disappointment. He continued to beg his way along the route until he reached Mecca following Ramaḍān.[561] He spread rumours about us that were wihout foundation, and he reported to the *sayyid*s that "(That) so and so didn't even address your matter; rather he went forth merely to arrange for a second wife for his brother." Al-Shuwaymī had with him written communications about that from those envious types mentioned earlier. The *sayyid*s accepted that as true and their noble thoughts underwent a change. I dropped in their estimation, just as I did in that of our lord Sayyid Ḥusayn, who spoke ill of me in my absence, accepted as true what lies reached him, didn't offer a word of excuse on my behalf, and didn't treat me fairly (There is no power and no strength save in God the lofty and the exalted!).[562]

Now to return to my situation. I committed the matter to God the exalted and decided to return by sea to Egypt. I had farewell meetings with the viziers; and Rüstem Pasha, ʿAlī Pasha and the sultana, daughter of the sultan,[563] each attired me in a brocade robe of honour. I fitted out the chief, Farḥān, [for travel] by land to Damascus and gave him his travel allowance, about twenty-five gold pieces.[564] And he got safely under way. The month of Shaʿbān[565] was upon us. My financial situation was desperate and I knew of no one who could lend me some money. So I dipped into the cash that had been sent with me as a gift from the exalted *sayyid* to Rüstem Pasha, but which the latter had not accepted and had sent back.[566] I broke open the seal and removed a hundred *dīnār*s of it. Placing my trust in God almighty, I began [to collect my] needs for the journey by sea.

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560 28 Rajab, 965 = Monday, 16 May, 1558.

561 Ramaḍān, 965 = 17 June - 16 July, 1558. Later in the text (see below, p.229 and n. 632), al-Nahrawālī reports that Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī didn't reach Mecca until close to the time of the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), namely in early Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 965/ September, 1558.

562 The Sayyid Ḥusayn mentioned here was the learnèd and influential Qāḍī Ḥusayn al-Mālikī referred to above, p. 152 and n. 413, and p. 164. Clearly al-Nahrawālī includes here information which he could have learned only some time later than that of the context in which it is offered.

563 The latter of the three mentioned here was Mihrimāh, the daughter of Sultan Süleymān and Ḫurrem, and the wife of the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha. She is referred to elsewhere in the text as Ḫanım Sultan (see above, pp. 163, 201).

564 Since Farḥān was awarded 1,500 *ʿuthmānī*s (=*akçe*s) from the (return) travel allowance, the same amount as Jawhar Ṣaghīr received, al-Nahrawālī confirms here the equivalence of this sum to about twenty-five gold pieces (*dhahab*), or about sixty *ʿuthmānī*s to the *dhahab* (*cf.* above, p. 206 and n. 558).

565 Shaʿbān, 965 = 19May - 16 June, 1558.

566 See above, p. 168.

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On the 8th of Shaʿbān the grand vizier ordered the execution of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn [from] Jabal ʿĀmir(l)ī.[567] He was brought to the council (*dīvān*) and wasn't [even] questioned before being ordered onto the scaffold, where he was decapitated. With a sword they split the soles of his feet, and while his head was being severed he was uttering the two Islamic attestations of faith. His story was the following. He was at Damascus when Ḥasan Beg Efendi was *qāḍī* there,[568] and was suspected of being a

567 8 Shaʿbān, 965 = Thursday, 26 May, 1558. What appears in the text as al-Jabal ʿĀmir(l)ī is an error for Jabal ʿĀmil, a region of southern Lebanon having a significant concentration of Imāmic or Twelver Shīʿīs. The person whose cruel demise is here recounted was Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī al-Jubaʿī, known as Ibn al-Ḥujjah or al-Ḥājjah and as al-Shahīd al-Thānī (the Second Martyr). He was an eminent Shīʿī jurisprudent and author of more than seventy works, who was recognised for maintaining good relations with Muslims following any of the four Sunnī legal rites (*madhhabs*). Born during Shawwāl, 911/March, 1506 at Jubaʿ in present-day Lebanon, he studied with his father until the latter's death, when he set off on an odyssey for study which led him to such places as Damascus, Cairo, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, Iraq and Jerusalem. In Egypt he studied at length with major Sunnī scholars, and his three and a half-month sojourn in Istanbul during 952/1545 has been the subject of a recent study (Marco Salati, "Ricerche sullo Sciismo nell'Imperio Ottomano: il Viaggio di Zayn al-Dīn al-Šahīd al-Ṯānī a Istanbul al Tempo di Solimano il Magnifico (952/1545)," *Oriente Moderno*, N.S., ix (1990), 81-92). Accused of heresy and of promoting Shīʿism, he is reported in most accounts as having met his violent death in 965 or 966/1557-9. This *Riḥlah*, in fact, is possibly the only narrative account to provide a specific date for this event. A concise and up-to-date treatment of this outstanding Shīʿī figure appears in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Shahīd al-Thānī" (Kohlberg), ix, 209f, which also furnishes a useful bibliography. Among others, see too Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥusayn Tafrishi, *Naqd al-rijāl*, 5 vols. (Qum: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1419/1999), ii, 292; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, 2 parts, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (Baghdād: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1385/1965-6), pt. 1, pp. 85-91; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 378f; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 425 (325) and suppl. ii, 449; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, iii, 105; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, iv, 193f; and Abdulaziz A. Sachadina, *The Just Ruler in Shīʿite Islam* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 19. Al-Nahrawālī's report on the background to and details of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn's excecution is largely glossed over in Ekrem Kâmil, "Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 82.

568 The (Mollā) Ḥasan Beg Efendi referred to here had rather interesting origins for one who was to rise in the Ottoman learnèd hierarchy. A German captured in his youth, he was converted to Islam and sold as a slave to a judge at Ankara, who educated him and presented him to Mollā Ḳadirī Çelebi when the latter was *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Anadolu. He went on to pursue advanced study, and then, in *ca*. 950/1543, to commence a *medrese* teaching career. His first appointment to the judgeship of Damascus was in 959/1552; and, after a transfer in 961/1554 to the same office in Baghdād, he was reappointed to Damascus in 963/1556. In Shawwāl, 964/August, 1557 he was named *ḳāżī* of Mecca, but in Rabīʿ II of the following year/early 1558 he secured the top legal post in Cairo (see below, p. 225 and n. 618 where al-Nahrawālī refers to him in that position in Ramaḍān, 965/June, 1558). After a lengthy retirement, he was appointed in 974/late 1566 to the *ḳāżī*ship of Istanbul, a post he held again in 981-3/1574-5. For two and a half years

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Shīᶜī heretic.[569] So he was apprehended and taken before Ḥasan Beg. When the latter asked him about the Islamic school of law (*madhhab*) to which he adhered, he said that he was a Shāfiᶜī.[570] Ḥasan Beg had a scholarly conversation with him [and found] that he was erudite and quite versatile in his learning, that he used the formula "*raḍiya Allāh ᶜan-hu* (God be pleased with him!)" in reference to the Companions of the Prophet, and that he cited noble prophetic Traditions about their grace [156b] as well as that of the Two Shaykhs (God be pleased with them!).[571] So Ḥasan Beg Efendi was nice to him and released him. Once he had left him, however, the Efendi was told that that person was one of the leading religious scholars among the [Shīᶜī] Rāfiḍī sect and the legal interpreter (*mujtahid*) of their rite, and that he had [produced] a number of books on the Rāfiḍī *madhhab*. Ḥasan Beg thus sent off a demand for Zayn al-Dīn's return, but the latter went into hiding and didn't emerge. In the mind of Ḥasan Beg, the *qāḍī* of Damascus, that was a problem, and he regretted his having gotten free from him.

Ḥasan Beg was released from Damascus and appointed to the *qāḍī*ship of Mecca the revered, which happened to coincide with Shaykh Zayn al-

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between his tenures in the Ottoman capital he was *ḳāżī 'l-ᶜasker* of Anadolu (974-6/1567-9). He died in 984/1576. The dates appearing here for his appointments in Damascus and Mecca are not in conflict with what al-Nahrawālī recounts about his dealings with Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn. The biographical entry on him in ᶜAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 239-40 provides most of the details given here. On him see too Ibn Jumᶜah, *Kitāb al-bāshāt*, p. 14; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ᶜOṣmānī*, ii, 122; and Repp, *Müfti*, p. 262 and n. 197.

569 The term appearing here in the text of the *Riḥlah* is *rafḍ* (rejection), from which comes *rāfiḍah* (pl. *rawāfiḍ*) referring principally to the Twelver Shīᶜīs (*Ithnā ᶜAsharīyah*), whom the Sunnī Ottomans regarded as heretics against whom war could be waged (see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Rāfiḍa" (Kohlberg), viii, 386-9).

570 Twelver Shīᶜī practice allowed its adherents to resort to *taqīyah*, the maintenance of self-protection through dissimulation in times of duress (*ibid.*, p. 387). By claiming, in such daunting circumstances, adherence to one of the four Sunnī schools of law (*madhhab*s), the eminent Twelver Shīᶜī Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn was practising *taqīyah*. If challenged, he doubtless could convincingly have supported such a claim since he was educated broadly in the four Sunnī legal rites (see above, n. 567). For the four Sunnī *madhhab*s see above, p. 46, n. 124.

571 Since Shīᶜī Muslims hold that the first three of the rightly guided caliphs (*al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*), especially the first two – Abū Bakr (d. 13/634) and ᶜUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644) whom Sunnīs sometimes refer to as the Two Shaykhs (*al-shaykhayn*) – were usurpers of the calipahte to which ᶜAlī, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, had exclusive right, they withhold the formula *raḍiya Allāhu ᶜan-hu* which Sunnī Muslims use when referring to them. Likewise do Shīᶜīs withhold this formula when referring to the other Companions of the Prophet (*al-ṣaḥābah*) since they view most of them as sinners for having failed to support ᶜAlī's claim to the caliphate after the Prophet's death. Sunnī Muslims have always considered this repudiation of the first three caliphs as the chief offense of the Shīᶜīs. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Rāfiḍa," viii, 387; and H.A.R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism: an Historical Survey* (New York: Mentor Books, 1955), pp. 94f.

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Dīn being resident there. Learning that the latter was in Mecca, Ḥasan Beg Efendi ordered his arrest. When he was apprehended, the *qāḍī* placed him in confinement. Many people, however, endeavoured to have him set free, and they expended money for that. Ḥasan Beg came into possession of the money and, on inquiring whose it was, was told that it was from Khawājā Muḥammad Makkī.[572] But when summoned and asked about that, the latter denied that it belonged to him. The money thus disappeared and people were unable to recover it. The *qāḍī* sent Zayn al-Dīn in shackles to Egypt with Ḥuseyn Beg, the deputy chief (*ketḫudā*) of Jedda, who was instructed to deliver him to the grand vizier. Ḥusayn Beg did so, and the grand vizier ordered him executed in that manner. Zayn al-Dīn was a man who outwardly was extremely upright but whose inner self only God the exalted knew. He had abundant virtue and was possessed of excellent conversation and a graceful manner of speaking (May God almighty let him go without [further] punishment and blot out his sins, for the sword is an obliterator of misdeeds!).

TO CAIRO

[157a] In the middle of Shaʿbān[573] I commenced having farewell meetings with [my] associates and took formal leave of those whom I could. I also said goodbye to the viziers. I rented a cabin on Ḥājjī Rayyis's vessel at five gold *dīnārs*. On Saturday, the 17th of Shaʿbān, I went aboard. My brother Muḥibb al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh[574] had left for the public bath to bathe and shave his head, and he was to catch up with us. But as soon as I was on board ship in the forenoon, they hoisted the sails and set out, and my brother remained behind in Istanbul with Surūr the

572 On the term *khawājā* and its use for identifying members of the commercial class, and on the difficulty in locating such often influential people in the biographical literature, see above, p. 67, n. 172. The individual whose name appears here is probably the same person identified elsewhere by al-Nahrawālī as Khawājā Muḥammad al-Makkī b. Khawājā Majd al-Dīn al-Lārī, described as the chief of the merchants' guild (*malik al-tujjār*) at Jedda in 974/1566-7 and as performing official service for the *sharīf* of Mecca and an Ottoman governor of Yemen (*al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp. 171f). The al-Lārī family, almost certainly Persian in origin but not necessarily Twelver Shīʿī in doctrinal adherence, seems to have been well established at Mecca, where in 932/1526 a Khawājā Muḥammad Shāh Qawwām al-Lārī, possibly a relative of this person, was killed during beduin disturbances, along with a member of another locally-established Persian merchant family, that of al-Kīlānī (*ibid.*, p. 43).

573 15 Shaʿbān, 965 = Thursday, 2 June, 1558. The bottom third of f. 156b of the *Riḥlah* text is left blank, ostensibly because its author left more space than he could later use for his excursus on Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn and his fate.

574 17 Shaʿbān, 965 = Saturday, 4 June, 1558. Al-Nahrawālī's brother Muḥibb al-Dīn was last referred to on p. 152 above, when the two of them, along with Jawhar Ṣaghīr, met with Prince Bāyezīd near Kütahya in Anatolia.

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Abyssinian and Behzād the Turk.[575] God willing, He will reunite them [with us] soon.

On Sunday, the 18th of Shaʿbān, the wind changed against us, and so we sheltered at an anchorage called Kemer.[576] From there I wrote a letter to my brother in Istanbul urging him on (God, be He willing, reunite him [with us]!).

On Monday, the 19th, we reached Kālībūlī, a large town with a *qāḍī* [whose remuneration is] 150 *ʿuthmānī*s [daily].[577] It as well has markets and four colleges. We remained until the next day. Those charged with inspecting ships came on board ours. The *pencik* is collected [here] from anyone having a slave for whom he possesses no certificate of *pencik* (*waraqat al-panjīk*).[578] Five *ʿuthmānī*s are levied on those in possession of a certificate of *pencik*, while thirty *ʿuthmānī*s are taxed on an Abyssinian [slave]. We had with us a slave named Yūsuf for whom we had paid two

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575 Surūr, a member of the mission's suite from its outset (see above, p. 4 and n. 12), was earlier described as a young slave (*fatā*; see above, p. 122), and is here further represented as being an Abyssinian (*Ḥabashī*). Behzād the Turk, who is mentioned here for the first and only time, presumably joined al-Nahrawālī's party at some point along its route, probably in Anatolia or Istanbul. Since his name means noble by birth or lawfully-born, it seems unlikely that he was a slave.

576 18 Shaʿbān, 965 = Sunday, 5 June, 1558. Kemer appears on most maps as a village with a nearby harbour located on the southwestern shore of the Sea of Marmara, near the northern entrance to the Dardanelles (Çanakkale Boğazı), about twenty kms. west of Karabiga and thirty kms. east of, but across the strait from, Gelibolu. Its classical name was Parium (see William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1870), ii, 550f); and some 19th-century works refer to it as Kamares.

577 19 Shaʿbān, 965 = Monday, 6 June, 1558. This, of course, is the present-day town of Gelibolu (Gallipoli), an old and long-standing naval base and arsenal located on the European shore of the peninsula bearing the same name, and near the northern (Marmara) entrance to the Dardanelles. On it and its place in Ottoman history see the highly informative articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Gelibolu," (Inalcık), ii, 983-7; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Gelibolu" (Emecen), xiv, 2-6.

578 From early Ottoman times Gelibolu was an important center for customs collection and the levying of the *pencik*, a word derived from Persian and meaning one fifth, namely the sultan's fifth owing him from all licit booty, including enslaved war prisoners who could be trained for the Ottoman army. This naval base was also the point where all shipping bound from Istanbul through the Dardanelles and into the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas were halted for inspection, taxing, and clearance, a procedure of which the *Riḥlah* here offers an interesting example. By this time the *pencik* had lost its original sense of one fifth and become little more than a transit tax or toll (*bāj*) on merchandise and chattels, including slaves (*cf.* Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 160f). See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Gelibolu," ii, 986 and "Pendjik," viii, 293; J. A. B. Palmer, "The Origin of the Janissaries," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv (1952-3), 462f; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, ii, 766-9; Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 279; Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression: 1840-1890* (Princeton: University Press, 1982), pp. 69f; Halil Sahillioğlu, "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late 15th and Early 16th Centuries,"

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gold pieces in the port (*iṣḳāle*) of Istanbul and had received his certificate. So we paid five *ʿuthmānī*s for him, and ten for Yāqūt.[579]

We departed [from Kālībūlī] at noon [on the 20th], and on Wednesday, the 21st of Shaʿbān,[580] we arrived at Būghaz Ḥiṣārī. It is a narrow strait in the sea separating two shores, on each of which is a fortress with cannons and a sentry garrison (*nevbetcīye*).[581] And each sector has a town and a *qāḍī* [compensated] at forty *ʿuthmānī*s [daily]. Our arrival there was in the early morning and [our] departure was at noon.

On Thursday, the 22nd, we passed the isle of Ṣaḳız,[582] an oceanic island which is the source of gum mastic. Every year they remove from it one hundred chests of the substance and distribute it among the rest of the lands. Each chest contains one hundred *oḳḳa*s in accordance with the

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Turcica, xvii (1985), pp. 68-74; and Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995), pp. 112f. On the certificate of *pencik* or title deed (*pencik varakası*) see Y. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise, 1800-1909* (Oxford: University Press, 1996), p. 19.

579 Yāqūt the slave has not been mentioned since the departure of this mission (see above, p. 4 and n. 12). The toll (*pencik*) of ten *ʿuthmānī*s/*aḳçe*s for him, namely that for a slave without a certificate of *pencik*, was the same amount at Gelibolu as was the *bāj* tax levied in the province of Damascus in the same era. However, whereas in Syria there was no levy on Abyssinian (*Ḥabashī*) slaves, the toll on them at Gelibolu – with or without a *pencik* certificate not being specified – was three times greater than that on other slaves in transit without *pencik* certificates. Ekrem Kâmil ("Gazzi-Mekki Seyahatnamesi," p. 88) construes as three *ʿuthmānī*s what in the text is unambiguously thirty *ʿuthmānī*s. See Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 161. Contrary to what al-Nahrawālī's phrasing indicates here, the certificate of *pencik* simply allowed for a lower tax rate rather than no tax at all.

580 21 Shaʿbān, 965 = Wednesday, 8 June, 1558.

581 What the author of the *Riḥlah* records here as Būghaz Ḥiṣārī (Boğaz Hisarı), meaning the Fortress of the Strait (Dardanelles), refers principally to what later became known as Çanaḳ Ḳalʿesi (the present-day town of Çanakkale), a fortress strategically located on the Asian side of the Dardanelles and towards its Aegean entrance. When the Ottoman war with Venice commenced in 868/1463-4, Sultan Meḥmed II sought to strengthen his defense of the strait against his seaborne enemy by ordering the construction of complementary fortresses on opposite sides of the Dardanelles at this narrowest point. That on the Asian shore was called Ḳalʿe-i Sulṭānīye, which later merged into Çanaḳ Ḳalʿesi, and that on the European side had the name Kilīd ül-Baḥr. These were restored in 958/1551, not long before al-Nahrawālī's presence there. They were restored again, thoroughly, in the mid-11th/17th century when the Ottomans were again at war with Venice, this time over Crete. It was then (1069-70/1658-60) that two additional strong points were erected on promontories at the Aegean entrance to the Dardanelles, Ḳum Ḳalʿe on the Asian side and Sedd ül-Baḥr on the European. See *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çanakkale" (Darkot and Tekindağ), iii, 332, 343f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Çanaḳ-Ḳalʿe Boghazı" (Parry), ii, 11f, and "Gelibolu," ii, 985f; *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 1827; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Çanakkale Ḥiṣarı" (Eyice), viii, 203f.

582 22 Shaʿbān, 965 = Thursday, 9 June, 1558. Ṣaḳız is the Turkish name for the large Aegean island of Chios, which lies a mere eight kms. off the large Karaburun headland protecting the natural bay and harbour of İzmir in western Anatolia. Its Turkish name is

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measurement of their country. What is left over they toss into the sea so that it won't drop in value.[583] We didn't call at this island.

During the forenoon of [157b] Friday, the 23rd of Shaʿbān, we reached a spot called Ṣūṣam Adāsī, namely "Sesame Island (Jazīrat al-Simsim)" in token of the fact that it is cultivated there.[584] It is a place in a state of dilapidation to which thieves, pirates and brigands repair. This spot is halfway along the route from the port of Istanbul to Alexandria. We didn't call at this island but carried on until, at the end of the day, we arrived at a large island called Istān Köy.[585] It possesses an abundance of fruit and a

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also that of its most important natural product, namely a very white gum mastic in demand for the preparation of certain foods and other products requiring resin. When al-Nahrawālī passed near the island it was still controlled by a Genoese company of shareholders known as the Maona of Chios, which had held it since 1346 C.E. and in which the Genoese Guistiniani family figured prominently. It was at last absorbed into the Ottoman empire in 973/1566, mainly as the result of Ottoman frustration over the failure to capture Malta the year before. Informative articles on it, including helpful bibliographies, are to be found in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Sakız Adası" (Mordtmann and Darkot), x, 94-7; and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ṣaḳız" (Soucek), viii, 889-92.

583 On the equivalence of the Ottoman *oḳḳa* in weight to 1.283 kgs. see above, p. 113, n. 300 (where it appears in the Arabic plural form *uqqāt*; indeed, there are variations on the Ottoman spelling of this word, such as *vuḳīye*, *ḳīye*, etc.). See too Inalcık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology," p. 340. What al-Nahrawālī has to say here about the reported harvesting and exporting of gum mastic (*ṣaḳız*) is a good example of market manipulation by the Maona of Chios, which had a monopoly on this commodity.

584 23 Shaʿbān, 965 = Friday, 10 June, 1558. Ṣūsam/Ṣūsām (appearing here as Ṣūṣam) Adası is a variation on Sīsām Adası, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek island of Samos located, at the narrowest point, little more than a mile off the Aegean coast of Turkey, just opposite Kuşadası. Its Turkish name denotes sesames, yet none of the brief accounts consulted here makes any reference to the cultivation of that plant. Perhaps owing to the combination of its sparse population, its mixture of mountainous, forested and swampy terrain, and its being the haunt of corsairs, little outside political interest was shown in it. It was occupied in 884/1479 by the Ottomans, who tried to repopulate the island. This presence was allowed to languish until 969/1562 when it was re-established by Ḳılıç ʿAlī Pasha. See Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, iv, 2759f; ʿAlī Cevād, *Memālik-i ʿOṯmānīye'nin Tārīḫ ve Coġrāfiyā Luġātı* (Istanbul: Maḥmūd Beg Maṭbaʿası, 1313/1895-6), pp. 462f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Sisam" (Mordtmann and Darkot), x, 712-14; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgatı*, ix, 386; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Sisām" (Soucek), ix, 679f.

585 İstānköy is the Ottoman Turkish name for both the Greek island of Kos (Cos) and its main settlement. Although situated among the Dodecanese Islands (On İki Ada), an archipelago stretching along the southwestern Aegean coast of Turkey, it, like Rhodes, was not included administratively among those "privileged islands" by the Ottomans. İstānköy and the Dodecanese came into Ottoman possession either around the time of the conquest of Rhodes in 929/1522 or during Ḫayreddīn Barbarossa's campaigns in the area during 944-5/1537-8. See ʿAlī Cevād, *Memālik-i ʿOṯmānīye'nin Tārīḫ ve Coġrāfiyā Luġātı*, pp. 91f; Meydan-Larousse, *Büyük Lûgatı*, vi, 511; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "On Iki Ada" (Soucek), viii, 172f; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "İstanköy" (Emecen), xxiii, 308-10.

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populous town with a *qāḍī* [who receives] forty *ʿuthmānīs* [daily]. Sultan Süleymān (God the exalted make him triumphant!) conquered it at the time of [his] conquest of Rhodes.[586] Most of its populace are Christians. We disembarked and spent the night in this village of abundant dairy products, cheeses, and bread. It has a public bath, mosques, and markets. The apricot season was just starting and they cost one *ʿuthmānī* per two hundred. The ship's complement stayed overnight [there] and the voyage was resumed late on Saturday.

On Sunday, the 25th of Shaʿbān,[587] we arrived at the island of Rhodes following the afternoon prayer. It is a grand island possessing a mighty fortress of near perfect precision and solid construction. It is proverbial in its fortification and quite marvelously positioned. Three carriages can proceed [side by side] through the middle of it, and from top to bottom it is perforated with slits. Positioned in each of its garret-apertures is an artillery piece which, according to its particular position, strikes what is facing it. None of the cannonry in this fortress is [allowed to become] obsolete. It is impossible for grabs and [other] vessels to approach [it], for at its entrance way is a mighty chain in the middle of the sea blocking the arrival of any ships at its [sea] gate. The fortress has three fosses and was built long ago by infidels. It is encircled on one side by sea and on the others by land. On the land [around] are gardens and splendid churches made into mosques, which are very graceful and attractive and of excellent workmanship. There is there large white bread and a kind of cheese, which is very much like Egyptian *ḥālūm* [goatsmilk] cheese and which they call

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586 Rhodes (Turkish: Rodos; Arabic: Rūdus) is a fairly mountainous island, the southernmost in the Aegean Dodecanese group and, at one point, a mere eighteen kms. off the southwestern corner of Anatolia. In medieval and early modern history its strategic location afforded it great importance as a crossroads for maritime traffic – commercial, naval, predatory and pilgrim – in or near the Aegean, Adriatic, Black and Mediterranean Seas. The Crusader order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers (and later known as the Knights of Malta), conquered it by 1309 for their new home and base, whence for more than two centuries they formed a vanguard for aggressive Christendom in an increasingly Muslim-dominated milieu. A major Ottoman naval operation mounted against the island and its impregnable port town in 885/1480 failed, owing at least in part to the absence of an aging and ill Sultan Meḥmed II Fātiḥ; but that launched and led by Sultan Süleymān in 928/1522 succeeded, after a siege of five months and with the support of an armada numbering as many as 700 vessels. No serious study of Ottoman history or of the era of Sultan Süleymān I (*r.* 926-74/1520-66) can fail to notice the siege and capture of Rhodes. Details for these are collected from Ottoman narrative and other historical sources in Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 75-93 *passim*. Concise informative accounts of Ottoman Rhodes appear in Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, iii, 2272f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Rodos" (Darkot), ix, 753-8; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Rodos" (Soucek), viii, 568-71.

587 25 Shaʿbān, 965 = Sunday, 12 June, 1558.

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lor. Also, there is a public bath and a substantial market. We remained Sunday and Monday at Rhodes and traveled on Tuesday.[588] Its *qāḍī* was Muslim Efendi, the brother of our master ʿAlī Çelebi, known as Ḳınaluzāde.[589]

[158a] We reached Alexandria on Saturday, the 1st of Ramaḍān.[590] The people there reported that they had observed the new moon of Ramaḍān on Friday night. {*The author's marginal note here adds*: We certainly searched for the new moon on Friday night, and when we couldn't detect it we rounded out Shaʿbān to thirty days.[591] However, we saw it in the morning.}

Alexandria is a splendid city with magnificent marble-tiled structures. But it is now in a ruinous state, its populated part being less than a tenth of it. It used to possess wondrous things that were mentioned in the books of

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588 This would be Tuesday, 27 Shaʿbān, 965 = Tuesday, 14 June, 1558.

589 Ḳınalızāde ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Çelebi, an eminent Ottoman scholar of Qurʾānic interpretation, prophetic Tradition, and mathematics, was born in 916/1510. As his grandfather, ʿAbdülḳādir Ḥamīdī Efendi, a tutor to Sultan Meḥmed II, was in the habit of dying his beard with henna (*ḳına*), the combination Ḳınalızāde became established as the family name. The product of a traditional religious education, ʿAlī Çelebi's *medrese* career began in 948/1541 with a professorship at the Ḥusāmīye in Edirne, and culminated in 966/1559 with the award of a professorship in one of the newly completed *medrese*s of the Süleymānīye mosque, the highest of academic ranks. In 970/1563 he was made *ḳāżī* of Damascus, following which he held the same position in Cairo, Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul. He was appointed *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Anatolia in 979/1571 but died only months later. His son, Ḳınalızāde Ḥasan Çelebi, was the compiler of the *Tezkiretü 'ş-şuarâ*, a biographical dictionary of 10th/16th-century Ottoman poets. Of ʿAlī Çelebi's several compositions, the most famous is the *Aḫlāḳ-ı ʿAlāʾī*, held to be a significant study of Ottoman culture. His less prominent brother, mentioned here as Muslim Efendi but elsewhere as Muslimī Efendi, the *ḳāżī* of Rhodes, apparently died in 967/1561, the same year as their father Emrullāh Efendi became deceased. See Kınalızāde, *Tezkiretü 'ş-şuarâ*, ii, 943f; ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 164-8; Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iii, 501 and iv, 368; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṣmānlı mü'ellifleri*, i, 400f; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs ül-aʿlām*, v, 3696f; *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Kınalı-zâde" (Adnan-Adıvar), vi, 709f; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḳınalızāde ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Çelebi," (Çavuşoğlu), v, 115f.

590 1 Ramaḍān, 965 = Friday, 17 June, 1558. Al-Nahrawālī's arrival aboard Ḥājjī Rayyis's sailing ship at Alexandria on Friday, 1 Ramaḍān concluded a trip of thirteen days, including stopovers, from Istanbul, and a mere three days from Rhodes. Although the size of the vessel is nowhere suggested, the combination of itinerary and duration of the voyage show that it must often have sailed on the open sea and out of sight of land.

591 On the matter of calculated versus real dates and the potential for lunar months having as much as an extra day owing to failure to sight the new moon when it is anticipated, see above, p. 2, n. 7.

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history. The most remarkable among those surviving to the present is the Pillar of Columns.[592] It is a tall column [made from] a single piece of

592 Descriptions of Alexandria, Egypt's second city and its Mediterranean gateway port from southern Europe, northern Africa and other parts of the Middle East, appear in the accounts of the numerous sojourners there over time. Founded by and named after Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., it flourished into a center of commerce and learning, indeed, into the greatest of all centers of learning for four centuries. Succinct depictions of Alexandria in antiquity are provided by, among others, Percy F. Martin, *Egypt – Old and New* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1923), pp. 97-103; and Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharoahs 332 BC – AD 642 from Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1989), pp. 204-7. Similarly, useful descriptions of Alexandria in the Islamic era are those found in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Iskandariyya" (Labib), iv, 132-7; and in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "İskenderiye" (Eyman Fuâd and Muhammed es-Seyyid), xxii, 574-80. Travelers' memoirs include those of Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat*, pp. 12-17; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 18-20; Félix Fabri, *Voyage en Égypte de Félix Fabri 1483*, trans. and annot. R.P. Masson, 3 vols. (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1975), ii, 967 (who, like al-Nahrawālī, remarked that not even one-tenth of the city was then inhabited); Pierre Belon, *Voyage en Égypte de Pierre Belon du Mans 1547* (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1970), ff. 91b, 93b-94b (who barely a decade before al-Nahrawālī noted parts of the city in ruins); Chesneau, *Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, pp. 134f; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, pp. 113-21 (who remarked on its intersecting streets and observed that the city was without its like in the inhabited world); Pitts, "The Journey of Joseph Pitts," pp. 5-7 (in 1685 or 1686); Paul Lucas, *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas dans le Levant: juin 1699 – juillet 1703* (Saint Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint Étienne, 1998), pp. 51f; Volney, *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie*, pp. 25-8 (in 1773); W.G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, 1792-98*, 2nd and enlarged ed. (London, 1806), pp. 1-13; and Ali Bey, *Travels*, i, 308-39 *passim*.

The famous Pillar of Columns (here: *ʿāmūd al-ṣawārī*; elsewhere: *ʿamūd al-sawārī*), still known popularly but mistakenly as the Pillar of Pompey, is held to be the largest surviving monolith in the Greco-Roman world. Hewn in ancient times from red granite quarried at Aswan in Upper Egypt, it was at the close of the third century C.E. turned into a war memorial dedicated to the emperor Diocletian following his recapture of Alexandria; and it formed part of the decoration of the great temple called the Sarapeum. About eighty-five feet tall and located near a low-rise urban setting close to sea level made the highly polished and glaring column a landmark for mariners. See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, i, 20; Belon, *Voyage en Égypte 1547*, f. 93b; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, p. 117; Pitts, "The Journey of Jospeh Pitts," p. 7; Lucas, *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas*, p. 51; Ali Bey, *Travels*, i, 319f; Martin, *Egypt – Old and New*, pp. 100f; E.M. Forster, *Alexandria: a History and a Guide* (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), pp. 160f; Edward A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library, Glory of the Hellenic World* (New York: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1967), p. 341; A.H. Hobbs and Joy Adzigian, *A Complete Guide to Egypt and the Archaeological Sites* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1981), p. 295; Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharoahs*, p. 205; Jean-Yves Empereur, *Alexandria Rediscovered* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), pp. 100-109; and ʿIzzat Zakī Ḥāmid Qādūs, *Āthār al-Iskandarīyah al-qadīmah* (Alexandria: Kullīyat al-Adab, Jāmiʿat al-Iskandarīyah, 1999), pp. 158-64 (with photos and drawings).

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marble, resembling a minaret. It is said that [one like?] it[593] was removed to Istanbul for the construction of the Süleymānīye [mosque], just as a similar one was obtained from Ḥimṣ, and that a great deal of money was expended on that.[594] In al-Maqrīzī's chronicle[595] it is [alleged] that, before the coming of Islam, the Pillar of Columns was one of four [such] columns supporting a lofty edifice for housing the books of the Greeks and of philosophy.[596] However, [all of that] has been demolished and taken else-

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593 The Arabic text here appears to be defective. In reference to the Pillar of Columns (Pompey's Pillar), in the main composed of *qiṭ'ah wāḥidah min al-rukhām* (a single piece of marble), it states: *yuqālu inna-hā ukhidhat ilā Iṣṭanbūl...* (It is said to have been taken to Istanbul...). Since it is known that it was not removed to Istanbul but stood in Alexandria for al-Nahrawālī to behold, and where it has remained standing to the present day, a textual flaw must be assumed. Several accounts cited in the previous note refer to visible ruins in its immediate vicinity, including other fallen or broken columns; hence it is suggested here that another *like* the Pillar of Columns had been taken to Istanbul for use in the construction of the Süleymāniye mosque.

594 The Süleymānīye complex (*ʿimāret/küllīye*), including its imposing mosque, rose to completion in Istanbul between 957/1550 and 966/1558 under the patronage of Sultan Süleymān I, for whom it was named, and the supervision of the master Ottoman architect Miʿmār Sinān Pasha (d. 996/1588). The author of the *Riḥlah* is substantially correct in his observation that a pillar (though not the *ʿāmūd al-ṣawārī*) was removed from Alexandria for the mosque's construction, and at considerable expense. Of the structure's four great columns, one was brought from Alexandria, another from the classical ruins at Baalbek in present-day Lebanon (rather than from Ḥimṣ), and the remaining two from other locations in Istanbul (*İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "İstanbul'un Tarihî Eserleri" (Eyice), v/2, 1214/59). Veinstein notes (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Süleymān," ix, 838) that the construction of the complex cost close to 900,000 gold florins, which he compares to one-tenth of the empire's budget in 1527-8. Details and documents concerning the requisition and transport by sea from Egypt of two stone columns at Alexandria during the period 957-9/1550-2 for use in the construction of the Süleymāniye mosque are provided by Ömer Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550-1557)*, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basıevi, 1972-9), i, 336-40 and ii, 18.

595 Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī (766-845/1364-1442) is known to posterity as an eminent Egyptian historian of the Mamlūk sultanate. Besides his prolific authorship, he had a public career as a legal, religious and educational figure both in Egypt, the land of his birth, and in Syria, the land of his paternal forefathers (see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Maḳrīzī" (F. Rosenthal), vi,193f). Although al-Nahrawālī refers here to al-Maqrīzī's chronicle (*tārīkh*) as the source of this information, the latter's comments on the *ʿamūd al-sawārī* appear in his best known work, that on the topography and other features of Cairo, Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria, and on Egyptian history generally, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa al-āthār* (usually referred to as *al-Khiṭaṭ* (*al-Maqrīzīyah*)), 3 vols. (al-Shayyāḥ, Lebanon: Maktabat Iḥyāʾ al-ʿUlūm, 1959), i, 280-2.

596 This, of course, is a reference to the legendary and much commented on library (or libraries) of Ptolemaic and Roman Alexandria, about which just about every key feature – location, size of collection, existence of a second library, destruction, etc. – admits of

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where, and there remains of it only this [one] column. The Pillar of Columns is so called because of its extraordinary grandeur and height. Concerning it the poet says,

> The stranger to Alexandria is not offered the food of hospitality,
> Save for [sea] water and the viewing of the [Pillar of] Columns.
>
> So don't long to see a crust of bread,
> For Alexandria has no one offering that.

In Alexandria I met with Shaykh Barakāt b. Khayr al-Dīn, the city's [foremost] religious scholar and authority on the prophetic Tradition. He honoured me, received me hospitably, and was charitable to me (God almighty grant him the best of rewards!). Among its merchants agreeable to me was Khawājā Saʿīd b. al-Ḥaḍarīyah al-Maghribī, who treated me with deference, received me as his guest, and was nice to me (God the exalted bless him for it!). I saw the city's [Ḥanafī] *qāḍī*, Yaḥyā Efendi, the nephew of the late ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, the *qāḍī* of Mecca the illustrious and of Cairo who died in Cairo in in 954 [1547-8].[597] This Qāḍī Yaḥyā

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doubt and has given rise to speculation and conjecture. Most accounts have it that the Imperial or Inner Library, which collection is claimed to have grown to beyond 400,000 mss., was a casualty of the Alexandrian civil war in 48 B.C., when a hard-pressed Julius Caesar had the city put to the torch. A second or Daughter Library, whether formed largely from a collection of 200,000 mss. allegedly donated by Marc Antony or from mss. which survived the conflagration, or from both, and housed in the Sarapeum, was probably the victim of the Christians' destruction of that pagan temple in 391 C.E. The often encountered claim that the second library was destroyed in *ca.* 21/642 by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, the Arab conqueror of Egypt, on the orders of the caliph ʿUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb (*r.* 13-23/634-44), is now generally discounted. It has its origins only in a 7th/13th-century Arabic account that was copied into later Arabic texts, including that of al-Maqrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, i, 280), before appearing in European writings in the 11th/17th century. Monographs on the Alexandrian library include those of Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library*, and, more recently, of Mustafa El-Abbadi, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria* (Paris: UNESCO, 1990). See too, among others, Martin, *Egypt – Old and New*, p. 98; Forster, *Alexandria*, pp. 157, 160; and P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), i, 320-35.

597 Of the four names appearing here only that of ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi has been further identified. Known popularly as Mollā Manav ʿAbdī, he was awarded a series of *medrese* instructorships, mainly at Bursa, before moving to the career of *ḳāżī*. He served as judge of Mecca and then of Egypt, in which office he died during 954/1547-8. See Ṭaşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, p. 506; and Ṭaşköprüzāde/Mecdī, *Şaḳāʾiḳ tercümesi*, p. 497. The latter of these sources as well places him as judge of Aleppo, but this is not confirmed in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, a generally thorough source for anyone having some association with that city in the first half of the 10th/16th century. The vocalisation of al-Ḥaḍarīyah is conjectural.

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was acquainted with me previously when he was at Mecca with his maternal uncle. He entertained and honoured me (God the exalted bless him for it!).

I observed Alexandria to have become more ruinous than when I had known it previously; for I passed through there whilst going to Turkey (al-Rūm) in the year 943 [1536-7], accompanying the *ʿumdat al-malik* (support of the sovereign), the vizier to the late Sultan Bahādur, lord of Gujarāt (God almighty show them mercy!).[598] Among my companions then was our master Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿUsaylī, one of Egypt's outstanding scholars and famous sons.[599] At that time we strutted about in youth's costume and, with the hand of *jeunesse*, plucked off life's sweet fruit. God nurture that time of life and overlook its faults and willfullness! Indeed,

Would that youth one day might return
That I could it apprise of what old age hath worked!

[158b] On Sunday afternoon, the 3rd of Ramaḍān,[600] we left Alexandria and traveled all night before reaching al-Rashīd during the morning of Monday, the 4th. The latter is a flourishing port town where the Nile debouches into the [Mediterranean] sea.[601] It has an abundance of rice which is ground [into flour], sold, and transported from there by sea to Turkey (al-Rūm). For one hundred *niṣf*s[602] we engaged there a vessel, into which we loaded our belongings. At noon that same day we set out up the felicitous Nile, with villages and gardens bordering along both of its banks.

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598 Al-Nahrawālī's having earlier accompanied a mission to the Ottoman court in search of military aid, headed by Āṣāf Khān, the vizier of Sultan Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat (*r.* 932-43/1526-37) who was then hard-pressed (and subsequently slain) by the Portuguese, is discussed above, Introduction, p. xii and p. 199, n. 541. See too Blackburn, *Turkish-Yemenite Political Relations*, pp. 73f. For his self-contradiction on the precise year of this mission to Turkey (al-Rūm), see below, p. 222, where he gives 942 [1535-6].

599 For further identification of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-ʿUsaylī, see below, p. 222 and n. 610.

600 3 Ramaḍān, 965 = Sunday, 19 June, 1558.

601 4 Ramaḍān, 965 = Monday, 20 June, 1558. This erstwhile important Ottoman port town situated near the mouth of the western arm of the Nile delta, and known popularly as Rosetta, is located about fifty kms. east of Alexandria. Travelers wishing to proceed from the latter place to Cairo by water transport normally had first to travel to Rashīd and from there up river to their destination. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Rashīd" (Atiya/Halm), viii, 438.

602 For an earlier note on the silver *niṣf*, an abbreviation of the *niṣf fiḍḍah* unit of currency, see above, p. 97, n. 245.

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Among Egyptians this river is called the corridor of the state because of its magnificence and beauty. Owing to its freedom from hardships, that [trip] is not considered a [trying] journey but rather an outing for fun and delight. For the stranger far removed from family and homeland, however, such pleasures and diversions fail to cheer him up. Indeed, the most splendid and greatest of pleasures [for him] is his return to his native land and his getting back with his family (God the exalted facilitate that for us in the most perfect and best of ways, without (God willing) our losing or being lost!).

On Tuesday, the 5th of Ramaḍān, we reached Fūwah, a pleasant and delightful village on the edge of the blissful Nile.[603] It has pomegranates that are without equal in delicateness and sweetness. Among them is a variety having no [coarse] pulp in its segments, called *mallīsī*.[604] We have it in the Ḥijāz but it's small; whereas here there are large ones which are very inexpensive. While Fūwah has other types of fruit as well, the pomegranates are, in our view, better.

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603 5 Ramaḍān, 965 = Tuesday, 21 June, 1558. The town of Fūwah, which appears in western accounts as, variously, Foua(h), Fouhe, Faoué, Fué, Phua, Voy, etc., and where there has been urban settlement since classical times (for a detailed review of which see Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-jughrāfī li'l-bilād al-Miṣrīyah min ʿahd al-qudamāʾ al-Miṣrīyīn ilā sanat 1945*, 3 vols. in several parts (Cairo: al-Ḥayʾah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmmah li'l-Kitāb, 1994), ii, pt. 2, pp. 113-15), is situated in the Nile delta on the right bank of the western arm of the river, about twenty-five kms. south of Rashīd and where a canal leading westwards to Alexandria commences. According to one foreign observer in the mid-10th/16th century, except for Cairo there was no grander city in Egypt (Belon, *Voyage en Égypte 1547*. f. 101b). Until early in modern history, before excessive silting accumulated, ships bypassed Rashīd and made directly for the sea port of Fūwah, where cargoes were unloaded or transshipped onto smaller vessels for the onward journey to Cairo. In fact, according to another observer, it was only in the early 17th century that Rashīd replaced Fūwah as a first port of destination for ships (Edward Brown, *Voyage en Égypte 1673-1674* (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Oritentale, 1974), f. 224). By 1783-4, however, Volney reported that, owing to accumulated silting, the town was situated nine leagues from the sea (*Voyage en Éypte et en Syrie*, p. 35). In the mid-11th/17th century Evliyā Çelebi described it as a flourishing city with 4,000 households and fifty-two mosques, twelve of them of the Friday variety (*Seyāḥatnāme*, x, 719). See too Fabri, *Voyage en Égypte 1483*, iii, 587; Chesneau, *Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon*, pp. 133f (in 1549-50); Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria 1792-98*, pp. 36f; Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 6 (in 1806); Paul and Janet Starkey, *Travellers in Egypt* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998), p. 126; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Rashīd" (Atiya/Halm), viii, 438.

604 Dozy (*Supplément*, ii, 620) records that *mallīsī* is a popular variation on *imlīsī*, which "...désigne une variété de certaines fruits, de granades."

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On Wednesday, the 6th of Ramaḍān, we arrived at Kafr J(-)b(-)rīyāt,[605] an exceedingly pleasurable spot on the shore of the blessed Nile much endowed with wealth and goodness. We spent Thursday night in this hamlet, which is the last of the administrative districts of al-Juwaylī.[606] In the early morning, before daybreak, we departed and entered Cairo during the forenoon of Thursday, the 7th of Ramaḍān.[607] We disembarked in the port of Būlāq, at the inn of Süleymān Pasha.[608]

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605 6 Ramaḍān, 965 = Wednesday, 22 June, 1558. Although the appearance of the orthography of this word admits of little doubt, efforts to identify it further have failed to yield results. Since al-Nahrawālī stayed there, at least briefly, he is unlikely to have gotten the name wrong. Perhaps this place, apparently located within hours of Cairo by boat, and one among a myriad hamlets lining the shores of the western arm of the Nile, became extinct or underwent a change of name over time.

606 Although unvocalised in the text, this word should probably be read as Juwaylī, referring to the wealthy Juwaylī Arab beduin family which dominated the Buḥayrah region of Egypt in later Mamlūk and early Ottoman times, and which usually collaborated with the Ottomans. The southernmost part of this province, located west of the Nile, stretched southwards to within about fifty kms. of Cairo. In his employing here the word *aʿmāl*, meaning provinces or administrative districts, one wonders if al-Nahrawālī had in mind the Ottoman provincial beduin-inhabited lands traditionally under the sway and influence of the Juwaylī family. See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iv, 353, 357, 359 (in the latter two pp. of which the spelling is Jūlī/Juwalī); and Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 86, 87. The annotator is indebted to Nicolas Michel for alerting him to this possible connection.

607 7 Ramaḍān, 965 = Thursday, 23 June, 1558.

608 Būlāq is Cairo's river port for the maritime trade with Lower Egypt. It was developed on silt left by a major shifting of the Nile that occurred between the 6th/12th and 8th/14th centuries. In early Ottoman times Būlāq was close to, yet separate from, Cairo; but with subsequent urban expansion and the growth of a community at Būlāq, it became a quarter within Cairo. Perhaps for more than anything else, the town was later known for its printing industry, principally in Arabic but also in Turkish, Persian, and European languages. On it see the brief entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Būlāḳ" (Jomier), i, 1299; and its famous press is discussed in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Bulak Matbaası" (Kut), vi, 387-90.

The Süleymān Pasha mentioned here almost certainly refers to Ḫādım Süleymān Pasha, the only Ottoman governor (*beglerbegi*) of Egypt (931-41/1525-35; 943-5/1537-8) by that name until then. It was he who prepared and subsequently commanded the large Ottoman seaborne operation against the Portuguese in western India in 945/1538-9. He later became Ottoman grand vizier (948-51/1541-4). On him see *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Süleyman Paşa, Ḫādım" (Ş. Turan), xi, 194-7.

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Leaving my party at the anchorage, I betook myself to al-Azbakīyah,[609] to [the residence of] my old friend, the master among men of culture, the very learnèd one among the erudite, and the choicest among scholars, our master Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUsaylī al-Mināwī al-Masāsīlī (God multiply the likes of him and treat him with His kindness, grace and favours!).[610] We first became friends during his residency at Mecca in the year 940 [1533-4]; and he [subsequently] journeyed with me to Turkey in 942 [1535-6].[611] For refinement, learning, maturity, perceptivity, intelli-

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609 The once charming and much desired Cairo quarter of Azbakīyah is located west of al-Khalīj al-Miṣrī, east of the Nile, and south of Būlāq. It was founded by a ranking Mamlūk army officer, the *amīr/atābak* Azbak (d. 904/1498), between 880/1476 and 889/1484, when he had fields converted into a substantial residence with a large excavated pond (*birkah*) fed by water from a canal. The growth in its popularity as a place of full-time or seasonal residence for the dignitaries of late Mamlūk or early Ottoman Cairo was slow; and at the time of al-Nahrawālī's visit it had not yet begun to develop into the comfortable, cosmopolitan, and multi-ethnic place that it was later to become. An excellent monograph on the origins, history, and many features of this quarter has been contributed by Doris Behrens-Abousseif, *Azbakiyya and its Environs from Azbak to Ismāʿīl 1476-1879*, Supplément aux Annales Islamologiques, No. 6 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1985). See too André Raymond, "Quartiers de résidence aristocratique au Caire au XVIIIe siècle," *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient*, vi (1963), especially pp. 62, 66 (map), 73ff. Without yet being able to identify it by the name that it was only later to take on, Félix Fabri attested to its newness when he passed through it in 1483 (*Voyage en Égypte 1483*, ii, 919f).

610 This individual, who has already appeared in the text (see above, p. 219 and n. 599), was Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿUsaylī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfiʿī, a poet and stylist who composed a work on syntax, and one who was recognised for his breadth of knowledge, especially in theology and dogma. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī met with al-ʿUsaylī at Aleppo in early 934/1527, when the latter was returning from Istanbul, and included an account of this meeting in his biographical dictionary for that city (*Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 1010-12). His death date is uncertain, both *ca.* 994/1586 (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 434) and 980/1572-3 (Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 748) appearing in accounts of him. Al-Ghazzī notes (*al-Kawākib*, iii, 181) that he was held special by the contemporary Egyptian scholar and mystic, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (on whom see above, p. 148, n. 403; and below, pp. 237, 247). Notices on Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī are found as well in al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat*, ii, 197-207; and in Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, vii, 214. None of the references cited here either gives Ibrāhīm as his father's name or includes the epithets al-Mināwī and al-Masāsīlī (the vocalisation for both of which is conjectural, and the latter of which is unclear in the Arabic text).

611 Al-Nahrawālī's previous trip to Istanbul, which has already been referred to (see above, p. 219 and n. 598) as having taken place in 943/1536-7, is discussed above, in the Introduction, p. xii. Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-ʿUsaylī's having visited and gained some experience with the Exalted Portal (*al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī*) in 933-4/1527 (*cf.* the previous note) may account for why he was selected to accompany Āṣāf Khān's mission to the Ottoman court on behalf of Sultan Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat about a decade later.

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gence, respectful companionship, and good-natured banter he is, truly, an excellent man. He is the most exalted of any with whom I have formed a friendship and kept close company (God almighty praise him!). He was delighted with my coming and put me up with him in his home overlooking the pond at al-Azbakīyah.[612] For scenery, healthiness and salubrious atmosphere this place is one of the paradises of this world. There I experienced with him times which I consider the [ultimate] style of life, [and] which were passed in the noble pursuit of learning, in taking walks together, in pleasures, in enjoying the company of officials (*amīr*s) and notables, in pursuing studies, and in acquiring [159a] moral excellence (God the exalted nurture that time of life and pardon its heedlessness and willfulness!).

Having been away from Cairo for more than ten years,[613] I found its familiar landmarks altered and its people and leading personages changed. I witnessed there the transformation of the community at large in most recent times, and the triumph of ruination over the city's quarters and their inhabitants, owing to the dispersal and scattering of the latter (Praise the eternal One who is unaffected by eras and years!). It recalled for me those days when I and the aforesaid Shaykh [Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-ʿUsaylī] studied under the very learnèd one and scholar of this world who has attained the real significations of knowledge and on whom I relied greatly, the deceased and revered one, the possessor of the most hallowed soul, our master Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAffān, best known as al-Maghūsh, the *qāḍī* of the community [of believers] in Tūnis (God the exalted lodge him in paradisical gardens and shower him with clouds of forgiveness, mercy and approval!). He was the most exalted master under whom I studied (God almighty have mercy on him!).[614] As well, many of our great *shaykh*s have become deceased:

> From those early departed ones in centuries [gone by] do we gain insights.

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612 For this pond (*birkah*), which no longer exists but which was excavated by the *amīr* Azbak, see Behrens-Abousseif, *Azbakiyya*, pp. 22-5 and *passim*. Her study is rich in historical detail, descriptive accounts, photographs, drawings, diagrams, maps, etc. of the district. The map in Raymond, "Quartiers de résidence aristocratique au Caire," p. 66 locates the pond in relationship to both the Azbakīyah quarter and the city of Cairo in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries.

613 In his introduction to al-Nahrawālī's *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 20, Ḥamad al-Jāsir cites a ms. source indicating that the author of this *Riḥlah* was in Egypt during, at the very least, Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 955/January, 1549.

614 For an earlier reference to and note on Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Maghūsh al-Tūnisī al-Mālikī (but without the inclusion of ʿAffān as part of his name) see above, p. 44 and n. 118.

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When destinations for death without points of return I did observe,
Convinced was I that the way of [other] folk would I inevitably go.

I saw none of Egypt's senior administrators whom I had known earlier. The pasha of Egypt then was one of the sultan's crude slaves named Iskender Pasha. He had been chief constable (*bostāncı başı*) in the sublime imperial palace,[615] and was the one who carried out the execution of the [grand] vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha[616] when Sultan Süleymān was angered at him

615 Iskender Pasha, who almost certainly was a product of the *devşirme* system of recruitment of Christian male youths, was Ottoman governor of Egypt during the period 963-6/1556-9 and should not be confused with a namesake, Çerkes Iskender Pasha, who followed him in that office a decade later. The biographical account of him in Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOşmānī*, i, 346 reports that, after serving as *bostāncı başı*, he was promoted to the offices of *ḳapıcı başı* (a chief warder of the palace) and, in 962/1554-5, the commandership (*aġa*) of the janissaries, before being elevated to a viziership and appointed governor of Egypt. Following his term in Cairo he held the governorships of Buda and Anadolu. His last service was with the Cyprus campaign in 978-9/1570-1, during which he died two days after the capture of Māġūsa (Famagusta). Some accounts indicate that he came to Egypt after having served as governor of Marʿash. Other sources providing limited information about his service in Egypt include those by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Isḥāqī, *Akhbār al-uwal fi-man taṣarrafa fi Miṣr min arbāb al-duwal* (Cairo, 1314-15/1897), p. 136; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Surūr al-Bakrī, *al-Rawḍah al-maʾnūsah fi akhbār Miṣr al-maḥrūsah* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub Library, al-Tīmūrīyah collection, Arabic MS 2524), f. 19a; ʿAbdülkerīm b. ʿAbdürraḥmān, *Tārīḫ-i Mışr* (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Mahmud Efendi collection, Turkish MS 4877), f. 13r; and Meḥmed b. Yūsuf el-Ḫallāḳ, *Tārīḫ-i Mışr* (Istanbul: Millet Library, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa collection, Turkish MS 705), f. 10v. For the *bostāncı* corps (*ocaḳ*), of which Iskender Pasha had been chief (*baş*), see above, p. 172, n. 469.

616 Known by chroniclers as, variously, Maḳbūl (the well-liked), Maḳtūl (the executed) and Ferenk (the Frank), Ibrāhīm Pasha was the first of three powerful grand viziers who largely dominated the reign of Sultan Ḳānūnī Süleymān I (r. 926-74/1520-66), the Magnificent (the other two being Rüstem Pasha (see above, p. 82, n. 208) and, at the end of his sultanate, Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha (972-87/1565-79)). Taken in youth from his family on the Adriatic coast of Greece and enslaved, Ibrāhīm was placed in the service of Süleymān while he was still a prince governor in Aegean Anatolia. The two formed such a bond of friendship and trust that, within three years of Süleymān's accession, he had appointed his favourite to the grand viziership (929/1523), and, a year later, had married him to a sister. A key player in all major events during the next thirteen years, the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha's power, conceit and swagger contributed to his downfall and execution in 942/1536. Al-Nahrawālī's subsequent attempt here to account for Iskender Pasha's rise in fortunes seems apocryphal: all major accounts report that Ibrāhīm was strangled to death at night in his palace apartment. No serious work on Ottoman history in that era can fail to take account of this grand vizier's role in the empire's affairs. The article on him in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* art. "İbrâhim Paşa" (Gökbilgin), v, pt. 2, pp. 908-15 is thorough and was translated into English and used in abbreviated form for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., iii, 998f. See too, among others, Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOşmānī*, i, 93f; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 355-9; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "İbrâhim Paşa, Makbul" (Emecen), xxi, 333-5.

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and instructed the executioner to behead him. But when violent fear seized the executioner and he wasn't able to slay him, the exalted sultan beckoned to this Iskender to carry out the task, and he did so. Then he rose through [various] offices before becoming governor [*beglerbegi*] of Egypt. Besides being boorish, Iskender Pasha was exceedingly greedy. The treasurer of Egypt was Ibrāhīm Beg, the former official greeter and escort (*mihmandār*), a man with high-mindedness, a sense of honour, a noble nature, and a knowledge of people's good qualities.[617] The *qāḍī* of Egypt at that time was Ḥasan Beg Efendi, the [former] servitor (*mamlūk*) of Ḳādirī Efendi. He was then absent at Mecca. His assistant (*nā'ib*) was Maḥmūd Çelebi Efendi, a man of noble character and a somewhat important person.[618] He came to where I was staying and greeted and honoured me, and showed me hospitality.

I wanted to have a meeting with the pasha in order to convey my greetings and present to him certain stipulations concerning the *jawālī*.[619]

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617 Ibrāhīm Beg, the provincial treasurer (*defterdār*) of Egypt when the author of the *Riḥlah* called there on this occasion, does not appear to have rated inclusion in Ottoman biographical literature. According to al-Nahrawālī's chronicle of Yemen, however, this official was later posted to Mecca as Ottoman commissioner (*emīn*) for maintaining the well at nearby ʿArafāt. It was during his time of residence there that al-Nahrawālī came to know him well and be informed by him on affairs in Egypt and Yemen. He died at Mecca in Rajab, 974/January, 1567, following which his great wealth in Egypt was confiscated by its governor, Maḥmūd Pasha, who bore him a grudge from when Maḥmūd was Ottoman governor of Yemen (*al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp. 143, 152f)).

The *mihmandār* (also *mihmāndār*, *mihmindār*), a word of Persian origin, was an Ottoman official, usually a *ḳapıcı başı*, whose function it was to receive and accompany as his guests travelers of distinction during their journey, mission or sojourn. On its function in the Ottoman empire see the brief note in Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarihi Lûgatı*, pp. 225f; and for its use in the Mamlūk (and Ayyūbid) sultanate, see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Mihmindār" (Saleh), vii, 2. The term appears frequently in Itzkowitz and Molte, *Mubadele* (index), a work set in the 12th/18th century.

618 For an earlier reference to and note on Ḥasan Beg Efendi, a distinguished member of the Ottoman learnèd hierarchy, see above, p. 208 and n. 568. ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi (d. *ca* 958-9/1551-2), usually referred to as Mollā Ḳadirī Çelebi, had a career as *medrese* professor, judge, *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* (of Anadolu for fourteen years!), and *muftī* of Istanbul/ *şeyḫ ül-Islām* for a brief period (*ca* 948-9/1541-2). On him see Repp, *Müfti*, especially pp. 256-63, where his life and career are thoroughly researched from primary sources. Maḥmūd Çelebi Efendi, the deputy judge (*nā'ib*) acting for Ḥasan Beg Efendi during the latter's absence from Cairo, has not been further identified.

619 In the central Arab provinces of the Ottoman empire, principally in the former Mamlūk regions of Egypt and Syria, but also in Iraq, the term *jawālī* referred to the fiscal revenue unit (*muqāṭaʿah*) collected from the poll-tax (*jizyah*) payable by all adult non-Muslim males legally residing under Islamic governance (*ahl al-dhimmah*). It was, to varying extents, dedicated to religious purposes, including support for religious scholars, pious people and devout pensioners, especially those residing in the two noble holy cities of

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Since I was not previously acquainted with him and had no knowledge of his nature and character, our friend Shaykh Jānim al-Bakrī[620] came to me and mentioned that he was familiar with him and would introduce me into his presence. When I agreed with him to that, he remarked, "You are going to have to come up with a gift, because this pasha expects that from everyone." I said that I was a member of the *ʿulamāʾ*, on whom no one could have covetous designs; but he persisted, "Were you to come to him with all kinds of knowledge, it would be of no avail without presenting something to him." I had with me four high quality woolen garments from those of the [imperial] treasury: two of them Prince Bāyezīd bestowed on my brother Muḥibb al-Dīn and me;[621] and one I obtained from the grand *muftī*, and another from the *nişāncı* Muṣṭafā Celālzāde Efendī.[622]

[159b] On inspecting these, Shaykh Jānim observed, "These are hardly adequate, given that you are on a mission, having arrived [here] from the [Sublime] Porte and been dispatched by our lord the noble *sayyid* (God the exalted protect him!). You carry with you prescripts, some in your name and others in the name of our master the *sayyid* Qāḍī Ḥusayn,[623] concer-

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Mecca and Medina. It is an old term in Islamic administrative usage and it often denoted the *jizyah* itself. On it see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Djawālī" (Cahen), ii, 490; Stanford J. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798* (Princeton: University Press, 1962), p. 151; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Cevālī" (Muhammed Es-Sayyid), vii, 436f (which includes documentary data showing the amounts of such revenue collected in Egypt in the mid 960s/1550s). In another context al-Nahrawālī, who shortly discloses that he was himself a recipient of such support money (see below, p. 229), provides details on the *ṣadaqāt al-jawālī* (the alms derived from the *jawālī*, namely from the "émigrés" or "wanderers") and notes the gradually expanded allocation of such revenues for pious purposes during Sultan Süleymān's reign. See his *al-Iʿlām*, pp. 333f. As a source of dedicated funding for such purposes, this term bears some similarity to the *ṣadaqat al-Rūmīyah* referred to earlier in this text (see above, p. 148 and n. 405).

620 On Shaykh al-Bakrī see above, p. 148, n. 403. Jānim is not a personal Arabic name (*ism*) but a designation reflecting the Perso-Turkish combination *cānım* (my soul) and applied principally to eminent *ṣūfī* religious figures such as Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Shāfiʿī. On the *ṣūfī* and literary term *cān* see *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Can" (Uzun), vii, 138f.

621 For Prince Bāyezīd's having bestowed one woolen garment each upon the author of the *Riḥlah* and his brother see above, p. 152.

622 For al-Nahrawālī's meeting with the grand *muftī* and *shaykh al-Islām*, Ebū 's-Suʿūd Efendi, see above, pp. 176-80; and for his interview with the *nişāncı*, Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi, and his being given fine woolens by him see above, pp 199f.

623 This is a reference to Qāḍī Ḥusayn al-Makkī al-Mālikī, al-Nahrawālī's Meccan contemporary and associate, on whom see above, p. 152 and n. 413. Further along in the text it is shown that, like al-Nahrawālī, Qāḍī Ḥusayn too was the recipient of funding from the *jawālī* tax revenues of Egypt (see below, p. 231).

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ning the *jawālī* [funds]. These four woolen garments are insufficient for you [to offer]. They are worth fifty gold pieces, whereas you can't avoid offering what is equivalent in value to one hundred gold pieces." I was perplexed, and could find in my possession to offer him only a copy of the Qurʾān in a harnessed box which I had purchased for thirty-five gold pieces. So I added it to the woolen garments. Shaykh Jānim accompanied me and presented my gift. When I met with Iskender Pasha, I received from him less respect than I deserved. Thus, I left his presence and didn't return. My gift was to no avail!

I decided against submitting any of the *jawālī* stipulations, etc. that I had with me, and to return to Mecca with the pilgrims. My material circumstances were straitened. I had a copy of al-Bayḍāwī[624] which has marginal annotations throughout, is slender in size, and has stitched silk-paper folios with gilded double margin lines (and) in very splendid handscript. Its margins contain, in delicate script, the supercommentaries of Mollā ʿIṣām al-Dīn, the *khaṭīb* al-Kāzarūnī, Saʿdī Efendi,[625] and others. I had spent two hundred gold pieces (*dhahab*) on it. I also had with me an expensive

624 For an earlier reference to and note on this eminent 7th/13th-century Islamic scholar see above, p. 194 and n. 525.

625 Of the three people named here whose supercommentaries (*ḥāshiyah*) on al-Bayḍāwī's well-known Qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr*) adorned the margins of al-Nahrawālī's delux ms. copy of the work, the least indentifiable, it seems, is the *khaṭīb* (mosque orator) al-Kāzarūnī. His name appears as Abū al-Faḍl al-Qurashī al-Ṣiddīqī in Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 189, which notes that his death occurred in the 940s/1534-44. Apart from brief allusions to him in Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 1047 and al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, ii, 233 (which alone gives al-Kazawānī for his *nisbah*), it is the case that his marginal supercommentary accompanies the 1330/1911 Cairo edition of al-Bayḍāwī's work prescribed for use at the Azhar university in Cairo (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Bayḍāwī" (Robson), i, 1129).

ʿIṣām al-Dīn is the agnomen (*laqab*) for Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabshāh. His *nisbah* Asfarāyīnī/Asfarāʾinī indicates the village of his origin in Khurāsān, where he was born the son of a judge in 873/1468 (according to one source), and in which area he passed most of his life prior to his death at Samarkand some time between 943/1536-7 and 951/1544. According to Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, suppl. ii, 571, he was professor at the *madrasah* of Shāhrukh at Herat during the time of the Tīmūrid Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara (d. 922/1516). His several compositions included a supercommentary on part of al-Bayḍāwī's *tafsīr*. On him see too Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 190f; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 291; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 26f; Sarkīs, *Muʿjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, p. 1330; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 63f; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, i, 101f. On Saʿdī Efendi (or Çelebi) see above, p. 108 and n. 287.

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gilt copy of al-Badīʿī's *Ikhtiyārāt* on the subject of medicine, which cost fifty *dīnār*s (gold pieces).[626] Both of these I put up for sale:

O Umm Mālik! Needs are sometimes met
Generously, but stingy is the one who steals away with them.

According to a [local] governor (*sancaḳ*[*begi*])[627] who was passionately fond of books and collected them, the Bayḍāwī was worth seventy gold pieces. This person, named Ḳolaḳ Ḥasan Beg, started out as a bookseller. He held various positions before serving the *ḫāṣṣikīye* [Ḫurrem], the mother of the princes (God almighty show her mercy!), who continued to promote his interests until she had him made a provincial governor. I met with him and judged him keen to obtain this Qurʾānic commentary. However, he wasn't fair about it, not even close to being so. He sent me seventy gold pieces, claiming that to be the book's worth, as well as [another] thirty gold pieces which he called an act of kindness. One hundred gold pieces in total, whereas I had spent two hundred to have it copied, marginally annotated, and gilded. For the *Ikhtiyārāt* he sent me thirty-five gold pieces, whereas I had spent fifty on it. He had with him another book, a scarcely to be found one on medicine called *Anīs al-aṭṭibāʾ* by a contemporary from Shiraz named Mawlānā Taqī al-Dīn, a student of our master Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr. It is a rare, precious and attractively written book containing proven cures.[628] Being in debt, I accepted [all of] that and applied it

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626 This is a reference to the *Ikhtiyārāt al-Badīʿī fī al-adwiyah al-mufradah wa al-mukarrabah*, a pharmacological work composed in Persian by Shaykh ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī, known as Ḥājjī Zayn al-ʿAṭṭār, in 770/1368-9. See Kātib Çelebi, *Kash al-ẓunūn*, i, 34.

627 On the *sancaḳ* (small province), the basic administrative unit of the Ottoman empire, and the *sancaḳbegi* (its governor), see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Sandjaḳ" (Deny/Kunt), ix, 11-13; and above, p. 2, n. 8. In Egypt, a large province (*beglerbegilik/vilāyet*) comprising a number of *sancaḳ*s, the *sancaḳbegi* was, in the 10th/16th century at least, usually a military corps commander referred to simply as *beg*. See Shaw, *Financial and Administrative Organization*, pp. 1f; and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Miṣr D 6. The Ottoman Period" (Holt), vii, 177-80.

628 The Egyptian *sancaḳ (begi)* Ḳolaḳ Ḥasan Beg has not been further identified. Taqī al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, about whom information is scant, is reported to have composed his *Anīs al-aṭibbāʾ fī al-ṭibb* during the era of Sultan Süleymān, that is, in al-Nahrawālī's own time. See Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 198. Taqī al-Dīn's teacher was Mīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr b. Mīr Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī al-Dashtakī al-Shīrāzī, a well-known scholar of philosophy and theology whose family came from the village of Dashtak, near Isfahan, but who lived and died in Shiraz. His Arabic and Persian books and commentaries are numerous. The al-Manṣūrīyah *madrasah* at Shiraz is attributed to him. Most accounts give 948/1541-2 as the year of his death. See Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 414 and note; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 475 (which

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towards discharging some of [my] financial obligations. I also had a critically edited copy of the *Khulāṣah*, which as well I sold for twenty gold pieces, and a transcription of our master ʿIṣām al-Dīn's commentary on al-Bayḍāwī,[629] which I disposed of for twelve gold pieces.

Having collected my allowances and stipulated sums from the register of pious bequests for the two holy cites [of Mecca and Medina] and from [the tax revenues of] the *jawālī*,[630] I purchased clothing and some wheat and rice which I sent by sea to Jedda with the young slave Surūr.[631] I as well dispatched to Mecca a personal messenger, [160a] to whom I paid twenty gold pieces, and sent with him written communications on the state of [my] situation. He reached Mecca before Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī, owing to the latter's having paused at Damascus, Aleppo and Ghazzah for his own interests and, with audacity, to deceive the grandees and gain materially from them by giving the impression that he was the exalted *sayyid*'s envoy. Thus, Aḥmad al-Shuwaymī arrived at Mecca close to the time of the annual pilgrimage.[632] With him he had letters from my foes and enviers, like Ibn Barakāt al-Mālikī,[633] and others among those who were associates of mine on this journey. All of them lied absurdly and, out of envy, covetousness

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lists more than twenty-five titles by him); Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 545 (414) and suppl. ii, 593; al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlām*, viii, 244; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al muʾallifīn*, xiii, 19.

629 Without more textual evidence than merely the short title *Khulāṣah*, an Arabic word appearing frequently in book titles and meaning "summary" or "abstract," any effort to determine which or whose work is being referred to here must be pure speculation. On ʿIṣām al-Dīn (Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad) see above, n. 625.

630 On the *awqāf al-ḥaramayn*, the pious endowments for the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, see above, p. 49, n. 163. The author of the *Riḥlah* had earlier in his mission received funding from this source when he departed Damascus for Istanbul (see above, pp. 54f and n. 177). As a religious scholar (*ʿālim*), a permanent resident of Mecca, and an official in the service of the *sharīf* of Mecca, al-Nahrawālī would have been eligible for the regular receipt of such pious funding. This status also qualified him for the regular receipt of *jawālī* funds from the Egyptian poll-tax (*jizyah*) revenues (see above, p. 184, n. 619).

631 This is the first evidence that the young Abyssinian slave Surūr and, presumably, al-Nahrawālī's brother Muḥibb al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh, who is mentioned presently (see below, p. 232), had reached Cairo. Earlier, at the time of his somewhat hastened departure from Istanbul on 17 Shaʿbān, 965/4 June, 1558, the author of the *Riḥlah* revealed that those two, along with Behzād the Turk, had had to be left behind to catch up with him later (see above, pp. 210f and n. 575).

632 Once the Muslim pilgrims are ritually prepared, the ceremonies of the *ḥajj* commence on 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, which in the year 965 corresponded with 20 September, 1558. This is yet another instance where al-Nahrawālī has added information after his return home to Mecca.

633 For an earlier reference to Muḥammad b. Barakāt al-Mālikī, a disparager of al-Nahrawālī and apparently a member of the Medinese community in Istanbul, see above, p. 163.

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and animosity, accused me of shortcomings and of having affirmed Pīrī, etc. I had no friend in Mecca to respond in my defence. I had supposed that our master Qāḍī Ḥusayn[634] would defend me against the lies of these people, and that our lord and master the exalted *sayyid* would ponder my situation, would recognize the truth behind what they communicated about me, and would know the true nature of my circumstances. But he didn't [even] reflect on that; instead, my failing became lodged in his mind and worked on it, and he was astonished at these matters (God almighty is the One who knows the real situation!).

An associate of mine mentioned that I should meet with the *amīr* Ibrāhīm the treasurer (*defterdār*) on account of the prescripts I had with me concerning the *jawālī*. When I responded that there was between us no earlier acquaintance by which I could be informed about him, my associate said, "This is a man of generosity and civility who recognizes people's good qualities, and who is of satisfied nature and lofty endeavour." So I agreed with him to break the fast with the *amīr* Ibrāhīm on a night during Ramaḍān.[635] I betook myself to him. He had [already] heard about me and so, when I arrived, there was no need for anyone to introduce me into his presence. Rather, he hurried over to me and met me as though he had known me a long time. He honoured me more than what I was entitled to and seated me ahead of the district governors (*umarāʾ al-sanājiq*).[636] He abandoned all others and began to speak and converse with me and to exalt me, so that the district governors were amazed at his fair regard and respect for me. He said to them, "Whenever this man is in the company of a distinguished governor (*beglerbegi*) or grand vizier, either one will, in the fullest and finest of ways, satisfy all of his concerns, correspondence and suggestions. If only *I* could be the one to gain him and his companionship – that is *my* wish and desire!" This is caring and kind treatment [of me] on his part. One's image conveyed in one's absence is more favorable than that projected in one's presence.

Once the meal was concluded and they had finished the breaking of the [daily] fast, and each had gone his own way, the *amīr* Ibrāhīm detained me

634 On Qāḍī Ḥusayn (al-Makkī al-Mālikī), who is referred to several times in this text, see above, p. 152, n. 413.

635 Ibrāhīm Beg, the *defterdār* (treasurer) of Egypt at that time, has already been mentioned (see above, p. 225 and n. 617). There is in the text a total absence of dates for the latter two-thirds of the month of Ramaḍān, during which Muslims observe a complete fast from sunrise to sunset. Here is a not untypical setting where a group of people gather at the residence of one of them to socialise and conduct some business during the meal following sunset and the end of the day's fasting (*al-ifṭār*).

636 The term *umarāʾ al-sanājiq* is the plural of *amīr al-sanjaq*, the Arabic equivalent of the Ottoman Turkish *sancaḳbegi* (for which see above, p. 228, n. 627).

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and led me to his private chamber. He was charming, elegant and surpassing in all of his affairs and wouldn't settle for less than what was first class. On conferring with me and inquiring about what had happened to me, I told him of my experience with Iskender Pasha, whom he renounced as shameful. He asked me for the (*jawālī*) prescripts and directed me to send them to him at the council (*dīvān*) next day. After he had talked with me at length and had apologized for not having sent for me when first he learned of my arrival, I took leave of him. Hardly had I arrived home when a servitor (*mamlūk*) of his followed after me [160b] with two *qinṭārs*[637] of sugar of the high-quality, refined, and perfumed white variety, fifty gold pieces in cash, a thousand silver *muḥallaqs*,[638] and two most excellent woolen garments. I was grateful for his good turn and charity, was comforted by that, and wished him well from the bottom of my heart.

When I rose next morning, the *amīr* Ibrāhīm sent to request from me the prescripts. With me I had one for myself worth five *niṣfs*[639] in increment from the *jawālī* (poll tax revenues), and another for our master Qāḍī Ḥusayn worth five *niṣfs* in increment for him from his *jawālī* [allowance].[640] So I sent them. The *amīr* Ibrāhīm the *defterdār* presented them to Iskender Pasha and produced their certificates (*tadhākir*). Iskender Pasha having accepted all of the information therein, the *defterdār* sent the two certificates to me (God almighty bless him for me!).[641] Thereafter I was constantly in his company. He didn't cease being good to me; and every now and then he would take care of me with some new favour. Then

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637 The *qinṭār*, a measure of weight dating from classical times, was of various types, depending both on the products or goods being weighed and on region and era. The reference here is probably to the *qinṭār fulfulī*, the one used in late Mamlūk Egypt to weigh pepper, spices and similar items, and equivalent to about forty-five kgs. It might also refer to the Istanbul *ḳanṭār*, which in the 10th/16th century equalled about fifty-six kgs. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, pp. 24f, 26; Mortel, "Weights and Measures in Mecca," p. 182; Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, p. 115n; Sertoğlu, *Oṣmanlı Tarih Lûgatı*, p. 171; and Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis*, p. 91.

638 On the *muḥallaq* or *fiḍḍah muḥallaqah* (round silver piece) unit of currency see above, p. 10, n. 33. Curiously, the author of the *Riḥlah* may inadvertently have slipped up here in referring only to the gold pieces (*dhahab*) as being in cash (*naqdan*).

639 For the *niṣf* (*fiḍḍah*) unit of currency see above, p. 97 and n. 245.

640 Qāḍī Ḥusayn (al-Makkī) was commented on earlier (p. 152, n. 413) when first he appeared in this text. For the *jawālī* revenues dedicated to pious purposes see above, p. 225, n. 619.

641 The text here thus provides an example of a 10th/16th-century procedure in Ottoman Egypt: on the basis of prescripts (*marāsīm*) issued, presumably by a senior religious figure at Mecca or possibly Istanbul, the treasurer of Egypt drafted appropriate certificates (*tadhākir*) which, once examined and authorised by the provincial governor, served as vouchers entitling these two individuals to specified increases in their allowances drawn from the Egyptian *jawālī* tax revenues meant for pious purposes.

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he instructed that the treasury record book be examined to determine whether he might come across a freed-up [stipend]. In fact, he did find five hundred *muḥallaq*s released from Mullā Ḥasan al-Tālish,[642] and so said to me, "We've discovered a released [pension] which we want to inscribe in your name." I thanked him for his kindness, but said, "Record that in the name of my brother, our lord Muḥibb al-Dīn." He did so; and even had he found more than that, he would have included it (God the exalted bless him for it!). When my brother arrived from Turkey (al-Rūm)[643] I informed him about that, and he was delighted. But then he had it inscribed in the name(s) of his sons, for whom it has continued.

Among those in Cairo whom I met during this trip, despite my having known him previously as well, is Shaykh Aṣīl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl, the former director of the hospital. He is the author of rather mediocre poetry, and he recited to me from his poem on Qāḍī Parvīz Efendi, who had been in Cairo:

Parvīz, a *qāḍī* we are blessed with,
His countenance ever smiling;

Pleasant are his utterances,
Like the sheen of the puffed up (dove);

Pure is his honour,
Nothing sullied said of it.

Yet for intelligence
Doth he want, and is weak-minded.

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642 The *mollā* named here was Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn al-Tālish(ī) al-Shāfiʿī. Born at Tabriz where he received a higher education with the city's scholars, he moved to the Ottoman lands in the time of Bāyezīd II (*r.* 886-918/1481-1512). Towards the end of that sultan's reign he went to Mecca where he remained, apparently continuously, until 955/1548-9. Returning to Istanbul, he received a modest pension before securing a *medrese* professorship which paid him twenty *akçe*s daily. His death occurred in 964/1556-7. A specialist in Shāfiʿī jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and the prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth*), he authored at least three identifiable works. See Ṭaşköprüzāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, p. 524; Mecdī, *Şaḳāʾiḳ tercümesi*, p. 511 (which adds little to the Arabic original); Şüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOşmānī*, ii, 112; and Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 289.
As a visiting resident of Mecca for pious pursuit (*mujāwir*) over more than thirty years, Mollā Ḥusām al-Dīn would have received from the Egyptian *jawālī* funds an allowance which, upon his death during the year before al-Nahrawālī's visit to Cairo, would have been freed up for reallocation to others.

643 This is al-Nahrawālī's first reference to his brother since his hasty departure from Istanbul without him. Although the time of Muḥibb al-Dīn's arrival in Cairo cannot be determined accurately, it shortly becomes evident from the text (see below, p. 234) that he had caught up with al-Nahrawālī by the end of Ramaḍān/mid-July, 1558 (*cf.* above, p. 229, n. 631).

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Frail is his intellect,
Accepting all that deceives.

Strange is his judgement,
A judgement merely that of Ḳaragöz.[644]

And from among his poetry he recited to me as well:

O Sultan! Thou art just;
But through concealment is thine justice lost.

Like the full moon appearing amid clouds, to what avail
Be its illumination when the cloud doth it obscure?

The sighting of the new moon of the blessèd [month of] Shawwāl was, by [our] rounding off [the month of Ramaḍān], on the night of blessèd Sunday.[645] I audited [my] expense records and [determined that] the total

644 For Aṣīl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl no further identification has been made. However, the object of his poetical lampooning, namely Mollā Parvīz b. ʿAbdallāh al-Rūmī, was a scholar and teacher who, over a lengthy career, rose high in the Ottoman learnèd hierarchy. Originally a slave in the service of such eminent Ottoman figures as the grand vizier Ferenk Ibrāhīm Pasha (see above, p. 224, n. 616) and the *muftī* of Istanbul/*şeyḫ ül-Islām* Kemālpaşazāde (d. 940/1534), the latter of whom participated in his higher education, he held a succession of professorships, including two at the Ṣaḥn colleges in Istanbul, before becoming a judge. In this latter capacity, he received postings to Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, Edirne and, finally, in 968/1560-61 he became *ḳāżī* of Istanbul. Between 971/1563 and 974/1566 he was *ḳāżī 'l-ʿasker* of Anadolu. In 984/1576 he was named judge of Mecca, from which office he was dismissed in 987/1579, just before his death. According to the fullest biographical entry for him, that of ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ ül-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, pp. 253-5, he was judge of Cairo during 962-5/1554-8, being dismissed from that post only months before al-Nahrawālī's visit there. He was the author of several identified works, mainly commentaries. See too Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 478, 899; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, iii, 137; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 437 (which gives 978/1570-1 as the year of his death); Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 231; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṡmānlı Müʾellifleri*, i, 260f; (the only source to add Vidin in Bulgaria to the list of his judgeships); Ṣüreyyā, *Sicill-i ʿOṡmānī*, ii, 40; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, iii, 43f (which has his death occurring in 996/1588).

On Ḳaragöz (Ḳarāḳūş in the Arabic text), the main character in the Turkish shadow play known by the same name, and with whose strange judgement that of Qāḍī Parvīz Efendi is compared, see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḳaragöz" (Boratav), iv, 601-3; and *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Karagöz" (Barthold), vi, 246-51.

645 1 Shawwāl, 965 = Sunday, 17 July, 1558. On the practice of "rounding off (*al-ikmāl*)" the calculated number of days of an expiring Islamic lunar month for the beginning of the next, for reasons of either weather or the failure of the new moon to appear, see above, p. 2, n. 7; and, for another recent use of this term in the text, see the marginal notation on p. 215, which concerns the dating of al-Nahrawālī's arrival at Alexandria.

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amount expended during Shaʿbān and Ramaḍān was, in new gold (*dhahab jadīd*), 386 gold pieces.[646]

I then made preparations to proceed to Mecca with the pilgrims and began purchasing supplies, necessities and utensils. My brother, our lord Muḥibb al-Dīn, remained behind me. [161a] Not seeing eye to eye with me in leaving [at that time], he confirmed that he was staying on in Cairo to study. Shaykh Jānim[647] had purchased from me a white slave (*mamlūk abyaḍ*) for ninety gold pieces. He paid me twenty gold pieces [in cash] plus an Abyssinian slave whom he indicated was [worth] thirty gold pieces. I told him to pay the outstanding forty gold pieces in instalments to my brother during his stay in Cairo. I secured a she-mule for thirty gold pieces, and its harness for ten. From Ibn al-ʿAẓamah[648] I hired four camels for forty-three gold pieces. A baggage attendant (*ʿakkām*) I obtained for nine gold pieces. As well, I acquired some apparel. [My total] expenses for [the month of] Shawwāl were 313 gold pieces.

I was present for the blessèd and felicitous [annual] flooding of the Nile, on Thursday, the 19th of Shawwāl,[649] and it was a memorable day. For three days I remained on the river in relaxation and amusement with the rest of [my] friends in Cairo (God almighty augment them, bless them and, be He willing, have [me] meet with them again, in auspiciousness, good health and pleasure!)

Then I bid farewell to the *amīr* Ibrāhīm the *defterdār* (God be with him!). He was distressed by my departure and he obliged me to correspond with him once I reached [my] destination at Mecca. As well, he favoured

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646 On the (*dīnār*) *dhahab jadīd* unit of currency see above, p. 3, n. 10.

647 Shaykh Jānim is yet another reference to Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, on whom see above, p. 143, n. 403. See too p. 226, n. 620 for the usage of the term Jānim.

648 It appears from the context here that Ibn al-ʿAẓamah, who has not been further identified and the vocalisation of whose name is conjectural, was one of the Cairo camel brokers (*muqawwimīn*) who leased animals to those traveling with the *ḥajj* and other caravans. This practical and personal dimension of the *ḥajj* is discussed, with reference to the Syrian pilgrimage caravan, by Peters, *The Hajj*, pp. 149-51. A detailed and informed commentary on the procuring of camels in large numbers for the Egyptian caravan in the early Ottoman period, and on their types, uses, numbers and prices, etc., is found in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, pp. 1199-1213. This information is based on al-Jazīrī's (al-Jazarī in some texts) years of first-hand experience, for he, like his father before him, had a career as clerk of the Ottoman pilgrimage bureau (*dīwān al-ḥājj*) in Cairo.

649 19 Shawwāl, 965 = Thursday, 4 August, 1558. The combination *yawm jabr al-baḥr* (appearing here as *yawm jabr al-Nīl*) refers to a Cairo holiday traditionally observed when the rising Nile River measured on the Nilometer (*al-Miqyās*) the minimum level necessary for the opening of the city's irrigation channels, principally *al-khalīj al-Miṣrī*. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Nīl" (Kramers), viii, 41.

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me with fifty gold pieces and a thousand *muḥallaq*s of silver.[650] In the course of this journey, I have been the recipient of a charitable offering from no one except Muṣṭafā Beg, the [former] secretary of state (*nişāncī*) in Istanbul,[651] and Ibrāhīm Beg, the treasurer *(defterdār)* in Egypt (God the exalted bless them for me, be charitable to them, and benefit them!).

On Tuesday, the 24th of Shawwāl, I went forth to al-Birkah,[652] and Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿUsaylī (God be with him!)[653] came to bid me farewell. The commander of the [Egyptian] pilgrimage caravan (*amīr al-ḥājj*) was the district administrator (*kāshif*) Ḫıżr, the [former] servitor (*mamlūk)* of Khawāje Deli el-Burṣavī. Following the death of his master, he was frequently involved in commercial matters and was called Khawāje Ḫıżr. Subsequently, he held various offices before becoming a district administrator and, then, commander of the pilgrimage caravan. He was rather effective in his position of authority and would secure much of the camels' forage against its being stolen by the cameleers and baggage

650 These amounts of currency were earlier sent to al-Nahrawālī by the *defterdār* Ibrāhīm, along with other offerings (see above, p. 231). Whether, therefore, these sums are those referred to earlier or represent a further award of the exact same amounts of these currencies (as the text of the *Riḥlah* appears to suggest) is unclear.

651 On Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi, the eminent secretary of state (known as Ḳoca Nişāncı) in the time of Sultan Ḳānūnī Süleymān, see above, p. 173, n. 472; and, for his charitable offering to al-Nahrawālī, see p. 200.

652 24 Shawwāl, 965 = Tuesday, 9 August, 1558. Al-Birkah, the name by which it is usually known and referred to in accounts, is really Birkat al-Ḥājj, a place about eighteen kms. north-northeast of the Cairo citadel. Considered the first of the pilgrimage stations along the Cairo-Mecca pilgrimage route by way of Sinai and ʿAqabah, it had a Nile-fed pond (*birkah*) for watering the many thousands of camels and other animals normally required for the *ḥajj* caravan, and was situated by a large plain used as a tent city for several days before the caravan's departure from it. In the early Ottoman period the pilgrimage caravan (*rakb*), which left Cairo between the 16th and 19th of Shawwāl, remained at al-Birkah for not less than five full days, during which the pilgrims, their well-wishers, and many entrepreneurs gathered at the encampment. This route traditionally had about thirty-four stations spaced approximately forty-five to fifty kms. apart; but with rest periods taken into account, the journey normally required from forty to fifty days to complete. As will be seen. this caravan crossed it in thirty-eight days, and the author of the *Riḥlah* identifies fifty-six stations (*manzil*s) divided into four quarters, albeit at some of which no stop was made. A detailed and informative description of the organising of the pilgrimage caravan at Birkat al-Ḥājj in the nineteenth century is provided by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. ix, p. 34. See too al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, p. 1248, and, for the four quarters into which the route was divided, pp. 1303f; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 173-7; ʿAnkawi, "Pilgrimage to Mecca," p. 148; and Peters, *The Hajj*, pp. 86f, 164. Maps showing Birkat al-Ḥājj appear in Jomier, p. 174 and opposite p. 224; and in Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*.

653 For this old friend of al-Nahrawālī who was his host at al-Azbakīyah see above, pp. 219, 222f and n. 610.

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attendants. It is related that, observing among the camels a situation indicating privation due to the theft of their food, he would pursue that until he learned the truth of the matter.[654]

654 The office and role of *amīr al-ḥājj*, the commander of either of the two major annual Muslim pilgrimage caravans to Mecca and Medina, the one from Damascus in particular but also that from Cairo, were noted earlier (see above, p. 2, n. 8). Under Ottoman administration, the organisational features of the Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan largely reflected those followed in the later Mamlūk era, except that in the early decades after the conquest (923/1517) most holders of the office of *amīr al-ḥājj* were Ottomans appointed from Istanbul. An important practical consideration in making the appointment was the candidate's demonstrated skills in the logistics of such an enterprise, one comprising thousands of humans and animals, for whom provisions and other needs were the overall responsibility of the caravan's *amīr*. Two early accounts on the Egyptian caravan and its commander (*amīr al-ḥājj*) are, for around the year 1575, the anonymous "A description of the yeerely voyage and pilgrimage of the Mahumitans, Turkes and Moores unto Mecca in Arabia," in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 8 vols. (London: J.M. Dent & Sons; New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1927), iii, 167-98; and, for about a century later, and providing details on the preparation, composition, organisation and security of the caravan, Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, x, 423-45. Modern studies including features of the subject are Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 90-108; Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, pp. 33-8, 59f; and Peters, *The Hajj*, pp. 167-9. All three of these are based substantially on al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, a 10th/16th-century work dealing comprehensively with the Egyptian caravan in the late Mamlūk and early Ottoman periods (see above, p. 234, n. 648). Also useful are *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Amīr al-Ḥādjdj" (Jomier), i, 443; Shaw, *Financial and Administrative Organization*, pp. 239-53; ʿAnkawi, "Pilgrimage to Mecca" (for the Mamlūk era); ʿIrāqī Yūsuf Muḥammad, *al-Wujūd al-ʿUthmānī al-Mamlūkī fī Miṣr fī al-qarn al-thāmin ʿashar wa awā'il al-qarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1985), pp. 173-201; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Emîr-i Hac" (Atalar), xi, 133.

The *kāshif* Ḫıżr is referred to elsewhere as al-Khawājā Khiḍr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Rūmī, an emancipated slave (*ʿatīq*). Identified as having been Egyptian *amīr al-ḥājj* for the years 964-7/1556-9, he is described as noble, rich, unpretentious and well-liked by scholars and *ṣūfī*s alike. He is also reported to have been a money lender to the sultanate and its *amīr*s and *aʿlām* (notables), and to have sent annual gifts to the sultan and senior men of state in Istanbul. According to al-Jazīrī (*al-Durar al-farā'id*, p. 970), however, he was miserly, conducted questionable business practices, and secured the *amīr al-ḥājj*ship through his close ties to Iskender Pasha, the governor of Egypt, rather than through appointment from Istanbul. See too Aḥmad al-Rashīdī, *Ḥusn al-ṣafā wa al-ibtihāj bi-dhikr man wulliya imārat al-ḥājj*, ed. Laylā ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Aḥmad (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1980), pp. 159-62 (which curiously omits his name from the table of incumbents at the end of the book). No further identification of his former master Khawāje Deli el-Burṣavī has been made, except that in *ibid.*, p. 159 and n. 4, he is referred to as the *shaykh* of the Khān al-Khalīlī, a Cairo market for jewelery, copper and prayer rug merchants whose *shaykh* was an Ottoman Turk. Elsewhere in the text of the *Riḥlah* the term *khawāje*, usually designating a wealthy merchant, is rendered *khawājā*.

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HOMEWARD-BOUND: WITH THE PILGRIMS AGAIN

Departure from al-Birkah took place shortly before dawn on Thursday, the 26th of Shawwāl. Among the caravan's complement was our lord and master Shaykh Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (God benefit [us] through his blessings and those of his forebears!).[655] Just before noon we halted at the hamlet of al-Buwayb,[656] where the camel train was formed. We parted with our friends and bid them farewell, some of them at al-Birkah and the others midway to al-Buwayb. God be merciful to the one who says:

When at eventide we embraced to bid farewell,
With fires in the heart o'er the excess of its vexation,

I wept. Does weeping satisfy one beside himself with love,
When the face of his lover has vanished from his eyes?

[161b] And by Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (God the exalted have mercy on him!)[657] is:

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655 26 Shawwāl, 965 = Thursday, 11 August, 1558. Final departure from Birkat al-Ḥājj normally occurred between 25 and 27 Shawwāl each year (Michel Tuchscherer, "Le Pèlerinage de l'émir Sulaymân Ğâwîš al-Qâzduġlî Sirdâr de la caravane de la Mekke en 1739," *Annales Islamologiques*, xxiv (1988), p. 163). Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bakrī, whose name appears in this *Riḥlah* several times and in various forms, was commented on earlier (see above, p. 148, n. 403).

656 With the coming of modern-day transportation by rail, bus and aircraft, much of the old Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan route was abandoned. Among its stations (*manzil*s) fallen into disuse is al-Buwayb, the second halting place from Cairo. As the text of the *Riḥlah* goes on to reveal, its physical location between two limestone outcrops accounts for its Arabic name, which means small gateway. Its elevated walled area (*shurfah/sharafah*) was used principally for citizens of Cairo who came there to welcome home and accompany returning pilgrims, especially dignitaries. It was a very old station since its name is included in the 3rd/9th-century work of al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 649. Among other works consulted for this study, its name appears in those of al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pt. 1, p. 285; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1318; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 24 (which essentially plagiarises the *Riḥlah* here, even to the point of including the same four lines of poetry); Ḥācī Ḫalîfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār fī faḍl ʿilm al-taʾrīkh wa al-akhbār*, 2nd ed., ed. Muḥammad b. Abī Shanab (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1394/1974), p. 323; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, 2 vols. (London, 1838; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1978), ii, 457; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 246; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 177f.

657 The writer alluded to here was Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥajalah al-Tilimsānī, usually identified as Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, a prolific author of poetry and prose as well as a compiler of anthologies. Born in 725/1325 at the town of Tlemcen in present-day western Algeria, he traveled eastwards at a young age, studying for some

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When at eventide we embraced to bid farewell
At Birkat al-Ḥujjāj, with tears outpouring,

Rejoice did we at having cleared al-Buwayb, because
To the union with the one we love it is a time-honoured gateway.

Al-Buwayb is a pass between two small mountains, and it has a low-walled elevated area wherein we halted. At this place, on the right, is a lengthy sand hill. We had our morning meal at al-Buwayb and set out. This is the second station (*manzil*) of this first quarter, [that] from Cairo to al-ʿAqabah.[658]

The third station is al-Dār al-Ḥamrāʾ,[659] where we alighted shortly before sunset.

After having supper there, we departed little more than an hour after the evening prayer.[660] It was the night of Friday, the 27th of Shawwāl.[661]

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time in Damascus before settling in Mamlūk Cairo. The grandson of an eminent *ṣūfī*, he too embraced Islamic mysticism and founded his own convent outside the walls of Cairo. His death from the plague occurred during 776/1375. A brief but useful account of him and his work appears in Lois A. Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre* (New York: N.Y.U. Press, 1971), pp. 38-41. See too Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 240f; Sarkīs, *Muʿjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, pp. 28f; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, 255; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 13 (13) and suppl. ii, 5f; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, 201; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn Abī Ḥadjala" (Robson and Rizzitano), iii, 686; and *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*, art. "Ibn Abī Ḥajala" (Seidensticker), i, 305.

658 The text reads "the third station (*thālith manzil*)," clearly an error for "the second station."

659 The caravan station named al-Dār al-Ḥamrāʾ (the red mansion) was known earlier as Umm Saʿd (al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 649) and later, after the khedive ʿAbbās I (*r.* 1848-54) erected a palace there (now in ruins), as al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ or al-Dār al-Khaḍrāʾ (Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-jughrāfī li'l-bilād al-Miṣrīyah*, i, 58). It should not be confused with its namesake on the Damascus-Mecca route (see above, p. 18, n. 56). Located in waterless desert fifty-six kms. east of Cairo, it was generally regarded as the second caravan station; and it was a distance of fourteen hours travel time by foot and beast from the first one, Birkat al-Ḥājj. It usually appears as simply Ḥamrā in Turkish accounts, one of which locates a well and buildings there for the use of pilgrims (Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mir'āt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 346). It is also mentioned, occasionally with additional details or legends about it, in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1305, 1319, 1337; Ḥācī Ḫalîfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 84; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 297; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p. 317; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 457; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ix, 34f; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 179.

660 The text here (and occasionally elsewhere) employs the word *darajah* with its less frequently encountered sense of a short unit of time, about four minutes ("after the passing of twenty *darajah*s"). On this meaning see Edward Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols. (repr. New York: Frederick Unger Publishing Co., 1955-6), iii, 869. It was usual, especially in hot months such as this one (August), for the caravan to travel by night.

661 The night of 27 Shawwāl, 965 = Thursday/Friday, 11/12 August, 1558.

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We kept on going and, during the night, passed through al-Ṭulayḥāt and al-Maṣāniᶜ. The latter is a spot which was made into a halting place for the pilgrimage caravan. Constructed there is a deep water pool and a spring, both of them sturdy. It is alleged that the jinn hindered its excavation and construction.[662] In the morning we arrived at a locality called Nakhīl Ghānim and halted [there].

The fourth station is Nakhīl Ghānim. We reached it during the forenoon, had our breakfast, and left it a little before noon on Friday.[663]

The fifth halting place is ᶜAjrūd. We reached it shortly before sunset and passed the night there until daybreak on Saturday, the 28th of Shawwāl. This ᶜAjrūd is the first watering pool after al-Birkah. Its salty water can sometimes purge the bowels.[664] This place has a fort (*ḫan*)

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662 Al-Jazīrī, whose work on the *ḥajj* and the Egyptian caravan is closest in time to al-Nahrawālī's accompanying the latter, cites a poem in which al-Ṭulayḥāt is identified as the station beyond al-Buwayb (*al-Durr al-farāʾid*, p. 1296). Elsewhere, the same author notes (*ibid.*, p. 1319) that, after pausing at al-Dār al-Ḥamrāʾ, one passes by al-Ṭulayḥāt and traverses al-Maṣāniᶜ, where there is a deep water pool and a ruinous spring. S. Tamari, in his "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai: an Historical-Archaeological Study," *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Memorie*, Series 8, xxv (Rome, 1982), p. 474, suggests that al-Jazīrī may have been the first to employ in Arabic the term *fisqīyah*, derived from the Latin *piscina*, with the sense of a water pool. According to the early 12th/late 17th-century North African traveler al-Warthīlānī, al-Maṣāniᶜ (lit. large man-made structures) refers to columns erected in swampy terrain and nearby (loose) sand to serve the pilgrims as way-markers where the road has disappeared. However, al-Maṣāniᶜ doubtless derived its name from *maṣāniᶜ* in the sense of rain water reservoirs (Lane, *Lexicon*, iv, 1735). Both Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541 and Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 837 consider Maṣāniᶜ as part of the Dār Ḥamrā halting place. Modern works consulted here fail to mention either of these places.

663 The date referred to here is Friday, 27 Shawwāl, 965/12 August, 1558, the day following the caravan's departure from Birkat al-Ḥājj. Among accounts consulted here, only two others refer to Nakhīl Ghānim, those of Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541 and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 246. Other narratives, as well as some modern maps, locate (Jabal/Maqraḥ) ᶜUwaybid as the station following al-Dār al-Ḥamrāʾ but preceding ᶜAjrūd (al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1305, 1319; and al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 298); however, whether Nakhīl Ghānim and ᶜUwaybid refer to the same halting place remains conjectural.

664 28 Shawwāl, 965 = Saturday, 13 August, 1558. ᶜAjrūd, which al-Jazīirī alone vocalises as ᶜUjrūd, and which had that name as early as the 3rd/9th century (al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 649), was the first watering station (*manhal*) for the Egyptian caravan after Birkat al-Ḥājj. Located about twenty kms. north-northwest of Suez, and only 200 meters from the former Cairo-Suez rail line, it was normally a rest station where pilgrims encamped overnight. From Mamlūk times there was there a garrisoned fort to protect the station from beduin depredations, as well as a caravansary (*ḫan*). According to Shaw, *Financial and Administrative Organisation*, pp. 199, 250, the fort was repaired by Sultan Selīm I after the Ottoman conquest. That it was a watering stop notwithstanding, all accounts refer to its proverbial brackish and unpotabale water fit only for

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which Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī had had constructed in 915 [1509-10] by the architect Khayr Beg, a senior Mamlūk *amīr*.[665] It contains three water pools filled with this brackish water.[666] Facing ᶜAjrūd [at some distance] is the port of Suez. We remained [there] overnight and set out during the daylight hours on account of the roughness of the road.

The sixth station is al-Munṣaraf,[667] where we arrived just before sunset after traversing hills, copious sand, and hollows. It is said that Alexander

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camels. Pilgrims had either to purchase fresh water conveyed there for sale in the local market set up for the passage of the caravan in either direction, or, depending on the season, to obtain it from a spring in the vicinity. ᶜAjrūd is mentioned or discussed in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1305, 1320f; Anonymous, "A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumitans," p. 182; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 23; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 833; Jean de Théveneot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot into the Levant*, in Three Parts, trans. from the French original (London, 1687), First Part, Book Two, p. 151 (who in Cairo in the 1660s learned the Egyptian *ḥajj* stations from "a Prince of Tunis"); al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 317-27 *passim*; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 298; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 454; Charles Didier, *Sojourn with the Grand Sherif of Makkah*, trans. Richard Boulind (Cambridge and New York: Oleander Press, 1985), pp. 9f; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 246; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 180f; Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 507, n. 11; and Peters, *The Hajj*, p. 87. As well, see Jacques Jomier, "Ageroud, un caravansérail sur la route des pèlerins de la Mekke," *Bulletin de la Société d'Études historiques et géographiques de 'Isthme de Suez*, iii (1949-50), 33-56.

665 For the earlier appearance of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, the last important Mamlūk sultan (*r.* 906-22/1501-16), see above, p. 143 and n. 393. References to the *amīr* Khāyir (here: Khayr) Beg the architect (*al-miᶜmār*), whom the author of the *Riḥlah* identifies as an *amīr* of a thousand (*aḥad muqaddamī al-ulūf*), appear in Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiᶜ al-zuhūr*, iv, 105, 133, 163, 297, 444, 475, 476, 478, etc. It was probably in 914/1508-9 when the fort (*ḫan*) at ᶜAjrūd was erected by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī under Khāyir Beg's supervision, for in that year the latter was sent with a company of builders to construct or make repairs at ᶜAqabah and elsewhere along the Egyptian pilgrimage route (*ibid.*, iv, 133, 151f, where the term *burj* is used for fort rather than the less usual *ḫan*). The erecting of a new *ḫan* (fort) at ᶜAjrūd in 915/1509-10 by the architect Khāyir Beg at the behest of the Mamlūk sultan is alluded to by al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid,* p. 1320, a work composed contemporaneously with al-Nahrawālī's *Riḥlah*. This *ḫan* attributed to al-Ghawrī is noted also by Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 246; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 180.

666 Originally, there were four pools (*fisqīyah*) and a water wheel (*sāqiyah*), the latter dating from the 8th/14th century; but the water pools became reduced to three, the remains of one of which were still visible to Jomier in the early 1950s (al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1320; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 246; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 180).

667 This place, referred to several times in al-Jazīrī's 10th/16th-century work on the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 229, 910, 990, 1296, 1324), including once fully vocalised (p. 1309), appears by this name in a few of the accounts consulted here and is usually preceded by such qualifying words as *jabal* (mountain),

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[the Great] wanted to join the Gulf of Suez with the Mediterranean Sea by way of this route, and [that] these depressions are the residual traces of that. Then he died before his wish could be fulfilled. However, the terrain has adhered to those hills, mounds and hollows down to the present.[668] We remained there until [about] four hours after sunset and departed.

The seventh halting place is al-Qubaybāt. We entered it in the forenoon and took our morning meal there. It is also known as Wādī al-Qibāb, where there are mounds of sand that bear a resemblance to dome-shaped edifices.[669] We left [there] and proceeded until near sunset.

ʿ*ulūwat* (hill), *raml* (sands), *ḥadrat* (slope), ʿ*aqabat* (pass), and *wādī* (valley). It is located in an uneven area of soft shifting sands about thirty kms. east-northeast of Suez and approximately seven kms. southwest of the Mitla Pass. The caravan often encamped there during hours of darkness in order to avoid beduin depredations. See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 23 (which in part follows the *Riḥlah* word for word); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 458; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. ix, p. 25; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, ii, 246f; Great Britain, War Office: Map of Sinai (London, 1941 and based on 1908-14 surveys); and S. Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 447, n. 2.

668 Alexander the Great (356-23 B.C.), who conquered Egypt in 332 B.C., is referred to here with his usual Arabic epithet, Iskandar Dhū al-Qarnayn (Alexander the Two-horned). There is seemingly no evidence that he ever considered linking the Red and Mediterranean Seas directly by a north-south canal, a project later contemplated both by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (*r.* 170-93/786-809) and, at the beginning of the 16th century, by the Venetians, but one which was realised only in the 19th century. However, an east-west canal linking the Nile River with the northern end of the Gulf of Suez dates from at least the time of Pharoah Seti I (*ca.* 1380 B.C.). Work on a replacement canal was begun by Pharoah Necho (*ca.* 609 B.C.) and completed by Darius the Great (*ca.* 520 B.C.). Ptolemy II Philadelphus, a member of the Egyptian ruling dynasty founded by Alexander, further developed this waterway (*ca.* 285 B.C.). See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1911), xxvi, 22; and *Encyclopaedia Americana* (Danbury, Conn: Grolier, 2000), xxv, 845.

Ḥācī Ḫalīfe refers (*Cihān-numā*, p. 451) to the existence of pits and traces of excavations made there by certain kings in order to join the Mediterranean Sea (Baḥr-i Rūmī) with the Red Sea (Baḥr-i Süveys). An English rendering of this is provided by Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 458. While what al-Nahrawālī has to say about this is largely repeated by Kibrīt (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 23), the latter, reporting in 1039/1629-30, adds that there was word of there having been in that place a canal from the Nile connecting with the Gulf of Suez, but that it required flooding. Clearly, however, al-Munṣaraf is located east of Suez, whereas the Nile-Suez waterway was west of it.

669 Tamari's extensively-documented, detailed, historical and archaeological study of this pilgrimage station ("Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," pp. 449-67) yields the various names used for it over time, including Qabr Abī Ḥamīd, Turʿat Ḥāmid. Thughrat Ḥāmid, al-Qubaybāt, al-Thughār and, in the 19th century, Janādil Ḥasan. In the end, he moots the conjecture that, while perhaps not always in the exact same spot, these were all located in the broad valley of the dome[d sand dune]s (Wādī al-Qubāb, more correctly al-Qibāb), the latter name having remained the principal identifier of the station. Tamari did not include this *Riḥlah* among his many sources and so attributes the pluralised diminutive

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The eighth station is the frontier of the Tīh desert, where we stopped shortly before sunset. This place is the wilderness (*tīh*) of the Israelites.[670] {*The author's marginal note here adds*: Al-Tīh is a vast open tract of land bordered on the right by Jabal al-Ṭūr and on the left by al-ʿArīsh,[671] and [in length] is forty leagues (*farsakh*s) each way. Traversing the district is not easy because of its severe cold in winter and extreme heat in summer, in addition to a lack of water. [The desert of] al-Tīh extends as far as the coast of a sea called the Sea of Qāzān in which God almighty caused Pharaoh to drown.[672] Qāzān is the city of

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alternative name of al-Qubaybāt (the little domes) solely to the 11th/17th-century geographical work by Ḥājī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 541) who, not having visited the place, may well have consulted this 10th/16th-century *Riḥlah* for this designation. See too al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1235 (Qabr Abī Ḥamīd = Wādī al-Qubāb), 1293 (Wādī al-Qubāb), 1296 (Wādī al-Qibāb), 1305; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 300 (al-Th-ghār); al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p. 328 (Wādī al-Qubāb); ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. ix, p. 25 (Janādil Ḥasan) and pt. xiv, p. 8 (Wādī al-Qubāb/Qabr Abī Ḥamīd); and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 246 (al-Qubaybāt – another work not used by Tamari).

In line with the last date cited in the text, this arrival at al-Qubaybāt would have occurred during the morning of Sunday, 29 Shawwāl, 965/14 August, 1558.

670 The name of this Egyptian caravan station appears in the text of the *Riḥlah* and elsewhere as Awwal al-Tīh, namely the start or (western) frontier of the Tīh Desert. The Arabic word *tīh* means a trackless desert or wilderness; and it was through this desert that, according to the Jewish and Muslim traditions, the Children of Israel (Banū Isrāʾīl) were condemned by God to wander for forty years for having refused Moses' bidding to enter the Holy Land (*cf.* the *Old Testament*, Numbers 14: 33 and the *Qurʾān*, V: 26). Descriptive references to the Tīh Desert appear in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, i, 375f; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, p. 147; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 266, 1305, 1813; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 23; Ḥājī Ḫalife, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 300-02; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 325f; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 448f; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 458; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 9; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 247; Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 29f ((which capsulises the Arab geographers' descriptions of the Tīh Desert); and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Tīh" (Honigmann), x, 480f.

671 Jabal (Mount) al-Ṭūr, known also as Mount Sinai and now called Jabal Mūsā, owing to its place in the wanderings of the Children of Israel in the wilderness with Moses, is located in south-central Sinai, roughly equidistant from the Gulfs of Suez and ʿAqabah. A short distance to the south-west and not far from the southern tip of Sinai lies the small town of al-Ṭūr, once a seaport of some importance. The oasis of al-ʿArīsh survives as an Egyptian administrative center and Mediterranean seaside resort near Egypt's frontier with Palestine. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "al-ʿArīsh" (Buhl), i, 630, and "al-Ṭūr" (Honigmann/Bosworth), x, 663f.

672 The word Qāzān appears twice here in the text of the *Riḥlah*, once in reference to the name of a sea by that name and once to an urban community; and each time the rendering of it is unmistakably clear. Yet other accounts of this short passage consistently yield Fārān (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, i, 375; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, p. 147; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 23; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p. 326; and ʿAlī Mubārak,

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the Amalekite faction.[673] From it to the Red Sea is a day's journey. That is how Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī referred to it in *al-Masālik*. And with regard to al-Tīh, Aḥmad b. Abī Ḥajalah[674] says,

God watch over a gazelle in the sandy patch!
When my love-crazed heart's last spark of life appears, it feeds on it.

Whene'er it comes in view, with the wilderness (*al-Tīh*) betwixt us,
It from me veils itself in coquetry and loses its way.

And al-Tīh is the place where the Israelites wandered about lost} for forty years, starting out and moving along for an entire day or night, and [then] encamping only to discover that they were alighting in the [very] spot from which they had [just] traveled. [This was] out of God's punishment of them for their wrongdoing and disobedience, as is reported in the exegetical accounts. In extent al-Tīh is equivalent to two of the Egyptian car-

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al-Khiṭaṭ, pt. xiv, p. 9). Whatever its true rendering, it has not been further identified, although it would appear to refer to the lower end of the present-day Gulf of ʿAqabah. God's drowning of Pharoah with his Egyptian charioteers in pursuit of Moses and the Israelites through a parted Red Sea is found in the *Old Testament*, Exodus 14:27-8. On the drowning of Pharoah see too Pitts, "The Journey of Joseph Pitts," pp. 19f.

673 The Amalekites (ʿAmālīq/ʿAmāliqah) of the Bible were an ancient people represented consistently as being enemies of Israel. Mainly nomads, they are said to have inhabited the desert lands of Sinai and Canaan, as well as at times parts of the Ḥijāz (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "ʿAmālīḳ" (Vajda), i, 429; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1961 ed.), i, 724; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Amâlika" (Erdem), ii, 556-8).

674 On Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abī Ḥajalah al-Tilimsānī, the poet and anthologist, see above, p. 237, n. 657. His two lines of poetry that follow are also cited by al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1326 and, with modifications, by Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 23.
Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) was an erudite medieval Andalusian scholar whose enduring reputation comes through his writings in geography. Born the son of a Spanish Arab princeling, he spent most of his life in Cordova, where he was recognised early as a talented writer, not just in geography but also in theology, philosophy and botany. His masterpiece, *al-Masālik wa al-mamālik*, a work rich in ethnographical and historical information described as a road book showing estimates of distances between communities and way stations, survives only in large fragments, not all of which have been published. A succinct and informative account of him and of his works appears in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī" (Lévi-Provençal), i, 155-7. See too Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 453; Sarkīs, *Muʿjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, pp. 578f; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, i, 627f (476) and suppl. i, 875f; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, vi, 75 (which gives 432/1040-1 as his birth year); al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, iv, 233; and *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*, art. "Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī" (Irwin), i, 49.

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avan's daily stages, or slightly more. The caravan remained at al-Tīh until about four hours after sunset. Then we traveled late into the forenoon.

The ninth station as well is the Tīh desert, the center of it, a place of scant vegetation where one sees mostly sea onions. It is called Rawḍ al-Jamal.[675] Members of the caravan halted there during the forenoon of Monday, the last day of Shawwāl,[676] had their morning meal there, and then traveled until the late afternoon.

The tenth halting place is Baṭn Nakhil,[677] where we alighted during the afternoon. It is a watering place with water less brackish than that of ʿAjrūd. The name of this place is [162a] Wādī Nakhir, which is of the same pattern as "Katif", that is with a *nūn* plus a *fatḥah* vowel (*na-*), a

675 References to this bleak station in the middle of the Tīh Desert are few and brief. See Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 23; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 458; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 247 (which alone among these references gives (probably in error) Rawḍ al-Ḥamīl rather than Rawḍ al-Jamal (the camel's garden) as the name of this stop). In ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 9 it is observed that, when looked at from a distance, this halting place resembles a camel's saddle (*raḥl al-jamal*).

676 29 Shawwāl, 965 = Sunday, 14 August, 1558. Once again, al-Nahrawālī has the day of the week misaligned with that of the month at the transition from one lunar month to the next. Here he gives the correct day of the week, Monday, but according to the calculated Islamic lunar calendar, it fell on the first day of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (15 August, 1558) and not on the last day of Shawwāl, as stated. For the probable explanation of this misalignment, which persists for most of the remainder of this text, see above, p. 2, n. 7.

677 Situated in mid-Sinai almost equidistant from Suez and ʿAqabah, this place, the name of which appears vocalised in the text and must have reflected its location "inside the palm grove (*baṭn [al-]nakhl*)", is the second watering place (*manhal*) for the Egyptian caravan after Birkat al-Ḥājj, and one of the oldest of its stations. During World War I, T.E. Lawrence observed from a distance "...the lonely ruins of Nakhel" (*Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935), p. 316). Its name appears among the halting places mentioned in the 3rd/9th-century work of al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 649, but Tamari believes that he is referring to another Nakhl ("Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," pp. 470-2). Its name has several variants and mutations, a fact more than hinted at here by al-Nahrawālī. Tamari, who has studied this and other features of the place, concludes that it was known in the 7th/13th century as Bīr al-Nakhl, in the 8th-11th/14th-17th as Nakhl, and subsequently as Qalʿat al-Nakhl (*ibid.*, p. 469). Like ʿAjrūd and several other stations yet to be mentioned, Nakhl had a natural supply of spring water; and so, to protect this for the pilgrims against beduin marauding, a fortress was built there, possibly in the 7th/13th century or even earlier. The fortress also served as a storage area for provisions needed by the caravan (see Shaw, *Financial and Administrative Organization*, p. 250). Over time travelers to it have observed at Nakhl a mosque, the mausoleum of a *ṣūfī* saint, a cemetary, and an active market.

Two modern works devoting considerable attention to this place, and which address most of what earlier observers of it had to say, are the critical study of it by Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥājj in Sinai," pp. 468-90, and the early 20th-century work by Naʿūm Bey Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā al-qadīm wa al-ḥadīth wa jughrāfīyat-hā* (Cairo: 1916; repr. Cairo: al-Markaz al-ʿArabī li'l-Baḥth wa al-Nashr, 1986), pp. 150-9.

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dotted *khāʾ* plus a *kasrah* vowel (*-khi-*), and, finally, a *rāʾ* (=*nakhir*). I believe that it is derived either from their [local] expression *mā bi'l-dār nākhir* ("There is nobody in the house") – for their word *nakhir* means "devoid of any inhabitant" – or from *al-ʿiẓām al-nakhirah* ("worm-eaten bones"). Whenever the winds in their abundance enter the place, the camp is intensely cold. The [wider area] is called Wādī Nakhl, with the letter *lām*, even though there are no date palms (*nakhl*) there.[678] Rather, it gets its name because the place doesn't want for the raising and scattering of powdery dust: winds would deposit there a fine sand as though it were sifted (*mankhūl*). Only God really knows!.

This is the second watering place to which the pilgrims come after al-Birkah. There is a fortress there which Sultan al-Ashraf Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī had the architect Khayr Beg construct in the year 915 [1509-10].[679] The place has a water pool which is filled from the well before the pilgrims arrive and is thus made ready for them. Within the fastness is a sentry garrison (*nevbetcīye*) for the protection of that water against the beduins. The water pool being small and the fortress cramped, the [Ottoman] governor of Egypt, the vizier ʿAlī Pasha,[680] issued instructions for their enlargement. Assigned to that task in 959 [1552] was the *qāḍī* Zayn al-Khawlī. The latter expanded the fortress, enlarged the pool {*The author's marginal note here adds*: Now it has four water pools,

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Among other accounts consulted for this study, the Nakhl station is noted or discussed, in some instances in detail, by al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1305, 1327-30; Anonymous, "A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumitans," p. 182; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 22; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 825; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 302; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 450; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 458; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. ix, p. 25, and pt. xiv, p. 9; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Miʾrāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 247; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 184-6.

678 Although vocalised only a few lines above as Nakhil, possibly a reflection of the local dialect, here it clearly must be construed as Nakhl, referring to date palms. Given the existence of a natural source of water there, it probably once had date palms growing in the area, possibly even in profusion.

679 For a similar structure erected or restored at ʿAjrūd by the architect Khayr Beg acting on Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī's instructions, see above, p. 240 and n. 665. The (re)construction of this fort, probably during 914/1508-9, was recorded by Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iv, 152. Several of the accounts referred to in n. 677 above, including that of al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1327, mention the (re)building of this fort by the Mamlūk sultan al-Ghawrī.

680 On Semīn ʿAlī Pasha, who was Ottoman governor of Egypt from 956/1549 until *ca.* 961/1554, who was serving as second vizier when al-Nahrawālī had an interview with him in Istanbul earlier in 965/1558, and who would succeed Rüstem Pasha as grand vizier, see above, p. 112 and n. 296, p. 163, n. 447, and p. 168.

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one of them in ruins.}, and completed the reconstruction work. The vizier ᶜAlī Pasha is a rather good man, one of the best of the [Ottoman] governors of Egypt. He has intelligence, organisation, charity and a propensity for justice. I met with him in Cairo [on an earlier occasion][681] and I laud the manner in which he conducts himself. The *qāḍī* Zayn al-Khawlī and his forebears were among the gardeners of the sultanate in Egypt and, later, of the [Ottoman] pashas [of it] as well. He is a person who is generous and honourable, who acts well towards [both] pilgrims and beduins, and who attends to the grandees. He renders service to the sultanate's estates, sheep, and water [supplies], while the Arabs of the countryside serve him.[682] His father had the name Shihāb al-Dīn too (God the exalted multiply his likes among Muslims!). He goes forth to this [caravan] station to bid farewell to the pilgrims. Then he goes back to Cairo and re-emerges to meet the [returning] pilgrims too (God almighty bless him!).

The caravan spent the night at this halting place where it took on its supply of drinking water. By rounding off [the month of Shawwāl], we observed the new moon of [the month of] Dhū al-Qaᶜdah on the night of Tuesday.[683] At dawn we departed [and traveled] until the afternoon. We

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681 In the introduction to his edition of al-Nahrawālī's *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 20, Ḥamad al-Jāsir is able to locate al-Nahrawālī in Cairo during Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 955/January, 1549, about nine months before ᶜAlī Pasha assumed the governorship of Egypt. Whether he remained there long enough to meet the new governor, or did so on some subsequent return visit to Egypt during that governor's tenure, has not been determined. Curiously, when meeting in Istanbul with ᶜAlī Pasha as second vizier (see above, pp. 168f), the author of the *Riḥlah* makes no mention of their earlier acquaintanceship in Cairo.

682 In Mamlūk and Ottoman Egypt the word *khawlī*, of the same root as *khawlah* (gardeners), referred to a locally-elected supervisor of land productivity and of the disposition of water resources for the irrigation of farm land for tax purposes (see Shaw, *Financial and Administrative Organization*, pp. 54f). The individual named here, Zayn al-Dīn b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khawlī, was outstanding in his work, and, as *khawlī al-sawāqī al-sulṭānīyah* (supervisor of imperial irrigation works), appears to have had primary responsibility for maintaining water supplies along at least a considerable stretch of the Egyptian *darb al-ḥajj* (pilgrimage road). His name appears several times in al-Jazīrī's substantial 10th/16th-century work on the Egyptian pilgrimage, *al-Durar al-farā'id*. See, in particular, pp. 910, 946, 1005, 1026, 1090 (on his respect among beduins), 1311 (on his promotion in 965/1558), and 1328f (for biographical details on him).

683 According to the calculated Islamic calendar, the eve of Tuesday, the night the caravan camped at Nakhl, coincided with the dark hours of Monday night/Tuesday morning, 15/16 August, 1558 (but see above, p. 2, n.7).

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passed through Wādī al-Fayḥāʾ.[684] Although it is a station, we didn't alight there but passed on to Wādī al-Qurrayṣ.

The eleventh station is Wādī al-Qurrayṣ, which is [spelled] according to the diminutive pattern.[685] We encamped there during the afternoon of Wednesday, the 2nd of Dhū al-Qaʿdah.[686] An extraordinary [story] told me in this place by our lord and master, the one intimately acquainted with God almighty, Shaykh Shams al-Millah wa al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bakrī[687] (God the exalted turn to good use his blessing and the blessings of his ancestors!), is [the following]: "I turned away to the right to perform the afternoon prayer and espied a pathway bearing a footmark so big that it alarmed me. Getting down from [my] mount, I measured that foot with a rod belonging to a companion, and it was twenty-one digits [in length]![688] I hunted for the second foot but, despite much searching, was unsuccess-

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684 This place, called both al-Fayḥāʾ and Wādī al-Fayḥāʾ, is said to have been located in a broad gravel-strewn valley just under five hours (seventy *darajah*s) travel time from Nakhl. Modern maps occasionally show a Wādī Fayḥī in the vicinity. Al-Nābulusī, who encamped overnight there, noted the absence of any source of water (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 303). Tamari asserts that in surveying the area he could find no evidence of any landmark for it along the pilgrimage road ("Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p.493). Reference to it appears also in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1296, 1305, 1330 (where the word is fully vocalised); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541 (which erroneously has Wādī al-Ghaymā, possibly a miscopy from the *Riḥlah* which too has ambiguous script construable as al-Faymā or al-Ghaymā); Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 458; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. ix, p. 25 and pt. xiv, p. 9.

685 Wādī al-Qurrayṣ, which appears twice here in vocalised Arabic, and which elsewhere is spelled out in full (al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 304; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. ix, p. 25), was located about twelve hours travel southeast of Nakhl. According to Tamari in his detailed study on it ("Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," pp. 491-504), the station was known until the 6th/12th century as al-Kursī; but at some point between then and the 10th/16th century, possibly in the first half of the 8th/14th, its name became transformed into (Wādī) al-Qurrayṣ and, later, al-Qurayḍ. In the 19th century it was known to the pilgrims as Biʾr Umm ʿAbbās in recognition of repairs carried out there under the patronage of the mother of the khedive ʿAbbās I (d. 1854). The modern map entry for it is Biʾr Abū Muḥammad. When the observant al-Nābulusī was there in the early 12th/late 17th century, he recorded the existence of the ruins of a fort with a wretched well and, outside the fort, of a large dilapidated pool and evidence of another well. The water there was very brackish, fit only for animals. See too al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1331; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541 (possibly the first to (mis?)spell the name as al-Qurayṣ); al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p.336; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 458; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 247; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p.186.

686 The first Wednesday of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) fell on the 3rd = 17 August, 1558.

687 For an earlier note on Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī, whose name appears several times in this text, see above, p. 148, n. 403.

688 The *iṣbaʿ* is a linear measurement equal to the breadth of the middle joint of the middle finger. It was used principally in Arab navigation and became standardised at slightly more than 3 cms. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Iṣbaʿ" (Tibbetts), iv, 96f).

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ful. I have no doubt that that was the footmark of one of God almighty's close friends (*awliyāʾ*), one endowed with a [large] footstep (God the exalted benefit us through the blessings of His close friends [and] be He pleased with them wherever they are!)." The caravan paused there for the evening meal and then, about two hours after the evening prayer, resumed its course and traveled until the forenoon.

The twelfth halting place is Abyār al-ʿAlāyā,[689] where we dismounted in the forenoon. It is a vast open area with a slope before it. The place has two wells, one belonging to the Baydarah and the other to the ʿAlāʾī.[690] There is a water pool in which we could find no water, it being said that it fills up only during times of rain. There is here a domed shrine housing the tomb of Khawājā Muḥammad al-Kāshānī, a gem merchant. In the territory of Bījānkur, within the state of Deccan,[691] he had come into possession of a fragment of diamond among the treasures of the infidels. He purchased it in its natural state for 30,000 gold pieces and traveled with it to Turkey (al-Rūm). At that time the

689 Although one encounters variations on it, the name for this station, which appears on none of the maps consulted here, seems to have been Abyār al-ʿAlāʾī, the latter seemingly a clan name. Tamari's speculation that it could have been the name for al-Qurrayṣ station ("Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 504, n. 45) is undermined by the account of this *Riḥlah*, which is not included among his sources. The latter records quite clearly that, towards midnight, the caravan left Wādī al-Qurrayṣ, where it had paused for the evening meal, and arrived at Abyār al-ʿAlāyā some time in the forenoon. Other accounts noting or commenting on this station are those of al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾd*, pp. 1296, 1305, 1331, 1577 (Abyār/Ābār al-ʿAlāʾī); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541 (which, like the *Riḥlah*, renders its name as Abyār al-ʿAlāyā); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 825 (which notes the formation there of the Jerusalem and Ghazzah pilgrims into a large caravan); Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 458; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 247f; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 9f.

690 Of these two names, which almost certainly refer to beduin clans or small tribes in possession of water rights to the two remaining unsilted wells at Abyār al-ʿAlāʾī, it seems likely that that of al-ʿAlāʾī is connected with the ʿAlāwīn, an al-Ḥuwayṭāt sub-group of semi-nomads located north and east of al-ʿAqabah who used to protect the Egyptian pilgrim caravans along that stretch of the route (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Ḥuwayṭāt" (Rentz), iii, 643; and G. W. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael: a Study of the Egyptian Bedouin* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1935), p. 252). However, efforts to identify al-Baydarah, which is partly vocalised in the text, have been without success.

691 The Persian merchant Khawājā Muḥammad al-Kāshānī has not been further identified; and the Bījānkur mentioned here probably refers to Bījāpūr, a small Muslim kingdom founded in the 9th/15th century within the Deccan region of western India. A variation on this story, or at least one similar to it, is found in al-Jazīrī's *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 838 under the year 940/1534; in the latter account, however, the worth of the gem is much more and the man's estate, after bequests, is sequestered by the Ottoman governor of Cairo. The latter version is carried also by Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 217, albeit with accretions.

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gem was highly prized and in demand. So he sold that stone for 80,000 gold pieces and came to Cairo. Encountering plague there, he left with the pilgrims but still fell ill with the plague along the road. He made over some [money in] charitable gift and alms, and willed that a memorial shrine be erected over him. When subsequently he died at this station, his instructions were carried out and this cupolaed structure was built over him (God the exalted show him mercy!). The caravan departed shortly before noon and kept on going until sunset.

The thirteenth station is al-Milāḥah, which is located near a place called [162b] ʿArāqīb al-Baghlah.[692] Our departure from al-Milāḥah on Thursday evening, the 3rd of [Dhū] al-Qaʿdah, occurred about three hours into the night.[693] At al-Milāḥah the remarkable martyred noble lady Khadījah, daughter of the late Khawājā Zayrak, died. She was an elegant young woman who had come from Mecca to Egypt and was returning with this caravan when [her] appointed time and the trumpet signaling [death] took her by surprise. She was washed thoroughly, shrouded for the grave, and interred. The trustee of the public exchequer (*bayt al-māl*) sequestered her personal effects for disposal by sale later at al-ʿAqabah (God the exalted show mercy to her, her father, and her family!).[694] The caravan

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692 Al-Milāḥah (vocalised in the text) as the name for this station is repeated, along with that of ʿArāqīb al-Baghlah, in only later works which may have derived this information ultimately from this *Riḥlah* (Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 458 (who, rather than simply transcribing the name, translates it (and perhaps incorrectly) as the Saltern, that is, the salt works); and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 247). Other accounts consulted here refer to it only as ʿArāqīb/ʿUrqūb al-Baghlah (al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1305, 1331 (which also provides the name al-Munaydarah); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 304f; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 10). In his detailed contribution on the Sinai leg of the Egyptian pilgrimage route, Tamari focuses not on this station but on ʿAqabat al-ʿUrqūb, the narrow quarried pass to the east of it ("Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," pp. 505-16). Al-Nābulusī noted the names of both the station and the pass (*ʿaqabah*), in the latter of which is an inscription showing that the Mamlūk sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (d. 922/1516) had it quarried in order to facilitate the passage of the pilgrims through it (cited above).

693 Al-Nahrawālī's days of the week and month remain misaligned. Calculation of the sequence of his itinerary from arrival at Wādī al-Qurrayṣ during the afternoon of Tuesday, 2 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (see above, p. 247 and n. 686) confirms his departure from al-Milāḥah on the early evening of Thursday, 4 (not 3) Dhū al-Qaʿdah = evening of Wednesday, 17 August, 1558.

694 For an earlier reference to and brief note on the *amīn bayt al-māl*, namely the intendant of the bureau of inheritances and unclaimed properties, see above, p. 121 and n. 323; and on the sequestration of property left by deceased pilgrims without known heirs, see ʿAnkawi, "Pilgrimage to Mecca," p. 160 (where the Mamlūk official charged with this responsibility bore the title *nāẓir al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīyah*, namely superintendent of escheat estates).

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continued to proceed throughout that night until it passed through the place named ᶜArāqīb al-Baghlah and moved along into the forenoon.

The fourteenth halting place is Ra's al-Rakb, which is close to a place where the caravan usually encamps called al-Jifārāt.[695] In the forenoon of Thursday, the 3rd of [Dhū] al-Qaᶜdah, the caravan halted there for the morning meal.[696] It departed shortly before noon and continued to proceed until a little before sunset.

The fifteenth station is Saṭḥ al-ᶜAqabah, where the caravan halted on the night of Friday, the 4th of Dhū al-Qaᶜdah. It is a vast expanse where it is generally very cold. The caravan remained there overnight.[697] It is at this

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695 Among works used for this study, the name Ra's al-Rakb appears in, besides this *Riḥlah*, only Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 459; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 247f. Burckhardt, in his *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 448 and inset map, identifies in that general area a mountain named "Dharf el Rokob," at the bottom of which he encountered the *ḥajj* road at some fifteen to eighteen hours travel from al-ᶜAqabah. In al-Jazīrī's *al-Durar al-farāʾid* there is contradictory evidence regarding al-Jifārāt, the closeby usual place for this halt. He cites a poem in which it is equated with Saṭḥ Aylah (or al-Saṭḥ), the next station (p. 1296, where the name is vocalised). Elsewhere, the same author treats this not as a place name but as a physical feature of the local landscape (p. 1332; also conveyed by ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 10). But then al-Jazīrī goes on at once to relate (p. 1332) that the customary practice was for the caravan to spend the night at ᶜArāqīb (al-Baghlah); to depart from there almost three hours before daybreak and to proceed to al-Jifārāt; and, following a meal two hours after sunrise, to proceed from there to al-Saṭḥ. Tamari notes merely that the caravan, after leaving al-Munaydarah (Abyār al-ᶜAlāʾī), moved along easily through al-Jifārāt ("Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 517).

696 The vocalised Arabic adverb *ghadan,* meaning "the next day, tomorrow," appears in the text here without relevance, it being preceded and followed by the coordinating conjunction *wa* (and). It seems likely to be an error for the verb *ghadiya* (via the mistaken *ghadā*), meaning "it (the caravan) had breakfast." For use of this place or thereabouts by the pilgrimage caravan as a stop for the early meal of the day see al-Jazīrī's remarks cited in the previous note. As observed in n. 693 above, the calculated Islamic lunar calendar has this Thursday falling on 4 Dhū al-Qaᶜdah, 965.

697 The night of this Friday occurred on 5 Dhū al-Qaᶜdah, 965 = the night of 18/19 August, 1558. The station known as al-Saṭḥ or Saṭḥ al-ᶜAqabah, where the Egyptian pilgrim caravan normally halted overnight on the outbound journey to Mecca, was located on a broad plain at the head of a long and steep pass extending to the shore of the Gulf of ᶜAqabah. Observers noted the absence of water at this station; yet an abundance of both sweet water and dates in season could be obtained little more than a mile away at a spot named Qaṭṭār. Some attest to the ruins of an ancient town there, while Tamari found the remains of about twenty structures in the rounded layout of a *dār* (encampment), which he suggests could have been the Saṭḥ al-ᶜAqabah station ("Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 517, n. 10). Among works consulted here, al-Saṭḥ/Saṭḥ al-ᶜAqabah is noted in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1339; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 22; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 824f; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 305; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 459;; ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 10; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 247, 248.

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place that people prepare themselves for the descent through this steep incline, which is named ᶜAqabat Aylah.[698] This has been an extraordinarily harsh, strenuous and cramped mountain road. Islamic rulers, old and recent, have not ceased to open and excavate it and to widen its paths, yet torrential floods and rains [continue to] ravage it, and it [remains] rough. And then God the exalted sends for it those who work at clearing it.[699] The last of the Circassian [Mamlūk] rulers of Egypt to have it smoothened was Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, at the hands of the architect Amīr Khāyir Beg.[700] Then, in our own era, Dāvud Pasha, the [Ottoman] governor of

698 The precipitous, narrow, winding and rock-strewn pass known historically as ᶜAqabat Aylah, and more recently as Naqb al-ᶜAqabah, descends some 650 metres through Jabal Umm Nuṣaylah from the pass's upper vertex at the al-Saṭḥ station to its lower one (*darak*) known as al-Munākh (and earlier as al-Ḥammām) on the seashore at al-ᶜAqabah. The latter was, until about the 6th/12th century, named Aylah, a town of antiquity, the biblical Elath, and the place after which the pass (*ᶜaqabah*) became known. Over time Aylah shifted location eastwards, probably owing to the silting of its harbour, and became known as al-ᶜAqabah (a reduction from ᶜAqabat Aylah), modern-day Jordan's sole outlet to the sea. Features of the pass, also sometimes referred to as the "Steps of ᶜAqabah," are discussed in Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, p. 204; and by Tamari in his historical and archaeological study, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," pp. 517-25. On Aylah/al-ᶜAqabah see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, i, 325-8 (which provides historical details and the folklore of Aylah subsequently transmitted in varying amounts by other accounts, including this *Riḥlah*); *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "Aila" (Musil), i, 210f and 2nd ed., arts. "Ayla" (Glidden), i, 783f and "al-ᶜAḳaba" (Glidden), i, 314f; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Akebe" (Bilge), ii, 209f; and William Harms, "Digging out Aqaba's Islamic Past," *Aramco World* (March/April, 2000), pp. 10-13. On aspects of both the town and the pass see too al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1333-7; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, pp. 20f; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 822-4; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 305; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 334-6; ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 10 and pt. viii, pp. 106f; Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, pp. 193f, 196-201; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 187-9.

699 The the author of the *Riḥlah* shortly identifies three Muslim rulers or their representatives who authorised initiatives to improve passage for the pilgrims through ᶜAqabat Aylah. Not mentioned were the undertakings ordered by the Baḥrī Mamlūk sultans al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāʾūn (*r.* three times between 693/1293 and 741/1341) in 719/1319 and 731/1331, and of his son, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (*r.* twice between 747/1347 and 762/1361), in 756/1355. See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1333; ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 10; Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, p. 204; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 187 and n. 2; and Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 521 and nn. 24-6.

700 For two earlier references to the Mamlūk sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (*r.* 906-22/1501-16) having authorised the architect (*miᶜmār*) Amīr Khayr/Khāyir to make repairs and improvements along the pilgrimage route in 914-15/1508-10, see above, p. 240 and n. 665, and p. 245 and n. 679. Al-Ghawrī's commissioning of Khāyir Beg to proceed with a company of builders and engineers to al-ᶜAqabah where, among other undertakings, it was to improve ᶜAqabat Aylah, is reported in Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiᶜ al-zuhūr*, iv, 133 under Rabīᶜ II, 914/August, 1508. The pilgrims returning to Cairo in Muḥarram, 915/April-May, 1509 gave news of the progress of these operations (*ibid.*,

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Egypt, had it repaired by our late, felicitous and martyred friend, Meḥmed Beg, the *defterdār* (treasurer) of Egypt (God almighty be merciful to the two of them and make their abodes the Garden of Eternity, beneath which rivers will stream!). The latter applied himself fully to that and cut among its paths several spots which he cleared so that the steep pass became very easy [to negotiate]. That took place in the year 945 [1538-9].[701] {*The author's marginal note here adds*: Before it was cleared, its [full] distance took a whole day to traverse. It continued to be cleared to the point where its extent could be covered in seven hours. The first one in the Islamic era to cut through and level it, and to enlarge its track, was Fātin, one of the slaves of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (God the exalted be merciful to him!)[702]}.

Aylah, to which this mountain road is linked, was a grand city on the seacoast. Nothing familiar remains of it today except gazelles and camels. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAbd al-Nūr has stated in his book, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī khabar al-aqṭār*,[703] which is a very useful book in its class:

> "Aylah is on the road (to) Mecca (God protect it!) from Egypt. It is at the beginning of the Ḥijāz border and is a city of superior standing

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iv, 151). Al-Ghawrī's efforts are alluded to as well in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1333; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 10; Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, p. 204; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 187; and Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 521 and n. 27.

701 On Dāvud Pasha, whose appointment to the Ottoman governorship of Egypt spanned the period 944-56/1538-49, and on Meḥmed Beg, the then *defterdār* of that province, see above, p. 112 and n. 296. Among works consulted for this study, the most detailed coverage of this particular improvement of ʿAqabat Aylah, which ultimately was authorised by Sultan Süleymān, is that provided by al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1333f. This was copied almost word for word by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 10. See too Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 187 (which gives the incorrect date of 940/1534); and Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 522.

702 Abū al-Jaysh Khumārawayh, the extravagant, libertine but popular son of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, founder of the short-lived Ṭūlūnid state in Egypt shortly after 254/868, ruled between 270/884 and his assassination in 282/896. On him see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Khumārawayh" (Haarmann), v, 49f; and Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 454f. The reference in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, i, 325 to improvements at the ʿAqabat Aylah authorised by Khumārawayh have been copied almost word for word into al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, pp. 70f; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1334; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. viii, p. 106. See too Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 187; and Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 520. Although the name of his slave, who carried out the improvements but who has not been further identified, usually appears as Fāʾiq, the text of the *Riḥlah* yields an unambiguous Fātin (also provided by al-Jazīrī).

703 On this book and its author, who is usually referred to as al-Ḥimyarī, see above, p. 24 and n. 76. The extracts from it blended here into a connected passage appear, with omissions and other differences, on pp. 70f of the published edition (*al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*).

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situated on the coast of the saltwater sea. The pilgrimage caravans of Egypt and the Maghrib meet there. Its populace is a mixture of people, and the place has been named Aylah bint bint Madyan bint Ibrāhīm (Peace be upon him!).[704] Ibn Isḥāq[705] has stated [that] 'When God's Messenger [Muḥammad] (God bless him and grant him salvation!) got as far as Tabūk, Yuḥannah b. Ru'bah, the lord of Aylah,[706] came to him [163a] and handed over the poll tax (*jizyah*),[707] and the Prophet wrote for him a letter of good faith.' And Abū Ḥamīd al-Sāʿidī has, on the matter of Tabūk,[708] related, 'The lord of Aylah presented to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him

704 The text of *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, p. 70, reads simply *Aylah bint Madyan*, whereas it appears here as *Aylah bint bint Madyan*, followed by *bint Ibrāhīm ʿalay-hi al-salām* interpolated above the line, seemingly by al-Nahrawālī's hand. It is likely that the appearance here of *bint* twice in succession (=granddaughter) is an error. This attribution of the town's name appears also in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1334; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. viii, p. 106; and Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, p. 197.

Al-Ḥimyarī's locating the confluence of the pilgrimage caravans of Egypt and the Maghrib here is probably an error, since the two join up in Cairo/Birkat al-Ḥājj. Earlier geographers such as al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 285/897) more logically have the Syrian/Damascus caravan joining at Aylah with that of Egypt and the Maghrib combined (as related in Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, p. 196).

705 On Ibn Isḥāq (d. *ca.* 150/767), the eminent early authority on the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn Isḥāq" (Jones), iii, 810f.

706 This act of submission by the ruler of Aylah to the Prophet Muḥammad occurred in the year 9/630-1, during the latter's Tabūk campaign, and is featured in early Islamic tradition as evidence of Muḥammad's great prestige by that early date. The figure Yuḥannah b. Ru'bah, whose name appears in texts also as Yuḥannā, Taḥīyah (?) and Yūḥannah, is styled variously as the bishop, king or lord of Aylah. The tribute he agreed to pay is said to have been three hundred *dīnār*s a year. The accounts of al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, i, 326, of al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1335, and of ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. viii, p. 106, differ on this point little from that of al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, p. 70, which is followed here by the author of the *Riḥlah*. See too Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, p. 197; Harms, "Digging out Aqaba's Islamic Past," p. 12; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "Aila" (Musil), i, 210; and 2nd ed., arts. "Ayla" (Glidden), i, 783f, and "Muḥammad 1. Life and Career" (Buhl/Welch), vii, 373.

707 The *jizyah*, commonly translated as poll or head tax, was levied on Christian and Jewish adult males (*dhimmī*s) as collective tribute for being allowed to practise their faiths while living under Islamic rule. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Djizya (i)" (Cahen), ii, 559-62; and for its relationship to the *jawālī* revenues see above, p. 225, n. 619. The instance referred to here is an early one of a small independent Christian state recognising the Prophet's suzerainty.

708 Abū Ḥamīd al-Sāʿidī has not been further identified. Among works consulted for this study, the only other one to include from al-Ḥimyarī this remark, and without any elabortion on it, is that of al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1336. On Tabūk and the Prophet Muḥammad's campaign there in 9/630, see above, p. 25 and n. 78.

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> salvation!) a white she-mule, and the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salavation!) attired him in a garment and wrote for him [a letter of good faith].' In the past, Aylah was the frontier of the Roman empire. A mile distant from it is a vaulted gate belonging to an emperor, where they would collect tolls. From Aylah to Jerusalem is a six-days' journey. And [Jabal] al-Ṭūr, on which God the exalted spoke to our master Moses (Peace be upon him!),[709] is a day and a half [away]. Aylah has markets and mosques. Within it are many Jews claiming that in their possession is the cloak of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!) and that he sent it to them as an assurance of protection. What they show is a cloak from Aden wrapped in material, only a hand span of which has [ever] been exposed.[710] Here ends, in summary, what *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* has to say [on this subject]."

The site of that city is no longer known. What is there [now] is a fortress built by the Circassian [Mamlūk] rulers of Egypt. The last of them to renovate it was Sultan [Qānṣawh] al-Ghawrī (God the exalted show him mercy!), and what he did still remains. Within the fortress is a detachment of Egyptian sentries and a well with fresh water.[711] The pilgrims deposit their personal effects and goods for safekeeping with the fortress people.

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709 Jabal al-Ṭūr (Mount Sinai) is mentioned in the *Qurʾān* in several places, but the most likely reference for the allusion here is to XIX: 52. The Biblical account of God's revelation to Moses on the mount appears in Exodus, 3: 1-18 and 4: 4-17.

710 Aylah/Elath was an ancient Jewish port for both shipping and caravans (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "Aila" (Musil), i, 210). As early as the 3rd/9th century, the geographer al-Yaʿqūbī noted the existence there of a striped robe said to have been the cloak of the Prophet and to have been given as a gift by him to Ruʾbah b. Yuḥannah when the latter came to Tabūk (as cited by Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, p. 196); but he makes no mention of how it could have come to be in the possession of the local Jewish population. Other accounts incorporating this reference to the Jews of Aylah claiming possession of the Prophet's cloak are al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, i, 325; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p.1336; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. viii, p. 106.

711 The original fortress in the area is said to have been located on an island off Aylah, before that community shifted eastwards and gradually became known as, first, ʿAqabat Aylah, and then as simply al-ʿAqabah. The ruins of the present stronghold at al-ʿAqabah, situated only fifty metres from the shore, date from the time of the Mamlūk sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, who during 914-15/1508-10 had the architect Khāyir Beg (*cf.* above, p. 240 and n. 665) restore or completely rebuild an existing structure dating probably from the 6th/12th century when the Ayyūbids were in conflict there with the Crusaders (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iv, 133, 151). It was as well renovated later, in the time of the Ottoman sultan Murād III (*r.* 982-1003/1574-95). The fort's structure is square-shaped, with rounded towers on each of its corners and a grand portal opening to

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At this station are palm trees belonging to the local Arabs. The latter are called the Ḥuwayṭāt and are a subgroup of the Banū ʿUqbah. They are [in name] linked with *ḥāʾiṭ* (enclosed garden), meaning *nakhl* (palm plantation), and so have been called Ḥuwayṭāt.[712] Holes are dug into the seacoast for the outflow of fresh water. When pilgrims, proceeding in either direction, encamp there, caravans from Ghazzah, al-Karak, Jerusalem, Hebron, and thereabouts come with various fruits, foodstuffs and sheep, and sell [them] there to members of the pilgrimage caravan, who avail themselves [of this].

The caravan begins to move down through the mountain road (*ʿaqabah*), in an [alternating] climbing and descending fashion, until, in the bends of the mountain, it reaches a spot that has red soil and is called

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the north. Constructed of square-hewn black and white quarried stone, it contained stables, storehouses, and rooms for pilgrims and other visitors. Although usually described as a fortress (*qalʿah*), it is sometimes referred to as a caravansary (*ḫan*), but one clearly of the fortrtess type. This fortification is noted or described in varying detail in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, i, 327 (which recounts warfare there with the Crusaders and provides references to the fort); al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1335-7 (which borrows heavily from al-Maqrīzī on this); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 20; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 822 (which is rich in descriptive details); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 305; al-Warthilānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p. 338; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pts. viii, p. 107 and ix, p. 25; Musil, *Northern Ḥeǧâz*, p. 85 (with a 1910 photo of it); Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, pp. 194f (a good description of it, including the inscriptions ascribing repairs to it authorised by Sultan Murād III); H.W. Glidden, "The Mamluk Origin of the Fortified Khan at al-ʿAqabah, Jordan," in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. G.C. Miles (Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin, 1952), pp. 116-8 (a short study with photos of the inscriptions attributing its restoration to Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, but conjecturing an incorrect date); Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 188; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Ayla" (Glidden), i, 784 and "al-ʿAḳaba" (Glidden), i, 315; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Akabe" (Bilge), ii, 210 (with photos); and Harms, "Digging out Akaba's Islamic Past," p. 13.

712 The Ḥuwayṭāt is a large tribe centered in what is today northwestern Saudi Arabia, southern Jordan, and parts of Sinai. Only in fairly recent times did these people become nomadic beduins; for as this reference to them well attests, they traditionally were engaged in the cultivation of date palms. For a concise informative description of them see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Ḥuwayṭāt" (Rentz), iii, 642-4. Also, see Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, 154f, 291-306; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam qabāʾil al-ʿArab al-qadīmah wa al-ḥadīthah*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li'l-Malāyīn, 1968-75), i, 318f; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Huveytât" (Çetin), xviii, 430. Among works consulted for this study, this accounting for the origin of the tribe's name appears, with slight differences, in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1337 (and quoted word for word by Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, p. 198); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 20; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. viii, p. 107. For an earlier reference to the Banū ʿUqbah, see above, p. 21 and n. 65.

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al-Dār al-Ḥamrāʾ.[713] It then ascends to a lengthy stretch of rough terrain and a clear path, and proceeds along the side of a mountain. To the left of and below the person descending is a deep ravine, into which the camel, when jostled, nearly plunges with its load and is shattered. Then there is a narrow defile, followed by a slope which is called 'the Spiral (al-Ḥalazūn)' and which is hard to climb, lengthy in span, and has a yawning precipice.[714] The caravan arrives next at a place abounding in red stones where people take a short rest. It then proceeds to a steep track, large ravines, and a slope from where the sea can be seen. Subsequently, it climbs through black mountains before descending to the large plain and the sea. This mountain road has other tracks which the beduins take and which are very narrow.

Then, with the sea to its right, the pilgrimage caravan proceeds until it alights near the fortress [of al-ʿAqabah], where it remains for three days and where a grand market is set up. Found in abundance at this station is the thorn-apple, a dangerous plant with narcotic properties. This is the sixteenth station, and at it the first quarter of the route [to Mecca] comes to an end.[715] Our halting [there] occurred [163b] during the late afternoon

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713 Following his digression on the Pass of Aylah (ʿAqabat Aylah) and features of Aylah and its history, drawn mainly from al-Ḥimyarī, the author of the *Riḥlah* here returns to the course of the caravan's journey from its departure from the pass's upper vertex, the station called al-Saṭḥ. Reference to al-Dār al-Ḥamrāʾ with its red soil, located part way along the pass, appears also in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1337 (and is quoted word for word by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 10). This is the second place known by that name encountered in this *Riḥlah*, the other one being the station following that of al-Buwayb (see above, p. 238 and n. 659).

714 This place bearing the name al-Ḥalazūn (the Spiral) is referred to as well in the same two works cited in the previous note.

715 As observed by al-Nahrawālī, on arrival at the station of al-ʿAqabah, with its campground situated between the fort on the shore and a nearby mountain, and close to a constant source of fresh water from a subterranean stream debouching there into the sea, the Egyptian caravan had completed the first quarter of the route to Mecca. The hazardous descent through the pass from its upper vertex (*saṭḥ*) used to require a full day's effort (about sixteen hours); but through the various engineering and quarrying efforts to improve it (see above, p. 251 and nn. 699-702), this was reduced by more than half. That al-Nābulusī in the early 12th/late 17th century cleared it in two hours (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 305) seems an anomoly. In the 10th/16th century the caravan encamped there for three days for rest and to stock up on foods provided for sale by the various supply caravans (*mulāqāt*) referred to in this text, whereas previously it remained longer, and later its stay was shortened. For corroborative evidence supporting what al-Nahrawālī has to say about this station and the challenging last leg of the journey to it, as well as for descriptions of various features of it, see al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 229, 1336-8; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 20; Ḥācī Ḫalîfe, *Cihân-numâ*, p. 541; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 822f; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 332-5; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 248; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pts. ix, p. 25

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of Friday, the 4th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 965.[716] By chance we encountered there the caravan from Ghazzah, and prices were moderate (Praise and thanks be to God!). We stayed there Saturday, Sunday and Monday night, and departed at daybreak on Monday.[717]

This is called the second quarter {*The author's marginal note here adds*: It is the shortest of the quarters and the one with the sweetest and most plentiful water.}. We passed through some date palms named Nakhīl Ḥaql, which belong to the Ḥuwayṭāt of the Banū ʿAṭīyah,[718] and remained on the backs of [our] camels until noon. This road is called Dawwār Ḥiql, as though it were named after one of the old villages of Aylah called

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and xiv, p. 10; Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 83-7; Shuqayr, *Tārīkh Sīnā*, pp. 193-5, 204; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 188f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-ʿAḳaba" (Glidden), i, 314f; Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," pp. 522-4; and Harms, "Digging out Aqaba's Islamic Past," p. 13.

716 According to the calculated Islamic lunar calendar, the Friday referred to occurred on 5 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 19 August, 1558 (cf. above, p. 250, n. 697). For the author of the *Riḥlah*'s occasional use of the expression *bayna al-ṣalātayn* (between the two prayers) to refer to the late afternoon, between the *ʿaṣr* and *maghrib* prayers, see above, p. 116, n. 309.

717 This Monday fell on 8 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 22 August, 1558. The caravan from Ghazzah was obviously one participating in the active victual and fodder market held at al-ʿAqabah during the pilgrimage season and referred to above in this text (p. 255).

718 What the author of the *Riḥlah* identifies here as Nakhīl Ḥaql appears on maps and in other texts as simply Ḥaql or al-Ḥaql. Although today a small Saudi Arabian port located about thirty-five kms. south of al-ʿAqabah, it was historically a well-watered oasis of date palms lying at the end of the winding coast road from al-ʿAqabah. The potabale water was obtained from excavated wells just south of Ḥaql, at a place possibly known as either (or both) Ḥuqayl (little Ḥaql) or Ḥafāʾir al-Ghanam. Although not usually referred to as a pilgrim caravan station (*manzil*), it was customary for the caravan proceeding from al-ʿAqabah to pause there for the morning meal because of the availability of fresh water. See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1250, 1351; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 19; Ḥācī Ḫalîfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541 (which briefly describes it without mentioning it by name); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 305 (which identifies it as a caravan station (*manzil*)); ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 14; and Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 91-3, 321, 324, 325.

For an earlier reference to the Ḥuwayṭāt at al-ʿAqabah and as a subgroup of the Banū ʿUqbah, see above, p. 255 and n. 712. On the plausible tradition that Ḥuwayṭ, the tribe's eponymous founder, was an Egyptian pilgrim who at al-ʿAqabah became associated with the Banū ʿAṭīyah tribe see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Ḥuwayṭāt" (Rentz), iii, 642f. For the location of the Banū ʿAṭīyah in the area of the Gulf of al-ʿAqabah and for their relationship to the Ḥuwayṭāt see Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, 336-9. See too al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 230; and Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, espec. pp. 234-6 (for their being concentrated at Tabūk early in the 20th century).

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al-Ḥāqūl. Its whole length is alongside the sea.[719] To the left is one long uninterrupted mountain culminating in two slopes with a pass [between], and in excavated basins containing fresh water. By way of this road one ascends to the halting place named Ẓahr al-Ḥimār.[720]

The seventeenth station is Ẓahr al-Ḥimār, an open plain to which one ascends by a long difficult slope next to another one, where both camels and men exhaust themselves. We halted there after noon on Monday, the 7th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, and had a meal.[721] Once the caravan was finished [with that], we departed [and traveled] until sunset.

The eighteenth halting place is Bayna al-Jurfayn,[722] where we dismounted after sunset. The pilgrims remained there a couple of hours before

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719 This Dawwār Ḥaql, the winding coast road which hugged the shoreline from al-ʿAqabah to Ḥaql, and which in places was very narrow, is mentioned in several of the accounts consulted for this study; none of them, however, supports al-Nahrawālī's vocalisation Ḥiql. The old village of al-Ḥāqūl has not been further identified.

720 The winding coast road (Dawwār Ḥaql) ended at the sweet-water wells just south of the Ḥaql oasis, from where the caravan route turned inland and proceeded in a south-southeasterly direction. From there it ascended either of two steep, stoney and challenging slopes, and after an hour's travel arrived on a wide open plain overlooking the sea and palm plantations of Ḥaql below. The toponym Ẓahr al-Ḥimār, which was not a hamlet and no longer appears on maps of Arabia, derives from an elevated rocky formation which, viewed from below, resembles the shape of a donkey's back. The composite picture that emerges from an examination of eyewitness accounts and secondary sources portrays both Ḥaql on the coast and Ẓahr al-Ḥimār on the heights above as being one and the same station with only an hour's distance between its two parts. With the exception of al-Nābulusī, all accounts give Ẓahr al-Ḥimār rather than the village and oasis of Ḥaql as the name of this *manzil*, which is about six hours' travel from al-ʿAqabah. By the 10th/16th century it was customary for the caravan to halt for about two hours (thirty *darajah*s) on the high plain for the late morning meal. See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1351f; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 19; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihānnumā*, p. 541; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151: Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 821f; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 305; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 338, 340, 368f, 548; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 459; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pts. ix, pp. 25f, and xiv, p. 14; Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 324, 325; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 191 and n. 3.

721 This Monday fell on 8 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 22 August, 1558.

722 What is here (and elsewhere) referred to as Bayna al-Jurfayn (between the two bluffs) was located at some point in what appears on modern maps of Saudi Arabia as Wādī Umm Jurfayn or Jabal Jurfayn. According to al-Jazīrī, the 10th/16th-century commentator on the Egyptian *ḥajj*, its location was near the entry point to this valley and yet still close to the seashore. The same author describes it as being fifty-five *darajah*s (just under four hours) from Ẓahr al-Ḥimār, as well as being the place where the evening meal was usually taken, which is implicit in the text of the *Riḥlah* (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1352, 1353). When al-Nābulusī passed there in 1105/1694, he encamped overnight at Umm al-Jurfayn, and shortly before noon the next day reached the place called al-Jurfayn (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 306). To the 12th/18th-century North African traveler

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the caravan resumed its journey and traveled throughout the night. It crossed Shurfat Banī ʿAṭīyah and came to a halt.[723]

Shurfat Banī ʿAṭīyah is the nineteenth station. The caravan paused there during the forenoon of Tuesday, the 8th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah,[724] for the morning meal, and then departed and kept on going until a third of the night had elapsed. In this locale along the route there is much brushwood, and so the road is very uneven. {*The author's marginal note here adds*: Such that beduins say, "There is no pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) until once past ʿArafah, and no fully proven camel until once past al-Shurfah."}[725]

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al-Warthīlānī, it was as though at Bayna al-Jurfayn the mountains divided into two halves (*Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p. 341). Al-Nahrawālī is alone among the accounts consulted here in terming this place a *manzil* (station, halting place). See too Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 459; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 248; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 14 (which transmits al-Jazīrī); Musil, *Northern Ḥeǧâz*, p. 324; United States Government, *Saudi Arabia: Official Standard Names approved by the United States Board of Geographic Names* (Washington: Defense Mapping Agency Topographic Center, 1978), p. 193; and ʿAbduh, *Muʿjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 122.

723 While several accounts provide the same name for this place as al-Nahrawālī does, namely that of Shurfat Banī ʿAṭīyah (the watch tower of the Banī ʿAṭīyah), others yield al-Sharafah, al-Shurafāʾ, al-Sharaf, al-Sharāf, etc. It appears to have evolved into present-day al-Sharaf, a district centre. Al-Nābulusī, who camped overnight there in 1105/1694, confirms that al-Sharaf was also known as Shurfat Banī ʿAṭīyah. The 12th/18th-century traveler al-Warthīlānī reported that by his time it had as well the name Umm al-ʿIẓām. In the first half of the 11th/17th century Kibrīt observed that it was located in such a barren and forlorn valley that even birds hesitated to pass through it. Generally, accounts associate this waterlerless place with an abundance of firewood, with severe cold in winter, and, owing to the acute unevenness of the road there, with being an extreme challenge to camels. It is noted to have been about fourteen hours travel from Ẓahr al-Ḥimār. The area is and has long been populated by significant concentrations of the Banī ʿAṭīyah beduin tribe (cf. above, p. 257, n. 718). See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1353-4 (which, although roughly contemporaneous with the *Riḥlah*, curiously gives its name only as al-Sharafah and has little to observe about it); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 19; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 820f; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 306; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 338, 339, 341, 369, 548; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 459; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pts. ix, p. 26, and xiv, p. 14; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 248; Musil, *Northern Ḥeǧâz*, pp. 322-5; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 191.

724 This Tuesday fell on 9 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 23 August, 1558.

725 ʿArafah refers to the plain (and hill) of ʿArafah/ʿArafāt, near Mecca, which figures prominently in the Muslim pilgrimage ceremonies. This proverb, with modifications, appears also in both al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1354 and (its copyist) ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 14.

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The twentieth halting place is al-Muṭallāt, a site [positioned] between two mountains.[726] After a third of the way into the night of Wednesday, the 9th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah,[727] the caravan halted there for the evening meal before resuming its journey. The Banū ʿAṭīyah had renounced their obedience [to the Ottoman sultan] and taken to misbehaving towards the pilgrims. The reason for that is [as follows]: This place had surveillance posts (*maḥāris*) belonging to the Banū Lām.[728] It so happened that in certain years they showed up at these posts [where] they took the pilgrims by surprise and did much killing and despoiling. So the government granted to the chief of the Banū Lām a protection subsidy which he paid the tribesmen as sufficient compensation for [halting] their damage and as a means of relieving the government of having to dispatch troops against them in those mountains. It was [a sum of] 10,000 *muḥallaq*s.[729] But then the Banū ʿAṭīyah got control of the place, began receiving the protection money, [164a] and became responsible for warding off the harm of the Banū Lām. ʿAmr, the *shaykh* of the Banū ʿAṭīyah,[730] began to obtain the money, part of which he would pay to the chief of the Banū Lām, and the rest of which he kept. When, however, ʿĪsā al-Juwaylī was commander of the [Egyptian] pilgrimage caravan in 963 [1556],[731] he restored the purse

726 This place appears in only a few of the works used here, as either al-Muṭallāt or al-Miẓallah. Although absent from maps under either of these toponyms, it was probably situated at or near what on detailed maps of Saudi Arabia is identified as al-Naṣlah al-Rafīʿah, about midway between al-Sharaf (Shurfat Banī ʿAṭīyah?) to the north of it and al-Badʿ to the south. The stretch of the caravan road between it and Shurfat Banī ʿAṭīyah was at most times considered to be very vulnerable to beduin depredations. On it see al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 990f, 1298 (where it is vocalised in a line of poetry as al-Miẓallah), 1305, 1576; Ḥācī Ḫalife, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 459 (here mistakenly construed as Matlt); ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 15; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mir'āt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 248; and Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 323, 324 (where the valley of Muṭallāt is equated with Wādī al-Abyaḍ).

727 According to the calculated Islamic lunar calendar the night of Wednesday occurred on 10 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 23/24 August, 1558.

728 For an earlier reference to and note on the Banū Lām beduin tribe and their reputation for periodic insubordination and caravan raiding between the Gulf of ʿAqabah and Tabūk, a distance of about 150 kms., see above, p. 21 and n. 65. On the Mafārijah clan of the Banū Lām tribe see al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1375f. The text here yields *makhāris* for the more usual *maḥāris* (surveillance or guard posts).

729 On this unit of Arabian silver currency see above, p. 10, n. 33.

730 For the Banū ʿAṭīyah beduins concentrated in this area see above, p. 257, n. 718, as well as Bakhīt, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 193. ʿAmr, their chief alluded to here, has not been further identified. Historical accounts and other sources rich in biographical information generally tend to neglect tribal and other rural leaders (cf. *ibid.*, p. 192).

731 He was ʿĪsā Beg b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿĀmir al-Juwaylī, the *amīr* of the Banū ʿAwnah beduins who, although originally from the Maghrib, had long been located in the province of Buḥayrah of the western Nile delta. He was known for his generosity and bravery, but

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of the Banū Lām to their *shaykh*, who was Nuᶜaymān b. Jughaymān,[732] and it was withheld from ᶜAmr, *shaykh* of the Banū ᶜAṭīyah. That was cause for the latter's rebellion and his conflict with the pilgrims each year. And nowhere is it more difficult for the pilgrims than at al-Shurfah and this place (al-Muṭallāt). The commander of the pilgrims [in this year: 965/1558] was a person of some discernment.[733] He set out by moonlight, traveled the entire night, and was able to keep the caravan intact. He seized a bedouin of the Banū ᶜUqbah,[734] severed his head, and rode round with it among the pilgrims. Nevertheless, the tribesmen seized three loads (*aḥmāl*). While some of this was rescued from them, the rest they plundered (God almighty protect from harm!). The caravan continued to move along until daybreak.

The twenty-first station is Maghārat Shuᶜayb (Peace be with him!), where the pilgrimage caravan halted at dawn on Wednesday, the 9th of Dhū al-Qaᶜdah.[735] It is a place with excavated pits of sweet water, and with

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also for his ability to curry favour with the sultan and his senior court notables in Istanbul. So persuasive was he with the latter that he could appeal successfully over the heads of Ottoman officials in Egypt directly to the empire's central administration. He was Egyptian *amīr al-ḥājj* in 963/1556, in preparation for which he was promoted to a *beg*ship, and again in 971/1564 and 972/1565. ᶜĪsā was an Egyptian and not one of the Ottoman officials administering the province of Egypt. On him see al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, especially pp. 1888, 1890-5; and al-Rashīdī, *Ḥusn al-ṣafā*, pp. 159, 162. For an earlier reference to and note on al-Juwaylī see above, p. 221 and n. 606.

732 For an earlier reference to Nuᶜaym b. Salāmah b. Jughaymān, *shaykh* of the Mafārijah clan of the Banū Lām and one whose family and large beduin following were frequently in rebellion against the Ottomans, see above, p. 22 and n. 67. Reports in al-Jazīrī on Nuᶜaym's father, Salāmah b. Fawwāz, indicate that the latter was known as Jughaymān (*al-Durar al-farā'id*, pp. 311, 811). It is conceivable that al-Nahrawālī's rendering of Nuᶜaym here as Nuᶜaymān may be accounted for merely by a (unconscious?) desire to make it rhyme with Jughaymān.

733 He was the *kāshif* Ḫiżr b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Rūmī (see above, pp. 235f and n. 654).

734 For earlier references to the Banū ᶜUqbah tribe see above, pp. 21 and 255. On this branch of the tribe consult Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 89 and n. 96, p. 194, n. 13, and p. 221 (which suggests a cooperative relationship between the Banū Lām and the Banū ᶜUqbah).

735 This Wednesday has already been reckoned as having fallen on 10 Dhū al-Qaᶜdah (965) = 24 August, 1558 (*cf.* above, n. 727).

The important pilgrimage caravan station known as, variously, Maghār/Maghārat/Maghā'ir or Maghāyir Shuᶜayb (the cave(s) of Shuᶜayb) was one in a small collectivity of villages and landmarks forming part of an extensive, well-watered oasis network. The prophet Shuᶜayb (on whom see above, p. 24 and n. 77), who is sometimes associated with the figure of Moses's father-in-law, the Biblical Jethro, is held to have worshiped in the caves (*maghā'ir*) at this place. This station is located at forty to fifty kms. south of the ill-identified Shurfat Banī ᶜAṭīyah and was reported to have been twelve to eighteen hours travel by caravan from there. Its modern-day community, known as al-Badᶜ in

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date palms, tamarisk trees and bdelliums in abundance. Its water is the freshest along the Ḥijāz road, it being claimed that, in sweetness, wholesomeness and the absence of contaminants, it is like the water of the Nile.[736] There is a dilapidated well there, and tumble-down structures with stone panels in which are inscribed the names of those monarchs who erected them. While most [of the inscriptions] have become effaced, [recognisable] among them are the names of Sultans Qāyitbāy and Barsbāy.[737] Maghārat Shuʿayb has a well with a water wheel in the possession of a faction of the Banū ʿAṭīyah called the Sawārik.[738] By the seacoast there are traces of a dilapidated wall alleged to be that of Madyan.[739]

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token of its occupation by the Badaʿīn beduin clan, is located about five kms. north of the historical Maghārat Shuʿayb, which essentially was a Nabataean necropolis. Although older Islamic accounts (but including this one too) locate Madyan, to whose people God is held to have sent Shuʿayb, on the coast some fourteen kms. distant, Musil's close examination of the area in 1910 led him to identify Madyan with an area much closer to the caves of Shuʿayb. See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1355-7; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 19 (who gives a brief but rather dismal portrayal of its fabric in *ca.* 1039/1629-30); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 819-20 (which focuses on the Islamic lore relating to it); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 306f; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 341, 369, 541f; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 459f; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pts. xiv , p. 15 (which repeats al-Jazīrī almost word for word), and ix, p. 26; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 248; Léon Roches, *Trente-deux ans à travers l'Islam (1832-1864)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1884-5), ii, 61; Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 102, 109, 110 (Sketch map of the oasis), 282, 325, 326; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 192; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Madyan Shuʿayb" (Buhl/Bosworth), v, 1156, and "Shuʿayb" (Rippin), ix, 491; P.J. Parr, G.L. Harding and J.E. Dayton, "Preliminary Survey in N. W. Arabia, 1968," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* (London), x (1971), 30-5; and Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 512, n. 31.

736 Other accounts comparing favorably the sweet water of Maghārat Shuʿayb with that of the Nile River include those of Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 19; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 15.

737 Alluded to here are two Mamlūk sultans of Egypt and Syria, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr Barsbāy (*r.* 825-41/1422-38) and al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr Sayf al-Dīn Qāʾitbāy (*r.* 872-901/1468-96). On them see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Barsbāy" (Wiet), i, 1053f, and "Ḳāʾit Bāy" (Sobernheim/Ashtor), iv, 462f.

738 The Sawārikah people were concentrated mainly in northern Sinai, adjacent to the Mediterranean coast (Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 253; and Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, 143, 144). According to al-Jazīrī, whose monumental work on the Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan is pretty much contemporaneous with this *Riḥlah*, the Sawārikah branch of the Banū ʿAṭīyah had a reputation historically for aggressiveness towards the pilgrimage caravan. He as well informs that, in return for their services at that time in supplying the caravan with good water at Maghārat Shuʿayb, they received from the exchequer of the Ottoman sultanate (*dīwān al-salṭanah*) a subvention of twenty *dīnār*s (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 230, 1346, 1357; see too ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 15).

739 For earlier references to Madyan see above, p. 24 and n. 77, and p. 261, n. 735; and on the location and people of Biblical and Qurʾānic Madyan see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*,

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The author of the *Taqwīm al-Buldān*[740] has said, "The city of Madyan is [situated] on the coast of the Qulzum Sea and is in ruins. It has the well from which Moses (Peace be with him!) drew water for Shuʿayb's (Peace be with him!) sheep;"[741] but it is no longer in use. Abū ʿUbayd has related in the *Masālik*, "Near Madyan is the well from which Moses (Peace be with him!) got water. Erected facing onto the well's courts is a rock chamber containing a cave called Shuʿayb's (Peace be with him!) Cave, where his sheep would shelter. Within these chambers are tombs carved into the rocks, and these tombs contain decayed bones large enough to resemble camel bones. Each chamber is twenty cubits [deep?]. The odours in those chambers are so putrid that anyone entering them perishes." (End of excerpt)[742] He has (also) said, "The Jews of Madyan possess a letter

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2nd ed., art. "Madyan Shuʿayb" (Buhl/Bosworth), v, 1155f. Early archaeological observations on this mainly Nabataean center, together with a sketch map of ancient Madyan and drawings, diagrams and photographs, are provided by Musil, *Northern Ḥeǧâz*, pp. 109-20. See too Parr *et al.*, "Preliminary Survey of N. W. Arabia, 1968," pp. 30-5; Fuʾād Ḥamzah, *Qalb Jazīrat al-ʿArab* (al-Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-Naṣr al-Ḥadīthah, 1968), pp. 226-9; and, for an analysis of what the early Arab geographers had to say about Madyan, see Abdullah al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz in the Writings of the Arab Geographers 800-1150* (Beirut: al-Risalah, 1973), pp. 140-5.

740 The author of this geographical work was al-Malik al-Muʾayyad ʿImād al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd ... b. Ayyūb, known as Abū al-Fidā. He was an Ayyūbid prince, historian and geographer who was born in Damascus in 672/1273, served the Mamlūk rulers of his native Syria, and died at Ḥamāh in 732/1331. On him and his geographical work, the *Taqwīm al-buldān* (Survey of the Lands), which although celebrated is mainly derivative, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Abu 'l-Fidā" (Gibb), i, 118f; and *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*, art. "Abū al-Fidā" (Irwin), i, 32.

741 This is paraphrased from Abū al-Fidā, *Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. M. Reinaud and M.G. De Slane (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1840; repr. Baghdād: Maktabat al-Muthannā, *ca.* 1964), p. 87. The Baḥr al-Qulzum refers to the Red Sea, which at this point is the northeastern arm of it called the Gulf of ʿAqabah. Archaeological studies locate Islamic Madyan not on the coast, where in this area the mountains rise sharply almost from the shoreline, but inland and as part of the Badʿ/Maghārat Shuʿayb oasis (Musil, *Northern Ḥeǧâz*, pp. 109ff; and Parr *et al.*, "Preliminary Survey of N.W. Arabia, 1968," p. 31). For the prophet Shuʿayb and the occasional association of him with the Biblical Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, see above, p. 24 and n. 77, and p. 261, n. 735. The Qurʾānic account of Moses at Madyan watering sheep for two damsels, one of whom was given by her unnamed father to him in marriage, is found in XXVIII: 22-8.

742 On the Medieval Andalusian scholar Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbdallāh al-Bakrī and his most celebrated work, the comprehensive treatise on geography entitled *al-Masālik wa al-mamālik*, see above, p. 243 and n. 674. Al-Wohaibi's paraphrase of the relevant part of the *Masālik* confirms al-Nahrawālī's excerpt from it concerning the rock dwellings and tombs at Madyan (*Northern Hijaz*, p. 143). Curiously, in 1105/1694 al-Nābulusī reported having been told there of the earlier experience of a man who traced the source of a sweet fragrance to a shrouded corpse entombed in a cave, whom he believed to be the prophet Shuʿayb (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 307).

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which they claim that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!) composed for them and which they show to people. It is [enclosed] in a piece of parchment which, over a long period of time, has turned black. It is held that the parchment bears the hand-writing of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān."[743] (Concluded)

[164b] There remains no trace of all of that, except for that water wheel, the well, the dilapidated buildings, and the pits of fresh water. On the subject of Madyan, Ibn Abī Ḥajalah[744] observes:

When early in the morn we to Madyan's water came,
Folk there providing drink with waterskins did I find.

The intoning master of women at dance doth mine ears delight,
As doth rhapsodising through the reed flute's stops.

We remained at that place until after noon and then traveled until sunset.

The twenty-second halting place is Qabr al-Ṭawāshī, where the pilgrimage caravan alighted after sunset on the night of Thursday, the 10th of [Dhū] al-Qaʿdah.[745] It remained there for nearly three hours before resuming its journey and traveling for the remainder of the night until dawn.

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743 Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān was the first caliph (*r.* 41-60/661-80) from the Damascus-based Umayyad ruling family, at least one of whose princes was an occasional resident of Madyan (al-Wohaibi, *Northern Hijaz*, p. 145). This additional paraphrase from al-Bakrī's *al-Masālik* is confirmed in *ibid.*, p. 143, except that in the latter account the letter is held to have been written in the hand either of ʿAlī, the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law and the fourth among the righlty-guided caliphs (*r.* 35-*ca.* 41/656-61), or of Muʿāwiyah.

744 For an earlier reference to and note on this 8th/14th-century mystic and prolific poet see above, p. 237 and n. 657. These same two lines of poetry appear in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1360.

745 According to the calculated Islamic lunar calendar, the evening of the Thursday referred to here fell on 11 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = the evening of Wednesday, 24 August, 1558. References to Qabr al-Ṭawāshī are scant, and comments on it even scanter. Its toponym appears neither on any of the maps nor in any of the place name indexes consulted here. According to al-Jazīrī, al-Nahrawālī's acquaintance whose work is largely contemporaneous with the *Riḥlah*, the encampment (*dār*) had the name Umm Rujaym but was known popularly among pilgrims as Qabr al-Ṭawāshī (the eunuch's grave) because of a burial marker there for a deceased eunuch. See *al-Durar al farāʾid*, pp. 1298 (where curiously it is spelled as Umm Ruḥaym in a line of poetry), 1305, 1360, 1361, 1576, which work is followed closely by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 16. Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 541) and his copyists (Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 460; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 248) provide no more than the name Qabr al-Ṭawāshī. Al-Nābulusī, who encamped overnight there in 1105/1694, vocalised the name of the camp as al-Ṣuwayr (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 307). And Musil, in his comment on Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Northern Ḥeğâz*, p. 324), conjectures, on the bases of location and distance, that

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ᶜUyūn al-Qaṣab[746] is the twenty-third station, where we stopped at daybreak. The water there is less sweet than that of Maghārat Shuᶜayb. This place has a well irrigated canebrake, although its water is subject to sudden change. It is held that ᶜUyūn al-Qaṣab is a third of the way from Cairo to Mecca the exalted. It in summertime is an oppressively hot oasis where people die unexpectedly.[747] In former times a commander of the pilgrimage caravan died and was buried there in a cupolaed structure. He

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it is the same place as the modern al-Marāḥ (meaning a place visited in the evening). This is cogent on grounds of sense as well, since it seems generally to have been a halting place for the evening prayer and meal (*muᶜashshā*) for the Mecca-bound caravan.

746 The caravan halting place (*manzil*) at the oasis of ᶜUyūn al-Qaṣab, which is alluded to in the last of the above two lines of poetry (as Aᶜyun al-Qaṣab), can be equated with modern (and olden)-day ᶜAynūnah, although the two almost certainly did not occupy the exact same geographical space. As ᶜAynūnā it figured in the Egyptian *ḥajj* from at least the 3rd/9th century (al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 651). A composite picture of it drawn from old and modern accounts portrays it as being very near the shoreline of the Red Sea, in the bay of ᶜAynūnah. It was well supplied with potable, if inferior, water which supported reedbeds, date palms and some fertile soil for other types of cultivation. It was known for its extreme heat in summer, as well as for the threat of beduin attacks whenever government subventions for tibal protection of the caravan were withdrawn or transferred. In fact, in Mamlūk times the caravan followed a more inland road through the narrow pass (*maḍīq*) of al-Qarqaf; but beduin ambushes there forced a rerouting of it closer to the seashore. Much of what al-Nahrawālī has to say about this place appears as well in the contemporaneous work of his acquaintance, al-Jazīrī (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 251, 823, 1250, 1362 and 1370-7 *passim*). And al-Jazīrī's scattered remarks are drawn together and offered in ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 16-18, and pt. ix, p. 26. See too al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miᶜṭār*, p. 422; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, pp. 18f; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151 (which erroneously has this place, and not Maghārat Shuᶜayb, as being where Moses watered his future father-in-law's sheep); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 816; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 307; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 340, 370; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 460; Roches, *Trente-deux ans*, ii, 63 (who yet referred to it as Aioun-el-kassab in the 19th century); Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 249; Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 324, 326 (who errs in identifying it with the oasis of al-Sharmah, the next halt); U.S. Government, *Saudi Arabia: Official Standard Names* (1978), p. 96; and ᶜAbduh, *Muᶜjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 342.

747 According to al-Jazīrī (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 823f), as recently as 935/July-August, 1529, he had, while accompanying the Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan with his father, one of its officials, witnessed excessive heat along much of the route but particularly at ᶜUyūn al-Qaṣab, where about seventy of the caravan's complement died suddenly from it. He identifies this halting place (*manzil*) by the sea as being among those known for extreme heat during the summer months (*ibid.*, p. 832).

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was Bahādur al-Jamālī, the *amīr al-ḥājj* in the year 736 [1336],[748] and was on his way back from the pilgrimage. Also [located] there are the tombs of Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ayyūb al-Abnāsī, who produced a commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Alfīyah*, and of ʿĀmir b. Dāʾud, the father of the one responsible for this station's security, ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir (God the exalted have mercy on them!).[749] The sea is so close to this spot that fresh fish can almost be fetched from it to the members of the caravan. Sometimes melons are available there too. The caravan remained there until noon and departed.

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748 There is some confusion in the accounts consulted here concerning who this person was and when he died. Al-Jazīrī cites the 9th/15th-century Mamlūk biographer al-Sakhāwī, who claims to have visited the cupolaed grave and read on its tablet that buried in it was Bahādur al-Jamālī al-Nāṣirī, the Egyptian *amīr al-ḥājj* who died and was buried there while returning from the *ḥajj* in 636/1239 (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1374). The latter date is likely an error for 736/1336, the date appearing in the text of the *Riḥlah*. Elsewhere, however, al-Jazīrī refers (*ibid.*, p. 671) to an Abū Bakr b. Sunqur al-Jamālī, known as Bahādur, who was several times Egyptian *amīr al-ḥājj* and who, while returning from Mecca in 786/1384, died at ʿAynūnah (ʿUyūn al-Qaṣab). This is seemingly the Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur, a Mamlūk *amīr* of a thousand cited by Jomier as having died and been buried in the latter year at ʿUyūn al-Qaṣab (*Le Maḥmal*, p. 194). Al-Rashīdī, whose composition is devoted to those who served as Egyptian pilgrim caravan commanders, gives 781/1380 as the year of Abū Bakr b. Sunqur al-Jamālī [Bahādur]'s death and burial at ʿUyūn al-Qaṣab (*Ḥusn al-ṣafā*, p. 136).

749 For an earlier reference to and brief note on Ibn Mālik and his composition, the *Alfīyah*, see above, p. 48 and n. 130. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ayyūb al-Abnāsī al-Shāfiʿī was an Egyptian scholar of some stature in the fields of prophetic Tradition, Islamic jurisprudence and Arabic syntax. He was born at Abnās, near Cairo, in 725/1325, and died in Muḥarram, 802/September, 1399 while returning from the *ḥajj*. His remains were taken to ʿUyūn al-Qaṣab for interment. Al-Jazīrī identifies his tomb as being within a high dome (*qubbah*) on a mountain; but al-Sakhāwī, who inspected the cupolaed tomb and identified it as being that of Bahādur al-Jamālī (*cf.* the previous note), holds that al-Abnāsī's tomb has no cupola. On him see Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīdah fi tarājim al-aʿyān al-mufīdah*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh, 2 vols. (Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1995), i, 79-82; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, i, 172-5; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1371-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vii, 13f; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 17; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 19; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, i, 117. References to his commentary on the *Alfīyah* appear in several of the above, as well as in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, i, 360 (299) and suppl. i, 523. Ḥājī Ḫalīfe's apparent confusion of this person with Abraham and of Abnās with *abnāʾ* has misled him and those who follow his account (*Cihān-numā*, p. 541).

Reference to ʿĀmir b. Dāʾud's grave at ʿUyūn al-Qaṣab appears in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1371. As *ṣāḥib darak al-manzil* (the one in charge of the caravan station's safety), his son ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir, who was the powerful local *amīr* and *shaykh* of the Banū ʿUqbah tribe, was in receipt of more government security subventions (*murattabāt*) than anyone else along the entire road to Mecca (*ibid.*, pp. 1362, 1366 and 1375; see too ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 17f).

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The twenty-fourth halting spot is al-Sharmah,[750] where we stopped towards sundown. It [consists of] gullies and flats close by the sea. To its north is a mount named Ishārah. The pilgrimage caravan stayed there until a third of the way into the night and then departed. It was the night of Friday, the 11th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah.[751]

Al-Muwayliḥah is the twenty-fifth station, where we arrived at daybreak and halted. It is a place next to the sea, with water that is scarcely potable. To be found there is the Arak thorn tree, as well as fresh fish which the beduins catch for members of the caravan. This place has two wells belonging to [one of the] earlier *amīr*s of Egypt.[752] The pilgrimage caravan remained

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750 Al-Sharmah, which appears on detailed maps of Saudi Arabia, is a populated area located about fifteen kms. east-southeast of ʿAynūnah (ʿUyūn al-Qaṣab) and eight kms. from the coast. Al-Jazīrī, who describes it as being characterised by ravines, seashore and flats, reports that it was about five hours (seventy-five *darajah*s) caravan travel from ʿUyūn al-Qaṣab. He also suggests that the shortness of this leg of the journey accounts for its lack of the customary encampment (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1305 (where it is unaccountably vocalised as al-Shurmah), 1377, 1575; and taken into ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 18). In the 3rd/9th-century work of al-Ḥarbī, this *manzil* is called al-Muṣallā (*Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 651 and n. 6); and al-Nābulusī, who briefly lost his way thereabouts in 1105/1694, rested at Wādī al-ʿUdhayb, a place of flourishing grasses and pure and fresh rain water (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 308). Ḥājī Ḫalīfe's brief description of Sherm (*Cihān-numā*, p. 541) echoes that of the *Riḥlah* (as do also those of Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 460; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 249). For its precise geographical location consult ʿAbduh, *Muʿjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 264; and U.S. Government, *Saudi Arabia: Official Standard Names* (1978), p. 84.

751 The night of the Friday referred to here fell on 12 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = the night of Thursday/Friday, 25/26 August, 1558.

752 Al-Muwayliḥah, more commonly appearing as al-Muwayliḥ and long known to the local beduins as al-Nabk, is a minor port on the Red Sea located about forty kms. south of al-Sharmah and more than nine hours caravan travel from it. Although its water in al-Nahrawālī's time was too brackish for safe consumption, later accounts speak favorably of its quality. Available there in abundance were animal fodder and food for the pilgrims, including fresh local fish. According to al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1378f, the two wells referred to here were the gift of one al-Ḥājj Āl Malik, a senior Mamlūk *amīr* of the early 8th/14th century. Most accounts, but not this *Riḥlah*, note the very large, solid and garrisoned fortress for this important watering station (*manhal*), although it was set back at some distance from the encampment near the shoreline. Al-Jazīrī informs (*ibid.*, p. 1380) that its construction was undertaken only in 967/1559-60 under the direction of the *amīr* Qayt b. ʿAbdallāh al-Dāwūdī and authorised by the Ottoman governor of Egypt. This operation, which also resulted in the expansion and improvement of the local water supply, thus postdated al-Nahrawālī's visit by a couple of years. Consult al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 651 and n. 7 (where in the 3rd/9th century the station was named al-Nabk); al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1298, 1305, 1377-81 (copied into ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 18f; and, for a 19th-century description of it, pt. ix, p. 26); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, pp. 17f (who in the early 11th/17th century described it as being the best station along the coast); Ḥājī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 541; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 814-16 (who

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there until evening. Once the night prayer had been performed, it set out on the night of Saturday, the 12th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah,[753] and kept on moving along until dawn.

[The twenty-sixth halting place][754] is Dār al-Sulṭān Qāʾitbāy, where the caravan came to a stop in the early morning. This spot is named the Encampment (*Dār*) of Sultan Qāʾitbāy because the latter halted there when he performed the pilgrimage in the year 886 [1481-2]. The pilgrimage caravan used to alight at a spot named Baṭn al-Kibrīt, but when Qāʾitbāy perceived there an evil omen, he went on beyond it and encamped. Thereafter, people adopted the latter as a station. For camels and men alike, this leg of the journey was a harsh one, owing to the abundance of its uneven roads, stony tracts, brushwood thickets and tight spots.[755] [165a] The

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dates its great fortress to the sultanate of Süleymān I (*r.* 926-74/1520-66) and asserts that, from Cairo to Mecca, there was none larger than it); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 308; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 34, 342f, 370f; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 460; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 249; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 195; Shaw, *Financial and Administrative Organization*, index (for archival information on the costs of the garrison there in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries); Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p. 214, n. 1 (on the dimensions and (probably mistaken) origins of its fortress); Ḥamad al-Jāsir, *Fī shamāl gharb al-Jazīrah* (al-Riyāḍ: Manshūrāt Dār al-Yamāmah, 1390/1970), pp. 602f (for al-Nabk/al-Muwayliḥ); and Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 512, n. 30 (who attributes the construction of its fortress to the penultimate Mamlūk sultan, Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī).

753 The night of this Saturday occurred on 13 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = the night of Friday/Saturday, 26/27 August, 1558.

754 On the microfilm of the manuscript from which this annotated translation has been prepared, the words *al-manzil al-sādis wa al-ʿishrūn* fail to appear, presumably owing to faded ink illumination in the original.

755 On al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr Sayf al-Dīn Qāʾitbāy, the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt and Syria (*r.* 872-901/1468-96), see above, p. 262 and n. 737. His pilgrimage to Mecca was performed in 884/1480 (al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 758, 1719), and not two years later, as reported here. In fact, al-Nahrawālī later included in his history of Mecca the correct date for this sultan's pilgrimage (*al-Iʿlām*, p. 229). Baṭn al-Kibrīt (also known as Ṭayy al-Kibrīt and Wādī al-Ashyāf), beyond which was located the station which became known for a time as that named for Sultan Qāʾitbāy, is identified by Musil as the valley skirting the southern slope of Ṭuwayyil al-Kibrīt, shown on maps about a dozen kms. south of al-Muwailiḥ (*Northern Ḥeğâz*, p. 324). According to al-Jazīrī the station of Dār al-Sulṭān Qāʾitbāy was reached only after more than eight hours of strenuous travel (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1305, 1383f; and later related by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 19f). When Evliyā Çelebi halted thereabouts with the Egyptian caravan returning from Mecca in the later 11th/17th century, he did so at a station named Kas/al-Qasṭal (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 813; and also Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151, as related to him in the 1060s/1650s in Cairo), near Dār al-Sulṭān (al-Jazīrī, p. 1383). See too Ḥācī Ḫalîfe, *Cihān-numā*, pp. 541f (and repeated by Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 460; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 249);

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pause there lasted until noon, when we departed [and traveled] until night. We passed the Cleft of the Old Woman (Shaqq al-ᶜAjūz),[756] which it resembles.

The twenty-seventh station is Qabr (the tomb of) al-Shaykh Marzūq al-Kufāfī, a venerated [*ṣūfī*] *shaykh* who lies buried in its camping area. People make their way there and sprinkle rose water over his grave.[757] We arrived towards sunset, halted until a third of the way into the night, and then resumed our journey until daybreak.

Al-Azlam is the twenty-eighth stop and, for someone coming from Cairo, the final one of the second quarter of the Ḥijāz road. We

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al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 309 (who alludes merely to his departure (in 1105/1694)) "from Qā'itbāy"); al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 343, 345, 371, 545 (who in the 12th/18th century called at Dār Umm al-Sulṭān and noted that it had acquired potable water wells only shortly before his time); and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 195.

756 Reference to another place with the same name located on the Syrian caravan route, between Birkat al-Muᶜaẓẓam and (Abyār) al-Ḥijr, and at times identified as another designation for the Mafārish al-Ruzz station, appeared above, p. 18, n. 56. The Shaqq al-ᶜAjūz alluded to here is described as a difficult, narrow and uneven pass along both sides of a valley that issues into a large open area beside the Red Sea. On it see al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, pp. 1268, 1298, 1384 (who makes a clear distinction between these two places with the same name); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 310; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 343, 371; and ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 20 (incorporating al-Jazīrī's remarks) and pt. ix, p. 26 (a brief description of it in the 19th century).

757 The usual name for this caravan station was Ẓubah, which was about seven hours' travel from Dār al-Sulṭān Qā'itbāy and survives today as a small Saudi Arabian seaside community. As early as the 3rd/9th century it was listed as a caravan station under that name by al-Ḥarbī (*Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 251). However, it was also sometimes known as Salmā, a place within a valley half a stage distant, and, particularly in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, as Qabr Marzūq al-Kufāfī (occasionally Kufāfah). The latter was the name of a pious man said to have been a North African merchant, who died at Ẓubah while on the pilgrimage and was buried near the seashore little more than an hour's travel south of Ẓubah. His tomb became venerated as a place for religious visitation where pilgrims sprinkled rose water over the tomb while reciting the first chapter of the *Qur'ān*. While al-Jazīrī was critical of such a practice, al-Nābulusī participated in it. The only apparent trace of its name among modern Saudi Arabian toponyms is the nearby bay called Sharm Qafāfah (U. S. Government, *Saudi Arabia: Official Standard Names* (1978), p. 259). See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, pp. 279, 1305, 1384-6, 1575 (which consistently vocalises it as al-Kufāfī, and which was transmitted almost word for word by ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 20); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (translated by Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 460; and copied by Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mir'āt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 249); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 813; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 310f (a clear and informative account from 1105/1694); Musil, *Northern Ḥeğâz*, pp. 324, 326 (who incorrectly identifies this grave (*qabr*) with that of Qabr al-Ṭawāshī); and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 196.

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dismounted there at dawn on Sunday, the 13th of [Dhū] al-Qaʿdah.[758] According to the *Qāmūs*,[759] "*Al-zalam*, which is a triptote noun, is a featherless flintstone arrow which in the [era of the] Jāhilīyah[760] they used in divination. Its plural is *azlām*." It is as though this place was given this name because it lacks vegetation, owing most probably to the salinity of its soil and to its salt marsh. The water there is very brackish and not easily swallowed. Al-Azlam is a large salt flat amid mountains where common senna grows. It had a ruinous caravansary which was built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, the lord of Egypt, and which Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (God the exalted show mercy to the two of them!) had had

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758 The calculated Islamic lunar calendar has this Sunday falling on 14 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 28 August, 1558.

The station named (Qalʿat/Bandar) al-Azlam, which was situated close to the sea and midway along the route between Cairo and Mecca, was an important *ḥajj* caravan stop for rest and provisioning. Its exact geographical location is recorded in ʿAbduh, *Muʿjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 54 (which lists both al-Azlam and al-Aẓlam). No longer anything more than historical remains, it likely bore some relationship to the present-day tomponym of Wādī al-Ẓalm, which lies in the vicinity about ten kms. from the coast. Its anchorage, apparently some distance from the caravan halting place, was an important unloading point for provisions shipped by sea from Suez and al-Ṭūr for the pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Also, it was the destination for the vital supply caravan (*al-mulāqāh al-Azlamīyah*) that went from Cairo to meet and resupply the pilgrims returning from Mecca, at which time a large market was held at al-Azlam. Although considered one of the route's watering stations (*manāhil*), all four of its wells yielded brackish water fit only for camels. In fact, the excessive salinity of this place in general is observed to have contributed to to its decline as a landing stage in favour of the more convenient neighbouring ones of al-Muwayliḥ and al-Wajh. See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 245, 373, 808, 1172, 1197f, 1388-93 (and transmitted by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 21f, which also provides (pt. ix, p. 26) a brief 19th-century description of it); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 17; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatname*, ix, 812f (for a fairly detailed description of it in the later 11th/17th century); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 311 (who in 1105/1694 found it a neglected place with only four or five Arabs living there); al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 343, 345, 371; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 460; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 249; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 196f (citing a witness who in 1880 found this erstwhile important station in ruins); Shaw, *Financial and Administrative Organization*, pp. 90, 193, 251; and Bakhit, *Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 221 (who notes the attachment to the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan of military squadrons following a beduin attack on it near al-Azlam in 926/1519).

759 This seemingly refers to the same *Qāmūs* cited earlier in this text (*cf.* above, p. 48 and n. 130). A slightly different version of this quote from it appears in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1388.

760 Al-Jāhilīyah, usually translated as the age or state of ignorance or barbarism, is the Arabic term employed to refer to Arabian society before the revelation of the *Qurʾān* and advent of Islam.

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demolished and rebuilt as a fortress in 916 [1510-11][761] by Amīr Khushqadam. The latter was an *amīr* of ten and one of three people who, in the period of dissension, slew Sayyid Jāzān along the circumambulation path, near the black stone, in the year 908 [1503]. The second of them was Azbak al-Naṣrānī, and the third one was ..... .[762] There is at this place a

761 For earlier references to the Mamlūk sultans al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāʾūn (d. 741/1341) and al-Malik al-Ashraf Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (d. 922/1516) see above, p. 251, n. 699 and p. 15, n. 48. The text of this *Riḥlah* is the only one to make explicit the transformation of the caravansary (*ḫan*) at al-Azlam into a fortress (*maʿqil* (= *qalʿah*)). According to Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iv, 152, the pilgrims arriving back in Cairo from Mecca early in 915/1509 reported that al-Ghawrī had had a fort (*burj*) constructed at al-Aznam (*sic*) and had had it garrisoned with a squad of *mamlūk*s serving on an annual rotational basis. In al-Jazīrī's time this structure, originally built under the supervision of a senior Mamlūk *amīr* named al-Jūkandār, had a garrison of ten people (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 241, 1252, 1389, 1390). By the time of Evliyā Çelebi's visit there in the 1080s/1670s he reported its garrison, supported by cannons, to have numbered seventy (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 812). This was probably an inflated figure, for less than a quarter of a century later al-Nābulusī noted that the large and spacious fort there was not populated (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 311). See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 17; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. ix, p. 26; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 196f (who notes that the *amīr* al-Jūkandār built the *ḫan* in the time of Muḥammad b. Qalāʾūn; and who sees its fortification as part of al-Ghawrī's defensive measures against possible Portuguese incursions into the area); Shaw, *Financial and Administrative Organization*, pp. 250, 252f, 264f (for documentary evidence of costs related to its garrison and to service to the pilgrims there); and Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 507, n. 13 (for documentation on this fort).

762 The refashioning of this *ḫan* (caravansary) into a *qalʿah* (fortress) during 916/1510-11 under the supervision of a low-ranking *amīr* (*aḥad umarāʾ al-ʿashrāwāt*) named Khushqadam is mentioned as well by al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1389 (and later incorporated by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 21). The violent act in which he is reported to have participated was connected with the period of discord in the Ḥijāz, between 907/1502 and 910/1504, when the rulership of Sharīf Barakāt (II) b. Muḥammad b. Barakāt (d. 931/1525) was challenged by his brothers. Sayyid Aḥmad Jāzān, who posed the greatest threat among them, was killed by Mamlūk troops at Mecca in Rajab, 909/end of 1503. This dissension in the *sharīf*ian family is discussed in Jamal al-Dīn Muḥammad Jārallāh b. Ẓuhayrah al-Qurashī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-laṭīf fī faḍl Makkah wa ahl-hu wa bināʾ al-bayt al-sharīf*, 2nd printing (Cairo, 1357/1938), pp. 322f; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 782-8; De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, pp. 113-5; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Barakāt – (2) Barakāt II b. Muḥammad" (Rentz), i, 1032. None of these accounts makes any reference to the *amīr* Khushqadam, to Azbak al-Naṣrānī or to the third (unnamed) participant, the lacuna for whose later identification was never filled. However, the names of both Khushqadam and Azbak al-Naṣrānī appear, in other contexts, in the pages of Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iii, 457 and iv, 5, 33, 196, 308. The circumambulation of the Kaʿbah along a fixed path (*maṭāf*) and the black stone (*ḥajar aswad*) inset into that structure figure prominently in the ceremonies of the *ḥajj*, although Aḥmad Jāzān's assassination did not occur during the pilgrimage season.

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sentry garrison, as well as depositories where provisions for the pilgrims may be stored. Whatever the pilgrims want for the return journey is left for safekeeping with those in charge of the depositories. From al-Azlam to al-Yanbuᶜ forms a third quarter [of the pilgrimage route from Cairo to Mecca], the harshest of the four in terms of its great distance, lack of grasslands, and difficult road. This quarter and that from al-ᶜAqabah to al-Azlam combined is called "The Sixteen" [Stations],[763] and is the most rigorous along the Ḥijāz road for the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan. The latter halted there over Sunday and Monday, and departed after the evening prayer on the night of Tuesday, the 15th of [Dhū] al-Qaᶜdah.[764]

The twenty-ninth halting place is al-Samāwah wa al-Dakhākhīn, where we arrived at dawn and took our morning meal. It is a valley of wide expanse and with an abundance of thorns and firewood.[765] We resumed our journey at noon on Tuesday and continued until sunset, passing through Iṣṭabl ᶜAntar, a plain [situated] amid mountains and rough terrain where the Arak thorn tree is in evidence. Round about these spots, [but] off the road, are sweet-water wells called al-Nakhīrah and Umm al-Ṭīn, to the east and west of al-Jabal al-Aḥmar, which can

763 As indicated earlier (*cf.* above, p. 235, n. 652), the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan route traditionally had thirty-four stations (*manāzil*), each on average about forty-five to fifty kms. apart. However, al-Nahrawālī enumerates a total of fifty-six, with those from Ẓahr al-Ḥimār (the first station after Aylah/al-ᶜAqabah) to al-Yanbuᶜ inclusive, namely the second and third quarters, accounting for twenty-eight of them, exactly half of his total for all four quarters.

764 The night of this Tuesday fell on 16 Dhū al-Qaᶜdah (965) = the night of Monday/Tuesday, 29/30 August, 1558.

765 Southwards from al-Azlam the water supply becomes increasingly unreliable and dependent on fresh rainfall. This probably accounts both for the variety of minor local paths for alternative sources of water and for the increasing vulnerability of water-starved and debilitated pilgrims to beduin raids (Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, pp. 197f). This station, which seems likely to have been located in Wādī al-Dukhān, and the first word of which appears on maps or is referred to as Samak, Samāḳ, Sāmāḳ, Simāḳ, etc., was a short distance from al-Azlam and appears to have been an alternative to Iṣṭabl ᶜAntar further along the road. Among accounts consulted here those that include any reference to this stop add almost nothing to the little information offered by this *Riḥlah*. Al-Jazīrī refers to it as (Wādī) Samāwah wa al-Dakhākhīn (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 255, 811, 1393, 1394, 1531, 1574) but provides no details about it except for a serious beduin attack on the caravan there in 899/1494 (*ibid.*, p. 768). See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 17; Ḥācī Ḫalîfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (who records it as Semāḳ-ı Reḫānīn); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 311 (who refers to it as al-Dukhān and comments on the fresh, sweet cool water there); Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 460; ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 22; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 249.

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be seen from Iṣṭabl ʿAntar.[766] One of the water carriers went there and fetched fresh water for us in the stopping place.

[165b] The thirtieth station is al-Shurunbah, the peak of a mountain in the valley of which we alighted after sunset.[767] We had our evening meal [there] and departed before a third of the night [had elapsed].

Al-Wajh[768] is the thirty-first stop, where we dismounted at sunrise. It is an oasis with sweet[-water] wells which the grand vizier Ibrāhīm

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766 Over time, Iṣṭabl (also Iṣṭabl) ʿAntar (ʿAntar's Stable) was the more usual stop for this station (*manzil*) than was al-Samāwah wa al-Dakhākhīn; but its water, although usually noted as being potable, was so often in such short supply that the caravan chose to pause near a more satisfactory source. This plain, surrounded by mountains and situated about fifty kms. south-southeast of al-Azlam and not far from the sea, was known for its thieves and bandits, who in 841/1438 plundered the Ghazzah caravan there. Since ʿAntar was the legendary romantic poet hero of early Arabian society and literature, and the exemplar of all that is Arab, it is not surprising that a number of toponyms in this region of Arabia should be identified with him (e.g. Jabal ʿAntar, Birkat ʿAntar, Sharm ʿAntar, Ḥiṣn ʿAntar, etc.). However, the name of the place cited here should not be confused with the one held by some to have been another name for Wādī al-Nakhlatayn, a station on the Syrian *ḥajj* route located two stages north-northwest of Medina (see above, p. 12 and n. 37). On Iṣṭabl ʿAntar see al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 945, 1071, 1394f; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 17; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151 (who locates it fourteen hours' travel from al-Azlam); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 812; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 312 (who in 1105/1694 observed it to have had five wells plus a collecting pool that was activated in the pilgrimage season); al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 344, 345, 371f; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 460; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 22f (incorporating al-Jazīrī's comments) and pt. ix, p. 26 (who in the 19th century noted that the poor quality of its water made it fit only for animals); Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḫaremeyn*, iii, 249; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 199.

Al-Nakhīrah, which is vocalised in the text, and Umm al-Ṭīn were names given to excavated water pits nearby, the former consisting of two pits situated west of al-Jabal al-Aḥmar, and the latter a single large one to the east of the same mountain (al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1389, 1395; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 23).

767 It appears that, as in the case of the previous stop at al-Samāwah wa al-Dakhākhīn, this *manzil* was not one of the better known ones. It is also said to have been associated with a second name, that of al-ʿAlam al-Saʿdī. According to al-Jazīrī, whose modern Saudi editor vocalises it consistently as al-Shurunbah, it was the name for a particular mountain promontory in Wādī al-Arāk, south from Iṣṭabl ʿAntar (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1299, 1305, 1395; and repeated in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 23 (who renders it as al-Sharīnah)). It is also mentioned in Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 524; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül- Ḫaremeyn*, iii, 249 (the latter of which normally follows the *Cihān-numā* but here refers to this place as Sh-r-(y)t and describes it as a wide desert).

768 Al-Wajh, occasionally referred to as Qalʿat al-Wajh, was and remains a small Red Sea port and town clearly indicated on most maps of Saudi Arabia. Fifty kms. and thirteen and a half caravan travel hours from Iṣṭabl ʿAntar, its name sometimes appears in

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Pasha, when he came to Egypt in 931 [1525], had Amīr Jānim al-Ḥamzāwī recondition (God the exalted have mercy on the two of them!).[769] The waters of its wells are [collected] from deluges, so that in a year of drought its wells are without water, and in one that is fertile there is good fresh water to be had. We met with rain there, and thus the wells contained fresh water. On this I have said:

Say I, 'And the oasis of al-Wajh hath from abundant rain streamed,
Such that pleasant as a station for the pilgrims hath it come to be.

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accounts in combination with al-Ruḥbah (*cf.* al-Samāwah wa al-Dakhākhīn and al-Shurunbah wa al-ᶜAlam al-Saᶜdī). Although a very old place, with its name identified as an Egyptian caravan stop in the 3rd/9th-century work of al-Ḥarbī (*Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 652), the classical Arab geographers took little note of it (al-Wohaibi, *Northern Hijaz*, p. 303). This *Riḥlah* conveys well the precarious and unreliable supply of potable water at al-Wajh: since it was completely dependent on the collection of rainwater into cisterns, in years of drought, of which many were reported for this area, there might be no water except that from brackish wells fit only for animals. In years of rainfall the water was fresh and abundant, and the caravan would not have to bypass it (al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 642, 712, 817, 863, 1251, 1390, 1396f, 1574; and transmitted by ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 23). Al-Nahrawālī, like al-Jazīrī, another 10th/16th-century observer, makes no reference to the stone fortress located some distance inland up the *wādī* from the port and hamlet of al-Wajh; in fact, among the accounts consulted here that of Kibrīt, dating from 1039/1629-30, is the first to allude to it (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 16), thus suggesting that it was of somewhat later provenance. This stronghold was described in some detail by Evliyā Çelebi when he passed through there in the 1080s/1670s (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 611, who also gives for its name Ḳalᶜa-ı Vüş, an approximation of its pronunciation in the local Arabic dialect). For this place see too Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 312; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 344, 346, 372, 543, 545; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461 (with a miscopied date); Didier, *Sojourn*, p. 49; ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. ix, p. 26 (for a late 19th-century description of it); Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250; Great Britain, Naval Intelligence Division, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, Geographical Handbook Series B.R. 527 (London, 1946), pp. 539f (with photo); Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 199; Shaw, *Financial and Administrtative Organization*, pp. 212, 250, 265, 395 (for archival figures on its garrison and transport costs in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries); and Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, pp. 212f (a succinct description of it in the mid-20th century).

769 On the Ottoman grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha see above, p. 224 and n. 616. He was despatched in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 930/end of September, 1524 to Egypt, where he was to restore order following the rebellion led by Ḥāʾin Aḥmed Pasha, its disaffected Ottoman governor. Having to abandon his voyage by sea and pass the winter in Aleppo and Damascus, Ibrāhīm Pasha reached Cairo only in Jumādā II, 931/April, 1525, after the overthrow and death of the rebellious governor; and he remained there until late Shaᶜbān/mid-June of the same year, a stay of two and a half months (Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 105-7, *passim*).

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On that comely face (*wajh*) is a salutation
Blessèd and a greeting from our Lord.'

And by Burhān [al-Dīn] al-Qīrāṭī (God almighty show him mercy!)[770] is:

Came I to al-Ḥijāz and uttered, once
Its visage (*wajh*) to me became clear and my thirst was slaked,

'However many comely faces (*wajh*) in the land there be,
Yet the like of yours have I beheld not.'

Jānim Bak Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Qurqmās (possibly Arkmās), popularly known as Jānim al-Ḥamzāwī, was a native of Aleppo and of Circassian background. First mentioned as serving his maternal uncle Khayr Bak when the latter was Mamlūk governor of Aleppo, he subsequently moved to Egypt with him when the latter, who had gone over to the Ottomans, was appointed the first Ottoman governor of Egypt by Sultan Selīm in 923/1517. Jānim al-Ḥamzāwī subsequently had an active and varied career in the early Ottoman administration of Egypt. At the time of Ḫā'in Aḥmed Pasha's revolt (930/1524) there, al-Ḥamzāwī was one of the principal *amīr*s involved in his overthrow and the restoration of the sultan's authority. Among the many offices he held was that of *amīr al-ḥājj* during the two years 930-1/1524-5. It was following the severe drought at al-Wajh in 930 that the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, on his mission to Egypt, commissioned al-Ḥamzāwī to see to the repair of the water supply at that station (931/1525). For obscure but apparently personal reasons, the Ottoman governor of Egypt (and future grand vizier) Ḫādım Süleymān Pasha (referred to above, p. 4, n. 12) engineered the authorised execution of the popular and respected Jānim al-Ḥamzāwī, along with his son Yūsuf, at the close of 944/May, 1538, an act for which Süleymān Pasha was widely condemned by leading Egyptian and other Muslim officials and leaders. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iᶜ al-zuhūr*, v, index (for his career in Egypt between *ca* 922 and 928/1516-22); Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, i, 450-4; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, pp. 255, 265, 815, 1397; al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp. 38, 71-3; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib*, i, 156 and ii, 132; and al-Rashīdī, *Ḥusn al-ṣafā*, p. 152 and end table. A brief study of him as a successful opportunist who made the transition from Mamlūk to Ottoman rule is that by P. M. Holt, "A Notable in an Age of Transition: Jānim Bey al-Ḥamzāwī (d. 944/1538)," in C. Heywood and C. Imber, eds., *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994), pp. 107-15.

770 He was Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Qīrāṭī, a well known Egyptian poet born in 726/1326. Despite an early training in jurisprudence (*fiqh*) with some of Cairo's leading *ᶜulamā'* of his time, he showed an early propensity for literature, especially poetry, of which he left at least one collection (*dīwān*), entitled *Maṭlaᶜ al-nayyirayn*. His death occurred in 781/1379 at Mecca, to where he had moved to become a visiting resident (*mujāwir*). See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, i, 32; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 269f; Sarkīs, *Muᶜjam al-maṭbūᶜāt*, pp. 1535f; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 15 (14) and suppl. ii, 7; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, i, 43; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muᶜjam al-mu'allifīn*, i, 54f.

Some of the lines of verse cited here about al-Wajh, including those by the author of the *Riḥlah*, are quoted also by al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, p. 1398; Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, pp. 16, 17; and al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 312, 313.

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And by the same person, at a time when he met with no water there, is:

Say I, when all of us to Wajh had come
Thirsty and each in expectation,

'When al-Wajh's water be scarce, so be its rain too.
No good can there be in a countenance (*wajh*) wanting for tears.'

We remained at al-Wajh until [after] the evening prayer on Thursday night, the 17th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah,[771] and then departed and continued [to travel] until sunup. {*A marginal note here adds*:[772] And by the perceptive one of the time and *shaykh al-Islām,* Muḥammad al-Bakrī,[773] just after his entering al-Wajh in 948 [1541-2][774] and when the town's elders had come forth to meet him, is:

On their drawing near, the bedouin were asked, 'How
Fares al-Wajh?' – 'A bed of water' to me said they.

Delighted were we at what from them we learned,
And came we together in a comely manner (*wajh*). }

The thirty-second halting place is Biʾr al-Qarawī,[775] where we dismounted at daybreak. Since a torrent had [recently] passed through it, we

771 The night of this Thursday fell on 18 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = the night of Wednesday/Thursday, 31 August/1 September, 1558.

772 In the upper right margin of this folio is a note executed certainly with a different pen than the one employed for the accompanying text, and possibly even in a different hand. There appears in the text, beneath two words occurring six lines apart, a small symbol construable as the marker serving to link the marginal note with the text; but since in this instance neither one seems an appropriate place for its insertion, the translation of this note is interpolated at this, more relevant, point in the text.

773 For an earlier reference to and note on this popular and widely respected Egyptian figure, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (930-993 or 4/1524-1585 or 6), see above, p. 148, n. 403. Alluded to several times in this text, and a very frequent participant in the *ḥajj* and visiting resident (*mujāwir*) of Mecca, he was, in fact, a member of this very pilgrimage caravan (see above, p. 237).

774 The final of the three Arabic numerals in this year date is very faint and unclear, both eight and seven being possibilities. As well, the second numeral resembles, at least at first glance, a nine rather than a poorly executed four; but a reading of 998 (or 997) would be anachronistic, since by then al-Bakrī was dead (see the previous note), as was al-Nahrawālī.

775 As occasionally occurs elsewhere in this *Riḥlah* where the name for a halting place appears illuminated or executed in a lighter colour of ink, that of Biʾr al-Qarawī (the villager's well) is so faded and indistinct in the microfilm and photcopy of it that it is scarcely legible. Besides al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1306, 1401-3 (and his

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found sweet water there. After taking the morning meal, we resumed our journey.

The thirty-third stop is al-Ḥurayyirah, the diminutive of *ḥarrah* (a stony tract), where we halted at sunset. At this place some of the lord of Yanbuʿ's horsemen met the pilgrimage caravan to afford it protection.[776] We ate supper and then departed.

Al-Ḥawrāʾ is the thirty-fourth station, which has water that is unpleasant.[777] We had breakfast there and dispatched thence to our lord,

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transmitter, ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 24f) and Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (who shows evidence of having followed this *Riḥlah* for his coverage of the Cairo-Mecca pilgrimage caravan itinerary) and the latter's copyists, Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461) and Ṣabrī Pasha (*Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250), none of the accounts consulted here makes any reference to this halting spot. This place must, however, have been situated between al-Wajh and Akrah/Akrā, the more usual station for this halt.

776 The name of this halting place (*manzil*) appears in the text of the *Riḥlah* fully vocalised as al-Ḥurayyirah, which is the less commonly encountered diminutive pattern for *ḥarrah* than is al-Ḥurayrah, the latter being the one adopted in other references to it cited here. It is found with and without the definite article, as well as with the spelling al-Ḥurayrā. Usually described as an uneven volcanic stone pass, declivity or shallow valley near the sea, it was located in a largely unprotected area between the spheres of jurisdiction of the pasha of Egypt and the Sharīfian governor (*amīr*) of al-Yanbuʿ to the south. This was seemingly a factor accounting for the presence there of horsemen sent by the ruler of al-Yanbuʿ to receive and escort the Egyptian caravan (on al-Yanbuʿ and its ruler see below, nn. 778, 789). See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 231, 749 and n. 3, 1299, 1401, 1403 (and only minimally transmitted by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 25); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (and followed by Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461 and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250 in merely alluding to its name); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 15; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 315 (which renders it al-Jurayrah); and ʿAbduh, *Muʿjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 146 (which provides its exact geographical location).

777 Although the very old anchorage of al-Ḥawrāʾ (also al-Ḥawrā), located close by the present-day port of Umm Lajj, was considered a watering station (*manhal*) on the Egyptian *ḥajj* route, the quality of its often muddy water, obtained from excavated pits near the seashore, varied between diarrhea-inducing brackishness most of the time and being potable, even sweet, following deluges. Like al-Ḥurayyirah, the previous stop, al-Ḥawrāʾ was historically held to have been in the border zone between Egyptian and Sharīfian jurisdiction. By the time of Evliyā Çelebi's transit through there in the latter half of the 11th/17th century, however, it was observed to have been securely in the hands of the *sharīf* (*Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 809f, who imputes fanciful origins to the place). Set amid sand dunes and thickets of Arak palms, it signalled to the Mecca-bound pilgrims relief after 150 kms. without water, even much more than that when the wells at al-Wajh failed (Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 200). See too al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 652; al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pt. 2, p. 474; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, p. 205; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 373, 798, 1251, 1404f (later collected together and transmitted by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 25); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, pp. 13-15 *passim*; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542; Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151;

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Sayyid Darrāj, the master of Yanbuᶜ,[778] letters for him to forward to our lord and master, the exalted and distinguished presence (God almighty protect him!), making known our arrival.[779] Then, after noon, we recommenced our journey.

Al-ᶜUqayyiq[780] is the thirty-fifth halting spot. We reached there at sunset, partook of the evening meal and, following the vesper prayer, departed with the rising of the moon.

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al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 315; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 347, 350, 373; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461; Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250; Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p. 138 and n. 6; and ᶜAbduh, *Muᶜjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 167 (for the precise geographical determination of its location).

778 Sayyid Darrāj b. Hijār b. Muᶜizz al-Dīn b. Darrāj b. Wubayr was a member of the Sharīfian family that had exercised control over Mecca, Medina and the Ḥijāz since the 7th/13th century (*Enyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Makka iii. The rule of Ḳatāda and his descendants down to the Wahhābī period" (Wensinck/Bosworth), vi, 149f). The family's ancestor, the *sharīf* Qatādah (for whom see below, p. 284 and n. 798), was from al-Yanbuᶜ, where authority was subsequently exercised by one of the *sharīf*s of the local branch of the family appointed by the *sharīf* of Mecca. Sayyid Darrāj died in Ṣafar, 971/October, 1563, reportedly at the age of fifty-eight and after having held office for thirty-nine years. He was succeeded by his son, Sayyid ᶜAlī. See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 909, 1127, 1416; and al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 150. The account of him provided by ᶜAbd al-Karīm Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb (*Rijāl wa usar min Yanbuᶜ fī ᶜuṣūr mukhtalifah* (al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Khaṭīb, 1998), pp. 18-21), which is based in part on al-Jazīrī's work, appears to have confused Darrāj b. Hijār with his great-grandfather Darrāj b. Wubayr.

779 The reference here is almost certainly to Sayyid Ḥasan, then co-ruler of Mecca with his father, Muḥammad Abū Numayy II, and the one who engaged al-Nahrawālī for this mission to the Ottoman court (see above, p. 1, n. 3). Although the text is rather ambiguous, it would appear that the author of the *Riḥlah* is here referring to his personal communication with Sayyid Ḥasan, advising him of his circumstances and imminent return to Mecca from his mission, rather than (or perhaps as well as) to formal missives announcing the approach of the Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan for that year.

780 Al-ᶜUqayyiq, where the caravan halted for a few hours in the evening, and the name of which appears fully vocalised in this text, is, among the accounts consulted for this study, commented on only by al-Jazīrī, whose work is essentially contempory with the *Riḥlah*. Furthermore, there is considerable duplication of what each has to observe about the place, including the fragment of the aphorism quoted in the next paragraph. Approaching it from the north, travelers had to transit a narrow pass ("one of the well known ones in the Ḥijāz") over rugged and uneven terrain. In 930/1524 the Banū Lām beduins attacked the *ḥajj* caravan there from their observation post (*makhras* = *maḥras*) nearby (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 255, 670, 817, 1402, 1406f; much of which can also be found in ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 25f). Ḥācī Ḥalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 542) and those following his text (Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250) merely include the name of the stop without any description.

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The thirty-sixth stop {*The author's marginal note here adds*: is Ṣuḥayn al-Marmar, which we reached after al-ʿUqayyiq.[781] The latter place is a difficult rock-strewn spot reflective of the aphorism "You brought me into the little ravine (*al-ʿuqayyiq*)." Ṣuḥayn al-Marmar is a circular [patch of] terrain containing white sand[782] and many adders, most of them the colour of its soil. We had breakfast there and moved on.

The thirty-seventh station} is al-Nabaṭ.[783] The commander of [our] pilgrimage caravan had dispatched an advance [166a] party to dig out its

781 This marginal note resulted from al-Nahrawālī's having inadvertently left out one of the *manzil*s where the caravan paused. His prompt correction of it enabled him as well to include something more about al-ʿUqayyiq.

Once again, there is a strong overlap in the descriptions of this place between that offered in this text and that provided by al-Jazīrī (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1306, 1406, 1407; and transmitted by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 25, 26). Al-Jazīrī adds that this stop, known by some as ʿAbh-l, had a *dār* (encampment). It is also noted, with a minimum of description, by Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 542; and repeated in English translation by Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461). The brief coverage of it by Ṣabrī Pasha (*Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250) appears less dependent upon Ḥācī Ḫalīfe here than in most other instances.

782 Hence its toponym, Ṣuḥayn al-Marmar (a small marble dish or bowl), which reflects its round and depressed physical shape in combination with the whiteness of its sandy ground.

783 Al-Nabṭ (and al-Nabaṭ), usually referred to as Wādī (valley) of (al-)Nabṭ, but also as Mafāzat (wilderness), Siyāqat (watering place) and Maghārat (cave) of (al-)Nabṭ, was known to the beduins as al-Nabk (*cf.* al-Muwayliḥah above, p. 267, n. 752) and to some others as al-Mughayyirah. Arrival there of the Egyptian caravan was much anticipated by the pilgrims, for its well constructed stone wells and excavated pits of plentiful, sweet potable water represented the only reliable source of such water after Maghārat al-Shuʿayb, some seventeen stops earlier (see above, pp. 261f). However, although its water was among the best along the Ḥijāz road, the wells there had a tendency to become clogged by sand when the rains caused deluges. Thus there were periodic undertakings to restore its water supply, including one in 956/1549 under the supervision of the caravan commander Muṣṭafā Pasha, and another in 967/1560, just two years after al-Nahrawālī's visit, overseen and paid for by Darrāj b. Hijār, the *amīr* of al-Yanbuʿ (see above, p. 278 and n. 778) at the behest of the Ottoman governor of Egypt. In times of plentiful rainfall crops were grown in this broad valley surrounded by mountains penetrated by narrow passes. On it see especially al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 279, 372, 767, 1251, 1307f, 1407-9 (and transmitted by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 26 and pt. ix, p. 29 (where its name is misprinted)). See too Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 12; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (where two misprintings are reflected in both Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461 and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250); Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151 (the only account consulted here to link this place with the Nabataeans); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 809 (who alone asserts that it had no water); al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, pp. 315f; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 343, 347, 350, 373, 542f; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 201; ʿAbduh, *Muʿjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 453 (for its precise geographical location); and al-Khaṭīb, *Rijāl wa usar min Yanbuʿ*, p. 21 (who locates it sixty-five kms. north of al-Yanbuʿ).

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wells and water holes, since these had become choked up with silt. We arrived around sunset at this place where there is sweet water known as the beer of the Ḥijāz. The caravan remained [there] for the [first] third of the night before departing and carrying on until daybreak.

Ṭarāṭīr al-Rāʿī is the thirty-eighth station.[784] At sunrise, after passing through Ṭarāṭīr al-Rāʿī, we halted at a spot called Ājil, but which some call al-Abāṭiḥ.[785] Our morning meal over with, we resumed our journey at noon on Sunday.[786]

The thirty-ninth stop is Wādī al-Nār, a valley [situated] amid mountains, patches of stones and firewood, and sand.[787] Passage through it in daytime is arduous. It conatins seven tors (*waʿrāt*) – in fact, this leg of the trip is known as the Seven Tors (which are big stones) – as well as slopes. With great difficulty we traversed a portion of these during daytime. After [pausing for] supper we continued on our way.

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784 Ṭarāṭīr al-Rāʿī (the shepherd's miters), which was also known as (Dhū) al-Abāṭiḥ, receives the same short notice in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1410 (and later copied by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 26f). Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 542) merely mentions its name in sequence among the stopping places (as do also his transmitters, Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461 and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250). It also appears in the work of the 12th/18th-century North African traveler and writer al-Warthīlānī, who refers to black mountains rising over other mountains thereabouts (*Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p. 351). And it may have been the unnamed resting spot which Kibrīt, in 1039/1629-30, described as being a few hours from al-Nabṭ in open country where water was excavated from the soil (*Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p.316). This toponym does not appear in any of the modern geographical reference works consulted for this study.

785 It seems that although this halt (*manzil*) bore the names Ṭarāṭīr al-Rāʿī or (Dhū) al-Abāṭiḥ, the customary point where the caravan paused for refreshments and rest was known as Ājil. See too al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p.1410 (and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 26).

786 The Sunday in question fell on 21 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 4 September, 1558.

787 The Valley of Fire (Wādī al-Nār), appropriately named for the extremely hot and sometimes fatal Simoom winds which could whip up sandstorms at this and neighbouring stations along this stretch of the pilgrimage road (*darb*), was a bleak and forlorn wasteland devoid of water, herbage or buildings. In summer the caravan normally traveled this part of the route as much as possible by night. Reports of death among the pilgrims there from dehydration and exposue to extreme heat dated from as recently as 935/1529 and 939/1533; and in 971/1564, just six years after al-Nahrawālī's passage through it, about one hundred persons are reported to have died there. On it see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, i, pt. 2, p. 61 (for news of the pilgrims' hardship from thirst there in 768/1367); al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 824, 832, 1160, 1299, 1410f (and conveyed concisely in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 27); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitāʾ*, p. 12; Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (and carried by Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 808f (who observed that seventeen died there during his *ḥajj* in the 1080s/1670s, even during winter); al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 351, 373; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 201.

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Al-Khuḍayrāʾ,[788] where we had our morning meal, is the fortieth halting spot. It is a village within the district of Yanbuʿ.[789] [Later] we set out and crossed the rest of the Seven Tors by night. The camels having become wearied, the caravan halted for rest [during the day] and set out [again] at sunset.

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788 Al-Khuḍayrāʾ, which is vocalised in the text of the *Riḥlah* and is the diminutive pattern for al-Khaḍrāʾ, also appears as al-Khuḍayrah. It is found (as El Khedeyra) on the map in Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i, opp. the title page, as well as on the sketch map provided by Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, opp. p. 224 (as Khoḍayra). According to the latter study (*ibid.*, p. 201), it is forty kms. from Nabaṭ and has no source of water. Both al-Nābulusī in 1105/1694 (*al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 316) and al-Warthīlānī in the next century (*Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 347f, 351, 374, 542) camped overnight there. See too al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1411, 1572 (and repeated by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 27); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (where the misprint Ḥuṣayrā (for Khuḍayrā) has been taken into Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461 and is further corrupted to Ḥ-j(-)rā in Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250). It is included in Thévenot's list as Hazire (*Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151), where it is noted as being thirteen and a half hours travel from al-Nabṭ.

789 Yanbuʿ, about which the author of the *Riḥlah* has a good deal more to say, is not in need of identification or of much in the way of description. Its name appears with and without the definite article indiscriminately, even in the same text (including this one), and is often found rendered into English script as Yembo or some variation on it. It is sometimes spelled (al-)Yanbūʿ in Arabic. Although today an important industrial area and Red Sea port in Saudi Arabia with a population of about 50,000 people, it was throughout much of its history two separate places. One, known usually as Yanbuʿ al-Baḥr (Yanbuʿ by the sea) but sometimes as Sharm Yanbuʿ (the bay of Yanbuʿ), served as the principal harbour for the holy city of Medina, some four days distant by travel on foot or beast. The other, named Yanbuʿ al-Nakhl (Yanbuʿ by the date palms) or Yanbuʿ al-Barr (Yanbuʿ on the landward side), was located several hours caravan travel northeast of the port, and out of sight of the sea. Present-day toponym identifiers clearly distinguish the two (see, for examples, ʿAbduh, *Muʿjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 484; and al-Jamʿīyah al-Jughrāfīyah al-Saʿūdīyah, *Dalīl al-mawāqiʿ al-jughrāfīyah biʾl-Mamlakah al-ʿArabīyah al-Saʿūdīyah* (al-Riyāḍ, 1419/1998), p. 671). Their separate locations are clearly indicated on maps included in Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, between pp. 26, 27 (and see pp. 160f for descriptions of both at the beginning of the 19th century); Burton, *Personal Narrative*, i, xxix-xxx; Avril, *L'Arabie contemporaine*, inset at back; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, opp. p. 224). In the absence of any reference to the sea in what al-Nahrawālī writes concerning this place, it seems that he is describing features of Yanbuʿ al-Nakhl, a lush oasis situated beneath a line of hills whence flows a stream. Two early 20th-century descriptions of the port of Yanbuʿ are those found in Gt. Br., *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, pp. 540f; and D.G. Hogarth, *Hejaz before World War I, a handbook*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Falcon Press, 1978), pp. 25f. A monograph on its history and features of its social and economic life is that by ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Yanbuʿ* (al-Riyāḍ, 1405/1985), a companion work to the same author's more recent publication, *Rijāl wa usar min Yanbuʿ*. For what the classical Arab geographers had to say about this place, see Wohaibi, *Northern Hijaz*, pp. 304-12. See too *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., art. "Yanbuʿ" (Grohmann), iv, 1158f, and 2nd ed., art. "Yanbuʿ" (van Donzel), xi, 281.

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The forty-first station is al-Jabal al-Aḥmar (Red Mountain)[790] which we reached at sunrise. The caravan alighted in a stretch of land next to the mountain. Once the morning meal was finished, departure took place at noon.

Wādī Tamā,[791] which is near Jabal al-Zīnah, is the forty-second stop. There the [members of the] caravan had their evening meal, following which the journey was resumed.

The forty-third halting place is Jabal al-Zīnah,[792] a spot overlooking al-Yanbuᶜ where the caravan arrived before daybreak. As is his wont, the lord of al-Yanbuᶜ, who is Sayyid Darrāj b. Hijār, came forth with his officers and attendants in ceremonial fashion and met the commander of the pilgrimage caravan.[793] The (ceremonial pilgrimage) litter

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790 For an earlier-encountered mountain with the same name located in the vicinity of Iṣṭabl ᶜAntar see above, p. 274. Outside of the present reference to it and another similar one appearing in al-Jazīrī (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1411; and later carried by ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 27), this Jabal al-Aḥmar draws scarcely a mention. In fact, among the works consulted here it is referred to elsewhere only by Ḥājī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 542) and those who follow him (Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250, the latter yielding Jabal Ḥ-m(-)r). Al-Jazīrī locates it between the third and fourth tors after al-Khuḍayrāʾ, while al-Nahrawālī appears to have it situated after the last of the seven tors referred to in his text. Its precise geographical location is likely that provided by ᶜAbduh, *Muᶜjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 49.

791 As with the place name discussed in the previous note, references to Wādī Tamā, which appears vocalised in this text, are indeed scant. According to al-Jazīrī, this open area near a large mountain also had the name Wādī al-Fajrah, and was one of the places where the *amīr* of Yanbuᶜ would formally welcome the pilgrimage caravan commander. In 955/1548 the caravan rested overnight there (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1411f; and also in ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 27). It receives no more than the mere mention of its name in Ḥājī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (and in Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461; and, as Wādī Taymā, in Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250).

792 Al-Jazīrī records that in 955/1548 the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan required forty *darajah*s (less than three hours) to travel from Wādī Tamā to Jabal al-Zīnah (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1412; and also ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 27). See too Ḥājī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (also Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 250, which gives Jabal al-Zayt). None of the other accounts consulted for this study provides any reference to this *manzil*.

793 For an earlier reference to and note on this *amīr* of al-Yanbuᶜ see above, p. 278 and n. 778.

The account which follows concerning the customary reception of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan at Jabal al-Zīnah (or at Wādī Tamā) by the Sharīfian *amīr* of al-Yanbuᶜ is conveyed in greater detail and clarity by al-Jazīrī (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1412; and carried as well in ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 27). In al-Jazīrī's version it is explained that the lord of al-Yanbuᶜ's kissing the hoof of the camel bearing the *maḥmal* symbolises his obedience to the Ottoman sultan, whose robe of honour sent from Istanbul is then presented to the *amīr* of al-Yanbuᶜ by the commander of the pilgrimage caravan. A similar ceremony, one involving the *sharīf* of the Ḥijāz, was held

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(*maḥmal*)[794] and the troops were decorated. They made the *maḥmal* stand while a prayer rug was placed for Sayyid Darrāj in front of the camel bearing the litter. Then he prayed two *rakʿah*s (prostrations) on it. With him was the *qāḍī* of al-Yanbuʿ, one of the Banū Zabālah,[795] who prayed with him two *rakʿah*s as well. Then the *sayyid* approached the hoof of the camel [bearing] the *maḥmal*, placed a veil over it, and bowed towards it as if kissing it. This is an old ceremony practised by the *amīr*s of al-Yanbuʿ. He next mounted his horse, donned his noble robe of honour and, with his two sons and the *qāḍī* of al-Yanbuʿ, returned to the side of the *amīr al-ḥājj* in front of the *maḥmal*. And in such fashion did the pilgrimage caravan enter al-Yanbuʿ.

The forty-fourth station is al-Yanbuʿ. We entered it in the forenoon of Wednesday, the 23rd of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, and remained there that day and

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at Mecca upon the caravan's arrival there (ʿAnkawi, "Pilgrimage to Mecca," pp. 155f; and see below, p. 300 and n. 859). Other, shorter references to this reception of the Egyptian caravan before its entry into Yanbuʿ (al-Nakhl) appear in Anonymous, "A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumitans," p. 183 (where Jebhir is given for Yanbuʿ); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (whose use of the term *maḥfil*, a popular substitute for *maḥmal/maḥmil* (*cf.* Redhouse, *Turkish English Lexicon*, pp. 1765, 1767), seems to have contributed to an erroneous rendering by Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 461); and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 251.

794 This richly decorated palanquin, usually referred to as *al-maḥmal* [or *al-maḥmil*] *al-sharīf* (the exalted palanquin), was not sacred in nature but rather a political symbol despatched, from the 7th/13th century on, by the rulers of Mamlūk Egypt (and Syria), of Yemen, of Iraq and, subsequently, of the Ottoman empire with their annual pilgrimage caravans. At Mecca and ʿArafāt it represented to Muslims participating in the *ḥajj* the authority of these rulers and, with reference to the Mamlūk and Ottoman states, their protection of Islam's holy places. Constructed of a pyramid-shaped wooden frame covered in splendid embroidery, and mounted on the back of a choice camel positioned in the middle of the caravan, it normally traveled empty, at least of anything significant. On it see, among others, the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 313f; Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, index; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Maḥmal" (Buhl/Jomier), vi, 44-6; and Peters, *The Hajj*, pp. 165-7 and, for a photo of a late version of it, betw. pp. 108 and 109.

795 The Banū Zabālah was one of the well established learned families of al-Yanbuʿ. Medinese in origin, a number of its members served as Shāfiʿī judge of al-Yanbuʿ, even though in the 10th/16th century most of its citizens were Shīʿī Zaydīs. An early member of the family at al-Yanbuʿ was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Zabālah, who died there in 855/1451. The judicial incumbent at the time of al-Nahrawālī's visit in 965/1558 has not been identified. When al-Jazīrī was there just six years earlier it was Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Zabālah, who was subsequently dismissed, probably in 962/1554-5 after the Ottoman Ḥanafī judge Baldırzāde ʿAbdürraḥmān Efendi was made judge of Medina (see above, p. 9, n. 28, and below, p. 284 and n. 800). See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1416; and al-Khaṭīb, *Rijāl wa usar min Yanbuʿ*, p. 22.

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the one following it.[796] As is his custom, Sayyid Darrāj dispatched a courier to Mecca.[797] *Yanbuᶜ* is the imperfect aspect (*muḍāriᶜ*) of the verb which in the perfect aspect (*māḍī*) is *nabaᶜa* [= to pour forth]. It has become a proper noun for a collectivity of wells in this locale. It possesses sluices, most of which have become ruined. Al-Yanbuᶜ is a separate administrative district to which the lord of Mecca appoints as governor whomsoever he wishes among the *sharīf*s of al-Yanbuᶜ. The latter presently are the Dhawū Hijār, and their leader is the above-mentioned, our lord Sayyid Darrāj b. Hijār b. Muᶜizz al-Dīn b. Darrāj b. Wubayr.[798] [166b] The *sharīf*s of al-Yanbuᶜ are [as well] called the Banū Ibrāhīm, a tribal subdivision of the Banū Ḥasan. One of them was Sharīf Qatādah b. Idrīs b. Muṭāᶜin, the lord of Mecca's ancestor who seized Mecca from the Hawāshim, another group from within the Banū Ḥasan.[799] Yanbuᶜ has a judge of the Shāfiᶜī legal rite, a member of the Banū Zabālah [who are] people of illustrious Medina. The previous one among them was Qāḍī Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Zabālah, whom ᶜAbdürraḥmān Efendī, the *qāḍī* of Medina, dismissed when the Ottoman [Ḥanafī] judiciary (*quḍāt al-arwām*) gained control at illustrious Medina.[800]

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796 The Wednesday referred to here fell on 24 Dhū al-Qaᶜdah (965) = 7 September, 1558. On al-Yanbuᶜ see above, p. 281, n. 789. Since, like ᶜAqabat Aylah and al-Azlam, al-Yanbuᶜ marked the end of one of the four quarters into which the route (*darb*) from Birkat al-Ḥājj to Mecca was divided, the caravan halted longer there for rest and revictualing.

797 Presumably the primary purpose of such an messenger was to carry word of the arrival of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan at al-Yanbuᶜ and of its reaching Mecca soon.

798 On whom see above, p. 278, n. 778.

799 Abū ᶜUzayyiz Qatādah b. Idrīs b. Muṭāᶜin b. ᶜAbd al-Karīm b. ᶜĪsā al-Ḥasanī al-ᶜAlawī, who was born near Yanbuᶜ in *ca*. 527/1133 or *ca*. 540/1145-6, was a direct descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad through al-Ḥasan, one of the two sons of ᶜAlī and Fāṭimah. The center of his authority was his native Yanbuᶜ, where he is said to have become *shaykh* of the local Juhaynah sub-tribe by the age of twenty-one. Intent upon expanding his sphere of authority, he succeeded in wresting control of a troubled Mecca in 597/1201 and in founding the Banū Qatādah dynasry of *sharīf*s who ruled over Mecca and the Ḥijāz until 1916, when a kingdom was founded there. Observed to have been a political genius, he sought to fashion an independent principality in Arabia. Although a Shīᶜī, and despite having voiced a stronger claim to the caliphate, he accepted the suzerainty of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs at Baghdād. He was killed in 618/1221 by an ambitious son. On him see al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, vi, 26; De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, pp. 50, 68f, 85, 87, 90, 288f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḳatāda b. Idrīs" (Wensinck/Zakkar), iv, 748f; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Katâde b. İdrîs" (Yücesoy), xxv, 23f.

800 On this Shāfiᶜī judge of al-Yanbuᶜ see above, n. 795; and for Baldırzāde ᶜAbdürraḥmān Efendi, the Ottoman Ḥanafī *qāḍī* of Medina, see above, p. 9 and n. 28. Al-Nahrawālī's failure to repudiate the Istanbul-appointed ᶜAbdürraḥmān Efendi had antagonised his

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Ibrāhīm subsequently went to Medina and remained there until his death (God the exalted show him mercy!).

Yanbuᶜ is surrounded by an abundance of springs, allegedly fifty of them or more. There remains there a spring said to [have] belong[ed] to our lord ᶜAlī (God be pleased with him!), and another each to our lords al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (God be pleased with them!).[801] I have heard someone relate that he counted 170 springs at al-Yanbuᶜ, which is four days' journey from illustrious Medina. Ibn Abī Shaybah has related that ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (God be pleased with him!) granted Yanbuᶜ to ᶜAlī (God be pleased with him!), and [that] subsequently ᶜAlī (God be pleased with him!) acquired at al-Yanbuᶜ by purchase various [other] interests. But ᶜAmmār b. Yāsir reported [that] the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!) assigned to ᶜAlī possession of Dhū al-ᶜUshayrah, which is part of Yanbuᶜ, and [that] subsequently ᶜUmar (God be pleased with him!), after being made caliph, granted him another piece of land to which ᶜAlī (God be pleased with him!) added through purchase [yet] a[nother] piece. The properties of ᶜAlī (God be pleased with him!) at Yanbuᶜ are miscellaneous water-springs which he was granted as alms. The al-ᶜUshayrah mosque[802] in the center of Yanbuᶜ is well known, and it is the village mosque there where

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Medinese detractors in Istanbul and may have contributed to the failure of his mission (see above, pp. 160, 205). Presumably the senior Ottoman judge at Medina had authority to appoint and dismiss lesser judicial incumbents within his jurisdiction.

801 On ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, see above, p. 8, n. 25. All descendants of the Prophet (*ashrāf/sādah*) trace their lineage to him through either of his grandsons, al-Ḥasan (d. *ca.* betw. 49/669-70 and 59/679) and al-Ḥusayn (d. 61/680), the offspring of ᶜAlī's marriage to Fāṭimah, Muḥammad's daughter.

802 Much, if not all, of what al-Nahrawālī has to say about al-Yanbuᶜ appears in greater detail in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, pp. 13-16 (and is repeated in ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 27f). Some details are as well provided by Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, pp. 10f. The caliph ᶜUmar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb appeared earlier in this text (see above, p. 73 and n. 190).

Abū Bakr ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Shaybah Ibrāhīm b. ᶜUthmān al-ᶜAbsī al-Kūfī (159-235/776-849), known as Ibn Abī Shaybah, was a noted Islamic traditionist, jurisprudent, historian and Qur'ānic commentator. Although he was born in and died at al-Kūfah, in Iraq, he passed much of his intellectually active life in Baghdād, where he authored several works. See Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, ii, 85; Ismāᶜīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ᶜārifīn*, i, 440; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, iv, 260; Kaḥḥālah, *Muᶜjam al-mu'allifīn*, vi, 107; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ibn Abī Shaybah" (Pellat), iii, 692.

Abū al-Yaqẓān ᶜAmmār b. Yāsir b. ᶜĀmir b. Mālik was an early convert to Islam, a Companion of the Prophet, and, later, a devoted partisan of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Having participated with the Prophet Muḥammad in all of his early campaigns, he became recognised for his excellent knowledge of the Traditions of the Prophet, more than sixty of them later being attributed to him. At an advanced age he died in the cause of the caliph ᶜAlī during 37/657 at the battle of Ṣiffīn. See al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, vi, 191f; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "ᶜAmmār b. Yāsir" (Reckendorf), i, 448; and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ammâr b. Yâsir" (Fayda), iii, 75f.

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the Egyptian pilgrim, traveling in either direction, stops. Sayyid al-Samhūdī (God the exalted show him mercy!)[803] has made mention of it.

Yanbuᶜ marks the end of the third quarter of the Ḥijāz road [from Cairo to Mecca]. The Egyptian pilgrim enters it on the morning of the sixteenth day out from ᶜAqabat Aylah. They call this stretch the "Sixteen" [Stations].[804] On [the subject of] Yanbuᶜ and al-Badr the cultured Abū ᶜAbdallāh al-Fayyūmī al-Makkī[805] has recited:

Al-ᶜUshayrah, first known as Dhū al-ᶜUshayrah, was a village which at least one classical Arab geographer (al-Muqaddasī) identified as the Egyptian *ḥajj* caravan halting place (*manzil*) for al-Yanbuᶜ. By the 10th/16th century, however, it had come to form a part, albeit a distinct part, of al-Yanbuᶜ. It is held that al-ᶜUshayrah was the objective of the Prophet's third campaign, and that its mosque is among those in which Muḥammad prayed. See al-Bakrī, *Muᶜjam*, pt. 3, p. 945; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, p. 1414 (and ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 28); Kibrīt, *Riḥlat al-shitā'*, p. 11; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p. 349; Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p. 139; and al-Wohaibi, *Northern Hijaz*, pp. 84, 159, 309 (for what the early Arab geographers said about it).

803 Al-Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. ᶜAfīf al-Dīn ᶜAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Shāfiᶜī al-Samhūdī (844-911/1440-1506) was an Egyptian scholar of note in theology, history, tradition and jurisprudence. From his prolific output in a range of subjects, more than twenty of his compositions have survived. Outstanding among them is his history of Medina, where he spent much of his mature life. Although his original composition was destroyed by fire, an abridged version of it, called *Wafā' al-wafā bi-akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*, survived and was itself later further abridged into *Khulāṣat al-wafā'*. For a concise and informative notice on this person, including references to biographical literature, see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Al-Samhūdī" (Bosworth), viii, 1043. Al-Samhūdī's remarks on the ᶜUshayrah mosque, which were incorporated virtually word for word by al-Nahrawālī and al-Jazīrī, appear in his *Wafā' al-wafā bi-akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols. in 4 parts (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ᶜArabī, 1401/1981), ii, pt. 3, p. 1026.

804 For the same observation made earlier by the author of this *Riḥlah* see above, p. 272 and n. 763. The caravan which he accompanied did, in fact, cover the distance in sixteen days, having departed ᶜAqabat Aylah on 8 Dhū al-Qaᶜdah and arrived at al-Yanbuᶜ on the 24th.

805 The person referred to here as Abū ᶜAbdallāh al-Fayyūmī al-Makkī (and as well, but minus the al-Makkī, in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, p. 1418, where the same two lines of his poetry are quoted) has not been further identified. He shares the agnomen (*laqab*) al-Fayyūmī (of or from al-Fayyūm in Upper Egypt) – and only this much – with the 8th/14th-century Arabic lexicographer and jurisprudent, Abū al-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Fayyūmī al-Ḥamawī al-Muqrī' al-Miṣrī (d. *ca.* 770/1368). The latter was born in al-Fayyūm but, after study in Egypt, he moved to Ḥamāh, in Syria, where he as well became a noted mosque orator (*khaṭīb*). He could conceivably have been something of a poet and penned these verses while on pilgrimage. On him see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, i, 334; Ismāᶜīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ᶜārifīn*, i, 113; Sarkīs, *Muᶜjam al-maṭbūᶜāt*, p. 1476; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aᶜlām*, i, 216; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muᶜjam al-mu'allifīn*, ii, 132. The editor of the recent publication of al-Fayyūmī's best known work, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr*, alone gives his birth place as the Fayyūm in Iraq (ed. Dr. Khiḍr al-Jawād (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1987), intod.). The (al-)Badr alluded to here appeared earlier in this text and has already been annotated (see above, p. 7 and n. 22).

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If separation hath indeed taken place, and an irremovable
Barrier of absence hath blocked me from thee,

'Tis I whose tears, forming canyon and wall after
Being distanced from thee, O Badr, keep outpouring (*yanbuᶜ*).

We stopped over in al-Yanbuᶜ until emerging from it following the evening prayer on the night of Friday, the 25th of Dhū al-Qaᶜdah.[806] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī[807] has produced a separate composition on al-Yanbuᶜ.

[167a] Al-ᶜUdaybīyah is the forty-fifth stop. We passed through al-Dahnā[808] without halting. The latter is a village wherein the Banū

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806 The night of the Friday referred to fell on 26 Dhū al-Qaᶜdah (965) = the night of Thursday/Friday, 8/9 September, 1558.

807 Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Faḍl ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Khuḍayrī al-Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505), mentioned earlier in passing (see above, p. 51, n. 137), was a famous scholar and polymath of late Mamlūk Egypt known for his extraordinary memory, analytical mind, and broad range of scholarly inquiry. Born at Cairo into a family of religious scholars, he was a professor of Shāfiᶜī law at eighteen and had earned a wide reputation by the age of thirty. His prolific scholarly output spanned such fields as Qurᵓānic commentary, prophetic Tradition, Shāfiᶜī jurisprudence, history, biography, Sufism, etc. Among the 981 titles of his works identified by Aḥmad al-Khāzindār and Muḥammad I. al-Shaybānī, *Dalīl makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī wa amākin wujūd-hā* (al-Kuwayt: Maktabat Ibn Taymīyah, 1403/1983), only that of *al-Yanbūᶜ fi-mā zāda ᶜalā al-rawḍah min al-furūᶜ* (p. 134) suggests any possible connection with al-Yanbūᶜ (occasionally an alternative for (al-)Yanbuᶜ); but since it is described as a marginal commentary (*ḥāshiyah*), it is not likely to be a work about this Ḥijāz community along the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan road. Notices on this outstanding figure abound in the bioghraphical literature. See, in particular, Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, *passim*; and, for a succinct and informative treatment, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Suyūṭī" (Geoffroy), ix, 913-6.

808 What appears here as al-ᶜUdaybīyah (as well as in Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 and those following his text, namely Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 462, and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirᵓāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 251) is usually encountered as al-ᶜUdhaybah. According to al-Jazīrī (*al-Durar al-farāᵓid*, pp. 1423, 1424; and ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 30), who refers to it as the *mafraḥ* (pleasure spot?) of al-ᶜUdhaybah, it was the location, after al-Dahnāᵓ, where the caravan stopped for the morning meal (*maghdāh*). Ḥamad al-Jāsir, who notes that it is the diminutive of *ᶜadhbah*, identifies it both as a village between al-Yanbuᶜ and the old Red Sea port of al-Jār, and as a broad stretch of land bordered by low mountains and the sea capable of marginal cultivation (*Fī shamāl gharb al-Jazīrah*, pp. 193 (where it is included on a local area map), 194, 203f). Its inclusion in al-Bakrī, *Muᶜjam*, pt. 3, p. 928 confirms it as being a very old place. It appears as Ḫûdêbâ on Kiepert's revision of Ritter's map in Avril, *L'Arabie contemporaine* (inset at back).

The abandoned village of al-Dahnāᵓ (*dahnāᵓ* referring to desert terrain of shifting dunes on hard ground), which the caravan usually passes through or around during the night, appears in a few of the accounts but on none of the maps consulted here. Once a flourishing place, it had by this time turned into thickets of brushwood which required the caravan to have an alert guide for passage there in moonlight. During times of heat,

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Ibrāhīm[809] used to dwell. At the beginning of [this] century, however, they caused civil strife and looted Mecca, Jedda and the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan. They caused such despoliation that Sultan al-Ghawrī sent against them a detachment of troops led by the *amīr* Khāyir Bak. He fought them, killed indiscriminately among them, and constructed a bench out of their [severed] heads. Every [last] one of them was scattered.[810] This al-Dahnā was the town of our *sayyid* Shaykh Aḥmad al-Badawī (God be pleased with him!).[811] The [actual] halting place was al-ʿUdaybīyah, which the caravan came to in the morning and whence it departed at noon, following the morning meal.

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especially in summer, it could be very trying for the pilgrims. See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1251, 1421f, 1572 (and also in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 30); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542, who refers to it as Evvel-i Dehnā (as do Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 462, and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 251); al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p. 356; and Jomier, *Le Maḥmal*, p. 203 (who places it on a detour through Badr so that the pilgrims could visit that celebrated site of an early military contest in Islam).

809 The Banū Ibrāhīm are identified as a sub-group (*fakhdh*) of the Banū Mālik branch of the Juhaynah tribe inhabiting the Yanbuʿ region of the Ḥijāz (Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, 362; Ḥamzah, *Qalb Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, pp. 145, 146; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam qabāʾil al-ʿArab*, i, 2). Details on them, whom al-Nahrawālī earlier referred to as a sub-group of the Banū Ḥasan (see above, p. 284), and who were responsible for local security (*al-darak*) in the al-Dahnāʾarea, are provided, along with the names of some of their leaders, in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1420f (and later included in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 29f).

810 Details on the decline and abandonment of the once flourishing community of al-Dahnāʾ owing to widespread marauding and depredations by its principal tenants, the Banū Ibrāhīm, as well as on the severe countermeasures successfully prosecuted by order of Sultan Qanṣawh al-Ghawrī (on whom see above, p. 143, n. 393), may be found in rather more detail in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1422 (and in ʿAlī Mubārark, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 30). Notice of the problems created in the Ḥijāz by the Banū Ibrāhīm reached Cairo from Mecca in Shawwāl, 911/March, 1506. So serious were these judged to be that the Egyptian and Syrian *ḥajj* caravans, as well as all other related activities, had to be canceled for that year. This, according to Ibn Iyās, who provides information relating to these disturbances, was the only time until then in the Mamlūk state when the pilgrimage from it could not be performed, thus creating a crisis for the faith (*Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iv, 89; see too Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, 361). The Khāʾir Bak referred to here was the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Khāʾir Bak Īnāl min Īnāl (d. 922/1516), the governor of al-Gharbīyah province and an *amīr* of a thousand who was appointed commander of the Mamlūk expeditionary force sent against the Banū Ibrāhīm in 912/1507 (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iv, 97f, 101, 106, 116, and, for his death, v, 15).

811 This is a reference to Shaykh al-Sayyid Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Fityān Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Badawī (596-675/1200-76), who for more than seven centuries has been Egypt's most popular *ṣūfī* saint. Founder of the Aḥmadīyah order, his mysticism was that of the popular variety not typified by intellectual qualities. Virtually all of the considerable biographical literature on him has him born at Fez, in Morocco, whence at a young age he and the rest of his family were removed by their father to Mecca, where

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The forty-sixth station is Wāsiṭ, where we arrived at sunset on Saturday night and where the caravan remained until midnight. There, a bonfire was made, guns were discharged, and people lit candles on the humps of camels. That is a custom at this place. They claim, in fact, that the camel of whoever fails to light a candle on its back will not survive.[812] Such, however, is but a whimsical notion among fools. There is no basis for it beyond the fact that people do that in celebration of the victory of the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!) over the infidel Quraysh at Badr,[813] where those with the ability can [still] hear among its dunes the drumbeat of victory.[814] We resumed our journey after midnight.

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shortly the father died. For a concise and informative notice of him see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Aḥmad al-Badawī" (Vollers/Littmann), i, 280f. A comprehensive and scholarly recent study is that by Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, *al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī, un grand saint de l'Islam égyptien* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1994). The tradition connecting him not with the Maghrib but, as here, with the *sharīf*s of al-Dahnāʾ is generally considered spurious. It originates with Muḥammad al-Baṭṭālah, a prominent 8th/14th-century member of the order who, although he never knew Aḥmad al-Badawī personally, claimed to have received this information from the *shaykh*'s hundred year-old sister at al-Dahnāʾ (*ibid.*, pp. 44, n. 125, 177, n. 53, and 436f).

812 The evening of the Saturday here referred to fell on 27 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = the evening of Friday, 9 September, 1558. Wāsiṭ appears on al-Jāsir's area sketch map (*Fī shamāl gharb al-Jazīrah*, p. 193) as a *wādī* (vale) situated southeast of al-ʿUdhaybah and roughly midway between it and Badr, the next station. Much of what al-Nahrawālī has to report about the activities of the *ḥajj* caravan there is also noted by al-Jazīrī. The latter adds that this site for the evening meal (*maʿshāh*) is located in a spacious open area near a sand-dune and low mountains, and that it too was referred to as al-ʿUdhaybah (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 843, 1423; and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 30). What is mentioned only briefly about Wāsiṭ by Ḥācī Ḫalīfe (*Cihān-numā*, p. 542) may be found in the English translation of Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 642). Ṣabrī Pasha merely cites its name (*Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 251). Its precise geographical location within the present-day district of Medina is calculated in *Dalīl al-mawāqiʿ*, p. 657.

813 For an earlier reference to and annotation on Badr, the site of an important early military contest in Islam, see above, p. 7 and n. 22.

814 The travel account of Ibn Jubayr, who passed through Badr in 580/1184 while performing the *ḥajj*, referred to its Mount of Drums (Jabal al-Ṭubūl). He described it as resembling a long sand-dune and being connected with the legend which holds that, as an everlasting reminder of the Prophet's great victory there (in 2/624) over the Meccan polytheists, the sound of drums can be heard there every Friday (*Riḥlat*, p. 166; and, in English, in Peters, *The Hajj*, pp. 102f). Ibn Baṭṭūṭah reported much the same, and in parallel language, close to a century and a half later (*Travels*, i, 185). This same tradition was noted as well by the Ottoman pilgrim Meḥmed Edīb towards the end of the 11th/17th century (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 152).

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Badr is the forty-seventh station, which we came to at daybreak on Saturday.[815] The *sayyid* [al-Samhūdī] has stated in [his] history of Medina:[816]

> "Badr, [which is spelled] with *fatḥ[ah]* and *sukūn*, is a well that was excavated by a man of [the] Ghifār [tribe][817] whose name was Badr b. Qurayṣ b. Makhlid b. al-Naḍir b. Kinānah.[818] It is said too [that] Badr is the name of a man among (the) Ḍamrah[819] who lived there and so it[s name] is traced [to him]. Several of the *shaykh*s of the Banū Ghifār have disclaimed the latter [and] asserted, 'Rather, it is our spring and campgrounds. No one [else] has ever laid hold of it.'"

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815 This Saturday occurred on 27 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 10 September, 1558.

816 For an earlier reference to and note on the *sayyid* ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1506), the author of a well-known history of Medina entitled *Wafāʾ al-wafā bi-akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*, and of its abridgement known as *Khulāṣat al-wafāʾ*, see above, p. 286, n. 803. That this somewhat ambiguous reference here is, in fact, to al-Samhūdī is confirmed below, p. 292.

The quote which follows in the next five lines of the text of the *Riḥlah* differs somewhat in language and details from the printed text of al-Samhūdī found in *Wafāʾ and wafā*, pt. 4, p. 1145. This excerpt appears as well, and in language more faithful to the original, in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1427.

817 The Banū Ghifār b. Mulayk b. Ḍamrah b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kinānah was a small but old tribe inhabiting parts of the Ḥijāz between Medina and Mecca. They had accepted Islam by the year 8/630 and participated in the Muslim conquest of Mecca. See *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Gifâr" (Schleifer), iv, 771; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ghifār" (Fück), ii, 1072; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam qabāʾil al-ʿArab*, iii, 890 (which refers to them as the Ghifār b. Mulayl, a sub-group of the Banū Kinānah, and identifies Badr as one of their watering places).

818 Al-Samhūdī provides Quraysh rather than Qurayṣ as the name of this Badr's father, and offers some explanation for this (*Wafāʾ al-wafā*, p. 1145). This individual has not been further identified.

819 The Banū Ḍamrah b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kinānah b. Khuzaymah is a tribe which historically roamed and controled watering places in the desert terrain inland from and elevated above the Red Sea coast, essentially between Badr and Rābigh. They are related to the Banū Ghifār b. Mulayk/Mulayl b. Ḍamrah b. Bakr (see above, n. 817). See al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, pp. 1145, 1330; Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Qilādat al-jumān fī al-taʿrīf bi-qabāʾil ʿArab al-zamān*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1383/1963), p. 135; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1427, 1446; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam qabāʾil al-ʿArab*, ii, 667f; al-Jāsir, *Fī shamāl gharb al-Jazīrah*, pp. 196, 202; and, for references to them by the classical Arab geographers, Wohaibi, *Northern Hijaz*, pp. 39, 88, 130, 225, 239.

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Ibn Jarīr has, on the authority of al-Ḍaḥḥāk,[820] stated, 'Badr is a spring on the right-hand side of the road to Mecca, between Mecca and Medina.' And by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī[821] is [the following]:

" 'To the brilliant moon (*badr*) Muḥammad came we,
Striving in nocturnal journey 'til we at Badr alighted.'

This is exquisite style without equal in expression,
And such be artistic cleverness unencountered in rhyme or prose."

Nowadays Badr consists of a running but brackish spring, a palm grove, and a village. Located there is a band of the Zubayd Arabs, [spelled] with [the vowel] 'u' (*ḍamm[ah]*) on the *zāy* (=Zu), with 'a' (*fatḥ[ah]*) on the *bāʾ* with the single dot beneath (=ba), followed by *yāʾ* with double dots beneath (=y), and, finally, with *dāl* (=d) [=Zubayd]. They are known as the Zubayd al-Mizdād.[822] Before Badr is a now neglected spring known as Ḥunayn.[823] It is not the Ḥunayn near al-Ṭāʾif, the site of the military engagement known as the Battle of

820 The Ibn Jarīr referred to here was none other than Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Ṭabarī (224-310/839-923), the prolific writer and, later, much published classical Muslim polymath, jurisconsult, Qurʾānic commentator, and famous universal historian of the early centuries of Islam. For a very useful introduction to him and his compositions see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Ṭabarī" (Bosworth), x, 11-15. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Ṭabarī's authority here, is inadequately identified but seems likely to have been al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī, a noted but vacilating figure (d. 64/684) in the early Umayyad caliphate (*ibid.*, art. "al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī" (Dietrich), ii, 89f), on whom al-Ṭabarī is an important source.

821 For an earlier reference to and note on the 8th/14th-century philologist and humanist, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, see above, p. 149 and n. 407. The two verses which follow appear also in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1427 (as well as in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 31), which work makes several allusions to this prolific Mamlūk writer and copyist. These lines of poetry may have been included in al-Ṣafadī's *Ḥaqīqat al-majāz ilā al-Ḥijāz*, a work inspired by his pilgrimage in the year 755/1354.

822 The Zubayd al-Mizdād are referred to as the Zubayd al-Shām by al-Jazīrī, who notes that they were known among the people of the Ḥijāz as the Zubayd al-Misdād; that they were a sub-group of the Ḥamdān; and that they had responsibility for the security (*darak*) of the *ḥajj* route between al-ʿUdhaybah and Badr, but not of Badr itself (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1424f; and also ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 31). No reference to either al-Mizdād or al-Misdād has been located in other materials consulted for this study; and efforts to identify these Zubayd with any of the tribes of that name described by Kaḥḥālah (*Muʿjam qabāʾil al-ʿArab*, ii, 464-6) have not met with convincing success.

823 In fact, the toponym Badr very often appears in accounts and on maps in combination with the name of this nearby well, that is Badr (*wa*/and) Ḥunayn (cf. above, p. 7, n. 22), consistently so in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*. In connection with repair work on this well under the patronage of a Damascene merchant in 835/1431-2, it is noted that it was (also) known as the well of Bāzān (*ibid.*, p. 720).

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Ḥunayn.[824] Beyond Badr is a lofty hill of white sand, which is blown about by the winds and from which direction the sound of the drumbeat of victory may be heard. While some of those passing through Badr doubtless do hear it, many do not. I was one who heard it in [my] early youth (God show mercy to that [167b] sweet time of life and to those comrades and loved ones it brought together –

A time when youth and boyhood are in conjunction,
And life is tender and time is fresh.

Whene'er the mind imagines it, I visualize it,
And, upon it, the apparel of youth is swaying!)

At Badr is the Mosque of the Cloud (*al-Ghamāmah*), the site of the lean-to which was made for the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!) on the day of the skirmish at Badr, and which was sheltered by the clouds.[825] The Sayyid al-Samhūdī has stated in [his] history of Medina that "It was the lean-to set up at Badr for the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!) on the day [of the skirmish] there, and it was [situated] among the palms near the middle of the valley, with the spring close by. Not far south of this mosque is another one called by the inhabitants of Badr the Mosque of Victory."[826] It is said that it was the site of the Prophet's (God bless him and grant him salvation!) water basin on the day of the attack during the month of Ramaḍān in the second Islamic year.[827] Behind [this] mosque, on its western side, are the tombs of the

824 Ḥamad al-Jāsir, the editor of *al-Durar al-farā'id*, credits the author of this *Riḥlah* with making a clear distinction between the well, adjacent to Badr, and the valley of Ḥunayn near Mecca, on the road to al-Ṭā'if, that was the site of another of the Prophet's successful battles, this one in the year 8/630 following the Muslim conquest of Mecca (*al-Durar al-farā'id*, pp. 351, n. 3 and 1423, n. 1; and, on the battle site of Ḥunayn, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Ḥunayn" (Lammens/Abd al-Hafez Kamal), iii, 578).

825 On the Prophet's victory at Badr see above, p. 7, n. 22. What little is recorded here about the Mosque of the Cloud also appears, albeit in slightly different wording, in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, p. 1425 (and was later included in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 31).

826 This quote from al-Samhūdī appears, with only a minor difference, in his *Wafā' al-wafā*, pt. 3, p. 1026. Curiously, he refers to the Mosque of the Cloud as simply the Mosque of Badr; furthermore, he claims no further knowledge of the other mosque, the Mosque of Victory.

827 Ramaḍān 2 = March, 624. For the most likely date of this event see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Badr" (Montgomery Watt), i, 867; and for the account of the Prophet's water basin at Badr see too al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farā'id*, p. 1425 (and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 31).

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martyrs.[828] It is a legendary place where lie buried many members of caravans who died at this halting place. At the pilgrimage [caravan] station is a pool which is fed from the spring and which Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (God show him mercy!) had built in the year 915 [1509-10].[829] Pilgrims relate that this pool is colonised by malevolent spirits (*jinn*) and that, inescapably, [at least] one of the pilgrims is drowned in it every time they come there. And there is [here] a mosque built in our own era by the ruler of Mecca, our lord and master, the exalted noble presence, the distinguished Sayyid Muḥammad Abū Numayy [II] b. Barakāt b. Muḥammad b. Barakāt (God almighty exalt his honour, success and good fortune!).[830] From Badr to Rābigh is a journey of four stages for the Egyptian pilgrims, whereas the Syrian(s) cover it in two, it being a waterless stretch.[831] We departed [from Badr] after noonday on Saturday, the 26th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah.[832]

The forty-eighth halting place is the beginning of the low plain of al-Bazwah,[833] a broad tract of land clear of mountains [all the way] to

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828 The "tombs of the martyrs (*qubūr al-shuhadāʾ*)" are where, according to Islamic historical tradition, the slightly more than a dozen Companions of the Prophet were martyred during the action at Badr against the Meccan polytheists. These martyrs, referred to as the Badrīyūn, came to be considererd something of an "aristocracy of merit" (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Badr" (Montgomery Watt), i, 868). See al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, pt. 4, p. 1145; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1425, 1426 (and transmitted by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 31); and Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 302f.

829 References to Sultan al-Ghawrī's having authorised the (re)construction of a water pool (*birkah/fisqīyah*) at Badr in 915/1509-10, a year in which that Mamlūk sultan was particularly active in improving security and amenities along the Egyptian pilgrimage road (see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iv, 151f; and Tamari, "Darb al-Ḥajj in Sinai," p. 468), appear also in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1425f (and included in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 31); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 152), who notes that it had a stairway descending into it; and Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 302.

830 For an earlier allusion to this personage see above, p. 1, n. 3. Reference to this mosque, which according to this text he caused to be built at Badr, is made also by al-Jazīrī (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1426), except that the latter adds that it was completed in the 950s/1543-52 and suggests that it was a case of restoring an existing structure (and transmitted, with an incorrect date, by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 31).

831 On the lack of water along this stretch of the route, between Badr and Rābigh, and for al-Nahrawālī's having traversed it in two stages with the returning Syrian pilgrims' caravan, see above, p. 7 and n. 21.

832 This Saturday fell on 27 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 10 September, 1558. The text here has the month as Dhū al-Ḥijjah, an obvious slip for Dhū al-Qaʿdah.

833 See above, p. 7 and n. 21 for an earlier reference to and note on this station (*manzil*).

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Rābigh.[834] We halted at sunset on the night of Sunday,[835] took our evening meal there, and resumed our journey.

Ghayqah is the forty-ninth station and it is [spelled] with an 'a' [vowel] after the dotted [letter] *ghayn* [=gha], followed by a double-dotted unvowelled [letter] *yāʾ* [=y], then a [letter] *qāf* bearing the vowel 'a' [=qa], and, finally, a [letter] *hāʾ* [=Ghayqah]. It is a name for a spot on the seacoast within the shallow valley of al-Bazwah.[836] We reached there in the morning, had breakfast, and started out [again]. Late in the afternoon we passed through Mastūrah[837] but didn't make a halt.

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834 For an earlier mention of and note on Rābigh, a collection of villages on or near the Red Sea coast, see above, p. 6 and n. 20.

835 The eve of the Sunday mentioned here fell on 28 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = the evening of Saturday, 10 September, 1558.

836 From the accounts consulted here which yield a reference to this place, no very clear picture of it emerges. Although the encampment by the seacoast, not far from al-Jār, where the caravan paused for the morning meal (*dār al-maghdāh*) was known as Ghayqah, there is no suggestion of there having been a community there. The same name, it seems, was used to refer to a long low plain (*khabt*) stretching in a north-south direction, just west of the Bazwah depression, and ending at the coast in sandy swampland. The latter is owing to the fact that several vales (*wādīs*) in the region, including those of al-Ṣafrāʾ, Raḍwā and Yanbuʿ, drain into the Red Sea there. On it see al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, editor's n. 7 on p. 652; al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pt. 3, pp. 1010f; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1446 (and, with minor differences, in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 32); Ḥācī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (and miscopied by Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 462; and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 251); Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p. 209, n. 1; and al-Jāsir, *Fī shamāl gharb al-Jazīrah*, pp. 193 (sketch map), 197f, 204. The geographical determination of this toponym is provided in ʿAbduh, *Muʿjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 354 and *Dalīl al-mawāqiʿ*, p. 470.

837 The village of Mastūrah, a frequently used caravan halting place (*manzil*) midway between Mecca and Medina, appears on most modern maps and is held to have been formerly known as Waddān. T. E. Lawrence described it as "... a broad open place...or plain by which Wadi Fura flowed into the sea" in times of rain (*Seven Pillars*, p. 79). Some of its water supply was brackish, but close by were sources of sweet water. Not long after World War I this hamlet, located two miles from the seacoast and possessing only a few rush huts and some tents, was noted for its sweet-water well of hewn stone, three meters in breadth by nine in depth, with walls a meter thick and rising two meters above the ground, and with a stairway down into it (Rifʿat Bāshā, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*, ii, 203; Hogarth, *Hejaz before World War I*, p. 113; Rutter, *Holy Cities*, ii, 176; and Gt. Br., *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, p. 130). The place's great age is attested by the fact that it appears, under its earlier name Waddān, in al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 454; al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pt. iv, pp. 1374f; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, p. 608; and al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, pt. iv, p. 1330. See too al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 357, 377, 451; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 112f; al-Jāsir, *Fī shamāl gharb al-Jazīrah*, pp. 193, 197, 198; and, for what the classical Arab geographers had to say about Waddān, al-Wohaibi, *Northern Hijaz*, pp. 290-2 and 427 (accounting for its name change).

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The fiftieth stop is ʿAqabat Waddān,[838] which is [located] six stages of travel (*marāḥil*) from al-Abwāʾ.[839] We reached there after sundown and, following our evening meal,[840] departed on Monday night[841] and pushed on until daybreak.

Rābigh is the fifty-first halting place, where we arrived in the morning. It is the place for the [Egyptian pilgrim to enter into the temporary] state of ritual consecration (*iḥrām*).[842] And it has watering holes which in the rainy season are [168a] sweet, but which in times of drought become brackish. The [precise] spot designated [for pilgrims] to don the ritual pilgrimage garb (*iḥrām*) is al-Juḥfah, which is close to Rābigh [and is situated] in front of it, in the direction of Mecca [but] slightly to the left [and] toward the mountain.[843] Its [original] name was Mahyaʿah, but later it became

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838 Although, as discussed in the previous note, the literature indicates that Waddān is considered to be the earlier name for Mastūrah, al-Nahrawālī makes it clear here that in the mid-10th/16th century the two were distinct and separarted by a least a short distance. The reference here to this station as being the "pass" (*ʿaqabah*) of Waddān (with the latter word appearing vocalised in the text) is followed by Ḥājī Ḫalīfe, *Cihān-numā*, p. 542 (and his copyists Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 462 and Ṣabrī Pasha, *Mirʾāt ül-Ḥaremeyn*, iii, 251). Al-Nahrawālī's contemporary, al-Jazīrī, too indicates such a distinction (*al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1446f, 1559). It may be the case that what is here termed (ʿAqabat) Waddān subsequently took on the name Mastūrah as the latter toponym became transferred, perhaps owing to access to better water.

839 Early Arab accounts identify al-Abwāʾ as a valley (*wādī*), mountain or village watered by springs, and they locate it some six to eight miles east of Waddān. This place figures in Islamic tradition both because the Prophet's mother, Āminah, is generally held to have died and been buried there, and because it and nearby Waddān were the objectives of the first expedition in which Muḥammad participated from Medina. The author of the *Riḥlah* is clearly mistaken in situating it six days or stages of travel from Waddān. Possibly he erroneously employed the word *marāḥil* where he intended (the accurate) *amyāl* (miles). See al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, pp. 453-6; al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pt. 1, p. 102; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, p. 6; al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, pp. 1016, 1017, 1118f; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1446f (and transmitted by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 32); *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ebvâ" (Buhl), iv, 103; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "al-Abwāʾ" (Montgomery Watt), i, 169; Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p. 30; al-Jāsir, *Fī shamāl gharb al-Jazīrah*, pp. 182, 193 (suggesting that it is the modern-day al-Khuraybah); al-Wohaibi, *Northern Hijaz*, pp. 35-40 (for coverage of it by the classical Arab geographers); *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Ebvâ" (Fayda), x, 378f; and, for the geographical determination of it as a *wādī*, *Dalīl al-mawāqiʿ*, p. 18.

840 The author of the *Riḥlah* has apparently slipped up here, giving *ghadīnā* ("we had breakfast") where *ʿashīnā* ("we had supper") is clearly intended.

841 The night of the Monday referred to here fell on 29 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = the night of Sunday/Monday, 11/12 September, 1558.

842 On both Rābigh and the institution of ritual consecration (*iḥrām*) see above, p. 6, n. 20.

843 Al-Juḥfah, now known by the toponym Biʾr Jafāʾ, is situated near a mountain and defile about fifteen kms. southeast of Rābigh and nine kms. from the Red Sea coast. Tradition has it that in early Islamic times it was a large and prosperous village with a mosque

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known as al-Juḥfah owing to the torrential flood which washed it away (*ajḥafa bi-hā*) and carried off a chunk of its land.[844] It is held that a feverish heat persists there, to the point that even birds in transit sucumb to it. That was the result of the Prophet's (God bless him and grant him salvation!) invocation for the people of Medina that the city's heat be transferred to al-Juḥfah. The latter, once a village, has fallen into a ruinous state, there being nothing there now but traces of buildings, the foundation of a mosque, and such like. When he passed through it, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Fayyūmī al-Makkī[845] recited to himself:

Forgotten have I not a day in al-Juḥfah, where
My mind from its anxieties was deflected,

– A day when, from its heat, human flesh
Became cooked and turned to ashes (*rābigh*).

That is to say, it became a cloud of dust. Rābigh does have a lot of dust, and the gusting of the wind there is unremitting. Those so intending commence [here to enter into] the state of ritual consecration (God the

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of some dimensions. Because of its status as the religiously sanctioned point (*mīqāt*) for many pilgrims to enter the state of *iḥrām* (ritual purity), the first act of the *ḥajj*, virtually all of the classical Arab geographers had something to say about it. What al-Nahrawālī proceeds to relate concerning its change of name, its feverish heat resulting from the Prophet's invocation, and its long ruinous state appears in many of these accounts in variant forms. From this point the several southbound caravan routes to Mecca unite. See al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, pp. 415n, 457-9; al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pt. 2, pp. 367-70; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, pp. 156f; al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, pt. 4, p. 1174; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 161, 1252, 1447, 1448f (and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 33); Ḥācī Ḫalîfe, *Cihân-numâ*, p. 542 (and Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 462); Rifʿat Bāshā, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*, pt. 2, p. 203; Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfīyah*, p. 39, n. 3; al-Wohaibi, *Northern Hijaz*, pp. 102-12 (for its treatment by the classical Arab geographers); ʿAbduh, *Muʿjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 118; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Cuhfe" (Bilge), viii, 82f; and Peters, *The Hajj*, p. 90.

844 This name, which appears here (and in other works) with the vowels added, was, according to al-Samhūdī (*Wafāʾ al-wafā*, pt. 4, p. 1316), originally vocalised as Mahīʿah but later became Mahyaʿah. Although the story of the devastating torrential flood that led to the community's change of name relates this event to the year 80/699, al-Wohaibi's study of geographical and poetry sources confirms that the name al-Juḥfah existed for this place in pre-Islamic times (*Northern Hijaz*, pp. 109, 110f).

845 For an earlier reference to Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Fayyūmī al-Makkī, see above, p. 286 and n. 805. The same two lines of poetry, with but one minor difference, are quoted as well by al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, p. 1449.

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exalted accept that from Muslims!). [Our] departure was at noon on Tuesday, the 28th of [Dhū] al-Qaʿdah.[846]

The fifty-second station is the low plain of Kullayyah,[847] a broad and spacious locale at the lower end of the Bazwah depression. We alighted there after sunset, had our evening meal, and then resumed our journey.

The top of ʿAqabat al-Sawīq[848] is the fifty-third stop, where we halted at dawn and took breakfast. We then departed and descended through the pass (*ʿaqabah*), a large sand dune into which the camels' legs sink half a cubit or more. Since formerly it was customary here for the pilgrimage caravan commander (*amīr al-ḥājj*) to serve sweetened barley gruel (*sawīq*) to the people, they called this station ʿAqabat al-Sawīq. But that [practice] fell into disuse, and they took to sometimes providing people with pure water. This is a great boon, but one that happens only occasionally.

Khulayṣ[849] is the fifty-fourth halting place. It is a village [formerly] inhabited by the Zubayd Dhawī Rūmī, some of the most impudent and wicked desert Arabs. During the times of civil strife at the beginning of the [present] century, shameful deeds were perpetrated by them. But they were made to experience the evil consequences of their ill-gotten gains, and were scattered in all directions. The lord of Mecca (God almighty protect him!) removed them from there so that it became a place of peace and security (Praise and thanks be to God!).[850] Khulayṣ has a very sweet-water

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846 According to the calculated Islamic lunar calendar this Tuesday fell on 30 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (965) = 13 September, 1558. At this point, the author of the *Riḥlah*'s alignment of the day of the week with that of the month is out by two days.

847 For an earlier reference to and comment on al-Kullayah see above, p. 6 and n. 19.

848 This *manzil* is scarcely noted, at least by the name ʿAqabat al-Sawīq, in the accounts consulted for this study. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, who passed through it in the 8th/14th century, comments on the custom of pilgrims consuming *sawīq* there (*Travels*, i, 186). According to al-Jazīrī, it was known to be a demanding and wearisome transit point, one moreover that was avoided at midday owing to the extreme heat of the sun there. He expands somewhat on the discontinued earlier practice of distributing *sawīq* (on which ancient food see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Sawīḳ" (Waines), ix, 93) at that station (*al-Durar al-farā'id*, pp. 1070, 1457f; and also ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, pp. 33f). It receives a brief mention as well in al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, p. 363. Burckhardt, traveling in the opposite direction in the early 19th century, passed thereabouts over a high hill, which he referred to as Thenyet Kholeys and for which he provided a description closely resembling that for ʿAqabat al-Sawīq (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 103f and appearing on the map in v. i, opp. the title page).

849 For an earlier reference to and comment on this long-established halting place for the pilgrimage caravans see above, p. 5 and n. 17.

850 The *dhawū* or *āl* Rūmī were a clan of the Zubayd al-Shām Arabs who, under their leader Mālik b. Rūmī (d. 915/1509-10) joined in the sedition in the Ḥijāz during 907-10/1502-04 in support of Sayyid Aḥmad Jāzān when he attempted to wrest power from his

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spring feeding a large pool which, more than once in our own era, has been repaired at the bidding of the most exalted ruler, Sultan Süleymān (God almighty make him victorious and perpetuate his triumphant sultanate!). Similarly, he several times had the spring reconditioned too, and assigned someone from the Jedda garrison to look after it, a person named Ḫayr-eddīn. The latter took up residence in Khulayṣ to be in a position to check on that spring regularly. He [in fact] became related by marriage to the Arabs of that locality, obtaining from them a wife by whom he sired a son; and when Ḫayreddīn died his son Behrām succeeded him at taking care of that spring.[851]

[168b] The caravan remained [at Khulayṣ through] Wednesday, both the night and the following day. On Wednesday night we beheld the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[852] After sunset on the evening of Thursday, the 2nd of Dhū al-Ḥijjah,[853] the caravan departed, having been preceded from there to Mecca by a large number of people, especially by those having mules.

ʿUsfān is the fifty-fifth halting place. It is a well with quite sweet water into which the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation!) is said to have spat.[854] Ḥāfiẓ Mughulṭāy has related that the Prophet (God bless him

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brother, Sharīf Barakāt (II) Muḥammad b. Barakāt (see above, p. 271 and n. 762). On this branch of the Zubayd, who had come to monopolise responsibility for security (*darak*) in this area before being overcome and displaced by Sharīf Barakāt (II), see al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1447, 1465. This same source provides details concerning the role of these Zubayd as allies of Sayyid Jāzān in 907/1502 (*ibid.*, 781-5). On the Zubayd Arabs of Badr, known as the Zubayd al-Mizdād/al-Misdād, see above, p. 291 and n. 822.

851 Travelers' testimonials to the spring and large water pool at Khulayṣ were noted earlier, when al-Nahrawālī called there near the outset of his mission (see above, p. 5 and n. 17). The account here of repair work on these amenities at Khulayṣ in the early Ottoman period, as well as of Ḫayreddīn er-Rūmī, the resident official charged with their upkeep, is provided in greater detail by al-Jazīrī. The latter, who as a functionary of the Egyptian pilgrimage bureau knew Ḫayreddīn personally, informs that his wife was from the local *dhawī* Rūmī Arabs and that he died in 962/1554-5. Curiously, al-Jazīrī does not mention Ḫayreddīn's son by his name (Behrām), suggesting that the author of the *Riḥlah*, who doubtless was also an acquaintance of his father, writes here independently of al-Jazīrī. See *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1460f, 1755f (and conveyed by ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 34).

852 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 965 = Wednesday, 14 September, 1558. Only here, when observing the rising of the month's new moon, does al-Nahrawālī correct the misalignment of days of the week with those of the month, a situation persisting since the beginning of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, when al-Nahrawālī was in Sinai (See above, p. 244 and n. 676; see too p. 2, n.7).

853 The evening of 2 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (965) = the evening of Wednesday, 14 September, 1558.

854 ʿUsfān, often referred to as Biʾr ʿUsfān, is situated in a broad fertile vale (*wādī*) known by the same name, about fifty kms. north-northwest of Mecca. Early writers identified

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and afford him peace!) was born at ᶜUsfān.[855] We alighted there at daybreak, took our morning meal, and then resumed our journey.

The fifty-sixth station is Wādī Marr al-Ẓuhrān,[856] where we arrived close to sunset. Some of the pilgrims carry on [directly] to Mecca, while others remain [here], have their evening meal, and then depart, arriving at Mecca in the morning. The commander of the pilgrimage caravan went ahead, completed the [seven-fold] circumambulation [of the Kaᶜbah], made the [seven-fold] run [between al-Ṣafā and Marwah], and returned

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this caravan stop as a village large enough to have a mosque (*jāmiᶜ*) with a pulpit (*minbar*). Brief accounts of it appear in the 3rd/9th-century work of al-Ḥarbī (*Kitāb al-manāsik*, pp. 463f) and in al-Bakrī, *Muᶜjam*, pt. 3, pp. 942f). As well, a digest of its coverage by the classical Arab geographers is provided by al-Wohaibi (*Northern Hijaz*, pp. 284-9). When Ibn Jubayr was there in 579/1184, he located it on a plain amid mountains and noted there an old fortress with well-constructed towers but no longer manned (*Riḥlat*, p. 162; and, in English translation, Peters, *The Hajj*, p. 101). About a century and a half later Ibn Baṭṭūṭah made little effort in his description of it to alter Ibn Jubayr's words (*Travels*, i, 187). Subsequent travelers' observations on ᶜUsfān include those of Ḥibrī, (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrī'nin," p. 128 – as Bedr-i Affân); Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 674 (and Bilge, "Arabia in the Work of Awliya Chalaby," p. 222); Meḥmed Edīb (Bianchi, "Itinéraire," p. 154 – as Ifan); al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 361, 363, 381; and Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 99f. See too al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, pt. 4, p. 1266; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 867, 1252, 1462 (and ᶜAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, pt. xiv, p. 35, and pt. ix, p. 27); Thévenot, *Travels*, First Part, Book Two, p. 151 - as Bir el Fan; Rifᶜat Bāshā, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*, pt. 2, p. 200 and n. 1; Rutter, *Holy Cities*, ii, 165; and Kaḥḥālah, *Jughrāfiyah*, p. 170 and nn. 1, 2. Its precise geographical determination is provided in ᶜAbduh, *Muᶜjam al-asmāʾ*, p. 323, and in *Dalīl al-mawāqiᶜ*, p. 416.

The story of the Prophet's having either drunk from or spat into the spring at ᶜUsfān is likely apocryphal, since the early accounts yield no reference to either version. However, the early 20th-century traveler and observer, al-Batanūnī, identified the well there as the *biʾr al-taflah* (the spitting well), and he remarks that its water is considered to have been brackish until the Prophet spat into it and it became sweet (*al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyah*, p. 36).

855 The reference here is to ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Mughulṭāy b. Qilīj b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Bakjarī al-Ḥikrī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī (*ca.* 690-762/1291-1361), an eminent, but controversial, prolific scholar and professor of *ḥadīth* (the prophetic Tradition) in several of Mamlūk Cairo's leading colleges. On him consult *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., art. "Mughulṭāy" (Hamdan), vii, 350, which includes a useful bibliography. In his biography of the Prophet, Ḥāfiẓ Mughulṭāy mentions ᶜUsfān as one of the possible birthplaces of Muḥammad. See *al-Ishārah ilā sīrat al-Muṣṭafā wa tārīkh man baᶜda-hu min al-khulafāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Niẓām al-Dīn al-Fulayyiḥ (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, and Beirut: al-Dār al-Shāmīyah, 1416/1996), p. 56.

856 On Wādī Marr al-Ẓuhrān (known later as Wādī Fāṭimah), the last halting place for the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan and located about twenty kms. north-northwest of Mecca, see above, p. 3, n. 9.

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to al-Zāhir, where he spent the night.[857] In the morning he was in a ceremonial tent [specially] erected for him, and was met [there] by the chief of Mecca, our lord and master, the one of exalted and distinguished rank, Sayyid Ḥasan b. Abī Numayy (God almighty preserve him!).[858] The latter donned the robe of honour[859] and proceeded with the *amīr al-ḥājj* to the college of Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy (God the exalted show him mercy!), where he lodged him.[860] That occurred on blessèd Friday, the 3rd of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 965.[861]

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857 Referred to here are two among the intital acts performed by the Muslim pilgrim upon arriving at Mecca: the *ṭawāf* designates the act of circumambulating the Kaʿbah seven times, while the *saʿy*, which follows the *ṭawāf*, denotes the pilgrim's running, also seven times, between al-Ṣafā and Marwah, two hills beyond the opposite corners of the Kaʿbah. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., arts. "Ṭawāf" (Buhl), x, 376 and "Saʿy" (Fahd), ix, 97.

Wādī al-Zāhir, where there was an encampment (*dār*) and gardens, was the final destination of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan, the members of which proceeded from there to participate in the *ḥajj* ceremonies. Historically located on the Medina and Jedda road only three kms. west of Mecca through the city's gate named for it (Bāb al-Zāhir; also called Bāb al-ʿUmrah), this place was as well sometimes referred to as Sabīl al-Jawkhī and Dhū Ṭawā; and earlier it had been known as Fakhkh (also Fajj and Faḥḥ). It was customary for the Egyptian caravan commander (*amīr al-ḥājj*) to spend the last night of the journey there. See al-Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-manāsik*, p. 467, n. 3; al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pt. 3, p. 1014; Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat*, pp. 88f, 160; al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1153, 1306, 1464f; al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, p. 41; al-Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-anẓār*, pp. 365, 384; and al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyah*, p. 36.

858 On the *sharīf* Ḥasan b. Abī Numayy, at that time co-ruler of Mecca and the Ḥijāz under Ottoman suzerainty, see above, p. 1 and n. 3.

859 Ceremonies associated with the formal welcoming of the Egyptian caravan commander by the *sharīf* of Mecca or his representative (usually a relative), including the presentation to the *sharīf* of a rich robe of honour signifying the sultan's recognition of the *sharīf* as his representative, are noted briefly in al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 1463-6; Anonymous, "A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumitans," pp. 185f; and ʿAnkawi, "Pilgrimage to Mecca," p. 155.

860 This *madrasah* (college), which had instructional divisions for each of the four canonical schools of Islamic law (*madhāhib*), was built in Mecca during *ca.* 883-4/ 1478-80 at the behest and under the patronage of the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr Sayf al-Dīn Qāʾitbāy (on whom see above, p. 262 and n. 737, and p. 268 and n. 755). Known usually as al-Madrasah al-Ashrafīyah, it was erected adjacent to the north side of the Sacred Mosque (*al-masjid al-ḥaram*); and it subsequently served as the usual lodging place for the Egyptian caravan commander during the *ḥajj*, and, at other times, for Ottoman dignitaries and ranking officials. See al-Jazīrī, *al-Durar al-farāʾid*, pp. 757, 822, 829, 964, 1913; al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, pp. 88f; and De Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, pp. 109f.

861 3 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 965 = Friday, 16 September, 1558.

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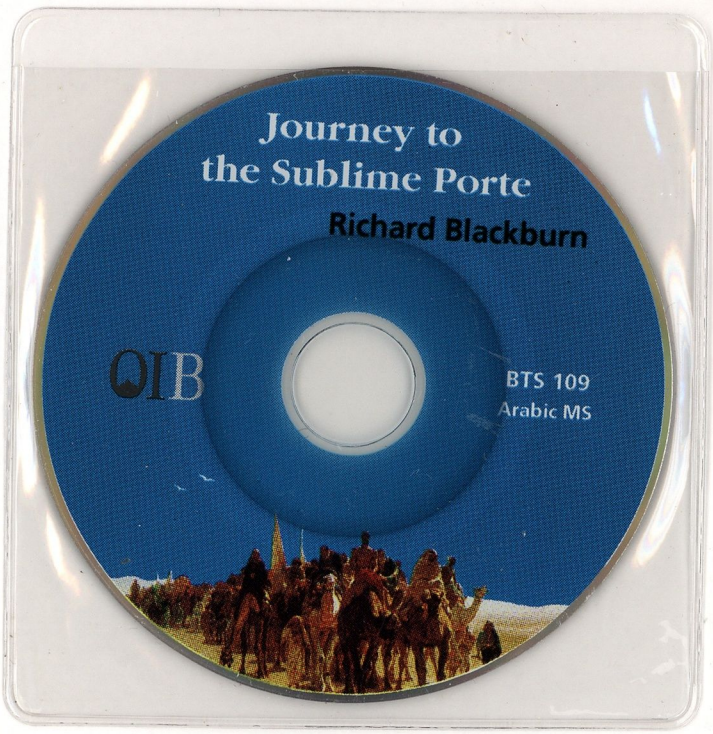

Dr. Richard Blackburn, a native of Canada, has recently retired from the University of Toronto's Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilisations, where his teaching career in Arabic language and Ottoman history spanned more than four decades. It was through his earlier focus of historical research on the Ottoman province of Yemen in the 16th century that he was introduced to Shaykh Qutb al-Din Muhammad al-Nahrawali, the prolific Meccan writer who authored this mission memoir and travel journal. He now makes his home in Stratford, Ontario, Canada.

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