

OTTOMAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS WRITING ABOUT PILGRIMAGE EXPERIENCE*

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ABSTRACT

Pilgrimage narratives have much important place in the genre of travel literature of the world. Before the 19th century, Ottomans often made travel for different purposes. It is known that in Ottoman society a great number of learned men, writer and poets made travel to distant places of the Ottoman state in order to perform an official duty. Every century tens of thousand of people participated in wars and military expenditures. Moreover, enormous number of people made travel in order to get knowledge and to obtain spiritual gains. Contrary to a great number of people having anecdotes of travel, there is insufficient number of travel books, autobiographical and diary-like works in hand. This is because Turks and other Muslim nations wrote works with religious, official and literary reasons. There are a lot of works on *hajj* in manuscript libraries of Istanbul. But most of them are about the halting places of annual *hajj* caravans and about the rituals of *hajj*, which is suitable to the characteristic of Turkish and Islamic cultural traditions. There is also insufficient amount of personal information in Nabi's *Tuhfetü'l-Harameyn*, which is one of the most famous and most literary travel narratives of *hajj* in Ottoman literature. It is very difficult to drive information about with whom Nabi travelled, and what difficulties he faced during the travel. Nabi's travel book even does not include the most interesting anecdote of Nabi about the ghazel "bu", which is still alive among Turkish people.

Key Words

Hajj, pilgrimage, travel works, Ottoman, otobiography, rituals of hajj, halting places

ÖZ

Bütün dünya edebiyatlarında seyahatname türü içinde hac seyahatnameleri önemli bir yer işgal etmektedir. 19. asır öncesinde Osmanlılar farklı sebeplerle uzak diyarlara sıkça yolculuk yapmışlardır. Osmanlı toplumunda birçok alim, yazar ve edibin resmi görev gereği Hicaz'a ve devletin uzak şehirlerine yolculuk yaptığı bilinmektedir. Her asırda on binlerce kişi, aylar süren savaş ve seferlere katılmıştır. Bütün bunlara bilgi öğrenmek ve meşhur şeyhlerden feyizlenmek için yapılan ilmi ve dini seyahatleri de ilave etmek gerekir. Bu kadar çok yolculuk yapan ve dolayısıyla yolculuk hatırasına sahip olan bir milletin edebiyatında seyahatname, otobiyografi, günlük gibi türlerde yazılmış eser sayısı çok azdır. Çünkü Türkler ve diğer Müslüman milletler, çoğunlukla dini, resmi ve edebi gerekçelerle eser yazmışlardır. Hacla ilgili yazma eser kütüphanelerinde çok sayıda eser bulunmaktadır. Ancak bu eserlerin tamamına yakını, Türk mizacına uygun olarak, hacın menazil ve menasiki konusunda hacı adaylarına yardımcı olmak için kaleme alınmışlardır. Türk edebiyatının en meşhur ve en edebi hac seyahatnamelerinden birisi olan Nabi'nin *Tuhfetü'l-harameyn*'inde de yazarın kişisel yolculuk hatıralarıyla ilgili az sayıda bilgi bulunmaktadır. Nabi'nin kimlerle yolculuk ettiği, yolculuk esnasında karşılaştığı zorlukların neler olduğu gibi konularda bilgi bulmak zordur. Hatta Nabi'nin hac yolculuğunun en dikkati çeken olaylarından birisi olan ve halk arasında anlatılan "bu" gazeliyle ilgili anekdot bile seyahatnamede yer almaz.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Hac, seyahatname, Osmanlı, otobiyografi, menasik, menazil

Medieval Muslims left their homelands only for a few important purposes such as war, the hajj, to acquire an advanced level of knowledge,

for trade, and for an official or religious mission. In these motivations for travel, the hajj had a significant place.¹ In order to perform the pilgrimage, every

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year for more than a millennium, large numbers of Muslims have undertaken a long, risky and arduous journey from various lands. Having begun their journeys in a small local caravan or in a group of friends, medieval pilgrims generally joined a large pilgrimage caravan at certain points, particularly Cairo and Damascus. Passing through the desert between Damascus and Mecca or between Cairo and Mecca under the hot sun with a limited amount of water was not only the most arduous part of the journey but also the riskiest, first because of possible attack by the Bedouins (Atalar 1991: 136-143). It required great devotion and piety to undertake such a long and dangerous journey. For most it was the journey of a lifetime.

Those pilgrims who departed from Wadan in Morocco, Granada in modern Spain, Herat, Bombay and central Asia spent many months on the journey. An eighteenth-century Ottoman pilgrim travelling in an official caravan from Istanbul had a journey of more than eight months. An ordinary medieval pilgrim from Morocco had to travel 15-18 months, or two years (El Moudden 1990: 75, Pearson 1994: 44). Qazvini's pilgrimage journey in 1087/1676 from Delhi took twelve months (Pearson 1994: 46). Such durations were valid for ordinary pilgrims who undertook the journey principally to perform the hajj and to return back home as soon as possible.

However, some pilgrims combined their aim of fulfilling the duty of the hajj with other motives, e.g. seeking a better level of knowledge, either of Islamic learning or of different Muslim lands; earning a better living, making propaganda for their beliefs or sects

or a combination of these. Making the pilgrimage served for some as an initial and legitimate stage of a longer journey. Many great Muslim scholars, poets and mystics, including Ebu Hafs Sühreverdi (d. 632/1234), Ibn el-'Arabi (d. 638/1240), Fahreddin 'Iraki (d. 688/1289), Muhammed Parsa (d. 822/1419), and Cami (d. 898-9/1492), left their homelands to perform the hajj and to improve their Islamic learning. In the course of their journeys, most often during the hajj, they met other scholars and benefited from their knowledge. For example, Sühreverdi (d. 1234) met the sufi Arab poet Ibn el-Farid (d. 1235) in Mecca in 1231; Ibn el-'Arabi (d. 1240) met the father of Sadreddin Konevi (d. 1274) in Mecca in 1204, and Sadreddin himself in Konya, where Fahreddin 'Iraki (d. 1289) also met the latter, after having performed the *hajj* (Hartmann 1960/9: 779; Ateş 1960/3: 708, Masse 1960/3: 1269). The Iranian saint Muhammed Parsa, who died in Medina, is said to have encountered and influenced Cami on his way to Mecca in 1419 (Arberry 1958: 426).

The journeys of such people took many years, sometimes continuing until the end of their lives so that they never returned to their native lands. Nabi states that some pilgrims endured the difficulty of a journey of seven or eight years in order to perform the hajj. The journeys of some West African pilgrims in pre-modern times are said to have lasted for eight years (Pearson 1994: 44). Therefore even though in modern times a pilgrim comes back to his home 'physically and financially unchanged' from a short journey of a few weeks, in olden times the long journeys would have engendered many physical, cultural

and spiritual changes in pilgrims (McDonnell 1990: 119). Upon their return or during their journeys, some scholar pilgrims undertook an active mission to communicate their knowledge and experience to people. For example, the eleventh-century Persian poet Nasır-ı Husrev, who was influenced by Fatimid scholars during his stay in Egypt, is reported to have preached the Isma'ili version of his faith in his community after his return from his pilgrimage journey (Thackston 1986). Basing his argument on the examples of the Almoravid and Almohad revolutions, Moudden states that pilgrims 'even initiated broad changes in the Maghrib' (Moudden 1990: 70, Lewis 1960/3: 38). Probably because of this, it is often emphasized that the hajj in medieval ages served to constitute a significant 'network of cultural communication' between Muslim communities (Lewis 1960/3: 38, Dunn 1986: 10, Moudden 1990: 71).

Although in comparison with less regulated Christian pilgrimages, the hajj journey was more stable, protected and well-attended, Muslim communities do not appear to have produced a well-established genre of pilgrimage narratives to rival the bulky corpus of medieval Christian pilgrimage accounts (Metcalf 1990: 86). Howard reports that 'between 1100 and 1500 some 526 accounts were written that have survived, and doubtless many more that have not' (Howard 1980: 17). The reference works on Persian literature contain a very limited number of pre-nineteenth-century pilgrimage narratives, which suggest that medieval Persian pilgrims did not write about their pilgrimage experiences. Likewise medieval West African pil-

grims except for Moroccans, seem not to have penned their accounts (El Naqar 1972: xxviii). As for South Asian pilgrims, Metcalf suggests that prior to the late eighteenth century they did not produce travel accounts 'except in so far as they recorded visions or wrote treatises while there'. The first Indian account is thought to have been composed by the scholar Mevlana Refi'eddin Muradabadi, who went on the hajj in 1787. Metcalf (1990: 86-87) states that the tradition of travel and pilgrimage account writing in the Indian sub-continent developed gradually from the nineteenth century. The tradition of Indian hajj narratives followed a rather different trend after the nineteenth century taking shape initially in the period of British rule. 'Several dozens' of pilgrimage accounts were published between 1870-1950. 'Since then, ever more people have written accounts, probably as many in the last four decades as in the eight decades before'. Having pointed out unpublished and undiscovered accounts and private letters, Metcalf concludes that hajj narratives seem 'a modern phenomenon' having common scope with other writings.

The reasons for the composition of pilgrimage accounts are closely related to the objectives and motivations of a pilgrim for undertaking the journey in the first place. One of the reasons for the proliferation of pilgrimage narratives in the west was the 'fascination' of the journey undertaken. Christian pilgrims made a risky and exciting journey through strange lands and societies, by either walking 'three thousand miles' or undertaking 'six weeks in a tiny, unstable boat' (Sumption 1975: 182). Howard states

that 'it was largely the fascination of travel itself that made men go on pilgrimages, that made pilgrimages such a fundamental institution of medieval societies and made written sources of them so interesting to read' (Howard 1980: 24). According to the thirteenth-century Christian preacher Jacques de Vitry, a number of Christian pilgrims 'go on pilgrimages not out of devotion, but out of mere curiosity and love of novelty. All they want to do is travel through unknown lands to investigate the absurd, exaggerated stories they have heard about the east' (Sumption 1975: 257). While discussing 'European travel and travel accounts', J.R. Hale says that 'by now curiosity was widely accepted as one among, if not the chief of the reasons, why a man might travel' (Hale 1979: 18).

Unlike for Christian pilgrims, it is hard to consider the fascination of travel among the principal motivations for Ottoman pilgrims generally, since they undertook the journey not for pleasure or out of curiosity but for the required performance of the hajj. The Muslim pilgrims' principal concern was to reach the Hijaz in time, and after the performance of the hajj to come back home safely. In other words, they made the journey not to see and write interesting things but to perform a religious duty. As Thayer says, 'To be sure, the attraction of the hajj may ultimately lie beyond any social benefit that accrue to the participants. It may rest instead in the fundamental religious sensibility of the pilgrims' (Thayer 1992: 186).

The routine, predictable, yet exhaustive nature of the journey Ottoman pilgrims endured may have discouraged them from recording their

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

The uniqueness and peculiarity of a journey would motivate the traveller to record it and the result would be of interest to an audience. Conversely, the more routine a journey, the less remarkable and more monotonous its telling would be. The vast majority of Ottoman pilgrims travelled in an official caravan, the route and actions of which were predetermined, routine and fairly predictable. Like soldiers, they travelled under the leadership of certain officials, hence their personal influence upon the course of the journey was negligible. All this made their journeys less personal, less risky, less dangerous and so less worthy to record. In contrast, many medieval Christian pilgrims travelled in small groups; and were recommended to take no money with them except for the purpose of delivering it to the poor as alms (Sumption 1975: 124-125). Such factors certainly made their journey less guaranteed and more personal, dangerous and exciting; it also made their written accounts more interesting, but open to fabrications.

As for the Ottomans, the predictability of the journey may have

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

It is possible that the detailed narratives composed by those who had made a relatively unusual journey might have deterred some ordinary pilgrims travelling in an official pilgrimage caravan from composing accounts of their own, presumably less eventful, adventures. In addition, existing geographical texts on the Hijaz written by previous scholars must have discouraged ordinary pilgrims from writing a description of the holy cities from their limited observations. Pearson reaches similar conclusions about the low num-

ber of Indian pilgrimage texts: 'It appears that all these pilgrims assumed there was nothing new to say about the hajj. Qazvini wrote that he would not say much about the hajj itself, or Mecca and the Ka'be "on account of the brevity of this treatise and availability of the relevant details in many books and compilations."' (Pearson 1994: 17). By producing a work, an author simply either introduces a new subject or challenges the previous ones, considering them insufficient. To make a challenge, the author is required to have either more knowledge or a different perspective or superior literary ability.

The mode of travel may also have had something to do with whether or not a narrative was composed. Sumption notes that Christian pilgrims who travelled by sea had to occupy themselves during a boring and monotonous journey. They spent their days drinking, or playing dice, cards or chess, or reading and praying, or sleeping or writing 'travel diaries' (Sumption 1975: 186). This last occupation may be put forward as an element for the relative proliferation of narratives by Andalusian and Moroccan travellers, who as far as we know at present, wrote more than those who lived relatively close to the Hijaz. However, South Asian pilgrims, many of whom also travelled by sea, did not write down their pilgrimage experiences prior to the nineteenth century. It appears, therefore, that making an exciting and unpredictable journey through unknown lands and societies could add some more accounts but would not necessarily generate a clear trend towards narrative composition. In other words, merely undertaking such a journey was not a sufficient

motivation for most literate medieval Muslims to set down their personal experiences of it.

It appears that in general Ottomans were reluctant to write down their personal lives or adventures, or to insert their selves into the description of an occurrence they experienced. Madeline C. Zilfi says "It is a commonplace in Ottoman studies that, prior to the mid-nineteenth century, diaries, letters and collections of personal papers of the sort that enriched Western European biography are lacking for comparable Ottoman dignitaries" (Zilfi 1976: 157). The authors of the few known pilgrimage narratives, except Evliya Çelebi, did not put much of themselves into their descriptions, and clearly did not intend to write about their own journeys for their own sakes. Kafadar suggests that the lack of personal literature might be due to lack of a 'strong sense of individuality' in medieval people (Kafadar 1989: 124). Unless a religious or practical or literary purpose was intended, the portrayal of their daily lives or a single episode like the pilgrimage journey, in an artless manner for its own sake must have been regarded by Ottomans as an occupation which would take some time and money; and in return it would have won its author no material or spiritual benefit, no honour or credit in the eyes of contemporaries.

The very limited copies of a few known or recently discovered narratives of personal lives suggest that such works did not even attract much attention from Ottoman readers. A quick comparison of the reception of Evliya's extraordinary narrative with that of the English author John Mandeville's *Travels* exemplifies the low

level of interest of Ottomans in such written accounts and hence of lack of motivation to compose such works. Despite being perhaps the most interesting and exciting Ottoman travel narrative, written in a descriptive manner and unpretentious language, the *Seyahatname* was virtually unknown even by major Ottoman biographers until its discovery by the nineteenth-century Austrian scholar von Hammer (Kafadar 1989: 126), and only a few manuscripts of it have survived (MacCay 1975: 280). As for Mandeville's *Travels*, it was widely read and known all over Europe for about six centuries (Letts 1953). "Well over three hundred manuscripts" of it have survived, and it 'was printed again and again well into the nineteenth century' (Sumpston 1975: 258, Howard 1980: 54).

An apparent lack of demand from contemporary audiences for *written* travel narratives may have resulted from a lively interest in *oral* narration. It is likely that a pilgrim's immediate audience would have preferred to hear his stories directly from him, and would not spare time and money to copy, buy or read such stories, even if they contained a breathtaking journey experience. To satisfy the curiosity of their immediate audience about the journey and sacred places, many pilgrims must have enjoyed telling their accounts directly to fellow countrymen (see: Farmayan and Daniel 1990: XXIII). Indeed, the oral tradition was widespread among Turks for communicating their personal or mundane experiences. Even great Turkish legends were preserved only in oral tradition.

Consequently, there existed no established tradition of memoirs, diary-writing, autobiography or works

of autobiographical character in pre-Tanzimat Ottoman literature. Although modern researchers have discovered a few first-person narratives, at the present stage these do not constitute a continuous genre, being independent from each other as to style and content. On the other hand, there was a strong tradition of *tezkire* (biographical dictionary) writing, adopted from Arabic and Persian literature, on the lives and anecdotes of prominent individuals of certain classes or professions, such as saints, scholars and poets (Steward-Robinson 1964: 60, Flemming: 1994: 59-73, Karahan 1980: 107). Motivations behind the composition of such works were educational, religious and in some cases partially literary. Nevertheless, the tradition of *tezkire* writing does not seem to have been paralleled by autobiographical writing or memoir writing until the nineteenth century when scholarly and literary works diversified and flourished under the influence of western literature.

The pilgrimage journey is generally not acknowledged as a topic or theme which occurs frequently in Ottoman texts either in verse or in *inşa* (high prose). Ottoman poetic forms, namely *gazel*, *rüba'i*, *kit'a*, *terci-i bend*, *kaside* and *mesnevi*, which had been inherited from classical Persian and Arabic literature, have been considered to deal with certain well-determined themes through a rather set range of concepts and cliches. The most prevalent form, *gazel*, and other shorter forms such as *rüba'i* and *kit'a* are clearly not suitable for relating a long story such as a pilgrimage journey. However it is possible to detect the reflection of poets' pilgrimage journey experience in

some of their *gazels*. Of all classical verse forms, the *mesnevi* is the most appropriate for extensive descriptions. Everything including particularly religious, ethical, mystical, epic, mythical and love subjects are eligible to be the subject of a *mesnevi* (Levend 1973: 103). However, poets who composed a *mesnevi* or *hamse* (collection of five *mesnevis*) tended to deal with certain classical topics. Therefore, several subjects were treated repeatedly by several poets. Description of the pilgrimage journey and of the sanctuaries are not counted among the chosen topics for the *mesnevi* form.

None of the most prominent Ottoman poets, except Nabi, are reported to have produced a description of the hajj journey either in verse or in prose. Even the leading sixteenth-century poets Fuzuli, who spent an important part of his life in Kerbela, and Baki, who went to Mecca as a *kadı* (judge), did not compose a travel account or a depiction of the sacred places they saw. A number of minor Ottoman men of letters are also reported by the major biographers to have gone to the Hijaz either for the hajj² or for other reasons. Some poets such as Gazali (d. 941/1535)³ and Fevzi (d. 1666) are reported to have spent the rest of their lives in the Hijaz. There must also be a number of poets and men of letters who probably made the hajj or must at least have seen the sanctuaries since they were appointed to several posts in the Hijaz, such as judge and inspector of the two holy cities.⁴ However, despite having gone to the Hijaz, these poets are not reported to have produced a work either on their journeys to Mecca or on the sacred places. Similarly, the accomplished stylists

Mustafa Ali of Gelibolu (d. 1600), and Okçuzade (d. 1630), although both performed the hajj, were not reported to have produced a work on their pilgrimage experiences (Schmidt 1987: 2, Woodhead 1988: 151). This case seems to be true for medieval Persian pilgrims also.

Instead of producing detailed pilgrimage narratives, it is known that some poets produced shorter compositions on the pilgrimage, producing a brief poem or several fragmentary couplets. Indeed, poetry itself was a sufficient motivation for skilled poets to produce a work on almost every phenomenon, including the pilgrimage experience. For a master poet, it was more memorable and effortless than a lengthy treatise. One of the first Turkish poets to compose poems on the pilgrimage journey and the Ka'be was Yunus Emre, some of whose verses are still on the tongue of modern Turkish people (Gölpınarlı 1939: 64). He is reported on the evidence of a poem to have gone to the Hijaz (Esin 1963: 171). The great mystic Mevlana Celaleddin had been in Mecca when he was young, and perhaps composed 'his famous invocation' to the Prophet Muhammed there (Mengi 1999: 43, Esin 1963: 169). The pilgrim poet Nabi's Turkish *Divan* includes numerous verses containing his reflections on his experience of the hajj (Coşkun 2002). The nineteenth-century folk poet Neşati describes a cruel attack on pilgrims by robbers between Damascus and Ma'an in a plain poem of eleven couplets (Atalar 1991: 141-143). Needless to say, the sacred points in the Hijaz including the Ka'be, the Zemzem

well, and the Black Stone have been used commonly as metaphors in Ottoman poetry.

Producing treatises on educational topics was always a stimulating motivation for both poets and stylists. When the subject was the hajj or the hajj journey or the sanctuaries Ottomans produced ethical and religious treatises either on the rituals of the hajj or on the stations or on the history of the Hijaz, either by compilation or by translation. The content of these works probably varied in accordance with popular demand. The fifteenth-century poet Yazıcıoğlu Muhammed devotes a section to the description of 'the farewell pilgrimage' in his lengthy didactic *mesnevi* called the *Muhammediyye* (Yazıcıoğlu Muhammed 1996: 218-224). His brother Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed-i Bican allocates an entry to the religious aspect of the hajj in his work *Envaru'l-aşikin*. He explains the importance and spiritual benefits of the hajj in prose by citing Qur'anic verses, hadiths of the Prophet, and the saying of scholars, and by incorporating his personal assumptions. Bican discusses the rites of the hajj in a separate section (Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed-i Bican ty: 325-327). Rıza Neccarzade describes importance and rituals of the hacc in his book called the *Hacnâme*.

Several authors who performed the hajj or at least went to the Hijaz produced works concerning the history of the Hijaz. Upon the order of Sokullu Mehmed Paşa, Baki (d. 1600) made a Turkish translation of an Arabic work called the *İlamü bi-a'lami beleda'llahi'l-harem* by Kutbeddin Muhammed b. Ahmed el-Mekki (d. 990/1582). Among the treatises on the Hijaz are 'Abdurrahman Gubari (d.

1566)'s *Ka'be-name*, Hanif Ibrahim (d. 1189/1775)'s *La'lü musaffa fi-ziyareti'l-Mustafa*, Mehmed Yemeni's *Feza'il-i Mekke ve Medine* [ve Kudüs], Şikarizade Derviş Ahmed's *Tayyibetü'l-ezkar fi-medineti'l-envar*, Hasan Tahsin's *Coğrafya ve tarih-i hutta-i Hicaziyye ve evsaf-ı haremeyn*, and Eyüb Sabri Paşa (d. 1890)'s *Mir'atü'l-haremeyn*.

This does not mean that the Ottomans altogether refrained from writing about their actual pilgrimage experiences. However, a very limited number of pilgrimage texts is known to students of Ottoman literature. Among the known texts are Ahmed Fakih's *Kitabü evsafı mesacidi şerife* (Book of descriptions of the noble mosques), Fevri's *Risale* (letter), Gubari's *Menasikü'l-hacc* (The rites of the hajj), 'Abdurrahman Hibri's *Menasikü'l-mesalik*, Bahti (17th century)'s *Manzume fi-menasiki'l-hacc* (Poem on the rites of the hajj), Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, Nabi (1642-1712)'s *Tuhfetü'l-haremeyn* (Gift of/ from the two sanctuaries), Sulhi (17th century?)'s *Der-beyan-ı 'aded-i menazü-i Hicaz* (Description of the number of stations to the Hijaz), Bahri (late 17th century ?)'s *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a kadar konaklar* (Stations from Üsküdar to Damascus), Hacı Seyyid Hasan Rıza'i (17th century ?)'s *Tuhfetü'l-menazili'l-Ka'be* (Gift of the stations of the Ka'be), Kadri (17th century)'s *Menazilü't-tarik ila beyti'lahi'l- 'atik* (Stations of the road to the ancient house of God), Cudi (18th century)'s *Merahilü Mekke mine's-Şam* (Stages from Damascus to Mecca), Seyyid İbrahim Hanif (d. 1217/1802)'s *Hasıl-ı hacc-ı şerif li-menazili'l-haremeyn*

(Outcome of the hajj to the stations of the two sanctuaries), Mehmed Edib (18th century)'s *Nehcetü'l-menasik*, (Highway of stations), Kamil (19th century)'s *Menasik-i hacc* (The rites of the hajj), Aşçı Dede's pilgrimage narrative of 1897, Söylemezoğlu Süleyman Şefik (19th century)'s *Hicaz seyahatnamesi* (Coşkun 2002).

In conclusion, despite the lack of a clear tradition of writing about their personal experience of pilgrimage, Ottoman pilgrims did not remain completely silent about their pilgrimage experience, and it is evident that more pilgrimage accounts were produced than those known to the students of Ottoman literature (Coşkun 2002). It appears that while the strength of oral tradition, availability of comprehensive works on the major cities they visited, stability of the pilgrimage caravans, predictable and monotonous nature of the journey, lack of interest to description of daily mundane things precluded ordinary pilgrims from producing their own accounts.

NOTLAR

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

Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim Travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination* (London 1990), pp. 236-255.

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

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

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

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