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STATIONS OF THE PILGRIMAGE ROUTE FROM ISTANBUL
TO MECCA VIA DAMASCUS ON THE BASIS OF THE
MENAZİLÜ'T-TARİK İLA BEYTİ'LLAHİ'L-'ATİK BY KADRİ
(17TH CENTURY)

*Menderes COŞKUN**

From the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century there must have been a great demand by intending Ottoman pilgrims for texts describing the stations on the Üsküdar-Damascus-Mecca pilgrimage route. The relatively large body of such texts in Ottoman manuscript libraries attest to this. Since the principal objective of such texts was to record what a possible Ottoman pilgrim needed to know about the stations of the journey, such texts principally include descriptions of the stations, recording their names in sequence, hour distances between them, and their public buildings such as fortresses, mosques, hospices, baths and shrines. Those who founded these public buildings are occasionally reported. When treating the stations from Damascus to Mecca they tend to concentrate on the availability and condition of water sources.¹ Among these details, a careful record of the duration of march between the stations was particularly important. This is probably because during an exhaustive journey travelers wondered impatiently when they would reach the next station. According to the seventeenth-century pilgrim-author Kadri's *Menazilü't-tarik*

* This article is an extraction from my Ph. D. thesis. Therefore I thank Dr. Christine Woodhead and Dr. Paul Starkey.

¹ Recording the places where water was available is also a recurring theme in Moroccan pilgrimage accounts (see El Moudden, Abderrahmane. 'The ambivalence of *rihla*: community integration and self-definition in Moroccan travel accounts, 1300-1800' Eickelman, Dale F. and James Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination*, Routledge, London 1990, p. 74)

ila beyti'llahi'l-'atik (Stations of the road to the ancient house of God), when a station was approached the drummers of the *mahmil* beat their drums and collected money. An official was assigned to inform the pilgrims that they were approaching the next station.²

As seen below, the number of stations from Üsküdar to Damascus was around 39.³ Mehmed Edib, however, says it was 37,⁴ with a note that pilgrimage caravan sometimes had to stop in between the regular stations, and thus the number of stations would be more than usual.⁵ Pilgrims halted for one day at certain determined *oturaks* (halts), including Eskişehir, Konya, Ereğli, Antakya, Adana and Hama.⁶ From Damascus to Mecca there were 36 stations according to Sulhi,⁷ 39 stations according to Mehmed Edib.⁸

The caravan rested customarily for one day at certain halts,⁹ such as Müzeyrib (7-10 days), Ma'an, 'Ula, Medina (2 days), Zü'l-halife (1), and Bedri Huneyn.¹⁰ Evliya Çelebi gives concrete information about the journey of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan. He says that as a general rule, the number of stations from Egypt to Mecca was 36.¹¹ The Egyptian caravan stayed for 20 days in Mecca, and 2 days in Medina. Travel between Mecca and Medina lasted for ten days. Then pilgrims returned to Egypt in 36 days. They made a journey of 104 days in total. However, in general the journey of the Egyptian caravan lasted 110 days.¹²

² Kadri, *Menazilü't-tarik ila beyti'llahi'l-'atik*, Millet Ktp., Tarih., no: 892, f. 37b

³ See also Bahri, *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a kadar konaklar*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Mihrişah Sultan, no: 322/5, f. 15a

⁴ Mehmed Edib b. Mehmed Derviş, *Nehcetü'l-menazil*, İstanbul 1232/1816-7, p. 254

⁵ See M. Bianchi, *Itinéraire de Constantinople à la Mecque* (Paris 1825), p. 111.

⁶ Seyyid Mustafa Adanavi, *Menasik-i hac risalesi*, Bayezid Ktp. No: 1875/3, f. 45

⁷ Sulhi [not identified], *Haccın ahkâmı hakkında manzume*, Bayezid Devlet Ktp., no: 7946-4, ff. 47a-49b, f. 23b

⁸ Mehmed Edib, p. 254

⁹ Bahri (ff. 14-15) says that the caravan stays for two days at the halts.

¹⁰ Adanavi, f. 45, Anonymous in the John Rylands Library, its folios are not numbered.

¹¹ For the names of the stations from Cairo to Rabig on the basis of Eyüb Sabri's *Mir'at-ı ceziretü'l-'Arab'a dair ma'lumat'*, see Gülден Sarıyıldız, *Hicaz Karantina Teşkilatı*, (Ankara: TTK, 1996), pp. 36-7

¹² Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Mısır, Sudan, Habeş (1672-1680)*, 10, Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul 1938, X, p. 434

The descriptions of the stations between İstanbul and Mecca are presented here in tabular form for ease of reference. Kadri's account has been chosen as the base text because it is detailed and little known. In the numbering of the stations some modifications are made, taking other *menazil* texts into account.¹³ Kadri's narrative, which has a significant place inside the corpus of the guide-type pilgrimage narratives, remains still in manuscript. It has been neglected to such extent that even the name of its author has not been identified.

no	station	hr ¹⁴	Description
	Üsküdar		
1	Pendik	5	Having passed through Maltepe/Kartal on the way within two hours, the caravan spends the first night in Pendik, which has one hospice. Pendik and Kartal are on the coast, and inhabited by infidels.
2	Gekbuze (Gebze)	4-6	Gekbuze has two <i>hamams</i> (baths) and three mosques, one of which is the Mustafa Paşa mosque. ¹⁵ Its hans (hospices), bazaar and shops are excellent. Everything needed can be found.
3	Dil- Hersek - Derbend	2 0.5 5	At the two ends of Dil are hospices. After crossing Dil [the spit] by boat pilgrims arrive at Hersek, which has a mosque, a bath and hospices. The caravan spends the night at Derbend, which is an infidel village.
4	İznik	6-7	İznik is a town situated next to a big lake, having an old <i>kale</i> (fortress). Its hospices and market-place are excellent. All essential provisions are available. It contains six mosques, those of Eşrefzade, Sultan Orhan, Süleyman Paşa, İbrahim Paşa Mahmud Çelebi and Yeşil mosque. It has two baths, the Yeni Hamam and Eski Hamam. It includes also the shrine and convent of Eşrefzade. ¹⁶ After İznik the road divides into two: one is the road via Lefke [7hrs.], which passes through Vezirhanı [5hrs.] and Söğüt [8 hrs.], and which takes three days to reach Eskişehir; the other is that via Yenişehir, which goes through Bazarcık and Bozöyük. ¹⁷

¹³ For the Üsküdar-Damascus-Mecca route see the map at the end.

¹⁴ Hour distance from previous stations

¹⁵ Abdurrahman Hibri [ed. Sevim İlgürel], 'Abdurrahman Hibri'nin 'Menasik-i mesalik'i', *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, sayı: 6 (Ekim 1975), 111-128] reports that one of the mosques was built by Mustafa Paşa (d. 935/1528) and around the mosque were a *medrese*, public bath and five or six hospices (p. 115).

¹⁶ Hibri (p. 115) reports that İznik has three mosques, two *medreses*, two *tabakhanes*, and four hospices.

¹⁷ It can be inferred from guidebooks or lists on the stations that Lefke road was much preferred (see Adanavi, f. 45; Anonymous author, *Menasik-i hacc*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Yahya Tevfik, no: 1457/145; Bahri, *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a kadar konaklar*, Süleymaniye

5	Yenişehir	6	This town has a river running through it, a big hospice, two baths, and three mosques, the Sultan Orhan mosque, Bali Paşa mosque and the Eski mosque. Essential provisions are found here. ¹⁸
6	Bazarcık	11	After passing Akbıyık in 5 hours without stopping the caravan reaches Bazarcık. On the way there is a large mountain across which the caravan walks for about eight hours. Bazarcık village has a mosque, the Mustafa Paşa Hamamı, and [two] hospices. Essential provisions are found.
7	Bozöyük	4.5	It is called Kasım Paşa or Bozöyük because of a few small, barren hills around. It has a mosque, a bath and hospices. ¹⁹ The halting place is a meadow.
8	Eskişehir	10-11	Having passed the village of Kavaklı without stopping, pilgrims arrive at Eskişehir, which has two mosques: the Sultan 'Alaeddin and Mustafa Paşa mosques, and four <i>kablucas</i> (spas). Its marketplace and hospices are excellent. Essential provisions are found. It has very delicious watermelon. The caravan customarily halts in Eskişehir for one day.
9	Seyyid gazi	9	Inside the town is situated Seyyid Gazi's great shrine, the door of which is covered with silver. Attached to the shrine is a mosque. The town has also the shrines of Koyun Baba and of Sultan 'Alaeddin's mother. Necessary commodities are found.
10	Hüsrev Paşa Hanı/ Yeni Han	8.5	The hospice is amazingly large. ²⁰ Essential provisions are found. Near the hospice is a bazaar, a bath and a mosque that was a church in origin.
11	Bayat	5-6	A village having a small mosque without a minaret, a small bath, and two small hospices. Some essential provisions are found.
12	Bolvadin	8.5	A town whose shopping centre, bazaar and hospices are excellent. ²¹ Essential provisions are found. It has three mosques those of Sinan Paşa, Şeyh Hacı Efendi, and Hacı Efendi. It also has two public baths.

Ktp., Mihrişah Sultan, no: 322/5, ff. 14-15; [Anonymous], *Üsküdar'dan Şam'a Medine ve Mekke ve cebel-i 'Arafat'a giden menziller*, Süleymaniye Ktp., Hüsrev Paşa, no: 639/2, f. 195a.

18 Hibri (p. 116) reports that Sinan Paşa, the conquerer of Yemen and Yanık, built there a mosque, a big hospice, and an *imaret*.

19 Hibri (p. 116) says that the mosque, the hospice and the bath were built by Kasım Paşa.

20 According to Hibri (p. 117) this hospice was built by Hüsrev Paşa (d. 1041/1631) upon the request of local people in 1039/1629 when he was on a campaign for Baghdad.

21 Hibri (p. 117) reports that the great hospice was built by Rüstem Paşa.

13	Akşehir	10	After passing through İshaklı village ²² within 5.5 hours, the caravan reaches Akşehir, a big city with a bazaar, a <i>bezistan</i> (covered market), hospices, five baths, and three mosques, those of Sultan Süleyman, Sultan 'Alaeddin and Hasan Paşa. ²³ There is a lake near the city. It is related that this city was previously called Ah Şehri (the city of sighs), but when a ruler saw so many white flowers in the spring there, he changed the name of the city to Akşehir.
14	İlgin	10-11	A village with a bazaar, a covered market, the Mustafa Paşa bath, the Mustafa Paşa mosque and the Turgudbegzade mosque, the latter being converted from a church. Essential provisions are found. Near İlgin is a lake and outside the village are two spas.
15	Ladik	10	The caravan route passes Arslanlı village within seven hours, and reaches Ladik, a village with a mosque, a bath, and hospices. ²⁴ Essential provisions are found.
17	Konya ²⁵	10	Konya is a big city with an enormous fortress covering part of it. Its covered market is inside the city. There are many mosques, two of which are the Sultan Süleyman mosque outside the fortress, and the Sultan 'Alaeddin mosque, in which Sultan 'Alaeddin was buried, and which was converted from a church inside the fortress. The makam (station) of Şems-i Tebrizi is situated somewhere inside the fortress. The shrine of Mevlana Celaleddin was built by Gedik Paşa, and those of his father and his sons are inside the shrine, which is located outside the fortress. Konya includes six public baths, two of which are outside the fortress. The sweet shops in the city are celebrated. Meram is a pleasant district having gardens and a bath. It is an old custom for the pilgrimage caravan to stay one day in Konya.
18	İsmil Göçü [?] ²⁶	9.5- 10	After Konya, the road separates into two: the road via İsmil and that via Göçü. Since it is difficult to cross the İsmil pass (İsmil Geçidi), the travellers usually use the Göçü road. ²⁷ İsmil is a village where some essential provisions are available. ²⁸

²² Hibri (p. 117) records İshaklı as a station.

²³ According to Hibri (p. 118) the Hasan Paşa mosque was built in 916/1510.

²⁴ Hibri (p. 118) says that one of the hospices was built by Piri Paşa.

²⁵ Bahri (f. 14b) says that Konya was the 17th halting place, which the caravan reached on the 17th day.

²⁶ The other pilgrimage texts and lists suggest that pilgrimage caravans generally passed through the İsmil station instead of Göçü, which is not cited even as an alternative option in the texts I have read.

²⁷ However Kadri's claim does not seem to reflect the truth (see the preceding footnote).

²⁸ According to Hibri (p. 119) İsmil has a mosque and a *çifte-han* (hospice) built by Kılavun Yusuf Paşa.

19	Karapınar	13	Contains a mosque with two minarets and a <i>şadırvan</i> ²⁹ in its precinct, a bath, and a furnished hospice, all established by Selim's foundation. ³⁰
20	Ereğli	11	A pleasant city with a mosque and two public baths, hospices, a bazaar, gardens and a river flowing inside. Essential provisions are found. Ereğli is a halt where the pilgrims rest for one day. Some people say that Ereğli is in the middle of the road [from İstanbul] to Damascus.
21	Ulukışla	10	This station has a big hospice built by Mehmed Paşa, and a mosque and a bath inside. Necessary commodities are found.
22	Çiftahan	6	This station has two little hospices between two mountains. Near the station is a spa. Necessary commodities are found.
23	Yaylak or Ramazanoğlu Yaylası	8	After passing the pass of Kırk (Kırk Geçidi) and a fountain called Bunar-ı Sükker, the caravan arrives at Yaylak. This is the summer camping-ground of the Ramazanoğlu Türkmen, and a place where the inhabitants of Adana spend the summer. Some essential provisions are found.
24	Bayram Paşa Hanı and Çavuş Hanı	10-12	Near the hospice of Bayrampaşa is another hospice called Çavuş Hanı. Bayrampaşa Hanı includes a mosque, and provides necessary commodities. In front of it flows a river called Çakıt.
25	Adana	8-9	A big city having three mosques, two baths, a bazaar, and shops, a covered market, and gardens with various fruit trees such as lemon, seville orange and pomegranate. ³¹ On the one side of the city is a river called Kızılırmak. There is a water-wheel, supplying water the whole city. It has a palace called Hünkar Köşkü in parkland.
26	Cisr-i Misis	6	Misis is a village near the river Ceyhun. The caravan halts on the edge of the river.
27	Kurd Kulağı	7	A village with a mosque, and a hospice also called Bayrampaşa Hanı. ³² Essential provisions are available.

²⁹ şadırvan: 'a tank of water, sometimes with a jet in the center, and with taps at the sides for ablutions' (Rh).

³⁰ Selim II (1566-74) according to Hibri (p. 119).

³¹ Hibri (pp. 119-20) records that in Adana Ramazanoğlu Piri Paşa built a mosque, a medrese, a *tabhane*, a hospice and a bath; and its fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman.

³² According to Hibri (p. 120), it has a hospice and mosque built by Eski Mehmed Paşa.

28	Payas	10	A town situated on the Mediterranean coast, with a mosque and a bath built by Koca Mehmed Paşa's foundation. It also contains hospices, shops, coffee-houses, and gardens with various fruits such as lemon, seville orange, grape, fig and water melon. Essential provisions are available. ³³
29	Bakras or Belen	10	Having left Payas, the caravan reaches İskenderun within 6 hours. İskenderun is a village port inhabited by infidels, to which European ships come. ³⁴ The caravan may not stop at İskenderun, which is five hours from Bakras. This station is a pleasant village called Belen. Bakras is the name of the mountains around. The village has a mosque, a hospice, and a bath, all built by Kanuni Süleyman. Necessary commodities are found.
30a	Antakya	10	Antakya is within a fortress with 366 kules (turrets). Its mosques, baths, hospices, street of shops, and bazaar are excellent. Habib-i Neccar was buried there.
31a	Zanbakiyye	11	A village with a hospice. ³⁵ Some essential provisions are found.
32a	Cisr-i Şu'ur	6	Pilgrims rest at a place near the Cisr-i Şu'ur (the bridge of Şu'ur), which is situated on the edge of the river called 'Asisu. There is a hospice. Villagers living nearby supply pilgrims with what they need.
33a	Mudik Şecer ³⁶	11	Mudik is a desert where pilgrims rest near the 'Asisu river. There is hospice which was built by Mustafa Ağa, ³⁷ and a fortress which includes a mosque. After 5 hours' march the caravan reaches Şecer, which is a desert next to the 'Asisu river. It has a hospice and a fortress which contains some houses and a coffee-house. The needed commodities are found. [Not: this route will continue with Hama (no: 34)]

³³ Bahri (f. 14b) says that the cities of Payas and Antakya, the thirtieth station, are not secure for pilgrims since there are many brigands.

³⁴ Hibri (p. 120) says that this village served as a port for Aleppo.

³⁵ Hibri (p. 124) states that its hospice was built by Sinan Paşa.

³⁶ Şecer is recorded as Şeyzer by Hibri (p. 123), whose caravan did not stop there. Şecer is not mentioned as a station in other *menazil* texts.

³⁷ According to Hibri (p. 123), Mustafa Ağa lived in the period of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-17).

30b	Akbunar via Murad Paşa Cisri	10-12	[ALTERNATIVE OLD ROUTE STARTS] ³⁸ After Bakras [no: 29] the road divides into two: one is via Antakya, the other is via the Murad Paşa bridge which will be described. The bridge is so long that it takes half an hour for the caravan to cross it Both sides of it are marshes or reed beds with mosquitoes. Many thieves are around. It is dangerous for small groups of travellers to follow this road owing to the presence of robbers around. There are a few spas, called Hammamat on the road.
31b	Halaka	10	Halaka is a valley surrounded by villages.
32b	Haleb [Aleppo]	8	Haleb is a prosperous city inhabited by traders. Its market place, bazaar, covered market and hospices are excellent. It has a lot of mosques, public baths, and about fifty coffee-houses, the most famous of which is known as Arslan Dede. The city also includes a well-established bazaar, a covered bazaar, hospices, and a number of palaces, one of which belongs to Canbolatzade. It has ten gates. The bread of Aleppo is very white and its grapes and water-melons are very delicious.
33b	Han-ı Tuman	3	This station is a small fortress in the vicinity of a village. The fortress is guarded by a few soldiers and an ağa (chief) appointed from Aleppo. These soldiers, with those assigned from Aleppo, accompany the caravan until Ma'arra.
34b	Serakıb [?]	8	After Han-ı Tuman the route divides into two, one of which passes through Serakıb village, which has a hospice, and provides travellers with other necessary things. The other road goes through Sermin, ³⁹ which is eight hours away from Han-ı Tuman, and a cultivated village having a mosque, a public bath, and gardens of grapes and water melons.
35b	Ma'arra	6.5	On the way to Ma'arra is a hospice called Han-ı Yezid. Ma'arra is a town having a mosque and a furnished hospice. From Ma'arra to Hama is 15 hours. On the way to Hama is a place called Han-ı Şeyhun where the caravan does not halt. ⁴⁰
34	Hama ⁴¹	6	[continued from Şecer (no: 33a)] Hama from Şecer is 6 hours, and from Ma'arra 15 hours. Pilgrims customarily stay there for one day. The river of 'Asisu passes through the city centre. On the river several water-wheels are established, one of which is called the water-wheel of Muhammed.

³⁸ The *menazil* texts document that this route via Aleppo was abandoned completely after the seventeenth century. Abdul-Karim Rafeq (*The province of Damascus, 1723-1783*, Khayats, Beirut 1966, p. 59) says 'The Rumi pilgrims usually came alone to Damascus, because of their large numbers and also because they did not pass through Aleppo'.

³⁹ It is also read by İlgürel as Serbin in Hibri's text (p. 121).

⁴⁰ Hibri (p. 121) counts Han-ı Şeyhun as a station where they halted.

⁴¹ Hibri (p. 121) reports that this ancient city had about ten mosques and a few hospices.

35	Hıms	11	On the way to Hıms pilgrims encounter a bridge and then the shrine of Bayezid-i Bistami. Hıms is a city containing mosques, baths, a bazaar and fortress surrounding the city. A copy of the Qur'an copied by the third caliph 'Osman is preserved in the inner fortress. The grave of Halid bin Velid is situated outside the city.
36	İki Kapulu or Hasiyye Kal'ası	8-9	Hasiyye is a fortress called İki Kapulu on the account of its having two gates on both sides. It includes a hospice and a mosque. Outside the fortress is a small public bath repaired by the deceased Bayram Paşa. Essential provisions are found.
37	Nebk	11	After departure from İki kapulu the caravan reaches a little fortress called the Burc fortress within four hours. After passing another place called Karalar the caravan reaches Nebk, a village with a hospice and some necessary commodities.
38	Han-ı Kuteyfe	9	The Kuteyfe station has a fortress and a hospice built by Sinan Paşa. The hospice includes a mosque, a public bath, a market place and a bazaar. Between Hama and Damascus cavalymen are appointed to accompany the pilgrimage caravan from station to station.
39	Şam [Damascus]	8	Damascus is a prosperous city having a fortress, mosques, baths, bazaars, coffee-houses and gardens. There are two royal mosques, built by Selim I and Kanuni Süleyman. The Umayyad mosque with three minarets is located in the middle of the city. Gökmeydan is a pleasant district having a river and the mosque of Süleyman, and is close to the Safsatiyye coffee-house and the Mevlevihane [a Mevlevi convent house]. Damascus contains a number of coffee-houses, one of the most celebrated of which is the Sinaniyye coffee-house in the city centre. Salihyye is a pleasant place one hour away from Damascus, having a river, gardens, and bazaar. Inside is the Sultan Selim mosque near which is buried Şeyh Muhyiddin-i 'Arabi. Kırklar Makamı (the station of the forty) is a cave situated on a mountain near Salihyye. It is possible to find all fruits in Damascus except for cherries and morello cherries.
1	Kubbetü'l- hacc, ⁴² Kisve, ⁴³ Tarhana Hanı	1.5 2 0.5	Having left Damascus the caravan reaches Kubbetü'l-hacc. ⁴⁴ After Kubbetü'l-hacc, the caravan reaches Kisve in two hours. If pilgrims do not rest at Kisve they proceed half an hour more to Tarhana Hanı.

⁴² The numbering of stations starts again here since pilgrims from İstanbul join the Damascus caravan, which consists of pilgrim groups not only from İstanbul but also from Aleppo, Persia and other lands (see Rafeq, p. 59).

⁴³ Evliya Çelebi (*Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671-1672)*, IX, Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul 1935, p. 567) reports that at the station of Kisve village the pilgrims were presented by the villagers with chicken, yoghurt, pastry, and clotted cream on the account of their piousness on the way of God.

⁴⁴ According to Evliya's account of 1082/1671, at this station, the *mahmil* was entrusted to the *emiru'l-hacc* by the governor of Damascus. After praying to God, they slaughtered a number of animals [sheep] there. The people of Damascus accompanying the caravan as

2	Dili	12	It is an empty/void place with water. It is surrounded by villages, the inhabitants of which sell pilgrims their products. The station Sanameyn exists in the vicinity of this station. ⁴⁵
3	Müzeyrib ⁴⁶	7	Müzeyrib has a fortress and water. ⁴⁷ The caravan stays for a few days, and customarily departs from it on 1 Zilka'de. On the night of departure a fascinating celebration takes place.
4	Mafrak	9	Mafrak has no water source. ⁴⁸ The name Mafrak originated from the fact that returning pilgrims separate at this station, setting off for their home lands.
5	'Ayn-ı Zerka	9	This station has a water source. ⁴⁹
6	Belka	9	Belka is an empty place with no water source. After resting for a while on level ground, eating food, and drinking coffee the caravan sets off upon the firing of the guns for departure.
7	Kal'a-i Katran	14	Katran is a small fort with a reservoir. ⁵⁰ The villagers around sell some provisions to pilgrims.
8	Hasa or Tabut Korusu	11	This station has a stream source, which comes down from the Aclun mountains. ⁵¹
9	'Aneze [Unayza]	9	An empty area with no water source. There is a ruined hospice.

far as this place returned to the city (Evliya, 9, p. 567). According to Rafeq (p. 69), after 1120/1708-9, 'the governors of Damascus were regularly appointed commanders of the pilgrimage'.

⁴⁵ The Sanameyn fort was built by Selim I (See Barbir, Karl K., *Ottoman rule in Damascus 1708-1758*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1980, p. 196).

⁴⁶ According to Sulhi (f. 22a), the pilgrimage caravan stays about seven or ten days at Müzeyrib, which takes place between 23 Şevval and 1 Zilka'de according to Hibri (p. 125). The leader of the pilgrimage caravan customarily stays in Müzeyrib, where he delivers the *surre* to Arabs, and hires camels from them (Hibri, p. 125; see also Cudi [not identified], *Merahilü Mekke mine'ş-Şam*, [entitled wrongly as *İstanbul ile Şam arasındaki konakları bildiren merhalename*] Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Mahmud Efendi, no: 4886/3, f. 57a).

⁴⁷ The Müzeyrib fortress was built by Selim I (Barbir, p. 196). According to Cudi (f. 57a), Müzeyrib is a residential area, having nice weather, water, and a fertile valley.

⁴⁸ Cudi (f. 57b) says that since the Mafrak station is without a water source pilgrims are recommended to carry water from Müzeyrib.

⁴⁹ Cudi (f. 57b) describes 'Ayn-ı Zerka as situated in a green and watery land, having a river and old *hisar* (fort). Pilgrims are advised to take water for the next station (Cudi, f. 58a).

⁵⁰ The Katran fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196).

⁵¹ Cudi (f. 58b) says that Hasa was a station in the past, yet his caravan stopped there.

10	Kal'a-i Ma'an	8.5	Ma'an has a fortress ⁵² which is guarded by soldiers from Damascus. It has a mosque. Around the fortress are villages. Water is obtainable from the reservoir. Halilürrahman near Jerusalem is three days distant from this station. Pilgrims coming from the Aksa mosque meet with those of Damascus here.
11	Akabe Başı ⁵³	13	Akabe Başı is without a water source. It is a custom to eat helva here.
12	Cuğaymen ⁵⁴	14	It has water. While the area from Damascus to Akabe Başı is a desert, from this station onward the road passes between two mountains.
13	Eşmeler or Zatü'l-hacc	10	A small fortress guarded by Damascus janissaries. ⁵⁵ Its water comes from a reservoir. ⁵⁶
14	Ka'u'l-basit [Bast]	8	This station has no water source. ⁵⁷
15	Tebük or 'Asi Hurma	11	Its fortress is guarded by ten janissaries from Damascus, whose necessities are provided from the treasury of Damascus. The fortress is surrounded by gardens growing dates, pomegranate, and water-melon. ⁵⁸ Water is available in its reservoir.

- ⁵² Cudi (f. 58b) says that Ma'an is a prosperous place which provides a rich variety of foods, and has two strong fortresses. He also recommends that pilgrims must take water with them for the next part of their journey (f. 59a). The Ma'an fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196).
- ⁵³ It is also called Şam Akabesi (by Cudi) or Zahra'l-'akabe. Its fortress was built by Gürcü Osman Paşa in the eighteenth century (Barbir, p. 196). Cudi (f. 59a) says that it is a sandy place, and pilgrims should bring water from Ma'an.
- ⁵⁴ It is also called el-Müdevvere (Barbir, p. 138). After the Cuğaymen fortress there is a reservoir built by Esmâ Han Sultan, daughter of Kanuni Süleyman (Evliya, 9, p. 585). The Cuğaymen fortress was built by Aydınlı 'Abdullah Paşa in 1730-33 (Cudi, f. 59a; Barbir, p. 196).
- ⁵⁵ The fortress of Zatü'l-hacc was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196).
- ⁵⁶ Evliya (9, p. 586) reports that the fortress of Peygamber Eşmesi (Eşmeler) was founded by Mu'aviye [b. Ebu Sufyan ?] in 56/675. Inside the fortress were a soup-maker and two hundred armed janissaries from Damascus. The water of its well, which was formed by the Prophet Muhammed, restores those having diarrhea. The pilgrims purchased their needs from farmers near the fortress.
- ⁵⁷ Cudi (f. 59b) says that the soft ground of the Ka'u'l-basit station is not suitable to pitch a tent.
- ⁵⁸ The Tebük fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 196). Evliya (9, p. 587) states that the 'Asi Hurma fortress, which was initially founded by Nureddin-i Şehid, was repaired upon the order of Sultan Mehmed IV. A bazaar took place for returning pilgrims there. It was guarded by two hundred Damascene soldiers. Near the fortress were wells, and gardens where lemon, seville orange, *ağaç kavunu* (grapefruit?), fig, water-melon and melon were grown. The pilgrims purchased their needs from the shops and stores there, and left some of their belongings at the fortress for safe-keeping.

16	Mağaralar or Mağayir ⁵⁹	10	Called Mağaralar (the caves) because there are said to be some caves although there are none in sight. This station has no water source.
17	Kal'a-i Haydar [Ukhaydir]	6	A narrow pass on the way to this station causes crowding of the pilgrims. The Haydar station, which is situated between two mountains, has a fortress guarded by Damascus soldiers, ⁶⁰ a mosque and a reservoir, ⁶¹ from which pilgrims take supplies for the next part of the journey. The Arabs around the Haydar fort are provided with three kantars ⁶² of peksimet (grape-molasses). The district beyond the Haydar fort is called the Hijaz.
18	Birke-i Mu'azzama or [Sa'idü'l-Melik]	16-17	After leaving the Haydar station the caravan reaches Haydar strait within two and half hours. From this strait, the Hijaz district starts. It has a big reservoir supplied by rain water. It has a fort built by Sultan 'Osman, ⁶³ yet it is unoccupied.
19	Şakku'l-'acuz ⁶⁴	19	This station is in an empty area. The route is full of muğeylan (thorny acacias).
20	'Ula	15	The caravan arrives the strait of Salih within seven hours, and passes it, playing drums and firing rifles. Pilgrims who pass through the strait first wait for the remainder of the caravan to come through, resting and drinking coffee. Once all pilgrims have come through, a departure cannon is fired. After passing through the Abyar station without stopping pilgrims arrive at 'Ula in five hours. They usually halt for one day at 'Ula, which has reservoirs, a fortress ⁶⁵ and gardens growing dates, lemon, water-melon, cucumber etc. ⁶⁶ In particular, sheep are available at a low price in stations. 'Ula is six stations away from Medina, and some inhabitants of Medina come to welcome the pilgrims. The time of departure is marked by the firing of rifles and cannon.

⁵⁹ Mağayir is also called Medayin-i Salih or Medine-i Salih (see Hibri, p. 127). Its fortress was built by Gürcü 'Osman Pata (Barbir, p. 196).

⁶⁰ The Haydar fortress was built Kanuni Süleyman in 1531 (Barbir, p. 196).

⁶¹ According to Cudi (f. 60a) at this station water is brought out by means of a water-wheel.

⁶² kantar: 'A weight of forty-four Turkish oqqa' or about 120 pounds avoirdupois' (Rh).

⁶³ Hibri (p. 126) reports that Osman II (1618-1623) had the reservoir repaired; Barbir (p. 196) notes that the fortress of Mu'azzama was built by the Ayyubid sultan Şerafeddin 'İsa (1218-1227). According to Evliya's unclear statement (9, p. 590) the fortress and the reservoir were built by the Ayyubid Turan Şah b. Necmeddin. The fortress [?] was built [rebuilt?] by Koca Sinan upon the order of Murad [III, 1574-95 ?] in 981/1574.

⁶⁴ Şakku'l-'acuz is also called Piriñç Ovasi (Cudi, f. 60a; Hanif, f. 50a) since the road is covered with something like rice (Hibri, p. 127). It has a *sarnıç* (cistern), which depends on rain water (Hibri, p. 127).

⁶⁵ The 'Ula fortress was built by Kanuni Süleyman (Barbir, p. 197).

⁶⁶ Cudi (f. 60b) says that grass, barley and straw is also abundant for mounts. He also reports that the inhabitants of 'Ula are unbelievers and traitorous.

21	Matran	9	After passing through Kuyular ⁶⁷ within five hours the caravan reaches Matran. The road is full of thorny acacias. It is an uninhabited place with no water. The caravan might not halt at this station.
22	Bi'r-i Zümürüd ⁶⁸	7	Bi'r-i Zümürüd (The emerald reservoir) was built by Sultan İbrahim's mother, ⁶⁹ and is guarded by a number of appointed inhabitants of a nearby village in return for an annual surre from the government.
23	Şi'âbu'l-ahmer Şa'bu'n-na'am	4 1270	Şi'âbu'l-ahmer [Şa'bu'l-ahmer] is not an old stage, and has no water. Şa'bu'n-na'am is also without water. ⁷¹
24	Hediyye Eşmesi ⁷²	4 ⁷³ [19]	It has a stream with a slightly salty taste. Because of the salty water, sugar and sweets are given at this station. The name Hediyye (the present) is said to have originated from the story that when the Prophet Muhammed arrived here during the campaign of Hayber, some of his companions presented gifts to him. ⁷⁴
25	Fahleteyn ⁷⁵ or Selam Kayası	15	Having left Hediyye Eşmesi, the caravan arrives at a place called Sükker 'Akabesi after one hour's march. It is called Sükker 'Akabesi because sugar is delivered there. Fahleteyn is also called Selam Kayası because it had two rocks that are said to have greeted the Prophet.
26	Vadi'l-kura	14	This station has a reservoir covered by a white dome.
27	Medina ⁷⁶	13	Pilgrims visit the tomb of the Prophet, and other shrines at the Baki cemetery in Medina. The caravan stays for two days in Medina.

⁶⁷ Kuyular is also called Abar-ı Ğanem, which has a fortress (Cudi, f. 60b).

⁶⁸ The fortress of Zümürüd was constructed by Mehmed Paşa in about 1779 (Barbir, p. 139)..

⁶⁹ İbrahim I (1640-48)

⁷⁰ Hibri (p. 127) records that Şa'bu'n-na'am is 15 hours from Bi'r-i Zümürüd, and without fortress and water. Şa'bu'n-na'am is not mentioned by Cudi (f. 61a).

⁷¹ Evliya Çelebi (p. 601) records its name as Bi'r-i Cedid (The new reservoir), and says that the reservoir was built by the mother of Mehmed IV in 1081/1670. Barbir (p. 137) says 'A well shaft was ordered dug by the mother of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617); the site became known as Valide Kuyusu'.

⁷² The Hediyye fortress was built by Süleyman Paşa (?), and repaired by Nasuh Paşa in the eighteenth century (Barbir, p. 197).

⁷³ According to Hibri (p. 127) Hediyye is 19 hours from Şa'bu'n-na'am.

⁷⁴ From this station to Damascus, the returning pilgrimage caravan was accompanied by the relief force called the *cerde* provided by Damascus province (see Barbir, p. 137).

⁷⁵ It is also called Nahleteyn. Barbir (p. 197) records that the 'Nahleteyn' fortress was built by Gürcü Osman Paşa.

⁷⁶ The caravan arrives at Medina before the end of Zilka'de (see Bakhit p. 113).

28	Bi'r-i 'Ali ⁷⁷ or Zü'l-halife	2.5	The caravan then spends the third day in Bi'r-i 'Ali, which comprises a few reservoirs. This is the place where pilgrims coming from Damascus change into ihram.
29	Kuburu 'ş-şüheda	11	It is without water. Since this station is located on high ground pilgrims feel cold at night.
30	Cüdeyde	14	A village with a stream and palm trees.
31	Bedr-i Huneyn	10	A big village with a stream, gardens and a market place, where necessary commodities are available. The Egyptian pilgrims also stop by this station, where many thieves live. ⁷⁸
32	Bi'r-i Meymun ⁷⁹	15.5	Located on the desert, and has no water.
33	Rabi'a Eşmesi or Rabiğ	15	Close to the sea of Suez. It is possible to see ships from this station. Some essential provisions are to be found. When its earth is dug a little, water comes out from it. Pilgrims coming from Egypt put on the ihram at this station. ⁸⁰
34	Güzelce Birke or Halis	20	A village with an enormous reservoir, palm trees and some necessary commodities. The reservoir is covered with a dome. ⁸¹
35	'Affan	6-7	A village with a reservoir and some necessary provisions.
36	Vadi-i Fatıma	14	A village with pleasant gardens and abundant water. ⁸²
37	Mecca	6	The pilgrims stay at Mu'alla, pitching their tents. The leader of the caravan stops at Sebil, which is half an hour away from Mecca to decorate the mahmil.

⁷⁷ It is also called Abar-ı 'Ali (see Cudi, f. 62b).

⁷⁸ The inhabitants of 'Bedru'l-huneyn' are dangerous to pilgrims and disobedient to the Ottoman state (Cudi f. 62a). Evliya (9, p. 670) narrates that the Damascus caravan's route combines with that of Egypt at the station of Bedr-i Huneyn. The Egyptian pilgrims stay for two days at this station, where they celebrate the victory of Bedr, firing cannons and rifles.

⁷⁹ It is also called Meymun Ovası (Cudi, f. 63a).

⁸⁰ Evliya Çelebi (9, p. 672) reports that Rabi'a Eşmesi is a prosperous place near the sea of Suez. The Egyptian pilgrims stay for one day there in order to change into the *ihram*. Cudi (f. 63b, 64a), who travelled in the Damascus caravan, says that all pilgrims put on the *ihram* at this station.

⁸¹ According to Evliya's text (IX, p. 673-4) the reservoir is located on the west side of the fort, and is fed by a waterway.

⁸² Vadi-i Fatıma is a prosperous residential area, having two hundred houses and eighty shops (Evliya Çelebi, IX, p. 674).

Stations between Damascus and Jerusalem according to Kadri's account⁸³

no	station	hrs	description
1	Sa'sa'	7.5	After passing through the village of Dariyye, which is one and a half hours away from Damascus, the pilgrims reach Sa'sa'a within seven and half hours. Sa'sa'a has a little fortress having a hospice, a bath, and a mosque with a reservoir.
2	Kuneytra ⁸⁴	7	It has a fortress encompassing a hospice, a mosque and a bath.
3	Cısr-i Ya'kub	7	Near the Ya'kub (Jacob) bridge is a hospice and the reservoir of Yusuf (Joseph).
4	Sina Gölü	5	Near the Sina Gölü is located a village and a hospice.
5	'Uyun-ı Tüccar	5	It has a fortress, mosque, imâret, bath, and a hospice built by Sinan Paşa. ⁸⁵ In front of the hospice, a bazaar takes place on Fridays.
6	Cüneyn	7	A village with a fortress containing a hospice, a mosque and a bath. The fortress is surrounded by gardens.
7	Nablus	10	Nablus is a sancak, having three mosques, two public baths and a market place.
8	Jerusalem	15-16	Travellers might stop on the way at a village called Bi'r or Çeşmeli Köy, which is three hours distant from Jerusalem. Jerusalem is a big city situated inside a fort, and surrounded by gardens. The city has six gates, five public baths, and a market place. The Aksa mosque, for which the pilgrims come to Jerusalem, is obviously the most significant place for pilgrims to see and describe. There exist a number of places of visitation outside the city, such as the river of Selva, and the burial places of certain prophets.

⁸³ The Damascus caravan did not go to Jerusalem, hence did not follow this route. However, some independent pilgrims like Ahmed Fakih, Nabi and Evliya Çelebi went to Jerusalem to visit the Aksa mosque, following this route.

⁸⁴ Bakhit (pp. 116-7) says that Lala Mustafa Paşa, governor of Damascus, (971-975/1563-67) 'caused an *'amara* to be built in Qunaytra, which included a caravansarays, a mosque, a school, and lodges for the poor and travellers. Stables, a bath and kitchen were also attached. Only three months were allowed during which travellers could occupy it at one time, and food was served free of charge in the evenings'.

⁸⁵ Bakhit (p. 118) states that the grand vizier Sinan Paşa (d. 1004/1595) constructed buildings in Sa'sa' and 'Uyun-ı Tüccar.

9	Halilürrahman	986	Pilgrims particularly go to visit the burial place of the Prophet Abraham in the town of Halilürrahman. On the way is Beytullah village, which is two hours from Jerusalem, and contains a church, in which the Prophet Jesus is assumed to have been born. Beyond the village of Beytullah is located a reservoir built by Kanuni Süleyman, and a fort established by Ahmed [I]. ⁸⁷ The town of Halilürrahman has a public bath and a mosque, the latter of which is supposed to include the burial places of the Prophet Abraham, his wife, the Prophet Jacob, his wife, and the Prophet Joseph in the inner court. The burial place of the Prophet Isaac and that of his wife is placed inside the mosque. The burial places of the above prophets are believed to be located inside the cave that is situated beneath the mosque, although there is no clear indication to the burial places.
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⁸⁶ 7 hrs. in Evliya's account (see Evliya Çelebi, IX, p. 504).

⁸⁷ Ahmed I (1603-17)