

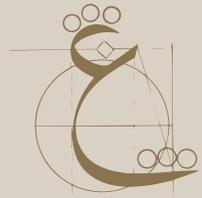
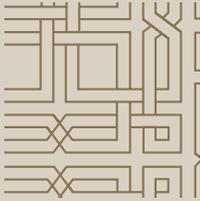


# kadim

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09



*kadim*

*“Kadim oldur ki  
evvelin kimesne bilmeye”*

*Kadim* is that no one knows what came before.

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# Travel Essentials: Nature as Represented in Ottoman Route Manuals (*Menzilnames*) \*

SEYAHAT ESASLARI:  
OSMANLI MENZİL  
KİTAPLARINDAKİ  
TABİAT TEMSİLLERİ



GÜLLÜ YILDIZ\*\*

## ABSTRACT

This study explores textual and visual representations of nature in the Ottoman Empire by focusing on Ottoman route manuals (*menzilname* or *menzil* books). Menzil books are a sub-genre within the travel literature that systematically records various information about the condition of the route and way stations, landscape, plants, vegetation, animals, food and water supplies. Hence, this study examines ten exemplary route manuals written in Turkish by Ottoman subjects between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries covering pilgrimage journeys, military expeditions, and official journeys for various purposes to reflect the wide variety of their content in terms of period and imagined interlocutor. It starts by defining the term “menzil” and continues by scrutinizing the textual and visual reflections of “nature” in aspects of landscape, flora, and fauna of the selected corpus. It argues that these route manuals’ textual and visual depictions of nature aim to provide the reader and future traveler with practical information rather than to provoke an aesthetic sensation or record a scientific description

**Keywords:** Ottoman Empire, Travelogue, Menzilname, Nature, Flora, Fauna.



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## ÖZ

Bu çalışma, Osmanlı menzilnamelerine odaklanarak tabiata dair metinsel ve görsel temsilleri ele almaktadır. Seyahatname yazını içerisinde değerlendirilen menzil kitapları, yiyecek ve su kaynaklarının yanı sıra güzergah ve menzillerin durumu, tabiat görünüşleri, bitki örtüsü ve hayvanlar hakkında çeşitli bilgileri sistematik olarak kaydeden bir türdür. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, 16. ve 19. yüzyıllar arasında Osmanlı tebaası tarafından hac yolculukları, askeri seferler ve çeşitli amaçlarla yapılan resmi yolculuklar hakkında Türkçe yazılmış on menzil kitabını, dönem ve muhatap açısından geniş içerik çeşitliliğini yansıtabilecek şekilde incelemektedir. “Menzil” terimini tanımlayarak başlayan bu çalışma, seçilen metinler örnekleminde tabiat görünümünü, flora ve fauna açısından “tabiat”ın metinsel ve görsel yansımalarını irdeleyerek devam etmektedir. Söz konusu menzil kitaplarındaki metinsel ve görsel tabiat tasvirlerinin, estetik bir duyumu uyandırmak veya bilimsel bir açıklama kaydetmekten ziyade okuyuculara ve muhtemel yolculara pratik bilgiler sunmayı amaçladığı iddia edilmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Seyahatname, Menzilname, Tabiat, Flora, Fauna.

## INTRODUCTION

Nature is one of the principal elements of human life and is as comprehensive as culture. Human beings observe nature and participate in the natural world. Hence, exploring humans' interaction with their natural surroundings and how they have thought about it concerns historians as much as scientists. In recent decades, environmental historians have spent a lot of time and effort asserting that various natural perceptions—even nature itself—cannot be studied merely within the frame of hard sciences, but historical methods also have much to offer.<sup>1</sup> Acknowledging that people have interpreted nature in various ways in different periods, inquiring about the reason for these varied interpretations is an important and worthwhile effort. Consequently, this study examines representations of nature in a specific corpus with predetermined limits of time and space from a historical perspective.

This study was carried out as part of the “ONiT: Ottoman Nature in Travelogues” project. It is an interdisciplinary digital humanities (DH) project aiming to shed new light on transnational environmental and natural history by analysing representations of nature in the Ottoman Empire in a multilingual corpus of travelogues. A significant aspect of the project is to explore the visual representation of nature in the travelogues by collecting images accompanying travel writings and analysing the relationship between texts and images. The main corpus of the project covers ca. 2000 travelogues written in German, English, French, and Latin and published in the period between 1501 and 1850, thus it presents “Western” perceptions of Ottoman nature, i.e., flora, fauna, and landscape. It examines these perceptions by using digital methods and tools, some of which were developed by the members of the project team.<sup>2</sup> In addition to this main corpus, a sub-corpus of “Eastern” travelogues, written in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages was created and examined by the author of this paper. So, in this paper, firstly the sub-corpus of the aforementioned project will be introduced, and then a small part of it will be examined within the framework of the working questions of this project. For this purpose, it will outline and evaluate the narratives of travels that occurred in Ottoman territories between 1501 and 1850 and that were written in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian. Then, it will focus on some of these travel narratives to explore textual and visual representations of Ottoman nature.

Creating a corpus starts with the definition of essential concepts characterizing it and the determination of its limits. This study must commence by defining *travelogues* because there are many intertwined forms of textual composition and zones of transition, especially within Eastern literary traditions. Following the general outline of the project, a travelogue is defined as a report reflecting an actual journey in various semantic forms. Time, space, and language are chosen as decisive elements when delimiting this corpus. The temporal limit extends from 1501 to 1850, taking the date of printing and publication, rather than compilation, for the Western travelogues.

1 For a discussion of the concept of nature in between science and history see Donald Worster, “The Two Cultures Revisited: Environmental History and the Environmental Sciences”, *Environment and History* 2 (1996), 3-14; Timo Myllyntaus – Mikko Saikku, “Environmental History: A New Discipline with Long Traditions”, *Encountering the Past in Nature Essays in Environmental History* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), 1-28.

2 For details and preliminary results of this project which is funded by Austrian Science Fund (FWF: P 35245, Project Term: 2022-2025), please visit the website: ONiT Project, “ONiT: Ottoman Nature in Travelogues 1501–1850” (Last accessed 18 February 2025).

In contrast, for travelogues in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages, maintaining printing and publication date as a factor would be quite restrictive because only a few texts were printed and published before 1850 (to be precise, 6 out of 198: 3.06%). The spatial limit covers Ottoman territory, so it is more flexible because the borders of lands under Ottoman sovereignty were subject to constant change in the period under consideration. Concerning the language of the corpus, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian are chosen not only because of the language skills of the present author but also because these languages are the most representative of the Ottoman literary world.

A detailed survey of travel literature in three languages, bibliographical works, library catalogs, and online search engines according to the limits mentioned above resulted in a list of almost 200 travelogues that reported journeys across Ottoman lands between 1501 and 1850. The creation process of the list intends to be inclusive rather than exclusive, regardless of the literal form of the text or the purpose of the journey. Hence, the list includes travel narratives of pilgrims, state officials, scholars, literati, or embassies and is composed in prose as well as in verse. Despite all the efforts, the list is far from exhaustive. For example, texts that list only waystations along the route to a certain place are not included because they include little more than names of stops, so it is hard to be sure that an actual journey took place. Another instance of doubt concerns travelogues or diplomatic mission narratives of Ottoman subjects, in which the narration begins just at the border or after passing across it. They are also excluded because of a lack of content related to Ottoman lands. Further, some historical and literal texts overlap significantly with travelogues but they lack the required criteria—describing an actual journey. Hence, the list attempts to adhere to the decisive criteria described above and gather all the relevant texts by reading the text in question or depending on external sources. However, since Eastern literary traditions are carried in largely undiscovered manuscript collections, new works may be identified at any time, and it is necessary to keep in mind that this list is open to regular updates and development.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the travel narratives in all three languages discuss pilgrimages to the Hijaz. Even though they often report all the places they passed through on the journey, the narration focuses mainly on Mecca and Medina. Numerous travel accounts are also related to military expeditions, diplomatic missions, or other official duties. Travelogues of scholars or literati to find a patron, secure a position, carry out an assignment, or pay a visit to someone, whether living or dead, stand out as more personal modes of narration. Some texts that would otherwise be considered geographical works are also included because they narrate actual journeys. There are only two women among the authors of the selected works, while others are men of all kinds of occupations and ages. All of the authors traveled personally and narrated the journey simultaneously or subsequently. Hence, in addition to the purpose of the journey, the cultural background of the authors and their personal experiences strongly shape the content of the texts.

However, not all of the travel narratives listed here contain information on Ottoman nature, though geographical works based on actual travels generally contain much information on the subject. Evliya Çelebi's travelogue stands out as unique by including such details. However, this is not the case for many other travel narratives. In general, those traveling for

3 See the list: Zotero, "ONiT Bibliography of Eastern Travelogues" (Last accessed 18 February 2025).

personal or expeditionary reasons tend to pay more attention to nature and record their observations on the matter in a more nuanced way. Nevertheless, even in these cases, it is rare to find detailed descriptions of the natural realm of each place they pass through. Consequently, a systematic analysis of these travel narratives with representative and comprehensive results is quite a challenging task.

Due to all the constraints mentioned above, this study is limited to Ottoman route manuals (*menzil* or *menazil* books), a convenient sub-genre of travel narratives. Overall, they systematically record information about the physical conditions of the route, of waystations, and the food and water supplies that are essential for travel. This study starts with the definition of the term “menzil” and introduces “menzilname” as a sub-genre within the travel literature. The following chapter analyses the textual representation of “nature”, including the description of landscape, flora, and fauna in the selected corpus. The final chapter explores the visual aspect of these menzilnames.

By examining how Ottoman route manuals recorded nature textually and visually, this study argues that these depictions aimed to provide the reader and future traveler with practical information rather than to provoke an aesthetic sensation or record a scientific description. Providing comprehensive analyses, it also asserts that visual records comply with textual descriptions and reinforce the realistic perspective and practicality of the manuals.

### 1. Defining Menzil and Menzilname

The term “menzil,” originally an Arabic word but borrowed by Ottoman and Persian, means a “halting place,” a waystation, or the distance between two waystations.<sup>4</sup> It also indicates the organization of post offices and official correspondence in the Ottoman administrative system. Following the expansion of the territory from Anatolia and Rumelia to Great Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Hijaz regions, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman reorganized route networks by constructing new halting places or restoring old ones, connecting them with new roads and bridges, and providing food and water supplies or animals for transporting. Even though menzil organization needed some regulations from time to time, it was maintained until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Not only common passengers, merchants, or pilgrims but also the Ottoman army used the same road networks, so the organization of stations had to consider different kinds of needs for different types of journeys. Because of the immense logistical needs of a military campaign, especially one led by the sultan himself, halting places used by the army often differed from the ones used by other travelers.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequently, a literary genre stemmed from the term menzil, and descriptions of the halting places along a route became a theme in many texts. These itineraries or route manuals listed various stations along the journey. After naming the station, they provided some information about it, such as its distance from the previous one, geographic location, physical and demographic features, infrastructural and climatic conditions, food and water supply, etc.

4 See N. Elisséeff – P. A. Andrews, “Manzil”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. C. E. Bosworth vd. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 6/454-457; Yusuf Halaçoğlu, “Menzil”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2004), 29/159-161.

5 Halaçoğlu, “Menzil”, 29/159-161. See also, İzzet Sak – Cemal Çetin, “XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Devleti’nde Menziller ve Fonksiyonları: Akşehir Menzilleri Örneği”, *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 16 (2004), 180-203.

These kinds of texts appear exclusively in Ottoman literature as *menzil* books (*menzilname* or *menzîl*),<sup>6</sup> serving as route manuals to guide future travelers, whether pilgrims or an army, who would take the same route. Thus, while some of the menzilnames recorded stations for military campaigns, others were compiled specifically for the needs of a pilgrimage.

Generally, people passed through these stations not individually but in convoys, even though each person had to provide for their own needs. For this reason, people depended on route manuals to prepare for the road and their needs along the way.<sup>7</sup> There are explicit signs on the manuscript copies of these texts, proving that they were used on the route for guidance.<sup>8</sup> The textual evidence also suggests that authors of menzilname books aimed at guiding other travelers. For example, a Bosnian pilgrim from the 18<sup>th</sup> century describes his poetic menzilname as *mürşid* and *delil*, both of which mean guide, for hajjis during the journey.<sup>9</sup> These authors also relied on previous works as complementary sources for their books besides personal experiences. For instance, there seems to be a correlation between the two texts of the corpus of this study, which will be introduced below: Mehmed Edib depends on Kadri's manual from the previous century to supplement his first-hand travel experience.

Most of the route manuals of military expeditions and some of the pilgrimages list only the names of the stations and note their distances from each other—there is no description at all. Hence, route manuals that go beyond listing waystations and describe them to some degree in a way that is similar to what is expected from a travelogue are exceptions within the genre.

The literature on the menzilnames has primarily focused on identifying and publishing the texts by transliteration from manuscript copies, either in the form of an article or a dissertation. Researchers have been interested more in texts related to routes of military campaigns and pilgrimage caravans. Menzilnames of military campaigns, which are considered an important source of military history studies, have recently become the subject of a field of study that examines army logistics with new methods and intersects with environmental history. Hajj menzilnames, on the other hand, are an important source for studies focusing on the Ottoman state's organization of the pilgrimage and the activities of the Ottoman administration in the Hijaz region. No comprehensive study deals with menzilname texts as a genre, nor has any study evaluated these texts in terms of natural history.<sup>10</sup> In this regard, Dženita

6 Nurgat, drawing attention to the fact that Ottoman menzilnames were predated by some Arabic language menzil books related to pilgrimage journey, highlights significant points differing Ottoman menzilnames from potential antecedents. See, Yahya Nurgat, *Space, Ritual, and Religious Experience and the Ottoman Hajj, c. 994/1586–1194/1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, PhD dissertation, 2021), 42–43.

7 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj Under the Ottomans 1517–1683* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), 42–44.

8 Jan Schmidt, "Ottoman Hajj Manuals and the John Rylands Library MS Turkish 88", *The Joys of Philology: Studies in Ottoman Literature, History, and Orientalism (1500–1923)* (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2010), 2/277.

9 Dženita Karić, *Bosnian Hajj Literature: Multiple Paths to the Holy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 85–86.

10 For instance, see A. Latif Armağan, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Hac Yolu Güzergâhı ve Menziller (Menâzilü'l-Hacc)", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 20 (2000), 73–118; Menderes Çoşkun, "Stations of the Pilgrimage Route from İstanbul to Mecca via Damascus on the Basis of the Menâzilü't-Tarik İlä Beyti'llâhi'l-Atik By Kadri (17<sup>th</sup> Century)", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 21 (2001), 307–322; Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, *Hac Menzîlnâmelerinde Osmanlı Şehirleri* (İstanbul: Simurg Kitapçılık, 2018); İlhami Daniş, "Fezâil-i Cihâd Mecmuası'ndan II. Viyana Seferine Bakmak: Dördüncü Mehmed'in Nemçe Seferi Menzîlnâmesi ve Osmanlı Ordusu", *FSM İlmî Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi* 18 (2021), 33–90. For a survey on menzilname literature in Turkish, see Özge Eda Kaya, "Menzîlnâmeler Üzerine Bir Literatür Değerlendirmesi", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 20/40 (2022), 401–418. However, some recently completed PhD dissertations go beyond publishing single menzilname text and evaluate a corpus of menzilnames in various historical contexts: Nir Shafir, *The Road from Damascus: Circulation and the*

Karić's book published from her dissertation is an exceptional contribution to the literature. In the second chapter of the book, she deals with topics of nature and human-non-human interaction in two menzil books written by Ottoman Bosnians.<sup>11</sup>

Hence, by examining representations of Ottoman nature in some exemplary route manuals this study contributes to the literature by drawing attention to how systematic studies of menzilnames reveal new perspectives on both travel narratives and Ottoman natural history. I chose ten texts written in Turkish by Ottoman subjects between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries—discussing pilgrimages, military expeditions, and official journeys—to reflect the wide variety of travel writings and their intended audiences. Before moving on to the evaluation of the contents related to Ottoman nature, it would be useful to introduce briefly the corpus of this study.

The first of five pilgrimage menzil books is untitled and penned by Kayt el-Davudi.<sup>12</sup> Little is known about him except that he was an official time-keeper of the hajj-caravan, who traveled twenty-two times from Cairo to Hijaz accompanying the pilgrims and he compiled this manual in 981/1573.<sup>13</sup> The second pilgrimage manual is also from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It bears the title *Enisü'l-Huccac* (The pilgrims' companion) and was authored by Seyyid Mehmed Tennuri, a member of the Tennuri family of Kayseri and a descendant of İbrahim Tennuri (d. 887/1482), the founder of Tennuriyye branch of the Bayramiyye-Şemsiyye Sufi order. Seyyid Mehmed Tennuri compiled his pilgrimage route manual from Istanbul to Haramayn via Damascus, during a journey in 998–999/1590–1591.<sup>14</sup> The first of the two pilgrimage manuals from the 17<sup>th</sup> century is Abdurrahman Hibri's (d. 1069/1659) *Menasik-i Mesalik* (Rites of the paths). Hibri, well known as a *müderris* and historian, undertook his pilgrimage from Edirne to Hijaz via Damascus in 1041/1632 and compiled his manual based on this journey.<sup>15</sup> The other is Abdülkadir's *Menazilü't-Tarik ila Beytillahi'l-Atik* (Stations of the path to God's Ancient House). He is more commonly known by his penname Kadri and performed a pilgrimage in 1056/1646.<sup>16</sup> The last text in this category is Mehmed Edib's *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*

*Redefinition of Islam in the Ottoman Empire, 1620–1720* (Los Angeles: University of California, PhD dissertation, 2016), 165–228; Nurgat, *Space, Ritual*, 31–95.

- 11 Karić, *Bosnian Hajj Literature*, 61–93.
- 12 There are three known copies of this text: Kayt el-Davudi, *Untitled* (Riyadh: Maktabat Jamia al-Malak al-Saud, 6783; İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi, 1827, ff. 41–59; İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Darülmüşnevi, 133, ff. 44–63. Şafir and Nurgat used the copy of Maktabat Jamia al-Malak al-Saud in their works: Şafir, *The Road from Damascus*, 192–196; see also Nir Şafir, “In an Ottoman Holy Land: The Hajj and the Road from Damascus, 1500–1800”, *History of Religions* 60/1 (2020), 15–16; Nurgat, *Space, Ritual*, 42. For this study, copy of Esad Efendi was consulted and taking into account that it has been titled as *Menazilü'l-Hacc* in pencil by an unknown hand, the same title was used henceforth.
- 13 Kayt el-Davudi, [*Menazilü'l-Hacc*] (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi, 1827), 41b.
- 14 The only known copy of this text is in the manuscript collection of Ankara University, Faculty of Divinity Library: Seyyid Mehmed Tennuri, *Enisü'l-Huccac* (Ankara: Ankara University, İlahiyat Fakültesi Kütüphanesi, 36200). The text was studied as a master's thesis: Rukiye Kaymakçı, *İbrahim Tennûri Ahfâdından Mehmed Efendi'nin Enisü'l-Huccâc Adlı Menâsiki* (İstanbul: Marmara University, Master's Thesis, 2020). For a detailed evaluation of the author and his book in historical context see, Nurgat, *Space, Ritual*, 53–58.
- 15 Some parts of this text from the manuscript copy in İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Lala İsmail, 104, ff. 87b–149a was published by Sevim İlgürel in three consecutive articles: Sevim İlgürel, “Abdurrahman Hibri'nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik'i”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 6 (1975), 111–128; *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 30 (1976), 55–72; *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 31 (1978), 147–162. For Hibri's biography and works, see Klaus Kreiser, “Abdurrahman Hibri”, *Historians of the Ottoman Empire* (Last accessed 19 September 2024).
- 16 The only known copy of Kadri's *Menazilü't-Tarik ila Beytillahi'l-Atik* is in İstanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Tarih, 892. An abridged English translation of the text was published in an article by Çoşkun, “Stations of the Pilgrimage Route from İstanbul to Mecca via Damascus”, 307–322. For more details on author's identity and pilgrimage journey see, Menderes

(The Joy of Waystations) from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to his testimony, Mehmed Edib was a judge from Candia in Crete and made a pilgrimage from İstanbul to Hijaz via Damascus in 1193/1779.<sup>17</sup> His pilgrimage route manual was first printed in 1817 in İstanbul and widely circulated among the Ottomans. So it continued to be read and used as a guide during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup>

Another category of the corpus consists of two menzilnames related to the military expeditions of the Ottoman army. The first is Matrakçı Nasuh's (d. 971/1564) *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn* (A Description of the Waystations on the Campaign to the Two Iraqs) about Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's expeditions against Safavids in 1533–1536 and the manuscript copy includes a large number of miniatures.<sup>19</sup> The second is one of the many menzilname texts narrating Sultan Murad IV's expedition of Baghdad in 1638–1639, composed by an anonymous author.<sup>20</sup>

The third-party texts comprise route manuals related to journeys undertaken by Ottoman officials on various duties. One of them records the way stations of vizier Çerkes Yusuf Paşa on his journey to Baghdad in 1602 to take over the governor's office. It was compiled by a certain Muhlisi, traveling in the vizier's entourage.<sup>21</sup> This text also includes various miniatures, which will be evaluated later.<sup>22</sup> The second menzilname of this category is Seyyid İbrahim Hanif's (d. 1217/1802) *Nakd-i Gayret-i Hanif*, which records his journey across Rumelia announcing the accession of Sultan Selim III to the throne in 1789.<sup>23</sup> The last one is titled *Musavver Sefaretname-i İran* (Illustrated Ambassadorial Travelogue) and records the journey of Ambassador Yasincizade Abdulvehhab Efendi from İstanbul to Tehran in 1810–1811. It was compiled as a menzilname and decorated with miniature paintings of stations by Osman Şakir Efendi (d. 1817), who accompanied the ambassador as a Persian interpreter.<sup>24</sup>

Coşkun, *Ottoman Pilgrimage Narratives and Nabi's Tuhfetü'l-Haremeyn* (Durham: University of Durham, PhD dissertation, 1999), 65–71.

17 Nurgat, *Space, Ritual*, 104.

18 The text has various manuscript copies in addition to printed editions of 1817 (İstanbul) and 1834 (Bulaq): İstanbul: İstanbul University, Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, 00055; 01277; Ankara: Milli Kütüphane, Yazmalar, 06 Mil Yz A 2033/1, ff. 1-148; Manisa: Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 4654; İstanbul: Sadberk Hanım Museum, Hüseyin Kocabaş, S.H.M.H.K.Yaz.208; Dublin: Chester Beatty Library, CBL T 461; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Supplement Turc, 1276. For references in this study, 1817 İstanbul edition is consulted.

19 The only surviving copy of the text is in İstanbul: İstanbul University, Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, 05964. It was edited by Hüseyin Gazi Yurdaydın: Matrakçı Nasuh, *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han* (Ankara: TTK, 1976). There are a lot of studies on miniatures, see for example: Norman J. Johnston, "The Urban World of the Matrakçı Manuscript", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 30/3 (1971), 159-176; Uşun Tükel, *Beyân-ı Menâzil'in Resim Dili: Bir Yapısal Çözümleme* (İstanbul: İstanbul University, PhD Dissertation, 1990); Sühendan Kumcu İlal, *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han Minyatürlerinin Doğa ve Bitki Örtüsünün İncelenmesi* (İstanbul: İstanbul University, PhD dissertation, 1995); Nurhan Atasoy, *Matrakçı Nasuh ve Menzilname'si* (İstanbul: Masa Yayınları, 2015).

20 This text is published in an article by Halil Sahillioğlu, "Dördüncü Murad'ın Bağdat Seferi Menzilnamesi (Bağdat Seferi Harp Jurnalı)", *Belgeler: Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 13/17 (1988), 43–81.

21 The only known incomplete and untitled copy of the text which was copied at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and is located in Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Turc 127. Cihan Okuyucu published the transliteration of the text in addition to discussing the identities of Yusuf Paşa and Muhlisi in an article. See, Cihan Okuyucu, "Muhlisi'nin Çerkes Yusuf Paşanın Basra Valiliği Dolayısıyla Yazdığı Seyahatname", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 69 (1990), 115–134. See also, Melis Taner, *Caught in a Whirlwind: A Cultural History of Ottoman Baghdad as Reflected in its Illustrated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 28, 54–55.

22 For a study on miniatures as well as the complete transliteration of the text, see Coşkun Özdemir, *Fransız Milli Kütüphanesinde Bulunan "Sefername" (Turc-127) Elyazmasının Minyatürleri* (Konya: Selçuk University, Master's Thesis, 2014).

23 The text was edited recently by Halil Batur: Seyyid İbrahim Hanif, *Nakd-i Gayret-i Hanif (İnceleme-Metin-Dizin-Tıpkıbasım)*, ed. Halil Batur (İstanbul: Dün Bugün Yarın Yayınları, 2022).

24 The original manuscript is located in İstanbul: Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Tarih, 822 and was published: Osman Şakir

Before analysing the texts, it should be emphasized that each text within this corpus is written in the form of a menzil book, although not all of them bear the title menzilname. Moreover, the predominance of pilgrimage narratives in the menzilname literature<sup>25</sup> is inevitably reflected in the texts selected here. Menzil books related to military expeditions also reflect the specific characteristics of the genre, while the texts in the last group, follow the menzil narrative but notably describe journeys undertaken for much more specific purposes, adopting a more literary style.

## 2. Textual Representations of Nature in Menzil Books

### 2.1. Landscape

Landscape, as a tangible reality, can be perceived, experienced, and appreciated in very different ways, and its textual and visual representations can vary radically depending on the observer's perspective. Despite the absence of a word for *landscape* in Arabic or Turkish,<sup>26</sup> Ottoman menzil books are filled with representations of natural and cultural landscapes. However, the focus here will be on the natural landscape, and detecting the evolution of the landscape over time due to natural forces and human intervention will not be dwelt upon.<sup>27</sup>

The content of a route manual consists of two main elements. The first concerns which roads to take, the duration of travel on these roads, and their physical conditions. The second pertains to the description of the places passed through or visited for varying periods during the journey. Although the content of this description, the language, and the characteristics of the narrative vary from author to author and the purposes of the journey, the geographical, structural, and demographic features are generally briefly mentioned in plain and unembellished language. The main point that the authors emphasize is whether there is food, water, and suitable accommodation. For example, when we look at Kadri's description of the city of Hama, we see that many of these elements are present. Kadri states that it takes six hours to reach Hama from the previous stop, Şecer, noting that the city is a pleasant place with mosques and baths, bazaars, excellent gardens, and orchards. The Asi River flows through the city, and there are many water wheels. The city's castle is beautiful but not very well-developed, and the settlement is built outside the castle. It also has an inner castle, and the person who built the inner castle of Aleppo built this one in a similar way to the previous one. Finally, he reports that it is customary for pilgrims to stay in Hama for one day, where they can obtain some necessary supplies.<sup>28</sup>

The extract above is from a pilgrimage route manual, but very similar descriptions can be found in other types of route manuals. For example, certain stereotyped expressions are used

Efendi, *Musavver Sefâretnâme-i İnan: Resimli İnan Sefâretnâmesi*, ed. Güray Önal (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2018).

25 Çoşkun draws attention to the increasing demand to pilgrimage manuals, especially during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries which had a profound impact on flourishing the genre. Çoşkun, "Stations of the Pilgrimage Route from İstanbul to Mecca", 307-308. See also, Nurgat, *Space, Ritual*, 42-43.

26 Jala M. Makhzoumi, "Landscape in the Middle East: An inquiry", *Landscape Research* 27/3 (2002), 218, 226.

27 For a thorough discussion of the term "landscape" from various aspects see, Marc Antrop – Veerle Van Eetvelde, *Landscape Perspectives: The Holistic Nature of Landscape* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2017), 3<sup>rd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> chapters.

28 Kadri, *Menazilî't-Tarik*, 19a.

to describe components in the depictions of nature and landscape, such as “its water and air are pleasant (*latif*)/very good (*a’la*), bad (*bed*), very bad (*vahim*), heavy (*sakil*); “it has a prosperous (*ma’mur*)/ruined (*viran*)/ broken (*burda*) inn”; “its water is little (*kalil*)/ insufficient (*vefa etmez*)/ abundant (*vafir*), quite sufficient (*mütevfa*)/ soft (*bafif*)/ delicious (*leziz*)/ sweet (*tatli*), bitter (*aci*), salty (*tuzlu/şur*), acceptable (*makbul*)/ unacceptable (*makbul değil*); “its road is stony (*taşlık*), narrow (*teng, taraşlık*), steep (*sarp, girive*), hilly (*inişli yokuşlu*), flat (*düz*), mountainous (*dağlık, kuhsar*), forested (*ormanlık*), dangerous (*muhataralı*), scary (*mahuf*); “it has very good bazaar and market place (*çarsu bazarı a’la*),” etc.

Since the introduction of roads and the general geographical situation of halting places are the central concerns of route manuals, depictions of natural phenomena are predominantly about general landscapes rather than details of flora and fauna. Hence, it seems convenient to evaluate these texts as route maps—guidebooks of the early modern era. Some of the authors start with a description of the road leading to a certain waystation, as exemplified by the subchapters in Kayt el-Davudi’s *menzilname* that describe the “quality/feature of the road” (*sıfat-ı tarik*.)” For instance, he records “the characteristic of the road” to Akabe as follows:

“The beginning of the road is red soil, open and downhill. Then comes a narrow mountain pass, which is also downhill. Then comes a valley, but here, too, it is very difficult because of the fear of the Arab bandits who block the road and seize the pilgrims. You can reach the seaside by climbing a little more uphill. In the past, camels used to pass here one by one, and everyone, rich or poor, had to get off their mounts and walk. At the request of the Egyptian Beylerbeyi and with the decree of Sultan Süleyman, a part of the mountain was carved, and the road was opened, and now trains of camels and litters can pass easily.”<sup>29</sup>

This passage describes not only natural features but contains all kinds of information that concern potential travelers, including warnings of possible dangers along the road. Further, authors like Kadri presented also alternative roads. He reports that there are two ways to reach Adana from Bayram Paşa station. One is by crossing the Çakıt River, which takes eight hours. This road is plain, but if it becomes impossible to cross the Çakıt River due to flooding, the other road must be used. From the second road, it takes nine hours to reach Adana because it is very steep.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, unlike Kadri, Hibri prefers very brief explanations to describe the physical conditions of the roads, primarily using one or two adjectives such as hilly, stony, or steep. For instance, he reports that all the roads from Edirne to İstanbul are wild and steep.<sup>31</sup> However, when there is more to say for guidance, he does not refrain from going into detail like he did while describing the road between Hersek and Derbend. According to his notes, from Hersek to Derbend, it is steep along the coast and the road passes through mountains. There are two routes, one through the valley and the other via the foothills.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Mehmed Edib suggests two alternative roads from Konya to Ereğli via İsmil or Göçü. Since the İsmil road is difficult to pass due to the great number of water passes, the majority of travelers prefer the Göçü road to reach Karapınar, whereas pilgrims often take the İsmil road. Between İsmil and Karapınar, there is a very steep place called Yelkiburun. It is sandy and scary. From Konya to

29 Kayt el-Davudi, [*Menazilü'l-Hacc*], 45a-45b. For more examples see, Kayt el-Davudi, [*Menazilü'l-Hacc*], 43b, 44b, 45a, 50b.

30 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 12b. For similar examples, see Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 12a, 13a.

31 Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 91a (İlgürel, “Abdurrahman Hibri’nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik-i I”, 115).

32 Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 91b-92a (İlgürel, “Abdurrahman Hibri’nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik-i I”, 115).

Ereğli, it is wilderness, and İsmil is located in this wilderness. When the water is high, this plain is flooded and becomes like a sea.<sup>33</sup>

"The Kızılırmak is also a useless water like the Sakarya River. It does not provide a single drop of water to anyone's field, and those who drown in it are rarely saved. However, those living on its banks are not bandits, rebels, or cruel people like the people of Sakarya. They are all obedient and contented people. Due to the miracle of Sultan Bayezid and his blessing with the bridge he built, Kızılırmak is only useful to the people of Osmancık and turns one or two of their mills. The reason why its color is not like the color of other rivers is that it flows through places with red soil and flows near ochre mines."<sup>34</sup>

## 2.2. Flora

Plants and vegetation, as an important component of nature, find a place in the accounts of menzil books. In these narratives, useful plants are particularly prominent. It is also observed that as the authors traveled beyond the regions they were familiar with, they devoted more space to the new plants they encountered and tried to describe them in more detail. The flora of Anatolian lands is generally reported in route manuals only if a famous plant is found in great quantity or has a unique species or quality. For instance, we encounter walnut trees only once when Kadri records that there are lots of walnut trees in Ladik, but because of these trees, the air in this region is quite heavy.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, he mentions olive trees only once in Nablus due to their high quantity.<sup>36</sup> It is striking that a tree widespread throughout Ottoman lands is rarely addressed. Another author, recording this time Athens' olive trees, is Seyyid İbrahim Hanif.<sup>37</sup> Other records of olives themselves are noted in relation to Zankakiyye and Damascus by Mehmed Edib.<sup>38</sup> This is also true for many other fruit trees, such as pears, apples, apricots, lemons, citrus, citron, pomegranates, figs, grapes, and many more. For example, Mehmed Edib speaks of Ereğli, which is famous for having ninety types of pears.<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless, some places stand out among the pages of route manuals in terms of having a variety of high-quality plants in great quantity. According to Kadri's manual, Adana is a delightful place with its orchards and gardens. Besides other types of fruits, lemon and citrus are abundant, and the pomegranate species grown there are unique.<sup>40</sup> He praises Payas, which is located close to Adana, in a similar manner, noting that it has a lot of orchards and gardens mainly boasting lemon and citrus trees with abundant and tasty fruits in addition to grapes, figs, and watermelons.<sup>41</sup>

According to Kadri, Damascus is worth mentioning with its special kind of grape called

33 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 36. See also, Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 10b.

34 Osman Şakir, *Musavver Sefaretname*, 38a-40a (ed. Önal, 171-179). For comment on Sakarya river, see Osman Şakir, *Musavver Sefaretname*, 14b-15a (ed. Önal, 80-87).

35 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 9a.

36 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 25b.

37 Seyyid İbrahim Hanif, *Nakd-i Gayret-i Hanif*, 12b (ed. Batur, 135).

38 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 46, 53.

39 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 37.

40 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 13a.

41 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 13b. See also Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 43.

“zeyni,” which is very tasty. Pears, apples, pomegranates, and apricots are also delicious. Watermelon, melon, and many other fruits are available. Only cherries and sour cherries are not available because they do not grow anywhere but in Anatolia. He introduces a new fruit called “muz” (banana) and describes it as shaped like an eggplant and peeled and tasting like arbutus. He notes that there many other vegetables, and most of the trees in the gardens are lemon, citrus, and citron, which grow abundantly.<sup>42</sup> Similar to Kadri, Mehmed Edib names the many fruits to be found in Damascus. He notes that its soil is fertile and, in some places, even yields one hundred crops to one. Its fields are famous, and its fruits are plentiful. Apricots, apples, pears, plums, cherries, pistachios, pine kellers called “sanuber,” bananas, sugar cane, figs, quinces, peaches, pomegranates, myrtle, walnuts, almonds, mulberries, olives, citrons, lemons, melons, and watermelons are abundant. Various vegetables and fruit are grown plentifully in both summer and winter.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, Hibri draws the attention of pilgrims to some of these plants so that they can buy them before moving forward from Damascus.<sup>44</sup>

Sacred cities, in particular, are praised for their abundance of fruits and vegetables. Route manuals record that there are many wonderful fruits in Mecca. Pomegranates and grapes are incomparable. Sweet lemons and citrons are tasty. Also, plenty of melons, watermelons, pomegranates, and bananas come from Abbasiyye, which is on the Arafat side, a two-day journey from Mecca.<sup>45</sup> When it comes to Medina, besides the date palms, lemons are abundant, and a luscious type of pomegranate grows in Medina and there is no other pomegranate like it anywhere else. There are extensive gardens around the city where a wide variety of fruits and vegetables grow. Eggplants and jute (*mulubiyye*) are very delicious. Melon, watermelon, grapes, orange, lemon, peach, fig, jujube (*nebk*), and banana are abundant.<sup>46</sup>

For some places, more general expressions are used so that the authors are content with records such as “some fruits are available”<sup>47</sup> or “many kinds of vegetables grow.”<sup>48</sup> Muhlisi qualifies Ereğli as a “house of fruits” and uses the same qualification for Ayntab (today’s Antep), noting that from Karaman to Ayntab, no other place has more fruit.<sup>49</sup> Vegetables, especially eggplant<sup>50</sup> and sorrel,<sup>51</sup> are pointed out by the authors.

Route manuals regarding the pilgrimage via Damascus mostly draw attention to a desert tree called “mugaylan” (thistle tree; acacia raddiana). Kadri, while introducing the halting place of Haydar Castle, notes that on this path, people burn mugaylan to make campfires and then describes it as a big desert tree used for cooking food because there is no other wood.

42 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 23a-23b.

43 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 53.

44 Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 105b (İlgürel, “Abdurrahman Hibri'nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik-i I”, 124-125).

45 Tennuri, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 135a (Kaymakçı, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 188); Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 55a.

46 Tennuri, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 134a (Kaymakçı, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 187); Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 43b; Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 124.

47 For example, see Tennuri, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 134b (Kaymakçı, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 188); Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 16a, 40b; Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 44, 47-48, 80, 162.

48 For examples, see Tennuri, *Enasü'l-Huccac*, 134a (Kaymakçı, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 187); Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 43b; Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 162.

49 Muhlisi, [*Sefername*], 10a-10b, 16a (Özdemir, *Sefername*, 93-94, 100).

50 Tennuri, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 134b (Kaymakçı, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 187); Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 73.

51 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 41b, 42a; Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 81, 134-135.

He compares it to the pomegranate tree in the fall and warns the reader that it has thorns that will tear one's clothes if encountered unknowingly.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, the author of the more detailed description of this tree, Mehmed Edib, states that it grows wild and is very common—maybe the only tree in the Hijaz region, beginning from Maan. After describing it as a thorny and bushy tree, he states that it has red and waterless rose-colored berries like rose seeds. He relates that the Bedouins and camel herders revere this tree, making wishes, tying clothes around it, and throwing stones at it to show their joy. He also states that it was used as firewood for cooking in Mecca and Medina. Finally, he includes a legendary story about this tree. According to the story, it was a pomegranate tree at the time of the Prophet Adam, but its fruit was cut off due to a curse.<sup>53</sup> Mehmed Edib, as well as Kadri and Hibri, names all the stations on the road where there were a lot of thistle trees, such as Maan, Ula, Cüdeyde, Rabiğ, etc.<sup>54</sup>

Another unfamiliar tree to the authors of route manuals is called the tree of Meryem Ana (Mother Maryam) by Kadri. According to his description, this kind of tree, which has flat leaves and small watermelon-shaped flowers, can be found in some places in the desert, and people used to gather its fruit for medicine.<sup>55</sup> Hence, most probably, this must be the medicinal plant known as “Marian Thistle” (*Silybum marianum*). Kadri introduces another tree called “the Prophet’s almond,” which grows on the road to the station of Bi’r-i Zümürürüd. It has tiny leaves similar in color to the cabbage leaf. The object called “almond” is in the middle of the leaf, and its flavor is somewhat similar to that of fresh almonds—even the taste of the leaf is similar to almonds. It has a full kernel, like a pumpkin seed, but it is so small that it resembles an almond blossom.<sup>56</sup> He adds that the same kind of almond also appears at the station of Hediye.<sup>57</sup> In addition to Kadri, Mehmed Edib describes it in a very similar but concise way.<sup>58</sup> Other than those which are presented in detail to some extent, we encounter various trees just reported to be at this or that station in a significant number such as *misvak* tree (toothbrush tree; *Salvadora persica*) at el-Müveylih<sup>59</sup> and el-Havle;<sup>60</sup> the henna tree (*Lawsonia inermis*) at Cüdeyde;<sup>61</sup> the balsam tree at Bedr-i Huneyn<sup>62</sup> and Cüdeyde;<sup>63</sup> Abu Jahl’s watermelon (*Citrullus colocynthis*) at Medyen,<sup>64</sup> Mağarat,<sup>65</sup> Bi’r-i Ganem;<sup>66</sup> the reed

52 Kadri, *Menazilü’l-Tarik*, 38a-38b.

53 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 70-71.

54 Tennuri, *Enisü’l-Huccac*, 130b-131b (Kaymakçı, *Enisü’l-Huccac*, 183-184); Kadri, *Menazilü’l-Tarik*, 39a, 41a, 41b, 42a, 43a, 50b, 51a; Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 107b (İlgürel, “Abdurrahman Hibri’nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik-i-I”, 125-126); Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 70-71, 76, 80, 134-135.

55 Kadri, *Menazilü’l-Tarik*, 38a.

56 Kadri, *Menazilü’l-Tarik*, 41a-41b.

57 Kadri, *Menazilü’l-Tarik*, 42a.

58 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 81.

59 Kayt el-Davudi, [*Menazilü’l-Hacc*], 47a.

60 Kayt el-Davudi, [*Menazilü’l-Hacc*], 52a.

61 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 134-135.

62 Kadri, *Menazilü’l-Tarik*, 50b.

63 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 134-135.

64 Kayt el-Davudi, [*Menazilü’l-Hacc*], 46b.

65 Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 107b-108a (İlgürel, “Abdurrahman Hibri’nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik-i-I”, 126).

66 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 81.

plant at Aynzerka and Belka;<sup>67</sup> the rosebay tree (*Nerium oleander*) at Aynzerka;<sup>68</sup> and the tamarix tree at Mağarat.<sup>69</sup>

The plants introduced in the route manuals are mostly species that were assumed to be unfamiliar to the general reader. Plants that are thought to be known are mentioned without any introduction, only by indicating whether they are located in a certain place or by emphasizing if they are found in large quantities. Although the date palm tree is a species that does not grow in Anatolia and Rumelia, its fruit was known and consumed widely. For this reason, some authors mention date palm varieties without any description of the plant itself. However, none of them neglected to mention the places where many of these trees grow, which became more frequent as they approached Hijaz. Among these places, Medina stands out as a place with a wide variety of dates. Mehmed Edib records that of the ninety-two varieties of dates, the ones called “*ney, sultani, acve, bulv, and seyhani*” are grown only in Medina.<sup>70</sup> He notes that wild dates are plentiful in Zatu’l-Hac and Tebük,<sup>71</sup> and dried dates brought from Ula were sold to pilgrims in Medain Salih.<sup>72</sup> Kadri, on the other hand, mentions that a type of Madinan date called *celebi* is delicious.<sup>73</sup> Apart from these, one finding in the manuals is that halting places are mostly described with general expressions such as “there are many date palms.”<sup>74</sup> This is not only the case for the stations on the pilgrimage route but also for some of the halting places of the imperial army en route to Baghdad, like Şurb or Ba’kuba, which are recorded as having an abundance of date palms.<sup>75</sup>

Route manuals also mention herbs, mostly as medical advice to travelers. Tennuri records some herbal medicine formulas to be used against diarrhea, which is highly likely to be suffered by bodies unaccustomed to the desert climate, but recommends that herbs such as ginger, cloves, sumac, and dried dogwood be procured before setting off.<sup>76</sup> However, Hibri highlights that such herbs can be bought in Damascus.<sup>77</sup> On the road, Tennuri mentions some herbs with indescribable fragrances at the station of Fahleteyn but, unfortunately, does not indicate their names. He attributes the pleasant smell of the herbs here to the fact that the Prophet had prayed there.<sup>78</sup> Kayt el-Davudi reports that at Ezlem station, a laxative herb called “*sinameki*” (senna) grows.<sup>79</sup> Mehmed Edib, while recording that a plant called “*yebruhu’s-sanem*” (Mandragora) grows at Misis, narrates a report about herbs growing in the mountains around it, which says that Prophet Daniel gathered some herbs near this

67 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 67-68.

68 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 67-68.

69 Kayt el-Davudi, [*Menazilü’l-Hacc*], 52a.

70 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 123.

71 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 72, 73.

72 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 79.

73 Kadri, *Menazilü’t-Tarik*, 43b.

74 For examples see Tennuri, *Enisü’l-Huccac*, 131b, 132b, 134a, 134b (Kaymakçı, *Enisü’l-Huccac*, 184, 185, 187, 188); Kayt el-Davudi, [*Menazilü’l-Hacc*], 43b, 45b, 46b; Kadri, *Menazilü’t-Tarik*, 37a, 37b, 40b, 43b, 50b, 51a; Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 109a, 110a (İlgürel, “Abdurrahman Hibri’nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik’i-I”, 127, 128); Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü’l-Menazil*, 68, 80, 134-135, 136, 162.

75 Sahillioğlu, “Dördüncü Murad’ın Bağdat Seferi Menzilnamesi”, 68, 69.

76 Tennuri, *Enisü’l-Huccac*, 118b-119b (Kaymakçı, *Enisü’l-Huccac*, 172-173).

77 Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 105b-106a (İlgürel, “Abdurrahman Hibri’nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik’i-I”, 124-125).

78 Tennuri, *Enisü’l-Huccac*, 133b (Kaymakçı, “Enisü’l-Huccac”, 186).

79 Kayt el-Davudi, [*Menazilü’l-Hacc*], 50b.

place and prepared a medicine against death. Lokman Hakim has also wandered around this area and found plenty of herbal medicine.<sup>80</sup> He mentions that one can also find an herbal medicine called “*dem-i ahaveyn*” (*dracaena marginata*) at the station of Rabiğ.<sup>81</sup>

On the other hand, flowers are relatively insignificant in the route manuals. For instance, Kadri, after listing plenty of fruits growing in Damascus, notes that it has some flowers too.<sup>82</sup> Mehmed Edib provides more detail about species of flowers, saying that various flowers such as hyacinth, jonquil, tulip, and basil are cultivated there, in addition to others that grow naturally in the mountains and valleys around it.<sup>83</sup> Medina is mentioned because of its fragrant roses.<sup>84</sup> However, in Anatolia, more places are recorded concerning flowers. Here, the authors draw attention to Akşehir’s white flower, which is believed to be the reason it is called the “white city.” According to legend, a king visited this place during the spring season, saw a lot of white flowers, and ordered that the city be named Akşehir.<sup>85</sup> Muhlisi also describes Akşehir’s flowers without emphasizing the aforementioned white flower and notes in a more literary style that it is surrounded by rose gardens, full of hyacinths, saffron, peonies, and Judas trees, and with the blowing wind, its scent is reminiscent of the gardens of heaven.<sup>86</sup> Konya is reported to have a unique flower called the “tanner’s flower” that was used to color leather.<sup>87</sup> On the road from Misis to Kurtkulağı, there is a small castle called “Snake Castle” where people unearth tulip bulbs.<sup>88</sup> On Nur Mountain near Misis, beautiful hyacinths and various other flowers grow.<sup>89</sup> There are many lotus flowers in the gardens around Şuğur on the banks of the Asi River.<sup>90</sup> Ayntab, located in a valley surrounded by gardens and orchards like paradise on all sides, always has beautiful roses, fragrant hyacinths, and red tulips.<sup>91</sup>

### 2.3. Fauna

Consisting of every kind of animal, fauna is a component of nature and plays an integral role in human interactions. Considering functions fulfilled by animals, not only as food and power supplies for people but also as subjects of their affection or fear, travel reports contain numerous mentions related to the fauna of Ottoman lands. Literature on the representation of fauna in travelogues primarily focuses on exotic beasts and strange creatures and highlights the attraction of the “unknown” in those texts. However, examining route manuals in this regard reveals a distinctive approach, including more on “known and/or useful” animals.<sup>92</sup>

80 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 42-43.

81 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 161.

82 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 23a-23b.

83 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 53.

84 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 43b.

85 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 8a-8b. See also, Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 32.

86 Muhlisi, [*Sefername*], 6a-6b (Özdemir, *Sefername*, 88).

87 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 35.

88 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 13b.

89 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 42-43.

90 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetiü'l-Menazil*, 46.

91 Muhlisi, [*Sefername*], 16a (Özdemir, *Sefername*, 100).

92 Gerald MacLean, classifying animals in travelogues into three categories as “dangerous,” “known and/or useful” and “exotic

In general, Ottoman route manuals mention mostly functional animals for a traveler and provide information about where and how to obtain them. Thus, it is not surprising to see mounts such as camels and horses at the top of the list. During early modernity, traveling on land required strong bodies, whether a person or an animal. In this regard, route manuals for pilgrims especially describe where to buy or rent a camel or exchange it for a fresh one. This issue emerges in Damascus and continues to be a topic in the texts until pilgrims reach Hijaz. Tennuri lists camels among the necessities for the road and recommends that pilgrims buy one camel or more according to the number of passengers a couple of months ahead and keep it for breeding to prepare for the journey. He also advises not to load too much at the beginning of the journey and tire the camel because the traveler can buy anything needed in good quality at Damascus.<sup>93</sup>

The other important way station for camels is Muzayrib, where one can buy fodder, in addition to renting new camels from Bedouin Arabs. Tennuri states that camels that are turned loose to graze at will (*salma*) indicate God's grace and blessing—without them, it is tough to reach the final destination. He also notes how Bedouin Arabs shepherd them without using a halter, only leading them with verbal commands.<sup>94</sup> Ula is the next halting place where pilgrims replace camels with new ones rented from Bedouin tribes.<sup>95</sup> Another station reported to have camels available is Asi Hurma.<sup>96</sup> Elsewhere, Çukurova was recorded as a habitat of excellent horses.<sup>97</sup> Soma authors also mention mounts (camels and horses) in terms of their suffering due to poor weather and road conditions, mostly due to rain and mud.<sup>98</sup> It is also possible to encounter these animals as valuable gifts for travelers. For instance, according to Muhlisi's report, when the caravan arrived at Adana, local governors bestowed the vizier Yusuf Paşa two horses and a string of mules in addition to sheep and barley.<sup>99</sup> Later on, this time at nearby Ayntab, local governor Sefer Paşa presented the vizier with two strings of camels and three horses.<sup>100</sup>

Besides mounts, mostly mentioned species in route manuals consist of animals used as food sources. Travelers can find sheep at Rabiğ,<sup>101</sup> very cheap lambs at Ula,<sup>102</sup> and fodder for cattle at Belka.<sup>103</sup> On the stony road between Aneze and Hasa, a great number of rabbits

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and/or legendary" brings a more nuanced interpretation on the matter in question and renders possible to discuss Ottoman route manuals in this context. See, Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 145-173. The qualification of "*salih*" used by a Bosnian pilgrim from the 17<sup>th</sup> century is worth remembering in this context. See, Karić, *Bosnian Hajj Literature*, 90.

93 Tennuri, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 117b (Kaymakçı, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 171). See also, Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 105a-105b (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibri'nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik'i-I", 124-125).

94 Tennuri, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 127a-127b (Kaymakçı, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 180); see also Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 106a (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibri'nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik'i-I", 125).

95 Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 109a (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibri'nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik'i-I", 127).

96 Tennuri, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 131b (Kaymakçı, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 184).

97 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 42-43.

98 Muhlisi, [*Sefername*], 18b (Özdemir, *Sefername*, 103).

99 Muhlisi, [*Sefername*], 12b (Özdemir, *Sefername*, 97).

100 Muhlisi, [*Sefername*], 15b-16a (Özdemir, *Sefername*, 100).

101 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 161.

102 Kadri, *Menazilü'l-Tarik*, 40b.

103 Tennuri, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 130a (Kaymakçı, *Enisü'l-Huccac*, 183).

live.<sup>104</sup> Halting places near a river, lake, or sea naturally are very productive in terms of fishing. According to Mehmed Edib, the water of the İznik Lake is palatable, and there are various kinds of fish, one of which is called “*line*.” It has half the hand span length and was dried and sold to other places.<sup>105</sup> Lakes near Akşehir,<sup>106</sup> Ilgın,<sup>107</sup> Medik,<sup>108</sup> Hums,<sup>109</sup> and Muzayrib<sup>110</sup> are recorded in the manuals as having various kinds of fish, though they are not named or described. Mehmed Edib informs the pilgrims that they can find fish at the station of Şuğur, which is located on the riversides of Asi,<sup>111</sup> and at the station of Rabiğ which is close to the Suez Sea (Red Sea).<sup>112</sup> He also highlights the Barada River of Damascus as a productive fishing source and that there is an official responsible for the fish of the river,<sup>113</sup> and he declares that the Aynzerka River has delicious fish.<sup>114</sup> Obviously, he has a special interest in fish, as he is almost the only author who has named places where to find it. On the other hand, Seyyid İbrahim Hanif speaks of fishing as an activity worth watching as he did at the station of Gölbeşikten.<sup>115</sup>

Birds are also recorded in the route manuals, mainly in the context of hunting and shopping for food. In this regard, the manual of Mehmed Edib is illustrative. He notes that on the riverside of Barada at Damascus, various kinds of birds are hunted.<sup>116</sup> At the station of Sanemeyn near Damascus one can find numerous kinds of birds. Leeches procured from its reed bed are sold in Damascus.<sup>117</sup> At the station of Maan, pigeons from Jerusalem are sold.<sup>118</sup>

Although the dog is recognized mostly as a favored animal, we encounter it only once among the pages of route manuals under examination. Kadri mentions guard dogs kept in the castle of Haydar by Ottoman janissaries to warn them if any Bedouin tribes come close. He records that, like janissaries, the dogs also have their share of food (3 *kantar peksimet*) from the treasure of Damascus.<sup>119</sup>

Traveling in early modernity could be a perilous act due to numerous circumstances. Hence, one of the main functions of route manuals is to warn the reader about unsafe places and hazardous situations. People are warned against some animals that can cause harm to travelers on the road. For instance, the halting place of Bakras is labeled by Kadri as having many mosquitos, which cause a heavy burden for the pilgrim.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, the anonymous

104 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 36a-36b; Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 69-70.

105 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 27.

106 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 32.

107 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 33.

108 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 47.

109 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 49.

110 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 67-68.

111 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 46.

112 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 161. See also, Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 51a.

113 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 62.

114 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 67-68.

115 Seyyid İbrahim Hanif, *Nakd-i Gayret-i Hanif*, 20b (ed. Batur, 150).

116 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 62.

117 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 66.

118 Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menazil*, 70-71.

119 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 38b.

120 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 14b.

author of the Baghdad expedition records that there were somewhat abundant frogs at Tuzla and grasshoppers at the Şahmaran Castle close to Misis.<sup>121</sup> Nonetheless, some places are recorded to be safe zones from some kinds of dangerous animals, as Hibri cites from some books that Hums has been protected from snakes and scorpions by a talisman.<sup>122</sup> Sometimes, useful animals also can be a source of danger for travelers. Hibri warns pilgrims against flocks of sheep and cattle on the road from Aleppo to Hama. According to his note, they have occupied that territory for a long time; people could be caught up inside the flocks, which were notoriously bad-tempered—one of his companions fell into this predicament and only barely escaped, even though he was on horseback.<sup>123</sup>

Although there is no trace of exotic or legendary animals among the pages of route manuals, one encounters some legendary stories, such as the tale of Prophet Salih's camel. According to reports, when pilgrim caravans arrived at the passage of Salih where the camel miraculously appeared as a gift to the Prophet Salih and his people from God, they had to pass through it quickly and uproariously because camels could hear the still echoing and very frightening voice of Salih's camel which was hamstrung by his people, defying God's order.<sup>124</sup> Another prophetic story about an animal, which is told in one of the route manuals, is about the Prophet Abraham and the fish of Ruha (today's Urfa). According to the narrative recorded by Muhlisi, a spring called Aynhalil marked the location where the Prophet Abraham knelt, and thus, there are numerous fish of various kinds in the basin of this spring. During his visit, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman took a fish out of the basin, put a golden ring on its nostril, and left it inside the water. In fact, Muhlisi tells this story to highlight the generosity of the vizier, whose journey he was recording and compares him to Kanuni when he notes that because of the generous acts of the vizier at Urfa, the fish of this basin have silver scales.<sup>125</sup>

Mehmed Edib narrates a report about sheep living on the mountains opposite İsmil called the Fudul Baba Mountains. The sheep roamed these mountains in flocks, and people did not hunt them because it was believed that they were under the protection of Fudul Baba—thus, they were called the flocks of Fudul Baba. Those passing through these mountains had to ask for permission from the spiritual presence of Fudul Baba. Only then could they sacrifice up to three sheep; if they sacrificed more, they would be subject to punishment. He notes that there is no tree on this mountain but a basin, the water of which did not increase or decrease although the animals drank from it.<sup>126</sup>

Only on one occasion we encounter mention of exotic and legendary animals, although they were not alive. Seyyid İbrahim Hanif, while wandering around the castle of Athens, describes sculptures of dragons, lions, and other creatures besides the centaurs and naked men.<sup>127</sup>

121 Sahillioğlu, "Dördüncü Murad'ın Bağdat Seferi Menzilnamesi", 55, 60.

122 Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 101b (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrî'nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik'i-I", 122).

123 Hibri, *Menasik-i Mesalik*, 101a (İlgürel, "Abdurrahman Hibrî'nin Menâsik-i Mesâlik'i-I", 121-122).

124 Kadri, *Menazilü't-Tarik*, 39b-40a; Mehmed Edib, *Nehceti'l-Menazil*, 77.

125 Muhlisi, [*Sefername*], 16b-18b (Özdemir, *Sefername*, 101-103).

126 Mehmed Edib, *Nehceti'l-Menazil*, 36.

127 Seyyid İbrahim Hanif, *Nakd-i Gayret-i Hanif*, 11b (ed. Batur, 134).

### 3. Visual Representations of Nature in Menzil Books

Similar to travelogues, the images in menzil books are generally mimetic, consisting of landscapes and depictions of plants, animals, or architecture in addition to human portraits, but they may also include abstract representations. Here, rather than describing each image in the corpus or commenting on the artistic competence or aesthetic value of these images, which are both beyond the scope of this study, I have chosen several exemplary images from three works to explore how visual and textual depictions relate to each other and reinforce one another within the framework of menzilname genre regarding Ottoman nature.

It is necessary to begin by emphasizing that the primary function of these images was to inform the reader, like the text itself. However, when looking at menzil books in terms of the correlation between text and image, two basic approaches can be distinguished: Some of the visual depictions included in the menzil books are directly related to textual expressions, while others do not reflect but complement the textual depictions. The works of Muhlisi and Osman Şakir can be considered typical examples of the first category, and Matrakçı's work corresponds to the second.<sup>128</sup>

The incomplete manuscript of Muhlisi's work contains seven miniature paintings that art historians attribute to the painters of Baghdad, where the copy was produced, depicting various waystations along the vizier Yusuf Paşa's journey to Baghdad.<sup>129</sup> These classical-style miniature paintings cover many details of the vizier's visits to these sites, including some natural components, and show a close connection with the text. The first painting under examination depicts his visit to the place where the Prophet Daniel is believed to be buried on the Ceyhan River in Tarsus. In addition to the portraits of the vizier, his retinue, and his host, Ramazanoğlu İsmail Beg, standing on foot, many components of nature and landscape, like the river, riverside meadow, and some colorful flowers appear, including three white and black ducks in the water as well as the bridge, the mosque, and the well. While the river and the well are mentioned in the text, vegetation, and animals are not described at all but are included in the visual depiction as complementary elements.<sup>130</sup>

Another exemplary image from Muhlisi's work depicts the station of Urfa and illustrates the vizier's visit in the spring related to the story of the Prophet Abraham. The vizier stands before the spring, placing his left hand on a tree with light green and dark green leaves. The ground beneath the travelers' feet is a green meadow dotted with stylized motifs of red flowers. Two groups of figures can be seen behind the green hills, which end in grey mountain ranges. On the right side, there are two minaret-like towers, and on the left side, there is a horse with a man astride it. While the towers seem to be visualizing the posts used for the catapult to throw the Prophet Abraham into the fire, the horse should be a gift from the Beg of Urfa presented to the vizier.<sup>131</sup> Similar to these examples, all seven paintings in this book bear a close relationship with the text, summarizing in visual form the essential points of

128 One of the manuscript copies of Mehmed Edib's manual has visual representations of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem but it will not be evaluated within this context. Because it is obviously not the intent of the author to include these images and someone else added them in this specific copy, probably inspired by copies of other pilgrimage travelogues or prayer books.

129 See, Taner, *Caught in a Whirlwind*, 54-55.

130 Muhlisi, [*Sefername*], 10b-11b (Özdemir, *Sefername*, 94-95); Taner, *Caught in a Whirlwind*, 60-62.

131 Muhlisi, [*Sefername*], 16b-18b (Özdemir, *Sefername*, 101-103). Taner, *Caught in a Whirlwind*, 63-65.

Yusuf Paşa's stay in the station while at the same time emphasizing the central position of the vizier.<sup>132</sup> Although the primary purpose of the paintings is not to describe or document the nature around them, it can be said that natural elements and landscapes constitute a vibrant element as details that support the textual narrative and complement the visual narrative.

The second menzil book that is useful in this context is Osman Şakir's work, which directly references its visual content in its title: "Illustrated Ambassadorial Travelogue." The author clarifies in the introduction that from the beginning, he had the idea of describing the stations not only textually but also visually<sup>133</sup>—at each station, after introducing the place, he includes the relevant painting by noting that "it was depicted in this manner."<sup>134</sup> It contains paintings of thirty-one stations, although the last seven of them—beginning with Amasya—are depicted without any textual explanation due to the incomplete nature of the work. Furthermore, each painting had a textual line naming the station. It is also important to note that these two-dimensional drawings reflect an outsider's perspective; though they differ from classical miniatures artistically, the perspective is similar in both.

Osman Şakir's drawings are almost entirely devoted to depicting the urban landscape of the way stations as seen from outside. While human figures are absent, the domes and minarets of mosques, with their distinctive architecture, stand out among houses of various sizes clustered on top of each other identically. The landscape around the halting place consists of natural components such as mountains, trees, vegetation, rivers, lakes, the coastline of the sea, and boats, roads, and bridges, but no animals. Although these are depicted in a very similar and repetitive manner, changes in both the motifs and the colors used are noticeable according to the distinctive characteristics of the region, as well as its geographical and climatic features. For example, several forms of trees common in the Ottoman lands, such as cypress, pine, and the like, are used in a distinguishable manner, which shows that the author is concerned with realism even though he utilizes symbolic pictorial language. As a matter of fact, he explicitly states many times that he painted in a way that thoroughly reflects what is in the text.

To exemplify the visual content of this travelogue, it would be convenient to zoom in on the depiction of a rock called Sarmaşikkaya ("ivy rock") on the road from Hacıhamza to Osmancık along the Kızılırmak. In the text, it is described as high as ten minarets and reported that due to its dangerous nature for travelers, it was partially blown up with gunpowder, and a large road was constructed on it by the order of one of the viziers of Sultan Abdulhamid I. In addition, the mother of Sultan Selim III had a fortified wall built upon iron stakes so that travelers would not be overwhelmed when looking at the height and depth of cliff under this dangerous road. Then Osman Şakir introduces the painting showing the rock, the road, and the wall.<sup>135</sup> There are four layers in this landscape painting. First, there is vegetation that goes from dark green to light green and is marked with similar grass motifs scattered around. What separates it from the road is the Kızılırmak River, which was painted red. This is followed by the wall, the road, and the large cluster of gray rocks described in the text. At the top, the blue and white sky completes the landscape.

132 Taner, *Caught in a Whirlwind*, 65.

133 Osman Şakir, *Musavver Sefaretname*, 5a-5b (ed. Önal, 49-50).

134 See for example, Osman Şakir, *Musavver Sefaretname*, 6a-7b (ed. Önal, 53-56).

135 Osman Şakir, *Musavver Sefaretname*, 35a-36b (ed. Önal, 161-167).

After traveling eight hours from Sarmaşikkaya, they cross the fifteen-eyed stone bridge built by Sultan Beyazid on Kızılırmak near Osmancık, so he gives historical and structural details of the bridge and geographical information about the Kızılırmak which flows under it. Then comes the painting of the Osmancık Castle with the abovementioned bridge and the river. After the painting, he continues to describe the Kızılırmak River and the Osmancık Castle, which rarely happens in the flow of the narrative. He explains the reason for its red color due to flowing through places with red soil and near ochre mines and highlights that the river only benefits Osmancık and turns a couple of mills.<sup>136</sup> Almost all of this information is reflected in the painting over two pages. It begins with a green meadow until the Kızılırmak River and the bridge. Even though the number of the bridge eyes is not fifteen, it is located in the center of the painting, which hints at the movement of the caravan. On the other side of the river, two water mills are depicted prior to the halting place. On the one side, is Osmancık Castle, full of houses on the top of a grey hill. In the foothills, houses, mosques, and a fountain. On both edges of the painting, five similar trees can be seen. Notably, Osman Şakir's compositions are dominated by the theme of natural landscape and urbanscape, interacting with the text very closely, with motifs of plant and vegetation functioning as supplementary components.

Unlike Muhlisi and Osman Şakir, Matrakçı adopts the method of depicting the halting places that the Ottoman army passed along in paintings from a bird's-eye perspective. Instead of describing them within the text, he only notes the names of the stations in an appropriate place in the paintings. In this regard, his method can be qualified as "documenting with painting." Similar to portolan charts, looking from the outside at the landscape vertically, the author marks significant or striking monuments and natural features to distinguish the route and the halting places so they could be easily recognized and followed well in future voyages. It is generally accepted that the pictorial language of Matrakçı in this work constitutes a certain system of signs that transcends the patterns of miniature art. He does not paint imaginary landscapes but reflects the realities in abstract forms by emphasizing not what he sees but the significant, symbolic, indicative structures and forms in the image. İlal, in her doctoral dissertation on nature and vegetation representations of *Beyan-ı Menazil*, determines five climatic zones over the geographical areas covered by more than one hundred miniatures and observes that the placement of vegetation on the landscapes, colors, vegetation types, and density stand out as the leading indicators of climate changes according to regions. Among these regions, the dark green color in the temperate climate, the light green color in the continental climate, the earthen color in the rocky, mountainous, and high regions, and the yellow color in the desert climate are consistently used, which continues in the halting places along the entire route.<sup>137</sup>

One of the most striking landscape components in this route manual is the depiction of roads, whether on land or water. They were included as a vital element symbolizing the constant movement on the route, by sometimes running along the edge, through the middle, or jumping from one side to the other on the double pages, sometimes forming a border separating or complementing two pages, and changing colors through the journey.<sup>138</sup> Similarly,

136 Osman Şakir, *Musavver Sefaretnâme*, 37a-41a (ed. Önal, 169-183).

137 İlal, *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han Mînyatürlerinin Doğa ve Bitki Örtüsünün İncelenmesi*, 7-49.

138 Tükel, *Beyân-ı Menâzil'in Resim Dili: Bir Yapısal Çözümleme*, 82-85.

it is clear that drawings of trees, flowers, and animals are intended to follow the geographical features of the halting place so that species, colors, and density in the painting reflect the natural facts, even in a symbolic language. For example, a wide variety of trees and flowers can be seen in the painting of halting places within the zone of temperate climate, while in the rocky areas, it is reduced to pine, taflan, and apple tree species, and in the desert climate region, only date palms are observed. Similarly, the fruit-bearing trees are illustrated in urban landscapes, in places marked as gardens, while the various fruitless trees are shown in rural landscapes.<sup>139</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems to be safe to argue that the fauna is reflected only as an auxiliary component of the landscape in the paintings. Depending on that, animal species are depicted increasingly in parallel with the distance of the halting place to Istanbul. Various kinds of animals are also reflected in the paintings according to their behavior.<sup>140</sup> For instance, in the painting of Baghdad, a lion is depicted biting a rabbit in the wilderness while the two lions guard the gates of a city's walls.<sup>141</sup> On the other hand, Sultaniye's painting is quite distinctive in terms of species and numbers of animals. There are six birds, four deer, two rabbits, and a tiger, in addition to forty trees of various species. The trees are balanced on opposite pages: eight spring trees, six leafless willow trees, six fruit trees (pears, pomegranates, etc.), and two pine trees on each page.<sup>142</sup>

Following these evaluations of Matrakçı's natural depictions clarifies his use of visual language as an independent and comprehensive way to complete and reinforce the text. Hence, even though the textual part of Matrakçı's route manual does not include natural depictions, the paintings of roads and halting places provide many realistic details about landscape, flora, and fauna, even if in abstract forms.

## CONCLUSION

Traveling is one of the most intense ways in which humans interact with nature. When encountering a familiar place or passing through for the first time, many emotions such as curiosity, joy, wonder, fatigue, anxiety, and fear are felt at a much higher level compared to a settled person. Similarly, a traveler is much more vulnerable to dangers than a sedentary person. Therefore, travel narratives, which aim to record the states of the road to one degree or another, are among the primary sources that can be consulted to determine what kind of relationship the travelers have had with nature and how they describe it. Based on this assumption, this study analyzed ten *menzilname* works whose primary purpose was to guide other travelers. It showed with examples that these texts, which were written by people with different profiles and addressed to various types of audiences, depicted Ottoman nature with various sensitivities.

139 For details of plants and vegetation of *Beyan-ı Menazil* see, Atasoy, *Matrakçı Nasuh ve Menzilname'si*, 195-221. İnal also prepared a catalog of its plants and vegetation: İlal, *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han Minyatürlerinin Doğa ve Bitki Örtüsünün İncelenmesi*, 23-25, cat. 1-54.

140 For details of animals depicted in *Beyan-ı Menazil* see, Atasoy, *Matrakçı Nasuh ve Menzilname'si*, 188-194.

141 Matrakçı Nasuh, *Beyan-ı Menazil*, 48a.

142 Matrakçı Nasuh, *Beyan-ı Menazil*, 31b-32a.

In conclusion, the first point to be emphasized is that the descriptions of nature found in these texts, which were written for practical purposes, serve the same purpose. The focus is on aspects that the traveler may need to know during the journey. The landscapes were recorded to help the traveler reach their destination, avoid getting lost, be alert to natural dangers on the way, and be prepared for the difficulties they would face. Plants, vegetation, and animals were recorded primarily to enable people to benefit from them and meet their needs. This observation, of course, should not lead to the conclusion that the authors of the *menzilnames* did not have any aesthetic sense or that there were no narratives with a high aesthetic emphasis in the texts. While the narratives of pilgrimages and military expeditions maintain a plain and similar language, it has been observed that in the more individualistic travel narratives, the descriptions of nature are diverse and, at times, are embellished in harmony with the text.

Another issue that needs to be emphasized is the essence of the relationship between the textual descriptions of nature in the *menzilnames* and the visual depictions. Two different attitudes have been identified in this regard. While some adopted an approach that reproduced the textual description with visual language, others chose to express the natural elements that were not included in the text through visual language. Both attitudes seek a certain level of realism regardless of the style of the painting and emphasize the importance of faithfully reflecting the nature depicted.

To conclude, it should be stated that both textual and visual depictions of nature aim to inform the reader. *Menzilnames*, with their descriptions of nature, fulfilled the function of providing practical guidance for contemporary readers. Although, in parallel with the transformation of nature and travel conditions over time, they largely lost this function in later periods, they continued to provide remarkable records of their authors' perception of nature. Of course, each author's impressions, differing in line with their different purposes and strategies, are reflected in their texts, but this has not led to a significant discrepancy in the description of nature within the genre. However, for a more extensive and conclusive analysis of the representation of Ottoman nature in travelogues and in order to shed light on the subject in all its aspects, the findings of this study should be compared with different sub-genres within Ottoman travel literature, with Arabic and Persian travelogues, and with travelogues written in Western languages from an outsider's perspective.

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