

# A KARAITE ITINERARY THROUGH TURKEY IN 1641 - 2

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In July 1641 the Karaite <sup>1</sup> Samuel ben David Yemşel, <sup>2</sup> with three friends, set out from Kozlev <sup>3</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew *Kara'i*, plural *Kara'im*. The name of a Jewish sect first appeared in Iraq and Persia in the 9th century. Their original difference from the orthodox or Rabbanite Jews was their rejection of the Talmud, the Rabbinic tradition, and the authority of the Rabbis. They accepted the *Bible* as the sole repository of law and faith, and maintained the right of every believer to interpret it in the light of his own knowledge and understanding. The name is derived from the root *Kara'*, which is common to both Hebrew and Arabic, with the double meaning of read and call. The significance of the name is not known with any certainty, though various suggestions have been offered. Some authorities consider the word to mean summoner or missionary, corresponding to Arabic *dā'i*. Others connect it with the Arabic *Karrā* - scripture-reader. The likeliest explanation is that connecting the name with the specific sense of scripture study, common to both Hebrew and Arabic *Kara'* (cf. Hebrew *Mikra*, the *Bible*, Arabic *Kur'ān*).

In the Middle Ages the sect had a considerable following among the Jews of the Middle East, Africa and Spain, but from Crusading times onwards it dwindled rapidly, and today survives only in very small numbers. There are communities in Cairo and Istanbul, but nowhere else in the Middle East, except for a small number among the immigrants settling in Israel. At the end of the 12th century Karaite immigrants settled in the Crimea, and a century or so later established colonies in Poland and Lithuania. From that time onwards the main centre of the Karaites was in Eastern Europe, where they spoke Turkish dialects. There is an extensive modern scientific literature on the Karaites. Brief accounts and bibliographies will be found in the relevant articles in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, New York, 1901-6, and the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Berlin, 1928-34 (not completed). A selection of Karaite literature in English translation will be found in Leon Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology*, New Haven, 1952.

Crimea, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He sailed first to Istanbul thence via Rhodes to Alexandria, from which he travelled overland through Cairo to Jerusalem. After visiting the Holy Places, he travelled northwards through Nablus, Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo to Antioch, and thence across Anatolia to Istanbul, from which he took ship for home. His original intention had been to travel to Sinope, and sail from there, but for reasons which appear below he changed his plans and proceeded via Istanbul. He remained in the Crimea until his death in 1674, and was buried in the Karaite cemetery at Çifut Kale. <sup>4</sup>

The travels of Yemşel, like most Karaite literary works, are written in Hebrew. They first came light in 1690, when King Charles XI of Sweden became interested in the Karaites and sent Gustav Peringer - Lillieblad, Professor of Oriental languages in the University of Upsala, on a journey to study the Karaites of that country. On

<sup>2</sup> This is the usual transcription of the Hebrew Y'MŞL. This is probably not a family name, but the initials of the Hebrew verse *Tanuah'al mishkabō sālōm* 'He will rest peacefully upon couch' (Gurland, p. III). The use of such names composed from initials was very common among Jews.

<sup>3</sup> Kozlov or Gezlev, known in Russian as Eupatoria, was the main centre of the Crimean Karaites, and the residence of their spiritual chief (Ḥāhām).

<sup>4</sup> Carmoly (p. 502) mistakenly asserts that he was killed in the Chmelnitzky rising of 1648. In fact his tombstone was still to be seen in Çifut Kale in the Crimea in the 19th century. The text of the inscription, including some verses in Hebrew, was published by Gurland (IV-V).

his return to Sweden he published, among other things, a fragment of Yemşel's travels, with a Latin translation (Upsala 1691),<sup>5</sup> This fragment, consisting of about the first fifth of the work, was several times reprinted, and in 1847 was published in a French translation by E. Carmoly.<sup>6</sup> Some time later a unique manuscript of the complete itinerary was found in the Fir-kowitz collection in St. Petersburg, and published by Jonas Gurland in 1866, together with two other Hebrew Karaite itineraries from Crimea, of 1654-5 and of 1785-6, contained in the same manuscript.<sup>7</sup> All three were reprinted by J. D. Eisenstein in 1926.<sup>8</sup> An abridged English translation of the first half of Yemşel's itinerary, as far as Cairo, was included by E. N. Adler in his *Jewish Travellers* (London 1930).

The following two extracts contain the first and last sections of the itinerary, and between them comprise about a quarter of the total text. The first, dealing with Yemşel's journey up to his arrival in Rhodes, was translated by both Carmoly and Adler. The second, covering the journey from Antioch across Anatolia to Istanbul and then back to the Crimea, is here translated, as far as I know, for the first time.

The main difficulty of the itinerary through Turkey is of course the identification of place-names in the Hebrew transcription - a task not made any easier by the corruptions and errors introduced by copyists and editors ignorant of Turkish topography.<sup>9</sup> Gurland remarks that

<sup>5</sup> On this mission see further H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, X, Leipzig, 1882, n.5. "Die Könige von Schweden und die Karäer", pp. 511 ff.

<sup>6</sup> E. Carmoly, *Itinéraire de la Terre Sainte*, Brussels 1847.

<sup>7</sup> Jonas Gurland, *Neue Denkmäler der jüdischen Literatur in St. Petersburg*, I, Lyck, 1865.

<sup>8</sup> J. D. Eisenstein, *A Compendium of Jewish Travels*, New York, 1926.

<sup>9</sup> In attempting to follow Yemşel's itinerary, I have relied in the main on the standard work of F. Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1924-6. Among itineraries that have subsequently come to light, reference may be made to the English

the writing of the manuscript is far from clear, and that the reading which he gives for many names is conjectural. As well as my own readings, I have given an exact transliteration of the Hebrew spelling as given in the edition. It should be remembered that the Hebrew alphabet has 22 letters, all of which are consonants though the *matres lectioniss*, y, and w, as in Arabic, may sometimes be used as vowels. The following pairs of letters are interchangeable, being distinguished from one another only by a single point, which is not normally written: BV, KH, PF, TT'. In addition, the following pairs are of somewhat similar shape, and may sometimes be confused when dealing with unfamiliar names: BK, GN, DR, MS, YW. The letter ç does not exist in Hebrew, and is usually represented by ş.

Yemşel's itinerary is written without literary pretensions, and contains no more than a bare account of what he saw and did. Except for some confusion as to his route from Istanbul to Rhodes he is generally fairly accurate. His descriptions are brief and factual, and are probably reliable - except perhaps for the numbers he gives for people, mosques and shops, which show a suspicious sameness from place to place. His Hebrew style is plain and monotonous, not free from grammatical errors. Here and there he uses a Turkish word. These I have given in both transcription and transliteration.

My soul yearned and longed for the courts of God, to ascend the mountains of myrrh and the hill of frankincense<sup>10</sup>, to give thanks and to prostrate myself before the Lord God of Hosts in the bosom

traveller John Sanderson, whose travels of the years 1584-1602, were published in London by Sir William Foster in 1931, to the two 16th century Arab travellers Ghazzi and Makki, examined by Ekrem Kâmil in *Tarih Semineri Dergisi*, 1/2, 1937, pp. 3-90; and to Professor A. Suheyl Ünver's study on the campaigns of Murad IV in Belleten, V XI, no 64, 1952, pp. 547-576.

<sup>10</sup> Myrrh (*Môr*) and frankincense (*Leböna*) are a pun on the Hebrew names of Moriah (near Jerusalem) and Lebanon.

of Jerusalem, may she speedily be rebuilt in our days, and to fulfil my vows to God. Then I heard that the honorable R. Isaac <sup>11</sup> and the honorable R. Solomon Levi were preparing themselves to travel to the Holy Land, and when I heard this God awoke my spirit, saying: "Rise up and go thou too!". And I could not hold myself back, nor was my heart content to sit in the shop and buy and sell, for a fire burned within me. At once therefore I sent a letter to R. Solomon Levi, to the town of Kozlev, and we went on board ship on Thursday the 14th Ab of the year 5401 <sup>12</sup> [21 July 1641]. We took with us Samuel, son of the honorable R. Moses David, may his memory be blessed, and there also came with us Nisan of Lutsk. We left on Thursday night and sailed for five days and then God raised a storm at sea, and the ship was about to break in pieces and we made the shore of Rumelia <sup>13</sup> in great distress. Blessed be God, Who saved us.

We stayed there for three days, and then we left there and arrived in Constantinople <sup>14</sup> on the 25th Ab [= 1 Aug 1641]. We stayed there for forty eight days, and spend the Day of Atonement <sup>15</sup> there, and on Friday the 11th Tishri 5402 [= 17 Sept. 1641] we left Constantinople and came to Beshiktaş <sup>16</sup>, where we went on board the ships of

<sup>11</sup> R.- for Rabbi, is used as an equivalent of Mr., and does not necessarily mean that the person was in fact a Rabbi.

<sup>12</sup> The year of creation, according to the Jewish calendar, also used by the Karaites. This and subsequent dates are not given figures but in chronograms of Biblical verses.

<sup>13</sup> GDY 'WRWS. Carmoli reads Kudros, the former Cytorus, in the province of Kastamonu. I am inclined to read 'WRWS as an error for 'WRWM=URUM, (as later in the text), and to connect the name with Rumelia. GDY may be an ungrammatical use of the Hebrew Gadeh - shore.

<sup>14</sup> QWSDYNH.

<sup>15</sup> The great annual fast, observed on the 10th Tishri. It is connected with the Muslim fast of Aşura', of the 10th Muharrem.

<sup>16</sup> BŞKTŞ.

Musharrem Reis <sup>17</sup> with our dear friends, and waited two days on the ship. On the first intermediate day of the Feast of Tabernacles <sup>18</sup> we left Constantinople with joy and good cheer for the ships bound for Alexandria about fifty large ships, I mean *elli gemileri*<sup>19</sup>. On the ship where we were, there were about a hundred Rabbanite <sup>20</sup> men and women, also intending to go to Jerusalem and some of them to Safed, and about five hundred Muslims. We sailed until evening, when we came to the town of Gallipoli, <sup>21</sup> where we stayed one day.

The town of Gallipoli is built on the sea-shore and is surrounded by three walls. It is a very fine town. There are Rabbanite Synagogues, twenty five mosques, and hundreds of shops, where they sell all kinds of goods and all kinds of fruits and delicacies. There are also a number of ships there equipped to protect the vessels bound for Egypt, for fear of the Greeks<sup>22</sup>.

When we left, these ships joined us and we sailed together, and in the afternoon we came to the town of Bogaz Hisar.<sup>23</sup> In this place was a Kapudan <sup>24</sup> called Bekir Pasha <sup>25</sup> with twelve galleys, to escort the vessels and guard them lest the Greeks harm them on the way. This was their custom every year, to escort the Eg-

<sup>17</sup> MWĤRM RYYZ.

<sup>18</sup> The feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkot*) is the autumn festival. It begins on 15th Tishri and lasts a week. The first and last days of the week are especially important the intermediate days less so.

<sup>19</sup> 'LY GMYLRY.

<sup>20</sup> i.e. ordinary Jews, not Karaites.

<sup>21</sup> GLYBWLW.

<sup>22</sup> *Tevānim*, the classical Hebrew word for Greeks. In Hebrew writings from Eastern Europe it is often used of the local Christians. It is possible that Yemşel is here referring to the Cossacks, who held Azov from 1637 to 1642, or, more probably to raiders from the Italian possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean

<sup>23</sup> BWGWZ ĤYSR.

<sup>24</sup> ĶPYDN.

<sup>25</sup> BKYR PŞ'. Ebu Bekir Pasha (d. 1644 or 45) was Bey of Rhodes and later Kâpdan-i Derya. Sijill-i Osmâni, I, 174.

yptian ships to Alexandria and then to escort them back to Constantinople. The men of the ships greeted one another with great rejoicing in Bogaz Hisar, in honour of the Kapudan Bekir Pasha. On our ship there was a dignitary called Sha'ban Efendi <sup>26</sup>, who was an officer of Davul-hane <sup>27</sup>, and [his men] also blew on trumpets in honour of Bekir Pasha. Every day they blew their trumpets on the ship, and it was in this festive manner that we sailed all the way to Alexandria. We left there the same day, and passed the straits of Bogaz Hisar and came at midnight to an island called Bozca Adasi <sup>28</sup>. The passage here is very narrow, and all the ships were in one place side by side and crowded together, and we were in great fear that night lest the ships collide with one another and break. Blessed be God who saved us, and allowed us to leave there without harm or damage. The White Sea is very great, and in it there are mountainous islands near to one another, so that it seems as if one sees waves on the land. These are wonders of Almighty God - blessed be He who showed us wonders.

From Constantinople to Rhodes <sup>29</sup> is like Istanbul Bogazi <sup>30</sup>, where the land can be seen on both sides on the eastern side Anatolia <sup>31</sup>, and on the western side Rumelia <sup>32</sup>, all vineyards. We continued and came to a village called Istanböy <sup>33</sup>, which is on the side of Rumelia. Opposite, on the Anatolia side, is Kara Baglar <sup>34</sup>, where there

are vineyards and gardens and orchards and very many fruit - trees.

We went a little further and passed the straits of Susam Adasi <sup>35</sup>, where the ships that had joined us at Gallipoli and elsewhere left us and went their way, some to Susam Ada and some to İzmir <sup>36</sup>. We continued and came to the town of Sakiz <sup>37</sup>, but the ships did not touch in at Sakiz, as there was a favorable wind. So we passed it by, and we saw the town from the distance, with its walls and vineyards and houses and gardens, which are very beautiful. We left there, and on Friday evening we came to the town of Rhodes. From Constantinople to Rhodes is 600 miles <sup>38</sup>. We rested the Sabbath <sup>39</sup> on the ship, and on Sunday we went ashore and entered the town and saw the walls and the markets and we went to the baths and enjoyed ourselves there.

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Antioch <sup>40</sup> is a large town, with fortified and very ancient walls. The town faces the plain, and behind it are high mountains around and above the town wall. Only one part in four is inhabited; three quarters of the town consist of gardens and orchards, and one of houses. We went on from there and crossed many stream on the same day, perhaps twenty of them and we went up high mountains, all full of stones, and then down into valleys, until we grew weary. "Who can relate

<sup>26</sup> Ş'BN 'FYNDY.

<sup>27</sup> DBWL H̄N'.—Davul-hane, or Tabl-hāne, the military band of kettledrums. See H.G. Farmer, 'Tabl-Khāna', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam Supplement*; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, Ankara, 1945, p.449 ff.

<sup>28</sup> BWHŞH 'DSY.

<sup>29</sup> RWDWS.

<sup>30</sup> 'STMBWL BWGYZW.

<sup>31</sup> 'NDWLW.

<sup>32</sup> 'WRWS 'LY - read Urum Eli. In pronouncing Rum as Urum, Yemşel follows a common Turkish practice.

<sup>33</sup> 'STN QWY.

<sup>34</sup> KR' BGLR.

<sup>35</sup> SWSM 'DSY.

<sup>36</sup> 'ZMYR.

<sup>37</sup> SGYZ.

<sup>38</sup> Yemşel's route as given here - Bozca Adası, Istanböy, Susam Adası, Sakız, Rhodos - is clearly impossible. Sakız and Istanböy seem to have changed places, while Medilli is omitted. Furthermore, it is unlikely that vessels proceeding Gallipoli to İzmir would go as far south as 'the Straits of Susam Adası. It is possible that the text is corrupt in this place. It seems however more likely, in view of the other signs of confusion in Yemşel's geography in this passage, that the author himself is at fault, probably through a failure of memory.

<sup>39</sup> Karaites and Jews alike refrain from travel and work on the Sabbath.

<sup>40</sup> 'NTKY'. On the road from Antioch to Adana see Teeschner, I, pp.144-150; Kāmil, p.21.

the wonders of God, till tongues grow weary of telling”.

We travelled until evening and also for three hours of the night, and we came to the village of Beylan <sup>41</sup>. This village is amid high mountains, and its houses are on the edge of the mountains because of the water, for much water flows down the slope of the mountains and it is sweet, and flows through the village. There are some shops there, some mosques, and a fine inn, so that the village has the appearance of a town. We stayed there overnight, and then set out again on Friday. We crossed the mountains of Beylan and four streams and passed a tower which stands by the White Sea, and was built by the Muslims to guard the water and prevent the foreigners from coming and taking it. We went on from there, and passed by a village on the sea-shore called Iskenderun <sup>42</sup>. We went on from there until evening <sup>43</sup>, and came to the town of Payas <sup>44</sup>. There are many sweet waters there, but they are not good to drink. It is on the sea-shore, and Egyptian and foreign ships came there for it is the port <sup>45</sup> for the town of Aleppo. They bring their goods and sell them, and then they buy goods of Aleppo and go. There is a small fortified wall, a mosque, a bath, and about a hundred and thirty shops, where they sell all kinds of Egyptian goods. We rested there the Sabbath. There are many gardens and orchards, opposite a tower on the sea-shore, beside the wall. From Aleppo to Payas is five days journey. The port of Damascus, Tripoli is three days journey away.

From there we travelled along the coastal plain until noon, and crossed several streams on the same day, and then we went up the mountain and came to a gate which is on a river, called Karan-

lik Kapisi <sup>46</sup>. It is a very dangerous road. We passed through there with the help of God, may He be blessed, and came at evening to the village of Kurt Kulagi <sup>47</sup>, where there is an inn built by Rustem Pacha <sup>48</sup>. We stayed there overnight and went on next morning, and came to the river Ceyhun, Which is one of the four rivers that came out of Eden. We came to a place called Ceyhun Kalcsi <sup>49</sup>, where there is a small, old fort, which today is ruined. We came to the inn in Misis <sup>50</sup>, which is by the river Ceyhun, a great and broad river like the Nile in Egypt. By the inn there is a bridge across the river, with ten arches. The length of the bridge is one hundred and thirty cubits of Kaffa, and the breadth of the river is the same. We stayed there. I have never seen a bridge like this on any of the rivers I have crossed until now.

We went on from there and came to the town of Adana <sup>51</sup>, where we crossed a bridge longer than that of the Ceyhun, perhaps one and a half times the size. The river flows under the town and around the houses. We crossed the bridge and entered the town, which has a small, fine fort, beautifully adorned. There are many houses and mosques. There are also fifteen Rabbanite Jews, and they have a Scroll of the Law <sup>52</sup> in one house. The waters of the river came from the Kizil Irmak <sup>53</sup>. There is an inn, where

<sup>46</sup> KRNLYK KPYSY. Also known as Demir Kapı (Taeschner, I, 146).

<sup>47</sup> KWRT KWYLGY.

<sup>48</sup> HWRWSTM PŞ. - Hurustam Paşa. Yemşel is probably reproducing a local, dialectical pronunciation.

<sup>49</sup> GYHN KLHY - read KL'SY. This is ruin is probably identical with the Yılan Kalesi mentioned by other travellers (Taeschner, I, 145-6)

<sup>50</sup> MYSYS. According to E. Honigmann (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. Mişşis), the bridge at Misis has nine arches.

<sup>51</sup> DNH. On the road from Adana to Eregli see Taeschner, I, 136-144; Kamil, 22-8

<sup>52</sup> That is, a manuscript Scroll of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch (Torah), used for religious services.

<sup>53</sup> KYZYL 'YRMK.

<sup>41</sup> HYLN. I amend the first letter to B.

<sup>42</sup> YSKNDYRYN.

<sup>43</sup> KYNDY ikindi.

<sup>44</sup> PYS.

<sup>45</sup> 'SKL'-iskele.

we stopped for two days to rest ourselves and to rest the horses.

We went on from there and came on the same day to the village of Çakit<sup>54</sup>, in which there is an inn where we stayed overnight. Next morning we got up and continued our journey from there. We went up into high and lofty mountains, and passed springs and chams. There are many great trees and a river flowing through the valley, and many sweet waters flowing down the slope of the mountain. We passed through the mountains and crevices down to the valley. If you climb up the mountain you cannot see the land below and if you go down below you cannot see the mountain-top, for these mountains are higher than the mountains of Beylan and the mountains of Payas; all tongues grow weary of telling. We travelled through these high mountains and we came to a place called Gülek Kalesi<sup>55</sup>, which is on a high mountain, and the people look from the mountain - top like birds. On the downward slope opposite the wall, there is an inn, where we rested over the Sabbath. A great river passes at the foot of the mountain, and by an inn called Çauş Han<sup>56</sup>. The inn was near, but we did not go there because of the Sabbath.

There were also with us sixteen Rabbanite Jews, among them R. Solomon? Sabbah, the merchant of King Bahadır Giray Khan<sup>57</sup>. They came upon us in Adana and joined us. On Sturday evening we left there and travelled through high mountains, where we rode with difficulty, for two horses could not pass abreast but only in single file. The mountains were as high and lofty as those we had passed the previous day. While the sun was still shining we came down

to the river Kirk Geçit<sup>58</sup>. We passed several high mountains on both sides, between which the river flowed. We passed more than forty crossings and crossed one very high bridge, which is in a narrow place. We went on and completed the crossings. Near to an inn on the road there is hot water coming out from beneath the mountain. Then we came to a place called Çifte Han<sup>59</sup>, and stayed there overnight. Next morning the Rabbanite Jews got up and went their way, for that is where the roads to Constantinople and Sinope<sup>60</sup> part.

When we came to Damascus we found a man there from the town of Kozlev, called Kara Hasan<sup>61</sup>, who was a servant of Sultan. . . . Giray<sup>62</sup>, and said that he wished to travel with us. We agreed, since he was better than anyone else and we were acquainted with him. We considered that if we went with a caravan, they would not go with us to Sinope and would not halt for us on the Sabbath day. We therefore gave him two silver pieces as a loan, and agreed to pay for his food and drink and also for the fodder of his four horses, all so that we might not desecrate the Sabbath, which, God forbid. We also gave six silver pieces to another man called Kazi<sup>63</sup>, and he took the money and ran away while we were still in Damascus. We travelled with Kara Hasan as far as Çifte Han, the four of us, and Kara Hasan and his servant. We had covered 23 days' journey in thirty days, through dangerous ways, we were saved for the sake of our holy forefathers. And this man, who had previously shown himself a good man, turned into a serpent. Every day he quarrelled with us, for he was a quarrelsome

<sup>54</sup> ŞYKYT.

<sup>55</sup> GYBLYK KĻ'SY. The emendation of one letter gives the name required by the context.

<sup>56</sup> Ş'Ş H'NY.A Çauş-hanı is mentioned by the 17th century pilgrim Mehmed Edip (Taeschner, I, 143, -cf. p. 141, on Çauş - Köyü)

<sup>57</sup> BHDYR GYRY H'N. Bahadır Giray I, ruled from 1637-1641. Yemşel heard the news of his death while he was in Jerusalem.

<sup>58</sup> KYRĶ KYŞYT.

<sup>59</sup> SYFT' HN.

<sup>60</sup> SYN. On the ancient road to the north cf. Taeschner, I, 144.

<sup>61</sup> KR' HSN.

<sup>62</sup> ŞHWN GRY. The name is too corrupt to admit of reconstruction. The possible Sultans would appear to be Bahadır. (1637-41), Ināyet (1635-37), Canbek (1627-35), Mehmed (1623-27).

<sup>63</sup> KZY.

and disputatious man. We saw that his intentions towards us were not good, and we thought: "It is not a good thing that we are doing. Why should we endanger our lives by travelling with a wicked man, who may join together with evil men and turn against us suddenly and do us some evil?" So we said that we wished to go to Constantinople. He made a great quarrel with us; he struck R. Isaac and also struck R. Salomon Levi and drew his sword against him, and Solomon Levi also drew his sword and struck and cursed him. He made much trouble for us, and also did evil things to us, and he took seven silver pieces from us. After these things we abandoned what was in his hands and we parted from him.

So we came to a village called Mehmed Pasha Hani<sup>64</sup>, where there is a very fine, big inn. We stayed there overnight, and joined with the Rabbanites, who were fourteen men. We left there at midnight, and took the road to Constantinople, and came to the village of Eregli<sup>65</sup>, where there is an inn built by Bayram Pasha<sup>66</sup>, in which we stayed overnight. There are a hundred and twenty shops there, selling all kinds of fruit and foodstuffs and other goods. In

<sup>64</sup> MĤMT PŠ' HNY. Also known as Yeni Han. (Taeschner. I.T.15 and 6\*).

<sup>65</sup> RYGYLY. On the road from Eregli to Konya to Akşehir see Taeschner, I, 131-6 and 129-31. Yemşel seems to have taken a different route from those followed by the travellers studied by Taeschner. He began on the more northerly of two routes from Eregli to Konya, but after leaving Karapınar, instead of continuing through Geyve and İsmil to Konya, he by-passed Konya, travelled through some villages where there were no inns, and rejoined the main road at Ilgin. A similar route was taken by makki (Kâmil, p.30-31), who proceeded directly from Eregli to Ilgin via the villages of Saruhan, Miskir and Bozok. Only in the third did he find inn though not two, as Yemşel says. We may assume that Yemşel and Makki followed the same route, but stopped at different villages.

<sup>66</sup> BYRM PŠ'. Bayram Paşa was Grand Vizier in 1637-8.

the surroundings there are many gardens and orchards, and there are mosques. We set out from there at dawn and we came to the village of Kara Pinar<sup>67</sup> where there are two inns, facing one another, both fine and big. There is a mosque, with cold water from a fountain<sup>68</sup>, which has five steps, and a minaret<sup>69</sup>, built by Sultan Selim. There is an almshouse<sup>70</sup>, where food is given every day to guests. There are a number of shops, a small fort. and a tower in a high place. We stayed overnight in this place, which is the limit of the land of Karaman<sup>71</sup>.

From there we set out on Friday and came to the village of Ineb<sup>72</sup>. The villagers came out to greet us, and each of them took three or four from among us and led them to his house. They have rooms for guests, since there is no separate inn in this village, and this is their custom. They gave us food, and also straw, hay and barley for the horses and we on our side all gave them presents, according to their honour and our sojourn there. Early Sunday morning we left there and travelled to the village of Dutus<sup>73</sup>, where we stayed overnight. The customs of the people of Ineb, for there too there is no special inn.

From there we travelled to the village of Bozok<sup>74</sup> on the eve of Tuesday, the first of the month of Nisan of 5402 (—12 th April 1642). There are two old inns, and we stayed there overnight. From Kara Pinar to Bozok there are no gardens or orchards.

At midnight we left Bozok and travelled until morning, and in the afternoon we came to the town on Ilgin<sup>75</sup>. This town is like Eregli. There are about a

<sup>67</sup> KR' KWYNR. We may amend the first letter of the second word to either P or, preferably, B.

<sup>68</sup> ŞDRWN - Şadırvan.

<sup>69</sup> MYN'R' - minaret.

<sup>70</sup> 'MRT' - imaret.

<sup>71</sup> KRMN.

<sup>72</sup> 'YNB.

<sup>73</sup> DWTWS - perhaps the modern Tutup?

<sup>74</sup> BWZWK.

<sup>75</sup> 'LGYN.

hundred and thirty shops, mosques, an inn, and a cloth - market <sup>76</sup> built by Kara Mustafa Pasha <sup>77</sup>, the man who conquered the city (sic) of Cyprus. There is also a bath <sup>78</sup> there, where water comes from underground, by God's command, and they built the bath over the water. There are also many gardens and orchards. We stayed there that night.

There we continued our journey, and came at daybreak to the town of Akshehir <sup>79</sup>, a fine town built at the foot of the mountain, with a river passing through it. There are springs and clefts. We stayed there, and before midnight we left there and came to the village of Ishakli <sup>80</sup>, where there are gardens and orchards, as in the town of Akshehir. It is a halting - place, but we did not stay there, and travelled day and night, covering two stages, because of the Rabbanite Jews with us, calculating that there still remained eleven days' travel to reach Constantinople, and only eight days to the feast of Passover. The Rabbanites gave the owners of the horses twelve silver pieces to get us to Constantinople before Passover <sup>81</sup>. So we covered two stages that day, and passed near by an inn, and came to a paved road with flagstones <sup>82</sup>, because of the mud, since no one would be able to pass there in winter. Half way along the paved road there is a sort of very long bridge, which we crossed,

<sup>76</sup> BBZZSTN - bezzazistan.

<sup>77</sup> K̄R' MSTF' P̄Ş'. Yemşel has probably confused Lala Mustafa Paşa, the conqueror of Cyprus, with Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa, who was Grand Vizier from 1637 to 1643 i.e. during Yemşel's visit.

<sup>78</sup> The baths of Ilgin were known from Byzantine times.

<sup>79</sup> K̄ŞHR. On the road from Akşehir to Eskişehir see Taeschner, I, 124-6. Yemşel is unusually informative on this stretch. The Arab travellers studied by Kâmil (p.32-43) proceeded from Akşehir to İznik by the more southerly route, via Afyon and Kütahya.

<sup>80</sup> SKYYGW. The emendation is drastic, but no other name is known for the stage between Akşehir and Bulvadin.

<sup>81</sup> The spring festival, commemorating the Exodus from Egypt.

<sup>82</sup> DWŞM' - döşeme.

and which has seventy (sic) arches. We followed the paved road for about three hours, and came to the village of Bulvadin <sup>83</sup>, where there is an inn built by Rustem Pasha <sup>84</sup>, and a mosque, and a bath. They sell meat, bread and fruit there. We stayed there overnight. At that time one of the Rabbanites said that there is a town in Rumelia, and it is the town of Hayrebolu, <sup>85</sup> where there is a bridge built by one of the kings of Constantinople. It is very long and has 360 arches, and nobody can cross it in less than two or three hours in the winter. In summer it is dry.

At midnight we left Bulvadin and continued until morning, and when midday was near we came to the village of Bayat <sup>86</sup>. It is a halting - place, but we did not stay there. We covered two stages that day, travelling night and day, as we had done on the previous day, and we passed high mountains. On Friday, towards evening, before one o'clock, we came to the village of Yeni Han <sup>87</sup>, built by Husrev Pasha <sup>88</sup>, and we rested there for the Sabbath, and the caravan remained in the village of Bayat. Also the baggage of the Rabbanites remained, with the owners of the horses, and some of them came with us and we rested there. On Saturday the owners of the horses came with the baggage of the Rabbanites and they stayed overnight with us.

On Sunday morning we left there and came to the village of Seyyidi Köy <sup>89</sup>,

<sup>83</sup> BWLWDY.

<sup>84</sup> H̄WRWŞT̄M P̄Ş'. It will be observed that Yemşel is consistent in his spelling of this name.

<sup>85</sup> BYRBWLY. I amend the first B to H̄. Hayrebolu is in the neighbourhood of the famous 'long bridge' - Uzunköprü.

<sup>86</sup> KYT. K to B requires only a very small change.

<sup>87</sup> YGY H̄'N.

<sup>88</sup> K̄WSRWB P̄Ş'. Hosrev Paşa was Grand Vizier 1628-1631. The inn, founded in 1629, was generally known by his name (cf. Taeschner, I, 124).

<sup>89</sup> SYDY K̄WY. On Seyyidi Köy, better known as Seyyidi Gazi, Yemşel gives surprisingly detailed and accurate information.



where there are two inns. One is a new one, Dilaver Pasha<sup>90</sup> began to build and did not complete, and then came Bayram Pasha and built it properly. There are some shops where they sell bread and fruit. There is also a mosque. The mother of Sultan Alaeddin<sup>91</sup> began to build it, but she did not finish it. Then the Mihalogullari<sup>92</sup> from Rumelia built some of the building, but they too did not finish it. Later it was completed by? Yamlilar<sup>93</sup> and is a fine building. There is an almshouse<sup>94</sup> there where food is given to guests. It was built two hundred years after their prophet Muhammad and before the kings of Constantinople<sup>95</sup>. In the mosque is buried Seyyidi Battal<sup>96</sup>. The length of his grave is as the height of three men, and it is covered with silken garments like the graves of the kings of Constantinople, with a linen turban at its head. The Muslims say that he conquered all the lands of Rumelia, and he was formerly from Osmancik<sup>97</sup>. We stayed in the inn overnight.

<sup>90</sup> RYLW'R P'S'. A very small change will turn R into D.

<sup>91</sup> 'YYLTYN.

<sup>92</sup> MYHL'WGYYLLRY.

<sup>93</sup> YMLYLR. I am unable to suggest any meaning for this name, the reading of which may well be erroneous. The last four letters seem to contain the Turkish endings li-ler, but the first two letters do not yield any satisfactory meaning. The name may possibly be connected with the *Jemalis* or *Jomails* mentioned in a number of European sources. The 'mosque' of which Yemşel speaks is of course the famous Bektaşî convent of Seyyidi Gazi. The Turkish sources confirm that the convent was built by the mother of Sultan Alaeddin, and extended by various members of the Mihaloğlu family. See K. Wulzinger, *Drei Bektaşchi-Klöster Phrygiens*, Berlin, 1913. Inscriptions published by T. Menzel in T. Menzel in M.S.O.S. XXVIII/2, 1925, p.92 ff.

<sup>94</sup> 'YMRT - İmaret.

<sup>95</sup> By 'the Kings of Constantinople Yemşel means the Ottomans Sultans.

<sup>96</sup> SYYDY KMṬL. I amend K to B and M to'. A description and pictures of the tomb will be found in Wulzinger, p.29 ff.

<sup>97</sup> 'WSM'NŞYN. I amend the final N to K. It will be remembered that Osmancık was an important Bektaşî centre.

At midnight we left there and came to the village of Eskişehir<sup>98</sup>, where there are four inns and a bath the waters of which are made hot by the wonder of God, may He be blessed. There is a spring in front of the inn, from which hot water flows. There are about a hundred and thirty shops, and gardens and orchards before the village. We did not stay there, though it is a halting - place, as we were in haste because the days of Passover were drawing near. We went on from there and came to the village of Çukurşehir<sup>99</sup>, where there is an inn in which we spent the night. Then we came to the village of Bozüyük<sup>100</sup>, which is also a halting - place, but we did not stay there, and went on to the village of Bazarçik<sup>101</sup>, where there is an inn built by Kara Mustafa Pasha, in which we stayed.

We left there at midnight and came to the village of Akbiyik<sup>102</sup>, where there is an inn built by Sultan Murad. It is a halting - place, but we did not stay there, but continued until we came to the town of Iznik<sup>103</sup>. That day we covered three stages, travelling day and night. Iznik is a fine town, with a fortified wall, and surrounded by mountains on three sides. On one side of the town towards the west, there is much sweet water. We stayed overnight, and left early next morning, and came to Gavur Köyü<sup>104</sup>, a halting - place at which we did not stay. We continued and came to the village of Dil<sup>105</sup>, which is by the White Sea. A tongue of seawater comes very far inland,

<sup>98</sup> 'SKY ŞHR. On the road from Eskişehir to Iznik via Yenişehir see Taeschner, I, 118-121. Yemşel's account offers no special features.

<sup>99</sup> ŞWKWYR ŞHR.

<sup>100</sup> BWZ 'WYWK.

<sup>101</sup> BZRGYK.

<sup>102</sup> 'KBYYK. cf. Taeschner, I, 119.

<sup>103</sup> 'YZNYB. On the route from Iznik to Üsküdar via Dil and Gebze, see Taeschner, I, 110 - 2. The two Arab travellers studied by Kâmil took the military road via Izmit.

<sup>104</sup> GBYRKWYW. An Arab traveller quoted by Taeschner (I, 111 and n.2.) gives the form Gavur Köy, for the Christian village commonly known as Derbent.

<sup>105</sup> DYL.

and that is why it is called Dil. A man cannot go round it in one day. There are boats ready to transport people from one side to the other. We went on a boat with our horses and crossed to the opposite side of Dil, which is seven miles. There is an inn where we stayed. At midnight we left there and continued until morning, and came to the village of Gebze<sup>106</sup>. It is a halting - place, but we passed by and continued till evening<sup>107</sup>, when we came to the town of Üsküdar<sup>108</sup>, on Friday before the great Sabbath<sup>109</sup>, 11 th Nisan (—22 nd April). We went on a small boat called Kayik<sup>110</sup> late Friday afternoon, and we came to Constantinople.

As soon as our brothers the Karaites heard of our arrival, they came to greet us, and received us with a most friendly welcome. They escorted us to the house of R. Samuel Biji may God preserve him - and we stayed there. On Saturday the worthy young man R. Solomon Biji, the brother of R. Afida, of blessed memory, called for us, and took us to his house, where we ate and drank and enjoyed ourselves, and he treated us with great honour. On the first intermediate day of Passover R. Elijah Fuki called for us with his brother, the wealthy Judah Fuki. They did us great honour, and we enjoyed ourselves there that day. On Wednesday R. Joseph Maruli - may God preserve him - called for us and took us to Balat, to the house of R. David Suna, which he had just built and which is as beautiful as a king's palace. There we met some of the good people of the community. On Thursday R. Elijah Sadik, surnamed Sungas, called for us, and took us to Hasköy, to the house of R. Benjamin, who had

recently built fine houses of various colours, with a fine garden in front. He also invited some of the good people of the community, as R. Benjamin Biji and R. Solomon Biji and R. Samuel Biji. We enjoyed ourselves with them there that day, and were treated with too much honour. One day, R. Barukh Japhet and R. Elijah Sadik and R. Elijah Hillel, surnamed Çelebi called for us and took us to Hasköy, where we ate and drank and enjoyed ourselves with them. May God - blessed be He - double their reward, amen.

On Sunday, the 5 th of Iyyar of the year 5402 of the Creation (—16 th May 1642) we sailed from Constantinople on a . . . . .<sup>112</sup> ship, and after a voyage of nine days we made shore at Balaklava<sup>113</sup> on Wednesday. Praise be to God - blessed be He - that we arrived safe and sound.

These were our journeys: from Egypt to Jerusalem 15 days journey, with two or three Sabbaths, 18 days in all. From Jerusalem to Damascus 9 days journey, including one Sabbath, from Damascus to Aleppo 10 days, and from Aleppo to Constantinople 30 days.

When we landed at Balaklava the people of our community heard immediately, and a number of people came to the town of Balaklava, and others, learned men, came halfway. When we came to the village of Eski Yurt<sup>114</sup> many people came, and we went on from there and came to the spring called Nisf Hirka<sup>115</sup>, where there were aged scholars and learned men and women all the people of the community. They had all come out to greet us, and they gave us a great welcome and did us too much honour, and escorted us to our houses with

<sup>106</sup> BGYBYZY. By omitting the first letter, we get Geybize, an earlier form of Gebze.

<sup>107</sup> 'KYNDY - ikindi.

<sup>108</sup> 'WSKQWDR.

<sup>109</sup> The Sabbath before Passover is known as the Great Sabbath.

<sup>110</sup> KYB - read KYK.

<sup>111</sup> The reading of this and other surnames of Karaites in Istanbul is conjectural.

<sup>112</sup> SWLK. Perhaps an ungrammatical form of the Hebrew root SLK - to go up, ascend.

<sup>113</sup> BLYKLY - Balıklı. Gurland notes that the name Balaklava is added in the margin of the Ms.

<sup>114</sup> 'YSKY. YWRT.

<sup>115</sup> NYSF HIRK'.

songs and music and pleasant singing. May God - blessed be He - exalt their degree and double their reward. May the Redeemer come in their days and redeem us, and may He send a remedy for our affliction, that the verse may be fulfilled: "A little one shall become a thousand etc."<sup>116</sup> May God - blessed be

He preserve them from all suffering and sorrow, keep them and adorn them and magnify them, amen; and may He rejoice them with the rebuilding of the temple speedily in our days amen.

<sup>116</sup> Isaiah 60.22. The remainder of the verse reads: "and a small one a strong nation: the Lord will hasten it in his time."

## D Ü Z E L T M E L E R

Sayfa	Sütun	Satır	Yanlış	Doğru
28.30	S. başlığı		Derbil	Ünver
37	sağ	23	آچدی	اچدی
37	sağ	26	او شهید	اول شهید
45	sol	5	II Keyhusrev	I Kcyhusrev
48	sol	33	910 H.	810 H.
48	sağ	34	mutbahlar	matbahlar
49	sağ	20	Turgut	Turut
53	98 Nolu notta		sahife 9 a bakınız	sahife 36 ya bakınız
55	9 Nolu notta		Ahmet Rifat: Lugat-ı Tarihiye ve Coğrafiye	Ali Cevat, Memalik-i Os- maniyenin Tarih ve Coğ- rafiye Lugâtı
65	sağ	38	kemer	mermer
67	sol	6	عادل	العادل
154	2 Nolu not	9	الخلاق	الخلاق
156	sağ	25	محمد	محمد
158	17 Nolu not		şöyledir: Bak. Üsküb Tarihçesi, yazma, Topkapı Sarayı, Sultan Reşad No: 616	
162	sol	31	Muslahad-din	Muslihu'd-din
167	sağ	12	1600	16000
177	sol	32	Beyi	Beybeyi
179	sağ	5	Nazi Çelebi	Nazır Çelebi
180	sağ	28	mansab	munsab
181	sağ	12	او مزین	او آمرین
187	sol	3	Balagay'ın	Blagay'ın
187	sağ	35	den sonra 251 not rakkamı	konacaktır.
188	253 Nolu not	2	Karatozbeğ	Karagozbeğ
190	sağ	37	Konije	Konjic
195	sol	7	Konjie	Konjic
195	sağ	20	79 - 80	70 - 80
198	sol	11	Çiro	Ciro
198	318 Nolu notta		Sty	Styx
200	sağ	14	881	981
203	331 Nolu notta	2	gösterilmiştir	gösterilmemiştir
204	336 Nolu notta		s. 72 - 271	s. 271 - 272
208	sağ	39	ائنا	ئنا
214	sol	5	Bonolukateyn	Benalukateyn
214	402 Nolu not	2	Zemalskog	Zemaljskog
214	403 Nolu notta		تیشه سیف	تیشه سیف
215	sol	11	Auersperg'ı	Auspergar'ı
219	sağ	34	Paşın	Paşına

Sayfa	Sütun	Satır	Yanlış	Doğru
225	sol	1	zamandan beri	zamandanberi
231	16 nolu notta		C. ahar	C. âhır
232	23 nolu notta		C. ahar	C. âhır
239	sağ	15	yetiştirilmiş	yetiştirğimiz
257	sol	19	C. âhar	C. âhır
259	sağ	9	Rabbike	Rabbiki
260	sol	30	"....."	"Lu'ey,,
260	sol	32	"....."	"Kilâb,,
282	sağ	21	yapmış	yapılmış
293	başlıkta	4	Célégué	Délégué
294	sol	6	Fondatiöns	Fondations
294	sol	9	fondations	Fondations
295	sol	36	propagatisn	propagation