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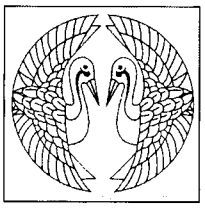

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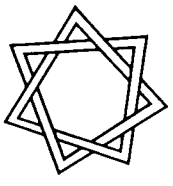

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PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

I. Ye. Petrosyan

A TURKISH TRANSLATION OF A COSMOGRAPHIC WORK BY IBN AL-WARDĪ AND ITS MANUSCRIPT IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Turkish manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is a Turkish translation of an Arabic cosmographic work by Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. al-Wardī. The manuscript is illustrated. In addition to a decorative *'unwān*, it contains as many as 92 miniatures. Until now, the manuscript has not drawn scholarly attention. The original Arabic work was written in Syria in 1419 and was intended for the commandant of the fortress of Aleppo, Shāhīn al-Mu'ayyidī. The Turkish manuscript, which consists of 277 folios, was dated to the sixteenth century by the compilers of a Catalogue of Turkic MSS of the above-mentioned collection [1]. The text written in black Indian ink and red vermilion was copied in an almost calligraphic *nasta'līq*; both paper and binding are Eastern; the pasteboard binding is covered in leather; double pagination — Eastern and later European.

The manuscript displays many marginal notes, some of them in French or Latin. Folio 01a contains a note in Latin which reports that the manuscript was given as a gift in 1840 to the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg by Buteneff. A small sheet was glued to folio 01a; it contains the following inscription: "Constantinople. 1832. A. Buteneff", which makes us suppose that A. Butenev acquired the manuscript in Constantinople in 1832. We find in the same place a note in French which provides the title of Ibn al-Wardī's work — his name is cited in the form "Omer-Seradjouldin" — and a brief description of its contents. The title of the work is found on folio 02a: *Tarjuma-yi Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib li-Ibn al-Wardī*. Folio 02b contains the *fihrist* — section titles are in black Indian ink with page numbers listed beneath them in red. The margins of many folios bear notes in pencil which give the Arabic titles of works and the names of authors found in the main body of the text (for example, fols. 69a, 215a, and others).

The manuscript of the Turkish translation of Ibn al-Wardī's work under consideration here is not unique. Several copies of it have survived, among which we are aware of manuscripts held in Uppsala, Oxford, Paris, Bratislava, and Istanbul [2]. Numerous copies of the translation testify to the popularity of this particular translation of Ibn al-Wardī's composition.

The authors of the above-noted Catalogue of Turkic MSS indicate in their brief description of the St. Petersburg copy that, judging from the translator's introduction, the translation was completed for presentation to a certain 'Othmān Shāh b. Iskender Pasha [3]. They do not, however, provide any information on the person for whom the translation — completed in 970/1562—63, as the translator's introduction runs [4] — was intended.

This date, taken together with the palaeographic characteristics of the manuscript, supports a dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. Thus, the St. Petersburg copy is in close chronological proximity to the actual translation. But what in effect make the manuscript especially interesting are numerous miniatures it contains. These are, as a rule, small in format and located largely within the text or on the margins.

The history of this Turkish translation is no doubt of interest as well. The translation includes two introductions, one in Arabic and the other — in Turkish. The Arabic one opens the translation and provides information on the contents of the work and its sources. In the Turkish introduction, which immediately follows the Arabic one, the translator, who calls himself Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb [5], and in another place simply Mollā Maḥmūd [6], writes that he undertook his work at the advice of his "friends and brethren". Following the accepted formula of self-abasement, common among Muslim authors, he complains of his inadequate abilities and the impossibility of avoiding mistakes and inaccuracies. To justify his literary undertaking, he cites a popular saying, according to which "he who has received an order is not guilty [of what he was ordered to do]". For further justification, he notes that Ibn al-Wardī's work was written in Arabic, and for this reason was not accessible to all. It was this latter consideration which, in his words, moved his friends to ask him to translate the composition into Turkī, that is, into Turkish [7].

The translator also writes that his efforts were supported by the court (*dergāh-i 'izzet-i penāh*) and eulogizes his patron, the "great emir" (*amīr-i kabīr*) 'Othmān Shāh

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Plate 4

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b. Iskender Pasha, calling him a "friend of the *'ulamā'* and the righteous", "benefactor of the sick and indigent", "source of generosity and mercy", "helper of widows and orphans". He notes in particular the "sweetness" of his speech and his ability to express himself artfully and elegantly [8]. At the close of his introduction, Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb finally raises the curtain of secrecy on his patron, indicating directly that the latter is among the members of the Sultan's family and is a descendent of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm Khān [9]. Taking into account the date of the translation, one can easily guess that this Sultan is Selīm I (1512—1520). It is also important that the translator refers to 'Othmān Shāh with the title "king of [his] retainers and pillar of rulers and sultans". In another place he simply calls him Sultan and entreats Allah to deflect from his "Royal essence" all ills spiritual and physical [10].

In identifying the 'Othmān Shāh, eulogized by the translator, and determining his relation to the Ottoman dynasty, it is important to recall that the internecine struggle for power within the Ottoman dynasty commonly left no male descendants of the Sultans alive aside from that who was meant to occupy the throne. Thus, one can suppose that 'Othmān Shāh descended from Sultan Selīm I along the female line and had no chance to be enthroned. We know that Selīm I had six daughters. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, a well-known authority on Ottoman history, mentions one of them, calling her Khatīja Sulṭān and reporting that she was the mother of 'Othmān Shāh [11].

A special study on the Ottoman dynasty by A. Alderson indicates that 'Othmān Shāh was the son of Selīm I's daughter (from her second marriage with Muṣṭafā Pasha), whose name was Ḥafiṣa. Alderson's work lists both the date of her death — 10 July 1538 — and the date of her son 'Othmān Shāh's death — 1568 [12]. According to this scholar, Selīm's daughter Khatīja by name did not have a son who would bear the name of 'Othmān Shāh. Besides, she was married to another Ottoman official — Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Yūnus. As for Ḥafiṣa, her first marriage was to Aḥmed Pasha Dūqakīn-zāde (the marriage took place in 1511), but she bore him no children. Aḥmed Pasha, who descended from an Albanian aristocratic family and accepted Islam, was executed by order of Selīm I during his Iranian campaign in 1514 [13]. In 1522, Ḥafiṣa married again, this time to Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 27 April 1529), and she bore him son by the name of 'Othmān Shāh [14]. The exact date of his birth remains unknown.

Thus, according to Alderson, the father of 'Othmān Shāh was an Ottoman official Muṣṭafā Pasha. This would appear to disagree with the name indicated in the manuscript — 'Othmān Shāh b. Iskender Pasha. However, Alderson also informs that the father of Muṣṭafā Pasha was **Iskender Pasha**, whom he lists as having died in 1506 [15]. Including in a name in place of the father the grandfather or a distinguished founder of a lineage was not at all uncommon in Muslim literature.

Thus, 'Othmān Shāh, for whom Ibn al-Wardī's work was translated, belonged to the upper nobility of the Ottoman state. His grandfather on his mother's side was Sultan Selīm I; and on his father's side — the renowned Ottoman military leader Iskender Pasha. The latter served under the Sultans Meḥmed II (1451—1481) and Bāyazīd II (1481—1512) and participated in all military operations in Europe as the commander of border forces in Serbia and Bosnia (later as a *beylerbey*). In 894/1488—89, he received in return for his military services the rank of *wazīr* and the title of *pāshā*. In 901/1491—92, however, in connection with certain considerations of "the reign and the faith", as writes the seventeenth-century Ottoman historian Ḥuseyn, he was deprived of his rank of *wazīr* [16]. His falling into disgrace was possibly connected with the attempt on the life of Sultan Bāyazīd II during his campaign against Albania. The attempt took place in 1492 [17]. But according to İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Iskender Pasha left the post of *wazīr* of his own volition in 1499 and was appointed *sancak-bey* of Bosnia. In this rank he later participated in military actions against Venice [18]. The above-mentioned Ḥuseyn reports that Iskender Pasha spent the remainder of his life in Bosnia [19].

Of Iskender Pasha's son, Muṣṭafā, it is reported that he attained the rank of second *wazīr* under Sultan Suleymān I (1520—1566) and married one of the daughters of Selīm I [20]. His *nisba*, Boshnaq (Bosnian), was in all likelihood connected to his father's place of residence and service. In providing information on officials during the reign of Bāyazīd II, Ḥuseyn mentions Muṣṭafā, son of Iskender Pasha. He writes that the latter was distinguished by his bravery and was also known as a learned man and author of some fame. To him belong several works in verse and in prose which he composed in Persian and Turkish [21]. The Ottoman *tezkireci* Laṭīfī (d. 1582), in his *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* written in 953/1546—47, mentions 'Othmān Shāh's father Muṣṭafā Pasha. He reports that Muṣṭafā Pasha bore the pen-name Ṣun'ī-bey and was renowned for his exceptional talent in rhetoric as well as valour in wars. In appreciation of his military services, Muṣṭafā Pasha received from Sultan Selīm I a large *sancak* to administer. Laṭīfī also introduces citations from two *qaṣīda*s by Muṣṭafā Pasha [22].

Another Ottoman *tezkireci*, Qinālī-zāde Ḥasan Chelebī (953/1546–47—1012/1604), also has high praise for the bravery Muṣṭafā Pasha displayed during Selīm I's campaign against the Persian Shah Ismā'īl. He reports that in appreciation of Muṣṭafā's accomplishments in the war, Selīm I personally adorned his head-dress with a *sulṭān* [23].

Thus, by distinguishing himself during Selīm's Persian campaign of 1517—1518 and receiving the administration of a large *sancak* (by some accounts, that was the *sancak* of Tripoli in Syria), Muṣṭafā entered the military-administrative elite of the Ottoman Empire. Besides, he was personally singled out by the Sultan. This evidently played a role in the decision, taken in 1522, two years after the death of Selīm I, to marry him to the widowed daughter of Selīm, Ḥafiṣa. This made Muṣṭafā Pasha part of a special social stratum, the sultans' "sons-in-law".

The fact of Muṣṭafā's mention by Ottoman *tezkirecis* indicates that he was a highly educated man and enjoyed a certain amount of renown in the literary circles of his time. It is only natural that his son, 'Othmān Shāh, should have received an excellent education. In any case, his eloquence, or the ability to express himself artfully and elegantly for which Ibn al-Wardī's translator lauds him, he might well have inherited from his father.

But 'Othmān Shāh, for whom the translation was performed, made his mark on Ottoman history for reasons other than his rhetoric talents. The grandson of Selīm I and the nephew of Suleymān I, he found himself drawn

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Fig. 1

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into the internal strife which broke out in the dynasty among the sons of Sultan Suleymān. We know that the conflict became especially severe when only two of the Sultan's sons remained alive — Selīm (the future Sultan Selīm II) and Bāyazīd. Bāyazīd, a highly educated man who greatly resembled his father, was popular in court circles and hoped to inherit supreme power in the state. But after the death of Suleymān's favourite wife, Khurrem Sulṭān — the mother of both princes and a peacemaker between them — the struggle for power became even more acute. An attempt was made to distance the two physically by sending Selīm to Konya and Bāyazīd to Amasya. Amasya, however, was much farther from Istanbul than Kütahya, where Bāyazīd had formerly resided, therefore, he refused to move to Amasya. As for Selīm, he obediently fulfilled his father's order and removed himself from Manisa to Konya. In order to prevent a possible clash between the brothers, the high officials of the state — Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha and Pertev Pasha — were sent to brothers with admonitions. It is at this point that our hero, 'Othmān Shāh, appears on the historical scene; he should have been approximately forty-two at the time. The two princes, extremely hostile to each other, were told that if they failed to hault their rivalry, the throne would pass to the nephew of the reigning Sultan Suleymān, 'Othmān Shāh, who then occupied the post of *sancak-bey* of Morea [24].

This episode seems to be without parallels in the history of the Ottoman dynasty. It allows us to gain some insight into the personality of the man for whom the translation of Ibn al-Wardī's work was intended. It is quite clear that if 'Othmān Shāh was meant to be enthroned, he must have enjoyed not only fame, but a certain amount of popularity at the Ottoman court. This information places the translator's preface to Ibn al-Wardī's work in a special light. As was noted above, the introduction is distinguished by its exceptional praise for 'Othmān Shāh, his pertaining to the Ottoman dynasty being particularly stressed. Viewing that the translation dates to 1562—1563, one can assume that the fame of 'Othmān Shāh as a possible candidate for supreme power was still great. In turning to 'Othmān Shāh for support in his literary endeavour, the translator possibly took this circumstance into account. In any case, this provides a satisfactory explanation for the translator's addressing his patron as sultan, though by the time of the translator's work the prince Bāyazīd had been executed (25 September 1561) and there remained only one candidate to the throne, the prince Selīm.

We turn now to the work which Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb selected for translation into Turkish and presentation to the nephew of the reigning Sultan Suleymān I. The original composition written, as was noted, for Shāhīn al-Mu'ayyadī, commandant of the Aleppo fortress, bears the title *Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib* ("Gem of Wonders and Pearl of Rarities"). Although the work's authorship is disputed, the author is generally considered to be Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. al-Wardī (d. 1457) [25].

I. Iu. Krachkovsky, who in his *Arabskaia geograficheskaia literatura* ("The Arabic Geographical Literature") stresses the great popularity of Ibn al-Wardī's work, notes, however, that it represents the degeneration rather than the development of the cosmographic genre [26]. Muslim cosmography reached its peak in the well-known work by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283), *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* ("Wonders of Creatures and Rarities of All Existing Things"), written in the second half of the thirteenth century. It was translated from Arabic into Persian, and later, starting from the fifteenth century, translated many times into Turkish (possibly from the Persian). Interestingly, one of these translations was intended for the son of Suleymān I, the prince Muṣṭafā, also one of the participants in the struggle for supreme power in the Ottoman Empire. The translator was the *khwāja* of the prince, Gelibolu Surūrī-efendi (d. 969/1561—62), a Ṣūfī of Nakshbandī order, who had an immense influence over Muṣṭafā. The translation remained, however, uncompleted because of Muṣṭafā's death (he was executed in 1553) [27]. The translation was later completed by another man, a certain Rodosī-zāde. Manuscripts of Surūrī-efendi's translation of the work by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī's are usually illustrated. At almost the same time as Mevlānā Maḥmūd's translation of Ibn al-Wardī, yet another translation of Qazwīnī's work into Turkish appeared in 1562. The translation was made by Mevlānā Gināyī, the *qāḍī* of Bosnia [28]. These translations seem to demonstrate the then general passion for cosmography in the learned Turkish circles of the period.

This exaggerated interest in cosmographic literature no doubt had its effect on the appearance of the 1562—1563 translation of Ibn al-Wardī. Yet it should be noted that in the Turkish milieu interest in his work took place even earlier. The oldest of Ibn al-Wardī's translation into Turkish appeared as far back as before the seizure of Constantinople by the Turks [29], that is, when Ibn al-Wardī was still alive. The work by him was no less popular in the Arab milieu, too. Suffice it to say that the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies alone holds seven copies of this work, the earliest of which dates to 1565 while the latest was executed in the Volga region at the beginning of the twentieth century [30].

As is known, the sixteenth century witnessed the outburst of interest in geographic literature in the Ottoman State, which can be linked primarily to the successes of Turkish seafaring at the time. However, this fact can explain interest in Ibn al-Wardī's work only partly, since this writing contains too many fantastic details to be directly attributed to geographical literature. Fantastic details make up the major part of the work, although the author also included descriptions of cities, countries, oceans, straits, plants and animals, borrowing his information from the works of such authors as Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī, Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī (*ca.* 850—934), Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (1201—1274), al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956), al-Marrākushī (d. *ca.* 1262), and others whose names he cites.

Ibn al-Wardī's compilation is usually denied to be of any originality or scientific value. It is commonly accepted that Ibn al-Wardī skilfully compiled his work, basing it on Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Hamdān b. Shabīb al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī's *Jāmi' al-funūn wa salwat al-maḥzūn*, written in the fourteenth century in Mamlūk Egypt [31]. This view, however, seems to be incorrect. Though Ibn al-Wardī's work, as Krachkovsky notes, clearly betrays the influence of Ibn Hamdān, whom Ibn al-Wardī, however, does not cite among his sources, the two works are not

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Fig. 2

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Fig. 3

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identical. One should note that Ibn al-Wardī makes abundant borrowings from Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī, al-Dimashqī (1256—1327), al-Idrīsī (1100—1165), al-Muqaddasī (second half of the 11th century), at times without citing them among his sources. One can, in any case, conclude that Ibn al-Wardī was a well-read author deriving his knowledge not only from Ibn Hamdān [32]. Moreover, in the view of C. J. Tornberg, Ibn al-Wardī's work contains materials which have not reached us directly. The information he provides on Africa, Arabia and Syria is of interest. It is only in Ibn al-Wardī that we find information on the large bridge, 150 meters in length, which connects Trapani with the Sicilian mainland. Additionally, in the map of the world he provides, for the first time in an Arab map we find the Balkans as well as the mention of "the Allemands and other Christian peoples" [33].

All of these features of Ibn al-Wardī's work, however, are entirely eclipsed by his penchant for the marvellous and fantastic accounts. Interestingly, already in the seventeenth century, the famous Turkish scholar and geographer, Ḥājjī Khalīfa (1609—1657) gives scathing comment on Ibn al-Wardī's work in his famed bibliographic dictionary. He writes that the work contains "groundless tales and impossible circumstances which reasoned minds refuse to accept". In describing the author, Ḥājjī Khalīfa notes that such is the practice of "storytellers who are uninformed in the literary and rational sciences". Evaluating the popularity of the work, the learned Turkish author adds: "This work has spread among those who possess insufficient minds, such as he (Ibn al-Wardī — *I. P.*)". "It begins," writes Ḥājjī Khalīfa, "with the words 'Praise unto Allah, who forgives sin and accepts repentance ...'; perhaps the author meant to indicate that this work and others like it are [merely] frivolous entertainment and sin" [34].

In analysing these responses, one should attend to the criterion applied by critics to Ibn al-Wardī's work. This criterion is the authenticity and "scientificity" of the information it contains, its novelty and originality. But to apply such criteria to Ibn al-Wardī's cosmographic work is incorrect. Ḥājjī Khalīfa himself was first and foremost a scholar — he engaged in the serious study of geography and made use of the fruits of European geographic science and was presumably familiar with the works of European authors. His demand from Ibn al-Wardī is accuracy and authenticity, and he blames the author for the fantastic nature of the information he provides.

In analysing the genre of *'ajā'ib* literature, Krachkovsky points out that cosmographic works had to meet the following requirements: be skilfully composed compilations with a clear and logical exposition; provide a summary of the information in the natural sciences known at the time. As concerns "the wonders of the world" they describe, the scholar notes that the authors of such works were "primitive mystics" who saw "wonders of creation" in all things [35]. It is this last observation, which deserves our special attention with regard to Ibn al-Wardī's work and its Turkish translation in particular, since it provides a key to understanding one of the fundamental characteristics both of the genre of Muslim cosmographic literature and of a certain sense of the world common to medieval Muslim society.

Let us ask a simple question: who were the authors of cosmographic works in the *'ajā'ib* genre and what was the purpose of the work they endeavoured? The answers would appear to be obvious: these works were written by Muslim scholars for the purpose of introducing to a broad readership what geographical information they possessed in a form most likely to attract and entertain readers. The latter condition could explain the strong element of the fantastic in their works. Such an answer, however, is applicable to far from all cosmographic works known to us, despite the partial truth in contains: human curiosity is a universal trait, and Muslims, as well as people of different faiths, were endowed with a lively interest in the outer world they could not observe personally and where they expected to encounter numerous wonders.

The cosmographic works of medieval Muslim authors display yet another very important feature. It is worth noting that the majority of these authors were not at all travellers, but deeply pious people — most often Ṣūfīs. We also know that Muslim mysticism was especially sensitive to questions concerning the act of the world's creation by God and to questions of how to evaluate the world, which arose from that act of creation. The religious aspect of the work by Ibn al-Wardī, like of many his predecessors, was probably much more important than it is usually considered.

In this regard it is perhaps appropriate to recall the first Christian apologists, who composed their works to struggle with paganism. The Christian philosophy of being held an important place in their works. They taught that the world was created by God so that man, created solely to know the Creator of the world, might be born into it. Cognition of the world was indispensable in order to render veneration unto God. In turn, the aim of the man who venerates the Creator is to attain immortality, come to resemble an angel, and serve the Creator in the kingdom of heaven. "In this is the meaning of things (*summa rerum*), in this is the mystery of God, in this is the sacrament of the world," writes the early Christian author Lactantius (d. *ca.* 325) in his famous *Divinarum Institutionum Libri Septem* [36].

But how does one gain knowledge of the Creator of the world and of the world which He created? The final object of knowledge is transcendental and hence unknowable. But it is possible to gain knowledge of God's creation — the world in which man resides. In this, the world interests Christian apologists primarily from an aesthetic point of view, as God's most beautiful creation. God created the heavens and placed them at the highest point in the universe in order to set up his throne there. He then created the earth that people and animals might dwell there. He brought forth on its surface seas and rivers. He gave light to His dwelling, creating the sun, the moon, and other celestial bodies. God divided the world into two opposite parts — East and West, where the East has a direct relation to God and the West resembles a dark spirit which takes light from people. God also made the South and the North, which are images of life and death, for life is linked to warmth and death to cold, Lactantius teaches [37].

The world, its astounding diversity, exists for cognition of God's wisdom, of his absolute might. The ancient Biblical and generally Near Eastern motif of God's creation of the world, present in Islam as well, stands at the core of an extra-rational, aesthetic approach to the world. The material world was created and adorned by God and

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for this very reason cannot be censured. This is a powerful argument against dualists. The beauty and structure of God's world are the main proof of the existence and truthfulness of the Creator Himself. From this inevitably follows that the description of this world and its wonders is pleasing to God and represents a rendering of praise unto the Creator and his creation, for it advertises his truthfulness and existence.

Viewed in this fashion, Muslim cosmographic works are in no way geographic literature, but a special type of religious-philosophical literature, a special form of preaching in which the description of the world expresses praise for the divine creation and delight in the Creator Himself. In vain should we expect from such literature a rational, "scientific" approach to the subject. Predominant here is the aesthetic and emotional approach to the subject, which has only an indirect relation to geographic matter-subjects. In such an approach, the introduction of fantastic details, the element of wonderful is absolutely natural and even indispensable. All wonders of the world described represent a vast metaphor for the wisdom of God, who created a miracle to grant mankind understanding. In this sense, Ibn al-Wardī is far from being an adherent to what is unusual and rare, rather he is a pious collector of manifestations of God's wisdom and His fervent admirer.

It is no mere coincidence that Ibn al-Wardī's Turkish translator, Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb — himself undoubtedly a Ṣūfī, as his *laqab* Mevlānā shows, — reports in his introduction that he was inspired in his work by the literary exploit of the Muslim "Brothers of Purity" (*Ikhwān al-ṣafā*). These created in the tenth century their famed encyclopaedia of the world, a work profoundly mystical. It is also noteworthy that the author of another cosmographic work exceptionally popular among Muslim readers, Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī, was greatly influenced by the famous Arab Ṣūfī Ibn al-'Arabī (1165—1240) [38]. Finally, we know that al-Dimashqī, author of the cosmographic work *Nukhbat al-dahr fī 'ajā'ib al-barr wa-l-baḥr* ("Selection of the Age on the Wonders of Land and Sea"), was also a mystic — his *laqab* was al-Ṣūfī. He ended his life as a hermit in the Ṣafad region of Palestine [39].

Such an approach to cosmographic works allows us in particular to understand why a significant number of such kind of works were abundantly illustrated with miniatures. The visual aspect in this context was no less important than the text itself with its description of the "world's wonders". Miniatures describing these wonders were aimed at strengthening the emotional and aesthetic effect, thus emphasising the main idea of the text. It is therefore not surprising that the numerous copies of Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī's work are so rich in illustrations. Ibn al-Wardī's work would seem to contradict this rule. Manuscripts of it, for the most part, contain only a map of the world and a drawing of the Ka'ba with the *qibla* indicated. This is, however, possibly a special case. The absence of illustrations is perhaps explained by the non-high rank of the person for whom the work was intended and, consequently, his modest means to remunerate the author's work. It may well be that there was no miniaturist capable to illustrate Ibn al-Wardī's work in fifteenth-century provincial Aleppo.

Alternatively, the manuscript of the Turkish translation from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is abundantly illustrated: it contains 92 miniatures. The quality of the miniatures, which illustrate numerous "wonders of the world" as well as the diversity of the plant and animal world, is mostly not very high, though some of them betray a skilful hand. It concerns especially the miniatures depicting birds (see the front cover of the present issue). These are shown usually in their motion or in a pose so much elegant that most exquisite examples of the renowned schools of miniature painting come to mind. However, the miniatures were apparently executed not in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. A number of them look even clumsy. The brush is not bright and the palette not rich. The miniatures seem to have been performed by a provincial, if talented, artist. At any rate, the style of the miniatures is unusual (cf., e.g., *Plate 4*, p. 56). I dare not state that the St. Petersburg illustrated manuscript was created in Morea, where 'Othmān Shāh was reported to reside with his "home court", and that this manuscript is the very copy to have been presented to him. Yet the suggestion seems to be tempting. We know that the cost of the execution of an illustrated manuscript was very high, and that the appearance of such a copy was always connected with a high-ranked customer and with the expectation of receiving substantial remuneration in return. Is it a mere formula of etiquette that the translator, Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb, in his introduction to the translation painstakingly underscores the generosity of 'Othmān Shāh [40]?

Certainly, such a far-reaching supposition would require special research conducted on the basis of all remaining manuscripts of this translation of Ibn al-Wardī. At present, it is important to stress only that the style of the miniatures, which adorn our manuscript, is distinctly provincial. It does not allow for direct attribution: the style cannot be linked with any particular school of miniature painting. It is dependent on many of them, being evidently a mixture of style elements. The artist was in all likelihood guided in his work by some illustrated manuscript of a cosmographic work, most likely by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī.

The author of the present article hopes that the present publication will draw anew the attention of researchers to the illustrated Turkish translations of the famous Muslim cosmographic works and to the reasons of their great popularity in the learned Muslim audience. The solving of the question needs more detailed analysis of both authors' and translators' views and tastes, as well as mentality of those to whom such kind of writings were presented.

Notes

1. L. V. Dmitrieva, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia* (Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies). Fasc. 2: History documents, bibliography, encyclopaedias, geography, calendars, ed. A. S. Tveritinova (Moscow, 1975), p. 139.

2. See C. J. Tornberg, *Codices arabici, percici et turcici bibliothecae regiae Universitatis Uppsaliensis* (Uppsala, 1849), p. 216, No. 315; H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstâni and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, pt. 2 (Oxford,

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1930), p. 1179, No. 2080; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Paris, 1932), i, p. 319, No. 151; *Arabské, turecké a perzské rukopisy Univerzitnej knižnice v Bratislave*, za redakcie Josefa Blaškoviča napisali: arabské rukopisy Karol Petraček, turecké rukopisy Josef Blaškovič, perzké rukopisy Rudolf Vesely (Bratislava, 1961), p. 309, No. 429; etc.

3. See Dmitrieva, Muratov, *op. cit.*, p. 139; *Tarjama-yi Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib*, manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 3b.
4. *Tarjama-yi kharīdat*, MS B 790, fol. 4a.
5. *Ibid.*, fol. 272b.
6. *Ibid.*, fol. 276b.
7. *Ibid.*, fol. 3b.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, fol. 4a.
10. *Ibid.*
11. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli tarihi*, 2nd edn. (Ankara, 1964), ii, p. 406.
12. See A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956), Table XXIX.
13. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, p. 541.
14. Alderson, *op. cit.*, Table XXIX.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Khiuseĭn, *Beda'i' ul-veka'i' (Udivitel'nye sobytiia)* (Ḥusayn, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i': Wonderful Events*), publication of the text, introduction and general editorship by A. S. Tveritinova. Contents annotation and indices by Yu. A. Petrosyan, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1961), fol. 416a. — Pamiatniki literatury narodov Vostoka. Teksty. Bol'shaia seriia, XIV.
17. *Petit traicté de l'origine des turcqz*, par Théodore Spandouyin Cantacasin. Publié et annoté par Charles Schefer (Paris, 1896), p. 226.
18. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
19. Ḥusayn, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i': Wonderful Events*, fol. 416a.
20. J. Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1835—1841), v, pp. 24—5.
21. Ḥusayn, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i': Wonderful Events*, fol. 416a.
22. *Latîfî tezkiresi*, hazırlayan Doç. Dr. Mustafa İsen (Ankara, 1990), p. 415.
23. Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ (Ankara, 1989), i, pp. 568—9.
24. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, pp. 405—6.
25. [Ed.], "Ibn al-Wardī", *EI*, New Edition, fasc. 55—56 (Leiden—London, 1969), p. 966.
26. I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, "Arabskaia geograficheskaia literatura" ("Arabic Geographical Literature"), *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1957), iv, p. 490.
27. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
28. G. Kut, "Acāibü'l-mahlūkat", *Türkiye diyanet vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1988), i, p. 317.
29. F. Taeschner, "Der Bericht des arabischen Geographen Ibn al-Wardī über Konstantinopel", *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie und Kartographie, vornehmlich des Orients*, hrsg. von H. Mžik (Leipzig—Wien, 1929), pp. 86—7.
30. A. I. Mikhaĭlova, *Katalog arabskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii Akademii nauk SSSR* (The Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Peoples, the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 2: Works on Geography (Moscow, 1961), pp. 39—44.
31. [Ed.], "Ibn al-Wardī", *EI*, p. 966.
32. Krachkovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 493.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 493—4.
34. Cited after Krachkovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 492.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 358—9.
36. Cited after V. V. Bychkov, *Èstetika pozdneĭ antichnosti: II—III veka* (Aesthetics of Late Antiquity) (Moscow, 1981), pp. 49, 114.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 128—9.
38. Krachkovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 359.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 382.
40. *Tarjama-yi kharīdat*, MS B 790, fol. 3b.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"One-eyed people fighting with their swan-enemies", *Tarjuma-yi Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib li-Ibn al-Wardī*, manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 111b, 6.7 × 6.3 cm.

Back cover:

"Muslim *mappa mundi*" from the same manuscript, fols. 2b—3a, diameter: 21.3 cm.

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Inside the issue:

Plate 1. "Inhabitants of the Island Jāba, with faces on their breast" and "Mountain with a burning fire in the night", miniatures from the same manuscript, fol. 97b, 5.0 × 6.6 cm. and 3.6 × 4.8 cm. respectively (see p. 52).
Plate 2. "Camels", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 201b, 8.8 × 8.8 cm. (see p. 53).
Plate 3. "A stork", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 236a, 5.5 × 6.9 cm. (see p. 53).
Plate 4. "The Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj chief", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 121a, 4.4 × 11.3 cm. (see p. 56).

Fig. 1. "White eagle and snake", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 224a, 5.6 × 6.7 cm.
Fig. 2. "A peacock", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 229b, 4.9 × 5.6 cm.
Fig. 3. "Pomegranate tree and orange-tree", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 176b, 4.9 × 10.5 and 4.9 × 8.8 cm.

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