## **CONTENTS**

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH.	3
Petrosyan. The Author and the Book: the Turkish Translation of Sa'dī's <i>Gulistān</i> V. Bobrovnikov. <i>Ittifāq</i> Agreements in Daghestan in the Eighteenth — Nineteenth Centuries	3 20
PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS	28
1. Zaytsev. Turkic Manuscripts in the State Public Historical Library in Moscow.	28
CONSERVATION PROBLEMS	32
M. Cailleteau, L. Feugère. Problems of the Restoration of a Fragment of Kouang King Illustration (Mg 17 669)	32
PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT.	38
<b>B. Moor, E. Rezvan.</b> Al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt: Manuscript D 370 .	38
BOOK REVIEWS .	69
Manuscripta Orientalia in 2002, vol. 8, Nos. 1—4 (list of contributions).	71

#### Front cover:

"The story of the Dragon island (jazīrat al-tinnīn)", miniature from 'Ajā 'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā 'ib al-mawjūdāt by Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (ca. 1203—1282), manuscript D 370 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 988/1580, Baghdād school, fol. 64 a.

#### Back cover:

- **Plate 1.** "The giant snake or dragon (thu 'hān)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 219 a.
- Plate 2. "The cat with the wings of a bat, Island of Java (jazīrat al-zābiḥ) dweller", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 60 a.
- Plate 3. "The old Jew" (al-shaykh al-yahūdī)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 71 a.

#### THESA PUBLISHERS

IN CO-OPERATION WITH

## ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES



# Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 8 No. 4 December 2002



75ESA St. Petersburg

## PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

Bilha Moor, E. A. Rezvan

## AL-QAZWĪNĪ'S 'AJĀ'IB AL-MAKHLŪQĀT WA GHARĀ'IB AL-MAWJŪDĀT: MANUSCRIPT D 370\*

The collection of illuminated manuscripts at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies has in its holdings a lavishly illustrated copy (D 370) of a cosmographic work 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib almawjūdāt ("The Wonders of Creation and the Oddities of Existence") by Zakarīyā' b. Muhammad b. Mahmūd al-Qazwīnī (ca. 1203—1282). The manuscript is dated by 988 1580. Al-Qazwīnī's cosmographic composition is an example of what happens when scientific knowledge is combined with a sense of adventure and of a creative imagination. Indeed, the book lives up to its title. Anyone with an interest in nature, dreamers with fantasies about far-away places and the rare creatures who live there, anyone interested in astronomy, the planets and the sky above, or even in all will find much to enjoy in al-Qazwīnī's work. It is, therefore, no wonder that such a composition of great variety has been copied over the centuries, beginning in the mid-thirteenth century. Furthermore, as one would expect of a treatise that deals with vivid literary images, its rich and varied illustrations bring to life wonderful creatures and odd beings. The main purpose of this paper is to introduce in full the manuscript and its illustrations to the reader [1].

The famous Arabic cosmographer Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī [2], often compared with such celebrated authors as Herodotus and Plinius, was born in Qazwīn around 1203. Although Arabic may not have been his mother tongue, his family was of Arab origin. During his life he visited various places, such as Baghdād, Persia and Damascus. He encountered many famous figures such as Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Sa'īd al-Gharnātī, an Arab philologist and geographer. In Wāsiṭ and Ḥilla, al-Qazwīnī was a qāḍī under the reign of the last 'Abbāssid caliph, al-Must'aṣim. After the capture of Baghdād by the Mongols in 1258, al-Qazwīnī had turned to science, research and composition.

Qazwīnī's works, particularly 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt, often mentioned simply as the "Cosmography", greatly influenced the world's outlook of the Muslim Orient. Until recently, this work, known in its

abridged and expanded versions, was one of the most popular books on science in the Islamic world. It belongs to the mirabilis genre which includes literary works containing tales about rarities and odd nature phenomena [3]. One finds in them a description of the planetary system, as it was known in the medieval East. Usually, such works included tales of astonishing phenomena and facts that were conceived as the "miracles" of the world to serve as a key to understanding the world's wholeness, as well as its place, role, and predestination of man in the universal hierarchy. The entire multifaceted world, from heavenly luminaries to minerals, plants, animals and man — the crown of creation - was presented in these works as a "miracle". The study and understanding of "miracles" was the basic task of man on his path to intellectual and spiritual perfection. At the same time, the discovery of various "miracles" ('ajā'ib) and "signs" (āvāt) was aided by codices and books containing "miraculous" information. The work by al-Qazwīnī represents the fullest and the best literary embodiment of the theory of signs that rests on a philosophical interpretation of the Qur'anic text (41:53). It is a complete and seamless description of the universe.

The meaning of the word 'ajība (Pl. 'ajā 'ib) is 'wonder' or 'miracle'. The term 'ajā 'ib, as is found in the title of al-Qazwīnī's work, suggests information about extraordinary monuments, realms of nature, and meteorological phenomena. This information is based on both Greek and Islamic scientific tradition. The word 'ajā ib in the Qur'ān refers to the marvels of God's creation, and, indeed, in an introduction to his work al-Qazwīnī defines the terms makhlūq (Pl. makhlūqāt) and mawjūd (Pl. mawjūdāt) as God's creations: everything that exists (mawjūd), except for God, is created (makhlūq).

Al-Qazwīnī gives exposition of his views and his "statement of purpose" in an introduction to his work. According to him, man, endowed with reason and a desire for knowledge and spiritual fulfilment, has thus been singled out from animals. He can find in each phenomenon and in

<sup>\*</sup> The current article is mostly the result of Bilha Moor's meticulous work on the raw material I supplied her with in May 2001. That is why I would like to stress here that she is more than a mere co-author of the paper. Her MA thesis, based on the study of the miniatures of manuscript D 370, was prepared in the University of Haifa under the supervision of Professors Rachel Milstein, Anat Tcherikover, and George Kanazi, to whom I express my sincere gratitude. The facsimile of the manuscript is currently being prepared for publication in Spain by Freedonia Publishers. It will contain an enlarged version of the work (*E. R.*).

each thing the key to understanding the world created by God and the place of man in it. All that exists in the world is a sign or a symbol knowable through observation and experience. That which is perfect, al-Qazwīnī says, can be understood by man's perfecting himself, by reading the signs and symbols, as the world is first and foremost a system of messages or signs that make up the full text of the revelation given to him. As soon as man feels within himself his natural faculty of reason and ability to act and fulfil his desires, he needs a reasoned and experiential understanding of the world. He is also obligated to marvel at the world's variety, its changelessness and fickleness, its motionlessness and motion, its harmony and dissonance, which can be understood through observation and experience.

After expounding his views of the world in four introductions — "On the concept of 'miracles'", "On the division of the creatures", "On the meaning of the term 'oddity'", "On the division of all that exists" — al-Qazwīnī provides his examination of the entire universe. In two sections of the work — on the celestial and earthly realms — he follows an accepted theory of his time: the Lunar Sphere is the division between these worlds, although they are parts of a single, unitary organism, like the waist that divides a human body. Both parts of the work consist of sections and "ruminations" which, apart from a logical, systematic approach, reveal a desire of the author to harmonize and organize the material as compactly as possible.

The first section in the 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūgāt contains a full description of the macrocosm — from the Sphere of Spheres, the signs of the zodiac and constellations to the Sphere of the Moon. Al-Qazwīnī also provides definitions of the main attributes of the universe — time and space which are described as infinite and unknowable but containing the other worlds populated by beings of a substance different from that of man (fire, smoke, light). The second section deals with the Earth and man. It includes a complete description of the atmosphere, hydrosphere, their phenomena, etc. The author then lays out the teachings about the primary substances and elements and describes the three realms of minerals, plants, and animals; the latter includes all those beings that are born, live and die on the earth. These three realms are closely linked with each other through their material substance, forming various hierarchical levels of the universe. Through his corporeal substance, man is connected with the realm of minerals, plants and animals while through his spiritual substance, with the heavenly world.

The doctrinal positions of the 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt form an uncommon summary of the philosophical and scientific views of al-Qazwīnī's predecessors such as al-Kindī, al-Jāḥiz, al-Fārābī, al-Rāzī, the "Brothers of Purity", Ibn Sīnā, and al-Bīrūnī. Al-Qazwīnī pays special attention to the views of al-Bīrūnī. The work comprises also rich geographical information based on the author's examination of the works by Muslim geographers and men of letters. The geographical description in the 'Ajā ib al-makhlūqāt covers the Near and the Middle East, Central and Southeast Asia, China, India, Ceylon, the Caucasus, the countries of the Mediterranean, North Africa, Andalusia, etc.

The works written in the 'ajā'ib genre may be featured as a special form of preaching in which the description of the world expresses man's praise for the divine creation and delight at the Creator Himself. According to the authors of these works, all wonders of the world represent a vast metaphor of God's wisdom, who created miracles to grant mankind understanding. The beauty and the structure of God's world are to serve as the main proof of the existence and truthfulness of the Creator Himself (around 1233, in Damascus, al-Qazwīnī met the famous philosopher and mystic Ibn al-'Arabī, and this meeting may have influenced the very idea of al-Qazwīnī's work on cosmography).

Apparently, the 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt was illustrated already in the lifetime of al-Qazwīnī himself. The earliest known copy of the manuscript (Cod. arab. 464), held at the Munich Staatsbibliothek, was copied and illustrated in 678/1280 in Wāsiṭ (Iraq). A great number of manuscripts of the work in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, surviving from different times, testify to the work's great popularity throughout the Islamic world [4].

Al-Qazwīnī was the author of another treatise, commonly known as the "Geography", also very popular. There exist two versions of the work — 'Ajā'ib al-buldān ("The Wonders of the Countries") and Athār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'ibād ("Monuments of the Countries and History of Their Inhabitants"). In fact, this work by al-Qazwīnī adds breadth and depth to the section on the "miracle" of man as presented in his work on cosmography which was finished in ca. 1270 and was dedicated to 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, a renowned public figure and a man of letters, de facto the ruler of Baghdād after the Mongols' invasion in 1258.

#### I. Manuscript

Manuscript D 370 is dated by Muharram 988 / February — March 1580. It contains 231 folios; 22 lines per page. There are lacunae in the text. Eastern polished paper; the binding is made of paper sheets pasted together and covered with dark brown leather. The binding has a stamped golden frame and a medallion, with a plant design against the gilded background. Folios measure is 34.5 × 24.0 cm, text —  $24.5 \times 18.1$  cm. The width of the frame of the text is 5 mm; the frame consists of eight lines in blue, black, red and gold. The handwriting is large calligraphic *naskh*; black ink. The key words in the text are written in red ink while the titles of the sections and chapters are given in dark blue and gold. Some of the folios appear to have been restored or repaired over the years; some illustrations are in poor condition. It is not impossible that some of them have been lost with the missing folios.

Two calligraphers seem to have worked on the manuscript, as far as we can judge by the fact that at one point the handwriting clearly changes, although the colophon mentions only one copyist whose initial part of the name is now illegible because of the folio's damage (the manuscript's description by A. I. Mikhaylova gives the name of Ghiyāth). However, the rest of his name, al-Dīn b. Majd al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, is discernable (fol. 230b) [5]. The colophon does not provide the name of the manuscript's provenance. The stylistic features of the illustrations indicate their affinity to the Baghdād school of painting.

Manuscript D 370 was purchased in 1914 in Athens through an intermediary of Georges Gues. There are six imprints of three different owners' seals and some dated marginalia on the first page of the manuscript. The two imprints, those of the largest seal, belong to al-Sayyid

Muḥammad al-'Arīf al-Rushdī, three others to a person named 'Afīfa. The last seal belongs to one 'Ibādallāh. Many people are mentioned in the marginalia as the owners of the book, among them we find the names of the abovementioned 'Afīfa (1147/1733—34), 'Ibādallāh Muḥammad Baqir al-Jahrūmī (1269/1851—52), and Ḥājjī Muṣṭafā b. Ḥājjī Yaḥyā Katkhudayī (1289/1872—73). A big oval seal (fol. la and 231a), as well as the marginal notes, indicate that the manuscript was once part of the library of the mosque of the Prophet in Medina.

The manuscript has an 'unwān and more than 450 illustrations, a number of tables and schematic depictions of the Heavenly Sphere, diagrams showing the rotation of the planets, etc. The miniatures and their frames seem to have been taken into consideration when the manuscript and its folios were planned. Each page contains either text and miniatures or text alone. None of the miniatures takes up the whole page, although the largest illustration, depicting the giant 'Új ibn 'Anaq (fol. 230b, fig. 9), which is present on the colophon page, covers most part of the page.

Not all of the subjects discussed in the text are illustrated in the manuscript, although the main sections are. The chapters treating the Super-Lunar Sphere and the Sphere of the Earth have illustrations. The text on the Super-Lunar Sphere is illustrated not only by miniatures but also by diagrams containing the symbols of the planets, constellations, stars and angels. The Sphere of the Air has depictions of the halo of the moon; the text also gives a description of a rainbow. The text on the Sphere of the Water includes illustrations of islands located in various seas, as well as the depictions of the creatures dwelling on

these islands or living in these seas. The Sphere of the Earth is illustrated only by one miniature showing Mount Bisutūn (fol. 87a), borrowed from the section on mountains, and by the illustration of the Nile River (fol. 102a), taken from the section on rivers. The illustrations in the sections on flora and fauna have almost full parallels in the text. Finally, the closing section of the book, which depicts "odd creatures", is richly illuminated with the figures of giants, hybrid creatures and fabulous people.

The comparison of the illustrations in D 370 with those in other early copies of al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt reveals an existence of a certain tradition according to which different schools illustrated the work, and the manuscript under discussion follows it as well, with minor variations [6]. Another illustrated copy of al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt (call number E 7), kept at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, bears a close resemblance to manuscript D 370. It is not dated but its stylistic features indicate that it was created in the fourteenth century [7]. Judging by the illustrations it contains and by the set of themes under illustration here, this manuscript, or a copy very close to it, may have served as the prototype for D 370 [8]. Minor differences seen in the various manuscripts of the work may be due to the missing pages. Another possible explanation is an influence of other illuminated manuscripts which contain works other than al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt but illustrate a similar range of topics. One cannot ignore also a personal touch of each artist, which is, however, more obvious in the stylistic features than in the choice of themes for illustration [9].

## II. Constellations and Planets Depictions

The first miniatures in our manuscript illustrate the constellations, the planets, and the signs of the zodiac. This section also contains drawings indicating the positions of certain heavenly bodies and coloured depictions of the personifications of the planets and constellations described in the text. The first schematic drawing in the manuscript (fol. 9b) shows the earth surrounded by nine spheres. This "scientific" drawing seems to be a kind of illustrating introduction before presenting, on the following pages, the colour images of the heavenly bodies. We begin our tour of the sky as presented in the manuscript with twelve illustrations of what al-Qazwīnī calls the planets, including the moon, Mercury, Venus, Jupiter and Saturn, each shown to be a human figure with specific attributes, with the exception of the sun (fol. 13b) which is given in a schematic drawing. Actually, the text does not explain why the painter chose to portray the planets as he did; descriptions in the text are mostly of scientific character and are taken from the works on astronomy. Personification of the heavenly bodies existed already in the ancient world, and reappeared in early illustrated copies of al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib almakhlūqāt with iconographical features which are close to those in our manuscript [10]. Moreover, the illustrated manuscripts thematically related to this section of the 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt, for example, al-Ṣūfī's Ṣuwar alkawākib al-thābita ("Book of Images of the Fixed Stars"), contain similar images [11].

The moon (fol. 10a) is shown as a cross-legged figure sitting in the middle of a golden gate in the sky, hands lifted

towards a golden crescent adorned with what appears to be the pearls which rest on the figure's head. Although the round face of the image appears feminine, it is difficult to determine the gender of the figure. On the other hand, the two figures of the winged angels standing beside Venus (fol. 13b) can be clearly identified as female figures for not only do their faces have delicate features, but their breasts are shown through their diaphanous floral-patterned dresses. A barefooted Venus is seated in the middle of the sky presented as some decorative tiled structure. She has a crown and gracefully plays the harp.

Mercury, Saturn and Jupiter are depicted as masculine figures. Mercury (fol. 12b) is portrayed in profile as a kneeling young man with a beard. He is shown against the background of the clouded blue sky. He writes with a pen on a scroll. Jupiter (fol. 14a), barefooted, is shown sitting comfortably on a carpet and leaning against a plump pillow. He holds a book with a black-and-golden binding. His white-and-red turban is similar to that of Mercury. To his right is a female figure of a winged angel offering him a golden platter.

The depiction of Saturn (fol. 14b) is different. Not only his skin is dark but he looks older because of his long grey beard. Besides, he has seven hands, six of them holding some sort of an instrument and one hand a rat. Like the moon, Saturn is shown wearing a short vest over a long garment; on his head is a golden crown. His legs are crossed and he is seated on a hexagonal chair. This planetary imagery can be traced back to the ancient Near East,



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

where, in the Babylonian pantheon, the sun (Shamash) was considered to be the king of gods, while the other planets played a role of their own. For example, Venus (Ishtar) was the goddess of fertility, Jupiter (Marduk) was he who determined history, etc. [12]. These ideas were later borrowed by Muslims, and one can find their traces in the writings of al-Bīrūnī, "The Brothers of Purity", and in al-Qazwīnī, too [13].

We now turn to the illustrations of the constellations. The names of the constellations, cited in the text, are given visual expression. The depictions of the constellations have a background common to all 36 illustrations presented in this section. In the sky, painted in dark and light blue, we see floating refined clouds painted in orange, blue, gold and pink colours. It should be mentioned that, although the depiction of the sky is consistent throughout the manuscript in the scenes which take place in the sky itself, in portraying the moon and Mercury one can find a different style of clouds' depiction. The painter tries to produce a sense of volume and of depth, using a variety of shades.

Ursa Minor (fol. 16a) and Ursa Major (fol. 16b) are represented by the figures of two bears. The outline and posture of the bears are almost identical, which makes us think that the artist must have had a prototype according to which he modelled some of his designs. Furthermore, we come across other recurring images throughout the manuscript. The importance of Ursa Minor in the Muslim world lies in the fact that, along with the pole-star, it was used to determine a worshipper's position in relation to Mecca [14]. Other constellations and the signs of the zodiac are also shown as animals: Draco (fol. 17a), Cygnus (fol. 18a), Taurus (fol. 19a), Cancer (fol. 19b), Leo (fol. 19b), Scorpio (fol. 20b), Lepus (fol. 21b), Pisces (fol. 22a), and others. We also encounter the depictions of hybrid beings, for example, Sagittarius is shown as a galloping orange-bodied and winged horse whose light blue tail ends with the openmouthed dragon's head. The torso of Sagittarius, who is shooting an arrow, is that of a young man. A very similar depiction is in the illustration of the Centaur (fol. 24a), shown holding a kind of sceptre instead of a bow. From the ends of one of the Centaur's wings springs a dragon's head which bites the tail of the Centaur. Another image of a hybrid being is the depiction of Capricorn (fol. 22b) who has a goat head and the body of a fish. The body of Cetus (fol. 22a) is likewise shown made up of different elements: Cetus has a fish's body combined with the body of a tiger, and the wings ending with dragon's heads.

The human figures in this section of the work display an entire variety of clothing and attributes. Not only the colours of the cloaks and garments vary, but different hairstyles, turbans, and crowns are shown. Perseus (fol. 18b) is depicted as a bearded man running with his sword in his raised left hand. In his right hand he holds the bleeding head of a demon (the text says that Perseus holds the head in his left hand) [15]. The story seems to be a version of the classical myth of Perseus and Medusa [16]. It runs that Perseus had cut off the head of a mortal Medusa in order to save his beloved Andromeda. Medusa turned into stone everyone who looked into her eyes. In classical art, she is described as having snakes for hair, which feature is absent in manuscript D 370.

Another miniature illustrating the text is the image of Cassiopeia (fol. 18a) who is portrayed as a woman sitting on a *minbar* [17] which in early Islam served as the throne. The legs of the *minbar* stretch beyond the frame of the miniature. The figure is shown wearing a decorative pinkand-green cloak; her right hand is raised. In her left hand she holds a long, golden staff. We find here the Arabic name of Cassiopeia — *dhāt al-kursī*, which means "the one with the throne".

The depiction of Virgo is somewhat surprising. Instead of a woman, the painter shows a winged young man wearing a turban and reaching out to a flower, although in the text Virgo is described as a woman (note that Venus is depicted as a woman in the manuscript). Interestingly, the flower, which Virgo is reaching out to, appears to be a lily, as is often an attribute of Mary the Virgin in Christian iconography.

Although the illustrations mostly lack depth, the illustrator is sometimes resourceful in creating an effect of depth and three-dimensional space. In this section, for example, we can see how he portrays the human figures, using front, profile or three-quarters views. He also shows us his artistic skills in the way he depicts the folds of garments, especially in the illustrations of Venus, the moon, and Mercury. The illustration of Taurus (fol. 19a), on the other hand, is an attempt to create an effect of shortening: Taurus seems to emerge from the depth of the sky, half of its body covered with clouds. As we browse through the pages of the manuscript, we cannot but notice that many images exceed the boundaries of the illustration's frame, as if they live their own life, trying to burst out from the pages.

#### **III. Angels Depictions**

The treatise of al-Qazwīnī comprises the description of fourteen kinds of angels, as they are shown in the Qur'ān and hadīths [18]. Actually, the illustrator of manuscript D 370, depicts fifteen angels. All of them, with the exception of Hārūt and Mārūt, appear against either the blue or the azure sky background with stylised clouds painted in gold, blue, red and orange. We find similar background in the illustrations of the constellations. First al-Qazwīnī relates about four "Bearers of the Throne", the angels, who are represented as a man, a bull, an eagle and a lion. The illustration on fol. 31b strictly follows the text; the angel with a figure of a man has wings [19]. The function of these four angels, apart from their bearing God's throne, is prais-

ing Him and pleading His mercy for the believers. Al-Qazwīnī quotes a tradition transmitted through Ibn 'Abbās: on the Day of Judgment, God will add four more angels to them [20]. The Archangel Isrāfīl (fol. 32b), whom an important role on the Day of Judgment is attributed to, is also present in one of the illustrations. We see Isrāfīl blowing a trumpet (his attribute) by which he will call the dead to resurrect. The trumpet in manuscript D 370 has seven windpipes, whereas in the earlier illustrated copies of al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt Isrāfīl blows a trumpet with only one windpipe [21]. In our illustration, Isrāfīl has only two wings, although the text relates about the specific role of each of his **four** wings: with one of his wings he

fills the East, with the other — the West, his third wing serves him to descend from the heavens to the Earth, while his fourth wing is a veil dividing him from God. Between Isrāfīl's eyes there is a tablet made of precious stones, on which the fates of people and of the world are written by God. Isrāfīl then passes God's will to the Archangel Mīkā'īl (fol. 33b), who is in charge of human wisdom and knowledge. The text runs that it is only God who knows Mīkā'īl's real appearance and the number of his wings. Should he open his mouth, we are told, the heavens would be drowned in it like a seed of mustard in the ocean, and should he gaze at the beings dwelling in the heavens and on the earth, they would be burnt from his light [22].

The Archangel Izra'il is identified as the angel of death in the text. Al-Qazwīnī quotes a tradition, according which Izrā'īl's legs are on the earth while his head is in the sky. Another tradition tells that the angel of death once entered King Sulayman's court and looked at one of his guests. When Izrā'īl left the court, the man asked Sulaymān who that man staring at him was. After Sulayman had told the man that it was the angel of death, the frightened man asked him to carry him to India by the wind. Sulayman fulfilled the request of this man. When the angel of death came back to the court, the angel told Sulayman that he was surprised to see here the man whose soul he was to collect in India that day [23]. The depiction of Izrā'īl shows him holding, in his right hand, an instrument with hooks probably intended for taking the souls of the dead. The Archangel called Spirit (fol. 32a) is said to be in charge of the spheres, the rotation of the planets and all those beings and plants that are dwelling "beneath the moon". Finally, the Archangel Jabrā'īl (fol. 33a), whom Muḥammad saw in his visions, was believed to have six hundred wings. According to the text, one day Muhammad asked God to show him Jabrā'īl in the form that God had given him. The Prophet fainted when he saw Jabrā'īl whose figure filled the whole horizon because of his huge dimensions [24].

All the angels, apart from those depicted as a bull, an eagle, and a lion bearing the throne, have similar features in the illustrations, although their descriptions in the text are different. Each is shown wearing two cloaks decorated with golden floral design, though of different colours. Jabrā'īl, Isrāfīl and Izrā'īl have green-and-orange garment, while Mīkā'īl and the angel depicted as a man bearing the throne are dressed in yellow-and-blue cloths. It is noteworthy that the painter varies the depictions of the angels by giving each of them individual features, gesture or pose, a different belt, or an additional attribute, as we see, for example, in the depictions of Isrāfīl and Izrā'īl. Furthermore, each of the angels has a different kind of wings, and the images do not match the text with regard to the number of wings each angel has or to their magnitude. All of the angels have similar faces, and all are shown with a similar hairstyle, their hair being decorated with a string of white pearls.

After the illustrations of the Archangels, we find the depictions of the angels of the Seven Heavens. The illustrator of manuscript D 370 chose to depict these angels one by one, just as did the painters of previous illustrated copies of al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt [25]. The duty of these angels are told to be permanent praising God. In D 370, all of these angels are portrayed against the background of the colour clouded sky. The angels of the First (Lowest)

Heaven (fol. 35a) are represented by a cow, as is described in the text. The Archangel Ismā'īl is said to be in charge of these angels. The depiction of the angels of the Second and the Third Heavens (fol. 35b) corresponds with their description in the text: the angels of the Second Heaven are shown to be two eagles (they are to obey the commands of Mīkhā'īl) while two falcons, facing each other, are the angels of the Third Heaven, who are headed by Sā'idyā'īl. A winged horse (fol. 36a) represents the angels of the Fourth Heaven under the command of Ṣalṣā'īl. The angels of the Fifth Heaven are represented by a single angel floating in the sky (fol. 36a). In the text, they are described as hūrīs, beautiful girls with beautiful eyes, whose commander is Kalkā'īl. The angels of the Sixth Heaven are described in the text to have the appearance of children. This angels are headed by Samkhā'īl. The illustration (fol. 36b) shows an angel resting on something resembling a rug and holding a pillow. On his head is a white turban. The white turban also appears on the head of the floating angel in a yellow gown, who represents the angels of the Seventh Heaven, headed by the angel Rūbā'īl [26].

The angels described above are all depicted either as having a human appearance or as birds and animals in full accordance with the text. All seem to be floating, in one way or another, in the heavens, except for al-hafaza angels (fol. 37a), and Hārūt and Mārūt (fol. 38a, fig. 1). Al-ḥafaza angels, the two angels who are in charge of human beings, were deemed to be the guardian angels of men. One of them constantly follows a man, being on his right, and the other on his left (according to another tradition, they are actually four; two of them are guarding people in the morning hours, the other two at night). It is also said in the text, that even heretics have their guardian angels. These two angels are also called al-kirām al-kātibūn, that is, those who record the deeds of men [27]. In the illustration, we see a crowned man, evidently representing the guarded men, seated on a decorative white rug in the centre of the composition. To his right is placed an angel wearing a blue-and-red cloak. He writes on a scroll. To his left, is a kneeling angel in a yellow cloak, who is shown also writing on a scroll.

The image of Hārūt and Mārūt (fol. 38a, fig. 1) illustrates the relevant text rather closely. We see two figures hanging upside down in a cave; their hands are tied. Two women watch them. We read in the text about God's punishment of two angels, who had been hung by their heels in a well in Babel and had to suffer this position until the Day of Resurrection because of their sympathy with Adam during his expulsion from Paradise [28]. The illustration presents a balanced and symmetrical composition; the figures of the two fallen angels are depicted symmetrically in the miniature. Also symmetrical are the trees shown on each side of the cave (well), as are the two watching women whose appearance in the illustration lacks parallel in the text.

We find the depictions of angels not only in the chapter dealing with the explanation of angels' nature but also in the description of Venus, and in the illustration of the halo of the moon (fol. 55b), where four angels are shown carrying the halo of the shining radiant moon. The two angels support the halo from below, while the other from above. The illustrator varies the colours of the angels' cloaks and of the wings: he also succeeds in providing an effect of the illustration's "continuation" by not showing parts of the angels' bodies and wings.



Fig. 4

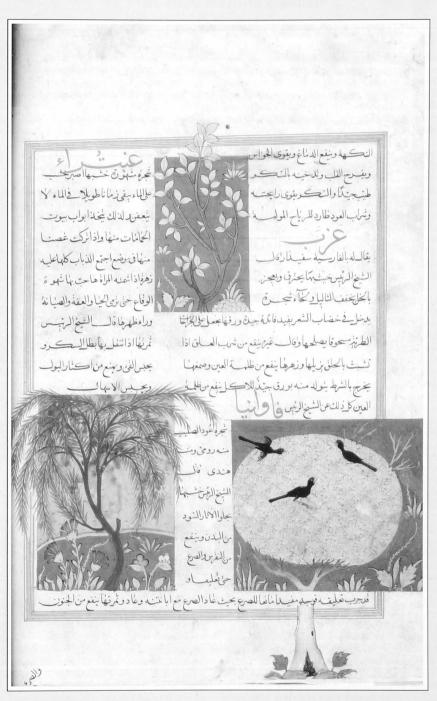


Fig. 5

المسبياس فحكتا الخواص اوقعت عين الذيب على الإنسان قبلان براء الإنسان فبلران براء الإنساق يتج النيب وان وقع عين الانسان قبران براه الانسان بسترخي الانسان وبقوى الذيب وان وقوعين الانسان الذيب اولا فيكون بالعكس اماخواص إجزابير راسدان علق على برج الحيام لايقربهاستنور ولاشئ مالوذى الحامولودفن فحالزربية عرض غنمها وبجوت وان احرق وذلك برماده السر إلمثالمة يسكن وجعهاعينيه اذاعلق كالفرس سيق لخبر لعيني ه اليمني من سنصيها لا يفزع في الليل وعينيه البيرة من استصيفا الإينداني اخذه عن ماس غايكة الذيب وكيشد على الغرس شرك عالا يعنى ويجرق ويدوسا ده على استن المثالة بزول المهاليّ يسقى منها قدردا نقءم حبية من المسك للمصروع الذي بصرع اول كل شهر فانديز ولم عنه وَلواحمَل المامَّة حاليَّة الله نقالى ولواكتح وببيمنام من تنزول المآء والغشا وة دم يخلط بلحن الجين و يقطر في الأدن يزيل لطريش واستقيت احاة لاتخ وقطحصيته يشوى ويوكل يعييم الباة وص إخذها معدياتي إنستا ، كثير كعب ديشه الماشي عليسافة لابنعب موالمشى ومواخذت وكعب واليمني وغيا صرجلا بغلبه ومراخذكعب البسرى ونجاح المراة بغابهاجاد يتخذمن متطع فاذاجلس عليه صاحب القولنج سكن لله ما دام عليه ذئبه يدفن فتصيخ لابقريها الذياب نعما الماثي بالتعلى نقل الناسب لم تخب ل ابداوان مقى صاحب القولنج من جعره شيئا انفتح في لا اله قالطيناس الزباعلى فخذصاحب لقولنج بيفنح وزعم انجرببرسنا دحيوان على صفة الفيدا الاانرا صغرجسان راعظ النواح واذاالادالانخالولادة تغريج الولدراب سرالوح فهزائرلق ويرعوفاذاالقته هرب بالام فخافة انطيب بلسانها فالسانه النبك

Fig. 6

## IV. Trees, Plants and Herbs Depictions

Al-Qazwīnī uses several sources for his botanical section; these are Ibn Sīnā's al-Qānūn, Balīnūs' (Apolonius) Kitāb al-khawāṣṣ ("Book of Properties") and Kitāb al-filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya ("Book of Nabataean Agriculture") [29]. In manuscript D 370, the material collected by the author is abundantly illustrated by 61 depictions of trees and bushes, and by 125 colour depictions of plants and herbs. The material is organized alphabetically. Not all species of flora described are illustrated, and the comparison of the flora illustrations in D 370 with those in early illuminated copies of al-Qazwīnī's work leads us to conclude that the painter strictly followed the tradition of illustrating this cosmological treatise. Almost every page of these sections holds more than one miniature. Sometimes, especially in the section dealing with plants and herbs, we find as many as five miniatures each enclosed in a quadrangle frame.

Sometimes the painter has not enough space to place the depictions, and he broadens the boundaries of the page in different directions, but mainly to the upper margins. One can, for example, see the trees freely spreading out their branches and tops upwards, in the upper margins. This recurring device adds to the page a three-dimensional effect, since the trees' branches are projecting to the margins. The trees' volume also seems enhanced because their trunks look growing from the text itself. The depictions of the apple tree (fol. 131b.), the mulberry-tree (fol. 132a, see *fig. 3*, above), the plane tree (fol. 134a, see *fig. 4*, above), the pine tree (fol. 137a), and the vine (fol. 141a) are only a few examples of this technique.

Another interesting pictorial device of the painter is the depiction of birds and their nests among the trees' branches. For example, the Sea Serpent (fol. 62b, see fig. 2) is shown as a pink dragon winding around the tree that springs from the middle of the page; the trunk of the tree is visible against the background of the text, and its crown extends beyond the upper margins of the written surface. Several birds, most probably ravens, are flying into and out of the branches of the tree. In the midst of the light green leaves one can see a brownish nest. In the illustration of the pine tree (fol. 137a), we even see three eggs lying in the nest and a bird resembling a parrot. She is resting on the branches of the tree. Three ravens are shown standing around the white poplar tree (fol. 138b, see fig 5, below right) in the depiction which illustrates this tree. It seems that the presence of birds and trees in the miniatures adds liveliness to the dryness of the text of an encyclopaedic nature (see also).

For the sake of interest, several stories are included in this scientific section on trees. One of the stories tells about the wood of the Cross Tree (fol. 138b, see fig 5, below left), that is, about the tree of which the cross of Jesus Christ was made. We are told that two types of this tree exist, one growing in Rūm and the other in India. Its fruit can cure epilepsy or nightmares. A date palm (fol. 143b) is said to be a blessed tree, of which the Prophet said that it was created from the same mud as Adam [30]. Another blessed tree is the olive (fol. 135a) which is used in different ways. According to the story, the Prophet told that once Adam felt bad and complained to God about it. Then the angel Jabrā'īl gave him an olive tree and instructed him to plant it and to

press out olive oil possessing a healing effect [31]. Then there follows a description of the citron tree's fruits (fol. 129b), known for their pleasant taste, whose rind may be used as perfume and juice as a substance to erase what is written in ink [32]. In addition to the citron, al-Qazwīnī lists other fruit trees, such as plum, fig. apple, peach, pomegranate, banana, orange, coconut, apricot, etc. Among the illustrations of this section, we find the depiction of a rose bush (fol. 144a) and of the jasmine (fol. 144a) which are described as having a wonderful smell.

The description of the rose and jasmine crowns al-Qazwīnī's survey of trees and bushes. He then turns to other plants and herbs. The illustrations given in this section are somewhat smaller in size: most of them are framed. The background here is pink, light blue, light brown or green, with no additional details which we see in the trees' illustrations, where flowers, stones or birds are also present. Among the illustrated plants, we find barley (fol. 155a) and wheat (fol. 150b), shown very similar to each other. Both plants have narrow stalks and heads heavy of seeds, which makes the stalks bend a little. It is said of the barley that God turned into barley wheat. The Archangel Jabra'il presented Adam with wheat as nourishment for him and his descendants. Adam asked Eve not to sow the seeds of the wheat but she disobeyed him and sowed the seeds, which resulted in turning wheat into barley by God [33]. The story also tells that when Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden, it was the Archangel Mīkā'īl who gave Adam the seeds of wheat and instructed him to plough the land and sow the seeds to have nourishment for him and his offspring [34].

Various kinds of fruits and vegetables are also depicted in the manuscript: cucumber, eggplant, lettuce, cauliflower and many others. The illustration of the melon (fol. 147b) shows this fruit. It is said that the melon was the favourite fruit of the Prophet Muhammad. Moreover, we learn that God records one thousand good deeds in favour of a man who eats it, erasing his one thousand bad deeds [35]. We find here also the description of various herbs - mint, sweet basil, coriander and parsley. In addition, al-Qazwīnī tells us about some poisonous plants which have various effect on animals. He states, for example, that the wolf's-bane (fol. 157b) and the dog's-bane (fol. 157b) can bring death to smaller animals and to cause heavy nose bleeding in men [36]. When someone drinks a brew of aconite (fol. 148b), his tongue and lips swell causing his death of suffocation. Furthermore, al-Qazwīnī goes on to tell the reader that the kings of India used aconite when they wanted their rivals dead. According to the story, there were girls who, from their birth, were brought up using small doses of aconite, so that they gradually became immune to its poisonous effect. When necessary these girls were sent to the enemies and, after sleeping with the girls, they died [37]. Another dangerous plant listed here is the tigerstrangler (fol. 151a) which can kill tigers, panthers, wolves, dogs, wild boars and other animals [38].

Al-Qazwīnī also provides a description of flowers, such as narcissus, iris, tulip and poppy. The fragrance of a narcissus (fol. 161b) is said to be able to cure leprosy and madness [39]. The illustration shows the flower painted in

white with a yellow stamen. Iris (fol. 154b) is described in the text as a flower whose colour may be white, yellow or azure. It is stated that its smell has a sleeping effect [40]. We see also the depiction of poppy (fol. 152a) and anemone (fol. 155a). About the latter the author says that its petals open in the morning and close at night. This plant is

used in dying white cloth in red, and, indeed, in the illustration, anemone is depicted with red petals. The illustrator of manuscript D 370 shows anemone several times, employing it as a decorative background in the scenes with animals and people.

## V. Animals Depictions

The main source for this section of the work is the Kitāb al-ḥayawān ("Book of Animals") by al-Jāḥiz, who combined in his work Arabic and Classical science [41]. Illustrations of various animals dwelling in the sea, on the dry land, and in the air appear throughout the whole text of the work, however, two parts in the text are devoted specially to them. Here we find the descriptions of all sorts of water creatures; it is the chapter dealing with the Sphere of the Water, while the other one appears after the section on flora in the chapter treating the Sphere of the Earth. The latter deals with all kinds of animals: saddle-horses (4 illustrations), domesticated animals (9 illustrations), wild animals (29 illustrations), birds (53 illustrations), and insects and reptiles (20 illustrations), all presented in alphabetical order. This section is a combination of real facts and fabulous elements. Alongside with the illustrations of wellfamiliar animals, we find the depictions of wonderful creatures, such as, for example, the bird 'angā' (fol. 213a, see fig 7, below), described in the text as the largest among the birds. We learn that she can swallow an elephant or a buffalo. About the 'angā' al-Qazwīnī tells that once she lived among people, who suffered greatly from her because she even kidnapped brides. To punish her, God sent the 'angā' to a remote isolated island to live among animals. Then we learn that the 'anqā' lives one thousand and seven hundred years. She becomes grown-up after reaching the age of five hundred years. When a female 'angā' lays eggs, she suffers great pain; when she goes hunting, a male 'anqā' is guarding the eggs. The text runs that their nestlings hatch out only after one hundred and twenty-five years-long period of the eggs' incubation. If a newborn 'angā' turns to be a female bird, the bird-mother collects wood for a fire that the bird-father lights. Then the bird-mother sacrifices herself by entering the fire, and the newborn female bird takes her place. If a newborn nestling is a male bird, it is the father-bird who sacrifices himself [42]. The huge 'angā' is painted in blue, red, white, yellow and green. Its beak and claws are pointed and curved, as it is in the birds in the miniature illustrating the angels of the Second and the Third Heavens (fol. 35b), in the depictions of a crane, the Singing Bird, and the stork (fol. 215b) [43].

This section provides miniatures showing two mythical creatures capable, as al-Qazwīnī states, to attract other living beings by their wonderful sounds and sweet singing. These creatures are the sīrānis (fol. 201a) and the Unicorn (fol. 201b). About the sīrānis it is told that it has twelve holes in its snout to produce sweet melodies while breathing and to draw animals to itself [44]. In the illustration, we see a blue-bodied creature with thin golden wings and a big red snout which has twelve holes in it. Al-Qazwīnī tells that the Unicorn has a single horn with 42 prongs, and when the wind blows, he is able to produce sounds pleasant both to animals and human beings [45]. The Unicorn is shown as a red galloping animal with dragon's mouth and tongue. Its

long curved horn with many prongs stretches far beyond the frame of the miniature and exceeds the boundaries of the page, leaving the reader unaware of the horn's full length.

Another fabulous animal described by al-Qazw $\bar{n}n\bar{i}$  is the  $sin\bar{a}d$  (fol. 200a, see fig. 6). It is depicted as an animal resembling an elephant (fol. 203a). An attentive look discovers the head of a whelp emerging from the womb of the creature and picking up leaves with his trunk. According to the text, the  $sin\bar{a}d$  is identical to an elephant but smaller in size, although it is bigger than a bull. The  $sin\bar{a}d$ 's whelp can feed himself by thrusting his head out from the womb even before his birth. After it is strong enough, the little  $sin\bar{a}d$  leaves his mother of the fear that she would lick him to death with her prickly tongue [46].

The ṣannāja (fol. 222b, see fig. 8) is another fabulous beast, of whom we learn that it is the largest among the animals living on the earth. It lives in Tibet, and its house is almost five kilometres wide. The ṣannāja's look is able to kill animals but when the beast occasionally sees another animal, it dies. Therefore, al-Qazwīnī tells us, the animals living near this creature close their eyes when they meet the ṣannāja, so the beast sees them first and dies. The meat of the dead ṣannāja does not go bad for a long time and serves as food for the rest of the animals [47]. In the illustration, the ṣannāja looks like a pink dragon with two sets of thin golden wings. Its mouth is open wide, and it seems that the beast is about to seize hold of the earth by its curved white claws [48].

The images of two pink dragons (serpents) are also present in the other sections of the manuscript. One of them we see in the illustration depicting the Hydra constellation (fol. 23b) which is shown together with the Crater constellation. A long pink snake with two sets of thin golden wings reveals its sharp teeth. The other one winds around a tall, blooming tree; the blue mouth of the snake is open wide (fol. 62b, *fig. 2*).

A similar creature, this time painted in light blue, appears in the story of the Dragon island (fol. 64a, see front cover of the present issue). Al-Qazwīnī presents the story of an island where a terrible dragon lived once. Every day the fire-breathing dragon demanded that the inhabitants of the island provided him with two large animals as his nourishment. Therefore, the people asked Alexander the Great to help them to get rid of the dragon. Two bulls were then intended to be eaten by the dragon. They filled the bulls with arsenic and sulphur. After the dragon had eaten the bulls, a burst of flame appeared and eliminated the creature. As a token of their gratitude, the people of the island presented Alexander with a gift - an animal that resembled a yellow hare; it had black horns (fol. 64a) [49]. The illustration of this story shows an open-mouthed dragon spitting fire, and two bulls approaching him. From behind the rocks, two men watch the scene. The depiction illustrates the events which took place before Alexander the Great's intercession or, probably, the moment just before the perishing of the dragon.

A red, fire-spitting dragon (fol. 219a, see *Plate 1* on the back cover of the present issue) also appears in the section on reptiles. This one is a creature with big eyes and many teeth. Under the dragon's jaw, there is a swelling that looks like a beard. Al-Qazwīnī describes the dragon as having thick eyebrows and hair on its neck. The male dragon is said to be fiercer than the female one: it crushes animals to death, while the female dragon merely swallows them. It is said that the dragons can live in water and on the dry land as well. They enjoy the cool air of the mountains and suffer from the heat of the sun [50].

All the animals that live on the land are painted against the background showing the land with plants representing various types of flora. Usually we see a dark green surface with small rocks and small light-green bushes. Some of the illustrations include flowers, mainly anemones and roses. Unlike these colourful illustrations, those demonstrating the water creatures are poorer in pallet and design. Most of the depictions are greyish and repetitive.

Among the water creatures we find another dragon (fol. 75a) whose pink snaky body ends with a round human head, accompanied by six open-mouthed dragon's heads. Al-Qazwīnī describes this water dragon as an extremely frightful creature which has many teeth and which terrorizes animals both in the sea and on the land. According to the author, because of the dragon's constant devouring animals living on the dry land, God sent an angel to drive the dragon away to the sea. But it continued his invasions of the land, therefore, God had sent an angel once more in order Gog and Magog (Barbarian people connected to the events of the Apocalypse) take the monster [51]. Another creature, with both human and animal features, described by al-Qazwīnī, is a human-headed fish (fol. 64b), which is said to dwell in the Indian Sea.

#### VI. Odd People and Sea Creatures Depictions

Al-Qazwini gives an account of the inhabitants and rulers of some islands in the Persian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the China Sea. For example, he writes about the Wāqwāq island, whose ruler is said to be a woman. The painter depicts five sitting female figures (fol. 61b). Among them is the queen of the Wāqwāq island, who is shown crossed-legged on a rock in the centre, with a golden crown on her head. She is half-naked. Of her cloths we see only blue, patterned trousers. Her left foot is bare. Two kneeling maidservants are visible on either side of the queen. All of them are also half-naked. They are shown kneeling and wearing trousers of various colours. Two of the maidservants have a darker skin than the others. All of them wear their hair loose. The pose of the queen is similar to that of Venus on fol. 13b. The style of the clothing and the depiction of the queen's bare breasts differ from what we see in the illustration of the two female figures of the angels standing beside Venus. May this possibly mean that two different painters illustrated these sections of the manuscript? The description of the Waqwaq queen in the text coincides with the image in the illustration. It is said that the nude queen has four thousand maidservants, all of whom are nude too. Al-Qazwīnī also tells that the island is rich of gold, and it was named after a tree growing here, which makes the sound wāgwāg [52].

The inhabitants of the Sumatra island (fol. 61a) are described in the text as men and women who wear no clothes. Their language sounds like a whistle. They live in trees and have hairy bodies [53]. The illustration shows these people climbing trees. Some of them are sitting at the treetops or on the ground, others climbing the trees.

The illustration depicting the dwellers of Java (fol. 60b) mainly follows the text. They have human bodies with wings. Their skin either white, or black, or green. They can fly from one tree to another, and no one can understand their language [54]. Among the dwellers of Java one can see also the cat with the wings of a bat (see *Plate 2*).

In this section of al-Qazwīnī's work, there is also an illustration showing a man grasping the legs of a big bird in flight. The story tells about a man from Iṣfahān (fol. 66b) [55], who, involved in debts, set off by the sea with some merchants. Their ship was caught by a whirl-

pool in the Persian Sea, and the man of Isfahān offered to his mates to sacrifice himself to save the others. In return, he asked them to pay his debts on their return from the voyage. The captain of the ship put him ashore on an island where a huge bird lived. Fearing that the bird would attack him, the Isfahanian hid himself from her but had to come out of his hiding place in search of food. He succeeded in escaping from the bird and could even save himself by grasping her legs and flying over the sea. The people who lived in the place he had landed were greatly amazed at the sight of him and at his wonderful story. They introduced the man to their king, who supplied him with money which enabled him to return home [56]. The huge bird in the miniature, illustrating the story, resembles the multi-headed creature with different faces which is present on fol. 62a. Although the depictions are painted in different colours, they have common stylistic features in treating the feathers and the long pointed beak. This is yet another example of the painter's use of the models of animals, clothing and human figures, which he follows throughout the manuscript.

After this story the author gives a description of the island of Saksār in the Sea of Zanzibar. He says that it is populated with people who have dog's faces. They also keep skulls and human bones at their homes. We are told that they use various delicacies and fruits to feed their guests-men in order they can put on weight, and then, after they are fat enough, eat them [57]. In the illustration (fol. 68b), we see four natives of the island and the island's landscape. Two of the natives are on their knees, the other two are shown standing. The figures are painted in different colours, the skin of all of them being dotted. In addition to their dog's faces, they have tails. Two men with tied hands behind the natives are visible on the left side of the illustration. They look frightened as if they fear what will happen to them. About other odd creatures, living on trees and having extremely soft legs, we learn that they have no bones. Their appearance is shown on fol. 69a [58].

Then there follows a description of an "old Jew" (fol. 71a, see *Plate 3*), who lives, as the text runs, in the Western Sea. On Friday night, al-Qazwīnī says, he comes out of the water and stays on land until the sunset of Satur-

day. He has a human face and a white beard, but his body is the body of a frog [59]. However, the illustration shows an old turtle with a bearded old man's face. The creature's human hands and feet are visible from beneath the turtle's shell.

Al-Qazwīnī ends this section of the book with a story about the dream of the Persian King Anūshīrwān (fol. 73a). In the illustration, we see Anūshīrwān sitting cross-legged on a golden throne, his attendants at both sides of him. Two figures of his retinues, to his right, wear golden helmets. One of them is depicted with his finger put close to his

mouth as if in wonder, probably, to show his amazement at the sight of a dragon-like monster emerging from the sea. The monster is depicted in the right margin of the illustration. The text tells that once Anūshīrwān fell asleep after a wall against the Turks was built by him. In his dream, he saw how a creature emerged from the Caspian Sea and told him about seven similar walls destroyed in the course of time. The creature, however, said to Anūshīrwān that God warned him that the wall built by a man of Anūshīrwān's appearance would stand firm throughout the ages. Having said this, the creature disappeared [60].

#### VII. Odd Phenomena and Creatures Depictions

Al-Qazwīnī crowns his work with a description of odd creatures that combine human and animal features. He divides them into three categories: island and coastline creatures, hybrid beings, and "odd-looking" beings [61]. Among the hybrids described by al-Qazwīnī, we find a giraffe (fol. 226b), a cross-breed of a man and a bear (fol. 227a), of a dog and a wolf (fol. 228a), etc. In this section, one can also find two illustrations of giants — the Bulgarian king (fol. 229b) and a mythical giant 'Ūj ibn 'Anaq (fol. 230b, see fig. 9). About the latter it is said that he lived for many years in the time of Nūh and Mūsā. During the Flood, in the time of Nūḥ, the water reached only the middle of the giant's body. We are told that later, when Mūsā entered with the Hebrews the land of Canaan, 'Ūj ibn 'Anag broke off a piece of a rock from a mountain in order to throw it at the newcomers. But as the giant carried the huge rock, God sent a bird with a little stone in its beak. She threw it at the rock. When the stone hit the rock, a hole opened in its middle. 'Ūj's stone slipped down and encircled his neck. God told Mūsā about it, and Mūsā had struck the giant with his staff and killed him [62]. The illustration shows a bare-footed giant wearing a short blue-and-red skirt, who has his sword in a scabbard. Golden bracelets are visible on his legs and arms. The painter shows the moment of the rock's slipping down 'Uj's neck. In the miniature, we see, however, no sign of the bird that threw the stone or of Mūsā striking the giant.

Al-Qazwīnī also gives an account of the double-headed people with many legs and bird's voices (fol. 228b). One of such creatures in the illustration wears a patterned blue gown. It has two heads, two hands, and six legs, three of which are turned to the right while the other three to the left. A creature from Yemen is presented as a living being possessing two bodies joined together. In the illustration (fol. 229b), each of the creature's bodies has two hands and a face. The face of one of the bodies is bearded while the other looks feminine. According to the text, one body of the creature represents a man and the other a woman. We learn that in case of disagreement the bodies sometimes beat each other, although usually they live peacefully. The account runs that when one day one of the bodies died, the other remained alive [63]. The illustrator, probably, chose to depict the couple during their argument, since they are shown turning their backs to one another.

There are also people whose bodies combine both human and animal limbs and organs, for instance, people with human heads and bodies of snakes (fol. 228b). The illustration shows a female head wearing a golden crown, with the

body of a red snake. Al-Qazwīnī goes on to tell that there exist tall people who have the faces of horses and human bodies. Their eyes are blue, and they have wings. The illustration (fol. 228a) shows two such creatures. One of them is brown and the other is red. Their wings are of different colours. A similar illustration depicts three winged creatures with tails and trunks. According to the text, they live on one of the islands. They can walk on land and fly as well. They are considered demons by some people, as al-Qazwīnī writes [64].

Al-Qazwīnī also tells a story about a talking crow who has a human head and two humps (fol. 230a). When the crow is asked to tell about himself, he sings a song, about his parents — the lion and the lioness. His favourite things are wine, coffee, and sweet basil. We are said that his two humps are in high esteem at weddings and on festive days. Apparently, it is this wonderful crow that, according to a legend, was sent as a present to the caliph al-Ma'mūn [65]. The illustration showing the crow is damaged, but one can discern a bird in a cage, who has a feminine face and a crown on his head.

An observation of the illustrations and the text of manuscript D 370 show that the book really fulfils the task al-Qazwīnī poses before himself in his introduction: to give the reader an exposure of the world's wonders, to demonstrate a wonderful creative power of God. The range of information al-Qazwīnī provides is wide, though mostly fabulous. Yet, although the 'Ajā' ib al-makhlūqāt is a sort of an encyclopaedia, partly intended to offer the reader information as vast as possible, the work is much more than that. The descriptions of fabulous creatures make the text an entertaining reading; the text is meant to strike a lively imagination of a medieval Muslim. The illustrations contribute to the effect well.

Most likely, more than one illustrator worked on the manuscript, and probably two copyists (calligraphers). The manuscript seems to be modelled after some prototype. The illustrations usually coincide with the text which treats the subject. Some of the illustrations demonstrate an utmost refinement in lines and colour, such as, for example, the depictions of the Archangels. As was said above, the devices the painter (or painters) uses to make an effect of a three-dimensional space in depicting various personages is a noticeable feature which is worth noting. We also see different styles of depicting clouds, which seems an artistic experiment of one of the painters. As a whole, the style of the illustrations is close to that of the school of Baghdād, although other influences are also seen in a number of the illustrations.



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

## List of Illustrations

Nos	Fols	Depiction	
1	1b	'Unwān	
		Super-lunar Sphere	
2	9b	Diagram of the planets and their location	
	-	Planets	
3	10a	Diagram of the moon (al-qamar)	
4	10a	Image of the moon	
5	10b	Diagram of the eclipse of the moon (khusūf al-qamar)	
6	lla	Diagram of the characteristics of the moon and its effect (khawāṣ al-qamar wa-ta'thīrātuhu)	
7	12b	Diagram of Mercury (al-'uṭārid)	
8	12b	Image of Mercury	
9	13a	Diagram of Venus (al-zuhara)	
10	13b	Image of Venus	
11	13b	The sun (al-shams)	
12	14a	Image of Jupiter (al-mushtarī)	
13	14b	Image of Saturn (al-zuḥal)	
14	15a	Diagram of the planets (al-thawābit)	
	Constellations and the Signs of the Zodiac		
15	16a	Ursa Minor (al-dubb al-asghar)	
16	16b	Ursa Major (al-dubb al-akbar)	
17	17a	Draco (al-tinnīn)	
18	17a	Bootes (al-'awwā', al-ṣayyāḥ)	
19	17b	Corona Borealis (al-iklīl al-shamālī)	
20	17b	Diagram of Hercules (al-jāthī, al-rāqiṣ)	
21	17b	Lyra (al-sulyāq)	
22	18a	Cygnus (al-ṭā'ir, al-dajāja)	
23	18a	Cassiopeia (dhāt al-kursī)	
24	186	Perseus (barsiyāwash)	
25	186	Serpentarius (al-ḥawwā wa al-ḥayya)	
26	19a	Taurus (al-thawr)	
27	19b	Gemini (al-taw 'amānī)	
28	19b	Cancer (al-saraṭān)	
29	19b	Leo (al-asad)	
30	20a	Virgo (al-'adhrā', al-sunbula)	
31	20a	Libra (al-mīzān)	
32	20b	Scorpio (al-'aqrab)	
33	20b	Sagittarius (al-qaws)	
34	21a	Orion (al-jabbār wa al-jawzā')	
35	21b	Eridanus (al-nahr)	
36	21b	Lepus (al-arnab)	
37	21b	Canis Major (al-kalb al-akbar)	
38	22a	Pisces (al-samakatanī, al-ḥūt)	
39	22a	Cetus (qaytis)	
40	22b	Capricom (al-jadī)	
41	22b	Aquarius (sākib al-mā ', al-dalū)	

42	23a	Procyon (al-kalb al-mutaqqadim)
43	23a	Argo Navis (al-safīna)
44	23b	Crater (al-bāṭi 'a)
45	23b	Hydra (al-shujā')
46	23b	Corvus (al-ghurāb)
47	24a	Centaurus (qantawris)
48	24a	Lupus (al-sabu')
49	24b	Ara (al-majjara)
50	24b	Pisces Australis (al-ḥūt al-janūbī)
		Stars
	26a—30a	Stars shown as circles painted in gold and silver
		Angels
51	31b	Four "Bearers of the Throne" (Bashar, Thīrān, Nasr, Asad)
52	32a	Archangel called Spirit (al-Rūḥ)
53	32b	Archangel Isrāfīl
54	33a	Archangel Jabrā'īl
55	33b	Archangel Mīkā'īl
56	34a	Archangel Izrā'īl
57	35a	Angels of the Lowest Heaven (malā'ikat al-samā' al-danyā)
58	35b	Angels of the Second Heaven (malā'ikat al-samā' al-thānīya)
59	35b	Angels of the Third Heaven (malā'ikat al-samā' al-thālitha)
60	36a	Angeles of the Forth Heaven (malā 'ikat al-samā ' al-rābi 'a)
61	36a	Angels of the Fifth Heaven (malā'ikat al-samā' al-khāmisa)
62	36b	Angels of the Sixth Heaven (malā'ikat al-samā' al-sādisa)
63	36b	Angels of the Seventh Heaven (malā'ikat al-samā' al-sābi'a)
64	37a	Guardian angels (al-ḥafaza, al-kirām al-kātibūna)
65	38a	Fallen Angels (Hārūt and Mārūt)
		Sphere of the Air
66	44a	Diagram of the months according to the Muslim calendar (shuhūr al-'arab)
67	54a	Diagram of the Four Winds (al-riyāh)
68	55b	Halo of the Moon (al-hāla)
69	56a	Rainbow (qaws quzaḥ)
		Sphere of the Water
70	58a	Diagram of the Ocean (al-baḥr al-muhīṭ)
		Islands of the China Sea and Their Inhabitants
71	59a	Wooden building with a dome and windows
72	59b	People without necks
73	60a	Island of Java (jazīrat al-zābiḥ) and its dweller — a cat with the wings of a bat
74	60a	Island of Java (jazīrat al-zābiḥ): creature similar to a mountain cow
75	60b	Island of Java (jazīrat al-zābiḥ): winged human-like creatures
76	61a	Island of Sumatra (jazīra ramānī): naked people climbing trees
77	61a	Island of Sumatra (jazīra ramānī): naked people climbing trees
78	61b	Queen of the Wāqwāq island and her four maidservants
		Fabulous Creatures of the China Sea
79	62a	Multi-headed creature with two wings
80	62b	Sea serpent
		<u> </u>

		Islands of the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants
81	64a	Dragon island (jazīrat al-tinnīn): Alexander the Great saving the habitants of the island from a dragon
82	64a	Yellow hare with black horns
		Fabulous Creatures of the Indian Ocean
83	64b	Human-headed fish
		Fabulous Creatures of the Persian Sea
84	66a	Sword-fish (al-kawsaj)
85	66a	Dragon fish (al-tinnīn)
86	66a	Sawfish (al-minshār)
87	66b	Fish with a round body and a long tail
88	66b	Man of Işfahān grasping the legs of a huge bird
89	67b	Big fish capable to capsize ships with its tail
90	67b	Owl-faced fish
•		Islands of the Sea of Zanzibar and Their Inhabitants
91	68b	Island of Saksār: dog-headed men and the travellers captured by them
92	69a	Island of Saksār: soft-legged people
•		Fabulous Creatures of the Sea of Zanzibar
93	69a	Sawfish (al-minshār)
94	69b	Whale (al-bal)
95	71a	"Old Jew" (al-shaykh al-yahūdī)
96	71b	Big fish making waves (al-baghl)
97	71b	Fish of Mūsā and Joshua (ḥūt Mūsā wa Yūshā')
		Fabulous Creatures of the Caspian Sea
98	73a	Huge dragon (al-tinnin al-'azīm)
99	73a	Anūshīrwān encounters a water creature in his dream
		Water Creatures (in Arabic alphabetical order)
100	73b	Rabbit-fish (arnab al-mā')
101	74a	Water man (insān al-mā')
102	74a	Sea-cow (baqar al-mā')
103	74b	Crocodile (al-timsāḥ)
104	75a	Dragon (al-tinnīn)
105	76a	Species of eel (julkā)
106	76a	Dolphin (al-dalfin)
107	76a	Fish with two heads (al-dūbyān)
108	76b	Blessed fish (al-zāmūr)
109	76b	Sinbas (al-sabufiyās)
110	77a	Crab fish (saratān al-baḥr)
111	77a	Skink (saganqūr)
112	77b 78b	Tortoise (al-sulahfa)  Pou (al shiftsīn)
113	78b	Ray (al-shifnīn)
114	78b	Sardin $(\bar{sir})$ Frog $(difda')$
116	78b 79a	Leeches ('alaq')
$\overline{}$		
117	79b 80a	Water Horse (faras al-mā') Whale (al-qāṭūs)

[110]	00	D: C1 ()
119	80a	Big fish (qasṭā)
120	80b	Beaver (al-qundur)
121	80b	Sea porcupine (qunfudh al-mā')
122	81a	Seal (qūqī)
123	81a	Water-dog (kalb al-mā')
124	81b	Shark (kawsaj)
		Sphere of the Earth
125	83b	Diagram of the climes of the earth (aqālīm al-ard)
		Mountains
126	87a	Sculptures of Farhād, Shīrīn, and Khusraw on Mount Bisutūn
		Rivers
127	102a	Nilometer
		Vegetable Kingdom
		Trees (in Arabic alphabetical order)
128	129b	Ebony tree (abnūs)
129	129b	Citron (utruj)
130	130a	Plum tree (ijjāṣ)
131	130a	Meliaceae (azādurajat)
132	130b	Egyptian thorn (umm ghavlān)
133	130b	Turpentine tree (buzm)
134	131a	Balm tree (balsān)
135	131a	Oak (ballut)
136	131b	Apple tree (tuffah)
137	131b	Cone-bearing fir (tannūb)
138	132a	Mulberry tree (tūt)
139	132a	Fig tree (tīn)
140	132b	Sycamore (jummayz)
141	132b	Walnut (jawz)
142	133a	Galingale (khusrūdār)
143	133a	Palma Christi (khirwa )
144	133b	Egyptian willow (khilāf)
145	133b	Bistort-root (darshayshaghān)
146	133b	Elm tree (darzār)
147	134a	Plane tree (dulb)
148	134a	Laurel (dahmast)
149	134b	Pomegranate (rummān)
150	135a	Olive (zaytūn)
151	135b	Cypress (sarw)
152	136a	Quince (safarjal)
153	136a	Sumac (summāq)
154	136a	Egyptian throne (samura)
155	136b	Red juniper (sandarūs)
156	136b	Alum (shabāb)
157	136b	Royal oak (shāhballūṭ)
158	137a	Pine tree (şanawbar)
159	137a	Arum (dirw)
160	137a	Tamarisk tree (tarfā)

161	127L	Torrison (100 torr)
161	137b	Juniper ('ar'ar)
162	137b	Milkweed ('ushar)
163	138a	Gall tree ('afs)
164	138a	Jujube tree ('unnāb)
165	138b	Service tree (ghubayrā')
166	138b	White poplar (gharab)
167	138b	"Wood of the Cross" (fāwaniyyā)
168	139a	Pistachio (fustaq)
169	139a	Pepper (filfil)
170	139b	Hazelnut (funduq)
171	139b	Boxthorn or elephant gall (filzahraj)
172	139b	(?)
173	140a	Clove (qaranful)
174	140a	Reeds (qaṣab)
175	140b	Camphor tree (kāfūr)
176	141a	Vine (karm)
177	141b	Pear tree (kummathrā)
178	141b	Poisonous tree (lāghiya)
179	141b	Juniper gum (lubān)
180	142a	Almond tree (lawz)
181	142b	Apricot tree (mishmish)
182	143a	Banana tree(mawz)
183	143a	Orange tree (nāranj)
184	143a	Coconut tree (nārjīl)
185	143b	Lotus (nabiq)
186	143b	Date palm (nakhl)
187	144a	Rose (ward)
188	144a	Jasmine (yāsamīn)
		Plants and Herbs
189	145a	Mouse-ear (ādhān al-f'ar)
190	145b	Sunflower (adharyūn)
191	145b	Acanthus (idhkhir)
192	145b	Rice (uruzz)
193	145b	Spinach (isfanākh)
194	146a	Wild onion or scallion (isqīl)
195	146a	Thistle (ustarghāz)
196	146a	Plant from which shoemaker's paste is made (ashrās)
197	146a	Alkali-plant (ushnān)
198	146a	Wormwood (afsintīn)
199	146a	Aster or daisy(uqhuwān)
200	146b	Flax (ukshūt)
201	146b	Chamomile flowers (bābūnj)
202	146b	White thorn (bādāward)
203	146b	Citronella (bādranjbuya)
204	146b	Mountain balm (badūrj)
205	146b	Eggplant (bādinjān)
206	147a	Fava beans (bāqilā)
207	147a	Dragon's blood (barsiyāwashān)
	1774	2Dana areas (our er) arrabinary

000	1.45	
208	147a	Dungworth (barnajās)
209	147b	Onion (başl)
210	147b	Mellon (biṭṭīkh)
211	148a	Small onion (not mentioned in the text)
212	148a	Violet (banfasj)
213	148a	Plant-companion of aconite (būdābīsh)
214	148a	Spice (bihār)
215	148b	Aconite (nabīsh)
216	148b	Egyptian bean (tirmis)
217	149a	Millet (jāwars)
218	149a	Water-cress (jirjīr)
219	149b	Turnip (jazar)
220	149b	Hājj plant (hājj)
221	149b	Thyme (hasha)
222	149b	Cress (ḥurf)
223	149b	Artichoke (harshaf)
224	150a	Wild rue (harmal)
225	150a	Prickly plant, tirbulus terrestris (hasak)
226	150a	Fenugreek (hulba)
227	150a	Chickpea (himmas)
228	150a	Lotus-clover (handaqūq)
229	150b	Wild gourd (hanzal)
230	150b	Wheat (hinta)
231	151a	Tiger-strangler (khāniq al-nimr)
232	151a	Mallow (khūbazā)
233	151a	Hellebore (kharbaq)
234	151b	Mustard (khardal)
235	151b	Lettuce (khass)
236	152a	Poppy (khashkhash)
237	152a	Fox's testicle or orchis (khuṣā al-tha 'lab)
238	152a	Dog's testicle (khuṣā al-kalb)
239	152a	Althaea (khitmi)
240	152a	Matthiola livida (khimkhim)
241	152b	Cucumber (khayār)
242	152b	Flowering plant (khīrī)
243	152b	Donkey's gall (diflā)
244	153a	Fenugreek ( <i>rāziyānj</i> )
245	153a	Rhubarb ( $r\bar{t}b\bar{a}s$ )
246	153a	Sweet basil (rayḥān)
247	153b	Saffron (za 'afrān)
248	153b	Indian spikenard (sādhaj)
249	153b	Rue $(sad\bar{a}b)$
250	154a	Chard (silq)
251	154a	Sesame (simsim)
252	154a	Hyacinth (sunbul)
253	154b	Iris (sawsan)
254	154b	Snapdragon (?) (sīsanīn)
255	154b	Fumitory (shāhtaraj)
L233	1570	1 dimony (ordered)

256	154b	Dill (shabat)
257	155a	Hemlock (shawkrān)
258	155a	Sea lettuce (shubrum)
259	155a	Sowbread or tree of Mary (shajarat Maryam)
260	155a	Barley (sha'īr)
261	155a	Anemone (shaqā'iq al-nu'mān)
262	155b	Turnip (shaljam)
263	155b	Donkey's lettuce or sweet clover (shinjār)
264	155b	Coriander (shūnīz)
265	155b	Wormwood of Pontus (shīḥ)
266	156a	Tares or darnel (shaylam)
267	156a	Thyme or savory (şa'tar)
268	156a	Tarragon (tarkhūn)
269	156a	Artemisia ('abaytharān)
270	156a	Lentils ('adas)
271	156b	Isatis ('izlim)
272	156b	Nightshade ('inab al-tha'lab)
273	156b	Radish (fuhl)
274	157a	Fool's cabbage (farfaj)
275	157a	Cinquefoil (fanjankusht)
276	157b	Mint (fūtanj)
277	157b	Wolf's-bane (qātil al-dhīb)
278	157b	Dog's-bane (qātil al-kalb)
279	157b	Senegal acacia (qatād)
280	158a	Cotton (quin)
281	158a	Leadwort (qunābarī)
282	158a	Hemp (qinnab)
283	158a	Cauliflower (qunnabit)
284	158b	Pole root or abrotanum (qayṣūm)
285	158b	Ox's tongue (kāwzabān)
286	158b	Flax (kattān)
287	158b	Leek (kurrāth)
288	159a	Species of pulse (kursanna)
289	159a	Parsley (karfas)
290	159a	Caraway (karawyā)
291	159b	Plant used for exterminating fleas (kakwāsa)
292	159b	Cumin (kammūn)
293	159b	"Pigeon droppings" (kūz kandum)
294	159b	Truffles (kammā')
295	160a	Ivy (lablāb)
296	160a	Ram's tongue (lisān al-ḥamal)
297	160a	Sparrow's tongue (lisān al- 'aṣāfīr)
298	160a	Caper tree (lasaf)
299	160a	Mandrake (luffaf)
300	160b	French bean (lūbiyā)
301	160b	Nymphaea or pond lily (līnūfar)
302	160b	Peas (māsh)
303	160b	Spurge (māzariyūn)
تئت_		1 1 0 \ 7 7 7 7

304	161a	"Grain of the Kings" (māhūdāna)
305	161a	Plant resembling tarragon (māhīzharaj)
306	161a	Mouse-ear (marzanjūsh)
307	161b	Anise (nānjawā')
308	161b	Narcissus (narjis)
309	161b	Mint (na 'na ')
310	162a	Asparagus (hilyawn)
311	162a	Endive (hindibā)
312	162b	Memecylon (wars)
313	162b	Gourd (yaqtīn)
314	162b	Decorative floral design ending the section on Plants and Herbs
		Animal Kingdom (in Arabic Alphabetical Order)
		Mounts
315	187b	Horse (faras)
316	188a	Mule (baghl)
317	188ь	Donkey (ḥimār)
318	189b	Onager (himār al-waḥsh)
		Domesticated Animals
319	190b	Camel (ibil)
320	191a	Cow (baqar)
321	192a	Wild ox (baqar al-waḥsh)
322	192b	Buffalo (jāmūs)
323	193a	Giraffe (zarāfa)
324	193b	Sheep (da'n)
325	194a	Goat (ma'z)
326	194a	Gazelle (al-zabī)
327	194b	Deer (al-ayyal)
		Wild Animals
328	195a	Jackal (ibn āwā)
329	195b	Marten (ibn 'irs)
330	196a	Hare (arnab)
331	196b	Lion (asad)
332	197a	Tiger (babir)
333	197b	Fox (tha 'lab)
334	198a	Animal with a single horn (harīsh)
335	198a	Wild pig (khinzīr)
336	198b	Bear (dubb)
337	199a	Weasel (dalaq)
338	199b	(?) (karak)
339	200a	Animal resembling an elephant (sinād)
340	200b	Ermine (sinjāb)
341	200b	Cat (sinnūr)
342	200b	An incomplete illustration of a cat
343	201a	Land-cat (sinnūr al-barr)
344	201a	Siren (sīrānis)
345	201b	Unicorn (shādhawār)
346	201b	Hyena (dabu')
	·	

347	202a	Lynx ('anāq)
348	202a	Gazelle ('anza)
349	202b	Cheetah (fahd)
350	202b	Cheetah (fahd)
351	2020 203a	Elephant (fīl)
352	203a 203b	Monkey (qard)
353	2030 204a	Rhinoceros (karkadann)
354	204a 204b	Dog (kalb)
355	2046 205a	
356	203a 205a	Leopard (namir) Wild ass (yāmūr)
330	203a	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
257	206-	Birds
357	206a	Finch (abū barāqash)
358	206b	Abū hārūn
359	206b	Goose (iwaz)
360	207a	Sparrow hawk (bāshiq)
361	207a	Parrot (babaghā')
362	207a	Nightingale (bulbul)
363	207b	Owl (būm)
364	207b	Pheasant (tadruj)
365	207b	Weaver bird (tanūṭ)
366	208a	"Snake hugger" (ḥaḍnat al-afa ʿī)
367	208a	Bustard (ḥubārī)
368	208a	Kite (al-ḥadā')
369	208b	Pigeon (ḥamāma)
370	209a	Swallow (khaṭṭāf)
371	209a	Bat (khuffāsh)
372	209b	Francolin (durrāj)
373	209b	(?) (khurūs)
374	210a	Hen (dajāj)
375	210b	Vulture (rakhama)
376	210b	Rook (dhāgh)
377	211a	Starling (zurzur)
378	211a	Falcon (zamaḥ)
379	211a	Quail (samānī)
380	211b	Turtle dove (shifnīn)
381	211b	Woodpecker (shaqrāq)
382	211b	Saker (sagr)
383	211b	Sea Bird (ṭā'ir al-baḥr)
384	212a	Peacock (tāwus)
385	212a	Partridge (tayhūj)
386	212a	Sparrow ('usfūr')
387	212b	Eagle ('uqāb)
388	213a	Magpie ('aq'aq)
389	213a	Fabulous bird ('anqā')
390	213b	Crow (ghurāb)
391	214a	Crane (ghurnīq)
392	214a	Diver bird ('awwāṣ)
393	214b	Ringdove (fākhita)

394	214b	Partridge (qabj)
395	214b	Canary (qumrā)
396	215a	Phoenix (qūqnis)
397	215b	Crane (kurkī)
398	215b	Singing bird (karwān)
399	215b	Stork (laqlaq)
400	216a	Water bird (malik al-hazīn)
401	216a	Skylark (mukkā)
402	216a	Vulture (nasr)
403	216b	Ostrich (na 'āma)
404	216b	Hoopoe (hudbud)
405	217a	Mountain swallow (waṭwāṭ)
406	217a	Jerboa (yarāʻa)
407	217a	Wild pigeon (ḥamāma)
		Reptiles and Insects
408	218a	Viper (afa 'ā)
409	219a	Giant snake or dragon (thu 'bān)
410	219a	Loctus (jarād)
411	219b	Chameleon (ḥirbā)
412	219b	Snake (ḥayya)
413	220b	Earthworms (kharātīn)
414	220b	Dung beetle (khunfasā)
415	221a	Silkworm (dūd al-qazz)
416	221a	Demon rooster (dīk al-jinn)
417	221b	Demon rooster (dīk al-jinn)
418	222a	Venomous lizard (sāmm abraṣ)
419	222a	Tortoise (sulahfāh)
420	222b	Fabulous beast (şannāja)
421	223a	Lizard (dabb)
422	223a	Skunk (zaribān)
423	223b	Lizard ('izāya)
424	223b	Scorpion ('aqrab)
425	224b	Mouse (far) or blind mouse (khuld)?
426	224b	Mouse $(f\tilde{a}r)$ or blind mouse $(khuld)$ ?
427	224b	Mouse (far) or blind mouse (khuld)?
428	225a	Hedgehog (qunfudh)
429	225b	Bec (naḥl)
ļ,		Fabulous Beings and Creatures
430	226a	People with wings and narrow noses
431	226b	Giraffe (al-zarāfa): hybrid creature
432	226b	Cross-breed. Species of a camel
433	227a	Cross-breed of a man and a bear
434	227a	Cross-breed of a man and a bear
435	227a	Cross-breed of a man and a bear
436	228a	Cross-breed of a wolf and a hyena
437	228a	Cross-breed of a wolf and a dog
438	228a	Tall blue-eyed people with wings and a horse's head
439	228b	People with two faces

440	228b	Double-headed people with many legs and birds' voices
441	228b	People with human heads and a snake's body
442	229a	People without heads, whose eyes and mouths are on their chest
443	229a	People with two long horns
444	229a	Nasnās people, who have only half a body and who hop on one leg
445	229b	Bulgarian king (malik bulghār)
446	229b	Wonderful creature from Yemen
447	230a	"Talking craw" (zāgh)
448	230a	Winged fox
449	230b	Giant 'Ūj ibn 'Anaq

#### Notes

- 1. Manuscript D 370 has already been briefly described in the first issue of Manuscripta Orientalia. See A. Alikberov & E. Rezvan, "'Adjā'īb al-makhlūqāt by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283): 16th-century illuminated manuscript from the St. Petersburg academic collection", Manuscripta Orientalia, 1/1 (July 1995), pp. 56—67. See also A. I. Mikhaĭlova, Katalog arabskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta Narodov 4zii Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vyp. 2: Geograficheskie sochineniya (A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Asian Peoples. Fasc. 2: Geographical Works) (Moscow, 1961) No. 14, pp. 25—6; also A. Khalidov, item No. 24 in Yu. A. Petrosyan, O. F. Akimushkin, A. B. Khalidov and E. A. Rezvan, Pages of Perfection. Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences. St. Petersburg (Milan, 1995), pp. 164—71; S. Carboni, "The Arabic manuscripts", ibid., pp. 86—9; E. Rezvan, "Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (1203—1282). Ajā ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā ib al-mawjūdāt", No. 178 in Chevaux et cavaliers arabes dans les arts d'Orient et d'Occident. Exposition présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe, Paris, du 26 rovembre 2002 au mars 2003 (Paris, 2002), p. 215.
- 2. T. Lewicki, "Al-Kazwīnī", El, 2nd edn. For further information about al-Qazwīnī and his works, see Studies on Zakarīyā' b. Muhammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283). Collected and reprinted by F. Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 2 vols.
- 3. V. P. Demidchik, Zakariia al-Kazwini i zhanr mirobilii v arabskoĭ literature do XIV veka (Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī and Mirabilis Genre in the Arab Literature before the 14th Century). Doctoral dissertation, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1979.
- 4. J. A. Badice, An Islamic Cosmography: the Illustrations of the Sarre al-Qazwīnī. PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1978, pp. 23—4; Carboni, op. cit., pp. 86—7.
- 5. The calligrapher of D 370 here and there made mistakes, which, in some cases, seem to be typical of a person of Pesian origin, or used variant readings in the names of the identified objects. For example, fol.24b The Milky Way (al-majarra), perhaps mijmara (the Ara constellation); fols. 60a—60b The Island of Java (jazīrat al-zābiḥ), in several other copies of the work we have two variants zānij and zābiḥ; fol. 76b sinbas (al-sabufiyās) probably sīnbās; fol. 130a meliaceae (azādadrajat), should be azdarakht; fol. 130b turpentine tree (buzm), should be butm; fol. 133b elm tree (darzār), should be dardār; fol. 153b rue (sadāb), should be sadhāb; fol. 158a cauliflower (qumnīṭ), should be qunnabiṭ; fol. 161b narcissus (narkhis), should be narjis; fol. 216b hoopoe (hudbud), should be hudhud. In the list of illustrations (see above), the names are given as in the manuscript.
- 6. For the illustrations in early copies of al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt, see Badiee, op. cit.; S. Carboni, "The London al-Qazwīnī: an early 14th century copy of the 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūkāt", Islamic Art, 3 (1988—1989), pp. 18—27; B. W. Robinson, Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library (London, 1980), pp. 36—69, 279—95; N. M. Titley, Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: a Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum (London, 1977), pp. 87—91, 110—5.
- 7. Mikhaĭlova, *op. cit.*, p. 24; see also Petrosyan, Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 164—71. Stephano Carboni suggests that manuscript E 7 belongs to a sixteenth century Deccani group of illustrated copies of al-Qazwīnī's work, yet only a chemical analysis of colour pigments and paper of the relevant manuscripts could provide definite evidence. See his "Arabic manuscripts" in Petrosyan, Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 87—9. See also Rezvan, "Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (1203—1282). 'Ajā 'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā 'ib al-mawjūdāt', No. 179, in Chevaux et cavaliers arabes, pp. 216—7.
- 8. About manuscript E 7 and its relation to the Sarre al-Qazwīnī, as well as to D 370 and other manuscripts, see Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 328—43, illustrations.
- 9. The description of the miniatures which are examined further in the article is given on the basis of manuscript D370, the manuscript discussed in Badiee, *op. cit.*, and Zakarī'yā al-Qazwīnī, 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa ghara'ib al-mawjūdāt, ed. F. Saab, henceforth al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981).
- 10. For depicting the planets, the constellations and the signs of the zodiac in other illuminated copies of al-Qazwīnī's work, see Badice, op. cit., plates 2—19; Robinson, op. cit., pp. 37—40, 283; D. Duda, Islamische Handschriften II: die Handschriften in Arabischer Sprache (Wien, 1992), T. 1, abb. 109—15; S. Carboni, "Constellations, giants and angels from al-Qazwīnī Manuscripts", Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, 10 (1995), pp. 83—97, figs. 1—5. See also R. Laffite, Héritages Arabes. Des noms Arabes pour les étoiles (Paris, 2001).
- 11. On al-Ṣūfī's treatise, see E. Blochet, Musulman Painting XIIth XVIIth Century, trans. C. M. Binyon (London, 1929), plates XC—XCIII; F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, The Topkapı Saray Museum: the Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts, trans. J. M. Rogers (London, 1986). O. Vasilieva, "Abū-l-Ḥusayn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Umar aṣ-Ṣūfī, Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-thābita", No. 177, in Chevaux et cavaliers arabes, p. 214.

- 12. Badiee (op. cit., pp. 42—3); cf. also F. Saxl, "Beitrage zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident", Islam, 3 (1912), pp. 154—5.
- 13. On the origins of the planets' images, see Badiee, op. cit., pp. 42—59. The visual representation of the planets with regard to al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā' ib al-makhlūqāt is also discussed in W. Hartner, "Pseudo-planetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconographies", Ars Islamica, 5 (1938), pp. 113—54, especially pp. 129, 136—8.
  - 14. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 61; Badiee, op. cit., pp. 61—2.
  - 15. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 64.
  - 16. Badiee, op. cit., pp. 62-3.
  - 17. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 64; Badiee, op. cit., p. 63.
- 18. For the topic of angels in Islam, see S. Murata, "The angels", *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*, ed. S. H. Nasr (New York, 1987), pp. 324—44.
- 19. The depiction of the "Bearers of the Throne" in the earlier copies of the treatise can be found in Duda, op. cit., ill. 226; see also T. W. Arnold, Painting in Islam: a Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture (New York, 1965), plate XVI.
  - 20. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 100—1; Badiee, op. cit., pp. 83—4.
- 21. See, for example, the angel Isrāfīl and his trumpet with one wind-pipe in Badiee, op. cit., plate 22. This illustration is also present in R. Ettinghausen, Arab Painting (Geneva, 1962), p. 178.
  - 22. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 101—2; Badiee, op. cit., pp. 85—6.
  - 23. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 102—3; Badiee, op. cit., p. 87.
  - 24. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p.102; Badiee, op. cit., p. 86.
- 25. Cf. the other illustrations of the angels of the Seven Heavens in Badiee, op. cit., plates 26—27; Petrosyan, Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan, op. cit., p. 166; also J. Badiee, "Angels in an Islamic Heaven", Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin, 24 (1978), pp. 50—9.
  - 26. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 103—4; Badiee, op. cit., pp. 88—9.
  - 27. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 104—5.
  - 28. Ibid., p. 105; Badiee, op. cit., p. 89.
  - 29. For more information about the sources for the botanical section of al-Qazwīnī's work, see Badiee, op. cit., pp. 174—80.
  - 30. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 296; Badiee, op. cit., p. 157.
  - 31. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 291—2; Badiee, op. cit., p. 149.
  - 32. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 283—4; Badiee, op. cit., pp. 145—6.
  - 33. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 324; Badiee, op. cit., p. 167.
  - 34. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 317.
  - 35. Ibid., pp. 311—2.
  - 36. *Ibid.*, p. 328; Badiee, op. cit., p. 169.
  - 37. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 312—3; Badiee, op. cit., p. 161.
  - 38. Badice, op. cit., p. 163.
  - 39. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 335-336.
  - 40. Ibid., p. 323; Badiee, op. cit., p. 166.
  - 41. For the sources for the zoology section of al-Qazwīnī's work, see Badiee, op. cit., pp. 218—27.
  - 42. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 456—7; Badiee, op. cit., pp. 203—4.
- 43. For the bird 'anqā' and its depiction in Islamic art, see E. Baer, Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 38—42; also R. Ettinghausen, The Unicorn (Washington, 1950), pp. 32—3.
  - 44. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 328; Badiee, op. cit., p. 190. See also Baer, op. cit., pp. 47—8; Ettinghausen, op. cit., p. 65.
- 45. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 328; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 190. For the image of the Unicorn in Islamic art and for its parallels in other cultures, see Ettinghausen, *op. cit.* See also N. Hathaway, *The Unicorn* (New York, 1980) and H. Mode, *Fabulous Beasts and Demons* (London, 1975), pp. 154—8.
  - 46. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 326; Badiee, op. cit., p. 189; Ettinghausen, op. cit., pp. 62—4.
  - 47. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 478—9; Badiee, op. cit., p. 214.
- 48. For a fourteenth-century illustration of the şannāja, see L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (New York, 1971), plate VI-A. 9(a).
  - 49. Badiee, op. cit., pp. 113-4.
- 50. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 470; Badice, op. cit., p. 211. For further information about the depiction of dragons in Islamic art, see N. M. Titley, Dragons in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art (London, 1981).
  - 51. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 186; Badiee, op. cit., p. 124.
  - 52. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 154—5; Badiee, op. cit., pp. 111—2.
  - 53. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 154; Badiee, op. cit., p. 111.
  - 54. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 153; Badiee, op. cit., p. 110.
- 55. Cf. the depictions illustrating the same theme in earlier copies of al-Qazwīnī's work in Petrosyan, Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan, op. cit., p. 88; Duda, op. cit., ill. 226.
  - 56. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 167—70; Badiee, op. cit., pp. 115—6.
  - 57. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 173; Badiee, op. cit., p. 117.
  - 58. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 174.
  - 59. Ibid., p. 178; Badiee, op. cit., p. 119.
- 60. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 181—2; Badice, op. cit., pp. 121—2. For al-Qazwīnī's possible sources for this section, see Badice, op. cit., pp. 234—9.
- 61. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 491—5; Badiec, op. cit., p. 228. For al-Qazwīnī's possible sources for this section, see Badiec, op. cit., pp. 234—9.

- 62. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 494; Badiee, op. cit., pp. 231—2. We find the story of 'Ūj in the works known as Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' ("Stories of the Prophets"), see R. Milstein, K. Rührdanz and B. Schmitz, Stories of the Prophets: illustrated Manuscripts of Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' (California, 1999), pp. 83, 131, 191; also N. Brosh, R. Milstein, Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 96—9. Cf. E. J. Grube, Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century: from Collections in the United States and Canada (Venice, 1962), p. 55, ill. 40.
  - 63. Badiee, op. cit., p. 233.
  - 64. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 492.
  - 65. Ibid., pp. 494-495; Badiee, op. cit., p. 233. For the "talking crow" (zāgh), see Baer, op. cit., pp. 42—4, ill. 49—50.

#### Illustrations

#### Front cover:

"The story of the Dragon island (jazīrat al-tinnīn)", miniature from 'Ajā 'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā 'ib al-mawjūdāt by Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (ca. 1203—1282), manuscript D 370 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 988/1580, Baghdād school, fol. 64 a.

#### Back cover:

- Plate 1. "The giant snake or dragon (thu 'bān)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 219 a.
- Plate 2. "The cat with the wings of a bat, Island of Java (jazīrat al-zābih) dweller", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 60 a.
- Plate 3. "The old Jew" (al-shavkh al-yahūdī)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 71 a.

#### Inside the text:

- Fig. 1. "The fallen Angels (Hārūt and Mārūt)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 38 a, 25.1×18.7 cm.
- Fig. 2. "The sea serpent", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 62 b, 32.8 × 20.2 cm.
- Fig. 3. "The mulberry tree ( $t\bar{u}t$ )" (above) and "the fig tree ( $t\bar{t}n$ )" (below), miniatures in the same manuscript, fol. 132 a, 28.0×19.5 cm.
- Fig. 4. "The plane tree (*dulb*)" (above) and "the laurel (*dahmast*)" (below), miniatures in the same manuscript, fol. 134 a, 31.1×19.1 cm.
- Fig. 5. The service tree (ghubayrā') (above), "the white poplar (gharab)" (below left), and "the wood of the Cross" (fāwaniyyā) (below right), miniatures in the same manuscript, fol. 138 b, 29.2×22.4 cm.
- Fig. 6. "The animal resembling an elephant (sinād)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 200 a, 33.5 × 18.8 cm.
- Fig. 7. "The magpie ('aq'aq)" (above) and "the fabulous bird (' $anq\bar{a}'$ )" (below), miniatures in the same manuscript, fol. 213 a,  $25.6 \times 19.1$  cm.
- Fig. 8. "The fabulous beast (sannāja)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 222 b, 24.9×18.8 cm.
- Fig. 9. "The giant ' $\bar{U}_i$  ibn 'Anaq", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 230 b, 33.5 × 18.8 cm.