A MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC COSMOGRAPHY IN AN OTTOMAN CONTEXT: A STUDY OF MAHMUD EL-HATIB'S TRANSLATION OF THE *KHARIDAT AL-'AJA'IB*

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Thesis Abstract

Feray Coşkun, "A Medieval Cosmography in an Ottoman Context: Mahmud el-Hatib's Translation of *Kharidat al-'aja'ib*"

This study examines the significance of Islamic cosmography in Ottoman geographical literature and its role in the formation of the pre-modern Ottoman worldview in the light of the Ottoman translation of the fifteenth century Arabic cosmography *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib wa Faridat al-Ghara'ib*, made by Mahmud el-Hatib in 1563 to be presented to Bosnian governor İskenderpaşazade Osman Şah.

As one of the most prominent examples of the Islamic cosmography tradition, in which the *Qur'an*, *isra'iliyyat*, the Aristotelian-Ptolemic model had integral roles, *Kharidat al-'aja'ib wa Faridat al-Gara'ib* aims to provide a view of a cosmos filled with wondrous and strange entities displaying the omnipotence of God. It was widely read and copied in the Ottoman world and translated into Turkish more than once. Among these translations, the one made by the sixteenth century Ottoman preacher, Mahmud el-Hatib, is the most copied, reaching down to the present day with more than thirty copies.

This study delves into Mahmud el-Hatib's translation and analyses its correspondence with Islamic cosmology and Ottoman geographical literature claiming that such cosmographies that are neglected in modern literature due to their inclusion of fantastic and irrational elements, are important for understanding the Ottoman worldview in the pre-modern era.

ÖZET

Feray Coşkun, " Osmanlı Bağlamında bir Ortaçağ Kozmografyası: Mahmud el-Hatib'in *Kharidat al-'aja'ib* Tercümesi"

Bu çalışma, onbeşinci yüzyılda yazılan *Kharidat al-'aja'ib ve Faridat al-gara'ib* adlı eserin 1563'de Mahmud el-Hatib tarafından Bosna valisi İskenderpaşazade Osman Şah'a sunmak için yapılan Osmanlıca tercümesi ışığında, Ortaçağ İslam kozmografyasının Osmanlı coğrafya literatürü içerisindeki önemini ve modernite öncesi dönemde Osmanlı dünya görüşünü şekillendirmedeki rolünü incelemektedir.

Kuran, *isra'iliyyat*, Aristo ve Batlamyus'un evren modelinin şekillendirdiği ortaçağ İslam kozmografya geleneğinin en çok ilgi gören örnekleri arasında olan *Kharidat al-'aja'ib ve Faridat al-Gara'ib,* evreni Allah'ın kudretini yansıtan, acayip ve garip varlıklarla dolu bir yer olarak betimlemektedir. On altıncı ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıllar arasında Osmanlı dünyasında okunan, kopyalanan ve birden fazla kez Osmanlıca'ya tercüme edilen bu kozmografyanın en çok ilgi gören tercümesi günümüze otuzdan fazla kopya ile ulaşan Mahmud el-Hatib'in yaptığı tercümedir.

Söz konusu çalışma, bu tercümeyi İslam kozmolojisi ve Osmanlı coğrafya literatürü bağlamında analiz etmekte ve modern literatürün efsanevi ve irrasyonel öğeler barındırmaları nedeniyle üzerinde durmadığı bu tarz kozmografya örneklerinin modernite öncesi Osmanlı dünya görüşünü anlamada önemli bir role sahip olduklarını savunmaktadır.

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CONTENTS

A Note on the Transliteration

Ottoman Turkish proper names and terms are rendered in modern Turkish. The following letters of the Turkish alphabet have these equivalents in English: *c* = j; *ç* = like 'ch' in *chalk*; *ğ* = lengthens the preceding and following vowel; *ı* = similar to 'u' in *millennium*; *j* = as in the French *journal*; *ş* = 'sh'; *İ* = same as i in English.

Arabic and Persian proper names, technical terms and words have been transliterated without the elaborate system used in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second edition, *EI*^{2})

Abbreviations

EI	*Encyclopaedia of Islam* (first edition)
EI^2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second edition)
EIr	*Encylopaedia of Iranica*
EQ	*Enyclopedia of Qur'an*
OCLT	*Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*
DIA	*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study focuses on the Ottoman reception of medieval Islamic cosmography in the light of an Ottoman Turkish translation of the fifteenth century Arabic cosmography entitled *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib wa Faridat al-Ghara'ib* (The Pearl of Wonders and the Uniqueness of Things Strange) that is attributed to Siraj ad-Din Abu Hafs 'Umar ibn al-Wardi (d.1457).[1] This translation, by Mahmud el-Hatib,[2] dated A.H. 970/1562-1563, is known under various titles such as *Terceme-i Haridatü'l-'Aca'ib*, *'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat-ı Türki* and *Nevadirü'l-Gara'ib ve Mevaridü'l-Aca'ib.*[3] In this study, I will refer to it as the *Nevadirü'l-Gara'ib ve Mevaridü'l-'Aca'ib* (Rare and Strange Things and Wondrous Places), the title under which it appears in two copies of the work[4] and as listed in the *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi* (*OCLT*) not to confuse it with the *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib wa Faridat al-Ghara'ib* (henceforth the *Kharidat).*[5]

[1] The work is also mistakenly attributed to the poet and historian Zayn ad-Din Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Wardi (1290-1349) and recorded as thus in library catalogues. But this is not likely to be true since the *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib* was written around 1417, that is to say around one century after the death of Zayn ad-din Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Wardi. *EI* s.v. "Ibn al-Wardi Siradj al-Din Abu Hafs Umar ", 2, p. 966.

[2] In some of the Turkish Library catalogues, the translator is identified as Mahmud el-Şirvani, yet in the work itself, the name appears as Mahmud-el-Hatib. There will be a detailed discussion of this issue in the fifth chapter.

[3] See Appendix A for further information.

[4] Those manuscripts titled this way are registered as Pertevniyal Collection no. 758, Murad Molla Collection no. 1423 in Süleymaniye Library.

[5] Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, ed., *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi (History of Geographical Literature During the Ottoman Period)*, 1, (İstanbul: İslam Tarih Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 2000), p. 38.

As Rudolf Sellheim remarks, there is no certainty on the identity of the author of the *Kharidat* and none of Siraj al-Din Abu Hafs 'Umar ibn al-Wardi's contemporary biographers confirm him as the author of the *Kharidat.* In this case, his name seems to have been added to its later copies and translations. Taking this point into consideration, Sellheim suggests naming the author as pseudo-al-Wardi, which he will be called in the present study as well. What is known for sure about the author is that he was a state secretary in Aleppo and composed his work around 1417 for a certain Shahin, an official of a ruler called Sayf al-Din al-Mu'ayyad in Aleppo.[6]

Islamic cosmography[7] as used here refers to those works written by Muslims prior to the modern era to describe the cosmos (*'alam)* and both invisible and visible phenomena in the heavenly and terrestrial spheres, based upon the *Qur'an*, the prophetic tradition (*hadith*), *isra'iliyyat* and various geographical and cosmological texts derived from pious speculation and the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model. These works aimed to give a general view of the cosmos, and dealt with topics such as angels, demons, planets, stars, countries, seas, islands, straits, mountains, rivers, springs, wells, plants, animals, and minerals. Some of them also included cosmogony and eschatology. Although the subjects they covered overlapped with various fields of modern knowledge (e.g. geography, history, biology, cartography, geophysics, anthropology, theology, zoology and botany),[8] modern scholars have classified these works under Islamic geographic literature

[6] Joseph de Guignes, "Perles de Merveilles", in *Studies on al-Wat Wat (d. 1318), Ad-Dımasqi (d. 1327),Ibn al-Wardi (d. c. 1446) and al-Bakuwi, (15 th. Century),*ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main, Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1994), p.148.

[7] By the term of cosmography, I exclude those predominantly theological and philosophical ones.

[8] Arild Holt-Jensen, *Geography: History and Conceps* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), p. 22.

because of their focus on terrestrial phenomena. As they were intended to provide a view of the cosmos, Islamic cosmographies excluded much practical and mathematical geographical knowledge but included material from travel literature, history, folklore and natural sciences. In this regard, they represent the systematic presentation of accumulated knowledge and differ from the works of mathematical geography, administrative and diplomatic reports, and eyewitness accounts of sailors, travelers and merchants.[9]

Apart from the *Kharidat*, examples of Islamic cosmography include *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat wa Ghara'ib al-Mawjudat* (Wonders of Creation and Oddities of Existence)[10] by al-Qazwini (d.1283) and *Nukhbat al-Dahr fi 'Aja'ib al-Barr wa'l-Bahr* by al-Dimashqi (d.1327). *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat wa Ghara'ib al-Mawjudat* (henceforth '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat)* of al-Qazwini and the *Kharidat* were widely read and translated into other languages (Persian and Ottoman Turkish) more so than other works.[11] In the Ottoman case, copies and translations of these works became standard reference sources for Ottoman cosmological and geographical literature. They even inspired Ottoman scholars to compose similar works. Although Ottoman translations of these cosmographies comprise approximately one percent of the entire early modern Ottoman geographical literature, the fact that multiple copies of these works exist indicates that they were particularly popular sources, especially from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries.[12] The popularity of these two

[9] Gottfried Hagen, *Ein Osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit: Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Katib Čelebis Ğihannüma* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003), pp. 83-85.

[10] The name of this work is also translated in different ways like *Marvels of Creation*. *Makhluqat* can also be translated as created things while *mawjudat* as "existents". See Persis Berlekamp, "Wonders and Their Images in Medieval Islamic Culture: The Wonders of Creation in Fars and Iraq, 1280-1388" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2003), p. 21.

[11] Cevad İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim* (İstanbul: İz, 1997), 2, p.249, p. 274.

[12] See İhsanoğlu, 1, p. lxxv.

works seems to be related to the fact that they incorporated a great deal of material on the wondrous and strange (*'aja'ib wa ghara'ib)* entities of the cosmos.

The most important difference between them is that the work of Al-Qazwini additionally describes heavenly phenomena, the layers of heavens, planets, stars, angels, demons, Paradise and Hell, whereas the *Kharidat* is mostly concerned with terrestrial space. Still, the *Kharidat* also contains some passages that refer the heavenly spheres. To be more specific, the *Kharidat* includes a world map drawn in the style of the Balkhi School and deals with the legendary Mountain Qaf, the Encircling Ocean (*Bahr-ı Muhit*), topographical features of different countries, their distances from and positions with respect to each other, seas, islands, rivers, springs, wells, mountains, stones, minerals, plants, fruits, seeds, birds as well as some chapters on the pre-Adamic history of the Earth and apocalyptic and eschatological matters. Pseudo-al-Wardi acknowledges his sources as *Sharh al-Tadhkirah* of Nasır al-Din al-Tusi (d.1274);[13] *Geography* of Ptolemy; *Taqwim al-Buldan* of al-Balkhi (d. 934),[14] *Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawahir* of al-Masudi (d.956)[15], *Kitab al-Masalik wa'l-Masalik* of a certain al-Marrakushi,[16] *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of Ibn al-Athir al-Jawzi; a certain *Kitab al-Ibtida*;[17] and others (*ghayruha*).[18]

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[13] He was a famous Shi'i scholar dealing with mathematics, geometry, astronomy, philosophy and theology. His most famous work is *Al-Tadhkira fi'ilm al-hay'a*; see *EI²*, s.v. "Al-Tusi, Nasir al-Din , Abu Dja'far Muhammad",10, pp. 746-752.

[14] The founder of the Balkhi School of geography, see *EI²*, s.v. "Al-Balkhi", 1, pp.1002-1003.

[15] Famous Arabic scholar and geographer see *EI²*, s.v. "Al-Masudi", 6, pp. 784-788.

[16] No information could be found about him.

[17] This work remains unclear.

[18] For the comparison of the contents, see the edition of the *Kharidat* dated A.H. 1092 (1681/82). Available [online]: http://alwaraq.net/index2.htm?i=337&page=1, [13 October 2007].

The *Kharidat* has a great deal of subjects in common with geographical works in Islamic literature, (especially of the Balkhi School), yet what distinguishes it from the classical geographical works is, as previously mentioned, its emphasis on the wondrous and strange entities of the cosmos. The reason for its popularity is also accredited to the fact that it contains interesting information about Europe, Africa and Arab countries that is not to be found in other Islamic geographical literature.[19] It was translated several times into Persian and Turkish. Some European scholars, moreover, translated excerpts into Latin, French and German.[20]

Like the *Kharidat*, the *Nevadir* is one of the most copied works of Ottoman geographical literature. However, neither the *Kharidat* nor the *Nevadir* have been the subject of serious analytical study. This neglect can be largely attributed to the assumption particularly prevalent in the "Westernization school" of historiography that developments in the Ottoman world must be judged in accordance with a Western yardstick of development.

Modern scholarship on Ottoman geographical literature has mostly dealt with those works that were concerned with the realistic representation of the world with the assumption that the works which are closer to the modern are more worthy of analysis. As Gottfried Hagen has argued, this assumption is based on a peculiar concept of science as the representation of "objective reality."[21] This approach

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[19] *DIA*, s.v. "Ibnü'l Verdi", 21, p. 238.

[20] Partial Latin translations were done by Carl Johann Tornberg under the name of *Fragmentum libri Margarita miribilium auctore Ibn el-Verdi* (Uppsala: n.p.,1835) and by A.Haylender, *Operis cosmographici Ibn Vardi caput primum de regionibus* (Lundae, n.p.:1823). Franz Taeschner also translated some passages about İstanbul for his article "Der Bericht des arabischen Geographen Ibn al-Wardi über Konstantinopel", *Beitrage zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Etnographie und Kartogeographic vornehmlich des Orients-Festschrift E.Oberhummer* (Leipzig-Wien: n.p.,1929); Idem, "Ein altosmanischer Bericht über das vorosmanische Konstantinopel", Annali del R. Istituto Superiore Orientale di Napoli, new series 1 (Rome: n.p. 1940), pp. 181-189. Moreover, Joseph de Guignes translated some excerpts of the *Kharidat*, see fn. 6.

[21] Gottfried Hagen," Some Considerations on the Study of Ottoman Geographical Writing", *Archivum Ottomanicum* (18, 2000), pp. 184-185.

brought about the evaluation of Ottoman geographical texts in comparison with the representatives of the "modern," i.e. the European concomitants, in terms of their affinity and dissimilarity.[22] Those texts that demonstrated this kind of affinity have been assumed to indicate that the Ottomans were more or less able to follow the development of modern geographical knowledge. Hence, much of the scholarly energy has been spent on those works that "deserved" to be examined. A similar approach can be observed in the history of cartography, resulting in maps being overlooked because of their failure to represent "real space."[23] One of the most striking examples of this outlook is the academic concentration on the sixteenth century world map (1517) of the Ottoman cartographer Piri Reis (d.1554). Having acknowledged Columbus's map as one of his sources, Piri Reis's map depicted the American continent, unlike the maps of those medieval cosmographies that defined the regions beyond Gibraltar as insurmountable and the "Sea of Darkness" (*Bahr al-zulumat*). By contrast, cosmographies that present a view of the cosmos with special emphasis on wondrous and strange things (*'aja'ib wa ghara'ib)* have been conceived as representing the primitive stage of Ottoman cosmological/ geographical knowledge which was filled with misguided, unrealistic, fantastic and imaginary elements.[24] However, as Gottfried Hagen has argued, this kind of

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[22] Hagen, "Some Considerations", p. 185

[23] J.B.Harley, and David Woodward, eds., *History of Cartography*: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), introduction; Hagen, "Some considerations", p. 185.

[24] See also the following works to get an idea on this approach; Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943); Cevdet Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959); İhsanoğlu, 1, preface.

dismissive approach neglects the importance of these works for illuminating the worldview of the pre-modern Ottomans.[25]

A helpful perspective on these works can also be drawn from Michel Foucault's exploration of medieval works on nature. In his *Les mots et les Choses* (The Order of Things), Foucault maintains that the medieval works on nature explain any particular entity by reporting every detail about it. By doing so they not only include physical features and functions of a certain entity as modern scientific works would do, but also their relation with the past, legends, rumours, various eye-witness accounts or hearsay. In this way of narration, the difference between "observation, document and tales" were not as clear-cut as in the present day and their co-existence at the same level gave a peculiar context to the definition of these entities. With the development of modern science, however, this co-existence dissolved in the works of nature and the bond that held these subjects together was lost.[26]

We can apply this framework to the medieval Islamic popular cosmographies. Due to the loss of this yardstick in modern times, the works of medieval cosmography are regarded as nothing but the accumulation of unrelated and unsound knowledge that does not correspond to anything worthy of consideration. Yet, the main bond of the composite world picture in these cosmographies was to define and examine every entity as the reflection of the omnipotence of God. In this regard, a particular entity in the cosmos *('alam)* was described with regard to various reference points that would confirm the magnificence of God. And the

[25] "Cosmographies promise important insights as to how Ottomans conceived and understood their world, integrating practical experience and theoretical considerations into a concept of the cosmos organized in religious terms…only when we take these ideas serious as an object of research we will avoid the danger of anachronistically projecting our own views into the Ottoman mind and we will be able to appreciate the variety of ideas and thoughts among them." see Hagen, "Some considerations", p. 188.
[26] Michel Foucault, *Kelimeler ve Şeyler (Les mots et les choses)*, trans. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay (İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi, 2006), pp. 193-196.

relationships of an entity to the writings of the Ancients, the *Qur'an*, hadiths, *isra'iliyyat,* the Aristotelian-Ptolemic model, travel accounts, and folkloric anecdotes were conveyed as devices to prove His omnipotence and magnificence. Various speculations on the structure of the cosmos, even if in some cases they conflicted with each other, could exist side by side. Sometimes they were combined and reconciled but the primary aim was not to give a consistent view of the cosmos. In other words, whether visible or invisible, comprehensible or incomprehensible, entities were deemed worth mentioning because they were the creation of *Allah*, operating under His control and wisdom.

It is in this framework that I intend to concentrate on the *Nevadir* to shed some light on the medieval way of seeing the cosmos and more specifically on how the Ottomans received this particular view in the early modern era.

Of course I am aware that neither a singular work nor the perception of a single individual can really represent the worldview of a certain society in any time-period. That is to say, texts or artifacts of a certain age are not absolute representatives of the spirit of the age (*zeitgeist*) and people of the same age are not to be conceived as the elements of the same culture. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that a particular work or worldview of a certain individual could reveal some cultural, social and political patterns that became influential on a society.

As regards the *Nevadir,* at the beginning I was not aware that it was a translation of the *Kharidat* due to the fact that *OCLT* identifies it as a synthetic work of Mahmud el-Hatib which he compiled from the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of al-Qazwini and *al-Tadhkirah fi'l-hay'a* of Nasir ad-Din al-Tusi, *Geography* of Ptolemy, and the *Taqwim al-Buldan* of al-Balkhi. In reality, these are all sources that are acknowledged at the beginning of the *Kharidat.* This misconception is

probably derived from the fact that the copy of the *Nevadir* which the editor(s) of the *OCLT* examined did not have a note saying that it was a translation of the *Kharidat*, unlike some other copies. Under the impact of this misconception, Giancarlo Casale has also cited the *Nevadir* as one of the first synthetic works that was produced with the rise of Ottoman interest in the Arabic and Persian geographical corpus from 1550 onwards due to the development of the Ottoman enterprise in the Indian Ocean in long distance trade practices.[27] This particular assertion about the work made it more attractive for me with regard to the issue of how an Ottoman scholar synthesized Arabic and Persian geographical knowledge. Yet, further research on the *Nevadir* proved that it was a relatively straightforward translation of the *Kharidat* in Ottoman Turkish.

Meanwhile, I also became aware that other scholars had worked on some other copies of the work. The first of them was Mikail Bayram who examined the manuscript of the *Nevadir* (12110) at the Koyunoğlu Library in Konya that is entitled *Seyahatü'l-Kübra ve Müfredatü'l-Etıbba.* Relying on a story in the manuscript about Spanish sailors who voyaged beyond Gibraltar and landed on some islands there, Bayram speculates that the story might refer to the voyages of Magellan and that in this regard the manuscript could be the first Ottoman work mentioning the existence of the American continent. Apart from this assertion, the detailed description of Muslim Spain in the work and the presence of phrases like "eydürler" (they say) led Bayram to infer that the author of the manuscript was a constant traveler.[28] Bayram's assertions were also misguided because the copy of

[27] Giancarlo Casale, "Ottoman Age of Exploration: Spices, Maps and Conquest in the Sixteenth Century Indian Ocean" (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 2004), pp. 297-298.

[28] Mikail Bayram, "Bir Osmanlı Seyyahı Hâce Hatib Mahmud ve Seyahatü'l Kübra ve Müfredâtü'l-Etibba Adlı Eseri", in *Uluslararası Kuruluşunun 700. Yıldönümünde Bütün Yönleriyle Osmanlı Devleti Kongresi Bildirileri* (Konya, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2000), pp. 251-255.

the *Nevadir* (Koyunoğlu 12110) he examined had pages missing and he was not aware that the same story already existed in much earlier works of Islamic literature such as al-Idrisi's *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq.*[29] This means that the story has no connection with the Spanish or Portuguese expeditions of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. As Joseph Guignes remarks, the story that is found in the *Kharidat* refers to Arabic sailors of Muslim Spain rather than to the Christian Spaniards.[30]

Another scholar, Sema Yaniç, who worked on the critical edition of the text under the supervision of Mikail Bayram for her Ph.D. dissertation, became aware that the work is a translation of the *Kharidat.* In her work, relying on the description of Spain and Africa, she concluded that Mahmud el-Hatib had visited Spain and that his translation reflected his travels in the Mediterranean.[31]

Comparing the *Nevadir* with the partial French translation of the *Kharidat* by Joseph de Guignes, it became apparent to me that except for a few personal eye-witness accounts of Mahmud el-Hatib referring to his trip(s) in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea which seem for pilgrimage, there is no evidence that he went to Spain and anywhere else. Neither the contents of the *Nevadir* nor these slight personal remarks of Mahmud el-Hatib provide sufficient evidence to qualify him as a constant traveler.

Principal questions that are addressed in this study are; what did the phenomena of wondrous and strange things (*'aja'ib* wa *ghara'ib)* refer to? What was the basis of Islamic knowledge of the cosmos? What was the place of

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[29] Babcock, William H., "Certain Pre-Columbian of the inhabitants of the Atlantic Islands", *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 20, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar, 1918), pp. 69-70.

[30] Guignes, pp. 153-154.

[31] Sema Yaniç, "Hâce Hatib Mahmud Er-Rumi ve Haridetü'l 'Acayib ve Feridetü'l Garayib Tercümesi İsimli Eserinin Edisyon Kritik ve Tahlili" (Ph.D. diss., Selçuk University 2004), p. 66.

cosmographies in Ottoman geographical literature? What could be the role of the *Nevadir* in the formation of an Ottoman pre-modern world-view?

Taking these questions into consideration, the present thesis is comprised of six chapters: the first chapter is the present introduction, the second chapter concerns Islamic cosmology, which emerged through the integration of both Islamic and non-Islamic material and developed under three main strands: the philosophical/ scientific, the Isma'ili and the mystical. Here we will dwell on the first strand of Islamic cosmology, the philosophical/scientific which overlaps with the development of Islamic geographical knowledge a great deal. The third chapter deals with the implications of the '*aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* and the issue of whether there is a so-called genre of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* in Islamic literature. In the fourth chapter I outline the Ottoman reception of Islamic cosmography with regard to the Ottoman translations of al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and of pseudo-Ibn al-Wardi's *Kharidat.* In this chapter I will also deal with some other works that were or might have been influenced by these two cosmographies.

In the fifth chapter, after a brief discussion of its contents, I analyze the *Nevadir* under the themes of the co-existence of pious speculation and the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model; the sacralization of nature and its discussion of the wondrous and strange entities of the world. I also briefly discuss the reception of the *Nevadir* and its relation to the Ottoman pre-modern worldview. [32] Finally the last chapter is the conclusion.

In my analysis, I have relied on the Nuruosmaniye manuscript (2999) which is the earliest copy in İstanbul and in which the date of copy and the name of the transcriber *(müstensih)* were inserted. Moreover, I have been able to access the

[32] It is essential to emphasize that due to limited time, my analysis mainly concentrates on the parts related to geography rather those on animals, plants, seeds, minerals, wells, or ancient kings.

Bratislava manuscript (no. 429) electronically from 19 December 2006 on.[33] I mainly used this copy to decipher the illegible words in the Nuruosmaniye copy. Likewise, I also benefited from Sema Yaniç's critical edition of three copies (Esad Efendi 2051, Nur. 2999 and Pertevniyal 758) for the same purpose. I also examined to some extent a number of manuscripts of the *Nevadir* in İstanbul to form a general idea about the copies of the work and in order to compare the world maps existing in some copies. The detailed information on these manuscripts will be provided in the form of a table in the Appendix A.

[33] The Bratislava copy is available [online]: http://sigma.ulib.sk/digi/claris/basagic_collect/TC_17/1DYV_U11/UKB___TC_17_____1DYV/EN/ [25 December 2006]

CHAPTER II

ISLAMIC COSMOLOGY

This chapter focuses on Islamic cosmology, with a special emphasis on cosmologic concerns of early Islamic society and philosophic/scientific strand of Islamic cosmology, two issues which would be helpful to understand the medieval Islamic cosmographical literature.

It is not an easy task to define Islamic cosmology when its origins and scope are taken into account. The difficulty stems from the multiplicity of the factors that shaped its dimensions. The fact that a large corpus of Islamic cosmological texts has not been examined yet and that a single cosmological work might contain contradictory arguments[34] are other reasons that make its definition complicated. Still, we can characterize Islamic cosmology as having come into existence under the influence of Islamic revelation (The *Qur'an)*, prophetic tradition (*hadith*) and cosmological concepts belonging to ancient civilizations like China, India, Persia, Mesopotamia and Greece as a result of cultural exchange between Muslims and others. Such a formulation paves the way for an understanding of Islamic cosmology that developed on the basis of various models and schools of thought.

Even though Islamic cosmology embraced some pre-Islamic elements, this does not change the fact that a great deal of disputes over cosmology revolved around Qur'anic verses. The followers of different schools confronted each other on the basis of different verses from the *Qur'an* and occasionally the controversy originated from different interpretations of the same verse. This is because of the fact that the *Qur'an* does not present a clear-cut picture of the cosmos, but rather

[34] Anthon M. Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology: A Study of As-Suyuti's al-Hay'a as-saniya fi'l-hay'a as-sunniya* (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982), pp. vii-viii.

bears upon cosmological concepts in a fragmented way. It was also because of this aspect of the *Qur'an* that early Muslims looked for a way of contextualizing these concepts through non-Muslim sources, especially of the monotheistic religions. This resulted in non-Muslim cosmological concerns entering early Muslim thought. A good deal of the cosmological material in *hadiths* reflects the input of diverse cultural influences as well. However, it is very hard to draw a clear picture of the exchange of the cosmological concepts between early Muslim and other cultures since cultural boundaries were not strictly drawn.[35]

Cosmology in the Islamic world never became an object of study by a specialized branch of scholars, but was rather studied and discussed by various groups such as geographers, historians, theologians and philosophers.[36] Due to this fact, it is comprised of physical, metaphysical, religious and philosophical ideas that give it a heterogeneous character.[37] In terms of literature, one can find cosmological content in the works of *adab,*[38] exegesis, hadith collections, and Sufi treatises.[39]

To outline the development of Islamic cosmology, we can resort to the model proposed by Ahmet Karamustafa. He categorizes the development of Islamic cosmology under three different schools: philosophical/scientific, gnostic (*Isma'ili*)

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[35] Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East (600-1800)* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Pres, 2003), p. 65.

[36] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1987), p. 92.

[37] Ahmet T. Karamustafa,"Cosmological Diagrams" in *History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies,* eds. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 71-72 ; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p. 2.

[38] *Adab* refers to the culture that makes a man member of the court culture. In this sense, fields like the art of oratory, rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, metrics, idioms, gramer, poetry, natural sciences and chronology were included within *adab.* For further information*; EI²* , s.v. "Adab", 1, pp. 175-176; Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago; London: Chicago University Press, 1977), 1, pp. 444-445 and pp. 453-457.

[39] Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 1.

and mystic respectively.[40] Due to the fact that Islamic cosmography tradition is closely related with the first strand of Islamic cosmology, here, I will only outline the philosophic/scientific strand here.

Nevertheless it is necessary to point out that cosmological concerns of Muslims started in the early days of Islam when Muslims tried to make sense of the cosmological verses in the *Qur'an.* Even though these efforts were not systematic in the earlier years, they influenced Islamic cosmology in a great deal.

Islamic Cosmology in Early Muslim Society: The *Qur'an* and *isra'iliyyat*

In Islamic terminology, the cosmos is expressed with the term *'alam (*derivative of *'ilm*), which denotes 'sign' or 'to know' and indicates something that causes its creator to be known.[41] '*Alam* refers to both the heavens and the earth (*al-samawat wa'l-ard*) which reflect the magnificence of its creator, *Allah.*

What is essential in the *Qur'an* is the omnipotence and oneness of God, who is defined as the eternal and perpetual creator who called into being all existence. Besides, it is asserted in many verses that God created man to recognize and worship Him and that therefore man has a special position compared to other living things on earth.[42]

In a fragmentary fashion the *Qur'an* informs the believer of the structure of the cosmos, which is ordered and hierarchical. First and foremost, it refers to the cosmos as consisting of two realms -the heavens and the earth (*al-samawat wa'l-*

[40] Karamustafa, "Cosmological Diagrams", p. 72.

[41] *DIA*, s.v. "Alem", 2, p. 357.

[42] The story of creation of Adam and God's order to angels and to Iblis (Satan) to prostrate themselves behind him is accepted as the most vivid example of this notion.

ard)[43] and addresses them in contrasting terms such as high vs. low, bright vs. dark, strong vs. weak, active vs. passive.[44] This kind of contrast led to the perception of the heavens as the realm of spirituality and of the earth as the realm of the body and the physical, as was also the case in many other cosmologies. Similar to the Judeo-Christian tradition, the *Qur'an* asserts that the heavens and the earth were created in six days[45] and that they were molded with the split of an integrated disk-shaped mass[46] and made of smoke.[47] The heavens are described as consisting of seven layers,[48] placed one above another,[49] while in the seventh heaven there are angels praising God.[50] Moreover, in the *Qur'an* the lowest heaven is defined as the gathering place of demons (*jinn*s) who strive to listen to a certain heavenly counsel that is not specified.[51] Apart from the seven heavens, the *Qur'an* also confirms that God created seven earths[52] without giving any specific clue as to what they might refer. This led to their association with different

[43] For information on cosmological entities in Islam see, *The Encyclopedia of Qur'an*, s.v. ″Cosmology″. Available [online]*:* http://www.encislam.brill.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=q3_com-00043 [15 November 2006].

[44] Sachiko Murata, William C. Chittick, *The Vision of Islam*: *The Foundations of Muslim Faith and Practice* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1996), pp. 83-84.

[45] 7:54; 10:3; 11:7; 25:59; 32:3.

[46] 21:30.

[47] 41:11.

[48] 2:29; 17:44; 23:17; 41:12; 65:12; 78:12.

[49] 67:3; 71:15.

[50] 40:7; 39:75; 42:3.

[51] 15:16-7; 21:33; 25:62; 67:5; 85:1.

[52] 65:12: "It is God who created seven heavens and of the earth the like, between them the Command descending, that you may know that God is powerful over everything, and that God encompasses everything in knowledge." See Arthur, Arberry, *The Koran interpreted*, 2 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955), p.286.

entities, such as the planetary spheres, the layers of Hell and the seven climes.[53] Furthermore, the *Qur'an* also states that God rested on His divine Throne *('arsh)*,[54] which had once been on the water and that it would be carried by eight angels on the Day of Judgment.[55] Another cosmic entity that appears in the *Qur'an* is the Footstool *(kursi)*, which encompasses all the heavens and the earth[56] and which is regarded as having been placed under the Throne of God. In addition, the Earth is referred to as a "resting place, cradle, bed," while the sky is described as a "canopy or roof"[57] designed for the people. It is also asserted that God has created the night and the day, the sun as a lamp and the moon as a light giver, and made them float in an orbit, so that they can guide people to determine time.[58] Likewise, whereas mountains are envisaged as having been created to prevent the Earth from shaking, rivers and roads are mediated to direct people.[59] The *Qur'an* also affirms that God created man from clay[60] by blowing His spirit into him,[61] and that the jinns were made from smokeless fire.[62] The hadiths extend the framework of the *Qur'an* by introducing cosmological entities, such as the

[53] Edith Jachimowiz, "Islamic Cosmology" in *Ancient Cosmologies*, eds. Carmen Blacker and Micheal Loewe (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1971), p. 147.

[54] For the verses on the Throne see 7:54; 10:3; 13:2; 20:5; 25:59; 32:4; 57:4.

[55] 69:17.

[56] 2: 255.

[57] 2:22; 20:53; 40:64; 43:10; 50:6; 78:6.

[58] 6:96-97; 10:5; 14:33; 17:12; 21: 32-33; 25:61; 71:16; 78:12.

[59] 13:3; 15:19; 16:15; 21:31; 31:10; 50:7; 78:7; 79:32.

[60] 23:12; 6:2; 32:7; 37:11.

[61] 32:9; 3:59; 40:68.

[62] 55:15.

Tablet (*lawh*), the Stylus (*qalam*) and the Balance (*mizan*).[63] Moreover, it also contains numerous details on angels, Paradise and Hell.

From Qur'anic verses one can understand that God created the cosmos in hierarchical order, including various elements that are either visible or invisible to the human eye, but this He did out of His wisdom so that it could be beneficial for human-beings. The *Qur'an* also includes brief allusions to the tales of the prophets or nations that were destroyed because they disobeyed God. Moreover, it warns believers and unbelievers in strong terms about the end of times in which every human being would be resurrected and judged on the basis of their deeds, and accordingly either placed in Paradise or Hell. In addition to emphasizing the evanescence of worldly life, it invites the human-beings to reflect on the signs *(ayat)* of God in nature that represent His omnipotence. [64]

Early Muslims began to make sense of these Qur'anic verses from the second half of the seventh century onwards. Due to the scarcity of modern works on this early phase of cosmological concerns, it is hard to draw a clear picture, yet it was during this period that pre-Islamic cosmological ideas found their way into Islamic cosmological understanding. This is evident from the earliest chains of transmission *(isnad)* of cosmological concerns that are traced back to

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[63] Karamustafa, "Cosmological Diagrams", p.72.

[64] For example see the following verses: 2:219, 266; 6:50; 7: 176; 3:191; 10: 24; 13:3; 16: 11,44, 69; 39:42; 45:13; 59:21, see Anton Heinen, "Tafakkur and Muslim Science", *Journal of Turkish Studies,* 18 (1994), p.105; see also Quranic verse 16:65:"By God, assuredly We sent Messengers to nations before thee, but Satan decked out fair to them their deeds; he is their protector today, and there yet awaits them a painful chastisement. And We have not sent down upon thee the Book except that thou mayest make clear to them that whereon they were at variance, and as a guidance and as a mercy to a people who believe. And it is God who sends down out of heaven water, and therewith revives the earth after it is dead. Surely in that is a sign for a people who have ears. And surely in the cattle there is a lesson for you: We give you to drink of what is in their bellies, between filth and blood, pure milk, sweet to drinkers. And of the fruits of the palms and the vines, you take therefrom an intoxicant and a provision fair. Surely in that is a sign for a people who understand." See Arberry, 1, p. 293.

commentators who were either acquainted with the Old Testament or with the people who were familiar with it.[65]

This brings us to dwell on the issue of *isra'iliyyat.* The *Encyclopedia Judaica* defines the term as "Israelite tales; stories from Bible, legends and other tales that were integrated into Islamic literature."[66] Jonathan Berkey describes the function of *isra'iliyyat* more explicitly by pointing out that they "supplement and contextualize the sparse Qur'anic narratives;"[67] while Ian R. Netton emphasizes their position as enlightening the possible meanings of the Qur'anic verses.[68] In a broader sense yet, *isra'iliyyat* are associated with any kind of irrational and fantastic elements that one comes across through the texts that contained cosmological material.

This kind of transmission is understandable when we take the dense Jewish population in the geography between the Nile and Amu Darya into account. The entrance of Jewish tales and legends into early Islamic exegesis and hadiths seems to be associated with the "open cultural atmosphere"[69] or "religious cosmopolitanism"[70] that provided a kind of "fluidity" in religious identities.

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[65] Berkey, p. 96.

[66] *Encyclopedia Judaica, s.v."*Israelite"*,* p. 1067.

[67] Berkey, p. xiii.

[68] Ian R. Netton, "Past Trials and Present Tribulations: A Muslim Fundemanetalist's View of the Jews" in *Muslim-Jewish encounters: Intellectual traditions and modern politics,* eds. Ronald L. Nettler and Suha Taji-Farouki (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), p.2.

[69] Berkey, p.116.

[70] Netton, p.2.

Reuven Firestone argues that what paved the way for this kind of "fluidity" was the oral mode of transmission. [71]

The most important figures in this transmission were regarded to be familiar with texts of Judaism. Among them we see, Abdullah b. Abbas, (618-687),[72] Ka'b al-Ahbar (d. 653), a Yemenite rabbi, and 'Abdu'llah b. Salam (d.664) a Jewish convert, Wahb b. Munabbih (c.a. 654-725) who may also have been of Jewish origin.[73] So, starting from the early years of Islam, the information transmitted from these figures was absorbed into Islamic literature. Berkey remarks that this does not mean that the transmission was only one-sided, but rather took place in an atmosphere in which Muslim, Jews and even Christians exchanged ideas to comprehend their sacred texts better.[74] For Heinen, cultural exchange in this period symbolizes "the first intellectual synthesis of Islam," and demonstrates that the earliest Islamic scholarship did not commence upon the requests of the Islamic rulers to strengthen their power through composition of works on astronomy and alchemy[75] but as a result of "a genuine desire for truth". In this respect, he marks this exchange as the beginning of Islamic science.[76] Yet, it seems to me that the human fear of God played an important role in this kind of investigation. Since the *Qur'an* is filled with passages warning believers about Day of Judgment and

[71] Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (Albany; NY: Suny Press, 1990), pp. 15-18 in Berkey, p.116.

[72] He was the prophet's nephew and companion known as *hibr al-'umma*, the rabbi of the Muslim community. He was considered to have relations with the learned men of his time and was reported to have consulted with regard to the heavens someone called Abu al-Ghald who was considered to have studied old books including the Torah apart from the *Qur'an*. Goldziher, in Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 72; Berkey, p. 96.

[73] Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 73

[74] Berkey, p.96

[75] Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 69

[76] Ibid. p. 76

emphasizing the magnificence of God along with insignificance of human-being, early Muslims might have tended to accept the *isra'iliyyat* to illustrate this aspect of the *Qur'an* in more explicit terms.

In a broader sense, *isra'iliyyat* also comprise all narratives that were transmitted from other religions like Zoroastrianism and Sabaeanism. In terms of content, *isra'iliyyat* concern past events, the story of creation; tales of the prophets or nations that were destroyed by the wrath of God; and various aspects of cosmological entities such as the Throne, the Footstool, angels, Paradise, Hell, jinns, the Tablet, and the Pen. Besides, they also include details on pre-destined future events like conditions on the Day of Judgment. One can also argue that *isra'iliyyat* shaped the Muslim perception of 'sacred space'. Through the transmission of biblical tales into Islam, not only Mecca and Medina but also numerous other places, especially Jerusalem in which the Jewish prophets had walked and preached were considered prominent in the sacred history of Islam and found an important place in Islamic geographical literature.

One can find a great deal of *isra'iliyyat* in works of exegesis, hadiths and literary texts like the *Kutub al-'azama* (the books of greatness).[77] The last genre is based on the description of cosmic phenomena to illustrate the magnificence of God. Inspired by various *Qur'anic* verses encouraging the believer to reflect (*tafakkur*) on the creation of God, these works deal with various topics concerning earthly and heavenly phenomena. *Kutub al-'azama* were cosmographical works which did not deal with the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model of the cosmos.[78] They did not deal with ontological questions as such whether God exists but only

[77] Heinen, "Tafakkur", p.105.

[78] Ibid. p. 108.

concentrated on His creation that were the signs (*ayat*) of his greatness. Though they were contemporaneous with the Arabic translations of Greek works, they were based on earlier Muslim concepts of the cosmos that were nourished by the *Qur'an* and *isra'iliyyat.*[79] The earliest works of this genre appeared in the ninth century and the genre flourished until the sixteenth century.[80] Egyptian scholar as-Suyuti (1455-1505)'s *al-Hay'a al-Saniyya fi al-Hay'a al-Sunniya* was one of the best known examples of this genre.[81]

The presence of *isra'iliyyat* in a fifteenth century cosmological work (of as-Suyuti) does not mean that its credibility was not suspected until that day. One can trace the suspicion of *isra'iliyyat* back to the ninth century. During this period, with the rise of Muslim converts the mosque became the focal point of the public sphere[82], in which many story tellers (*qussas)* narrated tales of *isra'iliyyat* enriched by their imagination for the purposes of entertainment and edification. However, the dissemination of these tales by these story tellers also disturbed the hadith folk, the traditionists who would form the nucleus of the Sunni ulema.[83] There emerged disputes on the origins of *isra'iliyyat*, whether they come from the Bible and whether they should be taken into consideration since it is claimed in

[79] Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 48.

[80] Among the examples of this tradition we can see the works of *Kitab al-'azama* of Sûfi al-Muhâsibi (d. 857 A.D.) and Abû Hâtim al-Sijistâni (d.869), al-Busti (d.965) and Burhân al-din Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Halabi al-Dimashqi (d.1549). The most comprehensive work of this genre belongs to Abdallâh b. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Hayyân al-Ansâri also known as Abû al-Shaykh (d. 979). With regard to the variety of topics, his work is regarded as the most representative work of this genre, see Heinen, "Tafakkur", pp. 103-110.

[81] His work concerns topics such as God's greatness, His knowledge, the creation of angels and their peculiarities, description of the spirit, stars, clouds, rain, thunder, lightning, Milky way, winds, creation of the land and seas, God's control, story of Dhul-qarnain, Iram of the pillars, story of Suleiman, story of Nimrud, story of Moses, Elias, Adam, Eve, jinns, other creatures. See Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 38-42; Heinen, "Tafakkur", p. 107.

[82] Richard W. Bulliet, *Islam: The View from the Edge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 40-66, pp. 77-75.

[83] For information see Hodgson, 1, pp. 386-389.

the *Qur'an* that the infidels had made changes in their Holy Books. For some theologians there was nothing objectionable in the transmission of Biblical tales, since they all originated from the same truth, while for some others this approach led to the entrance of a great deal of material unrelated to Islam.[84] It is in this kind of atmosphere that *isra'iliyyat* started to have a negative connotation; [85] nevertheless, this does not mean that hadith folk disregarded these stories totally. Rather they were preserved as long as they served to glorify God and the Prophet.[86]

Outside the traditionalist circles, al-Jahiz (d.869), famous Arabic scholar, who approached *isra'iliyyat* in critical terms, is also worth mentioning. Al-Jahiz opposed the explanation of natural events with regard to the legends and tales related to supernatural entities like angels, jinns, and giants. He ridiculed the popular idea explaining the origin of the ebb and flow with an angel's putting his foot into the water and taking it back. He favored the importance of personal observation (*'iyan*) and reasoning rather than uncritical transmission of hearsay.[87] Similarly, the geographer Yaqut al-Hamawi (1179-1229) in his *Mu'jam al-Buldan* explicitly stated that he did not believe in the account that the Earth was carried by an angel, rock, ox and fish which respectively stood on top of each other. [88]

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[84] Hodgson, 1, p. 305.

[85] Berkey, p. 116.

[86] Hodgson, p. 391.

[87] Houari Touati, *Ortaçağ'da İslam ve Seyahat (Islam et Voyage au Moyen Age),* trans. Ali Berktay (İstanbul :Yapı Kredi Kültür Yayınları, 2000), pp.102-106.

[88] "In the narratives of Muslim story tellers there are strange things wise men find difficult to accept. Some of these tales I relate without believing in their veracity." Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi, *The Introductory Chapters of Yaqut's Mu'jam al-buldan*, trans. Wadie Jwaideh (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959), p.34.

The most critical approach to *isra'iliyyat* emerged from the eighteenth century onwards when Orientalists directed their critique to this kind of material in Islamic texts. This caused Muslims to re-consider *isra'iliyyat* and from this point on the term was definitely associated with irrationality.[89]

Philosophical/Scientific Tradition

The philosophical/scientific strand of Islamic cosmology goes hand in hand with the history of Islamic geography, astronomy and philosophy. As Karamustafa points out, this strand deals with that part of the Muslims' knowledge of the cosmos that developed under the impact of ideas borrowed from the ancient Greek, Persian and Indian traditions.

The expansion of the Muslim polity under the Umayyads and the Abbasids into vast area extending from East Iran to the Atlantic Ocean brought the Muslim world into contact with the cosmological traditions and geographical knowledge of other cultures. This cultural contact became intensified following the replacement of the Umayyad dynasty by the Abbasids and the shift of the center of the caliphate from Syria to Iraq, the former seat of the Sasanian Empire, in the mid-eighth century. Ruling over a multicultural society, Abbasids led non-Arab subjects to be integrated into the bureaucratic and military elite. Turks served in the military and the Persians in the bureaucracy. In the course of time, the Abbasids embraced Sasanid imperial traditions and the caliphate became more important than ever as the protector and promoter of Islam.[90] As concerns the

[89] For details and related literature see, *DIA*, s.v. "isrâ'iliyat", 23, pp. 195-202.

[90] Hodgson, 1, p. 280.

historical background of this development, we can note that especially from the eighth century onwards Abbasid caliphs sponsored scientific activities. The reign of the caliph Harun al-Rashid, and of his sons al-Ma'mun and al-Mu'tasim in the eighth and ninth centuries were, particularly important in this respect.[91]

Furthermore, it was also during this period that Muslims had to defend their faith against the adherents of older religions such as Zoroastrianism and Manichaeanism. This led Muslim scholars to turn their attention to the works of other cosmological traditions.[92] Many sources were translated either directly from Greek or through their Syriac and Persian intermediaries. Through these translations, the Muslim world encountered the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model, which would strongly influence the Islamic perception of the cosmos for centuries.

It is known that the early Greek philosophers regarded the universe as having a rational structure that could be investigated through inquiry and reason. For instance, the sky had previously been conceived as a dome of iron or bronze which was supported by pillars over flat earth. The fourth century scholars Parmenides and Pythagoras had considered the Earth to be a sphere, a geometrical form held to be perfect. It is due to this kind of concern that the heavens were also regarded to be spherical.[93] According to Aristotle the universe was composed of 1) a sublunary realm in which existence consisted of four elements (water, fire, earth, air) and 2) the celestial spheres, where a fifth element, ether, prevailed. While these ideas of Aristotle were adopted by many scholars such as al-Kindi (d.870)

[91] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Introduction to Islamic Maps", p.3.

[92] Anne Marie Schimmel, *Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 79.

[93] Jachimowicz, p. 150; J.H. Kramers, "Geography and Commerce", in *General outlines of Islamic geography***:** *selected and reprinted*, eds. Fuat Sezgin, Mazen Amawi, Carl Ehrig-Eggert, Eckhard Neubauer (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1992), p. 343.

and Ibn Rushd (d.1198), there were some exceptions like al-Biruni (d.1048) who maintained that the substance in the spheres was crystalline.[94]

Aristotle regarded the origin of the cosmic movement in the universe as the "prime mover" (*primum movens*), who is unmoved and eternal. However, he also maintained that the Earth is stationary. Ptolemy on the other hand described the universe as a vast but finite and closed system.[95] Through the works of Aristotle, *De Caelo* (On the Heavens), *Metaphysica* and works of Ptolemy such as *Geographia, Almagest* and *Planetary Hypotheses* and *Tetrabiblos,* Muslim scholars got acquainted with the sublunary and the celestial worlds of Aristotle, the geo-centric system, the epicyclical heavenly spheres, the idea of an eternal cosmos, the eternal and constant rotation of the heavens, the four elements, and the idea of the perfectness of the sphere.[96]

Having associated "the seven earths" in the *Qur'an* with the seven planets of the Ptolemaic model, Muslim scholars added two more spheres to it; the sphere of fixed stars (*felek-i sabite*) and the encircling sphere (*felek-i Atlas*), which they associated with the Footstool and the Throne of God. Besides, this kind of cosmologic schema was combined with the entities of the zodiac, the four directions, and the mineral world and also with the parts of the human body.[97]

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[94] Jachimowicz, p. 151.

[95] Peter Whitfeld, *The Mapping of the Heavens* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1995), pp. 20-25.

[96] Howard R., Turner, *Science in Medieval Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), p. 39; Ptolemy's "Almagest", trans. G.J.Toomer (London: Duckworth, 1984), pp.38-47 and pp. 419-20 in Karamustafa, "Cosmological Diagrams", p. 75; Jachimowicz, pp. 155-157.

[97] Karamustafa, "Cosmological Diagrams", pp. 74-76.

Muslims also embraced the ancient notion that the Earth was surrounded by an encompassing ocean *(Bahr-ı Muhit)*, from which all the seas have originated.[98] The *Bahr-ı Muhit* was also envisaged as surrounded by the cosmic Mountain Qaf. Even though there is no reference to Mountain Qaf in the *Qur'an*, it became a particularly important element in Islamic cosmology,[99] functioning as a kind of cosmic border between the earth and the heavens.[100]

The ancient notion of the seven climes and the Persian *kishvar* system entered into Muslim depictions of the cosmos also in this period.[101] In the seven climate system, the inhabited world –mostly corresponding to the Northern hemisphere- was divided into seven zones through horizontal lines. Some scholars also maintained the same model for the Southern hemisphere, which was considered uninhabitable due to excessive heat. The regions close to the Northern pole were regarded in the same way due to the intense cold.[102] The Greek word *clime* was translated into Arabic as *iqlim.*[103]

In the Persian *kishvar* system, however, the earth was divided into seven main regions; six of them surrounding the one in the center representing the

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[98] Karen Pinto in her work *Ways of Seeing* maintains that the idea of encircling ocean is as old as the first map of the Earth, that was a Babylonian image of the world. For information see Karen Pinto, *Ways of Seeing: Scenarios of the World in the Medieval Islamic Cartographic Imagination* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2002). Available [online]: http://wwwlb.aub.edu.lb/~kp02/research.htm [13 July 2007].

[99]Mountain Qaf is asserted to be originated from Iranian-India tradition. See Charles Wendell, "Baghdad: Imago Mundi and Other Foundation-Lore", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2 (April, 1971), pp. 126-127.

[100]André Miquel, *Arap Coğrafyacılarının Gözünden 1000 Yılında İslam Dünyası ve Yabancı Diyarlar* (*Du Monde et de l'étranger, Orient an 1000*) (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003), p. 17, p. 29.

[101] Both words, *clime (κλιμα)* and *kishvar* denotes seven, see; Karamustafa, "Introduction to Islamic Maps", p.8.

[102] For example see the selected parts of Ibn Hurdazbih's *Kitabü'l-Mesâlik ve'l-Memâlik*, in Yusuf Ziya Yörükan,ed., *Müslüman Coğrafyacıların Gözüyle Ortaçağ'da Türkler* (İstanbul: Gelenek Yayıncılık, 2005). p. 358; Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi, p. 23, p.26.

[103] Ahmet Karamustafa, "Introduction to Islamic Maps", pp. 7-8.

Iranian region.[104] Muslim geographers who depicted the world on the basis of this system were considered as making up the Iraqi school.[105]

Some geographers like Ibn Khurradadhbih marked the center of the Earth as the ancient Persian city of Sawad that was also known as Iranshahr, while others like Al-Yaqubi located it as Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid Empire.[106] By contrast the texts and maps of the Balkhi School; the center was defined as Mecca, called *umm al-qura*, "the mother of cities."[107] Another difference between these two schools was that the Iraqi school deals with the geography of the entire inhabited world, whereas the Balkhi School was only concerned with Islamdom and its frontiers.[108] It is because of these aspects of the latter that the maps of the Balkhi School have been considered as "Atlases of Islam". Works of this school are accompanied by south-oriented world maps and various regional maps. In those world maps, in compliance with the Ptolemaic view, the eastern coast of Africa was extended towards Asia whereas the Indian Ocean was represented as an open sea that is connected with the *Bahr-ı Muhit,* unlike Ptolemy, who depicted it as a landlocked sea.[109] It seems that the world map, *al-Surat al-Ma'muniyya*, which was drawn by seventy scholars of various origins upon the

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[104] Karamustafa, "Cosmological Diagram", pp. 76-78, for more information see Ehsan Yarshater, "Iranian Common Beliefs and Worldview", in *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

[105] Among the works of this school, we can mention *Kitab al-Buldan (*Book of Regions*)* of al-Yaqubi (circa d. 905), *Kitab al-Mesalik al-Memalik (*Book of the Routes and Realms*)* of Ibn Khurradadhbih (circa d. 911) and *Muhtasaru Kitab-ı al-Buldan* of Ibn al-Fakih (after 912) and *Muruj al-dhahab wa ma'adin al-jawahir* (The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems) of al-Masudi.

[106] Yörükân, p. 310, p. 358, p. 234.

[107] See the selected parts of works of Ibn Hawqal and al-Istakhri in Yörükan, p. 61, p. 198; *EI²*, s.v. "Djughrafiye", 2, pp. 575-592.

[108] Loc.cit.

[109] Gerald Tibbets, "The Balkhi School of Geographers", p. 120.

request of the caliph al-Ma'mun became influential in the conception of the Indian Ocean as an open sea.[110] Muslim scholars such as al-Farghani (d. 880), al-Battani (d. 923), Abdurrahman Al-Sufi (d.986), Ibn Haitham (d.1039), Ibn Bajja (d.1139), and al-Bitruji (d. 1210), made some corrections on the spherical notions and measurements of the planets in the *Almagest.* The development of Arabic trigonometry became the most influential factor in the criticism against the works of Ptolemy. Muslims rightly reduced the length of the Mediterranean that was depicted as having occupied more than one third of the inhabited world in Ptolemy's Geography.[111] In addition to this, Islamic scholars measured the circumference of the earth better than Ptolemy[112]; and this measurement became the basis for Islamic geography by providing an opportunity to test other data found in ancient texts.[113]

Al-Biruni on the other hand developed a theory for the calculation of the *kiblah*, and drew a sketch on the distribution of land and water in his work *Kitab al-tafhim li-awa'il sina'at al-tanjim*. (The Book of Instruction on the Principles of Art and Astrology) in 1017; and proposed the connection between Indian and Atlantic Oceans and the possibility for circumnavigation of the South African coast.[114]

In terms of philosophical concerns on the cosmos, Muslim scholars came under the influence of Greek philosophy. The main idea underlying Greek

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[110] Fuat Sezgin, *The Contribution of the Arabic-Islamic Geographers to the Formation of the World Map* (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabic-Islamicschen Wissenschaften, 1987), p. 39.

[111] Sezgin, p. 15.

[112] C.A.Nallino, "Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano secondo i geografi arabi", *Cosmos*, serie II, 11 (1892-93), pp. 20-27, 50-63, 105-121, in Sezgin, p. 16.

[113] Ibid. p.16.

[114] Gerald Tibbets, "Later Cartographic Developments", pp.141-142.

philosophy was that the cosmos was based on reason and unconditioned laws that the human intellect can grasp.[115] In Islamic philosophy, we see reflections of this idea in the *Mu'tazilite* school, which was temporarily accepted as the official doctrine of the empire under the Caliph al-Ma'mun. *Mu'tazilite* scholars defended the idea that God created the world in the best form. In this respect, each of His acts was for the beneficence of men and accorded with justice. They also emphasized that His creation can be understood by reason and intellect.[116]

The ideas of Plotinus (3rd century), the founder of Neo-Platonism also influenced Islamic scholars. In his *Enneads,* which was transmitted into the Islamic world under the title *Theology of Aristotle,* he envisaged the cosmos as having been emanated from an absolutely Transcendent One, just as light emanated from the Sun.[117] Neo-Platonism deals with the thought that absolute intelligence comes out of the absolutely Transcendent One, and through intelligence, the Absolute Soul came to the fore. It was due to the encounter of the Absolute Soul and Absolute Intelligence that time and motion were made visible. Each of the celestial spheres in the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model was regarded as having its own intelligence. Neo-Platonists wanted to explain the complexity and variety in the cosmos, and regards human intelligence as a reflection of the Active Reason. They also maintained that if one can fully realize one's own reason, one can be a participant in the continuing process of creation and therefore reach unity

[115] Hodgson, 1, p. 418.

[116] Micheal E. Marmura, "God and his creation: two medieval Islamic views" in *Introduction to Islamic Civilisation*, ed. R.M. Svory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p.48.

[117] The idea of *creatio ex-nihilo* is based on the Qur'anic verses (7:54; 10:3; 32:4; 57:4) in which it is said that the world was created in six days. On the hand, those Neo-platonists, or Ibn Rush pointed out that the cosmos was eternal relying on the Qur'anic verse (11:7) that inserts God throne was on the water refers to eternity of the water see *EQ, s.v.* "Philosophy and the *Qur'an". A*vailable [online]: http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=q3_COM-00146, [15 August, 2007].

from multiplicity. In this framework, philosophy functioned as a means for purifying one's soul and as the most authentic way of worshipping God.[118]

In Islamic scholarship, Neo-Platonic ideas were adopted under the rubric of the "emanation theory" (*sudur*), in which the "Absolute One" was identified with God and this paved the way for the adoption of notions by Muslim scholars such as the relation of macrocosm and microcosm and the "unity of being" (*wahdat al-wujud*).[119] These ideas became influential on Muslim philosophers like al-Farabi (d. 950) and Ibn Sina (d.1037); Sufis such as al-Suhrawardi (d.1191), Ibn al-Arabi (d.1240) and especially on Isma'ili theologians like Hamid al-din al-Kirmani (d.1020).[120] Al-Farabi maintained that God created the world by thinking, while Ibn-i Sina (d.1037) considered God as the *prima causa* and argued that all existence had existed in God's thought before He created the cosmos.

The ideas of Neo-Platonism were criticized by many scholars as well. The followers of Neo-Platonic ideas were accused of placing reason above revelation. Emanation theory was associated with reason since ancients were able to establish this theory through use of reasoning and without revelation. For example, the first Islamic philosopher, the *Mu'tazilite* theologian al-Kindi (d. 873) embraced the idea of emanation but rejected the ideas of the eternal process of creation. Instead, he defended the idea of *creatio ex nihilo.*[121] The most striking opposition came from the *Ash'arite* school that was founded by al-Ashari (d. 935). One of the most important representatives of this school, al-Ghazali (d.1111) defended *creatio ex*

[118] Hodgson, 1, p. 427.

[119] Jachimowicz, p. 146.

[120] Oliver Leaman, *A Brief Introduction to Islamic Philosophy* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), pp. 4-5; Ian R. Netton, "Neo-Platonism in Islamic Philosophy". Available [online] http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/rep/H003.htm, [10 August 2007].

[121] Marmura, p. 50 .

nihilo and criticized the ideas of pre-existing substance and eternal cosmos, claiming that they both limit the free-will of God to create in the way He likes. [122] In his work *Ihya''ulum al-din* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences), al-Ghazali also argued against *Mu'tazilite* theology, claiming that human intelligence and reasoning were not capable of understanding God's cosmic plan. In this respect, the *Ash'arites* considered knowledge as inferior to faith and argued that reason is not necessary to confirm the validity of revelation.

Moreover, the cosmos was not composed of entities that inherited their movements and effects from themselves, since this would violate the omnipotence of God. For them, the cosmos consisted of indivisible atoms. The continuity among the atoms is submitted to the will of God; and it was He who kept creating every atom again and again.[123] They also maintained that the human being is neither completely free nor restrained, and that events occur on the basis of certain laws; but we cannot be sure whether these laws would always repeat themselves, because there are cases when these laws do not work and miraculous things, *khariq al-'ada,* occur. For them, these were the signs of the power of God in the natural order.[124]

Al-Ghazali's attack on philosophy was criticized by Ibn Rushd (d.1198) in his *Tahafut al-tahafut* (The Incoherence of the Incoherence). He argued that Islam and philosophy should not conflict with each other, and dispute may arise from a misinterpretation of verses. He pointed out that if there is a dispute on the meaning of some verses, this would mean that these verses should be interpreted

[122] Heinen,"Tafakkur", p. 107.

[123] Hodgson, 1, pp. 442-443; Majid Fakhry, *A History of Islamic Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), chapter seven, part II, "The Ash'arite school and the Formulation of the Occasionalist Metaphysics of Atoms and Accidents".

[124] Schimmel, pp. 80-85; Hodgson, 1, p. 441.

metaphorically. Moreover, he also asserted that the idea of an eternal cosmos does not necessarily conflict with the *Qur'an,* since some verses (e.g. 11:7) already might be interpreted in this direction. Besides he argued that eternity of God also corresponds with an eternal cosmos that proves his perfection.[125]

The story of Islamic cosmology is much more complicated than what has been narrated here. Yet, it is not within the scope of this thesis to deal with every aspect of it. Generally speaking one can convey that the *Qur'an*, *isra'iliyyat,* and the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model functioned as the main components of Islamic cosmology. The efforts of early Muslims to flesh out the Qur'anic implications with the help of *isra'iliyyat* opened the door to pre-Islamic notions that entered into Islamic cosmology. Moreover, the expansion of Islam throughout the lands extending from North Africa to India led Greek, Persian and Indian elements transmit into the Islamic view of the cosmos, leading Muslims to create their own synthesis. The political and cultural agenda of the Muslim states and the challenge of other religions influenced the scope of this synthesis greatly.

One can find the components of Islamic cosmology in the medieval cosmographical works; the references to the Qur'anic verses, hadiths, reports of *isra'iliyyat* authorities, the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model of cosmos, and ideas of various Muslim philosophers. In some cases, cosmographies incorporated various speculations which were somehow associated with the religious concepts and figures, the case which can be characterized as pious speculation. As mentioned previously, an essential characteristic of medieval Islamic cosmographies is to illustrate the omnipotence of God, in this sense; various scientific and philosophical ideas were presented side by side in order to emphasize might of

[125] *DIA*, s.v. "Alem", 2, pp. 358-359; Schimmel, pp. 80-85; see also, *EQ, s.v.* "Cosmology ". Available [online]: http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=q3_COM-00043, [15 August 2007]; Marmura, p. 51.

God. The phenomena of wondrous and strange things also played integral roles in this kind of emphasis. We will deal with this issue in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE PHENOMENA OF *'AJA'IB* AND *GHARA'IB*

This chapter is concerned with the implications of the terms *'ajib* (wondrous) and *gharib* (strange) in Islamic geographical literature and the approach of modern scholarship to those geographical and cosmological works dealing with the phenomena of *'aja'ib and ghara'ib* that are to be classified under a certain genre, namely the genre of *'aja'ib* or *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* (wonders of creation). In this regard, there will be some references to the argument made by Syrinx von Hees in her article "The Astonishing: a critique and re-reading of 'Aǧā'ib literature"[126] concerning the issue of whether such a genre existed or not.

'Ajib and *gharib*

The Arabic word *'ajib (*pl.*'aja'ib)* literally refers to an object or situation that causes astonishment. It is associated with the term "marvel" originating from the Latin word *mirabilis* (pl. *mirabilia*) which is also related to *admiratio* (admiration).[127] The term '*aja'ib* can also be regarded as the equivalent of

[126] Syrinx von Hees, "The Astonishing: a critique and re-reading of 'Aǧā'ib literature"[126], *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 8, no. 2 (July 2005), pp. 101-120.

[127] Roy P. Mottahedeh,*"Aja'ib* in The Thousand and One Nights" in *The Thousand and One Nights in Arabic Literature and Society,* ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 29, *EI²* s.v. "'adja'ib"; Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, (*L'Imaginaire médiéval*), trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 27; Katherine Park, Lorraine Daston, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750,* (New York: Zone Books; Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), p. 21.

wondrous entities. The term *gharib* (pl. is *ghara'ib*), on the other hand, corresponds to strange and rare entities or oddities. [128]

In Islamic literature, we see that *'ajib, gharib* and their derivatives are used to denote astonishing, admirable and strange aspects of existence such as buildings of Antiquity (e.g. Pyramids, Pharos of Alexandria), topographical features of nature (e.g. mountains, deserts, lakes, rocks, caves), different races living in the distant lands, exotic plants, minerals, animals and plants.[129] Occasionally, *'ajib* and *gharib* are used in relation to "mythical lands and fantastic races that were mostly positioned in the margins, marking 'a kind of boundary between the known and unknown parts of the world."[130]

The fascination with such wonders dates back to Antiquity, particularly illustrated within the epics of Homer and the *Historia* of Herodotus, in which the equivalent of wonder appeared as *thouma.* The tradition of paradoxography that emerged out of Aristotle's project for the compilation of natural phenomena, paved the way for the documentation of wondrous and strange entities as well.[131] Among the places that were noted for their wonders, we especially see India and the Indian Ocean. The most important text in this respect is the treatise written by Ktesias from Knidos around the fourth century B.C.[132], which portrays India as a land of marvelous mountains, diamonds, and gold. Ktesias describes remarkable

[128] *EI*, sv. "gharib", 2, p.1011.

[129] *EI²*, s.v. "adja'ib", 1, p.203.

[130] Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature,*p. 14.

[131] Ibid. p.21.

[132] Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 5 (1942), p. 159.

species such as the pygmies, cranes,[133] sciapodes,[134] cynocephali,[135] antipodes[136], martikhoras[137], unicorns, griffins, headless people whose face lies between their shoulders, others with eight fingers and toes, large ears, giants, and people with extraordinarily long tails. Even though Alexander's invasion of India in 326 B.C. brought some changes to the general conception of India, it could not eliminate its image as a supernatural realm.[138] Rudolf Wittkower explains it as the relation between what was seen as opposed to what was imagined. He refers to the similarity of mythic creatures with Indian ones, such as the unicorn and the Indian rhinoceros.[139]

Despite the fact that Hellenic scholars like Eratosthenes, Ptolemy and Strabo ridiculed tales about such wonders, the medieval Christian world inherited an ancient corpus of curiosities from distant lands. Among the texts relating stories of marvels and fabulous races are Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, Solinus's *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, the encyclopedic works of Macrobius, of Martinus Capella and Isidore of Seville. The typology of wonders in these works affected European literature and the worldview of Europeans for centuries.[140]

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[133] Illiad of Homeros also talks about these kinds of creatures, for example people with one eye are described there as the people of the North. (IV, 27)Wittkower, p. 160.

[134] "People with a single large foot on which they move with great speed and which they also use as a sort of umbrella against the burning sun". Loc. cit.

[135]Dog-headed people, who cannot speak but only bark. Loc.cit.

[136] These are people "whose heels are in front while the instep and toes are turned backwards", Wittkower, p. 162.

[137] A Hybrid with the head of a man and the body of a lion and the tail of a scorpion, see ibid. p.160.

[138] Interestingly, the writing of Megasthenes who was sent to India by Seleucid (Alexander's heir in Asia) about 303 B.C. confirmed the picture of India drawn by Ktesias, see ibid. pp.161-164.

[139] Ibid. p.164.

[140] Derek Nelson, *Off the Map* (New York: Kodansha International, 1997), p.43; Wittkower, p. 180; Arthur Percival Newton, "Traveller's Tales of Wonder and Imagination" in *Travel in* the *Middle Ages,* ed. Arthur Percival Newton (London : K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1926), pp.159-161; Leon

Medieval Islamic literature was also influenced by the ancient literature on wonders. One can find typological parallels between the wonders of Antiquity, Medieval Europe and the Islamic world. In Medieval Islamic literature, we see the existence of various travel accounts and geographical and cosmographical works that describe wonders and anomalies within the world. In some texts, they are discussed in separate sections denoted to *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib.* Among these works we see *'Aja'ib al-Hind* of Buzurg b. Shahriyar, *Mukhtasar Kitab al-Buldan* of Ibn al-Faqih, *Tuhfat al-albab wa nukhbat al-'aja'ib* by Abu Hamid al-Gharnati (d.1169-70), *Nukhbat al-dahr fi 'aja'ib al-barr wa'l-bahr* by al-Dimashqi (d.1327). Needless to say, al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and the *Kharidat* of pseudo-al-Wardi also belong with them.

The phenomena of wondrous and strange things both in the medieval European and Islamic worlds were regarded as signs for the portrayal of the omnipotence and the will of God. Some of them were also interpreted as the signs of His wrath or warnings for divine punishment.[141] To elaborate the implications of *'ajib* and *gharib* in more detail, we can turn our attention to two important sources: the *Qur'an* and al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* in which he gives detailed definitions for both terms.

In the *Qur'an, 'ajib* and its derivatives are used to describe the astonishment of both believers and unbelievers at the deeds of God, with which they are unfamiliar. For example, in verse 11:72 it is stated that Sarah, the wife of Abraham, was told by the envoys of God that she was going to give birth [despite

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Augustus Hausman, "Fearsome Monsters of Early Days", *The Scientific Monthly*, 13, no. 6 (December, 1921), p.568; Le Goff, pp. 36-38; Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, "Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century France and England", *Past and Present,* no. 92 (1981), p.22.

[141] Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature,* pp. 40-51.

her old age] and she said: "This assuredly is a strange *('ajib*) thing."Yet in the next verse they point out to her that God is capable of doing everything: "What, dost thou marvel (*a-ta'jabin)* at God's command?[142] In another verse (18:9), the word wonder is used with a similar meaning: "Or dost thou think the Men of the Cave and Er-Rakeem were among Our signs a wonder ('*ajaban)*?"[143] In the verses 37:12-14, the first derivative of *'ajib* refers to the astonishment of the Prophet ('*ajibta*) and the second to a very astonishing thing ('*ujab*).[144] In other verses, the word implies the astonishment of infidels at Muhammad's claim to be a prophet, at the oneness of God and at the *Qur'an* being His word.[145] Lastly in 18:63, it refers to the miraculous event of the dead fish that found its way back into the ocean where the two seas adjoin. [To mark the place where Moses meets with a wise person to whom God had granted His knowledge of the unknown-a figure who is widely interpreted as Khidr, the patron saint of sailors][146]

Regarding these verses, one can assert that *'ajib* and its derivatives are used to denote human ignorance with regard to the scale of God's capability and might. In these verses, we see the astonishment of Sarah, the Prophet Muhammad and the infidels, since they did not expect such wonders to happen within their daily lives.

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[142] 11:72-73: She said, "Woe is me! Shall I bear, being an old woman, and this my husband is an old man? This assuredly is a strange thing.' They said, 'What, dost thou marvel at God's command?*"* Arberry, 1, p. 248.

[143] Arberry, 1, p.316.

[144] 37:12-14: "We created them of clinging clay. Nay, thou marvelest ('ajibta); and they scoff and, when reminded, do not remember and, when they see a sign ('ujab), would scoff. ", Arberry, 2, p. 150 [Arberry translated *'ujab* as sign but literally it refers to very astonishing thing.]

[145] 38:4: "Now they marvel that a warner has come to them from among them; and the unbelievers say, 'This is lying sorcerer. What, has he made the gods One God? This is indeed a marvelous thing!"; 50:2: "Nay, but they marvel that a warner has come to them from among them; and the unbelievers say, This is a marvelous thing!", Arberry, 2, p. 158. 53:55: "This is a warner, of the warners of old. The Imminent is imminent; apart from God none can disclose it. Do you then marvel at this discourse!", Arberry, 2, p. 246.

[146] 18:63*:* "… so it took its way into the sea in a manner marvelous." Arberry, 2, p. 324.

In this respect, astonishment appears as a state of mind that results from alarm at events that are not within our experience or predictive knowledge. One can even speculate that in the *Qur'an,* the people's astonishment at the wondrous deeds of God signifies the lack, on their part, of a firm belief in the might of God.

As regards the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of *al-Qazwini,* we see the following definition of *'ajib*:

> They say that '*ajib* is the astonishment that befalls man because of his incapability to understand the cause of something, or its way of working. For instance, if he sees a beehive and has not seen before, he is struck with astonishment because he does not know who made it, and if he knew that this is the work of bees, he would be astonished as well how this weak animal could make these regular hexagons which the skilled engineer is incapable of making with compass and ruler. From where does it take that wax which it uses to make its even cells, of which not a single one is different, as if they were all made from the same mold? From where does it take the honey which it puts in there as provisions for the winter? And how do they know that the winter will come, and that there will be a shortage of food? What makes them cover their storage house of honey with a thin coating, so that the wax would enclose the honey from all sides, and the air does not dry it out, and the dust does not touch it and it stays like an earthen jar sealed with paper? [147]

In the following lines, al-Qazwini further attests that everything created on earth has an astonishing aspect, yet people lose their curiosity and amazement after their acquaintance with objects or events, except in cases where they meet with the unfamiliar:

> ...everything in the world is like this ['*ajib*], only that man grasps it in his youth although he lacks the experience. Then the natural intellect gradually develops in him, little by little, and he entirely indulges in satisfying his needs and fulfilling his desires, once he has become familiar with

[147]Alma, Giese, *Die Wunder des Himmels und der Erde*: Selected *parts of Qazwini, Zakariya ibn Muammad*, unpublished trans. Gottfried Hagen (Stuttgart : Thienemann, 1986), pp. 12-17. I thank Assoc. Prof. Gottfried Hagen for his permission to use his unpublished translation in my thesis.

> what he understands and senses. Then he loses sight of them, due to his long familiarity with them. Now if he by surprise sees a strange animal or a rare plant or an extraordinary fact his tongue bursts forth with praise [of God] and he says: Praise to God![148]

Concerning the use and definition of *'ajib* in both the *Qur'an* and *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat,* we can infer that in the *Qur'an*, *'ajib* and its derivatives are used with negative implications, denoting man's ignorance of God's might; while in *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* each created thing is regarded as wondrous and astonishment is encouraged unlike in the case of the *Qur'an.* Nevertheless, it is essential to retain that *'ajib* and its derivatives in both texts are used pertaining to the omnipotence of God.

As regards *gharib*, al-Qazwini defines it as a strange thing or incident that occasionally comes into being. Al-Qazwini clarifies that this is either God's own intervention or the intervention of key figures such as prophets, saints and sages to whom God granted such ability:

> [*Gharib*] is every marvelous thing that occurs rarely and contradicts common customs and familiar observation. This occurs either through the effect of strong souls or through heavenly powers or elementary bodies and all of them occur through divine power and will. They include miracles of the prophets, like the splitting of the Moon or the parting of the waters, or the stick turning into a snake, or the fire being cold and safe and the emergence of the she-camel from the rock, the curing of the blind and the leprous, bringing the dead back to life with God's permission. They also include miracles of the just saints. Their souls have an effect beyond their own bodies, so that wondrous things become manifest in the world through them...[149]

In addition to this explanation, al-Qazwini specifies revelations, the miracles (or spiritual effects) of prophets, saints and sages, climatic and geological events (e.g.

[148] Giese, unpublished translation of Hagen, p.1.

[149] Ibid. p. 5.

comets, eclipses, earthquakes); plants, animals and minerals with bizarre peculiarities, talismans and evil eye among the phenomena of *gharib.*[150] One can derive from this definition that the term *gharib* refers to entities and events that transgress the norm *(khariq al-'ada),* which were regarded as a sign of the power of God in the natural order.[151] This is what Roy Mottahedeh pointed out as "the separation and loneliness" of the *gharib.*[152]

Al-Qazwini counts revelation as *gharib* while in the *Qur'an,* we see that infidels are described to have marveled upon the Revelation. Here, there is a reference to the human norm rather than the norm of God, because the *Qur'an* frequently emphasizes that God has sent many prophets that brought revelations from Him.

Consequently, we can ask what the functions of the phenomena of *'aja'ib and ghara'ib* in Islamic geographical texts were. Were they for the entertainment and edification of the elites and the pious audience or for the (dis)couragement of scientific activity? It appears they are all relevant.

Al-Qazwini's association of *'ajib* with everything in the world also conveys the message that *'ajib* generally denotes the creation of God and therefore implies that their character is natural rather than supernatural. This brings to one's mind the perception of St. Augustine (354-430) who asserted that *mirabilia* were not

[150] Giese, unpublished translation of Hagen pp. 5-7.

[151] Schimmel, pp. 80-85; Hodgon, 1, p. 441.

[152] Mottahedeh infers this point from the definition of al-Raghib al-Isfahani: "of anything separated away, that it is gharib and of anything which is not similar to its species that it is gharib" see Al-Raghib al-Isfahani, *al-Mufradat fi Gharib al-Qur'an*, ed. Muhamad Kailani, (Cairo: Dar al-Hadith, 1961) in Mottahedeh, p. 31.

contrary to nature (*contra naturam*) but divergent from what we know of nature.[153] It is known that on the basis of such an approach some Medieval European philosophers regarded these phenomena as transitory "supernatural" entities that could be decoded by the wise through their reasoning and reflection. In other words, they started to "de-wonder" wonders with rational explanations.[154]

Concerning al-Qazwini's definition of *'ajib*, von Hess asserts that *'ajib* paves the way for "an alert mind and a living faith," leading one to inquire and learn about God.[155] Another remark of al-Qazwini that urges his audience to observe nature supports the claim of von Hees:

> … He should take a sharp look at those heavenly bodies, their sublime expanse, solidity and how they are preserved from change and deterioration until the date of the scripture arrives…then at how they rotate in different ways…then he should look at the stars and the Sun and the Moon and how they rise and set in different places due to their different times which cause the growth of plants and animals…then he should look at the number of the stars…look at the divergence of the winds, .. he should look at the Earth and how it is made stable…look at the deep seas which are gulf of the great ocean…look at animals and jewels which are in it [ocean] there is no sort of animal on the land for which there is not a counterpart in the sea,…look at the pearl.. the marvels of the seas are more than can be enumerated… look at the minerals which are placed underneath the mountains,… look at the different kinds of plants and fruits of many shapes, colors, tastes and smells, although they are all watered with the same water…look at the deserts and how all their parts look the same. If a drop of rain falls onto them it comes to life and sprouts and grows of all kinds of splendid kinds.[156]

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[153] Augustione of Hippo, *De Civitate Dei*, eds. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Corpus christianorum: series latina 47, 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), pp. 771 and 761-63 in Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), p. 48.

[154] For information see Katherine Park, "The Topography of Wonder: Admiratio in Medieval and Renaissance Europe,"Lecture for the University of Bielefeld, (June 1993), in Bynum p. 51. Bynum exemplifies rationalization attempts of the different scholars such as Albert the Great, Nicole Oresme, Roger Bacon and Thomas Aquinas see Bynum, pp. 50-51.

[155] Von Hees, p. 106.

[156] Giese, unpublished translation of Hagen, pp. 4-6

Taking al-Qazwini's points into account, von Hees's argument seems plausible due to the fact that the astonishment, confusion and the resulting curiosity invoked by the phenomena of '*aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* may have led people to make investigations. On the other hand the phenomena of *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* might have provoked other kinds of responses. Considered to be signs of the omnipotence of God, *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* phenomena might just as easily have prevented people from making inquiries since they also mark their incapability to understand the cosmos which is filled with amazing and unexpected things. On the other hand, the discourse of '*aja'ib and ghara'ib* may also have invoked fear in the minds of people, convinced them that their homeland was the best place on the Earth and led them to stay wherever they were rather than travel and investigate.[157]

As regards their entertaining functions, it can be inferred that *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* played an important role in providing relief from the tedium of daily affairs, as in the stories of Scheherazade for Shah Shahriyar. These are filled with *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* events.[158] Having examined the works dealing with wonders, Arabic scholar Shawqi Abd al-Qawi Uthman Habib acknowledges that the readers of these works might have found a chance to step into another world different from theirs, one that was more interesting and exciting.[159] Likewise, it can be speculated that these works affected people so much that they expected to meet those astonishing and strange things in their lives. That is to say, they have

[157] Cf. Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, pp. 60-67.

[158] Mottahedeh, pp. 32-38; Habib, pp. 98-100.

[159] Shawqi Abd al-Qawi Uthman Habib, "*Kutub al-'Aja'ib wa al-Ghara'ib*" (Books Pertaining to Wonders and Miracles) , *The Arabist*, 23, (2001), pp. 95-96, [I thank Hossein Ashchi for his translation of this article from Arabic into English].

might have interpreted the mysteries of life by interposing the *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* entities mentioned in these works.

One can derive an analogy between *One Thousand and One Nights* and '*aja'ib* material in cosmological/geographical texts. Roy Mottahedeh emphasizes that the astonishing stories of Scheherazade were able to keep her alive, which had also been true for the characters in her stories whose lives were saved through their narration of marvelous stories. Taking all this into account, however, we have a picture and a chain of stories that gives one the feeling of being lost in a labyrinth. Mottahedeh states that this labyrinth or puzzle in fact represents life itself.[160] Can we also apply the same argument for cosmological and geographical works dealing with the phenomena of '*aja'ib* and *ghara'ib*? They seem to draw a picture of the cosmos filled with unexpected and amazing things; beautiful buildings, treasures and amazing creatures like fairies, jinns, dragons, snakes, monsters, and miracles that motivate one to astonish, wonder, contemplate and fear. Habib maintains that the influence of *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* phenomena might be perceived better if one takes into consideration that these works were recited on dark nights, illuminated by candles and moonlight. He suggests that in this type of atmosphere the landscape of the stories would have been envisaged better.[161]

Defining the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* Genre

Modern scholars have classified the works dealing predominantly with the phenomena of '*aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* under a specific genre called *'aja'ib* or *'Aja'ib*

[160] Mottahedeh, pp. 35-38.

[161] Habib, p. 96-98.

al-Makhluqat.[162] Even though one might think that the genre took its name from the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of al-Qazwini, it is essential to remark that al-Qazwini's text was not the first text that has that title.[163] Among the works classified under this genre, we see other texts with similar titles such as *Aja'eb al-Dunya* by Abu'l-Mo'ayyad Balkhi, *Kitab-i Tohfat al-Ghara'eb*[164]*, Majma' al-Ghara'eb by* Soltan Muhammad b. Darvis Mohammad Mofti Balkhi, compiled between the twelfth and the eighteenth centuries.[165]

Recently however, Syrinx von Hees has questioned whether these works can really be considered to constitute a genre. She has maintained that scholars such as Carra de Vaux and Tawfiq Fahd defined the genre simply by including all works whose titles include the word *'aja'ib* [in some cases along with *ghara'ib*] in the bibliographic dictionary *Kashf az-Zunun* of the seventeenth century Ottoman scholar Katib Çelebi.[166] Both von Hees and Uthman Habib here pointed out that the subjects of the works listed here alphabetically vary.[167] Habib

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[162] See the preface by André Miquel and introduction by Carra de Vaux for the anonymous work *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, ed. André Miquel, trans. Carra de Vaux (Paris: Sinbad, 1984). ; *EI²*, s.v. "Adjaib", 1, p.203; Tawfiq Fahd, "Le merveilleux dans la Faune, la Flore et les Minéraux",in *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux dans l'Islam Médiéval*, ed. M. Arkoun (Paris: Edition J.A., 1978), p.119 ; *EIr* "Aja'eb al-Makhluqat", 1, pp. 696-697; L.Richter-Bernburg, "Aja'ib literature" in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, eds. J.S. Meisami and P. Starkey, 1 (London; New York: Routledge, 1998) pp. 65-66; *DIA*, s.v. "Acaibü'l Mahlukat", 1, pp. 315-317; Günay, Kut "Türk Edebiyatı'nda 'Aca'ib al-mahlukat Tercümeleri Üzerine", *Beşinci Milletler Arası Türkoloji Kongresi Tebliğleri*, II/I, (1985).

[163]The same title was used by authors like Abu'l Hossein Abdurrahman b. Omar as-Sufi and Mohammad b. Mahmud b. Ahmad Tusi earlier than al-Qazwini see *DIA,* s.v. "Acaibü'l mahlukat", 1, p. 316.

[164] The author of this work is uncertain, yet it is emphasized that one of the copies identified the author as Muhammad b. Ayyub At-tabari, *DIA*, s.v. "Acaibü'l mahlukat", 1, p. 316. For more information see, Maria Kowalska, "Remarks on the unidentified cosmography *Tuhfat al-gara'ib*", *Folia Orientalia*, 9 (1967), pp. 11-18. There is also another Persian work in this genre called *Tuhfat al-gara'eb* by Mohammad Husayn Astarabadi.

[165] *EIr*, s.v."Aja'eb al-Makhluqat", pp. 697-699; *DIA,* s.v., "Acaibü'l Mahlukat",1, pp. 315-317.

[166] Von Hees, p. 112.

[167] Habib, pp. 95-96; Von Hees, pp. 112-113.

illustrates this fact by designating the work of *'Aja'ib al-Athar fi at-Tarajum wa al-Akhbar* which deals with the documentation of daily events in Egyptian history during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while *Tuhfat al-Nuzzar fi Ghara'ib al-Amsar wa 'Aja'ib al-Asfar* presents the travel experiences of Ibn Battuta.[168]

I agree with both von Hees and Habib that the list in *Kashf az-Zunun* provides a wide range of works extending from travel accounts (e.g.*'Aja'ib al-Hind*, *Rihla* of Ibn Battuta), to regional geographical accounts (e.g. Ibn Ilyas *Nuzhat al-Umam fi'l-'Aja'ib wa al-Hikam*), from the books of sorcery and magic (e.g. *Kitab al-'Aja'ib wa'l-Ghara'ib* by Muhammad b. Qadi Minyas), to those cosmological works (e.g. Al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat*, *'Aja'ib al-Tab'iyya wa'l-Ghara'ib al-Sana'iyya* of al-Biruni and *'Aja'ib al-Dunya* of al-Mas'udi).[169]

However, this list does not seem to be the main criterion for the idea of genre since it appears that those works classified under the genre of *'aja'ib* or *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* are not identical with the works outlined in *Kashf az-Zunun.* That is to say, those works listed under the entry for *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second edition) by C. E. Bosworth and I. Afshar and in the *D IA* by Günay Kut, are those works dealing with the phenomena of *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib.* They do not simply include all the works with the word *'aja'ib* in their titles. Perhaps one work, *Tuhfat al-Ghara'ib* by an anonymous author, might be an exception, since it appears to be dealing with magical prescriptions rather than wonders of the cosmos.[170] In this regard, it is hard to say that there is no

[168] Habib, p. 96.

[169] For the list of works see Katib Çelebi (Hacı Khalifah), *Kashf az-Zunun* (İstanbul : Maarif Matbaası, 1941-43), pp. 1125-1128.

[170] *EI,* s.v. "adjaib",1, p. 698.

genre called *'aja'ib* or *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* since there seem many works dealing with the same issues in a similar way.

Von Hees has also criticized modern scholarship for reducing the meaning of '*aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* to denoting only supernatural entities. She argues that they could also be used to refer to actual events and entities that astonished people. Hence she has questioned modern scholarship's tendency to consider them as the fruits of the Islamic "decadence" of scientific activity which was believed to have started in the twelfth century.[171] The last bias of modern scholarship appears to be related to a change in the image of wonders in the Enlightenment, which is characterized by Katherine Park as the age of anti-marvelous. In the case of Western literature, we see that the audience for the literature of wonders continued to rise in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially after the introduction of printing technology in Europe.[172] This novelty brought the discussion of wonders to every forum, making the works popular. However, they began to lose popularity by the end of the seventeenth century through the impact of the Reformation, the rise of literacy and the urban elite. The Enlightenment and modern science played a major role in transforming the people's perception of wonders. From the eighteenth century on, these texts lost their influence; intellectuals and theologians considered such documents to interest only illiterate and uncultivated people.[173]

Within this framework, one can understand how works on wonder came to be dismissed by modern scholarship and the works of the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* genre were associated with the decline of science in the Islamic world. However, the

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[171] Von Hess, p. 105.

[172] Hausman, p.562.

[173] Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature,* pp. 328-350.

approaches of Carra de Vaux and André Miquel to *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* do not seem that reductionist. For example, de Vaux is aware that *'aja'ib* do not necessarily refer to imaginary entities,[174] while Miquel concedes that '*aja'ib* should have realistic implications since otherwise the entities they denote lose their persuasiveness.[175] Similarly, Touati states that it would be misleading to put the works dealing with *'aja'ib* aside from works with scientific concerns and to characterize them as works of entertainment, since this would deny their credibility in the eyes of the audience.[176] However, it is due to the abundance of fantastic phenomena, that modern scholarship has generally approached the literature on wonders as false representations of reality and revealed its lack of critical reasoning and empiricism.[177]

In response to this kind of framework, von Hees remarks that some Muslim scholars were able to identify the fictitious and implausible material in such texts and named them as *khurafa* (Ar. "superstition") or *durugh* (Per. "lie").[178] Furthermore, she interprets the Muslims writers' specification of the source, whether they are eye-witness accounts or hearsay, as an indication that helps the audience to realize what has been fabricated.[179] In my point of view, von Hees's argument is partly plausible. It is a fact that there were Muslim scholars who were

[174] L'*Abrégé des Merveilles*, trans. Carra deVaux (Paris: Klincksieck, 1898), repr. F. Sezgin, Islamic Geography, 196 (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1994), p. 10; Touati p. 213.

[175] Miquel, p. 68.

[176] Touati, pp. 213-214.

[177] Von Hees points out the following works in this category: Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic*, *A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*, trans. R. Howard (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1973), p. 55; Manfred Ullman, *Die Natur und Geheimwissenschaften in Islam*, HdO, 1. Abt., Ergb. VI, 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), p. 6.

[178] For more information see Von Hees, pp. 106-109.

[179] Von Hees, p. 108.

keen to differentiate plausible from implausible knowledge. From the tenth century on, scholars like al-Jahiz, al-Biruni, and al-Masudi denounced the dissemination of fabricated stories from popular preachers and storytellers.[180] In his book *Masalik wa'l-Mamalik*, the geographer Ibn Hawqal, for example, condemned the tales of particular storytellers and suggested that readers search for the truth when not convinced by argument.[181] On the other hand it does not seem reasonable that the specification of the source - such as being either from sailors, merchants or a specific individual -ensures a realization of the difference between fictitious and factual information. It might provide awareness, but it does not guarantee it. As Habib remarks; the specification of the source as in "one of the merchants related to me or one of the sailors told me" may have been inserted into the text to back up previous allegorical stories. Besides, he argues that it is probable that some writers reflected their own eye-witness accounts as hearsays in order to be more persuasive.[182] This brings us to the question of subjectivity. As Touati maintains, it is the narrator himself who decides what is worth transmitting to an audience, and this kind of selection is done by those who transfer information. Travelers, sailors, geographers, and storytellers always made a subjective selection while transmitting knowledge. This is also the case in selected works dealing with the phenomena of *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib*. So it is possible that each transmitter embellished, changed or corrupted eye-witness accounts (either of himself or of anyone else) or hearsay to make the narration more astonishing and

[180] Berkey, pp. 253-256.

[181] Yörükan, pp. 60-61.

[182] Habib, pp. 96-98.

attractive.[183]

Consequently, von Hees is right to argue that the phenomena of *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* do not necessarily denote unrealistic and fantastic existence. Concerning the issue of whether there is a genre of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat*, I think there is need for more research to argue that there is no such a genre since this kind of assertion could make us disregard the common ground that these works share. Furthermore, von Hees's argument that the discourse on '*aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* was conducive to investigation should not make us lose sight of other kinds of influences that these texts could exercise.

[183] Touati, pp. 213- 215; see also Habib, pp. 98-100; Hagen, *Ein Osmanischer,* p. 82

CHAPTER IV

THE OTTOMAN RECEPTION OF ISLAMIC COSMOGRAPHY

This chapter examines the Ottoman reception of Islamic cosmography with an emphasis on the most replicated examples of Islamic cosmography in the Ottoman Empire, namely *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* by al-Qazwini and the *Kharidat* by the pseudo-Ibn al-Wardi. In doing so, it also compares their treatment in contemporary scholarship with how they were perceived in the pre-modern Ottoman world.

In retrospect, Ottoman geographical literature is generally regarded to have developed under two schools; "eastern" and "western" or "classical" and "modern". Accordingly, the eastern/classical school is comprised of texts translated from Arabic or Persian geographical works as well as texts composed under their influence. This school is classified into two groups; the first includes elements of "scientific quality" while the second school contains no "scientific" value, that is to say, adaptations/translations of the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and the *Kharidat.*[184]

The works of the "eastern" school are considered to have been composed either by Ottoman scholars who visited Islamic learning centers and became acquainted with Arabic and Persian works, or by the Arabic and Persian scholars teaching in the Ottoman *madrasa*s. Either way, Arabic and Persian works began to be translated into Ottoman Turkish from the fifteenth century onwards, starting with an *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* translation by Ali b. Abdurrahman and Kemaleddin Damiri's *Hayat al-Hayewan*, a natural history book that included entries for almost

[184] See İhsanoğlu, p. xxxv and also "Osmanlı'da Bilim ve Teknoloji Birikimi" (the discussion among Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Kazım Çeçen, Mehmet Genç), in *Anatomi Dersleri:Osmanlı Kültürü*, ed. Zeynep Ögel (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995), p. 39.

a thousand animals created by Mehmed b. Süleyman.[185] It is also known that after the Battle of Otlukbeli in 1473, the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II was given a certain *Kitab-ı Masalik al-Mamalik* by the Akkoyunlu rulers as ransom. This work is known to have been translated into Ottoman Turkish.[186]

Another important development for the "eastern" school of Ottoman geographical works was the Ottoman expansion into major centers of Islamic learning i.e. Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem and the Holy cities (*el-harameyn*; Mecca and Medina) through Sultan Selim I's victory over the Safevid Shah Ismail in 1514 and the Mamluqs in 1516-1517. This development also facilitated the entrance of the Arabic and Persian geographical corpus (i.e. Ibn Zunbul's *Kanun al-Dunya)* into the Ottoman world and paved the way for the composition of synthetic works.[187] Still, the majority of the works from the eastern school were comprised of Ottoman adaptations/translations of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* by al-Qazwini and *Kharidat* by pseudo-al-Wardi.[188]

In contrast, the western school is attested to have been comprised of works which depicted the world in "more realistic terms" in comparison to the medieval cosmographies, and became acquainted with European geographical literature starting from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at a gradually accelerating pace.[189]

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[185] Esin Kahya, "15.yy'da Osmanlılarda bilimsel faaliyetlerin kısa bir değerlendirmesi", *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 14 (2003), pp.12-13.

[186] Pinto, pp. 57-67.

[187] Casale, pp. 44-45.

[188] İhsanoğlu, pp. lx-lxi. Out of twenty nine works listed in *OCLT*, only eleven are not related with the cosmographies of Al-Qazwini and pseudo-Al-Wardi. In the list, we also see Ahmet Bican Yazıcızade's *Dürr-i Meknun,* which is not a translation of an Arabic cosmography but a synthesis of various sources.

[189] İhsanoğlu,p. xxxvi; Ramazan Şeşen, Osmanlılar'da Coğrafya" in *Osmanlı*, ed. Güler Eren, 8, (Ankara: Semih Ofset, 1999), p. 321.

Even though both schools co-existed from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries,[190] modern scholarship has concentrated on the geographical works of the western school by associating its ebbs and flows with Ottoman expansion or stagnation and decline.

Among the most vivid figures associated with the western school, we see Sultan Mehmed II whose imperial project entailed ruling over all the lands that had once belonged to the Roman Empire. Mehmed II was known to have a keen interest in the political and cultural developments of Renaissance Italy and to patronize scholars and artists from both the East and the West. [191] In this respect, his commissioning of a translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* by the Greek scholar Amirutzes and his son from Greek into Arabic, has been presented as a significant event in the Ottoman encounter with European geographical knowledge.[192] By contrast, as Karen Pinto points out, the production of maps of the Balkhi School, during the reign of Mehmed II, has generally been neglected within modern scholarship.[193]

Another figure who has been much emphasized in modern scholarship on the development of the western school of Ottoman geography is Piri Reis (d. 1554), the Ottoman captain and cartographer who served during the reigns of Selim I and Suleiman the Magnificent. He was the author of *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, (Book of

[190] İhsanoğlu, p. xxxvi, see also "Osmanlı'da Bilim ve Teknoloji Birikimi", p. 39.

[191] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture Ceremonial and Power: the Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1991), pp. 11-12; Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600),* trans. Ruşen Sezer (İstanbul : Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), p.189.

[192] Doğan Uçar, "Turkish Cartography in the 16th century"in *Science in Islamic Civilisation: Proceedings of the International Symposia*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (İstanbul: Organisation of the Islamic Conference: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art & Culture, 2000), p. 213.

[193] Pinto, pp. 17-19.

Navigation)-a comprehensive book on navigation in the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas- as well as of two world maps, dated 1513 and 1528. Modern scholars have mostly shown interest in his map of 1513, in which he depicted the New World relying on the lost map of Columbus. This map has been interpreted as evidence of the Ottomans' acquaintance with the discovery of the New World and Western sources.[194]

Similarly, the portolans of Ali Macar Reis, drawn around 1567,[195] the *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* (1583) which gives a detailed description of the New World, and a further anonymous portolan noted for its successful depiction of the Indian Ocean have all been recognized as demonstrating the transmission of Western geographical knowledge into the Ottoman Empire.[196]

Concerning the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, emphasis has also been placed on the Ottoman translations from Western sources and on the leading figures in this translation movement. The most important of these figures was no doubt Katib Çelebi (d.1657). Katib Çelebi not only emphasized how important it was to follow contemporary geographical knowledge, but also composed geographical works and made translations based on Western sources (e.g. *Lavami' al-Nur fi Zulmat Atlas Minor* and *Cihannuma).* Other important figures in this period were Ebu Bekir el-Dımaşki (d.1691), who translated John Blaeu's *Atlas Major* under the title of *Nusret el-Islam ve'l Surur fi-tahrir-i Atlas Mayor* and Ibrahim Müteferrika,

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[194] Svat Soucek, "Piri Reis", in *Süleymân the Second [i.e. the First] and His Time*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (İstanbul : Isis Press, 1993), p. 345; Doğan Uçar, "Turkish Cartography in the 16 th century", pp. 220-221; for information see Afet İnan, *Piri Reis: His Life and His Works*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975); Charles Hapgood, *Maps of the Ancient Sea Kings,* (Philadelphia, 1966 and 1979); H.S. Selen, "Piri Reis'in Şimali Amerika Haritası (1528)", *Belleten* 1 (1937), for the list of those works on Piri Reis and his works see also İhsanoğlu, pp. 20-28.

[195] Thomas Goodrich, "Atlas-ı Hümayun: A Sixteenth Century Ottoman Maritime Atlas Discovered in 1984," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 10 (1985), p. 86, see also Svat Soucek, "The Ali Macar Reis Atlası and the Deniz Kitabı", *Imago Mundi,* 25 (1971), pp. 17-27.

[196] Svat Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean*",* 2, p.280.

who introduced the printing press and published geographical works of the western school. Attention has also been given to the establishment of schools in which geography first started to be taught.[197]

Within this framework, the story of Ottoman geographical knowledge has been narrated as one in which the critical weight shifted from the eastern to the western school, or from the pre-modern to the modern. As mentioned in the introduction, what is behind this emphasis is a conception of science that dismisses texts that were not in accord with the western perception of the cosmos. In other words, contemporary scholarship on Ottoman geographical literature has focused on finding the closest reflection of modern science mirrored by the past. Thus, those works that lacked any relation to the modern conception of science and the cosmos, such as Ottoman translations /adaptations of the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and the *Kharidat,* have been regarded as disorganized, filled with mythical details, written for entertainment and thus forming part of the "backward" and "primitive" phase of Ottoman geographical literature.[198]

However, it is a fact that these examples of Islamic cosmography were copied and read in the Ottoman Empire from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century, representing a kind of continuity of medieval cosmology. One can ask in this respect, whether modern scholarship does not overlook this continuity at the expense of highlighting "change" in Ottoman geographical

[197] For information see, İlhan Tekeli, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993.); H. Akyol, "Tanzimat devrinde bizde Coğrafya ve jeoloji", *Tanzimat* (Ankara, 1940); C. Orhonlu, "Geographical Knowledge amongst the Ottomans and the Balkans in the Eighteenth Century according to Bartınlı İbrahim Hamdi's Atlas"in *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*, ed. F.W. Carter (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

[198] Adnan Adıvar is the most representative figure of this kind of conception. See his work: *La Science chez les Turcs Ottomans* (Paris: n.p.,1939), *or Osmanlı Türklerinde Bilim,* p. 23, p. 96; İhsanoğlu, p. iii; Cevdet Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya*, p. 1, Ramazan Şeşen, "Osmanlılar'da Coğrafya", p. 321.

knowledge. The dismissive attitude of modern scholarship has already been criticized by scholars like Gottfried Hagen, Günay Kut, Laban Kaptein and Necdet Sakaoğlu with regard to the impact that such works had on the formation of the Ottoman *weltanschauung* in the pre-modern era.[199] Full and partial transcriptions of these texts have also been undertaken in recent years.[200] Nevertheless, there is still much work to be done in this respect and without scholarly works on each of these translations, concerning their relationships with each other and with the Arabic/Persian originals, it is not possible to draw a clear picture of the Ottoman reception of Islamic cosmography and its place in Ottoman geographical literature. The discussion in this chapter will be limited due to the limited amount of source material.

Ottoman Ways of Looking at the World

In order to examine the importance of medieval Islamic cosmographies for the Ottoman worldview, it is helpful to begin with the analytical framework drawn by Gottfried Hagen. He underlines four ways of looking at the world. The first and the second represent two horizontal dimensions that are formulated as "looking around". These dimensions correspond to the dimension of space, and are associated with geography. The third way is formulated as the dimension of time, which corresponds to "looking back" and is represented by the writing of history. The fourth way entails "looking up", the vertical dimension between man and God

[199] Kut, pp. 185-189; Gottfried Hagen,"Some Considerations"; Idem "Afterword" in Robert Dankoff, *AnOttoman mentality: the world of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Ahmet Bican Yazıcızade; *Dürr-i Meknun*, trans. Necdet Sakaoğlu, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), preface.

[200] Laban Kaptein, ed. *Ahmet Bican Yazıcızade Dürr-i Meknun, Kritische Edition mit Kommentar*, (Leiden: published privately by Kaptein, 2007). Ahmet Bican Yazıcızade; *Dürr-i Meknun*, trans. Necdet Sakaoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999) ; Engin Yılmaz, "Aca'ibül-mahlukat: imla ve ses bilgisi-metin transkripsiyonu", (Ph.D. diss. Sakarya University, 1998).

that is also associated with the perception of the "other" and theology.[201] It is possible to add another dimension to this framework, which is "looking forward", the dimension of the future that can be associated with eschatology.

One can detect each of these dimensions within Ottoman literature, and in some cases they are found together. For example, historical works represent the dimension of time. Some of the chronicles extend their scope of "looking back" to the beginning of the genesis of the Ottoman State (e.g. *Tevarîh-i Âli Osman*)[202], to the beginning of Islam, and some to the very beginning of human history to portray a universal history (e.g. *Kitab-ı Cihannuma* of Neşri). One can also see this dimension of starting from the beginning in works that focus on the history of a particular region such as the *Tevarih-i Antakiye*.[203] The dimension of "looking back" can also be observed in geographical texts and even in travelogues since the description of a particular place is strongly associated with the past of a city, especially, its sacred past. A vivid example of this is Evliya Çelebi's description of Egypt in his *Seyahatnâme* which is interspersed with stories about Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, and Jacob and Joseph which all take place in Egypt.[204] Works dealing with sacred history, particularly the stories of the prophets, also demonstrate this dimension, e.g. *Siyer-i Nebi* of Yusuf Ömer ed-Darir or *Zübdetü't-Tevarih* of Seyyid Lokman.

The dimension of "looking around" is exemplified by various works of Ottoman geographical literature, especially by travelogues including three sixteenth-century

[201] Hagen, "Afterword", p. 216.

[202] History of Aşıkpaşazade Derviş Ahmed (d.1481).

[203] *Tevarih-i Antakiye*, Mevlana Museum Library, no. 5336, for information see, M. Fatih Köksal, "Edirneli Nazmi'ye ait Olması Kuvvetle Muhtemel Bir Eser: Tevarih-i Antakiye", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, Festschrift in Honor of Günay Kut, 28/1 (2004); 47-108.

[204] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, (Egypt, Sudan and Etiopia), 10 (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1938), pp. 1-20.

works; *Hitayname* of Ali Ekber, *Miratü'l-Memalik* of Seydi Ali Reis, or Mehmet Aşık's *Menazırü'l-Avalim.* In terms of the perception of the "other" and "exotic" in Ottoman literature, one can find references to the phenomena of *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* in these works. For example, the travelogue of Seydi Ali Reis includes his eye-witness accounts on India and the Indian Ocean with regard to the wondrous and strange entities he saw there, such as sweet water extracted from the deep seas of Bahrayn; an exotic plant (e.g. a tree in Gujarat named Nari) and animals (e.g. a special kind of parrot), or the Indian practice of *sati*. These accounts of Seydi Ali are even mentioned in the *History of Peçevi* of Ibrahim Efendi (d.1650).[205] The mention of *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* can also be found in *Tacü't-Tevarih* of Hoca Sadeddin Efendi (d.1599). In this work we see İstanbul described as a city of wondrous and strange things, such as the dome of Hagia Sophia and its talismans.[206]

One can find other dimensions of "looking up" and "looking forward" in various theological and philosophical texts, e.g. Sufi treatises, works focusing on the end of time such as *Ahval-i Kıyamet,* probably written at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth-century.[207] Then there are many works dealing with two or three dimensions together; a good example of this is *Künhü'l-Ahbar* (The Essence of Histories) of Mustafa Ali (d. 1600), which outlines history from the beginning of creation to the sixteenth century with religious overtones.[208] It also touches upon the stories of those nations destroyed by divine punishment,

[205] Peçevi İbrahim, *Peçevi Tarihi,* ed. Murat Uyaz (İstanbul: Neşriyat Yurdu, 1968), pp. 204-205.

[206] Hoca Sadettin Efendi, *Tacü't-Tevarih*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1992), pp. 293-306.

[207] Nezihe Seyhan,"Resurrection Day in Divan Literature," *Literature & Theology*, 18, no. 1, (March 2004), pp. 62-76.

[208] See Jan Schmidt, *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims: A Study of Mustafa Ali of Gallipoli's Künhü'l Ahbar* (Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1991).

devils, angels, miracles, talismans and geography. Jan Schmidt defines this aspect of the work as an "uncritical compilation of age-old literature" and defines Mustafa Âli's world-picture as naïve as well as philosophical and sufistic.[209]

Popular pious works like the *Envarü'l-Aşıkin* of Ahmet Bican Yazıcızade (d.1454),[210] *Şerh-i Vasiyetü'l- Muhammediyye* of Kadızâde Ahmed b. Muhammed Emin Islamboli (d. 1783) , or anonymous *Kırk Sual,* [211] were also works that touched upon more than one aspect of these dimensions. They presented a great deal of information on cosmic entities on the basis of the *Qur'an*, *hadiths* and *isra'iliyyat* and were concerned with issues of sacred history, the apocalypse and eschatology. Yet they do not deal with the dimension of "looking around".[212]

In comparison, the translations and adaptations of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and the *Kharidat* stand out more or less encompassing all the aforementioned dimensions. Regarding how these four ways of looking at the world are implemented through these works, one might say that in terms of "looking around", space is represented through medieval cosmological and geographical concepts. In this connection, these works deal both with the heavenly realm comprising the Throne, the Footstool, the Tablet, the Pen, the layers and features of Paradise and Hell, angels and the position of planets, and with the terrestrial realm comprising seas, mountains, islands, wells, minerals, vegetables, trees, animals, people, jinns, giants, birds, reptiles, wondrous and strange things.

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[209] Schmidt, pp. 112-113.

[210] Fifteenth century scholar Ahmet Bican Yazıcızâde translated his brother Mehmed Yazıcızade's "*Megâribü'z-Zamân*" under the title of *Envarü'l Aşıkın*.

[211] For detail see Hatice Kelpetin Arpaguş, *Osmanlı Halkının İslam Anlayışı* (İstanbul: Çamlıca Yayınları, 2001), pp.19-66.

[212] The reason of the ongoing popularity of these works in modern Turkey might be related to their exclusion of 'looking around', that is to say they do not deal with the concepts of medieval geography which are ridiculed by modern geography.

In terms of "looking back", these texts include various accounts of cosmogony about the creation of the cosmos, man and the creatures that inhabited the world before mankind, stories about the prophets and the nations that were destroyed by divine punishment. (e.g. Pharaoh, nations of Sodom and Gomorrah) as well as stories from secular history)

The dimension of "looking up" as covered in these works entails the description of the cosmos as a sign of the omnipotence of God and includes many details concerning *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* aspects of nations and creatures (whether fantastic or not).

The accounts on Signs of the Hour (*eşrat-ı saat*), or on the Day of Judgment in these works also constitute the dimension of "looking forward". Taking into consideration that Ottoman adaptations of Islamic cosmographies deal with all these dimensions, it becomes apparent why these works should be considered essential in understanding the Ottoman worldview.

Of course, the topics discussed in cosmographical works might vary and even the same accounts might appear in a different format or with slight variations in these cosmographical works. For instance, the fifteenth-century cosmography *Dürr-i Meknun by* Ahmet Bican Yazıcızade and an anonymous translation of '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* dedicated to Mehmed I in the fourteenth-century present almost the same story of creation found in al-Qazwini's '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and *Qisas al-anbiya*.[213] This story concerns how heaven and earth were created from a green gem, which melted and was transformed into water when God gazed upon it. In the same manner, water became foamy and was divided into foam and vapor. Winds were made of this vapor whereas from the foam, God created the heavens

[213] Yazıcızade, p. 23.

in the form of seven layers and from the frozen part of the same foam, He created the earth, mountains, rivers and hills. The same story also appears in the *Dürr-i Meknun.*[214] In the *Muhammediye*, the gem is also transformed into fire and then when water is poured into this fire, smoke (instead of foam) and vapor come out of it.[215] Moreover, the anonymous *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* translation made for Mehmed I identifies the original substance as a white pearl rather than as a green gem.[216] In all these different accounts, one can notice that the original substance, either gem or pearl, is depicted as having been transformed through its "fear" and "respect" for God. Therefore one might say that even though they differ in detail, all the versions of the same story represent the submission of creation before God.

Themes like the wisdom of God (*hikmet-i ilahiyye*), the perfection of the order of the universe, the intervention of God, and in certain cases the wrath of God upon the rebellious creatures, the temporality of earthly life and the inevitability of being judged at the Day of Judgment compose the background of these accounts.

Ottoman Cosmographies

Among Arabic and Persian cosmographies, one can see more than forty copies [excluding translations] of the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of al-Qazwini[217] and more than

[214] Yazıcızade, p. 23; Nasırü'd-Din bin Burhanü'd-Din Rabguzi, *Kısasü'l-Enbiya*, ed. Aysu Ata (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1997) and also see, Orhan Duru, ed., *Kısas-ı Enbiya* (İstanbul : YKY, 1997).

[215] Arpaguş, p.128.

[216] Yılmaz, p. 133.

[217] Yet, there are two undated Persian copies that are also identified as al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat*. They might also be *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of any other author. (e.g. Al-Tusi al-Salmani).

twenty copies of the *Kharidat* [218] listed in the manuscript catalogues in Turkey. Both also have printed versions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[219] There are only two copies of *Nukhbat al-Dahr fi 'Aja'ib al-Barr wa'l Bahr* of Al-Dimashqi, while *Tuhfat al-Albab wa Nukhbat al-'Aja'ib* of Abu Hamid al-Gharnati (d.1169-70) has six copies.[220] There are also two copies of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Tusi al-Salmani[221] and four copies of *Tuhfat al-'Aja'ib wa Turfat al-Ghara'ib* that are attributed to Izzu'd-Din 'Ali bin Athir al-Jazari (d.1273).[222]

Ottoman translations (either partial or full) have been categorized in Turkish manuscript catalogues under different titles, such as "geography", "cosmography," "travel,"[223] and "encyclopedias;"[224] or "knowledge" and "science."[225] This variety indicates that modern scholarship does not agree on how to classify these works.

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[218] The earliest *Kharidat al-'aja'ib* seems to be dated 1455. See İSAM Library database and Cevdet Türkay, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Osmanlılar Devrine Ait Türkçe- Arapça- Farsça Yazma ve Basma Coğrafya Eserleri Bibliografyası* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1958).

[219] To see the records of both works in the libraries of Turkey use İSAM Library database. There are two versions of *Kharidat* published in 1) Mısır: Osman Abdürrezzak Matbaası: 1885, 2) Egypt: Matbaatü'l Yemeniyye: 1906; for *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* there seems one copy published in Egypt: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1897-98.

[220] Al-Gharnati's work has six copies, dated between the twelfth and the nineteenth centuries, see Hagen, *Ein Osmanischer Geograph,* p. 89. One of the copies of al-Dimashqi is undated, the other is dated 1865 (İstanbul University Library no: 75874).

[221] It has two undated copies; Fatih Library no: 4171 and Laleli Collection no: 1991.

[222] Three copies are dated 1232 (Murat Molla Collection), 1524 (Köprülü Collection), 1623 (Esad Efendi Collection no: 127). There is one undated copy. (Kılıçali Paşa Lib. no. 742).

[223] Fehmi Karatay, ed. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları, 1961), p.xviii; Nail Bayraktar, ed., *Atatürk Kitaplığı Muallim Cevdet Yazmaları Alfabetik Kataloğu* (İstanbul: Sade Ofset Matbaacılık, 1998). For other versions use the ISAM database.

[224] For example see, *Milli Kütüphane Yazmaları Kataloğu* (Ankara: Milli Kütüphane Basımevi, 1987); *The Union Catalogue of Manuscripts in Türkiye* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2000); *Türk Dil Kurumu Kütüphanesi Yazma Eserler Kataloğu* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1999).

[225] Abdullah Ceylan, ed.,*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Kütüphanesi El Yazması Eserler Kataloğu* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1994).

By and large, we can classify Ottoman cosmographies under three categories: 1) Ottoman translations/adaptations of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* either of al-Qazwini or other writers i.e. At-Tusi, 2) Ottoman translations of the *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib* and 3) Synthetic works composed under the influence of these cosmographies.

The borders between these three categories should nevertheless not be drawn too rigidly since there is a lack of detailed analysis on the correspondence between these texts. For instance, it is possible for a work entitled *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* to be different from *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* by al-Qazwini. It could even be a synthetic work entitled as such due to the fact that it has a great deal of material from the Arabic or Persian *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat(s).* The case might also be that it is a translation of the *Kharidat* (as seen in some copies of Mahmud el-Hatib's translation of the *Kharidat).* A work entitled something other than '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* could also be a translation of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* by al-Qazwini or al-Tusi.[226] In this respect, one can assert that titles cannot be decisive in identifying these works. The same point is also valid for the content of their translation. This fact is originated from the characteristics of manuscript culture. As Christoph K. Neumann points out, in manuscript cultures, translators *(mütercim)* and copyists *(müstensih)* could easily make changes in the contents of the works they translated or copied. In other words, a translation *(terceme)* does not mean that the work was completely translated; it could be a partial, abridged or an independent translation. That is to say, the translator could have added or omitted a great deal of information during the translation and still identified it as simply a translation of the same work. Likewise, a seemingly independent work could be the full translation of another work. It was also possible for a translator to make some

[226] Anonymous work written in Ottoman Turkish namely *'Aca'ibü'l-Buldan* seems to be a translation of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* see İhsanoğlu, 2, p. 605; Katib Çelebi, p. 1125.

changes to previous translations and claim them as their own translation. Consequently, manuscript culture enabled translators and copyists to overshadow the contribution of the author. As Neumann claims, manuscripts might even be considered collective works. Readers on the other hand could join this collective process by their notes in marginalia.[227] Taking these points into account, what can be inferred from the term *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* in the Ottoman world? Can we say that it functioned as a general title for literature dealing with the phenomena of *'aja'ib and ghara'ib*? An anecdote from the diary of the French Orientalist Antoine Galland (1646-1715) has the potential to provide us with some hints.

On 14 January 1672, Galland wrote in his diary that he bought a book entitled *Acâibü'l-Makhluqat* for the French ambassador M. de Nointel under whom he served as librarian. He described the book as written in the Kufi script, and as containing sixty-two pictures depicting the ascension of Prophet Muhammed to heaven to establish his "ill" (*pernicieuse*) doctrine. However, the book appears not to have been what its title suggested, but was a *Miracname*, written in the Uighur alphabet that is now extant in the Bibliothéque Nationale. Yet, he inserted a note stating that during his stay in İstanbul, he witnessed Turkish booksellers referring to the illustrated books of the ancients dealing with the marvels of nature, the names of which they did not know, as *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat*.[228] This reference would then suggest that in seventeenth-century İstanbul, *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* had a broader meaning, serving as a general title for all books that had the abovementioned

[227]Christoph K.Neumann,"Üç Tarz-ı Mütalaa,"Yeniçağ Osmanlı Dünyası'nda Kitap Okumak ve Yazmak", *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, 1 241, (2005), pp. 61-63.

[228] " *J'ai pu constater, pendant mon séjour à Constantinople, que les libraries turcs donnent le titre de 'Adjayb oul Maklouqàt 'ou les Merveilles de la nature aux ouvrages anciens et ornés de miniatures dont ils ne connaissent pas l' auteur.",* Charles Schefer,ed*., Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1881), repr. ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1994.),1, p.29.

qualities. In the case of Galland, on the other hand, the fact that the book was in Uighur script must have been influential for its being titled as *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat,* since otherwise a careful Ottoman reader would have recognized that it was a *Miracname.* Taking these points into account, we might turn our attention to the examples of Ottoman cosmographies.

Ottoman *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqats*

The earliest Ottoman work that is classified as *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and which was at the same time the first Ottoman geographical work is *Terceme-i 'Aca'ibü'l - Mahlukat* by Ali bin Abdurrahman (alive, 1398). The work is undated, but due to the fact that Edirne (Adrianople) is mentioned as the Ottoman capital, it must have been written sometime after the conquest of Edirne but before that of İstanbul (şehr-i Konstantiniyye).[229] Franz Taeschner argues that the description of İstanbul is very similar to that in the *Kharidat* and suggests that the work is a translation of the *Kharidat.*[230] Nevertheless, Günay Kut maintains that the content of the work seems to be in accordance with al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat.* [231]

[229] "*… ve şimdiki halde taht bu memlekettir ve bu kadimde küçürek şehirmiş; ve buna Edirne derler. Çünkim fetholunmuş, imaretleri artmış ve dârülmülk olmuş gayretde nimetlü şehirdir. Ve her narh ucuz. Evler ve mesacid ve hamamlar ve esvak yapılmıştır ve bu arz-ı Rum'da denizden uzaktır.*", Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya,* p. 8.

[230] Yet, it seems that Ali b. Abdurrahman did not give as much detail on the city as pseudo-al-Wardi did. For a comparison see Franz Taeschner, "Der Bericht des arabischen Geographen Ibn al-Wardi über Konstantinopel"in *Studies on Al-Wat Wat (d. 1318), Ad-Dımasqi (d. 1327), Ibn Al-Wardi (d. c. 1446) and Al-Bakuwi, (15 th. Century),* ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main, Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University), p. 190.

[231] For information see İhsanoğlu*,* p.3; Kut, pp. 184-185; Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya* pp. 7-11.

The work includes extra information on cities such as Edirne, İstanbul, Konya and Bursa,[232] which Ali b.Abdurrahman could have added himself. Even though the work is entitled *Terceme-i 'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat,* the author does not present it as a translated work but says that his work is a partially synthetic work compiled from marvelous and strange things that he had read and witnessed.[233] Further studies on this text could reveal its exact relation with the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* works.

About himself, Abdurrahman narrates that he prayed to God on the Night of *Qadr* for his soul to be taken and to be resurrected after forty years, and his wish was fulfilled. After a period of time, he returned to his home and found his son a very old man. Seven days afterwards, his son died before him at the age of eighty while Abdurrahman himself lived for one hundred and twenty years, and traveled during this period of time.[234]

What can one infer from these astonishing statements of Ali b. Abdurrahman? Did he expect his audience to believe this tale? Legitimating his experience with the blessing of the Night of *Qadr*[235] he underscores that God might grant one insight to the unknown if he prays from the heart. From another perspective he confirms his piety with such a blessing and implies that his work is the product of mystical

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[232] Kut, p. 186; *DIA*, s.v. 'Aca'ibü'l Mahlukat", 1, p. 316.

[233]" *Bu kitabı tasnif eyledüm, haberlerin gârayibinden ve fasılların acâibinden, tevârihlerden, tevârih-i Muhammed Taberi'den cem' eyledüm. Ve bunun adını Acâibü'l-mahlukat kodum…Bu acâib garâyib esmâyı derc eyledüm. Kimin gördüm, kimin tevârihden çıkardum*", İstanbul University Library, no. 2307, TY 524, fols. 2a-2b in Kut, p. 186.

[234] "*Ben kim Ali bin Abdurrahmanım…altmış yaşımda idüm oğlum seksen yaşında idi. Önümde öldü. Ol vakit ki kadir gecesine uğradum. Allâhu Taâla'dan iki dilek diledüm: benim canım kabz eyleye, kırk yıl yerde yatam, kırk yıl içinde uçmakları ve tamuları görem. Allâhu Taâla hâcetümi kabul kıldı. Bir bağa girdim yatdım ki uyuyam; Allâhu Taâla benüm cânum kabz eylemiş. Andan girü emr-i İlahi erişti. Cânum gevdeme girdi. Turdum, evüme geldüm; oğlum ki adı Muhammed idi, evde oturur kocacuk olmış…Andan yüz yiğirmi yıl ömür sürdüm. Seyâhat etdüm…"* Kut, p. 186.

[235] The night of *Qadr* is regarded as the the most sacred night in Islam in which the first revelation came to the Prophet.

experience. His learning and travel also present a rich content that normally one cannot attain during a lifetime. This form of story about himself and his work was probably inserted to capture the attention of his audience, providing a kind of satisfaction for the people's appetite for remarkable and strange happenings. The fact that only one copy of the work exists can nevertheless be interpreted to mean that it did not reach a wide audience and that his work did not attract as much attention as the author wished.

The second work also uses the title *Terceme-i 'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat*. Dated around the first half of the fifteenth century, this work is attributed to a certain Rükneddin Ahmed.[236] While Günay Kut argues that the word 'rukn ed-din' (pillar of the religion) should be read as part of the preceding prayer rather than as the name of the author, Engin Yılmaz maintains that the term could have a double meaning *(tevriye).*[237] In any case, there is no information about the author or translator and therefore the translator can be called pseudo-Rukneddin. It is a well known fact that the text was presented to Mehmed I.[238] Kut deduces that the organization of the work seems to be in accordance with the Persian *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqats.*[239] Since Engin Yılmaz provided the transcription of the text, we are able to learn more about its content in detail. To outline very briefly, the work

[236] İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1961), p.537; Edgar Blochet, ed., *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1932-33), suppl. turc 1339; Adıvar, p. 14; İhsanoğlu, pp. 13-14 ; Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya,* p.13.

[237] Kut, p.188; Yılmaz, p. 12 and p. 289.

[238] Kut, p.188; Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya,* p.13

[239] The work consists of ten chapters concerning the marvels of 1) the heavens, 2) fire, 3) earth, water and seas, 4) famous cities and mosques 5) trees and herbs, 6) engraved figures and their talismans, 7) human nature (it also concerns miracles, information on chemistry, medicine, the nature of nutriments), 8) jinns, satans, demons *(gul)*, 9) birds 10) monsters of land and sea, Kut, pp. 188-190; Yılmaz, pp. 131-132.

includes a great deal of legendary and religious stories and interesting anecdotes that are inserted under such titles as (*hikayat)* or astonishing thing (*ucube)*.

The anonymous translator emphasizes that he adopted his interpretation from a certain *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and praises it as a book of wisdom filled with the knowledge of the *Quran*, tales of the prophets, astrology, information on the Earth and the hereafter.[240] In addition, the translator also explains that he wishes his book to be read and recited, so people can hear and learn about the wonders and varied and obscure things created by God and revere Him.[241] Elsewhere, he refers to his translation as a mirror reflecting the wonders of the Earth.[242]

Before it starts to deal with the wondrous things of heaven, the text provides many anecdotes and stories with edifying messages concerning the transitory, cruel nature of this world and the inevitability of death.[243] The descriptions of celestial phenomena are generally based on *isra'iliyyat* with regard to the composition of the seven heavens, the gigantic dimensions of the Throne, Pen, and angels; the distance of the stars to the Earth and to each other, the peculiarities of the planets (whether they are "cold" or not), and their symbolic correspondence to animals, minerals, and horoscopes.[244] Different ideas are put forward, such as that only one side of the Sun

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[240] *"zira ol kitab, makırr-i efkar ve mahall-i i'tibar ve ma'den-i emsal ve me'haz-ı gayr-ı ikbal ve ilm-i dünya ve ahiret ve mecma-ı 'ulum-ı hikmettir. Zira; ma'ani-i Kuran-ı kadime ve habib-i nebeviyye-i 'azime ve mesa'il-i 'ilm-i nücuma ve mesa'il-i 'ilm-i hikmet ve mesail-'il-i 'ilm-i hey'atına müştemeldir."* Yılmaz, p. 119.

[241] "*.. biz dahi bu kitabı düzdük ne kim 'alemde görülmiş ve işidilmiş 'acayibler varısa, bu kitabun içinde zikir eyledük. Şununçün hiçbir kimesnenin elinden gelmez ki 'alemde ser -ta-ser geze, ne kim görmedi ve işitmediği varısa göre 'alemün gariplarından ve bilmedügi varısa cihanın tuhfelerinden… ayine suretinde, ne kim alemde acayib var sana göstere*",Yılmaz, p. 120, p. 125.

[242] Ibid. p. 125.

[243] *"…ömr-i aziz anun dahi ol dünyayı sen gaddar-ı bi-vefa ve hilakar bilesin. Dahi ömr-i azizi anun ardınca eylemeyesi".. memleket ve padişah olmak kimesneye baki kalmaz. Bunlarınla fahr itmemek gerek. Belki fahr, ilmile ve tevazu'la itmek gerek",* and also *"Eger adem cemi'i afetden kurtulsa…ölüm afetinden kurtulmaz"*, Yılmaz, pp. 123-125.

[244] Yılmaz, pp. 156-157.

faces the Earth[245] while the other side faces another planet; or that Jupiter (*Müşteri)* was inhabitable due to its mild climate.[246] The four elements are described in detail with respect to their nature and function. It is asserted that fire is an essential element that exists within everything on earth, and hence some people have worshipped it. Air is considered more important than fire, since without it living things in both water and land would diminish.[247] Water is defined as the essence of life that brings out the crops, and through the effect of the Sun it evaporates and falls as rain. Wind is defined as a vital entity that is not bound to any limitation.[248]

The physical differences among men are attributed to geography, the quality of the water, air and soil.[249] The idol-worshippers, especially the Mazdeans and Zoroastrians are rejected in various accounts.[250] Far away lands are described as being inhabited by marvelous creatures and plants; the North Pole (*kutb-ı şimal*) is

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[245] Yılmaz, p. 149.

[246] "*…germ ve nerm delildir hayata ve hikmete ve 'ilme ve emanete*" ibid. p. 156.

[247] Yılmaz, pp. 160-168.

[248] "*Dahı bil ki; yel bir padişahdur ki ne evveli bellü ve ne ahiri ve ne ortası. Ve ne sureti gözükür. Cem'i nesneye irişür, hükmi revandır…gah bir ferişte gibi sakin olur ve gah bir div gibi hareket ider. Oda girer, oda yoldaşlık ider, yandurur. Ve dahı deryayı Kulzüm-i geçer, hiç bir nesnesi yaş olmaz. Dahı 'alemi uçtan uca dutmışlardır. Magrib ve maşrık önünde birdür, yir ve gök ol yılün katında birdür. Baglar ve bostanlar ve ağaçlar yüklü eyler. Cemi' hayvanatın dirliğünün sermayesidir.*", Yılmaz, p. 169.

[249] "*Eger bir Arab Horasan'a varsa tabi'atı tagyir olur ve dahı çekirge sebze [green] yirde yaşıl olur ve sahrada toprak rengi olur ve dahı pir kişi başında ak olur yiğit kişi başında kara olur. Ve Habeşi yüzile Rum yüzi gör; niçe muhtelifdür ki sebeb-i ihtilaf mekandandur. Dahı magrib hududında ademiler vardur mesh olupdururlar; havanın sunun yerin fasıdlığından. Yani bunlar ademiye benzemezler. Cahıllıklarından ol yirden intikal etmezler. Yaşları arttıkça kılları uzanur. Dahı şimal tarafında adem meymun olur…* ", Yılmaz, p. 168.

[250] "*Bil ki oda tapanlar cemi'i dinlerden ednadur. Ve dahı bu 'alemde bundan şumrak din yoktur. Ta haddi hiçbir milletden Mecusi dinine dönmiş yokdur…Eydürler bir ateş perest denize düşti, dahı feryad itdi, eyitdi ki: Ya nar-ı Fars ve ya nar-ı Azırbaycan! Benüm feryadım irişün ki su beni helak itdi. Buna bir gemici eydür: "Ey ahmak! Eger cem'i 'alemün odı bu deryaya düşse; ki sen düşmişsin anun hali senün dahı harab olur. Pes gerek* ki odun halıkına yalvarasın ki odun dahi yandurdugı anun hükmiyledür. Ol hüküm itmedin, odun elinden gelmez ki bir kıl yandura. "Yılmaz, pp. 162-164.

described as the land of *revhani*s (winged creatures, half fish and half man),[251] and Ceylon (Serendib) as the land of snakes. Particularly, many isles located in the Indian Ocean are described as inhabited by astonishing and strange creatures.

An interesting passage in the work gives a clue about what was being discussed in relation to the cosmos during this period. The discussion is about whether the planets are inanimate (*cemad*) or animate (*hayavân*). It appears that those who identified them as animate did so by reasoning that even an ant was animate; so the heavens, being much larger, should be animate as well. Some also thought that the light of the planets proved that they were animate. After emphasizing different ideas on this matter, the author of the work refutes these arguments, saying that they were made of inanimate gems like emerald, ruby and light. Therefore they were inanimate and this was what the *mezheb-i ehli'l-İslam* (creed of Muslims) defended.[252]

The third Ottoman *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* is one of the most copied works with fifty copies. It belongs to Ahmet Bicân Yazıcızade of Gallipoli,[253] (alive in 1453), a fifteenth-century Ottoman scholar and mystic. Ahmet Yazıcızade and his brother Mehmet Yazıcızade are known to have been the followers of the Bayrami order founded by Haji Bayram Veli (d.1429) At the beginning of his work, Bicân asserts that he compiled his work upon the request of Haji Bayram Veli in 1453. [254] However, the claim about his source is interesting. Charles Rieu, who examined the copy of Yazıcızade's work at the British Museum, states that the work is presented as an Arabic translation of a Hebrew book that was compiled by the savants in the age of

[251] Yılmaz, p. 140.

[252] *" … Bazıları dirler ki: hayvandır ve dahi dirler ki cemaddur ve dahı dirler ki zühre güneşin maşukasıdır, ondan ayrılmaz, bunun gibi sözlere güzaf demezler, Hak Teala'dan dilerüz ki, bunun gibi sözlerden bizi saklayıvire inşaallahü te'ala."* Yılmaz, p.146.

[253] İhsanoğlu, pp. 5-7; Kut, p.190.

[254] *DIA*., s.v. "Ahmet Bican", 2, p. 50, see also İhsanoğlu, p. 5; Adıvar, p. 29; Kut, p. 190; Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya,* p. 14.

Alexander the Great to illustrate the marvels of the world. Yet, Rieu also states that the text was an abridged version of al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat.*[255] Günay Kut indicates that Bicân's translation is based on Persian translations of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat*.[256] The copy of the work at the Sadberk Hanım Museum contains chapters similar to al-Qazwini's work,[257] and presents a world map that depicts the inhabited earth based on the seven clime system. The cardinal directions are pointed in four corners of the map, and the place names are dispersed into the climes as if situated in a continuous space. The southernmost part of the map is marked by the Mountains of Moon, attributed as the source of the Nile, the northernmost part is marked as the lands of Bulgar and the land of Gog and Magog. The world is surrounded by the all-Encompassing Ocean (*Bahr-ı Muhit)*, and the names of the seas are dispersed within it due to lack of space. Yazıcızade's only contribution to the world map in his translation appears to be the addition of his town Gallipoli into the map.[258]

The fourth translation belongs to Mustafa b. Muslihiddin b. Şaban (d. 1561), also known as al-Sururi (1492- 1562). As an Ottoman poet and scholar, al-Sururi started to translate *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of al-Qazwini upon the request of Süleyman the Magnificent's son Prince Mustafa Çelebi, who purchased the book from a Meccan merchant. However, al-Sururi left it unfinished in 1561, when the prince was

[255] Charles Rieu, ed., *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in British Museum* (Osnabrück: Otto Zellar Verlag, 1978).

[256] Kut, p. 190.

[257] It has parts on the description of the universe (4a), angels (8a-8b), days, (9a), months (10b), prophets (13b), seas (14a-16b), animals (17a), mountains (18b), rivers (19a-19b), minerals (20a), stones, (21b), plants (23b), animals (26a), humans (26b), on the parts of the human body, (33a), jinn, devil (33b), animals, (34b),birds (42a), insects (47b). Sadberk Hanım Museum Library no. 481.

[258] Sadberk Hanım Museum Library no. 481, fol.18b. A similar map also exists in the copy in İstanbul University Library no. 6806.

murdered upon the order of his father.[259] Later it was completed by Rodosizade Mehmed Efendi in 1685 under the title *Tekmile-i Terceme-i 'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat* and presented to Sultan Mehmed IV.[260] A remarkable point is that Sururi's unfinished translation continued to be copied even after its completion by Rodosizade. Apparently, there are seven copies dated after Rodosizade's version.[261] From this connection, can we say that Sururi's translation was received with greater interest than that of Rodosizade's? This could be an implausible inference, since it is not clear who had access to this work.

Within the period extending from the translation of Sururi to that of Rodosizade, there are a number of other translations. The first is a free translation of al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* made by Ayyub b.Halil (alive 1569), entitled *Tezkiretü'l-'Aca'ib va Tercemetü'l-Gara'ib.*[262] Another is *Mirat-ı Kainat fi Terceme-i 'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat* by Ali el-Gınai el-İstanbuli (d.1582), a renowned scribe and mathematician. Katib Çelebi remarks that el-İstanbuli translated his work in Bosnia around 1554 while he was a judge there.[263] El-İstanbuli's translation is also a free translation, in view of the last part that includes excerpts from the *Tuhfat al-'Aja'ib wa Turfat al-garaib.* [264]

The last translation is evidently by Hüseyin b. Mehmed (1703 alive) under the title of *Mirat-ı 'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat ve Gara'ibü'l-Mevcudat* in 1697-8.[265] The

[259] İhsanoğlu, p. 32; Adıvar, p. 95; Kut, p.191; for information see Petra Kappert: *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahr-hundert* (Leiden, 1976).

[260] İhsanoğlu, p. 32 and p. 116; Kut, p.191.

[261] İhsanoğlu, p. 33.

[262] İhsanoğlu, p. 48.

[263] Katib Çelebi, 2, p. 1127.

[264] İhsanoğlu, p. 58; Kut, p.19.

[265] İhsanoğlu, p. 117.

copy is at the Topkapı Palace Library and contains miniatures and pictures.[266] Moreover, the translator also wrote an abridged and illustrated version of this work in 1703 with the claim that he kept some facts hidden, so that malevolent people would not gain any knowledge of them. This version sounds like a type of magic book rather than a geographical work.[267] Other than these works, there are also three undated and anonymous *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* translations. One of them carries the title of *'Aca'ibü'l-Buldan* and the other two are entitled *'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat.* One of them was written in Chagatai Turkish.[268]

Ottoman *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib* Translations

Generally, the earliest *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib* translation is considered to have been produced in 1466 (A.H. 870) by Mahmud Şirvani, the private doctor of Murad II.[269] However, all the manuscripts identified as its copies appear to be nothing other than the later translation of the *Kharidat* by Mahmud el-Hatib, the focus of the present study.[270] This does not mean that Mahmud Şirvani did not compose such a translation but it is necessary to be cautious in claiming that the first *Kharidat's* translation was composed by Mahmud Şirvani in 1466.

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[266] Hazine, no. 400, F. Karatay, TY, no. 1332.

[267] İhsanoğlu, pp. 117-118.

[268] İhsanoğlu, pp. 605-606.

[269] Franz Babinger, *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, trans. Coşkun Üçok (Ankara: Turizm ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 1982), 3, p. 17; Franz Taeschner, "Osmanlılar'da Coğrafya", trans. Hamid Sadi, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 2, (1926); Bursalı Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, 3 (İstanbul: Meral Yayınevi, 1975), p. 99; Mahmut Ak, "Mahmud Şirvani" in *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla OsmanlılarAnsiklopedisi,* ed. Ekrem Çakıroğlu, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Yayıncılık,1999), p. 74.

[270] The pointed manuscripts are Uppsala 315, Archeology Museum 530, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 2988 and no. 3021.

There was an anonymous translation made for a certain Sinan Bey in 1566 (A.H. 963) which is presently in the British Library collection. It is entitled *Kitab-ı 'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat* and appears to be a full translation of the *Kharidat.*[271]

The most renowned *Kharidat* translation is the *Nevadir* of Mahmud el-Hatib. It was presented to Emir Osman b. İskender Paşa in 1562-63 (A.H. 970). It is probable that the translation in the British library is also an earlier version translated by Mahmud el-Hatib. Yet, as I could not inspect this copy, it is not possible to claim anything in regard to this document.

The last Ottoman translation of the *Kharidat* seems to have been made by Dukakinzade Osman Efendi (d.1601) under the name of *Terceme-i Haridatü'l-'Aca'ib ve Ceridetü'l-Gara'ib* in the early seventeenth century.[272]

Synthetic Cosmographical Works in Ottoman Geographical Literature

In Ottoman geographical literature, there are also synthetic works which, rather than being partial translations of Arabic or Persian cosmographies, were compiled under their influence. Since it is hard to identify all of these works, I find it appropriate to dwell on the most important text in this respect, *Dürr-i Meknun* (The Hidden Pearl) by the aforementioned Ahmet Bican Yazıcızade. Dated 1466, this work is the most copied Ottoman cosmography with fifty two known copies. Two scholars have worked on the edition of the text; one is Necdet Sakaoğlu, who edited the work, Latinized it and wrote an introduction; the other is the Dutch Turkologist Laban

[271] Rieu, p. 109; İhsanoğlu, attributes this work as a copy of *Nevadir*. See İhsanoğlu, p.40.

[272] İhsanoğlu, pp. 75-76.

Kaptein, who made another critical edition with a commentary in German.[273] As both Sakaoğlu and Kaptein affirm, the *Dürr-i Meknun* is the first synthetic cosmography in Ottoman Turkish. The text was even translated into French during the eighteenth century.[274]

Although not a voluminous work, the *Dürr-i Meknun* deals with various topics following the cosmographic tradition. It is comprised of eighteen chapters dealing with 1) the creation of the Earth and the heavenly entities such as the Throne, the Footstool, the Tablet, the Pen, the angels, different layers of paradise and hell with the marvelous creatures living within them, 2) the Earth 3) the earth and wonders of creation, 4) seven climes, 5) mountains and their marvels, 6) seas, isles and the creatures living in them, 7) cities and regions, 8) mosques and churches, 9) the rule of Prophet Solomon 10) the visit of Balqis to Solomon, 11) estimation of the ages of creation, 12) the places that were destroyed by the wrath of God, 13) herbs and fruits, 14) figurines, monuments, 15) the tale of the legendary bird Simurg-i Anka, 16) the science of onomancy (*ilm-i cifir*), 17) the signs of the end of times, and 18) Yazıcızade's advice to the reader on the temporality of the world and prayer. What is striking about the structure of the *Dürr-i Meknun* is that the author reserved some parts only for certain stories (e.g. stories of Solomon, Balqis, and Anka), which is not the case in the other works. In terms of sources, Bicân acknowledges that he compiled his work from various books of exegesis, *hadith* and other texts. However, a closer look reveals that the content has a great deal of similarity with the translation of pseudo-Rukneddin.

[273] See, fn. 201.

[274] See the preface by Necdet Sakaoğlu in Yazıcızade, *Dürr-i Meknun*; for the partial English Summary of Kaptein's work made by Jan Schmidt and Barbara Fasting on the basis of original Dutch "Samenvotting" available [online]: http://www.labankaptein.com/english-antichrist.html, [17 June 2007].

The difference is that the *Dürr-i Meknun* has a pronounced emphasis on apocalyptic and eschatological accounts.

Cosmological Elements in Other Ottoman Geographical Works

In Ottoman geographical literature, there are some works including cosmological elements though they are not directly cosmographies. One can see these elements even in the works of the western school. For instance, as one of the most important works of the western school, the world map (1513) of Piri Reis has some elements in common with medieval Islamic cosmographies. The fact that he mentions a particular map from the time of Dhu'l-Qarnain as one of his sources indicates that he did not dismiss old geographical documents as outmoded. A closer look at this map reveals imaginary inhabitants such as the dog-headed creatures resembling those creatures whose heads are placed in their chests. Though Muhtar Katırcıoğlu claims that Piri Reis drew the figure whose head is in his chest in that manner to hide its nudity,[275] the figure looks like a fantastic being rather than a human-like creature. It is important to remark that geographical works composed in the West also depicted the New World as being filled with fantastic creatures. Therefore, it is hard and perhaps futile to guess which sources Piri Reis was influenced by when he integrated these fantastic creatures into his map. [276]

Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi is another work that included cosmological elements inspired by the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of al-Qazwini and the *Kharidat* and Western

[275] Muhtar Katırcıoğlu, "Piri Reis ve Çin Haritalarında Patagonya" in *Proceedings of the International Piri Reis Symposium, 27-29 September 2004,* ed. Deniz Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı (İstanbul : Seyir Hidrografi ve Oşinografi Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2004). Available [online]: http://www.shodb.gov.tr/pirireis/oturumlar/pirireis_ve_cin_patagonya.htm [12 May 2007].

[276] For information see; Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge MA.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

texts (e.g. *La Historia de Las Indias* of Francisco Lopez de Gomara or *De La Historia Natural y General de las Indias* of Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo).[277]

The author quotes the *Kharidat* more often than the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat of* al-Qazwini, and seems to have integrated some passages from the *Kharidat* on the isles of the Indian Ocean and their marvelous creatures. On the other hand, the *Kharidat,* may not have been an authoritative source for the author since he explicitly expresses his doubt of some information in the *Kharidat.* The most striking critique concerns the imaginary connection between the Mediterranean and the Encircling Ocean through a channel in the north.[278] Another critique concerns a long voyage said to have been made by Alexander the Great and his crew in the Caspian Sea. The story tells of how Alexander and his men met with a ship filled with strangers. The anonymous author of *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* maintains that this could not have taken place in the Caspian Sea as it is not expansive enough for such a long voyage to have taken place. He also speculates that the ship of strangers might have come from the New World. [279]

It is interesting to see the fauna and natives of the New World in the *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*, e.g. human-size radishes in Peru; human headed fish in Rio de la Plata; people as tall as minarets in Santiago; women who give birth to the children of demons in Hispaniola; and mermaids all remind one of the exotic and

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[277] Thomas Goodrich, "The Search for the Sources of The Sixteenth Century Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi, " *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 85 (1982), pp. 269-294 and also see Thomas Goodrich, *Sixteenth Century Ottoman Americana, or A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* (Ann Arbor, MI University Microfilms, 1969), p 71; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, " Some Remarks on Ottoman Science and its Relation with European Science & Technology up to the End of the Eighteenth Century" in *Science, Technology and Learning in the Ottoman Empire* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004) pp. 59-60.

[278] The anonymous author says that "It is true that the strange mistakes of the author of the*Kharidat al-'aja'ib* exceed all bounds and the shape that he placed in front of his book is beyond the realm of truth." Goodrich, *Sixteenth Century Ottoman Americana,* pp. 256-257.

[279] Goodrich, *Sixteenth Century Ottoman Americana*, pp. 269-272.

spectacular picture drawn from the islands of the Indian Ocean within the Islamic cosmographies.[280]

Mehmet Aşık's *Menazir el-'Avalim* (The Views of the Worlds) dated 1595 is also known to have included some excerpts from '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of al-Qazwini and the *Kharidat* as well as from the *Taqwim al-Buldan* of Abu'l-Fida, *Mu'jam al-Buldan* of Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub* of Hamdullah al-Mustawfi, *Hayat al-Hayawan* of al-Damiri and *Avzahu'l-Mesâlik* of Sipahizade.[281] This text is known to have been a reference for Katib Çelebi, Ebu Bekir Dımaşki and İbrahim Müteferrika.[282]

A very interesting work is *İcalatü'l-Coğrafya,* a nineteenth century text by Raif Mahmud Efendi (d.1807) who was chief scribe at the Ottoman embassy in London. His work was printed in 1804, together with the "best atlas" in the Ottoman Empire, namely *Cedid-i Atlas.* What is striking about his work is the adaption of a cosmographical chapter from a sixteenth-century text.[283] There is no information about the source he used for this chapter but he may have cited a translation of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat*.

Evliya Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme* includes a significant amount of material that one can also find in the cosmographies, such as anecdotes from sacred history, wondrous incidents and discussions about nations with strange customs.[284] He

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[280] Süheyla Artemel, ed., *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi veya Hadis-i Nev: A History of the Discovery of America,* (İstanbul: Historical Research Foundation, İstanbul Research Center, 1987), pp. 43-55.

[281] İzgi, p. 263.

[282] Ak, p. 81.

[283] "Osmanlı'da Kültür Kurumları", (discussion among İlber Ortaylı, Kemal Beydilli, Necdet Sakaoğlu) in *Anatomi Dersleri*, p.159; Tekeli, p.51; Adıvar, p. 210.

[284] See also Dankoff, chapter five (Raconteur) and chapter six (Reporter and Entertainer), pp. 153-185.

gives a detailed account of the history of İstanbul, referring to the legendary rulers (e.g. Suleiman, Alexander the Great or Yanko b. Madyan).[285] What is interesting is that Evliya appears to have believed talismans were operating in İstanbul.[286] This is actually in accordance with the accounts of sixteenth-century foreign travelers, such as Hans Dernschwam,[287] Jacob von Betzek,[288] and Stephan Gerlach[289] who maintained that the Ottomans believed in stories about the talismans of İstanbul.[290] In the *Seyahatnâme,* in the part on Egypt, there is also a great deal of information about wonders under sub-titles such as; strange story *(hikaye-i garibe*), astonishing/wondrous thing *(acibe)* and the strange astonishing things (ve *min el-acaibü'l gara'ib).* Among the wonders of Egypt, we see talismans, exotic animals, (e.g. alligator) and the strange customs of other nations.[291]

Regarding the parallels between translations of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and the *Kharidat* and succeeding works, one can conclude that the transformation of the pre-modern Ottoman worldview was not an overnight phenomenon. If a turning point could be marked in this transformation, significant recognition must be given

[285] Seyit Ali Kahraman, ed., *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* (İstanbul: YKY, 2003), 1, pp. 1-10.

[286] Schmidt, p. 119; Kahraman, pp.19-20, p. 32-33.

[287] Hans Dernschwam von Hradiczin (1494-1568) worked in the Habsburg Embassy in İstanbul where he kept his diary. See, Hans Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach der Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553-1555) nach der Urschrift*, Fugger Archiv München, Leipzig, 1923.

[288] Jacob von Betzek, *Gesandtschaftsreise nach Ungarn und die Türkei 1564-1565*, ed. Karl Nehrin, München, 1979.

[289] Stephan Gerlach (1546-1612), theologian and philologist; was member of the imperial Habsburg embassy in Constantiople during the years of 1573-78; for information see, Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-buch* (Frankfurt am Main: 1674).

[290] The accounts of these travellers reflect the folklore of the people of İstanbul. For information Metin And, *16. yüzyılda İstanbul: kent, saray, günlük yaşam* (İstanbul: Akbank, 1993), pp. 185-186, pp. 230-231.

[291] Evliya Çelebi, pp. 492-668.

to Katib Çelebi (d.1657). In his *Mizan al-Haqq (*The Balance of Truth), Katib Çelebi claims that "reports of intelligence and tradition are like two race-horses and logical proof is a staircase and a ladder to the heights of certainty." In the following pages, he defines the science of logic as a "balance and touchstone of the sciences" and an indispensable means for true knowledge. In this regard he dismisses the transmission of the ancient sciences without any critical outlook. He regards those who prefer ignorance to logic as misled by Satan (Slinking whisperer).[292] The entry for the *Kharidat* in the *Kashf az-Zunun* demonstrates Katib Çelebi's harsh criticisms of the work and its readers:

> It [the *Kharidat*] is one volume, the first half of which is about the regions and countries, and the rest about some minerals, plants and animals. But in the beginning he [al-Wardi], thinking that it is fact, made a circle [map] that includes the regions and seas; he is far astray from the actual truth because the man was not a geographer. The depictions of geography are not like other images and depictions. At the same time, in it he mentions baseless tales [*ad-dalal al-ba'id an al-haqq*] and impossible things [*akhbar wahiyya*], as is the habitude of Arab writers who are ignorant of intellectual sciences. This book, like others, is circulating among the short-brained [*ashab al-'uqul al-qasira*]. The work begins with "Praised be to God, the forgiver of sins and accepter of penance," etc. Perhaps with this, the author indicates that this and other works are sins.[293]

From this passage, one can also infer that Katib Çelebi regards pseudo-al-Wardi as deceived by Satan.

Katib Çelebi is known to have refuted legendary material in the second version of his *Cihannümâ*. For example, he disapproves of the speculation in the *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi,* that Alexander's meeting with strangers in the Caspian Sea could have taken place in the New World, and claims that Alexander never went

[292] Katib Çelebi, *The Balance of Truth (Mizan al-Haqq*), trans. G.L.Lewis (London : Allen and Unwin, 1957), pp. 21-31.

[293] Katib Çelebi, *Kashf az-Zunun*, p. 701.

to the New World.[294] We see the same kind of critical approach in his *Tuhfetü'l-Ahyar fi'l-Hikem ve'l-Emsal ve'l-Eş'ar,* where he dismisses Mountain Qaf as a fictitious concept and an ill-founded idea, though he points out that Mountain Qaf could have a metaphorical meaning.[295]

On the other hand, it is a fact that Katib Çelebi neither dismisses the existence of the Waq Waq islands[296] nor refutes the popular belief that Adam descended to Mountain Serendib and depicted the pyramids as marvelous entities with talismanic powers. [297] Consequently, one can infer that Katib Çelebi's critical approach does not wholly exclude all of the fantastic elements that were abundant in the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* works, though he criticized some of them in harsh terms. Yet, his dismissal of concrete ideas, e.g. Mountain Qaf, signifies a distinct shift within Islamic cosmology. As Hagen asserts, until the second version of *Cihannüma,* Ottoman geographical literature was heavily under the influence of the Islamic cosmographical tradition.[298]

The Ottoman Audience of Cosmographical Literature

Having discussed the examples of Islamic cosmography that affected the works of Ottoman geographical literature, one may ask for whom these texts were written. Who was their audience? Hagen answers this question, stating that they served as

[294] Gottfried Hagen, "Katib Çelebi and Tarih-i Hindi Garbi", *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi,* no. 12 (1982-1998), pp. 104-109.

[295] Orhan Şahik Gökyay, *Katib Çelebi'den Seçmeler* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968), p. 264.

[296] Hagen, "Katib Çelebi and Tarih-i Hindi Garbi", p. 105.

[297] Gökyay, p. 243.

[298] Hagen, "Katib Çelebi and Tarih-i Hindi Garbi", pp. 104-109.

entertainment and edification for Ottoman intellectuals and the pious circles.[299] Halil İnalcık states that their audience was either the Sultan himself or the Ottoman elite.[300] It is possible to agree with Hagen and İnalcık when we take into account that the authors/ translators compilers of these texts were Ottoman scholars and bureaucrats, who dedicated their works to Sultans or influential personalities (e.g. governors, princes and sheikhs) either to fulfill requests of the latter, or to capture their attention for the purpose of self-promotion. On the other hand, the existence of multiple copies –especially of the translations/compilations of Yazıcızade and Mahmud el-Hatib- suggests that these works had a wider audience.

The sixteenth-century scholar Taşköprüzade Ahmed Efendi in his *Miftâh es-Sa'ade* refers to *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib* as a charming book and suggests it for the "edification of the soul". This remark indicates the spiritual role ascribed to these works.[301] Furthermore, it can be speculated that the works of Ahmed Bican Yazıcızade were read in the convent of the Bayrami' order and possibly also in other devout circles. It is known that some of the legendary tales in those books were transferred into folklore. Ottoman social gatherings like the night of halva (*şeb-i helva*), a custom that was not only popular among notable families but also among the middle class, during which amusing stories were told-,[302] might have been instrumental in the dissemination of content from the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* works. Moreover, Katib Çelebi's entry for the *Kharidat* also illustrates that the work was popular in the seventeenth-century.

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[299] Hagen, *Ein Osmanischer Geograph,* pp.79-82.

[300] İnalcık, p. 183.

[301] İzgi, p. 233; Hagen, *Ein Osmanischer Geograph,* p. 88.

[302] Necdet Sakaoğlu and, Nuri Akbayar, *Bin Bir Gün Bin bir Gece:Osmanlı'dan Günümüze İstanbul'da Eğlence Yaşamı* (İstanbul: Creative Yayıncılık, 1999), pp. 63-72.

Apart from their function of entertainment or edification, Hagen argues that aesthetic concerns could be relevant for the copying of *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* works since they included illustrations on landscape, astonishing animals and plants.[303]

Another possible reason appears to be the fact that these works also deal with the three realms of nature; plants, animals and minerals. Therefore, the geographical chapters might have been overly influential in their reception because the information on these issues (e.g. animals, plants, minerals) was not bound to the development of geographical knowledge. In conclusion, the examples of Islamic cosmography, especially the ones by al-Qazwini and pseudo-al-Wardi, received a remarkable amount of interest throughout the Ottoman Empire during the Early Modern era. They were not only translated into Turkish but also copied until the nineteenth-century and were used as sources for the composition of other geographical works. Such a level of interest in these works demonstrates that their content is essential in the formation of the Ottoman worldview.

[303] Hagen, "Some considerations", pp. 191-192.

CHAPTER V

NEVADİRÜ'L-GARA'İB VE MEVARİDÜ'L-'ACA'İB

"Rare and Strange Things and Wondrous Places"

Having discussed the principal features of medieval Islamic cosmographies, their cosmological content, and their reception by Ottoman readers in the early modern era, a more detailed examination of an Ottoman translation of a medieval Arabic cosmography becomes possible. The text in question is the *Nevadir*, the translation of the *Kharidat al-'aja'ib* completed by Mahmud el-Hatib in A.H. 970 (1562). This chapter tries to establish the basic facts about the *Nevadir*, including the identity of the translator, the person to whom the translation is dedicated, the nature of the translation itself and a general outline of its geographical content. Moreover, it also presents a textual analysis of the *Nevadir* with emphasis on those aspects of the work that were central to medieval cosmographies and the worldview embedded in them. In this regard, after dealing with the general facts on the *Nevadir*, we will deal with the textual analysis of the *Nevadir* under certain themes. The first theme will be the co-existence of pious speculation and the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model. For the second theme, I find it appropriate to dwell on the *Nevadir*'s sacralization of the world. The third theme will concern the discussion of *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* in the *Nevadir.* As regards the fourth theme, I aim to illustrate the moralistic aspect of the *Nevadir* with respect to the stories and poems having moralistic messages in the text. This section is followed by some remarks on the reception of the *Nevadir* and its general comparison with two works of '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat genre*; the *Dürr-i Meknun*, and the '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* translation of pseudo-Rukneddin.

The Translator: Mahmud el-Hatib

In library catalogues, the translator of the *Nevadir* is recorded under different names: Ibn Dilşad Mahmud el-Şirvani,[304] Mahmud b.Ahmed el-Rumi,[305] simply Mahmud,[306] or as anonymous.[307] Unfortunately, there is no clear information on the identity of the author either in his translation or in the extant sources. Among the Ottoman bio/bibliographers, the nineteenth-century biographer Bursalı Tahir refers to the translator as an instructor (*maarifçi*), [308] while Katib Çelebi identifies him simply as someone from "the land of Rum" (*diyar-ı Rum)*[309]. Mikâil Bayram identifies him as a merchant relying on a note in the back (*zahriyye)* of the Koyunoğlu (12110) manuscript where the author's name is given as "Hâce Hatib Mahmud".[310] Sema Yaniç reports that Kemandar Şerifov who examined another copy of the work (Azerbaijan, fs-386) found out his name was given as Bedrü'd-

[304] In some cases, it appears as Muhammed b.Mahmud Şirvani (1421-1451), who was a doctor and a translator during the reign of Murad II. See chapter IV, the part on Ottoman translations of *Kharidat al-'aja'ib.*

[305] İsmail Bakar, ed., *Sadberk Hanım Müzesi Kütüphanesi Hüseyin Kocabaş Yazmaları Kataloğu* (İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı: 2001); İhsanoğlu,p. 38.

[306] J. Blascovic, ed., *Arabische, Türkische und Persische Handschriften Der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava* (Bratislava: Die Universitätsbibliothek,1961), p. 310.

[307] Edward Sachau and Hermann Ethé, eds. *Catalogue of Persian, Turkish and Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917) p. 1179, see also K.V. Zettersteen ed.,*Die Arabischen-Persischen und Türkischen handschriften der Universitatsbibliothek zu Uppsala* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri A.B. 1930), p. 29.

[308] Bursalı Tahir, p. 312.

[309] Katib Çelebi, *Kashf az-zunun*, 1, p. 701.

[310] Bayram, p. 252.

din Mahmud el-Hatib.[311] In all the manuscripts I examined, the author is identified throughout the text simply as "Mahmud el-Hatib", namely "Mahmud the Preacher". Furthermore, in some anecdotes, he calls himself *'hadımü'l-ulema'*[312] which seems to be in accord with his being a preacher. Theoretically, of course, the author could have been simultaneously a merchant and a preacher, continuing a common pattern in earlier periods of Islamic history.

With regard to his identity, Kemandar Şerifov further speculates that Ibn Dilşad Mahmud el-Şirvani (b.1483) and Bedrü'd-din Mahmud el-Hatib could have been the same person since el-Şirvani had left his homeland Şirvan and migrated to the Ottoman Empire as a result of his being slandered.[313] A couplet included in the end of the work (*hatimetü'l kitâb)* demonstrates that Mahmud el-Hatib was eighty years old when he did his translation.[314] This indicates a birth date of A.H.890 (1485), a date close to what Şerifov suggested.[315] Nevertheless this remark does not accord with him being from the land of Rum. Relying on Şerifov's argument, Yaniç speculates that he could be identified as Rumi on account of his migration to the Ottoman Empire as in the case of Jalaleddin al-Rumi who used to be known as al-Balkhi.[316] Indeed there are numerous examples of poets who originally came from

[311] Kemandar Şerifov, "Mahmud Şirvani", *Tarih Filologiya ve İlahiyyat Meseleleri Dergisi*, (1999) in Yaniç, Ph.D. diss., p. 14. Unfortunately, I could not have access to this article. Therefore I will be referring to Şeriov's arguments quoting from the Ph.D dissertation of Sema Yaniç.

[312] Brat. 429 fol.163v; Nur., fols. 98a-b.

[313] Yaniç, Ph.D. diss., p. 14.

[314] "*ki heştad olmuştu sinnim ahir*
behar-ı ömrün irmişti şitası", Nur., fol. 11b.

[315] Yaniç, Ph.D. diss., p.16.

[316] Loc. cit.

Iran and Arabic countries but became known as Rumi after they moved to the Ottoman lands.[317]

Furthermore, Yaniç supports his argument that Mahmud el-Hatib was not living in his native land by quoting one of the latter's poems in the *Nevadir*, where the author likens himself to the Prophet Jacob.[318] It seems to me that here Mahmud el-Hatib utilized this allusion for its symbolism of grief rather than one's longing for his country.[319]

Given the divergent reports about the translator, it might be wiser to approach all these scenarios with caution. An examination of the text for further clues about the translator reveals frequent references to various places in Bosnia including Yenipazar, Mostar and Saray. While these references are relatively brief, they still lead one to think that he was particularly familiar with the area and the people of this region.[320] For example, in the section concerning the city of Damascus (Dımaşk), the translator adds that Damascus is the center of the province of Şam just as the city of Serây is in Bosnia.[321] Most likely, the author made this kind of comparison because, as we shall see in the next section, Serây

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[317] H. Tolasa, *Sehi, Latifi, Aşık Çelebi Tezkirelerine Göre 16. yy'da Edebiyat Araştırma ve Eleştirisi* (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1983), pp. 15-16 in Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği: 14-17. Yüzyıllarda Rûm/Rûmi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), p. 112.

[318] *"gice gündüz geçirdim rüzgarı*
idüb Yakub-ı Ken'ani gibi zârı
küşade olmadı kalbim ebed hiç
te'essüf kıldı tab'ım piç der piç
bu gözüm yaşını silmedi kimse
derunum yaresin silmedi kimse
tazaccurla geçürdüm rüzgarım
umarım hasıl ola intizarım.", Nur. fol. 11b.

[319] In literature, Prophet Jacob symbolizes profound grief because of his separation from his son Joseph. See İskender Pala, *Divan Şiiri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul : L&M Yayınları, 2003), p. 566.

[320] See also the section *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* in the *Nevadir* in following pages.

[321] "*…şehrinin adı [of Şam] Dımaşk'tır. Niteki Bosna vilâyeti denilür, ammâ şehrinin ismi Şerây'dır."*, Nur. fol. 28a.

and Bosnia were more familiar to his readers, especially to Osman Şah, to whom he dedicated his translation, than was Damascus.

The *Nevadir* also contains various fragmentary anecdotes concerning the life of Mahmud el-Hatib, especially his travels in and around the Mediterranean.[322] A particularly interesting passage in this regard accompanies his discussion of *Eğri Liman,* a dangerous strait in the Red Sea. In this passage, Mahmud el-Hatib relates that in A.H. 938 (1531/1532) he had been on a ship passing through this strait on his way to Mecca, when the ship was caught in a storm and would have sunk if it had not been for the prayers of a certain Muhammad Gazi, a learned and saintly man (*âlim ve fâzıl ve mürşid-i kamil)* from Şirvan, who was also on board. The author goes on to report how, a little later, another ship was shipwrecked at exactly the same spot, apparently because its captain had earlier mistreated the same saintly man and his companions.[323] This passage is interesting not only because it indicates that Mahmud el-Hatib had been to Mecca, presumably on pilgrimage, but also because it reveals the translator to have been a man with Sufi sympathies. Lastly, as Sema Yaniç remarks,

[322] Some of these passages will be dealt with in the following sections.

[323] "*İşbu kitab tercüme eden hadımü'l-ulemâ Mahmud el fakir kesirü't-taksir eydür sene semân ve selâsin ve tis'a mi'ada [938] sâhil-i Bahr-i Kulzüm'de kasaba-ı Tur'dan Cidde nâm mevzi'a müteveccih olduğumuzda Eğri Liman dedikleri mevzi'a gelicek muhalif rüzgar vaki oldu. Velakin vilayet-i Şirvan'dan müstecabü'd-da've evliyâ-ı kirâm'dan Muhammed Gazi nâm 'âlim ve fâzıl ve mürşid-i kamil var idi. Bi-şekk ol azizin ve sahib-i temyizin du'ası sebebi ile ol vartadan halas olmak müyesser oldu ki gemide çâr yarımız idi. Velakin bizden sonra Selanik kurbunda Yenice nâm kasabadan Muy oğlu Receb Çelebi nâm mütemevvel kimesnenin gemisi ol mahall-i vartaya gelicek cem'i hakıyla gark olub ahar kendüsi birkaç kimesneyle deryada bir taş kalub halas oldular. Sonra Cidde'ye gelecek gavvas Arablar icare ile varub ol mahalden esbabın ve mal u metâın bi-kusur çıkardılar ve bu vartanın vuku'u-ına sebeb bu idi ki Muhammed Gazi ve yoldaşlarıyla mahruse-i Mısır'dan Tur nâm iskeleye götüricek bunları kendi gemisine idhal idüb yine bilahare bir tacir bazirganın ziyade celb ve nef'ine tama idüb ol azizi yoldaşlarıyla gemiden çıkarub ol taciri gemiye koydu. Ol aziz dahi çıkıb derya kenarında ma'mur ve hayran ve zar u sergerdan ahvalinde 'aciz ve kasır olub ilerüye gitmeğe ahar gemi yok ve yine Mısıra kira yok bunların haline ve aczine vakıf oldum. Varub Cidde emini Muhammed Çelebi hidmetlerine söyledim. Ve bunların ahval-i 'aczin beyan eyledim. Allah Teala anlardan razı olsun. Pes canı dilden ragbet gösterüb ol azizi yoldaşlarıyla gemisi içine alub kabul itdi ve gemide yar-ü hemdemim ve Ka'be'ye varınca müsahib ve hemkadem idiler müsâhabetleriyle temam müşerref olduk.*", Brat. 429 fol.163v; Nur., fols. 98a-b.

the reference to Muhammad Gazi of Şirvan might be noted as a piece of evidence suggesting a possible connection with that province.[324]

In his commentaries on the Holy Lands, Mahmud el-Hatib also makes references to the restorations that Suleiman the Magnificent undertook there. When describing Akabe, a town situated on the pilgrimage route, for instance, Mahmud el-Hatib informs us that a certain path there was enlarged upon the request of the Sultan and invokes blessings upon him.[325] His statement that the path had been too narrow for two people to walk side by side (*ve ol tağın yolunda birbiri ardınca gidilir iki âdem beraber gidemez)* suggests further that he had himself used this path during his pilgrimage. In another account he informs that the same sultan had the castle of Yathrib (Madina) and the mausoleum of the Prophet restored in A.H. 940 (1533/1534) and fed the poor visitors of the tomb.[326]

Mahmud el-Hatib, however, did not always praise Ottoman rulers and Ottoman administrative practices. This becomes evident in his commentary on two distant places: Timbuktu and Nogara (Wangara), important trade centers in the trans-Saharan trade of gold in West Africa. In both cases, the target of Mahmud el-Hatib's criticism is Ottoman fiscalism and especially the practice of tax farming (*iltizam*), which was just then becoming more important in the increasingly monetized

[324] Yaniç, Ph.D. diss., p. 18.

[325] "*Velâkin şöyle mesmu'umuz oldu ki, pâdişâh-ı âlempenâh hazretleri meddallâhu zillehu'l-âli ol yolu tevsi' etmekçün emr-i şerif-i vâcibü'l-ittiba' irsal itmekle gâyet tevsi' ve teshil eylemiştir. Hâliyen mürur ve uburi âsân olmuştur."* Nur., fol. 27a.

[326] " *Sonra Sultanü'l-İslam ve'l-müslimin gâmiü'l-kefere ve'l-mütemerridin Sultan ibn Sultân Süleyman bin Selim Hân e'azzehullah ensârehu ve zâ'afe iktidârahu târih-i nebevinin dokuz yüz kırk dördünde kal'asın ta'mir idüb ve etrafın te'kid ü teşhid eyleyüb ve ânda bir âli imâret binâ idüb civâr-ı mezâr-ı Hazreti Rasûlullâh'a ilticâ iden fukarâ ve zu'afâsına kemâl-i şefkat ve erâmil ve eytâmına tamâm-ı merhamet idüb sabâh ve revâhda muhtâcına sofra çekülüb Habibullâh'ın yüzü suyu riâyetler olunub gadâ ve işâda du'â ve senâlar kılub..."* Nur. fol. 52b.

economy of the Ottoman Empire.[327] In the first one, he states that he learned about Timbuktu from a religious scholar named Seyyid Muhammed who arrived at an unidentified city where Mahmud el-Hatib had visited and told him that Timbuktu had a great amount of gold and its people were free to sell the gold as they wished. Here, Mahmud el-Hatib comments that they could do so only because they had no superintendents (*emin*) or scribes (*katib*) or contractors (*mültezim*) as in the city where he was, and ends with a blessing: "May Gold allow that country to prosper until the Day of Judgment."[328] In the passage on Nogara, the same kind of criticism is put forward more explicitly.The translator depicts the king of Nogara is depicted as unconcerned with his subjects' possession of wealth and then proceeds to condemn the fiscal injustices of the "lands of Rum".[329]

Aside from the *Nevadir*, there is another work by Mahmud el-Hatib, the *Ibretnuma*, which comprised six folios and included translated excerpts from the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of al-Qazwini and *Tarih-i Taberi* and *Magarib az-zaman.* However, this text does not provide any further information as to the author's identity.[330]

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[327] For information see Baki Tezcan," Searching for Osman: A Reassesment of the Deposit of the Ottoman Sultan Osman II (1618-1622)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2001), pp. 30-83, pp. 139-143.

[328] *"…ol vilayetün ne emini ne katibi var ve bu yerlerde olduğu gibi mültezimleri dahi yok. Her biri kâr u kesbinde müstakil olub dahl ve ta'arruz ider kimse yokdur. 'Ammarallahü Te'ala haze'd-diyar ilâ yevmi'l karâr."* Nur. fol. 43b.

[329] *"…ve padişahları dahi bunların cem'itdüğüne dahl ve ta'arruzu yoktur. Her kişi hissesine mâlik olur. Arz-ı Rum'da olan bid'at ve zulmler ve amiller ve ümena ve katibler ve mültezimler anda olmazmış. Bu didüğümüz eğer Vilayet-i Rum'da olsa sahib-i miskin öşrüne malik olmayub cümle hasılı mir-i içün eminler ve katibler ve ummal nasb iderlerdi. Allah Te'ala bu zulmü yeryüzünden götüre.Ve ol buk'a-ı tayyibe-i ila yevmi's-sa'a abadah idüb enva-i nekebatdan mahfuz ve mesun kılıvire."* Nur. fol. 44a.

[330] I took a look at the work and noticed that it was written in mixed writing, that is to say some parts of the works in Persian and Arabic. The copy is in Suleymaniye Library, Hacı Mahmud Collection, no. 4944, dated A.H. 12 th century.

Patron

At the beginning of his translation, Mahmud el-Hatib affirms that he was asked to translate Iskenderpaşazade Osman Şah's *Kharidat al-'aja'ib* into Turkish so that others could understand and benefit from it.[331] His patron Osman Şah (1499-1500) was an Ottoman provincial governor from a well-known Ottoman grandee family. His title İskenderpaşazade came from his grandfather İskender Paşa (d. 1506) who served the Empire in different tasks such as governorship of Bosnia (1475) and commander of the Imperial Guards and vizierate (1489). His father was Mustafa Paşa, the son of Iskender Paşa, who was married to Hatice Sultan (Hanım Sultan), the daughter of Sultan Selim I 'the Grim'(r.1512-1520).[332]

Osman Şah was promoted to ruler of Bosnia at the age of sixteen in 1515. He is known to have served as the governor of Morea and Lepanto and of Bosnia from time to time and even in several different offices at the same time. Peçevi depicts him as an influential and famous person, even more so than viziers or governor-generals (*beylerbeyi*).[333] He also identifies Osman Şah as a man of pleasure who would go out and entertain himself with his men, but did not go on campaigns.[334] He died in A.H. 978 (1570) while he was the governor of Tırhala.[335]

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[331] "*…Arabi el fâzla tahrir etmeğin [Ibn Al-Wardi] herkes ândan behremend olmadığı ecilden ba'zı yârân-ı ihvan bu abd-i kalilü'l bizâ'a ve adimü'l-istitâ'adan Türki elfâzile tercümesin iltimas itdükleri bâ'isden felâbedüdde hâtır-i futur...[praise of Osmanşah]..meliki'l-ekber Emiri kebir 'Osmân Şah ibn İskender Pâşâ...nazar-ı lüftla melhuz olucak me'muldur ki...*" The introduction does not exist in full terms in Nur. or Brat. 429 copies but in Esad Efendi 2051 fols. 1b-3b.

[332] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Yavuz Sultan Selim'in Kızı Hanım Sultan ve Torunu Kara Osman Şah Bey Vakfiyeleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976), pp. 469-472, see also İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 3 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1947) p. 406; Mehmet Süreyya, *Sicil-i Osmani* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı , 1996), 1, p. 345.

[333] "*Bazen Mora bazen İnebahtı ve bazen ikisine birden vali olurdu. Hangisini isterse padişahın müsadesine mazhar olurdu…padişahın kendisine muhabbeti vardı."*, Peçevi, p.32; Süreyya, p. 416.

[334] "*Zevk ehli bir adamdı, yaylalarda ve havası mutedil yerlerde nedimleriyle zevk ve eğlencelerde bulunur, seferlere gitmez, kendi havasında yaşardı.…",* Peçevi, p. 32.

It is likely that Mahmud el-Hatib presented the *Nevadir* while Osman Şah was the governor of Bosnia, the post to which he was promoted in 1556.[336] From Mahmud el-Hatib's ode to him one infers that Mahmud el-Hatib was worried about something unspecified, but Osman Şah's arrival at the (still unidentified) city in which he was writing had relieved him.[337]

The Nature of the Translation

As previously discussed, 'translation' in Ottoman manuscript culture differed greatly from the modern understanding. Ottoman translators could and would interfere much more with the original text, making additions and omissions, and occasionally came close to re-writing. Of course, not all Ottoman translators took the same liberties with the original texts and same translations remained considerably close to the originals.[338] Within this spectrum, Mahmud el-Hatib's translation stuck fairly closely to the Arabic original, yet he still included some additions (e.g. his eye-witness accounts, hearsay and poems) and omissions, as well.

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[335] Uzunçarşılı, *Yavuz Sultan Selim'in Kızı,* p.476.

[336] Ibid. p.474, and Süreyya, 3, p. 416.

[337] "*Bu müddet içre bir gün olmadım şâd*
ki nagah şehre geldi hâtem-i tay
fakrdan ölmüş iken eyledi hay
…
anı dünyada edindim emirim
beni ol eyledi gayet riayet
ki bundan artık olmaz hiç himayet
hüda-ı bende-i hâssı Şah Osman
ki ol dur nesli âli şah Osman
… " Nur. fols. 11b-12a.

[338] For information see Gottfried Hagen, "Translations and translators in a mutilingual society: A case study of Persian-Ottoman translations, late fifteenth to early seventeenth century", *Eurasian Studies,* 2/1 (2003).

The introduction of the *Nevadir*, after classic praise for God, the Prophet and the patron, claims that the work was translated from Arabic to Turkish in A.H. 970 (*dokuz yüz yetmişe ermişti hicret)* at the request of Osman Şah so as to familiarize people with al-Wardi's *Kharidat.*[339]

The table of contents of both the *Kharidat* and the *Nevadir* are almost identical.[340]

The major difference between the two versions is that the *Nevadir* does not include the last of part of the *Kharidat,* which concerns apocalyptic issues. That chapter also includes passages relating the questions of the Jewish convert 'Abdu'llah Ibn Salam to the Prophet Muhammad about the period before the creation, the lifespan of the world, and the characteristics of the creatures before Adam.[341] The chapter on apocalyptic issues describes signs of the Day of Judgment, such as: the appearance of the Turks, about whom Muhammad is reported to have said that unless the Muslims fought the Turks, the "Hour" would not come; "black

[339] "*Bilgil ki bu risale-i latife ve mecmua-ı şerifedür. Sadru'l-'ulemâ ve kutbu'l-asfiyâ fahrü'l-müellifin ve zübdetü'l ârifin Sirâceddin Ömer Ibnü'l Verdi'nin rahmedüllahi müellefatından haridatü'l-acaib ve feridetü'l garaib nam kitâbının evvelinde vâki'olan daireyi şerh idüb yeryüzünde eğer cibâl ve bihâr cezair ve enhâr ve mesâfât-ı bilâdı ve esnâfı 'ibadı ve sıfâtı bilâdın tul ve ardı ve semâvâti ve arzı ve mevâzi'-i ekâlimi ve mefâviz-i ramâmimi ve berriyenün acâibini ve ekâlimin garâibini ve bunların içinde sakin olan ümemi muhtelife ve ecnâsı muhtelife ve mahalli ab-ı hayât-ı ve kutr-i 'alemin ne cânibinde ve ne semtindedür. Tâ Sedd-i Zülkarneyn ve mecma'u-l bahreyn ve sedd-i ye'cüc ve me'cüc ve havass-ı eczâsı hayvânât ve menâfi'i-envâ-i nebâtât selef-i 'ulemâ ve halef-i hükemâ 'acâib ve garâibinden ve mesâlik ve nevâibinden beyân idüb Arabi el fâzla tahrir etmeğin herkes ândan behremend olmadığı ecilden ba'zı yârân-ı ihvan bu abd-i kalilü'l bizâ'a ve adimü'l-istitâ'adan Türki elfâzile tercümesin iltimas itdükleri bâ'isden felâbedüdde hâtır-i futur...[praise of Osmanşah]..meliki'l-ekber Emiri kebir 'Osmân Şah ibn İskender Pâşâ...*" Esad Efendi 2051. fol. 3b.

[340] The table goes as follows: on distances among the countries (*Fasl fi'l-mesâfât),* on characteristics of the Earth and its division (*Fasl fi sıfatu'l-arz ve taksimiha)*, on cities and seas, (*Fasl fi zikr el-buldân ve'l-bihâr*), on estuaries and seas (*Fasl fi'l-halicân ve'l-bihâr),* on islands and vestiges (*Fasl fi'l-cezair ve'l-âsâr),* on the marvels to be considered (*Fasl fi'l-acaib li'l-itibar*), famous rivers (*Fasl fi maşahiri'l-enhâr)*, springs and water wells (*Fasl fi'l-uyûn ve'l-âbâr*), on high mountains and hills (*Fasl fi'l- cibâli'l-şavâhiki'l-kibar*, on stones (*Fasl fi havâssi'l-ahcâr),* on minerals, jewels and their characteristics (*Fasl fi'l-maâdin ve'l-cevâhir ve havâssihâ*), on seeds and their characteristics (*Fasl fi'l-hubûb ve havâssihâ*), on herbs and their characteristics (*Fasl fi'l-bukûl ve havâssihâ*), on the variety of vegetables and their characteristics (*Fasl fi'l-haşâyiş muhtelife ve havâssihâ)*, on seeds and their characteristics (*Fasl fi'l-buzûr ve havâssihâ)*, on animals, birds and their characteristics *(Fasl fi'l-hayvanât ve'l-tuyûr ve havâssihâ).* Nur. fol. 9b.

[341] Guignes, pp. 51-52

banners" that would be carried by a descendant of the Prophet, a Hashimi, who would go forth from Khorasan and signal the advent of the Mahdi; the appearance of the Sufyani, an enemy of the Mahdi and a tyrant who would spread terror; the emergence of the Mahdi himself, who would be descended from Muhammad and who would fill the world with justice; the conquest of Constantinople; the appearance of Dajjal or the "Anti-Christ" as the Mahdi's arch-enemy; the return of Jesus; and invasion of Gog and Magog (*Ya'juj wa Ma'juj*). It was claimed that after these events occurred, the end of world would come. The chapter ends with the different names of the Day of Resurrection and a poem (*qasida*) regarding it.[342] There is no explicit reason why Mahmud el-Hatib excluded this chapter in his translation. Could there be any motivation behind this kind of selective attitude? Perhaps, it is related to the expectations of his patron Osman Şah. Known as a man of pleasure (*zevk ehli*),[343] he may have requested Mahmud el-Hatib not to translate the part on the Day of Judgment or this could have been related with the fact that this part has negative references to Turks.

Although both the *Kharidat* and the *Nevadir* presented the same table of contents, the organization of both texts follows a somewhat different structure. For example, Mahmud el-Hatib does not discuss seas, estuaries, islands, and wonders separately, but rather includes them in discussions of their immediate location. Fruits and plants are discussed in a section of their own, rather than in one concerning the characteristics of vegetables.A perhaps telling difference emerges in the part concerning springs and wells. Instead of titling it simply as in the original, "The Part on wells and springs" (*Fasl fi'l-uyûn ve'l-âbâr*), the translator wrote,

[342] See *Kharidat al-'aja'ib* manuscript dated A.H. 1092, that is available [online]: http://alwaraq.net/index2.htm?i=337&page=1, [26.10.2007].

[343] Peçevi, p. 32.

"The Part on wonders of springs and wells of Azerbaijan" (*Fasıl fi 'aca'ib el Uyun ve'l-abar minha ayn Azerbaycan*), followed by the subtitle, "The part on wells and its wonders" (*fasl fi acaib al-âbâr).*[344] According to Yaniç, this emphasis on Azerbaijan supports the claim that the translator was the same person as Mahmud el-Şirvani.[345] Nevertheless, this section neither mentions Şirvan nor indicates that Mahmud el-Hatib knew the region. Furthermore, the title is misleading, as there is no focus on Azerbaijan wells.

In addition, there are two extra parts in both the *Nevadir* and in the *Kharidat* that are not indicated in the table of contents. The first one is a section on the characteristics of great countries *Fasl fi evsa[f] al-buldân*,[346] which appears in the *Kharidat* also as *Fasl fi khasa'is al-buldan*.[347] The other section, at the end of the *Nevadir,* deals with ancient kings and bears the title, "A fragment about traditions on kings of early times" (*Nübze min ahbar el-mulûk el-zaman el-sâlife*). This part appears within the subsection, "The Part on characteristics of countries" (*Fasl fi khasa'is al-buldan)* in the *Kharidat*.[348]

As mentioned, this section mainly concerns the great Sasanid king, Khosraw I Anushirvan (531-579), who was famed for his justice.[349] In this part, the *Kharidat*

[344] Nur. fols. 118-121.

[345] Yaniç, Ph.D. diss., p.16.

[346] Nur. fol. 219b.

[347] Al-Waraq Online Arabic Library. Available [online]: http://alwaraq.net/index2.htm?i=337&page=1, [26.10.2007].

[348] The source of this part is identified as an extract from *Kitab al-dhahab al-masbuk fi siyar al-muluk* of Ibn Jawzi even though no such work seems to exist. By this is probably meant the famous Muslim scholar Abu'l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzi (d. 597) and his book *Masbuk al-Dhahab* ("Moulded Gold").

[349] His justice is illustrated in a story in which an emissary of the Byzantine king visits him and wonders why there is a crooked corner in the palace. He is told that before Anushirvan built the palace there was the house of an old woman and that he did not destroy it.

and the *Nevadir* relate the same stories about Anushirvan in a slightly different manner. In the *Kharidat*, the deeds and might of ancient kings is put in perspective by emphasizing the ephemeral nature of everything with a poem.[350] By contrast, Mahmud el-Hatib in his *Nevadir,* argues the immortality of just kings with a poem of his own.[351]

What catches one's attention in the *Nevadir* is that, while Mahmud inserted information regarding the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire (such as restorations in the Holy Lands and criticism of Ottoman fiscalism), he did not update any passages concerning İstanbul (*şehr-i Konstantiniyye*) and directly transmitted the description of pseudo-al-Wardi, as if the city remained under Byzantine rule. If we think that he did not aim to update the *Kharidat,* why did he insert these anecdotes concerning the latest restorations in the Holy Lands? Can we say that Mahmud el-Hatib introduced this kind of information not to show any ignorance or negligence for the deeds of Sultan Suleiman, the grandfather of Osman Şah? However, this kind of speculation does not explain why he did not insert anything about İstanbul in his time. Unfortunately, I cannot find evidence to answer this question.

Geographical Content of the Nevadir

Overall, neither the *Kharidat* nor the *Nevadir* deal with heavenly phenomena in as detailed a fashion as *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of Al-Qazwini or *Dürr-i Meknun* of Yazıcızade. Neither provides a description of divine entities such as the Throne and

[350] *Kharidat al-'aja'ib* manuscript dated A.H. 1092 (1681/82), see al-waraqonline Available [online]: http://alwaraq.net/index2.htm?i=337&page=1, [13 October 2007].

[351] In this poem, he states that Caliph al-Ma'mun who had opened Anushirvan's grave and found his body fresh, heard that a just king's body does not decay in the grave, as stated by the Prophet Muhammad (*zira işitmişdi kim buyurmuşdur Resul şah-i âdil kabr içinde çürüyüp görmez zarar*). Nur. fols. 240a-b.

the Footstool, the planets and the different layers of Hell and Paradise but refer to some of these heavenly entities while describing Mountain Qaf and the realm that lies behind it. The texts are more concentrated on terrestrial space, although, at the same time, they do not include as much geographical detail as the works of Balkhi scholars, such as *Surat al-Ard* of Ibn Hawqal.

The world map presented in the *Kharidat* reflects the style of the Balkhi School and derived from Ibn Hawqal's world map.[352] In the case of the *Nevadir,* we do not see this map in all copies, but only in some. The earliest *Nevadir* copy to include this map is the Esad Efendi copy (2051). There are two other visuals in the work: one is the Nilo-meter, showing the water level of the river in different seasons; the other is a diagram for the *kiblah*. Most of the copies have these two visuals, as well.[353]

Mountain Qaf is the first geographical feature mentioned in the *Nevadir.* After the description of the mountain and the realm that lies beyond it, there follow passages on the *Bahr-ı Muhit* (the Encircling Ocean) and the fountain of eternity *(ab-ı Hayat*) that is imagined to be between Mountain Qaf and the *Bahr-ı Muhit*. As in the case of most of Islamic geographical texts, the borders of the inhabited world are defined as extending from China (*Arz-ı Sin*) to the "Two Eternal Islands" (*Khâlidetan*)[354] in Gibraltar (*Magrib Boğazı*); and from Sudan (*Arz-ı Sudan*) to the wall of Gog and Magog (*sedd-i Yecüc ve Mecüc*). Distances are provided for the different parts of the world. The length of the inhabited world extending from the

[352] Tibbets, "The Balkhi School of Geographers", p. 112.

[353] Sometimes there are blanks left for the illustration to be filled (e.g. Archeology Museum no. 531).

[354] The *Nevadir* only talks about two islands here; island of Furs and island of Saali where only some idols were placed and raising their hands as if pointing out that there is nothing beyond here.

westernmost (*aqsa-ı maghrib*) to the easternmost land (*maşrık nihayeti)* is defined as four hundred days' journey.[355]

The text describes cities and towns generally in terms of their natural beauties, the abundance of fruits, rivers, wells, minerals, and precious stones; and the agricultural products or crafts that are peculiar to that place. It also notes buildings and places such as mosques, churches, soup kitchens, fountains, castles, mausoleums, and hamlets. To enhance the descriptions, the text uses qualities such as cultivated *(mamur*); abundance in good things (*nimetleri feravan*); strong castle *(muhkem kale*); big city *(azim şehir*); large country (*vasi memleket*) very frequently.

The *Nevadir* depicts the world from the west to the east, then from the south to the north. The locations of countries are defined with regard to their direction, not with regard to the continent. In this regard, the cities in the west such as in Morocco and Andalusia are named as the cities of the West (*maghrib*). The geographical description of the lands starts from the westernmost region, from the Two Eternal Islands and goes like Sus al-Aqsa,[356] Agmat,[357] Selcemase[358] al-Mehdiyye,[359] Sebte,[360] and Tanca (Tangier),[361] Endülüs (Andalusia), İşbiliyye (Sevilla), Kurtuba

[355] Distances are given in terms either day's journey (*merhale) or* mil. The exact measurement of merhale is controversial. This part seems almost identical with the Kitab al-*Masalik w'al-Mamalik* of Ibn Hawqal and of Al-Istakhri.C.f. Willam Ouseley ed.,*The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal* (London: Oriental Press, 1800), repr. (Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1992); Yörükan, pp. 55-193, pp.198-209.

[356] A district in the south of present Morocco.

[357] A small town in the Southern Morocco near Marrakesh.

[358] Sijilmasa is defined as a very fertile land, and it is inserted that who ever comes to this city becomes happy: " *zikrederler bir kimse bu şehre girse ne denlü gam ve gussası varsa zâyil olur. Ve bisebeb gülmek ve şâdilik gelur, hâlen bunun sebebin bilmezler, bi't-tab ânın hassasından mıdur yâhud tılsım ile midür"*, Nur. fol. 11a.

[359] A town in present Tunisia; built by the Fatimids.

[360] Ceuta, a town in Northern Morocco that it is presently together with Melilla an automous city of Spain; see *EI²* , s.v. "Sabta , Ceuta", 8, pp. 689-690. The *Nevadir* defines the city as being located on the side of infidels. Nur. fol.12a.

(Cordoba),[362] Uşbuna (Lisbon),[363] and Kartaca (Carthage), Kantaratü's-seyf,[364] and Tuleytula (Toledo).[365] Without describing further the European continent, the *Nevadir* progresses to Africa and deals with cities and towns of the lower part of the *maghrib* (*al-garb al-ednâ)* such as İskenderiye (Alexandria) and Kahire (Qairo).[366] Subsequently, it focuses on the 'Land of Sham' (*Arz-ı Şam*) with its various cities such as Dımaşk (Damascus) Sayda, Askalan (Ashqelon),[367] Gazze (Gaza), Samiriyye,[368] Beyt al-Makdis (Jerusalem), and Haleb (Aleppo). The account of this region is more detailed than other accounts.[369] Following Aleppo, the focus shifts to Eastern Anatolia and places like Ermeniyye,[370] Ahlat, Malatiyye,[371] and Nisibin (Nusaybin), Arzü'l-Cezire (Diyarbakır),[372]Al-Ruha (Urfa) are mentioned. The next region is Iraq al-Arab ("Arabian Iraq") in which it treats cities like Baghdad,[373]

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[361] Nur. fols. 10a-12b.

[362] It is noted within Islamdom, praised for its mosques, bridges, arts and crafts; Nur. fol. 13b.

[363] Defined as a land of Franks; "… *el-an Frenk elindedir*", Nur. fol.14b.

[364] Alcántara , a little town of great antiquity in the province of Cáceres (district of Estremadura) in Spain. Nur. fol. 14b.

[365] A very interesting story is inserted here. According to it, one of the rooms in the city palace was locked since its being so had a talismanic power. Yet its Christian king insists on unlocking it and sees that there is statute of an Arab on horse holding his sword, and a book in which was written that their country would be conquered by Arabs. *Nevadir* connects the conquest of the city by the forces of Tarıq bin Ziyad on the basis of this legend. Nur. fol.17b.

[366] Ancient remains (e.g. Pharaoh in Alexandria and pyramids) are described in detail. Nur. fols. 20a-24b.

[367] A city in present-day Israel.

[368] A city in Israel near Bet Shean.

[369] The same point was also emphasized by Guignes, see Guignes, pp. 32-33.

[370] The historical name of the region once covered the lands of present day Armenia, Azarbaijan and Karabagh.

[371] Malatiyye is the Arabic name for Malatya and its environs in present day Turkey.

[372] The population of this region was defined as Christian (*nasara milleti üzerine*).

[373] Al-Baghdad was described as rich and glorious under the reign of caliph al-Mamun. There is no reference to the political situation of the city but many references to the artifacts.

Medain (ancient city of (Ancient Ctesiphon), Nineva,[374] Kûfe (al-Kûfah), and Al-Basra. Then follows Iraq al-'Ajam ("Persian Iraq") consisting of five hundred cities such as Hamadan, Sus, Nishapur, Ghazna, Qum, Kashan, Isfahan, Jurjan and Ardabil.[375] The regions Soghdia,[376] Tibbett, Bukhara, Semerkand, and Khwarazm are the other places mentioned briefly.[377]

China and India are described very briefly, emphasizing their excellence in the field of arts and crafts in accordance with their general image in the Islamic geographical texts.[378] Yet there is no reference to their centralized government, just rule, or high literacy as mentioned in other texts.[379] In terms of religion, they are stated to be Magians or idolaters. India (Hind) is noted as a big country consisting of various states (*memalik-i kesire*) while Indians are noted for their idolatry and elephants.[380]

In Africa, Sudan as the southernmost region of the inhabited world is described as a hot and deserted land in which plenty of gold exists. While Arz-ı

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[374] An ancient city from the time Assyrian Empire in the 7 th century B.C. *Nevadir* defines the city as the one to which the Prophet Joseph was sent to preach.

[375] It is interesting that nothing is inserted on these cities.

[376] A region in Central Asia.

[377] Nur. fols. 37b-41a.

[378] "*…ve Çin halkı sabâhat yönünden nâsın ahseni ve 'adl yönünden halkın ekseri ve san'at-ı nakşda ve tasvirde beni ademin üstâdı ve kâmilidir."*, Nur. fol.41a.

[379] Miquel, pp. 65-66; Aziz al-Azmeh, "Barbarians in Arab Eyes", *Past&Present*, 134, (1), 3:18 (1992), p.8, p.16; this kind of image of China can be observed in the early accounts of Süleyman At-Tacir, on China and India, for information see; Ferrand Gabriel ed., *Voyage du Marchand arabe Süleyman et Inde et en Chine rédigé en 851 suivi de remarques par Abu Zayd Hasan (vers 916),* Islamic Geography, 165, p. 50; and a detailed picture of China is given in the accounts of Marvazi see; Şerefüzzaman Tahir Mervezi, *Ebvabu fî's-Sin ve'l-Türk ve'l-Hind (*on China the Turks and India), trans. Vladimir Fedorov Minorsky, ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt : Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1993), pp.14-28.

[380] For both China and Hind there is very little information compared to the accounts of Süleyman at-Tacir, Abu Zayd or al-Marvazi on these regions.

Gana (Ghana), Arz al-Zeyla[381] and Arz al-Katim[382] are regarded as Muslim lands, Arz al-Necid (Najd, Saudi Arabia) is considered to be the land of idolaters.[383] Furthermore, it indicates that Arz-ı Gana, Arz-ı Habeş (Ethiopia) and most of Arz-ı Nuba[384] are Christians' lands.[385]

After Africa, the *Nevadir* deals with the Arabian Peninsula with a special focus on Mecca. It includes different *isra'iliyyat* accounts on how the Ka'ba was built.[386] Many cities on this peninsula, such as Yesrib (Yathrib or Medina) and Aden are mentioned in detail.[387]

The text does not give much information on Western Europe, which it calls *Arz-ı Efrenc* (land of Franks). Like most classical Islamic geographies, it states that Efransa (France) is the center of the Efrenc and Celalika (Galicia) is a country whose people are ignorant and foolish (*hamakat üzerine*).[388] Brief descriptions are inserted for northern and eastern neighbors, such as Arz al-Kerc (Crimea), Sakaliba

[381] A port on the Gulf of Aden. Its population was described as Muslim.

[382] Kanem, district in Chad.

[383] It is asserted that the people of this land are black and idolaters moreover their bodies are like of animals. (*bedenleri üryan manend-i hayvan*), c.f. Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry*, (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[384] Nubia in the south of Egypt.

[385] Nur. fols. 42a-45a.

[386] Various accounts are regarded on the building of Ka'ba that is related with the story of creation of the cosmos similar to concerns of Judaic tradition for Jerusalem. Various accounts are reported from Abu Hureyre and Ibn Abbas such as that Ka'ba was a reddish hill on the water before the creation of Adam, it was an emerald from Paradise and descended to earth at the same with Adam or it was the pilgrimage place of angels and then transformed into for humans. Wahb b. Münebbih asserts that Adam and his sons built it yet during the Flood, it was destroyed and was re-built by Abraham and his son Ishmael. Nur. 50b-52a; for connection with the other cultures (e.g. Temple of Solomon) see; Norman Cohn, *Cosmos and Chaos, The World to Come: The Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith*, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001); Edwyn Bevan, *Symbolism and Belief* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938); *EI²*, s.v. "Ka'ba", 4, p.59.

[387] Nur. fols. 52b-53a.

[388] Cf. Azmeh, p. 6.

(land of Slavs), Fenadık (Venice), and Arz al-Bâşkırd[389] (land of Bashkurd). The *Nevadir* also talks briefly about Asian regions where Turkish tribes lived, such as the Hırhız (Kırgız), the Edkes (Çerkez), the Kimakiye (in Western Siberia), and the Harluhıyye (Karluq). Again, like most other texts, it defines Turks as a warlike and savage people.[390] The last country mentioned in *Nevadir* is the land of Gog and Magog, who are defined as two seditious and warlike tribes.[391]

Following the description of countries, the *Nevadir* turns its attention to the seas, mentioning seven: the Encircling Ocean (*Bahr-ı Muhit),* Atlantic Ocean (*Bahr-Zulmet),* Sea of China *(Bahr-ı Sin*); Indian Ocean *(Bahr-ı Hind*); Eastern Mediterranean *(Bahr-ı Şam*), *Bahr-ı Zenc* and Caspian Sea *(Bahr-ı Harez*). It depicts all the seas as connected with each other, either through straits, gulfs or underground connections.[392] *Bahr-ı Muhit* is divided into two estuaries the first being the eastern estuary which includes the Persian Sea (Bahr-ı Fars), the Sea of China (*Bahr-ı Sin*), Sea of Tibet (*Bahr-ı Tibet*), Sea of India (*Bahr-ı Hind*) and *Bahr-ı Sind*; and the second is the western estuary (*halic-i garbi*), the Mediterranean.[393] Until here, we have summarized the general facts about the *Nevadir.* In the following section, we will deal with the textual analysis of the *Nevadir* and its contextualization of geographic space with prophetic tales, legends, wondrous and strange things.

[389] It is identified as the land of Germans (Alman).

[390] Nur. fols. 71a-73a; Cf. Azmeh, p. 7.

[391] Nur. fols. 73a-75b.

[392] In another passage the idea that the Caspian Sea has no connection is also maintained. Brat. 429 fols. 181r-183v.

[393] Nur. 2999, fols. 76a-78a, Brat.429, fols. 120r-123v.

Co-existence of Pious Speculation and Aristotelian-Ptolemaic Model

Pious speculation is a *sine qua non* aspect of medieval Islamic cosmographies and the *Nevadir* is no exception. In most of the cases, these speculations are aligned successively without any elaboration, indicating the absence of empirical research.Various ideas attributed to the authorities of *isra'iliyyat* such as Ibn Abbas and Kab'al Ahbar comprise a large amount of these speculations, especially when the subject is the gigantic dimensions of the heavenly entities. Moreover, Qur'anic verses are inserted into the text to support some of these speculations (e.g. function of the mountains or layers of the heavens) even though their inclusion seems irrelevant in some cases. For example, the description of Mountain Qaf touches upon Sura of Qaf (50:1), which commences with this letter the Arabic letter *qaf* (ق),[394] but has nothing to do with Mountain Qaf. This kind of aspiration signified the efforts of Muslims to reconcile the Islamic revelation with various claims originating from *isra'iliyyat* or other traditions.

The Greek scholars are mostly referred to with the term "*kudema*", meaning ancients. Wadie Jwaideh's edition of Yaqut Al-Hamawi's *Mujam al-Buldan,* whose introductory chapters are almost identical with the *Nevadir* became a useful source to trace the authorities behind these ideas. However, the writers juxtaposed different theories resulted merely in conflicting claims and the corresponding explanation that "no one knows but God" *(Allah'dan gayrı kimesne bilmez)*, used to articulate the limitation of human knowledge and the obscurity of the issue. Taking this matter into account, we may now turn our attention to the co-existence of pious speculation and the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model in the *Nevadir* through some illustrations.

[394] There are various suras commencing with such letters known as *hurûf-i mukataa* (*alef, lâm, mim, alef lâm, alef râ, sad, nûn*).

Mountain Qaf and The Realm Lies Beyond it

Considered to surround the Earth, Mountain Qaf is the first entity with which the *Nevadir* deals. As an entity surrounding the terrestrial space, Mountain Qaf signifies the direct control of God that manifests a certain hierarchy through an angel in charge and underground network scattered around the world. [395]

Encompassing all the seas, Mountain Qaf represents inaccessible space. Furthermore, it serves to explain earthquakes, as well as the colour of the sky through the reflection of the green emerald that covers the mountain.[396] These functions of Mountain Qaf represent visible traces of an invisible phenomenon and its impact on daily life. Similarly, the *Dürr-i Meknun* defines the essence of Mountain Qaf as a navy-blue meteor descended from Paradise.[397] Pseudo-Rükneddin's translation states that the roots of Mountain Qaf connect to all other mountains on earth. However, its explanation for earthquakes lacks a religious element, describing rather the boiling of the underground water and the movement of the subterranean layers by the force of its vapor.[398]

Generally, in the *Nevadir, Dürr-i Meknun* and pseudo-Rukneddin's translation, Mountain Qaf and other mountains are treated as stakes preventing the Earth from

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[395] "*Evvela Kaf Dağı'nın zikrine şürû'edelim. Hak Subhanahu ve Teala Kuran-ı Azimi'nde ve Furkan-ı Mecidi'nde buyurmuşdur: "Kaf". İmdi Cebel-i Kaf'ın tefsirinde ulema ve müfessirîn birkaç vech üzerine yazmışlardır. Ebu Salih, Abbas'dan (r.a.) rivayet eder ki Hak teala bir dağ yaratdı ki ona Kaf denilir…Her kaçan kim Hak teala bir şehre veyahud köye zelzele emretse o Dağ'a müvekkil olan meleğe emreder ki ol yerin damarların deprede. Pes ol yer ol saatde bağrı Hâlık [?] için harekete gelir. Mücahid eytdi: Cebel-i Kaf yeryüzünü cemî-i derya-yı ihata eylemiştir. Dahhâk rivayet eyledi: Cebel-i Kaf yeşil zümrütdendir ve âsumanın kenefleri kurulmuş çadır gibi üzerine sarkmışdır ve gökyüzü yeşil göründüğü ondandır."* Nur., fol.2a; Brat.429 fol.3a.

[396] Green emerald is also specified as the first created thing by *Qisas al-Anbiya* and *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat.*

[397] Yazıcızade, p. 44.

[398] Yılmaz, p. 284.

being shaken, in accord with Qur'anic verses (such as 78:6-7). *Dürr-i Meknun* stands apart by stating that the Sura of the Footstool (*ayat al-Kursi*), written by an angel, keeps Mountain Qaf in balance.[399]

Not only Mountain Qaf itself, but the realm that lies beyond it is noteworthy to illustrate the scope of pious speculation.[400] This realm consists supposedly of seven concentric oceans separated from each other by mountain ranges. Though their number is specified as seven, only five names are accounted in the *Nevadir* as *Yantas,*[401] *Kubeys*, *Muzlem*, *Mırmas* and *Bagi*.[402] The *Encyclopedia of Islam* lists the names of these seas as *Nitas* (or *Baytash*), *Kaynas* (or *Kubays*), *Asamm*, *Sakin*, *Mughallin* (or *Muzlim*), *Mu'annis* (or *Marmas*) and *Bakı*.[403] Though their vocalization differs slightly, the oceans in the *Nevadir* – with exception of *Asamm* and *Sakin* – match the standard list.

Scholars such as E.M. Dunlop or P.Anastas-Marie argue that the mysterious seas correspond to earthly bodies of water. Dunlop argues that the first sea *Nitas/Baytash* represents the Black Sea since its name comes from *Buntus* which is the other name of *Pontus* which represents the Black Sea. Similarly, he connects

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[399] Yazıcızade, p.44; Yılmaz, p.193.

[400] Nur. 2999 does not talk about the realm lies beyond Mt. Qaf while Brat.429, Nur. 3022 and Esad Efendi 2051 copies do.

[401] In Esad Efendi copy it appears as *bentaş*, see Yaniç, PhD, p. 99, while in Brat.429copy as *Yantas.*

[402] "*…cebel-i kaf şol dağdır ki ruy-i zemini cümle ihata eylemiştir. Ve halk teala onu yeşil zümrütten halk eylemiştir. Ve onun arzı beşyüz yıllık yoldur, ve dünya gökleri onun üzerine bina olunmuştur. Ve onun yeşil göründüğü ondandır. Bu cebeli kafın maverası bahrı muhittir ki cebeli kafı ihata eylemiştir. İsmi yantastır ve bu cebeli kafın maverasında bahrı aher vardır ki ismine kubeys derler, ve bunun maverasında bahrı ahir vardır ki, ismine müzlem derler. Ve yine bunun maverasında bahrı ahir vardır ki ismine mırmas dirler, ve bunun maverasında dahi bir derya vardır ki ismine yagı [bagı] derler ve bu biharı seba'nın ahiridir ve bu deryaların her birisi mukeddema zikri olunan biharı ihata eylemiştir. "* Brat.429 fol. 4a; Nur. fol.5b.

[403] *EI²,* s.v. "Bahr",1, pp. 926-927.

Kaynas/Kubays with *Ukiyanus* which refers to the Atlantic Ocean.[404] Anastas-Marie on the other hand matches them as follows: *Bintas/Baytash* for Black Sea, *Asamm* for the Mediterranean, *Kaynas/Kubays* for the Encircling Ocean (*Bahr-ı muhit*), *Sakin* for the Pacific, *Muzlem* is for the Indian Ocean, *Mermas* for the Atlantic Ocean and *Bakı* for the Red Sea.[405]

One line in the *Nevadir* supports this theory; *Yantas* – apart from being the name of an ocean that lies beyond of Mountain Qaf – is also the name of an estuary that emanates from the *Muhit*, or the Sea of Trabizond or Crimean Sea (*Kırım Deryası*).[406] This strengthens the arguments of Anastas Marie and Dunlop. Speculation as to the origin of the myth of Mountain Qaf has indicated possible roots in the ancient Persian tradition, in the Alburz Mountains of the Caucaus, which was considered as the edge of the world in Persian mythology.[407] In this regard, association *Yantas* with the Black Sea makes sense. This hints at how Mountain Qaf transformed from a local mountain to the outmost border of the world. Furthermore, the co-existence of conflicting ideas in the same text indicates their origin in various sources, disregarding their inner consistency – criteria that modern scholarship takes for granted.

Continuing beyond Mountain Qaf, the *Nevadir* defines the realm as populated by creatures of various kinds (*mahlukat-ı muhtelife*) and the seven heavens are identified as the domes of each of these seven oceans.[408] This picture

[404] *EI²,* s.v. "Bahr",1, pp. 926-927.

[405] Heinen, *Islamic cosmology*, pp. 186-187.

[406] Nur. fol. 76a.

[407] *EI²*, s.v. "Kaf", 4, pp. 401-402.

[408] "*Ve her deryanın arasında olan dağlara dünya kökleri kubbe gibi olmuştur.*

reminds one of the Qur'anic portrayal of seven heavens and seven earths built one above another,[409] which also corresponds to the epi-cyclical heavenly spheres of the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model.

The picture becomes more complicated by various "hadiths" transmitted from the authorities of *isra'iliyyat*. The most noteworthy statement among them concerns the association of each of the seven oceans with precious metals (e.g. gold, musk, silver, iron) and light (*nur*), in the same way '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* of al-Qazwini or *Dürr-i Meknun* does for the seven heavens. What lies beyond the seventh ocean is defined as the realm of the angels (*ferişte*) and its extension as a dark sea *(zulmetten bir derya)* that followed by a gilding veil (*yaldız hüccab*) and the abode of a gigantic white snake surrounding all the previous realms and praising God. [410] *Dürr-i Meknun* gives more detail for the snake claiming that it has four heads and each head has seven hundred thousand faces and each face has a thousand mouths that has a thousand and one tongues praising God in different languages.[411]

The *Nevadir* mentions that the eyes of the angels that are above the seventh realm look at the Throne (*arş-ı rahman*) with fascination due to its grandeur. They are even unable to move their eyelids and do not know who is on their right (*yemininde*) and on their left (*şimalinde*) or to whom refer humankind (*nev-i adem*

Yani bu yedi göklerin her birisi mukabelesinde vakı olan dağa mülasık olupkubbelenmiştir.Ve bu dağların herbirisinin mabeyni mahlukat-ı muhtelife ile memludur ve bunların adedin ve cinsi sıfatın Allah'dan hak sübhane teâlâden gayri kimesne bilmez." Brat. 429, fols. 3b-4a.

[409] See the following verses: 67:3; 41:11-12; 78:12-13.

[410] Brat. 429 fol. 4b.; The same schema is also found in *Marifetname*, but the slight difference is that it defines mountains lies beyond Mountain Qaf as other Qaf mountains; so in total there are eight of them. See, Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakkı, *Ma'rifetname* (İstanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 2003), p. 33.

[411] Yazıcızade, p. 24.

and cinsi beşer) or Satan.[412] One infers from this passage that the realm of angels and the Throne correspond to the Islamic version of the celestial phenomena that have two more spheres in addition to the seven heavens that are associated with the Footstool and the Throne.[413] The unconsciousness of the angels and the snake's praise of God are designed to portray the magnificence of God.

The Angel, the Bull and the Fish Carrying the Earth

The question of how the Earth stood in balance was a matter of curiosity in the medieval Islamic world. Though Mountain Qaf and other mountains were regarded to be crucial for the balance of the Earth, the predominant idea was that it stood in balance through an angel, a bull and a fish. The earliest versions of this story are to be found in the *Qisas al-anbiya* of at-Thalabi and al-Kısai.[414]

The story can be summarized as follows. Having created the Earth, God ordered an angel to go under it. The angel held the Earth, which had seven layers on his shoulders and stretched its one hand to the west and the other to the east. Thus the Earth stood in balance but not the feet of the angel. Therefore, God made a bull to descend from Heaven; it had forty thousand horns and forty thousand feet. The feet of the angel stood on the horns of the bull, but they were not balanced because of the hump of the bull. So God sent a green ruby from Paradise, the size and thickness of which was one thousand days travel, placing it on the horn of the bull and thereby balancing the feet of the angel. The horns of the bull came out of the

[412] Brat.429, fol.125b.

[413] Though there is no mention of the Footstool, it is clear that the Footstool would be supposed to be where the Throne is.

[414] Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi, p.34.

edges of the Earth and extended to the lower part of God's throne. The nostrils of the bull breathed through the two holes of the ruby that were open to the sea. The reason then for the increase and decrease of the sea is because of the bull's breathing. God created hills from sand whose thickness was as much as the seven earths and the seven heavens, upon which the feet of the bull stand. Then, God created a fish called *Yelhus* (or *Belhus*) and put a sand hill on that fish. Satan approached the fish and encouraged it to shake off the earth on its back. Although the fish attempted to do so, God sent many flies that distracted the fish by flying front of it eyes of the fish. Also, the bull and the fish swallow the rivers that flow into the seas; therefore the abundance of water in the seas is not visible. In the following sentences it is claimed that when the stomachs of the bull and fish are filled with water, the Day of Judgment will arrive.[415]

[415] "*Dahi rivayettir ki, Hak süphanahu ve Teala vakta ki arz halk eyledi, karar etmeyip ıstırap etti. Pes Hak Teala bir melek veripti. Gelip yerin altına girdi. Dahi yedi kat yerleri iki omzu üzer taşında durup ve iki ellerin birin maşrıktan ve birini magribden çıkardı, yedi kat yerleri kabz eyledi ki zapt etti. Ondan sonra yerler karar tuttu. Veliken ol fereştenin ayakları yine karar etmedi. Pes Allah-ı Teala cennetten bir öküz indirdi ki onun kırk bin boynuzu vardır. Ve kırk bin ayakları vardır. Pes ol fereştenin iki ayağı ol öküzün vurgucu üzerinde karar kıldı. Amma ayakları onun senamin [hörgüç] kabul kılmadı. Pes Hak Teala cennetten bir yeşil yakut gönderdi ki büyüklüğü ve kalınlığı nice bin yıllık yoldur. Pes bu yakutu öküzün vurgucu üzerine kodu. Ondan sonra ol meleğin ayakları ol yakut üzerinde karar etti. Ve ol öküzün boynuzları yeryüzünün kenarlarından çıkıp arş altına dek gelip değmiştir. Ve bu öküzün burun delikleri ol yeşil yakutun iki deliklerinden [9a] deniz altından nefes alır. Kaçan nefes alsa deniz ziyade olur. Ve nefesin açar ve çektugunde deniz eğulur yani kararına gelir. Amma sevrin karayimine [?] karar olmayacak. Hak teala kum kum yarattı. Kalınlığı yedi kat göklere ve yedi kat yerlerce idi. Pes ol sevrin ayakları onun üzerine karar etti. Ve yine o kumkumun karargahı olmadı. Pes hak teala bir balık yarattı ki ona yelhut(s) derler. Ol kevmi balığın arkası ortasında olan kanadı üzerinde kodu. Ve ol balık kudreti silsilesiyle zimam olunmuştur. Ol zimam yerlerin ve göklerin kalınlığıncadır. Pes iblis aleyhillanet varıp ol balığa iğva verip dedi ki hak teala senden büyük nesne yaratmamıştır. Üzerinden dünyayı niçin bırakıp gidermezsin, pes bu balık iblisin iğvasıyla kasıt kıldı ki silkelenip dünyayı arkasından gidere. Pes Hak teala celle ve alla hemandem bir sürü sineğini onun gözüne havale kıldı. Onu o nesneden meşgul kıldı.* "Nur. fol. 9a-9b. The details of this story change in different texts, the number of horns of bull appears as seventy thousand in the *Qisas*of At-Thalabi, whereas of al-Kısai or *Mujam al-Buldan* of Yaqut specifies it as the forty thousand. See Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi, p. 34. The version in *Dürr-i Meknun* also differs. According to it, God creates 76. 673 mountains to keep the earth in balance, yet they can not. Upon this, God orders an angel, Sevahil to extract a navy blue stone out of the rivers of *Firdevs-i Ala* (the highest paradise). The angel puts the stone around the Earth, yet it still does not work to keep it in balance then the angel writes verse of the Footstool and it is balanced. Yazıcızade, p. 44.

Heinen traces the origins of this story to ancient Syriac texts but notes that Syriac versions mention either a dragon or a snake instead of a fish. The name of the fish is also related with the Bahamut, a male monster in the Bible (*Book of Enoch).*[416] Leaving the question of its origins aside, one wonders what this reveals about the ancient and medieval view of the cosmos. I believe that this story illustrates the omnipotence of God from another perspective, indicating that God is capable of providing order in the cosmos by making changes in the design of the cosmos, yet this order is established on a certain hierarchy. The image of Paradise here functions as a kind of toolkit that includes several devices to restore the order. The story also provides explanations for the ebb and flow of the ocean and why the seas do not overflow though rivers flux into them. According with Islamic tradition, Satan acts the role of the seducer who tries to destroy the order in the cosmos by tempting the fish. Yet, God does not allow Satan to do so and maintains the balance of the Earth by keeping the fish busy.

Does the presence of this story in the *Nevadir* as well as in the *Dürr-i Meknun,*[417] indicate that this story was taken literally by the Ottomans? Some remarks in the *Nevadir* indicate that scholars indeed disputed the authenticity of this story, arguing that it might also have metaphorical associations, but those associations are not spelled out.[418]

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[416] Heinen, p.143, p. 235; see also *EI²* s.v. "Kaf" and also Cornelia Catlin Coulter, "The 'Great Fish' in Ancient and Medieval Story," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 57 (1926), pp. 32-50.

[417] Though this story is not mentioned in *Dürr-i Meknun,* there are a few references to the bull and fish in other anecdotes. For instance, the angel that is in charge of the Mountain Qaf is narrated to have said that through his holding Mountain Qaf, the balance of the earth, the bull, and the fish stay at their place otherwise the wind would drift them. (*bu cemi'-i emlâk ki vardır; yedi kat ve yer ve taş ve öküz ve balık ve bahr-i bi-nihaye, cemi'sini yel götürür eğer bir saat elimi giderirsem)*, Yazıcızade*,* p.58.

[418] *"…ve bu haberler ki hâlayık âna râgıb olub birbiriyle bunda münafese ederler ve le-emri bu nesne âdemin dünyada basiretin ziyade eder. Ve Hak Te'âlâ'nın kemâl-ı kudretin ta'zimdir, sahih olduğu takdirce Hak Te'âlâ'nın sun'una ve hikmetine mani değildir.Eğer hod ehli-kitap ihtirâ'ından*

Ottoman writers admitted the possibility of such a scenario, given God's omnipotence, yet preferred to see it as a parable, since it originated in the texts of People of the Book and storytellers. This indicates that elements and stories which Islamic literature drew from other cultures were likely to be seen as parable or allegories. Also we see a kind of awareness of the embellishments by the story tellers. This does not mean that they were not taken into accounts or dismissed but attention was paid to their alternative meanings.

The Shape and Dimensions of the Earth

There are a number of suggestions in the *Nevadir* regarding the shape and dimensions of the Earth. The following passage illustrates the different speculations on its shape. It is stated that the scholars discussed whether the Earth is flat (*sath-ı müstevî)*[419] or in the form of a shield *(sufr)* [420]; whether it is in the form of a table[421], or round and surrounded by the heavens like in the example of the yolk of an egg and its white.[422] The general consensus agrees leans towards a round world; both

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ise ve kâssassın ya'ni kıssahânların tezyininden ise pes bunların cümlesi temsil ve teşbihdir.", Nur. fol. 8b.

[419] This idea was defended by some on the basis of the Qur'anic verse (78; 6-7): "*Have not made the earth like unto a flat expanse and the mountains like unto stakes?"*

[420] Jwaideh takes our attention that the idea of sufr (shield) might have been originated from Democritos. For information see; Eduard Zeller, *Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy*, ed. Wilhelm Nestle (London: Longman, 1950);Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi, p. 19.

[421] Anaximenes is considered to have argued that world is in the form of table, Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi, p.19.

[422] *"…arzın hey'âtında ve şeklinde ihtilaf itdiler. Ba'zılar eytdi ki, yeryüzü mebsût yani döşenmiştir ve sath-ı müstevîdir yani şöyle düz ve berâberdir dört cânibden cenubdan, maşrıktan, magribten, şimalden ve gayriler za'm eyledi ki sufr hey'âtındadır ve ba'zıları tabl şeklindedir, gayrileri nim kubbeye teşbih ettiler ve ve gökyüzü yerin kenarıyla terkib olunmustur ya'ni yerin etrafıyla buluşmuştur, cumhurun ittifak bunun üzerinedir ki bu yeryüzü bir tob gibi müdevverdir, ve gökyüzü her cânibinden onu ihata eylemiştir. Mesela "yumurdanın ağı sarısını ihata etdiği gibi" pes bu yumurtanın sarısı yer mesabesinde olup ve beyazı su menzilesindedir…Ammâ yeryüzünün hilkatı yumurta gibi uzun değildir, bilakis müdevverdir…"* Brat. 429 fol. 11b; Nur. fols. 5b-6a.

Pseudo-Rükneddin's text and the *Dürr-i Meknun* support this theory, although the *Dürr-i Meknun* asserts that half of the Earth lies largely submerged in the water with some parts rising to forming islands.[423]

There is a direct reference to Ptolemy's Almagest [Mecisti], which is said to have estimated the circumference of the Earth as 24,000 miles that is equal to 8000 *farsakhs*.[424] Another reference to Ptolemy records the measurement of the entire surface of the world as 132,600,000 miles or 288,000 square farsakhs.[425] The *Nevadir* claims that should these numbers be true, then Ptolemy had divine inspiration – even if he arrived at his numbers through mathematical experimentation.[426] This remark reflects the conceptualization of knowledge of the cosmos as inspired by God, the source of all knowledge, and not through personal efforts.

Unlike Yaqut's *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, the *Nevadir* does not provide different views of Muslims scholars on this matter like that of al-Khwarizmi who specified it as 9000 *farsakhs*, or al-Biruni who considered it to be 6800 farsakhs[427] but only displays the figures of Ptolemy. This shows that it does not deal with new developments in mathematical geography but only transmits numbers of Ptolemy.

Various speculations were also put forward concerning the reason for the ebb and flow of the seas. For example, one claim attributed the phenomena to strong

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[423] Yazıcızade, p. 54.

[424] See Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi p. 25; see also Goodrich, *Sixteenth century Ottoman Americana,* p. 218.

[425] Nevertheless, Jwaideh assures that these numbers in fact should be 182, 894.213 and 20,321.579, Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi, p. 28, fn. 8.

[426] *"Eğer bu hak olacak olursa canib-i Hak'dan bu vahydir yahud ilhamdır. Eger hod kıyas ve istidlal ile olursa yine hakka yakındır.Vallahu a'lem ve ahkem",* Nur. fol.6b.

[427] Cf. Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi, pp. 23-24.

wind (an idea attributed to Aristotle),[428] or the power of the moonlight. Yet another described it as the result of an angel's act of putting his feet into the seas and taking them out. Here, again we see the co-existence of both pious speculation and Greek cosmology.

Another passage in the *Nevadir* which is crucial for revealing the Greco-Islamic synthesis concerns to the Aristotelian sublunary spheres of the four elements and Muslim synthesis of Aristotelian-Ptolemaic spheres which constituted two additional spheres to seven heavens: the sphere of stars (*felek-i sabite*) and the sphere of spheres (*felek-i atlas* or *felek-i azam*).[429] Moreover, it is also asserted that these nine spheres are encircled by world of substance (*alem-i nefs*) and world of intellect (*alem-i akıl*) and then world of the soul (*alem-i ruh).* Finally all these spheres and worlds are considered to be surrounded by His holiness *(Hazret).* In this picture of the cosmos, we see a kind of Muslim synthesis formulated in Neo-platonic terms. In this regard, Plotinus's absolute intellect and absolute soul appear as *alem-i akıl* and *alem-i ruh* whereas the Transcendent One appears as *Hazret.*

[428] "*Eytdiler Aristotle eyitti bunun sebebi güneşdendir, kaçan yeller hareket eyleyüb ziyade esse bulanub ziyade geldiği andandır ve yine eksük olmadığı yeller esmedüğündendir."* Nur. fol.7b.

[429] "*Amma kudemanın ekseri bunu za'm eylediler ki yer suları ihata eylemiştir ihata eylemiştir. Bu zahirdir. Su dahi havayı ihata eylemiştir. Hava dahi ateşi, ateş dahi dünya göğün, ve ikinci kat göğü ve üçüncü göğü yedi göğe dek bu üslup üzerinedir.Yine bunların küllü şeyini felek sabite kaplamıştır. Yine bunun cümlesinin felek-i atlas kaplamıştır. Felek-i azam dahi denilir.Yine bunların cümlesin alemi nefs dahi onun fevkin alemi akıl ve onun fevkin yine alemi ruh ve emir ve alemi ruhla emrin fevkin hazret kaplamıştır."* Nur. fol. 8b. One can see same kind of passage in *Mujam al-Buldan*. Cf. Yaqut al-Hamawi al-Rumi, p. 33.

The World Map of the *Nevadir*

Some copies of the *Nevadir* included the world map of the *Kharidat*, which was drawn in the style of the Balkhi School.[430] In general, there seems no major difference among these maps except their styles. There are some slight differences stemming from stylistic articulations of the different painters/cartographers.

These maps are noteworthy in terms of reflecting the synthesis of different traditions that are dominated by Islamic motifs and Ptolemaic concepts. As can be noticed at first glance, the Earth is depicted as circular in shape and south-oriented. An important feature of the map is its geometric character with circles and straight lines, for example, lakes or closed seas (e.g. Black Sea or Caspian Sea) are generally drawn as perfect circles, while peninsulas as semi-circles. Yet this geometric character is not that apparent in some copies. (e.g. Pertevniyal Collection, no.758 and Murad Molla Collection no.1423).

In accordance with the medieval geographic/cosmologic framework, the scholars imagined an Ocean (*Bahr-ı Muhit*), which is surrounded by Mountain Qaf, which encircles the inhabited land. The legendary fountain of eternity (*ab-ı hayat)* is marked on the southern part of the Mountain Qaf, somewhere between Mountain Qaf and the Encircling Ocean.As in the map of Ptolemy, the southern tip of Africa extends towards Asia, although it does not connect to the continent as Ptolemy maintained, an idea refuted by Muslim scholars. In this regard, the Indian Ocean (*Bahr-ı Fars*) is not represented a landlocked sea but connected with the *Bahr-ı Muhit.* The extension of Africa towards Asia makes it face to face India, Tibet and China, the three Asian countries that are drawn side by side. The Indian Ocean and

[430] Interestingly, some copies of the *Nevadir* have seven climate map. i.e. Sadberk Hanım Museum Library 482, Milli Kütüphane (National Library) no. 30.

the Mediterranean (*Bahr-ı Rum*) are visualized as two estuaries connected with the *Bahr-ı Muhit.* The Aegean and the Marmara Seas are drawn as if they flow into the *Bahr-ı Muhit* through the Strait of İstanbul (*Konstantiniyye Boğazı*). Interestingly, this connecting body of water may refer to the Danube River, and appears only to have existed in the *Jami' al-Funun* (The Gatherer of the Sciences) of the Egyptian lawyer Ahmad ibn Hamdan al-Harrani of the fourteenth century, on which the *Kharidat* is considered to have been based.[431] In this model, Europe and Asia are emphasized as two continents without a land connection.

In line with the map of Ptolemy, the Mountains of the Moon (*Cibal al-Kamar*) are imagined to be the source of the river Nile that is mostly drawn half as wide as the Aegean Sea. The Black Sea is positioned to the right of Asia Minor, neighboring the Caspian Sea. The southernmost tip of Africa is described where no living being existed.[432]

According with Islamic cosmology, the center of the map is Mecca in the Arabian Peninsula, which scholars considered the most holy spot on earth. What captures one's attention in some copies (e.g. Sadberk Hanım Mus. Lib. 2999, Esad Efendi Collection 2051) is that the Arabian Peninsula appears almost as an island by the extension of the Red Sea towards the Persian Gulf in a way to unite them. In this sense, Arabian Peninsula is isolated from the landmass around it. This situation is also seen in some copies of the *Kharidat* and it probably serves to underscore the centrality of Mecca and the Ka'aba. The centrality of the Ka'aba is illustrated in

[431] Tibbetts, "Later Cartographic Developments", p. 143.

[432] "*El-harabda ne vuhuş ve ne nebatat ve ne el-mahlukat ve ne bir şey vardır. Harabdır*". See the tip of Africa in the world maps in the Appendix B.

some copies in the way that it is surrounded by a rectangular. (e.g. Pertevniyal Collection no.758, Murad Molla Collection no.1423)[433]

The proportions of seas, lakes and cities change from one map to another since they are not drawn to scale. For example in the manuscript in Sadberk Hanım Museum Library (no. 478) dated 1581, the Aral Lake, the Caspian Sea and the torrent channel (*batıha)* of Nile are depicted as being as large as the Arabian Peninsula. The depiction of İstanbul is interesting; in some maps it is illustrated in the form of a semi-circle and in some others as a triangle in accord with the text. (*müselles şehir*). The same kind of disproportion is also seen in its size. In some maps it appears as large as half of Europe and positioned where Rome is located. In general, these maps differ mostly in the way they depict the Arabian Peninsula, İstanbul and the Nile. The disproportion between these geographical entities does not necessarily mean that the Ottomans regarded these depictions literally. This aspect of these maps can be interpreted with regard to their mnenotic function, a peculiarity of the maps of the Balkhi School.[434]

What is critical in these maps is that they visualize how the world was imagined through the combination of legendary and factual elements that derived from Islamic cosmology. Pious speculation (such as Mountain Qaf, centrality of Mecca) and Ptolemaic ideas are the most important elements of this kind of representation.

[433] Being from the seventeenth century, these two maps seem to be almost identical as if one was drawn on the basis of the other. See Appendix B.

[434] See Tibbets, "The Balkhi School of Geographers", p. 120.

Sacralization of the World

The sacralization of the world that this section will examine reflects the tendency in medieval Islamic cosmographies in general, and in the *Nevadir* in particular, to endow nature, as well as human history, with religious significance and even with a degree of sacredness. Many of the pious speculations mentioned in the previous sections can also be included under this title. Yet here, I aim to demonstrate the scope of pious speculation with regard to perception of "sacred space", its reflection on the different elements of nature such as plants and animals and, in some cases, on important figures like Alexander the Great.

A prevailing idea in the *Nevadir* is that only God can know order of the cosmos. The expression, "nobody knows but God" (*Allah'dan gayrı kimesne bilmez*) repeats often, especially when describing what lies beyond Mountain Qaf, the fringes of the inhabited world; *Bahr-ı Muzlim* (Atlantic Ocean), the land of Sudan or land of Gog and Magog. The same expression is also used to describe greatness and infiniteness of the creatures inhabited what lies beyond Mountain Qaf, the number and variety of the races on the Earth, the depth of *Bahr-ı Muhit*, and the number of islands in the Sea of China *(Bahr-ı Sin)*. Similarly natural phenomena, especially those which human intelligence could not comprehend are often explained relying on divine wisdom (*hikmet-i ilahiyye*). One of the most striking examples to this can be given the saltiness of the sea-water. The wisdom behind this fact is explained on the basis that the salt of the sea prevents the seas from smelling badly.[435]

[435] "*Ve deryanın suyu tuzlu olduğunun hikmeti tekadüm-i zamanda ile dünya halk olandan münteyyin ve mütegayyir olmadığı ve ziyade ve noksan olmadığının sebebi oldur ki Hak Süphanahu ve teala'nın kudret-i azimesidir. Eğer bu deryaların suyu tatlı olsa kokardı, yeryüzünün halkı onun raiha-yı*

There is strong religious emphasis on the description of plants, animals and minerals in the *Nevadir.* That is to say, plants, animals and minerals are mostly defined in relation to a hadith, a prophetic tale or a religious event. These definitions include the creation stories of plants and animals that took place in a timeless setting.[436]

Among the marvels of the Earth, one can also observe overtones of sacralization. For example, it is stated that a young man caught a kind of fish known as Sakankur in Sea of Konstaniyye (Marmara Sea), behind whose ear, it was written "La ilaha illa'llah" [there is no God but Allah] and behind the other "Muhammad Resulu'llah" [Muhammad is His prophet].[437] Similarly, the island of Verd in the Indian Ocean is singled out for its special roses which bear the line, "La ilaha illa'llah ve Muhammaden Resulu'llah" in white script.[438] It is reported that an idol on the Island of Fendec was crying night and day since the natives of the island worshipped it rather than Allah.[439] That these entities all lay beyond the borders of Islamdom is not coincidental. By mentioning these astonishing creatures, the message is given that the physical peculiarities of animals inhabited outside of Islamdom evince the truth of Islam and the prophethood of Muhammad. One can interpret this as a kind of message to strengthen the piety of the Muslims. On the

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kerihesinden helak olurlardı. Pes onu tuzlu yaratdı. Hikmet-i ilahiye üzerinedir." Nur. fol. 2a, Brat.429 fols. 4v-5r; Nur. 2999, fol. 6a.

[436] For example, the horse is said to have been created out of the South wind. According to the anecdote, God informs the wind that he will create a horse from it and the wind submits to God (see Nur. fol. 171a). Similarly, the two fruits; olive and fig are considered important due to fact that Allah swears on them in the *Qur'an* (95:1). See Nur. fols. 153a-b.

[437] Brat.429, fol.179r, same story is also related in al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and al-Dimashqi's *Nukhbat al-dahr fi 'aja'ib al-barr wa'l bahr* see *Manuel de la cosmographie du Moyen Age*, ed. M.A.F. Mehren, (reprint of the Edition Copenhagen 1874; Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1994), p. 190.

[438] Brat.429, fol. 149r.

[439] Brat.429. fol. 159v.

other hand, there is also an underlying assumption that unlike Muslims, the infidels are far from recognizing such evidences.

The sacralization of nature shows itself also in the representation of sacred space. As mentioned in the first chapter, the notion of sacred space in Islam is not only shaped by the religious stories in the scriptures of the monotheistic religions, but also by the folklore of ancient cultures. Apart from Mecca and Medina, many places where prophets are believed to have walked and preached are also mentioned with a special emphasis. Among them we see Jerusalem,[440] Cebel-i Tur where Moses talked to God; a well named *al-matariyye* where Jesus performed total ablution,[441] Mt.Cudi where the ark of Noah landed and where Noah built a mosque (*masjid*),[442] Al-Feyyum which was built by Prophet Joseph, the mosque of Ben-i Ümmiye in Damascus where Jesus would descend on the Day of Judgment [443] and the Island of Serendib (*Sarandib*) where Adam first descended to earth and left his footprints.[444] On the basis of a report from Enes bin Mâlik, two cities – Abbâdân and Qazwin – are connected with Paradise since they (not the inhabitants but the cities) were the first ones that accepted the prophethood of Jesus and Muhammad. Some places are also defined in religious terms without reference to prophets. Among them we see Cairo, (*şehr-i Mısır*), defined as 'the arrow of God'

[440] In Jerusalem, apart from places like Masjid-i Aqsa, Kubbet al-Sahra (dome of Rock), places like Bab al-Mihrab on which prophet David's dome is situated, Kenisetü'l-habs where the Prophet Jesus was imprisoned, and Virgin Mary's tomb are also mentioned. Nur. fols. 29a-b.

[441] Nur. fol. 124b.

[442] Nur. fol. 127a.

[443] Nur. fol. 29a.

[444]This island corresponds to present-day Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The legend of Adam survives in different forms present day. The Mount Sri Pada (Sacred footprint) in the island has a rock on which some kind of traces existed. They represent the footprints of Buddha for Buddhists and of God Shiva for Hindus, for more information see *Encyclopedia of Britannica,* s.v. "Adam's Peak", available [online]: http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9003681/Adams-Peak [14 June 2007].

(*kinânetu'llâh*) and as protected by God,[445] as well as Alexandria and Asqalan, which are associated with Paradise. The four rivers of the Paradise, which the Judeo-Christian tradition identifies as the Tigris, Euphrates, Pishon, Gihon,[446] are associated with the Nile (*Nil-i Mübarek*), Euphrates, Oxus (Ceyhun) and Jaxartes (Seyhun) in the *Nevadir.*[447]

Even many places that had no connection with the prophets are presented as if they had been there. Among them we see the island of Saydun in the Indian Ocean, where the Prophet Solomon supposedly killed its king, Saydun, who was being served by *jinns*.[448] Similarly, there is a story in the *Nevadir* but not in the *Kharidat* in which Jesus is reported to have been in the semi- mythical land of Waq Waq to preach Islam.[449] As the story goes, the Devil provokes the locals to fight against him but Jesus defeats the Devil at the end by making the people of Waq Waq believe in Islam.[450] As Tarif Khalidi notes. this story presents an interesting example of the image of Jesus in Islamic literature. In his book *Muslim Jesus,* he draws our attention to the fact that stories of Jesus were transmitted into Islamic literature through the cultural encounter between Muslims and Eastern Christians and they

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[445] Nur. fol. 23b.

[446] These are four rivers mentioned in *Genesis* ii, 11, 13 as the rivers of Paradise.

[447] Nur. fol.114a. *Dürr-i Meknun* adds Zam Zam as the fifth one to these four rivers. Yazıcızade, p. 65.

[448] Stefanos Yerasimos affirms the idea of such a king is originated from the ancient king of Tyre, Hiram whom Solomon got along well and married his daughter but later turned into an enemy. (Old Testament, Kings I: 11.1-11.3, 5-12). For the time being, Hiram became the symbol of idolater king and appeared in the form of Saydun in Islamic texts. StefanosYerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), pp. 54-57.

[449] Nur.fols. 47b-50a. This land is mentioned in the story of Prince Diamond in the *Arabian Nights* as a country established in the middle of the Mountain Qaf.

[450]As far as I can see, this story is not extant in the *Kharidat* but only in the *Nevadir.* There is no information concerning the origins of this story except that the note that it was reported from Kab'al Ahbar. Nur. fols. 47b-50a.

were re-written in the Islamic context.[451] Though Khalidi does not include this story among other stories depicting Jesus as the preacher of Islam, one can envisage the story of Jesus in the land of Waq Waq as the outcome of this kind of synthesis. This story also supports an image of Jesus who is magic-performing and struggling with Satan in accordance with the Gospel.

Having mentioned Jesus in Islamic literature, it might be convenient to talk about the image of Alexander the Great in the *Nevadir.* Famed for his military expeditions from Gibraltar to Bactria, Alexander the Great has a prominent place in many legendary and folkloric accounts in the Islamic world. The admittance of Alexander into the Islamic literature is owed much to his identification with Dhu'l-Qarnain ("the two-horned") who is mentioned in the *Qur'an* (18:83-97) as the builder of the wall to imprison the warrior tribes of Gog and Magog (*Ya'juc* and *Ma'juc*).[452] In Persian epics such as *Iqbalname* or *Iskandarnamah,* Alexander the Great was depicted as a Muslim, a fighter for Islam and even as a prophet.[453] In the *Qisas al-Anbiya* of Al-Rabghuzi, we see an image of Alexander who traveled all around the world, even reaching the realm that lies beyond Mountain Qaf to look for the fountain of eternity and who met there with Satan and Israfil. His world

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[451] Tarif Khalidi*, Müslüman Hz. İsa: İslam Yazınında Vecizeler ve Kıssalar (The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature),* trans. Sevda Ayar*,* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003), p. 45, p. 68, p. 53.

[452] *"*We made him mighty in the land and gave him means to achieve all things. He journeyed on a certain road until he reached the West and saw the sun setting in a pool of black mud….he then journeyed along another road until he reached the East and saw the sun rising ….then he followed another route until he came between the Two Mountains and found a people who could barely understand a word. "Dhul-Qarnain", they said, "Gog and Magog are ravaging this land. Build us a rampart against them and we will pay you tribute"…He damned up the valley between the Two Mountains…." (18:83-97), Arberry, 1, pp. 324-328.

[453] Having worked on Persian texts, Minoo Southgate illustrates that Alexander was depicted as a warrior and king in Nizami*'s Sharafnamah,* as a sage and prophet in Nizami's *Iqbalname* and Firdawsi's *Shahnamah, (Book of Kings),* and anonymous *Iskandarnamah*; for information see Minoo Southgate, "Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1977), pp. 279-284; for information on his image in Ottoman texts see Metin And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslam Mitologyası* (İstanbul: Akbank,1998), pp.59-60.

sovereignty is expressed in the term, "ruling from Qaf to Qaf'*(Kaf'dan Kaf'a hükmederdi*). He is also depicted as having erected lots of buildings for the benevolence of mankind. It was also explained that he was called Dhu'l-Qarnain since he traveled from one horn to the other horn of the world.[454] Although there is no reference what these two horns denote, they probably refer to the horns of the bull carrying the angel that holds the world.

In the *Nevadir*, *Dürr-i Meknun* and pseudo-Rükneddin's translation, we see the same kind of image for Alexander. In general, in the *Nevadir* Alexander appears as a constant traveler who reaches the fringes of the world and even goes beyond them.[455]

Alexander is reported to have visited various islands, even the ones in the Sea of China (e.g. Island of Tavirân, Diker, and Hükema) in the *Nevadir.* [456] His experience in these islands reveals a picture of Alexander who is both a savior and a man unable to fight against the threatening forces he encountered on these islands. He succeeds in killing a dragon on the Island of Dragon (*Cezire-i Müsneskin)* and saves the natives. He builds the Strait of Gibraltar (!) by opening a channel between the present day African and European continents to protect the Maghribians from the attacks of the people of the Europe.[457] However, he is depicted as vulnerable to invisible creatures. For example, in the island of the Tavirân in *Bahr-ı Sin* he and

[454] Al-Rabghuzi, pp. 495-508, cf. Yılmaz, p. 193.

[455] See also Yazıcızade, p.109;Yılmaz, p. 148, p. 235, p. 123.

[456] Brat. 429 fols. 153r-155v.

[457] According to story, the people of Maghrib were restless due to the invasions coming from opposite side (European). Hearing this, Alexander Dhul-qarnain, then he assembled a group of men who were good at geometry (*ilm-i hendese*) and ordered them to divide the land by digging, and made them put two giant rocks, one for the side of Tangiers and one for Andalusia. By this enterprise, a strait was formed separating north Africa from Europe and *Bahr-ı Muhit* found a chance to enter into today's Mediterranean, and while doing so, however, it leads destruction of many cities and towns. Nur. fol.12b.

his soldiers are scourged by jinns since they wanted to taste the fruits of a marvelous tree.[458]

There is an interesting anecdote in the *Nevadir* about the identity of Alexander that is worth mentioning here. It is reported that Dhulqarnain built an idol (*sanem*) on this island. Following this, we see a note adding that some do not believe this report and therefore it would better not take it into consideration.[459] This remark reflects the assumption that a person mentioned positively in the *Qur'an* can not be idolater. The author of the *Tarih-i Hind-i Garb-i* also questions this point and asserts that this person refers to Ebrehe Zulmenar, son of Dulqarnain, whom is defined as the Himyarite King Zulmenar of Humeyri.[460] To whomever Dhulqarnain refers here – whether to Alexander to somebody else – this demonstrates that consistency with the *Qur'an* superceded the perception of Dhulqarnain in Islamic literature.

'Aja'ib and *Ghara'ib* in the *Nevadir*

The *Nevadir* provides a great deal of information on the phenomena of *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* of the world through travelers' tales, rumors, and eye-witness accounts. The main purpose underlying such documentation is to demonstrate the magnificence of God and diversity of His creation and lead people to contemplate them.[461]

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[458] Brat. 429 fols. 151v-152v.

[459] "*ne var ki bu adayla ilgili duyulanlara herkez inanmaz onun için zikrinden terki evla görüldü."* Nur. fol.78b.

[460] See Goodrich, *Sixteenth century Ottoman Americana,* pp. 314-315.

[461] This is stated in the *Nevadir* as follows: "*Allah'ın kendi sanatı acibesine ve kudreti garibesine tefekkür eyleyip ibret almakda bize ve size tevfik eylesin" meaning* "May God make us successful to reflect on His marvelous art and unique might and draw lessons from them", Nur. fol.143b.

‘A*ja’ib* and *ghara’ib* in the *Nevadir* denote both real and fantastic or both natural and artificial entities. They are mostly used with regard to the ornamented and elaborate buildings especially the remnants of Antiquity, such as towers, figures, statues and bridges of ancient cities. One of the most striking marvels is the tower (*minare*) of Alexandria whose upper side was covered by one thousand and one mirrors (*ayine-i cihannuma*) that burnt enemy ships through its reflection of sunlight.[462] For other ancient remains such phrases are used: *“acaibden ve garaibden binalar”,* (wondrous and strange buildings in Carthage); “*âsâr-ı acibe*, (the wondrous buildings in Alexandria); “*tesavir-i garibe ve temasil-i ‘acibe”* (strange figures and wondrous depictions in Carthage). *‘Aja’ib* and *ghara’ib* are not only used for the ancient remains but also ancient cities as a whole i.e. “*iklim-i acaib* (wondrous climate for Egypt) and even for Antiquity itself, i.e. “*acaib-i dehr* (the wondrous era).

In particular, cities with a Greek or Roman past, like Alexandria (*İskenderiye*), Rome (*Rumiyye*), and Constantinople (*Konstantiniyye*) are considered to have more *‘aja’ib* than others, especially talismans protecting them from being seized. For Yerasimos, talismans represent the polytheistic symbols of power that have a kind of control on nature.[463] The description of pre-conquest Constantinople is noteworthy in this respect:[464] Its ‘*aja’ib* include the Byzantine palace, its figures (*tesavir*), and the statue of Constantine erected on his grave. Defined as a talisman, the statue depicts him sitting on a horse, his right hand pointing to the land of Islam

[462] Nur. fol. 20b.

[463] Yerasimos, p. 89.

[464] The difference concerning the description of İstanbul between the *Kharidat* and the *Nevadir* is that the latter specifies the number of the city gates as eight (*amma el-an sekiz kapısı var dirler*), whereas it is more than one hundred in the *Kharidat.* Nur. fol. 65a; C.f. Franz Taeschner, “Ein altosmanischer Bericht”, pp. 183-189.

while his left hand holds a globe on which it is inscribed: "I held the world in my hand like this globe, but left it without anything."[465] Miquel conceptualizes this kind of definition for Constantinople as a symbol of its power and the desire for its seizure.[466] In the pseudo-Rukneddin's translation and *Dürr-i Meknun* we see a similar kind of depiction for İstanbul. An interesting point is that the *ayine-i cihannuma* of Alexandria appears in Constantinople in the *Dürr-i Meknun.* Yerasimos claims that legends and marvels pertaining to these three cities (Rome, Alexandria and Constantinople) were common in Islamic literature to describe locations targeted for conquest and were transferred often from one city to another. Taking into account that the *Dürr-i Meknun* was written just after Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the reason underlying this kind of association becomes clear. [467]

Secondly, the ornamented buildings in Islamic cities such as Cordoba, Baghdad and Damascus are also considered among *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* of the world. For example, the architectural aspects of a monastery in Andalusia are described as "*savma'a-i acibe ve hacer-i garibe"* whereas a bridge in Cordoba as "*bir acib ve tavr-ı garib köprü"*. The term *gharib* is frequently coupled with *sanat* (artisanship) like *sanat-ı garibe* to indicate an expertise of a region.

As the natural entities, esoteric peculiarities (*khawass*)[468] of animals, plants, seeds, minerals, wells and springs are also characterized as *'aja'ib* and *gharib*. For

[465] Nur. fols. 65a-65b. This kind of statue in fact belonged to Justinian I (483-565) not to Constantine.

[466] Miquel, pp. 73-74.

[467] Yerasimos, p. 109.

[468] See *EI²* , s.v. "Khassa" (pl. *khawass*), 4, pp. 1097-98.

example, natron,[469] a mineral in Egypt; Sekrân, a kind of snake in Umman which disappears when imprisoned; wells whose waters have abnormal affects on the drinker, (e.g. well of *Abu Kud* whose water makes people foolish)[470] or the blue stone (a*l-laciverd*) that supposedly had medical uses to cure eyes [471] are considered among the wonders of the world.

In terms of space, one can assert that *'aja'ib* and *ghara'ib* are mostly situated in places that are far, invisible and out of human reach. In this regard, they are mostly positioned in seas, islands, forests, caves and wells. Here, I will briefly mention those specified in the seas and islands.

To begin with the greatest sea (*bahr-ı azam*), *Bahr-ı Muhit* is described as the home of Satan and jinns. In this regard, it refers to the most frightening and dangerous area in the world, which is also out of human reach.[472] The western part of *Bahr-ı Muhit* (Atlantic Ocean) in other words, *Bahr-ı Zulmet*,[473] or *Bahr-ı Muzlim* (the Sea of Darkness) is described as intraversible and what lies beyond the Mountain Qaf is depicted as a realm filled with innumerable cruel monsters that are known only by God.[474] The most wondrous and strange entites are positioned in the islands of the Indian Ocean (*Bahr-ı Sin* and *Bahr-ı Hind*) and the Sea of Darkness (*Bahr-ı Zulmet*). The entities found here consist of exotic creatures, jinns, demons, and plants, animals and minerals with bizarre peculiarities. The *Dürr-i Meknun*

[469] In Ancient Egypt, natron (sodium carbonate) was gained from lake beds and used for cleaning, it was also applied in the mummification process. The term comes from nitron (Gr.) and passed into Arabic as *natrun.*

[470] Nur. fol. 121a.

[471] Nur. fol. 143a.

[472] Nur. fol. 76a; Brat. 429 fol.119v.

[473] Nuruosmaniye copy calls it *Bahr-ı Müzlem*, whereas in Brat. 429, it is Zulmet.

[474] *"…ne var dahi hakikat üzerine insan zaifin ona vukufu yoktur."* Brat. 429, fol. 123v.

explains the existence of jinns and demons in the islands claiming that they once dominated the earth but later were exiled to these islands by angels when Adam was sent down to the Earth.[475] Though the islands in the *Dürr-i Meknun* are identified neither by location nor by name, the *Nevadir* does so. However, due to the fact that they are mostly defined in fictitious terms, it is not possible to match them with present ones.

In addition to jinns and demons, inhabitants of these islands are characterized by strange forms, in some cases they are hybrids; (e.g. cynocephali, boneless and slip-footed nations and flying people) or have "barbaric" features such as being savage, aggressive, nude, cannibal, licentious, irreligious and non-compliant.[476]

The most noteworthy islands of the *Bahr-ı Zulumat* are the Island of *Hasarat* whose nation had no ears but flat noses;[477] the Island of *Nisvan*[478] which is populated by woman-like people whose feet are as black as burnt trees (*ayakları yanmış ağaç gibi*) and whose language is incomprehensible (*sözleri fehm olunmaz*).[479] In the Sea of China, we see the Island of *Al-Roh* which is the home of the legendary giant bird Rokh (Roc),[480] the Island of *Se'alat* where demons *(taife-i*

[475] Yazıcızade, p. 44, p. 61.

[476] See also Yazıcızade, p. 54, pp. 63-64 ; c.f. Azmeh, pp.13-14.

[477] This island is also mentioned in al-Idrisi's *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq* and identified as the Island of Pico in Azores, see Babcock, p. 67.

[478] The *Kharidat* manuscript examined by Guignes mentions isle of Saali in the same way. See, Guignes, p.183. Yet, in *Nevadir*, this island is not mentioned very much except saying that Dhu'l-Qarnain built an artifact there.

[479] Barthold maintains that this island refers to Amazons and in Islamic texts it is mostly placed in the Baltic Sea. Nur. fols. 78b-79a.

[480] Brat. 429 fols. 131v-133r. The Roc is a legendary giant bird. There is similar account in Ibn Battuta's travels concerning this bird. He maintains that while he was traveling to China once they saw a mountain. Yet it started to move and he was told that it is Roch, and the passengers panicked, yet through a favorable wind sent by Allah, they were able to change their routes. They did not see it again, nor did they ever know the truth. Here, Ibn Battuta's account does not confirm that what they saw was a Rokh, however, the sailors' reports show that Roc was believed to have existed.

şeyatin), a mixed race of humans and jinns lived and the Island of *Calus* which is inhabited by a cannibal race having no religion and no king.[481]

Among islands in the Sea of India *(Bahr-ı Hind),* we see the Island of Caye inhabited by people whose faces are on their chests,[482]and the Island of Sarta'il where people have faces like shields (*taife var yüzleri kalkan gibi*).[483]

In the Sea of Zanj (*Bahrü'l-Zenc*) we see boneless people (*sünüksüz kavim*) living in the Island of el-Davda (Duda)[484] and dog-headed and slip-footed creatures on the Island of Saksar.[485] The Island of Zanj in the Sea of China is inhabited by people who fly like birds from one tree to another.[486] Another one is *Cezíretü'n-nisa,* the Island of Women that is inhabited by women who get pregnant either by the wind or by eating the fruits of a certain tree. This anecdote is followed by a statement inserted Mahmud el-Hatib: "Fesübhanallâhü'l-'azim zukûrile mukârenet olmadın tevâlüd ve tenâsül olduğu emr-i 'acib ve fi'l-i garib", which means "I seek shelter in God, the way of the birth and the intercourse is marvelous and how it is done is strange."It is also followed by two Quranic verses (22:6 and 22:70) concerning the omnipotence of God. In the *Nevadir,* one can find these kinds of Arabic phrases and Quranic verses that reveal what things perplexed the medieval scholars.

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imagination. Ebu Abdullah Muhammed Ibn Battuta Tanci, *Ibn Battuta Seyahatnamesi, (Er-Rıhletü Ibn Battuta)*, trans. A. Sait Aykut (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000), p. 892.

[481] Brat.429 fol. 136v.

[482] Brat.429, fol. 145r.

[483] Brat.429, fol. 147r.

[484] Brat.429, fol. 169v.

[485] Brat.429, fols. 171r.-174r.

[486] "… *ânun halkı ağactan ağaca kuş gibi uçarlar, bu aceb-i hikmet ve sırr-ı kudretdir*". Brat. 429, fol. 128v

In general, distant islands is that they are described as being abundant in terms of precious minerals, stones or charming flowers, parrots, herbs and fruits that have healing and life-prolonging effects. Nevertheless, they are also characterized as having a kind of protective character for strangers. To illustrate, no one is allowed to take beautiful and colorful roses in the Island of Zanj, anyone attempting to do so is stopped by a fire that suddenly appears.[487] In the same way, monkeys in the Island of Monkey (*Cezirетü'l-Maymun)* are said to kill strangers.[488] It is reported that once a merchant landed on the Island of Women and they threatened to kill him, however, he escaped with the help of a woman. When he arrived at a certain city in China, he spoke about the gold in the island and its ruler sent ships in search of the gold but they never found the island.[489] A similar story is cited for the Island of Birds (*cezirетü't-tuyur*) in the *Bahr-ı Zulumat,* which is famed with its fig-like fruits that have a healing effect. It is reported that king of Franks sent his men to seize this fruit, but they never came back.[490] The *Nevadir* is filled with such anecdotes emphasizing the inaccessibility of the islands that are abundant in gold or other precious metals. These islands are mostly characterized as places where travellers and merchants had to land due to strong storms or shipwrecks that is to say they were reached under abnormal conditions and in this way, they preserved their mysterious and exotic character.

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[487] Brat.429, fol. 128v. Guignes asserts that the description of this island (island de Zanedge) is very much of what al-Qazwini and al-Yaquti accounted. See Guignes, p. 56.

[488] Brat. 429 fol. 133r, Guignes gives the same description, see Guignes, p. 56.

[489] Nur. fols. 86a-86b; Brat. 429, fol. 135v; one can find different stories about the Waq Waq island (s) in different works of Islamic geographical literature, for example, see Buzurg b. Shahriyar, *The Book of the Wonders of India: Mainland Sea and islands* (London, East-West Publications,1980), pp. 13-18 and Alberto Manguel, *Hayali Yerler Sözlüğü (A Dictionary of Imaginary Places),* trans. Sevin Okyay and Kutlukhan Kutlu (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005),1, p. 408; Yazıcızade, p.59

[490] Nur. fol. 80b.

Among the marvelous plants and animals in the far seas and islands, we see gigantic fish that are as long as a four month's journey, having heads that are as big as mountains (*başı gayet büyük tağ gibi*),[491] fantastic creatures such as the one called *Mulakat* with many heads and faces[492]or a certain fish that climbs on trees to eat their fruits.[493]

One of the most marvelous plants in the *Nevadir* is the tree in the Island of Waq Waq.[494] Apart from having great amount of gold, the island takes one's attention with the famous tree of Waq Waq. The tree is named so since its leaves are in the form of human faces and make the sound "waq waq" when the wind blows through them.[495] As a common element of the medieval Islamic geography, the motif of Waq Waq tree appears in different versions, for example, having female and children's bodies instead of leaves in the form of human heads.[496] In the *Nevadir*, we also see the version about female bodies. It is reported from Isa Mubarak al-Sirafi that there is a tree in this island namely Enbuye which produces beautiful female bodies that fall to the ground when they mature. He even remarks that the natives have sexual intercourse with those women before they get rotten. What is more striking is that the natives of the island interpret the sounds of these women to predict future (*ve bu cezirenin ehli bunların avazlarını fehm ederler ve*

[491] Nur.fol. 80b, Guignes notes this island as Nuria, whereas Yaniç as Et-Tuyur. See Guignes, p. 184; Yaniç Ph.D. diss. p. 240.

[492] Brat. 429 fol. 144v.

[493] Brat. 429, fols. 149r-150v.

[494] Island of Waq Waq is associated with different places in the present geography (e.g. Japan, Madagascar, Seychelles). As mentioned earlier, it was also considered as a name of the land in the southernmost tip of Africa. For the discussion on this matter, see, *EI²*, s.v. "Wak Wak", 11, pp. 103-108; Yazıcızade., p. 63.

[495] "*…ve ol yaprakların adem başı gibi baş olur ve gözleri ve kulakları var kaçan yel esse budakları eğilüb baldırına iner birbirine dokundukda hemen vak vak avazı kopar.*", Brat.429, fol. 134r.

[496] *EI²*, s.v. "Wak Wak", 11, pp. 103-108.

ondan fal tutunurlar).[497] Here, the image of disposable women sounds like a male fantasy of sexual intercourse that leaves man devoid of any responsibility.[498] In this regard, pseudo-al-Wardi seems to have put two different version of the waq waq tree. In *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*, we see also the version with the female bodies.[499]

The closer we come to the Islamic world in the *Nevadir*, the typology of the wondrous creatures becomes less fantastic and islands become less rich. Still, there are some islands with marvelous peculiarities. For example, the Islands of Salti, Hasek and Hadlan in the Oman Sea are described as populated by jinns.[500] Some other islands are described as invisible and inaccessible. For example, the Island of Kâs in the Sea of Oman is reported to be invisible for six months of the year and visible for the rest of the time while the Island of Sarif is said to be getting distant as one approaches it.[501] In a similar way, the Island of the Church (*el-deyr*) in the Sea of Kontantiniyye (the Strait of İstanbul) is attested to become visible only once a year.[502] Another interesting place is the island of Sleep (*Ceziretü'l-Nevm)* which has a certain flower whose smell makes people sleepy.[503] Most of the marvels in seas that are nearby are fish, especially gigantic ones. In some cases there is the

[497] Brat.429, fol. 135r.

[498] I owe this idea to the Assoc. Prof. Gottfried Hagen who uttered it in his class "Geography, Cartography, and Travel in the Muslim Middle East" given in the Summer School 2007 of Boğaziçi University.

[499] Goodrich, *Sixteenth century Ottoman Americana* , p. 253.

[500] Brat. 429, fols. 158v- 159r, Nur., fol. 95a.

[501] Brat. 429 fol.159v.

[502] Brat. 429 fol. 177r ; Nur. fol. 103b. The same island is also mentioned in the Al-Dimashqı's cosmography with its dimensions (2 miles of lenght and half mile of width). The day it rises out of water is specified as 24 June or July in Al-Dimashqi, p. 187; see also *Abrege des Merveilles*, p. 63; Yerasimos, p. 66.

[503] Brat.429 fols. 176v-177r; Nur, fols.103a-b.

mention of some hybrids such as the one called *Sheikh Yahudi*, an animal whose face is human-like, whose body is like that of a frog and hair like that of cattle.[504]

In the *Nevadir,* there are also some hearsay and eye-witness accounts inserted by Mahmud el-Hatib into his translation on wonders that either he himself heard about or witnessed. One of them is hearsay transmitted from the former judge of Mostar, Mevlana Hasan Efendi that there had been a black hairy monster living in a certain well in Lüpeşka, Hersek. Another one is about a certain spring*, Ayn al-Evkât* that was close to a non-Muslim village, Radoşna in Yenipazar. [505] Mahmud el-Hatib informs that the spring flowed only during the times of obligatory prayer and only as much as the people would perform their ablution. The most illustrative example in this respect is hearsay transmitted from someone called Kasım Çelebi whom Mahmud el-Hatib probably knew personally. In this anecdote, Kasım Çelebi affirms that in the year A.H. 940 (1533/1534) while he was studying in the town called Drama, he saw that two *ejderha*s were dragged into the sky. Having witnessed the same event, his teacher told him that they were the angels who dragged them to the sky.[506]

The critical question here is what the *ejderha* refers to. Even though the word *ejderha* refers to dragon in modern Turkish, in the pseudo-Rukneddin's translation, it is defined as a kind of dangerous snake.[507] Whatever it is, the interpretation of this "eye-witness account" is related with a legend that God feeds the nations of Gog and

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[504] Brat.429 fols. 179r-181r.

[505] Nur., fol.119a.

[506] "*Ve hicretün dokuz yüz kırkıncı yılında Kâsım Çelebi merhûm hikayet ider ki, Drama nâm kasabada hâcede okurdum. Ol vakitte iki ejderhayı göğe çekdiler. Görüb hâceme gelüb diyüverdim. Mektebden taşra gelüb temâşa itdi. Ve nice kimesneler dahi alâniyan müşâhede itdiler. Evvel çekilen ejder büyük idi. Ammâ sonra çekdikleri gâyet yâvuz mütemerrid idi. Gökyüzüne gide gide görünmez oldu. Hâcem eytdi, ejderhalardır ferişтehler göğe çektiler."* Nur. fol.107a; Brat.429 fol. 185v.

[507] Yılmaz, p. 170.

Magog by *ejderhas* which were dragged through the clouds to be dropped to their lands.[508] There is a similar motif in the *Qisas al-anbiya* in which it was written that Gog and Magog are fed by the snakes that were brought from Paradise.[509] In pseudo-Rukneddin translation yet, a *cazu* (witch) inhabiting the clouds is identified as the one who dragged the ejderhas.[510] One can easily infer that Hâce of Kasım Çelebi interpreted the event in the light of this kind of a legend. This anecdote evinces that this legend was regarded as an on-going process rather than an event that occurred in the past and sixteenth century Ottomans were inclined to "experience" those fantastic and legendary events in their daily lives. At least, this is what Mahmud el-Hatib expected from his audience.

In term of wonders of the sea, Mahmud el-Hatib transmits his eye-witness accounts of marvelous fish in the Red Sea and Mediterranean. For example, having mentioned about a kind of fish that is half fish and half owl, he confirms the existence of this fish saying that he saw this fish while he was travelling from Tur to Jiddah.[511] Similarly, on the account of a certain flying fish named *hittaf*, Mahmud el-Hatib acknowledges that he had seen a group of flying fish during his voyage in the Mediterranean. He also informs us that one of this fish was hanged down on the gate of castle of Atalya [Antalya].[512] Though his remark may sound like a fabrication, it is possible that Mahmud did indeed see the kind of fish known as the

[508] The same kind of anecdote also exists in Nur. fol. 73a; see also Yılmaz, p. 170.

[509] Al-Rabghuzi, p. 502.

[510] Yılmaz, p. 170.

[511] "*Bu kitabı terceme iden fakir eydür. Tur'dan Cidde'ye giderken Bahr-ı Kulzüm'de bu balığı gördüm. Ve gemide olan yoldaşlarım dahi gördüler…".* Nur. fol. 99a; Brat.429, fol. 167v.

[512] *"Bu kitabı terceme iden fakir kesîrü'taksîr eydür: ben bu balığı [hittaf] gördüm. Bahr-ı Şam'da bir alay deryadan çıkıp uçtular, yine deryaya düştüler ve uçtuklarında sağ ve sola hiç meyl etmezler. Tüy kuşu gibi doğru uçarlar, velakin gügercin gibi katı uçar, kanatları ve kendisi muytula (?) benzer ve bu balığın birin avlayub ve kurusun Anadolu'da Atalya* [*Antalya?] hisarın kapısında asmışlardı, şöyle durur."* , Nur. fol. 105b.

flying fish (*Exocoetidae*) that uses his fins as wings to fly along two hundred fifty meters in one and half meter high. This account also reveals that Mahmud el-Hatib had been to Antalya. This could have been a part of his trip for pilgrimage as well.

These examples demonstrate that Mahmud el-Hatib wanted to convey the message that the geography in which he lived also had wondrous springs and wells like the exotic locations mentioned in the *Kharidat.* These accounts function as indicators that the world of the audience is not isolated from the world presented in the text. That is to say, the wondrous wells and springs around Bosnia and his own experiences seem to have been inserted into the translation to exemplify, to complement, and to confirm the world picture in the *Kharidat* that is filled with wondrous and strange entities.

Morality Tales[513]: Moralistic Stories about the Ancient Prophets and Rulers

There are various stories and poems in the *Nevadir* which constitute an integral part of the narration. These stories mostly pertain to the prophets, saints, ancient rulers and nations destroyed by divine punishment and either convey theological and moralistic messages or exemplify how the world is filled with wondrous and strange things. Various poems in the *Nevadir* that appear to have been written by Mahmud el-Hatib especially for the translation further, lay stress on the moral message behind the stories. Mahmud el-Hatib does this by placing his poems within the story or by putting them at the end. In this manner, they also enliven the narrative stylistically. Here, I will briefly outline some of the stories in the *Nevadir* that are accompanied by the poems of Mahmud el-Hatib.

[513] For the title, I have been inspired from the name of Leslie Peirce's work *Morality Tales: law and gender in the Ottoman court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

The stories and poems are mostly contained in sections that tell the history of a specific place or city. An example would be the story of the pyramids, the Mountains of Pharaoh (*ehremen dağları*) that is told in the account on Egpyt.[514] The pyramids are described as mysterious artifacts that are filled with wonders and oddities such as carved models of the stars that show all things that happened in the past and will happen in the future; or stone coffins on which prophecies of fortunetellers are imprinted.[515] Then the story is told that Caliph al-Ma'mun wanted to demolish the greatest pyramid and incurred a high expense in doing so. In the end, a large amount of gold was found among the ruins of the demolished (!) pyramid. When its value was estimated, it became clear that its value is exactly what the caliph spent on the destruction of the pyramid, and this makes Caliph al-Mamun astonished (*taaccüb itdi*).[516] The version in the *Nevadir* implicitly depicts the Caliph's act of destruction as a pious act. In this respect, his discovery of gold stands for a re-payment by God in return for his 'pious act'. This story functions as an illustration of God repaying the value of one's effort for something, a very common motive expressed in various verses of the *Qur'an*. Within the story, we see a poem of Mahmud el-Hatib considering the evanescence of earthly sovereignty with an emphasis on the builders of pyramids. [517]

[514] The *Nevadir* does not deal with the question on the identity of the builder that is an issue among the Muslim writers. For information see, Jalal- al-Din As-Suyuti, "Tuhfat al-kiram fi khabar al-ahram" (The treatise on the Egyptian Pyramids), ed. and trans. Leon Nemoy, *Isis*, 30 (1939), pp. 17-37.

[515] Nur. fols. 24b-25a, As-Suyuti provides more detailed description of these entities see *Tuhfat al-kiram,* pp. 21-24.

[516] Nur. fol. 25a.

[517] *"…nice oldı ehrâmân bünyâd iden/kendüsi ve cümle kavmi gitdiler/kaldı ashâbından âsârı ânun iş bu fâni dünyadan hep gitdiler."*,Nur. fol. 25a.

Yet another story tells how Shaddad, the famous king of the ancient nation of 'Ad was punished by God upon his effort to build a city as the representation of paradise on earth. Reported from Ka'b al-Ahbar, the story narrates the construction of the city, for which all precious stones in the people's possessions were taken by oppression. When it was completed, the paradise-like city of Shaddad, called Irem, was destroyed with the clamor of the archangel Gabriel. It is also emphasized that the city was destroyed by the prayer of a young boy whose gold earring was taken by force upon the order of Shaddad. Mahmud el-Hatib here inserts a poem illustrating the complaints and prayer of the young boy.[518]

The last example here is about the ancient city of Hatra or *Madinat al-Hissin,* (in present-day Iraq) that once was famed for its talisman protecting it from conquests. Yet, the Sasanid king Shapur I (215-272 A.D.) succeeded in seizing the city because he was given the formula for disabling the talisman by the princess of the city, Nuzayra, who had fallen in love with him. After conquering the city Shapur marries Nuzayra. One morning, Shapur witnesses that a little piece of myrtle leaf hurts the body of Nuzayra severely and he is astonished (*ta'accubda kaldı*) by the degree of her sensitivity. When Nuzayra explains that her sensitivity stems from her good nourishment and pampering under her father's care, Shapur orders her to be executed. He makes this kind of decision considering that such a woman, who betrayed her father though she lived in the best conditions, could easily betray him as well.[519] The story is also followed by a poem of Mahmud el-

[518] "*Bu benim gûşemdeki halka nola/ Kim ânunla emrinüz hasıl ola/…/ bunu almakdan ne hâsıl ola mâl/düşünüz arasına olmaz halâl/iş bu denlüden ne hâsıl olur/ umarım bu size hayıl olur/…/eyledi oğlan yüzünü gökden yana/ âh idüb dilden didi yâ Rabbenâ/…/koma hakkım ânlara ey zu-intikâm kuvvetim yokdur ki bu ben hakkım alam /…/bu dua itdü çün ol ma'sum pâk/sayha ile oldu cümlesi zehre pâk/ bir nefede cümlesi mürd oldular /yere düşüb bir güzin hurd oldular"* , Nur. fols. 58b.-59a.

[519] This is the story about the ancient city of Hatra, having various versions. The name of the ruler is generally known as al-Dayzan, whereas his daughter as Nadira. In this version of the story, their

Hatib implying the importance of holding one's tongue; an advice that Nuzayra did not heed.[520]

There are many similar stories in the *Nevadir* that are told in the accounts of regions and cities. Prophetic tales play a prominent role as sources of many stories, as well. The purpose of these tales or legends is furthermore to edify the souls and to teach them a lesson on the might and omnipotence of God.

Regarding their abundance in the *Nevadir,* one can surmise that they provide a kind of context for the perception of space. That is to say, through these stories, the *Nevadir* associates the description of the terrestrial space with a certain event (either historical or legendary) which occurred in that place and this prepares the ground for the perception of the geographical space as the stage-setting of these stories. In this regard, stories lessen the role of geographical description by putting them into a legendary and religious context. Poems of Mahmud el-Hatib in the *Nevadir* embellish these stories and accentuate their moralistic messages. In this sense, his poems bring color to his translation.

The *Nevadir* and the Pre-Modern Ottoman Worldview

After a study of the *Nevadir* in light of the aforementioned themes, it is crucial to summarize the worldview it offers along with the other two works: *Dürr-i Meknun* and pseudo-Rukneddin's translation of '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat.* This kind of outline will provide hints to figure out where the *Nevadir* stands both within the

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names appear as Zizen and Nuzeyra. It is inferred the legend also inspired Hans Andersen for his story "The princess and the pea", for information see *EI²* s.v. "Al- Hadr." One can see the same story in pseudo-Rükneddin's translation. Cf. Yılmaz, p. 236.

[520] *" kişi hoşdur diline malik olmak/olurlar sözlerine sâlik olmak/ giriftar eyleyen labüdd dilidir/dilini tutmayan gayet delidir…"* Nur. fols. 34b-35a.

genre of '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* and in Ottoman geographical literature. Generally speaking, the *Nevadir*, the *Dürr-i Meknun* and pseudo-Rükneddin's translation are all cosmographies aiming to give a total picture of the cosmos by dealing with the entities of both the heavenly and terrestrial spheres. Nevertheless, the path they follow has some similarities and some differences. First and foremost, they all include elements of the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model i.e. the seven clime system, spherity of the Earth, the spheres of the four elements, and the seven planetary spheres. Furthermore, as illustrated above, different ideas of Greek philosophers also became a matter of consideration (e.g.Democritos, and Anaximenes) in the *Nevadir.* Yet, what weighs more in all three cosmographies is pious speculation in which Islamic motifs played a crucial role (e.g. Quranic verses, hadiths, and *isra'iliyyat*). The weight of pious speculation becomes more apparent especially in sections concerning the description of invisible realm like the heavens, Mountain Qaf and the realm lies beyond it. Since their contents are more concentrated on the heavens and less on the description of terrestrial space, pseudo-Rükneddin's translation and the *Dürr-i Meknun* might be more connected with popular pious works such as *Envarü'l Aşıkın, Muhammediye* and *Kırk Sual.* Both works also include more pious messages compared to the *Nevadir.* In pseudo-Rükneddin's translation, one notices strong emphasis on the rightness of true faith and praise for the people of tradition and community (*ehl-i sünnet ve'l cemaat*)[521] and religious practices as such performing the Friday prayer and obeying the Islamic prohibitions.[522] In the case of the *Dürr-i Meknun*, it is probably due to Ahmet Bican

[521] Yılmaz, p.135, p. 137.

[522] An illustrative account for such an imposition is the assertion that those who go to Friday prayer will be rewarded with sexual partners in the Paradise: "*Firdevs uçmağında kız oğlanlar vardur ki boylarının yarısı kızıl gülden ve yarısı ak gülden yaratmışdur. Anlar peygamberler içündür, dahı şol cum'a namazın kılanlar içündür…"* Yılmaz, p. 138.

Yazıcızade's mystic orientation that we see more emphasis on the temporality of earthly life.

In terms of terrestrial space, neither the *Dürr-i Meknun* nor pseudo-Rukneddin's text deals with the positions and distances of cities as detailed as the *Nevadir*. This appears to be the most important characteristic that differentiates these works from the *Nevadir.* Even though we see some kind of description of the heavens in the *Nevadir*, the text concentrates predominantly on the description of the terrestrial space. The way it deals with the terrestrial space reminds one of *Surat al-ard* of Ibn Hawqal. Yet, the *Nevadir* covers the terrestrial space relying on the tales of Prophets, legends and wonders. In this regard it shares the same spirit with the *Dürr-i Meknun* and pseudo-Rukneddin's work. Like them it aims to portray the omnipotence and wisdom of God through the description of the cosmos from the greatest existents to the smallest ones; from the planets to the seeds. While these works have an encyclopedic character, they list the entities of the cosmos not in alphabetical order, as in modern encyclopedias, but deal with them either in respect to their size or order of creation; in other words, they are mentioned in a rank moving from macrocosm to microcosm. The alphabetical order can also be found within this order but not in a way to break this general pattern. For example, in pseudo-Rukneddin's translation, we see that cities are mentioned in alphabetical order. The *Nevadir,* on the other hand describes the cities and town with regard to their position.

The qualities of both heavenly and terrestrial entities illustrate the magnificence of God. Though they are described with gigantic numbers, heavenly entities are either described with regard to their fear of God or praise of God. The extension of Mountain Qaf through its roots all over the world is an example that man cannot

escape God. Epidemics and the raining of stone are also interpreted in this connection.[523] The all three works give a picture of the world under the control of God, whose creation is partially known by mankind due to his limited faculties. The magnificence of the heavens is generally contrasted with the smallness of the earth, as illustrated in the *Dürr-i Meknun*: "this world is like an island in the sea (*zirâ ki bu alem deniz içinde bir cezire gibidir*.)"[524] In keeping with the mystical tradition, pseudo-Rükneddin's text and the *Dürr-i Meknun* express the smallness of the world saying that it is only one of the worlds among the eighteen thousands worlds.[525]

Apart from being mighty, God is also depicted as compassionate and wise and as having designed the cosmos for the benevolence of mankind. In return, people are supposed to be under his submission like the cosmos itself and not to be deceived by Satan and nor dependent on worldly pleasures. These messages are conveyed by various anecdotes, Qur'anic verses and stories.

As we have seen in the section on the sacralization of the world, animals and plants are pre-dominantly defined in reference to the stories of their creation by God or their specific relation with prophets. This aspect paves the way for perception of the nature in a religious context.

A common peculiarity of these three works is their reference to the Day of Judgment, which signifies the end of the existing order. It is generally depicted as a countdown and it ticks like a watch. Man does not know when the "Hour" will come but he knows that it will come. This allusion is designed to remind man why he was on the earth and what is going to happen after he dies. The coming of the "Hour" is described with various analogies, such as when the stomachs of the bull

[523] C.f. Yılmaz, p. 287.

[524] Yazıcızade, p. 60.

[525] Yılmaz, p. 145

and the fish that carry the Earth are full of water or the Wall of Gog and Magog breaks down, then the existing order will collapse but until then man must derive lessons from the creation of God. He must put things right and not overstep his limits with regard to God.

The time of the Day of Judgment is very much related with the age of the world. Though not included in the *Nevadir* but in the *Kharidat*, different speculations, mostly on the basis of the number seven are put forward about the age of the world. In the *Dürr-i Meknun,* the age of the world is asserted to be seventy thousand. Adam is considered to have existed only for last the seven thousand years and that mankind is the last generation of creatures that dominates the earth. We see the same kind of concept on the age of the world in pseudo-Rükneddin's translation.[526] In the *Dürr-i Meknun* there can be found some remarks concerning the closeness of the Day of Judgment. For example, in one passage Yazıcızade informs us saying that according to the science of stars (*ilm-i nücum*) it will come within forty years and then repeats the classical saying that only God knows its exact date. In following passages yet, he reports that the prophecies in a way that signs of the Day of Judgment would appear after nine hundred years, that is to say their own time.[527] Yerasimos affirms that by claiming so, the *Dürr-i Meknun* transmits the Byzantine tradition whose calendar specified the year 7000 to 1494. He also points out that Yazıcızade took these kinds of prophecies into account as a response to Mehmed II's centralization attempts which weakened the mystic sects.[528]

[526] Yılmaz, p. 147.

[527] Yazıcızade. pp. 116-121.

[528] As Yerasimos affirms, Yazıcızade also adapted the legend about Alexandria supposing that it was built in an ominous hour and therefore destined to be demolished for Constantinople. On the other

To sum up, one can infer that these three works, though they differ in details, generally promote a worldview that is blended with the concept of Islamic cosmology and geography. It can be speculated that the Ottoman audience preferred to copy the *Dürr-i Meknun* and *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* translations due to the fact that they dwell on heavenly phenomena in more detail than the *Nevadir.* In this case, the *Nevadir* might have been preferred by the Ottoman audience due to its concentration on the terrestrial space.

Regarding the reception of the *Nevadir,* one sees that most of the copies of the *Nevadir*, fourteen in number, belonged to the seventeenth century. The number of copies decreases in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with eight and copies and one copy for those centuries respectively. Katib Çelebi's remarks on the popularity of the *Kharidat* in the seventeenth century might also reflect the popularity of the *Nevadir* in this century. Why, it can be asked, was the *Nevadir* copied in the seventeenth century more than in other centuries? On the basis of the present literature there is no precise answer to this question. Perhaps the translation of Mahmud el-Hatib became more known in this century rather than in the sixteenth century because of slow transmission.

Of course, the fact that there is only one copy from the nineteenth century does not necessarily mean only one copy of the work was read during this period. The copies of the previous centuries might also have been read during the nineteenth century as well. On the other hand, the decrease in the number of copies as time went on indicates that its popularity diminished gradually.

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hand, Yerasimos also claims that this motif was also existent in Byzantine chronicles. In some of the Islamic sources we also see prophecies on the destruction of İstanbul that are said to have been told by authorities of *Isra'iliyyat* (e.g. Ibn al-Faqih's *Kitab-ı Muhtasar Buldan*). Yerasimos, p. 208, p. 99

As for the audience of the *Nevadir,* marginal notes found in some copies indicate that the readers tended to come from pious circles.[529] What I mean by this term here does not necessarily refer to Ottoman religious scholars but people of different walks of life who were piety-minded and who perhaps frequented the dervish lodges alongside mosques. Also it needs to be kept in mind that till readers could refer to this work for different purposes. For instance, in a copy of the *Nevadir* in the Archeology Museum no. 532, one sees that the reader of the book wrote down the page numbers of the subjects up to page forty in the very page of the copy. This gives the impression that the reader designed a table of contents for himself to find the subject he looked for easily.

Illustrated copies of the *Nevadir* such as the manuscript in Nuruosmaniye Library no. 2988, which has one hundred and twenty five elaborate images of landscapes, could also have appealed the members of the Ottoman elite for aesthetic reasons.

The popularity of the *Nevadir* might be not only due to the embellishment of geographical knowledge with wonders and amazing stories; it is also plausible to consider that people read it due to its presentation of the general knowledge about animals, plants and minerals. Specific parts might also have been inserted into other works. An undated medical book that included the *Nevadir*'s section on the plants (see Appendix A, Table 1) can be given as an example for this kind of use.

With regard to the world maps of the *Nevadir*, it has already been pointed out that there were no major differences among these maps. One might ask in this

[529] For instance, at the beginning of the Esad Efendi copy no. 2051 there are two prayers; one is to be read during prostration, the other before one goes to sleep. In the following page there is another prayer written by someone called Muhammed Fezali in the year of A.H. 1076/ 1665 in Yaniç, Ph.D diss., p.86. In another copy Archeology no. 531, there is an interesting instruction about how to correctly comb one's beard. As one reads it, it becomes apparent that one's combing his beard is illustrated as a pious act.

regard whether the audience of the *Nevadir* imagined the world as depicted in the world map. This question might be answered in both directions. It is possible that they were not updated for the sake of being loyal to the original work. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence that the audience of this work did not take the contents or maps seriously. In this regard it is possible that the audience continued to believe the medieval elements in the *Nevadir.* However the case, it does not change the fact that the Ottoman *literati* were interested in reading the *Nevadir* and that it was one of the important works through which medieval Islamic cosmography tradition was transmitted into the Ottoman world.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

We have come a long way through the course of this thesis in terms of identifying medival cosmography and analyzing the Ottoman translation of *Kharidat al-'aja'ib* that was made by Mahmud el-Hatib in the late sixteenth-century. Following the introduction, in the second chapter we tried to figure out the historical development of medieval Islamic cosmology with an emphasis on the Revelation, *isra'iliyyat* and the Aristotelian Ptolemaic model of the cosmos. In the third chapter, we focused on the potential implications of the phenomena of '*aja'ib* and *ghara'ib*, which are the integral components of medieval Islamic cosmographies, and discussed the issue of whether those works which concentrated on them refer to a distinct genre in Islamic geographical literature. In the fourth chapter, we turned our attention to the Ottoman reception of Islamic cosmography, by outlining Ottoman works that are based on '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* by al-Qazwini, the *Kharidat* by pseudo-al-Wardi and their translations. Lastly, in the fifth chapter, we concentrated on the most popular Ottoman translation of the *Kharidat,* which is known as the *Nevadir,* and analyzed it according to certain themes to figure out the worldview presented in the text.

In conclusion, *Nevadir* presents a worldview that is heavily under the influence of the co-existence of pious speculation and the Aristotelian Ptolemaic model of the cosmos. Aiming to describe the world with all its entities; starting from its outmost border which is Mountain Qaf and then Encircling Ocean, it presents a view of the cosmos that is only partly known and comprehensible by mankind. The way it deals with terrestrial space is both descriptive and literary. The

topographical, agricultural and architectural aspects of the regions of the world are contextualized either with their ties to the ancient or sacred past or wondrous and strange entities.

One can find lots of pious speculation about the mechanism of the world in the *Nevadir*; e.g. how earthquakes occur, why the color of the sky is green/blue, the reason of the ebb and flow, why the seas are salty. Since everything is known to God and man as his creation is ignorant, the author of the *Kharidat* aims to promote a view of the cosmos which leads one to realize how complex the universe is and how everything is in submission to God. The poems, stories and legends in the *Nevadir* function to support this kind of view of the cosmos. In this regard, the *Qur'an*, hadith, *isra'iliyyat*, Ancient Greek sources, tales of travellers, eye-witness accounts and hearsay constitute the main reference points. What we see is mostly the harmonization of these sources to describe a certain place and entity. Through the accumulation of the knowledge derived from these sources, the *Nevadir* seems to have become a reference source in the early modern Ottoman world. Though we do not know who exactly have read the *Nevadir*, its extant copies indicate that it might have been more influential on the Ottoman audience than those Ottoman geographical works considered to have "scientific" value. I think that detailed academic examinations on the other works of this genre would reveal much more about their impact on the Ottoman audience and would help to complete the whole picture on which this study has tried to shed some light. Furthermore, studies of such cosmographies not only help to understand the pre-modern view of the cosmos, but might also enlighten us on the development of the conceptions of modern science, the history of ideas and Ottoman cultural history.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table 1. Extant Copies of the *Nevadir*

No.	Library/ Collection	Lib. No.	Date of Copy	Fol.	Style	Line	Name of Scribe	Name of Copy	Remarks
1	University of Uppsala	350	A.H. 970 (1562)						
2	University of Bratislava, Basagic Collection	429	A.H. 970 (1562)	403	naskhi	13		*'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat*	
3	Esad Efendi Collection	2051	AH. 970 (1562)	188	naskhi	23		*Terceme-i Haridetü'l-'Aca'ib ve Feridetü'l-Gara'ib*	
4	Nuruosmaniye Library	2999	A.H. 972 (1564)	244	naskhi	19	Mustafa b. Hüseyin	*Kitab-ı Feva'idü'l 'Aca'ib; Terceme-i Fera'idü'l Gara'ib*	Copied in Yeni Pazar
5	İstanbul Üniversity Library	3774	A.H. 986 (1578)	412	naskhi	21	Hüsam b. Abdullah el-gani		Copied in Ditruçe

Table 1. continued

No.	Library/ Collection	Lib. No.	Date of Copy	Fol.	Style	Line	Name of Scribe	Name of Copy	Remarks
6	Sadberk Hanım Museum Library	478	A.H. 989 (1581)	307	naskhi	19	Mustafa b. Murad	*Kitab-ı 'Aca'ibü'l-Mahlukat-ı Türki*	Copied in Konya
7	Necip Paşa Library	625	A.H. 1004 (1595)	243				*Haridetü'l 'Aca'ib*	
8	Archeology Museum Library	531	A.H. 1015 (1606)	478	naskhi	27			Owner is İbrahim Çelebi
9	Sadberk Hanım Museum Library	482	A.H. 1017 (1608)	183	Mixed	variable		*Haridetü'l-'Aca'ib*	Owner is El-Hac Hafız Ahmed b. el-Hac Hüseyin Ahmed b. Murad
10	Archeology Museum Library	530	A.H. 1025 (1616)	208	ta'liq	23	Muhammed b. el-Rezzak		Copied in Mahruse-i Mısır (Cairo)
11	Bibliotheque Nationale	151	Early A.H.11 th (early 17 th.)	254					
12	National Library	30	1624	206			Vanlı Mir Selahaddin b. Civani	*Terceme-i Haridetü'l 'Aca'ib*	

Table 1 continued

No.	Library/ Collection	Lib. No.	Date of Copy	Fol.	Style	Line	Name of Scribe	Name of Copy	Remarks
13	Esad Efendi	2040	A.H.1037 (1627)	218	ta'liq	23		*Terceme-i Haridetü'l-'Aca'ib*	
14	Pertevniyal Collection	758	A.H. 1047 (1637-38)	288	naskhi			*Nevadirü'l-Garaib ve Mevaridü'l-Acaib*	
15	Archeology Museum Library	532	A.H.1048 (1638)	167	divani	23	Ali Efendi	*Haridetü'l-Acaib*	Owner is Abdurrahman el-Zeki b. Hasan Efendi
16	Murad Molla	1423	A. H. 1080 (1669)	245	naskhi	21	Hasan b. Üveys	El nüshatü'l-acayib el mesmi bi nevadirü'l-garaib ve nevadirü'l-acaib	
17	Necip Paşa Library	626	A.H. 1087 (1676/77)	294				*Terceme-i Haridetü'l 'Aca'ib*	
18	Bodleian Library	2080	A.H. 1091(1680)	270	naskhi	25	Abdurrahman of Galata		
19	Bağdat Köşkü, Topkapı Palace Museum Library	179	A. H. 1092 (1682)	260	naskhi	23	Hatib İbrahim b. Muhammed b.Abdullah,	*Terceme-i Haridetü'l-aca'ib ve feridetü'l-gara'ib*	Copied in Plovdiv

Table 1. continued

No.	Library/ Collection	Lib. No.	Date of Copy	Fol.	Style	Line	Name of Scribe	Name of Copy	Remarks
20	University of Bratislava, Basagic Collection	430	A.H. 1095 (1684)	426	naskhi	19			
21	Hekimoğlu Collection	721	A.H. 11 th century (17 th century)	222	naskhi	21		*Terceme-i Haridetü'l 'Aca'ib*	
22	Reşid Efendi	654	A.H.1132 (1719-1720)	380	naskhi	15			Owner is Derviş Muhammed el-Mevlevi
23	Marburg	999	A.H.1143 (1730-31)	167	nasta'liq	27	Mustafa b. Mehmet		
24	Nuruosmaniye	3021	A.H. 12 th century (18 th century)	286	nasta'liq	19			
25	Nuruosmaniye	2988	A.H.12 th. (18 th century)	40	naskhi	23		*Terceme-i Haridetü'l-'Aca'ib*	It ends in Arz-ı nube in fol. 40a and has 125 landscape illustrations.
26	Ali Emiri	900	A.H.12 th century (18 th century)	131	ta'liq	22		*Terceme-i Haridetü'l-'Aca'ib*	Missing pages

Table 1 continued

No.	Library/ Collection	Lib. No.	Date of Copy	Fol.	Style	Line	Name of Scribe	Name of Copy	Remarks
27	Koyunoğlu Collection	12110	A.H.12 th century (18 th centuty)	153	ta'liq	23		*Seyahatü'l Kübra ve Müfredatü'l Etıbba*	Missing pages
28	Ali Emiri Collection	4	A.H.1254 (1838-39)	289	naskhi		Ömer b. Ahmed		11 missing pages
29	Hamidiye Collection	937	Late A.H. XII. century (late 18 th century)	308	naskhi	18		*Terceme-i Haridetü'l 'Aca'ib ve Feridetü'l-Gara'ib*	
30	Ali Emiri Collection	899	A.H.13 th century (18 th century)	73	naskhi	22		*Terceme-i Haridetü'l-'Aca'ib'den bir kısım*	
31	Koyunoğlu	10756			riqa				
32	Marburg	3338		176	nastaliq	18			
33	Academy of Sciences in Azerbaijan	Fs.-386						*Terceme-i Haridetü'l 'Aca'ib*	
34	Hamidiye	1041		10				*Terceme-i Haridetü'l 'Aca'ib'den bir kısım*	Included in a medicine book (*Kanunçe fi't-tıb*, fols. 59-69.)

Appendix B

Illustrations and Sample Pages from Various Copies of the *Nevadir*

Fig.1 Introduction, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 2999, fols. 1b-2a, dated 1564.

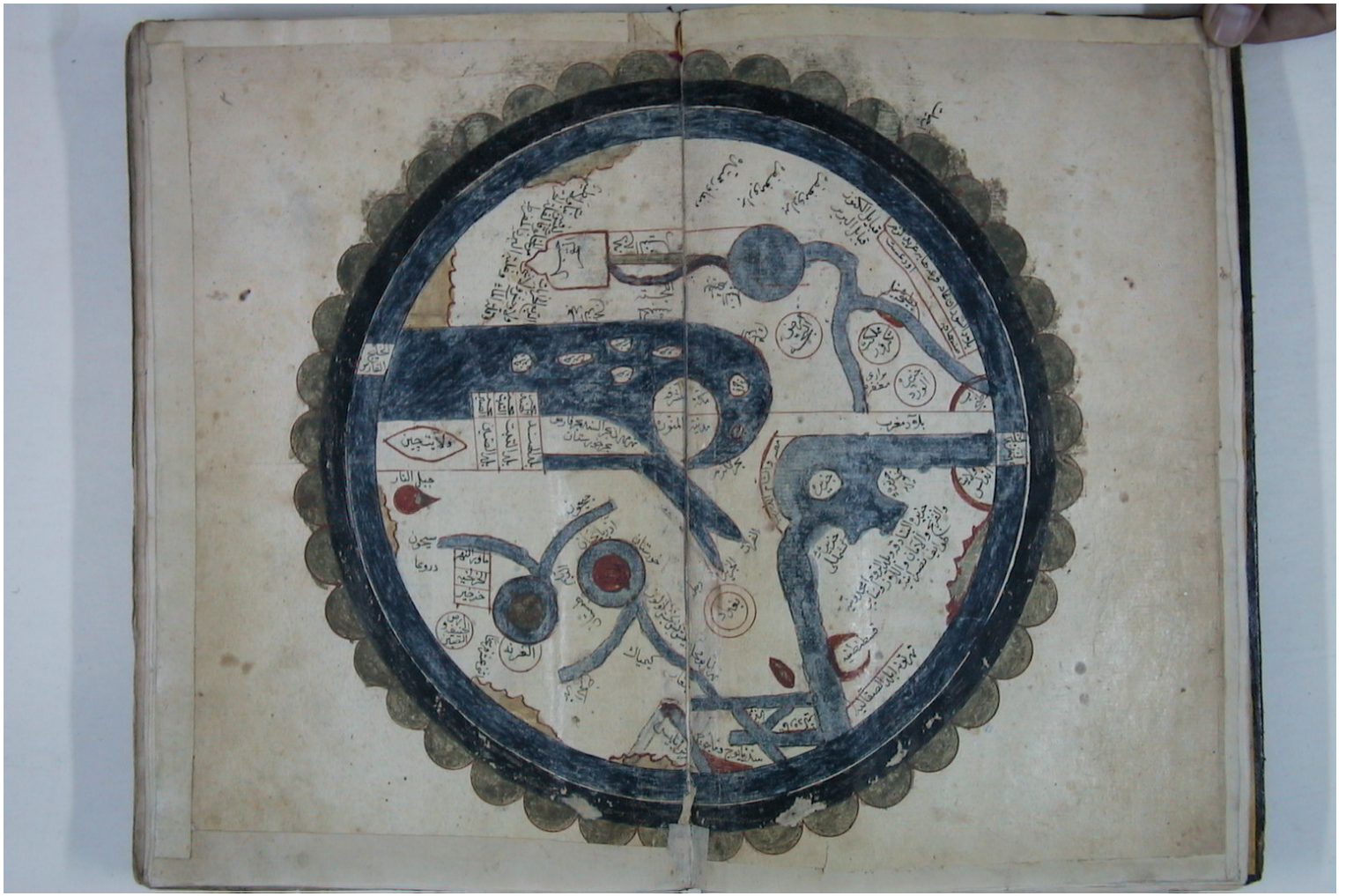

Fig.2 The world map, Esad Efendi Collection no. 2051, fols. 2b-3a, dated sixteenth century.

Fig.3 The world map, Sadberk Hanım Museum Library, no. 478, fols.1b-2a, dated 1581.

Fig. 4 The world map, Pertevniyal Collection, no: 758, fols. 2b-3a, dated 1637

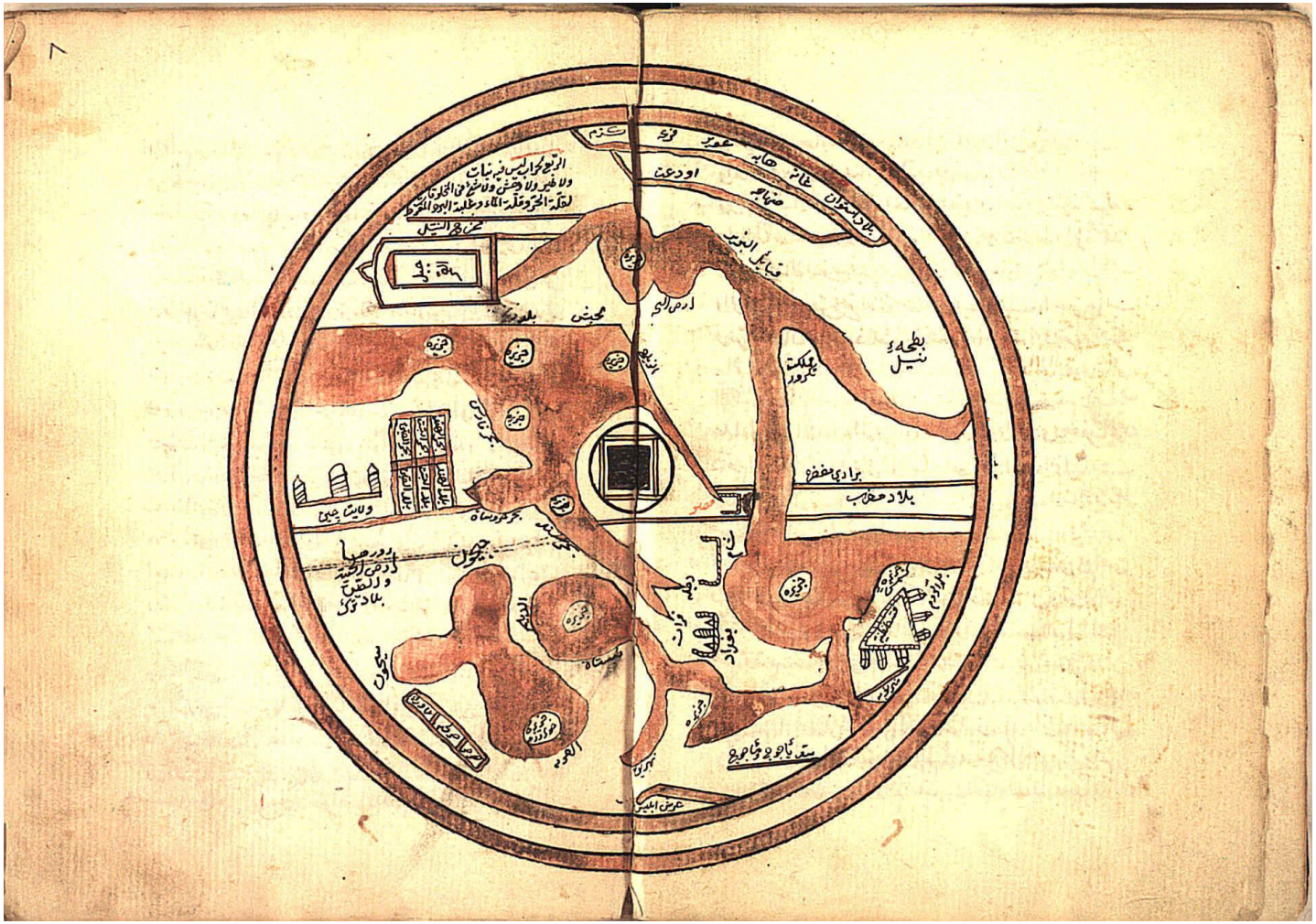

Fig. 5 The world map, Murad Molla Collection, no.1423, fols. 7b-8a, dated 1669.

Fig. 6 The world map, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 2988, fols. 2b-3a, dated eighteenth century

Fig. 7 Landscape Illustrations, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 2988, fols. 28b-29a, dated eighteenth century.

Fig. 8 Nilometer, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 2999, fols. 23b-24a, dated 1564.

Fig. 9 Nilometer, Sadberk Hanım Museum Library no. 478, fol. 28b, dated 1581.

Fig.10 Kiblah diagram, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 2999, fol. 51b-52a, dated 1564.

Fig.11 Kiblah Diagram, Murad Molla Collection, no.1423, fols. 56b-57a, dated 1669.

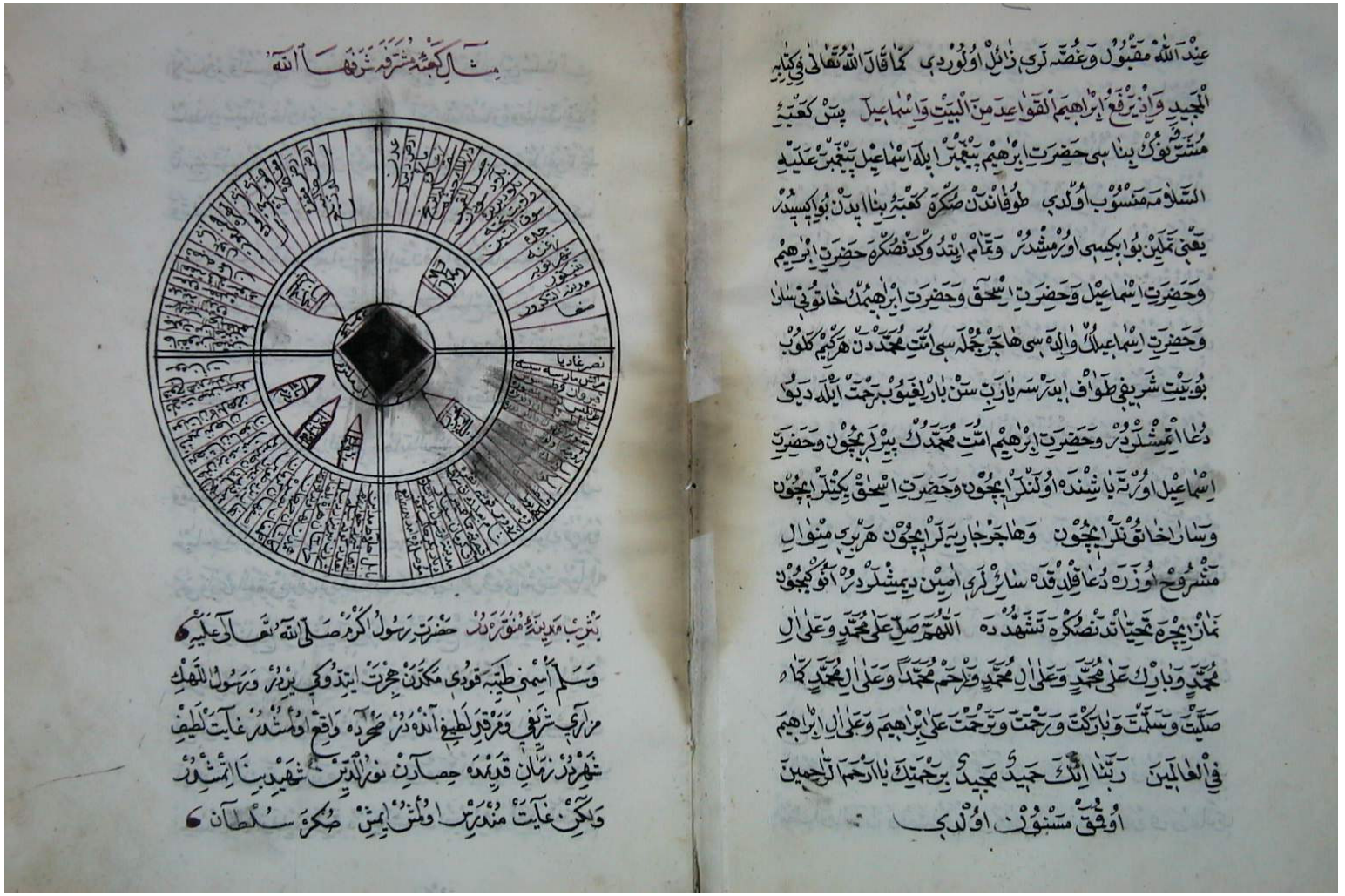

Fig.12 Kiblah diagram, Ali Emiri Collection, Coğ. 4. fols. 52b- 53a, dated 1838.

Fig.13 The last folios, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 2999, fols. 243b- 244a, dated 1564.

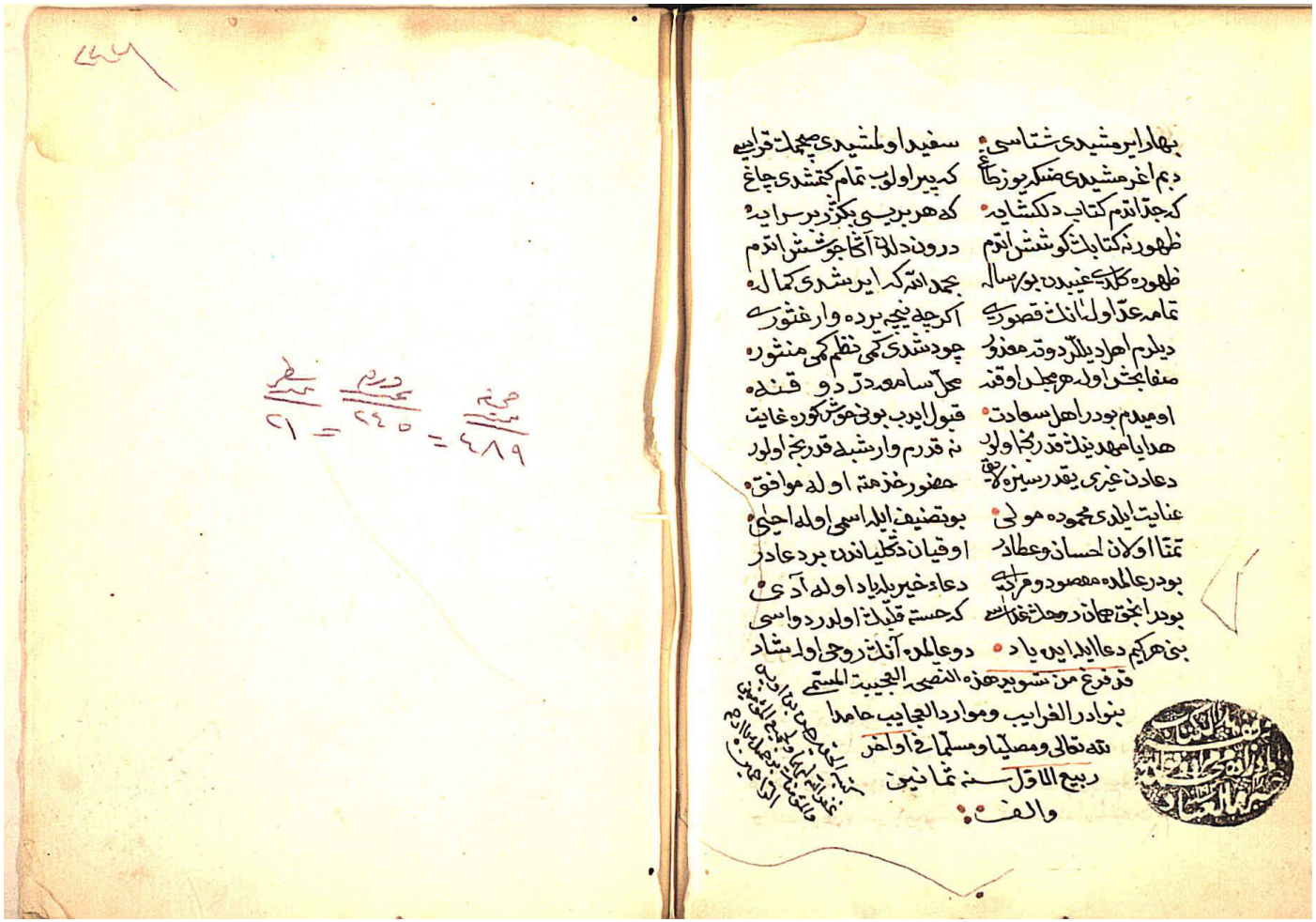

Fig.14 The last folio, Murad Molla Collection no. 1423, fol. 245b, dated 1669.

Fig.15 The last folios, Nuruosmaniye Library no. 2998, fols. 40a-b, dated eighteenth century

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