

## Picturing the Islamicate World

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# Picturing the Islamicate World

*The Story of al-Iṣṭakhrī's Book of Routes and Realms*

*By*

Nadja Danilenko



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Cover illustration: The map of the Persian Sea with the accompanying text from one of the oldest dated manuscripts of al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Book of Routes and Realms*, Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.), f. 8v–9, Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheek Leiden, licensed under Creative Commons CC-Y, <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1577846>.

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## Notes on Transliteration

The transliteration of Arabic and Persian complies with the guidelines of IJMES, except for proper names that may retain diacritics in this book. Ottoman proper names and book titles are transliterated according to the İslam Ansiklopedisi.

For the sake of readability, proper names and titles that are found in either the Oxford English dictionary or the Merriam-Webster dictionary will not be transliterated. This applies to geographic regions such as Egypt, even though *mişr* as used by authors from an Islamicate context might not correspond to its current extent. Following the English norm of writing book titles with capital letters, Arabic, Persian and Ottoman book titles are written in the same manner. Except for proper names, sentences or passages that are fully transliterated in the footnotes are kept entirely in lowercase letters and in roman type to improve readability.

If not otherwise indicated, I translated the respective Arabic and Persian sections.

## Maps in Manuscripts

Imagine you have travelled from Asia to the Middle East and want to capture your experience on a map. Since it is approximately 930, your tools are your memory, pen and paper. What would your map look like?

When setting out to picture the Islamicate world, al-Iṣṭakhṛī took on quite a challenge. At the beginning of the tenth century,<sup>1</sup> the territories ruled by Muslims stretched from al-Andalus in today's Spain to Sindh in today's Pakistan. Like many authors composing geographic texts in Arabic, al-Iṣṭakhṛī decided to divide and conquer: After first describing the world known to him, he covered the Islamicate world in twenty chapters. To help envision the world he portrayed, al-Iṣṭakhṛī added a world map and twenty regional maps to his text that became known as the *Book of Routes and Realms* (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*). Except for his travels, which he shared in the text, we do not know anything about al-Iṣṭakhṛī's life or career. However, his work circulated in manuscript copies until the nineteenth century. By exploring what made al-Iṣṭakhṛī's work special and tracing the existing manuscripts, this book aims at unravelling the story of the *Book of Routes and Realms*.

Chapter 1 will set the stage for understanding al-Iṣṭakhṛī's contribution to Arabic geography. Due to the so-called translation movement and the Abbasid elites fostering knowledge in all areas, the literary output until the tenth century covered poetry, history, administrative manuals and many more. Accompanying the empire's expansion, this output included a growing number of geographic texts dealing with the entire world as well as the Islamicate realm. Rather than following a clear-cut system in organizing the world, these texts applied various strategies in dividing, describing and promoting areas inside and outside the Islamicate realm – sometimes collecting several views as if to provide an encyclopedia of available geographic models. Using six texts that were composed before the *Book of Routes and Realms*, I will illustrate the array of choices al-Iṣṭakhṛī built on. Moreover, I will reconstruct what maps had circulated before al-Iṣṭakhṛī to help grasp his contribution. Although none of them have survived, geographic as well as historiographic texts tell us about maps showing the marvels of the world, maps used to settle disputes and even magic maps. Tracing the purpose(s) and possible designs of these maps will facilitate identifying al-Iṣṭakhṛī's novel approach to maps.

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1 If not otherwise indicated, all dates and centuries in this study refer to the Common Era.

The *Book of Routes and Realms* will take center stage in chapter 2. Not only does al-Iṣṭakhri's work safeguard the first maps we have from the Islamicate world, the treatise is the first extant combination of a geographic text with maps. Before al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Balkhī (d. 934) had already combined a text with maps, but his book has not survived. In fact, the original of the *Book of Routes and Realms* is still missing as well. While some events al-Iṣṭakhri mentioned in the *Book of Routes and Realms* help place its creation in the first half of the tenth century, the earliest dated manuscripts come from the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> Building on the editions of the *Book of Routes and Realms* as well as the earliest manuscripts, I will outline that the treatise evolved in several stages thanks to the efforts of al-Balkhī, al-Iṣṭakhri and a third geographer, Ibn Ḥawqal (fl. tenth c.). Subsequently, I will analyze both text and maps to show that the *Book of Routes and Realms* was designed as a reference book of the Islamicate world for an audience involved in the administration. Strictly organized by regions, the *Book of Routes and Realms* highlights cities, their infrastructure and products in the text and adds maps tailored for a general audience. Meant to help join the regions into a panorama of the Islamicate world, the maps present the space under Muslim rule as fragmented, yet connected and beautiful.

To make sense of al-Iṣṭakhri's maps, I will use approaches from Historical Cartography and Art History. Presenting each region from a different angle, the maps are not to scale. Moreover, the seas, mountains and cities al-Iṣṭakhri placed on the maps create patterns rather than depict physical reality. While al-Iṣṭakhri never intended for his maps to be physically accurate, their 'diagrammatic' character has often distracted scholars from delving into the message al-Iṣṭakhri communicated.<sup>3</sup> Although recent studies have addressed

2 Ms. Orient A. 1521 (1172 CE, Ar.), Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: *Kitāb al-Aqālīm*. Available online at <https://bit.ly/2yogseO>; Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.), Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*. Available online at <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1577846>; another manuscript could have been created in the eleventh century, but the copy lacks a date: Ms. Ārif Hikmet Juhgrāfiya 910/7 (ca. 11th c., Ar.), Medina, Maktabat 'Abd al-Azīz. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*; see also Ducène, Jean-Charles (2004): Un nouveaux ms du Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm d'al-Iṣṭakhri. Le ms 'Aref Ḥakamt Ğuġrāfiya 910/7 (Médine, Maktabat 'Abd al-Azīz). In *Folia Orientalia* 40, pp. 279–311; Sayyid, Ayman Fu'ād (1997): *Al-Kitāb al-'Arabī al-Makḥṭūṭ wa-'Ilm al-Makḥṭūṭāt*. Cairo, p. 393.

3 Brauer, Ralph W. (1992): Geography in the Medieval Muslim World. Seeking a Basis for Comparison of the Development of the Natural Sciences in Different Cultures. In *Comparative Civilizations Review* 26, p. 91; Karamustafa, Ahmet T. (1992): Introduction to Islamic Maps. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (The History of Cartography, 2, 1). Chicago, p. 6; Kramers, Johannes H. (1932): La question Balḥī-Iṣṭakhri-Ibn Ḥawqal et l'Atlas de l'Islam. In *Acta Orientalia* 10, p. 22; Kaplony, Andreas (2008): Comparing al-Kāshgari's Map to his Text. On the Visual Language,

al-Iṣṭakhrī's map design,<sup>4</sup> it has not yet been explored in detail. Right from the start, al-Iṣṭakhrī emphasized that he put the maps at the heart of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. However, he did not include a guide to reading his maps, as though he considered them to be self-explanatory.

When dealing with maps, we need to remember they interpret space to convey a message.<sup>5</sup> Informed by social, cultural or scientific ideas, a mapmaker reduces the world to a set of items intended to entertain, teach or facilitate memorizing spatial relations.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, maps such as the medieval European

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Purpose, and Transmission of Arabic-Islamic Maps. In Forêt, Philippe and Kaplony, Andreas (Eds.): *The Journey of Maps and Images on the Silk Road* (Brill's Inner Asian Library, 21). Leiden, p. 140; Savage-Smith, Emilie (2003): Memory and Maps. In Madelung, Wilferd, Daftary, Farhad and Meri, Josef W. (Eds.): *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam. Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung*. London, New York City, p. 112; for reproductions of maps from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, see also Kamāl, Yūsuf and Sezgin, Fuat (1987): *Monumenta cartographica Africae et Aegypti* (Veröffentlichungen des Institutes für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 3,3). Frankfurt a.M.; Miller, Konrad (1926): *Mappae Arabicae* (1,1). Stuttgart.

- 4 See for instance Antrim, Zayde (2012): *Routes and Realms. The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World*. Oxford; Pinto, Karen (2004): Surat Bahr al-Rum (Picture of the Sea of Byzantium). Possible Meanings Underlying the Forms. In Tolia, Giōrgos and Loupēs, Dēmētēs (Eds.): *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies* (Tetradia ergasias, 25/26). Athens, pp. 223–241; Pinto, Karen (2016): *Medieval Islamic Maps. An Exploration*. Chicago, London; Rapoport, Yossef (2020): *Islamic Maps*. Oxford.
- 5 Halawa, Mark A. (2014): Anthropologie. Bilder als Bedingung des Menschseins. In Günzel, Stephan and Mersch, Dieter (Eds.): *Bild. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart, Weimar, p. 71; Harley, John B. (1988): Maps, Knowledge, and Power. In Cosgrove, Denis (Ed.): *The Iconography of Landscape. Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, 9). Cambridge, p. 300; Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (1992): Preface. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (The History of Cartography, 2, 1). Chicago, xix; Lewis, Malcolm G. (1987): The Origins of Cartography. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (The History of Cartography, 1). Chicago, p. 52; Nöth, Winfried (2007): Die Karte und ihre Territorien in der Geschichte der Kartographie. In Glauser, Jürg and Kiening, Christian (Eds.): *Text, Bild, Karte. Kartographien der Vormoderne* (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Litterae, 105). Freiburg im Breisgau, p. 65; Schöttler, Tobias (2014): Logik. Bilder als Argumente. In Günzel, Stephan and Mersch, Dieter (Eds.): *Bild. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart, Weimar, p. 141.
- 6 Buchholz, Amrei and Stahl, Lina M. (2014): Epistemologie. Bilder als Wissen. In Günzel, Stephan and Mersch, Dieter (Eds.): *Bild. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart, Weimar, p. 127; Crampton, Jeremy W. (2001): Maps as Social Constructions. Power, Communication and Visualization. In *Progress in Human Geography* 25 (2), p. 239; Ehrmanntraut, Sophie and Stefanov, Marti (2014): Strukturalismus und Diskursanalyse. Dispositiv, Apparatus und Simulacrum. In Günzel, Stephan and Mersch, Dieter (Eds.): *Bild. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart, Weimar, p. 108; Finke, Marcel (2014): Materialität und Praktiken. In

*mappae mundi* framed the world according to Christian salvation history, which involved angels and apocalyptic symbols.<sup>7</sup> In addition, European mapmakers legitimized conquests and imperial outlooks through maps.<sup>8</sup> To decode al-Iṣṭakhrī's message, I will examine what items he chose to display, how he arranged them and which items he emphasized.<sup>9</sup>

The mapmaker reveals both his knowledge and bias through the number and size of maps he uses as well as their orientation. Some mapmakers combined a world map with regional maps like al-Iṣṭakhrī. However, if the mapmaker only zooms into some areas from the world map on a regional map, he probably aimed at promoting this territory for political, cultural or religious reasons. Alternatively, he might also have been more familiar with these areas which indicates his geographic horizon. In orienting a map according to latitudes and cardinal points, the mapmaker not only relates locations to each other, he may hint at additional features. For instance, Greek latitudes (climes, see below) also marked the North as hostile and the South as filled with monsters. In *mappae mundi*, cardinal points connected with Biblical figures such as Adam or the four stages of human age.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, the mapmaker communicates his message through the way he handles the map's center and margins. In *mappae mundi*, Jerusalem emerged as the center of a religiously framed world view. However, some mapmakers chose to put their homeland center stage instead.<sup>11</sup> In addition to framing geo-

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Günzel, Stephan and Mersch, Dieter (Eds.): *Bild. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart, Weimar, p. 26; Goppelsröder, Fabian (2014): Hermeneutik. Verstehen von Bildern. In Günzel, Stephan and Mersch, Dieter (Eds.): *Bild. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart, Weimar, p. 77; Harley, John B. (1992): Deconstructing the Map. In Barnes, Trevor and Duncan, James S. (Eds.): *Writing Worlds. Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*. London, p. 243; Korzybski, Alfred (1948): *Science and Sanity. An Introduction to non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics*. Lakeville, Conn., p. 58; Mersch, Dieter and Ruf, Oliver (2014): Grundlagen. In Günzel, Stephan and Mersch, Dieter (Eds.): *Bild. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*. Stuttgart, Weimar, p. 1.

7 Arentzen, Jörg-Geerd (1984): *Imago mundi cartographica. Studien zur Bildlichkeit mittelalterlicher Welt- und Ökumenekarten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zusammenwirkens von Text und Bild* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 53). Munich, p. 63; Schneider, Ute (2004): *Die Macht der Karten. Eine Geschichte der Kartographie vom Mittelalter bis heute*. Darmstadt, pp. 27–28.

8 Harley, Maps, Knowledge, and Power, pp. 279–282; Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten*, p. 96.

9 Arentzen, *Imago mundi cartographica*, p. 27.

10 Arentzen, *Imago mundi cartographica*, p. 163; Kugler, Hartmut (2007): Himmelsrichtungen und Erdregionen auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten. In Glauser, Jürg and Kiening, Christian (Eds.): *Text, Bild, Karte. Kartographien der Vormoderne* (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Litterae, 105). Freiburg im Breisgau, p. 183.

11 Günzel, Stephan and Nowak, Lars (2012): Das Medium Karte zwischen Bild und Diagramm. Zur Einführung. In Günzel, Stephan (Ed.): *Karten Wissen. Territoriale Räume*

graphic entities, margins reveal where the mapmaker's knowledge ends and his imagination begins. While some mapmakers downsized names and figures the closer they drew to the margins, others planted monsters or "here be dragons" at the edges.<sup>12</sup> For the former, the information ebbed away towards the margins, acknowledging some regions were beyond the mapmaker's reach. The latter, however, pushed the envelope by allowing room for the mysterious in remote locations.

In establishing a map's top or bottom, the mapmaker arranges his data according to a hierarchy.<sup>13</sup> Like a prominent center, the map's top serves as a gateway into the image, promoting religion, politics or culture. To identify the map's top, we can examine whether the mapmaker placed captions and symbols in a way that created one reading direction. Similar to reading texts, the mapmaker may attract the viewer's attention from top to bottom, moving from most important to least. However, the Islamicate context includes other reading directions. Even though regular texts move from a page's top downwards, Arabic calligraphy shifts the direction by starting from the bottom.

By distorting the map's structure, the mapmaker also steers the viewer towards his idea about the world. Some early twentieth-century world maps magnified the size of the Soviet Union in an attempt to either amplify the Union's importance or highlight its threat. In a similar vein, the mapmaker may manipulate the size of the characters on the map. While jumbling captions and characters increases the map's complexity, putting them in order fosters the viewer's understanding.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, in repeating headings, shapes as well as captions, the mapmaker both facilitates grasping the map's structure at a glance and instills spatial order.<sup>15</sup>

As for the items the mapmaker chooses, he places indexes, icons and symbols on the map.<sup>16</sup> Stemming from semiotics, this trio facilitates pinpointing

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*zwischen Bild und Diagramm* (Trierer Beiträge zu den historischen Kulturwissenschaften, 5). Wiesbaden, p. 6; Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten*, p. 28.

12 Günzel and Nowak, *Das Medium Karte*, p. 3.

13 Günzel and Nowak, *Das Medium Karte*, p. 7.

14 Nöth, *Die Karte und ihre Territorien*, pp. 58–62.

15 Arentzen, *Imago mundi cartographica*, p. 89.

16 This trio relates to Charles Peirce's (d. 1914) "modes of signs" that he established as part of his semiotic studies. Concerned with signs and the rules governing them, semiotics adds new perspectives to cartographic analyses. Developed in conjunction with Ferdinand de Saussure's (d. 1913) linguistic analysis, fields such as Art History apply semiotics to open new avenues for interpreting visual culture (Bal, Mieke and Bryson, Norman (1991): *Semiotics and Art History*. In *The Art Bulletin* 73 (2), pp. 175–176; Chandler, Daniel (2002): *Semiotics. The Basics*. London, p. 2; Hatt, Michael and Klonk, Charlotte (2006): *Art History. A Critical Introduction to its Methods*. Manchester, p. 200; Lorenz, Katharina

how a mapmaker translated cultural conventions to his cartographic design. Symbols are most determined by conventions because they do not resemble the object or cultural aspect they represent. Take numbers and flags, for example. Their shapes and colors only have meaning because a community agreed on it.<sup>17</sup> In a similar vein, symbols relating to Alexander the Great or the Biblical creation in *mappae mundi* catered to individuals versed in both literary traditions. By contrast, icons rely more on resemblance than convention, which allows the viewer to understand them without a background in the respective cultural tradition. Miniature buildings representing cities are typical icons on a map, as well as lines representing routes or triangles referring to mountains.<sup>18</sup> As for indexes, they merely point to an event or object rather than resembling it like the icon. Without captions, indexes may therefore elude decoding if we have no other clues linking them to events or places the mapmaker wished to highlight. The eleventh-century *Collection of Turkic Languages (Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk)* by al-Kāshgharī is a case in point: While the yellow dots on the accompanying world map do not make sense on their own, the text suggests they were meant to represent Turkic tribes.<sup>19</sup>

Although indexes, icons and symbols are not mutually exclusive categories, they nevertheless help identify the mapmaker's cultural grounding as well as his target audience. The more he turns to symbols and unexplained indexes, the clearer he caters to a specialized group. To decode such a map, the viewer has to first identify the group and then scrutinize narratives as well as figures relevant in its context. However, if a mapmaker refrains from using symbols or unclear indexes, his audience may have lacked such narratives. Alternatively, the mapmaker might have preferred icons to get his message across to an audience from outside his own context. Either in plain sight or in absentia, symbols and indexes reveal to whom the mapmaker's addressed his work.

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(2016): *Ancient Mythological Images and their Interpretation. An Introduction to Iconology, Semiotics, and Image Studies in Classical Art History*. Cambridge). However, as semiotics does not address how systems of signs change over time, questions about cartographic changes relate more to the iconographic analysis that investigates the historical dynamics of conventions (Bal and Bryson, *Semiotics and Art History*, p. 191; Lorenz, *Ancient Mythological Images & their Interpretation*, p. 158; for an introduction to iconography see Hatt and Klonk, *Art History*, 96f).

17 Arentzen, *Imago mundi cartographica*, p. 173; Bal and Bryson, *Semiotics and Art History*, p. 189; Chandler, *Semiotics*, p. 32; Lorenz, *Ancient Mythological Images & their Interpretation*, p. 109; Hatt and Klonk, *Art History*, pp. 209–210.

18 Nöth, *Die Karte und ihre Territorien*, pp. 54–57.

19 Hazai, György: Al-Kāshgharī. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Kaplony, al-Kāshgharī's Map, pp. 137–143.

By distributing items across the map, the mapmaker underscores his message.<sup>20</sup> If the mapmaker disperses all items, he intends to highlight the world's complexity. Alternatively, he may place the items evenly across the map, suggesting something sets the world in order. Semiotics has identified six *principles of perceptual organization* that help coordinating objects.<sup>21</sup> To begin with, similar shapes suggest categories, such as cities represented by circles or polygons (principle of similarity). We usually identify these categories if the shapes appear against the backdrop of larger spaces (principles of surroundedness and smallness). To further connect items, the mapmaker may place them close to each other (principle of proximity). Additionally, the principles of symmetry and good continuity connect items by creating patterns based on closed features.

Coloring is another tool used to stress and connect items on the map. By repeating and contrasting shades, the mapmaker may distinguish between big and small cities or friendly and hostile regions. However, coloring operates on a symbolic level that may elude the viewer. While a golden Jerusalem in *mappae mundi* might have indicated the city's importance to viewers from different contexts, the antique practice of associating the North with black, the South with white, the East with red and the West with yellow might not translate as easily. When trying to decode colors, we need to keep in mind that prices might have affected which hues the mapmaker chose.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, if a map belonged to a manuscript, the illustrator's work further raised the price of the final good (see below).<sup>23</sup> Therefore, instead of a mapmaker, the client might have impacted the final design by opting for modest colors to compensate costs. When examining copies of maps that date from different periods, we further need to account for 'transmission noise' resulting from the illustrator's choices. If the model map's colors had faded, the illustrator may have had to choose a new palette. Even if the model had persisted, the illustrator may have preferred other pigments that were en vogue in his context. Considering the various factors swaying a map's coloring, I suggest treading lightly when analyzing underlying codes.

In perusing the items on a map, we should note signs for the unknown. Not only did the margins allow the mapmaker to put his knowledge or imagination into effect, mapmakers also used symbols and icons to fill uncharted territory

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20 Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten*, p. 23.

21 Daniel Chandler illustrates examples for the principles in Chandler, Codes. Semiotics for Beginners. Website.

22 Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten*, p. 62; 122–123.

23 Bloom, Jonathan M. (2001): *Paper Before Print. The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*. New Haven, p. 70; Karamustafa, Introduction, p. 6.

across the continents. For instance, the cartographer Pierre Desceliers (fl. sixteenth c.) furnished Africa with an elephant on his world map, whereas the coeval Cantino world map featured a red parrot in South America.<sup>24</sup> Items representing the unknown thus captured how mapmakers handled limits in their geographic knowledge.

Rather than filling the unknown with symbols, some mapmakers silenced or omitted the unknown altogether.<sup>25</sup> By leaving an unfamiliar region empty, the mapmaker at least acknowledged it existed. However, if the mapmaker decided against putting an unfamiliar region on the map, he revealed his bias. In case a text accompanies the map, we may single out such omissions by comparing which regions and items appeared in both media. When we trace what information the mapmaker left in the text and what he chose to put on the map, we can make out the rationale behind his map design.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the way the text refers to the map(s) may point to their orientation as intended by the mapmaker. If the mapmaker mentions, for instance, cities at the top or left side, we know how to position the map to see it from his perspective.

Following the first in-depth study of the *Book of Routes and Realms* in chapter 2, the remaining chapters will make sense of the work's transmission. In contrast to other geographic literature dating from the tenth century, the *Book of Routes and Realms* was later translated into Persian as well as Ottoman. Comprising 59 manuscripts today, the *Book of Routes and Realms* attracted attention for almost a millennium.<sup>27</sup> However, in examining this manuscript tradition, scholars have so far singled out Arabic or Persian copies without ascertaining the tradition as a whole.<sup>28</sup> By tracing manuscripts of the *Book of*

24 Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten*, p. 111.

25 Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten*, p. 116.

26 Arentzen, *Imago mundi cartographica*, p. 112; Mittenhuber, Florian (2007): Die Relation zwischen Text und Karten in der Geographie des Ptolemaios. In Glauser, Jürg and Kiening, Christian (Eds.): *Text, Bild, Karte. Kartographien der Vormoderne* (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Litterae, 105). Freiburg im Breisgau, p. 87.

27 See Appendix 2 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* Worldwide for a survey of the manuscripts I was able to find. As my study will show, more than 59 manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* circulated in the past.

28 See for instance Ducène, MS 'Arefat Ḥakamt Ğuġrāfiya 910/7; Ducène, Jean-Charles (2006): Quel est le titre véritable de l'ouvrage géographique d'al-Iṣṭahṛī? In Cannuyer, Christian (Ed.): *Les scribes et la transmission du savoir* (Acta orientalia Belgica, 19). Brussels, pp. 99–108; Minorskiy, Vladimir (1949): A False Jayhānī. In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 13 (1), pp. 89–96; Pinto, Karen (2011): The Maps Are the Message. Mehmet II's Patronage of an 'Ottoman cluster'. In *Imago Mundi* 63 (2), pp. 155–179; by taking stock of some 30 manuscripts, Gerald Tibbetts provided the basis for such an endeavor in Tibbetts, Gerald R. (1992): The Balkhī School of Geographers. In

*Routes and Realms* in libraries and archives worldwide, this book will shed light on who took an interest in al-İṣṭakhrī's work and why.

To make sense of changes as well as continuities in the transmission of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, I will take into account how manuscripts were created. After paper came to the Islamicate world in the eighth century, the material prevailed in the administration and book culture, especially in the Islamicate East. Coming from centers such as Baghdad and Damascus, paper remained an expensive commodity due to its lengthy production process. To economize, users sometimes recycled or reused sheets of paper.<sup>29</sup> While some manuscripts were created off the rack, others were intended for prestigious clients.

Depending on the client's wishes, a copy would pass through many hands. Although some individuals took on several tasks, most craftsmen specialized in copying, calligraphy, illustration, cutting or binding.<sup>30</sup> To create a new copy of, for example, the *Book of Routes and Realms*, the copyist consulted a model manuscript the client supplied. Alternatively, the copyist could have found one or several copies in a library or on the market, allowing him to compare and collate the texts into one new version. Most copyists marked deviating passages in the margins to accommodate changes introduced by the author or transmitter of the text.<sup>31</sup>

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Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (The History of Cartography, 2, 1). Chicago, pp. 108–136.

- 29 For introductions to book culture and manuscripts in the Islamicate world, see Bloom, *Paper Before Print*; Déroche, François and Berthier, Annie (2006): *Islamic Codicology. An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (Al-Furqan Publications, 102). London; Gründler, Beatrice (forthcoming): *The Rise of the Arabic Book*. Cambridge, Mass.; Pedersen, Johannes and Hillenbrand, Robert (1984): *The Arabic Book*. Princeton, New Jersey; Hirschler, Konrad (2017): Document Reuse in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts. In *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 3 (1), pp. 33–44.
- 30 Bloom, *Paper Before Print*, p. 117; Pedersen and Hillenbrand, *The Arabic Book*, p. 49; Sajjadi, Nafiseh-Sadat (2013): Persisch-islamische Manuskriptologie. In Paul, Ludwig (Ed.): *Handbuch der Iranistik*. Wiesbaden, pp. 363–364.
- 31 For more on creating an authoritative text, see Leder, Stefan (2002): *Spoken Word and Written Text. Meaning and Social Significance of the Institution of Rīwaya* (Islamic Area Studies Working Paper Series, 31); Leder, Stefan (2011): Understanding a Text through its Transmission. Documented *samāʿ*, Copies, Reception. In Görke, Andreas and Hirschler, Konrad (Eds.): *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 129). Würzburg, p. 60; Pedersen and Hillenbrand, *The Arabic Book*, pp. 27–29; Quiring-Zoche, Rosemarie (2011): Der jemenitische Diplomat Qāsim Abū Ṭālib al-ʿIzzī (gest. 1380/1960) im Spiegel seiner Handschriften-Vermerke. In Görke, Andreas and Hirschler, Konrad (Eds.): *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 129). Würzburg, p. 45; Sobieroj, Florian (2011): Einheitlichkeit und Vielfalt in islamischen Überlieferungen und Lehrbefugnissen aus 1000 Jahren. In Görke, Andreas and

When reproducing the model(s), the copyist wrote on loose sheets of paper (folded into folios).<sup>32</sup> To facilitate binding the folios (or quires) in the correct order, the copyist would often place catchwords at the bottom of the right page that indicated which word was to follow on the left page (reading from right to left in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman).<sup>33</sup> To help navigate the text, the copyist sometimes highlighted headings with colored ink. Alternatively, he left the spaces empty for the person who later used colored ink to fill in the headings or highlights. This division of labor explains why some manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* feature gaps instead of headings: If something disrupted the production process, the person responsible for putting in the colored ink did not get to do his work. In a similar vein, illustrated manuscripts sometimes come with empty pages. When reproducing the text, the copyist would leave empty spaces for the illustrator who took over afterwards. If the client ran out of money or the production broke off for some other reason, the copy remained without illustrations. Nevertheless, the manuscript might have still been cut and bound without the illustrations. While dedications on the title page may tell us for whom a manuscript was created, the colophon at the end of a copy sheds more light on who the copyist was, when and where he finished his work (sometimes also for whom). As we will see for the *Book of Routes and Realms*, many copyists either did not ‘sign’ their work or simply reproduced the colophon from their model.

Any person involved in creating a manuscript could have introduced changes, but not always on purpose. Considering some copyists were also scholars, they may have sought to improve the model’s style or content. Alternatively, if a copyist came across terms he did not recognize, he could ‘autocorrect’ them to words he was familiar with – a practice we sometimes see in copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms*.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, dim light in the library or workshop

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Hirschler, Konrad (Eds.): *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 129). Würzburg, p. 24.

32 One full sheet was usually folded once, creating four pages. One folio consists of two pages, the so-called recto and its back, the verso (Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 107).

33 Catchwords could also repeat the last word from the right page on the left one or use numbers to indicate the quire (Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 50).

34 Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (2019): *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517)*. *Scribes, Libraries and Market* (Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts, 162). Leiden, Boston, p. 72; Gacek, Adam (2007): Taxonomy of Scribal Errors and Corrections in Arabic Manuscripts. In Pfeiffer, Judith and Kropp, Manfred (Eds.): *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts. Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Istanbul, March 28–30, 2001* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 11). Beirut, Würzburg, pp. 219–222; Görke, Andreas and Hirschler, Konrad (2011): Introduction. Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources. In Görke, Andreas and Hirschler, Konrad (Eds.): *Manuscript*

might have caused the copyist to misread the model. No matter the copyist's expertise, fatigue or distraction could have just as well led to involuntary changes. Keeping in mind that copyists were usually paid per page, they might have rushed to the finish to sustain their family rather than savor every word.<sup>35</sup> The same applies to the binding. As we will see for the *Book of Routes and Realms*, some manuscripts have an unusual sequence. Rather than presuming an intentional rearrangement, I will first check whether human error might explain the change. If the copyist did not place catchwords in the manuscript, the binder might have mixed up some pages, therefore creating a new order. Particularly if catchwords were missing and damaged binding caused folios to fall out, the copyist might not have realized he was creating a new sequence based on an incomplete text.

While a manuscript's look hints at its client, manuscript notes and seals help reconstruct who transmitted the *Book of Routes and Realms* and where. Throughout the Islamic world, owners and readers left traces in manuscripts that reveal their trajectories. Using free space on the title page, the last page as well as in the margins, owners tell us when they bought or endowed a copy. Pages left empty for the illustrator also offer space for notes. While some readers revealed when and where they finished reading the copy, others commented on the text in the margins, supplying additional information or cross references to other literature.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, some readers informed us they gained a license for transmitting the text, whereas others used the paper for recording deaths, sales or memorable events.<sup>37</sup> Taking all of the above aspects

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*Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 129). Würzburg, p. 10; see also Pfeiffer, Judith and Kropp, Manfred (Eds.) (2007): *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts. Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Istanbul, March 28–30, 2001*. Beirut, Würzburg.

35 Osti, Letizia (2013): Culture, Education and the Court. In Berkel, Maaïke van et al. (Eds.): *Crisis and Continuity at the Abbasid Court. Formal and Informal Politics in the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32)*. Leiden, p. 191; Pedersen and Hillenbrand, *The Arabic Book*, p. 45.

36 For other kinds of manuscript notes as well as libraries in the Islamic world, see Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*; Eche, Youssef (1967): *Les Bibliothèques arabes publiques et semipubliques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen Âge*. Damascus; Hirschler, Konrad (2016): *Medieval Damascus. Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*. Edinburgh; Liebrez, Boris (2011): Lese- und Besitzvermerke in der Leipziger Rifā'ya-Bibliothek. In Görke, Andreas and Hirschler, Konrad (Eds.): *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 129). Würzburg, pp. 141–162; Liebrez, Boris (2016): *Die Rifā'ya aus Damaskus. Eine Privatbibliothek im Osmanischen Syrien und ihr kulturelles Umfeld* (Islamic Manuscripts and Books, 10). Leiden.

37 Görke and Hirschler, Introduction, p. 9; Görke, Andreas (2011): Teaching in 5th/11th-century Baghdad. Observation on the Lectures of Abū l-Fawāris Ṭirād b. Muḥammad al-Zaynabī

into account, I will explore the manuscript tradition of the *Book of Routes and Realms*.

Chapter 3 revolves around the three Persian translations that appeared across the Iranian lands after the Mongols established the Ilkhanate in the thirteenth century. Not only did a continued interest in geography inspire the translations, but also the Ilkhans promoting book illustrations and Persian as *the* vernacular. With its beautiful maps and focus on the Iranian lands, the *Book of Routes and Realms* appealed to the new audience. However, considering al-Iṣṭakhrī's text and the maps remained almost unaltered on three different occasions, the translations did not aim at updating the treatise to fit the new setting. They rather intended to open the *Book of Routes and Realms* to the new audience as part of the cultural heritage the Ilkhans aimed to continue.

Chapter 4 investigates the copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* that surfaced in royal collections in Istanbul at the turn of the sixteenth century. After conquering Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46 and 1451–81) aimed at turning the new capital into the scholarly and artistic center of the Islamicate world. As the Ottoman expansion continued well into the sixteenth century, Istanbul became a hub for artists, scholars and hundreds of manuscripts that made their way into the treasury as booty and gifts – among them, Arabic and Persian copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Not only were some of them copied, the Ottoman translation was also prepared for Sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603) based on a Persian model. Out of the ten manuscripts of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work that were collected and commissioned in Istanbul until the sixteenth century, seven maintained the text and maps of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. While this shows the audience cared for the treatise as part of a cultural heritage they wished to preserve, three manuscripts additionally embody the entanglement of cartographic traditions that circulated at the same time in Istanbul. Without changing the text, these copies (including the Ottoman translation) transformed al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps through miniatures and landscapes we find in coeval historiographic and geographic treatises from the Islamicate world and Europe. While the text

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and their Audience. In Görke, Andreas and Hirschler, Konrad (Eds.): *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 129). Würzburg, pp. 106–111; Hirschler, Konrad (2011): Reading Certificates (*samā'āt*) as a Prosopographical Source. Cultural and Social Practices of an Elite Family in Zangid and Ayyubid Damascus. In Görke, Andreas and Hirschler, Konrad (Eds.): *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 129). Würzburg, p. 75; Liebrez, Lese- und Besitzvermerke, p. 142; Lohlker, Rüdiger (2011): *Iḡāza* als ein Prozess der Akkumulation sozialen Kapitals. In Görke, Andreas and Hirschler, Konrad (Eds.): *Manuscript Notes as Documentary Sources* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 129). Würzburg, pp. 38–43.

of the *Book of Routes and Realms* did not incite changes, the maps opened al-Iṣṭakhrī's work to visual trends from Istanbul – a transformation that remained unique and uncopied within the entire transmission.

Outlining the entire manuscript tradition, the conclusion shows that the wish to preserve the *Book of Routes and Realms* fuelled its transmission. While particularly drawing attention in the Persianate world, most extant manuscripts reproduced al-Iṣṭakhrī's work without major changes. In addition to Ottoman sultans collecting and commissioning copies, we find Qajar officials and European diplomats and scholars, the latter using the manuscripts for personal study. Although only few notes by readers attest an engagement with the content, some copies show that the *Book of Routes and Realms* was consulted and copied in libraries over the course of several centuries. Together with the showcase character of some copies, it seems the *Book of Routes and Realms* was displayed and cherished as a work of art and cultural heritage. Despite the conservative nature of the transmission, the *Book of Routes and Realms* mirrored cultural shifts in the Islamicate world – such as the aftermath of the Mongol conquests, the cultural buzz in Istanbul or the European presence in the Iranian lands. What started out a reference book of the Islamicate world, takes us through its history and reveals that an encyclopedic outlook with a timeless map design can outlast the greatest upheavals.

Two appendices complete this book. The first shows outlines of the maps I will discuss throughout the study. The second appendix lists the manuscript copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* that I was able to find, first according to the (approximate) date of the copy with codicological details. This list is then reduced to the manuscript shelfmarks and organized by language as well as present locations to facilitate future archival studies about the *Book of Routes and Realms* and other literature. Moreover, the second appendix contains possible stemmata that show how the Arabic and Persian manuscripts of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work might have related to each other in the transmission process.

# What Is the World Like?

## *Geographic Writing until the Tenth Century*

### 1 Literary Context

Al-Iṣṭakhṛī was composing his *Book of Routes and Realms* when the literary output in the Abbasid realm had gained momentum. From the ninth century onwards, authors penned works dealing with poetry, history and administrative issues. Not only did this surge involve intellectual exercises in philosophy, but also topics such as cookery and masturbation. Informed by Indian, Sasanian and Greek sources that became available in Arabic due to the so-called translation movement, the literary diversity reflected the Abbasid elites promoting knowledge and culture on all levels. However, only a few autographs and coeval copies from this period have survived, which has proved a challenge to historians, who can access some works only through later references. Moreover, as writing books sometimes involved multiple authors and revisers, the non-linear assembly of texts often prevents scholars from recreating originals.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, tenth-century (and later) authors scattered enough hints as well as quotes throughout their historical, geographic and philosophical works for us to picture the literary atmosphere that preceded al-Iṣṭakhṛī.

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1 See for instance Borrut, Antoine (2014): Court Astrologers and Historical Writing in Early ‘Abbāsīd Baghdād. An Appraisal. In Scheiner, Jens J. and Janos, Damien (Eds.): *The Place to Go. Contexts of Learning in Baghdād, 750–1000 C.E.* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 26). Princeton, NJ, p. 475; Bosworth, Clifford E. (1990): Administrative Literature. In Young, Michael J.L., Latham, J.D. and Serjeant, R.B. (Eds.): *Religion, Learning, and Science in the Abbasid Period*. Cambridge, p. 164; Ducène, Jean-Charles (1998): Al-Ġayhānī. Fragments (Extraits du *K. al-masālik wa l-mamālik* d'al-Bakrī). In *Der Islam* 75 (2), p. 259; Thomann, Johannes (2014): Lyrics by al-Fazārī to Lectures by al-Fārābī. Teaching Astronomy in Baghdād (750–1000 C.E.). In Scheiner, Jens J. and Janos, Damien (Eds.): *The Place to Go. Contexts of Learning in Baghdād, 750–1000 C.E.* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 26). Princeton, NJ, p. 505; Zadeh, Travis (2011): *Mapping Frontiers Across Medieval Islam. Geography, Translation and the Abbasid Empire* (Library of Middle East History, 27). London, p. 11; Zakeri, Mohsen (2014): Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Marzbān (d. (309/921) and His Role in Translations from the Middle Persian. In Scheiner, Jens J. and Janos, Damien (Eds.): *The Place to Go. Contexts of Learning in Baghdād, 750–1000 C.E.* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 26). Princeton, NJ, p. 350.

After founding Baghdad as the imperial capital in 762, the second Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 754–75) expedited translations from various cultures in the new metropolis. Already under the Umayyads, rulers had confiscated literature from conquered territories and ordered their translation. Historians such as al-Mas‘ūdī (d. 956) tell us about royal collections of Middle Persian works on science, history, architecture and public institutions that were translated into Arabic for the Umayyad caliph Hishām (r. 724–43).<sup>2</sup> Assuming previous empires from Iraq and Iran, such as the Sasanians, had passed the torch to the Abbasid dynasty, al-Manṣūr and the elites began promoting translations to access the heritage on which they built their imperial outlook.<sup>3</sup> As Baghdad became *the* hub for courtly life as well as for merchants and artisans from all over the Islamicate world, native speakers of Persian, Greek and Aramaic furnished the necessary translations.<sup>4</sup>

Middle Persian literature advising rulers on statecraft and warfare prompted many translations. Often referred to by their later European equivalent, the “mirrors for princes” or *Fürstenspiegel*, this genre encompassed recommendations regarding court etiquette as well as suitable knowledge for the nobility. In addition to religion, history and philosophy, al-Tha‘labī’s (d. 1035) Arabic rendition of a treatise dealing with Sasanian education (*Khusraw-i Kavādān va Rīdak-i Vīy*) included hammer throwing, chess and music in the curriculum. A Sanskrit book of wisdom in fable form, called in Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, made its way to the Abbasid court through a translation from Middle Persian by Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (d. ca. 756). Not only did the Arabic version become popular in the Islamicate world, but it also served as the basis for adaptations in 40 languages until the nineteenth century. *Kalīla wa-Dimna*’s circulation stretched from Europe to Southeast Asia and informed works such as Machiavelli’s political treatise *Il Principe*.<sup>5</sup>

2 al-Mas‘ūdī, Abū al-Ḥasan and Goeje, Michael J. de (1893): *Kitāb al-Tanbūh wa-l-Ishrāf* (Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, 8). Leiden, p. 106.

3 Gutas, Dimitri (1998): *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbasid Society (2nd–4th / 8th–10th Centuries)*. London, p. 29.

4 Kennedy, Hugh (2013): The Reign of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32). A History. In Berkel, Maaïke van et al. (Eds.): *Crisis and Continuity at the Abbasid Court. Formal and Informal Politics in the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32)*. Leiden, p. 14; Gutas, *Greek Thought*, p. 19.

5 Gutas, Dimitri (2006): The Greek and Persian Background of Early Arabic Encyclopedism. In Endreß, Gerhard (Ed.): *Organizing Knowledge. Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World* (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, 61). Leiden, pp. 96–99; Gutas, Dimitri and Bladel, Kevin van: Bayt al-Ḥikma. ET<sup>3</sup> online; Pingree, David (1990): Astrology. In Young, Michael J.L., Latham, J.D. and Serjeant, R.B. (Eds.): *Religion, Learning, and Science in the ‘Abbasid Period*. Cambridge, p. 293; Moazami, Mahnaz: *Ḳusraw ī Kawādān*

Furthermore, Sanskrit astronomical works introduced calculations for coordinates as well as models for explaining the world, which astronomers and geographers from the Islamicate world partially adapted. In 773, an embassy returning from Sindh brought a treatise to Baghdad, which encompassed mathematics, astronomy and trigonometry (called *siddhānta*, “perfected”). Translated by al-Fazārī (d. ca. 796–806) and an Indian scholar for Caliph al-Manṣūr, this treatise (*Sindhind*) later informed the polymath al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 1050). While the original translation has not been preserved, we know through al-Bīrūnī that scholars used calculations from the *Sindhind*. In addition to the content, astronomers such as al-Bīrūnī embraced the style of Sanskrit works that were composed in verse to help memorize mathematical formula.<sup>6</sup> As for general ideas about the earth stemming from Sanskrit traditions, authors in the Islamicate world became familiar with a division of the inhabited world into nine parts, the (unidentified) island Jamakūt marking its eastern boundary and Sri Lanka representing the Cupola of the Earth.<sup>7</sup>

Beyond Sanskrit, Middle Persian texts also supplied astronomical data that took shape in tables called *zīj* in Arabic, which were already in circulation in the Umayyad realm. For instance, the *Royal Zīj* (*Zīj al-Shāh*) dating from the reign of the Sasanian King Khusraw I Anūshirvān (r. 531–78) was translated into Arabic.<sup>8</sup> Most *zīj* presented tables and texts on several hundred pages, covering topics such as chronology, planetary stations and lists of

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Ud Rēdak-ēw. Elr online; Seminar für Arabistik: Prof. Dr. Beatrice Gründler. Freie Universität Berlin. Website; AnonymClassic: ERC Project Kalila and Dimna. Freie Universität Berlin. Website; other translations by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ included Sasanian chronicles such as the *Khudaynāma* and works on the organization of the court such as the *Āyinnāma* (Bosworth, Clifford E. (1990): Administrative Literature. In Young, Michael J.L., Latham, J.D. and Serjeant, R.B. (Eds.): *Religion, Learning, and Science in the Abbasid Period*. Cambridge, p. 166).

6 Borrut, Court Astrologers, pp. 455–456; Sezgin, Fuat (2010): *Anthropographie [sic]. Teil 1* (Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, 14). Frankfurt a.M., p. 9; Thomann, Lyrics to Lectures, p. 508.

7 Ahmad, S. Maqbul: Djughrāfiyā. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Krachkovskiy, Ignatij Y. (2004): *Arabskaya geograficheskaya literatura*. Moscow, p. 69; 88; Pellat, Charles: al-Ḳubba. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Sezgin, Fuat (2000): *Mathematische Geographie und Kartographie im Islam und ihr Fortleben im Abendland. Historische Darstellung Teil 1* (Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, 10). Frankfurt a.M., p. 72.

8 Gutas, *Greek Thought*, pp. 113–114; Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, pp. 63–64; 94; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 9; one of the earliest astronomical lists dates from the third century and embellishes Shāhpur’s quadrangular chamber Cube of Zarathustra (Ka’ba-yi Zardusht). Apart from the list, the writing on the cube describes the Sasanian Empire from the region Fārs to the Persian Gulf (see Shapira, Dan (2001): Was There Geographical Science in Sasanian Iran? In *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54 (2/3), p. 326); see for more information on the Sasanian Empire Gyselen, Rika (Ed.) (2004): *Contributions à l’histoire et la géographie historique de l’empire Sassanide* (Res orientales, 16). Paris.

cities with their coordinates. While many tables embraced sine and tangent functions, the underlying methods for computation settled in theoretical astronomical literature.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to calculations, different models of envisioning the world entered Arabic literature from Middle Persian. For instance, *kishvar* (countries) represented geographic entities surrounding the central region of Bābil or Īrānshahr, both denoting the Sasanian Empire. The *kishvar* pattern arranged the world according to peoples and countries, so that the following six regions circled the Sasanian Empire clockwise, starting from the east: India (Hinduṽān), Arabs and Ethiopia (‘Arab va Ḥabashān), Egypt and Syria (Miṣr va Shām), the Slavs and Byzantines (Ṣaqālib va Rūm), Turks and Gog and Magog (Turk va Yājūj) and China (Chīn va Māchīn).<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Middle Persian geographic conventions included two terrestrial boundaries. The Encircling Ocean represented the inner circle around the earth, symbolizing the limits of geographic knowledge. The idea of a mighty ocean enclosing the world existed in Greek as well as Semitic geographic traditions and the Encircling Ocean was also called in Arabic the Dark or Green Ocean (*al-baḥr al-muẓlim*, *al-baḥr al-akhḍar*).<sup>11</sup> Mount Qāf served as the outer boundary and therefore point of no return. Emerging from Middle Persian myths that characterized Mount Qāf as the edge of the world and home to the gods, this mountain referred to the Iranian Elburz Mountains.<sup>12</sup>

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- 9 King, David A. (1990): Astrology. In Young, Michael J.L., Latham, J.D. and Serjeant, R.B. (Eds.): *Religion, Learning, and Science in the ‘Abbasid Period*. Cambridge, pp. 277–279; see also Kennedy, Edward S. (1956): *A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables* (American Philosophical Society, 46,2). Philadelphia and Kramers, Johannes H. (1954): L’influence de la tradition iranienne dans la géographie arabe. In Kramers, Johannes H. (Ed.): *Analecta Orientalia I. Posthumous Writings and Selected Minor Works of J.H. Kramers*. Leiden, pp. 147–156.
- 10 Ahmad, Djughrāfiyā. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Karamustafa, Ahmet T. (1992): Cosmographical Diagrams. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (The History of Cartography, 2, 1). Chicago, p. 80; Tibbetts, Gerald R. (1992): The Beginnings of a Cartographic Tradition. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (The History of Cartography, 2, 1). Chicago, p. 93; another division of the earth found in Middle Persian sources refers to four sections: Khurasan was east, Bākhtar was north, Khurbarān was west and Nīmrūz was south.
- 11 Kramers, Johannes H. (1931): Geography and Commerce. In Arnold, Thomas W. and Guillaume, Alfred (Eds.): *The Legacy of Islam*. London, p. 83; Wensinck, Arend J. (1968): *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*. Wiesbaden, pp. 24–26; 41–43.
- 12 Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 45; Miquel, André and Streck, Maximilian: Qāf. E1<sup>2</sup> online; for more notions of the world in different traditions see Raaflaub, Kurt A. and Talbert, Richard J.A. (Eds.) (2009): *Geography and Ethnography. Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*. Hoboken.

By the end of the ninth century, most non-literary and non-historical Greek books from the Eastern Byzantine Empire became available in Arabic as well as Syriac.<sup>13</sup> To some extent, the Abbasid dynasty inherited the wish for transmitting Greek scientific and philosophical literature from Sasanian kings such as the abovementioned Khusraw I Anūshirvān, who sheltered Greek philosophers fleeing from Justinian and promoted translations of their works into Middle Persian.<sup>14</sup> As for Greek works made available in Arabic, Caliph al-Mahdī (r. 775–85) commissioned a translation of Aristotle's *Topics* on grammar as well as logic. Offering techniques for arguing, the *Topics* presented useful tools for the inter-faith debates that played a central role during the first Abbasid centuries.<sup>15</sup> Books with a cosmological, mathematical and geometrical gist were translated as well, among them Aristotle's *Physics*, Euclid's *Elements*, Ptolemy's *Almagest* and Archimedes' writings.<sup>16</sup> The men preparing translations from Greek to Arabic were often Christians such as Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-'Ibādī (d. 873). Born in al-Ḥīra (in today's Iraq) as a pharmacist's son, Ḥunayn b. Ishāq became a physician and launched his career as Caliph al-Mutawakkil's (r. 847–61) chief physician-cum-translator in Baghdad.<sup>17</sup> Since many practicing physicians were Syriac native speakers hailing from Jundayshābūr in the Iranian province Khuzestan, Ḥunayn b. Ishāq translated almost three times as many Greek medical works into Syriac than Arabic.<sup>18</sup>

Although a different genre, the Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* for Caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 813–33) was also based on a Syriac version in 827.<sup>19</sup> Al-Ma'mūn fostered geography and astronomy through translations as well as by commissioning two observatories in Baghdad and Damascus whose staff reviewed Ptolemy's calculations from the *Almagest* and determined the meridian's arc. For devising calendars, keeping time and computing the directions

13 Gutas, *Greek Thought*, pp. 1–2; Hill, Donald R. (1990): Mathematics and Applied Sciences. In Young, Michael J.L., Latham, J.D. and Serjeant, R.B. (Eds.): *Religion, Learning, and Science in the Abbasid Period*. Cambridge, p. 251; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 63.

14 Gutas, *Greek Thought*, p. 25; Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, p. 61.

15 Gutas, *Greek Thought*, pp. 61–62; 69; 72–3.

16 Hill, *Mathematics*, p. 249.

17 Strohmaier, Gotthard: Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-'Ibādī. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Zadeh, *Frontiers*, p. 53; see also Salama-Carr, Myriam (1990): *La traduction à l'époque abbasside. L'école de Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq et son importance pour la traduction* (Collection Traductologie, 6). Paris.

18 Watt, John (2014): Why Did Ḥunayn, the Master Translator into Arabic, Make Translations into Syriac? On the Purpose of the Syriac Translations of Ḥunayn and his Circle. In Scheiner, Jens J. and Janos, Damien (Eds.): *The Place to Go. Contexts of Learning in Baghdad, 750–1000 C.E.* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 26). Princeton, NJ, pp. 363–364.

19 Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, pp. 78–80.

of prayer (*qibla*), astronomers relied on celestial globes, armillary spheres and astrolabes, none of which have survived from the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>20</sup>

As for Ptolemy's *Geography*, it supplied coordinates for approximately eight thousand locations on three continents (Europe, Libya (Africa) and Asia) and calculations for the size of the inhabited world. Ptolemy separated the inhabited world by latitudinal bands called climes, which he defined by the longest period of daylight within their boundaries: thirteen hours for the first clime, thirteen and a half for the second and so on up to a period of sixteen hours, which added up to seven climes.<sup>21</sup> Each regional description began with a *perisimos* (contour) that defined the region's boundaries in every cardinal point, including coastal lines and rivers. Following this introduction, the text enumerated the region's landlocked cities with corresponding information on islands as well as flora and fauna.<sup>22</sup> Considering the earliest maps that accompany the *Geography* date from the fourteenth century, Ptolemy might not have designed maps himself. However, he might have still devised the *Geography* as a manual for mapmakers. After all, he gave instructions for a rectangular world map that was oriented north and for 26 regional maps (ten for Europe, four for Africa and twelve for Asia). According to Ptolemy, the regional maps had to include a coordinate system, but should not abide by one scale. Instead, their size had to correspond to the number of entries in them. Although Ptolemy weighed the benefits and limitations of different projections that could be employed, in the end, he left the map making to his successors.<sup>23</sup> As will be shown below, several authors from the Islamic world revised and adapted the *Geography* after its translation into Arabic, which points to its impact on geographic

20 King, David A. (1999): *World-Maps for Finding the Direction and Distance to Mecca. Innovation and Tradition in Islamic Science* (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, 36). Leiden, p. 28; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 85; Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, p. 116; Thomann, *Lyrics to Lectures*, p. 503.

21 Dilke, Oswald A.W. (1987): The Culmination of Greek Cartography in Ptolemy. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (The History of Cartography, 1). Chicago, pp. 177–180; Hagen, Gottfried (2003): Translations and Translators in a Multilingual Society. A Case Study of Persian-Ottoman Translations, Late Fifteenth to Early Seventeenth Century. In *Eurasian Studies* 2 (1), p. 130; King, *World-Maps*, p. 27; Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, p. 77.

22 Graßhoff, Gerd et al. (2006): *Klaudios Ptolemaios. Handbuch der Geographie. Einleitung und Buch 1–4*. Basel, pp. 23–24.

23 Dilke, The Culmination of Greek Cartography, pp. 186–190; Dilke, Oswald A.W. (1987): Cartography in the Ancient World. A Conclusion. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (The History of Cartography, 1). Chicago, p. 277; Graßhoff et al., *Klaudios Ptolemaios*, pp. 26–27; Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, p. 40.

science. However, rather than following Ptolemy's cartographic directive, authors like al-Iṣṭakhārī presented circular world maps that were oriented south. While the earth had been depicted as a disk in Babylonian, Greek and other traditions, the source for the southern orientation remains unclear.<sup>24</sup> As a world map modelled after the writings of the Greek historian Ephorus (d. 330 BCE) by Cosmas Indicopleustes (fl. sixth c.) shows, Ephorus may have envisioned a world map oriented south.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to works related to the translation movement, various genres thrived in the ninth and tenth centuries. Arabic poetry featured prominently among them, with rising stars like Abū Tammām (d. ca. 845) and his student Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 896) setting new standards for various poetic branches such as praise poetry (*madīḥ*). Performed in the caliph's public audiences, praise poetry glorified rulers and communicated their world views, a service that was well rewarded. However, if the artist was granted a permanent position as court poet, he had to cater to the caliph's every whim and fear severe punishment if he failed to comply. At the Abbasid court, Arabic poetry evolved into a profession and became increasingly codified, including a blossoming literary criticism. Aiming to both preserve and guard the heritage conveyed in Arabic poetry, philologists from the eighth and early ninth centuries sifted through the growing number of poems to discard forgeries and assemble rules for correct grammar. In Baghdad's cosmopolitan setting, mastery of formal Arabic paved the way for careers.<sup>26</sup>

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24 Aujac, Germaine (1987): The Foundations of Theoretical Cartography in Archaic and Classical Greece. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (The History of Cartography, 1). Chicago, p. 135; Millard, Alan R. (1987): Cartography in the Ancient Near East. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (The History of Cartography, 1). Chicago, pp. 111–114.

25 Aujac, The Foundations, p. 144.

26 Gründler, Beatrice (2003): *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry. Ibn al-Rūmī and the Patron's Redemption*. London; Gründler, Beatrice (2017): Modernity in the Ninth Century. The Controversy around Abū Tammām. In *Studia Islamica* 112 (1), pp. 134–135; Kennedy, Hugh (2004): *When Baghdad Ruled the Muslim World. The Rise and Fall of Islam's Greatest Dynasty*. Cambridge, Mass., pp. 113–117; Scheiner, Jens J. and Janos, Damien (2014): Baghdad. Political Metropolis and Intellectual Center. In Scheiner, Jens J. and Janos, Damien (Eds.): *The Place to Go. Contexts of Learning in Baghdād, 750–1000 C.E.* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 26). Princeton, NJ, p. 23; al-Šūlī, Muhammad b. Yahyā (2015): *The Life and Times of Abū Tammām*. Editors Gruendler, Beatrice; Montgomery, James E.; Qutbuddin, Tahera. New York, London; see also Bauer, Thomas (1998): *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*. Zugl.: Erlangen, Nürnberg, Habil.-Schr., 1997. Wiesbaden.

Not only did the elites foster culture and learning, the Abbasid administration also increased in size and complexity, bringing about personnel who composed specialist literature. Members of this so-called *kātib*-class (secretaries and clerks, pl. *kuttāb*) wrote manuals on administrative procedure as well as treatises on secretarial training. Many works in this branch focused on the Sawād of Iraq, the alluvial land on the Euphrates that yielded most agricultural revenue until the tenth century and was therefore considered excellent training ground for tax returns.<sup>27</sup> One administrative treatise that was later used and annotated in the Islamicate world was Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad al-Shaybānī's (d. 911) *Virgin Letter* (*al-Risālat al-'Adhrā'*), which classified types of administrative documents. Thanks to the Andalusian historian Ibn al-Abbār (d. 1260), we know that al-Shaybānī was born and educated in Baghdad, where he mingled with literati such as Abū Tammām and al-Jāhīz (d. 869). 38 years old in 874, al-Shaybānī made his way west to Qayrawān to serve in the administration of the Aghlabid dynasty, meanwhile engaging in different literary activities. Al-Shaybānī's *Virgin Letter* resulted from his correspondence with Ibn al-Mudabbir (d. 893) who was Caliph al-Mutawakkil's (r. 847–61) boon companion and later directed Caliph al-Mu'tamid's (r. 870–892) estate office.<sup>28</sup> Both al-Shaybānī and Ibn al-Mudabbir composed poetry as well as administrative treatises, revealing how duties entangled with literary output and the quest for the limelight. Coming from various cultural backgrounds, the *kuttāb* developed an *esprit de corps*, which included their distinctive garb (a sleeved coat, *durrā'a*) and the idea of a secretarial calling. When elaborating on ideal requirements for secretaries in works such as *The Secretary's Etiquette* (*Adab al-Kātib*), the polygraph Ibn Qutayba (d. 889) emphasized the correct use of Arabic as well as a grasp of history and geography.<sup>29</sup>

27 Bosworth, *Administrative Literature*, pp. 156–157; Kennedy, Hugh (2004): *The Decline and Fall of the First Muslim Empire*. In *Der Islam* 81 (1), p. 11; Wing, Patrick (2014): "Rich in Goods and Abounding in Wealth." *The Ilkhanid and Post-Ilkhanid Ruling Elite and the Politics of Commercial Life at Tabriz, 1250–1400*. In Pfeiffer, Judith (Ed.): *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th century Tabriz* (Iran Studies, 8). Leiden, p. 303.

28 *dīwān al-dīyā'*, different from *dīwān al-kharāj*; Avila, Maria L.: Ibn al-Abbār, al-Quḍā'ī. E1<sup>3</sup> online; Cahen, Claude: Day'a. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Gottschalk, Hans L.: Ibn al-Mudabbir. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Labidi, Mohamed M.: al-Shaybānī. E1<sup>2</sup> online; a single manuscript of the *Virgin Letter* has been preserved at the National Library (Dār al-Kutub) in Cairo, Ms. Taymur 80.

29 Berkel, Maaïke van (2013): *The Bureaucracy*. In Berkel, Maaïke van et al. (Eds.): *Crisis and Continuity at the Abbasid Court. Formal and Informal Politics in the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32)*. Leiden, pp. 99–102; Bosworth, *Administrative Literature*, p. 161; Endreß, Gerhard (2006): *The Cycle of Knowledge. Intellectual Traditions and Encyclopaedias of the Rational Sciences in Arabic Islamic Hellenism*. In Endreß, Gerhard (Ed.): *Organizing*

Informed by astrology, historiographic writing developed different narratives until the tenth century. Similarly to their Sasanian predecessors, caliphs like Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–809) and al-Ma'mūn enlisted astrologers to make sense of past events and predict the future. Astrologers anticipated religious and political changes based on planetary conjunctions (especially Saturn's and Jupiter's) and cast horoscopes for events such as Baghdad's foundation. Astrology's primacy provoked historians to adjust facts in order to match astrological omen. When composing his *Book on Conjunctions, Religions and Communities* (*Kitāb fī al-Qirānāt wa-l-Adyān wa-l-Mīlal*) in 810, Māshā' Allah (fl. eighth c.) shifted the earth's ending in a flood to the conjunction of all planets in Cancer, so that the flood corresponded to this zodiac's watery attribute in astrology.<sup>30</sup> However, framing the past gradually evolved from stars determining events into God governing human affairs. Ibn Khayyāṭ al-'Uṣfurī's (d. 854) *History* (*Ta'rikh*), one of the earliest historical works to have come down to us, neglected all pre-Islamic events and began with the Prophet Muhammad's birth, thus telling history as the story of the Islamic community (*umma*).<sup>31</sup> Meanwhile, al-Dīnawarī's (d. 895) *Reports of the Great* (*Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*) focused on the history of Iran and Iraq before and after Islam, without referring to Muhammad at all.<sup>32</sup> Both works illustrate how authors negotiated the place of the Islamic community in a broader chronology, which culminated in al-Ṭabarī's (d. 923) *History of Prophets, Kings and Successors* (*Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk wa-l-Khulafā'*) that merged pre-Islamic with Islamic history, presenting the *umma* as an organic continuation of events guided by God. Al-Ṭabarī's narrative started with the world's creation by God, continued with pre-Islamic prophets as well as empires and pivoted on Muhammad who was followed by the reigns of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties.<sup>33</sup>

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*Knowledge. Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World* (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, 61). Leiden, p. 112.

- 30 Borrut, *Court Astrologers*, pp. 455–483; Pingree, David (2005): Māshā'allāh's Zoroastrian Historical Astrology. In Oestmann, Günther, Rutkin, H. Darrel and Stuckrad, Kocku von (Eds.): *Horoscopes and Public Spheres. Essays on the History of Astrology* (Religion and Society, 42). Berlin, New York, p. 96; see also Pingree, David and Kennedy, E.S. (1971): *The Astrological History of Masha'allah*. Cambridge, Mass.
- 31 Borrut, *Court Astrologers*, p. 475; Cahen, Claude (1990): History and Historians. In Young, Michael J.L., Latham, J.D. and Serjeant, R.B. (Eds.): *Religion, Learning, and Science in the Abbasid Period*. Cambridge, p. 197; Donner, Fred McGraw (1998): *Narratives of Islamic Origins. The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*. Princeton, N.J., p. 130; Pingree, Astrology, p. 295.
- 32 Cahen, History and Historians, p. 197; Donner, *Narratives*, pp. 134–135.
- 33 Donner, *Narratives*, pp. 129–130; al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far and Goeje, Michael J. de (1883–1885): *Annales auctore Abu Djarir Mohammed Ibn Djarir al-Tabari II*, 2. Leiden.

In addition to historiography, biographical dictionaries flourished from the ninth century onwards. Al-Mu‘āfā’ b. ‘Imrān al-Mawsilī (d. 800) composed the earliest biographical dictionary called *Classes of Traditionalists* (*Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*), which has not been preserved. The first preserved ‘who is who’ of traditionalists was the *Great Book of Classes* (*Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*) by Ibn Sa‘d (d. 845), which contained over four thousand entries, 600 among them women. While many dictionaries on the same profession followed, the genre branched out to include judges, dream interpreters as well as viziers and their secretaries. Authors devising biographical dictionaries followed different patterns, arranging the individuals by profession, location, time or alphabetically. Although most dictionaries presented scholars and litterateurs, we also find contributions on people sharing defects or remarkable characteristics such as the long-lived in al-Sijistānī’s (d. 862) *The Elderly and the Counsel* (*al-Mu‘ammarūn wa-l-Waṣāyā*). In introducing individuals, biographical dictionaries used stereotypes to show people as sharing collective features and to establish continuity by repeating these features in a formulaic fashion.<sup>34</sup>

Similarly to arranging individuals by fields in biographical dictionaries, authors also engaged in classifying the numerous branches of literary output. In taking stock of available literature, inventories conformed to Greek classifications of the sciences that separated the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) from the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music). Moreover, authors compiling the catalogues accommodated Islamic sciences such as jurisprudence and attempted to improve upon the topics they presented. Mostly involved in philosophy, al-Kindī (d. ca. 866) considered the rational sciences to encompass physics, theology and mathematics, with music categorized as a mathematical discipline.<sup>35</sup> Among al-Kindī’s pupils, al-Balkhī (d. 934)<sup>36</sup> continued to organize the sciences in his now lost *Division of the Sciences* (*Kitāb Aqsām al-‘Ulūm*), which, in turn, inspired al-Balkhī’s student Ibn Farīghūn (fl. tenth c.) to compose his own encyclopedia that has been preserved in three manuscripts. In the introduction to the *Compendium of Sciences* (*Jawāmi‘*

34 Bosworth, *Administrative Literature*, p. 163; Fück, Johann W.: Ibn Sa‘d. EI<sup>2</sup> online; al-Qāḍī, Wadād (2006): *Biographical Dictionaries as the Scholars’ Alternative History of the Muslim Community*. In Endreß, Gerhard (Ed.): *Organizing Knowledge. Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World* (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, 61). Leiden, pp. 33–68; Young, Michael J.L. (1990): *Arabic Biographical Writing*. In Young, Michael J.L., Latham, J.D. and Serjeant, R.B. (Eds.): *Religion, Learning, and Science in the ‘Abbasid Period*. Cambridge, p. 172.

35 Endreß, *Cycle of Knowledge*, p. 110; Gutas, *Greek and Persian Background*, pp. 91–92.

36 Al-Balkhī will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter *Show, Don’t Tell: The World through al-Iṣṭakhri’s Book of Routes and Realms*, *Evolution and Versions of the Book*.

*al-Ulūm*), Ibn Farīghūn used a diagram to illustrate fields of knowledge as the branches of a tree. After elaborating on Arabic grammar, Ibn Farīghūn turned to the following topics: skills required for *kuttāb*, rules of accountancy and correspondence, ethics of politics, theology and religious duties as well as sources of knowledge and Aristotelian philosophy. The last section encompassed the occult sciences.<sup>37</sup> Clearly addressed to the *kuttāb*, the *Compendium of Sciences* shows that being knowledgeable required familiarity with most ‘voices’ in the literary concert discussed so far in this chapter. In the course of the tenth century, scientific encyclopedias by authors such as al-Tawhīdī (d. ca. 922) featured studies of the Quran, the prophetic tradition (*sunna*) and theology (*kalām*) in addition to grammar, logic, medicine and astronomy.<sup>38</sup> The first comprehensive *Index (Fihrist)* by al-Nadīm (d. 990) aimed at presenting sciences and books of all peoples in ten chapters: (1) languages, scripts and holy scriptures, Arabic and foreign, (2) grammarians and lexicographers, (3) historical and biographical traditions and courtly *adab*, (4) poetry, pre-Islamic and Islamic, (5) theology and Muslim sects, (6) *sharīʿa* and its interpreters, (7) Greek philosophy and science and their translation into Arabic, (8) fables, story-telling, enchanters and magic (including anonymous books) (9) syncretistic non-Islamic sects in Islamic lands, such as the Ṣābians, Khurramīs, and Manichaeans, including some Indian and Chinese religious doctrines and (10) alchemy.<sup>39</sup> Similarly to historiographic writing, the encyclopedias accommodated various traditions in an attempt to display the riches of knowledge inherited and created in the Islamicate world.

Now that we have heard about poets aggrandizing rulers, historians framing the past and biographers memorializing various members of society, what role did geography and geographers play in the literary backdrop to al-Iṣṭakhrī’s writing?

37 Biesterfeldt, Hans: Ibn Farīghūn. EI<sup>3</sup> online.

38 Berge, Marc (1968): *Épître sur les sciences (Risāla fī l-ʿulūm) d’Abū Ḥayyān Al-Tawhīdī. (310/922 (?)-414/1023); introduction, traduction, glossaire technique, manuscrit et édition critique*. Damascus, pp. 246–248; Endreß, Cycle of Knowledge, p. 113.

39 Soravia, Bruna: Bibliographies, Arabic. EI<sup>3</sup> online; other prominent examples include al-Khwārizmī’s *Keys of the Sciences (Maḥāṭib al-Ulūm)* that he composed for the Samanid vizier Nūḥ b. Maṣūḥ (r. 976–97), dividing the sciences into (1) religious sciences and Arabic sciences connected with them and (2) sciences of the non-Arabs, Greeks and other peoples (a bipartition that existed as long as the institutionalized learning at madrasas) (Endreß, Cycle of Knowledge, p. 116).

## 2 Organizing the World

Well into the tenth century, we find many approaches to describing the world and the Islamicate realm in different sources. When geographic treatises emerged in the ninth century to meet the demand for information about the growing empire, authors chose different avenues regarding what details to include, how to divide the Islamicate world and what regions to promote. As these choices did not create a clear-cut system, I will use six texts preceding the *Book of Routes and Realms* to illustrate the main strategies in organizing the world that al-Iṣṭakhri built on.

Before geographic treatises, the Quran referred to seven heavens and earths as well as two world seas (the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean) and the prophetic tradition addressed the earth's size, the Encircling Ocean and rivers springing from paradise.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, one of the youngest companions of Muhammad, 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ suggested envisioning the world as a bird to memorize how the different parts related to each other: Mecca, the Hejaz, Syria, Iraq and Egypt are the bird's breast, China is its head, India and the Khazars are its wings and North Africa is its tail.<sup>41</sup> In narrating the Islamic conquests (*futūh*), historians like al-Balādhurī (d. 892) included accounts of how al-Kūfa and Basra were founded.<sup>42</sup> Basra was also at the heart of Ibn al-Ahtam's (d. 754) poem for Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 724–43) that the poet had devised to highlight the city's excellence. By putting Basra's characteristics center stage, the poem related to *faḍā'il* literature (laudation) that emphasized features of the Quran, individuals and peoples. From the eighth century onwards, *faḍā'il* dealt with locations and regions as well.<sup>43</sup>

Travelogues and delegations also contributed information about the world. Sulaymān the Merchant (fl. ninth c.) advanced insights into the eastern neighbors of the Islamicate world by portraying his sea voyage in the *Stories of China and India* (*Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa-l-Hind*, dating from 851). While his account has not been preserved in a manuscript, references in works like Ibn al-Faqīh's (fl. ninth c.) *Book of Countries* (*Kitāb al-Buldān*) indicate that reports about

40 See Q 27:62 and 55:1920; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 51.

41 Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, pp. 51–52; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 5.

42 Heck, Paul L. (2002): *The Construction of Knowledge in Islamic Civilization. Qudāma b. Ja'far and His Kitāb al-Kharāj wa-Ṣinā'at al-Kitāba* (Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts, 42). Leiden, p. 118.

43 Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 117; Sellheim, Rudolf: Faḍila. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 4.

distant places circulated.<sup>44</sup> In addition to travelers, delegations returned from neighboring realms with information that entered later geographic works. For example, Yāqūt's (d. 1229) *Lexicon of Countries* (*Mu'jam al-Buldān*) included 'Ubayda b. al-Ṣāmit's journey to Constantinople in 632, where Caliph Abū Bakr (r. 632–4) had sent him to make the Byzantine emperor choose between allegiance and war. Following his return, 'Ubayda described (*inter alia*) his visit to the cave of the Seven Sleepers at Ephesus, thereby providing an eye-witness account about a known place of worship.<sup>45</sup> Other sights and marvels (*'ajā'ib*) both in and outside the Islamicate world covered exotic animals such as the rhinoceros or impressive buildings like the Umayyad mosque in Damascus.<sup>46</sup> Rather legendary stories describing, for instance, the apocalyptic peoples of Gog and Magog mingled with coordinates in al-Khwārizmī's (d. ca. 847) adaptation of Ptolemy's *Geography* that al-Khwārizmī rendered almost verbatim in Arabic as *The World's Image* (*Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*). While amending Ptolemy's list of coordinates according to the seven climes, al-Khwārizmī embraced eschatological motifs like Gog and Magog.<sup>47</sup> As scattered as geographic knowledge

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- 44 Ahmad, Djughrafiyā. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, p. 118; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 141; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 8; Zadeh, *Frontiers*, p. 8; see especially Zadeh, *Frontiers* for Sallām the Interpreter's journey to the wall of Gog and Magog that Caliph al-Wāthiq (r. 842–847) had ordered him to undertake. Sallām's account has been preserved in Ibn Khurrādadhbih's (d. ca. 912) *Book of Routes and Realms* (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*).
- 45 Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 54f; the Seven Sleepers refers to a legendary group of youths who were miraculously saved from persecution under Emperor Decius (r. 249–51) by falling asleep for centuries in a cave near Ephesus. The cave later became a place of worship and the group is referred to in the Quran (18:9–26) as “those of the cave” (*aṣḥāb al-kahf*) (Paret, Rudi: *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*. EI<sup>2</sup> online). In addition to 'Ubayda b. al-Ṣāmit's journey, we know that Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (r. 717–20) dispatched al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlānī to al-Andalus in 719 to govern the region and report on the conquered territories, including their topographic characteristics such as rivers and seas. Unfortunately, this report no longer exists (Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 61; 128).
- 46 For a detailed study of the term *'ajā'ib* see Hees, Syrinx von (2005): *The Astonishing. A Critique and Re-reading of 'Aḡā'ib literature*. In *Middle Eastern Literatures* 8 (2); Hees points out the ambiguity of this term that can refer to the wonder of God's creation as well as to linguistic peculiarities.
- 47 Barthold, Vasilii V. (1930): *Ḥudud al-Ālem. Rukopis Tumanskogo*. St. Petersburg, p. 9; Busse, Heribert (1987): *Arabische Historiographie und Geographie*. In Gätje, Helmut and Fischer, Wolfdietrich (Eds.): *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie. Vol. 2 Literaturwissenschaft*. Wiesbaden, p. 293; Hopkins, John F.P. (1990): *Geographical and Navigational Literature*. In Young, Michael J.L., Latham, J.D. and Serjeant, R.B. (Eds.): *Religion, Learning, and Science in the Abbasid Period*. Cambridge, p. 305; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, 94; Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, p. 102; Vernet, Juan: *Al-Khwārazmī*. EI<sup>2</sup> online.

was across various fields, its presence reflects the growing need for information about the expanding Islamicate world and its neighbors.

In trying to grasp the consolidation of geographic literature as a genre in the ninth and tenth centuries, scholarship has struggled with suitable categories. Many scholars divide geographic writing into a 'mathematical' and a 'descriptive' strand, the former calculating coordinates and celestial movements, the latter preoccupied with the human condition in the world such as taxes and regions.<sup>48</sup> While authors from the Islamicate world leaned towards separating both topics,<sup>49</sup> al-Khwārizmī's work illustrates that combining them was not off-limits. By imposing disciplinary boundaries, we cannot do justice to authors in this period who created texts in all kinds of flavors at the same time: al-Khwārizmī also contributed to mathematics and history, al-Balādhurī composed a biographical dictionary and a Quran commentary (*tafsīr*) was among al-Ṭabarī's numerous works.<sup>50</sup> As Sonja Brentjes has recently argued, the better part of knowledge taught and learned in the Islamicate world consisted of texts rather than disciplines.<sup>51</sup>

Particularly before madrasas (schools) formalized curricula from the twelfth century onwards, literary output and education eluded clear-cut systematization.<sup>52</sup> Although authors like al-Kindī attempted to classify the sciences and traditions of knowledge, we cannot find a unified scheme for accommodating all writing. Even within the available arrangements of literature, geography did not feature as a category. While we have references to astronomical treatises as *science of the stars* (*ilm al-nujūm*),<sup>53</sup> 'descriptive geography' represents a term from outside the Islamicate world (exonym). In fact, there is no single term denoting geography in this period. Instead, we encounter *Book(s)*

48 See for instance Brauer, *Geography*, p. 75; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, 16–19; Miquel, André (1967): *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu de 11<sup>e</sup> siècle. Géographie et géographie humaine dans la littérature arabe des origines à 1050* (École pratique des hautes études, Sorbonne Section: Sciences économiques et sociales, 7, 37). Paris, pp. 1–5; Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*; Andé Miquel distinguishes between "la géographie des étoiles" and "la géographie physique."

49 Karamustafa, Introduction, p. 7.

50 Becker, Carl H. and Rosenthal, Franz: al-Balādhurī. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Bosworth, Clifford E.: al-Ṭabarī. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Vernet, Al-Khwārizmī. EI<sup>2</sup> online.

51 Brentjes, Sonja (2018): *Teaching and Learning the Sciences in Islamicate Societies (800–1700)* (Studies on the Faculty of Arts, 3). Turnhout, p. 14.

52 Osti, Culture, p. 187.

53 Janos, Damien (2014): Al-Ma'mūn's Patronage of Astrology. Some Biographical and Institutional Considerations. In Scheiner, Jens J. and Janos, Damien (Eds.): *The Place to Go. Contexts of Learning in Baghdad, 750–1000 C.E.* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 26). Princeton, NJ, p. 393; Pingree, Astrology, p. 293; Thomann, Lyrics to Lectures, p. 505.

of *Countries* (*Kitāb al-Buldān*) and, in reference to Ptolemy's *Geography*, *The World's Image* (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*). Even though geographic writing cultivated conventions that allow us to identify it as a genre by the tenth century, I suggest approaching this field's formation as a collection of texts dealing with human life in spatial structures.

Depending on the regions presented as central or the type of information supplied, authors emphasized different ideas about the world. However, I intend to steer clear of framing the various trends in geographic writing as 'schools' like the so-called *Balkhī School* that usually incorporates al-Iṣṭakhri.<sup>54</sup> When referring to the legendary *House of Wisdom* (*bayt al-ḥikma*), Hugh Kennedy hit the nail on the head when he said that "historians often like to fill the past with plushy institutions in which they can imagine distinguished scholars living comfortable and honoured lives in congenial surroundings."<sup>55</sup> Envisioning geographic 'schools' deludes us into expecting institutions for learning, in a period when scholarly life centered on patrons' households. In contrast to historians and astrologers, we have no traces of court geographers or biographical dictionaries devoted to famous geographers, which could have both pointed to an established discipline and its recognized scholars teaching the elite. Without knowing anything about the lives of authors like Ibn al-Faqīh, attributing his *Book of Countries* to the so-called Iraqi school of geography (emphasizing the primacy of Iraq) seems misleading.<sup>56</sup>

54 See for instance Ahmad, Djughrāfiyā. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Antrim, *Routes and Realms*, p. 145; Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, pp. 97–98; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 25; Savage-Smith, *Memory and Maps*, p. 109.

55 Kennedy, *Baghdad*, p. 246; while *The House of Wisdom* has been inflated to an academy-like institution at Caliph al-Ma'mūn's court (Ahmad, S. Maqbul; Kharīṭa. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Bloom, *Paper Before Print*, p. 118; Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, p. 67), recent contributions have shown that it was a library for pre-Islamic Iranian and early Arabic lore. Some of the mostly Iranian librarians (sg. *ṣāhib bayt al-ḥikma*), such as Salm (fl. ninth c.), were involved in translating books from Persian to Arabic or preparing summaries and extracts of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Under Hārūn al-Rashīd, the library appears to have been mainly meant for the ruler and his entourage, whereas al-Ma'mūn opened it up for scientific discussions, mostly related to astronomy (Balty-Guesdon, M.-G. (1992): *Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Baghdad*. In *Arabica* 39 (2), pp. 133–138; Ibn al-Nadīm, Muhammad b. Ishāq et al. (1871): *Kitāb al-Fihrist. mit Anm. hrsg. von Gustav Flügel*. Leipzig, p. 120; 305; Gutas, *Greek Thought*, pp. 56–58; Gutas and Bladel, *Bayt al-Ḥikma*. EI<sup>3</sup> online; Rosenthal, Franz (1995): *From Arabic Books and Manuscripts*, xvi. As-Sarakhsī (?) on the Appropriate Behavior for Kings. In *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1), p. 109).

56 Ahmad, Djughrāfiyā. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Hopkins, *Geographical and Navigational Literature*, p. 308; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, pp. 156–159.

After all, geographers only made it into biographical dictionaries if they had contributed to a proper discipline such as poetry or jurisprudence.<sup>57</sup> With the lives of many geographers remaining enigmatic, we have even less evidence supporting the idea they might have taught their geographic knowledge to someone else. I agree with Paul Heck that 'schools' do not grasp the diversity of geographic approaches, especially as many books do not fit into only one category.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, if we look at the way contemporary authors referred to geographic writing, it makes even more sense to envision the developing genre as a collection of texts: When mentioning previous authors in his *Best Division for the Knowledge of the Provinces* (*Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rīfat al-Aqālīm*), al-Muqaddasī (d. after 990) did not frame them in any way. Instead, he simply stated having seen al-Balkhī's and Ibn al-Faḥīh's works in Nishāpūr (Khurasan).<sup>59</sup>

With this attitude in mind, I will use six texts to illustrate how authors organized geographic knowledge before al-Iṣṭakhrī and during his time. The spectrum of texts will show what ideas about the (Islamicate) world the authors attempted to convey, building the point of reference for the *Book of Routes and Realms*.<sup>60</sup> As the texts I chose are meant to lay the groundwork for understanding al-Iṣṭakhrī's contribution to the field, they are also less concerned with calculating stellar movements or supplying *zīj* like in the *science of the stars*. Instead, they belong to the 'science of the earth,' explaining the spatial structures in which people live and act: al-Ya'qūbī's (d. after 905) *Book of Countries* (*Kitāb al-Buldān*, completed 851), al-Jāḥiẓ' (d. 869) *Book of Homelands and Countries* (*Kitāb al-Awṭān wa-l-Buldān*), Ibn al-Faḥīh's *Book of Countries* (*Kitāb al-Buldān*, completed 903), Ibn Rustah's *Precious Treasures* (*al-A'lāq al-Nafīsa*, composed 903–13), Ibn Khurrādadhbih's (d. ca. 912) *Book of Routes and Realms* (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*) and Qudāma b. Ja'far's (d. 948) *Book of Taxes and Office Craft* (*Kitāb al-Kharāj wa-Ṣinā'at al-Kitāba*). As the literary context until the tenth century has illustrated, authors framed and arranged their writing in order to position themselves in a tradition of knowledge and convey an

57 Borrut, *Court Astrologers*, p. 467; Hopkins, *Geographical and Navigational Literature*, p. 308; Kennedy, *Baghdad*, p. 117.

58 Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, p. 98.

59 al-Muqaddasī, Muhammad b. Ahmad and Goeje, Michael J. de (1906): *Kitāb Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rīfat al-Aqālīm* (Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, 3). Leiden, p. 4.

60 For exhaustive surveys of Arabic geographic literature see Ahmad, S. Maqbul (1995): *A History of Arab-Islamic Geography. 9th–16th Centuries*. Amman; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1* and Sezgin, Fuat (2010): *Anthropogeographie. Teil 2* (Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, 15). Frankfurt a.M.

outlook on their field. If the stars and God shaped events in historiographic writing, “who run the world” in geography?<sup>61</sup>

The six texts discussed here all acknowledge God’s role in the earth’s creation, yet the space they allocate to Quranic accounts differs. In 851, al-Ya‘qūbī completed the *Book of Countries* which he opened with a brief thanksgiving to God who created the heavens and the earth. In contrast to the *Precious Treasures* that Ibn Rustah composed some 50 years later (903–13), al-Ya‘qūbī’s reference to God appears formulaic, as if he were complying with literary conventions rather than embedding his study of the earth in a religious framework. Born in Baghdad, al-Ya‘qūbī worked as a secretary in Armenia as well as Khurasan and traveled to India and North Africa where he finished his book in Egypt.<sup>62</sup> According to al-Ya‘qūbī, his travels and curiosity about countries, their habits and history prompted him to compose the *Book of Countries*. While he was well aware he could not include the entirety of information out there, he decided to name all metropolises, districts and their cities in all regions (*aqālīm*), including Arabs and non-Arabs, the distances between locations, when commanders of Islamic armies conquered them and the tax revenue they generated. Even though the *Book of Countries* included Quranic references, al-Ya‘qūbī did not promote a religious or cosmic outlook on the world. He rather followed an encyclopedic approach, compiling information into a kind of reference book about the world. Ibn Rustah, on the other hand, opened the only preserved volume of his work with numerous quotes from the Quran, thus emphasizing God’s rule on earth.<sup>63</sup> However, Ibn Rustah proceeded to an account of Alexander the Great who had once wondered about stellar movements and astronomic calculations. After introducing an astronomic approach to the world through this historical figure, Ibn Rustah gathered sources relating to the *science of the stars* including a poem by the mathematician Thābit b. Qurra (d. 901).<sup>64</sup> Similarly to other authors who have contributed to geographic writing, we hardly know anything about Ibn Rustah’s life other than that he came from Isfahan and travelled to the Hejaz in 903.<sup>65</sup> Compared to al-Ya‘qūbī, Ibn Rustah framed geography through religion and astronomy.

61 As a reference to Beyoncé’s 2011 hit single: Run the World (Girls).

62 al-Ya‘qūbī, Ahmad, Juynboll, Theodoor W.J. and Goeje, Michael J. de (1860): *Kitāb al-Buldān*. Leiden, pp. 2–3; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 151; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 11; Zaman, Muhammad Q.: Al-Ya‘qūbī. E1<sup>2</sup> online.

63 Ibn Rustah, Ahmad b. ‘Umar and Goeje, Michael J. de (1891): *al-A‘lāq al-Nafisa* (Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, 7). Leiden, pp. 3–4.

64 Ibn Rustah and Goeje, *al-A‘lāq al-Nafisa*, p. 5f; Rashed, Roshdi and Morelon, Régis: Thābit b. Qurra. E1<sup>2</sup> online.

65 Ahmad, S. Maqbul: Ibn Rusta. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, pp. 159–160.

Tracing which authority was put first also facilitates understanding Ibn Khurrādādhbih's outlook in his *Book of Routes and Realms*. Born in Khurasan and raised in Baghdad, Ibn Khurrādādhbih first managed the postal and intelligence service in al-Jibāl, then in Baghdad and Samarra. In addition to the *Book of Routes and Realms*, he wrote on Persian genealogy and Arabic stellar lore among other things.<sup>66</sup> Without quoting from the Quran, Ibn Khurrādādhbih opened the *Book of Routes and Realms* with God creating the world. However, immediately on the first page, Ibn Khurrādādhbih referred to Ptolemy, who had already explained the earth's dimensions.<sup>67</sup> This reference sets the tone for Ibn Khurrādādhbih's entire introduction that centers on explaining the earth's shape and circumference as well as calculations based on Ptolemy and the astrolabe. Although Ibn Khurrādādhbih related to geography as shaped by Greek conventions, he still embraced astronomy and religion. At a later point in the *Book of Routes and Realms*, Ibn Khurrādādhbih (implicitly) alluded to Ptolemy's astronomic treatise *Tetrabiblos* by indicating how the four natural elements and the twelve zodiac signs determine human temperaments.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, Ibn Khurrādādhbih accepted Islam's role in various regions of the world when explaining the different directions of prayer (*qibla*) in the introduction. In addition to Ibn Khurrādādhbih, Qudāma's *Book of Taxes and Office Craft* settled firmly in Ptolemy's geographic tradition by mentioning astronomic calculations and coordinates as well as climes. While most authors accepted plural avenues to knowing the world, their works' introductions revealed specific preferences – an outlook further stressed by the works' arrangements.

As in real estate, organizing geographic knowledge revolved around 'location, location, location' – both in terms of whom to include and whom to put first. Although only incomplete versions of al-Ya'qūbī's and al-Jāhīz' works have survived, we gain insights into their geographic scope and foci. Al-Ya'qūbī included both Islamicate and non-Islamicate regions in his *Book of Countries*, rolling out the Islamicate world with Baghdad in Iraq that he considered a unique meeting place of cultures and peoples (hence the term Iraqi geographic school).<sup>69</sup> By presenting Baghdad (and Samarra) as the navel of the Islamicate world, al-Ya'qūbī echoed its significance as the political and cultural

66 Hadj-Sadok, Muhammad: Ibn Khurrādādhbih. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 148; Montgomery, James E. (2005): Serendipity, Resistance, and Multivalency. Ibn Khurrādādhbih and his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*. In Kennedy, Philip F. (Ed.): *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature* (Studies in Arabic Language and Literature, 6). Wiesbaden, p. 185.

67 Ibn Khurrādādhbih, 'Ubayd A. and Goeje, Michael J. de (1889): *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik* (Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, 6). Leiden, p. 3.

68 Ibn Khurrādādhbih and Goeje, *al-Masālik*, pp. 157–158; Zadeh, *Frontiers*, p. 91.

69 al-Ya'qūbī, Juynboll and Goeje, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 4.

center of the Abbasid realm that administrative manuals had also highlighted. Moreover, he arranged the rest of the world in four quarters around Baghdad/Iraq, thus mimicking the Iranian *kishvar* that could comprise four or seven sections encircling the central Sasanian Empire. In describing the quarters individually, al-Ya'qūbī moved from east (al-Jibāl, Azerbaijan, Qazvin, Zanjān, Qom, Isfahan, al-Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Jurjān, Sijistān, Khurasan and its surroundings) to south (al-Kūfa, Medina, Mecca and Yemen) to north (Homs, Damascus, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt) to west (North Africa and al-Andalus), alternating between regions and locations as chapter headings. Although the chapters on the Byzantine Empire, India and China no longer exist, the *Book of Countries* was meant to encompass the entire world known to al-Ya'qūbī, including non-Islamic regions.

Ibn Khurrādadhbih adhered to a similar division and emphasis in his *Book of Routes and Realms*. To arrange his work, Ibn Khurrādadhbih merged the Iranian *kishvar*-model with a perspective based on the astrolabe. In describing the earth, Ibn Khurrādadhbih explained that its girth at the equator equals 360 degrees. He proceeded to clarify that “we” are in the northern quarter, while the southern quarter is deserted due to its extreme heat, and the half beneath “us” is simply uninhabited. Following Ptolemy, Ibn Khurrādadhbih considered the southern and the northern quarters to encompass seven climes.<sup>70</sup> For this pattern, Ibn Khurrādadhbih probably envisioned an astrolabe (sphere divided into quadrants), pointing to his astronomic outlook on the world. However, in portraying the inhabited world in four sections around the central Iraq,<sup>71</sup> Ibn Khurrādadhbih stuck with the Iranian world view. Similarly to al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn Khurrādadhbih's sections corresponded to the cardinal points as seen from Baghdad. However, Ibn Khurrādadhbih proceeded from east (approximately Iran, Afghanistan, India and China) to west (Northern Iraq, the Byzantine Empire, Syria, Egypt and North Africa) to north (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Tabaristan) to south (southern part of the Arabian Peninsula). As if to accommodate every geographic model available, at the end of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, Ibn Khurrādadhbih additionally introduced the division of the inhabited world into four parts according to the *Tetrabiblios* that amended the three continents from Greek geographic conventions: Europe (*arūfa*), Libya (*lūbiya*), Ethiopia (*ityūfyā*) and Scythia (*isqūtiyā*).<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Ibn Khurrādadhbih closed the *Book of Routes and Realms* with various *'ajā'ib* relating to the wonders of the world such as Mount Etna on Sicily, architecture

70 Ibn Khurrādadhbih and Goeje, *al-Masālik*, pp. 4–5.

71 Ibn Khurrādadhbih and Goeje, *al-Masālik*, p. 5f.

72 Ibn Khurrādadhbih and Goeje, *al-Masālik*, p. 155.

in Rome or the wall against Gog and Magog.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, Ibn Khurrādadhbih used the introduction to position his work in Greek and Iranian geographic traditions and frame the world according to five sections, while closing his work with miscellaneous accounts.

In describing the Islamicate world, al-Jāhīz' *Book of Homelands and Countries* was the first to advance Mecca and Medina to the pole position.<sup>74</sup> Al-Jāhīz was a famous writer from Basra who engaged in many branches of knowledge such as theology and politico-religious polemics, compiling approximately 200 treatises that encompassed biographies and economy.<sup>75</sup> Al-Jāhīz designed the *Book of Homelands and Countries* as a dialogue, starting with somebody asking him to write about the virtues of different countries. The interlocutor pointed out that al-Jāhīz should begin with Syria and Egypt and then proceed to Iraq, the Hejaz, their highlands and lowlands as well as seas and metropolises.<sup>76</sup> However, al-Jāhīz replied that it did not make any sense to start talking about places (*qurā*, villages) before addressing the "mother of settlements" (*umm al-qurā*), meaning Mecca according to the Quran (6:92). This is why he begins by describing Mecca and Medina, which is only then followed by Egypt, Iraq, the Maghreb, al-Kūfa, the River Tigris and al-Ḥīra – after which the preserved portion of the *Book of Homelands and Countries* ends. Al-Jāhīz' geographic order might have reflected his attempt to establish an Arab supremacy in the Islamicate world in order to counteract the *shu'ubiyya*-movement, which sought equal treatment of Arab and non-Arab Muslims.<sup>77</sup> However, as most *Shu'ubīs* were of Iranian origin, al-Jāhīz' preferring Mecca and Medina over Syria and Egypt does not entirely fit the bill. Nevertheless, the *Book of Homelands and Countries* established a geographic emphasis on the Arabian Peninsula based on its religious importance for the Islamicate world.<sup>78</sup> As for

73 Ibn Khurrādadhbih and Goeje, *al-Masālik*, p. 155f.

74 Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, p. 139.

75 Kennedy, *Baghdad*, p. 252; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 126; Pellat, Charles: al-Djāhīz. EI<sup>2</sup> online; al-Qāḍī, *Biographical Dictionaries*, p. 45.

76 al-Jāhīz (1964): *Rasā'il al-Jāhīz*. Vol. 4. Beirut, pp. 109–110.

77 Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, p. 140; Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, p. 40; Enderwitz, Susanne: al-Shu'ubiyya. EI<sup>2</sup> online; for more on this topic see for instance Enderwitz, Susanne (1979): *Gesellschaftlicher Rang und ethnische Legitimation. Der arabische Schriftsteller Abū 'Utmān al-Ġāhīz (gest. 868) über die Afrikaner, Perser und Araber in der islamischen Gesellschaft*. Zugl.: Berlin, Univ. Diss., 1979 (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 53). Halle, Saale, Freiburg i.Br. and Mottahedeh, Roy P. (1976): The Shu'ubiyah Controversy and the Social History of Early Islamic Iran. In *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 7 (2).

78 Approximately a century after al-Jāhīz, al-Hamdānī (d. 945) devoted an entire geographic treatise to the Arabian Peninsula: *Feature of the Arabian Peninsula (Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab)* (al-Hamdānī, al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad (1884): *Kitāb Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*. Leiden).

the remaining regions, al-Jāhīz did not base their sequence on any existing model, showing that arranging a geographic work did not (yet) comply with a fixed convention.

Ibn al-Faqīh's *Book of Countries* and Ibn Rustah's *Precious Treasures* followed al-Jāhīz in putting Mecca first, while laying out the rest of the world according to their own rationale. Ibn al-Faqīh's work begins by rounding up different sources for geographic knowledge, without picking any particular side. In contrast to other geographic writing, Ibn al-Faqīh opened the *Book of Countries* by providing quotes about the earth and its peoples by political figures such as al-Mu'āwiya (founder of the Umayyad dynasty, r. 661–680) and Ibn Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī (d. 808, tutor to Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd's son, al-Amīn), only afterwards moving to the earth's creation by God. In addition to recalling al-Khwārizmī's calculations and al-Āṣ' reference to the bird-like shape of the earth, Ibn al-Faqīh's introduction mentioned climes as geographic entities.<sup>79</sup> However, Ibn al-Faqīh envisioned climes both as Ptolemaic latitudinal bands and as kingdoms (e.g., "one clime in the hands of the Arabs, one in the hands of the Byzantines"), putting the fourth clime (Bābil) at the world's center which alluded to the *kishvar*-model.<sup>80</sup> While technically covering other locations before turning to the *umm al-qurā*, Ibn al-Faqīh followed al-Jāhīz' suggestion to present Mecca as the figurehead of the Islamicate world. However, Ibn al-Faqīh tracked al-Jāhīz' ensuing mental map only in that he mentioned Egypt and Nubia second, but then turned further west to Syria and the Maghreb and back east, reaching *inter alia* Khurasan and the Turks.

In arranging the *Precious Treasures*, Ibn Rustah appears to have wavered between the Iranian (and Ya'qūbian) model of putting Iraq first and al-Jāhīz' preference for Mecca. Overall, the *Precious Treasures* covered three main subjects: first, the entire world including its size, 'ajā'ib, seas and climes; second, regions and cities of both the Islamicate and non-Islamicate world; third, exemplary figures such as the first qadi of Medina,<sup>81</sup> Islamic schisms such as the Shia<sup>82</sup> and individuals sharing names or characteristics (such as tall or short men).<sup>83</sup> The second section was clearly informed by the Iranian model, as it led with Īrānshahr/Sawād and Baghdad.<sup>84</sup> However, Ibn Rustah embedded a chapter on Mecca and Medina in the first section of the *Precious Treasures*, in which

79 Ibn al-Faqīh, Ahmad and Goeje, Michael J. de (1885): *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, 5). Leiden, pp. 1–4.

80 Ibn al-Faqīh and Goeje, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 6.

81 Ibn Rustah and Goeje, *al-A'lāq al-Nafisa*, p. 195.

82 Ibn Rustah and Goeje, *al-A'lāq al-Nafisa*, p. 219.

83 Ibn Rustah and Goeje, *al-A'lāq al-Nafisa*, pp. 225–226.

84 Ibn Rustah and Goeje, *al-A'lāq al-Nafisa*, p. 103.

he elaborated on the cities' history and sanctuaries.<sup>85</sup> This placement hardly fit Ibn Rustah's overall structure since he returned to the entire world's 'ajā'ib and seas before delving into regional details. Ibn Rustah's system rather suggests he moved Mecca to the first section after the fact, in order to comply with al-Jāhiz' or Ibn al-Faqih's pattern. Considering the length of the chapter on Mecca and Medina, Ibn Rustah did not include it in a lukewarm attempt at emulating previous authorities. More likely, he intended to address the religious center of the Islamicate world from the start, but initially planned to do so at a later stage in the *Precious Treasures*. As Ibn Rustah combined the Mecca-centered and the Iraq-centered views on the Islamicate world, he aspired to accommodate all approaches that circulated at his time. Similarly to taking up perspectives from philosophical and astronomical treatises in the introduction, the *Precious Treasures*'s last section echoed Ibn Rustah's literary environment. By blending knowledge about the world with the 'who is who' of biographical dictionaries, Ibn Rustah presented yet another style of geographic writing.

Regarding the extent of the Islamicate world, Qudāma b. Ja'far was the only author to acknowledge the Abbasid realm's disintegration. During its height of expansion, the Abbasid Empire stretched from Ifrīqiya in North Africa to Transoxania. However, more and more local dynasties gained autonomy from the ninth century onwards. In the Islamicate East, the Samanid dynasty ruled Khurasan and Transoxania independently while carrying out the administration in the name of the Abbasid caliphs. Other than mentioning the caliph's name in Friday prayers and minting coins in his name, the Ṣaffārid dynasty in Sistān (Arabic: Sijistān; south of Khurasan) kept to themselves without sending tax revenues to the Abbasid center. The same applied to Ahmad b. Ṭulūn (d. 884), who had taken over Egypt and the Levant after 868. As for the utmost West in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, they also eluded Abbasid control.<sup>86</sup> However, most authors included these regions in their account of

85 Ibn Rustah and Goeje, *al-A'lāq al-Nafisa*, pp. 24–78.

86 Bosworth, Clifford E. and Crowe, Yolande: Sāmānids. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Bosworth, Clifford E.: Ṣaffārids. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Brentjes, *Teaching and Learning*, p. 21; Kennedy, Hugh (2013): The Reign of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32). A History. In Berkel, Maaïke van et al. (Eds.): *Crisis and Continuity at the Abbasid Court. Formal and Informal Politics in the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32)*. Leiden, pp. 14–15; Berkel, Maaïke van, El Cheikh, Nadia M., Kennedy, Hugh et al. (Eds.) (2013): *Crisis and Continuity at the Abbasid Court. Formal and Informal Politics in the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32)*. Leiden; Spuler, Bertold (2015): *Iran in the Early Islamic Period. Politics, Culture, Administration and Public Life between the Arab and the Seljuk Conquests, 633–1055* (Iran Studies, 12). Leiden, pp. 316–318; Lapidus, Ira M. (2002): *A History of Islamic Societies*. 2. ed. Cambridge, pp. 106–110; see also Nef, Annliese and Tillier, Mathieu: Les voies de l'innovation dans un empire islamique polycentrique. Introduction. In *Annales Islamologiques* 2011 (45) (as well as the entire

the *mamlakat al-islām* (realm of Islam) or *bilād al-islām* (lands of Islam), because they viewed the realm as the space under Muslim rule rather than the territories loyal to the Abbasid dynasty – except for Qudāma b. Ja‘far. Employed in the administration in Baghdad, Qudāma set out to assemble all knowledge relevant to *kuttāb*, including geography, which he designated as “matters of the lands” (*amr al-arāḍī*).<sup>87</sup> In addition to using the term *mamlakat al-islām* in the *Book of Taxes and Office Craft*, Qudāma actually referred to the Abbasid Empire (*al-dawla al-‘abbāsiyya*) when describing how the empire seized the Umayyad assets.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, the only regions Qudāma excluded from this empire were al-Andalus and the Maghreb, which he presented as part of the western frontier of Islam – not of the Abbasid realm.<sup>89</sup> While Qudāma did not include all local rulers who separated from the Abbasid administration, his geographic outlook tapped more into the political reality of his time than previous geographic writing. Considering that the *Book of Taxes and Office Craft* constitutes an exception in this regard, most geographic texts aimed at providing encyclopedic knowledge about the world rather than framing it according to imperial concerns. As most authors composing geographic texts acted independently from a caliphal employer, they did not craft narratives of a ‘salvation geography’ to legitimize rulers like in historiography. This is probably why most texts covered various sources and branches of geographic knowledge, at most putting an emphasis on what to describe first.

In displaying different layers of information, authors like Ibn Khurrādadhbih also illustrated the encyclopedic character of geographic writing. Depending on their background and audience, authors marked preferences for presenting their material. However, all texts discussed here followed the same principle: they divided the (Islamicate) world into spatial containers which they filled with items that echoed the literary context outlined above. While most introductions gathered scientific data about the world, the ensuing chapters covered historic events, cultural customs and religious figures such as Moses. Moreover, quotes from poets and historic figures allowed Ibn al-Faḳīh to merge geographic knowledge with the education of the *kuttāb* and the literary circles

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issue 45 of the *Annales Islamologiques*) and Delattre, Alain, Legendre, Marie and Sijpesteijn, Petra (Eds.) (2018): *Authority and Control in the Countryside: From Antiquity to Islam in the Mediterranean and Near East (6th–10th Century)*. Leiden.

87 Qudāma b. Ja‘far (1981): *Kitāb al-Kharāj wa-Šina‘at al-Kitāba*. Baghdad, p. 131; Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, p. 1.

88 Qudāma b. Ja‘far, *al-Kharāj*, p. 170.

89 Qudāma b. Ja‘far, *al-Kharāj*, p. 185f; Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, pp. 129–130.

in general.<sup>90</sup> Additionally, administrative data such as regional tax income or distances between locations entered the containers. While al-Ya‘qūbī and Ibn Rustah alternated between interspersing distances in regional chapters and devoting entire chapters to them,<sup>91</sup> Ibn Khurrādadhbih chose to end each section with distances between all locations. As the director of the postal service, he had access to this information, which is why distances starred in the *Book of Routes and Realms*. As with the regional arrangement, authors writing after Ibn Khurrādadhbih followed their own logic in presenting distances that they meticulously listed in miles, parasangs (approximately six kilometers) as well as days of travel separating cities. Probably stemming from administrative manuals for calculating postal routes, these lists did not carry any practical travel information such as road junctions or turns. Considering travelers relied on guides in that period, this kind of advice would have been superfluous anyway.<sup>92</sup>

Although astronomers had already calculated most coordinates for cities in the Abbasid realm, geographic writing did not integrate this expertise, which points to a closer connection to the administration than to the *science of the stars*. However, this connection might have resulted from the *kuttāb* being active on all cultural levels rather than from geographers promoting an “imperial outlook”<sup>93</sup> to communicate “Islamic hegemony.”<sup>94</sup> As André Miquel noted, geographic writing did not hold any special position in the Islamic world,<sup>95</sup> apparent from the lack of court geographers and geographers not meriting entries in biographical dictionaries. Moreover, the texts examined here were not dedicated to any ruler who might have appreciated the idea of an Abbasid imperial unity. In fact, while mentioning rulers and touching on Islam as a religion, the texts rarely highlighted both elements. Instead, power and religion resided in the spatial containers next to details about customs, weather and weight units. The increase in geographic texts from the ninth century onwards certainly related to the Abbasid central administration consolidating and requiring more information about its vast realm. Therefore, geographic literature probably addressed literati and *kuttāb* who were expected to be versed in many

90 Ibn al-Faḳīh and Goeje, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 35; 195; Busse, *Historiographie und Geographie*, p. 293; Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, p. 141; Massé, Henri: Ibn al-Faḳīh. EI<sup>2</sup> online.

91 See for instance Ibn Rustah and Goeje, *al-A‘lāq al-Nafīsa*, p. 152 and 163.

92 Hansen, Valerie (2008): What is a Map? In Forêt, Philippe and Kaplony, Andreas (Eds.): *The Journey of Maps and Images on the Silk Road* (Brill’s Inner Asian Library, 21). Leiden, xxvii; Savage-Smith, *Memory and Maps*, p. 117.

93 Zadeh, *Frontiers*, p. 1.

94 Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, p. 96.

95 Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, p. 25.

fields of knowledge. However, this knowledge was not framed in any political or religious way, which is why most works encompassed non-Islamicate regions and realms as well. Rather, 'Islamic rule' in the *bilād al-islām* supplied the frame for presenting the mosaic of the Islamicate world that the authors staged in regions due to its diversity.

### 3 Maps before al-Iṣṭakhri

Even though geographic writing flourished until the tenth century, hardly any author translated his knowledge into maps. However, many historiographic and geographic texts tell us about world maps as well as regional maps that circulated in the Islamicate world before al-Iṣṭakhri: maps showing marvels, strategic or even magic maps. Not using a technical term for maps, the sources bring up images (*ṣūra*, pl. *ṣuwar*), drawings (sg. *rasm*), illustrations (sg. *naqsh*) or depictions (sg. *tamthīl*).<sup>96</sup> Additionally, most accounts refer to stand-alone maps, which might explain why none of them has been preserved: If entire manuscripts disappeared without trace, losing a single sheet of paper was even more likely.

Among the earliest extant manuscripts containing maps is a copy of al-Khwārizmī's *The World's Image* dating from 1036.<sup>97</sup> The maps show the Ruby Island (Jazīrat al-Yāqūt, now Sri Lanka), the Nile River, the Sea of Azov and a pattern for drawing different coast lines.<sup>98</sup> However, after editing this manuscript, Hans Mžik believed the maps had been added by the copyist in 1036, not by al-Khwārizmī in the ninth century.<sup>99</sup>

As for mentions of maps in geographic treatises before al-Iṣṭakhri's *Book of Routes and Realms*, the above mentioned al-Balkhī introduced maps into his work called the *Images of the Climes* (*Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*, composed approximately 920).<sup>100</sup> Like many works from this period, al-Balkhī's geography has

96 Karamustafa, Introduction, p. 7.

97 Ms. 4.247 (1036 CE, Ar.), Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg. al-Khwārizmī: *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard*. Available online at <https://www.numistral.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b102352192>.

98 Fuat Sezgin corrected Gerald Tibbetts' claim that this shape was meant to represent the Encircling Ocean (Tibbetts, Beginnings, pp. 105–106; Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, p. 104).

99 al-Khwārizmī and Mžik, Hans (1926): *Das Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard des Abū Ğā'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥwārizmī*. Leipzig; Mžik, Hans (1929): Parageographische Elemente in den Berichten der arabischen Geographen über Südostasien. In Mžik, Hans (Ed.): *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie und Kartographie, vornehmlich des Orients*. Leipzig, p. 196; Tibbetts, Beginnings, p. 106.

100 Ducène, Titre véritable, p. 100; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 16.

not survived, which is why we have to rely on accounts from later geographers such as al-Muqaddasī (d. after 990) who said: “In his book, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī aimed at depicting the world that he had divided into twenty parts.”<sup>101</sup>

Despite various efforts to describe and depict the world, it remains peculiar why authors composing geographic texts did not embrace maps before the tenth century. Even though astronomical calculations could have helped them in devising cartographic models, they might have considered the task too complicated and refrained from doing it, as did Ptolemy. As we will see below, some references suggest maps already circulated independently from books. Therefore, authors might have refrained from incorporating them because someone else had already taken on the graphic task. However, if worrying about repeating previous endeavors had been a sound reason not to compose a treatise, we would have far less textual witnesses from the Islamic world. In the end, the rationale behind forgoing maps probably oscillated between a lack of knowhow and a lack of significance, at least when it came to the literary circles that composed geographic texts. While seizing the world did not encompass fixing it in an image for most authors, other social spheres did take an interest in maps.

As for world maps, it remains unclear whether al-‘Āṣ’ reference to the earth’s bird-like shape has ever been put down on paper. Ibn al-Faqīh mentioned this shape at least twice in the *Book of Countries*. The first time, Ibn al-Faqīh quoted al-‘Āṣ as saying:

The image (*ṣūra*) of the world consists of five parts, like the head of a bird, two wings, the chest and the tail. The head of the world is al-Ṣīn (China), beyond al-Ṣīn we find a people called Wāq Wāq and beyond them only God knows. The right wing is al-Hind (India), beyond al-Hind is the sea and there is no life (*khalq*) beyond the sea. The left wing are the Khazars and beyond them there are two peoples, one of which is called Munshak/Mashak.<sup>102</sup> Beyond Munshak/Mashak there is Gog and Magog [...]. The world’s chest is Mecca and the Hejaz, Syria, Iraq and Egypt. The tail is the Maghreb, whatever is part of the bird’s tail is corrupted (*sharr*).<sup>103</sup>

Though this simile helps picture the world in general, it also conveys how al-‘Āṣ rated the world’s regions. Mecca’s position as the heart of the world reflected its priority for the Muslim community that al-‘Āṣ helped establish. During his

101 al-Muqaddasī and Goeje, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 4.

102 Peoples mentioned in the Bible as offspring of Yaphet, one of Noah’s sons (Ott, Claudia and Donzel, Emeri J. van: *Yād̲jūdj wa-Mād̲jūdj*. EI<sup>2</sup> online).

103 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 59.

lifetime, the Maghreb had not yet affiliated with the Islamicate world, which is probably why he belittled it. While al-ʿĀṣ acknowledged communities beyond the ones he listed, he omitted African societies altogether. Considering the trade routes connecting the African continent with the Arabian Peninsula and beyond, al-ʿĀṣ was bound to at least know about Africa. By limiting his geographic scope, al-ʿĀṣ revealed his preferences for communities he considered worth mentioning.

The second account of the earth's bird-like shape in the *Book of Countries* presented a slightly different picture, pointing to an actual image:

Wise men (scientists, philosophers) have compared (*maththalat*) the earth to a bird; they put Basra as its chest, Syria and the Byzantines as the head, the East and West as wings and al-Sūdān ["the blacks"]<sup>104</sup> as the tail.<sup>105</sup>

Rather than attributing the quote to al-ʿĀṣ, Ibn al-Faqīh used the more generic "wise men" in this account, which suggests the simile might have originated from a different source. Moreover, the alternative arrangement of the bird's parts suggests that several versions circulated, including one that did not openly discard Africa. However, in neglecting the Far East as represented by China and India in the first account, the second version illustrates how different versions of the same account zoomed in on the regions relevant to their context. Based on the verb in the second version, this simile might have been depicted: In addition to 'compare,' the verb *maththala* can indicate illustrating something, so that the sentence could just as well mean: "wise men have depicted the earth as a bird." However, the ambiguity of the terms used by Ibn al-Faqīh precludes us from drawing any final conclusions.

A different allusion to a bird might have caused scholars to read a bird-like shape into al-Iṣṭakhrī's world map and those of later geographies.<sup>106</sup> In describing the seas that surrounded the Islamicate world, al-Muqaddasī wrote:

I know there are only two seas in Islam. One of them emerges from the North-East between China and Sudan; once it reaches the Islamic realm, it turns around the Arabian Peninsula as we have depicted it. The sea has many gulfs and branches and people have argued about its form and

104 *Bilād al-Sūdān* refers to the Saharo-Sahelian sector of Africa (Kaye, Alan S.: Sūdān. E1<sup>2</sup> online).

105 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 168.

106 See for instance Ahmad, Djuḡhrāfiyā. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Brentjes, Sonja (2009): Cartography in Islamic Societies. In Thrift, Nigel J. and Kitchin, Rob (Eds.): *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Amsterdam, London, Oxford, p. 415.

illustrators have argued about its depiction (*tamthīl*). Some of them have depicted it as a shawl-like garment (*taylasān*) which encompasses China and Abyssinia, with al-Qulzum and Abadan as its tips. Abū Zayd [al-Balkhī] depicted it like a bird with its beak at al-Qulzum [...], its neck at Iraq and its tail between Abyssinia and China. I saw it [the sea] depicted on a sheet of paper in the library of the Amir of Khurasan, on cloth at Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Anmāṭī in Nishapur and in the library of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla. Every image differed from the other and some had gulfs and branches that I did not know.<sup>107</sup>

While al-Muqaddasī compared al-Balkhī’s image of this sea (Persian Sea for al-Iṣṭakhrī, consisting of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean) to a bird, some scholars have attempted to identify a bird-like shape in the landmass in al-Iṣṭakhrī’s world map. However, it remains unclear whether al-Muqaddasī’s quote above or a different source made them search for the bird in the world map.

Al-Muqaddasī’s text brims over with hints regarding the production, storage and circulation of maps. To begin with, al-Muqaddasī refers to “people” and “illustrators” who designed maps rather than scholars or astronomers. Al-Muqaddasī’s text indicates that map making was not tied to a profession, confirming the lack of court geographers. Instead, anyone involved in producing manuscripts and thinking about the world could create a map. Al-Muqaddasī is not the only author to mention maps on cloth that were probably large-scale and adorned walls.<sup>108</sup> However, most maps appear to have been on paper and in manuscripts that were stored in regal libraries. All libraries mentioned by al-Muqaddasī were located in the Islamicate East, more specifically the Iranian lands. Born in Jerusalem and having performed the pilgrimage as well as journeys to Shiraz and Khurasan, al-Muqaddasī certainly visited libraries in the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula as well. Yet, he only pointed out libraries in the East as holding maps, which could suggest more enthusiasm for cartography in the Iranian lands. Seeing as many authors composing geographic texts originated from the Islamicate East, the local link comes as no surprise.

Additionally, the *Maʾmūnic Image* (*al-ṣūra al-maʾmūniyya*) reveals a caliphal fascination with depicting the world. Building on his support for the sciences, especially astronomy, Caliph al-Maʾmūn commissioned a world map. We learn about this project from later sources such as al-Masʿūdī’s (d. 956) historiographic *Book of Notification and Verification* (*Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf*):

107 al-Muqaddasī and Goeje, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim*, p. 10.

108 Karamustafa, Introduction, p. 6.

The forefathers have debated about the seven climes' length, width, the number of hours [of daylight in a clime], their beginnings and ends as well as the peoples' dwellings on land and at the shore. Many explanations have been put forward in books. I have seen these climes colorfully depicted outside of books, best executed in Marinus' *Geography*, the commentary to the *Geography of the Earth's Sections* as well as in the *Ma'mūnic Image* made for al-Ma'mūn. In it, several contemporary wise men designed the world's celestial spheres, stars, coast, sea, inhabited and un-inhabited regions, the peoples' dwellings, cities and so forth. It excelled Ptolemy's *Geography*, Marinus' *Geography* and anything else.<sup>109</sup>

Similarly to al-Muqaddasī's report, al-Mas'ūdī did not specify who fashioned the world map for the caliph. While "wise men" might indicate some scholarly background, we remain in the dark about their field and profession. Were they philosophers? Astronomers? Or, perhaps, travelers? Elements such as "celestial spheres" in the *Ma'mūnic Image* suggest a connection to the *science of the stars*. As calculating coordinates for locations also related to astronomy, cities appeared on the map as well. Unfortunately, al-Mas'ūdī fell silent at the most intriguing detail: What did "so forth" encompass? With many medieval European maps communicating salvation history and political rule through maps, the *Ma'mūnic Image* might have further illuminated which details mattered to mapmakers from the Islamicate world. Considering that al-Mas'ūdī did not highlight any marvels or religious elements in the *Ma'mūnic Image*, "so forth" might just as well indicate similar features known from astronomy, which would suggest astronomy mattered most to al-Ma'mūn for the world map.

In his report, al-Mas'ūdī separated written debates about geography from world maps he had seen outside of books. This distinction could confirm that authors writing geographic texts (in the Islamicate world) did not draw maps – although we still would not know why. However, as al-Mas'ūdī only compared the *Ma'mūnic Image* to Greek geographers, the details for the Islamicate world remain fuzzy: either al-Mas'ūdī had no Arabic world maps against which to measure the *Ma'mūnic Image* or, if they existed, they were included inside of books. In fact, when giving the examples for stand-alone world maps he had seen, al-Mas'ūdī referred to treatises such as Marinus' *Geography*. Hailing from the first century BCE, Marinus' *Geography* is only known due to Ptolemy's remarks.<sup>110</sup> The fact that al-Mas'ūdī claimed to have seen a world map from

<sup>109</sup> al-Mas'ūdī and Goeje, *Tanbih*, p. 33.

<sup>110</sup> Dilke, *The Culmination of Greek Cartography*, pp. 177–178.

this work might illustrate how Greek knowledge transferred into the Islamicate world. Alternatively, al-Mas'ūdī might have attributed the world map to Marinus as a pretext for associating with geographic authorities.

Al-Mas'ūdī's remark suggest Ptolemy's *Geography* circulated with maps in the tenth century. Although the first manuscripts holding maps in the *Geography* date from the fourteenth century,<sup>111</sup> al-Mas'ūdī might have come upon an earlier illustrated copy of the *Geography* that is now lost. Considering a millennium had passed between the *Geography*'s composition and al-Mas'ūdī's statement, we have no certainty as to who designed the maps al-Mas'ūdī saw. Moreover, al-Mas'ūdī did not specify in what regard the *Ma'mūnic Image* surpassed the *Geography*. Fuat Sezgin believed the *Ma'mūnic Image* comprised a text as well as the astronomical tables from al-Khwārizmī's *The World's Image*, all of which circulated separately.<sup>112</sup> As *The World's Image* had improved Ptolemy's coordinates, al-Mas'ūdī might have had this aspect in mind when estimating the *Ma'mūnic Image*'s quality.

However, without the *Ma'mūnic Image* at our disposal, uncovering its true colors remains a fruitless task. Already in the eleventh century, the Andalusian geographer Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan al-Zayyāt (d. 1050) mistook the *Ma'mūnic Image* for Ptolemy's *Geography*, showing how easily geographic material was confused.<sup>113</sup> Nevertheless, with its imperial link, the *Ma'mūnic Image* has attracted speculations about its reach. For instance, Fuat Sezgin considered the world map from Ibn Faḍl Allah al-'Umarī's (d. 1349) encyclopedia *Insights into the Realms of Metropolises* (*Masālik al-Absār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*) to be a replica of the *Ma'mūnic Image*.<sup>114</sup> At the same time, Sezgin wondered why al-Iṣṭakhri and later cartographers did not pursue the astronomical design of the *Ma'mūnic Image* if it had been widely known.<sup>115</sup> If al-Mas'ūdī had a chance to examine the *Ma'mūnic Image*, al-Iṣṭakhri and fellow geographers, who travelled extensively, would have had to try very hard to miss it. In the end, we only know that scholars created the *Ma'mūnic Image* in the ninth century to

111 Grafshoff et al., *Klaudios Ptolemaios*, p. 26.

112 Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, pp. 82–86.

113 Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 87; Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, p. 133.

114 Sezgin, *Mathematische Geographie*, pp. 89–90; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 64; the rectangular world map was oriented north and included a graticule (see for instance Tibbetts, Gerald R. (1992): *Later Cartographic Developments*. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (The History of Cartography, 2, 1). Chicago, p. 153).

115 Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 16.

communicate astronomical knowledge. As for identifying its significance and circulation, time has erased most traces.

When referring to Gog and Magog in the *Prairies of Gold* (*Murūj al-Dhahab*), al-Mas'ūdī also shared how he saw a world map that introduced cultural symbols rather than astronomical ones. Al-Mas'ūdī reported that he

... saw a world map (*ṣūrat al-arḍ*) in a book showing great buildings and superb architecture. Moreover, it showed the extent of the wall of Gog and Magog.<sup>116</sup>

Even though this map might have also included climatic bands and stars that al-Mas'ūdī simply failed to mention, the buildings represented on the map caught his attention. Except for the wall of Gog and Magog, al-Mas'ūdī did not specify what kind of architecture stood out on the map. Thus, we have no way of knowing whether it involved other mythical buildings or famous ones like the Lighthouse at Alexandria. Whatever the constructions' nature, their presence on the world map suggests an alternative approach to mapping the world that centered on its marvels. Since al-Mas'ūdī did not specify in what type of book he saw the map, we do not know whether it connected to geographic writing or a different field.

Leaving the factual realm altogether, Ibn al-Faqīh reported a story about a magical world map. When meeting a man from Fallujah in Iraq, Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 634–44) asked him about his land's *'ajā'ib*. The man replied:

Every city holds something remarkable no other city has. In the king's residence, a house kept a world map (*ṣūrat al-arḍ*) depicting all villages, towns and rivers. Whenever a single country refused to send the tax revenues, he [the king] perforated their rivers, drowning them, spoiling their crop and everything in their land until they abandoned their plans. Then he would use his finger to close the rivers [on the map] and they were blocked in their country.<sup>117</sup>

While once again linking maps to rulers, the account enters the world of marvels in which a king manipulated nature through a world map. Rather than symbolically claiming space through representation, this world map actually yields its owner the physical force to change the course of rivers and probably

<sup>116</sup> al-Mas'ūdī, Abū al-Ḥasan et al. (1966): *Les prairies d'or*. Vol. 2. Beirut, p. 39.

<sup>117</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 379.

crush cities with a fingertip. Even though the story is a legend, it hints at the sway associated with world maps.

Some stories also portray regional maps with fantastic skills. In the *History of Prophets, Kings and Successors*, al-Ṭabarī explained how al-Rūmiyya (usually denoting Rome) was built based on a map. In an account about the Turkic king Sinjibū Khāqān (fl. sixth c.) conquering Antakya, al-Ṭabarī tells us how the king contacted “Sīr Ardashīr” to ask for his advice. After Sinjibū had conquered Antakya, Sīr Ardashīr requested a map (*taṣwīr*) picturing

... Antakya’s dimensions, the number of its houses, its routes and everything in it. He then ordered a city to be built next to al-Madā’in according to the map (*ṣūra*). So the city known as al-Rūmiyya was built based on Antakya’s map and Antakya’s residents were moved there. When they entered the city gate, the houses looked much like their homes in Antakya – as if they had never left.<sup>118</sup>

As Khusraw I Anūshirvān built al-Rūmiyya to accommodate the captives taken from Antakya,<sup>119</sup> Sīr Ardashīr probably referred to him. Considering the story claims a map (or image) helped replicate a city, al-Ṭabarī probably did not introduce it for its factual truth. Rather, he picked it up as a token of folklore connected to a historic event. Supposing the story contained some truth in that a (panoramic) map had once facilitated constructing a new city, it would be intriguing to know who manufactured the map and how wieldy its size was.

Other stories tell us how regional maps assisted in conquering cities. Ibn al-Faqīh reported that the commander Siqlāb wrote to the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (d. ca. 562 BCE), asking him for advice on how to conquer a city. Nebuchadnezzar replied:

I understand your issue. It would be helpful if you could portray (*ṣawwara*) the city for me, with its mountains, sources, routes and surroundings. When Siqlāb complied, Nebuchadnezzar assembled wise men, asking them to devise a plan for conquering this city based on the map (*ṣūra*). They agreed on blocking the sources to flood the city upon removing the obstruction. Siqlāb did as he was told and finally succeeded.<sup>120</sup>

118 al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar (1967): *Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk wa-l-Khulafāʾ*. Vol. 2. Beirut, p. 102.

119 Streck, Maximilian and Morony, Michael G.: al-Madāʾin. EI<sup>2</sup> online.

120 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 460.

Rather than philosophers, the wise men in this story were probably strategists from the army and the map Siqlāb devised a sketch emphasizing the critical infrastructure. Considering Siqlāb did not hesitate at Nebuchadnezzar's request, mapping space for strategic purposes was performed as a matter of course in Babylonia – at least according to Ibn al-Faḳīh. This practice seems to have also existed in the Islamic world, as al-Ṭabarī referred to a similar incident involving Qutayba b. Muslim (d. 715), an Umayyad commander who failed to conquer Bukhara. When soliciting advice from al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 714), the latter asked Qutayba to map the city and its surroundings. Based on the map, al-Ḥajjāj told Qutayba how he should proceed.<sup>121</sup> Stemming from battlefields, strategic maps like Qutayba's probably did not make it past their 'natural habitat' and into books or libraries. With their value expiring after the victory, nobody seems to have safeguarded strategic maps to commemorate the event, which is why they are lost to us.

In al-Balādhurī's *Conquests of Countries* (*Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*), we find a different story about a regional map that helped settle a dispute. When the Abbasid prince Sulaymān b. Ali (d. 759) settled in Basra, he installed dams in the city al-Baṭīḥa to redirect the water from the Dayr River to the Ibn 'Umar River. Then

... the people of Basra complained to Sulaymān, saying the water became brackish because too much was coming from the sea [...] So Sulaymān sent a delegation [...] to Caliph al-Manṣūr, carrying an image (*ṣūra*) of al-Baṭīḥa. They told the caliph they were afraid their water would turn salty. He said: I see your point. And he ordered a halt to the building of dams.<sup>122</sup>

Rather than simply explaining the matter to Caliph al-Manṣūr, the delegation resorted to a map to both illustrate and prove their point. As the delegation brought the map from Basra, someone appears to have created it for the occasion, instead of sketching it on the spot. Similarly to strategic outlines, al-Baṭīḥa's picture highlights how maps were taken for granted as part of administrative issues. Even though other incidents probably also prompted maps to be designed, they did not enter any geographic texts, leaving us without a clue as to how the mapmakers envisioned regional space.

Ibn al-Faḳīh reported on a different kind of regional map that served as leverage in a dispute involving al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. He had sent a delegation to

<sup>121</sup> al-Ṭabarī and Goeje, *Annales*, p. 1199.

<sup>122</sup> al-Balādhurī, Ahmad b. Yahyā and Goeje, Michael J. de (1968): *Futūḥ al-Buldān*. Leiden, pp. 380–381.

al-Daylam (region south of the Caspian Sea) to ask the local rulers to convert to Islam or, if they refused, to accept the *jizya* (tax for non-Muslims), which they both declined. Thereupon al-Ḥajjāj

... ordered al-Daylam to be drawn (*ṣawwara*) for him with its plains, mountains, steep tracks and forests. Upon inviting a delegation from al-Daylam, he said: Your country has been drawn for me and I desire it. So, comply with my request, before I send the troops, destroy the land, kill the warriors and capture the offspring. They said: Show us this image (*ṣūra*) which made you desire our land. When they saw it, they said: You were told the truth about our country, this is what it looks like. However, they failed to illustrate its cavalry which defends these forests and mountains – you would know that if you had made the effort.<sup>123</sup>

The story portrayed here resembles threats issued by the mob: “Your knee (map) looks so beautiful, wouldn’t it be a shame if it were destroyed?” Rather than going into battle right away, al-Ḥajjāj employed a visual aid as leverage to persuade his opponents to give in to his demands. It appears as if the map were his last resort for diplomacy, after his intimidation through the usual oral or written channels had failed. Similarly to the map of al-Baṭīḥa, al-Ḥajjāj used al-Daylam’s map to make his case to preserve the country’s beauty. According to his demand, the region’s nature stood for its beauty rather than *mirabilia* such as buildings and strategic plans we have both encountered in the previous accounts of regional as well as world maps. However, al-Daylam’s landscape left the delegation cold as they pointed out the map was missing the major reason for remaining unfazed by al-Ḥajjāj’s threat – al-Daylam’s military forces. With this reaction, the Daylamites emphasized the pitfalls of mapmaking: when reducing the reality to fit onto a map, crucial details may slip through the cracks.

The stories revolving around regional and world maps illustrate the wide range of approaches to mapmaking in the Islamic world until the tenth century. In addition to magical maps and those informed by astronomy, we find maps with marvels, strategic maps as well as landscape maps that circulated both inside and outside of geographic treatises. However, one brand seems to be missing from the array of maps: Maps communicating an imperial or religious outlook on the world. In contrast to later European maps, we have yet to find references to maps highlighting the Umayyad or Abbasid realm as a political entity or maps framing the earth according to an Islamic worldview. Even if no references to such maps appeared in the future, we could not deduce

<sup>123</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh and Goeje, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 283.

that they never existed. After all, the authors quoted above did not mention Byzantine mosaics depicting geographic as well as cosmographic motifs on the floors of churches either. One such mosaic dating from the sixth century was recovered in 1884 in Madaba, Jordan. Accompanied by Greek texts, the mosaic depicts Palestine as well as Lower Egypt and highlights religious sites relevant to the congregation.<sup>124</sup> Considering the multi-ethnic and multi-religious make-up of the Islamicate world, authors involved in geographic writing had perhaps heard about these mosaics but did not call attention to them, rather focusing on paper maps. However, since al-Muqaddasi also referred to maps on cloth, he did not restrict himself to describing maps on one material only. Moreover, as we have no details about the material used for the maps of al-Baṭīḥa and al-Daylam, we have no grounds for assuming all of them were drawn on paper. If maps with an imperial or religious focus did actually exist, their absence from texts stresses that geographic writing and mapmaking in the Islamicate world favored an encyclopedic outlook. Although geographic treatises revealed their bias by highlighting regions and maps by emphasizing one feature (stars, routes, nature), we cannot detect any attempt at exploiting maps to frame political or religious power.

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124 Dilke, *Cartography in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 264–265; Harvey, Paul A.D. (1999): *The Cartographic Context of the Madaba Map*. In Piccirillo, Michele (Ed.): *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997. Travelling Through the Byzantine Umayyad Period* (Collectio maior/ Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 40). Jerusalem, p. 103; Donner, Herbert (1999): *The Uniqueness of the Madaba Map and its Restoration in 1965*. In Piccirillo, Michele (Ed.): *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997. Travelling Through the Byzantine Umayyad Period* (Collectio maior/ Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 40). Jerusalem, p. 38; for more information on the Madaba Map see Piccirillo, Michele (1999): *Madaba. One Hundred Years from the Discovery*. In Piccirillo, Michele (Ed.): *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997. Travelling Through the Byzantine Umayyad Period* (Collectio maior/ Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 40). Jerusalem.

# Show, Don't Tell

## *The World through al-Iṣṭakhrī's Book of Routes and Realms*

### 1 Evolution and Versions of the Book

The *Book of Routes and Realms* functions as a reference book of the Islamicate world for an audience involved in the administration. In contrast to previous geographic literature, the *Book of Routes and Realms* placed everything there is to know about a region in one chapter. Using a repetitive chapter structure with similar informational items, the treatise thus organized the *mamlakat al-islām* into comparable units. Without adorning the chapters through *mira-bilia*, stories or poems, the *Book of Routes and Realms* focused on the cities and their infrastructure, trade and history. As the text did not champion one particular city, region or ruler, the *Book of Routes and Realms* was not designed to promote any dynasty or 'center' in the Islamicate world. The treatise rather catered to an audience like the *kuttāb* who required a lay of the land – either as a general background or for specific tasks such as planning tax returns based on the number of cities in a region.

The maps in the *Book of Routes and Realms* helped connecting the regions into a panorama of the Islamicate world. After outlining all realms and regions in the world map, the *Book of Routes and Realms* zoomed in and out of the regions in the *mamlakat al-islām*. Similar to the text, the maps did not promote any region. By presenting each region with the same items (cities, water, mountains, deserts and routes) in the same colors, the *Book of Routes and Realms* instilled order across the Islamicate world and made the different regions comparable – a strategy highlighting its purpose as a reference book or regional encyclopedia. Moreover, the *Book of Routes and Realms* improved the maps' readability for an unspecialized audience by refraining from symbols. To still help identify or memorize the regions, each map featured seas or waterways in a prominent shape (except for one map of a desert). These water bodies also served as links between the regions, allowing the reader to merge individual images into a bigger picture. Considering neither the text nor the maps highlighted practical information such as the terrain or dangers, this picture was designed as an overview, probably for administrators.

Three authors created the *Book of Routes and Realms* in the tenth century: Abū Zayd Ahmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad al-Fārisī

al-Iṣṭakhrī and Abū al-Qāsim b. Ali al-Naṣībī Ibn Ḥawqal who amended the *Book of Routes and Realms* for his own *The World's Image* (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*). We have already met al-Balkhī (d. 934) as the author of the *Division of the Sciences* and the *Images of the Climes*. Coming from the village Shāmistiyyān in the Khurasanian province Balkh (today's northern Afghanistan), al-Balkhī travelled to Baghdad, where he studied *inter alia* astrology and philosophy under the famous scholar al-Kindī.<sup>1</sup> According to later sources, al-Balkhī penned over 40 treatises on topics such as religious history and medicine. However, his work survived only in the *Sustenance for Body and Soul* (*Maṣāliḥ al-Abdān wa-l-Anfus*) and some fragments. Later authors like the philosopher al-Rāzī (d. 1210) adopted al-Balkhī's work on, for instance, free will and predestination as exemplified by chess and backgammon.<sup>2</sup> After spending eight years in the Abbasid capital, al-Balkhī went back east to become secretary to al-Marwazī (d. 920), ruler of Balkh. Although he was invited to serve the Samanid ruler in Bukhara as well, al-Balkhī preferred staying close to home. Thanks to al-Marwazī, al-Balkhī could afford an estate in his home village, where he spent his final years teaching philosophy to prominent students such as al-Āmirī (d. 992). In addition to al-Balkhī's interest in natural science, al-Kindī might have sparked his curiosity for geography. Considering another student of al-Kindī, al-Sarakhsī, also composed a geographic work, al-Kindī's familiarity with Ptolemy's *Geography* might have turned his students' attention to the field.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, al-Balkhī befriended the Samanid vizier al-Jayhānī who devised a *Book of Routes and Realms* of his own around the turn of the tenth century. Expanding on geographic writing such as Ibn Khurrādadhbih's, al-Jayhānī's treatise encompassed trade, topography and *mirabilia* as well as a world map divided into seven climes.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, this work is no longer available to us. Whatever motivated al-Balkhī to write the *Images of the Climes*, al-Muqaddasī described it as follows:

Abū Zayd al-Balkhī aimed at depicting the world in his book after he had divided it into twenty parts. Then he briefly explained each image

1 Goeje, Michael J. de (1871): Die Istakhrī-Balkhī Frage. In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 25, pp. 53–56; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 195; Watt, William M.: Abū Zayd Balkī. Elr online.

2 Biesterfeldt, Hans: al-Balkhī, Abū Zayd. EI<sup>3</sup> online.

3 Dunlop, Morton: al-Balkhī. EI<sup>2</sup> online.

4 Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 35; Sezgin, *Anthropographie* 1, p. 15; Spuler, Bertold and Marcinkowski, M. Ismail (2003): *Persian Historiography and Geography. Bertold Spuler on Major Works Produced in Iran, the Caucasus, Central Asia, India and Early Ottoman Turkey*. Singapore, p. 16.

(*mithāl*), without properly explaining his division or arrangement. He also omitted a lot about the most important cities.<sup>5</sup>

Rather than gathering details about regional history or trade, al-Balkhī seems to have focused his work on maps. However, according to al-Muqaddasī, al-Balkhī's insight into Khurasan's offices (*dawāwīn*) showed in the section about Herat.<sup>6</sup> Even though the text accompanying the *Images of the Climes* might have appeared shallow by al-Muqaddasī's standards, it did reflect al-Balkhī's expertise as a secretary, much like previous geographic works echoed their authors' expertise in the administration. Without a preserved copy of the *Images of the Climes*, we cannot establish how much text al-Balkhī contributed to what is today known as the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Considering al-Iṣṭakhri knew about al-Balkhī's work and Ibn Ḥawqal continued the regular practice of absorbing previous material (like al-Iṣṭakhri's) without indicating the author, scholarship has assumed that the *Book of Routes and Realms* incorporated al-Balkhī's contribution to some extent.<sup>7</sup> As all three authors divided the (Islamicate) world into twenty regions and enriched their books with maps, the claim has merit. However, al-Muqaddasī did not specify whether al-Balkhī split the entire world into twenty parts or only the Islamicate realm. Assuming it was the latter, al-Balkhī laid the groundwork for the structure in the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Another quote by al-Muqaddasī further connects al-Balkhī's and al-Iṣṭakhri's work:

I saw a book with images that was attributed to Abū Zayd al-Balkhī; in Nishapur, I saw the same book coming from Abū Muhammad al-Mikālī without indicating an author, but people attributed it to Ibn al-Marzabān al-Karkhī; I also saw the book in Bukhara ascribed to Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad al-Fārisī [= al-Iṣṭakhri], which is correct, because I have met many people who witnessed him composing the book.<sup>8</sup>

Considering the Mikālī family belonged to the ruling elite in Samanid Khurasan,<sup>9</sup> al-Muqaddasī's quote corroborates that geographic works appeared in illustrious libraries. Moreover, the passage reveals that even in a period close to the composition of the *Images of the Climes*, people confused al-Balkhī's

5 al-Muqaddasī and Goeje, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 4.

6 al-Muqaddasī and Goeje, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 307.

7 Ducène, *Titre véritable*, p. 100; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 16.

8 al-Muqaddasī and Goeje, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 5 fn. a; I appreciate Konrad Hirschler's assistance in translating this paragraph.

9 Bosworth, Clifford E.: Mikālīs. EI<sup>2</sup> online.

work with that of other authors. As my study will show in the following chapters, the confusion continued well into the nineteenth century, with copyists attributing copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* to both al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭakhri. Whether similar mix ups applied to the scribal practice in general or the ‘marginal’ geographic genre in particular, is difficult to establish at this point. While al-Muqaddasī’s paragraph suggests al-Iṣṭakhri’s work was similar enough to al-Balkhī’s to be mixed up, we learn that al-Iṣṭakhri carried his own weight in composing a geographic treatise. Even though al-Muqaddasī’s brief references do not allow us to dissect the *Book of Routes and Realms* according to al-Balkhī’s or al-Iṣṭakhri’s input, it might explain the book’s structure, which introduces every chapter with a brief description of the region and then presents the respective map with a short explanation. Taking al-Muqaddasī’s allusion to al-Balkhī’s brevity at face value, this material may have been based on al-Balkhī’s work, whereas al-Iṣṭakhri introduced the following details on history, trade and culture.

While al-Balkhī probably took part in the formation of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, naming him as the founder of the *Balkhī School* or *Classical School of Arabic Geography* seems like a stretch. In addition to the authors contributing to the *Book of Routes and Realms*, al-Muqaddasī’s *Best Division for the Knowledge of the Provinces* is attributed to this ‘school’ as well.<sup>10</sup> As discussed above, the term school insinuates an institution we can hardly observe in this historical context. Even if we envision this institution as a school of thought rather than an infrastructure, the clues we have do not warrant uniting the four authors under one flag. First of all, al-Balkhī seems to have cared more about sharing his philosophical ideas than his geographical, which he did not teach to the other three authors. As far as the sources tell us, only al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal met in person and discussed their maps (see below).<sup>11</sup> While al-Iṣṭakhri’s work and Ibn Ḥawqal’s *The World’s Image* described twenty Islamicate regions according to the same sequence and similar chapter structure, al-Muqaddasī follows a different approach in the *Best Division*. He divided the *mamlakat al-islām* into Arabs and non-Arabs (*‘ajam*, denoting Iranians) and described the fourteen regions in a different order than we find with al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal. Blending the different designs into one school glosses over the features which clearly set them apart. Beyond the text, the three authors included maps in their books that have been labelled the *Atlas*

10 See for instance Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 25; Savage-Smith, *Memory and Maps*, p. 109; Tibbetts, *The Balkhī School*.

11 Ibn Ḥawqal, Abū al-Qāsim and Kramers, Johannes H. (1967): *Opus geographicum* (*Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum*, 2). Leiden, pp. 329–330.

of Islam. While both al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal presented 21 maps depicting the regions they describe, al-Muqaddasī's maps did not correspond to his regional division. For instance, he sketched the Persian Sea to which he did not devote an entire chapter. Rather than offering an original design, the preserved manuscript copies of the *Best Division* mostly reproduce al-Iṣṭakhrī's and Ibn Ḥawqal's maps. However, a fifteenth-century manuscript includes a diagram representing the directions of the *qibla*, which might have been added by the copyist.<sup>12</sup> All things considered, maps are the only feature setting the four authors apart from previous geographic writing. To emphasize this feature without discarding the variations between the writers, we might call them the *Map School* or *Visual School*, if a lineup is at all necessary.

As for al-Iṣṭakhrī, only his name and personal reports spread across the *Book of Routes and Realms* let us glimpse into his life. Like other authors who focused on geography, al-Iṣṭakhrī did not make it into biographical dictionaries. Moreover, he did not dedicate the *Book of Routes and Realms* to any officer which might have marked his connection to the ruling elite. However, the *nisbas* (nouns of relation) to al-Iṣṭakhrī's name suggest he came from Iṣṭakhr that used to be the Sasanian capital in the Iranian province Fārs. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī's introduction to the chapter on Fārs, he had composed a treatise on the region before turning to the *Book of Routes and Realms*.<sup>13</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhrī's insights into the regional administration and cultural makeup displayed in the chapter probably resulted from his upbringing or employment in Fārs. However, we remain in the dark about his education and career. Although we do not know in what capacity, al-Iṣṭakhrī tells us about places he visited across the Islamic world, mostly in its east. By adding the *nisba* al-Karkhī, al-Muqaddasī indicated al-Iṣṭakhrī lived in Baghdad for some time, since Karkh was a quarter in the city.<sup>14</sup> Among many personal accounts, al-Iṣṭakhrī further

12 The *Best Division* survived in four manuscripts, not including the autograph. The earliest copy is Ms. Ayasofya 2971M (1260 CE, Ar.), Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi. al-Muqaddasī, Muhammad b. Ahmad: *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, the next is Ms. Sprenger 5 (1494 CE, Ar.), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. al-Muqaddasī, Muhammad b. Ahmad: *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*. Available online at [http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook\\_islamhs\\_00010875](http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook_islamhs_00010875). The Istanbul manuscript showcases the maps with golden pigments. Moreover, the map of Egypt displays three miniature buildings representing the pyramids and the Lighthouse of Alexandria. The Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden holds a copy of the Istanbul manuscript dating from 1840 (Ms. Cod. Or. 2063) and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin also maintains a nineteenth-century copy (Ms. Sprenger 6) that has no maps; for the *qibla* diagram, see Ms. Sprenger 5 (1494 CE, Ar.), f. 34.

13 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 97.

14 Goeje, *Istakhrī-Balkhī*, p. 56.

reported he had seen date palms in Mecca, stumbled upon ambergris at the Syrian shore to the Mediterranean and witnessed riots in Samarqand.<sup>15</sup> Some of al-Iṣṭakhrī's visits may have been related to the hajj to Mecca and Medina along highly frequented routes under the caliph's protection. However, the extent of al-Iṣṭakhrī's experience suggests his travels connected to studies or business. Along the way, he met Ibn Ḥawqal who described their encounter as follows:

I met Abū Ishāq al-Fārisī. He had already (incorrectly) depicted Sindh, and also Fārs, which he amended. I, on the other hand, had depicted Azerbaijan [...] which he revised; he appreciated my map (*ṣūra*) of Mesopotamia, dismissed my map of Egypt and rejected most of the Maghreb's map. [...] He then asked me to correct his book in those aspects where he had been mistaken.<sup>16</sup>

Considering Ibn Ḥawqal placed the paragraph in the chapter about Sindh, both geographers might have crossed paths in this region. Regrettably, Ibn Ḥawqal focused on how they scrutinized each other's maps rather than on details about al-Iṣṭakhrī's life and character. Nevertheless, the report allows us to picture the men bending over their maps in an attempt to improve the different versions. Although Ibn Ḥawqal did not explain exactly how they modified the maps, the existing manuscript copies indicate the geographers changed relative positions rather than their entire design. For instance, al-Iṣṭakhrī's map of Sindh shows the Indus River surrounding al-Manṣūra on the left (eastbound) and splitting into two channels at the bottom.<sup>17</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, on the other hand, portrayed the Indus River as dividing into four channels and circling al-Manṣūra on the right.<sup>18</sup> As for al-Iṣṭakhrī rejecting his map of the Maghreb, Ibn Ḥawqal held his tongue. Considering the details and length of this chapter in *The World's Image*, Ibn Ḥawqal knew the region like the back of his hand compared to al-Iṣṭakhrī. Rather than admonishing al-Iṣṭakhrī for lacking insight into the region and its depiction, Ibn Ḥawqal emphasized how the former entrusted him with carrying on the geographic legacy. However convenient this paragraph was for establishing Ibn Ḥawqal's authority in the

15 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 17; 42; 318; the plethora of personal accounts in the *Book of Routes and Realms* refutes Paul Heck's and John Hopkin's claims that al-Iṣṭakhrī relied on administrative sources rather than personal experience (Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, p. 116; Hopkins, *Geographical and Navigational Literature*, p. 314).

16 Ibn Ḥawqal and Kramers, *Opus geographicum*, pp. 329–300.

17 See Appendix 1 Map outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *Sindh*, Figure 66.

18 Ibn Ḥawqal and Kramers, *Opus geographicum*, p. 200.

field, it also points to al-Iṣṭakhri designing the maps in the *Book of Routes and Realms* rather than merely copying al-Balkhi's material. While al-Iṣṭakhri may have built on al-Balkhi's work, he shaped the *Book of Routes and Realms* by devising the text and the maps as well. Unfortunately, al-Iṣṭakhri's original also vanished into thin air, leaving us with a book whose evolution is difficult to unravel. However, based on the surviving manuscript copies, we can distinguish between al-Iṣṭakhri's and Ibn Ḥawqal's work.

Born in Naṣībīn in Mesopotamia, Ibn Ḥawqal began exploring the Islamicate world to base *The World's Image* on his travels. Upon leaving Baghdad in 943, Ibn Ḥawqal spent 30 years venturing westwards to North Africa and al-Andalus as well as eastwards to Azerbaijan and Armenia.<sup>19</sup> Similarly to al-Iṣṭakhri, we have no details about Ibn Ḥawqal's education and profession. Based on several pro-Fatimid comments in some manuscripts of *The World's Image*, scholars have speculated that Ibn Ḥawqal may have been a Fatimid missionary or spy.<sup>20</sup> However, Chafik Bencheqroun has recently revealed that only two manuscripts from the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries contained such comments, which rules out Ibn Ḥawqal as their author.<sup>21</sup> Other manuscripts carry a dedication to the Ḥamdānid ruler of Aleppo and northern Syria, Sayf al-Dawla (d. 967), suggesting a patronage between the official and the geographer. However, Bencheqroun reckons the dedications resulted from a *quid pro quo* for financial support by the ruler rather than Sayf al-Dawla asking Ibn Ḥawqal to devise *The World's Image* in the first place.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast to al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal clarified why he wished to write his book:

My desire to learn about what happened in countries and cities made me compose this book. Beyond reading up on the topic, I grilled travelers and merchants who had seen the world. Whenever I met someone trustworthy, I made him repeat his version of events before telling him what I had learned about them. Then, I used a third story for corroboration. The more the accounts diverged, the more I felt the urge to travel, to face dangers and picture the cities and regions (*aqālīm*). I always had Ibn Khurrādadhbih's book with me and also al-Jayhānī's as well as Qudāma b. Ja'far's.<sup>23</sup>

19 Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, p. 299.

20 Tibbetts, *The Balkhi School*, p. 110.

21 Bencheqroun, Chafik T. (2016): Requiem pour Ibn Ḥawqal. Sur l'hypothèse de l'espion fatimide. In *Journal Asiatique* 304 (2), pp. 198–199.

22 Bencheqroun, Requiem pour Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 209.

23 Ibn Ḥawqal and Kramers, *Opus geographicum*, p. 329.

Ibn Ḥawqal's mobile library hints at whose shoes he tried to fill with *The World's Image*. Whether he chose the books based on their authors' insights into the administration or due to the diverse approaches they represented, remains unclear. However, the fact that Ibn Ḥawqal brought the books on the road shows how geographic knowledge circulated amongst interested parties and across territories. During his travels, he might have picked up other books while leaving copies of his mobile library behind, thus advancing the exchange of ideas. Considering al-Iṣṭakhrī's work did not make the cut, the *Book of Routes and Realms* may not have yet been published when Ibn Ḥawqal set out to see the world. As Ibn Ḥawqal's map design resembled al-Iṣṭakhrī's, Ibn Ḥawqal might have discovered the *Book of Routes and Realms* at a later stage, using it to shape his own maps. Alternatively, both authors might have worked with a common source such as al-Balkhī's *Images of the Climes*. Either way, Ibn Ḥawqal's work points to authors building on and continuously amending previous material. After revising al-Iṣṭakhrī's text, Ibn Ḥawqal first published under the former's name,<sup>24</sup> which further complicates crediting the geographers separately with segments of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Nevertheless, *The World's Image* contains chapters that exceed al-Iṣṭakhrī's, such as about the Maghreb and the Mediterranean.<sup>25</sup> Considering the respective maps accommodated more details as well, chapters like these bring Ibn Ḥawqal's input to light.

The collective effort created the *Book of Routes and Realms* that comprises 21 chapters and maps. Keeping the book's evolution in mind, I will refer to al-Iṣṭakhrī as its author because al-Balkhī's work disappeared and we can discern the *Book of Routes and Realms* from Ibn Ḥawqal's *The World's Image*. Similarly to previous geographic texts, the *Book of Routes and Realms* opened with a survey of the world, including non-Islamicate regions. In contrast to other authors, al-Iṣṭakhrī did neither refer to God's creation nor to different models for envisioning the world in the introduction. The world map is placed after the first few paragraphs of the introduction. Possibly expanding on al-Balkhī's work and ideas, al-Iṣṭakhrī then turned to the Islamicate world that he divided into twenty regions. Starting with the *Arabian Peninsula*,<sup>26</sup> al-Iṣṭakhrī followed the sequence as shown in Table 1.

Before further exploring the content in the following chapters, we can already note a focus on the Iranian lands. Not only does the Islamicate East have

24 Goeje, *Istakhrī-Balkhī*, p. 42; 53.

25 Bencheqroun, *Requiem pour Ibn Ḥawqal*, p. 205; Kramers, Johannes H. (1954): *La littérature géographique classique des Musulmans*. In Kramers, Johannes H. (Ed.): *Analecta Orientalia I. Posthumous Writings and Selected Minor Works of J.H. Kramers*. Leiden, p. 196; Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, p. 306.

26 To refer to chapters from the *Book of Routes and Realms* and the respective maps, I will write the titles in italics.

TABLE 1 Chapter sequence in the *Book of Routes and Realms* with corresponding regions today

Region according to al-Iṣṭakhri	Approximate geographic area today
1. Arabian Peninsula (Diyār al-ʿArab)	Arabian Peninsula
2. Persian Sea (Baḥr Fāris)	Red Sea, Persian Gulf, parts of the Indian Ocean
3. Maghreb (Diyār Maghrib)	Western Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula
4. Egypt (Diyār Miṣr)	Egypt
5. Syria (Arḍ al-Shām)	The Levant
6. Mediterranean (Baḥr al-Rūm)	The Mediterranean
7. Mesopotamia (Arḍ al-Jazīra)	Northern part of Iraq, between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers
8. Iraq (ʿIrāq)	Southern part of Iraq, from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf
9. Khuzestan	South western province in Iran
10. Fārs	Southern province in Iran, at the shore of the Persian Gulf
11. Kirman (Kirmān)	South eastern province in Iran
12. Sindh (Bilād al-Sind)	Province Sindh in Pakistan stretching to Kirman
13. Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan (Armīniya wa-l-Rān wa-Adharbayjān)	Region between the Kura River in Azerbaijan and Armenia and Lake Urmiya in Iran
14. al-Jibāl	Northern Iran, south of the Caspian Sea
15. al-Daylam	Region between the Caspian Sea and the Elburz Mountains in northern Iran (subsection of al-Jibāl)
16. Caspian Sea (Baḥr al-Khazar)	Caspian Sea
17. Desert between Khurasan and Fārs (Mafāzat Khurāsān wa-Fārs)	Northern Iran between the Karkas Mountains and the border to Afghanistan
18. Sijistān (also known as Sīstān)	Region between eastern Iran and southern Afghanistan
19. Khurasan	Region between the Oxus River and northern Iran, covering parts of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan
20. Transoxania (Mā Warāʾa al-Nahr)	Region north east of the Oxus River, between north Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan

more individual chapters, *Fārs* (10), *Khurasan* (19) and *Transoxania* (20) also represent the longest chapters in the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Regarding *Fārs*, al-Iṣṭakhri probably incorporated his treatise about the region into the book. Composed as a separate text, *Fārs* stands out in the *Book of Routes and Realms* due to the level of detail and chapter structure. As for *Khurasan*, the chapter's extent might have resulted from al-Balkhī's familiarity with the region. If the *Images of the Climes* had not been as superficial as al-Muqaddasī claimed, al-Balkhī may have elaborated on his home region, which al-Iṣṭakhri later expanded on. The many pages devoted to *Transoxania* could have resulted from al-Iṣṭakhri's preference for the region that he expressed in the first lines of the chapter. Moreover, many sections in *Transoxania* match the same chapter in *The World's Image*, pointing to Ibn Ḥawqal as the author responsible for the new details.

In addition to emphases set by the three authors of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, allusions to historical events confirm the book was not created in a seamless process. As Michael de Goeje has demonstrated, the *Book of Routes and Realms* included dates which contradicted each other.<sup>27</sup> For instance in the *Maghreb*, 'Ubayd Allah, the first 'manifested' Ismaili Imam and Fatimid caliph in North Africa (r. 909–934), had not yet conquered Fez – an event that took place in 921.<sup>28</sup> On the same page, the text mentions 'Ubayd Allah had already overrun Sijilmāsa, which he did in 922. Similar discrepancies pop up throughout the text, conveying how segments penned by different authors in various years merged into the *Book of Routes and Realms* as we know it today. Based on the various 'time stamps,' the *Book of Routes and Realms* was amended during the first half of the tenth century.

Not only does the mosaic involve the time frame, but also the chapter structure. While most chapters opened with a brief introduction, which included a map, then proceeded with details about cities in the region and closed with distances between them, *Egypt*, *Mesopotamia* and *Iraq* put the distances before the details. Without impacting the book's meaning, the irregularities reveal strata in the creation of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. As no author attempted to smooth the text's 'wrinkles,' they may have envisioned a book as an open-end process that fitted ever new fragments as long as they blended with the overall outlook of the text. Considering most geographic texts did not construct narratives about the world (like in historiography), streamlining the *Book of Routes and Realms* might have not suited the encyclopedic approach in the field.

27 Goeje, *Istakhri-Balkhī*, pp. 49–50.

28 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 39; Dachraoui, Farhat: al-Mahdi 'Ubayd Allāh. E1<sup>2</sup> online.

Similarly to shedding light on the evolution of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, the strata facilitate tracing how the work circulated in the ensuing centuries. Almost every manuscript features changes to the text or the maps that challenge outlining them in a comprehensive scheme. However, building on the footnotes in the editions<sup>29</sup> as well as previous textual scrutiny,<sup>30</sup> I will use markers in three chapters to assign manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* to different branches in the work's trajectory. Following these branches, the next chapters will delve into what happened to the *Book of Routes and Realms* after the tenth century. To begin with, I will introduce the book's BASELINE as the foundation both printed editions share. As we will see in chapter 4, the first BASELINE-manuscript surfaced in the fifteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Another branch supplemented the BASELINE in *Iraq*<sup>32</sup> and *Transoxania*,<sup>33</sup> which is why I will label this version TRANSIRAQ. The third branch expanded TRANSIRAQ with sections in *Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan*,<sup>34</sup> tagged here as TRANSARMIRAQ. One outlier in the manuscript tradition enlarged TRANSARMIRAQ with sections in *Mesopotamia*.<sup>35</sup> As all branches provide information according to one linguistic style, the various supplements likely stemmed from the authors of the *Book of Routes and Realms* than later copyists or readers. In addition to the textual makeup, every branch displays a slightly different version of the maps. To distinguish one branch from another, we mostly need to look at the map representing the Persian Sea. Even though the chapter on the *Persian Sea* does not contribute to dividing the three branches, each branch illustrated the sea in a specific fashion. By examining which of the following designs a manuscript shows for the *Persian Sea*, we can assign the copy to one branch at one glance.

In the appendix, I will use this visual marker to illustrate the trajectories of the Arabic and Persian copies.<sup>36</sup>

29 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*; al-Ḥinī, Muhammad J. and al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad (1961): *Al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*. Cairo.

30 See for instance Ducène, Jean-Charles (2003): Une nouvelle description de Ṣuḥār ('Umān) extraite d'un manuscrit inexploité du Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm d'al-Iṣṭakhri. In *Arabica* 50 (1), pp. 109–113.

31 Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.), Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb Ṣurat al-Aqālīm al-Sab'a*.

32 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 85.

33 al-Ḥinī and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 179ff.

34 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 184ff.

35 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 74ff; Ms. Orient A. 1521 (1172 CE, Ar.), Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb al-Aqālīm*. Available online at <https://bit.ly/2yogseO>.

36 See Appendix 2 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* Worldwide, Possible stemmata.

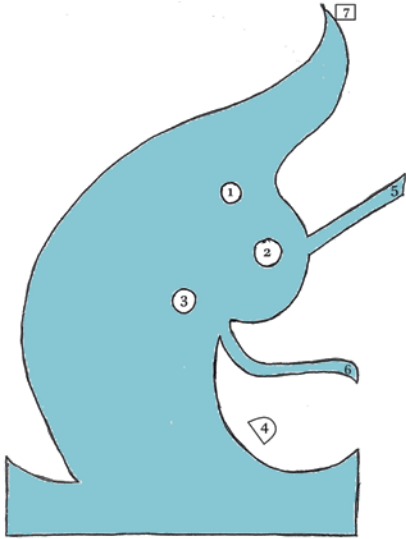


FIGURE 1 The *Persian Sea* according to the **BASELINE** as represented in Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.)  
 (1) Qishm Island; (2) Kharg Island; (3) Bahrain (4) Adam's Peak on Sri Lanka;  
 (5) Tigris River; (6) Indus River;  
 (7) al-Qulzum.

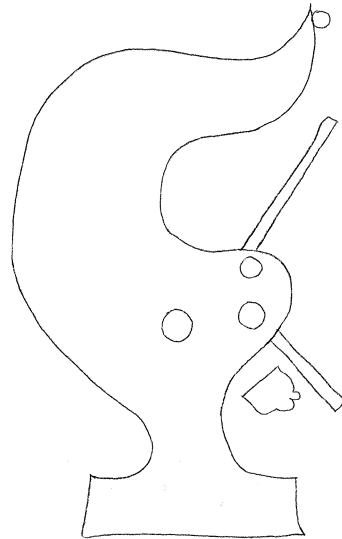


FIGURE 2 The *Persian Sea* according to **TRANSIRAQ** as represented in Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.)

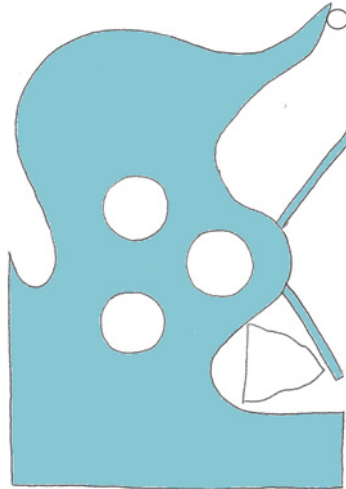


FIGURE 3 The *Persian Sea* according to **TRANSARMIRAQ** as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

## 2 The World at a Glance

According to al-Iṣṭakhri's introduction, the *Book of Routes and Realms* aimed at putting maps center stage. While the world map focused on orientation, the regional maps zoomed in on details:

My book's objective was to illustrate these regions (*aqālīm*), which nobody I know has ever done before [...] I drew the whole world as enclosed by the Encircling Ocean, where nobody goes. If someone were to look at the map (*ṣūra*), he would know where all regions are located, how they connect to each other and what their dimensions are. If he saw each region individually, he would identify its position based on the world map. However, the world map does not portray each region's size and shape exactly, because I have decided to focus on each region's location. Afterwards, individual pictures (*ṣuwar*, pl. of *ṣūra*) show the outlines of each region in the Islamic world (*bilād al-islām*), the cities it encompasses and everything that needs to be known about it.<sup>37</sup>

A rare occasion to gain insight into al-Iṣṭakhri's approach to mapping, the paragraph tells us al-Iṣṭakhri designed his world map to lay out relative positions – a contribution he considered novel. Even though claiming to enter uncharted territory may have served no other purpose than aggrandizing himself, al-Iṣṭakhri could have intended to detach his style from other ideas linked to previous maps. Considering the magic, stellar and strategic maps we have encountered in the previous chapter, a world map bringing out the administrative fabric of the world was certainly original. By comparing the introduction to the world map, we can grasp al-Iṣṭakhri's rationale for organizing the world. In this chapter, I will use the world map and several regional maps from a thirteenth(or fourteenth)-century copy of the *Book of Routes and Realms* to illustrate al-Iṣṭakhri's corner stones for mapping the world.<sup>38</sup> As the manuscript has been well preserved, it is suitable for a detailed study. Although the copy's map design deviates from other manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, the analysis applies to all versions of al-Iṣṭakhri's maps.<sup>39</sup>

Figure 4 shows the world map al-Iṣṭakhri presented in the introduction to the *Book of Routes and Realms*.

37 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 3.

38 Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.), Dublin, Chester Beatty Library. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*.

39 Many details in this copy refute the supposition it might be a modern forgery. Based on a reader note by a 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-Thāmit that provides the year 700–709 A.H. (the 700 A.H. is clearly legible; corresponding to 1301–1310 CE), the manuscript was created



FIGURE 4 The world map in Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.), Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, f. 4. The caption above the map reads “this is the image of the earth and the Encircling Ocean,” the cardinal points appear around the world map  
 © THE TRUSTEES OF THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY, DUBLIN

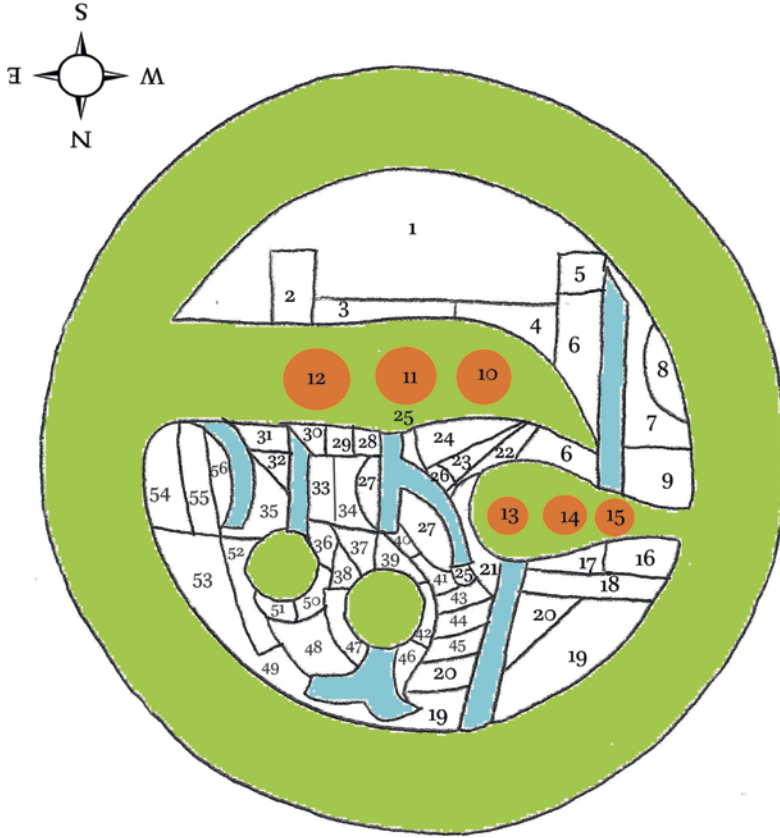


FIGURE 5 Explanation of Figure 4

- |  |                        |                                     |
|--|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Southern Deserts                                | 19. Northern Steppes   | 38. Ṭabaristān                      |
| 2. Black Africa ( <i>al-zanj</i> )                 | 20. Slavs              | 39. Azerbaijan                      |
| 3. Persian Sea                                     | 21. Byzantine Empire   | 40. Tigris                          |
| 4. Abyssinia                                       | 22. Mediterranean      | 41. ?                               |
| 5. Buja (nomadic tribes)                           | 23. Syria              | 42. Khazars                         |
| 6. Egypt   | 24. Arabian Peninsula  | 43. Alān                            |
| 7. Deserts of the Maghreb                          | 25. Euphrates          | 44. ?                               |
| 8. Land of the Blacks<br>( <i>bilād al-sūdān</i> ) | 26. Iraq               | 45. Inner Bulghār                   |
| 9. The Maghreb                                     | 27. Mesopotamia        | 46. Eastern Slavs                   |
| 10. Qishm Island                                   | 28. Khuzestan          | 47. ?                               |
| 11. Kharg Island                                   | 29. Fārs               | 48. Deserts                         |
| 12. Bahrain  | 30. Kirman             | 49. Volga                           |
| 13. Cyprus   | 31. Sindh              | 50. Aral ... ( <i>buhayra ...</i> ) |
| 14. Crete  | 32. Sijistān           | 51. ... Sea ( <i>Khwārizm</i> )     |
| 15. Sicily   | 33. Desert of Khurasan | 52. Deserts                         |
| 16. al-Andalus                                     | 34. al-Jibāl           | 53. Deserts                         |
| 17. Franks   | 35. Transoxania        | 54. China                           |
| 18. Rome   | 36. Khurasan           | 55. Tibet                           |
|  | 37. al-Daylam          | 56. India                           |

The world map integrates models from different traditions. The round shape goes back to Greek and Babylonian traditions that designed the world as a disk and the orientation south might relate to Ephorus. While the Encircling Ocean surrounding the world also occurs in Greek, Middle Persian and Semitic traditions, establishing the Persian Sea and the Mediterranean as its gulfs seems to be novel. According to Ptolemy, only the Mediterranean opened into the Encircling Ocean, whereas the Indian Ocean was landlocked.<sup>40</sup> As for geographic treatises before al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn al-Faqīh referred to a Great Sea stretching from west to east and three other major seas,<sup>41</sup> Ibn Rustah described five world seas (the Indian Sea stretching from east to west with several gulfs)<sup>42</sup> and Qudāma b. Jaʿfar also considered the largest sea to connect east to west.<sup>43</sup> One sea encircling the world also northbound and opening two gulfs seems to have had no precedent in the Islamic world.

As we can read the title and most captions (including the cardinal points outside the circle) from the perspective presented in the image above, al-Iṣṭakhri probably intended to place the world map in this position, thus establishing the top and bottom. In this copy, the map's label appears as a gateway to the image, moving the reading direction from top to bottom. However, many manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* feature the map's title and the image on separate pages, which lessens the gateway's angle. Still, considering most copies of al-Iṣṭakhri's work show the world map according to the

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before or at the turn of the fourteenth century. Moreover, the manuscript carries the seal of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) and a note by the librarian Hayreddin Hızır Atūfi (d. 1541), whom Bayezid II ordered to inventory the manuscripts at the Inner Treasury in 1502–1503 (see more in chapter 4.1). As Bryan Averbuch has shown, the additional description of Suḥār (Oman) (discussed in Ducène, *Une nouvelle description de Ṣuḥār*) in this copy relates to the region's prosperity from the tenth century onward that al-Muqaddasī also mentioned (Averbuch, Bryan (2017): Sohar. Forelands, Umland, and Hinterland in the History of an Omani Entrepôt. In al-Salimi, Abdurrahman and Staples, Eric (Eds.): *The Ports of Oman* (Studies on Ibadism and Oman, 10). Hildesheim, Zurich, pp. 185–186). The additions could, therefore, have been introduced by al-Iṣṭakhri or Ibn Ḥawqal. As for a caption in the world map that resembles the modern Kazakhstan (*bilād "kasākiyya"*), I think the copyist/illustrator misread the caption for Kimākiyya (the land of the Kimāk, Turkish people in western Siberia, see Bosworth, Kimāk. EI<sup>2</sup> online) that we already find in twelfth century manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* (for instance, Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.) and that only resembles the Arabic letters for "*kasākiyya*."

40 Dilke, *The Culmination of Greek Cartography*, p. 189.

41 Ibn al-Faqīh and Goeje, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 7.

42 Ibn Rustah and Goeje, *al-A'lāq al-Nafisa*, p. 83.

43 Qudāma b. Jaʿfar, *al-Kharāj*, p. 145.

orientation above, al-Iṣṭakhṛī probably expected the viewer to start from the empty south on top and move north, increasing the amount of information on the way.

Al-Iṣṭakhṛī arranged the world by realms (*mamālik*, sg. *mamlaka*) that he perceived as civilizations. According to the introduction, “realms are arranged by religions, cultures, power (government) and by the way they maintain good policy.”<sup>44</sup> In this outlook, al-Iṣṭakhṛī identified four “pillars” representing great realms: the Sasanian Empire, the Byzantine Empire, India and China. In addition to the pillars, al-Iṣṭakhṛī covered non-Islamicate realms such as Abyssinia and the Slavs, but discriminated against the peoples of Black Africa (*al-zanj*) and the Buja<sup>45</sup> who “lacked in all the qualities setting realms apart.” In contrast, al-Iṣṭakhṛī favored the Sasanian Empire as the “most civilized, best, politically and culturally upright.” By drawing attention to the Sasanian Empire, al-Iṣṭakhṛī replayed a tune from previous geographic texts that promoted the Iranian model in arranging the world. However, as Ibn Rustah did before him, al-Iṣṭakhṛī mixed this outlook with al-Jāḥiẓ’ approach to put Mecca first in the following regional chapters.

Considering the realms shown in the world map, al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not emphasize his bias. Taking a closer look at the sections dividing the landmass into realms and regions, we see that al-Iṣṭakhṛī included *al-zanj* (No. 2) and the Buja (No. 5) despite his disregard for them. Among the four pillars, only the outstanding Sasanian Empire had no place in al-Iṣṭakhṛī’s world map. Even though al-Iṣṭakhṛī preserved the glory of the Iranian past in the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, he focused his world map on coeval facts rather than highlighting bygone prestige. Since al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not stress the remaining three pillars (No. 21, 54, 56) in the world map either, he clearly cared more about accommodating realms than championing them, irrespective of their importance – pointing to his work’s function as a reference book.

Moreover, the world map does not show the Islamicate world as a unit or highlight it either. The introduction explains that “when Islam came,” it seized parts from the pillars, forming the *mamlakat al-islām*.<sup>46</sup> Compared to the Sasanian Empire, al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not glorify the Islamicate world. Similar to previous geographic texts, al-Iṣṭakhṛī’s *mamlakat al-islām* included regions not under Abbasid control, such as al-Andalus, which indicates he did not

44 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *al-Masālik*, p. 4 (also for the other quotes in this paragraph).

45 Nomadic tribes living between the Nile River and Red Sea (Holt, Pedro M.: *Beḍja*. EI<sup>2</sup> online).

46 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *al-Masālik*, p. 4.

promote an imperial outlook. In addition, even though al-Iṣṭakhrī considered the pillars to belong to one ruler who resided in the realm's capital (Baghdad for the Islamicate world),<sup>47</sup> he did not translate the alleged political unity into the world map. Instead, we see regions such as Fārs (No. 29) and Egypt (No. 6) building the mosaic of the *mamlakat al-islām*. In presenting the Islamicate world according to administrative entities, al-Iṣṭakhrī may have simply conveyed his insight into the realm based on experience as well as sources he consulted. However, as he refrained from hemming in the Islamicate realm through a thick line or another boundary, he did not intend to advertise a political integrity. In the same paragraph, al-Iṣṭakhrī even mentioned the “realms of Islam” (*mamālik al-islām*), indicating he realized the plural makeup of the Islamicate world. As the *Book of Routes and Realms* kept otherwise silent about the ruler from the Abbasid capital, the world map reflected al-Iṣṭakhrī's perspective on the Islamicate world as being fragmented.

As for regions, al-Iṣṭakhrī devised them according to features. When explaining that he divided the Islamicate world into twenty regions, al-Iṣṭakhrī clarified that he did not imply the (Ptolemaic) seven climes. Without spelling out why he chose the number twenty and what constituted a region, al-Iṣṭakhrī stated:

I began with the Arabian Peninsula which I have considered a region (*iqḷīm*) because the Kaaba and Mecca are in it, at its center. Then I continued with the Persian Sea because it encloses most of the Arabian Peninsula, then the Maghreb [...]<sup>48</sup>

Apart from the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Sea, al-Iṣṭakhrī did not point out what features established the remaining regions. Considering al-Iṣṭakhrī operated along regional lines that previous geographic texts had already introduced, his division may not have called for any justification. However, al-Iṣṭakhrī may have aimed at stressing that his structure was original by focusing on the remarkable in every region. Even though he copied al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn al-Faqīh by putting Mecca first, al-Iṣṭakhrī customized the convention to his system. While Ibn al-Faqīh and other authors devoted entire chapters to the sanctuaries, al-Iṣṭakhrī wove them into the fabric forming the Islamicate world: the regions. Although the pieces building the *mamlakat al-islām* in the *Book of Routes and Realms* related to previous geographic and administrative texts, al-Iṣṭakhrī

47 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, pp. 9–10.

48 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 3.

pointed out from the very beginning that he organized the Islamicate world according to regional units rather than cardinal points or *kishvar*.

The world map portrays al-Iṣṭakhri's focus on regions, without highlighting any zone in particular. Even though al-Iṣṭakhri stressed the importance of the Arabian Peninsula (No. 24) for the *umma* and praised Transoxania (No. 35) for its prosperity and kind people in the text,<sup>49</sup> he did not translate his judgement into a larger unit, separate color or any other visual marker on the world map that could have drawn attention to the regions. Instead, we see all Islamicate regions in similar sizes and, more importantly, nothing but their names to set them apart. Although the regional proportions in the world map fluctuated between the BASELINE, TRANSIRAQ and TRANSARMIRAQ, none of them promoted one region over another.

However, all versions of the *Book of Routes and Realms* place the Arabian Peninsula more or less at the world map's center. While the region's position does not compare to the golden Jerusalem in *mappae mundi*, we might suppose al-Iṣṭakhri rooted his perspective in the religious center of the Islamicate world. However, the earliest manuscripts displaying the world map according to the BASELINE,<sup>50</sup> TRANSIRAQ<sup>51</sup> and TRANSARMIRAQ<sup>52</sup> do not show the Arabian Peninsula at exactly the geometric center. As in the world map shown above, the Euphrates (No. 25) and Tigris (No. 40) may have been the intended focus as well. Rather than assuming a religious agenda for a mapmaker from the Islamicate world,<sup>53</sup> we might consider that al-Iṣṭakhri highlighted the rivers creating the fertile Sawād, which was at the heart of administrative manuals. Considering this area had mattered to the Sasanian Empire before the Abbasid, putting it center stage in the world map might have echoed al-Iṣṭakhri's appraisal of the former Iranian dominion. Even if we assume the geometric center on the world map oscillated between the religious and economic center of the Islamicate realm, the world maps in TRANSIRAQ and TRANSARMIRAQ further indicate that al-Iṣṭakhri favored accommodating all regions over emphasizing a center. While the BASELINE showed the world map on one page, the other branches presented it on two opposite pages, burying the geometric center in the middle. If al-Iṣṭakhri contributed to revising the maps in the *Book of Routes and Realms*, he curtailed the center's prominence between the pages.

49 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 287.

50 Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.).

51 Ms. Cod. orient. 300 (1675 CE, Ar.), Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*). Available online at <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh2431>.

52 Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.).

53 See for instance Ahmad, Kharīṭa. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Busse, *Historiographie und Geographie*, p. 295.

The world map's margins reveal how al-Iṣṭakhrī's knowledge ebbed away the farther he shifted from the Islamicate world. While the band between China (No. 54) and the Maghreb (No. 9) brims over with regions and realms, the northern and southern sections grow empty. In order to not leave fields blank, al-Iṣṭakhrī filled areas in the south and north with generic "desert(s)" (No. 1, 19, 48). Although this strategy might point to al-Iṣṭakhrī trying to disguise his lack of insight into the south and the north, the rather empty African continent suggests otherwise. Not only did he accommodate the realms he dismissed in the text, like the *al-zanj* (No. 2), he cleared the remaining space for – possibly – later amendments by those familiar with the continent. While Africa's emptiness might relate to previous authors like Ibn Khurrādadhbih who considered it uninhabitable due to the heat, al-Iṣṭakhrī still granted Africa a large zone on the world map. Rather than scaling the space down or reducing its caption to "the deserted south," al-Iṣṭakhrī allocated an area to the continent that matched the physical proportions recognized in his period. Even though al-Iṣṭakhrī covered his geographic gaps in the north, he left room for the unknown in the south.

However, neither remote nor close areas featured symbols. By embracing icons and indices only, al-Iṣṭakhrī's world map does not echo narratives a viewer needed to recognize. Instead, we see icons representing rivers and seas, some with islands and most characterized by captions. Additionally, the cubicles filling the earth serve as indices for the realms and regions whose names al-Iṣṭakhrī also provided. Based on the items al-Iṣṭakhrī placed on the world map, the viewer only required knowledge of Arabic to gain access to the image's meaning. Compared to *mappae mundi*, al-Iṣṭakhrī set a low bar for making sense of his world map, which suggests he did not cater to a specialized audience. Moreover, al-Iṣṭakhrī's design indicates he did not try to frame the world according to cultural, historical or religious narratives. The level of detail regarding the Islamicate world and the world's margins reveal al-Iṣṭakhrī's background and knowledge and point to an encyclopedic outlook presented in the world map. By focusing on laying out the mosaic of realms and regions al-Iṣṭakhrī knew about, he followed the goal from the introduction.

Furthermore, Gog and Magog illustrate how al-Iṣṭakhrī silenced *mirabilia* in the world map. In describing the four pillars, al-Iṣṭakhrī pointed out:

As for China, the Encircling Ocean stretches to the realm's east and north [...] the Encircling Ocean spans to its west as well, if we put Gog and Magog and their ilk into China's sea.<sup>54</sup>

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54 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, pp. 5–6.

While acknowledging that Gog and Magog belonged to the geographic convention in his field, al-Iṣṭakhri decided to leave out this fictional element in the world map. Although al-Iṣṭakhri did not clarify why he excluded Gog and Magog from the world map, the paragraph tells us he handpicked what to show and what to leave out. Based on the items displayed in the world map, al-Iṣṭakhri's choice rested on facts rather than narratives. However, some Persian manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* hold a caption indicating Gog and Magog in the world map.<sup>55</sup> These manuscripts trace back to TRANSARMIRAQ, whose earliest copy carrying the world map may have also included the caption.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, the manuscript is damaged in the area designating "Gog and Magog" in the Persian copies. Nevertheless, we can discern a highlighted section in the northern margin that used to host a caption, similar to the Sudan and *al-zanj* in the same map (position like No. 2 and 8 in the map above). The section is big enough to contain Gog and Magog (*yājūj wa-mājūj*). Considering neither the BASELINE nor TRANSIRAQ featured the caption, someone seems to have added it in the evolution of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Since Ibn Ḥawqal's world map accommodated Gog and Magog, he was the most likely suspect for the change.<sup>57</sup>

The waters and regional proportions further reveal al-Iṣṭakhri's choices for envisioning the world. By portraying the Persian Sea and the Mediterranean, the world map matched the introduction that pointed out the former was larger, whereas the latter had an even shape.<sup>58</sup> As al-Iṣṭakhri upheld the dimensions and forms on the map, he recognized these seas as building blocks relevant to grasping the world. When it came to depicting other seas, al-Iṣṭakhri prioritized by size. While the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea made the cut, al-Iṣṭakhri skipped those in Africa and beyond the Byzantine Empire because they were smaller and more abundant.<sup>59</sup> Although al-Iṣṭakhri realized the world had more seas, he chose to cover only those looming large in his mind. Not only does this strategy affirm al-Iṣṭakhri lacked detailed knowledge of sub-Saharan Africa and Europe, it shows he preferred sprucing up the world rather than overwhelming the viewer with a disarray of items. This is probably why the

55 For instance Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), Oxford, Bodleian Library. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Šuwar al-Buldān*); Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.), Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*; Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 (ca. 1500–1550 CE, Pers.), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb Šurat al-Aqālīm*.

56 Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.).

57 Ibn Ḥawqal and Kramers, *Opus geographicum*, pp. 8–9.

58 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, pp. 6–7.

59 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 8.

Balkh River in Khurasan does not appear on the world map. Since al-Iṣṭakhṛī referred to this river to describe how far the *mamlakat al-islām* stretched,<sup>60</sup> identifying the Balkh River on the world map might have improved the viewer's understanding. However, al-Iṣṭakhṛī had already placed the Indus River as well as the Oxus River in the eastern section of the world map, and three would have been a crowd.<sup>61</sup>

This discrepancy between the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms* and the world map stresses that al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not aim at illustrating his knowledge to the letter. Instead, al-Iṣṭakhṛī designed the world map to fit all realms he knew about and then water bodies, as long as they looked orderly together. In arranging the world according to (administrative) borders, seas and rivers, al-Iṣṭakhṛī therefore preferred orientation over precision. Rather than devising a larger, foldable map to contain his insights, al-Iṣṭakhṛī fashioned a map showing the world at a glance. To do so, he reduced regions and realms to sections marking their position, neglecting proportions and shapes. By opening the introduction with the world map, al-Iṣṭakhṛī established a relationship between text and image that extended to the regional chapters: the maps lay out corner stones for picturing an area, whereas the text fills the gaps with detailed dimensions, history and details about trade. With this picture in mind, the audience could get a better sense for the specifics in the text and file them according to the sections of the map. To serve as mnemonic devices for framing details from the text, the maps had to set the world in order by cutting down visual 'noise' such as three rivers in one area.

By curtailing the world map's colors, al-Iṣṭakhṛī reinforced order. In addition to the captions naming regions and topography, the world map contained brown islands as well as blue and green waters. Similar to other items in the world map, al-Iṣṭakhṛī chose to represent water through an icon (blue) that most viewers would decipher without special skills – a feature befitting a general reference book. Although each manuscript of the *Book of Routes and Realms* features an individual palette, several copies from TRANSIRAQ and TRANSARMIRAQ (to which the maps in this chapter belong) show rivers in blue and seas in green. Considering all copies from the BASELINE portray all water bodies in blue, the change in color probably evolved with the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Although al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not tell us anything about the colors he intended for the maps, a closer look at the text reveals that he described the Persian Sea, the Mediterranean and the Caspian Sea as holding saltwater.<sup>62</sup>

60 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *al-Masālik*, p. 6.

61 The world map above does not hold the captions for the Indus River and the Oxus River. The Indus River is between No. 35 and 56; the Oxus River is between No. 33 and 35.

62 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *al-Masālik*, p. 163; 52; 218.

Therefore, blue and green may have served to distinguish between fresh water and saltwater. However, during the transmission of the *Book of Routes and Realms* this separation faded. As a result, Persian copies tracing back to TRANSIRAQ and TRANSARMIRAQ illustrated all water bodies in blue. By portraying the earth at a glance, al-Iṣṭakhrī aimed to present the world's anatomy, into which the reader could zoom in through the regional maps.

### 3 The Islamicate Realm in Pieces

In arranging the Islamicate world, al-Iṣṭakhrī embraced patterns introduced by al-Jāhīz and Ibn al-Faḳīh. After starting with the *Arabian Peninsula*, al-Iṣṭakhrī also moved west to the *Maghreb* via *Egypt* and then turned east, reaching as far as *Transoxania*. By forgoing cardinal points or a central Iraq for organizing the Islamicate world, al-Iṣṭakhrī reinforced models differing from al-Ya'qūbī's and Ibn Khurrādadhbih's astronomical outlooks that were informed by the *kishvar*. Moreover, al-Iṣṭakhrī introduced a structure solely based on regions. While previous authors alternated between chapters about regions, cities, peoples and sights, al-Iṣṭakhrī confined all information to regional boundaries. No matter the detail he picked up about Baghdad, nobles in Fārs or rulers in al-Andalus, al-Iṣṭakhrī placed them in the respective region rather than a separate chapter. This strategy allowed the reader to envision the realm's mosaic and look up facts pertaining to each section – like in a reference book. Together with the maps in each chapter, al-Iṣṭakhrī devised the *Book of Routes and Realms* to facilitate picturing the Islamicate world through its regional 'tiles.'<sup>63</sup> To help navigate the realm's scope, al-Iṣṭakhrī zoomed out to higher levels at times, such as with the *Persian Sea* and the *Mediterranean* that connected several regions. As we will see below, this textual strategy matched al-Iṣṭakhrī's mapping.

By staging the Islamicate world according to regions, al-Iṣṭakhrī focused on space rather than rule. Similar to the world map which was missing the Abbasid realm, the regional chapters and maps did not pivot on local rulers. Instead of linking regions to a ruling dynasty, al-Iṣṭakhrī opened each chapter with a description of the regional map along its contours. Although political events surfaced throughout the *Book of Routes and Realms*, they were the understudy to cities, agriculture and distances. For instance, al-Iṣṭakhrī hardly acknowledged events pointing to the crisis in Caliph al-Muqtadir's reign (908–32). After the Qarāmiṭa had attacked Mecca during the hajj in 929, killing pilgrims, stripping

63 Regarding the organization of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, I disagree with Paul Heck who claimed al-Iṣṭakhrī's arrangement was less "tightly organized" than Qudāma b. Ja'far's (Heck, *Construction of Knowledge*, p. 117).

the Kaaba's cover and taking the Black Stone, al-Iṣṭakhri simply changed his account of the Black Stone to the past tense.<sup>64</sup> Even if a writer other than al-Iṣṭakhri had introduced this sober adjustment to echo the scandal, the makeup of the *Book of Routes and Realms* did not put politics center stage. Similarly, al-Iṣṭakhri referred to Ṭabaristān at the Caspian Sea as enjoying durable rule, without mentioning the region's independence from the Abbasid center.<sup>65</sup>

Al-Iṣṭakhri did not present the space under Muslim rule as revolving around one remarkable region. Although al-Iṣṭakhri sang Transoxania's praises, he put it last in the *Book of Routes and Realms*:

Transoxania is among the most fertile, pure and prosperous regions of Islam. Its people seek to do good and to grant everything to those who ask – without much ado; instead with integrity, generosity within their power, utmost strength, stamina, courage, willingness, means, with body and arms.<sup>66</sup>

Throughout the entire *Book of Routes and Realms*, al-Iṣṭakhri never championed another region like Transoxania. However, holding the region dear did not trump respecting Ibn al-Faqih's model for presenting the Islamicate world. Beyond grounding the *Book of Routes and Realms* in a convention, al-Iṣṭakhri cared more about covering all units within the *mamlakat al-islām* than promoting one over another. While echoing the political fragmentation of his time, al-Iṣṭakhri's units detached from dynasties controlling the territory. Most likely relating to administrative sectors, al-Iṣṭakhri's units could rather be filled with any reign imaginable. By focusing on spatial containers without a political center, al-Iṣṭakhri created a timeless structure that could be amended according to future changes. Even if conquering or losing territories did not always apply to entire regions, the *Book of Routes and Realms* facilitated attaching and removing (or further dividing) tiles from the Islamicate world to picture its extent.

Although the *Book of Routes and Realms* included fractures displaying how the work evolved into its final form, al-Iṣṭakhri aimed at bringing all chapters

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64 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 16.

65 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, pp. 211–212; Haug, Robert (2018): Local, Regional and Imperial Politics. Ṭabaristān and the Early Empire, Struggle and Integration on Multiple Levels, paper presented at the conference *The Reach of Empire – The Early Islamic Empire at Work*. ERC project “The Early Islamic Empire at Work – The View from the Regions Toward the Center.” Universität Hamburg, 2018/10/12; see also Melville, Charles (2000): The Caspian provinces. A World Apart Three Local Histories of Mazandaran. In *Iranian Studies* 33 (1–2), pp. 45–91.

66 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 287.

in line regarding the string of information. Similar to Ptolemy's *periosimos*, al-Iṣṭakhri began each chapter by defining the region's boundaries according to its *hudūd* (frontiers, scope) or water bodies. While al-Iṣṭakhri did not elaborate on how he confined areas to borders, the text and the maps suggest he envisioned cities as markers delineating regions.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, cities played the lead in the main section of each chapter. While al-Iṣṭakhri described some cities only as big or small, he revealed more details about others, giving accounts of climate and currencies in regions such as Fārs. Despite displaying his familiarity with specific areas, al-Iṣṭakhri aimed at arranging the information about every region according to urban units. Similar to regional tiles on the world-level, al-Iṣṭakhri zoomed in on smaller containers to handle the regions. Following Ibn Khurrādadhbih's style, al-Iṣṭakhri listed distances between the cities at the end of each chapter. By establishing this tripartite structure, al-Iṣṭakhri pursued a strategy we have already encountered in biographical dictionaries: to emphasize coherence among individuals (here: regions), shared features were repeated in a formulaic fashion. Although al-Iṣṭakhri presented the Islamic world in (regional) pieces, he stressed similarities to allow connecting the areas on a structural level – like a geographic dictionary. While the *Book of Routes and Realms* certainly acknowledged regional characteristics, al-Iṣṭakhri's arrangement facilitated future amendments if a city vanished or appeared. Moreover, readers could follow al-Iṣṭakhri's presentation because they knew what to expect after the first region. Thanks to al-Iṣṭakhri's pattern, the *mamlakat al-islām* appeared to be fragmented into comparable units.

In the range of topics covered in the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *mirabilia* played a minor role. While addressing the cities' fortifications, export goods and social makeup, al-Iṣṭakhri rarely pointed out sights. Rather than delving into fabulous accounts, al-Iṣṭakhri only referred to realistic *'ajā'ib* such as the crocodiles in the Nile River or the mountain near Khulwān in Iraq, where snow never ceased to fall.<sup>68</sup> However down-to-earth al-Iṣṭakhri devised his chapters, he neglected practical advice regarding a region's languages, currencies or dangers. Al-Iṣṭakhri brought up options for accommodation once in the entire *Book of Routes and Realms*, saying the Syrian city Baghrās had the only guest house in the region.<sup>69</sup> With a focus on infrastructure, trade and history, al-Iṣṭakhri appealed to an audience involved in administration like the *kuttāb*,

67 This principle features to some extent in the regional maps as well, see for instance Appendix 1 Map outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms, Iraq*, Figure 59 and *Desert between Khurasan and Fārs*, Figure 76.

68 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 50; 87.

69 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 65.



FIGURE 6 The *Arabian Peninsula* in Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.), Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, f. 12v

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rather than create a tenth-century *Lonely Planet*. As mentioned above, travelers in this period relied on guides anyway, rendering a written guide moot. Similar to the text, al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not devise the regional maps to communicate practicality.

Three regional maps suffice to illustrate al-Iṣṭakhṛī's strategy in visualizing space: the maps of the *Arabian Peninsula*, the *Maghreb* and *Egypt* (Figs. 6–11), three regions adjoining each other in the world map. To facilitate zooming into the regional level, al-Iṣṭakhṛī maintained the cardinal points as well as the color code for water bodies.

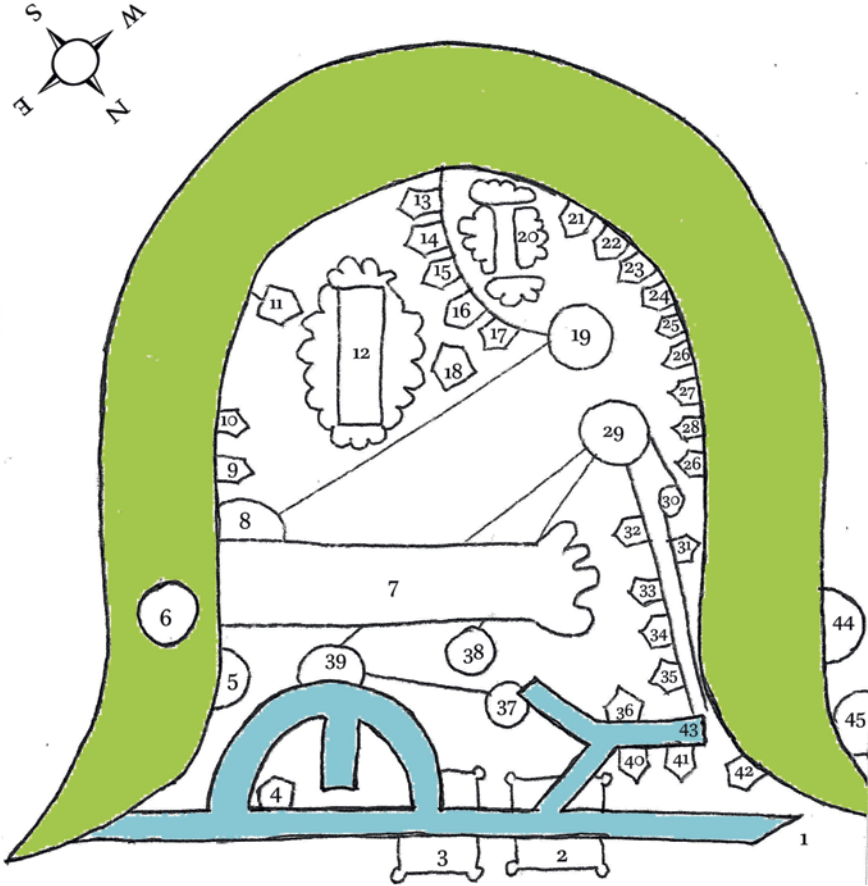


FIGURE 7 Explanation of Figure 6

- |   |                      |                  |
|---|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Tigris   | 14. Şafā             | 30. ?            |
| 2. Baghdad  | 15. Hamdān           | 31. ?            |
| 3. Wāsiṭ  | 16. Şa'da            | 32. Tabūk        |
| 4. al-Ubulla  | 17. Jurash           | 33. Taymā'       |
| 5. Abadan   | 18. ?                | 34. Mu'an        |
| 7. Red Sands ending in the Aja' and Salmā Mountains | 19. Mecca            | 35. Palmyra      |
| 8. Bahrain  | 20. Tihāma Mountains | 36. al-Khunāşira |
| 9. Hajjar   | 21. Zabid            | 37. al-Kūfa      |
| 10. Şuḥār (Oman)                                    | 22. ?                | 38. al-Qādisiyya |
| 11. al-Yamāma                                       | 23. ?                | 39. Basra        |
| 12. Khawlān   | 24. Jidda            | 40. al-Anbār     |
| 13. Aden  | 25. al-Juḥfa         | 41. Raqqa        |
|   | 26. al-Jār           | 42. Bālis        |
|   | 27. Madayn           | 43. Euphrates    |
|   | 28. ?                | 44. 'Aydhāb      |
|   | 29. Medina           | 45. al-Qulzum    |

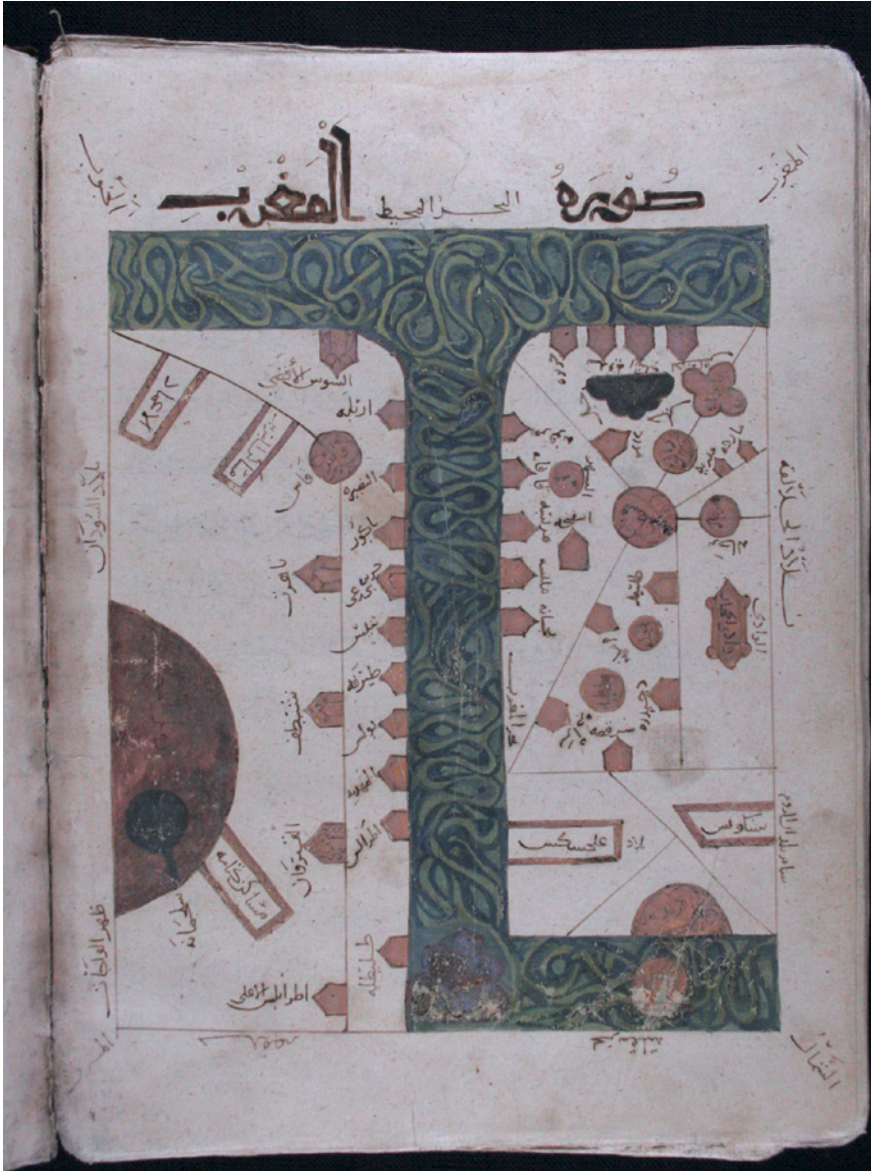


FIGURE 8 The *Maghreb* in Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.), Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, f. 29v  
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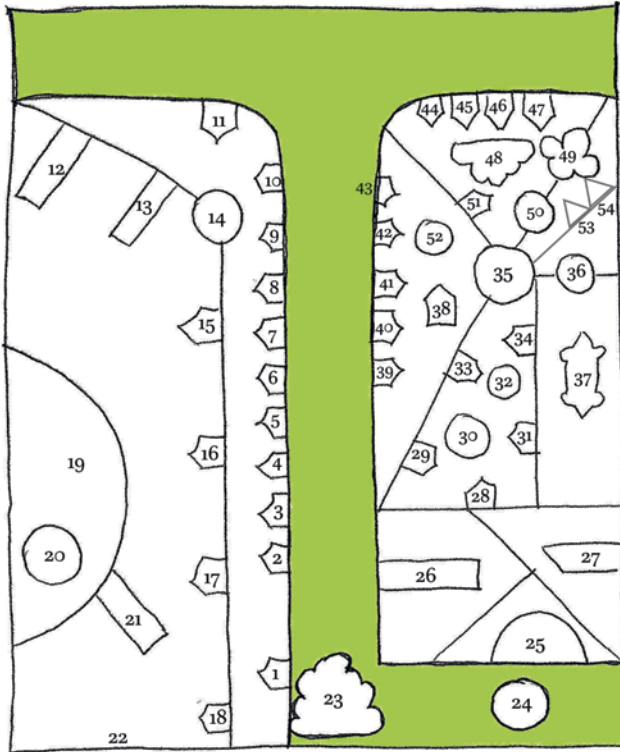


FIGURE 9 Explanation of Figure 8

- |                                |                      |                     |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Barqa (here: Toledo)        | 16. Sétif            | 36. Trujillo        |
| 2. Tripoli (ancient Oea)       | 17. Kairouan         | 37. Guadalajara     |
| 3. al-Mahdiyya                 | 18. "Higher Tripoli" | 38. ?               |
| 4. Tunis                       | 19. Mine Sands       | 39. Tortosa         |
| 5. Ṭabarqa                     | 20. Sijilmāsa        | 40. Valencia        |
| 6. Tanas                       | 21. Kutāma Dwelling  | 41. Murcia          |
| 7. Island[s] of Banī Mazghannā | 22. Border of Egypt  | 42. Pechina         |
| 8. Nākūr                       | 23. Jabal al-Qilāl   | 43. Malaga          |
| 9. al-Başra                    | 24. Sicily           | 44. Algeciras       |
| 10. Azila                      | 25. Franks           | 45. Medina-Sidonia  |
| 11. Sūs al-Aqşā                | 26. Part of Italy    | 46. Seville         |
| 12. Posts                      | 27. Basques          | 47. Osonoba         |
| 13. Berber Dwelling            | 28. ?                | 48. Gibraltar       |
| 14. Fès                        | 29. ?                | 49. Santarém        |
| 15. Tāhart                     | 30. Tudela           | 50. Beja (Portugal) |
|                                | 31. Lérida           | 51. Carmona         |
|                                | 32. Saragossa        | 52. Ecija           |
|                                | 33. Jaén             | 53. Coria           |
|                                | 34. Toledo           | 54. Mérida          |
|                                | 35. Cordoba          |                     |



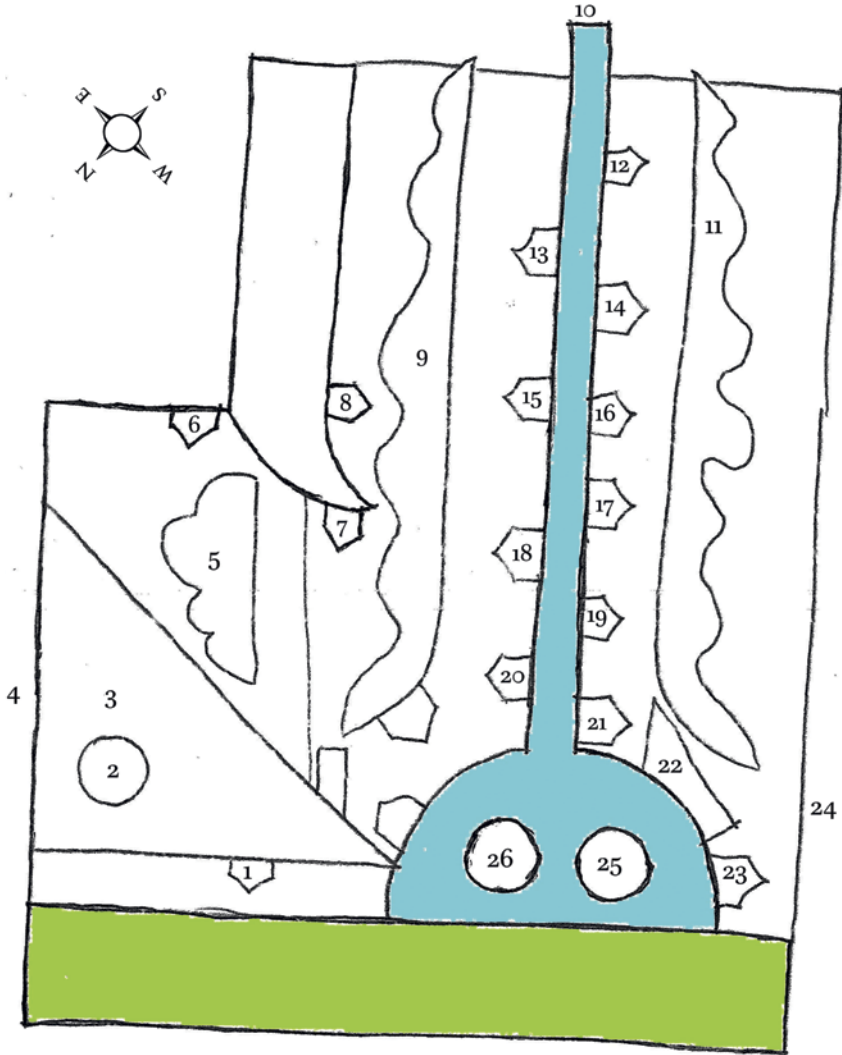


FIGURE 11 Explanation of Figure 10

- |  |                        |                            |
|--|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Gaza                                    | 9. Mount Muqaṭṭam      | 20. ?                      |
| 2. al-'Arīsh                               | 10. Nile River         | 21. al-Faramā              |
| 3. Desert of the Israelites (Banū Isrā'īl) | 11. al-Wāḥāt Mountains | 22. Countryside            |
| 4. Borders of Syria                        | 12. Aswān              | 23. Alexandria             |
| 5. Mount Sinai                             | 13. Būṣīr              | 24. Borders of the Maghreb |
| 6. Jabala                                  | 14. ?                  | 25. Tinnīs                 |
| 7. al-Qulzum                               | 15. Al-Fuṣṭāṭ          | 26. Damietta               |
| 8. 'Aydhāb                                 | 16. Akhmīm             | 27. ?                      |
|  | 17. Al-Ushmūnayn       | 28. al-Faramā (?)          |
|  | 18. Damīra             |                            |
|  | 19. al-Fayyūm          |                            |

Similar to the world map, the regional maps introduced indexical and iconic items only. The polygons dispersed across the maps represented cities, with captions clarifying the locations. Larger polygons and circles depicted deserts, such as the Desert of the Israelites in *Egypt* (Figure 11, No. 3). Cloudlike shapes hinted at mountains, which al-Iṣṭakhri mostly explained through captions. As for the lines in the maps, they remain ambiguous. They delineated regions at the margins, such as indicated by captions like “borders of the *Maghreb*” (Figure 11, No. 24 or Figure 9, No. 22). When connecting cities, the lines might have indicated routes. However, only the map of the *Desert of Khurasan and Fārs* displayed captions above the lines saying “route to ...” (*ṭarīq ...*).<sup>70</sup> Although this map appeared towards the end of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, al-Iṣṭakhri did not feel the need to explain the lines from the first map onwards, suggesting he viewed them as self-explanatory. However, we also find lines bypassing cities like in *Egypt* (Figure 11, between al-Qulzum (No. 7) and the Desert of the Israelites (No. 3), which leaves us in the dark about their meaning. Even consulting the text does not yield conclusive results. Considering al-Iṣṭakhri sometimes referred to regional districts in the text, the lines might have depicted the sectors within a region. However, when it comes to *Egypt*, the chapter did not bring up any interior areas.<sup>71</sup>

By avoiding symbols in all maps, al-Iṣṭakhri detached their readability from his cultural background. As the text shows, al-Iṣṭakhri could have embellished every map with various details relating to the region’s history, economy or culture. However, he chose to silence these topics in the maps to instill understanding and order through simplicity. Considering al-Iṣṭakhri showcased himself as an expert on the Islamicate world, he felt no need to silence the unknown or accommodate symbols for it in the maps. Rather than overcompensating by highlighting items most of his audience would have understood, such as the Kaaba or the Lighthouse of Alexandria, al-Iṣṭakhri focused on the regional structure consisting of cities and topography.

In arranging the items on the map, al-Iṣṭakhri resorted to good continuity and symmetry to emphasize order. Al-Iṣṭakhri designed the Arabian Peninsula as well as North Africa and al-Andalus as symmetric shapes governing the patterns in their respective maps. Zooming into these shapes, cities as well as rivers or mountains pop up as symmetric items against the backdrop of the larger space. By depicting each item group (city, water, mountains) in a similar fashion, al-Iṣṭakhri additionally facilitated navigating the information he showed.

<sup>70</sup> See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms, Desert between Khurasan and Fārs* (Figure 76).

<sup>71</sup> Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 48f.

In the map of the *Arabian Peninsula*, Baghdad and Wāsiṭ (Fig. 7, No. 2 and 3) further illustrate how al-Iṣṭakhrī favored good continuity to help differentiate between items: The lines laying out the cities clearly follow their own pattern, while the bar representing the Tigris River goes in its own direction. In weaving the pattern of each region, al-Iṣṭakhrī aimed at instilling a sense of harmony to help comprehend the structure.

Whether al-Iṣṭakhrī introduced varying sizes and colors for the cities, remains unclear. While al-Iṣṭakhrī did not elaborate on his strategy in depicting cities, we find different designs throughout the branches of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. The maps above belong to TRANSARMIRAQ and display cities in different sizes and shapes, whereas the BASELINE shows most cities with a uniform square and TRANSIRAQ oscillates between both options. However, some examples suggest al-Iṣṭakhrī might have prioritized cities by size. In a twelfth-century copy belonging to TRANSARMIRAQ,<sup>72</sup> regional metropolises such as Shiraz in *Fārs* appear as larger circles which might relate to their importance highlighted in the text.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, all branches accentuate Mecca and Medina in the *Arabian Peninsula*, corresponding to their prominence in the description of the region. In the BASELINE, the square representing Medina is slightly larger than other cities in the region and a cloudlike shape surrounds Mecca, drawing the attention to the city. In TRANSIRAQ, the holy sites were also either enlarged or emphasized with additional shapes surrounding the cities. As for TRANSARMIRAQ as represented by the maps above, the circles representing Mecca and Medina are larger than other cities, but still compare to metropolises such as Baghdad at the map's bottom.

Throughout the transmission of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, illustrators followed different strategies in fashioning the items on the maps. While some illustrators reproduced their models down to the reading direction of every caption, others transformed cities into decorative flowers such as Santarém (No. 49) in Figure 9 or in later copies like Ms. C 610.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, variations might just as well have resulted from human error as seen in the mistakes made by scribes and illustrators. The above map of the *Maghreb* is a case in point, where the illustrator confused Cordoba (Figure 9, No. 35) with Constantinople, probably due to the similar spelling in Arabic or because he remembered the

72 Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.), Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*. Available online at <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1577846>.

73 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 97.

74 Ms. C 610 (1751 CE, Pers.), St. Petersburg, Institut vostochnykh rukopisey Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*); see Figure 29 in the Conclusion: Making Sense of the *Book of Routes and Realms*.

name from the map of the *Mediterranean*. Perhaps his attention lapsed because he could not wait to get home for dinner and bed.

As with the world map, we have to guess how al-Iṣṭakhrī designed the colors in the regional maps. While we do not know which colors al-Iṣṭakhrī chose and adjusted during the evolution of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, he probably meant for every type of item to appear in the same color. However different the designs in the existing manuscript copies, they all portray cities, water, deserts and mountains in one range of colors. Some illustrators dyed cities in one color, like brown in the above maps, while others presented them in green, red and yellow.<sup>75</sup> Despite individual tastes, illustrators never used one color for two different types of items. In the copy with multicolor cities, the illustrator depicted mountains and deserts in grey and ocre. By maintaining a color code according to the type of item, all illustrators might have followed al-Iṣṭakhrī's original strategy. Although the exact hues vanished over time, al-Iṣṭakhrī probably used colors to add to the sense of order and harmony. Not only did the code help in recognizing the items across the regional maps, it also emphasized inter-regional similarity. In contrast to the regional characteristics appearing in the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, the maps portrayed all regions according to the same set of information, including similar shapes and colors. Even though al-Iṣṭakhrī illustrated the Islamic world piece by piece, his strategy in shaping and coloring connected the regions.

When al-Iṣṭakhrī alternated the orientation in the regional maps, he seems to have modeled the regions according to a pattern he found suitable. Although al-Iṣṭakhrī did not elaborate on this pattern, he seems to have based it on water bodies. Only the map of the *Desert between Khurasan and Fārs* (region 17) remained without water, whereas every other map featured a distinctive river or sea. Taking up the largest areas in color, the water bodies served as the region's identifier. By putting every region on one page, al-Iṣṭakhrī ensured the water shape stood out. After scanning al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps across the manuscript tradition, I appreciate this strategy because it helps recognize regions at a glance: the *Arabian Peninsula* is the one with the rolling bar of water thinning out at the edges, *Egypt* is the one with the bar at the bottom and another (the Nile) perpendicular to it and so forth. Not only do the shapes assist in setting the regions apart, they also help to memorize them. As al-Iṣṭakhrī coordinated the water bodies across the 21 maps (see below), his design clearly revolved around them. Considering most copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* show the maps according to the same alignment, al-Iṣṭakhrī established a top and

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75 For instance in Ms. 1331 (incl. 9610) (13th–14th c., Pers.), Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: *Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*.

bottom to every map. However, he did not aim at prioritizing the information at the top over the bottom, but rather to arrange the identifier to his liking. Since al-Iṣṭakhṛī never compared the identifiers to shapes from his everyday life or something he had encountered before, we have no way of knowing if they reminded him of objects or if he could have rotated the maps just as easily.

In choosing what to put on the map, al-Iṣṭakhṛī favored regional characteristics and cities with a pulpit (in Friday mosques). While remaining silent about the strategy in mapping the Islamic world for most of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, al-Iṣṭakhṛī elaborated on it in the introduction to *Fārs*. Considering al-Iṣṭakhṛī built the *Book of Routes and Realms* on his treatise about *Fārs*, it makes sense to find his master plan in this chapter. Since al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not bother moving the clues to the beginning of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, he either considered the maps to be self-explanatory or tallied the comment as part of the work which did not require further streamlining. Here is what al-Iṣṭakhṛī disclosed about *Fārs*:

I have already depicted *Fārs* according to its borders, which did not encompass the districts – they are too numerous and scattered. Moreover, I left out the mountains because they cover *Fārs*, constantly in plain sight. I only portrayed cities that are known to have a famous pulpit (*minbar*). Someone who read the *risāla* [treatise about *Fārs*] knows that I have mentioned the position of every district and the positions of their cities.<sup>76</sup>

Similar to the world map, al-Iṣṭakhṛī omitted items that would have disturbed the order in the regional maps. Although al-Iṣṭakhṛī knew *Fārs* comprised nothing but mountains, he silenced them altogether due to their number. Based on his remark about the *Arabian Peninsula* representing a region because of the Kaaba, we could have expected al-Iṣṭakhṛī to highlight the mountains of *Fārs* as the region's characteristic. However, as he structured the regions according to the water bodies first and had already filled *Fārs* with various seas and rivers,<sup>77</sup> spreading mountains across the region would have been overkill. By prioritizing the blue identifiers in the region, al-Iṣṭakhṛī revealed how little he cared about his maps suiting travelers. Knowing to prepare for steep routes would have certainly been appreciated by travelers, had they been the target audience. As trips by water were the exception and al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not refer to any distances on sea, he hardly designed the regional identifiers to represent routes. However, in addition to shaping each region, the emphasis on water

<sup>76</sup> Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhṛī, *al-Masālik*, p. 97.

<sup>77</sup> See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *Fārs* (Figure 65).

bodies may have related to the trade that al-Iṣṭakhri embedded in every chapter. Although al-Iṣṭakhri rarely pointed out ports,<sup>78</sup> water bodies may have hinted at the regional economy that mattered to *kuttāb* readers.

By selecting cities with pulpits for the regional maps, al-Iṣṭakhri additionally catered to the *kuttāb* and rulers. Not only did imams preach from the pulpit, it also served to channel political as well administrative concerns. By mentioning the caliph or local ruler during Friday prayers, communities pledged allegiance to a specific party.<sup>79</sup> A symbol for the government, the pulpit was vulnerable to destruction during conflicts. When the Qarāmiṭa attacked hajj caravans, riots against Caliph al-Muqtadir broke out in Baghdad which involved shattering pulpits in mosques.<sup>80</sup> In peaceful times, the local administration announced changes in taxation from the pulpit as well.<sup>81</sup> By laying out regions through cities with pulpits, al-Iṣṭakhri exposed the administrative pattern where officials and rulers could touch base regarding their policy. While the water bodies helped memorize regions by structure, the cities connected to the administration.

By saturating the regions with the administrative pattern, al-Iṣṭakhri indicated all areas were within reach to rulers. Considering al-Iṣṭakhri did not emphasize one particular metropolis or tie cities to local dynasties, he did not promote existing caliphs or governors. Instead, al-Iṣṭakhri arrayed numerous gateways to a region to help understand their relative positions. Although al-Iṣṭakhri knew the distances separating the cities, he did not translate them into an accurate scale. To facilitate grasping the regional structure at one glance, al-Iṣṭakhri rather made sure to cluster cities in one area or thread them along coasts or routes to demonstrate that, for instance, Cordoba (No. 35 in Figure 9) was located west of Toledo (No. 34). Although al-Iṣṭakhri never revealed to what end he arranged the maps in this fashion, he may have catered to different readers: rulers would have known where to send delegations or what they were up against in a conflict, clerks would have appreciated a visual aid in planning tax returns and the literati could have practiced memorizing the

78 Regarding *Fārs*, see for instance Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 154.

79 Spuler, Bertold (2015): *Iran in the Early Islamic Period. Politics, Culture, Administration and Public Life between the Arab and the Seljuk Conquests, 633–1055* (Iran Studies, 12). Leiden, p. 316.

80 Kennedy, Reign, p. 35.

81 Berkel, Maaïke van (2018): Political Communication or How to Reach the Unreachable, paper presented at the conference *The Reach of Empire – The Early Islamic Empire at Work*. ERC project “The Early Islamic Empire at Work – The View from the Regions Toward the Center.” Universität Hamburg, 2018/10/11.

structure of the Islamic world. As one person could belong to more than one sphere, al-Iṣṭakhṛī probably intended to address more than one of them.

In terms of memorizing both the identifiers and the city pattern, some maps certainly overwhelmed the reader. While the items in the *Maghreb* are manageable, maps as *Transoxania* contained over 100 elements. However, some readers may have accepted the challenge and actually learned all details by heart. By fitting every map on one page, al-Iṣṭakhṛī may have catered to an educational environment. As Johannes Thomann has mentioned, miniature astrolabes served as models for teaching astronomy, whereas the instruments employed for calculations were large.<sup>82</sup> In a similar vein, al-Iṣṭakhṛī may have designed his rather small maps as a manual for studying geography.

Possibly as a didactic tool, al-Iṣṭakhṛī designed the margins in the regional maps to help merge the pieces into one. Remember when we looked at the maps of three regions that are adjacent in the world map? While the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms* separated the regions, al-Iṣṭakhṛī made sure the viewer would connect them in his mind. To begin with, al-Iṣṭakhṛī named the neighboring region in the margins of every map. At the bottom of the *Maghreb*, he tells us the region borders on *Egypt* (Figure 9, No. 22). Likewise, the left margin in *Egypt* explains this region connects to *Syria* (Figure 11, No. 4). Looking back at the world map or with its pattern in mind, the viewer thus knew how to link the tiles in his mind. As al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not harmonize the orientation in every regional map, the markers in the margins helped in organizing the puzzle pieces of the Islamic world. Similar to actual jigsaw puzzles, al-Iṣṭakhṛī additionally used shapes in the margins to highlight how the maps complemented each other: the *Maghreb* and *Egypt* share the coastline of the Mediterranean and *Egypt* almost replicates the Red Sea from the map of the *Arabian Peninsula*. If we arrange the maps along these links, we see how al-Iṣṭakhṛī expanded the Islamic world piece by piece (Fig. 12).

To facilitate blending the regions, al-Iṣṭakhṛī relied on similarity rather than replicas. While the strip of the Mediterranean makes it possible to link the *Maghreb* and *Egypt* without any adjustments, we need to reduce the *Arabian Peninsula* to fit onto the Red Sea in *Egypt*. Moreover, the sea has a slightly different angle in *Egypt* and the remaining contents of the *Arabian Peninsula* interfere with the items presented in *Egypt*. Considering the maps could not be taken out of the manuscript, al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not expect the reader to physically overlap them as in the image above. Rather, al-Iṣṭakhṛī introduced similar shapes in the margins, so that the reader would recognize them and connect adjacent regions. By prompting the viewer's imagination, al-Iṣṭakhṛī thus

82 Thomann, *Lyrics to Lectures*, p. 517.



FIGURE 12 Overlap of the maps of the *Arabian Peninsula*, the *Maghreb* and *Egypt* based on Figure 6, Figure 8 and Figure 10

opened a panorama of the Islamicate world while leaving the details to the respective map. To instruct the viewer on how to turn the images in his mind, al-Iṣṭakhri equipped each map with cardinal points. Upon aligning the maps like in Figure 12, the otherwise individual orientation tallies to some extent. While the *Maghreb's* orientation corresponds to *Egypt* now, the *Arabian Peninsula* deviates in that the new lower right corner indicates east instead of north as in the two other maps. Similar to the shapes in the margins, al-Iṣṭakhri replayed features as far as a map on one page allowed. By accommodating matches

and differences in orientation, al-Iṣṭakhṛī stressed that the maps served as models, encouraging the viewer to do his part to adjust details in his mind. Alternatively, al-Iṣṭakhṛī may have designed the regional maps in pairs which resulted in variations regarding the cardinal points of a third map connecting to them. Like the pair of the *Maghreb* and *Egypt*, the orientation of the *Arabian Peninsula* corresponds to its neighbor *Khuzestan*.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, the Tigris River connects both maps, even without turning one of them. By examining all maps in the *Book of Routes and Realms*, we see how al-Iṣṭakhṛī continued to work with shapes and captions to promote recognizing connections between the regions, no matter how far they were separated by the text.

By shifting perspectives throughout the maps, al-Iṣṭakhṛī invited the viewer to explore the Islamicate world. Not only did his design allow moving between the world and the regions, but within regions as well. Like the Persian Sea and the Mediterranean connecting several regions, the Caspian Sea (Fig. 5 between No. 47 and 42) opens the view of the regions around it, namely Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan (No. 39), al-Daylam (No. 37) and, by extension, al-Jibāl (No. 34).<sup>84</sup> The Caspian Sea features in all three maps and serves as a reference point for expanding the horizon. Starting at the shores of the Caspian Sea, we gain a glimpse into al-Daylam that is secluded by the Elburz Mountains. Moving further south to al-Jibāl, al-Iṣṭakhṛī fit a miniature of al-Daylam at the bottom of the map to help picture how he travelled across the regions. In a different area, al-Iṣṭakhṛī included the outlines of Sijistān into the map of Khurasan,<sup>85</sup> once again showing he did not intend for each map to represent the same territory. While zooming in and out of areas and changing the angles between regions, al-Iṣṭakhṛī rooted every map in the grid of the Islamicate world so the viewer would not get lost. No matter which region a person looked at, al-Iṣṭakhṛī provided enough clues to understand how it related to the world and the *mamlakat al-Islām*. Following the goal he set for the *Book of Routes and Realms*, al-Iṣṭakhṛī thus interwove 21 maps to picture the Islamicate world.

Considering all tools al-Iṣṭakhṛī employed in depicting the Islamicate world, he aimed at staging it as a fragmented, yet connected and beautiful space. Despite claims to the contrary,<sup>86</sup> all maps in the *Book of Routes and Realms* related to each other on various levels. With shapes and colors that rested on

83 See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *Khuzestan* (Figure 64).

84 See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan* (Figure 67 f.), *al-Jibāl* (Figure 72) and *al-Daylam* (Figure 73).

85 See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *Sijistān* (Figure 77) and *Khurasan* (Figure 78).

86 See for instance Hopkins, *Geographical and Navigational Literature*, p. 314, Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 208.

harmony, order and repetition, al-Iṣṭakhṛī allowed the viewer to grasp every region in its own right and within the *mamlakat al-islām*. While tailoring the maps to *kuttāb* and the elite, al-Iṣṭakhṛī did not champion one region or dynasty. By focusing on an encyclopedic approach, al-Iṣṭakhṛī rather inoculated his maps against the wheel of time, making them outlast seismic shifts he knew from the Islamicate world but also regarding former “pillars” of the world. While reminding the viewer that the *mamlakat al-islām* once stretched from al-Andalus to Sindh, al-Iṣṭakhṛī’s maps could facilitate learning geography no matter how far the Islamicate world would stretch in the future or who would rule it. The peak in the fragmentation of the *mamlakat al-islām* may have inspired al-Iṣṭakhṛī to devise his maps in a way that conveyed his fascination for its scope, while bearing in mind possible transformations.

## In Persian, Please!

### *The Translations of al-Iṣṭakhrī's Book of Routes and Realms*

#### 1 Why Translate in the Thirteenth Century?

Some 300 years after al-Iṣṭakhrī composed the *Book of Routes and Realms*, three Persian translations surfaced in the Iranian lands – one in Jand (near the Aral Sea in today's Kazakhstan), one probably in Shiraz and another perhaps in Isfahan. Although many details surrounding the translations remain unsolved, the Persian versions of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work emerged hand in hand with changes introduced after the Mongols conquered the Islamicate East. By 1260, Genghis Khan's (d. 1227) grand-children secured four khanates stretching from Turkey to China: the Yuan Khanate covered most of today's China, Korea and Mongolia; the Golden Horde reached from today's southern Ukraine to Caucasia and south-western Russia; the Chagatai Khanate expanded from central Pakistan to Kazakhstan and the Ilkhanate spanned from Afghanistan to Turkey.<sup>1</sup> In the Islamicate world, only the Mamluks (r. 1250–1517) defied the Mongols reaching further west, whereas Baghdad fell in 1258. Although Hülegü Khan's (r. 1258–1265) takeover in the Islamicate East claimed many lives and wrecked entire libraries, the Iranian lands bounced back thanks to the new rulers fostering trade, arts and culture.<sup>2</sup> Building on trends preceding the conquest, the Ilkhans promoted Persian to *the* vernacular, boosted book illustrations and encouraged authors to make room for the Ilkhanate in the history of the Islamicate world. Coinciding with a continued interest in geography, the three shifts inspired the translations of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. While its beautiful images and focus on the Iranian lands sparked an interest on three

1 Rossabi, Morris (2002): *The Mongols and Their Legacy*. In Komaroff, Linda (Ed.): *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. New York City, p. 16.

2 Carboni, Stefano (2002): *Synthesis. Continuity and Innovation in Ilkhanid Art*. In Komaroff, Linda (Ed.): *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. New York City, p. 209; Melville, Charles (2002): *The Mongols in Iran*. In Komaroff, Linda (Ed.): *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. New York City, p. 38; for introductions to the topic see Komaroff, Linda (Ed.) (2002): *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. New York City, Komaroff, Linda (Ed.) (2006): *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*. Leiden and Pfeiffer, Judith (Ed.) (2014): *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th century Tabriz*. Leiden.

separate occasions, tailoring al-Iṣṭakhrī's work to the thirteenth-century setting was never the goal. By maintaining both text and maps for the most part, the translations rather opened the *Book of Routes and Realms* to the new audience as part of the cultural heritage the Ilkhans aimed to continue.

From the tenth century onwards, Persian began outranking Arabic in administration, literature and everyday life in the Islamic East, also known as the Persianate World.<sup>3</sup> Based on different strands of Middle Persian (Pahlavi) that was prevalent in the Sasanian Empire, New Persian dialects appeared in Arabic script by the ninth century. While the switch to Arabic script gradually stabilized, sources from the eighth century show that New Persian used other scripts as well, such as Syriac and Hebrew: A rock inscription in the Tang-i Azao mountains, 200 kilometers east of Herat, shows New Persian in Hebrew script, as does a letter written by a Jewish merchant from the Dandan-Öliq oasis in today's western China.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, texts in Arabic script reveal that New Persian varied according to regions before merging into a written lingua franca. In a Quran dating from the tenth or eleventh century, the interlinear New Persian translations exhibit linguistic details from Sīstān, suggesting the manuscript was created under Ṣaffārid rule (r. 861–1003).<sup>5</sup>

At the Samanid court in Bukhara (r. 819–1005), Persian translations flourished. When Naṣr b. Ahmad (r. 914–43) commissioned Rūdākī (fl. tenth c.) to translate *Kalīla wa-Dimna* into Persian, he also asked the poet to present the

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- 3 Amanat, Abbas and Ashraf, Assef (2018): *The Persianate World. Rethinking a Shared Sphere* (Iran Studies, 18). Leiden; see also Dabashi, Hamid (2012): *The World of Persian Literary Humanism*. Berlin, Cambridge, Mass. and Green, Nile (Ed.) (2019): *The Persianate World. The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca*. Oakland, California; Bernd Fragner has coined the term "Persophonie" for the catchment of Persian in literary circles (including spoken Persian), stretching from the Ottoman to the Mughal Empire (Fragner, Bert G. (1999): *Die "Persophonie". Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens* (ANOR, 5). Berlin); see also Perry, John R. (2012): New Persian. Expansion, Standardization and Inclusivity. In Spooner, Brian and Hanaway, William L. (Eds.): *Literacy in the Persianate World. Writing and the Social Order*. Philadelphia, p. 70; Spuler and Marcinkowski, *Persian Historiography and Geography*, p. 11.
- 4 Green, Nile (2019): Introduction. *The Frontiers of the Persianate World* (800–1900). In Green, Nile (Ed.): *The Persianate World. The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca*. Oakland, California, p. 11; for a linguistic introduction to New Persian, see Paul, Ludwig: *Persian Language. i. Early New Persian*. EIr online; on Persian in non-Arabic script, see for instance, Henning, Walter Bruno (1957): The Inscriptions of Tang-i Azao. In *BSOAS* 20, pp. 335–342; Maggi, Mauro and Orsatti, Paola (Eds.) (2011): *The Persian Language in History* (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 33). Wiesbaden and Sims-Williams, Nicholas (2011): Early New Persian in Syriac Script. Two Texts from Turfan. In *BSOAS* 74 (3), pp. 353–374.
- 5 Fillipone, Ela (2011): The Language of the Qor'ān-e Qods and its Sistanic Dialectal Background. In Maggi, Mauro and Orsatti, Paola (Eds.): *The Persian Language in History* (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 33). Wiesbaden, p. 226.

text in verses to suit the ruler's taste.<sup>6</sup> Not only did the translation boost *Kalīla wa-Dimna's* circulation, it illustrated how audiences transformed the book throughout its transmission. The translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* shows this practice applied to other genres as well.<sup>7</sup> When Ahmad's son, Vizier Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ (r. 961–76) ordered his minister Bal'amī (d. 974) to translate the *History* into Persian, he insisted on simplifying the book. In complying with the request, Bal'amī created a bestseller that surpassed the Arabic original, with over 160 manuscripts circulating in the aftermath of the translation. Turning up across the Persianate world, copies of Bal'amī's translation could diverge from the original beyond recognition. Not only did copyists adjust the book's style to fit coeval trends, they also expanded certain details while curtailing others. Although some changes resulted from model manuscripts missing pieces of the text, copyists also embellished the translation with poetry and quotes from other genres to please their patrons. As the *History* comprised several volumes, copyists sometimes lost track of the agenda they were trying to push, so that one manuscript spoke ill of Caliph 'Uthmān in one passage and stated "God bless him" in another.<sup>8</sup> In addition to translations from Arabic, Pahlavi sources turned New Persian as well. In 957, the governor Abū Maṣṣūr Ma'marī supervised the translation of the *Khvadāynāmag* that championed Sasanian rulers as heroes. Known as *Abū Maṣṣūr's Book of Kings* (*Shāhnāma-yi Abū Maṣṣūrī*), only the introduction to the translation survived in the most famous *Book of Kings* by Firdawsī.<sup>9</sup>

Among the poetry flourishing in the tenth century, Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* (*Book of Kings*) influenced Persian literature and inspired various adaptations. Building on verses by Daqīqī (fl. tenth c.), Firdawsī set out to portray Iranian history from the Creation to the Arab conquests in a poem comprising over 60,000 verses.<sup>10</sup> We know little about Firdawsī's life other than that

6 Daniel, Elton L. (2012): The Rise and Development of Persian Historiography. In Melville, Charles and Yarshater, Ehsan (Eds.): *Persian Historiography* (A History of Persian Literature, 10). London, p. 103; Hanaway, William L. (2012): Secretaries, Poets, and the Literary Language. In Spooner, Brian and Hanaway, William L. (Eds.): *Literacy in the Persianate World. Writing and the Social Order*. Philadelphia, p. 115; Meisami, Julie S. (2014): *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*. Princeton, N.J., p. vii.

7 Daniel, Persian Historiography, p. 1070.

8 Peacock, Andrew (2007): The Medieval Manuscript Tradition of Bal'amī's Version of al-Ṭabarī's History. In Pfeiffer, Judith and Kropp, Manfred (Eds.): *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts. Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Istanbul, March 28–30, 2001* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 111). Beirut, Würzburg, pp. 102–103.

9 Green, Frontiers, p. 13; Khalegi-Motlagh, Djalal: Abū Maṣṣūr Ma'marī. EIr online.

10 For a general introduction, see Askari, Nasrin (2016): *The Medieval Reception of the "Shahnama" as a Mirror for Princes*. Leiden; Dabiri, Ghazzal (2010): The Shahnama:

he came from Tūs (today's Mashhad) and devoted 30 years to arranging the *Shāhnāma*, which he finished in 1010. In telling tales of kings like Alexander the Great, Firdawsī laid out models for rulers and their entourage. Although the *Shāhnāma* was dedicated to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna who seized the Samanid realm in 997, Firdawsī did not link the sultan's reign to Sasanian kings as al-Ṭabarī had done to reinforce the Abbasid rule. However, the *Shāhnāma* marked the transition of historiography from prose to verse.<sup>11</sup> By dressing history in New Persian verse, Firdawsī echoed poets like Rūdakī and Daqīqī who expanded Persian poetry under Samanid patronage.<sup>12</sup>

Beyond poetry, Persian spread to historiography and the administration under Ghaznavid and Seljuq rule. While working at the Ghaznavid chancellery, al-Bayhaqī (d. 1077) composed the *Compendium of Chronicles* (*Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*) to frame the Turkic rulers in line with Iranian kings.<sup>13</sup> As Persian had already reached the Quran and its interpretation (*tafsīr*) under Samanid rule, the Ghaznavids promoted Persian to the official language.<sup>14</sup> After defeating the Ghaznavids in 1035, the Seljuqs continued endorsing Persian. Not only did the ruler Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1092) compose the *Book of Politics* (*Siyāsāt-nāma*) in Persian, he also established madrasas (called *niẓāmiyyas*) whose curricula included Arabic and Persian literature to educate the secretaries. Upon attending such a *niẓāmiyya* in Balkh, the chief secretary Rashīd al-Dīn Vatvāt (d. 1182–83) created a divan in both Arabic and Persian.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, efforts at translating Arabic material continued well into the thirteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

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Between the Samanids and the Ghaznavids. In *Iranian Studies* 43 (1), pp. 13–28; Huart, Clément and Massé, Henri: Firdawsī. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Khalegi-Motlagh, Djatal: Ferdowsī, Abū'l-Qāsem. *i. Life*. EIr online; van den Berg, Gabrielle and Melville, Charles (Eds.) (2018): *The Reception of the Shahnama* (Studies in Persian Cultural History, 12). Leiden, Boston.

- 11 Bosworth, Clifford E.: Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Dabiri, Shahnāma, pp. 23–27.
- 12 Green, *Frontiers*, p. 13; Syed, Muhammad A. (2012): How Could Urdu Be the Envy of Persian (raskh-i-Fārsi)! The Role of Persian in South Asian Culture and Literature. In Spooner, Brian and Hanaway, William L. (Eds.): *Literacy in the Persianate World. Writing and the Social Order*. Philadelphia, p. 282; thanks to these poets, Persian poetry encompassed the genres of *qaṣīda* (poems of a certain length, one rhyme and uniform meter), *mathnavī* (poem written in rhythmic couples) and *ghazal* (elegy of love).
- 13 Green, *Frontiers*, p. 16; Naficy, Said: Bayhaqī. E1<sup>2</sup> online.
- 14 Green, *Frontiers*, p. 14; Fragner, *Persophonie*, p. 62; Keeler, Annabel: Exegesis iii. In Persian. EIr online.
- 15 Green, *Frontiers*, p. 16; Hanaway, Secretaries, p. 115.
- 16 Daniel, *Persian Historiography*, p. 114; Fragner, *Persophonie*, p. 50; Meisami, Julie S. (2012): History as Literature. In Melville, Charles and Yarshater, Ehsan (Eds.): *Persian Historiography* (A History of Persian Literature, 10). London, p. 15; the translations encompassed *The History of Bukhara* (*Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*) by Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Ja'far Narshakhī (composed for the Samanid ruler Nūḥ b. Naṣr in 943; Abū Naṣr Ahmad

With the Ilkhanate, Persian developed into the vernacular in addition to written sources. Not only did the Ilkhans maintain Persian within the administration, trade with the Yuan Khanate carried the language as far as China.<sup>17</sup> While gravestones and weights inscribed in Persian indicate how far Persian reached, Mongolian and Chinese overshadowed it in Yuan administration and everyday life.<sup>18</sup> As for the Iranian lands, the new rulers supported translations into Persian to grasp the written heritage in their realm. For instance, Ghāzān Khan (r. 1296–1304) commissioned the translation of Ibn Bakhtīshū's (d. 1058) *The Usefulness of Animals* (*Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān*), in which the physician elaborated on homeopathic medicine.<sup>19</sup> Historiographic works like 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar's *The History of Balkh* (*Ta'rikh Balkh*, composed in 1214) also surfaced in Persian by the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Considering ever more genres emerged in Persian, geography was bound to turn up in the new contact language as well. However, al-Iṣṭakhri's *Book of Routes and Realms* fit the bill for additional reasons.

Al-Iṣṭakhri's maps suited the boom in illustrated books during the Ilkhanate. While manuscripts like the pseudo-Galen *Book of Antidotes* (*Kitāb al-Diryāq*) show that depicting philosophers and animals was not off-limits in the Islamicate world before the Ilkhans, illustrations skyrocketed from 1280 onwards.<sup>21</sup> Books that had been created without images now appeared in new attire like Bal'amī's *History* and al-Bīrūnī's astrological work *The Traces of Past*

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b. Muhammad Qubāvi began translating it in 1128), *The Book of Conquests* (*Kitāb al-Futūh*) by Abū Muhammad Ahmad b. A'tham al-Kūfi (composed in 819; around 1200, a Muhammad b. Ahmad Mustawfi began translating it for an unnamed vizier of Khwarazm Shah 'Alā al-Dīn Muhammad) as well as the history of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, *al-Kitāb al-Yamīnī* (composed after 1020) by Abū Naṣr Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār in 1206.

17 Blair, Sheila S. (1992): *The Development of the Illustrated Book in Iran*. In *Muqarnas* 10, pp. 269–270; Fragner, *Persophonie*, p. 69; Morgan, David (2012): *Persian as a Lingua Franca in the Mongol Empire*. In Spooner, Brian and Hanaway, William L. (Eds.): *Literacy in the Persianate World. Writing and the Social Order*. Philadelphia, p. 161; Spuler and Marcinkowski, *Persian Historiography and Geography*, p. 25.

18 Haw, Stephen (2014): *The Persian Language in Yuan-Dynasty China. A Reappraisal*. In *East Asian History* 39, pp. 21–24.

19 Blair, Sheila S. (1992): *The Development of the Illustrated Book in Iran*. In *Muqarnas* 10, p. 267; Contadini, Anna (1996): *The Horse in Two Manuscripts of Ibn Bakhtīshū's Kitāb Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān*. In Alexander, David (Ed.): *Furūsiyya. Vol. 1 The Horse in the Art of the Near East*. Riyadh, p. 142.

20 Spuler and Marcinkowski, *Persian Historiography and Geography*, p. 40.

21 Hillenbrand, *Arts of the Book*, p. 135; I refer to the Ms. Arabe 2964 (12th c.), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. pseudo-Galen: *Book of the Antidotes*. Available online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422960m>; for a general introduction, see Contadini, Anna (Ed.) (2007): *Arab Painting. Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts*. Leiden.

*Centuries* (*Kitāb al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ‘an al-Qurūn al-Khāliya*, created in approximately 1000).<sup>22</sup> A copy of the *Book of Margrave* (*Marzubānnāma*), a collection of fables from the tenth century, even holds an image of the Prophet Muhammad, who appeared in various manuscripts during the Ilkhanid rule.<sup>23</sup> Unlike in many genres, people and animals did not enter the Quran during the Ilkhanid period. However, after Ghāzān Khan converted to Islam in 1295, his court commissioned large Qurans that comprised 30 volumes. Brimming over with ornament, the Qurans served to display the Ilkhans' prestige.<sup>24</sup>

Illustrating the *Shāhnāma* also served to promote the Ilkhans. Even though Firdawsī's text did not cover the Mongol conquests, images portraying Iranian kings in the *Shāhnāma* served to link the Ilkhans to Sasanian glory. From the fourteenth century onwards, large-scale *Shāhnāmas* circulated with more than 100 illustrations. Among these manuscripts, the so-called *Great Mongol Shāhnāma* stands out with approximately 200 images. In the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma*, illustrators strove for perfection on pages covering 41 × 30 cm that were probably created in the Ilkhanid capital Tabriz for Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316–1335).<sup>25</sup> Today, the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma* is spread across several collections, because the art dealer Georges Demotte (active ca. 1900–23) broke it into pieces. After discovering the masterpiece, Demotte tried selling the *Shāhnāma* at first as a whole. However, since buyers refused to meet Demotte's price, he decided to make a profit one page at a time. While Firdawsī's text got lost in the process, collections like the Freer Galley in Washington D.C. display

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- 22 Blair, Sheila S. (2002): The Religious Art of the Ilkhanids. In Komaroff, Linda (Ed.): *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courty Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. New York City, p. 111; Hillenbrand, Robert (2002): The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran. In Komaroff, Linda (Ed.): *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courty Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. New York City, p. 143.
- 23 Blair, Religious Art, p. 117; Hillenbrand, Arts of the Book, p. 150; the copy dates from 1299 and is held at the Archeological Museum Library in Istanbul (Ms. 216); for more on illustrations of the prophet see Gruber, Christiane (2009): Between Logos (kalima) and Light (nūr). Representations of the Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Painting. In *Muqarnas* 26, pp. 229–262 and Gruber, Christiane (2019): *The Praiseworthy One. The Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Texts and Images*. Bloomington, Ind.
- 24 Blair, Illustrated Book, p. 269; Blair, Sheila S. (2014): Tabriz. International Entrepôt under the Mongols. In Pfeiffer, Judith (Ed.): *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th century Tabriz* (Iran Studies, 8). Leiden, pp. 337–339; Blair, Sheila S. (2015): The Ilkhanid Qur'an. An Example from Maragha. In *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 6 (2–3), pp. 174–195; you can take a look online at a copy created for Sultan Öljeytü (r. 1304–16) that is held in London: Ms. Or. 4945 (1310–11 CE), London, British Library. N.N.: *Quran*. Available online at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or\\_4945](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_4945).
- 25 Hillenbrand, Arts of the Book, pp. 150–158; for more on the *Shāhnāma*, see Grabar, Oleg and Blair, Sheila S. (1980): *Epic Images and Contemporary History. The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*. Chicago; Swietochowski, Marie L. and Carboni, Stefano (1994): *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images. Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s*. New York.

single illustrations from the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma* on site as well as online.<sup>26</sup> Considering images from the *Shāhnāma* adorned palaces, ceramic and metal work in the Ilkhanate as well, the new rulers advertised their authority by tying themselves to the Iranian past.<sup>27</sup> Building on this connection, Abāqā Khan (r. 1265–82) built a palace at Takht-i Sulaymān, where Sasanian kings had been crowned. Corresponding to the Mongol idea of a heavenly mandate, Sasanian kingship suited the Ilkhans' self-image. Following the Ilkhan's lead, poets such as the famous Sa'dī from Shiraz (d. 1292) praised the Mongols as a grace granted by God.<sup>28</sup>

Additionally, the Ilkhans recruited historians to frame the Mongols as heirs to the Sasanians. Juvaynī (d. 1283) first introduced a chronicle revolving around Genghis Khan and his successors in Persian. Even before entering Hülegü Khan's service in 1255, Juvaynī began working on the *History of the World-Conqueror* (*Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*), which he completed in 1260 as the governor of Baghdad. Launching the *History* with Genghis Khan's rise to power, Juvaynī addressed pre-Mongol rulers in Central Asia before attending to Hülegü Khan's campaigns. In portraying the Ilkhanate, Juvaynī emphasized the legitimacy of the Mongol rule, while linking it to Sasanian kingship. Moreover, Juvaynī underlined how the Khans approved of Islam.<sup>29</sup> Juvaynī's younger brother and chief minister to Hülegü Khan, Shams al-Dīn, received another chronicle fifteen years later. Pushing the message from Juvaynī's *History*, the *System of Chronicles* (*Nizām al-Tavārikh*) by Bayzavī (d. 1316) presented the Mongols as the latest link in the chain of Iranian dynasties.<sup>30</sup>

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- 26 Ms. F1935.23 (14th c., Pers.), Washington, DC, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. Firdawsī: *Great Mogol Shāhnāma* (illustrated folio showing Alexander the Great at the Talking Tree). Available online at <https://asia.si.edu/learn/shahnama/fig935-23/>; see also Ms. 1960.190 (14th c., Pers.), Cambridge USA, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum. Firdawsī: *Great Mongol Shāhnāma* (illustrated folio showing Bahrām V fighting the horned wolf). Available online at <https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/169542>; Soucek, Priscilla P.: Demotte Šāh-nāma. EIr online.
- 27 Blair, Sheila S. (1993): The Ilkhanid Palace. In *Ars Orientalis* 23, p. 243; Masuya, Tomoko (2002): Ilkhanid Courtly Life. In Komaroff, Linda (Ed.): *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. New York City, p. 102.
- 28 Huff, Dietrich: Takht-e Solaymān. EIr online; Ingenito, Domenico (2014): "Tabrizis in Shiraz Are Worth Less Than a Dog:" Sa'dī and Humām, a Lyrical Encounter. In Pfeiffer, Judith (Ed.): *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th century Tabriz* (Iran Studies, 8). Leiden, p. 89; Krawulsky, Dorothea (1989): *Mongolen und Ilkhāne. Ideologie und Geschichte*. Beirut, p. 113; Melville, The Mongols in Iran, p. 54.
- 29 Melville, Charles (2012): The Mongol and Timurid Periods 1250–1500. In Melville, Charles and Yarshater, Ehsan (Eds.): *Persian Historiography* (A History of Persian Literature, 10). London, p. 164; Melville, Charles: Jahāngošā-ye Jovayni. EIr online.
- 30 Melville, The Mongols in Iran, p. 54.

By commissioning the *Compendium of Chronicles* (*Jāmi‘ al-Tavārīkh*), Ghāzān Khan and Öljejtü (r. 1304–16) sealed this narrative for the Ilkhanid historiography. Composed by the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, the *Compendium* blended the history of the Mongols with plots à la al-Ṭabarī, thus accommodating the Ilkhanate within the history of the Islamicate world as well.<sup>31</sup> Since Rashīd al-Dīn created the *Compendium* in both Arabic and Persian, he meant to embed his chronicle in the Arabic tradition of the Islamicate world as well as the coeval vernacular. Moreover, the *Compendium* embraced the trend to illustrate manuscripts. Containing more than 500 images, the *Compendium* even outnumbered the *Shāhnāma*. In creating the *Compendium*, the army of illustrators adopted the Chinese style for images.<sup>32</sup> Thanks to trade and diplomacy between the Ilkhanate and the Yuan Khanate, Chinese manuscripts had surfaced in the Iranian lands among many gifts and luxury goods.<sup>33</sup> Based on Chinese material, illustrators working on the *Compendium* took up cloud-like shapes for mountains and transformed the Chinese dragon into the Iranian dragon. Also a symbol of sovereignty, the Chinese phoenix turned into the mythical bird Simurgh that figured in the *Shāhnāma* as well.<sup>34</sup>

Rashīd al-Dīn not only integrated the Ilkhans into Iranian history, but into geography as well. The *Compendium* closed with a volume called the *Images of the Climes* (*Šuvar al-Aqālīm*) that resembled the *Book of Routes and Realms*: Like al-Iṣṭakhrī, Rashīd al-Dīn addressed countries, water bodies and mountains, albeit according to the seven climes. Rashīd al-Dīn tells us the *Images*

31 Allsen, Thomas T. (2001): *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*. Cambridge, p. 83; Ben Azzouna, Nourane (2014): Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-Allāh al-Hamadhānī's Manuscript Production Project in Tabriz Reconsidered. In Pfeiffer, Judith (Ed.): *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th century Tabriz* (Iran Studies, 8). Leiden, p. 188; Blair, Tabriz, p. 322.

32 Blair, *Illustrated Book*, p. 270; Blair, Tabriz, pp. 322–327; Hillenbrand, *Arts of the Book*, p. 146.

33 Masuya, *Ilkhanid Courtly Life*, p. 82; Park, Hyunhee (2012): *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds. Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-Modern Asia*. Cambridge, p. 193; Watt, James C. (2002): A Note on Artistic Exchanges in the Mongol Empire. In Komaroff, Linda (Ed.): *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. New York City, p. 68; for trade with Venice and Genoa, see Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes (2014): *Civitas Thauris. The Significance of Tabriz in the Spatial Frameworks of Christian Merchants and Ecclesiastics in the 13th and 14th Century*. In Pfeiffer, Judith (Ed.): *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th century Tabriz* (Iran Studies, 8). Leiden, p. 257.

34 Berlekamp, Persis (2007): From Iraq to Fars. Tracking Cultural Transformations in the 1322 Qazwīnī *Ajā'ib* Manuscript. In Contadini, Anna (Ed.): *Arab Painting. Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts* (Handbook of Oriental Studies: Sect. 1, The Near and Middle East, 90). Leiden, p. 75; Masuya, *Ilkhanid Courtly Life*, p. 97.

included regional maps as well. As the *Compendium's* geographic volume has been lost, we have no way of knowing whether Rashīd al-Dīn based his maps on al-Iṣṭakhārī (or any other mapmaker for that matter) or if the Mongol postal relay stations (*yāmhā*) featured in the maps as they did in the text.<sup>35</sup> By taking up geography and maps, Rashīd al-Dīn probably echoed writing that started promoting Iran's position in the world.

The first Persian geography, the anonymous *Horizons of the World* (*Ḥudūd al-Ālam*) dating from the end of the tenth century, had not yet put the Iranian lands first.<sup>36</sup> In presenting the world, the author relied on existing literature by Ibn Khurrādadhbih as well as Ibn Ḥawqal and covered the entire Islamicate world as well as non-Islamicate realms like the Byzantine Empire.<sup>37</sup> Much like geographic literature from the ninth and tenth centuries, the *Horizons* addressed Iraq as close to the world's center and the "most prosperous country in Islam."<sup>38</sup> At the same time, the *Horizons* presented Khurasan as the center of the inhabited world and pointed out that Transoxania was the country where "justice and equity reign."<sup>39</sup> Since Khurasan and Transoxania featured among the longest chapters, the author probably came from one of the regions. Moreover, the *Horizons* was dedicated to the Farīghūnid ruler Muhammad b. Ahmad in Jūzjān (today's north-western Afghanistan) who was among the Samanid vassals in eastern Khurasan, which is why the author might have granted more space to Khurasan and Transoxania.<sup>40</sup>

In the twelfth century, the *Book of Fārs* (*Fārsnāma*) championed the history and geography of Fārs.<sup>41</sup> Although the author remains anonymous, he mentioned that his family came from Balkh, which is why he is today called Ibn al-Balkhī. According to Ibn al-Balkhī's personal accounts in the *Fārsnāma*, he accompanied his accountant grandfather to Fārs in around 1099. Afterward,

35 Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, p. 103; Melville, *Mongol and Timurid Periods*, pp. 170–171.

36 Vasilii Barthold published the only manuscript with an introduction in Barthold, Vasilii V. (1930): *Ḥudud al-Ālem. Rukopis Tumanskogo*. St. Petersburg; for the English translation, see Barthold, Vasilii V., Minorskiy, Vladimir and Bosworth, Clifford E. (2015): *Ḥudūd al-Ālam. The Regions of the World. A Persian geography, 372 A.H. (982 A.D.)*. Second edition. Cambridge.

37 Barthold, *Ḥudud*, pp. 10–16.

38 Barthold, *Ḥudud*, app. p. 61; Barthold, Minorskiy and Bosworth, *Ḥudūd*, p. 137.

39 Barthold, *Ḥudud*, app. p. 37; 44; Barthold, Minorskiy and Bosworth, *Ḥudūd*, p. 102; 112.

40 Barthold, *Ḥudud*, p. 3; Bosworth, Clifford E.: *Āl-e Farīghūn*. Elr online; Dunlop, Morton: *Farīghūnids*. EI<sup>2</sup> online.

41 For the edition, see Ibn al-Balkhī, Le Strange, Guy and Nicholson, Reynold A. (1921): *The Fārsnāma [sic] of Ibn al-Balkhī*. London; for the English translation, see Ibn al-Balkhī and Le Strange, Guy (1912): *Description of the Province of Fars in Persia at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century A.D.* (Asiatic Society Monographs, 14). London.

Ibn al-Balkhī probably entered the administrative service under Seljuq rule. Thanks to Ibn al-Balkhī's knowledge of Fārs, Muhammad b. Mālik Shah (r. 1105–1118) commissioned him to compose the *Fārsnāma*. As Ibn al-Balkhī tells us, he had envisioned writing a general history starting with the prophet Muhammad to his own time, but limited himself to Fārs for his patron's sake.<sup>42</sup> While the main part of the *Fārsnāma* focused on the region's history including Sasanian kings as well as the Arab conquests, the last third covered the geographic aspects of the region. First, Ibn al-Balkhī described Fārs as a square bordering on regions such as Kirman. Although the text refers to an illustration in the margins, both preserved manuscripts of the *Fārsnāma* do not hold any maps or diagrams.<sup>43</sup> However, considering the shape that Ibn al-Balkhī explained as well as the region's position according to the cardinal points, his image may have resembled al-Iṣṭakhrī's version of Fārs.<sup>44</sup> Following the introduction, Ibn al-Balkhī focused on the five districts of Fārs one after the other (Iṣṭakhr, Dārābjird, Ardashīr, Shāpūr, Qubād). In arranging the geographic details, Ibn al-Balkhī used headings that resemble *Fārs* in al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Book of Routes and Realms*, such as castles and rivers. At the end of the geographic part of the *Fārsnāma*, Ibn al-Balkhī presented the distances between cities. Although Ibn al-Balkhī did not mention the *Book of Routes and Realms* as his source, the *Fārsnāma* may have been informed by al-Iṣṭakhrī's work. By separating the historic from the geographic section, Ibn al-Balkhī introduced a pattern which was not only adopted by Rashīd al-Dīn, but also used in later historiographic works such as the Safavid chronicle *Friend of Biographies* (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*) by Khvāndamīr (d. 1535/6).<sup>45</sup>

The thirteenth-century *Book of the World* (*Jahānnāma*) was the first treatise in the Islamic world to explicitly design a world map with a coordinate system. Only the *Jahānnāma* lets us glimpse into the author's life: Like Firdawsī, Muhammad b. Najīb Bakrān came from Ṭūs in Khurasan and devised a circular world map for the Khwarazm Shah 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad b. Tekish (r. 1200–1220) in 1208–9. While Bakrān put the world map on cloth, he designed the *Jahānnāma* to explain the map. As is the case with the large-scale

42 Ibn al-Balkhī, Le Strange and Nicholson, *Fārsnāma*, pp. x–xiii.

43 Ibn al-Balkhī and Le Strange, *Fars*, pp. 18–19; Ibn al-Balkhī, Le Strange and Nicholson, *Fārsnāma*, p. 120f; the manuscripts are held at the British Library (Ms. Or. 5983) and the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Ms. Persan 503).

44 See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *Fārs*, Figure 65.

45 For a detailed study of Khvāndamīr's work, see Bockholt, Philip (forthcoming): *Weltgeschichtsschreibung zwischen Schia und Sunna. Ḥvāndamīr's Ḥabīb as-siyar im Handschriftenzeitalter*. Leiden.

maps we know existed before the tenth century, Bakrān's world map has also disappeared. However, the *Jahānnāma* has been preserved in two manuscripts, the earliest dating from 1265.<sup>46</sup> As Bakrān clarified in the introduction, he built the *Jahānnāma* on contributions such as Ibn Khurrādadhbih's and Nāṣir Khusraw's who described his journey from Marw to Mecca (and farer west) from 1045 onwards in his *Travelogue* (*Safarnāma*).<sup>47</sup> Considering Bakrān's description of the Maghreb resembled the *Book of Routes and Realms*, Bakrān probably also consulted al-Iṣṭakhrī's work. Like Ibn Khurrādadhbih's *Book of Routes and Realms*, the *Jahānnāma* takes off from an astronomical perspective that addresses the world's size and inhabited areas. However, Bakrān ended his book with *mirabilia* including the Seven Sleepers at Ephesus and diamonds from Sri Lanka.<sup>48</sup> Similar to Ibn Rustah who closed the *Precious Treasure* with people bearing identical names (*kunyas*) and religious groups, Bakrān blended numerous sources to reveal as much knowledge about the world as possible. Additionally, he illustrated this knowledge in the world map that he explained in a brief chapter at the beginning: small circles represented cities, accompanied by captions; swirls delineated regions as well as districts; seas appeared in green with red captions, whereas rivers were blue; the map showed mountains in ruby and deserts in yellow and white areas indicated countries with snow-fall; red lines stretching across all areas marked climes as well as longitudes and latitudes.<sup>49</sup> Like al-Iṣṭakhrī, Bakrān depicted topography and dwellings, while confining history and sights to the text. Without Bakrān's map, we do not know whether he put a region center stage. However, his contribution shows the interest in compiling and illustrating geographic knowledge continued. Moreover, the *Jahānnāma* inspired authors from the Ilkhanid period to advance the field with a new twist.

Finished in 1340, the *Delight of the Hearts* (*Nuzhat al-Qulūb*) holds the first world map focusing on Iran. While Rashīd al-Dīn tells us the astronomer Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1311) had already presented a cartographic work to Arghūn Khan (r. 1284–91), the book has not been preserved. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Shīrāzī's work involved a map of the Mediterranean, including its western and northern regions.<sup>50</sup> By contrast, the *Delight* had only one map showing

46 Borshchevskiy, Yuriy E. (1960): *Muhammad Ibn Najīb Bakrān. Jahān-Nāme. Kniga o mire. Izdaniye teksta, vvedeniye i ukazateli*. Moscow, pp. 5–10; for the edition, see Bakrān, Muhammad b. Najīb and Riyāḥī, Muhammad Amīn (1963): *Jahānnāma*. Tehran.

47 Borshchevskiy, *Jahān-Nāme*, p. 12; Bakrān and Riyāḥī, *Jahānnāma*, p. 7.

48 Bakrān and Riyāḥī, *Jahānnāma*, p. 94; 107.

49 Bakrān and Riyāḥī, *Jahānnāma*, pp. 10–12.

50 Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, pp. 111–112; Wiedemann, Eilhard: Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī. [E1<sup>2</sup> online](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X17000000).

the world. Created by the historian Ḥamd Allah Mustawfī (d. ca. 1344, famous for his *Selected History* (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*)), the *Delight* comprises five parts: (1) spheres, heavenly bodies and elements, (2) inhabited quarters of the earth, (3) minerals, plants and animals, (4) man, his nature and faculties and (5) geography. While Mustawfī's composition echoes encyclopedic treatises such as al-Qazwīnī's (d. 1283) *Wonders of Creation* (*ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharāʾib al-Mawjūdāt*),<sup>51</sup> he put geography center stage by devoting almost half of the *Delight* to the last section.<sup>52</sup> Intended to emphasize the accounts of Iran,<sup>53</sup> Mustawfī dedicated over two thirds of the *Delight's* geographic section to the Persianate world including Khurasan and Azerbaijan. While Mustawfī also addressed the Byzantine Empire, he placed the Maghreb, Syria and all of the Islamicate West in the last third of part (5) that covered areas surrounding Iran (according to the cardinal points). As if to match the texts and conventions Mustawfī built on, the *Delight's* geographic section opened with the holy sites in Mecca. However, the main part revolved around Iran – as did the world map. Similar to al-Iṣṭakhri and other mapmakers before him, Mustawfī oriented the circular world south, but accommodated the coordinate grid on the map.<sup>54</sup> Covering the area between China and the Maghreb, Mustawfī's world map sketches the landmass rather than capturing its outlines according to exact coordinates. Beneath the grid, captions indicate both regions and cities. Even though Mustawfī placed captions in the Islamicate West as well, the Iranian lands are brimming over with information by comparison. Through centering the world map and the *Delight's* geographic section on Iran, Mustawfī shifted the perspective towards the Persianate world.

Moreover, by adopting the term *īrān*, Mustawfī participated in framing the Ilkhans as successors of the Sasanians. As we have seen above, authors writing history and geography in the Abbasid period had used *īrānshahr* to indicate the Sasanian Empire. While the term was no longer used within the *mamlakat al-islām*, the “land of Iran” (*īrānshahr*, *īrānzamīn* or simply *īrān*) celebrated its comeback from the thirteenth century onwards. To refer to the Ilkhanid realm, authors like Juvaynī, Bayḏāvī and Rashīd al-Dīn revived *īrān*, whereas they

51 For a detailed study of al-Qazwīnī's work, see Hees, Syrinx von (2002): *Enzyklopädie als Spiegel des Weltbildes. Qazwīnīs Wunder der Schöpfung – eine Naturkunde des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Diskurse der Arabistik, 4). Wiesbaden.

52 Osamu, Otsuka (2013): A Study on the Geographical Understanding of Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī. In Ji, Meng and Ukai, Atsuko (Eds.): *Translation, History and Arts. New Horizons in Asian Interdisciplinary Humanities Research*. Newcastle upon Tyne, p. 51.

53 Mustawfī, Ḥamd Allah and Le Strange, Guy (1915–1919): *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb* (Elias John Wilkinson Gibb Memorial Series, 23). Leiden, p. 1.

54 For examples from various manuscripts, consult Derideaux, Pierre: East Africa's Contacts with the Classical World. Website.

neglected the name in the sections about pre-conquest events.<sup>55</sup> Considering the authors relied on previous chronicles for the history before the conquests, they adopted the jargon that did not emphasize *īrān*. However, in portraying coeval events, the historians tailored their vocabulary to the Ilkhans' imperial outlook. Connecting to *īrān* as illustrated in the *Shāhnāma*, "land of Iran" rose to the official name for the Ilkhanid realm. In addition, illustrators recovered *kishvars* to display Iran's central position in the world, such as in a copy of the anonymous *Summary of Chronicles and Stories (Mujmal al-Tavārikh va al-Qiṣaṣ*, twelfth c.).<sup>56</sup>

The *Book of Routes and Realms* drew attention in the thirteenth century as a reference for the framing of the Ilkhans as well as the boom in illustrated manuscripts. Considering al-Iṣṭakhri had labeled *īrānshahr* the most civilized and politically upright realm, his work matched the narrative linking the Ilkhans to the Sasanians. However, this connection may not have sufficed for translating the *Book of Routes and Realms*. After all, Ibn Ḥawqal also presented the Sasanian Empire as the best "pillar,"<sup>57</sup> but his work never became Persian. Although both Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Iṣṭakhri addressed the entire Islamicate world, al-Iṣṭakhri devoted more pages to the Persianate regions, which may have additionally sparked an interest in the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Even al-Iṣṭakhri's name may have appealed to the translators because it recalled the Sasanian capital. Furthermore, al-Iṣṭakhri's maps rejoiced in colors and harmony relating to miniature painting that flourished in the Ilkhanid realm. By contrast, Ibn Ḥawqal's as well as al-Muqaddasi's maps appear less playful, which is why these authors may have been neglected in the translation process. It may also be that their works were not translated because they were not in circulation in the Iranian lands. Although none of the translators rendering the *Book of Routes and Realms* Persian delved into his motivation, the atmosphere seemed ideal for launching al-Iṣṭakhri's work to a new audience.

## 2 The Odd One

A governor in Jand received the first Persian translation of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Appointed in approximately 1220 to rule the city near the Aral Sea (south-west of today's Kazakhstan), Ali Khoja b. Muhammad found a

55 Krawulsky, *Mongolen und Ilkhâne*, pp. 116–117; Melville, *Mongol and Timurid Periods*, p. 164.

56 Ms. Hs. Or. 2371 (1352 CE, Pers.), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Anonymous: *Mujmal al-Tavārikh va al-Qiṣaṣ*. Available online at [http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook\\_islamhs\\_00029581](http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook_islamhs_00029581).

57 Ibn Ḥawqal and Kramers, *Opus geographicum*, p. 9.

geographic work in his library and commissioned its translation into Persian.<sup>58</sup> As we will see below, the translation featured some curious illustrations, which is why I have called it *The Odd One*. Although the Arabic model was al-Iṣṭakhrī's work, the translator Ali b. 'Abd al-Salām attributed it to al-Jayhānī. Moreover, he referred to the model as the *Forms of the World* (*Ashkāl al-Ālam*), while al-Jayhānī had also called his book the *Book of Routes and Realms*. The Arabic model could have caused the confusion. As we have seen in the last chapter, manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* listed different titles and authors, so that copyists and owners might have attributed them to al-Jayhānī as well. If the copy in Ali Khoja's library did not feature any title or author, the translator might have recalled geographic works he had come across before and simply filled in the blanks.

Except as the ruler of Jand, Ali Khoja hardly appears in contemporary sources. As for Jand, the city had become an important center for the Oghuz tribes between the Caspian and the Aral Sea by the end of the tenth century. The city also featured in the story surrounding the eponym of the Seljuqs, Saljūq b. Duqāq (fl. tenth c.), who, upon coming to Jand, converted to Islam.<sup>59</sup> Up to the Mongol conquests, Jand served as a strategic point, from where Seljuqs as well as the Khwarazmian dynasty undertook campaigns north to the steppes.<sup>60</sup> After conquering Samarqand, Genghis Khan dispatched his oldest son Juchi (d. 1227) to Jand to negotiate a treaty. Since Juchi almost got killed in the process by the Jandian population, he decided to retaliate by conquering and ransacking Jand in 1220.<sup>61</sup> Moving on to Khwarazm a year later, Juchi appointed Ali Khoja to govern Jand. According to Juvaynī's *History*, Ali Khoja came from Qizhduvan (near Bukhara) and remained a loyal servant to the Mongols until his death.<sup>62</sup> Since the sources do not elaborate on Ali Khoja's life and library, we do not know if the copy of the *Book of Routes and Realms* he discovered had belonged to the chiefs that the Mongols ousted. Considering al-Muqaddasī reported having seen a manuscript of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work in Bukhara, Ali Khoja might have owned a copy of the manuscript that he brought with him to Jand. As Bukhara does not presently have any manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and*

58 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), London, British Library. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*), f. 3v.

59 Lange, Christian and Mecit, Songül (Eds.) (2011): *The Seljuqs. Politics, Society and Culture*. Edinburgh, pp. 17–18.

60 Bosworth, Clifford E.: *Djand*. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Bosworth, Clifford E.: *Jand*. EI online.

61 Barthold, Vasilii V. (1928): *Turkestan Down to the Mogol Invasion* (Izdaniya fakul'teta vostochnykh yazykov Imp. St.-Peterb. Univ., 4). London, pp. 414–416.

62 Juvaynī, 'Alā' ad-Dīn and Boyle, John Andrew (1958): *The History of the World-Conqueror*. Manchester, p. 90.

*Realms*,<sup>63</sup> the copy al-Muqaddasī saw probably transferred to another city at some point. To suppose Ali Khoja moved the copy would be mere speculation. Whatever the origin of the copy in Jand, it reveals that al-Iṣṭakhrī's work was available in the Islamic East several centuries after its composition.

*The Odd One* survived in three manuscripts, not including the original.<sup>64</sup> Dating from 1609, the oldest copy is located at the National Museum in Kabul.<sup>65</sup> First published by Hāshim Shāyiq for the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Afghanistan* (Āryānā) in 1942, the manuscript caused some excitement, as scholars assumed it contained al-Jayhānī's long lost *Book of Routes and Realms*.<sup>66</sup> However, seven years after the discovery, Vladimir Minorskiy confirmed the copy represented a Persian translation of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work. While the colophon indicates 1609 as the year the manuscript was created, it does not tell us where the copy originated or who its client was. However, a note before the text states that Ḥājji-Khan presented the manuscript together with two other books (*Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* and *Makārim al-Akhlāq*) to one of his children, while admonishing the others not to interfere with his decision.<sup>67</sup> Based on this remark, Minorskiy suggested Ḥājji-Khan was the copyist of the manuscript from Kabul. However, he may have just as well owned the copy at some point, leaving us in the dark about the original client. A different note explains that Ḥājji-Khan was alive on 9 Muharram (without a year) in Kiyākālā. Although Kiyākālā is a small Iranian town at the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, Minorskiy wondered if the writing might have been copied incorrectly from Karbalā' (Iraq). While conjecture, such a mistake might connect the manuscript to the remaining copies of Ali Khoja's translation.

Two British Army officers commissioned copies of *The Odd One* in 1835–6 and 1840. The former was created for Robert Taylor in Baghdad,<sup>68</sup> whereas the latter was made for Sir Henry Rawlinson in Kabul.<sup>69</sup> Rawlinson noted in his manuscript that

63 See Appendix 2 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* Worldwide, Table 3.

64 I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Jean-Charles Ducène for pointing out the edition to me: al-Jayhānī and Manṣūrī, Fayrūz (1990): *Ashkāl al-Ālam*. Tehran.

65 Ms. 18 (1609 CE, Pers.), Kabul, Mūza-yi Kābul. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Ashkāl al-Ālam*; due to safety concerns, I was not able to examine the manuscript in person.

66 Minorskiy, False Jayhānī; Shāyiq, Hāshim (1942): *Ashkāl al-Ālam yā Masālik Mamālik*. In *Āryānā* 1 (2), pp. 27–32.

67 Minorskiy, False Jayhānī, p. 96; Shāyiq, *Ashkāl*, p. 28.

68 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.).

69 Ms. Or. 1587 (1840 CE, Pers.), London, British Library. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*).

this copy was made in Kabul in 1840 from an older and fine M.S. which I obtained at Isfahan in 1837, which being lent by me to Edward Conolly<sup>70</sup> was lost by him during the troubles in Afghanistan.

Rawlinson's "fine M.S." might be the manuscript that surfaced in Kabul around 1940 and is now kept at the National Museum in Kabul. As Minorskiy has pointed out, the three manuscripts of *The Odd One* share the same images as well as gaps in the text,<sup>71</sup> suggesting both Taylor's and Rawlinson's copies were based on the manuscript from Kabul. Therefore, Rawlinson's "fine M.S." was probably not the original version of *The Odd One*, but rather a copy that made its way from Jand to Isfahan (over 1,500 km). Either Ali Khoja's original was transferred to Iran after the thirteenth century, where it sparked an interest, or more copies were created in Jand and sent as gifts to Iran. Taylor's manuscript differs from the others in that it gathers all maps at the end and some of them are mirrored along the vertical axis. Considering the illustrator had otherwise reproduced all details from the other copies, he probably twisted some maps because of his technique for tracing the model's layouts. He might have first copied the model onto a separate and thinner piece of paper and then positioned it on his copy incorrectly. Before moving to Isfahan, Rawlinson's "fine M.S." might have stayed in Baghdad, where Taylor could commission a copy. If so, reading Kiyākālā as Karbalā' might make sense, considering the city is close to Baghdad. Although the traces in the manuscripts do not allow us to pinpoint the trajectory of *The Odd One* between Jand and Kabul, they reveal how knowledge and artefacts moved within the Persianate world over the centuries.

Moreover, other copies of *The Odd One* might surface in the future. In browsing the catalogues of archives and libraries holding Persian manuscripts, I focused on the authors associated with composing the *Book of Routes and Realms* as well as related titles such as Ibn Ḥawqal's *The World's Image*. However, if I were to search the indices for "al-Jayhānī" or "*Ashkāl al-Ālam*," more manuscripts of *The Odd One* might come to light. Considering a manuscript of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work in New Delhi has been attributed to Ibn Khurrādadhbih,<sup>72</sup> the *Book of Routes and Realms* is probably hiding behind even more authors and titles. Therefore, the copies I have found of *The Odd One* might just be the tip of an iceberg.

70 Edward Conolly managed the escort of the British envoy in Kabul and was killed in Kohat on 29 September 1840 (Minorskiy, *False Jayhānī*, p. 94 fn. 2).

71 Minorskiy, *False Jayhānī*, p. 95.

72 Ms. 56.96/4 (1427–8 CE, Pers.), New Delhi, National Museum. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*al-Masālik va al-Mamālik*).

*The Odd One* maintains the structure of the *Book of Routes and Realms* and its linguistic style. According to the translator's introduction, Ali Khoja asked him to render the text Persian in a "simple and concise manner."<sup>73</sup> Considering al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal delivered the text in a straightforward fashion to begin with, Ali Khoja's remark may seem odd. Since Bal'amī reported the same instruction in his *History*, it may represent a commonplace request for translations during this period.

However, *The Odd One* displays large gaps throughout the text. *Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan* contains nothing but the first lines<sup>74</sup> and *al-Jibāl* misses its first third,<sup>75</sup> much like the *Caspian Sea* that breaks off after the introduction and only resumes at the last third.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, *Khurasan* only features the introduction as well as the last two thirds<sup>77</sup> and *Transoxania* skips large sections after the first third.<sup>78</sup> In addition to these gaps, *The Odd One* contains only nineteen maps, with *Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan* and *al-Jibāl* missing. Considering all copies of Ali Khoja's translation share these details, the question arises whether *The Odd One* was meant to reshape the *Book of Routes and Realms*.

A defective model explains the omissions best. First, the breaks have not been smoothed over to create new meaning. Instead, the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms* simply resumes at a later stage, as if the copyist did not know the sentences belonged to different sections. How may he have overlooked that? If the binding of the model manuscript had been damaged, loose folios could have fallen out. The length of the missing sections suggests they fit on several pages that made up a folio or a quire. Due to some repetitive phrases, the text might have still appeared as a coherent unit to the copyist. In most cases, catchwords in the lower margin of the right page indicate the next word on the left page, which helps the binder assemble a manuscript. If the model was missing catchwords, the copyist of the Kabul manuscript would not have seen any hints for a disarray in the text. However, even if he did, he had three options for finishing his job: either leave blanks in the writing to indicate

73 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 3v.

74 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 36; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 180.

75 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 36; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, pp. 196–197.

76 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 38v–40; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, pp. 218–224.

77 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 44–45; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, pp. 133–141.

78 For instance, Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 50v and Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 51v–52, corresponding to Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, pp. 301–303 as well as pp. 319–323.

lacunae,<sup>79</sup> come up with new details to fill them or just keep writing. *The Odd One* suggests the copyist chose option three.

It is not clear whether Ali Khoja's Arabic model was damaged or the Persian copy that the copyist for the Kabul manuscript used – either may be possible. Not only did no one try to smooth over the textual ruptures, we also find a switch between the introduction and the *Arabian Peninsula* in *The Odd One*. Before concluding the introduction, the text leaps to the beginning of the *Arabian Peninsula*, only to jump back to the introduction after a brief passage.<sup>80</sup> This disarray further points to the model holding loose folios that had been mixed up, thus creating a new sequence. Although no existing Arabic copy of the *Book of Routes and Realms* matches the disorder in *The Odd One* exactly, the earliest manuscript of the BASELINE features a similar switch.<sup>81</sup> As *The Odd One* was based on a manuscript from TRANSIRAQ,<sup>82</sup> damages in the bindings of models appear to have caused several mix-ups in the manuscript tradition of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Alternatively, *The Odd One* might have been based on a copy from TRANSARMIRAQ. However, with most of *Armenia*, *Arrān* and *Azerbaijan* missing, we cannot be certain. Moreover, *The Odd One* lacks several details most copies in TRANSARMIRAQ feature.<sup>83</sup> In case *The Odd One* related to TRANSIRAQ, the extant coeval copies in this branch could have hardly served as models.<sup>84</sup> Not only does the map design in *The Odd One* diverge from both copies (not alike either), textual details from this branch also do not appear in the translation.<sup>85</sup> By pointing to the textual and visual range within TRANSIRAQ, *The Odd One* reveals that the existing manuscripts of the

79 We see this practice in Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.), Dublin, Chester Beatty Library. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Ṣūwar al-Aqālīm*), which is an exact replica of Ms. Cod. orient. 300 (1675 CE, Ar.), including blanks shaped like in the model.

80 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 6; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 11 to p. 13 and then back from p. 15 to p. 11.

81 Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.); see more in chapter 4.2.

82 *The Odd One* features the main markers for TRANSIRAQ (see chapter 2.1): Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 24; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 85; Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 52; al-Ḥinī and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 181 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 324.

83 For instance, Ali's treasury in Ṣiffīn in *Mesopotamia* (Ms. Ārif Hikmet Juhgrāfiya 910/7 (ca. 11th c., Ar.), f. 28 that would have been on Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 21v).

84 Ms. P/3 (before 1282 CE, Ar.), London (Greenwich), National Maritime Museum. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*); Ms. 527 (ca. 13th c., Ar.), Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*).

85 For instance, a note about trying to avoid repetitions at the beginning of *Syria* (Ms. P/3 (before 1282 CE, Ar.), f. 15 that would have been on Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 17).

*Book of Routes and Realms* represent only a fraction of the corpus circulating until the thirteenth century.

The gaps in *The Odd One* might also have resulted from the translator aiming to create an abridgement of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Particularly when it came to al-Iṣṭakhrī explaining his maps, the translator leaned towards conciseness. As for the paragraph clarifying how the world map related to the regional maps in the introduction,<sup>86</sup> the translator reduced it to

My book's objective was to illustrate these regions (*aqālīm*), which nobody I know has ever done before [...] I drew the whole world as enclosed by the Encircling Ocean, where nobody goes. If someone were to look at the image [world map], he would know where all regions are located.<sup>87</sup>

In a similar vein, the translator simplified al-Iṣṭakhrī's note about the map of *Khurasan*: Al-Iṣṭakhrī had elaborated on how he had decided to place some cities from *Khurasan* in the map of *Transoxania* instead, because the respective outline fitted them better.<sup>88</sup> In *The Odd One*, this statement transformed into "*Khurasan* has many cities."<sup>89</sup> Assuming the translator's model featured maps, he might have chosen to neglect information about them because he felt they were stating the obvious. Alternatively, he might not have understood the text as relating to the images and omitted sections that did not make any sense to him. Although illustrations lay outside the copyists' or translators' purview, the Arabic copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* as well as the other translations did include al-Iṣṭakhrī's explanations. By contrast, the translator of *The Odd One* appears to have deliberately shortened the text relating to some maps.

As for the large omissions, I cannot detect any strategy or message in reshaping al-Iṣṭakhrī's work to this Persian form. Even though several chapters have been curtailed, all twenty Islamicate regions are part of *The Odd One*. If Ali Khoja intended to promote one region while neglecting others through *The Odd One*, the translator fell short of the task. Not only has no region been removed, *Khurasan* and *Transoxania* have suffered from the cuts as well, which would have been an odd choice in view of Ali Khoja's origin. Moreover, if leaving out details in five regions was intentional, why only skip two maps?

Beyond the omissions, the few changes in *The Odd One* do not indicate the translation was meant to contribute to framing the Mongols, Ali Khoja or

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86 See chapter 2.2.

87 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 4.

88 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 253.

89 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 44.

anything else for that matter. In contrast to translations like Bal'amī's *History*, *The Odd One* does not introduce new sections to the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Rather, we find minor changes like events being put into past tense, such as 'Ubayd Allah's conquest of Fez and 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's rule in al-Andalus (912–929).<sup>90</sup> Since the translator did not insert coeval rulers in the section, *The Odd One* was not designed to update or reshape al-Iṣṭakhri's work to fit the Ilkhanid present. Even for *Khurasan*, the translator only added the Farīghūnids (ninth to eleventh c.) as past rulers in the region, without bridging to coeval events.<sup>91</sup> Additionally, al-Iṣṭakhri's comment that the kings of Fārs had been written about "in books" transformed into "in the *Shāhnāma*."<sup>92</sup> Considering the changes did not touch upon events or works from the Ilkhanid period, someone other than the translator might have placed them in *The Odd One*. Even though the translator might have haphazardly adjusted some sections of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, the Arabic model could have already covered them as well. Moreover, readers could have altered al-Iṣṭakhri's text by striking words or amending details above the lines, which the next copyist took up for a new manuscript that then served as the model for *The Odd One*.

One change seems to have been introduced by the translator, albeit in an inconsistent way. When presenting al-Iṣṭakhri's first-person accounts, the translator alternated between retaining the text and inserting "the author of the book says" (*mu'allif-i kitāb (mī-)gūyad*) before the report. Al-Iṣṭakhri's remark about not seeing any fruit bearing trees other than palms in Mecca was maintained in *The Odd One*.<sup>93</sup> The same holds true for al-Iṣṭakhri's account of Santarém (*shantarīn*, in today's Portugal) as the only city in the Mediterranean area to have ambergris.<sup>94</sup> In contrast, several accounts in *Transoxania* feature "the author of the book says," such as al-Iṣṭakhri's statement that he heard about more than 10,000 *ribāṭ* (military-religious institutions) in the region.<sup>95</sup> To what end the translator added this expression remains unclear. He might have included "the author of the book says" to label information that came from al-Iṣṭakhri (or al-Jayhānī, as he thought), whereas he maintained "I" whenever an account matched his own experience. However, it seems unlikely the translator would have been more familiar with the Islamicate West than his governor's region, Transoxania. Whatever the reason for the expression, *The Odd*

90 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 13v; 14v; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 39; 45.

91 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 50; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 271.

92 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 31v; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 143.

93 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 7v; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 17.

94 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 14; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 42.

95 Ms. Add. 23542 (1836 CE, Pers.), f. 48v; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 290.

*One* shares it with *The Popular One* (see below), indicating it might have been part of the translation practice in this period.

As for the nineteen maps in *The Odd One*, they suggest the illustrator strove to accommodate motifs he knew from other illustrated manuscripts. Like the first manuscript from the BASELINE,<sup>96</sup> *The Odd One* holds maps that cover only one page each and resemble al-Iṣṭakhrī's design. However, some outlines in the translation were expanded, like the *Persian Sea* (see below). Moreover, cities were reduced to their captions, which highlighted the water bodies and other topography. As no Arabic copy in my survey fits this description, we have an additional indicator that *The Odd One* was based on an Arabic model which has since been lost.

While the illustrator devoted much effort to the first five maps as well the fifteenth (the *Caspian Sea*), he seems to have lost interest in portraying the rest. If he prepared the maps in order of appearance in the *Book of Routes and Realms*, the client running out of money might have prevented him from finishing the work he had started. However, how could he have devoted time and effort to the *Caspian Sea* in this scenario? Alternatively, the illustrator might have simply reproduced the images from the model that had already displayed different levels of care in the maps. Without the original of *The Odd One*, we have no way of knowing whether the oddities it exhibits belonged to the translation from the start or appeared in later copies such as the manuscript from Kabul.

The world map suggests the illustrator enhanced al-Iṣṭakhrī's work with icons representing general knowledge. Around the earth's circle, we see four rings in front of the Encircling Ocean that appears as a blue ring with white ornament. Next to the image, a small caption reads "Mount Qāf and the Encircling Ocean," indicating the rings represent the mythical mountain. While al-Iṣṭakhrī neither mentioned nor depicted Mount Qāf in the *Book of Routes and Realms*, the illustrator picked up this barrier from cosmological ideas that circulated in the Islamic world.<sup>97</sup> If the blue ring was meant to represent the Encircling Ocean, the illustrator would have confused the sequence of the barriers surrounding the world. However, the blue and white ornament might have served as a frame to the map, while the second inner ring depicted the Encircling Ocean. Since the ring is green, the color might have pointed to the ocean's alternative name, the Green Ocean. Although we cannot say for certain which ring was meant to represent which barrier, the world map in *The Odd One* shows how illustrators modified material to match their knowledge.

96 Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.).

97 See chapter 1.2.

Moreover, the map of *Egypt* (Fig. 13) shows this knowledge was informed by other images the illustrator might have come across before working on *The Odd One*. While the map relates to the general outline of *Egypt* as depicted by al-Iṣṭakhrī,<sup>98</sup> the shape of the Nile and the buildings representing Alexandria stem from other sources. The earliest manuscript showing the source of the Nile at the Mountains of the Moon (Jabal al-Qamar) in a similar fashion is al-Khwārizmī's *The World's Image* dating from 1036.<sup>99</sup> However, the Nile meanders in this manuscript and we do not see any buildings at the shore of the Mediterranean. Only one Arabic copy of the *Book of Routes and Realms* points to the Lighthouse of Alexandria, but does so in the map of the *Mediterranean*. While the copy probably belongs to the same textual branch as *The Odd One* (TRANSIRAQ) and also dates from the thirteenth century,<sup>100</sup> its map design differs too much from the Persian translation to have been its model. The manuscript was damaged and the map of *Egypt* is missing. However, the map of the *Mediterranean* shows a column with ornament next to the caption of Alexandria, which might have implied the lighthouse. The building might have featured in *Egypt* as well, introducing icons that the illustrator of *The Odd One* adapted. However, as *The Odd One* portrayed a building rather than a column and featured more detailed miniatures in other maps, a different source was more likely to inspire the illustrator of the translation.

The world map in the anonymous *Summary of Chronicles and Stories* (*Mujmal al-Tavārikh va al-Qiṣaṣ*, twelfth c.) mentioned above features the Nile and the lighthouse very much like in *The Odd One*. Preserved in four manuscripts dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,<sup>101</sup> the *Summary* displays a handful of illustrations that differ slightly in each copy. The earliest manuscript to include a world map that depicts the Nile and the Lighthouse of Alexandria almost identically to how they are presented in *The Odd One* is housed at the University Library Heidelberg (Fig. 14).<sup>102</sup>

98 See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms, Egypt*, Figure 43.

99 See chapter 1.3; Ms. 4.247 (1036 CE, Ar.).

100 Ms. P/3 (before 1282 CE, Ar.).

101 Weber, Siegfried and Najmabadi, Seifeddin (2000): *Mujmal at-tawārikh wa-l-qiṣaṣ*. Edingen-Neckarhausen, pp. 38–44.

102 Ms. Cod. Heid. Orient. 118 (ca. 1475 CE, Pers.), Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek. Anonymous: *Summary of Chronicles and Stories*. (*Mujmal al-Tavārikh va al-Qiṣaṣ*). Available online at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/codheidorient118/0477>; all four manuscripts hold the *kishvar* illustration mentioned above, an image depicting the Kaaba, the mosques of Medina and Jerusalem as well as Constantinople and Rome. Another miniature shows a man sitting on a tree at the shore of a sea in which another man is drowning while surrounded by fish. The world map is only part of the manuscript





FIGURE 14 The world map in the *Summary of Chronicles and Stories*  
 WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK HEIDELBERG,  
 MS. COD. HEID. ORIENT. 118 (CA. 1475 CE, PERS.), F. 258V–259

While maintaining the shape and outlines introduced by previous maps like in the *Book of Routes and Realms*, the illustrator introduced several elements we have not seen before in world maps from the Islamic world. To begin with, the overall layout of the map puts the Iranian lands closer to the center, similar to Mustawfi's world map. The Mediterranean has been reduced to its southern and western shores, which means that Europe does not appear on the world map anymore. However, the illustrator labelled the western shore of the Mediterranean on the African continent as *ifranja*, which implies Europeans (Franks). Moreover, the Persian Sea shows Sri Lanka with Adam's Peak that represented the Cupola of the Earth according to Indian geographic ideas. Additionally, the wall of Gog and Magog stands out in the lower left part of the world map. While some copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* accommodated Gog and Magog in the north-west of the world map, their location had been moved north-east in the *Summary*. This position corresponds to Mustawfi's world map as well as the world map by al-Idrīsī (d. ca. 1165) that

held in Heidelberg and Paris (BnF, Ms. Persan Ancien fonds 62), the latter dating from 1410.

he created for the Roger II of Sicily (r. 1130–1154).<sup>103</sup> The gates in the wall also appeared on coeval European world maps to indicate the barrier against the mythical people in the North.<sup>104</sup> While we cannot trace who first relocated Gog and Magog, the world map in the *Summary* illustrates that different images of the world circulated and changed over time.

As for the larger gate in the lower right part of the world map, it might indicate the Caspian Gates that mark a ground-level pass through the Elburz Mountains. The Caspian Gates were mentioned by Greek authors like Strabo (d. 23) and were also included in European world maps. However, they appeared close to the wall of Gog and Magog.<sup>105</sup> Even though it may be literally a stretch, the illustrator in the *Summary* might have moved the Caspian Gates further west and misspelled the caption above the gates into *al-kuḥḥa* instead of *kūhhā-yi alburz* to refer to the Elburz Mountains. As we have seen in the maps from the thirteenth-century copy of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work above, illustrators and copyists sometimes made mistakes, especially if they were not familiar with the content they reproduced. The misplaced *ifranja* in the *Summary* are a case in point. In addition to the confusing caption above the gates, the illustrator might have placed the miniature closer to the Nile and the Mediterranean shore because he did not know better. Whoever designed the world map in the *Summary* focused on general ideas rather than accuracy. This is probably why the wall of Gog and Magog takes up half of Asia and the Caspian Gates are simply located east of the wall. While the gates' relative position to the wall connects to where authors and mapmakers imagined both barriers, the illustrator separated them with a river. Since the illustrator left the river without a caption, we do not know which river he meant to present in this

103 Ms. Or. 23543 (16th c., Pers.), London, British Library. Mustawfī, Ḥamd Allah: *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*; Ahmad, S. Maqbul (1992): Cartography of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī. In Harley, John B. and Woodward, David A. (Eds.): *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (The History of Cartography, 2, 1). Chicago, p. 161; see also the online material by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, al-Idrīsī. BnF. Website.

104 See for instance the late twelfth century Sawley map online: Holcomb, Melanie: Pen and Parchment. Drawing in the Middle Ages. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Blog; Edson, Evelyn (1999): *Mapping Time and Space. How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (The British Library Studies in Map History, 1). London, p. 114; see also Lewy, Mordechay (2018): *Der apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge. Wandel eines frühislamischen Motivs in der Literatur und Kartografie des Mittelalters* (Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums, 61). Frankfurt a.M., p. 288f.

105 Hansman, John H.: Caspian Gates. Elr online; Horst, Thomas (2012): Das Paradies in der mittelalterlichen Kartographie. In *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 63, p. 153; Lewy, *Abessinier*, p. 289.

position. However, the river ending in a mountain range resembles al-Iṣṭakhrī's outline of *Transoxania*, where rivers from Lake Zarah (probably today's Lake Iskanderkul) extend to the Zarafshan Mountains (today's Tajikistan and Uzbekistan).<sup>106</sup> If the illustrator had seen maps from the *Book of Routes and Realms* or other books with maps, he might have transferred some elements to the world map in the *Summary*.

In addition to the barriers in the world map of the *Summary*, we see the Nile reaching to the Mountains of the Moon and the Lighthouse of Alexandria, which resembles the map of *Egypt* in *The Odd One*. Since the original translation for Ali Khoja is missing, we are faced with the 'chicken or egg' dilemma regarding the illustrations. If *The Odd One* featured the lighthouse from the thirteenth century onwards, the author or illustrator of the *Summary* might have picked up the motif. Rather than devoting a regional map to the characteristics in Egypt and Africa, the illustrator decided to install them in the world map that already highlighted legendary buildings. This arrangement brings to mind al-Mas'ūdī's mention of a world map showing "great buildings and superb architecture."<sup>107</sup> If this world map or a copy still existed in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, it might have independently informed the illustrators of the *Summary* and *The Odd One*. Alternatively, the *Summary* might have inspired the illustrator who created the manuscript from Kabul in the seventeenth century. Although the material witnesses holding the images of the Nile and the lighthouse are insufficient to unravel the motif's origin, *The Odd One* demonstrates how images surfaced and influenced each other. Moreover, since al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps had been designed without miniatures, we see how illustrators adapted images to motifs they had encountered while working on other books. However, several maps in *The Odd One* indicate not all illustrators did so in a sophisticated manner.

The maps of the *Persian Sea* and the *Maghreb* suggest the illustrator struggled to emulate images he had seen before. While both maps recreate al-Iṣṭakhrī's outlines to some extent, they feature unusual inhabitants (Figs. 15 and 16).<sup>108</sup>

Both maps show fish as well as a naked figure with wings and a halo in the water. Moreover, the *Maghreb* displays four ducks, and one of them also has a halo. Since no other map in *The Odd One* depicts people, the illustrator might have intended to highlight the *Persian Sea* and the *Maghreb*. If so, whom did

106 See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *Transoxania*, Figure 79.

107 See chapter 1.3.

108 Compare Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *The Persian Sea* (Figure 39) and *The Maghreb* (Figure 42).

the figures represent? Considering the figures appeared at the thresholds to the Encircling Ocean, the illustrator might have alluded to the utmost East and West from the *Alexander Romance*, which were represented by Ruby Island (indicating Sri Lanka) and the Pillars of Hercules (indicating the Rock of Gibraltar and Jebel Musa).<sup>109</sup> Since the figure in the *Persian Sea* reaches out towards the islands labelled “ruby mine” (*kān-i yāqūt*) and Sri Lanka (*kūh-i sarandīb*), this link might make sense. However, the *Maghreb* does not display the Pillars of Hercules or point to them through captions. If perhaps the illustrator simply forgot to include them, could the naked figures depict Alexander the Great?

Combining naked female features with a halo and wings to portray Alexander the Great would have added injury to insult. Most illustrated manuscripts reserved halos for prophets, like a fifteenth-century anthology created for the Timurid Sultan Iskandar (r. 1403–1415) that shows Abraham amid the flames with a golden halo, shaped like fire.<sup>110</sup> A coeval copy of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū’s (d. 1430) *Summary of Chronicles* (*Majma’ al-Tavārikh*) holds an image depicting Muhammad’s calling to prophethood by Gabriel, in which the prophet also has a flame-like halo.<sup>111</sup> In a fourteenth century copy of Bal’āmī’s *History*, prophets and Abbasid caliphs alike appear with halos.<sup>112</sup> In the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma*, halos also extended to kings like the Sasanian Bahrām V (r. 420–38), who is shown killing the horned wolf with a golden halo encircling his head.<sup>113</sup> Alexander the Great, on the other hand, has both royal headgear and a halo in the *Great Mongol Shāhnāma*, for example, at the talking tree.<sup>114</sup> The Ottoman

109 Henning, Richard (1948): Eine mittelalterlich-mohammedanische Ausgestaltung der alten Überlieferung von den Säulen des Herkules. In *Islam* 28, p. 126; Mžik, Parageographische Elemente, p. 197.

110 Gulpāyagānī, Abū al-Faḍl and Cole, Juan R. (1981): *Miracles and Metaphors*. Los Angeles, p. 98; Soucek, Priscilla P.: Eskandar Solṭān. EIr online; the image is available online at [http://www.superluminal.com/cookbook/gallery\\_abraham\\_amid\\_flames.html](http://www.superluminal.com/cookbook/gallery_abraham_amid_flames.html) by Seidel, Kathleen: *Serving the Guest: A Sufi Cookbook*. Image of Abraham Amid the Flames from a Fifteenth-Century Anthology for the Timurid Sultan Iskandar. Website.

111 Ms. 57.51.37.3 (ca. 1425 CE, Pers.), New York City, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū: *Majma’ al-Tavārikh*. Available online at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/451418>.

112 Ms. F1957.16 (early 14th c., Pers.), Washington, DC, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. Bal’āmī: *Tārīkh-nāma* (*first volume*). Available online at <http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?view=&date.slider=&q=Tarikhnama&dsort=&start=0>.

113 Ms. 1960.190 (14th c., Pers.), Cambridge USA, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum. Firdawsī: *Great Mongol Shāhnāma* (*illustrated folio showing Bahrām V fighting the horned wolf*). Available online at <https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/169542>.

114 Ms. F1935.23 (14th c., Pers.), Washington, DC, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. Firdawsī: *Great Mogol Shāhnāma* (*illustrated folio showing Alexander the Great at the Talking Tree*). Available online at <https://asia.si.edu/learn/shahnama/f1935-23/>.



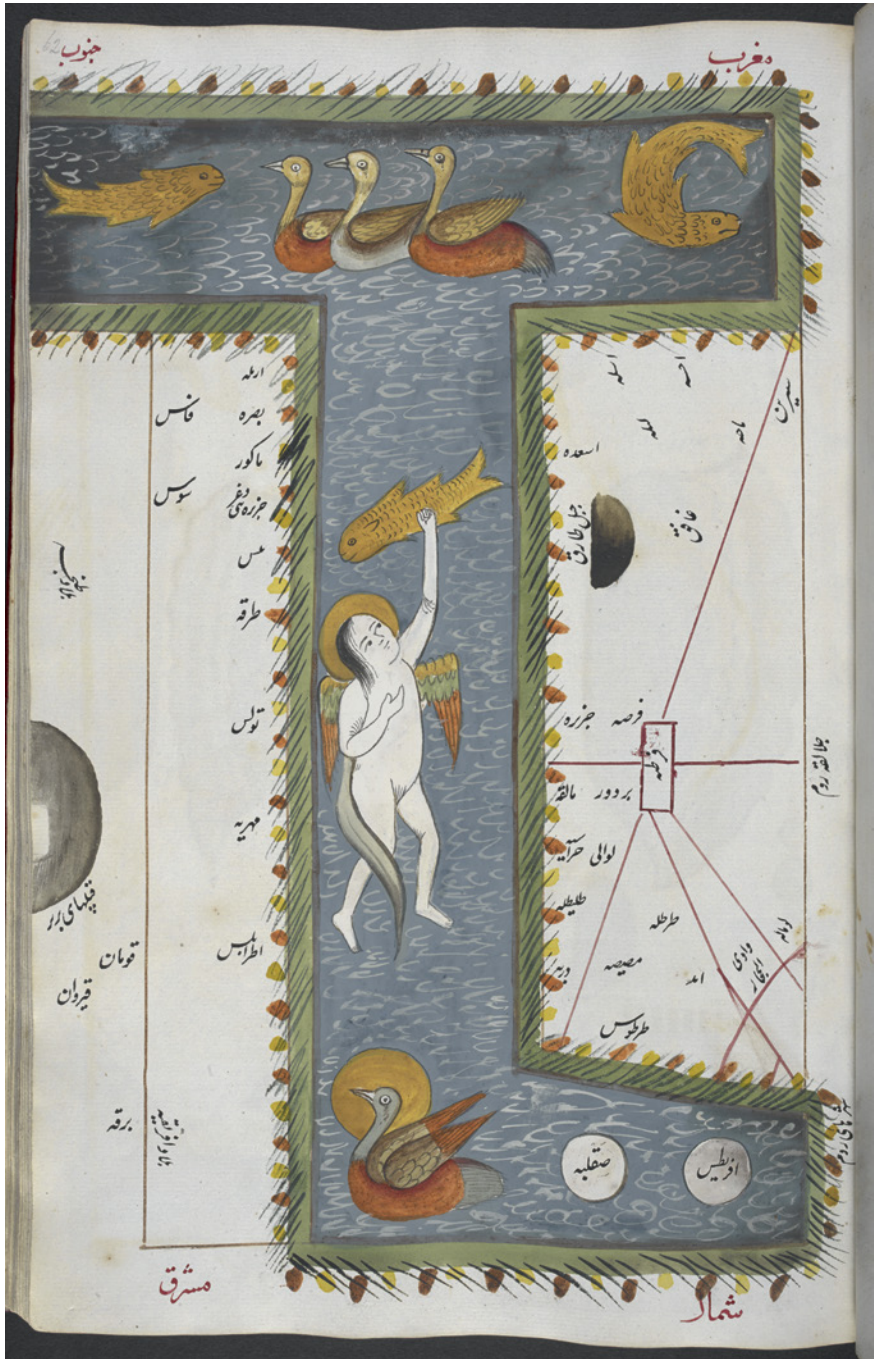


FIGURE 16 The Maghreb in *The Odd One*  
 © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, MS. ADD. 23542 (1836 CE, PERS.), F. 62

*Alexander Romance* (*Īskendernāme*) by Ahmedi, dating from 1416, portrays many men with halos, including Alexander the Great.<sup>115</sup> Except for this deviations, most manuscripts dating from later periods presented Alexander the Great without a halo, such as the sixteenth century Safavid copy of Niẓāmī's (d. 1209) *Five Poems* (*Khamsa*). In a scene with the prophets Khidr and Ilyas, Alexander the Great searches for the fountain of life. While the prophets have flame-like halos, Alexander the Great appears with royal headgear.<sup>116</sup> Considering most coeval manuscripts refrained from depicting Alexander the Great with a halo, the figure in the *Persian Sea* of *The Odd One* probably represented someone else.<sup>117</sup>

The figures in *The Odd One* resemble illustrations from scientific manuscripts, such as al-Qazwīnī's *Wonders of Creation*. As the oldest copy of al-Qazwīnī's work<sup>118</sup> shows angels with halos and wings like the figures from *The Odd One*, they might have represented angels as well. However, adding tails to angels would have been an odd choice. Adorning the duck at the bottom of the *Maghreb* with a halo also seems unusual. While angels, prophets and kings may have appeared with halos in illustrated manuscripts, animals usually did not.<sup>119</sup> However, a copy of al-Qazwīnī's *Wonders of Creation* that dates from the turn of the fourteenth century shows many birds with halos. As Stefano Carboni has shown in his in-depth study, the manuscript represents an outlier in the manuscript tradition of al-Qazwīnī's work. Possibly originating from Mesopotamia, the so-called London Qazwīnī remained uncopied.<sup>120</sup> If the illustrator for *The Odd One* had seen this manuscript, the haloed birds might have inspired him to reproduce this unusual motif in the translation of

115 Ms. Turc 309 (1416 CE, Ott.), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Ahmedi: *Īskendernāme*. Available online at <http://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc34656h>.

116 Ms. W.607 (1528–1529 CE, Pers.), Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. Niẓāmī: *Khamsa*. Available online at [https://thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W607/data/W607/sap/W607\\_000520\\_sap.jpg](https://thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W607/data/W607/sap/W607_000520_sap.jpg).

117 I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Gudrun Krämer for sharing her image archive and pointing out illustrations for comparison to *The Odd One*.

118 Ms. Cod. arab. 464 (1280 CE, Ar.), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. al-Qazwīnī, Zakariyā b. Muhammad: *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharāʾib al-Mawjūdāt*. Available online at <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00045957/images/index.html?fp=193.174.98.30&id=00045957&seite=1>.

119 In addition to the animals depicted in the illustrations quoted above, see Sims, Eleanor, Maršak, Boris I. and Grube, Ernst J. (2002): *Peerless Images. Persian Painting and its Sources*. New Haven, Conn., pp. 157–171.

120 Carboni, Stefano (2015): *The Wonders of Creation and the Singularities of Painting. A Study of the Ilkhanid London Qazwini*. Edinburgh, p. 8; for images of haloed birds from the London Qazwini manuscript, see, for instance, Carboni, *Wonders of Creation*, p. 312.

al-Iṣṭakhrī's work. However, considering the other ducks in the *Maghreb* and the *Caspian Sea* remained without halos, the illustrator did not introduce haloed animals as a new motif for the translation. Alternatively, the illustrator might have failed to grasp the halo's meaning in general or used it to cover up a mistake. The illustrator may have started drawing the halo before he realized the figure beneath it was a duck and simply completed the illustration so as not to disrupt the entire image. However, illustrators often sketched the images before filling them with precious pigments, so that the illustrator would have had a chance to see his mistake. Taking all details into account, the images in *The Odd One* suggest the illustrator had no clue about the message all figures were meant to communicate. Had the illustrator been working from memory only, he may have confused many features. If so, was it a manuscript of the *Book of Routes and Realms* he remembered or a different work?

A fifteenth-century copy of the *Book of Routes and Realms* might shed some light on the motifs behind the figures in *The Odd One*. Possibly created in Shiraz around 1460, the Persian copy is brimming over with miniatures in every map.<sup>121</sup> Regarding the *Persian Sea* in this copy (Ms. B. 334), it shows Jonah and the whale, which is represented by a fish. As we will see in the next chapter, the miniature did not relate to al-Iṣṭakhrī's text, but probably originated from other genres. While emerging from the fish's mouth, the naked Jonah reaches for the garment towards the angel Gabriel who hands Jonah clothing from the African shore (Fig. 17). Since the disposition of Jonah's body corresponds to the figure in *The Odd One*, the illustrator might have aimed to reproduce the motif. Considering the fish are separate from the figure and Gabriel is missing, the illustrator in *The Odd One* would have clearly failed at presenting this image. However, if the illustrator only recalled 'naked' and 'fish,' then he managed to amend the *Persian Sea* according to his memory. As I have not yet had access to the map of the *Maghreb* in Ms. B. 334, I cannot say whether it featured miniatures similar to *The Odd One*. However, the map of *Egypt* in Ms. B. 334 shows a tusked fish in the Mediterranean and Moses at Mount Sinai.<sup>122</sup> While this manuscript depicts Moses with headgear only, another coeval copy presents him

121 Ms. B. 334 (ca. 1460 CE, Pers.), Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: *Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*. Available online at (only four images) <https://goo.gl/E2gj9U>; Akalay, Zeren (1976): *Minyatürlü bir coğrafya kitabı*. In *Kültür ve sanat* 4, p. 71; see the next chapter for more on this manuscript.

122 The map is reproduced in Pinto, Karen (2012): *Searchin' His Eyes, Lookin' for Traces*. Piri Reis' World Map of 1513 & its Islamic Iconographic Connections (A Reading Through Bağdat 334 and Proust). In *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* XXXIX, p. 81.

with a flame-like halo (Ms. Mixt. 344).<sup>123</sup> If the illustrator of *The Odd One* had seen these manuscripts or other copies holding similar illustrations, he might have tried to recreate them in the *Maghreb*. This might explain the duck with a halo that is located approximately where Moses was placed in Mss. 334 and Mixt. 344. The illustrator might have remembered the halo in that position, but put it on a duck instead. Additionally, if this is true, it means he confused the tusked fish with the only human in the map, Moses, and gave him a tail.

While *The Odd One* might have echoed the other manuscripts to some extent, the illustrator's rendition of the miniatures raises too many questions to be conclusive. Not only does their meaning remain unclear, we also have no clues as to why the illustrator only embellished some maps in *The Odd One*, whereas his models likely featured miniatures in every map. Since most miniatures in *The Odd One* appear rather clumsy, the illustrator was hardly working in a courtly workshop. However, by adding miniatures to al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps, *The Odd One* demonstrates how illustrators transformed new copies. If *The Odd One* included the miniatures right away, the translation would show that the boom in illustrated manuscripts impacted geography as well. In contrast to the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms* that the translator barely modified, al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps served as a playground for picking up designs from other works. In case the miniatures were first added to the seventeenth century copy in Kabul, *The Odd One* would at least reveal that motifs circulated across large distances.

### 3 The Lonely One

The second translation of al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Book of Routes and Realms* has survived in only one manuscript, which is why I call it *The Lonely One*.<sup>124</sup> In 1811, Sir William Ouseley (d. 1842) bought the manuscript in Shiraz. Before his journey, Ouseley had served in the King's Royal Irish Regiment in India for six years until 1794. Afterwards, Ouseley went to Leiden to study Persian. As a passionate manuscript collector, Ouseley published catalogues of oriental collections as well as the "Persian Miscellanies. An Essay to Facilitate the Reading of Persian

123 Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 (ca. 1500–1550 CE, Pers.); reproduced in Mžik, Hans (1965): *Al-Iṣṭakhrī und seine Landkarten im Buch "Ṣuwar al-aḳālīm". Nach der pers. Handschrift Cod. mixt. 344 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Vienna; I will discuss this manuscript in greater detail in the next chapter.

124 Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), Oxford, Bodleian Library. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*Ṣuwar al-Buldān*).

Manuscripts.”<sup>125</sup> Moreover, Ouseley edited and translated several Arabic and Persian works, among them al-Iṣṭakhrī’s *Book of Routes and Realms*, which he attributed to Ibn Ḥawqal.<sup>126</sup> Having failed to become a government envoy to the Qajar court, Ouseley finally came to Iran as secretary to his brother Gore, who was the British ambassador in Tehran between 1810 and 1815. After Ouseley’s death in 1942, the Bodleian Library in Oxford acquired his manuscript collection, including *The Lonely One*.<sup>127</sup>

The slightly damaged manuscript in Oxford is not the original translation. In the colophon, the anonymous copyist tells us he created the copy in 1297 by collating the model. However, we do not know if his model was the original or yet another copy. Since the copyist added that he performed his work by correction (*taṣḥīḥ*), he may have had more than one copy at his disposal. Several marginal notes marked *ṣaḥḥa* also point to different manuscripts the copyist consulted. Copyists used *ṣaḥḥa* to indicate they had copied words directly from their model, even if their spelling might have seen odd – much like sic is still used today.<sup>128</sup> When using more than one model to create a new copy, some copyists also marked deviating versions of the main text with *ṣaḥḥa*.<sup>129</sup> Since the marginal notes in *The Lonely One* comprise sentences which appear in the same hand as the main text, the copyist might have indicated he had taken the additional information from a different version of the same work. If this is the case, it means both the original and other copies of *The Lonely One* vanished into thin air.

*The Lonely One* was prepared by Muhammad b. As‘ad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Ḥanafī al-Tustarī, who translated other works into Persian as well. When Hermann Éthé catalogued the manuscript in 1889, he reproduced the translator’s name from the colophon with the *nisba* al-Ḥanaẓī instead of al-Ḥanafī. However, in

125 Ouseley, William (1795): *Persian Miscellanies. An Essay to Facilitate the Reading of Persian Manuscripts; with Engraved Specimens, Philological Observations, and Notes Critical and Historical*. London; Ouseley, William (Ed.) (1800): *The Oriental Collections. Consisting of Original Essays and Dissertations, Translations and Miscellaneous Papers: Volume 3*. Cambridge; Ouseley, William (1831): *Catalogue of Several Hundred Manuscript Works in Various Oriental Languages*. Halle, Saale, London.

126 Ouseley, William (1800): *Kitāb Masālik wa-Mamālik. The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, an Arabian Traveller of the Tenth Century*. Translated from a Manuscript in His Own Possession, Collated with One Preserved in the Library of Eton College by Sir William Ouseley. London.

127 Avery, Peter; Ouseley, William. Elr online; Éthé, Hermann (1889): *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindūstānī and Pushtū Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Oxford, p. 398.

128 Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 283.

129 Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 273.

the edition of *The Lonely One*, Īraj Afshār scrutinized the name and concluded the copyist must have misspelled al-Ḥanafī.<sup>130</sup> Not only did Afshār correct the manuscript's date to 1297 (instead of 1272 in the catalogue), he also attributed other translations created at the beginning of the fourteenth century to al-Ḥanafī. During Öljeytū Khan's reign (1304–1316), the *Stories of Prophets* (*Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*) by al-Būshanjī (fl. tenth/eleventh c.) was translated into Persian. Dating from 1331, the earliest copy of the Persian *Stories of Prophets* attributes the translation to Muhammad b. As'ad b. 'Abd Allah al-Ḥanafī al-Tustarī.<sup>131</sup> In the coeval *Selected History* (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*), Mustawfī additionally credited the same author (yet Sa'd instead of As'ad) with composing the *Anthology of Stories* (*Muntakhab Jāmi' al-Hikāyāt*) during Öljeytū's reign.<sup>132</sup> By comparing fragments from the translations with *The Lonely One*, Afshār determined that all three texts must have stemmed from the same al-Ḥanafī, whose name appeared in different versions. According to Kātib Çelebi's (d. 1657) encyclopedia *Kashf al-Zunūn*, al-Ḥanafī died after 1330. Taking the date in the Oxford copy into account, *The Lonely One* was probably among al-Ḥanafī's first translations close to the end of the thirteenth century.

While the sources mention al-Ḥanafī, the prince to whom he dedicated *The Lonely One* remains a mystery. The introduction tells us Qāzān b. al-Amīr al-Kabīr al-Ajall al-Muzaffar Tavakkultimūr found an Arabic geography with maps and ordered al-Ḥanafī to translate it in an accurate, but simple way, much like *The Odd One*.<sup>133</sup> However, we do not learn who Qāzān was, where he ruled or how he found the Arabic manuscript. Based on similar names in the family of Genghis Khan, Afshār supposed Qāzān might have also belonged to the Mongol house. Although I could not locate Qāzān either, his name as well as al-Ḥanafī's activities show that *The Lonely One* also related to the translation movement in the Iranian lands after the Mongol conquests.

Before *The Lonely One* reached Oxford, the copy seems to have changed hands several times. Scattered across various pages, five seals in the manuscript indicate different individuals owned *The Lonely One* at some point. The

130 al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad and Afshār, Īraj (1994): *Mamālik va Masālik Tāliḥ-i Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Iṣṭakhrī. Tarjuma-yi Muḥammad Ibn As'ad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Tustarī. Bih Kūshish-i Īraj Afshār*. Tehran, xxxii.

131 al-Iṣṭakhrī and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, pp. xxii–xxiii; Schmidtke, Sabine (2016): Introduction. In Schmidtke, Sabine (Ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*. Oxford, United Kingdom, New York, NY, p. 17; Tottoli, Roberto (2002): *Biblical Prophets in the Qur'an and Muslim Literature*. London, p. 166.

132 al-Iṣṭakhrī and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, xxvi.

133 Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), f. 2; al-Iṣṭakhrī and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, p. 3.

three seals on the opening page have faded or have been smudged, making them impossible to decipher. After comparing the remaining two seals to existing databases and reference works, I still could not attribute them to a person. However, one of the seals provides the date 1623.<sup>134</sup> Considering the age of the copy and the fact that it changed locations, even if it were within one city only, more copies of *The Lonely One* might have been created for the different owners. As the history of the *Book of Routes and Realms* and other works like al-Ḥanafī's show, manuscripts have been often attributed to authors other than al-Iṣṭakhrī. Since *The Lonely One* neither features a title nor an author for the Arabic model, the Persian translation may have been connected to a different work that eluded my search. After all, a nineteenth century copy of the *Book of Routes and Realms* has been listed in the catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin as the work of al-Wāqidi (d. 822) who was a historian and expert in Islamic law.<sup>135</sup> Thanks to the image search in the digitized collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, I stumbled across this manuscript. With ever more collections transferring online, we may discover more copies of *The Lonely One* soon.

As the binding of *The Lonely One* has been compromised, the translation is incomplete. After *Syria*, the text breaks off and resumes in the second half of *Khuzestan*, which means that the chapters on the *Mediterranean*, *Mesopotamia* and *Iraq* are entirely missing. As the catchword before the gap does not match the first word after the gap, the folios in-between seem to have fallen out.<sup>136</sup> Since all other catchwords in the manuscript correspond to the first word on the next page, the interruption further suggests *The Lonely One* used to hold more folios. In addition to these physical clues, the introduction to *The Lonely One* does not indicate that al-Ḥanafī left out regions on purpose. Considering al-Ḥanafī did mention *Iraq* and *Khuzestan* in the introduction, leaving them out afterwards would have been inconsistent. However, the introduction does not mention the *Mediterranean* and *Mesopotamia*, so we could assume al-Ḥanafī had chosen to skip them from the start. Nevertheless, he also did not refer to *al-Jibāl*, but the region is part of *The Lonely One*. Therefore, the introduction does not point to al-Ḥanafī deliberately omitting sections of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Assuming the now missing chapters once belonged to *The Lonely One*, al-Ḥanafī based the translation on an Arabic manuscript from

134 Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), f. 42.

135 Ms. Or. fol. 3177 (1864 CE, Pers.), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Jughrāfiyā*). Available online at <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000D90700000000>.

136 Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), f. 39v.

the branch TRANSARMIRAQ that included details we do not find in *The Odd One*.<sup>137</sup> As no existing copy of the *Book of Routes and Realms* matches the map design in *The Lonely One* exactly, TRANSARMIRAQ appears to have circulated in more versions than we can access today.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, this branch seems to have been more widespread in the Iranian lands than any other, since the third translation also related to the branch.

Al-Ḥanafī maintained the style and content of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, changing only minor details. In contrast to *The Odd One*, al-Ḥanafī did not update the text to include the *Shāhnāma*, the Farīghūnids or any other dynasty for that matter. However, similarly to *The Odd One*, he changed several events into past tense like ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III’s rule.<sup>139</sup> In the section about the fauna in *Egypt*, al-Ḥanafī embellished al-Iṣṭakhri’s reference to a lizard (*saqanqūr*) with two lines of verse, which neither Afshār nor I could attribute to a poet.<sup>140</sup> Considering al-Ḥanafī’s literary expertise, he might have composed them himself to integrate what he had learned about this animal. While translating most of al-Iṣṭakhri’s work to the letter, this delicate change suggests al-Ḥanafī spotted a sentence where he could leave a trace of himself without infringing on the integrity of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. As for al-Iṣṭakhri’s personal accounts, al-Ḥanafī did not introduce them with “the author of the book says” like in *The Odd One*. However, he sometimes transformed al-Iṣṭakhri’s “I” as seen in the account about fruit bearing trees in Mecca. In *The Lonely One*, al-Ḥanafī presented it as “nobody has seen any fruit bearing trees other than palms.”<sup>141</sup> Moreover, al-Ḥanafī put several accounts in *Transoxania*

137 See chapter 3.2, fn. 83; Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), f. 31v; al-Iṣṭakhri and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, p. 68; Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), f. 39v; al-Iṣṭakhri and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, p. 82; the markers for the Arabic branch TRANSARMIRAQ are found in Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), ff. 81–82; 145–148; al-Iṣṭakhri and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, pp. 189–191; 342–348; they correspond to al-Ḥinī and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 109; 179–182.

138 The design in *The Lonely One* slightly resembles the outlines in the Arabic Ms. A. 3348 (1286 CE, Ar.), Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*) that I will discuss in the next chapter. As I have not yet had access to the entire manuscript, I only loosely connect Ms. 3348 to TRANSARMIRAQ for now. However, Ms. 3348 presents unique features (miniature buildings, no islands in the Persian Sea and the Mediterranean in the world map etc.) which do not appear in *The Lonely One*, suggesting at least an intermediate copy existed – if Ms. 3348 connects to *The Lonely One* at all.

139 Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), f. 27; al-Iṣṭakhri and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, p. 52; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 45.

140 al-Iṣṭakhri and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, xxxvii.

141 Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), f. 11; al-Iṣṭakhri and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, p. 20; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 17.

into passive voice.<sup>142</sup> Al-Ḥanafī may have changed al-Iṣṭakhrī's first person accounts if he felt they did not require further validation because they presented common knowledge. When details eluded al-Ḥanafī's expertise, like ambergris in Santarém,<sup>143</sup> he might have kept the "I" as a signpost to the author of the Arabic text. All amendments considered, *The Lonely One* stays as close as possible to al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Book of Routes and Realms* without framing the Mongol conquests like in other coeval genres.

The maps in *The Lonely One* have not been adjusted or embellished like in *The Odd One*. Due to the lost folios, *The Lonely One* holds seventeen maps, not including the *Mediterranean*, *Mesopotamia*, *Iraq* and *Khuzestan*. As typical for the branch TRANSARMIRAQ, the world map as well as the maps of *Khurasan* and *Transoxania* make up two pages each, whereas the remaining maps are presented on one page. Moreover, the outlines in *The Lonely One* match what is most likely the oldest manuscript in this branch (kept today in Medina), with *Syria* exemplifying the connection best.<sup>144</sup> In *The Lonely One*, one of the rivers cutting into the landmass from the Mediterranean also crosses the mountain range. Moreover, the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee appear vertically aligned, as opposed to horizontally or diagonally in other copies from the same branch.<sup>145</sup> Additionally, two semicircles surround the fortress Jisr Manbij (also known as Qa'lat Najm) in the bottom left corner: the Euphrates River as well as a line marking the city's contour. Only the manuscript in Medina, *The Lonely One* and the third translation include two semicircles around Jisr Manbij.

The muted colors in *The Lonely One* lend the maps less brilliance than in *The Odd One* and the third translation. In contrast to the first translation, *The Lonely One* includes circles and polygons around city names in the maps. However, no colors fill the shapes, which emphasizes all other elements, such as water bodies and mountains. With mountains represented in violet and water bodies in blue and green, the maps in *The Lonely One* center on dark and cold colors that are occasionally contrasted by red islands and red contours for cities. Although *The Lonely One* maintains the distinction between salt and fresh water, the world map shows all water bodies in blue only. If the Arabic model already displayed this coloring in the world map, *The Lonely One* demonstrates how the branch TRANSARMIRAQ oscillated between distinguishing

142 Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), ff. 129–130; al-Iṣṭakhrī and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, p. 310; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, pp. 289–291.

143 Ms. Ouseley 373 (1297 CE, Pers.), f. 25; al-Iṣṭakhrī and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, p. 49; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 42.

144 Ms. Ārif Hikmet Juhgrāfiya 910/7 (ca. 11th c., Ar.); *Syria* from this manuscript is shown in Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms, Syria*, Figure 47.

145 For instance, Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.).

salt from fresh water and merging all water bodies to blue like in the third Persian translation.<sup>146</sup> In addition to the text, the maps in *The Lonely One* illustrate the translation was meant to preserve al-Iṣṭakhrī *Book of Routes and Realms* without adjusting the material to coeval trends like framing the Mongol conquests and miniature painting.

#### 4 The Popular One

The third translation of al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Book of Routes and Realms* makes up most Persian copies, which is why I call it *The Popular One*. With 32 manuscripts, *The Popular One* not only surpasses the other Persian translations, but also all Arabic versions, which currently include 21 manuscripts.<sup>147</sup> Even if we account for several Arabic copies that have been lost, *The Popular One* ensured the *Book of Routes and Realms* made it to the nineteenth century. While only one Arabic manuscript dates from the nineteenth century,<sup>148</sup> *The Popular One* surfaced in ten copies.<sup>149</sup>

We do not know who translated *The Popular One* or for whom he did so. In contrast to the other translations, *The Popular One* does not include an introduction that could help narrowing down where and when the translation was created. The earliest manuscript referring to the year of the copy dates

146 Within TRANSARMIRAQ, the Medina manuscript shows all water bodies in blue, as does Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.); however, the Dublin and Cairo manuscripts present blue and green water bodies (Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.) and Ms. Juḡhrāfiyā 199 (before 1499 CE, Ar.), Cairo, Dār al-Kutub. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*) like a manuscript from the outlier in the branch, Ms. Orient A. 1521 (1172 CE, Ar.)).

147 This count does not include Ms. Or. 1403 (19th c., Ar. and P.), Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*; the copy contains the description of *Egypt* in Arabic and Persian based on Ms. Orient A. 1521 (1172 CE, Ar.) and Ms. Orient. P. 36 (before 1606 CE, Pers.), Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*Masālik al-Mamālik*) (the latter belonging to *The Popular One*).

148 Ms. Sprenger 1 (ca. 1840 CE, Ar.), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*. Available online at <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000D92500000000>; another copy might have also been created in the nineteenth century: Ms. LV 94 (n.d., Ar.), Cairo, Institut français d'archéologie orientale. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*Masālik al-Mamālik*).

149 See Appendix 2 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* Worldwide, Table 3.

from 1307–8 (Ms. 972).<sup>150</sup> However, another copy without a colophon has been attributed to the thirteenth century (Ms. 5405),<sup>151</sup> so that *The Popular One* probably appeared around the turn of the fourteenth century. In addition to establishing a time frame, both manuscripts suggest the translation circulated in different circles.

In one corner, we have Ms. 5405, whose quality may be described as humble, at best. The writing suggests a copyist who had not mastered the regular *naskh* type, but rather hastened through the text to get it done. No illuminations embellish the headings in this copy and even the maps have been sketched rather than crafted. Moreover, only seven maps appear in Ms. 5405. However, fourteen empty pages in-between the text indicate that the copy was meant to include more illustrations. As the maps and the text seem to have come from the same hand, the person creating Ms. 5405 might have grown impatient with reproducing the images from his model and decided to leave this work unfinished. Alternatively, he might have felt he was not up to the task, as his sloppy sketches clearly show. Whatever the reason he stopped drawing the maps, the manuscript suggests the copyist created it for personal use and not a wealthy client.

In the corner opposite, Ms. 972 showcases *The Popular One*. The book title is drowning in a kaleidoscope of gold, and geometric as well as floral patterns are used. Moreover, flowers and gold surround all headings in the copy and every map features cities that have been filled with gold. Although the manuscript's size (ca. 15 × 25 cm) does not match large-scale manuscripts from the same period, the copy indicates a client who could afford to shower the pages in costly pigments. While the owner of Ms. 5405 probably stored the manuscript among literature he valued for its content, Ms. 972 might have been mounted in a library showing off the owner's wealth – not only in the fourteenth century: the Safavid Shah Abbas I (r. 1588–1629) was among the later owners who marked Ms. 972 with their seal.<sup>152</sup>

As with *The Odd One* and *The Lonely One*, the original of *The Popular One* seems to be missing. Considering the text in Ms. 972 mostly corresponds to Ms. 5405, both manuscripts had the same source. However, the elaborate maps in Ms. 972 indicate the copy could not have been based on Ms. 5405. Since

150 Ms. 972 (1307–8 CE, Pers.), Geneva, The Khalili Collection. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*Tarjuma Masālik wa-Mamālik*).

151 Ms. 5405 (13th c., Pers.), Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḡavī. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*). Available online at <https://bit.ly/3bq7WDt>.

152 I have not yet identified the owners of the ten remaining seals in this copy.

both copies are damaged and missing several parts, reconstructing their relationship to each other is difficult. Nevertheless, another manuscript probably served as a model for both copies. As this model seems to be lost, I cannot establish whether it was the original of *The Popular One* or yet another copy.

The first manuscript placing *The Popular One* in Isfahan dates from 1325 (Ms. 3515).<sup>153</sup> The colophon ascribes the translation to Ibn Sāvji (fl. 1332) who is known for translating the astronomic treatise *Solution of the Problems* (*Ḥall al-Mushkilāt*) by Ḥakīm Ṭamṭam al-Hindī as well as sayings by Ali.<sup>154</sup> Since Ms. 3515 matches the wording in the previous copies (Mss. 972 and 5405), *The Popular One* originated from one translator who might have been Ibn Sāvji. However, as the earlier copies did not ascribe *The Popular One* to anyone, the colophon in Ms. 3515 might have credited Ibn Sāvji with translating the *Book of Routes and Realms* after the fact.

To add to the confusion surrounding the origins of *The Popular One*, the translation circulated in two versions. While Mss. 5405 and 972 related to the Arabic branch TRANSARMIRAQ, the copy naming Isfahan and Ms. 1331 that surfaced at the turn to the fourteenth century<sup>155</sup> related to TRANSIRAQ. Except for the marker in *Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan* that separates the branches, both versions of *The Popular One* are mostly identical regarding the content and style. Therefore, we are not dealing with two separate translations, but rather consecutive versions of the same effort. If the translator had published his work based on a manuscript from TRANSIRAQ and only afterwards came across a copy belonging to TRANSARMIRAQ, he might have collated the missing marker from *Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan*. As a result, both versions circulated at the same time. In fact, Ms. 1331 shares details from both branches of *The Popular One*, pointing to intermediate copies surfacing during the translation process.<sup>156</sup> When Afshār edited *The Popular One* in 1969, he accommodat-

153 Ms. 3515 (1325 CE, Pers.), Tehran, Mūza-yi Irān-i Bāstān. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*al-Masālik va al-Mamālik*).

154 Afshār, İraj and al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (1969): *Masālik va Mamālik. Tarjuma-yi Fārsī (al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik) az Qarn-i 5./6. Hījri*. Tehran, p. 13; Mudarris Tabrizī, Muḥammad Ali (1990): *Rayḥānat al-Adab fi Tarājim al-Ma'rūfīn bi-l-Kunya aw al-Laḡab*. Vol. 7. Tehran, p. 253; Navshāhī, 'Ārif (1971): *Kitābshināsi-yi Āthār-i Fārsī-yi Chāp Shuda Dar Shibh-i Qārra* (Hind, Pākistān, Banglādīsh). Vol. 2. Tehran, p. 1121; the translation of Ali's sayings appeared under the title *Durr al-Ma'āni Fi Tarjuma Nathr al-La'ālī*.

155 Ms. 1331 (incl. 9610) (13th–14th c., Pers.), Tehran, Dānīshgāh-i Tīhrān. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: *Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*.

156 Ms. 1331 shares an addition at the end of the *Persian Sea* with Ms. 5405, as well as the omission of the city Banjīkāth in *Transoxania* (Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 38; 252). Moreover, the map of the *Arabian Peninsula* in Ms. 1331 shows two mountains representing the Aja' and Salmā Mountains (see Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of*

ed the version relating to TRANSARMIRAQ<sup>157</sup> in the footnotes and presented the version based on TRANSIRAQ in the main text.<sup>158</sup>

*The Popular One* further reveals that the BASELINE was not in demand in the Iranian lands. Considering all Persian translations originated from TRANSIRAQ or TRANSARMIRAQ, these branches were at least more available than the BASELINE. As the first manuscript from this branch came to light in Istanbul in the fifteenth century,<sup>159</sup> the BASELINE seems to have circulated in numbers that do not compare to the other branches. However, this 'print run' might have related to the evolution of the *Book of Routes and Realms* rather than a taste for TRANSIRAQ and TRANSARMIRAQ. If al-Iṣṭakhrī started amending his work right away, only few copies of the BASELINE might have seen the light of day.

Moreover, *The Popular One* also suggests more Arabic copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* had circulated until the thirteenth century than those covered in my survey. Both versions of *The Popular One* present maps that were reproduced from Arabic models without major changes or adornments as in *The Odd One*. However, none of the existing manuscripts from TRANSIRAQ and TRANSARMIRAQ could have served as models for both versions of *The Popular One*. As several copies of *The Popular One* and the other translations show, manuscripts suffered from water, weather and wear. While some of this damage resulted in incomplete or incorrectly bound copies, others were lost or destroyed. Considering the upheavals connected with the Mongol conquests, we can count ourselves lucky the *Book of Routes and Realms* did not disappear altogether. Additionally, the translations help reconstruct how al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps evolved. Due to damage and rip, the map of the *Arabian Peninsula* is missing from all Arabic branches until the thirteenth century. Assuming the Persian

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*Routes and Realms*, *The Arabian Peninsula*, Figure 34) like in Ms. 972. Additionally, the map of the *Maghreb* in Ms. 1331 does not show Sicily, which is a characteristic found in a different coeval copy belonging to the same branch as Mss. 5405 and 972 (Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.)). The same applies to the second circle around Jisr Manbij in the map of *Syria* (mentioned above). At the same time, Ms. 1331 displays features from Ms. 3515 that we cannot find in the second branch of *The Popular One*. For example, Ms. 1331 includes a concluding remark at the end of *Syria* (Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 70). Moreover, although the map of the *Arabian Peninsula* in Ms. 1331 presents a marker from the version close to TRANSARMIRAQ, it also shows only one island in the sea like in Ms. 3515.

157 Based on Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.), Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*.

158 Based on Ms. 3515 (1325 CE, Pers.).

159 Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.).

translations reproduced their model maps, they allow us to glimpse the design of the *Arabian Peninsula* in TRANSIRAQ as well as TRANSARMIRAQ.<sup>160</sup>

Damage to the binding probably also caused the TRANSIRAQ branch of *The Popular One* to circulate in two versions. Ms. 3515 that refers to Ibn Sāvījī in Isfahan is the first copy in which *Egypt* breaks off after the introduction and only resumes for the last paragraphs. As a result, *Egypt*'s map is not part of the manuscript. Moreover, the middle third of the consecutive chapter about *Syria* (including its map) is missing as well.<sup>161</sup> The microfilm copy of Ms. 3515 that I examined clearly shows the manuscript's binding has been compromised, which could have caused folios to fall out. If we compare the edition to the manuscript, the missing sections would have fit on approximately two bi-folios for *Egypt* and one for *Syria*. As the units making up quires, bi-folios could easily get lost if the binding was damaged. Moreover, the catchwords in Ms. 3515 usually connect to the next page, except for the gaps. Since the breaks leave sentences unfinished, they were clearly not created on purpose. When Ms. 3515 was created in 1325, it probably still kept all folios that displayed a Persian version of TRANSIRAQ. Since the next manuscript with the same gaps dates from the sixteenth century,<sup>162</sup> we only know the folios were lost or removed in the meantime.

While *The Popular One* maintained al-Iṣṭakhrī's style and content, the translator stepped in more often than in *The Odd One* or *The Lonely One*. Some changes aimed at correcting the *Book of Routes and Realms*, without infringing on al-Iṣṭakhrī's work. As in the other translations, *The Popular One* presented 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's rule in past tense.<sup>163</sup> Moreover, *The Popular One* refers to infidels in *al-Daylam* in the past.<sup>164</sup> Most switches to the past appear in *Fārs* and *Khurasan*, suggesting the translator was more familiar with these regions. Although the translator knew ministers and rulers like Ḥajar b. Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan were no longer in office in *Fārs*, he did not update the information.<sup>165</sup> The same holds true for Marw in *Khurasan*, where the translator tells us melons used to be cultivated.<sup>166</sup> Again in *Khurasan*, the translator omitted al-Iṣṭakhrī's

160 See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *The Arabian Peninsula*, Figure 37 and Figure 38.

161 Afshār has marked the missing sections in the footnotes and inserted the map of *Egypt* from Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.) and Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 (ca. 1500–1550 CE, Pers.).

162 Ms. K. 1 (16th/17th c., Pers.), Cambridge, University Library. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Suwar al-Aqālīn*).

163 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 48; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 45.

164 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 169; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 205.

165 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, pp. 127–128; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, pp. 145–146.

166 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 206; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 259.

references to clay buildings in many cities, maintaining only those for Qāyin and Balkh.<sup>167</sup> Although these changes show the translator cared about accuracy, he refrained from introducing his insights into coeval building techniques.

In addition, the translator adjusted some sections to improve readability. When al-Iṣṭakhri listed 40 cities in *Fārs*, he added “with/without pulpit” after every entry.<sup>168</sup> Rather than boring the reader with the litany, the translator chose to cluster those cities with a pulpit and those without.<sup>169</sup> As I have shown above, al-Iṣṭakhri arranged the regional maps according to cities with pulpits. Therefore, the repetitive section might have assisted him in laying out the items on the map of *Fārs*. For the translator of *The Popular One*, however, the list made just as much sense in clusters. However, in chapters like *Sijistān*, the translator overplayed his hand. When listing the distances between four cities, al-Iṣṭakhri had indicated one day between each of them. In *The Popular One*, the translator summarized the information as “the distance between them is four days in total.”<sup>170</sup> While not false, the new version rendered the section less accurate. By cutting corners regarding distances throughout *The Popular One*, the translator neglected a key component in geographic works. Although listing distances might have appeared dull to the translator, these segments had settled in geographic literature from the ninth century onwards. In adjusting the distances to his taste, the translator indicated he was not familiar with the genre.

When dealing with al-Iṣṭakhri’s voice, the translator become bolder and even appropriated it. For the most part, *The Popular One* maintained al-Iṣṭakhri’s first person accounts. In several regions, the translator introduced the accounts with “the author of the book says” like in *The Odd One*.<sup>171</sup> Moreover, he cloaked his own experience in al-Iṣṭakhri’s “I” on several occasions such as in *Syria*. While al-Iṣṭakhri had commented on Baalbek’s buildings as the largest and most impressive in the region, the translator added “that I saw.”<sup>172</sup> Similar changes appear in the *Arabian Peninsula*, *Khuzestan*, *al-Jibāl*, *al-Daylam*, the *Caspian Sea*, the *Desert of Khurasan and Fārs* as well as *Transoxania*.<sup>173</sup> Rather

167 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, pp. 266–274; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, pp. 215–217.

168 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, pp. 105–112.

169 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, pp. 98–99.

170 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 200; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 251.

171 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 44; 56; 228; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 42; 54; 289.

172 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 63; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 61.

173 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 24; 91; 167; 171; 180; 185; 229; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 22; 90; 202; 209; 223; 228; 291.

than flagging his personal experience with “the translator of the book says,” the translator chose to appropriate al-Iṣṭakhri’s voice. This strategy allowed him to leave a mark in the *Book of Routes and Realms* without drawing a client’s or buyer’s attention to the changes.

Not only do the changes in first person accounts suggest the translator travelled in the Islamic East, one adjustment even indicates he came from Sirāf in Fārs. Positioned along trade routes in the Persian Gulf leading as far as China, Sirāf prospered in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>174</sup> When al-Iṣṭakhri described the city, he pointed out that its inhabitants were the most sinister in the region. Moreover, he emphasized that some of them owned 60,000,000 Dirham.<sup>175</sup> For *The Popular One*, the translator turned the section into: “Many merchants live in this city. The author of the book says I saw them and every one of them owns 60,000,000 Dirham.”<sup>176</sup> To shift the focus from the people’s negative character to their wealth, the translator hijacked al-Iṣṭakhri’s voice. While the occasional “I” the translator added might not have caught the reader’s attention, crediting the author with the observation lent the translator’s view authority. Considering the translator did not push the envelope for any other city, he (or his client) seemed to have cherished Sirāf too much to ignore al-Iṣṭakhri’s words. However, similar to the other adjustments, the translator wove his opinion into the fabric of the *Book of Routes and Realms* without weighing down the text with new information. This strategy suggests he aimed at preserving al-Iṣṭakhri’s work rather than exploiting it for his or his client’s interests.

For the most part, the translator updated minor details in the *Book of Routes and Realms*. When describing Marw, he added the city had an artisans’ market, which al-Iṣṭakhri had not mentioned.<sup>177</sup> Regarding Rayy in al-Daylam, al-Iṣṭakhri had mentioned graves of prominent figures such as Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. ca. 805), a Ḥanafī jurist, who served as a judge in Baghdad during Hārūn al-Rashīd’s rule. On route with the caliph, al-Shaybānī died in Rayy.<sup>178</sup> In *The Popular One*, the translator listed the grave of another Ḥanafī scholar who died in Rayy, Hishām b. ‘Abd Allah al-Rāzī (d. 817).

174 Shen, Hsueh-man (2017): The China-Abbasid Ceramics Trade during the Ninth and Tenth Centuries. Chinese Ceramics Circulating in the Middle East. In Flood, Finbarr Barry and Necipoğlu, Gülru (Eds.): *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture* (Blackwell Companions to Art History, 2). Hoboken, p. 197.

175 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 154.

176 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 134.

177 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 208; Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 263.

178 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 208; Chaumont, Éric: al-Shaybānī. EI<sup>2</sup> online.

Moreover, the translator mentioned the grave of the Sufi Sheikh Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ (d. 903).<sup>179</sup> While the translator illustrated his familiarity with the Islamic East through the additions, he tailored them to the scope of *Book of Routes and Realms*. Rather than introducing more contemporary scholars and their graves, the translator limited his amendments to figures al-Iṣṭakhri could have known about.

However, the translator broke his pattern when he imbedded a tale in the *Persian Sea*. Al-Iṣṭakhri had mentioned a strait in the Red Sea, where the wind opened vortices no ship could escape. Located between al-Qulzum and Ayla, Tārān was not simply the most dangerous place in the Persian Sea; according to al-Iṣṭakhri, the pharaoh had drowned there, which probably referred to Moses crossing the Red Sea.<sup>180</sup> In *The Popular One*, the translator related a story about a ship that got caught in the vortex.<sup>181</sup> After being stuck for a long time, a giant fish emerged from the sea and devoured a person from the crew every day. A wise man submitted the crew could escape their doom by sacrificing a member and using the fish's strength. The crew could attach the volunteer to a rope that would yank the ship from the vortex once the fish swam away with its prey. When one member agreed to make the sacrifice, the crew succeeded in escaping the vortex.

The story the translator added seems to fuse subjects from different tales of seafarers. Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfi (fl. tenth c.) explained how dangerous the sea around al-Qulzum was in the *Accounts of China and India (Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa-l-Hind)*.<sup>182</sup> However, he did not mention any giant fish or vortices. In the *Pearl of Wonders (Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib wa-Farīdat al-Gharā'ib)*, Ibn al-Wardī (d. 1457) described a fish in the sea of al-Qulzum that was bigger than 100 meters and could sink ships with a beat of its tail.<sup>183</sup> Although Ibn al-Wardī published his work well after *The Popular One* was created, he had based it on previous literature such as al-Ḥarrānī's (fl. 1332) *Collection of Diversity and Diversion of the Aggrieved (Jāmi' al-Funūn wa-Salwat al-Maḥzūn)*.<sup>184</sup> Considering most authors

179 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 171.

180 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 30.

181 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, pp. 32–33.

182 Pellat, Charles: *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa-l-Hind*. E1<sup>2</sup> online; al-Sīrāfi, Abū Zayd Ḥasan Ibn Yazīd and Mackintosh-Smith, Tim (2017): *Accounts of China and India*. New York, p. 64.

183 Ibn al-Wardī, 'Umar Ibn Muẓaffar (2008): *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib wa-Farīdat al-Gharā'ib*. Cairo, p. 231.

184 Bearman, P. et al.: Ibn al-Wardī. E1<sup>2</sup> online; Brockelmann, Carl (2018): *History of the Arabic Written Tradition. Supplement Volume II*. Leiden, Boston, p. 26; in her dissertation, Mary Pierson has edited the first two parts of al-Ḥarrānī's work (Pierson, Mary Frost (1975): *The Jāmi' al-Funūn wa-Salwat al-Maḥzūn of Ibn Shabīb. Text, translation, and commentary*.

incorporated material from older sources in their work, the story about the large fish might have already circulated during the thirteenth century, coinciding with *The Popular One*.

Fish and ropes played a central role in a different story in the *Pearl of Wonders* that related to a location possibly close to al-Qulzum. In the chapter on the western part of the Encircling Ocean, Ibn al-Wardī tells us about a vortex ships cannot escape.<sup>185</sup> Some merchants reported how a rough wind had led them astray and that their blind, but skilled, captain kept asking them whether they could see anything. After some time, they told him they saw a black bird above the water, whereupon the captain became agitated and declared that their inevitable doom had arrived. When they came closer to the bird, the merchants realized they had actually spotted ships and on them, all people were dead. As the merchants lost all hope, the captain offered to save them in return for half their fortune. When they agreed, the captain had them fill two bottles with fat and hang them from the ship as bait for the fish. Moreover, the captain asked them to attach ropes to the dead from the other ships and to toss them in the sea as well. As the fish began devouring the dead, they started pulling the ship from its position, until it emerged from the vortex. While the captain saved the day in rather a sneaky than wise way, the character and his solution echoes the story in *The Popular One*. However, giant creatures and men sacrificing themselves to escape the doom in the vortex appear in other stories as well.

When portraying the Persian Sea in the *Wonders of Creation*, al-Qazwīnī also brought up a vortex.<sup>186</sup> In the section preceding the Sea of al-Qulzum, al-Qazwīnī quoted from a book he called *Wonders of the Sea* (*ʿAjāʾib al-Baḥr*). The story revolved around a man from Isfahan who could not make ends meet and set sail on a ship with merchants. When the ship got sucked into the famous vortex in the sea, a wise man told the people on board he would strive to find a solution, but one of them may have to sacrifice himself. The desperate man stepped forward, saying he could face the doom as he had nothing to lose. However, in exchange for sacrificing his life, the merchants would have to pay his debts and take care of his children. When they agreed, the wise man told the volunteer to cross over to an island nearby and beat the drum he was given.

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Dissertation. Brandeis University, Boston); for more on the *Pearl of Wonders*, see Bellino, Francesca (2014): *Sirāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī and the Ḥarīdat al-ʿAjāʾib*. Authority and Plagiarism in a Fifteenth-Century Arabic Cosmography. In *Eurasian Studies* 12, pp. 265–305.

185 Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat*, p. 212.

186 al-Qazwīnī, Zakarīyā b. Muhammad and Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand (1849): *Zakarīya Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie. Erster Theil. Kitāb ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt. Die Wunder der Schöpfung*. Halle, Saale, Göttingen, pp. 117–118.

The volunteer did as he was told and spotted the biggest tree he had ever seen on the island. In the evening, a giant bird landed on the tree, frightening the man. After a while, the man gathered all his courage and held on to the bird's claws as it was about to fly away. The man's courage was rewarded when the bird set him down on a pile of hay in a port. People gathered around him and brought him to their king who asked the man to tell his story. Upon hearing it, the king asked the man to stay with them and offered him a lot of money. After the sea had calmed, the man saw that his ship had arrived in the port. When his crew asked the man what had happened, he told them God had rewarded his sacrifice in a marvelous way.

Similarly to *The Popular One*, al-Qazwīnī's story features a vortex in the Red Sea, a wise man and one who sacrifices himself. Like the captain in the *Pearl of Wonders*, the man asked the crew to compensate his act with money. However, the man's sacrifice in the *Wonders of Creation* does not directly lead to saving the ship. While his crew arrives in the port on their own, he is personally rewarded for his actions. Moreover, instead of a fish, al-Qazwīnī's tale presents a giant bird as the man's salvation. With this element, al-Qazwīnī echoed tales about the bird Roc (*rukḥkh*).

Starting with Bozorg b. Shahriyār's (fl. tenth c.) *Wonders of India* (*ʿAjāʾib al-Hind*), seafarers told stories about a mythical bird that is huge enough to obscure the sun. Closely related to the myth of Simurgh, the Roc probably originated from the stories told by the Taoist Chuang Tzu (d. ca. 290 BCE). In the *Transcendental Bliss*, Chuang Tzu described a giant fish called Leviathan in the northern sea that changed into an equally huge bird called Roc.<sup>187</sup> Cosmology from the Islamic world also featured a giant fish (*bahamūt*) that supported the bull who carried the world.<sup>188</sup> However, the fish did not turn into a bird. Although the giant bird was not always called Roc, it appeared in different stories about stranded seafarers like in the *Wonders of India*. After a ship had run ashore on an island close to Sri Lanka, the crew was stuck for such a long time that many members died. The few members who were left saw a giant bird landing on the island and departing again, opening a window of opportunity

187 Chuang-Tzu Chuang, Chou and Giles, Herbert Allen (1889): *Chuang Tzu. Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer. Translation from the Chinese by Herbert A. Giles*. London, p. 1; Marzolph, Ulrich: al-Rukḥkh. EI<sup>2</sup> online; al-Rawi, Ahmed (2015): The Rukh and the Influence of Chinese Mythology. In *International Communication of Chinese Culture* 2 (3), p. 225.

188 Miquel, André and Streck, Maximilian: Kaf. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Radtke, Bernd (1992): *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im mittelalterlichen Islam* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 51). Stuttgart, p. 81; I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Gudrun Krämer for pointing out this connection to me.

for escape. They decided they would try, one after the other, to clench the bird's claws to be transported to a different place. The first man descended on a mountain, where a shepherd found him the next morning, and told him he had arrived in an Indian village. As for the rest of his companions, they followed after him in the same way.<sup>189</sup> As in al-Qazwīnī's *Wonders of Creation*, the giant bird rescued the seafarers from an island. However, they devised their own plan without a captain or a wise man instructing them. Moreover, all men participated in this Hail Mary pass instead of one sacrificing himself.

Although the different stories do not match the tale in *The Popular One* exactly, they suggest the translator blended narratives from travelogues he had read or heard. If the translator had travelled as much as the changes in *The Popular One* indicate, he had probably come across more than one fabulous story. However, he chose to embellish the *Book of Routes and Realms* only once in this fashion, suggesting the Sea of al-Qulzum mattered to him for some reason. He might have lived at the Red Sea for some time or he might have originated from the Persian Gulf, where similar stories circulated that inspired him to incorporate at least one of them in al-Iṣṭakhrī's text. Whatever the translator's motivation, the intervention reveals once more that he amended the *Book of Routes and Realms* to accommodate his experience and knowledge rather than to frame recent events in the Iranian lands.

While the trend in miniature painting, the translations into Persian and the framing of the Mongol conquests drew attention to the *Book of Routes and Realms* in the thirteenth century, the three translations only echo these trends. The person illustrating *The Odd One* attempted to adorn al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps with symbolic images that stemmed from other illustrated manuscripts, whereas *The Lonely One* and *The Popular One* did not alter the maps. As for changes relating to the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, most translators quite literally stuck to the script, although they introduced cosmetic changes in some instances. Even the translator of *The Popular One*, who pushed the envelope in comparison to his colleagues, changed al-Iṣṭakhrī's text in a way that the reader would not identify as stemming from a thirteenth-century context. While each translation displays individual traits, they all point to an interest in preserving al-Iṣṭakhrī's work rather than updating it. Although the makeup and history of the Islamic world had changed by the time the translations surfaced, they portrayed the *mamlakat al-islām* according to al-Iṣṭakhrī's tenth century perspective. In addition to al-Iṣṭakhrī's beautiful maps and focus on the Iranian lands, his timeless design and encyclopedic outlook might have

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189 Bozorg b. Shahriyār, Lith, Pieter A. van der and Devic, L. Marcel (1883): *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde. Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Hind*. Leiden, pp. 12–13.

also sparked the interest in the *Book of Routes and Realms*. This appeal caused the *Book of Routes and Realms* to survive the Mongol conquests and flourish afterwards, mostly in *The Popular One*. Not only did the third translation bring about most copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, it also contributed to new interpretations at the Ottoman court in the sixteenth century.

## Something Old, Something New

### *Collecting and Commissioning the Book of Routes and Realms in Ottoman Libraries from the Fifteenth Century Onwards*

#### 1 Claiming Space and Knowledge for the Ottoman Court

In the late fifteenth century, the *Book of Routes and Realms* appeared in Sultan Mehmed II's (r. 1444–46 and 1451–81) treasury in Istanbul. Until the turn of the nineteenth century, collections in the Ottoman capital held fifteen copies of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work in total,<sup>1</sup> suggesting the *Book of Routes and Realms* appealed to rulers many centuries after its composition. In addition to collecting old Arabic and Persian copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, officials commissioned new manuscripts, including the Ottoman translation that was presented to Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603) in 1598. As we will see below, at least ten of the fifteen copies were acquired or commissioned between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Rather than indicating a craze for al-Iṣṭakhrī's work specifically, the copies epitomize Mehmed II's vision for absorbing knowledge from all realms and the massive influx of manuscripts to Istanbul due to the Ottoman expansion that continued under his successors. Considering seven of the ten copies maintained both al-Iṣṭakhrī's text and images, the audience aimed at preserving the *Book of Routes and Realms* as part of a cultural heritage – very much like the Persian translations some two hundred years before. However, as three copies combine al-Iṣṭakhrī's map design with other cartographic material that circulated in Istanbul, the *Book of Routes and Realms* also embodied the entanglement of traditions in a city that had become the hub for manuscripts, scholars and artists.

After conquering Constantinople in 1453, Mehmed II set out to transform the city into the scholarly and artistic center of the Islamicate world. By studying history, geography and philosophy, Mehmed II promoted the idea of a universal empire that merged traditions from the Islamicate and Greco-Roman worlds. For this purpose, Mehmed II required his courtiers to learn the history of ancient Rome and held sessions with scholars twice a week to discuss

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1 Fifteen copies correspond to ca. 25% of the manuscripts in my survey.

science and religion.<sup>2</sup> In addition to inviting scholars to Istanbul, Mehmed II ordered libraries to be built in the capital as well as other centers, such as Bursa and Edirne. Upon completion in 1470, the mosque complex *Fatih Camii ve Külliyesi* in Istanbul included sixteen madrasas and four libraries. Moreover, the Pantocator monastery was transformed into the Zeyrek madrasa and the Hagia Sophia church into the Ayasofya madrasa. To fill the libraries and make sure knowledge circulated at the court, Mehmed II commissioned books on religion, science and literature. Copyist usually duplicated one book several times to provide the material for educating chancellery scribes and other officials. As Mehmed II promoted translations into Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish, the palace library included grammar books and dictionaries as well. Among others, Mehmed II commissioned Georgios Amirutzes (d. 1475) to translate Ptolemy's *Geography* from Greek to Arabic in 1465.<sup>3</sup>

Geography and paintings fascinated Mehmed II. When the Venetian Giacomo de Languschi met Mehmed II shortly after the conquest, he described the sultan as eager to shape his rule after kings like Alexander the Great. Probably to scout out territories he could conquer, Mehmed II would examine a map showing where the Pope and European kingdoms were located.<sup>4</sup> To advertise his rule in Europe, Mehmed II commissioned medals as well as canvasses with his portrait, usually accompanied by Latin inscriptions. As part of the diplomatic exchange with the Habsburg Empire, Mehmed II sent his portrait to Frederick III, who returned the gesture.<sup>5</sup> This practice continued

2 Babinger, Franz (1953): *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit. Weltstürmer einer Zeitenwende*. Munich, p. 507; Necipoğlu, Gülru (2012): Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation. Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople. In *Muqarnas* 29, pp. 1–9; Ocağ, Ahmet Y. (2011): Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. The Conquest and the Centralization of Power in the Ottoman Empire. In Binbaş, İlker E., Kılıç-Schubel, Nurten and Togan, İsenbike (Eds.): *Horizons of the World. Festschrift for İsenbike Togan = Hudûdü'l-âlem: İsenbike Togan'a armağan*. Istanbul, p. 373.

3 Emirlioğlu, Pınar (2014): *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Farnham, Surrey, p. 6; Fetvacı, Emine (2013): *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*. Bloomington, Indianapolis, Ind., p. 33; İhsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin (2000): *Osmanlı coğrafya literatürü tarihi. Vol. 1*. Istanbul, pp. 12–13; Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism, p. 11; Yoltar, Ayşin (2002): *The Role of Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Luxury Book Production. 1413–1520*. Dissertation. New York University, New York City, p. 77; 82–83.

4 Barkey, Karen (2008): *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, p. 67; Emirlioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, pp. 52–53; Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism, p. 7.

5 Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism, p. 4; 35; 75.

under Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), who received portraits from the ruler of Mantua, Francesco II, as part of their diplomatic relationship.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, Mehmed II cherished luxury manuscripts as status symbols. Production particularly peaked in the 1460s and late 1470s, when the sultan was not campaigning. Among the illustrated manuscripts created during Mehmed II reign, we find Ahmedī's Turkish translation of the Persian *Alexander Romance* (*İskendernāme*) that the poet had dedicated to Süleyman of Germiyan in 1390. Moreover, Mehmed II welcomed manuscripts as ransom. When Mehmed II's son, Mustafa, kidnapped nephews of the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1452–1478) in 1472, the Ottoman sultan demanded Uzun Hasan to send “wondrous manuscripts and gifts such as albums”<sup>7</sup> to Istanbul as ransom. After defeating Uzun Hasan a year later, Mehmed II seized his entire library.<sup>8</sup> Since Mehmed II valued luxury manuscripts, he might have mounted them in his chambers. While we do not have illustrations showing Mehmed II's books, a sixteenth-century manuscript illustrates Murad III (r. 1574–1595) marveling at two cupboards filled with books, while surrounded by courtiers.<sup>9</sup> As both sultans enjoyed reading books and having them read to them in their privy chambers, Mehmed II might have displayed his treasures in a similar fashion.<sup>10</sup>

Manuscripts entered the courtly collection as gifts and confiscations, both during Mehmed II's reign as well as the sixteenth century. Considering the Safavid Shah Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524–1576) gifted an illustrated *Shāhnāma* to Selim II at his accession in 1566 and Murad III also received precious manuscripts when he came to power, presents most likely expanded Mehmed II's collection as well. When Selim I (r. 1512–1520) conquered Tabriz in 1514, he seized the library which held manuscripts from the Ilkhanid, Akkoyunlu and Karakoyunlu collections. Moreover, the library included Timurid manuscripts from Herat

6 Gatward Cevizli, Antonia (2018): Portraits, Turbans and Cuirasses. Material Exchange between Mantua and the Ottomans at the End of the Fifteenth Century. In Biedermann, Zoltán, Gerritsen, Anne and Riello, Giorgio (Eds.): *Global Gifts. The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*. Cambridge, p. 42; for more on gifting practices, see Komaroff, Linda and Blair, Sheila S. (Eds.) (2011): *Gifts of the Sultan. The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*. New Haven.

7 Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism, p. 43: “kutub-i gharība va tabarrukāt-i badī'iyya mithl-i muraqqa'āt.”

8 Erünsal, İsmail E. (2015): A Brief Survey of the Book Trade in the Ottoman Empire. In *Libri* 65 (3), p. 226 fn. 34; Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism, p. 43.

9 Ms. 1985.219.2 (1582 CE, Ot.), Boston, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum. Cennabi: *Jawāhir al-Gharā'ib Tarjuma Baḥr al-'Ajā'ib*. Available online at <https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/215652?position=0>.

10 Fetvacı, *Picturing History*, pp. 37–39.

that the Safavid Shah Ismail I (r. 1501–1524) had raided. Not only were the collections from Tabriz moved to Istanbul, but also books from Egypt and Syria that Selim I took as booty when he defeated the Mamluks in 1517. Additionally, the treasury in Istanbul incorporated manuscripts from auctions that sold the estates of deceased officers and servants. The sultan or his intermediary would get first pick from these *metriukat*, marking manuscripts he desired with a red “m” for important (*mühimm*).<sup>11</sup>

In addition to manuscripts, scribes and illustrators relocated to Istanbul. Although colophons rarely mention artists, we know that many came from centers such as Tabriz, Shiraz or Isfahan. Some artists were forced to move, like those Selim I took from Tabriz as part of his booty. Others sought out new patrons in the Ottoman capital, such as Uzun Hasan’s artists and chief secretary, Sayyid Muhammad.<sup>12</sup> By taking their craft to Istanbul, the newcomers contributed to the variety of styles used in illustrating manuscripts. As the meal ticket for many professions, patrons had always drawn craftsmen and scholars to various locations, like the Karakoyunlu governor Pir Budak (d. 1466) who brought his calligraphers from Shiraz to Baghdad in 1460. Moreover, the astronomer Ali Qushjī (d. 1474), who managed a madrasa in Samarqand, frequented both Uzun Hasan’s and Mehmed II’s court, suggesting scholars also moved between the realms.<sup>13</sup> By importing goods and work force to Istanbul, Mehmed II advanced his vision to establish the city as the artistic center of the Islamic world.<sup>14</sup> Somewhere between the gifts, confiscations and travelling staff, al-Iṣṭakhrī’s *Book of Routes and Realms* turned up in Mehmed II’s collection.

Although Mehmed II’s manuscript collection has not been inventoried, Bayezid II’s library catalogue allows us a glimpse into the variety of literature at the Ottoman court. Considering Bayezid II inherited his father’s books, the

11 Erünsal, İsmail E. (2008): *Ottoman Libraries. A Survey of the History, Development and Organization of Ottoman Foundation Libraries* (Turkish Sources, 74). Harvard, p. 2; Erünsal, İsmail E. (2015): A Brief Survey of the Book Trade in the Ottoman Empire. In *Libri* 65 (3), p. 225; Fetvacı, *Picturing History*, pp. 27–28; Uluç, Lale (1999): Ottoman Book Collectors and Illustrated Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts. In *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* (87–88), p. 2; Yoltar, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, p. 263; 552.

12 Necipoğlu, Visual Cosmopolitanism, p. 43; Yoltar, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, pp. 86–88; 248; 552.

13 Brentjes, Sonja (2008): Courtly Patronage of Ancient Sciences in Post-Classical Islamic Societies. In *Al-Qanṭara* xxix (2 julio–diciembre), p. 415; Roxburgh, David J. (2014): “Many a Wish Has Turned to Dust”. Pir Budaq and the Formation of Turkmen Arts of the Book. In Roxburgh, David J. (Ed.): *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture. Essays in Honor of Renata Holod* (Arts and Archaeology of the Islamic World, 2). Leiden, pp. 183–184; for movements of craftsmen during the Ilkhanid period, see Watt, Artistic Exchanges.

14 Yoltar, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, p. 37; 85–88; 198–199.

catalogue dating from 1502–3 included both their choices. Prepared by the palace tutor, author and librarian Hayreddin Hızır Atûfi (d. 1541), the catalogue comprises 365 pages today, listing approximately 5700 volumes in Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish and Mongolian that were kept at the Inner Treasury. Atûfi divided the corpus into twenty disciplinary chapters that ranged from religious studies (Quran, *tafsîr*, *hadîth* and jurisprudence) to poetic divans, grammar, astronomy, philosophy as well as translations of the Old and New Testament. Among the different topics, chapter eight on “Sufism, admonitions, ethics and glorious deeds of saints” had the most entries. In contrast, geography (“books on *Wonders of Creation* and the *Images of the Climes*”) appeared in chapter ten after prophetic biographies, historiography, military science and horsemanship. Out of the 48 titles Atûfi listed in the geographic section (three in Turkish, three in Persian and the rest in Arabic), he attributed only six entries to specific authors. Among the identified authors we find al-Qazwîni, whose *Wonders of Creation* (including translations) appears ten times in the catalogue. Additionally, treatises such as Bozorg b. Shahriyâr’s *Wonders of India* and Abû al-Fidâ’s (d. 1331) *Survey of Countries* (*Taqwîm al-Buldân*) have been identified in the catalogue in one copy each.<sup>15</sup>

Atûfi’s catalogue included at least five Arabic copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Although Atûfi did not attribute the manuscripts to al-Işṭakhrî, the titles he recorded in the catalogue match his notes in the respective copies. As Bayezid II had ordered him to designate the titles and affiliated disciplines in each manuscript, comparing the (sometimes abbreviated or generic) titles on the opening pages with the catalogue entries helps place a copy in the royal collection.<sup>16</sup> Some of the remaining titles in the geographic section

15 Emiralioğlu, Pınar (2019): Books on the Wonders of Creation and Geography in ‘Atufi’s Inventory. In Necipoğlu, Gülru, Kafadar, Cemal and Fleischer, Cornell H. (Eds.): *Treasures of Knowledge. An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)* (Muqarnas, Supplements, 14). Leiden, Boston, pp. 597–598; Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries*, p. 29; Maróth, Miklós (2003): The Library of Sultan Bayazıt II. In Éva, Jeremiás (Ed.): *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th–17th Centuries* (Acta et studia / The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 1). Piliscsaba, pp. 112–114; Necipoğlu, Gülru (2019): The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library. An Encyclopedic Collection and Its Inventory. In Necipoğlu, Gülru, Kafadar, Cemal and Fleischer, Cornell H. (Eds.): *Treasures of Knowledge. An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)* (Muqarnas, Supplements, 14). Leiden, Boston, p. 11; 23; 27–28.

16 Necipoğlu, Spatial Organization of Knowledge, p. 21; 24; 26; the five copies are Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.) (corresponding to Emiralioğlu, Wonders of Creation, p. 605 entry no. 37 or 38), Ms. A. 3348 (1286 CE, Ar.) (corresponding to Emiralioğlu, Wonders of Creation, p. 605 entry no. 39), Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.) (corresponding to Emiralioğlu, Wonders of Creation, p. 605 entry no. 41), Ms. A. 3349 (1474–1512 CE, Ar.), Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. al-Işṭakhrî, İbrâhîm b. Muhammad: *Kitâb Şuwar*

might point to more copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* that have since been lost or not found yet. Considering manuscripts from the royal collection circulated to privy chambers, royal outings as well as the courtyard for exposure to sunlight against mildew, Atüfi's catalogue was bound to be incomplete.<sup>17</sup> This might explain why the Persian copies of al-Işṭakhrī's work that had arrived in Istanbul at the turn of the sixteenth century (see below) did not appear in the catalogue. Until the end of the sixteenth century, at least ten copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* were held in the Ottoman libraries, which makes al-Işṭakhrī on par with al-Qazwīnī – at least within Atüfi's inventory. However, compared to the extent of the royal collection in general and other geographic manuscripts circulating at the same time in Istanbul, al-Işṭakhrī's work gets lost in the crowd.<sup>18</sup>

Geographic literature in Istanbul included three categories: Arabic and Persian works, European material and Ottoman translations as well as new contributions. While geography did not belong to the curriculum at madrasas and no court geographer served the sultans, travel books, maps and cosmographical books show the courtly circles were curious about the world.<sup>19</sup> Geography seems to have particularly sparked an interest in the sixteenth

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*Ālam (sic.)* (corresponding to Emiralioğlu, Wonders of Creation, p. 605 entry no. 42 or 43) and Ms. Ayasofya 2971 (1474–1512 CE, Ar.), Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi. al-Işṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Kitāb Aqālīm al-Arḍ 'alā al-Mamālik al-Islāmiyya*) (corresponding to Emiralioğlu, Wonders of Creation, p. 605 entry no. 42 or 43).

17 Necipoğlu, *Spatial Organization of Knowledge*, p. 21; 23; 30.

18 Out of the fifteen copies in total, the following copies date from the seventeenth century and later: Ms. R. 1646 (1664 CE, Pers.), Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. al-Işṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*; Ms. 3521 (before 1672 CE, Ar.), Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. al-Işṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Kitāb al-Ashkāl*); Ms. Or. 5305 (18th c., Ar.), London, British Library. al-Işṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb Şuvar Ālam (sic.)*; two manuscripts were created between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but it remains unclear when they arrived in Istanbul: Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.) and Ms. 527 (ca. 13th c., Ar.); in contrast to Karen Pinto, I do not believe Mehmed II used the copies of al-Işṭakhrī's work to promote a certain world view among his subjects (Pinto, *The Maps Are the Message*, p. 168). Considering Mehmed II's entire collection as well as trends in geographic literature in that period, the few copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* do not warrant such a claim.

19 Casale, Giancarlo L. (2004): *The Ottoman Age of Exploration. Spices, Maps and Conquest in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean*. Dissertation. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 46–47; Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, p. 4; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı coğrafya*, x; Taeschner, Franz (1923): Die geographische Literatur der Osmanen. In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 77 (n.F. 2), pp. 32–33; for the centralization of education under Süleyman I, see Ahmed, Shahab and Filipovic, Nenad (2004): The Sultan's Syllabus. A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a Fermān of Qānūnī I Süleymān, Dated 973 (1565). In *Studia Islamica* (98/99), pp. 183–218.

century, with some 30 authors contributing to the field. As for the seventeenth century, the traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611–82) tells us about eight workshops in Istanbul that created maps which were mainly sold to navigators.<sup>20</sup> To estimate what part al-İşṭakhrī's *Book of Routes and Realms* played in the concert of geographic literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, we can take a look at the bestsellers from the three categories circulating in Istanbul.<sup>21</sup>

Al-Qazwīnī's *Wonders of Creation* was a hit in Istanbul, inspiring several translations and adaptations. When presenting the world as a reflection of God's wisdom, al-Qazwīnī first addressed the heavenly spheres, including angels, and then turned to earthly spheres, including humans and djinn.<sup>22</sup> As discussed in the last chapter, the *Wonders of Creation* held various illustrations showing constellations, plants and animals. After a handful of Arabic and Persian copies had made their way to the Ottoman capital, Ahmed Bican (d. after 1466) translated the cosmography into Turkish in 1453 and created his own spin-off called the *Hidden Pearls* (*Dürr-i Menknün*).<sup>23</sup> Bican's translation has been preserved in 48 manuscripts, the earliest dating from 1566 and the latest from the nineteenth century. Although copies from the fifteenth century seem to be lost, Bican's translation probably existed in several manuscripts during this period. As for the sixteenth century, Bican's translation appeared in 24 copies.<sup>24</sup> The *Hidden Pearls* attracted similar interest. However, out of the 52 preserved manuscripts, only one dates from 1598, whereas the remaining copies range between the seventeenth and nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Before and after Bican, other translations of the *Wonders of Creation* surfaced, but they did not reach a similar 'print run'.<sup>26</sup>

20 Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, p. 6; 94; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı coğrafya*, xi.

21 For comprehensive surveys, see Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*; Hagen, Gottfried (2003): *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit. Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Kâtib Çelebis Ğihānnumā* (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkvolker, 4). Berlin; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı coğrafya*; Krachkovskiy, *Geograficheskaya literatura and Türkay*, Cevdet (1958): *İstanbul kütübhanelerinde osmanlı'lar devrine aid türkçe, arabça, farsça yazma ve basma coğrafya eserleri bibliyoğrafyası*. Istanbul.

22 Hees, *Enzyklopädie*, pp. 97–102.

23 Cevdet Türkay's catalogue of geographic literature in collections in Istanbul lists five Arabic copies of al-Qazwīnī's work (dating between 1322 and 1699) as well as three undated Persian copies (Türkay, *coğrafya eserleri bibliyoğrafyası*, p. 8; 18; 23; 40; 42; 45; 52; 57). Since I have not examined the copies, I cannot pinpoint which copies were already in Istanbul during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. However, Ahmed Bican apparently had access to at least one copy of the *Wonders of Creation* to prepare his translation.

24 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı coğrafya*, pp. 5–7.

25 İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı coğrafya*, pp. 8–11.

26 Rükneddin Ahmed's translation for Sultan Çelebi Mehmed (r. 1413–21) survived in five copies, the earliest dating from 1448 and the rest from the eighteenth and nineteenth

Ibn al-Wardī's *Pearl of Wonders* came in second in the geographic charts. In contrast to al-Qazwīnī's work, the *Pearl of Wonders* only dealt with the terrestrial realm and presented one world map. At least fourteen Arabic and five Turkish copies are still part of collections in Istanbul today, dating until the sixteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Among the several translations into Turkish, al-Hatīb's (fl. sixteenth c.) version was most popular. After being created in 1562–63, 30 copies of the translation were in circulation.<sup>28</sup>

Two Arabic encyclopedias that appeared in Istanbul did not spark a comparable interest. Thirteen copies of the *Lexicon of Countries* (*Muʿjam al-Buldān*) by the traveler and scholar Yāqūt al-Rūmī (d. 1229) were held in the Ottoman capital, most of them dating from the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Having likely arrived as booty from Mamluk libraries, Yāqūt's encyclopedia remained in the collections without being translated into Ottoman. Al-ʿUmarī's (d. 1349) *Insights into the Realms of Metropolises* (*Masālik al-Absār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*) shared this fate. With 25 volumes, the Ayasofya library holds an almost complete set of the encyclopedia (27 volumes) dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> Like the *Lexicon of Countries*, al-ʿUmarī's work did not inspire Ottoman translations. Although the *Book of Routes and Realms* featured in Ottoman collections in numbers that compare to Yāqūt's encyclopedia, al-Iṣṭakhrī's work enjoyed more attention. Not only were the imported manuscripts copied, they were also appealing enough to be translated into Turkish. Since the Ottoman translation remained uncopied, it seems not to have hit a nerve like al-Hatīb's version of the *Pearl of Wonders*.

European maps and atlases circulated at the Ottoman court as well. The Topkapı Library still holds fragments of two portolan world maps, one Catalan (dating from the fourteenth century) and one Venetian (dating from 1450). As we can see from the map of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea that Ibrāhīm al-Kātībī from Tunis created in 1407, Ottoman mapmakers adapted

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centuries (İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı coğrafya*, pp. 13–14). Al-Surūrī's (d. 1562) translation appeared in seventeen copies, out of which four date from the sixteenth century (İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı coğrafya*, pp. 31–33).

27 Türkay, *coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 6; 9; 21; 23; 27–30; 32; 37; 42–43; 50; 52.

28 Coşkun, Feray (2011): An Ottoman Preacher's Perception of a Medieval Cosmography. Maḥmūd al-Hatīb's Translation of Kharīdat al-ʿAjāʾib wa Farīdat al-Gharāʾib. In *Al-Masāʾ* 23 (1), p. 53.

29 Türkay, *coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 3; 5; 21; 27; 30; 40; 53.

30 Türkay, *coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, pp. 9–11; Fuat Sezgin considered the world map in this encyclopedia to be a reproduction of the *Maʾmūnic Image* (Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 13; 64).

the portolan style.<sup>31</sup> Portolan maps were also assembled into atlases, like the anonymous *Sea Atlas* (*Deniz Atlası*, also called the Walters Sea Atlas) that appeared in Istanbul in 1560. The seven maps of the *Sea Atlas* covered the regions between the Black Sea and South Asia, including an oval projection of a world map.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by the cartographer Ortelius (d. 1598) arrived in Istanbul in 1573. A mere three years after its publication in Antwerp, Selim II's (r. 1566–1574) head translator Mahmud requested two copies of the *Theatrum* through the Habsburg convoy. Mahmud had probably learned about the atlas during his imprisonment in Venice (1570–73). Among its 53 maps, the atlas included a world map showing the Americas and the Antarctic as “the unknown territory of Australia.”<sup>33</sup>

Among the contributions from Ottoman authors, Piri Reis' *Book of Sea Lore* (*Kitab-ı Bahriyye*, 1520) was trending in the sixteenth century. An officer in the Ottoman Navy, Piri Reis composed the navigational manual to advance diplomatic and military logistics in the Mediterranean. Dedicated to Süleyman I (r. 1520–66), the *Book of Sea Lore* reflected the Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry over the Mediterranean. Not only did Piri Reis describe the area in over 100 chapters, he also added maps resembling portolan charts to illustrate the sea. In the second edition dating from 1526, the *Book of Sea Lore* included 214 maps. Although the maps might have facilitated navigation, they were probably not used on board. As part of a manuscript, they were both unwieldy and easy to damage. Nevertheless, the *Book of Sea Lore* attracted attention, which the

31 Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, pp. 45–46; for monochrome copies of the Catalan and Venetian maps, see Destombes, Fragments; for reproductions of al-Kâtibî's map see Rispoli, Adelia (Ed.) (1994): *Portolani e carte nautiche XIV–XVIII secolo dalle collezioni del Museo Correr – Venezia e Museo del Topkapı – Istanbul. Istanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ve Venedik Correr Müzesi koleksiyonlarından XIV–XVIII. yüzyıl portolan ve deniz haritaları*. Istanbul.

32 Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, p. 103; see the atlas online at Ms. W. 660 (16th c.), Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. Anonymous: *Deniz atlası*. Available online at <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W660/description.html>.

33 Barbarics-Hermanik, Zsuzsa (2016): Books as a Means of Transcultural Exchange between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. In McLean, Matthew and Barker, Sara (Eds.): *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World* (Library of the Written Word, 38). Leiden, Boston, p. 113; see the atlas online at Ortelius, Abraham: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Library of Congress. Website; in the seventeenth century, the historian and bibliographer Kâtib Çelebi (d. 1657) began translating Mercator's (1512–94) *Atlas Minor* with the help of the French convert Mehmed İhlasi in 1653. The atlas comprised over 100 maps, including a world map very similar to Ortelius'. Until the nineteenth century, some twenty manuscripts of Mercator's atlas were held in Ottoman libraries. Additionally, Ebû Bekr b. Behram el-Dimaşkî (d. 1691) translated Willem Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* (published in Amsterdam, 1662–72) for Mehmed IV in 1685. Consisting of approximately 600 maps and illustrations, the atlas added new information about the Americas (Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, pp. 147–151; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, pp. 92–95).

45 copies dating from the sixteenth century illustrate.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, Pīrī Reis' world map dating from 1513 has only been preserved as a fragment.<sup>35</sup> Designed as a portolan chart, the fragment shows the western shores of Portugal and Africa as well as parts of the eastern shores of South and North America.

Sipāhizāde's (d. 1589) *Exploration of the Routes about the Knowledge of Cities and Countries* (*Awdaḥ al-Masālik fī Ma'rifat al-Buldān wa-l-Mamālik*) in Arabic was also in vogue. The geography included two maps showing sketches of the Old and the New World. As a scholar in the Ottoman administration, Sipāhizāde not only composed his own geographic work, but also remade and translated Abū al-Fidā's *Survey of the Countries* into Turkish. Both the *Exploration* and the *Survey* appeared in six to seven Arabic copies as well as two to three Turkish manuscripts in the sixteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

Other less prominent books included travelogues, astronomy and an anonymous text addressing the discovery of the Americas. After travelling to China, Ali Ekber (fl. fifteenth/sixteenth c.) composed the *Book of China* (*Khitāynāma*) in Persian in 1516. This account offered rare glimpses into the Ming dynasty from non-Chinese sources. Although Ekber's text was translated into Turkish in 1582, neither version was copied in the sixteenth century. However, several copies of the Turkish translation were created in the seventeenth century and later.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Süleyman I's court astronomer, Mustafa b. Ali el-Muvakkit (d. 1571) created the *Public Announcement of the Knowledge of Countries* (*İ'lām el-'Ibād fī A'lam el-Bilād*). In contrast to books about the world's marvels, the *Public Announcement* simply listed how far away 100 cities were from Mecca, including locations in China and North Africa. Although the *Public Announcement* did not aim at entertaining the readers, it attracted enough attention to be copied seven times in the sixteenth century.<sup>38</sup> As for the anony-

34 Brotton, Jerry (1997): *Trading Territories. Mapping the Early Modern World*. London, p. 112; Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, pp. 96–99; Souček, Svat (2013): *Piri Reis & Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus*. Istanbul, p. 47; Souček, Svat: Piri Re'is. EI<sup>2</sup> online; Taeschner, *geographische Literatur der Osmanen*, p. 42.

35 In addition to the fragment from 1513 that is held at Topkapı Library, Cevdet Türkay listed two other fragments in Istanbul. However, he did not specify whether the fragments were replicas of the world map or other maps from the *Book of Sea Lore* (Türkay, *coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 52; 55–56).

36 Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, p. 23; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı coğrafya*, pp. 64–66; Kaya, Mahmut: Sipāhizāde Mehmed. İslām Ansiklopedisi; Türkay, *coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 20; 24; 30–31; 42–43; 52; 56; 73.

37 Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, p. 6; Emiralioğlu, Pınar (2012): Relocating the Center of the Universe. China and the Ottoman Imperial Project in the Sixteenth Century. In *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 39, p. 171; İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı coğrafya*, p. 16; Taeschner, *geographische Literatur der Osmanen*, p. 75; Sezgin, *Anthropographie* 1, p. 79.

38 Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, p. 38; Sezgin, *Anthropographie* 1, p. 86; Türkay, *coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 33; 42.

mous Turkish *History of West India* (*Tārīh-i Hind-i Garbī*) that was dedicated to Sultan Murad III in 1580, the book included images of the Old and New World. In addition to depicting people and fauna, the *History* introduced a round diagram explaining the seven climes. Like Sipāhizāde's *Exploration*, the *History* also held two maps displaying the Old and New World. While the maps in the *History* were more detailed than in the *Exploration*, both resembled European world maps illustrating the Americas. As the *History* was only copied once in the sixteenth century, the Americas seem to have been a mere blip on the Ottoman radar.<sup>39</sup> After facing defeats in the Mediterranean during the sixteenth century, the Ottomans shifted their military focus east, which is probably why the *History* did not hit the geographic charts.<sup>40</sup>

While the *Book of Routes and Realms* did not compare to the *Book of Sea Lore* or the *Wonders of Creation* in terms of available copies, its presence in Istanbul reflected the interest in geographic literature in the Ottoman capital. Moreover, the next chapter will show how the copies of al-İşṭakhrī's work mirrored the movement of manuscripts between the Islamicate realms as well as artistic practices in Istanbul.

Ottoman seals (*ṭughrā*) in copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* tell us which sultan owned a copy of al-İşṭakhrī's work. However, not every sultan marked his books with a *ṭughrā*. While Mehmed II rarely applied his seal, his son Bayezid II perused the treasury to imprint his seal in manuscripts. By contrast, Selim I left almost no traces in his collection, although he had amassed manuscripts for the royal library.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, Mehmed III did not stamp the Ottoman translation of al-İşṭakhrī's work that was dedicated to him. In addition to *ṭughrās*, other clues help trace the fifteen copies of the *Book of Routes*

39 In total, the *History* has been preserved in nineteen copies; Anonymous, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbī*; Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, p. 141; Goodrich, Thomas D. (1990): *The Ottoman Turks and the New World. A Study of 'Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi' and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana* (Near and Middle East Monographs, New Series, 3). Wiesbaden, p. 15; 65; Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 82; 311.

40 After the Ottoman defeat against the Habsburg Empire in the Siege of Malta in 1565 as well as in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 against the Holy League (Venice, Kingdom of Spain etc.), the Ottoman Fleet needed reconstruction before envisioning new campaigns. Not only did the Kingdom of Spain dominate the western Mediterranean, but the Ottoman Fleet was unfit for the high seas, leaving the Americas out of reach (Faroqhi, Suraiya N. (Ed.) (2014): *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*. Cambridge, p. 141; Fleet, Kate (2013): *The Ottomans, 1451–1603. A Political History Introduction*. In Faroqhi, Suraiya N. and Fleet, Kate (Eds.): *The Ottoman Empire as a World Power. 1453–1603*, p. 19; Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, p. 7; Hamdani, Abbas (1981): *Ottoman Response to the Discovery of America and the New Route to India*. In *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101 (3), p. 329; Panzac, Daniel (2009): *La marine ottomane. De l'apogée à la chute de l'Empire (1572–1923)*. Paris, p. 14; 53).

41 Yoltar, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, p. 549.

and *Realms* back to different Ottoman libraries. Based on seals as well as details that I will discuss below, the following table shows which manuscripts belonged to whose library. Every box shows the manuscript's shelf mark, the language as well as the (approximate) date of creation. To track copies across collections, some manuscripts are highlighted with colors. Moreover, manuscripts with a frame around them have been removed from Istanbul at some point (Table 2).<sup>42</sup>

The colors best illustrate how manuscripts migrated from one collection to another. Three different sultans owned the green Ms. Ayasofya 2971 between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the violet Ms. A. 3349.

TABLE 2 Attribution of fifteen copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* to Ottoman collections, based on seals and paratextual details

Mehmed II (r. 1444–46 and 1451–81) Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512)	Stileyman I (r. 1520–1566) or Murad III (r. 1574–1595)	Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603)	Ahmed III (r. 1703–30)	Mahmud I (r. 1730–54)	Selim III (r. 1789–1807)	Unclear (Arkeoloji Müzzerleri)	
Or. 3101 (Ar., 1193)	A. 3348 (Ar., 1286)	Cod. Mixt. 344 (Pers., ca. 1500–50)	3611 (Ott., 1598)	A. 3348 (Ar., 1286)	Ar. 3007 (Ar., before 1310)	B. 334 (Pers., ca. 1460)	527 (Ar., ca. 13th c.)
Ar. 3007 (Ar., before 1310)	A. 2830 (Ar., ca. 1470)			A. 2830 (Ar., ca. 1470)	Ayasofya 3156 (Pers., ca. 14th c.)		3521 (Ar., before 1672)
Ayasofya 2613 (Ar., 1474)	Ayasofya 2971 (Ar., after 1470)			A. 3349 (Ar., after 1474)	Ayasofya 2971 (Ar., after 1470)		Or. 5305 (Ar., 18th c.)
A. 3349 (Ar., after 1474)					Ayasofya 2613 (Ar., 1474)		
					R. 1646 (Pers., 1664)		

42 For details regarding the fifteen manuscripts, consult Appendix 2 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* Worldwide, Table 3.

Other copies like the orange Ms. A. 3348 have seals from two sultans, whereas Ms. Or. 3101 can only be linked to Bayezid II's library. However, seals do not disclose every manuscript's trajectory. As we will see below, Ms. B. 334 from Selim III's library probably arrived in Istanbul at the turn of the sixteenth century. Therefore, at least ten out of the fifteen manuscripts came to the Ottoman capital or were created there between the fifteenth and sixteenth century – a period marked by collecting geographic literature at Ottoman libraries as well as contributions to the field by new scholars. By taking a closer look at the texts and maps in the manuscripts, we can link some of the copies to each other, thus unravelling more details about their transmission. Nevertheless, copies such as the incomplete and damaged Ms. 527 at the Archeological Museum will remain a mystery because they do not contain any seals or notes that could help place them in a collection.<sup>43</sup>

## 2 Arabic Manuscripts

As for pre-fifteenth-century copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* that were held in Ottoman libraries, they seem not to have inspired copies (Mss. 527, Or. 3101, Ar. 3007 and A. 3348). Dating from 1193, Ms. Or. 3101 represents one of the oldest manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms*.<sup>44</sup> On the title page, the copyist attributed the work to 'Abū al-Abbas Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm' al-Iṣṭakhrī and added "the judge" (*al-qāḍī*) to his name. The manuscript might have arrived in Istanbul in the poor state it exhibits today, with pages and maps missing, torn or damaged by moisture. While this wear has affected the colophon and several notes by readers and owners, Bayezid II's seal is still visible on the last page. Judging by the seal's preservation in contrast to the remaining notes, Ms. Or. 3101 was probably stored in an arid cupboard somewhere in the Ottoman treasury after Bayezid had marked the copy with his seal. Although the colophon's legible part only reveals when the copy was created, but not where, the Leiden catalogue tells us the Austrian diplomat Alfred von Kremer (d. 1899) acquired

43 I am very grateful to Chafik Bencheqroun for giving me access to his copy of this manuscript. Moreover, Bencheqroun revealed that this manuscript was attributed to Ibn Ḥawqal by Hans Ritter, as was Ms. A. 3012 from the Topkapı collection to al-Iṣṭakhrī (Bencheqroun, *Requiem pour Ibn Ḥawqal*; Ritter, Hans (1930): *Kleine Mitteilungen und Anzeigen*. In *Der Islam* 19).

44 Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.), Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*. Available online at <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1577846>.

the manuscript in Egypt in 1876.<sup>45</sup> While we do not know when and how the manuscript made its way south from Istanbul, Kremer's purchase in Egypt illustrates that manuscripts remained mobile during the Ottoman rule. After studying law and Arabic as well as Persian in Vienna, Kremer first travelled to Syria and Egypt to collect Arabic manuscripts for the Austrian Academy of Sciences in 1849–51. He entered the diplomatic service in 1852 and worked as a translator and consul in Alexandria, Cairo and Galatz, before becoming consul general in Beirut. When Kremer obtained Ms. Or. 3101, he represented Austria in the committee overseeing the Egyptian national debt. In addition to his regular job, Kremer composed several treatises about the history and literature of the Islamicate world, including a German rendition of Abū Nuwās' (d. ca. 813) *divan*, a geographic study of northern Syria and an account of the Abbasid budget in 918–919.<sup>46</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Book of Routes and Realms* might have sparked Kremer's interest because it also included history and geography from the Abbasid period and Ms. Or. 3101 dated close to the work's composition.

Ms. Ar. 3007 also surfaced in Egypt, where the scholar and collector Abraham Yahuda (d. 1951) sold the manuscript to Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (d. 1968) in Cairo in 1927. Although the copy also exhibits water damage, it has remained in good shape in contrast to Ms. Or. 3101. Unfortunately, the colophon does not refer to the date and location where the manuscript was created. However, a note on the title page tells us a certain 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-Thāmit owned the copy in approximately 1310, suggesting the copy might date from the turn of the fourteenth century.<sup>47</sup> In addition to Bayezid II's seal on the last page beneath the colophon and Hayreddin Hızır Atūfi's note on the title page,<sup>48</sup> the manuscript also used to display another *tuḡhrā*. Although someone tried to remove it together with notes from the title page, the round shape of the *tuḡhrā* still lingers in Ms. Ar. 3007 and the visible Arabic script brings Sultan Mahmud I's seal to mind. Moreover, a four-digit number above the *tuḡhrā* resembles the digits accompanying the seal of Mahmud I, for instance in the manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* shown above in the table. Considering an endowment statement accompanied Mahmud I's seal, the person who removed it from Ms. Ar. 3007 might have intended to disguise he had withdrawn the manuscript illegally from the endowment.

45 Witkam, Jan J. (2007): *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden. Vol. IV Manuscripts Or. 3001–Or. 4000*. Leiden, pp. 33–34.

46 Gottschalk-Marx, N.N. (1969): Kremer. In Santifaller, Leo (Ed.): *Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon, 1815–1950*. Vienna, pp. 253–254.

47 The "700" (corresponding to 1300 CE) is legible, while the last number resembles a nine.

48 Corresponding to Emiralioğlu, Wonders of Creation, p. 605 entry no. 37 or 38.

Mahmud I's seal suggests Ms. Ar. 3007 stayed in Istanbul until at least the eighteenth century, before it was moved to Egypt. While we have no clues as to how Ms. Ar. 3007 made its way to Cairo, the manuscript might have been in Egypt before. Only one other copy of the *Book of Routes and Realms* displays a map design similar to Ms. Ar. 3007 and this manuscript (Ms. Jughrāfiyā 199) formed part of Sayf al-Dīn Azbak min Ṭuṭukh al-Atābakī's (d. 1498) endowment in Cairo.<sup>49</sup> Before becoming governor for Sultan Qaytbay (r. 1468–1496), Azbak had climbed the military and social ladder in Mamluk Egypt by marrying Sultan Jaqmaq's (r. 1438–1453) daughter in 1450 and serving as chief chamberlain (*ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*) for Sultan Khushqadam (r. 1461–67). Azbak used his wealth to revive a quarter in Cairo, called Azbakiyya, with new infrastructure and buildings that he endowed as well, such as a Friday mosque. Considering the mosque employed a librarian and Azbak commissioned illuminators like Ahmad b. Mas'ūd al-Makkī (d. 1460) to prepare manuscripts for him, the governor likely appreciated illustrated books such as Ms. Jughrāfiyā 199.<sup>50</sup> The incomplete copy has been damaged and is missing a colophon or any other clues as to its origins. However, judging by the paper, script and map design, Ms. Jughrāfiyā 199 might have been created well before Azbak endowed it, possibly in the twelfth or thirteenth century. If so, the manuscript might have served as one of the models for Ms. Ar. 3007 that shares the distinctive map design. However, Ms. Ar. 3007 differs from Ms. Jughrāfiyā 199 in textual details, suggesting the latter did not serve as the immediate model. Moreover, the scribe in Ms. Ar. 3007 referred to marginal notes in his model that cannot be found in Ms. Jughrāfiyā 199.<sup>51</sup> If Ms. Ar. 3007 was created in Egypt, an intermediate copy might have connected it to Ms. Jughrāfiyā 199 – a copy I have not found yet.

As for Sir Chester Beatty who bought Ms. Ar. 3007, he probably took an interest in the manuscript because of its illustrations and age. Born in New York City in 1875, Beatty was a mining engineer in the US until he relocated to London in 1912. Due to health issues, Beatty spent winters in Egypt, where luxurious Quran copies sparked his interest in manuscripts. In addition to

49 Ms. Jughrāfiyā 199 (before 1499 CE, Ar.); I am grateful to Khaled Yusuf for providing me a digital copy of the manuscript.

50 Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt*, p. 21; 122; Karbāsī, Muhammad Ṣ. (1998): *Ta'rīkh al-Marāqid al-Ḥusayn wa-Ahl Baytihi wa-Anṣārihi*. Vol. 7. London, p. 243; Schimmel, Annemarie (1969): al-Atābakī Azbak Min Ṭuṭukh. Mu'assis al-Azbakiyya bi-l-Qāhira. In *Fikrun wa-Fann* (7), pp. 19–24; for more on the Azbakiyya and Mamluk endowments, see Behrens-Abouseif, Doris (1985): *Azbakiyya and its Environs. From Azbak to Isma'il, 1476–1879*. Cairo and Fernandes, Leonor (1988): *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt. The Khanqah* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 134). Berlin.

51 For instance, at the end of *Kirman*, Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.), f. 101v; compare Ms. Jughrāfiyā 199 (before 1499 CE, Ar.), f. 63.

Arabic and Persian artefacts, Beatty acquired twelve Biblical papyri dating from the second to fifth centuries that advanced Biblical as well as codicological studies in Europe.<sup>52</sup> Other than Ms. Ar. 3007, the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin houses another copy of al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Book of Routes and Realms* today.<sup>53</sup> Although the copy is younger than Ms. Ar. 3007, the exclusively golden maps in the manuscript equal Ms. Ar. 3007's illustrations, which likely drew Beatty to the second copy as well.

While the previous manuscripts were moved to Cairo, Ms. A. 3348 was created there in 1286. In contrast to most copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, the colophon in Ms. A. 3348 tells us who copied the manuscript, when and where: On a Friday in the last third of Dhū al-Qa'da (corresponding to January in this case) in 1286, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm finished copying the manuscript in Cairo, at the Gate of the Bridge (*bāb al-qanṭara*). As if to narrow down who this Muhammad was, the same hand added "from the Egyptian Shafi'i school of law" above the name. Although the addition has not helped me find this copyist from Cairo, it lets us glimpse who participated in transmitting the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Although Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm did not specify whether he created the copy for himself or a client, I suspect it was the latter.

To begin with, the golden medallion on the title page was probably left empty for the future owner. With floral and geometric patterns in blue and red, the medallion embellishes an inscription attributing the manuscript to al-Khwārizmī and informs us the copy belonged to "Asad al-Dīn 'Īsā al-Hakkārī, may God have mercy upon him." As "may God have mercy upon him/her" refers to deceased individuals, the medallion was probably filled after the manuscript had been created and bought by al-Hakkārī. In a different manuscript of the *Book of Routes and Realms* that belonged to Mahmud I's library (Ms. Ayasofya 3156), a golden medallion had also been left empty during the creation process and later filled by a different hand; therefore, Ms. A. 3348 would not be an exception in that regard. Since the hues in the medallion of Ms. A. 3348 differ from the colors the illustrator had chosen for the maps, both the medallion and the inscription were probably added after Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm had created the copy.

However, several details in the inscription do not make sense. As for the alleged owner, I was only able to find a 'Īsā al-Hakkārī who served under Saladin,

52 CBL: The Chester Beatty Story. Chester Beatty Library. Website; Kenyon, Frederic G. (1932): The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. In *Gnomon* 8 (1), p. 47.

53 Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.).

but died in 1239, prior to the manuscript's creation.<sup>54</sup> If the scribe referred to a different 'Īsā al-Hakkārī, I could not identify him. Apart from the owner's name, the person writing the inscription presented al-Khwārizmī as "Ahmad b. al-Ḥusayn," whereas his name was Muhammad b. Mūsā. As we have seen in the manuscript tradition of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work, mixing up names as well as titles was part of the transmission business and does not necessarily indicate an uneducated guess by the scribe. However, he might have aimed at inflating the manuscript's price by attributing the work to a famous mathematician and placing the copy in al-Hakkārī's library. As the scribe called the work "geography" (*juḡhrāfiyā*) in the medallion, he might have given away his modern background. Before *juḡhrāfiyā* became a technical term from the seventeenth century onwards,<sup>55</sup> authors mostly used it to refer to Ptolemy's *Geography*.<sup>56</sup> Although the scribe might have already used the term more generally, "*juḡhrāfiyā*" and the other details make it less likely that the medallion originated from the thirteenth century.

Considering the maps in Ms. A. 3348 were created by a professional illustrator, Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm probably prepared the copy for a wealthy client. The illustrator took great care in portraying water bodies with different shades of blue and bubble-like shapes that make the seas surge on the maps. Additionally, the illustrator chose miniature buildings to depict the cities in al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps. Instead of the usual circles and polygons, colorful fortresses brighten the regional maps in Ms. A. 3348.<sup>57</sup> Although al-Iṣṭakhrī had

54 Ibn Khallikān, Ahmad b. Muhammad and Slane, William MacGuckin de (1843): *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary. Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yān. Volume II* (Oriental Translation Fund, 59,2). Paris, p. 431.

55 Ahmad, Djughrāfiyā. E1<sup>2</sup> online.

56 Using the software Jedli (Verkinderen, Jedli Search Tool. Universität Hamburg. Website; see also Peralta, José H. and Verkinderen, Peter (2016): Find for Me! Building a Context-Based Search Tool Using Python. In Muhanna, Elias (Ed.): *The Digital Humanities and Islamic & Middle East Studies. An Introduction*. Berlin), I searched for *juḡhrāfiyā* in texts marked as geographical in the software by authors who died before or in the same period in which Ms. A. 3348 was created. The few results included passages from Ibn Ḥawqal's *The World's Image* as well as Yāqūt's *Lexicon*. Ibn Ḥawqal specifically refers to Ptolemy's *Geography* (Ibn Ḥawqal, Abū al-Qāsim and Kramers, Johannes H. (1938): *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*. Leiden, p. 148, I use this edition here because it is based on Ms. A. 3346 from Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi that dates from 1086) and Yāqūt explains that Greek scholars (*al-qudamā'*) "wrote books they called *juḡhrāfiyā*, meaning *ṣūrat al-arḍ*" (Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (1995): *Mu'jam al-Buldān. I*. Beirut, p. 8).

57 For the world map from Ms. 3348, see Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps*, p. 72; the map of *Mesopotamia* was reproduced in Brentjes, *Cartography*, p. 417; additionally, monochrome copies of the *Persian Sea*, the *Maghreb*, *Egypt* and the *Mediterranean* were reproduced in Kamāl and Sezgin, *Monumenta cartographica*, p. 598ff.

not marked any cities in the world map, some regions on the world map in Ms. A. 3348 display fortresses, for instance in the Byzantine Empire and the Maghreb. Since the illustrator did not add any captions and most buildings look alike, he did not design them to indicate specific architecture. However, in the *Arabian Peninsula*, the illustrator chose to highlight Mecca not only with a larger rectangle than the fortresses, he also inserted a miniature Kaaba into the rectangle. Medina also appears with a large rectangle on the map. Within the entire manuscript tradition of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, Ms. A. 3348 is the first to emphasize the holy sites in Mecca and Medina in this fashion. While al-Iṣṭakhṛī had elaborated on them in the text, he only chose larger circles (or polygons) for them in the map of the *Arabian Peninsula* instead of more specific icons. Without changing al-Iṣṭakhṛī's layout for the map, the illustrator integrated the Kaaba to give more prominence to the religious role Mecca played in the Islamic world. Beyond the *Arabian Peninsula*, the illustrator did not introduce any additional highlights. While maintaining the maps' layouts, the illustrator focused instead on having water and buildings pop out in every region. Without updating the information about the space al-Iṣṭakhṛī had depicted, the illustrator adorned al-Iṣṭakhṛī's maps – a strategy we will see in later manuscripts as well.

Before arriving in Istanbul, Ms. A. 3348 turned up in Tripoli. As a note at the end of the manuscript tells us, 'Abd al-Kāfi b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Faḍl Allah al-Shāfi'ī finished reading the copy in Tripoli on June 24, 1354 (Jumādā al-Ākhira 2, 755). On this Tuesday, 'Abd al-Kāfi (d. 1402) was nineteen years old and had probably already begun working as a secretary in Tripoli. Additionally, 'Abd al-Kāfi gained a reputation for composing poems and prose as well as treatises on history. When the judge 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya (d. 1439) composed his *Selected Pearls in Aleppo's History* (*al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Ta'rikh Ḥalab*), he mentioned 'Abd al-Kāfi had authorized him to transmit the secretary's collection in Aleppo.<sup>58</sup> While we do not know whether 'Abd al-Kāfi brought Ms. A. 3348 with him to Aleppo, the copy continued moving north until the turn of the sixteenth century, when Bayezid II marked it with his seal.<sup>59</sup>

In contrast to the pre-fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* that landed in Istanbul, the Arabic Ms. A. 2830 was copied several

58 Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Ahmad b. Ali and Ḥabashī, Ḥasan (1969): *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr*. Vol. 2. Cairo, p. 369; al-Sakhāwī, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (1965): *al-Dawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ*. Vol. 4. Beirut, entry 817.

59 I am very grateful to Dr. Said Aljoumani for deciphering the notes and indicating further readings.

times. Unfortunately, the manuscript lacks a proper colophon and no reader or owner has left any traces that could have helped in locating the copy's origins. However, everything about the manuscript signals it was designed for a wealthy client, or at least someone worth impressing with a gem for his library: the stamped leather binding with a flap, the opening pages surrounded by a frame that brims over with lapis lazuli beneath floral patterns and the maps, whose water bodies blaze with the same blue and a layer of golden flowers on top.<sup>60</sup>

Two medallions at the beginning of Ms. A. 2830 interlaced Mehmed II's name with different tiers of flowers. While the medallions suggest someone dedicated the manuscript to Mehmed II, we cannot accept them at face value. In addition to examples like Ms. A. 3348 above, Lale Uluç has shown for Shirazi manuscripts from the sixteenth century that dealers sometimes added medallions with famous owners after the fact to enhance a copy's value.<sup>61</sup> While we cannot establish the original client of Ms. A. 2830, the manuscript probably came to Mehmed II's treasury at some point, where it served as model for four copies.<sup>62</sup> As one of the copies holds Bayezid II's seal (Ms. Ayasofya 2971) and another (Ms. Ayasofya 2613) tells us in the colophon that a person called al-Sīnābī copied the manuscript in Istanbul (*al-qustantīniyya*) in 1474, we can assume Ms. A. 2830 arrived in Istanbul sometime prior to that date. Based on Ms. Ayasofya 2613, a third replica (Ms. A. 3349) was created during the reign of Mehmed II or Bayezid II, whose seal appears in the manuscript.<sup>63</sup> As we have

60 For reproductions of this manuscript, see Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps*, p. 252ff.

61 Uluç, *Ottoman Book Collectors*, p. 18; Karen Pinto has suggested Ms. A. 2830 was part of Mehmed II's ransom demand to Uzun Hasan, because the design of the binding and the maps resembles manuscripts from Tabriz in the fifteenth century (Pinto, *The Maps Are the Message*, p. 167; Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps*, p. 263). However, Ayşin Yoltar has shown that court workshops in Istanbul created manuscripts with similar illuminations on site in the 1460s and 1470s, which might indicate Ms. A. 2830 was created in the Ottoman capital. Moreover, David Roxburgh has stressed that we cannot attribute manuscripts to locations based on style alone, because styles travelled with the artists who created them (Roxburgh, *Pir Budaq*, p. 217). While the style Pinto detected in Ms. A. 2830 might have originated from Tabriz, this does not necessarily mean the manuscript did as well.

62 Ms. Ayasofya 2971 (1474–1512 CE, Ar.); Ms. Ayasofya 2613 (1474 CE, Ar.), Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi. al-İştakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*); Ms. A. 3349 (1474–1512 CE, Ar.); Ms. Or. 5305 (18th c., Ar.); Karen Pinto listed two additional copies held at the National Library in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub, Jughrāfiyā 256 and 257), calling the model-cum-replicas “the Ottoman cluster.” However, Jughrāfiyā 256 and 257 are photocopies of Mss. A. 2830 and Ayasofya 2613.

63 The copyist of Ms. 3349 reproduced the colophon from Ms. Ayasofya 2613 with a blessing for the deceased after al-Sīnābī's name, so that we know the manuscript was created after 1474, but cannot pinpoint the date.

seen above, Mehmed II fostered education at his court, which is why copyists often created multiple copies of one book to distribute the material among the scribes and other staff. The same probably applied to the copies of Ms. A. 2830 that appear less royal and more suitable for study. Well after Mehmed II's reign, Ms. A. 3349 was duplicated one more time for an unknown client.<sup>64</sup>

Ms. A. 2830 and its replicas represent the first extant copies of the BASELINE. However, the beginning in Ms. A. 2830 alternates between al-Iṣṭakhrī's introduction and the *Arabian Peninsula*.<sup>65</sup> After the first lines of the introduction, Ms. A. 2830 shifts to the beginning of the *Arabian Peninsula* and back again after several lines.<sup>66</sup> Despite the switch, the world map is first in Ms. A. 2830. Considering the text resumes exactly after the word where it initially broke off, a loose folio might have caused the text to be separated. As we have seen with *The Odd One*, a similar switch can be found in other models as well. A later BASELINE copy that the officer and geographer Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (d. 1730) brought from Istanbul to his hometown Bologna does not include the switch, suggesting another intact model also circulated in the Ottoman capital.<sup>67</sup>

The BASELINE copies from Istanbul help reconstruct how the map design evolved throughout the creation of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Ms. A. 2830 accommodates every map on one page and presents the outlines and contents we find in other manuscripts of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work. However, several maps like the *Arabian Peninsula* appear compressed.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, *Mesopotamia*, *Khuzestan* and *al-Jibāl* are rotated 90 or 180 degrees.<sup>69</sup> Not only did the shapes and positions of the maps change from the BASELINE to TRANSARMĪRAQ,

64 Ms. Or. 5305 (18th c., Ar.); Pinto attributed Ms. Or. 5305 to the beginning of the sixteenth century based on the watermark in the copy's paper (Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps*, p. 234). While Pinto did not specify how she dated the watermark, I have found eighteenth-century examples resembling the watermark (crown above grapes) (Velkov, Asparuch T. (2005): *Les filigranes dans les documents ottomans. Divers types d'images*. Sofia, p. 29; 382–386; No. 32/1736, 33/1768, 9/1715, 26/1732, 12/1718, 19/1729, 21/1727), which is why I attributed the manuscript to this century.

65 Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.), f. 2v; Karen Pinto has argued Mehmed II ordered the alternation for the replicas to highlight the importance of the Arabian Peninsula (Pinto, *The Maps Are the Message*, pp. 161–162; Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps*, p. 237). However, the switch is already present in the model manuscript Ms. A. 2830 that the sultan (according to Pinto) received from a rival realm.

66 From Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 3 l. 6 to p. 15 l. 4.

67 Ms. 3521 (before 1672 CE, Ar.).

68 See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *The Arabian Peninsula*, Figure 35.

69 For versions of *Mesopotamia*, see Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *Mesopotamia*, Figure 54–58.

but also the icons representing cities. While many copies discussed so far illustrated cities with different shapes or colors, the BASELINE shows them in uniform and empty squares (except for Mecca, see above). Similar to *The Odd One* and *The Lonely One*, this design draws the attention away from the cities to the water bodies and mountains. Considering no earlier copies of the BASELINE have been discovered so far, we do not know whether al-Iṣṭakhri planned for cities to appear in this fashion. Nevertheless, maps like *Armenia*, *Arrān and Azerbaijan* show how al-Iṣṭakhri (and Ibn Ḥawqal) adjusted regional outlines: While Ms. A. 2830 presents the Kura and the Aras River like all branches of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, only the Aras River reaches the Caspian Sea. Already in TRANSIRAQ, both rivers connected to the sea.<sup>70</sup> As for TRANSARMIRAQ, the branch adds the White River that is missing in both Ms. 2830 and TRANSIRAQ. If the different versions of the *Book of Routes and Realms* had been more similar in the overall design, we could have created a flip-book with maps like *Armenia*, *Arrān and Azerbaijan* to reenact how the authors fine-tuned the map layout.

### 3 Persian Manuscripts and the Ottoman Translation

Out of the four Persian copies that were held in Ottoman libraries, three paved the way for the Ottoman translation.<sup>71</sup> The fourth manuscript (Ms. R. 1646) dates from 1664 and possibly came to Istanbul from Azerbaijan, where it might have served as a model to another Persian manuscript dating from 1665.<sup>72</sup> The latter belonged to the endowment of Mirza Muhammad Ibrāhīm who ruled Azerbaijan under the Safavid Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666–94) and shares Ms. R. 1646's unusual design for water bodies, which are grey with metallic swirls on top.

As for the remaining Persian copies that all represent copies of *The Popular One*, we can only reconstruct their dating and origins in reverse, starting with the Ottoman translation.<sup>73</sup> Textual details and the maps shown below will illustrate that the Ottoman translation dating from 1598 could only have been

70 See Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*, *Armenia*, *Arrān and Azerbaijan*, Figure 70.

71 Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.); Ms. B. 334 (ca. 1460 CE, Pers.); Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 (ca. 1500–1550 CE, Pers.).

72 Ms. Spencer Pers. ms. 9 (1665 CE, Pers.), New York City, New York Public Library. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*).

73 Ms. 3611 (1598 CE, Ot.), Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Kitāb el-Mesālik va el-Memālik*).

based on Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344. Although the colophon in this manuscript does not reveal where or when it was created, the Italian paper with water marks from the sixteenth century suggest Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 originated from the Ottoman realm, possibly Istanbul.<sup>74</sup> The *tuğhrās* in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 are smudged, but they resemble the seals of Süleyman I or Murad III, the former further pointing to the early 1500s as the timeframe for the manuscript's creation.<sup>75</sup> Considering the manuscript is brimming with gold on large pages (31 × 21.5 cm), safeguarded by an exquisite leather binding with a flap, the client might have been a courtier or the sultan himself. As I will show below, the map design in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 makes the copy a 'unicorn' in the manuscript tradition of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. However, several features suggest Ms. B. 334 served as the model or inspiration for Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344. Based on this connection, I assume Ms. B. 334 was in Istanbul at the turn of the sixteenth century. Although we only find Sultan Selim III's (r. 1789–1807) seal in Ms. B. 334 and the colophon does not offer any clues as to its origins, Zeren Akalay suggested it came from Pir Budak's collection.<sup>76</sup> As Akalay based her conclusion only on the illustrator's style, we have to remain cautious about placing Ms. B. 344 in Shiraz or Baghdad. However, dating it to the fifteenth century would make sense in view of the third Persian manuscript in this transmission chain, Ms. Ayasofya 3156.

Like the other copies, Ms. Ayasofya 3156 does not have a colophon. However, Afshār attributed it to the fourteenth century based on the script.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, the medallion at the beginning of Ms. Ayasofya 3156 informs us the manuscript belonged to the library of an Ahmad b. Sarrāj. Like Afshār, I have not found this person or any other manuscript relating to him. However, an otherwise unknown Ahmad b. al-Sarrāj lived in Aleppo at the beginning of the fourteenth century and constructed an astrolabe in 1329 that is now held at the Benaki Museum in Athens.<sup>78</sup> If this Ahmad was the same as in Ms. Ayasofya 3156, he would confirm Afshār's dating for the copy of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. As we have seen with European collectors, personal interests often guided the

74 Duda, Dorothea (1983): *Islamische Handschriften I. Persische Handschriften* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters. Reihe 1, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 4). Vienna, pp. 176–177.

75 Kut, Günay and Bayraktar, Nimet (1984): *Yazma eserlerde vakıf mühürleri* (Kültür ve turizm bakanlığı yayınları kültür eserleri dizisi, 39). Ankara, pp. 24–26.

76 Akalay, Minyatürlü, p. 64.

77 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, p. 18.

78 Cortés Martínez, Immaculada (2006): *Ibn Jaldún. El mediterráneo en el siglo XIV*. Auge y declive de los imperios. Sevilla, p. 60; King, David A. (1984): The Astronomy of the Mamluks. A Brief Overview. In *Muqarnas* 2, pp. 75–76.

choice in manuscripts, so an astronomer owning a geographic work might not be too far-fetched. Considering several details in the maps connect Ms. Ayasofya 3156 with Ms. B. 334,<sup>79</sup> I believe the latter was based on Ms. Ayasofya 3156. However, it is difficult to establish at what point Ms. Ayasofya 3156 joined the other manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* in Istanbul. Although it only has Mahmud I's seal from the eighteenth century, the manuscript might have arrived in Istanbul well before, as in the case of Ms. B. 334. If it did, an illustrator from Shiraz might have prepared Ms. B. 334 in Istanbul based on Ms. Ayasofya 3156 – but this is pure conjecture.

Miniatures make Ms. B. 334 stand out in the manuscript tradition of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. In contrast to the amateurish illustrations in *The Odd One*, the illustrator for Ms. B. 334 rejoiced in his craft. While maintaining all outlines of al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps, he filled empty spaces on all regional maps with animals and plants. Moreover, he introduced prophetic and mythical figures into the maps that had no basis in al-Iṣṭakhrī's text. For instance, the illustrator placed a peacock on the Rock of Gibraltar in the *Mediterranean*, probably in reference to Simurgh.<sup>80</sup> According to the *Shāhnāma*, Simurgh guarded the heroes Zāl and Rustam and lived behind Mount Qāf.<sup>81</sup> Both Mount Qāf and the Rock of Gibraltar (Pillars of Hercules) marked the limits of the known world, which is probably why the illustrator set Simurgh on the Rock in the *Mediterranean*. By introducing the mythical bird in this fashion, the illustrator signaled he understood the image represented a map showing the end of the known world. Moreover, he indicated he was familiar with cosmologic ideas as well as the *Shāhnāma* that he might have illustrated at some earlier point. By embellishing the maps with miniatures, the illustrator opened al-Iṣṭakhrī's design to the figurative meaning associated with some regions. In addition to mythical creatures, the illustrator added local fauna and flora.

Besides local fauna, the map of *Egypt* in Ms. B. 334 features a creature in the Mediterranean as well as Moses at Mount Sinai.<sup>82</sup> Not only did the illustrator include two Egyptian plovers on the Oases Mountain (Jibāl al-Waḥāt), he depicted a monkey on Mount Muqaṭṭam that is about to throw a stone at a cheetah placed at the foot of the mountain. Considering both scenes did not relate to the content of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, they probably served to highlight the illustrator's familiarity with Egyptian wildlife. While the fish the illustrator placed in the Red Sea also makes sense independently from al-Iṣṭakhrī's

79 For instance, the outlines of the world map, the *Mediterranean* and *Mesopotamia*, including an uncolored part of the Tigris River in the map of *Iraq* (see Appendix 1 Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms, Iraq*, Figure 63.)

80 For a reproduction of this map from Ms. B. 334, see Akalay, *Minyatürli*, p. 68.

81 Schmidt, Hanns-Peter: *Simorǧ*. *Elr* online.

82 For a reproduction of this map from Ms. B. 334, see Pinto, *Searchin' His Eyes*, p. 81.

text, a larger fish with tusks in the Mediterranean, close to the Nile Delta, might be related to the chapter on *Egypt*. When describing the Nile Delta, al-Iṣṭakhrī mentioned dolphins living in the sea as well as another fish that caused nightmares if eaten.<sup>83</sup> In case the illustrator consulted the *Book of Routes and Realms* for inspiration, he might have chosen to portray this fish with menacing tusks to indicate the nightmares. However, considering most miniatures in Ms. B. 334 did not connect to al-Iṣṭakhrī's text, the tusked fish might have originated from a story the illustrator had heard about the Nile Delta.

While al-Iṣṭakhrī mentioned Moses in several chapters of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, he did not relate the prophet to Mount Sinai in *Egypt*.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, the illustrator probably referred to Moses' call to prophethood at Mount Sinai by placing a man with a headscarf on a carpet in the contours of this mountain. While miniatures in other genres often showed Moses in an upright position,<sup>85</sup> the illustrator for Ms. B. 334 chose to depict the prophet sitting on the carpet. Considering al-Iṣṭakhrī had not left much space for the illustrator to maneuver, he had to make do with a less elaborate image of Moses that still conveyed the message. As we also find Moses sitting in front of Mount Sinai in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Compendium* and Muhammad in the same position being called to prophethood by the angel Gabriel in Ḥāfīz-i Abrū's (d. 1430) *Summary of Chronicles*,<sup>86</sup> the illustrator for Ms. B. 334 could probably rely on viewers recognizing the man in *Egypt* as a prophet. Even without a clarifying caption beneath the man, the caption of Mount Sinai likely sufficed to identify him as Moses.

In the *Persian Sea*, we find Jonah and the whale with the angel Gabriel (Fig. 17). Emerging from a fish's mouth in the Encircling Ocean, a naked Jonah reaches towards the African shore, where the angel Gabriel is handing him clothing beneath a gourd. Beneath this scene, two naked figures point at Jonah in wonder and a horse emerges from the sea. While the illustrator probably

83 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 52.

84 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 53; for the *Arabian Peninsula* and *Syria*, see Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 20; 62.

85 For example, an Ilkhanid copy of Bal'amī's *History* and a Timurid copy of Ḥāfīz-i Abrū's (d. 1430) *Majma' al-Tavārikh* show Moses in an upright position, directing a serpent at the Pharaoh (in reference to Q 7:107, in which the Pharaoh asked Moses to bring forward a sign of God, whereupon the prophet threw his staff on the ground where it transformed into a serpent (Khalidi, Tarif (2008): *The Qur'an. A New Translation*. London, p. 127), see Ms. F1957.16 (early 14th c., Pers.) and Ms. B. 282 (1415–16 CE, Pers.), Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. Ḥāfīz-i Abrū: *Majma' al-Tavārikh*. Available online at (image of Moses with Pharaoh) <https://bit.ly/3fEbYeN>.)

86 Ms. Or. Ms. 20 (1306 or 1315 CE, Pers.), Edinburgh, University Library. Rashīd al-Dīn: *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*. Available online at <http://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/zh68m2>; Ms. 57-51-37.3 (ca. 1425 CE, Pers.).

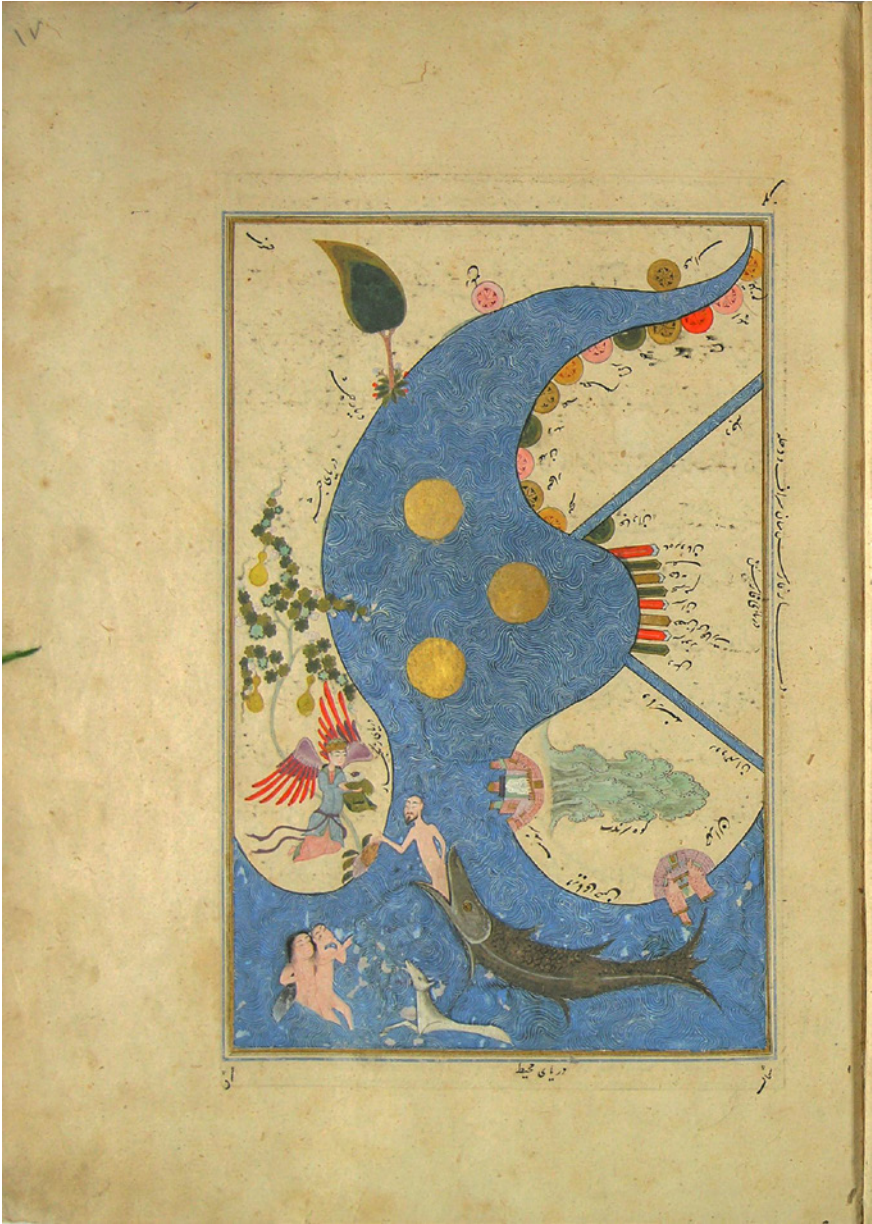


FIGURE 17 The *Persian Sea* in Ms. B. 334 (ca. 1460 CE, Pers.), f. 17a  
TOPKAPI SARAYI MÜZESİ KÜTÜPHANESİ © PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF TURKEY, DIRECTORATE OF NATIONAL PALACES ADMINISTRATION

added the figures and the horse to adorn the scene, Jonah and the whale represent a motif we find in other illustrated works like Rashīd al-Dīn's *Compendium*. While the *Compendium* does not feature Gabriel in the scene,<sup>87</sup> a loose folio dating approximately from 1400 shows Gabriel in a design very similar to Ms. B. 334.<sup>88</sup>

Considering Ms. B. 334 is a copy of *The Popular One*, the additional story in this translation might have inspired the illustrator to place Jonah and the whale in the *Persian Sea*. Since the Bible tells us Jonah's journey took him from Joppa to Tarshish (probably via the Mediterranean),<sup>89</sup> placing him in the Persian Sea must have come from a different source. As with the tusked fish in *Egypt*, the illustrator for Ms. B. 334 might have turned to the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms* for inspiration. Although the story about the giant fish in *The Popular One* did not refer to Jonah, it might have reminded the illustrator of the prophet. Considering the illustrator favored prophetic figures for the maps in Ms. B. 334,<sup>90</sup> he might have translated the story into a motif that also included a giant fish, but in a different context. Alternatively, the illustrator might have heard a story about Jonah and the whale in the Persian Sea that he added to Ms. B. 334. Whatever the source for this addition, the illustrator transformed al-Iṣṭakhri's maps by weaving narratives as well as ornamentation into the existing outlines.

Based either on Ms. B. 334 or an intermediate copy, Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 displays the first freestyle interpretation of al-Iṣṭakhri's maps. While the text transmits *The Popular One* without any major changes, the maps also include miniatures. However, the illustrator for Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 bypassed al-Iṣṭakhri's outlines beyond recognition in some cases. Although the illustrator remodeled the outlines and rearranged the content of al-Iṣṭakhri's maps, three maps connect Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 to Ms. B. 334: the *Persian Sea* (Fig. 18), *Egypt* and the *Maghreb* (Fig. 19).

87 Ms. Or. Ms. 20 (1306 or 1315 CE, Pers.).

88 Sims, Maršak and Grube, *Peerless Images*, p. 295; Ms. 33.113 at the NY Metropolitan Museum of Art.

89 NCCA: Bible, Revised Standard Version (online). National Council of Churches of Christ in America, Book of Jonah 1.1–3: "Now the word of the Lord came to Jonah the son of Amit'tai, saying, 'Arise, go to Nin'evah, that great city, and cry against it; for their wickedness has come up before me.' But Jonah rose to flee to Tarshish from the presence of the Lord. He went down to Joppa and found a ship going to Tarshish; so he paid the fare, and went on board, to go with them to Tarshish, away from the presence of the Lord."

90 Among the many miniatures in Ms. B. 334, we find Khidr in the map of the *Caspia Sea* (Akalay, *Minyatürlü*, p. 71). In contrast to Moses and Jonah, Khidr is accompanied by a caption clarifying who he is.



FIGURE 18 The Persian Sea in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 (ca. 1500–1550 CE, Pers.), f. 17  
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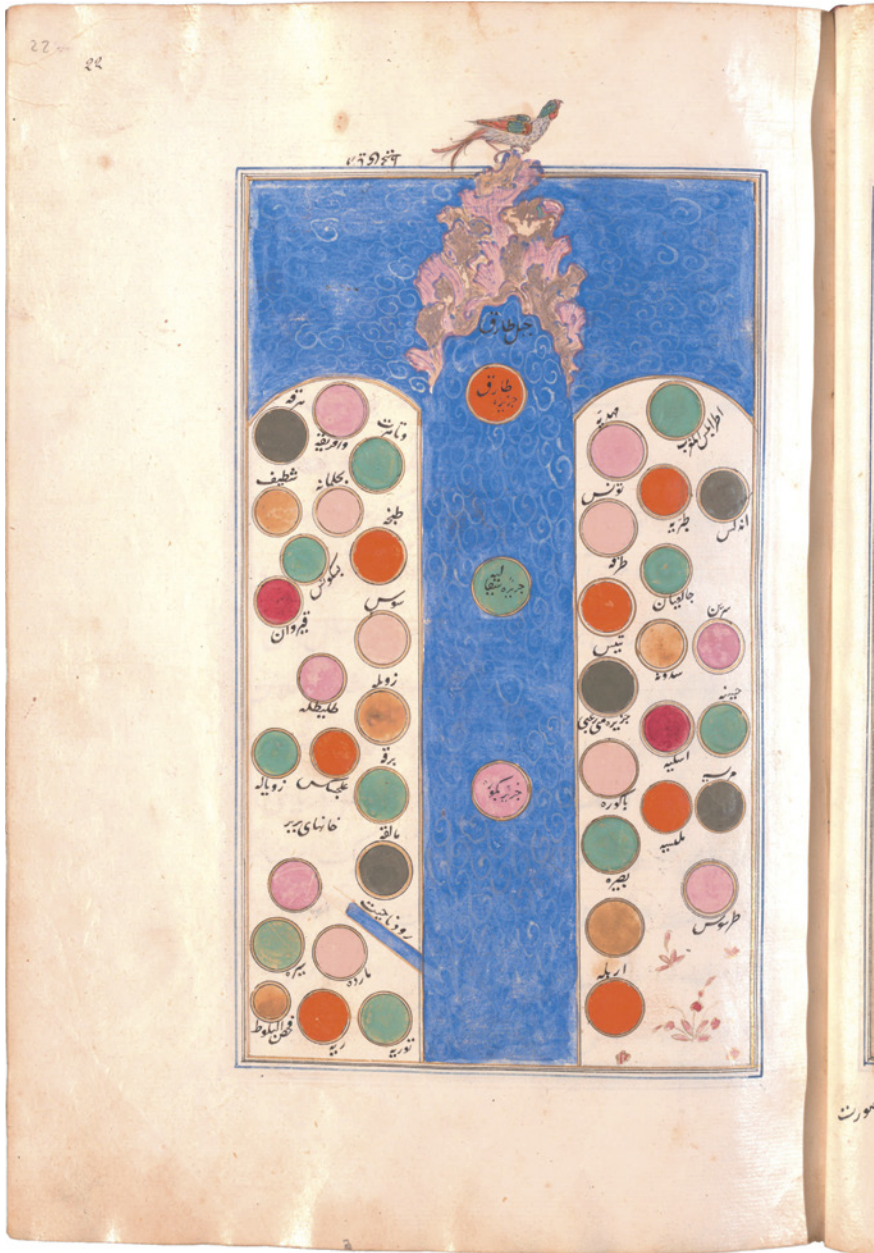


FIGURE 19 The *Maghreb* in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 (ca. 1500–1550 CE, Pers.), f. 22  
 WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK

As for the *Persian Sea*, the illustrator in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 only hinted at al-Iṣṭakhri's shape for the sea. Moreover, he transferred many cities from the Iranian shore to the African continent, so that, for instance, Sīrāf is on the same side as the Buja. Due to the various mistakes the illustrator made in this map and others, he likely had only a vague idea about the space he was depicting. The rearrangement of the cities rather suggests he considered his job finished as long as all captions from his model appeared in the new copy, regardless of their relative positions.

If we assume the illustrator intended to alter al-Iṣṭakhri's maps, the new design does not make any sense. Considering the river on the (formerly) African shore has the caption "Tigris," we could suppose the illustrator rotated al-Iṣṭakhri's design for the *Persian Sea* counterclockwise 90 degrees and zoomed into the section surrounding the Tigris and the Indus River, showing the latter as the large gulf at the map's center. From this perspective, the three islands in the sea would still fit into the position presented in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344. Moreover, Sri Lanka on the right shore would make as much sense as al-Iṣṭakhri's initial placement in the right bottom corner of the *Persian Sea*. However, by maintaining al-Qulzum in the upper right corner at the shore of the "new" Indus River, the illustrator in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 would have undermined his arrangement. The same holds true for all remaining captions from the right shore that would have had to move to the left shore to make sense. Oddities like these pervade the entire manuscript, indicating the illustrator might have intended to shift items on the maps, but did so in a fashion that eludes my understanding.

However, the illustrator also inserted Jonah and the whale at the bottom of the *Persian Sea* in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344, with the angel Gabriel handing him clothing from above. While this miniature does not feature the gourd as in Ms. B. 334 and no additional figures appear in the sea, the motif is clearly linked to the earlier manuscript. Unlike in Ms. B. 334, the illustrator clarified Jonah's identity in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 with a caption and added a halo to indicate the prophet's sanctity. Similarly, the map of *Egypt* includes Moses with a halo and a caption. Although the illustrator rearranged the outline and content of this map as well, Moses and the dragon-like creature with tusks emerging from the Mediterranean point to the same map in Ms. B. 334 that the illustrator adjusted for Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344.<sup>91</sup>

91 As mentioned in chapter 3.1, dragons featured in miniature painting after the Mongol conquests. For more on the dragon in Islamic Art, see Kuehn, Sara (2011): *The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art* (Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts, 86). Leiden.

Moreover, a bird on the Rock of Gibraltar links Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 to Ms. B. 334. While the latter showed the reference to Simurgh in the *Mediterranean*, Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 presents the bird in the *Maghreb*. As in the previous maps, the illustrator revamped the outlines of the *Maghreb*. The illustrator reduced both shores of the Mediterranean to parallel bars and dispersed regions as well as cities from al-Iṣṭakhrī's map across these bars. Similar to the *Persian Sea*, the illustrator placed many captions in odd positions. While Tāhart remained on the left shore close to the sea (first city from above), Tunis was transferred to the right shore (second city from above). As the new arrangement neither reflected any physical reality nor transported a message about the space, the illustrator might have simply aimed at levelling the items on both shores, without following al-Iṣṭakhrī's sequence.

Beyond the maps linking the manuscript to Ms. B. 334, the *Mediterranean* (Fig. 20) and the world map (Fig. 21) in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 suggest the illustrator transformed several maps to match his outlook. While the *Mediterranean* resembles al-Iṣṭakhrī's design (at least more than the *Maghreb*), the illustrator cut down the usual captions to a fraction. Some captions remained in their original positions, such as Alexandria (first caption at the bottom of the southern shore) or Sūs al-Aqṣā in the *Maghreb* (second from above at the same shore). However, the illustrator introduced Bursa as well as Edirne (Adrianople) into the opposite shore (first city at the bottom and the central one in al-Iṣṭakhrī's al-Andalus). Considering the illustrator also placed Istanbul (*al-qusṭanṭīniyya*) in its correct relative position between Bursa and Edirne, he seems to have interpreted the northern shore of the Mediterranean as the Aegean Sea and aligned the cities he knew from the Ottoman Empire. In contrast to rather odd placements in the other maps, this change clearly shows the illustrator knew he was designing maps and wanted to convey his geographic knowledge about the empire. However, as he placed the Bulghār and Alān (Iranian people of Northern Caucasus)<sup>92</sup> in the same section, south (east) of the Ottoman metropolises, his expertise did not reach beyond the empire.

As for the world map, Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 is the only copy in the manuscript tradition of the *Book of Routes and Realms* that places Mecca at the center of the world. While the illustrator maintained the world map's shape, with the Mediterranean and the Persian Sea stretching into the landmass from the Encircling Ocean, he placed a large circle with the caption "Mecca" between them. In contrast to the rearrangements discussed above, Mecca's position in the world map corresponds approximately to its physical position, suggesting the illustrator at least knew where to put the religious center of the Islamicate

92 Barthold, Vasilii V. and Minorskiy, Vladimir: Alān. E1<sup>2</sup> online.



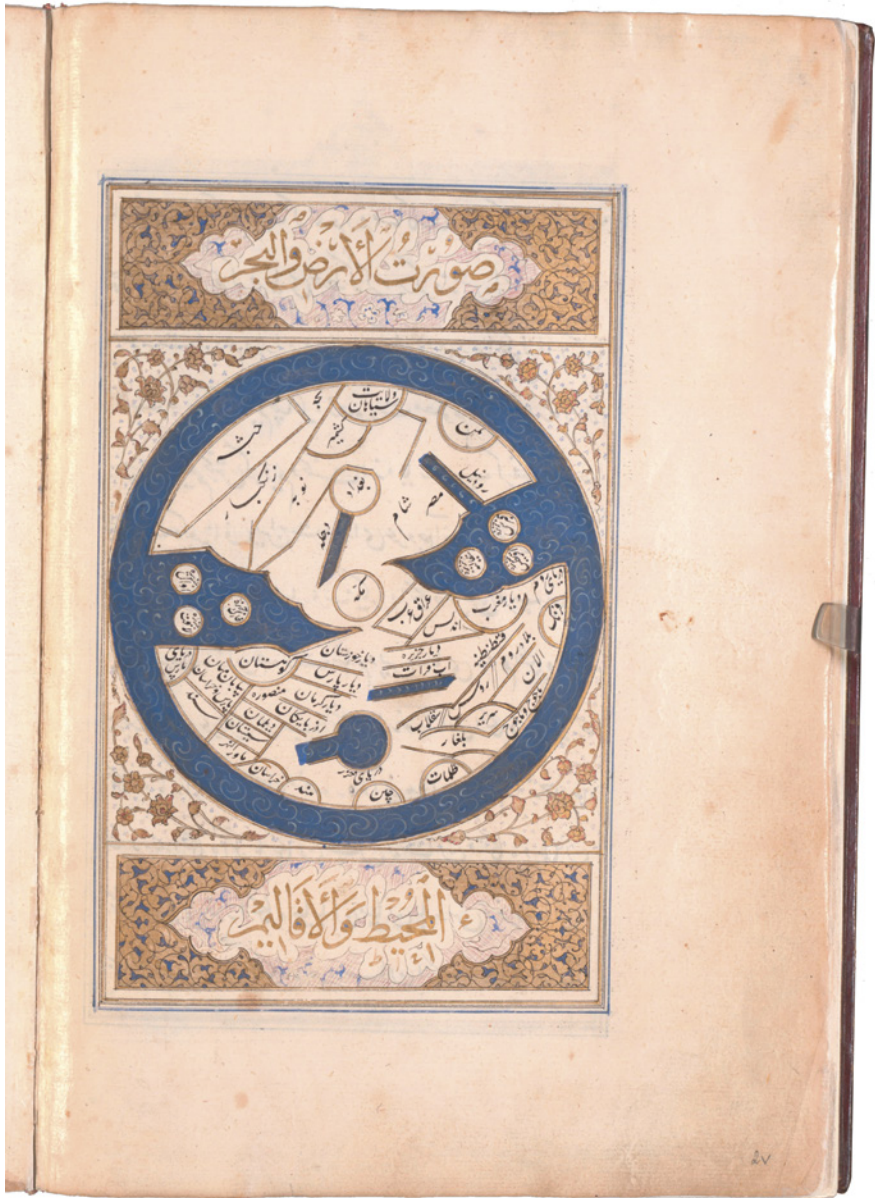


FIGURE 21 The world map in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 (ca. 1500–1550 CE, Pers.), f. 2v  
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world. By emphasizing Mecca in the world map, the illustrator might have conveyed his religious conviction. Alternatively, he might have adjusted al-Iṣṭakhri's map to point to Selim I's victory over the Mamluks in 1517 that coincided with the manuscript's creation. By incorporating the Hejaz into the Ottoman Empire, Selim I became the "protector of the two holy sites"<sup>93</sup> – an event the illustrator might have wanted to mark.

As for the rest of the world map, the illustrator confused many locations again. To name but a few, he placed Baghdad and the Tigris above (south of) Mecca, while leaving Egypt and the Nile in their correct position. Moreover, the Maghreb surfaces on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, next to the caption "al-Andalus" and "Franks." Additionally, the illustrator included Sindh twice at the north-eastern shore of the Encircling Ocean. The arrangement suggests the illustrator was rather guessing where to place certain regions than relying on his knowledge. While he might have lacked the expertise to organize the world correctly, a damaged model manuscript might have also forced him to improvise.

The map of *Fārs* further suggests the illustrator had to create a map rather than rely on its model (Fig. 22).<sup>94</sup> Instead of familiar outlines, the illustrator arranged items representing cities, rivers and seas as well as fire temples in parallel lines from the top to the bottom. The illustrator probably fell back on al-Iṣṭakhri's text to choose what items to display in *Fārs*. As in many copies, city names as well as proper nouns were highlighted with red ink to indicate new sections throughout the text. If we compare the highlights at the beginning of *Fārs* to the map in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344, we can see they matched: the copyist had presented the same cities, rivers and lakes in red ink that we find in the map of *Fārs*.<sup>95</sup> Most likely because he had no model map to base *Fārs* on, the illustrator designed a new map that served as a visual protocol of the chapter. To tailor the map to the overall style of the manuscript, the illustrator continued to depict cities as circles and water bodies in blue bars or circles. Even when introducing new elements such as the fire temples, the illustrator made sure not to disrupt the style. While he could have inserted miniature buildings for the temples, he chose fire instead – probably because no other map featured any buildings. If more than *Fārs* had been damaged in the model manuscript, the other changes discussed above might also have resulted from the illustrator struggling to include information

93 Emirlioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, pp. 16–17.

94 Mžik, *Al-Iṣṭakhri und seine Landkarten*, p. 12.

95 All found at the beginning of the chapter, see Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Masālik*, pp. 95–114.



FIGURE 22 *Fārs* in Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 (ca. 1500–1550 CE, Pers.), f. 56v  
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he took from the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. However, particularly his changes in the *Mediterranean* had no basis in al-Iṣṭakhrī's text, which points to an effort at conveying his own interpretation of the regional maps.

The map of *Fārs* connects the Ottoman translation of the *Book of Routes and Realms* to Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344, suggesting the Persian manuscript served as the translator's model.<sup>96</sup> Like Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344, the Ottoman translation showcases al-Iṣṭakhrī's work in a large manuscript (35 × 25 cm) that is brimming with gold and other hues, safeguarded by a decorative leather cover. When a certain Şerif b. Seyyid Mehmed b. Sheikh Burhān al-Dīn created the translation for Mehmed III in 1598, he started the text twice. In the middle of the fourth chapter on the *Maghreb*, the text returns to the introduction and repeats the content until the *Maghreb*, continuing afterwards in the usual sequence.<sup>97</sup> Due to this repetition, the Ottoman translation has 26 images instead of 21, with two versions of the world map as well as the *Arabian Peninsula*, the *Persian Sea* and the *Maghreb*. Moreover, *Egypt* turns up with two maps, the second appearing like an enlargement of the first. So far, I have not been able to establish why the translation features these changes. However, the map of *Fārs* in the translation clearly points to Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 as the model (Fig. 23).<sup>98</sup>

Like Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344, the Ottoman translation shows *Fārs* with seas, cities and fire (temples) arranged in parallel lines. However, this map already reveals how the illustrator adjusted what he saw in the model to his taste. Not only did he transform the circles representing cities into buildings, he also only hinted at lakes and fire temples without keeping their number or names that the illustrator for Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 had probably based on al-Iṣṭakhrī's text.

Although the illustrator transformed the *Persian Sea* in the Ottoman translation as well, Jonah and the whale surface in one of the maps for this region (Fig. 24). Like a thread, this motif connects the Persian manuscripts Ms. B. 334 and Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 with the Ottoman translation, showing how each illustrator adjusted the image in the transmission process. In addition to Jonah and the whale, Simurgh also remained in the Ottoman translation.

96 As I have no expertise in Ottoman Turkish, I will focus my discussion of the translation on its maps.

97 Ms. 3611 (1598 CE, Ot.), ff. 101–188.

98 In addition to the connection through the maps, the Ottoman translation features at least one textual fragment at the end of the *Persian Sea* that is otherwise only found in Ms. Mixt. 344 and two earlier Persian copies that probably did not belong to Ottoman collections (Ms. 5405 (13th c., Pers.) and Ms. 10 Islamic 1026 (Ethé 707) (14th c., Pers.), London, British Library. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*al-Masālik va al-Mamālik*). Available online at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=IO\\_Islamic\\_1026](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=IO_Islamic_1026)): "This is the ending of the *Persian Sea* and now we will turn to the *Maghreb* and its wonders."



FIGURE 23 *Fārs* in Ms. 3611 (1598 CE, Ot.), f. 264v

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وضوح



FIGURE 24 The *Persian Sea* in Ms. 3611 (1598 CE, Ot.), f. 72

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The illustrator for the Ottoman translation took the free-style interpretation of al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps from Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344 to the next level. We search in vain for familiar outlines and content. Instead, the illustrator displayed landscapes with plants as well as buildings, but without captions. Like in the map of *Fārs*, the illustrator rather implied dwellings than reproducing the number shown in his model. For instance, *Khurasan* includes only four cities instead of the usual number approximating 90. As a result, the maps in the translation allude to space in general rather than to specific regions that al-Iṣṭakhrī distinguished by outlines and captions for their content. This style brings Matrakçı Nasuh's (d. 1564) *Description of the Stages of Sultan Süleyman's Campaign in the Two Iraqs* (*Beyān-i Menāzil-i Sefer-i Irākeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Hān*) to mind. When accompanying Süleyman I on his campaigns to the Iranian lands in 1534–36, the historian and mathematician Nasuh composed the illustrated *Description* that included (*inter alia*) images of Istanbul, Baghdad and Tabriz.<sup>99</sup> Considering the Ottoman translation of the *Book of Routes and Realms* shows trees, mountains and cities in a similar fashion to the *Description*, the latter might have appealed to the illustrator who aimed at adjusting al-Iṣṭakhrī's work to coeval visual trends.

The *Arabian Peninsula* in the Ottoman translation also relates to motifs the illustrator picked up from other literature. While the illustrator presented the peninsula like al-Iṣṭakhrī from the north, he transformed its outline and content. Not only did he cut out the south-eastern shore of the peninsula, he also reduced the cities to five fortresses. Additionally, the Holy Mosque of Mecca stands out with a miniature Kaaba. The large building next to it might represent Medina, which means the holy sites (*ḥaramayn*) take center stage in this map. Although the Arabic Ms. A. 3348 discussed above has shown that other illustrators had also chosen to highlight the holy sites, the illustrator for the Ottoman translation elevated them to the key feature in the region. Other images of the holy sites probably inspired the illustrator to transform al-Iṣṭakhrī's map in this fashion. After Selim I had defeated the Mamluks in 1517 and the Ottoman Empire incorporated the Hejaz and the holy sites, authors

99 Johnston, Norman J. (1971): The Urban World of the Matraki Manuscript. In *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 30 (3), p. 159; Blair, Tabriz, p. 350; Yurdaydın, Hüseyin G.: Matrakçı. [er<sup>2</sup> online](https://doi.org/10.1515/1080-6319(2014)30[159:MATRAKCI]2.0.CO;2); see also Matrakçı Nasuh and Yurdaydın, Hüseyin G. (2014): *Beyan-ı menāzil-i sefer-i Irakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han* (Türk tarih kurumu yayınları, 1. dizi, 3). Ankara; for more images from the *Description*, consult the website Ayduz, Salim: Nasuh Al-Matrakçı. *A Noteworthy Ottoman Artist-Mathematician of the Sixteenth Century*. Foundation for Science, Technology and Innovation. Muslim Heritage.

devoted attention to Mecca and Medina, both textually and visually.<sup>100</sup> For instance, the Iranian ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Maḥmūd Iṣfahānī presented an illustrated description of the *ḥaramayn* to Sultan Süleyman I in 1521.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Gubārī described the sites in great detail in his illustrated *Book of the Kaaba* (*Ka’banāma*) in 1556–57 and the collection of texts portraying Süleyman I’s reign called the *Book of Süleyman* (*Sulaymānnāma*) also included images of the *ḥaramayn*.<sup>102</sup> Since the illustrator for the Ottoman translation of al-Iṣṭakhrī’s work had likely seen these images circulating in Istanbul, he chose to tailor the maps from the *Book of Routes and Realms* to new visual trends.

The world maps in the Ottoman translation (Figs. 25 and 26) suggest the illustrator borrowed from other geographic material as well, specifically the anonymous *History of West India*. The second, circular world map in the translation is oriented south like al-Iṣṭakhrī’s model. However, rather than displaying al-Iṣṭakhrī’s layout including sections for regions and realms, the world map shows the outlines of Europe, Africa and Asia in a more realistic manner. Although this design brings Ortelius’ world map to mind, the cartographer had oriented his map north and included the Americas. While the illustrator for the Ottoman translation might have rotated Ortelius’ map to fit al-Iṣṭakhrī’s perspective and separated the New from the Old World, it seems more likely he adopted the world map from the *History*.<sup>103</sup>

In contrast to the *History*, the world map in the Ottoman translation centered on the Ottoman realm. To shift the perspective, the illustrator reduced the Antarctic that took up approximately a fourth of the image in the *History* and moved the map’s center from the eastern shore of Africa to the Red Sea.

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- 100 Burak, Guy (2017): Between Istanbul and Gujarat. Descriptions of Mecca in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean. In *Muqarnas Online* 34 (1), pp. 293–302.
- 101 For a detailed study of the images, see Maury, Charlotte (2010): Ottoman Representations of the Two Sanctuaries. From Topographical Diagrams to Perspectival Views. In al-Ghabbān, Ali I. et al. (Eds.): *Roads of Arabia. Archaeology and History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*. Paris, pp. 547–559; dedicated to the Gujarati Muzaffar Shah II (r. 1511–26), the description of the pilgrimage by Muḥyī al-Dīn Lārī also includes similar images of the holy sites, see Rogers, John M. (2010): *The Arts of Islam. Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection*. London, pp. 250–251 or online at <https://www.khalilicollections.org/collections/hajj-and-the-arts-of-pilgrimage/khalili-collection-islamic-art-futuh-al-haramayn-of-muhyi-lari-mss1038/> by N.N., Futuh al-Haramayn. The Khalili Collection.
- 102 Atıl, Esin (1986): *Süleymanname. The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent*. Washington; Burak, Istanbul and Gujarat, p. 302; Eryılmaz, Fatma S. (2018): The Sulaiman-nama (Süleyman-name) as an Historical Source. In van den Berg, Gabrielle and Melville, Charles (Eds.): *The Reception of the Shahnama* (Studies in Persian Cultural History, 12). Leiden, Boston, pp. 173–198.
- 103 Anonymous (1987): *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî, Veya, Hadîs-i Nev. A History of the Discovery of America*. Istanbul, between folios 35 and 36v.



FIGURE 25 The second world map in Ms. 3611 (1598 CE, Ot.), f. 102v

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FIGURE 26 The first world map in Ms. 3611 (1598 CE, Ot.), f. 18v

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Additionally, he expanded Anatolia and the Balkans to suit their importance for the Ottoman Empire. When it came to the northern regions, the illustrator left out the shores of Scandinavia and the British Islands from the *History*. Not only did the illustrator present the world from an Ottoman viewpoint, he also placed a miniature Kaaba in the Arabian Peninsula to point to the Ottoman role as guardians of the holy sites. In addition to the map of the *Arabian Peninsula*, the illustrator aimed at stressing this element on the world level as well – an outlook befitting the royal client for the translation.

Although the Ottoman translation also included a grid in the world map, the illustrator probably did not fathom its meaning. Like the world map in the *History*, the grid in the Ottoman translation features one central latitude and two lines running parallel to it. While the translation did not display any captions, the *History* clarified that these lines represented the equator and the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn (also included in Ortelius' world map). As for the remaining latitudinal bands in the translation, the illustrator added them independently from the *History*. Considering the grid divides the world into twelve bands, the illustrator probably did not base this model on contemporary findings, but rather inserted the lines as generic pointers to latitudes.

As for the first world map in the Ottoman translation, the illustrator seems to have adapted the map of the New World from the *History*.<sup>104</sup> While the latter delineated the Americas like Ortelius had done before, the Ottoman translation only alludes to the two continents and neglects the Antarctic altogether. Moreover, the second world map in the *History* was also round, whereas the Ottoman translation depicts it like most maps in the manuscript in a rectangular shape. Considering the illustrator interpreted all maps in the Ottoman *Book of Routes and Realms* in a similarly free-style fashion, this rendition of the New World might have seemed close enough to him. Alternatively, he might have skimmed the second world map from the *History* and therefore only reproduced elements he remembered, like the bi-partite structure and the galleasses we see in the map. As Ortelius and Piri Reis had placed both worlds on one map, the *History* remained the only contemporary source the illustrator could have relied on for presenting the Old and the New World in this separated fashion.

While the Ottoman translation and the two Persian manuscripts with miniatures remained uncopied, they reveal how illustrators in Istanbul blended old material with new ideas, borrowing from other contemporary literature. Not only do their transformations indicate the maps in the *Book of Routes and*

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104 Anonymous, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî*, f. 40–40v.

*Realms* served as the arena for innovation, they also suggest illustrators were familiar with various genres – even if only one copy existed in the sixteenth century as in the case of the *History*. Considering illustrators did not restrict their work to one genre but rather went where the clients took them, this familiarity is not surprising. However, turning al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps into the images we find in these three outliers required a desire to link his illustrations to narratives as well as knowledge from other cultural repositories in the Islamicate world and beyond. In light of the various traditions that merged in the Ottoman capital through conquests and diplomatic exchange in the sixteenth century, Istanbul offered a unique window of opportunity for reshaping the maps in the *Book of Routes and Realms*. As the remaining manuscripts show, this window closed as quickly as it had opened.

## Making Sense of the *Book of Routes and Realms*

The *Book of Routes and Realms* remained in circulation for almost a millennium. Considering most copies in my survey maintained al-Iṣṭakhrī's text and maps, the audience seems to have cherished his work as a cultural heritage they wished to preserve. The audience included rulers, officials, diplomats and scholars. Especially in the nineteenth century, European scholars commissioned new copies for personal study, as illustrated by pencil notes in the margins. In turn, readers from the Islamicate world rarely left traces in the manuscripts, suggesting they did not study but rather browse the *Book of Routes and Realms* or marvel at it. Given the luxurious character of many copies and the unique transformations discussed in the last chapter, al-Iṣṭakhrī's work was treasured as a work of art and probably displayed in private or public libraries. In fact, several copies going back to one model each confirm that the *Book of Routes and Realms* was consulted in one place on different occasions. Despite the conservative nature of the transmission, the extant manuscripts also mirror cultural shifts in the Islamicate world.

As my study has shown, more manuscripts than the 59 copies in the appendices must have existed. Not only have the Arabic originals been lost, the prototypes for the three Persian translations appear to be missing as well. Moreover, the trajectories of the different Arabic and Persian branches point to additional copies that connected the manuscripts discussed above.<sup>1</sup> Considering many copies have been filed under different authors and titles or have not yet been catalogued, more manuscripts of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work will probably surface in the future. As a case in point, a Persian copy dating from 1858 has recently been acquired by the National Library in Vienna.<sup>2</sup> Beyond academic institutions, auction houses like Christie's and Sotheby's have sold manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* in 2011 and 2014.<sup>3</sup> In addition to browsing collection

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- 1 For possible stemmata regarding the existing copies, see Appendix 2 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* Worldwide, Possible Stemmata.
  - 2 Ms. Cod. Mixt. 1990 (1858 CE, Pers.), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*); I am grateful to Dr. Florian Schwarz of the Austrian Academy of Sciences for leading me to this copy.
  - 3 Ms. (Sale 5744 Lot 66, 18th c., Pers.), London, Christie's. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*). Available online at <https://goo.gl/MxPxZY>; Ms. (Arts of the Islamic World, Lot 58, 18th c., Pers.), London, Sotheby's. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Masālik al-Mamālik*). Available online at (one image) <https://bit.ly/2ztf3O7>;

catalogues, online image searches also have led me to new manuscripts such as a (probably) thirteenth century Arabic copy whose location I have not identified yet. After the French-Moroccan photographers Sabrina and Roland Michaud came upon the manuscript during their travels at the end of the twentieth century, they displayed the map of *Syria* from this copy through the website AKG Images without specifying the archive or collection.<sup>4</sup> So far, my efforts at finding the archive through the Michaud's editor have been in vain. However, with ever more archives and researchers using digital resources, cases like the Michaud manuscript might clear up in the future.<sup>5</sup>

The *Book of Routes and Realms* seems to have drawn most attention throughout the Persianate world. Not only do the Persian copies surmount the Arabic (21), al-Iṣṭakhrī's work appears not to have reached the Maghreb. Other than in Cairo, no manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms* have been listed in collections in North Africa. Considering al-Iṣṭakhrī had devoted little space to the Maghreb in his work, local readers might have preferred authors who delved more into the region, such as the Andalusian al-Bakrī (d. 1094).<sup>6</sup> In the east, New Delhi marks the boundary for the distribution of the *Book of Routes and Realms*.<sup>7</sup> Future research will show whether other geographic works have covered a similar scope.

Tracing the branches of the *Book of Routes and Realms* allows us to spot which manuscripts served as models to numerous copies, suggesting an open access to al-Iṣṭakhrī work in one location. In addition to the Arabic model-cum-copies at the Ottoman court, two Persian manuscripts of *The Popular One* also stand out: The manuscript which names Ibn Sāvījī as the translator,

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despite continuous attempts, I have not been able to contact the buyers through the auction houses to examine the copies.

4 Ms. (N.N., 1250?, Ar.), N.N. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*). Photograph of the map of *Syria* in Roland and Sabrina Michaud's photographic archive. Available online at <https://goo.gl/LYKfTW>.

5 In addition to the manuscripts auctioned at Christie's and Sotheby's and the Michaud manuscript, I have not been able to examine the following copies completely, mostly because of permanent security issues or crises when I had intended to visit the archives. However, I gained access to some digitized or published images from some of the manuscripts: the Kabul Ms. 18, the Baghdad Ms. 329 as well as the Najaf Ms. 632, the Istanbul Mss. A. 3348, B. 334, R. 1646 and the Tashkent Ms. 108. Moreover, I only became aware of the New Delhi manuscript 56.96/4 after finishing my study (I am grateful to Dr. Peter Verkinderen to leading me to this copy).

6 Ducène, Jean-Charles: al-Bakrī, Abū 'Ubayd. EI<sup>3</sup> online.

7 Ms. 56.96/4 (1427–8 CE, Pers.).

Ms. 3515, and Ms. supplément persan 1614.<sup>8</sup> As the possible stemma below shows, at least nine copies have been either directly based on Ms. 3515 or were probably linked to it through intermediate copies. Considering the nineteenth-century Ms. 1407<sup>9</sup> replicated Ms. 3515 down to the coloring, the fourteenth-century copy seems to have remained available to the public for several centuries. While most colophons in the manuscript tradition of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work kept their origins a secret, Ms. 1407 disclosed its model: In 1898, the ruler of Ardabil, Ali Khan, saw the *Book of Routes and Realms* at the shrine of Sheikh Ṣafi al-Dīn and ordered a copy for himself. Since Ms. 3515 used to belong to the library at the shrine,<sup>10</sup> Ali Khan's copy was most likely based on this manuscript. As the eponym of the Safavid dynasty, Sheikh Ṣafi al-Dīn's shrine and its library has attracted worshippers as well as sightseers from Iran and beyond, which explains how Ms. 3515 could have intrigued several visitors to order copies.

Judging by a similar trajectory with five related copies until the nineteenth century, Ms. supplément persan 1614 might have been kept in a similar setting. However, any paratextual elements that could have pointed to the manuscript's origin have been destroyed by water as well as the subsequent restauration. The only clue we have is a note at the beginning stating the copy belonged to Wilhelm Leitner (1840–1899). Considering the British orientalist of Hungarian descent studied in Constantinople and directed the Government College in Lahore for fifteen years, he could have acquired the manuscript anywhere in Asia.<sup>11</sup> If more fourteenth-century copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* with details about the origins come to light in the future, we might be able to pinpoint the library or shrine that facilitated access to Ms. supplément persan 1614.

While many copies lack a date in the colophon, paratextual details help attribute a time frame to most manuscripts of the *Book of Routes and Realms*. Taking seals, ownership statements and catalogue entries as indicators for the latest possible century of creation, the following chart illustrates how many copies stem from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries (color coded by language):

- 
- 8 Ms. 3515 (1325 CE, Pers.) Ms. Supplément Persan 1614 (before 1496 CE, Pers.), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*). Available online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84322644>.
- 9 Ms. 1407 (1898 CE, Pers.), Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*).
- 10 Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 15; Munzavī, Ahmad (1974): *Fihrist-i Nuskhahā-yi Khaṭṭī-yi Fārsī*. Vol. 6. Tehran, p. 3983.
- 11 Rubinstein, William D.: Leitner, Gottlieb Wilhelm (1840–1899). Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online.

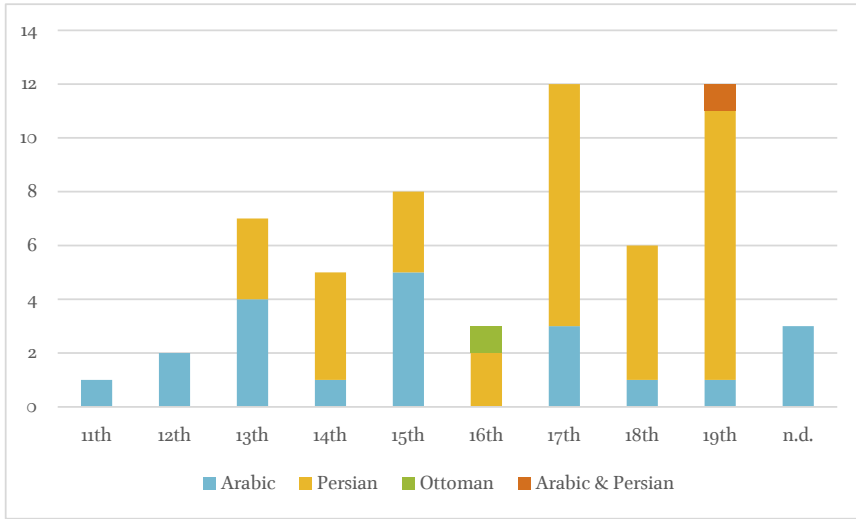


FIGURE 27 Number of copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by centuries (including latest possible century of creation), color coded by language

The chart suggests that interest in the Arabic version of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work weakened after the fifteenth century, whereas the Persian translations thrived – including a peak in the nineteenth century. As the copies of *The Odd One* that were created for Robert Taylor in Baghdad and Sir Henry Rawlinson in Kabul show, this peak related to the colonial presence in West and Central Asia. Besides European diplomats, officials from the Qajar administration in Iran owned copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* in the nineteenth century. In addition to Ali Khan mentioned above, an official from Tabriz, Mirza Ḥusayn, endowed the manuscript that has recently made its way to the National Library in Vienna. Another copy dating from 1817 probably belonged to the library of the Qajar ruler Faṭḥ Ali Shah (r. 1797–1834).<sup>12</sup> While a note in the manuscript only attributes the manuscript to the library of the *shāhanshāh* (king of kings), one of Faṭḥ Ali Shah's librarians also marked the copy with his seal: 'Abd al-Wahhāb Mūsūvī, who was also state secretary.<sup>13</sup> Although the European and Qajar owners did not elaborate on their interest in al-Iṣṭakhrī's work, it might have stemmed from their wish to preserve a tradition of knowledge or heritage.

<sup>12</sup> Ms. 2154 (before 1817 CE, Pers.).

<sup>13</sup> Pākzād, Zahrā and Fadawī, Muhammad (2012): Bar-rasī-yi taṭbīqī-yi rasm al-khaṭṭ-i shāhnāma-yi rashīdā bā shīva-yi khūshnivīsī-yi 'Abd al-Rashīd Daylamī. In *Negara* 7 (spring) (21), p. 6.

Scholars also commissioned copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* for personal study. The historian Alexander K. Kazembek (1802–1870) not only imported a Persian copy to Russia that had been created in eighteenth-century Afghanistan, but also its replica dating from 1842. As testified by numerous notes in the margins, the replica was intended for study – either by Kazembek or another scholar. The notes transcribe toponyms into Latin script, give synonyms in Persian or clarify dates of events mentioned in the text. Both manuscripts are still held in St. Petersburg today.<sup>14</sup> When residing in Gotha in 1851, the orientalist William Wright (1830–1889) copied a Persian manuscript of the *Book of Routes and Realms* from the Herzogliche Bibliothek zu Gotha,<sup>15</sup> probably also for studying and commenting on the treatise. M.J. de Goeje later presented Wright's copy to the Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden, where it is held today.<sup>16</sup> Even at the turn of the twentieth century, an unknown individual copied al-Iṣṭakhri's work: Based on the manuscript from Azbak min Ṭuṭukh's endowment,<sup>17</sup> someone created a modern copy that is presently held at the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) in Cairo.<sup>18</sup> Similarly to Taylor's copy of *The Odd One*, the manuscript at the archeological institute gathers al-Iṣṭakhri's maps at the end (except for the map of *Syria*), as if to create an atlas that does not relate to the text of the *Book of Routes and Realms*.

The wish to preserve the *Book of Routes and Realms* as a tradition of knowledge appears to have fueled the book's transmission. While many manuscripts included changes to the text, the individuals inserting them made sure not to disrupt the book's arrangement and style. Even copies with amendments in many chapters like Ms. Ar. 3007 enriched the regional accounts in a fashion that hinders crediting al-Iṣṭakhri or later authors with the variations.<sup>19</sup> *The*

14 Ms. C 610 (1751 CE, Pers.), St. Petersburg, Institut vostochnykh rukopisey Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*); Ms. 281 (1842 CE, Pers.), St. Petersburg, Biblioteka vostochnogo fakulteta Sankt-Peterburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Tarjuma al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*).

15 Ms. Orient. P. 36 (before 1606 CE, Pers.), Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Masālik al-Mamālik*).

16 Ms. Or. 3102 (1851 CE, Pers.), Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik fī al-Aqālim al-Sab'a al-Ma'mūra*; Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, p. 34.

17 Ms. Jughrafiyā 199 (before 1499 CE, Ar.).

18 Ms. LV 94 (n.d., Ar.), Cairo, Institut français d'archéologie orientale. al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Masālik al-Mamālik*); I am very grateful to Dr. Robin Seignobos for leading me to this copy.

19 For an example from Ms. Ar. 3007 relating to Oman, see Ducène, *Une nouvelle description de Ṣuḥār*.

*Odd One*, *The Lonely One* and *The Popular One* also illustrate how translators rendering the *Book of Routes and Realms* into Persian some 300 years after its composition stayed as close as possible to al-Iṣṭakhṛī's version(s). Except for the fish story in *The Popular One* and the gaps in *The Odd One*, the translations did not steer al-Iṣṭakhṛī's outlook into a more contemporary direction. Apart from incomplete manuscripts, we do not find copies presenting the Islamicate world with different regions than al-Iṣṭakhṛī had already covered in the tenth century or with details reflecting power shifts in the *mamlakat al-islām*. Staging the Islamicate world in a rather timeless manner appears to have paid off for al-Iṣṭakhṛī, whose work actually outlasted geo-political changes. However, the *Book of Routes and Realms* rather appealed through its link to a tradition of knowledge than al-Iṣṭakhṛī's innovative maps and text. Considering a seventeenth-century Persian copy summarized results from Ptolemy's *Geography* before opening with al-Iṣṭakhṛī's text,<sup>20</sup> other owners also might have perceived the *Book of Routes and Realms* as connecting to the antique heritage and its continuation in the Islamicate world.

Moreover, many clients seem to have treasured al-Iṣṭakhṛī's maps as works of art. While maintaining al-Iṣṭakhṛī's outlines for the regions and the world, various illustrators embellished the maps. In the Persian copy connecting the *Book of Routes and Realms* to Ptolemy, the illustrator adorned all water bodies with metallic swirls that point to the time and money invested in creating the copy (Fig. 28).

Additionally, the copy Alexander K. Kazembek brought to Russia transformed the circles representing cities into flowers (Fig. 29). Rather than altering al-Iṣṭakhṛī's design, the ornaments brightened the maps. Whether the owners understood al-Iṣṭakhṛī's elaborate strategy for picturing the Islamicate world or not, they seem to have enjoyed the images as entertainment. By laying out the Islamicate world as a beautiful and harmonic space to begin with, al-Iṣṭakhṛī ensured his work appealed to an audience for its images as well. Considering many manuscripts showcased the *Book of Routes and Realms* and several officials owned copies of al-Iṣṭakhṛī's work as a gem in their library, this strategy paid off.

The Persian copies with miniature paintings (Ms. B. 334 and Ms. Cod. Mixt. 344) and the ensuing Ottoman translation transformed al-Iṣṭakhṛī's maps in the most extreme way. While remaining an exception in the entire manuscript tradition of the *Book of Routes and Realms* (ca. 5% of the existing copies), the three copies show how al-Iṣṭakhṛī's maps served as the arena for cultural

20 Ms. Or. 947 (1672 CE, Pers.), Cambridge, University Library. al-Iṣṭakhṛī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*).



FIGURE 28 The Arabian Peninsula in Ms. Or. 947 (1672 CE, Pers.), f. 17  
REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE SYNDICS OF CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 29 The Arabian Peninsula in Ms. C 610 (1751 CE, Pers.), f. 13  
 WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE INSTITUT VOSTOCHNYKH RUKOPISEY  
 ROSSIYSKOY AKADEMII NAUK, ST. PETERSBURG

updates in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. By adding motifs such as Jonah and the whale and adapting styles from contemporary manuscripts, the illustrators of the three copies related al-Iṣṭakhrī's work to narratives associated with the space he had depicted as well as state-of-the-art maps. While highlighting their familiarity with different genres, this effort suggests the illustrators aimed at enriching al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps with additional layers of meaning. In contrast to most copies that replicated their model, the three manuscripts indicate how the boom in illustrated books and geographic literature circulating at the Ottoman court caught up with the *Book of Routes and Realms*.

Except for the map transformations, most clients and readers hardly left any notes indicating how they engaged with the *Book of Routes and Realms*. However, this silence is not enough to assume the *Book of Routes and Realms* remained unopened on the shelves. The showcase nature of many copies might have prevented readers from 'littering' the margins. While some individuals stated they had read or owned a copy of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work, no one recorded public readings in the existing manuscripts. Although this absence might suggest people studied the *Book of Routes and Realms* alone, we should not jump to conclusions. By reconstructing how readers interacted with other illustrated manuscripts such as the *Shāhnāma*, future research might reveal whether similar silences applied to genres we know fascinated many readers.

Although they remain exceptions, some notes tell us people have read al-Iṣṭakhrī's work. In addition to the secretary 'Abd al-Kāfī, three other individuals mentioned they finished reading the manuscript featuring fortresses for cities that was moved from Cairo to Istanbul (Ms. A. 3348). Some twenty years before 'Abd al-Kāfī completed his reading in Tripoli in 1354, a certain Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān had read through the manuscript as well. While I have not been able to identify Zayn al-Dīn, a later entry informs us the plague carried him off in Damascus in 1348. Assuming Zayn al-Dīn read Ms. A. 3348 in Damascus, this note helps further reconstruct the manuscript's trajectory: from Cairo to Istanbul via Damascus and Tripoli.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the notes indicate that Ms. A. 3348 attracted several readers who cared to leave their names in the manuscript, whereas most copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* do not disclose their readership. As for European scholars, some have left numerous notes

21 I am very grateful to Dr. Said Aljoumani for deciphering the notes. The year indicated in Zayn al-Dīn's note could be 1336 (736 A.H.). The two remaining notes do not feature any dates or locations. Due to a protective paper cover at the page's margins, one of the names only shows "Abū Sa'īd." The other note refers to a Taqī al-Dīn b. Rukn al-Dīn from the family of Sheikh Shahāb al-Dīn al-Kindī, none of whom I have been able to identify.

comparing the text to other copies or to the editions and thus testifying to their philological work with al-Iṣṭakhrī's treatise.<sup>22</sup>

Some readers pointed out additional information in the margins. The probably oldest manuscript of the *Book of Routes and Realms*, which is held in Medina, features many notes that relate to al-Iṣṭakhrī's descriptions.<sup>23</sup> Among them, a reader enriched al-Iṣṭakhrī's account of the valleys surrounding Medina<sup>24</sup> with a quote from the *qaṣīda* by the Umayyad poet al-Ṣamma al-Qushayrī (d. ca. 714) about the fleeting beauty of the Najd and a grammatical analysis of its meaning.<sup>25</sup> To clarify that the initial "s" in Sirāf is followed by a *kasra* (i), the reader additionally pointed to Sibawayhi's (fl. eighth c.) authoritative grammar *Book (Kitāb)*.<sup>26</sup> In a similar vein, a seventeenth-century copy cross-referenced al-Iṣṭakhrī's text with Mustawfī's *Delight of the Hearts*.<sup>27</sup> While describing Arrajān in *Fārs*, al-Iṣṭakhrī had focused on the city's size and agricultural products. As the note in Cod. orient. 300 tells us, Mustawfī added many historical details such as that the Sasanian King Qawādh I (r. 488–531) had built the city.<sup>28</sup> However, the extant copies do not feature any comments on the maps, suggesting the readers either considered them self-explanatory or as decoration that needed no discussion.

Some notes and changes reveal additional uses for manuscripts as well as their historic context. For instance, the Medina manuscript contains a barely legible magic formula<sup>29</sup> as well as several lines in Greek letters. Considering the letters do not make any sense, they probably served as a code – a common practice to conceal names or magic formulae.<sup>30</sup> While these notes did not relate to al-Iṣṭakhrī's work, they illustrate how margins and free space served as pads for the readers. Furthermore, a sixteenth-century copy of *The*

22 See for instance Appendix 2 for Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.) or Ms. Sprenger 1 (ca. 1840 CE, Ar.).

23 Ms. Ārif Hikmet Juhgrāfiya 910/7 (ca. 11th c., Ar.); I am very grateful to Prof. Dr. Jean-Charles Ducène for giving me access to his monochrome copy of this manuscript. Due to the temporary closing of the library of 'Abd al-Azīz during my research, I was unable to examine the copy on site.

24 Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 18.

25 al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, p. 209; Ms. Ārif Hikmet Juhgrāfiya 910/7 (ca. 11th c., Ar.): "qāla Ṣammatu bnu 'Abdi llāhi l-Qushayrī aqūlu li-ṣāhibī wa-l-'aysu tahwī bi-nā bayna l-munīfati fa-l-ḍamāri tamatta' min shamīmi 'arāri Najdin fa-mā ba'da l-'ashīyyati min 'arāri [...]."

26 Ms. Ārif Hikmet Juhgrāfiya 910/7 (ca. 11th c., Ar.).

27 Ms. Cod. orient. 300 (1675 CE, Ar.).

28 Ms. Cod. orient. 300 (1675 CE, Ar.), f. 53; Mustawfī and Le Strange, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, p. 129.

29 Ducène, MS 'Areft Ḥakamt Ğuḡrāfiya 910/7, p. 284.

30 Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 245.

*Popular One* indicates that it was created in the Safavid (r. 1501–1722) context.<sup>31</sup> While most copies of this translation feature blessings after caliphs and other historical figures, Ms. 5990 gives curses to individuals perceived as enemies by the Safavids, such as members of the Umayyad dynasty or ʿĀ'isha, the prophet's wife.<sup>32</sup>

Throughout its transmission, al-Iṣṭakhrī's *Book of Routes and Realms* echoed shifts in historic settings, knowledge and book culture. From the Persian translations in the Iranian lands, to the Ottoman court in Istanbul and officials in the nineteenth century, the work continued to draw attention for almost a millennium. While the number of circulated copies does not compare to more popular genres such as historiography,<sup>33</sup> the *Book of Routes and Realms* persevered. Although geography often comes last in historic collections,<sup>34</sup> the genre remained outside madrasas and did not enter the court through court geographers, private and public figures treasured the *Book of Routes and Realms* enough to pass it on or commission new copies. Both as cultural heritage and a work of art, al-Iṣṭakhrī's book appealed to various owners and readers across the realms. By tracing the manuscript tradition of other geographic works, future research will show whether the *Book of Routes and Realms* stands out in the genre or paved the way for similar trajectories.

31 Ms. 5990 (before 1603 CE, Pers.), Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Malik. al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad: (*al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*).

32 Calmard, Jean (1993): Les rituels shiites et le pouvoir. L'imposition du shiisme safavide. Eulogies et malédictions. In Calmard, Jean (Ed.): *Études safavides* (Bibliothèque iranienne, 39). Paris, pp. 114–121; Johnson, Rosemary S. (1994): Sunni Survival in Safavid Iran. Anti-Sunni Activities during the Reign of Tahmasp I. *Iranian Studies* 27 (1/4), p. 130; Kohlberg, Eton (1986): *Barā'a* in Shī'ī Doctrine. In *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 7 (1), p. 147.

33 For the Safavid chronicle *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* by Khvāndamīr (d. 1535/6) that circulated in several hundred copies, see Bockholt, *Weltgeschichtsschreibung*.

34 For libraries in Mamluk and Ottoman Damascus, see Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus*, p. 106; Liebreuz, *Die Rifa'ya*, p. 80.



## Map Outlines from the *Book of Routes and Realms*

### 1 The World Map<sup>1</sup>

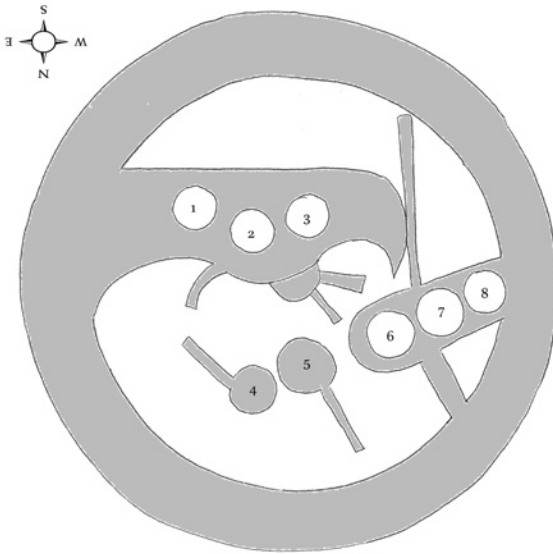


FIGURE 30 The world map according to TRANSARMIRAQ as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Bahrain (Awāl) | 5. Caspian Sea |
| 2. Kharg Island   | 6. Cyprus      |
| 3. Qishm Island   | 7. Crete       |
| 4. Aral Sea       | 8. Sicily      |

1 Considering not every manuscript of the *Book of Routes and Realms* contains all maps (21) and some copies have been damaged, I have reproduced the map outlines based on several manuscripts that have been well preserved or were accessible to me. Only the maps discussed in the book feature in this appendix. The compass represents the cardinal points as marked by al-Iṣṭakhri and shaded areas represent deserts or water bodies that are usually blue or green in the manuscripts. The captions accompanying some outlines are based on the proper names given by al-Iṣṭakhri and are meant to provide a general orientation within the region without being exhaustive. The maps whose variations I have addressed throughout the book appear in multiple images according to their Arabic and Persian branches. In case of multiple images, only the first provides clarifying captions for the elements in the outline. However, if these elements are difficult to recognize in the remaining versions, those also include additional captions.



FIGURE 31 The world map according to the **BASELINE** as represented in Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.)



FIGURE 32 The world map according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.)



FIGURE 33 The world map according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. Spencer Pers. ms. 9 (1665 CE, Pers.)

2 The Arabian Peninsula

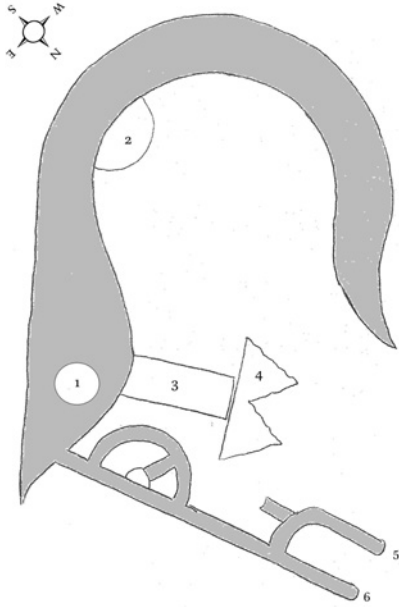


FIGURE 34  
 The Arabian Peninsula according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. 1331 (incl. 9610) (13th–14th c., Pers.)

1. Kharg Island
2. Hadramawt and Yemen
3. Desert
4. Aja' and Salmā Mountains
5. Euphrates
6. Tigris

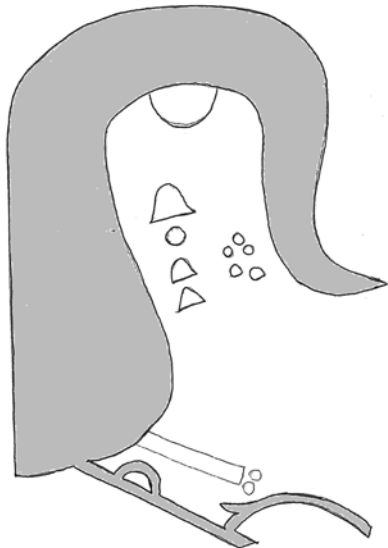


FIGURE 35 The Arabian Peninsula according to the BASELINE as represented in Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.)

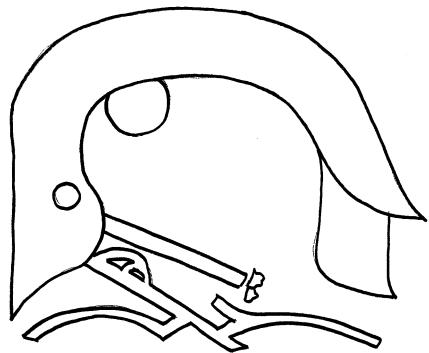


FIGURE 36 The Arabian Peninsula according to TRANSIRAQ as represented in Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.)

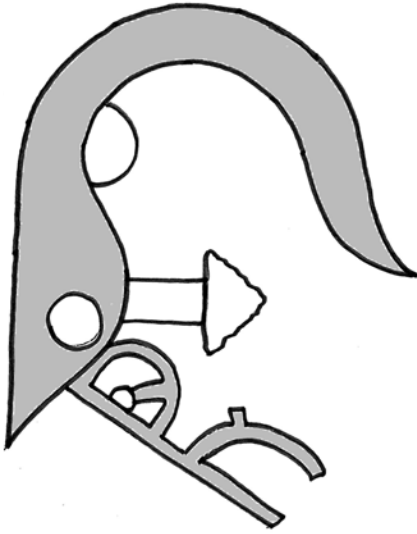


FIGURE 37 The Arabian Peninsula according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. 3515 (1325 CE, Pers.)

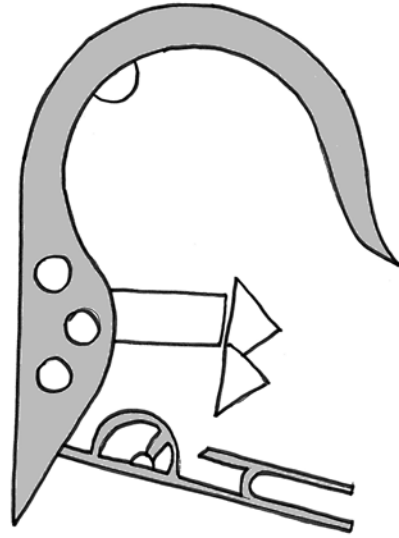


FIGURE 38 The Arabian Peninsula according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.)

### 3 The Persian Sea

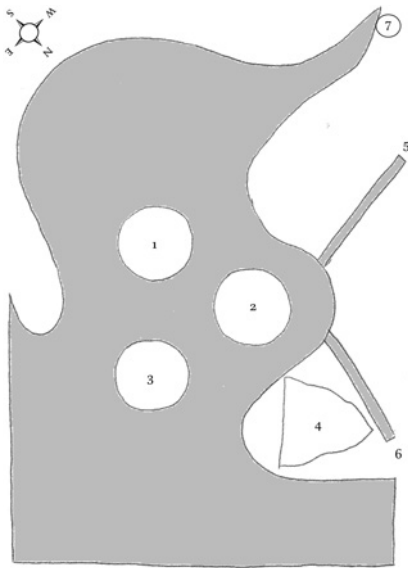


FIGURE 39 The Persian Sea according to TRANSARMIRAQ as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

1. Qishm Island
2. Kharg Island
3. Bahrain
4. Adam's Peak on Sri Lanka
5. Tigris
6. Indus River
7. al-Qulzum

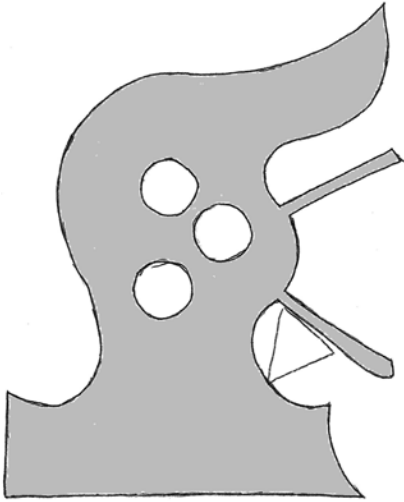


FIGURE 40 The *Persian Sea* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. 3515 (1325 CE, Pers.)

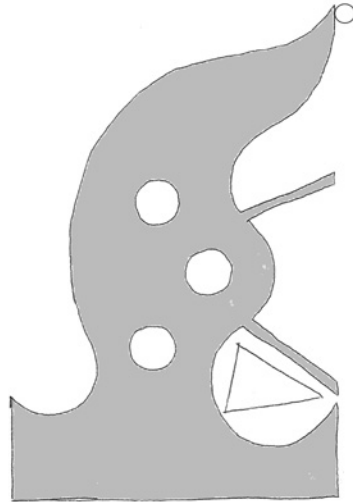


FIGURE 41 The *Persian Sea* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.)

4 The *Maghreb*

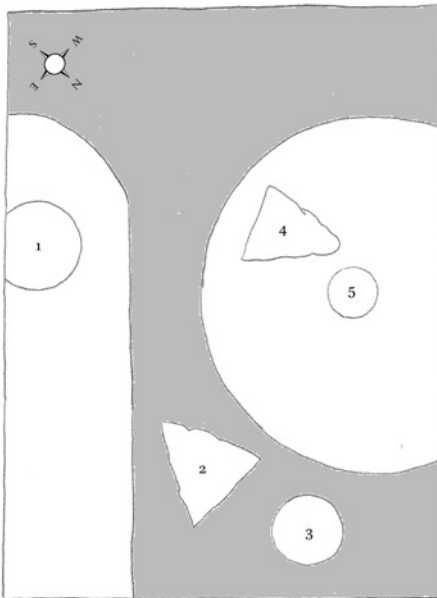


FIGURE 42 The *Maghreb* according to TRANSARMIRAQ as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

1. "Mine Sands" (*rimāl al-ma'din*) with Sijilmāsa at their center
2. Jabal al-Qilāl
3. Sicily
4. Rock of Gibraltar
5. Cordoba

5 *Egypt*

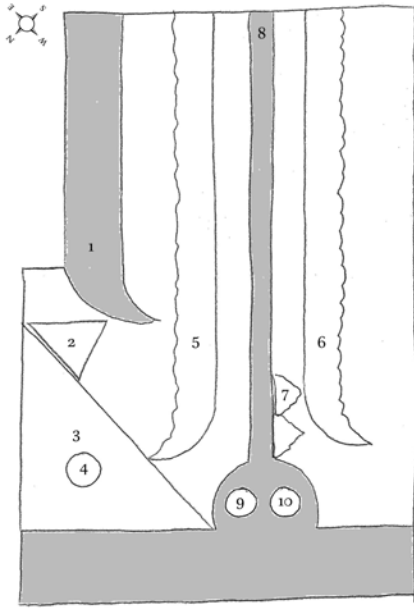


FIGURE 43  
*Egypt* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. 1331 (incl. 9610) (13th–14th c., Pers.)

1. Red Sea
2. Mount Sinai
3. Desert of Banū Isrā'īl
4. al-'Arīsh
5. Mount Muqaṭṭam
6. Jibāl al-Wāḥāt (Oases Mountain)
7. Pyramids
8. Nile River
9. Tinnīs
10. Damietta

6 *Syria*

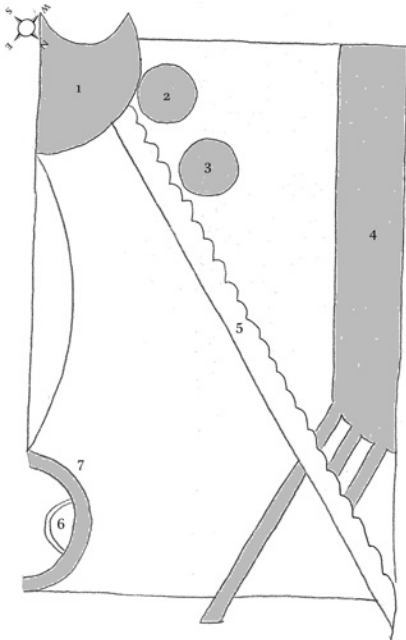


FIGURE 44  
*Syria* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. 1331 (incl. 9610) (13th–14th c., Pers.)

1. Red Sea
2. Dead Sea
3. Sea of Galilee
4. Mediterranean
5. Syrian Coastal Mountain range
6. Jisr Manbij
7. Euphrates

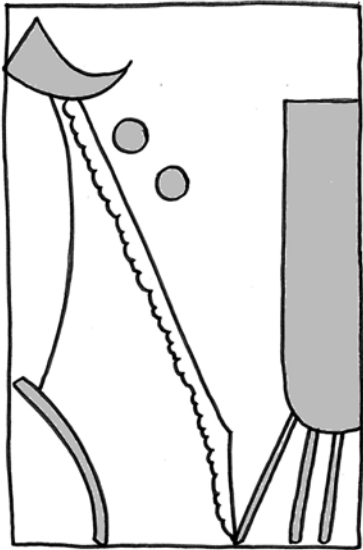


FIGURE 45 *Syria* according to the **BASELINE** as represented in Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.)

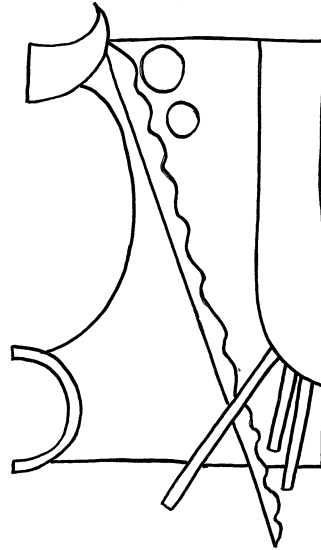


FIGURE 46 *Syria* according to **TRANSIRAQ** as represented in Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.)

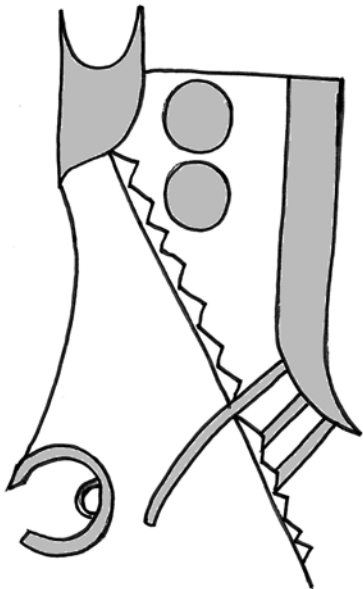


FIGURE 47 *Syria* according to **TRANSARMIRAQ** as represented in Ms. Ārif Hikmet Juhgrāfiya 910/7 (ca. 11th c., Ar.)

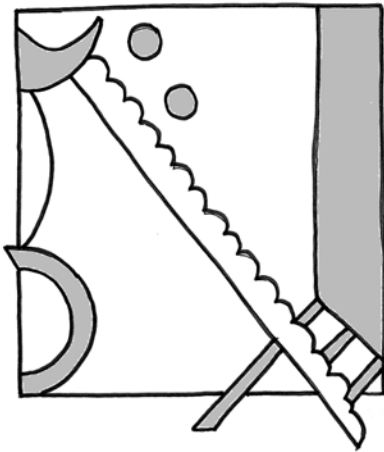


FIGURE 48 *Syria* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. 3515 (1325 CE, Pers.)

7 *The Mediterranean*

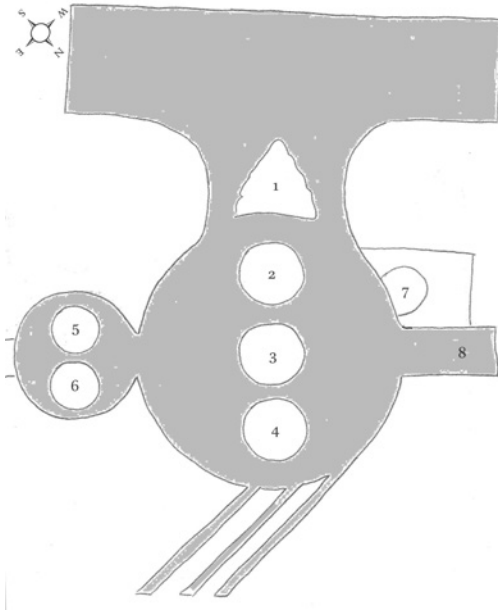


FIGURE 49  
The *Mediterranean* according to  
TRANSARMĪRAQ as represented in  
Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

1. Jabal al-Qilāl
2. Sicily
3. Crete
4. Cyprus
5. Damietta
6. Tinnis
7. The Franks
8. Bay of Constantinople

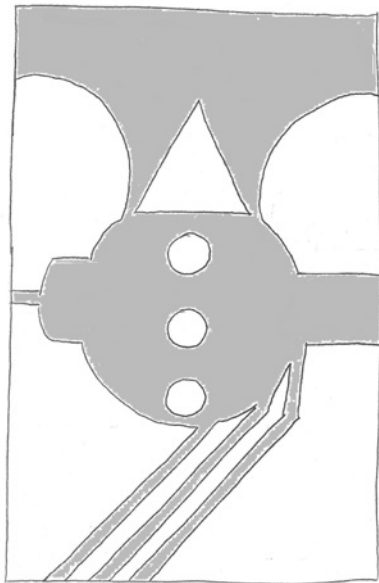


FIGURE 50 The *Mediterranean*  
according to *The Popular*  
*One* as represented in  
Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c.,  
Pers.)

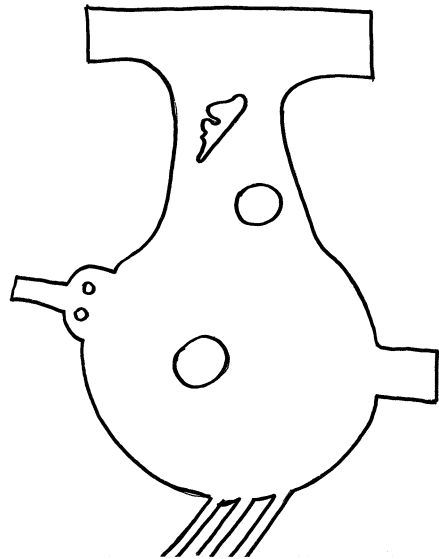


FIGURE 51 The *Mediterranean* according to  
TRANSĪRAQ as represented in  
Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.)

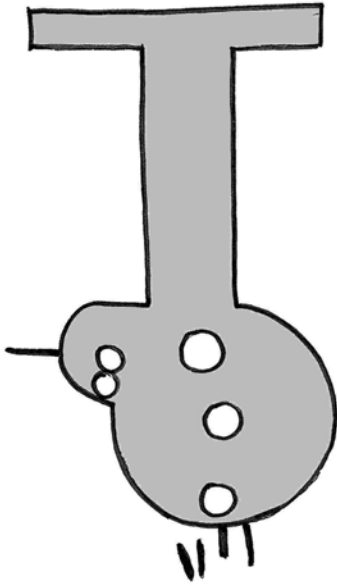


FIGURE 52 The *Mediterranean* according to TRANSIRAQ as represented in Ms. 527 (ca. 13th c., Ar.)

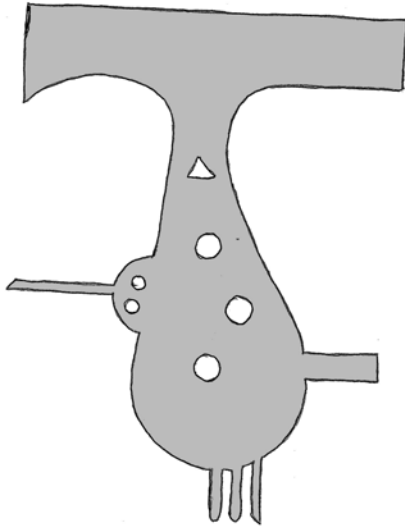


FIGURE 53 The *Mediterranean* according to the BASELINE as represented in Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.)

8 *Mesopotamia*

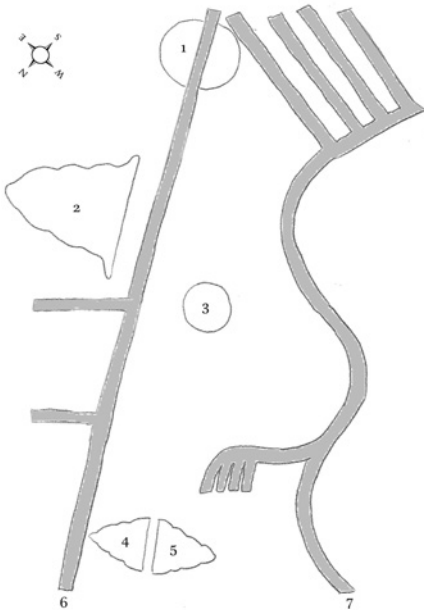


FIGURE 54 *Mesopotamia* according to TRANSARMIRAQ as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

- 1. Baghdad
- 2. Ḥamrīn Mountains (Bārrimā Mountains)
- 3. Sinjār
- 4. Mount Jūdi
- 5. Mount Mārdīn
- 6. Tigris
- 7. Euphrates

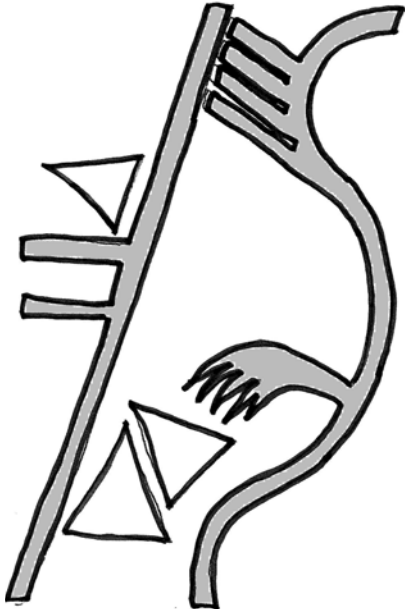


FIGURE 55 *Mesopotamia* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. 3515 (1325 CE, Pers.)

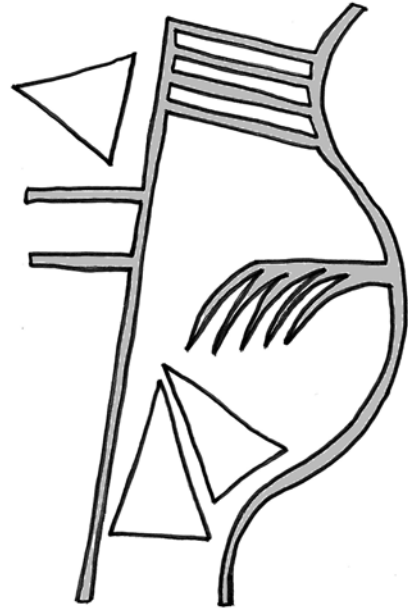


FIGURE 56 *Mesopotamia* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.)

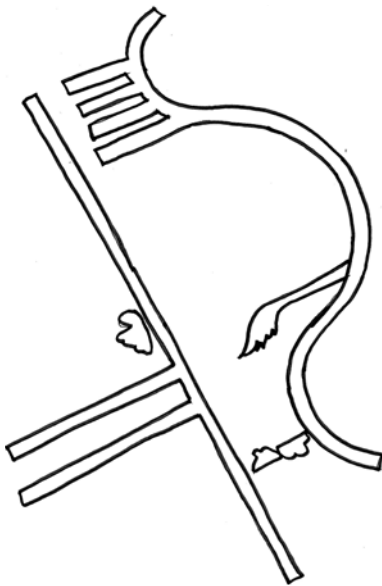


FIGURE 57 *Mesopotamia* according to TRANSIRAQ as represented in Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.)

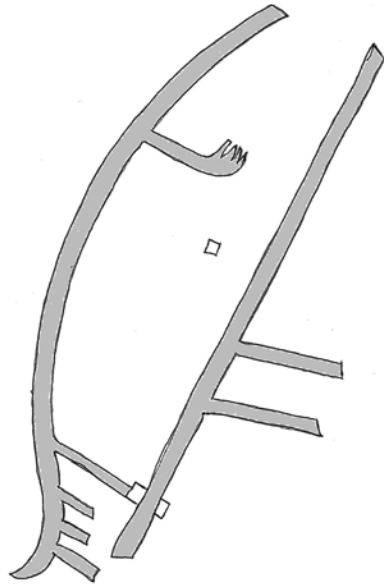


FIGURE 58 *Mesopotamia* according to the BASELINE as represented in Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.)

9 *Iraq*

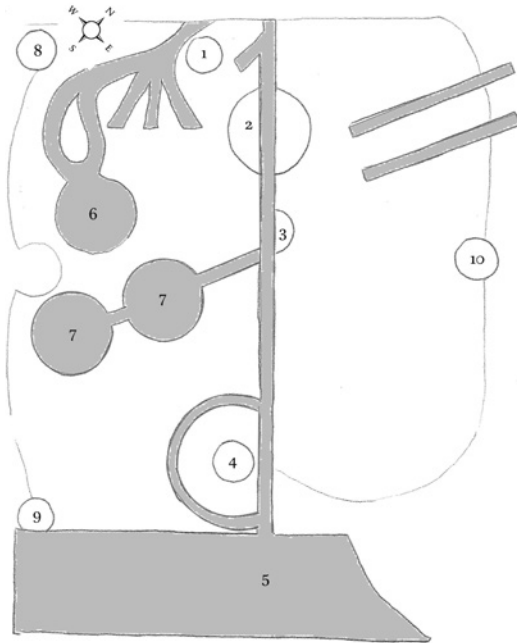


FIGURE 59  
*Iraq* according to *TRANSARMĪRAQ*  
as represented in Ms. Or. 3101  
(1193 CE, Ar.)

1. Tikrīt
2. Baghdad
3. Wasiṭ
4. al-Ubulla
5. Persian Gulf
6. al-Kūfa's riverbed
7. Basra's riverbed
8. al-Hīra
9. Abadan
10. Ḥulwān

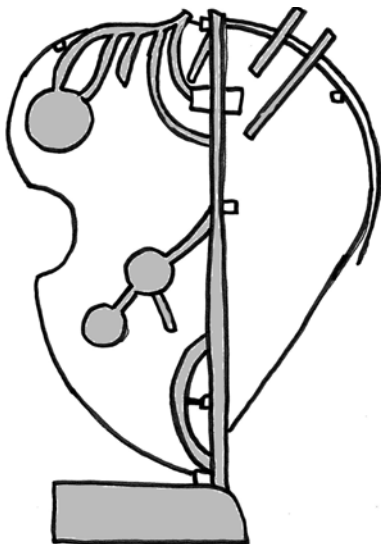


FIGURE 60 *Iraq* according to the  
BASELINE as represented  
in Ms. A. 2830 (before  
1474 CE, Ar.)

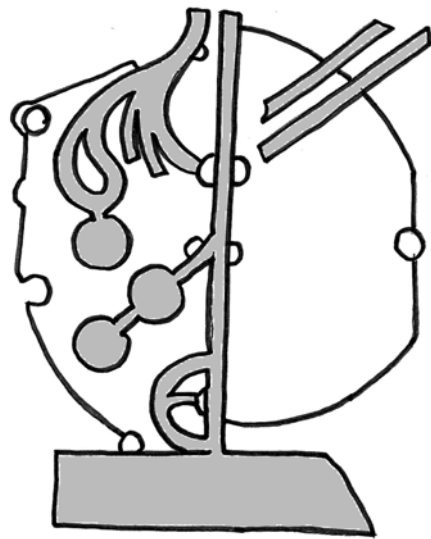


FIGURE 61 *Iraq* according to *The Popular  
One* as represented in Ms. 3515  
(1325 CE, Pers.)

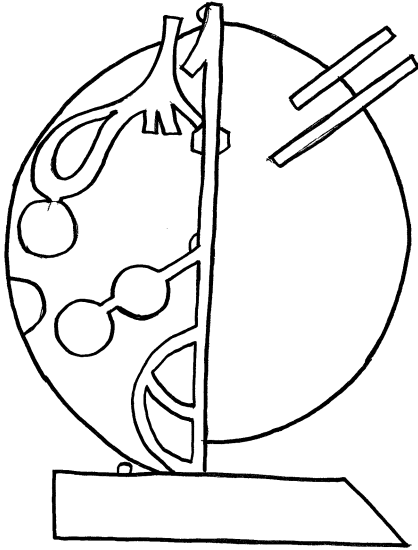


FIGURE 62 *Iraq* according to TRANSĪRAQ as represented in Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.)

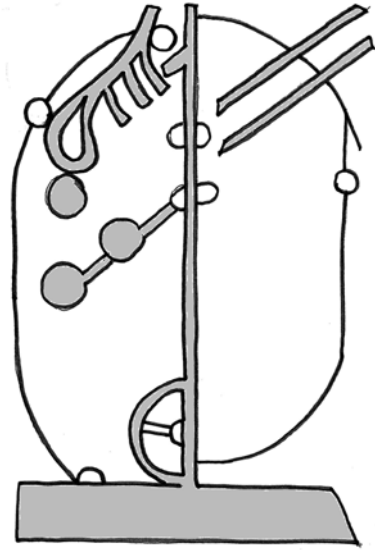


FIGURE 63 *Iraq* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.)

10 *Khuzestan*

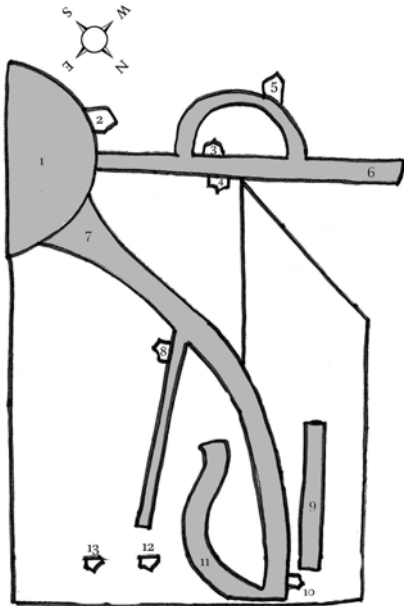


FIGURE 64 *Khuzestan* according to TRANSĀRMĪRAQ as represented in Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.)

1. Persian Sea
2. Abadan
3. al-Ubulla
4. Bayān
5. Basra
6. Tigris
7. Kārūn River
8. Bāsiyān
9. Karkha River
10. Tustar (Shūshtar)
11. Masruqān Canal
12. Rāmshahr
13. Rāmhurmuz

11 *Fārs*

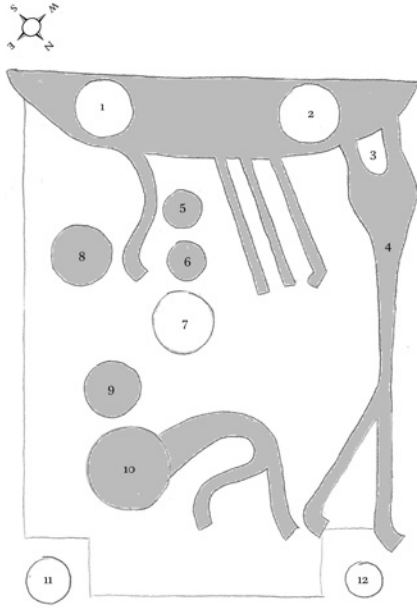


FIGURE 65  
*Fārs* according to TRANSARMĪRAQ as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

1. Qishm Island
2. Bahrain
3. "Lion's Mouth"
4. Kārūn River
5. Lake Jūr (Firūzābād)
6. Lake Arzan
7. Shiraz
8. Lake Tawwaz (Lake of Kāzarūn)
9. Lake Bāsfahūya
10. Lake Jankān (Lake Mahārlū)
11. Sīrjān
12. Isfahan

12 *Sindh*

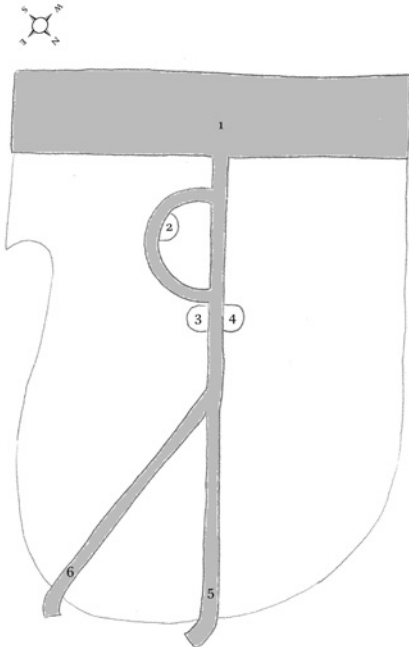


FIGURE 66  
*Sindh* according to TRANSARMĪRAQ as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

1. Persian Sea
2. al-Manṣūra
3. Bulrī
4. Sadūsān (modern Sehwan)
5. Indus River (Nahr Mihrān)
6. Upper Indus River (Nahr Sindarūd)

13 *Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan*

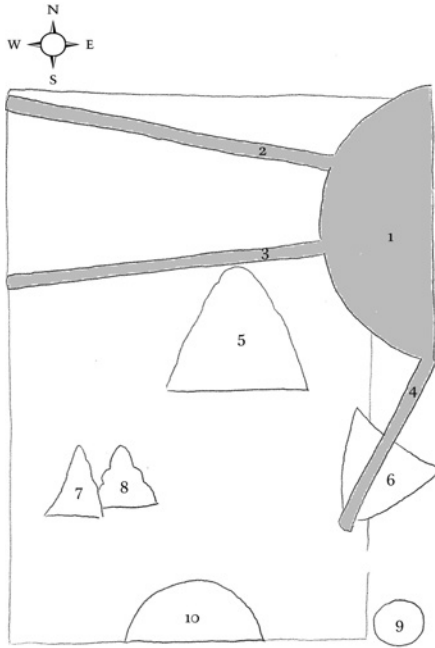


FIGURE 67  
*Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan* according to TRANSARMIRAQ as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

1. Caspian Sea
2. Kura River
3. Aras River
4. White River
5. Mount Sabalān
6. al-Daylam Mountains
7. Great Ararat (Jabal al-Ḥārith)
8. Lesser Ararat (Jabal al-Ḥuwayrith)
9. Dinawar (part of al-Jibāl)
10. Lake Urmiya

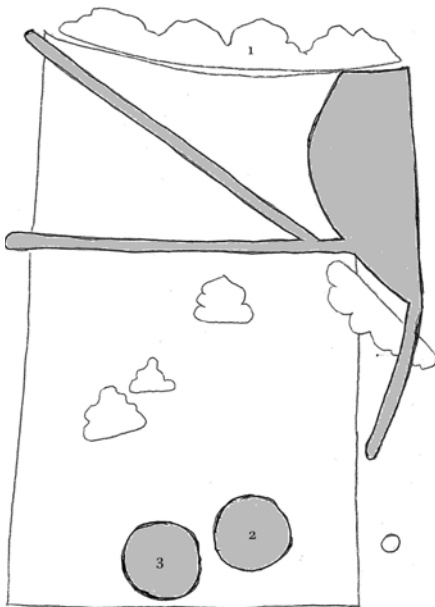


FIGURE 68  
*Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan* according to TRANSARMIRAQ as represented in Ms. Orient A. 1521 (1172 CE, Ar.)

1. Caucasus Mountains (Jibāl al-Qabq)
2. Lake Urmiya
3. Lake ?

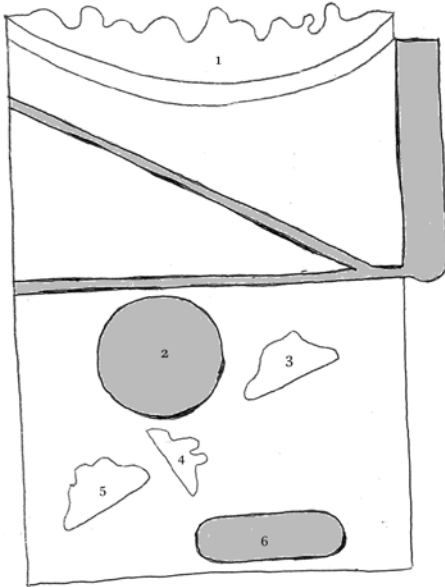


FIGURE 69  
*Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan* according to TRANSARMIRAQ as represented in Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.)

1. Arrān Mountains
2. Sea of Dabil (Dwin)
3. Mount Sabalān (probably, caption is missing in this manuscript)
4. Lesser Ararat (Jabal al-Ḥuwayrith)
5. Great Ararat (Jabal al-Ḥārith)
6. Lake Urmiya

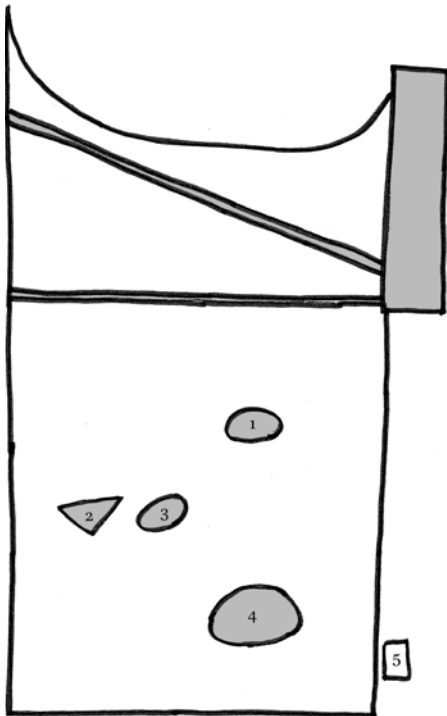


FIGURE 70  
*Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan* according to TRANSIRAQ as represented in Ms. 527 (ca. 13th c., Ar.)

1. Mount Sabalān
2. Great Ararat (Jabal al-Ḥārith)
3. Lesser Ararat (Jabal al-Ḥuwayrith)
4. Lake Urmiya
5. Dinawar

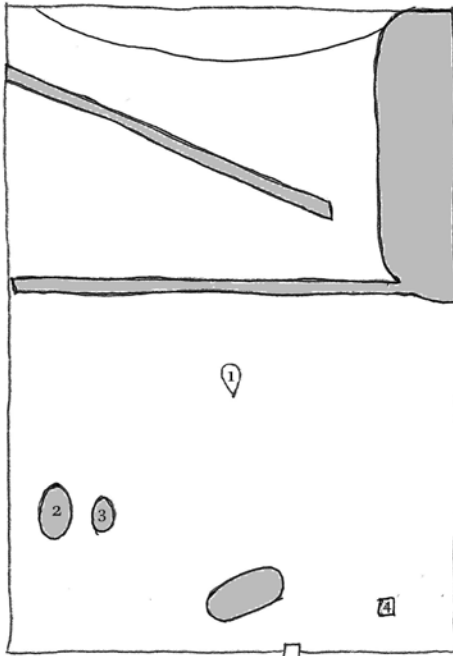


FIGURE 71  
*Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan* according to the BASELINE as represented in Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE, Ar.)

1. Mount Sabalān
2. Great Ararat (Jabal al-Ḥārith)
3. Lesser Ararat (Jabal al-Ḥuwayrith)
4. Dīnawar

14 *al-Jibāl*

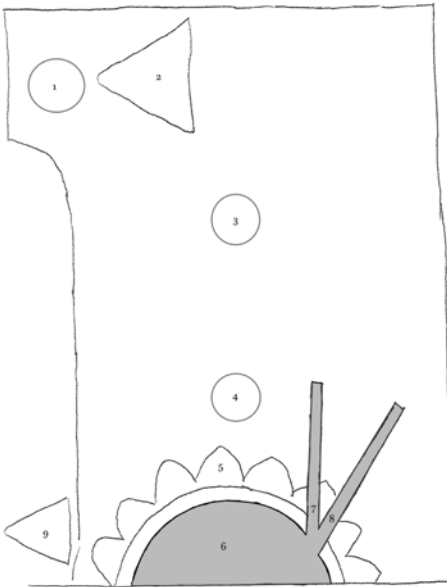


FIGURE 72  
*al-Jibāl* according to TRANSARMĪRAQ as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

1. Isfahan
2. Karkas Mountains
3. Hamadan
4. al-Rayy
5. Elburz Mountains
6. Caspian Sea
7. Shāh Rūd River
8. White River
9. Mount Damavand

15 *al-Daylam*

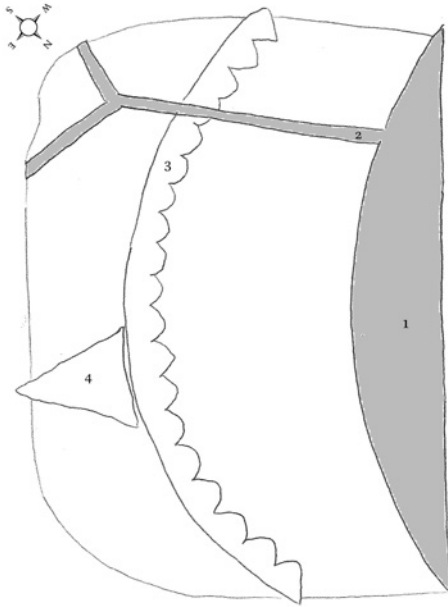


FIGURE 73  
*al-Daylam* according to TRANSARMIRAQ  
(almost identical in *The Popular One*) as  
represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

- 1. Caspian Sea
- 2. White River
- 3. Elburz Mountains
- 4. Mount Damavand

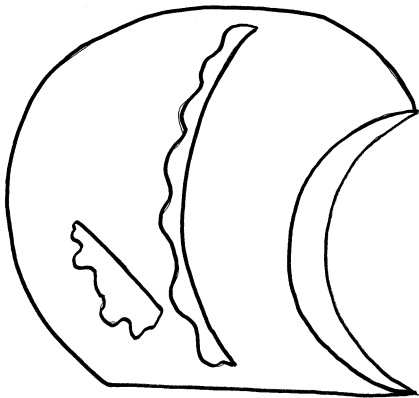


FIGURE 74 *al-Daylam* according to  
TRANSIRAQ as represented in  
Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.)

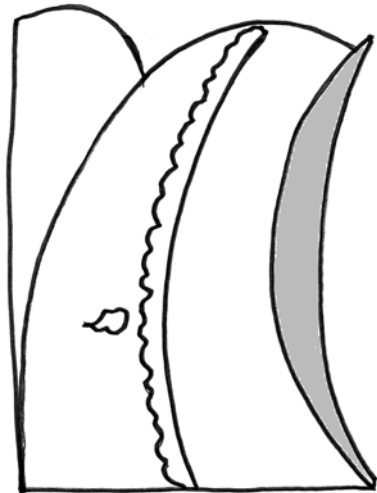


FIGURE 75 *al-Daylam* according to the  
BASELINE as represented in  
Ms. A. 2830 (before 1474 CE,  
Ar.)

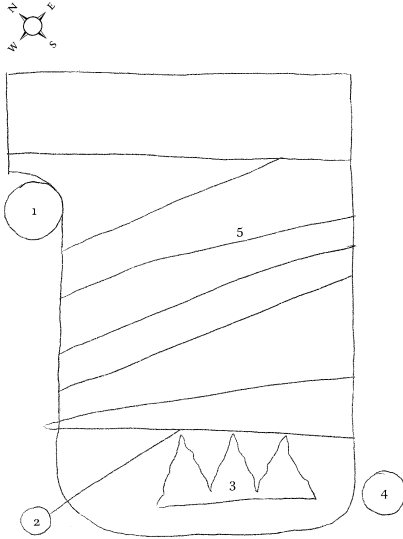
16 *Desert between Khurasan and Fārs*

FIGURE 76  
The *Desert between Khurasan and Fārs*  
according to TRANSARMIRAQ as represented  
in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

1. Zaranj
2. Dāmaghān
3. Karkas Mountains
4. Isfahan
5. Lines = routes between cities

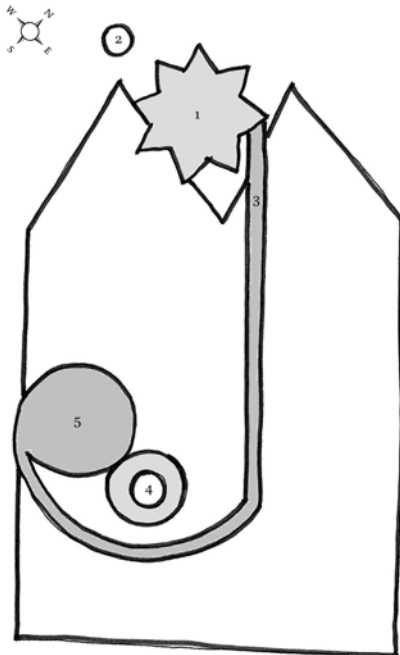
17 *Sijistān*

FIGURE 77  
*Sijistān* according to *The Popular One* as  
represented in Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.)

1. Ghūr (surrounded by mountains)
2. Herat
3. Helmand River
4. Zaranj (surrounded by steppe)
5. Lake Zarah (or Zirih; possibly referring to Lake Iskanderkul)

Note: This lake is labelled “Lake Rayy” in Ms. Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.), Ms. 527 (ca. 13th c., Ar.), Ms. Jughrāfiyā 199 (before 1499 CE, Ar.) and Ms. 3816 (after 1675 CE, Ar.). “Lake Rayy” is also known as Lake Iskanderkul, see Savage-Smith, Emilie and Rapoport, Yossef (2013): Book Two. On the Earth. In Savage-Smith, Emilie and Rapoport, Yossef (Eds.): *An Eleventh-Century Egyptian Guide to the Universe*. Leiden, p. 491.

18 *Khurasan*

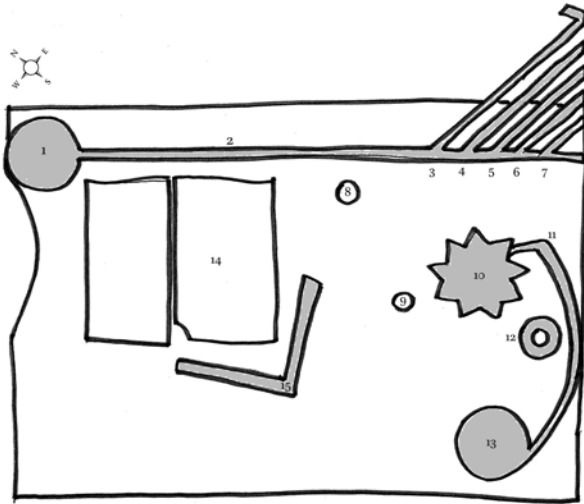


FIGURE 78 *Khurasan* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. Ayasofya 3156 (14th c., Pers.)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Aral Sea                             | 8. Balkh  |
| 2. Oxus                                 | 9. Herat  |
| 3. Wakhshāb (or Wakhsh River)           | 10. Ghūr (surrounded by mountains)                                |
| 4. Andījārāgh River                     | 11. Helmand River   |
| 5. Fārgħar River                        | 12. Zaranj (surrounded by steppe)                                 |
| 6. Barbān (?) River                     | 13. Lake Zarah (or Zirih; possibly referring to Lake Iskanderkul) |
| 7. Akhshū/ Ba'kxhū River (Hulbuk River) | 14. Desert of Marw  |
|   | 15. Murghāb River   |

Note: As the captions of the five arms of the Oxus differ in every manuscript, I have used the names provided in Goeje and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 296 (in *Transoxania*) in the sequence as indicated by the text (from Wakhkhāb at the eastern border of the map).

19 *Transoxania*

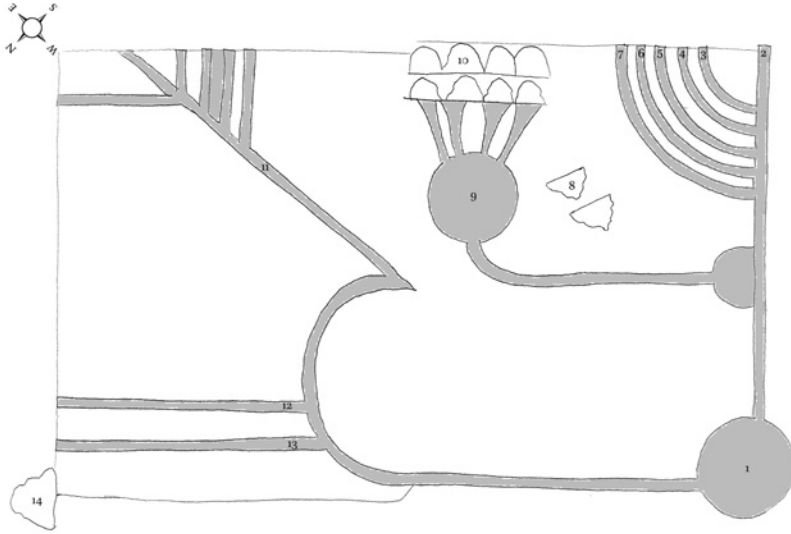


FIGURE 79 *Transoxania* according to TRANSARMĪRĀQ as represented in Ms. Or. 3101 (1193 CE, Ar.)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Aral Sea                            | 9. Lake Zarah (or Zirih; possibly referring to Lake Iskanderkul)     |
| 2. Oxus                                | 10. Zarafshān Mountains  |
| 3. Akhshū/Ba'khsū River (Hulbuk River) | 11. Jaxartes   |
| 4. Barbān (?) River                    | 12. Īlāq River   |
| 5. Fārghar River                       | 13. Wall of 'Abd Allah b. Ḥamid (in this manuscript colored in blue) |
| 6. Andījārāgh River                    | 14. Unknown mountain near Talas                                      |
| 7. Wakhshāb (or Wakhsh River)          |  |
| 8. Jabal Bukhārā (?)                   |  |

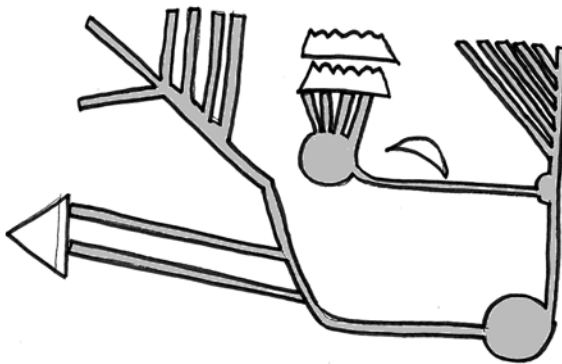


FIGURE 80 *Transoxania* according to *The Popular One* as represented in Ms. 1331 (incl. 9610) (13th–14th c., Pers.)

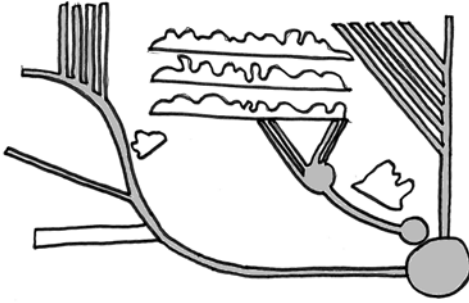


FIGURE 81  
*Transoxania* according to  
TRANSARMIRAQ as represented in Ms.  
Ar. 3007 (before ca. 1310 CE, Ar.)

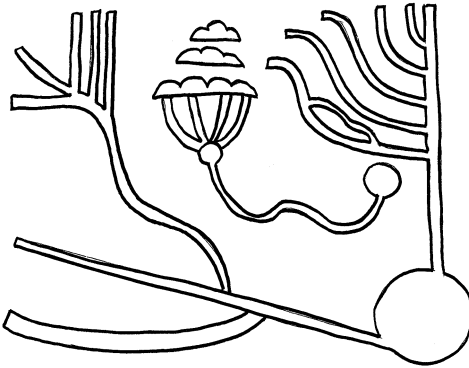


FIGURE 82  
*Transoxania* according to TRANSIRAQ  
as represented in Ms. 3816 (after  
1675 CE, Ar.)

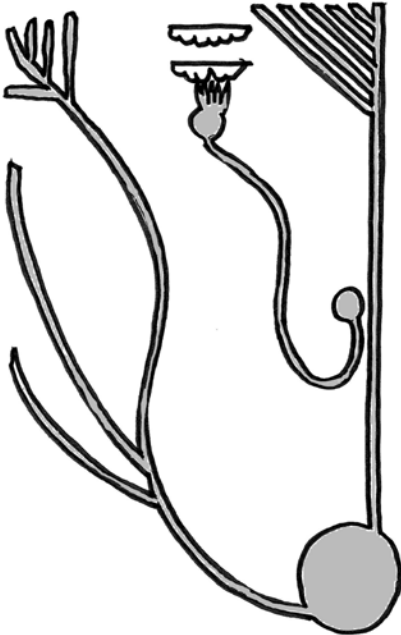


FIGURE 83  
*Transoxania* according to the  
BASELINE as represented in Ms. A. 2830  
(before 1474 CE, Ar.)

## Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* Worldwide

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy

Location <sup>a</sup>	MS No.	L. <sup>b</sup>	Year	Provenance <sup>c</sup>	Marginalia <sup>d</sup>	Maps	Illumination
1. Medina, Maktabat 'Abd al-Azīz	Ārif Hikmet Jughrāfiya 910/7 <sup>e</sup>	A	10.. (?)	No proper colophon (text incomplete); illegible seals; note at the beginning: endowment of the library of <i>amīr al-mu'minīn</i> al-Mahdī al-'Abbāsī to his grandson [improbable, as al-Mahdī ruled 775–785, two centuries before the compilation of this work];	Many (hardly legible in my monochrome copy); amongst those legible for instance: (on page covering the board) list of Ottoman rulers with beginning of their rule; beginning of a <i>qasīda</i> by the Umayyad poet al-Ṣamma al-Qushayrī (d. ca.	19 (missing: <i>World, Arabian Peninsula</i> )	Maps in blue and red; red headlines and circles with dot to separate content

<sup>a</sup> Locations in brackets indicate the archive holding a photocopy or a copy on microfilm of the same manuscript, the shelfmark of the respective reproduction is indicated in the column "Ms. No." after the shelfmark of the manuscript.

<sup>b</sup> Language: A indicates Arabic, P indicates Persian and O indicates Ottoman.

<sup>c</sup> In case I have not or only partially consulted a manuscript, the sections on provenance, marginalia, maps and illumination may include "n.d." (no date).

<sup>d</sup> This section is meant to focus on marginal notes that help reconstructing the source(s) of a copyist (if he, for instance, refers to a model or alternative readings) and later readership. This is why I do not mention text sections put into the margins by the copyist due to a faulty arrangement of the page (not enough space left) or indicators what text portion to highlight for the person handling the red ink.

<sup>e</sup> Ducène, *MS 'Arefī Ḥakamt Ġugrāfiya 910/7*; Sayyid, *al-Makḥḥūḥāt*, p. 393.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
2. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek	Orient. A. 1521 <sup>f</sup>	A	1172	Colophon only with year (in A.H. and Syro-Macedonian era); text incomplete at the beginning; on recovered first page note in Ottoman (inter alia) stating the copy was written [ <i>katiba</i> ; rather owned] in Constantinople [rest damaged and in Ottoman]; notes on broken off f. 2r (at the end of digital copy) provide two dates: October 13, 1662 (Šafar 29, 1073 A.H.) and (with an Ottoman note) February 9, 1659 (Jumādā al-Awwal 16, 1069 A.H.);	714) and information on the poet; addition of a fight of Muhammad in city Tabuk; on a page that had been left empty there are four lines in Greek letters and a spell from an Arabic magic ritual  Few: to other versions of proper names/index-like repetitions of city names from text by the same hand; some conjectures; pencil notes providing alternative spellings of cities mentioned in the text and comparing text to Ouseley's edition and that of Ibn Ḥawqal (probably by de Goeje for his edition)	20 (missing: <i>Arabian Peninsula</i> )	Maps in blue, green, violet, ochre; red head-lines and circles with dot to separate content

f Available online: <https://bit.ly/2yogse0>; Pertsch, Wilhelm (1881): *Die Arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Die orientalischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, 3), Gotha, p. 142.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	ms No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
3. Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden	Or. 3101 <sup>i</sup>	A	1193	Colophon mostly faded; text incomplete, probably due to damaged binding; ownership statement of an al-Ḥajj Ahmad b. al-Ḥajj ‘Abd Allah Abū Salīm	Some, providing alternative readings (indicated by “sic” ( <i>ṣaḥiḥa</i> )); due to restoration, some pages do not have their original margins any more	18 (missing: <i>Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, Syria</i> )	Maps in red, blue, yellow, violet, grey-green; red headlines and circles with

g I have only found an Ishāq b. Yahyā b. Ishāq al-Ḥanaṭī ‘Alif al-Dīn al-‘Āmidī mentioned without further details in Ibn Fahd’s (d. 1480) biographical dictionary *The Hidden Pearls. Supplement of the Precious Necklace (al-Durr al-Kamīn bi-Dhayl al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn)* (Ibn Fahd, ‘Umar b. Muhammad (2000): *Al-Durr al-Kamīn bi-Dhayl al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn fi Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amin. Part 3*. Beirut, p. 443).

h I am grateful to Dr. Boris Liebrez for helping me decipher the notes and pointing me to another manuscript that was owned by Ali b. Dā‘ūd/ Dāwūd: Ms. Arabe 2127 (1417 CE, Ar.). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. al-Janadi, Yūsuf b. Yā‘qūb: *al-Sulūk fi Ṭabaqāt al-‘Ulamā’ wa-l-Mulūk*. Available online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvbno01680t>.

i Available online: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1577846>; Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, p. 33.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
				"known in Shadravan [Iranian region; part of Shushtar]/ known as Shadhrivān," ownership statement of a 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hawānī (?) al-Shāfi' [unidentified]; other notes faded; seal of Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) (including note from his librarian Atūfi); according to a note possibly belonged to a person in Madrawan (India); acquired in Egypt in 1876 by Austrian orientalist and diplomat Alfred von Kremer			dot to separate content

4. Paris, archive Photograph<sup>j</sup> A 1250 n.d. n.d. Map of *Syria* in blue, green and orange  
of the pho-  
tographers  
Roland and  
Sabrina  
Michaud

j See online at <https://goo.gl/LYKFTW>.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
5. Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Razavī (Tehran, Dānīshgāh-i Tīhrān)	5405 <sup>k</sup> (Microfilm No. M0009)	P	12..	No colophon (text incomplete and in disarray); 4 rectangular seals [unidentified]: one (damaged) resembles Ottoman <i>tuğhrā</i> seals, one with name Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī (?), one very faded, one with a drop-like shape surrounding the inscription and a note above providing the year 1894	none	7 (rather sketches of the <i>Arabian Peninsula</i> , <i>Persian Sea</i> , <i>Maghreb</i> , <i>Egypt</i> , <i>al-Jībāl</i> , <i>Khurasan</i> , <i>Transoxania</i> )	Maps in black and red; red headlines and lines above text to separate content
6. Tehran, Dānīshgāh-i Tīhrān	1331 and 9610 <sup>l</sup>	P	12..– 13..	No colophon (incomplete copy); seal with name Muhammad Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim (?) [unidentified]; note in Ottoman from Istanbul saying this manuscript was obtained in 1923; sold to the Tehran University Library by the	Some pencil notes in Persian clarifying dates of events mentioned in the text or toponyms; one note in section about <i>Iraq</i> (f. 37v) next to the description of River ‘Īsā saying this river is still there and	14 (missing: <i>World</i> , <i>Iraq</i> , <i>Kirman</i> , <i>Sindh</i> , <i>Armenia</i> , <i>Arrān</i> and <i>Azerbaijan</i> , <i>Desert between</i> )	Maps in blue, brown, red, ochre; illuminated headpieces for headlines of the maps; book title in an illuminated

<sup>k</sup> Available online: <https://bit.ly/3bq7WDT>; Munzavī, *Fihrist*, p. 3983.

<sup>l</sup> Munzavī, *Fihrist*, p. 3984.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
7. London (Greenwich), National Maritime Museum	P/3 <sup>m</sup>	A	Before 1282	German publishing house Otto Harrasowitz in 1956	when I, Ishāq, visited the holy sites in Karabalā' and Najaf in 1628 (1037 A.H.), there was a flood	<i>Khurasan and Fārs, Khurasan</i>	frontispiece; first page in an illuminated frame; red headlines and gold circles to separate content
				No colophon (text incomplete due to poor condition); 1 illegible oval seal; several ownership statements, legible: Muhammad b. Šadr al-Sharī'a al-Siyāfi [unidentified]; an illegible ownership statement dating from 1282 (681 A.H.); treatise attributed to Ptolemy by an owner; exported from Iran in 1935 according to customs seal	Few (margins sometimes missing due to restoration): e.g. f. 108v (according to pagination from left to right marked in the upper right corner of each double page) in section about <i>Iraq</i> beginning of a cross-reference to one of al-Rāzī's (d. 925) books (breaks off due to piece of page missing); circle with "yā Ali" drawn in lower margin of f. 5	15 (missing: <i>World, Persian Sea, Maghreb, Egypt, Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan, Desert between Khurasan and Fārs</i> )	Maps in blue, green, pink, black, yellow; mountains with geometric or floral patterns; red headlines

m Sezgin, *Anthropographie 1*, p. 198.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	ms No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
8. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	A. 3348 <sup>n</sup>	A	1286	Colophon: copied by Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm "from the Egyptian Shafī'i school of law" in Cairo at the Gate of the Bridge ( <i>bāb al-qanṭara</i> ) on a Friday in the second half of January 1286 (the last third of Dhū al-Qa'da 648 A.H.); Abd al-Kāfī b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Faḍl Allah al-Shāfī'i finished reading the copy in Tripoli on June 24, 1354 (Jumādā al-Ākhira 2, 755 A.H.). – Abd al-Kāfī worked as a secretary in Tripoli and gained a reputation for composing poems and prose as well as treatises on history; <sup>o</sup> a certain Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān completed reading the copy in ca. 1324 (possibly in Damascus); seals of the Ottoman Sultans Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) (including note by his librarian Atūf) and Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730); otherwise n.d.	Some, providing alternative readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣahīḥa</i> )) as well as some glosses (explaining words or adding to the text) opening with <i>hāshtiya</i> (margin, comment) and filling entire margins of a page; otherwise n.d.	21	Maps in blue red, yellow and green; maps with layouts of towers instead of circles representing cities; golden frontispiece with title; red headlines and triangles to separate the text

<sup>n</sup> Ritter, *Mitteilungen und Anzeigen*, p. 55.

<sup>o</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Ahmad b. Ali and Ḥabashī, *Inbāʿ*, p. 369; al-Sakhāwī, Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, *al-Dawʿ al-Lamīʿ*, entry 87.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	ms No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
9. Oxford, Bodleian Library	Ouseley 373 <sup>p</sup>	P	1297	Colophon: finished in August–September 1297 (Dhū al-Qa‘da 696); additional introduction clarifies the translator as Muhammad b. As‘ad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Ḥanaḥī al-Tustarī; dedicated to Qāzān b. al-‘Amīr al-Kabīr al-Ajall al-Muzaffar Tavakkulimūr, who might be a descendant of Genghis Khan; <sup>9</sup> 3 seals [unidentified and hardly legible]; bought by Sir William Ouseley in Shiraz in September 1811	Few, providing alternative readings (indicated by “sic” ( <i>ṣahīḥa</i> ))	17 (missing: <i>Mediterranean, Mesopotamia, Iraq, Kūhuzestan</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, lilac, violet; sometimes red headlines and three red dots to separate content
10. Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri	527 <sup>r</sup>	A	12.. (?)	No colophon; text in disarray; no seals or ownership statements	Few, providing alternative readings (indicated by “sic” ( <i>ṣahīḥa</i> ))	15 (missing: <i>World, Arabian Peninsula, Persian Sea, Maghreb, Egypt, Syria</i> )	Maps are rather sketches; in blue, green and red

p Éthé, *Persian, Turkish, Hindūstānī and Pushtū Manuscripts*, p. 398.

q al-Iṣṭākhūrī and Afshār, *al-Masālik (The Lonely One)*, p. 18.

r Benchekroun, *Requiem pour Ibn Ḥawqal*, p. 200; thanks to Benchekroun’s contribution, this manuscript is now known to be a copy of al-Iṣṭākhūrī’s work, while the Ms. 3012 at Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi turned out to be a copy of Ibn Ḥawqal’s geography. Ritter had attributed Ms. 3012 to al-Iṣṭākhūrī (Ritter, *Mitteilungen und Anzeigen*, p. 56).

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
11. Geneva, The Khalili Collection	972 <sup>s</sup>	P	1307–8	Colophon only with year; 9 seals at beginning (most faded) [un-identified], 2 seals next to colophon, one of them of the Safavid Shah Abbas I (r. 1588–1629), <sup>t</sup> the other stating “yā qaṣim al-arzāq;” text incomplete	Several interlinear clarifications of proper names (toponyms and individuals); on f. 23 the text resumes in <i>Syria</i> after breaking off in <i>Egypt</i> and a small portion of the beginning of <i>Syria</i> was added in the upper margin; f. 83 upper margin upside down blessing for Imam Ḥusayn	16 (missing: <i>World</i> , <i>Maghreb</i> , <i>Syria</i> , <i>Mesopotamia</i> , <i>Armenia</i> , <i>Arrān</i> and <i>Azerbaijan</i> )	Maps in shades of blue, red, yellow, grey and gold; mostly grass-like shapes inserted into icons representing mountains; golden circles to separate text and red headlines; illuminated title page and illuminated headpieces for some headlines of the maps

<sup>s</sup> *The Arts of Islam*, pp. 166–167.

<sup>t</sup> Compare seal No. 3 in Jiddī, Muhammad J. (2013): *Dānīshnāma-yi Muḥr va Ḥakkākī dar Īrān*. Tehran, p. 201.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
12. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Tehran, Dānīshgāh-i Tihrān)	Ayasofya 3156 <sup>u</sup> (Microfilm No. M0010)	P	13..	No colophon (text complete); owner indicated in golden medal- lion as Ahmad b. Sarraj (possibly Ahmad b. al-Sarraj, astronomer from Aleppo (fl. 14th c.); <sup>v</sup> seals of Ottoman Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) and Ahmed Şeyhzaade, the inspector of the endowments in Mecca and Medina during Mahmud I's rule	Few, providing alternative readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣaḥiḥa</i> ))	21	Maps in blue, green, orange, pink, brown, grey; world map oriented north and with illuminated corners; illuminat- ed headlines for headlines of the maps; book title and owner in a golden medallion; first two pages in illuminated frame with two rhymed lines (same as 10 Islamic 1026); red headlines and gold circles to separate content

u *Türkay, coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 12.v King, *Astronomy of the Mamluks*, pp. 75–76.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (cont.)

Location	ms No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
13. London, British Library	10 Islamic 1026 (Éthé 707) <sup>w</sup>	P	13.. (?)	No colophon (text incomplete, probably due to poor condition); 7 (hardly legible) seals [unidentified] and several ownership statements [unidentified]	f. 54v in <i>al-Jibāl</i> , next to description of Qazwin noting adding information about the many mosques in the city; same hand (also on 54v), next to description of Shahrizor note adding that the city is close to Hamadan and most of its inhabitants are Kurds who assault travellers, also links a story about Saul, king of the Israelites, to the location	18 (missing: <i>World, Arabian Peninsula, Persian Sea</i> )	Maps in blue, red/orange, green, ochre; beige; first page with illuminated frame which has two rhymed lines in it (same as Ms. Ayasofya 3.156); red headlines
14. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library (Qom, Mar'ashī)	Ar. 3007 <sup>x</sup> (826 ('akṣī))	A	Before ca. 1310	No proper colophon; ownership statement of a 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abd al-Thamit (?) 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ḥasan (...) Ali al-Qāsim [al-s-h-r-d-q-r-ī] on 19 Ramadan of 709 A.H. (700 is clearly legible, rest is not) [1301–1310 AD]; seal of Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) (including note by his librarian Atūf) and Ottoman Sultan	f. 1: a diagram was added showing the earth as a circle with seven vertical sections (probably representing the seven climes) that are filled with toponyms from the respective regions, two additional sections frame the seven climes saying there is no life in them (marking the	21	Maps in green, blue, yellow, brown, orange, dark green and ochre

<sup>w</sup> Available online: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=IO\\_Islamic\\_1026](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=IO_Islamic_1026); Éthé, *Persian Manuscripts*, p. 364.

<sup>x</sup> Arberry, Arthur J. (1955): *The Chester Beatty Library. A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts*. Vol. 1 MSS 3001–3250. Dublin, p. 2.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
15- Tehran, Mūza-yi Irān-i Bāstān (Tehran, Dānīshgāh-i Tihrān)	3515 <sup>y</sup> (Microfilm No. Mo012/ M1737)	P	1325	Colophon: the translation was finished on December 11, 1325 (Muharram 4, 726 A.H.) in Isfahan by Abū al- Maḥasin Muhammad b. Sa'd b. Muhammad al-Nakhjavānī, known as Ibn Sāvji; no seals; used to be part of the library of the shrine of Sheikh Šāfi al-Dīn, the eponym of the Safavid dynasty in Ardabil <sup>z</sup>	boundaries of the world); some notes providing alterna- tive readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣaḥiḥa</i> )), some glosses (explaining words) opening with <i>hāshiyā</i> (margin, com- ment); f. 68: "I have read this book from here on" (without a name or date)	20 (missing: <i>Egypt</i> )	Maps in blue, brown, grey, black, red, orange, green, yellow, beige; illu- minated headpiec- es for headlines of the maps; book title in an illumi- nated frontispiece; red headlines and golden circles to separate content

<sup>y</sup> Munzavī, *Fihrist*, p. 3983.<sup>z</sup> Afshār and al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik*, p. 15.<sup>aa</sup> I consulted the microfilm, which shows the margins were mostly cut.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
16. New Delhi, National Museum	56.96/4 <sup>ab</sup>	P	1427–8	Attributed to Ibn Khurrādadhbih; otherwise n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
17. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	B. 334 <sup>ac</sup>	P	ca. 1460	No details in colophon; f. 1 medallion with gold and floral patterns surrounding the seal of Ottoman Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807); otherwise n.d.	n.d.	21	Maps in blue, shades of yellow and brown and green; miniature paintings inserted into the maps; medallion in gold and floral patterns; first two pages in illuminated frame with floral and geometric patterns

ab Alam, Muzarraf and Subrahmanyam, Sanjay (2007): *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800*. Cambridge, viii.

ac Akalay, Minyatürlü; Duda, *Islamische Handschriften*, p. 177; Pinto, Searchin' His Eyes; *Türkey, coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 57.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	ms No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
18. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub)	A. 2830 <sup>ad</sup> (Jughrāfiyā 256)	A	Before 1474	No proper colophon (ending similar to Ms. 3521); at the beginning several passages in disorder; two medallions naming the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46 and 1451–81); seal of Ottoman Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730)	none	21	Maps in gold and blue; some maps have illuminated headpieces for their title; illuminated frontispiece on two pages with dedication to Mehmed II; first two pages with illuminated frame with book title in it
19. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub)	Ayasofya 2613 <sup>ae</sup> (Jughrāfiyā 257)	A	1474	Colophon: copied by İbrāhīm b. Ahmad al-Sinābī in Constantinople in March 1474 (end of Shawwāl 878 A.H.); several passages are in disorder at the beginning; seals of Ottoman Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) and Ahmed Şeyhzāde, the inspector of the endowments in Mecca and Medina during Mahmud I's rule, third seal unidentified	f. 55 one gloss (explaining words or adding to the text) in <i>Caspian Sea</i> next to description of export goods from the region (inter alia leather), clarifying the kind of leather (camel?)	21	Maps in blue, green, red; red headlines

ad Ritter, *Mitteilungen und Anzeigen*, p. 56.ae Türkay, *coğrafiya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 12.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
20. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub	Juġhrāfiyā 199 <sup>af</sup>	A	Before 1499	No colophon (text incomplete); endowment of Sayf al-Dīn Azbak b. (or min) Tuṭukh al-Aṭābakī (d. 1499), Egypt (Mamluk commander); 1 seal [unidentified]	Some, providing alternative readings (indicated by “sic” ( <i>ṣaḥiḥa</i> )), on f. 70 the entire margin filled with the alternative; several notes inserting different versions of “praise the Lord” ( <i>al-ḥamdu li-llāh</i> ) into empty spaces/at the end of chapters etc.	16 (missing: <i>World, Arabian Peninsula, Persian Sea, Maghreb, Egypt</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, ochre, pink; red headlines and circles with dots to separate content
21. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	A. 3349 <sup>ag</sup>	A	1474–1512	Colophon from Ms. Ayasofya 2613 adjusted with blessing for the deceased copyist (same year, no location); seals of Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) (including note by his librarian Atüf) and Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730)	none	21	Maps without color, only red contours; red headlines

<sup>af</sup> Cairo National Library (Ed.) (1933): *Fihris al-Kutub al-Arabiyya al-Mawjūda bi-l-Dār Li-Ghāyat Sanat* 1932. Cairo.

<sup>ag</sup> Ritter, *Mitteilungen und Anzeigen*, p. 56.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
22. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 2971 <sup>ah</sup>	A	1474– 1512	No proper colophon (only introductory benedictions as in colophon of Ms. Ayasofya 2613); seals of Ottoman sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) (including note by his librarian Atüfi), Selim I (r. 1512–1520) and Mahmud I (r. 1730–1754), partial/ faded third and fourth seals [unidentified]	Alternative readings (indicated by “sic” ( <i>şahha</i> )); f. 16 in <i>Maghréb</i> next to mention of Santarém ( <i>shantarim</i> ) note saying it is nowadays called <i>shantira</i> ; f. 18v in <i>Egypt</i> next to description of Tinnis and Damietta note clarifying that the water surrounding them stems from the Nile and the Mediterranean and adding that the locations have agriculture and palm trees; 28v in <i>Iraq</i> next to description of Baghdad including a “today” by al-Iṣṭakhrī note clarifying it means when the treatise was created; f. 61v same gloss as in Ms. Ayasofya 2613	21	Maps in blue, red, pink

ah *Türkey, coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 8.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (cont.)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
23. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Supplément Persan 1614 <sup>ai</sup>	P	Before 1496	No colophon (text incomplete); restored, still partially extremely poor physical state; on 15v note saying "year 901 A.H." (1496 CE); note: "property of W. Leitner", British orientalist of Hungarian descent (1840–1899) who worked in India <sup>aj</sup>	f. 27: a reader traced the faded text in a section of <i>Iraq</i> mentioning the metropolis Madā'in and added that it used to consist of seven cities, among them al-Rūmiyya [Arabic name for the city the Sasanian King Khusrav I Anūshirvān (r. 531–78) built for captives taken from Antioch in Syria], <sup>ak</sup> alternative readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣahḥa</i> )); f. 93v alternative name ( <i>h/mā(m)īr?</i> ) for Panjīr in <i>Khurasan</i>	13 (missing: <i>World, Arabian Peninsula, Persian Sea, Syria, Mediterranean, Fārs, Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan, Sijīstān</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, yellow, brown, pink, orange, violet; illuminated headpieces for map titles; red headlines and red circles to separate content
24. Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī	5623 <sup>al</sup>	P	15..	No colophon (text incomplete); text begins in the <i>Maghreb</i> ; part of the endowment of diplomat Mirza Reza Khan (1846–1937, Iran) <sup>am</sup> since 1893	none	o	No decorative elements; (probably) red headlines
ai	Available online: <a href="https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84326444">https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84326444</a> ; Blochet, Edgar (1905): <i>Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Vol. 1</i> . Paris, p. 380.						
aj	Rubinstein, Leitner, Gottlieb Wilhelm (1840–1899). Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online.						
ak	Streck and Morony, al-Madā'in. F1 <sup>2</sup> online.						
al	Available online: <a href="https://bit.ly/3fB3jcW">https://bit.ly/3fB3jcW</a> ; Munzavī, <i>Fihrist</i> , p. 3984.						
am	Sirjāni, 'Alī A.: Dāneš (1). Elr online.						

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
25. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Tehran, Dānīshgāh-i Tīhrān)	Cod. Mixt. 344 <sup>an</sup> (Microfilm No. M0011)	P	Ca. 1500–1550	No proper colophon; treatise attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī (fl. 13th c.); Italian paper with watermark attributed to the 16th c.; <sup>ao</sup> Ottoman seal, possibly Süleyman I's (r. 1520–1566) or Murad III's (r. 1574–1595); at the Royal Library of Vienna since 1820	None	21 (unique interpretation)	Maps in blue, green, yellow, orange, pink, gold; miniature paintings in the maps (e.g., Noah's Ark in <i>Mesopotamia</i> and the mythical bird Simurgh in the <i>Maghreḥ</i> ); illuminated frontispiece with book title; world map with illuminated headpiece and tailpiece with map's title; red and golden lines above text to indicate new sections

an Duda, *Islamische Handschriften*, p. 176.

ao Duda, *Islamische Handschriften*, p. 176.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (cont.)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
26. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna	3611 <sup>ap</sup>	O	1598	No colophon, instead additional introduction and closing section clarifying the translation was made by Şerif b. Seyyid Mehmed b. Sheikh Burhān el-Dīn for Sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603) in 1598 (1007 A.H.); most likely based on Ms. Mixt. 344	Some vocalizations of toponyms explained in marginal notes	26 (two maps each of the <i>World</i> , the <i>Arabian Peninsula</i> , the <i>Persian Sea</i> , the <i>Maqtreb</i> and <i>Egypt</i> )	Maps mostly resembling landscape paintings; metallic pigments for bodies of water, green, lilac, shades of blue and green; red head-lines; golden frame around text
27. Cambridge, University Library	K. 1 <sup>aq</sup>	P	16th/17th c.	No colophon (text missing at the beginning and the end; several sections in disorder); seal unsigned but dating from 1677 (1088 A.H.); bought by Edward G. Browne (British orientalist 1862–1926) in 1920 from Hājji ‘Abd al-Majid Belshāh, who had collected manuscripts in Iran and Mesopotamia <sup>ar</sup>	f. 13 in <i>Maqtreb</i> note “less than 102 leaves;” 13v pencil note in English next to mention of ‘Abd al-Rahmān III’s rule “at this time 9 f. 11 ?” 23v in <i>Iraq</i> next to mention of Ali (already with benediction, <i>radīya llāhu anhu</i> ) another benediction added ( <i>‘alayhi al-ṣalawāt wa-l-salām</i> ); f. 85 erased seal accompanying	13 (missing: <i>Egypt</i> , <i>Kirman</i> , <i>Sindh</i> , <i>Armenia</i> , <i>Arrān</i> and <i>Azerbaijan</i> , <i>al-Jibāl</i> , <i>al-Daylam</i> , <i>Caspian Sea</i> , <i>Desert between Khorasan and Fārs</i> )	Maps in blue, green, orange, yellow, violet, beige, grey; red headlines; slim gold frame around text

ap Rosen, Victor (1885). *Remarques sur les manuscrits orientaux de la collection Marsigli à Bologne. Survies de la liste complète des manuscrits arabes de la même collection*. Rome, p. 19.

aq Browne, Edward G. and Nicholson, Reynold A. (1932): *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Mss. Belonging to the Late E.G. Browne*. Cambridge, p. 141.

ar Browne, Edward G. (1928): *A Literary History of Persia. Vol. III The Tartar Dominion (1265–1502)*. Reprinted. Cambridge, viii.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (cont.)

Location	ms No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
28. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yī Malik	5990 <sup>as</sup>	P	Before 1603	No proper colophon; text begins in the <i>Maghreb</i> ; title page with poem and date (1603); added to the library of Muhammad Hasan Khan Ṣani' al-Dawla in 1881 (1843–1896, statesman, scholar and author), <sup>as</sup> his seal once in the manuscript; note on the history of the text by a Suhayl Khūnathāyī in 1944; in the Malik library since 1951;	note that identifies the treatise as <i>Ṣawar al-Aqālim</i> and attributes the manuscript to a library (illegible); 88v 2 short notes (not clear)	16 (missing: <i>World, Arabian Peninsula, Persian Sea, Maghreb, Armenia, Arrān and Azerbaijan</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, grey, ochre; pink; illuminated headpieces for the maps' titles; illuminated frontispiece on the first page; floral frame and gold filling of spaces between lines for the first two pages
29. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek	Orient. P. 36 <sup>au</sup>	P	Before 1606	No original colophon; the copy has been assembled: there is an older part written in a professional hand with professional drawings (both in faded colors)	Alternative readings indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣaḥīḥa</i> )	21 (10 from older copy)	Faded maps in shades of blue, green, red, brown, yellow; pink; later maps in similar

as Munzavī, *Fihrist*, p. 3984.

at Amanat, Abbas: E'temād al-Saltāna, Moḥammad Ḥasan Khan Moqaddam Marāḡī. Elr online.

au Pertsch, Wilhelm (1859): *Die Persischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Die orientalischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, 1). Vienna, pp. 61–63.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L. Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
30. Kabul, Mūza- yi Kābul	18 <sup>av</sup>	P 1609	n.d. and a later addition in a layman's hand with less elaborate drawings (both in clear colors); the later addition includes a colophon providing the year 1606; title page includes ownership statement by a Isma'īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Mu'allim dating from 1603; attribution on title page to Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh Khurdādh al-Khurasānī); three seals [all unidentified], one of them has the date 1711 (which is also written next to it) and one might indicate the year 1771; bought in Aleppo by Ulrich J. Seetzen, probably around 1800 as Ms. Orient. A. 1521	n.d.	19 (missing: <i>Armenia, Arrān</i> <i>and Azerbaijan</i> <i>and al-Jibāl</i> )	colors, grey added; some of the original gold headpieces for maps' titles preserved; red headlines

av Laugier de Beaurecueil, Serge de (1964): *Manuscripts d'Afghanistan* (Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, 26), Cairo, p. 105.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
31. Tashkent, Akademia nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan	108 <sup>aw</sup>	P	Before 1631	No colophon (text incomplete); illegible seals; hardly legible note providing the year 1631; used to be part of a library in Bukhara	At least one alternative reading (indicated by "sic" ( <i>shahita</i> )); otherwise n.d.	20 (missing: <i>Transoxania</i> ; the <i>Arabian Peninsula</i> and the <i>Maghreb</i> )	Maps in blue, red, green, yellow, pink, orange; red headlines
32. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	R. 1646 <sup>ax</sup>	P	1664	Colophon: The copy was finished in 1664 (1075 A.H.) by 'Inab Ali al-Ḥāfiẓ; 3 seals: Ottoman Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–54), Ottoman Sultan Mustafa III (r. 1757–1774), third unidentified; erased	n.d.	20 (missing: probably <i>Egypt</i> )	n.d.

aw Semenov, Aleksey A. (1952): *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisey Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoj SSR*. Tashkent, p. 302; Vil'danova, A.B. (1998): *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisey Akademii Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan*. Tashkent, p. 171.

ax Munzavī, *Fihrist*, p. 3984; Ritter, *Mitteilungen und Anzeigen*, p. 56; Türkay, *coğrafya eserleri bibliyografyası*, p. 56.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L. Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
			seals and ownership statements; ownership statement by Shujā' al-Dīn Bek dating from 1687 (1098 A.H.); confiscation statement of Shujā' al-Dīn's property (inter alia this MS) for the Safavid Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666–94) dating from August–September 1691 (Dhū al-Ḥijja 1102 A.H.) and December 24, 1693 (Rabī' al-Thānī 25, 1105 A.H.), <sup>ay</sup> another note dating from 1719 (1131 A.H.) [not deciphered]; note of lending the copy [name not deciphered]; treatise attributed to Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allah Khurdādh al-Khurasānī, as Ms. Orient. P. 36 <sup>az</sup>			

<sup>ay</sup> I am very grateful to Dr. Philip Bockholt for deciphering the notes and for explaining the confiscation statement as part of an endeavor by Shah Sulaymān to generate income from the provinces.

<sup>az</sup> Ritter, *Mitteilungen und Anzeigen*, p. 56.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
33- New York, New York Public Library	Spencer Pets. P ms. 9 <sup>ba</sup>	P	1665	Colophon only with year; endowed by Ibn Zāhir al-Dīn Mirza Muhammad Ibrāhīm Mirza Muhammad Zāhir, who was the vizier of Azerbaijan under the Safavid Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666–94); <sup>bb</sup> a poem and 5 (or 6) seals (illegible due to water damage) and 6 ownership statements (3 of them legible, only one name partially deciphered as ‘Abd al-Hasan b. marhūm Ḥājji Ḥaydar Ṭāb ... (?)); bought for NYPL from Edgar Gutman (Queens) in 1963	One alternative reading (indicated by “sic” ( <i>safha</i> ))	20 (missing: <i>Egypt</i> )	Maps in blue, grey, metallic, red, yellow, green, pink; red headlines
34- Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna	3521 <sup>bc</sup>	A	Before 1672	No colophon; text incomplete; note at the end proving the year 1672 (1082 A.H.); erased ownership statement; ownership statement by Muhammad b. al-Ḥājji ‘Uthmān al-Ḥalabī b.	On title page note in Arabic about Ghumdan in Yemen and its history; same hand notes Jews and Christians believe the earth to be 7000 years old, and that	21	Maps in blue, pink, green, metallic grey; red headlines and red lines above text to separate content

ba Schmitz, Barbara (1992): *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*. New York City, p. 129.

bb Pirabaei, Mohammad T.: Phenomenology of Waqf in Material Forming of Islamic Cities. 16th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: Finding the spirit of place – between the tangible and the intangible, 29 sept–4 oct 2008, Quebec.

bc Rosen, *Remarks*, p. 94.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L. Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
			al-ʿUṣṣān (similar name Ahmad b. ʿUṣṣān b. al-ʿUṣṣān al-Jallī with year 1643/1053 found in a manuscript of <i>Sulūk al-Khawāṣṣ</i> at the Qatar National Library); brought to Bologna by Luigi Fernando Marsili (1658–1730); Italian soldier and scholar; probably from Constantinople, where Marsili conducted research; one European seal (Marsili's?)	from Adam's fall to earth to Muhammad it is 4000 years; also same hand note about some kings trying to connect al-Qulzum to the Mediterranean; at the end Ottoman poem; f. 16v in <i>Maghreb</i> next to mention of Santarém ( <i>shantarīn</i> ) note saying it is nowadays called <i>shantūra</i> (same as Ms. Ayasofya 2971)		
35. Cambridge, University Library	Or: 947 <sup>bd</sup>	P 1672	Colophon: copied in September–October 1672 (Jumādā al-Thānī 1083 A.H.); additional introduction describing the world based on Ptolemy by unknown author; seal [unidentified] in added	Few alternative readings (indicated by “sic” ( <i>ṣahḥa</i> ))	20 (missing: <i>Egypt</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, orange, ochre, violet, grey, metallic (silver and bronze); red and bronze); red headlines

bd Browne, Edward G. (1922): *A Hand-List of the Muhammadan Manuscripts, Including All Those Written in the Arabic Character, Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. Cambridge, p. 137.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
36. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky	Cod. orient. 300 <sup>bf</sup>	A	1675	introduction; from the library of Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler (1846–1916, British general, lived in Iran (Tehran) until 1911); <sup>be</sup> Guy le Strange (1854–1933, scholar in historical geography from Cambridge) acquired the manuscript from Schindler's library in 1913 and presented it to the Cambridge University Library in Feb. 1916	Few alternative readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣaḥiḥa</i> )); f. 53 in <i>Fārs</i> several Persian additions, e.g. next to description of Arrajān quote from <i>Nuzhat al-Qulūb</i> by Ḥamd Allah Mustawfi (fl. fourteenth c.)	21 (17 maps on two pages each)	Maps in blue, green, gold and pink; larger script in black ink to indicate new sections

<sup>be</sup> Gurney, John D.: Houtum-Schindler, Albert. EIr online.  
<sup>bf</sup> Available online: <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh243i>; Münzel, Robert (1912): Stadtbibliothek. Bericht für das Jahr 1911. In: *Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten* xxix Jahrgang 1911 (111), p. 4

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	ms No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
37- Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	3816 <sup>bh</sup>	A	After 1675	Colophon identical to Ms. Cod. orient. 300; no seals or owner- ship statements; it appears to be an exact replica of Cod. orient. 300; sold to Chester Beatty by Abraham S. Yahuda in Cairo in 1929	(author and work mentioned) to provide more details than in al-Isfakhrī's text; index-like repetitions of individuals or topics mentioned in text, e.g. on f. 59v the mystic theolo- gian al-Ḥallāj (d. 922); f. 63 at end of <i>Fārs</i> next to a passage mentioning the governor Ali b. 'Isā explanation who he was and that he died in 946; next to the colophon a second at- tribution to al-Balkhī based on a reference to <i>Kāshf al-Zunūn</i>	21 (17 maps on two pages each)	Maps in blue, green, gold and pink; larger script in black ink to indicate new sections

bg Mathee, Rudi: Safavid Dynasty. Elr online.

bh Arberry, Arthur J. (1959): *The Chester Beatty Library. A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts*. Vol. IV MSS 3751–4000. Dublin, p. 20.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
38. Cambridge, University Library	Eton Pote 418 <sup>bi</sup>	P	16... (?)	No colophon (text breaks off close to the end); no seals or ownership statements; in <i>shikasta</i> script that evolved in the 17th century; <sup>bj</sup> quote from the online catalogue: "The 'Pote Collection' arrived in England from India in 1790 and was divided between the Colleges of Eton and King's, Cambridge, with the second half alphabetically going to Eton. Both halves of the collection are now housed in Cambridge University Library on permanent loan. Most if not all of the manuscripts had previously been owned by Colonel Antoine-Louis Henri Polier (1741–1795). Gift of Edward Ephraim Pote (d. 1832) in 1788."	f. 90 in <i>al-Jibal</i> next to mention of Shahrizor same note as in IO Islamic 1026 (on a folded piece of paper extending over the size of the page)	o (pages left empty for maps)	Golden floral frontispiece; red headlines; text frame in black, red and yellow

<sup>bi</sup> Margoliouth, David S. (1904): *Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College*. Oxford, p. 11; the catalogue lists the manuscript under Ms. 55 (shelf/item 47); see also online Mihan, Shiva: Union Catalogue of Manuscripts from the Islamicate World. Ms. Eton Pote 418. Fihrist.

<sup>bj</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 249.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
39. London, Christie's	Sale 5744 Lot P 66 <sup>bk</sup>	P	17 <sup>o</sup> .	n.d.	n.d.	20 (missing: probably <i>Egypt</i> )	Maps in blue, green, yellow, red, other
40. London, Sotheby's	Arts of the Islamic World, Lot 58 <sup>bl</sup>	P	17 <sup>o</sup> .	n.d.	n.d.	16 (missing: unknown)	Maps in dark grey, blue, yellow, green, orange, other
41. London, British Library	Or: 5305 <sup>bm</sup>	A	17 <sup>o</sup> .	Same colophon as Ms. A. 3349, most likely copied from this model; at the beginning several passages in disorder; water marks indicate production in 18th century; acquired in 1894	none	21	Maps exclusively in gold (toponyms black); illuminated frontispiece with title; red headlines and on the initial pages golden circles to separate content; text frame in black and gold
42. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Supplément Persan 355 <sup>bn</sup>	P	17 <sup>o</sup> . (?)	No colophon; six pages of Khvāndamir's chronicle <i>Ḥabīb al-Siyar</i> added after the end; no seals or ownership statements	Alternative readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣaḥḥa</i> ))	20 (missing: <i>Egypt</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, yellow, other; grey; red headlines

bk See Christie's website at <https://goo.gl/MxPxZY>.

bl See Sotheby's website at <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/arts-islamic-world-114220/lot.58.html#>.

bm Stocks, Peter and Baker, Colin F. (2001): *Subject-Guide to the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Library*. London, p. 387.

bn Available online: [http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7200028f/ii\\_image; Blochet, Manuscripts Persans, p. 382.](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7200028f/ii_image; Blochet, Manuscripts Persans, p. 382.)

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
43. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Supplément Persan 1570 <sup>bo</sup>	P	17.. (?)	No colophon; no seals or ownership statements	Alternative readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣaḥiḥa</i> ))	20 (missing: <i>Egypt</i> ; no captions)	Maps (no toponyms) in blue, green, red, yellow, ochre, grey; red headlines; red text frame
44. St. Petersburg, Institut vostochnykh rukopisey Rossiyskoy akademii nauk	C 610 <sup>bp</sup>	P	1751	Colophon: copied by Kul Muhammad Pashawart on March 16, 1751 (Rabī' al-Thānī 18, 1164 A.H.) during the rule of Ahmad Shah Padishāh Durrāni (r. 1722–1773), ruler in Afghanistan; no seals or ownership statements; acquired by Alexander K. Kazembek in 1842 (1802–1870, scholar of Azerbaijani origin in Russia)	A table of contents was added on extra leaves in November 25, 1751 (Muharram 6, 1165 A.H.) (name erased); f. 35v sketch of the Mediterranean on the page opposite its map; f. 67 table in red with numbers and words; pencil notes indicating page numbers (in Arabic numerals) and sometimes providing alternative readings	21 ( <i>Persian Sea</i> vertically mirrored)	Maps in blue, green, red, yellow, orange brown, pink; cities depicted as flowers; floral frontispiece with <i>basmaḥa</i> ; red headlines; red text frame

bo Available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvb520004762>; Blochet, *Manuscripts Persans*, p. 382.  
 bp Miklucho-Maklay, Nikolay D. (1955): *Opisaniye tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopisey Instituta Vostochnovedeniya*. Moscow, p. 12.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
45. Petersburg, Institut vostochnykh rukopisey Rossiyskoy akademii nauk	B-797 <sup>bq</sup>	P	18..	No colophon (text incomplete and in disorder); no seals or ownership statements; acquired by K. Bode in 1842	Pencil notes indicating page numbers (in Arabic numerals) and providing alternative readings/translations/explanations in Latin	16 (missing: <i>World, Maghreb, Syria, Mesopotamia, Khuzestan</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, orange, brown, pink, grey, gold; red headlines and twirls to separate content
46. Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden	Or. 1403 <sup>br</sup>	A&P	18..	Fragments about <i>Egypt</i> ; copied from Ms. A. 1521 and Ms. P. 36 at Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek by the Dutch orientalist Hendrik A. Hamaker (1789–1835) or a colleague in Gotha; purchased in October 1836 at the auction of the library of Hamaker	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.

bq Miklucho-Maklay, *Opisanie*, p. 113.br Witkam, Jan J. (2007): *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden. Vol II Manuscripts Or. 1001–Or. 2000*. Leiden, pp. 139–140.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
47. Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Salṭanātī (Kākh-i Gulistān) (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihṛān)	2154 <sup>bs</sup> (Microfilm No. MF 695-5)	P	Before 1817	No colophon (text incomplete); text begins in the <i>Maghreb</i> , similarly to Ms. 5990; inventory note stating that in January-February 1817 (Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1232 A.H.) the copy entered the library of the <i>shāhanshāh</i> (Fath Ali Shah Qajar (r. 1797-1834)); <sup>bt</sup> seal of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Mūsūvī, state secretary under Fath Ali Shah Qajar and librarian at Kitābkhāna-yi Salṭanātī; <sup>bu</sup> 5 seals [unidentified]; one with year 1865, one with year 1883, below written: 1904	none	15 (missing: <i>World, Arabian Peninsula, Persian Sea, Maghreb, Iraq, Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, ochre, grey, black; illuminated headpieces for the maps' titles in gold with floral elements; gold circles to separate content; brown text frame

bs Dirāyatī, Muṣṭafā (1969): *Fihristwāra-yi Dastnawisithā-yi Irān. Mujallad 9: al-Mujādala al-Mamlūk*

(Kitābkhāna, Mūza-yi va-Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shurā-yi Islāmī, 215). Tehran, p. 535.

bt Amanat, Abbas: Fath ʿAlī Shah Qājār. EIr online.

bu Pāzkād and Fadawī, Shāhnāma-yi rashiḍa, p. 6.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
48. London, British Library	Add. 23542 <sup>bv</sup> P		1836	Colophon: copied in Baghdad on January 3, 1836 (Ramaḍān 14, 1251 A.H.); belonged to British Army officer Robert Taylor	Alternative readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣaḥīḥa</i> )); pencil notes in English explaining text or mentioning missing sections	19 (missing: <i>Armenia, Arrān</i> and <i>Azerbaijan</i> and <i>al-Jibāl</i> )	Maps mostly in blue, green and red; several maps with (amateurish) miniature paintings in shades of yellow, orange and green; red headlines
49. London, British Library	Or. 1587 <sup>bw</sup> P		1840	Colophon: copied by Mullah Muhammad Munawar Kashmirī on July 17, 1840 (Jumādā al-Awwal 17, 1256 A.H.); belonged to British Army officer Sir Henry Rawlinson, who left a note in the copy stating it was prepared in Kabul based on a model that he had obtained in Isfahan and lent to Edward Conolly who lost it "during the troubles in Afghanistan"	None	19 (missing: <i>Armenia, Arrān</i> and <i>Azerbaijan</i> and <i>al-Jibāl</i> )	Maps mostly in blue, green and red; several maps with (amateurish) miniature paintings in shades of yellow, orange and green; red headlines

<sup>bv</sup> Rieu, Charles (1879): *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum. Volume I*. London, p. 415.<sup>bw</sup> Rieu, *Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 417.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
50. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Sprenger 1 <sup>bx</sup> A	A	ca. 1840	No proper colophon (text incomplete); same ending as Ms. 3521; added by later hand that the copy was prepared based on a model dating from 1193 by a Mawlawī Ali Akbar Ṣāhib; no seals or ownership statements; the additions (which include all maps) stem most probably from Ms. Ayasofya 2971, including similar textual changes, such as an addition below the map of <i>Egypt</i> ; acquired by Aloys Sprenger (1813–1893, Austrian orientalist, who worked in India for the East-India-Company) for the Royal Library in Berlin in 1857 <sup>bx</sup>	Alternative readings (indicated by “sic” ( <i>ṣaḥiḥa</i> )); many pencil/ink notes in English (and Arabic) by Sprenger translating/indexing/commenting content; f. 26v in <i>Egypt</i> same note as in Ms. Ayasofya 2971 next to description of Tinnīs and Damietta (on a piece of paper that has been glued to the page; other notes from Ms. Ayasofya 2971 have also been reproduced); 28v the beginning of <i>Syria</i> added in pencil on an empty page	18 (glued in) (missing: <i>World</i> , the <i>Mediterranean</i> , <i>Fārs</i> )	Maps in blue, other and pink

bx Available online: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000Dq2500000000>; Ahlwardt, Wilhelm

(1893): *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften. Volume 5*. Berlin, p. 362.

by Orientabteilung; Orient. *Handschriftensammlungen*. National Library Berlin. Website.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
51. St. Petersburg, Biblioteka vostochnogo fakulteta Sankt-Peterburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta	281 <sup>bz</sup>	P	1842	Colophon: copied by 'Ubayd Allah b. Kalīm Allah al-Bulghārī al-Ghazānī al-Šalābāshī [unidentified] in 1842 (1258 A.H.); beneath note clarifying the copy was made based on Ms. C. 610 (reproduction of the colophon); one seal [untraced, probably Russian]; no ownership statements	Table of contents added at beginning with page numbers; pencil notes indexing toponyms or clarifying/translating content to Latin	21 (map of the <i>Persian Sea</i> vertically mirrored)	Maps in blue, green, red, yellow, ochre; brown (design imitating C 610); illuminated floral frontispiece with <i>basma</i> (similar to C 610); red headlines and lines above text to separate content; yellow/ red text frame
52. Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden	Or: 3102 <sup>ca</sup>	P	1851	Copy (without the maps) of Ms. P. 36 from Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek; made by William Wright (1830–1889) in April 1851, when he resided in Gotha; presented to Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden by M.J. de Goeje	n.d.	0	n.d.

<sup>bz</sup> Tagirǰhanov, Abdurachman T. (1962): *Opisanie tadzhikskich i persidskich rukopisey Vostochnogo Otdela Biblioteki LGU*. Leningrad, p. 373.

<sup>ca</sup> Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, p. 34.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	ms No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
53. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	Cod. Mixt. 1990 <sup>cb</sup>	P	1858	Colophon: Mirza Ali Akbar mutarjim copied the manuscript in 1858 (1275 A.H.); note of donation from Ali Akbar b. Mirza Ismaʿil Tabrizi b. marhūm Mirza Husayn, "the old marshal of Tabriz" [unidentified] dating from 1862 with his seal; donated to the Austrian National Library by the family Loibl	Alternative readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣaḥiḥa</i> )); f. 54v in <i>al-Jibāl</i> note adding information about Qazwin's mosques (possibly similar to Ms. 10 Islamic 1026)	21 ( <i>Khuzestan</i> twice, missing; <i>Egypt</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, yellow, orange beige, grey; red headlines and crosses to separate content
54. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Ms. Or. fol. 3177 <sup>cc</sup>	P	1864	No colophon; date of copy and copyist (Mawlawī Khayr al-Dīn) provided in additional introduction, which attributes the copy to the author al-Waqīdī (d. 822); text incomplete and in disorder	none	12 (empty frames, missing; <i>World</i> , the <i>Arabian Peninsula</i> , the <i>Persian Sea</i> , <i>Syria</i> , the <i>Mediterranean</i> , <i>Iraq</i> , <i>Fārs</i> , <i>Armenia</i> , <i>Arrān</i> and <i>Azerbaijan</i> , <i>Sijistān</i> )	Maps in blue, shades of red, yellow, ochre and gold; title pieces for maps; floral frontispieces; floral highlights at beginning; red headlines; text frame in blue, red and yellow

<sup>cb</sup> See online OPAC: Handschrift Cod. Mixt. 1990. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

<sup>cc</sup> Available online: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000D90700000000>; Eilers, Wilhelm and Heinz, Wilhelm (1968): *Persische Handschriften. Teil 1* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften Deutschlands, 14.1). Wiesbaden, p. 97.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
55. Tehran, Kitābkhānā-yi Mālik	678/2 <sup>cd</sup>	P	ca. 1878	No colophon (text incomplete); text in disarray (identical to Ms. 5405); seal of Muḥammad Ḥusayn [unidentified]; no ownership statements; paper strip from library dates the manuscript to 1878	none	o (headlines of maps in text and pages left empty for maps)	Red headlines
56. Tehran, Kitābkhānā-yi Majlis-i Shurā-yi Milli	1407 <sup>ce</sup>	P	1898	Colophon copied from Ms. 3515, beneath statement: created in May–June 1898 (Muḥarram 1316 A.H.) for Ali Khan, the ruler of Ardabil (1846–1900); Ḥājji Mirza Kāẓim, and Mirza Ḥusayn Khan (Ghavām Daftār) went to the shrine of Sheikh Ṣāfi al-Dīn in Ardabil and found this book in his library, whereupon Ali Khan ordered its copy	none	20 (missing: <i>Egypt</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, yellow, orange, beige, grey; red headlines, swirls and dots to separate content

cd Munzavī, *Fihrist*, p. 3984.ce Ṣadrā-yi Khūyī, ‘Alī (1997): *Fihrist-i Kitābkhānā-yi Majlis-i Shurā-yi Milli*. Vol. 25: 7001–7500. Tehran, p. 161.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
57. Najaf, Maktabat Āyat Allah al-Ḥakīm al-ʿĀmma (Baghdad, Jāmiʿat Baghdād al- Maktaba al- Markaziyya)	632 <sup>cf</sup> (Film 20)	A	1943 (?)	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
58. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Dirāsāt al-ʿUlyā, Kulliyat al- Ādāb, Jāmiʿat Baghdād	329 <sup>cg</sup>	A	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.

cf Ibrāhīm, Zāhida (1970): *Fihrist al-Makhtūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya al-Muṣawwara fi al-ʿIrāq wa-l-Mawjūda fi al-Maktaba al-Markaziyya li-Jāmiʿat Baghdad*. Baghdad, p. 71.

cg ʿAbd al-Rahmān, Badʿa Y., ʿAbd al-Ṣāhib, Fātin and al-ʿAzzāwī, Ḥusayn (1977): *Fihris ʿArāwīn al-Makhtūṭāt al-Muṣawwara fi Maktabat al-Dirāsāt al-ʿUlyā*. Baghdad, p. 277.

TABLE 3 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by (approximate) date of copy (*cont.*)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year	Provenance	Marginalia	Maps	Illumination
Cairo, Institut français d'archéologie orientale	LV 94 <sup>ch</sup>	A	n.d.	Modern copy of Jughrāfiyā 199	Alternative readings (indicated by "sic" ( <i>ṣaḥiḥa</i> ))	16 (missing: <i>World, Arabian Peninsula, Persian Sea, Maghreb, Egypt</i> )	Maps in blue, green, red, ocher, pink

ch Sayyid, Ayman Fu'ād (1996): *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de l'IFAO* (Textes arabes et études islamiques, 34). Cairo, pp. 61–62.

TABLE 4 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by language and (approximate) date of copy

	Location <sup>a</sup>	MS No.	L, <sup>b</sup>	Year
1.	Medina, Maktabat ‘Abd al-Azīz	Ārif Hikmet Jughrāfiya 910/7	A	10.. (?)
2.	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek	Orient. A. 1521	A	1172
3.	Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden	Or. 3101	A	1193
4.	Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri	527	A	12.. (?)
5.	Paris, archive of the photographers Roland and Sabrina Michaud	Photograph	A	1250 (?)
6.	London (Greenwich), National Maritime Museum	P/3	A	Before 1282
7.	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	A. 3348	A	1286
8.	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library (Qom, Mar‘ashi)	Ar. 3007 (826 (‘aksī))	A	Before ca. 1310
9.	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub)	A. 2830 (Jughrāfiyā 256)	A	Before 1474
10.	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub)	Ayasofya 2613 (Jughrāfiyā 257)	A	1474
11.	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 2971	A	1474–1512
12.	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	A. 3349	A	1474–1512
13.	Cairo, Dār al-Kutub	Jughrāfiyā 199	A	Before 1499
14.	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna	3521	A	Before 1672
15.	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky	Cod. orient. 300	A	1675
16.	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	3816	A	After 1675
17.	London, British Library	Or. 5305	A	17..
18.	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Sprenger 1	A	ca. 1840
19.	Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden	Or. 1403	A& P	18..
20.	Najaf, Maktabat Āyat Allah al-Ḥakīm al-‘Āmma (Baghdad, Jāmi‘at Baghdād al-Maktaba al-Markaziyya)	632 (Film 20)	A	1943 (?)

a Locations in brackets indicate the archive holding a photocopy or a copy on microfilm of the same manuscript, the shelfmark of the respective reproduction is indicated in the column “MS. No.” after the shelfmark of the manuscript.

b Language: A indicates Arabic, P indicates Persian and O indicates Ottoman.

TABLE 4 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by language (cont.)

	Location	MS No.	L.	Year
21.	Baghdad, Maktabat al-Dirāsāt al-‘Ulyā, Kulliyat al-Ādāb, Jāmi‘at Baghdād	329	A	n.d.
22.	Cairo, Institut français d’archéologie orientale	LV 94	A	n.d.
23.	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna	3611	O	1598
24.	Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihṙān)	5405 (Microfilm No. M0009)	P	12..
25.	Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihṙān	1331 and 9610	P	12..–13..
26.	Oxford, Bodleian Library	Ouseley 373	P	1297
27.	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihṙān)	Ayasofya 3156 (Microfilm No. M0010)	P	13..
28.	London, British Library	10 Islamic 1026 (Éthé 707)	P	13.. (?)
29.	Geneva, The Khalili Collection	972	P	1307–8
30.	Tehran, Mūza-yi Irān-i Bāstān (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihṙān)	3515 (Microfilm No. M0012/M1737)	P	1325
31.	New Delhi, National Museum	56.96/4	P	1427–8
32.	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	B. 334	P	ca. 1460
33.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Supplément Persan 1614	P	Before 1496
34.	Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī	5623	P	15..
35.	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihṙān)	Cod. Mixt. 344 (Microfilm No. M0011)	P	Ca. 1500–1550
36.	Cambridge, University Library	Eton Pote 418	P	16... (?)
37.	Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Malik	5990	P	Before 1603
38.	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek	Orient. P. 36	P	Before 1606
39.	Kabul, Mūza-yi Kābul	18	P	1609
40.	Tashkent, Akademia nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan	108	P	Before 1631

TABLE 4 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by language (*cont.*)

	Location	MS No.	L.	Year
41.	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	R. 1646	P	1664
42.	New York, New York Public Library	Spencer Pers. ms. 9	P	1665
43.	Cambridge, University Library	Or. 947	P	1672
44.	Cambridge, University Library	K. 1	P	16th/17th c.
45.	London, Christie's	Sale 5744 Lot 66	P	17..
46.	London, Sotheby's	Arts of the Islamic World, Lot 58	P	17..
47.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Supplément Persan 355	P	17.. (?)
48.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Supplément Persan 1570	P	17.. (?)
49.	St. Petersburg, Institut vostochnykh rukopisey Rossiyskoy akademii nauk	C 610	P	1751
50.	St. Petersburg, Institut vostochnykh rukopisey Rossiyskoy akademii nauk	B 797	P	18..
51.	Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Saṭṭnātī (Kākh-i Gulistān) (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihṙān)	2154 (Microfilm No. MF 695-5)	P	Before 1817
52.	London, British Library	Add. 23542	P	1836
53.	London, British Library	Or. 1587	P	1840
54.	St. Petersburg, Biblioteka vostochnogo fakulteta Sankt-Peterburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta	281	P	1842
55.	Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheek Leiden	Or. 3102	P	1851
56.	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	Cod. Mixt. 1990	P	1858
57.	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Ms. Or. fol. 3177	P	1864
58.	Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Malik	678/2	P	ca. 1878
59.	Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Milli	1407	P	1898

TABLE 5 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by present location and (approximate) date of copy

	Location <sup>a</sup>	MS No.	L. <sup>b</sup>	Year
1.	Baghdad, Maktabat al-Dirāsāt al-'Ulyā, Kulliyyat al-Ādāb, Jāmi'at Baghdād	329	A	n.d.
2.	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Sprenger 1	A	ca. 1840
3.	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Ms. Or. fol. 3177	P	1864
4.	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna	3611	O	1598
5.	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna	3521	A	Before 1672
6.	Cairo, Dār al-Kutub	Jughrāfiyā 199	A	Before 1499
7.	Cairo, Institut français d'archéologie orientale	LV 94	A	n.d.
8.	Cambridge, University Library	Eton Pote 418	P	16 ... (?)
9.	Cambridge, University Library	Or. 947	P	1672
10.	Cambridge, University Library	K. 1	P	16th/17th c.
11.	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library (Qom, Mar'ashī)	Ar. 3007 (826 ('aksī))	A	Before ca. 1310
12.	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library	3816	A	After 1675
13.	Geneva, The Khalili Collection	972	P	1307–8
14.	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek	Orient. A. 1521	A	1172
15.	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek	Orient. P. 36	P	Before 1606
16.	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky	Cod. orient. 300	A	1675
17.	Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri	527	A	12.. (?)
18.	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihṙān)	Ayasofya 3156 (Microfilm No. M0010)	P	13..
19.	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub)	Ayasofya 2613 (Jughrāfiyā 257)	A	1474
20.	Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofya 2971	A	1474–1512
21.	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	A. 3348	A	1286
22.	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	B. 334	P	ca. 1460
23.	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub)	A. 2830 (Jughrāfiyā 256)	A	Before 1474

a Locations in brackets indicate the archive holding a photocopy or a copy on microfilm of the same manuscript, the shelfmark of the respective reproduction is indicated in the column "Ms. No." after the shelfmark of the manuscript.

b Language: A indicates Arabic, P indicates Persian and O indicates Ottoman.

TABLE 5 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by present location (cont.)

Location	MS No.	L.	Year
24. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	A. 3349	A	1474–1512
25. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	R. 1646	P	1664
26. Kabul, Mūza-yi Kābul	18	P	1609
27. Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden	Or. 3101	A	1193
28. Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden	Or. 1403	A&P	18..
29. Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden	Or. 3102	P	1851
30. London (Greenwich), National Maritime Museum	P/3	A	Before 1282
31. London, British Library	10 Islamic 1026 (Éthé 707)	P	13.. (?)
32. London, British Library	Or. 5305	A	17..
33. London, British Library	Add. 23542	P	1836
34. London, British Library	Or. 1587	P	1840
35. London, Christie's	Sale 5744 Lot 66	P	17..
36. London, Sotheby's	Arts of the Islamic World, Lot 58	P	17..
37. Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihṛān)	5405 (Microfilm No. M0009)	P	12..
38. Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī	5623	P	15..
39. Medina, Maktabat 'Abd al-Azīz	Ārif Hikmet Jughṛāfiya 910/7	A	10.. (?)
40. Najaf, Maktabat Āyat Allah al-Ḥakīm al-Āmma (Baghdad, Jāmi'at Baghdād al-Maktaba al-Markaziyya)	632 (Film 20)	A	1943 (?)
41. New Delhi, National Museum	56.96/4	P	1427–8
42. New York, New York Public Library	Spencer Pers. ms. 9	P	1665
43. Oxford, Bodleian Library	Ouseley 373	P	1297
44. Paris, archive of the photographers Roland and Sabrina Michaud	Photograph	A	1250 (?)
45. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Supplément Persan 1614	P	Before 1496

TABLE 5 Copies of the *Book of Routes and Realms* by present location (cont.)

	Location	MS No.	L.	Year
46.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Supplément Persan 355	P	17.. (?)
47.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France	Supplément Persan 1570	P	17.. (?)
48.	St. Petersburg, Biblioteka vostochnogo fakulteta Sankt-Peterburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta	281	P	1842
49.	St. Petersburg, Institut vostochnykh rukopisey Rossiyskoy akademii nauk	C 610	P	1751
50.	St. Petersburg, Institut vostochnykh rukopisey Rossiyskoy akademii nauk	B 797	P	18..
51.	Tashkent, Akademia nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan	108	P	Before 1631
52.	Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihrān	1331 and 9610	P	12..–13..
53.	Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Malik	5990	P	Before 1603
54.	Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Malik	678/2	P	ca. 1878
55.	Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī	1407	P	1898
56.	Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Salṭnati (Kākh-i Gulistān) (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihrān)	2154 (Microfilm No. MF 695–5)	P	Before 1817
57.	Tehran, Mūza-yi Irān-i Bāstān (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihrān)	3515 (Microfilm No. M0012/M1737)	P	1325
58.	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihrān)	Cod. Mixt. 344 (Microfilm No. M0011)	P	Ca. 1500–1550
59.	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	Cod. Mixt. 1990	P	1858

4 Possible Stemmata<sup>1</sup>

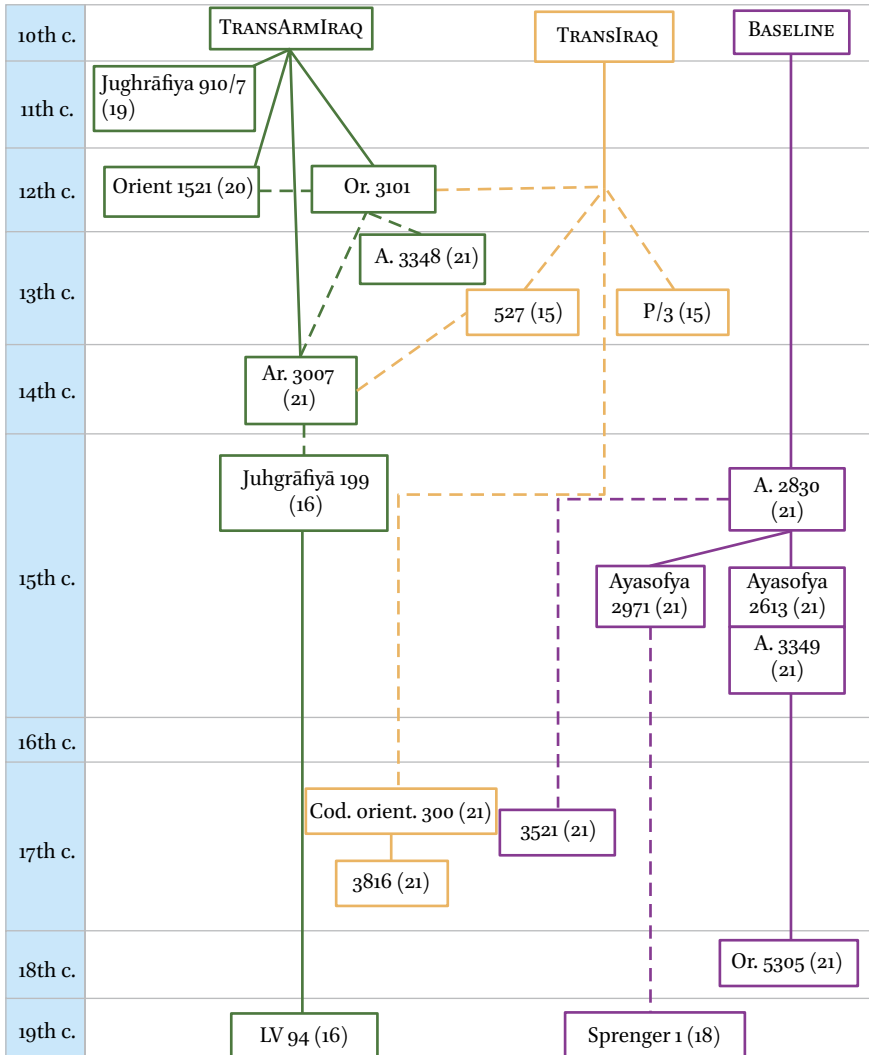


DIAGRAM 1 Possible stemma of the Arabic branches of the *Book of Routes and Realms* (by manuscript shelfmark, number of maps indicated in parentheses)

<sup>1</sup> Continuous lines between the copies indicate a direct relationship (e.g., model and copy) and dashed lines indicate an indirect relationship (e.g., the copies share similarities, but probably used to be connected through other intermediate copies).

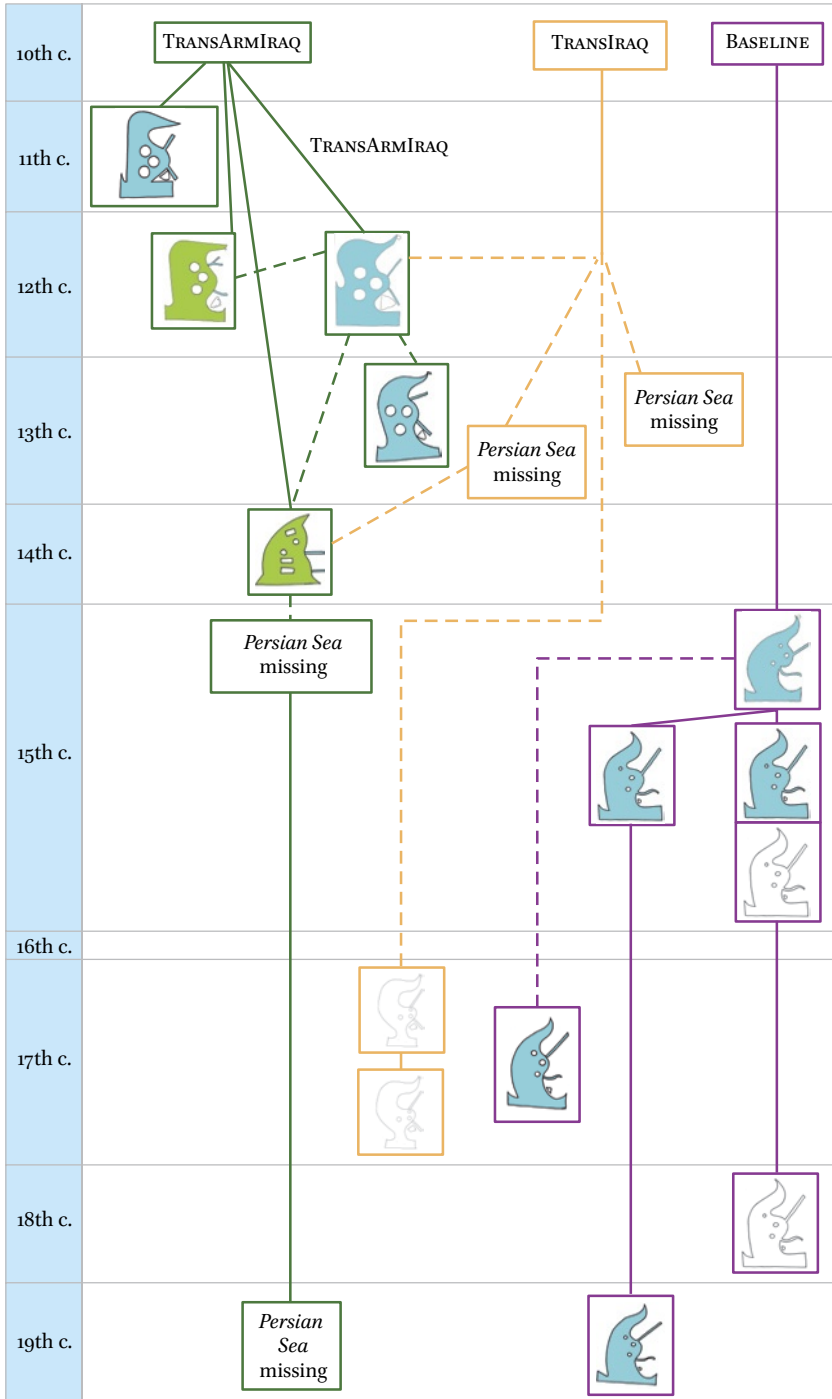


DIAGRAM 2 Possible stemma of the Arabic branches of the *Book of Routes and Realms* with versions of the Persian Sea (based on Diagram 1)

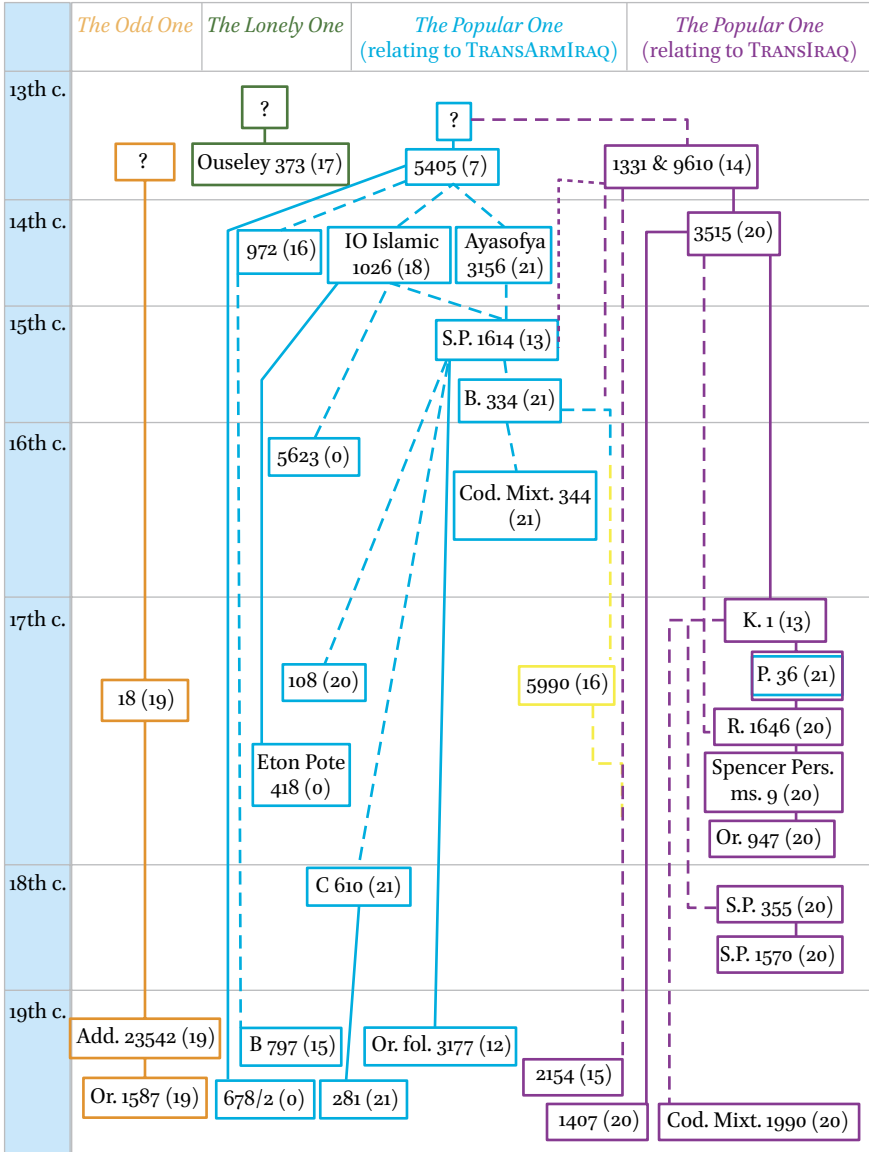


DIAGRAM 3 Possible stemma of the Persian branches of the *Book of Routes and Realms* (by manuscript shelfmark, number of maps indicated in parentheses)

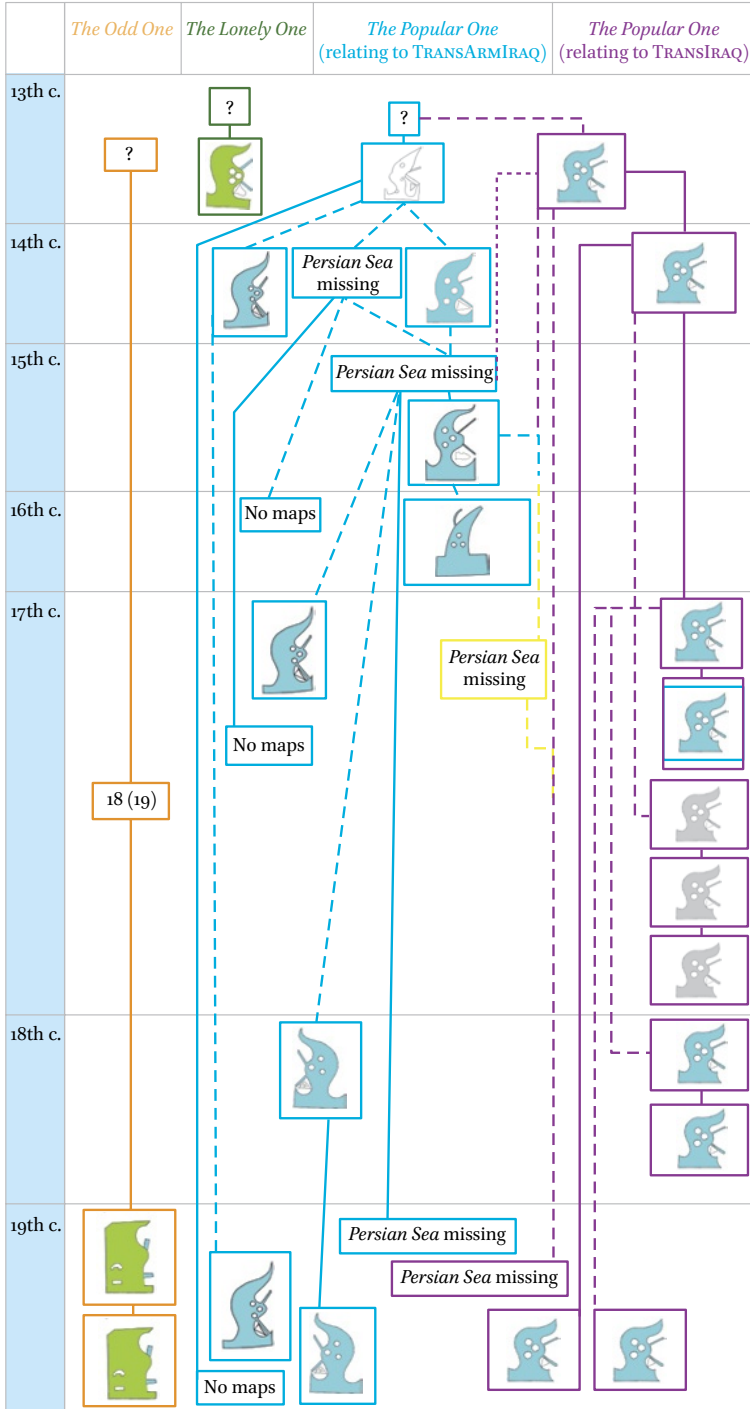


DIAGRAM 4 Possible stemma of the Persian branches of the *Book of Routes and Realms* with versions of the Persian Sea (based on Diagram 3)

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