

Animals and People
in the Ottoman Empire

Published by Muhittin Salih Eren
İstanbul, 2010

ISBN 978-975-6372-43-2

T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı
Sertifika No. 18497

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e-mail: eren@eren.com.tr

www.eren.com.tr

Printed by Özener Matbaacılık Ltd. Şti.
Davutpaşa Cad., Kale İş Merkezi
No. 201-202
TOPKAPI – İSTANBUL, Turkey

(88) 01149346X ✓
20.05.2011

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Edited by
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 **EREN**

İstanbul, 2010

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Ahmed I and “Tuhfet’ül-mülûk ve’s-selâtîn”: A Period Manuscript on Horses, Horsemanship and Hunting

Tülay Artan

Ottoman sultans and their horses: representations of power and royalty

In visual narratives monarchs of the early modern era often appear on horseback. Loaded with symbolic meanings, such representations laid vigorous claim to prestige on the part of wielders of wealth and power, both in East and West. Thus for the Ottomans, we have Costanzo da Ferrara’s equestrian portrait medal of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481), followed by a few European portraits of Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566) in procession, including woodcuts by Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Domenico de’ Franceschi.¹ Zacharias Wehme, Johannes Lewenklaui, Lambert de Vos and a few others, in watercolours later translated into engravings, chose to depict the later sixteenth-century sultans on horseback, riding through the Hippodrome, on their way to Friday prayers or else the hunt.² This genre of royal portraiture, celebrated in post-Roman European sculpture and painting, but also popular in Persian or Mughal miniatures, was adopted by Ottoman artists as well.³

¹ For the equestrian portraits of Mehmed II and Süleyman I, see: Filiz Çağman (ed.), *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2000), p. 89 and pp. 116-118, respectively.

² For Zacharias Wehme’s portrayal of Selim II during a procession: Esin Atıl, *Images of Imperial Istanbul* (Istanbul: Ertuğ & Kocabıyık Publications, 1993), plate VII. See also: Çağman (ed.), *The Sultan’s Portrait*, p. 238. For the rest see: Metin And, *16. Yüzyılda İstanbul. Kent, Saray, Günlük Yaşam* (Istanbul: Akbank, 1993), *passim*.

³ For horses and horseman in visual arts: Laura Camins (ed.), *Glorious Horsemen. Equestrian art in Europe, 1500-1800* (Springfield, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981); Walter A. Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, sculpture and horsemanship* (New York: Abaris Books in assoc[i]ation with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989); Ann Hyland, *Equus: The horse in the Roman world* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Pia F. Cuneo, “Modern European equine beauty and the beast: Art and science in early imagery,” *Journal of Early Modern Europe*, 4, 3-4 (2000), pp. 269-321; *eadem*, “Images of warfare as political legitimization: Jörg Breu the Elder’s Rondels for

Portrayed posthumously by the court painter Nakkaş Osman (d. 1596?) in the midst of his retinue and soldiery, Sultan Süleyman riding to his Szigetvar(adin) campaign emerged as a model for the equestrian portraits of later rulers.⁴ The same artist's slightly earlier single-figure study of the old and ailing Süleyman I who, still on his horse, radiated majesty and power was probably modelled after Nakkaş Osman's depictions of the Ottoman ruler in crowd scenes.⁵ Thus towards the end of Süleyman's life the image continued to eulogize the elderly sultan's military leadership.⁶ In the years to come, Nakkaş Osman and the palace art workshops under his supervision were to produce quantities of scenes showing both Süleyman I's predecessors and his successors in the centre of bustling multitudes.⁷ The

Maximilian I's hunting lodge at Lermos (ca. 1516)," in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and warfare in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pia F. Cuneo (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002), pp. 87-105; *eadem*, "Mad mares, willful women: Ways of knowing nature – and gender – in Early Modern hippological texts," in *Ways of Knowing: Ten interdisciplinary essays*, ed. Mary Lindemann (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), pp. 1-21; *eadem*, "(Un)Stable identities: Hippology and the professionalization of scholarship and horsemanship in Early Modern Germany," in *Early Modern Zoology: The construction of animals in science, literature, and the visual arts*, ed. Karl A. E. Enekel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), pp. 339-359; Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (eds.), *The Culture of the Horse: Status, discipline and identity in the Early Modern world* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). For some illustrated treatises of medieval Islamic hippology see: Ernst J. Grube, "The Hippiatrica Arabica Illustrata: Three 13th-Century Manuscripts and Related Material," in *A Survey of Persian Art. From prehistoric times to the present*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman (Proceedings of the IVth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, part A, vol. XIV) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 3188-3195, plates 1523-1525; Duncan Haldane, *Mamluk Painting* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1978), pp. 20-21; Anna Contadini, "The horse in two manuscripts of Ibn Bakhtishu's Kitab Manafi' al-Hayawan," in *Furusiyya. Vol. 1 - The Horse in the Art of the Near East*, ed. David Alexander (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: The King Abdulaziz Public Library, 1996), pp. 142-147. See also note 24 below.

⁴ "Tarih-i Sultan Süleyman", Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 413, fol. 46a (1578). This stereotype was then used to portray both Süleyman I's ancestors and his successors.

⁵ Esin Atıl, *Süleymanname: The illustrated history of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington: Harry N. Abrams, 1986).

⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (henceforth: BNF), Cabinet des Estampes Res. Od. 41, fol. 40 (ca. 1570-1575). In spite of the dating of the paintings currently accepted I believe that the equestrian model was derived from the crowd scenes, rather than the other way around. For Osman II's equestrian portraits: Çağman (ed.), *The Sultan's Portrait*, pp. 317, 318, 322 and also in crowded scenes, p. 320.

⁷ See in particular miniatures depicting the royal hunt: "Süleymanname": Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1517 (dated 1558), fols. 115a, 132a, 177a, 393a, 403a, 462b, 576a; "Hüner-nâme I-II": Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1523 and H. 1524 (dated 1584 and 1589 respectively), fols. 81a, 83b, 105a, 116a, 182b, 207b and 53a, 55b-56a, 63b-64a, 80b, 84b; "Şehinşelnâme I": Istanbul University Library F. 1404 (dated 1581), fol. 147b:

later rulers typically were depicted not in combat, but in stately progress during court ceremonies and royal processions.⁸ As part of event-based illustrated histories produced in the latter part of the sixteenth century, in these scenes the Ottoman artist chose to represent the power of the horse in movement, and to associate this impressive demeanour and authority with the ruler or the idea of rule in general.

Early in the seventeenth century, single-figure equestrian royal portraits became more frequent in the work of Ottoman court artists, including Ahmed Nakşî (d. 1622?), who repeatedly and pleasingly portrayed Osman II (r.1617-1621) on his favourite mount called *Sisli Kır* [Misty Grey].⁹ The artist in question, who showed a marked trend towards "more" realism, produced some very fine miniatures in which depictions of horses played a climactic part. When illustrated histories of Ottoman sultans' reigns, named after the celebrated eleventh century Persian poet Firdousi's *Books of Kings* or *shâhnâmahs*, lost favour at the sultans' court, rulers and grandees began to prefer its Ottoman adaptations and also album paintings, including single-figure portraits of sultans on horseback. The latter, mostly anonymous, seem to have been made for more public consumption.¹⁰ In the early 1600s *a posteriori* representations of equestrian sultans, from Murad I (r. 1362-1389)

"Nusretnâme": Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1365 (1584), fol. 122b; "Şecaâtnâme": Istanbul University Library T. 6043 (dated 1586), fol. 160a.

⁸ For Mehmed III's return from the Eger campaign, by Nakkaş Hasan Paşa: "Fetihnâme-i Eğri": Topkapı Palace Library H. 1609 (dated 1598), fols. 68b-69a. Süleyman I's successors were hardly ever shown riding vigorously during hunting parties.

⁹ This is probably not a proper name, but a reference to the horse's coat.

¹⁰

For the illustrated translations of Firdousi's *shâhnâmah*: Serpil Bağcı, "From translated word to translated image: The illustrated Şehnâme-i Türkî copies," *Muqarnas*, 17 (2000), pp. 162-176; *eadem*, "An Iranian epic and an Ottoman painter. Nakkaş Osman's 'new' visual interpretation of the Shâhnâmah," in *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte. Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich*, ed. Sabine Prâtor and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Simurg, 2002), pp. 421-450. For the single portraits of the sultans: Topkapı Palace Museum Library H. 2132 and H. 2134, see Banu Mahir, "Portraits in new context," in *The Sultan's Portrait*, ed. Çağman, pp. 298-303. For the equestrian portraits of Mehmed III and Murad IV (H. 2132, fol. 8a and H. 2134, fol. 1a respectively), see Çağman (ed.), *The Sultan's Portrait*, pp. 328, 330. There were originally 18 folios in the folders, depicting also the other sultans – mostly seated: Banu Mahir, "Resim Gösterim Amacıyla Hazırlanmış Bir Grup 17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Minyatürü," in *17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanatı, Sempozyum Bildirileri, 19-20.III.1998*, ed. Yıldız Demiriz (Istanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları, 1998), pp. 125-139; reprinted in English: Banu Mahir, "A group of 17th century paintings used for picture recitation", in *Art Turc: 10e Congrès international d'art turc/Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art, Genève/Geneva 17-23 Septembre/September 1995, Actes /Proceedings*, ed. François Déroche (Geneva: Fondation Max van Berchem, 1999), pp. 443-455.

to Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) appeared in such compilations which may have been intended for display (picture recitation), a genre much favoured in times of political and social uncertainty.¹¹ It was perhaps in this atmosphere that the sultan was portrayed as the military-charismatic leader in splendid isolation, without his dignitaries and soldiers and with his horse as his sole companion. Later Ottoman artists or sultans however, did not favour the single-figure equestrian portraiture as a genre. Despite his reputation as an agile horseman and fanatic hunter, no Ottoman portrait of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687) survived showing this sultan on horseback.¹²

On the other hand, by the thirteenth century the cultural realm in which the Ottomans were to emerge had already produced a textual corpus concerning horses, focusing on their cure and classification.¹³ Beginning with the fifteenth century, a number of such works were translated into Ottoman Turkish. As the horse had been one of the principal factors securing the victories of Muslim rulers, this animal was a source of inspiration for many literary works in Arabic. During the first five centuries of Islam, "there were scarcely any poets who did not try to describe the horse, but always in an occasional way, the *wasf al-faras* never having constituted a true theme".¹⁴ In prose, too, there were numerous titles such as "*Kitab al-faras*, *Kitab al-khayl*, *Kitab al-khalk al-faras* or *Sifat al-khayl*" appearing among the works of the lexicographers and encyclopaedists who wrote about *adab*, the knowledge forming a prerequisite for the conversation of a cultured gentleman. In this context, the Arabic word *faras* denotes the horse (*Equus caballus*), and *afrâs*, *furûs* and *fursân* are the plural forms. These terms apply to horses of both sexes, and can be used for animals of all ages,

¹¹ See footnote 8. See also: Tülay Artan, "Art and architecture," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), vol. III, pp. 408-480.

¹² Whereas contemporary European portraits of Mehmed IV on horseback are numerous: Çağman (ed.), *The Sultan's Portrait*, pp. 352, 353, 356.

¹³ In line with the Koran and sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad (*hadiths*), in Islamic literature the horse held an honoured position. Al-Qazwini in his "Aja'ib al-Makhlukat wa Ghara'ib al-Mawjudat" [The marvels of creation and the curiosities of existing things] describes the horse as an animal deserving special praise: Efim Rezvan, "Aja'ib al-Makhlukat wa Ghara'ib al-Mawjudat," in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes dans les arts d'Orient et d'Occident*, exhibition catalogue, Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, 26 November 2002-30 March 2003, ed. Jean-Pierre Digard *et alii* (Paris: Gallimard, Institut du Monde Arabe, 2002), pp. 215-216.

¹⁴ François Viré, "Faras," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, vol. II, ed. Bernard Lewis *et alii* (Leiden, London: E. J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1965), p. 786.

origins, external peculiarities or temperaments, while the term *khayl* is used for the species *Equidae* in general.¹⁵

In today's manuscript collections of Istanbul, and also in those libraries containing a great deal of material once located in the Ottoman capital, there are numerous medieval Islamic treatises on veterinary sciences, chivalry and hunting. Like medieval European treatises on hippology these works deal primarily with the description of horses and the prevention and treatment of horse ailments.¹⁶ While some texts discuss the techniques and tactics of military and courtly or festive equestrianism, others are of a purely religious character.¹⁷ Indeed, religious references are quite frequent both in early Islamic treatises on hippology and hippiatry and in Arabic poetry referring to horses, and Ottoman authors have further elaborated this theme.¹⁸

Translations and copies of Arab veterinary manuscripts continued to be produced in the sixteenth century. This pre-modern material has its shortcomings, but is still quite inspiring. Gradually the authors seem to have lost interest in horse ailments and instead they incorporated specifics of chivalry and cavalry warfare including local specialties and traditions; in such volumes the translations from Arabic are normally partial. Instead of searching for new ways to understand bodily functions and disease, those who wrote about horses seem to have understood the animals' health and indeed their temperaments in terms of the ancient and traditional theory of the four humours as propounded by Hippocrates (460-377 BCE) namely blood, phlegm, black gall and yellow gall. Like people, horses supposedly had characteristics derived from the four humours. The dominant humour determined the appearance of the animal: colour, conformation, attitude and breeding all offered clues to the horse's particular and individual imbalance of humours. Not surprisingly then, one of the main remedies for ailments of all sorts was phlebotomy or blood-letting, to be performed at carefully prescribed times in accordance with seasonal and lunar rhythms.

Yet despite the importance of the Ottoman war-horse, we have very few studies in Ottoman history or art history dealing with these animals on the

¹⁵ François Viré, "Khayl," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, vol. IV, ed. Emeri van Donzel *et alii* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), pp. 1143-1146.

¹⁶ The secondary literature is based on various manuscripts in Turkish library collections: for a listing see the Appendix.

¹⁷ Viré, "Faras," p. 785.

¹⁸ Nurettin Ceviz, "Arap Şiirinde At Tasviri," unpublished M.A. thesis, Erzurum Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1998; Farouk Mardam-Bey, "Le cheval dans la poésie arabe," in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, ed. Digard *et alii*, pp. 197-201.

basis of the historical sources enumerated here.¹⁹ Quite frequently recent graduate dissertations on the subject are frustratingly puerile: many authors completely overlook the wide array of technical, historical or genre problems inherent in their sources, boasting of horses as a 'national heritage' in simplistic expressions of nationalistic pride. In consequence there are still very many primary sources that have not as yet caught the attention of historians.

“Tuhfetü'l-mülûk ve's-selâtîn”: a *seventeenth-century treatise on horses, horsemanship, and hunting*

An early seventeenth-century manuscript from the Topkapı Palace collection, a translation of a medieval text “Ümdat al-mulûk”, prepared for Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617) under the title of “Tuhfetü'l-mülûk ve's-selâtîn” shows the new focus on horsemanship rather well.²⁰ The work consists of three parts, namely hippiatry, hippology cum horsemanship and finally hunting. It is illustrated with 164 quite admirable miniatures.²¹ A close study reveals that some pages of the text and certain miniatures are missing, and others are in disarray. Moreover most of the final chapter has been lost. The

¹⁹ For values attributed to horses in the Turkic, Islamic and Ottoman traditions see: Yaşar Çoruhlu, “Türk Sanatında At Figürlerinin Sembolizmi,” *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, 98 (1995), pp. 171-219; Faruk Sümer, *Türklerde Atçılık ve Binicilik* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayınları, 1983); Ali Abbas Çınar, *Türklerde At ve Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıla Ait Bir Baytarnamede At Kültürü (Yazılı ve Basılı Kaynaklarla Karşılaştırma)* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993); Hayri Başbuğ, *Aşiretlerimizde At Kültürü* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayınları, 1986); Emine Gürsoy-Naskali (ed.), *Türk Kültüründe At ve Çağdaş Atçılık* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1995). See also: İbrahim Kafesoğlu, Yusuf Halaçoğlu and Salim Ögüt, “At,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet İşleri Vakfı, 1991), vol. IV, pp. 26-32.

²⁰ Topkapı Palace Library, H. 415, 385 mm by 250 mm, 253 pages, 164 miniatures and 2 illuminated pages. I am grateful to Dr. Filiz Çağman who has brought this manuscript to my attention. See Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 2 vols. (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961; henceforth: Karatay), vol. I, pp. 574-575.

²¹ Tülay Artan, “A Book of Kings produced and presented as a treatise on hunting,” *Muqarnas*, 25 (2008) (= *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in celebration of Oleg Grabar's eightieth birthday*), pp. 299-330. For passing references see also : Esin Atıl, *Turkish Art* (Washington, DC, New York: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980), p. 212; Filiz Çağman, “Tanzimat'tan Önce Selçuk ve Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadınlar,” in *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da Kadın*, ed. Günsel Renda (İstanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), p. 247 (C86). One of the miniatures of the “Tuhfet el-mülûk ve's-selatin”, showing a mounted rider, was included for comparative purposes only in a study that is rather difficult to find and therefore little known: Günsel Renda, *Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazma ve Albümler*, 2 vols. (Ankara: Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi, 1980), vol. II, fig. 39; here the manuscript has been mistakenly identified as “Teeddüb el-hayl”.

present study merely explores the contents of the first chapter of "Tuhfetü'l-mülûk ve's-selâtin", namely, the physiognomy, illnesses and treatment of horses. Having already studied the last chapter on hunting along with the accompanying miniatures, I plan a thorough examination of the second chapter for a forthcoming study.²²

The Arabic term *baytarah* was generally used for treatises on hippiatry, in other words, works concerned with maintaining the good health of the animals. By contrast, *furûsiyya* denoted hippology and equestrianism, namely the training, care and use of horses; and the literature that developed on the arts and sciences of *furûsiyya* (*funûn al-furûsiyya* or '*ulûm al-furûsiyya*) was known as *adab al-furûsiyya*.²³ Viré argued that medieval Arab authors "have never made a distinction between equitation, hippology and the veterinary art, and these three ideas are fused, in their works, in the synonyms *farâsa*, *furûsa* and *furûsiyya*".²⁴ We will test this assertion by studying the manuscript introduced here. As it most probably was built on some of the rare medieval manuscripts that gradually had accumulated in the Ottoman capital, the neat, three-fold classification doubtless introduced by the compiler/translator deserves some attention.

A comparative analysis of this corpus is beyond the aims of this study. Nevertheless, we may recall a select few of the medieval manuscripts on horses that are still extant in Istanbul. The oldest surviving Arabic work dealing solely with general veterinary medicine seems to have been the translation, probably by Ishaq ibn Hunayn, of a treatise of hippiatrics by the fourth-century Greek writer Theonnestus of Magnesia.²⁵ As the Ottoman

²² Artan, "A Book of Kings". The Topkapı Palace Library remained closed to researchers throughout the period in which I prepared this study. Hence I was unable to attempt a reconstruction of the manuscript.

²³ Shihab Al-Sarraf, "Evolution du concept de furûsiyya et de sa littérature chez les Abbassides et les Mamlouks," in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, ed. Digard et alii, pp. 67-71.

²⁴ Viré, "Faras". He also claims that "the principles of rearing, teaching and training, specified in these writings and in general use among the Muslims are very often completely contrary to the nature of the horse and differ sharply from modern scientific methods; the same is true of veterinary treatment, when not taken directly from Ancient Greek practice." Actually, Viré himself has chosen to not dwell on the scientific literature.

²⁵ Preserved in the Köprülü Library in Istanbul: MS 959. Another copy is in the BNF: MS Arabe 2810; compare Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 10 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), vol. III: *Medizin-Pharmazie-Zoologie-Tierheilkunde bis a. 430 H.*, pp. 353-354. For this particular source and hippiatrics in the medieval Islamic world see: Robert Hoyland, "Theonnestus of Magnesia, Hunayn ibn Ishaq and the beginnings of Islamic veterinary science," in *Islamic Reflections, Arabic Musings: Studies in honor of Professor Alan Jones*, ed. Robert Hoyland and Philip Kennedy (Warminster: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004). Also for comparison: Anne-Marie Doyen-Higuet, "The

court was an eager client of medieval treatises on horsemanship, in the Istanbul collections there survive several copies of the “Kitâb al-furûsiyya wa-l-baytara”, of Mohammed ibn Ya‘qûb ibn ‘Alî [Khazzam] al-Khuttalî (in Turkish: Ahî Hizâm al-Huttalî), which is believed to be the oldest available text about hippology, hippiatry and horsemanship.²⁶ The author is generally known as Ibn Akhî/Ahî Hizâm. His uncle, Hizâm ibn Ghâlib, was a renowned commander of the Horasani corps of the Abbasids and the Head of the Equerry (*sâhib khayl al-khalîf*), under the caliph al-Mu‘tasim (r. 833-842). His father Ya‘qûb ibn Ghâlib, also an authority on horses and veterinary sciences, had been Chief Veterinarian (*baytâr al-khalîfa*) under the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847-861). Like his uncle and father, Akhî Hizâm became an illustrious commander of the Horasani corps, fought for the caliph al-Musta‘în (r. 862-866), and became the Head of the Equerry during the reign of the Abbasid ruler al-Mu‘tadid (r. 892-902).²⁷ Akhî Hizâm put his experience into writing and produced two manuals, independent but complementary. One of them (A) dealt with equitation, hippology and veterinary arts, while a second volume (B) covered military equitation in addition to the techniques of lance and sword, arms, archery and polo. Both these works were meant for the knights serving in the army of the Abbasid caliphs.²⁸ When the two manuals were joined together (AB), the manuscript was usually called “Kitâb al-furûsiyya wa-l-baytara”.

Akhî Hizâm’s opus was passed on to the Mamluks via Ibn Manglî’s “Al-fawâ’id al-jalîla fi ‘ulûm al-furûsiyya wa-l-rimaya wa amrâd al-khayl wa mudawatihâ”.²⁹ At the same time, Akhî Hizâm’s two manuals were

Hippiatrica and Byzantine veterinary medicine,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 38 (1984), pp. 111-120; Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, “‘A Horse! A Horse! My Kingdom for a Horse!’ Versions of Greek medicine in medieval Italy,” *Medizin-Historisches Journal*, 34 (1999), pp. 123-138; Anne McCabe, *A Byzantine Encyclopaedia of horse medicine: The sources, compilation, and transmission of hippiatrica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

²⁶ “Kitâb al-khayl wa-l-furûsiyya wa-l-baytara wa-l-rukiy”: Süleymaniye Library, Hafid Efendi 257 and Ayasofya 2899.

²⁷ Al-Sarraf, “Evolution du concept de furûsiyya,” pp. 69-70.

²⁸ Helmuth Ritter, “Ata Binmek, Ok Atmak,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 4 (1934), pp. 45-47; see also Helmuth Ritter, “‘La Parure des Cavaliers’ und die Literatur über die ritterlichen Künste,” *Der Islam*, 18 (1929), pp. 116-154, 207-221. Ritter apparently does not refer to al-Huttalî’s treatise on veterinary medicine, but rather to his work on horsemanship. Ritter claims that the third section of Huttalî’s treatise on *furûsiyye* was translated into Kıpçak Turkish, the lingua franca of the Mamluks. This manuscript supposedly was at the Topkapı Palace, in the Library of Ahmed III, No. 3468 (see Ritter, “‘La Parure des Cavaliers’”). But Karatay does not list such a manuscript: see notes 29 and 30 below.

²⁹ I was not able to locate Ibn Manglî’s manuscript in Istanbul libraries; perhaps it has been listed under a different title.

translated into Kıpçak Turkish, and the text that we have called (A) became "Baytarat al-wâdih".³⁰ As for the section we have named (B) it now received the heading "Munyat al-ghuzat".³¹ These two volumes deal with the proper care of horses, riding techniques, the horse's role in warfare and spectacles such as archery and games that apparently resembled medieval European jousting: they served as models for later Mamluk treatises along similar lines, including the works of Muhammad Ibn Isa Al-Aqsarâ'i (in Turkish: el-Aksarayî, d. 1348) and Nâsir al-Din ibn Tarâbulusî.³²

In Istanbul we find several copies of el-Aksarayî's curiously titled manuscript in Arabic, and also in Turkish, "Nihâyat al-su'l wa-l-umniyya fî ta'lim a'mal al-furûsiyya" [An end to the desire of knowing more about exercises in horsemanship/The ultimate search to acquire methods of knighthood], written in 1348.³³ This happens to be a rare text describing riding exercises and equestrian games taking place in Cairene hippodromes as popular entertainments. On the other hand, although Nâsir al-Din ibn Tarâbulusî's treatise "Kitâb al-makhzûn li-arbâb al-funûn fî-l-furûsiyyan wa la'b al-rahmwa bunûdihim" [Treatise on the cultivation of different branches of the martial arts, the art of the spear and its various figures] has not yet been uncovered in Istanbul, a copy dated to 1578-79 once belonged to Melchisedech Thévenot (d.1692), the publisher of travel books and uncle of the famous traveller Jean Thévenot (d. 1667) who came to the Ottoman capital in 1655. Hence the manuscript may have had a connection to

³⁰ This work survives in two copies: BNF, Supp. turc 179, and Topkapı Palace Library, Revan 1695 (see Karatay, vol. II, p. 591).

³¹ Unique copy, Topkapı Palace Library, Ahmed III 3468 (see Ritter, "La Parure des Cavaliers").

³² According to Vernay-Nouri, *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, ed. Digard *et alii*, catalogue no. 35, p. 106, Muhammad Ibn Isa Al-Aqsarâ'i, "Nihayat al-su'l wa al-umniyya fi ta'lim a'mal al-furusiyya" in 1371 was copied by Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Misrî al-Adamî.

³³ Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4197; Topkapı Palace Library, Ahmed III 2651. For a study of el-Aksarayî's manuscript, based on the copy at the Topkapı Palace Collection see Hassanein Rabie, "The training of the Mamlûk Fâris," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. Vernon J. Parry and Malcolm E. Yapp (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 153-163, see p. 154, footnote 6. For the Topkapı Palace copy see also: David James, "Mamluk painting at the time of the 'Lusignan Crusade', 1365-70," *Humaniora Islamica*, 2 (1974), pp. 73-87; Haldane, *Mamluk Painting*, p. 58.

Istanbul.³⁴ Many similar treatises seem to have left the Ottoman capital during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁵

Even so extant examples of this literature in Istanbul still are abundant; the Ottoman court apparently was quite keen on collecting, translating, rewriting and illustrating treatises on hippiatry, hippology and horsemanship. It is not always easy however to establish the origins of these books, their authors and their patrons.³⁶ In the hands of numerous copyists, translators and/or compilers, Akhî Hizâm's manuscripts, for example, single or united, changed so much that even his name became unrecognizable.³⁷ Yet in spite of these deficiencies most of the manuscripts in question are sumptuous productions. Throughout several of the numerous medieval Islamic treatises on horses and horsemanship in Istanbul libraries, as well as their translations into Ottoman possess beautiful illustrations.³⁸

The miniatures of the seventeenth-century Ottoman manuscript, "Tuhfet el-mülûk ve's-selatin", are possibly from two different but quite competent hands.³⁹ Twenty-three paintings, presented in the first chapter on hippiatry, illustrate horse breeds. We also find six mules and six donkeys, classified according to the colours of their coats. All these depictions are stereotypical. In addition there are two fantastic creatures, namely a unicorn cum Pegasus, and an antelope-like quadruped standing on a fish (fols. 66b-67a). Furthermore, the book features three identical depictions of horses in full gallop. Two of them spread over double folios, and of the last one only the front part of the galloping horse survives (fols. 92b-93a, 93b-94a and 101a).

³⁴ Vernay-Nouri, *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, ed. Digard *et alii*, catalogue no. 35, p. 106.

³⁵ For one such example, see BNF, Arabe 2824: "Kitâb al-makhzûn Jâmi' al-Funûn" by Ibn Ahî Hizâm, dated to 1470. It bears a seal with an Ottoman *tuğra* on its frontispiece (compare Haldane, *Mamluk Painting*, p. 90).

³⁶ Shihab Al-Sarraf, "Furûsiyya Literature of the Mamluk Period," in *Furûsiyya. Vol. I - The Horse in the Art of the Near East*, ed. Alexander, pp. 118-135.

³⁷ Al-Sarraf, "Evolution du concept de furûsiyya," pp. 69-70.

³⁸ (1) "Kitâb al-zardaqa fî ma'rifat al-khayl wa ajnâsaha wa amrâdiha wa adwiyatiha": İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar, A. 4689; for the 11 miniatures: Orhan Duru, "At'ın Halleri," *P Dergisi*, 23 (2001), pp. 98-111; (2) "Nihâyetü's-Sü'l ve'l-Ümniyye fî Teallümi'l-Furûsiyye": Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4197; for a list of its nineteenth-century miniatures, which correspond almost exactly to the descriptions of the Chester Beatty copy (unclassified) of 1366, see: Haldane, *Mamluk Painting*, p. 48; for the illustrations of the Chester Beatty copy see: Leo Ary Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Geneva: A. Kundig, 1952), plate XVI; James, "Mamluk painting at the time of the 'Lusignan Crusade'," fgs. 1, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12. (3) "Nihâyetü's-Sü'l ve'l-Ümniyye fî Teallümi'l-Furûsiyye," Topkapı Palace Library, Ahmed III 2651, 12 miniatures.

³⁹ Topkapı Palace Library, H. 415.

In the second chapter on hippology and horsemanship, there are forty-one depictions of horses 'posing' so as to show off their trappings and armour, as well as their riders armed with lances, swords, clubs, maces, slings, or bows and arrows. Horsemen variously appear as riding in light or heavy armour, engaged in combat, performing acrobatic exercises, or training with inanimate or living targets. The third chapter is devoted to hunting. Altogether 35 miniatures depicting the hunt have been combined with 47 more scenes relating to horsemanship and martial arts.

Perhaps whoever ordered the book wanted the artists to stress the role of the hunt as a military exercise; for there are also cavalry men portrayed in the section dedicated to hunting; they wear war masks and ride masked horses, together with giraffe, elephant and camel riders, suggesting perhaps a Mamluk model for the miniatures. In addition to various kinds of inanimate targets, horsemen are shown while hunting boars, lions, snakes, birds, goats, gazelles, and even, oddly enough, ostriches.⁴⁰ Still further on, here is a double-page representation of longeoning which is the art of riding in circles with the horse leaning in different directions throughout the exercise (fols. 225b-226a).

The preface

On the first page (2b), with a fine and typically Ottoman illumination, we find the *Preface*. It addresses God the creator of the universe, and his select deputies, the Prophet and the sultan, and unfolds to delineate the context in which the horse has been treated in Islamic tradition. The language employed is so full of metaphysical and spiritual symbols that any concrete meaning is all but impossible to convey. Thus, for example, references to the desert (*sahrâ*) occur both in material and immaterial contexts (*sahrâ-nişîn* = nomadic living in the wilds, *sahrâ-yı vüçûd* = desert of nonexistence, *sahrâ-yı kurbet* = nearness to God) (2b-3a).

In the same vein the Holy Caliphate (*tâc-i hilâfet*, *emr-i hilâfet*, *hilâfet-i zâhire*) and the caliph(s) (*hâlîfe* and *hulefâ-i ilâhiye*) occur several times in this section (3a).⁴¹ Immediately afterwards follow more Islamic references,

⁴⁰ Haldane, *Mamluk Painting*, p. 79. On masks: David Alexander, "Les masques de guerre," in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, ed. Digard *et alii*, pp. 100-101. Moreover certain illustrations show combat scenes: pairs of unhorsed cavaliers in heavy armour struggling on the ground, and even naked wrestlers in pairs. But on the other hand this section contains royal hunting parties, in which ladies-in-waiting and musicians figure prominently. These remarkable scenes exemplify the artistic style of the age.

⁴¹ (2b) "Endless praise to His Majesty the one and only ruler who has created the universe for divine service and offers forgiveness, who has made all things the source of everlasting

as the author praises particularly the Prophet Muhammad as the deputy of God. We will focus here on those references relating directly to the role of the war horse in the expansion of the faith. Firstly human beings, the Benî Âdem or sons of Adam are described as dexterous riders (*şehsuvâr*); then the author alludes to the pectoral bones of the Archangel Gabriel's horse (*hayl-i rûh-u emîn*). He then goes on to discuss Holy War and the conquest of the lands of the infidels, undertaken by accomplished cavalry.⁴² Furthermore the writer addresses God's deputy on earth, the Prophet Muhammad, who had to rely on the power of the horse to conquer and rule the lands of Islam in the name of the Creator.

When God Almighty, praised be He, created this world for worshipping and divine knowledge, some of its inhabitants'

abundance and manifestation of His emanation, and has made the sultan of might and highness come from the hidden hereafter into the desert of recognizable existence, and He has granted and disbursed the blessings and the benefits stored in the treasure houses of openhandedness and generosity, and by doing so He has drowned the particles inhabiting the desert of the world in lights of beauty, and for the purposes of the greatest succession and most important deputyship amongst the highest of beings and the lowest of creatures He has chosen man and from his race He has approved the noble-hearted messengers who are the most determined of their kind, and He has introduced them to the heavenly host [angels] who are favoured by the group of the chosen favourites in terms of deputyship at the gateway of might and sublimity; and by providing them with the crown of deputyship and entirety of leadership He has made them more grandiose and more honoured. And by granting the noble kings and great sultans duties of reigning and deputyship to guard the borders of Islam and preserve the rights of all people [those belonging to the upper class and the populace] and by making them become reasons for the ordering of existing memorable justice, arranging the world order and pushing the sons of Adam towards obtaining perfection and naming them (3a) caliphs [deputies of God on Earth], He has made them more grandiose and entered them in the group of the chosen Godly deputies. Praise and compliments to the skilful riders of the field of martyrs/witnesses (*şehsuvâr-ı meydân-ı şuhûd*) and to the hero of the pinnacle outside of space standing alone in the cell "to me with God" (?), the keeper of the secret [the Prophet Muhammad]..."

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(3a) "When the effort of the red roan was pushed towards the wilderness of nearness and space of oneness even the breastbone of the horses of the loyal spirit [namely] Gabriel, unable to accompany him, wished to paste his eyes to his dust, and since he couldn't bear the sublimity of his brilliance which is like the morning light and the beauty of the radiance coming out of large royal tents, stopped in his place and [Muhammad] took the road of determination leading to the lowest [worldly] tent and after he submerged into the sea of oneness his summoning mission was revealed and the Almighty God sent him down with the glorious Koran to the best of communities: to attend a select kinsfolk and certain adherents each one of whom fought on the arena of the war-zone, spending efforts devoted to the [Islamic] law and faith; throughout the clamour of the day on which the battle against the infidels took place and during the conquest of the infidels' countries they established [control] completely by means of training cavalymen and riders using determined horses, and overwhelmed for God's sake the sinful enemies."

inhuman/animal nature overcame the seven moral [components] of the human character and some of the people started harassing each other; so the divine worship and Godly knowledge [3b] as well as the ordering of the world and political domination were imposed as duties upon the sultan who was appointed as God's deputy on earth. Then the great sultans and honourable kings were chosen by God to function as recognizable deputies and established in overwhelmingly high positions. At the time of his reign each one of them [was placed] over a country in accordance with the power authorizing his position as a deputy, while [such a ruler] put the world in order, dealt with the protection of the people and strove to keep [safe] the borders of the country. [Thus he] felt the need for noble-blooded horses and strong and brave riders to help him conquer new territories and overcome the evil-doing enemies...

Practical issues, such as the breeding of horses and methods of increasing their numbers, the training of competent horsemen, the development of veterinary sciences and horsemanship, are immediately followed by religious messages.⁴³ All references to the Holy War and the power of the horse referred to in the *Preface* can be summarized in Viré's remarks:

After the Kuranic revelation, the victorious Muslims created a corpus of mythical traditions making the horse the chosen mount of Allah, of supernatural origin; this was justified by the fact that they owed their victorious expansion to that animal. Together with the angels' winged horses and those of king Solomon, and al-Burak, the Prophet's celestial steed, the charger (Djawad) of the warrior for the Faith (*al-mudjahid*) became, on earth, a powerful agent for ensuring

⁴³ (3b) "...Then they, in order to learn how to increase the horses in number and train qualified horsemen, showed interest in the veterinary sciences and horsemanship, and using the lasso of goodness and generosity succeeded in taming the lusts of the stud which before that had been used mostly for cooking kebabs. The ill-treated prey [hunted wild animals] and the sheep were rid of the 'mouth' of the tyrants 'eating' fur-coats; and the swine-tempered oppressor was tied with a political fetter and exposed as a target and an aim for the killing arrows; and it was accepted that going on horse-back to the desert and the wide fields was equal to praying. For an equal part of the gains and fruits of worship and obedience earned during and as a result of the just reign of the Monarch are also given to him; the Caliph of the Compassionate and Merciful, sultan of the sultans of the world, keeper of the fronts of Islam, holder of the flags of the knowing [the Omniscient] and the Wise, helper of the clear law and keeper of the powerful religious rules, servant of the Holy House [the Kaabah] and attendant of the garden of the Master [the Prophet Muhammad], essence of the sultans of (4a) the family of Osman, the sultan son of the sultan..."

the final reward in the hereafter; that explains what solicitude and care the Muslim rider had to devote to his beast.⁴⁴

According to different *hadiths*, in other words sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad and deemed authentic by early Islamic scholars the Prophet owned five, nine or nineteen horses. He is said to have been borne to Jerusalem on the back of Burak, a horse with wings, in other words a Pegasus.⁴⁵

The Ottoman sultan and his noble horses

Islamic references to the horse in the *Preface* of “Tuhfetü’l-mülûk ve’s-selâtin” are followed by a stately eulogy of Ahmed I, who supposedly had understood the importance of noble horses and gallant riders, veterinary sciences and chivalry. The Ottoman sultan, too, had to rely on the power of the horse to conquer and rule.

However the immediately following statement also may be interpreted as an apology for Ahmed I’s addiction to race horses and hunting:

(4a) His noble highness inclined towards race horses, strong-hearted horsemen and hawks flying high, as well as quail [rock partridge] coveys to be preyed upon, and towards hunting the “gazelle-hearted” [faint-hearted] people of the kingdom, towards taking the air while riding in the desert and wide fields...

Some criticism may be implied in this statement, but it is certainly not a frontal attack, even though other authors seem to have harshly criticized Ahmed I on account of his passion for hunting.⁴⁶ Our text does not seem to address Ahmed I in person nor does it refer to the Ottoman capital and its vicinity. The reference to “the desert and wide fields” is more of a generic warning common in this type of literature, addressing any ruler who might have been too much involved in courtly pleasures. After identifying the original as “Umdat al-mulûk” and its author as Amîr Hajib ‘Ashiq Timur, the translator concludes the *Preface* with four poems repeating once again the title and chapters of the book.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Viré, “Faras,” p. 785; “*Khayl*,” pp. 1143-1146.

⁴⁵ Robert Dankoff, “Baraq and Buraq,” *Central Asiatic Journal*, 15 (1971), pp. 102-117.

⁴⁶ For Mustafa Sâfi’s defense: İsmail Hakkı Çuhadar (ed.), *Mustafa Sâfi’nin Zübdetü’l-Tevârih’i*, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003), vol. I, fols. 227a-228a.

⁴⁷ For the original and its author, see: Artan, “A Book of Kings”.

*Poems about the path of God and his caliphs, the Prophet and the sultan*⁴⁸

Starting on folio 4b and continuing on folio 5a, there appear four poems, the first one praising God and the unity of the Creator while the second eulogizes the Prophet. The third poem focuses on the first four caliphs and also on Judgment Day, while the last one praises the shah of Islam, Sultan Ahmed Khan. While praying for his ruler's fortunes to last, and praising his stability, determination and might, as well as his sultan's mercy and compassion, strength, solidity and persistence, the poet also claims superiority over his peers. Repeatedly he refers to Ahmed I as "the sultan of the world", "the shadow of God" and "the ever victorious".

(1) On the unity of the Creator (*Der-tevhîd-i bâri azze ismuhu*)

(2) On the description of the Prophet, peace be upon him (*Der-na't-i Resûl aleyhisselâm*)

(3) Praising the four 'beloved of God' [the first four caliphs] On Judgment Day all prophets' souls hope for your indulgence (*Der-medh-i çehâr-yâr-ı güzîn rıdvânallâhi 'aleyhim ecma'în*)

(4) Praise of the shah of Islam who is his Highness the Sultan Ahmed Khan. May God prolong his reign as a caliph to the day of resurrection! (*Der-du'â-i Pâdişâh-i Islâm a'ni Hazret-i Sultân Ahmed Hân hullidet halafetuhu ilâ yevmi'd-dîn*)

After these four panegyric poems, the translator gives us an Ottoman version of the introduction of Amîr Hajib 'Ashiq Timur's "Umdat al-Mulûk", under the heading: "Sürû'-i der-terceme-i kitâb" (5b). We will begin with an English translation of this prologue on hippology and hippiatry.

(5b) Addressing the blacksmith of the horses of the arena of words, the horseman struggling for truths and the hero destroying the rows of the enemies (*ey na'l-band-ı hayl-i meydân-ı suhen ve ey fâris-i rezm-i hakâyik ve saf-ı şiken*); the author of the "Veterinary Treatise" and "Horsemanship Treatise" says: "It is true that I did not perish. God Almighty granted me the knowledge of the tools of horsemanship, taught me how to examine them carefully, how to mount and spur on [a horse]. This work is dedicated to the brave and strong men described in the discourse, to the sincere heroes ready to

⁴⁸ Farouk Mardam-Bey, "Le cheval dans le Coran et dans le Hâdith," in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, ed. Digard et alii, p. 202.

fight God's enemies and to those who spend efforts on behalf of God and His religion. [It is also intended for those heroes] struggling with the people denying the Absolute Truth, with those who have left His religion and decided to leave the path of Almighty God as well as those trying to introduce false innovations into Islam and spoil its doctrine. [It is intended for those fighters who do battle against] those inserting into God's word vicious comparisons and wrong interpretations. God Almighty has made the experience and trials of this art [of hippology/hippiatry] much easier. And therefore I wrote this book for the sake of the[se] brave men, to help those struggling on behalf of God and His religion, for army commanders, leaders of soldiers and heroes, as well as masters of cavalry-men, to teach those who look after horses for the purposes of Holy War or for trading. It is obligatory for the horsemen, so they have to own it [the book], because of its virtues.

The author then goes on to say that his work:

has followed the example of Galen (Calinus), the 'Veterinary of Four-legged Animals', whose book entitled 'The Great Art' (*Sanâ'atü'l-kebîre*), incorporates the techniques of horsemanship and also the horses' states, characteristics, defects, illnesses and cures for their different diseases; (6a) the training methods [are stated] because there are many types of violence exercised upon horses and a great many horsemen violate the horses. In this book the history of horsemanship has been thoroughly studied. Once upon a time there were numerous lance and sword games, and [mock] battles, or performances in the fields in which horses participated. These fields/squares (*meydan*) had to be wide, there were ball games for striking, horse races were [organized] and [in this book it] is also shown how to fight with riders in wartime.

Galen, the second-century Greek physiologist, is the most influential physican in medical history. He wrote in Greek, and through translations into Arabic made in ninth-century Baghdad, he became a formative influence on medieval Islamic medicine.⁴⁹ His extant medical writings are voluminous, but 'The Great Art' referred to in our manuscript has not been located. The author further mentions another important name, vital in tracking the continuity in ancient horse medicine:

⁴⁹ Vivien Nutton, "Roman medicine 250 BC to AD 200," in *The Western Medical Tradition*, ed. Lawrence Conrad, Michael Neve *et alii* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 39-70.

And I concluded this book with Beziz's (Bedr/Badr?) summary; and in this book I gathered all the available knowledge, so that whoever reads it and examines it needs no other books written on this topic.

The person intended here could be Abu Bakr ibn Badr al-Din ibn al-Mundhir al-Baytar (1310-1340?), the author of "Kâmil al-sinâ'atayn al-baytara wa'l-zartafa", a celebrated book on hippiatry (dated to 1333), also known as Nâserî. Abu Bakr ibn Badr was employed as a veterinary surgeon in the palace of the Mamluk Sultan Muhammad al-Nâsir to whom the treatise was dedicated – hence the title "Nâserî". Abu Bakr's father, too, had been a veterinary surgeon at the Mamluk court. Several copies of Nâserî have been located, a few of them still in Turkey.⁵⁰ With no further reference (in this section) to the line of thought behind his work, the author (or the translator/compiler of the "Tuhfe") claims:

Success is granted only by God! And it is true that my soul melted, I prayed Almighty God to grant me good deeds, my eyes were sleepless, and I traveled through every single region and visited all towns asking wise people; and I can say that I gathered the knowledge [presented here] after long practice and by exerting great efforts. The things I considered correct I wrote down in this book and the things I found problematic I left [unwritten, I did it] because of my humanity and willingness to give those [men] fighting enemies, polytheists or infidels a piece of advice telling them how to do it. I did not compile this book because of my wish to compete with my colleagues, or because of certain worldly concerns, or to insult an ignorant person; perhaps I did it for God's sake. If someone wants to study horsemanship he should count on this book. I wrote it for those who sincerely want to learn something about this science and are willing to fight [kill and wound?] their stubborn enemy merely for God's sake.

Neither the secondary literature on medieval veterinary and military manuscripts nor the catalogues of manuscript libraries in Istanbul have so far yielded any further information on Amîr Hajib 'Ashîq Timur or his treatise.

⁵⁰ Bursa Kütüphanesi, Haraçcı 1122, copied in 970/1563 by Hüseyin bin Abdullah. The sixteenth-century Ottoman translation includes only the cures: Nihâl Erk, *İslam Medeniyeti Çağında Veteriner Tababette Gelişmeler ve 'Naserî'* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Veteriner Fakültesi Yayınları, 1959). M. Perron made a French translation of Nâserî's Bagdad copy, based on BNF 2814: *Le Nâçeri: la perfection des deux arts ou traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrie arabes* (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie d'agriculture et d'horticulture de Mmc V^e Bouchard-Huzard, 1860).

*Koranic verses relating to horses*⁵¹

In the manuscript, the quotations from the Koran are both in the Arabic original and in Ottoman Turkish translation:

It is not for the townfolk of Al-Madinah and for those around them of the wandering Arabs so stay behind the messenger of Allah and prefer their lives to his life. That is because neither thirst nor toil nor hunger afflicteth them in the way of Allah, nor step they any step that angereth the disbelievers, nor gain they from the enemy a gain, but a good deed is recorded for them therefore. Lo! Allah loseth not the wages of the good. (Surah Tawba, 120)

While this verse does not directly refer to horses, it is relevant in our context because in the early Islamic setting all warfare would have been on horseback. Our author is well aware of this fact, as apparent from certain of his remarks:

Where are those who because of their will to fight the infidels are ready to sacrifice their own lives, those who step forward in the places [where battle is joined]? There may be a certain decrease in the interest towards horsemanship [formerly] caused by the greatness of God's Word, making many people think that training horses is a shameful thing. But the truth is that God Almighty showed towards horsemen His favour and among all people He chose to glorify the riders saying:

Those of the believers who sit still, other than those who have a [disabling] hurt, are not on an equality with those who strive in the way of Allah with their wealth and lives. Allah hath conferred on those who strive with their wealth and lives a rank above the sedentary. Unto each Allah hath promised good, but He hath bestowed on those who strive a great reward above the sedentary" (Surah Nisâ', 95)

And God Almighty said: Make ready for them all thou canst of [armed] force and of horses tethered, that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of Allah and your enemy. (Surah Anfâl, 60)

⁵¹ Mardam-Bey, "Le cheval dans le Coran et dans le Hâdith," p. 202. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Aziz Şakir Taş for locating all the Koran verses. I have used the translation of Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Quran* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1930).

(7a) And God Almighty said: Say [unto them, O Muhammad]: Are those who know equal with those who know not? But only men of understanding will pay heed. (Surah Zumar, 9)

The author continues with the following remarks and adds a few more Koran verses:⁵²

And if it is reported that the horse has returned to the middle of the battlefield and then it has returned a second time, in such a case the man who is acquainted with the horses' conditions and the science of horsemanship will surpass the ignorant, in the same way as the good soldier surpasses the ordinary one. May God Almighty grant you and us success! Wishing to do something to deserve His favour, and in order to demand Paradise as an award for fighting His enemies, on behalf of God and His religion, longing honestly to reach the level of martyrdom provided by His grace, generosity and might I started writing this book wishing to convince people to spend efforts [on behalf of God], binding and nourishing the horse, learning the horses' conditions and the art of horsemanship. God Almighty gave strict commands in his Holy Book, and He inspired the holy struggle on His behalf and that of religion, and the Prophet, peace be upon him, delivered the reliable news telling us that horsemanship and fighting in the name of God are a "deal" which the believers may accept and use to avoid the sufferings of hell.

The Prophet and his hadiths

After quoting a number of sayings of the Prophet, which do not directly touch upon horses, the author approaches his topic in the following fashion:

There are a great many *hadiths* concerning Jihad, but keeping in mind that the few [examples] given here are a clear evidence of the large number of other narratives, we have attempted to use them sparingly. Success is granted only by God! There was a certain story to the effect that Muslims went to fight the infidels in the land of the [Eastern] Romans [Thrace and Anatolia]. One of the horsemen called at a monk's cell. The monk asked him: Oh rider, are you one of the servants working for the divan [government]? He [the horseman] answered: Yes, I am. The monk went on: What are you

⁵² (7b) Surah Saff, 10-12; Surah Bakara, 218; Surah Bakara, 244; (8a) Surah Bakara, 262; Surah Âl-i 'Imrân ['Imran's Family], 169-170; Surah Nisâ', 74; Surah Nisâ', 76; Surah Nisâ', 95; (9a) Surah Mâ'ida (The Table), 54; Surah Anfâl, 15-16; (9b) Surah Anfâl, 72; Surah Anfâl, 75; Surah Tawba, 20; Surah Tawba, 34; Surah Tawba, 38; (10b) Surah Tawba, 41.

doing in the divan? We have read in some of our scriptures that horsemen are the weapons and soldiers of God Almighty and the best riders are those possessing horses. There are designated angels that during [supernatural] battles [also] use horses.... (12a)

Verses and words of early Islamic literati

The Koranic verses and *hadiths* are followed by the poetry and prose of early Islamic belle-lettristes taking the horse and its rider as their subject matter. The present list contains the headings of these texts in English translation:⁵³

(fol. 14a) Verses by Mâlik bin Nuwayra

(fol. 14b) Translation; verses by al-Sudûsî concerning this matter

(fol. 15a) Verses by al-Ash'ari'l-Khay'amî concerning this matter

(fol. 15b) Words of the poet Beni 'Âmir concerning this matter

(fol. 16a) Words of 'Umar ibn Mâlik, Tufayl al-Ghanawî and Ka'b ibn Mâlik al-Ansârî

(fol. 16b) The poet Ibn Quraysh, words of Da'ba al-Qaysî

(fol. 17a) Translation; words of Ibn Safwân al-Asadî concerning the characteristics of the horse

(fols. 19a-22b) Verses

The Arabian horse: general characteristics

In the next section we find discussions of the characteristics of horses, once again punctuated by samples taken from early Islamic belles-lettres. The information given is pretty stereotypical, and repeats the accepted norms regarding the physical appearance, stamina and endurance of the thoroughbred, as well as its remarkably long memory, quick comprehension and sociability. These matters are discussed under the following headings:

(fol. 22b) On the characteristics of thoroughbred horses

(fol. 24a) On the characteristics of horses

(fol. 25b) On the sizes desirable in horses in terms of height and shortness and similar matters

⁵³ For poetry on horses in Arabic, both in the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras: Ceviz, "Arap Şiirinde At Tasviri"; Mardam-Bey, "Le cheval dans la poésie arabe."

(fol. 29a) Words of Bashir ibn-i Hâzim concerning the hair strands [of horses]; verses from Imru' al-Qays' *qasida*⁵⁴

(fol. 30a) Words of al-Nâbiğa [pre-Islamic poet]

(fol. 32a) Zahîr about eagles; words of 'Alqama concerning the splinters/bones, shanks and hoofs [of a horse]

(fol. 33b) What Al-A'sâ said in his "Shâkila"

(fol. 36a) [Observations concerning] the neck [of a horse]: signs of the excellent thoroughbred

(fol. 36b) Signs indicating *gökçek*/prettiness or the quality of being bright-coloured⁵⁵

(fol. 37b) Characteristics indicating the pure-bloodedness of a horse⁵⁶

(fol. 38a) The difference between pure-blooded and cross-bred horses

(fol. 40b) On the features by which the male contrasts with the female

(fol. 41a) Quotation from the Koran regarding males and females

(fol. 41b) A picture of a healthy noble-blooded horse without any congenital or incidental defects; underneath the picture we find the chapter heading, which says: On foals/littering and the names of the different kinds of conditions in which a horse may find itself. This section continues through fols. 42a-43b. Fol. 43b also contains a verse from the Koran.

A picture album: thoroughbreds of various colours

A section on the characteristics of the horse in general and the thoroughbred in particular is followed by disquisitions on certain characteristic colours: fol. 44a contains observations on the colours of horses fit for the saddle. Most of the page is taken up by an illumination with a floral design. In other cases illuminations of a similar kind have been integrated into the pages that also contain miniatures, featuring a rich repertoire of the decorative elements known as *çintemanis*, *hatayis* and Chinese clouds. Exemplary of the early seventeenth-century royal workshop, these illuminations also contain an array of the flowers most favoured by Ottoman patrons and artists of that time, namely tulips, peonies, hyacinths,

⁵⁴ A *qasida* is an ancient Arabic poem having, as a rule, a rigid tripartite structure; the author was a famous pre-Islamic poet.

⁵⁵ Here the translator reverts to plain Turkish: "Gökçek segirtmeğün alâmâtî."

⁵⁶ Likewise, the translator relapses to plain Turkish: "Ve feresin 'atîk olduğuna delâlet eden eşyâdandır."

carnations and roses. Between folios 44b and 57a' there are 24 miniatures, each featuring a horse of a different coat. Compared to the two miniatures at the beginning of the manuscript which I have attributed to Painter A (fols. 1a and 1b), the picture album containing the horses is definitely from the hands of a second painter, whom for convenience we will call Painter B.⁵⁷ Each miniature is accompanied by a caption strip containing the description of the horse depicted, written almost always over a floral background. Below is a list of the captions in English translation:

(fol. 44b) The deep-black, pitch-black or murky horse is excessively black and it is one of the best types

(fol. 45a) As for the unusual deep-black [type], its blackness is lustrous, and its reddishness prevails

(fol. 45b) A deep raven-black horse with some red hairs mixed in [Fig. 1]

(fol. 46a) A deep-black ashy horse whose colour is between light brown and white [Fig. 2]

(fol. 46b) *Ahab* is a horse type with red eyes, flanks and nostrils [Fig. 3]

(fol. 47a) A red bay whose mane and tail are black and whose other parts are red [Fig. 4]

(fol. 47b) As for the blood-red horse, it is a horse type whose hairs are excessively red [Fig. 5]

(fol. 48a) And this is a yellow bay with some black and ugly hairs, its mane and tail are black [Fig. 6]

(fol. 48b) An extremely yellow horse whose colour is as yellow as gold; some of its hairs are black but their number is small and they do not prevail over the yellowness: its mane, forelock and tail are red with a whitish tint [Fig. 7]

(fol. 49a) A yellow "coined" horse whose body is covered with yellow spots resembling dinars/coins, i.e. its body has patches, [and] the colour of the patches is the same as that of the body; its forelock and mane are white

⁵⁷ Artan, "A Book of Kings."

(fol. 49b) A yellow horse whose yellowness is pure, its mane, forelock and tail are extremely white; the non-Arabs [Persians, barbarians, foreigners] call it *dard* [Fig. 8]

(fol. 50a) A chestnut, i.e. reddish-brown horse whose mane, forelock and tail are black [Fig. 9]

(fol. 50b) A reddish/fair-haired, russet/reddish brown horse with an excessive reddishness and yellowness resembling saffron, its mane and tail are yellow-red and on its back there are a few dark blinkers, starting from the withers and reaching the tail [Fig. 10]

(fol. 51a) An *adbas* horse with an excessive redness and reddishness whose blackness prevails, its mane, tail and forelock are dark to some extent [Fig. 11]

(fol. 51b) A porcelain or Chinese-style reddish horse whose yellowness exceeds its redness, its mane and tail are white [Fig. 12]

(fol. 52a) A rusty horse which resembles the *adbas* type; but its colour is much purer and that is why it is called "rusty": because its colour is like the colour of oxidized iron [Fig. 13]

(fol. 52b) A grey horse whose hairs are white, but its whiteness is not pure as the whiteness of paper and its skin is black; this kind of horse is called "grey-white"

(fol. 53a) A white horse, whose hair is white: [it is] as white as the morning or even whiter, there are no other colours mixed in; in a few cases its eyes are blue

(fol. 53b) A *sabâyî* horse [moving lightly and swiftly as the breeze]: whatever the animal's colour is, there should be white hairs which are not mixed or blended with the horse's colour, its whiteness is less and it is called *sabâyî*

(fol. 54a) A piebald "armoured" horse with many white spots covering its body, [and yet] the head and the neck are not white, on the top of the head which is "the mother of the brain" there is a white patch

(fol. 54b) Next is a yellow horse whose forelock, mane and tail are black

(fol. 55a) Next is a *dard*-type horse with a naturally reddish tint; the roots of its hairs and its skin are dark; there is a wine-coloured line on its back starting from the shoulders and reaching the tail, and

having a reddish tint that differs from the horse's main colour, [this line] is called "a blinker"

(fol. 55b) Next is a chestnut, i.e. a reddish-brown horse, [also called] a bay whose yellowness is not pure, the roots of its hairs are black and their tops are grimy/muddy yellow, its abdomen, forelock and tail are extremely black, its eyes are bluish-black like ice with a black tint, and this yellow bay's body is "coined" and in some cases the coin-shaped patches of the horse are bigger than the dinars in circulation. On its face and legs there are yellow signs, its forelock, abdomen and tail are black; and when the abovementioned hairs surround them (?) a horse having this characteristic is called an 'arsî/'irsî chestnut horse [Fig. 14]

(fol. 56a) Next is a *hartîh* (?) type horse resembling a *huvvet* (?) and a *huvvet* is black with a green tint or black with a red tint; its back, legs, forelock, mane, tail, abdomen, [as well as] the inner sides of the two fronts and the spaces where the legs join the body are dark; the orbit encircling its eyes is [as if] branded, [the horse's] flanks are green with a yellow tint and in some cases it is totally green. Besides, if the abovementioned back is red, [and] the colour of the abdomen, the spaces where the legs join the body and the front parts is – as already mentioned – yellowish-green, this kind is called *hartîh*. [Fig. 15]

The picture album is followed by a few more articles on the general characteristics of the horse such as:

(fol. 56b) This chapter concerns the *shay'ât*, [namely] white spots found on the face, legs or other parts of the body of the horse and also its postures

(fol. 57b) This chapter concerns the whiteness and the white spots of the legs

(fol. 58b) On the signs and uses of *Cennet-i Hindî*

(fol. 60a) This chapter concerns the voices of the horses

Mules

The following section, beginning at the end of folio 60a, lists first the general characteristics of mules and also afterwards classifies mules on the basis of their coats. There are six miniatures accompanying the text, each covering two thirds of a page, with a strip of captions on the upper part.

(fol. 60b) On the foals of the mules of every town

(fol. 61a) A reddish-brown/chestnut mule whose mane and tail are black

(fol. 61b) A gold-tinted ash-gray mule

(fol. 62a) A mule covered with dense ash-grey hair, tending towards ash-grayness and blackness containing some greenness as adornment

(fol. 62b) A reddish mule as mentioned in the [section dealing with the] reddishness of the horse

(fol. 63a) A gray-white mule whose whiteness is not pure

(fol. 63b) And [mules can possess] every colour/be of every variety that is found in the horse, as black, dun/red roan, yellow, rosy or *sanabiyet* (?); and [mules] possess all kinds of signs such as moles, white warts and spots as found on the bellies of horses, where the legs join the body and also the legs [properly speaking]. And all colours occurring in horses occur among mules too. There is only one special colour not found in horses but [only in] mules, [namely] the moon-white/whitish colour. For this is specific to mules and there are no moon-white horses found. And this colour is reddish-brown containing unmixed greenness (sic). Furthermore there are colours/kinds named "moon-white reddish-brown", "green moon-white", "highlighted" [i.e. with a white spot on the face], "wounded" and the types mentioned in the section dealing with the horse.

Donkeys and fantastic quadrupeds

Beginning with folio 64a, there follows the section on donkeys, with eight depictions. Curiously this section also contains a unicorn (*monoceros* in Greek) with wings, labelled as *kardunn*. Or else the artist may have intended a Pegasus with a horn. Secondly there is an image close to known antelope types, resembling a wildebeest or an oryx, or a mixture of them, with a cleaver-like bony outgrowth, and standing on an enormous fish. Even more remarkably, this second image has been labelled as the picture of "the ox bearing the earth upon its shoulders". There is no further explanation.

Now the term *kardunn*, a variation of *kargadann* (*kargadan* in Persian), designates a rhinoceros, but this term is also one of the names given to a

unicorn in Arabic.⁵⁸ The Ottoman artist chose to depict a fantastic creature resembling a horse, rather than a mountain goat or a white gazelle which provided the usual models for the unicorn in medieval depictions. Moreover, in zoological texts written in the medieval Islamic world, the generic term *dâbba*, referring to anything that walks, creeps or crawls upon the earth, but most significantly a quadruped beast that is ridden, indicated the unicorn as well.⁵⁹ As a result it is easy to (mis)identify the unicorn, which could be viewed as a gazelle, an oryx, an ass, a rhinoceros, or even a hippopotamus.⁶⁰ In this case, the unicorn is a horse with a long horn sharpening towards the point that also has wings: presumably this combination resulted from the artists' choice among the different meanings of *kargadann*.⁶¹

Likewise, the picture of the ox (*sevr*) seems to have resulted from the adaptation of a model probably based on the depictions of the "creation of the universe".⁶² But the fish that it stands on, its cleaver-like horn and the antelope-like body indicate that the artist had a number of images in mind that we cannot presently decipher. I have no totally convincing explanation as to why these two imaginary beasts have been included here. But perhaps the artists, who must have relied on general books ranging from zoology to cosmology, in addition to specialized texts on veterinary sciences as models for their illustrations, have hit upon miniatures depicting these imaginary creatures and valued them for their decorative qualities.⁶³

⁵⁸ For the various names for the unicorn, see François Viré, "Karkaddan," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, vol. IV, ed. Emeri van Donzel *et alii* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), pp. 647-650 and Richard Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1950), p. 6, footnote 2. See also: Anna Contadini, "A bestiary tale: Text and image of the unicorn in the Kitâb na't al-Hayawân (British Library, Or. 2784)," *Muqarnas*, 20 (2003), pp. 17-33.

⁵⁹ Contadini, "A bestiary tale," p. 32, footnote 37, after Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863-93), vol. II, p. 842.

⁶⁰ Contadini, "A bestiary tale". See also: Anna Contadini, "The Kitâb na't al-hayawân (Book on the Characteristics of Animals), British Library Or. 2784, and the Ibn Bakhtishû Illustrated Bestiaries," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, SOAS, University of London, 1992.

⁶¹ Contadini suggests that the wings of the unicorn depicted in Ibn Bakhtishû's "Kitâb na't al-hayawân" relate to Seljukid iconography (Contadini, "A bestiary tale," p. 33, footnote 55.; for the illustration see p. 21, ill. 5).

⁶² For examples in "Acâ'ibü'l-Mahlûkât" see : Topkapı Palace Library, A. 3632, and British Library, Add. 7894. For the images see : Metin And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı İslam Mitolojyası* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), pp. 83 and 81 respectively.

⁶³ For an extensive treatment of early Islamic illustrated manuscripts on zoology and veterinary sciences, and also of depictions of unicorns, see Contadini, "A bestiary tale".

Again, all depictions occupy two thirds of a page, while at the top captions on floral backgrounds and in the remaining lower section floral illuminations fill the remainder of the page.

(fol. 64a) A black donkey with a white belly

(fol. 64b) A donkey called *ashaf* which is a colour – in the spectrum – between green and reddish

(fol. 65a) A donkey called *ebruk* which is a colour – in the spectrum – between red and gray

(fol. 65b) A reddish-olive donkey whose colour is – in the spectrum – between reddish and black

(fol. 66a) A wild Yemeni donkey looks like this

(fol. 66b) Picture of a rhinoceros (unicorn cum Pegasus) [Fig. 16]

(fol. 67a) A picture of the ox bearing the earth upon its shoulders [Fig. 17]

(fol. 67b) A picture of a black-and-white (*utbi?*) Indian donkey

Methods of training and equitation

The section on donkeys concludes with a single page description of their general characteristics (fol. 68a), and is immediately followed by six extensive articles relating to exercise and training.

(fol. 68a) This chapter explains how horses are trained and made serviceable for battles and competitions

(fol. 76a) This chapter concerns the exercising of the horse

(fol. 77a) This chapter concerns the exercising of the noble horse

(fol. 77b) The initial methods of training and riding are [the following]:

(fol. 84b) On the stubborn/resistant horse

(fol. 85b) On the aggressive horse

The defects a horse may have

The following section seems out of place; perhaps it was meant to follow fol. 43b, because the chapter beginning on fol. 88b is about taking good care of horses and foals, advising the owners/caretakers to not overload their animals and force them to train. Be that as it may, this section continues with the following headings:

- (fol. 88b) On the littering of riding animals and [their] foals
- (fol. 90a) On the 38 defects that may occur in/on the head of a horse
- (fol. 90b) On the defects of the two ears
- (fol. 90b) At the very bottom of the page: On the defects of the forefeet
- (fol. 91a) These [defects] are twenty-eight in number
- (fol. 91a) On the defects of the form
- (fol. 92a) Following this [text] horses born with defects are described
- (fol. 92a) In the lower section of the page we find the depiction of a horse supposedly with defects. But actually this miniature is merely a copy of earlier depictions and does not show any perceptible abnormalities

Galloping horses

The next section contains three full-page depictions of horses in full gallop, with the second and third being exact copies of the first. Two miniatures have been placed on successive pages, while the third, of which only one half survives, appears a few pages later.

(fols. 92b-93a) double folio: horse

(fols. 93b-94a) double folio: horse

(fol. 101a) double folio: horse with its hind part missing

But why have these double-page horse images been included here? Could this oddity indicate that more pages are missing, and that our manuscript is a more or less random compilation of miniatures by different artists? Unfortunately, there are no clues to help us answer this question. The manuscript does not contain any text with which the depictions of the galloping horses can be associated, and their function thus remains a puzzle. Nor has it been possible to identify with any certainty the artist who has produced the double-folios. Furthermore the confusion increases when in the next article, the author(s) return to religious myths regarding horses, describing a scene in which Gabriel addressed Ishmael; at least this section is clearly relevant to horses. The final paragraph enumerates twenty-three terms that supposedly refer to parts of the horse's body. Unfortunately, the standard dictionaries are of virtually no help in interpreting these terms.

On fol. 94b we find the following text: "here are a few words that Gabriel (peace be upon him) said to Ishmael (peace be upon him). Ishmael climbed the Ajyad Mountain and called these names to attract horses".⁶⁴

(fol. 94b) On the names of the 23 parts of the horse's body

Routine care, symptoms of illnesses/wounds and remedies

The next section returns to practical issues regarding the care of horses: the authors discuss wounds and illnesses and the remedies that may be in order. Once again one article has seemingly been misplaced; for it addresses not physical but moral defects, in other words behavioural drawbacks:

(fol. 94b) On coverings and straw

(fol. 95b) On the quantity of straw [to be fed]

(fol. 98b) On how to nail horse-shoes on saddle animals

(fol. 100a) On how to bleed [the animal] by lancet

(fol. 101a) The half-preserved galloping horse mentioned above

(fol. 101b) On the 25 vices/defects in the morals of saddle animals

(fol. 101b) On the defects/mistakes/wrongs of the blacksmiths' treatment [of horses]

(fol. 103a) Concerning symptoms/signs/aches

(fol. 104a) Symptoms of a horse whose leg is damaged

(fol. 109a) Symptoms and indications of animal diseases

(fol. 110a) Symptoms of the condition known as *hınân* (?) which is hopefully curable

(fol. 110a) Symptoms of a swelling abdomen, tuberculosis and wind-disease

(fol. 110b) Symptoms of brain damage in wintertime

(fol. 110b) Symptoms of brain damage in summertime

⁶⁴ (94b) "Then Ishmael (peace be upon him) climbed the Ajyad Mountain in Mecca and called the horses with these words. Upon that [sound] the horse obediently came to him and it [had been] wild before. "Hâb and hâbi and hay and halâ and arhab and hâb and hâbi and hay and halâ." These are the words used for inviting; and the word *arhab* is also used for inviting and bringing the animals together in order to save them from natural disasters; these animals get accustomed [to these calls]; and the word *halâ* is used for scattering [them]. In addition the word *arhab* means a forcible preventing and is also a prayer for abundance. It [also] bears the meanings "older/ earlier" and "shaman, curer".

- (fol. 116b) On the cures for the above-mentioned diseases
- (fol. 116b) Cures using henna for the disease of the joints
- (fol. 122a) Unidentified cure (*'ilaç-ı inqitâ*)
- (fol. 122b) Further unidentified cures (*'ilaç-ı rîh-i cemâh, 'ilaç-ı kebed, 'ilaç-ı rîh-i suvis*)
- (fol. 123a) Further unidentified cures (*'ilaç-ı veca'-ı tacâl, 'ilaç-ı veca'-ı eser, 'ilaç-ı veca'-ı mebtûre*)
- (fol. 126a) Cures for the whiteness, darkness and cataract of the eye
- (fol. 128a) Description of the medicines/ointments used for different diseases
- (fol. 128b) Depiction of the cure for hard tumefactions (*Salâbet-i evrâmî-i müleyyin olan devânun sıfatı*)

This last entry is set in a triangular frame pointing downwards; this design announces the conclusion of the second chapter on hippology and hippiatry that ends with prayers. There follows a miniature showing a saddled horse, walking peacefully at the bottom of the page (fol. 128b). On the opposite page we see a warrior riding on a fully armoured horse (fol. 129a). He holds a long lance in one hand and a shield in the other. Four additional miniatures, three of them portraits of warriors on horseback and one a saddled horse without a rider, follow in due course.

- (fol. 129a) An armoured rider on an elaborately armoured horse, with a long lance in his right hand
- (fol. 129b) The same subject and image
- (fol. 130a) The same subject and image
- (fol. 130b) An armoured rider on an elaborately armoured horse, with a long lance in his left hand
- (fol. 131a) A horse without armour and without a rider

These are full-page renderings with no captions, but decorated on the upper and lower parts of the page with strips of floral illuminations. Both the richly armoured riders on their horses in full armour as well as the calmly marching saddled horses without riders occur more than once in the manuscript. Apparently the miniatures of the warriors were made for the sections on horsemanship, to be included with several others made by the same artist. The whole group seems to be the work of a single master, and the artistic style is very different from that of the artist who painted the

horse, mule and donkey images in the preceding sections. I consider that the artist who painted the warriors is identical with Painter A, who as we have seen, seems to have painted the kiosk scenes on folios 1a and 1b. More of his miniatures are found in the second chapter together with those of Painter B, while the third chapter treated in a previous article contains only miniatures that show the artistic language of Painter A.⁶⁵

I would hypothesize that Painter A's miniatures depicting warriors were originally meant for the chapter on *furûsiyyah*. But when the patron or his representative chose Painter B to illustrate "Tuhfetü'l-mülûk ve's-selâtin", Painter A's leftovers found their way into the manuscript none the less and were placed more or less at random. In support of this hypothesis we can point to the differing formats of the captions to the miniatures: while Painter A's miniatures all cover two thirds of a page with wide strips left both at the top and bottom for captions and sometimes even 'regular' text, those of Painter B are always full page with a narrow strip at the top only. When a miniature was chosen for the manuscript, and when there was the draft of a caption to go with it, its place in the manuscript was determined accordingly. Then the caption was written out, and the remaining parts of the page were covered with the illustrations. However in the case of certain miniatures that were the work of painter A, nobody took the trouble to devise any captions and so the binder did not know how and where to include them.

By way of conclusion

When we examine the "Tuhfetü'l-mülûk ve's-selâtin" the continuity in horse medicine from antiquity to the Middle Ages and after that to the early modern veterinary sciences as exemplified by Ottoman authors, strikes the eye most forcibly. With the advent of Islamic empires and their capitals, especially since the late ninth century CE, scientific literature in Arabic, based on the translation, adaptation and revision of works from Greco-Roman, Persian and Indian cultures considerably increased also in the field of veterinary medicine. Ultimately, this tradition was carried over into the Ottoman world, and works adhering at least in part to this ancient school of the veterinary art were produced as late as the nineteenth century.

Apparently, the unknown personage at the Ottoman court that commissioned the manuscript of the "Tuhfetü'l-mülûk ve's-selâtin" which we have here examined was interested more in the decorative qualities of the illuminations and the elegance of the miniatures than in the scientific accuracy of the hippological information which our text conveyed. This

⁶⁵ Artan, "A Book of Kings."

inclination was not so unusual among seventeenth-century patrons; for we also possess copies of Piri Reis' *Kitab-ı Bahriye* dating to that same period which visibly were never used by sea captains but rather ornamented the library of some well-to-do Ottoman gentleman.⁶⁶ In addition, the author's emphasis on piety and Jihad must have seemed appropriate under the reign of a not too successful young sultan under attack for over-indulgence in courtly pleasures and spending money on an elaborate mosque complex – today's well-known 'Blue Mosque' – which he had not merited through his victories in the field.

Appendix

(1) The earliest book on horses and horsemanship from the Islamic cultural world known to us is from the ninth century *hicri*. It was written by Ahî Hizâm el-Huttelî: "Kitâb al-khayl wa-l-furûsiyya wa-l-baytara wa-l-rukiy" (Süleymaniye Library, Hafid Efendi 257; Ayasofya 2899/1; Beyazıt Library, Veliyyüddin Efendi 3174/1). The Turkish translation, called "Kitâbü'l-Furûsiyye", was made in 1536 (Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 2899/2; Fatih 3535 [dated 1536, the calligrapher is Veli bin Ahmed, the translator is not known]; Beyazıt Library, Veliyyüddin Efendi 3174/2). It served as a source from which many others were derived: see Nihâl Erk, *Veteriner Tarihi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Veteriner Fakültesi Yayınları, 1978), pp. 85-101, and *idem*, "Dokuzuncu Yüzyıla Ait 'Kitab al-Hayl v'al-Baytara' Üzerine İnceleme," *Ankara Üniversitesi Veteriner Fakültesi Dergisi*, VIII, 4 (1961), pp. 367-386.

(2) Topkapı Palace Library, R. 1695. Based on Ahî Hizâm el-Huttelî's treatise (A), a fourteenth-century manuscript on horse ailments was translated from Arabic to Kipchak Turkish: "*Baytarat el-Vâzih*": compare Shihab Al-Sarraf, "Evolution du concept de furûsiyya et de sa littérature chez les Abbasides et les Mamlouks," in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes dans les arts d'Orient et d'Occident*, exhibition catalogue, Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, 26 November 2002-30 March 2003, (Paris: Gallimard, Institut du Monde Arabe, 2002), pp. 67-71; Kurtuluş Öztopçu, "Memlûk Kıpçakcasıyla Yazılmış Bir Atçılık Risalesi: Kitâb Baytaratü'l-Vâzih (Paris Nüshası)," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 24, 2 (2000), pp. 189-229; Mehmet Emin Açar, "Baytaratü'l Vâzih (İnceleme-Metin-İndeks)," unpublished M.A. thesis, Marmara University, 1986.

⁶⁶ Svat Soucek, "Pîri Re'îs b. Hâdjî Mehmed," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, vol. VIII, ed. Clifford E. Bosworth *et alii* (Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), pp. 308-309.

(3) Topkapı Palace Library, III. Ahmed 3468; based on Ahî Hizâm el-Huttelî's treatise (B): see Helmuth Ritter, "La Parure des Cavaliers' und die Literatur über die ritterlichen Künste," *Der Islam*, 18 (1929), pp. 116-154.

(4) A fifteenth-century book on the characteristics of horses, their races, illnesses and treatments, which also found its way to Istanbul is "Kitâb az-zardaka fî marifat al-khayl", copied for the Mamluk governor of Aleppo, Zahir Seyfeddin Bilbay (Bilbay Mirhânî Bâ el-Hamzavî) in 1434: İstanbul Üniversitesi Arapça Yazmaları 4689 with 11 miniatures: Orhan Duru, "At'ın Halleri," *P Dergisi*, 23 (2001), pp. 98-111; compare with a copy from 1766, BNF, Arabe 2817, with six miniatures: Annie Vernay-Nouri in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, catalogue section no. 67, pp. 124-125. Both derive from a much older model now lost.

(5) Ankara Üniversitesi Veteriner Fakültesi Kütüphanesi 32478; Cahit Öztelli, Nihâl Erk and Ferruh Dinçer have argued that Muḥammad Ibn Isa Al-Aqsarâ'i's manuscript from the fifteenth century was the first veterinary manuscript translated from Persian into Turkish as "Hâzâ Kitâb-ı Baytarnâme": Nihâl Erk and Ferruh Dinçer, "XVinci ya da XVİnci Yüzyıla Ait Olduğu Sanılan Bir Baytarnâme İncelemesi," *Ankara Üniversitesi Veteriner Fakültesi Dergisi*, XIV, 2 (1967), pp. 117-139. See also: Cahit Öztelli, "Onbeşinci Yüzyılda Yazılmış Bir Baytarnamenin Giriş Bölümü," *Türk Dili*, XIV, 168 (September 1968), pp. 785-789. Compare: London, British Library, Ms. Add. 18866, with six miniatures: Debbie Cox in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, catalogue section no. 32, p. 102.

(6) Bursa İnebey Yazma ve Basma Eserler Kütüphanesi Genel Bölüm 1551; compare Nihâl Erk, "Bursa Umumî Kütüphanesi'nde Veteriner Tarihi Yönünden Bir Etüd," *Ankara Üniversitesi Veteriner Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3-4 (1986), pp. 186-194.

(7) Another Arabic manuscript, entitled "Kâmil al-sinâ'ayn al-baytara wa-l-zartaka" [The perfection of two arts, hippology and hippiatry], written for the Mamluk sultan Nâsir al-Dîn Muhammad ibn Qalâwun (1294-1340) by his Head Veterinarian (*al-baytar al-Nâsirî*), Ibn al-Mundhir Abu Bakr ibn Badr, simply known as al-Nâsirî, was appropriated by the Ottoman court. It was copied by Hüseyin bin Abdullah in 1563, and titled "Kâmilül's-sinâteyn el-baytara ve'l-zırtıka", also known as-Naserî; it is preserved at Bursa İnebey Yazma ve Basma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Haraççı 1122: Nihâl Erk, *İslam Medeniyet Çağında Veteriner Tababette Gelişmeler ve Nâserî* (Ankara: Veteriner Fakültesi Yayınları, 1959); Nihâl Erk, "Abu Bekir and Arabic veterinary medicine in the XIVth century," *Michigan State University Veterinarian*, 20, 3 (1960), pp. 114-117. Compare BNF, Arabe 2812: Vernay-Nouri in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, Catalogue no.69, p. 127.

(8) A seventeenth-century “Kitâb-ı makbûl der hâl-i huyûl” survives in multiple copies : Süleymaniye Library, Kadızâde Mehmed No. 420; Bağdatlı Vehbi No. 1506; Bağdatlı Vehbi No. 2256; Hüsrev Paşa No. 816/3, fols. 52b-82b; Esad Efendi 3695; Giresun 34 Sü-Gir 173; Köprülü Library, Mehmed Asım Bey 726; Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, 1973 A 496, and 06 Mil EHT A 1690; Istanbul University Library, T. 618. This work is ascribed to the notorious sheik Kadızâde Mehmed Efendi el-Balikesirî (died 1635) who had presented it to Ahmed I and later perhaps also to Osman II. For a translation of a copy in a private collection see: *Kitab-i Makbul (Kitabü'l-makbul fil hal-il huyul): Atalarımızın Gözüyle At*, translated by Tahir Galip Ser'atlı (Istanbul: Orhan Ofset, 1986).

(9) Topkapı Palace Library, HS 320 (now changed to no. 47) “Kitâb-ı Makbûl der hâl-i huyûl”, also titled “Kitâb-ı makbul fî fazâ'il-huyûl”, a translation from Arabic made in 1695 by Muhammed bin Mustafa Fuyûzî Kadızâde for Mustafa II, contains many diagrams regarding chivalry and cavalry warfare: Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961; henceforth: Karatay), vol. II, p. 591. Also in: Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 2055; and Nuruosmaniye Library 3699 and 4990.

(10) A nineteenth-century work: “Kitâb-ı Makbûl der hâl-i huyûl” by Ali Hadi: Topkapı Palace Library, MR 898 and MR 901: Karatay, vol. II, pp. 591-592.

(11) For the eighteenth century, we have the translation of Şeyh Ebu Muhammed Abdülmümin bin Haleb es-Safî ed-Dimyâtî's “Fezâil el-hayl” (Topkapı Palace Library, E. H. 1814), made in 1721-22 for the governor of Baghdad Hasan Paşa.

(12) Two nineteenth-century copies of a manuscript called “Tuhfetü'l-Fârisîn fî Ahvâl-i Huyul-i Mücâhidîn” contain interesting illustrations: Ankara Üniversitesi Veteriner Fakültesi Kütüphanesi 97 and 22536; compare: Nihâl Erk, “Tuhfetü'l-Fârisîn fî Ahvâl-i Huyul-i Mücâhidîn Adlı Kitabın İlimler Tarihi Yönünden İncelenmesi”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, XVIII, 3-4 (1960), pp. 495-511.

(13) “Baytarnâma wa funûn al-furusiyya” in Arabic, Süleymaniye Library, Şehid Ali Paşa 2005.

(14) “Kitâb fî 'ilm al-furusiyya” in Arabic by [Ebü'n-Nasr] Canbolat bin Yeşek el-Eşrefî, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4198.

(15) “Risâle fî'l-furusiyya wa-l-rimâya wa-l-baytara” in Arabic by Badruddin Bektut al-Remmah Bektut, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4826.

(16) An illustrated manuscript dated 1466, now located in Istanbul, with the title "Kitâb majmu' fî-l-rumh wa ghayrihi wa fîhi Kitâb alwâdih fî-l-ramy al-Tabarî" [Study of the lance and other weapons included in the book of al-Tabarî on the lancer], supposedly is similar to a work on *furûsiyya*, now in the Keir Collection II.8: Vernay-Nouri in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, Catalogue 33, p. 103. I was not able to locate this manuscript in the Istanbul collections.