Animals and People in the Ottoman Empire
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Edited by
Suraiya Faroqhi

EREN
İstanbul, 2010
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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 Lewenklau, 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 (İstanbul: 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 (İstanbul: Ertuğ & Kocabıyık Publications, 1993), plate VII. See also: Çağman (ed.), The Sultan’s Portrait, p. 238. For the rest see: Metin And, 16. Yüzyılda Istanbul. Kent, Saray, Günliık Yaşam (İstanbul: Akbank, 1993), passim.

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.


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: "Süleymannâme": Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1517 (dated 1558), fols. 115a, 132a, 177a, 393a, 403a, 462b, 576a; "Hüner-nâme I-I": 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; "Şehinşehnâme 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. 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 Kir [Misty Grey]. 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. In the early 1600s _a posteriori_ representations of equestrian sultans, from Murad I (r. 1362-1389)

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8 For Mehmed III’s return from the Eger campaign, by Nakş Hasan Paşâ: “Fetihnamâ-i Eğrî”: 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.

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 afrās, furūs and fursān are the plural forms. These terms apply to horses of both sexes, and can be used for animals of all ages,

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\(^{12}\) Whereas contemporary European portraits of Mehmed IV on horseback are numerous: Çağman (ed.), The Sultan’s Portrait, pp. 352, 353, 356.


origins, external peculiarities or temperaments, while the term khayl is used for the species Equidae in general.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{16} While some texts discuss the techniques and tactics of military and courtly or festive equestrianism, others are of a purely religious character.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


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

\textsuperscript{17} Viré, “Faras,” p. 785.

basis of the historical sources enumerated here. 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-mülük ve’s-selatin”: 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 “Umdat al-muluk”, prepared for Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617) under the title of “Tuhfetü’l-mülük ve’s-selatin” shows the new focus on horsemanship rather well. The work consists of three parts, namely hippiatry, hippology cum horsemanship and finally hunting. It is illustrated with 164 quite admirable miniatures. 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


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 Türkiye Yازmalar Kataloğu, 2 vols. (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961; henceforth: Karatay), vol. I, pp. 574-575.

present study merely explores the contents of the first chapter of “Tuhfetü’il-mülük ve’s-selātīn”, 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.\footnote{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, furūsīyya denoted hippology and equestrianism, namely the training, care and use of horses; and the literature that developed on the arts and sciences of furūsīyya (funūn al-furūsīyya or ‘ulūm al-furūsīyya) was known as adab al-furūsīyya.\footnote{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 farāsa, furūsa and furūsīyya”.\footnote{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 on hippiatrics by the fourth-century Greek writer Theomnestus of Magnesia.\footnote{25} As the Ottoman

\footnote{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.


\footnote{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.

court was an eager client of medieval treatises on horsemanship, in the Istanbul collections there survive several copies of the “Kitāb al-fūrūsīyya wa-l-baytara”, of Mohammed ibn Ya‘qūb ibn ‘Alī [Khazzam] al-Khuttali (in Turkish: Aḥt Hızām al-Huttali), which is believed to be the oldest available text about hippology, hippiatry and horsemanship. The author is generally known as Ibn Akhī/Ahī Hızām. His uncle, Hızām ibn Ghālib, was a renowned commander of the Horasani corps of the Abbasids and the Head of the Equerry (ṣāḥib khayl al-khalīf), under the caliph al-Mu‘tasim (r. 833-842). His father Ya‘qūb ibn Ghālib, also an authority on horses and veterinary sciences, had been Chief Veterinarian (baytār al-khalīfā) under the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847-861). Like his uncle and father, Akhī Hızām became an illustrious commander of the Horasani corps, fought for the caliph al-Musta‘in (r. 862-866), and became the Head of the Equerry during the reign of the Abbasid ruler al-Mu‘tadid (r. 892-902). Akhī Hızām 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. When the two manuals were joined together (AB), the manuscript was usually called “Kitāb al-fūrūsīyya wa-l-baytara”.

Akhī Hızām's opus was passed on to the Mamluks via Ibn Mangli's “Al-fawâ'id al-jalīla fi 'ulūm al-furūsīyya wa-l-rimaya wa amrād al-khayl wa mudawatiha”. At the same time, Akhī Hızām's two manuals were

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28 Helmuth Ritter, “Ata Binmek, Ok Atmak,” *Türkiyt Meccüsü*, 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-Huttalī’s treatise on veterinary medicine, but rather to his work on horsemanship. Ritter claims that the third section of Huttalī’s treatise on furūsīyya 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 Mangli’s manuscript in Istanbul libraries; perhaps it has been listed under a different title.
translated into Kipçak 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 
ridding exercises and equestrian games taking place in Cairenc 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 Topkapî Palace Library, 

\(^{31}\) Unique copy, Topkapî 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 fî ta'lim 
a'mal al-furûsiyya" in 1371 was copied by Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Misrî al-Adamî.

\(^{33}\) Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4197; Topkapî Palace Library, Ahmed III 2651. For a 
study of el-Aksarayî's manuscript, based on the copy at the Topkapî 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 Topkapî 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. Many similar treatises seem to have left the Ottoman capital during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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. In the hands of numerous copyists, translators and/or compilers, Akhī Hīzām's manuscripts, for example, single or united, changed so much that even his name became unrecognizable. 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.

The miniatures of the seventeenth-century Ottoman manuscript, "Tuhfet el-mülľük ve's-selatin", are possibly from two different but quite competent hands. 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).

35 For one such example, see BNF, Arabe 2824: "Kitāb al-makhzūn Jāmī al-Funūn" by Ibn Ahī Hīzām, dated to 1470. It bears a seal with an Ottoman tuğra on its frontispiece (compare Haldane, *Mamluk Painting*, p. 90).
39 Topkapi 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. Horsemens 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. 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 (sahra) occur both in material and immaterial contexts (sahra-nisrin = nomadic living in the wilds, sahra-yi vucud = desert of nonexistence, sahra-yi 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) (hâlife and hulefâ-i ilahiye) occur several times in this section (3a). Immediately afterwards follow more Islamic references,
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 'Adem 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. 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’
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. 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

\[3b\] "...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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{45}

\textit{The Ottoman sultan and his noble horses}

Islamic references to the horse in the \textit{Preface} of \textit{“Tuhfetü’l-mülük ve’s-selâtîn”} 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] covertys 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.\textsuperscript{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 Hajîb ‘Ashîq Timur, the translator concludes the \textit{Preface} with four poems repeating once again the title and chapters of the book.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{44} Viré, “Faras,” p. 785; “Khayl,” pp. 1143-1146.
\textsuperscript{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

Starting on folio 4b and continuing on folio 9a, 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-tevhid-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-i güzîn ridvânallâhi ‘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’a-i Pâdişâh-i İslâm a’ni Hazret-i Sultân Ahmed Hân hûlidet 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: “Sûrû’-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-i hayl-i meydân-i suhen ve ey fâris-i rezm-i hakâyik ve saf-i 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

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' (Sanā'atī'l-kebire), 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 physician 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:

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. 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 ’Ashiq Timur or his treatise.

Koranic verses relating to horses

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

It is not for the townsfolk 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)

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(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 Al-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 Mālik bin Nuwayra
(fol. 14b) Translation; verses by al-Sudūsī concerning this matter
(fol. 15a) Verses by al-Ash'ari'l-Khay'amī concerning this matter
(fol. 15b) Words of the poet Beni ‘Āmir concerning this matter
(fol. 16a) Words of ‘Umar ibn Mālik, Tufayl al-Ghanawī and Ka’b ibn Mālik al-Ansārī
(fol. 16b) The poet Ibn Quraysh, words of Da‘ba al-Qaysī
(fol. 17a) Translation; words of Ibn Safwān al-Asadī 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

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53 For poetry on horses in Arabic, both in the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras: Ceviz, “Arap Şiirinde At Tasvirî”; 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) Zâhir about eagles; words of ‘Alqama concerning the splinters/bones, shanks and hoofs [of a horse]

(fol. 33b) What Al-A’şâ 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-coloured\(^{55}\)

(fol. 37b) Characteristics indicating the pure-bloodedness of a horse\(^{56}\)

(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,

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\(^{54}\) 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 segirmeğün alâmâti.”

\(^{56}\) Likewise, the translator relapses to plain Turkish: “Ve feresin ‘afîk 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. 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

(fol. 46a) A deep-black ashy horse whose colour is between light brown and white [Fig. 1]

(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

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 *sabâyi* 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 *sabâyi*

(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 ‘arsi/‘irsi chestnut horse [Fig. 14]

(fol. 56a) Next is a hartith (?) 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 hartith. [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’át, [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.
Ahmed I and 'Tuḥfetʾʻül-miḥluk veʾs-selāṭīn'

(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. 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 dābba, 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. 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. 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.

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". 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.

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61 Contadini suggests that the wings of the unicorn depicted in Ibn Bakhtishū’s “Kitāb na’t al-hayawān” relate to Seljuk 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: Topkapi Palace Library, A. 3632, and British Library, Add. 7894. For the images see: Metin And, Minyatürlerle Osmanlı İslam Mitolojisi (İstanbul: 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”.

(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 hunān (?) 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. “Hāb and hābī and hay and halā and arhab and hāb and hābī and hay and halā.” 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 halā 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 inqitā)

(fol. 122b) Further unidentified cures (‘ilaç-ı rīh-i cemâh, ‘ilaç-ı kebed, ‘ilaç-ı rīh-i suvis)

(fol. 123a) Further unidentified cures (‘ilaç-ı veca‘-ı tacâl, ‘ilaç-ı veca‘-ı eser, ‘ilaç-ı veca‘-ı mebtûrê)

(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 evrâmi-i müleyyin olan devânun sifâtî)

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
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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 fi'ūrūsiyyah. But when the patron or his representative chose Painter B to illustrate "Tuhfetü'l-mülük ve's-selâtîn", 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-mülük ve's-selâtîn" 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-mülük ve's-selâtîn" 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

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65 Artan, "A Book of Kings."
inclination was not so unusual among seventeenth-century patrons; for we also possess copies of Piri Reis’ Kitab-i 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. 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 hīrī. It was written by Aḥī Hizām el-Hutteli: “Kitāb al-khayl wa-l-furūsīyya wa-l-baytara wa-l-rukiyy” (Süleymaniye Library, Hafid Efendi 257; Ayasofya 2899/1; Beyazıt Library, Veliiyyüdden Efendi 3174/1). The Turkish translation, called “Kitābūl-Furūsīyye”, 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, Veliiyyüdden Efendi 3174/2). It served as a source from which many others were derived: see Nihāl 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.


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A seventeenth-century “Kitāb-ı makbūl der hāl-i huyūl” survives in multiple copies: Süleymaniyê Library, Kadizâde 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, Mehem Asım Bey 726; Ankara, Millî Kütüphane, 1973 A 496, and 06 Mil EHT A 1690; Istanbul University Library, T. 618. This work is ascribed to the notorious sheik Kadizâde Mehmed Efendi el-Balkesiri (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 (Kitabül-makbul fil hal-il-huyul): Atalarımızın Gözüyle At, translated by Tahir Galip Ser’atlı (Istanbul: Orhan Ofset, 1986).


For the eighteenth century, we have the translation of Şeyh Ebu Muhammed Abdülmümin bin Halel es-Safi ed-Dimyati’s “Fezâ’il el-hayl” (Topkapı Palace Library, E. H. 1814), made in 1721-22 for the governor of Baghdad Hasan Paşa.


“Risâle fi’l-furusiyya wa-l-rimâya wa-l-baytara” in Arabic by Badruddin Bektut al-Remmah Bektut, Süleymaniyê Library, Ayasofya 4826.
(16) An illustrated manuscript dated 1466, now located in Istanbul, with the title “Kitāb majmu‘ fi-l-rumh wa ghayrihi wa fīhi Kitāb alwādih fi-l-ramy al-Tabari” [Study of the lance and other weapons included in the book of al-Tabari on the lancer], supposedly is similar to a work on furūsiyya, 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.