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Reading Mustawfi in Turkish: A Study on Translation as a Means for the Transfer of Botanical Knowledge in Ottoman Kurdistan

Abstract

This article examines a mid-seventeenth century Turkish translation of the Persian encyclopaedic work *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* by Ilkhanid historian Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī (d. after 744/1344). Composed in the Kurdish emirate of Bidlīs, southwest of Lake Van, at the request of its ruler Abdāl Khān (r. 1031–1074/1622–1664), this translation is extant in two manuscripts, both kept in Ankara's Millî Kütüphane as MSS A 957 and A 979. I will focus on the translation of the *Nuzhat*'s botanical section as it appears in MS A 979, and, more specifically, on the plethora of marginal and interlinear notes left by two later readers of the manuscript. These two annotators give the Turkish names of the various plants, which were not provided by the translator, and they also occasionally provide information on their medicinal and pharmacological properties. As a case study on these paratextual elements, this article also contributes to our understanding of translation as a means for the transfer of knowledge in the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Encyclopaedism, multilingualism, medicine, botany, Ottoman Empire, Kurdistan

1. Abdāl Khān, Emir of Bidlīs, a Multilingual Man in a Multilingual Land

Multilingualism is a primary feature of the territory inhabited by the Kurds and known since mediaeval times as Kurdistan. As a 'people in between,'[1] Kurds have indeed lived, throughout history, at a crossroads of empires and, in the period that interests us, they were primary political and military actors in the Ottoman-Safavid borderlands running from the Caucasus to southern Iraq. Although fragmented into several petty emirates, for the most part formed during or in the wake of the so-called 'Iranian intermezzo,'[2] they possessed kinship- and ancestry-based solidarity networks and a potential for collective action. The Kurdish emirs even had their own 'political manifesto' of sorts, a Persian-language chronicle of Kurdish dynasties called the *Sharafnāma* and written in 1597 by Sharaf Khān, emir of Bidlīs, a city located about 20

1 See James 2010.

2 Coined by Vladimir Minorsky, this term refers to 'the rise of a number of local Iranian dynasties, partly Daylamite and partly Kurdish, both in Azarbayjan and in the adjoining regions of Transcaucasia and Armenia' in the tenth-eleventh centuries. See Minorsky 1953, 110–6.

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kilometres to the southwest of Lake Van, and also the capital of the richest and most powerful Kurdish emirate in the early modern period.[3]

Despite being linguistically and religiously diverse, the Kurds also exhibited a common culture, shared traditions, and a distinctly 'Kurdish ethos,' appropriated by the elite and commoners alike. Moreover, they were part and parcel of a cultural area stretching from Turkestan in the East to the Balkans in the West and marked by Islamic learning in Arabic, Persianate literary culture, and Turco-Mongol notions of power and military might. However, a significant change took place in this equation in the early sixteenth century with the rallying of most Kurdish emirates to the Ottoman Empire, wherein Persian, as a language of administration and high culture, was being gradually replaced by Turkish. Although, in the sixteenth century, Ottoman Kurdish emirs still retained Persian as a medium of administration and communication with the Porte,[4] throughout the seventeenth century they progressively switched to Turkish, and knowledge of Persian slowly faded. Even in the latter part of the seventeenth century, it appears to have been more and more difficult to find anyone literate in Persian in Ottoman Kurdistan, at least beyond Ḥakkārī and the immediate border zone.[5]

This increasing scarcity in Persian literacy is explicitly mentioned as the reason for producing several translations from Persian into Turkish at the court of various Kurdish emirates, including Bidlīs. The first Bidlīsite Persian–Turkish translations were sponsored by Sharaf Khān's grandson, Abdāl Khān (r. *ca.* 1031–1074/1622–1664), with further translation work done at the request of the latter's son, Sharaf Khān III (r. *ca.* 1076–1083/1666–1672 and 1084–1097/1674–1686).[6] While we know little about Sharaf Khān III's life and times,[7] we are fortunate to have much more information on his father, largely due to the Ottoman traveller Evliyā Çelebi, who visited Bidlīs three times in 1065–1066/1655–1666 as secretary to his uncle, the Ottoman governor of Van Melek Aḥmed Paşa.[8] In his *Seyāḥatnāme*, Evliyā hyperbolically describes the khan as a man

3 The reference edition of the *Sharafnāma* remains that of Vladimir Veliaminov-Zernov; see Scheref 1860–1862; also, for an in-depth study of the work and the emirs of Bidlīs, Alsancakli 2018b.

4 See, for example, the Persian correspondence of Sharaf Khān I (r. 908–915/1502–1509 and 920–940/1514–1533) and Sultan Selīm I (r. 916–1924/1512–1520), published by Bacqué-Grammont and Adle 1986.

5 In Ḥakkārī, Persian seems to have remained the language of historiographical production for much longer, as attested by the composition of the *Mīrnāma*, a verse chronicle of the emirate by Tamarkhān Yāzijī (d. 1043/1634), scribe of the Ḥakkārī rulers Yaḥyā Beg (r. 1022–1025/1613–1616) and 'Imād al-Dīn Beg (r. 1043–1049/1634–1639). See the edition and translation into Kurdish by M. Xalid Sadinî (Yāzijī 1401sh [2022]; Yazîcî 2022); also, on the history of the Ḥakkārī rulers, see Ḥasan 2017.

6 On the Turkish translation of the *Sharafnāma* produced at the behest of Sharaf Khān III, see Alsancakli 2018a.

7 However, see new findings published by Dehqan and Genç 2022, 161–4.

8 In 1065/1655, Melek Aḥmed Paşa mounted a significant offensive on Bidlīs and forced the khan to flee, appointing the latter's son Ẓiyāʾ al-Dīn as emir in his place. Abdāl Khān reclaimed the city and emirate a few months later, in mid-1066/early 1656, after Melek

'skilled in a thousand arts and crafts' (*hezār-fenn*),[9] variously depicting him as a master alchemist, ironsmith, linguist, physician, poet, surgeon, etc.[10] Most importantly for our purposes, Evliyā also presents the khan as well-versed in many languages, including Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, and Turkish, and further claims that he has written 76 bound volumes (*mücelled*) and 105 treatises (*risāle*) on all sorts of topics.[11]

Despite Evliyā's intriguing remark to the effect that '[m]ost of these compositions were in Persian,'[12] Abdāl Khān figures as a striking example of the ongoing shift from a Persian to an Ottoman cultural environment in seventeenth-century Ottoman Kurdistan. Indeed, while his grandfather Sharaf Khān, author of the *Sharafnāma*, claimed descent from the Sassanid kings and was infused with Persian *adab*, writing his only work in Persian and on the almost exclusive basis of Persian sources,[13] Abdāl Khān saw himself as a scion of the Abbasids,[14] and his library seems to have comprised many books in Turkish, including translations from Arabic and Persian.[15] As for his language of spoken expression, it was apparently also a form of Azeri Turkish, at least based on the khan's poetry in the so-called 'Rōzhikid dialect,' as quoted by Evliyā.[16]

Aḥmed Paşa's demotion. These events are recounted in detail by Evliyā and form the bulk of Robert Dankoff's edition and English translation of the Ottoman traveller's recollections from Bidlis; see Dankoff 1990.

9 The same expression is also employed to refer to all fourteen of the khan's sons, suggesting that Evliyā primarily used it as a literary device; see Dankoff 1990, 104–5.

10 See *ibid*., 106–7.

11 See *ibid*., 292–3.

12 None of the khan's supposedly numerous works are extant, and Evliyā does not mention their titles, again suggesting that the Ottoman traveller's words should be taken with a grain of salt. The mention that most of these unknown compositions were written in Persian is, perhaps, a sign of the lasting prestige enjoyed by that language in Kurdistan.

13 The only Turkish work mentioned by the emir of Bidlīs is Ḫoca Saʿdeddīn's *Tācü't-tevārīḫ*, and its use as a source is limited to a single passage in the *Sharafnāma*. Sharaf Khān had, of course, been educated at the palace of Safavid Shah Ṭahmāsp I (r. 930–984/1524–1576) in Qazvīn; yet, at the time of the *Sharafnāma*'s composition, he had already spent nineteen years as an Ottoman subject. See Alsancakli 2017a; 2018b, 34–5; 52–3.

14 The emir of Bidlīs more specifically claims descent from an unknown 'Sulṭān Awḥādahullāh,' likely referring to the Ayyubid ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn al-Malik al-Awḥad Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (r. 596–607/1200–1210), nephew of Salāḥ al-Dīn, who notably conquered Mūsh and Akhlāṭ in 603–604/1207–1208. See Dankoff 1990, 174–5; 342–3; 356–7; Humphreys 1977, 127–31.

15 See Dankoff 1990, 288–93.

16 The Rōzhikids were the ruling tribal confederation of the emirate of Bidlīs. According to Martin van Bruinessen, these passages 'strongly indicate that the Rojikî, or at least their urban elite, spoke a mixed language, a Turkish dialect with numerous Arabo-Persian and Armenian expressions.' However, the Bidlīs townspeople, rural folks, and the tribesmen of the emirate did seem to be primarily Kurdish speakers, as suggested by instances of reported speech in Evliyā's text, and the Rōzhikids themselves are said to also 'know perfectly the twelve Kurdish dialects.' See Dankoff 1990, 18–26; 74–5; 84–9; 196–7; 210–1; van Bruinessen 1988, 20–1.

It is thus clear that Kurdistan was, in the seventeenth century, a land populated by multilingual people and wherein books in Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, and Turkish were produced and circulated – to say nothing, of course, of the vast body of literature composed in Armenian and Syriac.[17] In such an environment, translation must have been essential.[18] In this period, the Kurds also played a little-known but important role as cultural brokers for the Empire by introducing artistic, religious, and scientific concepts from Iran,[19] and it is against this backdrop that Abdāl Khān's translation project should be understood.

2. The Two Persian–Turkish Translations Produced in Bidlīs

> Aside from being versed in alchemy and magic and several hundred occult philosophical sciences, [Abdāl Khān] is […] a master physician, next to whom the ancient physicians such as Galen and Hippocrates and Socrates and Philekos are not even schoolboys; for they were reckoned physicians according to the men of their time, but this Khan is a master pulse-taker and blood-letter according to the nature of the sick and the weakly of the present age.[20]

This is how Abdāl Khān is introduced in the *Seyāḥatnāme* and, beyond Evliyā's characteristic penchant for hyperbole, this passage suggests that the khan had a wide range of interests, primarily among which we thus find alchemy, magic, and medicine, including surgery, ophthalmology, and veterinary medicine, as well as ironsmithing, goldsmithing, clockmaking, seal carving, calligraphy, music, etc., all activities mentioned

17 Levon Khachikyan's works on the colophons of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Armenian manuscripts gives an idea of the extensive Armenian literature produced in the early modern Kurdish emirates. See Khachikyan 1950, 1955, 1958, 1967; on seventeenth-century manuscripts, see Hakobyan and Hovhannisyan 1974, 1978, and Hakobyan 1984; and, for a selection and translation in English of colophons from the period 1301–1480, see Sanjian 1969. Regarding Syriac, see the catalogues of manuscript libraries located (or formerly located) in Kurdistan, for example Ḥaddād 2003; Sarau and Shedd 1898; Scher 1905; 1907; 1908; Vosté 1937; 1939.

18 Daily processes of oral translation were certainly also prevalent, although virtually impossible to trace and reconstruct. As anecdotal evidence is a conversation held in Kurdish between Shams al-Dīn Khān, great-grandfather of Abdāl Khān, and two other Kurdish notables in Sultan Süleymān I's divan in Akhlāṭ in 942/1535, and then translated for the Sultan (see Scheref 1860–1862, 441), and, in the context of Melek Aḥmed Paşa's campaign against Abdāl Khān in Bidlīs, a prisoner interrogation apparently conducted in Kurdish and thus translated for the governor (see Dankoff 1990, 196–7). In the *Seyāḥatnāme*, Evliyā also writes, in another example of his tendency to hyperbolic praise, that Abdāl Khān, being 'a sea of verbal wisdom,' could take 'an Arabic book in his hands' and 'translate [it] immediately into Persian,' and likewise with Turkish chronicles, which he would 'recite in fluent Arabic or Persian' on the spot (see Dankoff 1990, 96–7).

19 See El-Rouayheb 2015; Schwarz 2010.

20 Dankoff 1990, 92–5.

by Evliyā in his description of the khan. Such encyclopaedic interests are substantiated by the inventory of the khan's library, in which we find Gınāyī Sofyevī's 969/1562 Turkish translation of the *Tuḥfat al-ʿAjāʾib wa Ṭurfat al-Gharāʾib* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), the *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* by Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), Yazıcıoğlu Aḥmed Bīcān's *Envārü'l-ʿĀşıḳīn* (*ca.* 850–855/1446–1451), and other works of this sort.[21] Evliyā also notes the presence on the shelves – or, rather, in the seven camel boxes used to store the volumes – of 'two hundred European printed books,' probably also an exaggerated number, as only three of these books are actually named by Evliyā: the *Atlas Minor* by Gerard Mercator (d. 1594), a book called *Geography*, identified by Richard Kreutel as the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius (d. 1598),[22] and a hitherto unidentified work called *Mappamundi* ('Papamunṭa').[23]

Interestingly, the first two of these three books were also used, and even translated, by Abdal Khān's polymath contemporary, Kātib Çelebi (d. 1068/1657), indicating that there existed, in this period, an interest in such encyclopaedic matters, and perhaps an even broader interest than previously thought.[24] Ottoman encyclopaedism was wide encompassing, including both the query of knowledge for its own sake, in fields such as cosmology, geography, botany, and mineralogy, and its practical application in treatises of craftsmanship related to activities as diverse as drug making and gem making, among others. Of course, Ottoman encyclopaedism had its roots in Arabic and Persian classics, notably two works called *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharāʾib al-Mawjūdāt*, one written in Persian by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ṭūsī (fl. mid-twelfth century) and the other in Arabic by Zakariyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283). The first Ottoman translations of these and other texts can be dated back to the fifteenth century, with a dozen such translations realised up to the end of the eighteenth century. However, the majority of these translations do not appear to have been widely circulated, as only the works by well-known scholars Aḥmed Bīcān (fl. mid-fifteenth century) and Muṣliḥüddīn Muṣṭafā Sürūrī (d. 969/1562) are extant in more than a handful of manuscripts.[25]

21 Evliyā was ordered by Melek Aḥmed Paşa to auction the khan's library after the latter's flight from Bidlīs; see the list of books and other items in Dankoff 1990, 282–95.

22 See Kreutel 1957, 108, note 3.

23 This *Mappamundi* is also mentioned by Evliyā in another passage of the *Seyāḥatnāme*, wherein he discusses the rivers and streams of Bidlīs and writes: 'God willing, this will be described when I copy out the Mappa Mundi. May God facilitate it in good health!' (*İnşa'llāh Papamunṭa heyʾeti kitābı taḥrīr etdigimizde böyle taḥrīr olına, allāhümme yessir bi'l-ḫayr ve'l-ʿāfiye*; see Dankoff 1990, 84–5).

24 These translations from Latin were realised with the help of French convert Şeyḫ Meḥmed Iḫlāsī; see Gökyay 1957, 54–7; 64; 73–4; Ménage 1971, 421–3; Taeschner 1923, 59; 68–9.

25 These Arabic, Persian, and Turkish texts have usually been examined as part of a specific genre of so-called '*ʿAjāʾib* literature,' on which see the useful overviews by Bosworth and Afshar 1984 and Kut 1988. However, Syrinx von Hees argues that this label is used with 'grave inconsistency' and infused with 'modern western prejudices and assumptions of epistemological validity'; see von Hees 2005, 101.

Ignored in the (admittedly scarce) literature on the subject, Abdāl Khān's translation programme is representative of and yet also distinctive from the above developments. Two translations were made in the framework of this project, at least that we know of: a translation of Ḥamdallāh Mustawfi's book of geography and natural history called the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* ('Pleasure of the Hearts,' *ca.* 741/1340), and a translation of the *Majmūʿat al-Ṣanāyiʿ* ('Compendium of Arts and Crafts'), a little-known Persian treatise written by an unidentified author in the late sixteenth century. Although they have been partially edited as part of PhD dissertations in Ottoman Turkish linguistics, the significance of these two translations for the cultural history of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century and beyond remains unexplored.[26]

Produced as part of the same intellectual endeavour, the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* and the *Majmūʿat al-Ṣanāyiʿ* translations appear to both complement and contradict each other, thus allowing for an exploration of the topic of early modern encyclopaedic interests from two intertwined yet different perspectives. On the one hand, Mustawfi's 400 folios form a thorough and well-researched scientific text that discusses in detail matters of cosmography, geography, and the natural world; on the other hand, the *Majmūʿat al-Ṣanāyiʿ* is an 80-folio handbook of sorts, mostly concerned with the practical applications of scientific knowledge for purposes of craftsmanship.

Like most translations of encyclopaedic works into Turkish, the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* translation is extant in only two manuscripts, including what may be an autograph copy by the translator.[27] Meanwhile, the Turkish *Majmūʿat al-Ṣanāyiʿ* has been preserved in nearly two dozen copies, and it was also distributed far from Kurdistan, with manuscripts found in libraries in Egypt and Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, I will leave the discussion of this intriguing little text for a further study; in the present article, I will focus on the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* as a case study on the role played by translation in the transfer of knowledge in seventeenth-century Ottoman Kurdistan.

3. Ḥamdallāh Mustawfi Qazvīnī's *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*

The *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* was completed *ca.* 741/1340; it is the last work written by Ḥamdallāh Mustawfi Qazvīnī (d. after 744/1344), who was an Ilkhanid financial officer and governor of Qazvīn, as well as having other official duties and positions.[28] It is an encyclopaedia of natural history modelled on the *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt* by Zakariyāʾ b. Muḥammad.[29] The *Nuzhat* was by all metrics a great success, as the book is now extant in around 200 manuscripts, and ever since its composition it has been widely

26 See Ekmekçi Aşan 2020; Kara 2013.

27 Ankara Millî Kütüphane, MSS A 979 and A 957.

28 Mustawfi is also the author of two historical works, the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (730/1330) and the *Ẓafarnāma* (735/1334), respectively in prose and in verse, as well as a prose continuation (*ẕayl*) to the *Ẓafarnāma*, the narrative of which, left incomplete, breaks off at 744/1343. On Mustawfi's life and works, and notably the dating of the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, see Melville 2003.

29 On the *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt* as an 'encyclopaedia of natural history,' see von Hees 2006.

used, cited, and circulated.[30] Mustawfī's book is composed of an opening discourse (*fātiḥa*), three chapters (*maqāla*), and a conclusion (*khātima*). The opening discourse is further divided into a *muqaddima* on planets, stars, and the four elements (*ʿanāṣir-i arbaʿa*; air, water, earth, and fire), and a *dībācha* on the world's habitable quarter (*rubʿ-i maskūn*) and the seven climes (*aqālīm-i sabʿa*). The first *maqāla* is devoted to the 'three elements' (*mavālīd-i ṣalāṣa*), namely minerals, plants, and animals; the second *maqāla* discusses humankind and human nature; and the third *maqāla*, for which the book is mostly known today, is the geographical part, wherein Mustawfī describes the cities and provinces of Iran and other countries far and near. These three *maqāla*s are further divided into sections and subsections variously called *bāb*, *ṣūrat*, *shikl*, *nawʿ*, *vajh*, etc., and many *Nuzhat* manuscripts feature astrological tables and drawings of plants and animals.[31] The book concludes with a section on the wonders of land and sea (*dar ẕikr-i ʿajāyib ki dar barr u baḥr-i rubʿ-i maskūn ast*).

Apart from a lithograph produced in Bombay in 1311/1894,[32] there is no complete edition of the *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, as Orientalists and modern academics alike have focused their gaze largely on the book's geographical section. This part was edited and translated into English by Guy Le Strange (1913, 1919), and then again partially edited by Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī (1336sh/1957).[33] In addition, the third *martaba* of the first *maqāla*, that is, Mustawfī's zoological study, was also edited and translated into English by John Stephenson in 1928. For her PhD dissertation on the *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*'s Turkish translation, Güneş Ekmekçi Aşan also concentrated solely on the third *maqāla*.[34] This focus on geography is not exclusively a modern phenomenon; for instance, the copyist of MS Persan 128 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, an early seventeenth-century manuscript of the work, notes that his main interest lay in the work's third *maqāla*, which he copied on its own.[35] Still, it is also the case that some copyists and readers were more inspired by the other sections of the book, as we shall see below.

30 Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī lists 115 manuscripts in Iran alone, whereas Charles Ambrose Storey registers 67 entries, mostly in European, Indian, and Russian libraries. See Dirāyatī 1390–1394sh, vol. 33, 308–15; Storey 1958, 129–331.

31 Such is for example the case of MSS Persan 127 and Supplément Persan 360 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

32 See Mustawfī Qazvīnī 1311. I was unable to consult this lithograph edition, about which John Stephenson notes, in 1928, that it is 'now apparently scarce and difficult to obtain.' He considers the work published by Malik Muḥammad Shīrāzī to be 'not (…) a very good edition,' corroborating Le Strange's opinion that 'though useful, [it] leaves much to be desired in terms of accuracy.' See Le Strange 1913, xv; Stephenson 1928, xvi.

33 Dabīr Siyāqī's edition lacks the end of *qism* 2 and the entirety of *qism* 3 and 4.

34 For this reason, she exclusively used MS A 979, as MS A 957 does not contain that part.

35 See MS Persan 128, f. 6v.

4. The *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*'s Turkish Translation Sponsored by Abdāl Khān

We do not have a date for the translation of the *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* into Ottoman Turkish produced at the behest of Abdāl Khān, which, incidentally, is also the only Ottoman translation of the work known to us. In fact, we have little information on the context of its production, other than the mention of Abdāl Khān as the (unknown) translator's patron in the book's *sebeb-i telīf* ('reason for writing').[36] Praising Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī's work as 'a jewel of artistry and a vault full of pearls,' an 'achievement of the highest order' both 'masterfully succinct and deep,' the translator notes that 'since [the book] was in Persian, people who did not know Persian could not benefit from [reading it]; now, it has been translated from Persian and adorned in Turkish clothes.'[37]

The translation's possible autograph, MS A 979 of the Millî Kütüphane (Ankara), is a richly decorated manuscript with an illuminated frontispiece and title page including headboards and plant illustrations (see Fig. 1), as well as further illustrations throughout, astrological tables, and a map.[38] The manuscript comprises 308 numbered folios, in addition to several blank pages added at a later date.[39] However, the text of the translation is incomplete due to the accidental loss of several folios at the end of the copy;[40] it stops at Mustawfī's geographical entry on Yemen (f. 308v, l. 8), in the middle of the fourth and last section (*ḳısım*) of the third *maḳāle*.[41]

Although probably no longer than a dozen folios, this lacuna has an unfortunate side-effect, as it deprives us of MS A 979's colophon, which might have provided the name of the translator and helped to prove or disprove the volume's autograph status. The reader will also not be surprised to read that, in the absence of any *waqf* notes, seals, or possession marks, save for the seal of the Millî Kütüphane dated 1946, I have so far been unable to retrace the circulation of the manuscript and the circumstances of its integration into the Millî Kütüphane's collections.

The only other extant copy of the *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*'s Turkish translation is also kept in Ankara's Millî Kütüphane, with the call number A 957 (see Fig. 2), as part of a *majmūʿa* manuscript containing two texts: first, the *Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb* (ff. 1v–190r); second, another, unidentified text discussing various drugs and medicines (ff. 191v–307v). Both texts are complete[42] and seem to have been written in the same

36 He is called *Ḫān b. Ḫān Abdāl Ḫān b. Żiyā'üddīn Ḫān el-Bidlīsī* and afforded extended marks of praise. See MS A 979, ff. 1r–v; MS A 957, ff. 1v–2r.

37 MS A 979, ff. 1r–1v.

38 See tables on ff. 15r–15v, 35r, 37v–38v, 39v, 46r, 205r; map on ff. 200v–201r; diagrams and dials on ff. 2v, 35v, 39r, 203r. There is also the presence of a *fihrist* and some scribbles on the recto of the first fly leaf, a list with numbers on the recto of the title page, and a note of identification by a modern hand on folio 1r.

39 Inside the text, these blank pages replace the missing folios 284–5; 296–7.

40 The accidental nature of this lacuna is confirmed by the presence of a catchword on the verso of the last extant folio.

41 What are therefore missing are the end of the third *maqāla* and the conclusion, corresponding to pp. 263–7 of Le Strange's edition and pp. 256–88 of his English translation.

42 As indicated by the word *tammat* at the end of each.

Figure 1. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, title page*

hand; however, again, neither of these two texts features a colophon. Moreover, in MS A 957, the text of the *Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb* contains only the first and second *maḳāle* of the work, that is, the parts devoted to cosmography and the natural sciences. The geographical part is thus omitted, meaning that we cannot supplement MS A 979's missing folios with MS A 957, and that the end of the *Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb* is, for now, lost.

As will be manifest from the examples given in the following sections, the text of the *Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb* is quite a literal translation, including the choice of vocabulary used, resulting in a work written in a very Persianised form of Turkish. As a single but representative example, the frequent expression '*garm va khushk ast*' ('it is hot and dry') is thus rendered as '*germ ve ḫuşkdur.*' There are also liberal cuts made into the text, sometimes rendering it virtually nonsensical, especially in the geographical part; however, it is difficult to say if these omissions should be attributed to the translator, or rather to the copyist of the Persian manuscript on which he modelled it.[43] A

43 Literati, translators, and copyists of the early modern Islamic world were predominantly men. In view of this fact, and for reasons of clarity, the masculine is used in this article when referring to the unidentified translator, copyist, and annotators of the *Nuzhat*

Figure 2. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 957, f. 36v*

more comprehensive study is also needed to detect the presence of any additions made while translating the text.

In contrast with modern editors of both the Persian and Turkish texts, contemporary or near-contemporary readers of the Turkish *Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb* appeared to be more interested in cosmography, astrology, and the natural sciences than in geography. Suggested by the omission of the third *maḳāle* in MS A 957, this tendency is confirmed by the numerous marginalia found in MS A 979.

al-Qulūb. However, this should not be construed as saying that 'anonymous equals male,' or as erasing 'female agency in manuscript cultures,' to quote the introduction of a recent edited volume by Eike Grossmann (2024, 1). Unfortunately, but perhaps unsurprisingly, this volume does not include a chapter on the Islamic world; some prior works, such as Faroqhi 2023; Szuppe 1996; 1998 can supplement this lacuna.

5. Marginalia in MS A 979 of the *Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb*

Four different individuals have left notes in the margins of MS A 979, and, albeit numerous, these notes are very unevenly distributed. While they differ not only in authorship, but also in nature and, sometimes, in purpose, they are all exclusively paratextual notes, in that they always relate to the text in the margins of which they are written.[44] The first annotator of the manuscript is the copyist himself, who added in the margins words, sentences, and passages of the text that he had forgotten, usually neatly written and underlined in red ink, and sometimes signalled by a V symbol. There are 27 such notes throughout the work;[45] they are, of course, typical of the work of a professional copyist and indicate a careful proofreading of the text either during copy or during rubrication (see Fig. 3).

The second person to have written paratextual notes in the margins of MS A 979 wrote in purple and red ink. Although these notes look as if they have been added by the copyist at the time of rubrication, their rather 'sloppy' character, when compared to the copyist's neat marginalia, goes against this hypothesis. These 132 notes appear almost exclusively in the botanical section of the work (ff. 63v–93r), with only one example located outside of this section, immediately before, on f. 62r.[46] They are mostly linguistic notes giving the Turkish equivalents of botanical terms left by the translator in Arabic or Persian; some of the notes in purple are crossed out and replaced by those in red, suggesting anteriority of the purple notes.

The third individual who commented on the text in the manuscript also did so almost exclusively in the margins or in between the lines of the botanical section, with just two of the 62 notes appearing outside it, on ff. 61r–61v. These are again linguistic notes giving the Turkish names of plants discussed in the text, but also providing some informational content.[47] These notes are written mostly in black ink, with a small minority in red ink; on average, they are longer than the second person's notes, and, as we shall see below, the annotator also provides references.

The notes made by the fourth annotator are by far the most numerous – too numerous for me to count – and, importantly, they are not in Turkish, but in Arabic. These notes are what I have called 'bookmarks,' rather than comments, and are a type of note found in many manuscripts. They are generally very brief, no more than a few words indicating the subject of the adjacent text and written at the very limit of the page, with a view to facilitating the search of a particular section in the manuscript (see Fig. 4). This individual made these bookmarks mainly in the cosmographical opening section of the

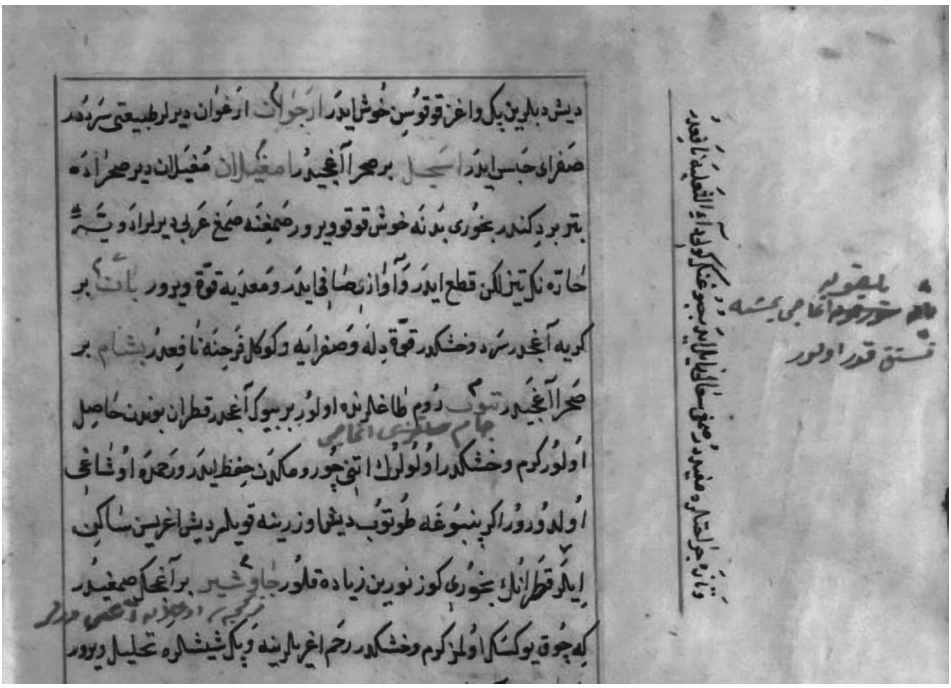
44 A discussion of the use of 'manuscript notes as documentary sources' is beyond the scope of this article; however, see Görke and Hirschler 2011.

45 See MS A 979, ff. 10v, 12v, 13v, 14r, 25v, 36r, 45r, 59v, 62v, 65v, 66v, 70r, 73v, 89v, 93r, 109v, 120v, 128r, 145r, 191v, 193r, 200r, 208v, 240r, 255v, 274r, 292r, 300v.

46 See MS A 979, ff. 62r–63v, 64v-66r, 67v, 68v-69r, 70v-70r, 71v-76r, 77r-78r, 79v, 80v-81r, 82v-84v, 87r–91r, 92r.

47 See MS A 979, ff. 61r-61v, 64r-65r, 66r, 69r-69v, 70v, 72v, 74r, 75r, 76r, 78r, 79r-79v, 80v, 82r, 83r-84v, 87r-88r, 90r, 91r-92v.

Figure 3. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 73v, note by the copyist*



manuscript (*fātiḥa*, ff. 1v–47r); in the mineralogical section (ff. 47r–63v); in the section on human beings (ff. 121r–188r); and, to a lesser extent, in the geographical sections on cities and provinces (ff. 188r–198v) and mountains (ff. 275v–279v).[48]

In the few analytical paragraphs that follow, I shall omit these bookmarks, as well as the corrective notes by the copyist, two phenomena that would benefit from a broader discussion encompassing several manuscripts in comparative perspective. I will instead focus on the *Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb*'s botanical section (*maḳāle* 1, *mertebe* 2; MS A 979, ff. 63v, l. 14–93r, l. 3), the main interest of the two other annotators, which contains most of the content notes in the manuscript.

6. The *Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb*'s Botanical Section

The focus of the annotators on the botanical section can be attributed to two intertwined phenomena: an obviously greater interest on the part of readers in this topic

48 See MS A 979, ff. 2v, 21r–31r, 35v, 43v, 44v–45v, 47r-64v, 69r-69v, 121v-122r, 123v, 124v, 125v, 126v–127r, 128r, 135r, 143r, 146r, 147r, 151r, 165v, 171r–173v, 174v, 176r, 186v, 188r-193r, 194v-198v, 216v, 275v, 277r, 278v–279v. This annotator also wrote an Arabic *fihrist* with rubricated page numbers before the start of the text.

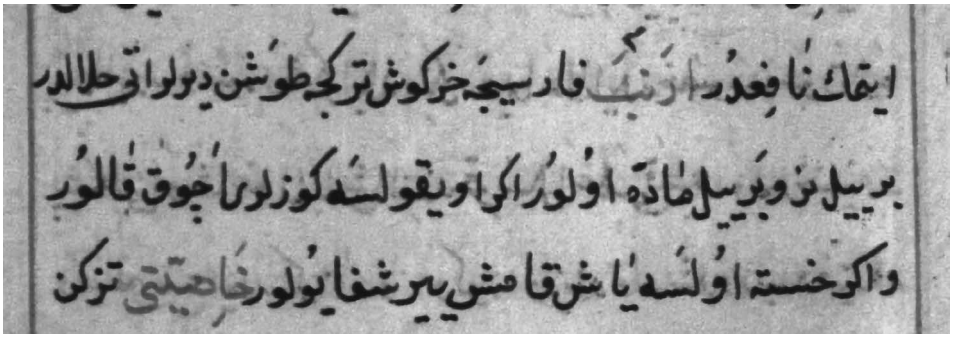
Figure 4. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, ff. 23v–24r, bookmark note*

and the fact that, in contrast with other sections, Mustawfi does not give the Turkish names of the plants. In the three sections (*martaba*) of the first *maqāla* devoted to minerals, plants, and animals, Mustawfi provides a succession of brief entries written according to a particular formula: he first gives the entry word in Arabic, and then, in the sections on minerals and animals, he gives Persian, Turkish, and Mongol equivalents, as well as Arabic variants in some cases. So, for example, in John Stephenson's English translation, the start of the entry for 'hare/rabbit' reads:

> ***Arnab*** [Arabic entry word, rubricated], the Hare [*khargūsh*, in Persian], called by the Turks *tāūshqān* [*ṭavṣḳan*], and by the Mongols *tāwalāi*. In the sect of the Imām Shāfiʿī (*may God be well pleased with him !*) it is allowable to eat it, and in some other sects it is disapproved (…). The nature of its flesh is hot and dry in the first degree.[49] It is one year a female and one year a male; and the female menstruates in the

49 The notion of an animal's meat or a plant being hot or cold, wet or dry, etc., is related to Galenic humoral theory, an exploration of which is beyond the scope of this article.

Figure 5. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 96v, entry* arnab



manner of women. And its eyes are open while it sleeps; and when it is sick it eats green reed and is cured.[50]

In the Bidlīsite Turkish translation, this is rendered (Fig. 5) as follows:

> ***Arnab.*** In Persian it is called *khargūsh*, and in Turkish *tavşan*. Its meat is licit. It is one year a male and one year a female. When it sleeps, its eyes stay open and, when it is sick, it eats green reed [*yaş ḳamış*] and is cured.[51]

Noteworthy here is the fact that, as part of his adaptation of the *Nuzhat* for its new audience, the translator changed the Turkish term *tavşḳan* to *tavşan*, presumably to reflect linguistic differences, and did away with the Mongol equivalent *tāwlāy*, which might have mattered in Mustawfī's Ilkhanid Iran, but was apparently less important in seventeenth-century Bidlīs. Furthermore, the lawfulness of hare and rabbit meat is presented as an uncontroversial fact, without reference to diverging opinions, which is unsurprising if we consider that the Kurds predominantly belong(ed) to the Shāfiʿī school of law, and not to Hanafism, the official *madhhab* of the Ottoman Empire.[52]

50 ارنب خرگوش را ترکان طوشقان و مغولان تاولای خوانند بمذهب امام شافعی رضع مباح است و بعضی مذاهب مکروح طبع گوشتش گرم و خشکست بدرجهٔ اوّل یکسال ماده و یکسال نر بود و او را مانند زنان حیض بود و چون بخسپد چشمش باز باشد و چون رنجوز شود نی تر بخورد شفا یابد; MS Persan 139, f. 124v, ll. 13–8; see also Stephenson 1928, 17 (edition), 11 (translation). The Persian text of Mustawfī's botanical section, for which no edition exists, is quoted from MS Persan 139 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), a copy of the *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* dated 853/1449, making it one of the oldest known extant manuscripts (see Le Strange 1913, xiv-xv; Stephenson 1928, xvi-xviii; and Dirāyatī and Storey's catalogues).

51 ارنب فارسیجه خرگوش ترکچه طوشن دیرلر اتی حلالدر بر ییل نر و بریل ماده اولور اگر اویقولسه گوزلری اچوق قالور و اگر خسته اولسه یاش قامش یپر شفا بولور; MS A 979, f. 96v, l. 3.

52 The consumption of rabbit and hare meat is not forbidden in any Sunni school of law, as 'Hanafi scholars considered them merely censurable'; however, it is considered unlawful by Shia Muslims and Alevis alike. See al-Sīstānī 1430, 288–9; Öz 1996, 129–36; World Health Organization 1997, 17.

However, the entry does not end here but continues with a list of the hare's (numerous!) medicinal properties, such as the whitening of teeth (ashes of the head), aiding pregnancy (brain), relieving a cough (spleen), and curing colic and rheumatism (flesh).[53] This is interesting in that it showcases Mustawfī's frequent inclusion of information on the use of animal parts and products for medicinal purposes. Such information is also found in the sections on minerals and plants, the other two *martaba* of this *maqāla*. This suggests that one of the primary motives for acquiring and transmitting knowledge about the natural world was the theory and practice of pharmacology and medicine,[54] a suggestion that will be borne out by the later discussion of botanical marginalia.

I will not multiply examples here; suffice it to say that the two abovementioned entries can serve as a linguistic and terminological blueprint for entries written by Mustawfī in the sections on minerals and animals. However, in the section on plants, Mustawfī does not provide Turkish or Mongol terms, probably because they are significantly more difficult to indicate with precision. Readers of the Persian original of the *Nuzhat* are thus left with the Arabic and Persian words, sometimes supplemented by additional variants in Arabic dialects, and, for most entries, this is also the case for readers of the Turkish translation, which is more of a problem. Whether lacking the confidence to add the Turkish equivalents, or unwilling to undertake the required research work, the translator usually did not contribute this arguably essential element to aid the reader's understanding of the text,[55] so it was supplemented by the two main annotators of this section.

To understand how they did it, let us for example look at the ninth entry in the section, devoted to *bādrūj*, a type of flowering herb in the *Lamiaceae* family.[56] Mustawfī's entry on this plant reads:

Bādrūj. [Arabic entry word] [In Persian, it is called] *kundus*. It is hot and dry. (…)[57]

53 See MS Persan 139, ff. 124v, l. 18–125r, l. 8; Stephenson 1928, 17–8 (edition), 11–2 (translation).

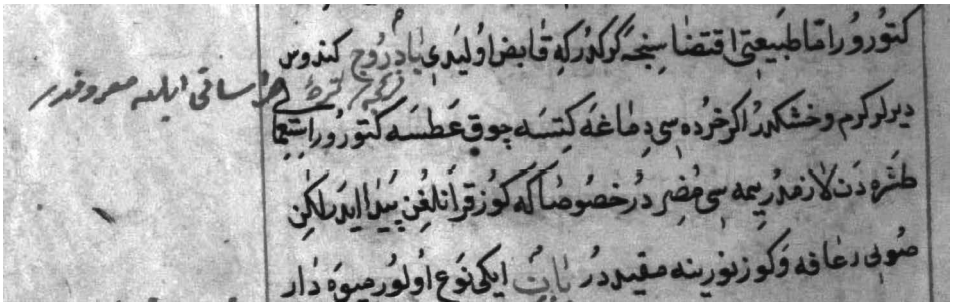
54 See Stephenson 1928, xiv-xvi.

55 There are a few counterexamples, such as the entry on the walnut tree (*Juglans regia*; entry word in Arabic جَوز), wherein the translator adds a Turkish translation (قوز) to the Persian word given at the start of the entry by Mustawfī (گردکان). See MS A 979, f. 67r, l. 3, and compare with MS Persan 139, f. 83v, l. 10.

56 The identification of the plants described by Mustawfī is often problematic, and the Turkish terms added by annotators to the translation sometimes confuse matters rather than clarifying them. In the case of *bādrūj*, both Mustawfī and the annotators are probably referring to a species of the genus *Ziziphora*, perhaps *Ziziphora clinopodioides*. *Ziziphora* species belong to the same *Lamiaceae* family as the *Ocimum* genus, in which basil (*Ocimum basilicum*) is to be found; this explains why these plants are today often given names associated with *reyḥān* (*dağ reyhanı*, *yabani reyhan* in Turkish; *reyhan* in Kurdish; *rayḥān-i kūhī* in Persian). According to the Safavid court physician Muḥammad Muʾmin Tunikābunī (fl. late eleventh/seventeenth century), the term *bādrūj* is of 'Nabataean' (نبطی) origin. See Fırat 2017; Muʾmin 1376sh, 137; Yıldız 2020, 604.

57 بادروج کبدش گرم و خشکست; MS Persan 139, f. 81v, ll. 5–9, see also MS BnF Persan 127, f. 122r, ll. 4–8, wherein the Persian name of the plant is more properly spelt کندس.

Figure 6. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 65r, entry n° 9*, bādrūc



This is translated (Fig. 6) as:

> ***Bādrūc.*** They call it *kundūs*. It is hot and dry. (…)[58]

So, in addition to writing in heavily Persianised Turkish, as mentioned earlier with this same example, the translator fails to provide a Turkish term for the plant, so that non-Persian and non-Arabic speakers, or anyone unfamiliar with plant names in these languages, would have no understanding of the entry.[59] This is where the annotator writing in red/purple ink, henceforth Annotator 1, intervenes, by adding: 'In Turkish, it is known as *tere-i ḫorāsānī*,'[60] which is indeed a Turkish name for the plant known in Arabic as *bādrūj*.[61]

However, things are not always that straightforward, as attested by annotations made in the margins of the sixth entry (Fig. 7). This entry is devoted to the chinaberry tree or Persian lilac, the scientific name of which, *Melia azaderach*, derives from its Persian name *āzād dirakht*, which Mustawfī used here as the entry head:

> ***Āzād dirakht.*** It is called *ṭāq* [in Persian], and some of the Arabs call it *ʿaṣā*. (…) They also call it *ṭāḫak* [in Persian].[62]

58 بادروج کندوس دیرلر گرم و خشکدر; MS A 979, f. 65r, ll. 13–6.

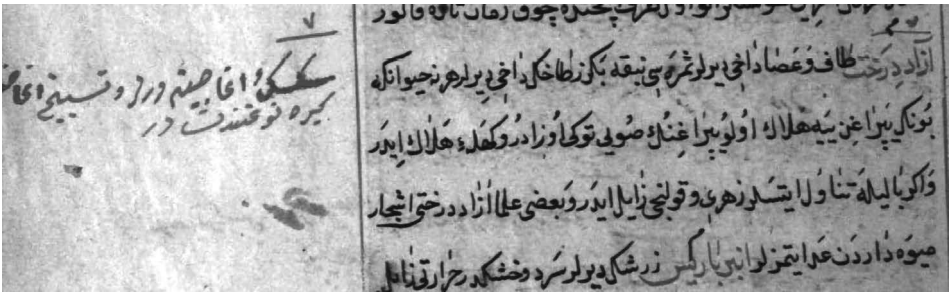
59 In fact, someone unfamiliar with Persian might not even know that *kundus* is supposed to be a Persian term, as the translator does not specify it.

60 ترکچه‌سی ترهٔ خراسانی ایله معروفدر; MS A 979, f. 65r, l. 13.

61 For example, it is mentioned in the entry for *bādrūj* in a Turkish translation of the early seventh/thirteenth-century Andalusian scholar Ibn al-Bayṭār's *Mufradāt* by Hezārfen Ḥüseyin Efendi (d. 1103/1691), as well as in the *Lisānü'l-Eṭibbā* written by the same scholar; *tere-i ḫorāsānī* is also a translation for *bādrūj* in Lütfullāh Ḥalīmī's Persian–Turkish dictionary *Baḥrü'l-Ġarā'ib* (*ca*. late ninth/fifteenth century). See Demir Öztürk 2021, 131; Faroe 1991, 180–1; İbn Baytar 2017, 84–5; Kaya 2018, 55; Küçüker and Yıldız 2016, 28.

62 ازاد درخت طاق را بعصی عرب عصّا خوانند ... طاحک نیز خوانند; MS Persan 139, f. 81r, ll. 12–7.

Figure 7. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 67r, entry n° 6*, āzād dıraḫt



This is again faithfully rendered by our translator, albeit with a spelling mistake, perhaps coming from the Persian manuscript he used:

Āzād dıraḫt. It is also called *ṭāf* [*sic*] and *ʿaṣā*. (…) They also call it *ṭāḫak*.[63]

In the absence of a Turkish term, Annotator 1 once more set out to provide one in the margins, yet he did so in a rather confusing way, writing: 'They call it the *seksek* tree, as well as the *tesbīḥ* tree, and it belongs to the *gebere* genre.'[64] However, the *seksek* tree is the white saxaul tree (*Haloxylon persicum*, belonging to the *Amaranthaceae* family) and thus has nothing to do with the chinaberry tree.[65] The *tesbīḥ aġacı* is the Persian lilac (*Melia azedarach*);[66] yet, it is not part of the genre called *gebere*, that is, caper bushes (*Capparis*).[67] The confusion here seems to have stemmed from the Persian and Arabic terms provided by Mustawfi, *ṭāq* and *ʿaṣā*, which are very similar, in written form, to the Persian and Arabic terms for *Halolyxon persicum*, *ṭāgh* and *ghaḍā*.[68]

This, and other examples, show the extent to which the terms used to designate plants varied from region to region and from one speech community to the next, even among speakers of the same languages, causing frequent errors, lapses, and inaccuracies. To try to remedy such shortcomings and make sense of this diversity, people interested in the vegetal world could refer to various books written on the subject. Such documentation was especially necessary for those intent on going beyond mere linguistic remarks, and while Annotator 1 is rather sparing in such instructional com-

63 ازاد درخت طاف و عصا داخی دیرلر ... طاخک داخی دیرلر; MS A 979, f. 65r, l. 6.

64 سکسک اغاجنی درلر و تسبیح اغاجنی و گبره نوعندن در

65 See Hedge 1997.

66 This is attested in both the *Lisānü'l-Eṭibbā* and Hezārfen Ḥüseyin Efendi's translation of the *Mufradāt*; see İbn Baytar 2017, 36–7; Kaya 2018, 146.

67 See Yıldız 2020, 737.

68 The term *ʿaṣā* could not be identified in relation to any kind of plant, leaving open the possibility that Mustawfi himself confused *Melia azaderach* and *Halolyxon persicum* and wrote *ghażā*, transformed by copyist error into *ʿaṣā* (عصا/غضا). Moreover, *Halolyxon persicum* looks quite like a shrub, which may explain our annotator's undue association with the *Capparis* genre. See al-Ḥilū 1420, 53; Muẓaffariyān 1375sh, 259.

Figure 8. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 64v, entry n° 3*, eblīlec

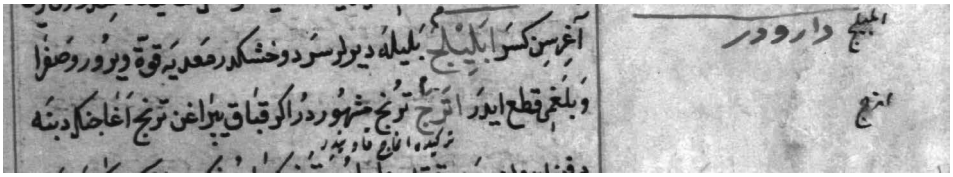
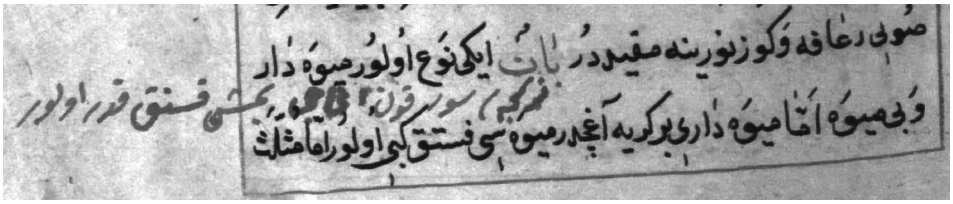


Figure 9. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 65r, entry n° 10*, bān



ments, he occasionally notes of the bastard myrobalan (*iblīlaj*, vocalised here *eblīlec*, entry n° 3, Fig. 8) that 'it is a drug,'[69] and of the moringa (*bān*, entry n° 10, Fig. 9) that 'its fruits are as big as pistachios.'[70]

The annotator writing in black ink, henceforth Annotator 2, is much more inclined to give practical information on the plants than Annotator 1, and it seems that he also did more research than his predecessor, with whose annotations he was, apparently, sometimes dissatisfied, crossing out some of his comments and correcting them. These corrections are occasionally very trivial; for instance, in the translation's eighth entry on emblic myrobalan, or *amlaj/emlec*,[71] Annotator 1 has specified: 'In Turkish,

69 دارودر; MS A 979, f. 64v, l. 8; compare with MS Persan 139, f. 80v, ll. 16–8. This refers to *Terminalia bellerica*, also known in Arabic as *balīlaj*, *balīla* in Persian, and *belīle* in Turkish, wherein the term designated the fruit proper, the tree being called *belīle aġacı*. It was also used for leather crafting and dying purposes. See Muʿīn and Shahīdī 1377sh, vol. 4, 4996; al-Ḥilū 1420, 95; İbn Baytar 217, 111–2; Kaya 2018, 62; Yıldız 2020, 606.

70 In this case, the plant's Turkish name is also provided by Annotator 1 as *sorḳun aġacı*: ترکچه‌سی سورقون اغاجی یمشی فستق قدر اولور; MS A 979, f. 65r, l. 16; see MS Persan 139, f. 81v, ll. 11–7; also, MS Persan 127, f. 122r, ll. 8–13, which is sounder for this entry. This comment is a rephrasing of Mustawfī's text, wherein we read that 'its fruits are like pistachios, but triangular' (ثمره‌اش مانند فستق است امّا مثلّث بود; میوه‌سی فستق گبی اولور امّا مثلّث شکل اولور in the translation), confirming the plant's identification with *Moringa oleifeira*, the leaves and fruits of which are traditionally used in herbal medicine. As for the 'fruitless' *bān* mentioned in the entry and called, in the Persian original, *āzād dirakht-i kutāh* ('short Persian lilac,' though the two trees are not related), it can be identified with the Egyptian willow tree, also called *bīd mishk* (scientific name: *Salix aegyptica*). See Yıldız 2020, 971; al-Ḥilū 1420, 68.

71 Scientific name *Phyllanthus emblica*; it is called *āmulaj* or *āmula* in Persian and *emlec* in Turkish. See al-Ḥilū 1420, 75; Muʿīn and Shahīdī 1377sh, vol. 1, 212; İbn Baytar 2017, 64–5; Kaya 2018, 45, 52; Yıldız 2020, 716–7.

Figure 10. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 65r, entry n° 8*, emlec

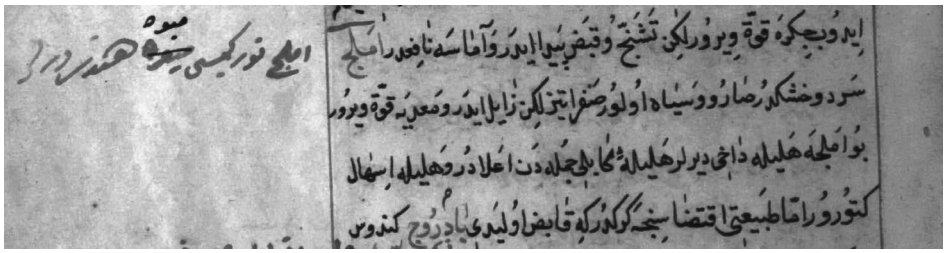
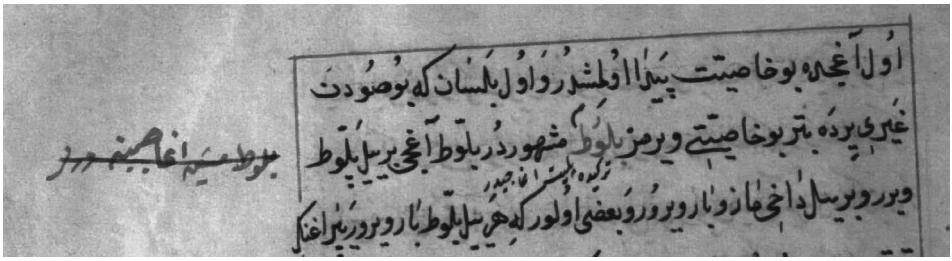


Figure 11. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 66r, entry n° 15*, balūṭ



emlec is called *meyve-i hindī* [the Indian fruit],'[72] a note wherein the word *meyve* has been crossed out and rewritten more clearly by Annotator 2 (Fig. 10).

Remarkably, both annotators missed a much more important issue in what they read: a look at the Persian text of the *Nuzhat* reveals that there is no eighth entry on *amlaj*, but rather an entry on the black myrobalan, or *ihlīlaj*.[73] As the text of the Turkish entry on *emlec* is a translation of the text of the Persian entry on *ihlīlaj*, there must have been a scribal error in the entry's title.[74] Whether that error was made by a Persian copyist or by the Turkish translator, it was certainly facilitated by the fact that these two plants were used in the same preparations. Indeed, together with the abovementioned bastard myrobalan (*iblīlaj*), the black myrobalan (*ihlīlaj*) and the

72 املج تورکیسی میوه هندی درلر; MS A 979, f. 65r, l. 10. In the *Lisānü'l-Eṭibbā*, Ḥezārfen Ḥüseyin Efendi similarly notes that '*emlec* is a fruit from India; it is called *emlec-i hindī*.' See Kaya 2018, 45, 112.

73 With the scientific name *Terminalia chebula*, the black myrobalan is called *halīla* in Persian and *helile* or *helilec* in Turkish. See Muʿīn and Shahīdī 1377sh, vol. 15, 23515; al-Ḥilū 1420, 95; İbn Baytar 2017, 389–90; Kaya 2018, 50; Yıldız 2020, 770.

74 Interestingly, though, the Persian term *halīla*, present as the first word of the *ihlīlaj* entry in Mustawfi's text, is omitted by the translator, who must have known that *amlaj* and *halīla* were two different plants, although he fails to supply the correct Persian term *āmu* in place of *halīla*. See MS A 979, f. 65r, ll. 10–3; MS Persan 139, ff. 81r, l. 19–81v, l. 5; and, for comparison, the same entry in MS Persan 127, ff. 121v, l. 15–122r, l. 4.

emblic myrobalan (*amlaj*) formed the herbal *triphala* recipe of traditional Ayurvedic medicine, known by Persian physicians as *iṭrīfal*.[75]

Such problems with the identification of plants and other terminological issues abound in the text and translation. These difficulties are again obvious in entry n° 15 on the oak tree (*ḥalūṭ*),[76] in the margins of which Annotator 1 had written: '*Balūṭ* is used for the *meşe* tree,' (بلوط میشه اغاجنه درلر). This comment was crossed out by Annotator 2, who added an interlinear corrective note: 'In Turkish, this is the *palıt* tree' (ترکیده پلیت اغاجیدر). To illustrate the confusion sometimes experienced by the author, translator, and annotators in properly identifying and describing plants, *palıt* (or *pelit*, *palamud*) more correctly refers to the oak's acorn, rather than to the tree itself; however, it has also been used to indicate the latter, notably with the form *palıt aġacı*,[77] perhaps as a regional variant to *meşe*.

Of course, authors and readers were aware of such variation, and Annotator 2 did try to deal with it, as is manifest in, for example, his comments on the very first entry on the section, devoted to the common myrtle (*Myrtus communis*). In Mustawfī's text, we read: '***Ās.*** [Arabic entry word] It is *mūrd* [the myrtle, Persian], which some of the Arabs call *rand*.'[78] This is translated word for word into Turkish (Fig. 12).[79] Annotator 2 does not comment on the term *rand*, generally used for the bay laurel (*laurus nobilis*), rather than for the myrtle as claimed by Mustawfī,[80] but he provides further valuable information, writing in the bottom margin: 'In Turkish, this is the Mersin tree, its fruit is called *ḥabb al-ās* and *ḥadas-ı ḥaff*,'[81] then naming

75 In the *Lisānü'l-Eṭibbā*, Hezārfen Ḥüseyin Efendi calls *belîle* 'a fruit similar to *emlec* and *helilec*.' The medicinal properties of these three plants are already referred to in the tenth-century anonymous Persian geography *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*. See Kapoor 2001, 175–6; 321; Kaya 2018, 62; Muʿīn and Shahīdī 1377sh, vol. 2, 2867–8 (*iṭrīfal*); vol. 10, 10404 (*ṭarāfil*); *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* 1362sh, 69; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* 1937, 90.

76 See MS A 979, f. 66r, ll. 2–10; MS Persan 139, f. 82r, ll. 13–9. Oaks, the various species of which number in the hundreds, belong to the genus *Quercus*; *balūṭ* is both the Arabic and Persian name of the tree. See al-Ḥilū 1420, 81–2; Muʿīn and Shahīdī 1377sh, vol. 4, 4988.

77 See Yıldız 2020, 189, 616, 904, 928.

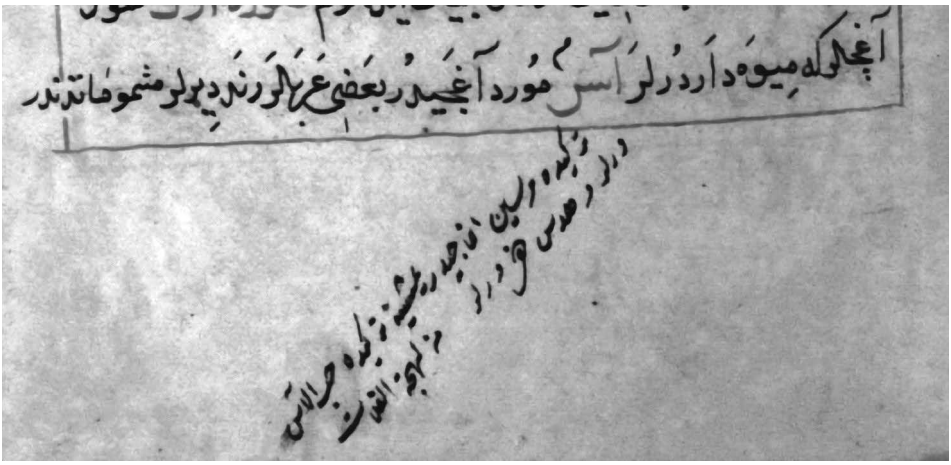
78 آس مورد را بعضی عرب رند خوانند; MS Persan 139, ff. 80r, l. 16–80v, l. 7. See al-Ḥilū 1420, 69; Muʿīn and Shahīdī 1377sh, vol. 14, 21771.

79 آس مورد آغجیدر بعضی عربلر رند دیرلر; MS A 979, ff. 64r, l. 17–64v, l. 4.

80 Interestingly, Aḥmad Taymūr mentions the use of *rand* to designate the myrtle in his *Muʿjam Taymūr al-Kabīr fi al-Alfāẓ al-ʿĀmiyya*, yet without specifying the region and/or context. See al-Ḥilū 1420, 61; Taymūr 1421–1423, vol. 5, 342–3.

81 ترکیده مرسین اغاجیدر یمشینه ترکیده حب الآس درلر و هدس حف درلر من لهجة اللغات; MS A 979, f. 64r, l. 17. The term *mersīn aġacı* is well attested in Turkish botanical texts, and we find mention of *hadas* as a Yemeni name for the tree, rather than its fruit, in Taymūr's *Muʿjam* and in Dehkhoda's *Lughatnāma*. As for *ḥabb al-ās* ('myrtle seed'), it is attested as *ḥambalās*, and in Turkicised form *ḥambeles*, in Syria and the Adana region. See al-Ḥilū 1420, 69; İbn Baytar 2017, 40–2; Muʿīn and Shahīdī 1377sh, vol. 15, 23424; Taymūr 1421–1423, vol. 5, 342–3; Yıldız 2020, 187; 763, 903.

Figure 12. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 64r, entry n° 1,* āş



as his source the celebrated *Lehcetü'l-Luġāt* by Şeyhülislām Meḥmed Esʿad Efendi (d. 1166/1753).[82]

The *Lehcetü'l-Luġāt* is mentioned only this once by Annotator 2, who also refers once to the *Tuḥfat al-Muʾminīn* (Fig. 13), a multilingual medical and pharmacological treatise written in 1080/1669 by Muḥammad Muʾmin Tunikābunī (fl. late eleventh/seventeenth century), court physician of the Safavid shah Sulaymān I (r. 1077–1105/1666–1694), to whom the book is dedicated.[83] However, Annotator 2's main source by far was the *Enmüzecü'ṭ-Ṭıbb*, a book of pharmacology written by Emīr Çelebi (d. 1048/1638), chief physician of Muṣṭafā I (r. 1026–1027/1617–1618, 1031–1032/1622–1623), ʿOṯmān II (r. 1027–1031/1618–1622), and Murād IV (r. 1032–1049/1623–1640).[84] Dedicated to the *kaptan-ı deryā* Topal Receb Paşa (d. 1041/1632),[85] and thus composed during the latter's tenure in 1032–1035/1623–1626, the book is simply referred to here as *Enmüzec*; it is mentioned by Annotator 2 no fewer than 16 times (see for example entry n° 50;

82 None of the terms *ās*, *ḥabb al-ās*, *ḥadas*, and *mersīn* are included in the Ottoman printed edition (1210/1795) or in the modern edition (2022) of the *Lehcetü'l-Luġāt*; however, it is very possible that they are to be found in the rich manuscript tradition of the work, which unfortunately could not be examined within the framework of this article. On Meḥmed Esʿad Efendi's life, see Doğan 1995.

83 On Muḥammad Muʾmin's life, see Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Rawżātī's introduction to his edition of the *Tuḥfa* (1376sh); Karāmatī 1385sh.

84 On Emīr Çelebi's life and his *Enmüzec*, see Demirhan Erdemir 1995.

85 Receb Paşa later became grand vizier, a position he held for a little more than three months in 1041/1632 before being executed by order of Murād IV. See Emecen 2019.

Figure 13. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 76r, entry n° 130*, lubbān

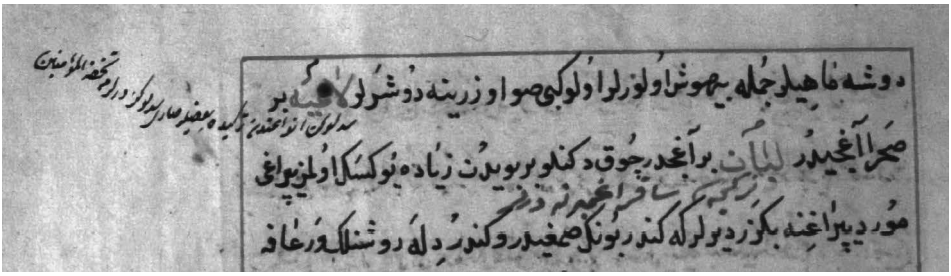
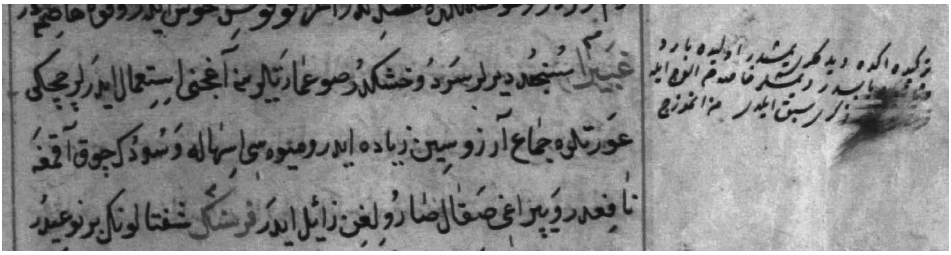


Figure 14. Terceme-i Nüzhetü'l-Ḳulūb, *MS A 979, f. 69v, entry n° 50*, ghabīra



ghabīra; Fig. 14).[86] This is consistent with the great popularity of that work in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, along with references to the *Lehcetü'l-Luġāt* and the *Tuḥfat al-Mu'minīn*, it suggests that Annotator 2 (and, hence, Annotator 1) wrote his comments in that period, with a *terminus post quem* of 1145/1732, the completion date of Meḥmed Esʿad Efendi's dictionary.

7. Concluding Remarks

In this article, I have tried to show the important role played by translations in the processes of knowledge transfer in the Ottoman Empire. I more specifically focused on the development of botanical knowledge at the Kurdish court of emir Abdāl Khān in Bidlis, through an examination of the relevant section of Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī's Persian *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* and its Turkish translation. Beyond the translated text itself, the study of annotations by later readers, who added supplementary information and corrected perceived mistakes, attests to the continuous engagement with this knowledge and to the place of texts and translations in scholarly activities. Ref-

86 Apparently keen on detail, Annotator 2 even remarks in one of his comments that information he quotes from the *Enmüzec* was originally given in the *Kitāb al-Mūjaz fī al-Ṭibb* by the Syrian physician Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Qarashī, known as Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288). See MS A 979, f. 87v, l. 15. Also see Kahya 2000; Meyerhof and Schacht 1986.

erences to books such as Muḥammad Muʾmin's *Tuḥfat al-Muʾminīn*, Emīr Çelebi's *Enmüzecü'ṭ-Ṭıbb*, and Meḥmed Esʿad Efendi's *Lehcetü'l-Luġāt*, further reveal that these readers had access to literature on the subject produced both in the Ottoman Empire and in Safavid Iran. This translation is also representative of a wider trend in Ottoman Kurdistan, namely, the gradual loss of literacy in Persian and its replacement by Ottoman Turkish at various Kurdish courts, while literature in Kurdish simultaneously developed in a madrasa context.

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