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## Prolegomena on Ibn Ajā's Journey to Tabriz: Chronology and Itinerary According to the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak*

### INTRODUCTION

The scholarly and diplomatic career of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Khalīl al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanafī (820–81/1417 or 1418–76), known as Ibn Ajā after the sobriquet of his father, is known mainly through his biography as given in al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary of notables living in the ninth Islamic century.<sup>1</sup> After studying in Aleppo and Cairo, Ibn Ajā combined his scholarly background and his command of Turkic linguistic registers to establish himself as an intermediary between the military or political elites of the Mamluk realm and its scholarly networks.<sup>2</sup> This positionality is also reflected in his extant works, which correspond to the two works ascribed to him by al-Sakhāwī. The first of these is a versified Turkic translation of the *Futūḥ al-Shām* ascribed to al-Wāqidī,<sup>3</sup> while the second is an account of the military campaign of Ibn Ajā's patron, Yashbak

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<sup>1</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Beirut, 2003), 10:40–41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 10:41.

<sup>3</sup> This text is extant in Istanbul (part one in the Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, formerly Saliha Hatun, MS 00157 Demirbaş, part two in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Karatay 489 = Koşuşlar 883); cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 10:41. I hope to prepare a detailed study of this work in the future.



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min Mahdī,<sup>4</sup> against the Dulghādirid<sup>5</sup> ruler *shāh* Suwār<sup>6</sup> from 875/1471 to 877/1472.

This text, which will be referred to as the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* in the present article,<sup>7</sup> is preserved in a unique copy held in the library of the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul as MS Ahmet III 3057. This codex constitutes a *majmū'ah* that also contains excerpts from Arabic historiographers relating to the history of the Dulghādirid Turkmens collated by a student of Ibn Ḥajar<sup>8</sup> and excerpts relating to the history of Timur from a historiographical work by Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>9</sup> The original manuscript of the text has been consulted through electronic scans and is cited according to the continuous numbering of the folios in Arabic numerals.

However, as this manuscript was, to my knowledge, last used by Aḥmad Zakī pāshā in 1909 (see below), I also include references to the numbering of the pages of the original as represented in the photographic copy held as Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh* in the Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah in Cairo, which forms the basis of the two editions of this text.<sup>10</sup> This photographic copy includes the following note on the final page:

<sup>4</sup>See his biography as given by al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 10:250–52, as well as the comprehensive overview of the sources for his campaign by Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, “Les dernières Batailles du grand émir Yašbak min Mahdī,” in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries*, ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997), 310–15. Cf. ‘Aṭā ‘Alī Muḥammad Rih, “Rihlat Ibn Ajā: Mašdar min mašādīr al-širāʿ al-‘Uthmānī al-Mamlūkī fī al-qarn 9h/15m,” in: *Ashghāl al-multaqā al-duwalī al-sādis ḥawla al-kitābah al-tārīkhīyah fī al-‘ālam al-‘Arabī al-Islāmī fī al-‘aṣr al-wasīṭ: Min al-khabar wa-al-riwāyah ilā al-naṣṣ wa-al-wathīqah* (Tunis, 2010), 285–307.

<sup>5</sup>This article adopts the spelling of this dynastic name current in the Mamluk sources against the alternative spellings suggested particularly in Persian sources. See Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk bayna al-Mamālīk wa-al-‘Uthmānīyīn al-Atrāk: Ma‘a rihlat al-amīr Yashbak min Mahdī al-dawādār* (Damascus, 1986), 23–25.

<sup>6</sup>See his succinct biography including an overview of the campaign as described in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 3:243–44. This article consistently distinguishes *alqāb* from names (*uzun Ḥasan*); cf. *ibid.*: *Wa-yusammā fī-mā qīla Muḥammad, wa-yuqālu lahū shāh Suwār.*

<sup>7</sup>See below for the debate concerning the literary genre to which this text should be assigned.

<sup>8</sup>MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, fols. 1r–106r. On the final page of the *majmū'ah*, the compiler gives his name as Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Bahādūr al-Muʿminī and the year of its compilation as 874/1469–70, or one year prior to the commencement of the campaign described by Ibn Ajā.

<sup>9</sup>MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 180r–226r.

<sup>10</sup>This photographic copy was used by ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt as the basis of his edition; see Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt (Cairo, 1973), 44–50. As indicated by Dahmān, his edition is based on a photographic copy of Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh* held in Damascus, which was presented to the former Arabic Scientific Academy in Damascus by its member Aḥmad Tīmūr pāshā; see Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 9. This Damascene photographic reproduction of



I copied this political travelogue (*hādhihī al-riḥlah al-siyāsīyah*) photographically for myself (*li-nafsī*) from the manuscript (*al-kitāb*) number 268, held in the royal library of the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul, on 25 Ramaḍān 1327, which is equivalent to 9 October 1909.<sup>11</sup> Aḥmad Zakī, second secretary of the Majlis al-Nuẓẓār of Egypt.<sup>12</sup>

the Cairene photograph was used as the basis for the independent Russian translation of Z. M. Buniâtova and T. B. Gasanova, *Pohod Ėmira Jašbeka* (Baku, 1985); see p. 7. In contrast, the Turkish translation of Mehmet Şeker, *Ibn Ecâ Seyahatnâmesi: Bir Türk Seyyahın Kaleminden* (Istanbul, 2018), depends almost entirely on the edition of Dahmān and does not suggest an independent interpretation of this text. During my stay in Cairo in September 2019, I also consulted the other three copies of this text held in the Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah. As indicated by Ṭulaymāt in his introduction to Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 44–45 and 48, Dār al-Kutub MS 2592 *tārīkh* represents a defective mechanical copy of Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*. Dār al-Kutub MS 1071 *tārīkh bi-maktabat Aḥmad Tīmūr pāshā* is a handwritten copy of Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh* that includes a colophon by a certain Maḥmūd Ḥamdī, who notes that he wrote on the behest of Aḥmad bīk Tīmūr and completed the manuscript on Wednesday, 15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1332/4 November 1914 (cf. Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 45–47). Dār al-Kutub MS 11658 Ḥ represents a modern and colophon-less copy on a large-format booklet of lined European paper and is almost certainly also copied from the original of MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057 or its photographic copy as represented in Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*; cf. Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 47. The undated and colophon-less copy MS Bibliothèque Nationale Arabe 6026, originally from the collection of Charles Schefer, must also be derived from the original of MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, as demonstrated by the treatment of lacunae in this manuscript. In this way, the missing toponym indicated by a blank on MS Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 33r, reproduces a blank found in Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, fol. 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58. This argument is cogent due to the treatment of the missing toponym that is represented by a blank in Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, fol. 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63, which is not indicated by a blank in MS Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 36r, even though it is syntactically required. Compare MS Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 36r, *wa-sirnā bayna jibālin shāhiqatin wa-awdiyatin nāzilatīn bi-al-qurbi thumma raḥalnā*, which clearly is a garbled version of the text including the lacuna indicating the missing toponym as given by Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, fol. 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63, *wa-sirnā bayna jibālin shāhiqatin wa-awdiyatin nāzilatīn wa-nazalnā bi-al-qurbi* [lacuna] *thumma raḥalnā*. I became aware of this manuscript following a reference by Muṣṭafá Jawād, “Tawāriḥ Mişriyah aghfāl wa-ta'rif bi-mu'allifihā,” *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī* 2 (1951): 111.

<sup>11</sup> As the day of 25 Ramaḍān 1327 is equivalent to 10 October 1909, Aḥmad Zakī *pāshā* must have taken the photographs between nightfall and midnight of 9 October 1909. Alternatively, one of the dates may be off (see below).

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 139; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 44; and Dahmān, *Al-'Irāk*, 9. Note that the reading of Ṭulaymāt gives a shortened version of the date. Note: Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author of the present article. The translations consistently strive to be as literal as possible to facilitate engagement with the original Arabic text.



Ibn Ajā begins the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* with an account of the commencement of the campaign,<sup>13</sup> followed by the description of his diplomatic mission to Tabriz in 876/1471.<sup>14</sup> After his return to the camp, the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* resumes the account of the campaign, concluding with the public execution of *shāh* Suwār and his brothers in Cairo.<sup>15</sup> Notwithstanding some emendations by ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt<sup>16</sup> and Stephan Conermann,<sup>17</sup> however, the itinerary and chronology of Ibn Ajā’s journey to Tabriz in particular have continued to be obstacles to more profound engagement with this important source.

<sup>13</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110v–138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 1–56; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 53–95; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 65–105.

<sup>14</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 137r–155r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 55–90; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 94–123; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 106–29.

<sup>15</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 155r–179v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 90–139; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 123–60; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 129–60.

<sup>16</sup>The emendations suggested by Ṭulaymāt in his edition mainly engage with grammatical forms and individual toponyms. See for instance Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97, where the toponym *ra’s ‘ayn al-jullāb* (Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58), is mistakenly identified with Ra’s al-‘Ayn/Serê Kaniyê at the source of the river al-Khābūr. Another example is Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99, where the toponym *jabājūr* (Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 60), is rendered as ḤBAḤWR. In a footnote, Ṭulaymāt notes that he reads the toponym in the manuscript as ḤAḤWR and follows the suggestion of the copy by Aḥmad Tīmūr *pāshā*, Dār al-Kutub MS 1071 *tārīkh bi-maktabat Aḥmad Tīmūr pāshā*; cf. his indication that he included some emendations suggested by this copy in the introduction of his edition, Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 47. It would be tempting to speculate that the writer of this manuscript, who signed the colophon (dated Wednesday, 15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1332 [4 November 1914]) as Maḥmūd Ḥamdī, indeed recognized the toponym as Chapājūr/Ĉaparžur—modern Bingöl (see below)—but this would necessitate a return to Cairo to check Dār al-Kutub MS 1071 *tārīkh bi-maktabat Aḥmad Tīmūr pāshā*.

<sup>17</sup>The emendations of Stephan Conermann in his translation of the account of Ibn Ajā’s journey to Tabriz are largely represented in his conversion of Ibn Ajā’s days of the week into dates CE. Although Conermann sometimes implicitly appears to recognize the incongruity of date and day of the week as given by Ibn Ajā (see below), he does not subtract 1 from the dates but adds 6 (e.g., Stephan Conermann, “Ibn Aḡas [st. 881/1476] ‘Ta’rīḡ al-Amīr Yašbak aḡ-Ḍāhirī’—Biographie, Autobiographie, Tagebuch oder Chronik?” in *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann [1942–1999]*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam [Hamburg, 2003], 139, where Monday, implicitly 24 Šafar 876, is converted to 19 August 1471/2 Rabī‘ I 876). Elsewhere, Conermann retains the incongruent combinations of days of the week and dates given by Ibn Ajā without indicating the contradiction (e.g., page 153, where Ibn Ajā’s explicitly given date of Wednesday, 17 Rabī‘ II 876, is rendered “Wednesday, 3 October [1471],” although 17 Rabī‘ II 876 was a Thursday and Ibn Ajā’s date must accordingly be emended to 16 Rabī‘ II 876). Cf. the full discussion of the chronology below. Buniātova and Gasanova, *Pohod*, give dates according to the Common Era without indicating the methodological problems and internal contradictions.



The present contribution aims to clarify the confusion regarding the precise chronology and itinerary of Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz. It will thus be shown that the complexities surrounding the chronology and itinerary justify the separate publication of the following prolegomena to facilitate future research engaging with this text. Accordingly, this contribution is not directly involved in debates concerning the modalities of travel and mobility in the pre-Ottoman Near and Middle East, the political and economic geography of southeastern Anatolia during the second half of the fifteenth century, or the internal organization of *uzun Ḥasan's* court or his forces levied against the Rūzakī rulers of Bitlis. Instead, I hope to facilitate research into these and other questions by resolving the textual difficulties discussed in the present article.

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The campaign led by the Mamluk general and statesman Yashbak *min* Mahdī to decisively curb the aspirations of the Dulghādirid ruler *shāh* Suwār from 875 to 877/1471 to 1472 exemplifies the entanglement of the Mamluk realms with the political, economic, and scholarly configurations of post-Ilkhanid greater Iran. Arguably, three main channels of performative engagement between the Mamluk court and other Islamicate courts within the post-Ilkhanid Persophonie<sup>18</sup> can be discerned within this entanglement:

- A. Diplomatic exchange of envoys, letters, and gifts.<sup>19</sup>
- B. High-profile military campaigns led by influential figures affiliated to the Mamluk and Persianate courts.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup>See for this cultural-geographical concept Bert G. Fagner, *Die "Persophonie"* (Berlin, 1999).

<sup>19</sup>Within this channel, a number of recent studies have underlined the interlacement of written letters and the performative reception of envoys. See Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "The Delicate Art of Aggression: Uzun Hasan's *Fathnama* to Qaytbay of 1469," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2011): 193–214, and Malika Dekkiche, "The Letter and Its Response: The Exchanges between the Qara Qoyunlu and the Mamluk Sultan: MS Arabe 4440 (BnF, Paris)," *Arabica* 63 (2016): 579–626. See also the general study by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London, 2014). A special case within this "channel" is arguably represented by the Mamluk-Persianate exchange surrounding the courtly dispatch of a *maḥmal* (see below) and *kiswah* to the ḥajj; see Malika Dekkiche, "New Source, New Debate: Re-evaluation of the Mamluk-Timurid Struggle for Religious Supremacy in the Hijaz (Paris, BnF MS ar. 4440)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15): 247–71, and the chapter engaging with Qara- and Aqquyunlu dispatches of *maḥmals* in the context of "Turkmen" courtly representation in Georg Leube, *Relational Iconography: Representational Culture at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu Courts (853/1449 CE to 907/1501 CE)* (Leiden, 2023), 174–94.

<sup>20</sup>See for exemplary accounts of individual campaigns e.g. Patrick Wing, "Submission, Defiance, and the Rules of Politics on the Mamluk Sultanate's Anatolian Frontier," *Journal of the Roy-*





C. Propaganda and support in favor of individual pretenders to rulership.<sup>21</sup>

These three (mutually intertwined) channels, which are comparatively well represented in the extant narrative sources, must be understood as embedded in multiple entanglements less visible in the sources, including personal mobility, trade, and a small-scale continuum between warfare, raiding, and taxation, through which the dynamic negotiation of the northern fringes of the Mamluk realms was conducted.

At the same time, the multi-level negotiations with *shāh* Suwār and the Aqqyunlu court of Tabriz described by Ibn Ajā must be understood as conveying messages to an audience within the Mamluk sphere. The northern fringes of the Mamluk sphere of influence formed a focus of intense attention for the Cairene public during the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century. The political and military fortunes of Mamluk relations with Dulghādirid and Aqqyunlu power brokers in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia in particular were invested with memories of the great Mamluk-Timurid conflict during the beginning of the century.<sup>22</sup> This is well represented in the following passage describ-

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*al Asiatic Society Series* 3, 25, no. 3 (2015): 377–88; Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 31–61; and Martel-Thoumian, “Batailles,” 301–42.

<sup>21</sup> See for instance the Mamluk propaganda against the Qaraqyunlu rulers in Baghdad, e.g., Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, Jamāl Muḥammad Muḥriz, Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān, et al. (Cairo, 2008), 14:164–65, or the support given to Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, the grandson of the Aqqyunlu ruler *uzun* Ḥasan, during his exile in Cairo as described by al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 3:140, and by Abīwardī Fayḍī, “Chār Takht,” MS Uppsala University Library Shelfmark O. St. 168/Tg. 177, fols. 16v–18r; ed. ʿIraj Afshār, *Farhang-i ʿIrān-zamīn* 15 (1347/1968): 28–30. This channel is arguably reflected within the text discussed in the present article in Ibn Ajā’s sustained interest in the Dulghādirid general and statesman in Aqqyunlu service, Aṣlān ibn Aṣlān Dulghādir; see Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 147r, 152v, and 153v–154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 74, 85, and 87–88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 110, 199, and 121–22, and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 119, 125, and 127–28. Cf. the discussion of Aṣlān ibn Aṣlān Dulghādir by Ṭulaymāt in his introduction to Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 38, as well as the references to him among other Aqqyunlu generals in Abū Bakr-i Ṭīhrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah*, ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer (Ankara, 1962–64), 485 and 543, and Ḥasan bīk Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʿī (Tehran 1389/2010), 703, 737, and 767 (the latter is also contained in the excerpt of Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, that is appended by the editors to Ṭīhrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah*, 577). The other references to Aṣlān-i Dhū al-Qādir listed in the register of Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, 1578, represent a confusion of Aṣlān ibn Aṣlān with his father Aṣlān ibn Sulaymān Dulghādir; cf. for the latter the biographical note in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 2:279.

<sup>22</sup> See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Cairo, 2008), 3:36, describing the reaction of another setback against *shāh* Suwār: “And the people became more and more worried because of [shāh] Suwār, and the soldiers became frightened, as they had been during the times of Timur.”



ing the arrival in Cairo of news of the military campaign of the Mamluk general and statesman Yashbak *min* Mahdī against the Dulghādirid ruler *shāh* Suwār.

On Thursday, 8 [Muḥarram][876/27 June 1471], Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsá<sup>23</sup> ... was given a robe of honor [..., at the court of the sultan] upon his return from ... the great *dawādār* [Yashbak *min* Mahdī], who was traveling through Syria. He was given a great reception and accompanied with candles until he had reached his house.

Regarding further news of Cairo (*al-balad*), the people decorated all the stores, lanes, and houses and made effigies of people resembling [the Dulghādirid ruler] *shāh* Suwār and his brothers. May this be a good omen, if this be the will of God.

In these days, messages arrived [in Cairo] from Aleppo announcing the arrival of ... Yashbak *min* Mahdī in this town on 13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 875 [2 June 1471]. ... The stores, streets, and lanes of Cairo were decorated with different kinds of beautiful textiles ... and fires, the likes of which had never been seen. For we know of nobody who reports to have seen anything similar during any age or time, not even during the [festivities surrounding the dispatch of the] *maḥmal* [signaling the Mamluk patronage over the *ḥajj*],<sup>24</sup> the arrival of the envoy of Timur, or during the return of a sultan from a journey.<sup>25</sup>

This intense attention in Cairo to developments in the northern fringes of the Mamluk realms is also reflected in numerous references to bad news arriving from this region, which is invariably described as having been greeted with emotional distress by the ruler and the public.<sup>26</sup> Some months earlier, al-Ṣayrafī even mentions the expulsion of several foreigners who were alleged to have spied on behalf of *shāh* Suwār and others.<sup>27</sup>

Simultaneously, the deployment of military expeditions to these regions by the Mamluk sultan residing in Cairo also offered an occasion to display his

<sup>23</sup> See his biography as given by al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʿ*, 10:169–71, as well as the epitaph in Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:69–120.

<sup>24</sup> See for the festivities surrounding the dispatch of a *maḥmal* from Cairo the comprehensive study by Jacques Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la Caravane Égyptienne des Pèlerins de la Mecque (xiiiie-xxe siècles)* (Cairo, 1953), as well as Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “The *Maḥmal* Legend and the Pilgrimage of the Ladies of the Mamluk Court,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 87–96.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-ḥaṣr bi-anbāʾ al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 2002), 319.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:53–54 and 56; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ*, 219, 212, 239, and 248.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ*, 263.



power and authority to power-brokers outside the capital.<sup>28</sup> This is likely how the extensive performance of trust and closeness between the Mamluk sultan Qāyṭbāy and Yashbak *min* Mahdī during the latter's departure from Cairo was intended to be understood.<sup>29</sup> The large-scale mobilization of people and capital during such a campaign also offered numerous occasions for the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal networks within Arabic-Islamic scholarly traditions.<sup>30</sup>

Against this context, Ibn Ajā's *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* represents a strategically deployed construction and advertisement of "self" by its author. By engaging with the topic, situations, and discourses of a military campaign,<sup>31</sup> as well as his own diplomatic mission,<sup>32</sup> Ibn Ajā showcased his personal talents and specific positionality as a scholar rooted in Arabic-Islamic discourses of learning engaging successfully in political negotiations.<sup>33</sup> The following prolegomena are published in the hope of making this fascinating historiographical work more accessible for further research.

<sup>28</sup>For the "internal" messaging inherent in the campaign of Sultan Barsbāy against Āmid and its Aqqyunlu overlord *qara* 'Uthmān, see Wing, "Submission," 377–88.

<sup>29</sup>See al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʿ*, 270–74; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʿiʿ*, 3:59–60, as well as Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110v–111r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 1–2; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 53–55; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 65–66.

<sup>30</sup>See Jo van Steenberg, Mustafa Banister, Rihab Ben Othmen, Kenneth A. Goudie, Mohamed Maslouh, and Zacharie Mochtari de Pierrepont, "Fifteenth-Century Arabic Historiography: Introducing a New Research Agenda for Authors, Texts, and Contexts," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 23 (2020): 55–61.

<sup>31</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110v–138r and 155r–179v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 1–56 and 90–139; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 53–95 and 123–60; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 65–105 and 129–60.

<sup>32</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 137r–155r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 55–90; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 94–123; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 106–29.

<sup>33</sup>This framing underlining the agency of Ibn Ajā in engaging various genres and discourses explains Conermann's difficulty ("Tārīḥ," 156–68) ascertaining a specific genre for this text. A similar problem motivates the question of how this work should be titled (*safrāh*, *riḥlah*, or *tārīkh*? Arguably, others could also be suggested); cf. the discussion by Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 9–11. *Pace* Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 9–11, a title (or at least a brief heading) for this work is contained in MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110r, on the final blank page immediately preceding the text. Here, the text is introduced as *kitābun fī tārīkhi Yashbak al-Zāhirī* or *a book on the history of Yashbak al-Zāhirī*. This page is not included in the photographic copy held in Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, which forms the basis of the editions of Ṭulaymāt and Dahmān.

As indicated above, the present article adopts *tārīkh* as a heuristic term that allows for the integration of multiple discourses and genres.





## METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS I: CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of the campaign and Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz as described in the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* is structured around a day-by-day account of events, which regularly (although not always) includes a reference to the day of the week. This cyclical chronology is anchored by means of a few instances in which the author includes full dates by day, month, and year of the *hijrah*. To convert the day of the week given by the text into a "full" date according to the Muslim calendar, the reader must follow the narrative, counting down the days of the week one after another.

As already mentioned in a footnote, however, both systems frequently contradict each other. In the following examples of "full" dates given in the text, I underline the information explicitly given by the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* before indicating whether the day of the week and the date are internally consistent. I mark my own completions of partial forms given in the text with square brackets [...]. In subsequent parts of the article, emendations to dates given in the text are marked with asterisks \*...\*.

**Monday, 10 Shawwāl 875**:<sup>34</sup> Departure from Cairo, internally consistent.

**Thursday, 1 Muḥarram [87]6**:<sup>35</sup> Departure from Aleppo, internally consistent.

**Wednesday, 13 Šafar [876]**:<sup>36</sup> Arrival of a defector from *shāh* Suwār at the camp of Yashbak *min* Mahdī near Antep.<sup>37</sup> As the 13th of Šafar in 876 was a Thursday, either the date or the day of the week must be incorrect.

This is the last "full" date explicitly indicating both a day of the week and a day of the month until Ibn Ajā's arrival in Tabriz.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 110v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 1; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 53; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 65.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 123r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 26; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 74; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 87.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 130r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 40; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 83; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 95.

<sup>37</sup> I omit the honorifics from the towns of Antep, Maraş, and Urfa, which were officially renamed *Gaziantep* ("Antep the Fighter"), *Kahramanmaraş* ("Heroic Maraş"), and *Şanlıurfa* ("Glorious Urfa") in the 1980s amid a surge of state-organized Turkish nationalism.



**Wednesday, 17 Rabīʿ II [876]:**<sup>38</sup> *Uzun Ḥasan* has some farewell presents brought to Ibn Ajā. As the 17th of Rabīʿ II in 876 was a Thursday, either the date or the day of the week must be incorrect.

**Saturday, 20 Rabīʿ II [876]:**<sup>39</sup> Departure from Tabriz. As the 20th of Rabīʿ II in 876 was a Sunday, either the date or the day of the week must be incorrect.

**Tuesday, the last [29th] of Rabīʿ II [876]:**<sup>40</sup> Arrival in Ahlat, internally consistent.

**Wednesday, the first of Jumādā I [876]:**<sup>41</sup> Departure from Ahlat, internally consistent.

**Sunday, 12 Jumādā I [876]:**<sup>42</sup> Arrival in Urfa, internally consistent.

**Saturday, 19 Jumādā I [876]:**<sup>43</sup> Arrival in Aleppo. As the 19th of Jumādā I in 876 was a Sunday, either the date or the day of the week must be incorrect.

This set of “full” dates including both the day of the week and the day of the month in 876 demonstrates that the incongruence cannot be explained by a systematic displacement, as sequences of internally consistent dates alternate with dates that are internally contradictory. As the same type of an “unsystematic misalignment” characterized by partial incongruities between day of the week and day of the month also occurs in the *Inbāʾ al-ḥaṣr* of al-Ṣayrafī,<sup>44</sup> the problem cannot have been specific to Ibn Ajā.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 84; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 118; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 125.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 87; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 121; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 127.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 113; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 129.

<sup>44</sup> For example, al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ*, 268–69 (Wednesday, 4 Shawwāl 875; the fourth of Shawwāl in 875 was a Tuesday), but *ibid.*, 329 (Friday, 21 Ṣafar 876, which is internally consistent).



Notwithstanding the exactitude of conversion tables, such as the deservedly famous *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen*,<sup>45</sup> dates given according to the Islamic calendar by a combination of day, month, and year of the *hijrah* are notoriously flexible.<sup>46</sup> For contemporary Western researchers, the first possible source of errors arises from the beginning of the Islamic day at nightfall.<sup>47</sup> This is, however, entirely the result of a poorly considered application of the Western change of date at midnight and irrelevant to the internal contradictions between day of the week and day of the month in Muslim sources.

A more significant potential source of errors results from the way leap years were inserted into the Islamic calendar. The famous Mamluk epistolary encyclopedia of al-Qalqashandī describes this procedure as follows:

The number of the days [in a lunar year] is 354 days and about a fifth and a sixth [ $1/5 + 1/6 = 11/30$ ] of a day. This fifth and sixth of a day is combined into a day that occurs every three years, so that this [third] year has 355 days. Nonetheless, something remains after this day has been added [to the third year of a cycle], so this remainder is combined with the fifth and the sixth of a day to form another day that is added to the sixth year. This is continued so that nothing remains, as 11 days are added every 30 years. These years are called the intercalation of the Arabs (*kaḇā'is al-ʿarab*).<sup>48</sup>

According to Grohmann, this addition of 11 days every 30 years was conducted by adding a day to every second, fifth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, twenty-first, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-ninth year of a cycle of 30 years.<sup>49</sup> As 875 constituted a leap year as the fifth year of a cycle

<sup>45</sup>Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen zur muslimischen und iranischen Zeitrechnung mit Tafeln zur Umrechnung Orient-christlicher Ären: Dritte, verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage der "Vergleichungs-Tabellen der Mohammedanischen und Christlichen Zeitrechnung"*, unter Mitarbeit von Joachim Mayr neu bearbeitet von Bertold Spuler (Wiesbaden, 1961).

<sup>46</sup>Cf. *ibid.*, 7, as well as the detailed discussion of this problem by Heinz Halm, "Der Mann auf dem Esel: Der Aufstand des Abū Yazīd gegen die Fatimiden nach einem Augenzeugenbericht," *Die Welt des Orients* 15 (1984), particularly 146–48 and 150–201, and the general remarks of Bertold Spuler, "Con amore oder: Einige Bemerkungen zur islamischen Zeitrechnung," *Der Islam* 38 (1963): 154–60.

<sup>47</sup>DMG, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen, Gebrauchsanweisungen*, 6; cf. Adolf Grohmann, *Arabische Chronologie*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, Ergänzungsband II, Erster Halbband, I (Leiden, 1966), 10–11.

<sup>48</sup>Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 2012), 2:424–25.

<sup>49</sup>Grohmann, *Chronologie*, 13. As far as I can see, none of the sources indicated by Grohmann specify this sequence of leap years. This sequence is also implicitly followed in the *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*; cf.



of 30 years,<sup>50</sup> the intercalation of days within the lunar year may indeed have contributed to some of the inconsistencies of the dates as given by Ibn Ajā. As his indication that the year 876 began on a Thursday is correct,<sup>51</sup> however, the fact that Dhū al-Ḥijjah at the end of 875 had 30 days cannot explain the internal contradiction between the subsequent dates and days of the week as given in his travelogue.

In contrast, the chronology of Ibn Ajā becomes consistent if one accepts his sequence of days of the week throughout his journey to Tabriz. This necessitates an emendation of the inconsistent dates given according to the day of the month listed above, subtracting 1 from the date as given by the text.<sup>52</sup> According to this hypothesis, Wednesday, 13 Ṣafar 13 [876]<sup>53</sup> must be read as \*Wednesday, 12 Ṣafar 876\*.

This emendation of the day of the month whenever it disagrees with the day of the week follows the general recommendations of the *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*.<sup>54</sup> In the specific case of Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz, the correctness of the day of the week against the day of the month is additionally confirmed by the following observations:

- A. As stated in Ibn Ajā's own account of the events following the capture of Antep,<sup>55</sup> Ibn Ajā's departure from the army coincided with the general re-mobilization of the troops following the occupation of the town. As indicated by Ibn Ajā, on the preceding day Yashbak *min* Mahdī had announced to his army that they were to depart at dawn on the day of Ibn Ajā's departure. After describing how the army departed after the

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DMG, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen, Gebrauchsanweisungen*, 7.

<sup>50</sup>DMG, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, 19.

<sup>51</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 130r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 26; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 74; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 87.

<sup>52</sup>Hypothetically, one could also consider larger shifts to the day of the month that would result in an agreement of day of the month and day of the week, such as adding 6 (+ any multiple of 7) to the day of the month (or subtracting 1 + any multiple of 7). The resulting chronologies do not, however, fit the timeframe dictated for Ibn Ajā's diplomatic mission by the campaign of Yashbak *min* Mahdī as described by the author and corroborated in other sources.

<sup>53</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 130r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 40; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 83; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 95.

<sup>54</sup>DMG, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen, Gebrauchsanweisungen*, 7.

<sup>55</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 129v–138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 39–56; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 82–95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 94–106.



morning prayer, Ibn Ajā states that he also approached Yashbak *min* Mahdī after the morning prayer to take his leave.<sup>56</sup>

The last “full” date explicitly given by Ibn Ajā before these events is Wednesday, 13 Šafar [876].<sup>57</sup> His subsequent reception as an envoy by *shāh* Suwār is dated [Wednesday], 20 [Šafar 876].<sup>58</sup> As indicated above, both dates are inconsistent, as in 876 Wednesday fell on the 12th and 19th of Šafar. Therefore, the dates must either be emended to Wednesday, \*12 and 19 Šafar\* 876, or to \*Thursday\*, 13 and 20 Šafar [876]. Accordingly, Ibn Ajā’s departure three days after the second date must either be dated to Saturday, \*22 Šafar\* 876, or to \*Sunday\*, 23 Šafar 876.

If we compare the course of events surrounding his departure as described by Ibn Ajā, the probability is strongly in favor of the former date. Thus, the announcement to mobilize in the morning would have been made to the troops after the Friday sermon, or *khuṭbah*, after the noon prayer on 21 Šafar 876 so that the army (and Ibn Ajā) could depart after the morning prayer on the following Saturday.

- B. Ibn Ajā states that he departed from Tabriz on Saturday, 20 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II [876].<sup>59</sup> As indicated above, this date is internally inconsistent, as in 876 Saturday fell on the 19th of Rabī<sup>c</sup> II. Accordingly, Ibn Ajā’s departure must either be dated to Saturday, \*19 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876\*, or to \*Sunday\*, 20 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876. As in the other case, the probability is that Ibn Ajā spent Friday in Tabriz and departed on Saturday, possibly after the morning prayer.

During his stay in Tabriz, the correctness of the days of the week as given by Ibn Ajā is independently established for Ibn Ajā’s attendance at two (performative) scholarly sessions (*majlis*) of *uzun* Ḥasan’s court during the night from Thursday to Friday, which according to the Islamic calendar is described by Ibn Ajā as “Friday night” (*laylat [al-]Jum‘ah*).<sup>60</sup> These scholarly sessions, where *uzun*

<sup>56</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 137v–138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 55–56; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 94–95; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 105–6.

<sup>57</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 130r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 40; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 83; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 95.

<sup>58</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 132r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 44; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 86; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 98.

<sup>59</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 126.

<sup>60</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 145r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 70; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 107; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 116. Ibn Ajā indicates that his invitation to the second *majlis* was issued on a Thursday, implicitly the Thursday immediately preceding the night





Ḥasan hosted scholars and listened to their recital and discussion of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, are also reported to have taken place during the night from Thursday to Friday in contemporary and later sources describing *uzun* Ḥasan's courtly representation.<sup>61</sup> This external confirmation of the correctness of the day of the week as given by Ibn Ajā during his stay in Tabriz makes it even more likely that the day of the week is correct whenever it contradicts the (few) explicitly given dates in his account.

Accordingly, the following reconstruction of the chronology of Ibn Ajā's journey to and return from Tabriz is based on an emendation of the days of the month that retains the days of the week as indicated in the text. This emendation is performed by subtracting 1 from the day of the month whenever it is inconsistent with the day of the week and results in a coherent timetable that will be reconstructed below.

## METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS II: ITINERARY

The following reconstruction of the itinerary of Ibn Ajā's journey to Tabriz proceeds through the identification of the toponyms given in his account and an approximate estimate of the distances traveled on each day. Although almost all toponyms given by Ibn Ajā can be confidently identified in this article, the reconstruction of the distances traveled is devaluated by the dependency of travel times on the condition and orientation of routes. While the orientation of major routes in Ibn Ajā's time may in some cases still be followed by modern roads, the conditions of routes and the infrastructure of travel has changed paradigmatically with the advent of industrialized modernity. Nonetheless, I include the linear distances between Ibn Ajā's stations according to Google Maps<sup>62</sup> as a rough estimate of the distances traveled. In any case, altitude and adverse season are

from Thursday to Friday (Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 148r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 76; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 112; and Dahmān, *Al-'Irāk*, 120).

<sup>61</sup> See Ṭīhrānī, *Diwān al-Bakrīyah*, 530 and 558–59, corresponding to Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, 736, as well as the discussion in John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 106. Recurring assemblies of scholars during the night from Thursday to Friday at the *majlis* of *uzun* Ḥasan are also described in Muḥīy Gulshanī, *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı (Ankara, 1982), 51 and 53.

A continuation of this custom of hosting scholarly debates at the Aqquyunlu court after the death of *uzun* Ḥasan is suggested by an anecdote situated at a *majlis* of Sultan Ya'qūb (Gulshanī, *Manāqib*, 104–7. The performative recitation of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī also constituted a regular part of Mamluk courtly representation; see, e.g., the indications contemporary to Ibn Ajā's account in Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī*, 3:11, 69, 83, 93, and 196, and the brief discussion of a particularly memorable session half a century earlier by Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God: Hadith Commentary across a Millennium* (Oakland, 2018), 80–97.

<sup>62</sup> <https://www.google.de/maps>



explicitly mentioned by Ibn Ajā as significantly contributing to the difficulty of his journey.

According to the explicit goal of the present contribution to present some prolegomena facilitating future engagements with Ibn Ajā's travelogue, I do not embark upon a comprehensive reconstruction of the infrastructure and modalities of personal mobility and travel. By contrast, the comprehensive identification of the toponyms in the *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak* represents one of the main contributions made by the present article and should enable further research engaging with this important topic.

The following sets of sources yielded pertinent information that has been used in the reconstruction of the itinerary:

- A. (a) Emic sources produced at the behest of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts: These include a comprehensive evaluation of the geographical registers of the standard editions of the historiographical works produced at the Aqqyunlu court, the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* of Abū Bakr-i Ṭīhrānī<sup>63</sup> and the *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī* of Faẓl Allāh Rūzbahān Khunjī.<sup>64</sup> It should be noted, however, that the registers of the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* and of ʿAshīq's edition of the *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī* are incomplete and do not list all occurrences of lemmata in the edited text. To these has been added the (as far as could be ascertained, reliable) geographical index to Ḥasan bīk Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*,<sup>65</sup> large parts of which represent a paraphrasis of the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* in particular. Additional information emic to the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts was supplied by Qaraqyunlu coins on variants of the toponym of Adilcevaz<sup>66</sup> and by *uzun* Ḥasan's inscriptions in Urfa and Diyarbakır on recent Aqqyunlu architectural patronage in both towns.<sup>67</sup>
- B. Other pre-industrial travelogues and geographical lexica: These include the famous *Muʿjam al-buldān* of Yāqūt,<sup>68</sup> as well as the Ottoman ac-

<sup>63</sup>Ṭīhrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah*, 615–29.

<sup>64</sup>Faẓl Allāh Rūzbahān Khunjī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī*, ed. John E. Woods (London, 1992), 125–38 [general index]; Faẓl Allāh, *Tārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Akbar ʿAshīq (Tehran, 1382/2003), 466–74.

<sup>65</sup>Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, 1772–1808.

<sup>66</sup>The coins in question were published by Sayyid Jamāl Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Sikkah'hā-yi shāhān-i Islāmī-i Īrān II* (Tabriz, 1350/1971), and Stephen Album, "A Hoard of Silver Coins from the Time of Iskandar Qara Qoyunlu," *Numismatic Chronicle* 7, no. 16 (1976): 109–57.

<sup>67</sup>I am currently preparing a critical edition and commentary of the epigraphic corpus of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts. The inscriptions can be found in Mahmut Karakaş, *Şanlıurfa ve İlçelerinde Kitabeler* (Konya, 2001), and Basri Konyar, *Diyarbakir Tarihi* (Ankara, 1936).

<sup>68</sup>Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (Beirut, 2008).



counts of Matrakçı<sup>69</sup> and Evliya Çelebi.<sup>70</sup> Comprehensive evaluations of historical topography that were used in the present article also include Krawulsky's *İrân–Das Reich der İlḥāne*<sup>71</sup> and Sinclair's *Eastern Trade and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages*<sup>72</sup> for pre-“Turkmen” sources, as well as Taeschner's *Das Anatolische Wegenetz*<sup>73</sup> and Posch's *Der Fall Alḳâs Mîrzâ* for the Ottoman and Persianate sources of the sixteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

- C. Contemporary digital tools used in the present article also include the intriguing *Index Anaticus/Nişanyan Yeradları* coordinated by Sevan Nişanyan<sup>75</sup> and Google Maps.<sup>76</sup>

The combination of these three types of toponymic and topographic information enable the following reconstruction of Ibn Ajā's itinerary from Antep to Tabriz and back to Antep. By contrast, the reconstruction of the intertextual dependencies structuring the corpus of (frequently unpublished) Arabic itineraries copied and composed within the Mamluk realms transcends the scope of the present article. It is to be hoped that the publication of this and similar contributions will encourage source-critical engagement with this important genre of texts.

## THE RECONSTRUCTED CHRONOLOGY AND ITINERARY OF IBN AJĀ'S DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO TABRIZ

To avoid confusion from the disagreement of Islamic and Western delimitations of dates (nightfall vs. midnight, see above), the following reconstruction is

<sup>69</sup>For Matrakçı, I drew on the reproduction of the images given in the facsimile, Naşūḥü's Silāḥi Maṭrakçı/Naşūḥ al-Silāḥi Matrakçı, *Beyān-i Menāzil-i Sefer-i 'Irāḳeyn-i Sulṭān Süleymān Ḥān*, ed. and tr.

<sup>70</sup>G. Yurdaydın (Ankara, 1976), while including his narrative through the comprehensive evaluation of the itinerary by Walter Posch given below.

<sup>71</sup>Evliya Çelebi, *Siyāhatnāmah*, ed. Aḥmad Jawdat and Najīb 'Aṣim (Istanbul, 1314/1896–1938). I only systematically included the itinerary from Erciş to Kazgölü in the present article; see *ibid.*, 5:39–43.

<sup>72</sup>Dorothea Krawulsky, *İrân–Das Reich der İlḥāne: Eine topographisch-historische Studie* (Wiesbaden, 1978).

<sup>73</sup>Thomas Sinclair, *Eastern Trade and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages: Pegolotti's Ayas-Tabriz Itinerary and its Commercial Context* (London, 2020).

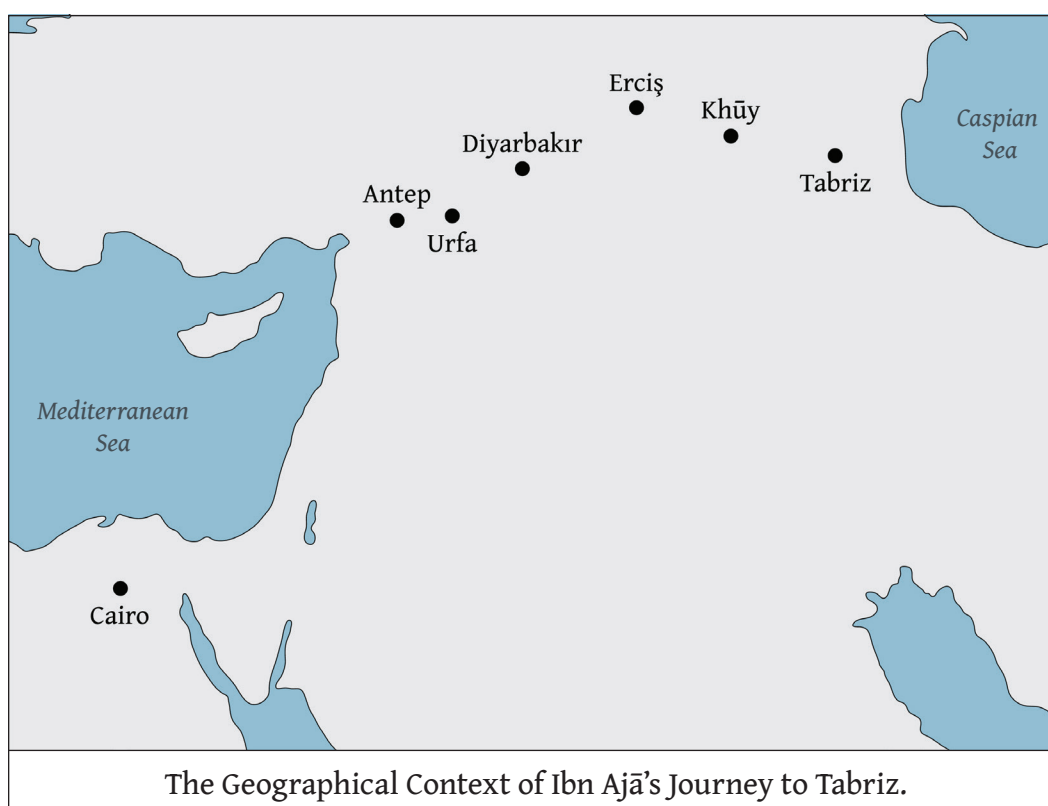
<sup>74</sup>Franz Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach Osmanischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1924–26).

<sup>75</sup>Walter Posch, *Osmanisch-safavidische Beziehungen 1545–1550: Der Fall Alḳâs Mîrzâ* (Vienna, 2013). A comprehensive survey of the itinerary of two Ottoman campaigns to Tabriz is given by *ibid.*, 737–59.

<sup>76</sup><https://nisanyanmap.com>

<sup>77</sup><https://www.google.de/maps>





structured according to Islamic dates, split into “night” and “day.” I give a corresponding date CE for the “day” part of each entry.

## 22 Šafar 876 to 1 Rabīʿ I 876: Antep to Diyarbakır

**Saturday, \*22 Šafar 876\*:**<sup>77</sup> Night in the Mamluk camp near Antep.

Departure after the morning prayer. This date corresponds to 10 August 1471.

**Sunday, 23 Šafar 876:**<sup>78</sup> Night in Awri.<sup>79</sup> According to Nişanyan's *Index Anaticus*, this toponym should be identified with contemporary

<sup>77</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 137v–138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 55–56; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 94–95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 105–6. See above for the necessary emendation of the day of the month as given in Ibn Ajā's account.

<sup>78</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh*, 56; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 106.

<sup>79</sup>Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. ʿUlaymāt, 95, reads AWDYL.



Sekili/Nizip/Gaziantep, about 20 km west of Nizip, known as Orul until 1928.<sup>80</sup> The distance between Antep and Sekili is around 34 km.

Departure in the early hours of 11 August 1471. Arrival in al-Bīra/Birecik before noon. The distance between Sekili and Birecik is about 30 km.

**Monday, 24 Şafar 876:**<sup>81</sup> Night in al-Bīra/Birecik.

Departure from al-Bīra/Birecik in the afternoon of 12 August 1471.<sup>82</sup>

**Tuesday, 25 Şafar 876:**<sup>83</sup> Night in a village named *Yuwajiq*.<sup>84</sup> This toponym should be identified with contemporary Yuvacık/Birecik/Şanlıurfa, which according to the *Index Anatolicus* was formerly known as Havacık. The latter form likely represents etymological speculation. The distance between Birecik and Yuvacık is about 27 km.

Arrival in al-Ruhā/Urfa at noon on 13 August 1471.<sup>85</sup> The distance between Yuvacık and Urfa is some 60 km.

**Wednesday, 26 Şafar 876:** Night and day in Urfa.

**Thursday, 27 Şafar 876:**<sup>86</sup> Night in Urfa.

Departure at noon on 15 August 1471.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>80</sup>Cf. the indication of Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 106, of an [Ottoman] *Juġhrāfi Lughatī* that AWRUL was an important place in the northern *wilāyah/velāyet* of Aleppo; cf. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*, 1:150.

<sup>81</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 138r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh*, 56; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 95; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 106.

<sup>82</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 138v–139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh*, 57–58; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 107.

<sup>83</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 107.

<sup>84</sup>Note that the Y is not dotted and could accordingly also be read as B, T, Th, or N. Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. ʿUlaymāt, 97, reads BWAJQ; ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 107, suggests Ovaciq (AWWHJQ) as a frequent toponym in Anatolia.

<sup>85</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 107.

<sup>86</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 107.

<sup>87</sup>Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 107.





**Friday, 28 Šafar 876:** Night at Ra's ʿAyn al-Jullāb.<sup>88</sup> This toponym, literally “the source of the Jullāb river,” is difficult to identify due to the integration of this river in the huge system of canals and dams of the *Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi* in modern Turkey.<sup>89</sup> It could possibly be identified with the so-called Julāb or Ādhīna Pınarı mentioned in Ottoman itineraries between Urfa and Diyarbakır.<sup>90</sup> On the basis of Ibn Ajā's direction of travel, the course of fertile valleys as visible on the satellite images integrated in Google Maps and departing from the hypothesis that this (former) spring may still constitute part of the toponym, a possible identification may be Karapınar (“black spring”)/Hilvan/Şanlıurfa. The distance between Urfa and Karapınar is approximately 34 km.

Resumption of the journey during the day of 16 August 1471.

**Saturday, 29 Šafar 876:** The toponym for the place where Ibn Ajā spent the night is left blank in the manuscript.<sup>91</sup>

Resumption of the journey during the day of 17 August 1471.

**Sunday, 1 Rabīʿ I 876:** Night at al-Jabal al-Aswad.<sup>92</sup> This toponym should be identified with the mountain range of Karaca Dağ west of Diyarbakır.<sup>93</sup> Note that the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* always refers to this oronym under its Turkic form as *qarāja dāgh* or *qarāja ṭāgh*.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 108. Note that the J is not dotted and could also be read as Ḥ or Kh. The reading of the hydronym follows Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, 3/4:65. Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97, erroneously identifies this toponym with Ra's al-ʿAyn/Serē Kaniyē in modern Syria. The toponym is correctly identified as a village near the source of the Jullāb river (misread as al-ḤLAB) by ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 108.

<sup>89</sup> See UN-ESCWA and BGR (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia; Bundesanstalt für Geowissenschaften und Rohstoffe), *Inventory of Shared Water Resources in Western Asia* (Beirut, 2013), 87–89.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Posch, *Beziehungen*, 752 and 757 (written Cülāb/Āzīne Biñarı).

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 108.

<sup>93</sup> Correctly identified by ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 108.

<sup>94</sup> Ṭīhrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah*, 63, 120–22, 191–93, 204, 231, 255, and 265. Cf. Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 64, for the Karaca Dağ as one of the most important *aylāqs* or summer pastures during the early history of the Aqquyunlu.



The distance between Karapınar and the Karaca Dağ is around 80 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

Resumption of the journey during the day of 18 August 1471; arrival in Āmid/Diyarbakır.<sup>95</sup> The distance between the Karaca Dağ and Diyarbakır is about 60 km.

**Monday, 2 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876 until Friday, 6 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876:** Rest in Diyarbakır.<sup>96</sup>

Ibn Ajā's description of the dilapidation of the great mosque/Ulu Camii and the other Artuqid monuments in Diyarbakır<sup>97</sup> should be somewhat qualified considering extant inscriptions in the name of *uzun* Ḥasan attesting to restorations of the ramparts<sup>98</sup> and a foundation (possibly of a separate structure) at the great mosque between 861 and 874.<sup>99</sup>

**6 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876 to 18 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876:** Diyarbakır to Erciş

**Friday, 6 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876:** Night in Diyarbakır.

Departure after prayer in the great mosque/Ulu Camii of Diyarbakır during the day on 23 August 1471.<sup>100</sup> As this was a Friday, this prayer may have been the noon prayer including the Friday sermon, but this is not explicitly indicated by Ibn Ajā. In any case, attendance of a Mamluk envoy at a Friday sermon in the name of *uzun* Ḥasan might have been something of a compromising topic that Ibn Ajā consciously decided not to describe in any further detail.

**Saturday, 7 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876:** Night at a spring near the village of al-Ḥājj Sulaymān.<sup>101</sup> This toponym should be identified with the contemporary village of Akalan/Eğil/Diyarbakır, which, according to the *Index Anaticus*, was known in 1915 as Süleymanan, the Kurdish plural

<sup>95</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 108.

<sup>96</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 97; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 108.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 108–9.

<sup>98</sup> Konyar, *Diyarbakır*, 2:144–45.

<sup>99</sup> Konyar, *Diyarbakır*, 2:145, and *resim* 94. Note Konyar's suggestion that this inscription may originally have been displayed elsewhere inside the great mosque of Diyarbakır.

<sup>100</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 108.

<sup>101</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 109.



of the name Süleyman/Sulaymān. The distance between Diyarbakır and Akalan is around 40 km.

Daytime resumption of the journey after the morning prayer of 24 August 1471.<sup>102</sup>

**Sunday, 8 Rabīʿ I 876:** Night at the town of Hayn, described as fertile and severely dilapidated.<sup>103</sup> As noted by Conermann, this town is also mentioned by Yāqūt;<sup>104</sup> as noted by Dahmān,<sup>105</sup> it should be identified with the modern town of Hani/Diyarbakır. Interestingly, Ibn Ajā's indication of variant pronunciations of the name of the town and his suggestion that 'Ayn, Arabic for "spring," may have been the original name is corroborated by the *Index Anatolicus*, according to which the name represents Zazaki Kurdish *Hêni*, "spring," which in turn is derived from Arabic 'ayn. The distance from Akalan to Hani is 40 km.

Departure at noon, corresponding to 25 August 1471; journey through mountains and valleys until almost nightfall.<sup>106</sup>

**Monday, 9 Rabīʿ I 876:** Ibn Ajā and his companions spent the first part of the night near the houses of some Kurds before resuming their journey at midnight (*nişf al-layl*).<sup>107</sup>

Continuous journey through mountains and valleys until almost nightfall on 26 August 1471.<sup>108</sup>

**Tuesday, 10 Rabīʿ I 876:** Night near the small castle (*qalʿah ṣaghīrah*) of Jabājūr,<sup>109</sup> later spelled Habaq Hūr during Ibn Ajā's return journey.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 109.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139r–139v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 58–59; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 98; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 109.

<sup>104</sup> Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, 3/4:205; cf. Conermann, "Taʿrīḥ," 140.

<sup>105</sup> Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 109.

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 59; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 109.

<sup>107</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 59; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 109.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 139v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 59; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 110.

<sup>109</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 110. Note that only the first *jīm* in the word is dotted in the manuscript.

<sup>110</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.



This toponym should be identified with the contemporary town of Bingöl, formerly known as Çapakçur, Armenian Čaparjūr.<sup>111</sup> In the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah*, this toponym is written Chapākhjūr<sup>112</sup> and, as noted by Conermann, it is mentioned by Yāqūt as Jabal Jūr.<sup>113</sup> The distance from Hani to Bingöl is about 82 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

Resumption of the journey during the day on 27 August 1471; crossing of the Euphrates River.<sup>114</sup>

**Wednesday, 11 Rabī' I 876:** Night in a valley between trees and mountains.<sup>115</sup>

Continuation of the journey during the day on 28 August 1471, and rest in the evening at a large place inhabited by Kurds who in the words of Ibn Ajā “only resembled humans in shape.”<sup>116</sup> According to Ibn Ajā, they gave the name of this place as †MLShKRD†, this toponym also occurs as the valley of †MLShKRD† during his return.<sup>117</sup>

This toponym has been identified with the modern town of Malazgirt/Muṣ by Dahmān.<sup>118</sup> Buniâtova, Gasanova, and Conermann sug-

<sup>111</sup>Note that the current name is under the form Mingül also attested as the name of an opulent *yaylāq* or summer pasture in this region during the time of Ibn Ajā. See Ṭihirānī, *Diyārbakrīyah*, 96, for a description of this *yaylāq* as a courtly hunting ground of the Qaraqyunlu ruler Iskandar.

<sup>112</sup>Ṭihirānī, *Diyārbakrīyah*, 230 and 418–19. On page 418, the editors indicate the variants Ḥabājūr and Ḥapājūz as occurring in the manuscripts, which are equivalent to the form of the toponym given by Ibn Ajā.

<sup>113</sup>Yāqūt, *Muġam*, 3/4:29; cf. Conermann, “Ta’rīḥ,” 140. Although Nişanyan suggests in the *Index Anatolicus* that the Armenian Čaparjūr is derived from the Arabic form of Jabal Jūr, literally *Mount Jūr*, it may be easier to consider the Arabic a morphological reanalysis of an earlier non-Arabic form. Nonetheless, I am not currently aware of an attestation of the toponym preceding the early Islamic conquests and the spread of linguistic influence of Arabic in this region. The toponym is not mentioned in Ananias of Širak’s *Geography*, see Robert H. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarḥac’oyc’): The Long and the Short Recensions, Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Wiesbaden, 1992).

<sup>114</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99, and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 110.

<sup>115</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99, and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 110.

<sup>116</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 99–100, and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 110.

<sup>117</sup>Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122, and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 128.

<sup>118</sup>Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 110.



gested an identification with the town of Walashjird mentioned by Yāqūt.<sup>119</sup> According to the *Index Anaticus*, Yāqūt's Walashjird should be identified with the contemporary village of Toprakkale/Eleşkirt/Ağrı, while the toponym was transferred to the modern town of Eleşkirt/Ağrı.

Both identifications are untenable for the following reasons:

A. Malazgirt is mentioned by Ibn Ajā four days later (see below), including a reference to a bridge over the Murat river at this locale, which leaves no doubt that this toponym indeed was located in the area of modern Malazgirt.

B. The distance from Bingöl to Toprakkale or Eleşkirt is some 320 km, which Ibn Ajā could not have covered in two days. In addition, Toprakkale and Eleşkirt lie far to the north of the Ibn Ajā's itinerary as it is reconstructed in this article.

I have not been able to find another possible identification of this toponym, which likely covered some part of the valley of the Euphrates River or the valley of one of its tributaries. Accordingly, I retain this toponym *inter cruces*.

**Thursday, 12 Rabī' I 876:** Night in some houses of the Kurds in the †MLShKRD† area after Ibn Ajā and his companions climbed a high mountain to meet with a certain *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Kurdī.<sup>120</sup>

Continuation of the journey during the day on 29 August 1471.

**Friday, 13 Rabī' I 876:** Night near a torrential stream without fodder for the horses or provisions for the travelers; extreme cold.<sup>121</sup>

Starting at noon on 30 August 1471, Ibn Ajā became ill (*ḥaṣala lī tashwīsh*).<sup>122</sup> Although this is not explicitly stated in the text, it appears likely that Ibn Ajā and his companions continued their journey on Friday notwithstanding the adverse conditions.

<sup>119</sup> Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, 7/8:462, cf. Buniātova and Gasanova, *Pohod*, 93, and Conermann, “Taʿrīḥ,” 140.

<sup>120</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 60; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 110.

<sup>121</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140r–140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 60–61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 110.

<sup>122</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 110.





**Saturday, 14 Rabī' I 876:** Ibn Ajā's illness became better around midnight; no toponymic or topographical information is given.<sup>123</sup>

Continuation of the journey at dawn on 31 August 1471. Rest in destitute conditions near al-Mallāḥah al-Baydā' ("the white salt mine/salt works.")<sup>124</sup> This toponym should be identified with the modern village (and salt works) of Aktuzla/Malazgirt/Muş.<sup>125</sup> The modern toponym also translates as "the white salt mine/salt works," and, as shown by the satellite images on Google Maps, the production of salt at this site continues to this day. According to the *Index Anaticus*, the Kurdish form of this toponym is Kar ("salt mine/works"); in 1916 it was known as Beyaztuz Memlahası, Ottoman for "the salt mine/mine of white salt." The continued importance of the route from Malazgirt to Hınıs via Aktuzla is attested by Evliya Çelebi, who includes a detailed description of nearby Kazgöl ("Lake of the Geese") in his itinerary from Malazgirt to Hınıs.<sup>126</sup> In contrast to Ibn Ajā, Evliya Çelebi continued his journey from Hınıs in a northerly direction to Pasinler and Hasan Kalesi, instead of continuing to the West to reach Bingöl.

Ibn Ajā's itinerary between Bingöl and Malazgirt likely followed the Göynük river and continued along the course of the modern Erzurum Bingöl Yolu to the town of Karlıova/Bingöl, after which it might have followed the course of the modern Karlıova Varto Yolu to the town of Varto/Muş, then followed the Erzurum Muş Yolu to Hınıs/Erzurum. From there, Ibn Ajā's route appears to have been followed in the opposite directions by Evliya Çelebi. If the identification of Ibn Ajā's "white salt mine" with modern Aktuzla/Malazgirt/Muş is correct, his journey subsequently followed the course of the modern Hınıs Karaçoban Yolu to the town of Karaçoban/Erzurum and the Karaçoban Malazgirt Yolu to Malazgirt.

<sup>123</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 61; ed. ʿUlāymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 110.

<sup>124</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 61; ed. ʿUlāymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 111.

<sup>125</sup> Tantalizingly, Şeker's Turkish translation (*İbn Ecâ*, 76), which elsewhere strictly follows Dahmān's commentary in its identification of toponyms, renders this toponym as "el-Melâha el-Beydâ'ya [the Turkish suffix -ya gives the dative case, which in this case translates the Arabic preposition *ilâ* that indicates the direction of travel] (Ak Tuzla)." Şeker does not, however, give any indication of having identified this toponym with the contemporary village of Aktuzla.

<sup>126</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Siyāḥatnāmah*, 5:42–43.



The distance from Bingöl to Aktuzla is about 215 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in five days (four days if one assumes that he and his companions did not travel on Friday).

**Sunday, 15 Rabīʿ I 876:** Rest near Aktuzla.

Continuation of the journey during the end of the night; arrival at the ruined bridge of *Maladhkirt*/*Malazgirt* at dawn on 1 September 1471.<sup>127</sup> Due to his increasing weakness, Ibn Ajā made his last will and did not continue his journey on this day.<sup>128</sup> The distance from Aktuzla to Malazgirt is about 44 km.

**Monday, 16 Rabīʿ I 876:** Departure from Malazgirt during the first third of the night (*al-thulth al-awwal*).<sup>129</sup>

Arrival at the convent (*zāwiyah*) of *Bābā Ṭashqūn* during the morning of 2 September 1471.<sup>130</sup> This toponym should be identified with the contemporary village of Taşkın/Patnos/Ağrı, mentioned by Evliya Çelebi as *Ṭāshqīn*.<sup>131</sup> The neighboring village of Sarısu, contemporary Köşeler/Patnos/Ağrı (cf. *Index Anaticus*), is mentioned by Faḫl Allāh in the context of the itinerary of the troops of the Aqquyunlu ruler Yaʿqūb to Khūy during the civil war following the death of *uzun Ḥasan*.<sup>132</sup>

The fertile area described by Ibn Ajā as surrounding the convent of *Bābā Ṭashqūn* continues to be visible on contemporary satellite images on Google Earth. The distance from Malazgirt to Taşkın is some 37 km.

<sup>127</sup> Ibn Ajā, “*Tārīkh*,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 100; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 111.

<sup>128</sup> Ibn Ajā, “*Tārīkh*,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 140v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 61; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 111.

<sup>129</sup> Ibn Ajā, “*Tārīkh*,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 62; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 111. Conermann, “*Taʿrīḥ*,” 141, translates as “the first third of the day”; however, Ṭulaymāt is correct in clarifying the ambiguous wording of the manuscript by adding *min al-layl* or “of the night” between square brackets after “*al-thulth al-awwal*”; cf. the immediate continuation with *wa-aşbahñā bi-zāwiyat*, “and in the morning we arrived at the convent.”

<sup>130</sup> Ibn Ajā, “*Tārīkh*,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 62; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 111. Ṭulaymāt’s suggestion that the manuscript reads MRAWYH is untenable in light of the scans, even if the dots of the letters *bāʾ* and *yāʾ* are missing.

<sup>131</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Siyāḥatnāmah*, 5:39.

<sup>132</sup> Faḫl Allāh, *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 148; ed. ʿAshīq, 141. Cf. the itinerary from Erciş via Sarı Su and Malazgirt to Hınıs described in Posch, *Beziehungen*, 483–84.



Rest until late afternoon; resumption of the journey.<sup>133</sup>

**Tuesday, 17 Rabī' I 876:** Night on Mount Subhān, the contemporary Süphan Dağı.<sup>134</sup> Ibn Ajā's mention of perennial snow and ice on its summit is corroborated by Nişanyan's suggestion in the *Index Anaticus* that the toponym may be derived from Kurdish Sipan, meaning "glacier."

Rest during the day of 3 September 1471.<sup>135</sup>

**Wednesday,<sup>136</sup> 18 Rabī' I 876:** Night on the Süphan Dağı.<sup>137</sup>

Resumption of the journey on the morning of 4 September 1471. Arrival in the town of Arjīsh, modern Erciş/Van; rest in the *zāwiyah* of the Qaraqayunlu ruler *qara* Yūsuf.<sup>138</sup> This *zāwiyah* has been tentatively located near the remains of an anonymous mausoleum in the village of Çatakdişi/Erciş/Van, formerly known as Zortul.<sup>139</sup> As no foundation inscription at the mausoleum has been preserved, however, this identification remains hypothetical.

The distance from Taşkın to Erciş across the Süphan Dağı is approximately 55 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days of travel.

**Thursday, 19 Rabī' I 876, until Sunday, 22 Rabī' I:** Rest at the convent of *qara* Yūsuf in Erciş.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 62; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 111.

<sup>134</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh*, 62; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 101; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 111.

<sup>135</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141r–141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *Tārīkh*, 62–63; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 101–2; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 111–12.

<sup>136</sup> Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. ʿUlaymāt, 102, wrongly reads *al-aḥad* or Sunday instead of *al-arbaʿā* or Wednesday. This is untenable both in light of the manuscript and the internal chronology of the journey.

<sup>137</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.

<sup>138</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.

<sup>139</sup> See Mehmet Top, "Erciş Zortul Kümbeti," *Dünyada Van: Van Valiliği Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi* 7, no. 16 (1999): 23–26.

<sup>140</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. ʿUlaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.



**22 Rabīʿ I 876 to 30 Rabīʿ I 876: Erciṣ to Tabriz****Sunday, 22 Rabīʿ I 876:** Rest at the convent of *qara* Yūsuf in Erciṣ.<sup>141</sup>

Resumption of the journey during the day (equivalent to 8 September 1471). Ibn Ajā riding to the village of Bābā Haydar in a palanquin (*miḥaffah*) due to his illness.<sup>142</sup> This toponym could tentatively be identified with the village of Haydarbey/Erciṣ/Van, known according to the *Index Anatolicus* as Haydarbey in 1854, which, however, is located a mere 15 to 20 km outside the historic site of Erciṣ or the village of Çatakdişi.

**Monday, 23 Rabīʿ I 876:** Night at Haydarbey.<sup>143</sup>

Continuation of the journey in the palanquin in the morning of 9 September 1471; journey to Bandmāhī.<sup>144</sup> This toponym is subsequently glossed by Ibn Ajā as “fish-lock” (*sakr al-samak*)<sup>145</sup> and its literal meaning is correctly discussed by Ṭulaymāt.<sup>146</sup> It should be identified with a site near the estuary of the Bendimahi Çayı into Lake Van.<sup>147</sup> According to an illustration in the work of the famous Ottoman historiographer and illustrator Matrakçı, the village named Bandmāhī was situated on the western bank of the Bendimahi Çayı.<sup>148</sup> The toponym is mentioned by the Aqquyunlu court historiographer Faẓl Allāh as the site of a courtly session.<sup>149</sup> An identification with the contemporary town of Muradiye/Van, Armenian Bergri, was proposed by

<sup>141</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.

<sup>142</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.

<sup>143</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.

<sup>144</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.

<sup>145</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>146</sup> Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120. The vocalization as *sukr al-samak* or intoxication of fishes suggested by Dahmān and followed by Conermann’s translation is untenable in light of the Persian meaning of *band*, dam. See Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126, and Conermann, “Taʿrīḥ,” 154.

<sup>147</sup> Buniâtova and Gasanova, *Pohod*, 93, mistakenly identify this toponym with the Erçek Gölü east of Lake Van.

<sup>148</sup> Matrakçı, *Beyān*, 25a, cf. Posch, *Beziehungen*, 744.

<sup>149</sup> Faẓl Allāh, *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 121–22; ed. ʿAshīq, 115–16.



Krawulsky.<sup>150</sup> As Muradiye is situated on the eastern bank of the Bendimahi Çayı, this identification contradicts Matrakçı's illustration.

The distance from Haydarbey to the western bank of the Bendimahi Çayı is around 25 km.

**Tuesday, 24 Rabī' I 876:** Night near Bandmāhī.<sup>151</sup>

Continuation of the journey in the morning of 10 September 1471, on horseback between high mountains.<sup>152</sup>

**Wednesday, 25 Rabī' I 876:** The toponym for the place where Ibn Ajā spent the night is left blank in the manuscript.<sup>153</sup>

Continuation of the journey in the morning of 11 September 1471, to and along a fertile valley (*wādī al-sawād*).<sup>154</sup> Rest at the meadow of Sukmān (*marj sukmān*).<sup>155</sup> This toponym should be identified with the Sukmān-ābād and Sukmān-ova of Ṭīhrānī,<sup>156</sup> the Suqman-ābād of Faẓl Allāh,<sup>157</sup> the Sukman-ova of Matrakçı,<sup>158</sup> the Sukman-ābād-i Khūy of Bidlīsī's *Sharafnāmah*,<sup>159</sup> and possibly the [g]li Camuzoni of Pegolotti,<sup>160</sup> as all these forms combine a first element of \*Sukman/\*Sögmen with the Arabic, Persian, or Turkic designation of a meadow (*marj*, *ābād*, or *ova*). The toponym lives on in the contemporary name of the rural district of Sukman-ābād surrounding Zūrābād/Zôrāve in Iran.<sup>161</sup> The direct route from Bandmāhī to

<sup>150</sup> Krawulsky, *Īrān*, 420.

<sup>151</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-Īrāk*, 112.

<sup>152</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-Īrāk*, 112.

<sup>153</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-Īrāk*, 112.

<sup>154</sup> Buniâtova and Gasanova (*Pohod*, 93) mistakenly identify this valley with that of a river named Qarasu (Kara-su, Turkic black water) in Azerbaijan.

<sup>155</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-Īrāk*, 112.

<sup>156</sup> Ṭīhrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah*, 96 and 408, respectively.

<sup>157</sup> Faẓl Allāh, *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 148 and 151; ed. 'Ashīq, 141 and 143. Note the indication by the editors that some of the manuscripts have Sukmān-ābād.

<sup>158</sup> Matrakçı, *Beyān*, 26b; cf. Posch, *Beziehungen*, 745.

<sup>159</sup> Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāmah*, ed. Vladimir Véliaminof-Zernof (Tehran, 1377/1998), 1:310.

<sup>160</sup> Sinclair, *Trade*, 273.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Posch, *Beziehungen*, 91.





Zūrābād is now closed by the Turkish-Iranian border, which can only be crossed further to the south at Esendere/Sirū, or alternatively much further to the north at Gürbulak/Bāzargān. Based on a rough estimate from the satellite images available on Google Maps, the distance may have been some 100 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

**Thursday, 26 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876:** Night at the meadow of Sukmān.<sup>162</sup>

Continuation of the journey at the end of the night to 12 September 1471, arrival in Khūy.<sup>163</sup> The distance from Zūrābād to Khūy is approximately 47 km.

**Friday, 27 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876:** Night in Khūy.<sup>164</sup>

Continuation of the journey on the morning of 13 September 1471; journey to the village of Tāsawā.<sup>165</sup> This town should be identified with modern Tasūj, historical Ṭasūj,<sup>166</sup> some 45 km from Khūy.

**Saturday, 28 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876:** Night in Tasūj.<sup>167</sup>

Rest at Tasūj during the day of 14 September 1471.<sup>168</sup>

**Sunday, 29 Rabī<sup>c</sup> I 876:** Night in Tasūj.<sup>169</sup>

Continuation of the journey on 15 September 1471; rest at the village of †SWRANQWLY†<sup>170</sup> (spelled †SWRANQLY† during Ibn Ajā's

<sup>162</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 102; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.

<sup>163</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.

<sup>164</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 141v–142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 63–64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 112.

<sup>165</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 113.

<sup>166</sup> See Krawulsky, *Īrān*, 506, and Sinclair, *Trade*, 274. The suggested identification of this toponym with Naxçıvan in contemporary Azerbaijan (Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 113) is impossible on topographical grounds.

<sup>167</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 113.

<sup>168</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 113.

<sup>169</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 113.

<sup>170</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 113.



return<sup>171</sup>). Dahmān suggests an interpretation of this toponym as “a branch of the river Sarāw or Sūrān” (*far‘un min nahri sarāw aw sūrān*).<sup>172</sup> However, as no river of this name is attested in the area and I do not know of any Arabic, Persian, or Turkic term for river that resembles QWLY, I retain the toponym *inter cruces*.<sup>173</sup>

**Monday, 30 Rabī‘ I 876:** Night in †SWRANQWLY†.<sup>174</sup>

Continuation of the journey on 16 September 1471. Ibn Ajā and his companions were met near †SWRANQWLY† by *uzun Ḥasan’s mihmandār*, or official responsible for the well-being of guests, and let into the town of *Tabriz*,<sup>175</sup> where they spent the next 20 days.<sup>176</sup> The distance from Tasūj to Tabriz is about 100 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

While in Tabriz, Ibn Ajā attended the court of *uzun Ḥasan* from Thursday, 3 Rabī‘ II 876 (equivalent to 19 September 1471) after the midday prayer, into the night of *Friday*, 4 Rabī‘ II 876.<sup>177</sup> He was granted a private audience with the ruler on *Sunday*, 6 Rabī‘ II 876 (equivalent to 22 September 1471)<sup>178</sup> before attending another schol-

<sup>171</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 126.

<sup>172</sup> Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 113.

<sup>173</sup> It may be possible to interpret QWLY as a form of Turkic *göl*, lake, + the third person possessive suffix -ü; however, no lake named SWRAN appears to exist in this area either. Buniâtova and Gasanova (*Pohod*, 45 and 93) read this toponym in the form of Sauran-Kuli, subsequently emended in a note to Sarvan-Kuli (\*Sarwānqulī), which they gloss as “a lake west of Tabriz.” I have not been able to find any other reference to a lake of this name elsewhere. Topographically, an identification with the small town of Şūfiyān may be conceivable; however, this would necessitate a major emendation to the *rasm* of the toponym as given in the manuscript.

<sup>174</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 113.

<sup>175</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 142r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 64; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 113.

<sup>176</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 126.

<sup>177</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 143v–147r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 67–74; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 105–10; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 115–19. For Ibn Ajā’s performative deployment of scholarly learning at this and the following scholarly courtly session of *uzun Ḥasan*, see Georg Leube, “Erudition at the Intersection of Genres? The Asymmetrical Deployment of Genres in Ibn Ajā’s *Tārīkh al-amīr Yashbak*,” in *Selected Studies on Genre in Middle Eastern Literatures: From Epics to Novels*, ed. Hülya Çelik and Petr Kučera (Cambridge, 2023), 16993.

<sup>178</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 147r–148r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 74–76; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 110–12; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 119–20.



arly courtly session from Thursday, 10 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876 (equivalent to 26 September 1471) into the night of Friday, 11 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876.<sup>179</sup>

The next complete date including the day of the week *and* the day of the month occurs when *uzun Ḥasan's mihmandār* brings Ibn Ajā some farewell gifts.<sup>180</sup> As demonstrated above, the date of Wednesday, 17 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II [876] is internally contradictory and should be emended to \*Wednesday, 16 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876\*, equivalent to 2 October 1471. Subsequently, Ibn Ajā spent Thursday and Friday in Tabriz.<sup>181</sup>

### 19 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876 to 4 Jumādā II 876: The Return from Tabriz

As the first part of Ibn Ajā's return follows the route of his journey to Tabriz, I begin indicating the distances between Ibn Ajā's stations after his departure from the earlier route at Erciş.

Saturday, \*19 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876\*: As demonstrated above, the date of Saturday, 20 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876, is internally inconsistent and should be emended. Ibn Ajā spent the night in Tabriz.<sup>182</sup>

Journey to †SWRANQLY† [sic] during the day of 5 October 1471.<sup>183</sup>

Sunday, 20 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876: Night at †SWRANQLY†.<sup>184</sup>

Continuation of the journey on the morning of 6 October 1471; rest at Tasūj.<sup>185</sup>

Monday, 21 Rabī<sup>c</sup> II 876: Night at Tasūj.

Resumption of the journey on the day of 7 October 1471 to Khūy.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>179</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 148r–150v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 76–81; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 112–16; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 120–23.

<sup>180</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152r–152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 84–85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 118–19; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 125.

<sup>181</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>182</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>183</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 85; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>184</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 152v–153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 85–86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>185</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>186</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 119–20, and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.



**Tuesday, 22 Rabīʿ II 876:** Night in Khūy.

Resumption of the journey on 8 October 1471; rest in the steppe (*mafāzah*).<sup>187</sup>

**Wednesday, 23 Rabīʿ II 876:** Night in the steppe.

Resumption of the journey on 9 October 1471; rest in the valley of darknesses (*wādī al-ẓulamāt*).<sup>188</sup>

**Thursday, 24 Rabīʿ II 876:** Night in the valley.

Resumption of the journey on 10 October 1471, to the village of Bandmāhī.<sup>189</sup>

**Friday, 25 Rabīʿ II 876:** Night in Bandmāhī.

Continuation of the journey on 11 October 1471 to Arjīsh/Erciṣ.<sup>190</sup>

**Saturday, 26 Rabīʿ II 876:** Night in Erciṣ followed by a day of rest due to Ibn Ajā's returning illness.<sup>191</sup>**Sunday, 27 Rabīʿ II 876:** Night in Erciṣ.

Continuation of the journey on the day of 13 October 1471, to a village of Christians (*qaryat naṣārā*).<sup>192</sup>

**Monday, 28 Rabīʿ II 876:** Night in the village of Christians in continuous snow; Ibn Ajā slept alone in a cowshed (*iṣṭabl al-baqar*).<sup>193</sup>

Continuation of the journey in very bad weather conditions in the morning of 14 October 1471 to the town of HDAALḤWR.<sup>194</sup> This top-

<sup>187</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>188</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>189</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>190</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>191</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>192</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>193</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.

<sup>194</sup> Ibn Ajā, "Tārīkh," MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 126.



onym should be identified with the modern town of Adilcevaz/Bitlis. Contemporary variants of this toponym in the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīyah* include ‘Abd al-Jawāz,<sup>195</sup> ‘Ādiljawāz,<sup>196</sup> and ‘Ādil Jawāz.<sup>197</sup> Coins minted in Adilcevaz by the Qaraqyunlu rulers Aspān and Iskandar give the toponym as ‘Ādil[jawāz]<sup>198</sup> and ‘Abdaljawāz.<sup>199</sup> The latter form likely constitutes the original that was misspelled in Ibn Ajā’s text.

The distance from Erciş to Adilcevaz is some 66 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in a day and a half.

Departure from Adilcevaz around noon; rest in a village, where Ibn Ajā met a certain *shaykh* Yūsuf.<sup>200</sup>

**Tuesday, 29 Rabī‘ II 876:** Night in the village.<sup>201</sup> As indicated above, this date is consistent.

Continuation of the journey on the day of 15 October 1471; journey to the town of Akhlāt, modern Ahlat/Bitlis, where some troops of the Rūzakī ruler of Bitlis were currently under siege in the (old) castle.<sup>202</sup> The distance from Adilcevaz to the old castle of Ahlat is around 27 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in about a day.

**Wednesday, 1 Jumādā I 876:** Night in Ahlat.

Resumption of the journey on the day of 16 October 1471, through snow that continued into the night.<sup>203</sup>

**Thursday, 2 Jumādā I 876:** Night in a forest (*ghābah*) in great cold, where stragglers continued to catch up with Ibn Ajā until the middle of the night.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>195</sup> Ṭihrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah*, 73 (in a footnote listing this form as occurring in ms. N).

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 228.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 236, 408, and 462.

<sup>198</sup> See Album, “Hoard,” 138–39.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 144, and Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī, *Sikkah’hā*, 55.

<sup>200</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153r–153v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 86–87; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 120–21; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 126–27.

<sup>201</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 87; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 121; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 127.

<sup>202</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 153v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 87; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 121; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 127.

<sup>203</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 128.

<sup>204</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-‘Irāk*, 128. The introductory suggestion of Buniātova and





Continuation of the journey in the morning of 17 October 1471, to Mūsh, modern Muş.<sup>205</sup> The distance from Ahlat to Muş is about 106 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in 2 days.

**Friday, 3 Jumādā I 876:** Night in Muş.

Continuation of the journey in the morning of 18 October 1471, to a steppe (*mafāzah*) on the banks of the Euphrates River.<sup>206</sup>

**Saturday, 4 Jumādā I 876:** Night on the bank of the Euphrates River.<sup>207</sup>

Continuation of the journey in the morning of 19 October 1471. Arrival at the valley of †MLShKRD† at noon;<sup>208</sup> journey to a resting place in the steppe (*mafāzah*).<sup>209</sup>

**Sunday, 5 Jumādā I 876:** Night in the steppe.

Continuation of the journey after the morning prayer of 20 October 1471, to Habaq Hūr/Bingöl, where the travelers left the snow.<sup>210</sup> The distance from Muş to Bingöl is some 115 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in three days.

**Monday, 6 Jumādā I 876:** Night in Bingöl.

Continuation of the journey on the day of 21 October 1471, to the town of Hayn/Hani.<sup>211</sup> The distance from Bingöl to Hani is about 83 km, which Ibn Ajā appears to have covered in one day.

**Tuesday, 7 Jumādā I 876:** Night in Hani.

Gasanova (*Pohod*, 7) that Ibn Ajā had traveled from Ahlat to Muş via Bitlis is contradicted by their translation (*ibid.*, 58). This was most likely a slip of the pen while writing the introduction and not a conscious argument.

<sup>205</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>206</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>207</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>208</sup> Arguably, one should correct the readings by both Ṭulaymāt and Dahmān of *wa-maraynā* as of unclear meaning (Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122, and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128) to *wa-ʿaddaynā*, “and we crossed (*scilicet* a river or valley).”

<sup>209</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154r, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 88; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>210</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>211</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.



Resumption of the journey during the day of 22 October 1471, to a village near Āmid/Diyarbakır.<sup>212</sup>

**Wednesday, 8 Jumādā I 876:** Night in the village.

Continuation of the journey on 23 October 1471, to Āmid/Diyarbakır.<sup>213</sup>  
The direct distance from Hani to Diyarbakır is some 69 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in two days.

**Thursday, 9 Jumādā I 876:** Night in Diyarbakır.

Departure in the afternoon of 24 October 1471.<sup>214</sup>

**Sunday, 12 Jumādā I 876:** Arrival in al-Ruhā/Urfa at noon of 27 October 1471.<sup>215</sup> The distance from Diyarbakır to Urfa is some 178 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in three and a half days.

Rest in Urfa until the morning of Tuesday, 14 Jumādā I 876,<sup>216</sup> equivalent to 29 October 1471. Continuation of the journey to the town of al-Bīra/Birecik, where Ibn Ajā and his companions were lodged at the castle (*al-qalʿah*).

**Saturday, \*18 Jumādā I 876\*:** Arrival in Ḥalab/Aleppo in the morning of 2 November 1471.<sup>217</sup> The distance from Urfa to Aleppo via Birecik is approximately 260 km, which Ibn Ajā covered in four and a half days.

**Thursday, \*30 Jumādā I 876\*:** Departure from Aleppo during the day of 14 November 1471.<sup>218</sup>

**Monday, \*4 Jumādā II 876\*:** Return to the camp of the Mamluk army.<sup>219</sup>

<sup>212</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>213</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>214</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>215</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>216</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 122; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 128.

<sup>217</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 123; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 129.

<sup>218</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 123; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 129.

<sup>219</sup> Ibn Ajā, “Tārīkh,” MS Topkapı Ahmet III 3057, 154v, equivalent to Dār al-Kutub MS 3663 *tārīkh*, 89; ed. Ṭulaymāt, 123; and Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk*, 129.



## CONCLUSION

As has been shown in the preceding section, Ibn Ajā's *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak*, if properly emended, contains a coherent, day-by-day account of his itinerary from Antep to Tabriz and back to Diyarbakır. By contrast, the return from Diyarbakır to the army is treated summarily, with Ibn Ajā merely indicating the dates of his arrival and departure at Urfa and Aleppo.

In comparison with the itinerary from Aleppo to Tabriz followed by the Flemish traveler Joos van Ghistele some ten years later,<sup>220</sup> it is striking that Ibn Ajā bypassed Lake Van to the north, crossing the difficult terrain between Diyarbakır, the upper Euphrates River, and Lake Van. By contrast, van Ghistele followed the easier route via Hasankeyf, Siirt, and Hizan, reaching the southern shore of Lake Van near Gevaş/Vastan and continuing via Van and Khūy.<sup>221</sup> The motivation for Ibn Ajā's journey along the difficult route to the north of Lake Van likely lay in the ongoing military campaign of Aqquyunlu forces against the Rūzakī rulers of Bitlis, part of which is mentioned in Ibn Ajā's reference to the siege of Ahlat.<sup>222</sup> Placed in this context, Ibn Ajā's description of the very physical hardships of his journey should be taken as representative of the general upheaval caused by what Woods has fittingly called "one of the most serious misjudgements of the great Aqquyunlu leader."<sup>223</sup>

Apart from the historical importance of Ibn Ajā's diplomatic mission to Tabriz and the value of his travelogue as a source on *uzun* Ḥasan's court and his campaigns against the Rūzakī rulers of Bitlis, I believe the clarification of the chronology and itinerary of his journey undertaken in this article facilitates future engagement with this fascinating source on the following two levels:

- A. Its reliable identification of toponyms and the time it took to travel from one to the next make Ibn Ajā's travelogue accessible as an important and exceptionally detailed source on mobility and transportation in eastern Anatolia during the second half of the fifteenth century.

<sup>220</sup>See Joos van Ghistele, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, ed. Ambrosius Zeebout and R. J. G. A. A. Caspar (Hilversum, 1998).

<sup>221</sup>*Ibid.*, 328–33. The critical assessment of this part of van Ghistele's travelogue by G. R. Crone, "Joos van Ghistele and his Travels in the Levant," *The Geographical Journal* 83, no. 5 (1934): 412–15, is based upon numerous false identifications of the toponyms mentioned by van Ghistele and cannot be upheld. See Leube, *Relational Iconography*, 115.

<sup>222</sup>See Ṭīhrānī, *Diyārbakrīyah*, 542–44; Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāmah*, 1:387–90; and the fascinating Armenian colophon translated by Avedis K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301–1480* (Cambridge MA, 1969), 303–7, as well as the comprehensive discussion by Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 110–12.

<sup>223</sup>*Ibid.*, 112.



- B. By grounding the discussion of the toponyms given by Ibn Ajā within the most important contemporary sources, as well as some earlier and later itineraries and geographical works, this article contributes to future research engaging with the interplay of persistence and change in the cultural geography of the lands bordering the Mamluk realms to the north.

I sincerely hope that the publication of a reliable reconstruction of Ibn Ajā's itinerary and chronology will encourage further scholarly engagement with his fascinating travelogue.



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