

The Many Lives of the First Non-Western History of the Americas:

From the *New Report* to the *History of the West Indies**

Baki Tezcan**

*Batı dışında yazılmış ilk Amerika Tarihi'nin farklı hayatları:
Hadis-i Nev'den Tarih-i Hind-i garbi'ye*

Öz ■ Bu makale, daha çok *Tarih-i Hind-i garbi* adıyla tanınan ve İstanbul'da 1583 yılında tamamlanmış bulunan Amerika'nın Batı dışında yazılmış ilk tarihinin ve onun Farsça çevirisinin elyazmalarını inceliyor. III. Murad'a (s. 1574-95) sunulmuş olan *Hadis-i nev*'in güncel siyasetle ilgili bir savı olduğu iddiasını, sunulan bu yazmayı, eserin en büyük bölümünün Farsça'ya tercümesi olan *Tarih-i yeni dünya* ile eserin onyedinci yüzyılda sayıları artarak çoğalan yazmalarıyla karşılaştırarak destekliyorum.

* Other than listening to a presentation he made at a conference in Çeşme, Turkey, in 2000, I have not met Professor Goodrich in person. However, when I contacted him back in 2003 with a question pertaining to his work on the *Tarih-i Hind-i garbi*, he was more than helpful to me. Since then, he has shared with me his articles, books, photocopies, slides, and unpublished works on this and related subjects via mail and e-mail. I have very rarely encountered such a generous scholar in my career. Moreover when I reached somewhat different conclusions than those he had reached with the material he shared with me, he continued to encourage my work, which is even rarer in the scholarly community. The present study received much appreciated feedback from him, as did my other articles on the *Tarih-i Hind-i garbi*, which are cited below. For all these reasons (and many others), this article and the two volumes in which it appears are dedicated to him. I should also acknowledge the TÜBİTAK grant which made it possible for me to spend the 2011-12 academic year in Istanbul at Şehir University where, thanks to the collegiality of Dr. Günhan Börekçi and others, I was able to work on this piece and other projects in a pleasant scholarly environment. Last but not least, I would like to thank my colleagues in the History Department at Boğaziçi University whose comments and questions that followed my presentation of a previous version of this study in December 2011 helped me revise this article.

** University of California, Davis.

Bu inceleme, *Hadîs-i nev*'in yazarının Su'ûdî (ö. 1591) olması gerektiğinin altını çizdiği gibi, bir eserin farklı yazmalarının nasıl incelenmesi gerektiği hakkında da dolaylı yollardan önemli tespitler içeriyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Hadîs-i nev*; *Târîh-i Hind-i garbî*; *Terceme-i Târîh-i yeni dünya*; Su'ûdî; elyazmalarının farklı neşirleri.

In the English speaking world, we owe more or less everything we know about the text entitled *Hadîs-i nev* –but better known as *Târîh-i Hind-i garbî*, or the *History of the West Indies*– to Thomas Goodrich. This will be apparent to the readers of this article who will find about sixty references to Goodrich's *The Ottoman Turks and the New World* in this study.¹ That is why I thought that the most appropriate contribution to a volume in honor of Goodrich would be a new study of this first non-western history of the Americas; hence, the present piece, in which I propose some friendly amendments to Goodrich's great work while I reconsider the question of the close link between knowledge and politics by focusing on the specificity of the first edition of this Turkish history of the Americas. My contention is simple: the *New Report* (*Hadîs-i nev*), a text that was still being printed in the 1870s, had a very immediate political agenda when it was first produced in the 1580s which lost its relevance during the seventeenth century.

Thanks to Goodrich's work, the *New Report* has become a well-known text on the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Americas.² I have recently argued that, in –what I call– its first life, the *New Report* was produced for the court of Murad III (r. 1574-95) in 1583, among other things, in order to make a case for not renewing the Ottoman-Spanish peace. While the *Quintessence of Histories* (*Zübdetü't-tevârih*), which was also produced in 1583 for Murad III, was emphasizing the peace established between a Christian and a Muslim king, I argued that the *New Report* supported –what my colleague Giancarlo Casale calls– the Indian Ocean faction,³ whose members opposed the renewal of the peace with the Spanish since Spanish and Portuguese crowns had been

1 Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990).

2 Serge Gruzinski's recent work carried it to larger circles than those of the historians of the Islamic World; see his *What time is it there? America and Islam at the dawn of modern times* (Malden: Polity Press, 2010 [first published in French in 2008]).

3 Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 162-3.

united in 1580, which practically extended the Ottoman-Spanish peace from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.⁴ In a separate study, I also compared the *New Report* with the *Law-book of China* (*Terjüme-i Qânûn-nâme-i Çîn ve Khitây ve Khotan*), which was also produced in the early 1580s, suggesting that whereas the *Law-book of China* was making a case for the limitation of the royal prerogative as far as the sultan's authority to change the ancient laws of the realm were concerned, the *New Report* praised the new and the bold, emphasizing the fact that the "books of the ancients" did not report anything about the Americas. Thus, according to the *New Report*, old traditions were not of any use for the new world.⁵ Even the reports (*hadîs* in singular) on the life of the Prophet Muhammad did not include any references to the New World; hence, the *Hadîs-i nev*, or the *New Report*.⁶

In these two studies I was taking the close link between geographical knowledge and politics for granted – despite Gottfried Hagen's important warning that this link was established much later in Ottoman letters.⁷ In this article, I consolidate my argument that one can indeed ascribe immediate political motives to the *New Report*. In order to do this, I bring the specificity of the *New Report* to sharp focus by drawing attention to its differences from later editions of the same work in Persian and Turkish. These editions help us observe some of the alternative ways in which the main contents of the *New Report* were later represented, thus underlining the unique aspects of the 1583 edition. These unique aspects, in their turn, lead us to the immediate political context of this edition. But before I go any further, let me go over some of the competing approaches to the *New Report*.

There is some disagreement about the import of the *New Report* among its interpreters. According to some, the work is a "Fable-book" that should belong

4 Baki Tezcan, "The 'Frank' in the Ottoman Eye of 1583," in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye (1453-1750): Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, ed. James Harper (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 267-96.

5 Baki Tezcan, "Law in China or Conquest in the Americas: Competing Constructions of Political Space in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire," forthcoming in *Journal of World History* 24 (2013).

6 This particular reading of the word *hadîs*, which is based on my interpretation of a couplet that is only found in the royal presentation copy of the text, led me to prefer "new report" to "fresh news," which is the way Goodrich had rendered *Hadîs-i nev* to English; see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 75; compare Tezcan, "The Frank in the Ottoman eye of 1583," 281.

7 Compare Gottfried Hagen, "Kâtib Çelebi and *Târîh-i Hind-i Garbî*," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 12 (1982-98): 101-115, at 108.

to the “wonders of the world” genre.⁸ What makes this genre hard to describe is its position in between cosmography, encyclopedia, and geography in the context of the medieval world. While the genre comprises certain aspects that one could regard as related to reality, there is also a lot of room for “fiction.” As such, works in this genre were meant to entertain their readers by showing the “wonders of the world.” Many a manuscript copy of a work in this genre is illustrated with colorful pictures that depict the mythical, legendary, or outright fictitious characters that are discussed. Al-Qazwîni’s (d. 1283) *‘Ajâ’ib al-makhlûqât wa-gharâ’ib al-mawjûdât*, literally the “marvels of things created and miraculous aspects of things existing,” is the definitive work of the genre. There are numerous copies of this work as well as several translations of it into Persian and Turkish.⁹

When one compares the illustrations of the *Marvels of Things* with those of the *New Report*,¹⁰ there is indeed an affinity; they seem to belong to the same intellectual category. What is depicted in the latter work in some illustrations is more like a mythical place, a wild paradise if you wish, rather than the real world (see figures 1, 2, 3).

-
- 8 The expression “Fabelbuch” is Franz Babinger’s, see his *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1927), 365, n. 1; also see his *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifttum, 1919), 14. Hagen regards it as a cosmography that was meant to “collect curious and strange things (*acâib ve garâib*) from geography and natural sciences, thus composing a picture of the whole world as a manifestation of the omnipotence of God;” “Kâtib Çelebi and *Târîh-i Hind-i Garbî*,” 104.
- 9 Günay Kut, “Acâibü’l-mahlûkat,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* [*İA* hereafter], vol. 1, 315-7. For a very fruitful recent approach to this genre, see Travis Zadeh, “The Wiles of Creation: Philosophy, Fiction, and the *‘Ajâ’ib* Tradition,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 13 (2010): 21-48.
- 10 See, for instance, the illustrations in Dar al-Kutub al-Qawmiyya (Cairo), 124 M. Turki, dated to 1096/1684-5, which is Rodosîzâde Mehmed Emîn Efendi’s (d. 1701) translation of the second half of the work that is a continuation of Surûri’s translation which was left unfinished once Prince Mustafa, the translator’s patron, was executed by his father, Süleyman the Magnificent in 1553. For more accessible images, reproduced from copies of Surûri’s translation, see Metin And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm Mitolojyası*, second ed. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007 [first ed., 1998]), 81, 83, 275, 277, 278, 281, 325, 326, 355, 357, 358, 360.



Figure 1: Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS 4969 [BDK 4969 hereafter], f. 53a; courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Culture.¹¹



Figure 2: BDK 4969, f. 132a; courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Culture.¹²

Figure 3: BDK 4969, f. 133b; courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Culture.¹³



¹¹ Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 59, 187-8.

¹² *Ibid.*, 62, 305-6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 63, 314-5.

The illustrations follow the text which at times includes passages that sound quite unrealistic to our modern ears. The section on the “waqwaq tree” is one of them. Before introducing the New World to his readers, the author of the *New Report* writes an introductory chapter that outlines the readily available geographical knowledge about the Old World, relying on Muslim authors. When it comes to discuss the Far East, he has the following to say:

... In the [Green Sea (See of China or eastern Indian Ocean)] there is another island they call Zamîni. ...

Near to the afore-mentioned island there is another island on which a kind of tree grows; they call it Wâqwâq. ...

On the afore-mentioned island there is a kind of great tree whose fruit, which grow among its blossoms and boughs, are always lovely women such that those who see the beauty of their shape and the grace of their bodies are astonished. The breast and vulva of each one are like [those of] other women, and in the branches of the tree they are suspended from their heads like a kind of fruit. Sometimes they all make the sound “wâqwâq.” Therefore they call the afore-mentioned island Wâqwâq. If at some time one of these women be cut off from the base, she lasts for about two days. Then she perishes, and her beauty of form breaks up. It is related that sometimes some men come together with them. They find a pleasant smell and a great taste.¹⁴

This quotation from the earlier Muslim sources and the illustration that goes with it reinforce the impression that one is dealing with a work that belongs to the “wonders of the world” genre (figure 4).¹⁵

¹⁴ Ibid., 104.

¹⁵ On Waqwaq, see Shawkat M. Toorawa, “Wâq al-wâq: Fabulous, Fabular, Indian Ocean (?) Island(s) ...,” *Emergences* 10/2 (2000): 387-402; and also idem., “Cartographies (of silence), Orient/ation, and Sexuality: The Dis/covery of the Americas and the Mascarenes,” in *U.S.A. – Mauritius: 200 Years of Trade, History, Culture*, ed. Susan R. Crystal (Moka: Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 1996), 43-71.



Figure 4: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi [TSK hereafter], Revan 1488, f. 18a; courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.¹⁶

¹⁶ Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 58, 104, 106. The illustration of this scene in BDK 4969 is not in its place as the manuscript lacks a folio right after the text announces the depiction of the tree (compare BDK 4969, ff. 7b-8a); hence, this illustration of the same scene from a later manuscript of the work. The text in BDK 4969 continues after the missing folio on a much later page (f. 82a) as the manuscript has been rebound in a disorderly fashion; for a practical guide on how to read the BDK manuscript properly, see Thomas D. Goodrich, “Sixteenth century Ottoman

The sections that deal with the New World include similarly wondrous things. For instance, the author has this to say about Cubagua, an island off the coast of modern Venezuela:

The island of Cubagua: ... In that sea there is a kind of fish that sometimes appears. Its upper half is like a man; it has hair and a beard. Its arms are also like a man but it is hairy. It is in this form:¹⁷



Figure 5: TSK Revan 1488, f. 63b; courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.¹⁸

Americana, or a study of *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*,” Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 1968), 54-6. The Revan manuscript has been published in facsimile (without its marginalia); see Istanbul Research Center, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî veya Hadîs-i Nev (A History of the Discovery of America)*, trans. (of the introductory material and the summary of the text) Süheyla Artemel (Istanbul: Historical Research Foundation, 1987); this image is on the folio numbered as 18b in this publication. Later the same research center published another edition with a transcription and complete translations to modern Turkish and English, see Fuat Yavuz, Robert Bragner, et al., *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî veya Hadîs-i Nev - History of the West Indies known as the New Hadith* (Istanbul: Istanbul Tarihi Araştırmalar Vakfı, 1999).

¹⁷ Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 197.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 59-60, 197, 199-200. The illustration of this scene in BDK 4969 is missing as the manuscript lacks a folio right after the text announces the depiction of this “merman” (compare BDK 4969, ff. 56b-57a); hence, this illustration of the same scene from a later manuscript of the work. This image is on the folio numbered as 63a in Istanbul Research Center, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî*.

Goodrich, who identifies the western textual source of the Ottoman author, adds in a footnote that this picture is not to be found in the source. One could add to his footnote that in *Historia general le las Indias*, the source for this section of the *New Report*, the report about the fish is introduced with the qualification that “there is no shortage of tales (*fábulas*),” a cautionary note that is missing in the *New Report*.¹⁹ For the Ottoman author, however, the fish-man could have been a well-known figure as one finds the illustration of this figure in mid-sixteenth century astrological literature to represent Pisces.²⁰ Thus the Americas become a home for the creatures of the Ottoman imagination.

The *New Report* seems, then, to be a fantastic book on curious things, a book on the wonders of the world that are located in a faraway place. This faraway place, the Americas, was exotic for the Ottoman mind, just as it was so for many Europeans at the time. A new continent definitely created curiosity, and the book aims at responding to this, but not in the way the “moderns” would expect it to respond, that is to say with a “scientific” approach. Not unlike the Europeans who had various fantasies about the New World, the Ottomans could look at the new continent as a place not so much different from the fictitious places in the Far East, such as the Waqwaq Island.

Therefore, one may argue that rather than telling what the Ottomans knew or did not know about the New World, the *New Report*, with its many illustrations, opens a window into the world of Ottoman fantasia. Thus the *New Report* is about the Americas that are more creatively imagined than actually observed. And the Americas provide the perfect setting for this creative imagination because they are truly distant and satisfy the Ottoman curiosity for wonders perfectly. The initial reaction to the “discovery” of the Americas was the same in Europe.²¹ Thus it is not that the Ottomans were living in a

19 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 197, n. 583; see Francisco Lopez de Gomara, *Historia General de las Indias y Vida de Hernan Cortes*, 2 vols. (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1979), vol. I, 120. I would like to thank my colleague Krystyna von Henneberg for her translation of the original sentence from Spanish.

20 See, for instance, the anonymous Turkish astrological work at the British Library, or. 12921, f. 12a, where one sees Pisces “represented by an old man with white hair and a fish body;” Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and British Museum* (London: The British Library, 1981), 29; reproduced in Plate 8.

21 See, for instance, *The Age of the Marvelous*, ed. Joy Kenseth (Hanover: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991).

fantasy world while the Europeans produced “scientific” knowledge about the Americas. To the contrary, there are certain similarities in their respective approaches to that which is new. Perhaps, then, the work deserves to be looked at from a different perspective as well.

Once one acknowledges that “*mirabilia* and monsters were also a part of the European imagination until far later than 1500,” Sanjay Subrahmanyam states in the context of Mughal India, “the presence of a register of ‘wonders’ (*‘ajâ’ib-o-gharâ’ib*) in the Indo-Persian textual corpus does not in fact preclude the simultaneous accumulation of political, economic and other materials in a far more matter-of-fact tone.”²² Why should the satisfaction of curiosity for the wonderful, the engine of early modern science in Europe,²³ not produce other results in the Ottoman Empire as well?²⁴

Looked at from this perspective, the *New Report* assumes another garb which may fit the meaning given to it by a different group of scholars who find a certain political immediacy in the knowledge produced in the work that I briefly touched upon earlier.²⁵ Instead of arguing for one interpretation, or the other, it may be more productive to think of the *New Report* as being a work that simultaneously operates in the “wonders of the world” genre and makes a contemporary political statement as well. Yet this double function does not preclude the possibility that one of the two aims – policy formation by way of producing knowledge and entertainment – may be primary, and the other secondary.

22 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Taking stock of the Franks: South Asian views of Europeans and Europe, 1500-1800,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 42 (2005): 69-100, at 80. For the European interest in the marvelous and wondrous, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

23 See Lorraine Daston, “Neugierde als Empfindung und Epistemologie in der früh-modern Wissenschaft,” in *Macrocosmos in Microcosmo: Die Welt in der Stube – Zur Geschichte des Sammelns, 1450 bis 1800*, ed. Andreas Grote (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1994), 35-59. I would like to thank my colleague Hedda Reindl-Kiel for bringing this article to my attention.

24 Actually, one could even argue that the wonder literature was meant to, among other things, encourage scientific activity; see Zadeh, “The Wiles of Creation,” 38.

25 See, for instance, Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*; idem., “Global Politics in the 1580s: One Canal, Twenty Thousand Cannibals, and an Ottoman Plot to Rule the World,” *Journal of World History* 18 (2007): 267-96; also see fn. 4-5 above.

It is at this point that the features distinguishing the three editions of the *New Report* become significant. I argue that the meanings attached to the text that one finds in the *New Report* changed in its different editions. In order to determine the specific meaning of the *New Report* in the form it was produced for Murad III, it is important to note the differences of this production from others. To begin with, there are at least five editions of the work. The first one is represented by the royal presentation copy of 1583 which is the oldest dated text and the one that I have primarily in mind when I use the title the *New Report*.²⁶ The fourth and fifth ones, which are print editions rather than manuscripts, appear much later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and are not dealt with in this paper.²⁷ In between the first edition and the print editions there are two more versions of the work: the popular Ottoman edition, which this study calls the *History of the West Indies* after the most popular title of the work,²⁸ and the edition in Persian. All of these editions share some basic contents that are, as Goodrich demonstrates,²⁹ based on the translation of some Spanish sources and their Italian translations, the most important one of which is the *Historia general de las Indias*.³⁰

26 BDK 4969; for a description, see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 21.

27 See Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 28-9. The first of these two, *Tarihül-hindil-garbi el-müsemma bi-hadis-i nev*, ed. İbrâhîm Müteferrika (Istanbul: Dârü't-tubâ'ati'l-ma'mûre, 1142/1730) [Müteferrika ed. hereafter] was the first illustrated book that was printed in the first Muslim printing press. There is a German M.A. thesis written specifically on this edition, which I was unable to consult: Sascha Willig, "Tarih ül-Hind il-garbi el-müsemma bi-Hadis-i nev: der erste illustrierte Druck der islamischen Welt und seine Holzschnitte in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München Res/4 A.or. 3548," M.A. thesis (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2005). The later edition is entitled *Tarih-i Hindil-garbi* (Istanbul: Tophâne-i 'âmire, 1292/1875).

28 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 19. Goodrich regards the royal presentation copy as one of the manuscripts of the *History of the West Indies* which is a very understandable decision as its text does not differ from the others in radical ways. I should note that the popular Ottoman edition, which is extant in about twenty manuscript copies, is not a completely consistent text. There are some variants between these manuscripts that deserve an entirely separate study, which could easily identify, at least, two popular editions.

29 Thomas D. Goodrich, "Ottoman Americana: The Search for the Sources of the Sixteenth-century *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 85 (1982): 269-94, at 280-1.

30 Gomara, *Historia General*.

The Persian edition of the work presents the best point to start the different lives of the text in the *New Report* as its additions to the translation of the European sources are minimal. There are at least three manuscripts of the *Translation of the History of the New World*, or the *Tarjomeh-e ta'rikh-e yangi donyâ*, which in this study will be referred to simply as the *History of the New World*. David James dates the oldest one of its manuscripts, which is held at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, to the first half of the seventeenth century and places it in Deccani India based on the style of its illustrations.³¹ A later manuscript, which is held at the Harvard University Art Museums and is dated 1220/1805-6, follows the same illustration cycle as the Indian one (see Table 1 below).³² A third manuscript of the work, which seems to have been copied

- 31 James first attributed this work to Safavid Iran; see David James, *Islamic Masterpieces of the Chester Beatty Library* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1981), 23. Yet he had changed his mind by July 1984 when he stated that the work should belong to Deccani India; Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 30. The dating by David James and/or later curators of the Chester Beatty Library (CBL hereafter) is noted on the first page of the manuscript, CBL T. 560, f. 1a, as “circa 1610-30.” If this identification is correct, one would expect that it was produced at one of the three Shiite courts of the Deccan in this period, the ‘Âdil-shâhîs, the Nizâm-shâhîs, or the Qutb-shâhîs, as the preface includes a benediction for the Twelve Imams, especially Ali; see f. 2a. Its illuminations on the first two pages of the text (ff. 1b-2a) and the quality of its illustrations suggest that it was produced for a wealthy patron; yet there is no dedication.
- 32 This manuscript is held at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum; it belongs to the Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard University Art Museums [Binney / Harvard hereafter], accession no. 1985.270. It was described by Edwin Binney, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd: 1981 Supplement to the 1979 Catalogue* (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Art, 1981), 4-6. I would like to thank Thomas Goodrich for sharing with me his “Miniatures in the Ottoman *Tarih-i Yeni Dunya* and in the Persian *Terjeme-i Tarikh-i Yangi Dunya*,” an unpublished article that drew my attention to this manuscript. Since then, the manuscript has been digitalized and made public on the internet: <http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/13639460>. There is also a partial typescript translation of this work into English done by Salman Farmanfarmaian and Massoud Faribar in the spring of 1991, which is available at the Islamic and Later Indian Art Department of the Sackler Museum, to the staff of which (especially Dr. Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım) I am most grateful for their help. Farmanfarmaian and Faribar suggest that the work was translated by Abû al-Qâsem Kermânî in 1805; see the typescript, p. 2. While this name does appear at the end of the manuscript, f. 90a, I could not find anything to suggest that Kermânî is the translator of the work; see f. 90b, where Kermânî is praising a certain Mohammad Ja’far for whom he seems to have copied this manuscript. Furthermore since the text of the manuscript is basically the same as that of the CBL T. 560, which is

for the same patron as the Harvard manuscript, is at the British Library and is dated to 1225/1810.³³ It was most probably intended to become an illustrated manuscript, yet its illustrations were never completed. Thus there are empty spaces on various pages, corresponding to the points in the text where the Harvard manuscript has an illustration.³⁴ In short, the Chester Beatty, Harvard, and British Library manuscripts are copies of the same Persian edition that follow the same illustration cycle.

believed to be a seventeenth century manuscript, the translation must predate 1805. The only Abû al-Qâsem Kermânî I could identify is someone who seems to have flourished in the early twentieth century, see his *Risâleh-e tanzîh al-awliyâ'* (Kirman: Chapkhana-yi Sa'adat, 1947). The dating of the manuscript to 1220/1805-6 is based on Kermânî's note, f. 90a (yet the chronogram, which the date is supposed to correspond to, curiously indicates 1110/1698-9).

- 33 G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Handlist of Persian manuscripts, 1895-1966* (London: British Museum, 1968), 48, or. 5413. For the dating and the name of the patron, Mohammad Ja'far, see British Library [BL hereafter], or. 5413, f. 97b. Looking for other copies of the work, I came across to a title that *might* have used the *History of the New World* as a source: *Kashf al-gharâ'ib*, the "discovery of wonders" (for the online catalog record of this title at the Library of the Parliament of Iran, see <http://dlib.ical.ir/site/catalogue/1032979>; I would like to thank my colleague Ali Anooshahr for directing me to this online resource), cited by C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, Section II, Fasciculus 2: *Special Histories of Persia, Central Asia and the Remaining Parts of the World except India* (London: Luzac & Co., 1936), 428-9. The second Persian book on America cited by Storey does not seem to have anything to do with the work studied here, cf. Mohammad Hasan Khân E'temâdo's-saltana, *Tâ'rikh-e enkeshâf-e yangî donyâ* (Tehran, 1288/1871), a copy of which is available at the New York Public Library. I would like to thank the staff of the Asian and Middle Eastern Division at the Library who were kind enough to fax me the first and last two pages of the work for comparison.
- 34 With four exceptions: Image 7 (see Table 1) is anticipated with the introductory phrase "and the aforementioned animal would be in this form," but the scribe seems to have forgotten to leave any space for the image that follows (see BL, or. 5413, f. 30a). Image 9 shares the same fate as Image 7: after a phrase introducing the image at the end of f. 40b, the scribe continues with the text on the first line of f. 41a. There are two empty spaces left at the location of Image 10, arguably with the intention of illustrating the cactus and the temple separately; see fn. 37 below. Similarly, there are two empty spaces at the location of Image 11, perhaps with the intention of illustrating the bison and the Rocky Mountain bighorn sheep, both of which are referred to in the text, separately; compare Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 61, 266-7, 270-4; BL or. 5413, ff. 72a-b.

Image no.	Harvard MS (British Library MS), folio no.	Chester Beatty Library, T. 560, folio no.	Basic description ³⁵
1	6b (8a)	Missing folio between 8b-9a	Parrots & hutias
2	6b (8a)	Missing folio between 8b-9a	Turkey (<i>gallipavos</i>)
3	12b (15a)	18b	Fire beetle (<i>cocuyo</i>)
4	22b (25b)	36a	Wildcat(s)
5	23a (26b)	Missing folio between 36b-37a	Tapir
6	26a (29b)	40b	Merman
7	26b (30a)	41a	Anteater
8	33a (37b)	53a	“Bird of paradise” ³⁶
9	36a (40b-41a)	58a	Armadillo
10	48a (53a-b)	79b	Cactus (<i>nopal</i>) [and the temple] ³⁷
11	65b (72a-b)	Missing folio between 110b-111a	Rocky Mountain big-horn sheep
12	75b (83a)	129a	Potosí
13	85b (93a)	Missing folio between 142b-143a	Jaguar (<i>tiger</i>)
14	86a (93b)	Missing folio between 142b-143a	<i>Artati</i> ³⁸
15	86b (94a)	143a	A kind of wildcat
16	87b (95a)	144b	Coconut tree
17	89b (97a)	147b	Banana leaf
18	89b (97a)	148a	Genipa (<i>jagua</i>)

Table 1 – Figures on the illustrated copies of the *History of the New World*.

Although the name of the translator into Persian is not mentioned in any of these three manuscripts, a reference is made to a certain Âhîzâde Ali

35 I have mostly adopted the terms used by Goodrich in his “Miniatures.”

36 The bird is not named in the Persian text, for the source of this name, see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 212, n. 635.

37 While the illustration of the Harvard MS focuses only on the cactus, that of the CBL emphasizes the temple, which is mentioned in the text right before the cactus, and illustrates the cactus as a detail; see fn. 48, and figures 6-7 below.

38 Goodrich calls this an armadillo, see *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 305.

Çelebi who is cited as the Ottoman author of the Turkish original,³⁹ a claim that is difficult to verify for various reasons. Unfortunately this person cannot be identified although several members of the Âhîzâde family are known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁰ There is, of course, Mınık Ali, who is also known as Hısım Ali (“Ali the relative”) for his association with the Âhîzâde family.⁴¹ But he has not been recorded with this family name anywhere else.

If James is correct in his identification of the oldest copy, the *History of the New World* appeared more or less at the same time in India when the popular edition of the *History of the West Indies* started to circulate in the Ottoman Empire for the first time in the early seventeenth century.⁴² Since one would presume that there must have passed some time between the production of Âhîzâde’s Turkish

39 See CBL T. 560, f. 2b; Binney / Harvard 1985.270, f. 2a; and BL, or. 5413, f. 3a.

40 The founder of the family is Âhî Yûsuf bin Cüneyd (d. ca. 1500), a well-known professor of Islamic law in the late fifteenth century Istanbul. His known offspring in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries include two ‘Abdülhalîms, Ahmed, Hasan, Hüseyn, İbrâhîm, two Mahmûds, and four Mehmeds, most of whom were known as Âhîzâde (obviously Ali Çelebi may belong to another family with the same name that is not as famous as this one); see Mecdî Mehmed (d. 1591), *Hadaikuş-şakaik* (Istanbul, 1269), reprinted with indices in Abdülkadir Özcan, ed., *Şakaik-ı Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri*, 5 vols. (Istanbul, 1989), vol. 1, 128-9, 292-3, 300-1; Nev'izâde ‘Atâ’î (d. 1635), *Hadâ'iku'l-bakâ'ik fi tekmiletiş-şakâ'ik*, 2 vols. in one with continuous pagination (Istanbul, 1268); reprinted with indices in Abdülkadir Özcan, ed., *Şakaik-ı Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri*, vol. 2, 242, 264-5, 310, 494-7, 545-6, 704-5, 731, 755-7; Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1145/1732-33), *Vakâyi'ül-fudalâ*, BDK, Veliyüddin Efendi 2361-2362; facsimile edition with indices in Abdülkadir Özcan, *Şakaik-ı Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri*, vols. 3-4, vol. 3, 13-4, 98, 105, 125, 360-1.

41 ‘Atâ’î, *Hadâ'iku'l-bakâ'ik*, 279.

42 The oldest extant datable copy among the manuscripts of the *History of the West Indies*, excluding the royal presentation copy that this study considers as an edition in its own right, is the TSK R. 1488, which must have been copied sometime between 1595 and 1622-3; see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 21-2. This copy is reproduced, without its marginalia, in Istanbul Research Center, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* [Revan rep. hereafter; the pagination of the reproduction does not exactly reflect the original, but in order to prevent confusion, the following references in this article will be to the pagination in the reproduction]. Goodrich dates The Newberry Library [NL hereafter], Ayer ms 612, to ca. 1600. However, this manuscript seems to be dated to 1077/1666-7. The period at the end of the last sentence in the manuscript (fl. 106b) makes the date [10]77 look like 770, giving the impression that the manuscript was misdated; see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 22, n. 19. I should note that Professor Goodrich kindly warned me that there are no watermarks in the

version, which is not extant, and the appearance of its Persian translation in India,⁴³ it may be argued that Âhîzâde's Turkish version predates the *History of the West Indies*.⁴⁴ But the identification of India as the place where the *History of the New World* first appeared might need more scrutiny as many of the illustrations could well have been Persian works as well.⁴⁵

The *History of the New World* presents us with an alternative way of representing the information contained in the European sources about the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Americas. In this version, the first two chapters of the *New Report*, which are based on the existing sources of geographical knowledge in the Islamic world, are absent. After a short preface, praising God, the Prophet, and the twelve imams with special reference to Ali, the book starts with a one-sentence

manuscript and that one would expect to see them if the manuscript was indeed from the late seventeenth century.

- 43 If James' identification of the first Persian translation is correct, the appearance of it in India so quickly suggests that the two zones of the Middle East and South Asia had wide ranging cultural contacts in this period. Another artifact that supports this hypothesis is the only extant manuscript of the *Shahinshâhnâme*, which Seyyid Lokman wrote for Mehmed III around 1600, that is in Patna, India, today. Apparently this "richly illustrated" manuscript was in the library of the Mughal ruler Shah Jahân. Among others, it carries the seal of Jahân Ârâ Begam (1613-81), the eldest child of Shah Jahân and a well-known princess of her time; see Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, vol. 3: *Persian Poetry, 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries* (Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1912), 1-3. One should also note that the *History of the New World* fits perfectly with the growing Indian interest in Europe and the Europeans exemplified by Tâhir Mohammad's *Ravzet ot-tâhirîn*, or the *Garden of the Immaculate* (ca. 1606), which, among other things, introduces Portugal to its readers, and the European figures that one finds in contemporary Mughal painting. For the *Garden*, see Subrahmanyam, "Taking stock of the Franks," 80-7; for European figures in the early seventeenth century Mughal painting, see the reproductions in *Occident vist des d'Orient*, ed. Abdelwahab Meddeb (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 2005), 90, 93 (left).
- 44 For another piece of evidence, suggesting that the *History of the New World* may predate the *History of the West Indies*, see fn. 54 below.
- 45 I would like to thank Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, Associate Professor of Art History at Boğaziçi University, for this precautionary reminder. The two illustrations in CBL T. 560 that are most likely to be of Indian origin are reproduced below (figures 6 and 8). The remaining ten images could well be the work of other artists, possibly from Persia; for reproductions of two of these (images 3 and 16 on Table 1), see Paul Lunde, "A Muslim History of the New World," *Aramco World* 43/3 (May-June 1992): 26-33, at 30-1.

introduction, stating that the work is a translation of a Turkish treatise by Âhîzâde Ali Çelebi on the “appearance (*paydâ shoden*) of the New World” and on the way in which sea travelers got there. Then we start reading about Columbus after which the text follows the structure and contents of the *New Report* very closely until its very end with some minor differences.⁴⁶ Yet there is a major contrast between the sets of illustrations found in the two works. The illustrations of the Persian edition seem to be much more focused on the marvelous than those of the *New Report*.⁴⁷ There is not a single map in the Persian edition, and the Spanish conquerors are absent on the illustrations – except for a single image (figure 6), on which we see them in one of the three manuscripts while they observe a local temple where the natives allegedly engage in human sacrifice:

In the afore-mentioned temple there was a group of wretched men, a sign of a calamitous fall from greatness, who stayed there ready for human sacrifice. They did not let into the temple those who came without a sacrifice and they hit them.⁴⁸

The remaining images are focused on animals and plants except for one (figure 8), in which we see the locals, who are depicted more like South Asians than Americans, working at the Potosí mines (in modern Bolivia; compare figure 9 for the same scene in the other illustrated manuscript in Persian).

46 For the similar beginning of both the Persian text and the third part of the Turkish text, compare Binney / Harvard 1985.270, f. 2a; BL, or. 5413, f. 3a; and CBL T. 560, f. 2b; with BDK 4969, f. 28b; and Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 149. For an example of the differences, compare BDK 4969, ff. 140b-141a; with Binney / Harvard 1985.270, f. 90a; and CBL T. 560, f. 148b, where the *New Report* presents a more complete text, incorporating more from its European sources.

47 Since some of the illustrations of the *New Report* are missing, a full scale comparison is impossible.

48 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 239-40; compare the Turkish text, BDK 4969, ff. 118b-119a, which is not accompanied by an illustration, with the Persian text, CBL T. 560, f. 78b, which is illustrated on f. 79b (reproduced in figure 6); the corresponding image on Binney/Harvard neither includes any Spaniards nor a temple (reproduced in figure 7).



Figure 6: Chester Beatty Library (CBL), T. 560, f. 79b; courtesy of the Chester Beatty Library; © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



Figure 7: Cactus (painting, recto), Text (verso), folio 48 from a Manuscript on the Wonders of the New World; courtesy of the Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.270.48; photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College.



Figure 8: CBL, T. 560, f. 129a; courtesy of the Chester Beatty Library; © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



Figure 9: Potosí (painting, verso), Text (recto), folio 75 from a Manuscript on the Wonders of the New World; courtesy of the Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.270.75; photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

When we look at the first two chapters of the *New Report*, which are missing in its Persian version, the *History of the New World*, it appears as if they had been written in order to digest the new information about the Americas and the world into the earlier sources of cosmographical and geographical knowledge in the Islamic world while at the same time pointing out the limitations of the latter. I would even suggest that the emphasis is on the lack of this information in the traditional sources of geography in the Islamic World. Thus the author of the *New Report* states in the introduction, a part that is not present in the Persian edition:

Nevertheless, the ancient writing and earlier books do not comment on those things and do not undertake their explanation, and the greatest experts among the authorities of history do not even touch the limits of intimate knowledge about these things.⁴⁹

This emphasis was not lost on Kâtib Çelebi, an Ottoman polymath from the seventeenth century, who noted that the *New Report* explains “how the moderns (*al-muta’akhhirūn*) found [the New World] after the ancients (*al-mutaqaddimūn*) were incapable of reaching it.”⁵⁰

Another point of comparison between the *New Report* and the *History of the New World* is that the world maps that one finds in the former and some manuscripts of the *History of the West Indies* are missing in the latter as the Persian translation does not include the first two chapters of the work in which the maps were usually placed.⁵¹ Just as significantly, the *History of the New World* does not include some of the political statements which one finds in the third chapter of the *New Report* that are Ottoman additions to the translation of the European sources – these are related to a potential Muslim re-conquest of Andalusia and probably did not mean much to an audience in Persia or India

49 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 74-5; BDK 4969, 5a.

50 Kâtib Çelebi, *Keşf-el-zunun*, eds. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941-43), vol. I, column 310.

51 See BDK 4969, ff. 15b, 28a; Revan rep., ff. 40a-b (as numbered in the reproduction); NL Ayer ms. 612, between ff. 33-34, 36-37, and following 107a. At least three more manuscripts include maps; see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 23, 26; and Christie’s, Catalog for the sale on Wednesday, 24 May 1995 at 10.30 a.m., 50-1. I owe this last reference to Professor Goodrich, who shared his “Marginalia – A small peek into Ottoman minds” with me before it was published in the *Journal of Turkish Studies* 29 (2005) [Festschrift in Honor of Eleazar Birnbaum]: 181-99.

where the potential patrons had no active interest in engaging the Spanish in the Mediterranean.⁵²

Âhîzâde or his Persian translator, then, was using the text of the *New Report* in order to produce his own version by editing some parts of it out (or the author of the *New Report* made additions to Âhîzâde's text to produce his own). The Persian translation of Âhîzâde's text, which was produced –possibly– in India in the early seventeenth century, provides the modern reader with another format in which the *New Report* could have been presented to Murad III but was not. It is a less political and less “scientific” format which foregrounds the marvelous aspects of the Americas with its heavier use of illustrations that are more focused on animals and plants.

As for the differences between the *New Report* and its popular Turkish versions, or the *History of the West Indies*, there are not many. One observes a slight re-ordering of the text that does not seem to have a significant effect but nevertheless suggests that the text of the *New Report* is closer to the original translation of the European sources. The *History of the West Indies* jumps from Chapter 169 of the second part of the *Historia* (*La Historia de la conquista de México*, also called *La crónica de la nueva España*) to Chapter 206, then from Chapter 228 to Chapter 170, and finally from Chapter 199 to the first part of the *Historia* (*La Historia de las Indias*), Chapter 199.⁵³ Once reconstructed to its original order (it has been misbound), the *New Report* follows the second part of the *Historia* through the Chapters 169-228 in an orderly fashion after which it, too, jumps to the first part of the *Historia*, Chapter 199.⁵⁴ A small section at the end of the *New Report* that is about a tree, and a half sentence in the segment that narrates the reception of Columbus by Ferdinand are missing in the

52 Compare, for instance, CBL T. 560, f. 6a; with the BDK 4969, f. 30b-32a; for the English translation of the passage missing in the Persian edition, see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 150-2. Yet other comments that one would not expect to find in a straightforward translation of the sources are present in both the *History of the New World* and the *New Report*; compare, for instance, CBL T. 560, ff. 22b, 104b; BDK 4969, ff. 90a, 98a; for the English translations of these passages, see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 176, 259.

53 See Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 256-7, 259, 262.

54 See BDK 4969, ff. 94a-97b [followed by a missing folio], 86a-87b [followed by a missing folio], 98a. The Persian translation, the *History of the New World*, follows this order as well, suggesting that its Ottoman Turkish original was closer to it than the *History of the West Indies*, representing the later copies produced in the seventeenth century; see CBL T. 560, ff. 96b-104b.

History of the West Indies,⁵⁵ suggesting that the *New Report* may have presented the most complete text of the passages translated from European sources.⁵⁶ Moreover, the decorations of the frontispiece (*zahriye*) of the royal presentation copy are in fact incomplete, suggesting that the final presentation of the codex to Murad III may not have taken place.⁵⁷ Thus there is a chance that the author of the *New Report* may have continued to revise his work and the small differences that one finds between the *History of the West Indies* and the former may be the byproduct of this effort in the sense that his different recensions might have circulated independently from each other, leading to manuscripts with variants.⁵⁸

- 55 For the tree, compare BDK 4969, f. 140b, with NL Ayer ms. 612, f. 106a; and Revan rep., f. 116a; the *History of the New World* has omitted more than the tree in this part; compare, CBL T. 560, f. 148b. For the half-sentence in the reception scene, compare BDK 4969, f. 35a; with Revan rep., f. 45b; and NL Ayer ms. 612, f. 40b; see also Mütferrika ed., f. 34b. The missing part (“bâkîsini hazâ’in-i nekbet-mekâminine teslîm ede”) restores meaning to the sentence that troubles Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 157, n. 397. The *History of the New World* is not missing the Persian translation of this part; compare CBL T. 560, f. 9a.
- 56 Yet there are also a couple of examples that may be interpreted to disprove this claim; compare NL Ayer ms. 612, f. 101b; and Revan rep., f. 111a; with BDK 4969, f. 133b, where half of a sentence seems to be missing in the royal presentation copy which is most probably a copyist mistake. A more serious question arises in BDK 4969, ff. 125b-126a. At this point the text of the *New Report* seems to present a lacuna if compared with NL Ayer ms. 612, ff. 93b-97a; or Revan rep., ff. 102b-106a (while the *History of the New World* concurs with the latter texts; see CBL T 560, f. 129b), which is not unusual as the royal presentation copy is missing many folios throughout. Yet the word written outside the margins of the page on f. 125b which is supposed to be the first word of the next page is not wrong, suggesting that the lacuna may not be the result of missing folios. There is always the possibility, however, that the missing part of the text was incorporated to another section in the royal presentation copy now lost.
- 57 This does not mean, however, that the text was never presented to the sultan; for a text that was presented to a sultan which was later continued to be revised by its author, see Baki Tezcan, “Zafernâme müellifi Hâlisî’nin bilinmeyen bir eseri münâsebetiyle,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 19 (1999): 83-98, at 90-1.
- 58 Another such difference is the apparent substitution of the poem in praise of Murad III with a short additional section of introductory remarks that are intended for a wider audience than the sultan himself. Most probably these remarks were added when the text was “published” for the reading public after it was presented to the sultan himself. Compare BDK 4969, f. 5b (the text on the missing folio following this one could be substituted by Revan rep., f. 4a) with NL Ayer ms. 612, f. 3a-b. The printed edition has both the poem and the remarks, suggesting that there may have been manuscripts that included both, or that İbrahim Mütferrika consulted several

What is more important than the textual differences between the two versions of the work, however, is the difference one observes between the sets of illustrations. When one compares the illustrations in the manuscripts of the *History of the West Indies*, there seems to emerge two closely related sets of images, one represented by The Newberry Library and the Istanbul University Library copies, and the other by the Revan and the American Oriental Society manuscripts (see Table 2).⁵⁹ Some minor textual differences follow these visual differences, such as the absence of the dedication for Murad III in the first set.⁶⁰ Yet overall, both sets of images illustrate the very same scenes at the very same points in the text, thus establishing an illustration cycle.

Image no.	NL Ayer ms. 612, folio no.	Revan rep., folio no.	Basic description; references to Goodrich, <i>The Ottoman Turks and the New World</i>
1	17b	18b	The Wak-Wak tree; pp. 58, 104-8.
2	45a	50b	Manatee; pp. 59, 164, 166-9.
3	54b	60b	Two tapirs and three trees; pp. 59, 187, 189-92.
4	57a	63a-b	The merman; pp. 59-60, 197-203.
5	62a	69b	The "bird of paradise;" pp. 60, 212-17.
6	64b	72a	An armadillo, a pelican, and two ducks; pp. 60, 222-6.
7	73a	81a	Three prickly pear trees; pp. 60, 240-5.
8	85b	94b	Rocky Mountain sheep and a bison; pp. 61, 267, 270-3.
9	93a	102a	Potosí; pp. 61-2, 286-90.
10	100b	110a	A jaguar, an anteater, and an <i>artati</i> ; pp. 62, 305, 307-10.
11	102a	111b	A sloth and an opossum; pp. 63, 314, 316-17.
12	104a	114a	The coconut tree; pp. 63, 323-6.
13	105b	115b	A guava tree and a banana leaf; pp. 63-4, 330-2.

Table 2 – Figures on the illustrated copies of the *History of the West Indies*.

manuscripts; see Müteferrika ed., f. 3a-b; for the English translations of the passages concerned, see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 75, 339-40.

59 The Istanbul University Library copy (İstanbul Üniversitesi, Türkçe Yazmalar 2584) includes eleven of the thirteen images found in The Newberry Library manuscript; and the American Oriental Society (MS no. JKn/N22) copy includes ten images that are very similar to those found in the Revan manuscript; see the references to Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, in Table 2.

60 See fn. 58 above; see also Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 339-40.

Because of the missing folios of the 1583 edition, one cannot compare the illustration cycles of the two editions perfectly. Yet a comparison of the cycle in the *History of the West Indies* manuscripts with the extant illustrations in the 1583 version of the *New Report* suggests two points. First, the illustration cycles are quite different. At least four illustrations of the *History of the West Indies* do not seem to have any corresponding illustration in the *New Report*.⁶¹ Thus the *History of the West Indies* manuscripts were –most probably– not copied directly from the royal presentation copy, but from a different copy that did not include the illustrations of the *New Report*.⁶² Second, the *New Report* emphasizes the representation of the Spanish conquerors, both in Spain and the Americas. To begin with, the scene of Columbus’ reception by Ferdinand in the *New Report* (figure 10) is absent in the illustration cycle of the *History of the West Indies*.⁶³ Furthermore the second scene in which one finds Spaniards in the *New Report* is illustrated in a completely different fashion in the *History of the West Indies*. While the latter focuses exclusively on the animals in the scene that is taking place somewhere in Hispaniola, the Caribbean island shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic today, the former includes the Spanish conquerors of the island in the scene (figures 11 and 12).⁶⁴



Figure 10: BDK 4969, f. 35a; courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Culture.⁶⁵

- 61 These are images 5, 6, 7, and 9 in Table 2; compare BDK 4969, ff. 63b, 66b, 119, 125b where one would expect to see these images to be located – given their placement in the text.
- 62 This assertion is further supported by the missing name of the author in all copies of the *History of the West Indies*, a point to which I will return below.
- 63 Compare BDK 4969, f. 35a; with NL Ayer ms. 612, f. 40b; and Revan rep., f. 45b. For an interpretation of this image; see Tezcan, “The Frank in the Ottoman eye of 1583,” 281-3.
- 64 Compare BDK 4969, f. 43b; with NL Ayer ms. 612, f. 45a; Revan rep., f. 50b.
- 65 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, frontispiece, 58-59, 156-7.



Figure 11: BDK 4969, f. 43b; courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Culture.⁶⁶



Figure 12: TSK Revan 1488, f. 51a; courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Ibid., 59, 164-7.

⁶⁷ Also reproduced in Revan rep., f. 50b.

Out of the five extant illustrations of the *New Report*, two include representations of Spaniards who are in both cases at the center of the image. The cycle of illustrations that one finds in the *History of the West Indies* includes a couple of pictures where one may find some Spaniards as well. Yet they do not occupy as central a position. In one of them, the existence of the Spaniard, who is depicted as a hunter, could as well be forsaken. Only one out of the three manuscripts that illustrate this scene includes him; and that one depicts him as he is aiming his arrow at a monkey which is throwing rocks at him.⁶⁸ The other Spaniard depicted in the *History of the West Indies* is Francisco de Carvajal, a *conquistador* who amassed riches in Potosí at the expense of thousands of natives who died in his mines while performing their tributary labor services for him.⁶⁹ Soon after seeing Carvajal in the composition illustrating Potosí, the readers learn that he was cut into four pieces by the forces that came to crash his revolt in 1548.⁷⁰ In short, the Spaniards in the illustrations of the *History of the West Indies* are, to say the least, far less impressive than the ones in the *New Report*, which illustrates Columbus and Ferdinand, the king who brought Muslim rule in Andalusia to an end.

Why did the Spanish figures lose their significance in the *History of the West Indies*? We should remember once again that Spain had just annexed Portugal in 1580 and had extended its “naval borders” with the Ottomans from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. Until the embarrassing failure of the Spanish Armada in its confrontation with Britain in 1588, “fear of the Spaniard and of Spanish imperialism was at its height throughout Europe and the Mediterranean world.” Thus in 1583, when the *New Report* was produced for Murad III, the Spanish represented a formidable force to reckon with. The failure of the Spanish Armada was later followed by the loss of Portugal in 1640 and the recognition of the Dutch independence in 1648. Thus the immediate relevance of Spain for the Ottomans gradually declined in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷¹ That is why one sees the Spaniards at the center of the illustrations in the *New Report* of 1583; and then they disappear to insignificance in the popular copies

68 Compare Revan rep., f. 111b; with NL Ayer ms. 612, f. 102a, where there is no Spaniard depicted; see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 63, 314, 316-7; for the monkeys, see *ibid.*, 313.

69 Carvajal is depicted in Revan rep., f. 102a; the NL and Istanbul University manuscripts have a different composition that does not include him; see Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 61-2, 287-90.

70 *Ibid.*, 294.

71 Rhoads Murphey, “Review of Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 12 (1987-92): 277-80, at 279-80.

of the *History of the West Indies* most of which belong to the seventeenth century when they were executed independently from the royal presentation copy of 1583.

Another difference between the two versions of the work is the cosmographical map (figure 13), representing the geocentric universe. While this map is an integral part of the *New Report* in its royal presentation copy of 1583, which also includes a world map, none of the known manuscripts of the *History of the West Indies* include a cosmographical map despite the fact that quite a few of them include one or two world maps.⁷² It seems, then, the producers of the *History of the West Indies* manuscripts did not find a cosmographical map pertinent to the work at hand the implications of which revise the understanding of the world with the addition of a new continent but do not change the Ptolemaic imagination of the universe with the world at its center. They were right; the cosmographical map in the *New Report* was most probably placed in there to make the work more directly comparable with the *Quintessence of Histories*, another manuscript produced at the same time as the *New Report*.

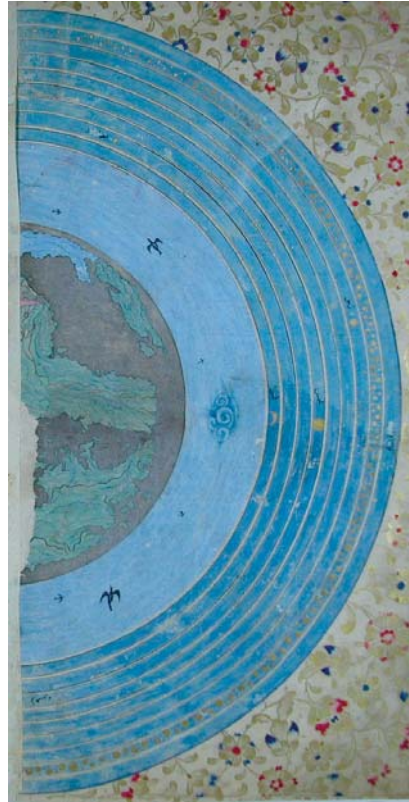


Figure 13: BDK 4969, f. 15b; courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Culture.⁷³

⁷² There is also a world map in the royal presentation copy; BDK 4969, f. 28a; reproduced in Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 41. World maps are to be found in most of the illustrated *History of the West Indies* manuscripts, see *ibid.*, 38-55. Another copy with a world map was sold at an auction in 1995; see fn. 51 above.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 39-40. The other half of this cosmographic map must have been on the following folio, which is missing. The Mütferrika edition includes a much improved version of this map, suggesting that he may have used a copy that was based on the royal presentation copy as one of his sources; see Mütferrika ed., the insert between ff. 4-5. Professor Goodrich kindly warned me that the royal presentation copy may not be the ultimate source of Mütferrika's map, which, he believes, is based on a French map that he located in the Military Museum in Istanbul. It is true that the world in this cosmographic map and the

The cosmographical map that one finds in the *New Report* was not the only one that the artists of the Ottoman court executed on a manuscript in 1583. The *Quintessence of Histories* codices, the first one of which was produced in 1583, include a cosmographical chart as well as a world map. These two items are central to the work as they were the only pieces of illustration that the *Quintessence* inherited from its scroll version, the *Imperial Scroll*. Their order is the same in all of the codices as well as the scroll: the cosmographical chart comes first, illustrating the heavens, and the world map follows in the section on the earth and its seas, islands, and the various regions of its lands.⁷⁴ The *New Report* has them in the same order: first comes the cosmographical map illustrating the heavens, followed by the world map. Moreover the world map in the *Quintessence of Histories* and the representation of the world on the cosmographical map in the *New Report* share remarkably similar characteristics. They were most probably produced by the same artist(s) or map makers. This is not a coincidence. The *New Report* was meant to be comparable to, but very different from, the *Quintessence of Histories*.

The cosmographical chart one finds in the *New Report* is much simpler and more straightforward than the one in the *Quintessence*. It has the world at its center surrounded by the sky that is encircled by the nine spheres of classical astronomy the first eight of which belong to the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars, respectively. The ninth sphere is called the Sphere of Atlas and is believed to be devoid of any heavenly bodies.⁷⁵ While the one in the *Quintessence* is much more elaborate with its additional signs of Zodiac and other

one in the Mütefferika edition have some important differences; but given the fact that none of the other manuscripts of the *History of the West Indies* includes such a map, it is quite plausible that Mütefferika had consulted a copy that was derived from the royal presentation copy of the *New Report*, which inspired him to draw a cosmographic map.

74 For the *Imperial Scroll*, or the *Tomar-ı hümayûn*, see TSK A. 3599; for the cosmographical chart in the three copies of the *Quintessence of Histories*, see Türk İslam Eserleri Müzesi [TİEM hereafter] 1973, f. 6b; TSK H. 1321, f. 7b; CBL T. 414, f. 17b; for the world map, see TSK H. 1321, f. 14a (figure 14); CBL T. 414, f. 34a, reproduced by Vladimir Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1958), plate 13; and Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 42. The world map is missing in the royal presentation copy of the *Quintessence*; it should have been on the missing folio between TİEM 1973, ff. 12b-13a (although, incidentally, the text gives the impression of uninterrupted continuation as the word written at the outside margin of f. 12b is indeed the first word of f. 13a); the text on the missing folio may be recovered from TSK H. 1321, ff. 13b-14b.

75 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 77-8.

relevant decorations,⁷⁶ the real difference between the two cosmographical maps is in the representation of the earth. In the *Quintessence* the earth is simply the central globe with no distinguishing features on it. The earth on the cosmographical chart in the *New Report*, however, is represented by a large round world map representing, roughly, the eastern hemisphere. This earth of the cosmographical chart is pretty much identical to the world map found in the *Quintessence* (figure 14), with one important difference: there is no Mount Qaf (figure 15).



Figure 14: TSK H. 1321, f. 14a; courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum. Note the New World represented as an island on the upper right (to the southwest of Africa).

⁷⁶ TİEM 1973, f. 6b; for a reproduction of this cosmographical chart, see Günsel Renda, “İstanbul Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi’ndeki *Zübde-üt Tevarih*’in Minyatürleri,” *Sanat* 6 (1977): 58-67, at 58-9.



Figure 15: Details of figures 13 and 14 compared. (after rotating both 180 degrees).

The absence of Mount Qaf in the *New Report* is a significant point. Mount Qaf is an integral part of the understanding of the world in the *Quintessence*. It defines the known world by setting insurmountable boundaries. It provides a geographical symbol of order and stability. The known world that consists of Eurasia and Africa is surrounded by an ocean, the *Bahr-i Muhît*. The *Quintessence* relates anecdotes to illustrate how this ocean cannot be crossed and how only God knows what is on its other side.⁷⁷ On the maps that illustrate the world as surrounded by *Bahr-i Muhît*, including the ones in the *Quintessence* codices, what one sees mostly on the edge of the latter is Mount Qaf that is not a mountain but a mountain range that perfectly encircles the known world represented as a disk (figure 14).⁷⁸ Beyond Mount Qaf, the *Quintessence* relates, one would find two large regions of snow and ice that protect Mount Qaf from the heat of hell.⁷⁹

There is not a single reference to Mount Qaf in the *New Report*. It is also gone from the round world map that is at the center of the cosmographical chart (figures 13, 15 left). The known world's borders are no more. Thus by including the cosmographical chart, the *New Report* lays claim to

⁷⁷ TIEM 1973, ff. 10b-11a; TSK H. 1321, f. 11a-b.

⁷⁸ For other illustrations of Mount Qaf, see, for instance, *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, book 1: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), plate 3, 8, 11; fig. 11.14 (which is from the *Imperial Scroll* mentioned above, fn. 74), 11.15 (which is CBL T. 414, f. 34a, also mentioned above, fn. 74), and 14.22.

⁷⁹ TIEM 1973, f. 11a; TSK H. 1321, f. 11b-12a.

the pretensions of the *Quintessence* in representing a holistic picture of the universe. But by editing Mount Qaf out of its hemispherical map, it also emphasizes that this universe is a different one. It is because of this comparative dimension that the cosmographical chart is an integral part of the *New Report*. Once the work was presented to Murad III in 1583 around the same time as the *Quintessence*, this cosmographical chart, with a world map at its center that replicates the one in the *Quintessence*, served its comparative function and did not make it to the later copies of the *History of the West Indies*. It evolved into the hemispherical maps found in Revan and The Newberry Library manuscripts.⁸⁰

The last but not the least of the differences between the *New Report* and the *History of the West Indies* is that the latter is presented as an anonymous work while the former was not. Goodrich suggests that the authorship of the work is uncertain. He regards the name mentioned at the end of the oldest dated manuscript, that is to say the royal presentation copy of 1583, which I treat as a work on its own right, as the name of an editor who polished the language of the work and prepared it for presentation to the sultan, Murad III, because the name follows rather than precedes the name of the copyist and the date.⁸¹ Yet a close comparison of this presentation copy with others suggests that the language of the text is not as different as Goodrich suggests. Even in the preface where one sees the most ornate expressions, the presentation copy is in conformity with others that I was able to check.⁸² Thus there does not seem to be any reason why the authorship of the person who claims to be the author of the text in this presentation copy, Mehmed bin Hasan es-Su'ûdî (d. 1591), should not be accepted.⁸³ Moreover, Su'ûdî seems to be in the habit of placing his full name after the date as one could note in another work of his, the *Matâli'üs-sa'âde*, or the *Book of Felicity*, which he translated from Arabic to Turkish on the orders of Murad III in

80 See Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 46-7, 49-50.

81 Ibid., 19-20.

82 BDK 4969, ff. 2b-5b; NL Ayer ms 612, ff. 1b-3a; Revan rep., ff. 2a-3b.

83 It has been accepted as early as 1918 by Muallim Cevdet, see his *Mekteb ve Medrese*, ed. Erdoğan Erüz (Istanbul: Çınar Yayınları, 1978), 75; later M. Fuad Köprülü mentioned Su'ûdî as the author of this work as well; see his remarks in W. Barthold, *İslâm Medeniyeti Tarihi* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1940), 264. Although the dispute over the authorship is noted, modern Turkish scholarship tends to recognize Su'ûdî as the author of the *New Report*; see Cevat İzgi, "Mehmed Su'ûdî Efendi," *İA2*, vol. 28, 526-8. For some additional biographical notes on Su'ûdî, see Tezcan, "Law in China or Conquest in the Americas."

990/1582, a year before the completion of the *New Report*.⁸⁴ It is very unusual, however, that this name does not appear in any one of the later manuscripts of the work, to which this study refers collectively as the *History of the West Indies*. Even as great an Ottoman bibliographer as Kâtib Çelebi, who read the oldest datable extant copy among these later manuscripts with great care and used it as a source,⁸⁵ cannot cite the author although he is aware of another work by Su'ûdî that does not seem to be extant today.⁸⁶

A plausible technical explanation of the author's absence from all later copies may be related to the fact that his name only appears after the colophon at the very end of the royal presentation copy. Yet the very end of the original work does not seem to have made it to the copies of the *History of the West Indies*. This possibility is strongly suggested by the last sentence of the *New Report* which is missing in all later copies. In the translation of Goodrich, the text ends with an explanation of mining for precious metals:

In some regions they collect the earth; they fill up the ovens with sheep manure and fire it. They make a passage on one side of the oven and have the gold and silver pour through it like running water.⁸⁷

The royal presentation copy of the work, however, includes an additional sentence: "And they take the ingots [of the gold and silver] in their possession."⁸⁸ This sentence that logically follows the preceding text is missing in all other copies of the work, including the Persian translation.

84 He even repeats the same phrase, "bu 'abd-i hakîr, sâlik-i râh-i Mes'ûdî," in describing himself as a follower of the path of al-Mas'ûdî (d. 956), the great Arab geographer, in both of his works, see Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF hereafter], suppl. turc 242, f. 141a; and BDK 4969, f. 141b. For the *Matâli'üs-sa'âde*, see Muhammad ibn Amir Hasan al-Su'ûdî, *The Book of Felicity*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: M. Moleiro Editor, 2007), which apparently includes a facsimile of the BnF manuscript in one of the volumes, and studies on Su'ûdî's text, in the other one. Because of the rarity and non-circulating status of this book in American research libraries, I have not been able to consult the studies in the supplementary volume. For a more accessible overview of this work, see Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in The Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), 71-84, plates 17-18, figures 99-125, which describe another copy of the same work.

85 Kâtib Çelebi's reading of the Revan copy is established by Hagen persuasively, "Kâtib Çelebi and *Târih-i Hind-i Garbî*," 103.

86 Kâtib Çelebi, *Keşf-el-zunun*, vol. 1, columns 310, 928.

87 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 336.

88 "Ve sebikelerini alub zabt iderler;" BDK 4969, f. 141a.

Thus the copy of the work that became the source for all later copies may have been a corrupt one that was wanting at its very end, hence the missing identification of the author in all later manuscripts.⁸⁹ Or, as suggested by the other textual differences between the *New Report* and the *History of the West Indies* mentioned above, the author may have produced a later incomplete draft without the colophon that became the source for the later copies. As for the other names associated with the authorship of the text, they are either scribes, or authors of other works that were mistakenly associated with the *New Report*.⁹⁰ Therefore one can safely assume that Su'ûdî is definitely the only author of the first two chapters of the work and the political statements scattered throughout the third chapter. He may very well have been collaborating with a translator for the Italian and Spanish sources that form the backbone of the third chapter. Most probably Su'ûdî's commissioner for this work had arranged the anonymous translator as well – unless Su'ûdî had learned European languages himself.

One may, however, go beyond a textual explanation and claim that certain texts that were commissioned for the court in this period could only enter the public sphere as anonymous ones. That is exactly what seems to have happened to the court historiographer Seyyid Lokman's treatise entitled the *Astronomical Instruments for the Imperial Astronomical Tables*, which was completed only a few years before the *New Report*.⁹¹ The close association of an author with the court

89 It is also worth noting that Su'ûdî's self-identification at the very end of BnF, suppl. turc 242, is not repeated in the other manuscript of the *Matâli'üs-sa'âde*, see Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts*, 72.

90 See, for instance, İzgi, "Mehmed Su'ûdî Efendi," 526. The only other person who could possibly be the author of the work is the unidentified Ottoman mullah Âhîzâde Ali Çelebî, mentioned in the Persian translation. One could imagine that he was the original author of what became the third chapter of the 1583 edition, in which case Su'ûdî would become the man who wrote the first two chapters and added the ideological/political statements to the third. But this is highly unlikely because the preface of the Persian translation and that of the 1583 edition are clearly the work of the same hand, and that hand belongs to Su'ûdî as the textual unity of the 1583 edition suggests; compare, CBL T. 560, f. 1b; with BDK 4969, f. 2b; and Revan rep., f. 2a. If, however, one were to assume that Âhîzâde is indeed Mınık Ali, a possibility mentioned above (see fn. 41), one might entertain the possibility of co-authorship as it is possible that the two worked closely together while they were both teaching at the Sahn-ı Semân, the college of law endowed by Mehmed II, in the fall of 1580; 'Atâ'i, *Hadâ'iku'l-bakâ'ik*, 280, 315.

91 See Baki Tezcan, "The Multiple Faces of the One: The Invocation Section of Ottoman Literary Introductions as a Locus for the Central Argument of the Text," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 12 (2009): 27-41, at 28, 39, n. 1.

could cloud his work with the suspicion of propaganda that should be resisted by the scholarly elite of the empire. Not only is the name of the author left out of the manuscripts of the *History of the West Indies*, but some of the later manuscripts of the work even substituted the praise poem for Murad III with impersonal introductory remarks.⁹² It is true that this disassociation from the court does not happen to every work produced in this period. For instance, the Ottoman history authored by Sa'deddin, the mentor of Murad III, eventually became one of the most popular works in the field of history despite the close association of its author with the court. Yet still, one has to note that among the thirty-one copies of the work identified in Istanbul, the oldest dated copy is from 1010/1601-2, two years after the death of Sa'deddin at which point his sons were already among the leading members of the lords of the law, on their way to gain enough autonomy to oppose the court in a number of issues.⁹³

Whether or not the court connection was a determining factor, the fact remains that none of the many extant manuscripts of the *History of the West Indies* carry an attribution of authorship to Su'udî,⁹⁴ strengthening the case this study makes for emphasizing the differences between the *New Report* and its later editions in Turkish and Persian. Although all of the three editions of this "oldest book about the New World published east of Italy and the Holy Roman Empire" share the same material translated from Italian and Spanish sources,⁹⁵ they reflect different choices with respect to how that material could be presented. The *History of the New World* in Persian is more exclusively about the New World than the other two as it does not include the two introductory chapters in the Turkish versions of the work, which contextualize the geographical information about the New World within the body of knowledge that Muslim geography had produced previously. The Persian edition's relative lack of concern about the impact of the New World on geographical knowledge is also evident in the absence of maps.

92 See fn. 58 above.

93 See *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloqları* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943-62), 242-51; for the concept of the lords of law, and Sa'deddin and his sons, see Baki Tezcan, "The Ottoman *mevâlî* as 'lords of the law,'" *Journal of Islamic Studies* 20 (2009): 383-407.

94 Although some other manuscripts that are no longer extant might have carried such an attribution. There is, for instance, a reference to a statement made by Su'udî in the *New Report* in an astrological almanac from the late seventeenth century; see Minor-sky, *The Chester Beatty Library*, 58, cited by Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 64, n. 141.

95 The expression in quotation marks is from Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 2.

Instead this edition is more concerned with its visual effect as suggested by the fact that it has many more illustrations than the popular Turkish versions. Since the exact context of its production cannot be ascertained at this point because one lacks a precise audience or patron as well as dating, other than an attribution to the early seventeenth century Deccan that needs yet to be proven, it is difficult to say much more.

As for the *History of the West Indies*, it was most probably produced for a limited audience among the reading public at the end of the sixteenth century or in the early seventeenth. Both its first and second oldest datable manuscripts from the first half of the seventeenth century have educated notes on their margins indicating that they were used by well-read owners.⁹⁶ The other datable manuscripts of the work are all produced after 1660.⁹⁷ Their relatively larger number suggests that the work became popular starting from the second half of the seventeenth century at which point the information it provides on the Americas start appearing in other Ottoman works dealing with geography and history, as well.⁹⁸

As noted above, in comparison with the royal presentation copy of the *New Report*, the *History of the West Indies* is less interested in cosmography because it was not produced in juxtaposition to another work, the *Quintessence of Histories*. And its illustrations do not present the Spaniards as centrally as do the ones of the *New Report* because the Spanish threat had started disappearing in the late 1580s. All of these differences are worth underlining as they set the *New Report* apart and place it in its specific context of 1583 when the Spanish mattered for the Ottoman foreign policy and the *New Report's* recommendations on building a canal at Suez were actually explored three years later.⁹⁹

This comparison of the *New Report* with the Persian translation, the later popular editions, and the maps of the contemporary *Quintessence* suggests

96 The second one (dated to 1640) is actually a very loyal copy of the first (copied between 1595-1622/3; see fn. 42 above), including the marginal notes; *ibid.*, 23.

97 The only exception might be the Istanbul University manuscript; *ibid.*, 26.

98 Heidrun Wurm, *Der Osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Gâ'fer: genannt Hezârfenn, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau: K. Schwarz, 1971), 97-8, n. 4; see also Hagen, "Kâtib Çelebi and *Târih-i Hind-i Garbî*."

99 Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*, 65-6, 85; *Calendar of State Papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy*, 38 vols. [in 40] (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1864-1947), vol. 8, 184, 204.

that the two introductory chapters, the emphasis on the representation of the Spaniards, and an active interest in the accurate representation of the world, challenging the medieval imagination of the insurmountable Mount Qaf, are features that make the 1583 edition of the *New Report* both different from the later editions and also sharpen its contrast to the *Quintessence*. The *New Report* was produced in 1583, primarily, to produce knowledge that was—at least—hoped to have some impact on policy—without, of course, forgetting to entertain. It was thus not just a coincidence that the *New Report* was finished around the same time as the *Quintessence of Histories* and the *Law-book of China*, both of which represented competing arguments on topics touched upon by the *New Report*.¹⁰⁰

The Many Lives of the First Non-Western History of the Americas:
From the *New Report* to the *History of the West Indies*

Abstract ■ This article examines the manuscripts of the first non-western history of the Americas, which was completed in Istanbul in 1583 and is better known as *Tā'rih-i Hind-i garbî* (the *History of the West Indies*), and its Persian translation. I support the claim that *Hadîs-i nev* (the *New Report*), which was presented to Murad III (r. 1574-95), had an argument related to contemporary politics by comparing this presentation copy with the later manuscripts of the same work, as well as the Persian translation of the largest part of it, *Tarjomeh-e tā'rih-e yangî donyâ* (the *History of the New World*). While this examination underlines the fact that the author of the *New Report* should be Su'ûdî (d. 1591), it also includes significant implications that pertain to the question of how to study different manuscripts of a work.

Key words: *Hadîs-i nev* (the *New Report*); *Tā'rih-i Hind-i garbî* (the *History of the West Indies*); *Tarjomeh-e tā'rih-e yangî donyâ* (the *History of the New World*); Su'ûdî; different editions of manuscripts

100 Tezcan, “The ‘Frank’ in the Ottoman Eye of 1583;” and idem., “Law in China or Conquest in the Americas.”