

## ON THE HISTORY OF BOOK IN THE JŪCHID KHĀNATES\*

The following record has been preserved under the year 1549 in the Patriarchal, or Niconian, chronicle and the so-called "Royal Book": "On the 25th of that month of March, news came to the Grand Prince, the Tsar, that in Kazan the Tsar of Kazan, Şafā-Girēy had died, perishing in his chambers. The nobility of Kazan and the Crimea, acting in concert, set his son, the two-year-old Tsarevich Utemish-Girēy, on the throne and sent to the Crimea many ambassadors to ask for help and a [middle-aged] regent for the Tsar. And the Cossacks of the Grand Prince, the Tsar, Urachko and his fellows, struck those ambassadors down and seized their *yarlighs* and sent them to the sovereign, and let no one reach the Crimea" [1]. The Kazan messengers were headed by Yanbars and Salkish. They were bringing to the Crimea 4 *yarlighs*, or letters, and a book as a "gift", which, as a result of the incident, made their way to Moscow on May 1, 1549. A record of this event and a Russian translation of one of the *yarlighs* has come down to us in four copies. The first (defective, apparently the earliest) is in the collection of I. E. Zabelin (today at the State Historical Museum in Moscow, No. 419, fols. 94—95b); the second is present in the compilation of the Synodal assembly (*ibid.*, No. 272, fols. 404b—406) which is Patriarch Nicon's contribution to a Jerusalem monastery; the third copy is part of the collection of A. N. Popov (the State Library of Russia, fund 236, call number 59, fols. 135—136b), and the fourth is contained in a seventeenth-century collection from Moscow State Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents, fund 181, inv. 1, item 591, fols. 787—789) [2].

The record runs: "And they sent to the Crimean Tsar with those of their ambassadors a book as a gift. That book is written in the Persian language and is called *Iaziab ekh malukkat*, in Russian 'The Wisdom of the Entire World' according to their Mohammedan heresy". The document is not dated, but according to the above-mentioned chronicle, the seizure of the Kazan's ambassadors "in the field" and the interception of the *yarlighs* they carried, without indicating their contents, are recorded under 1549. M. N. Tikhomirov erroneously gives the year as 1547 in his edition of the letter's text [3], while J. Pelensky, in his work devoted to the relations between Muscovy and the Kazan khānate, argues that the letters were dispatched from Kazan to the Ottoman empire [4]. He seems to base his assumption on the fact that Dawlat-Girēy, who was requested to

come as a regent to Kazan, was in Turkey at the time. But contrary to this assumption, on page 42 of his work, Pelensky asserts that Utemysh-Girēy's embassy was headed for the Crimea [5].

It was N. P. Likhachev who, at the close of the nineteenth century, drew attention to a note present in an order (dated June 6, 1565) to the Muscovite ambassador to the Noghay Horde, Mikhail Subulov: "And if Tinehmat the Prince say: 'I have written to the Tsar, Grand Prince, about the book *Azia ibu imalukat*, and the ruler did not send me the book', Mikhail should say: 'Our sovereign ordered that the book be sought among their holdings, but it could not be found'" [6]. The report of this request by the Noghay bey Dīn Aḥmad (Tinekhmat, as he was termed in Russian documents) also drew the attention of A. I. Sobolevsky, who identified the book as Qazwīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*. But he did not know of the chronicle record for 1549, mentioned above; by this reason, he believed that the manuscript entered the Tsar's archive after the death of the Kazan khān, Şafā-Girēy, as in August, 1551, his widow Suyun-bike and his son, the under-aged Tsarevich Utemish (Utiamysh of the document), were sent to Moscow together with the treasury [7].

The text that mentions *yarlighs* and a Persian book and was seized from the Kazan ambassadors also drew the attention of A. D. Sedelnikov, who devoted a few remarks to it [8]. It was he who juxtaposed the information in the order Mikhail Subulov received in 1565 and the 1549 record in the chronicle, and suggested that both documents discuss the same manuscript containing a work by the Arab scholar Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī — *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* ("The Wonders of Nature") [9]. Unfortunately, this manuscript has not yet been discovered in Moscow's archival collections [10]. Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī's (1203—1283) cosmographic work was written in Arabic and dedicated to the Baghdad governor under the Mongols, 'Alā al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik b. Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī. The work was one of the most popular cosmographies of the Muslim East, and its manuscripts were frequently adorned with miniatures [11].

As far as I know, since Sobolevsky, and later Sedel'nikov, identified the manuscript under question as Qazwīnī's work, its authorship, time of creation, and previous and subsequent fate, have only been discussed once in the scholarly literature [12]. In his work on Arab geo-

\* The Russian version of the paper was published in *Vostochnyi Arkhiv*, 4—5 (2000), pp. 77—82.