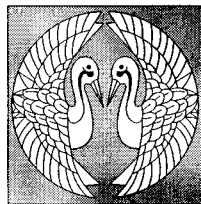


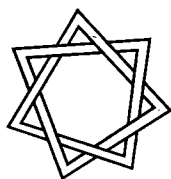
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST.PETERSBURG BRANCH



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol.1 No.1 July 1995



HSESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

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IBN ABĪ KHAZZĀM AND HIS KITĀB AL-MAKHZŪN : THE MAMLŪK MILITARY MANUAL

The article is dedicated to the 15th-century Mamlūk illustrated manuscript on the art of war from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The manuscript is titled *Kitāb al-makhzūn fī djāmi' al-funūn* (Inv. No. C 686) and represents the work of the 14th-century author Ibn Abī Khazzām.

The creation of the manuscript dates back to the 50s—60s of the 9th/15th century, when Djarbāsh al-Silahdar al-Mālikī al-Ashrafī, a Mamlūk military authority, ordered copies of several works on military art for his library. Following the example of sultan Qa'it-Bey, he ordered also a copy of the *Kitāb al-makhzūn*. The years that have passed since then have scattered al-Ashrafī's library all over the world. Two manuscripts from that library — *Kitāb al-makhzūn* by Ibn Abī Khazzām and *al-Tadbirāt al-ṣul-tāniyya* by Muḥammad b. al-Nasīrī (Inv. No. C 726) have been again reunited in the Institute collection.

A. P. Butenev (1787—1866), the Russian envoy to Turkey, bought this manuscript in Constantinople in April 1832; two years later he presented it to the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). According to the inscription on folio 107a of the manuscript, the MS was in Vienna in 1809 and was studied there by Count W. de Rzewusky.

Thus *Kitāb al-makhzūn* became the object of scholars' attention as early as the beginning of the 19th century. The treatise was often quoted and referred to [1]. Two illustrations from the manuscript (fig. 50, 52) were reproduced in Gustave le Bon's book "La Civilisation des Arabes", in the chapter titled "Sciences physiques et leurs applications" in 1884 [2]. In 1936 some other illustrations from the manuscript in photographs (fig. 3, 5, 15) and engravings (fig. 47, partially), as well as a photograph of a fragment of the text (page 80b), were reproduced in V. V. Arendt's article dealing with the so-called "Greek fire" [3]. Two illustrations (fig. 50, 52) were used by A. Y. Hassan and D. R. Hill in their "Muslim technology. An illustrated history", Cambridge University Press (1986).

The treatise represented by our manuscript was popular enough in comparison with other works of the same genre. Its popularity is confirmed, in particular, by the ex-

istence of several copies dating back to the 9th/15th — 10th/16th centuries. The manuscripts mentioned below have different titles and are of different size. Unfortunately, up to now we have been unable to obtain the copies of all the manuscripts. The textological analysis, as well as our attempts to establish any correlations between the existing versions of the text and to find out the main sources of the text, its original title, etc. are basing mainly on the study of the manuscript fragments to which we have access.

At present the following manuscripts are known:

No. 1. The St. Petersburg manuscript titled *Kitāb al-makhzūn fī djāmi' al-funūn*. It contains 108 folios (the pagination of its 216 pages is of recent origin). The general format of the codex: 30 × 20 cm (the format of the text within the frame is 25.5 × 14.8 cm, there are 15 lines per page) and 83 illustrations. The manuscript represents the whole text of the treatise.

No. 2. The Paris manuscript Ar. 2824 (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris) titled *Kitāb al-makhzūn djāmi' al-funūn*, copied in 875/1470, apparently for the Mamlūk Sultan Qa'it Bey. The general format of the codex is 30 × 20 centimeters. It has 90 folios with 15 lines per page, 50 illustrations besides the diagrams of manoeuvres. The manuscript contains the whole text of the treatise. 11 folios of this manuscript were published by L. Mercier as a brief presentation of miniatures and text fragments.

No. 3. According to de Slain catalogue, the combined manuscript (Inv. No. Ar. 2826) from Bibliothèque Nationale copied in 986/1578—79 contains the same text. The manuscript contains 112 folios. The general format of the codex: 28 × 19 cm, 21 lines per page, 50 illustrations. The treatise has no title, and its incipit differs from the incipit of the previous one.

No. 4. The so called Cairo-London manuscript. No title, dated to the end of the 15th century (the dating is based on the analysis of its miniatures and paleography). The text is very close to the St. Petersburg version. This manuscript had a really dramatic fate. In 1928 'Isa al-Ma'luf happened to see in Cairo 92 folios from this manuscript (16,5 × 24 cm, 15 lines per page, 46 color miniatures). The folios were bound in casual order. The same year the

manuscript was bought by the French antique dealer Jacob Asheroff. Later he sold three folios from the manuscript to the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, and another three folios — to a private collection (one of them was published by M. Mostafa in “Bustan”). Most of the remaining folios was sold by Asheroff to several collections in different countries. British collector Edmund de Ungern bought most of them in Switzerland, Paris (from Asheroff himself), Cairo (from the collection of Sherif Sabry Pasha) and in other places. Now he has the greater part of the manuscript (78 folios), 3 folios are still preserved in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art (Inv. No. 18019, 18235, 18236). 31 miniatures, 23 diagrams and 10 presentations of different types of weapons from this manuscript are available today. Most of the miniatures were published by M. Mostafa [4].

No. 5. The Istanbul manuscript Ar. R. 1933 from the Topkapi-Saray library. It is titled *Kitāb madjmu' fi 'l-rumh wa-ghayrihi* The manuscript was copied in 871/1466, i. e. nearly at the same time as MSS No. 1 and No. 2. The text is also very close to the text of the St. Petersburg manuscript. It has 97 folios, 17 lines per page, 55 colored miniatures, including 22 diagrams and 10 presentations of different types of weapons.

No. 6. According to C. Brockelmann [5], the catalogue of *Nuri Osmanie kutubhane defteri* mentions manuscript No. 3915 written by one *Khazzām* or Ibn Abi *Khazzām*. At present, unfortunately, we have no other information on it.

No. 7. D. Haldane mentions another manuscript which is close to the Paris MS Ar. 2824 and is preserved in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. The manuscript is not cataloged. We hope that in the nearest future we shall get access to this MS.

The analysis of the available information enables us to come to the following hypothetical conclusions:

As far as we know, M. Mostafa and E. J. Grube, who published the materials of MS No. 4, have never mentioned the St. Petersburg copy. Yet, the comparison of the texts and illustrations (several similar or close codicological features — size, number of lines per page, number of miniatures and their contents) definitely shows that these are parallel copies of the same work made nearly simultaneously. Manuscript No. 4 was intended for, so to say, “utilitarian” use, while the St. Petersburg manuscript was copied for the library of a high Mamluk officer. This conclusion is confirmed by the colophon, miniatures and calligraphy standards of the St. Petersburg manuscript which are more refined than those of the Cairo-London MS.

The St. Petersburg version is also very close to the Istanbul MS (No. 5). The title of the Istanbul copy (*Kitāb madjmu' fi 'l-rumh wa-ghayrihi*) is much more in conformity with the contents of our treatise than its general title “*Kitāb al-makhzūn*”. The texts of the manuscripts, however, coincide very closely (though are not identical). Manuscripts No. 1 and No. 5 can represent a different version of the same treatise, distinct from the parallel copies represented by manuscripts No. 1 and No. 4.

On the other hand the two Paris manuscripts (No. 2 and No. 3) differ from the St. Petersburg MS in the manner of presenting the material. They have some discrepancies in terminology and even in the way of describing military exercises. At the same time many passages are almost

identical. It is obvious that the St. Petersburg and the Paris MSS had the same prototype. Probably they are related not as copies or versions of the same treatise but as a prototype and the result of a thorough revision, and even could be treated as two different works by the same author.

Basing on the preliminary analysis of the codicological information (the St. Petersburg manuscript contains more folios than all the others and has almost the same number of lines per page and letters of the same size) and on the correlation of textual differences one can assume that manuscript No. 1, as well as MS No. 2, represent a reworked version of the text.

The full title of the Istanbul manuscript (*Kitāb madjmu' fi 'l-rumh wa-ghayrihi wa fihi kitāb wādh fi-ramy li-l-Ṭabarī*) makes it possible to establish hypothetically one of the main sources of our treatise. It is *Kitāb wādh fi-ramy wa'l-nashshāb* by Aḥmad b. 'Abdallah Muḥī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1295).

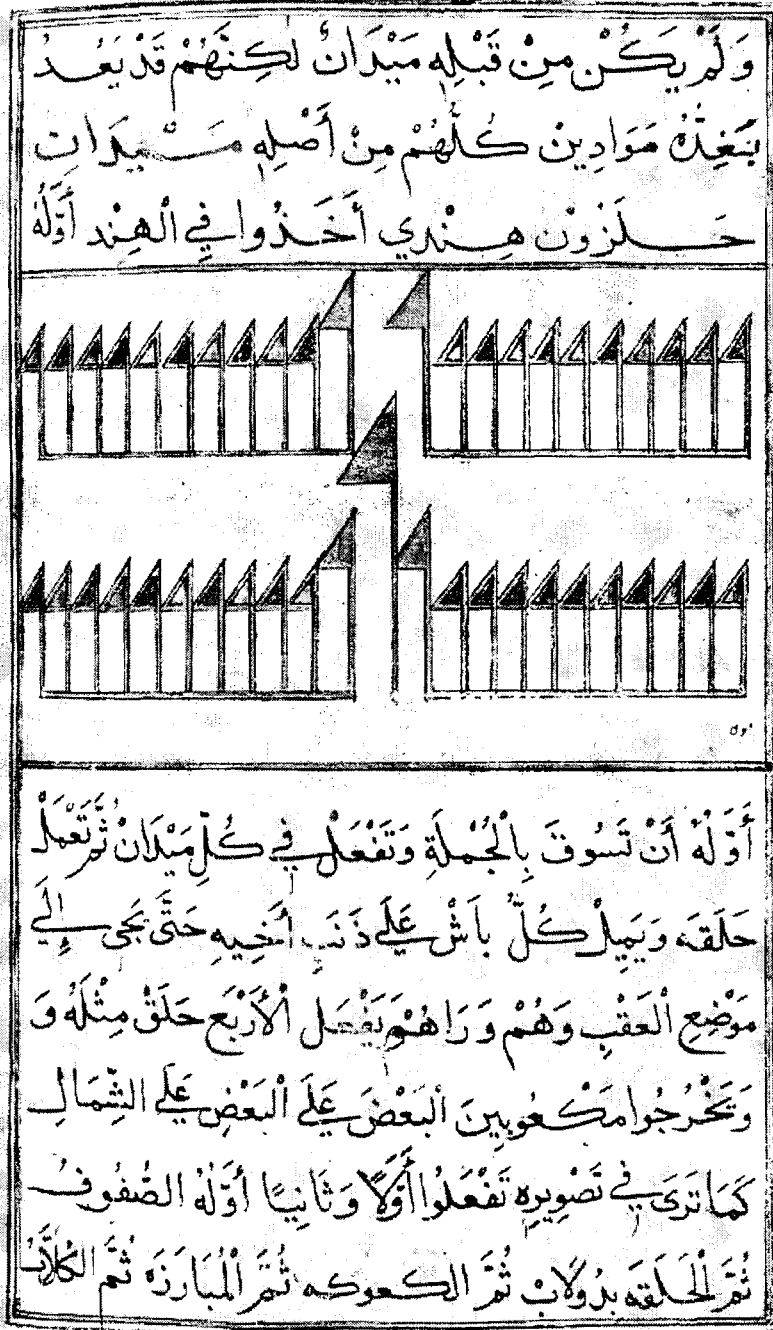
A thorough comparative critical and textological analysis of all known copies of the manuscript available is the subject of our future work. The authors of this article expect that further analysis can produce some interesting and unexpected results.

One of the most interesting problems is that of the authorship. Like the problem of correlations between the existing versions of the text it could be the subject of further studies. We thought it useful, nevertheless, to present the results of our preliminary research in this paper.

The text itself gives no clue to its author's identity. It can be presumably established on the basis of a comparative analysis of several manuscripts.

Ms No. 2 is the only one which mentions the author: *al-shaiḫ* Muḥammad Ibn *Khizām*. Most studies devoted to our treatise follow de Slane's identifying him with Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb Ibn *Akhī Khizām*. The *shuḥra* of Ibn *Akhī Khizām* belongs to the dynasty of *al-furūsiyya* authors active in the 3/9th—4/10th centuries [6]. As for Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb Ibn *Akhī Khizām* himself, he was widely known as the author of *furūsiyya* treatises written by the order of Caliph al-Mutawakkil (232—47/847—61). Historical realities and terminology used in our treatise show that it was created in the 8th/14th century (during the so called late Circassian period), but not earlier [7]. No one of the dynasty mentioned could have written the *Kitāb al-makhzūn*.

The abovementioned Muḥammad al-Nasīrī, who was the officer of the *ḥalqa*, the guards of Sultan al-Mālik al-Ashraf Sha'bān, provided us with some indirect information on this matter [8]. In his works he mentioned, among his contemporaries, another author of the work dealing with the art of war, titled *al-Fawā'id al-jalīla fi 'ulūm al-furūsiyya wa-l-rimāya wa amrād al-khail*. His name was Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-*Khuttālī*, known as Ibn Abī *Khazzām*, who died, according to Muḥammad b. Mangly, before 782/1380 [9]. The subject of our treatise is very close to that by Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-*Khuttālī* [10]. Another work by this author [11] gives his full name: *al-shaiḫ al-fādil* Muḥammad b. *Khazzām* (or: *Khizām*). The latter variant of *shuḥra* mentioned by the author's contemporary Muḥammad b. Mangly appears to be more reliable. As for the *kunya* “Abū” in the author's name, it is important to note that another author of an *al-furūsiyya* work, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. *Khudhail* (d. 782/1380), mentioned the *Kitāb* by Ibn Abī *Khazzām* in his work [12].



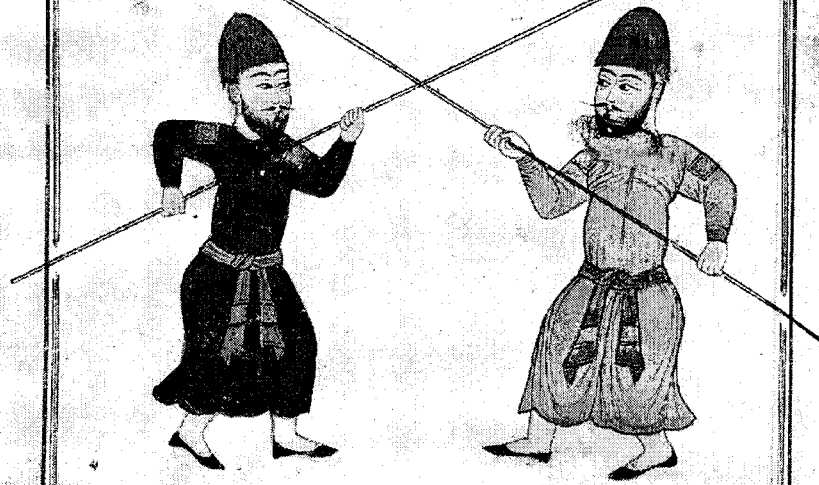
المروج

Fig. 1

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ثُمَّ بِالرَّاسِ ثُمَّ بِالْعَقَبِ وَيَدُقُّ عَلَى رُوحِ الْغَرِيمِ ثُمَّ يَعْطِفُ
 عَلَى السَّيْفِ بِالرُّوحِ ثُمَّ يَعْطِفُ يَمِينًا بِالطَّوِيلِ ثُمَّ يَعْطِفُ وَيَنْقُلُ
 وَيَقِفُ وَيَطَاعِنُ ثُمَّ يَفْعَلُ كَمَا فَعَلَ مِنْ أَوَّلِهِ إِلَى آخِرِهِ
 ثُمَّ يَدَمِّنُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ أَيَّامًا وَهَذِهِ صِفَةُ اللَّعِبِ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ

Fig. 46.



اللَّطْعُ فِي الصَّدْرِ وَدُخُولُ الرُّوحِ الطَّوْقَ لَهُ تَبْطِيلَيْنِ
 أَحَدُهُمَا أَنْ تُضْرِبَ عِنَانَهُ مَعَ يَدِهِ وَالثَّانِي فَيَتَرَسُ الرُّوحُ
 فِي صَدْرِ قَوَسِهِ فَلَا يَقْدِرُ يَتَحَرَّكَ هَذِهِ مَسْئَلَتَيْنِ طَعْنٌ فِي كُمِهِ
 وَالْآخَرُ طَعْنٌ فِي صَدْرِهِ وَكُلُّ دُخُولٍ فِي الْقَائِسِ فَالَّذِي طَعَنَهُ
 فِي كُمِهِ يَلْزِقُ يَدَهُ إِلَى بَاطِنِهِ فَإِذَا أَحْمَلَ عَلَيْهِ إِزْكَسَرَ رُوحَهُ

Fig. 2

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وَلَا تَدْلَعَنَّ مِنْ بَعِيدٍ فَإِنَّكَ تَقَعُ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ أَوْ يَنْكَسِرُ
 ضَلْعُكَ وَيَحْذَرُ الْإِنْسَانُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَهَذِهِ مِنْ اسْتِنْبَاطِ
 السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ الظَّاهِرِ الْكَبِيرِ فَلِأَجْلِ ذَلِكَ سُمِّيَتْ
 الْبَيْتِيَّةُ الظَّاهِرِيَّةُ فَافْهَمْ ذَلِكَ وَهَذِهِ الْبَيْتِيَّةُ الظَّاهِرِيَّةُ



باب صِنَاعَةِ الشَّخْصِ رِيًّا يَسْمَلُ وَصِفَةَ طَعْنِهِ وَالتَّخْرُوجِ
 مِنْهُ يَلْبَغِي رَأْيَهُ ذَلِكَ أَنْ يَتَّخِذَ شَخْصًا مِنْ خَشَبٍ
 الْعَوِيذِ أَوْ مِمَّا كَانَ صَدْرًا يَحْتَمِلُ الطَّعْنَ مُتَجَوِّفًا فِي وَسْطِهِ
 قُرْصًا مِنْ حَدِيدٍ يَجْعَلُ فِيهِ الْأَصْبِعَ الْحَدِيدِيَّ فِيهِ

9.65

Fig. 3

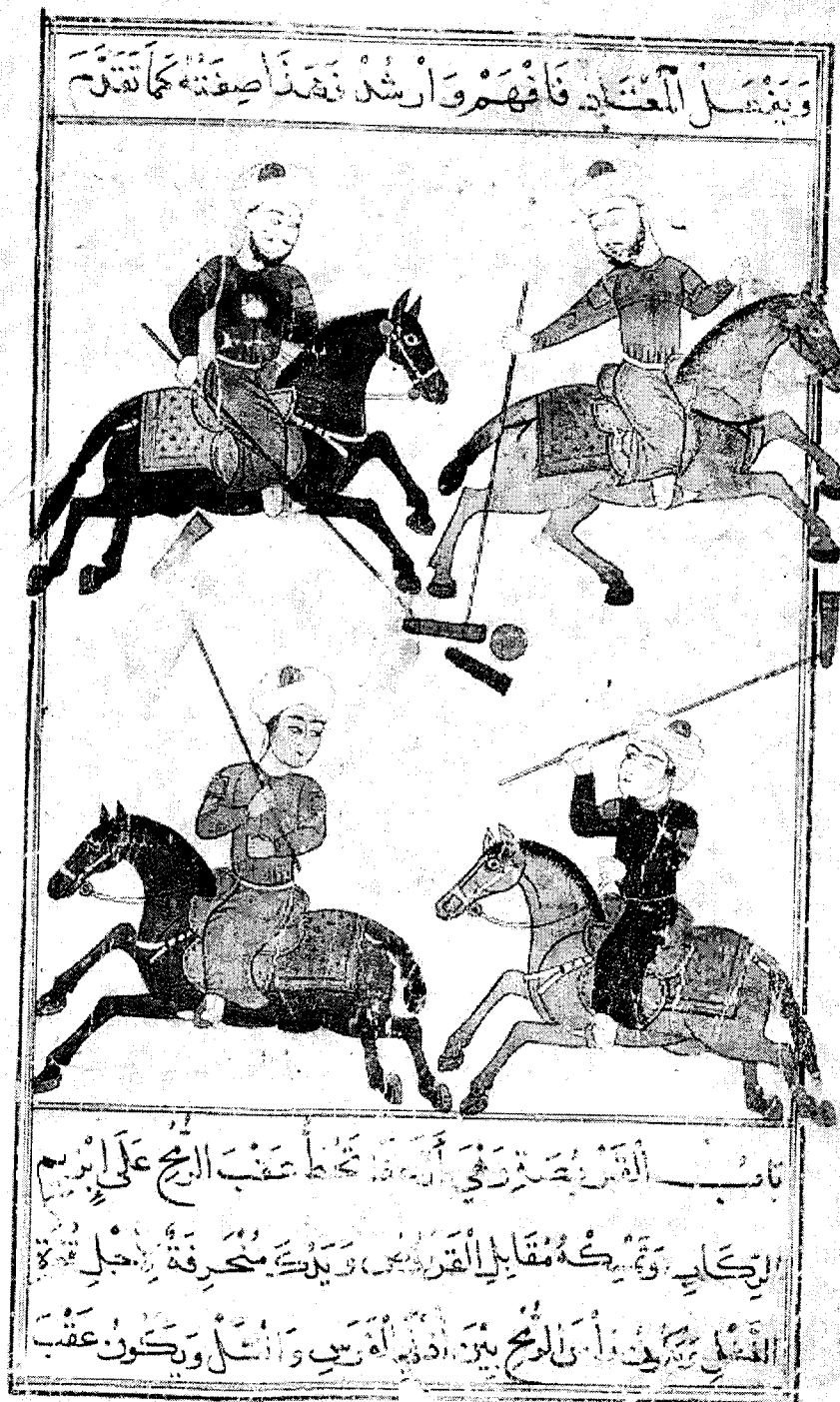


Fig. 68

Fig. 4

This mistake has occurred, probably, because the original book by Ibn Akhī Khizām entitled *Kitāb ʿilm al-furūsiyya waʾl-baytara* had been used by Ibn Abī Khazzām as one of his sources, especially when he described exercises with a lance. In this field Ibn Akhī Khizām was a great authority.

Several other works by Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb Ibn Abī Khazzām al-Khuttālī, the possible author of our treatise, are mentioned in different sources [13].

As for the treatise itself, one of the problems is: if it is possible to consider this work as the original text written by Ibn Abī Khazzām? Apart from the problem of the role and place of compilation in Muslim medieval literary tradition, we should say that the *furūsiyya* genre itself was very specific. The *furūsiyya* works, being the manuals of the art of war and text-books for arranging military court festivals, constantly contain one and the same descriptions of nearly the same exercises and weapons. Authors-compilers, who widely used the works of their predecessors, might not regard their texts as their personal contribution. Like military manuals, these compositions were intended to preserve the experience and achievements of several generations of war-leaders. It is no mere chance that only one copy of *Kitāb al-makhzūn* mentions the author's name. On the other hand, the combined manuscript Ar. 2826 from Bibliothèque Nationale presents the work of a *kātib* who copied and united under one cover the text of our treatise and that by Lajin al-Husamī al-Ṭarabulūsī (d. 738/1337—8), titled *Kitāb al-makhzūn li-ʿarbāb al-funūn*. Such a combination of two works in one volume can easily explain how the text of one MS could be taken for a single work under one title.

H. Rabie shows that Lajin al-Ṭarabulūsī's *furūsiyya* treatise “was the original which later *furūsiyya* masters utilized with some variations”. He points out also that we knew only one archery master who described the *butūʿiyya*, and it was Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭabarī [14]. The latter is the author of one of the main sources of the *Kitāb al-makhzūn*. It is obvious that Mamlūk officer Ibn Abī Khazzām al-Khuttālī has written a manual meeting the practical needs of the Sultan guards and mamlūks. It was a kind of a manual for their training, and also for arranging *furūsiyya* festivals. He tried to borrow the best passages from the works of his predecessors, mostly from those by al-Ṭabarī, al-Ṭarabulūsī and Najm al-dīn al-Aḥḍab (the last one was among the best authorities in *funūn al-naḥf*). He used the name of one of his main sources (the work by al-Ṭabarī) as the title of the manual. Al-Khuttālī was the compiler and the editor of this manual. That is, probably, why his name is not mentioned in our manuscript. He surely added to the work some amount of new materials from his own experience. We hope that while preparing the critical edition of the text we shall be able to find a more definite solution to some of the problems, including the problem of correlation between all the available manuscripts of al-Khuttālī's treatise.

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Notes

1. W. de Rzevusky, *Mines de l'Orient*, v, (Vienna, 1809), pp. 189, 248; Ch. Fraehn, “An die Conferenz der Kaiserlichen Academie de Wissenschaften”, *Das Asiatische Museum*, ed. M. Dorn. (SPb, 1846), pp. 450—2; A. Olenin, “Notice sur un manuscrit du Musée Asiatique de l'Académie Imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg”, *ibid*, pp. 452—60; M. Reinaud, “De l'art militaire chez les Arabes au moyen âge”, *JA*, Quatrième série, XII, Septembre 1848, pp. 193—237; S. I. Romocki, “Geschichte der Explosivstoffe”, I, *Geschichte der Sprengstoffchemie, der Sprengtechnik und des Torpedowessens* (Brl, 1895), S. 76—8.

2. G. le Bon, “La Civilisation des Arabes” (P., 1884), pp. 512—3. Sketches made from the illustration of the Paris manuscript are used here as well (p. 510).

3. V. V. Arendt, “The Greek fire (combat-fire technique before the invention of fire-arms)”, *The archives of the history of science and technology*, (in Russian), IX (1936), pp. 183, 195—6, 200—1. See also E. Grube, “Pre-Mongol and Mamlūk painting”, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of Book*, ed. B. W. Robinson (L., 1979), pp. 77, 118, note 358; J. T. Reinand & I. Fave, “Du feu grégois, des feu de guerre et les origines de la poudre à canon” (P., 1845), pl. I, fig. 1 and 8, pl. III, figs. 7—10; R. Ettinghausen, “The uses of spheroidal vessels in the Muslim East”, *JNES*, XIV (1965), pp. 218—9; M. Rogers, “Aeolipiles again”, *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens. In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, ed. Aslanapa & R. Naumann (Istanbul, 1969), pp. 147—58.

4. On the history of this manuscript and location of its fragments see: E. J. Grube, “Pre-Mongol and Mamlūk painting”, p. 117, note 353; Mohamed Mostafa, “An illustrated manuscript on chivalry from the late Circassian Mamluk period”, *BIE*, LI (1969—70) pp. 1—13 (English) and pp. 1—14 (Arabic text); *idem*, “Miniature paintings in some Mamluk manuscripts”, *BIE*, LII, pp. 5—15, pls. 1—40. M. Mostafa studied this manuscript in details and planned to publish it. By 1979, when Grube's work (Pre-Mongol and Mamluke painting) appeared, the manuscript has not been published. We do not know whether it was published during the past few years. See also: *idem*, “Darstellung des taglichen Lebens in der islamischen Kunst, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der ägyptischen Kunst”, *Bustan. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kultur, Politik, und Wirtschaft der islamischen Länder*, II (Wien, 1960), fig. 22, p. 39; *idem*, “Unity in Islamic Art. Guide to the second temporary exhibition”, *Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo* (Cairo, 1958), p. 39, figs 36—8, p. 26, Nos. 16—8; E. Grube, “Pre-Mongol and Mamlūk painting”, pp. 73—81, 115—9, pl. II, 12 (color), II, 8. Unfortunately, not all of the above mentioned works were available to us during the preparation of this publication. It is evident now, however, many features common to the St. Petersburg manuscript and manuscript No. 3 allow to establish a more exact date for the latter in comparison to the date suggested by E. Grube and B. Robinson (“middle or the second half of the fourteenth century” (or possibly a little later. — Ed.) — E. Grube, “Pre-Mongol and Mamluke painting”, p. 81) and to attribute to the second half of 9th/15th century.

5. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, i (Weimar-Berlin, 1898), p. 243; Supplementband, i (Leiden, 1937), p. 432.

6. *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes par M. le Baron de Slane*, (P., 1883—1895), p. 10; ʿAly ben Abderrahman ben Hodeil El Andalousy, *La Parure des Cavaliers et l'Insigne des Preux*, Trad. française précédée d'une étude sur les sources des hippiatres arabes. par L. Mercier (P., Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924), pp. XI—XIII, 435—6; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, i, 243; Supplementband, i, 432.

7. Several chapters of the treatise are dedicated to the formulas of gun-powder and means of throwing flame, as well as to hand fire-arms and artillery. Though *naḥf* and *bārūd* (gun powder) appeared in the region in 5/11th century, the art of making mixtures for flame throwing, the so-called *funūn al-naḥf*, developed only in 7/13th—8/14th centuries.

Another evidence supporting dating our text to the late Circassian period could be found on folio 69b of the manuscript, in the description of a special spear with a hook and loop at the end (al-rumḥ bi-l-khait) which was designed for throwing down enemy riders from their horses (ramy al-fāris min al-faras) (see also folio 82 b). A Mamlūk historian of the late Circassian period, Ibn Iyās, mentioned this weapon in his treatise, describing the Ottoman invasion into Egypt and Syria, as something new and unusual (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾi al-Zuhūr*, ed. M. Mostafa, v (Cairo, 1972), p. 131.

8. De Slane, *Catalogue*, 2832; C. Brockelmann., *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, p. 136; Supplementband, ii, p. 167.

9. Mercier, *La Parure*, 433.

10. Flugel, p. 546.

11. *Kitāb al-khail al-baitara*. See: Flugel, p. 546.

12. Mercier, *La Parure*, 433.

13. Mercier, *La Parure*, 435—436.

14. H. Rabie, “The training of the Mamluk *fāris*”, *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V. J. Parry & M. E. Yapp (L., 1975), pp. 153—63.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Fol. 110 a. The Exercise of Mounted Formations Called “the Indian Spiral” (*māydan ḥalazūn hindī*) (first stage).

Fig. 2. Fol. 145 a. “The Lance Game on the Ground (*luʿb al-rumḥ ʿalāʿl-ʿard*).

Fig. 3. Fol. 177 a. The Warrior with a Lance Performing the “Strike of Buttīya”.

Fig. 4. Fol. 184 a. The Polo Game.
