

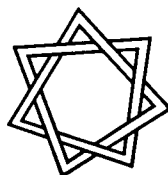
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 5 No. 1 March 1999



75ESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

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AUTHORS AND AUTHORSHIP IN PERSIAN AND TURKIC HISTORICAL WRITINGS

Historical works written in the Turkic and Persian languages in the Middle Ages are manuscripts, and all have their authors. These authors report their names, nicknames or pen-names in the introduction or the colophon or at various places in the text of their work. The affirmation of authorship through mention of the name in the work was not merely the overriding tendency in the medieval Muslim historiography, but rather a traditional rule.

The author's name is usually preceded by the epithets and formulas of self-abasement which is traditional in Muslim literature of the period. These formulas commonly run as following: "this poor one", "this humble one", or "this incapable one", "this insignificant, sinful slave", "this despicable [person]", etc. As for Muslim names themselves, they consist of several components. The full name of an adult can contain five components: (i) *ism* — personal name, given at birth; (ii) *kunya* — name component, formed by adding to the name Arabic words *abū* ("father"), *ibn* ("son"), for example, Ibn Hishām (lit. "son of Hishām"); (iii) *nisba* — name component indicating place of birth or residence, for example, al-Samarqandī (inhabitant of Samarqānd); (iv) *laqab* — nickname, title; (v) *takhalluṣ* — pen-name. *Laqabs* and *takhalluṣes* are often hard to be deciphered or transliterated. They frequently contain social, professional or individual descriptions of their bearers or their families [1].

The numerous components in the name of a Muslim historian present difficulties for scholars. Not every author gives his full name, referring to himself in a shortened form and citing the most popular, often used part of his name. For a number of professional literary figures, their nickname or pen-name entirely replaced the personal or family names, so that certain Central Asian historians of the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries are known to us only by their *takhalluṣ* or *laqab*, such as, for example, Shādī and Suhayla.

The practice of "signing" works (especially poetic ones) with solely the pen-name complicates the task of establishing the author's real name. The issue is also obscured by the frequent presence in the literary environment of several individuals with the same pen-name or *laqab*. On the other hand, there are known examples of literary figures who replaced one *takhalluṣ* with another at the wish of a patron or on their own whim. Furthermore, some literary professionals, such as Nawā'ī, Binā'ī, Hāfiz-i Tanīsh, employed two *laqabs*, and others had as many as

three *laqabs*, for example, Wāṣifī. And alternately, we sometimes know the family and personal name of a writer, but not his *takhalluṣ*. For instance, the *takhalluṣ* of Maḥmūd b. Walī, a professional historian of the seventeenth century is unknown. This makes it impossible to attribute the majority of the poetic and other works written by him, which have possibly survived up to the present day.

About many of the historians we know only what they tell of themselves in their own works. Information on them in writings composed by other authors is usually scarce. But even in their own works autobiographical data is rarely vast. As a rule, Muslim historians mention only their name or *laqab*. Much more frequent are cases when the author tells of his reasons for writing, his intentions, etc., but does not give his name or *laqab*, referring to himself simply as *rāqim* ("writer") or *kamīna* ("most insignificant", "most humble servant") [2].

Many writings by medieval Muslim historians bear no author's name. But in total, the number of anonymous works is small in comparison with those signed. The majority of historical works were written on special order and contained a dedication which indicated the name, honorary title or social position of the individual to whom they were addressed. Under such circumstances, there was no reason for an author to conceal his name. The existence of anonymous works can be explained by same special conditions of manuscripts: the loss of introduction, colophon or other part of the book, which may have contained the author's name, carelessness or the arbitrary decision of a copyist, etc. [3]. Only in rare cases did the absence of an author's name reflect his own desire: if he was, for example, driven by reasons of personal security or the security of his family. Thus, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Shaybānī-khān*, in his own words, intentionally did not give his own name, or those of his father or grandfather, of whom he writes in his work, "for political reasons" [4].

Scholars of medieval literature in many cases succeed in attributing anonymous works. An older generation of Orientalists were successful in establishing the authors of works known to scholars by the conventional titles the "Anonymous Work of Iskander", "Anonymous Work of Shāhrukh", and so on. Recently, M. Kh. Abuseitova has established that the anonymous manuscript of a historical work, described in the Tashkent catalogue as *Tārīkh-i Shaybānī* [5], is actually a defective copy of a work by

Muhammad-Yār b. ‘Arab Qataghān. The title of the work *Musahhir al-bilād*, given by the author, is indicated in the more complete St. Petersburg copy [6]. According to E. Khurshut, another anonymous manuscript indicated in the Tashkent catalogue by the title *Tārīkh-i Shaybānī-khān* is one of the copies of the well-known *Tārākh-i Qipchāq-khānī* [7]. Also, textological study revealed that three manuscripts from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies indicated in a published catalogue as anonymous are actually copies of two works which belong to Ottoman authors of the seventeenth century well known to specialists [8].

As these examples make clear, mistakes which make their way into catalogues and descriptions of Eastern manuscripts can introduce certain distortions into our understanding of the real correlation of authored to anonymous writings. In our opinion, the problem of attributing manuscripts previously considered anonymous is a pressing one in Oriental studies.

The concepts of “author” and “authorship” in the works of medieval historians are conveyed with various terms, which can be divided in their usage into two groups:

1. Words and terms used by authors to indicate themselves. These are *mu‘allif* (“author”), *muṣannif* (“compiler”), *muḥarrir* (“composer”), *mudawwin* (“compiler”), *kātib* (“scribe”), *munshī* (“secretary”), *munshid* (“conveyor”), *jāmi‘* (“gatherer”), *rāqim* (“writer”), *mu‘allif-i thānī* (“second author”).

2. Terms and words used to denote the authorship of a work which belongs to a different person: *mu‘allif*, *muṣannif*, *ṣāhib* (“master”).

As we shall see, an author's self-indication was not irrelevant to the character of the literary work undertaken by the person so indicated. To illustrate this, let us turn to our sources. There are works, unfinished for this or that reason, which were completed by others. This second author usually mentions his name in appropriate place, that is, he claims to be a co-author. Here are several examples illustrating how writers, who continued the work of others, formulated their co-author status. “It so happened, that when the refuge of paradise on earth Abū l-Ghāzī-khān had reached the middle of this book, he fell ill. Then he instructed his sons: ‘Do not leave this work unfinished, complete it’. For this reason, Abū l-Muẓaffar al-Manṣūr Anūsha-khān ibn Abū l-Ghāzī-khān, carrying out the will of the deceased [father], ordered me, Maḥmūdī ibn Mullā Muhammad Zamānī Ūrganchī, the untalented and insignificant one, to complete this book. Although I was hardly capable of such a difficult task, I acted in accordance with the saying ‘The subordinate is blameless’ and set about fulfilling the Royal will of the *khān* and completed this book to the extent that my knowledge permitted” [9]. This note comes on the final pages of the ninth and concluding chapter of the *Shajara-yi Turk*, which describes the history of the descendants of Shībān, grandson of Chingiz Khān, who ruled in Khīwa.

Another example comes from a later time. Muhammad Ṣādiq Munshī, a well-known Central Asian poet, wrote in the 1880s a brief verse history of the Ashtarkhānids in Persian. The poem is interesting both for its content and the form in which it presents its material.

In the author's words, when he once visited the mausoleum of Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshbandī near Bukhārā and the nearby *turbes* of the Shībānids and Ashtarkhānids, he heard the voices of the *khāns* buried there, each of whom related to him about events during his rule. The first to relate was Subhān-Qulī-khān, after whom ‘Ubaydallāh-khān, Abū l-Fayḍ-khān and ‘Abd al-Mu‘min-khān told their stories. Each dweller of the tombs began his tale with the words: “I, ruler (*shāh*) so-and-so”, and spoke mainly of those injustices and violations of law which took place in the country during his rule. The work has the character of an expose, which is rare in the medieval historiography of Central Asia. The copy of this writing, preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, ends with the following *bayt*:

Do not consider the narrative completed,
In this place I laid aside (lit. “broke”) my pen [10].

In 1319/1901—02, ‘Abd al-‘Azim Sāmī wrote a continuation of this work, dedicated to the history of the Mangyt dynasty. The continuation begins with the following words: “Mīrzā Ṣādiq Munshī composed up to this place, after which the verses, generated by the thought of Mīrzā ‘Azīm Dilafkar, [who bears] the *laqab* of Sāmī, run” [11].

At times, second authors did not limit themselves to completion, but introduced significant changes into the basic text of the work [12]. There are continuers who term themselves directly a “second author” [13].

However, there are many works continued by the second author of whom we know neither his name nor the extent and type of the work he performed. In this case, the problem of identifying the second author and ascertaining his real contribution to the work inevitably arises.

In some cases, second authors set about continuing someone else's work as the result of a Royal order; in others, they acted on their own volition. Sometimes they followed the first author's request, and wrote with his full approval. The following individuals could fulfil the role of second author: (i) the son of the first author (*Dhayl-i Tārīkh-i guzīda*, *Dhayl-i Hasht bihisht*); (ii) the editor of the work (*Humāyūn-shāhī*); (iii) the owner of the manuscript (*Tārīkh-i Badakhshān*); (iv) a like-minded person sharing the ideas of the author (*Dakhma-yi shāhān*); (v) a person (usually a literary professional) who was hired for this role by a dignitary (*Shajara-yi Turk*, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*).

We encounter curious cases where the author, displaying an extreme form of obsequiousness, himself attributes his work to his patron. Thus, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Khānī* names as the real author of the work Aḥmad-khān, from the Kia dynasty, at whose wish the work was written, writing of himself as merely a scribe who copied down the words and thoughts of his sovereign [14]. Although there are also examples of the opposite, when the individual who in fact fulfilled the role of assistant and copyist disputes the authorship of his patron. I have in mind the accusation leveled at Īlkhānid's *wazīr*, Rashīd al-Dīn, by his subordinate ‘Abdallāh Kāshānī: “I carried out the work, and my lord made use of it under his name” [15].

Both examples concern a type of literary collaboration common in the medieval East, between a high-ranked in-

dividual and his subordinate. Such collaboration enabled the patron to appropriate the work of his subordinate. Similarly, it enabled the subordinate to attribute authorship to his patron. The problem lies in accurately differentiating the actual literary work of the *khān*, *wazīr*, etc. from the work carried out by the literary figures of the court. Frequently, such differentiation is impossible. Here one can cite the *Tārīkh-arba'a ulūs*, the history of the four states which appeared after the collapse of the Mongol empire in the second half of the thirteenth century. These are The Great Yūrt, that is, China and Mongolia; the Jūchīd state (the Golden Horde); Persia under the rule of Hūlāgū's descendants; and Central Asia under the rule of Chaghatāy's descendants.

Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt attributes the authorship of this work to the well-known Tīmūrid Ulughbek (d. 1449). "Chingiz Khān", he writes, "had four sons. He divided the conquered world between these four sons. The *ulūs* of each son represented one fourth of the populated, cultured countries and deserts of the [conquered] world. When historical works speak of the *ulūs-i arba'a* ("the four *ulūses*" — *T. S.*), they mean these same four parts mentioned above. The scholar Mīrzā Ulughbek is the author of a historical work which he called *Ulūs-i arba'a* [16].

As for another Muslim historian, Khwāndāmīr, in writing the sections on the rulers of Turkestan (Chingiz Khān's descendants), he used, in his own words, a "Treatise" (*risāla*), the author of which he calls "Mīrzā Ulughbek Gūrgān" [17]. Later, however, in his work entitled *Ḥabīb al-siyar* Khwāndāmīr no longer attributes authorship to Ulughbek. He asserts that this *Tārīkh* was written by one of the scholars of the era of the supreme ruler Shāhrukh-sultān on behalf of Mīrzā Ulughbek Gūrgān [18]. It is interesting, in a work by a eighteenth-century historian Mīr Rabī' we find a comment in support for Khwāndāmīr's later attribution, expressed in the same terms: "In the chronicle (*tārīkh*) written by one of the scholars of the era of the supreme ruler, the fortunate *khāqān* Shāhrukh-sultān on behalf of Mīrzā Ulughbek Gūrgān, this most unworthy [compiler] came across the statement that [the name] *hālj* is derived from *qālāj*, that is, from *qāl ach*" [19].

The extent of Ulughbek's participation in the creation of the *Tārīkh-i arba'a ulūs* to this day provokes disputes among scholars [20]. Unfortunately, a complete copy of the *Tārīkh-i arba'a ulūs* has not reached us. We have instead several copies of an abridged version entitled *Shajarat al-atrāk* [21], which makes it difficult to settle the problem.

We also encounter spurious works in late-medieval historiography. Thus, many manuscript collections, both in Russia and abroad, contain copies of the so-called *Malfūzāt-i Tīmūrī* (or *Malfūzāt-i Šāḥib-qirānī*, or *Wāqī'āt-i Tīmūrī*). The work presents the narration of Tīmūr's life from the age of seven in the form of an autobiography. It is usually followed by an appendix entitled *Tuzūk-i Tīmūrī* ("Tīmūr's Code"). The work came to light under the

following circumstances. During his travels, a certain Abū Ṭālib, a native of Khurāsān, allegedly discovered in the library of Ja'far Pasha, the governor of Yemen, the Turkic original of Tīmūr's autobiography, which he translated into Persian. In 1047/1637—38, he presented his translation to a descendant of Tīmūr, Shāh-Jahān, who then ruled in India. Shāh-Jahān read the manuscript and discovered that the autobiography differs from Yazdī's famous *Zafar-nāma*, the official history of Tīmūr known in its final version. He then ordered Afḍal Bukhārī to collate the Persian translation with Yazdī's *Zafar-nāma* and other histories, strike the additions made by Abū Ṭālib, fill in the gaps he had allowed and correct the dates. Afḍal Bukhārī fulfilled his sovereign's order [22].

The history of the work that was discovered by Abū Ṭālib remains an enigma. Its real origin is obscure. European Orientalists commonly view it as a forgery. I cite here observation of W. Barthold, who notes that such a work is "in no way typical" of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, in the very content of the text "one can find weighty proof that the book could not have been written either by Tīmūr or by his contemporaries". From this he concludes that the *Malfūzāt-i Tīmūrī* with its usual appendix is a forgery "composed in India in the seventeenth century" [23]. However, the question of who composed the work, for what purpose, and why he attributed it to Tīmūr remains unsolved.

It should be added that there existed works created by several authors. An outstanding example of such collective labour is the *Tārīkh-i alfi*. Work on the book was begun in 1585 on the order of the ruler of India, Akbar (1556—1605) on the occasion of the approaching millennium of the advent of Islam. Hence, it was titled the "Thousand-Year History". Naqīb-khān, Shāh-Fathallāh, Ḥakīm 'Alī and other leading Muslim scholars of India were charged with writing the history of the first thirty-five years of Islam, beginning with the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (632). They completed this part of the work in a week. Subsequent periods were described by Tattawī and Āsaf-khān. In 1000/1591—92, 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī was charged with re-working the entire book [24].

The material cited above demonstrates that individual authorship was not the only form of authorship in medieval historical literature in Persian and Turkic, and that the question of authorship in this literature is as multi-faceted and complex as it is in any other medieval literature [25]. Still, individual authorship emerges as the major form of creative work performed by medieval Muslim historians. All other types of authorship did not achieve significant distribution and represent individual cases that do not in any way make up a notable portion of the literary genre under question here. Nonetheless, all of these cases are of much interest to all those studying medieval Muslim historiography. Information these cases provide may serve a valuable source for conjuring up a broader picture of literary work in the Muslim East.

Notes

1. N. A. Belgorodskii, "Sotsial'nyĭ element v persidskikh imenakh, prozvischchakh, titulakh i familiiakh" ("The social element in Persian names, nicknames, titles, and family names"), *Zapiski vostokovedeniia AN SSR*, vol. I (Leningrad, 1932), pp. 213—42; A. B. Khalidov, *Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia* (Arab Manuscripts and the Arab Manuscript Tradition) (Moscow, 1965), pp. 150—1.

2. *Tārīkh-i bihān*, anonymous manuscript C 458 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 143 a–b, 146 a; *Dastār al-'amal*, anonymous manuscript D 585-II in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 779 b.

3. N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, “K proiskhozhdeniiu anonimov v srednevekovoi literature na persidskom iazyke” (“On the origin of anonymous works in medieval Persian literature”), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (henceforth *PPiPIKVN*). VIII annual academic session of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Leningrad, 1972), pp. 39–43; N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, “Avtor i ego sochinenie v srednevekovoi nauchnoi literature na persidskom iazyke” (“The author and his work in medieval Persian science literature”), *Ocherki istorii kul'tury srednevekovogo Irana. Pis'mennost' i literatura* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 99–102.

4. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1974), ix, No. 1015.

5. M. Kh. Abuseitova, “O Tashkentskom i Leningradskom spiskakh “Musakhkhir al-bilad”” (“On the Tashkent and Leningrad copies of the *Musahhir al-bilad*”), *PPiPIKVN*. XIII annual academic session of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Moscow, 1977), pp. 70–4.

6. *Materialy po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii* (Materials on the History of the Turkmens and Turkmenia). Vol. 2: Sixteen to nineteen centuries. Iranian, Bukharian, and Khivan sources (Moscow, Leningrad, 1938), p. 52, n. 1; see also M. A. Salakhedinova, “Musakhkhir al-bilad” Mukhammed Iar ibn Arab Katagana (predvaritel'noe soobshchenie)” (“*Musahhir al-bilad* by Muḥammad Yār b. ‘Arab Qataghān: preliminary report”), *PPiPIKVN*, (Moscow, 1973), pp. 77–9.

7. È. Khurshut, ““Tarikh-i Kipchak-khani” i ego spiski” (“*Tārīkh-i Qipchāk-khānī* and its copies”), *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, No. 1 (1982), p. 65.

8. I. E. Petrosyan, “On three anonymous Turkish manuscripts from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection. The problem of authorship”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/1 (1995), pp. 17–20.

9. Abū l-Ghāzī Bahādur-khān, *Shajara-yi Turk*, manuscript C 1832 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 106 a.

10. Muḥammad Šādiq Munshī, *Dakhma-yi shāhān*, manuscript C 458 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 158 b–164 b.

11. *Ibid.*, fol. 235 b.

12. *Tarikh-i Badakhshan. “Istoriia Badakhshana” (Tārīkh-i Badakhshān. “History of Badakhshan”)*, photographic reproduction of the manuscript text, introduction, indices. Prepared for publication by A. N. Boldyrev (Leningrad, 1959), pp. 10–1; N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of the Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies, SSSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 3: Historical works (Moscow, 1975), Nos. 469, 475.

13. *Tārīkh-i Badakhshān*, the Leningrad publication (see n. 12), p. 226.

14. ‘Alī b. Shams al-Dīn Lāhijī, *Tārīkh-i Khānī*, manuscript C 491 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 3 b–4 a; Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie*, No. 373.

15. See V. V. Bartold, *Sochineniia* (Works), viii (Moscow, 1973), pp. 297–8.

16. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, manuscript B 648 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 84 a.

17. Khwāndāmīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān aḥwāl al-akhyār*, manuscript D 76 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 189 a.

18. See V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia* (Works), ii, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1964), p. 141.

19. Mīr Rabī' b. Mīr Niyāz al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusaynī, *Umdat al-Tawārīkh*, manuscript B 1876 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 40 b.

20. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, ii, pt. 2, p. 141; B. A. Akhmedov, “Ulughbek i ego istoricheskii trud “Tarikh-i arba' ulus”” (“Ulughbek and his historical writing the *Tārīkh-i arba' a ulūs*”), *Iz istorii nauki epokhi Ulugbeka* (Tashkent, 1979), pp. 29–36.

21. *The Shajrat ul Atrak, or geneological tale of the Turks and Tatars*, translated and abridged by Col. Miles (London, 1838), p. VII, 383; Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskii obzor* (Persian Literature. Bio-Bibliographical Survey). In three parts. Trans. from English, re-worked and supplemented by Yu. E. Bregel (Moscow, 1972), No. 665.

22. *Tuzuk-i Timūrī*, manuscript C 441 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 5 b–7 a.

23. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, ii, pt. 2, pp. 38, 201; *idem*, *Sochineniia*, viii, p. 268.

24. Stori, *op. cit.*, No. 277.

25. See Khalidov, *op. cit.*, chapter 3.