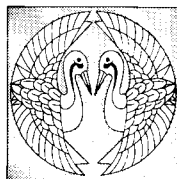


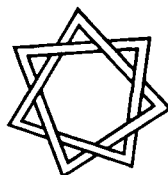
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## PERSIAN FOLKLORE MATERIALS IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

In the Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies Persian folklore is represented by many genres. There are epic stories, long romantic narratives, entertaining stories, legends, lives of saints, anecdotes, proverbs, etc. The way the collection of Persian folk stories was formed in the funds of the Institute (formerly Asiatic Museum) was almost the same as the making of many other Oriental collections in Russia. Among the 152 volumes formerly belonging to J. Rousseau, which in 1819 laid the foundation of the Persian fund, there was already one manuscript anthology of *hikāyats* made, judging by its palaeography, by the order of its French owner (manuscript B 260).

In the first three quarters of the 19th century only single records of folklore were coming to the library: in 1845 two manuscripts came from the library of the Scholarly Committee of the Ministry of Finance (the total number of volumes transferred from there to the Asiatic Museum was 13); in 1852 one was received from Kazan after the death of Ch. D. Fraehn; in 1873 one was sent from Tashkent by the order of General K. P. Kaufmann (along with other 17 manuscripts); in 1880 — one manuscript was received from London from a book-seller B. Quaritch. Between 1890 and 1897 the collection was enlarged by 10 items which were coming from Central Asia — from local collectors A. L. Kun, J. J. Lutsch and D. M. Gramenitsky, also due to a special trip to Central Asia undertaken by the keeper of the Asiatic Museum K. G. Salemann (the total number of Persian manuscripts acquired at that time was 175). In the first decade of the 20th century the Museum acquired an interesting specimen sent by N. N. Muravyev from the Transcaucasian region and a copy brought from Kāshghar, from the Russian consul N. F. Petrovsky (the total number — 17 and 29 volumes correspondingly).

Of vital importance for the formation of the *hikāyat* collection was the mission of V. A. Ivanov to Central Asia, mainly to Bukhārā. Among more than 600 Persian-Tadzhik manuscripts bought by him in the 1910s there were 12 volumes containing folklore stories. V. Ivanov himself considered that this group of “folk, almost exclusively anonymous, often not quite grammatically correct compositions” were the most interesting among the manuscripts he acquired [1]. In fact, only from this moment we may speak about any collection of Persian folklore in funds, *i. e.*

of the range that makes it possible to realise the characteristic features of the genre, to compare the contents of distinct works and copies with similar works present in other libraries.

During the last few decades the collection was considerably expanded due to acquisitions from private owners, the activities of special archaeological expeditions and transition of manuscripts from other institutions. At present the fund of the Institute has a compact but representative enough collection of Persian *hikāyats*. It includes one large anthology containing 56 stories, three — with 15—18 stories, one — with 10 stories, eight combined manuscripts contain 4—7 stories, eight more — 2—3 stories, and, finally, there are seventeen manuscripts with only one story. There are, as a whole, around 150 works in approximately 200 copies. The rich manuscript collections of Tashkent and Dushanbe are only partly listed in the catalogue, also fragmentary is the information on manuscripts preserved in Iranian collections. The analysis of acquisitions and donations to our collection shows that during the last hundred years there was no deliberate search for manuscripts containing Persian folk stories. The fund was formed at random, mainly due to acquisitions of whole libraries and manuscript collections from “amateur antiquarians”. Some of these collections contained one or two manuscripts of *hikāyats*, though often none were present. For example, in the chronological index of acquisitions made by the Asiatic Museum between 1852 and 1873 thirty new items added to the fund are enumerated, and there was not a single collection of *hikāyats* among them [2]. Obviously, at that time Russian orientalists were not paying much attention to them. It should be taken into account that for a long time the significance of the Persian folklore, especially of *hikāyats*, was not recognised by most both European and Iranian scholars — the last ones began to work on this subject only from the middle of the 20th century. According to the current theories, masterpieces of “fine” literature were descending to common people in adapted versions and circulated among them in oral form. Of all folklore genres preference was given to voluminous heroic epic stories and “novels”, the main task being the identification of the author and of the region whence from the plot had originated. There was a strict distinction between literary fiction and oral folk narratives,

so a *hikāyat* recorded in the 16th or 17th century by a not very much educated Persian or Tadjik was standing in the middle between literary fiction and “base” folklore.

An example can be cited here. At the end of the 19th—beginning of the 20th century intensive search for “antiquities” was taking place in the region of Kāshghar, which in the 16th—18th centuries had been involved within the sphere of Iranian culture. Many interesting finds were made, including manuscripts, which were transferred to the Asiatic Museum. This lot of manuscripts contained only one collection of folk stories (manuscript A 103 described below). For many decades it had been kept there, attracting no one's attention, and only now its value became evident.

Gradually expanding their sphere of interests, Russian scholars established a new direction of their research — the study of Persian folklore and of folk stories in particular. Articles by V. A. Zhukovsky, especially his work on “Shemyakin Court of Law” [3], where two versions of the Persian story were compared, also served this purpose. Then S. F. Oldenburg published an article considering the same subject, where 24 versions of the tale were taken into account, including three Indian and nine Russian ones [4]. He also analysed several literary versions of *Sindbād-nāma* [5]. It is noteworthy that in the last case the author, who was basing his study upon the texts of Persian manuscripts sent to St. Petersburg from London, thought it necessary to look through the manuscript of the Asiatic Museum (present call number C 809) containing the folk version of *Sindbād-nāma*. Oldenburg enumerates 18 versions of “Fablo Constant du Hamel” [6]. The same line was continued by A. A. Romaskevich [7].

In 1911 Anti Aarne suggested the scheme of recording “international folk tales” soon generally accepted by specialists. There was an increase of interest towards folklore then. In Iran folklore materials were intensively collected in the period by A. A. Romaskevich, by Danish scholar A. Christensen and by Mr. and Mrs. Lorimer from Britain. In all three cases the results of their investigations have been published, but the work done by A. A. Romaskevich is especially impressive. In 1913—1914 he surveyed the central and the south-eastern regions of Iran, where he recorded around 60 folk stories in different dialects, in 1919—1920 he verified the translations before publishing them.

The publication, however, appeared only in 1934. In a brief introduction the author analysed his observations on the ways the plots were circulated, variations depending upon the circumstances and the personality of the storyteller, shared some of his ideas for the first time applied to this field of scholarship. Besides that, A. A. Romaskevich contributed his materials to the “data bank” developed by Aarne-Andreev [8].

Meanwhile, as the amount of folk materials was growing, the need to put them into some system was becoming more and more urgent. In this connection different schemes were suggested by E. E. Bertels (1934), Yu. E. Borshevsky (1963), and I. S. Braginsky (1977). Their formal divisions into genres are, however, open to criticism, and have not yet been accepted by those who study folklore [9].

Not going into details, suffice it to say that each of the three prominent scholars distinguished folk story as an independent genre, no matter how different they defined it.

The author of this article felt the necessity to make definition of the genre of folk story when taking part in the

compiling of the complete Description of Persian and Tadjik manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies. This catalogue aimed at “demonstrating the significance of each manuscript and making this collection more accessible to a wider circle of specialists” [10].

It often turned to be not an easy task to specify the genre of many literary works. In the manuscripts these folk stories are defined as *hikāyats*, *qiṣṣa*, *dastān* (the story of a brick-maker in manuscripts B 256, No. 33, B 4496, No. 7, and B 254, No. 1 is presented as a *dastān*). In one case the story of Sulaymān and Simurgh (in prose) was called a *qaṣīd* (manuscript D 420, No. 2).

Considering the contents of the stories, there can be stories of everyday life, satire, lyric or romantic stories, fantasy, legendary, adventure and erotic stories. In scientific and popular literature they are called either novels (E. E. Bertels) or tales (many of the Russian translations are titled in this way), or fablio (S. F. Oldenburg). For convenience sake we use here general terms like “folk story” or “entertaining story”, or, which is most often used in Persian, *hikāyat*.

For a novel the stability of its title is characteristic — usually after the name of its hero. From the point of view of the way its plot is built a novel has much in common with a *hikāyat*, though it is two or three times larger in volume, with a more complicated plot and a greater number of personages. Often a frame-composition is used (subject-frame embracing inset stories). In our manuscripts these last ones are defined, as well as stories, as *dastāns*, *hikāyats* or *qiṣṣas*. However, the word *nāma* (literally — “narrative”) is applied only to novels or larger epic works, but not to stories: *Hikāyat-i Bakhtiyār* (manuscript C 1839), *Dastān-i Bakhtiyār* (manuscript B 4496, No. 18); *Bakhtiyār-nāma* (manuscript A 100).

There is a number of works of a “frontier” genre. Short stories or anecdotes — two or three folios — were not excluded from the Description if they were coming within a collection of stories. On the other hand, long narratives, like *Nūshāfarīn* were classified as novels and were not included into the Description, even though the distance separating an abridged version of a “novel” of this kind from expanded versions of the *Sayf al-Mulūk* type is insignificant, be it its volume or contents (in this case it was taken into account, to what genre the work in question was usually attributed in special literature).

Stories about Sulaymān, Jesus, the Seven Sleeping Youths of Ephesus, should have been, in fact, classified as legends; these, however, were circulated along with stories about *shāhs* (Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, ‘Abbās and other celebrities). In this quality they were included into authorised thematic collections like *Jawāmi’ al-hikāyat* by Muḥammad ‘Awfi (early 13th century). At that time, consequently, as well as in the 19th century (the time of our manuscripts) these legends were accepted as stories about real persons.

Dealing with such a flexible material as Persian folk tales, one cannot do without certain conventions. Besides the indefinite nature of the genre itself, both the titles of these works and the names of the heroes are changing from copy to copy. Thus in the story about a brick-maker the hero is called either Muḥammad Mū’min from Iṣfahān (B 256, No. 33), or Shāpūr from Kārzarūn (A 103), or Sālīḥ (B 4496, No. 7), or Mas’ūd from Fārs (B 254, No. 1).

The specifics of the genre made us introduce into the scheme of description certain changes and additions. Principally new was the approach to each story, no matter how short it was, as to an independent work with a bibliographic section attached to it. The absence of any author and the inconsistency of titles and heroes' names left the only possibility to identify a story — its plot. Therefore, each *hikāyat* (including inset frame-stories) was annotated, all the proper names and place-names being necessarily mentioned.

Entry “type-subject” introduced into the scheme of description indicated the place of the plot in the folklore of the peoples of the World (the usefulness of this was already evident to Romaskevich). Meanwhile the further division of plots into motifs, suggested by S. Thompson, was rejected — in a coded form the materials were becoming inaccessible to non-specialists. Entry “Compare” makes it possible to trace any changes of the plot in question during the last 150—200 years: some of the plots recorded in our manuscripts in the 18th—19th centuries continued to circulate in oral form, judging by the records made in the middle of the 20th century in Iran, Central Asia, Turkey, India and other countries of the region. Russian translations of Tadhik, Balochi, Kurdish, Persian, Indian and Turkish tales have been published [11].

Only two manuscripts of the collection we can surely date to the 17th century. These are MS D 352 copied in 1037/ 1627—1628 and MS C 1839 dated by the 12th of Šafar 1088/17 April 1677 [12]. There is a suggestion that the Indian manuscript B 256 was also made at the end of the 17th century. Other manuscripts containing folk tales and novels are of a later date — 18th—19th centuries. Coming from different parts of Asia, they outline the borders of the Persian-speaking world of the preceding period. Manuscripts containing *hikāyats* came to the Asiatic Museum mainly from Central Asia — from Bukhārā, Samarqand, Tashkent, Ūsh, Qoqand. There are five copies from Iran — from Shīrāz, Kāshān, from the region bordering upon Iraq; two manuscripts are from India; Kazan, Kāshghar and Northern Afghanistan (Balkh), each provided one manuscript.

The greater part of these manuscripts are written on Oriental paper (sometimes different sorts of paper are used in one volume), only the manuscript from Kazan formerly belonging to Ch. D. Fraehn and four brought from Iran are written on European paper. One manuscript from the collection of J. L. Rousseau (B 260) bears water mark “Z. Whatman”, one from the collection of V. A. Ivanov (B 254) — “1781”. V. V. Radloff's manuscript is written on paper of Russian manufacture with water mark “T. A. 1832”. For the exception of the Kazan manuscript and two manuscripts (C 1401 and A 762) from Ivanov's collection written in ink, in all other cases China ink with infrequent inclusions of cinnabar was used (C 126 — red cinnabar, C 1455 — crimson, C 809 — yellow ink).

Of the scripts the scribes gave preference to *nasta'liq* which was most widely used in all regions, especially its Central Asian version (more angular than its Iranian version). Individual features of handwriting can be traced in some manuscripts — clear *nasta'liq* (A 103, B 260), large (C 173), loose (A 762, C 1839), with elements of *shikasta* (C 3700, C 380, etc.). A special kind of *nasta'liq* current under the Great Moghuls (1526—1856) is characteristic of Indian manuscript B 256, the Kazan manuscript (B 264)

demonstrates a characteristic Tatar *nasta'liq* with elements of *naskh* and *shikasta*.

There are five cases when the names of copyists are mentioned. One Urganjī (*i. e.* born in Urgench) copied *Bakhtiyār-nāma* (A 100); Mīrzā ‘Abd al-Sām b. Mīrzā Pāyguzār Salīm-bāy — a long story about ‘Ādil-khān and four *darwishes* (B 2157); Mullā Ḥusayn Walad-i Mullā Sulaymān Khūqandī — the story of Sayf al-Mulūk (B 4495); Muḥammad Šādiq Walad-i Muḥammad Ḥasan — two stories about a thief and a judge and about Sīmurgh and Sulaymān (D 420); Mīrzā Muḥammad Walad-i Ḥājī Muḥammad Mashhadī — the story of a brick-maker and *Bakhtiyār-nāma* (B 254). In the last two cases the work was probably done by the order of some Europeans — on paper of European and Russian manufacture correspondingly. It should be also taken into account that the signature of Muḥammad Walad-i Ḥājī Muḥammad Mashhadī appears on folio 112b of the compound manuscript, while the stories start from folio 113a, *i. e.* the signature may refer to another work — a treatise on theology bound under one cover with the stories.

There are not many decorations in the manuscripts: coloured frames (C 809, D 352, D 420), floral designs (B 266, B 4471, C 380). Tinted paper and coloured speckles are used sometimes, giving more liveliness to the pages.

There are many marks and corrections, even children's drawings are present (C 126). Among additional inscriptions there are names of the former owners of manuscripts, some of them with dates: Mullā Ni'matjān Muḥammad-ūghlī, 1873 (in Uzbek, C 2038), Mullā Mas'ūd Firdaws (C 2419). Most of the manuscripts are defective, with lacunae, torn pages, dots, holes, damaged by worms, etc.

In several cases the manuscripts came to the Manuscript Department with missing or damaged covers — manuscripts B 3700, C 1202, B 4083, C 2159. Now only nine of the manuscripts in collection have their original bindings — A 100, A 762, A 254, C 1401, C 1839, C 2038, D 351, D 420, D 421. Most of them have characteristic Central Asian bindings — *muqawwā*. They were made of cardboard paper covered with glossy paper of different colours, with stamped medallions, frames, corner pieces and backs of textile or leather. One of the characteristic features of the *muqawwā* bindings is the relation of the sides — approximately 2 : 1. There is not only ordinary green *muqawwā* in the collection, but also of red, orange, tobacco cherry or blue colour. Stamped medallions sometimes contain the names of the binders: Muḥammad Sharīf (C 1640), in some cases with dates: Mīr ‘Ādil Khwāja 1275/1858—1859 (B 2180); Mīr Muḥammad 1263/1847 (C 809); sometimes with more expanded legends: “Made by the binder Yūsuf Khwāja 1254/1838—1839 (C 126); made by Mullā ‘Abd al-Qādir, the binder; there is even a kind of incantation: “1268/1851—1852, let everything end successfully”. Stamps on the binding of manuscript C 667 reflect the transferring of the book from one craftsman to another. One of its medallions runs: “O Allah! Safeguard Muḥammad Yūsuf, 1283/1866—1867”, another: “Binder Khwājī Qādir b. Khwājī Ibrāhīm Kāshgharī, 1288/1871—1872”. The binding of manuscript B 4471, besides the name of the binder — Mullā Ḥakīm b. Mullā Muḥammad Raḥīm, is covered with moral sentences. Some of them are almost erased, in some separate words only are legible. The surviving three sentences give some idea of their general style: “O Shah! Let you prosper a thousand years”, “There are thou-

sand hours in one day, there are thousand years in one hour”, “Do me a favour, bless my name”.

Some manuscripts contain one, two or even three separate stories which came there by pure chance — where there was some free space: on the margins (C 2447) or on free pages (C 380). Compound manuscript C 1401 contains a book of a smaller format with a story (there is also a treatise on medicine and fragments from Šūfī works, etc.).

Manuscript D 352 is arranged in a different way. There are two poems, *Sindbād-nāma* by Muḥammad al-Zahīri al-Samarqāndī and several other works of the same kind. The story of Tāhir from Baṣra organically fits into this collection of texts. Manuscript D 420 follows the same pattern, poetic works prevailing among the examples of fiction collected there. It is quite natural to find among them the story of a thief and a judge and of Sulaymān and Sīmurgh. Manuscript B 4471 — a collection of poetic works by different authors in Persian, Tadjik, and Uzbek — culminates in the story of Beauty and Love.

Some general idea is traceable in other convoluted manuscripts, even if it is not so evident there as in thematic collections of texts. Manuscript C 693 contains two stories — the story of Tamīm Anṣārī and the story of water-bearer Adham, which are close to the genre of “lives”. The same volume contains also a book on fortune-telling by the names of prophets, a dream-book, a book on letter-writing, verse, etc. The whole manuscript is executed after the same pattern. It is quite possible that it was made by some one's order; its contents even makes it possible to imagine, what kind of person its owner was. It could be a wealthy and religious man, who wished to have under one cover several works useful in the everyday life and at the same time entertaining.

One or two stories, making less than one tenth of the manuscript, only confirm the notion of a general idea cementing its different parts. If there are more stories, they become the compositional axis of the whole volume. In a small selection (C 2159) five short stories about Sulaymān are supplemented with comments on Qur'ānic sayings in Arabic. In spite of the difference in language it reflects the thematic uniformity of the manuscript. The same pattern is used in manuscript C 1455 containing five short stories about pious people. To make the collection more uniform the compiler of the volume shifted the emphasis of the first story: he removed its hero — 'Ādil-khān — to the second plan and stressed the social status of the *darwīshes*. Abstracts from hagiographic literature, “lives” of archangels Gabriel and Michael, Šūfī treatises, prayers and short works on theology and ethics were gently linked to the folk stories represented in the volume.

Cultural and aesthetic functions of folk stories are most fully embodied in volumes containing exclusively works of this genre. The best example of this are the interweaving and supplementing each other Central Asian copies B 4496, C 1640, C 2419 and C 809 made approximately at the same time and within the same region. The most voluminous — B 4496 — contains 18 works: 15 stories and 3 novels. It is very close to C 809 — the titles of the stories are the same, the text contains the same mistakes, the same words are written in cinnabar. C 809 is probably later than B 4496, consequently it could either be copied from the last one, or both manuscripts had the same protograph. Unfortunately, C 809 is incomplete — only the first four works are present there.

The connection between MSS C 2419 and C 1640 is confirmed by the similarity of the texts of three stories, which have the same omissions of words. The order of *hikāyats* is different, which makes us think that the two manuscripts had one protograph. The comparison of MSS C 1640 and C 2419 on one hand and MS B 4496 on the other gives the following results: 15 works in C 1640 have 7 parallels in B 4496, of 10 works of C 2419 only one corresponds to B 4496. If we compare B 4496, C 1640 and C 2419 with similar collections of stories in the libraries of Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan, we get a more detailed picture basing upon more than ten manuscripts [13]. It is suffice to mention that 12 plots of our B 4496 have all the 12 parallels in Tadj. 167, 9 parallels in Tadj. 141, 10 parallels in Uzb. 311 and 9 parallels in Uzb. 1469 [details on the MSS's call numbers see in note 13]. As a rule, the texts are very close, the titles and the names of heroes are the same. Coincidence may be traced: a group of seven stories in Uzb. 311 appears in the same order in Uzb. 1469, in the same way as C 809 partly copies B 4496, and C 2419 repeats the omissions and mistakes of C 1640.

B 4496 is a characteristic representative of the genre. We may even say that in the 19th century a group of stories close to the one we have in this collection was “circulated” in Central Asia (which is confirmed by the comparison of our C 809 with Tadjik and Uzbek manuscripts). B 4496 seems to have been made by a copyist. It is most likely that the text was dictated to him, since many mistakes characteristic of a not well educated Tadjik recording by ear can be noticed. The contents of B 4496 as an optimal variant for a middle-class reader and for mass declamations deserves more attention.

The most striking feature is the uniformity of the stories, most of them titled after the names of their heroes: *Hazār-Gīsū wa Muslim-shāh*, *Sulaymān wa Gulfām*, *Khujasta wa Māriyā*, etc. The plot of 10 stories is built after a scheme of four or five cardinal points: 1) the hero or heroine travel against their own will (as a rule, because of the sudden falling in love); 2) a series of adventures, including transformations; 3) actions of “assistants”, the indispensable personages of these stories; 4) additional difficulties, fulfilment of all conditions; 5) the happy end. The pattern is standard, even the plots are more or less similar, which is characteristic of Persian literature in general. What makes the stories entertaining are fantasy (wonderful salvation, healing, resurrection, finding of a magic item or assistant) and dynamic action (storm, combat with a monster, shipwreck, lightning-quick flight from one part of the earth to another). Some stories emphasise on details and episodes, rather than the main plot. Among the 15 stories of B 4496 two (5th and 15th) are actually just two versions of one and the same plot. They appear like two different *hikāyats* only due to some different episodes and different names of the personages. Sometimes one and the same motif appears in all possible forms. The theme of a prophetic or magic dream is especially important in B 4496 — the plot of every third story there is basing upon it. Stories collected in manuscript B 4496 present a reminiscence of folk literature of different historical periods. The most ancient stratum is reflected in the novels *Haft wazīr* and *Bakhtiyār-nāma*. Scholars think that their plots go back to Indian or to Pahlavi literature [14]. Several plots are known by the Arabic cycle “Thousand Nights and One Night”. In one of the stories, for the first time in the course of many years' work

over manuscripts from the collection, “the Kingdom of Kabūl” was mentioned. For an illiterate Tadjik or Uzbek this name could be in some way connected with real historical events — the victorious expedition of Timūrid Bābur to Kabūl and Delhi at the beginning of the 16th century and the foundation of the Empire of Great Moghuls. Up to the middle of the 19th century it nourished cultural relations between India and Central Asia. The growth of European influence in the East, not only political but cultural as well, finds reflection in fantastic stories involving “Frank” (*i. e.* European) princesses. The subjects of the stories collected in manuscript B 4496 remained popular and continued to circulate in oral form in the 20th century. It is confirmed by records made by N. P. Ostroumov, A. A. Romaskevich, the Lorimers and other folklorists [15].

Manuscripts C 1640 and C 2419 attract our attention, because the name of their compiler is mentioned there. “O Allah! In the full extent of your mercy and compassion and by the wisdom of your existence bring to the goal of both worlds this unhappy and miserable Qārī Šādiq and all faithful Muslims and Muslim women” — is written on folio 10b of C 1640. Some other sayings which occur in the text, like “Told the truth and gave his soul” (fol. 191b) or “Punish or reward, as you wish” (fol. 200a) also belong to Qārī Šādiq. In the fifth volume of “The Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences”, under No. 3702 there is some “Collection of Anecdotes” copied by one Qārī Raḥmatallāh Wādiḥ [16]. It is difficult, however, to say something definite about this Qārī (or these Qārīs) before we compare their handwriting.

The stories included into C 1640 are typologically close to those in B 4496; almost half of them are textual parallels. Noteworthy is the replacement of the name of the sovereign in the 10th story of this manuscript. Its plot — about a faithful friend — is known by the “Thousand Nights and One Night”, but in our variant Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (A.H. 786—809) is replaced by Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī (A.H. 997—1030). His name appears in all the five Tadjik and Uzbek parallels we managed to find. It points to an old, probably several centuries long East-Iranian tradition behind this version. The main part of C 1640, about three quarters, is made by four novels. Two of them, about Mihr and Māh and about Ḥātam Ṭāy, are well-known by Tadjik and Uzbek parallels, though in our collection they are present only in manuscript C 1640. Taken together, the novels fully enough characterise the genre and composition of this kind of folk literature.

Manuscript C 2419 starts with the compiler's introduction praising Allah, the prophets and all other Muslim saints — which is characteristic of works on history or major literary works, but not of collections of stories. We may suggest three ideas in this connection. First of all, it could be a manifestation of its proximity, even of imitativeness, to manuscript C 1640. Second, the collection opens with the novel *Shīrḥād wa Gulshād*. Unlike other folk novels, it exists in a single version. Its refined narrative, plenty of verse in the text and especially a reference to Iṣfahān as the capital (from 1598) makes us date the work to the 17th—18th centuries. The author of this literary version is unknown, but he doubtless existed in the comparatively recent past [17]. The composition was, consequently, accepted as a literary work, so it was appropriate to provide it with a foreword. Third, we can not exclude, that the

compiler wanted to attract attention to his part in assembling this unusual collection of stories (7 of the 8 stories of C 2419 stand outside the usual circle of tales popular in Bukhārā, almost half of them are “framed” narratives).

The compiler of C 2419 makes one of the heroes not a Rūmī, as he is called in other manuscripts of our collection, but a native of Marw, which is more in conformity with the geographical environment of the story mentioning Balkh, Qandahār, Nishāpūr and other cities well known to the natives of Central Asia.

A rather special manuscript from East Turkestan — A 103 — came to our collection in 1909. The parcel sent by the Russian consul in Kāshghar N. F. Petrovsky included 29 volumes. A 103 was probably in a very bad condition before restoration. Some of the leaves fell out. It is also evident that folios 67, 68, 253, 260, 309, etc. were inserted after the main text. Some of the leaves stuck together. That is probably why K. G. Salemann, the chief keeper of the Asiatic Museum and a great expert in Islamic manuscripts, registered A 103 as “a collection of 15 stories” [18], while actually there are 18 stories (this error was corrected in 1964). The manuscript most likely had a leather binding, as well as other manuscripts which came in the same parcel. Their paper, script, size, the number of lines per page were almost the same. N. D. Mikluho-Maklay, who described the manuscripts, states that they had “Oriental bindings of cardboard paper covered with stamped leather” [19]. The cover of A 103 was probably so damaged that in 1954 they had to give it a new binding. Characteristic is the format of the binding — the relation of its sides is, unlike *muqawwā*, 3 : 2.

A 103 is unique, because it includes only *hikāyats*. They are almost of the same length — around 20 leaves in a small-size volume (text 14.5 × 7 cm, 13 lines, written in clear *nasta'liq*). There are not many parallels to the stories it contains in the Central Asian manuscripts of our collection (B 4496, C 1640, C 2419), while Tadjh. 141 provides 13 parallels and Tadjh. 167 — 16. Five stories in A 103 not only coincide but even follow in the same order as in Uzb. 3675 and Uzb. 4484. The following observations were made by the comparison of A 103 with Uzb. 3985.

A 103 includes 18 stories, Uzb. 3985 — 17 stories following in the same order. There is only one story in A 103 (the third one), which is missing in Uzb. 3985 — a short anecdote about a misunderstanding between a man and his wife. The fourth story in A 103 has no title, it starts with the words: “The third story. They say that in the city of Baghdad ...”, *i. e.* the anecdote mentioned above was not taken into account by the copyist who usually did his work rather mechanically. It means that initially there was no anecdote in A 103, which included 17 stories like Uzb. 3985. In this way we discovered two identical collections of stories. The presence of identical collections of stories has never so far been recorded in catalogues or known to students of folklore. One can conclude that not only single *hikāyats* or small groups of them were circulated, but whole collections of them, accepted as real artistic works in their compositional unity.

The contents of A 103 appears at first to be not much different from the contents of our Central Asian manuscripts. Most *hikāyats* tell about different adventures of their heroes. There are, however, some important differences. Fantasy, the core of Central Asian stories, is almost missing or auxiliary in the manuscript. The flying trunk in

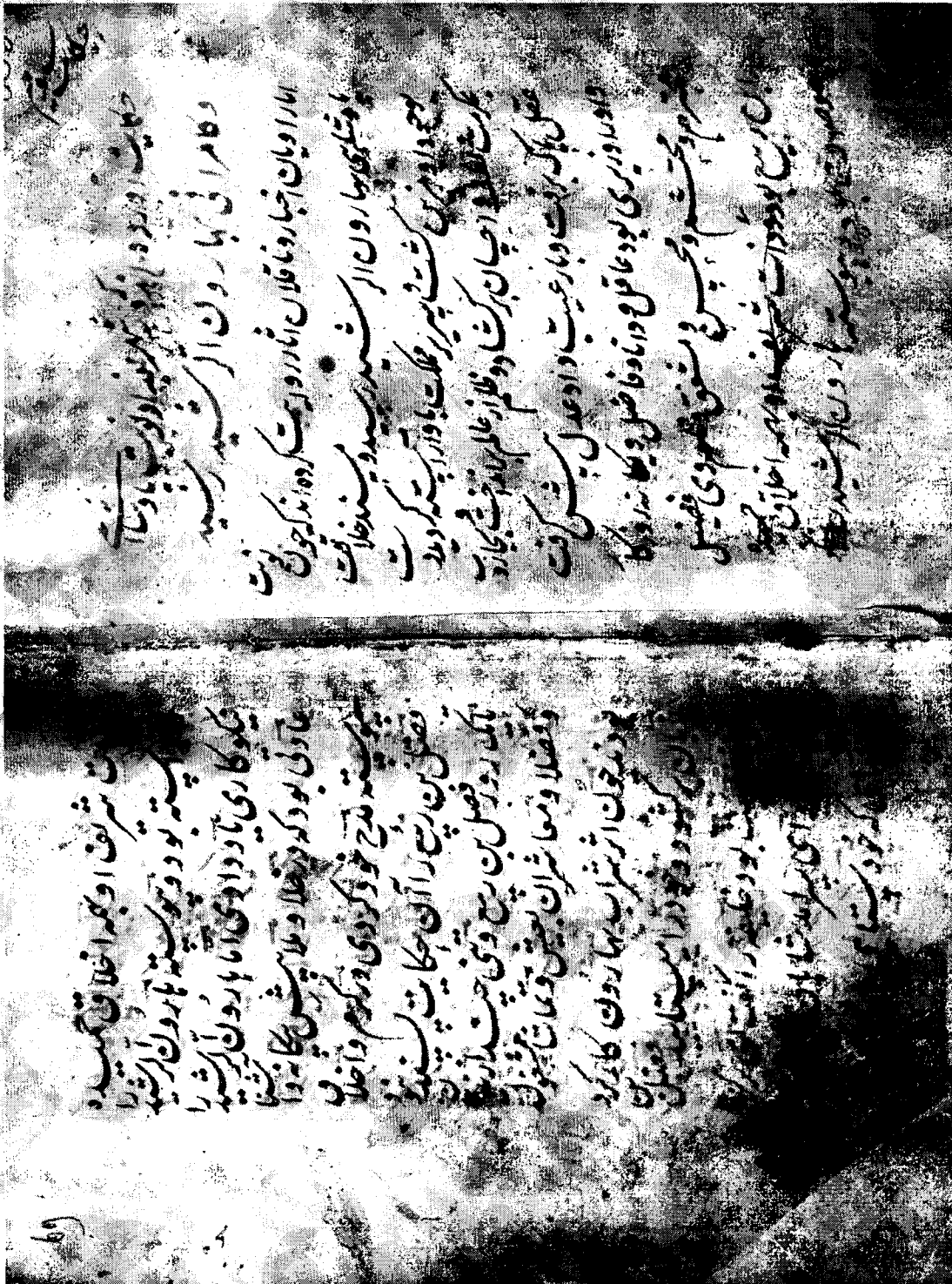


Fig. 1

the 13th story of A 103 is not the axis of the plot, its loss even makes the hero happy. The *pari* from the 5th story is made of moon light, she does not eat and drink, but like a mortal woman she can love and suffer, be jealous. She gives birth to a son who is half man, half *pari*. In the story of Khudādād and his 99 brothers fantasy is required only for the happy end, where “evil is punished, and righteousness is triumphant” (the 9th story). The events take place not in fantastic lands but in real life. Noteworthy is the belief in the righteous king. In the epilogue the representative of the supreme authority is giving their due to all villains, a whole gallery of them: viziers, judges, governor, market authority, lawyer, etc. While in Central Asian stories the heroes are usually princes or princesses, in A 103 they are often commoners, cunning or lucky people, often craftsmen — weavers, carpenters, brick-makers, builders, jewelers. Heroines of A 103 are enterprising and faithful, but if circumstances demand they can be vengeful and treacherous.

The geography of A 103 is also different. Of place-names close to Central Asian only Balkh and Khorasan are mentioned. Most of them go back to the “Thousand Nights and One Night” — Baṣra, Baghdād, Mawṣil, Miṣr, Maghrib; purely Iranian — Shīrāz, Fārs, Bām, Kirmān. The course taken by the hero of the 11th story: Daryābār, the Oman Sea, Chīn, Hindūstān, Zangibār, Farang, Rūm, Shām, Maghrib — outline the real medieval sea-route through the Mediterranean, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

The geographic range of the manuscript, its decorative style, its Persian language with no traces of Tadjik dialect conforms that A 103, even if created in Central Asia, was made not in the local Bukhārā traditions but in East-Iranian, characteristic of C 1640 considered above, where the name of Hārūn al-Rashīd is replaced by that of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. A 103 can be dated to the 18th century, but the roots of the *hikāyats* collected there go back to an earlier period, the time when Iran and Central Asia were one whole, with Persian language and Iranian culture dominating the whole region. The town of Kāshghar, whence from manuscript A 103 originates, remained in the 17th century a transitional point on the trade route from Central Asia to the Far east. Caravan routes were also connecting Kāshghar through Balkh and Iṣfahān with the Persian Gulf. Trade connections developed along with cultural exchange. The compiler of A 103 (or of its protograph) selected of the fund of *hikāyats* circulating in the area between Asia Minor and India 17 stories most popular among tradesmen and craftsmen. What unites them is the female theme: at least 14 *hikāyats* of the collection should be considered from this point of view. It was enough to turn the collection of stories into a single whole. The composition of the manuscript also adds to this impression of unity: a calm narrative comes after a dynamic plot, a playful joke is followed by contemplation on the essence of life; the volume terminates in the theme of destiny. The harmony of manuscript A 103 makes it distinct from all other collections of stories preserved in the funds of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

#### Notes

1. Arkhiv vostokovedov (The archives of orientologists of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies), fund 18, list 1, item 14, fol. 3.
2. *Persidskie i tadjikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR. Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog* (Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Concise Alphabetic Catalogue). Pt. II. Indexes and supplements (Moscow, 1964), pp. 144—5.
3. V. A. Zhukovskii, “Persidskaia versiiia “Shemiakina suda”” (“The Persian version of “Shemyakin Court of Law””), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, V (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 157—78.
4. S. F. Ol'denburg, “Shemiakin sud” (“Shemyakin Court of Law”), *Zhivaia Starina*, vol. I, fasc. 3 (1891), pp. 183—5.
5. S. F. Ol'denburg, “O persidskoii prozaicheskoi versii “Knigi Sindbada”” (“On the Persian version of *Sindbad-nāma*”), *Al-Muzaffariya* (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 253—4, 276—8.
6. S. F. Ol'denburg, “Fablo vostochnogo proiskhozhdeniia. III. Constant du Hamel” (“Fablo of the Oriental origin. III. Constant du Hamel”), *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia*, New Series, No. 5 (1907), section 2, pp. 46—82.
7. A. A. Romaskevich, “Persidskie versii fablo Constant du Hamel” (“Persian versions of the fablio Constant du Hamel”), *Sbornik v chest' akademika S. F. Ol'denburga* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 443—50.
8. *Persidskie narodnye skazki* (Persian Folk Tales). Selection, translation, notes and introduction by A. A. Romaskevich (Moscow—Leningrad, 1934); A. Aarne, *The Types of the Folk-Tale* (Helsinki, 1928); N. P. Andreev, *Ukazatel' skazochnykh siuzhetov po sisteme Aarne* (Index of Folk-Tale Subjects after the System of Aarne) (Leningrad, 1929).
9. E. E. Bertel's, “Persidskaia “lubochnaia” literatura” (Persian “Lubok” Literature). *Sbornik v chest' akademika S. F. Oldenburga*, pp. 83—93; Yu. E. Borshchevskii, “Persidskaia narodnaia literatura” (“Persian Folk Literature”), *Plutovka iz Bagdada* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 5—26; I. S. Braginskii, “Ob “Iranskoii skazochnoi entsiklopedii”” (“On “Iranian Fairy-Tale Encyclopaedia””), *Iranian Fairy-Tale Encyclopaedia* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 5—15.
10. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadjikskikh i persidskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Tadjik and Persian Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1955).
11. N. N. Tumanovich, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadjikskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 6. Folklore: Entertaining Stories and Novels (Moscow, 1981); S. Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (Copenhagen, 1955—1958), i—vi.
12. The earliest date occurring in the manuscripts is 977/1569—1570 in manuscript C 380 containing two stories. Not these, however, are dated, but a historical treatise occupying the main part of the volume. In compound manuscript A 860 there are dates 994/1585—1586 and 998/1589—1590, but they also refer to other works (there are 14 of them), but not to the story of Anūshīrwān.
13. We have a description of manuscripts in the Tadjik library named after Firdawsī: call number 167, of the Tadjik Academy of Sciences, call number 141 (made by Yu. Salimov) and of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, call numbers 310, 311, 312, 1469, 3534, 3676, 3985, 4654 (made by Yu. Borschevsky).



14. On the bibliography of the novels see N. N. Tumanovich, *Opisanie*, pp. 114, 109.

15. See *Persidskie narodnye skazki*, note 8; N. P. Ostroumov, *Skazki sartov v russkom izlozhenii* (Sart Tales in Russian Rendering) (Tashkent, 1906); also see *Persian Tales*, trans. by Lorimer (London, 1919).

16. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (The Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1960), v, p. 150, No. 3702.

17. The copy of *Shīrẓād wa Gulshād*, after which the English translation was made, contains no verse. There are also textual differences, see *The Palace of Nine Pavilions, The Three Dervishes and Other Persian Tales and Legends*, transl. by R. Levy (Oxford, 1926).

18. K. G. Saleman, "Musul'manskie rukopisi vnov' postupivshie v Aziatskii Muzei v 1909—1910 gg." ("Muslim manuscripts recently acquired by the Asiatic Museum in 1909—1910"), *Izvestiia Impatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk*, Series VI, vol. V (1911), p. 255, No. 61.

19. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadjhikskikh i persidskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Tadjhik and Persian Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 2. Biographies (Moscow, 1961), Nos. 196, 197, 202, etc.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** *Jāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, a manuscript from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection (call number A 103), 18th century. The fourth\* chapter entitled *Ḥikāyat-i Hārūn al-Rashīd wa wazīr-i ū Fadl ibn Rabī' wa Abū'l-Qāsim Baṣrī*, fols. 68b—69a, 11.5 × 17.5 cm.

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\* The copyist of the manuscript has mistakenly enumerated the fourth chapter as the third one.