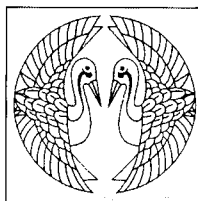


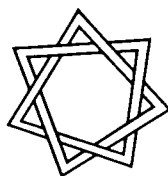
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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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THE *ṬŪṬĪ-NĀMA* AND THE PREDECESSOR OF NAKHSHABĪ: ON THE QUESTION OF INDO-IRANIAN CULTURAL LINKS

It is known that *Ḍiyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī*, the author of extremely popular *ṬŪṬĪ-nāma*, who was born in Nakhshab, as his *nisba* tells, moved in his youth to the city of Badāwūn in India. There, in 730/1329—30, he completed a work which he called the *Ḥikāyat al-dirāyat* (“Tale of Acumen”). As it happened, the author's title did not take hold, and the work was fated to gain fame and spread across the

Muslim East under the popular, if less elegant, title *ṬŪṬĪ-nāma*, the “Book of the Parrot” [1].

Interest in this work, which tells of the tricks and intrigues of women, their craftiness and cunning was great and remained unchanged as the centuries passed [2]. Nakhshabī himself explains the reasons which spurred him to take up the *qalam* and create his work as follows:

“I was once telling a story of love from the time of my youth, a tale of grief which captivates [my] heart from the time of early youth, when one grandee said to me: ‘Not long ago, a book which contains 52 stories was translated from one language to another, from the Indian language to the Persian language. In this [translation], the steed of speech was let loose in the field of prolixity and the exposition was granted excessive length. The basic demands of good taste and elegance were not observed in full. The beginnings and endings of the stories were moved about and omitted. The compiler treated all rules of elegance with utter disregard; thus, the reader cannot attain his aim in reading — that is, pleasure. And from the listener escapes that delight for which he strives. If you took this work, which is from among the Indian books, and laid it out in an abbreviated edition, in a coherent re-working, if you gave it worthy form and put it in fitting order, then the readers and listeners of this work would have to consider themselves immeasurably indebted to you ...’ I quickly obeyed the order of this grandee, who commanded my heart, and submitted to his will, which my soul accepts. And although it was said on the matter of eloquence that excessively long speech should be abbreviated while too short speech should be extended, the words of this servant are not so artless and prolix that the grandee should refuse to read them, or so artful and terse that the simple people should not wish to hear them out. No, I have followed the command to choose the middle road, for the Prophet — may peace be upon Him — uttered: ‘The middle is the best of all matters’.

I drew up 52 stories in a new version; I composed new parables and tales. If the stories lacked coherence, I gave them coherence. I adorned and varied the introductions and conclusions of each one. Certain tasteless tales I replaced with others, thus embellishing by my hand this paradisiacal bride of elegance, this matron on the throne of wit, in order to gladden the lords of the art of speech” [3].

The following moments draw our special attention in the passage from Nakhshabī cited above: (i) before Nakhshabī, a translation into Persian was made of a certain book “from among the Indian books”; (ii) this translation contained 52 *dāstāns*; (iii) Nakhshabī did not indicate the name of the author-translator in his foreword; (iv) Nakhshabī altered the work of his predecessor, retaining the number of *dāstāns*, but abbreviating them substantially (writing new ones to replace those he had excluded and changing the introductions and conclusions of the tales which frame each night). We do not, however, find in Nakhshabī's text anything to indicate that he “re-worked it in accordance with the Indian sources” [4].

It is surprising that only W. Pertsch took seriously the remarks of Nakhshabī cited above, where the latter notes that he “drew up 52 stories in a new version”, adding significant authorial revisions to a translation made by an unknown individual not long before him [5]. Nearly all other specialists, with the exception of A. Alimardonov,

who were examining Nakhshabī's work before and after W. Pertsch's research, considered Nakhshabī's *ṬŪṬĪ-nāma* to be a direct Persian translation from Sanskrit or Hindi of an extant Indian collection of stories, the *Śukasaptati*, for example. They regarded Nakhshabī to be the first translator to undertake this work [6].

One can explain this fact by supposing that they evidently viewed Nakhshabī's remarks simply as a literary device intended to intrigue the reader and excite in him interest in the text. But the matter is that Nakhshabī had no need to resort to such a device, as such a translation already existed, in fact. It may be said that all subsequent versions [7] and translations [8] of the *ṬŪṬĪ-nāma* can be traced to this original translation. It suffered a difficult fate: it seems that, not long after [9], Nakhshabī's masterfully reworked version, the famed *ṬŪṬĪ-nāma*, a work which met the literary tastes and standards of its time, displaced the basic translation and the latter was in fact forgotten by succeeding generations. But the first translation

did survive, and, contrary to established opinion [10], has been preserved up to the present.

In 1973, Shams al-Dīn Āl-i Aḥmad published in Tehran the text of the “Book of the Parrot. Gems of Nocturnal Conversations” [11] on the base of the only currently known fourteenth-century manuscript of the work. The work was compiled in India by a certain ‘Imād b. Muḥammad al-Na‘rī [12] and was dedicated and presented to the Delhi Sultan, ‘Ala al-Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān (695—715/1296—1316), of the Khaljī dynasty. Although the exact date of its composition is unknown, according to ‘Imād b. Muḥammad, when his friends began to berate him for his leaving court service, “which is [his] legacy, passed on from the fathers and the grandfathers”, the Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad had been ruling for 17—18 years [13]. This outlines the period in which the *Jawāhir al-asmār* was composed with a good degree of precision: 713—715/1313—1316 [14].

The scant information we possess about the author is found only in his own work [15]; the publisher has scrupulously gathered all of it and summed it up in his Foreword [16]. Referring those interested to this section of the Foreword, we note that we do not know when and where ‘Imād b. Muḥammad was born in India. We can only suggest that, in all likelihood, he was born into a family of *dabīrs* of middle means, hereditary state officials, as were

his grandfather, father, and brother [17]. To take possession of this family occupation, he would have studied a number of disciplines, which were necessary for each professionally educated *dabīr*. No doubt, to become a master in the craft, he would have constantly sought contact with the best-known specialists and experts of the secretarial arts. As his friends remarked, he was frequently contenting himself “with a dry flat cake and a sip of hot water” [18]. Anyway, he received an excellent education which *Jawāhir al-asmār* testifies. The work demonstrates a profound knowledge of the Qur’ān and *ḥadīths*, as well as the complex of Qur’ānic disciplines connected with them, a fluent command of Persian poetry (Anwarī, Khāqānī, Niẓāmī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Sa’dī, and others). Nor was he a newcomer to Arabic literature, and moved with assured ease through questions of rhetoric and style, ethics, poetics, history, literature, music and astrology. Finally, he was undoubtedly familiar with the languages of India. In a word, when it came time to show his worth, he wrote, at the urging of his friends, “this sewn-together book, which is a translation, as a gift for the book collection of His Majesty, [who is] worthy of [the title of] caliph” [19].

‘Imād b. Muḥammad describes as follows how the idea of writing *Jawāhir al-asmār* came to him:

“As attention to stories, legends, tales, and narrations is the full striving and true desire of listeners of refined nature and subtle intellect, ever have the caliphs and sultans, the wise men and advisers of the epoch — be they in their elite circles or in larger society — practised widely the reading of tales and followed the custom of telling stories. This regards especially listening to those tales clothed in clear expressions and expressive similes, adorned with purest jewels of citations from the Qur’ān and sayings of the Prophet, interspersed with Arabic and Persian verses, edifying parables and examples which awaken thought. Of these there should unquestionably be more. This is especially attractive when the tales are conveyed by wild beasts and birds, representatives of the animal world and world of gems, for the retaining of these in [our] memory is not a difficult [task] and listening to them is no boredom. In this case, the hidden meaning of allusion, contained in the story, is understood and its [real] aim is revealed. It is precisely for this reason that in every age each of the acknowledged sages of [his] time translated from the Indian language some book, dedicating [it] to his ruler and benefactor, in order to rise above his equals and those who stand beneath him and gain glory among his colleagues and friends. This scroll he would surrender to the collection of his ruler or the *amīr* of that time and [in doing this] he preserved his name until the end of time and intersection of the days. [This happened] with the books *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *Sindbād*, *Naḥḥat al-Rayḥān* [20] and others like them. In the happy time of such a ruler and during the reign and rule of such a sovereign, when the fine arts enjoy demand as [does] the philosopher’s stone, and when people strive for knowledge as though it were a lovers’ rendezvous, [this] humble one thought to translate from the Indian language some book (*daftar*) and to elevate its beginning and end, its foreword and heading, its contents and sections with the name and titles of His Most August Majesty, to glorify and to bedeck it in [the words of] his deeds and actions. As this book is for the reason ... [21], the name and title of His Majesty — may he be ever happy and may greatness and glory accompany him — shall remain forever. It is then possible that the name of this servant, like the names of Rūdakī and Ḥassan [22], will be preserved and that its trace on the scrolls of time will not vanish at once and be lost.

In short, with this intention I looked through the books of the Hindus and surveyed their tales and stories. But none of them awakened interest in the heart of this humble one, and his imperfect soul recognised nothing as worthy. If I found the beginning of one firm and well-founded, then [unfortunately] its end turned out to weak and ill-founded. If the end of another was attractive and interesting, then its beginning brought no joy. Now [finally], after much searching and seeking and countless investigations and efforts, I have found a book, the beginning of which is the envy of [all] collections of stories. It was constructed in the necessary fashion, contained 72 stories, was composed from the words of a parrot. And its contents are as follows: A parrot and *sharak* [23] lived in the home of a certain merchant. Before departing on commercial and trade journeys, he would usually order the woman of the house not to do or undertake anything without the advice and consent of these birds, be it something righteous or unpure. He strictly observed this rule with his young wife.

Once, the merchant was forced to tarry in his travels, and [his] wife was overcome by love for a certain youth. She promised this friend of her heart [a meeting] at night, that is, when the celestial barber lets dark curls flow across the cheeks of the world and [then] the beauty, like the moon, will ascend to the youth’s dwelling. In a word, when night came, the beauty at first sought approval in this from the *sharak*. The unfortunate *sharak* unwisely began to give honest advice and took to admonishing her. These efforts were not to the liking of the young woman, seized by amorous ardour. She threw the *sharak* to the ground and turned to the parrot. The parrot, witness to what had just occurred, realised that if he were to give honest advice, what had befallen the *sharak* would surely befall him. But if he refrained, the master’s wife would sink into dishonour. With delicate device and refined words he made [as though] to encourage and convince [her] to commit this deed, showing himself to be her well-wisher. In doing so, he thus constructed each tale throughout the night so that the captivating young woman, carried away by the story, [involuntarily] was restrained from sin.

Thus, every night the attraction to the youth arose [in her] and the fire of that temptation blazed up. The merchant’s wife would approach the parrot for advice and permission and be so carried away by stories and tales and thus follow along the path of advice and instruction that the night would end in mutual conversation, and the beauty would return to her chambers when it was [already] morning.

[And thus did it continue], until 72 nights later the merchant returned, learned of the secret, praised the wisdom of the parrot, gave due recognition to his abilities, grieved for the dead *sharak* and shed hot tears over it.

In short, when this miserable servant carefully measured the vivacity of temperament and elevation of conception in those 72 tales and examined their beginnings and endings, [their] form at first seemed to him lovely. He wished to garb this very collection in the clothes of the Persian language, and adorn [its] neck and ears with gems of similes. But when I gazed more attentively and with the eye of experience espied the figure and contours of that which I had not understood, I discovered [it] to be devoid of the jewels of wise utterances and the better part of useful advice. I also saw that the gems of moral teaching and precious stones of edification were absent in it. As concerns those refined and original tales in it, they were all [included] in the Persian *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and *Sindbād*. These [works] are themselves in circulation and are widely known. Other tales were exclusively indecent and vile and are not meet and fitting for [the reading of] rulers. How could I present [them], especially to His Majesty the ruler? Only a few of the stories were somewhat better than the rest. They were copied. The remaining stories, unusual and surprising, were gathered from Indian books and other sources, and for the most part copied from the Indian *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, which has not been translated into Persian [24]. As a result, the form of the fables and frame of the tales became firm; most likely, firmer than it had been. And the gold of the phrases was poured [once again] into the same crucible from which it been earlier extracted that it might become purer and free from all admixtures. The charms of the parrot were recorded, as were the engaging tales with which he, employing all possible cunning and trickery, restrained the merchant's young wife and did not allow [her] to depart for her beloved. These stories, both prolix and brief, both long and short, are 52 in number. The translation was titled "Gems of Nocturnal Conversation". The table of contents was written with the praise and glorification of Iskandar of [this] time. Just as [we] refrained from using crude expressions and unintelligible words, so did we avoid [writing in] purest Persian, having chosen as [our] guide the wise saying of the Prophet: 'The best of things is their middle'.

By the will of Allah the Highest and His easing mercy!" [25].

Summing up the preceding passage from 'Imād b. Muḥammad, we note: (i) the author discovered a collection, the name of which he does not cite, which consisted of 72 tales (nights) told by a parrot; (ii) the collection was written in "Indian" (Sanskrit?); (iii) having translated this collection in full, the author chose from it only a part of the stories and added translations from other Indian books, mainly from the Indian *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (the work at that time was unknown in Persian translation), which makes us conclude that this collection was not a translation of any single work, but was composed of fragments from several Indian books; (iv) the book compiled by the author as a result contained 52 *dāstāns* (nights) and was called by him

Jawāhir al-asmār; (v) in the Muslim states of Northern India, translation from Indian (Sanskrit?) into Persian was rather common.

In comparing 'Imād b. Muḥammad's information with that provided by Nakshabī, the question arises whether his work is the same as that which was compiled by Nakshabī? To answer this question, it would be useful to present a translation of tales' titles in the two texts in the order in which they appear in the copy of *Ṭūṭī-nāma* by Nakshabī (MS C 121 in the collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) and in the 1973 Tehran edition of *Jawāhir al-asmār*.

Jawāhir al-asmār

1. Tale of the usurer, his wife, and of how his wife plucked the parrot (the first night, p. 37).
2. Tale of the ruler of Khūzistān and a warrior whom they called Jānbāz (the second night, p. 47).
3. Tale of the goldsmith and the carpenter, of how they got into the temple and stole the golden idols, how the goldsmith hid them, and how the carpenter hid the goldsmith's children and how he returned them to the goldsmith (the third night, p. 59).
4. Tale of the warrior, his virtuous wife and of how she gave a bouquet of flowers to her husband (the fourth night, p. 69).
5. Tale of the king Kāmrū, the parrot-healer and of how he treated the body of the king Kāmrū (the fifth night, p. 81).
6. Tale of the carpenter, the goldsmith, the hermit and the tailor, of the wooden sculpture, and of their quarrel on its account (the sixth night, p. 95).
7. Tale of the ruler Bhoj-Rāja, the daughter of the king of the *jinns*, the well and a man in love (the seventh night, p. 107).
8. Tale of the ruler of Syria and the parrot, of how he set the parrot free and how it brought him the fruit of life from the country of Darkness (the eighth night, p. 119).

Ṭūṭī-nāma

1. Tale of Maymūn and Khujasta and of how the parrot told a story of a merchant's parrot and wife (the first night, fol. 5b).
2. Tale of the ruler of Ṭabaristān and the body-guard and of how he sacrificed his son to a specter of the life of the ruler (the second night, fol. 12b).
3. Tale of the goldsmith and the carpenter, of how they carried off the golden idols, how the goldsmith stole them and of the carpenter's cunning (the third night, fol. 17a).
4. Tale of the warrior, his virtuous wife and of how she gave a bouquet of flowers to her husband, how the bouquet remained fresh, and the son of the *amīr* [was] shamed (the fourth night, fol. 25b).
5. Tale of the king Kāmrū, of how a parrot treated him and how the treatment was half-completed (the fifth night, fol. 31b).
6. Tale of the hermit, the carpenter, the goldsmith, and the tailor and of how they fell in love with a wooden figurine and sought justice beneath a tree (the sixth night, fol. 36b).
7. Tale of the king of kings, of the elder in love and of how the ruler wanted to sacrifice his life for the sake of the *darwīsh* who was in love with the daughter of the king of *jinns* (the seventh night, fol. 41a).
8. Tale of the ruler's son, the seven viziers, and the misfortune which befell him on account of the servant-girl (the eighth night, fol. 46b).

9. Tale of the vizier's son, the merchant and of how a wooden parrot spoke with people (the ninth night, p. 131).
10. Tale of the ruler Bhoj-Rāja, of the hospitality of his sons and of how the sea came to [their] feast (the tenth night, p. 137).
11. Tale of the sweeper and of how he found a valuable jewel in the dust and how his companions stole it (the eleventh night, p. 151).
12. Tale of how 80 scholars gathered and how they recognized the natural qualities of the son of the *amīr* of Iṣfahān on the threshold of childhood (the twelfth night, p. 167).
13. [Tale of] how the parrot explained the fundamentals of music and the qualities of musical instruments (the thirteenth night, p. 173).
14. Tale of the ferocious lion, of the sentry-cat, and of how bravely the mice conducted themselves with the lion, of how the kitten killed the mice and of his repentance (the fourteenth night, p. 181).
15. Tale of the ugliness of Banāris, the ruler's son, of the beauty of his young wife and how she fell in love with a young scoundrel and took up with him, how the young scoundrel stole her expensive garments on the bank of the river and her conversation with the jackal (the fifteenth night, p. 193).
16. Tale of the merchant Maṣṣūr, his journey and how someone in his guise came to his wife and of the virtue of Maṣṣūr's wife (the sixteenth night, p. 211).
17. Tale of the son of the Zābulistān *amīr* and of how he bought a lucky augury from the Brahmin, how the woman, snake and frog appeared, and the *amīr*'s son saved the frog from the snake and how they rewarded him with a good turn (the seventeenth night, p. 223).
18. Tale of the ruler's peacock and of how the Brahmin's wife killed that peacock (the eighteenth night, p. 237).
19. Tale of the hermit's daughter and of how three men wooed her and how she died on her wedding night (the nineteenth night, p. 247).
20. Tale of the lion and his four viziers: the peacock, the partridge, the raven and the jackal (the twentieth night, p. 257).
21. Tale of how [the wife of the *amīr*] saw a narcissus, how the roasted bird laughed because of this and how Gulkhandān, the table-companion of the *amīr*, laughed mightily in prison (the twenty-first night, p. 267).
22. Tale of Bakrmaḡhār's ruler, his wife Kāmjūy, and of how the fish laughed in her presence, how the child Māshālla, born without a father, explained the fish's laughter, and of the murder of 84 men (the twenty-second night, p. 281).
23. Tale of the ruler Jāmāsb, his wife Māhnūsh and of how the parrot and the jackal discussed in their presence the virtues and flaws of men and women (the twenty-third night, p. 295).
24. Tale of the two demons of the desert and of how each of them praised to the other his own wife and how the thief resolved their quarrel (the twenty-fourth night, p. 309).
25. Tale of Shāpūr, *amīr* of the frogs, his sworn brotherhood with the snake, of the victory won by Shāpūr's kin over him, and of his vengeance with the aid of the snake (the twenty-fifth night, p. 317).
9. Tale of the son of the Zāvul *amīr* and of how he bought a good augury, how he saved the frog from the snake and how the frog and the snake proved their loyalty to him (the ninth night, fol. 59a).
10. Tale of the vizier's son, the merchant, the monk and their wives and of how the wooden parrot spoke (the tenth night, fol. 64b).
11. Tale of the sweeper who took oil from the pot and gold from the dust and of how he found a valuable jewel, how his companions stole it, and how the daughter of Bhoj-Rāja returned [it] (the eleventh night, fol. 70a).
12. Tale of the merchant and his wife, Shahr-Ārāy, and how fear of her husband caused her to speak out in the presence of her beloved (the twelfth night, fol. 76a).
13. Tale of the ruler's peacock and of how the Brahmin's wife was accused by her adopted sister of killing the peacock and of the ruse which the Brahmin's wife employed (the thirteenth night, fol. 80a).
14. Tale of the hermit's daughter and of her three husbands, of how she was buried and how [her] husbands took her from the grave and how she came back to life (the fourteenth night, fol. 84a).
15. Tale of the false husband, the chastity of the wife of the merchant Maṣṣūr and of the dishonour which befell the false husband (the fifteenth night, fol. 88a).
16. Tale of the ruler of Syria and of how he released the parrot and how the parrot brought him the fruit of life from the source of Darkness (the sixteenth night, fol. 93a).
17. Tale of the ruler's good deed and how the sea came to his feast and brought gifts and how the ruler gave them to the Brahmin (the seventeenth night, fol. 98a).
18. Tale of the gathering of 80 scholars and of how they studied the natural qualities of the ruler's son by playing on musical instruments (the eighteenth night, fol. 104a).
19. Tale of the origin of music, the qualities of musical instruments and of how they were invented and used (the nineteenth night, fol. 108a).
20. Tale of the lion and the cat and of how the kitten killed the mice and later repented of this (the twentieth night, fol. 112a).
21. Tale of the ugliness of Banāris, the ruler's son, of the beauty of his wife and of how she fell in love with a young scoundrel (the twenty-first night, fol. 116b).
22. Tale of the lion, his four viziers and the Brahmin whom two of the viziers praised and two defamed (the twenty-second night, fol. 120b).
23. Tale of the *amīr*'s wife, of how she saw a narcissus, how the roasted bird laughed and how the table-companion smiled (the twenty-third night, fol. 125a).
24. Tale of Bashīr and of how he fell in love with Jānda, how an Arab was beaten and how he achieved his aim with the help of Jānda's sister (the twenty-fourth night, fol. 129a).
25. Tale of Kāmjūy and of how the fish laughed, of the perspicacity of the child who did not have a father and of the murder of 80 people (the twenty-fifth night, fol. 133b).

26. Tale of Zarīr the weaver and of how he set out for Nīshāpūr to earn money and how he returned to his native city empty-handed (the twenty-sixth night, p. 327).
27. (Lacuna in the text).
28. [Tale of the lynx and the lion] (the twenty-eighth night, p. 337).
29. Tale of the woman and her children and of how they were attacked by a tiger and she saved herself and her children (the twenty-ninth night, p. 347).
30. Tale of the blue jackal (the thirtieth night, p. 355).
31. Tale of Khūrshīd, the wife of the merchant Šāʿed, whose great beauty brought her difficulties in life (the thirty-first night, p. 365).
32. Tale of the three viziers of the ruler Māhlār, of Hamīdūn — the son of the senior vizier, Sayāra — daughter of the second vizier, and of their love (the thirty-second night, p. 375).
33. Tale of the daughter of the Kābul merchant, her three suitors and of how the *jinn* stole her from them (the thirty-third night, p. 381).
34. Tale of the love of the Brahmin and the daughter of the ruler of Babylon and of how they achieved their aim with the help of a magician (the thirty-fourth night, p. 391).
35. Tale of the ruler of Kāshghar and a merchant from there and of how he gave his daughter in marriage to the governor of the city, how the ruler fell in love with her and how he displayed modesty in this (the thirty-fifth night, p. 399).
36. Tale of the son of the Sīstān *amīr*, the white elephant, the blunt-nosed viper and how the *amīr*'s son served the serpent (the thirty-sixth night, p. 405).
37. Tale of the woodpecker, the princeling, the frog, the bee and the elephant and of how the elephant ruined the descendants of the princeling and how the latter wrought vengeance upon the elephant with the aid of his friends (the thirty-seventh night, p. 411).
38. Tale of the merchant from Nīshāpūr, his wife by the name of Shahr-Ārāy and of how the merchant found her with her beloved (the thirty-eighth night, p. 417).
39. Tale of the ruler of China and of how he thought to take the Rūmī queen for a wife and how the vizier painted his portrait in her palace (the thirty-ninth night, p. 423).
40. Tale of how the ass sang and the brushwood merchant danced (the fortieth night, p. 430).
41. Tale of the son of the merchant from Termez and of how his infatuation with his wife led him to neglect his trade (the forty-first night, p. 439).
42. Tale of the friendship of the duck and the crow and of how the crow tried to become a duck and how they resolved a quarrel between four peasants (the forty-second night, p. 453).
43. Tale of how the ruler of Tarhūt held a feast, of his daughter and son and the old musician (the forty-third night, p. 461).
26. Tale of the ruler Jāmāsb and his wife Maʿšūma and of the conversation between the parrot and the *sharak* on the virtues and flaws of women and men (the twenty-sixth night, fol. 138a).
27. Tale of Shāpūr, *amīr* of the frogs, of his victory over [his] foes, the vengeance of the serpent, the repentance of Shāpūr and his separation from his kinfolk (the twenty-seventh night, fol. 143a).
28. Tale of Zarīr the weaver and of how he set out seeking wealth, returned home empty-handed and listened to the story of the horse and the jackal (the twenty-eighth night, fol. 147a).
29. Tale of the potter and of how his origins were revealed and how the ruler chose not to deprive him of his protection (the twenty-ninth night, fol. 151b).
30. Tale of the lion, the lynx and the monkey and of how the lynx seized the lion's lair and how its ruses and cunning saved it from the lion (the thirtieth night, fol. 155a).
31. Tale of the woman and her children and of how she was attacked by a tiger and saved herself and her children from it (the thirty-first night, fol. 159b).
32. Tale of the blue jackal and of how he came to rule the wild beasts and how the jackal's deeds brought him misfortune (the thirty-second night, fol. 163b).
33. Tale of Khūrshīd, the wife of ʿUṭārid, of the three youths and of the misfortune which befell Khūrshīd as a result of her beauty and perfection (the thirty-third night, fol. 167b).
34. Tale of the ruler and the three viziers, of the son of one of them and of the two daughters of two others and of the love and friendship between them (the thirty-fourth night, fol. 173a).
35. Tale of the daughter of the Kābul merchant and her three suitors, of how the peri abducted the girl and how she was returned to the suitors (the thirty-fifth night, fol. 177b).
36. Tale of the love of the Brahmin and the Babylonian queen and of how they achieved their aim thanks to the efforts of a sorcerer (the thirty-sixth night, fol. 181b).
37. Tale of the son of the Zāvul ruler, the merchant's daughter, the governor of the city and of how the ruler and the vizier both fell in love (the thirty-seventh night, fol. 185b).
38. Tale of the son of the Sīstān *amīr*, the white elephant, the black serpent and how the *amīr*'s son served the serpent and what was the result (the thirty-eighth night, fol. 190a).
39. Tale of the princeling, the woodpecker, the frog, the elephant, and the bee and of how the princeling wrought vengeance on the elephant with the aid of his friends (the thirty-ninth night, fol. 194a).
40. Tale of the ruler of China and of how the vizier painted his portrait in the palace of the queen of Rūm and how the queen agreed to become the ruler's wife (the fortieth night, fol. 197a).
41. Tale of how the ass sang and how the brushwood merchant danced (the forty-first night, fol. 202a).
42. Tale of the merchant's son from Termez and of how he grew infatuated with his wife and gave up his trade, of how the parrot and the jackal advised him and how he returned to his trade (the forty-second night, fol. 206a).
43. Tale of the serpent, his wife and how the ruler cut off her tail with a sword when he saw that she was harsh with her young (the forty-third night, fol. 213a).

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| <p>44. Tale of the elephant bitten by a scorpion, the old, experienced jackal and of how the lion, snow leopard, jackal and monkey came (the forty-fourth night, p. 471).</p> <p>45. Tale of the four youths from Balkh and of how the sea gave them as a gift eight sparkling jewels (the forty-fifth night, p. 479).</p> <p>46. Tale of the ruler of Marw, of the dīw, the sheep and the monkey and the jewel necklace (the forty-sixth night, p. 487).</p> <p>47. Tale of the Khwārazm merchant and the barber and of how he saw in a dream his success in the form of a monk, how he met that monk in actual life and how the monk turned to gold (the forty-seventh night, p. 499).</p> <p>48. Tale of the four men from Balkh and of how they each received a shell from a monk and how they found four different loads of ore (the forty-eighth night, p. 507).</p> <p>49. Tale of Bakrmajār's ruler and the vizier's son; of how the ruler set off for the underground city, how he returned to his city and brought the daughter of Fīṣāgūr (the forty-ninth night, p. 517).</p> <p>50. (Lacuna in the text).</p> <p>51. (Lacuna in the text).</p> <p>52. (Lacuna in the text).</p> | <p>44. Tale of the Indian ruler who had one son and one daughter and of how the children planned to kill their father (the forty-fourth night, fol. 218a).</p> <p>45. Tale of the <i>amīr</i> and the serpent which wound itself around his belt, about the serpent's ingratitude and death (the forty-fifth night, fol. 222a).</p> <p>46. Tale of how Khujasta had a dream and how the parrot interpreted it; tale of how the ruler Ujāyyīnī set out for the underground city (the forty-sixth night, fol. 226b).</p> <p>47. Tale of how four faithful friends went to a scholar, how he gave them four magical beads, how three found treasure and how the fourth returned empty-handed (the forty-seventh night, fol. 235a).</p> <p>48. Tale of the youth from Baghdad and of how he fell in love with a slave-girl musician and then sold her to a young Hashimite, repented of this and in the end achieved his goal (the forty-eighth night, fol. 238a).</p> <p>49. Tale of the ruler and of how he saw ears of wheat, and of the three brothers (the forty-ninth night, fol. 244a).</p> <p>50. Tale of the ruler who did not know grief and of how he sent matchmakers to the daughter of Caesar, how the latter refused him and how the matter led to war (the fiftieth night, fol. 248a).</p> <p>51. Tale of the Bahrām and his two viziers, Khāṣṣ and Khulāṣa, and of how the daughter of Khulāṣa obtained justice (the fifty-first night, fol. 254a).</p> <p>52. Tale of the hermit and his wife, story of the seven-coloured bird, of how the seven-coloured bird was killed for the sake of love, how the hermit returned and how his wife was shamed (the fifty-second night, fol. 18a).</p> |
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A comparison of the 48 *dāstāns*-nights [26] which have reached us in the *Jawāhir al-asmār* with the 52 stories in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* reveals that 43 of them (in the *Jawāhir al-asmār*: 1—23, 25—26, 28—41, 47—49) were borrowed by Nakhshabī and included in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* after a significant re-working one can term editorial-authorial. He retained their subject and plot nearly in full. We note that only five of the *dāstāns* of the *Jawāhir al-asmār* (24, 42, 44—46) were replaced by others, either composed by Nakhshabī himself or borrowed from other sources. As concerns the remaining four *dāstāns* (27, 50—52), we can only guess at how Nakhshabī dealt with them, for, as was noted above, the copy published by Shams al-Dīn Āl-i Aḥmad was defective and gives us no opportunity to judge the contents of the last stories. In this fashion, only nine *dāstāns* (in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: 8, 24, 29, 43, 48—52) are not represented in our edition of the *Jawāhir*

al-asmār; five of them were undoubtedly penned by Nakhshabī, we cannot speak of four others with the same surety at the present.

It seems entirely possible that Nakhshabī arranged as he saw fit the *dāstāns* he selected from his predecessor's work. According to copy C 121 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the *dāstāns* of the *Jawāhir al-asmār* are found in the following order in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: 1—7, 17, 9, 11, 38, 18, 19, 16, 8, 10, 12—15, 20—23, 25—26, 28—37, 39—41, 43, 47, 49, 48. On the other hand, the *dāstāns* in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* correlate to the tales in the *Jawāhir al-asmār* as follows: 1—7, 16, 10, 17, 11, 18—21, 15, 9, 13—14, 22, 23, 25—26, 27—28, 30—39, 12, 40—42, 44—45, 47, 46.

We list below in table form the relevance of the *dāstāns* in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* and *Jawāhir al-asmār*.

Table

<i>Ṭūṭī-nāma</i>	<i>Jawāhir al-asmār</i>	<i>Ṭūṭī-nāma</i>	<i>Jawāhir al-asmār</i>	<i>Ṭūṭī-nāma</i>	<i>Jawāhir al-asmār</i>	<i>Ṭūṭī-nāma</i>	<i>Jawāhir al-asmār</i>
1	1	14	19	27	25	40	39
2	2	15	16	28	26	41	40
3	3	16	8	29	lacuna	42	41
4	4	17	10	30	28	43	no equivalent
5	5	18	12	31	29	44	43

Continuation of the Table

<i>Ṭūṭī-nāma</i>	<i>Jawāhir al-asmār</i>	<i>Ṭūṭī-nāma</i>	<i>Jawāhir al-asmār</i>	<i>Ṭūṭī-nāma</i>	<i>Jawāhir al-asmār</i>	<i>Ṭūṭī-nāma</i>	<i>Jawāhir al-asmār</i>
6	6	19	13	32	30	45	47
7	7	20	14	33	31	46	49
8	no equivalent	21	15	34	32	47	48
9	17	22	20	35	33	48	no equivalent
10	9	23	21	36	34	49	no equivalent
11	11	24	no equivalent	37	35	50	lacuna
12	38	25	22	38	36	51	lacuna
13	18	26	23	39	37	52	lacuna

It is possible that the order of the *dāstāns* borrowed by Nakshabī from the *Jawāhir al-asmār* may have been somewhat different than that cited above, as it was based on a certain copy rather than a critical edition. Moreover, we note that the eight copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (B 258, B 2345, B 2438, B 3959, C 118, C 119, C 120, and C 121) present significant discrepancies in the order of the 52 *dāstāns* [27].

So what was Ḍiyā al-Dīn Nakshabī's task after he had agreed to the proposition of "a certain grandee" and began reworking his predecessor's work, striving to "gladden the lords of the art of speech"? He retained the context-establishing plot device of the first *dāstān*: the purchase by the merchant's son of a talking parrot for 1,000 dinars (3,000 in Nakshabī's version); the parrot can see ten days into the future; the parrot foretells the arrival in three days of a caravan for fragrant grasses and advises that they buy up all of them in the city, as a result of which the merchant's son grows rich; their conversations on the virtues of overseas trade and the departure of the owner, ablaze with this idea. He changed the names of the characters, so that Ṣā'id (صاعد), the merchant's son, became Maymūn, and his young wife, Māhshakar, became Khujasta. Nakshabī significantly shortened all of the borrowed *dāstāns* (no less than 43), eliminating the excessive repetitions and weighty prolixities which apparently reflected the influence of the language of the original, thus rendering both the work's form and content compact and elegant. This process improved the work's language as well, making it lighter and more elegant. One should underscore, however, that he did not change either the basic plot lines of the *dāstāns*, nor the specific plot of any. A number of *dāstāns* which were not, in his opinion, suitable, he omitted and replaced with new ones (no fewer than five). Moreover, in the re-working process, he omitted 17 introductory tales and parables from 14 *dāstāns* (cf. the following *dāstāns* from the *Jawāhir al-asmār*: 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15 (two), 17, 21, 22 (two), 26, 32, 33, 47 (two), 48) and added no fewer than three newly written tales (cf. in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: 13, 31, 37) [28].

Furthermore, he replaced with his own verses all poetic citations from the *dīwāns* of Persian poets, which his predecessor had used widely with the aim of adorning and varying the narrative [29]. Arabic verses suffered the same fate, except that they were not replaced, but simply removed in the overwhelming majority of cases [30]. Simi-

larly, the 90 quotes from the Qur'ān, 174 *ḥadīths* and other Arabic utterances cited by 'Imād b. Muḥammad were abridged by more than half.

Nakshabī is honest when he reports in the foreword to his work that he "adorned and varied the introduction and conclusion of each tale". In fact, the introductions and conclusions of all of the *dāstāns* he retained were practically re-written, and only in a few cases did he limit himself to insignificant corrections (cf. the *dāstāns* in the *Jawāhir*: 30, 49, and 33 (only the conclusions) and correspondingly in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: 32, 46, 35 [31]). In this regard, it is curious to note that in the majority of cases, he picks up on the idea of the introduction or conclusion and so artfully reworks it that it acquires an entirely different coloration and resonance. For example, in the introductions and conclusions which precede and follow every *dāstān*, Nakshabī everywhere performs variations (as does 'Imād b. Muḥammad, incidentally) on the theme of the sun, the appearance of the moon in the heavens, the advent of twilight and night, the dawn, the first rays of the rising sun, the uncertain sounds of the awakening city, etc. but does this more assuredly, with greater variety and elegance than the latter.

The main characters did not escape alteration in Nakshabī's version. In some cases the names of characters were changed: aside from the heroes of the context-establishing *dāstān*, we note in *Jawāhir* (22) a boy by the name of Māshālla who bears the name Ibn al-Ghayb in Nakshabī's version (25). In the 23rd *dāstān* of the *Jawāhir*, the daughter of a Syrian ruler is called Māhnūsh, and in the first inserted story we find Manūchīhr and Farangīs, in the second — Hazārnāz, the merchant's wife; in the corresponding *dāstān* of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (26) we encounter Ma'sūma, Mumtāz and Maymūn, Hamnāz (cf. also *dāstāns* 8 and 16, 21 and 23, 31 and 33, 32 and 34, 33 and 35, 36 and 38, and others). In other cases he not only gave different names to characters but replaced some characters with others (cf. 10 and 17, where the counselors of the sea are a sea serpent, a whale, a turtle, a crab, a crocodile and a frog; 20 and 22, where in the role of the lion's viziers we find a gazelle, a wild goat, a wolf and a jackal). Nakshabī very frequently changed the scene of action both of an entire *dāstān* and of the minor inserted tales included in it (cf. 2 and 2, where the action takes place not in Khūzistān but in Ṭabaristān; 7 and 7, where we find the ruler of Bihilzān, and not Pīlistān; in the context-establishing story the caravan arrives not from Bābul, but

from Kābul; see also 21 and 23, 23 and 26, 34 and 36, and others).

One should note that, in an attempt to make the stories more engaging, Nakhshabī permitted himself compositional rearrangements and changed the order of the narrative and plot development in the *dāstān* itself, as well as the order of the inserted stories (cf. 13 and 19, where the order of the inserted stories on the origins of music and musical instruments is altered; 18 and 13, where a new story told by a monk is introduced, changing the composition of the entire *dāstān*; cf. also 23 and 26, 26 and 28, 41 and 42, 47 and 45).

We pause on a curious feature which is to a certain degree typical of the reworking undertaken by Nakhshabī. We have in mind here the chronological and quantitative categories which he left unchanged to a significant degree: days, months and years; number of characters; costs of items, etc. (cf. the context-establishing *dāstān*: the parrot can foretell ten days into the future, predicts the caravan's arrival on the third day; 18 and 13: the award for the murdered peacock is set at 10,000 dinars; 34 and 36: the *lāk* rupees gift for the "daughter-in-law"; 36 and 38: the ruler's son serves the serpent for six months, the ruler has 1,000 elephants, the white elephant is rabid for seven days; see also 40 and 41, 48 and 47, and others).

Thus, to sum up our brief analysis of the reworking Nakhshabī performed on his predecessor's work, one can say that Nakhshabī completed the assignment of "a certain grandee" with such mastery, so little cliché, and such professionalism, that one can hardly term his contribution a "reworking". We are, rather, within our rights and will be closer to the truth if we view and classify two specific aspects of his work: firstly, as an editor, who in outstanding fashion reworked a previously written work; secondly, as an author of the original stories and *dāstāns* with which he replaced the stories and *dāstāns* he removed from 'Imād b. Muḥammad al-Na'arī's *Jawāhir al-asmār*. This resulted in the creation of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, which brought its author world-wide fame, but which represented a second, mediated reworking of the Indian "Tales of the Parrot" in Persian.

In conclusion, we present some remarks on the Turkish translation [32]. According to W. Pertsch and A. Alimardonov, it was completed by a certain Sarı Abdallah efendi (d. 1661) at the order of one of the Ottoman Sultans [33]. It is held to contain 30 *dāstāns*-nights ("approximately 75 large and small tales" [34]), translated from Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma*. In principle, the Turkish translator [35] added nothing new in his method of abbreviation and translation, a translating method familiar to us from many similar translations from one Eastern language

into another. The translation contains 40 *dāstāns*-nights, which include 73 inserted small and large tales (among them, the full version of the 43rd *dāstān* of the Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, subordinated compositionally to the 42nd *dāstān* as the third inserted tale — the parrot's response to 'Ubayd, the merchant's son from Termez). All of these *dāstāns* are not delineated in any special fashion, but are marked by an introductory device — the parrots answer to Māhshakar's questions. The translator significantly reduced the quantity of inserted stories, altered the composition of the nights in a number of instances, and altered many characters' names and the place of action in comparison to the original. All of the *dāstāns* he translated, including the 41st, can be found, with certain modifications, in Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma*. Their order in accordance with the copy C 121 is as follows: 1—7, 16, 10, 17, 11, 18, 19, 21, 15, 9, 13, 14, 22, 23, 25—26, 28, 30—32, 34—37, 12, 40—43, 45—49, 52.

Moreover, a comparison of the Turkish translation with the *Jawāhir al-asmār* and the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* gives all reason to suppose that in the course of his work the translator had recourse not only to the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* but to its predecessor. Though he preferred the former, he undoubtedly checked himself against the latter. Only this can explain the fact that in the context-establishing *dāstān*, he preserved the names of the heroes which we find in *Jawāhir al-asmār*, for they were changed in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: a merchant by the name of Sa'īd, his son Sā'īd (in *Jawāhir* — Ṣā'īd), and Māhshakar, the latter's wife. Later, a number of character names and places of actions are preserved in the translation in accordance with the *Jawāhir al-asmār* (cf. *dāstāns* 1, 2, 3 (the first inserted story), 7, 8, and others). Finally, in the concluding *dāstān*, where the merchant returns and learns the truth, he forgives Māhshakar anyway, as apparently took place in the *Jawāhir al-asmār*, rather than killing her, as occurs in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* [36].

The order of *dāstāns* in the Turkish translation, when compared to the *Jawāhir al-asmār*, provides some food for thought on the actual order of the *dāstāns* adopted by the author of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*. 34 *dāstāns* from the *Jawāhir al-asmār* (1—13, 15—23, 26, 28—30, 32—35, 38—41) correspond to *dāstāns* 1—34 of the translation. This order in the translation gives rise to the thought that Nakhshabī left the order of *dāstāns* found in *Jawāhir al-asmār* practically unchanged. He apparently placed the *dāstāns* which he composed where omitted *dāstāns* had stood. The order of *dāstāns* found in the Turkish translations cannot, in our view, be accidental, as the translator had at his disposal, in all likelihood, some fairly old and reliable copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*.

Notes

1. This text of fourteenth-century Persian entertaining literature was first analysed in detail by W. Pertsch in a thorough article in 1867. The conclusions reached by the German Orientalist retain their scholarly significance to this day, see W. Pertsch, "Ueber Nachschabi's Papagaienbuch", Bd. XXI, *ZDMG* (1867), pp. 505—51. In recent times, A. Alimardonov has dedicated a special study to Nakhshabī and his work; it is the most complete of all studies on this question, see A. Alimardonov, *Ziiauddin Nakhshabi i ego "Tuti-name"* (Diyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī and his *Ṭūṭī-nāma*), Abstract of PhD thesis (Dushanbe, 1970.) The Abstract has no mention of Pertsch's work.

2. According to Alimardonov (see Abstract of his thesis, p. 15), various repositories in the world hold 85 copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (37 in the USSR). In our view, however, this number should be increased by 15—20 manuscripts held in state and private collections in India, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and the USA, which only became known to specialists through catalogues published after 1970. Cf. also

the information cited by Ahmad Monzavi on copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* in his *A Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* (Tehran, 1973), v, pp. 3729–31. We note in this regard that the oldest of the currently extant copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* is held in the library of Istanbul University (Halet effendi No. 90) and was copied on 13 Muḥarram 955/23 February 1548. As for A. Alimardonov's mention of two copies dated 994/1586 (Abstract, p. 15), this is an obvious misunderstanding: this is the same manuscript. It was first mentioned in the auction catalogue of the A. Sprenger collection — A. Sprenger, *A Catalogue of the Bibliotheca orientalis Sprengeriana* (Giessen, 1857), No. 1617 — and later described by W. Pertsch in his *Verzeichniss der Persischen Handschriften* (Berlin, 1888), p. 986, No. 1027, after which it was purchased by the Royal Library in Berlin in 1857 as one of the 1,972 manuscripts which made up the Sprenger collection.

3. *Ziia ad-din Nakshabī, Kniga popugaia* (Ḍiyā al-Dīn Nakshabī, “Book of the Parrot”), trans. from Persian into Russian by E. E. Bertels (Moscow, 1979), pp. 18–9. Cf. also manuscript C 118 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 2a–b; see also Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

4. Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

5. See Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, p. 506.

6. Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 16, where an incomplete bibliography on the question is listed; it is, naturally, limited by the scope of the Abstract of his thesis.

7. All known reworkings in Persian (with the exception of Abū l-Faḍl b. Muḥārak in the sixteenth century), including poetry, are noted in Pertsch's *Verzeichniss*, pp. 506–7; see also, Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 32.

8. On translations into Eastern languages, see Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, pp. 507–8 (incomplete information); also Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–3 (exhaustive summary). On translations into Western languages, see Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, pp. 508–11 (with detailed analysis); also, Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

9. The only copy which has reached us is, unfortunately, defective; it can safely be dated to the mid-fourteenth century.

10. Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–8.

11. *Ṭūṭī-nāma. Jawāhir al-asmār* (Book of the Parrot. Gems of Nocturnal Conversations), az ‘Imād b. Muḥammad al-Na‘rī. Ba ihtimām-i Shams al-Dīn Āl-i Aḥmad. Intishārāt-i Bunīyād-i farhang-i Īrān (Tihirān, 1352/1973). The publisher's Foreword occupies pages 19–60 (separate pagination). This unique copy, undoubtedly made in the mid-fourteenth century, is stored at present in the Majlis library (No. 6680) in Tehran. Unfortunately, the copy is defective: a lacuna in the middle stretches from the end of the 26th night to the beginning of the 28th night; the text breaks off before the end of the 49th night. Thus, entirely missing are nights 27, 50–52; partially missing are nights 26, 28, 49 (Foreword, p. 31, n. 1). In the text, the work is termed *Jawāhir al-asmār*; *Ṭūṭī-nāma* is a conjecture of the publisher.

12. In the text — النعري (Foreword, Table 1). The publisher (Foreword, p. 52), noting the indicated spelling of the *nisba*, “with complete certainty” reads الثغري, surmising that it originated from the city of الثغر, which is “not far from the province of Kirmān on the shore”. We are inclined to read “al-Na‘rī”, deriving it from the name of the Arab tribe which settled in Iran not long after the Arab conquest of that land.

13. *Ṭūṭī-nāma. Jawāhir al-asmār*, the Tehran publication, Foreword, p. 32, text, p. 12.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 33. Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn died on 5 January 1316. For this reason, ‘Imād b. Muḥammad's work could have been completed during the period we indicate.

15. We were unable to discover any information about our author in the historical chronicles written in India in the fourteenth—fifteenth centuries, including the *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī* drawn up by Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī in 758/1357. This work contains a special section on various figures of the age of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān Khaljī (1296—1316). See *The Tārīkh-i Feroz-Shāhī of Ziaa al-Dīn Barnī*, ed. by S. Ahmad Khan (Calcutta, 1862), text, pp. 342–67. — Bibliotheca Indica.

16. *Ṭūṭī-nāma. Jawāhir al-asmār*, the Tehran publication, Foreword, pp. 33–4.

17. *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. 33, text, p. 11.

18. *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. 33, text, p. 12.

19. *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. 34, text, p. 13.

20. In all likelihood, our author speaks of (i) a prose translation of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* from Arabic into Farsi completed by Abū l-Ma‘ālī Naṣrallāh Munshī in 1144 for the Ghaznavid Bahrām Shāh, see *Tarjama-yi Kalīla wa-Dimna, inshā-yi Abū-l-Ma‘ālī Naṣrallāh Munshī*, taṣḥīḥ wa tawzīḥ-i Mujtabā Mīnuwī Tihirānī, chāp-i duwwum (Tihirān, 1343/1964); (ii) the *Sindbād-nāma*, created in the twelfth century by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Zahīrī al-Samarqandī, who likely reworked a translation of the *Sindbād-nāma* completed already in 951 at the order of Abū Muḥammad Nūḥ b. Naṣr Sāmānī from Arabic into Farsi by Khwāja ‘Amīd Fanārūzī, see Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zahīrī al-Samarqandī, *Sindbād-nāma*, ba ihtimām wa taṣḥīḥ wa ḥawāshī-yi Aḥmad Atesh (Istanbul, 1948). On the Naḥḥat al-Rayḥān we have no accurate information.

21. Defect in the manuscript.

22. The first is the “patriarch of Persian poetry”, Abū ‘Abdullāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm Rūdākī Samarqandī (d. 329/941), see A. T. Tagirdzhanov, *Rudaki. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo. Istoriia izucheniia* (Rūdākī. His Life and Writings. The History of Examination) (Leningrad, 1968). This is the most complete study of its type, with an exhaustive bibliography and critical analysis of the Eastern sources, as well as numerous works on the poet. The second is Ḥassān b. Thābit b. Muqzīr, originally from Yathrib (Medina), who died about 659. He was widely known as a poet even before the advent of Islam and is usually considered Muḥammad's “poet-laureate”, as he glorified the latter in his verses and was the founder of religious poetry in Islam. For more detail, see W. Arafat, “Ḥassān b. Thābit”, *EI²*, vol. III, fasc. 45–46, pp. 271–3.

23. A bird of the starling family.

24. An interesting remark by our author, once again confirming that Indian literature knew several such collections.

25. *Ṭūṭī-nāma. Jawāhir al-asmār*, the Tehran publication, pp. 15–8.

26. The edition contains a total of 48 *dāstāns*. The last is numbered 49, since No. 27 was naturally included in the numbering, although it has not reached us because of a lacuna in the text.

27. See *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR. Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts in the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences. Concise Alphabetical Catalogue), pt. I (Moscow, 1964), pp. 376–7, Nos. 2883, 2885–2891. As an example, we cite the correlation between the *dāstāns* in manuscript C 121 first with the copy C 118 (undated, but fol. 1a contains a note about its entering the library of the Great Moghūls dated Jumādā II 1105/February 1694), and then copy C 120 (dated to 1273/1856–57, Central Asia): 1–7, 10–15, 8, 16–21, 9, 25, 22, 24, 27–35, 37–39, 26, 40–48, 23, 49–52 (C 118 contains 51 *dāstāns*, the 36th is missing); 1–8, 16, 10, 17, 11, 18, 21, 15, 19–20, 9, 13–14, 22–23, 25, 24, 26–27, 29–36, 37–39, 28, 12, 40–52 (all 52 *dāstāns* are contained in C 120).

28. In the edition of the *Jawāhir al-asmār*, all introductory stories are numbered straight through, in total, 86 of them are indicated. According to Alimardonov (*op. cit.*, p. 22), the “52 *dāstāns* of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* contain more than 119 large and small stories”.

29. The Tehran edition of *Jawāhir al-asmār* (pp. 690–709, 711–4) indicates 531 (taking into account four repetitions on pages 40 and 201, 57 and 116, 114 and 198, 149 and 508) separate *bayt*, *rubāʿī*, *qitʿa* and *mathnawī*, as well as 88 separate *miṣrāʿ*'s. Alimardonov notes in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* “308 *qitʿas*, 11 *bayts*, 3 *mathnawīs*, and a number of *miṣrāʿs*” (Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

30. The edition indicates (pp. 685–7) 84 Arabic poems: 15 *qitʿas* and 69 *bayts*. Alimardonov (*op. cit.*, p. 28) reports that the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* contains 1 *qitʿa* and 6 *bayts* in Arabic.

31. In future juxtapositions, we indicate only the numbers of the *dāstāns*; *dāstāns* from the *Jawāhir al-asmār* are always listed first.

32. We used two editions of the translation: *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, maṭbaʿat Dār al-Salṭanat al-thaniā (1256/1840); *Kitāb-i Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Kazan, 1851).

33. See Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, p. 507, also Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 30. The editions of the translation indicated contain neither the translator's nor the patron's names. The name of the translator is Sarı Abdullah efendi, indicated in the Bulak edition (Cairo, 1253/1838), see *Journal asiatique*, vol. 2 (1843), p. 48, No. 138.

34. Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

35. See the 1840 edition, p. 285.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–8, 284–5; *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, manuscript C 188 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 137b.