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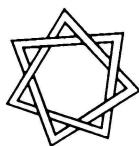Illustration to *maqāma* 46, p. 318, 18.0 × 19.5 cm.

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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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SINHALESE PAINTED WOODEN BOOKCOVERS

The literature which reports the holdings of Sinhalese script manuscripts in the various collections of such manuscripts around the world is uneven with regard to noting the painted wooden bookcovers, and other bookcovers, which sometimes accompany these manuscripts. Given here is a survey of the reports of such bookcovers in our manuscript catalogues, together with a compilation of all references to such bookcovers and otherwise decorated Sinhalese bookcovers [1]. This material is often of qualified nature. It is presented as a tool for further research with the hope it will aid in filling gaps and correcting inaccuracies in our present data on these bookcovers.

H. I. Poleman notes wooden bookcovers which are described as "painted", "decorated", "lacquered, decorated" or "decorated, lacquered", "lacquered", and "gilded" [2]. He also notes other types of decorated bookcovers such as "carved wood covers" and "decorated silver covers". Wooden bookcovers which were stained only, or stained and varnished only, were referred to simply as "wood covers" together with bookcovers of unfinished wood.

Poleman's terminology appears to have changed as his work in question progressed. "Painted" and "decorated" appear to refer to the same thing. Also, but concluded only after an examination of different of the bookcovers described, both "lacquered" and "lacquered, decorated" appear to signify lacquered with a design. We cannot be certain in all instances, though. In some instances, "lacquered" may refer to lacquered with a single color.

Unfortunate as well is that occasional inaccuracies appear to have accumulated in Poleman's notes. New York Public Library, for example, is noted to have only three Sinhalese script manuscripts with "decorated" wooden covers. My examination of their Sinhalese script manuscripts shows them to have at least six manuscripts which might be so described by Poleman. For their manuscripts Nos. Sinhalese 3 (Poleman 6652) and Sinhalese 4 (Poleman 7182), both of which are together with wooden covers painted with design, Poleman does not mention bookcovers at all. And their manuscript No. Sinhalese 8, which similarly is together with such bookcovers, does not appear to have been included by Poleman. Columbia University Library is noted to have one Sinhalese script manuscript with "decorated" wooden bookcovers, and two with "wood covers" only. In addition, three manuscripts for which Poleman makes no mention of bookcovers are also together with stained and varnished bookcovers. These are their manuscripts Nos. Smith 196 (Poleman 7146), Smith 201 (Poleman 7050) and Smith 212 (Poleman 7145). (Only those manuscripts in Columbia's "Smith" collection and "X" collection were available for my examination.) And the New York Academy of Medicine, which is listed to have one manuscript of eight folios with lacquered covers, has rather eight manuscripts with such covers. The error, in this instance, crept in from the way in which the New York Academy of Medicine library described their collection to Poleman (roughly, eight "olas" with covers), and is incorporated in the cataloguing of their holding. This holding was obtained late in the course of the preparation of Poleman's "Census".

On account of Poleman having attempted to keep record of the bookcovers together with manuscripts, however, and despite the brief nature of the listings of the manuscripts necessitated by such a broad census, Poleman provides us with comparatively good data on the holdings of Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers and other Sinhalese decorative bookcovers in the United States and Canada.

Since the publication of Poleman's "Census", the Library of the University of Pennsylvania has obtained a collection of Sinhalese script palm leaf manuscripts, ten of which have painted wooden bookcovers. These were formally added to the Library's extensive Indic manuscript collection in 1971—1972. In 1973, the Indic and greater Indic manuscripts in the collection of the University Museum were moved to the Library. These manuscripts, which previously were uncatalogued, were catalogued at that time. With three exceptions, in which instances the manuscripts were listed as unidentified, the manuscripts had not been included in Poleman's "Census". They contain an additional seven Sinhalese script palm leaf manuscripts with painted wooden bookcovers. More recently, manuscripts from the collection of W. Norman Brown have been added to the collection. These contain two additional single Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers which were given to W. Norman Brown by A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Of these seventeen sets of wooden bookcovers and two single covers, four are painted with stain, stain and clear lacquer only, or stain and varnish only [3]. One is carved and painted with stain and varnish. One is painted overall with stain and varnish, over which there is painted a design with paint. Six sets of bookcovers and one single cover are painted with a design in lacquer, or in paint and then lacquered. And six sets of bookcovers are painted with a de-

sign in paint alone. The paint is partly chipped off on one of the former and on two of these latter sets of bookcovers. It is almost completely off the single cover.

Eight of these seventeen sets of bookcovers and one of the single bookcovers are painted on both the outsides and insides of the covers. Two sets are stained only, their outsides being stained and either varnished or lacquered. The third set is painted an overall yellow using lacquer. And the fourth set is painted an overall red using paint. The remaining four sets of bookcovers and the single bookcover are painted on the insides with floral and foliar designs, or with designs composed of symbols of Buddhism. The main component of these latter designs on the University of Pennsylvania bookcovers is a repeated depiction of a *stūpa*. Two of these latter designs are painted using paint which is covered with a coat of clear lacquer. The insides of the remaining three sets of bookcovers are executed with paint alone. In one instance, the insides of one set of bookcovers are painted differently, one with a floral design and the other with a design composed of symbols of Buddhism.

Also in the collection of the Library is one set of bookcovers covered with tanned leather.

In the context of the available data on Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers, this collection is significant. It ranks among only a few recorded sizable groupings of such bookcovers in the various depositories which exist outside Sri Lanka (Ceylon). It is approximately the same size as the collection of such bookcovers of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, as the combined collection of such bookcovers in the Staatsbibliothek of the Stiftung Preussicher Kulturbesitz in Marburg and the depot of this library in Tübingen, the collection of such bookcovers in the India Office Library, and the collection of such bookcovers on report for the British Museum, not including the Hugh Nevill collection which has only recently been fully catalogued by K. D. Somadasa. It is larger that the collection currently in full report for the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, but this does not include the Bibliothèque Nationale's Pāli manuscripts which are in the process of being recatalogued. These no doubt contain additional painted bookcovers. The only collections of such bookcovers in current report which are significantly larger than the University of Pennsylvania collection are that of the Hugh Nevill collection and that in the various libraries and museums at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, the collection of which was gathered by Casey Wood. Also to be considered now is that the India Office Library and the Library of the British Museum have now been combined in the British Library. The cumulative collection of the British Library which includes the Hugh Nevill collection, as well as the India Office Library and British Museum collections catalogued earlier, is clearly now the largest collection of such bookcovers in the world. By way of comparison, it should be mentioned that the cumulative number of such bookcovers held in small numbers in collections outside Sri Lanka (Ceylon), often amounting to only a single set of such bookcovers, is on the other hand very large.

In my cataloguing of the additional Sinhalese script manuscripts added to the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library [4], available in both full version with first and last folios of each manuscript and short version without these, a slightly fuller description than Poleman's was given of the bookcovers together with the manuscripts. These descriptions, however, remained brief. The listing of

new additions to the collection did not include mention of bookcovers [5]. In my "A descriptive catalogue of Indic and greater Indic manuscripts in the collection of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania", the same format was used as in cataloguing the Library's new additions [6]. The University of Pennsylvania's painted wooden bookcovers were described in full detail, though, in my "Sinhalese Painted Wooden Bookcovers in the Collections of the Library and University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania" [7].

Aside from this, some additional data for Sinhalese script manuscripts in the United States and Canada is noted in deSilva's "Catalogue of Antiquities and Other Cultural Objects from Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Abroad" [8]. This catalogue reports, among other items, Sinhalese script manuscripts held primarily in museums around the world. For the United States and Canada, it does not cover any of the depositories surveyed by Poleman, even though several of these were museums. It does supplement Poleman's "Census", however. For this reason, and on account of the necessary terseness of the descriptions dictated by format, the import of the descriptions is not clear always.

The published data on Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers in Great Britain is uneven. The early lists of Pāli manuscripts published in 1882, 1883, and 1888 do not mention bookcovers at all [9]. That these lists do not mention bookcovers is understandable, of course, in the context both of the brevity of the lists and the pressing need at the time to list the manuscripts of texts available so as to facilitate study of the texts themselves.

Several of these lists have been superseded by more recent efforts. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe's "Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum" notes briefly but adequately for a manuscript catalogue, together with the descriptions of the manuscripts, the Sinhalese decorative wooden bookcovers in the collection. This includes those Sinhalese wooden bookcovers painted with design [10].

There is also at the British Museum a handwritten list of Pāli, Sinhalese, Sanskrit, and other manuscripts formerly in the possession of Hugh Nevill and now in the British Museum, in two volumes, unpublished [11]. Both these items have now been superseded by the work of K. D. Somadasa [12]. Somadasa's effort here, being the most recent, is also the best to date for a manuscript catalogue. All traditional bookcovers are noted in adequate detail, often even noting the type of wood used for the cover, noting when the covers are "stained", "dark stained", "dark red wine stained", etc., and when unstained often noting "dark wooden" or "light wooden" covers when the specific wood is not mentioned. When the covers have fluted instead of bevelled edges, this is mentioned; and it is mentioned when the covers are carved in general. The descriptions of the covers standardly differentiate between "painted" or "decorated", and "lac worked", or "lac painted" covers, clearly differentiating between these two types of covers. Designs are standardly noted in brief using Sinhalese terms for elements of the design, sometimes giving the translations of these terms as well. In some instances, the descriptions use the translations of the Sinhalese terms and give the Sinhalese terms in parentheses. The approach used in the descriptions is "writerly", so similar points are described slightly differently in different locations. This here, though, in the main does not add to confusion or to the blurring of differences or similarities, but does sometimes

result in awkward English. The descriptions of the book-covers and of the designs on the bookcovers are overall excellent in this catalogue. It must be emphasized, though, that there is still room for an individual study of the book-covers in this collection alone with fuller more detailed descriptions, as was given in my "Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers in the collections of the Library and University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania" [13]. Also outstanding is that K. D. Somadasa cross-references at times covers in the collection by the same artists, and at times notes whether the bookcovers seem to be original with the manuscript or more recent. This collection, it is noted, contains 2,196 traditional Sinhalese manuscripts and 19 more recent paper manuscripts.

It is not clear from C. Bendall's "Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum", which lists some Sinhalese script manuscripts [14], whether the manuscripts in this catalogue are without bookcovers, without bookcovers of note, or whether bookcovers just are not mentioned for these manuscripts. Bendall, it is to be noted, does mention painted wooden bookcovers with regard to Nepalese manuscripts.

The recent "Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the India Office Library" [15], however, is quite excellent with regard to its descriptions of the bookcovers for a manuscript catalogue. There appears to be sufficient detail to adequately describe the collection, including the "plain wooden covers", as they most often might be described elsewhere. Reference is made to the "bevelled edges" and "moulded edges" of the bookcovers. And the descriptions are consistent. It is not clear, on the other hand, that such descriptions as "painted", "decorated", and "painted and lacquered" are clearly and accurately describing the medium used. But as noted earlier, this appears to traditionally constitute a real problem with these bookcovers.

The only other data on Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers in Great Britain is with regard to those collections covered by deSilva's work [16]. DeSilva, incidentally, does include the British Museum. He does not fill the gap which existed at the time of his volume's publication, though, in the published records of that collection. And other collections of Sinhalese manuscripts exist as well. The India Office Library catalogue, for instance, refers to the Sinhalese manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society, London and in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

To be noted with regard to England is that the collections of these items in the British Museum and in the India Office Library have now been united in the British Library.

The data with regard to France is inadequate. "Catalogue des Livres Imprimés et Manuscrits Composant la Bibliothèque de Feu M. Eugène Burnouf" mentions Sinhalese script manuscripts, and though it contains many useful and interesting notes, there is no reference to bookcovers here [17]. L. Feer's "List of Pāli manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, of course, also does not note bookcovers [18]. And the second fascicule of the "Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanscrits et Pali" does not mention bookcovers [19]. "Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Indiens, Indo-Chinois et Malayo-Polynésiens" by A. Cabaton includes Sinhalese language manuscripts, and this catalogue occasionally notes covers [20]. We find for one manuscript, for instance, the statement, "cover painted with yellow, red, and black adornment", for another, "cover

sculpted and decorated", and for a third an in-passing reference, "on the wood of the cover ...". These are the only references to wooden bookcovers. One additional Sinhalese manuscript is mentioned by J. Filliozat [21], but this of course, again, does not note bookcovers.

deSilva's "Catalogue of Antiquities" [22] also covers the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. In the main, he reproduces here material from A. Cabaton's 1912 catalogue [23] amplified by J. Filliozat's 1934 list [24], other unspecified sources, probably a supplemental list of manuscripts kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and no doubt first hand observation. There are significant differences here. With regard to bookcovers, he does not mention these for two of the manuscripts noted to have bookcovers by Cabaton, does mention them for one other manuscript, and notes an ornamented cover folio of another manuscript to be painted wooden bookcovers.

In addition, deSilva notes a set of painted wooden bookcovers at the Musée de l'Homme, Palais de Chaillot, in Paris. DeSilva's catalogue contains the only information we have for depositories other than the Bibliothèque Nationale in France. In general, France is very centralized, and significant items such as Sinhalese script manuscripts would be sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. We must wonder, though, both in the context of deSilva's catalogue of Sinhalese antiquities abroad and in the context of holdings of Sinhalese script manuscripts in the Western world in general to what extent this has been the case.

The very recent "Catalogue des Manuscrits Singhalais" by J. Liyanaratne [25] is on the other hand excellent. This again covers the Sinhalese language material of A. Cabaton's 1912 catalogue, J. Filliozat's 1934 list, and a supplemental list of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, as well as some other material. It does not cover the Pali material in Sinhalese script at the Bibliothèque Nationale, which will be covered in another catalogue in preparation by Mme Jacqueline Filliozat. The descriptions of the bookcovers often, but not always, describe designs and color schemes of the bevelled edges separately from those of the center panels, and sometimes refer to designs by their Sinhalese names. At other times reference is to "floral and geometric motifs", "stylized lotuses and a floral motif", "geometric and floral designs", "a flower design ornamenting each tie cord hole", and "floral motifs". Other of the bookcovers are described as "varnished", "not varnished", "polished", and perhaps in too many instances they are noted simply as "wooden covers". In two instances these unornamented wooden bookcovers are noted to have their outside edges "molded", in one instance "bevelled". These latter descriptions are perhaps not adequate. But in one instance, when a set of bookcovers is perhaps ebony, this is mentioned. And four of the ornamented bookcovers are shown in the back of the catalogue on plates 1 and 4.

The data with regard to Germany is overall excellent. Of the old manuscript catalogues from the 1800's which contain reference to Sinhalese script manuscripts, the "Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München" [26], which lists Sinhalese script manuscripts under nine catalogue numbers, does mention bookcovers in two instances. These were not painted or otherwise decorated, however. And J. C. Irmischer's "Handschriften-Katalog der Königlichen Universitätsbibliothek zu Erlangen" [27] mentions Sinhalese

bookcovers under two numbers, one of which is described fully with a painted wooden bookcover. Against this Wilhelm of Spires mentions five items in Sinhalese script [28], but it is not clear if covers for the palmleaf manuscripts among these are not being noted, or whether these were just not together with the manuscripts. There is, however, the recent catalogue for all Sinhalese script manuscripts currently in Germany [29]. This includes the only three of those manuscripts listed in the older catalogues which could be located. These would seem to have been lost in the two World Wars. The author of this Catalogue, H. Bechert describes the Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers in Germany briefly, but with greater detail than done before his catalogue. The painted wooden bookcovers are described as having "flourish" designs, "garland" designs, "flower and lotus" designs, and so forth, the colors of the design and the background are clearly noted (though not for the borders), and distinctive features are mentioned. Occasionally there is mention of the medium used, but in general this is wisely avoided. Bookcovers painted with stain, or stain and varnish only, as previously however, are referred to simply as "Holzdeckeln", or "bookcovers". In general, the data provided by Bechert is concise and excellent. In addition, a small number of the painted and otherwise decorated bookcovers in collections in Germany are shown in plates I, II, and III. These compliment and amplify the descriptions.

P. H. D. H. deSilva's catalogue adds nothing to this regarding bookcovers.

With regard to Denmark, both the "List of Pāli manuscripts in the Copenhagen Royal Library" by T. W. Rhys Davids [30] and N. L. Westergaard's "Codices Indici" [31], which lists Sinhalese manuscripts in this library, do not note bookcovers. The recent work by C. E. Godakumbura [32] does note these, however, and in general the descriptions are concise and adequate for a manuscript catalogue. On account of the "writerly" approach adopted for these, however, while they read well they vary in detail so that the reporting lacks consistency. The colors used are often not mentioned, for instance. And the descriptions run squarely into the problem of the medium used. A few specific points if I can make these emerge from a comparison of plates 1—6, which show some of the covers, and the descriptions. The *haṃsa* pictured on the covers of PA (Sinh.) 10 (Cod. Pal. VI), for instance, is not mentioned in the description in the catalogue. And the descriptions of PA (Sinh.) 10 (Cod. Pal. VI), PA (Sinh.) 25 (Cod. Pal. XXVIII), and ES (Sinh.) 3 (Cod. Elu. Sin. VI) as having floral designs do not adequately describe the differences between the covers, pictured in plates 3, 6, and 5 respectively. A clear distinction is maintained, though, as to which covers are so ornamented, or ornamented with incised or carved design, and which covers are plain Ceylon made wooden boards or European made wooden boards. Plates of bookcovers in the collection can also be found in the writing by O. K. Nordstrand [33]. The purpose of the mentioned article was to supplement the catalogue by C. E. Godakumbura. I emphasize that any criticisms here are limited in scope to the treatment of bookcovers only. The catalogue is a very fine catalogue.

Among the collections covered by deSilva's "Catalogue" no data on painted wooden bookcovers is added for Denmark.

For elsewhere in Europe, the only sure and up-to-date data we have on such bookcovers is in deSilva's work. This reports a very small number of painted and otherwise decorative bookcovers in Belgium and The Netherlands. Catalogus by H. E. Weijers [34] contains reference to one Sinhalese script manuscript, this presumably without a cover. "Pāli Manuscripts at Stockholm" by E. W. Dahlgren and "Förteckning öfver de af Frih. A. E. Nordenskiöld fran Ceylon hemförda Pāli-manuscript" by V. Fausbøll [35], of course, do not mention bookcovers. Reference to bookcovers in Russian "Katalog indiĭskikh rukopiseĭ" by N. D. Mironov [36] is brief only, with only one of the eight Sinhalese manuscripts mentioned being noted to have a cover decorated with silver.

Extremely questionable is whether the catalogues that exist reflect accurately the holdings of Sinhalese script manuscripts and Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers in Europe, with the single exception of Germany. As noted, collections remain uncatalogued in Great Britain. Further, both H. I. Poleman's "Census", which covers the United States and Canada, and Bechert's "Handschriften", which covers Germany, show widespread, albeit usually small holdings in these countries. It is unlikely that such a situation does not exist in most of Western Europe, and perhaps to some extent in the countries of the former Soviet Union such as Russia and possibly in the other countries of Eastern Europe as well. As for deSilva's "Catalogue of Antiquities", while a major effort, it does not have manuscripts as its focus. It does not fill the gap.

Elsewhere in the world, outside Sri Lanka, the only manuscript lists or catalogues which contain Sinhalese script manuscripts are "Madurāsiyē tibena Siṃhala puskoḷa pot" [37] and E. W. Adikara's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Pāli Manuscripts in the Adyar Library" [38]. Neither contains reference to bookcovers. "Catalogue" by deSilva covers museums around the world, but does not mention any bookcovers for those collections covered.

The data regarding painted wooden bookcovers for within Sri Lanka itself is also poor. H. C. P. Bell's "List of Pāli manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Kandy" [39] and L. deZoysa's "List of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit manuscripts in the Colombo Museum" [40] do not mention bookcovers. Similarly, "A Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon" by L. deZoysa [41] and the various catalogues of the Colombo Museum Library, the last and fullest of which was "Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum" by W. A. deSilva [42], do not mention bookcovers as well. There is record of painted and otherwise decorated bookcovers in the Colombo Museum Library, as W. A. deSilva includes photographs of several unidentified manuscripts with such covers, two of these being painted, in plates II, III, IV, and V. He also mentions these in passing on p. xxiv. There is no indication as to the number of these in the collection, however. More recently, there is for Sri Lanka the catalogue by K. D. Somadasa [43]. This catalogue, while a most useful census, also does not note bookcovers.

Given this context, there is provided here a compilation of all existing references to Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers and otherwise decorative bookcovers. This is done both for reasons of placing in appropriate perspective the collections of the University of Pennsylvania Library and University Museum, and in order to bring together in one place the otherwise scattered references to these bookcovers for which there are no lists or systematic indexes

even in the catalogues which refer to them. It is hoped that bringing the data together in this way will facilitate work on Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers and otherwise decorative bookcovers, and will facilitate improving our data and filling in gaps with regard to the holdings of such bookcovers.

In this compilation, I have placed an asterisk before the references to bookcovers the insides of which are painted. Not included in this compilation are the additional bookcovers noted above to be at the New York Academy of Medicine but not noted in Poleman's "Census".

The holdings of Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers and other decorated bookcovers noted to be in the United States and Canada are far more significant than those noted for elsewhere outside Sri Lanka, with the single exception of the current reported collection of the British Library which combines the collections of the India Office Library, the British Museum's regular collection, and the very sizable Nevill collection of the British Museum. The American collections, though, have distinct strengths with regard to diversity and with regard to the McGill University holdings both of which mark it off from the collection of the British Library, though it is dwarfed by this collection — mainly by the Hugh Nevill collection.

Poleman's "Census" lists fourteen sets of bookcovers which he describes as "painted", sixteen which he describes as "decorated", and sixteen which he describes as "decorated, lacquered". This amounts to forty-six sets of wooden bookcovers in the United States and Canada which might be described as painted with design. In addition, thirty-one are described as "lacquered", the interpretation of which term is not clear to me. One is described as "gilded", and one is described as "gilded and lacquered". In the compilation below, when there is a number for a manuscript in a collection, this is given together with Poleman's number. Otherwise, only Poleman's number is given. When there appears to me to be some question about Poleman's reference to a number, or lack of such a reference, this is noted.

Of those bookcovers described as "painted", one each is located at the Academy of Medicine in Toronto, Ontario (Poleman 7046), the College of Physicians in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (CP 2: Poleman 7041), the University of Michigan Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan (UMich number not given: Poleman 6422), and at the University of Western Ontario Library (Medical) in London, Ontario (Poleman 7138). Of those described as "decorated", one each is located in the David Eugene Smith Collection at Columbia University Library in New York City, New York (C S245: Poleman 7149), Princeton University Library in Princeton, New Jersey (Poleman 6503), the Free Library of Philadelphia in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Poleman 7020), the Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology in Toronto, Ontario (Poleman 6629), and Yale University Library in New Haven, Connecticut (Y Indic 40: Poleman 6635). In addition, three are noted as being one each in the private collections of Fred W. Allsopp in Little Rock, Arkansas, Manly P. Hall in Los Angeles, California and Mrs. Dorothy Lepell in New York City, New York. Of those described as "decorated, lacquered", one each is located at the Gest Oriental Library of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey (GOL 4122: Poleman 6311), Mills College Library in Berkeley, California (MC 4: Poleman 6604), Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois (N XVIII: Poleman 6375). Of

those described as "lacquered", one each is located at Brown University Library in Providence, Rhode Island (B 39: Poleman 7052), Dalhousie University Library in Halifax, Nova Scotia (DU 225 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7055), New York Academy of Medicine in New York City, New York (Poleman 7121), University of Alberta Library in Edmonton, Alberta (UA 226 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7108), University of Saskatchewan Library in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (US 252 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7135), and University of Toronto Library in Toronto, Ontario (UT 218455/18. 11. 27.: Poleman 7137).

Two such sets of bookcovers are noted for four depositories. The Army Medical Library in Washington, D.C. is noted to have one described as "decorated, lacquered" (AML 262940: Poleman 7048), and one described as "red lacquered" (AML number not given: Poleman 7050). Huntington Library in San Marino, California is noted to have one described as "lacquered wood covers decorated in gilt" (Hu 2: Poleman 6483), and one described as "lacquered" (Hu 6: Poleman 6573). Tulane University Library in New Orleans, Louisiana is noted to have two described as "decorated" (Poleman 6384; Poleman 7129). And the University of North Carolina Library in Chapel Hill, North Carolina is noted to have two described as "lacquered" (UNC 2: Poleman 6395; UNC 13: Poleman 7158).

Slightly larger accumulations of such bookcovers are noted for three depositories. Davenport Public Library in Davenport, Iowa is noted to have three described as "decorated", the insides of one of these being decorated (DP 2556 (Libr. No. 55): Poleman 6496; DP 2557 (Libr. No. 54): Poleman 6557; * DP 2558 (Libr. No. 52): Poleman 6556). In addition, one is described as "decorated, lacquered" (DP 2562 (Libr. No. 56): Poleman 7057), and one is described as "red lacquered" (DP 2561 ("also numbered 50"): Poleman 6373). The Institute of the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University Library in Baltimore, Maryland is noted to have four described as "decorated, lacquered" (JHU IHM En 33: Poleman 7063; JHU IHM En 35: Poleman 7071; JHU IHM En 67: Poleman 7067; JHU IHM (number not given): Poleman 7033), and one described as "lacquered" (JHU IHM En 37: Poleman 7069). New York Public Library in New York City, New York is noted to have three described as "decorated" (NYP Sinhalese 2: Poleman 7013; NYP Sinhalese 5: Poleman 7181; NYP Sinhalese 6: Poleman 6651). (As noted above, by my count New York Public Library has at least six sets of bookcovers which might be so described. See also NYP Sinhalese 3: Poleman 6652; NYP Sinhalese 4: Poleman 7182; and NYP Sinhalese 8: (not listed by Poleman)).

The remainder of these bookcovers all are located at McGill University in Montreal, Quebec. McGill University, with holdings variously in the McGill University Library, the Osler Library at McGill University, and in McGill University's Museum, Medical Library and Medical Museum has by far the largest accumulation of such bookcovers reported to date for a depository with the exceptions of the cumulative collections of the British Library and the very sizable Hugh Nevill collection of the British Library. There are listed for the various McGill University collections cumulatively ten sets of wooden bookcovers described as "painted" (M (Museum) 6: Poleman 6388; M (Museum) 9: Poleman 7017; M (Museum) 11: Poleman 6592; M (Mu-

seum) 13: Poleman 6585; M (Museum) 15: Poleman 6347; M (Museum) 17: Poleman 6588; M (Museum) 18: Poleman 6580; M (Museum) 22: Poleman 6387; M (Museum) Case 28: Poleman 6596; and one manuscript listed without number simply as M (Museum): Poleman 6590). Six sets of wooden bookcovers are described as "decorated, lacquered", that in the Medical Museum being described as "decorated, lacquered ebony covers" (M (Museum) 8: Poleman 6594; M (Museum) 219 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 6581; M (Museum) 266A (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7118; M (Museum) 301 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7044; M (Medical Library) 218 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7077; M (Medical Museum) 162 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7101). Nineteen sets of bookcovers are described as "lacquered", one with the insides of the bookcovers "illustrated" (M OL 7784.4: Poleman 7090; M OL 7784.6: Poleman 7095; M OL 7784.9: Poleman 7022; M OL 8692: Poleman 7036; * M (Museum) 19: Poleman 6587; M (Museum) 24: Poleman 6346; M (Museum) 123 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7139; M (Museum) 123A (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7108; M (Museum) 217B (Casey Wood number): Poleman 6584; M (Museum) 250 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7141; M (Museum) 251 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 6602; M (Medical Library) 16: Poleman 7021; M (Medical Library) 207 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7115; M (Medical Library) 208 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7110; M (Medical Library) 214a (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7100; M (Medical Library) 218 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7103; M (Medical Library) 223 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7079; M (Medical Museum) 204 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7104; M (Medical Museum) 207A (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7105). One set of bookcovers is described as "gilded" (M (Museum) 5: Poleman 7078), and one is described as "gilded and lacquered" (M OL 8689: Poleman 7088).

Also at McGill University, there are six sets of bookcovers described as being made of ebony but not as being decorated (M OL 7784.8: Poleman 7094; M OL 7784.11: Poleman 7028; M OL 7784.16: Poleman 7038; M OL 7784.17: Poleman 7042; M (Museum) 300 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 6591; M (Medical Library) 227 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7102), one set of bookcovers described as "carved wood" (M (Museum) 2: Poleman 6526), one set of bookcovers described as "carved ebony" (M (Museum) 276 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 6579), one set of bookcovers described as being made of silver (M OL 8691: Poleman 7087), one set of bookcovers described as "engraved silver" (M OL 8690: Poleman 7076), one set of bookcovers described as having a "front cover of punched solid silver [with scenes from the life of the Buddha] , and back cover of ebony" (M (Museum) 266 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 6583), one set of bookcovers described as "wood covers, ornamented with plaques of German silver" (M (Medical Library) 211 (Casey Wood number): Poleman 7080), and one set of bookcovers described as "carved ivory" (M (Medical Library) 10 (Casey Wood number, according to Poleman): Poleman 7116).

Other depositories noted above also are listed as having such bookcovers. The University of Michigan Library, which otherwise is noted to have only one set of bookcovers described as "painted", is noted to have also one set of bookcovers described as ebony (U Mich 174: Poleman 7133). Mills College Library is noted to have also one

set of bookcovers described as "decorated silver" (Poleman 7120). The Institute of the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University is noted to have also one set of bookcovers described as "decorated silver" (JHU IHM 30: Poleman 7070). And the University of North Carolina Library is noted to have also one set of bookcovers described as ebony (UNC 14: Poleman 6378), one described as "engraved silver" (UNC 8: Poleman 7150), one described as "brass and silver ... with floral designs" (UNC 1: Poleman 7012), and two described as ivory (UNC 4a: Poleman 6385; UNC 4b: Poleman 6297a). And Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland was noted to have one set of bookcovers described as "wood covers covered with carved brass" (Poleman 6383), Roger W. Barrett of Kenilworth, Illinois was noted to have one set of bookcovers described as ebony (Poleman 6396), and Rev. D. Cambbell Mayers of Middleburg, Virginia was noted to have one set of bookcovers described as "heavy bamboo covers" (Poleman 6578).

Poleman also lists fifty-six Sinhalese script manuscripts in the United States and Canada to have "wood covers". As noted above, this includes covers with unfinished wood, covers which are painted with stain, and covers which are painted with stain and varnish.

Among the depositories covered by P. H. D. H. deSilva in his catalogue, one set of bookcovers at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts is described as "lacquered" (unnumbered). In addition, "plain wooden covers" are noted for three manuscripts, one at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, New York (4362), and two at the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (819/175e, 819/179).

At the University of Pennsylvania, among those manuscripts obtained by the Library since Poleman's "Census", eight sets of bookcovers are painted with design, four with the insides painted as well, one with a single color only (* UP 2877, UP 2879 [lac work design] , * UP 2882 [missing now], UP 2883, * UP 2884, UP 2885, UP 2886, * UP 2887). Two are stained or stained and varnished or lacquered alone, with the insides also stained (* UP 2880, * UP 2881). In addition there are two single manuscript covers obtained from the collection of W. Norman Brown, one painted with design both outside and inside (* UP 3028), and one stained and carved (UP 3029). Among the manuscripts obtained from the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, which manuscripts in the main were not included in Poleman's "Census", four sets of bookcovers were painted with design, two painted on the insides as well, one with a single color only (UP M22, * UP M23, UP M24, * UP M25), one set of bookcovers was both stained and painted with design over the stain (UP M27), and two sets of bookcovers were stained and lacquered alone (UP M19, UP M26). In addition, there is in the Library collection one set of bookcovers covered with tanned leather (UP 2878).

For Great Britain, Wickremasinghe lists nine sets of bookcovers at the British Museum in London which may be described as painted with design, two of these with the insides painted as well (MSS. Nos. 4, 5, 13, 29, * 62, 116, * 124, 128, 134). In addition, one manuscript is described as having bookcovers which are "painted with floral and wickerwork ornamentation" (MS. No. 101), and one manuscript is described as having bookcovers which are "lacquered with wickerwork ornamentation" (MS. No. 26). One

manuscript is described as having bookcovers decorated with carved foliage (MS. No. 118), and one manuscript is described as having bookcovers decorated with carved and inlaid foliage (MS. No. 137).

The India Office Library is listed as having fifteen sets of painted wooden bookcovers. Nine of these are described as having floral designs, traditional foliage designs, flower creeper designs, or flowers placed around the string holes (2 (Sinh. MS 3), 8 (Sinh. MS 2), 12 (Sinh. MS 11), 13 (Sinh. MS 12), 13A (Sinh. MS 30), 16 (Sinh. MS 26), 20 (Sinh. MS 16), 22A (Sinh. MS 31), 25 (Sinh. MS 27)). Of these, one of the sets (16 (Sinh. MS 26)) has one cover which does not match the other, and is inscribed "*Prākrita Sinhaladvīpera bhāṣā*" in black ink with Bengali letters. One set of bookcovers (14 (Sinh. MS 13)) is described as having an unconventional geometrical and floral design. One set, painted an overall red on the insides (* 34A (Sinh. MS 33)) , is described as having a lacquer painting design, i.e. a geometrical design, on the outsides. And four sets of bookcovers are described as having their bevelled edges painted one color and their central panels painted another (17 (Sinh. MS 9), 18 (Sinh. MS 10), 22 (Sinh. MS 15), 26 (Sinh. MS 22)). Such bookcover painting resembles that of Burmese bookcovers, and perhaps may indicate a Burmese origin for the textual readings in these manuscripts.

Thirteen sets of bookcovers are described as being of various types of wood, polished brown wood, black-grained tamarind wood, polished dark-grained wood, inlaid with ivory (4—7 (Sinh. MS 18), 9—11 (Sinh. MS 19), 24 (Sinh. MS 21), 27 (Sinh. MS 24), 28 (Sinh. MS 7), 30 (Sinh. MS 20), 31 (Sinh. MS 25), 36 (Sinh. MS 32)). Seven of these are two manuscripts of seven parts. These covers appear to have been made as a unit for a collection.

Four sets of bookcovers are described as having "brown" or polished wooden covers only (29 (Sinh. MS 23), 32 (Sinh. MS 17), 34 (Sinh. MS 1), 35A (Sinh. MS 34)). Manuscripts without wooden covers are so noted with clarity and consistency.

Among the depositories covered by P. H. D. H. deSilva, the Ashmolian Museum in Oxford is noted to have one set of bookcovers described as "painted" (1965.74), and one set of bookcovers described as being ornamented with silver scroll work (1966.214).

K. D. Somadasa notes one hundred eleven sets of bookcovers for the Nevill collection of the British Library as "painted" or "decorated", with a brief description of the design being given in each instance [44]. Of these, the insides of the covers are painted in thirty-four instances, in four of these cases with a single color. These bookcovers are:

Or. 6599 (2),	Or. 6599 (18),	Or. 6599 (24),
Or. 6599 (38),	Or. 6599 (40),	Or. 6600 (49),
Or. 6600 (50),	Or. 6600 (51),	Or. 6600 (52),
Or. 6600 (55),	* Or. 6600 (61),	* Or. 6600 (63),
* Or. 6600 (67),	* Or. 6600 (69),	Or. 6600 (70),
* Or. 6600 (71),	[* Or. 6600 (75)],	Or. 6600 (79),
Or. 6600 (80),	[* Or. 6600 (84)],	* Or. 6600 (86),
Or. 6600 (92),	Or. 6600 (94),	* Or. 6600 (97),
* Or. 6600 (98),	Or. 6600 (100),	* Or. 6600 (118),
* Or. 6600 (125),	Or. 6600 (127),	Or. 6600 (143),
Or. 6600 (144),	* Or. 6600 (145),	* Or. 6601 (2),
Or. 6601 (3),	* Or. 6601 (25),	Or. 6601 (46),
Or. 6601 (63),	Or. 6601 (76),	Or. 6601 (79),

Or. 6601 (86),	Or. 6601 (88),	Or. 6601 (96),
Or. 6603 (9),	Or. 6603 (16),	Or. 6603 (22),
* Or. 6603 (23),	Or. 6603 (27),	Or. 6603 (31),
Or. 6603 (35),	Or. 6603 (36),	Or. 6603 (38),
Or. 6603 (39),	* Or. 6603 (40),	Or. 6603 (41),
Or. 6603 (52),	Or. 6603 (72),	Or. 6603 (75),
Or. 6603 (78),	Or. 6603 (81),	Or. 6603 (83),
Or. 6603 (98),	Or. 6603 (101),	Or. 6603 (103),
Or. 6603 (109),	Or. 6603 (115),	Or. 6603 (125),
Or. 6603 (127),	* Or. 6603 (173),	* Or. 6603 (180),
Or. 6603 (211),	* Or. 6603 (217),	* Or. 6603 (223),
Or. 6603 (249),	Or. 6603 (250),	Or. 6603 (256),
* Or. 6603 (258),	Or. 6604 (5),	Or. 6604 (25),
Or. 6604 (198),	Or. 6605 (1),	Or. 6605 (4),
Or. 6606 (2),	Or. 6606 (4),	Or. 6606 (7),
* Or. 6606 (10),	Or. 6606 (17),	Or. 6606 (18),
Or. 6606 (23),	* Or. 6606 (25),	* Or. 6606 (39),
Or. 6606 (66),	Or. 6606 (69),	Or. 6606 (94),
* Or. 6606 (96),	Or. 6606 (97),	* Or. 6606 (100),
* Or. 6606 (155),	Or. 6608 (32),	* Or. 6608 (43),
Or. 6609 (1),	* Or. 6609 (11),	Or. 6609 (26),
Or. 6609 (27),	* Or. 6609 (30),	Or. 6610 (10),
Or. 6610 (16),	* Or. 6612 (41),	* Or. 6612 (62),
Or. 6613 (29),	Or. 6614 (7),	* Or. 6615 (17).

Twenty-two sets of bookcovers are described as "painted" with a solid color, sometimes with a border or edge a different color. Of these, the insides of four are each painted a single color as well. These bookcovers are:

Or. 6599 (3),	Or. 6600 (87),	Or. 6601 (49),
Or. 6601 (61),	Or. 6601 (85),	Or. 6603 (20),
Or. 6603 (21),	Or. 6603 (44),	* Or. 6603 (80),
Or. 6603 (105),	Or. 6603 (112),	* Or. 6603 (124),
* Or. 6606 (1),	Or. 6606 (28),	Or. 6606 (93),
Or. 6606 (156),	Or. 6608 (9),	Or. 6608 (33),
* Or. 6609 (36),	Or. 6609 (48),	Or. 6609 (49),
Or. 6611 (124).		

Of note in keeping with my suggestion that at least some of such bookcovers may convey Burmese readings for the manuscripts concerned, is that with regard to Or. 6601 (49) the covers of which are painted light red like Burmese covers, Hugh Nevill is quoted to have noted in reference to the manuscript, " ... The only copies I have seen are in Burmese letters, and transcriptions into Sinhalese from those. ..." Of these bookcovers, also, one (Or.6609 (48)) is as well noted to be of teakwood.

In addition, two sets of bookcovers (Or. 6603 (26) and Or. 6603 (102)) are noted to have traces of paint. For one, the description is not clear as to whether the cover is decorated only with a carved or painted linear border alone (Or. 6608 (24)). For one entry, a set of covers of dark wood is described as having the insides only painted a solid color (* Or. 6612 (84)). And ten sets of bookcovers are described as pale yellow (Or. 6603 (87), Or. 6603 (197), Or. 6603 (221), Or. 6606 (118), Or. 6606 (135), Or. 6606 (136), Or. 6606 (138), Or. 6606 (139), Or. 6608 (37), Or. 6608 (40)), one set of bookcovers is described as being plain cream color (Or. 6601 (33)), and one set of bookcovers is described as being "plain creamy wooden covers" (Or. 6606 (112)). It is not clear whether this indicates that these covers are so painted, or rather are a creamy or pale yellow wood, such as gammalu wood is described to be in

the catalogue at three points (Or. 6609 (24), Or. 6611 (134) and Or. 6611 (266)).

Forty-two sets of covers are described as "lac worked" or "lac painted", and a description of the design is given in each case. Of these, one is painted a single color inside. These covers are:

Or. 6599 (31),	Or. 6599 (33),	[Or. 6599 (35)],
[Or. 6600 (56)],	Or. 6600 (62),	Or. 6600 (91),
Or. 6600 (99),	Or. 6600 (102),	Or. 6600 (141),
Or. 6601 (5),	Or. 6601 (62),	Or. 6601 (87),
Or. 6601 (104),	Or. 6603 (19),	Or. 6603 (28),
Or. 6603 (37),	Or. 6603 (68),	Or. 6603 (70),
Or. 6603 (84),	Or. 6603 (93),	Or. 6603 (100),
Or. 6603 (119),	Or. 6603 (120),	Or. 6603 (212),
Or. 6603 (234),	Or. 6603 (255),	Or. 6604 (1),
Or. 6604 (9),	Or. 6604 (10),	Or. 6604 (106),
Or. 6604 (135),	Or. 6604 (138),	Or. 6604 (146),
Or. 6606 (19),	Or. 6606 (95),	Or. 6607 (4),
Or. 6608 (17),	* Or. 6611 (123),	Or. 6612 (2),
Or. 6612 (88),	Or. 6613 (14),	Or. 6615 (438).

Of these covers, one (Or. 6601 (104)) is lacquered a single color, bright vermillion, as Burmese covers, and the script of the manuscript is Burmese. One of these covers (Or. 6603 (119)) is listed as having fluted edges as well.

In addition, one cover (Or. 6603 (118)) is listed as being an overall color, with a lac worked border only. One cover is noted to be stained with lac work (Or. 6603 (237)), and one cover is noted to have traces of vermillion base and black lacquer (Or. 6604 (8)).

For one set of covers (Or. 6613 (23)), the description is not clear as to whether the covers are lac worked or carved.

A total of ninety-eight sets of bookcovers are described as stained.

Forty-eight are described as dark stained covers, sometimes as brown stained, or black stained, or dark red wine color stained, or wine color stained. These covers are:

Or. 6603 (47),	Or. 6603 (50),	Or. 6603 (77),
Or. 6603 (90),	Or. 6603 (91),	Or. 6603 (92),
Or. 6603 (94),	Or. 6603 (99),	Or. 6603 (108),
Or. 6603 (114),	Or. 6603 (218),	Or. 6603 (220),
Or. 6603 (225),	Or. 6603 (227),	Or. 6603 (240),
Or. 6603 (262),	Or. 6604 (47),	Or. 6604 (137),
Or. 6604 (140),	Or. 6604 (141),	Or. 6604 (143),
Or. 6604 (145),	Or. 6604 (173),	Or. 6604 (220),
Or. 6606 (3),	Or. 6606 (60),	Or. 6606 (68),
Or. 6606 (176),	Or. 6608 (6),	Or. 6608 (45),
Or. 6608 (51),	Or. 6609 (13),	Or. 6609 (32),
Or. 6609 (50),	Or. 6611 (2),	Or. 6611 (37),
Or. 6611 (167),	Or. 6611 (171),	Or. 6611 (175),
Or. 6612 (4),	Or. 6612 (15),	Or. 65612 (72),
Or. 6612 (90),	Or. 6612 (99),	Or. 6612 (102),
Or. 6612 (105),	Or. 6613 (19),	Or. 6614 (50).

In addition, various covers are described as dark stained with additional features. Seven sets of bookcovers are described as dark stained wooden covers with fluted edges instead of the more normal bevelled edges. These are Or. 6603 (107), Or. 6604 (147), Or. 6604 (223), Or. 6607 (3), Or. 6608 (46), Or. 6612 (65), and Or. 6612 (73). Two sets of covers are described as carved dark stained wooden covers with fluted edges, Or. 6604 (46) and Or. 6612 (21). Seven sets of bookcovers are described as carved dark stained wooden covers, Or. 6603 (51),

Or. 6603 (74), Or. 6603 (82), Or. 6604 (136), Or. 6604 (174), Or. 6604 (203), and Or. 6604 (211). One set of bookcovers is described as dark stained wooden covers with traces of a lac work border, Or. 6603 (54). Two sets are described as dark stained wooden covers with slightly bevelled edges and a linear border, Or. 6612 (18) and Or. 6613 (50). And one set is described as dark stained wooden covers with a chisel cut chevron border, Or. 6612 (91). This is an additional twenty sets of bookcovers that can be described as dark stained.

Twelve sets of bookcovers are described as mahogany stained covers. These are Or. 6600 (72), Or. 6600 (101), Or. 6601 (77), Or. 6603 (5), Or. 6603 (8), Or. 6603 (122), Or. 6603 (123), Or. 6604 (134), Or. 6611 (1), Or. 6611 (129), Or. 6611 (174), Or. 6615 (364).

In addition, one set is described as carved mahogany stained covers, Or. 6603 (45), and for one set the covers are described as mahogany stained but it is not clear if the design is carved or painted, Or. 6603 (117).

One set of bookcovers is described as teak stained covers, Or. 6611 (52). One set is described as carved sapuwood covers, teak color stained, Or. 6604 (133). And one set is described as carved wooden covers with a teak finish, the design is given, and mention is made of an inlay of black wax, Or. 6603 (226). Five sets of bookcovers are described as stained wooden covers, Or. 6603 (95), Or. 6609 (28), Or. 6612 (40), Or. 6612 (87), Or. 6612 (104). One set of bookcovers is described as carved stained covers, Or. 6603 (106). Five sets of bookcovers are described as lightly stained wooden covers, Or. 6604 (149), Or. 6606 (35), Or. 6608 (47), Or. 6609 (34), Or. 6611 (4). Two sets of bookcovers are described as lightly stained or stained teak covers, Or. 6612 (1) and Or. 6612 (113).

Eleven sets of bookcovers are mentioned as carved wooden covers without stain and without the type of wood being mentioned, but with a description of the design being given, Or. 6603 (97), Or. 6603 (104), Or. 6603 (121), Or. 6603 (214), Or. 6603 (263), Or. 6604 (224). One of these sets is noted to have fluted edges, Or. 6612 (47). Two sets are noted to have double fluted edges instead of the more usual bevelled edges, Or. 6600 (93) and Or. 6604 (130). One set is noted to be carved with a lac worked border, Or. 6600 (60). One set is noted to be carved wooden covers with silver applique and metal studs, Or. 6600 (120).

In addition, there are seventeen or eighteen ebony covers, eight of nine of which are carved. Eight sets of bookcovers are noted to be ebony alone, Or. 6601 (36), Or. 6601 (55), Or. 6601 (58), Or. 6604 (150), Or. 6606 (14), Or. 6609 (44), Or. 6612 (16), Or. 6612 (89). One set is noted to be ebony lacquered deep orange, Or. 6609 (47). Five sets of bookcovers are noted to be ebony covers with fluted instead of bevelled edges, Or. 6600 (54), Or. 6600 (104), Or. 6603 (96), Or. 6604 (11), Or. 6613 (35). One set of bookcovers is noted to be carved ebony with lac work, Or. 6600 (59). And two sets are noted to be carved ebony, Or. 6599 (34) and Or. 6609 (25). One set is described as being carved black wooden covers, with the design being given, Or. 6604 (132). This is probably also ebony, but we cannot be sure.

Forty-three sets of covers are described as teakwood. One of these is described as being carved. The shelf numbers of the covers are:

Or. 6600 (53), Or. 6600 (64), Or. 6600 (88),
Or. 6601 (7), Or. 6601 (44), Or. 6603 (42),
Or. 6603 (61), Or. 6603 (67), Or. 6603 (76),
Or. 6603 (116), Or. 6603 (126), Or. 6603 (141),
Or. 6603 (152), Or. 6603 (184), Or. 6603 (193),
Or. 6603 (231), Or. 6603 (236), Or. 6603 (260),
Or. 6604 (29), Or. 6604 (52), Or. 6604 (118),
Or. 6604 (176), Or. 6605 (7), Or. 6606 (20),
Or. 6606 (38), Or. 6606 (41), Or. 6606 (62),
Or. 6606 (72), Or. 6606 (73), Or. 6606 (174),
Or. 6608 (21), Or. 6608 (25), Or. 6608 (35),
Or. 6609 (4), Or. 6609 (37), Or. 6609 (39),
Or. 6610 (20), Or. 6611 (135), Or. 6611 (177),
Or. 6611 (244), Or. 6612 (111), Or. 6613 (31).

The shelf number of the carved teak cover is Or. 6603 (29). Also note that in addition two teakwood covers are listed above as being described as lightly stained or stained.

Forty sets of bookcovers are described as dark wooden covers, seven or nine of these noted to be carved or to have their edges carved. The plain dark wooden covers are:

Or. 6601 (1), Or. 6601 (53), Or. 6601 (101),
Or. 6602 (1), Or. 6602 (2), Or. 6603 (13),
Or. 6603 (17), Or. 6603 (25), Or. 6603 (32),
Or. 6603 (33), Or. 6603 (113), Or. 6603 (151),
Or. 6603 (192), Or. 6603 (209), Or. 6603 (215),
Or. 6604 (2), Or. 6604 (3), Or. 6604 (13),
Or. 6604 (142), Or. 6604 (151), Or. 6606 (92),
Or. 6607 (20), Or. 6609 (22), Or. 6611 (26),
Or. 6612 (35), Or. 6612 (109), Or. 6612 (110),
Or. 6615 (137), Or. 6615 (252), Or. 6615 (400),
Or. 6615 (483).

Five sets of dark wooden covers are noted to have fluted edges, Or. 6603 (224), Or. 6604 (62), Or. 6604 (131), Or. 6605 (3), Or. 6615 (13). Two sets of dark wooden covers are noted to have a linear border, but it is not clear if it is carved or painted, Or. 6603 (111) and Or. 6612 (17). Two sets of dark wooden covers are noted to be carved, with descriptions of the designs given, Or. 6603 (48) and Or. 6603 (73).

One set of bookcovers is noted to be wooden covers, varnished dark, Or. 6603 (34).

In total, five sets of covers are noted to be sapuwood — four plain sapuwood covers, Or. 6601 (32), Or. 6604 (152), Or. 6608 (26), and Or. 6611 (132); and one teak color stained carved sapuwood cover noted above with the stained covers.

Six sets of covers are noted to be ginisapuwood, Or. 6604 (30), Or. 6604 (162), Or.6606 (40), Or. 6610 (19), Or. 6611 (122), Or. 6611 (133).

Seven sets of covers are noted to be satinwood, Or. 6599 (29), Or. 6600 (48), Or. 6601 (6), Or. 6603 (43), Or. 6608 (41), Or. 6612 (115), and Or. 6601 (56) which is noted to have on it smudging strokes of mahogany stain.

Fourteen sets of bookcovers are noted to be of calamander wood, Or. 6600 (83), Or. 6601 (78), Or. 6603 (110), Or. 6603 (208), Or. 6604 (14), Or. 6604 (21), Or. 6605 (14), Or. 6608 (23), Or. 6608 (39), Or. 6609 (12), Or. 6610 (17), Or. 6613 (2), Or. 6613 (37), Or. 6613 (51).

Ten sets of bookcovers are of coconut wood, Or. 6604 (49), Or. 6604 (63), Or. 6604 (74), Or. 6604

(244), Or. 6606 (102), Or. 6608 (15), Or. 6609 (23), Or. 6611 (89), Or. 6613 (25), Or. 6613 (38).

One set of bookcovers are described as being pine-board, Or. 6604 (170).

At least eleven sets of bookcovers are noted to be gammalu wood, Or. 6603 (187), Or. 6603 (242), Or. 6603 (244), Or. 6608 (16), Or. 6608 (20), Or. 6608 (27), Or. 6608 (28), Or. 6609 (24), Or. 6610 (14), Or. 6611 (134), Or. 6611 (266). This wood is described as pale yellow or light yellow in Or. 6609 (24) and Or. 6611 (134), and as pale wood in Or. 6611 (266). As noted above, there are ten sets of bookcovers, listed above, which are described as pale yellow and two described as cream colored which may also be gammalu wood.

Fifteen sets of bookcovers are described as being light or pale wooden covers:

Or. 6601 (11), Or. 6601 (43), Or. 6601 (54),
Or. 6603 (64), Or. 6611 (122), Or. 6611 (127),
Or. 6611 (138), Or. 6611 (143), Or. 6611 (161),
Or. 6611 (180), Or. 6611 (235), Or. 6611 (246),
Or. 6611 (259), Or. 6611 (262), Or. 6612 (7).

Of these, Or. 6611 (138) is noted to be possibly valamba, Or. 6611 (246) is noted to be possibly mango or amba, and Or. 6611 (262) is noted to be possibly mango.

Forty-nine sets of bookcovers are noted to be of kitul wood. These are:

Or. 6600 (114), Or. 6601 (9), Or. 6601 (72),
Or. 6602 (3), Or. 6603 (89), Or. 6603 (164),
Or. 6603 (257), Or. 6604 (50), Or. 6604 (51),
Or. 6604 (64), Or. 6604 (78), Or. 6604 (139),
Or. 6604 (163), Or. 6604 (217), Or. 6604 (231),
Or. 6606 (55), Or. 6606 (141), Or. 6607 (7),
Or. 6607 (23), Or. 6609 (7), Or. 6609 (16),
Or. 6609 (31), Or. 6611 (3), Or. 6611 (44),
Or. 6611 (145), Or. 6611 (147), Or. 6611 (148),
Or. 6611 (197), Or. 6612 (48), Or. 6612 (53),
Or. 6612 (55), Or. 6612 (56), Or. 6612 (59),
Or. 6612 (85), Or. 6612 (94), Or. 6612 (97),
Or. 6612 (117), Or. 6613 (21), Or. 6614 (6),
Or. 6615 (7), Or. 6615 (33), Or. 6615 (140),
Or. 6615 (235), Or. 6615 (296), Or. 6615 (367),
Or. 6615 (368), Or. 6615 (408), Or. 6615 (418),
Or. 6615 (439).

One hundred twenty-seven sets of bookcovers are noted to be plain wooden covers. These are:

Or. 6599 (36), Or. 6599 (37), Or. 6600 (58),
Or. 6600 (65), Or. 6600 (66), Or. 6600 (68),
Or. 6600 (74), Or. 6600 (85), Or. 6600 (108),
Or. 6600 (111), Or. 6600 (122), Or. 6600 (123),
Or. 6600 (124), Or. 6600 (126), Or. 6600 (134),
Or. 6600 (140), Or. 6600 (142), Or. 6600 (146),
Or. 6600 (147), Or. 6600 (148), Or. 6601 (4),
Or. 6601 (8), Or. 6601 (10), Or. 6601 (12),
Or. 6601 (31), Or. 6601 (48), Or. 6601 (50),
Or. 6601 (57), Or. 6601 (59), Or. 6601 (60),
Or. 6601 (80), Or. 6601 (82), Or. 6601 (83),
Or. 6601 (90), Or. 6601 (95), Or. 6601 (98),
Or. 6603 (10), Or. 6603 (24), Or. 6603 (30),
Or. 6603 (46), Or. 6603 (53), Or. 6603 (55),
Or. 6603 (71), Or. 6603 (79), Or. 6603 (85),
Or. 6603 (86), Or. 6603 (88), Or. 6603 (210),

Or. 6603 (213),   Or. 6603 (216),   Or. 6603 (222),
Or. 6603 (228),   Or. 6603 (229),   Or. 6603 (230),
Or. 6603 (232),   Or. 6603 (233),   Or. 6603 (235),
Or. 6603 (239),   Or. 6603 (251),   Or. 6604 (4),
Or. 6604 (7),   Or. 6604 (22),   Or. 6604 (34),
Or. 6604 (41),   Or. 6604 (82),   Or. 6604 (148),
Or. 6604 (172),   Or. 6605 (2),   Or. 6605 (6),
Or. 6605 (15),   Or. 6606 (5),   Or. 6606 (8),
Or. 6606 (11),   Or. 6606 (12),   Or. 6606 (13),
Or. 6606 (15),   Or. 6606 (24),   Or. 6606 (26),
Or. 6606 (29),   Or. 6606 (47),   Or. 6606 (61),
Or. 6606 (67),   Or. 6606 (74),   Or. 6606 (78),
Or. 6606 (98),   Or. 6606 (117),   Or. 6606 (126),
Or. 6606 (157),   Or. 6608 (10),   Or. 6608 (11),
Or. 6608 (29),   Or. 6608 (30),   Or. 6608 (31),
Or. 6608 (34),   Or. 6608 (38),   Or. 6608 (42),
Or. 6608 (52),   Or. 6609 (14),   Or. 6609 (15),
Or. 6609 (35),   Or. 6610 (15),   Or. 6610 (18),.
Or. 6611 (7),   Or. 6611 (90),   Or. 6611 (109),
Or. 6611 (131),   Or. 6611 (136),   Or. 6611 (142),
Or. 6611 (215),   Or. 6612 (3),   Or. 6612 (42),
Or. 6612 (44),   Or. 6612 (45),   Or. 6612 (54),
Or. 6612 (58),   Or. 6612 (78),   Or. 6612 (112),
Or. 6613 (11),   Or. 6613 (24),   Or. 6613 (28),
Or. 6614 (2),   Or. 6614 (5),   Or. 6614 (8),
Or. 6615 (361),   Or. 6615 (508),   Or. 6615 (534),
Or. 6616 (4).

Of these, one is noted to be varnished (Or. 6603 (251)) and one is noted to be waxed (Or. 6608 (10)).

All told, not counting carved or stained covers, or covers with filigree work, and not counting ebony covers in any of their variations which have traditionally been noted separately in our catalogues, we have here three hundred seventeen or three hundred twenty-nine plain wooden covers, depending on whether the ten covers listed as pale yellow and the two listed as cream colored are plain *gammālu* wood or the like.

In addition, we have one set of silver covers with filigree work and copper backs, Or. 6600 (152).

And we have some palm leaf covers which normally are not mentioned in the literature and therefore have been neglected in the main in this paper. The material here though is so good for them that it is worth mentioning. Two are palm leaf covers decorated in various ways, Or. 6603 (136) and Or. 6603 (203). Twelve are noted to be stitched or sewn palm leaf covers, some noted to have chevron borders, Or. 6604 (166), Or. 6606 (81), Or. 6606 (134), Or. 6607 (6), Or. 6608 (3), Or. 6611 (53), Or. 6611 (173), Or. 6611 (258), Or. 6615 (64), Or. 6615 (109), Or. 6615 (351), Or. 6615 (514). Two are noted to be simply palm leaf covers, Or. 6606 (6) and Or. 6611 (15), and one is noted to be a sheath of palm leaf, Or. 6611 (18). This is a total of seventeen palm leaf covers.

This is clearly the most significant grouping of Sinhalese bookcovers described, and the collection is described more fully than other collections.

For Germany, H. Bechert lists thirty sets of bookcovers painted with design, three of which are painted with a solid color – one with a metal edge, one painted with pure lacquer, one gilded, and one with a recent design in black India ink. As in the United States and Canada, most depositories have only one such set of bookcovers. Four of these sets of bookcovers have insides also painted with design, and one has insides painted overall a single color.

Of those bookcovers noted to be painted with design, one set each is found at the Übersee-Museum in Bremen (A 1326: Bechert 29), the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt (Cod. Or. 63f: Bechert 169), the Museum für Völkerkunde in Freiburg (IV-1894: Bechert 127), the Indologiesches Seminar of the Universität in Göttingen (Wa 4: Bechert 31), the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen (* Cod. MS. orient. var. 82: Bechert 23), the Universitätsbibliothek in Jena (Ms. Palm. Sgh. 1: Bechert 48), the Religionskunkliche Sammlung of the Universität in Marburg (1376 Mq 24: Bechert 30), the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (* Cod. or. mixt. 90b: Bechert 22), and the Universitätsbibliothek in Rostock (Ms. Sgh. 1 (Mss. orient. 234): Bechert 8). One such set of bookcovers also is found in the private collection of H. Bechert in Göttingen (MS-Sgh. 1: Bechert 47). One set of bookcovers described as painted red is found at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden (E b 441b: Bechert 39), one described as painted dark red is found at the Universitätsbibliothek in Leipzig (Palm 28: Bechert 90), and one described as gilded is found at the Seminar für Indology of the Universität in Tübingen (1155/65: Bechert 56).

Groupings of two or three such sets of bookcovers are located at five depositories. Buddhistisches Haus in Berlin has one set of bookcovers painted with design (Hs. 2: Bechert 43) and one with a recent design in black India ink (Hs. 1: Bechert 20). The Linden-Museum in Stuttgart has one set of bookcovers painted with design (L 14721109: Bechert 27), and one set painted with sheer lacquer (7358: Bechert 64). The Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Halle has two sets of bookcovers painted with design (Yb 2⁰ 10: Bechert 72; Zc 10: Bechert 12). The Indische Kunstabteilung (and the Museum für Indische Kunst) of the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin has three sets of bookcovers painted with design (H-Sgh. 103: Bechert 9; * H-Sgh. 105: Bechert 99; H-Sgh. 106: Bechert 37). And the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg similarly has three sets of bookcovers painted with design (* 474 : 08: Bechert 149; 1045 : 05: Bechert 17; 2066 : 08: Bechert 87).

The single significant collection of such bookcovers is reported for the Staatsbibliothek of the Stiftung Preussicher Kulturbesitz in Marburg and the Depot of the Staatsbibliothek, which manuscripts were at the time of Bechert's catalogue temporarily in Tübingen. This collection contains twelve such bookcovers. Eight sets of bookcovers painted with design are located in Marburg (* Hs. or. 694: Bechert 7; Hs. or. 1621: Bechert 104; Hs. or. 1623: Bechert 55; Hs. or. 1624: Bechert 80; Hs. or. 1625: Bechert 96; Ms. or. fol. 377: Bechert 100; Ms. or. fol. 3148: Bechert 26; Ms. or. fol. 3149: Bechert 21). Three sets were noted to be located temporarily in Tübingen (Ms. or. fol. 378: Bechert 5; Ms. or. fol. 1339: Bechert 160; Ms. or. fol. 4137: Bechert 52). This amounts to eleven sets of bookcovers painted with design. In addition, at the Depot in Tübingen one manuscript was reported to be together with a set of bookcovers painted black with a metal edge, and with Burmese characters scratched on the inside of one of the bookcovers (Ms. or. fol. 3085: Bechert 167). To be noted is that the appearance of this set of bookcovers is more Burmese than Sinhalese.

The Indische Kunstabteilung (and Museum für Indische Kunst) of the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz also is noted to have one set of bookcovers described as carved

(H-Sgh. 110a, H-Sgh. 110b: Bechert 105, 112). The Depot of the Staatsbibliothek of the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Tübingen also was noted to have one set of bookcovers described as polished (Ms. or. fol. 459: Bechert 157). And the Bibliothek of the Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellsschaft in Halle, which is not noted above, is noted to have one set of bookcovers described as carved (Palmblatths. 1a, Palmblatths. 1b: Bechert 118, 117), and one set described as being of ornamented metalwork with wooden insides (Palmblatths. 3: Bechert 73).

Forty, perhaps thirty-nine manuscripts are noted simply to be together with bookcovers, a handful being noted as plain bookcovers or undistinguished bookcovers.

The Royal Library, Copenhagen and the other Danish collections reported by C. E. Godakumbura contain twenty-two bookcovers which can be described as painted with design — four with the center panels painted a solid color. Twelve are described as being lacquered with floral designs, one of these having its insides painted each with a different design as well (PA (Sinh.) 10 (Cod. Pal. VI) together with PA (Sinh.) 12 (Cod. Pal. XIII), PA (Sinh.) 19 (Cod. Pal. XVII), PA (Sinh.) 20 (Cod. Pal. XIX), PA (Sinh.) 25 (Cod. Pal. XXVIII), *PA (Sinh.) 27 (Cod. Pal. XXXIII), PAS (Sinh.) 1 (Cod. Pal. XXIV), PAS (Sinh.) 3 (Bl. 2), PAS (Sinh.) 7 (Cod. Pal. XII), PAS (Sinh.) 15 (Cod. Pal. U. B. ukat. I), ES (Sinh.) 3 (Cod. Elu. Sin. VI), ES (Sinh.) 19 (Bl. 10), ES (Sinh.) 20 (Lind 3)). Five are described variously as being "lacquered, ..., ornamented with geometrical and floral designs" (PA (Sinh.) 13 (Cod. Pal. XIVa)), "decorated with simple ornaments, painted ..." (PA (Sinh.) 26 (Cod. Pal. XXIX)), "lacquered, and painted with designs" (PA (Sinh.) 31 (Cod. Pal. XXXII)), and "with lacquer designs" (ES (Sinh.) 7 (Cod. Elu. Sin. VIII), ES (Sinh.) 8 (National Museum D 2196)). Three are described as lacquered with one color for the center panel and another color for the borders (PA (Sinh.) 8 (Bl. 4), PAS (Sinh.) 4 (Cod. Pal. XI), PAS (Sinh.) 6 (Pallis 2)), and one is described as lacquered red overall (ES (Sinh.) 14 (Cod. Elu. Sin. XIII)). These four bookcovers show Burmese influence in their design. The last bookcover has borders painted with lotus designs, but the center fields have mounted on them punched copper plates (ES (Sinh.) 12 (Wilhjelm)).

In addition, three sets of bookcovers have carved decorations (ES (Sinh.) 6 (Cod. Elu. Sin. VII), ES (Sinh.) 18 (Cod. Pal. U. B. 15), ES (Sinh.) 47 (Cod. Elu. Sin. XII)), and one set of bookcovers contains an incised design scratched into one of its covers (PA (Sinh.) 37 (Cod. Pal. XXX)).

Most of these bookcovers are in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. One (ES (Sinh.) 8) is housed in the National Museum, and one (ES (Sinh.) 12) is in private hands, with microfilm of the manuscript in the Royal Library.

C. E. Godakumbura also notes fifty-eight manuscripts to be together with plain covers. Of these, thirty-nine are with Ceylon made wooden boards, thirteen are with European made wooden boards, and six are with plain boards variously described.

For France, J. Liyanaratne's recent catalogue of Sinhalese language manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris notes nine sets of wooden bookcovers which can be described in brief as ornamented with designs painted in various colors (No. 1 (Indien 1046), No. 4 (Indien 901), No. 6 (Smith-Lesouëf 269), No. 10 (Indien 981), No. 12

(Indien 906), No. 17 (Indien 1047), No. 35 (Indien 914), No. 44 (Indien 931), No. 51 (Indien 1059)), and one set of bookcovers painted an overall red (on its exterior?) (No. 29 (Indien 915)). In addition, one set of bookcovers (No. 61 (Indien 909)) is described as possibly being ebony, three sets of wooden bookcovers are described as "varnished", one of these with the longitudinal edges molded, twenty-four sets are described as "not varnished", one of these noted to have its outside edges molded, and one set is described as "polished". Twenty-five manuscripts are noted simply to be together with "wooden covers" not further described except for tie holes and tie cords. In one instance, though, the covers are noted to have "bevelled edges". This catalogue, it is to be emphasized, does not cover Pāli manuscripts written in Sinhalese script, which will no doubt add to the number of Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

The only other information for elsewhere in France is reported by P. H. D. H. deSilva who notes one set of painted wooden bookcovers at the Musée de l'Homme, Palais de Chaillot in Paris (37.39.17).

The number of Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers, or otherwise ornamented bookcovers, reported to date for elsewhere is insignificant. P. H. D. H. deSilva reports one set of wooden bookcovers described as "painted" at the Musée Royale d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels (E. O. 2008). He also notes this museum to have one set of bookcovers described as being made of ebony and silver (E. O. 1424). And the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam is noted to have one set of bookcovers described as "decorative wooden covers" (A 9102). N. D. Mironov reports one manuscript (No. 433) to be together with bookcovers decorated with silver at the Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Aziatskiĭ Muzeĭ. And, as noted above, the Colombo Museum clearly has at least four sets of painted wooden bookcovers, but the lists and catalogues for this depository do not refer to bookcovers in their manuscript descriptions.

The purpose of this compilation of data, as stated at the outset, is to facilitate research on Sinhalese decorative wooden bookcovers. It is hoped in general that the data brought together in this paper, the analysis of the material in my earlier paper [45], and the survey of the literature on Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers herein will stimulate and encourage not only a better cataloguing of our Sinhalese materials in the future, and further research on these materials, but will also stimulate and encourage the paying of a greater amount of attention to these materials and to the decorative palm leaf cover folios in the main not covered in this paper, and cover folios in general, throughout South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Tibet. One point remains to be underscored. In recent work the writer has done on writing in South Asia, published in "The Indian attitude toward writing" [46], there emerged the point that in Indic traditions palm leaf frondes partake of what scholars in religious studies refer to as "the sacred". What we appear to have is palm leaf frondes standing for the petals of a lotus strung between and emanating from the bookcovers or cover leaves. Our bookcovers, or ornamented palm leaf frondes, when these occur display the warp onto which the text is woven. From the South Asian vantage, when we have bookcovers these are usually intended to be considered as a unit with the rest of the manuscript. They are a part of a philosophical whole. As I have indicated in my earlier paper on Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers,

there is often a relationship between the bookcovers and the text, and from the bookcovers we can often understand certain things about the text between them. Examples of this were given in my earlier paper [47]. K. D. Somadasa, while he does not wish to see this applied too rigidly, or go too far, has offered a further example from the Nevill collection of a manuscript the bookcovers of which depict a lion pouncing on an elephant. The beginning of the text of this manuscript makes reference to a lion scalping an elephant. The manuscript referred to would be Nevill collection MS. Or. 6608 (43) of the *Akhyāta Pada* of Vagëgoḍa [Dhammakusala]thera. It is also of note that among the painted wooden bookcovers in the Nevill collection, which manuscripts are ordered by content, dark orange backgrounds for covers painted with floral design do not occur with any frequency before vol. 4 of the catalogue, which contains works on history, geography, cosmology and ethnography, and grammar. Such a color scheme hardly ever occurs among these manuscripts with manuscripts of Buddhist works of doctrine and devotion in Pāli and Sinhalese, as in vols. 1 and 2 of the catalogue, or with manuscripts of Buddhist verse in Sinhalese as in vol. 3. It occurs in vol. 4 all told four times, among the much larger number of manuscripts in vols. 1 and 2 together all told three times, and in vol. 3 not at all. There seem to be other relationships between usual content and color scheme as well, as with regard to black backgrounds, for instance. Vol. 4 of the catalogue contains four covers described as painted with black backgrounds. The much larger number of manuscripts with decorated bookcovers in vols. 1 and 2 do contain perhaps ten or eleven bookcovers with black backgrounds, but roughly half of these are lac worked covers.

The majority of these covers with black background which are painted are in vol. 1, almost all of those with black backgrounds in vol. 2 being lac worked. Vol. 3 contains three covers with black backgrounds, but two of these are lac worked, not painted as the bookcovers with black backgrounds in vol. 4. To be kept in mind here is that the color combinations are not given for all the painted wooden bookcovers described in this catalogue. A possible significance of Sinhalese bookcovers painted as are Burmese bookcovers usually has also been noted above.

In different words, from bookcovers we can often understand certain things about the text between them. And this would seem to be so even with regard to what are otherwise regarded as plain wooden covers, as I indicated in my earlier paper [48]. While texts can be studied in their own right from the vantage of several manuscripts of a text, and while the bookcovers can be studied in their own right, our manuscript cataloguing must make better note than is usually the case of all such bookcovers and cover leaves, and the statements of these can be profitably considered when relevant in our study of texts.

We in the West have such proverbs and proverbial phrases as, "You can't judge a book by its cover", and "a book without a cover", indicating a separation between the content of a book and its cover. In Indic traditions, on the other hand, you can often judge a book by its cover. Something about the contents of a book is on display right out front on its cover. There is no disjunction between a book and its cover. They are together the book in its manifestation in a single place, much as the idol of a deity is the deity in a single manifestation. We must pay greater attention to bookcovers.

Notes

1. This paper was originally prepared from 1978—1983 together with my "Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers in the collections of the Library and University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania", published in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, n. s., 14 (1984—1985), pp. 1—24 + 4 plates (9 figures). It's original intent was to place the Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers held by the University of Pennsylvania Library and University Museum in context. Publication of it at that time was held off, though, in anticipation of the cataloguing of the Hugh Nevill collection of the British Library by K. D. Somadasa. It was decided that the bookcovers from that collection should be mentioned herein as well. That effort is now completed with the publication of vol. 7 in 1995.

2. H. I. Poleman, *Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New Haven, 1938). — American Oriental Series, vol. 12.

3. I use the verb, "to paint", in the broadest sense that *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Massachusetts, 1974), 824a, will allow. In this sense, "paint" can be used as the action of painter work in general: "to apply color, pigment, or paint to". I do this for reason of what is found "painted" in combination on Sinhalese bookcovers, for reasons of the methodology necessary in the investigation of wooden bookcovers and their relationship to texts, and in the context of the difficulties Poleman appears to have faced in his brief descriptions of Indic and Greater Indic bookcovers.

4. S. H. Levitt, et al., *A Descriptive Catalog of the Indic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania*, micro edition (Stony Brook, Long Island: The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, [1977]).

5. S. H. Levitt, "The Library's Indic Manuscript Collection", *Library Chronicle*, 40.2 (Winter 1976), pp. 151—61.

6. S. H. Levitt, "A descriptive catalogue of Indic and greater Indic manuscripts in the collection of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania", *Library Chronicle*, 44.2 (Winter 1980), pp. 97—152 + 10 plates.

7. See note 1.

8. P. H. D. H. deSilva, *A Catalogue of Antiquities and Other Cultural Objects from Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Abroad* (Colombo, 1975).

9. See O. Frankfurter, "List of Pāli manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* (1882), pp. 30—1; H. Oldenberg, "Catalogue of the Pāli manuscripts in the India Office Library", *ibid.* (1882), pp. 59—128; K. J. R. Hoerning, "List of Pāli manuscripts in the British Museum", *ibid.* (1883), pp. 133—44; T. W. Rhys Davids, "List of Pāli manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library", *ibid.* (1883), pp. 145—6; and K. J. R. Hoerning, "List of Pāli manuscripts in the British Museum, acquired since 1883", *ibid.* (1888), pp. 108—11.

10. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1900).

11. See K. L. Janert, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts*, Part 1, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 1 (Wiesbaden, 1965), 85 (No. 159). Refer to K. D. Somadasa in this regard, *Laṅkāvē Puskoḷa Pot Nāmāvaḷiya*, pt. 3, *Upagranthaya Britānya Kautukāgayē Laṅkeye Puskoḷa Pot Nāmāvaḷiya* (Columbo, 1964).

12. K. D. Somadasa, *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, 7 vols. (Henley-on-Thames and London, 1987—1995).

13. See note 1.

14. C. Bendall, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1902).

15. *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, comp. by D. J. Wijayaratne in collaboration with A. S. Kulasuriya (London, 1981).

16. deSilva, *op. cit.*

17. *Catalogue des Livres Imprimés et Manuscrits Composant la Bibliothèque de Feu M. Eugène Burnouf*, compiled through the service of Mc Ducroq, Appraiser (Paris, 1854), pp. 338—42, snf 350—52.

18. L. Feer, "List of Pāli manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* (1882), pp. 32—7.

19. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanscrits et Pāli*, 2e fasc. – Mss. Pāli, by A. Cabaton (Paris, 1908).

20. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Indiens, Indo-Chinois et Malayo-Polynésiens*, by A. Cabaton (Paris, 1912).

21. J. Filliozat, "Liste des manuscrits de la collection Palmyr Cordier conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale", *Journal Asiatique*, 224 (1934), pp. 155—73.

22. deSilva, *op. cit.*

23. See note 20.

24. See note 21.

25. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Catalogue des Manuscrits Singhalais*, by J. Liyanaratne (Paris, 1983).

26. *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München mit Ausschluss der Hebräischen, Arabischen und Persischen* (München, 1875). — Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Manacensis, 1.4.

27. J. C. Irmischer, *Handschriften-Katalog der Königlichen Universitätsbibliothek zu Erlangen* (Frankfurt G. M. und Erlangen, 1852).

28. *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussichen State*, 3 Bde. (Berlin, 1893—1894).

29. H. Bechert, *Singhalesische Handschriften*, teil 1, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 22.1 (Wiesbaden, 1969).

30. T. W. Rhys Davids, "List of Pāli manuscripts in the Copenhagen Royal Library", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* (1883), pp. 147—9.

31. N. L. Westergaard, *Codices Indici Bibliothecae Regiae Havniensis* (Havnieae, 1846). — Kongelige Bibliothek Codices Orientales, 1.

32. C. E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* (Copenhagen, 1980). — Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs Etc. in Danish Collections, vol. 1.

33. O. K. Nordstrand, "Bog og skrift i Ceylon", *Fund og Forskning i det Kongelige Bibliothek Samlinger*, 7 (1960), pp. [138]—50, 188.

34. H. E. Weijers, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum*, quem ... edidit P. de Jong (Lugduni Batavorum, 1862).

35. E. W. Dahlgren, "Pāli Manuscripts at Stockholm", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* (1883), pp. 150—1, and V. Fausbøll, "Förteckning öfver de af Frih. A. E. Nordenskiöld fran Ceylon hemförda Pāli-manuscript", *Ymer*, 3 (1883), pp. 200—5.

36. *Katalog indiĭskikh rukopiseĭ*, by N. D. Mironov (Petrograd, 1914). — Akademiia Nauk, Katalogi, 1.

37. "Madurāsiyē tibena Siṃhala puskoḷa pot", *Gurukula*, 1 (1944), pp.43—7.

38. E. W. Adikara, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Pāli Manuscripts in the Adyar Library* (Madras, 1947). — Adyar Library Series, No. 62.

39. H. C. P. Bell, "List of Pāli manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Kandy", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* (1882), pp. 38—45.

40. L. deZoysa, "List of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit manuscripts in the Colombo Museum", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* (1882), pp. 46—58.

41. L. deZoysa, *A Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1885).

42. W. A. deSilva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*, vol. 1 (Colombo, 1938). — Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A, No. 4 .

43. K. D. Somadasa, *Laṅkāvē Puskoḷa Pot Nāmāvaḷiya*, I — II (Colombo, 1959—1964).

44. When I have placed a number in these listings from K. D. Somadasa's *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library* in brackets, this indicates that the listing as given here, e.g. with an asterisk preceding the manuscript number, for instance, was not indicated clearly in the catalogue. The listing as given here has been clarified from correspondence with K. D. Somadasa from back in 1982. At that time, I provided K. D. Somadasa with an early copy of my paper. It is hoped that my having provided K. D. Somadasa with an earlier version of this paper and the paper published in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 14 (1984—1985) is in some way in part responsible for the overall excellence of the listings regarding Sinhalese bookcovers in K. D. Somadasa's Hugh Nevill catalogue.

45. See note 1.

46. S. H. Levitt, "The Indian attitude toward writing", *Indologica Taurinensia*, 13 (1985—1986), pp. 229—50 + 23 plates (42 figures).

47. See note 1.

48. See note 1.

Illustrations

Plate 1

a — Detail of one of the bookcovers for University of Pennsylvania Library MS. 2883 (UP 2883). These Sinhalese bookcovers display what would appear to be a native Christian motif. Within larger semi-circles on top and bottom respectively of the bookcovers are semi-circular arrangements of smaller circles one inside another, so that the more inward parts of the lines for almost all of these smaller circles are obscured. The large semi-circles resemble Western rosettes, as opposed to the more traditional Sinhalese "rosette". The design pays no regard to the cut of the bookcover which creates a central panel and a bordering area, indicating probably a limitless universe in contrast to the more standard Sinhalese idiom of a lotus border. The latter suggests perhaps that the designs on the traditional bookcover represent the entire creation. The bookcovers here accompany a *sanna* (word-by-word rendering), in Sinhalese, of a Pāli text on the life of Jesus Christ (see *Plate 1* on p. 49 of the present issue).

b — Detail of one of the bookcovers for University of Pennsylvania Library MS. 2884 (UP 2884). These are Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers the paint of which is chipped, worn off, and faded. The reddish undercoat shows through in a number of places. The original coloring of the bookcovers perhaps may have been yellow and black on a deep reddish-brown background, but this is not certain. The pattern in the central panel, which can no longer be seen clearly, appears to have been a continuous foliar design, probably with floral elements (see *Plate 1* on p. 49 of the present issue).

c — Bookcovers of UP M22, UP M23, UP M24 and UP M25 (the two at the bottom) (see *Plate 1* on p. 49 of the present issue).

Plate 2

a — Illustrated insides of the bookcovers of UP 2877, UP 2884 (the two in the middle) and UP 2887 (see *Plate 2* on p. 52 of the present issue).

b — Illustrated insides of the bookcovers of UP M25 (the two at the top) and UP 3028 (see *Plate 2* on p. 52 of the present issue).

T. I. Sultanov

TURKIC VERSIONS OF THE *TĀRĪKH-I RASHĪDĪ*
IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

In terms of its content and literary fate, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā (Muḥammad) Ḥaydar Dūghlāt (1500—1551) is one of the most interesting texts in the history of sixteenth-century historical literature in the Persian language [1]. The manuscript tradition associated with the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is quite rich and diverse. Judging by available catalogues and research, at present there are more than thirty known copies of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's work. The autograph copy remains undiscovered. Surviving copies of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* are not always complete and display certain discrepancies. In sum, however, they make possible a reconstruction of the entire text. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* gained especial fame and authority both with the generations of Muslim readers in close chronological proximity to the author, as well as with later readers. Eloquent testimony to the popularity of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work is provided not only by the number of manuscripts of the Persian original, the frequent recitations and significant excerpts from the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* employed by Muslim authors in their writings on the history of Moghūlistān, East Turkestan and North India, but also by Turkic translations of this work. The latter date back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and bear witness to the long-term influence of the *Tārīh-i Rashīdī*.

Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work exerted an appreciable influence on European oriental studies as well. Beginning from the 1840s, every scholar who touched on any questions connected with the medieval history of Central Asia and North India inevitably referred to it. An indication of the growing attention to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in Western European oriental studies was the publication in London of an English translation of the work in 1895, which appeared thanks to the efforts of N. Elias and E. Ross (re-issue 1898; repr. 1970, 1973). At the beginning of the 1990s, an American scholar, W. Thackston, published the Persian text of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* along with a new translation into English. A Russian translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was published in Tashkent in 1996.

Despite this big popularity of the composition with the scholarly circles, there is neither a reliable critical edition of the text, nor a monograph-length study of it. There are also serious problems with the literary history of Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. First and foremost, the number of independent translations of this work into Turkic

languages and the dates of their composition have not yet been determined. W. Barthold, for example, wrote that there are two Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*: that of Muḥammad Ṣādiq, made in the eighteenth century, and a translation completed in Khotan in the nineteenth century [2]. In the opinion of A. M. Muginov, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was translated into Turkic at least three times, with the earliest translation dating from 1160/1747 [3]. Z. V. Toġan's remarks on the writing are of especial interest for the literary history both of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* and of the Turkic translations. In an addendum to V. Barthold's entry on Mīrzā Ḥaydar in the Turkish "Encyclopedia of Islam", he writes that "although Mīrzā Ḥaydar wrote his *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in Persian, it is clear from several Chaghatāy copies of the work that he personally translated it into Turkic" [4]. Z. V. Toġan does not cite his source. The expression "several Chaghatāy copies of the work" should, in all likelihood, be taken to mean the copy of the Turkic translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* preserved in London. This idea is suggested by a remark in a work by J. Pierson on Oriental manuscript collections in Great Britain and Ireland. He writes that in the library of The British and Foreign Bible Society there are many Persian manuscripts, including "an important Turki MS of the Tarikh-i Rashidi, written in 1543 A.D." [5].

This date for the Turkic manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* seems to be dubious. As is known, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* consists of two independent parts, the second of which was written before the first. The second part was begun no later than 948/1541—42 and finished no earlier than Muḥarram 950/April—May 1543, while the first part was begun no later than 951/1544—45 and completed on the last day of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 952/3 March 1546 [6]. The existence of a manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in Turkic, "written in 1543" (the autograph?), would mean that Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt began to write his historical work simultaneously in two languages — Persian and Turkic — and that the Turkic version was completed earlier. Thus, the first part of the Persian text, finished in March 1546, would be a translation from the Turkic made by the author himself. However, the brevity of J. Pierson's remarks and, most importantly, their incompatibility with the currently established facts of the work's literary history do not allow us to go as far as this.

It should be noted that G. Hofman, author of a thorough work on medieval Turkic literature, has also turned his attention to the possible consequences of this new date for the chronology and language of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Dissatisfied with J. Pierson's remarks and conscious of the importance of this information for the literary history of the text, he inquired on this issue with the staff of the library of the above-mentioned Bible Society. In answer to his query, they replied that the library's inventory book contains the following entry on the manuscript which interests him: "3 vols. Written by Mirza Haydar, a Prince of the Royal family from Kashgar... The book was written in the country of Kashmir of which he was the ruler about the year 1543 A.D. Presented by Rev. F. St. Baring May 25, 1889" [7].

The contents of the inventory entry convinced G. Hofman that J. Pierson meant that the book was written in 1543, and not that the manuscript was copied then [8]. But the year 1543 cannot, however, be the time when the book was written: the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was fully complete only in 1546 (see above). As concerns the entry in the inventory book, it contains many inaccuracies. In fact, the original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was written in Persian. Secondly, Mīrzā Ḥaydar was not a prince by blood, and, finally, he ruled Kashmīr from 1541 to 1551.

It seems obvious that the date which J. Pierson gives for the composition of the Turkic manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* — 1543 — was taken by him from the inventory entry cited, without verification or correlation with earlier known facts. This date indicates only one of the years of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's reign in Kashmīr. It has, consequently, no relation either to the time of the Persian original's composition, nor to the time of the Turkic translation. As Elias and Ross noted already in 1895, the manuscripts preserved in the library of The British and Foreign Bible Society which they used for their English translation of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* are copies of Turkic translations of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work made in East Turkestan in the nineteenth century [9].

This study aims to investigate the copies of Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which contains copies of nearly all currently known Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Several of them are the translators' autographs. The relationship of all these translations is vague, though the manuscripts have been described [10]. In addition, the current descriptions do not establish the relation between the Persian original and these Turkic translations. In our view, only a detailed study of the structure of the Persian original and a careful comparison of all surviving copies of the Turkic translations with the original and with each other can clarify the literary history of the text, as well as the individual features of each translation. The first step in this direction would be an extensive, comparative and scholarly description of each of the copies of the Turkic translations, as well as a single, composite table of contents of the Persian original.

The Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* consists of two independent parts, termed *daftar*s by the author himself. Each *daftar* forms a compositional whole. They differ in the character of their basic sources, the form in which the material is presented, and in their intended function. Aside from the main body of the text consisting of 69 chapters, the first *daftar* comprises an introduction and a conclusion.

The text of the second *daftar* includes: the introductory and concluding chapters, the main section containing 144 chapters, and three addenda [11].

Three brief works not belonging to the author are included as addenda in the second *daftar*. They are: a treatise written by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's spiritual mentor, Muḥammad Qāḍī; a treatise written by an acquaintance of the author known by the *laqab* Khwāja Nūrā; and a letter by the same Khwāja Nūrā [12].

Of seven Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies collection, the earliest one exists in one copy (call number C 570), which entered the Institute's holdings from the collection of S. F. Oldenburg. The author of this translation is unknown: in the manuscript he simply calls himself *bende*, giving neither his name nor his *laqab*. The copy lacks a translator's foreword, if such ever existed, and we know nothing of the motives for the translation or the conditions in which it was composed. There is a brief conclusion by the translator, but the information it contains is of hardly any significance. It does, however, tell us that the translation was made "in the year 1160, corresponding to the year of the Sheep" [13].

A. M. Muginov accepts 1160/1747 as the year of the translation's composition [14]. But the year of the Sheep, in fact, here corresponds not to 1160, but to 1164 (A.D. 1751). This chronological confusion has a simple explanation: in Turkestan and adjacent regions, there was no single duodecenial calendar. This fact has been established by a number of Muslim historians. Thus, Maḥmūd b. Walī in his *Baḥr al-asrār* speaks, though in contradictory and unsure fashion, of the non-correspondence of the "day and week" of the calendar in Kāshgharia to those of Māwarannakhr, Balkh and other areas. For this, he cites popular accounts [15]. Information of a more definite character on this subject is contained in a work by the East Turkestan historian Mullā Mūsā, the *Tārīkh-i amniya*, first brought to attention by the well-known Kazakhstani orientalist V. P. Yudin. As Mullā Mūsā makes clear, under the rule of Saʿīd-khān (1514—1533), the duodecenial calendar used in Kāshgharia suffered some correction. As a result, the count of years (on the duodecenial cycle) was four years ahead of the count used in other areas. However, the dates according to the Hijra were the same [16].

In this fashion, by bringing the Hijra date (1160) into account with the date of the duodecenial calendar (the year of the Sheep), with an eye to the local, East Turkestan "correction" of Saʿīd-khān, we arrive at the needed 1164 (A.D. 1751). The following information given by the translator of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* himself testifies to the fact that the translation was in fact made in 1164. He writes: "In 1164 I translated into Turkī *Targhīb al-ṣalāt, Tab-i aʿrād* and this book" (fol. 144b). By "this book" he undoubtedly means the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt.

Thus, an anonymous translator made a Turkī translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in 1164/1751. In his own words, it took him 46 days to translate it (fol. 293a). From this information and the phrase cited above we can conclude that, like the majority of late-medieval Muslim translators, he was a literary professional.

With this we come to the end of the concrete information about the translator contained in the manuscript. It remains to cite here his address to the reader, which is noth-

ing other than a contribution to the literary tradition. The translator expresses his confidence that having performed a deed (translation) pleasing to God, he has secured his place in the memory of Muslims and therefore hopes that they will recall him in their prayers (fol. 240b). The translator concludes with the traditional formula of *iltimās* ("appeal"): "If mistakes have been allowed, may they not be condemned. Allah is the most knowledgeable, the most just" (fol. 293a).

A. M. Muginov characterizes this translation by an anonymous author as a "heavily abridged and crude translation of the first, second and third parts of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*" [17]. This judgement, pronounced without any supporting evidence, is hardly just. As will be shown later, such an assessment is applicable to the copy of the translation, but not to the translation itself. In order to clarify the situation, we turn now to the distinguishing features of manuscript C 570.

The manuscript is a book of medium size in a leather, brown, restored binding with an imprinted design. The copy contains 300 folios [18]. The folios size: 26.0 × × 17.0 cm, the size of the text: 21.0 × 12.0 cm. The number of lines per page varies from 9 at the beginning to 20 in the middle and at the end of the manuscript. One section of the manuscript is written on Oriental paper, the other — on European paper of a different type and colour, with stamps and an advertisement text in Russian (fols. 207a—207b, 255b, 261b, 264a—264b, and others). Six folios at the beginning of the manuscript (fols. 01—06) are without text; on folio 138a the text is not written in completely; on folio 138b, there is only one line; on 206b, there are two.

The manuscript was copied by two people for their own needs. The full family name of the main copyist is indicated in the colophon — Ḥājjī Yūsuf b. Mullā ʿAshūr-Khalīfam b. Qurbān-Ṣūfī b. Dawlat-Ṣūfī (fol. 298b). The other copyist was evidently his father, Mullā ʿAshūr-Khalīfam. With the exception of a few pages, the entire manuscript is copied in a heavy, sloppy and very coarse hand, from which one can conclude that the main copyist was not used to writing. Moreover, he was a poorly educated man: the text of the manuscript bristles with orthographic errors. They are especially common at the beginning of the copy. In a number of cases, the orthographic errors have been corrected in red ink (fols. 12a, 14a, 15a—15b, 16a, and others), but the overwhelming number remain uncorrected. In an address to the reader, the copyist writes: "If mistakes have been allowed, may they be mercifully forgiven, may they fix them with a pen, may they read the *Fātiḥa* for this weak, property-less poor man and remember him in their prayers" (fol. 293b).

It seems that in this particular case these words should not be considered merely as a traditional formula. Ḥājjī Yūsuf's confession of his weakness in what was undoubtedly a new endeavour for him was sincere. In fact, he did not understand a significant number of the Persian expressions and words and conveyed them in a heavily distorted fashion (especially on fols. 112b, 146b, 199a, 204b, 223b, 230a, 241b, and 243a). One can conclude from this that his Persian was poor. In analyzing the manuscript, one forms the general impression that the main copyist was a man

who had learned only the basics of Arabographic writing (Mullā ʿAshūr-Khalīfam's son?).

The handwriting of the second copyist, however, is a sure and accurate *nastaʿlīq* (fols. 102b, 103b—104a, 179b, 246b—247a, 298a), his spelling is good as well. He not only had a solid knowledge of *qalam*, but also seems to have possessed a poetic gift: there are verses at the end of the manuscript dedicated to the completion of this copy of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. They were written by the second copyist. In all probability, the verses were composed by him as well.

In the words of the copyist, he copied out the "book *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, consisting of forty-four *jūz*s" in one month (fols. 293a, 298b). The manuscript was copied in 1322/1904—05 in the village of Tāshimlīq of the Kāshghar vilayet (fols. 293a, 298b). Later, the manuscript turned up in "Kuchārī", where it was bought by S. F. Oldenburg "for 10 *lan*" on 20 January 1910 (fol. 02a).

This copy lacks copyist's introduction. The first *daftar* begins on folio 1b with the words "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful". It ends on folio 104b. Of the 69 chapters in the Persian original, 41 are entirely absent. The second *daftar* begins on folio 104b and ends on folio 292b. In this part, 12 chapters of the narrative text have been omitted. Also omitted are two treatises, Khwāja Nūrā's letter, Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the second *daftar* and 19 chapters from the section dealing with outstanding figures of the Herat circle. Omitted in both *daftars* are a large part of the poetic verses and *ḥadīth* contained in the Persian original, as well as the beginning and end of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the first *daftar* and the beginning of the author's introduction to the second *daftar*. The final eight folios of the manuscript (293a—300a) form an afterward by the main copyist and his notes about various events, in particular earthquakes and fires, which took place in Kāshghar, Khotan, Turfān, etc. Verses dedicated to the completion of the copy are found on folio 298a.

The sequence of chapters in the copy does not correspond to that of original. In the first *daftar*, the final section of chapter 22 (fol. 51a) corresponds to the end of chapter 55 (in the original). In the second *daftar*, chapters 87—116 follow chapter 57, the text of which ends at the beginning of folio 235b. Folios 270a—292b correspond to chapters 59—83. Thus, the final chapter in the copy is 83; in fact, the final chapter (144) is located on fols. 269a—270a. In a number of cases, the name of the chapter is missing, although the text is given (fols. 59a, 104b, 140b, 169b, 217b, and others). It is difficult to say whether the incorrect sequence of chapters and the occasional absence of chapter titles are due to the condition of the manuscript on which the copy is based or by the lack of experience in the field and carelessness of the main copyist — Ḥājjī Yūsuf.

Another feature of the copy is that all of the chapters and sections copied by the main copyist are a heavily abridged and extensively adapted retelling in Turkī of the corresponding chapters and sections in the Persian original. In many cases, two or more chapters are brought together in one small chapter with a single title.

To illustrate this, we cite here two fragments from the Persian text of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* with the parallel text of the copy, all in English translation:

Translation

Fragment 1

The Persian original

"A tale about Ilyās-Khwāja-khān. No traditional accounts have survived among the Moghūls about this Ilyās-Khwāja-khān. I remember what I heard from my father, may Allah illuminate his grave, the name of Ilyās-Khwāja-khān. The circumstances of his life are described in some detail and cited in coherent form in the *Zafar-nāma*. They are reprodused here" [19].

Manuscript C 570

"Tale about Ilyās-khān [20]. No traditional accounts have survived among the Moghūls about this Ilyās-Khwāja-khān. This is contained in the *Zafar-nāma*" (fols. 27b—28a).

Fragment 2

The Persian original

"The campaign of Shāhībek-khān against Khwārazm, the liberation of this country, his return to Māwarannahr and setting out for the Khurāsān regions. When Shāhībek-khān had finished with the affairs of the Moghūls, Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd-khān fled to Moghūlistān, and my father to Khurāsān. He killed a number of the Moghūls, and took a number prisoner. Shāh-Bekīm he sent to Khurāsān, and took the other Moghūls with him to Khwārazm. He besieged Khwārazm for eleven months. Chīn-Ṣūfī was in Khwārazm, as he had been appointed there by *ḥākim* Mīrzā Sulṭān Ḥusayn. During the eleven months, no one came to his aid. He (Shāhībek-khān) put up such a surprising fight, that up to the present it is considered a model among the Uzbeks. In the end, as nothing remained [in the city] to eat, a large part of the people died from hunger, and further resistance became impossible. At that time, Shāhībek-khān took the fortress of Khwārazm, put Chīn-Ṣūfī to death and returned to Samarqand" [21].

Manuscript C 570

"The campaign of Shāhībek-khān against Khwārazm [22]. When Shāhībek-khān, having taken with him the remaining Moghūls, set off for Khwārazm, Chīn-Ṣūfī had been *ḥākim* there for the last fifteen months, appointed by Sulṭān Ḥusayn-mīrzā. He besieged it. For eleven months no one came to his aid. He put up such a surprising fight and conducted such marvellous battles that they remained a model for the Uzbeks. Finally there was nothing to eat, and people began to die; resistance became impossible. Shāhībek-khān took Khwārazm, put Chīn-Ṣūfī to death and returned to Samarqand" (fols. 155b—156a).

The abridgements in the translation, its treatment of the original, the unification of chapters, and other changes noted in the copy are, in our opinion, the deliberate work of the main copyist, Ḥājjī Yūsuf. It seems that he never intended to produce an exact copy of the photograph. His basic task was to learn *qalam* in as short a time as possible. This conclusion is based on the following fact: the fragments copied by the second copyist are distinguished by a greater degree of completeness and accuracy and thus testify to the fact that both the translation itself and the manuscript on which it was based were entirely satisfactory. To illustrate this we cite in English translation an excerpt copied by the second copyist. For purposes of comparison, we reproduce in translation the text of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. The fragment published here was not selected from the Turkic original at random: it simultaneously gives a clear idea of the character and method of working with the text exhibited by both copyists.

Translation

The Persian original

"A word in conclusion to the first *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. ... Chingīz-khān had four sons. He divided the world among these four sons. The *ulūs* of each son represented one quarter part of the populated cultured countries and deserts of the conquered world. Where in historical works the *ulūs arba'a* ("the four *ulūses*") are mentioned, these same four parts just mentioned are meant. The scholar Mīrzā Ūlūghbek wrote a historical work and also called it *Ūlūs arba'a*. One of the four *ulūses* was [the *ulūs*] of the Moghūls. The Moghūls were divided into two groups: one group was Moghūls, the other — Chaghatāys. But these two groups, because of mutual antipathy, call each other by other, derogatory names, namely: the Chaghatāy call the Moghūls *jete*, and the Moghūls call the Chaghatāy *qarāunās*. None of the Chaghatāys are now left, except for the Chaghatāy pādishāhs, who are descendants of Bābur-pādishāh. Ordinary people have taken the place of the Chaghatāys in their hereditary cities and regions. As for the Moghūls, perhaps about thirty thousand of them

Manuscript C 570

"A word in conclusion to the first *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. ... Chingīz-khān had four sons. He divided the world among these four sons. Each of these sons, whatever country he set off for, was victorious. Where in historical works the *ulūs arba'a* are mentioned, these four sons are meant. And the historical work by Mīrzā Ūlūghbek is called *Ūlūs arba'a*. One of the four *ulūses* was [the *ulūs*] of the Moghūls. The Moghūls comprise two groups: one group is Moghūls, the other — Chaghatāys. But these two groups, because of antipathy, derogatorily call each other by other names: the Chaghatāy call the Moghūls *jete*, and the Moghūls call the Chaghatāy *qarāunās*. None of the Chaghatāys are now left, except for [the descendants of] Bābur-pādishāh. Of the Moghūls, thirty thousand families have remained within the borders of Ṭurfān and Kāshghar. Uzbeks [-Qazāqs] and Qīrghiz have begun to lay claim to Moghūlistān. All of the Moghūls have accepted Islam, but the Qīrghiz have remained in the grip of unbelief. For this reason [24] they are no longer

have remained within the borders of Turfān and Kāshghar. Uzbeks[-Qazāqs] and Qīrghiz have begun to lay claim to Moghūlistān. Although the Qīrghiz are also from the Moghūl tribes, because of their frequent obedience to the *khāqān*s they have separated from the Moghūls. All of the Moghūls have become Muslims and joined the number of followers of Islam, but the Qīrghiz, as before, have remained in the grip of unbelief. For this reason they are no longer Moghūls. A consequence of this is that the Moghūls have now become the most distant and smallest creations" [23].

From the examples cited above it is evident that the Turkic text copied by the second copyist is close in content to the text of the Persian original; where, on the contrary, the *qalam* is taken up by Hājjī Yūsuf, the text of the translation is retold and refashioned. The changes introduced by him to the translated text are quite significant: thus, in the last fragment cited, the Persian original, and evidently the anonymous eighteenth-century Turkic translation, takes up an entire folio. Hājjī Yūsuf has "conveyed" the content in three sentences. It is revealing that the narrative here is conducted in the third person.

And so, the translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī was made by an anonymous author in 1164, which corresponds to 1751. This is the earliest of the known Turkic translations of Mīrzā Haydar Dūghlāt's work. The translation is represented by a single copy in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, copied by two people whose linguistic skills were at different levels. An evaluation of the quality of the translation is complicated by the fact that the text of the Petersburg copy is heavily distorted by the low skill level of the main copyist and by his free treatment of the original. Judging by the few fragments copied by the second copyist, however, the anonymous author's eighteenth-century was on the whole entirely satisfactory.

By analysing the text of the manuscript, one can obtain a certain sense of the character of the translation. In the Turkic text, the following are given in Persian without translation: Mīrzā Haydar's foreword to the first *daftar* (heavily abridged in the copy, and partly distorted), poetry, and nearly all the chapter titles. These are, in all probability, features present in the translation. Of the chapter titles, six are translated into Turkic (Nos. 3, 4, 6, 17, 25 in the first *daftar*; No. 75 in the second), and in three cases the titles are given both in Persian and Turkic translation (No. 3, 17, 25). The translation of the titles cannot belong to the anonymous author of the eighteenth century — the translation is far from accurate, and the Turkic names of several chapters cannot even be termed translations. For example: in the Persian original a chapter is entitled *Raftan-i khān be-Andijān bār-i dūyim*; in the Turkic text — *Raftan-i khān Andijānga bār-i dūyim* (fol. 283). As one can see, the "translation" here consists of replacing the Persian preposition *be*, which is usually prefixed to words to form the dative and instrumental cases, with the suffix *ga*, which forms, in part, the dative case in Turkic languages. These half-translations evidently belong to Hājjī Yūsuf, the main copyist.

Thus, manuscript C 570 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is a heavily abridged and reworked copy of an eighteenth-century Turkic translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Without recourse to the Persian original or other Turkic translations

of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, the manuscript is practically impossible to use for scholarly research, which renders it of limited interest. It still provides, however, significant historical evidence of a Turkī translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* already in the middle of the eighteenth century, and of the existence in Kāshgharia at the beginning of the century of another, probably more reliable, copy of this translation. In its particulars (the information contained in the colophon, the copyist's notes, etc.), it is of interest for specialists on the cultural history of East Turkestan.

Chronologically, the next Turkī translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* belongs to Muhammad Sādiq Kāshgharī. His name is well known to specialists. Judging by his literary legacy, Muhammad Sādiq was a prominent literary figure, a man of great diligence and capacity for work. He is the author of at least two large works in Turkī: *Tadhkira-yi ashāb-i kahf* and *Tadhkira-yi 'azīzān*. The latter is also known as *Tadhkira-yi khwājagān* and *Tadhkira-yi jihān*. The Uzbek Academy of Sciences' collection of Oriental manuscripts and the libraries of London hold copies of a work by Muhammad Sādiq Kāshgharī entitled *Durr al-mazhar* [26]. However, as is indicated in one of the Petersburg manuscripts, *Durr al-mazhar* (or *Kitāb-i durr-i mazhar*) is in fact merely another name for *Tadhkira-yi 'azīzān* [27]. The existence of the *Tadhkira-yi 'azīzān* under several names is explained by the fact that the work has reached us in several, apparently late, versions [28], each of which has its own title. According to A. A. Semenov's "Index", there is a copy of this work in Persian entitled *Tadhkira-yi khwājagān* [29].

V. P. Yudin as well as N. Lykoshin include among the original works of Muhammad Sādiq the *Ādāb al-sālihīn* [30]. According to research conducted by G. Hofman, however, the *Ādāb al-sālihīn* is a Turkī translation of the second part of *Zubdat al-masā'il* — a work by the Indian author 'Abd al-Haqq b. Sayf al-Dīn Dihlawī Haqqī [31], who wrote in Persian. Muhammad Sādiq's literary output is characterised by its variety: he not only composed independent works, but also translated extensively. Aside from the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* and the second part of the *Zubdat al-masā'il*, he translated the *Tārīkh-i Tabarī* into Turkī, entitling his translation *Tārīkh-i Iskandariya wa tāj-nāma-yi shāhī* [32]. It is possible that the translation of Muhammad Sādiq Yārkandī's *Majmū'at al-haqīqatayn* [33] is his work as well.

As is evident, Muhammad Sādiq Kāshgharī left an appreciable mark on the cultural history of East Turkestan. Nonetheless, we have practically no biographical information about him; his dates have not even been established. Yu. Mukhlisov's catalogue states without reference to a source that Muhammad Sādiq Kāshgharī died in 1849 [34]. This date is accepted by A. M. Muginov [35] and other Turkologists [36]. However, as has already been

noted in the scholarly literature, this date does not fit in with the time of the *Tadhkira-yi 'azīzān*'s composition — 1182/1768—69 [37]. This date is in chronological conflict with the time of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's greatest creative activity, which falls on the final forty years of the eighteenth century. Judging by his *nisba*, he was born in Kāshghar; it appears that all of his work was conducted in East Turkestan in the eighteenth century.

His translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was also completed in Kāshghar. According to Ch. Valikhanov (or his informant) and A. M. Muginov, the translation was initiated by Yūnus-Tājī-bek b. Iskandar-bek b. Ayman [sic!] (Īmīn-)Khwāja [38]. According to C. Salemann, the initiator was Ḥaḍrat Iskandar-wāng ḥākim-begīm [39]. G. Hofman, who used information in the literature rather than the original, considers it sensible to rely on the authority of Valikhanov and the compilers of the new catalogue of Turkic manuscripts of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia [40], which in this case means A. M. Muginov. He is not, however, consistent in his choices: in another volume of his work, he mentions that the translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was made by Muḥammad Ṣādiq for Iskandar-wāng, the son of Amīn [sic!]-Khwāja-wāng [41], in this case following C. Salemann. We will not attempt here to explain why the section of the manuscript which treats the initiator of the translation was read differently by Ch. Valikhanov (or his informant), C. Salemann, and A. M. Muginov. We merely note that certain sections of the text are indeed difficult to understand, but on the whole the text is fairly "transparent" and leaves no doubt that the translation was commissioned by Iskandar-wāng. We turn to the translator's foreword [42], which has yet to be cited in detail by anyone.

The foreword opens with the translator's lengthy discourse on the nature of the "nine heavens" (pp. 2—7). After that the translator gives his own name in the following phrase: "This despicable poor one, a recluse whose name is in the darkness of obscurity, the most unworthy Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī informs ..." (p. 7). He goes on to write that the son of the deceased Ḥaḍrat Īmīn (ايمن)-Khwāja-wāng-beklīk, his Majesty Iskandar-wāng ḥākim-beklīk, "on mounting the throne of Majesty and of the sultanate, in the company of his dear son Ḥaḍrat Yūnus Tājī-beklīk, possessor of the true faith, — may Allah the Most High increase from day to day his happiness and may He ennoble him from hour to hour — honoured this poor one, [who] offers up [his] prayers, by addressing him". He said that he gave Muḥammad Ṣādiq an order to translate into Turkī the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, where events which took place in the course of 5—6 thousand years are relayed. And while the events connected with Chingīz-khān's appearance on the historical arena are described in the *Ẓafar-nāma-yi Tīmūr-nāma*, there is little information about this in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. But it contains extremely detailed accounts of the reigns of the Moghūl khāns from Tūghlūq-Tīmūr to 'Abd al-Rashīd-khān. As this book was written in Persian, "in a refined style", it remains "concealed from the inhabitants of Moghūlistān." It is necessary, said Iskandar-wāng to Muḥammad Ṣādiq, to translate this historical book into the "Turkic dialect" widely used in Kāshlghar, thus rendering the contents "concealed in the book" accessible to "all people" of this region that "they may recall our and your name with kind words before the Final Judgement and say a prayer of benevolence" (pp. 8—9).

Muḥammad Ṣādiq dedicates the next lines to praise for Iskandar-wāng. In his words, with the ascension to power of "this powerful amīr" in Kāshghar, a large part of the deserted "steppes and deserts have turned into cultivated fields", discord and feuding have ceased, justice has triumphed, and a time of abundance has begun. For this reason, writes Muḥammad Ṣādiq in the conclusion to his foreword, "with all my heart and soul I approved" of this necessary work, and despite his lack of skill, set about fulfilling his ruler's order. "If mistakes and omissions have been allowed, then I hope that knowledgeable people will correct them with the pen of corrections. To Allah belongs all perfection," — he writes (pp. 9—10).

The date of the translation is not indicated in the manuscript; the time of the translation's appearance can only be established by indirect evidence, and then only approximately. It is known that Ḥaḍrat Īmīn (Aymīn)-Khwāja-wāng, Iskandar-wāng's father, was for many years the *ḥākim* of Ṭurfān and received for his services to the Qing empire the title of prince of the second rank, *jun wang* [43]. According to materials gathered by A. Temir, Īmīn-Khwāja's father was Niyāz-Khwāja-Akhūnd, the son of Mīr-Ḥabīballāh Walīallāh Ṣūfī Khwājam [44]. His name appears in the sources in connection with military and political events in East Turkestan from the 1730s up through 1759 [45]. In all probability, he died in the 1760s. The years of Iskandar-wāng's reign in Kāshghar have not been firmly established. All that is known is that he was succeeded by his son Yūnus; his other son, Ismā'īl, became the *ḥākim* of Yārkend. Moreover, Yūnus held the title of *wāng* already at the beginning of the nineteenth century [46]. On the basis of the preceding information, one can conclude that Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī's translation appeared in the last third of the eighteenth century.

We will now examine the structure of the manuscript and some of its individual features. The Petersburg manuscript is today the only known copy of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation. Like the Persian original, the translation consists of two *daftars*; each *daftar* has its own pagination, pencilled in Arabic numerals. Unfortunately, both sections are incomplete. The first *daftar* begins on page 10 [47] and ends on page 184. Fourteen chapters are missing entirely, and two chapters (Nos. 11 and 13) are unfinished. A large lacuna — 10 missing chapters in a row at the outset — is explained by a defect in the manuscript. At this place several *kurrāsas* were evidently lost. Page 78, on which chapter 26 ends is a *verso* and in the custode the next folio begins with the word *bār* (بار). The next page, however, is chapter 36 of the first *daftar*. The copy gives titles only for the first and final nine chapters (Nos. 60—69); in all other cases they are absent, including the author's title for the afterward to the first *daftar*. Almost everywhere space has been left for the text of the titles. The bulk of the poetry and *ḥadīth* in the Persian original have been omitted as well.

A folio has been inserted between the first and second *daftars*; it is smaller than the folios of the manuscript itself and has been folded in two. This list, an insertion evidently belonging to one of the owners of the manuscript, contains the following text in Persian: "A translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into the Turkic language of Kāshghar. The translation from Persian into Turkī was made by Muḥammad Kāshgharī on the injunction of Yūnus-Tājik(sic!)-bek b. Iskandar-dāng(sic!)-bek b. Īmīn-Khwāja, amīr of Kāshghar. This Muḥammad Ṣādiq is the same man who

translated the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* from Arabic [48] into Turkī. The original is a work by Muḥammad Ḥaydar-mīrzā b. Ḥusayn-Gūrgān, who was known among people as Mīrzā Ḥaydar. He is one of the descendants of amīr Bulādjī Dūghlāt (p. 19). The book contains a history of the Moghūl khans, from the reign of Tūghlūq-Tīmūr-khān to the time of 'Abd al-Rashīd-khān b. Sa'īd-khān's rule. It consists of two *daftars* ...". After that a *fihrist* of the first and second *daftars* follows.

On reading this note, one may ask: was it not under its influence that Ch. Valikhanov (or his informant) and A. M. Muginov indicated Yūnus-Tājī-beklīk as the initiator of the translation? The author of the note, however, misunderstood the text of the foreword. That the ruler at that time was in fact Iskandar-wāng is already evident from the formula which follows his name: "may Allah the Most High immortalise his reign and his power." The glorification after Yūnus' name contains only good wishes. Yūnus' connection to the translation is limited to his presence at the reception at which his father, "on mounting the throne of Majesty and of the Sulṭānate", dictated his orders to Muḥammad Ṣādiq [49].

The second *daftar* begins with the words: "Second *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. In the name of Allah the Beneficent and the Merciful!" This section of the manuscript also contains a large *lacuna* — 13 chapters are missing at the beginning of the *daftar*. The text of the manuscript breaks off on the chapter which tells of Shāh-Muḥammad-sulṭān. Similarly, 38 chapters are missing at the end of the manuscript, along with the author's foreword to the second *daftar*, the second treatise and Khwāja Nūrā's letter.

The chapter entitled "The Tale of the Final Circumstances of My Father Mīrzā Ḥusayn-Gūrgān" is given twice (pp. 19—23 and 32—6). This repetition could not have arisen because the translator returned to the same text (in both instances the translation is the same), but rather because the copyist made a second copy of this chapter. It is difficult to say whether this is explained by the carelessness of the copyist or by some feature of the manuscript from which he made his copy.

In many places we encounter pencilled notes and corrections of the copyist's mistakes. A note in French pencilled into the margin of page 12 of the first *daftar* clearly indicates their origin: "All the pagination in the present manuscript, as well as the marginalia and dates in pencil are well known and belong to our colleague and friend, Mirza Jafar Topchibashev. Baron Desmaisons".

Since the end of the manuscript is missing, there is no information either about the copyist or about the time and place of the copy's composition. One can state with confidence only that the copy was made no later than 1266/1849—50, which is evident from the following note made by one of the manuscript's owners: "Two volumes of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in Turkī. Bought for 30 *tanga*. 1266 [A.H.]" (p. 01). In the opinion of A. M. Muginov, the copy was made in East Turkestan [50].

In the scholarly literature, V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov has made especially full use of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation. The second part of his *Issledovaniia* ("Researches") contains extensive excerpts in text and translation from the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (based on the manuscript in the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg University) along with the Muḥammad Ṣādiq's Turkic translation in parallel text [51]. He notes both omissions

and various additions in the Turkic translation. Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation was also used in *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv* ("Materials on the History of the Kazakh Khānates") [52].

V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov terms Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation "outstanding" [53]. On the other hand, in the words of G. Hofman, Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation is "not very accurate" [54]. This judgement is undoubtedly based on the following remarks by C. Salemann. Noting that V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov cited excerpts of the Turkic text, he writes that "as the excerpts show, this translation is unclear, as many places are simply incomprehensible without recourse to the original. One can, however, make full use of it as an aid to textual criticism. On the linguistic level, I direct the attention of Turkologists to the strange noun *īkāndūk* (ایکاندوك), pl. *īkāndūklār* (ایکاندوكلار), which I have not encountered anywhere else" [55].

It is true that the Petersburg copy of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's Turkic translation omits more than a few words, expressions and dates. It also contains some serious errors. I provide several examples not noted by V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov. In the translation, the seventh child of Yūnus-khān is given as Sulṭān Nigār-khānim (p. 9, second *daftar*); in the Persian original it is Dawlat Sulṭān-khānim. On page 166 of the translation, the year A.H. 950 is erroneously written instead of A.H. 905. In another place, A.H. 928 is replaced first with A.H. 916, later the word "ten" is crossed out and "twenty" written above it (p. 283). On page 115, the date (A.H. 912) is omitted entirely. In place of the correct "Qara-Tegīn", the copy contains "Qatar-Tegīn" (p. 181), and so on.

One should also note that the Petersburg manuscript completely lacks regular using of geographic names and ethnonyms. Especially telling is the word *qazāq* (قزاق). Until page 229 of the second *daftar*, the word is written either in the form *qazāq* (قزاق) or *qaḍāq* (قضاق). On the page indicated we encounter the expression "... One of the scholars drew up the chronogram for that event: *ashtī-yi qaḍāq* (أشتی قضاق)". As the *abjad* can only give the needed date (A.H. 919) from the phrase *ashtī-yi qazāq* (أشتی قضاق), the word *qaḍāq* (قضاق) is crossed out and *qazāq* (قزاق) is written above it. It should be noted that the form *qazāq* (قزاق) is used for the remainder of the text.

A comparison of the extant chapters of the Turkic manuscript with the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* shows that in Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation there are no changes, additions, digressions, etc., which would indicate beyond doubt conscious, creative contributions on the part of the translator. The omissions of words, certain expressions and dates noted in the Petersburg manuscript are explained by flaws in the copy on which Muḥammad Ṣādiq based his translation, as well as by mistakes added by the copyist. On the whole, Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī's translation conveys in reasonably accurate fashion the text of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, although it is somewhat dry and contains a large number of Arabic and Persian words and expressions rarely used in Turkic languages. The translator's adherence to Persianisms, in particular, is surprising: Muḥammad Ṣādiq leaves untranslated not only Persian nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc., but sometimes even verbs and verbal forms. For a reader unfamiliar with the basics of Persian grammar, reading and understanding Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation is quite difficult.

Judging by the number of copies, neither the anonymous author's eighteenth-century translation nor Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation was widely known. Insufficient familiarity with these translations in East Turkestan as well as the constant attention on the part of the society's upper levels to written histories, genealogies of former dynasties and tales of ancestry stimulated new translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the nineteenth century. Among these is the translation by Muḥammad Niyāz. The new translation contains a detailed foreword, where the translator describes precisely the circumstances in which the translation was made, his work methods, etc. [56]. We summarise the foreword here, as its contents are of interest in a number of ways.

The sovereign ruler of Yārkend, 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng ḥākim-beklīk, writes Muḥammad Niyāz, told him on more than one occasion, "honouring this insignificant creature with his mercy", that this region belongs to the area of Moghūlistān and is the residence of the Moghūl khāns. 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng ḥākim also said that the conditions in which the khāns lived from the time of Chingīz-khān to the interruption of the khān dynasty in Moghūlistān were not known. Also unknown is how many rulers reigned in this vilayet, what order they established, how this was observed, and when it ceased to function. 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng ḥākim-beklīk explained that it was the reason it was necessary "to find a book which would relay the history of the khāns' rule, or to find a trust-worthy story-teller who would tell of these events so that the names of the Moghūl khāns do not disappear in this world and the conditions of their life not remain forgotten".

Muḥammad Niyāz writes further that no one has any definite information on whether such works existed in the region's collections of books. By chance, however, a copy of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Gūrgān's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was found. On reading it, Muḥammad Niyāz discovered that the book was dedicated entirely to the Moghūl khāns and the description of events in Moghūlistān. The manuscript was in bad condition, and it was almost impossible to use. "We regretted this very much," writes the translator. "Had this copy been in good condition, it would have been translated into Turkī then", that is, under 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng. Later, when Muḥammad Niyāz found himself, in his words, in the service of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's son, Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng ḥākim-beklīk, the ruler of Khotan, he succeeded in finding in the palace library another copy of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. This copy was distinguished (from the one discovered earlier) by its "perfect completeness, impeccable execution and beautiful preservation". As the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was written in Persian, states the foreword, not everyone could use it or comprehend its contents. For this reason Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng ordered to translate the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī in order to make its contents accessible to many and to ensure that the initiator of the translation and the translator would be well-remembered and prayers of benevolence be said for them. Although Muḥammad Niyāz did not consider himself qualified or worthy of this great task, in his words, he undertook the translation, for "in the execution of the royal order and highest will there [cannot] be delays or omissions".

Muḥammad Niyāz goes on to describe his methods of working. In brief, they are as follows: the translation is made in simple language, in expressions accessible to all. Suras from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, translated by the author

from Arabic into Persian, are here translated into Turkī. Those Arabic verses and expressions not translated by the author of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* are left "without interference." Certain Arabic verses, the meaning of which is difficult to understand, are also left untranslated. The Turkic verses which belong to Mīrzā Ḥaydar himself, or were borrowed by him from other authors, are given as they stand in the original. The Persian verses which contain *tārīkh*s (chronograms) or *mu'ammā* are also reproduced without change or adaptation, so as not to "spoil" them. The remaining Persian verses are translated into Turkī. "Various words not of Arabic or Persian origin, which are possibly Mongolian, from those distant times of their victory, or Qālmaq, such as, for example, *manghlāy, qūrultāy* and other such expressions, are translated approximately according to their meaning, although I wish it were otherwise," — writes the translator. In all probability, says Muḥammad Niyāz, mistakes have also been made in the translation of some little-known Persian words. But "to the fullest extent of my abilities, I strove to observe the rules of translation and contented myself with satisfactorily conveying the content of the Persian text with Turkic words," — Muḥammad Niyāz adds.

Finally, the translator announces that he, like Mīrzā Ḥaydar Gūrgān, who dedicated his work to 'Abd al-Rashīd-khān, dedicates his translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* to Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng, which he does for the following three reasons: (1) the Persian original of this book was discovered and became known in his time, (2) the translation was made in accordance with his royal order, and (3) his lineage extends across generations to Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Jamāl al-Dīn, whose tomb is located in the vilayet of Aqsū, in the Ay-Kūl district.

The translator's foreword concludes with verses (fols. 11a—12a). There are many poetic interpolations in the very text of the foreword as well.

The afterward to the translation [57] has a special title: "The Completion of the Translation of This Book and the Completion of the Rough Copy". It begins with words of praise to Allah, who gave the translator strength to complete this "great task". He goes on to inform us that the translation was completed in Khotan on 20 Jumādā II 1253 (22 September 1837), corresponding to the year of the Cow. He continues with the traditional formula of Muslim translators: he asks the readers to forgive him for the imperfections of the translation and calls on them to correct the mistakes which have been allowed. The afterward closes as does the foreword, with a poem by the translator.

Our information about the translator is limited. His full name was Muḥammad Niyāz b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr (D 120, fols. 2b, 6a). He was a poet by vocation and used the *takhalluṣ* of Niyāzī. This pen-name is cited several times at various places in his poetry (D 120, fols. 12a, 61b, 62a; D 121, fol. 147a). As the translation shows, he had an excellent knowledge of his native Turkic and was fluent in Persian. Moreover, he not only translated from Persian, but also wrote poetry in it (see D 120, fol. 11a). The dates of Muḥammad Niyāz are unknown. As is evident from the text of the foreword, he served 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng, the ruler of Yārkend, who died, according to Chinese sources, in 1833 [58]. Muḥammad Niyāz then found himself in Khotan in the service of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's son, Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng, in all probability, as a court writer. It is difficult to say whether he was called to the

Khotan court as a result of old acquaintance or thanks to his literary fame.

The manuscript section of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains a copy of a work by Muḥammad Niyāz not mentioned in other catalogues. It is called *Qiṣaṣ al-gharā'ib* [59]. The name of the author is cited in it as Muḥammad Niyāz b. Ghafūr-bek [60]. In the poem which closes the author's foreword, his *takhalluṣ*, Niyāzī, is given as well (fol. 3b). The *Qiṣaṣ al-gharā'ib* is a short compilation in the genre of "general history" of Muslim dynasties. In the words of the author, it is a "translation into Turkī" of the most interesting and, from his point of view, entertaining stories from such Persian-language works as the *Tārīkh-i Akbarī, Rawḍat al-jannāt, Tadhkirat al-shu'arā, Nigāristān, Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, and others (fols. 2b, 120a, 128b). The work was finished in the "Yārkend vilayet, on Monday, the twenty-first day of Rajab of 1268, corresponding to the year of the Fish" (fol. 128b), that is, 11 May 1852.

The *Qiṣaṣ al-gharā'ib* was written by order of the *ḥākim* of Khotan, Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng ḥākīm-beklīk (fol. 2b). As is evident from this information and the formula after his name — "may his might increase" — Muḥammad 'Azīz was still alive in 1852. Incidentally, this refutes the claim, advanced without reference to a source, that he died in 1842 [61]. From the content of the author's foreword, it is clear that Muḥammad Niyāz continued to serve the Khotan khān. The reason for Niyāzī's move from Khotan to the Yārkend vilayet is unknown, as is the year of his death.

To close our section on the translator, it is worth noting that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, an individual who called himself Niyāzī Kāshgharī translated the *Tadhkira-yi uwaysīya* into Turkī [62]. Without studying a copy of his translation, it is problematic to claim, solely on the basis of the *takhalluṣ*, that Muḥammad Niyāz b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr is this translator or whether we have here two individuals with the *takhalluṣ* Niyāzī.

Unlike the translations by the unknown, eighteenth-century author and Muḥammad Ṣādiq, Niyāzī's translation has come down to us in a comparatively large number of copies. At present, scholars have information about the existence of no fewer than ten manuscripts of various degrees of completeness, all copies of Muḥammad Niyāzī's translation. Niyāzī's translation is represented in the collections of the former Soviet Union by six manuscripts. We will describe first the Petersburg manuscripts, noting those features unmentioned in the descriptions of V. D. Smirnov and A. M. Muginov [63]:

1. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 120). In the opinion of A. M. Muginov, this is, "possibly the translator's autograph copy". This manuscript, beautifully executed and preserved, contains a translation of the first *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. The copy ends with the chapter on 'Abd al-Rashīd-khān, and thus lacks Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the first *daftar*. Otherwise, the manuscript is distinguished by its exceptional completeness. We note among the copy's, and, consequently, the translation's features, an additional section included in his translation by Muḥammad Niyāz. After the chapter dedicated to amīr Khudāydād, Muḥammad Niyāz writes that his constant wish was to perform the *ḥajj*. When he learned that amīr Khudāydād had

received the honour of visiting Mecca and even being buried there, he was moved to write the poetic verses he then includes. The verses are dedicated to the same theme — Niyāzī's desire to visit the places holy to Muslims. The text inserted by the translator takes up a full three pages (minus two lines) (fols. 60b—62a).

2. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 121). The manuscript contains only a part of the second *daftar*, beginning with the thirty-ninth chapter. The manuscript ends with a translator's afterward in prose and verse. In a number of cases, the chapter titles are missing (fols. 3b, 70a, 106a); the title of one chapter is incompletely written in (fol. 48b). Folio 88a and a part of folio 87b are not filled in, although the gap is only spatial, not textual. In format and handwriting, the manuscript is close to D 120. It is possible that they were produced in the same place and represented separately bound parts of a single copy of the translation. If this is the case, there must be a third manuscript of the same format and handwriting which contains the first chapters of the second *daftar* missing in D 121.

3. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 122). The manuscript was copied by an unknown individual for his own purposes on paper of various sizes and types. The text of the translation is incomplete and the order is extremely distorted. The origin of most of the lacunae is explained by the particular features of the copy from which the manuscript under discussion was made. This is clear from a marginal note in the hand of the copyist, which follows the chapter on Yūnus-khān: "At this place twelve folios are missing" (fol. 32a). In fact, "at this place" the text of three chapters of the translation is missing. In place of Muḥammad Niyāz' afterward, the manuscript contains a brief note: "The book *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was written in Farsī; it was translated into the Turkic dialect on Wednesday, on the first day of the month of 'īd-i qurbān of 1253" (fol. 12a).

4. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 192). The manuscript contains the text of the translation of the final 35 chapters of the second *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, as well as the second treatise, Khwāja Nūrā's letters and Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the second *daftar*. The text is very close to manuscript D 121; both manuscripts contain an identical translator's afterward.

5. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 138). We shall discuss this manuscript later, in connection with another translation.

6/1. Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies (No. 10191/P). Judging by the date of the manuscript (1253/1837—38), this is possibly a copy of Muḥammad Niyāz' translation, although the catalogue, where the description of the manuscript is given, states that it is an "Uighur-Uzbek version"(?) completed by an unknown individual on the orders of the "ruler of Kāshghar, Ẓukhūr al-Dīn Tājī ḥākim-beklīk" [64]. The manuscript contains an appendix dealing with a history of Kāshgharia from the 1540s to the nineteenth century. According to V. P. Yudin and O. Kh. Zhalilov, the appropriate chapters from the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* together with a book entitled *Tawārīkh* were used to continue the narrative of East Turkestan history. "By *Tawārīkh*, it would seem that the *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Rāqim* is meant" [65], as the author of an article on the appendix suggests.

7/1. Delhi, The Archeological Museum. Red Fort [66]. The translator's name is given in the catalogue as Muhammad Niyayuhi, son of 'Abd al-Ghaffar. No descriptive characteristics of the manuscript are provided, aside from its length (676 fols.) and size (36.0 × 23.0 cm).

8—10/1—3. London, The British and Foreign Bible Society. Three manuscripts [67]. They are all incomplete, and each contains only a partial text of the translation. The manuscript which contains part of the text of the second *daftar*, according to N. Elias, ends with the following words: "I finished this translation on 22 Jumādā II 1263, in the city of Khotan" [68]. If this note has been accurately reproduced by N. Elias [69], then it is quite clear that, as frequently happens with dates and numbers in general, the copyist has allowed an error here: instead of "22 Jumādā II 1263", it should read "20 Jumādā II 1253". A second possibility exists, although it is quite a stretch; namely, that this note belongs not to the translator, Muhammad Niyāz, but to the copyist. In that case, the date indicated is the date on which the manuscript was copied.

11/1. London, The India Office Library (Turkī ms. I) [70]. We have no information on the manuscript. Judging by the sections cited by Hamada Masami, the manuscript begins with Muhammad Niyāz' foreword.

All currently known copies of Muhammad Niyāz' manuscript date from the nineteenth century. The broad and relatively rapid distribution of this translation was aided both by the virtues of Mīrzā Haydar Dūghlāt's work and the high quality of the new translation. Niyāzī's translation is distinguished by great accuracy and even elegance. The translator succeeded not only in conveying the meaning of the original, but also the simple style of the Persian text, its lightness and clarity of exposition. This is equally true of the poetry: the Persian verses contained in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* are translated into Turkī with the poetic rhythm intact, which testifies to the translator's poetic gifts. It seems to us that the task set in the foreword — to translate in simple language and expressions accessible to all — should be seen not only as Niyāzī's wish to bring his translation into accord with the linguistic and aesthetic needs of contemporary East Turkestan educated society, which had a poor command of Persian. The orientation toward a primarily Turkic lexicon, judging by the language of his *Qisas al-gharā'ib* and the detailed foreword to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, represents a deliberate decision by Muhammad Niyāz. His fluent command of Persian and his excellent knowledge of Turkic allowed him to follow this principal consistently, without harming the accuracy or clarity of the translation. The text's easy comprehensibility to a Turkic reader unfamiliar with Persian, along with the accurately conveyed content allow us to speak of the high quality of Muhammad Niyāz' translation. One should also take into account that the translation was made from a manuscript "of perfect completeness, impeccable execution and beautiful preservation". Also important here is the fact that most of the translation (manuscripts D 120 and D 121) is apparently represented by Muhammad Niyāz' autograph copy or, in any case, a copy of beautiful workmanship and good preservation made during the translator's lifetime. Thus, the significance of this new translation for textual criticism of the Persian original is quite great. Thanks to its virtues, Muhammad Niyāz' translation can perform for the modern scholar of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* services which, as a result of the specific features of "Oriental translation" [71], Muslim translations rarely perform.

In order to give the reader an idea of the breadth and accuracy of Muhammad Niyāz' translation, we cite here in English translation a fragment from the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* with the Turkic translation in parallel text.

Translation

The Persian original

"A narration about Sultān Ahmad-khān, the son of Yūnus-khān. ... Sultān Ahmad-khān was an extremely religious, devout and pious ruler, so he decided the majority of matters on the basis of divine law and experienced no difficulties in this. He was a stern, daring man of perfect valour; his thought was sound, his judgments proper. He showed special concern for *sayyid*s, *darwīsh*es, *'ulamā'* and the virtuous. He dedicated the major part of his time to carrying out moral and religious injunctions and publicly performed the rituals of stipulated prayer. He strictly observed the bonds of kinship. Respect for good deeds and lofty spiritual qualities was matchless in his time. His blessed age was thirty nine [when he died]. A complete description of the conditions of his life is given in the second *daftar*" [72].

Manuscript D 120

"A narration about Sultān Ahmad-khān, the son of Yūnus-khān. ... Sultān Ahmad-khān was an extremely religious, devout and pious *pādishāh*, so he decided the majority of matters on the basis of divine law and experienced no difficulties in this. He was very energetic, audacious and of perfect valour; his thought was sound, his judgments proper. He extended exceptional patronage to *darwīsh*es, *'ulamā'* and the virtuous. He dedicated the major part of his time to carrying out moral and religious injunctions and publicly performed the ritual of the stipulated five prayers. He strictly observed the bonds of kinship. In his time, respect for good deeds and lofty spiritual qualities was incomparable. His blessed age was thirty nine [when he died]. A description of the other conditions of his life is given in the second *daftar*" (fol. 94b).

As is evident from the comparison, Muhammad Niyāz follows the Persian original very closely, giving throughout a clear and almost everywhere outstanding translation. There is no doubt that the translator set himself no stylistic, textological or other tasks which aimed to change the letter of the original. Strictly observing the "rules of translation," he simply strove, as is indicated in the foreword, "to reproduce accurately the meaning of the Persian text in Turkic words" (D 120, fol. 10a).

We should add to the three translations considered here one more Turkic translation, apparently completed in the nineteenth century, also in East Turkestan. This translation is represented in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies by a single copy (D 138). Neither the name of the translator nor the date of the translation is indicated in the manuscript. For unclear reasons, C. Salemann believed that the translator was Muhammad Sādiq Kāshgharī [73]. As for A. M. Muginov,

he assumed that the translation of all four parts of the work represented in this copy was made by Muḥammad Niyāz b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr [74]. However, a comparison of the text with all available Turkic translations shows that we have here an independent translation from the Persian original. The translation is incomplete, and its text occupies only a part of the manuscript. The text of the second part of the volume, as will be shown below, goes back to Muḥammad Niyāz' translation. As this manuscript has not yet been investigated or studied, we give a more detailed description.

The manuscript is a large-size volume (42.0 × 27.0 cm) bound in green cardboard with coloured imprints. The first folios (fols. 01—03b, 1a) and the last folios (fols. 245b, 001a—004b) contain no text. At the beginning of folio 03a there is a brief note consisting of four words: "*Huwa*. Beginning of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*". The folios left blank at the beginning and end of the volume were, evidently, intended for the translator's foreword and afterward. Like the original, the translation is divided into two *daftar*s. The text of the first *daftar* is distinguished by significant omissions: three chapters are missing after fol. 12a, and the *daftar* itself ends with the chapter "The tale of Yūnus-khān and Ayrazzāq's setting out for Samarqand, to Mīrzā Ūlūghbek" (fol. 41b). Consequently, in comparison to the original, the first *daftar* lacks 36 chapters and the author's afterward. The second *daftar* begins with the words "Foreword to the second *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*" (fol. 42b). There are few lacunae in this section of the manuscript: only three chapters are missing, among them the chapter about singers (fol. 80a). Folio 239a is blank, and contains on the reverse side a note unrelated to the main text in the hand of the copyist: it is an enumeration of the ancestors of the amīr Pūlādchī and Tīmūr with some brief information about them. There is no break in the main text.

The manuscript was copied in 1308/1890—91 (fol. 245a) by a single copyist in a neat, cursive *nastaʿlīq*. The copyist's name is not indicated, nor are there any clear indications of where the copy was made. Judging by the fact that the manuscript was acquired by the Asiatic Museum in 1897 as part of the collection of J. Lütsch, "former consular secretary in Kāshghar" [75], the manuscript was copied in East Turkestan.

A comparison of the texts quite clearly shows that the manuscript under consideration contains two different translations of the Persian original and that the second *daftar* of the copy is based on Muḥammad Niyāz' translation. Furthermore, the texts from the first *daftar* of manuscripts D 138 and D 120 differ both in style and usage. Tellingly, this section reveals differences even in the poetry translated into Turkī. Moreover, in manuscript D 138, certain verses are given both in Persian and Turkic translation (fol. 34a). The reconstruction of the Farsi verse, partly absent in Niyāzī's translation, would have been impossible unless the translator had the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* at hand.

The text of the first *daftar* of manuscript D 138 does not agree in its particulars either with the anonymous author's eighteenth-century translation or with Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation.

The texts from the second *daftar* of manuscripts D 138 and D 121, on the other hand, reveal complete accord. They contain the exact same translation, namely, that of Muḥammad Niyāz. In manuscript D 138, however, the text of Muḥammad Niyāz' translation has been somewhat

abridged in comparison with manuscript D 121: absent are the chapter on Tāj al-Dīn's return to Ṭurfān (fol. 179b), the description of Kashmīr (fol. 216b), poetry in several places (fols. 221b, 226b, 230a), one chapter title (236b), and Muḥammad Niyāz' afterward to the translation. One also finds the omission or addition of certain words and the distortion or improvement of certain readings, etc.

It was noted above that in manuscript D 138, the anonymous author's translation ends in the middle of folio 41b on the thirty-sixth chapter of the first *daftar*. Moreover, the chapter's text concludes with the word *tamām* ("finished"). As the remaining text of the first *daftar* is missing in the manuscript, and the text of the second *daftar* of Niyāzī's translation is incompletely represented in the manuscript available for comparison — which lacks the author's foreword and the first 38 chapters -— it is difficult to establish the chapter and *daftar* where Muḥammad Niyāz' translation actually begins. There is some uncertainty about the word *tamām*. What does it relate to? What is "finished"? The unconnected and independent translation from the Persian original? The text of the first *daftar* represented in the protograph? Is the copyist's work — copying the text of the anonymous author's translation — "finished"? Consequently, the following remain unelucidated: the true degree of completeness of the anonymous author's translation; the time of the new translation's appearance; the reason for the compilative nature of manuscript D 138. Who is responsible for uniting in one book the texts of two different translations? Was it the translator himself or the copyist?

The possibility of giving convincing answers to all these questions is limited by the absence of the appropriate information which could, under favourable circumstances, be gleaned directly from the manuscript. The current state of our knowledge leaves much room for guesses and speculation. The goal of our article, however, is concrete — a study of the Turkic manuscripts of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection with an elucidation of their main features through a comparison of the Turkic copies with the Persian original and with each other. The new, independent translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī revealed in this fashion is one of the concrete results of the present work.

Thus, the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains at least four translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī, the earliest of which dates from 1751. They are all independent and unconnected to each other. That is, the Turkic translations of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's historical work which have reached us do not represent the evolution of a single basic translation, but rely on various copies of the Persian original.

All of the translations are of East Turkestan origin, and were evidently made by literary professionals. The translations are not, however, of equal value, which is explained not only by the quality of the translations themselves, but by the degree of completeness of the copies, as well as by the degree of preservation of the author's text of each individual translation. The most significant of them is the translation by Muḥammad Niyāz, a well-educated and knowledgeable translator and, evidently, a gifted man with a good knowledge of languages and of the country described by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt.

The East Turkestan origin of the translations is not a coincidence. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is a central source for the history of East Turkestan from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the period of Moghūlistān's formation and, in particular, the Moghūl state centred around Yārkend. When the needs and demands of local cultural development compelled East Turkestan scribes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to turn to the history of an earlier period, they found themselves dependent on their predecessors, who wrote primarily in Persian. First among them was Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt. This is the chief explanation for the number of translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī. On the other hand, the appearance of new translations of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work was provoked by in-

sufficient knowledge of each of the preceding translations. This is supported both by the number of copies of eight-eenth-century translations which have reached us and by the absence of information testifying to each translator's knowledge of his predecessors.

As is evident from the material cited, at least two of the four translations were commissioned by highly placed individuals. The readership of the translations under consideration was, nonetheless, socially diverse. Evidence for this is found not only in the author's descriptions of their motivation — to make the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* accessible to all Turkic-speaking inhabitants of Moghūlistān — but also in the existence of a copy made for their own needs by the inhabitants of a rural area.

Notes

1. For information on Mīrzā Ḥaydar and his work, see V. V. Bartol'd, "Khaĭder-mirza" ("Ḥaydar-mīrzā"), *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1973), viii, pp. 598—9; also Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskiĭ obzor* (Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey). In three parts, trans. from English, re-worked and expanded by Iu. E. Bregel' (Moscow, 1972), pt. II, No. 1068; T. I. Sultanov, " 'Tārīkh-i Rashīdī" Mīrzā Ḥaydara Dūglāta. Literaturnaia istoriia pamiatnika" ("The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt. The Literary history of a text"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 116—35; H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature. A Bibliographical Survey*, section 3, pt. I (Utrecht, 1969), iii, p. 156.

2. V. V. Bartol'd, "Chagataĭskaia literatura" ("Chaghatāy literature"), *Sochineniia*, (Moscow, 1968), v, p. 610; *idem*, "Khaĭder-mirza", p. 599.

3. A. M. Muginov, *Opisanie uĭgurskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (Description of Uighur Manuscripts in the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow, 1962), No. 37.

4. *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, cüz 43 (Istanbul, 1949), p. 388.

5. J. D. Pearson, *Oriental Manuscript Collections in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1954), p. 55.

6. See N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Persian and Tajik Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 3: Istoricheskie sochineniia (Moscow, 1975), No. 465.

7. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 162.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

9. *The Tarikhi-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlát. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, an English version, ed. with commentary, notes and map by N. Elias, transl. by E. Denison Ross (London, 1895), pp. IX—X.

10. Muginov, *op. cit.*, Nos. 31—37; L. V. Dmitrieva, A. M. Muginov, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. I: Istoriia (Moscow, 1965), Nos. 87—93.

11. The following are omitted in the English translation of the *Tārīkhi-Rashīdī* noted above: Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the second *daftar* and 25 chapters of the basic text; several chapters are given in abbreviated form.

12. Both of these treatises and the letter are omitted in the English translation.

13. *Tārīkhi-Rashīdī tarjamasī*, MS C 570 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 240b.

14. Muginov, *op. cit.*, No. 37.

15. Maḥmūd ibn Valī. *More taĭn otnositel'no doblesteĭ blagorodnykh (geografiia)* (The Sea of Secrets Regarding the Noble Valours: Geography). Introduction, translation, notes and indices by B. A. Akhmedov (Tashkent, 1977), p. 72.

16. *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv XV—XVIII vekov (izvlecheniia iz persidskikh i tiurkskikh sochineniĭ)* (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khānates of the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Excerpts from Persian and Turkic Works) (Alma-Ata, 1969), pp. 482—3.

17. Muginov, *op. cit.*, No. 37.

18. The pagination in the manuscript itself is Oriental (custodes). The numeration of the pages apparently belongs to A. M. Muginov. Toward the end of the copy he made a counting error and in place of fol. 240 wrote fol. 270. We have corrected the old numeration, and therefore references to folios after fol. 240 do not correspond to those given by A. M. Muginov.

19. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS B 648, fol. 14a; MS C 394, fol. 12a; MS C 395, fol. 17b; MS D 71, p. 20 (all these MSS in the possession of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).

20. The title of the chapter is given both in Persian and in Turkic translation.

21. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS B 648, fol. 120a—b; MS C 394, fols. 98b—99a; MS C 395, fols. 157b—158a; MS D 71, pp. 191—2.

22. The title of the chapter is given in Persian.

23. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS B 648, fols. 83b—84a; MS C 394, fol. 58a—b; MS C 395, fols. 102b—103a; MS D 71, pp. 124—5.

24. Henceforth, the text in the manuscript is in the hand of the main copyist.

25. The copyist first wrote "Mīrzā Abā-Bakr", but then crossed out this name and wrote "Mīrzā Ḥaydar".

26. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ AN Uzbekskoĭ SSR* (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR) (Tashkent, 1955), iii, No. 2721; Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 29.

27. L. V. Dmitrieva, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. II: Istoriia, akty, bibliografiia, èntsiklopedii, geografiia, kalendari, A. S. Tveritinova (Moscow, 1975), No. 24.

28. *Ibid.*, Nos. 24—30; W. D. Smirnow, *Manuscrits turcs de l'Institut des Langues Orientales* (St.-Pétersbourg, 1897), No. 78.

29. A. A. Semênov, *Ukazatel' persidskoĭ literatury po istorii uzbekov v Sredneĭ Azii* (Index of Persian Literature on the History of Uzbeks in Central Asia) (Tashkent, 1926), p. 15.

30. Review by V. P. Iudin in *Trudy Instituta istorii, arkheologii i ètnografii AN Kazakhskoĭ SSR*, XV (Alma-Ata, 1962), p. 202 of Mukhlisov's "Uĭgur klassik adabiati koliazmilirinin katalogi" ("Catalogue of manuscripts of classical Uighur writings") published in *Shinzhan ĭerlik muzeĭiga taĭiarlik korush bashkarmisi* (1957).

31. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 23.

32. See Mukhlisov, *op. cit.*, No. 41.

33. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 23.

34. Mukhlisov, *op. cit.*, No. 41.

35. Muginov, *op. cit.*, No. 32.

36. Dmitrieva, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. II, No. 24.

37. Stori, *op. cit.*, pt. II, No. 1068, p. 1204, n. 4.

38. Ch. Ch. Valikhanov, "Iz "Tarikh-i Rashidi"" ("From the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*"), *Sobranie sochineniĭ* (Alma-Ata, 1961), i, p. 437; Muginov, *op. cit.*, No. 32.

39. C. Salemann, "Neue Erwerbungen des Asiatischen Museums", *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés de Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, IX, 1880—1888 (St.-Pétersbourg, 1888), pp. 383—4.

40. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 163.

41. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 21.

42. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, translation into Turkī by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī, MS C 569 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, pp. 2—10.

43. L. I. Duman, *Agrarnaia politika Tsinskogo (Manchzhurskogo) pravitel'stva v Sin'tsziane v kontse XVIII veka* (Agrarian Policy of the Qing (Manchu) Government in Xinjiang at the End of the Eighteenth Century) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1936), p. 97.

44. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 164; iv, p. 21.

45. Duman, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 107, 164, 191; M. Courant, *L'Asie Centrale aux XVII et XVIII siècles, Empire Kalmouk ou empire Mantchou?* (Lyon—Paris, 1912), p. 121—2.

46. M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan. Geschichten, Verwaltung, Geistesleben und Wirtschaft* (Halle, 1908), p. 35.

47. A. M. Muginov mistakenly identified the text of the author's foreword with the translator's foreword, and therefore indicated the pages incorrectly. In actuality, the translator's foreword takes up pages 2—10, and the author's foreword pages 10—16 (see Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, No. 93).

48. At first, "from Persian" was written. Later, the author of the note crossed this out and wrote "from Arabic".

49. See the description of the translator's foreword.

50. Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, No. 93.

51. V. V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o Kasimovskikh tsariakh i tsarevichakh* (A Study on the Kasimov Tsars and Tsareviches), pt. II (St. Petersburg, 1864), pp. 144f.

52. *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv XV—XVIII vekov (izvlecheniia iz persidskikh i tiurkskikh sochinenii)*, pp. 191, 520ff.

53. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *op. cit.*, pp. 137—8.

54. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 163.

55. Salemann, "Neue Erwerbungen", p. 383, n. 12.

56. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, translation into Turkī by Muḥammad Niyāz, MS D 120 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 1b—12a.

57. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS D 121 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 146b—147a.

58. Hamada Masami, "Islamic saints and their mausoleums", *Acta Asiatica, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, XXXIV (Tokyo 1978), p. 92.

59. Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, No. 27.

60. Muḥammad Niyāz, *Qiṣaṣ al-gharā'ib*, MS D 106 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 2a.

61. Hamada Masami, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

62. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 279.

63. Smirnow, *op. cit.*, No. 76; Muginov, *op. cit.*, Nos. 31, 33—36; Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, Nos. 88—92.

64. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ Akademii nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR* (Tashkent, 1964), vii, No. 5014.

65. *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv*, pp. 410—1; Omonbek Khusainbek ugli Zhalilov, ""Tarikhiĭ Rashidiĭ" ning ilovasi", *Sharqshunoslik*, 5 (Tashkent, 1994), pp. 88—95.

66. *Manuscripts from Indian Collections, Descriptive Catalogue* (New Delhi, 1964), p. 110.

67. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 162. According to N. Elias, two manuscripts (see *The Tarikh-i Rashidi*, ed. Elias, p. IX).

68. *The Tarikh-i Rashidi*, ed. Elias, p. X.

69. In any case, N. Elias has made an error in his conversion of dates from the Hijra to the European calendar: Jumādā II 1263 corresponds not to 1845, as he has it, but to 1847.

70. Hamada Masami, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

71. For "Oriental translation"'s features see V. D. Smirnov, *Turetskie legendy o Sviatoĭ Sofii, o drugikh vizantiĭskikh drevnostiakh* (Turkish Legends about Saint Sophia, [and on] other Byzantine Antiquities) (St. Petersburg, 1898), especially p. 13; E. E. Bertel's, "Nevai i Attar" ("Nawā'i and 'Aṭṭār"), *Mir-Ali-Shir. Sbornik k piatisotletiiu so dnia rozhdeniia* (Leningrad, 1928), p. 27.

72. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS B 648, fol. 67b; MS C 394, fol. 45a—b; MS C 395, fol. 84a; MS D 71, p. 102.

73. K. G. Zaleman, "Rukopisi Ia. Ia. Liutsha" ("J. J. Lütsch's manuscripts"), *Mélanges Asiatiques*, XI, 1895—1901 (St.-Pétersbourg, 1901), p. 55, No. 4.

74. Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, No. 91.

75. Zaleman, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Vladimir Polosin

TWO LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN FISCAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES *

In the Ottoman empire, as earlier under the caliphate, non-Muslim subjects were obligated to pay a poll-tax — *jizya*, excluding children, women, invalids, the blind, and the non-working poor. Since the tax was at various times collected in various ways, it is sometimes difficult to term it a poll-tax. In villages, until a new register of tax-payers was drawn up, peasants had to pay the tax for those who had died or for neighbors who had fled. For a long time, the household and its occupants was considered the basic unit of taxation. After a tax reform in 1691, the tax became strictly individual. Upon payment of the tax, each tax-payer received a receipt called *waraq* or *kağıd*, which simply means "paper". Payments were recorded in special registers — *daftar*s. These were drawn up duplicate: one copy was sent to the capital, the second remained in the provincial archive [1]. The *daftar*s were collected in a special department in Istanbul called the *qalam-i jizya*. This department prepared the payment receipts every year and, when the time came, handed them over to tax-collectors in sealed bags [2]. Every year the Ottoman Sulṭān determined tax rates on the basis of a *fatwā* handed down by the *shaykh al-islām*. There were three tax rates: high — أعلى, middle — أوسط, and low أدنى.

A large number of *daftar*s is preserved in archives: 418 volumes of financial registers for the poll-tax for the period from 1551 to 1840, and 36 volumes of the Christian affairs register for the period from 1641 to 1838 [3]. Many financial documents have already been published. However, in preparing this brief study, I was unable to find mention of any receipts being published or of any surviving receipts. This is not surprising, as for the organs of taxation they were out-going, rather than in-coming, documents, and the fact of the tax's payment was recorded in the *daftar*s. It simply made no sense to copy the receipts for the archive. It is possible that some tax-payers retained them for a time to avert any possible misunderstandings, as we do today with receipts for rent or the telephone bill. But in the best case, they would only have been retained until the death of the tax-payer. After that they were of no use to anyone. A favourable confluence of circumstances was necessary for one of them to survive and fall into the hands of scholars. It

appears that two of these receipts have turned up in our manuscript collection thanks to such a confluence of circumstances.

Two folios of paper — one pink and one yellow, their size 14.0 × 10.5 cm (*fig. 1*) and 15.0 × 10.7 cm (*fig. 2*) — were inserted in manuscript C 719 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. They are very similar in structure and in the organisation of the information they contain. In the upper part of each folio (henceforth, Doc. 1 and Doc. 2) is a completely illegible inscription, most likely someone's signature. Lower on Doc. 1, "Beirut" is written in Arabic. Seal impressions are located in the upper left corner of each document. The impression on Doc. 1 is hexagonal (3.0 × 2.1 cm), and on Doc. 2 a scalloped seal impression on the base of circle (1.8 × 2.0 cm). The legends on the seals differ only in the year and were clearly made by the same carver. On Doc. 1 the legend runs: عن أول محرم في سنة ١٢١٢ اثنى عشر و مائتين و الف ("From the first day of Muḥarram of the year 1212"), with the year noted twice, in figures and in words. The year 1213 is indicated in the legend on Doc. 2. Beneath the seal impressions, the year is written once again by hand: Doc. 1 — محرم ١٢١٢ سنه ("Muḥarram of the year 1212"); Doc. 2 — ١٢١٣ سنه ("The year 1213"). One should note that the Muslim year begins with the month Muḥarram, and that the *jizya* was usually collected at the beginning or end of the year.

In the upper right corner of each document are completely identical impressions of what is apparently the same rectangular seal (2.5 × 2.5 cm) with a floral ornament and the legend — أعلى جزية الرأس ("high rate *jizya* per head").

Lower on Doc. 1 is an inscription with the name كياييل ولد ماغات ("Kiyāyīl son of Māghāt"). In its place on Doc. 2, in the same location one finds the impression of a square stamp (2.8 × 2.8 cm). The stamp has a wide, double rim around the perimeter, and in the centre the word ولد, ("son"), is carved on a dark, horizontal strip. On the clear margins above and below this strip names have been written in by hand to produce كيريل ولد ماغاك ("Kīrīl son of Māghāk").

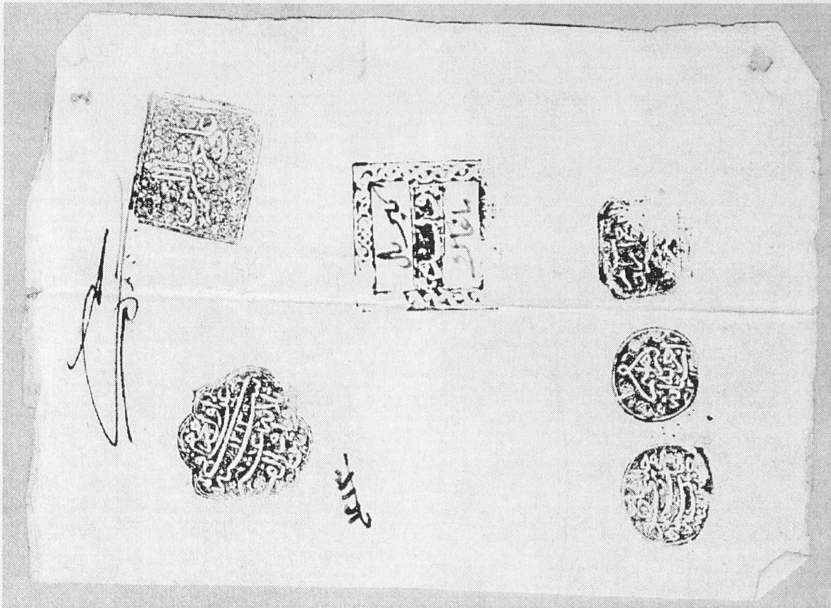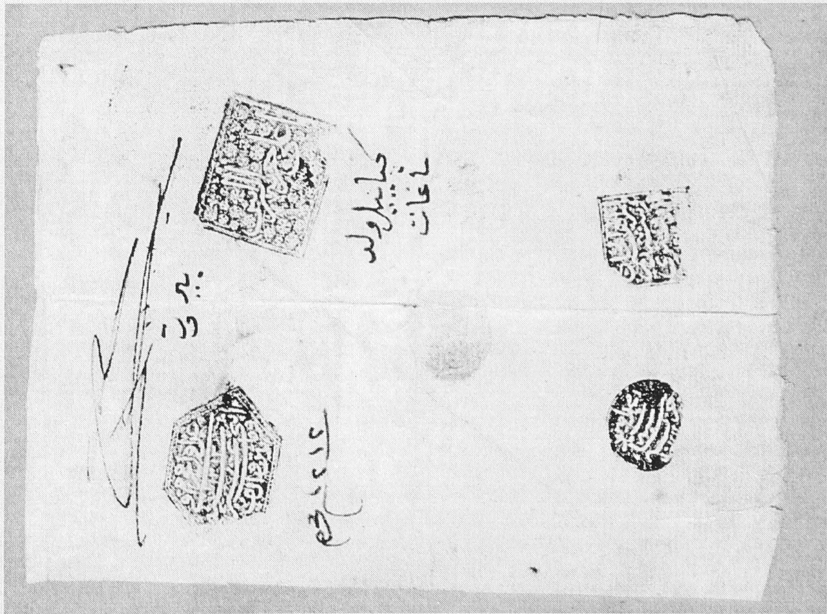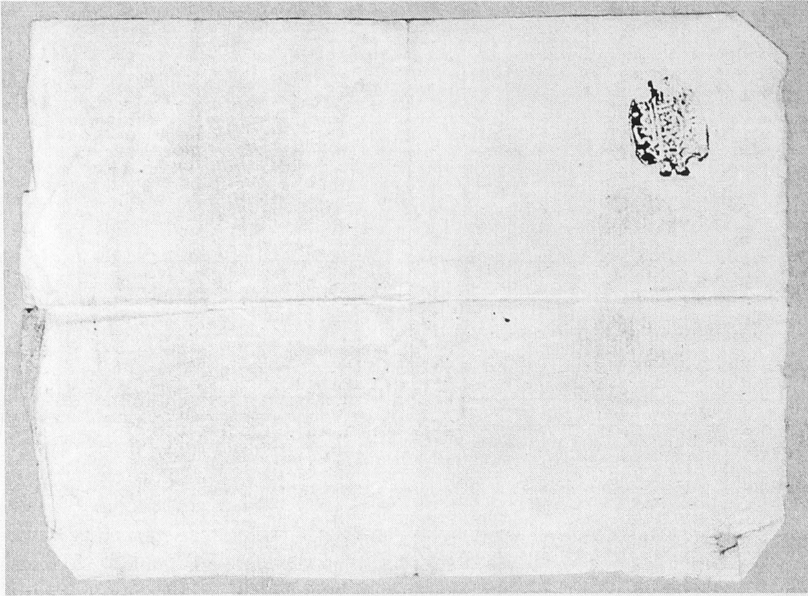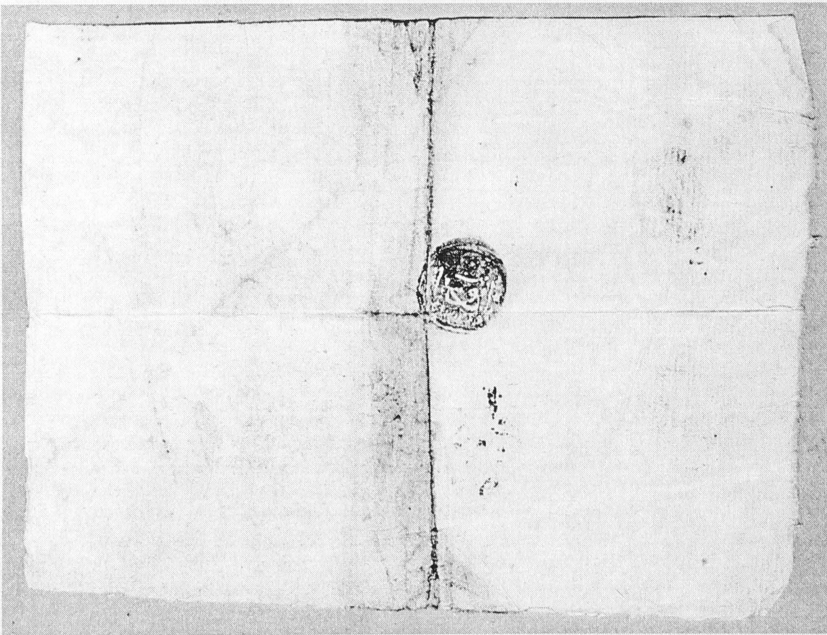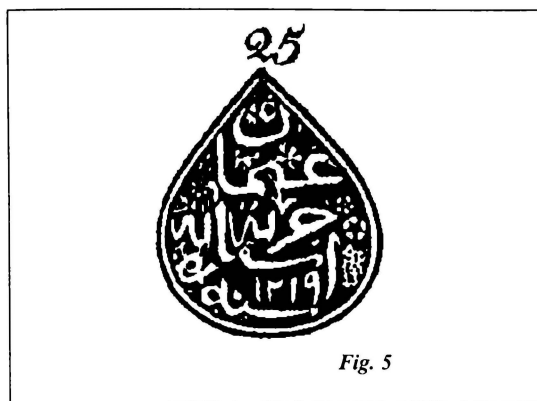
Fig. 2

Fig. 1

Fig. 4

Fig. 3

Fig. 5

Clearly, the names on the two documents differ, but the similarity between them is too great to conclude that they belong to two separate people. Furthermore, one should recall that both documents, for two successive years, were stored together. The discrepancy can perhaps be explained by the fact that the name was copied down as it was spoken and was improperly understood because of its unusual sound to the Arab or Turkish ear. It is also difficult to say why on one document the name is written down by hand, while on the other a stamp was used, but it is possible that stamps had just been introduced at the time of the later document.

Located at the bottom of the folios are: on Doc. 1, two seal impressions; on Doc. 2, three. On Doc. 1 there is on the left an impression of an oval stamp (1.7 × 1.1 cm) with the legend — ١٢١٢ سيد محمد امين محاسبه جزيه ("Master Muḥammad Amīn, calculation of the *jizya* 1212"). Further to the right is the impression of a rectangular seal (1.7 × 1.8 cm) with the legend — الحاج ابراهيم رشيد الدفترى ١٢١٢ ("Al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Rashīd *al-daftarī* 1212"). The word *al-daftari*, derived from *daftar*, evidently means "the official responsible for the *daftar*".

On Doc. 2 on the left is found the impression of an oval seal (1.9 × 1.7 cm) with the legend — الحاج محمد جلبى محاسبه جزيه سنه ١٢١٣ ("Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Chelebī calculation of the *jizya* 1213"). Interestingly, the *nisba* Chelebī is written without the article. On the right is the impression of an oval seal (1.8 × 1.7 cm) with the legend — ابراهيم جزيه استانه ١٢١٣ ("Ibrāhīm, *jizya* Asitāne 1213"). Istanbul was known by the Persian word *asitāne* ("gate"). An analogue for this seal is known. It was published by J. Hammer-Purgstall, source not cited, in a collection of 72 impressions of Arabographic seals, No. 25 [4]. It is a drop-shaped seal (1.7 × 2.0 cm) with the legend — عثمان جزيه استانه سنه ١٢١٩ ("'Uthmān, *jizya* Asitāne 1219") (see *fig. 5*). The similarity of the seals and the close dates allow to suggest that this stamp was used in the Treasury for receipts as well. Further to the right on Doc. 2 is located the impression of an octagonal seal (2.0 × 1.8 cm). The legend was poorly impressed, but a comparison of the remaining letters with the impression of the rectangular seal in the lower right corner of Doc. 1 shows that they contain the same text.

On the reverse of Doc. 1 (*fig. 3*), approximately at the centre of the folio is the impression of a circular seal (1.7 × 1.7 cm) with the legend — ايوب ١٢١٢

("Ayyūb 1212"). In the name Ayyūb the letters ايو are written twice, from left to right and right to left, sharing the letter ب. On the reverse of Doc. 2 (*fig. 4*) in the lower right corner is the impression of a figured seal (2.0 × 1.5 cm) with an illegible inscription.

Thus, we have here two financial documents of fairly complex structure for two successive years, 1212/1797 and 1213/1798—99. The year the *jizya* was paid and the rate are indicated on each folio, as are impressions of the seals of the officials directly connected with the *jizya* (two on Doc. 1, three on Doc. 2), and the name of someone who is, to all appearances, the taxpayer. On the reverse are impressions of seals belonging, possibly, to the tax-collectors. It was noted above that payment receipts for the *jizya* were prepared in Istanbul and then given to the tax-collectors. Cases are known where tax-collectors forced payment on people who did not come under the tax in order to use up the receipts they had received from the Treasury or foisted on the tax-payers receipts with a higher rate than they were obligated to pay. Sometimes tax-collectors applied a lower rate to the rich in exchange for a bribe [5]. All of this permits us to assume that we have before us receipts for payment of the *jizya*. It follows from the preceding that Treasury officials in Istanbul prepared receipt forms without names but with their seals. The names of tax-payers were recorded on location by tax-collectors. This allowed them to violate the law for profit. In that case, the name of the city Beirut on Doc. 1 evidently indicates the place where the tax was being collected. It would be interesting to search extant *daftars* for records on the tax-payer mentioned in our documents, but that is a task for Turkish scholars.

The differences between the two documents for two corresponding years are of interest. Different colour paper has been used for them — pink and yellow. The legends on the seals which indicate the year are in the same handwriting. Aside from the year, their content is identical, although they differ in form. Both documents display impressions of a single person's seal — Ibrāhīm Rashīd. But where on Doc. 1 it is rectangular, on Doc. 2 it is octagonal. The absence of material for comparison does not allow us to reach a decisive conclusion, but these differences, we believe, permit the assumption that they provided a certain measure of defense against forgeries. To this end, paper of various colors was used in different years and the form of the seal was changed from time to time.

The receipts are note-worthy from the perspective of studying Muslim seals, since the documents precisely localise and date 11 different seals with all their particular features.

In conclusion it is worth saying a few words about the manuscript in which the receipts were discovered. It contains the first part of the *Kitāb al-mughnī fī l-'adwiya al-mufrada* ("A Useful Book on Simple Medicines") by 'Abdallāh b. Bayṭār (d. 646/1248). The work itself is known in 12 manuscripts, but ours is of interest because it was copied from the autograph in 860/1456 and compared with the original in the presence of a physician Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī in Haleb at the al-Ḥalawiya *madrasa* [6]. The manuscript has several features which draw our attention and are worthy of mention here. To begin with, the numeration of the folios is double -— Arabic numbers and Greek letters. It is not known when the latter were put down, but they show beyond doubt that the manuscript

was at one time in Christian hands. Further, Arab manuscripts consist of separate quires — *kurrasa* — with varying numbers of folios. Moreover, in a single manuscript there may be quires of various sorts. These quires were frequently numbered — the number is usually written on the first folio of each quire. This was done in order to keep the quires in order for reading or binding. The manuscript contains 23 quires of the following sort: 1 VI, 2 XII, 3 VIII, 4—22 X, 23 VIII (5 + 3) [7]. The numbers of the quires have been indicated here as well, but whoever wrote them down clearly did not suspect that the quires could be of varying sorts and did not know for what purpose they were numbered. For this reason, he numbered first folio of every ten, and the quire marks turned to have been inside each quire — a senseless system. Perhaps this indicates that the scribe or binder was unfamiliar with accepted Arab manuscript traditions. Finally, on the title folio beneath the name of the work, there is an addition in beautiful *naskh*: ٢١ الجزو الاول من كتاب المغني بخط عرب سطر ("The first part of "A Useful Book" in the writing of the Arabs, 21 lines"). There are in fact 21 lines on each page, but such a note, which is common in catalogues of manuscripts, is unusual for manuscripts themselves.

On fol. 224b of the manuscript there is a note that the manuscript was bought in Istanbul in 1802 by a monk of the Mār Yūḥannā al-Shuwayr monastery, Jirjis b. Tūmā Fattāl al-Ḥalabī, which is three years after the receipt was issued to the tax-payer. One can assume that the monk bought the manuscript from the tax-payer, who had put his receipts into the manuscript. Interestingly, the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies has in its holdings two more medical manuscripts acquired by the same monk, Jirjis b. Tūmā, in 1799 (C 720) and 1818 (A 435) [8]. Evidently, he was frequently in Istanbul, as manuscripts C 719 and A 435 were purchased by him there. Most likely, Jirjis b. Tūmā took special interest in works on medicine. It is possibly from him that the manuscripts were bought by the Russian ambassador to the Ottoman empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, A. Ia. Italinsky, who was doctor of medicine as well. From him the manuscripts found their way to the Educational department of the Asiatic office to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from there were moved in 1919 to the Asiatic Museum (at present St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).

Notes

1. Halil Inalcik, "Djizya", *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, n. e. (Leiden, 1983), ii, p. 563.

2. N. Aktas, I. Binark, *Ottoman Archives* (Amman, 1986), p. 29.

3. B. Lewis, *Notes and Documents from the Turkish Archives* (Jerusalem, 1952).

4. J. Hammer-Purgstall, "Abhandlung ueber die Siegel der Araber, Perser und Tuerken", *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe*, Bd. 1 (Wien, 1850), pp. 1—36, illustrations. The existence of this seal was kindly pointed out to me by Val. V. Polosin.

5. See "Djizya", p. 565.

6. See Y. Eche, *Les bibliothèqes arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Egypte au moyen âge* (Damascus, 1967), pp. 242—4. According to the author, this *madrasa* has survived to the present.

7. Arabic numbers denote the number of the quire; Roman numerals indicate the number of folios it contains.

8. For manuscripts C 720, A 435, as well as C 719, see *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia* (Arabic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies), pt. I (Moscow, 1986), pp. 489—90.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Document 1 (recto) — a payment receipt (pink paper), 14.0 × 10.5 cm.

Fig. 2. Document 2 (recto) — a payment receipt (yellow paper), 15.0 × 10.7 cm.

Fig. 3. Document 1 (verso).

Fig. 4. Document 2 (verso).

Fig. 5. A seal with the legend — عثمان جزيه استانه سنه ١٢١٩ ("'Uthmān, *jizya* Asitāne 1219"), 1.7 × 2.0 cm. The seal was published by J. Hammer-Purgstall (see note 4).

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD:
IV. "RAISE NOT YOUR VOICES ABOVE THE PROPHET'S VOICE"
(SOCIETY, POWER AND ETIQUETTE NORMS)

Our few sources on the history of Arabia in the sixth and early seventh centuries testify to a wide-spread feeling of tension and social unease. The reasons for this situation should be sought primarily in the particular features of the stage of social development which Arabia was then experiencing. The social and property relations which formed at this time in populated centres as a result of long-term developments came into conflict with the traditional patriarchal system of values and ideas. The primitive paganism which provided an ideological underpinning for society's traditional relations could not compete with world religions, which for many Arabians symbolised the flourishing civilisations of their neighbours. The ruin or serious weakening of intra-Arabian power structures linked to the "great states" of Persia and Byzantium led to a power vacuum. Moreover, the social practices of Arabian border principalities, which over centuries accumulated experience in new forms of socio-political relations, and long-standing participation in trade movement led to the erosion of some of clan society's most important institutions. Long-time ties to Persia and Byzantium and the experience of military success in conflicts with the forces of the "great states" demonstrated hitherto unseen possibilities in Arabia, and raised its prestige in its own eyes. A prophetic movement arose in Arabia in answer to this new reality — its most successful and far-seeing representative was Muḥammad.

Finding himself in this period at the centre of a religious and political movement which encompassed all Arabia, Muḥammad reflected in his preaching, which forms the text of the Qur'ān, those new social relations which were already current in the settled society of Inner Arabia. They were not yet, however, buttressed by tradition, legal custom or institutions. In the Qur'ān, on the authority of Allah Muḥammad for the first time legalises as functioning social institutions the norms and ideas which had taken shape in the advanced, settled societies of Inner Arabia such as Mekka, Medina (Yathrib), and al-Ṭā'if. It is very significant that, in formulating new religious and socio-legal ideas, Muḥammad saw them as old ideas restored to their original form.

Modern methods of textual analysis allow us to reconstruct the system of ideas [1] held by representatives of a specific culture. The conception of power, its origin and limits is key in any society. Naturally, in the conditions of drastic social breakdown and shifting guideposts which accompanied the rise of Islam, these ideas appeared at the centre of the polemic Muḥammad conducted with his opponents.

The preaching contained in the Qur'ān has preserved for us a "snapshot" of a certain place and a time. What then seemed an insignificant incident (a supper shared by ten Arabians in a small, dusty city in distant al-Ḥijāz or the hosts' surprise at the unexpected request of a neighbour for some kitchen implement) was fated to enter the record of events set down for all humanity.

1

At the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries, certain social processes took place in Arabia which transformed clan institutions into the institutions of an estate-class society. In order to understand the mechanisms which operated within those social processes and to analyse the transformations which accompanied the emergence of Islam, the study of various relations based on dependence, protection and mutual assistance is of great interest. In the Qur'ān, in pre- and early Islamic poetry, and in the early Islamic historical tradition, these relations are expressed for the most part through terms based on the roots *wly*, *jwr*, *ḥlf*, and *nṣr*. These terms helped to define the relations which at that time formed the basis for the socio-political organisation of society.

In "The Social Structure in Northern and Central Arabia in the Fifth—Seventh Centuries", L. V. Negria cites at

least five meanings for the term *mawlā*, each of which expresses a corresponding variety of the institution of dependence or protection. These are: dependence/protection through kinship (*walā' raḥm*); through service (*walā' khidma*); dependence/protection extended to someone of a different lineage with the inclusion of the stranger into the tribe (*walā' ḥilf*); to someone of a different lineage without the integration of the stranger into the new tribe (*walā' jiwār*), where he retained ties to his blood relatives [2]. The term *mawlā* was also used to indicate a slave or a freedman.

Of principal significance is that the relations expressed with the help of these terms (with the exception of dependence through slavery) were of a conditional, contractual nature. They designated a temporary state of dependence of an individual or clan group on another individual or clan group, which took upon itself the obligation of ensuring security, defence, assistance or support. It is essential to stress that these terms, as a rule, simultaneously presumed both a dependent person or clan as well as a person or clan which rendered protection. Hence, the ambiguity of the term *mawlā* and its synonym *jār*, which can mean a protector or one who is protected. Such terms could also indicate relations between a pagan divinity and his adept [3].

The Qur'ān mentions all forms of dependence/protection known in pre-Islamic Arabia. (see, for example, 4 : 36/40, 16 : 75/77—76/78 and others).

At various stages of his prophetic activity, Muḥammad relied on terms derived from the above-mentioned roots to express a number of fundamentally important ideas in his message. Furthermore, the formation of a new social organism in Arabia — the Muslim community (*umma*) — presents us with a history of trial and error in the use of traditional institutions of dependence/protection. These institutions aided the construction of a new social organisation and formed the idea of supreme power vested in a single person.

Before the boundless might of Allah and the terror of Judgement Day, the traditional system of social ties which ensured personal security (that is, kinship and protection) was declared irrelevant (44 : 41—42): "The day a master (*mawlā*) shall avail nothing a client (*mawlā*), and they shall not be helped (*wa lā hum yanṣarūna*), save him upon whom God has mercy ..."* (see also: 70 : 11—13; 22 : 11—13).

Or (70 : 11—13): "The sinner will wish that he might ransom himself from the chastisement of that day even by his sons, his companion wife, his brother, his kin (*faṣīla*) who sheltered him (*tu'wīhi*) ..."

Only absolute submission (*islām*) to the will of God could free a person from punishment on Judgement day. Consequently, the most indispensable people became those who ensured that His will be done — that is, those who tended to ties of the faith. For this reason, the only thing which guaranteed success in earthly affairs was the protection of Allah, earned through unfailing submission to his will, (72 : 22—23/24): "Say: 'From God shall protect me not anyone (*lan yujīranī*), and I shall find, apart from Him, no refuge, excepting a Deliverance from God and His Messages. And whoso rebels (*ya'ṣi*) against God and His messenger, for him there awaits the Fire of Gehenna ..."

Allah is the only protector (*mawlā, jār*) on whom one can rely (6 : 62): "Then they are restored to God their Protector (*mawlā*), the True. Surely His is the judgement (*al-ḥukm*) ..." "Say: 'In whose hand is the dominion of everything (*malakūt*), protecting (*yujīru*) and Himself unprotected (*yujāru*) ..." (23 : 88/90).

After the *hijra*, which signified for Muḥammad and his followers a break with the traditional system which had ensured their personal security, the Prophet tried to unite his *muhājirūn* and *anṣār* with the help of sworn brotherhood (*mu'ākha*).

The functions and nature of pre-Islamic sworn brotherhood have not yet received sufficient study. In particular, its internal connection with the relations specified by the term *walā'*, about which Muslim authors wrote, have not been investigated satisfactorily [4]. We know that a contractual agreement of *walā' ḥilf* (protection for a stranger) presumed his inclusion into the tribe. Despite the fact that this agreement extended to him the set of rights and obligations of blood kinship, including the right of inheritance, he remained in the position of a dependent (*mawlā*) in relation to his contractual partner, who was also called *mawlā*. The formal equality of the contractual partners was underscored by the term "brother" (*akh*), which designated both the dependent and his protector [5].

Related tribes as well as tribes which had concluded pacts of dependence/protection were called "brothers" [6]. Naturally, with the establishment of relations of *walā' ḥilf*, a person became one of the "brothers" (*ikhwān*) who made up the group adapting him. In a number of cases, Qur'ānic usage and pre-Islamic poetry employ as synonyms the terms *qawm* (tribe) and *ikhwān* (brothers) (see, for example: 50 : 13 and 38 : 13 / 12) [7]. In this fashion, the pre-Islamic institution of sworn brotherhood expressed relations of *walā' ḥilf*. The textual resemblance between the formulas for concluding *walā' ḥilf* and concluding sworn brotherhood among the first Muslims confirm this similarity [8].

The term *mu'ākha* is absent in the Qur'ān, although a number of Qur'ānic contexts establish a meaning of *akh* (*ikhwān, ikhwa*) distinct from blood kinship. These contexts are of especial interest to us [9]. The most important of them are tied to the formation of the Muslim community in Yathrib.

"And as for those who came after them (the *anṣār* — E. R.), they say, 'Our Lord, forgive us and our brothers (*ikhwān*, that is, *muhājirūn* — E. R.), who preceded us in belief ..." (59 : 10). In an analogous context (8 : 72/73), the *muhājirūn* and *anṣār* are called each other's protectors (*awlīyā'*).

"And hold you fast to God's bond (*ḥabl*), together [10], and do not scatter; remember God's blessing upon you when you were enemies, and He brought your hearts together, so that by His blessing you became brothers (*ikhwān*) ..." (3 : 103/98). And later (3 : 104/100): "Let there be one nation (*umma*) of you, calling to good ...". All members of the Medinan community were declared each other's protectors (*mawlā, jār*) [11], which in turn placed them under Allah's protection.

If in the pre-Islamic period the establishment of *walā' ḥilf* (sworn brotherhood) led to the conditional dependence of one person on another, now the tie between sworn brothers was premised on their absolute dependence on God,

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* Here and below we used the Qur'ān translation of A. J. Arberry.

whom Muḥammad declared their "true protector" (6 : 62; 23 : 90, see above). At this stage, however, sworn brotherhood retained certain features of the pre-Islamic *walā' ḥilf*. In particular, a sworn brother had the right to part of his sworn brother's inheritance. This right of inheritance represented an intrusion into property relations within an individual family, the significance of which had grown immeasurably in settled Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century. Thus, competition and conflicts were unavoidable [12]. In essence, the "universal" sworn brotherhood of Muslims (*walā' ḥilf*) led to the establishment of patriarchal, levelling relations within the Muslim community, which was already impossible in settled Arabia of the seventh century. In 624, this right of inheritance was revoked (33 : 6): "Those who are bound by blood (*ūlū-l-arḥ ām*) are nearer (*awlā*) to one another in the Book of God than the believers and the emigrants ..." (see also: 8 : 75/76).

After the revocation of the right of inheritance for sworn brothers, relations between members of the Muslim community, who were considered brothers, were structured in accordance with relations established by an agreement of defence (*walā' jiwār*). This gave the parties defence without recourse to ties of blood kinship. Now, by accepting Islam and recognising the supreme protection (*jiwār*) of Allah, every Muslim took upon himself the obligation to help and defend his brothers in the faith; he became their *jār*. Tradition has it that the during his "farewell pilgrimage" the Prophet preached: "... Every Muslim is a brother (*akh*) to [every other] Muslim, and all Muslims are brothers (*ikhwa*), and no Muslim is allowed to demand [things] of his brother (*akh*), but only that which he gives him out of the goodness of his soul ..." [13].

Every person who accepted Islam became a sworn brother of other Muslims (9 : 11): "Yet if they repent, and perform the prayer, and pay the alms, then they are your brothers in religion (*ikhwān fī-l-dīn*) ...".

This clarifies why Muḥammad called upon his followers to consider the adopted sons of "brothers in the faith" protected (*jār*) as well, whereas before Islam they became *mawālī-ḥulafā'* (33 : 4—5): "... neither has He (Allah — E. R.) made your adopted sons your sons in fact. ... Call them after their true fathers; that is more equitable in the sight of God. If you know not who their fathers were, then they are brothers in religion (*ikhwān fī-l-din*), and your clients (*mawālī*)" (see also 2 : 220/219). This guaranteed them equal status in the Muslim community (*umma*), but left property interests in the "small family" (*ahl al-bayt*) untouched [14].

All Muslim sworn brothers were obligated to take part in campaigns against the "enemies of Allah" (3 : 156/150, 168/162; 33 : 18). This obligation stemmed from the concept of *naṣr* — mutual assistance in battle presumed by relations of *walā'* (protection) both before Islam and in the Qur'ān (see, for example: 2 : 286). M. M. Bravmann has shown that before Islam the Arabians believed that their divinities could assist them in battle, which aid they called *naṣr*. This assistance was conceived of as mutual [15]. We find such a conception of *naṣr* in the Qur'ān: "Assuredly God will help (*layanṣuranna*) him who helps Him (*yanṣ uruhu*) ..." (22 : 40/41). Muḥammad considered it the obligation of Muslims to help each other in the struggle for Islam, thereby "helping Allah". If the necessity of rendering assistance in battle had earlier been dictated primarily by

the blood ties which bound participants in a raid, mutual assistance was now premised on "brotherhood in faith". The refusal to wage war between Muslims also stemmed from the idea of sworn brotherhood (49 : 10).

We know that the first instances of sworn brotherhood date to the end of the Meccan period of the Prophet's activity [16]. Faced with the Meccans' rising hostility toward the Prophet and his followers, Muḥammad attempted to unite the first Muslims. After the Prophet's move to Medina, obligations of sworn brotherhood were called upon to ensure the equality of *muhājirūn* and *anṣār*, which was of great importance at that time. However, the socio-economic factors noted above and mass conversion to Islam made the establishment of individual agreements of sworn brotherhood practically impossible.

The institution of sworn brotherhood as it existed before the rights of inheritance were revoked was, in essence, a stage in the transition to a new type of social relations [17] founded on ties of faith and absolute dependence on God. After the revoking of the rights of inheritance, it ceased to exist in its earlier form.

The analogous structures of relations based on *mu'ākha*, *naṣr* and *walā'* are noteworthy. One can picture them as a triangle with Allah in every instance at the top (Allah *nāṣir*, Allah *walī* and *jār*) (see *Scheme 1*). Along the base are people who are in corresponding relations with each other and with Allah (*jār*, *mawlā*, *nāṣir*), co-ordination of all sides in the triangle forms the necessary basis for a solid, successfully functioning new social organisation. It is important that in this system God's Prophet was also termed a "protector" (*walī*) of the believers (cf. 4 : 75/77).

Allah's "regal shadow" covered his Prophet as well. The constant use of the term *rasūl Allah*, found in official documents which have reached us, is reminiscent of the use of the names of Arabian kings. The oath, or assurance of *bay'a*, which the Prophet received, also confirms this [18]. In pacts between Muḥammad and tribes they were usually guaranteed the protection (*jiwār*) of Allah and that of his Prophet. We know, however, of cases in which the Prophet spoke only of his protection or of his guarantee of security (*dhimma*) [19].

In this connection, the verses of the pre-Islamic monotheistic poet Nābigha al-Dhubyānī in which he tells of Nu'mān the Fifth of al-Ḥīra are of interest:

"He was faithful in defence (*dhimma*) and
extolled those he protected (*jār*),
When the power of [another] king (*malik*)
begins to weaken" [20].

Thus, an analysis of the institution of sworn brotherhood in early Islam based on Qur'ānic materials shows that its appearance reflected the complex social and ideological processes which were taking place in Inner Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century. It has been noted that there was a tendency in pre-Islamic Arabia toward state formation through the creation of tribal alliances of *ḥilf*. A telling example of this is found in the case of the Kindites [21]. The development of this tendency, however, was interrupted and did not attain its logical fulfilment. The institution of *walā' ḥilf* could not serve as the basis for consolidating a society, primarily because it was, in essence, a form of fictive kinship. In unions based on the latter, centrifugal forces always predominated over centripetal forces.
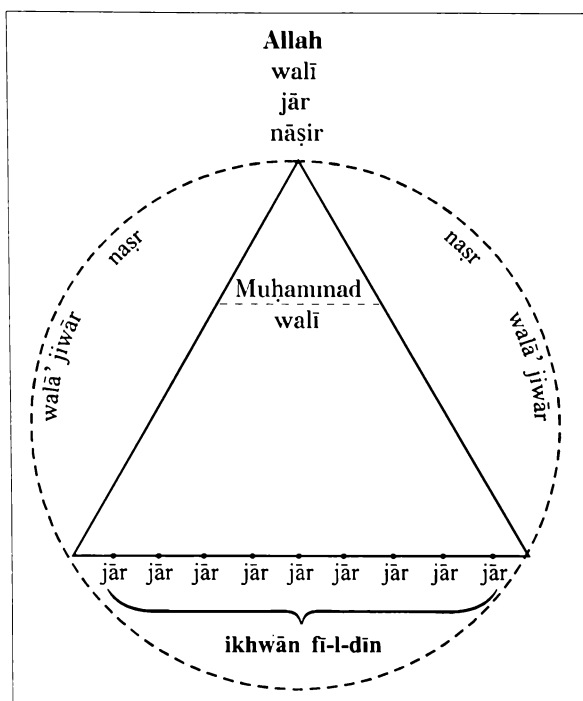
Scheme 1

The institution of *walā' jiwār* was better suited to the aim of state formation, as it did not presume the integration of the stranger into the collective of blood kinship in guaranteeing him protection. Rather, it secured a consolidated community without interfering in the sphere of relations of blood kinship.

Ties of blood kinship — material bonds, in essence — as well as traditional relations of protection, gave way as the primary basis for collective existence to collectivity in faith, that is, to ideal ties structured with the help of reconceived traditional institutions of protection and sworn brotherhood. Additionally, the significance of ties of blood kinship among Muslims was strengthened in the context of individual families. New political relations were expressed as before with recourse to traditional categories. For a long time after the Arab conquests, non-Arabs were able to become Muslims merely by concluding a contract of protection with one or another Arab tribe.

Although the idea of Muslim brotherhood was only retained as the ideological basis for Muslim unity after the revocation of inheritance rights for sworn brothers, its role in the development of the Prophet's social ideas and the social reality of that time was extremely great. With the introduction of the institution of sworn brotherhood, one can speak of the first attempts to create a new social body, which Muḥammad designated with the term *umma*. The viability of this new social organisation depended primarily on the maintenance of Muḥammad's essentially autocratic rule, which was, as we know, incompatible with the social organisation and social ideology of a clan-tribal society. The issue of power, obedience and submission was central. For this reason, the replacement of the term *ḥanifiyya*, originally used to designate the new faith, with *islām* (submission) is far from coincidental.

2

The *Sūra*s of the Medina period contain several orders to the members of the Islamic community concerning etiquette with regard to addressing the Prophet and behaviour in his presence. Several of the *āyāt* quoted below are well-known. But only a profound analysis and comparative study of all of these *āyāt*, pronounced between 5/627 and 10/632, as well as the corresponding *ḥadīth* and *sīra* accounts, material from pre-Islamic Arabic tribal traditions, contemporary poetry, Christian sources and archaeological material allow us not only to reconstruct important behav-

iour stereotypes but also to determine several distinctive features of social psychology in the society of Inner Arabia during the rise of Islam.

"O believers, enter not the houses of the Prophet, except leave is given you for a meal, without watching for its hour. But when you are invited, then enter; and when you have had the meal, disperse, neither lingering for idle talk; that is hurtful to the Prophet, and he is ashamed before you; but God is not ashamed before the truth. And when you asked his wives for any object, ask them from behind the

curtain; that is cleaner for your hearts and theirs. It is not for you to hurt God's Messenger, neither to marry his wives after him, ever; surely that would be, in God's sight, a monstrous thing" (33 : 53).

"God and His angels bless the Prophet. O believers, do you also bless him, and pray him peace. Those who hurt God and his Messenger — them God has cursed in the present world and the world to come, and has prepared for them a humbling chastisement" (33 : 56—57).

"Hast thou not regarded those who were forbidden to converse secretly together, then they return to that they were forbidden, and they converse secretly together in sin and enmity, and in disobedience to the Messenger? Then, when they come to thee, they greet thee with a greeting God never greeted thee withal [22]; and they say within themselves, 'Why does God not chastise us with what we say?' Sufficient for them shall be Gahanna, at which they shall be roasted — an evil homecoming!" (58 : 8/9).

"Those only believers, who believe in God and His Messenger and who, when they are with him upon a common matter, go not away until they ask his leave. Surely those who ask thy leave — those are they that believe in God and His Messenger; so, when they ask thy leave for some affair of their own, give leave to whom thou wilt of them, and ask God's forgiveness for them [...] Make not the calling of the Messenger among yourselves like your calling one another [...]" (24 : 62—63).

"O believers, when it is said to you 'Make room in the assemblies', then make room, and God will make room for you; and when it is said, 'Move up' move up, and God will raise up in rank (*darajāt*) [23] those of you who believe and have been given knowledge. And God is aware of the things you do. O believers, when you conspire with the Messenger, before you conspiring, advance a freewill offering (*ṣadaqa*); that is better for you and purer. Yet if you find not means, God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate. Are you afraid before your conspiring, to advance freewill offerings; if you do not so, and God turns again unto you, then perform the prayer, and pay the alms, and obey God and His Messenger [...]" (58 : 11/12—13/14).

"O believers, advance not before God and his Messenger; [...] O believers, raise not your voices above the Prophet voice, and be not loud in your speech to him, as you are loud one to another, lest your works fail while you are not aware. Surely those who call lower their voices in the presence of God's Messenger, those are they whose hearts God has tested for godfearing; they shall have forgiveness and mighty wage. Surely those who call unto thee from behind the apartments, the most of them do not understand. And if they had patience, until thou comest out to them, that would be better for them [...]" (49 : 1—5).

To the above-mentioned *āyāt* one can add the ones pronounced at the beginning of the Medina period of Muḥammad's career:

"O believers, when proclamation is made for prayer on the Day of Congregation, hasten to God's remembrance and leave trafficking aside; [...] But when they see merchandise or diversion they scatter off to it, and they leave thee standing [...]" (62 : 9, 11).

As we can see, these *āyāt* set out the manner in which the Prophet should be addressed and required behaviour in his presence. For example, a person should not enter the Prophet's room without invitation, nor should he stay at his place longer then he wishes. According to tradition, during the marriage of the Prophet with Zaynab, Muḥammad himself was unable to ask his guests to go away and had to suffer their extended presence. Only "an intervention of Allah" could ensure that this did not continue in the future. No one was able to enter the houses of the Prophet's wives to ask for kitchen utensils, as the stranger would see their faces. It was necessary to greet the Prophet and one could not leave without asking his permission. It was not allowed to address the Prophet in the form accepted among ordinary people (apparently one had to use the formula *yā rasūl Allah*). It was forbidden to speak louder than the Prophet, and to go before him when he or his companions appeared at the *majālis* [24]. It was necessary to make way for them and to stand up out of respect for them. Before a conversation with the Prophet one had to "make a freewill offering" to him [25]. It was forbidden to call the Prophet out of the inner rooms as was done by the members of the Banū Tamīm deputation. According to Ibn Hishām they simply cried: "Hey, Muḥammad, come out to see us!" (*An akhrija ilainā yā Muḥammad*) [26]. *Āya* 49 : 1—5 mentioned above seems to be connected with the incident. And finally, one should not leave before Muḥammad had finished his sermon, either to find out what caravan had arrived to Yathrib or to watch the bazaar performance. The sermon usually started after trade was finished [27].

Early Islamic historical tradition has preserved for us several similar episodes from the biography of the Prophet. The idea was to show the ascetic way of life of the Prophet to counterbalance the caliph court's "wallowing in luxury". For example, Ibn Hishām describes the visit of 'Adī Ibn Ḥātim, chief of the christianised tribe Tayyi', to Muḥammad. 'Adī was a *malik* and one fourth of the booty belonged to him. He decided that he would become a Muslim if he found that Muḥammad was a "real *malik*". Muḥammad received him and, on the way from a mosque to his house, the Prophet spent some time speaking with a poor old woman. "By God, this is no king!" (*Wa Allahi ma hadhā bi-malik*), — decided 'Adī. When they entered the house of the Prophet, Muḥammad offered him a leather pillow to sit on, and himself sat on the ground. 'Adī, once more, thought this was not behaviour befitting a *malik*. When they began talking, Muḥammad told him that he knew that the poverty 'Adī witnessed was an obstacle to his conversion. After this, he predicted fabulous wealth for Muslims obtained in the course of conquests [28].

There are other traditions which, from the first glance, contradict the traditions mentioned above. They describe how Muḥammad prepared himself for meeting with the deputations. He put on his richest clothes, coloured his eyes with antimony, and so on [29]. In short, they describe how he tried to make himself conform to the stereotypes that his contemporaries entertained about a powerful and sovereign ruler. In reality, both groups of *hadith*s mentioned above are connected with the Prophet's modest way of the life as well as with his striving for the submission of all Arabia to the Muslims. The new etiquette requirements that we are concerned with here had to play an important role in the submission of the Arabian tribes and communities to his authority.

The process is reflected also in the traditions surrounding the visit of the deputation of the Banū al-Ḥārith to Muḥammad. It seems that Muḥammad felt that members of the deputation treated him without proper respect. The Prophet tried to force the head of the deputation, Yazīd

b. 'Abd al-Madan, to agree with the humiliating description of his tribesmen. Yazīd answered him: "We do not praise (*hamida*) you, and we do not praise Khālid" (Khālid b. al-Walīd, who was sent to Banū al-Ḥārith with a proposal that it convert). The Prophet asked him: "Then whom do you praise?" "We praise Allah who guided us by you", — answered Yazīd [30].

The etiquette in the situations described above (except in *āya* 62 : 9, 11) occurred when the Prophet had already gained all-embracing personal power. It is impossible to find among the *āyāt* pronounced at that time something comparable with *āya* 3 : 159/153: "It was by some mercy of God that thou wast gentle to them; hadst you thou been harsh and hard of heart, they would be scattered from about thee. So pardon them, and pray forgiveness for them, and take council with them in the affair [...]".

Later, an almost contrary opinion was clearly expressed in 49 : 7: "And know that the Messenger of God is among you. If he obeyed you in much of the affair, you would suffer [...]".

Muḥammad was known to his followers as *rasūl Allah* and *nabī*. By that time he had won important victories, gained high respect, and not only within the Muslim community. According to the Qur'ān, Allah gave him "laudable station" (*maqām maḥmūd*) (17 : 79/81), power (*sulṭān*) and support (*naṣr*) (17 : 80/82). He fulfilled the most important and socially significant roles (that of *shā'ir, khāṭib, ḥakam, kāhin, 'aqīd, sayyid*) [31], as he was endowed in the eyes of his contemporaries with indubitable charisma [32].

Several episodes from *Ayyām al-'Arab* provide us with information concerning etiquette regulations in reference to the persons mentioned above, which were accepted by the contemporaries of the Prophet.

The pre-Islamic *shā'ir* as well as the *khāṭib* were fully respected by their tribesmen. A talented poet was considered to be of great value and the pride of the tribe. He could greatly raise tribal prestige in intertribal affairs. Nevertheless, he continued to be an ordinary tribesman and no special honours were paid to him.

The *ḥakam* was usually elected among respected and competent people. It was possible to invite him to solve only a single question. If he proved effective in fulfilling his functions, he was asked to play the role of *ḥakam* several times. No special respect was accorded him apart from that shown to ordinarily esteemed and elderly people.

One could easily reject predictions or advice given by the *kāhin*. Sometimes, if someone who had asked for a prediction was not satisfied, the *kāhin* could suffer insult not only to himself but also to the god he served.

The military head (*'aqīd*) was elected just before a raid, and a new one was elected each time. The *'aqīd* who appeared most successful and courageous could fulfil the functions of *'aqīd* several times. But this could not guarantee him special privileges beyond a larger part of the booty.

Just one example can illustrate the position of the *'aqīd*. Ziyād b. al-Habūba, who was head of a successful raid, stopped for the night on his way home. He shared the booty and handed out dates and oil among his people. When it was necessary to add firewood he could not order someone to bring it, but said: "One who brings a faggot will receive a pot of dates" [33].

The position of the *sayyid* in his tribe was nearly the same. Tribesmen allotted power to him, i.e. he would be able to carry out their common will. The limits of his power

were as follows: he could not order his tribesmen to do something for him personally. According to A. Vasilyev, who based his theories on the testimonies of the eyewitnesses who visited Arabic tribes: "The tribal chief has usually no external attributes of power. No special ceremonies exist between him and his tribesmen. Ordinary Bedouins behave towards him as equals" [34].

But the situation immediately changed if the person who held a high position among his contemporaries held the title of *malik*. This took place in the usually short-lived Arabian military and political, early state formations which arose from time to time and were headed by a single ruler, such as Nabatea, Kedar, Palmyra, Kīnda and the Ghassānid and Lakhmid states.

According to *Ayyām al-'Arab*, the encampment for Ḥujr b. al-Ḥārith was prepared in advance. He was made *malik* of Kīnda, over Asad and Ghaṭāfān by his father. Usually, he sent some of his people ahead, and when he came to the place, everything there was prepared to his satisfaction [35]. In Arabia a lock of the captive's hair was usually cut to mark his position. But this practice did not extend to the captured *mulūk* [36].

Ghassānids and Lakhmids, the *mulūk* of borderlands of Arabia, which were dependants of Byzantium and Persia, tried to imitate their powerful neighbours. In 1939, J. Sauvaget [37] showed that al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith, Ghassānid, had outside the walls of Sergiopolis a special building intended for audiences. It resembled similar buildings in Rome and Byzantium.

During the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Sergios, al-Mundhir used to grant audiences to the chiefs of allied kin and tribes in this building. He was also gave orders, reconciled quarrels, etc. He sat in the depths of special niche wearing his crown (*tāj*). Over the niche was a Greek inscription decorated by vegetable ornament — *nika he týchē alamundáru* ("Long live al-Mundhir!") [38]. It is interesting to note that the Ummayyad caliphs gave audiences almost in the same way. In Grabar's view, we see here the influence of Persian tradition: the immobile, seated sovereign appeared before the eyes of the invitees when they were let into the "throne hall". Moreover, 'Abd al-Malik tried to forbid the premature entrance of invitees, and the ceremonies themselves did not yet have a systematic character. The conscious "iranization" of the ceremonies undertaken by the Umayyads in an attempt to counterpose their ways to Byzantine tradition had the character of a return and a re-thinking of the pre-Islamic legacy [39]. One need not doubt that the Lakhmids and Ghassānids strove to emulate Sassanian examples.

In the "History" of John of Ephesus one can find the description of the visit to al-Mundhir by the curate Magne, Syriac by origin. "He sent [to say to al-Mundhir] as I came to participate in the sanctifying of the temple and I had hard trip, it is not me, who came to honour you, but as I would like to know how are you, will you come to me at once" [40]. It means that al-Mundhir was aware that Magne had to visit him and that he was waiting for it.

In pre-Islamic Arabia there was a widely used special formula of address to the *malik*: *abayta al-la'na* — "Keep you from being damned". It can be found, for example, in the poetry of Nābigha al-Zubyānī and in the texts of *Ayyām* [41]. Usually, it was pronounced when someone was going to ask the *malik* a favour. On the one hand, the formula shows that it was possible to curse the *malik*,

which emphasises its archaic origin. On the other hand, it reveals that his power as well as his duties were extremely wide. The *malik* guaranteed here the existing world order.

The court of the Lakhmids, the rulers of al-Ḥīra, provided for the position of *radīf*. When a representative of a tribe held the position, this ensured its loyalty towards al-Ḥīra. The *radīf* sat to the right of the *malik* during audiences and feasts; he could drink from the *malik's* goblet and he rode directly behind the *malik*. He received one fourth of the *malik's* booty and a share of the tribute [42].

Representatives of numerous tribes came to al-Ḥīra to the *malik* al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir. Al-Nu'mān ordered the *malik's* clothes to be brought and he said to the envoys: "Return tomorrow morning and the noblest among you will receive those clothes" [43].

Another Lakhmid 'Amr sent in 567 a deputation of 40 people to the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II. The Emperor agreed to grant audience only to one of them. But the latter "thought this to be improper to appear before the Emperor alone" and refused the audience, believing that the tradition that all members of a delegation ought to be presented to the Emperor must be maintained" [44].

Hence, etiquette of this kind was well known in Arabia at the time of the Prophet. Existing material shows that the stereotypes of behaviour reflected in the *āyāt* we analyse here could be used only in respect for the *malik*. But the autocracy of the *malik* and his vice-regent (*khalīfa*), the basis and form of his rule, were totally rejected by the Prophet and his contemporaries and were associated with "doing harm and shedding of blood" (2 : 30/28; 27 : 34, but cf. Allah = *malik al-mulk* — 3 : 26/25). Muḥammad's idea of royal power is reflected in the Qur'ānic tale of the Sabean queen who turned to the nobility for advice after received a message from Sulaymān (27 : 32): "'O Council (*al-malā'*), pronounce to me concerning my affair; I am not used to decide an affair until you bear me witness.'" It is important to note that the verses of many tribal poets of the sixth and early seventh centuries, who "shared the resistance of the mass of Bedouin to the impending changes", are filled with hatred for the very idea of authoritarian power and its bearers, the *malik*s [45].

Instead of the *malik*, in the Qur'ān (cf. 4 : 75/77), Muḥammad (and Allah as well) was declared as we saw above to be the *walī* (protector) of all the Muslims. This was in pre-Islamic usage very often connected with the functions of an autocratic ruler, but title *walī* contrary to *malik* seemed to correspond more perfectly to the call of Muḥammad to the restoration of the violated traditions [46].

Muḥammad sat on a throne (*minbār*) which was the prototype of the modern *minbār* in a Muslim mosque. Up through the end of the Ummayyad dynasty, the *minbār* preserved its significance as a symbol of power similar to the throne (cf. *sarīr, kursī*) [47].

That is why Allah's sanction was necessary to introduce "new" etiquette requirements and to overcome the widespread negative attitude towards them. In Mecca, Muḥammad was accused of behaving like the *shā'ir*, the *sāḥir* or the *majnūn*, in Medina his enemies blamed him as the *malik*. One of them, calling Muḥammad *malik*, asked residents of Yathrib, how they could acknowledge his power, if they had fought other *mulūk*, and had not let them in the city [48].

So, in this period, the Prophet became an autocratic ruler even from the formal point of view, and the obser-

vance of special etiquette which corresponded to the position of the pre-Islamic *malik*, that is an autocratic ruler, was required in his presence.

The establishment of these regulations was explained by the necessity of politeness and respect towards the Prophet, but in reality it was the realisation of Muḥammad's new social functions. This fact betrays a change in key ethnic and cultural standards of intercourse. Members of the *umma* surely knew the regulations Muḥammad wanted them to follow, but they felt these regulations to be alien to them, foreign to the principals of their life organisation. Evidently, these patterns of behaviour were extremely stable in the society of Inner Arabia (sacred sanction was necessary to introduce new norms). On the whole, it is typical of primitive societies where traditional types of behaviour dominate. In the social psychology of such societies, form acquires its own meaning and procedure plays an even more important role than the norm itself [49].

It seems beyond doubt that in Arabian society of the sixth and early seventh century the institution of power in general and of supreme power in particular was acquiring ever greater significance. Therefore, the new norms introduced by Muḥammad were conditioned in the first place by the appearance of a new social situation. The etiquette stereotypes appropriate to the ideology and psychology of a clan society and "pre-state" were replaced by norms which responded to the needs of a class society and the nascent state which had united all Arabia under the power of the Medinan community, personified by Muḥammad.

In one of his Medinan sermons, Muḥammad pronounced (3 : 33—34/30): "God chose Adam and Noah and the House (*āl*) of Abraham and the House (*āl*) of 'Imran above all beings, the seed (*zurriyya*) of one another ..." (cf. 19 : 58/59, which speaks of the descendants of Isrā'il). In another place (6 : 83—86), Muḥammad, after enumerating nearly all the Biblical prophets he knew, starting with Abraham, concludes (6 : 87): "and of their fathers (*abā'ihim*), and of their seed (*zurriyyatihim*), and of their brethren (*ikhwānihim*); and We elected them, and We guided them to a straight path." Thus, Muḥammad says that Allah, having chosen the Prophet, also chooses his lineage (ancestors and descendants — *āl*) and his kinsmen, his brothers. *Āyāt* 11 : 69/72—73/76 speaks of this as well, where after Allah's messengers have brought joy to Abraham and his wife with "glad tidings of Isaac, and, after Isaac, Jacob", they speak of "the mercy of God and His blessings" on the family (*ahl al-bayt*) of Abraham. In speaking of the Biblical prophets, Muḥammad more than once fashioned his narrative on the contemporary situation in Mecca and Yathrib. In our view, the words cited above testify to the Prophet's adherence to the family-clan principle of succession.

The situation was, however, no longer clear after the death of Muḥammad. What was possible for the messenger of Allah was hardly acceptable for the caliphs. In this connection, the series of traditions about 'Umar's unpretentiousness and asceticism are of interest. Especially popular was the tale of how Khurmuzān, a captive of the ruler of al-Ahwāz, was brought to the mosque where 'Umar was sleeping "in soldierly fashion", wrapped in a burnous. When the amazed Persian asked where the guard and gatekeepers of the caliph were, they proudly answered that the caliph of Allah's messenger had none, nor any office or secretaries [50]. A series of similar traditions connected to

'Umar's brief stay in Syria and Palestine is also typical. O. G. Bolshakov writes that, upon finding himself there, "'Umar felt like a complete provincial suddenly in the capital, which possibly compelled him to flaunt his asceticism, scorn superficial sparkle, and scold excessively those of his comrades who had gone over to the local way of life" [51]. This may also be linked to the fact that the norms of etiquette which Muḥammad tried to inculcate during his last years were for a certain time after his death unacceptable in contact with the caliphs of Allah's messenger. In our view, confirmation of this thesis is provided by the Medinans' displeasure at 'Uthmān, who, unlike Abū Bakr and 'Umar, permitted himself to sit not on the lowest step of the *minbār* but at the very top, as Muḥammad had done [52]. In any case, the appearance of traditions in this vein testifies to the continued existence of the problem as such. The later polemic against the Umayyads as typical *malik*s who adopted many of the customs of the Lakhmid and Ghassānid courts shows that ideas harking back to tribal democracy continued to be accepted by a significant part of society as most satisfactorily responding to the pathos of Muḥammad's message.

In the intense political struggle which broke out in the caliphate over the issue of the right to supreme power, the supporters of 'Alī and his descendants advanced the following slogan in their bitter fight with the Umayyads: "To the book of Allah, the *sunna* of his Prophet and the most satisfactory of the Hashimites" (*ilā-l-riḍā min banī*

hāshim). Later, the concluding part of this formula was replaced by the expression *min āl Muḥammad* (*fig. 1*). It was in this form that it was accepted by Shi'ite propaganda, in which the initiative was seized by the descendants of al-'Abbās 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

As P. A. Griaznevich notes, "this was the decisive victory of the family-clan principle of succession, which had long been forging its way in Arabian nomadic and settled tribes through the prohibitions of clan-tribal social ideology. In the first half of the seventh century, this principle of receiving power was rejected by the companions of the Prophet and the majority of Muslims as contradictory to the spirit of Islam, but it was introduced into practice by the caliph Mu'āwiya in the 670s. From that time on, it was the main principal of succession in the Arab caliphate" [53].

All of the etiquette norms discussed above later entered into the ceremonies and court etiquette of the medieval Muslim East. Evidence for this is provided, in part, by Hilāl al-Ṣābī's "Practices and Customs of the Court of the Caliphs" — the only known work in medieval Arab literature dedicated to questions of court etiquette and the daily life of the caliph's court [54]. The carefully established norms of etiquette accepted at court go significantly beyond the Qur'ānic injunctions. The caliph's court inherited the age-old traditions of the states conquered by the Muslims. Hilāl al-Ṣābī's work records the emergence of that cultural symbiosis in which ancient and Hellenistic achievements were enriched and re-worked by Muslim civilisation.

Notes

1. "One of the most important aspects of traditional culture is the system of conceptions of the world and the place of an ethnos in that world. This is specific to each ethnos and plays an important role together with social factors in the non-biological adaptation of people (ethnos) to the natural environment" — *Yazyk i kartina mira. Rol' chelovecheskogo faktora v iazyke* (Language and the Image of the World. The Role of the Human Factor in Language) (Moscow, 1988), p. 18.

2. L. V. Negria, *Obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ Severnoĭ i Tsentral'noĭ Aravii v V—VII vv.* (The Social Structure in Northern and Central Arabia in the Fifth—Seventh Centuries) (Moscow, 1981), pp. 72—5.

3. This is supported by the existence of theophoric names with a component part based on the root *jwr*. See G. Lankester Harding, *The Index and Concordance of Preislamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 9, 911, as well as the direct mention of a divinity as a protector (*gr*) in one Nabatean inscription (of which I was kindly informed by I. Sh. Shifman).

4. J. Schacht, "Mīra<u>th</u>", *EI* (Leiden, 1936), iii, p. 508. See also E. A. Rezvan, "Pobratimstvo v Korane (ot krovno-rodstvennogo kollektiva k religiozno-politicheskomu soobshchestvu)" ("Fraternisation in the Qur'ān: from tribal group to the religious and political community"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, Pt. 1 (Moscow, 1983), pp. 194—200.

5. Negria, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

6. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (London, 1907), p. 13.

7. See also *āya* 46 : 21/20. Moreover, we know that the pre-Islamic tribute which Syrian peasants rendered to the Bedouins under whose protection they lived was designated by the term *khuwa*, derived from the same root (Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 15—6).

8. See Negria, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and I. Lichtenstaedter, "Fraternisation (*mu'ākhat*) in early Islamic society", *Islamic Culture*, XVI/1 (1942), pp. 47—50.

9. 15 : 47; 2 : 178/173, 220/219; 3 : 103/98, 156/150, 168/162; 59 : 10—11; 33 : 5, 18; 49 : 10; 9 : 11.

10. The term *ḥabl* was used before Islam to designate relations of protection. See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n. 3; W. M. Watt, *Companion to the Qur'ān* (London, 1967), p. 54; *The Poems of 'Amr son of Qami'āh*, ed. Ch. Lyall (Cambridge, 1919), No. 1 : 7.

11. Cf. the Medinan constitution, where Allah is termed the protector (*jār*) of all members of the Medinan community, who are in turn each other's protectors (*jār, mawlā*). See *Das leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishak bearbeited von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hisham ...*, hrsg. Dr. F. von Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858), pp. 341—4.

12. See the Qur'ānic interpretation of a New Testament episode: E. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: II. The miracle of the Book (The Qur'ān and pre-Islamic literature)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (St. Petersburg—Helsinki, 1997), p. 29.

13. *Das Leben Muhammeds*, p. 969.

14. L. V. Negria shows that "in the period which directly preceded the emergence of Islam, the institution of individual *walā'* predominated mainly among the farming tribes of Quraysh, where relations of *walā'* led to the establishment of personal, property dependence of the *mawlā-ḥalīf* and *mawlā*-freedman on his protector, and to the formation of a class exploited in a feudal manner. In nomadic tribes, freedmen, as a rule, were adopted and acquired the rights of blood kin in their various gradations" (Negria, *op. cit.*, p. 81). Thus,

the Prophet avails himself not of the nearby practice of Meccan fellow tribesmen, but of the Bedouin tradition. As in many other cases, Muḥammad here acts as the renewer of forgotten traditions, although he significantly reconfigures them.

15. M. M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden, 1972), p. 74.

16. Lichtenstaedter, *op. cit.*, pp. 49—51.

17. Interestingly, thirteen centuries later, in the course of processes at a similar stage, the institution of sworn brotherhood was used in the struggle of the Saudis against feudal-clan dispersion, in which they hoped to create a unified state in Arabia. During the so-called *Ikhwān* movement (1912—1930), members of various tribes were declared each other's sworn brothers and as such made up the core of the Wahhābī community. They resettled in agricultural and cattle-breeding colonies (singular: *hijra*) where traditional clan-tribal mutual assistance was replaced by mutual assistance solely among *ikhwān*. These last were united by their adherence to a particular, Wahhābī interpretation of Islam. The result was the creation of the Saudi monarchy and the addition to tribal self-conception of the recognition of Saudi nationality, see A. I. Pershits, "Ėtnos v ranneklassovykh osedlo-kochevnicheskikh obshchnostiakh" ("Ethnos in early class sedentary-nomadic communities"), in *Ėtnos v doklassovom i ranneklassovom obshchestve*, eds. Iu. V. Bromleĭ, L. E. Kubbel', and A. I. Pershits (Moscow 1982), p. 175.

18. W. M. Watt, "Ideal factors in the origin of Islam", *IQ*, II/3 (1955), p. 166.

19. *Idem*, *Muḥammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 246, 358.

20. H. Dérenbourg, "Nâbiga Dhoubyânî inédit", *Journal Asiatique*, IX/13 (1899), p. 55.

21. Negria, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

22. Cf. the Muslim tradition according to which they pronounced *al-sām 'alayk* ("Death to you!") instead of *al-salām 'alayk* ("Peace to you!"), see W. M. Watt, *Companion to the Qur'ān* (London, 1967), p. 258.

23. One of the articles of the present series entitled "*Daraja* in the Qur'ān. Social stratification of the settled population in Inner Arabia at the turn of the 7th century AD" is published in the *Proceedings of the 17th Congress of Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants* (St. Petersburg, 1997), pp. 229—39.

24. Cf. position of A. S. Yahuda who thought 58 : 11/12 to be devoted to the position in the *ṣalāt*, see A. S. Yahuda. "A contribution to Qur'ān and hadith interpretation" in *I. Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Budapest, 1948), i, pp. 290—2.

25. Cf. Gen., 33 : 10; 4, 3, 11; 1; Kin., 17 : 18. Sometimes the offerings were made at the farewell (Gen., 33 : 11).

26. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya* (Cairo, 1955), ii, pp. 561—2.

27. S. D. Goitein, "The origin and nature of Muslim Friday worship" in *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), pp. 118—9.

28. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, pp. 578—9.

29. Al-Fakhri, 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah, *Kitāb talkhīṣ al-bayān fī zikr firaq ahl al-adyān*, ed. St. Prozorov (Moscow, 1988), p. 23.

30. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, pp. 578—9.

31. Political organisation can be defined as a system of culturally determined roles in the framework of society.

32. Charisma — a divine gift, the designation of mystical abilities which prophets, saints and seers must have in accordance with the views of religious communities. This is the origin of so-called royalty (*Koenigtum*) or state (*Herrschertum*). This means that in the view of his contemporaries, the ruler owes his power directly to divine appointment, and consequently is a representative of divine power, which grants him supernatural abilities — *Mayers neues Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1972), iii, p. 67.

33. *Ayyām al-'Arab fī jāhiliyya*, comp. by Muḥammad Aḥmad Jād Mawlā Bāk and others (Cairo, 1942), p. 43.

34. A. M. Vasil'ev, *Istoriia Saudovskoĭ Aravii* (History of Saudi Arabia) (Moscow, 1982), p. 46.

35. *Ayyām al-'Arab*, p. 114.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

37. J. Sauvaget, "Ghassanides et Sergiopolis", *Byzantion*, XIV/1 (1939), pp. 115—30.

38. N. V. Pigulevskaia in her *Araby u granits Vizantii i Irana v IV—VI vv.* (Arabs at the Frontiers of Byzantium and Iran in the Fourth—Sixth Centuries) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1964), p. 226, considers it more likely "that this building was a church and that the inscription in honour of Mundir (al-Mundhir — *E. R.*) represents the wish of one of his followers". She does not, however, introduce any arguments in support of this view. An inscription in praise of the *malik* above the altar of a church seems dubious.

39. O. Grabar, "Notes sur les ceremonies umayyades", in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rozen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 54, 57—9.

40. See Pigulevskaia, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

41. H. Dérenbourg (ed.), "Le Diwân de Nâbiga Dhobyânî", *Journal Asiatique*, XII (Septembre 1868), 8 : 1; *Ayyām al-'Arab*, pp. 119, 137; A. Krymskiĭ, *Arabskaia literatura v ocherkakh i obraztsakh* (The Arabic Literature in Essays and Samples) (Moscow, 1911), p. 302, n. 2.

42. M. J. Kister, *Studies in Jahiliyya and Early Islam* (London, 1980), iii, p. 149.

43. *Ayyām al-'Arab*, p. 137.

44. See Pigulevskaia, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

45. P. A. Griaznevich, "Islam i gosudarstvo (k istorii gosudarstvenno-politicheskoĭ ideologii rannego islama)" ("Islam and the state: on the history of the political ideology of early Islam"), in *Islam. Religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, eds. P. A. Griaznevich and St. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984), p. 191.

46. Such a notion could be found in Hellenistic-Syriac tradition and in pre-Islamic poetry as well. See, for example, I. Sh. Shifman, *Nabateĭskoe gosudarstvo i ego kul'tura* (Nabatean State and its Culture) (Moscow, 1976), p. 27; *The Poems of 'Amr son of Qami'āh*, 15 : 18, cf. 1 : 8—10.

47. J. Pedersen, "Masdjid" (d. Minbār), *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, 3rd edn. (Leiden—New York, 1991), pp. 343—5; Grabar, *op.cit.*, p. 54.

48. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbaiten* (Berlin, 1889), iv, p. 8.

49. A. Ia. Gurevich, *Problema Genezisa feodalizma v Zapadnoĭ Evrope* (The Problem of the Genesis of Feudalism in Western Europe) (Moscow, 1979), p. 104.

50. O. G. Bol'shakov, *Istoriia Khalifata* (History of the Caliphate) (Moscow, 1993), ii, pp. 94—5.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 158, cf. p. 249, n. 13.

53. P. A. Griaznevich, "K voprosu o prave na verkhovnuiu vlast' v musul'manskoĭ obshchine v rannem islame" ("On the problem of supreme power in the Muslim community in early Islam"), in *Islam. Religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, p. 167.

54. See *Rusūm dār al-khilafa ta'līf Abī-l-Ḥusayn Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābī*, taṣḥīḥ Mikhā'īl ʿAwwād (Baghdād, 1964).

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

T. P. Deryagina, O. B. Frolova

ANTONI MUCHLIŃSKI AND HIS COLLECTION
OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The aim of the present article is to survey and analyse the Arabic manuscripts, which came to the Library of the St. Petersburg University from the collection of Antoni Muchliński (1808—1877). The study of collections assembled by scholars helps, as a rule, to reconstruct a more complete and detailed picture of their research-work and pedagogical activities. This aspect of A. Muchliński's activities is especially interesting, because, as it is marked in the works on the history of Oriental studies, "there are, unfortunately, no special works on certain professors and teachers of Oriental languages (M. G. Volkov, I. Gratsilevski, A. Muchliński, L. Z. Budagov) who deserve it" [1].

In the introduction to the description of Arabic manuscripts from the collection of A. Muchliński, it would be useful to present what is known about his life and scholarly activities [2].

The Muchliński family is mentioned in the Coat of Arms Book of Poland from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Muchlińskis lived in the Poznan province of Poland and in Western Prussia. In the eighteenth century they moved to the Grodno district of Lithuania. The father of Antoni Muchliński, Józef (Rus. Osip), and his mother, Franciszka, were no longer rich or noble. Antoni was born in Sosnovo, in 1808. He was destined to open a new page in the history of the family which previously had nothing to do with scholarship. Since the family was poor, Józef's brother, who was a wealthier man, took care of the boy's breeding and education. Antoni was sent to the district secondary school (gymnasium) by the monastery in the town of Molodechno (Byelorussia). The school was supervised by the Wilno (Vilnius) University and was considered to be the best in the district. Antoni Muchliński spent six years there. The school gave him an excellent knowledge of classical languages, especially of Latin. He continued to study Latin in the Wilno University, where he was thought to be the best expert in this language. All candidates for Master or even Doctor degree, who were writing their theses in Latin, were applying to him for help and advice. Being kind-hearted, he never refused. His high religious and moral principles were formed during his school-years.

Muchliński entered the Wilno University when he was only 15 years old, in 1822 or 1823, becoming a student of the Faculty of law. He graduated in 1826 or 1827. Willing to pursue further his studies in classical languages and literature, he then entered the Faculty of literature and liberal arts (i.e. of philology). A year later he passed his candidate exams and got an award for scholarship. At that time Professor Münnich from Cracow lectured on the classical literature there. He was the man who stirred Muchliński's interest towards the Orient. Though he gave him only the basic knowledge of Arabic and Persian, these seeds fell on fertile soil. Thus by pure chance the young classicist turned into Orientalist.

After Muchliński had graduated from the University, his uncle refused to support him further. Once visiting Antoni, he discovered that the young man was spending all his money on books, that he was ill-fed and poorly dressed. Antoni was so distressed by this refusal that he even thought of entering the Theological Seminary. Fortunately, it has not gone so far. At that time, in 1828, the Wilno University decided to send six of its best students to the University of St. Petersburg to continue their education. They had to pass selective exams in the Academy of Sciences. It was planned that they would continue their education abroad at the state's expense. Only three students managed to pass the exams in the Academy, Muchliński being among them. He became a student of the Institute of Oriental Languages by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His teachers of Arabic were Prof. O. I. Senkovski, J. F. Demange, F. B. Charmoy, Persian and Turkish were taught by Ja'far Topchibashev. Muchliński got there an excellent linguistic training, both in theory and in practical use of Oriental languages.

In 1832, he received a grant from the Ministry of Education and was sent to the Orient to master his knowledge of Oriental languages. At the beginning of 1832 he took a steamer from Odessa to Istanbul where he stayed at first by the Russian Embassy. He continued to study the Turkish language, Ottoman and Turkic literature under the guidance of Ottoman writer Hoja Ayni and one Nejib Efendi. His Arabic was improved by Father Filippos from Aleppo (Syria), the best Christian Arabic poet of that time. Muchli-

ński made friends with missionary M. Aulich, who had come to Istanbul from Cracow slightly earlier.

Muchliński spent in Istanbul two years. In April 1834, he went to Egypt to live among the Arabs. In the period following the French expedition to Egypt of 1798—1803, an era of cultural awakening begins in this country under the influence of new ideas which arose during the struggle, and under the impact of Europe. Scholars and government officials from England, France, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Russia, and other European countries invaded Egypt. Among these scholars were E. W. Lane, A. von Kramer, Fr. Dieterici, F. Fresnel, A. Perron, F. Pruner, G. Weil, and others.

The activity of Russia in Egypt increased in this period too, so that many Russian scholars visited the country or worked there. Among them were N. Mukhin, who was the dragoman of the Russian general consulate from 1835 to 1837. He was later replaced by R. Fraehn, son of Academician Chr. M. Fraehn. At this time, A. N. Gusev, pupil of O. Senkovski, also visited Egypt. Interest in the Arab world was very great in this period, and it is only natural that many Europeans who found their way to the East strove to study Arabic or to perfect their knowledge of the language. In their study of the language they were aided by the teachers at al-Azhar, the famed Muslim university. Among these teachers was Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī, whose biography was penned by the Russian Academician I. Iu. Krachkovsky [3]. Among Ṭanṭāwī's pupils in Cairo were the aforementioned Fresnel, Perron, Pruner, Weil, and apparently Lane; among the Russians — N. Mukhin, R. Fraehn, A. N. Gusev, and A. Muchliński. As for Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī, he himself was the student of the renowned shaykhs of al-Azhar: Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī, later the rector of al-Azhar, Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār, also later rector, Ibrāhīm al-Saqqā, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saftī.

Apart from his visiting Egypt, A. Muchliński was interested to see the peoples living in the south of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine. Besides, as a religious man he especially wanted to visit Jerusalem. In two weeks he reached Aleppo. From there he intended to go to Damascus, but was prevented by a rebellion of the Arabs against the Ottoman authorities. Then he chose a different route: Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tir, Acre. He spent three weeks in Jaffa, then went to Jerusalem and to Bethlehem. At the end of August, he came to Cairo where he spent six months. Plague was raging in the city at that time, so in March 1835 he went first to al-Fayyum, then to Luxor. He wanted to continue his trip, but in December of 1835 he was called back to St. Petersburg.

During his stay in the East A. Muchliński mastered his knowledge of Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, New Greek, and Armenian. As he confessed afterwards, everywhere, while studying these languages, he was searching for any information on the Poles and Polish culture. He succeeded in collecting vast scientific materials, brought home many books, manuscripts, even a gravestone of 232/846, which he donated to the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The inscription on this gravestone has been read by Academician Ch. M. Fraehn. Later it was studied also by Prof. V. A. Krachkovskaya [4]. Muchliński was the one who discovered the most important manuscript of the ninth-century work on geography, "The Book of Lands" by al-Ya'qūbī [5].

On his coming back to St. Petersburg Muchliński read a course on Arabic as an junior assistant at the chair headed by Prof. O. I. Senkovski. He read the Qur'ān and the commentaries on it by al-Baydāwī with his students, translated the *Qaṣīdat al-burda* by al-Būṣīrī and the grammar-book by Ibn Farḥāt. Two years later he became the extra-ordinary Professor of Turkish philology — the chair was instituted specially for him. In 1840, with a Russian delegation he visited Finland where he met G. A. Wallin — the Finnish Orientalist whom he knew from his student's days in St. Petersburg.

In 1837, Antoni Muchliński married Emilia Ciszyńska. In 1838, a son — Ignacy — was born to them, and in 1839 — a daughter — Salomea, and later one more son — Stanisław. In 1846, Muchliński retired on the pretext of his family circumstances and, possibly, also because the great burden of teaching he undertook on his free will began to affect his health [6].

He moved to Warsaw, where from the 1st of March 1846 he started to work in the University library, cataloguing books. After spending there five months he entered the following application to the Curator of the Warsaw research department: "I was not much satisfied with my former work, but, working now in the library, I cannot fully employ my abilities" [7]. Muchliński made the decision to leave his work as a librarian. Probably, he was really dissatisfied by this work. But his biographer, Tadeusz Stanicz, suggested that his decision to leave the library had been caused by some tactless move of the curator. Muchliński by that time became a comparatively well-to-do man: his uncle had died leaving everything to him. Muchliński worked in the library not from necessity but exclusively for his love for books.

After his work in the Warsaw University library Muchliński plunged in the Hebrew language studies. Three years later he returned to St. Petersburg, to the chair of Turkish philology, first as extra-ordinary Professor and from 1853 — as ordinary Professor. Between 1859 and 1866 he was twice elected the dean of the Faculty of Oriental languages.

According to the biographers of Muchliński and to all those who left recollections about him, he was a man of heart and had many friends, even among the Arabs.

Students of the St. Petersburg University enjoyed his lectures. They say that the students often did not attend the lectures of O. I. Senkovski, who was bored by teaching activities, but they never missed those delivered by Professor Muchliński [8]. It is not surprising, as Muchliński paid much attention to teaching. In 1836, he introduced lectures on the Arabic language: once a week for students in the first year, twice a week — for those in the second year. From 1837—1838 he taught Arabic to senior students; with them he read the famous *mu'allaqa*s of the pre-Islamic poets and *al-Ḥamāsa*. Besides the Arabic language he conducted courses on the history and geography of the Orient, which included lectures on the life of Muḥammad, the history of the early caliphate, etc. From 1840 Muchliński began to teach Turkish as well. He read Turkish prose and poetry, translated the *Gulistān* by Sa'dī from Persian into Ottoman Turkish. He also lectured on the Ottoman literature, the history of the Turkish language and Tatar dialects, continued his course on the history and geography of the East. In 1843, "willing to be of more use to the young peo-

ple who go to the East, he volunteered to teach New Greek in the University" [9].

The overstrain of tutorial work and the climate of St. Petersburg probably affected Muchliński's health. He and his wife could not bear it well, so they dreamt about going back to Poland, to Galicia (his wife Emilia's native place), and wanted to settle in Lvov. But in 1852 or 1853 Emilia died and the project turned to have been unrealised. In 1866, Muchliński retired again and after that returned to Warsaw. There he died in poverty in 1877, all his income spent on his only passion — books.

Antoni Muchliński's library included a great number of books and manuscripts. At the beginning of his career he mainly collected works by European authors, but from his travels in the East he brought several boxes of Oriental manuscripts and books. When his income became more formidable, he expanded his library. One of his biographers wrote that it had been worthy of any magnate. Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about his book collection. There was a list of his books which entered the library in Wilno — 282 items, 94 of these — European editions, the rest are books in Oriental languages or in New Greek. According to Muchliński's brother-in-law, one of the reasons for his ruin was his passion for books. In 1870, Muchliński had to sell some part of his library in Leipzig, leaving only the most important books which he wanted to stay with him till his last days. Not long before his death, however, Muchliński made many debts and sold the rest of his library to Father Ignacy Połkowski from Cracow, who was famous as a historian and a man of religion. Połkowski died in 1888, and Muchliński's books passed to Alexander Poniński, the owner of an estate in the Lyubashevo district. His heirs donated or sold the books to the National Library in Warsaw, but there were no manuscripts among them by that time. The books sold by Muchliński in Leipzig in 1870, through the Küchler antique dealers, entered the library of the St. Petersburg University, the Royal Library in München, and the State Library in Bayreuth. C. Salemann also mentioned in his "Catalogue" [10] that in 1878 the library of the St. Petersburg University had bought 33 more manuscripts from Muchliński's collection — in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. These were sold probably after Muchliński's death by his son Stanisław who lived in St. Petersburg. Among these last ones were four manuscripts belonging to the Lithuanian Tatars. Muchliński was the first scholar to estimate the significance of the works of the Lithuanian Tatars.

The collection of Arabic manuscripts formerly belonging to Muchliński, now in the library of the St. Petersburg University, not only reflects his scholarly interests but also adds several bright strokes to his portrait as a scholar and a man.

Among the Arabic manuscripts of his collection there are several works on the Arabic grammar. Naturally, when he came to the East, Muchliński tried to improve his knowledge of Arabic. Works of this kind were selected by him with great care. His collection includes world-famous grammar-books, among them the celebrated work on morphology — *Mughnī al-labīb 'an kutub al-a'ārīb* ("The Redeemer of the Reasonable One from the Need of All Books on Flexion") by Ibn Hishām (1308—1360). Among the works on the syntax of the Arabic language there is the most popular *al-Kāfiya* ("The Sufficient One") by Ibn al-Hājib (1175—1249), which was accepted as a text-book in

the greatest Muslim University al-Azhar and, later, as the principal text-book in all centres of Islamic culture — in India, Iran, Central Asia, Tataria, etc. Another works on syntax in the collection are *al-Misbāh fī l-nahw* ("The Lamp of Syntax") by al-Mutarrizī (1143—1213) and a special treatise on governing particles by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 1078), a famous rhetor, poet and grammarian.

Muchliński's attention was attracted by Arabic poetic anthologies. Among these there are the *Dīwān* by Ibn al-Fārid (1181—1235), a Sūfī poet from Egypt, and commentaries on it by al-Būrīnī (d. 1615). The *Dīwān* by another famous Sūfī from Syria, 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1641—1731) is noteworthy for two reasons: first of all, there are verse not included into any other manuscripts or printed editions, they are unique. Secondly, they present a very rare examples of verses arranged as figures: lines running at an angle or in semicircle, shaped as trapezium, a tree or some other figure. The verses are exquisite and full of symbolic sense. Let us take, for example, two passages from the second half of 'Abd al-Ghanī's *Dīwān*:

> Much have I experienced, tasting the sweetness
> of knowledge,
> Yet impossible is satiating with it.
> She turned towards me, who keeps the oaths of love,
> Penetrated my soul, illuminating it with light.
> In sweet forgetfulness I am now, because of her being,
> The heart is listening to sacred revelations.
> Her praise is on everyone's lips,
> Desperate is the one who must abandon her.
> Talent in scholarship is the fruit of effort and will,
> Her evening drink is as pleasant and sweet as
> the morning one.
>
> (fol. 72b)

In this passage the poet is talking about love for the Absolute Truth, that is God, and true knowledge. Sūfī philosophers were treating ecstasy as the way of comprehending the Truth, metaphorically it was described as intoxication by wine.

Another passage talks about getting illumination by means of ecstasy, meditation and "intoxication":

> The suffering, like the one I have, separated from wine,
> Has never been experienced by any lover.
> The pain of this separation is so poignant,
> That it could redeem any sin.
> People in love with it were becoming slaves before me.
> Wine is my creed, all sorrows go with it.
> I ran away from it, but it is always with me.
> Its scent is refreshing.
>
> (fols. 70b—71a)

Muchliński's library included also a versified version of the famous collection of tales "Kalila and Dimna". Its translation into Arabic was done by Ibn al-Habbāriya (1023—1115). There is also a unique anthology of Egyptian folk-songs — *mawwāls* — recorded either by the collector himself or, most probably, by his request [11]. Among them there is the prototype of the poem by A. S. Pushkin: "Indifferently Leila was leaving me yesterday" and a passage from a song heard by A. S. Norov when he travelled in Egypt, etc. The names of Muchliński and Norov can be put closely to each other because of the important event — the foundation of the Faculty of Oriental languages of the St. Petersburg University. To realise the project of the creation of the Faculty of Oriental languages,

proposed by A. S. Norov, who was the Minister of Education between 1853 and 1858, a committee was constituted in 1854, including Norov himself, curator M. N. Musin-Pushkin, director of the Department of Education P. I. Gaevsky, P. Desmaisons representing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, rector of the St. Petersburg University P. A. Pletnev, ordinary professors A. K. Kazembek, A. O. Muchliński, and A. V. Nikitenko [12].

Among the *mawwāl*s, present in the manuscript collection of Muchliński, there are some probably written for Muchliński or chosen for him from among composed earlier. It seems to be testified by the *Dīwān* of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaftī, the friend of Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī, with a touching dedication addressed to Muchliński. This *Dīwān* has never been published and is known only by this single manuscript.

ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaftī was one of the Arab friends of Muchliński and his teacher at al-Azhar. We find evidence of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaftī's warm and touching friendship with his Russian pupil in the following fact: less than a week after his poetry had been put into order and collected into a *Dīwān* by Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī, who finished copying it on 12 January 1835, al-Ṣaftī presented his *Dīwān* to Muchliński. After Muchliński's death the manuscript of the *Dīwān* by ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaftī found its way into the library of St. Petersburg University.

The *Dīwān* contains odes of praise in honour of Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī as well as Ṭanṭāwī's own poetry. The texts of the poems show that Ṭanṭāwī and al-Ṣaftī were bound not only by the relationship of pupil and teacher, but by genuine friendship. Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī called al-Ṣaftī his friend and brother and wrote jesting imitations of his poems; they both exchanged poetic questions and answers, riddles and solutions. Until recently, these verses by Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī, as well as his work on al-Ṣaftī's *Dīwān*, remained unknown. Many years later, after Ḥusayn ʻAlī Maḥfūẓ, an Iraqi Professor at the Baghdad University, who was invited to teach in the St. Petersburg University, had worked on the manuscripts in the University library from 1961 to 1963, he was able to write with pride that he had found several works by Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī which had escaped the attention of Academician Krachkovsky and the Egyptian Aḥmad Taymūr [13].

ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaftī dedicated many of the poems which make up his *Dīwān* to the great individuals and events of his time, to his friends and teachers. Among these are an ode in honour of an Egyptian Ṣūfī Aḥmad al-Badawī and his follower Ḥasan al-Quwaysnī (d. 1838), who was the Shaykh of al-Azhar and al-Ṣaftī's teacher; several poems in honour of his favourite pupil ʻĀrif Ḥikmat (1785—1858), who in 1846 (in Istanbul) received the title *shaykh al-islām*. According to extant information, ʻĀrif Ḥikmat was a descendant of Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet. He was a *qāḍī* in Medina, Jerusalem and Cairo. He was a well-known scholar and expert in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Al-Ṣaftī's *Dīwān* includes also an ode in honour of the

guardian of the Kaʻaba, Muḥammad al-Shaybī (d. 1838), with whom al-Ṣaftī became acquainted during his pilgrimage to Mecca, as well as verses dedicated to the head of al-Azhar, Shaykh al-ʻArūsī. There are also elegies on the deaths of the teachers Shaykh Muḥammad al-Shanawānī (d. 1817) and Shaykh Muṣṭāfā al-Farmāwī, a renowned scholar of the period, theologian and translator from French of books on natural sciences, and Muḥammad al-Tūnisī (1789—1858). It is interesting, as an eye-witness, ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaftī wrote poems about such a noteworthy event as the siege of the Palestinian city of Akka by Napoleon's troops in 1799. Al-Ṣaftī's poetry reflects many events which took place during his life, which spanned the era of the Napoleonic wars and the prelude to the cultural re-birth of Egypt. The manuscript of *Dīwān* by ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaftī preserved at the St. Petersburg University library is of much value for all those studying the history of Egypt of the period. The only other manuscript of al-Ṣaftī's *Dīwān* was drawn up much later by the aforementioned ʻĀrif Ḥikmat, and copied ten years after the death of its compiler [14].

Extremely valuable are manuscripts from Muchliński's collection dedicated to Islam and Christianity. First of all, there are Byelorussian-Polish Qurʼāns with commentaries and translations into Polish and Byelorussian, belonging to the Lithuanian Tatars, also an anthology — *ḥamāʼil* — containing prayers, protecting and magic formula, predictions, different prescriptions.

Antoni Muchliński, who was born in the area inhabited by the Lithuanian Tatars and lived there, was naturally interested in that kind of works. He was the author of a number of publications on Lithuanian Tatars. A list of these publications, made by L. Kryczyński, includes 1,957 titles, among them 72 manuscripts are mentioned. Kryczyński's collection and all his materials probably perished in the Second World War [15]. Among Muchliński's collection there is also one treatise on the Druses.

Muchliński also took interest in Oriental Christianity. Two manuscripts of his collection contain: 1) collection of Christian prayers in Arabic; 2) an exposition of the principles of Catholic faith in questions and answers. His works testify that he was also interested in the Maronites.

Muchliński was a well-educated person. His knowledge of the Near East, its literature and languages — Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Hebrew and New Greek — was vast. He even studied Sanskrit and Armenian. His works were known and estimated not only in Russia. Being the honorary fellow of the St. Petersburg University, he was also the fellow of the Asiatic Societies in Paris and London, of the Oriental Society in Leipzig, and from 1859 — member of the Archaeological Commission in Wilno. In 1862, for his services to Russian science he was promoted to the rank of the Councillor of state. As for his personality, his great efficiency and hard-working, his delicate friendly nature and ascetic way of life were widely known in the scholarly circles of St. Petersburg.

PLATE 1 — **S. LEVITT.** SINHALESE PAINTED WOODEN BOOKCOVERS

49

a
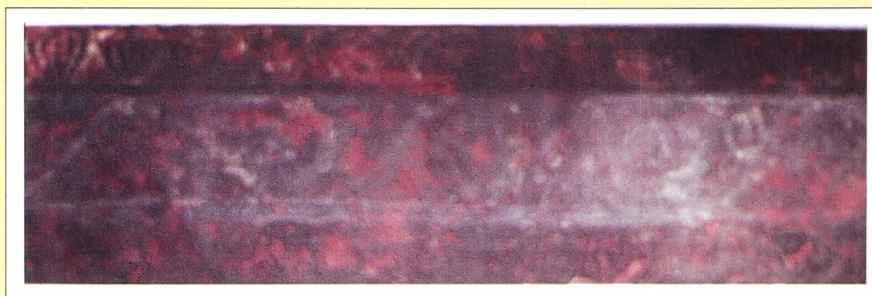
b

c

Plate 1

List of manuscripts

from the collection of A. Muchliński

أدعية شتى .1

Ḥamā'il, a collection of prayers, magic formula, predictions, etc. with Byelorussian word for word translation in Arabic script (the manuscript also contains a number of Polish and Byelorussian texts).
　Early nineteenth century.
　Various copyists.
　Defects: breaks, text obscured by dirt.
　99 fols.; 17.8 × 21.0 cm.
　Code: MS OA 869.

أدعية مسيحية .2

Collection of Christian prayers.
　Late manuscript.
　Fols. 1—19b; 10.5 × 17.5 cm.
　Code: MS OA 888a.

تفسير مختصر على أساس الإيمان المسيحي القثوليقي .3
وهذا التفسير يكون على السؤال والجواب

A brief exposition of the principles of Catholic faith in questions and answers.
　Late manuscript.
　Fols. 20b—42; 10.5 × 17.5 cm.
　Code: MS OA 888b.

ديوان .4

The *Dīwān* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaftī (19th century).
　Copy of 1250/1834.
　Fol. 01 contains an inscription to A. Muchliński; fol. 1 contains the autograph of al-Ṣaftī.
　Seal, *'unwān*, stamped leather binding.
　71 fols.; 23.4 × 16.4 cm.
　Code: MS OA 892.

ديوان .5

The *Dīwān* by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1050/1641—1143/1731).
　Eighteenth-century.
　Verses are arranged as various figures.
　91 fols.; 10.0 × 15.2 cm.
　Code: MS OA 878.

ديوان .6

The *Dīwān* by Ibn al-Fāriḍ (586/1181—632/1235).
　Copy of 1082/1671.
　89 fols.; 13.0× 18.5 cm.
　Code: MS OA 874.

شرح ديوان عمر بن الفارض .7

Sharḥ on the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, composed by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Būrīnī al-Dimashqī (d. 1024/1615).
　Copy of 1101/1690.
　Copyist: Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jawād b. Mubārak al-Muslimī al-Mālikī al-Azharī.
　416 fols.; 14.7 × 20.0 cm.
　Code: MS OA 504.

رسالة في الدعاء .8

Fragments of the Qur'ān in Byelorussian in Arabic script.
　Mid-seventeenth-century.
　Defects: lacks both beginning and end.
　20 fols.; 14.2 × 17.2 cm.
　Code: MS OA 893.

رسالة في مسائل تخص دين الدروز على طريق السؤال .9
والجواب

A work on the Druze faith.
　Manuscript in quire form, insertions; title in French.
　12 fols.; 11.5 × 17 cm.
　Code: MS OA 503.

كتاب الصادح والباغم .10

Poetic version of the *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Muḥammad b. al-Habbariyya (d. 504/1110).
　Defective manuscript.
　76 fols.; 11.7 × 19.5 cm.
　Code: MS OA 899.

العوامل المائة (العوامل الجرجانية) (العوامل في النحو) .11

Grammatical work on governing particles by 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078).
　Copy of 1099/1687—88.
　Fols. 111—125; 12.3 × 8.3 cm; text in frame: 7.5 × × 5.4 cm.
　Code: MS OA 881c.

شرح الفوائد الضيائية (رسالة عربية في التصريف) .12

Excerpt from a work on Arabic grammar.
　Title on page 40 reads: كتاب البناء مع شرحه
　Copy of 1185/1772.
　Fols. 24b—48b; 13.5 × 19.5 cm.
　Code: MS OA 872c.

القرآن .13

Copy of the Qur'ān with Polish word for word translation (with Byelorussian linguistic particularities) in Arabic script.
　First half of the nineteenth century (between 1811 and 1825), final two folios from 1857.
　Copyists: Bogdan Butsiutko and Mustafa Zhdanovich.
　Defective.
　532 fols.; 19.5 × 31.5 cm.
　Code: MS OA 867.

القرآن .14

Fragments of the Qur'ān in Arabic with word for word translation (retelling) in Polish (with Byelorussian linguistic particularities): end of the fifth Sūra and full text of the sixth, seventh, twentieth and twenty-first Sūras.
　First half of the eighteenth century (copied from a Tatar manuscript of the seventeenth—eighteenth centuries).
　73 fols.; 19.6 × 32 cm.
　Code: MS OA 868.

الكافية في النحو .15

Grammatical treatise (on syntax of the Arabic language) by 'Uthmān b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥājib (570/1174-75—646/1249).
Late seventeenth century.
Marginal notes.
Fols. 4—62B; 12.3 × 8.3 cm; text in frame: 4.4 × × 7.5 cm.
Code: MS OA 881a.

المصباح في النحو .16

Grammar of the Arabic language (syntax) by 'Abū al-Fatḥ Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Muṭarrizī (538/1143—610/1213).
Late seventeenth century.
Numerous marginal notes.
Fols. 65b—108; text in frame: 4.4 × 7.0 cm.
Code: MS OA 881b.

مغنى اللبيب عن كتب الأعاريب .17

Work on Arabic grammar (morphology) by 'Abdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām (708/1308—761/1360).
Copy of 1249/1833.
Copyist: Ibn Riḍwān b. Muḥammad.
Marginal notes.
420 fols.; 16.5 × 23.7 cm.
Code: MS OA 502.

مواويل .18

Collection of folk poetry and songs (*mawwāls*).
Copy from the first half of the nineteenth century.
10 fols.; 11.5 × 22.5 cm.
Code: MS OA 896.

Notes

1. A. M. Kulikova, *Stanovlenie universitetskogo vostokovedeniia v Peterburge* (The Making of the University Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg) (Moscow, 1982), p. 4.

2. See Wl. Kotwicz, M. Kotwiczówna, *Orientalista Antoni Muchliński. Życie i dzieła* (Wilno, 1935).

3. I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, *Sheĭkh Tantavi professor S.-Peterburgskogo universiteta (1810—1861)* (Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī (1810—1861), Professor of the St. Petersburg University) (Leningrad, 1929).

4. V. A. Krachkovskaia, *Arabskie nadgrobiia Muzeia paleografii AN SSSR* (Arab Grave-Stones in the Museum of Palaeography of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Leningrad, 1929), Table VI.

5. I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, "Ocherki po istorii russkoĭ arabistiki" ("Essays on the history of Arabic studies in Russia"), *Izbrannye sochineniia*, (Leningrad—Moscow, 1956), v, p. 89.

6. Kulikova, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

7. A. Mrozowska, "Działalność Antoniego Muchlińskiego w bibliotece Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego", *Przegląd orientalistyczny*, No. 4 (Warsaw, 1960), pp. 432—5.

8. Kulikova, *op.cit.*, p. 100.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

10. K. G. Zaleman, V. R. Rozen, "Spisok persidskim, turetsko-tatarskim i arabskim rukopisiam biblioteki Imperatorskogo St. Peterburgskogo universiteta" ("A list of Persian, Turkish-Tatar and Arabic manuscripts of the St. Petersburg University library"), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, II (1887), pp. 241—62; III (1888), pp. 197—222.

11. O. B. Frolova, "Rukopis' biblioteki vostochnogo fakul'teta LGU "Mawawil" ("Narodnye pesni")" ("A manuscript of the Oriental faculty of the Leningrad State University — *Mawāwīl* — "Folk Songs" "), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. Ezhegodnik, 1974* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 110—35, 341—60.

12. Kulikova, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

13. Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūẓ, "Al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ayyāḍ al-Ṭanṭāwī, *Majallat kulliyyat al-adab. Jāmi'at Baghdād* (Baghdād, 1964), pp. 1—54.

14. *GAL*, S. II, 721, 898, 729.

15. V. P. Demidchik, "Pamiatniki belorusskoĭ literatury, pisannoĭ arabskim pis'mom, i legenda o nochnom voznesenii Mukhammada" ("Monuments of Bielorussian literature written in Arabic script and the legend on the night ascension of Muḥammad"), *Problemy arabskoĭ kul'tury: pamiati akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 238—58.

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b
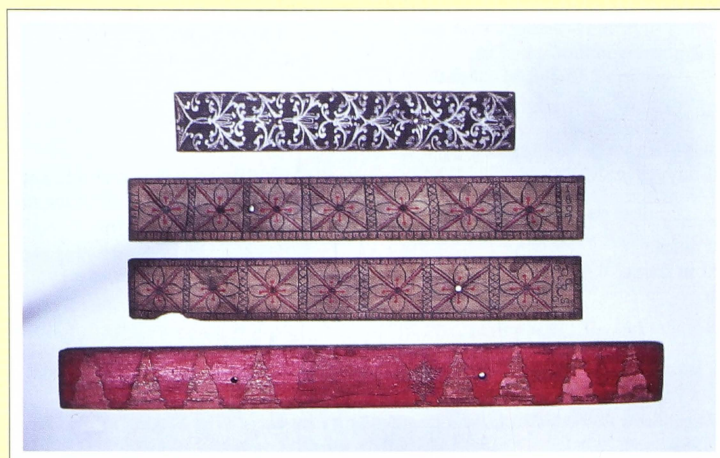
Plate 2
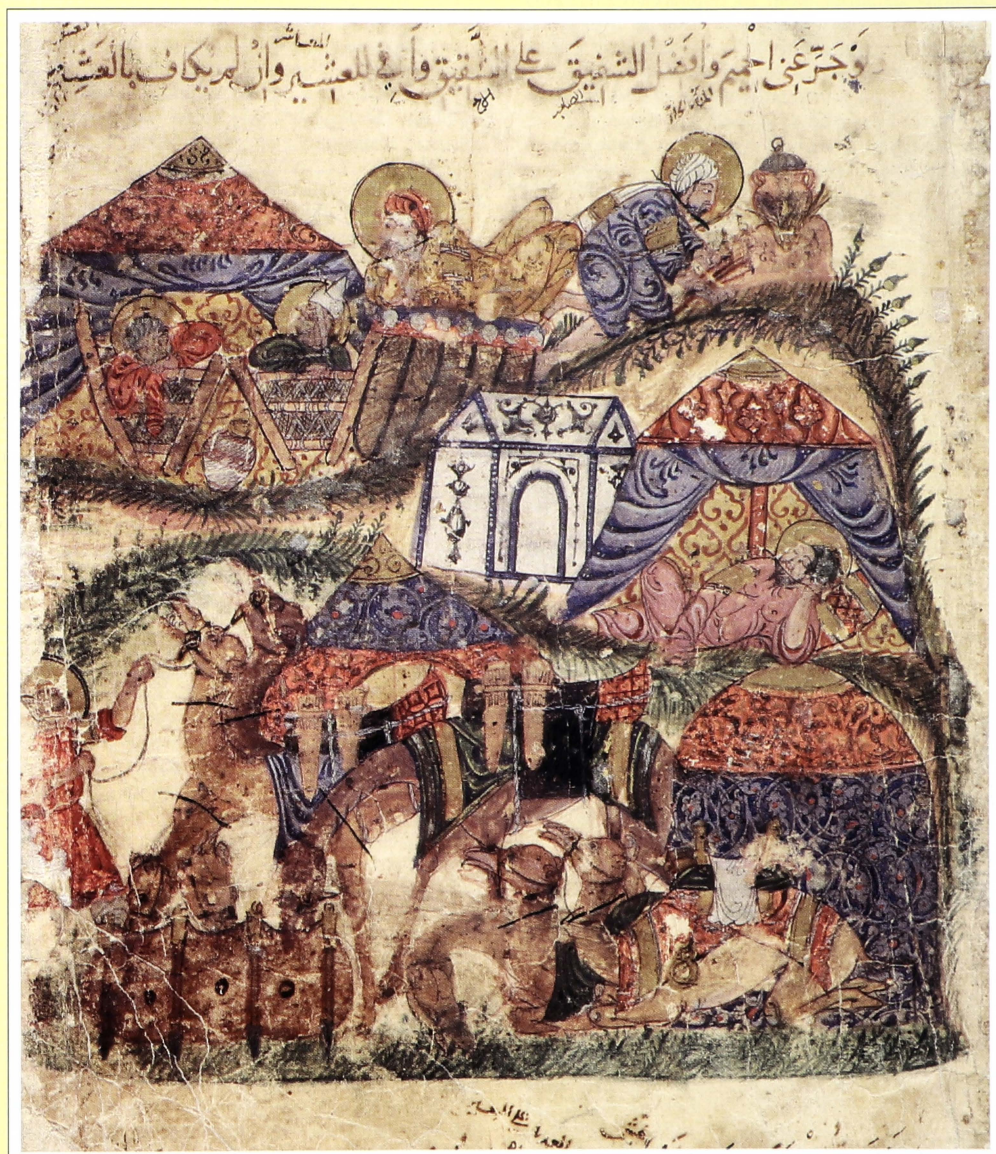
Plate 1

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS
AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

M. G. Carter

THE PLATONIC EDITION: SOME CONSEQUENCES
OF COMPUTER EDITING FOR TEXT-BASED SCHOLARSHIP
IN ARABIC GRAMMAR *

In this paper I would like to offer some very personal speculations about the effects of computers on the study of medieval Arabic grammatical texts, in particular the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (d. *ca.* 180/796), though most of what I shall say could be applied to any field of scholarship which relies for its data on manuscript sources. I will first define my position, then look at the specific case of editing the *Kitāb* in hypertext, and will conclude with some general thoughts on the nature and future of research in this area.

We are all in Plato's Cave, still. Although there may be a few individuals who have, over the millennia, escaped from the Cave, and have even come back bravely (and often suicidally) to tell us what it is like outside, we remain as Plato described us, prisoners chained to one wall and condemned to pass our entire lives gazing at the shadows of reality flickering on the opposite wall.

And that is, in effect, as close as we shall ever get to Sībawayhi, whether in manuscript or print: no matter how many versions we consult (and there are at least seventy-eight manuscripts) [1], we will never know what the authentic, original form of the *Kitāb* was. We do not even know that it ever had an authentic, original form, still less whether Sībawayhi himself (who seems to have left the actual task of compilation to his pupil al-Akhfash) ever considered his work in that light.

Nevertheless, we must exploit the new technology to recreate the *Kitāb*, to translate it from the old medium to the new. Without wishing to minimize the enormous difficulty of digitalizing all seventy-eight manuscripts (plus the others that will inevitably emerge), the several printed editions, Jahn's translation and as much secondary literature as possible, this aspect of the work is no more than an essential preliminary, and therefore not important in the context of this paper. Quantity is *per se* uninteresting to a Platonist. What does concern us is the effect of new data-base on both traditional and innovative scholarship.

Let us first dispose of the concept of a "critical edition". I maintain that it would be an absolute misuse of the new technology to try to create one: paradoxically, the electronic version of the *Kitāb* should <u>never</u> become final-

ized in any printed text. Ask yourselves, what authority would it have? Whose "edition" would it be? The Arabs never confined themselves to one *Kitāb*: as Geneviève Humbert has shown, there were two extremely well defined alternative "editions" in circulation and probably a third, minority version which is still under investigation [2]. Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d. 371/981) actually consulted five named and several anonymous *Kitāb* manuscripts for his commentary *al-Taʿlīqa* [3], and Monique Bernards reports that Ibn Wallād (d. 332/943) likewise used to check doubtful readings in more than one copy of the *Kitāb* [4]. Even the Qurʾān has never been subjected to the constraint of a unique and invariable earthly version, indeed the idea would have struck Muḥammad as rather unsound [5].

The eventual emergence of the "Eastern" and "Western" versions of the *Kitāb* is probably a scholarly compromise inspired more by convenience and professional interests than by strictly textual considerations, and it was still open for grammarians to refer to other readings, as for example when Abū Naṣr al-Qurṭubī (d. 401/1011) appeals to the authority of al-Zajjāj to support the reading *yuḍmaru* against *yaẓharu* [6], not a trivial difference, you must agree. For what it is worth, the Derenbourg, Būlāq and Hārūn editions all have *yaẓharu*.

But this last point takes us into an area where the new technology can be useful, for it will help us <u>ask</u> (I do not say it will <u>answer</u>, for it cannot) the question, "Why do all the printed editions have *yaẓharu*?" Actually we already know why: it is because Derenbourg has it, and the other editions merely follow him, but the next question is inevitably, "Why does Derenbourg have *yaẓharu*?", to which the answer is probably, "Because he did not find any variants in the manuscripts he consulted", and with that we are entering mysterious and challenging waters, because <u>we</u> know, even if Derenbourg did not, that there is a long-standing alternative *yuḍmaru* going back to al-Zajjāj. With an electronic *Kitāb* (which I shall resist calling an "e-*Kitāb*") it would be a simple matter to interrogate the data-base and trace the distribution of this variant, with useful results for the history of ideas and the sociology of the text which

a conventional critical edition could not easily reveal. In the end, of course, it would still leave the exact reasons for the variant a matter of speculative interpretation which no data-base or software can determine for us.

It may emerge that al-Zajjāj's reading is not part of a formal manuscript tradition but occurs independently in one of the innumerable glosses and marginal comments which cover some of the manuscripts of the *Kitāb*. This is an aspect of the work for which hypertext is a perfect medium: computer graphics can with relative ease produce a screen facsimile of the manuscript page with the complete contents of each folio converted into a standard font, but both the screen display and a physical print-out would be difficult to read. It would be far more convenient to assign all the glosses to hypertext links, where also the variants, translations and references to the secondary literature will reside, not to mention the codicological, historical and geographical information about the manuscript itself, in other words a whole library, with the *Kitāb* as its starting point.

It is obvious that the hypertext edition makes all kinds of traditional scholarship easier. If we have all the manuscripts at our electronic fingertips, so to speak, we can then, with the help of the appropriate software, view the state of the work at any point in its transmission, compare versions across space or time, call up the text in the form it had in copies known to be in the possession of specific grammarians, trace a variant back to its probable origin, follow up a topic in the commentary literature (for as well as the *Kitāb*, this data-base would ideally contain all the commentaries as well), check the translation of Jahn, bring up the relevant work of other scholars on a technical term or topic, in short, we can exploit the passive omniscience of the computer to gather information in support of kind of research endeavour.

Only the scale and complexity distinguish these activities from what academics have been doing since scholarship began. But the prospects are still exciting: two tasks immediately present themselves as perfect projects for our omnivorous and indefatigable amanuensis: one has apparently already started (in France, I am told), namely to publish the glosses, and here I will only make a recommendation from the side of the playing field, being unaware of how far the game has progressed. My suggestion is simply to use the computer to reassemble all the signed glosses as a mini-corpus for each known author: in one very important case, al-Akhfash, we have no other surviving grammatical work, and this might be the only practical means of reconstructing at least the general contents of his grammatical thought.

The other is rather less exciting but no less valuable, and that is to draw a map of the variants in the *Kitāb*, of which there are enough manuscripts to make the exercise genuinely fruitful. There are two kinds of variants, signed and unsigned, and characteristically the signed variants involve major technical disagreements (such as the example from al-Zajjāj above) while the unsigned ones are apparently random and have no consequences for the grammatical issues, e.g. *ḍaraba 'amrun zaydan* instead of *ḍaraba zaydun 'amran*. My hypothesis [7] is that these variants are not in fact random, but part of a sophisticated identification system to prevent unauthorized use of this rather profitable text: I assume that professionals knew where to look for these seemingly innocent differences and could thus trap those who had no right to be teaching the *Kitāb* because

they had not obtained the proper scholarly *ijāza* [8]. But to test this hypothesis, let alone attempt some sort of proof of it, first requires the registration and mapping of every single variant, after which it might be possible to look for patterns, e.g. that a family of manuscripts (identified by the traditional methods, e.g. by circumstantial evidence such as provenience, scribe or ownership history) would exhibit a consistent distribution of these unsigned variants, which could then be used to identify other manuscripts. In this way a particular set of intrinsically meaningless variants could become as distinctive as the empty holes in those cards we used to store our data on!

The temptation most to be resisted, however, is to undertake purely quantitative studies, at which a true Platonist can only shudder. It would be invidious to single out current work in which statistical methods are applied to features of language which by their nature are not usefully quantifiable: instead I will simply confess to having done something of the kind myself, albeit in a very informal way, and this will perhaps be a suitable penance for having done so in the first place. In a recent article I pointed out that the absolute numbers of quadriliteral verbs in modern colloquial Egyptian seemed significantly higher than those for Classical Arabic, and produced some extremely vague figures from the dictionaries to prove it [9]. An Aristotelian might favour such techniques but, whether the figures are set out in tables, spread sheets, graphs or pie charts, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and on this question I side with Benjamin Disraeli: "There are three kinds of lies" — he is reported to have said, by Mark Twain, of all people — "lies, damned lies and statistics".

Numbers are by definition meaningless, they are perhaps the purest of Platonic images, inherently abstract in both form and substance. Whatever it is they mean it does not lie and indeed cannot lie in the numbers themselves: ask any Christian neo-Platonist about the significance of the number three! The issue is not quantity but quality: the truth is not decided democratically by votes, and statistics can only apply to phenomena which themselves obey statistical laws (whereby an inherent tautology is likely to result). Reliance on numbers can make a true judgement impossible: I think of the indispensable (at least for the time being) *Lexique-Index* of Troupeau, who decided not to itemize words which occur more than 60 times in the *Kitāb*, thus guaranteeing that the probably most marginal terms (e.g. *isnād*) would be the easiest to find and the probably most central (e.g. *ibtidā'*) also the most difficult. A concrete example: the word *naẓīr* is found 168 times in the *Kitāb*, and is thus too frequent for its individual occurrences to be listed, but the equally important concept of *muḍāra'a*, which is used a total of 111 times in its various forms, is fully itemized because no form of the root occurs more than sixty times. A close examination of Sībawayhi's use of *muḍāra'a* suggests that in fact it is at least as important as *naẓīr*, probably more so, as it has a wider technical range, but if one judged only by the numbers one might conclude the opposite [10].

This is not to say that statistical evidence is to be rejected on principle, but in the humanities it can seldom do more than confirm or contradict a general impression. One of the more convincing uses of computers in Arabic is the work of Bohas and Paoli in metrical studies, a domain which, with its high degree of formalism, seems ideal for such treatment. And the results are truly fascinating, giving
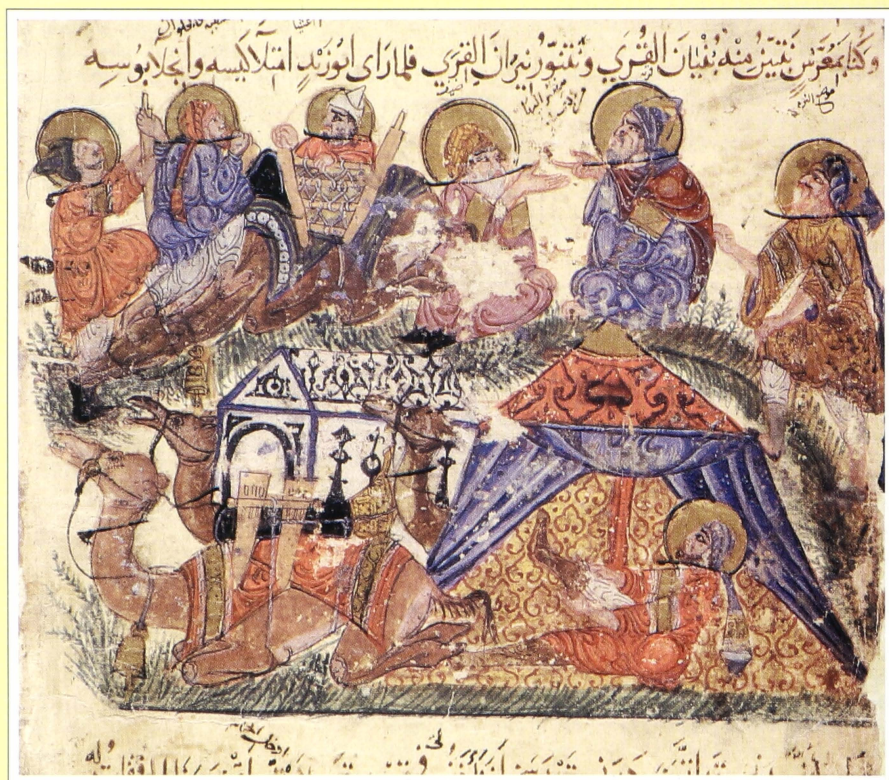
Plate 1

us a detailed knowledge of the structure of Arabic poetry which no modern mind could encompass unaided. Yet the authors do not confuse the computer with the intellect, and fully recognize that the human reaction to poetry (and this only at the metrical level, be it noted) is qualitatively quite different from the processing of poetry by digital means [11].

By raising the issue of quality I intentionally bring into the debate questions of humanism and the nature of the academic life, notions which are none too outstanding in the literature of computer technology. Here, too, great changes lie ahead as scholarship reformulates itself in the new medium, where personal contact is replaced by the Net, research is done for us by algorithms, publication and feedback are both instantaneous and universal, as we display our learning in what I suppose in our field would have to be called a Cyber-Majlis.

For the medieval Arabs the transmission of knowledge was a serious and well controlled business conferring both dignity and profit on the participants. Their medium was, of course, the manuscript, and there was an elaborate and generally effective system of publication which covered the production, distribution and copyright of original works. Although the terms did not exist then, we can be sure that the concepts of "intellectual property", "information management" and "knowledge transfer" were very familiar to them. It is not a little ironic that we still derive our own livelihood today from the same sources as the medieval Arabs, the very manuscripts which we now propose to digitalize.

Digitalization immediately evokes many problems which can only be hinted at here. Permanence: books and manuscripts survive remarkably well considering how they are treated, but what is the reliability of an electromagnetic charge which can be obliterated in a millisecond's loss of current? Access: there was a time when precious books were chained to the desk, but what is now the value of something which can be read by anyone with a computer and a modem? The aesthetic side: when will we abandon typographical conventions which themselves were (and largely still are) a compromise between the physical restraints of hot metal type and the visual criteria of calligraphy? The physical aspect: what difference will it make to read a work on a screen instead of holding it in our hands? And what will it mean in future to "read" a document, given that browsing software will take over most of the functions of reading? Professional matters: who or what will the new academic community be, the ones by whom and for whom these manuscripts are going to be digitalized? And what will be the meaning of the word "erudition" when we all have instant access to the same knowledge base?

Those were all rhetorical questions which I have no intention of trying to answer, mainly because the answer will have to be found on the Web itself, in the Cyber-Majlis, where there will doubtless also be a new rhetoric, and probably, given the perversity of human nature, even rhetorical questions will find an answer from some latter-day Jāḥiẓ or Tawḥīdī who just happens to log on. Already the electronic interchange of ideas is well established, and "the way electronic intertextuality changes our relation to the institutions of scholarship" is now earnestly discussed, along with many of my rhetorical questions above [12]. The electronic symposium is now in full growth, and

henceforth scholars will have to reckon with the fact that their ideas no longer belong exclusively on a printed page but will be exposed to a global "readership". I have put readership in quotation marks because I am not sure whether it still applies to staring at a screen, and also because I wonder how many of my listeners noticed the unconscious survival of print habits when I referred to something I had said previously as "above". The slip was genuine and has not been edited out, though as you know, there is never anything final about a document in a word processor!

This brings us back to Platonic editions, which differ from word processor files in that they can never be printed out: they remain always *in potentia*, even after (or perhaps especially after) the manuscripts have been transmuted from "physical marks on a surface" [13] into invisible states of electrons. What will probably happen in the Cyber-Majlis is that a variety of *Kitāb* editions will emerge, as individual scholars base their research on their own choice of readings, and these will compete for authority until perhaps a generally accepted version evolves. In this way we shall replicate electronically exactly what happened with the original manuscripts, and here I could rest my case and say that this is the strongest argument in support of my original assertion that no final "critical" edition should even be contemplated.

I will conclude by speculating about some of the possibilities of the new scholarship which will be facilitated as soon as the software designers can turn their attention away from the more profitable computer games.

One development which seems inevitable is the thesis programme, an algorithm which will skim through a given corpus and abstract from it a well-formed and convincing piece of research which can be uploaded (or as we used to say, submitted) for a doctorate. Of course it will be read and evaluated by another piece of software and the degree will be awarded on the Web, perhaps as a downloadable multimedia diploma. This is only a slight exaggeration, whose aim is simply to emphasize the inevitability of change in the academic process at the same time as asking you not to forget that the relationship between a scholar, his students, his discipline and his material is essentially a personal one, where "face to face" contact is about to be replaced by the electronic "interface".

My tax software suggests another programme which could stimulate (or should I say simulate?) useful enquiry, namely the "What if?" button, which will explore for me the consequences any whimsical speculation, no matter how implausible. For example, what if Ferdinand de Saussure had read Jahn's translation of the *Kitāb* [14], could we then argue that his concept of language as a social phenomenon came (indirectly) from Sībawayhi rather than, according to certain historians of linguistics at least, directly from Durkheim? [15] Ourt software would obligingly search through all the relevant data and with any luck might discover in the records of the Geneva University library (which doubtless still exist and will eventually be digitalized!) that de Saussure had indeed borrowed and presumably therefore read Jahn's work, whereupon a whole new chapter of the history of linguistics could be written.

But behind this facetiousness there is a serious point: software cannot initiate, it can only serve as a tool for the curiosity of the researcher. It has been said of al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad that the proof of his genius lay in the questions he

asked [16], and it will certainly be a challenge to future scholars to find questions which live up to the power of their research tools.

Unfortunately the Internet, which is where the electronic symposium will meet, is itself a rather undiscriminating entity, with a mesh so tight that it catches far too many small fish. Bulletin Boards, for example, are intellectually just another kind of graffiti, either indecipherable or trivial. The main purpose of computers seems to be playing games, and this has spilled over into educational practice, where learning and playing have become fatally confused. Believe it or not I have seen some years ago an advertisement for a programme for learners of Arabic called "Fun with verbs". I hope you are as appalled as I am that this infantile exercise was aimed at university students. Will future generations of students be taught by a greedy and impatient Tamaguchi which will die if they do not learn their verbs properly? The answer, unfortunately, is almost certainly yes.

There may indeed be technical analogies between the editing of manuscripts and other computer applications such as games, business programmes and the creation of original works: the conventions of graphic presentation and the strategies of manoeuvering through the programme are similar in all of these. But the reading of texts is qualitatively unique, a mediated contact of mind with mind, in our case with Sībawayhi's, and therefore it is neither a peda-

gogical nor a creative experience, still less a game. The ideas come to us merely through a different medium, which should be as transparent as possible, with minimal interference from the presenter (the ideals of typography, for example, were to combine beauty and efficiency in a form which did not distract from the content: computer graphics has a very long way to go in this regard). We should bear in mind Plato's suspicion of everything creative: creativity leads <u>away</u> from the truth, and artists (I paraphrase Plato) are merely wizards who play with images, thus twice removed from reality because their "creations" are in themselves only images of images.

The real *Kitāb* (if we are lucky) will lie hidden somewhere in the huge electronic library constructed and administered by the computer, which will act purely as a custodian for Sībawayhi's ideas. The work as such can never escape from this library in any finite form, nor can we come closer to it than the contemplation of the versions recreated on our screens. We remain trapped in Plato's Cave, and while others happily avoid reality by playing in their Multi-User Dungeons (how Plato would have enjoyed that image!), we shall browse for the reality of the *Kitāb* in our computers.

However, everybody is still gazing at the same screens, which have become the new walls of our Cave on which the shadows of the truth are still flickering.

Notes

1. The manuscript history of the *Kitāb* has been exhaustively traced by Geneviève Humbert in *Les voies de transmission du Kitāb de Sībawayhi* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995), supplemented by the same author's "Remarques sur les éditions du *Kitāb* de Sībawayhi et leur base manuscrite", in *Studies in the History of Arabic Grammar II, Proceedings of the 2nd Symposium on the History of Arabic Grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April—1 May 1987*, eds. C. H. M. Versteegh and M. G. Carter (Amsterdam, 1990), and "Un témoignage fossile du *Kitāb* de Sībawayhi", in *Développements récents en linguistique arabe et sémitique*, ed. G. Bohas (Damascus 1993).

2. See chapters 3—8 of Humbert's *Les voies de transmission du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*.

3. See *al-Ta'līqa*, ed. 'Awaḍ ibn Aḥmad al-Qūzī (Cairo/Riyadh, 1990—96), i, introduction, p. 52 f.

4. *Changing Traditions: al-Mubarrad's Refutation of Sībawayh and the Subsequent Reception of the Kitāb* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1997), p. 44.

5. The perfect version, of course, is in Heaven with its author. Of the various *ḥadīth*s discouraging dispute about Qur'ānic variants perhaps the most vivid is one in which Ibn Mas'ūd hears a man reciting the text differently from the way he had heard it himself from Muhammad. An outraged Ibn Mas'ūd leads the man by the hand to confront the Prophet, only to be told, "You've both got it right, don't argue about it. The ones before you who argued are all dead now". Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, p. 44 (= *Khuṣūmāt*) 1. The doctrine of the "Seven Readings" formalizes this situation and allows the user to construct a potentially infinite number of Qur'āns (in this light it seems unnecessary to limit the number of possible interpretations of each verse to 60,000, cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegenung*, Leiden, 1920, p. 257). The theme has been brilliantly taken up by Italo Calvino, *If on a Winter's Night a Traveller*, describing the error of 'Abdullāh ibn Abī Sarh in trying to hold Muhammad to an unreasonable standard of accuracy (p. 182f in the San Diego edition of 1981).

6. *Sharḥ 'uyūn Kitāb Sībawayhi*, ed. 'A. 'A. 'Abd Rabbih (Cairo, 1984), p. 121.

7. See M. G. Carter, "Arabic literature", in *Scholarly Editing, a Guide to Research*, ed. D. C. Greetham (New York, 1995), p. 555f.

8. Humbert again gives a lively account of the way in which a copy of the *Kitāb* was obtained illegally and the culprit thrown in jail for it, see her "Copie "a la pecia" à Bagdad au IXᵉ siècle?", *Gazette du livre mediéval*, 12 (1988), pp. 12—5.

9. "Signs of change in Egyptian Arabic", in *Understanding Arabic, Essays in Contemporary Arabic Linguistics in Honor of El-Said Badawi*, ed. Alaa Elgibali (Cairo 1996), pp. 137—43, esp. 140.

10. To make matters worse, Troupeau simply equates *naẓīr* with the terms *akh*, *ukht* and *akhawāt*, but since these occur so frequently we cannot easily follow them up.

11. G. Bohas, B. Pauli, *Aspects formels de la poésie arabe* (Toulouse 1997), esp. pp. 31f and 181ff.

12. The notions here are abstracted from *Hyper/Text/Theory*, ed. George P. Landow (Baltimore and London, 1994), esp. the editor's introductory chapter.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

14. This far from whimsical question was originally posed by J. Fück in 1895 but did not appear in print until 1981, see M. G. Carter, "Arab Linguistics and Arabic Linguistics", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*, 4 (1987/8), p. 211, n. 20.

15. Cf. K. Koerner, "On the Problem of "Influence" in Linguistic Historiography", in *Papers in the History of Linguistics, Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences*, eds. H. Aarslef, L. G. Kelly, H.-J. Niederehe (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 13—28, esp. 19—22.

16. E. Bräunlich, "Al-Ḫalīl und das Kitāb al-'Ain", *Islamica*, 2 (1926), p. 61.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

O. G. Bolshakov

THE ST. PETERSBURG MANUSCRIPT OF THE *MAQĀMĀT* BY AL-ḤARĪRĪ AND ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF ARAB PAINTING

Medieval Arab book miniatures have received significantly less study than their Iranian counterparts. This is due both to their brief history (from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century) and to the relatively small number of surviving illustrated manuscripts. Only a single work of Arab literature has reached us in a significant quantity of illustrated manuscripts (13). This work, however, allows us to trace the development of style and depictive technique on the basis of uniform subject material — the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī [1]. These illustrations, which make up more than half of the Arab miniatures which have reached us, represent at the same time the overwhelming majority of genre scenes.

Despite the long-standing and deserved attention they have received, no more than one hundred illustrations to the *Maqāmāt* have been published (of the more than seven hundred), mainly in black-and-white reproductions [2]. Aside from mentions in general works on the history of the arts, few special studies have appeared, all reviewing individual aspects of the illustrations.

The first, and thus far only study which covers the entirety of illustrations in the *Maqāmāt* is O. Grabar's monograph. It appeared in 1984 and contains in an appendix microfiches of 732 miniatures from 12 manuscripts, which allows those unable to consult the manuscripts *de visu* better to acquaint themselves with the material. The study by O. Grabar treats a number of historical issues raised by the depictive language of the *Maqāmat*'s illustrators and the interrelation of various manuscripts.

In terms of iconography and chronology, the manuscripts form two groups. The first includes six manuscripts from the first half of the thirteenth century, produced in Baghdad or the zone of its strong artistic influence; the second contains six manuscripts from the first half of the fourteenth century which originated in Syria and Egypt. Artistically, the latter are a pale reflection of the early thirteenth-century Baghdad school and its traditions. There are no later manuscripts of the *Maqāmat* of al-Ḥarīrī with illustrations [3], which testifies to the total decline of Arab miniature painting. The reasons for this have not yet been convincingly explained. O. Grabar proposes that society's changing tastes may explain this. As he puts it, "it was a change in spirit, in the expectations of visually acquired

knowledge. Its full understanding awaits future investigations in social and cultural history" [4].

This is a truly interesting question, the relevance of which extends beyond the illustrations to the *Maqāmāt*, but we are here concerned with a concrete problem — the mechanisms in the copying process which impoverish the original image.

Most useful for our purposes are the three best illustrated manuscripts from the first group: arabe 5847 from the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (henceforth — P 5847); Esad Efendi 2916 from the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (henceforth — St) and C 23 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (henceforth — Pb). O. Grabar groups the latter two together, attributing them to a single set in which "the setting plays a part equal to or greater than the incidents of the story" [5]. In his view, however, their similarity is determined not by chronological proximity but by their dependence on a single depictive prototype [6].

In the case of P 5847, we not only know the date of its completion down to the day (6 Ramaḍān 634/3 May 1237), but also the name of the calligrapher and illustrator — Yaḥyā b. Maḥmud b. Yaḥyā b. Abī-l-Ḥasan al-Wāsiṭī. St is dated to the rule of the last ʿAbbāsid, al-Mustaʿṣim (1242—1258) on the basis of a benevolent inscription with his name on the frieze of a mosque depicted in illustration 48 to the *Maqāmāt* (fol. 204a). The presence of an analogous inscription in P 5847 with the name of al-Mustanṣir, during whose rule (1226—1242) the manuscript was copied, removes all doubt that St could reproduce an inscription on a mosque which pre-dates the copy.

The dating of Pb is more difficult, as it lacks both the beginning and the final folios, and the mosques are depicted without epigraphic friezes. S. D. Rice, an expert in Arab miniatures, concluded on the basis of a comparison of illustrations to the twelfth *maqāma* in Pb and P 5847 that Pb is older, but he did not give an exact date [7]. Rice's view in this point is shared by R. Ettinghausen [8].

Pb has badly suffered from the passage of time. More than one eighth of the original folios are missing. Judging by the paper and writing, the absent folios were replaced at least four times. Two miniatures of fourteenth-century style were added in the first restoration (perhaps there were more,

Fig. 1, a

Fig. 1, b

Fig. 1, c
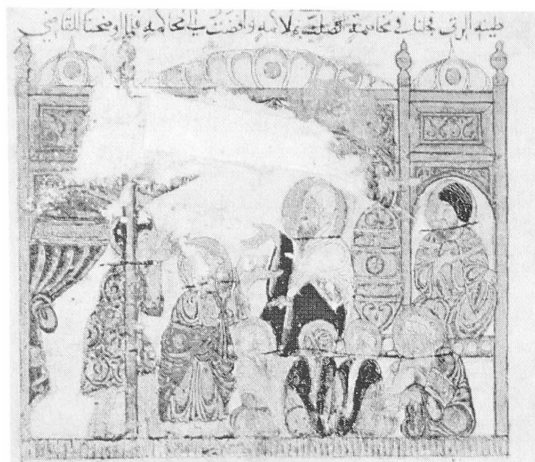
but they have been lost). Later, folios were added with space left on them for four miniatures. The last restoration is dated by European paper with a "three-crescents" watermark. For a certain time before the first restoration, the manuscript was stored in a damp place, and many of the miniatures stuck to the surface of the facing page or, worse yet, to each other. When they were separated, some paint remained where it had stuck. Of the 96 remaining original miniatures, nine were seriously damaged in this fashion. Finally, one of the pious owners of the manuscript smeared the paint on the faces with a moist finger in order to destroy the sinful depictions, and another "finished them off" by crossing out in ink the necks of people and animals.

Taking into account the number of replaced folios, one can presume that Pb originally contained no less than 120 miniatures, that is, more than the well-preserved P 5847.

St is even more seriously damaged: there are no unharmed miniatures at all, and of the surviving 56 only 44 are discernible.

There are only 25 intact miniatures which are shared by all three manuscripts. These miniatures allow us to juxtapose the treatment of the same thematic material by three unquestionably talented and independent artists of the same school. For this aim, differences in the colour scheme are not significant (all the more so, as the author of this article was compelled, in the overwhelming majority of cases, to work with black-and-white reproductions of the miniatures from P 5847 and St). We also omit differences in the depiction of faces and clothing. For the purpose of our study differences in the level of detail and the composition of the scenes are of much more importance.

O. Grabar notes a similarity between Pb and St in an especial fondness for depicting details and in an equally realistic, unstylized depiction of architecture. (However, no less common are cases of similar compositional decisions in P 5847 and St, which set them apart from Pb.) One can cite, for example, the depiction of a reception by the *qāḍī* Zabīd (thirty-fourth *maqāma*) (Pb, p. 236; P 5847, fol. 107a; St, fol. 136b; see *figs. 1a, b, c*). The multi-figured composition of Pb in the detailed depiction of the architectural setting is in al-Wāsiṭī reduced to the four figures of the main characters: Abū Zayd, his son, whom he is attempting to sell by
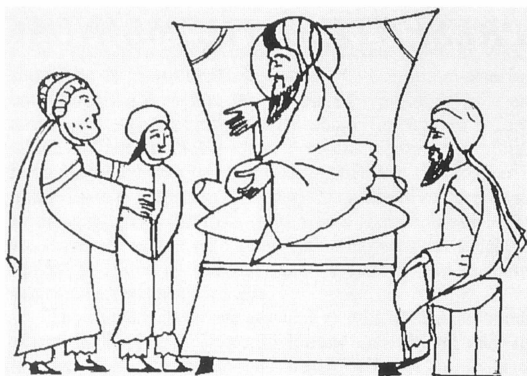
deception, al-Ḥārith (on the right) and the *qāḍī* — the architectural setting is absent. It is present in St, but the number of figures is also reduced to four. The arrangement of persons in St is entirely different than in P 5847, but closer to Pb, if one views the composition from right to left. In the architectural setting in St, somewhat simplified in comparison to Pb, one should note two characteristic architectural details: a closed balcony and the depiction of half of an arched entrance.

In another instance, we find a clear similarity between the composition in P 5847 and St in the miniature which depicts the meeting of Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārith at the reception of the governor of Merv in the thirty-eighth *maqāma* (Pb, p. 256; P 5847, fol. 118a; St, fol. 150b). As in the illustrations to the thirty-fourth *maqāma*, the complex multi-figured composition in the architectural setting in Pb (*fig. 2a*) is reduced in P 5847 to five figures: the ruler on the throne, Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārith and two young male servants (*ghulām*) at either side of the throne (*fig. 2b*); the architectural setting is absent. St copies this composition, but in ludicrously primitive form (*fig. 2c*).

Fig. 2, a

Fig. 2, b
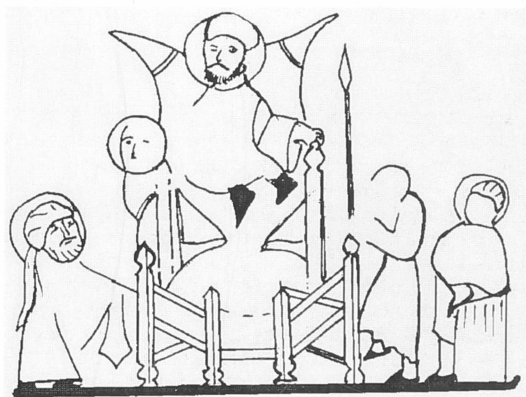
Fig. 2, c

An example of nearly complete compositional coincidence can be found in the illustrations to the fifteenth *maqāma*, which depict the arrival of Abū Zayd at the home of al-Ḥarith (*figs. 3a, b*). The location of the entrance, the ventilation system in the roof and even the depiction of a large vessel for water under the first flight of stairs (routine for Pb, but not found in P 5847) coincide here. The arrangement of the two figures coincides as well.

The presence in many miniatures in St of compositional similarities with P 5847 may indicate borrowings between the two manuscripts, but is more likely an indication of various forms of borrowing from general prototypes.

Such similarities are absent between Pb and P 5847, although they should be chronologically closer than Pb and St. The examples cited above demonstrate greater simplicity in the depiction of thematic material in P 5847 in comparison with Pb. But the differences in composition are so great that one cannot speak of simplification — they are simply different, and different throughout. Pb presents us with significantly more complex compositions.

The clearest example of this is found in the illustrations to the third *maqāma*, in which Abū Zayd holds forth before a large gathering of admirers of rhetoric, at first praising, and later censuring in verse gold coin. In Pb (p. 17; *fig. 4a*), Abū Zayd stands before forty listeners, arranged around a reservoir; in P 5847 (fol. 7a), the artist depicts only five listeners (*fig. 4b*).

In some cases, a certain connection is visible between these two manuscripts — for example, in the illustrations to the fourth *maqāma*, which depict the appearance of Abū Zayd at the caravan's halting place (Pb, p. 22, 25; P 5847, fol. 9b). In the first manuscript, two miniatures are dedicated to this scene. One of them depicts the caravan at rest. The depiction is three-tiered, divided by zigzag strips of grass. On the upper tier, six persons sit, lie and converse in various poses in tents, and on the ground among saddles and packs; on the second tier, al-Ḥarith lies in a tent, propping himself on his hand; the lower tier shows two more tents, a camel-driver and six camels in various poses (*Plate 1*).

In the second miniature, which depicts Abū Zayd's arrival, the action unfolds in two tiers; the artist has eliminated the third, lower tier as insignificant. Al-Ḥarith, having heard Abū Zayd, prepares to leave his tent and is putting on a boot. There is no doubt that the person lying in the tent in the first miniature and the person putting on the boot are the same person: the tent is drawn identically from the inside and the same large chest (?), which resembles a small house, stands behind the tent.

P 5847 contains no analogue of the first miniature. There is only a small miniature with a two-tiered depiction of the sleeping caravan, which coincides in general with the composition of the second miniature. But in place of the lively scene in Pb, we find a schematic representation: there are no tents, five travelers sleep in the upper tier among packs, al-Ḥarith sleeps in the lower right, as in Pb, p. 22, and three camels lie to his left (*fig. 5*).

The simplified composition is not accompanied by a corresponding drop in the artistic level of the miniature: we see the same sure lines and individuated faces. The core of the matter rests in a different conception of the necessary level of detail in the depiction.

Telling are the similarities and differences in the depiction of a scene in the illustrations to the fifth *maqāma*, in which Abū Zayd tells of his chance visit to the house of his wife, whom he had left. The existence of a general model for both al-Wāsiṭī and the illustrator of Pb is beyond doubt,
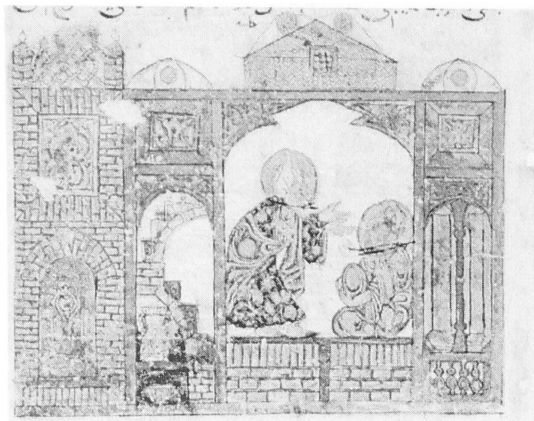
Fig. 3, a
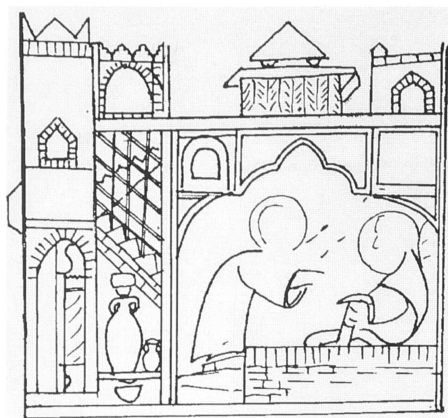
Fig. 3, b
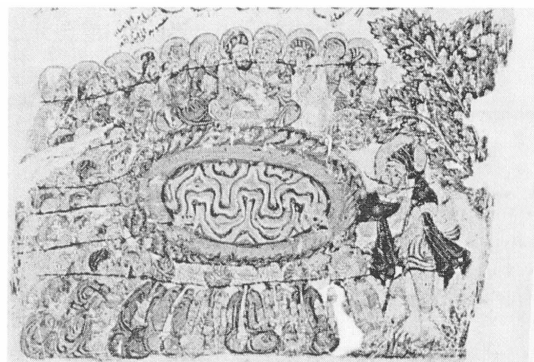
Fig. 4, a
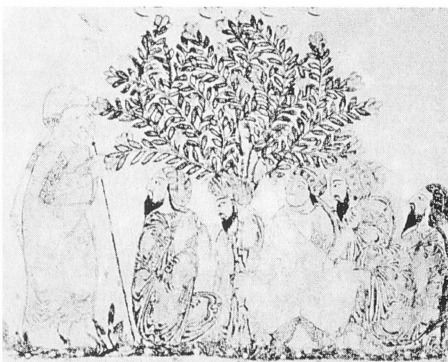
Fig. 4, b

as the central figure in both miniatures is a woman working a spinning-wheel. She is not mentioned in the text, and the obvious similarity between the two miniatures can only be explained by the presence of a single depictive prototype (fig. 6a, b, c). As usual, the illustrator of Pb provides a more detailed depiction of the details (the façade, the stairs to the roof, the vessel for water beneath it). Here also, as in the depiction of the caravan at its halting place, he conveys the unfolding events with the help of a second miniature, in which a cat indicates the pace of movement. In the first miniature, it lies peacefully to the right of the woman at the spinning-wheel; in the second, disturbed by the knock at the door, it has retreated to a different place (fig. 6b). In this scene as well, al-Wāsiṭī contents himself with a single illustration. Unfortunately, the illustration of this episode has not survived in St, where there is only a scene of Abū Zayd's arrival at the house, where he tells of his meeting with his son (fol. 14b).

It is mainly the unusual topics, the individuality of which fades less with copying and reworking, which give us an opportunity to imagine with greater clarity the process of changes and degree to which various manuscripts are dependent on their protographs. Among these are the scene at the cemetery (Pb, p. 65; P 5847, fol. 29b; St, fol. 34a), boating on the Euphrates (Pb, pp. 135, 139; P 5847, fol. 61a; St, fol. 73b), the theft in the caravan-saray (Pb, p. 196; P 5847, fol. 89a; St, fol. 110a), the slave market (Pb, p. 231; P 5847, fol. 105a; St, fol. 134a), the ship (Pb, p. 260; P 5847, fol. 119a; St. fol. 153a), and the scene in school (Pb, p. 318, see also the *Plate* on the back cover of the present issue; P 5847, fol. 148b; St, fol. 192a).

An analysis of all the preceding instances goes beyond the parameters of this study; it is sufficient here to limit ourselves to the most telling example: the depiction of the ship. First, it has survived in all three manuscripts; and second, the substantial similarities ease our understanding of the differences and how they appeared.
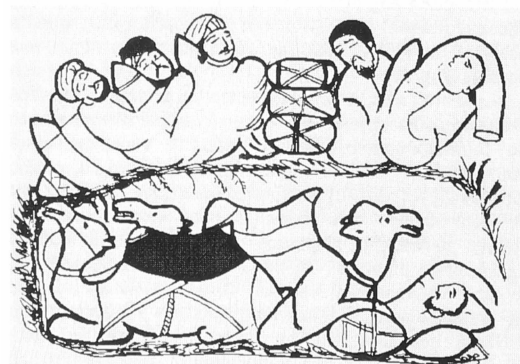
Fig. 5
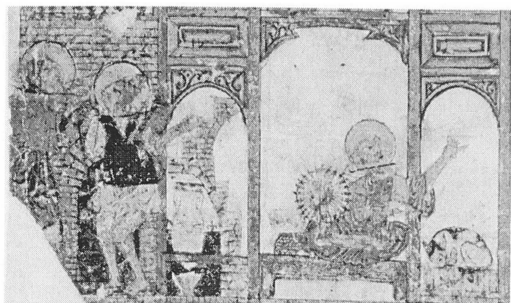
Fig. 6, a
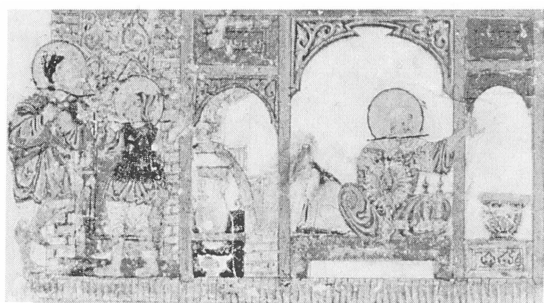
Fig. 6, b
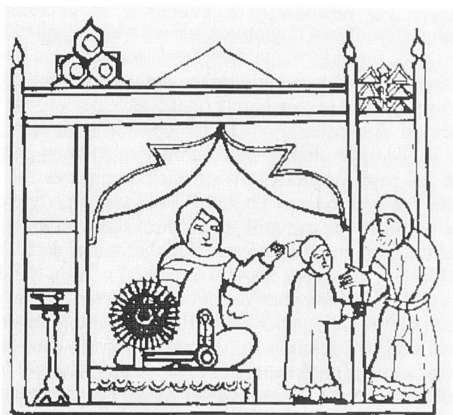
Fig. 6, c
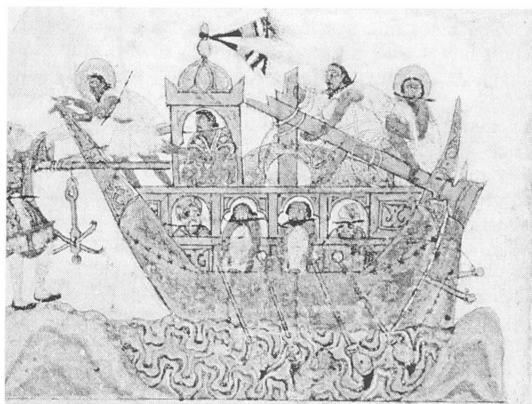
Fig. 7, a

Fig. 7, b

Fig. 7, c

Fig. 8

Fig. 9
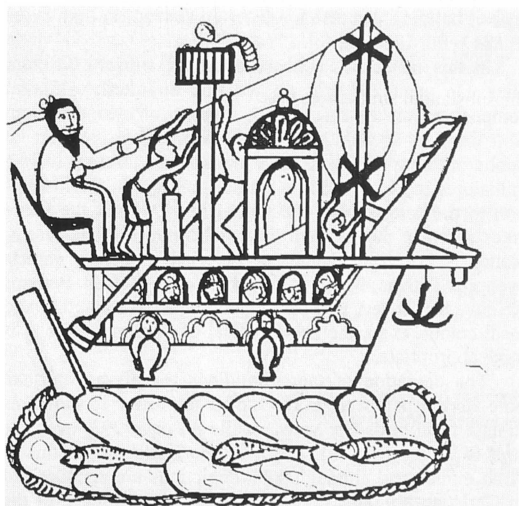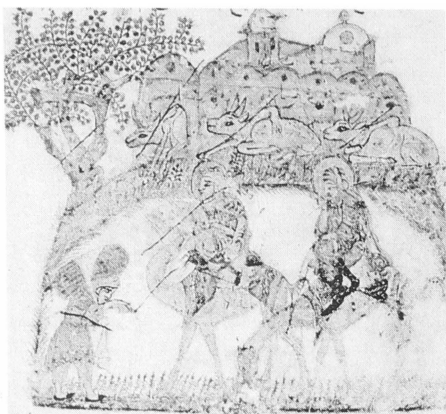
One notes first that in each of the miniatures, certain details link it with one, and others with another miniature. Certain factors render Pb and St a pair; others, St and P 5847; a third set, Pb and P 5847. Pb and St are alike in that the ship stands with its bow left to the shore, from which Abū Zayd asks that they take him on board. Sailors (two in Pb, three in St) empty jugs of water from the hold out of the lower port-holes (or hatches), and something like a steering oar hangs to the right from the upper deck. They differ in that St lacks the anchor which hangs from the bowsprit in Pb; the latter lacks the sail on a short mast found in St.

In P 5847, the ship sails to the right, and the shore and Abū Zayd are not depicted, although, as in Pb, there is an anchor, helm and the same curious implement hanging from the deck, and two sailors pouring out water (*fig. 7a, b, c*). At the same time, P 5847 and St share certain details lacking in Pb: in the centre stands a mast with a basket in which a scout sits; a second mast with a sail of most unusual form stands at the prow. There are other minor differences and similarities which are not important for our purposes.

All three miniatures contain certain perplexing details. Foremost, it is unclear why the ship which Abū Zayd is asking to board faces the shore with its prow rather than its stern, or why the ship is depicted in Pb without mast or sail. Finally, if the long, hanging object is an oar, as it is depicted in St, where the ship lacks a helm, then why is it depicted (albeit, somewhat differently) in P 5847 and Pb, where the ship has a helm?

The miniature in Pb answers the last question — the upper end of this mysterious object displays fractured wood which matches a similar fracture at the base of the mast in the centre of the ship, around which lies a torn sail. Taken in conjunction with the sailors dumping water from the hold, this shows that the ship has recently weathered a storm. The lower part of the mast fragment, hanging down toward the water, in St is clearly of cylindrical form, unlike the scoop found in P 5847 and Pb. In St, the illustrator has transformed the observation basket atop the broken mast into the blade of an oar; in accordance with this interpretation, he equipped the broken end with an oar loom.

The nature of the similarities and differences does not permit us to view the miniatures as successive stages in the development of a single composition. Clearly, we find here
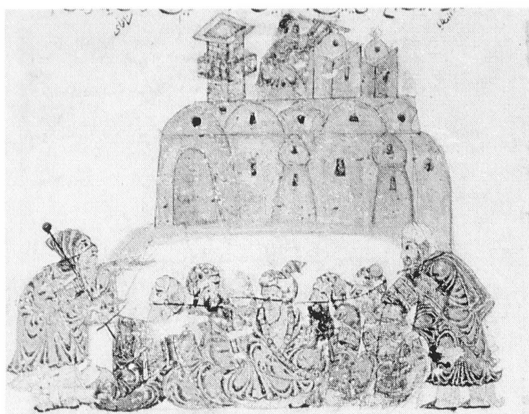
a combination of two miniatures, one of which depicted the departure of the ship which Abū Zayd would like to board; the other depicted a storm-weathered ship approaching an unknown island. In combining these two depictions, the authors of the manuscripts under consideration here, or more likely their predecessors, borrowed various details, which led to differences between their miniatures. In this scheme, the prototype of Pb and P 5847 was clearly closer to the original: one can still see in them the fracture at the end of the mast and the torn sail. Another minor detail confirms this — the artists show the method of ship-building (ships on the Arabian sea were not constructed with nails or spikes, but held together with liana, resulting in small crosses along the seams which ran in horizontal lines along the side of the ship; these are clearly visible). Here, P 5847 and St obviously show two varied re-workings of two depictions of the ship, as is indicated by the similar depictions of the palace on the island (P 5847, fol. 120a; St, fol. 154b). We do not know how this was depicted in Pb, as the needed miniature has not survived.

Another locus of intersection between P 5847 and St is the depiction of a settlement in the illustration to the forty-third *maqāma*, where the resemblance covers not only the type of building, but also a rooster on the roof in both cases (P 5847, fol. 178a; St, fol. 176a—176b).

In this instance, Pb proceeds along entirely different lines. On page 293 (*fig. 8*), we find an utterly different composition: in the foreground, a group of men, to whom Abū Zayd is speaking; in the background, some sort of public building which displays architecture unusual for the miniatures in Pb. We find a similar building in the illustration to the forty-second *maqāma* (*fig. 9*), where the scene takes place in the Yemeni city of Najrān [9]. The resemblance is not coincidental, as the first miniature depicts events in Tihāma, which is located close to Yemen. Perhaps we have here a very rare case where the artist wanted to add local colour. If so, the zebu, typical of Southern Arabia, is quite appropriate.

The depiction of these buildings reveals an unusual, note-worthy perspective: the top of the tower is shown as though from birds-eye view, while on page 293, even the roof is visible (*fig. 10*). There are no analogues of this in Arab miniatures, although such depictions are encountered in Christian art. This perhaps explains the presence of the man on the roof, who holds something like a cross in his

hand. Possibly, the artist recalled the Christian community and church in Najrān and thus fixed the location of the event. If this is so, we have here an absolutely unique instance.

The analysis performed here of the treatment of identical subject material in three manuscripts does not exhaust the possibilities of comparative analysis, but permits the following conclusions: (1) in the majority of cases, when the composition of the miniatures in P 5847 and St coincides, it is somewhat simplified in the latter; (2) the same relationship exists between Pb and P 5847. We can conclude from this that the first of these is older and, consequently, that in the first half of the thirteenth century, as illustrations to the *Maqāmāt* were repeated, the depictive content became more impoverished, although the artists in each case reproduced the subject matter in their own fashion.

This leads us to yet another conclusion: the cycle of illustrations to al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* did not come together gradually, but was created at a single time by a single very talented artist, who strove to depict as fully as possible the environment in which the hero of the *Maqāmāt* moved. The unusual nature of this cycle and its artistic virtues immediately evoked imitations, the level of which gradually fell. Proof of this can be found
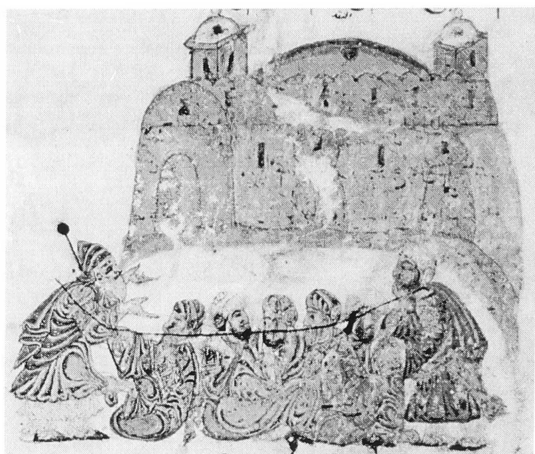
Fig. 10

in the fact that *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamdānī, similar in subject matter and quite popular, were not illustrated: there was no talented initiator whose work could serve as the basis for imitations.

Notes

1. These were described by O. Grabar in his *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 8—19. One of these, found in the library of the main mosque of Ṣanʿā, is very late (Ṣafar 1121 / April 1703), and in style should be attributed to the Moghul school. During a very brief visit to the University of al-ʿAyn (Abū Dhābi) in January 1990, I found in the catalogue mention of an illustrated manuscript of the *Maqamat* without a date. Unfortunately, I was unable to see it, as the employees of the library told me that it was impossible to find the manuscript because of renovations. It is therefore difficult to say whether the manuscript at al-ʿAyn is a new, unknown copy or a manuscript bought in Ṣanʿā.

2. K. Holter, "Die Galenhandschrift und die Makamen des Harīrī der Wiener Nationalbibliothek", *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, Sonderheft Nr. 104 (1937), pp. 1—48. All illustrations published. Also O. Grabar, "A newly discovered, illustrated manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarīrī", *Ars Orientalis*, 5 (1963). pp. 97, 109, plates 1—24. Fifty-five miniatures from P 5847 are published in ʿIsā Salmān, *Al-Wāsiṭī Yaḥyā bin Maḥmūd bin Yaḥyā rassām wa-khaṭṭāt wa-mudhahhab wa-muzakhraf* (Baghdād, 1972). R. Ettinghausen published colour reproductions: one miniature from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris 6094, one from 3920, six from Pb, seven from P 5847, and one from a manuscript in Vienna. See R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962).

3. The latest manuscript in Ṣanʿā (see note 1) has not relation to the Baghdad manuscript or to the Arab school of miniatures as a whole (Grabar, *The Illustrations*, pp. 16—7).

4. Grabar, *The Illustrations*, p. 152.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

6. *Ibid.*.

7. See S. D. Rice, "The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript", *BSOAS*, XXII (1959). pp. 207—20; D. James, "Space-forms in the work of Baghdad *Maqamat* illustrators. 1225—58", *BSOAS*, XXXVII (1974), pp. 305—20.

8. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

9. O. Grabar believes it not to be a building but the depiction of Najrān (Grabar, *The Illustrations*, p. 92).

Illustrations

Front cover:

"Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārith talking". Fragment of a miniature from manuscript Pb of the *Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarīrī (*maqāma* 50). p. 349, 17.5 × 9.0 cm.

Back cover:

"Abū Zayd as a teacher in a school at Ḥimṣ". A miniature from manuscript Pb (*maqāma* 46), p. 318, 18.0 × 19.5 cm.

Inside:

Plate 1. "Caravan at rest". Miniature from manuscript Pb (*maqāma* 4), p. 22, 20.0 × 19.2 cm (see p. 53 of the present issue).

Plate 2. "The appearance of Abū Zayd at the caravan's halting place". Miniature from manuscript Pb (*maqāma* 4), p. 25, 19.0 × 13.8 cm (see p. 56 of the present issue).

Fig. 1. "The *qāḍī* of Zabīd receiving Abū Zayd and his son". Illustration to *maqāma* 34:

a — manuscript Pb, p. 236, 18.0 × 15.0 cm; *b* — manuscript P 5847, fol. 107a; *c* — manuscript St, fol. 150b.

Fig. 2. "Abū Zayd and the governor of Merv". Illustration to *maqāma* 38:

a — manuscript Pb, p. 250, 18.0 × 17.7 cm; *b* — manuscript P 5847, fol. 118a; *c* — manuscript St, fol. 150b.

Fig. 3. "Abū Zayd at the home of al-Ḥārith". Illustration to *maqāma* 15:

a — manuscript Pb, p. 94, 16.8 × 13.4 cm; *b* — manuscript St, fol. 47a.

Fig. 4. "Abū Zayd reciting verses in praise of gold coin". Illustration to *maqāma* 3:

a — manuscript Pb, p. 17, 18.5 × 13.0 cm; *b* — manuscript P 5847, fol. 7a.

Fig. 5. "Caravan at rest". Illustration to *maqāma* 4, manuscript P 5847, fol. 9b.

Fig. 6. "Abū Zayd's unexpected visit to his wife's house". Illustration to *maqāma* 5:

a — manuscript Pb, p. 30, 18.0 × 14.0 cm; *b* — manuscript Pb, p. 32, 17.5 × 13.8 cm; *c* — manuscript P 5847, fol. 13b.

Fig. 7. "The sea-craft". Illustration to *maqāma* 39:

a — manuscript Pb, p. 260, 20.0 × 15.0 cm; *b* — manuscript P 5847, fol. 119b; *c* — manuscript St, fol. 153a.

Fig. 8. "Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārith meeting a well-spoken boy in Tihāma". Illustration to *maqāma* 43, manuscript Pb, p. 293, 21.0 × 18.2 cm.

Fig. 9. "Abū Zayd standing before a learned man in Najrān". Illustration to *maqāma* 42, manuscript Pb, p. 278, 19.4 × 15.0 cm.

Fig. 10. "Abū Zayd standing before a learned man in Najrān". Illustration to *maqāma* 42, manuscript Pb, p. 283, 17.5 × 15.5 cm.

BOOK REVIEWS

Toruko-isuramu jidai chuo Ajia bunka no sōgōteki kenkyū **(A Synthetical Study on Central Asian Culture in the Turco-Islamic Period). Kyoto: 1997, 160 pp.**

Muslim books of the medieval era are manuscripts, and one of the tasks of Oriental studies is to make the main literary texts and historical sources stored in the libraries of the world accessible to scholars through publications and translations. This work, begun by an earlier generation of European Orientalists, continues today in all countries where there are centres of Oriental studies. However, the number of published texts remains quite insignificant in comparison with the number of manuscripts which await scholarly attention. Hence, every new undertaking in this endeavour is, even now at the close of the twentieth century, an event in the scholarly world. The appearance of the edition under review here is, consequently, just such a joyous event in the world of Oriental studies.

The edition made within the framework of the research programme "A Synthetical Study on Central Asian Culture in the Turco-Islamic Period" includes a foreword, written in Japanese, by Professor Eiji Mano of Kyoto University, and his study "An Attempt at a Critical Text of One Section of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*" devoted to the famous composition of the sixteenth-century author Mīrzā Ḥaydar, followed by a Japanese translation of the Persian text (pp. 6—23) and a summary in English (pp. 24—5). The publication also contains a study by Kazuyuki Kubo, a senior lecturer at the same University. It comprises the publication of the Persian text of the *Shaybānī-nāma* by Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī Binā'ī (Oriental pagination, pp. 1—93) together with a detailed essay on the work, a description of the text (pp. 26—64, in Japanese), and a short introduction in English (pp. 65—7).

The *Shaybānī-nāma* by Binā'ī (d. 1512) belongs to the so-called works of the Shaybānid circle, historical works which vary in form and language and were written at the beginning of the sixteenth century on behalf of, with the approval of, or with the direct participation of Muḥammad Shaybānī (Sheybānī)-khān (1451—1510), the founder of a state of nomadic Uzbeks of the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq in Māwarannahr. Small in scale, this work contains a brief biography of Muḥammad Shaybānī-khān from his birth up through his conquest of Khwārazm (1505). Although Binā'ī's *Shaybānī-nāma* is an abridged version of another work by the same author, the *Futūḥāt-i Khānī*, it contains

some unique information, has independent scholarly worth and had its own literary life. The work was discovered and quite thoroughly studied by Russian and Soviet Orientalists, such as A. Samoilovich, M. Salye, P. Ivanov, R. Mukminova, A. Mirzoev, S. Ibragimov, B. Akhmedov, V. Yudin, and others.

At present, three manuscript copies of Binā'ī's *Shaybānī-nāma* are known. The oldest, copied by Muḥammad Shaybānī-khān himself and his secretary Mīrzā Mu'min Munshī at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was discovered in 1910 by the well-known Russian Orientalist A. N. Samoilovich among the books in the library of the Khivan khān. It is now stored in Tashkent at the Institute of Oriental Studies. Also stored there is another manuscript of Binā'ī's *Shaybānī-nāma*, produced in 1915 from a copy in the library of the Khivan khān. The Uzbek Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies has in its holdings a third copy of the work. It was made at the beginning of the twentieth century, apparently from the oldest manuscript of the *Shaybānī-nāma* in the library of the Khivan khān or from the 1915 copy. Kazuyuki Kubo has based his edition on this third copy of Binā'ī's *Shaybānī-nāma* (No. 1235), which he copied out by hand during his work on the manuscript in Tashkent.

In his introduction to the published text, Kazuyuki Kubo expresses regret that he was unable to use the oldest copy, made by Muḥammad Shaybānī-khān himself and his secretary, and voices the hope that in the future there will be a critical edition of Binā'ī's *Shaybānī-nāma* based on a comparison of the texts of the oldest copy of this work and the *Futūḥāt-i Khānī* by the same author. Although the text published by Kazuyuki Kubo may be regarded only as an intermediate stage in studying the work by Binā'ī, one can state that the publication made by the scholar is of much use to all interested in the field.

We turn now to Prof. Eiji Mano's work on the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā Ḥaydar, the main source for the history of the Muslim lands of Central Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and one of the most outstanding Persian-language texts on history of the sixteenth century. The world's libraries contain more than thirty different copies of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. The work was written between 1542 and 1546 and is structured in two parts (*daftars*). Orientalists the world over have studied this extremely valuable source for a century

and a half. However, the absence of a reliable critical edition of the Persian text indicates that its study is by no means complete. As an experiment, Prof. Eiji Mano has fashioned a critical text of a single brief chapter from the first *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. This chapter is dedicated to special privileges given to the heads of the aristocratic Dūghlāt family by the Moghūl khāns. The critical text of the chapter was drawn up on the basis of six Persian manuscripts and one Turkic manuscript (India Office Library, MS Turki 1), although "the base manuscript for the critical text was British Library MS Add. 24, 090" (pp. 24—5).

Of the five Petersburg copies of the Persian original (four of which are preserved in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, and one in the library of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg University) [1], Prof. Eiji Mano has used one manuscript C 394 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection for his work. This is an old, but incomplete copy. Of course, all five Petersburg copies have lacunae; however, scholarly experience has shown that manuscripts C 395 and D 71, which date from the nineteenth century, successfully fill out the text of manuscript B 648, which dates from 972/1564—65 and is the oldest of the known copies of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (to recall, the work itself was written between 1542 and 1546).

One essential detail should be added to the preceding: the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains at least four versions of the Turkic translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, among them the *Tarjama-yi Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* made by the

East Turkestani poet, historian and translator Muḥammad Niyāz. Muḥammad Niyāz's translation exists in this collection in several copies of varying degrees of completeness [2]. Of greatest interest to scholars is manuscript D 120, which may be in the translator's own hand. It contains a translation of the first *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* made from a Persian manuscript described by the translator as "perfectly complete, impeccably executed and beautifully preserved" (see an article devoted to Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the present issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*). Prof. Eiji Mano's experimental work on the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* shows that the manuscript of Muḥammad Niyāz's Turkic translation held in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies proved quite significant for a critical perspective on the text of the Persian original. It seems that, when making a complete critical edition of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work, this translation should be taken into consideration .

The edition under review represents only a part of the work done by Japanese Orientalists to create a basis for "A Synthetic Study on Central Asian Culture in the Turco-Islamic Period" by gathering microfilms of medieval manuscripts from various collections and conducting scholarly research on this topic. Prof. Eiji Mano notes that the results of this work will be published in the future. We await upcoming publications and will gratefully make use of them. Now, we wish our Japanese colleagues in Kyoto success in their creative endeavours.

T. Sultanov,
V. Goreglyad

[1] N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia* (Description of the Persian and Tajik Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies). Fasc. 3: Historical Works (Moscow, 1975), Nos. 465—468; A. T. Tagirdzhanov, *Opisanie tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopiseĭ Vostochnogo otdela biblioteki Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* (Description of the Tajik and Persian Manuscripts of the Oriental Section of the Leningrad State University Library). Vol. 1: History, biography, geography (Leningrad, 1962), No. 69.

[2] L. V. Dmitrieva, A. M. Muginov, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii* (Description of the Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of the Peoples of Asia). Fasc. 1: History (Moscow, 1965), Nos. 88—90.

Tadzhaddin al-Bulgari. *Bol'shoĭ Tiriak (Bol'shoe protivoiadie).* Izdanie teksta, perevod s arabskogo, predislovie, kommentarii A. B. Khalidova. Kazan': 1997, 52 str.

Tāj al-Dīn al-Bulghārī. *The Great Tiryāq (The Great Antidote).* Publication of the text, translation from Arabic (into Russian), introductory article and commentary by A. B. Khalidov. Kazan: 1997, 52 pp.

Processes, which are under way in post-Soviet lands, have led in recent years to renewed interest in the culture of Muslims who populate the territories of the former Russian empire. One could hope that the attentive observation of well-known Russian manuscript collections, as well as those beyond Russia's borders, might permit the discovery of manuscripts unfairly assessed in earlier years or denied scholarly attention altogether. Such a manuscript is the sev-

enteenth-century copy of al-Bulghārī's work, composed in the thirteenth-century and represented in the edition under review here.

The book opens with a foreword by Academician M. A. Usmanov, who describes the story of acquiring the manuscript (more exactly, its copy), from its mention by A. Tagirdjanov (with a reference to an Iranian catalogue) up to the acquisition of a copy from the Majlis Library in Tehran with the aid of the President of Tatarstan Mintemir Shaymiyev. In Usmanov's view, the significance of the work stems from its status as the first text known to scholars by a Bulghār author of the pre-Mongol period.

In an introductory article, the publisher of the text, Professor A. B. Khalidov — one of Petersburg's leading Arabists and a member of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies — provides a description of this seventeenth-century manuscript, of which the work by al-Bulghārī is only a part, summarises its contents, gives

a detailed explanation of the term *tiryāq*, and analyses the structure of the work. The publisher does not try to determine the place of the work among others of its type (we note that a significant number of such works, originating from Spain, have been published in Madrid), although he touches on the history of medical treatises in the East. Prof. Khalidov goes on to speak briefly about al-Bulghārī and his place in the culture of Muslim world. Unfortunately, scholars have but little information on the author of "The Great Tiryāq", aside from variants of his name, the place (Mosul) and time (A.D. 1220/1) when he dictated the text and certified the manuscript in his own hand. Known is also the person who wrote the composition down under its author's dictation.

A certain Tāj al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bulghārī was familiar to European (Ullmann, Dietrich) and Arabic scholars. Prof. Khalidov proposes that this is al-Bulghārī indicated as the author of "The Great Tiryāq". He attributes the reference to al-Ḥasan in the manuscript to the mistake of a later copyist. In general, the text abounds in errors, and the publisher writes it was a difficult task to prepare the text for publication. In effect, not all the errors, as the publisher says in his introductory article, could be rectified. Finally, Prof. Khalidov gives a description of the works which entered the composite manuscript in question. It comprises twenty medical treatises of much more renowned authors. The manuscript was copied by the copyist who lived supposedly in the seventeenth century.

The Arabic text is printed on pages 18—28, and pages 29—42 contain a Russian translation with numerous notes, mainly of a pharmacological nature. Importantly, pages 45—50 contain a facsimile of the manuscript, and as the publisher writes, readers can consult directly with the original at dubious moments in the text. Such an edition, with a facsimile, a printed text of the original, and a translation, seems to be most welcome.

Prof. Khalidov has entirely succeeded in carrying out the task he set for himself: to introduce to scholars a hitherto unknown work. Scholars in the field will be grateful to the publisher, since a new page in the cultural history of the Muslim world has been brought to light and further information proffered on the part played by representatives of Bulghāria in the development of science in the Near and Middle East.

It is wonderful that means were found for carrying out this most useful enterprise. The accomplishment is equally shared by the publisher — Prof. A. B. Khalidov — and the Foundation for the Aid of Culture under the President of the Republic of Tatarstan. Perhaps al-Bulghārī, one of the first outstanding figures of the Muslim Volga region whose work has come down to us, will enter textbooks in Tatarstan. One can only regret that the book was published in a small (and unannounced) edition not intended for commercial distribution, which renders it largely inaccessible to all who might wish to read it.

I. Wojewódzki

ᙢanuscripta Orientalia in 1997

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[1] In this list of contributions, the articles marked by asterisk were prepared with the support of the Russian Humanitarian Fund.

ORIENTAL ICONOGRAPHY: SEMANTICS

BOOK REVIEWS

1929—1997

The editorial board of the journal *Manuscripta Orientalia*, Thesa Publishers (St. Petersburg), and Dekadi Publishing Ltd Oy (Finland) announce with deep regret the death of Mr Kalevi Jääskelainen, a man who helped greatly with the foundation and promotion of our journal. Mr Kalevi Jääskelainen was born on July 21, 1929, in Finland, not far from Vyborg. As a result of military conflicts of 1939—1940 and 1941—1944 between Finland and the Soviet Union, he was forced, first in 1939 and then in 1943, to leave his native land in seach of refuge. In post-war Finland Mr Jääskelainen tried a variety of professions before he went into business. He spent several years in South-East Asia where he acquired his love for Oriental culture. Being a man of wide-ranging interests, Mr Jääskelainen wrote two books (on history and medicine) and succeeded in founding a Publishing house of his own. The last years of his life he dedicated wholly to his publishing activities and aided in the creation of *Manuscripta Orientalia*. In the summer of 1997, he visited St. Petersburg and, though seriously ill, spoke of his far-reaching plans concerning the publication of books and CD-ROMs dealing with Oriental manuscripts. Now, that he is no longer among us, all of us who worked with Mr Jääskelainen, hope to continue with the journal and other publishing projects he planned, as a fitting contribution to his memory and the publishing business to which he was so devoted.

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Notes to Contributors

Submissions