

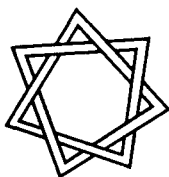
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## TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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### A MANUSCRIPT OF THE *TĀRĪKH-I NARSHAKHĪ* AND AN ANONYMOUS REMARK ON THE HARMFULNESS OF TOBACCO

This brief paper emerged from a short remark by an anonymous author in one of the Persian manuscripts in the rich collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The manuscript itself (call number C 1841) is a collection which contains excerpts of varying length from certain chapters of the Persian translation of *Tārīkh-i Narshakhī*, also known as *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (fols. 27b–29a, 31a–35b, 59a–60b). The composition, written in Arabic in 332/943–44 by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Narshakhī is devoted to the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Naṣr (r. 331–343/943–954). Containing a history of the city of Bukhārā, this work is a first-class source of information about Bukhārā and its surroundings from antiquity. Narshakhī's work was first translated into Persian in 522/1128 by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Qubāwī, who significantly reworked the text of the original. The writing enjoyed great popularity in Central Asia, and Bukhārā in particular, up until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Manuscript C 1841 presents excerpts from *Tārīkh-i Narshakhī* that do not follow the order of chapters in the original. These excerpts contain information on the conquest of Bukhārā by the Arabs (fols. 27b–28a), the rule of Qutayba b. Muslim (fol. 28a), the construction of a mosque in Bukhārā (fol. 28a–28b), and Namāzghāh (fols. 28b–29a). The text on fols. 31a–35b contains an excerpt from the chapter on the Sāmānids and their origins (fol. 31a), an account of the beginning of this dynasty's reign (fol. 31a), and extremely brief excerpts from chapters on various Sāmānids (fols. 31a–33a). It goes on to present information on the *qādīs* of Bukhārā, including an account of Bukhārā's origins and its ancient history (fol. 34a), on Bukhārā itself and surrounding areas (fol. 34a–34b), the founding of the Bukhāran ark (fol. 35a), the city walls of Bukhārā (fol. 35a), the minting of coins (fol. 35a), the female ruler of Bukhārā and her descendents (fol. 35a–35b), the division of Bukhārā by the Arabs (fol. 35b) and Sharīk b. Shaykh al-Mahdī (fol. 35b). Fols. 59a–60b contain excerpts from two chapters: on the appearance of Muḡanna (fols. 59a–60a) and the bazaar of Māh (fol. 60b).

But excerpts from Narshakhī's work make up only a part of manuscript C 1841. It also includes notes, remarks, and quotations from numerous other works, in the majority of cases without an indication of title or author. These notes do not display any order or plan; one can only state that remarks of a chronological nature predominate. The collection's compiler records the birth and death dates of *'ulamā's*, *Ṣūfīs*, scholars, poets, and other figures who interest him. The dates of various rulers from this or that dynasty are also given, frequently with an indication of where they are buried. All of this information generally relates to Central Asia. The chronological material encompasses the period from the seventh to the nineteenth century. The most valuable section provides information on people who played some role in the political or religious life of Central Asia at a late date; for example, there is information on the Bukhāran *amīrs* of the Manghyt dynasty (fols. 66a–67b).

The collection is made up of the following elements (aside from the excerpts from Narshakhī noted above):

1. verses by Central Asian poets of the nineteenth century Dawlat Yār Khūqandī and Mīzrā 'Ināyatallāh Qādī Kalān (fols. 1b–2a). In effect, these verses open the collection;

2. chronological notes (fols. 3a–6b, 10a–17a, 18a–23a, 30a–30b, 36a–40b, 44a, 61b–63a, 66a–67b). Many of these can be termed as genealogical;

3. a *silsila* of *shaykhs* of the Naqshbandīya and Qādirīya orders (fols. 25b–26a);

4. an excerpt from the edifying work "Plato's Instructions to Alexander" (fol. 29b);

5. a brief list of the most important events in Central Asia from the period of the Tīmūrīds to the Jānīds (fols. 44b–50a);

6. brief remarks on the seven climates (fols. 55a–58b) with reference to literary sources;

7. notes on the rules for reading the *khutba* in Arabic (fols. 72b–75a);

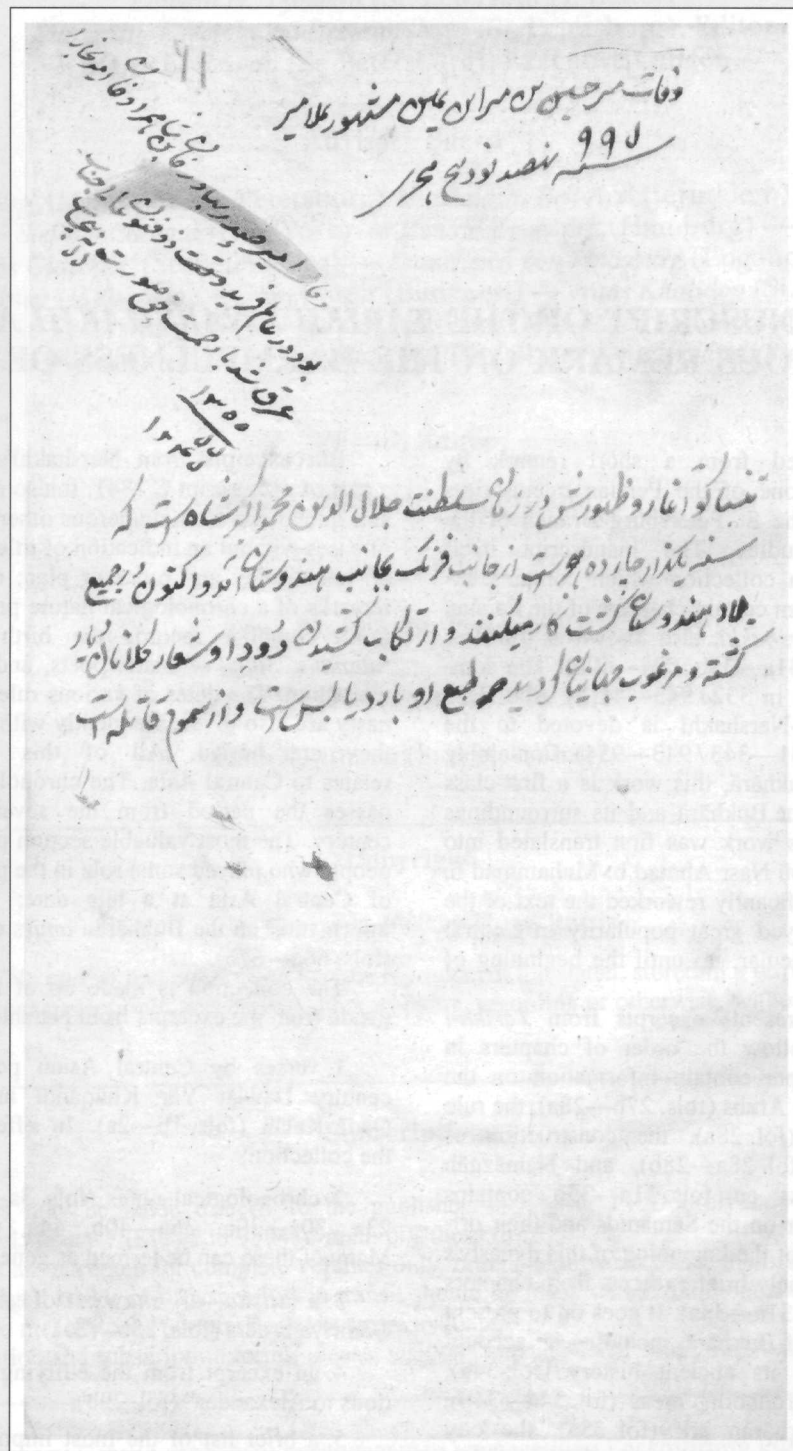


Fig. 1

نصیحت افلاطون ملاً اسکندر را افلاطون گفت  
 اول اینکه باددار نکه دار سخت دار کردین  
 بخور بده بستان بعده اسکندر گفت معنی اینها  
 بگو افلاطون گفت که باددار خدارا نکه دار وفارا  
 سخت دار دین را کرد کن علم را بخور چشم را  
 بده داد منظور ما زرا بستان بشت را

Fig. 2

in the Muslim part of India, where tobacco-smoking  
 in the East began, the water pipe was for smoking was  
 denoted by the Arabic word *al-baq*. In Central Asia  
 the smoking device was called a *chibak* (چبک). At the  
 court of the Khanda-Khan Khan (in 1810-1823) an  
 inventor smoker, the office of *chibak* was established

The anonymous author referred to the harm of tobacco-  
 smoking in the past, a phenomenon he clearly detected as  
 an ethical grounds, but because of the harm it does to the  
 author's health (the author writes: "I permit me to make a  
 tobacco-smoking in the East began in the East of the few  
 references we find in Muslim sources.  
 We know that the Spanish word tobacco derives a plant  
 the dried leaves of which American Indians used for smok-  
 ing long before the arrival of the Spaniards. The plant was

8. excerpts from *waqf* documents with a list of the property of several *waqfs* in the Bukhāran region (fols. 77b—78a).

The name of the collection's compiler is not known. Judging by the amount of material on Bukhārā and excerpts from Narshakhī, he was a resident of that city. The notes seem to have been made over a long period of time; several folios in the manuscript remained uncompleted. Among the information on the Manghyt *amīr* of Bukhārā, ‘Abd al-Aḥad, we find the date 6 Šafar 1303/15 November 1885 (fol. 67b). Folio 78b contains the following remark: “12 Jumādā I 1310 (2 December 1892 — *T. S.*). Qārī Junaydallāh was imprisoned in the upper chamber of the high ark [in Bukhārā], and on the first day of Šafar 1313 (24 July 1895 — *T. S.*) the above-mentioned Qārī was sent to the province of Ḥiṣār”. Hence, entries were made until at least the mid-1890s [1].

Thus, we can conclude that Central Asian manuscript C 1841 is rather late and was drawn up, judging by dated entries, during the period when the Bukhāran emirate (1747—1920) had already become a vassal of the Russian Empire (1868). The manuscript is on various types of paper, partly Eastern (Central Asian — fols. 3—6, 9—35, 41—43, 66—67, 70), partly European (Russian — fols. 1—2, 7—8, 36—40, 44—62, 64—65, 68—69, 71—78). There are 78 folios in all (25.5×15.0 cm). The number of lines and text dimensions on various folios vary. It is written in Indian ink, and some headings and proper names on various folios are written in red ink. The hand is *nasta‘liq*. The binding is Central Asian (*muqawwā’*) with a leather back [2].

Whatever the case may be, one of the remarks in the manuscript is not wholly in the vein of the collection. It is a brief comment on the penetration of tobacco into the countries of the East (fol. 41a). It reports that tobacco (تنباکو) in Persian) first made its way into India from the countries of the “Franks” during the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh (a ruler of the Great Moghūl dynasty, 1556—1605) and gradually achieved widespread in the entire country. The author notes that “many took a liking to the smoking of tobacco, although its nature is pernicious, and it belongs among the deadly poisons (سموم قاتله)” [3].

The comment appears somewhat incongruous in a collection drawn up by a person who likely belonged to the *‘ulamā’* class and was possibly associated with the Naqshbandīya or Qādirīya order, which were extremely popular in Central Asia. In any case, the remark betrays the author's interest in the phenomenon of tobacco-smoking. Academician W. Barthold was the first to draw attention to this comment, and to the manuscript in general, which was acquired by the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) from the collection of A. A. Polovtsov in 1919 [4].

The anonymous author's interest in the issue of tobacco-smoking in the East, a phenomenon he clearly decries not on ethical grounds, but because of the harm it does to the smoker's health (the author calls tobacco a “deadly poison”), permits me to make a brief foray into the history of tobacco-smoking in the East on the basis of the few references we find in Muslim sources.

brought to Western Europe at the turn of the fifteenth—sixteenth centuries, where it was first used for medicinal and decorative purposes. As our anonymous author notes, tobacco was conveyed from Europe to India in the age of the Great Moghūls, and from there to Iran. By the first years of the seventeenth century, tobacco-smoking had become widespread there, especially in the army, where soldiers spent nearly all their earnings on tobacco. In 1605, Shāh ‘Abbās I (r. 1587—1629) banned the smoking of tobacco; it was then decreed that violators should have their nose and lips cut off [5]. According to information provided by Muḥammad Ma‘šūm, the author of *Khulāṣat al-siyar*, this prohibition was rescinded only in 1629 under Shāh Šafī (r. in Iran from 1629—1642), who at the very beginning of his reign issued a decree permitting tobacco-smoking and eliminating the tax on tobacco [6].

Tobacco gradually penetrated into Central Asia and Māwarā‘al-nahr, where it was called تمکی. In the eighteenth century, tobacco-smoking was widespread in the highest realms of society; many Central Asian grandees and those in their service smoked. But tobacco-smoking was still considered reprehensible. Moreover, one should note that during the reign of Dāniyāl-biy (1758—1785) in Bukhārā, the office of chief *qāḍī* of the khanate was in the hands of a *sayyid* Nizām al-Dīn, who openly smoked tobacco [7]. The Central Asian khanates repeatedly banned tobacco-smoking, but these prohibitions were never strictly observed, although violators were subject to harsh public punishment, and even the death sentence.

An account has been preserved that the Khīwan heir to the throne, Muḥammad Raḥīm, was for some time an inveterate smoker and drank too much wine. But upon becoming *khān* of Khīwa in 1806, he stopped both smoking and drinking. Moreover, he forbade his subjects to smoke tobacco and consume strong drink, ordering that violators have their mouths “torn open to the ears”. Desiring to extirpate the use of tobacco in the khanate, Muḥammad Raḥīm prohibited both the cultivation of the plant and its import from the Bukhāran emirate. But after finding these prohibitions quite ineffective, the *khān* had subsequently to permit tobacco-smoking [8]. Naturally, this led to the rapid and significant expansion of lands used for the cultivation of this profitable crop. Tobacco as a widespread plant and tobacco-smoking, of course, were well familiar to the compiler of our manuscript, who was, as was noted above, most likely a resident of Bukhārā.

Tobacco-smoking in the Muslim East was practiced with the aid of a long, serpentine tube inserted into a smoking apparatus called by various names: *qalyān* (قلیان), *nārgīla* (نارگیله), etc. The *qalyān* was a pipe apparatus for smoking tobacco in which smoke passed in bubbles through a vessel similar to a pitcher or carafe filled with water, cleansing it from particles of tobacco ash and other impurities. Earlier, vessels for the *qalyān* were made from coconut shells. This, incidentally, is the origin of the second name for the smoking apparatus: *nārgīla* (*nārgīl* is Persian for “coconut”).

In the Muslim part of India, where tobacco-smoking in the East began, the water apparatus for smoking was denoted by the Arabic word *ḥiṣā* (“box”). In Central Asia

The latter's duties included preparing the *qalyān* and presenting it to the ruler [9].

The author of the present article, until recently a heavy smoker himself, wholeheartedly concurs with the opinion of our Muslim author that “tobacco belongs among the deadly

poisons”. But to leave the assertion at that would be to slander tobacco. In moderate amounts, tobacco is undoubtedly a powerful stimulant and magically calming substance at the same time. As such, it will likely be with us for many years to come.

### Notes

1. All this information on the collection is based on the description of manuscript C 1841 provided by N. D. Miklukho-Maklaī, see his *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies), fasc. 3: historical writings (Moscow, 1975), No. 395, pp. 249–51.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

3. *Tārīkh-i Narshakhī*, manuscript C 1841, fol. 41a.

4. V. V. Bartol'd, “O nekotorykh vostochnykh rukopisiakh” (“On some Eastern manuscripts”), *Sochineniia* (Works) (Moscow, 1973), viii, pp. 343–4.

5. A. Olearii, *Podrobnoe opisanie puteshestviia gol'shtinskogo posol'stva v Moskoviiu i Persiiu v 1633, 1636 i 1639 godakh, sostavlennoe sekretarēm posol'stva Adamom Oleariem* (A Detailed Description of the Journey of the Holstein Embassy to Muscovy and Persia in 1633, 1636, and 1639, Drawn up by the Secretary of the Embassy, Adam Olearius), trans. from the German by P. Barsov (Moscow, 1870), p. 854.

6. I. K. Pavlova, *Khronika vremeni Sefevidov. Sochinenie Mukhammad-Masuma Isfakhami “Khulasat as-siḥar”* (A Chronicle of the Time of the Safavids. The Work *Khulāṣat al-siyar* by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Isfahānī) (Moscow, 1993), p. 36.

7. *Traktat Akhmada Donisha “Istoriia Mangytskoī dīnasti”* (Treatise of Aḥmad Dānīsh. “History of the Manghyt Dynasty”), translation, introduction, and notes by I. A. Nadzhafova (Dushanbe, 1967), p. 27.

8. N. Veselovskii, *Ocherk istoriko-geograficheskikh svedeniĭ o Khivinskom khanstve ot drevneishikh vremēn do nastoiashchego* (An Essay on Historical-Geographic Information on the Khīwan Khanate from the Most Ancient Times to the Present) (St. Petersburg, 1877), pp. 295–6.

9. V. Nalivkin, *Kratkaia istoriia Kokandskogo khanstva* (A Brief History of the Kokand Khanate) (Kazan, 1886), p. 116.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** *Tārīkh-i Narshakhī*, manuscript C 1841 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 41a, 25.5×15.0 cm.

**Fig. 2.** Excerpt from the edifying work “Plato's Instructions to Alexander”, the same manuscript, fol. 29b, 25.5×15.0 cm.