

CONTENTS

<i>EDITORIAL BOARD</i>	3
Lives Devoted to Learning	3
<i>TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH</i>	7
Val. Polosin. "All is Numbers"? An Unknown Numerical Component in the Design of Medieval Arabic Manuscripts	7
O. Scheglova. Lithograph Versions of Persian Manuscripts of Indian Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century	12
T. Sultanov. Authors and Authorship in Persian and Turkic Historical Writings	23
E. Vasilyeva. The First Persian, French and Russian Editions of the <i>Sharaf-nāma</i>	27
<i>TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION</i>	32
E. Rezvan. The Qur'ān and Its World: VIII/2. <i>West-Östlichen Divans</i> (the Qur'ān in Russia)	32
<i>PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT</i>	63
A. Khalidov. An Arabic Composite Manuscript of Tales from the Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies	63
<i>BOOK REVIEWS</i>	70

Front cover:

"The hunter sits atop a lion which has sunk its teeth into his elbow", miniature from manuscript A 448 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 24 b, 7.5×6.5 cm.

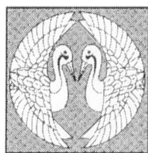
Back cover:

Plate 1. "A hunter stands with his hunting dog which grips in its teeth a cat it has dragged out its burrow", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 5 b, 8.0×7.5 cm.

Plate 2. "A dog licks blood off a wounded rabbit", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 66a, 7.5×7.0 cm.

Plate 3. "The lion devours one of the two bulls", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 57a, 7.0×6.5 cm.

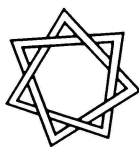
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LITHOGRAPH VERSIONS OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS OF INDIAN MANUFACTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It is a commonly known fact that the early-print book invariably reproduced the form of its manuscript copy. This is true of lithographs as well. The basic method of lithographic printing is that a manuscript text or design was drawn on a smooth surface of specially prepared limestone treated so that special ink or paint adhered only to the text or design to be printed on paper with the help of a simple press. The very method was invented in Germany in 1798 and spread throughout Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1816, a lithographic press started to be employed in the printing-office of the Russian General Staff. However, both in Europe and in Russia, lithographic printing remained a subsidiary method of book printing, employed mostly as a means of reproducing works of art.

The lithographic printing, however, took a different turn in Muslim lands, though not everywhere. The Arabs and Turks, who had earlier adopted type-set book printing, recognized the virtues of lithography only partly. As concerns Iran and India, the lithographic method of multiplying texts was phenomenally successful, and producing type-set books was forgotten for several decades. In Iran, a traditional attachment to calligraphy had that effect that lithographic printing took rapid growth. As for India, an additional factor was that lithographic printing permitted the simultaneous production of works in several languages. Nevertheless, lithographic printing did not supersede the traditional method of manuscript production. In Iran and India, for the entire nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, Persian lithographic and manuscript books coexisted.

In modern times, the lithograph book was, in a sense, another form of a customary manuscript. In viewing lithography as a variant of manuscript copies, their basic similarity draws our attention — lithograph books and manuscripts are based on a text, written in pen, on paper, and in the same hands as a manuscript copy. A book printed as a lithograph follows a manuscript in the organization of its material, in the layout of the text on the page, and in the graphic and artistic layout. The same rules, developed over the centuries-long history of the Persian manuscript tradition, were used in the case with lithography. This did not exclude the creative approach to the tradition, the employment of its achievements with certain transformations, and the evident search for new means of expression, from the simple to the elaborately stylized. But these transformations appeared only with the passage of time.

Let us examine the topic on the basis of examples of Persian lithograph books produced in the nineteenth-century India.

Lithographic book printing in India became widespread in the 1840s. Books in Persian were produced in lithograph in dozens of Indian cities, although permanent centres for publishing Persian books existed only in a few places. Throughout the nineteenth century, the most important of these remained Bombay, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Lahore. A significant number of editions also appeared in Delhi, Madras, and Agra. From the 1860s on, the main centre of lithographic book printing became the city of Lucknow, in the Audh principality, where a printing house was created which later grew into the internationally known firm of Munshī Nawal Kishōr (1995 marked the centenary of this outstanding Indian publisher's death).

Lithographic book printing in India reached its peak in the final third of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. One should bear in mind that Persian-language books were also set in India, but it was lithography that was connected with the activities of the Muslim community. A traditional Muslim education included training in the art of *inshā'* — the ability to express one's thoughts elegantly, which presumed a no less attractive form of presentation. Lithography provided a relatively simple and cheap means of producing multiple copies of a manuscript in any language.

As the accounts of contemporaries indicate, the success of lithographic printing in India was exceptional. In the first years of its existence, Indian lithographic books, like other early-print books, completely followed their manuscript copies. Early editions released in Bombay, Lucknow and Cawnpore, even in lithographic presses organized by the English, reproduced the appearance of Persian manuscripts. The reverse side of the first folio carried the beginning of the work, with an unfilled upper part of the page, which is characteristic of manuscripts. Sometimes the publishers' foreword was also present. As for information about the author, title, and place of production, it was, as in a manuscript, provided at the end in a colophon.

However, since lithographic printing spread during the 1830s and 1840s, the culture of European book printing could not but influence local practice. The process by which manuscript copies were transformed into print books, with their rules of graphic design and arrangement of material, advanced quite quickly. Already in the 1840s, in the main

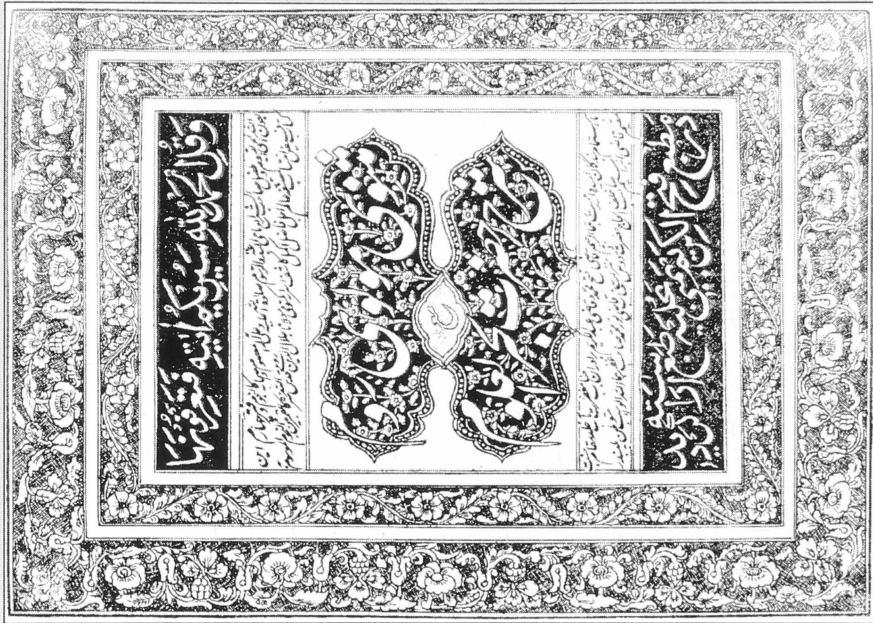


Fig. 2

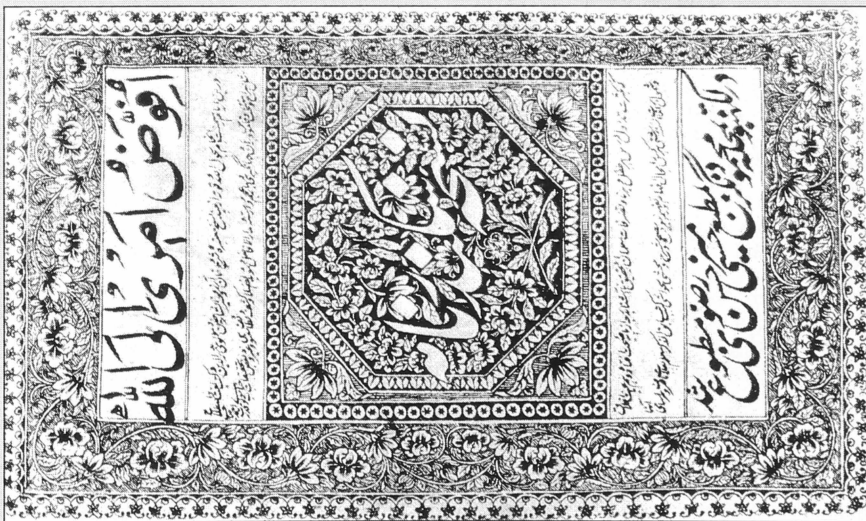


Fig. 1

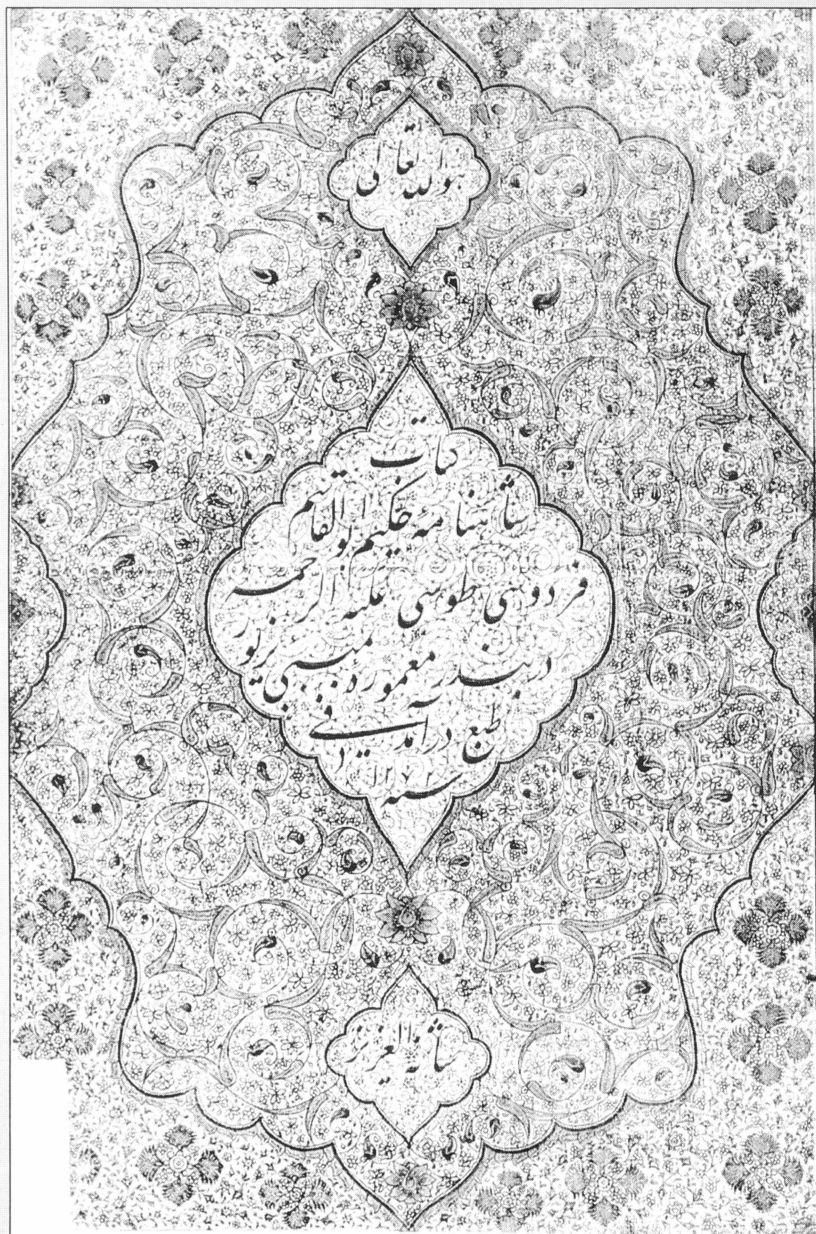


Fig. 3

printing centres, original means of formatting published material were being developed which distinguished lithograph editions from manuscript copies. While manuscripts lacked title pages, in lithograph books the title page became an indispensable attribute. The first page, which had remained blank in manuscripts, was now filled with information on author, title, place and time of production, once placed in colophons. An original feature of lithographs, which set them apart from European books, was that the text of the work began on the second page, that is, on the reverse side of the title page. The rules for formatting title pages were determined, for the most part, by the time and place of the book's production.

Lithographers in all printing centres attempted to find an original appearance for each new edition, varying ornamentation and geometric figures, types and dimensions of handwriting. Two basic types of formatting are seen in the general mass of lithographic production — Bombay and Nawalkishōr. The Bombay style took shape in the 1840s and followed to a greater extent the patterns of the manuscript book. The dominant element in the Bombay style was the vertical distribution on the central part of the title page of three medallions (circles, rhombi, ovals, etc. — the forms varied). The medallions were usually separate from each other, and the upper and lower were smaller. The central medallion contained the title of the work, name of the author, and sometimes the name of the publishers, although it frequently held only the title of the work. Written into the upper medallion were good wishes or religious formulas. The lower medallion indicated the place of printing (usually only the city) and the date of the book's appearance. Along the edge of the folio was an obligatory frame of one, two or more lines adorned with floral ornamentation. The origins of such medallions seem to come from the title page adornments which had once graced the embossed leather bindings of manuscripts. However, printers filled them with new content, providing information about the work's title, the author and place of production. The title page opened the book, and such title pages, frequently identical, separated the sections of multi-volume works (e.g., the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and others). This form for title pages was borrowed by Iranian lithographers. These principles for formatting the title page in Bombay lithographic editions were, for the most part, preserved throughout the course of the nineteenth century, although other approaches developed as well. In particular, the title page might feature only a single medallion (rhombus, circle, etc.).

An outstanding achievement of Indian printers is undoubtedly the style of formatting lithographic books developed in Lucknow in the 1840s. This style was also distinguished by the graphic format of the title page. But in this case the dominant element in the arrangement of material was a horizontally oriented figure surrounded by an amply ornamented frame which covered the surface of the page. We find in an edition of the *Sikandar-nāma*, produced in 1843 by the lithograph-press "Ḥasanī", one of the most novel approaches to formatting the title page. The owner of the press, Mīr Ḥasan Raḍawī, may have been the inventor, or one of the inventors, of a new way of formatting books.

In 1858, the lithography "Audh Akbar" of Munshī Nawal Kishōr began functioning in Lucknow. The young entrepreneur very successfully employed the achievements

of early Lucknow lithographers, adopting from them principles for formatting books. Though the first editions present a certain confusion of graphic design, by the 1860s basic principles had been developed and put into practice. Thus, a standard format came into being which allows us to distinguish without fail the books of Munshī Nawal Kishōr from among the general mass of other editions.

"Audh Akbar" was, in the nineteenth century, the most significant publishing house in the East in the size and diversity of its production. Thus, the Lucknow style came to be associated first and foremost with the publications of this lithography and one can, in a certain sense, term it the Nawalkishōr style. For several decades, this style attained in India the status of an accepted canon. It also exerted a significant influence on the graphic design of books produced by Central Asian lithographers.

The title page of Nawalkishōr books had the following format. The rectangle of the page was framed by a wide border filled with floral ornamentation. Inside this, three graphic components were clearly demarcated: two broad bands delimited by horizontal lines — one in the upper part of the page, another in the lower — and a central, ornamented section (covering approximately a third of the page). The upper band contained in large letters good wishes, the text of which, with rare exceptions, did not vary in the books of Munshī Nawal Kishōr. The lower band held a phrase, identical in all cases, which indicated that the book had been printed in the lithography of Munshī Nawal Kishōr. The exact place of production — Lucknow or Cawnpore (a branch of the publishing house functioned there beginning in the 1860s) — was provided in the colophon. Only in the final third of the nineteenth century can one find the name of the city written into the lower section of the title page. In the centre, the title of the work was written in large letters; it could be placed in a circle, a rectangle, an oval, an ellipse, a rhombus, etc. Moreover, between the upper and lower bands and the central frame were lines of text in a small hand. At the top was usually found a short description of the work's content. The line beneath the title provided the name of the author, translator, and occasionally the person who had prepared the publication. The author's name could also be given in the upper line. Nevertheless, the title pages of many editions contained only the good wishes, title of the work, and place of printing. An indication of the language was sometimes added to the title, for example, *Ṭūfī-nāma-yi farsī* (the *Ṭūfī-nāma* in Persian). Alongside, the date of publication could be indicated.

The Lucknow style of formatting title pages was adopted by Bombay lithographers and by publishers in Cawnpore, Delhi, and Lahore, each of whom introduced variations. Thus, Bombay lithographers considered it obligatory to rule the title page with a large number of horizontal lines. Bombay books indicated the names of the author, publishers, commentators, and customers, listing as well the city, lithography and year of printing.

For a time, at the end of the nineteenth century, titles in fanciful letters came into fashion. Many printers in Delhi, Cawnpore, and even Munshī Nawal Kishōr paid tribute to this fashion. But this style did not prove lasting and quickly disappeared.

Lithographers had at their disposal only two colours — white and black (red and green ink were used only in a few Nawalkishōr editions) — but they made artful use of them. It should be noted that the title page of each book was individual — ornaments and combinations of lines were not re-



Fig. 5

peated. A new title page was drawn up for each lithograph book. The succession of various handwriting styles — *thulth*, *ta'liq*, *nasta'liq*, *naskh* which were the very same styles employed by the creators of manuscript copies — provided an additional artistic effect. Besides, the reader could enjoy the effect of manuscript reading.

One can state that the level of artistry in the formatting of lithographic books by Indian printers in the second half of the nineteenth century was high.

It is important that Nawalkishōr style of title pages, while preserving Eastern patterns, followed the basic principle of a print book by providing as much significant information as possible on the title page. Indian printers strove to delineate graphically the various sections of the title page so that the reader could locate necessary information without delay: title, author, publisher, place of printing, etc. Each piece of information had its place on the title page, and the handwriting and its size distinguished the most important components, as determined by the publisher.

Despite the success of this style, with the passage of time new publishers naturally sought simpler ways of conveying the same information. A third method of formatting the title page appeared in lithograph editions. It was distinguished by extreme simplicity: in horizontal lines, without ruling or ornamentation, the same information was provided. In the upper part of the page — good wishes; in the centre, or closer to the top — the title; in the lower part — the publisher and place of publication. Only the dimensions of the letters (an echo of the manuscript tradition) distinguished the most important information: title, author's name, place of publication. The entire text was sometimes framed by simple ornamentation.

The title page of a lithographic book frequently had an '*unwān*', which is characteristic of manuscripts. Indian printers retained this important element of manuscript formatting. In Bombay editions we find an ornamented '*unwān*', and in a number of cases even lavishly adorned first two pages. In contrast to a manuscript book, whose '*unwān*' and the first folios decoration were in colour, a lithographic printing permitted only the reproduction of the design. In Nawalkishōr books, the reverse of the title page always presents a small '*unwān*' with an unimposing drawing, its simplicity standing in a certain contrast with the elaborate ornamentation of the title page. In time, many printers replaced floral ornamentation in the '*unwān*' with a combination of lines while retaining the traditional imposition by a third of half of the page.

The rules for the graphic formatting of pages — the arrangement of text, commentaries and glosses (*ḥāshiya*), pagination, and colophon format — were similar in Bombay, Lucknow and other editions, reflecting the canons of the manuscript tradition. Within the book, text was placed in a frame, while verses, as was accepted practice in manuscripts, were arranged in framed columns. Chapter titles were set off by the large size letters and type of handwriting (in Persian books, which were traditionally copied in *nasta'liq*, chapter titles were written in *naskh*). Glosses between lines and on the margins were in very small handwriting; marginal commentaries were written at a slant. The influence of European practice was present, in particular, in the obligatory pagination, although custodes were retained. In addition, above the border framing the text the title of the work, the volume, and sometimes the chapter title were indicated.

Some words should be said about the practice of publishing bilingual texts and arranging commentaries. The arrangement of basic text in the centre and notes or extensive commentary on the margins is not an innovation of lithographers, since such is the manuscript tradition. But what distinguishes Indian printers is their great mastery in the art of formatting such material. The text was located in the centre of the page and was written in large handwriting: *naskh* for Arabic works and *nasta'liq* for Persian was employed. The translation was located beneath the text of the original source in a form which bore the name *hamā'il al-matn*. The margins held commentary, sometimes two or more, and at times glosses. Abundant notes in the margins and between lines were accepted already in early Lucknow editions produced by many different lithographers. Furthermore, while a number marked an interpreted word and a note, a special sign indicated the end of it. In such publications, the page was entirely occupied. Although notes in the margins were copied in extremely small handwriting, the lithographer's artistry permitted one to read them without difficulty.

Notable successes in this field were attained by Bombay publishers from the Pulbandarī family and by lithographers from the Cawnpore publishing house of "Nizāmī", owned by Mīrẓā 'Abd al-Rahmān-khān b. Rawshan-khān, a publisher, commentator on current affairs, and author of anthologies. An important achievement of Munshī Nawal Kishōr was to fit very large works such as Khwāndamīr's *Rawḍat al-ṣafā* or Arabic and Persian dictionaries into a single volume. He did this with the aid of thin paper, small handwriting and lithographic artistry.

The end of a lithograph book followed its manuscript predecessor too. In a manuscript copy, the colophon contains the copyist's conclusion in which he indicates the date of the manuscript's completion. In lithograph books, the colophon is retained and remains an indispensable part of the work at all times. The content of the lithograph colophon was traditional: the date of the copy's completion, the names of those who ordered the edition and carried out the work, the time and place of lithographing. As in manuscripts, the amount of information varied.

In Persian manuscripts the final phrases were written in the form of a triangle where the base was filled with religious formulas. This graphic tradition was retained in litho-editions produced in many centres, including Bombay, but is absent in Nawalkishōr editions.

The lithograph book changed over time both in its external format and structure. The logic of development transformed the colophon into a publisher's afterword; the name of the copyist disappeared. In Nawalkishōr publications, the colophon became the afterword of the publishing collective, graphically separated from the author's text. In Bombay books, the publishers' text came to be placed in the lower part of the page in horizontal lines and was usually copied in large handwriting; the colophon was frequently located on a side margin.

The retention of the manuscript tradition in litho-editions is clearly evident in the illustration of texts. Illustrations were carried out in accordance with rules common to Muslim manuscript books. Publishers held to the repertoire of works which were traditionally equipped with illustrations; as in manuscripts, the same episodes were illustrated. Among such works were the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawīs, the poems of Nizāmī, the *Majālis al-'ushshāq* attributed to



Fig. 6

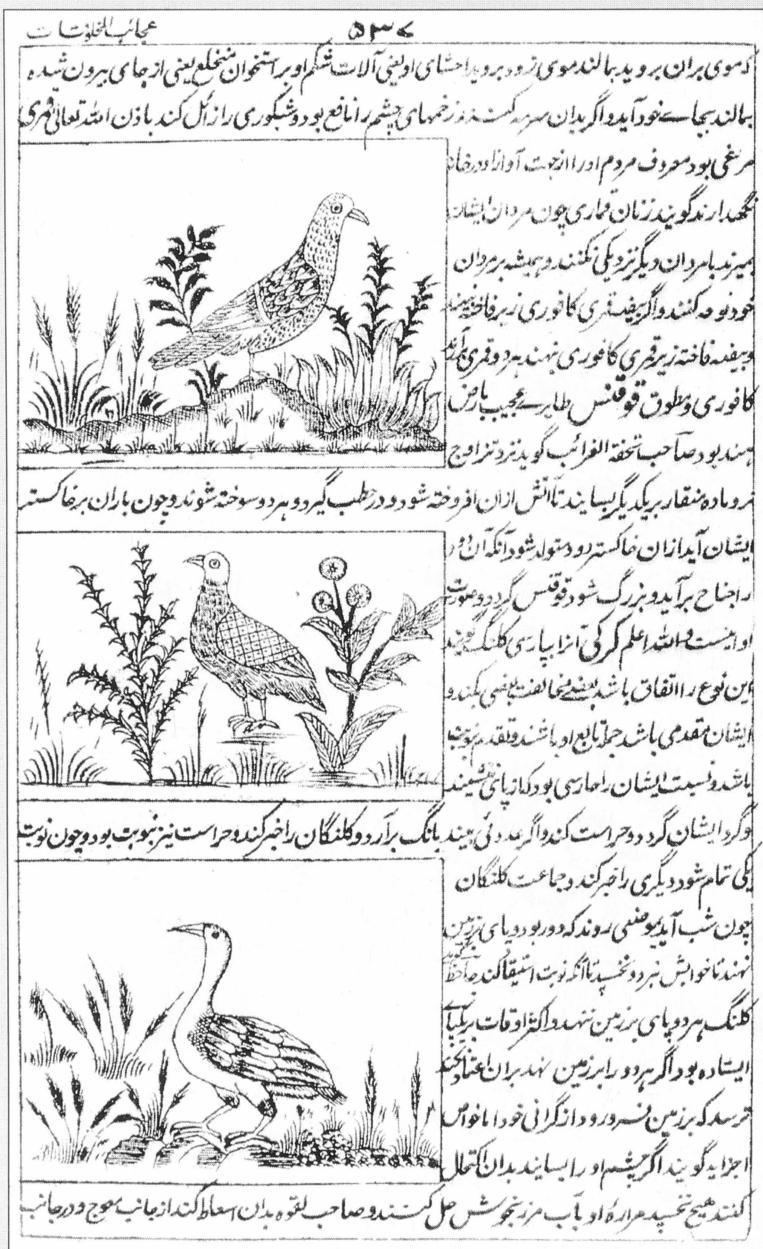


Fig. 7

Ḥusayn Baykara, the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī, cosmographic works, and anonymous prose.

Illustrations were carried out in accordance with the rules for miniatures, but it is evident that the graphic designs found in lithograph editions from the second half of the nineteenth century bear witness to a decline in the art of miniatures rather than to a worthy continuation of the tradition. We find fine illustrations to the *Shāh-nāma* performed on a solidly professional level in the edition of 1272/1855–56, which were released by the lithography of Dādū Miyān in Bombay. Worthy of attention and, possibly, separate discussion, is the illustrated edition of *Sa'dī's Gulistān* produced by Munshī Nawal Kishōr in 1886 and for which he invited an artist and granted him monopoly rights on re-publication. But these are exceptions to the general rule.

A few words should be said about bindings. The outward appearance of the binding and the material used for it follow the general trends of lithographic practice — from traditional to simpler and cheaper means. From hard pasteboard wrapped in leather with imprints on the covers to thin pasteboard wrapped in fabric, at times with imprints and leather on the back and corners, and after that to pasteboard glued with paper and even paper covers — thus did bindings change in lithographic book printing.

High-quality leather bindings were usually produced for large-format books. In this case, the bindings of certain editions were carried out on a high artistic level, for example, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣaf* (Bombay, lithography of Mīrzā Ḥasan Kāshānī, 1853), the *Shāh-nāma* noted above (lithography of Dādū Miyān).

In the final third of the nineteenth century, the cover becomes an indispensable component of Indian lithographic books. It was produced either from the same thin paper as the rest of the book, or from thicker paper. Covers were frequently fashioned from coloured paper — rose, green, orange, etc.

Lithograph editions of contemporary authors also followed the manuscript tradition, which related to the essence of this phenomenon, namely, the structure of the author's text and the degree of variation in a manuscript copy. The first pages of works by contemporary authors were structured in accordance with the same principles which governed medieval manuscripts: after the *basmala* praise to Allah and to the Prophet Muḥammad followed. Then the patron was indicated (if such existed), reasons for the work's composition were listed and the division of the work into sections or chapters was noted. As in a manuscript copy, the division into chapters indicated in the foreword did not always correspond to the divisions found in the edition. The table of contents was located by publishers outside of the main text only in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Even in editions produced by a publisher close to European practice such as Munshī Nawal Kishōr's "Audh Akhbar", the afterword to the book (*khātimat al-ṭib'*) or a favorable response (*taqīd*) were drawn up according to the same scheme, that is, first the praise to Allah, then to the

Prophet, after that to the patron or to Munshī Nawal Kishōr himself, and then the main information.

Although the lithograph book is a multiple reproduction of a written text and copies of a single edition were identical, one can sometimes notice the manuscript tradition of variations in litho-printing as well. For example, in the Bombay printing we have encountered copies of books which can be considered as unique. Owners of a lithography could stitch together and release in the binding of their publishing house sections of one work produced by lithography at various times by the same publisher. Sometimes they combined a part of their own edition with quires printed by a different publisher, creating convolutes.

In the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies we have encountered three books released by the related publishing houses "Ḥaydarī" and "Faṭḥ al-Karīm" in the 1870s and 1880s. These are two copies of the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Catalogue Nos. 1129 and 1130) and the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī (Catalogue No. 1016). One copy of the *Mathnawī* (No. 1129) brings together parts of an edition prepared in "Ḥaydarī" in 1292–1294/1875–1877 (beginning and end) and two quires, 3 and 4, from an edition released in the lithography of Mānakjī Adalji Fārsī in 1281–1282/November 1864 — January 1866. The other copy of the *Mathnawī* (No. 1130) is composed of quires printed in "Ḥaydarī" and "Faṭḥ al-Karīm" in 1300–1304/1882–1887. The *Shāh-nāma* also consists of parts lithographed in "Ḥaydarī" in various years (vols. 2–4); and the *Mulḥaqāt* to the *Shāh-nāma*, printed in 1298–1300/1881–82; and vol. 1 a bit later, in 1306–1307/1888–1889.

The copies cited here bear traces neither of reading nor of restoration, and there is no doubt that the convolutes were created in the publishing house itself. The collection of parts from various editions into a single product may have been coincidental, as additional copies may have been cobbled together from remnants and sold off.

We find a similar phenomenon in Iranian lithographic book production. The same St. Petersburg collection contains copies of the same editions with texts of varying completeness (the *Tārīkh-i Qājārīya* of Sipihr), with a varying quantity of documents appended to the text (the *Fārs-nāma* of Fasā'ī) and even with two different titles for the work on the title page of one edition (the second variant was inserted into a bound volume).

To sum up, the Persian lithographic book in India, while retaining the traditions of the manuscript copy, also reflects the transformation of that tradition as it was altered and adapted to shifting conditions. This testifies to the great ability of a national culture of book publishing to develop and perfect its methods. The feature of the phenomenon is that litho-printing took place in the nineteenth century, when the history of book printing already stretched for several centuries. For this reason, the departure of the lithographed book from the manuscript copy in form and nature occurred more quickly than in the history of European book printing.

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Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Sikandar-nāma*. Title page of lithograph No. 1093 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Lucknow, the lithograph-press "Ḥasanī", 1259/1843.

Fig. 2. *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Title page of lithograph No. 1130 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Bombay, the lithograph-press "Faṭḥ al-Karīm", 1300—04/1882—87.

Fig. 3. *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. Title page of lithograph No. 1914 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the lithograph-press of Dādū Miyān, Bombay, 1272/1855—56.

Fig. 4. *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. First page of the text and commentary on the margins of lithograph No. 1130 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Bombay, the lithograph-press "Faṭḥ al-Karīm", 1300—04/1882—87.

Fig. 5. *Majālis al-'ushshāq*. Illustration to lithograph No. 235 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, p. 172, the lithograph-press of Nawal Kishōr, Lucknow, 1293/1876.

Fig. 6. *Ma'lūmāt al-afāq*. Illustration to lithograph No. 111 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, p. 136, the lithograph-press of Nawal Kishōr, Lucknow, 1873.

Fig. 7. *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*. Illustration to lithograph No. 109 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, p. 537, the lithograph-press of Nawal Kishōr, Lucknow, 1313/1895.