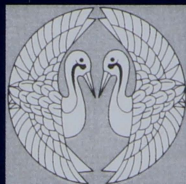


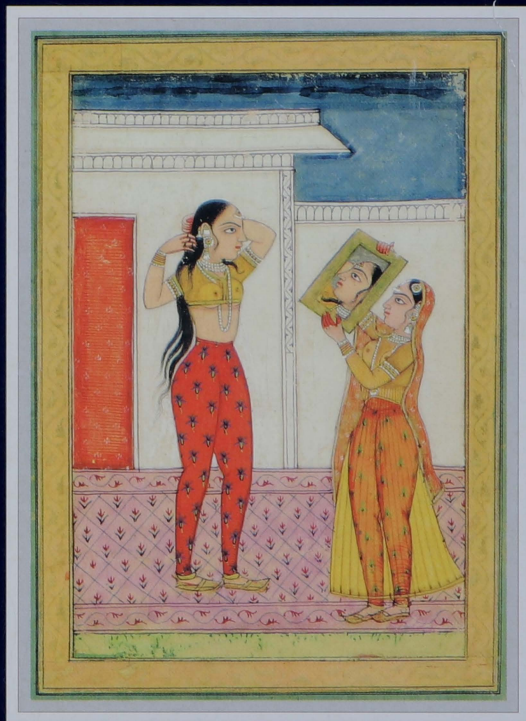
THESA PUBLISHERS
IN CO-OPERATION WITH
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 7 No. 2 June 2001



THESA
St. Petersburg

CONTENTS

<i>TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH .</i>	3
V. Kushev. The Dawn of Pashtun Linguistics: Early Grammatical and Lexicographical Works and Their Manuscripts .	3
M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya. A Sanskrit Manuscript on Birch-Bark from Bairam-Ali. II. <i>Avadāna</i> and <i>Jātaka</i> (Part 3) .	10
M. Rezvan. Qur'ānic Fragments from the A. A. Polovtsov Collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies .	20
 <i>PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS .</i>	36
E. Rezvan. Oriental Manuscripts of Karl Fabergé. II: <i>Rāgamālā</i> Miniatures of the Album (<i>Muraqqa'</i>) (Part One) .	36
D. Morozov. Forgotten Oriental Documents .	46
 <i>PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT .</i>	50
I. Petrosyan. A Late Copy of the <i>Gharīb-nāma</i> by 'Āshiq-pāshā	50
A. Khalidov. A Manuscript of an Anthology by al-Ābī.	60
 <i>ORIENTAL ICONOGRAPHY</i>	64
O. Akimushkin. Arabic-Script Sources on Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād	64
 <i>BOOK REVIEWS .</i>	69

Front cover:

"Desvarāṭi (Varāri, Varādi) Rāgini", watercolour, gouache and gold on paper.
Deccan, second half of the 18th century. Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Karl Fabergé collection
at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 25 a, 11.5 × 17.0 cm.

Back cover:

"Lalita Rāgini", watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Deccan, second half of the 18th century.
Same Album, fol. 34 b, 13.5 × 23.0 cm.

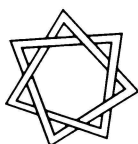
THESA PUBLISHERS
IN CO-OPERATION WITH
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 7 No. 2 June 2001



75ESA
St. Petersburg

Manuscripta Orientalia

Efim A. Rezvan (St. Petersburg), Editor-in-Chief,
Irina Ye. Petrosyan (St. Petersburg), Deputy Editor-in-Chief,
Edward N. Tyomkin (St. Petersburg), Editor,
Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya (St. Petersburg), Editor,
Maria E. Rezvan (St. Petersburg), Executive Officer

Advisory Board

Yuri A. Petrosyan, Chairman (St. Petersburg)
Oleg Akimushkin (St. Petersburg) — *Malachi Beit-Arié* (Jerusalem) —
Stefano Carboni (New York) — *Ronald Emmerick* (Hamburg) —
Boris Gidasov (St. Petersburg) — *Franchesca von Habsburg* (Lugano) —
Tapani Harviainen (Helsinki) — *György Kara* (Budapest) — *Anas Khalidov* (St. Petersburg) —
Eugenij Kychanov (St. Petersburg) — *Jan Mayer* (Frankfurt/M) — *Lev Menshikov* (St. Petersburg) —
Tatsuo Nishida (Kyoto) — *Giovanni Stary* (Venezia)

English Editor

Daniel Kimmage (St. Petersburg)

Technical Editor

Anna Zhogina (St. Petersburg)

Photography

Elena Denissova (St. Petersburg)

Copyright

© Copyright 2001 by Thesa, Russia

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publisher.

Subscriptions

Subscription orders may be made directly to the publisher — Thesa, 14 Dobrolyubov Str., office 358, 197198 St. Petersburg, Russia (tel./fax: + 7 (812) 238 9594; e-mail: bi@thesa.ru).

Subscription orders are accepted for complete volumes only, orders taking effect with the first issue of any year. Claims for replacement of damaged issues or of issues lost in transit should be made within ten months after the appearance of the relevant issue and will be met if stocks permit. Back issues are available.

For further information and subscription forms, please, visit our web site under: <http://orient.thesa.ru>

Журнал зарегистрирован Северо-западным региональным управлением Госкомитета РФ по печати 24. 03. 2000 г.

Регистрационный номер: П 4312.

Учредитель и издатель — ООО «Теза»

197198, Санкт-Петербург, ул. Добролюбова, д. 14, офис 358.

Главный редактор — Е. А. Резван

Телефон: + 7 (812) 312 3606; факс: + 7 (812) 311 5101; e-mail: rezvan@thesa.ru

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

V. V. Kushev

THE DAWN OF PASHTUN LINGUISTICS: EARLY GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL WORKS AND THEIR MANUSCRIPTS

One finds the first attempt at a study of the Pashto language in the introductory section of one of the oldest works in this language to have come down to us in manuscript form, the treatise *Khayr al-bayān* by Bāyazīd Anṣarī (1525—1579). Written in the mid-sixteenth century, the work is represented by only two manuscripts, one copied in 1061/1651 (it was discovered in the twentieth century and changed hands several times; today at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) [1] and another in 1079/1668 (today in the Salarjang Museum in Hyderabad, India) [2]. It was published in Peshawar (1967) and Kabul (1975) on the basis of the first manuscript. The introductory part of the treatise contains instructions for conveying the sounds of the Afghan language in writing and a full list of the letters of the alphabet. This leads one to believe that the treatise was the first work to be written in the alphabet employed there, which is confirmed by a remark by one of Bāyazīd's pupils and followers, the poet Dawlat Lawāñay: "The Afghan language was difficult, no one read or wrote in it, and he (Bāyazīd — V. K.) created 13 letters for it" [3]. G. Morgenstierne, a great authority in Iranian studies, believed that Bāyazīd created a "special writing system for Pashto". His view is shared by contemporary philologists at the Pashto Academy of Peshawar University [4].

Later, the writing system and suggestions for its improvement were treated by Bāyazīd's junior contemporary and ideological opponent Ākhūnd Darweza (1533—1638) and his son, 'Abd al-Karīm, in their joint work *Makhzan al-islām* [5]. The best-known Pashtun literary figure, statesman, and military leader Khushhāl-khān Khatak (1613—1689) also contributed to the subject. It was he who proposed special graphemes for specific sounds in Pashto [6]. But actual linguistic works with an investigation of grammar and lexicon began to appear only in the second half of the eighteenth century. The first of them were elementary and relatively primitive teaching materials and conversation books. The earliest of them was the Pashto textbook *Ma'rifat al-afghānī* ("Learning of the Afghan Language") by mullā Pīr Muḥammad Kākār in 1186/1773, a well-known poet who also gained fame as a preacher and theologian and was invited by Aḥmad-shāh Durrānī (1747—1773) to be the teacher and tutor of members of the Shah's family. He presented his work to the Shah's brother Sulaymān during this prince's brief reign.

Ma'rifat al-afghānī was published in 1341/1923 in Lahore to fill an order by Kandahar book-traders and was reissued in 1356/1977 in Kabul, edited and with a forward by Ḥabībballāh Rafī'. The edition follows the text of a manuscript dated to 1230/1815 held today in the collection of the Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan [7]. The work consists of 10 chapters, but the main body of the text begins with the fifth chapter following versified glorification of Allah, the Prophet Muḥammad, his *aṣḥābs*, and the reigning ruler. The fifth chapter contains phrases and words often used by rulers of various levels, grandees, dignitaries, and *dīwān* officials (on drawing up *firmāns* and other documents, rewards and punishments, the organization of meetings, etc.). The sixth chapter explains works and expressions used in everyday life (commerce and prices, agriculture, gardening, irrigation, etc.). The seventh chapter treats clothing, food, and drink. The eighth gives words and phrases used by nomads, livestock-breeders, and shepherds. The ninth chapter contains hunting terms. The tenth chapter is a general dictionary with five thematic sections and one alphabetical section. It is clear that the *Ma'rifat al-afghānī* is not a grammar, as some researchers have presented it, but a textbook whose author pursued the aim to create a guide for studying the Afghan language. The Pashto-speaking prince Sulaymān probably had little need to use it; it was more likely intended for Dari-speaking governors, city heads, courtiers, and officials who were supposed to learn the basis of Pashto syntax and morphology in order to draw up court documents and official correspondence so that Pashto could become the language of administration and other matters in the then capital. These goals dictated the content and structure of the textbook for adult students. It presumed that grammar would be absorbed from phrases and individual words given in various grammatical forms. A sentence of identical content is given with the verb in more than 20 forms for various persons, numbers, and tenses. Although the work is hardly a scholarly achievement even by the standards of the time, it is of interest for the author's methodology and has great practical significance. In our day, it can be viewed as a relic of cultural life in the administrative, economic, and literary centre of the Durrānī state.

Somewhat later, two works of relatively large scale appeared. The first of them, entitled *Āmad-nāma-yi afghānī* ("Introduction to the Afghan Language"), contains paradigms for verb conjugation and a dictionary of the most widely used words. The grammatical part consists of alphabetically arranged chapters; for each verb we find the infinitive, present and past tenses, participles of both voices, imperative, and forms for all persons in singular and plural. The end of each chapter enumerates several other words beginning with the same letter with Persian equivalents. The dictionary section includes nouns of kinship, parts of the body, animals, birds, etc. and closes with the months of the solar year. Judging by the orthography and grammatical forms in the only extant manuscript (supposedly autograph, today in the India Office collection), produced at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Mustafabad (Rampore), the author of the work was a native of the Eastern Pashtun region [8]. The second work, composed like the first at the turn of the eighteenth — nineteenth centuries, is the *Kitāb-i khiyālāt-i zamānī dar lughāt-i zabān-i afghānī* ("Book of Reflections on Words in the Afghan Language"); it remained unfinished. The extant manuscript (from the same collection) is likely the author's rough draft and was produced during the rule of Zamān-shāh (1793—1801). Only the third chapter was written in full: a Pashto-Persian dictionary. In the author's conception, the first chapter was to contain two sections on the evolution of the alphabet; the completed part provides the author's observations on Afghan writers' specific uses of the alphabet and cites a "code" on the alphabet from the *Makhzan al-islām*. Apparently, the work's second chapter was to treat grammar, but it remained unwritten [9].

The grammatical and lexicographical works prepared by Pashtun philologists in India in the early nineteenth century differ from their predecessors in the incomparably greater size, richness, diversity, and alphabetic volume of their lexicon and their detailed, in-depth investigation of grammar. These works display an utterly different structure and methodology for conveying lexicographic material thanks to the authors' familiarity with the lexicographical traditions of India and Iran, use of interpretive dictionaries drawn up by Indian and Iranian lexicographers over the centuries. Besides, this new — in comparison with works from the eighteenth century — approach to describing grammatical categories as formal paradigms indicates the compilers' knowledge of European literature and ability to understand, interpret, and describe independently the structure and functioning of Pashto.

Several factors stimulated the appearance of dictionaries, grammatical essays and commentaries. First, there was the necessity of identifying, analyzing, and generalizing linguistic facts, for by that time a large number of works in Pashto were in circulation in manuscript form. Second, there was the need to establish to the greatest possible degree certain standards for grammar and usage, as this body of texts was fairly diverse in terms of dialect; norms were also desirable for the oral form of literary speech to encompass the main dialect groups, if not the entire spectrum of dialects. Third, we find a desire to create materials both for the Afghans themselves and for their foreign neighbors, mainly Dari- and Hindi-speakers. Political motives in the appearance of these works, or at least some of them, were also of importance. The first in the series, *Riyāḍ al-mahabbat* (1221/1806–07), was written at the order

of British authorities (East India Company); the next, *Farhang-i irtidāʿī* (1225/1810), for the Indian raja Pīray-Laʿl, dedicated to the "lord of the sword and pen Nāzīm al-dawla Sayf al-mulūk Dūst-dār-khān Mister Archibald Seton Bahādur Shāhāmāt Jang"; another, *ʿAjāʾib al-lughāt*, drawn up by the brother of the first work's author, was a continuation of *Riyāḍ al-mahabbat*.

The compiler of *Riyāḍ al-mahabbat*, Nawwāb Maḥabbat[allāh]-khān Shāhbāz-i Jang, born into the tribe of Barēts, was the fourth son of a major military and political figure, leader of a group of Afghan tribes in India grouped together under the name Rohilla, Ḥāfiẓ al-Mulḥ Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat-khān Bahādur [10]. Setbacks in military actions against one of the Muslim rulers in India, Shujāʾ al-Dawla, led to the leader's death (1188/1774). All members of his family, including Maḥabbat-khān, were taken captive. In 1775, they were freed by the British resident in Lucknow, Bristow, after which Maḥabbat settled there to serve the English for the rest of his life (he received a pension from them). He learned Hindustani — his literary mentor and teacher for this language was Mīrzā Jaʿfar ʿAlī ḥadrat — Persian, which he studied with a certain Makīn, and English. In Lucknow he wrote a *mathnawī* in Hindustani *Sīsī u Panū*, or *Asrār-i Maḥabbat — dīwāns* in Pashto, Persian, and Hindustani. Finally, not long before his death, he created his main work on the grammar of the Afghan language with a Pashto-Persian dictionary at the behest of Colonel Ṣaḥīr al-Mulḥ Muṣṭafā al-Dawla John Collins and the governor of Lucknow, Nawwāb Ashraf al-Umarā sir George Hilario Barlow, Brt. [11]. It is of interest that earlier, his brothers sometimes came to him who after the death of their father was head of the family to speak in secret in their native tongue in violation of a prohibition.

Not one of Maḥabbat-khān's works has been published, nor any of the linguistic works of his contemporaries, despite their significance for both Iranian studies and Indology. Moreover, the European scholars who used these works as important sources did not even deign to describe them: Maḥabbat-khān's work, which was apparently put to practical use almost immediately, soon drew the attention of European scholars as the most valuable storehouse of information about the Afghan language. The greatest use of it was made by the Russian Academician B. A. Dorn, who drew up the first grammar of Pashto in Europe and later acquired for the Asiatic Museum a copy of the manuscript from the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta [12].

Maḥabbat-khān divided his work into two parts. The first, entitled *Dar mushtaqqāt* ("On Derived Forms"), treats verb conjugation; the second, called *Dar mutafarriqāt* ("Various"), is a Pashto-Persian dictionary. The first part provides in detailed descriptive style with reading indications the conjugations of each person in both genders and numbers for each tense and aspect of the active and passive of 243 verbs in alphabetical order; the section is divided into 28 chapters (*rawḍa*), one for each initial letter. The chapters are divided into subsections (*faṣḥ*); each of them contains verbs with identical second letters. The totality of forms for one tense-aspect category is brought together in a *baḥṭh*. The work presents the infinitive, plusquamperfect, hypothetical, perfect, past tense of the perfective and imperfective aspects, present and future of the subjunctive, imperative: all of these forms are also given in the passive and with negation. In a number of cases, personal forms,

especially the third person, display significant deviations from the "standard", as they are oriented toward dialects of the Eastern group. Words in the dictionary are also arranged in accordance with the first and second letters, producing a different structure than that found in many Persian dictionaries based on the first and last letter or letters.

Maḥabbat-khān was the first to attempt a description of the sounds in Pashto absent in Arabic and Persian. He compares the pronunciation of retroflexes with the pronunciation of similar sounds in Hindi; the description of other sounds is approximate and does not correctly indicate articulation: he says of *ṭṣ* that its pronunciation is between [j] and [ch], and that medio-lingual *s/h* is between Arabic [x] and Indian [kh]. Maḥabbat-khān was also the first, in both Eastern and Western linguistic literature, to establish the presence of the objective (ergative) construction in Pashto. In this he was ahead of European researchers; moreover, many persisted in viewing this construction as an unusual form of the passive. In clarifying the conjugation of transitive verbs, the author wrote: "This is the rule for transitive verbs which agree with masculine or feminine, singular or plural, and in number in accordance with the object, while the subject can be masculine or feminine, singular or plural". The work has no special section on pronouns, but the paradigms of both voices and aspects allow one to determine all personal pronouns in direct and oblique cases, as well as enclitic pronouns. There we find the forms of several categories that are not presented directly: the copula, from the paradigm for the perfect passive, also from the passive the conjugation of the helping verb *shwāl* ("to become"), not given independently, etc. *Riyād al-maḥabbat* lacks sections on nominal parts of speech, but much information on nouns and adjectives — gender, number, case — can be gleaned from the dictionary entries. There are interesting cases where the author fails to find a Persian equivalent or synonym for an Afghan word and is compelled to provide an extended interpretive description or an Indian equivalent, sometimes using both methods simultaneously: for example, "*ghobal* is the place where they pour out cut down cereals and drive bulls across them to separate the grain from the straw, called *dā'in* in Hindustani".

Though he provided on the whole a fairly systematic exposition of the Pashto verb, Maḥabbat-khān intentionally ignored some of its forms and did not set himself the task of separately describing nominal parts of speech. But, as we have seen, some of these gaps are filled by the verb paradigms in the first part and in the dictionary part: personal and enclitic pronouns, verb endings for the first and second persons in the past tense of transitive verbs, all forms of the copula, case, gender, and number of nouns and adjectives.

It seems to us that the work is important not only as the first lexical-grammatical study of Pashto, but also in part as a description of one of its dialects: in phonology and grammar, the work coincides with the Eastern group of dialects spoken by tribes of the Kharshbūn sub-branch of the Saṛbanī branch: speakers of this dialect were the authors of the well-known Afghan works referred to by both Maḥabbat-khān and Ilahyār-khān, author of the dictionary '*Ājā'ib al-lughāt*' (see n. 15).

This four-language dictionary, to this day unpublished and unstudied, was drawn up in 1228/1813. The British Library possesses two manuscripts — Or. 399 and Or. 4491 — the first of which was likely made during the author's life in

1819. Another copy is held in one of the largest collections of Pashto manuscripts, the Riza Library in Rampore [13].

In the introduction, Ilahyār-khān provides more detail than his brother on the family's genealogy, going to the fifth generation. The family was descended from the Badalzī clan of the Kotakhel subdivision of the Baṛets tribe of the Saṛbanī branch, one of the oldest branches of the Pashtun genealogical tree. "Under my father's rule", he writes, "many Afghans of each *khel* came to India from the *wilāyat* (the original Pashtun lands — V. K.), so that in its abundance of Afghans, India strove to supercede the *wilāyat*". Imprisoned, surrounded by a foreign language, the brothers tried not to forget their native tongue and made efforts to perfect their knowledge of it. Ilahyār writes that he conversed frequently with Afghans, read, studied with an *ustād*; hence, he claims that "in my knowledge of Pashto, its words and meanings, I gave no ground to the best specialists in the language, both those born in India and those born in the *wilāyat*". After the move to Luckhnow, the author's only chance to speak Pashto was with his brothers, but a subsequent move to Bareilly deprived him of those constant meetings. He would come to Luckhnow for only one or two months a year to speak with Maḥabbat-khān. Thirty-six years passed — Ilahyār continues — and many words began to fade in his memory; after the death of his elder brother in 1808, he decided to write down everything that had remained in his memory "for my descendants and for all the Afghans of India, for it is necessary to understand and know one's language to grasp one's essence and nobility, so that it be clear to which kin and tribe a person belongs and what his descent is. The author belongs to the tribe of Saṛbanī, and therefore he gave preference to the lexicon of his ancestors, leaving aside the language of other tribes except for those words that are common or necessary to all" [14].

In the dictionary entries, the author mentions 26 Persian dictionaries that he used in his work, drawn up between 1220 and 1736. References to the *Kashf al-lughāt* (1543/4) and *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (1608/9) predominate [15]. In turn, the '*Ājā'ib al-lughāt*' served as a source for other lexicographers; in particular, it was used by H. L. Raverty in drawing up his Pashto-English dictionary.

In the introduction, Ilahyār explains the specific characteristics of Pashto writing and phonetics, claiming that they are observed in the orthography and reading "accepted among the inhabitants of the *wilāyat*, Ākhūnd Darweza, Ākhūnd Qāsim, and other authors of prose and poetic works known and read by the '*ulamā*' of the *wilāyat*" [16]. Since the verb was treated in detail by Maḥabbat, Ilahyār in his introduction and in dictionary entries gives only basic information about nominal parts of speech. For the first time, we find a systematic presentation of nouns in five types in the masculine and four types in the feminine depending on the formation of the plural; syntactic means of expressing the plural are also given.

An important part of the introduction is the author's proposed classification of Pashto dialects, which divides them into three groups, indicates the boundaries of Pashtun settlement and the territorial extent of each dialect group and phonetic isoglosses that form the basis for dialectic division. One should note that in European studies the simple and evident two-part classification of dialects appeared significantly later. A tripartite division, coinciding with that determined by Ilahyār, was only established 150 years later,

میشود سه نقطه در تحت او نهاده چه میشود
 و چون ثقیل تر میکرد سه نقطه بر فوق او نهاده
 خه میشود و گاهی **دال** چون ثقیل میکرد در جز مک
 مرکب در تحت او ایراد کرده می آید **دال** میشود
 و گاهی **ز** مهمله چون ثقیل میکرد در جز مک
 مرکب در تحت او ایراد کرده می آید میشود و گاهی
ز معجمه چون اندک ثقیل میکرد سه نقطه
 بر فوق او نهاده میشود و چون ثقیل تر میکرد
 یک نقطه بر فوق او و یک نقطه در تحت
 او نهاده میشود و گاهی **شین** معجمه چون
 ثقیل میکرد در نیز یک نقطه بر فوق او و یک نقطه
 در تحت او نهاده **س** میشود بدان ای عزیز
 که در اشعار افغانی شعراء ایشان چند لانی

مبالغه

Fig. 1

بیدارند میگردید در جواب صاحب دلائل مناقب ممدوح لب بنطق کشد
 که اگر چه در کوالف زبان فرسنگ افغانی کجاست دانش دانش پژوهان
 مرتب نکرده به مخلص به توضیح قواعد این زبان حتی الدمهکان نخواهد گونشید
 لهذا این مصنف این که مولوم بحجت خان ولد حافظ الملک حافظ رحمت خان
 بهادر معفور قوم افغان بزرگ است با سماع آواز هکله دانی و سخن نهی و قدر شناسی
 نواب مستطاب معلى القاب اشرف الدمر اوسه جارج هلد و بار لوبورد
 کورنر خیرل بهادر که طبع و اندیش ب دلوار پسند و دقیقه شناس است عقده ماله
 واکو ده و دین دکا اش از خرد و دلا کهران دانش اسس کوی سبقت ربور
 بطریق حروف تهجی لغات زبان افغانی بر این قسم ترتیب داده که این رساله
 مشتمل است بر دو باب باب اول در مشتقات باب ثانی در متفرقات
 و هر واحد متضمن برست و هشت روضه و هر روضه منقسم بر فصول و ابجاث
 هر قدر که باشد و فصول را مفید کردم بحرفیکه متصل حرف اول است و حرف
 آخر کلیه تلفظ نشدم چرا که حروف آخر کلمات درین زبان اکثر لدم دمای
 ظاهر و نهایی مخفی و یا تحتانی موقوف و محمول میباشد پس بر آوردن نعت
 طالب را مشغول میشد و این مختصر را بر باض المحبت مولوم ساجم بقیم و اوق
 الیحد

Fig. 2

in the 1960s; still later, dialectological work led to the identification of a fourth group [17].

The dictionary was primarily intended for the Afghans of India who needed to know Hindustani, although, as the author notes on many occasions, he was driven mainly by a desire to collect and preserve for future generations of Pashtuns the lexicon of their native language. Naturally, the work, with its word-list in alphabetical order according to the Indian words, was also intended for foreign readers for translations into Afghan, Persian, and Arabic. Ilahyār tries to find in each of these languages synonyms to translate the word in question, often resorting to extended explanations, and occasionally to examples from Afghan and Persian poetry. The Hindustani word-list takes into account the lexicon of the Kather region and its cities — Hafizabad (Pilibhit), Bareilly, Aonla, and others. Moreover, the lexicon of rural locations written down by the compiler, including agricultural terms, reflects, in his words, the speech of peasant informants.

In 1225/1810, three years after *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* and three years earlier than *ʿAjāʾib al-lughāt*, Nawwāb Muḥammad-Irtidā-khān, the son of Nawwāb Amān-khān of the ʿUmārkhel tribe, drew up the Pashto-Persian-Hindustani dictionary *Farhang-i irtidāʿī* (see above). It remained virtually unknown, surviving in a single manuscript copy [18], and escaped the attention of European Pashto scholars. Unaware of Maḥabbat's work, or choosing to ignore it, Irtidā-khān expresses regret that before him no one had deigned to write about the Afghan language; he hopes that his work will fill this gap. But the work is inferior to those of Maḥabbat and Ilahyār in structure and execution; it is closer

to the first dictionaries and grammars of the late eighteenth century: its dictionary section consists of thematic sections, while the grammar presents only the basic categories of the verb.

The early nineteenth century saw the appearance of yet another work, a small five-language (Persian-Pashto-Kashmiri-English-Hindustani) dictionary intended for purely practical use, the *Afrīdī-nāma* or *Farhang-i Afrīdī*, drawn up around 1231/1815 by the Afghan poet and ʿālim Qāsim ʿAlī-khān Afrīdī, who knew Turkī as well.

Subsequent grammatical and lexicographical works by Afghan authors dated to the 1860–90s were written after the appearance of solid European studies and represent the second stage in the development of Pashto language studies; their study is beyond the limits of the present article. The best of them are *Ghuncha-yi roh* and *Tuḥfat al-amīr* (1280/1863) by *mawlawī* Nūr Muḥammad Afghān-i Qandahārī, who also is the author of a work on the history of Afghanistan in Persian. In the manuscript, he calls himself Ḥāfiẓ Nūr Muḥammad Nūrī Qandahārī Hotak.

The dictionaries of the Afghan language presented here also form an organic part of Persian lexicography. Moreover, they could draw the attention of Indologists. It is significant that among the works under review there is not one interpretive (Pashto-Pashto) dictionary and not one grammar in Pashto. Interpretations of words and grammatical explanations are given in Persian, no matter where the works were composed in the territories where Pashto was spoken, from Kandahar to the central regions of Northern India.

Notes

1. G. Morgenstierne, "Notes on an old Pashto manuscript, containing the Khair al-bayān of Bāyazīd Anṣārī", *New Indian Antiquary*, II (1939–40), pp. 566–74; D. N. Mackenzie, The Khayr ul-bayān. — *Indo-Iranica* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 134–40; V. V. Kushev, *Afganskaia rukopisnaia kniga (o cherki afganskoī pis'mennoī kul'tury)* (Manuscript Afghan Book: Essays on Afghan Written Culture) (Moscow, 1980), pp. 31, 120–1, 172; M. S. Pelevin, "Pashto (Afghan) manuscripts from the State Library of Berlin", *Peterburgskoe vostoikovedenie*, 6 (1994), pp. 339–42. For publications of *Khayr al-bayān*, see n. 3.

2. *Dō Hind dō kitābkhāno pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskhē yā dō Hind dō dīno kitābkhāno dō pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskhō fihrist*, mu'allif Zalmy Hewādmāl (English title – Catalogue of Pashto Manuscripts in Indian Libraries by Zalmy Hewādmāl) (Kabul, 1363/1984), pp. 9–10, 207–14.

3. *Khayr al-bayān*, taṣnīf Bāyazīd Anṣārī, tartīb, tadwīn aw hawāshī Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Quddūs Qāsimī peẓandgaw Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Qādir (Peshawar, 1967), pp. 50, 65; *Khayr al-bayān dō Bāyazīd Ros'hān*, sarīza ʿAbd al-Hayy Ḥabībī, dō Bāyazīd Ros'hān yādawāna ʿAbd al-Raʿuf Benawā, dō Khayr al-bayān likdūd aw lughatnāma ʿAbd al-Shakūr Rashād. Dō Ḥabībullah Rafīʿ aw Zalmī Hewādmāl po ihtimām (Kabul, 1353/1934–35), p. 63.

4. Morgenstierne, *op. cit.*: *Khayr al-bayān*, taṣnīf Bāyazīd Anṣārī, p. 66; Kushev, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–5.

5. *Makhzan*, taṣnīf Ākhūnd Darweza-Bābā, muqaddama sayyid Taqwīm al-Haqq Kākā-khel (Peshawar, 1969), pp. 137–8; Kushev, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–9; manuscript B 2483 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 251 a.

6. Kuliyāt-i *Khushḥāl-khān Khaīak*, sara dō muqaddama aw hawāshī dō Dost Muḥammad Kāmil Muḥmand, dwayom dḡal (Peshawar, 1960), pp. *alif*–zā; Ḥabībullah Rafīʿ, "Zandzīrī yā Khaṭṭī-nāma dō Khushḥāl-khān Khaīak tījād", *Kābul*, No. 744 (appendix); Kushev, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 110–1.

7. Pīr Muḥammad Kākār, *Ma'rifat al-afghānī*, dō Ḥabībullah Rafīʿ po ihtimām (Kabul, 1356/1937–38); Muḥammad Šiddīq Rohī, "Dō pas'hto lumīrānī darsī kitāb-ta yawa katna", *Kābul*, No. 733, pp. 1–14; Zarghūna Riš'hūn Zīwar, "Dō pas'hto zḥobe dō grāmār tārikhcha", *Pas'hto tsīrāne* (Kabul, 1356/1937–38), pp. 288–304. The catalogue of the collection remains unpublished.

8. Zarghūna Riš'hūn Zīwar, *op. cit.*; *Idem*, "Dō pas'hto qāmūsūno yaw laṇd fihrist", *Pas'hto chāpī āsār* (Kabul, 1356/1937–38), pp. 265–76; *Catalogue of the Pashto Manuscripts in the Libraries of the British Isles by the Late James Fuller Blumhardt and D. N. Mackenzie* (London, 1965), No. 54.

9. Pāreshān Khaīak, "Pas'hto-ke dō lughatnawessy dwa sawa kāla", *Pas'hto chāpī āsār* (Kabul, 1357/1938–39), pp. 340–3; Muḥammad Šiddīq Rohī, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–14; *Catalogue of the Pashto Manuscripts*, No. 56.

10. See, for example, Jos J. L. Gommans, *The Rise of the Indo-Afghan Empire, c[irca] 1710–1780* (Leiden–New York–Köln, 1995), *passim*.

11. Manuscripts of the *Riyāḍ al-muḥabbat* are held in the repositories of India, Great Britain and St. Petersburg (see pp. 178—84, 293—4 of Zalmay Hewādmāl's catalogue mentioned above, the catalogue by J. F. Blumhardt and D. N. Mackenzie (Nos. 57—60), and my *Afganskaia rukopisnaia kniga* and *Opisanie rukopisei pashto Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Pashto Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies) (Moscow, 1976), pp. 17—23).

12. About *Riyāḍ al-muḥabbat*'s use see V. V. Kushev, "Grammatiko-leksikograficheskoe sochinenie 'Riāz al-makhabbat' i ego mesto v afganovedenii" ("A grammatico-lexicographical work *Riyāḍ al-muḥabbat* and its place in Afghan studies"), in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Ezhegodnik. 1970* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 73—82; also *idem*, "The formation and study of the Afghan manuscript collection in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/1 (March 1988), pp. 40—8, and *idem*, "Pionery izucheniia afganskogo iazyka" ("The pioneers in the study of the Afghan language"), *Vostochnyi arkhiv*, 4—5 (Moscow, 2000), pp. 121—5.

13. Catalogue of the Pashto Manuscripts, Nos. 61—62; *Dō Hind dō kitābkhāno pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskhe yā dō Hind dō d̲z̲īno kitābkhāno dō pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskho fihrist*, pp. 187—8, 296—7. A brief preliminary information is given in V. V. Kushev, "Ilakhīar-khan i ego chetyrēkh'iazychnyi slovar' 'Adzhaib al-lugat'" ("Ilahyār-khān and his four-language vocabulary 'Ajā'ib al-lughāt'"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii i kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, X (Moscow, 1974), pp. 141—6. A full lexicographical and lexicological study of the dictionary from manuscript Or. 399, the microfilm of which I could receive due to the courtesy of Prof. D. N. Mackenzie, is on the way now.

14. Sarbanī is the largest of the four main branches of Pashtun tribes according to their own traditional genealogies. It received its name from Sarban, the elder son of the legendary ancestor of all Pashtuns, Qays. Sarbanī are subdivided into two branches — Kharshbūn and Sharkhbūn. The majority of Eastern Afghan tribes belong to the former. Darweza and Qāsim, mentioned by Ilahyār, were descendants from these Eastern tribes. However, Barēts, a native tribe of Ilahyār, belongs to the Western sub-branch of Sharkhbūn. The territory of Barēts is the Quetta region, whence (from the settlements of Shorawak and Pishin) one group of the tribe moved to India and entered the service of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat-khān.

15. The titles of the dictionaries are given in Kushev, *Afganskaia rukopisnaia kniga*, p. 77.

16. Ākhūnd Darweza Nangarhārī is the author of the above-mentioned *Makhzan al-islām* and many other religious works, written mostly together with his son 'Abd al-Karīm. Ākhūnd Muḥammad Qāsim Pāpīnkhel Shīnwārī was head of the Peshawar and Hashtnagar 'ulamā' in the seventeenth century and also the author of *Fawā'id al-sharī'at*. There are manuscripts of works by Darweza and Qāsim — three copies of *Makhzan al-islām*, including the most complete one, and a copy of *Fawā'id al-sharī'at* — in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. They were repeatedly published.

17. See, for example, N. A. Dvoriankov, "Literaturnyi iazyk i dialekty pashto v Afganistane" ("Literature language and Pashto dialects in Afghanistan"), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 2 (1964), pp. 142—6; Ch. M. Kieffer, "Afghanistan: V. Languages", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, p. 505; M. T. Henderson, "Four varieties in Pashto", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 103/3 (1983), pp. 595—7.

18. Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, prepared by Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, vol. 9 (Patna, 1925), No. 839; *Dō Hind dō kitābkhāno pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskhe yā dō Hind dō d̲z̲īno kitābkhāno dō pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskho fihrist*, pp. 189—90, 297—9.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Ākhūnd Darweza, *Makhzan al-islām*, manuscript B 2483 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. North-Western India (Peshawar?), 1166/1752—53, fol. 251b, 24.00×15.00 cm.

Fig. 2. Maḥabbat-khān, *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat*, manuscript D 707—I, the same collection, Calcutta, ca. 1855, fol. 2b, 31.00×19.05 cm.

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI. II. AVADĀNA AND JĀTAKA (PART 3)

The discussion on the correlation between the Buddhist schools of the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda and their disciplinary codes — the *Vinaya* — began in the 1850s; today, it has entered a new phase, with new facts, manuscripts, and scholars. Fumio Enomoto, a Japanese scholar from Osaka, recently published an article in which he expressed yet another view on the correlation between these two schools [1]. He bases his views on Tibetan and Chinese translations of *Vinaya* commentaries not preserved in Sanskrit. It is generally known (and recognized by all) that in the ninth century A.D. the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins was translated into Tibetan, and the *Vinayas* of the Sarvāstivādins (*Shi-song-lü*, Taishō, No. 1435) and that of Mūlasarvāstivādins (Taishō, Nos. 1442—1459) was translated into Chinese, too. The Chinese translation was carried out in the seventh century A.D. Fumio Enomoto tried to prove that for Tibetan and Chinese translators the word *mūla* (“root”) held no significance in the titles of the texts they translated and was often omitted. But if translators omitted it, it was probably absent in the Sanskrit original. Enomoto formulated his conclusion as follows: “... it is obvious that both ... ‘Mūlasarvāstivāda’ sect and ... ‘Sarvāstivāda’ (sect) indicate the identical sect... The ‘Mūlasarvāstivāda’ sect does not exist apart from the ‘Sarvāstivāda’ sect. It does not matter whether or not the word ‘mūla’ is present” [2].

Since the core of the *Vinaya* of all Buddhist schools — the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* — remained unchanged, although it was preserved in several redactions, the *Vinayas* of various schools could differ only in their commentaries. Chinese translators, who made special journeys to India for Sanskrit texts and used texts brought to East Turkestan by pilgrims, likely used for their translations commentaries on various parts of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* from various regions of Northern India. The latter fact is especially important for the study of the manuscript from Bairam-Ali discussed in this article.

We return to the origins of the various schools’ *Vinayas*, recalling Étienne Lamotte’s view on the matter. He cited in this regard a passage from Chinese translation

of the Sanskrit *Anuparīḍanā* (*Ta-chih-tu-lun*, trans. by Kumārajīva, A.D. 5th century, Taishō, No. 1509), which has not come down to us in the original. The same quote is cited by Enomoto in his article. This passage does not so much clarify the correlation between the *Vinayas* of the two schools as it provides information about their content: “L’exposé abrégé (sic!) du *Vinaya* est en 80 sections et les textes du *Vinaya* sont de deux sortes: 1. Le *Vinaya* du pays de Mathurā qui avec ses Avadāna et ses Jātaka compte 80 section; 2. Le *Vinaya* du pays de Kaśmīr qui a rejeté les Jātaka et Avadāna: celui-ci n’a pris que l’essentiel et compte **seulement 10 sections. Mais il y a une Vibhāṣā en 80 sections qui le commente**” [3]. Clearly, these are the “10 sections” that have come down to us in Chinese translation, *Shi-song-lü*, where there are, in fact, no *avadānas* and *jātakas*. This Chinese text suggests that in the Bairam-Ali manuscript the *Vibhāṣa* — a commentary on rules in the form of *avadānas* and *jātakas* — follows the brief collection of rules included in the *Shi-song-lü*.

Of special interest to us is a recent article by Prof. Akira Yuyama (Tokyo) on the *Mahāvastu* (*Mv*) and *Mahāvastu-Avadāna* (*MvAv*), another collection that contains *avadānas* and *jātakas* from the *Vinaya* of a different school, that of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins [4]. Akira Yuyama holds that the *Mahāvastu*, a work that has not come down to us in Sanskrit, although what has come down to us was published by Émil Senart as early as 1882—1897 [5], is the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*, that is, commentaries on the *Vinaya* in literary form. He writes: “In short, *Mv* was most probably a *VINAYA* text once upon a time and *MvAv* is narrative literature in a very wide sense within the framework of the *Vinaya* literature in its present form” [6]. In this regard, an interesting conclusion was made by Akira Yuyama: “...every school must have had a similar kind of literature with a strong affiliation to the *Vinaya* literature” [7]. This once again confirms our view that the Bairam-Ali manuscript contains a “literary” text that explains the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins.

* * *

Folio 10b, from the Bairam-Ali manuscript, published in the preceding issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*, vol. 7/1, p. 20, contains the beginning of a story entitled *Vidura* (fol. 10b 3). We juxtaposed this name with the name

“minister Vidhūra”, mentioned in *jātakas* Nos. 413 and 495. On folio 11a, which opens the present publication, *Vidura* is indeed termed as “minister”. Another figure is mentioned in the story — *ṛṣyāḷūna*. It appears that this is

a copyist's error or an unknown Prakritism; this person should be called *ṛṣyalubdhaka* ("antelope hunter"). A variant of this word — *mṛgalubdhaka* — is regularly encountered with the same meaning in *avadānas* from the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (R. Gnoli,

pt. 2, pp. 151—3; 153—4; 197—8) [8]. Unfortunately, a technical error has crept into our previous publication: the final (fifth) line of fol. 10b remained untranslated. We provide here a translation of the beginning of the story about Vidura (fol. 10b 3—5):

3—4. ...[Story] about Vidura with details. The priest from Kauśāmbī came to the home of a certain antelope hunter. His wife

5. [said]: "Son, this [person] is someone worthy of respect. Render honour unto him!" Since the priest had knowledge of the six *śāstras*...

FOL. [11a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. . ca ka[ś]ci ccittam ārādhayate yā[va]dbhagavati buddhe cittam prasannaṃ tato bhagavāṃ prav[e]ś[i]-
2. taḥ ubhehi satyāni dṛṣṭāni yāva dṛṣṭasatyā pravārayanti sma vistareṇa pūrva'yoga
3. mānayaṃti sma bodhisatvo viduro nāma amātyo pūrvam asau anyāsu jātiṣu a-
4. ruṇo nāma nāgarājā tasya bhāryā prati nava duḥkhābhyaḥatā svāmikaṃ kathayati
5. kaścid iha āgaccheya yaṃ varya[m] pṛcchema tataḥ pūrṇakena yakṣeṇa dyūte nirjini[tvā]

TRANSLATION

1. and someone sought [his] good graces. As soon as faith in [the teaching] of the Buddha [Bhagavān] was acquired, Bhagavan did [them] con-

2. vert. Both of them ^[1] mastered [the four noble] truths. How they selected the [noble] truths. [tell] in detail. In a previous rebirth

3. they revered [the noble truths]. A counsellor by the name of Vidura was a bodhisatva in a previous rebirth. In other, still earlier, rebirths he [was]

4. a *nāgarājā* named Aruṇa ^[2]. His wife suffered from nine types of ailments. [Her] husband said:

5. "I should go somewhere. Let us ask which [teaching] [we] should choose". Later, having emerged victorious from a battle with a *yakṣa* of the *pūrṇaka* tree ^[3].

Commentary

^[1] "Both" — perhaps the mother and son; the conspectual nature of the tale leaves the context unclear. It is also unclear which of the characters is Vidura. The content suggests that Vidura is one of the rebirths of the "antelope hunter". In this case, the "both" would refer to the hunter and his wife.

^[2] Aruṇa *nāgarājā* is found only in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, 246, 19 (see *BHSD*, p. 65). Aruṇa — in Pāli, Assaka — is the name of the Potāli *rājā*, see *Jātaka* No. 301 (*Cullakaliṅgā-jātaka*), which describes, as do the *jātakas* about Vidura, the war with Kaliṅga *rājā*. There is another character with this name — Aruṇa Udāyī. He was invited by the Buddha's father, Śuddhodana, together with other noblemen of the Śākya lineage to a reception held to mark good tidings of the Buddha Śākyamuni's popularity (*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 108, line 8). Our text, however, makes no reference to the war or the reception held by Śuddhodana. Clearly, the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins provides a different redaction of this tale.

^[3] The grammatical form *nirjiniṭvā* is correct only for Buddhist Sanskrit, cf. *BHSD*, p. 301: *nirjiniṭvā* — "conquers".

FOL. 11b

TRANSLITERATION

1. vi[d]uro [rājā]bhavanaṃ nītaḥ tatra tena daśakuśalāḥ karmaṣaṭhāḥ prakāśitā || *kāśyapa iti*
2. bhagavataḥ pādāḥ raktāṃ sravati sthāviraśāriputreṇa adhyupekṣitaṃ taṃ mahākāśyape[na]
3. sa Oṭṭavacanena sthāpitaṃ samaṃtena bhagavataḥ cittam mitreṣu ca ariṣu
4. anena satyavākyaena idaṃ tiṣṭhatu te² kṣataṃ pūrvayogaṃ brahmakumāro sarpeṇa daṣṭaḥ³
5. mūrccchitaḥ pṛthivyaṃ nipatitaḥ ṛṣiṇā satyavacanena nirvviṣaḥ sthāpitaḥ bhakṣya-

¹ The word was omitted and added beneath the line.

² The form of accus. pl., see *BHSG*, §§ 21, 46; instead of accus. sg. *se*.

³ The form of the Buddhist Sanskrit; see *BHSD*, p. 263: *daṣṭaka* ("one that has been bitten by a snake").

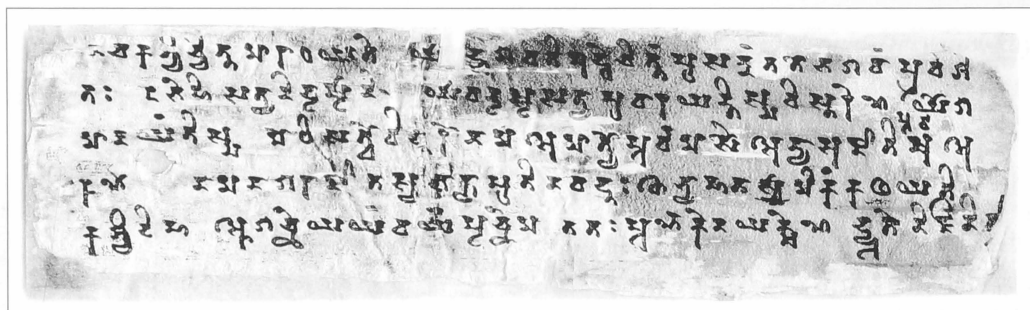


Fig. 1

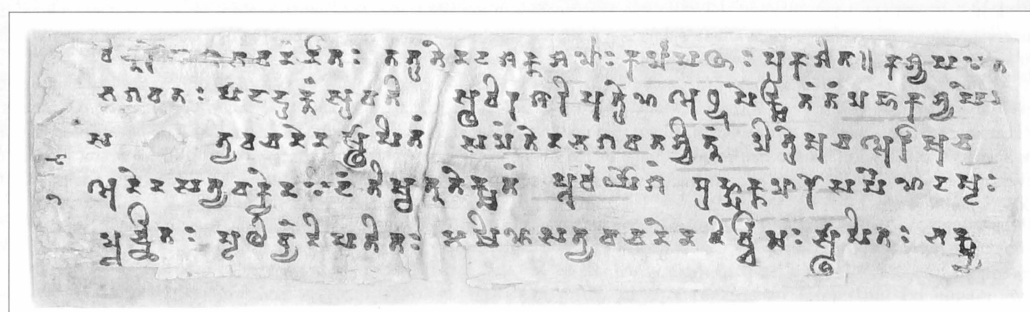


Fig. 2

TRANSLATION

1. Vidura was brought to the ruler's palace. There ten good deeds^[4] were demonstrated to them. **About Kāśyapa**^[5].
2. The Bhagavan's leg began to bleed. *Shavira* Śāriputra noticed this. Mahā-kāśyapa
3. halted [the bleeding] with the aid of a correct utterance. Everywhere observation of the Bhagavan, among friends and enemies,
4. may he conduct with the aid of this correct utterance as he did of the wound^[6]. In a previous rebirth the youthful brahman was bitten by a snake [and]
5. lost consciousness^[7]. He fell to the ground. With the aid of a correct utterance [pronounced] by a *ṛṣi* he was delivered from the poison and rose [from the ground].

C o m m e n t a r y

^[4] *daśakuśalakarmapatha* — “a set of ten good (*kuśala*) actions, consisting in avoidness of ten bad actions, namely: three actions produced by body, four — by speech, and three — by mind”. See *BHSD*, p. 170.

^[5] This tale continues a story contained in part on fol 8a 2 under the title *Susārtho bodhisatva*: “The yakṣa Kumbhira sacrifices his life in trying to arrest the stone, thrown out from the catapult called by Devadatta to kill Buddha, but a fragment of the stone strikes the Buddha on the foot (see *Saṅghabhedavastu*, trans. by Raniero Gnoli, vol. II, p. 168). We also find a continuation of this story in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* (vol. II, p. 171): “Jīvaka prescribes a very rare substance... in order to stop hemorrhage at the foot of the Buddha”, but in vain: the substance did not help. At last, Daśabalakāśyapa (lit. “Kāśyapa possessing the ten forces”) stops the hemorrhage (see *ibid.*, p. 173). After this story follows another one concerning a previous life of Daśabalakāśyapa. He was a *ṛṣi* and had rescued a young man bitten by a snake by magic practices: *samaṃ te dāraka cittaṃ mitreṣv api ṛṣiṣv api | anena satyavākyaena nirviṣo bhava dāraka || iti* (*ibid.*, p. 175).

^[6] The name Śāriputra is not mentioned in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*; the necessity of keeping one's eyes open is not mentioned either.

^[7] The story of the brahman's son bitten by a snake and healed with the aid of a “correct utterance” is also contained in *jātaka* No. 444 (*Kaṇhadīpāyana-jātaka*).

FOL. [12a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. mānasya te viprakṛṣṇā⁴ sarpeṇa gho[re]ṇa na te vikampitaṃ
cittaṃ urage vadhak[e] [i]ha ||
2. śrāvastyānnidānaṃ kṛtvā. ṛṣi⁵ vivikte pradeśe prativasati sa ca rājyahetor brahmaca-
3. r[y]aṃ carati O⁶ bhagavatā vaiṇeya iti jñātvā parivrājaka veṣaṃ āśihāya na bhidure⁷ vih[a]-
4. rati sa ca ṛṣir gilāṇi bhūtaḥ sa ca parivrājako āhāraṃ deti vaidyaḥ
5. pṛcchitaḥ māṃsarasaṃ upadiśati bhagavatā pasur nnirmitaḥ ṛṣiḥ

TRANSLATION

1. They were distracted from the victuals by a terrible snake^[8]. They did not lose heart when the snake undertook to kill [them] here.
2. **The affair took place in Śrāvasti**^[9]. *Ṛṣi* lived in an secluded place and because of [his] royal descent led the life of a *brahmācarin*
3. [and] was to have been converted by the Bhagavan. Upon learning this, a wandering ascetic without clothing
4. took up residence [next to him]. And that *ṛṣi* fell ill. And that wandering ascetic gave him food. A physician
5. was summoned [and] prescribed meat broth. [Then] cattle was created by the Bhagavan. [Then] the *ṛṣi*^[10]

C o m m e n t a r y

^[8] This is an excerpt from another story also represented in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* (vol. I, pp. 163—5), the *Kalandakanivāpa*. The story recounts how Kalandaka was for his avarice reborn as a snake and lived in a garden that he had declined to present to Bimbisāra during the latter's tenure as prince. When the *rājā* Bimbisāra arrived with his retinue in the garden for a picnic, the snake unexpectedly crawled up to kill him, but it was killed with a sword.

^[9] This is possibly a reference to *jātaka* No. 246 (*Telovāda-jātaka*), which contains a version of the story about how the Buddha tasted meat in one of his previous rebirths. As in this *jātaka*, one of the characters is a naked ascetic. Yet another interpretation is possible. In the section *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (chapter 6 of the *Vinayavastu*), part of which has survived only in Tibetan translation (see *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, Peking edition, vol. *khe*, fol. 108), there are two stories about healing with meat broth. A fragment of the first story has also survived in the

⁴ A slip of the pen, instead of *viprakṛṣṇā*.

⁵ Instead of *ṛṣi*.

⁶ A string hole.

⁷ Usually *bhidure*.

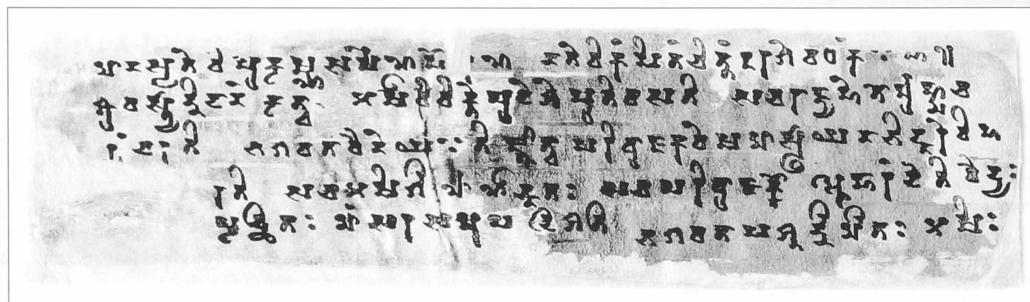


Fig. 3

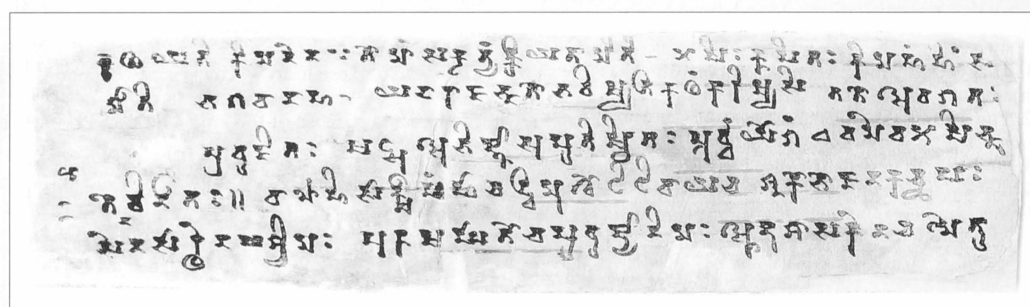


Fig. 4

Sanskrit version of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. III, pt. 1, p. XIV) [9]. In the story, a sick *ṛṣi* is healed by Mahāsenā, the wife of the master of the house. She was preparing dinner for monks they had invited and saw that one of the *ṛṣis* was very ill. She then made a meat broth and fed the *ṛṣi*. The *ṛṣi* got recovery and he then began to meditate and attained a state of *arhat*. This was the context for the Buddha's explanation to the monks, his allowance for the use of meat broth as a medicine and his tale about Mahāsenā's previous rebirth. The story contains a similar situation (see *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, Peking edition, vol. *khe*, fol. 109). Both stories are cited as illustrations in E. Frauwallner's book [10].

The story of how the physician *tīrthika*, named Ātreya, was unable to heal a sick monk, is next in the Tibetan *Tripitaka* (Peking edition, vol. *khe*, fol. 110). All three stories are cited in Jampa Losang Panglung's *Die Erzählstoffe* [11].

^[10] This appears to be a copyist's error: according to the context, this should have been said by Bhagavan, not *ṛṣi*.

FOL. 12b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *kathayati kim anena ito māṃsakarṭyaṃ kṛiyatām iti. ṛṣiḥ*
kupitaḥ kim ahaṃ hīms[ā]-
2. *mīti bhagavān āha yadā rājabhūto bhaviṣyati katham*
karīṣyasi tato avagata[h]
3. *pravrajitaḥ ṣaṭsu abhijñāsu pratiṣṭhitaḥ pūrvayogaṃ evam*
eva ṛṣi bhū-
4. *tena⁸ vinītaḥ || vālāhi sāksī paṃphā ca dvimukho ṭīṭivāya ca śuko bhojana kacchapah*
5. *sena sārithena paścimaḥ puruṣaghāto ca pravrajyā nimaḥ ānuśāsakena ca maitra*

TRANSLATION

1. said: "By what [means] another [person] should here receive meat, [thus] will it be done". *Ṛṣi* grew angry: "For whose sake do I commit violence?"

2. — he said. The Bhagavan said: "And if he should be a *rājā* in a future rebirth, how would you proceed then?" Then the *ṛṣi* understood everything.

3. He underwent the *pravrajyā* rite of initiation, grew strong in the six types of transcendental knowledge. In a previous life [he] had been the same *ṛṣi*

4. and was converted. [*Uddāna*]: *Vālāhi* ^[11], "Ego" ^[12], *Paṃphā* ^[13], "With two faces" ^[14], and *Ṭīṭivā* ^[15], "Parrot" ^[16], "Feeding" ^[17], "Tortoise" ^[18],

5. *Sena* ^[19], "With the usefulness" ^[20] the last one, and "Hurting of people" ^[21], "Conversion" ^[22], *Nima* ^[23], "Friendly to teacher" ^[24].

C o m m e n t a r y

^[11] With this name, the *uddāna* begins for the text on fol. 5a 4—12b 5; it continues on the next folio, 13a 1—2. Moreover, the word *paścima* ("last") inexplicably occurs three times in the text of the *uddāna*: Prof. Seishi Karashima suggested to us that the *uddāna* consists of three *ślokas* written in one of the varieties of the *anuṣṭubh*. Each line should contain 8 syllables. This rule is violated several times. The likely reason is the fact, recognized by scholars, that this meter is based on Prakrit, not Sanskrit, pronunciation [12]. The *ślokas* can be represented as follows:

Śloka 1. (each line containing eight syllables)

— — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — —

Śloka 2.

— — — — — — — — (eight syllables)
— — — — — — — — (nine syllables)
— — — — — — — — (seven syllables)
— — — — — — — — (eight syllables)

Śloka 3. (each line containing eight syllables)

— — — — — — — — (cf. Prakrit reading *śuvana*)
— — — — — — — — (cf. Prakrit reading *dhuvaṇa*)
— — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — (*bhoti* < *bhavati*)

⁸ *Akṣara* = *na* is inserted beneath the line.

The grammatical anomalies are due to the *meter causa*.

After the story entitled *Śyāma* (fol. 13a 1), ten titles are enumerated for stories that will follow.

The first story in the *uddāna* bears the title *Vālāhi*; on fol. 5a 4 the title of the story is given as *Vālāpā*. The story differs from the *Vālāhassa-jātaka* (No. 196). *Vālāha*, the name of a horse, is known from the *Mahāvastu* (vol. III, pp. 185, 189, 190). The story here tells about five hundred *vaṇijas* and one *sārthavāha*, and the name of the horse is used here only allegorically.

^[12] The story *Sākṣī* ("Ego") on fol. 5b 1 has the same name as in the *uddāna*.

^[13] The story *Pamphā* on fol. 5b 4 is called *Pampha*. We have no idea about both of them. The latter may be the name of a lake in the Southern India.

^[14] The story *Dvimukha* ("With two faces") on fol. 6a 2 bears the name *Dvimukhāyaka śarīra* ("The body with two faces").

^[15] The story *Ṭiṭivā* (the form of instr. sg. — *Ṭiṭivāya*) on fol. 6a 2 is presented as *Ṭiṭivā*. It must be a woman's proper name. We were not able to identify it.

^[16] The story *Śuka* ("Parrot") on fol. 6a 5 has the same name.

^[17] The story *Bhojana* ("Feeding") on fol. 6b 3 bears the same title.

^[18] The story *Kacchapa* ("Tortoise") on fol. 7a 5 bears the same title.

^[19] The story *Sena* (a proper name) on fol. 7b 2 has the same name.

^[20] The story *Sārtha* ("Successful") on fol. 8a 2 is entitled *Susārtha bodhisatva* ("The *bodhisatva* bringing success").

^[21] The title of the story *Purusaghāta* ("Harmful for people") on fol. 8b 2 is given as *Puruṣāda* ("[What] people can eat"). It is mentioned that overeating may be harmful.

^[22] The story *Conversion* on fol. 9a 1 bears the same title.

^[23] The name *Nima* in the *uddāna* is obviously a slip of the pen. The story on fol. 9a 3—4 is named after the name of the main character — *Aranemi*.

^[24] The story *Ānuśāsakena maitra* ("Friendly to the teacher") on fol. 9b 1 is entitled *Ānuśāsanād* (abl. sg.) ("According to the teaching").

FOL. [13a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *kāśyapaḥ śyāmaḥ ṛṣīdaṇḍena, paśc[i]mah śvāna pūrṇa
kubjā ca cedī dhvaja kṣemā ca manah*
2. *samana demahi abhayaṃ bhavati paścimaṃ || || ṛṣī
bodhimūlasthaṃ bhagavantaṃ*
3. *māraḥ pāpīmāṃ⁹ paṃcāhi kāmagaṇehi¹⁰ alobhayati¹¹ kāmā¹²
vā paribhūmjāhi mā te*
4. *pāde grahāya samudrasya pāraṃ (*)kṣipīṣyaṃ yāva bhaga-vatā cīvarakarṇṇakam ekata-*
5. *maṃte¹³ sthāpitam idaṃ taveti¹⁴ yāva pūrvayoga mānayaṃti
ṛṣibhūto bodhisatvaḥ*

TRANSLATION

1. *Kāśyapa* ^[25], *Śyāma* ^[26], "About the hermit with the staff" ^[27] last, "The dog" ^[28], *Pūrṇa* ^[29], *Kubjā* ^[30] and *Cedī* ^[31], "The emblem" ^[32], *Kṣemā* ^[33] and *Mana* ^[34]
2. *Samana* ^[35], "Shall we give?" ^[36], *Abhaya* ^[37] as the last one. *Ṛṣi*. Bhagavan, who had found the root of enlightenment,
3. was abashed by the sinful Māra with the aid of five objects of sensual desire ^[38], [saying]: "Give in to temptation, or else
4. I will grab you by the leg and immediately throw ^[39] you to the other shore of the ocean!" Bhagavan
5. established that the edge of a *cīvara* ^[40] [should hang down to the ground, covering the legs] on one side ^[41]. This is known. How in a previous rebirth the *ṛṣi* was a *bodhisattva* [who was] respected

Commentary

^[25] In the *uddāna*, two stories preceding the story about Kāśyapa are omitted: *Maṇi iti* ("The story about the gem"), fol. 9b 5, and *Vidura iti* ("The story about Vidura"), fol. 10b 3. The story about Kāśyapa has the same title in the text (see fol. 11b 1).

^[26] The title of a story *Śyāma* appears only in the *uddāna*. The text (fol. 12a 2) opens with the formula *Śrāvastvānnidānaṃ kṛtvā* ("The case took place in Śrāvastī"), fol. 12a 2. As for the subject, the story differs from the *Sāma-jātaka* (No. 540) where the main character — *Śyāma* (Pāli *Sāma*) — is an only breadwinner for his blind parents. We find the same subject in the Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* (see *Vinayavastu*,

⁹ Instead of *pāpīyān*, cf. *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. I, p. 114.

¹⁰ Prakritisms registered in *BHSD*, instead of Skt. *paṃcabhiḥ kāmagaṇebhiḥ*.

¹¹ Instead of *ālobhayati*.

¹² Instead of *kāmām*, cf. fol. 13b 1.

¹³ The form is not registered in *BHSD*.

¹⁴ Instead of *tāvat iti*.

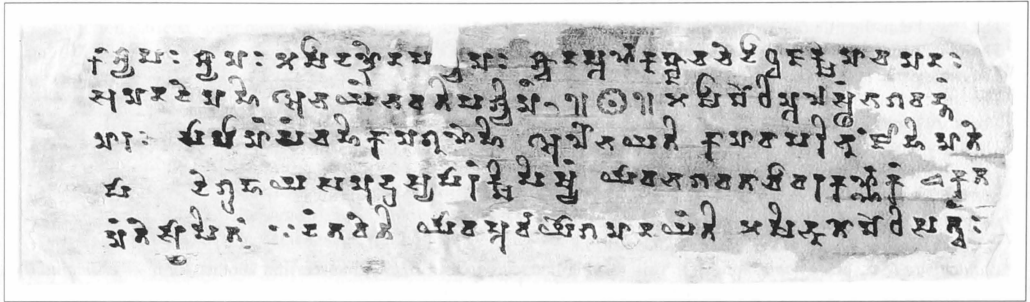


Fig. 5

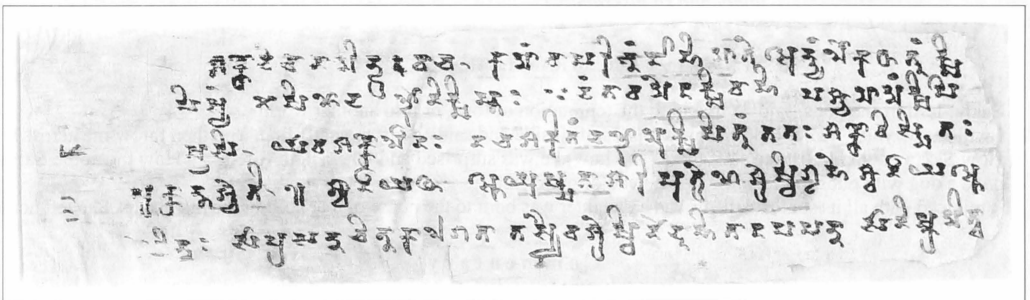


Fig. 6

Pekin edition, chapter *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, vol. *ge*, fol. 213; see also Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe*, pp. 45–6). The same story is present in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. II, pp. 290 ff.).

[27] The story *Rṣidaṇḍena* (“The *ṛṣi* with a staff”) on fol. 13a 2 bears the title *Rṣi*. This form is registered neither in the Sanskrit nor in the Buddhist Sanskrit. As was mentioned above, it agrees with *meter causa*. There is a well-known story about how Māra tried to lead Buddha into temptation. Another such story is present in *Saṅghabhedavastu* (vol. I, p. 114). But Māra is acting differently here. He tries to accuse Buddha for his doing nothing and has three — inauspicious, evil, sinful — thoughts: *tatra bodhisatvasya trayah pāpakā akuśalā vitarkāḥ samutpannah*. The term *bodhimūla* (“the root of enlightenment”) is also used here. Māra says to Buddha: *kim arthaṃ tvam bodhimūle niṣaṇṇa iti* (“Why have you sat on this root of enlightenment?”).

[28] The story is entitled *Śvānī* (“A bitch”) on fol. 13b 4, which corresponds to its subject.

[29] The story is named *Pūrṇaka iti* (“About Pūrṇaka”), see fol. 14a 2.

[30] We find the same name in the text, see fol. 14a 4.

[31] The story bears the title *Ceti iti* (“About the *caitya*”), see fol. 14b 3.

[32] The same name is in the text, see fol. 14b 4.

[33] The same name is found in the text, see fol. 15a 4.

[34] The story is entitled *Maṇīti* (“About Maṇi”). Maṇi is a proper name (see fol. 15b 3).

[35] The story is named *Sumana iti* (“About Sumana”), see fol. 16a 1.

[36] The story bears the title *Demahyam iti* (“Shall we give?”), see fol. 16a 5 and commentary to it.

[37] The same name is found in the text, see fol. 16b 5.

[38] See n. 27.

[39] *pamcahi kāmagnehi* > Skt. *pamcabhiḥ* kāmagnebhiḥ* (instr. pl.), see n. 27.

[40] *cīvarakarṇṇaka* (“cīvara’s edge”), see *BHSD*, p. 170.

[41] *ekatamante* (Skt. *ekatamante*, loc. sg.). This form is not registered in *BHSD*, but we find another form — *ekamante* (“on one side”), see *BHSD*, p. 153. The meaning of the text is not quite clear. The *ṛṣi* may say: “Let’s try!”.

FOL. 13b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *śakra dav[ā]nām indra uvāca kāmāṃ va paribhujāhi mā te annyaṃ lokadhātum* (‘)kṣi-
2. *pīṣyaṃ ṛṣiṇā daṇḍo nikṣiptaḥ idaṃ tāva me ukṣivāhi*¹⁵ *paścā māmaṃ*¹⁶ *kṣipi-*
3. *ṣyasi yāva śakkro naḥ na ca śakitaṃ daṇḍam ukṣipitum*¹⁷ *tataḥ śakkro vismitaḥ*
4. *prakrāntāśceti || śvānī yathā āyusmatā śāriputreṇa śreṣṭhigṛhe śvānīya ā-*
5. *[d]innaḥ sā prasannacittā kāla gatā tasyaiva śreṣṭhino duhitā upapannā sā niṣkramitvā*

TRANSLATION

1. Śakra, lord of the gods, said: “Give in to the temptation of love, or into another world
2. I will throw you!” [Then] the *ṛṣi* threw [his] staff [aside and said]: “Lift my staff first, and then throw me across!”
3. How Śakra could not lift the staff there [and how] he was surprised and left. || **The Bitch**^[42]. How the noble Śāriputra
4. gave a dog with cubs to the home of the head of merchants.
5. It rejoiced with all its soul and died. And a daughter was born to the house of that head of the merchants. She left home

Commentary

[42] We could not identify this story.

Notes

1. Fumio Enomoto, “‘Mūlasarvāstivādin’ and ‘Sarvāstivādin’”, in *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka. Festgabe für Adelheid Mette* (Swisttal—Ondorf, 2000), pp. 239—50. — Indica et Tibetica, 37.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 243.

3. É. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l’ère Śāka* (Louvain, 1958), p. 174.

4. Akira Yuyama, “Mahāvastu and Mahāvastu-Avadhāna”, in *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka*, pp. 532—40.

¹⁵ Instead of Skt. *ukṣipāhi*.

¹⁶ Instead of *māma*.

¹⁷ Instead of *ukṣipitum*.

5. *Le Mahāvastu*. Texte sanskrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'une commentaire par Émile Senart, in 3 vols. (Paris, 1882—1897).
6. Akira Yuyama, *op. cit.*, p. 537.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, ed. by Raniero Gnoli, pts. I—II (Rome, 1977—1978). — Serie Orientale Roma, XLIX.
9. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. by Dutt, Nalinaksha, vol. III, pt. I (Srinagar, 1947).
10. E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginning of Buddhist Literature* (Rome, 1956), p. 93. — Serie Orientale Roma, VIII.
11. Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya. Analysiert auf Grund der Tibetischen Übersetzung* (Tokyo, 1981), pp 17—8.
12. F. Edgerton, "Meter, phonology, and orthography in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 66 (1955), pp. 197—206.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv I on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. [11a], 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, fol. 11b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 3.** The same manuscript, fol. [12a], 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 4.** The same manuscript, fol. 12b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 5.** The same manuscript, fol. [13a], 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 6.** The same manuscript, fol. 13b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.

QUR'ĀNIC FRAGMENTS FROM THE A. A. POLOVTSOV COLLECTION AT THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

"It has always seemed to me
that the publication of texts
and documents forms the basis
for the study of history ..."

A. A. Polovtsov [1]

The present work aims to describe Qur'ānic fragments from the A. A. Polovtsov collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies. They are held in the so-called Artistic Collection under call number X 158. This call number brings together several folders with disparate fragments of Arab and Persian manuscripts sorted by format, samples of calligraphy etc.; they were acquired by the Asiatic Museum in 1919 from the collection of A. A. Polovtsov. These fragments have never received detailed study, although they are of indisputable scholarly interest.

Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Polovtsov [2] (see *fig. 1*) was born on May 31, 1832. After finishing the Legal College in 1851 he began service in the Senate. His position and subsequent career were greatly influenced by his marriage in 1861 to Nadezhda Mikhailovna Iiuneva, the ward of court banker Baron A. L. Stiglitz. He received a dowry of a million rubles and after Baron Stiglitz' death inherited a fortune of 16–17 million rubles. At the beginning of 1883, Polovtsov was appointed State Secretary, receiving at the same time the title of His Majesty secretary of state. He spent nearly ten years at this post. He was also a member of the Finance Committee and sat on various important state commissions. His posts and membership in the State Senate made A. A. Polovtsov one of the most influential figures in the Empire.

Polovtsov was a versatile person whose position in the state hierarchy allowed him, for example, to instigate in 1866 the creation of a Russian Historical Society and involve the Emperor in its activities. Between 1866 and 1909, when the Society was in fact headed by Polovtsov, 128 volumes of "Collections of the Russian Historical Society" with various documents on Russian history were published. A great deal of work was done to publish diplomatic documents on Russian history from London, Vienna, Paris, and other foreign archives. A. A. Polovtsov's great accomplishment was the publication of an encyclopaedia of outstanding Russians, the "Russian Biographical Dictionary", which he undertook with his own

funds. In addition to statesmanship, scholarship, and organisational work, Polovtsov was implicated in industry and finance, although his efforts in this sphere appear to have been less successful.

Polovtsov spent vast sums to support the School of Technical Drawing founded by Baron Stiglitz, as well as to acquire various collections for the School's Museum. As chairman of the School's Central Council, Polovtsov was deeply involved not only in the financial, but also the scholarly and organisational aspects of the School's operations. In the later years of his life, the Stiglitz Museum collection became one of the richest in Europe, especially in the area of decorative-applied art. The collection was regularly augmented, and purchases were made both in Russia (sometimes entire collections at a time) and abroad (mainly in France).

A. A. Polovtsov died at his estate, not far from the city of Luga on 24 September 1909. The volumes of the "Collections of the Russian Historical Society" can be regarded as his true legacy; they have retained their significance up through the present, as has the collection of the Stiglitz Museum. Polovtsov's name can without doubt join the list of such famed Russian sponsors of the arts and collectors as S. M. Tretyakov, S. T. Morozov, and N. P. Likhachev.

After the October Revolution, a decision was taken to disperse the collection of the Stiglitz Museum (the bulk of it went to the Hermitage). It was at that time (1919) that 31 Eastern manuscripts and numerous manuscript fragments were transferred to the Asiatic Museum. There they became part of one of the world's largest collection of Eastern manuscripts and documents, to which Polovtsov had added two Arabic manuscripts in 1895: a fifteenth-century Qur'ān (today call number D 31) and an apocryphal poem attributed either to Abū Bakr or 'Alī (today call number C 1861). The first retains an *exlibris* from Polovtsov's library (*fig. 2*). 13 Arabic manuscripts, including 4 Qur'āns, were given to the Asiatic Museum by Polovtsov together with the well-known

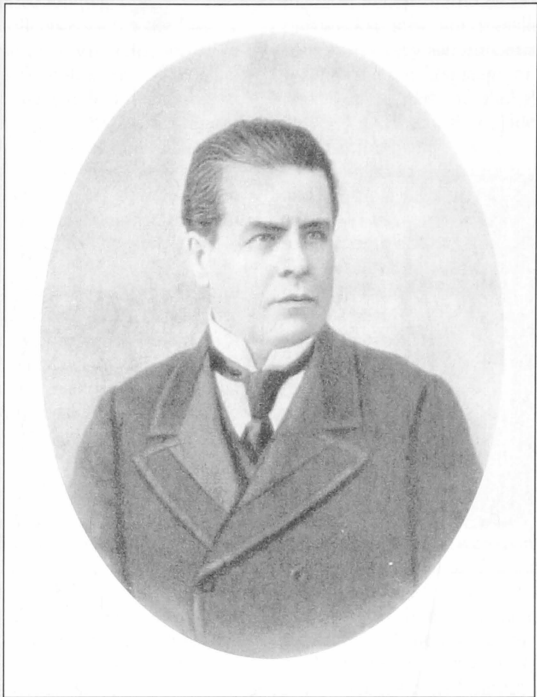


Fig. 1

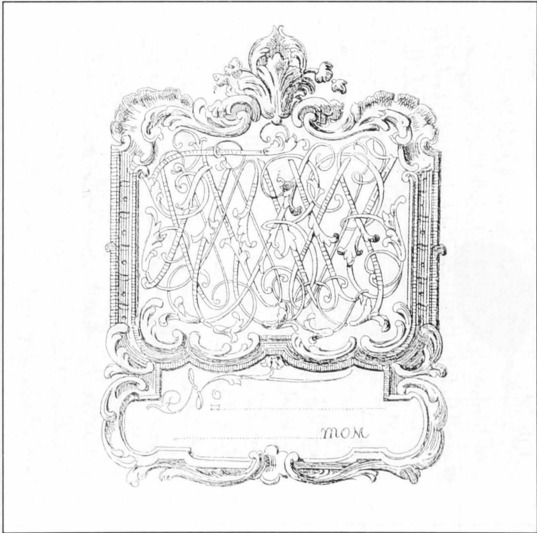


Fig. 2

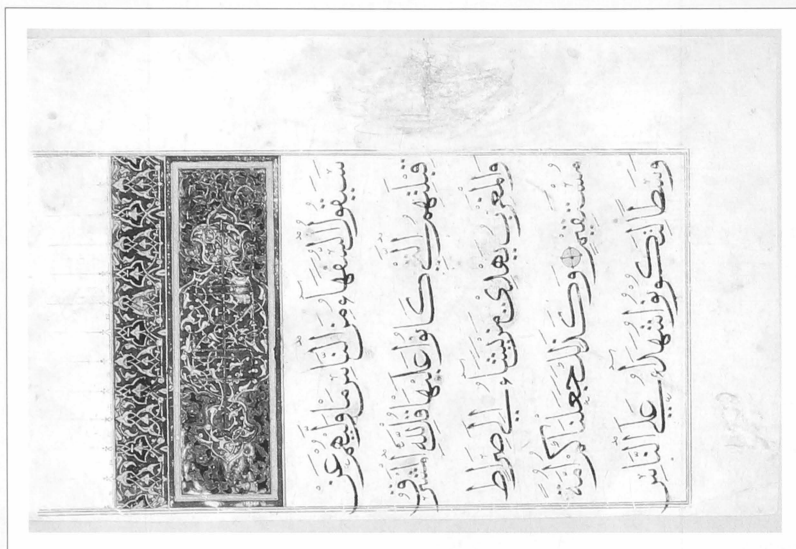


Fig. 3

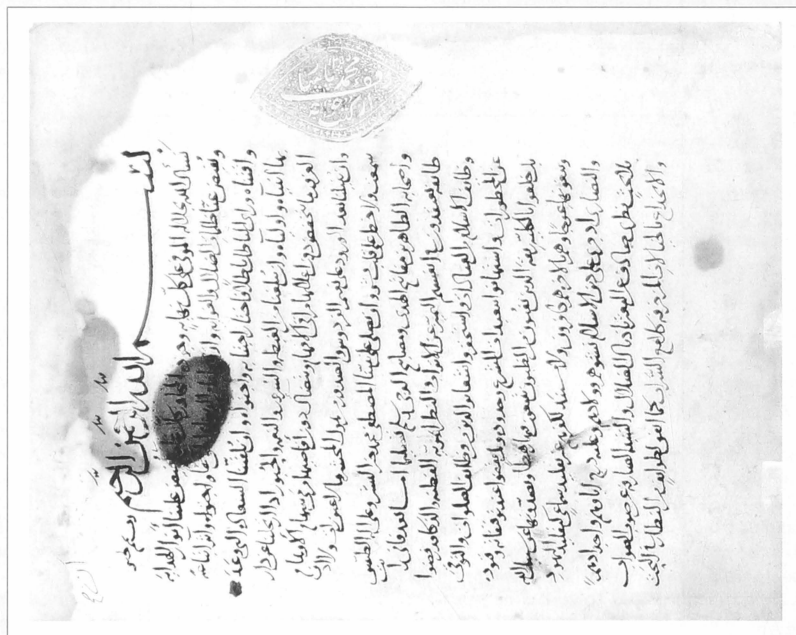


Fig. 4

Turkologist V. V. Radlov (1837—1987) in the 1890s. In 1919, Academician V. Barthold briefly described the most interesting manuscripts that were acquired by the Asiatic Museum as part of Polovtsov's collection [3].

Another part of the Muslim collections from the Stiglitz Museum, given to the Hermitage in the mid-1920s, served to form the basis of the Hermitage's collection of Persian painting and drawing. Among the manuscripts transferred at that time were a famed illustrated copy of Nizāmī's *Khamṣa* from 1431, 7 separate folios with miniatures, and an album with 16 miniatures and drawings known today as the "Polovtsov Album". Among them are such well-known works as "Young woman in a fur hat" and "Youth with jug in hand" by the famed Persian artist of the late sixteenth — early seventeenth century Riḡā-yi 'Abbāsī [4].

The inventory book of the Stiglitz Museum records the acquisition of these items as "gift from A. A. Polovtsov, September 23, 1918", which evidently refers to Polovtsov's elder son (1867—1944), whose name was also Aleksandr Aleksandrovich. He took interest in Eastern art as well, as his article "Remarks on Muslim art (based on works in the Baron Stiglitz Museum)" in a 1913 issue of the magazine

Starýe gody shows. Although the "Remarks" contain only the most general information about Muslim art, they suggest that it was actually A. A. Polovtsov junior who made in pencil the notes in French that are found on all of the works; they are translations of the Persian text, and sometimes very accurate attributions [5].

During the first stage of analysing the fragments, which make up a part of the Polovtsov collection, we were faced with the task of identifying folios from Qur'ānic manuscripts and trying to bring them together into larger fragments. The uniformity of the paper, handwriting, and — most importantly — format and style of the folios allowed us to identify certain folios with various manuscripts that we divided into 8 types. On the basis of this research, they were given new call numbers. We describe below the general characteristics of each type. Table 1 contains a description of the individual folios. Table 2 presents examples of the graphic dividers between *āyāt*. Table 3 presents variations in numbering the *āyāt* that represents deviations from the numeration in the Egyptian edition of the Qur'ān accepted as canonical in the Muslim world.

General characteristics of type A

The folios that comprise this group are a fragment of a Qur'ān on thick creme-coloured paper of Eastern production. The fragment (fig. 3) contains the text of *sūra* 2 (from *āya* 142 to 245). 26 folios, 27.0×17.5 cm. The hand is a neat, assured, large-sized calligraphic *muḥaqqaq*; 7 lines per page. The text is contained within a complex, multicoloured border (the outer line is light blue, the inner gold framed in black). The upper margin (from the border to the edge of the folio) of the fully preserved folios is 5.0 cm, the lower 4.5 cm, the right 5.0 cm, and the left 2.5 cm. The interval between the lines is 1 cm, and the width of the lines is 1.5 cm. The end of each *āya* is marked with a four-part rosette adorned with light-blue dots in a circle and a red dot in the centre. The rosette is divided into segments with a thin black line and the inner space is filled in with gold. A dot is pressed into each of the four parts. The main text is written in black ink. Vowelling is in

red. Some words were omitted in the copying process and are written into the margins or between the lines in a smaller hand.

The surviving elements and rare form of the seal indicates that the manuscript was part of the famed library of Muḥammad Pārsā [6] (fig. 4). The margins of some folios bear traces of carefully crased seals. The beginning of *juz* '2 is marked with a richly ornamented illumination (gold and black decoration on a dark-blue background) that contains an inscription in red ink in "blossoming" *Kūfī*: الجز الثاني. The format suggests that this fragment (which includes virtually all of *juz* '2) belonged to a 30-part Qur'ān. The fragment contains approximately 2.5% of the whole text. Hence, the entire Qur'ān, copied in this fashion, should have taken up around 1,000 folios, forming a multi-volume Qur'ān [7]. Some quires, sewn with yellow thread, have survived. The tentative dating is to the 15th century.

General characteristics of type B

Qur'ānic fragment on thin paper. It contains the text of *sūra* 4 (152—165; 170—171) and *sūra* 5 (1—81). 36 folios, 29.0×21.5 cm. The hand is a neat, assured, large-size *muḥaqqaq*; 5 lines per page (fig. 5). The upper margin of fully preserved folios is 3.5 cm, the lower 3.5 cm, the right 4.0 cm, and the left 3.0 cm. The interval between lines is 2.0 cm, and the line width is 2.5 cm. The end of each *āya* is marked with a sign in red ink. This ink was also used for certain signs above the line (*madda*, *tashdīd*). We find on the margins, in another hand but the same red ink, the word عشر to mark each tenth *āya*. The main text is written in black ink. The beginning of *sūra* 5 is introduced by an inscription in

red ink with black vowelling: سورة المائدة مائة عشرون [8] *Juz* 's are marked in the margins in red. On many folios (in the lower left corner) we find custodies in different ink and an unprofessional hand. *Tajwīd* marks are provided in the manuscript [9].

Some words were omitted during copying and later written into the margins or between lines in a small hand. The fragment contains some 2.5% of the entire text. Hence, the manuscript should have originally contained around 1,400 folios, indicating a multi-volume Qur'ān. First half of the 17th century, India (?).

General characteristics of type C

Fragment of *sūra* 12 (79—107) on thick, creme-coloured paper. 8 folios, 32.0×24.5 cm. The hand is a large, calligraphic *naskh*; 5 lines per page (fig. 6). The text

is enclosed in a complex, multicoloured border (the outer line is violet, the inner double and red). The upper margins of fully preserved folios are 3.5 cm, lower 4.0 cm, right

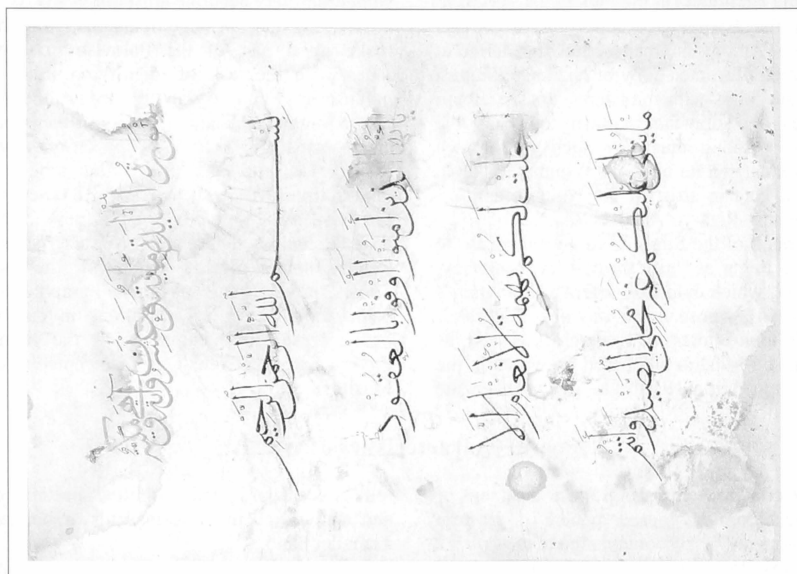


Fig. 5

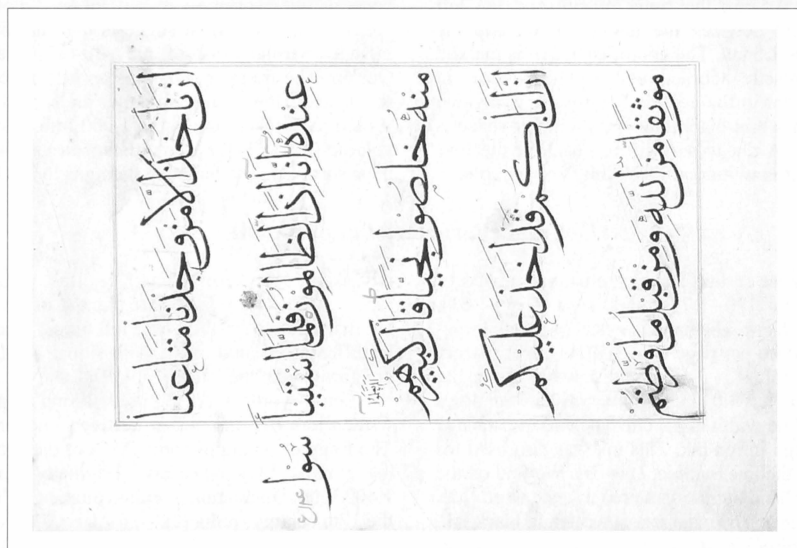


Fig. 6

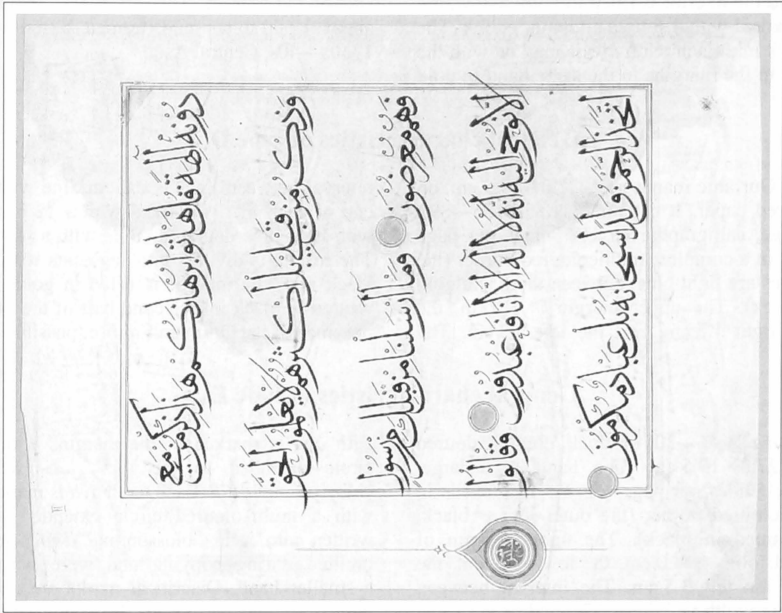


Fig. 7

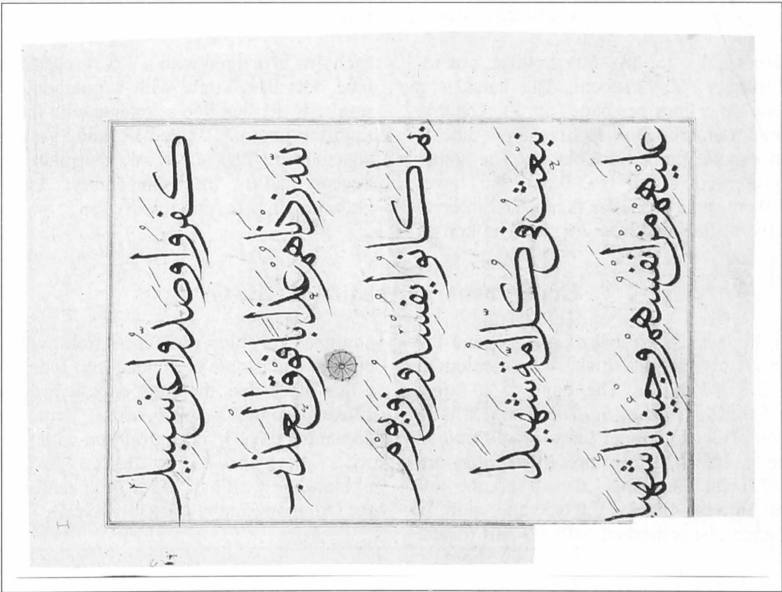


Fig. 8

5.0 cm, and left 3.0 cm. The interval between lines is 3.0 cm, and the line width is 2.5 cm. We find two systems of marking the ends of *āyat*: with a 6-part rosette above adorned with dark-blue dots in a circle and a red dot at the centre; the rosette is divided into segments with the aid of a thin black line and the interior is filled in gold; below, the ends of *āyat* are marked with a simple circle in red ink. The main text is in black ink. Each tenth *āya* is marked with the word *عشر*, written in the margins in the same hand in gold

and circled in black. Vowelling and *tajwīd* signs are in red ink. Divisions into *juz*'s and *hizbs* are in another hand in the margins in red. Some words were omitted during copying and were written into the margins or between lines in a smaller hand. The fragment contains around 0.5% of the text of the Qur'ān. The entire text should have occupied about 1,600 folios and formed a multi-volume Qur'ān. 1730s—40s, Central Asia.

General characteristics of type D

One folio of a Qur'ānic manuscript, 27.0×19.5 cm, on thick creme-coloured paper. It contains *sūra* 16 (86—89). The hand is a large, calligraphic *naskh*; 5 lines per page (fig. 7). The text is in a complex, multicoloured border (the outer and inner lines are light blue, between them is a gold line framed in black). The upper margin is 3.0 cm, the lower 2.5 cm, the right 1.5 cm, and the left 3.0 cm. The

interval between lines is 2.0 cm, line width is 2.5 cm. The end of each *āya* is marked with a 12-part rosette adorned with light blue dots in a circle with a red dot at the centre. The rosette is divided into segments with the aid of a thin black line; the interior is filled in gold. The main text is written in black ink. Second half of the 16th century; Arab province of the Ottoman Empire (possibly Syria).

General characteristics of type E

Fragment of *sūra* 21 (2—30) on thick, creme-coloured paper. 4 folios, 27.0×19.5 cm. The hand is a large, calligraphic *naskh*; 5 lines per page (fig. 8). The text is in a complex, multicoloured border (the outer line is black, the inner gold framed in black). The upper margin of the fully preserved folios is 4.0 cm, the lower 4.0 cm, the right 1.5 cm, and the left 3.5 cm. The interval between lines is 2.0 cm. Line width is 2.0 cm. The end of each *āya* is marked with a round rosette, the interior of which is filled with gold; the outlines are framed in black. Each

fifth *āya* is marked in the margins with a multicoloured circle extended to the top; *خمس* written into it in "blossoming" *Kūfī*. Each tenth *āya* is marked in the margins with a multicoloured circle extended to the top; *عشر* written into it in "blossoming" *Kūfī*. Some words were omitted during copying and were written in above in a smaller hand. Diacritical marks are missing for certain words. Second half of the 16th century; Arab province of the Ottoman Empire (possibly Syria).

General characteristics of type F

Fragment of *sūra* 4 (24—25; 58—60) on thick, creme-coloured paper. 2 folios, 27.0×17.5 cm. The hand is a large, calligraphic *naskh*; 5 lines per page (fig. 9). The text is in a complex, multicoloured border (the upper line is light blue, the inner gold framed in black). The upper margin of fully preserved folios is 3.0 cm, the lower 2.0 cm, the right 1.0 cm, and the left 2.0 cm. The interval between lines is 2.0 cm, line width is 2.0 cm. The end of

each *āya* is marked with a 9-part rosette adorned with light-blue dots in a circle with a gold dot in the centre. The rosette is divided into segments with the aid of a thin black line; the interior is filled in gold. Vocalisation and *tajwīd* signs are marked in red ink; the main text is in black ink. Second half of the 16th century; Arab province of the Ottoman Empire (possibly Syria).

General characteristics of type G

One folio with the last (22nd) *āya* of *sūra* 58 and the beginning of *sūra* 59 (1—2) on thick, creme-coloured paper. One folio, 27.0×17.5 cm. The hand is a large, calligraphic *naskh*; 5 lines per page (fig. 10). The text is in a complex border (outer line and inner lines in gold framed in black). The upper margins of fully preserved folios are 3.0 cm, the lower 2.0 cm, the right 1.0 cm, and the left 2.0 cm. The interval between lines is 2.0 cm, line width is 2.0 cm. The end of each *āya* is marked with a 9-part rosette

adorned with blue dots in a circle with a gold dot in the centre. The rosette is divided into segments with the aid of a thin black line; the outer edge is grey, and the interior is filled in gold. The main text is written in black ink. The beginning of *sūra* 5 is introduced with the inscription: *سورة الحشر اربع و عشرون آية مكية* [10] in gold framed in black. Second half of the 16th century, Arab province of the Ottoman Empire (possibly Syria).

General characteristics of type H

The folio (fig. 11) contains *āyat* 53—73 of *sūra* 25. Glossy, creme-coloured paper, 41.1×29.4 cm. The hand is a thin, medium-size calligraphic *muḥaqqaq*; 12 lines per

page. The text is in a complex, multicoloured border of gold, black, dark blue, and orange lines of various thicknesses. The upper and lower margins are 8.0 cm, the

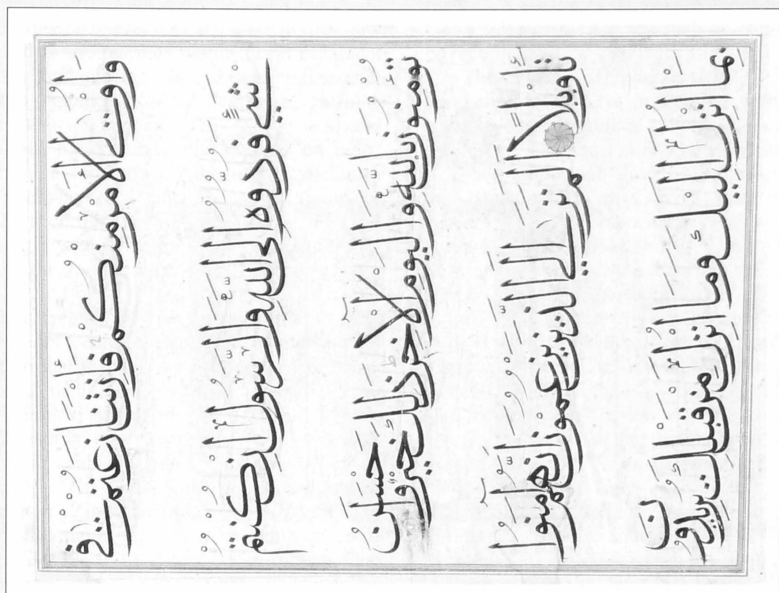


Fig. 9



Fig. 10

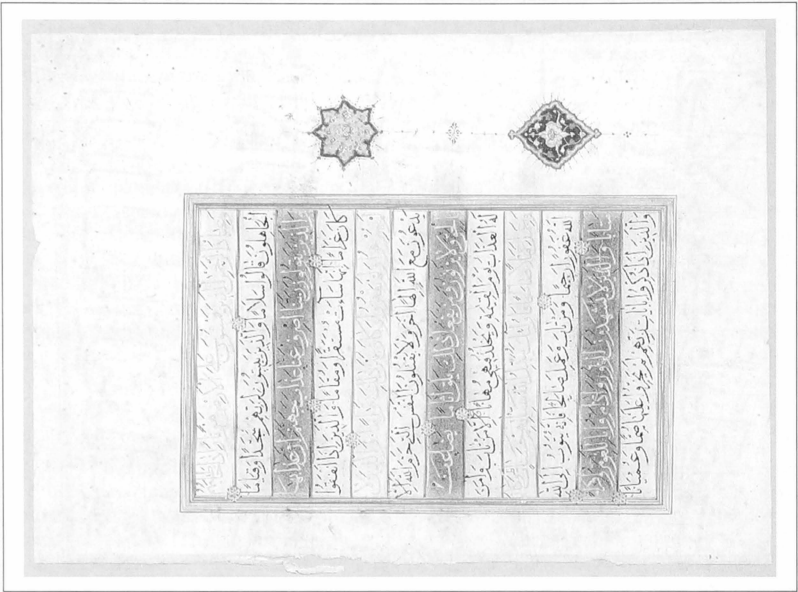


Fig. 11



Fig. 12

right 3.0 cm, and the left 10.0 cm. The interval between lines is 2.0 cm, line width is 2.0 cm. The end of each *āya* is marked with a round rosette written into the circle of a hexameter, the corners of which are marked with dark-blue dots. The interior is filled in gold; the edge is lined with black. The hexameter itself is divided into rhomboid segments, inside of which are red dots. Each fifth and tenth *āya* is marked in the margins with a floral ornament written respectively into an octagonal and rhomboid rosette. Each line of text is separated from the next by a light-blue line. The lines of text are written alternately in gold and black ink on various backgrounds, black letters on beige and gold on light-blue and brown. All vowel signs are in black ink. The necessity of a ritual bow to accompany *āya* 60 of *sūra* 25 according to the etiquette of *tajwīd* is marked in the margin with the word *سجدة* written in gold at a 45 degree angle to the main text. Shiraz, around 1525—1550.

These Qur'ānic fragments from the fifteenth — first half of the eighteenth centuries represent a late-Muslim manuscript tradition that is united by a number of common elements [11]. First, this involves thorough *tajwīd* markings to describe the complex system of ritual reading for the Sacred text. This system has not yet been described in detail, and we were unable to identify a number of its elements (for example, the placement of certain words in the margins in different ink and with the letter *ب* above them) [12]. All of the manuscripts were evidently parts of multi-volume Qur'āns used for liturgical purposes. One notes the abundance of various errors. This applies primarily to the largest fragment, type B. These include errors in the place where a *sūra* was revealed (Mecca or Medina) [13] and numerous omissions of certain words and phrases later corrected with notes, spelling errors, both corrected and uncorrected [14], and *āyāt* divisions at variance with the Cairo edition (see *Table 3*).

Judging by the extant materials, these variants do not go back to any reading (*al-qir'ā'a*) different from the one

used in the Egyptian edition, but betray the carelessness of the copyist. Especially curious is a double mistake: the text gives us *رساته*, while we find *رسالته* in the margin; correct is *رسالته* [15]. It would appear that Arabic was not the native language of either the copyist or the possible “proof-reader”. This forces us to reconsider the widely held view that a folio of the Qur'ān with an error must by all means be recopied.

The reverse of folio A1 (*fig. 12*), which lacks other text, contains a *hayt* in Persian with the names of the so-called Rightly-guided caliphs. The name عثمان is written as عسمان. The short *sūra* 112 is written here in the form of a half-circle, and *āya* 61 from *sūra* 16 is at the top of the page, which may have had mystical, talismanic significance. The manuscripts to which our fragments belonged were copied and used in an environment where Sūfī elements played a decisive role. This affected the appearance of the manuscripts.

Of special interest is one lavishly illuminated fragment (type H). In many ways, it can be identified with a Qur'ānic manuscript, one folio of which is in a private collection in Geneva, and another in the collection of Dr. Nasser D. Khalili [16] in London.

One should also note that the type A fragment belonged to the famed Bukhara library of Muḥammad Pārsā (746/1345 or 749/1349—822/1420); his seal can be found today on manuscripts from collections in Tashkent (34 items), St. Petersburg (17+1) [17], Paris (4 or 5), Moscow (3) [18], and Kazan (1). Until now one could not but marvel at the fact that among Muḥammad Pārsā's books, which encompassed all fields of medieval Muslim learning, there was not a single Qur'ānic manuscript. A. B. Khalidov, who examined the question, even supposed that the stamp was not used to mark copies of the Qur'ān [19]. This lends special significance to the type A manuscript, which at present is the only Qur'ān with Muḥammad Pārsā's stamp.

Table 1

Type A				
Page numbering	Number/name of folder	Page content	Characteristics	Number of lines
1 r	“Pers.”	2 : 142 (سيقول) — 143	Traces of erased seal	5
1 v		Fragment of <i>āya</i> 61 of <i>sūra</i> 16; <i>sūra</i> 112 written in the form of a half-circle; calligraphic exercises [20]		
2 r	XIV	2 : 143—144		7
2 v		2 : 144—145		7
3 r	XII	2 : 145—148	تكونو between lines 6 and 7 on the left margin and below in a different hand and in black ink	7
3 v		2 : 149—150		7
4 r	XII	2 : 150—153	The end of <i>āya</i> 151 is marked with a small rosette in black ink	7
4 v		2 : 153—157		7
5 r		2 : 157—159		7

Continuation of Table 1

5 v	XII	2 : 159—163		7
6 r		2 : 163—164		7
6 v		2 : 164—167		7
7 r	XVIII	2 : 167—170		7
7 v		2 : 170—172		7
8 r		2 : 173—174		7
8 v		2 : 174—177	Traces of erased seal	7
9 r		2 : 177		7
9 v		2 : 177—179		7
10 r		2 : 179—182	Traces of erased seal	7
10 v		2 : 182—184		7
11 r	XII	2 : 184—185	Traces of erased seal	7
11 v		2 : 185—187		7
12 r		2 : 187		7
12 v		2 : 187—189		7
13 r		2 : 189—191		7
13 v		2 : 191—194		7
14 r		2 : 194—196		7
14 v		2 : 196—197		7
15 r		2 : 197—198		7
15 v		2 : 198—201		7
16 r		2 : 201—205	Omitted part of <i>āya</i> 203 written in margin	7
16 v		2 : 205—208		7
17 r		2 : 208—212		7
17 v		2 : 212—213		7
18 r		2 : 213—214		7
18 v		2 : 214—216		7
19 r		2 : 216—217		7
19 v		2 : 217—219	Omitted part of <i>āya</i> 219 written in margin	7
20 r		2 : 219—221		7
20 v		2 : 221—222		7
21 r		2 : 222—225	Traces of erased seal	7
21 v		2 : 225—228		7
22 r		2 : 228—229		7
22 v		2 : 229—230		7
23 r		2 : 230—231		7
23 v		2 : 231—233		7
24 r		2 : 233		7
24 v		2 : 233—235	Omitted end of <i>āya</i> 234 and beginning of <i>āya</i> 235 written in margin with rosette dividers [21]	7
25 r	VII	2 : 235—237	Omitted part of <i>āya</i> 235 written in margin	7
25 v		2 : 237—239		7
26 r	XVIII	2 : 239—242	Traces of erased seal	7
26 v		2 : 242—245 (كثيرة)		7
Type B				
1 r	XI	4 : 152 (اجورهم)—153		5
1 v		4 : 153—154		5
2 r	XI	4 : 154—157		5
2 v		4 : 157—158		5

Continuation of Table 1

3 r	XI	4 : 158—160		5
3 v		4 : 161—162		5
4 r		4 : 162—163		5
4 v		4 : 163—165 (يكون)	Persian inscription in lower left corner: تا سوره مايده ٤ ورق ... چهار	5
5 r	X	4 : 170 (الرسول)—171		5
5 v		4 : 171 (بالله)		5
6 r	V	5 : 1		5
6 v		5 : 1—2	Repeated in the margin in red ink: رضوانا	5
7 r	VI	5 : 2—3	Repeated in the margin in red ink: شنان	5
7 v		5 : 3		5
8 r		5 : 3—4		5
8 v		5 : 4		5
9 r	V	5 : 5	Omitted part of āya 5 written in margin. مخصنين in place of مخصنين.	5
9 v		5 : 5—6		5
10 r	IV	5 : 6	Repeated in margin in red ink: وارجلكم	5
10 v		5 : 6—7		5
11 r	XIII	5 : 7—8		5
11 v		5 : 8—11		5
12 r	X	5 : 11—12		5
12 v		5 : 12		5
13 r	XIII	5 : 12—13		5
13 v		5 : 13—15		5
14 r	III	5 : 15—16		5
14 v		5 : 16—17		5
15 r		5 : 17—18		5
15 v		5 : 18—19		5
16 r		5 : 19—21		5
16 v		5 : 21—23		5
17 r		5 : 23—24		5
17 v		5 : 24—27		5
18 r	X	5 : 27—28		5
18 v		5 : 29—31		5
19 r		5 : 31—32		5
19 v		5 : 32—33		5
20 r		5 : 33—34		5
20 v		5 : 34—36		5
21 r	XIII	5 : 36—38		5
21 v		5 : 38—40		5
22 r	VIII	5 : 40—41		5
22 v		5 : 41		5
23 r		5 : 41—43		5
23 v		5 : 43—44		5
24 r		5 : 44—45		5
24 v		5 : 45		5
25 r		5 : 46—47		5
25 v		5 : 47—48		5
26 r	VII	5 : 48		5
26 v		5 : 49—50		5
27 r		5 : 50—51		5

Continuation of Table 1

27 v	VII	5 : 52—53		5
28 r		5 : 53—54		5
28 v		5 : 54—55		5
29 r		5 : 56—57	Repeated in margin in red ink: هزوا	5
29 v		5 : 57—60	Repeated in margin in red ink: هزوا	5
30 r	VI	5 : 60—61		5
30 v		5 : 61—63		5
31 r		5 : 63—64		5
31 v		5 : 64—65		5
32 r	IV	5 : 65—66		5
32 v		5 : 67—68	رسالاته is repeated in margin in red ink; رساته is written in text, later corrected	5
33 r		5 : 68—69		5
33 v	IX	5 : 69—71		5
34 r		5 : 71—72		5
34 v		5 : 72—73		5
35 r		5 : 73—75		5
35 v		5 : 75—77		5
36 r		5 : 77—79		5
36 v		5 : 79—81 (بالله)		5
Type C				
1 r	I	12 : 79 (انناخذ)—80		5
1 v		12 : 80—81	In margin: عشر	5
2 r		12 : 81—83		5
2 v		12 : 83—84		5
3 r		12 : 85—87		5
3 v		12 : 87—88		5
4 r		12 : 88—90		5
4 v		12 : 90—91	Inscription in black between lines 3 and 4: آ ب ث	5
5 r		12 : 91—93	In margin across from line 5: ربع الجزء	5
5 v		12 : 94—96		5
6 r		12 : 96—99		5
6 v		12 : 99—100		5
7 r		12 : 100—101	In margin: عشر and نصف الحزب	5
7 v		12 : 101—102		5
8 r		12 : 102—104		5
8 v		12 : 104—107 (عذاب)		5
Type D				
1 r	II	16 : 86 (شر كا هم)—88		5
1 v		16 : 88—89 ([شهيد])		5
Type E				
1 r	II	21 : 2 (يلعبون)—5	Marginal inscription: قال	5
1 v		21 : 5—8		5
2 r		21 : 8—12		5

Continuation of Table 1

2 v	II	21 : 12—16		5
3 r		21 : 16—19		5
3 v		21 : 19—24		5
4 r		21 : 24—26		5
4 v		21 : 27—30 (السموات)		5
Type F				
1 r	XVII	4 : 24 (فاتوهن) —25		5
1 v		4 : 25 (فعليهن)		5
2 r		4 : 58 (ان الله يامر كم)		5
2 v		4 : 59—60 (يريدون)		5
Type G				
1 r	XVIII	58 : 22(جنات), سورة الحشر اربع و عشرون اية مكية بسم الله رحمان الرحيم and		5
1 v		59 : 1—2 (من حيث)		5
Type H				
1 r	Stored in a wooden frame beneath glass	25 : 53 (البحرين) —62		12
1 v	—	25 : 63—73 (عميانا)		12

Table 2








Type	Number of folios	Sūra numbers	Divider
A	26	2 : 142—245	
B	36	4 : 152—165, 170—171; 5 : 1—81	
C	8	12 : 79—107	
D	1	21 : 2—30	
E	4	16 : 86—89	
F	2	4 : 24—25, 58—60	
G	1	58 : 22; 59 : 1—2	
H	1	25 : 53—73	

Table 3

Type A			
Page numbers	Sūra numbers	Numbers of āyāt that contain an extra divider	Numbers of āyāt with unmarked ends
8 v	2		175
16 r	2		201
19 v	2	219	
21 r	2		223
25 v	2		238
Type B			
3 v	4		161
14 r	5		15
17 r	5	23	
28 r	5	54	
34 v	5		72
Type C			
3 r	12		86
5 v	12	96	94
7 v	12	101	
Type H			
1 r	25		54

Notes

1. *Dnevnik gosudarstvennogo sekretaria A. A. Polovtsova* (The Diary of State Secretary A. A. Polovtsov), ed. with biog. essay and comment. by Prof. P. A. Zaionchkovskii (Moscow, 1960), i, p. 64.

2. The main source on Polovtsov's biography is his diary (held in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (Moscow), Polovtsov fund); the section that covers 1883–1892 was published in two volumes (see n. 1). Certain parts were published in the 1920s–1930s in the journal *Krasnyi arkhiv*.

3. V. V. Bartol'd, "O nekotorykh vostochnykh rukopisiakh" ("On certain Eastern manuscripts"), *Aziatskii sbornik* (Petrograd, 1919), pp. 923–30; republished in V. V. Bartol'd, *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow, 1973), viii, pp. 340–9.

4. For more detail on the Hermitage's part of the Polovtsov collection, see A. T. Adamova, *Persidskaia zhivopis' i risunok XV–XIX vekov v sobranii Ėrmitazha* (Persian Paintings and Drawings of the 15th–19th Centuries in the Hermitage Collection) (St. Petersburg, 1996), pp. 48–61.

5. Such translations are also found on the Persian calligraphic samples held in the artistic collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. A note on the reverse of folio one of type A reads: "A. Polovtsoff (Turkestan russe)".

6. See A. B. Khalidov, "Rukopisi iz biblioteki Mukhammada Parsa" ("Manuscripts from the library of Muḥammad Pārsā"), *Peterburgskoe vostoковедение*, VI (1994), pp. 506–19; also D. A. Morozov, "Tri moskovskikh rukopisi iz biblioteki Mukhammada Parsa (dopolnenie k stat'e A. B. Khalidova)" ("Three Moscow manuscripts from the library of Muḥammad Pārsā (addition to article by A. B. Khalidov)"), *ibid.*, IX (1998), pp. 553–4.

7. Depending on the division into *juz*'s or *hizbs* — a 30 or 60 volumes respectively.

8. According to all existing chronologies, the *sūra* is considered Medinan.

9. Among the most commonly encountered, one notes: ل (full pause), ط (absolute and evident pause), ص (free pause), ج (permissible pause), and others.

10. According to all existing chronologies, the *sūra* is considered Medinan.

11. One can find many parallels with our copies in the description of the corresponding part of Nasser D. Khalili's collection. See D. James, *After Timur. Qur'ans of the 15th and 16th Centuries*, general ed. J. Raby (Oxford, 1992), especially pp. 42–5, No. 9, QUR 4; pp. 48–50, No. 10, QUR 135; pp. 96–8, No. 24, QUR 135.

12. See type B, fols. 6v, 7r, 10r, 29r, 29v, 32v.

13. See type B, fol. 6r, type G, fol. 1r.
 14. See type B, fol. 8v.
 15. See type B, fol. 32v.
 16. James, *op. cit.*, p. 170, No. 42, QUR 494.
 17. 17 manuscripts described by A. B. Khalidov (see n. 6), and one fragment described in the present work.
 18. Information about the Moscow manuscripts is contained in a remark by D. A. Morozov in his "Tri moskovskikh rukopisi", pp. 553—4.
 19. See Khalidov, *op. cit.*, p. 517.
 20. چراغ مسجد و مخراب منبر * ابو بكر و عمر عثمان حيدر
 خط ملا مریدل
 21. The divider is a gold circle ringed in black.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** A. A. Polovtsov (1832—1909).
Fig. 2. *Exlibris* from Polovtsov's library.
Fig. 3. Type A folio.
Fig. 4. Fol. 1v of manuscript B 2167 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies, a seal from the library of Muḥammad Pārsā.
Fig. 5. Type B folio.
Fig. 6. Type C folio.
Fig. 7. Type D folio.
Fig. 8. Type E folio.
Fig. 9. Type F folio.
Fig. 10. Type G folio.
Fig. 11. Type H folio.
Fig. 12. The reverse of folio A1.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

E. A. Režvan

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS OF KARL FABERGÉ. II: RĀGAMĀLĀ MINIATURES OF THE ALBUM (*MURAQQA'*) (PART ONE)

In a previous article in this series [1] I described in short manuscript X 3, undoubtedly the gem of Fabergé's collection of Eastern manuscripts. This is a so-called *muraqqa'* (Album), and its 38 folios (sg. *lawḥ*) present a series of miniatures and calligraphy samples that originated in various regions of the Middle East and India; some of the miniatures betray obvious Ethiopian influence. In general, the Album reflects the astonishing cultural symbiosis typical of India in the era of the Great Moghūls. The *muraqqa'* folios bear traces of the cultures, religions and traditions of the Greater Indo-Turko-Iranian world, the Middle East, and Central Asia, as well as China and Eastern Africa [2]. The album's large scale (39.7×23.0 cm) folios present portraits of prominent political figures and aristocrats, spiritual mentors and ordinary people. It also presents scenes from private life and illustrations to well-known literary works. Many of the Album folios show beautiful, elegantly dressed, delicately depicted female figures in various settings; it is clear why several of them were chosen by the curators of the Tokyo Fuji Museum of Art for an exhibition entitled *Muses, Madonnas and Maidens. 500 years of the Female Image in East and West* (Tokyo, Fukuoka, Kobe, 01.11.2001 — 03.03.2002).

A significant part of the miniatures are linked with special poetry collections — *rāgamālā* — that de-

scribe various musical tones in personified form. That is why we decided to devote our second article to the *rāgamālā* miniatures of *muraqqa'*, which the Tsar's jeweller Karl Fabergé bought for his private collection around century ago.

Before I begin I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Roselyne Hurel (Musée Carnavalet, Paris) and Oleg Akimushkin (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences), whose friendly support during my study of *muraqqa'* and the preparation of the article was both decisive and encouraging. After the death of Tatiana Grek (1920—1985), Keeper of the Indian Collections of the State Hermitage, no specialist on Indian miniatures remained in St. Petersburg. Unfortunately, we must also state a lack of necessary literature in St. Petersburg libraries. I am sincerely grateful to my colleagues, primarily Rachel Milstein (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and Lesley Wilkins (Harvard Law School Library, USA) for providing information without which this work could not have been completed [3]. I hope that as a relative newcomer to the field I shall be forgiven any errors caused by my enthusiasm and lack of access to special literature.

I

The artistic phenomenon known as *rāgamālā* (Skt., "garland of melodies"; there is also another term — *rāgāsāgar* — "ocean of melodies") is a unique but little known concept of illustrating musical modes in pictorial form; it was introduced by Indian writers and artists [4]. Literally *rāgamālā* means a garland of musical modes divided up into *rāgas* and *rāginīs* ("wives" of *rāgas*), sometimes *rāgaputras* ("sons" of *rāgas*), and *rāgaputrīs* ("daughters" of *rāgas*). The system is divided into fixed "families", each headed by a *rāga*, and structured in a fixed sequence. Each line or verse of the composition is sung in different mode, so that the entire piece appears like a string of melodies on a particular common theme. In some cases different rhythms are used for different lines or verses. The essence of the concept of *rāga* [5] was the recognition that certain combinations of notes were endowed with particular

sentiments, *rāsa* (Skt.). The prevalent melodies were depicted in vivid verbal imagery by Indian musicologists of the late medieval period and were associated with a season, a mood, a time, and even with colours, parts of the human body and with animals [6]. All this provided the source of the *rāgamālā* illustrations. The characters in the paintings, also called *rāgas* (princes) and *rāginīs* (ladies), personify the spirits of the various melodies. As mentioned above, each *rāga* or *rāginī* is associated with a certain mood created by a combination of the *rāga*'s inner unity, the season, time of day (or night), and each has its accompanying verse of poetry about lovers in a state of separation or union. It was widely believed that to play or sing a *rāga* at the wrong time could cause various misfortunes and failures.

A standard *rāgamālā* series comprises 36 paintings (6 *rāgas* with 5 *rāginīs* each) [7]. The uniqueness of *rāgamālā*

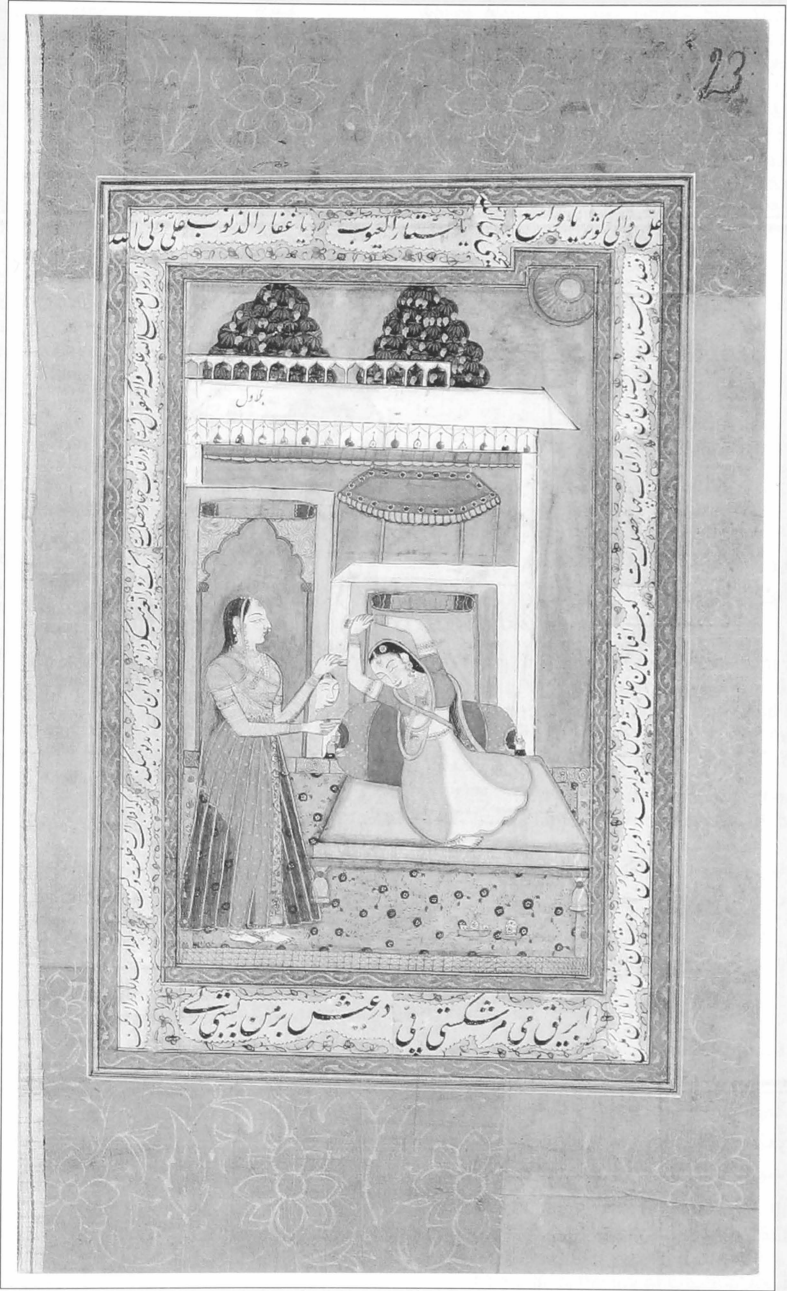
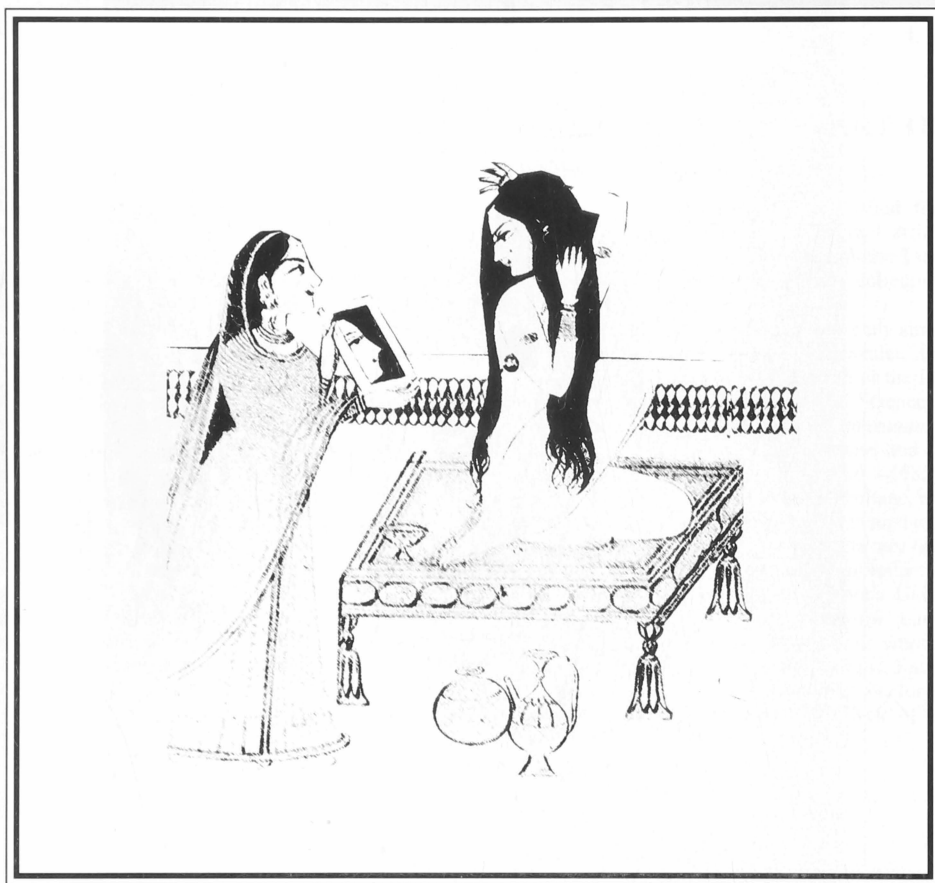


Fig. 1

*Fig. 2*

paintings lies in the fact that their main aim is to express, interpret and exhibit by means of graphic and pictorial tools and methods the beauty and spirit of another art, that of music, poetry and dance.

In India, as in many other countries, music was considered to be of divine origin and was supposed to possess the property of evoking an ecstatic state of mind or mood both in the musician and the listener. Special formulas were devised to capture and comprehend the divine quality of music and to evoke an ecstatic state. These took the form of prayers in which the conceptual form, *dhyāna-mūrti*, of the *rāga* was described. Thus the *rāgas* were personified or deified. *Rāgamālā* paintings were created expressly to depict their *dhyāna-mūrtis*, or icons, in order to create the relevant ecstatic *rāsa* situation in those viewing them [8].

Indian music was known and held in high regard in the Islamic world at least since the 3rd/9th century [9]. Persian, Arabic and Indian music have a great deal of common: all three were modal systems based on melody rather than harmony; each of them was concerned with the cosmic

cosmic implications of music as well as its power to influence the individual.

Music flourished in Islamic India despite orthodox views that it was unlawful in Islam. The rulers, some of whom were not only patrons but excellent musicians in their own right, favoured the creation of an atmosphere at their courts where elements of different musical cultures co-existed and enriched one other.

The patronage of music reached its peak under the Moghūl Emperors Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, music flourished in the Deccan under the patronage of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, a renowned poet. Under the Emperor Awrangzīb (1658—1707), who chose a life of asceticism early in his reign, music suffered a temporary set-back. However, it was revived under the later Moghūls, Bahādur Shāh (1707—1712) and Muḥammad Shāh (1719—1748). The latter was a famous singer himself.

In general, the fates of miniature painting at Mughal courts followed those of the music.

II

At least eight folios of the Fabergé *muraqqa'* are connected with the *rāgamālā*. We examine three of them below. Our choice was occasioned both by access to the necessary reference literature and the fact that these particular miniatures were selected for an exhibition by the curators of the Fuji Museum. In the next issue of the journal, we plan to complete the description of the miniatures in this series from Fabergé's *muraqqa'*.

1. "Bilāval (Vilāval) Rāgini" (12.5 × 22.5 cm) (fig. 1).

A young woman sits on a *chowki* covered in green cloth, elegantly raising her hand and turning back to look in the mirror held by a servant girl. The miniature (fol. 23a) depicts part of the summer-house's rich interior: a floor with a rose-colored carpet, carved doors, a balustrade along the roof, a large, soft dark-red pillow. Visible in the background are the green crowns of tall blooming or fruit-bearing trees. In the upper right corner we find the moon in a halo of rays. The margins are a green background with large flowers in delicate gold. At the top is an inscription — *bilāval* [10].

The woman looking in a mirror is a favourite subject of Indian court miniatures. One recalls here the famed miniature from the collection of the British Museum [11]; close in composition to our miniature, it represents the provincial Gharwal school that developed under Sūdarshān Shāh (1815—59) (fig. 2). Another miniature from our *muraqqa'* (see below) also comes to mind [12].

The miniature is located in a complex yellow-green border adorned in gold (outer dimensions: 18.0 × 28.5 cm). The broadest, middle section of the border contains a Persian inscription.

Upper part of the border:

على وإلى كثر يا واسع يحى نبى الله يا ستار العيوب وغفار
الذنوب على وإلى الله

"'Alī, magnimous ruler, o generous one! O, voice of the prophet of Allah! O, he who covers over sins! 'Alī, favourite of Allah!"

Left side (from top to bottom):

از رسول صلى الله عليه وآله منقول است در افتاب چهار
خصلت است رنگ رورا تغير ميگر داند واين كس را بد بو
ميكند كعبه اقبال اين خلقت ويس بر كعبه اميد را ويران
مكن

"From the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his kin, they transmit: the sun has four special qualities — it changes the colour of faces, and makes that person evil-smelling. The Ka'ba is the joy of this creation and is everything. Do not destroy the Ka'ba of hope".

The lower part of the border contains first part of a *rubā'ī* by the famed 'Umar Khayyām (d. before 530/1135):

ايريق مى مرا شكستى ربي
درعيش برمن به بستى ربي

"You broke the pitcher with my wine, my Lord.
You closed the door of joy for me, my Lord".

Right side (from top to bottom):

قصد اين مستان واين پستان مكن
در آفتاب چهار خصلت است
كعبه اقبال اين خلق است ويس
كعبه اميد را ويران مكن
سرخوشان عشق را نالان مكن

"Do not make an attempt on the life of these
drink-sodden and self-abasing people!

The sun has four special qualities.

The Ka'ba is the joy of creation and is everything.

Do not destroy the Ka'ba of hope.

Do not allow those who are drunk to weep from love".

The text is written in *nasta'liq* on a yellow background, and groups of words are separated by areas of gold and coloured pigment decorated with a floral motif — small red flowers, green leafs — (*tarsi' wa tahrir*).

The reverse side of the folio (*fig. 3*) contains a calligraphy sample (*qit'a*): one line in a large *nasta'liq* is written into a central rectangle (18.0×28.5 cm) in a complex border adorned in gold (outer dimensions: 18.8×31.0 cm). The central part of the latter also contains a Persian text in a smaller *nasta'liq*. As on the reverse side, groups of words are enclosed in a thin black line (*tahrīr*). On a gold background we find an ornament of small blue and red flowers and green leaves similar to that on the reverse side. The margins present a yellow background with medium-sized flower in delicate gold.

Text in the central cartouche:

یا صاحب جعفر را عاجز میکنم

"O, Master! Do not make Ja'far helpless!"

Text written around the perimeter. Left side (from top to bottom):

اللهم صل على النبي المصطفى محمد والمرضى على والبطول
فاطمة الزهراء والسبطين الحسن والحسين

"O, God! Bless the chosen Prophet Muḥammad, the preferred 'Alī, Fāṭima, the Radiant, Chaste one, the grandsons [of the Prophet] al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn".

Right side (from top to bottom):

وصل على زين العباد على والباقر محمد والصادق جعفر
والكاظم موسى والرضا على والتقى محمد والنقي

"Bless the Adornment of those who revere 'Alī [13] al-Bāqir Muḥammad [14], al-Ṣādiq Ja'far [15], al-Kāzīm Mūsā [16], al-Riḍā 'Alī [17], al-Taḳī Muḥammad [18], al-Naḳī"

Lower part of the border:

على والزكى العسكرى الحسن وصل على حجة الله القايم

"'Alī [19], az-Zakī al-'Askarī [20], and bless Ḥujjat-al-lāh al-Qā'im"

Upper part of the border:

المهدي صاحب الزمان سيد الانس والجان

"Al-Mahdī [21], lord of time, ruler of people and *jinn*s".

2. "Desvarāti (Varāri, Varādi) Rāgini" (11.5×17.0 cm) (see *Plate 1*).

The miniature (fol. 25a) is located in a yellow-gold border adorned with an ornament in gold. The margins present a rich green background with large flowers delicately drawn in gold.

A half-dressed young woman (in bright red wide trousers embroidered with flowers) in desperation because she has been separated from her beloved wrings her hands and gazes in the mirror held by a maid-servant. The position of her arms conveys a stock emotional connotation of sexual longing. This is one of several *rāgamālā* subjects that seek to capture a mood of female sexual frustration [22] (cf. above, fol. 23a).

The depiction is of a courtyard ringed by a high, bright-yellow wall. To the left is the corner of a home and part of a bright-red doorway. Women stand on a pink stretch of carpet adorned with geometric and floral ornaments.

The musical version of *Desvarāti* is performed on autumn evenings.

The reverse side of the folio (*fig. 4*) contains calligraphy samples (*qit'a*) written into 7 cartouches united by a common yellow-gold border with a gold ornament; they are arranged in the shape of a cross (maximum dimensions: 21.0×30.0 cm). The central, virtually rectangular, cartouche, moreover, is enclosed in a blue border with gold. It contains a calligraphic exercise (in *naskh*) not intended for reading; one can discern only the Arabic phrase:

قال بعض الحكماء

"Some wise men said ..."

The other cartouches contain poetic texts in medium-sized and large *nasta'liq*. The phrases are enclosed in a thin black line (*tahrīr*). The gold background of the cartouches is ornamented with small blue, white, and red flowers and green leaves. The margins present a dark-blue background with medium-sized flowers delicately painted in red.

The Persian *miṣra*'s are arranged so that the continuation is found in a mirror cartouche.

Up-down:

چه پرتوى است كه آقبال برجهان فكند
چه غلغل است كه دولت در آسمان فكند

"What light is it that stars provide the world,
What chattering is it that happiness spreads in
the heavens!"

Up-down:

توى از كرم دل نوازمه
به بيجارگى جاره سازمه

"It is you who charms all with the generosity of [your] soul,
[It is you who] heals all in need".

Left-right:

در بطن صدف در شهوار يتيم است
أو از گداجون بازار كريم است

"The voice of a beggar is like [the din] of magnanimous bazaar
In the depths of a shell — a rare gem".

3. "Lalita Rāgini" (13.5×23.0 cm) (see *Plate 2*).

The miniature (fol. 34b) depicts a young prince leaving his sleeping beloved at dawn. An elegantly dressed young woman sleeps on her left side on a bed with a green covering (the ends of the bed are bright red). The woman's head rests on an embroidered, lilac-red pillow. Before the bed is a low, pink table with a transparent pitcher and glasses. The scene takes place on a terrace or roof enclosed by a delicate gold fence. The background is the wall of a house with a window in which one can see the lush crowns of two trees. An elegantly dressed young man holds in his hand a garland of flowers and tenderly gazes at the sleeping girl.

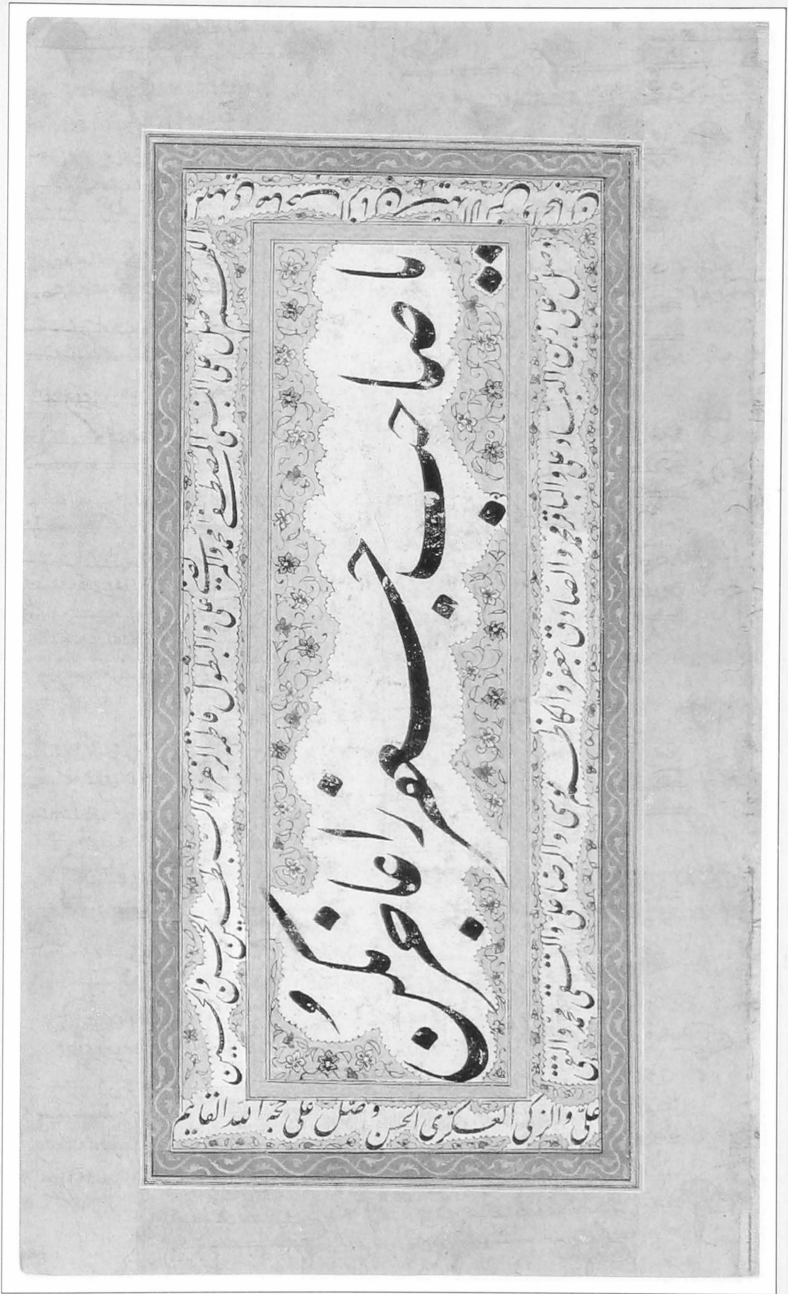


Fig. 3

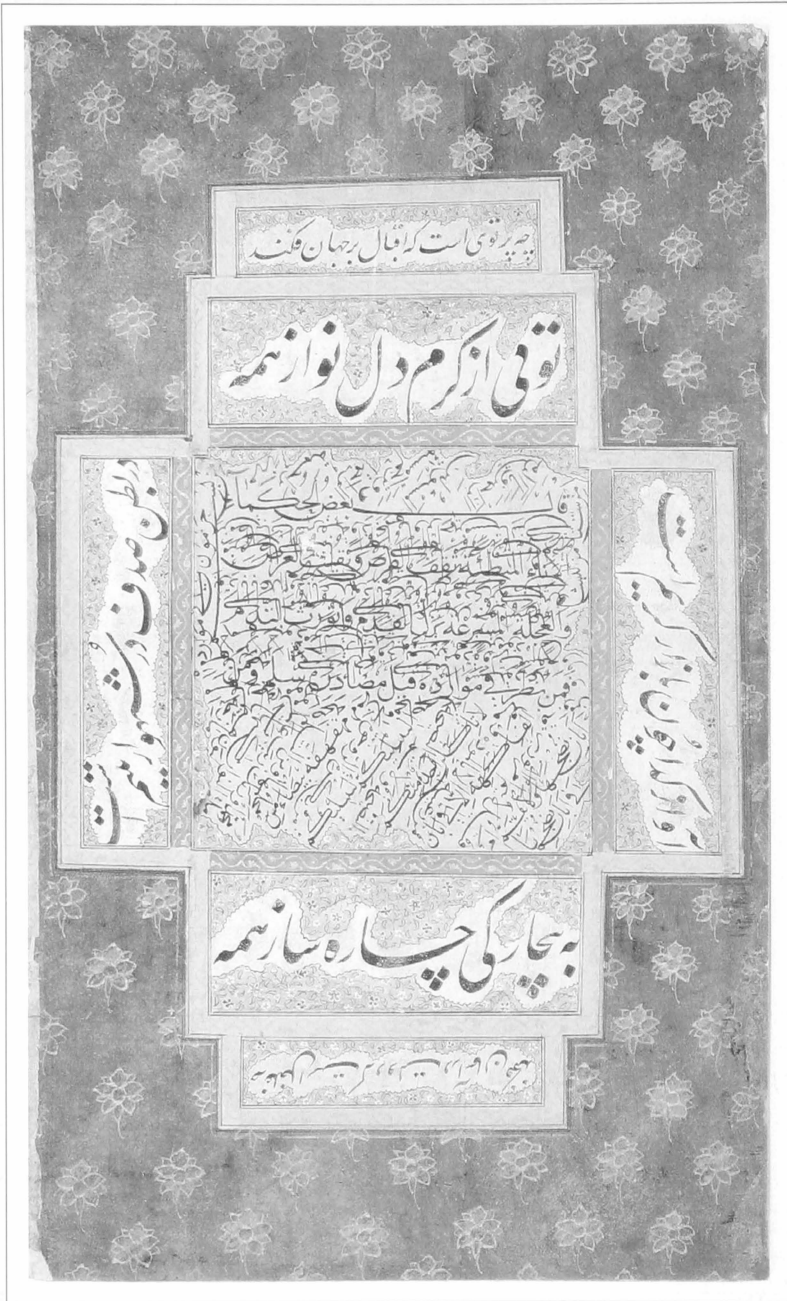


Fig. 4

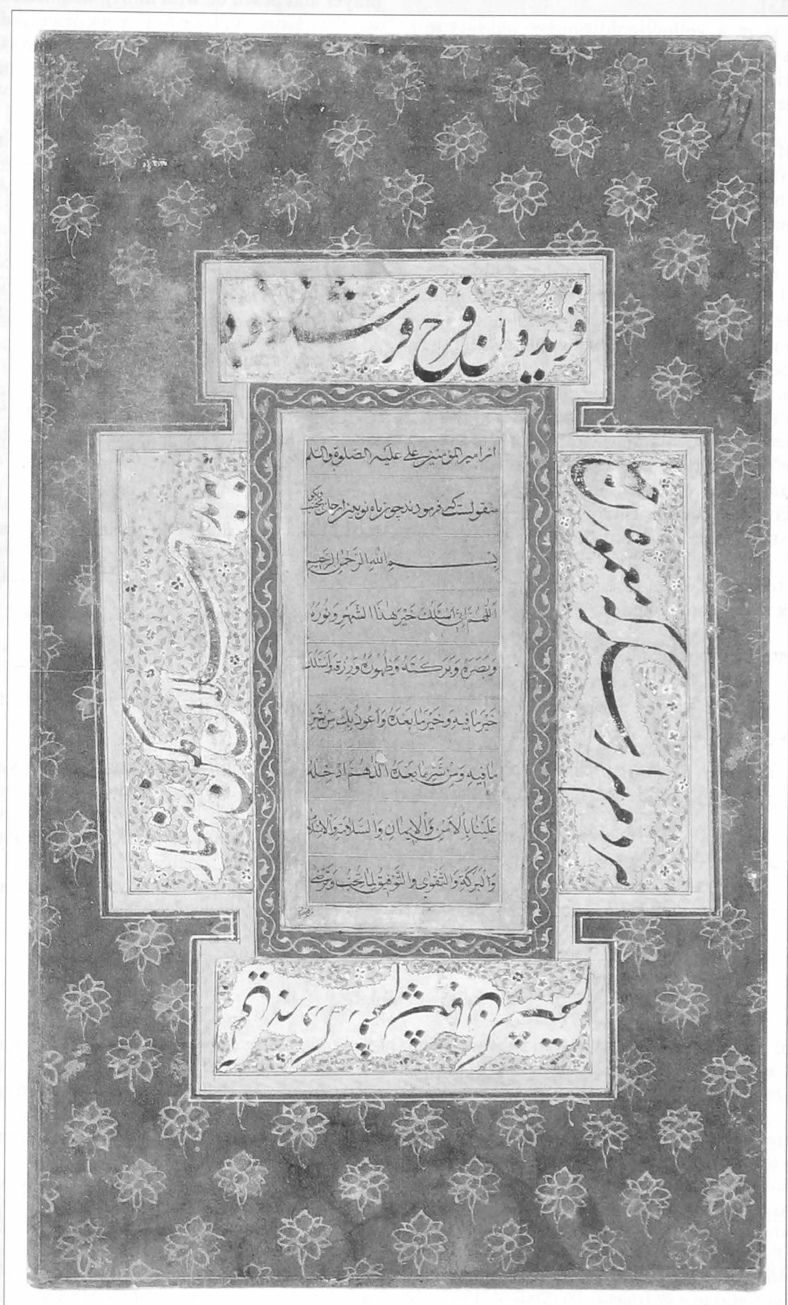


Fig. 5

The left side of the miniature presents a green meadow close in colour to the bed covering, and a grey-blue sky with a rising sun ringed by stars. Above we find a clarifying inscription: *lalita* [23].

The miniature is in a yellow-gold border adorned in gold. The margins present a dark-blue background with large flowers in delicate gold.

The musical version of *Lalita* is performed just before sunrise.

The reverse of the folio (fig. 5) contains calligraphy samples (*qit'a*) written into 5 cartouches united by a common yellow-gold border with a gold ornament; they are arranged in the shape of a cross (maximum dimensions: 18.5×26.5 cm). The central, rectangular cartouche (6.0×14.5 cm) is enclosed in a blue border with gold. It contains a text of 9 lines (*naskh*) on a brown background; the lines of the text are separated by a gold line. The two upper lines contain a Persian text that explains that the following words belong to the fourth Rightly-Guided caliph, 'Alī. Along the margin of the border is an inscription: *مشفقه محمد صادق* ("Exercise of Muḥammad Ṣādiq") [24]. There follow seven lines containing an Arabic text — 'Alī's prayer. The other cartouches contain texts in large *nasta'liq*. The phrases are enclosed in a thin black line (*taḥrīr*). The golden background of the cartouches displays an ornament of small blue and red flowers and green leaves.

The margins form a dark-blue background with medium-sized flowers in delicate red paint.

Text in the central cartouche:

از امیر المؤمنین علی علیه الصلوة والسلام
منقولست که فرمودند چون ماه نو بین از جای مجنب ویکو
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
اللهم انی أسئلك خیر هذا الشهر ونوره
ویصره ویرکته وظهوره ورزقه (...)
خیر ما فیہ وخیر ما بعده وأعوذ بک من شر
ما فیہ ومن شر ما بعده اللهم ادخله
علینا بالأمن والإیمان والسلامة والإسلام

وبركة والتقوى والتوفيق لما تحب وترضى

"They convey that the *amīr* of the faithful, 'Alī (may prayer and peace be with him!), deigned to say: 'When you see the new moon, rise from your place and say:

In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate!
O God, I truly ask You, render propitious this moon
and its light,
and its sight, and its blessing, and its appearance, and
its share and [...] render propitious what is in it and what is after it. I seek
Your defence from the evil
that is in it and from the evil that is after it. O God,
lead it
to us with security and faith, with peace and Islam,
with blessing and honour, with success for that which
You desire and deign to provide"".

Texts (counter clockwise):

فریدون فرخ فرشنه جود

"The beautiful Farīdūn [25], angel of generosity".

به بد اصلا ن مکن زنهار

"Take care, do not do good unto evil people".

الهی بهر در که رفتم پشیمان گشتم

"O God, no matter which door I enter, I regret it".

مردم مرا ز شکر که معموره جهان

"People thank me for the improvement of the cultivated world".

All the miniatures described above belong to the Deccan school and can be dated to the second half of the eighteenth century. The *muraqqa'* folios present a very typical combination of the Muslim (Shi'a) religious texts, classical Persian poetry and miniatures connected with native Hindu traditions of love for poetry and music.

Notes

1. E. A. Rezvan, "Oriental manuscripts of Karl Fabergé. I: The Qur'ān", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VII/1 (2001), pp. 40—61.
2. Cf. Stewart Cary Welch, "Indian paintings in the St. Petersburg Muraqqa'", in *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa'. Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures from the 16th through the 18th Century and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy by 'Imād al-Ḥasanī* (Milano, 1996), p. 11.
3. I also express my sincere thanks to Margarita Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, Alexey Khismatulin, Firuza Abdullaeva and my daughter Maryam Rezvan for their constant and friendly help during the preparation of this article.
4. The rich scholarly tradition of studying *Rāgamālā* miniatures focuses on the publication of the miniature albums preserved in European collections. Among the most important works are: Klaus Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting* (Bâle, 1973); Ernst and Rose Leonore Waldschmidt, *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration, in the collection of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art*. Pt. I: *Ragamala Pictures from the Western Himalaya Promotory* (Wiesbaden, 1967); Pt. II: *Ragamala Pictures from the Northern India and the Deccan*, (Berlin, 1975); Linda York Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library* (London, 1995), i—ii; *idem*, *Paintings from India. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art* (Oxford, 1998), viii; Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Paintings* (London, 1983); Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library* (London, 1981); P. Pal, *Ragamala Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967). We also note a successful exhibition specially devoted to this artistic and musical phenomenon — *RAGAMALA: écouter les couleurs, peindre des sons* — organised by the Musée d'ethnographie de la Ville de Genève (20.03 — 13.04, 1998), as well as an interesting attempt to present this phenomenon in multimedia form (CD-ROM) "Ragamala" (Rs 595. Reality Information Systems, Pune, 6051987) (info@realityinfo.com).
5. The technical term goes back to the ninth century, see N.A. Jairazbhoy, "Hindu Music", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam CD-ROM Edition* v. 1.0. See also O. C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis* (Bombay, 1948), p. 63.

6. Similar associations, first attached to the strings of the lute (al-Kindī) and later extended to include the modes, are also found in Arabic musical treatises, see Jairazbhoy, *op. cit.*

7. See "Ragamala paintings and Eastern music", *Oriental Miniatures and Illumination*, Bulletin No. 8 (Maggs Bros. Ltd., London, February, 1965), p. 2.

8. For details see Sukhdev Singh Charak, *Jammu Ragamala Paintings* (Delhi, 1998), pp. 4—10.

9. M. Z. Siddiqi, *Studies in Arabic and Persian Medical Literature* (Calcutta, 1959), p. 32; see also Jairazbhoy, *op. cit.*

10. See close parallel in Falk & Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, 431vi, "Desvarati Ragini", Hyderabad, ca. 1784—85.

11. "La toilette", Bihar school, late 18th century. See Mario Bussagli, *Indian Miniatures* (Milan, 1966), Pl. 65.

12. See also M. S. Radhava, *Indian Miniature Painting* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 118, Pl. 79. Cf. *Ragini Bilavala* miniature, India, Bundelakhanda, ca. 1750, The University of Michigan Museum of Art accession no: 1975/2.154. See http://www.si.umich.edu/Art_History/demoarea/details/1975_2.154.html. See also miniature "Woman studying her face in the mirror", from Salim Album, Mughal, probably Allahabad, ca. 1600—1604. Leach, *Paintings from India*, p. 78, Pl. 22.

13. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn Zayn al-Ābidīn, fourth Shi'a *imām* (d. 95/714).

14. Muḥammad al-Bāqir, fifth Shi'a *imām* (d. 115/733).

15. Ja'far al-Šādiq, sixth Shi'a *imām* (d. 148/765).

16. Mūsā al-Kāzim, seventh Shi'a *imām* (d. 183/799).

17. 'Alī al-Riḍā, eighth Shi'a *imām* (d. 203/818).

18. Muḥammad Jawād al-Taqī, ninth Shi'a *imām* (d. 220/835).

19. 'Alī al-Naqī, tenth Shi'a *imām* (d. 254/868).

20. Al-Ḥasan al-'Askari, eleventh Shi'a *imām* (d. 260/874).

21. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (al-Qā'im and al-Ḥujja), twelfth Shi'a *imām* (entered major occultation in 329/940).

22. Cf. Leach, *Paintings from India*, No. 52, p. 182; Falk & Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, 505xi; Ebeling, *op. cit.*, Pl. c31.

23. Close parallels to our miniature, but in their "mirror" composition, one can find in "Ragamala paintings and Eastern music", Pl. XXV (No. 29) — "Lalita Ragini". Signed by Faqirullah. Mughal, ca. 1750—60 and "Lalita Ragini", Murshidabad, ca. 1760, see Falk & Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, 368ii.

24. Muḥammad Šādiq, a calligrapher known only by his *qit'a*. He was working in India in between 1660—1690 (the information of Prof. Oleg Akimushkin).

25. The son of Abtiyān or Abtīn, one of the early kings of Persia, a hero, who inherited the divine glory and re-established the monarchy which for some years had been usurped. The most complete text on the subject is the verse account of his reign by Firdawsī.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"Desvarātī (Varāri, Varādi) Rāgini", watercolour, gouache and gold on paper.

Deccan, second half of the 18th century. Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Karl Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 25a, 11.5 × 17.0 cm.

Back cover:

"Lalita Rāgini", watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Deccan, second half of the 18th century.

Same Album, fol. 34b, 13.5 × 23.0 cm.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. "Bilāval (Vilāval) Rāgini", watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Deccan, second half of the 18th century. Same Album, fol. 23a, 12.5 × 22.5 cm.

Fig. 2. "Lady attended by the two maid-servants looks in the mirror", Gharwal school, mid-18th century. Fragment tracing from M. S. Radhava, *Indian Miniature Painting* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 118, Pl. 79.

Fig. 3. Calligraphic sample (*qit'a*). Watercolour, ink and gold on paper. Mounted in India, mid-18th century. Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Karl Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 23b.

Fig. 4. Calligraphic sample (*qit'a*). Watercolour, ink and gold on paper. Mounted in India, mid-18th century. Same Album, fol. 25b.

Fig. 5. Calligraphic sample (*qit'a*). Watercolour, ink and gold on paper. Calligraphic exercise by Muḥammad Šādiq, ca. 1660—1690. Mounted in India, mid-18th century. Same Album, fol. 34a.

FORGOTTEN ORIENTAL DOCUMENTS

The collection of Arabic manuscripts and documents at the Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents (*Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov*; henceforth, *RGADA*) in Moscow, often directly connected with Russian history, is the oldest collection of its type in the country, yet it has not attracted serious scholarly attention. This is the understandable result of social conditions in various periods and the history of Russian Oriental studies. The materials in this collection were gathered, mainly, by a small group of individual enthusiasts; they are primarily of a coincidental nature and do not in specific instances provide an exhaustive overview of any particular question. On the other hand, serious research in Oriental studies on Eastern texts was, in fact, conducted in Leningrad (St. Petersburg) and relied on the unequally sized collections of the Asiatic Museum (today St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) and the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library (today National Library of Russia), which were gathered by many generations of scholars over many decades. However, materials at *RGADA* are as well of value, since they refute many accepted judgments in Arab studies.

Ironically, the Arabic manuscripts from the *RGADA* collection best known to scholarship are not those that have survived to the present day, but those that were lost centuries ago but once belonged to groups of documents held at *RGADA*. (Some of them may never have existed at all). The earliest information on the presence of analogous manuscripts in the Tsar's archive, which finally made its way (with losses) into the Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Moskovskii glavnyi arkhiv Ministerstva inostrannykh del*; henceforth, *MGAMID*) collection, goes back to the sixteenth century. In the "Description of the Tsar's archive", we find, in particular, box 172 — "Tatar books", box 218 — "Tatar kuran (sic) on which the Tatars swear the *shert* (oath — *D. M.*)". It is noted that "in the year 78 (1570 — *D. M.*), May, Pyotr Grigoryev brought the Kuran to the sovereign" [1]. A reference in passim in the documents to an Arabic cosmography of the thirteenth century, manuscripts of which were most often decorated with splendid miniatures — "Our sovereign ordered [us] to seek that book in his stores, but [we] could not find it" — in its time served as an argument in a dispute about the library of Ivan the Terrible [2]. These books are no longer listed in the descriptions for 1614, 1626, and 1632 [3].

Arabic manuscripts and documents at *RGADA* can easily be divided into several groups on the basis of when and

how they were acquired. The earliest reliably attested acquisition is the archive and manuscript collection of G. J. Kehr (1692—1740) [4]; fourteen manuscripts were acquired from his widow in 1741. We cite here the list of these manuscripts, drawn up (in outdated Russian) upon their acquisition [5]:

1) "story about the imam Shafi, in Arabic", fol. 181, No. 1227 [6];

2) "story in the Arabic language (tales of the iman Maverdi)", fol. 181, No. 1230 [7];

3) "book in the Persian language called Diwan, written in verse (tales of the iman Shirachi)", fol. 181, No. 1492 or No. 1493;

4) "verses in the Persian language (about the same)", fol. 181, No. 1492 or No. 1493;

5) "book in the Arabic language (ceremony of the Mohammedan faith, in Turkish)", fol. 181, No. 1231 [8];

6) "book in the Arabic language (prophecy of the proph. Sinabi, in Persian)", fol. 181, No. 1259 [9];

7) "Persian sayings (and an elementary course for studying the same language)", fol. 181, No. 1460;

8) "description of the siege and conquest of Candia (Crete — *D. M.*) in 1677; with the names of Turkish provinces, the number of military men in those provinces who receive salary, and so on (in Turkish)", fol. 181, No. 1462;

9) "elucidation of the Mohammedan faith (through Liamsa'ed) in the Arabic language", fol. 181, No. 1239 [10];

10) "vocabulae in Arabic and Persian" (?);

11) "Mohammedan prayer-book, in the Arabic language", fol. 181, No. 1260 [11];

12) "part of the alkanan (114 chapters) in the Arabic language", fol. 181, No. 1229 [12];

13) "the quire [contains] Turkish (Persian) songs" (?);

14) "a historical book in various Asiatic languages", fol. 181, No. (?)1459.

There is no doubt that these manuscripts are of Turkish origin or at least circulated in Turkish milieu in the European part of the Ottoman Empire and were later seized as trophies during the Austrian-Ottoman wars of the seventeenth century. Undoubtedly of the same origin are the originals of the many excerpts made by Kehr's hand from Arabic manuscripts from German collections, including the Leipzig "senator's" library, a catalogue of which was drawn

up by Kehr. Excerpts from this catalogue and descriptions of certain Leipzig manuscripts completed with great care and extensive quotations are scattered among many items in the RGADA Kehr archive by topic.

His archive contains also the Arabic-language letters of several European scholars, which are of great interest to the history of Oriental studies. Among these scholars are: J. Chr. Clodius (1676–1745; Nos. 148–149), J. H. Callenberg (1694–1760; No. 141), and E. Gründler (letters from India; No. 144). Curious are the rough drafts of letters by Kehr himself; they are addressed to an “Armenian archbishop” (1720, No. 145), an “Ottoman envoy” (No. 146), the “padishah of Iran” (1734, No. 160), where he offers his services as an expert on many languages in a hope to make a voyage to the East. We recall that this was the time of Robinson Crusoe (1719) by Daniel Defoe and Gulliver’s Travels (1726) by Jonathan Swift, which reflected a growing interest in other peoples, and sometimes the possibility of seeing oneself through alien eyes.

Some documents from the Kehr archive are linked with the names of two Syrians who make a notable mark on European Arabic studies in the early eighteenth century [13]. One of them, Sulaymān al-ʿAswad al-Ṣāliḥānī (ca. 1665–1729), usually mentioned with the Europeanised name “Solomon (in the particular Russian spelling — Salomon — D. M.) Negri”, is known for his translations into Arabic, in particular the “small catechesis” by Martin Luther and teaching dialogues in Syrian dialect. Both of these texts can be found (the first in fragmentary form) among Kehr’s papers; copies were evidently made not from print editions, which appeared only in 1729, but while Kehr was studying the language under the direction of Solomon Negri (No. 139 and No. 87).

The autographs of his fellow countryman, known by the strange name of Carolus Rali Dadichi (1734) [14], are clearly calculated to make an impression. (They are also found in the collection of Jacob J. Björnsthål, who will be discussed later). This original, in his own way, and artistic figure is, perhaps, reminiscent of the heroes of *maqāmāt* with their virtues and flaws. Undoubtedly, self-promotion was the aim of two authorial copies of letters (No. 143) to the famed Joseph Assemani (Yūsuf al-Ṣimānī; 1688–1768), whose name provided the title for the Glagolitic “Assemani’s Gospel”, probably the most ancient Slavic manuscript. This letter, which may not have been sent, contains advice (which the intended recipient hardly needed) on a work on Syrian patristics, then only a project, but later the famous writing [15].

Many questions arise about the “Report on the current state of Syria” (No. 124) whose text is contained in a sort of critically annotated list by Kehr dated 1733. As is noted there, it was written by a certain Arab Christian (the name is most likely given in a distorted form and it is not among those that are well-known); for the famed Andrei Osterman (1686–1747) The latter, a native of Westfalen, entered the Russian service in 1703, and at the end of Peter the Great’s reign was one of the most important political figure in Russia. Later, under the Tsaritsa Anna Ioanovna he became an actual ruler in the internal and foreign affairs of Russia (he was sent to exile in 1741 by Peter’s daughter, the Empress Elizabeth). The author of the “Report”, the conditions of its composition, the reason for drawing up such an unimposing text in Arabic (really in Syrian dialect), and the

date of its composition are obscure. We failed to discover any mention of such a document in the literature, or at least in Oriental studies literature.

A certain counterpart to Kehr’s archive is the more modest collection of Björnsthål-Slutsky, gathered a half-century later. Its first owner, the Swedish philologist and traveller Jacob J. Björnsthål (1731–1779) [16], apparently journeyed no farther into the East than Constantinople. He did, however, know some Arabic, since a familiarity with Semitic languages was considered necessary for Protestant Biblical exegesis. The Arabic-language items in the collection are generally souvenirs linked to famed Orientalists. An exception is a letter from the Sultan in Arabic that promises to pardon *shayḫh* Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar (No. 175). This document is of special interest, since Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar, the ruler of Acre, became the ally of a Russian squadron during the Russo-Turkish war of 1768–1774. The episode is well-known and has been treated on numerous occasions in the historical literature [17]. The collection later belonged to S. S. Slutsky (1860–1903) [18], an employee of the Archive known in particular for his work on Syriac and Syro-Turkic inscriptions in Central Asia.

The second large acquisition took place in 1749. These were “books and manuscripts taken from Turkish prisoners of war; 68 books, nearly all in Arabic (several in Turkish). Among the books were: 7 alkanrans, 1 [book of] verses in Turkish, one on the birth of Muḥammad, 5 on Muslim law, 1 Arabic grammar, and 53 prayer books” [19]. Belokurov, who examined the inventory, points out that “the number of manuscripts among them is not indicated...; only in 5 instances do we find books noted as ‘written’ or ‘written out’, which gives reason to believe that they were in manuscript” [20]. Taking into account the history of book-printing in Arabic and Turkish, there is little doubt that all of the books should have been in manuscript. Five manuscripts in similar binding are of special interest in this group; they were copied around 1740 by Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, from Karasu in the Crimea (Nos. 12–13) and Muḥammad, son of ʿAlī Riḍāʾi (Nos. 2, ʿ3, ʿ4). Some of them (Nos. 2, 12, 13) contain a note about copying in the city of Veliky Ustyug.

The manuscript catalogue drawn up between 1824 and 1841 lists only 60 “Arabic” manuscripts [21]. The disappearance of 22 manuscripts is evidently due to the scandalous activities of Christian Friedrich Mattei (1744–1811) [22]. Fifteen of these appear to have turned up in Dresden together with the latter subsequently famed Greek collection between 1784 and 1789 [23].

In the mid-nineteenth century, several manuscripts were acquired from the Syrian Spiridon (Iṣbīr) ʿAbbūd (18??–1879) [24] or with his help. These are a fairly old copy (?1452) of the *Maqāmāt* al-Ḥarīrī (No. 105), a 1752 copy of an adaptation of the famed tenth-century encyclopaedia of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (No. 125). The copy of the “Journey of the Antioch patriarch Macarius” (No. 119) ordered with the help of Spiridon ʿAbbūd in Syria especially for the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs played an important role in the study of seventeenth-century Russian culture. It was on this manuscript that G. A. Murkos, who will be discussed below, based his full Russian translation of the “Journey”, an indispensable source for all works on seventeenth-century Russia. It is appropriate to note here that lacunae in this copy of the “Journey” were undoubtedly filled with recourse to another

translation, also found in the archive, made from Belfour's well-known English translation, based on a fuller redaction (No. 122).

Finally, the last acquisition of Arabic-language materials was the collection of Murkos himself (Jūrī Ibrāhīm Marqus) [25], a native of Syria who lived for more than three decades in Russia, yet retained close ties with his homeland and never lost touch with its social and cultural life. Numerous, long letters from Damascus, Beirut, Tripoli, Homs, Zahle, Latakia, Jaffa, Cairo, Aleksandria, Constantinople (Istanbul), Mersin, and also from Arabs in

St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev, contains a great deal of important information both on the Arab Orthodox community in Syria and Lebanon (of which Murkos himself was a member and which he represented in many journalistic works) and on affairs within the Ottoman Empire at the time.

To conclude, the materials held at *RGADA* are of interest less for the traditional study of Arab-Muslim literature than for resolving a broad array of questions, in particular, concerning Russian history, the history of culture, cross-cultural influence, the history of Oriental studies in Europe and Russia, the history of language study, and many other issues.

Notes

1. The description is in manuscript QIV 70/1, fols. 313a and 346a, in the collection of the National Library of Russia. It has been published: (1) *Akty sobrannnye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi Imperii Arkheograficheskoiu ekspeditsiei Imp. Akademii nauk* (Statements Collected by the Imperial Academy of Sciences Archaeographic Expedition from the Libraries and Archives of the Russian Empire) (St. Petersburg, 1836), iv, cited are pp. 347 and 352; (2) *Opisi Tsarskogo Arkhiva XVI veka i Arkhiva Posol'skogo prikaza 1614 g.* (16th-Century Inventories of the Tsar's Archive and the 1614 Ambassadors Court's Archive), ed. S. O. Schmidt (Moscow, 1960), cited is p. 42; (3) *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossii XVI stoletia. Opyt rekonstruktsii* (The Sixteenth-Century State Archive of Russia. A Reconstruction Attempt), preparation of the text and commentaries by A. A. Zimin, editor and introduction's author L. V. Cherepnin (Moscow, 1978), fasc. 1, p. 75; fasc. 2, p. 385; fasc. 3, p. 506. The citations are quoted in many works, see, for example, N. P. Likhachev, *Biblioteka i arkhiv moskovskikh gosudarev XVI stoletii* (The Library and Archive of the Muscovite Tsars in the 16th Century) (Moscow, 1894), pp. 62, 82; N. N. Zarubin, *Biblioteka Ivana Groznogo* (The Library of Ivan the Terrible) (Leningrad, 1982), pp. 55, 83; R. A. Simonov, A. A. Turilov, A. V. Chernitsov, *Drevnerusskaia knizhnost'* (Old-Russian Book Culture) (Moscow, 1994), p. 121; M. A. Usmanov, "O dokumentakh russko-vostochnoi perepiski na tiurkskikh iazykakh v XV—XVIII vv. i ikh istochnikovedcheskom znachenii" ("On the documents of Russian-Eastern correspondence in Turkic languages in the 15th—18th centuries and their importance as historical sources"), *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie dissipliny*, fasc. 2 (Moscow, 1994), pp. 127, 135; and A. Krümming, "Pervye russkie perevody Korana, vypolnennnye pri Petre Velikom" ("The first Russian translations of the Qur'an made under Peter the Great"), *Archiv Russkoi istorii*, fasc. 5 (Moscow, 1994), p. 228.

There existed a controversy about the question of what one should understand under the "Tatar Books". Likhachev and Zimin consider them to be the books in Eastern languages and in Eastern script. If so, those might most likely be works in Arabic in Muslim law, which were then needed. A. N. Sobolevsky, the author of a review of Likhachev's work argued that the "Tatar books" should be understood as ordinary Ambassadors Court books in the Russian language. See *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia* (December 1894), section 2.

2. See, for example, I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Izbrannnye sochineniia* (Selected Works) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1957), iv, pp. 358—63, ill. 48—53 (inserts, among them four are in colour); A. D. Sidel'nikov, "Arabskaia kniga v tsarskoi kazne" ("Arabic book in the Tsar store"), in *Sbornik statei k sorokaletiiu uchenoi deiatel'nosti akademika A. S. Orlova* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 165—7. One failed to find any manuscripts of this cosmography in Moscow collections. To ascertain possible influence of such kind of miniatures on the Old-Russian miniature painting, one can consult miniatures in extant Arabic cosmographies in R. Ettinghausen, *La peinture arabe* (Genève, 1962), pp. 138—9, 178, 181; M. Meissner, *Die Welt der sieben Meere* (Leipzig—Weimar, 1980), Tables 3, 9—17. See also H.-C. von Bothmer, *Die Illustrationen des "Münchener Qazwini" von 1280* (München, 1971).

3. Belokurov, *O biblioteke*, p. 29. A copy of the Qur'an, with a seventeenth—early eighteenth centuries record of swearing the oath on it, kept in the *RGADA*, have watermarks dating to ca. 1628—1639, and consequently is a different manuscript. For the extant Qur'an, see D. A. Morozov, *Kratkii katalog arabskikh rikopisei i dokumentov Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva drevnikh aktov* (A Concise Catalogue of Arabic Archive of Ancient Documents) (Moscow, 1996), No. 1.

4. M. Shuvalov, "Ocherk zhizni i deiatel'nosti orientalista Kera" ("An outline of the life and activities of the Orientalist Kehr"), in *Sbornik Moskovskogo Glavnogo Arkhiva Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del*, fasc. 5 (Moscow, 1893), pp. 91—110.

5. Belokurov, *op. cit.*, p. 92. The list is held at *RGADA*: "fund 180 (office of *MGAMID*. No. 17 (books of entries and going out papers... 1741). Fol. 188. Those are worked with by the translator Semyon Ivanov; No. 25 (books of entries and going out papers... 1749). Fols. 332—3; 344—5".

6. Morozov, *op. cit.*, No. 108.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 70.

8. *Ibid.*, Nos. 54, 71, 73.

9. *Ibid.*, No. 64.

10. *Ibid.*, No. 60.

11. *Ibid.*, No. 10.

12. *Ibid.*, Nos. 56, 71, 73.

13. For more on them, see, for example J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa* (Leipzig, 1955), pp. 95—7: "Ein Zwischenspiel (Negri und Dadichi)".

14. C. F. Seybold, "Der gelehrte Syrer Carolus Dadichi", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 64 (1910), pp. 591—601. *Idem*, 74 (1920), pp. 292, 464—5; W. Suchier, *C. R. Dadichi oder wie sich deutsche Orientalisten von einem Schwindler täupieren ließen* (Halle, 1919).

15. J. S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*..., 3 vol. in 4 tomi (Romae, 1719—1728).
16. See *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon* (Stockholm, 1925), iv, pp. 722—6. Jacob Jonas Björnsthål's *Briefe auf seinen ausländischen Reisen*, 2 Aufl. I—II (Leipzig—Rostock, 1780).
17. See, for example, A. E. Krymskii, *Istoriia novoi' arabskoï literatury* (History of Modern Arabic Literature) (Moscow, 1971), p. 140; *idem*, "Iz beirutskoï tserkovnoi letopisi" ("From a Beirut church chronicle"), *Drevnosti vostochnye*, III/1 (Moscow, 1907), p. 69 (separate pagination).
18. As established by A. I. Gamayunov, an employee of *RGADA*.
19. Belokurov, *op. cit.*, p. 90. The list has been preserved at *RGADA*, f. 180, (MGAMID office), No. 25 (Books of entries and going out papers... 1749), fol. 326.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 110. (At present, f. 181, inv. 18.) This undoubtedly means all Eastern manuscripts in Arabic writing, since neither Persian nor Turkish manuscripts are mentioned in this list, although they certainly existed. For example, XI 6/428 (=f. 181, No. 1460; not reflected in the current catalogue). The same catalogue lists one "Tatar" manuscript, IV 10/230 (=f. 181, No. 1458] — a Tatar translation of the Statute of the Police Office, 1787—1792, definitely from Russian — which evidently did not form part of the Eastern tradition.
22. On the Mattei affair, see Belokurov, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—23. There is an interesting, if not scholarly, work which treats the affair as well, see R. T. Peresvetov, *Tainy vytsvetshikh strok* (Mysteries of Faded Lines) (Moscow, 1961; reprinted in 1970), pp. 28—48; *idem*, *Po sledam nakhodok i utrat* (Tracing Finds and Losses) (Moscow, 1961; 2nd edn. Moscow, 1963), pp. 27—49.
23. Belokurov, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Belokurov cites an untranslated letter by Schnorr von Carolsfeld from 21 March 1898 with a list of materials acquired by the Dresden library from Mattei with reference to vol. 188, No. 10 of the library's archive. It lists: "Hierzu kommen noch 15 theils Arabische, theils Tatarische Handschriften" (There follow also 15 manuscripts, partly Arabic and partly Tatar), which is inaccurately translated by Peresvetov as "fifteen ancient Arabic and Tatar texts" (*Po sledam nakhodok i utrat*, p. 48). A translation of the letter is held at *RGADA*: f. 184 (S. A. Belokurov), inv. 1, No. 554, fol. 3. We were unable to find the original.
- In the Dresden library's catalogue of Eastern manuscripts (H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium Bibliothecae Regiae Dresdenis*, Lipsiae, 1831) the name Mattei is understandably absent in the list of previous owners, although the time and source of acquisitions are often noted. Among manuscripts of uncertain origin — relatively late acquisitions, judging by the numbers — the following seem of interest (p. 72): Nos. 419—421, 423—424 (there are 454 descriptions in all), with indications of Tatar handwriting and/or language. Especially curious is manuscript, copied in 1740 in Orenburg with Russian marginal notes (MS 421).
24. On him, see, Krymskii, *Istoriia novoi' arabskoï literatury*, pp. 305—6.
25. *Drevnosti vostochnye* (Eastern Antiquities), vol. 4 (Moscow, 1913), proceedings, pp. 69—77. "Murkos" is the dialectical Arabic form of the name "Markos, Mark", which was a last name in this case. The more correct form "Markos" is found in documents that appeared at the beginning of his time in Russia, but it was later supplanted by the more familiar oral form.
- In the Arabic autographs of relatives, the name/last name is written with a ص in accordance with the Arab Orthodox tradition; we find س in letters by those who did not know him well, as is the practice in modern literature.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

I. Ye. Petrosyan

A LATE COPY OF THE *GĦARĪB-NĀMA* BY 'ĀSHIQ-PĀSHĀ

Among the Turkic manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, there is a nineteenth-century copy of the poem *GĦarĭb-nāma* by 'Āshiq-pāshā [1]. The history of the manuscript is of some interest; it was presented by the copyist to an extraordinary political figure, the Kazakh *khān* Jahāngĭr. The circumstances surrounding the gift itself, the nature of the text, as well as the intricate way by which the copy in question entered the collection may throw additional light both on one of the most curious episodes in Kazakh history and the circulation of literary texts, written in Old Anatolian Turkic, among the Turkic peoples of Russia and Central Asia.

The manuscript (17.0×25.0 cm) is written in *naskh*; folios' edges are gilded. The binding is paste-board covered in shiny bright-brown leather with a gold embossment along the edges and in the centre. The back of the binding also has a gold embossment. The inner part of the covers is pasted over with light-green paper. Both the thick cremish paper and binding are of Russian manufacturing. The folios show a barely visible oval imprinted watermark from the Yaroslavl paper factory of Prince Nikolai Gagarin. The ink is black and red. The text in verses is framed in red and is written in two columns (11.0×20.0 cm). The manuscript contains 266 folios; 21 lines per page. The copy is in good condition; it creates an impression of richly produced volume thanks to the binding's embossment and abundance of gilt on folios' edges. The text practically lacks any decoration. There is also no *'umwān*. The title is at the top of the page.

Beginning (fol. 4b):

اكنون اين ضعيف فقير المفتقر الى رحمت الله تعالى عَلَى بن
المخلص بن الشيخ الياس المعروف جَدُّه بِبَابَا و هو المعروف
بشيخ پاشا العاشق رحمت الله رحمتك و اسعك بر خود لازم
و واجب كرد كه ...

End (fol. 266b):

لَوْ كَانَ يُهْدَى إِلَى الْإِنْسَانِ قِيمَتُهُ
فَأَنْتَ قِيمَتُكَ الدُّنْيَا وَ مَا فِيهَا

The name of the copyist is indicated in the colophon written in prose, in the Arabic language, at the end of the manuscript (fol. 266b). The text runs as follows:

"The end of the book *GĦarĭb-nāma*, belonging to [the pen of] 'Āshiq-pāshā, may the Most High grant him peace... This copy was transcribed by the most insignificant and miserable of slaves, who seeks the mercy of [our] Lord the Creator, Sadr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Qarḡhālī, as a gift for Jahāngĭr-khān b. Būkāy-khān, in the year of the Hijra 1255, on the fourth day of Muḥarram (March 20, 1839 — *I. P.*), basing this [text] on an old manuscript copied in Hijra 854 (1450/51 — *I. P.*)" [2].

There follow two *bayts* of the copyist's own composition, after which we find one more phrase in Arabic:

"This gift for the *khān*, son of a *khān*, is like the hoopoe's gift to Sulaymān — peace be upon him. It [may be] likened to what the hoopoe sang of to Sulaymān" [3].

To understand the last phrase in its connection with the figure of Jahāngĭr-khān, it would be appropriate to give a brief account of this personality's life which falls on a curious period in the history of Russo-Kazakh relations. Jahāngĭr was the son of the head of the famed Kazakh Būkāy Horde, whose role in the history of the Kazakh people and the history of Russo-Kazakh relations was exceptional. Būkāy, to whom the Horde owed its name, belonged to the Kazakhs' tribal nobility, the *sulṭāns*, claiming to have originated from Chingĭz-khān. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Būkāy crossed into the lands of Russia together with a group of Kazakh clans from the Younger *zhūz* and formed a new Horde on the territory between the lowlands of the Ural and Volga rivers. In 1803, the Horde consisted of 7,500 tents; by 1845 this number is considered to have grown to 52,000. The migration of the nomadic Kazakhs under Būkāy to Russia was stimulated by several factors related to the internal history of the Kazakhs at the turn of the eighteenth — nineteenth centuries. One of the reasons Būkāy eagerly accepted the Russian administration's proposal to resettle within Russia's borders was pressure on the tribes of the Younger *zhūz* from the Kazakhs beyond the Urals [4]. In a letter from Būkāy to the Astrakhan military governor we read of Būkāy's determination to "be a people subject to him in the service of the

All-Russian Ruler and Emperor". In the same letter, Būkāy also asks permission for his people to roam between the Ural and Volga [5]. On March 11, 1801, a corresponding decree was issued by the Russian Tsar Paul I (r. 1796—1801). In 1812, Būkāy's Horde was proclaimed a khānate, with Būkāy as its khān. The newly created khānate was a dual subject of the Astrakhan military governor and the Orenburg border commission, a special organ to manage the Kazakhs of the Younger zhūz.

In 1815 Būkāy died, and his widow informed the Orenburg governor that her deceased husband wished to see his son Jahāngīr to be his heir. But since Jahāngīr was still a minor, the authority of the khān was entrusted to the brother of the deceased, Shigāy, which eventually led to a struggle for power within the Horde. Jahāngīr intervened decisively, leaving his studies in Astrakhan and relating to the Orenburg governor his readiness to assume for himself power in the khānate. Two circumstances aided Jahāngīr's eventual success: the Horde's nobility — the *sultāns*, *bēys*, and elders — supported him; the Russian authorities were also favourably inclined toward Jahāngīr because of his an overtly pro-Russian orientation. On June 24, 1824 Jahāngīr was officially proclaimed khān [6].

Unlike his father Būkāy, who was a nomad to the core, Jahāngīr had received a Russian education and was a man of European culture. He dreamt of the spreading of European education among his people. Under his rule several settlements appeared among the Kazakh nomadic encampments; in time, they became the Horde's commercial and cultural centres. In Khan-Qala, the capital settlement of the Horde, Jahāngīr built his own wooden house in imitation of a Russian landlord's dwelling. This home served as the khān's palace; its interior was a strange mixture of European and Eastern features. There were cabinets with numerous books, and an extremely valuable collection of Eastern arms hung on the walls.

Jahāngīr considered himself an independent ruler, which was formally confirmed by the fact that the Būkāy khānate was under the jurisdiction of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also believed that he would be able to retain khān's power for his son; on December 6, 1840, he received, through the Ministry of State Property, the assurance of Tsar Nicholas I (r. 1825—1855) that his heirs would receive the Tsar's patronage and that after his death his son, Sāhib-Girāy, would be proclaimed khān [7]. Largely, Jahāngīr made use of his power without consulting with the Russian administration. However, in 1838 a formally insignificant but extremely important event took place: the Būkāy Horde was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of State Property, which formally changed the status of the khānate. From that time on, the Russian government ceased to consider Jahāngīr an independent ruler. At the end of his life, he had the rank of Major-General.

Jahāngīr took part in the coronation of Nicholas I, enjoyed audiences with the Tsar at the court and remained in contact with the Orenburg governor. But the aims of Jahāngīr and those of the Russian government were completely different. If Jahāngīr strove to be a full-fledged Kazakh ruler, the Russian government merely used Jahāngīr's disposition toward Russians and Russian culture to subjugate a significant part of the Kazakh nomads. The Russian government's plans were fully revealed after Jahāngīr-khān's death.

Though a man of European culture, Jahāngīr, to whom the manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* was presented in 1839, nonetheless stood at the head of a nomadic people faithful to his traditional way of life and beliefs. Constant migrations, life in winter and summer encampments, as well as a need for space and freedom, rendered the Kazakhs of the Būkāy Horde less than ideal subjects for their Europeanized khān. One of the most serious difficulties, both the Russian government and Jahāngīr had to face, was deeply rooted paganism of the nomads. The Kazakhs were Muslims in name only, and Jahāngīr-khān saw it as his task to propagate Islam among his people. He invited *mullās* to the khānate, and their number reached 130 under his rule. These were primarily Orenburg Tatars. Living in nomadic encampments and setting up "steppe mosques" in the field, they compelled the nomads to perform Muslim religious rituals. The khān himself was an ardent supporter of the same policy: Jahāngīr forced litigants who arrived at Khan-Qala to visit a mosque especially constructed here. The head *mullā* of the Horde — the *akhūn* — served in the mosque. There are accounts that the khān's guard drove the Kazakhs into the mosque with whips during the markets held in Khan-Qala [8]. A *qādī* also appeared in the khānate, and the Orenburg Tatar Jabar Khamatov served in this position for 20 years [9].

In 1841, Jahāngīr opened a school for Kazakh children in Khan-Qala. The main disciplines were the Tatar, Arabic and Russian languages, along with elementary arithmetic and grammar. Geography and history, although on a moderate scale, were also taught. The most able pupils were encouraged to continue their education in *madrasas* of Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, and Astrakhan or were sent to the Nepluyevsky Cadets Corps in Orenburg [10]. Pupils for the school in Khan-Qala were drawn primarily from the children of the Kazakh tribal nobility.

It is among the teachers of this school that I was able to find the name of the copyist and gift-giver of our manuscript. Šadr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Amin al-Qarghālī, whose name was given in its Russified form (Sadreddin Aminov), was listed as the school's first teacher of Eastern languages and the faith [11]. As his *nisba* indicates, he was a native or resident of Qarghala. Šadr al-Dīn al-Qarghālī was undoubtedly a Tatar linked by descent with the history of the Orenburg Tatars, whose role in the spread of Islam among the nomads must be recognized as outstanding. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Orenburg became the centre whence the Russian government strove to strengthen Islam among the Kazakh nomads, which was a radical break with its earlier policy. Extraordinary repressive measures were taken by Russian authorities against Islam in the 1740s. For example, by mid-1744, 418 of 536 mosques in the Qazan area were destroyed. These actions of the Russian government even led in 1755 to an uprising of the Bashkirs, after which the policy shifted. In 1755, permission was granted for 200 families to found the settlement of Qarghala (or, as the Russians called it, Seitovsky *posad*) to the north of Orenburg. Qarghala, home to Tatars exempt at first from all fiscal obligations, for many years, up until the Revolution of 1917, remained a centre of Muslim science and learning. A mosque, considered the best in the Qazan area, was built there [12].

The role of the Tatars in the Būkāy Horde was prominent indeed. In addition to the numerous *mullās*, who helped the Kazakh nomads to be "more Muslim", there was

*Fig. 1*

عشق روم عاشق ایشا کما به

اکنون این ضعیف فقیر مفتقر الی رحمة الله تعالى علی بن المخلص
 الشیخ الیاس المعروف بجده بابا وصو المعروف بشیخ ایشا عشق
 رحمة الله رحمة واسعة بر خود لازم و واجب کرد که بعبود باری تعالی جلست
 قدسه و ضمن حقیقت اولیاء عظام و انبیاء عظیم صلوات الله علیهم
 اجمعین بدان مقدار که وسع طاقت حدیث کتابی بر زبان ترکی نظم کند تا ایشان
 از آن اسرار و معانی معلوم کنند و از آن نعمت بکلی محروم نمانند و مگر بنظر
 بر طریق ناشایست نزنند از آن سبب کلمه چند بر زبان ترکی در سلک نظم
 معلوم کرده آمد تا بخاوی آن معانی بی تفکر و تأمل دریابند شعری

معلوم اولدی الا معنی هنرلی	کرم کسینکند بنده ترک درلی
یز مکل سنه ترک و تاجک دلرک	چون بولاسن جمله یول معنی دلرک

هنر که دل سلیم و عقل مستقیم دارد چون این ابیات را مطالعه کند بر شوای
 این معانی مطلع گردد خود را بخود جمع کرده از افعال قبیحه اشتغال فضیحه
 احتراز تمام نماید و در سلک خجسته حق و خاصان مطلق منتظم گردد تا در
 وقت بازگشت نصرت و تاراه روی حاصل کنند اگر چه باری سبحانه و تعالی
 این فقیر ضعیف را آن قدر کرامت فرموده و آن قدر قدرتی ارزانی داشته که
 بر زبان عبری که مشکل ترین زبان و محسوب البیان است فحوی این رموز کند و
 دشوار تر توان کردن و لکن چون عرض را عوض کرده آمد ریاضه ابرام نمی رود

Fig. 2

a Tatar chancery in Khan-Qala, where a manager, his assistant, and two scribes were occupied with official record keeping. A head *mullā* (*akhūn*), *qāḍī*, and two *azanshī-mullās* — all were Tatar. Some 200 Tatars also lived in Khan-Qala itself. Jahāngīr's own wife Fatima Guseynova, the daughter of an Orenburg *muftī*, was Tatar too [13].

So, in 1839, not long before the school began to work in Khan-Qala, Šadr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Qarghālī, or Sadreddīn Aminov, presented the manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* to Jahāngīr-khān. As we learn from the gift-giver's own note (see above), it was a copy from the 1450 manuscript which was only 100 years odd distant from the date of the work's composition. We do not know whether the manuscript was in the personal library of Sadreddīn Aminov or it was held in some collection in the copyist's native Qarghala. In any case, the fact that the author used such an old manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* indicates that Russian Tatars possessed extremely valuable old manuscripts. It may have been Jahāngīr's receipt of the gift that led to Šadr al-Dīn's invitation to work in the school then being conceived by the *khān*'s headquarters. There, while instructing Kazakh children in the Tatar language and Islam, Šadr al-Dīn continued to carry out the age-old mission the educated Tatars of Orenburg and Qarghala had set for themselves — to promote Islam among Turkic nomads. In this sense, Šadr al-Dīn's choice of work to present to Jahāngīr seems hardly accidental.

The poem *Gharīb-nāma* ("Book of the Stranger") was written by an Anatolian Šūfī 'Alī, known as 'Ashiq-pāshā (1271—1332). In the author's Persian-language introduction, found in the majority of extant manuscripts of the work, including our manuscript, 'Ashiq-pāshā refers to himself as follows: 'Alī b. al-Mukhlīš b. Shaykh Ilyās [14]. Shaykh Ilyās, or Bābā Ilyās, the poet's grandfather, was a famed Šūfī and significant political figure in his day. The author of the sixteenth-century Turkish biographical dictionary *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya* ("Crimson Tulip"), Ṭashquprizāda (Tashköprüzade), writes of Bābā Ilyās that he lived in Amasya, worked many wonders, and had numerous pupils. Bābā Ilyās is believed to have come to Asia Minor from Khorasan, seeking refuge from the Mongol invasion [15]. Soon he became the spiritual head of Anatolian Turkmens and, according to some accounts, the instigator of their uprising. 'Ashiq-pāshā's father, Shaykh Mukhlīš, was also one of the well-known Šūfis and a political figure. At the request of his disciples, he was for six months the *de facto* ruler of the Saljuq Sultanate in Rum after the death of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn II (634—657/1236—37—1259), and transferred power to Qārāmān, who, according to one of the accounts, was the son (or grandson) of one of Bābā Ilyās's pupils [16].

'Ashiq-pāshā is considered to have been born in Qirshahir [17], although one extant tradition claims that 'Ashiq-pāshā only moved to Qirshahir to be closer to another Šūfī of great repute, Hājī Bektāsh [18]. About the poet's life very little is known. In the Persian *bayt*, concluding the *fihris*t for the *Gharīb-nāma*, we find the dates of 'Ashiq-pāshā's birth and death in *ḥasab-i ahjad*:

"He came to the world in *kh*', he went away in *dhlj*,
The thirteenth day of Šafar, the eve of Tuesday,
so-and-so!" [19].

This Persian *bayt* is present in our manuscript too [20]. The numerical values of the letters *kh*' give 670, those of *dhlj* equal 733. Thus, the *bayt*, which was most likely com-

posed by one of the poem's copyists soon after 'Ashiq-pāshā's death, reports that the poet was born in 1271/72 and died on Monday night 3 November 1332. At the end of the poem, there are also *bayts* in Turkic providing the date of the work's completion:

"This book is completed now,
All of its 100 *dastāns* are finished".

"In [the year] 730 from the Hijra,
The words of reflection reached their end"[21].

A. H. 730 gives 1329/30, that is, the poet completed his work not long before his death in 1332.

Born into a famous family of Šūfī *shaykhs*, 'Ashiq-pāshā was undoubtedly a revered figure in Qirshahir. Few facts of his life are known thanks to the *Manāqib-nāma* written by his son, Elwān Chelebī, who recounts that 'Ashiq-pāshā was a disciple of Shaykh Suleymān Turkmān (or Türkmeni), and later Shaykh 'Uthmān (Osman), a *khalīfa* of 'Ashiq's grandfather, Bābā Ilyās. Bābā Ilyās himself was considered the head of the Anatolian *ṭarīqat* Abū-l-Wāfā Khwārazmī. We also learn that for a time 'Ashiq-pāshā was the *wazīr* of the Anatolian governor of the İlkhāns, Timūrtāsh Pāshā. But some unclear circumstances compelled 'Ashiq to leave for Egypt. While returning home, upon reaching Qirshahir, he is told to have fallen ill and died there on 3 November 1332 [22].

From his youth, as his son Elwān Chelebī reports, 'Ashiq-pāshā was surrounded by the Wāfāiyya Šūfis and received a Šūfī education. But probably he was also linked with the Mawlawī order. It was the time when various *darwīsh* branches flourished in Qirshahir, and there were numerous followers of the *futuwwa*. In time, 'Ashiq-pāshā became the most influential *shaykh* in Qirshahir and acquired many disciples. His Šūfī poem *Gharīb-nāma* demonstrates his indubitable Sunnism. Nonetheless, as researchers observe, the poem also reveals some traces of unorthodoxy [23].

'Ashiq-pāshā's main works are the allegorical poem *Faqr-nāma* ("Book of the [Bird] Faqr") and his most famous *mathnawī*, the *Gharīb-nāma*. Both works are of a didactic nature. The *Faqr-nāma* tells of the bird Faqr (lit. "poverty"), created by God himself, who orders it to fly to all places. During these flights, Faqr ascends to the throne of Allah, visits the gardens of paradise, reaches the sun, and flies around the earth. It encounters Adam, the Old Testament prophets, and also Jesus Christ, but does not chose to stay with any of them. Only Muḥammad, who wins the bird over with his modesty and humility, perfection and nobility of spirit, draws Faqr. In this poem, 'Ashiq-pāshā posits the unconditional superiority of Muḥammad over other prophets, a position disputed by some Šūfis [24]. Moreover, the aim of the poem seems to show the true meaning of poverty as understood by Šūfis. The accusations rained down on 'Ashiq-pāshā because of his material wealth and princely lifestyle, which outwardly stood in conflict with one of the Šūfī principle ideas of asceticism. Being an extremely wealthy *shaykh* with influence comparable to that of the sultan, 'Ashiq-pāshā had to defend himself from the accusations. The following words are ascribed to him:

"He is the dervish who renounceth the world, he is the beggar whom the world renounceth; for with them of the Truth true poverty is not the outward, it is the inward; and

that which they call dervishhood dwelleth not in homespun and serge and tattered cloak, it dwelleth in the heart; the dervish who loveth the world, whatsoever be his poverty and indigence, is yet a worlding; while that rich man, whatsoever be his riches and worldly power, who yet in his heart loveth not those things, nor inclineth thereunto, neither seeketh after them, howsoever rich a lord he be, is yet in the eyes of them of the Way among the folk of renunciation and of those who are dead unto the world: brief, dervishhood is the plucking from the heart the love of 'the all beside', and the freeing of the soul from the fetters of the world; elsewise, through cowl and frock and rosary and staff becometh no man a Sūfī pure of heart; and if one hold not this path, never shall he find the way to come nigh unto The Truth" [25].

In the Sūfī conception, a *darwīsh* (or *fuqār*) could be wealthy in the generally accepted sense, while being in fact spiritually impoverished, for it was felt that God sometimes encumbers his holy men with external wealth in order to hide their true essence [26]. Despite his wealth, 'Āshiq-pāshā was revered as a man of indubitable sanctity; it manifested itself also after his death. As the sixteenth-century Ottoman *tadhkirajī* Laṭīfī writes, the poet's tomb "gave off a delicate and pleasant odour" [27]. 'Āshiq-pāshā's son, Elwān Chelebī, in his *Manāqib-nāma*, seeks to prove the extreme sanctity of his father [28].

But 'Āshiq-pāshā's most popular work is undoubtedly his *mathnawī*, the *Gharīb-nāma*. Strangely, Laṭīfī does not give this title for 'Āshiq-pāshā's work, mentioning, however, his *Dīwān* on various esoteric matters, Sūfī concepts, rules for relations between *murshid* and *murīd*, and reasons for becoming a Sūfī. Laṭīfī reports that this *Dīwān* consists of 10 parts, each of which is in turn divided into 10 sections; he terms it a work "worthy of use by ascetics and the pious" [29]. It is entirely obvious that what Laṭīfī calls the *Dīwān* is the poem the author himself entitled the *Gharīb-nāma*. We find this title in the final part of the poem, where 'Āshiq-pāshā explains the reasons which caused him to write the work:

"This 'Book of the Stranger' appeared in [the Turkic] language
So that those who speak this language [might] grasp the
meaning [of the Sūfī teaching]" [30].

'Āshiq-pāshā uses several *bayrs* to explain why he wrote a Sūfī work in Turkic. He says that he would like the Turks could familiarize themselves with Sūfī teaching in their own language in order to have the same opportunity as the Persians to gain profound knowledge of Sūfism. Obviously, to avoid accusations of neglecting the Persian language — the classical language of Sufism — 'Āshiq-pāshā also tries to show the equal worth of all languages in conveying Sūfī ideas:

"All languages possess words endowed with meaning.
The visage of meaning is open to all who see" [31].

'Āshiq-pāshā's reflections on the Turkic language, capable, in his view, of conveying Sūfī ideas, show how much the *shaykhs* of Asia Minor in the late thirteenth — fourteenth century wanted their Turkic-speaking flock, generally ignorant of Persian, to have a sense of the Sūfī teaching.

The *Gharīb-nāma* is an extended poem with a strictly organized text that expounds the basic concepts and provisions of Sūfism. It is a veritable philosophical and religious

encyclopaedia of Sūfism and of its special, esoteric understanding of the world. The poem abounds in Qur'ānic citations, *ḥadīths*, ethical edification. Numerous digressions on various realms of knowledge — cosmogony, history, anatomy, etc., as well as theosophical and ethical reflections of the author — are illustrated by parables, allegories, tales of a folkloric and literary nature.

Of exceptional interest is the poem's compositional structure. It consists of 10 chapters (*bābs*), each of which in turn includes 10 *dastāns*. The adopted structure is explained by the author as follows:

"[God] established calculation [for] any thing of value,
Both the [old] *shaykh* and the youth make use of it.

The value of all things is known through the calculation,
Using it, [people] buy and sell.

[God] based calculation on [the number] ten,
Ten is the basis, [even if] there should be one hundred
thousand.

Listen then, how this [number] ten
Will explain to you the meaning of [the number] one
hundred.

If one times one gives one, you can take it ten times and
have ten.
If you take ten ten times, you have one hundred.

If you multiply one hundred by one hundred, it becomes
ten thousand,
Because one hundred multiplied by ten is ten hundreds,
[which is] a full thousand.

Ten thousand results if you take a thousand ten times,
[And] it gives one hundred thousand if you multiply ten
thousand by ten.

No one can calculate how much ten times one hundred
thousand will be,
Leave this, do not multiply, return to ten.

This calculation is based on one, and the factor is ten.
If you rose to the heavens, [you would learn that] their
height is equal to ten measures [32].

Whether on earth or in heaven, with the help of decimal
calculation
All has become known to the smallest details.

For this reason, [making] ten the basis for this book
We have created ten chapters with ten sections [each].

This is not merely ten *dastāns* in each chapter,
Here each thing fits each place (*maqām*)" [33].

The poem, structured along this numerical principle, has no single plot line. Each of the ten chapters is independent. Each of the ten *dastāns* that comprise them describes phenomena or objects that correspond in number to the number of the chapter (*bāb*). For example, the first chapter treats the singularity of God, the universe; the second, concepts and phenomena based on two (heaven and earth, good and evil, body and soul, day and night); the third, the three dimensions of time (past, present, and future); the fourth, the four elements (earth, wind, water, and fire), etc.

The poem is thus a Šūfī philosophical work in which we do not find, despite its strict internal organization, a systematic presentation of Šūfī ideas or concepts. At the same time, one can see in it a compositionally original retelling of Ibn 'Arabī's concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. 'Āshiq-pāshā tells of the Absolute (God) realized in the phenomena and essences of the universe, of the "reflection" of the Absolute — the world, which makes no sense unless it is correlated with its source. He describes the most important phenomena and essences of the created universe that arose as a result of emanation. All of these phenomena and essences correlate with each other, and the world presents itself as the necessary mode of being of the Absolute (God). It seems that 'Āshiq-pāshā's contribution to the teaching of Ibn 'Arabī is creating an original numerical model of the world as it appears to the Šūfī in its basic features. 'Āshiq-pāshā's remarks on the number 10, which he breaks down into a base of one and a multiplier of 10, and the internal numerical organization of the poem's contents seem to imply that 'Āshiq-pāshā offers a certain innovation, providing the grandiose Šūfī picture of the universe that can be explained with the aid of numbers. In this connection, the teaching on numbers ascribed to Pythagoras, which was popular in the East, comes to mind [34]. According to this teaching, the harmony of the world (the cosmos) is a result of eternally existing correspondences between numbers. Of course, 'Āshiq-pāshā hardly pretended to have discovered these correspondences, but the very attempt to base his work on numbers in a Šūfī description of the world and its phenomena can be regarded as an interesting innovation, although we know that Šūfism used, for example, numerology in its theory of degrees of sanctity and a hierarchy of the saints [35]. Yet we should not exclude the alternative possibility: that such a system for organizing material in the poem served purely mnemonic goals, easing the reader's understanding and memorization of the text and aiding the poem's popularity. A significant number of surviving copies of the *Gharīb-nāma* seems to prove that.

As a whole, the poem is undoubtedly intended for an educated, well-prepared Muslim reader capable of grasping numerous hints and allusions, a person well familiar with Islamic dogmatics and literature, eager to acquaint himself with Šūfī ideas. Was Jahāngīr such a person? I have no answer to this question. In any case, Ṣadr al-Dīn explains metaphorically the meaning of his present. We cite here his words once again:

"This gift to the *khān*, the son of the *khān*, is like the hoopoe's offering to Sulaymān — peace be upon him! It [may be] likened to that of which the hoopoe sang of to Sulaymān".

The reference is to the Sulaymān (King Solomon of the Bible) mentioned in the Qur'ān (27:20). Thanks to the Qur'ān, Sulaymān became the hero of numerous Muslim tales. The Qur'ānic Sulaymān is a righteous sorcerer who believes in Allah and receives arcane knowledge from Him. The hoopoe bird is mentioned along with Sulaymān in the *sūra* "The Ants". It tells how Sulaymān once gathered an army of *jinn*s, people, and birds and set out on a campaign. When they reached the valley where the ants dwelt, one female ant urged the ants to hide in their dwelling, fearing that Sulaymān's forces might trample them. Sulaymān, who understood the language of the birds and beasts, heard this, laughed, and thanked God for bestowing on him miraculous

abilities. Later, while reviewing his troops, Sulaymān discovered that the hoopoe had gone missing. Angry, he resolved to punish the bird upon its return, but the hoopoe returned to report to Sulaymān that he had been in the land of Saba' and seen there a queen who worshipped the sun. Sulaymān immediately entered into correspondence with the queen and demanded that she become his subject. Her attempts to avoid this by sending presents to him had failed: Sulaymān threatened the queen with war. The story tells that the queen appeared to Sulaymān herself, saw her own throne, miraculously delivered to Sulaymān, and announced that the Truth had appeared to her and that she would renounce her previous, false faith [36].

The hoopoe was a popular symbol in Šūfī poetry. We read, for example, in Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīwān*:

"I did not reach the edge of the stopping-place (*manzil*) of the bird 'Anqa alone,
I managed this [final] move together with the bird [of king], Sulaymān".

This *bayt* presumes a striving to follow a path (*ṭarīqat*) in order to reach the Absolute (the stopping-place of the bird 'Anqa), while the bird of Sulaymān (the hoopoe) metaphorically represents the mentor on this path, the Šūfī *shaykh* [37]. The bird appears in the famed *Mathnawī* of Jalāladdīn Rūmī as Sulaymān's guide in the desert [38]. The *Mathnawī* also contains a tale about the hoopoe's ambassadorial mission between Sulaymān and the queen of the land of Saba'. Moreover, the hoopoe is one of the key figures in the well-known Šūfī poem by 'Aṭṭār (*ca.* 1141—1230), *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*. He becomes a guide to birds that have decided to set out in search of "their *shāh*", the phoenix Simurgh, who represents the Truth the Šūfī seeks to learn. In the poem, the hoopoe says that he already knows the *shāh* (i.e. has attained the Truth), condemns the nightingale for its love of roses (i.e. for its attachment to the material world), the parrot for its attachment to life itself with no striving to fathom hidden meaning, and so on [39]. In 'Aṭṭār's poem, thirty birds of those that set out to seek the "*shāh*" reach Simurgh (the name literally means "thirty birds") and thus gain knowledge of themselves.

Thus, the meaning of Ṣadr al-Dīn's message is transparent: in likening his gift, a manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma*, to the hoopoe, he implies that the text is a guide for the *khān* Jahāngīr on his path to knowledge of the Truth, the Absolute. Ṣadr al-Dīn chose to present to Jahāngīr not merely a religious work, but a Šūfī poem. It is the more remarkable when one remembers that that were always Šūfī *shaykhs* who succeeded best in spreading Islam among Turkic nomads.

The closing *bayts* (in Arabic) of the manuscript, containing a self-deprecating formula of the gift-giver, also exploits the image of a hoopoe:

"A hoopoe appeared to Sulaymān on Judgment Day
[And] presented him with a locust that he held in his beak.

And pronounced the following:
'The gift in truth matches the giver.

If the gift matched your virtue,
It would be the world and all that is in it" [40].

Thus, the poem by 'Āshiq-pāshā, manuscript of which Ṣadr al-Dīn presented to Jahāngīr-*khān*, was to acquaint the

Kazakh ruler with the treasures of Sūfī world outlook. Besides, the very choice of the work is significant. We can assume that the Sūfism as presented by 'Ashiq-pāshā was popular among Tatars of Russia, in particular in Qarghala, and at least one very old manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* was kept there, the fact testifying to the living tradition of literature in Old Anatolian Turkic in the nineteenth-century Tatar audience. It is to this tradition that we owe a valuable copy of the poem, the protograph of which dates to 1450/51.

The manuscript is designated by a number in Arabic numerals — ٧٢ (this may be its number in Jahāngīr-khān's library), but it lacks *khān's* personal seal. The paper looks new and fresh, as if no one ever read the text. Certainly, the reading of the poem needed not mere interest on the part of the reader but a good grounding in Muslim theosophy, medieval Muslim science and literature. It is hardly probable that Jahāngīr educated in Russian secular schools possessed necessary knowledge.

The manuscript's fate after the death of Jahāngīr is obscure. He died on August 11, 1845, in the 22nd year of his rule. A board of guardians was established to administer the deceased *khān's* property, and the Horde was put under entire Russian control. Jahāngīr's widow Fāṭima and her brother summoned the 15-year-old Šāhib-Girāy to Khan-Qala from St. Petersburg, where he had been studying in the Page Corps. In July 1847, after receiving the title of prince, he set off for Petersburg again, but suddenly died on the way in the Kazakh steppe [41].

Jahāngīr's property passed from one guardian to another. At the same time, a struggle was underway for this property between the widow's relatives, the relatives of Jahāngīr himself, and officials of the Orenburg Border Commission. Meanwhile, it was clear that the Būkāy khānate had been abolished. During the conflict, a large part of the disputed property vanished. Many of Jahāngīr's personal papers disappeared, and the famous collection of weaponry was dispersed. According to one of the versions, Jahāngīr's eldest daughter Zulaykhā, who had married Colonel Tevkelev in Orenburg, took some items from her father's collection with her from Khan-Qala [42]. About the fate of the books from Jahāngīr's library, which contained many precious manuscripts, including that of the *Gharīb-nāma*, we know practically nothing.

In the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies the manuscript under discussion here is indicated as acquired from the collection of V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov in 1865. So, 20 years after Jahāngīr's death, the manuscript had made its way to a person quite distant from the *khān*, demonstrating one of the more interesting aspects of how manuscripts move about, changing owners. In the case at hand, there are more questions about the history of the manuscript than one might wish. How could the manuscript have found its way into the hands of the well-known Russian Orientalist Velyaminov-Zernov? To answer this question, one must turn to the biography of this in many respects unusual figure. He was

born in 1830 into a aristocratic family which, like the Godunovs and Saburovs, traced its lineage from Chet, a descendent of the Golden Horde. Velyaminov-Zernov, who lost his father early, completed the famed Aleksandrov Lyceum, which counted A. S. Pushkin among its first graduates and prepared pupils for state service. In the Lyceum's 1850/51 yearbook, we find Velyaminov-Zernov's first independent study: "On the ascension of Darius Gistas to the throne according to Herodotus and Firdowsi", which reflects the author's interest in the East and its history. In this work, Velyaminov-Zernov used his knowledge of Persian, which he mastered during his study at the Lyceum under the direction of St. Petersburg professors. He studied it together with Hebrew and Arabic. After finishing the Lyceum, Velyaminov-Zernov started as an official in the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and, in 1851, he was sent to Orenburg to serve under the Orenburg governor-general V. A. Perovsky. There he encountered for the first time the world of Central Asia [43].

Upon arriving in Orenburg in 1851, Velyaminov-Zernov began to study the Turkic languages, and acquainted himself with the life of the steppe-dwellers during his official journeys through border regions; he also spent much time in local archives. We know that during his service in Orenburg, Velyaminov-Zernov began to acquire manuscripts. His most valuable acquisition was the *Sharaf-nāma* by Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh Bukhārī, a work that until then had been known only by its title. His work on it began almost immediately.

In 1856, Velyaminov-Zernov left Orenburg and resumed service in the Asiatic Department. Whether there was among his manuscripts he brought back to St. Petersburg our manuscript or not, we cannot say with certainty. His interest in Oriental studies, though not formally supported by solid special education, grew steadily. In St. Petersburg he had written and published several works in the capital's scholarly journals. We know that he maintained for several years correspondence with the well-known Turkologist V. V. Grigoryev (1816—1881), who served in Orenburg beginning in late 1851 as an official for special tasks to governor-general Perovsky. In 1852, Grigoryev visited the Būkāy Horde to investigate abuses by the *sultāns* of the Horde — relatives of the deceased Jahāngīr; he was there from June 25 to September 20, 1852. It may be that it is at that time that Grigoryev acquired the copy of the *Gharīb-nāma* from Jahāngīr's relatives and subsequently presented it to Velyaminov-Zernov. Grigoryev could make this gift either in Orenburg or upon his returning to St. Petersburg in 1863 when he headed, with a doctorate in Eastern literature, the newly formed chair in Eastern history on the Faculty of Eastern languages at St. Petersburg University [44]. Whatever the case, in 1865 the manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* was given as a gift to the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) by Velyaminov-Zernov, which marks the beginning of the dispersion of Jahāngīr-khān's library.

Notes

1. L. V. Dmitrieva, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia. Vypusk 3: poëtiia i kommentarii k poëticheskim sochineniām, poëtika* (Description of Turkic Manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies. Fasc.3: poetry and commentaries on poetical works, poetics) (Moscow, 1980), p. 33, No. 85.

2. 'Ashiq-pāshā, *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 266b.

3. *Ibid.*
4. A detailed history of Būkāy Horde is contained in S. Z. Zimanov, *Rossii i Bukeyevskoe khanstvo* (Russia and the Būkāy Khānate) (Alma-Āta, 1982). I am grateful to Prof. T. I. Sultanov for his referring me to this book.
5. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* (A Full Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire) (St. Petersburg, 1830), xxiv, pp. 571—2 (cited from Zimanov, *op. cit.*).
6. Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 92—4.
7. *Orenburgskii oblastnoi arkhiv* (The Orenburg regional archive), fond 6, inv. 10, f. 5365, fols. 14—5 (cited from Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 94).
8. Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 109—10.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 124.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 143.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 144.
12. V. V. Bartol'd, "Istoriia izucheniiia Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii" ("The history of Oriental studies in Europe and Russia"), in his *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1977), ix, pp. 409—10.
13. Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 47, 124, 138.
14. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 4b.
15. See I. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900), i, p. 176, where reference to the publication of one of the manuscripts of Tashkōprūzade's work is given.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 177—8; see also G. Kut, "Aşk Paşa", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1991), iv, p. 2.
17. I. V. Borolina, "Turetskaia literatura" ("Turkish literature"), in *Literatura Vostoka v srednie veka* (Moscow, 1970), pp. 339.
18. Gibb, *op. cit.*, pp. 178—9.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
20. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 6a.
21. *Ibid.*, fol. 266a.
22. Kut, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—2.
23. A. Y. Ocak, "Aşk Paşa", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1991), iv, p. 3—4.
24. Borolina, *op. cit.*, p. 340; cf. an account of a preacher in the Bursa mosque, see I. Ye. Petrosyan, "The *Mawlid-i Nabī* by Süleymān Çelebī and its two versions", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/3 (1998), p. 17.
25. Cited from Gibb, *op. cit.*, pp. 180—1. Cf. *Latīfī tezkiresi*, hazırlayan Doç. Dr. Mustafa İsen (Ankara, 1990), p. 48.
26. R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (London, 1914), p. 37.
27. *Latīfī tezkiresi*, p. 48.
28. Ocak, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
29. *Latīfī tezkiresi*, p. 49.
30. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 265b.
31. *Ibid.*, fol. 266a.
32. In the text — ذَا (long measure equal to man's height).
33. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 265a—265b.
34. L. Ia. Zhmud', *Nauka, filosofiia i religiia v rannem pifagoreizme* (Science, Philosophy and Religion in Early Pythagoreism) (St. Petersburg, 1994), pp. 311ff.; also *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des houroufīs*, publiés, traduits et annotés par M. Clément Huart, suivis d'Une étude sur la religion des houroufīs par le Docteur Rizā Tefvīq (Leyden—London, 1909), pp. 284ff.
35. In al-Hujwīrī's *Kashf al-mahjūb* ("The Unveiling of the Hidden"). English translation by R. A. Nicholson (Leyden, 1911), pp. 213—4.
36. Cf. *The Koran Interpreted*, by A. J. Arberry (London—New York, 1955), ii, pp. 77—80; see also M. B. Piotrovskii, *Koranicheskie skazaniia* (Qur'ānic Tales) (Moscow, 1991), pp. 143—4.
37. A. E. Bertel's, *Khudozhestvennyi obraz v iskusstve Irana. IX—XV vv. (Slovo, izobrazhenie)* (Artistic Image in the Art of Iran: 9th—14th Centuries. Word and Image) (Moscow, 1997), p. 192.
38. Dzhālāddīn Rūmī, *Poēma o skrytom smysle. Izbrannye pritchi* (Jālāladdīn Rūmī, *Poem on Hidden Meaning. Selected Parables*), trans. from Persian by Naum Grebnev, afterword, commentary and glossary by O. F. Akimushkin (Moscow, 1986), pp. 14—5.
39. For details, see Bertel's, *op. cit.*, pp. 284ff.
40. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 266b.
41. Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 94—6, 102.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 156.
43. N. I. Veselovskii, *Vladimir Vladimirovich Vel'iaminov-Zernov. Nekrolog (Vladimir Vladimirovich Velyaminov-Zernov. Obituary)* (St. Petersburg, 1904), pp. 1—2.
44. See Zimaev, *op. cit.*, pp. 161—2; also *Biobibliograficheskii slovar' otechestvennykh tiurkologov. Dooktiabr'skii period* (A Biobibliographical Dictionary of Russian Turcologists. Pre-October Period), ed. and with an introduction by A. N. Kononov (Moscow, 1974), pp. 150.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. 'Āshiq-pāshā, *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russia, 19th century, upper cover, 17.0×25.0 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, the beginning, fol. 4b, 17.0×25.0 cm.

Fig. 3. The same manuscript, the end with a colophon, fol. 266b, 17.0×25.0 cm.

A MANUSCRIPT OF AN ANTHOLOGY BY AL-ĀBĪ

Abū Saʿīd (or Abū Saʿd) Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī is known as a literary and political figure of the late tenth — early eleventh century. In describing al-Ābī's native city in his "Geographical Dictionary", Yāqūt provides in passing some valuable information about him; it is virtually all that has come down to us [1]. "The town of Āba is located across from Sāwa [2] and is known among the populace by the name of Āwa; this is undoubtedly [correct]. Its residents are Shī'ites, and the residents of Sāwa are Sunnis; unceasing war is waged between these two cities because of religious differences... In my opinion, this is the place of origin of Abū Saʿd Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī, who was [repeatedly] appointed the ruler of glorious regions and was friends with al-Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād [3]. He later became a *wazīr* under Majd al-Dawla Rustam b. Fakhr al-Dawla b. Rukn al-Dawla b. Buwayh. He was an *adīb*, poet and compiler of books. He is the author of *Kitāb nathr al-durr*, "History of al-Ray", and other works. His brother, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad [4], was one of the great *kātibs* and glorious *wazīrs* who served the ruler of Tabaristan".

The numerous sources on the history of the Buwayhids are silent on the political activities of al-Ābī. Ḥājī Khalīfa [5] terms him a *wazīr* and gives the date of his death as 421/1030.

Al-Ābī's "History of al-Ray" is known only because it is mentioned by Yāqūt and al-Ṣafādī [6]. In his poetic anthology *Dumyāt al-qasr wa 'uṣrat ahl al-'aṣr* [7], al-Bākhārī provides some satirical verses by al-Ābī and speaks of his letters (*rasā'il*) and poems (*qaṣā'id*) as being of high artistic merit. Several verses by al-Ābī are apparently also cited in *Tatimmat al-yatīma* by al-Tha'ālībī [8]. Al-Ābī's most significant contribution to Arabic literature is his seven-volume prose anthology, scattered sections of which are now held in various manuscript collections. The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies possesses a two-volume manuscript containing the second and sixth volumes of the work [9]. Before describing the manuscript, we touch on several questions about the work as a whole.

Several variants of the work's title exist. The most extended is *Kitāb nathr al-durr wa naḥā'is al-jawhar fi-l-muḥāḍarāt* ("Book of Scattered Pearls and Precious Stones in Conversation"). Our copy is entitled *Kitāb nathr al-durr* ("Book of Scattered Pearls"), and this brief title was preferred by W. Ahlwardt [10] and I. Krachkovsky [11]. We also note that, according to Ḥājī Khalīfa [12], *Kitāb nathr al-durr* is an abridgement of a more voluminous work

by the same author — *Nuzhat al-qulūb* ("Delight of the Heart") — which has not come down to us. This is difficult to verify, as this is not clear from the anthology and is not confirmed by other sources.

Information about the plan and volume of the work is contradictory, as not one repository possesses a complete copy. Among Arab authors, only Ḥājī Khalīfa provides a description [13]. According to him, the anthology is made up of seven volumes (*mujallad*), each of which features its own eloquent introduction (*khuṭba*) and consists of four sections (*faṣl*) subdivided into chapters (*bāb*). His description leaves the ratio of volumes to sections unclear. He then gives a summary of the contents of five chapters from the first section and indicates the main themes of the remaining three sections and the number of chapters in them. The Cairo [14] and Leiden [15] catalogues indicate that al-Ābī's anthology consists of five sections. The Berlin [16] catalogue gives seven sections or parts (*juz'*), with both terms considered identical in meaning. The Paris [17] catalogue speaks of a seven-volume anthology with an abridged redaction consisting of seven parts. Scholars who worked with the St. Petersburg manuscript considered it the second and sixth volumes of a seven-volume anthology [18]. Finally, in a dissertation on al-Ābī's anthology, the American Arabist C. Owen [19] holds that the four volumes of the Cairo collection contain the full work; he provides an overview of the contents, which coincides exactly with the information given by Ḥājī Khalīfa about the four sections of the work.

As for the St. Petersburg manuscript, we find that one volume bears on its title page the heading *al-Juz' al-thānī min kitāb Nathr al-durr* ("Second part of the book *Nathr al-durr*") and contains the end of the second section and third section in its entirety. The end of the manuscript:

آخر الجزء الثاني و يتلوه فى الجزء الثالث كلام
النساء الشرائف و الحمد لله حمد الشاكرين وصلاته
على نبيه محمد و على آله اجمعين وسلامه

These concluding words indicate a discrepancy between parts and sections. But the other volume of our manuscript is entitled both the sixth part and sixth section of the anthology. Like the third section, it begins with an introduction (*hasmala* and *khuṭba*) and table of contents. Consequently, either the parts and sections should correspond to each other, or the discrepancy was fixed by the sixth section.

بِالرَّمَاحِ وَفَعَصَّاحَتْ ظِلَالُ السُّيُوفِ فَإِنْ هَلَكَ الْمُصْهَبُ
 فَإِنْ فِي آلِ الزُّبَيْرِ خَلْفًا وَقَالَ مَا أَنَا وَمَنْ لَهُ أَشْهَدُ الْمَهْلِكُ
 قَالُوا لَا كَانَ الْمَهْلِكُ فِي وَجُوهِ أَخَوَانِهِ قَالَ أَشْهَدُ عَمَّا
 لِبِالْخَصْمَيْنِ قَالُوا أَمَّا أَشْهَدُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ جَانِمُ السَّلَامِ وَالْأَخْلَاقِ
 فَمَثَلَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ
 فَعَلْتُ لَهَا عَيْتِي جَعَارَ وَجَرِّي لِمِ امْرَأَتِي لِمِ سَهْدِ الْيَوْمِ نَاصِرُهُ
 كَانَ عَمْرُو بْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ إِذَا ذُكِرَ مَقِيلُ عُثْمَانَ يَقُولُ كَانَ
 عَلِيٌّ أَيْقَنَهُ مَنْ ذُكِرَ عُثْمَانَ وَكَانَ عُثْمَانُ أَيْقَنَهُ مَنْ أَنْ
 يَقْتُلُهُ عَلَى ٥ قَالُوا الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ النَّبَاغِدِ الْجَعْدِ
 وَلَمْ يَشْعُرْ بِهِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ حِينَ صَلَّى الْحَجْرَ حَتَّى مَثَلَ بِرُكْبَتِهِ
 يَقُولُ
 حَكَمْتُ لَنَا الصِّدِّيقَ حَيْرَ وَلَيْسَ أَوْ عُمَانَ وَالْفَارُوقَ فَإِنَّا مُعَدُّ
 فَقَالَ لَهُ ابْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ هَوِّنْ عَلَيْكَ يَا أَيْدِي فَأَلَيْسَ وَسَائِلُكَ
 عِنْدَنَا الشُّعْرُ أَمَا صَفَوْهُ مَا لَنَا فَلَئْسَ بِنَا سَدَّ وَمَا عَفَوْهُمَا
 فَلَا الصِّدِّيقَ وَلَكِ فِي يَدَيْهِ الْمَالُ حَقٌّ حَقٌّ لِحَبْلِكَ سَوْلُ

Fig. 1

We can conclude from the preceding that despite some confusion over terms, *Kitāb nathr al-durr* consists of seven sections equipped with independent introductions; manuscript repositories contain sections one through four, while sections five and seven have not been discovered anywhere. Only the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies has a unique copy of the sixth section [20].

The two volumes of the manuscript differ in their externals. Nonetheless, they were apparently created at the same time, are part of a single set, and have the same history. They are not dated, but they go back to approximately the late thirteenth — early fourteenth century and come from Syria.

The first and last folios of both volumes bear dated notes by several readers of the manuscript. In one volume we find notes by: a reader whose name is illegible with the date 928 (1522); a certain 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Harawī from 930 (1524); Muḥammad Sukaykir al-Dimishqī [21] with the date Sha'bān 985 (October 1577) (two years before his death); a certain As'ad from 1083 (1672) and a certain Yahyā (?) al-Dādikhī from 1126 (1714). The other (with the sixth section) contains notes by a certain Najm al-Dīn (the second part of the name is illegible) with the date 988 (1580), a native of Aleppo, Ḥusayn b. 'Alī from 1052 (1642), and several others.

The French ambassador in Syria, J. L. Rousseau (1780—1831), a noted collector of manuscripts, acquired the manuscript at the beginning of the nineteenth century, apparently in Aleppo; together with his collection, it found its way to St. Petersburg's Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) in 1819. The first mention of it in print belongs to J. L. Rousseau himself [22] and the Academician Dorn [23]. It was investigated in more detail by I. Krachkovsky: in the third section of *Kitāb nathr al-durr* (fols. 143b—150b) he discovered an abridged redaction of Ibn al-Mu'tazz's anthology *Kitāb al-ādāb* and used the manuscript when publishing this text [24].

Both volumes of the manuscript are in a good European binding of board with a leather back. Folio dimensions for the second volume are 25.3×18.0 cm; it contains 233 folios. Eastern pagination by 10-folio quires has not been preserved throughout, but it is easy to ascertain that four quires — 40 folios — are missing at the beginning. The paper is Eastern, thick, glossy, and yellowish. The first and last folios were restored, but it has been well preserved elsewhere and is easily read.

Folio dimensions for the sixth volume are 27.0×18.0 cm. It contains 174 folios (the pagination in Fraehn's hand mistakenly indicates 173 folios). Judging by various traces in the upper left corner of folios 70, 80, 90, 100, and 120. Eastern pagination by quire existed earlier. The text, 15 lines per page, is written in black Indian ink in large beautiful *naskh*, but of a different type than that found in the second volume, with free, bold roundings and extensions of final letters; between fols. 11–12 and 19–20, there are lacunae totalling some 20 folios; one or two folios at the end have been lost; fol. 1 is pasted, the lower left corner of fol. 12 is torn off; this volume differs in paper from volume II, it is of worse quality, non-glossy and apparently for this reason suffered more from dampness, as it is difficult to read in places.

Such are the external data for the manuscript. As concerns the anthology's content, it presents numerous examples of eloquence, wit, verbal resourcefulness, and well-chosen words and expressions in the form of small

stories, proverbs, sayings, aphorisms, and apt questions and answers for various circumstances in life. The heroes in these are drawn from a broad array of both legendary and historical figures. The author borrowed his material from varied sources, the vast written literature in Arabic, and the riches of Arab folklore, usually without encumbering the narration with notes or an enumeration of transmitters. Al-Ābī's work differs from many other anthologies in the preponderance of prose and relatively small number of poetic verses. The anthology is well thought through: its material is grouped thematically. A list of the chapters in the two volumes of our manuscript provides a good sense of the themes touched on and the work in general.

Volume II begins with the words: قال رجل لعمر بن العاص ("A man said to 'Amrū ibn al-ʿAṣ..."), which is evidently a continuation of the sixth chapter of the second section, entitled "Witticisms of the distinguished and noble". The titles of the four succeeding chapters match the titles given in the catalogue of Leiden manuscripts.

Chapter 7 (fol. 25a). "Another chapter about apt answers of a jocular nature".

Chapter 8 (fol. 34a). "Anecdotes about false prophets".

Chapter 9 (fol. 38b). "Anecdotes about Medinans".

Chapter 10 (fol. 47a). "Anecdotes about hangers-on and gluttons".

On fol. 66b, the second section ends and the third begins; the latter consists of 13 chapters:

Chapter 1 (fol. 69a). "Utterances of Mu'āwiya ibn Abū Sufyān and his children".

Chapter 2 (fol. 87a). "Utterances of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam".

Chapter 3 (fol. 105a). "Utterances of the Hāshimite caliphs" (in the table of contents: 'Abbāsīd — *A. Kh.*).

Chapter 4 (fol. 151a). "Utterances of several Umayyads".

Chapter 5 (fol. 158a). "Witticisms of the descendants of al-Zubayr".

Chapter 6 (fol. 167b). "Anecdotes about Abū-l-'Aynā' and his speech".

Chapter 7 (fol. 186b). "Anecdotes about Muzabbad".

Chapter 8 (fol. 195a). "Anecdotes about Abū-l-Ḥārith, the sycamore".

Chapter 9 (fol. 197b). "Anecdotes about al-Jammāz".

Chapter 10 (fol. 201a). "Anecdotes about madmen".

Chapter 11 (fol. 210a). "Anecdotes about misers".

Chapter 12 (fol. 221b). "Utterances of swindlers and their ilk and anecdotes".

Chapter 13 (fol. 228a). "The inability of fools to express themselves and their correspondence (conversations — *A. Kh.*)".

Volume (and section) VI:

Introduction (fols. 1b—3b).

Chapter 1 (fol. 3b). "Witticisms from eloquent utterances and speeches of the Arabs".

Chapter 2 (fol. 10a). "Wise utterances of the Arabs" (an excerpt from this chapter and its conclusion coincide with lacunae — *A. Kh.*).

Chapter 3. “Prayers and requests of the Arabs” (only in the table of contents; the beginning of the chapter was lost in a lacuna — *A. Kh.*).

Chapter 4 (fol. 27a). “Sayings of the Arabs”.

Chapter 5 (fol. 60a). “Stars, the appearance and disappearance of stars in the firmament and the stations of the moon as understood by the Arabs”.

Chapter 6 (fol. 91a). “Incantations of soothsayers in rhymed prose”.

Chapter 7 (fol. 95b). “Animals of the Arabs”.

Chapter 8 (fol. 110b). “Bequests of the Arabs”.

Chapter 9 (fol. 122a). “Names for horses among the Arabs”.

Chapter 10 (fol. 133b). “Names for swords among the Arabs”.

Chapter 11 (fol. 138b). “Anecdotes about the Bedouin”.

Chapter 12 (fol. 151a). “Folk sayings”.

Chapter 13 (fol. 156a). “Anecdotes about drunkards and drunks”.

Chapter 14 (fol. 160b). “On lying”.

Chapter 15 (fol. 166b). “Anecdotes about shameless jokers”.

Chapter 16 (fol. 171a). “Anecdotes about passing wind”.

On fol. 174b, the text breaks off on the phrase: قال بعضهم دخلت على يزيد بن يزيد (“One of them said that [one day] I went to see Yazīd ibn Yazīd...”).

The anthology *Kitāb nathr al-durr* by al-Ābī is of great interest to all those interested in the classical literature of the Arabs. The St. Petersburg manuscript can serve as an important aid in publishing the text of the work and investigating it from a viewpoint of the history of Arab literature.

Notes

1. *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*. Bd. I, herausgegeben von F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866), pp. 57–8.
2. Both of these cities were in the Eastern part of the Jibāl province in Iran: Sāwa (today Sawe) is to the north, and Āba to the south of the river Gāwmākhā (today the Kara-Su).
3. A famed Buwayhid *wazīr* (d. 385/995).
4. In the table of Buwayhid *wazīrs* (E. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover, 1927, p. 215) we find three times the name Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn with the *kunya* Abū Sa'd. This may be al-Ābī's brother.
5. *Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum a Haji Khalfa*, ed. A. Fluegel (London, 1852), vi, pp. 300–1, 320 (henceforth, Haji Khalfa).
6. Noted by I. Krachkovsky, see “Le Kitāb al-ādāb d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz” (ed. Ign. Krachkovsky), *Le Monde Oriental*, XVIII (1924), p. 68.
7. “Depiction of the Palace and Refuge of Contemporaries”, manuscript B1 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 50b (ll. 6–20); cf. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Supplementband I (Leiden, 1936–1937), p. 593.
8. Brockelmann lists this work as a source on al-Ābī, but it was unavailable to me.
9. Manuscript C 679.
10. *Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* von W. Ahlwardt (Berlin, 1895), vii, p. 318.
11. “Le Kitāb al-ādāb d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz” (ed. Ign. Krachkovsky), p. 68.
12. Haji Khalfa, p. 300.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
14. *Fihrist al-kutub al-'arabiyya al-mahfūza bi-l-kutubkhāna al-khidwīya al-misrīya jama'ahu wa rattabahu Aḥmad al-Mayyihī wa Muḥammad al-Biblāwī* (Catalogue of Arabic Books Held at the Khedive Egyptian Library Compiled and Organized by Aḥmad al-Mayyihī and Muḥammad al-Biblāwī) (Miṣr, 1307), p. 336.
15. M. F. de Goeje et M. Th. Houtsma, *Catalogus codicum arabicorum bibliothecae academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, 2nd edn. (Lugduni-Batavorum, 1888), i, pp. 257–8.
16. *Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften*, p. 318.
17. *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* par M. de Slane (Paris, 1883–1895), p. 606, No. 3490.
18. “Le Kitāb al-ādāb d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz” (ed. Ign. Krachkovsky), p. 69; V. I. Beliaev, “Arabskie rukopisi v sobranii Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR” (“Arab manuscripts in the collection of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies”), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniya*, VI (Moscow–Leningrad, 1953), p. 90 (call number indicated incorrectly, should be C 679).
19. Ch. A. Owen, “Arabian wit and wisdom from Sa'id al-Ābī's Kitāb nathr al-durr”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LIV (1934), pp. 240–75.
20. Mention was recently made in the scholarly literature of the oldest manuscript of the work, held in the Imām al-Riḍā library in Meshhed; aside from the date of copying — 565 (1169–1170) — no other information was given. See *Revue de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes*, III (1957), p. 6.
21. On him, see V. Rosen, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits arabes du Musée Asiatique* (St. Petersburg, 1881), i, pp. 190–3; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (Weimar, 1898), i, p. 351.
22. [J. L. Rousseau], *Catalogue d'une collection* (Paris, 1817), p. 14.
23. B. Dorn, *Das Asiatisches Museum* (St. Petersburg, 1846), p. 207.
24. “Le Kitāb al-ādāb d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz” (ed. Ign. Krachkovsky), pp. 62–3, 68–9, 72–121.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Abū Sa'id (or Abū Sa'd) Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī, *Kitāb nathr al-durr*, manuscript C 679, vol. II, fol. 160a.

ARABIC-SCRIPT SOURCES ON KAMĀL AL-DĪN BEHZĀD

At present, not one of the Arabic-script sources in Persian, Chaghatay, or Turkish provides more or less full or coherent biography of Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād. Still, some information, if scanty, about this great master of Persian miniatures has come down to us in fourteen works written in the above-noted languages between the late fifteenth and the first third of the seventeenth century. These works can be divided into three distinct groups:

1. works by authors directly linked to the cultural and literary environment of Herat in the last quarter of the fifteenth — first third of the sixteenth century. These are *Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān aḥwāl al-akhḡār* (completed in 905/1499–1500), *Nāma-yi nāmī* (completed in 929/1522–23) and *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī aḥwāl afrād bashar* (completed in the third redaction in 939/1532–33) by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr; *Waḡā'ī* or “Notes of Bābur” by Zāhir al-Dīn Bābur (d. 937/1530); *Badā'ī al-waḡā'ī* (completed in 938/1521–32) by Zayn al-Dīn Wāṣifī; *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* (completed in 953/1546) by Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt.

2. Works created in Safawid Iran from the 1540s to the 1620s: *Dībācha-yi muraqqa'-i Bahrām-mīr-ā* (drawn up in 951/1544–45) by Dūst Muḥammad-i Harawī; *Dībācha-yi muraqqa'-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp* (drawn up in 964/1556–57) by Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Qīssakhwān; *Dībācha-yi muraqqa'-i amīr Ḥusayn-bek* (drawn up in 968/1560–61) by Mālik Daylamī; *Rawḍat al-jinān wa jannat al-janan* (drawn up in 975/1567–68) by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalā'ī; *Jawāhir al-akhbār* (completed in 984/1576) by Būdāq munshī Qazwīnī; *Risāla* (completed in 1004/1596, a second redaction, *Gulistan-i humar* was finished in India in ca. 1016/1607) by Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī Qumī; *Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī* (completed in a second redaction in 1039/1630) by Iskandar-bek munshī.

3. Works created outside of Iran proper. These include a source that is extremely suspect in its information on manuscript book artists of Iran and Central Asia, the *Manākib-i humarwarān* (completed in 994/1586) by the Turkish author Muṣṭafā Daftārī and *Muraqqa'-i Jahāngīr* or *Muraqqa'-i Gulshan* (drawn up ca. 1020/1612) for the Great Moghūl Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr in India.

The most reliable information on Behzād is found in the first two groups of works noted above. What follows is

the information about Behzād that we could extract from the above-mentioned sources.

Only Qāḍī Aḥmad reports that Behzād was originally from Herat. The same author, following Būdāq Qazwīnī, tells that the artist lost both parents in early childhood and was raised (adopted into the family?) by sayyid Rūḥallāh, known as Mīrak-naqqāsh, *kitābdār*, first of the library of 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī and later the library of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā in Herat. According to Dūst Muḥammad, Muḥammad Ḥaydar, Būdāq-munshī, and Qāḍī Aḥmad, Mīrak-naqqāsh was the teacher of Behzād. Contrary to this assertion, Muṣṭafā Daftārī names one Pīr Sayyid Aḥmad Tabrīzī as Behzād's teacher. The information provided by Persian authors about Behzād's teacher seems preferable, as the first three of the preceding were younger contemporaries of Behzād. We know that Behzād had two sisters; the son of one of them, Rustam 'Alī, arrived together with Behzād in Tabriz, while the grandson of the second, Muẓaffar 'Alī, was a pupil of the artist (Mālik Daylamī, Iskandar-bek). However, both Būdāq-munshī and Qāḍī Aḥmad report that he was taught by his father, who took lessons from Behzād.

Khwāndamīr (*Khulāṣat* and *Ḥabīb*), Bābur, Wāṣifī, and Muḥammad Ḥaydar are unanimous in stating that it was Nawā'ī who supported Behzād and became his patron, appointing him to his library, where he worked with another artist Qāsim b. 'Alī. Later, Behzād entered the staff of the Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's library; Nawā'ī states (*Munsha'āt*, No. 24) that the latter built for him in the palace garden a pavilion (*hujra*) for his work, while Wāṣifī says that at that time Behzād was inseparable from his bag with tools for work, as well as drawings, “everyday scenes”, and apparently caricatures of odd-looking individuals from the Herat court. By this time, he was the author of four signed miniatures for the famed *Bustān* by Sa'dī, which he executed in 893–894/1488–89. According to Bābur, Behzād remained in Herat with Shaybānī-khān in 1507–1510. The Turkish writer Muṣṭafā Daftārī claims that the artist was with Ismā'īl Ṣafawī during the Chaldyran battle in 920/1514, but this is no more than a legend.

The sources are silent on Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād's life and whereabouts between 916–928/1510–1522. At the end of Rabī' I 928/February 1522, the minor Ṭahmāsp left Herat, where he had spent a full 6 years (922–928/1516–1522).

as heir to the throne, for Tabriz. One can assume that Behzād appeared in the capital with the retinue of the heir to the throne together with other book-making artists. Two months later, as Khwāndamīr notes in his *Nāma-yi nāmī* (a collection of exemplary official documents and letters for etiquette), Ismāʿīl issued a decree on 27 Jumādā I 928/24 April 1522 on Behzād's appointment as manager (*kalāntar*) and director of the court library and workshop. But the information provided by Dūst Muḥammad, Qāḍī Aḥmad, and Iskandar-munshī contains no hint at Behzād's appearance with Ismāʿīl (d. 930/1524). They only say that he worked in the *kitābkhāna* of Ṭahmāsp I (r. 930—984/1524—1576). To this Būdāq Qazwīnī adds that Behzād was an interlocutor of the Shah. At same time, Būdāq Qazwīnī's comments about the artist Sulṭān-Muḥammad as well as Qāḍī Aḥmad's remarks about the same artist enable us to suggest that Behzād arrived in Tabriz while the founder of the Safawid dynasty, Ismāʿīl, was still alive.

Behzād appeared in Tabriz in his later years, after the peak of his artistic career. His role in the court library was probably closer to that of a mentor and teacher than a working artist, since we have no genuine, signed works by him for this period. However, Qāḍī Aḥmad does mention illustrations by Behzād for Nizāmī's *Khamsa* copied by the famed calligraphy master Shāh-Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī in *ghubār* handwriting. Khwāndamīr (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*). Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, and Būdāq Qazwīnī write about their personal encounters with Behzād: the first speaks of a meeting in Herat in the library of 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'i, while Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad and Būdāq Qazwīnī speak of Tabriz. Būdāq Qazwīnī gives an account of Behzād's fondness for red wine, which he drank frequently despite an official ban on the consumption of alcohol issued on 7 Rabī' I 941/6 September 1534. Qāḍī Aḥmad (*Gulistan-i humar*) specifies that Behzād's life coincided with the rule of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn and the first years of Ṭahmāsp I's rule, but he errs when he notes that the artist died in Herat and was buried not far from Kūh-i Mukhtār in a special enclosure. Dūst Muḥammad is more accurate, claiming that Behzād died in Tabriz and was buried next to the grave of the well-known poet Kamāl Khujandī (d. 803/1400—01). He also provides a chronogram with the date of Behzād's death: *khāk-i qabr-i Behzād*, which gives us 942/1535—36. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalā'i speaks of the same burial place for Behzād, adding "in the cemetery of Waliyān Kūh". Būdāq Qazwīnī is the only author to report Behzād's age. According to him, Behzād lived for a full 70 years, but it is tempting to assume that Būdāq committed an error in the autograph of his work, writing 70 instead of 80, since the two words are similar in spelling (cf. هشتاد و هفتاد). If so, using the date of A.H. 942 for his death, Behzād's birth falls on 862/1457—58. But this, of course, is only speculation.

Our sources contain the names of the following pupils of Behzād: *mullā* Darwīsh Muḥammad (Nawā'i, *Majālis al-naḥā'īs*), Qāsim b. 'Alī-chihragushāy (Muḥammad Ḥaydar), Maqṣūd (Muḥammad Ḥaydar), *mullā* Yūsuf (Muḥammad Ḥaydar), Dūst Dīwāna (Būdāq-munshī, Qāḍī Aḥmad), Muzaffar 'Alī (Mālik Daylamī, Iskandar-bek). Concerning Muzaffar 'Alī Būdāq-munshī and Qāḍī Aḥmad write that it was his father who was Behzād's pupil. Finally, among the artist's pupils we find the names of *khwāja* 'Abd al-'Aziz (Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad says that the teacher was

Behzād, but after the latter's death, Shah Ṭahmāsp considered himself the teacher; he is also named by Qāḍī Aḥmad and Iskandar-bek) and Shaykhzāde (Muṣṭafā Daftārī).

Within the three groups of sources, the authors provide a broad spectrum of opinions and assessments of Behzād's work, its quality and artistic merits. The authors of the first group are more critical and free in their judgments. All of them were his contemporaries, and they saw in him simply one of several outstanding masters who worked around 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'i and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, not the legend and model artist that he became for subsequent generations. It is therefore not surprising that some of them are rather critical, sometimes preferring the works of other artists to his creations. Bābur remarks: "Among the [famed] artists was Behzād. His painting is very elegant, but he draws the faces of people without beards poorly because he makes the [second] chin too large. [True], he depicts the faces of bearded men well". To a degree, Bābur is seconded by Muḥammad Ḥaydar-Dūghlāt: "[Behzād] is a [real] master of painting, although he failed to attain the level of Shāh-Muzaffar in the delicacy of his drawing. But his brush is more severe and he surpasses him in sketches and composition ... Qāsim b. 'Alī-chihragushāy ... was Behzād's pupil. His works are close to those of Behzād and are [executed] in the same fashion. [Moreover], anyone who has rich experience [in this area] understands that the works of Qāsim b. 'Alī are crude in comparison with the works of Behzād and that the basic outlines are less symmetrical ... Behzād's teacher was Mawlānā Mīrak-naqqāsh, and his basic outlines are more thorough than Behzād's, although the execution of the final touches cannot compare with Behzād".

Behzād is invariably regarded as an unsurpassed artist of great mastery by almost all authors in the second and third groups of sources, the tone which was in fact set by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr in the third redaction of *Ḥabīb al-siyar*: "The artistry of his painting, like the brush of Mānī, effaced the creations of artists the world over, and his fingers, endowed with miraculous abilities, erased the drawings of all artists among the sons of Adam". The authors vie with one another in lavish, if extremely general, praise, comparing his artistry to the impeccable Mānī, the unsurpassed standard for artists in the Persian cultural tradition. An exception is Būdāq Qazwīnī, who notes: "Behzād's pupil was Dūst Dīwāna... One can say that in clarity [of execution] he surpassed his teacher". On Sulṭān-Muḥammad and his ability to depict the *qizīlbāsh* in particular, he notes: "Behzād depicted horses as though they were ponies".

The surviving texts contain extremely interesting information about Behzād, which enables us to put it into the historical context, thus revealing reigning artistic tastes and standards, as well as the attitude of rulers to the court painters. Below, we provide several citations found in the Arabic-script authors who, in this or that way, wrote about Behzād and other painters and evaluated their works.

1. *Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān aḥwāl al-akhbār* by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, MS C 812, fol. 279b):

"He (Behzād) is the most perfect of the artists of [his] time. After attaining the limits of perfection in this area, for a time he created [true] rarities under the patronage of Mir

[‘Alī-Shīr], who sought out talents. At present he is in the service of the Highest Virtue”.

2. *Nāma-yi nāmī* by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr (*Die historische Gehalt des “Nāma-ye nāmī” von Handamir*, Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades ... von Gottfried Herrman Göttingen, 1968, Persian text, pp. 78–80):

“Edict on the appointment of Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād to the position of manager of the Royal library: ... ‘We deigned to decree that the position of directing and managing the people [staff] of the Royal library, as well as the calligraphers, gilder-decorators, frame-makers, gilding craftsmen, goldsmiths, paint-makers, and others involved in these crafts in the entire God-guarded state, should be entrusted and assigned to him...’ Written in final copy on 27 Jumādā 1928–24 April 1522”.

3. *Zahīr al-dīn Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaqāyi’)*, critical edition based on four Chaghatay texts with introduction and notes by Eiji Mano, Kyoto, 1995, i, pp. 265, 283, 323):

“Among the [famed] artists was Behzād. His painting is very elegant, but he draws the faces of beardless people poorly because he makes the [second] chin look too large. [True], he depicts the faces of bearded men well...” “Ustād Behzād and Shāh-Muzaffar, the painters, also gained such a glory and fame thanks to the care and efforts of [‘Alī-Shīr-] Bek...” “Taking the *qalam* into his hand, [Shaybānī-khān] corrected the painting of Bahzād and the writings of Sulṭān-‘Alī Mashhadī” [1].

4. *Badā’i’ al-waqā’i’* by Zayn al-Dīn Wāṣifī (edited by A. N. Boldyrev, Tehran, Bunyād-i Farhang-i Irān, 1350/1971, ii, pp. 145, 149–50. Accounts dated 929–1522):

“For this reason the deceased, pious ruler [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn], may Allah illuminate his tomb, singled out among the gifted ones in this art and wonderful workers of this profession the artist Behzād, before whom painters of the seven climes bowed their head low, publicly acknowledging his undisputed primacy. He was favored with the honorary title of ‘Second Mānī’. Whenever the Shah was in sorrow because of misfortunes or cares, Behzād would produce a drawing or portrait, after a single glance at which the mirror of the ruler’s spirit would be cleansed of all rust of filth, and the page of the Shah’s thoughts would be freed from signs of sadness. Behzād always carried with him various remarkable depictions, but most frequently he drew Bābā Maḥmūd in the most varied poses. He was one of the most revered and highly placed *amīrs* of the court and possessed an utterly remarkable appearance and figure” ... “The mastery and glory of Behzād grew by the day and by the hour. With each new work, his victory and superiority revealed themselves from behind the mysterious veil [of fate]. We know that the artist once brought to the *majlis* of the great *amīr* ‘Alī-Shīr a painting of [ordinary] life: a garden in blossom with various trees and beautiful birds of many colours on their branches. Everywhere were flowing streams and blooming flowers, pleasing in their beauty and forms. [In the picture], ‘Alī-Shīr himself stands, leaning on a staff, before him platters heaped with gold and silver to give as gifts. When His Highness Mīr saw this depiction, his heart

filled with joy ... Later, he gave Behzād a horse with full harness” [2].

5. *Munsha’āt* by ‘Alī-Shīr Nawā’i (National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, MS X 55, fol. 103b):

“Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā outfitted a space for the artist Behzād, a house (*hujra*) in his garden, and gave him work”.

6. *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī aḥwāl afrād bashar* by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr (edition of Jalāl Humā’i, Tehran, 1333/1954, iv, p. 362):

“Ustād Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād creates astonishing images and rare marvels of art. The artistry of his painting, like the brush of Mānī, effaced the creations of artists the world over, and his fingers, endowed with miraculous abilities, erased the drawings of all artists among the sons of Adam.

Verse:

‘Thanks to his mastery, the hairs of his brush
Breathed life into lifeless form’.

My esteemed master achieved this high position thanks to the blessed patronage and good grace of *amīr* Nizām al-Dīn ‘Alī-Shīr. The victorious Khaqan also accorded him many kindnesses and indulgences. Today this marvel of the era, whose faith is pure, likewise enjoys the merciful favour of sultans the world over and the boundless good will of the rulers of Islam. There is no doubt that it will forever be thus!” [3].

7. *Dībācha-yi muraqqa’i Bahrām-mīrzā* by Dūst Muḥammad-i Harawī (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul, MS No. 2154, fol. 9a–9b):

“And another pupil and successor of the above-mentioned *sayyid* [Amīr Rūhallāh, known as Mīrak-naqqāsh, a native of Herat], the best of his contemporaries in painting and the leader of the preceding generation in decoration and design in paint, a unique [phenomenon] of [his] time, the master Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād. Praise and glorification of him are represented in this *Muraqqa’* by the works of his astonishing brush. He was accorded the honour of serving in the [staff of the] library, the refuge of Mercury. His Majesty the Shah, whose majesty is equal to Iskandar, virtue to Jamshīd, Refuge of the Faith, the victorious ruler Shah Ṭahmāsp al-Safawī al-Mūsawī al-Ḥusaynī Bahādur-khān, and he earned for himself various favours. At the court of this ruler, guarded by angels, he passed away and found his final resting place alongside the tomb of the sweet-tongued and eloquent poet, the mine of passion and ecstasy, *shaykh* Kamāl, may Allah illuminate his grave, in Tabriz. The date of his death is contained in the chronogram *khāk-i qabr-i Bihzād*, [that is] ‘ashes of the grave of Behzād’ (942/1535–36 — O. A.)” [4].

8. *Ta’rīkh-i Rashīdī* by Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, MS C 395, fol. 150a):

“He is a [real] master of painting, although he failed to attain the level of Shāh-Muzaffar in the delicacy of his drawing. But his brush is more severe and he surpasses him in sketches and composition ... After *khawāja* ‘Abd al-Ḥayy

follow Shāh-Muẓaffar and Behzād. There have been none like them up through our day. These two were nurtured by Mīr ‘Alī-Shīr.

Qāsim b. ‘Alī-chihragushāy. He was Behzād's pupil. His works are close to those of Behzād and are [executed] in the same fashion. [Moreover,] anyone who has much experience [in this area] understands that the works of Qāsim b. ‘Alī are crude in comparison with the works of Behzād and that his basic outlines are less symmetrical.

Maqṣūd is the second Qāsim b. ‘Alī. He is [also] a pupil of Behzād. His brush is in no way inferior to that of Qāsim b. ‘Alī, but his basic outlines and final touches are imperfect in comparison with those of Qāsim b. ‘Alī.

Mawlānā Mīrak-naqqāsh was a pupil of Behzād. His basic outlines are more complete than those of Behzād, but his final touches cannot compare with the latter's (that is, are worse — *O. A.*)” [5].

9. *Dībācha* by Qutb al-Dīn Qiṣṣakhwān (Kitābkhāna-yi Millī, Tehran, MS No. 691, pp. 402—3):

“However, such famous masters of Khorasan as *khwāja* Mīrak, Mawlānā Ḥājī Muḥammad, *ustād* Qāsim b. ‘Alī-chihragushāy and *ustād* Behzād have no equals or peers. Among them, I have chanced to meet with the master Behzād. Truly, the aforementioned artist surpassed [all his] peers and equals in the abilities of his fingers and strength of his drawings. The prosperity and goodness of his paintings deserve one-hundred thousand exclamations of approval ... and *khwāja* ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was a pupil of Behzād in this art. But after the death of master Behzād, the joyous ruler, personally taking a hand in his fate, made him (‘Abd al-‘Azīz) one of his pupils” [6].

10. *Jawāhir al-akhbār* by Būdāq-munshī Qazwīnī (National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, MS Dorn 288, fols. 111b—112a):

“Master Behzād came from Herat.

Verse:

‘His Brightness Behzād, mentor of the age,
It was he who gave the world the fullness of mastery.
The mother of time has birthed few equals of Mānī.
But, truly, she did well to birth Behzād!’

The circumstances of Behzād's life are as follows: when he found himself in his childhood without mother and father, Mīrak-naqqāsh, who served Sulṭān-Ḥusayn-mīrẓā as *kitābdār*, raised him. In a short time he became [so] accomplished and went so far that no one knew an artist equal to him since the dawn of painting. He was brought [to the Shah's court] from Khorasan, and in a few years he was a personal interlocutor of the ruler, always providing decorous conversation. [But] he always sipped [wine] and could not pass a moment without ruby-coloured wine and the bright lips of the cup-bearer. He lived to the age of 70 and thus kept himself young. Despite the ban on drinking wine, [he was forgiven this] for he was needed, and the ruler reasoned: the master was an elderly man with a righteous way of life. He trained outstanding pupils, first and foremost among them Dūst Dīwāna, a unique phenomenon of his time. He created paintings with perfect quickness of understanding and penetrating intelligence, following exactly the method of his teacher. One could say that he surpassed him

in clarity [of execution] ... When master Behzād arrived in Iraq, master Sulṭān-Muḥammad already had the court's workshop functioning; he was [also] a teacher of the ruler, Refuge of the Faith ... But Behzād depicted horses as though they were ponies. In any case, one can [consider] Sulṭān-Muḥammad an equal of Behzād...” [7].

11. *Rawḍat al-jinān wa jannat al-janān* by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalā’ī (edition of Ja’far-Sulṭān al-Kura’ī, Tehran, 1344/1965, i, p. 511):

“... not far from him and around him (Kamāl Khujandī) are buried several poets and men of art such as ... the artist Behzād and the binder Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, who were both without equals in their artistic endeavours”.

12. *Manāqib-i hunarwārān* by Muṣṭafā Daftari (edition of Maḥmūd Kamāl, Istanbul, 1926, p. 37):

“... when the possessor of the fortunate combination of two luminaries, equal in virtue to Iskandar, the deceased Sultan Salīm Khān entered into battle with Shah Ismā’īl in the Chaldyran valley,

Verse:

‘Fate in the hall of mighty
Established an *islīmī* [pattern] over the *khatā’ī* [adornment]’.

... having thus spoken, [Shah Ismā’īl] hid in some cave first Shāh-Maḥmūd, of glorious descent, and then *ustād* Behzād, an artist without peer from time [immemorial]...” [8].

13. *Risāla* by Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Qumī. Completed in the first redaction in 1004/1596 (State Museum of Art of Eastern Peoples, Moscow, MS No. 444 II, fols. 69b—70b):

“As concerns the famed masters of Khorasan such as *khwāja* Mīrak, Mawlānā Ḥājī Muḥammad, *ustād* Qāsim-i ‘Alī-chihragushāy, and then *ustād* Darwīsh and Khalīfā from Khiva, they had neither equals nor peers. After them appeared *ustād* Behzād, a rarity of his era and marvel of [his] time. He came from the capital city of Herat.

Verse:

‘His Brightness Behzād, mentor of the age,
It was he who gave the world the fullness of mastery.
The mother of time has birthed few equals of Mānī.
But, truly, she did well to birth Behzād!’

... In childhood, the master lost his father and mother and he was raised by *ustād* Mīrak-naqqāsh, who was a *kitābdār* for the deceased Sulṭān-Ḥusayn-mīrẓā. In a short time he became [so] accomplished and went so far that no one knew an artist equal to him since the beginning of painting. ... *Ustād* Behzād was [active] from the joyous days of Mīrẓā Sulṭān-Ḥusayn to the first period of the rule of Sultan Shah Ṭahmāsp, now resting in peace. His marvellous paintings are numerous. His death [occurred] in the capital city of Herat and he was buried close to Kūh-i Mukhtār in an enclosed area full of images and adornments. Dūst Dīwāna is one of *ustād* Behzād's incomparable pupils ... When master Behzād arrived in Iraq from Herat, master Sulṭān-Muḥammad was [already] in the *kitābkhāna* of the Shah, who resides among the trees of the garden in paradise, and he [also] undertook

the training of this Khusraw of the four climes; his majesty, equal in virtue to paradise, practiced the art of painting under his direction and took lessons from him" [9].

14. *Ta'rikh-i 'ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī* by Iskandar-bek munshī (edition by Irāj Afshār, Isfahan, 1334/1956, i, p. 174):

"And such skilled masters as *ustād* Behzād and *ustād* Sultān-Muḥammad, who stand alone in their noble craft and gained fame in all horizons through the delicacy of [their] brush, worked in the marvellously outfitted palace workshop [of Shah Ṭahmāsp]" [10].

The sources we used also give the names of Behzād's pupils: these are: (i) *mullā* Darwīsh Muḥammad (*Alī-Shīr

Nawā'i, *Majālis al-nafā'is*); (ii) *ustād* Qāsim-i 'Alī-chihragushāy (Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*); (iii) Maqṣūd (Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *ibid.*); (iv) *mullā* Yūsuf (Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *ibid.*); (v) Dūst Dīwāna (Būdāq-munshī Qazwīnī, *Jawāhir al-akhbār*; Qāḍī Aḥmad Qumī, *Risāla*); (vi) *ustād* Muẓaffār 'Alī (Mālik Daylamī, *Dībācha*; Iskandar-bek, *Ta'rikh-i 'ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*. Būdāq and Qāḍī Aḥmad assert that his father was the pupil); (vii) *khwāja* 'Abd al-'Azīz (Quṭb al-Dīn Qīṣṣakhwān, *Dībācha*; Behzād was the teacher, but after his death Ṭahmāsp I considered himself the teacher; Qāḍī Aḥmad and Iskandar-bek name Ṭahmāsp I as the teacher); (viii) Shaykhzāda (Muṣṭafā Daftarī, *Manāqib-i hunarwarān*).

Notes

1. See also *Babur-name. Zapiski Babura (Bābur-nāma. Notes of Bābur)*, trans. by M. A. Sal'e (Tashkent, 1958), pp. 199, 211, 240; W. M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes. Sources on Timurid History of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), pp. 265, 283, 322.

2. See also A. N. Boldyrev, "Alisher Nawoi v rasskazakh sovremennikov" ("Alī-Shīr Nawā'i in the accounts of contemporaries"), in *Alisher Nawoi*, collection of articles (Moscow–Leningrad, 1946), pp. 149, 151–2.

3. Thackston, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 347.

5. See also Mirza Muhammad Haydar, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* (Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*), introduction, trans. from Persian by A. Urukbaev, R. P. Dzhaliilova, L. M. Epifanova (Tashkent, 1996), p. 263; Thackston, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

6. Thackston, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

7. See my article "Dzhavakhir al-akhbar ('Perly izvestii') Budaka munshi Kazvini i ego 'Zametki' o tvortsakh persidskoï rukopisnoï knigi" ("Jawāhir al-akhbār ('Pearls of Accounts') by Būdāq-munshī Qazwīnī and his 'Notes' on the creators of the Persian manuscript book"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, 4 (1994), pp. 461–2, 476, 478 (text).

8. See my article "Legenda o khudozhnike Bekhzade i kalligrafe Makhmude Nishapuri" ("The legend of the artist Behzād and the calligrapher Maḥmūd Nīshāpūrī"), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, VI (1963), pp. 140–3.

9. See also Kazi-Akhmad, *Traktat o kalligrafakh i khudozhnikakh 1596–97/1005* (Qāḍī-Aḥmad, A Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters. 1596–97/1005), introduction, trans. and commentary by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow–Leningrad, 1947), pp. 181–3; Calligraphers and Painters. A Treatise by Qāḍī-Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī (ca. A. H. 1015 / A. D. 1606). Translated from the Persian by V. Minorsky (Washington, 1959), pp. 179–181.

10. See my article "Iskandar munshi o khudozhnikakh vremeni shakha Takhmaspal Safavi" ("Iskandar-munshī on painters from the time of Shah Ṭahmāsp I Ṣafawī"), *Trudy Tbilisskogo universiteta. 241: Vostokovedenie* (Tbilisi, 1988), pp. 260–1, 267.

BOOK REVIEWS

Srednevekovyye arabskie i persidskie rukopisi fiziko-matematicheskogo soderzhaniia v bibliotekakh byvshego Sovetskogo Soiūza. Vypusk I: Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī i ego trudy po matematike i astronomii v bibliotekakh Sankt-Peterburga, Kazani, Tashkenta i Dushanbe, sost. M. M. Rozhanskaia, G. P. Matvievskaia, I. O. Liuter. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnaia Literatura, 1999, 142 str.

Medieval Arab and Persian Manuscripts on Physics and Mathematics in Libraries of the Former Soviet Union. Fasc. I: Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī and His Works on Mathematics and Astronomy in the Libraries of St. Petersburg, Kazan, Tashkent, and Dushanbe. Compiled by M. M. Rozhanskaya, G. P. Matvievskaia, I. O. Luther. Moscow: The Publishing House "Vostochnaia Literatura", 1999, 142 pp.

The study, description, and publication of extant Arabic-Persian manuscripts are of primary importance for the continuation of research on the history of the exact sciences both in the East and in the West, on the transfer of knowledge and inter-civilizational dialogue in the Middle Ages, as well as for research on the currently popular topic of the "Arab" Archimedes, Euclid, and Ptolemy in medieval Europe through the prism of Latin translations of Arabic-language authors. Soviet scholars' works over the last 30—40 years played a significant role in triggering a substantial re-evaluation of the achievements of Arab-Muslim science. If earlier Muslim science was treated by scholars only as a "bridge" or "link" between Hellenism and the Renaissance, the recent studies based on the investigation of extant manuscripts by Arab and Persian authors has convincingly shown their primacy in a number of scientific fields.

The publication under review is the first one in a series *Medieval Arab and Persian Manuscripts on Physics and Mathematics in Libraries of the Former Soviet Union*. It covers the main issues in the history of physics and the mathematical sciences in works by both known and little-known authors. Among them are works by such scholars as Abū-l-Wafā, Ibn al-Haytham, al-Bīrūnī, al-Khāzinī, al-Tūsī, al-Naysābūrī, al-Shīrāzī, al-Kāshī, and others, as well as some anonymous works of interest for the history of science. If you see a book with no Arabic letters in it, you can hardly guess that you have to do with a catalogue of Arabic and Persian manuscripts. The aim of a catalogue as

a reference book is to be available to as many readers as possible; the substitution of the original script by Russian transliteration considerably reduces the number of users who do not know Russian. But that is the very way the compilers of the book under review have chosen to present the material. Most of their names are well known to those interested in the history of Muslim science, and we do not know whether this form of publication was chosen because of technical possibilities of an academic Publishing House "Vostochnaia Literatura" or it was made intentionally by the compilers themselves. Whatever the case, such a form of publication has been chosen with their assent.

The first book in the series bears the title "Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī and His Works on Mathematics and Astronomy in the Libraries of St. Petersburg, Kazan, Tashkent, and Dushanbe", which is not quite exact, because its contents is much broader. First, apart from the works of Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī, the publication includes the works of his followers. Second, being the first in the series, it has introductions to the series as a whole. Among them one can find a brief preface where the main difficulty of such kind of publications is indicated: the author must possess not only the knowledge of Eastern languages but also be expert in the exact sciences, which is a rare thing to meet. It should be added that such a specialist should be a codicologist as well. The preface provides a very brief account of the history of investigations in the field; the aim of the series is also proclaimed here.

There follows an overview entitled "The largest repositories of Eastern manuscripts in the former Soviet Union" which contains information available to the authors on fifteen collections in Russia, Transcaucasia, and Central Asia. Only the largest five among them are described in detail which, in the authors' view, "are naturally the most important", an opinion not, strictly speaking, correct, since the size of the collection and its scholarly value are not necessarily coincide. Here we read about manuscripts on physics and mathematics which are kept in these and some other libraries, the state of their investigation, as well as the possible location of similar manuscripts in other repositories of Russia and Central Asia.

An overview "Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī. The main writings on physics and mathematics" then follows; it is also very brief and has to do directly with the present issue in the series.

An introduction to the catalogue itself indicates that the compilers examined materials held in six libraries. In addi-

tion to the collections of manuscripts at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the National Library of Russia, the St. Petersburg State University, the University of Kazan and the Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent, which were discussed in detail in the overview "The largest repositories of Eastern manuscripts in the former Soviet Union", the Firdawsi State Library's collection of manuscripts is also described; it is also said that, besides the works of al-Ṭūsī, the works of his followers — al-Naysābūrī, al-Ṣamnānī, al-Khafīrī and al-Yazdī — are included in the catalogue.

The catalogue is divided into 18 sections. They either coincide with the description of a specific manuscript, if it is the only one of its kind, and consist of 14 points (discussed below), or provide a general description of the work (points 1–8) and then a description of actual copies (points 9–14). Textual variants are registered; it is strange that among them one finds *mukhtaṣars*, although we know that sometimes they belong to another "author". Whether we have here authorial abridgements remains unclear. The catalogue fails to answer this question, and it does not even ask it. Section 18 seems specially odd, providing a general description of the "Treatise in Twenty Chapters on Knowledge of the Astrolabe", while all of the 16 manuscripts it goes on to describe contain only a *mukhtaṣar*. Moreover, this word, even if it is not found in the manuscript, is sometimes bracketed and sometimes not.

The first section treats a unique manuscript by al-Naysābūrī, containing the list of 57 works by al-Ṭūsī; among them we discover works previously unknown. Sections 2 and 3 cover works by al-Ṭūsī. The fourth section treats a work by al-Ṣamnānī, who was influenced by al-Ṭūsī's writings enumerated in the third section. The fifth through eighth sections deal with manuscripts containing four more works by al-Ṭūsī, while the ninth section gives us not one, but twelve of his works brought together as "reworkings of 'middle books'". The tenth section provides two works by al-Yazdī that are commentaries on two (of the twelve) works by al-Ṭūsī from the previous section. The eleventh section deals once again with al-Ṭūsī, the twelfth treats a commentary by al-Birjandī, and the thirteenth — again a work by al-Ṭūsī. The fourteenth section is dedicated to a commentary by al-Naysābūrī, the fifteenth — to an addition to a commentary by al-Khafīrī, while the sixteenth is again al-Ṭūsī. Finally, the seventeenth section presents his addition to a work from the previous section. We have already discussed the eighteenth section. This is the structure of the catalogue under review. One can admit only with difficulty that the structure is ideal.

The points of the descriptions are discussed in the catalogue's introduction. The first point provides the name and dates of the author. The name goes throughout the catalogue in one form only, while it would have been desirable to see the author's name in the form given in the actual manuscript. Besides, some manuscripts lack the author's name at all and sometimes al-Ṭūsī's authorship is presumed. Of course, in some cases the text is well known from other numerous copies and needs no special attribution. But at times the compilers suggest al-Ṭūsī's authorship, providing arguments that undoubtedly have their place but are not convincing to the extent as to consider the authorship established once and for all. Perhaps works that give rise to some doubt should have been put into a separate section.

The second point deals with the language of the work, which is extremely important; unfortunately, recently published catalogues often do not indicate the language and one can only guess at which of the possible languages was employed in the work. The third point provides the Arabic or Persian title of the work in Russian transcription. The fourth is a Russian translation of the title. Already the acquaintance with the first description shows that the book contains inaccuracies in diacritics, inconsistencies in transcription, and oddities of translation, to say at least. For example, *khwāja* is for some reason given in Russian translation as *khad-ḥi* (*ḥāḥ*).

The fifth point gives the time of the work's composition; the sixth — the work's brief contents. This point seems to render the presence of the fourth one unnecessary, but the fourth point is most likely intended to provide a henceforth obligatory, standardized Russian form, which is occasioned by special nature of Arabic titles.

The seventh point contains information about the location and call numbers of all known manuscripts; the eighth provides a general bibliography; the ninth gives the location and call number of a specific copy; the tenth discusses the completeness of the text; the eleventh gives the incipit in Russian transcription; the twelfth — the copyist, year, and place of copying (unfortunately, one too often finds here the two words "not indicated"). The thirteenth point is dedicated to a description of the manuscript: folio size, number of folios, text dimensions, sketches and drawings, handwriting, ink, paper, binding, special characteristics are indicated here. It should be mentioned that not all sub-points of the point are represented in each description.

Finally, the fourteenth point provides information on mentions of the given manuscript in the scholarly literature. Together with the information containing in the eighth point, it enables us to bring together a great deal of data scattered throughout various publications, correcting and augmenting it when necessary.

The book closes with a bibliography (62 titles) and index of names. Regrettably, the index gives names of Eastern authors with no diacritics; the names of European scholars are sometimes conveyed inaccurately in Russian. Moreover, the index was poorly proof-read, and if it claims that a name is listed on a certain page, I recommend perusing nearby pages if one fails to find it where indicated.

Despite its obvious shortcomings, the publication is a serious and important work which required years of systematisation and research. This book can serve as a reference work for all those engaged in manuscripts research and related studies, both in the East and West. And this is the reason why we felt it was necessary to call attention to the deficiencies of the catalogue; they must be kept in mind by each user. Unfortunately, the absence of diacritical marks in the index of names hinders significantly from using this important work.

The compilers inform us that a second issue in the series will treat a group of manuscripts of particular interest for the history of science. These are al-Khāzinī's "Book of the Scales of Wisdom", Abū-l-Wafā's "Treatise on Theoretical Arithmetic", works by Ibn al-Haytham, al-Bīrūnī and al-Kāshī, and works by Samarqand scholars of the fifteenth century that belonged to the school of Ulughbēg and are now held in libraries in St. Petersburg, Kazan, Tashkent, and Dushanbe.

One can consider the first issue in the series a trial edition. We repeat that, despite all of the flaws mentioned, this is a serious scholarly work that will undoubtedly draw the attention of the scholars both in Russia and abroad. One hopes that future issues will be prepared more carefully (many deficiencies could have been avoided if the editors of the Moscow Publishing House "Vostochnaia literatura",

primarily V. V. Volgina, who was responsible for the first issue in the series, had made their work more professionally). I am convinced that the Arabic alphabet should be used in the series, as its absence is the main shortcoming that considerably hinders using the catalogue.

I. Wojewódzki

Elisabetta Chiodo. *The Mongolian Manuscripts on Birch Bark from Xarboxyn Balgas in the Collection of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. Part 1*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000, X, 305 pp., plus facsimiles. — Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 137.

When perusing the catalogues and descriptions of Mongolian manuscript and xylograph collections, one constantly encounters the names of well-known Mongolian studies specialists who brought numerous collections of Mongolian written materials to dozens of currently existing repositories of Eastern manuscript and print books. From the very beginning of Mongolian studies as an academic discipline, seeking out and collecting Mongolian books was a key part of the process that allowed us to appreciate properly the diversity and breadth of the Mongolian peoples' written legacy, which took shape on the vast expanses of Mongolia over nearly eight centuries.

Apart from the archaographic expeditions that brought to light not insignificant number of unique Mongolian literary texts, archaeological expeditions also turned up extremely valuable ancient Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs. Among the finds best known and most valuable to scholars are the fragments of fourteenth-century manuscript and print books from Turfan and Khara Khoto. More than 200 manuscript fragments from the sixteenth — seventeenth centuries were found in the wrecked *suburgan* in Olon Süme in Southern Mongolia.

The last discovery was made in 1970 by a Russian-Mongolian archaeological expedition that found a large number of manuscript texts in Mongolian and Tibetan stored in a partially destroyed *suburgan* in the village of Xarboxyn on the site of the ancient city of Xarboxyn Balgas, not far from the centre of the Dašinčilen *sum* of the Bulgan *ajmag*, 240 km north-west of Ulan-Bator. Most of the manuscripts and manuscript fragments (approximately 1,000 items) are in Mongolian: 240 of them are published by Elisabetta Chiodo in the monograph under review here.

One of the notable aspects of this collection is that all of the manuscript texts were executed on birch bark. Some other instances of the Mongols' using birch bark in place of paper are also known. The oldest such example, the so-called "Golden Horde manuscript", was discovered on the Volga in 1930; it dates to the fourteenth century. Numerous other birch-bark manuscripts dated to the first half of the seventeenth century, the period when all of the manuscripts included in the collection under review were written. Such a large number of manuscripts on birch bark appeared, of course, because of a shortage of paper, always an extremely expensive and rare commodity in the steppes. Imported Chinese paper was usually used, but often turbulent mo-

ments in Mongolian history, for example, the events of the late sixteenth — early seventeenth centuries, led to the dropping of the availability of Chinese goods, including paper. The solution to the paper shortage was to write on birch bark (the areas surrounding Xarboxyn, Elisabetta Chiodo remarks, to this day abound in birches).

The manuscripts extracted from the *suburgan* were a rather sad spectacle, consisting of birch-bark folios and fragments covered in lime, stuck together thanks to animal droppings and dirt, and partly damaged by fire. It demanded a great deal of painstaking restoration to clean and preserve the material; only then could the manuscripts be studied.

The task of enormous difficulty stood before Elisabetta Chiodo: to identify and analyse the numerous scattered folios and fragments, which required a great deal of attention and patience, not to mention a solid knowledge of Mongolian palaeography and texts. No less difficult was the attribution of the identified texts, as the published volume includes only 14 complete or "almost complete" manuscripts. All of the remaining manuscript texts were preserved in the form of fragments, sometimes miniscule.

Naturally, a significant part of the collection consists of Buddhist works, but there are, however, several manuscripts of non-Buddhist content. Among them the records of the so-called "Eighteen Steppe Laws", published in 1974 by the Mongolian historian Kh. Perlee, a participant in the expedition that discovered the treasure-trove of birch-bark books, deserve special attention. The publication of these laws is an event of great importance in Mongolian studies, since the laws were adopted at the gatherings of the Khalkha princes in the late sixteenth — early seventeenth centuries, making them the earliest known Mongol code to appear after the fall of the Yüan dynasty. The manuscript of the "Eighteen Steppe Laws" discovered was abraded and frayed from extended use and unreadable in places; some of the folios had been lost. Luckily, a few folios missing in Perlee's publication were discovered during the preparation of the monograph under review here (fols. 14b—17a). They contain the text of the so-called "Great Distribution" linked with worship of Genghis Khan.

Among manuscripts Elisabetta Chiodo discusses there are several copies of astrological and fortune-telling reference works. These include, for example, guides to the location of the soul for each day of the month (XBM 93—96) and predictions of fortuitous days for weddings (XBM 97—99). We find also collections of dream interpretations and indications of means to dispel bad dreams (XBM 100—103). Such literature was widespread among the nomad Mongols who did undertake nothing without first appealing to oracles. To meet this demand, collections were drawn up

to include all manner of fortune-telling devices, portents, predictions of lucky and unlucky days for various undertakings, etc.

Of much interest are also previously unknown works introduced into scholarly circulation for the first time, for example, a prayer addressed to Altan-khan of Tumet, of which unfortunately only a small fragment (XBM 79) has survived, and the oldest known prayers to the Panchen-lama and Dalai-lama (XBM 78). To these one can add the text of a hitherto unknown prayer to Geser in Mongolian (XBM 73).

Also valuable are manuscripts that contain examples of ritual texts with elements of ancient Mongolian folk beliefs. Among them we find fragments of the records of the *dalalga* ritual, directly related to the cult of fire (XBM 82—85), as well as the ritual of burning incense (XBM 80, 81), different from what was later recorded (after it was influenced by Buddhism).

An examination of the Buddhist texts included by the author in the first volume reveals that they consist primarily of ritual literature used in everyday Buddhist practice: descriptions of rituals (XBM 60, 66—71) and a series of prayers, hymns, invocations (*dharaṇi*) read during Buddhist rituals and services. In particular, we find folios and fragments of 21 copies of the prayer *Itegel* (XBM 1—21), the text of which was used during the ritual profession of the faith. It is the first text that was memorized by each Buddhist, and that it the reason why in some manuscripts this prayer comes directly after the Mongolian alphabet.

The publication also includes such texts as the "Three Masses", a prayer of repentance (XBM 22—27), prayers to free the soul of a deceased person from a long stay in the "area in-between" (*bardo*) (XBM 110), and a brief redaction of the canonical "*Sūtra* of the Golden Light" (XBM 29—40), which were widespread among the Mongols.

One should note that when discussing the spread of this or that text among the Mongols, we usually mean manuscripts of later origin, generally the eighteenth — nineteenth centuries. The manuscripts from Xarbuxyn Balgas were written in the first half of the seventeenth century; they represent the earliest Mongolian versions of works that later gained fame among Mongolian followers of Buddhism.

The manuscripts introduced by the author contain valuable material for all those whose interests lie in the field of Mongolian literature and history. Linguists will also find here much to interest them: written in the first half of the seventeenth century, a period of transition from the pre-classical language to the classical, these birch-bark records display a fair number of archaic forms that can throw more light on the early period of the Mongolian language's development. The glossary included in the monograph renders all of the material from Xarbuxyn Balgas extremely accessible and convenient for such research.

We must note that the author of this book has already completed a significant study on the language of the manuscripts. This is treated in a separate section at the beginning of the book (pp. 21—35), as well as in the thorough philological commentary that accompanies the transcription of the manuscripts' texts.

In sum, Elisabetta Chiodo's monograph is a carefully conceived and professionally executed work that includes all the necessary components; it complies fully with the demands contemporary scholarship makes on such publications. One can only wish the author an equally successful continuation of the work she has already undertaken to publish the birch-bark manuscripts from Xarbuxyn Balgas.

A. Sazykin

AUTHORS

Prof. Dr. **Oleg F. Akimushkin** — Head of the Department of the Middle East and Kurdish Studies Group at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Persian culture history and history of Iran, Central Asia and East Turkestan, author of a series of monographs and articles.

Prof. Dr. **Anas B. Khalidov** — Professor at the Institute of Oriental Studies of Kazan University, Researcher of the Near Eastern Department at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, expert in Arabic manuscripts and literature, specialist in the field of the Arabic language, author of several monographs and numerous articles.

Prof. Dr. **Vladimir V. Kushev** — Chief Researcher at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Iranian studies, expert in Afghan literature and culture, author of a series of catalogues of manuscripts, monographs, and articles.

Mr. **Dmitry A. Morozov** — Specialist in Eastern Christian manuscripts and translations of the Bible, author of a catalogue and several articles.

Dr. **Irina Ye. Petrosyan** — Senior Researcher of the Turkic and Mongolian Department at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Turkish history, author of monographs and articles devoted to the history and culture of the Ottoman Empire.

Prof. Dr. **Efim A. Rezvan** — Deputy Director of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Arabic and Islamic studies, author of a number of monographs and numerous articles dealing with Russian-Arab relations, history of Islam and Oriental studies computing.

Mrs. **Maryam E. Rezvan** — Postgraduate student at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, author of a number of articles and a multimedia CD-ROM dealing with the medieval Qur'anic manuscripts.

Dr. **Alexey G. Sazykin** — Senior Researcher at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, expert in Mongolian literature, author of a number of catalogues of Mongolian manuscripts and block-prints, monographs, and numerous text publications.

Prof. Dr. **Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya** — Chief Keeper of the Manuscript Department at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history and philology of ancient Central Asia, author of numerous monographs and articles in the field.

Dr. **Igor N. Wojewódzki** — Chief Librarian in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Semitic studies, author of several articles dealing with the history of Islamic and Judaic culture.

Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts must be written in English.

Manuscripts must be clearly typewritten with numbered pages, double linespacing and wide margins throughout. Italic and bold typeface should be avoided. Use underlining where text is to be italicised. The title should be as brief and informative as possible. The institute at which the work has been done should be indicated at the head of each paper. Authors are requested to include their e-mail address if one is available.

Submissions

Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Editor-in-Chief: Dr. Efim A. Rezvan, St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 18 Dvortzovaya nab., 191186, Saint-Petersburg, Russia, E-mail: orient@ieos.spb.su; rezvan@thesa.ru

