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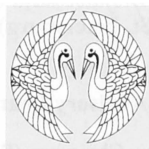
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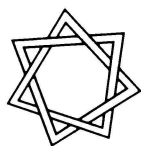
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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

I. Ye. Petrosyan

THE AUTHOR AND THE BOOK: THE TURKISH TRANSLATION OF SA'DĪ'S *GULISTĀN*

The circumstances that inspired medieval Muslim authors to engage in creative work are always individual, although they are often similar. Turkish authors are no exception. Unfortunately, the authors themselves are usually too laconic in their explanations of the reasons that compelled them to take up the pen. The personal and individual are elusive in their works, although the texts themselves, whether their authors wished it or not, can tell us a great deal about the creators of these compositions. One can only add to this that the individual elements disappears almost entirely in translated works. The author of the translation dissolves without a trace in the text he translates. As we read the traditional, streamlined formulae the translators use to explain their reasons for translating, we can only guess at the real reasons they picked up the pen. They may be deeply buried in the culture itself, or there may be psychological motives for the creative impulse and the translation of a specific work [1]. The individual, personal element is deeply hidden in Muslim literature, although one finds exceptions. In the marvelous *Bābur-nāma* ("Records") by Bābur, for example, the person of the author sparkles like a diamond, illuminating the thoughts and feelings of people from the medieval Muslim East. But Bābur's "Records" are not a translation. They are an original, autobiographical work [2].

Medieval Muslim texts appeared in a cultural context. They contain intellectual subtexts that are of interest to the modern researcher. What we know about the era and its culture can illuminate these contexts, just as what we know about the author can assist us. Of course, the task of obtaining this knowledge is more difficult when we deal with a translation. Yet it is not a hopeless task. Information about the author makes available to us the concealed, underlying characteristics of the views held by the authors of Muslim works as carriers of their own culture.

As I explored the Turkish manuscript collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, my attention was drawn by a copy of the Turkish verse translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. It was done by the seventeenth-century Turkish poet ʿĀḍī. The manuscript is an autograph, and intriguing in many respects. One finds a brief description of it in the catalogue of Turkic manu-

scripts compiled by L. V. Dmitrieva [3]. The manuscript contains 02 + 54 + 004 folios (27.0×18.0 cm). The paper is European, with water-marks, the most frequent of which consists of two crossed arrows tips down (in the form of the letter 'x'). The text (22.0×13.0 cm) in verses is written in four columns in a common border composed of a red line. The columns are set off by thin red lines. One should add that the poetic texts in medieval Turkish manuscripts were commonly formatted in this fashion, following the early-medieval Persian tradition. The text is written in a neat, small *naskh* and is vowelled everywhere. The title of the translation is: *Kitāb-i nigāristān-i shahristān-i dirakhtistān-i sabzistān* ("Picture Gallery of the [Kingdom] of Cities, Plants, and Grasses"). It is in a large *thuluth* (vermilion). Somewhat lower, the *basmala* forms the second line, also in *thuluth*. Both lines (the title and the *basmala*) are vowelled. Enclosed in a common border, they form a kind of 'unwān, though lacking the floral ornament that is usually a part of 'unwāns (see fig. 1) [4]. The pagination is Eastern (custodes) and late-European (in pencil).

The binding is paper-board with a cherry-coloured leather spine. The covers are edged in leather of the same cherry colour. Grey-pink paper with white patterns and black-pink leaves was pasted above the binding's paper-board. The manuscript is held in a paper-board case with a brown leather spine, on which there is an inscription embossed in gold in Latin letters: *Kitab Nekaristan Cod. Turc. bomb.* The paper-board of the case is pasted over with brown patterned paper. The paper-board shows the manuscript's old call number: II. 4. 27. The binding and case seem to be of quite late European origin (or at least the case is). V. D. Smirnov, who was the first to describe the manuscript in the second half of the nineteenth century, and later L. V. Dmitrieva, ascertain that the binding is of late Eastern origin (Dimitrieva specifies that it is Turkish) [5].

Beginning of the text (first *bayt*) (fol. 1b):

حُذَاهِ خَمْدُرْ كَوْنِيْهِ زَيْنَتْ
أَكَا أُولُسُونُ نَنَا وَ شُكْرُ وَمَنْتْ

End of the text (final *bayt*) (fol. 54b):

بُولُوبْ أُولَدِي بَكَارِشْتَان زِينَت
تَمَامْ أُولَدِي حُدَايَه شُكْرُ وَ مِثْنُ

There is a stamp in a border on the inner side of the binding's upper cover: Азиат. Музей, MS Orient, C 806, Ак. Наук СССР (Asiatic Museum, MS Orient, C 806, Academy of Sciences of the USSR). The note indicates that the manuscript was at one time a part of the Asiatic Museum's collection and that it was given the call number C 806 in the Soviet period. Beneath the lower line of the border we find the manuscript's old call number in violet ink: II. 4. 27.

There is another stamp on fol. 01 of the manuscript: Институт Вост. А. Н. СССР, Инв. 1936. 144 (the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. 1936 Inventory, number 144). To the left, we find another old call number: MSS turk № XXV. Folio 3 is blank and unmarked, with clear traces of moisture. In the centre of fol. 1a we find a round seal with the Russian state emblem (the two-headed eagle) and the following legend:

П: Библиотеки Учебн:
Отд.: Вост: Языковъ
М: И: Д:

The seal belongs to the library of the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Languages at Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It indicates that at some time (before it made its way to the Asiatic Museum) the manuscript was part of the collection in the Pedagogical Department library. The left edge of this folio contains a note in Arabic letters (in black ink), carefully crossed out and now illegible. Somewhat lower, along the left edge, we find another note. One can discern the words: *في سنة*. Lower there is a round Eastern seal (cropped along the left edge); one can read only the word *حضرت*. All of these notes apparently belong to the manuscript's owners. Folio 1a—1b is damaged by moisture. The paper is yellowed and glossy.

There is another round seal on 54b that belongs to the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the very end of the manuscript, on fol. 001, we find written in pencil in the upper left corner another old library call number: M. L. t. № 274. The round seal of the Institute of Oriental Studies is on fol. 002 on the right.

There is an *ex libris* on the inside lower cover: Bibliotheca Suchtelen (see fig. 2). To the left and right are lions supporting a shield with their paws. The shield is topped by three knight's visors. The central visor has a crown. The same inside lower cover bears several marks in pencil. They are the marks of library inventories: M. L. t. № 274, As. II. 4. 27, etc. The *ex libris* indicates that the manuscript was once a part of the library of Suchtelen, a person who deserves some lines to be devoted to him, especially because the tale illuminates not only a part of our manuscript's story, but the story, little-known, unfortunately, of Eastern manuscript collections in Russia.

As the *ex libris* shows, the manuscript belonged in the early nineteenth century to Count Petr Kornilovich Suchtelen (d. 1836). P. K. Suchtelen, a native of Holland, entered Russian military service in 1783. He took part in

numerous Russian military campaigns, served in the Military Department of the Russian War Ministry, and was the true creator of the Russian General Staff. He received his count title in 1822. His son, Pavel Petrovich Suchtelen (1788—1833), followed in his father's footsteps, attaining the rank of General Adjutant. He also took part in many Russian military campaigns, and, which is more important to the story of our manuscript, participated in the 1811 campaign of the Russo-Turkish War of 1806—1812. During the 1826—1828 war with Persia he was the chief of staff of the Caucasian Corps.

Suchtelen Senior was a passionate collector of manuscripts and rare books. F. F. Vigel, a noted figure in the Russian history of the first half of the nineteenth century, wrote about him in his famous recollections that P. K. Suchtelen was a "frighteningly knowledgeable" man and "had a passion for learning". All of the mathematical sciences, branches of literature, philosophy, and theology "were equally familiar to him". Once, Vigel reports, P. K. Suchtelen invited him to his library, located in the former throne-room of Emperor Paul I (r. 1796—1801), who was killed in a plot. After the Emperor's death, the Paul I Palace (now, the Mikhailovsky Palace) was put at the disposal of the War Ministry, where Suchtelen served. Suchtelen's state quarters were located in this building, a part of which consisted of the former throne-room with its magnificently preserved plafond on the ceiling depicting Jupiter and Olympus. According to Vigel's description, simple wooden bookcases without glass or curtains lined the bare walls of Suchtelen's study and library. They contained priceless treasures — a vast quantity of rare early-print books to arouse the envy of any bibliophile. In the centre of the hall stood rough-hewn cabinets with drawers down to the floor, where Suchtelen kept his rare manuscripts and collections of engravings and medals. Volumes not yet filed lay atop the cabinets [6]. Vigel explains that P. K. Suchtelen, who was not poor but hardly rich, spent half of his income on books. After his death, the priceless collection passed to the Russian state; Vigel tells us that "no private individual was able to buy it" [7]. Our Turkish manuscript with the translation of Ḍa'ifī's *Gulistān* was apparently among the riches Vigel describes. The manuscript may have been presented to Suchtelen by his son, Pavel Petrovich, who likely acquired it for his father's collection during the Russo-Turkish campaign of 1811 on the Danube front. A group of Turkish troops commanded by the grand vizier Aḥmad Pasha capitulated there after they were surrounded near Slobodzea [8].

Suchtelen was one of the most memorable of Russia's book collectors. Yet he was only one of many in the Russia of his day — the enlightened aristocrats of varied interests who collected manuscripts. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is indebted to many of these people, who included famed Russian scholars, travellers, and simply lovers of "mysteries of the Orient".

The Ḍa'ifī manuscript offers a rare example of a manuscript that tells its own story (too much of it, as we will see below). Unfortunately, such abundant information does not always facilitate the researcher's task. As we learn from the seal in the manuscript, at some point after Suchtelen's collection was purchased by the treasury, the manuscript entered the library of the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Fig. 1

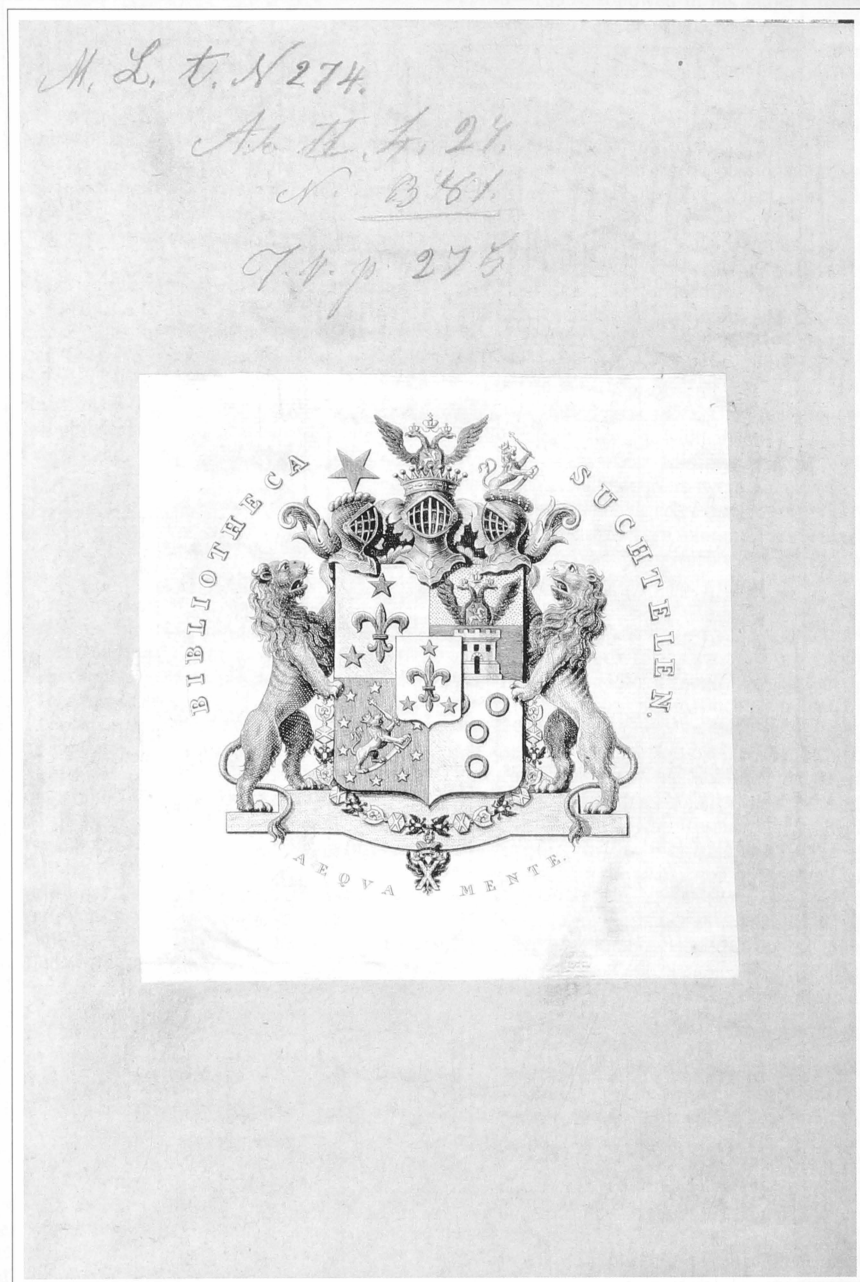


Fig. 2

Alexander I (r. 1801—1825) created the Pedagogical Department in 1823. It provided training to graduates from the Eastern faculties of Russian institutions of higher education, as well as gymnasiums and lyceums, before the graduates began diplomatic service in “the countries of the Levant”. The students who entered the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Manuscripts studied and described the manuscripts there, and for many years it remained the only library in Russia with a detailed description of its holdings [9]. In 1921, the library of the Pedagogical Department was transferred to the Academy of Sciences Asiatic Museum.

On fols. 02—01, we find an annotation in French (in black ink), in a handwriting typical of Russian official documents. The annotation briefly cites some episodes of a work contained in the manuscript and provides brief information about its author (see fig. 3). It cannot belong to P. K. Suchtelen, who was not an orientalist, but to someone who knew Ottoman Turkish well. Nevertheless, the annotation is not entirely accurate, betraying a superficial familiarity with the manuscript. We cite it here in full:

کتاب نگارستان شهرستان درخستان سبزستان
ou *Galerie de peintures, villes, forêts et Prairies*. Tel est le titre d'un Recueil des petites histoires en vers turcs, dont chacun a pour but de prouver la vérité d'une assertion morale ou politique, comme, par exemple, qu'un homme qui a des bonnes mœurs et du mérite n'a pas besoin d'une belle figure; — qu'il faut arrêter le mal dans son principe et que la bonté est vainement employée envers les amis viles; — que les hommes de mérites finissent toujours par être considérés et que l'envieux ne peut être satisfait, qui par la mort de celui qui est l'objet de son envie; — que les souverains sont affermis sur leur trônes à raison de bien qu'ils font à leur sujets, ainsi de suite.

L'auteur qui se nomme Pir (c.a.d. vieillard) Mohammed fils d'Evernouss (sic — *I. P.*), fils de Nour'ad-din, fils de Farissy, natif de Maden, bourg de la province de Roum, était Mouderriss ou Professeur. Il dit à la fin de l'ouvrage qu'il le composa en 961 (1553) pendant une grande peste qui venoit de lui enlever six fils, et qu'il l'acheva en 24 jours, malgré l'affliction où il était plongé et sa faiblesse physique. Ce livre est écrit à Constantinople et dédié au Sultan Soliman I. fils de Selim I. Les vers sont du mètre nommé Bahr-el hazedj. L'auteur dit qu'il avait composé peu de temps auparavant un autre ouvrage aussi en vers sous le titre de *Bagh Bihisht*, ou Jardin du Paradis.

One should note that the author of this French annotation retells several of the stories in verse contained in the manuscript, giving a French rendering of the name of the author — Pir Mohammed b. Evernouss b. Nour'ad-din b. Farissy al-Maden. The work is, however, not an original one. In fact, it is a Turkish translation in verse of the *Gulistān* by the famed Persian poet and moralist Sa'dī (d. 1292), whose work is mostly written in prose. Pīr Muḥammad is he who translated into Turkish Sa'dī's work. The name, as well as a few biographical facts presented in the annotation, can be easily discovered in an Arabic note found at the end of the manuscript. This note, which tells the story of the text, may be regarded as a second colophon (see fig. 4). It reads:

“Completed at the end of [the month of] Dhū'l-Qa'da by the hand of the one who translated, composed and ordered the eloquent, smooth phrases truly in the style of Rūmī

[that are] like a threaded pearl and the most excellent precious stones. [The composition] of this rare gem was completed after it was threaded, in the year of the plague after the death of six of his sons. Some of them [by that time] were occupied with scholarship, but died from plague. Allah took away those who heard how I read [to them] my poetic composition written in *rajaʿ* meter. I had by then already written my book *Bāgh-i bikhshīd* in *al-mutaqarib* meter. After that I copied this my book, in 24 days, in *al-hazaj* meter with the title *Nigāristān-i shahristān-i dirakhtistān-i sabzistān*, with pain in my heart and eyes, with the name Ḍa'ifī and weak of body (a play on words: *Ḍa'if* means ‘weak’ — *I. P.*), all hope on those who believe in the correctness [of what it contains] and will ignore the imperfections in [the use of] expressions, letters and figures of speech. I hope that they will not forget to say a kind [word] for me. May Allah be merciful on him who asks of Him forgiveness [for me] and who says a prayer for my soul. Truly, I am weak and infirm, needing the mercy of Allah and His forgiveness, Pīr Muḥammad b. Awranūs b. Nūr al-Dīn b. Fāris al-Rūmī al-Ma'danī *al-mudarris*, known as humble Ḍa'ifī, in 961 of the Hijra of the Prophet, may Allah bless and greet him. Written in Constantinople” [10].

The French annotation's author took from this addition (1) the name that he presumed belonged to the work's author; (2) the year 961, in which he believed the author wrote the work, and (3) the place it was written, Constantinople (Istanbul).

In point of fact, this particular manuscript was copied (not drawn up, as the annotator believes) in Istanbul, in 961/1553—54, from another authorial copy by the author of the work. He gives his name in full in the Arabic note, as well as his literary pseudonym Ḍa'ifī (the name Ḍa'ifī appears frequently in the text of the translation, but it is missing in the French annotation). Proof that Ḍa'ifī's work was composed at another time is found in the two final *bayts*, where the author provides the exact dates of his work on the translation:

“Time is blessed and blessed is [that] hour,
When I found the strength to complete [this work].

And if you ask, in what year of the Hijra this was,
I will answer — nine [hundred] fifty [have passed since that time].

It was begun on 10 Šafar,
[And] Sha'bān on the eleventh [day] of the same year in which it was completed” [11].

Thus, the author gives the date he began work on the translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* — 10 Šafar 950/15 May 1543 — and the date of its completion — 11 Sha'bān 950/9 November 1543. True, the writing of the year date is rather unusual, as the word *yuz* (‘hundred’) is missing, apparently to maintain the poetic meter. It is clear from the dates Ḍa'ifī provides that his work on the translation took a little less than half a year. Obviously, such a project could not have been completed in the 24 days mentioned in the Arabic note at the end of the manuscript. Besides, Ḍa'ifī himself writes in Arabic that he copied his book *Nigāristān* (once he had finished the translation) in 24 days. The date the Arabic note gives for the copying — “at the close

of [the month of] Dhū'l-Qa'da 961" (the end of October 1554) — refers not the authorial copy Da'ifī mentions, which he completed in 24 days during a bitter period of family drama, but to our St. Petersburg manuscript. It was copied from that hastily copied text (see below).

Our manuscript is interesting because its author mentions in a special note certain highly personal circumstances and the feelings they evoked in him. The circumstances are such that it is impossible not to have sympathy for the author: in his note on the copying of his own work, Da'ifī bitterly relates the untimely death from plague of his six sons. This occurred in the year that he put together his book *Nigāristān*. The author's revelation allows us to recognize certain other details of his family life. The grieving father writes that some of his sons were "occupied with scholarship". By all appearances, he discussed much of what he had written with them. In any case, he read them his poetic work *Bāgh-i bikhisht*, as we learn from the note.

At the end of his *Nigāristān*, Da'ifī describes his inspiration impulse:

"A desire awakened in me, and I wrote verses, O unblemished one,
That will be a memento of me when I have become ashes.
Not a single son remains to me, so until the Day of
Resurrection,
May there remain at least some trace of Da'ifī" [12].

We see in these lines of Da'ifī not only his desire to immortalize his name through a literary composition. One also feels his mental suffering at the thought of his terrible loss. We can only cite one example in Muslim literature of a similar situation. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains a unique copy of a collection of excerpts from poetic works by more than 200 authors. It was compiled (but not copied) by the famed Arab *amīr* Usāma bin Munqidh, who lived in Northern Syria in the twelfth century. On the first page of the collection, which contains verses on the popular Beduin poetic theme of abandoned dwellings, encampments and former locations of the tribe, Usāma tells of a powerful earthquake in Northern Syria in 1157. It caused great destruction, razing the city of Shayzar, where virtually all of his relatives had gathered for a family affair at the palace. All of them perished in the earthquake [13]. The collection was apparently an echo of this tragedy. An atmosphere of lost happiness pervades verses collected in keeping with the author's mood.

In general, Da'ifī's life was distinguished by grief and misfortune. We learn of some of them from his translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. Since Da'ifī's work lacks the translator's introduction, it is not immediately evident that we are dealing with a translation and not with an original text. The difficulty of recognizing the original is increased by the fact that Da'ifī provides a verse translation of Sa'dī's prose text, containing only brief poetic interludes. Even more misleadingly, Da'ifī substitutes his own name where Sa'dī's occurs in the original. This device brings the reader an impression — at first — that he is reading a work by Da'ifī himself. When Sa'dī's name first appears in the text of *Gulistān*:

"The fair report of Sa'dī, which is celebrated by the general voice, and the fame of his sayings, which has travelled the whole surface of the earth, and the sweet per-

simmon which imparts his discourse, which they devour like sugar, and the manner in which men carry off the scraps of his writing, as though they were gold leaves — are not to be ascribed to the perfection of his own excellence or eloquence" [14],

Da'ifī substitutes his own name for Sa'dī's:

صُعِفِي يَی كَايْدَرَلَر ذِكْرِ بِالْخَيْرِ
قَبْلُور صِبْتِ وَ صَدَاسِي عَالَمِي سَيَرُ [15].

He repeatedly does this, although he closely follows Sa'dī's text in his *bayts*. Moreover, Da'ifī is at his ease when he substitutes the name of Sa'dī's patron, the ruler of Fars, atabek Muẓaffar Zangī (r. 1226—1258), by the name of the Ottoman Sultan. We find in Sa'dī:

"but [to this, that] the Lord of the Earth, the Axis of the Revolution of Time, the Successor of Sulaimān, the Defender of the People of the True Faith, the Puissant King of Kings, the Great Atābak Muẓaffaru'd-dīn Abū-bakr-bin-Sād-bin-Zangī, God's shadow on earth (*O God! approve him and his desires!*) has regarded him with extreme condescension and bestowed on him lavish commendation, and evinced a sincere regard for him. Of a verity, from attachment to him, all people, both high and low, have become favourably inclined towards me, since men adopt the sentiments of their kings" [16].

In this text Da'ifī replaces Muẓaffar Zangī with the Ottoman Sultan Suleymān (r. 1520—1566), to whom he dedicates his translation. In doing so, he slightly changes the titles Sa'dī uses. He calls Suleymān not only the "ruler of the world" (خداوند جهان), "axis of time's rotation" (قطب دوران), and "defender (helper) of people of faith" (معيّن اهل ايمان), but also "shah of the horizon" (شاه افاق) [17], the titles common among Ottoman rulers.

There are other examples of this device, which Da'ifī uses to interiorize Sa'dī's text. After listing the contents of the chapters as they are given in *Gulistān*, Da'ifī once again introduces not insignificant alteration into the text. After the *fihris*t, Sa'dī provides the following quatrain:

"Six hundred six and fifty years had waned
From the famed Flight; then when no sorrow pained
My heart, I sought these words, with truth impressed,
To say, and thus have said: to God belongs the rest" [18].

Da'ifī changes the date of A.H. 656 (A.D. 1258) that Sa'dī gives to A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543/44), thus providing the date of his own work on the translation:

بِذَرُهُ خُوشَلَقُ دَمِي اَيَّامِ عَشْرَتِ
طَقُوزُ يُوْرُ اللَّي يِلْنَدُ يَدِي هَجْرَتِ
نَصِيحَتِي مُرَأْدُمُ اَوْشَتَه اَنْدُمُ
سَيَرِي اِصْمَرْتُمُ اللّٰهَ كِدْتُمُ [19].

Mss. Turc.

n° XXV.

02

کتاب نگارستان شهرستان درختستان سبزستان
 ou *Galerie de peinture*, *Ville*, *Forêt*
 et *Prairie*. C'est le titre d'un Recueil
 de petites histoires en vers turcs, dont
 chacun a pour but de prouver les *vertus*
 d'une aptitude morale ou politique, comme,
 par exemple, qu'un homme qui a de
 bonnes mœurs et du mérite n'a pas besoin
 d'une belle figure; — qu'il faut arrêter
 le mal dans son principe et que la bonté
 est vainement employée envers les amis
 méchants; — que les hommes de Mérite
 finissent toujours par être considérés
 et que l'envieux ne peut être satisfait,
 qui par la mort de celui qui est l'objet
 de son envie. — que les Souverains sont
 affermis sur leur trône à l'aide du bien
 qu'ils font à leurs Sujets, ainsi &c.

L'Auteur qui se nomme Pir (c.à.d.
 viellard) ^(X) Mohammedi fils d'Evernousse,
 fils de Mourad-Im, fils de Harissy, natif
 de Maden, bourg de la province de Roum
 étoit Mouderrris ou Professeur. Il dit
 à la fin de l'ouvrage qu'il le composa
 en 961 (1553) pendant une grande
 peste qui venoit de lui enlever dix
 fils, et qu'il l'acheva en 24 jours,

Fig. 3



Fig. 4

We note that while Ḍa'ifī gives in the colophon the date for the completion of his translation as طُقُوزُ اللَّيْلِ, he here provides the date in full: طُقُوزُ يَوْمِ اللَّيْلِ.

Do these replacements mean that Ḍa'ifī tried to pass off Sa'dī's work as his own? Of course not. It is no more than a literary device that was apparently considered acceptable for translators of the time. Modern associations with plagiarism are inappropriate. Besides, at the end of his work Ḍa'ifī writes openly that his *Nigāristān* is a translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*.

At the end of his work, Ḍa'ifī writes about the circumstances under which his own work appeared. He also adds some personal notes to this description and betrays some secrets of his workshop:

"The sultan Suleymān marched out on a *ghazā'*
[campaign],

This great Khan set out to Edirne,

All of the *pāshās* and *qādīaskers*
Set out with [him], all the pillars of the state.

Helas, I had no strength to go [with them],
Although I had great need to do so.

I remained, a poor man in need, in Istanbul,
Spending my days and nights in sadness.

Those, who had lost their offices but arrived in Edirne,
All received appointments and rejoiced.

[As for me], I was plunged in despair because of [my] last
appointment,
And then a mountain of grief fell upon [my] head.

I lost [all] hope, receiving no position from year to year,
I grew used to [my] isolation from state service.

It is now twenty years that I live without any appointment,
Since the age of thirty this humble has been ashamed of
his unemployment.

So here I am among the *mulāzims*, while those who
entered service
Have achieved high positions, they are carefree and
happy.

Where is that garden where I [could] go to admire it?
What spectacle would I see there before me?

It is now ten years since I stopped writing verses,
I said to myself, 'A person who writes verses should have
an easy heart'.

[But it occurred to me that] I reread the *Khamsa* and some
of the *Shāh-nāma*,
And my mind caught fire, O human being,

Desire awakened within me, and I wrote verses, O pure
[of heart],
That will remain as a memento of me when I have become
ashes.

I have not a single son — and thus shall it be until the Day
of Resurrection —
So let there remain some trace of Ḍa'ifī ...

[When] I threaded [these] eloquent, lovely verses —
[The heaviness] of a hangover I wisely turned into a feast.

This moon rose from antiquity itself,
Appeared in the flesh from the valley of non-existence,

With a wreath on the head in the form of a golden *üskiif*
Yūsuf opened [his] covering of perfect beauty" [20].

The author here reports a vast amount of information about himself. We learn that when Ḍa'ifī worked on his translation in the spring of 1543 (see above), he was living in Istanbul and had not had an official position for many years. He calls himself a *mulāzim*, as representatives of the '*ulamā*' class were called in the Ottoman Empire when they were awaiting an appointment [21]. Since he writes that he has been without an appointment for 20 years, he must have lost his position in 930 (1523/24). To this we can add some information about Ḍa'ifī (without dates) in the well-known Turkish *tadhkira* — *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* — drawn up in the second half of the sixteenth century by Qinālī-zāde Ḥasan Chelebī (1546/47—1604) [22]. In the small section on this poet, Qinālī-zāde writes that he chose to become an '*ulamā*' and was appointed the *mudarris* of a mosque in Iznik with a daily salary of 50 *akçe*. He soon, however, lost the position. This groundless and unexpected dismissal, Qinālī-zāde writes, broke Ḍa'ifī spiritually and physically, although he lost nothing materially (he was set a pension of 50 *akçe* a day). Constant thoughts of this calamity made him exceptionally pious. In a reference to the "weakness of man", Ḍa'ifī, who was a physically weak and frail person, chose his fitting pen-name (of *ḍa'if* 'weak') [23].

In his translation of *Gulistān*, Ḍa'ifī draws the reader's special attention to his unusual pseudonym:

"Although Ḍa'ifī possesses a weak body,
It is a mine [full] of revered valuables.

[Do not equate] the weakness of his body with the insignificance [of his person]
Because he chose for himself a name opposite [in meaning] to his strength.

It says in the verses of the Qur'ān,
[And this is] the word of God: 'Weak shall be human creatures'.

[Ḍa'ifī] appeared [on earth] from the mine of Rümeli,
And for this reason he himself is pure silver and gold.

[The place of his birth] is called Kratovo
[For], in truth, this is a mountainous country" [24].

As we see, the author gives his place of birth, Kratovo (a city in the European part of the Ottoman Empire famed for its silver mines). Ḍa'ifī provides a detailed description of where he is from. He even gives details of the landscape, which is to a certain degree a literary innovation. The landscape is almost totally absent in works of Muslim literature. The author gives information about the population of Kra-

tovo and a detailed description of mining in this region [25], a unique phenomenon in sixteenth-century Ottoman literature. His origins in Kratovo, with its then-rich reserves of silver, inspire the Ḍa'ifī to compare himself with a silver mine in the traditional authorial boasting passage:

"Ḍa'ifī is a silver mine of words" [26].

Let us now return to the spring of 1543, when Ḍa'ifī, who had already been unemployed for 20 years, wrote bitterly about his physical inability to join those who set out with Sultan Süleymān's army. The campaign was against Hungary, which the Ottomans had already conquered in 1541. Süleymān, however, had to undertake another campaign in 1543 in response to the actions of Ferdinand of Habsburg, who was unable to reconcile himself to the loss of such a large part of his state and laid siege to Buda and Pesht [27]. The Ottoman army was usually accompanied by a horde of officials, including representatives of the 'ulamā' who hoped to receive a promotion or position. At that time, Ḍa'ifī had lost his chance to improve his personal circumstances. At another place in his work, Ḍa'ifī describes his poverty and miserable position when he undertook his translation of *Gulistan*:

"I possessed no wealth, I lived in need,
I had no funds to buy myself a home.

I lived in a hovel on a pension,
Rendering my soul hostage to this abode.

[This dwelling was] akin to the black eye of a needle —
Dark and narrow as the hearts of misers.

But this was the most blessed of dwellings
Compared to the cup for the [life-giving] water of
Khidr" [28].

Ḍa'ifī's comment that he has "been ashamed of his unemployment since the age of 30", allow us to calculate the poet's date of birth — in A.H. 930 (A.D. 1523/24) he was 30 years old, making his birth date A.H. 900 (A.D. 1494/95). This means that Ḍa'ifī's idle period coincided with the height of his creative powers. In 1543, when his hopes of receiving a new position were shattered, he was 47–48 years old. (We will discuss below the possible reasons for the poet's loss of his position as a *mudarris*.)

This bitterness was compounded by grief over the death of his six sons (a double blow for a Muslim because of the special status of male offspring). We compare the information that Ḍa'ifī recounts in his Arabic note, where he tells us that he completed work on *Nigāristān* in a plague year that robbed him of six sons (as we have seen, the poet finished his translation in November 1543), with the concluding *bayts* of its translation, where he describes his work on the translation:

"Not a single son remains to me, so until the Day of
Resurrection,
May there remain at least some trace of Ḍa'ifī".

and with the *miṣrā'*:

"[The heaviness] of a hangover I wisely turned into a feast".

We also recall his comment that upon finishing *Nigāristān* he copied it in 24 days "with pain in his heart and eyes". With a high degree of certainty, we can assume that Ḍa'ifī lost his sons in the summer of 1543, most likely, while he was still working on the translation. But in the spring of 1543, at the time of the crush of his expectation to obtain an appointment, he did not know of the grief that awaited him. Besides, according to his own words, it was ten years (in 1543) that he stopped writing verses because of his uneasy heart. But the situation changed when he turned to reading the great books of the great Muslim authors — *Khamsa* by Nizāmī and *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī. As he read their works, his desire for creative work returned, if not the joy of years past. But there was another life blow he had to experience — the death of his six sons during his work on the translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistan*. Toward the end of his work on *Nigāristān*, the poet already realized that, having lost his sons, he would leave a different legacy behind him.

Of course, the poet was not driven solely by a thirst for creative endeavours when he started his work. The praise for Sultan Süleymān at the beginning of *Nigāristān* proves that, first and foremost, the poet dreamed of presenting his work to the sultan to gain his attention and thus to compensate his inability to participate in Süleymān's campaign.

We see from the poet's words that he went about his work with great inspiration, for time attaining a measure of happiness:

"Truly, during my work on a translation,
I experienced joyful moments" [29].

He also points to the significance of the work:

"There have been many learned men in the world,
But none of them rendered *Gulistan* in verse" [30].

The *bayts* devoted to the creative process itself are placed by Ḍa'ifī at the beginning of the translation, where Sa'dī locates his introduction. It was important for Ḍa'ifī to show what a difficult task it was to transform Sa'dī's largely prosaic work into verse while retaining the exact meaning Sa'dī's text through its adequate translation. In the description of the work, we sense a certain retreat from the standard, an attempt to reveal the true difficulties of transforming prose into poetry, as well as reworking a Persian text into Turkish. Ḍa'ifī writes that people tried to talk him out of this:

"The field of poetry is too narrow [for the expression of
thought],
The *chawgān* will not be able to strike that ball, [O] man!"

'[This text] is difficult for verse', they said [to me],
'There is little space [for words], [the field is] narrow',
they said [to me],

'For the Shaykh (Sa'dī — I. P.) has mainly stories,
A frequent mix of prose and verse,

Many various fragrant stories,
Which it will be impossible [to translate] into
Turkī" [31].

And in closing his description of his work on the translation, Ḍa'ifī says:

"Praise be to Allah, that from this handsome face
I was able to remove the covering.

I spent many days working
And now not a single letter remains that has not
been put into verse.

The meaning of each word [in *Gulistān*] has been
made clear,
Now let the declaimers [32] of verses learn [it] from
memory.

How many words I picked over to find the ones I needed,
How much work I completed [labouring] day and
night" [33].

Ḍa'ifī here expounds on his vision of the difficulties that arose in translating a prosaic work into verse. In his view, which he expresses through the statements of imagined opponents (although these opponents may actually have existed), the main difficulty was the need for concision while retaining the lexical and grammatical meaning of the more expansive prosaic text. We note that Ḍa'ifī here points to another difficulty, that of translating a Persian text into Turkish. The poet may refer not only to the problem of finding appropriate words for the translation, but also the two languages' different structures. A comparison of the Persian original with the Turkish translation shows that Ḍa'ifī's translation is strikingly accurate. Moreover, the verses are beautiful, rhythmic and musical (their translation into English prose does not convey this feature of Ḍa'ifī's work).

Ḍa'ifī's desire to attract Süleyman's attention to him and to his work turned to have a positive result. First, as the Arabic note at the end of our manuscript indicates, he finally received the position he sought, since he refers to himself there as a *mudarris*. In another note on the margins of the manuscript (fol. 5a), Ḍa'ifī says that "his fate improved". Second, in the palace library of Topkapı Sarayı there is a *Kulliyāt* of Ḍa'ifī's works (call number R 822). In all likelihood, the autograph there was presented by the author himself. The following works by Ḍa'ifī are included in the *Kulliyāt*:

1. a verse translation of Sa'dī's *Bustān* entitled *Bāgh-i bikhishit*;
2. a verse translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* called *Nigāristān*;
3. a verse translation of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's *Pand-nāma* entitled *Bustān-i naṣā'ih*;
4. the *Dīvān*;
5. the autobiographical work *Sergūzesht-i Ḍa'ifī*, a *mathnawī* with the end in rhymed prose;
- 6 *Gulshan-i mulūk*, a didactic work written in the "mirror for princes" genre;
7. *Ṣabr al-maṣā'ih*, a didactic work;
8. *Risāla-yi jawāhir-nāma*, a work on the qualities of precious stones;
9. translation of a *waqf* document by Ibn Muḥal;
10. a collection of Ḍa'ifī's letters to various dignitaries.

All of these works are bound into a single book entitled *Kulliyāt-i Ḍa'ifī*. The binding is leather with a flap, cherry-

coloured, decorated with a *shamsa*. The paper is glossy. Folio dimensions are 33.0×21.5 cm. The manuscript contains 194 folios. The text is copied in *naskh*, four columns of 25 lines each, voweled. It was copied in 962/1555 in Istanbul [34].

Our St. Petersburg *Gulistān* autograph was copied one year earlier, in late October 1554. Our autograph may be an intermediary step in the author's labours to double-check the text of the translation shortly before he drew up the *Kulliyāt*. A marginal note by the author in the St. Petersburg manuscript would indicate this (see fig. 5). The note reveals how medieval Muslim authors worked on their texts (and manuscripts). It reads:

"Since [some time ago] I copied [the text] in great haste, the manuscript (Ḍa'ifī here uses the word 'book' — *I. P.*) was not free from errors. [These] errors were solely the result of the haste in which the manuscript was copied. [At that time] I did not make corrections, leaving everything in the manuscript as it was: my unfortunate personal circumstances did not allow me [the opportunity] to correct the mistakes. Now that some time has passed and my fate has improved, I [have decided] to correct the errors [in the text]. I have carefully and attentively copied the manuscript out. [Then] I once again compared the text with the original, thoroughly checking each *bayt*, which required some time. I adorned the lovely *Nigāristān* in the colours of marvellous *dībā*" [35].

Based on what we now know, the history of the text's translation and copying now appears as follows: on 9 November 1543 Ḍa'ifī finished work on the translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, producing the autograph of the rough draft (A 1). Next, although we do not know exactly when, Ḍa'ifī, afflicted by the deaths of his sons, in 24 days "with pain in his heart and eyes", as he writes in his Arabic note, copied the rough draft A 1, producing another autograph A 2 with many errors in it. The St. Petersburg manuscript is the third text (A 3). It was copied by the author in October 1554 from manuscript A 2. The final draft A 3 was, after copying, once again compared with A 1 (the original). As a result, the author added some *bayts* in the margins where he had omitted passages or committed errors. The traces of this work we see on the margins of the St. Petersburg manuscript.

The St. Petersburg manuscript (A 3) is copied in fine, small *naskh*. The *bayts* the author adds in the margins are also in a small, neat *naskh* (see, for example, fols. 2b, 7a, and following). (The margins of A 3 also display some poetic additions in another hand, probably one of the manuscript's owners.)

Judging by the arrangement of Ḍa'ifī's works in his *Kulliyāt* and by the Arabic note in our manuscript, his first large-scale work was the *Bāgh-i bikhishit* ("Garden of Paradise"), a translation of Sa'dī's *Bustān*. Ḍa'ifī's next choice, Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, seems quite natural. In the period between 1543 and 1555, Ḍa'ifī's several more works, including a translation of 'Aṭṭār's famed poem *Pand-nāma* appeared. One can thus assume that after 1543, so immensely unfortunate for Ḍa'ifī, almost a ten-year period of comparative well-being ensued, when he created his other works.

We now turn to Ḍa'ifī's literary preferences. He selected for translation into Turkish two works by Sa'dī — the *Bustān* and *Gulistān*. The great Persian author Sa'dī, who wrote his works in the didactic genre, extremely popu-

lar in the Muslim East, was born in Shiraz around 1184 and died in 1292. Sa'dī's travels and life adventures are worth special examining. Suffice it to say that his poem *Bustān* is a work on human conduct, where thoughts on the need for justice, love, modesty, resignation, restraint, gratitude to God, and repentance alternate with various episodes from the author's biography. The *Gulistān* differs from the *Bustān* in that it is written in prose, containing sparkling and witty tales. Both *Bustān* and *Gulistān* provided answers to many ethical questions both for ordinary Muslims and highly placed officials. Sa'dī's text is far from dry, being a lively and witty text full of human wisdom. The *Gulistān* also contains echoes of Sūfism, which is a result, as E. G. Browne believes, of the great popularity of Sūfism in Sa'dī's time. Browne's verdict is that Sa'dī's *Gulistān* is the most "Machiavellian" work in the history of Persian literature [36].

In truth, Sa'dī promotes with unconcealed approval common sense and adaptation to the frequently dramatic circumstances of ordinary life. But things are not nearly so simple. The *Gulistān* is not a hymn to moral permissiveness or hypocrisy. One should recall that in his youth Sa'dī studied in Baghdad at the Nizamiyya medrese. He was influenced by the Sūfī *shaykh* Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (1155–1192), a Persian philosopher and mystic who created the teaching of "Eastern illumination" (*al-ishraq*). His first treatise on this was entitled *Bustān al-qulūb*. Suhrawardī travelled widely and met with many famed theologians and Sūfis of his time. He was later accused of excessive free thought and pro-Shī'ite propaganda [37]. In his *Gulistān*, Sa'dī writes about the influence on him of another luminary, Abū'l-Faraj ibn Jawzī (d. 1200), a writer, polygraphist, and preacher whose support for the "Muslim reconquista" took place even in the streets. Sa'dī calls Abū'l-Faraj his *shaykh* in the *Gulistān* [38].

Sa'dī may have begun to travel under the influence of his first Sūfī teacher at the Nizamiyya. His journeys, which began in 1226, lasted until 1256. Spiritually, they were most likely the wanderings of a *darwīsh* in search of the truth and moral instruction. Sa'dī did not write strictly Sūfī works, although he led the life of a true Sūfī, wandering so that he could speak with the wise men of his time. Some of these travels and encounters are mentioned in the *Gulistān*. One can state that the *Gulistān* is the sum of the ethical knowledge that Sa'dī collected during his encounters with wise men. Outwardly, this is secular knowledge. Only the fact of travel links it with Sūfism. The travels are the material, secular equivalent of Sūfī journey on the path (*ṭarīqa*) in search of Truth. (Not all Sūfis were Gnostics; they frequently received from their spiritual mentors teachings of a purely ethical nature.) For Sa'dī, attaining this knowledge was, as Dawlat-shāh recounts, only a part of the search for Truth [39].

It is difficult to answer the question of whether Da'ifī sought in Sa'dī's works solely worldly wisdom or Sūfī ethical wisdom. We note only that after the *Bustān* and *Gulistān* he translated another ethical work, *Pand-nāma* by 'Aṭṭār, who was also a Sūfī. Da'ifī's interest in Sūfī authors who wrote didactic works is evident. But what is more important, Da'ifī himself was a Sūfī. At the end of *Nigāristān*, he mentions his *shaykh*, Sunbul Sinān:

"Pour, O Lord, the water of Your mercy
Over my *shaykh*, Sunbul Sinān" [40].

It is also important that Da'ifī asks his deceased *shaykh* to appear to him during prayer and "instruct" his "perturbed heart":

"Appear... during my prayer, O noble [man],

May [your words] 'I instructed a perturbed heart'
Be medicine to heal my sufferings" [41].

It is worth mentioning that in his *Nigāristān*, Da'ifī gives also the name of another *shaykh*, Merkez Muşliḥ al-Dīn:

"O God, to *shaykh*, Merkez Muşliḥ al-Dīn,
Your servant, be merciful — may it be so!" [42].

Of these two *shaykhs*, Sunbul Sinān, an expert in Muslim exoteric and esoteric knowledge, became involved in Sūfism after he made the acquaintance of Afdal-zāde. He became the *murīd* of Chelebī Khalīfa [43], who was one of the adherents to *khalwatiyya*. The *ṭarīqa* appeared in Iranian Azerbaijan, but is considered to have no specific founder. It arose from a circle of Muslim ascetics under the influence of *mālamatiyya* ideas. The *ṭarīqa* was at first linked to the cult of 'Alī. Members of the *khalwatiyya* venerated the 12 Shī'ite *imāms*. In their honour the *khalwatiyya* introduced a 12-day fast. Sūfis of this *ṭarīqa* also recognized the necessity of individual asceticism (*zuhd*) and solitude (*khalwa*, which gave the *ṭarīqa* its name). After the *ṭarīqa* spread on the territory of the Sunni Ottoman state, the *khalwatiyya* were compelled to conceal their tie to Shī'ism and became as much Sunni as possible [44]. However, the practice of solitude and harsh personal asceticism remained the distinctive features of *khalwatiyya* adherents.

Da'ifī was a *murīd* of *shaykh* Sunbul Sinān, whose name graced the Istanbul branch of the *khalwatiyya* — the *sunbuliyya*. He was, thus, a member of the *ṭarīqa*. The strict asceticism to which he was obliged, in conjunction with his corporal constitution, apparently affected his health, which he duly noted in his literary pseudonym of Da'ifī.

Despite the similarity between the ideas of the original *khalwatiyya* and the ideology of the founders of the Safawid state, *khalwatiyya* was ejected from Iran in 1502. In its main idea, *khalwatiyya* was influenced by the teaching of Ibn 'Arabī and his key concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* [45]. In Da'ifī's lifetime, in the Ottoman capital, the *ṭarīqa* received substantial support and protection from many Ottoman representatives of the upper class sympathising with the *khalwatiyya*. For example, Qōja Muştafā Pasha ordered that a tekke be built in Istanbul for Chelebī Khalīfa. After the death of the latter, Sunbul Sinān headed the tekke [46].

In Anatolia, the *ṭarīqa* was most popular among the Turkmen (earlier, in the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu states). Folk beliefs and Shī'ite sympathies were deeply ingrained there. In the biography of Sunbul Sinān's teacher, Chelebī Khalīfa, it is shown the tie between *khalwatiyya* and the Turkmen. According to this biography, Chelebī Khalīfa had such a huge authority in Anatolian Sūfī circles that Prince Bāyazīd turned to him for support during his succession struggle with his brother Jem [47].

Da'ifī's first acquaintance with the *khalwatiyya ṭarīqa* apparently took place through Muftī Chelebī (Muftī Shaykh), whose *mulāzim* he was [48]. Muftī Chelebī received his education in Brusa and frequented the Sayyid al-Bukharī Mosque on Fridays to read the Qur'ān [49]. He later became



Fig. 5

connected with *shaykh* Imām-zāde, who, according to the account of Ṭashköprüzāde, was a member of *khalwatiyya*. To characterise the first patron of Ḍa'ifī, Ṭashköprüzāde mentions Muftī Chelebī's exceptional memory, and his marvellous knowledge of *fiqh*. Highly appreciated by Sultan Süleymān, he was appointed by him a *muftī* (*shaykh ul-islām*) with a high daily salary of 100 dirhems. Ṭashköprüzāde also notes that Muftī Chelebī possessed great erudition: he often worked in his large library and knew a great many texts by heart. Also interesting is Ṭashköprüzāde's description of the harsh seclusion to which Muftī Chelebī subjected himself. He gives us a sense of the forms of *khalwa* that the *khalwatiyya* practiced. According to the story, to mortify his own flesh Muftī Chelebī once subjected himself to a 40-day seclusion, for which he dug a pit in the form of a grave and spent the entire time of the *khalwa* there in prayer, trying to attain a state of *fanā*. Those around him considered him a saint [50]. It is difficult to say whether Ḍa'ifī engaged in such harsh forms of seclusion. Perhaps, his poor health did not permit him to strictly follow *khalwa*.

Being, at the beginning of his career, under the protection of Muftī Chelebī, he later became the *murīd* of Sunbul Sinān after the latter headed Qōja Muṣṭafā Pasha's *khalwatiyya* tekke after the death of Chelebī Khalīfā in 950/1543–44. While Chelebī Khalīfā was still alive, his *murīd*, Sunbul Sinān, married his daughter [51], a common practice in Ṣūfī circles to head a *ṭarīqa*. Unfortunately, we know nothing about Ḍa'ifī's connections with Sunbul Sinān.

As was noted above, the *khalwatiyya* tekke was built for Chelebī Khalīfā by Qōja Muṣṭafā Pasha, a fascinating figure in many respects. A Frenchman or a Greek by nationality, meaning that he was either taken prisoner by the Turks or entered court service through the *devshirme* system (making him a new convert and formally a slave in status), Qōja Muṣṭafā first attained the position of *kapıcıbaşı*. In this capacity he was sent by Sultan Bāyazīd II in 1490 to Rome to conduct negotiations on Bāyazīd's brother Jem, who was kept then in Italy. In the last years of Bāyazīd II's reign, Qōja Muṣṭafā acquired the title of *Rūmelī beylerbeyi* and was once again drawn into the dynastic struggle that broke out between Bāyazīd's sons, Aḥmed and Selīm. In late September 1511, he was appointed grand vizier and supported prince Aḥmed. His rival, Selīm, was however the victor in this struggle, and when he became sultan in 1512, he had Qōja Muṣṭafā Pasha executed [52]. Almost all his life Qōja Muṣṭafā Pasha was a protector of the *khalwatiyya*.

About another *shaykh*, Merkez Muṣliḥ al-Dīn, whom Ḍa'ifī mentions in his translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* [53], Ṭashköprüzāde reports that he was, like Ḍa'ifī, a *murīd* of Sunbul Sinān. We also know that he was a connoisseur of the Sharī'at and an expert in Baydawī's *Tafsīr*, ate only the most humble food and led a Ṣūfī life full of spiritual exercises [54].

Thus, we see that Ḍa'ifī was from his early years encircled by people linked to the *khalwatiyya* *ṭarīqa*, apparently a fateful circumstance for him. His first appointment as *mudarris* occurred with the aid of Muftī Chelebī, who was a supporter of *khalwatiyya* and, according to reports, lived in the tekke at the "Small Aya Sofya" in Istanbul. Muftī Chelebī was a *murīd* with the well-known *khalwatiyya* *shaykh* Sunbul Sinān and in close relationships with

Merkez Muṣliḥ al-Dīn. These ties may have evoked the displeasure of orthodox 'ulamā' who suspected *khalwatiyya* adherents of secret Shī'ite sympathies. As was noted above, Ḍa'ifī's dismissal took place immediately after he was appointed a *mudarris* in Iznik in around 1523. There was no evident explanations of the fact, but, curiously enough, the dismissed Ḍa'ifī received a pension equal to his previous salary, which can only mean that someone in the capital stood up for him. All of this would be quite mysterious if we knew nothing of the *khalwatiyya* Shī'ite background and their influence on the upper circles. Approximately at the time of Ḍa'ifī's dismissal, Selīm was fighting with the Safawid Shah Ismā'il and his emissaries in Anatolia, who conducted Shī'ite propaganda there to provoke anti-government uprisings among Turkish population. Selīm's government was extremely suspicious about appointing people with presumable Shī'ite sympathies as the mentors of the future 'ulamā'. Ḍa'ifī turned to be such a person. It is worth noting that by the end of the sixteenth century the *khalwatiyya* had gradually lost its influence in the Ottoman empire without the attention and support of elite Ottoman circles. It reappeared only in the eighteenth century thanks to Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (1688–1749) [55], who was a native of Damascus.

At about the same time that Ḍa'ifī was dismissed, relations with Shī'ite Iran became a top priority again. It was in 1523 that the Ottoman sultan Süleymān received a large embassy from the Iranian Shah Ismā'il. It consisted of 500 persons. Its official goal was to congratulate Süleymān with the capture of Rhodes. (Only 20 people from the embassy went to the Sultan's court; the rest remained on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus in Üsküdar.) But this episode in Persian-Turkish relations was a single gesture of amity on the part of Ismā'il. The embassy Süleymān sent in response to the Shah's court (3 December 1523) was not a success: in 1524, Shah Ismā'il died; Tahmāsp, who came to power that very year, continued a hostile policy toward the Sunni Ottoman Empire and Turkish-Iranian relations remained hostile up until at least 1555. In these conditions Ḍa'ifī clearly could not count on a successful career as an 'ulamā'. Only the literary endeavours he resumed in 1543 (after a ten-year period of awaiting a new appointment) allowed Ḍa'ifī to draw Süleymān's attention. The genre the poet chose — didactics — brought him success, and Ḍa'ifī was admitted to the 'ulamā' circle again.

The distinguishing characteristic of Ḍa'ifī's *Nigāristān* is the Ṣūfī veil it casts over Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. As we have seen, *Gulistān* is not at all a Ṣūfī writing, and its presenting in Turkish as a sort of Ṣūfī composition with numerous hidden subtexts is entirely Ḍa'ifī's contribution. His addition of a Ṣūfī hue to *Gulistān* is not merely the result of "habits" of consciousness or the deeply hidden features of a vision of the world, which became explicit as a direct result of the creative process. Undoubtedly, Ḍa'ifī saw his task not only as translating the text from one language into another, but also in delivering to the reader a certain sacred meaning that does not lie on the surface and is not implicit. Working on another's text always involves the translation of meanings. What we see in the case of *Nigāristān* is not merely a translation of the *Gulistān*'s text into Turkish, but also an interpretation of the original. This was apparently how Ḍa'ifī understood his task. In this sense, the authorial boasting in *Nigāristān* is not a mere bow to Ṣūfism and Ṣūfī literature. As the translator puts it,

"[Da'ifi] is a story-teller of the garden of eloquence,
A singer of beauty's flower-garden.

He is the gardener of knowledge's rosary,
Strolling through the flower-garden of meaning.

The source of his eloquence flows [in streams],
He has made the meaning of the *Gulistān* clear.

The 'Anqā of thought resides in this flower-garden,
This [garden] is the desert of Tih [56] and the magic of
Sāmīrī [57].

Wisdom here soars like the bird Humāy,
The Phoenix of the soul plays the *sāz* in this temple,

The peacock of the heart strides out.
This is the place where the parrot of thought strolls,

The meadow [for] reason of the heart and soul.
This is the depiction of the bashful Chinese beauty

In the paintings of Chinese artists,
[The depiction] of a stunning beauty [ever known] on the
earth.

This is the azure sea for the crocodile of love.
In this fire [even] the salamander will burn from passion-
ate desire.

The roses within this flower-garden are its meaning,
The minds of the magnanimous are [its] nightingales.

[Here] the partridge of comprehension smoothly wavers,
Like the gait of a pheasant is the understanding of reason.

[In] springtime the trees in this garden
Each time strew their [white] flower petals like *akçe*
[coins].

In this garden the tulip conceals within itself [a certain]
sign,
The rose holds in its hand a gold chalice with wine.

The hyacinth strews its locks,
When the ruddy-playing pomegranate flower spills out
[its] fire.

The peacock's tail is here [like] a bouquet of roses
When it steps out in this garden.

A thoughtful rose bud among the singing [birds] of this
garden,
It does not hasten to open [its petals].

The blooming violet flower stretches [its] stalk to the
heavens.
The Chinese marrows have lowered their neck to [their]
slippers, fallen prone,

Having gathered water in their palms.
The narcissus hold gold plates on their heads,

The *zanbaq* [58] has set up a tent in this garden —
They are all observers of this green kingdom.

The saffron's body has turned yellow from love,
The Judas' tree has changed the colour of its face,

The cypresses strive [upward] in this flower-garden,
The *rayḥān* in this garden is reminiscent of a meadow.

The plane-tree wants to serve [this garden] —
Its hand is slim, but [its] care is great.

Gold chalices are the cup-bearer of this garden,
[Who] pours dew [as a] bracing drink.

The carnations in this flower-garden burn ambergris,
Enlisting the aid of the colours of evening, [and] the rose
makes the *'ūd* [59] [its] incense.

How fine this artist, a Rūmī painter,
Who decorated the planks of the tongue [with all worthy]
of knowledge!

This is no river, but an ocean of love.
It is no house, but an [entire] city of love.

He has made the overarching vault of each *bayt* [60]
immortal.
[From *bays*] he erected an [entire] city of *Nigārīstān*.

Each its wall and vault is decorated,
The painted cupola and throne are inlaid with precious
stones.

All of [its] palaces are absolute perfection,
[Each] decorated head and *miṣrā'* [61] is a jewel and a
precious stone" [62].

A superficial glance reveals nothing noteworthy in this traditional set of images, except a mere bow to Šūfism. In Šūfī poetry (and here we deal with an original text by Da'ifi himself, not his translation of a text by Sa'dī) the images are always traditional. The repertoire is quite common, but here the Šūfī imagery is used not to encode a deeply hidden Šūfī subtext, but to express another idea of the translator. In this passage of his own, Da'ifi uses the image of a flower-garden to depict the entirety that is the world created by God. In it exists a variety of forms (Da'ifi conveys their diversity with images of plants and birds) that are a manifestation of the One. The text fully betrays the translator's adherence to Šūfism, since Da'ifi mentions its central idea of the Oneness and of love for God and His creation (the world). In this context, Da'ifi presents himself as a creator of some perfect creation too, that is of a perfect composition. This is a somewhat heretical move, as *Nigārīstān* is merely the result of human creativity. Da'ifi also stresses that with his translation he clarified the meaning of the *Gulistān*, that is not merely made clear Sa'dī's text by translating it to another language, but also made transparent another, sacred meaning inaccessible to the reader of the work by Sa'dī. It is perhaps by this reason that Qīnālī-zāde, the Turkish author of the *tadhkira*, wrote that Da'ifi completed a *sharḥ* on Sa'dī's *Gulistān* [63].

We see that the translator imputed more to translation than is usual: he understood his task to be significantly broader. It was in this “gap” that the translator's own art manifested itself.

In this light, the title of the translation — *Nigāristān-i shahristān-i dirakhtistān-i sabzistān* (“Picture Gallery of the [Kingdom] of Cities, Forests, and Grasses”) — seems to convey the translator's main idea. In the various stories and flamboyant characters of *Gulistān* he sees a deeply hidden Šūfī meaning clear to him. The Šūfī Oneness lurks behind the diversity of people and phenomena described by Sa'dī. Ḍa'ifī likens this diversity to a beautiful flower-garden in which he sees himself one of its admiring observers. Mysti-

cal love for God spreads like the sea in this kingdom, and Ḍa'ifī expresses his delight at this picturesque and fragrant “divine garden” inhabited by worldly creatures.

Ḍa'ifī's autograph manuscript from the St. Petersburg collection and the text it contains form a single whole, studying of which allows one to grasp more deeply and more completely the characteristics of the exceptionally precious cultural phenomenon that is literary creativity in the medieval Muslim East. All aspects of this phenomenon are important. They intermingle and reveal deep ties. The life of the text, its author, and the book are all bound up with each other, full of inner meanings, profoundly conditional. These are the signs of this unique, rich culture.

Notes

1. A significant number of works treat medieval translated literature and its creators. We name only a few: D.S. Likhachëv, *Tekstologiya. Na materiale russkoï literatury X—XVII vv.* (Textology. Russian Literature of the 10th—17th Centuries) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1964), chapter IX, pp. 390—424; N. A. Meshcherskii, “Iskusstvo perevoda Kievskoï Rusi” (“The art of translation in Kievan Rus”), in *idem, Izbrannye stat'i* (St. Petersburg, 1995), pp. 246—71; T. I. Sultanov, “Nekotorye voprosy tiurkskoï srednevekovoi perevodnoi istoricheskoi literatury” (“Certain questions of Turkic medieval translated historical literature”), in *Tiurkologicheskii sbornik*. 1976 (Moscow, 1978), pp. 141—52. For authorship in Muslim literature, see also N. D. Miklukho-Maklai, “Avtor i ego sochineniia v srednevekovoi nauchnoi literature na persidskom iazyke (opyt istochnikovedcheskogo i kul'turovedcheskogo issledovaniia)” (“The author and his works in medieval scholarly literature in Persian: a study of sources and culture”), *Ocherki istorii kul'tury srednevekovogo Irana. Pis'mennost' i literatura* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 57—139.

2. On the *Bābur-nāma*, see T. I. Sultanov, “Obstoiatel'stva i vremia napisaniia 'Bābur-nāme'” (“Circumstances and time of the *Bābur-nāma*'s writing”), *Tiurkskie i mongol'skie pis'mennye pamiatniki. Tekstologicheskie i kul'turovedcheskie aspekty issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1992), pp. 86—96. There is a vast literature on Bābur and his famed “Records”. The work itself was published many times and translated into numerous languages, which is in and of itself a testimony to the unusual nature of the work.

3. L. V. Dmitrieva, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia* (A Description of the Turkic Manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies). Fasc. 3: *poëziia i kommentarii k poëticheskim sochineniiam, poëtika* (Moscow, 1980). The manuscript was described earlier by the Russian Turkologist V. D. Smirnov. See V. D. Smirnov, *Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales du Ministère des affaires étrangères* (St.-Petersbourg, 1897), pp. 92—4.

4. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān-i shahristān-i dirakhtistān-i sabzistān*, manuscript C 806 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 1b.

5. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Dmitrieva, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

6. F. F. Vigel', *Zapiski* (“Records”) (Moscow, 2000), p. 128. The author of the book writes the following about the throne-hall transformed into the office of a private, if important, individual: “Memory of the deceased ruler (Paul I — I. P.) was still so fresh that I trembled involuntarily. For a moment, it seemed to me that his enraged shadow had rushed through the wise man's study”. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

8. Iu. A. Petrosian, *Osmanskaia imperiia. Mogushchestvo i gibel'. Istoricheskie ocherki* (The Ottoman Empire: Might and Ruin. Historical Essays) (Moscow, 1990), pp. 177—8.

9. The manuscript made its way through the Asiatic Museum to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the inheritor of the Asiatic Museum. For more on the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, see *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia sredi XIX veka* (The History of Russian Oriental Studies in the Mid-19th Century) (Moscow, 1990), pp. 155 ff.

10. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 54b. I am grateful to my mother, A. I. Mikhailova-Zueva, for her help in translating this note, which is in not entirely classical Arabic.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 54a.

13. *Pages of Perfection. Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Milan, 1995), p. 134. The author of the manuscript's description in the edition is Prof. A. Khalidov.

14. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*. Critical text, translation, foreword and notes by R. M. Aliev (Moscow, 1959), p. 59. An English translation of the passage is given here as in *The Gulistan; or, Rose-Garden, of Sheykh Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn Sā'dī of Shīrāz*, translated by E. B. Eastwick (London, 1880), introductory part “Life of Sā'dī” by ʿAtish Kadah, p. 5.

15. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 2a.

16. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, p. 59. An English translation is cited as in *The Gulistan; or, Rose-Garden, of Sheykh Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn Sā'dī of Shīrāz*, pp. 5—6.

17. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 2a.

18. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, p. 66. An English translation is cited as in *The Gulistan; or, Rose-Garden, of Sheykh Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn Sā'dī of Shīrāz*, p. 21.

19. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 5b.

20. *Ibid.*, fols. 54a—54b.

21. For more detail, see C. H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541—1600)* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 32—3.

22. On the *tadhkira* and its author, see Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü's-Şuara*, eleştirmeli baskıya hazırlayan Dr. İbrahim Kutluk, cilt 1 (Ankara, 1989), pp. 7—39.
23. *Ibid.*, cilt 2, p. 578.
24. Ða'îfî, *Kitâb-i Nigâristân*, manuscript C 806, fol. 54b. This is here a play on the meaning of the word 'Kratovo' (*krater* means 'volcano' in Turkish).
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, fol. 4b.
27. See İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, cilt 2, baskı 2 (Ankara, 1964), pp. 339—40.
28. Ða'îfî, *Kitâb-i Nigâristân*, manuscript C 806, fol. 5a.
29. *Ibid.*, fol. 54a.
30. *Ibid.*, fol. 5a.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Lit. 'those who retain verses in their memory'.
33. Ða'îfî, *Kitâb-i Nigâristân*, manuscript C 806, fol. 5a.
34. F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. Cilt 2: filoloji, edebiyat, mecmualar. No. 1986—3088* (İstanbul, 1961), pp. 116—7. Unfortunately, this manuscript from the Topkapı Sarayı was inaccessible for me.
35. Ða'îfî, *Kitâb-i Nigâristân*, manuscript C 806, fol. 5a. *Dîbâ* is a high-quality patterned silk fabric.
36. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1951), p. 526.
37. *Ibid.*; A. Knysh, "As-Suhrawardî", *Islam. Ėntsiklopedicheskiĭ slovar'* (Moscow, 1991), p. 215.
38. Sa'dî, *Gulistân*, p. 209; see also I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Arabskaia geograficheskaia literatura* (Arab Geographical Literature), in *idem, Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1957), iv, p. 501.
39. *The Gulistân; or, Rose-Garden, of Sheykh Muşlihu'd-Dîn Sâ'dî of Shîrâz*, translated by E. B. Eastwick (London, 1880), introductory part "Life of Sâ'dî" by Ātish Kadah, p. XXI.
40. Ða'îfî, *Kitâb-i Nigâristân*, manuscript C 806, fol. 54b.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ės-şaqâ'iq en-no'mânijje von Taşköprüzâde, mit Zusaetzen, verbesserungen und anmerkungen aus dem Arabischen uebersetzt von O. Rescher* (Konstantinopel, 1927), pp. 238—9.
44. Dzh. S. Trimmingem (Trimingham), *Sufiĭskie ordena v islame* (Sūfī Orders in Islam), trans. from the English, edited with a foreword by O. F. Akimushkin (Moscow, 1989), pp. 70—I. See also O. F. Akimushkin, "Khalvatiĭfa" ("Khalwatiyya"), *Islam. Ėntsiklopedicheskiĭ slovar'*, pp. 267—8.
45. Akimushkin, "Khalvatiĭfa", p. 267.
46. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, cilt 3, bölüm 1 (Ankara, 1951), p. 352, n. 1.
47. *Ės-şaqâ'iq*, p. 176.
48. Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü's-Şuara*, p. 578.
49. *Ės-şaqâ'iq*, p. 328. According to Trimmingem, one of the first who brought the *khalwatiyya* teaching to the Ottoman state was Sayyid al-Bukharî, known as Amîr Sultân (d. 1439). See Trimmingem, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
50. *Ės-şaqâ'iq*, pp. 328—9.
51. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, cilt 3, bölüm 1, p. 354, n. 3.
52. *Idem*, *Osmanlı tarihi*, cilt 2, baskı 2, pp. 173—4, 214, 240, n. 1, 252.
53. We note also here that in his book J. Trimmingem cites his name incorrectly as Muslimaddin Merkez (Trimingham, *op. cit.*, p. 71).
54. *Ės-şaqâ'iq*, p. 332.
55. Akimushkin, "Khalvatiĭfa", p. 267.
56. The desert where the Jews wandered, according to Qur'anic tradition, after they were enslaved in Egypt.
57. Al-Sāmīrī (or Sāmīrī) — according to Qur'anic tradition, the man who enticed the Jews with the golden calf, which they began to worship on their path out of slavery in Egypt. See Qur'ân, 20:87—90, 96—97.
58. *Zanbaq* — a bulbous flowering plant with a long stem. Its best varieties have white fragrant flowers.
59. *Ūd* — an ancient stringed musical instrument similar to the guitar.
60. A play on words. *Bayt* means 'house' in Arabic. The same word denotes a distich.
61. *Mişrâ'* — half of a distich.
62. Ða'îfî, *Kitâb-i Nigâristân*, manuscript C 806, fols. 4b—5a.
63. Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü's-Şuara*, p. 578.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Ða'îfî, *Kitâb-i Nigâristân-i shahristân-i dirakhtistân-i sabzistân*, manuscript C 806 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Beginning of the text with a sort of 'unwân', fol. 1b, 27.0×18.0 cm.

Fig. 2. Inner side of the lower cover with the ex libris of Suchtelen's library, the same manuscript.

Fig. 3. French annotation, the same manuscript, fol. 02, 27.0×18.0 cm.

Fig. 4. Arabic note by Ða'îfî, the same manuscript, fol. 54b.

Fig. 5. Text with a marginal note by Ða'îfî, the same manuscript, fol. 5a, 27.0×18.0 cm.

Fig. 6. Text with headings singled out in red, the same manuscript, fol. 49b, 27.0×18.0 cm.

ITTIFĀQ AGREEMENTS IN DAGHESTAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH — NINETEENTH CENTURIES

This article examines the historical and legal content of Arabic-language agreements (Arab. *ittifāq*) in Daghestan. They were a popular genre. Several hundred such documents have survived from the fifteenth — nineteenth centuries; they were drawn up in the communities (Arab. *jamā'āt*) of mountain peoples who inhabit that small region on the outskirts of the Muslim world. The majority date from the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, although they are frequently copies of earlier documents. The primary significance of these legal documents is for the study of the wars, social upheavals, and political and legal reforms in the local Muslim community that began in the sixteenth — seventeenth century and ended with the subjugation of the North Caucasus by Russia and the creation of the so-called military-popular administration (1860—1917).

The sources for the present study were Arabic manuscripts from Highland Daghestan preserved in state, mosque and private archives. The largest collection of *ittifāq* known to us is in the manuscript holdings of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography at the Russian Academy of Sciences Daghestani Scientific Centre (henceforth IHAE) in Makhachkala [1]. Private and mosque collections were used mainly in the form of materials copied by the author in the 1990s in various Avar and Andi settlements in North-West Daghestan, primarily in the Tsumadin region, where numerous large manuscript collections have survived [2]. Moreover, this study analyses *ittifāq*-genre Arabic inscriptions of a historical and legal nature from central and southern Daghestan.

Only a handful of Daghestani contracts were published in Russian translation (in rare cases together with the Arabic originals) in the 1950s—80s. The Daghestani historians M.-S. J. Saidov and Kh.-M. O. Khashaev, and legal scholar A. S. Omarov made great efforts to select and publish them [3]. In 1999, one of the best specialists on Arabic-language medieval Daghestani literature, T. M. Aitberov, published in Makhachkala Arabic texts and an annotated Russian translation of several dozen agreements from the eighteenth — nineteenth century [4]. But neither his collection, nor earlier publications, analyses the *ittifāq* genre and its characteristics in the North-East Caucasus in the late-medieval and modern period. Our predecessors limited themselves to the archaeographic description of manuscripts.

What are these agreements? Before the region was integrated into the legal realm of the Russian Empire, they

were the main type of normative legal document for the local Muslim communities. They established legislative and judicial norms that combined elements of local customary (*rasm*, *'ādāt*) law and Muslim law (*fiqh*, *shar'*) of the Shāfi'ī school, which predominated in the North-East Caucasus from the Middle Ages onward. Hence, these agreements should not be seen as texts of Daghestani *'adat*, an error of most scholars who have written about *ittifāqs* [5]. They should instead be considered examples of local communal law. It is no accident that the genre's name comes from the Arabic verb *ittafaqa* 'they agreed, came to an agreement', the words that usually opened laws passed at village gatherings of the Muslim community.

One can identify four main levels on which these agreements were concluded: clan (general Dg. *tukhum*, And. *ghay*, Avar. *tlibil*, in Arab. translation *qabīla*) or neighbourhood (*mahall*, *jamā'a*), community (*qarya*, *jamā'a*), union of communities (Avar. *bo*, And. *iha*, in Arab. translation *jaysh*, *nāhiya*), and, finally, the overall union of communities, or khanate (*wilāya*), ruled by a hereditary military leader, the khan, bek, *nutsal*, etc., who is called *amir* or *sultān* in the texts. Using a concept that was introduced in the 1970s by the American researcher S. F. Moore and has since gained acceptance in the field, one can call these levels *semi-autonomous social fields* [6], which are understood as social spaces capable of developing their own relatively autonomous systems of law and norms of conduct.

The first type of agreement is a rarity. Among published agreements we find the decision by inhabitants of the village of Machada in 1178/1764—65 about the Darchulal *tukhum*'s shift to the protection of the Khunzakh's lineage (*qabīlat Qhunderilal*) and the agreement of the Samilaqh quarter (*jamā'a*) (of the village of Khunzakh) from 1239/1842 [7]. Typical examples of this second type of *ittifāq* can be seen in resolutions of the Usisha village written on the last page of an Arabic dictionary copied in 1077/1666—67, the agreement of the Assab ('*īs*) village of 1154/1741—42, and the agreement between members of the Akusha *jamā'at* from 1162/1748—49 [8]. The third level is represented in agreements published by Kh.-M. O. Khashaev. Some of them come from the union of Keleb villages in the seventeenth — eighteenth century; besides, there are contracts of the Ratlub village with Gidatl union of village communities and of the Akhvakh confederation with the village of Ratlub from 1070/1659—60

which later became a part of the famous “Gidatl ‘ādāt” co-dex; a contract between the inhabitants of the villages Andikh, Mogokh and Upper Batluqh from 1225/1810; agreements of the villages of the Mekhtula khanate, the Kumyk (*Gumuq*) villages and all the residents of Arakani (*Ḥarakāni*) from 1235/1819—20 [9]. The semiautonomous social field of a union of khanate-level communities that includes small community unions can be seen in the agreements between the unions of Gidatl and Khunzakh in the above-mentioned Gidatl ‘ādāt, eighteenth-century contracts between unions of the Tindi and Karata communities (*ju-yūsh*), between the Akusha-Dargva union and the Kaytag princes (*utsmiy*), the agreement between the inhabitants of the village of Koroda and the family of the bek (*amīr*) they killed, Kinkhosro of Gonoda, from 1175/1761—62, the contract of the Mekhtula khans ‘Alī-Sulṭān and Ahmad Khān with the inhabitants of the village of Okhli at the turn of the eighteenth — nineteenth century [10].

In order for the reader to gain a sense of the content of *ittifāqs* at all levels, we present here a translation of 12 short and more extended texts of Arabic agreements discovered by the author in copies dating to the eighteenth — twentieth century. Today they are held in the mosque archive of the village of Khushtada and in the IHAЕ in Makhachkala. We have retained the paragraph divisions of the original. Socionyms and some descriptive expressions have been translated with an eye to local historical and ethnographic realities. As concerns the structure and form of the *ittifāq*, we will analyse it below on the basis of published originals; when copied into codices of local law (*ku-tub/dafātīr ‘ādāt*) and especially as historical notes (*tawārīkh/tadhākīr*), introductory and concluding parts were omitted. Though this did not affect their content, it significantly changed their form. Below, we give the translation of the *ittifāq* agreements.

1. Clan agreements

1.1. “This is an explanation for the future (*hādḥā bayān li-yawm al-ghad*) and a reminder for he who would forsake his lineage (Avar. *tlibil*) [11]. The *tukhum* (*qabīla*) Edi Saralal has conferred and decided (*qad ittaḥada wa-ttafaqa*) [12] to all be as the sons of a single father (*ka-abnā’ rajul wāḥid*) in joy and in sorrow (*fi-l-khayr wa-l-sharr*). If one of them should commit an attack and kill or wound a person not from our *tukhum* (*min ghayr qabīlati-nā*) in response to violence [caused to him] (*bi-sabab al-ẓulm*), the wergild or blood payment (*fa-l-diya wa-l-arsh*) [falls upon] each person of them (i.e. members of the Edi Saralal *tukhum* — *V. B.*). If blood vengeance (*dam*) should fall to someone, then each [person] from our *tukhum* [is obligated] to work a day for him (*yawm li-l-ḥirfa lahu*) [13] and bring a [bundle of] wood (*‘aud*) on an ass. He who leaves [the *tukhum*] without lawful cause [will give] Chirilav of Tidib and Muḥammad of Machada, son of ... [14], a field sown with a single measure (Avar. *qali*, from Arab. *kayl* — *V. B.*) [of grain] worth 120 kettles. From he who causes conflict between [his own] fellow *tukhum* members and one or more other people from another *tukhum* [a fine shall be levied] of the same ploughland (*mazra’a*) of the same [15] value. If someone should select a legal confidant (*wakīlan*) from another *tukhum* (*min qabīla ukhrā*) to bring a property suit and he recovers property (*al-māl*), from him shall be taken a similar piece of ploughland. If [an accusation of] calumny arouses doubt, he (the accused — *V. B.*) shall be made to give a [cleansing] oath (*tahliḥ*) together with three men from among his relatives on the father's side (*min ‘asabati-h*). If he lacks such a quantity of relatives on the father's side, then let him [cleanse himself] with three of his fellow *tukhum* members (*min al-qabīla*)” [16].

2. Community agreements

2.1. “This is an explanation for the future. The inhabitants of the village of Khushtada [17] have concluded an agreement (*qad ittafaqa*) to treat their slaves (*‘abīda-hum*) as their sons and daughters in all cases of armed conflict (*ḥurūb*), injury, penalty (*al-fida*), etc., that can happen to their children” [18].

2.2. “The inhabitants of the village of Khushtada, young and old (*saghīru-hum wa-kabīru-hum*), have concluded an agreement to exact a measure [penalty] of three cows from [a woman] who has become pregnant through adultery. If she kills her child, the [penalty] is fifteen cows [19]. He who committed adultery with her shall pay [a fine] of four cows. If he should reject [the accusation of] adultery and the child, then he shall be obligated to give an oath with twelve men from his kin”.

2.3. “The inhabitants of the village of Khushtada have concluded an agreement to exact [a fine for the benefit of the community] of ten cows from him who has killed a man [20] in a fight (*fi-l-muḥāraba*) with the inhabitants of the village. A fine of wergild (*diya*) [21] is also to be exacted for the man killed from [the inhabitants] of the village, and [the guilty party is obligated] to feed the wounded man and supply him with bread and what to drink”.

2.4. “The inhabitants of the village of Khushtada have concluded an agreement to exact a penalty of thirty cows from he who kills a man in a fight after an arrow is deflected”.

2.5. “The inhabitants of the village of Khushtada have concluded an agreement to give fifteen cows to the [relatives] of he who is killed in a fight” [22].

2.6. “The inhabitants of the village of Khushtada, young and old, have concluded an agreement to appoint a village executive (*al-ajīr*) to adjudicate in what occurred among them. [It is forbidden] to change this [agreement] after the following *āya* [from the noble Qur’ān] has been heard...” [23].

2.7. “This is an explanation for the future. The inhabitants of the village of Khushtada, young and old, men and women, have agreed to compensate [the owner of cattle] (*damān*) in the form of half a bull from the shepherd [24] whose carelessness (*bi-taqsīr*) should cause [his cattle] to perish, become lost, be stolen, expire or be mauled by a wolf or die”.

2. 8. “The inhabitants of the village of Khushhada, young and old, have agreed to observe [the following] agreement (*al-wa'd al-maw'ūd*) concluded [between them]. If one should charge another with a suit over the theft of his horse or bull or other livestock or because it was mauled, and that one should deny [his guilt] or give [a cleansing] oath (*ḥalf*), and [more-over] initiate a suit against the other, asserting that he committed the theft or killing, the suit shall be considered against him (the defendant in the first case — *V. B.*) and not against the third party”.

3. Union and “international” agreements

3. 1. “In the name of [God] [25], the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is an explanation for the future. In truth the village of Tlissi [26] has become one of the members (*ahl*) [of the community of] the village of Khushhada. They have agreed and affirmed with an oath (*wa'adū*) this affiliation, making of both villages a single village in all initiatives. In truth their (the Tlissi's — *V. B.*) communal law (*'adl*) will be like the law of the Khushhada (*ka-'adl Khushdāl*), be it good or bad. Their law will include no part [of the law] of [their own] community (*jaysh*) and no other. If they change this law and treaty after this *āya* [from the Qur'ān] [27] has been heard, then they — those of both communities who change this [28] — [will be fined] 100 sheep. The witnesses to this treaty: ... [29] of Koroda (*al-Qurudī*), pilgrim of both holy places, Mūsā of Gakvari (*al-Hakvari*), Hājji-Muḥammad of Anchik (*al-Anchiknī*) and people worthy of trust (*ṣawāhib al-wuthūq*) from the village of Khushhada, Muḥammad, son of the deceased Ghāzī-Muḥammad, Shakal-Muḥammad Mukushalav (Avar. son of Mukush — *V. B.*), Muḥammad son of Shundulav (Avar. son of Shunda — *V. B.*), Ḥazm, and others of their elders (*ru'asā'*), and from the village of Tlissi — Husayn, Muḥammad son of Murghib, Muḥammad son of Veched and Qadilav (Avar. son of the *qādī* — *V. B.*). And they confirmed [this agreement] with sound oaths”.

3. 2. “This is an explanation for the future.

The village of Ratlub and the villages of the Gidatl Union (*qurā nāḥiyat Ḥīd*) have agreed to join together and become a single union (*nāḥiya wāḥida*) in all initiatives, as well as to use [that, which is found] in the codex [of law] of the union (*kitāb al-nāḥiya*) [30] for the people of Ratlub (Avar. Rahiq, meaning ‘those in the village of Ratlub’; Loc. in *-q* — *V. B.*). [For the time] that they (the Ratlub's people — *V. B.*) will [remain] in the union and [observe] this agreement (*itiḥāq*), the people of Gidatl (Avar. *Ḥīd*) will give them [31] the pass of Bitlyanub without [the right] to build [there] fortifications and houses. If they (the Ratlub's people) secede (*ḥalafū*), all of its [land] (the pass — *V. B.*) will belong to the Gidatl Union (*li-nāḥiyat Ḥīd*). [They also agreed] to demolish the bridge that leads to the pass of the Keleb's people (Avar. *Qēl* — *V. B.*). They will never rebuild it without the permission of the Gidatl [Union]. As concerns the wergild (*diya*) for murder, between the [communities of] Gidatl and Ratlub (Avar. *Ḥīd wa Rahiq* — *V. B.*) it [is set] at forty kettles [for the community] and a bull for the heirs of the murdered man, which they are to be given at their request along with the kettle.

He who harmed the [fields of] Tsumakhishikh, drying out [and ruining the lands] between Bashcharab and Ros'a Tlyara' (Avar. ‘Village Spring’) and beneath the mountain, as well as he whose [cattle] trampled another's hay-field (*marj*) during the time [of the year when it is] under guard [and closed to cattle], compensates the damage to the owner of the *mulk* (*al-mālik*) [in an amount set] according to the oath (*ḥalf*) of the owner of the *mulk* and one trustworthy man known to be just, with the exception of the *qādī* (*imām* of the mosque — *V. B.*) and the *budun* (*mu'adhdhin*). He who violates this treaty (*al-'ahd*) [will pay a fine] of one hundred sheep. Moreover, the land [that belongs to him] is made unfit. He who inflicted a wound [that entails blood vengeance] compensates the spilling of blood with a kettle. He who harms a limb [of the body] with the exception of a finger [pays] ten kettles. Witnesses: Ikhako Muḥammad, Haril (Avar. ‘son of Har’ — *V. B.*) Muḥammad, ‘Alī son of Zadu, Ghāzū-Muḥammad” [32].

4. Community agreements with the nobility

4. 1. “This is an explanation for the future.

Hence. The inhabitants of the villages of Andikh (Avar. *Ḥanqhal* — *V. B.*), Mogokh (Avar. *Mahqhal* — *V. B.*) and Upper Batlukh (Avar. *Amsal* — *V. B.*) [33] have made an agreement and joined together to become as members of a single village [society] (*ka-ahl qarya wāḥida*) both in joy and in sorrow (*fi-l-khayr wa-l-sharr*) with [mutual] aid and support (*wa-l-'awn wa-l-naṣr*). They will obey the orders of the great ruler (*al-sultān al-a'zam*), Sultān-Aḥmad-khān, and observe his prohibitions. They have secured [this agreement] with a pledge of two Crimean rifles (Avar. *qhirīm* — *V. B.*) [34] in working order from each village so that they will trust one another. They have also established a fine (*fida*) of one hundred sheep for the most esteemed khan (*al-amīr al-mukarram*) so that the khan can impose this on a village that secedes (*al-mukhālifa*) [from the union]. This took place in the blessed month of Rabī' al-akhīr of 1225 [35]. Witnesses [to this] were a large assembly [of people], including the *budun* of the Avar village (*mu'adhdhin al-qarya al-awāriyya*) [36], Hājjiyāv, Shāmil, and the one who recorded these words [37], as well as the khan's seal as the most important witness.

From the records of Dibīr-qāḍī, the notary of the Avar nobility (*kātib umarā' 'Awār*). [Copied] in the village of Gotsob (in 1936)” [38].

The texts show that the same questions of criminal and land law were sometimes discussed at all four levels. But one can discover certain differences in the Daghestani texts in accordance with the semi-autonomous social field to which they belong. At the clan or neighbourhood level, the

unity of the clan or local community was discussed at the meeting as an indivisible legal entity. Special attention was accorded the honour of the lineage; all unworthy members who had besmirched themselves with a crime or debauchery were expelled [39]. *Thukhum* agreements could also fix

the transfer of weaker *tukhum* clans (*qabīla*) to the protection of *tukhums* of the mountain nobility [40].

Members of a single community (*ahl al-qarya*) usually gave their approval at a village assembly (*maḥfil*) to individual norms of criminal law that regulated blood vengeance (*qisās*), punishments for premeditated and negligent homicide, wounds, stealing, adultery, the abduction and dishonouring of women, as well as damage inflicted on private (*mulk*) and community (*ḥarīm al-qarya*, *al-mawāt*) property. Moreover, they decided issues of civil and hereditary law. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries especially have left us many resolutions that defend the property rights of women and the shift of individual village communities to dividing property according to the *shari'a* [41].

Assemblies of village community representatives (*ahālī al-qurā*, *rijāl al-naḥiya*) passed entire codices of local law that included ten or more individual resolutions. They established the borders (*hudūd*) of the union's lands, rights to use pasturing hills jointly owned by the union, rules of seasonal guard (*hiḥz*) for these lands to protect them from being trampled by livestock or people, and the conditions for conducting border patrols. When a new community joined the union, it had to follow the accepted laws, promising to "be as a single society" (*ka-jaysh wāhid*) [42]. Union treaties frequently dealt with a sort of "international law", regulating debts between communities and the rules of exacting the *ishkīl* — the arrest and seizure of property from an insolvent debtor's fellow villagers [43].

Agreements between the larger unions and khanates established the privileges of the local nobility, levies (*khavāj*, *jizya*) that migrant villagers and *rayats* were obligated to pay them, and the rights and obligations of khans and beks (*umarā*, *salāṭīn*) before free community members (*uzdens*). Such agreements often dealt with reconciling (*ṣulḥ*) the clans of nobility and village communities divided by blood feuds [44]. More often, however, one finds in the eighteenth — nineteenth centuries *ittifāqs* that establish the freedom of community unions from the clans of beks, *chankas*, and other local nobles analogous to the powerful rulers of the Kazikumukh khanate, who carried the title *shamkhāl*. The community unions placed both the nobility itself, as well as members of lower classes who aided it, beyond the law [45].

The *ittifāq* genre in the North-Eastern Caucasus took shape gradually. Its roots should be sought in the treaties that have been preserved by early medieval Daghestani epigraphics. The most ancient of these are documents of land and criminal law from the villages of Khuduts (718/1318—19) and Kurakh (757/1356), as well as a record of the privileges granted by the Kazikumukh *shamkhāl* the village of Kubachi after the Kubachis voluntarily adopted Islam in the fourteenth century [46]. One can even move the *terminus post quem* for the first sort of legal documents up to the twelfth century if one takes into account the legend, recorded by A. R. Shikhsaidov in 1962, of an inscription with the text of an agreement between the upper and lower parts of the Legin village of Akhty (the inscription was later destroyed by the inhabitants of lower part of the village) [47]. Beginning in the sixteenth — seventeenth century, the texts of agreements are recorded not in stone, but as "historical records" (*tawārikh*) in manuscript books and collections. At the same time, the tradition of inscribing the most important *ittifāqs* in stone remained. One such record from the turn of the eighteenth — nineteenth century

teenth century was discovered by T. M. Aitberov on the minaret of a mosque in the village of Shinaz in southern Daghestan [48].

In the 1980s, A. R. Shikhsaidov discovered a certain formula for legal documents in medieval Daghestan. The author's study of the earliest epigraphic texts of Daghestani treaties showed that by the fourteenth century the region already possessed a certain formula for the legal composition of court decisions. It assumed its final shape by the sixteenth — seventeenth centuries [49]. The mountaineers' legal mentality was quite conservative, and the formula for legal documents underwent few changes until the Russian conquest. The Arabic-language administrative process for village and local '*adat* and *shari'a* courts that was created by the Russian authorities in pre-Revolutionary and early Soviet Daghestan was significantly influenced by *ittifāq* agreements.

The formula for agreements included the following component parts. The *hasmala* usually served as the preamble. More rarely it includes the *ḥamdala*, *tasliya*, and a Qur'ānic quote. The preamble ends with the phrase "This is an explanation (and argument) for the future". Less important records begin with the words *amma ba'd* (hence). The actual text then began, introduced by the words "they agreed and fixed with an oath..." (*fa-qad ittafaqu wa-wa'adū*). In the case of union or inter-union agreements the main text enumerated the parties to the treaty. The most important agreements concluded with the names of witnesses. Some agreements repeat the conditions of the treaty after the *shahāda*. The name of the scribe (*kātib*) follows (and sometimes the copyist), as well as the date. To give the document legal force, an *āya* from the Qur'ān was frequently added.

The formula's terse hints allow us to reconstruct the court's actions in hearing and approving the community's laws. For example, the Khuduts inscription tells how the residents of the village of Anchibachi, having secured the support of the *qādī* and a certain Ayūb from Richa, came to Kumukh. Their case was heard at a *godekan* (Arab. *maḥfil*, Lak. *kkurch'a*), the central square before the mosque, in the presence of the *shamkhāl* and the judge-rulers of the Kumukh community [50]. T. M. Aitberov published a resolution of the *uzdens* from the village of Kuma that places the local mountain nobility (*salāṭīn*) above the law. It vividly illustrates the debate at the village meeting. When some members of the community began to speak out in support of the beks, Shahumilav rose and made an oath (*nadhr*) to cede his field to the community if he should go over to the bek's side after the agreement was concluded. He was supported by 37 influential *uzdens* of Kuma and the verdict against the bek was approved [51]. One can see from the Khushtada agreements cited above that after it was approved, a treaty was ratified with the signatures of witnesses, some a party to the deal and others from neutral villages. A certain *āya* from the Qur'ān was then read and the agreement was considered ratified. The case and discussion were, of course, heard in one of the local Nakh-Daghestani languages. One sees this from the local place names in Avar. A record of the agreement in Arabic then had to be drawn up. In especially important cases, it was inscribed on stone.

In closing, one should note the importance of *ittifāqs* for reconstructing the formation of local community law codes (*dafātīr 'ādāt*, *qaws rasmā*). Some historians tend to regard these as later documents created at the behest of

Russian military authorities in the second third of the nineteenth century and never put to real use [52]. This is hardly justified. The history of law presents us with no examples of legal codes that were drawn up overnight. Moreover, the information found in late-medieval agreements casts doubt on this view. The example of the Gidatl *ādāt* has shown us that the texts of *ittifāqs* could become part of local legal codes.

A palaeographic analysis of the codes that have reached us in nineteenth-century copies suggests that the latter appeared not at once, but gradually on the basis of emerging agreements that were filed and added to earlier norms of local community law. The Gidatl *ādāt* and agreements in Aitberov's collection show later additions written into the end of the document after the list of witnesses, and sometimes after the date of the first agreement [53]. Codices originally limited to a single community could become codes for unions of communities. One can get a sense of how this happened from the Khushlada mosque Qur'ān cited above. Two folios inserted in the middle of the book gradually recorded the texts of new resolutions from a time when Khushlada was already changing from a small village and tributary of the Tindi community to the head of the union of Bagulal communities. When the norms recorded there changed, they were erased and a new text was copied over them. This practice, occasioned by a shortage of paper in medieval Daghestan, caused the pages of the Khushlada Qur'ān to turn black at times with copies of local agreements. By the nineteenth century, codes drawn up from individual agreements were already written in quires (*dafātīr* *ādāt al-qurā*).

Some of them are even known by the name of the codex. The full name of the Andalal union's codex of com-

munity law, published by Kh.-M. O. Khashaev, is as follows: "These are treaties and resolutions (*fa-hādhihi 'uhūd wa-mawāthiq*) concluded between all of the villages of Andalal from the most ancient times and written down according to their agreements (*bi-ttifaqi-him*) by [the predestination of God]". The text of the resolutions themselves begins with a phrase typical of the genre: "they agreed (*fa-qad ittafaqu*)". It is no coincidence that this sacramental phrase, without preamble, opens the codex of the Keleb union (*fa-inna ahl qurā qēl qad ittafaqu*) [54]. One finds a similar shift from the preamble to the legislative section in a number of codices that record the norms of local community law; for example, in the "Quires [of *ādāt*] of the village of Genta", completed in 1879 [55].

As the main genre for normative legal documents in the Muslim society of late-medieval Daghestan, the *ittifāq* requires scrupulous study. In order to describe them, it would be interesting to juxtapose the formulas of Daghestani agreements with similar legal documents from neighbouring Safawid Iran, as well as the Ottoman Empire, and especially the Shāfi'ī communities of Syria, Egypt, and Yemen, with which the Muslim jurists of the North-Eastern Caucasus maintained lively relations up through the end of the eighteenth century. The large number of agreements would allow one to conduct a prosopographic study, determining connections and relations between the people who are frequently mentioned in them. The present article is only the first step in the historical and legal analysis of the agreements by examining their form and main themes to show the significance of these documents for describing the development of socio-normative culture among the Muslims of the North-Eastern Caucasus as they moved from the medieval period into the modern.

Notes

1. *Ittifāq* agreements (originals and copies) of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries are kept in collection (*fond*, henceforth f.) No. 16 of the IHAЕ which includes documents and letters in Arabic and other Oriental languages. There are also several hundred copies of such documents written by A. Kaiaev, M. Inqachilav, B. Malachikhanov, M. Nurmagomedov, K. Barkuev, A. Gaidarosmanov and other fellows of the Institute in the 1920s—1970s. They are in collection No. 1, inventory (*opis'*, henceforth op.) 1, files (*dela*, henceforth d.) 286, 289, 426, 444 fols. I am very grateful to A. I. Osmanov, the director of the IHAЕ for his kind permission to publish these materials. I would also like to thank Michael Kemper from the Ruhr University (Bochum) for his valuable comments on issues raised in this article.

2. This article is based primarily on legal cases and historical notes copied by the author in the villages of Khushlada, Agvali, Kvanada and Tlondoda.

3. See *ittifāq* agreements published in *Gidatlinskii adaty* (The Gidatlīn *Ādāt*), trans. M. S. Saidov, ed. Kh.-M. Khashaev (Makhachkala, 1957), pp. 32—41; *Pamiatniki obychnogo prava Dagestana XVII—XIX vv. Arkhivnye materialy* (Written Monuments of Customary Law of Daghestan in the 17th — 19th Centuries), compiled with an introduction and comments by Kh.-M. O. Khashaev. Trans. M.-S. Saidov (Moscow, 1965), pp. 71—92; *Iz istorii prava narodov Dagestana. Materialy i dokumenty* (From the History of Law of the Daghestani Peoples. Materials and Documents) ed. A. S. Omarov (Makhachkala, 1968), pp. 221—32; *Katalog arabskikh rukopisei Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury im. G. Tsadasi Dagestanskogo filiala AN SSSR* (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts from the G. Tsadasi Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Daghestani Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences), compiled by M.-S. Saidov, trans. M.-S. Saidov, K. Akhmedov, K. Nurmagomedov (Moscow, 1977), fasc. 1, pp. 24—5, 43—5.

4. *Khrestomatia po istorii prava i gosudarstva Dagestana v XVIII—XIX vv.* (The Reader on the Daghestani History of Law and State in the 18th — 19th Centuries), ed. T. M. Aitberov (Makhachkala, 1999), pt. 1—2. See also his earlier publications "Soglasheniia avarskikh obshchin XVIII — nachala XIX v." ("Agreements between the Avar village communities in the 18th and the early 19th centuries"), in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Dagestana v XVIII—XIX vv.* (Makhachkala, 1989), "Obzor nekotorykh rukopisnykh sobranii Dagestana" ("An outline of several manuscript collections from Daghestan"), in *Rukopisnaia i pechatnaia kniga v Dagestane*, ed. A. R. Shikhsaidov (Makhachkala, 1991).

5. For example, M. A. Aglarov shares this misleading view, though he is one of the best specialists in Daghestani customary law. See his *Sel'skaia obshchina v Nagornom Dagestane XVII — nachale XIX vv.* (Rural Community in Highland Daghestan in the 17th — early 19th Centuries) (Moscow, 1988), pp. 163—6.

6. S. F. Moore, "Law and social change in the semi-autonomous social field as an appropriate subject of study", *Law and Society Review*, No. 7 (1973), p. 720.

7. *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, pp. 73—4, 98—100, documents 17, 39.
8. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, pp. 42, 47—9, documents 9, 13; *Iz istorii prava*, pp. 231—2; *Katalog arabskikh rukopisei*, pp. 43—5.
9. *Pamiatniki obychnogo prava*, pp. 71—92; *Gidatlinskie adaty*, pp. 32—7; *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, pp. 91, 96—8, documents 33, 38.
10. *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, pp. 33—5, 43—4, 72—3, documents 2, 11, 16; pt. 2, pp. 102—4, document 12; *Gidatlinskie adaty*, pp. 38—41.
11. Here and further in the text, the notary unconsciously displays his Avar mother tongue by putting the word *qabīla* in Masc.
12. Scribe's mistake: both verbs should be in Fem. (*ittahadat wa-ittafaqat*), as is the subject (*qabīla*) in this sentence.
13. The same symbol, resembling the small Arabic number 7, is put under the word *rajul* and under the attached pronoun *-hu* in order to stress their interconnection. On a complicated system of syntactic symbols in the Arabic manuscripts from Daghestan in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries see A. M. Barabanov, "Poiasnitel'nye znachki v arabskikh rukopisiakh i dokumentakh Severnogo Kavkaza" ("Explanatory signs as used in Arabic manuscripts and documents of the North Caucasus"), *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie*, III (1945), pp. 113—5.
14. The name of the father of Muḥammad from Machada is omitted by the scribe. Chirilav from Tidib and Muḥammad from Machada are likely to have been two elders (Avar. *ch'ukhbi* or Arab. *ru'asā'*) representing the union government of the Gidatl confederation of highland villages.
15. A grammatical mistake of the notary: before the word *mazra'a* stands the Arabic pronoun "this" (*dhālik*) in Masc. instead of Fem. *tilka*.
16. IHAЕ, f. 1, op. 1, d. 426, leaves (*listy*, henceforth l.) 149—148 (pages' numeration of this file (*delo*) is reverse). A copy made by M. Inkvachilav in Gidatl (?) in 1936. A draft translation of the agreement from Arabic into Russian is made by K. Barkuev on pages 16 and 17 of the same archive file.
17. *Khushdāl* in Avar. In this manuscript, all the toponyms are given in Avar and marked with a line drawn over the word, which was used to show the subject or homogeneous parts of sentence. See Barabanov, "Poiasnitel'nye znachki v arabskikh rukopisiakh", p. 113.
18. This and the following seven documents, related to the community topic of the Daghestani agreements, as well as union contract 3.1, were taken from the Qur'ān found at the great mosque of the village of Khushtada. Its copyist is Muḥammad, son of Isalasulav from Gochob. The copy of 1153/1740—41. The *ittifāq* records, as well as a list of *waqfs* from the end of the eighteenth — first half of the nineteenth centuries, are written on two leaves put into the central part of this book in folio. In the 1980s, these records were found by the Daghestani historian T. M. Aitberov. The author of this article copied Khushtada's agreements in November, 1995, with the aid of the village *mullā* Magomedseid Gaziev. For more details on the Arabic legal documents from Khushtada, see Aitberov, "Obzor nekotorykh rukopisnykh sobraniĭ Dagestana", pp. 157—8; *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, pp. 26—7, 108—9, document 46. See also V. O. Bobrovnikov, *Musul'mane Severnogo Kavkaza: obychnai, pravo, nasilie. Ocherki po istorii i etnografii prava Nagornogo Daghestana* (Custom, Law and Violence among the North Caucasus Muslims: Studies in Legal History and Anthropology of Highland Daghestan) (Moscow, 2002), pp. 118—23, 126, 130, 140—41.
19. Here and further in the text, the notary repeatedly commits mistakes in Arabic grammar when using countable nouns with cardinal numbers. He tends to put nouns in Sing. after numbers as it would be in Bagvalal, Avar and other Caucasian languages.
20. Grammar mistake: the word 'man' here requires Acc. (*rajulan*, not *rajul*).
21. After the word *diya* one finds a word written by error and crossed off by the scribe.
22. At the end of the agreement, the conjunction *wa* ('and'), probably related to the next contract, is crossed out by the notary.
23. The very end of this agreement, as the case of contract 3.1, seems to have been omitted by the notary. A symbol like tilde, written over the word *āya*, means 'the noble Qur'ān'. This is one of the most common abbreviations in Arabic manuscripts from Daghestan.
24. After this word the scribe first wrote erroneously *nisf* ('half'), but then crossed it off.
25. The word Allah is omitted here.
26. The Avar consonant *l* is rendered by the Arabic letter *lām* with three diacritical points under it. This letter was introduced into the Daghestani 'ajam alphabet by Dibīr-qāḏī (1762—1817), son of the qāḏī Maqṣūd al-Avarī from the village of Khunzakh at the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore, this contract must have been concluded between the end of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. Later, both villages of Khushtada and Tlissi joined the Avar khanate.
27. Here we find an abbreviated form for "the noble Qur'ān", a symbol like tilde. See n. 23 cf. agreement 2.6.
28. The notary wrote erroneously *fa-man* ('those who'), then crossed this phrase off.
29. The first name of the witness from the village of Koroda is omitted. All of the *nişbas* of the witnesses are marked with a line written over the word in order to show that the *nişbas* are homogeneous parts of the sentence.
30. Here the copyist crossed off the word Allah written erroneously after the word *kitāb* ('codex').
31. Here, to clarify the meaning of the pronoun *-hum* ('them'), the scribe put a sign resembling a small Arabic number 7, both under this word and the word 'inhabitants of Ratlub' (Avar. *Rahiq*) to which it relates. Cf. nos. 13, 17, 29.
32. IHAЕ, f. 1, op. 1, d. 426, l. 150. A copy made by M. Inkvachilav in 1936. It is noteworthy that this agreement reproduces a part of the famous "Gidatl 'ādār", with insignificant differences in some expressions and the names of witnesses. One may guess that it was one of the main sources of the Gidatl codex whose origin is remains unclear.
33. As was mentioned above, all the place-names are written in Avar with the local 'ajam letters dating back to the late eighteenth — nineteenth century. The names of the Avar villages were identified by T. M. Aitberov in his *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, p. 91 and pt. 2, p. 73.
34. Crimean rifles were considered as the best and precious arms in the North Caucasus, beginning in the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. These rifles were made by local gunsmiths of Crimean origins.
35. This date corresponds to A. D. 1810.
36. That is from the village of Khunzakh.
37. This is the well-known Muslim scholar and lawyer Dibīr-qāḏī (see n. 26). Among his works are the dictionary *Jamī' al-lughatayn li-l-ta'lim al-akhwīn*, an Avar version of the famous poem *Kalīla wa Dimna*, and some other works on Arabic grammar and Islamic law. See *Katalog arabskikh rukopisei*, pp. 37—41; B. M. Ataev, *Avartsy: istoriia, iazyk, pis'mennost'* (The Avars: Their History,

Language and Literature) (Makhachkala, 1996), pp. 59—61; M. Ye. Alekseev and B. M. Ataev, *Avarskii iazyk* (The Avar Language) (Moscow, 1997), p. 21.

38. IHAE, f. 1, op. 1, d. 426, l. 165. Copied by M. Inkvachilav who added to the document its last paragraph. T. M. Aitberov has published another Russian version of the document. See *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, p. 91, document 33.

39. *Pamiatniki obychnogo prava*, pp. 19—20, 35, 44, 48.

40. *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, pp. 73—4, document 17.

41. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, pp. 44—8, documents 12, 13. See also IHAE, f. 1, op. 1, d. 286, l. 73; f. 14, No. 583.

42. See above-mentioned agreements 3.1, 3.2, 4.1. See also *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, pp. 33—4, 90, 98—9, documents 2, 32, 39.

43. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, pp. 96—8, document 38. See also letters about *ishkil* regulations kept in the IHAE, f. 16, op. 1, Nos. 1260—1310.

44. See, for example, the contract between the members of the Chokh village community (*ahl baldat Chaqhal*) and the kinsmen of Surhay-khān, copied by A. Kaiaev (in the holdings of IHAE, f. 1, op. 1, d. 289, l. 60); see also *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, pp. 72—3, document 16.

45. See a contract between the village of Chokh and the village confederation of Tsudakhar, another agreement between the inhabitants of the village of Batlaich, copied by M. Inkvachilav: IHAE, f. 1, op. 1, d. 426, l. 166, 163—164; cf. *Iz istorii prava*, p. 223.

46. *Ėpigraficheskie pamiatniki Severnogo Kavkaza* (The Epigraphic Monuments of the North Caucasus), ed. L. I. Lavrov (Moscow, 1966), pt. 1, pp. 118, 196—9, 287; A. R. Shikhsaidov, *Ėpigraficheskie pamiatniki Dagestana X—XVII vv. kak istoricheskii istochnik* (The Epigraphic Monuments of the 10th — 17th-Century as a Historical Source for Daghestani History) (Moscow, 1984), pp. 82—8, 374—7.

47. A. R. Shikhsaidov, *Islam v srednevekovom Dagestane (VII—XV vv.)* (Islam in Medieval Daghestan: 7th — 15th Centuries) (Makhachkala, 1969), pp. 141—2.

48. *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, pp. 19, 82, document 26.

49. Bobrovnikov, *Musul'mane Severnogo Kavkaza*, pp. 119—20. Cf. Shikhsaidov, *Ėpigraficheskie pamiatniki*, p. 362.

50. Shikhsaidov, *Ėpigraficheskie pamiatniki*, pp. 87—8.

51. *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, p. 44, document 11. See also IHAE, f. 1, op. 1, d. 289, l. 25.

52. T. M. Aitberov suggests that the majority of the Avar codices of communal law appeared under the impact of Russian colonial reforms, the suggestion not shared, for example, by V. G. Gadzhiev. See his “Pamiatniki obychnogo prava Dagestana” (“Documents of Daghestani customary law”), *Izvestiia Severo-Kavkazskogo nauchnogo tsentra vysshei shkoly. Seriia Obshchestvennye nauki*, No. 3 (1987), p. 86.

53. *Gidatlinskie adaty*, pp. 40—1; *Khrestomatiia*, pt. 1, pp. 32—3, 72—3, documents 1, 16; pt. 2, pp. 102—4, document 12. I am grateful to Michael Kemper who drew my attention to this interesting fact.

54. *Pamiatniki obychnogo prava*, pp. 67, 82.

55. *Daftar qaryat Henta*, in IHAE, f. 5, op. 1, d. 59.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

I. V. Zaytsev

TURKIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE STATE PUBLIC HISTORICAL LIBRARY IN MOSCOW

The Eastern manuscripts in the State Public Historical Library (henceforth, SPHL) have not been described by scholars. Until recently, their very existence was unknown to specialists [1]. Moreover, the authors of brief print guides of the Eastern collections at the SPHL also seem not to have known anything about them [2]. Our short description of three manuscripts (two Turkish and one Uzbek) may partially fill the gap. One manuscript is held in the Eastern Cabinet; the two others are in the Rare Books Department.

The Eastern Cabinet has in its holdings a manuscript collection which bears the title *Safīnat al-fatāwī* ("Book of *Fatwās*") (call number 102 445). It has the Eastern leather binding with a flap. The binding displays a *shamsa* with a six-pointed star, the word *Allah*, and the date — 1216 (1801/2 — I. Z.). If read correctly, the binding predates the manuscript. It may, however, have been executed after the collection was put together, as the date on the binding can also be read as 1266 (1849/50). The paper is European. Two types of water-marks are visible: an eagle with upraised wings and the letters GFA. We were unable to discover a direct parallel, although there are water-marks coming from the 1830s—40s, which fit the date of the manuscript [3]. Another water-mark shows a lion on a shield to the left [4]. The text is written in *naskh*; pagination — by means of custodes.

According to its original pagination, the manuscript contains 336 folios. Thirteen additional folios follow. The pagination begins with fol. 14a [5]. On fol. 338b, we find a faded imprint of a greenish round seal. The same seal is found on fol. 8. Unfortunately, the poor condition of the seal made it impossible to discern the text it contains. The seal undoubtedly indicates that the manuscript belonged to the *waqf* of a mosque or medrese. Folios 4b and 7b give the contents of the manuscript in table form.

On fol. 13b, we find an *'unwān* with a written-in title: *Hadhā safīnat al-fatāwī* ("This is the *Safīnat al-fatāwī*"). The beginning comes after the *'unwān* and the *basma*la: "Praise be to Allah, who created man and taught him the names" [6].

On fol. 1b, there is another *'unwān* with a written-in title: *al-jild al-awwal min kitāb 'safīnat al-fatāwī* ("The first volume of the book *Safīnat al-fatāwī*").

The colophon: "End of the first volume of the book *Safīnat al-fatāwī*", [written] by the hand of the most miser-

able of slaves and weakest of pupils... al-Karīm... al-Fahmī bin Muḥammad al-Ḥamdī bin Muḥammad al-Chalabī al-Aḍrūmī al-Drīf Chalabī-zāda, a teacher in the Aḥmadiyye Mosque, may Allah preserve all believers... May Allah greet Muḥammad, his family [and] all of them together. Year of the Hijra one-thousand two-hundred fifty...". The numbers 1250 in red ink follow the date. The year A.H. 1250 began on 10 May 1834 and ended on 29 April 1835. The letter ى is likely missing, and the *nisba* al-Aḍrūmī should be read as al-Arḍarūmī.

The manuscript contains 29 books, each of which treats a specific act, ritual, or event: purity (circumcision), prayer, alms, fasting, atonement (through alms-giving), the *ḥājj*, marriage (or copulation), pleasure, travel, thievery, unexpected profit, purchase and sale, expenditure, *waqf*, etc. The book titles, as well as the sections and chapters (*faṣl* and *bāb*), are in red ink. The text is in a border in red ink with broad margins. One can discern impressed lines to rule the page between the lines of text.

The Turkish language of the *Safīnat al-fatāwī* abounds in Arabisms, and the bulk of the text consists of Arabic quotes. The collection of *fatwās* brings together the decisions of one, or several, *faqīhs* on specific questions of *fiqh*. *Fatwā* collections were traditionally compiled in question and answer form. The questions were usually asked either by civil judicial organs (*urf*) or local *hakīms* and rulers, who queried a *sharī'a* court headed by a *shaykh al-islām* or *muftī*. The aim was to determine the position of the *sharī'a* on a specific issue or suit. In our collection, the answers (*jawāb*) are introduced by the expressions: اولور (it is permitted) or اولان (it is not permitted).

The main sources for the *Safīnat al-fatāwī* are: the so-called *Qāḍikhān fatwās* of Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr b. Maḥmūd al-Uzjandī al-Farghānī (d. 1196); *Khulāṣat al-fatāwī* by al-Bukhārī (d. 1147); "The Gems of *Fatwās*" by Ruḡn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abū-l-Mafākhir b. 'Abd al-Rashīd [Naṣr] al-Kirmānī (13th century); the "Commentary" on *al-Wiqāya* by Maṣ'ūd al-Maḥbūbī (early 14th century); "Conquest of the Mighty Pauper" the first part of a commentary on al-Rishtānī's "Rudiments of the Beginner" by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Humām al-Siwāsī al-Ḥanifī (d. 1457); collections of *fatwās* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kuhistānī al-Sama-

lānī al-Khurāsānī (d. 1554), “Treasure-trove of *Fatwās*” by Qāḍī Arzinjān Sulaymān; *Tatārkhāniyye* by imām ‘Ālim b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī (14th century), the related works of Anqarawī and a number of other works.

Our manuscript belongs to the period of *fiqh*’s being at its height, as the compilation of *fatwā* collections already had a centuries-long history. The main questions of Islamic law had already received exhaustive treatment. During this period, work continued to draw up *fatwā* collections on the basis of famed and authoritative works. Our collection could be used either by those who studied *fiqh* or by Muslim judges [7].

Between the last page and the cover we find pasted in a modern envelope. It contains a sheet of paper with the text of a *ḥadīth* (in Arabic). The sheet was likely a book-mark, or simply a coincidental inclusion.

The Rare Books Department has in its holdings two Turkish manuscripts. The first is the *Dīwān* by ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’i (call number OIK-455, man. In. 62). The manuscript is in very good condition, with a fine original binding, red with a green spine and lacquered. The paper is thin, glossy, transparent, of yellowish colour, with unevenly trimmed edges, without water-marks, and most likely of local origin. The first 8 folios are blank. The text begins on fol. 9b, which is numbered 1. The pagination was added later. It continues to fol. 252, where the text ends. Ten blank folios follow. The writing is a good *nasta’liq*. The ink is black; custodes. The headings are written in red ink. The beginning is a heading in red ink followed by a *basma* in black ink. The *Dīwān* begins with the *ghazals*. On fol. 232b — *mukhammas*; on fol. 237b — *tarjī’band*. The contents of the *Dīwān* do not always correspond to the text published by L. V. Dmitrieva [8].

The Persian colophon on fols. 250a—252b runs that the book was completed [on] Monday. After praise to Allah and Muḥammad (fol. 252) we read that the *Dīwān* of Amīr Nawā’i was copied in Sha’bān 1309 (March 1892 — *I. Z.*) by Kātib-mīrzā ‘Ismatallāh Samarqandī. The date is written in figures in red ink.

I know of only one other manuscript copied by this scribe: a work by the poet Ismā’il-khān Būrūjirdī, who lived in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār (1264—1313/1848—1896) and bore the *laqab* Sarbāz, *Asrār al-shakhḥāda* (“The Secret of Those Who Died a Martyr’s Death”), which was copied by ‘Ismatallāh in 1300/1882—83 [9].

The last page of our manuscript (fol. 10b) contains an inscription in black ink: “Bought in Samarkand X/21 1894”. Thus, the book was purchased almost two and a half years after its copying was completed. We find beneath this in pencil: “Tsena 8 r.s.” (“the price [is] 8 s[ilver] r[ubles]”). Folio 10a contains a seal: “GIM Library No. 15900 18.VIII.1931”, which testifies that the manuscript was part of the collection of the State Historical Museum (Moscow) in 1931. It should be noted that the Museum had in its holdings several manuscripts of *Dīwāns* by Nawā’i. Some of them were briefly mentioned by M. Khartmann in his overview of the Skobelev collection [10].

The most interesting manuscript in SPHL is undoubtedly the second one held in the Rare Books Department. It is a collection from the early seventeenth century (call number OIK No. 432r). The manuscript has leather binding, with embossed rosettes on both sides. The European pagination, added in SPHL, does not correspond to the

original one; it begins at the end of the manuscript, as though in a European book read from left to right [11]. The last page contains a seal — Stadtbibliothek Königsberg. Judging by the seal, the manuscript belonged to the Königsberg city library. A piece of paper with the number 36 and the letter S was pasted onto the spine. We managed to find a description of the manuscript held there under this call number. It was described in 1909 by K. Brockelmann in a catalogue of the library’s manuscripts. Until recently, however, its fate was unknown [12].

The first two folios are blank. The paper is thick. A strip of paper pasted on the inner side of the back cover contains an inscription in German written in cursive, early eighteenth-century handwriting: “Ein Türkische Handschrift Inthaltend 4 Bücher der Türkischen Chroniken, 2 Türkische Briefbücher usw. von den Jahren 1611—1617. № 1” (“A Turkish manuscript that contains 4 books of a Turkish chronicle, 2 Turkish books of letters, from 1611—1617”). K. Brockelmann noted the German notes in his description (“Incomplete table of contents in old-German hand on the fly-leaf”) [13] but does not cite its contents.

Judging by the traces of red sealing wax from fol. 3a (fol. 274a in the European pagination), a seal in red wax was cut out with a sharp instrument. An inscription in black ink has survived on the reverse of this folio:

*Diess Buck Kombt Mihr...
...Zur Dorin Sindt 4 Bucher aus die
Turkische Cronica zwei Brieffucher
Turkisch darnach unterschiedlich Narrable
Turkische Arabisch unndt Persianisch kost
in Constantinopel 1611 R 50 flor.*

(“I received this book... which contains 4 books from a Turkish chronicle, two books of letters and then various narratives — Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, it costs 50 florins in Constantinople in 1611”).

Several letters (two words) that were scratched off at the beginning and end of the second line were likely the name of the manuscript’s owner. A florin was a gold sterling coin that weighed 3.537 grams. Originally it was minted in Florence in the thirteenth century. Florins appeared in Germany in the fourteenth century, where they were called guldens. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the coin was also widely used in the Ottoman Turkey under the name of *flori* or *filori*. The price indicated in the manuscript appears to be very high. After this German inscription there follow several lines in German, from the same time as the inscription above and written partially in rhyme. The poor condition of the folio (a section was cut out) made it impossible to decipher them.

Folios 4 and 5 are of different paper that is very yellow. The water-mark is a stylized anchor in a circle with a star. According to V. Nikolaev, this water-mark is attested on paper from 1611 [14]. The water-marks on the folios with text are a six-pointed star (which Nikolaev dates to the 1570s—80s) [15]. Later, we find an anchor with a double contour in a circle with a six-pointed star [16].

The collection most likely made its way into SPHL after the Second World War, when the collections of a number of German libraries were removed to the USSR [17]. SPHL was one of the institutions that received such collections. The manuscript contains several works:

1. *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i 'Uthmān*. The title is written twice in the upper left corner (fol. 6a) in small *naskh*. The handwriting is a fluent and careless *naskh* (some elements of this *naskh* are close to the handwriting of *tawqī'*), small, with 17 lines per page. The chronicle begins with the legendary genealogy of Urkhān. The headings are set out in red ink. The text continues uninterrupted from fol. 37a. Fol. 37b is blank. A narrative about Timūr begins on fol. 38. Paper of some folios are apparently coloured: fol. 46 is yellowish, fol. 48 — green. Beginning on fol. 64 (according to the numeration from fol. 6, where the text of the chronicle begins) we find a story about the conquest of Constantinople. The last events recorded in the chronicle are from the beginning of the 1470s (876 / 1471). The text of the chronicle occupies a bit less than 100 folios and ends on fol. 101b. Several blank folios follow. The chronicle was copied in Aleppo on 22 Jumādā I 982 / 10 September 1574.

The first work in our collection is a copy of the well-known Ottoman chronicle *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i 'Uthmān*, a critical edition of which was published by F. Gize in 1922. A German translation of the chronicle appeared in 1925 [18]. The beginning of our copy corresponds entirely to the beginning of the Vienna manuscript [19].

By all appearances, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i 'Uthmān* was quite popular among Ottoman intellectuals in the sixteenth century. The work is mentioned among the property of 'Alī Chalabī, a Turkish official in Buda (996 / 1587—88) [20].

2. The next work is a collection of political and private missives and letters. The text begins on fol. 104b. The headings are written in red ink in a hand close to *dīwānī* at a large interval (9 lines per page). The first work is a letter from the Safawid Shah 'Abbās I (r. 1587—1629). Most of the letters are dated. On fol. 127a we find the text of a treaty between Sultan Murād III (r. 1574—1595) and the Habsburg Emperor in Vienna, dated by A. H. 984 (begin. 31 March 1576). On fol. 134b we find a letter from the grand vizier to a *qādī* from A. H. 1023 (begin. 11 February 1614). Finally, on fols. 145 and 146, we find epistolary formulas for letters to high officials.

3. On fols. 147b—179a, we find the *Kitāb-i inshā'*, a guide to letter-writing, primarily non-official in nature. According to the colophon (fol. 179a), this part of the manuscript was copied on 7 Dhu'l-hijja 1021 / 30 January 1613 in Istanbul by 'Alī b. Karamī, the Sultan's gatekeeper (*hawwāb-i sulṭānī*).

4. Fol. 179b contains the beginning of another work with a title in Persian — *Hadhā lughat-i mushkalāt-i inshā'* — “This is a dictionary of difficult matters in writing (style)”. Like the remainder of the text, it is vowelless. The handwriting is *naskh*. The work is an anonymous Arabic-Persian-Turkish epistolary dictionary. The dictionary ends on fol. 192b, where we find the date it was copied: mid-Muḥarram 1013 / June 1604. The dictionary was copied by the same person. As Brockelmann indicated, another copy of the dictionary is held in Vienna [21].

5. Folio 193a was left blank. Its reverse contains a new work with a Persian title — *Hadhā lughat-i dānistan-i fārsi*

— “This is a dictionary book [for the] study of Persian [language]”. The work is a Persian-Turkish dictionary for Turks. The handwriting is *naskh*. It begins with Persian verbs (with the verbs *dānistan* ‘to know’, *shinākhtan* ‘know (a person)’, etc.) in black ink. Beneath them, in red ink and much smaller, are Turkish equivalents. The work is broken up into 4 *faṣls* (beginning on fols. 202b, 210b, 212a). *Maṣḍars* begin on fol. 197a. They are followed by conceptually grouped nouns (for easier memorization). We find, in order: the days of the week, time expressions (day, yesterday, today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow); atmospheric phenomena (rain, snow); colours (fol. 207b), etc. These conceptual groups are not, however, set off from each other. The whole of the text is vocalized. The copying date is given on fol. 215b — “The book was completed by God's grace in the holy [month of] Muḥarram... year 1023” (the first of Muḥarram 1023 falls on 11 February 1614). A copy of this dictionary is also held in Vienna [22].

6. Folio 216b begins a new work entitled *Hadhā kitāb-i lughat-i ḥamd wa thanā* — “This is a dictionary book [devoted] to [the expressions] of glorifying and praise”. It begins with a *basma* in black ink. The handwriting is *naskh*. The author is Rashīd al-Dīn Sa'd al-Mulk Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Jalīl 'Umarī al-Kātib, whose literary pseudonym was Rashīd (al-Dīn) Waṭwāt, a Persian poet and poetry theorist of the eleventh century (d. 573 / 1177—78). The work is a brief Arabic-Persian dictionary. As far as I know, it has not been published and only a small number of copies exist. Aside from foreign collections [23], I know of only one copy of the dictionary held in Russia, at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It was described by S. Baevsky, who remarked that the St. Petersburg copy is “unique among the catalogued manuscripts of the Soviet Union.” [24] The title of our manuscript differs from the St. Petersburg copy: the word *lughat* is missing [25]. The Petersburg manuscript was also copied in Turkey, but later, in the eighteenth century, and contains a translation into Turkish between the lines of the main text (the Vienna copy also has interlinear Turkish translations).

All leads us to suggest that the SPHL collection was drawn up (and likely bound as well) from several separate works at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Parts of the volume were copied, respectively, in 1574, 1613, 1604, 1614, and 1612. The indication that it was purchased in Istanbul in 1611 is likely added in error by a German owner, reader (or perhaps, later, by a librarian). More likely, it refers only to the *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i 'Uthmān*. The philological collections were copied and belonged to a single person, the Sultan's gatekeeper, 'Alī ibn Chalabī. The manuscript most likely made its way to the Königsberg city library, whence it was removed to Moscow in 1945 to arrive in the SPHL Rare Books Department. Its adventures continued, however: according to Department employee N. A. Zelenyak-Kudreyko, the collection was stolen in 1997 with a number of other rare books and manuscripts, but was soon returned to its place in the SPHL.

Notes

1. See, for example, V. V. Polosin, “Fondy rukopisei i staropechatnykh knig, aktovykh i epigraficheskikh materialov na iazykakh narodov sovetskogo i zarubezhnogo Vostoka v SSSR” (“Collections (fonds) of manuscript and old-print books, legal and epigraphic materials in the languages of the Soviet and foreign East in the USSR”), in *Archaeographia Orientalis. Materialy Vsesoiuznogo rabochego soveshchaniia po problemam vostochnoi arheografii*. Leningrad, 1—4 Marta 1988 (Moscow, 1980), pp. 192—3.

2. "Vostochnye fondy Gosudarstvennoĭ Publichnoĭ istoricheskoi biblioteki" ("The Eastern collections (fonds) of the State Public Historical Library"), *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, No. 1 (1956), pp. 199–205; S. L. Lykova, "Zal istorii stran Azii i Afriki Gosudarstvennoĭ Publichnoĭ istoricheskoi biblioteki RSFSR" ("The hall of the history of Asian and African countries in the State Public Historical Library of the RSFSR"), in *Vostokovednye fondy krupneishikh bibliotek Sovetskogo Soiuza* (Moscow, 1963).

3. Vs. Nikolaev, *Vodiane znaki Ottomanskoĭ imperii* (Water-marks of the Ottoman Empire) (Sophia, 1954), No. 1069 (1839, most likely), Nos. 1104, 1105 (1844), No. 1125 (1847), No. 1118 (1847), No. 1124 (1847).

4. *Ibid.*, No. 1120 (1847).

5. Folios that precede the original pagination are given in brackets.

6. Reminiscent of the Sūra "The Blood-Clot" (96, 1–5).

7. See, for example, A. K. Muminov, "Sborniki fetv kak istochnik po istorii islama v Maverannakhre (X–XIV vv.)" ("Fatwā collections as a historical source on the history of Islam in Transoxiana: 10th–14th centuries"), *Barol'dovskie chteniia 1990. Tezisy dokladov i soobshchenii* (Moscow, 1990), p. 54.

8. 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i, *Dīwān*. Text published by L. V. Dmitrieva (Moscow, 1961).

9. Also copied in *nasta'liq* on thin, glossy paper of Central Asian origin, possibly identical to the paper of our *Dīwān*. See *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts in the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR), vol. XI (Tashkent, 1897), pp. 263–4, Nos. 73–70. Ismā'il-khān Būrījirdi's prose and poetry dealt mostly with the circumstances surrounding 'Alī's and his family's death. The same copyist may have executed a copy of the *Dīwān* of Yakdīl (copied 1293/1876–77). We do not know his name, but the *nisba* is al-Samarqandī. See *ibid.*, p. 215, No. 7285.

10. M. Hartmann, "Die Skobelew-Sammlung orientalischer Handschriften im Historischen Museum zu Moskau", *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, Jg. 5; Februar 1902, № 2 (Leipzig), p. 74.

11. Henceforth we number the folios from right to left.

12. Handschriften-Katalog der Stadtbibliothek Königsberg i. Pr., unter Mitwirkung von Dr. Paul Rhode bearbeitet von Dr. A. Seraphim (Königsberg, 1909), pp. 303–4. — Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr., I (henceforth Brockelmann). I express my deep gratitude to N. A. Zeleniak-Kudreyko (the Rare Books Department of SPHL), for his kindly referring me to this publication, and for his help with the reading of the medieval German texts in the manuscript.

13. Brockelmann, p. 304. Henceforth we cite the description by Brockelmann with corrections and additions.

14. Nikolaev, *op. cit.*, No. 159.

15. Nikolaev, *op. cit.*, No. 92 (1577), No. 94 (1577/78), No. 95 (1577/78), No. 107 (1580), No. 120 (1585).

16. *Ibid.*, No. 77 (1573), No. 89 (but without the letter M; 1576).

17. *Die Trophäen Kommissionen der Roter Armee. Eine Dokumenten Sammlung zur Verschleppung von Büchern aus Deutschen Bibliotheken* (Frankfurt an Main, 1996).

18. *Die Altosmanische anonymen Chroniken Tawārīkh-i Āl-i 'Uthmān in Text und Übersetzung*, herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich Giese. Teil I: Text und Variantenverzeichnis (Breslau, 1922); Teil II: Übersetzung (Leipzig, 1925). As the copies of this work known at present have been described, we omit a full bibliography of the manuscripts. See *Verrzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*. Band XII, 1: Türkische Handschriften, beschrieben von Barbara Flemming (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 101–2, No. 124. See also the copy of the collection of Daniel Szilagyī in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Konyvtar. Osman Török O. 204).

19. G. Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften*, zweiter Band (Wien, 1865), p. 207, No. 983.

20. L. Fekete, "Das Heim des 'Alī Çelebi, eines Türkischen Defterbeamters in Buda", *Vostochnye istochniki po istorii narodov Iugo-Vostochoi i Tsentral'noi Evropy*. Fasc. 2 (Moscow, 1969), p. 46.

21. Flügel, *op. cit.*, erster Band, p. 115, No. 107.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 145–6, No. 142.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 127, No. 121:5.

24. S. I. Baevskii, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii* (Description of Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the Institute of the Peoples of Asia). Fasc. 5: *dvuiaznychnye slovari* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 14–5.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

CONSERVATION PROBLEMS

Michel Cailleteau, Laure Feugère

PROBLEMS OF THE RESTORATION OF A FRAGMENT OF KOUANG KING ILLUSTRATION (MG 17669)

This painting from Dunhuang belongs to the Musée National des Arts Asiatiques and is one of the oldest from Dunhuang, most probably from the eighth century. The *sūtra* of the contemplation of Amitāyus has been very often depicted on paintings and on the walls of sixty caves. Shan dao is said to have painted more than 200 representations of the Pure Land of Amitāyus, one of the oldest being on the wall of cave 393 (Sui period, 581–618).

Paradise is depicted in the centre, and on either side — Bimbisāra's and Ajātaśatru's stories and the vision of Queen Vaidehī, in which Śākyamuni himself teaches her sixteen meditations (sunset, water changed into ice, etc.). A palace and pavilions surround Amitābha's triad; on the terrace musicians are playing, accompanying a dancer.

Fragment MG 17669 offers a very interesting representation of this scene of paradise, however, its very poor condition made the interpretation of the painting rather difficult. Michel Cailleteau has achieved a remarkable result in the restoration of this painting, which now allows a better understanding of the scene.

In the upper part we can see two small Buddhas on clouds. The pavilions show a great economy of lines, but their bases are prominent. Amitābha is shown with a gesture of starting the wheel of the law. At the bottom, on the right, there is a *kinari* (human-headed bird) with two heads, similar to that in another representation of the Pure Land of Śākyamuni in London (Stein collection, ch. XXVIII 00–4). The eight representations of Bimbisāra's story on the right side follow the usual order in this type of paintings, while on the left only eleven scenes of the visions of Queen Vaidehī are partly discernable.

The painting is composed on four pieces of silk, sewn together: the largest piece is bordered on the left by a selva; another piece is sewn along the centre on 88 cm height, and a selva on the right side. Above are two small pieces, sewn together, of 17.5 cm width each (see *fig. 1*). The whole painting was framed by a stripe, some stitches of which are still visible on the selva.

Today its measurements have changed in comparison with those indicated by Nicolas Vandier in his “Bannières

de Touen Houang” (1976): height — 121 cm, and width is 88 cm, not 91.5 cm. The reason is that Michel Cailleteau has brought some shreds closer together. However, since the bottom part of the painting is missing, its original length remains unknown.

The work, an adhesive distemper painted on silk, is coated with a layer of several sheets of paper of Far Eastern origin, joined on the edges. This support appears to have been fixed along the edges on a wood pulp board.

At first sight, the work presents a species of a sequence of slashed strips arranged in a more or less parallel way, letting appear fragments of the personages of the Buddhist pantheon, and framing the face of the Buddha located in the middle of the axis of the composition. Otherwise, the composition would have been asymmetric and even anarchic in many places. Only an experienced eye of the expert could restore the geometry of the composition and the initial arrangement of the various iconographical elements.

One may suggest that the painting was in a critical condition at the time of its discovery, the silk support in particular being torn, dirty, and with a number of lacunae. An old restoration may have stopped some physical degradations, but, unfortunately, created many new others. The craftsman who sought to save the painting worked too fast and not enough carefully. As a result, the losses had increased. The painting's fragments were placed mostly at random in the course of time, often with overlappings, with a resulting confusion, which made it difficult the painting's reading. The situation had become even worse with the appearance of other changes: most of the colours, especially in the lower part, had darkened, largely because of putting adhesive during the first phase of the lining. Moreover, the adhesive had fixed irreversibly the dust accumulated during the centuries. The volume of the losses is too great to make the restoration of the original an easy work. It is to be noted that in addition to the paper's dusty look, its rather cold whitish tint, has spoiled the impression of delicate and shaded colours of the painting, weakened by previous alterations.

The restoration process

The condition of the painting seemed too poor to be improved. Besides, the general removal of the paper was impossible because of the silk's degradation. In this condi-

tions, the decoating was performed in a restricted manner: after the process of selection, according to their sizes which allowed safe handling, some pieces of painted silk have

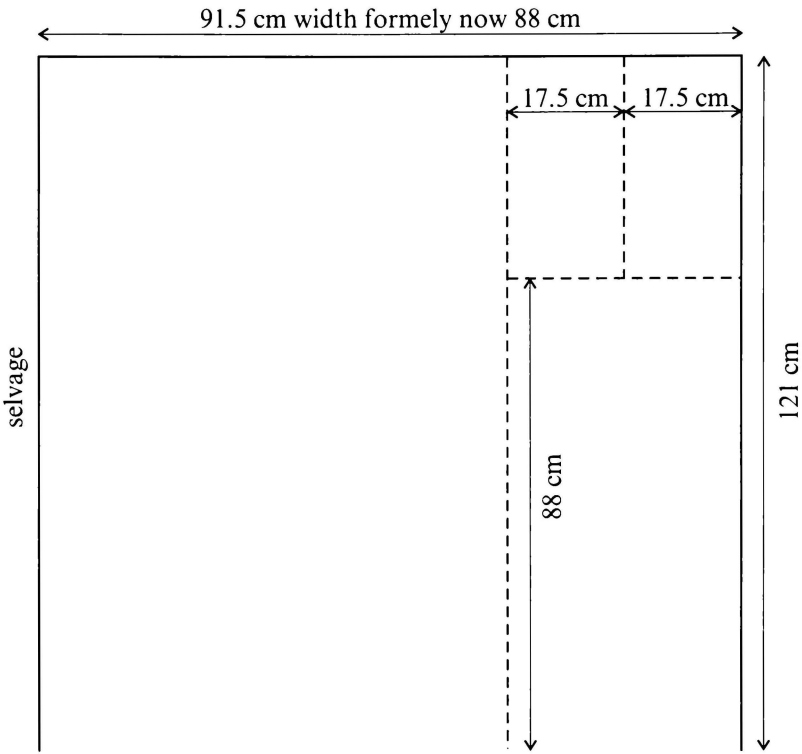


Fig. 1

*Fig. 2**Fig. 3**Fig. 4**Fig. 5*

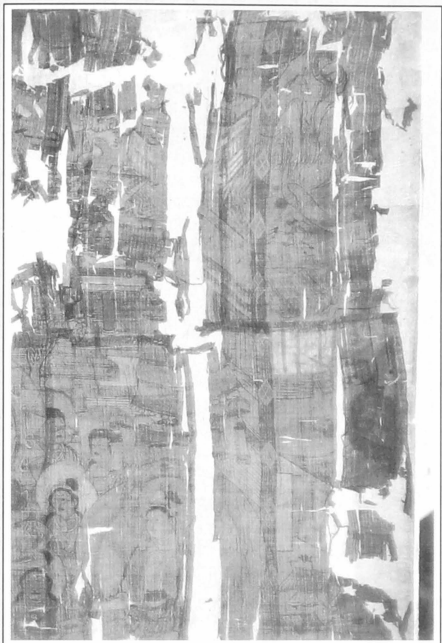


Fig. 6

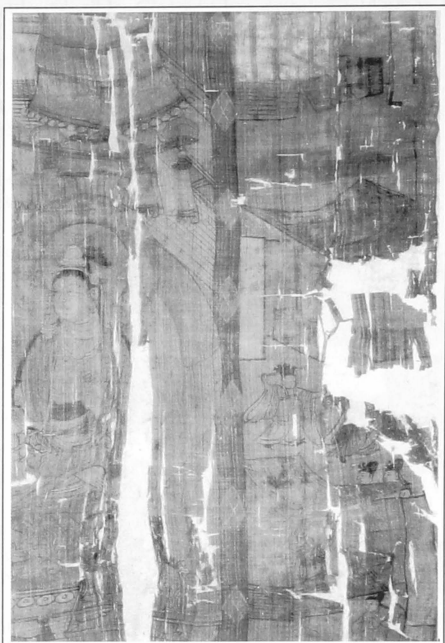


Fig. 7

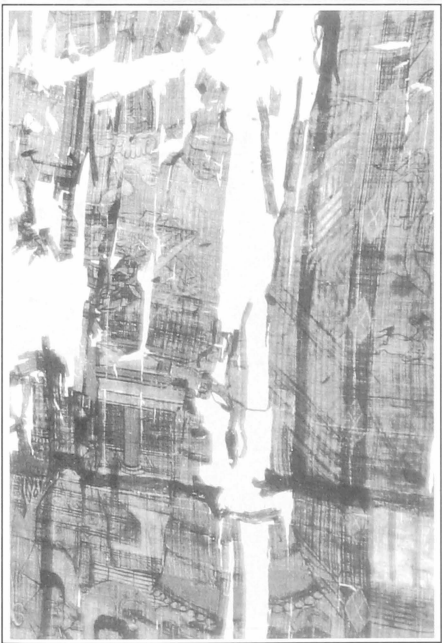


Fig. 8

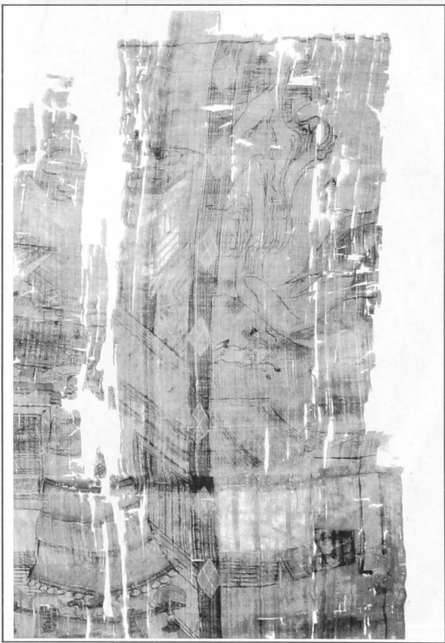
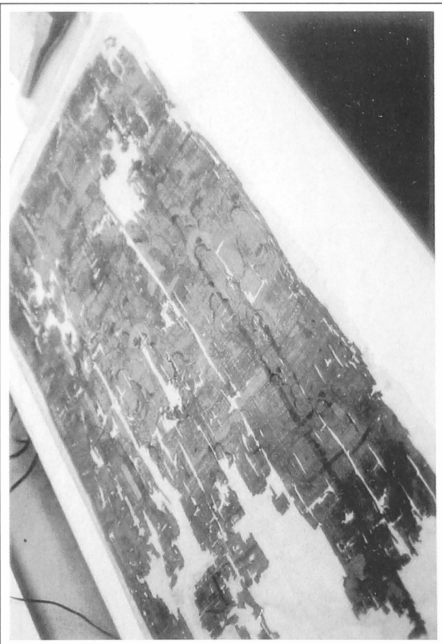
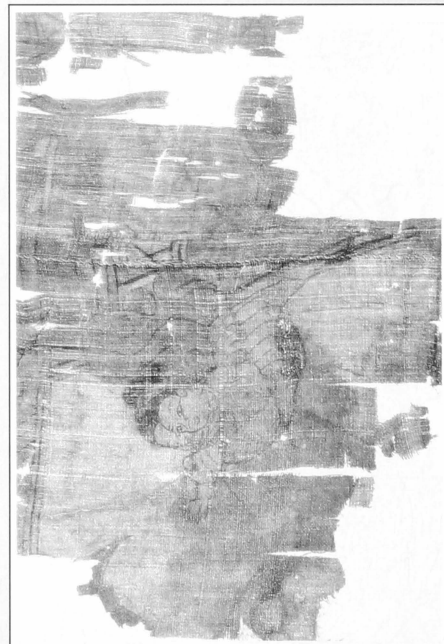


Fig. 9

*Fig. 11**Fig. 13**Fig. 10**Fig. 12*

been decoated. After this was done using a "preservation pencil" (an ultra-sonic humidifier operating with a warmth generator), the pieces have been unfolded, depending on their condition, placed in the plan and then on the paper support. (The adhesive was methylcellulose mixed up with hydroxypropyl cellulose.)

The left part, which was shifted with an eye to the whole composition, has been decoated and then adjusted in a more consistent manner. The thinning of the supporting paper has been made under totally dry conditions. The transparency thus obtained allowed a lining using a slightly tinted layer of Tengujo (6 gram), which resulted in obtaining a paper tone more in harmony with the silk. The work was fitted up on a rigid support made of a polycarbonate sheet covered with a conservation board. A good flatness was thus achieved, which improved the reading of the painting.

With the aid of these two joint actions, local treatment and a slightly tinted support, Michel Cailleteau has also been able to improve a general view of the painting and made it legible. Cleaning has revealed gilding on the large parasol on the left. The traces of clay became visible on the left side, at the bottom, and one of the visions of Queen Vaidehī. After the restoration, all colours came to be brighter and more vivid, and some details appeared to be clear at the bottom, where one can now see two Buddhas standing on the left. The figure of Buddha on the right is partly destroyed, but one can discern an offering gesture of his right arm.

Unfortunately, Michel Cailleteau was unable to enlarge the visible area of main representation of the Buddha seated in the centre of the composition, as the adhesive proved to be too strong.

Bibliography

Les Arts de l'Asie Centrale: la collection Pelliot du Musée Guimet (Paris, 1995), p. 319, pl. 17.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** Schema of fragment MG 17669.
- Fig. 2.** General view of fragment MG 17669 (before restoration).
- Fig. 3.** The fragment after restoration, with the lining support. The support is made of polycarbonate.
- Fig. 4.** Lower right-hand part after restoration.
- Fig. 5.** Vaidehī and her husband (stitches from the missing border are guessed).
- Fig. 6.** Upper right-hand part with a scene of Bimbisāra (before restoration).
- Fig. 7.** The same fragment after restoration.
- Fig. 8.** Bimbisāra hunting, upper right-hand corner (before restoration).
- Fig. 9.** The same scene after restoration.
- Fig. 10.** In the process of restoration (after bringing together the two parts, and before lining).
- Fig. 11.** A fragment of architecture detail with a parasol.
- Fig. 12.** *Kinarī* (before restoration).
- Fig. 13.** *Kinarī* after restoration.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

Bilha Moor, E. A. Rezvan

AL-QAZWĪNĪ'S 'AJĀ'IB AL-MAKHLŪQĀT WA GHARĀ'IB AL-MAWJŪDĀT: MANUSCRIPT D 370*

The collection of illuminated manuscripts at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies has in its holdings a lavishly illustrated copy (D 370) of a cosmographic work '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt*' ("The Wonders of Creation and the Oddities of Existence") by Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (ca. 1203—1282). The manuscript is dated by 988 1580. Al-Qazwīnī's cosmographic composition is an example of what happens when scientific knowledge is combined with a sense of adventure and of a creative imagination. Indeed, the book lives up to its title. Anyone with an interest in nature, dreamers with fantasies about far-away places and the rare creatures who live there, anyone interested in astronomy, the planets and the sky above, or even in angels — all will find much to enjoy in al-Qazwīnī's work. It is, therefore, no wonder that such a composition of great variety has been copied over the centuries, beginning in the mid-thirteenth century. Furthermore, as one would expect of a treatise that deals with vivid literary images, its rich and varied illustrations bring to life wonderful creatures and odd beings. The main purpose of this paper is to introduce in full the manuscript and its illustrations to the reader [1].

The famous Arabic cosmographer Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī [2], often compared with such celebrated authors as Herodotus and Plinius, was born in Qazwīn around 1203. Although Arabic may not have been his mother tongue, his family was of Arab origin. During his life he visited various places, such as Baghdād, Persia and Damascus. He encountered many famous figures such as Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Sa'īd al-Gharnāṣī, an Arab philologist and geographer. In Wāsiṭ and Ḥilla, al-Qazwīnī was a *qāḍī* under the reign of the last 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Must'asim. After the capture of Baghdād by the Mongols in 1258, al-Qazwīnī had turned to science, research and composition.

Qazwīnī's works, particularly '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt*', often mentioned simply as the "Cosmography", greatly influenced the world's outlook of the Muslim Orient. Until recently, this work, known in its

abridged and expanded versions, was one of the most popular books on science in the Islamic world. It belongs to the *mirabilis* genre which includes literary works containing tales about rarities and odd nature phenomena [3]. One finds in them a description of the planetary system, as it was known in the medieval East. Usually, such works included tales of astonishing phenomena and facts that were conceived as the "miracles" of the world to serve as a key to understanding the world's wholeness, as well as its place, role, and predestination of man in the universal hierarchy. The entire multifaceted world, from heavenly luminaries to minerals, plants, animals and man — the crown of creation — was presented in these works as a "miracle". The study and understanding of "miracles" was the basic task of man on his path to intellectual and spiritual perfection. At the same time, the discovery of various "miracles" ('*ajā'ib*') and "signs" (*āyāt*) was aided by codices and books containing "miraculous" information. The work by al-Qazwīnī represents the fullest and the best literary embodiment of the theory of signs that rests on a philosophical interpretation of the Qur'ānic text (41 : 53). It is a complete and seamless description of the universe.

The meaning of the word '*ajā'ib*' (Pl. '*ajā'ib*') is 'wonder' or 'miracle'. The term '*ajā'ib*', as is found in the title of al-Qazwīnī's work, suggests information about extraordinary monuments, realms of nature, and meteorological phenomena. This information is based on both Greek and Islamic scientific tradition. The word '*ajā'ib*' in the Qur'ān refers to the marvels of God's creation, and, indeed, in an introduction to his work al-Qazwīnī defines the terms *makhlūq* (Pl. *makhlūqāt*) and *mawjūd* (Pl. *mawjūdāt*) as God's creations: everything that exists (*mawjūd*), except for God, is created (*makhlūq*).

Al-Qazwīnī gives exposition of his views and his "statement of purpose" in an introduction to his work. According to him, man, endowed with reason and a desire for knowledge and spiritual fulfilment, has thus been singled out from animals. He can find in each phenomenon and in

* The current article is mostly the result of Bilha Moor's meticulous work on the raw material I supplied her with in May 2001. That is why I would like to stress here that she is more than a mere co-author of the paper. Her MA thesis, based on the study of the miniatures of manuscript D 370, was prepared in the University of Haifa under the supervision of Professors Rachel Milstein, Anat Tcherikover, and George Kanazi, to whom I express my sincere gratitude. The facsimile of the manuscript is currently being prepared for publication in Spain by Freedonia Publishers. It will contain an enlarged version of the work (E. R.).

each thing the key to understanding the world created by God and the place of man in it. All that exists in the world is a sign or a symbol knowable through observation and experience. That which is perfect, al-Qazwīnī says, can be understood by man's perfecting himself, by reading the signs and symbols, as the world is first and foremost a system of messages or signs that make up the full text of the revelation given to him. As soon as man feels within himself his natural faculty of reason and ability to act and fulfil his desires, he needs a reasoned and experiential understanding of the world. He is also obligated to marvel at the world's variety, its changelessness and fickleness, its motionlessness and motion, its harmony and dissonance, which can be understood through observation and experience.

After expounding his views of the world in four introductions — "On the concept of 'miracles'", "On the division of the creatures", "On the meaning of the term 'odddity'", "On the division of all that exists" — al-Qazwīnī provides his examination of the entire universe. In two sections of the work — on the celestial and earthly realms — he follows an accepted theory of his time: the Lunar Sphere is the division between these worlds, although they are parts of a single, unitary organism, like the waist that divides a human body. Both parts of the work consist of sections and "ruminations" which, apart from a logical, systematic approach, reveal a desire of the author to harmonize and organize the material as compactly as possible.

The first section in the *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* contains a full description of the macrocosm — from the Sphere of Spheres, the signs of the zodiac and constellations to the Sphere of the Moon. Al-Qazwīnī also provides definitions of the main attributes of the universe — time and space — which are described as infinite and unknowable but containing the other worlds populated by beings of a substance different from that of man (fire, smoke, light). The second section deals with the Earth and man. It includes a complete description of the atmosphere, hydrosphere, their phenomena, etc. The author then lays out the teachings about the primary substances and elements and describes the three realms of minerals, plants, and animals; the latter includes all those beings that are born, live and die on the earth. These three realms are closely linked with each other through their material substance, forming various hierarchical levels of the universe. Through his corporeal substance, man is connected with the realm of minerals, plants and

animals while through his spiritual substance, with the heavenly world.

The doctrinal positions of the *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* form an uncommon summary of the philosophical and scientific views of al-Qazwīnī's predecessors such as al-Kindī, al-Jāhīz, al-Fārābī, al-Rāzī, the "Brothers of Purity", Ibn Sīnā, and al-Bīrūnī. Al-Qazwīnī pays special attention to the views of al-Bīrūnī. The work comprises also rich geographical information based on the author's examination of the works by Muslim geographers and men of letters. The geographical description in the *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* covers the Near and the Middle East, Central and Southeast Asia, China, India, Ceylon, the Caucasus, the countries of the Mediterranean, North Africa, Andalusia, etc.

The works written in the *'ajā'ib* genre may be featured as a special form of preaching in which the description of the world expresses man's praise for the divine creation and delight at the Creator Himself. According to the authors of these works, all wonders of the world represent a vast metaphor of God's wisdom, who created miracles to grant mankind understanding. The beauty and the structure of God's world are to serve as the main proof of the existence and truthfulness of the Creator Himself (around 1233, in Damascus, al-Qazwīnī met the famous philosopher and mystic Ibn al-'Arabī, and this meeting may have influenced the very idea of al-Qazwīnī's work on cosmography).

Apparently, the *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* was illustrated already in the lifetime of al-Qazwīnī himself. The earliest known copy of the manuscript (Cod. arab. 464), held at the Munich Staatsbibliothek, was copied and illustrated in 678/1280 in Wāsiṭ (Iraq). A great number of manuscripts of the work in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, surviving from different times, testify to the work's great popularity throughout the Islamic world [4].

Al-Qazwīnī was the author of another treatise, commonly known as the "Geography", also very popular. There exist two versions of the work — *'Ajā'ib al-buldān* ("The Wonders of the Countries") and *Athār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'ibād* ("Monuments of the Countries and History of Their Inhabitants"). In fact, this work by al-Qazwīnī adds breadth and depth to the section on the "miracle" of man as presented in his work on cosmography which was finished in ca. 1270 and was dedicated to 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, a renowned public figure and a man of letters, *de facto* the ruler of Baghdād after the Mongols' invasion in 1258.

I. Manuscript

Manuscript D 370 is dated by Muḥarram 988 / February — March 1580. It contains 231 folios; 22 lines per page. There are lacunae in the text. Eastern polished paper; the binding is made of paper sheets pasted together and covered with dark brown leather. The binding has a stamped golden frame and a medallion, with a plant design against the gilded background. Folios measure is 34.5 × 24.0 cm, text — 24.5 × 18.1 cm. The width of the frame of the text is 5 mm; the frame consists of eight lines in blue, black, red and gold. The handwriting is large calligraphic *naskh*; black ink. The key words in the text are written in red ink while the titles of the sections and chapters are given in dark blue and gold. Some of the folios appear to have been restored or repaired over the years; some illustrations are in poor condition. It is not impossible that some of them have been lost with the missing folios.

Two calligraphers seem to have worked on the manuscript, as far as we can judge by the fact that at one point the handwriting clearly changes, although the colophon mentions only one copyist whose initial part of the name is now illegible because of the folio's damage (the manuscript's description by A. I. Mikhaylova gives the name of Ghiyāth). However, the rest of his name, al-Dīn b. Majd al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, is discernable (fol. 230b) [5]. The colophon does not provide the name of the manuscript's provenance. The stylistic features of the illustrations indicate their affinity to the Baghdād school of painting.

Manuscript D 370 was purchased in 1914 in Athens through an intermediary of Georges Gues. There are six imprints of three different owners' seals and some dated marginalia on the first page of the manuscript. The two imprints, those of the largest seal, belong to al-Sayyid

Muḥammad al-ʿArīf al-Rushdī, three others to a person named ʿAfīfa. The last seal belongs to one ʿIbādallāh. Many people are mentioned in the marginalia as the owners of the book, among them we find the names of the above-mentioned ʿAfīfa (1147/1733—34), ʿIbādallāh Muḥammad Baqir al-Jahrūmī (1269/1851—52), and Ḥājī Muṣṭafā b. Ḥājī Yahyā Katkhudayī (1289/1872—73). A big oval seal (fol. 1a and 231a), as well as the marginal notes, indicate that the manuscript was once part of the library of the mosque of the Prophet in Medina.

The manuscript has an *ʿunwān* and more than 450 illustrations, a number of tables and schematic depictions of the Heavenly Sphere, diagrams showing the rotation of the planets, etc. The miniatures and their frames seem to have been taken into consideration when the manuscript and its folios were planned. Each page contains either text and miniatures or text alone. None of the miniatures takes up the whole page, although the largest illustration, depicting the giant ʿŪj ibn ʿAnaq (fol. 230b, fig. 9), which is present on the colophon page, covers most part of the page.

Not all of the subjects discussed in the text are illustrated in the manuscript, although the main sections are. The chapters treating the Super-Lunar Sphere and the Sphere of the Earth have illustrations. The text on the Super-Lunar Sphere is illustrated not only by miniatures but also by diagrams containing the symbols of the planets, constellations, stars and angels. The Sphere of the Air has depictions of the halo of the moon; the text also gives a description of a rainbow. The text on the Sphere of the Water includes illustrations of islands located in various seas, as well as the depictions of the creatures dwelling on

these islands or living in these seas. The Sphere of the Earth is illustrated only by one miniature showing Mount Bisutūn (fol. 87a), borrowed from the section on mountains, and by the illustration of the Nile River (fol. 102a), taken from the section on rivers. The illustrations in the sections on flora and fauna have almost full parallels in the text. Finally, the closing section of the book, which depicts “odd creatures”, is richly illuminated with the figures of giants, hybrid creatures and fabulous people.

The comparison of the illustrations in D 370 with those in other early copies of al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* reveals an existence of a certain tradition according to which different schools illustrated the work, and the manuscript under discussion follows it as well, with minor variations [6]. Another illustrated copy of al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* (call number E 7), kept at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, bears a close resemblance to manuscript D 370. It is not dated but its stylistic features indicate that it was created in the fourteenth century [7]. Judging by the illustrations it contains and by the set of themes under illustration here, this manuscript, or a copy very close to it, may have served as the prototype for D 370 [8]. Minor differences seen in the various manuscripts of the work may be due to the missing pages. Another possible explanation is an influence of other illuminated manuscripts which contain works other than al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* but illustrate a similar range of topics. One cannot ignore also a personal touch of each artist, which is, however, more obvious in the stylistic features than in the choice of themes for illustration [9].

II. Constellations and Planets Depictions

The first miniatures in our manuscript illustrate the constellations, the planets, and the signs of the zodiac. This section also contains drawings indicating the positions of certain heavenly bodies and coloured depictions of the personifications of the planets and constellations described in the text. The first schematic drawing in the manuscript (fol. 9b) shows the earth surrounded by nine spheres. This “scientific” drawing seems to be a kind of illustrating introduction before presenting, on the following pages, the colour images of the heavenly bodies. We begin our tour of the sky as presented in the manuscript with twelve illustrations of what al-Qazwīnī calls the planets, including the moon, Mercury, Venus, Jupiter and Saturn, each shown to be a human figure with specific attributes, with the exception of the sun (fol. 13b) which is given in a schematic drawing. Actually, the text does not explain why the painter chose to portray the planets as he did; descriptions in the text are mostly of scientific character and are taken from the works on astronomy. Personification of the heavenly bodies existed already in the ancient world, and reappeared in early illustrated copies of al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* with iconographical features which are close to those in our manuscript [10]. Moreover, the illustrated manuscripts thematically related to this section of the *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt*, for example, al-Šūfī's *Šuwar al-kawākib al-thābita* (“Book of Images of the Fixed Stars”), contain similar images [11].

The moon (fol. 10a) is shown as a cross-legged figure sitting in the middle of a golden gate in the sky, hands lifted

towards a golden crescent adorned with what appears to be the pearls which rest on the figure's head. Although the round face of the image appears feminine, it is difficult to determine the gender of the figure. On the other hand, the two figures of the winged angels standing beside Venus (fol. 13b) can be clearly identified as female figures for not only do their faces have delicate features, but their breasts are shown through their diaphanous floral-patterned dresses. A barefooted Venus is seated in the middle of the sky presented as some decorative tiled structure. She has a crown and gracefully plays the harp.

Mercury, Saturn and Jupiter are depicted as masculine figures. Mercury (fol. 12b) is portrayed in profile as a kneeling young man with a beard. He is shown against the background of the clouded blue sky. He writes with a pen on a scroll. Jupiter (fol. 14a), barefooted, is shown sitting comfortably on a carpet and leaning against a plump pillow. He holds a book with a black-and-golden binding. His white-and-red turban is similar to that of Mercury. To his right is a female figure of a winged angel offering him a golden platter.

The depiction of Saturn (fol. 14b) is different. Not only his skin is dark but he looks older because of his long grey beard. Besides, he has seven hands, six of them holding some sort of an instrument and one hand a rat. Like the moon, Saturn is shown wearing a short vest over a long garment; on his head is a golden crown. His legs are crossed and he is seated on a hexagonal chair. This planetary imagery can be traced back to the ancient Near East,

فيقول كيف ولوراوها فيقولون ولوراوها لكانوا اشد هرا منها واشد غودا فيقول واي شئ يطلبون فيقولون
 يطلبون الجنة فيقولون وهل راوها فيقولون لا فيقول كيف ولوراوها فيقولون ولوراوها لكانوا اشد عليها
 حرصا فيقول اني اشهدكم اني غفرت لهم فيقولون كان فيهم فلان لم يردم انما جاء حاجة فيقول
وَمِنْهُمْ هَارُوتَ وَكَرِيمَ وهما الذين الفؤاد لا يشقى بهم جليس وهذا ملكان معدان يا بل عن ابن عمر رضي
 الله عنهما انهما اتزالا قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اشرفت الملائكة على الدنيا فلان بن آدم يعصون فقال يا رب
 ما اقل معرفته هؤلاء بعظمته فقال الله تعالى لو كنتم في سلاحيهم لعصيتوني قال كيف يكون هذا ونحن نسمع نحمدك و
 نقدس لك قال فاخروا عنكم ملكين فاخارا واهاروت وماروت فاهبطا الى الارض وركب فيهما شهوات بني آدم وشك
 لهما فما عصمتا حتى دفعا المعصية فخيروا بين عذاب الدنيا وعذاب الآخرة فقال احدهما لصاحبه ما تقول فقال
 اقول عذاب الدنيا ينقطع وعذاب الآخرة لا ينقطع فاخارا عذاب الدنيا فهما اللذان ذكر الله تعالى يا بل

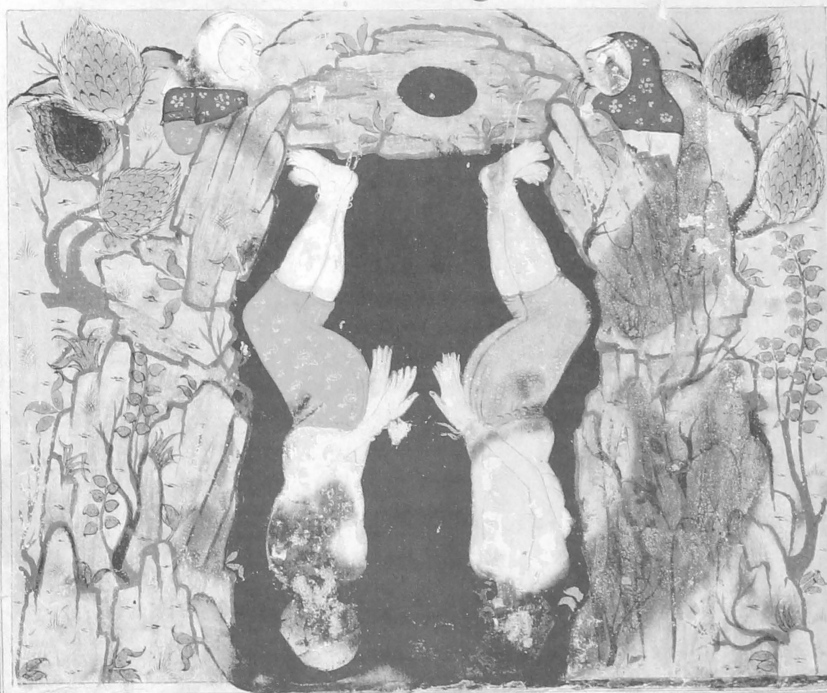


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

where, in the Babylonian pantheon, the sun (Shamash) was considered to be the king of gods, while the other planets played a role of their own. For example, Venus (Ishtar) was the goddess of fertility, Jupiter (Marduk) was he who determined history, etc. [12]. These ideas were later borrowed by Muslims, and one can find their traces in the writings of al-Bīrūnī, "The Brothers of Purity", and in al-Qazwīnī, too [13].

We now turn to the illustrations of the constellations. The names of the constellations, cited in the text, are given visual expression. The depictions of the constellations have a background common to all 36 illustrations presented in this section. In the sky, painted in dark and light blue, we see floating refined clouds painted in orange, blue, gold and pink colours. It should be mentioned that, although the depiction of the sky is consistent throughout the manuscript in the scenes which take place in the sky itself, in portraying the moon and Mercury one can find a different style of clouds' depiction. The painter tries to produce a sense of volume and of depth, using a variety of shades.

Ursa Minor (fol. 16a) and Ursa Major (fol. 16b) are represented by the figures of two bears. The outline and posture of the bears are almost identical, which makes us think that the artist must have had a prototype according to which he modelled some of his designs. Furthermore, we come across other recurring images throughout the manuscript. The importance of Ursa Minor in the Muslim world lies in the fact that, along with the pole-star, it was used to determine a worshipper's position in relation to Mecca [14]. Other constellations and the signs of the zodiac are also shown as animals: Draco (fol. 17a), Cygnus (fol. 18a), Taurus (fol. 19a), Cancer (fol. 19b), Leo (fol. 19b), Scorpio (fol. 20b), Lepus (fol. 21b), Pisces (fol. 22a), and others. We also encounter the depictions of hybrid beings, for example, Sagittarius is shown as a galloping orange-bodied and winged horse whose light blue tail ends with the open-mouthed dragon's head. The torso of Sagittarius, who is shooting an arrow, is that of a young man. A very similar depiction is in the illustration of the Centaur (fol. 24a), shown holding a kind of sceptre instead of a bow. From the ends of one of the Centaur's wings springs a dragon's head which bites the tail of the Centaur. Another image of a hybrid being is the depiction of Capricorn (fol. 22b) who has a goat head and the body of a fish. The body of Cetus (fol. 22a) is likewise shown made up of different elements: Cetus has a fish's body combined with the body of a tiger, and the wings ending with dragon's heads.

III. Angels Depictions

The treatise of al-Qazwīnī comprises the description of fourteen kinds of angels, as they are shown in the Qur'ān and *ḥadīths* [18]. Actually, the illustrator of manuscript D 370, depicts fifteen angels. All of them, with the exception of Hārūt and Mārūt, appear against either the blue or the azure sky background with stylised clouds painted in gold, blue, red and orange. We find similar background in the illustrations of the constellations. First al-Qazwīnī relates about four "Bearers of the Throne", the angels, who are represented as a man, a bull, an eagle and a lion. The illustration on fol. 31b strictly follows the text; the angel with a figure of a man has wings [19]. The function of these four angels, apart from their bearing God's throne, is praising

The human figures in this section of the work display an entire variety of clothing and attributes. Not only the colours of the cloaks and garments vary, but different hairstyles, turbans, and crowns are shown. Perseus (fol. 18b) is depicted as a bearded man running with his sword in his raised left hand. In his right hand he holds the bleeding head of a demon (the text says that Perseus holds the head in his left hand) [15]. The story seems to be a version of the classical myth of Perseus and Medusa [16]. It runs that Perseus had cut off the head of a mortal Medusa in order to save his beloved Andromeda. Medusa turned into stone everyone who looked into her eyes. In classical art, she is described as having snakes for hair, which feature is absent in manuscript D 370.

Another miniature illustrating the text is the image of Cassiopeia (fol. 18a) who is portrayed as a woman sitting on a *minbar* [17] which in early Islam served as the throne. The legs of the *minbar* stretch beyond the frame of the miniature. The figure is shown wearing a decorative pink-and-green cloak; her right hand is raised. In her left hand she holds a long, golden staff. We find here the Arabic name of Cassiopeia — *dhāt al-kursī*, which means "the one with the throne".

The depiction of Virgo is somewhat surprising. Instead of a woman, the painter shows a winged young man wearing a turban and reaching out to a flower, although in the text Virgo is described as a woman (note that Venus is depicted as a woman in the manuscript). Interestingly, the flower, which Virgo is reaching out to, appears to be a lily, as is often an attribute of Mary the Virgin in Christian iconography.

Although the illustrations mostly lack depth, the illustrator is sometimes resourceful in creating an effect of depth and three-dimensional space. In this section, for example, we can see how he portrays the human figures, using front, profile or three-quarters views. He also shows us his artistic skills in the way he depicts the folds of garments, especially in the illustrations of Venus, the moon, and Mercury. The illustration of Taurus (fol. 19a), on the other hand, is an attempt to create an effect of shortening: Taurus seems to emerge from the depth of the sky, half of its body covered with clouds. As we browse through the pages of the manuscript, we cannot but notice that many images exceed the boundaries of the illustration's frame, as if they live their own life, trying to burst out from the pages.

ing Him and pleading His mercy for the believers. Al-Qazwīnī quotes a tradition transmitted through Ibn 'Abbās: on the Day of Judgment, God will add four more angels to them [20]. The Archangel Isrāfīl (fol. 32b), whom an important role on the Day of Judgment is attributed to, is also present in one of the illustrations. We see Isrāfīl blowing a trumpet (his attribute) by which he will call the dead to resurrect. The trumpet in manuscript D 370 has seven windpipes, whereas in the earlier illustrated copies of al-Qazwīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* Isrāfīl blows a trumpet with only one windpipe [21]. In our illustration, Isrāfīl has only two wings, although the text relates about the specific role of each of his **four** wings: with one of his wings he

fills the East, with the other — the West, his third wing serves him to descend from the heavens to the Earth, while his fourth wing is a veil dividing him from God. Between Isrāfīl's eyes there is a tablet made of precious stones, on which the fates of people and of the world are written by God. Isrāfīl then passes God's will to the Archangel Mikā'il (fol. 33b), who is in charge of human wisdom and knowledge. The text runs that it is only God who knows Mikā'il's real appearance and the number of his wings. Should he open his mouth, we are told, the heavens would be drowned in it like a seed of mustard in the ocean, and should he gaze at the beings dwelling in the heavens and on the earth, they would be burnt from his light [22].

The Archangel Izrā'il is identified as the angel of death in the text. Al-Qazwīnī quotes a tradition, according which Izrā'il's legs are on the earth while his head is in the sky. Another tradition tells that the angel of death once entered King Sulaymān's court and looked at one of his guests. When Izrā'il left the court, the man asked Sulaymān who that man staring at him was. After Sulaymān had told the man that it was the angel of death, the frightened man asked him to carry him to India by the wind. Sulaymān fulfilled the request of this man. When the angel of death came back to the court, the angel told Sulaymān that he was surprised to see here the man whose soul he was to collect in India that day [23]. The depiction of Izrā'il shows him holding, in his right hand, an instrument with hooks probably intended for taking the souls of the dead. The Archangel called Spirit (fol. 32a) is said to be in charge of the spheres, the rotation of the planets and all those beings and plants that are dwelling "beneath the moon". Finally, the Archangel Jabrā'il (fol. 33a), whom Muḥammad saw in his visions, was believed to have six hundred wings. According to the text, one day Muḥammad asked God to show him Jabrā'il in the form that God had given him. The Prophet fainted when he saw Jabrā'il whose figure filled the whole horizon because of his huge dimensions [24].

All the angels, apart from those depicted as a bull, an eagle, and a lion bearing the throne, have similar features in the illustrations, although their descriptions in the text are different. Each is shown wearing two cloaks decorated with golden floral design, though of different colours. Jabrā'il, Isrāfīl and Izrā'il have green-and-orange garment, while Mikā'il and the angel depicted as a man bearing the throne are dressed in yellow-and-blue cloths. It is noteworthy that the painter varies the depictions of the angels by giving each of them individual features, gesture or pose, a different belt, or an additional attribute, as we see, for example, in the depictions of Isrāfīl and Izrā'il. Furthermore, each of the angels has a different kind of wings, and the images do not match the text with regard to the number of wings each angel has or to their magnitude. All of the angels have similar faces, and all are shown with a similar hairstyle, their hair being decorated with a string of white pearls.

After the illustrations of the Archangels, we find the depictions of the angels of the Seven Heavens. The illustrator of manuscript D 370 chose to depict these angels one by one, just as did the painters of previous illustrated copies of al-Qazwīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* [25]. The duty of these angels are told to be permanent praising God. In D 370, all of these angels are portrayed against the background of the colour clouded sky. The angels of the First (Lowest)

Heaven (fol. 35a) are represented by a cow, as is described in the text. The Archangel Ismā'il is said to be in charge of these angels. The depiction of the angels of the Second and the Third Heavens (fol. 35b) corresponds with their description in the text: the angels of the Second Heaven are shown to be two eagles (they are to obey the commands of Mīkhā'il) while two falcons, facing each other, are the angels of the Third Heaven, who are headed by Sā'idya'il. A winged horse (fol. 36a) represents the angels of the Fourth Heaven under the command of Ṣalṣā'il. The angels of the Fifth Heaven are represented by a single angel floating in the sky (fol. 36a). In the text, they are described as *hūrīs*, beautiful girls with beautiful eyes, whose commander is Kalkā'il. The angels of the Sixth Heaven are described in the text to have the appearance of children. This angels are headed by Samkhā'il. The illustration (fol. 36b) shows an angel resting on something resembling a rug and holding a pillow. On his head is a white turban. The white turban also appears on the head of the floating angel in a yellow gown, who represents the angels of the Seventh Heaven, headed by the angel Rūbā'il [26].

The angels described above are all depicted either as having a human appearance or as birds and animals in full accordance with the text. All seem to be floating, in one way or another, in the heavens, except for *al-ḥafaḥa* angels (fol. 37a), and Hārūt and Mārūt (fol. 38a, fig. 1). *Al-ḥafaḥa* angels, the two angels who are in charge of human beings, were deemed to be the guardian angels of men. One of them constantly follows a man, being on his right, and the other on his left (according to another tradition, they are actually four; two of them are guarding people in the morning hours, the other two at night). It is also said in the text, that even heretics have their guardian angels. These two angels are also called *al-kirām al-kātibūn*, that is, those who record the deeds of men [27]. In the illustration, we see a crowned man, evidently representing the guarded men, seated on a decorative white rug in the centre of the composition. To his right is placed an angel wearing a blue-and-red cloak. He writes on a scroll. To his left, is a kneeling angel in a yellow cloak, who is shown also writing on a scroll.

The image of Hārūt and Mārūt (fol. 38a, fig. 1) illustrates the relevant text rather closely. We see two figures hanging upside down in a cave; their hands are tied. Two women watch them. We read in the text about God's punishment of two angels, who had been hung by their heels in a well in Babel and had to suffer this position until the Day of Resurrection because of their sympathy with Adam during his expulsion from Paradise [28]. The illustration presents a balanced and symmetrical composition; the figures of the two fallen angels are depicted symmetrically in the miniature. Also symmetrical are the trees shown on each side of the cave (well), as are the two watching women whose appearance in the illustration lacks parallel in the text.

We find the depictions of angels not only in the chapter dealing with the explanation of angels' nature but also in the description of Venus, and in the illustration of the halo of the moon (fol. 55b), where four angels are shown carrying the halo of the shining radiant moon. The two angels support the halo from below, while the other from above. The illustrator varies the colours of the angels' cloaks and of the wings; he also succeeds in providing an effect of the illustration's "continuation" by not showing parts of the angels' bodies and wings.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

قال بليزاس في كتاب الخواص ان وقعت عين الذئب على الانسان قبل ان يراه الانسان قبل ان يراه الانسان يبتلع
الذئب وان وقع عين الانسان قبل ان يراه الانسان يبتلع الانسان ويقوى الذئب وان وقع عين الانسان على
الذئب ولا يكون بالعكس اما خواص اجزاء راسه ان علق على برج الحمام لا يقر بها ستور ولا شيء مما يودي
الحمام ولو دفن في التربة عرض غنمها وموت وان احرق وذلك برماده السن المشالة ليكن جمعها عليه
اذا علق على الفرس يسبق الخيل بعينه اليمنى من استحيها لا يفرج في الليل وعينه اليسرى من استحيها لا يعلبه ^{تأين} النوم
اخذ عنه باسن غايكة الذئب ويشد على الفرس شريكه لا يفتي ويحرف ويدرماده على السن المشالة من ولد الهارون
يسقى منها قدر اقل مع حبة من المسك المصروع الذي يصنع اول كل شهر فانزله عنه ولو احببت المرأة جلاسه
الله تعالى ولو اكل الخبز به منع من زوال الماء والغشا ودمه يخلط بدم الجوز ويقطر في الاذن يزيل الطرش واسقيته
امراة لا تجرد قطخصيته شيوي ويوكل بهج الباء ومن اخذها معه باق الشتاء كثر اكعبه يشده الماشي على سافة
لا يغيب من المشي ومن اخذ معه كعب اليمنى ويخاضم رجلا يعلبه ومن اخذ كعبه اليسرى ويخاضم امراة يعلبها جلد
يخذه منه تقطع فاذا جلس عليه صاحب القولنج يكن الله مادام عليه ذنبه يدين في قريح لاقر بها الذئب دعوا ^{تأين} المرأة
بالت على نعل الذئب لم تحبل ابدان سقى صاحب القولنج من جعده شيئا النقع في الحالكه والبيزاس ان الشاة من هذا
الزول على فخذ صاحب القولنج يفتح وزعم ان رجلا سكا د حيوان على صفة الفيل الا انه اصغر جساما من واعظم ^{تأين} شئ
واذا اراد الاثني الولادة ينيح الواد راسه من الرجم قبل الرلقه ويرعى فاذا الفقه هرب من الام فانه لا يخيه بلسانها اذ السها ^{تأين} الشاة

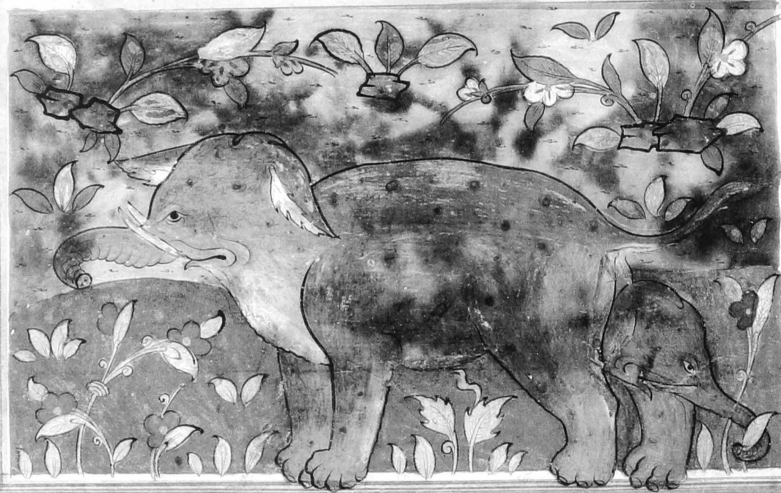


Fig. 6

IV. Trees, Plants and Herbs Depictions

Al-Qazwīnī uses several sources for his botanical section; these are Ibn Sīnā's *al-Qānūn*, Balīnūs' (Apolonius) *Kitāb al-khawāṣṣ* ("Book of Properties") and *Kitāb al-filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* ("Book of Nabataean Agriculture") [29]. In manuscript D 370, the material collected by the author is abundantly illustrated by 61 depictions of trees and bushes, and by 125 colour depictions of plants and herbs. The material is organized alphabetically. Not all species of flora described are illustrated, and the comparison of the flora illustrations in D 370 with those in early illuminated copies of al-Qazwīnī's work leads us to conclude that the painter strictly followed the tradition of illustrating this cosmological treatise. Almost every page of these sections holds more than one miniature. Sometimes, especially in the section dealing with plants and herbs, we find as many as five miniatures each enclosed in a quadrangle frame.

Sometimes the painter has not enough space to place the depictions, and he broadens the boundaries of the page in different directions, but mainly to the upper margins. One can, for example, see the trees freely spreading out their branches and tops upwards, in the upper margins. This recurring device adds to the page a three-dimensional effect, since the trees' branches are projecting to the margins. The trees' volume also seems enhanced because their trunks look growing from the text itself. The depictions of the apple tree (fol. 131b), the mulberry-tree (fol. 132a, see fig. 3, above), the plane tree (fol. 134a, see fig. 4, above), the pine tree (fol. 137a), and the vine (fol. 141a) are only a few examples of this technique.

Another interesting pictorial device of the painter is the depiction of birds and their nests among the trees' branches. For example, the Sea Serpent (fol. 62b, see fig. 2) is shown as a pink dragon winding around the tree that springs from the middle of the page; the trunk of the tree is visible against the background of the text, and its crown extends beyond the upper margins of the written surface. Several birds, most probably ravens, are flying into and out of the branches of the tree. In the midst of the light green leaves one can see a brownish nest. In the illustration of the pine tree (fol. 137a), we even see three eggs lying in the nest and a bird resembling a parrot. She is resting on the branches of the tree. Three ravens are shown standing around the white poplar tree (fol. 138b, see fig. 5, below right) in the depiction which illustrates this tree. It seems that the presence of birds and trees in the miniatures adds liveliness to the dryness of the text of an encyclopaedic nature (see also).

For the sake of interest, several stories are included in this scientific section on trees. One of the stories tells about the wood of the Cross Tree (fol. 138b, see fig. 5, below left), that is, about the tree of which the cross of Jesus Christ was made. We are told that two types of this tree exist, one growing in Rūm and the other in India. Its fruit can cure epilepsy or nightmares. A date palm (fol. 143b) is said to be a blessed tree, of which the Prophet said that it was created from the same mud as Adam [30]. Another blessed tree is the olive (fol. 135a) which is used in different ways. According to the story, the Prophet told that once Adam felt bad and complained to God about it. Then the angel Jabrā'īl gave him an olive tree and instructed him to plant it and to

press out olive oil possessing a healing effect [31]. Then there follows a description of the citron tree's fruits (fol. 129b), known for their pleasant taste, whose rind may be used as perfume and juice as a substance to erase what is written in ink [32]. In addition to the citron, al-Qazwīnī lists other fruit trees, such as plum, fig, apple, peach, pomegranate, banana, orange, coconut, apricot, etc. Among the illustrations of this section, we find the depiction of a rose bush (fol. 144a) and of the jasmine (fol. 144a) which are described as having a wonderful smell.

The description of the rose and jasmine crowns al-Qazwīnī's survey of trees and bushes. He then turns to other plants and herbs. The illustrations given in this section are somewhat smaller in size: most of them are framed. The background here is pink, light blue, light brown or green, with no additional details which we see in the trees' illustrations, where flowers, stones or birds are also present. Among the illustrated plants, we find barley (fol. 155a) and wheat (fol. 150b), shown very similar to each other. Both plants have narrow stalks and heads heavy of seeds, which makes the stalks bend a little. It is said of the barley that God turned into barley wheat. The Archangel Jabrā'īl presented Adam with wheat as nourishment for him and his descendants. Adam asked Eve not to sow the seeds of the wheat but she disobeyed him and sowed the seeds, which resulted in turning wheat into barley by God [33]. The story also tells that when Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden, it was the Archangel Mikā'īl who gave Adam the seeds of wheat and instructed him to plough the land and sow the seeds to have nourishment for him and his offspring [34].

Various kinds of fruits and vegetables are also depicted in the manuscript: cucumber, eggplant, lettuce, cauliflower and many others. The illustration of the melon (fol. 147b) shows this fruit. It is said that the melon was the favourite fruit of the Prophet Muḥammad. Moreover, we learn that God records one thousand good deeds in favour of a man who eats it, erasing his one thousand bad deeds [35]. We find here also the description of various herbs — mint, sweet basil, coriander and parsley. In addition, al-Qazwīnī tells us about some poisonous plants which have various effect on animals. He states, for example, that the wolf's-bane (fol. 157b) and the dog's-bane (fol. 157b) can bring death to smaller animals and to cause heavy nose bleeding in men [36]. When someone drinks a brew of aconite (fol. 148b), his tongue and lips swell causing his death of suffocation. Furthermore, al-Qazwīnī goes on to tell the reader that the kings of India used aconite when they wanted their rivals dead. According to the story, there were girls who, from their birth, were brought up using small doses of aconite, so that they gradually became immune to its poisonous effect. When necessary these girls were sent to the enemies and, after sleeping with the girls, they died [37]. Another dangerous plant listed here is the tiger-strangler (fol. 151a) which can kill tigers, panthers, wolves, dogs, wild boars and other animals [38].

Al-Qazwīnī also provides a description of flowers, such as narcissus, iris, tulip and poppy. The fragrance of a narcissus (fol. 161b) is said to be able to cure leprosy and madness [39]. The illustration shows the flower painted in

white with a yellow stamen. Iris (fol. 154b) is described in the text as a flower whose colour may be white, yellow or azure. It is stated that its smell has a sleeping effect [40]. We see also the depiction of poppy (fol. 152a) and anemone (fol. 155a). About the latter the author says that its petals open in the morning and close at night. This plant is

used in dying white cloth in red, and, indeed, in the illustration, anemone is depicted with red petals. The illustrator of manuscript D 370 shows anemone several times, employing it as a decorative background in the scenes with animals and people.

V. Animals Depictions

The main source for this section of the work is the *Kitāb al-hayawān* ("Book of Animals") by al-Jāhiz, who combined in his work Arabic and Classical science [41]. Illustrations of various animals dwelling in the sea, on the dry land, and in the air appear throughout the whole text of the work, however, two parts in the text are devoted specially to them. Here we find the descriptions of all sorts of water creatures; it is the chapter dealing with the Sphere of the Water, while the other one appears after the section on flora in the chapter treating the Sphere of the Earth. The latter deals with all kinds of animals: saddle-horses (4 illustrations), domesticated animals (9 illustrations), wild animals (29 illustrations), birds (53 illustrations), and insects and reptiles (20 illustrations), all presented in alphabetical order. This section is a combination of real facts and fabulous elements. Alongside with the illustrations of well-familiar animals, we find the depictions of wonderful creatures, such as, for example, the bird '*anqā*' (fol. 213a, see fig 7, below), described in the text as the largest among the birds. We learn that she can swallow an elephant or a buffalo. About the '*anqā*' al-Qazwīnī tells that once she lived among people, who suffered greatly from her because she even kidnapped brides. To punish her, God sent the '*anqā*' to a remote isolated island to live among animals. Then we learn that the '*anqā*' lives one thousand and seven hundred years. She becomes grown-up after reaching the age of five hundred years. When a female '*anqā*' lays eggs, she suffers great pain: when she goes hunting, a male '*anqā*' is guarding the eggs. The text runs that their nestlings hatch out only after one hundred and twenty-five years-long period of the eggs' incubation. If a newborn '*anqā*' turns to be a female bird, the bird-mother collects wood for a fire that the bird-father lights. Then the bird-mother sacrifices herself by entering the fire, and the newborn female bird takes her place. If a newborn nestling is a male bird, it is the father-bird who sacrifices himself [42]. The huge '*anqā*' is painted in blue, red, white, yellow and green. Its beak and claws are pointed and curved, as it is in the birds in the miniature illustrating the angels of the Second and the Third Heavens (fol. 35b), in the depictions of a crane, the Singing Bird, and the stork (fol. 215b) [43].

This section provides miniatures showing two mythical creatures capable, as al-Qazwīnī states, to attract other living beings by their wonderful sounds and sweet singing. These creatures are the *sirānis* (fol. 201a) and the Unicorn (fol. 201b). About the *sirānis* it is told that it has twelve holes in its snout to produce sweet melodies while breathing and to draw animals to itself [44]. In the illustration, we see a blue-bodied creature with thin golden wings and a big red snout which has twelve holes in it. Al-Qazwīnī tells that the Unicorn has a single horn with 42 prongs, and when the wind blows, he is able to produce sounds pleasant both to animals and human beings [45]. The Unicorn is shown as a red galloping animal with dragon's mouth and tongue. Its

long curved horn with many prongs stretches far beyond the frame of the miniature and exceeds the boundaries of the page, leaving the reader unaware of the horn's full length.

Another fabulous animal described by al-Qazwīnī is the *sinād* (fol. 200a, see fig. 6). It is depicted as an animal resembling an elephant (fol. 203a). An attentive look discovers the head of a whelp emerging from the womb of the creature and picking up leaves with his trunk. According to the text, the *sinād* is identical to an elephant but smaller in size, although it is bigger than a bull. The *sinād*'s whelp can feed himself by thrusting his head out from the womb even before his birth. After it is strong enough, the little *sinād* leaves his mother of the fear that she would lick him to death with her prickly tongue [46].

The *ṣannāja* (fol. 222b, see fig. 8) is another fabulous beast, of whom we learn that it is the largest among the animals living on the earth. It lives in Tibet, and its house is almost five kilometres wide. The *ṣannāja*'s look is able to kill animals but when the beast occasionally sees another animal, it dies. Therefore, al-Qazwīnī tells us, the animals living near this creature close their eyes when they meet the *ṣannāja*, so the beast sees them first and dies. The meat of the dead *ṣannāja* does not go bad for a long time and serves as food for the rest of the animals [47]. In the illustration, the *ṣannāja* looks like a pink dragon with two sets of thin golden wings. Its mouth is open wide, and it seems that the beast is about to seize hold of the earth by its curved white claws [48].

The images of two pink dragons (serpents) are also present in the other sections of the manuscript. One of them we see in the illustration depicting the Hydra constellation (fol. 23b) which is shown together with the Crater constellation. A long pink snake with two sets of thin golden wings reveals its sharp teeth. The other one winds around a tall, blooming tree; the blue mouth of the snake is open wide (fol. 62b, fig. 2).

A similar creature, this time painted in light blue, appears in the story of the Dragon island (fol. 64a, see front cover of the present issue). Al-Qazwīnī presents the story of an island where a terrible dragon lived once. Every day the fire-breathing dragon demanded that the inhabitants of the island provided him with two large animals as his nourishment. Therefore, the people asked Alexander the Great to help them to get rid of the dragon. Two bulls were then intended to be eaten by the dragon. They filled the bulls with arsenic and sulphur. After the dragon had eaten the bulls, a burst of flame appeared and eliminated the creature. As a token of their gratitude, the people of the island presented Alexander with a gift — an animal that resembled a yellow hare; it had black horns (fol. 64a) [49]. The illustration of this story shows an open-mouthed dragon spitting fire, and two bulls approaching him. From behind the rocks, two men watch the scene. The depiction illustrates the events which took place before Alexander the Great's

intercession or, probably, the moment just before the perishing of the dragon.

A red, fire-spitting dragon (fol. 219a, see *Plate 1* on the back cover of the present issue) also appears in the section on reptiles. This one is a creature with big eyes and many teeth. Under the dragon's jaw, there is a swelling that looks like a beard. Al-Qazwīnī describes the dragon as having thick eyebrows and hair on its neck. The male dragon is said to be fiercer than the female one: it crushes animals to death, while the female dragon merely swallows them. It is said that the dragons can live in water and on the dry land as well. They enjoy the cool air of the mountains and suffer from the heat of the sun [50].

All the animals that live on the land are painted against the background showing the land with plants representing various types of flora. Usually we see a dark green surface with small rocks and small light-green bushes. Some of the illustrations include flowers, mainly anemones and roses.

VI. Odd People and Sea Creatures Depictions

Al-Qazwīnī gives an account of the inhabitants and rulers of some islands in the Persian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the China Sea. For example, he writes about the Wāqwāq island, whose ruler is said to be a woman. The painter depicts five sitting female figures (fol. 61b). Among them is the queen of the Wāqwāq island, who is shown crossed-legged on a rock in the centre, with a golden crown on her head. She is half-naked. Of her cloths we see only blue, patterned trousers. Her left foot is bare. Two kneeling maidservants are visible on either side of the queen. All of them are also half-naked. They are shown kneeling and wearing trousers of various colours. Two of the maidservants have a darker skin than the others. All of them wear their hair loose. The pose of the queen is similar to that of Venus on fol. 13b. The style of the clothing and the depiction of the queen's bare breasts differ from what we see in the illustration of the two female figures of the angels standing beside Venus. May this possibly mean that two different painters illustrated these sections of the manuscript? The description of the Wāqwāq queen in the text coincides with the image in the illustration. It is said that the nude queen has four thousand maidservants, all of whom are nude too. Al-Qazwīnī also tells that the island is rich of gold, and it was named after a tree growing here, which makes the sound *wāqwāq* [52].

The inhabitants of the Sumatra island (fol. 61a) are described in the text as men and women who wear no clothes. Their language sounds like a whistle. They live in trees and have hairy bodies [53]. The illustration shows these people climbing trees. Some of them are sitting at the treetops or on the ground, others climbing the trees.

The illustration depicting the dwellers of Java (fol. 60b) mainly follows the text. They have human bodies with wings. Their skin either white, or black, or green. They can fly from one tree to another, and no one can understand their language [54]. Among the dwellers of Java one can see also the cat with the wings of a bat (see *Plate 2*).

In this section of al-Qazwīnī's work, there is also an illustration showing a man grasping the legs of a big bird in flight. The story tells about a man from Iṣfahān (fol. 66b) [55], who, involved in debts, set off by the sea with some merchants. Their ship was caught by a whirl-

Unlike these colourful illustrations, those demonstrating the water creatures are poorer in pallet and design. Most of the depictions are greyish and repetitive.

Among the water creatures we find another dragon (fol. 75a) whose pink snaky body ends with a round human head, accompanied by six open-mouthed dragon's heads. Al-Qazwīnī describes this water dragon as an extremely frightful creature which has many teeth and which terrorizes animals both in the sea and on the land. According to the author, because of the dragon's constant devouring animals living on the dry land, God sent an angel to drive the dragon away to the sea. But it continued his invasions of the land, therefore, God had sent an angel once more in order Gog and Magog (Barbarian people connected to the events of the Apocalypse) take the monster [51]. Another creature, with both human and animal features, described by al-Qazwīnī, is a human-headed fish (fol. 64b), which is said to dwell in the Indian Sea.

pool in the Persian Sea, and the man of Iṣfahān offered to his mates to sacrifice himself to save the others. In return, he asked them to pay his debts on their return from the voyage. The captain of the ship put him ashore on an island where a huge bird lived. Fearing that the bird would attack him, the Iṣfahānian hid himself from her but had to come out of his hiding place in search of food. He succeeded in escaping from the bird and could even save himself by grasping her legs and flying over the sea. The people who lived in the place he had landed were greatly amazed at the sight of him and at his wonderful story. They introduced the man to their king, who supplied him with money which enabled him to return home [56]. The huge bird in the miniature, illustrating the story, resembles the multi-headed creature with different faces which is present on fol. 62a. Although the depictions are painted in different colours, they have common stylistic features in treating the feathers and the long pointed beak. This is yet another example of the painter's use of the models of animals, clothing and human figures, which he follows throughout the manuscript.

After this story the author gives a description of the island of Saksār in the Sea of Zanzibar. He says that it is populated with people who have dog's faces. They also keep skulls and human bones at their homes. We are told that they use various delicacies and fruits to feed their guests-men in order they can put on weight, and then, after they are fat enough, eat them [57]. In the illustration (fol. 68b), we see four natives of the island and the island's landscape. Two of the natives are on their knees, the other two are shown standing. The figures are painted in different colours, the skin of all of them being dotted. In addition to their dog's faces, they have tails. Two men with tied hands behind the natives are visible on the left side of the illustration. They look frightened as if they fear what will happen to them. About other odd creatures, living on trees and having extremely soft legs, we learn that they have no bones. Their appearance is shown on fol. 69a [58].

Then there follows a description of an "old Jew" (fol. 71a, see *Plate 3*), who lives, as the text runs, in the Western Sea. On Friday night, al-Qazwīnī says, he comes out of the water and stays on land until the sunset of Satur-

day. He has a human face and a white beard, but his body is the body of a frog [59]. However, the illustration shows an old turtle with a bearded old man's face. The creature's human hands and feet are visible from beneath the turtle's shell.

Al-Qazwīnī ends this section of the book with a story about the dream of the Persian King Anūshīrwān (fol. 73a). In the illustration, we see Anūshīrwān sitting cross-legged on a golden throne, his attendants at both sides of him. Two figures of his retainers, to his right, wear golden helmets. One of them is depicted with his finger put close to his

mouth as if in wonder, probably, to show his amazement at the sight of a dragon-like monster emerging from the sea. The monster is depicted in the right margin of the illustration. The text tells that once Anūshīrwān fell asleep after a wall against the Turks was built by him. In his dream, he saw how a creature emerged from the Caspian Sea and told him about seven similar walls destroyed in the course of time. The creature, however, said to Anūshīrwān that God warned him that the wall built by a man of Anūshīrwān's appearance would stand firm throughout the ages. Having said this, the creature disappeared [60].

VII. Odd Phenomena and Creatures Depictions

Al-Qazwīnī crowns his work with a description of odd creatures that combine human and animal features. He divides them into three categories: island and coastline creatures, hybrid beings, and "odd-looking" beings [61]. Among the hybrids described by al-Qazwīnī, we find a giraffe (fol. 226b), a cross-breed of a man and a bear (fol. 227a), of a dog and a wolf (fol. 228a), etc. In this section, one can also find two illustrations of giants — the Bulgarian king (fol. 229b) and a mythical giant 'Ūj ibn 'Anaq (fol. 230b, see *fig. 9*). About the latter it is said that he lived for many years in the time of Nūḥ and Mūsā. During the Flood, in the time of Nūḥ, the water reached only the middle of the giant's body. We are told that later, when Mūsā entered with the Hebrews the land of Canaan, 'Ūj ibn 'Anaq broke off a piece of a rock from a mountain in order to throw it at the newcomers. But as the giant carried the huge rock, God sent a bird with a little stone in its beak. She threw it at the rock. When the stone hit the rock, a hole opened in its middle. 'Ūj's stone slipped down and encircled his neck. God told Mūsā about it, and Mūsā had struck the giant with his staff and killed him [62]. The illustration shows a bare-footed giant wearing a short blue-and-red skirt, who has his sword in a scabbard. Golden bracelets are visible on his legs and arms. The painter shows the moment of the rock's slipping down 'Ūj's neck. In the miniature, we see, however, no sign of the bird that threw the stone or of Mūsā striking the giant.

Al-Qazwīnī also gives an account of the double-headed people with many legs and bird's voices (fol. 228b). One of such creatures in the illustration wears a patterned blue gown. It has two heads, two hands, and six legs, three of which are turned to the right while the other three to the left. A creature from Yemen is presented as a living being possessing two bodies joined together. In the illustration (fol. 229b), each of the creature's bodies has two hands and a face. The face of one of the bodies is bearded while the other looks feminine. According to the text, one body of the creature represents a man and the other a woman. We learn that in case of disagreement the bodies sometimes beat each other, although usually they live peacefully. The account runs that when one day one of the bodies died, the other remained alive [63]. The illustrator, probably, chose to depict the couple during their argument, since they are shown turning their backs to one another.

There are also people whose bodies combine both human and animal limbs and organs, for instance, people with human heads and bodies of snakes (fol. 228b). The illustration shows a female head wearing a golden crown, with the

body of a red snake. Al-Qazwīnī goes on to tell that there exist tall people who have the faces of horses and human bodies. Their eyes are blue, and they have wings. The illustration (fol. 228a) shows two such creatures. One of them is brown and the other is red. Their wings are of different colours. A similar illustration depicts three winged creatures with tails and trunks. According to the text, they live on one of the islands. They can walk on land and fly as well. They are considered demons by some people, as al-Qazwīnī writes [64].

Al-Qazwīnī also tells a story about a talking crow who has a human head and two humps (fol. 230a). When the crow is asked to tell about himself, he sings a song, about his parents — the lion and the lioness. His favourite things are wine, coffee, and sweet basil. We are said that his two humps are in high esteem at weddings and on festive days. Apparently, it is this wonderful crow that, according to a legend, was sent as a present to the caliph al-Ma'mūn [65]. The illustration showing the crow is damaged, but one can discern a bird in a cage, who has a feminine face and a crown on his head.

An observation of the illustrations and the text of manuscript D 370 show that the book really fulfils the task al-Qazwīnī poses before himself in his introduction: to give the reader an exposure of the world's wonders, to demonstrate a wonderful creative power of God. The range of information al-Qazwīnī provides is wide, though mostly fabulous. Yet, although the *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* is a sort of an encyclopaedia, partly intended to offer the reader information as vast as possible, the work is much more than that. The descriptions of fabulous creatures make the text an entertaining reading; the text is meant to strike a lively imagination of a medieval Muslim. The illustrations contribute to the effect well.

Most likely, more than one illustrator worked on the manuscript, and probably two copyists (calligraphers). The manuscript seems to be modelled after some prototype. The illustrations usually coincide with the text which treats the subject. Some of the illustrations demonstrate an utmost refinement in lines and colour, such as, for example, the depictions of the Archangels. As was said above, the devices the painter (or painters) uses to make an effect of a three-dimensional space in depicting various personages is a noticeable feature which is worth noting. We also see different styles of depicting clouds, which seems an artistic experiment of one of the painters. As a whole, the style of the illustrations is close to that of the school of Baghdād, although other influences are also seen in a number of the illustrations.

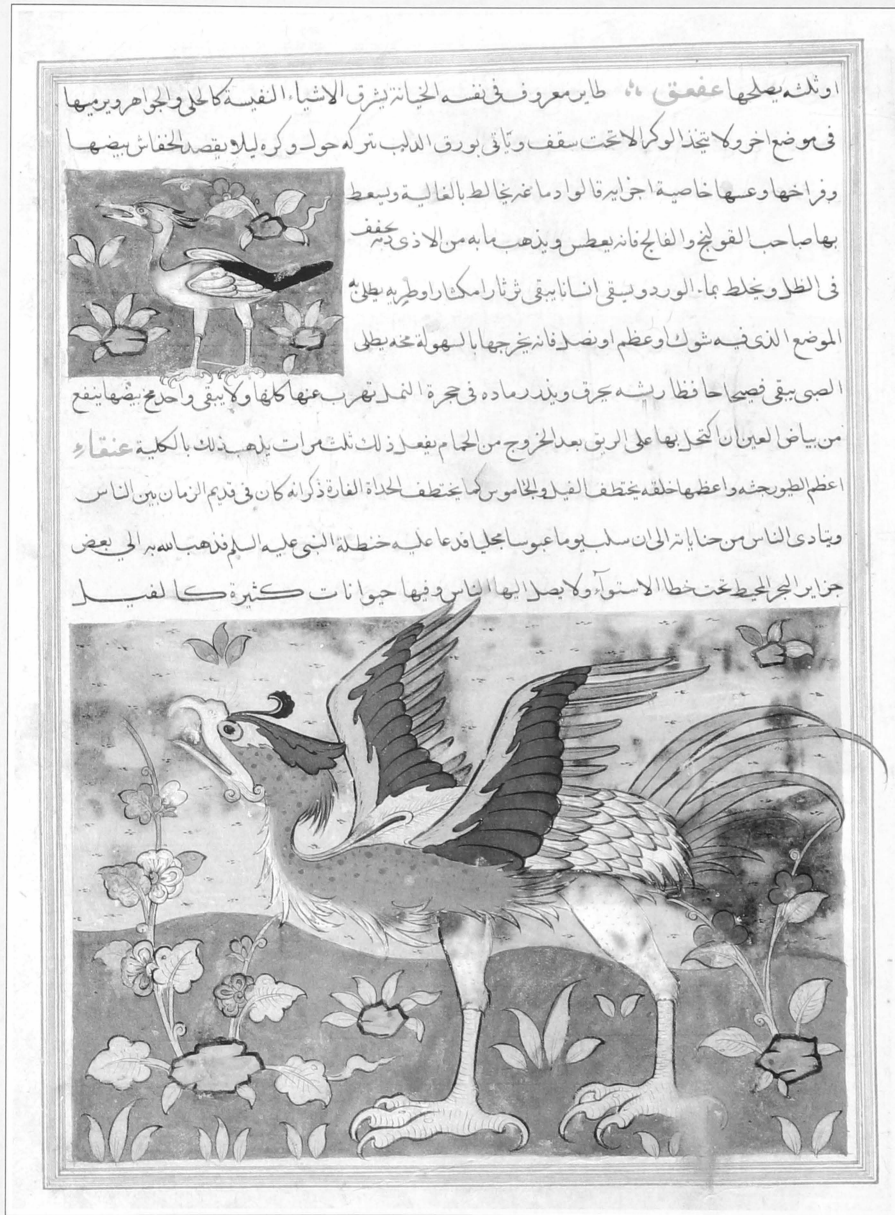


Fig. 7

ينفعه نفعاً بينا ويستعمل الطوخا للفتاق يفتقه دمه يتفقع من الصرع شوقاً وهو جلد بشري الهوام ومن سقى شياً التبريد
تقريبها ان جعل عظامه ليقدر لم تقدر ولوا وقد عتتها ما اوقد رجليها يشد على صاحب القرس من ولد وجهه الله تعالى
واليسرى على اليسرى بيضا نافع للسعال الصبيان في الصرع ايضا **ضاحجة** هونبت وردان قال الشيخ الرئيس انه مع
فرد ما نافع من البواسير والناسور وسعوم الهوام ويحرق ويسحق ويضاف الى الاثمد ويكحل بها عند النظر به مع مرارة البقر
ينفع من طفرة العين كالحالا

صورة الضاحجة



حيوان لا يقبل وصف كبر بدنه من لم يره قالوا ليس بشئ من حيوانات البراكن من الضاحجة يوجد بارض نبت تحتها نفسها
بيناً قرب فرسخ ومن خواصه ان كل حيوان يقع نظره عليه يموت في الحال واذا وقع نظر الضاحجة على شئ من الحيوانات
يموت هي ايضا والحيوانات عرفت ذلك في تلك البلاد فتقرض نفسها على الضاحجة غامضة اعينها يقع نظر الضاحجة
عليها فتموت فيبقى طعمة للحيوانات زمانا طويلا **ضباب** حيوان يقال له بالفارسية سوسمار وهو حيوان
كيس لا يتخذ البيت الا في مكان صلب ليلائها عليه من حوافر التراب وفي مكان من تقع عن السبل ولا يتخذ بيته
الا عند اكمة وصخرة كبيرة او شجرة ليستد بها على بيته لانه نشاء سبي الهداية فلو لا يقيم علامة ربما دخل على
ظهران وورل غلظا فلا يكون دون اكله شئ فاذا ارادت ان تبص حفرت لبيتها ادحيا مثل ادحى النعام ثم يري
فيها ثمانين بيضة ويضعها كيف الخمام يدفنها في التراب وتدعها اربعين يوما ثم ياتي بعد الاربعين فاذا الحواشي

Fig. 8



Fig. 9

List of Illustrations

Nos	Fols	Depiction
1	1b	'Unwān
Super-lunar Sphere		
2	9b	Diagram of the planets and their location
Planets		
3	10a	Diagram of the moon (<i>al-qamar</i>)
4	10a	Image of the moon
5	10b	Diagram of the eclipse of the moon (<i>khusūf al-qamar</i>)
6	11a	Diagram of the characteristics of the moon and its effect (<i>khawāṣ al-qamar wa-ta'thīrātuhu</i>)
7	12b	Diagram of Mercury (<i>al-'uṭarid</i>)
8	12b	Image of Mercury
9	13a	Diagram of Venus (<i>al-zuhara</i>)
10	13b	Image of Venus
11	13b	The sun (<i>al-shams</i>)
12	14a	Image of Jupiter (<i>al-mushtarī</i>)
13	14b	Image of Saturn (<i>al-zuḥal</i>)
14	15a	Diagram of the planets (<i>al-thawābit</i>)
Constellations and the Signs of the Zodiac		
15	16a	Ursa Minor (<i>al-dubb al-asghar</i>)
16	16b	Ursa Major (<i>al-dubb al-akbar</i>)
17	17a	Draco (<i>al-tinnīn</i>)
18	17a	Bootes (<i>al-'awwā', al-ṣayyāḥ</i>)
19	17b	Corona Borealis (<i>al-iklīl al-shamālī</i>)
20	17b	Diagram of Hercules (<i>al-jāthī, al-rāqīṣ</i>)
21	17b	Lyra (<i>al-sulyāq</i>)
22	18a	Cygnus (<i>al-ṭā'ir, al-dajāja</i>)
23	18a	Cassiopeia (<i>dhāt al-kursī</i>)
24	18b	Perseus (<i>barsiyāwash</i>)
25	18b	Serpentarius (<i>al-ḥawwā wa al-ḥayya</i>)
26	19a	Taurus (<i>al-thawr</i>)
27	19b	Gemini (<i>al-taw'amānī</i>)
28	19b	Cancer (<i>al-saraṭān</i>)
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30	20a	Virgo (<i>al-'adhrā', al-sunbula</i>)
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33	20b	Sagittarius (<i>al-qaws</i>)
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35	21b	Eridanus (<i>al-nahr</i>)
36	21b	Lepus (<i>al-arnab</i>)
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38	22a	Pisces (<i>al-samakatanī, al-ḥūt</i>)
39	22a	Cetus (<i>qayṭis</i>)
40	22b	Capricorn (<i>al-jadī</i>)
41	22b	Aquarius (<i>sākib al-mā', al-dalū</i>)

42	23a	Procyon (<i>al-kalb al-mutaqqadim</i>)
43	23a	Argo Navis (<i>al-safīna</i>)
44	23b	Crater (<i>al-bā'i 'a</i>)
45	23b	Hydra (<i>al-shujā'</i>)
46	23b	Corvus (<i>al-ghurāb</i>)
47	24a	Centaurus (<i>qantawris</i>)
48	24a	Lupus (<i>al-sabu'</i>)
49	24b	Ara (<i>al-majjara</i>)
50	24b	Pisces Australis (<i>al-ḥūt al-janūbī</i>)
Stars		
	26a—30a	Stars shown as circles painted in gold and silver
Angels		
51	31b	Four "Bearers of the Throne" (Bashar, Thīrān, Nasr, Asad)
52	32a	Archangel called Spirit (al-Rūḥ)
53	32b	Archangel Isrāfīl
54	33a	Archangel Jabrā'īl
55	33b	Archangel Mīkā'īl
56	34a	Archangel Izrā'īl
57	35a	Angels of the Lowest Heaven (<i>malā'ikat al-samā' al-danyā</i>)
58	35b	Angels of the Second Heaven (<i>malā'ikat al-samā' al-thāniya</i>)
59	35b	Angels of the Third Heaven (<i>malā'ikat al-samā' al-thālitha</i>)
60	36a	Angels of the Forth Heaven (<i>malā'ikat al-samā' al-rābi'a</i>)
61	36a	Angels of the Fifth Heaven (<i>malā'ikat al-samā' al-khāmisa</i>)
62	36b	Angels of the Sixth Heaven (<i>malā'ikat al-samā' al-sādisa</i>)
63	36b	Angels of the Seventh Heaven (<i>malā'ikat al-samā' al-sābi'a</i>)
64	37a	Guardian angels (<i>al-ḥaḥaḥa, al-kirām al-kātibūna</i>)
65	38a	Fallen Angels (Hārūt and Mārūt)
Sphere of the Air		
66	44a	Diagram of the months according to the Muslim calendar (<i>shuhūr al-'arab</i>)
67	54a	Diagram of the Four Winds (<i>al-riyāḥ</i>)
68	55b	Halo of the Moon (<i>al-hāla</i>)
69	56a	Rainbow (<i>qaws quzah</i>)
Sphere of the Water		
70	58a	Diagram of the Ocean (<i>al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ</i>)
Islands of the China Sea and Their Inhabitants		
71	59a	Wooden building with a dome and windows
72	59b	People without necks
73	60a	Island of Java (<i>jazīrat al-zābiḥ</i>) and its dweller — a cat with the wings of a bat
74	60a	Island of Java (<i>jazīrat al-zābiḥ</i>): creature similar to a mountain cow
75	60b	Island of Java (<i>jazīrat al-zābiḥ</i>): winged human-like creatures
76	61a	Island of Sumatra (<i>jazīra ramānī</i>): naked people climbing trees
77	61a	Island of Sumatra (<i>jazīra ramānī</i>): naked people climbing trees
78	61b	Queen of the Wāqwāq island and her four maidservants
Fabulous Creatures of the China Sea		
79	62a	Multi-headed creature with two wings
80	62b	Sea serpent

Islands of the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants		
81	64a	Dragon island (<i>jazīrat al-tinnīn</i>): Alexander the Great saving the habitants of the island from a dragon
82	64a	Yellow hare with black horns
Fabulous Creatures of the Indian Ocean		
83	64b	Human-headed fish
Fabulous Creatures of the Persian Sea		
84	66a	Sword-fish (<i>al-kawsaj</i>)
85	66a	Dragon fish (<i>al-tinnīn</i>)
86	66a	Sawfish (<i>al-minshār</i>)
87	66b	Fish with a round body and a long tail
88	66b	Man of Iṣfahān grasping the legs of a huge bird
89	67b	Big fish capable to capsize ships with its tail
90	67b	Owl-faced fish
Islands of the Sea of Zanzibar and Their Inhabitants		
91	68b	Island of Saksār: dog-headed men and the travellers captured by them
92	69a	Island of Saksār: soft-legged people
Fabulous Creatures of the Sea of Zanzibar		
93	69a	Sawfish (<i>al-minshār</i>)
94	69b	Whale (<i>al-bāl</i>)
95	71a	“Old Jew” (<i>al-shaykh al-yahūdī</i>)
96	71b	Big fish making waves (<i>al-baghl</i>)
97	71b	Fish of Mūsā and Joshua (<i>ḥūt Mūsā wa Yūshāʿ</i>)
Fabulous Creatures of the Caspian Sea		
98	73a	Huge dragon (<i>al-tinnīn al-ʿaẓīm</i>)
99	73a	Anūshīrwān encounters a water creature in his dream
Water Creatures (in Arabic alphabetical order)		
100	73b	Rabbit-fish (<i>arnab al-māʿ</i>)
101	74a	Water man (<i>insān al-māʿ</i>)
102	74a	Sea-cow (<i>baqar al-māʿ</i>)
103	74b	Crocodile (<i>al-timsāḥ</i>)
104	75a	Dragon (<i>al-tinnīn</i>)
105	76a	Species of eel (<i>julkā</i>)
106	76a	Dolphin (<i>al-dalfīn</i>)
107	76a	Fish with two heads (<i>al-dūbyān</i>)
108	76b	Blessed fish (<i>al-zāmūr</i>)
109	76b	Sinbas (<i>al-sabufiyās</i>)
110	77a	Crab fish (<i>saratān al-baḥr</i>)
111	77a	Skink (<i>saqanqūr</i>)
112	77b	Tortoise (<i>al-sulḥfa</i>)
113	78b	Ray (<i>al-shifnīn</i>)
114	78b	Sardin (<i>ṣīr</i>)
115	78b	Frog (<i>difdaʿ</i>)
116	79a	Leeches (<i>ʿalaq</i>)
117	79b	Water Horse (<i>faras al-māʿ</i>)
118	80a	Whale (<i>al-qāṭūs</i>)

119	80a	Big fish (<i>qasṣā</i>)
120	80b	Beaver (<i>al-qundur</i>)
121	80b	Sea porcupine (<i>qunfudh al-mā'</i>)
122	81a	Seal (<i>qūqī</i>)
123	81a	Water-dog (<i>kalb al-mā'</i>)
124	81b	Shark (<i>kawsaj</i>)
Sphere of the Earth		
125	83b	Diagram of the climes of the earth (<i>aqālīm al-arḍ</i>)
Mountains		
126	87a	Sculptures of Farhād, Shīrīn, and Khusraw on Mount Bisutūn
Rivers		
127	102a	Nilometer
Vegetable Kingdom		
Trees (in Arabic alphabetical order)		
128	129b	Ebony tree (<i>abnūs</i>)
129	129b	Citron (<i>utruj</i>)
130	130a	Plum tree (<i>ijjāṣ</i>)
131	130a	Meliaceae (<i>azādurajat</i>)
132	130b	Egyptian thorn (<i>umm ghaylān</i>)
133	130b	Turpentine tree (<i>buẓm</i>)
134	131a	Balm tree (<i>balsān</i>)
135	131a	Oak (<i>balluṭ</i>)
136	131b	Apple tree (<i>tuffaḥ</i>)
137	131b	Cone-bearing fir (<i>tannūb</i>)
138	132a	Mulberry tree (<i>tūt</i>)
139	132a	Fig tree (<i>tīn</i>)
140	132b	Sycamore (<i>jummayz</i>)
141	132b	Walnut (<i>jawz</i>)
142	133a	Galingale (<i>khusrūdār</i>)
143	133a	Palma Christi (<i>khirwa'</i>)
144	133b	Egyptian willow (<i>khilāf</i>)
145	133b	Bistort-root (<i>darshayshaghān</i>)
146	133b	Elm tree (<i>darzār</i>)
147	134a	Plane tree (<i>dulb</i>)
148	134a	Laurel (<i>dahmast</i>)
149	134b	Pomegranate (<i>rummān</i>)
150	135a	Olive (<i>zaytūn</i>)
151	135b	Cypress (<i>sarw</i>)
152	136a	Quince (<i>saḡarjal</i>)
153	136a	Sumac (<i>summāq</i>)
154	136a	Egyptian throne (<i>samura</i>)
155	136b	Red juniper (<i>sandarūs</i>)
156	136b	Alum (<i>shabāb</i>)
157	136b	Royal oak (<i>shāhballūṭ</i>)
158	137a	Pine tree (<i>ṣanawbar</i>)
159	137a	Arum (<i>ḍirw</i>)
160	137a	Tamarisk tree (<i>tarfā</i>)

161	137b	Juniper ('ar'ar)
162	137b	Milkweed ('ushar)
163	138a	Gall tree ('aṣṣ)
164	138a	Jujube tree ('unnāb)
165	138b	Service tree (ghubayrā')
166	138b	White poplar (gharab)
167	138b	"Wood of the Cross" (fāwaniyyā)
168	139a	Pistachio (fustaq)
169	139a	Pepper (filfil)
170	139b	Hazelnut (funduq)
171	139b	Boxthorn or elephant gall (fīlzahraj)
172	139b	(?)
173	140a	Clove (qaranful)
174	140a	Reeds (qaṣab)
175	140b	Camphor tree (kāfūr)
176	141a	Vine (karm)
177	141b	Pear tree (kummathrā)
178	141b	Poisonous tree (lāghiya)
179	141b	Juniper gum (lubān)
180	142a	Almond tree (lawz)
181	142b	Apricot tree (mishmish)
182	143a	Banana tree (mawz)
183	143a	Orange tree (nāranj)
184	143a	Coconut tree (nārjīl)
185	143b	Lotus (nabiq)
186	143b	Date palm (nakhl)
187	144a	Rose (ward)
188	144a	Jasmine (yāsamīn)
Plants and Herbs		
189	145a	Mouse-ear (ādhān al-f'ar)
190	145b	Sunflower (adharyūn)
191	145b	Acanthus (idhkhir)
192	145b	Rice (uruzz)
193	145b	Spinach (isfanākh)
194	146a	Wild onion or scallion (isqīl)
195	146a	Thistle (ustarghāz)
196	146a	Plant from which shoemaker's paste is made (ashrās)
197	146a	Alkali-plant (ushnān)
198	146a	Wormwood (afsinīn)
199	146a	Aster or daisy (uḡhuwān)
200	146b	Flax (ukshūt)
201	146b	Chamomile flowers (bābūnj)
202	146b	White thorn (bādāward)
203	146b	Citronella (bādranjbuya)
204	146b	Mountain balm (badūrj)
205	146b	Eggplant (bādīnjān)
206	147a	Fava beans (bāqilā)
207	147a	Dragon's blood (barsiyāwashān)

208	147a	Dungworth (<i>barnajās</i>)
209	147b	Onion (<i>baṣl</i>)
210	147b	Mellon (<i>biṭṭikh</i>)
211	148a	Small onion (not mentioned in the text)
212	148a	Violet (<i>banfasj</i>)
213	148a	Plant-companion of aconite (<i>būdābīsh</i>)
214	148a	Spice (<i>bihār</i>)
215	148b	Aconite (<i>nabīsh</i>)
216	148b	Egyptian bean (<i>tirmis</i>)
217	149a	Millet (<i>jāwars</i>)
218	149a	Water-cress (<i>jirjīr</i>)
219	149b	Turnip (<i>jazar</i>)
220	149b	<i>Hājj</i> plant (<i>hājj</i>)
221	149b	Thyme (<i>ḥāshā</i>)
222	149b	Cress (<i>ḥurf</i>)
223	149b	Artichoke (<i>ḥarshaf</i>)
224	150a	Wild rue (<i>ḥarmal</i>)
225	150a	Prickly plant, <i>tirbulus terrestris</i> (<i>ḥasak</i>)
226	150a	Fenugreek (<i>ḥulba</i>)
227	150a	Chickpea (<i>ḥimmaṣ</i>)
228	150a	Lotus-clover (<i>ḥandaqūq</i>)
229	150b	Wild gourd (<i>ḥanṣal</i>)
230	150b	Wheat (<i>ḥinṭa</i>)
231	151a	Tiger-strangler (<i>khāniq al-nimr</i>)
232	151a	Mallow (<i>khūbazā</i>)
233	151a	Hellebore (<i>kharbaq</i>)
234	151b	Mustard (<i>khardal</i>)
235	151b	Lettuce (<i>khass</i>)
236	152a	Poppy (<i>khashkhash</i>)
237	152a	Fox's testicle or orchis (<i>khuṣā al-tha'lab</i>)
238	152a	Dog's testicle (<i>khuṣā al-kalb</i>)
239	152a	Althaea (<i>khitmi</i>)
240	152a	Matthiola livida (<i>khimkhim</i>)
241	152b	Cucumber (<i>khayār</i>)
242	152b	Flowering plant (<i>khīrī</i>)
243	152b	Donkey's gall (<i>diflā</i>)
244	153a	Fenugreek (<i>rāziyānī</i>)
245	153a	Rhubarb (<i>rībās</i>)
246	153a	Sweet basil (<i>rayḥān</i>)
247	153b	Saffron (<i>za'afrān</i>)
248	153b	Indian spikenard (<i>sādhaj</i>)
249	153b	Rue (<i>sadāb</i>)
250	154a	Chard (<i>silq</i>)
251	154a	Sesame (<i>simsim</i>)
252	154a	Hyacinth (<i>sunbul</i>)
253	154b	Iris (<i>sawsan</i>)
254	154b	Snapdragon (?) (<i>sīsānīn</i>)
255	154b	Fumitory (<i>shāhtaraj</i>)

256	154b	Dill (<i>shabat</i>)
257	155a	Hemlock (<i>shawkrān</i>)
258	155a	Sea lettuce (<i>shubrum</i>)
259	155a	Sowbread or tree of Mary (<i>shajarat Maryam</i>)
260	155a	Barley (<i>sha 'ir</i>)
261	155a	Anemone (<i>shaqā 'iq al-nu 'mān</i>)
262	155b	Turnip (<i>shaljam</i>)
263	155b	Donkey's lettuce or sweet clover (<i>shinjār</i>)
264	155b	Coriander (<i>shūnīz</i>)
265	155b	Wormwood of Pontus (<i>shīḥ</i>)
266	156a	Tares or darnel (<i>shaylam</i>)
267	156a	Thyme or savory (<i>ṣa 'tar</i>)
268	156a	Tarragon (<i>tarkhūn</i>)
269	156a	Artemisia ('abaytharān)
270	156a	Lentils ('adas)
271	156b	Isatis ('izlim)
272	156b	Nightshade ('inab al-tha 'lab)
273	156b	Radish (<i>fuhḥl</i>)
274	157a	Fool's cabbage (<i>farfaj</i>)
275	157a	Cinquefoil (<i>fanjankusht</i>)
276	157b	Mint (<i>fūtanj</i>)
277	157b	Wolf's-bane (<i>qātil al-dhīb</i>)
278	157b	Dog's-bane (<i>qātil al-kalb</i>)
279	157b	Senegal acacia (<i>qatād</i>)
280	158a	Cotton (<i>quṭn</i>)
281	158a	Leadwort (<i>qunābarī</i>)
282	158a	Hemp (<i>qinnab</i>)
283	158a	Cauliflower (<i>qunnabiṭ</i>)
284	158b	Pole root or abrotanum (<i>qayṣūm</i>)
285	158b	Ox's tongue (<i>kāwzabān</i>)
286	158b	Flax (<i>kattān</i>)
287	158b	Leek (<i>kurrāth</i>)
288	159a	Species of pulse (<i>kursanna</i>)
289	159a	Parsley (<i>karfas</i>)
290	159a	Caraway (<i>karawyā</i>)
291	159b	Plant used for exterminating fleas (<i>kakwāsa</i>)
292	159b	Cumin (<i>kammūn</i>)
293	159b	"Pigeon droppings" (<i>kūz kandum</i>)
294	159b	Truffles (<i>kammā ')</i>
295	160a	Ivy (<i>lablāb</i>)
296	160a	Ram's tongue (<i>lisān al-ḥamal</i>)
297	160a	Sparrow's tongue (<i>lisān al-'aṣāfir</i>)
298	160a	Caper tree (<i>laṣaf</i>)
299	160a	Mandrake (<i>luffaf</i>)
300	160b	French bean (<i>lūbiyā</i>)
301	160b	Nymphaea or pond lily (<i>linūfar</i>)
302	160b	Peas (<i>māsh</i>)
303	160b	Spurge (<i>māzariyūn</i>)

304	161a	“Grain of the Kings” (<i>māhūdāna</i>)
305	161a	Plant resembling tarragon (<i>māhizharaj</i>)
306	161a	Mouse-ear (<i>marzanjūsh</i>)
307	161b	Anise (<i>nānjawā'</i>)
308	161b	Narcissus (<i>narjis</i>)
309	161b	Mint (<i>na'na'</i>)
310	162a	Asparagus (<i>hilyawn</i>)
311	162a	Endive (<i>hindibā</i>)
312	162b	Memecylon (<i>wars</i>)
313	162b	Gourd (<i>yaqtīn</i>)
314	162b	Decorative floral design ending the section on Plants and Herbs
Animal Kingdom (in Arabic Alphabetical Order)		
Mounts		
315	187b	Horse (<i>faras</i>)
316	188a	Mule (<i>baghl</i>)
317	188b	Donkey (<i>himār</i>)
318	189b	Onager (<i>himār al-waḥsh</i>)
Domesticated Animals		
319	190b	Camel (<i>ibīl</i>)
320	191a	Cow (<i>baqar</i>)
321	192a	Wild ox (<i>baqar al-waḥsh</i>)
322	192b	Buffalo (<i>jāmūs</i>)
323	193a	Giraffe (<i>zarāfā</i>)
324	193b	Sheep (<i>da'n</i>)
325	194a	Goat (<i>ma'z</i>)
326	194a	Gazelle (<i>al-ḡabī</i>)
327	194b	Deer (<i>al-ayyal</i>)
Wild Animals		
328	195a	Jackal (<i>ibn āwā</i>)
329	195b	Marten (<i>ibn 'irs</i>)
330	196a	Hare (<i>arnab</i>)
331	196b	Lion (<i>asad</i>)
332	197a	Tiger (<i>babir</i>)
333	197b	Fox (<i>tha'lab</i>)
334	198a	Animal with a single horn (<i>ḥarīsh</i>)
335	198a	Wild pig (<i>khinzīr</i>)
336	198b	Bear (<i>dubb</i>)
337	199a	Weasel (<i>dalaq</i>)
338	199b	(?) (<i>karak</i>)
339	200a	Animal resembling an elephant (<i>sinād</i>)
340	200b	Ermine (<i>sinjāb</i>)
341	200b	Cat (<i>sinnūr</i>)
342	200b	An incomplete illustration of a cat
343	201a	Land-cat (<i>sinnūr al-barr</i>)
344	201a	Siren (<i>sīrānis</i>)
345	201b	Unicorn (<i>shādhawār</i>)
346	201b	Hyena (<i>ḡabu'</i>)

347	202a	Lynx (‘anāq)
348	202a	Gazelle (‘anza)
349	202b	Cheetah (fahd)
350	202b	Cheetah (fahd)
351	203a	Elephant (fīl)
352	203b	Monkey (qard)
353	204a	Rhinoceros (karkadann)
354	204b	Dog (kalb)
355	205a	Leopard (namir)
356	205a	Wild ass (yāmūr)
Birds		
357	206a	Finch (abū barāqash)
358	206b	Abū hārūn
359	206b	Goose (iwaz)
360	207a	Sparrow hawk (bāshiq)
361	207a	Parrot (babaghā’)
362	207a	Nightingale (bulbul)
363	207b	Owl (būm)
364	207b	Pheasant (tadruj)
365	207b	Weaver bird (tanūt)
366	208a	“Snake hugger” (ḥaḍnat al-afa’ī)
367	208a	Bustard (ḥubārī)
368	208a	Kite (al-ḥadā’)
369	208b	Pigeon (ḥamāma)
370	209a	Swallow (khaṭṭāf)
371	209a	Bat (khuffāsh)
372	209b	Francolin (durrāj)
373	209b	(?) (khurūs)
374	210a	Hen (dajāj)
375	210b	Vulture (rakhama)
376	210b	Rook (dhāgh)
377	211a	Starling (zurzur)
378	211a	Falcon (zamaḥ)
379	211a	Quail (samānī)
380	211b	Turtle dove (shifnīn)
381	211b	Woodpecker (shaqrāq)
382	211b	Saker (ṣaqr)
383	211b	Sea Bird (tā’ir al-baḥr)
384	212a	Peacock (tāwus)
385	212a	Partridge (ṭayhīj)
386	212a	Sparrow (‘uṣṣūr)
387	212b	Eagle (‘uqāb)
388	213a	Magpie (‘aq‘aq)
389	213a	Fabulous bird (‘anqā’)
390	213b	Crow (ghurāb)
391	214a	Crane (ghurnīq)
392	214a	Diver bird (‘awwās)
393	214b	Ringdove (fākhita)

394	214b	Partridge (<i>qabj</i>)
395	214b	Canary (<i>qumrā</i>)
396	215a	Phoenix (<i>qūgnis</i>)
397	215b	Crane (<i>kurkī</i>)
398	215b	Singing bird (<i>karwān</i>)
399	215b	Stork (<i>laqlaq</i>)
400	216a	Water bird (<i>malik al-ḥazīn</i>)
401	216a	Skylark (<i>mukkā</i>)
402	216a	Vulture (<i>nasr</i>)
403	216b	Ostrich (<i>na'āma</i>)
404	216b	Hoopoe (<i>hudbud</i>)
405	217a	Mountain swallow (<i>waṭwāt</i>)
406	217a	Jerboa (<i>yarā'a</i>)
407	217a	Wild pigeon (<i>ḥamāma</i>)
Reptiles and Insects		
408	218a	Viper (<i>aḥa'ā</i>)
409	219a	Giant snake or dragon (<i>thu'bān</i>)
410	219a	Locust (<i>jarād</i>)
411	219b	Chameleon (<i>ḥirbā</i>)
412	219b	Snake (<i>ḥayya</i>)
413	220b	Earthworms (<i>kharātīn</i>)
414	220b	Dung beetle (<i>khunfasā</i>)
415	221a	Silkworm (<i>dūd al-qazz</i>)
416	221a	Demon rooster (<i>dik al-jinn</i>)
417	221b	Demon rooster (<i>dik al-jinn</i>)
418	222a	Venomous lizard (<i>sāmm abraṣ</i>)
419	222a	Tortoise (<i>sulḥfāh</i>)
420	222b	Fabulous beast (<i>ṣannāja</i>)
421	223a	Lizard (<i>dabb</i>)
422	223a	Skunk (<i>zaribān</i>)
423	223b	Lizard (<i>'izāya</i>)
424	223b	Scorpion (<i>'aqrab</i>)
425	224b	Mouse (<i>fār</i>) or blind mouse (<i>khuld</i>)?
426	224b	Mouse (<i>fār</i>) or blind mouse (<i>khuld</i>)?
427	224b	Mouse (<i>fār</i>) or blind mouse (<i>khuld</i>)?
428	225a	Hedgehog (<i>qunfudh</i>)
429	225b	Bee (<i>naḥl</i>)
Fabulous Beings and Creatures		
430	226a	People with wings and narrow noses
431	226b	Giraffe (<i>al-zarāfa</i>): hybrid creature
432	226b	Cross-breed. Species of a camel
433	227a	Cross-breed of a man and a bear
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436	228a	Cross-breed of a wolf and a hyena
437	228a	Cross-breed of a wolf and a dog
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441	228b	People with human heads and a snake's body
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449	230b	Giant 'Ūj ibn 'Anaq

Notes

1. Manuscript D 370 has already been briefly described in the first issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*. See A. Alikberov & E. Rezvan, "'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt by Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283): 16th-century illuminated manuscript from the St. Petersburg academic collection", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/1 (July 1995), pp. 56–67. See also A. I. Mikhaïlova, *Katalog arabskikh rukopisei Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vyp. 2: Geograficheskie sochineniya* (A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Asian Peoples. Fasc. 2: Geographical Works) (Moscow, 1961) No. 14, pp. 25–6; also A. Khalidov, item No. 24 in Yu. A. Petrosyan, O. F. Akimushkin, A. B. Khalidov and E. A. Rezvan, *Pages of Perfection. Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences. St. Petersburg* (Milan, 1995), pp. 164–71; S. Carboni, "The Arabic manuscripts", *ibid.*, pp. 86–9; E. Rezvan, "Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (1203–1282). 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt", No. 178 in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes dans les arts d'Orient et d'Occident*. Exposition présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe, Paris, du 26 novembre 2002 au mars 2003 (Paris, 2002), p. 215.

2. T. Lewicki, "Al-Qazwīnī", *El*, 2nd edn. For further information about al-Qazwīnī and his works, see *Studies on Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283)*. Collected and reprinted by F. Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 2 vols.

3. V. P. Demidchik, *Zakariya al-Kazwini i zhanr mirobilii v arabskoj literature do XIV veka* (Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī and *Mirabilis Genre* in the Arab Literature before the 14th Century). Doctoral dissertation, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1979.

4. J. A. Badiee, *An Islamic Cosmography: the Illustrations of the Sarre al-Qazwīnī*. PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1978, pp. 23–4; Carboni, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–7.

5. The calligrapher of D 370 here and there made mistakes, which, in some cases, seem to be typical of a person of Persian origin, or used variant readings in the names of the identified objects. For example, fol. 24b — The Milky Way (*al-majarra*), perhaps — *mijma-ra* (the Ara constellation); fols. 60a–60b — The Island of Java (*jazīrat al-zābiḥ*), in several other copies of the work we have two variants — *zānij* and *zābij*; fol. 76b — *sinbas* (*al-sabūfiyās*) probably — *sīnbās*; fol. 130a — *meliaceae* (*azādadraja*), should be *azda-rakht*; fol. 130b — turpentine tree (*buḡm*), should be *buḡm*; fol. 133b — elm tree (*darzār*), should be *dardār*; fol. 153b — rue (*sadāb*), should be *sadhāb*; fol. 158a — cauliflower (*qunniṭ*), should be *qunnabiṭ*; fol. 161b — narcissus (*narkhis*), should be *narjis*; fol. 216b — hoopoe (*hudbud*), should be *hudhud*. In the list of illustrations (see above), the names are given as in the manuscript.

6. For the illustrations in early copies of al-Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt, see Badiee, *op. cit.*; S. Carboni, "The London al-Qazwīnī: an early 14th century copy of the 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt", *Islamic Art*, 3 (1988–1989), pp. 18–27; B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library* (London, 1980), pp. 36–69, 279–95; N. M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: a Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum* (London, 1977), pp. 87–91, 110–5.

7. Mikhaïlova, *op. cit.*, p. 24; see also Petrosyan, Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–71. Stephano Carboni suggests that manuscript E 7 belongs to a sixteenth century Deccani group of illustrated copies of al-Qazwīnī's work, yet only a chemical analysis of colour pigments and paper of the relevant manuscripts could provide definite evidence. See his "Arabic manuscripts" in Petrosyan, Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–9. See also Rezvan, "Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (1203–1282). 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt", No. 179, in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, pp. 216–7.

8. About manuscript E 7 and its relation to the Sarre al-Qazwīnī, as well as to D 370 and other manuscripts, see Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 328–43, illustrations.

9. The description of the miniatures which are examined further in the article is given on the basis of manuscript D370, the manuscript discussed in Badiee, *op. cit.*, and Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt, ed. F. Saab, henceforth al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981).

10. For depicting the planets, the constellations and the signs of the zodiac in other illuminated copies of al-Qazwīnī's work, see Badiee, *op. cit.*, plates 2–19; Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–40, 283; D. Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II: die Handschriften in Arabischer Sprache* (Wien, 1992), T. 1, abb. 109–15; S. Carboni, "Constellations, giants and angels from al-Qazwīnī Manuscripts", *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, 10 (1995), pp. 83–97, figs. 1–5. See also R. Laffite, *Héritages Arabes. Des noms Arabes pour les étoiles* (Paris, 2001).

11. On al-Šūfī's treatise, see E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting XIth — XVIIth Century*, trans. C. M. Binyon (London, 1929), plates XC–XCIII; F. Cağman and Z. Tanindi, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: the Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, trans. J. M. Rogers (London, 1986). O. Vasilieva, "Abū-l-Ḥusayn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Umar aṣ-Šūfī, *Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-thābita*", No. 177, in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes*, p. 214.

12. Badiee (*op. cit.*, pp. 42—3); cf. also F. Saxl, "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident", *Islam*, 3 (1912), pp. 154—5.
13. On the origins of the planets' images, see Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 42—59. The visual representation of the planets with regard to al-Qazwīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* is also discussed in W. Hartner, "Pseudo-planetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconographies", *Ars Islamica*, 5 (1938), pp. 113—54, especially pp. 129, 136—8.
14. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 61; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 61—2.
15. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 64.
16. Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 62—3.
17. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 64; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
18. For the topic of angels in Islam, see S. Murata, "The angels", *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*, ed. S. H. Nasr (New York, 1987), pp. 324—44.
19. The depiction of the "Bearers of the Throne" in the earlier copies of the treatise can be found in Duda, *op. cit.*, ill. 226; see also T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam: a Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture* (New York, 1965), plate XVI.
20. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 100—1; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 83—4.
21. See, for example, the angel Isrāfīl and his trumpet with one wind-pipe in Badiee, *op. cit.*, plate 22. This illustration is also present in R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), p. 178.
22. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 101—2; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 85—6.
23. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 102—3; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
24. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 102; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
25. Cf. the other illustrations of the angels of the Seven Heavens in Badiee, *op. cit.*, plates 26—27; Petrosyan, Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan, *op. cit.*, p. 166; also J. Badiee, "Angels in an Islamic Heaven", *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin*, 24 (1978), pp. 50—9.
26. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 103—4; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 88—9.
27. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 104—5.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 105; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
29. For more information about the sources for the botanical section of al-Qazwīnī's work, see Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 174—80.
30. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 296; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
31. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 291—2; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
32. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 283—4; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 145—6.
33. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 324; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
34. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 317.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 311—2.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 328; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
37. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 312—3; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
38. Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
39. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 335—336.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 323; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
41. For the sources for the zoology section of al-Qazwīnī's work, see Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 218—27.
42. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 456—7; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 203—4.
43. For the bird 'anqā' and its depiction in Islamic art, see E. Baer, *Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art* (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 38—42; also R. Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn* (Washington, 1950), pp. 32—3.
44. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 328; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 190. See also Baer, *op. cit.*, pp. 47—8; Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
45. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 328; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 190. For the image of the Unicorn in Islamic art and for its parallels in other cultures, see Ettinghausen, *op. cit.* See also N. Hathaway, *The Unicorn* (New York, 1980) and H. Mode, *Fabulous Beasts and Demons* (London, 1975), pp. 154—8.
46. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 326; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 62—4.
47. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 478—9; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
48. For a fourteenth-century illustration of the *ṣannāja*, see L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (New York, 1971), plate VI-A. 9(a).
49. Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 113—4.
50. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 470; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 211. For further information about the depiction of dragons in Islamic art, see N. M. Titley, *Dragons in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art* (London, 1981).
51. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 186; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
52. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 154—5; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 111—2.
53. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 154; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
54. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 153; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
55. Cf. the depictions illustrating the same theme in earlier copies of al-Qazwīnī's work in Petrosyan, Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Duda, *op. cit.*, ill. 226.
56. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 167—70; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 115—6.
57. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 173; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
58. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 174.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 178; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
60. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 181—2; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 121—2. For al-Qazwīnī's possible sources for this section, see Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 234—9.
61. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), pp. 491—5; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 228. For al-Qazwīnī's possible sources for this section, see Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 234—9.

62. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 494; Badiee, *op. cit.*, pp. 231—2. We find the story of 'Ūj in the works known as *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* ("Stories of the Prophets"), see R. Milstein, K. Rührdanz and B. Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: illustrated Manuscripts of Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (California, 1999), pp. 83, 131, 191; also N. Brosh, R. Milstein, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting* (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 96—9. Cf. E. J. Grube, *Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century: from Collections in the United States and Canada* (Venice, 1962), p. 55, ill. 40.

63. Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

64. Al-Qazwīnī (Beirut, 1981), p. 492.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 494-495; Badiee, *op. cit.*, p. 233. For the "talking crow" (*zāgh*), see Baer, *op. cit.*, pp. 42—4, ill. 49—50.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"The story of the Dragon island (*jazīrat al-tinnīn*)", miniature from '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* by Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (ca. 1203—1282), manuscript D 370 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 988/1580, Baghdād school, fol. 64 a.

Back cover:

Plate 1. "The giant snake or dragon (*thu'bān*)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 219 a.

Plate 2. "The cat with the wings of a bat, Island of Java (*jazīrat al-zābiḥ*) dweller", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 60 a.

Plate 3. "The old Jew" (*al-shaykh al-yahūdī*), miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 71 a.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. "The fallen Angels (*Hārūt and Mārūt*)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 38 a, 25.1 × 18.7 cm.

Fig. 2. "The sea serpent", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 62 b, 32.8 × 20.2 cm.

Fig. 3. "The mulberry tree (*tūt*)" (above) and "the fig tree (*tīn*)" (below), miniatures in the same manuscript, fol. 132 a, 28.0 × 19.5 cm.

Fig. 4. "The plane tree (*dulb*)" (above) and "the laurel (*dahmasī*)" (below), miniatures in the same manuscript, fol. 134 a, 31.1 × 19.1 cm.

Fig. 5. The service tree (*ghubayrā'*) (above), "the white poplar (*gharab*)" (below left), and "the wood of the Cross" (*fāwaniyyā*) (below right), miniatures in the same manuscript, fol. 138 b, 29.2 × 22.4 cm.

Fig. 6. "The animal resembling an elephant (*sinād*)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 200 a, 33.5 × 18.8 cm.

Fig. 7. "The magpie ('*aq'aq*') (above) and "the fabulous bird ('*anqā'*') (below), miniatures in the same manuscript, fol. 213 a, 25.6 × 19.1 cm.

Fig. 8. "The fabulous beast (*ṣannāja*)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 222 b, 24.9 × 18.8 cm.

Fig. 9. "The giant 'Ūj ibn 'Amaq", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 230 b, 33.5 × 18.8 cm.

BOOK REVIEWS

Der Fuchs in Kultur, Religion und Folklore Zentral- und Ostasiens. Teil I. Herausgegeben von Hartmut Walravens. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001, X, 203 pp.

There has always been a great interest in how different animals are represented in folk literature and folk beliefs. The fox is one of the widespread characters of folk tales all over the world. In an Introduction (pp. IV—X), Hartmut Walravens, the editor of the volume, goes so far as to use the word “foxlore” to show how rich materials on the fox are and how vast the field of research is. He says that the idea of such a study first visited him at the International Congress of Orientalists in 1997. The result is a two-volume edition (the second volume is now in print), which covers different regions and different approaches to the theme.

The book under review is a collection of articles written by nine authors who examine the role of the fox in Mongolian, Tuvian, Turkic and Manchurian cultures. The second volume is devoted to materials from East Asia. Being gathered under one cover, the articles present, in effect, a single multifaceted view of the fox, showing a lot of common and many special features of the treating of this character in different cultures.

The bibliography of the topic is given by Hartmut Walravens (Berlin) in his “Der Fuchs in Zentral- und Ostasien — und anderwärts. Eine Auswahlbibliographie” (pp. 1—17). The bibliography includes not only works on folklore, literature, art, etc., but also some writings on biology, fox-hunting and fox-breeding, as well as books for children.

“Marginalien zur Fuchsgestalt in der mongolischen Überlieferung” (pp. 17—34) by Walter Heissig (Rheinböllen) shows how three existing fox images appear in folk literature. The first is the image of a cunning creature that not only plays tricks on other animals and people but even on the chief deity Hormusta. The second is the image of a beautiful lady whom the fox can transform into. It is possible, but not proved yet, that this character undergone Chinese influence as early as the Tang period. The fact that the fox is an object of incense offering seems to prove that. The existence of such an offering may reflect the mode of life of the Mongols as hunters. In his article, the author presents a Tibetan text dealing with incense offerings to the fox. A facsimile of the text, which is probably a translation from Mongolian, is also given (pp. 23—34).

Agnes Birtalan's (Budapest) “A survey of the fox in Mongolian folklore and folk belief” (pp. 35—88) is partly based on fieldwork materials collected by the author during

her expedition to Western Mongolia. In an Appendix (pp. 52—88), the author provides a phonetic transcription of five original tales about the fox. The author states that in Mongolian folklore the fox appears to fulfill seven functions, mostly similar to those in world folklore. The fox may be an ill omen, tabooed animal, messenger of the underworld, astral phenomenon, transforming fox-fairy, trickster, and amulet. Agnes Birtalan clarifies and illustrates each of these roles by valuable folklore material. The author points to the existence of two layers in fox-beliefs: the first layer (the original one) demonstrates the fox as an ill omen for hunters and travellers, and the second (of later origin) is linked with the fox's ability to transform.

The article entitled “Incense offering of the fox in Oirat script” (pp. 59—73) by J. Coloo (Ulan Bator) is a publication of an Oirat manuscript from the collection of the Linguistic Institute of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. After presenting some observations on the collection of Mongolian and Oirat manuscripts kept at the Institute, as well as their outstanding collectors and researchers, the author provides information about the manuscript. It bears the title *Ünegeñ-ü sang sudur orosibai*. The text representing “a sutra of folk religion”, as J. Coloo puts it, is given in English translation (by Alice Šárközi). A full transliteration of the text is also given (pp. 63—72). The author explains how this text was used during the purification ceremonies. This publication introduces into scholarly circulation one more *ünegeñ-ü sang* manuscript, making it accessible to specialists.

An article “An incense offering of the fox” (pp. 75—148) by Alice Šárközi (Budapest) and Aleksei Sazykin (St. Petersburg) is devoted to three other *ünegeñ-ü sang* manuscripts (two of them have not been known hitherto). The three manuscripts belong to the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences). The texts present new variants unknown hitherto. The publication includes a facsimile, transcription (by A. Sazykin) and a commented English translation of all the three manuscripts. A comparative Table of these texts is also given modelled after the table that was carried out earlier by Prof. Heissig for other texts of the *ünegeñ-ü sang* genre. The Table provided in the article is very helpful to the comparison of all the existing versions. The article also contains a facsimile of the texts. It would not be an exaggeration to say that this article is a valuable contribution to the study of the *ünegeñ-ü sang* texts as a whole.

Erica Taube (Leipzig) in her “Der Fuchs. Von der altai-tuwinischen Tradition zum zentralasiatisch-sibirischen Kon-

text" (pp. 149—178) examines the fox as this animal appears in ethnological material, in folk tales, and myths. She also considers the fox as an object of offerings. The author's profound study, based on rich Siberian and Central Asian materials, enables the author to make an interesting conclusion: originally, the fox and the hedgehog may have been equally revered by the peoples of Siberia. Of those two the fox, however, gradually became an embodiment of evil forces.

"The fox in Turkic proverbs" (pp. 179—186) by Claudia Römer (Vienna) starts with the author's preliminary observations concerning the types of proverbs and their significance as a suitable source for the study of the fox's role in Turkic folk culture. The proverbs show the fox a sly, flattering, and clever animal. In the proverbs, the fox is often compared to other animals, such as lions, dogs, and wolves. Each of twenty-four proverbs the author cites is supplied with commentaries and notes on the way the fox functions within the world of Turkic folk culture and outside it. The material collected by Claudia Römer shows how intricate the ways of the subject's migration were.

The contribution of Käthe Uray-Köhalmi (Budapest) — "Der Fuchs und seine Doppelgänger in der Folklore der tungusischen Völker" (pp. 187—196) — specifies the role of the fox in the folklore of the Tungus who believe the fox to be firstly a trickster. (In mythology the fox is, however, the shaman's wise assistant.) The author divides all fox-stories into three groups depending on who the victim of the fox's tricks is and gives a synopsis of some stories. The

author points out that sometimes in Tungus folklore other animals, for example, a sabre or birds like an owl, appear to be cleverer than the fox, and the latter is shown not the only animal capable to deceive. This detailed article will be helpful to all those engaged in the studies on Manchu folklore in general.

In his article "The fox in Sibe-Manchu culture" (pp. 197—203), Giovanni Sary (Venice) briefly considers the content and gives a transcription of two Sibe folk tales. The first bears the title *Sibe niyalma ainu dobe be juktembi?* ("Why do the Sibe offer sacrifices to the fox?"). The second is with no title. Both were borrowed by the author from a collection of Sibe folk tales published in eleven-volume edition entitled *Sibe uksurai irgen siden jube* ("Folk Tales of the Sibe People") in Sibe in Urumči between 1984 and 1992. The tales contain an explanation of "the position the fox occupied in the supernatural world of ancient Sibe society" (p. 199). They also explain why the fox is considered a bad omen by the Sibe. Being published in Sibe these tales would be hardly available for scholars but for this valuable contribution of Prof. Giovanni Sary. The article contains a transliteration of both folk tales (pp. 199—203).

To sum up, the volume under review is an important and valuable contribution to the comparative study of Central Asia folklore.

N. Yakhontova

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Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3