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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS:  
DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

A. Alekseev

MAḤMŪD B. AMĪR WALĪ AND HIS BAḤR AL-ASRĀR

I. The data about the biography and the works of Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī

Most part of Muslim writings has been authorised, and *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār* is no exception. The author of this voluminous work on the world history and geography is Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī. The information about the author that we possess is fragmentary and is obtained from his work in which the material is scattered confusedly. Most of the data on Maḥmūd b. Walī's biography is contained in the chapter dedicated to his travel to India [1].

In the first volume of his work he calls the Farghānā valley the motherland of his ancestors. His father Amīr Walī originated from the Farghānā Kāsān (at present the Kāsān region of the Namanghān oblast' of the Republic of Uzbekistān) and came from the family of Sa'īd Aḥmad Khwāja b. Sa'īd Jalāl al-Dīn Kāsānī (d. btw. 949—56 / 1542—9), a prominent theologian of the 10th/16th century. Amīr Walī himself was considered a very educated man. He is the author of a number of poetic works which he wrote under a literary pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) "Mīr Khislat". The title *amīr* proves to his noble origin [2]. According to Maḥmūd b. Walī, his father had moved to Balkh — the home town of the author — during the reign of Shīrbānīd Pīr-Muḥammad-khān I (953—74 / 1546—67) [3].

The exact year of birth of Maḥmūd b. Walī is not mentioned, but it can be calculated according to the following data: Maḥmūd b. Walī mentions that at the age of 19 he became a pupil (*murīd*) of a famous *shaykh* theologian Mīrak-shāh al-Ḥusaynī [4] and remained with him for 9 years, i. e. until the death of Mīrak-shāh, which was in the last day of the month of jumādā II 1033 / April, 18th, 1624. Thus, he became *shaykh*'s student in 1023/1614, and so Maḥmūd b. Walī was born in 1004/1595—6. We must also mention the fact that Mīrak-shāh and Maḥmūd b. Walī were relatives, as the future historian and writer's sister was his teacher's wife.

Mīrak-shāh obviously possessed a large library, as Maḥmūd b. Walī wrote that while serving his teacher he had managed to get familiar with numerous works on history, literary theory, historical geography, among which he distinguished the works by Ibn al-Faqīh, Muqaddasī,

al-Iṣṭakhrī, Zakariyyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, Banākafī, Waṣṣāf, Rashīd al-Dīn, Juwaynī and Mīrkhānd, who we will refer to later in connection with the sources of *Baḥr al-asrār* [5].

Maḥmūd b. Walī began his literary activity when he was still a *murīd*. By Mīrak-shāh al-Ḥusaynī's order he wrote a Ṣūfī tractate *Rawā'ih-i ṭayyiba* ("Delicate Aroma") which, as well as all his other works except *Baḥr al-asrār* has not preserved until our days [6].

After his teacher's death Maḥmūd b. Walī left the abode and went travelling to enrich and deepen his education. With a caravan of merchants going to India he arrived to Delhī in the month of shawwāl 1034 / June—July 1625 through Kābul, Peshāwar and Lāhawr (Lahore). Having visited Delhī, he set off to Ḥilālābād, then to Āgrā, Allāhābād and Banāras (Benares). After the visit to the city of Ṭayyib, the centre of the Bīkhār province, Maḥmūd b. Walī went to Ceylon on aboard a Portuguese ship. The ship got into a storm and together with the crew and the passengers it was cast ashore in the mouth of Ganges. Maḥmūd b. Walī was captured by the Great Mughals, and his fate could have been a sad one if he hadn't found a patron among one of the local feudal lords — Bāqī-khān b. Muṣṭafā-bek. Bāqī-khān detained our author during two years. It was to him that Maḥmūd gave his work called *Risālat-i Bīkhāriyya* ("The Bīkhār Tractate") which he had completed in Golkondā. In captivity Maḥmūd b. Walī led quite a well-to-do life, was engaged in literary activity and participated in poetic contests (*munāzara*). Such treatment of a noble and educated captive was quite natural. Many rulers eagerly attracted scholars and writers to their courts, thus raising the prestige of their lands. Besides, scholars, and especially writers and historians were carriers of a powerful ideological weapon — the artistic word — which they could turn for as well as against this or that ruler.

In the beginning of 1037/1628 he was set free and in the same year moved to Āgrā, where he was warmly welcomed by the Great Mughal Shāh Jahān. In the following year Maḥmūd b. Walī went home through Panjāb. On his

way he had to stay in the fortress of Bigār where he completed his work on the poetic tractate *Akhlāq-i Husaynī* ("Husayn's Ethics"), which exceeded six thousand *bayts* [7].

On the whole, Maḥmūd b. Walī's travel lasted for seven years. Later he will describe his travels in a special chapter of *Baḥr al-asrār* [8]. In every place he went he took interest in the local places of note, talked to educated people, experts in olden days and merchants and travellers who came from far away [9].

In 1040/1630, having received a lot of impressions, he returned to Balkh. As well as his father Maḥmūd b. Walī was invited to the court. Approximately a year after his return, Aṣṭarkhānīd Nādir-Muḥammad-khān (the ruler of Balkh in 1018—52 / 1608—42; then the *khān* of Bukhārā in 1052—5 / 1642—5; the ruler of Balkh for the second

## II. Copies of *Baḥr al-asrār*

The main work of Maḥmūd b. Walī and, unfortunately, the only one preserved is *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār* ("The Sea of Mysteries Concerning Noble Persons"). *Baḥr al-asrār* is a huge compendium consisting of seven volumes (*mujallads*), four sections (*ruknas*) in each volume. The work is missing an introduction and the final chapter, while the sixth volume has its own conclusion.

According to its contents, *Baḥr al-asrār* is a substantial work of encyclopaedic character on cosmography, medicine, geography and world history. Unfortunately, the work of Maḥmūd b. Walī has not preserved *in corpore*. Only separate parts of different volumes have preserved which are kept in various collections in different cities, countries and continents. For a long time this work was in oblivion, and was returned from it by the academician V. V. Bartol'd (1869—1930). As early as in 1899 he familiarised himself with the manuscript of the fourth part of the sixth volume which is kept in the London collection of the India Office library. Bartol'd immediately attached great importance to *Baḥr al-asrār* as a historical source and copied big extracts from the book, which resulted in a big article in a collection dedicated to the 70th birthday of N. Potanin called "Ceremonial at the court of Uzbek *khāns*" [12]. The first scientific description of *Baḥr al-asrār* was presented by V. V. Bartol'd a little later, in 1904 in the article "Report about the trip to Turkestan" [13]. He found the work by Maḥmūd b. Walī in the collection of oriental manuscripts of

"Jurabek's copy", call No. 7418

We must point to the fact that the question of identification of MS 7418 has not been decided yet [14]. This is an incomplete manuscript which contains the first, the second and the third *ruknas* of the work. The handwriting is small *nasta'liq*, quite slipshod. The analysis of the handwriting

Call No. 1385

This manuscript is also incomplete (302 folios). It contains only the second and the third *ruknas* of the sixth volume. Palaeographical data allows to say that it was copied in the 12/18th century. The narration in this copy begins from the description of plots which refer to the intrusion of

time in 1055—8 / 1648—51) granted him the position of the head of the *khān's* library (*kitābdār*) [10].

Maḥmūd b. Walī was quite a versatile man; apart from the above mentioned works, he was also the author of other poetic works: *Maḥabbat-nāma* ("Book about Love"), *Najm-i sākib* ("Meteor"), as well as a *diwān* of *ghazals* and *qaṣīdas*. His main and only historical work which has preserved to our days, *Baḥr al-asrār* is decorated with numerous poetic fragments and it is possible, that some of them belong to its author. As the *takhalluṣ* of Maḥmūd b. Walī is unknown, their attribution is impossible.

Little is known about the last years of Maḥmūd b. Walī. Basing on the analysis of the materials of *Baḥr al-asrār*, we can infer that he spent the last period of his life in Bukhārā at the court of Nādir-Muḥammad-khān. The year of death of our author is also unknown [11].

the Major-general Jurabek, due to which this copy received a non-official name "Jurabek's manuscript". First Bartol'd took this copy for an independent work. However, in the course of further research it was established that the manuscript only contains fragments of the second, the third and the final part (*rukna*) of the second volume of the book. Thus, as early as in the beginning of the 20th century all four parts of the sixth volume were known to scholars: the first is the history of the descendants of Chinghiz-khān in China and Iran; the second is the history of the Chaghatā'ids; the third is the history of the Jūchīds, mostly the Shībānīds; the fourth is the history of the descendants of the thirteenth son of Jūchī, Tuqāy-Timūr.

Due to the work on systematisation and generalisation of the information on the manuscript heritage of Central Asia which was carried out in all large centres for oriental studies in Russia in the 1920s—1940s, it became possible to introduce into the scientific circles a large number of works and to discover new manuscript copies of the already known works. Among the newly gained manuscripts were copies of *Baḥr al-asrār*. A. Z. Validov, A. A. Semēnov, and others played a big part in this process. As most of the copies of the work by Maḥmūd b. Walī is kept in the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Tāshkent, it is this collection that we shall start our presentation of manuscripts from:

shows that several people were involved in copying, obviously not professional calligraphers, but lovers of olden days or historical works. Punctuation in a number of places is disturbed which complicates reading and deciphering of some names and toponyms.

the troops by Chaghatā'īd Borāq-khān (r. 633—68 / 1265—9—70) into Khurāsān and their battle with the army of the *ilkhān* Ābāq-khān (r. 663—80 / 1265—82). When compared with MS 7418 it turned out that this copy is missing 151 folios, but it has the conclusion (*khātima*) which tells

about Turkic-Mongolian tribes, the ceremonial at the court of Aṣṭarkhānīd Nādir-Muḥammad-khān and about the travel of Maḥmūd b. Walī in India [15]. Several folios are also missing in the end of the manuscript. What concerns the architectonics of this copy, it is quite close to the photo-

Call No. 1375

A copy of the MS 1385 was made. It was made by the former researcher of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR 'Ibādullāh-kh<sup>w</sup>āja

Call No. 2372

As it follows from what has been said above, manuscript No. 2372 is also incomplete. It consists of 412 folios. This copy contains the first volume, i. e. the geographical part of this work and the tractate on mineralogy. The manuscript is quite big in size (27×31.5 cm) and has a number of defects. The copy is missing the end of the introduction (*fātiḥa*) and a number of folios from the fourth *rukna*. At the same time, there is a sufficient number of blank folios which must have been meant for illustrations and sketches. The copy is made on grey Khoqand paper in black and red ink. More than twenty people were involved in making this

Call No. 6842

In Khoqand, in the collection of manuscripts of *mullā* Rāji, the *imām* of the mosque Kūr-khān, another copy of the work by Maḥmūd b. Walī was found. This copy is also incomplete, it contains the second, the third and some chap-

ters of the fourth *ruknas* of the work, mostly those which refer to the organisation of the Jūchīd *ulus* and the location of Uzbek tribes in it. This manuscript also contains a chapter about Maḥmūd b. Walī's travel around India [18].

Call No. FV 258

Two copies of *Baḥr al-asrār* are kept in the collection of the SPIOS in the form of a photocopy (FV 258, the old call No. FV 82), a microfilm (FV 337) and a xerocopy of this microfilm (FV 257). As we have already said above, the question of the identification of the copy 7418 has not been answered yet. For a long time the photocopy FV 258 was equated with the "Jurabek's copy", which is totally wrong. Let us look at these materials:

The photocopy is made from the incomplete manuscript (327 folios). It contains the following parts of the work: the second part of the sixth volume (*rukna-i duvvom*) — fols. 1a—94b; the third part of volume six (*rukna-i sevjom*) — fols. 95a—29b [19]; the final part of volume six (*khātima*) — fols. 1b—31b (296a—325b). Each page of the photocopy shows a double folio (folios b—a) of the text of the manuscript except fols. 237b—238a. Fols. 1a—237b are positives, fols. 238b—282b are negatives, from folio 282b and to the end of the photocopy all folios are positives.

The copyist of this manuscript is unknown. On the reverse side there is a stamp "Asiatic museum. 1818.", then there is a stamp with the inventory and the call number (1992 No. 438; FV 258). The handwriting is *naskh*. Corrections and interpolations are made over the main text as well as on the margins on the left and on the right. The interpolations are marked with the letter *sin* and the insertion sign in the main text to which they refer. Several folios contain inscriptions on the margins made in large, unsteady handwriting which must be a child's one. It seems that someone was learning to write on the margins of the manuscript.

copy from the collection of the SPIOS — FV 258, but due to the difference in the number of folios, the format and the lack of coincidence of lacunas this copy and the St. Petersburg photocopy, which we will refer to later, can not be viewed as identical.

Adylov (1872—1944). The work on this copy was completed on October, 25th, 1933 [16].

copy, which is a rare case for quite a small manuscript. Their names are given on the margins: *damullā* Muḥammad Sharīf, Muḥammad Sharīf *munajjim*, *mullā* Muḥammad Ajza, *mullā* Abū al-Faḍl Badrī, Kāmil-Makhdūm *mudarris*, *mullā* Imām Badal-bek, *damullā* Tamkīn *mudarris*, etc. This explains the fact that the *nasta'liq* handwriting in which this copy is made is very different. The manuscript contains no date, but according to the palaeographical data, we can assume that it was copied in the end of the 12/18th—beginning of the 19th century [17].

ters of the fourth *ruknas* of the work, mostly those which refer to the organisation of the Jūchīd *ulus* and the location of Uzbek tribes in it. This manuscript also contains a chapter about Maḥmūd b. Walī's travel around India [18].

On the title-folio there are several poetic fragments, one of which obviously belongs to Maḥmūd b. Walī, and the other — to the founder of the Shībānīds' state in Mā Warā' al-Nahr Muḥammad Shaybānī-khān (r. 905—914/1501—10). The attribution of other poetic fragments is still impossible. Except the quatrain by Muḥammad Shaybānī, which is written in the Chaghatāy language, all fragments are written in Central Asian Persian language. The introduction is missing. The poetic fragments are followed with an account of events connected with the rule of *ilkhān* Ābāq-khān.

In the course of work with this copy, the results of which have been partially published, we have come to the conclusion that this manuscript has nothing to do with the "copy of Jurabek" kept in Tāshkent and is an independent copy [20]. The photocopy is most similar to the manuscript under the call No. 1385 from the collection of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, but because of the different number of folios, different formats and the lack of coincidence of gaps, these copies can not be viewed as identical.

Call No. FV 337

This is a microfilm of the London manuscript from the India Office Library which was received by O. F. Akimushkin, a researcher from the Leningrad Branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies in the middle of the 1970s. For the convenience of usage a paper copy of the microfilm was made and bound into two volumes kept under the call No. FV 257. Since then the materials of this part have been put into the scientific circulation by the efforts of T. I. Sultanov, A. M. Makeev, O. F. Akimushkin, etc.

Almost simultaneously with academician Bartold's work, *Baḥr al-asrār* was studied in Britain. In 1903 a work by a British specialist in oriental studies H. Ethe "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office" [21] was published which contains a description of the London copy of *Baḥr al-asrār* (call No. 575 (new) or 1496 (old)), whose paper copy we used while writing the present work. According to Ethe who based on the analysis of the monument's material, the manuscript was copied by Shāh Kāzīm, a court penman Nādir-Muḥammad-khān. The manuscript was made in the lifetime of this Ashṭarkhānid ruler. This is proved by the line which follows the *khān*'s name:

خلد الله ملكه الى يوم الدين

"Let the Allah prolong his domain and reign until the Judgment Day" [22].

Such formula is always used after the name of a living ruler (unlike the formula *raḥimahu Allāh* which means that this or that man had long passed away). The manuscript is copied in a delicate *nasta'liq*. The first two folios are decorated with a golden edging. The format of the manuscript is big — 37×23 cm. This is practically all information that Ethe gives [23].

We can add several very important details to this description based on the copy of the manuscript from the SPIOs (FV 257). First of all, we must point to the high quality of copying. The number of interpolations in the text is insufficient and they are of fragmentary character. The copyist did not stick to any concrete system of text correction. Notes and additions can be found on the margins, on the right and on the left of the frame which separates the main text from the margins as well as between the lines. On folio 1b there is a colophon which contains the following inscription:

"The Meccan *sūra* 'Cave' and [in it] one hundred and ten *āyāt*" [24].

Five folios of the manuscript are blank (fols. 58a, 90b, 123b, 158b, 274b). The titles of some chapters (*dāstān*) are marked out. However, most chapters are not divided from the main text. The ends of some chapters are marked with the word "finished" (*tammāt*). The *ḥafīzes* are missing. The text of the copy begins with the following words:

ارتفاع اعلام ظفر فرجم مواكب كواكب احتشام خوانين نقای تیموری

"Announcing the news about the final victory of the *khāns* from Tuqāy-Tīmūr family who posses the lucky combination of magnificent constellations".

Apart from the information given above, we must say that the photocopy of the manuscript which we have been using contains pagination. We have failed to determine when and by whom it was made, but it contains a mistake — fols. 78b—79a are mixed and folio 78b is numbered twice which causes the divergence with the microfilm of this copy which is also kept in the SPIOs.

The London copy contains some indication of the dating of *Baḥr al-asrār* the question of which has not been solved yet. We can be certain only about the date when the order was received from Nādir-Muḥammad-khān which is mentioned by the author in the introduction to the fourth part of the sixth volume. The text of the order formula is the following (fol. 3a):

چون آفتاب رای جهانارایش که خریدار فضل و طلبکار بزاقت هنر است در سنه هزار و چهل و چهار واقع اواسط در مهر و ماه الهی مطابق غره رابع الثاني پرتو التفات بر ریاض عظیمت مصمم و نمناء محده انداخته بی قدمت خدمتی و سببیه عبودیتی بنده مخلص محمود بن ولی را به واسطه تالیف و تصنیف مأمورات حالی و ماضی مشمول مواجب نعم و مطلوب سہانتب کرم گردانید مضی الله ظل بقاءہ الى الابد.

"As the sun of the world-decorating contemplation which is the buyer of wisdom and the creditor of the richness of arts, in the year of 1044 in the middle of the seventh month of the year of the sun which coincides with the first day of the month of *rābi' al-thānī*, having wrapped the garden of determined intention and well-ordered request with the radiance of benevolence, rendered mercy regarding the service which has no statute of limitation and the former submission of the loyal slave Maḥmūd b. Walī [having laid to his charge], writing and compilation [of a narrative] about the deeds of the past and the present which contain the gifts of welfare and the rain from the clouds of generosity. Let the Allah prolong forever the shelter of his [i. e. that of Nādir-Muḥammad-khān — A. A.] existence".

As it follows from this abstract, Maḥmūd b. Walī received the order to compile *Baḥr al-asrār* on the 1st of *rābi' II* 1044 / 24th of September 1634. In other words, we know the date of the beginning of his work on this writing [25].

The fact that we do not know not only the date but also the year of the completion of the work on this monument is partly due to the author himself. Thus, Maḥmūd b. Walī mentions that the account of events of 1040—4/1630—5 was added later; at the same time in the third *rukṅ* of the work there is a reference to 1049/1639—40 which makes the statement of the author rather doubtful. B. A. Ahmedov sticks to the idea that the work was completed in the period between 1040 and 1044/1630 and 1635 [26]. But this opinion is also hard to agree with not only due to the reference to the events of 1639—40, but also due to the reference to fol. 93a of the London copy. When telling about the circumstances of the accession to the throne of Imām-Qulī-khān which took place in 1019/1612 Maḥmūd b. Walī says about the division of territories between brothers co-rulers Imām-Qulī and Nādir-Muḥammad. The following statement follows the agreement between the *khāns* (fol. 93a):

امروز که سنین سلطنت خوانین به بیست و شش سال رسیده همان عهد و وفای و پیمان اتفاق مأسس و موکد است بلکه روز به روز آن بناء قویم و اساس مستحکم در مراسم اتفاق و استحکام پیر است.

"Now when the [joint] rule of the *khāns* reached 26 years, agreement not only did not weaken, but, on the contrary, the [building] of this union was becoming more and more strong and fortified".

For us the main word here is *imrūz* ("today") which proves to the fact that Maḥmūd b. Walī was talking about the present, i. e. the time when he was still working on his work. If we add 26 years to 1019 we get 1045/1635—6. Basing on the fact that the London copy is the author's copy which consists of 407 folios, we can assume that in 1635—6 Maḥmūd b. Walī could not have finished his work, as the materials of this volume are an authentic part of the monument and are quite voluminous (more than 300 folios) [27]. Also, it is often forgotten that the sixth volume is not the last in this work. From the author's plans we know that he was going to write the seventh volume dedicated to Tīmūr and his descendants which was also going to consist of four *rukṅas* [28].

Apart from the above mentioned copies, in one of the private collections of Peshāwar there was another copy of *Baḥr al-asrār* about which there is little information and its present fate is unknown [29]. This copy is mentioned in a work by an Afghānī researcher Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Kūhgadāyā [30].

Thus, researchers have at their disposal the following sections:

From the first volume — the introduction, *rukṅ* 3, *rukṅ* 4 (copy under the call No. 2372 of the Institute for

### III. The sources of *Baḥr al-asrār*

Throughout the whole work Maḥmūd b. Walī turns to various sources. Taking into account the compilation character of his work, such approach seems quite natural. Due to his educational background and his lifestyle, Maḥmūd b. Walī mastered the Arabic, the Persian and the *Chaghatāy* languages. We can say that all of them were his mother tongues. The absence of the "language barrier" allowed him to use a wide range of historical-geographical works, most probably all he could find in the collections available to him.

In the Arabic-Muslim historical tradition strict rules of quotation from different materials were developed quite early. These rules obliged a historian to indicate the author's full name, all titles of the quoted work known to him if there were several. The beginning and the end of each quotation had to be marked. When translating the quoted fragments a historian had to be as precise as possible not to distort the idea expressed by another author. Of course, in practice such strict rules were never observed. In most cases only the authors' names were mentioned, often in the form of *nisba* or *takhalluṣ* and the colloquial title of the quoted work. These factors complicate the attribution of a number of works which were used by this or that Muslim author. Partly this is also true concerning *Baḥr al-asrār*. However, in Maḥmūd b. Walī's work a certain system can be traced. When working with his sources Maḥmūd b. Walī mentions the name of the author of a work or his *takhalluṣ*. When

Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan); nothing has preserved from volumes two to five; from the sixth volume all four *rukṅas* are available — *rukṅ* 1 (copy under the call No. 7418 of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan), *rukṅ* 2 (copies under the call Nos. 7418, 1385, 1375 of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan; FV 258 of the SPIOs); *rukṅ* 3 (copies under the call Nos. 7418, 1385, 1375 of the *Khoqand* Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan; FV 258 of the SPIOs); *rukṅ* 4 — (*Khoqand*, No. 575 of the London India Office; FV 337, FV 257 of the SPIOs). The seventh volume and the conclusion have not been found.

Summing it up, we can say that at present in various manuscript collections there are seven copies of *Baḥr al-asrār* none of which is complete. They vary in their volume and the time of copying. Except manuscript No. 2372 of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, they all contain different parts of the sixth volume. This can only be explained by the existence of a social order for this particular fragment of the work. The sixth volume is dedicated to the *Chinghizids* who ruled on a big part of the Eurasian space at the time when this work was created as well as much later (the Crimean, Kazakh, *Khīwa*, *Bukhārā*, *Balkh* and the Yarkend *khānates*). It is this circumstance that attracted interest in this particular part of the work. Another reason for such rapt attention to the sixth volume is the fact that it contains the largest number of original, independent sections, while most part of Maḥmūd b. Walī's work is, as we have already mentioned above, of compilation character and rests on a large number of sources, most of which are well-known.

quoting a source he uses the term *ṣāḥib* with regard to its author, for example:

صاحب تاریخ رشیدی میرزا محمد حیدر چنین گوید...

"The author of *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar [Dūghlāt] says the following..." [31].

For comparison, when Maḥmūd b. Walī speaks from the first person, he uses two terms: *rāqīm* (scrivener) and *muṣannif* (compiler) [32].

Relatively, all sources can be divided into four big groups: (i) written sources on history, culture, literature and geography; (ii) information which Maḥmūd b. Walī received from the participants or witnesses of events, messengers and merchants in the verbal form; (iii) observations and travel notes of the author himself; (iv) people's rumours.

The first group of sources is the largest one. It contains works in the Arabic, Persian and Turkic languages (about 100 titles). The works of Arabic authors are mostly dedicated to geography which was developed actively throughout the whole history of the Arabic world. Persian and Turkic works are of historic character.

According to the author himself, he familiarised himself with the works by al-Ṭabarī, Raṣhīd al-Dīn, Waṣṣāf, Yā'qūt and other classic writers of the Arabic-Muslim his-

toric and geographical literature while working in the library of Mīrak-shāh al-Ḥusaynī.

Madmud b. Walī often had no opportunity to check his informants, and, if necessary, he just copied fragments from certain works. Let us give some examples. Thus, when working with *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī* large fragments were compiled. A big reference to this work can be found on fol. 46b. The whole of chapter 40 from the copy FV 258 is compiled from *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī* [33]. This is a story about Mīrzā Ḥaydar's travel to Tibet and Badakhshān with a detailed description of the itinerary and interesting information about the population of these areas. The copyist of the manuscript FV 258 must have not understood a number of toponyms and ethnic names, thus, their reconstruction is only possibly if one refers to a copy of *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī*. The information about Tibet from *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī* was thoroughly studied by Prof. T. I. Sultanov [34].

The next chapter of *Baḥr al-asrār* "Dāstān-i khurūj-i Chaghatāy az Hindūstān wa istīlā'-yi Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar dar Kashmīr" ("The Description of the Chaghatāy's March from Hindūstān and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar's Conquest of Kashmīr") is also adopted completely from the second *daftar* of *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī*. Mīrzā Ḥaydar must have had great authority in the eyes of Maḥmūd b. Walī. He often treated the materials of *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī* very uncritically, although the information about the first rulers of Moghulistān is very contradictory and confused in Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work. Thus, for example, in *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī* a Mongolian *khān* Tughluq-Tīmūr is referred to Isan-Buqa-khān's son, although the latter had died long before he was born. In *Zafar-nāma* by Yazdī which was used by both authors, Tughluq-Tīmūr is referred to as Īmīl (Ī)-kh<sup>w</sup>āja b. Dūwa-khān's son. Maḥmūd b. Walī simply combined the names of these two rulers and wrote that Īl-kh<sup>w</sup>āja was known as Isan-Buqa [35].

When working on the plots connected with the fight between Tīmūr and Toqtamish, Maḥmūd b. Walī turned to Yazdī's work and adopted large fragments from it. The compilatory character of this work is proved not only by the material itself but also by stylistic differences.

In a number of cases specialists do not have a unanimous opinion concerning the author's reference to this or that work. The use by Maḥmūd b. Walī of Ḥāfīz-i Tānīsh b. Mīr Muḥammad Bukhārī's work *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī* has more than one been subject of discussion [36]. In the course of comparative analysis of both works, V. V. Bartol'd found out that Maḥmūd b. Walī had used *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī* although he never referred to this work [37]. *Baḥr al-asrār* is, in a way, a logical continuation of *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, especially regarding the history of the last Shībānīds and the circumstances of the Ashtarkhānīds taking over the Shībānīds dynasty. Anyway, the final answer to this question requires a special study and a thorough comparison of the texts of both works.

The same can be said with regard to al-Rāzī's work *Haft iqlīm* ("Seven Regions"). This is a biographical dictionary based on the regional principle depending on the place of birth of this or that religious or political personality, with division into seven climatic zones. It is the principle of the material organisation that explains the title of this work. Maḥmūd b. Walī was undoubtedly familiar with al-Rāzī's work and used it when working on chapter 53 of the fourth *rukṅ* of the sixth volume of *Baḥr al-asrār* in which he talks about the burial-vaults of the great *shaykhs*

of Bukhārā and the famous Šūfīs and gives detailed biographical data and the account of deeds of concrete historical figures [38]. V. V. Bartol'd carried out a comparative analysis of these materials and came to the conclusion that Rāzī's materials are much more complete and reliable [39].

Against the rules of Muslim historiography, Maḥmūd b. Walī quite often misses references to the works he used. In the text of his work we find:

یکی از فضلاء تاریخ چنین گوید

"One historian says the following..."

which introduces a quotation. The author may have done it to make his work look more ponderable.

Maḥmūd b. Walī inserted into his work texts of other writings without naming them. In such cases we can only make guesses basing on the text which is very different from the sections written by the author himself.

The second group of sources to which we have placed verbal informants is not so large. With rare exceptions Maḥmūd b. Walī does not mention the names of his verbal informants. We can only guess that certain information was received from verbal informants due to key words "verbal legend" (*riwāya*) and "story" (*qiṣṣa*) which can be sometimes found in the manuscript [40]. In some cases verbal messages can be viewed as sub-sources as they are transmitted through other literary works. An example of it can be found in chapter 18 from the third *rukṅ* of the sixth volume which contains a story by some warrior (*bahādur*) who served Sa'īd-khān after the latter had arrived to Samarqand [41]. This story preceded by a reference to the statement of someone Mawlānā Nāzīr al-Dīn Ūtrārī who accompanied Sa'īd-khān in his travel from Tāshkent to Samarqand.

One of Maḥmūd b. Walī's informants was someone Īraj-bek b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ataliq Ūshūn who took part in the battle between the Qizilbāshes and the Ashtarkhānīds which was critical for the latter and which took place near Rabāṭ-i Pariyān in 1006/1598, as a result of which the Ashtarkhānīd lost control over Harāt [42].

The third group of sources of *Baḥr al-asrār* consists of information based on Maḥmūd b. Walī's personal observations. This information is scattered throughout all the preserved parts of the monument. The most vivid example of such type of sources is one of the chapters of the final part of the sixth volume which gives an account of Maḥmūd's travel around India and which contains some geographical information [43]. Part of this information, especially various legends, was, according to the author himself, received from witnesses (*ahl-i shuhūd*). We can give the following occasion as an example. Not far from Calcutta Maḥmūd b. Walī was astonished by a well half of the water in which was fresh and half was salty:

"...local people explain this phenomenon in the following way — in old times a woman lived in this place whose son was the senior man. After some years her son died and his wife and mother inherited his property. The two women decided to dig a well in his honour and spend equal sums of money on this good act. When the well was almost completed they quarrelled. To settle their argument the women stood on the opposite sides of the well. The widow of the senior man addressed The Most High with a prayer: 'God, if I am right, let the water on my side be always fresh and on the opposite

side — always salty'. Since then the water in this well has been half fresh half salty" [44].

In Calcutta Maḥmūd b. Walī saw a statue of a sacred cow which is a prove to the fact that the Hindūism community played an important role in the city:

"The statue of a cow is carved from stone, and it is huge. On a certain day each Hindū man brings a jar of sherbet and pours it into the mouth of this stone figure. The statue is half filled, and in an hour it becomes empty again" [45].

Before telling about Calcutta the author speaks of Delhi:

"The abovementioned city is founded on a river bank. There are many beautiful *mazārs*, *madrasas*, mosques and *ribāṭs*. On the whole, I spent two days in this blessed place... I spent one day to see the *mazārs* of *shaykhs* Sulṭān Awliyā', Kh<sup>w</sup>āja Khusrāw Dihlawī as well as the ones of the vigilant and highly honoured and powerful rulers who caused the decline of the flame of so many troubles and misfortunes which exhale divine mercy".

Then the author speaks about the gardens and parks of the city. About one of them, *Bāgh-i Iram* he wrote:

"The area of this garden is about 1000 *jarībs* [46]. On one side of the garden there is a river. The garden consists of a large number of coppices and groves. In them live a huge number of birds. Among the sights of that garden I saw a round-shaped house which is erected on a high wheel. Each time the wheel moved, the house moved with it" [47].

A fragment from the final part of the sixth volume, in which the author tells about ceremonial, can serve as an

example of the fourth type of the sources of *Baḥr al-asrār*. He writes that although there is a tradition to consider the right side more honorary and refers to the saying "stretch forward your right hands" (*qaddamū ayamākum...*), however,

"...they say that this people [i. e. the Uzbeks] consider the left side to be most honorary".

In this case the author does not refer to any other source apart from the common belief based on peoples' rumours [48].

In conclusion we must say that, despite the fact that only the first and the sixth volumes of Maḥmūd b. Walī's works have preserved until our days in a relatively complete form, the monument itself is of great importance for the study of the history and ethnography of the Volga region and the Central Asia and of the works of the court historian himself.

*Baḥr al-asrār* is a source which has conveyed to us, though often in retelling, the data about the lost works, such as, for example, *Gīrshasp-nāma*. Even the compilation material given by the author is an interesting object for research, and it sometimes contains plots interesting for a modern researcher. The importance of the original fragments is also hard to underestimate. The chapter about Maḥmūd b. Walī's travel around India is interesting from the historic as well as the ethnographical point of view, and the materials which refer to the Ashtarkhānīds' early stay in the Central Asia in Khurāsān are unique. In *Baḥr al-asrār* we deal with world history in its traditional Muslim understanding, and, at the same time with the official history of a separate dynasty, and observations and evidence of a concrete man who lived in a certain historic time and aspired to convey its specifics to the reader.

## Notes

1. Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhḫyār* ("The Sea of Mysteries Concerning Noble Persons"), the SPIOS photo copy FV 258, fols. 16b—31b; the SPIOS xerocopy of the MS from the Library of the India Office No. 575 (FV 257), fols. 389a—398a.

2. V. V. Bartol'd, "Otchët o poezdke v Turkestan" ("The report about Turkistan trip"), *Sobranie sochineniī* (Moscow, 1973) viii, p. 171.

3. B. A. Ahmedov, "Mahmud ibn Wali i ego èntsiklopedicheskiī trud" ("Mahmud ibn Wali and his encyclopaedic work"), *Obchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane* III (Tāshkent, 1969), p. 62; *idem*, *Maḥmūd ibn Walī* (Tāshkent, 1963), p. 3.

4. Mīrak-shāh al-Ḥusaynī must not be confused with another famous *shaykh* and theologian from the family of Kh<sup>w</sup>āja-Muḥammad Ṭāhīr, about whom Maḥmūd b. Walī wrote the following lines in the fourth part of the sixth volume of his work:

"Among his great descendants [i. e. of Kh<sup>w</sup>āja-Muḥammad Ṭāhīr — A. A.] was the high-born Mīrak-shāh who was granted the reins of education in *madrasa* of the deceased *khān* 'Abd Allāh-khān Shīrbānī. In 1026/1617–8 he deigned to stop in Balḫ and the miserable slave [i. e. Maḥmūd b. Walī — A. A.] several times was honoured to meet him and talk to him... Some time later he returned to his homeland and found his place by God".

Maḥmūd b. Walī, *op. cit.*, the SPIOS xerocopy of the MS of the Library of India Office No. 575 (FV 257), fol. 152a.

5. *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv: izvlecheniia iz persidskikh i tiurkskikh sochineniī* (Materials for the History of the Kazak Khanates) (Alma-Ata, 1969), p. 322.

6. Ahmedov, *Maḥmūd ibn Walī*, pp. 3—4.

7. C. A. Storey, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskiī obzor* (Persian Literature. Bio-Bibliographical Review), transl. from English, reviewed and supplemented by Iu. È. Bregel' (Moscow, 1972), ii, pp. 1135—6.

8. Maḥmūd b. Walī, *op. cit.*, the SPIOS photo copy FV 258, fols. 16b—19a.

9. *Ibid.*

10. It is interesting that the author of *Muḥīṭ at-tawārīkh* which was written later and who used *Baḥr al-asrār* as a source refers to author as Kh<sup>w</sup>āja Maḥmūd Kitābdār. *Muḥīṭ at-tawārīkh*, p. 10.

11. *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv*, pp. 320—1; Maḥmūd b. Walī, *op. cit.*, the SPIOs photo copy FV 258, fols. 16b—31b; the SPIOs xerocopy of the MS of the Library of India Office No. 575 (FV 257), fols. 389a—398a; Ahmedov, “Mahmud ibn Wali i ego entsiklopedicheskiĭ trud”, p. 63—5.
12. Bartol'd, “Tseremonial pri dvore uzbekskikh khanov” (“The Ritual of the Uzbek Khāns Court”), *Sobranie sochineniĭ*, ii/2 (Moscow, 1964), pp. 388—99.
13. Bartol'd, “Otchët o poezdke v Turkestan”, pp. 170—95.
14. See below the description of the SPIOs photo copy FV 258.
15. Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geograficheskaia literatura Srednei Azii v XVI—XVIII vv.*, (The History and Geography Literature of Central Asia in the 16—18th Centuries) (Tāshkent, 1985), pp. 65—71.
16. *Ibid.*; *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv*, p. 324; *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ AN UzSSR* (“Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR”) (Tāshkent, 1962), v, pp. 73—4.
17. Maḥmūd b. Walī, *More taĭn (geografiia)* (The Sea of Secrets (Geography)), transl. from Persian, introd., appendixes and supplements by B. A. Ahmedov (Tāshkent, 1977), p. 9.
18. A.—Z. Validov, “Vostochnye rukopisi v Ferganskoĭ Oblasti” (“Oriental manuscripts in the Farghānā Region”), *Zapiski vostochnogo otdeleniia imperatorskogo russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshestva* XXII/3—4 (1915), p. 306.
19. In this part there is a large gap — fols. 132a—150a.
20. A. K. Alekseev, “O sootnoshenii nekotorykh spiskov ‘Baḥr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār’ Maḥmūda b. Walī” (“About the correlation between some copies of ‘Baḥr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār’ by Maḥmūd b. Walī”, *Materialy IX Mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii studentov, aspirantov i molodykh uchēnykh “Lomonosov — 2002”* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 66—7.
21. H. Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of India Office* (Oxford, 1903), i, pp. 229—30.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 229—30.
24. The use of this *sūra* in the colophon of the manuscript can be ascribed to allegories which Madmud b. Walī's work is rich with. The first *āya* of the *sūra* “Cave” sounds in the following way: “Praise belongs to God who has sent down upon His servant the Book and has not assigned unto it any crookedness” (translation by A. J. Arberry). I. e. the author or the copyist thanks the Creator for managing to fulfil his intention and exhort him so that in the work or the copy there would be no distortion or lie.
25. Bartol'd, “Otchët o poezdke v Turkestan”, p. 171; Alekseev, “K voprosu o datirovke ‘Baḥr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār’ Maḥmūda b. Walī (XVII v.)” (“To the question of the dating of ‘Baḥr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār’ by Maḥmūd b. Walī (17th century)”), *Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii “300 let iranistike v Sankt-Peterburge”* (St. Petersburg, 2003), p. 47.
26. Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geograficheskaia literatura Srednei Azii v XVI—XVIII vv.*, pp. 66—7.
27. Alekseev, “K voprosu o datirovke”, p. 48.
28. Storey, *op. cit.*, p. 1136.
29. Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geograficheskaia literatura Srednei Azii v XVI—XVIII vv.*, p. 69.
30. Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Kūhgadāyā, *Ta'rikh-i Mazār-i Sharīf* (Kābul, 1325/1946), pp. 20—1.
31. Maḥmūd b. Walī, *op. cit.*, the SPIOs photo copy FV 258, fol. 46b.
32. *Ibid.*, fols. 16b, 28a, etc.
33. *Ibid.*, fols. 75b—78b.
34. T. I. Sultanov, “Izvestiia Mirzy Muhammad Ḥādar Duglata i Seifi Chelebi o Tibete i Tibetsakh XVI v.” (“Proceedings of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt and Seyfī Chelebi about Tibet and the Tibetans of the 16th century”), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kultury narodov Vostoka. XII godichnaia sessiia LO IV AN I* (1977), pp. 140—5.
35. K. A. Pischulina, *Iugo-Vostochnii Kazakhstan v ser. XIV—nach. XVI v.: voprosy politicheskoi i sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii*, (“The South-East Kazakhstan in the Mid. 14th—Begin. 16th centuries: Aspects of Political and Social-Economic History”) (Alma-Ata, 1977), p. 25.
36. I. I. Umniakov, “‘Abdulla-name’ Hafiz-i Tanisha i ego issledovately” (“‘‘Abdullā-nāme’ by Ḥāfiẓ-i Tānīsh and its researchers”), *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom muzee Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (Akademii nauk SSSR)* (Leningrad, 1930), v, pp. 307—28.
37. Bartol'd, “Otchët o poezdke v Turkestan”, p. 253.
38. Maḥmūd b. Walī, *op. cit.*, the SPIOs xerocopy of the MS of the Library of India Office No. 575 (FV 257), fol. 133a and further.
39. Bartol'd, “Tseremonial pri dvore uzbekskikh khanov”, pp. 174—91.
40. Maḥmūd b. Walī, *op. cit.*, the SPIOs photo copy FV 258, fols. 229b, 230a, etc.
41. *Ibid.*, fols. 156a—158a.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Maḥmūd b. Walī, *op. cit.*, the SPIOs xerocopy of the MS of the Library of India Office No. 575 (FV 257), fol. 55b.
44. Maḥmūd b. Walī, *op. cit.*, the SPIOs photo copy FV 258, “*khātima*”, fols. 16b—31b.
45. *Ibid.*, fol. 18b.
46. *Jarīb* (arab.) — land measure equal to 100 *kasaba murabba'a* or 1260—1592 m<sup>2</sup>.
47. Maḥmūd b. Walī, *op. cit.*, the SPIOs xerocopy of the MS of the Library of India Office No. 575 (FV 257), “*khātima*”, fol. 19b.
48. *Ibid.*, fol. 387b. Also see: Bartol'd, “Tseremonial pri dvore uzbekskikh khanov”, ii/2, pp. 389—90.

## TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

A. Kudelin

### ARABIC LITERATURE: POETICS AND STYLISTICS. V: A ROMANTIC EPOS ABOUT MAJNŪN AND ITS ARABIC ROOTS

More than fifty years ago two luminaries of the Russian oriental studies — E. È. Berthel's and I. Iu. Krachkovskii almost at the same time turned to the study of the Arabic sources of a voluminous romantic epos of the Near and Middle East about Majnūn and Laylā [1]. In their work the scholars purposed different aims and analysed the material of the sources in different aspects. However, their conclusions concerning the Arabic legend about Majnūn and Laylā when looked at by a specialist in Arabic studies and a specialist in Iran, turn out to be very similar. Let us briefly formulate those we are concerned about.

(i) The connection between romantic poems of Azerbaijan, Iran and Central Asia with the Arabic legend is confirmed.

(ii) This Arabic legend was reflected in written literary sources, folklore is present hypothetically but it has been impossible to establish any visible proof of it.

(iii) Among literary sources the three most important ones can be distinguished: *Kitāb al-shi'r wa al-shu'arā'* (“The Book of Poetry and Poets”) by Ibn Qutayba (d. 889), *Kitāb al-aghānī* (“The Book of Songs”) by al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967), *Diwān Majnūn Laylā* (“The *Diwān* of Majnūn Laylā”) by Abū Bakr al-Wālibī (11th—12th century, according to I. Iu. Krachkovskii's attribution).

(iv) The earliest literary monument is the first one, but the second is more complete and informative. The third source deserves attention due to the fact that it had been created just before the first, and, as many believe, the most outstanding work of romantic epos on these theme — “Laylā and Majnūn” by Niẓāmī (1188).

(v) The concerned literary monuments are connected with each other, some messages are passed from one author to another. The differences between the monuments are insufficient [2].

(vi) The Arabs did not create a complete literary work about Majnūn and Laylā, however the analysis of the three sources mentioned above shows that it is them that the main elements of this romantic story originate from.

Apart from these general inferences, scholars have come to some conclusions in connection with the specific aims of their researches. However, we shall turn to them later [3].

The works by E. È. Berthel's and I. Iu. Krachkovskii made a weighty contribution to the studies of the romantic epos about Majnūn, and for a long time determined the direction of the research in this sphere and formed a base for comparative-typological studies [4]. However, it has become necessary to complete, specify, deepen, and, probably, revise some conclusions of the two outstanding scholars concerning the Arabic legend about Majnūn, which is determined by the appearance of a sufficient number of theoretical as well as concrete historical-literary works which touch upon the issues under concern [5].

Since the publications by E. È. Berthel's and I. Iu. Krachkovskii, the number of important sources of the Arabic legend about Majnūn has not increased. We still deal with the works by Ibn Qutayba, al-Iṣfahānī and al-Wālibī. However, let us take a fresh look at them.

E. È. Berthel's and I. Iu. Krachkovskii more than once mentioned that the legend about Majnūn underwent some changes during the period of its Arabic circulation (here we speak mostly about various additions). However, due to the purpose of their researches, they did not engage themselves specially in the study of the transformations of this legend among the Arabs. This would have involved the detection not only of the latest additions to the legend told by Ibn Qutayba, al-Iṣfahānī or al-Wālibī, but also of the selective approach of al-Wālibī to the version by Ibn Qutayba and the additions by al-Iṣfahānī. Running a few steps forward and anticipating the results of our analysis, we must say that the additions to the legend as well as the exclusions from it in al-Wālibī's work were deliberate. Our aim is to find out what exactly was added to the legend, and what was excluded from it, and with what purpose.

To achieve our purpose we shall conditionally divide all messages fixed in the three analysed sources into three groups which contain:

(i) information about the genealogy and full names of Majnūn and Laylā;

(ii) information about the story of love between Majnūn and Laylā;

(iii) elements of literary-critical assessment included in the analysed monuments as well as genealogical, historical,

philosophical and other information; trumped-up literary-critical statements.

### I. Information about the genealogy of Majnūn and Laylā

A. In the beginning of the section about Majnūn Ibn Qutayba [6] gives his full genealogy with variations and tells about the origin of the nickname *Majnūn* ("insane"). His full name is Qays b. Mu'adh or Qays b. al-Mulawwah from *banū* Ja'da b. Ka'b b. Rābī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a or from *banū* 'Uqayl b. Ka'b b. Rābī'a. Qays received his nickname "insane" as he went crazy because of his passionate love (*ishq*). Ibn Qutayba does not mention Laylā's genealogy, however he says that she belonged to the same tribe with Majnūn. The author of the "Book of Poetry and Poets" also mentions (without any reference to the source of this information which is not found in the other two works) that *Majnūn had "descendants in Najd"* [7].

B. In the first half of the section dedicated to Majnūn al-Iṣfahānī [8] several times turns to his full genealogy told by several authorities, gives its variants as well as those of the name Qays and more than once speaks about the origin of his nickname. The name he gives is Qays b. al-Mulawwah b. Muzāḥim b. 'Udas b. Rābī'a b. Ja'da b. Ka'b b. Rābī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a; the variations are:

### II. Information about the Majnūn and Laylā love story

A. Ibn Qutayba gives the elements of the famous legend about Majnūn and Laylā in the following order.

1. Majnūn fell in love with Laylā when they were children and shepherded lambs together.

2. When Majnūn grew older he became handsome, *became famous as a pleasant interlocutor, connoisseur of poetry*, he often talked to Laylā and her relatives. Once Laylā started a conversation with a young man in the presence of other young men and girls, and, according to Majnūn's reaction, she realised that he loved her. In her poem, written on that occasion, she declared that she also loved him.

3. This lasted for some time until Majnūn became insane. He started wandering with wild animals, tore the clothes he was wearing. He only came to consciousness when somebody mentioned Laylā's name.

4. Unfortunate mediation of Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq in the matchmaking of Laylā for Majnūn (Laylā's relatives, making reference to the ruler's permission to shed Majnūn's blood, met Nawfal with arms in their hands, and he withdrew his offer).

5. Laylā learns the latest news about Majnūn from a man who had visited his relatives' lands.

6. Majnūn's father unsuccessfully asks Laylā's father for his daughter's hand in marriage for his son (no reasons are given for his refusal).

7. Majnūn's father set off to Ka'ba to heal his son; in Minā valley Majnūn, having heard a voice calling Laylā, fell unconscious.

8. In a place called Bi'r Maymūn Majnūn waited for a puff of a wind from the land of Najd where Laylā lived.

Let us give a terse (to save space) annotated index of messages on the three sources in the three groups mentioned above.

Qays b. Mu'adh, Buḥturī b. al-Ja'd, al-Aqra' b. Mu'adh and Maḥdī b. al-Mulawwah. His nickname: Qays, was not "insane from his birth", he went crazy because of his passionate love, and received his nickname due to the poems read by him which tell about his "passionate love", etc.

The name and the genealogy of Majnūn's beloved one: Laylā bint Sa'd b. Maḥdī b. Rābī'a b. al-Ḥarīsh b. Ka'b b. Rābī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a; *kunya* (nickname by the child's name): Umm Mālik or Umm 'Amr. From the comparison of the genealogies of Majnūn and Laylā given in the "Book of Songs" it follows that they were close relatives. In the end of his section al-Iṣfahānī directly says that Majnūn was Laylā's parental uncle's son and Laylā was Majnūn's parental uncle's daughter.

C. In the beginning of his work Al-Wālibī [9] mentions different variants of the name of the legend's hero and gives his genealogy in brief; however he does not mention the genealogy of the heroine but says that Majnūn and Laylā were cousins on their fathers' side.

9. A man from *banū* Murra met Majnūn's father and then Majnūn himself, together with his relatives he soon found Majnūn dead in a stony valley.

B. Al-Iṣfahānī included into his work all available data and variations of messages which often contradicted each other. Let us give the most important of them in the order corresponding to that of the "Book of Songs".

1. Majnūn's insanity was the result of his unfortunate love to Laylā.

2. *Majnūn's father had died before his son went crazy.*

3. Majnūn fell in love with Laylā when they were children (they shepherded cattle together); when they grew up her parents forbade him to date her.

4. *Majnūn first met Laylā when he was an adult; Laylā, wishing to find out what he felt for her began to flirt with another young man from her camp. However, having seen how the expression of his face changed, she declared her love for him in a poem. Majnūn fell unconscious.*

5. *At the same time with someone called Ward ibn Muḥammad al-Uqaylī he asks Laylā's parents for their daughter's hand in marriage; her parents forced her to marry Ward.*

6. *Tax collector Marwān ibn 'Awf offers his help to Majnūn, but, having found from Laylā's parents that Majnūn dishonours them (it can be inferred from the text that it is Majnūn's love to Laylā itself that dishonours them) and that the ruler had allowed to shed his blood, he resigns from his offer.*

7. Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq unsuccessfully asks Laylā's father for his daughter's hand in marriage on behalf of Majnūn.

8. Majnūn's parents ask Laylā's father for his daughter's hand in marriage on behalf of their son (*the latter vows that he will not permit disgrace for his family and won't do something no Arab has ever done, not explaining, however, what this disgraceful act is*). Having learnt about this, Majnūn goes completely crazy.

9. Following his relatives' advice, Majnūn's father sets off to Makka to heal his son. In Minā valley Majnūn hears a voice calling for Laylā and faints.

10. In Makka Majnūn's father asks his son to touch Ka'ba's veil and to pray Allah to heal him from his love to Laylā. Instead of this Majnūn asks Allah to strengthen his love and never let him forget Laylā.

11. Wandering around the desert with gazelles he finds himself at the border with Syria.

12. The information about Bi'r Maymūn (analogous to IIA8).

13. *Majnūn talks to Laylā's husband.*

14. *After his unfortunate woo Majnūn keeps coming to the camp of Laylā's relatives. They complain and the ruler allows to shed Majnūn's blood. The latter is eager to accept death for the sake of love. Laylā's relatives move away from their camp.*

15. *Before Majnūn went crazy Laylā had several times promised to visit him at night if there was a favourable occasion. Having not waited till her visit Majnūn himself went to her camp when all men were away, sat aside with the women, talked to them for a long time and performed his poems to them.*

16. *Majnūn told them about two amazing occasions which took place when he and Laylā first fell in love with each other (he went to Laylā to get some oil and got so involved in the conversation with her that he did not notice that oil flew over on their feet; he went to Laylā to get fire for his hearth which had gone out, Laylā wrapped coals in a piece of cloth, while they were talking and coals were burning out, Majnūn kept tearing off pieces of material from his cloak until he almost completely burnt it).*

17. *When Majnūn was ill, Laylā visited him at night at the instance of Majnūn's mother, and talked to him until morning. This was their last meeting.*

18. *When Majnūn fell in love with Laylā he often visited her at night, as the Arabs did not view it as anything shameful that young men talked to girls, but, having found out about Majnūn's passionate love to Laylā, her relatives prohibited him to come.*

19. *A variation of the information about the beginning of the love between Majnūn and Laylā when they were adults.*

20. Laylā is married to someone named Musir from the *Thaqīf* tribe.

21. *Majnūn, wandering around the desert comes to the camp of the relatives of his beloved. Having met Laylā, he faints. Laylā can not stay with Majnūn and asks her servant to tell him she wishes him quick recovery when he comes to consciousness. Majnūn replies that Laylā is his illness and his cure.*

22. Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq meets Majnūn surrounded by gazelles when hunting.

23. The repetition of the information about Majnūn's father's death (analogues to IIB2).

24. *Laylā's father and her husband go to Makka. Laylā calls for Majnūn who spends all nights with her until their return.*

25. *Majnūn pronounces ridicule of Laylā's husband.*

26. *From a secluded nook Majnūn watches Laylā setting off to her husband.*

27. Majnūn redeems a gazelle from the hunters and frees it.

28. *Women reproach Majnūn for his love to Laylā: according to them, he could have paid attention to one of them, and could have regained his mind and health.*

29. Before leaving to the camp of Laylā's relatives, a man from Majnūn's tribe asks him whether he would like to pass something to her. Majnūn asks him to find a place in her camp from which she would hear him and read his poem to her. Having heard it, Laylā started crying, and, in her turn, read a poem which was later passed to Majnūn.

30. *Majnūn's father asks some man to tell his son that Laylā disapproves of his poems in which he describes their meetings in private which, in fact, never took place. Majnūn replies that Laylā may reproach him.*

31. Laylā learns the latest news about Majnūn from a person who had been in his land (analogues to IIA5).

32. A man from *banū* Murra meets Majnūn's father and then Majnūn himself; the story about Majnūn's death (analogues to IIA9).

33. *Majnūn's relatives mourn over his death; in the camp of Laylā's relatives it is her father whose mourning is the strongest.*

34. *Poet Qays ibn Dhariḥ meets Laylā by the instance of Majnūn; she reproaches Majnūn for his poems in which he describes their meetings in private. Qays ibn Dhariḥ justifies Majnūn. Laylā agrees with his reasons and asks him to give her regards to Majnūn. Qays ibn Dhariḥ does not find Majnūn.*

35. Once, when Majnūn has already gone crazy, he goes past Laylā, and, having seen her, he faints. Laylā goes away fearing that her relatives will see them together (possibly, the analogue of IIB21).

C. Al-Wālibī gives the information in the following order.

1. When Majnūn and Laylā were children they shepherded lambs together.

2. *Laylā knew poems and adab works well and young men from the banū 'Āmir liked to spend time with her (compare with IIA2). Among them Majnūn was her dearest one.*

3. Having realised that Majnūn and Laylā are in love with each other, 'Āmir's youths informed her father. He hides Laylā from Majnūn and other people and complains to the ruler. The latter allows to shed Majnūn's blood if he visits Laylā again.

4. Majnūn's father asks Laylā's father for his daughter's hand in marriage on behalf of his son, pointing out to important circumstances favourable for their marriage, such as cognition and the great right (it is not clarified what is meant by it). *Laylā's father replies that he will not allow his daughter to marry a man who is passionately, crazily in love.*

5. Majnūn goes to Makka with his father, at Ka'ba, instead of asking to heal him, he asks to strengthen his love to Laylā.

6. In Minā Majnūn hears a voice calling Laylā.

7. The occasion in Bi'r Maymūn.

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**Plate 1.** *State Emblem of the Russian Empire.* Paper, silk, embroidery, wood (64.5 × 107 cm), Japan, 1891. Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences (MAE RAS). Collection of Nicholas II. Shelf-mark 312-63. Courtesy of the Museum.

**Back cover:**

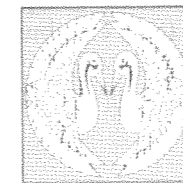
**Plate 2.** *Birds.* Chinese watercolour on pith (37 × 25 cm), second half of the 19th century. MAE RAS, Collection of Nicholas II. Shelf-mark 311-1/12 (4). Courtesy of the Museum.

**Plate 3.** *Ships.* Chinese watercolour on pith (37 × 25 cm), second half of the 19th century, MAE RAS, Collection of Nicholas II. Shelf-mark 311-1/12 (12). Courtesy of the Museum.

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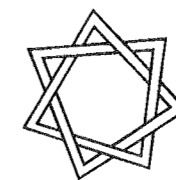
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