

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 Sredneĭ 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 spisokov ‘Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār’ Maḥmūda b. Walī” (“About the correlation between some copies of ‘Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār’ by Maḥmūd b. Walī”, *Materialy IX Mezhdunarodnoĭ 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 fī manāqib al-akhyār’ Maḥmūda b. Walī (XVII v.)” (“To the question of the dating of ‘Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār’ by Maḥmūd b. Walī (17th century)”), *Materialy mezhdunarodnoĭ nauchnoĭ konferentsii “300 let iranistike v Sankt-Peterburge”* (St. Petersburg, 2003), p. 47.

26. Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geograficheskaia literatura Sredneĭ 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 Sredneĭ Azii v XVI—XVIII vv.*, p. 69.

30. Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Kūhgadāyā, *Ta'riḫ-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 Haġdar Duglata i Seġfi 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 kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XII godichnaia sessiia LO IV AN I* (1977), pp. 140—5.

35. K. A. Pischulina, *Lugo-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 issledovateli” (“‘Abdullā-nāme’ by Ḥāfiẓ-i Tānīsh and its researchers”), *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom muzee Rossiĭskoi 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-İṣfahānī (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-İṣfahānī 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-İṣfahānī or al-Wālibī, but also of the selective approach of al-Wālibī to the version by Ibn Qutayba and the additions by al-İṣfahānī. 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'sa'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. Muzāhim b. 'Udas b. Rābī'a b. Ja'da b. Ka'b b. Rābī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'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 Mahdī 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. Mahdī b. Rābī'a b. al-Ḥarīsh b. Ka'b b. Rābī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'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 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.

8. *Majnūn's father and his uncle tell him that there is nothing good about Laylā and that he can find a better girl among the daughters of his parental uncles.*

9. *Majnūn's father takes him to Babylon to heal him.*

10. *Majnūn undergoes treatment in Babylon (without any result).*

11. *Majnūn redeems a gazelle from hunters and frees it.*

12. *Poet Quṣayyir tells caliph 'Abd al-Malik about a man more passionately in love than him. The poet met a man in the desert who looked strange and asked him whether he was a man or a genie. This was Majnūn who snared gazelles, looked at them because they resembled Laylā and then freed them.*

13. *An Asadit saw a naked man in the desert with overgrown hair and, being sure that this was an evil spirit, asked him whether he was a man or a genie. This was Majnūn.*

14. *Wandering around the desert without any particular purpose, Majnūn finds himself at the border with Syria.*

15. *Majnūn's father and brothers follow him in the desert. His father tries to prove that Laylā is not beautiful and that Majnūn can find a better girl in his tribe (obviously, a variation of IIC8).*

16. *Some man, going past Majnūn who is sleeping, tells him with a reproach that Laylā is sick and she is in 'Iraq.*

17. *The Asadits ask Majnūn about what prevented his father from settling his matter before his love to Laylā became widely known.*

18. *Majnūn meets to hunters who have caught a gazelle. He swaps the gazelle for four sheep and frees it (variation of IIB28, IIC11).*

19. *Majnūn goes past his relatives from the family of his parental uncle, who, ridiculing him, asks him about his love to Laylā. When hearing the name of his beloved being mentioned, Majnūn regains his mind and talks about his love reasonably.*

20. *Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq unsuccessfully tries to help Majnūn.*

21. *After the unsuccessful interference of Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq Majnūn followed his nose and boys cried behind his back: "Who wants to see a man passionately in love ('ashīqa)?"*

22. *Majnūn gets into the camp of Laylā's relatives disguised as a beggar led by an old woman on a chain. They walk from tent to tent begging for charity, and boys throw stones at Majnūn and set dogs at him. Having come close to Laylā's tent, he reads a poem and then walks away.*

23. *Majnūn asks two doctors if they can heal him. They reply that they have no remedy for somebody passionately in love.*

24. *Some man went past Laylā. Having found out that he was heading for the lands of the 'Āmirits, she read a poem. When Majnūn learns about this, he sends a message to Laylā with the same man.*

### III. Elements of critical assessment of poetry and information, faked literal-critical messages

A. Ibn Qutayba makes the following statements.

With reference to a philologist al-Aṣma'ī he says that:

(i) Majnūn was one of the most talented poets.

(ii) Refined works of other poets which were similar to his were sometimes ascribed to Majnūn.

25. *Majnūn fell ill and Laylā sends a man to him to tell him that she will visit him if she can (possibly, a variation of IIB17).*

26. *Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq goes hunting and meets Majnūn surrounded by gazelles.*

27. *Explanation of Laylā's father's refusal to let his daughter marry Majnūn: if it became known that a man loves a woman, the Arabs never let him marry her.*

28. *Yazīd, Majnūn's parental uncle, who was originally against his nephew marrying Laylā, changes his opinion after hearing his poems and unsuccessfully tries to help Majnūn. Soon after that his uncle dies.*

29. *Laylā, who went on a pilgrimage with her father, is seen by a Ṭhaqīfī, proposes to her and they get married.*

30. *Laylā learns the latest news about Majnūn from a man who has been in the land of his relatives.*

31. *During Majnūn's serious illness Laylā writes to him in her message delivered by a messenger that her lot is twice as bitter as his. Majnūn writes her a poem in reply and sends it with the same messenger.*

32. *Majnūn's father learns from a doctor going past their camp that he heals the bewitched and the insane. He asks him to heal his son. The treatment brings no results. Majnūn says that the remedy for someone passionately in love is being with the one he loves (variation of the motif IIB21).*

33. *Two horsemen find Majnūn in the desert and inform him about Laylā's death. He faints and then, having regained consciousness, reads a poem.*

34. *Majnūn finds asylum at Laylā's grave, he does not eat or drink, and is so thin that it seems his skin got stuck to his bones.*

35. *Some man meets Majnūn and reads him poems by Qays ibn Dharīḥ. In reply Majnūn reads his poems. After that the man goes to Majnūn's relatives and they reproach him for not asking Majnūn to read him the qaṣīda about pits for rain-water which they have unsuccessfully been trying to record. The man goes to Majnūn for the second time and again reads to him the poems by Qays ibn Dharīḥ. Majnūn, however, listening to these poems and praising them, says four times after each one that he excels Qays ibn Dharīḥ in his poetic talent, and to prove this reads his poems. After that the man asks him to perform the qaṣīda he was sent for and says that he has taken a notebook and ink specially for this purpose. Majnūn reads the qaṣīda to him and runs away following a gazelle. When this man comes to Majnūn the third time, now together with his relatives, he finds him dead in a stony channel of a wādī. They managed to read a distich written by a finger on the ground near his head. They took Majnūn's body to the camp, washed him and buried near Laylā's grave.*

36. *Majnūn found out about his father's death, he went to his grave, slaughtered a female camel and read poems.*

(iii) Having heard the poems by Qays ibn Dharīḥ read to him by a *shaykh* from the *banū* Murra, Majnūn appreciates them but says that he is more "poetic" than (i. e. he excels) Qays ibn Dharīḥ. Majnūn immediately reads his own poems which, in his opinion, must prove this statement.

(iv) The compiler of the "Book of Poetry and Poets" quotes a number of poetic motives (motif — *ma'nā*) in which Majnūn excelled other authors and gives several brilliant examples of his poetry, mentioning however, that their authorship is not doubtless.

B. Al-Iṣfahānī makes the following statements.

1. The transmitters of information (*rāwīs*) do not have a unanimous opinion on the fact of the existence of Majnūn, the hero of this legend. However, it is known, that this name was born by several poets from different tribes.

2. The story about Majnūn and his poems were created by a young man from *banū* Umayya who loved the daughter of his parental uncle and did not want this to leak out.

3. Many people apart from Qays received the nickname Majnūn, and they all poetised Laylā.

4. Analogues to IIB2 with a specification: a young man from *banū* Marwān, and the mention of the fact that people have made additions to this story.

5. Majnūn is an invented name.

6. Al-Jāḥiẓ's opinion that all anonymous poems about Laylā are ascribed to Majnūn.

7. Some 'Āmirit says that there was no Majnūn who died because of his passionate love in his tribe; this could have happened only to a Yemeni man as they have weak hearts.

8. Family after family the 'Āmirits were asked about Majnūn but nobody knew him.

9. Majnūn is one of the three men who "never existed and were never known — Ibn Abū al-'Āqib, the author of the *qaṣīda* about battles, Ibn al-Qirriya and Majnūn from the 'Āmir tribe" [10].

10. Al-Aṣma'ī says that there are more poems ascribed to Majnūn and added to them than he had actually created.

11. Al-Iṣfahānī doubts the authorship of the poems ascribed to Majnūn as he doubts that he existed at all.

12. The author of the "Book of Songs" states that he gives all available information about Majnūn, but is not responsible for its authenticity. Most of the poems ascribed to Majnūn are sometimes ascribed by *rāwīs* to other poets. And in this respect al-Iṣfahānī takes upon himself no responsibility.

13. Al-Iṣfahānī received information about Majnūn's passionate love to Laylā from several *rāwīs*; he states that the sources of information are responsible for the discrepancies.

14. The list of names of the *rāwīs* from the story about Majnūn.

15. Only one Majnūn is known — Qays ibn al-Mulawwaḥ.

16. The reply of a man from the *banū* 'Udhra to the question — whose hearts are more gentle: the 'Udhrits' or the 'Āmirits'? The 'Udhrits have the most gentle heart among all people, but the 'Āmirits excelled them with the help of their Majnūn.

17. Information about two *bayts* by Majnūn due to which he received his nickname (repeated several times with slight variations and with different poems).

18. An expert in poetry refers to Majnūn's poems as the best ones about Minā, Makka and mount 'Arafāt.

19. One of Majnūn's poems is accompanied with a note by Ibn al-'Arabī: "This, I swear on Allah, is beautiful speech and refined poetry!".

20. Qays ibn Dharīḥ explains to Laylā the meaning of Majnūn's poem.

C. Let us give the statements on the third theme from Al-Wālibī's work.

1. Poet Quṣayyir believes that Majnūn is more talented in poetry than him.

2. Poet Jarīr quotes to his interlocutors a *bayt* by Majnūn, the first half of which sounds like a Bedouin one, and the second — like one belonging to Galen.

3. Having heard the poems by Qays ibn Dharīḥ and having praised them, Majnūn, however, says four times that he excels him in his poetic talent and to prove his words each time reads his own poem (analogue of IIIA3).

4. At the end of his work al-Wālibī says that he gave all available information about Majnūn leaving aside all faked data.

Let us now turn to the comparative analysis of the three sources. Let us first compare them generally, and then according to the groups of information.

The first of the analysed sources contains the necessary minimum of information, and, as we can see from our short list, this minimum is almost fully reproduced in the other two sources. At the same time, the "Book of Poetry and Poets" does not give enough information for a complete story: it does not contain many important details, the information about Laylā's marriage is missing, etc. Let us also point to the fact that in the work by Ibn Qutayba the order in which the events are presented at least once breaks the usual chronology of the story: Nawfal's mediation precedes the meeting of Majnūn's and Laylā's fathers and Majnūn's trip to Ka'ba with his father.

From these observations we can infer that Ibn Qutayba must have not been trying to present Majnūn's story as a chain of logically connected pieces of information which would make a complete story.

In the "Book of Songs" the kernel of information becomes cluttered with a lot of new data, additions and specifications. Al-Iṣfahānī tells everything he knows about Majnūn and Laylā. The same information can be reproduced in the famous work more than once with slight variations, different versions of the same event are not linked to each other or commented upon. Al-Iṣfahānī does not follow the usual chronology of the story: the events of the earlier period of Majnūn's life often follow the later ones, genealogical and other data is presented without any plan mixed with the information about the story of Majnūn and Laylā.

The preliminary conclusion will be similar to that concerning the version by Ibn Qutayba: despite the sufficient amount of information, al-Iṣfahānī does not aim at putting it into a logical chain which agrees with the chain of information concerning the story of Majnūn and Laylā.

Al-Wālibī was undoubtedly familiar with the works of his two predecessors, which is easy to prove by demonstration of his textual adoptions. However, he does not adopt everything from them. He does not use al-Iṣfahānī's version about the birth of the love between Majnūn and Laylā when they were adults and only presents the version of their childhood love. Al-Wālibī sticks to the chronology of the story of Majnūn and Laylā. Here we can point only to one sufficient deviation: the information about the sacrifice made by Majnūn on his father's grave follows the information about the death of Majnūn himself.

Basing on this we can make a preliminary conclusion that al-Wālibī tells the story of Majnūn as a complete and logical sequence of events creating a story about the famous couple.

Let us now try to substantiate our preliminary conclusions.

The "Book of Poetry and Poets" is a literary monument whose author aimed at selecting the best examples (in accordance with his views) of Arabic poetry. In his work he based upon the principles of contemporary philological concepts and his work can be rightfully called a philological one [11]. Correspondingly, each section about Majnūn is presented in his book as a chapter of a philological work. Ibn Qutayba provides it, as far as he can, with precise data about Majnūn's name and origin, giving reference to the sources of information. He pays a lot of attention to the literary-critical aspect of his work. Ibn Qutayba discusses the question of Majnūn's historicity, the question of authenticity of the works ascribed to him, and gives his best works as examples, providing them with corresponding comments.

The "Book of Songs" is a voluminous accumulation of everything referring to the Arabic poetry before and including the 10th century (examples of poetry, various historical, cultural and biographical data connected with the poets themselves as well as with the works and the forms in which they were performed). Al-İşfahānī aims at accumulating in his work all available information connected with the themes he is interested in, but does not attempt to define the authenticity of this information. In other words, he acts as a registrar whose only aim is to preserve for his descendants all the available documents and to point to the source of their origin. This approach can also be traced in the chapter of the "Book of Songs" dedicated to Majnūn. Al-İşfahānī not only does not care about the authenticity of the information he presents, but moreover keeps away (as we have already seen) from discussing their authenticity or the discrepancies between them. However,

#### IV. Elements of fictionalising the legend [12]

A. In the "Book of Poetry and Poets" the following statements can be considered as elements of fictionalising.

1. The continuation of the literary-critical statement about Majnūn as an expert in poetry: once Laylā started talking to a young man in the presence of other young men and girls, and, according to Majnūn's reaction, she realised that he was in love with her. In her poem, written on that occasion, she confessed that she also loved him.

2. The story about Majnūn's death proves to undoubted literary treatment.

B. In the "Book of Songs" the following statements can be viewed as such elements [13].

1. The continuation of the statement that Majnūn and Laylā fell in love with each other when they were adults. Laylā, wishing to find out Majnūn's feelings, starts flirting with a young man from her camp. However, having seen how Majnūn's face changed, she tells him about her love in a poem. Majnūn faints (variation of IVA1).

2. Majnūn waits by Nu'mān cliffs for a puff of wind from the lands where Laylā lives.

the literary-critical aspect is also present in al-İşfahānī's work, although to a lesser extent than in that of Ibn Qutayba. The "Book of Songs" is closer to the works of the so-called *adab* (i. e. educational and entertaining) literature than to the works like the "Book of Poetry and Poets". In other words, this chapter by al-İşfahānī is a kind of an archive of information about Majnūn and Laylā which was not treated systematically.

The third monument is very different from the first two. In it the legend about Majnūn and Laylā is presented as a logical, consistent story, which follows direct (without turning back or looking forward) chronology of events. The only exception, which has already been mentioned above, concerns the death of Majnūn's father, and can probably be explained by the influence of the "Book of Songs" in which at the end of the chapter about Majnūn this information is given for the second time. Variations and reduplication of information is almost ruled out, although in the available edition the author several times turns to the discussion of the reasons of Majnūn's father's attempt to wed his son to Laylā (here al-Wālibī may also have followed his predecessors in whose works this episode of the romantic legend is also repeated). Al-Wālibī pays a lot less attention than Ibn Qutayba or al-İşfahānī to the discussion of the genealogy of Majnūn and Laylā. Like in İşfahānī's work, the literary-critical aspect of the legend in "Majnūn's *Diwān*" is muffled and is rather of *adab* character (let us remind of the episodes with the poets Quşayyir and Jarīr). At the end of the monument, however, the literary-critical element (al-Wālibī's statement about the critical selection of material (poems and other information) is of ornamental character and serves the tale setting of the legend's final).

The latter idea leads us to the necessity to say a few words about fictionalising the romantic legend about Majnūn in Arabic tradition. Its elements are visible in all the three analysed monuments. Let us point to some examples to prove this tendency.

3. Together with his two cousins Majnūn sets off to see the traces of Laylā's relatives' camp and writes a poem on this occasion.

4. Majnūn tells 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).

5. By request of the messenger Majnūn performs his *qaşīda* which contains the *bayt* that the messenger mentions.

6. The fragment which contains Majnūn's *qaşīda* when Laylā was taken to her husband.

7. On their way to Makka Majnūn's cousin asks him why he starts crying at the sight of a dove. Majnūn's poetic answer is given.

8. Laylā talks to her maid about a tooth-stick given to her by Majnūn. Majnūn's poems are given written when he found out about their conversation.

9. It is pouring rain for three days. After it is over some man tries to console Majnūn. In reply the latter performs his poems.

10. In spring Majnūn writes a poem about doves' cooing.

11. Majnūn remembers seeing a gazelle once, and then a wolf which was chasing it. Then he found the wolf who was already gobbling up the gazelle. Majnūn kills the wolf, takes the eaten pieces out of his stomach, adds them to the remains, buries the gazelle and burns the wolf. After that he writes a poem.

12. At night Majnūn hears a dove cooing and writes a poem.

13. A man goes past Majnūn to Ramal Yabrīn. Majnūn reads his poems to him.

14. A group of Yemeni people go past Majnūn. He writes a poem.

15. A man from Majnūn's family goes to Laylā's camp and asks Majnūn whether he would like to pass her something. 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, reads a poem which was later passed to Majnūn.

C. Al-Wālibī introduces a large number of such elements in his work. It is impossible to mention them all here (this would have required annotating the whole monument). So let us limit ourselves to some representative examples.

1—2. Majnūn writes poems on the occasion of going to Babylon to be healed there and the treatment itself.

3. The information about the meeting of Majnūn and poet Quşayyir. The poet met a man in the desert who looked strange and asked him whether he was a man or a genie. This was Majnūn who snared gazelles, looked at them because they resembled Laylā and then freed them. In this connection Majnūn reads poems transmitted by Quşayyir.

4. An Asadit saw a naked man in the desert with overgrown hair and, being sure that this was an evil spirit, asked him whether he was a man or a genie. This was Majnūn who replied with a poem.

5. Majnūn goes past a pond and reads a poem.

6. Majnūn sat by a rock in Tihāma and read a poem.

7. A man sees Majnūn sitting on the edge of a well and reciting poems.

8. An 'Āmirit tells Majnūn that one must keep love secret. Majnūn replies with a poem, and then, at the instance of the 'Āmirit reads his other poems.

9. A raven walked past Majnūn. He writes a poem.

10. Having seen a lightning, Majnūn writes a poem.

11. Majnūn stops in the shade of a big tree, sees a bird and writes a poem.

12. Majnūn spends a night with the shepherds. In the morning he writes a poem telling about the rain and the wind which did not let them make a fire.

13. Once Majnūn saw a bird in the sky and read a poem.

14. Majnūn reads a poem about an eagle.

15. Majnūn reads his poems at the instance of two pilgrims. They give him clothes, but he refuses to take it.

16. Majnūn, disguised as a beggar, walks with an old woman around the camp of Laylā's relatives. At her tent he reads his poem.

17. Majnūn addresses a raven with his poem.

18. Majnūn sees birds on trees and reads his poem.

19. Majnūn sees a flock of *qaṭā* birds and reads his poem.

20. A man goes past Laylā. Having found out that he is going to the lands of the 'Āmirits, she reads a poem to him. When Majnūn finds it out, he writes back to Laylā and sends his message with the same man.

21. Poet Qays ibn Mu'mar asks Laylā which of Allah's creations is the dearest to her. She says it is Qays ibn al-Mulawwaḥ and proves this by her poem.

22. Laylā is told that if she does not stop mentioning Majnūn in her poems, they both will be killed. She replies with a poem.

23. Majnūn is seriously sick. Laylā sends him a message with a poem. Majnūn replies with a poem which he sends back with the same messenger.

24. Two horsemen find Majnūn in the desert and inform him about Laylā's death. Majnūn faints, and, having regained consciousness, reads a poem. Then he goes to Laylā's grave and, again, reads a poem.

25. A man meets Majnūn and reads to him some poems by Qays ibn Dharīḥ. In reply Majnūn reads his own poems. After that the man goes to Majnūn's relatives and they reproach him for not having asked Majnūn to read him his *qaşīda* about pits for collecting rain-water, which they have unsuccessfully been trying to record. The man goes to Majnūn again, reads him poems by Qays ibn Dharīḥ and asks him to perform the *qaşīda* he was sent for, telling Majnūn that he has taken a notebook and ink specially for this purpose. Majnūn reads him the required *qaşīda* and runs away following a gazelle. When the man returns to Majnūn for the third time, now with his relatives, they find him dead. They managed to read a distich by his head written on the ground.

26. On his father's grave Majnūn stab a female camel and read a poem.

This list shows that the elements of fictionalising are heterogeneous in their origin. In most cases they are separate poems ascribed to Majnūn with a short comment, which must have been included in the growing legend during its verbal circulation and possible cyclisation. They determine the vivid lyrical character of the legend which has been pointed out by a number of researchers. In other cases, they are small fragments containing a plot kernel and characterised by distinct artistic fiction (for example, the information about the circumstances of Majnūn's death; the information about the two amazing events which happened with Majnūn and Laylā when they first fell in love with each other; the story about Majnūn disguised as a beggar and led by an old woman on a chain around the camp of Laylā's relatives). Finally, in "Majnūn's *Diwān*" the elements of treating the legend in the style of "folk novels" are visible with the use of the motives of magic (for example, comparing naked Majnūn with a genie).

As we can see, elements of fictionalisation are present in all the three monuments. However, their roles are different. In the "Book of Poetry and Poets" they do not affect the character of the work, while in "Majnūn's *Diwān*" their function becomes very noticeable, if not the most important

one [14]. Concerning the last monument, we can be even surer. Al-Wālibī's work, which is a reviewed and literary processed version of the Arabic legend about Majnūn is,

### V. About the correlation between the Arabic legend and "Laylā and Majnūn" by Nizāmī

As it has already been said above, a classic example of the romantic epos about Majnūn is a poem of the genius Persian poet Nizāmī called "Laylā and Majnun". Researchers have long been interested in the problem of correlation of this poem with the Arabic legend. Most fully this issue is illuminated in the abovementioned works by E. É. Berthel's. Let us cite the most important of his observations and sum up his conclusions in the aspects of such comparison that we are concerned with.

According to Berthel's, Nizāmī "very accurately reproduced the general structure of the legend and did not leave out any of its important elements". The poet treated the material carefully, "often using even small details". E. É. Berthel's not only points to some similar features, but also speaks in detail about the differences, "whose appearance is sometimes easy to explain". Let us first of all turn to the central theme of the Arabic legend and Nizāmī's poem — the Majnūn and Laylā love story.

(i) "The lovers' parents ... turned to a kind of princelings, but even the Arabic legends mention their wealth and grandeur".

(ii) "Nizāmī introduces a kind of a prehistory of Qays by making the childless father obtain his son by prayer. This is a favourite motif of all fairy literature of the Near East, whose appearance requires no justification".

(iii) "The picture of the appearance of love between Majnūn and Laylā is changed. Instead of the touching young camels school appeared. This change is also clear. Nizāmī lived in the environment very different from the patriarchal lifestyle of the Bedouins. As he turned Majnūn's father into a princeling, it would have been difficult to leave Majnūn a shepherd... School, in the atmosphere of the 12th century, was the best substitution".

(iv) "The description of Nawfal's interference is sufficiently changed and grew into an independent, integral episode. No military conflict is mentioned in the Arabic legend, but it is obvious that from the point of view of a 12th century poet, description of a battle was one of the advantageous themes".

(v) In the available Arabic legends there is no scene describing Majnūn talking to the stars. And this detail also becomes explicable by the environment of the 12th century literary life... Nizāmī had to pay tribute to this sphere of knowledge of his epoch".

(vi) "The picture of Laylā's death is developed which was not developed in the Arabic sources... For Nizāmī her death was... a necessary link required by the composition of the poem".

(vii) And, finally, the main difference is that "none of the available Arabic sources does not present the legend as an organic whole", while the "connection of separate fragments of the legend into a whole must be viewed as Nizāmī's own work" [15].

according to its typological characteristics, a close analogue of the classic examples of the romantic epos about Majnūn and Laylā.

E. É. Berthel's compares the Arabic legend and Nizāmī's work in one more aspect.

"An Arabic narrator was interested in Majnūn not as a lover, but first of all as a genius poet who expressed his sufferings in beautiful poems".

This evokes the question of how Majnūn's poems could have preserved which he

"did not record but performed (or, to be more precise, sang) to the rocks and the wind in the desert".

"Arabic transmitters must have understood this and included into the legend the descriptions of a number of meetings of Majnūn with amateurs of poetry who visited him and who managed to record all his works. Thus, the legend turned into a kind of historical-literary novel, a novel about a poet".

The researcher points to the similarity of the Arabic legend and Nizāmī's work in this aspect, as he "paid big attention to it" [16].

The comparison made by Berthel's can be supplemented and specified today basing on the comparative analysis of the three sources of the Arabic legend carried out by us. However, we must say that we do not claim our additions and specifications to be complete and exact, as this issue is complicated, but are meant to point a possible direction of future research.

We have already made a conclusion that the Arabic legend which has preserved until our days due to the three main sources is heterogeneous. In our opinion, the information we possess allows us to speak about the evolution of the romantic legend about Majnūn among the Arabs. In typological aspect al-Wālibī's work is a lot less different from Nizāmī's poem than the other two sources. Correspondingly, the correlation of the classic works of the romantic epos about Majnūn with the Arabic legend will look more complicated; in some cases the distance between them and the version by al-Wālibī's will appear to be not as big as it used to seem.

On the contrary, in other aspects the differences between the Arabic legend and classic works of the romantic epos about Majnūn may turn out to be more important than the researchers used to think. In our opinion, the main difference lies in the nature of the conflict at the basis of the legend about Majnūn and the classic works of the romantic epos about Majnūn.

In this connection we would like to point to one important difference between the Arabic legend and the romantic epos, which E. É. Berthel's, as well as other researchers, undoubtedly knew about, but which was never mentioned as it must have been viewed as insufficient. However, it is hard to overestimate the role of this element, as it determines the development of the story.

In two Arabic sources (Ibn Qutayba's work is an exception) Majnūn and Laylā are close relatives — parental cousins, and, as such, are object of the so-called or-

tho-cousin marriage, i. e. from their birth they were meant to marry each other (with the right of priority for the male side, however) [17]. That is why Majnūn's father declares to his brother and Laylā's father his son's great right to marry Laylā (al-Wālibī's work). It may sound strange for a modern person, but Majnūn's love to Laylā turns out to be an obstacle for their marriage. Al-Wālibī also speaks about love as an obstacle for marriage: "if the Arabs found out about a man's love to a woman, they did not let him marry her".

Here we can not speak in detail about this, but let us point to the fact that such attitude to love and marriage, which seems strange today, is explained by the specifics of matrimonial relations in the clan-tribal society on the Arabic Peninsula. Let us stress this idea: the obstacle for the happiness of Majnūn and Laylā in the Arabic legend is ordinary, according to modern views, love, and not "crazy" love like in Nizāmī's work. This leads to other differences.

In the Arabic legend Majnūn becomes really "insane" after his father unsuccessfully asks for Laylā's hand in marriage on behalf of his son, while in Nizāmī's work Majnūn's father proposes his "crazily" in love son for a girl from a different tribe. The Arabic legend contains no explanation of the fact that love was an obstacle for marriage, as it was clear for everyone that it broke the traditional material hereditary-legal relations and could lead to the degradation of the clan-tribal society. That is why a man who wanted to marry the woman he loved in that society could be viewed as someone acting unreasonably, different from the norms of behaviour. In other words, loving an unmarried woman was breaking the norms of life of the clan-tribal society and could lead to serious punishment (let us point to the fact that the ruler allowed Laylā's relatives to shed Majnūn's blood despite the fact that the offender was their close relative) and could be seen as grounds to condemn him.

Nizāmī's work does not contain such explanations. Undoubtedly, the society in which he lived (here we agree with E. É. Berthel's) was very different from the Bedouin clan-tribal society. However, he was familiar with ortho-cousin marriage and the proof can be found in the poem itself where in one of the digressions he speaks about the love of Zayd to his uncle's daughter Zaynab [18]. Although the authorship of this chapter of Nizāmī's work is subject to disputes, this fact can not call into question his knowledge about the cousin marriage. However, Nizāmī rejected from this motivation of the Arabic legend, which must have been connected with the concept of his work, which we shall not discuss in the present article. In his poem Majnūn fails because of his "crazy", too passionate love to Laylā, although Nizāmī's poem lacks concrete details which prove the expressions of Majnūn's "crazy" love. In general, we must point to the fact that Nizāmī describes the early period of the love between Majnūn and Laylā very briefly and his poem is rich in vague hints concerning the reason why Majnūn was guilty in the eyes of the Arabs. He must state

that, as well as in the Arabic legend, it was his love that he was blamed for. But while in the Arabic legend Majnūn's love is anti-social as it breaks the norms of matrimonial relations and undermines the foundation of the clan-tribal society, in Nizāmī's poem Majnūn's passionate love "due to its strength breaks the norms, becomes anti-social and is the reason of his tragic guilt" [19]. However, the fundamental similarity of the Arabic legend (first of all, undoubtedly, al-Wālibī's work) and Nizāmī's poem is the fact that they both depict, with different degree of artistic skill, the same phenomenon — "the miracle and the tragedy of an individual's passion discovered in Medieval literature", the "inner man" not limited to anything becomes in them a social out-cast [20].

We have already spoken about the typological likeness of al-Wālibī's work "Majnūn's *Diwān*" and the romantic epos about Majnūn and Laylā. However, their fates were different. Outstanding works of the romantic epos written in the Persian language became world famous, while the "version" by al-Wālibī remained known only in the Arabic world. The reason must be looked for in the difference in the level and quality of fictionalisation of the Arabic legend in the Arabic and Persian traditions. No Arabic author managed to turn the legend about Majnūn into a perfect artistic work. In this connection let us give a small, but characteristic example. Let us remind of E. É. Berthel's's observation concerning the second line of the story about Majnūn in the Arabic legend and in Nizāmī's poem which imparted to it the features of a "historical-literary novel", a "novel about a poet". Al-Wālibī, as well as Nizāmī paid attention to the "reliable" motivation of Majnūn's poems' preservation and reproduction. Additional characters are introduced into the narrative who visited Majnūn in the desert and are said to have recorded or remembered his poems and then reproduced them to other amateurs of poetry. But Majnūn in al-Wālibī's work, after Laylā's death, exhausted and worn out, a few days before his death, proves to a man who visited him that his poems excel the wonderful works by poet Qays ibn Dharrīh. The episodes of comparison of the poems by different authors to define the best one trace back to the Arabic philological works (in particular, they can be found in Ibn Qutayba's work), however, such comparison is hardly psychologically reliable and appropriate in a fictionalised story about Majnūn. At the same time, it would be wrong to underestimate the importance of many purely literary episodes, which appeared in the process of supplementing and fictionalisation of the Arabic legend, in the aspect of the hero's delicate psychological characteristics. Let us remember the famous episode which tells about Majnūn walking around the camp of Laylā's relatives disguised as a beggar with a chain around his neck, the description of Majnūn's death, etc. They were adopted and then many times reproduced in the outstanding works of the romantic epos about Majnūn and Laylā.

### Notes

1. E. É. Berthel's published in 1940 two articles about the history of the plot of the Arabic legend in connection with the study of Nizāmī's works (E. É. Berthel's, "Istochniki 'Leili i Mejnun' Nizami" ("The sources of Nizāmī's 'Laylā and Majnūn'"), *Nizami I* (Baku, 1940); *idem*, "'Leili i Mejnun' (istoriia siuzheta arabского predaniia, versiiia Nizami i poéma Navoi)" ("Laylā and Majnūn' (the history of the plot of the Arabic legend, Nizāmī's version and Nawā'ī's poem)"), *Literatura i iskusstvo Uzbekistana* (1940), i), which were later included in a monograph about the poet completed by the end of 1940 but was first published much later (*idem*, "Nizami", *Izbrannye*

trudy. Nizami i Fizuli (Moscow, 1962)). I. Iu. Krachkovskii wrote in 1940 a large work about the history of this plot on the "Arabic ground" (also first published later: "Ranniaia istoriia povesti o Majnune i Layle v arabskoj literature" ("The early history of the legend about Majnūn and Laylā in Arabic literature"), *Izbrannye sochineniya* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1956), ii).

2. E. È. Berthel's wrote the following on this matter:

"There are differences between the sources, which mostly refer to minor parts of the story. We can assume that amendments are later additions caused by the intention to develop and enrich the originally poor in facts fable".

(Berthel's, "Nizami", p. 249). When expressing the same idea about the correlation between the sources, I. Iu. Krachkovskii expresses his low opinion about the work by al-Wālibī:

"The whole version by al-Wālibī makes an impression of negligence and rather misleads than helps understand the history of the Arabic Majnūn".

(Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 593), although he more than once refers to it in his work. It seems that E. È. Berthel's did not share his severe opinion, although we find his assessment of this monument as "the most complete collection of stories about Majnūn" (Berthel's, "Nizami", p. 247) an overestimation.

3. Let us look at them briefly. I. Iu. Krachkovskii aims at determining the "chronological and geographical limits" of the Arabic legend about Majnūn; a lot of attention is also paid to the discussion of the question of the historicity of Majnūn (this aspect of the scholar's work later received little support in science). E. È. Berthel's studied in detail the transformation of the story about Majnūn in numerous works of the romantic epos of the Near and Middle East.

4. Let us limit ourselves here to one recent example. In a monograph by E. M. Meletinskii about the origin and the classical forms of medieval novel (E. M. Meletinskii, *Srednevekovi roman. Proishozhdenie i klassicheskie formy* (Medieval Novel. The Origin and Classic Forms) (Moscow, 1983) the material of the works by both authors is widely used.

5. Among them we must first of all mention a fundamental work about love lyrics and courtesy in the Near and Middle East in the Middle Ages by J.-C. Vadet (*L'Esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'Hégire* (Paris, 1968)).

6. Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-shi'r wa al-shu'ara'* (in Arabic) (Beirut, 1969), pp. 467—7.

7. Hereinafter the information found only in one of the three analysed Arabic sources will be given in italics.

8. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī* (in Arabic) (Cairo, 1928), ii, pp. 1—95.

9. Abū Bakr al-Wālibī, *Diwān Majnūn Laylā* (in Arabic) (Cairo, 1939), p. 7. An account of the information from al-Wālibī's work is given according to the printed non-critical work without taking into account numerous variations (sometimes important) contained in the manuscripts. Thus, our conclusions are of preliminary character.

10. Quoted from Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

11. For more details see: G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba: l'homme, l'œuvre, ses idées* (Damas, 1965); A. B. Kudelin, *Srednevekoviia arabskaia poëtika (vtoraia polovina VIII—XI vek)* (Medieval Arabic Poetics (Second Half of the 8th—11th Century)) (Moscow, 1983).

12. The elements of fictionalising are distinguished conditionally as the division between them and other statements is often vague.

13. To save space here we mention only some of them.

14. Iu. Krachkovskii, who studied the legend about Majnūn in the historical aspect, noticed this difference between the monuments and insisted on the idea that al-Wālibī's work is not historical in its essence (see above, note 2).

15. Berthel's, "Nizami", pp. 267—9.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 273—4.

17. For more details see: Kudelin, "Semēno-brachnye otnosheniia v Aravii V—VII vv. i ikh otrazhenie v rannej arabskoj poëzii" ("Family-matrimonial relations in Arabia in the 5th—7th centuries and their reflection in the early Arabic poetry"), *Islam i problemy mezhsivilizatsionnykh vzaimodeistvii. Institut islamskoj tsivilizatsii* (Moscow, 1994).

18. Nizami Gyanjawi, *Leili i Mejnun*, transl. from Persian, introduction and comments by R. Aliev (Baku, 1981), p. 282 and further.

19. Meletinskii, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

21. *Ibid.*

M. Reisner

## THE LIFE OF THE TEXT AND THE FATE OF TRADITION. VI: BIRDS IN MYSTICAL-SYMBOLIC *QASĪDAS* BY SANĀ'Ī AND *KHĀQĀNĪ* (12TH CENTURY) (TO THE PROBLEM OF FORMATION OF THE SYMBOLIC LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN *QASĪDA*)

Records of birds can be found even in the early examples of mono-rhythmic poetry in the Persian language of the 10th—11th centuries. "Birds" motives were an integral part of the calendar theme inherited by the classical Persian poetry from the pre-Islamic court singers, performers of "king's motets" (سرود خسروانی) [1]. The stable repertory of lyrical themes which was tightly connected with the ancient tradition of spring calendar rituals and the Sāsānid court etiquette of *nawrūz* celebration played an important part in the process of the *qasīda*, which was inherited from the Arabic poetic system, taking root on the Iranian literary ground.

A fragment of Rūdakī's (860—941) spring *qasīda* is an example of one of the first records of birds in Persian poetry. It begins with the following words: "Blessed spring came, full of colours and scents..." and contains the following lines:

بلبل همی بخواند در شاخسار بید      سار از درخت سرو مر او را شده مجیب  
صلصل بسرو بن بر بانغمه کهن      بلبل بشاخ گل بر بالحنک غریب

"A nightingale sings among willow branches, / a starling replies from a cypress. // A turtle-dove on a cypress sings old tunes, / a nightingale replies from the rose bush with amazing warbles" [2].

Following Rūdakī a court poet of the Ghaznavid circle Manūchihri (1000—1040) interprets the same motives in his description of spring:

(۱) نوروز درآمد ای منوچهری      بالاله لعل و با گل خمری  
(۲) مرغان زبان را گرفته یکسر      بگشاد زبان رومی و عبری  
(۳) یک مرغ سرود پارسی گوید      یک مرغ سرود ماورالنهری...  
(۱۴) بر شاخ درخت ارغوان بلبل      ماند به جمیل معمر عذری  
(۱۵) بی وزن عروض بحر ها گوید      شاعر نبود بدین نکو شعری  
(۱۶) طاووس مدیح عنصری خواند      دراج مسمط منوچهری

"(1) *Nawrūz* came, oh, Manūchihri, / [decorated] by ruby tulips and purple roses.

(2) All birds at the same time gained the gift of speech, / some started talking in the Rūmī dialect, others in the Hebrew language.

(3) One bird is singing a Pārsī song, / another — a Mā Warā' al-Nahr tune...

(14) On a Judas tree branch a nightingale / resembles Jamīl Mu'ammar from 'Udhra tribe.

(15) Without any knowledge of 'arūd he composes his rhymes, / he is no poet but his poems are good.

(16) A peacock recites praise to 'Unṣurī / and a francolin — Manūchihri's *musammaṣ*" [3].

The use of calendar beginnings for the creation of integral allegorical pictures is first found in the *qasīdas* by Nāsīr-i Khūsraw, however the Ismā'īlī poet limited himself to separate mentions of birds in the traditional *bahāriyya* contexts. On the whole, his undertaking is followed by the 12th century court poets in whose *qasīdas* we can trace the turn to the didactic and religious-mystical theme. Acknowledged masters of the decorated style who took professional training at the court and gained fame of panegyrists wrote seasonal allegories in the spirit of sophisticated detailed elaboration. Thus, in the *diwāns* by Sanā'ī (ca. 1048—after 1126) and Khāqānī (1120—1190) there are symbolic *qasīdas*, in whose introductory parts the famous seasonal theme is exploited which consists of the names of birds, flowers and trees. In these *qasīdas*, created basing on the tradition started by Rūdakī and Manūchihri, ways of re-actualisation on normative thematic constructions in the sphere of mystical poetry can be traced.

In the works dedicated to the history of Persian classical literature the fact of the wide use of "birds" figurativeness in different literary genres is mentioned. Mostly these researches describe the use of "birds" motives in Šūfī literature where birds act as characters bearing various symbolic information [4]. However, in his works E. È. Berthel's also mentions the cases of interpretation of "birds" figurativeness in mono-rhythmical poetry in the Persian language. Apart from the mention of the corresponding *qasīda* by Sanā'ī [5] there is also a small note dedicated to the publication of two *ghazals* of the early Šūfī poet Bābā Kūhī Shīrāzī one of which interprets four birds (the duck, the peacock, the raven and the rooster) as the personification of four temperaments connected with the predominance in nature of people of one of four liquids (black bile, yellow bile, phlegm and blood) [6].

Sharif Shukurov and E. È. Berthel's turned in their researches to the problem of functioning of "birds" symbol-

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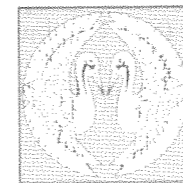
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Plate 3. *Ships*. Chinese watercolour on pith (37 × 25 cm), second half of the 19th century, MAE RAS, Collection of Nicholas II. Shelf-mark 311-1/12 (12). Courtesy of the Museum.

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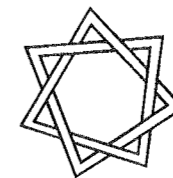
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