PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

SULAT-UL-AS-SALAT: THE KRUSENSTERN MANUSCRIPT*

In the Malay-Indonesian cultural tradition, starting in the 14th century and over the course of five centuries, works were written on historical themes, which are conventionally called histories, chronicles, genealogies and tales: Hikayat raja-rajai Pasai ("Tale of the Rajas of Pasai"); 14th century), Sejarah Melayu or Sulat-ul-as-salat ("History of Malay, or the Genealogy of the Sultans"); 15th-16th centuries), Hikayat Banjar ("Tale of Banjar"); mid-16th century), Daulat-i Akbar ("Tale of Ac-abs"); 17th century), Bostan-ul-as-salat ("Garden of Emperors"); chronicle of the court historiographer and jufi Nur ud-din ar-Ramini, ca. 1638 or 1640), Missa Melaya ("Malian Befr"); 16th century), Hikayat Al-Johor ("Tale of the Johor state", 18th century), Hikayat Tarung Mahawungsa ("Tale of Morong Mahawungsa"); 19th century), and many others. European researchers sometimes called these historical chronicles or annals. But usually, because of the difficulty in determining the genre of these works, their genre nature was expressed with a wider and general term — historical prose. The major specialist in Malay history and culture, expert in Malay medieval literature Sir R. O. Winsted, stressed that by their material, works of this genre, despite their Arabic names — Sejarah, Sulat-ul-as-salat, Tushiht-ul-ansafs, are much more original than any other branch of Malay prose [1].

I

The manuscript consists of two volumes — the first volume is of 106 folios, the second of 96 folios. The size of the folio in the first and second volumes is 26.5-20 cm; the text takes up both sides of the folio, with 17 lines on each side; the size of the text is 19.5-13.5 cm. On the last two pages of the first volume (folios 109a and 105b) the size of the text is 10-9 cm; in the second volume (folios 86a-85a) it is 13.8 cm. The pagination is late, and European [5]. The paper is of European manufacture (Amsterdam) with watermark. The watermark reads: "ILHUB-ZOONI H1K2. The date of manufacture of the paper is 1794 (watermark). Most of the manuscript is written with black ink, and individual words and sentences which are either Arabic text (scripted otherwise), or individual Malay words, are in red [6]. The paper and text have been excellently preserved. The binding is late, of thick cardboard glued with marble paper, with leather bindings and golden stamping.

In reading the copy the note in German stands out (as Gothic script) made on the fly-leaf (fol. 106) of the first volume of the manuscript by Ch. Feinlein [7]:


(History of the Malays from ancient times to the conquest of Malaya by the Portuguese. In Malay. During his visit to Malaya in 1797-1798, commodore Krusenstern, thanks to the particular courtesy of officials, received permission for a copy of the manuscript of this history to be made, which was very highly valued. He sent this copy to the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg [7]."

Further, analysing the sources indicated above, A. M. Kulikova came to the convincing conclusion that A. F. Krusenstern's manuscript can be copied during his voyage from the East Indies to China (1797—1799). In summer 1798, he was in Malacca, where his health was delayed by illness. Kulikova points out that on the first page of the first volume of the manuscript (in the European pagination — E. R.) the date of its copy is given — 1213 AH, which corresponds to the period from June 1798 to May 1799. And as in 19 November 1798, Krusenstern was already in Canton, in this case we can speak of an interval of time from June to October. On arriving in Petersbourg, Krusenstern sent the manuscript, and after a report of the history of the Malaysian Museum, in his turn it came to the Academy of Sciences library in 1802. In 1818, Christian Freiherr founded the Asiatic Museum, which already held the manuscript brought by Krusenstern [9].

Some more details should be added to the description of the manuscript. The manuscript is written in the Arabic script in the Malay language by a professional scribe, and begins with the basmalah which is usual for Muslim oriental manuscripts. On the first page of the first volume, the scribe gives the date 1213 AH (July 1798—May 1799 AD).

* Malay texts are presented in a way customary in Malay studies. © E. Revunenkov, 2006

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very frequently. In Arabic phrases, incorrect grammar and incorrect writing of words and phrases (for example, allahi is written instead of the letter ‘ayn, and kif instead of lām etc.), diacritics are either absent or placed where they are not needed, which could occur in many cases the words simply cannot be read. There are numerous unfinished Arabic

For an analysis of the place of our manuscript, in a number of preserved copies it is important to note certain of its stylistic features in comparison with the fullest and best-known text published by Abdullah b. Abd al-Qadir Al-Munshi and the edition of W. G. Shellabear which is very close to this text.

In content and content, the Krusenstern manuscript is close to the texts of the Senegal Melayu of Abdullah b. Abd al-Qadir Al-Munshi and W. G. Shellabear. All three texts consist of 34 stories. But between them are a whole range of stylistic and grammatical discrepancies. I compared the entire manuscript with the text published by Abdullah b. Abd al-Qadir Al-Munshi, as a result of which numerous differences were found which can be divided into several groups.

1. The stories begin differently. In the Krusenstern manuscript, each story begins directly with the subject: “tarih al-mawlud/Ibn Al-Ashbahi” (“story of birth”), while in the Mushi edition the story begins with a reference to the words of the storyteller: kata Sahih Hilalay ("the storyteller says").

2. The beginning of sentences are different. In Mushi, each paragraph usually begins with the conjunctions tab'a (or more rarely) setelah ("after") and each sentence with the conjunction maka ("and"). In the Krusenstern manuscript, clear preference is given for the term setelah, and the sentences often begin without the conjunction maka, but introductory words are used more often, such as adakum, adakum akan, syahdat, hatto ("as for"); "but," "meanwhile," and "then").

3. The frequency of the particles -ah, -ah, and also the possessive forms in the same, but the words to which they are affixed are not the same. Furthermore, in sentences identical in meaning the same words in the Mushi text are used without particles, while in the Krusenstern manuscript they are used with particles, for example rakyat banyak ("a lot of people in Mushi") and rakyat banyak sekali ("and a multitude of people") in the manuscript.

4. There are differences in the use of synonyms with a different style in the same context. For example, in the place where the Mushi text uses the high style depakembahan ("humbly report") the manuscript uses the stylistically neutral berkata ("speak"); katakata ("he said"). Sometimes, on the contrary, for example, instead of the neutral style verb man ("want") in the Mushi text, the Krusenstern manuscript uses the archaic synony mun enlu, which is high style. Numerous alternate readings also fall into the area of synonyms of the same stylistic level. Instead of the words melihat ("watch"),

Leading Dutch researcher R. Rooivink, who studied all the copies of this work known to him held in libraries of various countries (at least 30 of these) proposed to classify them by the degree of genealogical relationship, and singled out four main versions of texts: short, full, expanded and the special Palaeologus [13]. The Petersburgh manuscript is not represented in this classification, as Rooivink did not have it at his disposal, although he knew of its existence. Judging by the contents and structure of the manuscript, it can be determined that according to Rooivink’s classification it is part of the short version of the work and reflects the Johor edition, like the texts of the Senegal Melayu published by Abdullah b. Abd al-Qadir Al-Munshi. But there are certain features which bring it close to the text published in 1938 by the leading Malay expert of the 20th century R. O. Winmasta [14] (hereinafter Raffles 18) as the author’s edition or edition closest to the original edition of the text. This should be discussed in more detail.

Above all, the feat, with which the stories begin “now follows the story of..." in both texts coincides, while in the editions of Abdullah b. Abd al-Qadir Al-Munshi and W. G. Shellabear the stories usually begin with a different formula, and namely: “the storyteller says: now follows the story of...

In this section we will discuss the similarity of whole pieces of text, individual sentences, expressions, phrases, names, and place names even in the same words cannot be read, which exist both in the Krusenstern manuscript and the Raffles 18 manuscript. I will give several examples.

In the story about how Raja Nia Ubay went to Tanjung Bemban (story 3) the Krusenstern manuscript describes the equipment of the ship as follows:

Kesukun baginda lancaran berisit tiga, pelam perahu, jarung pelabuhan, bidar kekayau, serta jang penanggulangan terumah perahu, bentuk menandu.

In the Raffles 18 manuscript the text is almost identical:

Maka aseguna lancaran kesukun baginda pelam perahu, jarung pelabuhan, bidar kekayau, serta jang penanggulangan terumah perahu, bentuk menandu.

In the editions of Abdullah b. Abd al-Qadir Al-Munshi and W. G. Shellabear this extract is different:

Adegan kesukun baginda lancaran berisit tiga, pelam perahu dalam kolum darah dalam kurung, serta perumandam dan kekayauan ber-masuah [16].

The description of the amenities of female servants in the Krusenstern manuscript (story 3) and the Raffles 18 text are also the same, but in the Krusenstern manuscript there are several verbs missed out in some places, and the entire description is given in a rather different order than in the Raffles 18 text:

Adakan kesukun baginda lancaran berisit tiga, pelam perahu dalam kolum darah dalam kurung, serta perumandam dan kekayauan ber-masuah [16].

The similarity in the edition of Mushi and W. G. Shellabear is somewhat different:

Ada yang singap, ada yang kaping [Raffles 18; mengganti silsil, mengganti kupang], ada yang mengganti bari [Raffles 18; mengganti bari], ada yang mengganti pinang drierutaha, ada yang dando [Raffles 18; mengganti dinn] batur dibuatnya anam [not in Raffles 18], ada yang mengganti bunga kurau dayaperana (Kra) (7), ada yang mengganti ngår (7), ada yang mengganti ngår ugar (7).}

In the stories involving the ties of the Malaccan Sultanate with the Javanese empire of Majapahit, in particular, the episodes about the arrival of the Malaccan admiral Hang Tuah in Java, songs and poems are given in the Javanese language with translations into Malay, story 14. The texts of these 12 songs in the Krusenstern manuscript completely coincide with the similar texts of the Raffles 18 manuscript [19], while there are only three songs, which are also included in editions of Mushi and W. G. Shellabear [20]. Only in the Krusenstern and Raffles 18 manuscripts, the text of the oath (vow) of loyalty are given in broken Sanskrit, while in the other examples of the manuscript it is encountered twice — during the enthronement of the ruler of the ancient Malay state (story 2) and during the ascent to the throne in Muslim Malacca (story 11). In the Raffles 18 manuscript, the text of the oath is only uttered by the ancient Malay ruler [21]. In the Mushi and W. G. Shellabear the text of this oath is completely absent. Only in the Krusenstern and Raffles 18 manuscript there is an Arabic formula after the verification of the death of the ruler — qill mundial uinam "allah" rastina "wali allah" which was replaced by "wali allah and very they return to him". The Mushi and W. G. Shellabear editions do not have this formula.

The description of the fire in the palace and the rescue of the beggars in the legend (story 16) coincides word by word with the Raffles 18 manuscript and differs from the description of the same event in the editions of Mushi and W. G. Shellabear in style:

Krusenstern MS

Maka orang banyak datang hendak berbaikan tiga, karena orang-orang memperbaiki rumah yang ada. "Tenet" timbat hatap ianu inggih hubung hubungan dari para hutan hatap istana itu sebagai hujan yang lebat.

Mushi publication

Maka orang banyak datang hendak berbaikan tiga, karena orang-orang memperbaiki rumah yang ada. "Tenet" timbat hatap ianu inggih hubung hubungan dari para hutan hatap istana itu sebagai hujan yang lebat. [23].
Raffles 18
Maka orang pun sema-nya datanglah berhakakan tiada tepbér baki lagi. Maka segera arti yang dalam istana ini pun sema-nya diperlengkakan. Ada pun mimi atap ini pun haruslah diukur dari dsari hingga atas istana ini sehingga tinggi yang dibawa [22].

In the formation of phrases, combinations of words in the same context there are many similarities between the Krausen manuscript and the text of the Raffles 18 manuscript. It is the same time they differ from the Abdullah b. Abdulqadir Munchi and W. G. Sheelabhar texts which in their turn are also similar. Some examples:

Raffles 18
...pada suatu hari, maka Arika
Gajah Maks berhak beraut [23].

Sheelabhar manuscript
pada suatu hari, maka Paket Arika Gajah Maks membuka
suroh beraut [27].

Such sentences as ...huma rasa yova terus, maka rusa itu pun tiada boleh lagi plansi mati are the same in the Krausen manuscript and the Raffles 18 text, while in the Abdullah b. Abdulqadir Munchi edition this sentence exists in shortened form: hena rasa yova terus lau plansi mati [28].

Krausen MS
Jika diberi opal, jaga, jika tiada bercipali pada.

Abdullah publication
Jika diberikan opal, jaga, jika tiada tiada pada.

In the episode about the capture of the ruler of Samudra by the Siamese (story 8) a letter is mentioned sent by the Siamese king — "This is how it is said" — Denakun bumiya. This phrase is present in the same variant in Raffles 18 [32]. In the Abdullah b. Abdulqadir Munchi and W. G. Sheelabhar editions the letter of the Siamese king is mentioned differently: "It sounds very pleasant" — Terlatu baik sekali bumiya [33].

In the episode telling on the Javanese princess choosing a husband (story 14), the bride holds an inspection of husbands and says, according to the Krausen manuscript and the Raffles 18 manuscript: "Let me choose" — ...bairah beta pilah [Krausen manuscript] ...bairah beta pilah [34]. But in the Munchi and W. G. Sheelabhar editions the bride says: "Let me look beta pilah [35].

The verbs berlaki, pelakonan ("marry") in the Krausen manuscript and in the Raffles 18 text correspond to the synonymous verbs bersuami, buat suami in the Munchi and W. G. Sheelabhar editions, and instead of the expression menutupan jari ("demand the promise to be met") minia jarii is used, instead of the form zikirigu ("write" or "perform poems") the form darpatun (sing pantun) is used, etc.

Some words are encountered only in the Krausen manuscript and the Raffles 18 manuscript. Such words as nyungguh ("how"), teronggar-anggar ("collar"), ganggu ("bronz"), "a small brass tray"), gamong ("feel dizzy"), rembanan ("bolster") and others. In the corresponding sentences in Munchi and Sheelabhar words with different meanings are used: gemparan ("be startled"), tergojil ("shake"), talaum ("tray"), gomom ("indis- tinct"), ("jamb").

There are many words in the Krausen manuscript which are incomprehensible. Many of them also coincide with the text of the Raffles 18 manuscript. In the Abdullah b. Abdulqadir Munchi and W. G. Sheelabhar editions, in a similar context, other words and expressions are used. In the sentence ...pasirnya terlatu patih sepertinya sudah (2) (dikantong) in the Krausen manuscript and pasir-nya terlatu patih sepertinya in the Raffles 18 text the meanings of the two words is incomprehensible, while in the Abdullah b. Abdulqadir Munchi edition there are no words which cannot be read. In this place the expression sepertinya kati terhampar — like spread-eat kari [36].

In the episode about punishment for adultery (story 10) the punishment is inflicted on his mother in the Krausen manuscript and the Raffles 18 manuscript is expressed with the word maksi (2) (parajangkuk), the meaning of which is unknown. R. O. Winstedt did not translate it is [37]. At the same time, in the Abdullah b. Abdulqadir Munchi and W. G. Sheelabhar editions in the place where the verb sulaikan ("be impaled on a stake") is used [38].
REVIEWS

UNESCO CD of Şan‘a’ MSS: Qur‘ān MSS Contents

UNESCO, as part of their Memory of the World project, produced a CD-ROM with hundreds of photographs of manuscripts from Şan‘a’, Yemen. The CD has explanatory text in Arabic, English, and French, and is divided into four categories of manuscript: “Qur‘ānic Fragments”, “Non-Qur‘ānic Manuscripts”, “Arabic Calligraphy”, and “Yemenite Manuscripts”. The disk contains many significant images. For instance, the “Qur‘ānic Fragments” section includes almost 300 photographs of very early Qur‘ān manuscripts from the famous discoveries in 1972, many of them in būṣīṭī and early kufī scripts. Unfortunately, the disk is no longer available and the selection of images provided on the internet is much less thorough. The CD-ROM is available, however, in many research collections. What follows is an index of the photographs on the disk for just the Qur‘ān fragments.

All of the categories used in the index are those used on the CD-ROM. The dates are those assigned by the creators of the CD, as are also the script style titles. The MSS numbers are those given for the MSS in their order on the CD.

Close study of the contents and the images well rewards the effort. For instance, three of the pictures show manuscripts that contain non-standard sūra orders. These are:


The last one, with the order sūra 26 followed immediately by sūra 37 is the order that al-Nāḍīm records in his Fiḥrīṣt for the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd. Dr. Puin refers to this significant manuscript as being the first extant manuscript to contain a sūra order matching one of a Companion’s collection.

The other two examples, however, 49—50—48 and 69—65—66, are not sūra orders that are recorded in the Fiḥrīṣt as belonging to any of the Companions of Muhammad, nor are they mentioned by Dr. Puin in his article, further confirming his hypothesis that more differing arrangements of sūras, as well as at least one of the ones that have been reported, were in use among Muslims in this early period.

This index was originally produced by this writer to make his own use of the CD more efficient, and is being offered to make some of the treasures of the Şan‘a’ manuscripts more easily accessible to the scholarly community.

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Muḥammad Yūsuf, “Daurūḥ Holding a Rosary”, 25.5x7.8 cm, Iran, mid 17th century. The State Hermitage Museum, VR-740/XXV. Courtesy of the Museum.

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