

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

E. Revunenкова

SULALAT-US-SALATIN: 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-raja Pasai* ("Tale of the Rajas of Pasai", 14th century), *Sejarah Melayu* or *Sulalat-us-salatin* ("History of Malay, or the Genealogy of the Sultans", 15th—16th centuries), *Hikayat Banjar* ("Tale of Banjar", mid 16th century), *Hikayat Aceh* ("Tale of Aceh", 17th century), *Bustan-us-salatin* ("Garden of Emperors" — chronicle of the court historiographer and *šūfi* Nur-ud-din ar-Raniri, ca. 1638 or 1640), *Misa Melayu* ("Malay Buffalo", 17th—18th centuries), *Hikayat negeri Johor* ("Tale of the Johor state", 18th—19th centuries), *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* ("Tale of Marong Mahawangsa" or "The Kedah Annals" (beginning of the 19th century)), chronicles of the renowned Malay historiographer of Buginese origin Raji Ali Haji — *Tuhfat-an-nafis* ("Precious Gift", 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 vaguer term — historical prose. The major specialist in Malay history and culture, expert in Malay medieval literature Sir R. O. Winstedt, stressed that by their mate-

Krusenstern's manuscript is the subject of two very substantial articles by A. M. Kulikova, which initially appeared as a separate publication [2], and later with several additions and a different name — as a supplement to the description of Malay manuscripts in the SPIOs collection [3]. After studying the archive materials, works of scholars on the history of the Asiatic Museum, the biography and diary notes by I. F. Krusenstern, A. M. Kulikova presented a history of the appearance of this manuscript in St. Petersburg, and traced the path of its movement from the Academy of Sciences Library to the Asiatic Museum, and also gave a detailed archive description of the manuscript.

* Malay texts are presented in a way customary in Malay studies.

rial, works of this genre, despite their Arabic names — *Sejarah*, *Sulalat-us-salatin*, *Tuhfat-an-nafis*, are much more original than any other branch of Malay prose [1].

The contents of most of these works are restricted to events which took place in individual Malay principalities, but each of them makes up an integral part of the common Malay historical tradition, which goes back to the time of the flourishing of the Pasai principality (north Sumatra), reaching the height of their development in the period of the Malacca and Johor sultanates, and continuing their existence up to the modern age.

None of the above-listed works had such monumentality and undoubted strength of artistic realisation as the *Sejarah Melayu* or *Sulalat-us-Salatin* ("Genealogy of Sultans") — the most famous Malay work in the genre of historical prose, known in international Malay studies in many copies and several publications. The manuscript of this work, with the name "History of Malays from Ancient Times to the Conquest of Malaya by the Portuguese" is kept in the SPIOs archive (P. 1, descr. 5, issue units 8 and 9). It was brought to St. Petersburg by Ivan Feodorovich Krusenstern (fig. 1) in 1799. The future great seafarer acquired the manuscript in 1798 during a voyage from India to China, when he was serving as a young volunteer in the English navy. It has been in the archive for over 200 years.

I

A. M. Kulikova begins her publications with the fact that her report may interest specialists studying South-East Asia and be of considerable interest for Malay specialists [4]. As both articles by Kulikova were printed in rare publications, I deem it necessary to give a full quote from her description of the manuscript, but will also make several additions and notes to the quote.

"The manuscript is written in the Arabic script in the Malay language by a professional scribe, and begins with the *basmala* 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).

The manuscript consists of two volumes — the first volume is of 106 folios, the second of 86 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 first volume (fols. 104a and 105b) the size of the text is 10×9 cm; in the second volume (fols. 86b—85a) it is 13×8 cm. The pagination is late, and European [5]. The paper is of European manufacture (Amsterdam) with a watermark. The watermark reads "I. Honig Zoonen IH&Z". 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 (sayings from the Qur'an and others), 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 backings and golden stamping.

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

'Geschichte der Malaien von den frühesten Zeiten bis zu Eroberung Malaias durch die Portugiesen. In Malaischer Sprache. Durch eine besondere Vergünstigung des Obechisials erhielt der Commodore Crusenstern, bei seiner Anwesenheit in Malaiia in 7.1798, die Erlaubnis, das MS dieser Geschichte, auf das man einen sehr hohen Werth setzte, copieren zu lassen. Er sandte diese Copie der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg'.

('History of the Malays from ancient times to the conquest of Malaya by the Portuguese. In Malay. During his visit to Malay in July 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') [8].

Further, analysing the sources indicated above, A. M. Kulikova came to the convincing conclusion that I. F. Krusenstern ordered the manuscript to be copied during his voyage from the East Indies to China (1797—1799). In summer 1798, he was in Malacca, where he 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 Petersburg, Krusenstern soon gave the manuscript to academic Feodor Ivanovich Schubert, who in his turn gave it to the Academy of Sciences library in 1802. When in 1818, Christian Fraehn founded the Asiatic Museum, it 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 a type of *naskh*, and does not have a title page with the name of the work. In one article by A. M. Kulikova, the

manuscript is called "Malay Genealogies" — *Sejarah Melayu*. In fact, at the end of the foreword of the manuscript it is called *Sulalat-us-salatin*. Both names relate to the same work. In this case it is important to note that the name *Sejarah Melayu*, by which this work is better known, is not encountered in this copy.

The complete text of the manuscript consists of individual stories, which begin with the word *al-qissa* (story) and a lattice type of design. There are a total of 34 stories in the manuscript. The stories are not numbered. After the traditional rhymed ending of one story — *wa Allāhu 'a'lama bi al-ṣawāb wa ilayhi al-marji'u wa al-ma'ā hu* — "Allah points to discretion, he is our refuge and we return to him" (sometimes in shortened form), which the stories contain (apart from the first, fifth, ninth and fifteenth) the next story begins on a new line. The 21st and 31st stories begin on the same line where the previous one ends (the 20th and 30th stories accordingly), but with the words *al-qissa* and a design (lattice). The transitions from the foreword to the first story, from the fifth story to the sixth, the ninth to the 10th and the 10th to the 11th are not separated by the word *al-qissa* and begin immediately with the narrative.

The arrangement of the text is uniform across the entire folio. But at the beginning of the second volume (17th story), the text is contained in a rectangular frame divided in half, as was customary in the late manuscripts of Malay verses [10].

For the characteristics of the Krusenstern manuscript it is important to note several graphic features. Judging from the handwriting, the copy of this work was made by several scribes. The principles of writing several words are different not only for different scribes, but sometimes are not even the same for the same scribe. The letter *p* is written as the Arabic *fā'* with one or two dots. Frequently, the letter *lām* is written as *kāf*, for example in the word *kecil*, and instead of the letter *sīn*, *shūn* is written, for example *Semudra*—*Syemudra*, *seri*—*syeri*, *suruh*—*syuruh*, which is characteristic for old manuscripts [11]. Unfinished words are encountered, with syllables or letters missed out (shorthand?), and this especially concerns frequently used words which are repeated (for example *karena*, *tiada*, *yang dipertuan*), but sometimes in words which are not used that frequently — *na* instead of *nasi*, *ba* instead of *barang*, *genda* instead of *gendang* etc. Sometimes entire phrases are left out. There are many crossed-out words, and letters and words written above the lines, which were left out or did not fit in the line. Repeated words are often encountered and entire combinations of words, as if the scribe broke off in one place and begun with the same words, forgetting that they had already been written. In a number of cases the repetitions can be explained by a change in scribes. Frequently, the writing of the same words or phrases two or three times clearly took place because mistakes were made and not just individual words were written again, but the entire sentence.

There are many Arabisms in the text — Arabic words, combinations of words, phrases, sentences and lines of verse. The scribes clearly did not know Arabic

very well. Frequently in Arabic phrases, incorrect grammatical forms are encountered and incorrect writing of words and phrases (for example, *alif* is written instead of the letter *'ayn*, and *kāf* instead of *lām* etc.), diacritics are absent or placed where they are not needed, which obscures the meaning, and in many cases the words simply cannot be read. There are numerous unfinished Ara-

II

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. Abdulqadir Munshi (and the edition of W. G. Shellabear which is very close to this text).

In the composition and contents, the Krusenstern manuscript is close to the texts of the *Serajah Melayu* of Abdullah b. Abdulqadir 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. Abdulqadir 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: *tersebutlah perkataan* ("it is spoken of, the story follows of..."), while in the Munshi edition the story begins with a reference to the words of the storyteller — *kata sahibul hikayat* ("the storyteller says").

2. The paragraphs and beginning of sentences are different. In Munshi, each paragraph usually begins with the conjunctions *telah* or (more rarely) *setelah* ("after") and each sentence with the conjunction *maka* ("and"). In the Krusenstern manuscript, clear preference is given to the form *setelah*, and the sentences often begin without the conjunction *maka*, but introductory words are used more often, such as *adapun*, *adapun akan*, *syahdan*, *hatta* ("as for", "but", "meanwhile", "and then").

3. The frequency of the particles *-lah*, *-pun*, and also the possessive *-nya* are 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 Munshi text are used without particles, while in the Krusenstern manuscript they are used with particles, for example *rakyat banyak* ("a lot of people") in Munshi and *rakyatpun banyaklah* ("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 Munshi text uses the high style *dipersembahkan* ("humbly report") the manuscript uses the stylistically neutral *berkata* ("speak"), *katanya* ("he said"). Sometimes, on the contrary, for example, instead of the neutral style verb *mau* ("want") in the Munshi text, the Krusenstern manuscript uses the archaic synonym *embu*, 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"),

bic words, with letters and syllables missing. As a rule, Arabic saying or verses are accompanied by a translation (narration) in Malay, but in a number of cases the Malay paraphrases of Arabic sayings and individual Arabic-Persian forms do not correspond to the Arabic text. Furthermore, sometimes the Arabic quotes lack a following Malay text.

dahulu juga ("long ago"), *dahulunya* ("before"), *beroleh rampasan* ("grab the spoils"), *parasnya* ("appearance") in a similar context in the Krusenstern manuscript synonyms or words close in meaning are used: *memandang* ("gaze"), *sediakala* ("long since"), *dahulu kalanya* ("in former times") *merampas* ("grab"), *rupanya* ("look"). Frequently, verbs are used in different voices in the same sentences. In Munshi, active forms are preferred — *melihat* ("watch"), *bergelar* ("have the name", "be called") while the manuscript prefers the passive *dilihat* ("be seen"), *diberi gelar* ("to give the name", "call").

5. The most frequent differences between the texts are created by greater or lesser comprehensiveness or by a different word order. For example, the Munshi text has: *...hendak dijadikan raja akan ganti* ("was to be appointed ruler to replace the sovereign"). The text of the Krusenstern manuscript: *...hendak raja itupun dirajakan baginda akan ganti baginda* ("the sovereign intended to make this *raju* the ruler to replace the sovereign"). Also compare the Munshi text: *Maka ditempuhinya sekali-kali dengan senjata, rupanya seperti air turun dari atas bukit* ("And weapons attacked them like a waterfall pouring from the mountain") and the text of the manuscript: *Maka oleh orang Siak dihujan-hujannya dengan senjata oleh orang Malacca, ditempuhinya sekali-kali dengan senjata, rupanya seperti air turun dari atas bukit* ("And on the people of Siak the weapons of the people of Malacca rained down like a waterfall pouring from the mountain").

In this case the manuscript contains a longer and more colourful description of the battle. However, frequently similar descriptions in the Krusenstern manuscript are presented in shortened form in comparison with the Munshi text. At the same time there are insertions in the manuscript which are absent in Munshi, and more Arabisms and Arabic sayings. All the differences indicated between the Krusenstern manuscript and the text of this work published by Abdullah b. Abdulqadir Munshi also apply to the text published by W. G. Shellabear. A comparison of the text of the Krusenstern manuscript and the texts of this edition and version of the work show that the numerous differences between them do not change their contents as a whole and do not affect the meaning of individual episodes of the work. But these differences reflect the linguistic features and predilections of the scribes, and give a different stylistic colouring of the manuscript in comparison with the published texts which are identical in their contents [12].

III

Leading Dutch researcher R. Roolvink, who studied all the copies of this work known to him held in libraries of various countries (there were around 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 *Palembang* [13]. The Petersburg manuscript was not represented in this classification, as Roolvink 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 Roolvink's classification it is part of the short version of the work and reflects the Johor edition, like the texts of the *Sejarah Melayu* published by Abdullah b. Abdulqadir 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. Winstedt [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 formula with which the stories begin "now follows the story of..." in both texts coincides, while in the editions of Abdullah b. Abdulqadir 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 of the same words which 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 Nila Utama went to Tanjung Bemban (story 3) the Krusenstern manuscript describes the equipment of the ship as follows:

kenaikan baginda lancar bertiang tiga, pelang peraduan, jurung pebujangan, bidar kekayohan, serta jong penanggahan teruntum penjalaan, bentang memandian.

In the Raffles 18 manuscript the text is almost identical:

Maka segala lanchang kenaikan baginda pelang peraduan, jong pebujangan, bidar kekayohan, serta jong penanggahan, teruntum (ترنم) penjalaan, terentang persendian (? = permandian) [15].

In the editions of Abdullah b. Abdulqadir Munshi and W. G. Shellabear this extract is different:

Adapun kenaikan baginda lancharan bertiang tiga, pilang peraduan dalam kelambu tirai dalam kurung, serta permandian dan kekengkapan ber-masak² [16].

The description of the amusements 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:

Ada yang siput, ada yang kupang [Raffles 18: mengambil siput, mengambil kupang], ada yang mengambil bari [Raffles 18: menggali bari], ada yang mengambil pisang direbusnya, ada yang daun [Raffles 18: mengambil daun] butun dibutunnya ulam [not in Raffles 18], ada yang mengambil bunga karang dipermainnya, ada yang latoh dipincoknya, ada yang mengambil agar-agar dikerabunya [17].

The similar text in the edition of Munshi and W. G. Shellabear is somewhat different:

Ada jang mengambil siput, ada jang mengambil kupang, ada jang mengambil ketam, ada jang mengambil lokan, ada jang mengambil daun kaju olah hulaman, ada jang mengambil bunga karang, ada jang mengambil agar² [18].

In the stories involving the ties of the Malacca sultanate with the Javanese empire of Majapahit, in particular, the episodes about the arrival of the Malacca 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 in the editions of Munshi 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 Krusenstern 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 Munshi 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 — *qālū innā Allāha wa innā 'alayhi rājiūna* — "they said: verily Allah and verily they returned to him". The Munshi and W. G. Shellabear editions do not have this formula.

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

Krusenstern MS

Maka orang banyakpun datang hendak berbela tiada terperbela lagi. Maka harta yang dalam istana itupun diperlepas oranglah. Tetapi timah hatap istana itupun hancurlah cucur daripada hancuran hatap istana itu seperti hujan yang lebat.

Munshi publication

Maka orang banjakpun datang hendak berlepas harta itu, terlalu sukar; karena timah atap istana itu hantjur turun seperti hudjan jang lebat [23].

14. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals or *Sejarah Melayu* (with outline of the Malay Annals)", *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XVI (1938), Pt. 3.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
16. *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, ed. by T. D. Situmorang, A. Teeuw (Jakarta, 1952), p. 38; *Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Annals*, ed. by W. G. Shellabear (Singapore, 1915), p. 31.
17. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 60.
18. *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 38; *Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Annals*, p. 31.
19. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", pp. 106—7.
20. *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 131; *Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Annals*, p. 99.
21. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 75.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
23. *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 152.
24. *Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Annals*, p. 115.
25. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 101.
26. *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 122.
27. *Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Annals*, p. 92.
28. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 60; *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 38.
29. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 110.
30. *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 135.
31. *Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Annals*, p. 102.
32. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 75.
33. *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 66; *Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Annals*, p. 51.
34. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 102.
35. *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 122; *Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Annals*, p. 92.
36. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 60; *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 38.
37. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 81.
38. *Sedjarah Melaju menurut terbitan Abdullah*, p. 77; *Sejarah Melayu, or Malay Annals*, p. 58.
39. Winstedt, "The Malay Annals", p. 155.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

REVIEWS

UNESCO CD of Ṣan'ā' 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 Ṣan'ā', 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 *ḥijāzī* and early *kūfī* scripts. Unfortunately, the disk is no longer available and the selection of images provided on the internet is much less thorough¹. 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:

- Showcase 9, Ms. 26: 49:12—50:10; 48:11—23, (26—37);
- Showcase 10, Ms. 30: 69:34—52; 65:11; 66:2—3, (69—65—66), and
- Showcase 12, Ms. 35: 26:226—37:20 (49—50—48).

The last one, with the order *sūra* 26 followed immediately by *sūra* 37 is the order that al-Nadīm records in his *Fihrist* for the codex of Ibn Mas'ūd². Dr. Puin refers to this significant manuscript as being the first extant manuscript to contain a *sūra* order matching one of a Companion's collection³.

The other two examples, however, 49—50—48 and 69—65—66, are not *sūra* orders that are recorded in the *Fihrist* as belonging to any of the Companions of Muḥammad, 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 Ṣan'ā' manuscripts more easily accessible to the scholarly community.

Table 1

Shelfmark	Date	Contents	Script style	Mss No.
Showcase 1	1st	42:49—43:32	Italic <i>ḥijāzī</i>	1
Showcase 2	1st	16:73—78, 89	Italic <i>ḥijāzī</i>	2
Showcase 3	Early 1st	3:45—55	Italic <i>ḥijāzī</i>	3
Showcase 3	1st	19:90—20:40	Italic <i>ḥijāzī</i>	4
Showcase 3	1st	40:18—34	Italic <i>ḥijāzī</i>	5
Showcase 4	1st	6:99—114	Italic <i>ḥijāzī</i>	6

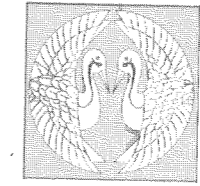
1. <http://www.unesco.org/webworld/mdm/visite/sanaa/en/present1.html>

2. "The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm", ed. by B. Dodge, *Great Books of the Islamic World* (Chicago, 1970), p. 54.

3. G.-R. Puin, "Observations on early Qur'ān manuscripts in Ṣan'ā'", *The Qur'ān as Text*, ed. by S. Wild (Leiden, 1996), pp. 110—1.

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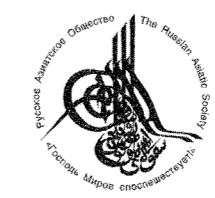
Vol. 12 No. 2 June 2006

Front cover:

Muḥammad Yūsuf, "*Darwīsh* Holding a Rosary", 25.5×7.8 cm. Iran, mid 17th century. The State Hermitage Museum, VR-740/XXV. Courtesy of the Museum.

Back cover:

The wedding sheet *rōyjo*, 250×162 cm. Samarqand, end of the 19th—beginning of the 20th century. MAE RAS, No. 7304-4. Courtesy of the Museum.



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