

dabir

Digital Archive of Brief notes & Iran Review

No.8.2021



JORDAN CENTER
FOR PERSIAN STUDIES

www.dabirjournal.org

ISSN: 2470-4040





xšnaoθrahe ahurahe mazdā

Detail from above the entrance of Tehran's fire temple, 1286š/1917–18. Photo by © Shervin Farridnejad

The Digital Archive of Brief Notes & Iran Review (DABIR)

ISSN: 2470-4040

www.dabirjournal.org

Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture

University of California, Irvine

1st Floor Humanities Gateway

Irvine, CA 92697-3370

Editor-in-Chief

Touraj Daryaee (University of California, Irvine)

Editors

Parsa Daneshmand (IHAC, Northeast Normal University, Changchun / University College London)

Shervin Farridnejad (Freie Universität Berlin/Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien)

Judith A. Lerner (ISAW NYU)

Book Review Editor

Shervin Farridnejad (Freie Universität Berlin/Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien)

Advisory Board

Samra Azarnouche (École pratique des hautes études); Dominic P. Brookshaw (Oxford University); Matthew Canepa (University of Minnesota); Ashk Dahlén (Uppsala University); Peyvand Firouzeh (Cambridge University); Leonardo Gregoratti (Durham University); Frantz Grenet (Collège de France); Wouter F.M. Henkelman (École Pratique des Hautes Études); Rasoul Jafarian (Tehran University); Nasir al-Ka'abi (University of Kufa); Andromache Karanika (UC Irvine); Agnes Korn (CNRS, UMR Mondes Iranien et Indien); Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (University of Edinburgh); Jason Mokhtarin (University of Indiana); Ali Mousavi (UC Irvine); Mahmoud Omidasalar (CSU Los Angeles); Antonio Panaino (University of Bologna); Alka Patel (UC Irvine); Richard Payne (University of Chicago); Khodadad Rezakhani (History, UCLA); Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis (British Museum); M. Rahim Shayegan (UCLA); Rolf Strootman (Utrecht University); Giusto Traina (University of Paris-Sorbonne); Mohsen Zakeri (University of Göttingen)

Logo design by Charles Li

Layout and typesetting by Kourosh Beighpour

Contents

Articles

- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 1 | Alisher Begmatov: Two Sogdian Toponyms in Arabic and Chinese Sources, and their Attestation as Commodity Terms in Sogdian and Uyghur Economical Documents | 1 |
| 2 | Alberto Cantera: Avestan texts in context (2): the <i>Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan</i> and the “eternal fire” | 7 |
| 3 | Henry P. Colburn: A Parthian Shot of Potential Arsacid Date | 35 |
| 4 | Omar Coloru: The city of brotherly love. The language of family affection in the Artaxiad dynasty between the Hellenistic and the Parthian world | 41 |
| 5 | Majid Daneshgar: Persianate Aspects of the Malay-Indonesian World: Some Rare Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library | 51 |
| 6 | Charles G. Häberl: <i>priuš</i> and <i>zur</i> : Two Transliteration Artifacts in the Mandaean <i>Great Treasure</i> | 79 |
| 7 | Charles W. King: The Hunnic attack on Persia: Chronology, context, and the accounts of Priscus and Thomas | 85 |
| 8 | Agnes Korn: Notes on a Middle Persian sound change: Greek Ἀναίτις and features of vowel length | 101 |
| 9 | D. T. Potts: The spurious fifth century date for the cultivation of sugar cane (<i>Saccharum officinarum</i>) in Khuzestan | 111 |
| 10 | Hossein Sheikh: From Mesopotamia to Khotan: Payment clauses in Eastern Middle Iranian languages and their historical backgrounds | 118 |
| 11 | محمد توکلیان: یک امپراطور ناشناخته در نقش برجسته شاپور یکم ساسانی: تنگ چوگان؛ بیشاپور ۳ | 137 |

Reviews

- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 12 | Hossein Sheikh: Scheunchen, Tobias. Cosmology, law, and elites in late antiquity: Marriage and slavery in Zoroastrianism, Eastern Christianity, and Islam (Arbeitsmaterialien zum Orient 32). Baden-Baden: Ergon Verlag, 2019. 144 pages. ISBN-13: 978-3956504679. 32,00 €. | 160 |
| 13 | Sun Wujun: Review of Ge, Chengyong [葛承雍]. Hu Han Zhongguo yu Wailai Wenming 胡漢中國與外來文明 [Han and Hu: China in Contact with Foreign Civilizations]. Beijing, Sanlian Shudian, 2019. 5 vols. (in Chinese with English abstract) | 163 |



Digital Archive of Brief notes & Iran Review

No.8.2021

ISSN: 2470 - 4040

© Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies & Culture
University of California, Irvine

Persianate Aspects of the Malay-Indonesian World: Some Rare Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library¹

Majid Daneshgar
(University of Freiburg)

At present, and on the basis of earlier literature, our knowledge about the boundaries of the Persianate Zone and World,² and where the Persian language, literature and culture together significantly affected the inhabitants of a region, is limited to what has sometimes also been called the Turko-Persianate region³ and Greater Khorasan, among other idioms. So far, we are more or less sure that the Persianate world is an inclusive world, interacting with other non-Muslim communities, enriching its multiculturalism and increasing its influence. The recently edited volume by Nile Green expanded our idea about global Persian, following in the steps of Marshal Hodgson (with 'Persianate World'), Hodgson and Shahab Ahmed (with

1- I thank my colleagues and friends, Annabel T. Gallop (British Library), Nile Green (UCLA), Ann E. Lucas (Boston College), Andrew Peacock (University of St Andrews), Peter G. Riddell (SOAS), Edwin Wieringa (Cologne) for reading the earlier draft of this article and providing me with their extremely helpful comments. My thanks also go to the Leiden University Library and the University of Otago Special Collections for allowing me to have access to their collections. I also thank the editors for their suggestions. All errors are mine.

2- Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974) I: 40.

3- To read a critical report on such phrases see: Michael E. Pregill, "I Hear Islam Singing: Shahab Ahmed's What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic," *Harvard Theological Review* 110/1 (2017): 149–165.

'Balkans-to-Bengal Complex'),⁴ Bert Fragner (with 'Persophonie'), and Hamid Dabashi (with 'Iranian World').⁵ Whether the Persianate emerged orally or was written in literary works, is a part of Muslim tradition, to what extent it moves across South India, Turkey and Turkistan, and whether it was influential after the 17th century, has been the main focus of recent debates. Whatever the result, we now know that Persian literature and religious debates have shaped much of the South and Central Asian Islamic and *Islamicate* contexts. Nonetheless, one may wonder whether the Persianate world can be extended to the Malay Archipelago (*nusantara*), and if so what type of evidence may support this hypothesis.

A number of studies have shown the influence of Persian culture and elements across Southeast Asia. The early archaeological examination of Shahab Setudeh Nejad proves the existence and widespread use of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Persian Sassanian materials in Southeast Asia, particularly in Siam:

From Burma, Sassanian arts reached Thailand as evidenced in the designs of Thai ceramics from various provinces in the south, central, and northern regions of ancient Siam⁶

Later on, Christoph Marcinkowski shed light on the contribution of Persian merchants, statesmen and religious figures to Cham's and Siam's social and cultural contexts in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁷ More detailed studies on the role of the Persian language in Southeast Asian trading and administration has been done by Andrew Peacock⁸ and Arash Khazeni⁹ which may allow us to consider whether Persian was a part of the lingua franca in Thailand, Arakan, Burma, Aceh and Malacca from the 15th to the 19th century. To find a proper answer for such questions, we first need to gather more materials, the content of which may affect the discourse; as Peacock stated, such documents may be considered as "the tip of the iceberg".¹⁰ Per se, this study, which is part of a larger project, aims to continue this enquiry and follow up on earlier literature, to see to what extent Malays were familiar with the Persian language, literature and even music.

4- This phrase was already used by Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, I: 96. Later on, it was used by Shahab Ahmed, *What is Islam?: The importance of being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

5- For a comprehensive study of these approaches see: Nile Green's introduction: Nile Green (ed.) *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca* (California: University of California Press, 2019), 4–5.

6- E.g., Shahab Setudeh Nejad, "Transmission of Sasanian Arts and other Indigenous Cultural Traditions of Pre Islamic Persia to Southeast Asia", *SPAFA Journal, A Publication of the SEAMEO Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts* 5/1 (January-February 1995), 37; also see: Virginia di Crocco, "Banbhore, An Important River Port on the Ceramic and Glass Routes," *Journal of the Siam Society* 78/2 (1990): 79–89.

7- C. Marcinkowski, "Persian Cultural Influences in Siam/Thailand", in *Architecture of Siam: A Cultural History Interpretation*, ed. C. Aasen (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1998); C. Marcinkowski, "Iranians, Shaykh al-Islams and Chularajmontris: Genesis and Development of an Institution and its Introduction to Siam", *Journal of Asian History* 37/ 2 (2003): 187–204.

8- A.C.S. Peacock, "Notes on Some Persian Documents from Early Modern Southeast Asia," *SEJARAH: Journal of the Department of History* (Univ. of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur) 27/1 (2018), 81–97.

9- Arash Khazeni, "Merchants to the Golden City: The Persian Farmān of King Chandrawizaya Rājā and the Elephant and Ivory Trade in the Indian Ocean, a View from 1728," *Iranian Studies* 51/6 (2018): 933–945.

10- Peacock, "Notes on Some Persian Documents", 93.

Studies from the 1940s to the 1970s by Cowan,¹¹ Marrison,¹² al-Attas¹³ and Brakel,¹⁴ among others, informed us that a great deal of Malay Islamic and Sufi literature (e.g., works of Hamza Fansuri from the 16th/17th century) is influenced by Persian sources. These scholars usually displayed evidence that was a direct Persian quotation outlined in Malay sources.

This study pays particular attention to Malay-Indonesian manuscripts which has not been examined [precisely] so far. Future instalments of this project, parts II and III, will tackle the influence of the Persian language and culture on Malay-Indonesian society by means of Persian manuscripts and evidence, and the contribution of the Malay-Indonesian community and its sources on Persianate and Middle Eastern contexts, respectively. The manuscripts examined in this article are kept in the Leiden University Library whose content or origin remained under-researched. In some instances, the manuscripts have not been comprehensively examined.

1- Persian Musical Modes and Poems in the Malay-Indonesian world

Two parts of a manuscript preserved in Leiden University Library, Or. 5658, are examined to show the contribution of Persian to Malay mystical and musical ceremonies: devotional songs and Persian rhythmic poems. This particular manuscript was copied in Banten, Indonesia, in the late 17th or early 18th century.¹⁵ The colophon suggests that it was in the possession of Muhammad Qahir, the son of Sultan Maulana Abdulfattah the son of Sultan Ahmad.¹⁶

○ *Devotional Songs of Malay Sufis*

A number of scholars have noticed the contribution of Persian musical instruments and the indirect influence of its modes on “devotional songs”;¹⁷ however, whether Malays used to write, read and practise the Persian modal system in music remained unanswered. But the Malay readers of this manuscript were apparently able to recite their mystical invocations rhythmically and perform their mystical songs on the basis of Western Asian musical motives, i.e., *naghamāt*. Besides, a number of their songs and recitals, as will be seen, were clearly inspired by Shī‘ī teachings that were common in the Persianate world, which had already pervaded a large part of the Islamicate world in the 17th century.

The manuscript is informative about active Sufi paths in Indonesia in the late 17th and early 18th century. Its inclusion of mystical invocations, rhythmic supplications, and prayers to Muhammad and his birthday,

11- Hendrik K. J. Cowan. “A Persian inscription in north Sumatra”, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 80/1 (1940): 15–21.

12- Geoffrey E. Marrison, “Persian Influences in Malay Life (1280–1650)”, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28/1 (1955): 52–69.

13- Syed Muhammad N. al-Attas, “Persian Influences on Malay/Indonesian Islamic Mysticism”, in *Some Aspects of Sufism, as Understood and Practised Among the Malays*, ed. Shirle Gordon and Syed Muhammad N. al-Attas (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963).

14- Lode F. Brakel, “Persian Influence on Malay Literature”, *Abr Nahrain* 9 (1969–1970): 1–16.

15- Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007), VI: 176. According to Vorhoeve, it was produced c. 1700.

16- Martin van Bruinessen, “Sharia Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate,” *Archipel* 50 (1995): 165–200.

17- Ann E. Lucas, *Music of a Thousand Years: A New History of Persian Musical Traditions* (California: California University Press, 2019), 15.

recited during *Maulid* celebrations, may suggest that this manuscript is a Book of *Samāʿ* (lit. audition). *Samāʿ* is a mystical tradition which has attracted important adherents (e.g., al-Ghazālī) and opponents (e.g., Ibn Taymiyya), over the course of history. Technically speaking,

it connotes in the Sufi tradition a hearing with the “ear of the heart”, an attitude of reverently listening to music and/or the singing of mystical poetry with the intent of increasing awareness and understanding of the divine object described; it is a type of meditation focusing on musical melody, by use of instruments, mystical songs or combining both.¹⁸

Actually, such *Samāʿ* treatises prove that mystical paths (*tarikats*) have actively existed across the Archipelago, and that all kinds of Sufis, beginners, advanced and leaders, used to act in Indonesia:

Samāʿ is permitted to the commoners (*awwam*), more permissible to disciples, but a required practice (*wajib*) for the Friends of God (*awliyaʾ Allah*)¹⁹

This tradition combines musical, traditional, poetic and spiritual elements. It puts Islamic text and prophetic traditions alongside poems which are performed by practitioners and cantors. This manuscript includes both a modal aspect of the music system from Western Asia as well as rhythmic poems. In addition to the influence of Persian and other Western Asian musical modes on different traditions,²⁰ modification and localisation of Persian letters by Malays in this manuscript, those which are not found in Arabic,²¹ remained unnoticed. Changing the orthography as well as the form of letters to the Jawi style would suggest that the target readers of the manuscript were Malays, who were able to read, write and copy both Persian and Arabic treatises, poems and mystical points.

Or. 5658 begins with the Arabic phrase: *qāla al-salāmu ʿalaykum...* (‘said: Peace be upon you’) and then with an illegible invocation ends with a wish in Javanese: *kang selamat*. Folio 5 includes an Arabic-Persian supplication which starts with: *Allāh Allāh Allāh jānam* (‘God, God, God my dear’). After Arabic supplications, the manuscript includes the Arabic verses from Q 2:1–5; 2:163; 2:255–256 (*āyat al-kursī*); 2:284–286; Q 33:33 (*āyat al-taḥīr*); Q 33: 56; and Q 10:10. Then it begins with a supplication seeking blessing for different Sufi figures from South Arabia and the Middle East whose descendants later settled in Gujarat, India.

These figures are list as “Sultan al-ʿallāma Sayyidī al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Sūdī” (d. c. 932/1525) (fl.6), “al-quṭb al-Rabbānī Sayyidī al-Shaykh Muhyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī” (d. c. 561/1167) (fl. 6), “Sayyidī al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Qadīm BāʿAbbād wa āl-e BāʿAbbād”²² (fl. 7), “Hadrat ʿAydurūs/ʿAydārūs, Sayyidī al-

18- Leonard Lewisohn, “The Sacred Music of Islam: Samāʿ in the Persian Sufi Tradition,” *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 6/1 (1997): 1–33.

19- Ibid.

20- Also, on Persianate music outside Persia see: Lucas, *Music of a Thousand*, 15.

21- پ (pe), چ (che) ژ (zhe) گ (ge/gaf)

22- A group of Hadhrami *mashāyikh* and religious figures.

Shaykh Abi Bakr b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Aydurūs²³ (d.c. 909/1503) (fl. 7), “Āl Bā‘lawī” (fl. 7) as well as the Prophet’s successors and companions (fl. 7), and of course Muḥammad (fl. 8). From fl. 8 until 111, the manuscript focuses on Sufi devotional songs addressing different musical modes which were common across Western Asia, too. However, the traces of Persian ones, along with others, are also obvious. The recitation and performance of these songs change on the basis of a specific musical mode. I leave examination of the accuracy of the melodic formula to musicians and historians of music, however, as this manuscript has not been examined, every new melodic chapter is listed and briefly introduced.

This mystical treatise starts with *al-Radda* (?), a symphonic poem in Arabic which might have emerged in an Arabian context, and begins with (fl. 9):

يا أكرم الخلق ما لي من الوذبة
سواك عند خلول الحادث العميم
ولن يضيق رسول الله جاهك بي
إذا الكريم تحلى باسم منتقم

Rāst

In fl. 11, the first (and most famous) musical mode is introduced as “nagham-e rāst”. It is also one of the oldest modes to have been highlighted in medieval works in the Persian and Arabian context.²⁴ This part begins with the following phrase:

مَنْ صَلَّى عَلَى طَءِ التَّهَامِي سَامِي الْفَخْرِ وَالْمِقْدَارِ نَالَ الْفَوْزِ فِي يَوْمِ الْقِيَامِي

with the mode being repeated in ff.12 and 14.

Segāh

In fl. 15, a modal aspect of the music system known as “segāh” is mentioned, which is highly popular in Iranian circles. *Segāh* consists of two parts, “se” (three), and “gāh” (place):

It is believed that this ‘place’, in the context of medieval music, referred to the position of the respective finals of these modes, in relation to a fundamental pitch, on the finger board of lute-type instruments.²⁵

Interestingly, the common orthography of “segāh” (سگاه/سه گاه) is changed to “sīgāh” (سیگاه), which clearly refers to the localisation of the Persian letter “گ” (*ge/gaf*). The *sīgāh* begins with

مَعَشَرَ الْعُشَّاقِ أَنْتُمْ فَقَرَا* مَا عَلَيْكُمْ بَاسٌ إِغْنَمُوا الْوَصْلَ وَيَكْفِي مَا جَرِي

23- On this Hadhrami family see: Krišten Brušad, “The Autobiography of al-‘Aydarūs (1570–1628)” in *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, edited by Dwight F. Reynolds (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001), 208–215.

24- See, Hormoz Farhat, *The Daštghah Concept in Persian Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

25- Farhat, *The Daštghah Concept in Persian Music*, 44.

Chahārgāh

Another important musical mode “chahārgāh” (چهارگاه) (fourth place) is seen in fl. 20. Mystical devotions which follow this melodic system can with some minor differences be performed with *segāh*, too. Here, again, the scribe domesticated the mode title and modified it to “cahārkāh” (جهارگاه). It begins with:

صَلُّوا عَلَى زَيْنِ الْعِبَادِي * هُوَ خَيْرُ هَادِي

Panjgāh

In fl. 22, the “panjgāh” (fifth place) is seen.²⁶ Its orthography demonstrates the way the Persian term is *Malayized*. Earlier sources show that the spelling of “panjgāh” in all musical treatises from Arabian, Turkish or Persian contexts was the same as “پنجگاه”.²⁷ This manuscript modifies it to “فنجگاه”. Converting “پ” (*pe*) to “ف” (*pa*) is clearly an indigenized change, proving Malays’ attempts to produce their own [Islamic] word system: while being largely impressed by Arabic-Persian scripts, it added innovation to distinguish it from Middle Eastern sources.²⁸

The *panjgāh* begins with:

صَلُّوا عَلَى سَيِّدِ الْاَنَامِ * الطَّاهِرِ الطُّهْرِ سَيِّدِ الْبَشَرِي

‘Arāq/ ‘Irāq

The next melodic system is that of *‘Arāq* (عراق) which begins with (fl. 6):

أَيَا سَائِقَ الْأَضْعَانِ بِالْبَانَ * عَرَجَ بِي عَلَى الْكَتَبَانِ

Husaynī

The first usage of the *nagham* *Husaynī* (حُسَيْنِي) is seen on ff. 32-33 which rhythmically begins with:

سَيِّدِي يَا سَنَدِي * يَا عُمْدَتِي يَا مَدَدِي

Zamzam

Fl. 31 introduces the Arabic *maqām* of *Zamzam* (زمزم), which begins with:²⁹

أَلْهَوِي قَتْلَنِي اللَّهُ لَهُ طَلِيبُ * صَاحِبِي فَنَادِي الصَّلَاةُ عَلَى الْغَرِيبِ

26- On technical differences between *panjgah* and other systems of *chahargah* and *segah*, see: Farhat, *The Daštgh Concept in Persian Music*, 105.

27- To see the orthography of Persian names in Arabic musical system, see: Tanṭawī Jawharī, *al-Mūsīqā al-‘Arabiyya* (Alexandria: Maṭba‘at Jurjī Gharzūzī, 1914).

28- And possibly from Sanskrit materials. To read on Jawi and the presentation of Arabic letters in Malay see Annabel Teh Gallop’s *Introduction* in “A Jawi Sourcebook for the Study of Malay Palaeography and Orthography”, *Indonesia and the Malay World* 43/125 (2015): 13–38.

29- It is, along with *chahārgāh*, fundamental to Turkish Modal Classifications: Farhat, *The Daštgh Concept in Persian Music*, 83–84.

Uzzāl

Fl. 33 draws attention to a melodic system read as *‘uzzāl* (عزال),³⁰ which is found in both Persian³¹ and Turkish melodic systems³²:

صَلُّوا عَلَي الْمُخْتَارِ صُوفِي الْعُهُودِ * طَهَّ شَرِيفِ الْجُدُودِ (?)

Ushshāq

Another *maqām* also popular in Arabic, Turkish, North African as well as in Persian is *‘ushshāq* (عشاق)³³ which begins with:

لَقَدْ أَنَا شَيْءٌ عَجِيبٌ لِمَنْ بَرَّانِي * أَنَا لِمُحِبٍّ وَالْحَبِيبِ مَاتَمَّ ثَانِي (fl. 69)

Ramal

Nagham of *Ramal* (fl. 73) is another one which includes:

تَرَا هَلْ زَمَانِي يَعُودُ * بِسُكَّافِي وَادِي زِدُود

Najdī

Fl. 76 includes the *Najdī maqām* of the Arabian contexts which starts with:

أَلْقَيْتُ فِي بَابِكُمْ عَنَانِي * وَلَمْ أَبَالِي بِمَا عَنَانِي

Later on, ff. 76 and 77 begin with a *qaṣīda*, asking God's blessing and felicity for the sake of *Muḥammad al-Nabī al-Hāshimīy al-Qurayshī Shamsu al-‘Arab* (Muḥammad the Prophet from the clan of Hashimite of Quraysh, the Sun of the Arabs).

The *nagham* of *Madd* (مَدّ)(?) is found in fl. 85 with:

مَلَكْتُمْ فُؤَادِي فَصَارَ الْهَوِي * إِلَيْكُمْ رَقِيبٌ رَقِيبٌ

Fl. 90 brings in the Arabic musical mode of *Yiminī* (يميني) with:

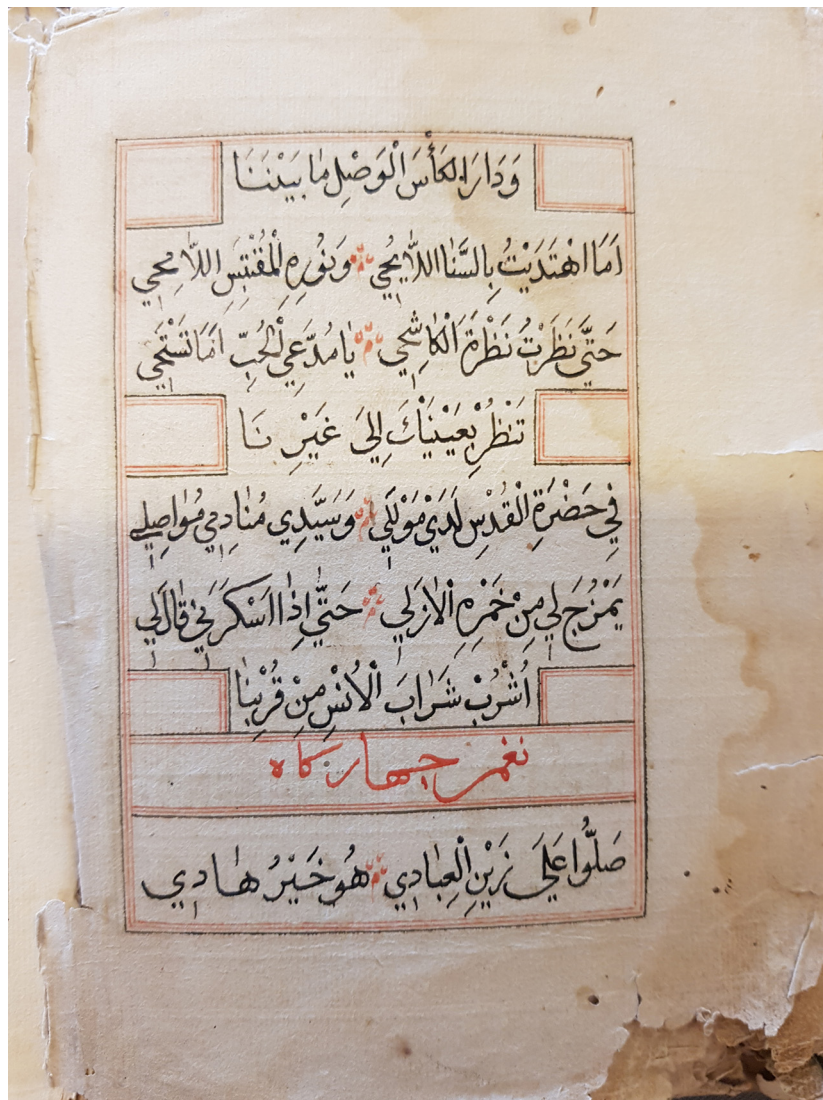
عَنْ غَرَامِي وَلَوْ عَتِي * لَا يُحْ أَرَكْنِي الْمَلَام

30- On fl. 50, it is written as *‘azzāl* (عزّال).

31- It is seen along with *chahārga* under the *zangūleh*. See, Manuscript 2242 in the Majles Library of Iran (fl. 76).

32- Irene Markoff, "Aspects of Turkish Folk Music Theory", in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music. Volume. 6. The Middle East*, edited by Virginia Danielson, et al. (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 85.

33- Farhat, *The Daṣṭgah Concept in Persian Music*, 44.

Or. 5658. fl.19: *Chahārgāh*

As the manuscript is dedicated to several mystical leaders with global reputations, it is no surprise to see such diversity of tones and musical modes used by various Persian, Turkish, Middle Eastern/African and South Asian Sufis. Our orthographic analyses suggest that they were familiar with the Persian origin of some of these modes. One may be more confident about this hypothesis once having looked at the rest of the manuscript. In continuation of the musical modes of the manuscript, rhythmic Persian supplications and poems, recited in mystical circles, are found. They clearly demonstrate the significant contribution of Persian Shī'ism in shaping Indonesian mystical gatherings, sessions of *Samā'* and subsequent joys.

○ *Persian Rhythmic Poems Copied by Malays*

Besides my recent publication of "An Old Persian-Malay Anthology of Poems from Aceh" in which I demonstrated the circulation and production of Persian mystical poetic texts in Indonesia in the sixteenth century, I could detect more crucial evidence which support earlier claims about the Malay-Indonesians' good level of familiarity with Persian.

a. Rhythmic Mystical Supplication to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib

After engaging with devotional songs based on different musical modes for the sake of spiritual joys, the reader of Or. 5658 comes across a rhythmic Persian (and a few Arabic) mystical phrase dedicated to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (the first Imām of the Shī'a) in fl. 109 of:

سرُّ وَلِيِّ الْخُدَا، نُورِ نَبِيِّ مُرْتَضِي، مَعْدِنِ جُودِ الصَّفَا، شَاهِ عَلَيْهِ سَلَام. حَيْدَرِ لَشْكْرِ شَيْكَانِ، بَابِ الْحَسَنِ الْحَسِينِ، سِرِّ خُدا
ابو الحسن، الخ. جَدِّهِ عَالَمِ نَبُود، بَدِّهِ اَدَمِ نَبُود، مَا هَلْكَ هُمْ نَبُود الخ [...] مَدَحُ ثُرَا جِبْرِئِيلُ كُفْتُ بِرَبِّ الدَّلِيلِ ... كَعْبَهُ مَا كُيُو
قَبْلَهُ مَا رَوُ ثُو مَا هَمَّ هِنْدُو ثُو، شَاهِ سَلَامٌ عَلَيْهِ [...] جَنَّهُ اِيْمَانِ بُوْد، خَيْرُهُ رَحْمَنِ بُوْد، خَلَقَهُ مُرْدَانِ بُوْد، شَاهِ سَلَامٌ عَلَيْهِ. سَيِّدِ
صَدْرِ الْكَلَامِ كُفْتُ نَبِيِّ اَيْنِ عَام: ... شَاهِ سَلَامٌ عَلَيْهِ [...] اَوَّلِ اَخْرِ ثُوِي، ظَاهِرِ بَاطِنِ ثُوِي، حَقِّ بِهِ حَقِيقَةُ ثُوِي، شَاهِ سَلَامٌ
عليه [...] صَبِيحِ صَفَادَمِ ثُوِي، سَيِّدِ عَالَمِ ثُوِي، تَوْبَةِ اَدَمِ ثُوِي، شَاهِ سَلَامٌ عَلَيْهِ.

“The mystery of the Guardian of God (viz., 'Alī), the light of Muḥammad, the Murtaḍā, the mine of absolute generosity of inner purity, the Shah, peace be upon him. The brave lion (*Ḥaydar*), the father of Ḥassan and Ḥusayn, the mystery of God, Father of Ḥassan, etc. Was nothing on earth before him, from the origin did not Adam, the Moon and heavenly sphere exist, too, etc. [...] Gabriel praised you before the Conductor...As our Ka'ba is you, Our *Qibla* is towards you, we are all your Hindu (viz., bondman),³⁴ the Shah, peace be upon him [...] Shield of faith and good-natured, merciful is he, the origin and creator of chivalry is he, the Shah, peace be upon him. The Prophet said to the public..., the Shah, peace be upon him [...] the origin and destination is you, both exterior and interior is you, the truth of essence is you, the Shah, peace be upon him [...] the dawn of purity and sincerity is you, the lord of the universe is you, the repentance of Adam is you, the Shah, peace be upon him.”

Commentary

Particular mystical features of the text, e.g., naming 'Alī as 'Guardian of God', 'the Shah', and 'Ḥaydar' clearly suggest that it was inspired by Persian Shī'i teachings. The use and reproduction of Persian Shī'i supplications in the Malay-Indonesian world is seen in other parts of the Archipelago. In my earlier examination of the manuscript MS 13 entitled *Buku Doa dan Jampi* ('the Book of Supplications and Spells and Healing Words') at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, I displayed the existence of a Shī'i supplication ascribed to 'Alī which was systematically promoted by Persian Safavids in the 16th and 17th centuries. The MS 13 includes a supplication to *Dhū l-Faqār* which is actually the famous *Nād-e 'Alī* ('invoke 'Alī') supplication which had already been circulated across the Persianate world, including South Asia.³⁵ As such, the existence of a rhythmic mystical supplication to 'Alī on Or. 5658 is not far-fetched. The orthography, again, confirms that this poem was written by a local Indonesian practitioner using Jawi orthographic style (underlined term). Moreover, the supplication begins with a unique lexical composition of Arabic-Persian (Arabic name + Arabic Article + Persian term) to introduce the purely Shī'i adjective of 'Alī, as the guardian of God:

34- Its metaphorical forms are also found in different Persian works.

35- See Majid Daneshgar, "A Sword that becomes A Word. A Supplication to Dhū'l-Faqār/Nad-e Ali (in the Middle East and the Malay-Indonesian World)", *Mizan Project* (2017): 1–18. Also, see the recent study of Farouk Yahya, "Calligrams of the Lion of 'Alī in Southeast Asia" in *Islamicate Occult Sciences in Theory and Practice*, edited by Liana Saif, Francesca Leoni, Matthew Melvin-Koushki, and Farouk Yahya (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 454–526.

والِيّ الخُدا |walīy^u -l-khodā| the Guardian of God³⁶

instead of the popular Arabic one:

وَلِيّ الله |walī Allāh| the Guardian of God

The use of this expression demonstrates a familiarity in the Malay-Indonesian world with such relatively rare compositions that in the Persian context have usually been practised. Given that this supplication is quickly followed by a strictly Shīʿī poem (see below) ascribed to the famous Persian-Indian poet Usman Marwandi, also known as Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, as well as including the term Shah which is ascribed to ʿAlī,³⁷ the above supplication could be one of his works that has not yet been collected.

b. Poems of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar

Or. 5658 includes a poem whose orthography has made it difficult for cataloguers as well as former scholars to realize its Persian identity.³⁸ This poem is found in ff.111–112. It is usually ascribed to the famous Persian Saint of Sindh, Usman Marwandi (d. c. 1274), known as Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. Born in Iran and moving to Sindh, he became a renowned mystical figure with a remarkable influence on Indian Sufism, especially Khaksāriyyah, originally connected to the Qalandariyya mystical path.³⁹ His devotion to the first Imam of Shīʿa as well as his mystical narratives addressing the chivalry and mystical character of ʿAlī is obvious throughout his works.⁴⁰ However, one can be surprised that the works of the main leaders of the Indian Qalandariyya order had contributed to Malay Sufism, an idea which former studies have largely ignored: that South Asian Qalandars and their works were active in the Archipelago has remained unresearched. This piece of the manuscript definitely adds to our knowledge that Persian-Shīʿī teachings and devotional works of the Indian Qalandars were practised by the local inhabitants of Nusantara in the seventeenth century. As the orthography of the text is different from Persian, I have added the standard Persian text in brackets:

۱. رَشِيدَم مَن بَدْرِيَاي * كِمَوْجَسِ آدَمِي خَارَاس
(رسيدم من به دريائي كه موجش آدمي خوار است)

*I arrived at the ocean * whose waves look like ogres*

۲. نَحْكِشْتِي بَادَرَان دُرِيَا * نَحْمَلَا أَحْي عَجَبِ كَارَاس
(نه گشتي اندر آن دريا نه ملاحی، عجب کار است)

*Neither ship is in that ocean * nor a sailor; why should I move into it*

36- It is also written without (al-) as walī-e khodā.

37- Lal Shahbaz used to ascribe this title to ʿAlī. See N. B. G. Qazi, *Uthman Marwandi; Lal Shahbaz Qalandar* (Gulberg and Lahore: West Pakistan Branch, 1971), 43.

38- Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts*, VI: 176.

39- ʿAlī Seyyedīn, *Pashmīneh-poushān* (Tehran: Nashr Ney, 1389/2010), 133.

40- See, Michel Boivin, "Representations and Symbols in Muharram and Other Rituals: Fragments of Shiite Worlds from Bombay to Karachi" in Alessandro Monsutti, et al. *The Other Shiites: From the Mediterranean to Central Asia* (Berline/Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007), 149–172.

۳. جُو مُوجَسْ جُمْلَه خُودِیْم * بَتَرَسِیْم اَدُو دَرِیَا
(چو موجش جمله خود دیدم بترسیدم ازین دریا)⁴¹

*Once I saw the waves with my eyes * I was afraid of that*

۴. بِدَالِکُفْتَم جُی تَرَشِی * کُذَر یَاِیْد کِنَاچَار اس
(به دل گفتم چرا ترسی گذر باید که ناچار است)

*I told my heart: "why are you scared" * I have to cross it anyway*

۵. وَزُرَان جَانِی مُسْتَأَقَان * دَرَنَدَرِیَان کُوناچَارَات
(هزاران جان مشتاقان درین دریا نگوینسار است)

*Thousands of lives of lovers * are wrecked*

۶. نَدَانِ حَق جُمو اَمَامَد * مِکَز اَر جَانِ ثَمِی تَرَشِی
(ندا از حق چنین آمد مگر ترسی ز جان خود؟)

*A voice from God said * are you afraid of death?*

۷. اِکَر خَاہِی نَر دُرِیَا * یِکِی کُوہَر بَحْنَاءِ راس
(اگر خواهی نرو دریا یکی گوهر به...)

*If you do not want to go on the ocean * one pearl is*
[...]

۹. شَرِیْعَت کِستِی آی بَاِیْد * طَرِیْقَت بَادَوَان اَزوِی
(شریعت کشتی باشد طریقت بادیان او)

*Shari'a ('law') like a ship * whose sail is Tariqa (a 'mystical path')*

۱۰. حَقِیْقَت لَغْکَرِی سَنَغِکِیْن * کِرَحِی فَقْرِی ثُوس وَارَسْت
(حقیقت لنگری سنگین که راه فقر دشوار است)

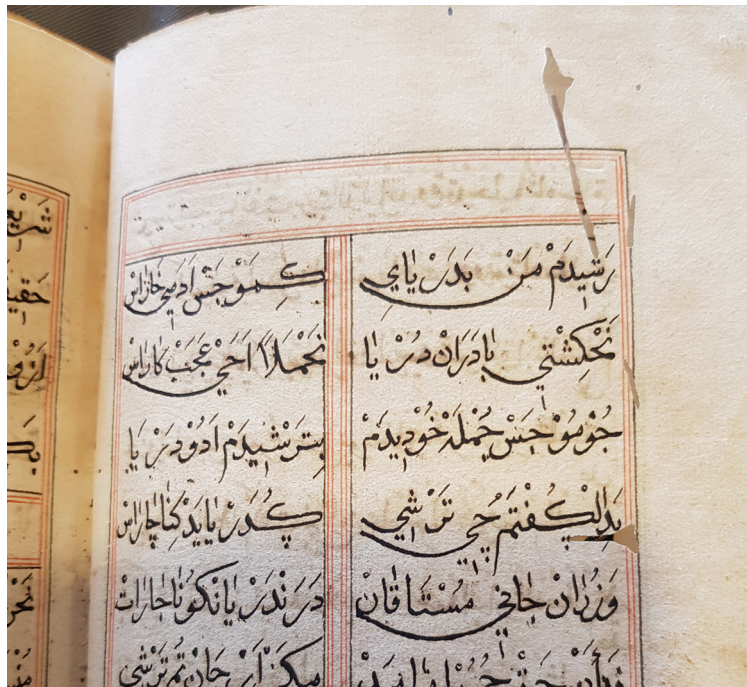
*Haqiqat ('spiritual experience') is like a heavy anchor * the way of spiritual poverty is difficult*⁴²
[...]

41- Another version is

چو آبش جمله خون دیدم بترسیدم ازین دریا

42- Popular edited versions show the poem with different order as:

رسیدم من به دریایی که موجش آدمی خوار است | نه کشتی اندر آن دریا نه ملاحی، عجب کار است | شریعت کشتینی باشد، طریقت بادیان او | حقیقت لنگری باشد که راه فقر دشوار است | چو آبش جمله خون دیدم بترسیدم ازین دریا | به دل گفتم چرا ترسی گذر باید که ناچار است | ندا از حق چنین آمد، مگر ترسی ز جان خود؟ | هزاران جان مشتاقان درین دریا نگوینسار است |



Or. 5658. fl.111: couplets of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar

Commentary

This poem ascribed to Uthman Marvandi (Lal Shahbaz Qalandar), the leading figure of Hindustani Sufism, is longer by far than other available versions, and given that his poems were usually collected late, Or. 5658 includes one of the most comprehensive and earliest versions of this poem. This poem is replete with nautical metaphors – which suits the inhabitants of Banten (a harbour) and Indonesians in general.⁴³ The poem's orthography is different from standard Persian. However, there are deliberate changes throughout the Persian text which suggest the familiarity of the scribe with Persian syntax as well as semantics. For example, in “*Haqiqat* (‘spiritual experience’) is like a heavy anchor” (verse 10), the usual term used for “a heavy anchor” is (لنگر سنگین), which here is consciously changed to (لغچري سنگين). One may assume that this localization of letters is a product of oral transmission. However, my claim about the familiarity of Malays with Persian orthography, its localization and practice can be seen further when I discuss the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (See below). Moreover, this verse makes more sense in terms of the content. Popular editions of this verse are as follows:

حقیقت لنگري باشد * که راه فقر دشوار است|

Haqiqat (‘spiritual experience’) is like an anchor * the way of spiritual poverty is difficult

while Or. 5658 adds an adjective, viz., “heavy”, before the term “anchor”, which accords a clear meaning to the second hemistich:

حَقِيقَتِ لَغچري سنگين * کَرحي فقرِ دُوس وَا رست|

Haqiqat (‘spiritual experience’) is like a heavy anchor * the way of spiritual poverty is difficult

43- Thanks to Edwin Wieringa for drawing my attention to this point. Personal communication on 30.11.2020.

2. Familiarity with the Persian Language

Or. 8399, a collection of Islamic treatises, is kept in the Leiden University Library. This collection includes various manuscripts dating from the 17th to the 19th century. It was given to the library by “Ms. M. Maasland-Lobrij de Bruyn in 1954”⁴⁴. The first part of the manuscript titled “al-Hawash” is apparently a commentary on “mystical treatise” (ff.1–33) written by Maulana from Mandailing of north Sumatra. This source and the writing skills demonstrate that he was quite familiar with the three languages of Arabic, Persian and Malay. The main body of the text is in Arabic and Persian, and there are partial interlinear translations in Jawi. However, given the similar orthographic style of the author, some cataloguers were not able to find the placement of Persian text throughout the manuscript.⁴⁵ In fact, the writing skill of the Mandailing, in switching from Arabic to Persian and back again to Arabic, is exemplary and needs extra attention to identify each of the turns. The treatise begins with mystical teachings pertaining to truth, uniqueness, and revelation of divine glory and essential self-manifestation and mystical levels (*martaba*) (ff. 1–5). The name of Abu l-Ḥassan Ash‘arī (d. c. 936 AD) as a theologian (*mutakallim*) along with Sufi leaders (*masyāyikh al-ṣūfiya*) is seen (fl. 6).

In fl. 28, where the knowledge of truth (*‘ilm al-ḥaqā’iq*) is addressed, a new section opens referring to a treatise (*fī kitāb al-muḥaqqiqīn*) on “Sufism doctrines” (*‘aqā’id al-ṣūfiya*):

هَن صُوفِيَان: بَا عَقَائِدَ عِلْمَا ظَوَاهِر هِيَج مَخَالَفَتَ نِيَسْت، مَگر در رَبطِ حَقِّ بَعَالِم. عِلْمَا ظَوَاهِر رَبطِ اِيجَادِ حَقِّ بَعَالِم مِيَدَهَنَد...

Those are Sufis: There is no disagreement with the beliefs of the Zahirites’ thinkers (formalists and the ‘ulema of exoteric Islam), unless in their linking of the truth to the universe. Zahirites link between the creation of truth and of universe...

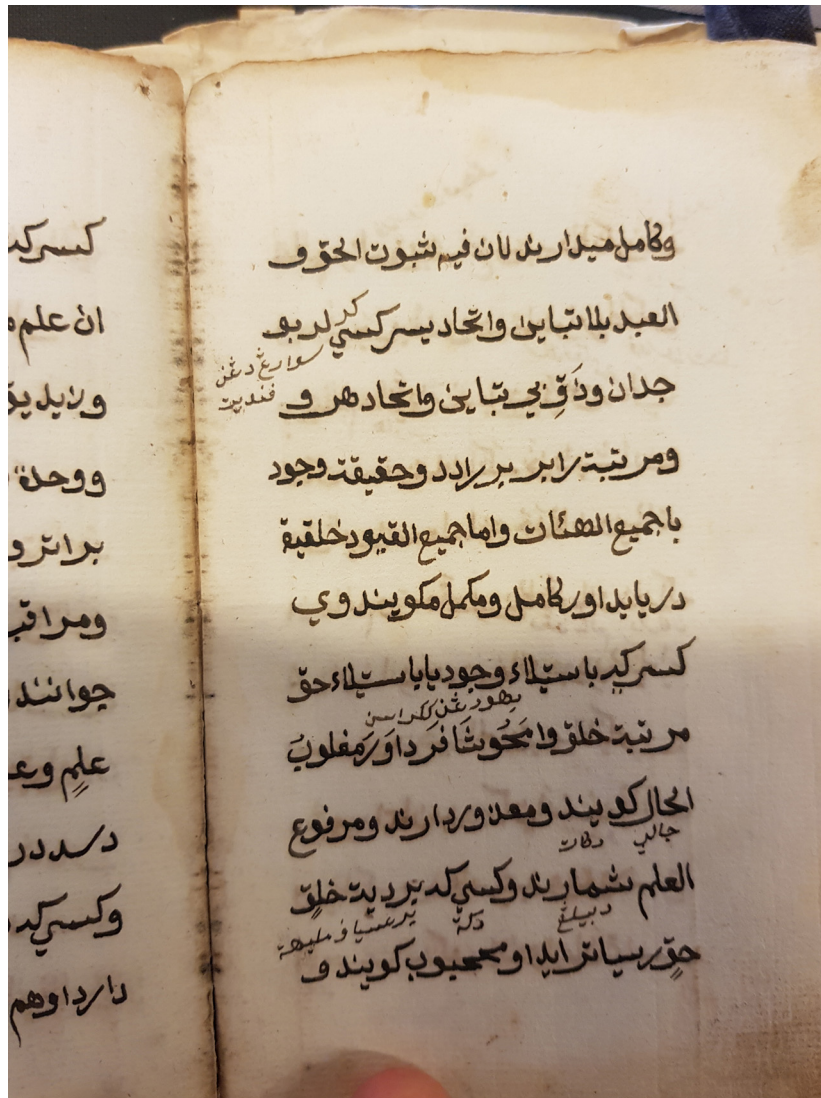
The underlined Persian phrase is glossed with interlinear translation as:

اِتِيَادِ بَرَسَلَاهَن | *tiada bersalahan* | there is no problem

Interestingly, on the next page (fl. 29), the author missed, or forgot to add, a Persian phrase. Then the missed Persian phrase with its interlinear Malay translation is added to the right-hand margin with the same hand. It again proves that the main author is the same Mandailing man. Either by copying them from another Persian text, or writing them on his own, it is demonstrated that the author had a sufficient level of competence in the Persian language.

44- Jan Jušt Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2019), XIV:148.

45- Ibid.



Or. 8399, fl. 30: Sufism doctrines in Persian-Malay

3. Learning Islamic Sciences through Persian

a. The Arabic Language

The First Persian-Malay Rendition of Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ

Or. 1666 is one of the oldest known Jawi manuscripts written on dluwang⁴⁶ (a Javanese paper) which has obviously been copied by a Malay-speaking person. This manuscript titled *Khulāṣa 'ilm al-Ṣarf* ('A Concise History of Arabic Grammar') may be a unique Malay source, because it shows that Malays used to learn Arabic by means of Persian. This manuscript was copied and owned (*katibuh wa ṣāhibuh*) by 'Abd al-Jabbār and finished in September/October 1581 (Ramadan 990). Although the colophon is silent about the place of its writing, the manuscript's orthography and style clearly suggest that the author's Malay was far better

46- Edwin Wieringa, *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts: in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum in Leiden University Library, 1998), 28.

than his Arabic as well as his Persian. The Latin note on early pages of the manuscript⁴⁷ demonstrates that it was in the possession of P. Van der Vorm (1661–1731) “the minister for the Malay-Language congregation in Batavia, who lived more than 43 years in Asia and who was competent in several Oriental languages”⁴⁸. Van der Vorm had also translated *Mir’āt al-Mu’minīn* by Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Samatrani (d. 1630) into Dutch.⁴⁹

Alessandro Bausani (1921–1988) examined parts of this manuscript in 1969.⁵⁰ He claimed that it is another proof of the remarkable contribution of Persian to the Malay “Muslim” language. However, the origin and real identity of the manuscript remained unanswered by him and other scholars. The title given to the manuscript (*Khulāṣa ‘ilm al-Ṣarf*) as well as the introduction which is actually dedicated to an [anonymous] ruler has misled Bausani and others into *not* identifying the origin of this Persian-Malay manuscript. This issue confused me for more than two years, too. Nonetheless, I finally realized that this manuscript is a short bilingual rendition (with minor commentary) of the famous treatise on Arabic morphology and phonology entitled “*Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ*” (‘The Souls’ Place of Rest’) by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Mas‘ūd from the late 7th AH/13th AD or early 8th AH/14th AD century. His masterpiece had influence on a large number of Muslim and Christian Arabists and Grammarians including al-Suyūṭī (d. c. 1505).⁵¹ It has for centuries been widely explained and glossed by various scholars and been printed and lithographed across the Muslim world including in Egypt, Ottoman Turkey, India and Iran. The commentaries on this grammar book emerged in the 9th century AH, being those of Hasan Pasha b. ‘Ala’ al-Din al-Aswad al-Niksari (d. 827/1427) entitled “*al-Mifrāḥ fī Sharḥ Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ*”.⁵² Later on, at least six more Arabic commentaries were produced until the date written on Leiden’s unique copy of Persian-Malay (990/1581). Some of these commentaries were widely circulated among Muslims, and were glossed or included minor interlinear Ottoman Turkish or Persian translations.⁵³ However, I was unable to find *significant* similarities between these commentaries⁵⁴ and that of our Persian-Malay version. Also, most of these commentaries are larger than those in Ibn Mas‘ūd’s own work and the Persian-Malay copy. More importantly, available archives suggest that the Persian translation of *Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ* was produced far later than the sixteenth century. Three versions of it were printed in India in the nineteenth century: (a) *Taṣrīf al-Riyāḥ* (Kanpur: Maṭba‘a Masīha, 1269–70/1853–4); (b) Arabic-Persian translation of *Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ* (Delhi: Maṭba‘a Yūsufī, 1302/1884–5); and (c)

47- *Grammatica sermonis Arabici, dicta تصريف، conscripta lingua Persica cum versione Malaica interlineari. Transmissa est ad me de India Orientali per D. Van der Vorm, V.D. M. in Ecclesia Malaica Bataviae Indorum.*

48- Wieringa, *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts*, 1998: 28. Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007), II: 212.

49- George H. Werndly, *Maleische Spraakkunst uit de eige schriften der Maleiers opgemaakt met eene Voorreden* (Amsterdam: Wetstein, 1736), 354–355.; Wieringa, *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts*, 28.

50- Alessandro Bausani, “Un manoscritto Persiano-Malese di grammatica Araba del xvi secolo” *Annali dell’Ist. Univ. Orientale di Napoli* 19/29 (1969), 69–98.

51- Joyce Åkesson, *Arabic Morphology and Phonology: Based on the Marāḥ al-arwāḥ by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Mas‘ūd* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), I: 3; II: 7.

52- Åkesson, *Arabic Morphology and Phonology*, I: 7–11

53- The Turkish translation of its commentaries were produced in the 10th century AH, and some Arabic copies (e.g., 5–2127 of the National Library of Iran) included Persian interlinear translations.

54- I admit that I did not have access to all of these commentaries.

Arabic-Persian translation of *Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ* (Delhi: n.p., 1310–11/1893).⁵⁵

Therefore, it can be said that the Leiden manuscript Or.1666 not only presents the first known Malay translation of *Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ* but also its first known Persian translation. At first, I detected a compatibility between Or.1666 and Ibn Mas‘ūd’s *Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ* through the two different copies: (a) Shoults Collection Tb 1852 I, in the Otago University Special Collections, which is in Ottoman Turkish, and (b) Ms. 194, in the Iranian Parliament Library, in Arabic. The following comparison would suggest that the Leiden version is obviously a concise translation of *Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ*:

Source	Original Arabic Ms. 194	Or. 1666 Leiden Persian translation	Or. 1666 Leiden Malay translation
Original Text	فِي اللَّفِيفِ يُقَالُ لَهُ لَفِيفٌ لِلْفِ حَرْفِ الْعَلَّةِ فِيهِ وَهُوَ عَلَى ضَرْبَيْنِ مَفْرُوقٌ وَمَقْرُونٌ	فِي بَيَانِ الْفِعْلِ اللَّفِيفِ، وَ لَفِيفٌ دَر لَغَتِ دَر هَم پِيچِيدِن وَ دَر اصْطِلَاح فِعْلِ لَفِيفِ دُو نَوْعِ اسْتِ يَكِي لَفِيفِ مَفْرُوقِ اسْتِ وَ يَكِي لَفِيفِ مَقْرُونِ	دَلَم مَبْتَاكِنِ فِعْلِ لَفِيفِ بَر مَوَلِ لَفِيفِ اَيْتِ قَدْ لَغَتْنِ دَر هَم ⁵⁶ بَر لِيْقَتِ دَانِ قَدْ اصْطِلَاحِ اَهْلِ الصَّرْفِ فِعْلِ لَفِيفِ اَيْتِ دَوْبَاكِي جَوَكِ سَوَاتِ لَفِيفِ مَفْرُوقِ نَمَاشِ دَانِ سَوَاتِ لَاكِ لَفِيفِ مَقْرُونِ نَمَاشِ
English Translations	About the verb type of <i>al-lafif</i> , it is named <i>al-lafif</i> “complicated, tangled”, “because of the combination of two weak consonants in it. It falls into two classes ⁵⁷ : <i>mafrūq</i> and <i>maqrūn</i> .”	Regarding the verb type of <i>al-lafif</i> , <i>lafif</i> literally means tangled and folded, and technically <i>lafif</i> is a verb in two types: one is <i>lafif-e mafrūq</i> and one is <i>lafif-e maqrūn</i> .	To say of the verb type of <i>lafif</i> , that “ <i>lafif</i> ” means merged, folded, and in the grammatical technical usage, the verb <i>lafif</i> is in two. In one <i>lafif</i> , its name is <i>mafrūq</i> , and in the other <i>lafif</i> , its name is <i>maqrūn</i> .

It is clear that the author is familiar with both Persian and Malay. As I also expected, there are Persian letters whose style has been *Malayized*. For instance, in fl. 7 it says⁵⁸:

المتكلم سخن گوینده
یغ متکلم ایت یغ برکات

Yang mutakkalim itu yang berkata
Mutakallim is the one who speaks

55- Also, see: *Kitāb shināsi-yi āthār-i Fārsi-yi chāp shuda dar shibh-i qāra* (Hind, Pākistān, Bangelādīsh), 1160–1387/1195–1428/1781–2007.

56- Whether “درهم” (*darham*) which is a Persian term was used by Malays in the past should be examined. Bausani believed that it was not a loan-word and would have been wrongly used as apparently the scribe did not know the meaning of it. Bausani, “Un manoscritto Persiano-Malese”, 83.

57- Åkesson, *Arabic Morphology and Phonology*, 373.

58- See, fl. 5, too.

The introduction includes a dedication to an anonymous ruler who is praised for “defeating *Kāfir and Mushrik*” (‘infidels’), and “reviving the works of Afridūn” (the Persian King Fereydūn), among others. This also led Bausani to conclude that it could have been written outside Persia where there still existed Muslim vs. non-Muslim fields, like Golconda, India, or was dedicated to an Indonesian ruler of Banten (e.g., Muhammad b. Yusuf).⁵⁹ However, a large portion of this introduction and its dedication had already been used in other (earlier) literary sources produced in India and Iran. Some parts of it, like the following couplet (fl. 3), were already used in Persian materials:

شاهی که در زمان نه ندارد نظیر خویش * شکرانه واجب است که در روز کار است
راج یغ دلم زمانش تیاد آد سمسماں * فرض شکر جوک سوات قد ماس کیت این

raja yang dalam zaman-nya tiada ada sama-sama-nya farad syukur juga suatu pada masa kita ini*

The king who is unrivalled during his own time* it must be thanked that he is in our time⁶⁰

One of the earliest references to this couplet was used to praise the Sultan of Deccan, Mahmud of the Bahmanids (r. 887-915/1481-1509), in a manuscript titled, *Kitāb Tawḍīḥ al-alḥān* (‘on Melodies’), UPenn Oversize LJS 425, which addresses various melodic systems (fl.1).⁶¹ Moreover, the following praise of the Shah in the Persian-Malay manuscript Or. 1666 was already cited, praising Abū Saʿīd Bahādor Khān (d. c. 1335), ninth Il-Khan of Iran⁶²:

وارث تیغ و نکین...محي آثار افریدون
یغ ممشکای قدغ دان چنچن...یغ مغهدفکن اثار افریدون

Yang memesakai⁶³ pedang dan cincin...Yang menghidupkan Ithar Afridun

Who inherited the sword and the ring...who revives the works of Afridūn (fl. 3)

So it can be said that the author was familiar with the Persian language and literature, and had already cited earlier studies in his own work. This manuscript appears to show that one of the oldest known Malay sources on the Arabic language was written by means of Persian, and that to a large extent Persian terms and phrases were understood by some Malay readers. A full examination of this *old* multilingual manuscript in the light of its Arabic prototype, and how the Malays’ reception of Islamic sources depends on translation of foreign sources, is the concern of a forthcoming study.

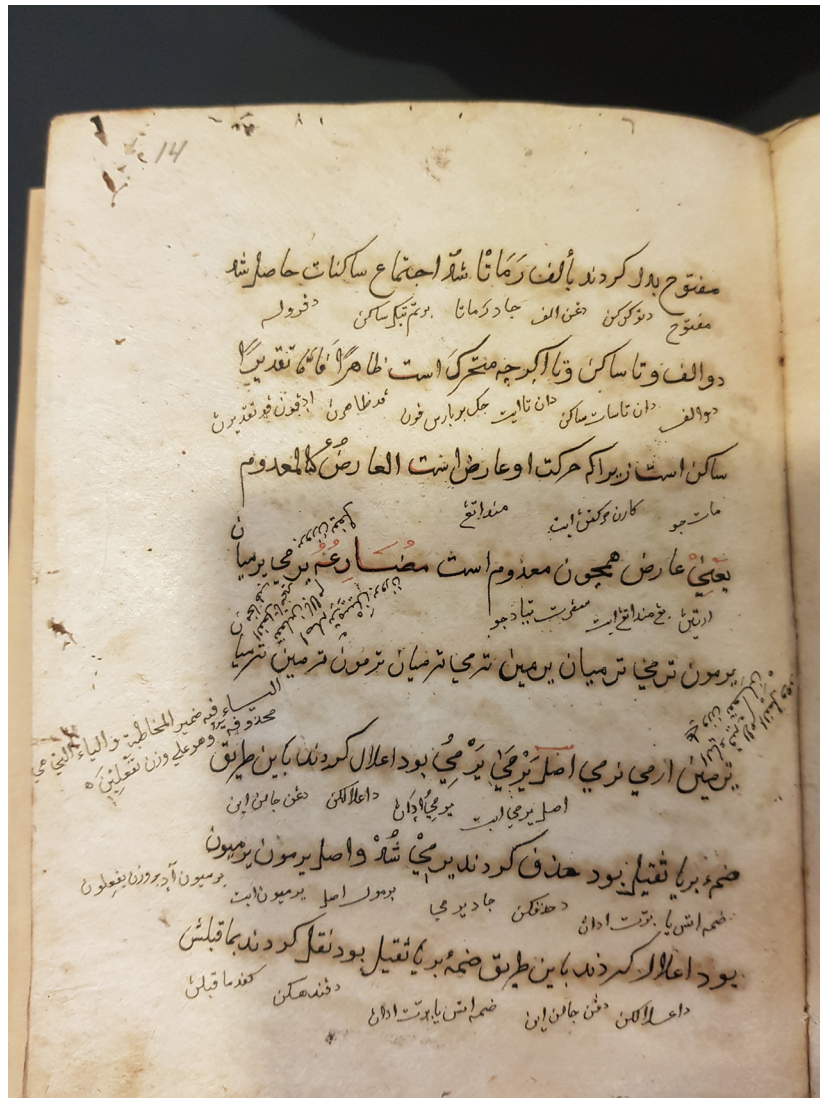
59- Bausani, “Un manoscritto Persiano-Malese di grammatica Araba del xvi secolo”, 69–70.

60- This couplet is also found in the Ottoman Turkish epic of “Süleymannâme”.

61- This copy is kept in Pennsylvania Library. Another copy is preserved in the private collection of Fakhr al-Dīn Nasirī, Iran. See: Rokn al-Dīn Homāyūn-farokh, “Daṣṭeh-goli Taqdīm be-doustdārān-e Ketāb,” *Honar va Mardom* 49 (1345/1966), 41–60. See: http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/detail.html?id=MEDREN_9951469233503681/

62- P. Jackson, “Abū Saʿīd Bahādor Khan,” *Encyclopædia Iranica* 1/4 (1983): 374–377. The praise of Bahādor Khan is found in the classical literary work of *Negārestān*, also examined by Natalia L. Tornesello, “un Negārestān di Moʿini Joveyni conservato nell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei a Roma,” *Oriente Moderno* 15/2 (1996): 351–377.

63- Perhaps, this refers to *memusakai* (‘receiving inheritance from’).



Or. 1666. fl. 14: Persian-Malay Treatise on Arabic Grammar by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd

b. Qur'anic Interpretation (Verse-Level)

Former studies have concluded that a large number of Islamic teachings reached the Malay-Indonesian world through Islamic stories, literary and mystical sources. Many of these works include qur'anic citations and notes. But the period when Malays used to understand the Qur'an by means of interpretation (*tafsīr*) has been disputed among scholars. The most comprehensive studies on the history of Qur'anic interpretation in the Malay Archipelago were done by Anthony Johns and Peter Riddell in the 1970s and 1980s, respectively. Riddell demonstrated that the first evidence of Malay attempts to produce Malay interpretations of the Qur'an (*Sūra*-level) dates back to early seventeenth century Aceh (viz., c. 1604 AD). This *Sūra*-level commentary is kept in the Cambridge University Library (Camb. Ms. Or. II.6.45) and only covers Chapter 18, *sūrat al-Kahf*, which was largely influenced by the Arabic commentary of al-Baghawī.⁶⁴

64- See Peter G. Riddell, *Malay Court Religion, Culture and Language: Interpreting the Qur'an in 17th Century Aceh* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

The next generation of Malay commentaries like “Tarjumān al-Mustafid” by ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf was influenced by other Sunni Arabic sources including *al-Jalālyn*, *al-Bayḍāwī* and *al-Khāzin*, among others. As such, the Malays’ perception of *Tafsīr* tradition was largely Arabo-centric, and grounded on madrasa-based literature...to be studied by students of Islamic sciences. Nonetheless, given the impact of Persian on various aspects of Malay culture and life, one may wonder if Persian materials could ever have offered anything about *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* to the Archipelago.

The manuscript Or.7056, mainly an anthology of poems, kept in Leiden University Library includes the most obvious and oldest known traces of Malay interpretation and translation of the Qur’an. In my previous article published with *Dabir Journal* in 2020,⁶⁵ I tried to provide a detailed examination of this manuscript. Its text is mainly in Persian with interlinear Malay Jawi language, and was copied by a Malay. Given the orthography (i.e., old Javanese/old Malay) as well as the quality of the manuscript (i.e., on dluwang), and its place, we are aware that it could have been produced in Indonesia in the late 15th or early 16th century.⁶⁶ Some parts of this work are inspired by Fakhr al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī’s masterpiece, *Lama’āt* (‘the Flashes’), as well as Sa’dī’s *Gulistān* (‘the Rose Garden’) whose works were widely circulated throughout India and the Indian Ocean route for centuries. Three points would suggest that this Persian-Malay manuscript includes the oldest bilingual verse-level commentary on the Qur’an in the Malay-Indonesian world:

- a) **Date:** at the latest in the 16th century, and older than Camb. Ms. li.6.45 and those of Fansuri
- b) **Place:** Indonesia where other old Malay commentaries were produced in the 17th century
- c) **Content:** includes clear Qur’anic exegetical references

The first *tafsīr* reference is found in the fifth section (fragment V) of Or. 7056. It is a mystical interpretation of Q 9:122⁶⁷ belonging to the famous Persian Sufi and poet, Rūzbihān Baqlī al-Shīrāzī (d. c. 1209) from his commentary known as *Tafsīr ‘Arā’is al-Bayān fi Ḥaqā’iq al-Qur’ān* (‘Brides of Explanation of the Qur’anic Truth’) which is cited in al-‘Irāqī’s *Lama’āt*:

إِذَا طَلَعَ الصَّبَاحُ بَنَجَمِ رَاحِ * نَسَاوِي فِيهِ وَسَكْرَانٌ وَصَاحِ
تَتَكَالَ تَرَبَّتْ لَهُ فَاكِي ۲ مَكْ فَرَكِيلَه سَكَل بَنَتَغ * سَمَالَه دَلَمَن يَغ مَابِق دَان سِيومَن

Tatkala terbitlah pagi-pagi maka pergilah segala bintang * Sama lah dalamnya yang mabuk dan siuman
When the early morning appears, then the stars goes away. It is at that [time] that drunk and awake are equal

Besides, section ten of Or. 7056 is an important trilingual text. It includes the Arabic verse of Q 27:88, followed by its Persian translation and interpretation. Each of these lines are then translated into Malay. Actually, this is a unique combination which shows An Arabic verse of the Qur’an supported by two forms of translation and interpretation, in Persian and Malay:

65- Majid Daneshgar, “An Old Persian-Malay Anthology of Poems from Aceh,” *Dabir, Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture* 7 (2020): 61–90.

66- I have a forthcoming essay about the age and carbon testing of this manuscript.

67- “However, it is not necessary for the believers to march forth all at once. Only a party from each group should march forth, leaving the rest to gain religious knowledge then enlighten their people when they return to them, so that they, too, may beware of evil.”

Or. 7056 (Arabic-Persian)	Jawi translation	Romanized version	English Translation
<p>پیش عاشق سننّیاس دلم تیرن دان خرق معنوی جوک</p> <p>جک قد ظاهر رفان دیم سکالفون کلّهاتن</p> <p>وَ اَکَرّجِه بَصُورَتِ سَاکِنِ نُمَایِدْ > وَ تَرَى الْجِبَالَ تَحْسِبُهَا جَامِدَةً > وَ هِيَ تَمُرُّ مَرَّ السَّحَابِ <</p> <p>خُودْ جَمُودَنَ سَاکِنِ تَوَانْدُ بُود چِه هَر دَرَه از دَرَاتِ کَانِنَاتْ</p> <p>مُتَحَرِّکْ بِحَرکَةِ اَوْسَتْ چِه هَر دَرَه را کَلِمَه اُسَتْ وَ هَر کَلِمَه (؟) اِسْمِی</p> <p>وَ هَر اِسْمِی رَا زَبَانِی [...]]</p>	<p>مک عاشق سننّیاس دلم تیرن دان خرق معنوی جوک</p> <p>جک قد ظاهر رفان دیم سکالفون کلّهاتن</p> <p>> کولیهت سکل بوکت قد بچرام کو سغک دیم ای ایت برلاک سفرت کلکون اُون ای <</p> <p>بتاف اکن دافت دیم اداکن سکل ذره درقد سکل ذره موجودات برخرق دغن خرقتن جوک</p> <p>کارن سکل ذره ایت آد اکندی کات دان سکل کات ایت آد اکندی نام</p> <p>دان سکل نام ایت آد اکندی لیده</p>	<p>Maka asyik senantiasa dalam tarian dan gerak ma'nawi juga. Jika pada zahir/lahir rupanya diam sekali pun kelihatan</p> <p>"Kaulihat segala bukit, pada bicaramu kausangka diam ia itu berlaku seperti kelakuan awan ia"</p> <p>Betapa akan dapat diam adanya segala zarah daripada segala zarah maujudat bergerak dengan geraknya juga</p> <p>Karena segala zarah itu ada akan dia kata dan segala kata itu ada akan dia nama</p> <p>dan segala nama itu ada akan dia lidah</p>	<p>So the lover is always in spiritual dance and movement, Even if it looks immobile.</p> <p>"You see the mountains, you think they are motionless, [whereas] they act like clouds do."</p> <p>How could it be immobile while all molecules of all particles of being move with its movement?</p> <p>because all particles have a word, and all words have a name and all names have a tongue [...]</p>

Q 27:88 (bold phrase) is clearly supported by the translation and mystical commentaries of al-'Irāqī, and then has been translated into Malay.

4. Persianized Malay and Malayized Persian

The two oldest Islamic stories circulated in the Malay-Indonesian world are (a) *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, which is a revenge story of Muhammad al-Hanafiyyah, who railed against the killers of his half-brothers, Hassan and Husayn, son of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, especially Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya; and (b) *Hikayat Amir Hamza* which is an epic story also inspired by the Persian *Shāh-nāma* ('Book of the Kings'). According to the "Malay Annals" (*Sejarah Melayu*), both of these stories were collectively read by Malaccans at the time of the Portuguese siege of Malacca in 1511. The chivalry aspects of these stories would have been taken into account by Malay warriors before confronting the Portuguese. Given the comprehensive studies of Ph. Van Ronkel on *Hikayat Amir Hamza* in 1895 and Lode Brakel on *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* in the 1970s, it became evident that these stories were produced based on Persian prototypes.⁶⁸ The Swedish trader, C. F.

68- The structure and content of this story was precisely examined by Brakel. Later on, I reexamined this story and identified the Persian prototype of the manuscript from the 7th/13th century. See: Lode F. Brakel, *The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah* (Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1977); Majid Daneshgar, "New Evidence on the Origin of the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah," *Archipel* 96 (2018): 69–102.



Or. 7056. Fl. 8: Persian-Malay Anthology

Llljewalch (d.1887) became acquainted with several works when he returned from China. One of them, which was also donated to Lund University, is *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya* ('story of Muhammad Hanafiyya').⁶⁹ This Malay copy scribed by the famous scholar Husain ibn Ismail includes some phrases in Persian, which clearly show that the Malay "readers" of the text were familiar with Persian terms and their meanings. Although citation of Persian couplets from different mystical sources and folk stories (including, *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*) can be seen, this copy includes unique phrases, which are also found in Malay *Hikayat Amir Hamza*; both proving that some words and phrases used to be understood in Malay contexts, which are no longer in common use. In an episode of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, Ibn Muljam (the son of Muljam) who is 'Alī's servant and fellow, receives an offer from an old woman to marry a beautiful girl and then to kill 'Alī:

69- Henri Chambert-Loir, "Les manuscrits malais de Bâle, Lund, Singapour et Paris," *Archipel* 20/1 (1980): 87–98.

The old woman made it appear that the girl was her daughter and the groom asked for her hand. She set the murder of Ali as the condition. The son of Muljam agreed and received the girl as his wife. He kept himself hidden in a spot near the mosque, and lay in wait, scanning the road for Ali. The latter was on his way alone to the early morning service. As he arrived at the door, he was stabbed in the heart by his servant.⁷⁰

In the Lund version of this story, the son of Muljam, or *anak Muljam*, carries a negative attribution, which is commonly used in Persian Shīʿī literature as a curse and phrase of humiliation. He is called “*anak Muljam haramkhar*” (انق ملجم حرام خوار) which means “The son of Muljam who is depraved”. Undoubtedly, the underlined phrase is structurally and conceptually a Persian phrase, which has been precisely copied in the text. The way Malay texts embrace Persian terms and convey the meaning can be called “Persianized Malay”. Through this process, some foreign terms only make sense if they appear in their original format in another context. Examples of such Persianization of Malay literature are seen in abundance in pre-17th century works, which deserve to be investigated in the future.

Such unique textual integrations are not accidental. A copy of *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* demonstrates that not only Malay texts were Persianized, but also Persian works were *Malayized*. In 1895, Ph. Van Ronkel examined two manuscripts of *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* kept in Leiden University Library: Or. 1697 and Or. 1698.⁷¹ Through this research, he concluded that the Malay story of *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* which used to be recited in the early 16th century is actually a direct translation of its Persian version, which was widely circulated in Western- and South Asia. Both manuscripts are replete with Persian couplets, verses, and phrases. They even begin with either a broken (Or. 1697) or fluent Persian (Or. 1698) preface.⁷² Some scholars agree that the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* should be based on the Persian *Rumūz-e Ḥamza* (‘The Subtleties of Hamza’),⁷³ and/or *Qisṣa-yi Amīr Ḥamza* (‘the Story of Amīr Ḥamza’).⁷⁴ However, I compared the Malay and Persian versions, from which a significant degree of similarity between the Malay version and the Persian *Amīr Ḥamza Ṣāhib-qirān va ‘Umar Umayya* (‘Amīr Ḥamza, Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction, and ‘Umar Umayya’)⁷⁵ is obvious.

This dense story with thousands of pages follows Persian epics such as *Shāh-nāma* and includes the name of many Persian figures. Nonetheless, there are a couple of versions of *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, which have not been examined by Van Ronkel or other scholars, whose text shows a unique Persian-Malay combination. For instance, Or. 7360, already in the possession of C. Snouck Hurgronje, kept in Leiden University Library is a two volume-copy of *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*. It has been written on a Dutch laid paper with *Pro Patria* watermark.⁷⁶ The first introductory page clearly demonstrates the competence of

70- Brakel, *The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, 30.

71- See Ph. S. Van Ronkel, *De Roman van Amīr Hamza* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1895).

72- Also, see: Liaw Yock Fang, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, trans. Razif Bahari and Harry Aveling (Jakarta and Singapore: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia and ISEAS Publishing, 2013), 245–246.

73- Muḥammad Javād Maḥjūb, cited in Farīd Morādī (ed.), *Amīr Ḥamza Ṣāhib-qirān* (Tehran: Thaleth, 1393/2014), 12–14. The Urdu version of *Rumūz-e Ḥamza* is known as *Anūshirvān-nāma*. See the manuscript Cod. 7871 in the Iran Parliamentary Library.

74- Vladimir Braginsky, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004), 179.

75- *Dāstān-e Amīr Ḥamza Ṣāhib-qirān va ‘Umar Umayya*, edited by Mohammad Farsā’ī (Tehran: Sa’dī, 1370/1991).

76- For more on its physical features, see: T. Iskandar, *Catalogue of Malay, Minangkabau, and South Sumatran manuscripts in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1999), 436.

the author in both Malay and Persian. He displays his skill in turning Malay to Persian and again to Malay. For example, it begins with (fl.1):

A: بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَبِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ بِاللَّهِ الْإِلَهِيِّ (sic) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ M: كَتَهْوَى الْهَمَّ أَنْيْلَهُ قَيْصَهُ يَغْ مَشْهُورٌ دَتَانَهُ عَرَبٌ دَانٌ عَجْمٌ دَنْ... آيَتِ امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ حَمْزُهُ رَضَى اللَّهُ عَنْهُ P: وَ ابوطالب كه استان فرزين حضرة رساله فيغمير آخر زمان محمد مصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم.

A: *Bisim/bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm wa bihī nastaʿīn billāh [...] Alḥamdʿlillāh Rabb al-ʿālamīn wa l-ʿāqiba lil-muttaqīn wa l-ṣalātʿ wa l-salām ʿalā Rasūlih Muḥammad wa ālih wa aṣḥābih ajmaʿīn, M: ketahui olehmu inilah kissa yang masyhur di tanah arab dan ajam dan ... itu Amīr al-Muʿminīn Ḥamza Raḍī Allāh ʿanhu, P: va Abū Ṭālib ke ast-ān farzīn-e ḥazrat-e resālat peyghambar-e ākher-e zamān Muḥammad Muṣṭafā ṣallī Allāh ʿalayh wa-sallam.*

A. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, and from him we seek help, the owner of the worlds, and the end of the believers, and God's mercy and blessing upon his Prophet, Muḥammad, and his family and his companions, M. and be aware that this is a famous story in the Arab and Persian land and ...it is the commander of Believers, Ḥamza, may God be pleased with him. P. And Abū Ṭālib who is vizier of the Honour of apostleship, the Prophet of the End of Time, Muḥammad, the Selected one, peace be upon him.

This paragraph includes the three different languages of Arabic, Malay and Persian together. The Arabic (A) is a usual offering of blessings to Muhammad and his Companions which is found in Islamic materials in different languages. But the combination of lengthy Malay (M) and Persian (P) parts is very important. It shows that the author is familiar with both languages. However, T. Iskandar assumed that “the introduction is in Persian with Malay translation”.⁷⁷ Here, the copyist replaced the Persian “پیغمبر” which stands for “the Prophet” with the Malay orthographic text “فیغمیر”. Given that a large part of this introductory page is in Persian which is interrupted with Malay phrases, this may be called “*Malayized Persian*”.

In addition, traces of *Persianized Malay* can be seen in abundance in the rest of the work (underlined phrases):

- On fl. 60: اورغ یغ حرام زاد خور | *orang yang haram-zad-e Khor* | people who are bastard depraved ones

As mentioned above, this attribution has been used in the Malay *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, too (see above). In fl. 93, another Persian curse *ḥarām-zādeh* (حرام زاده) is found.⁷⁸

- On fl. 25: جهان پهلوان | *johan pahlawan* | the greatest hero of the world

We are aware that the Persian term for “hero”, which is “pahlavan” has entered into and is widely used in

⁷⁷- Ibid.

⁷⁸- The term “kerm-khar” (کرم خوار), lit. *worm-eater*, is seen as well.

Malay. However, here its superior form (adjective) as “the greatest hero of the world” or “johan pahlavan”, which is a classical and still popular Persian term “jahan pahlavan”, is applied.⁷⁹ This attribution has been used in Firdawsi’s *Shāh-nāma* a couple of times. It is clear that such Persian phrases were common among Malay readers of Islamic stories.

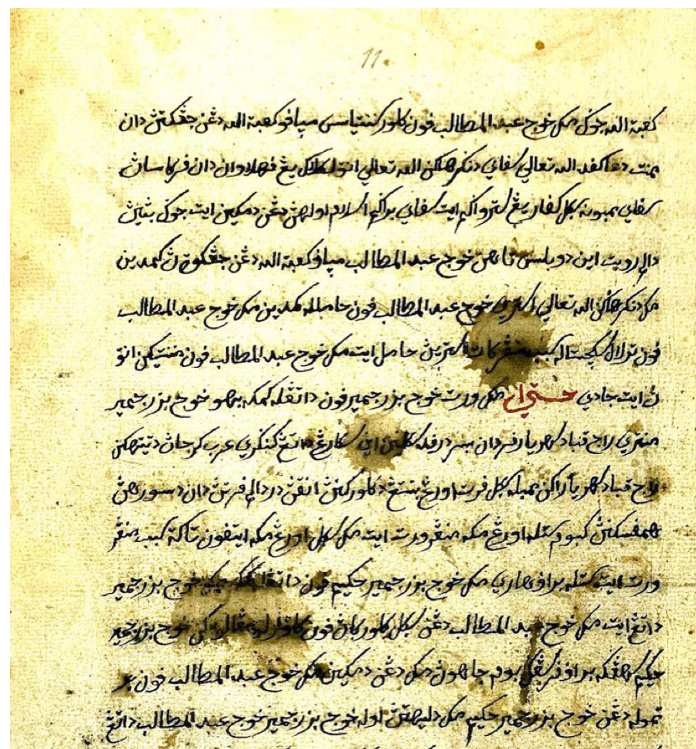
- On fl. 60: کارن این جادی جهان مرد فهلوان | *karena ini jadi johan mard-e pahlawan* | as this is the hero of the world

This also introduces another term for heroes which is used across this manuscript.

Another interesting sign which proves the familiarity of Malay-speaking people with Persian literature and the Persian origin of this story is seen in fl. 107 where the Persian term دریا | *daryā* (‘sea’) comes after the Malay one *laut* (لاوة):

دتنغه لاوة دریا آنیل | *di-tengah laut darya-a Nil* | in the middle of the Nile sea

Beside other Persian terms, couplets and phrases, the names of Rustam and Simorgh, the Persian hero and mythological bird of *Shāh-nāma*, respectively, can be seen. All these together not only prove that the author of the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* translated it from Persian, but also that readers were familiar with Persian terms, phrases and literary works which are no longer in common use.



Or. 7360. Fl. 11: Hikayat Amir Hamza

79- In fl. 71, it is seen as جهان فهلوان.

This article had tried to demonstrate the contribution of Persian literature and arts to the development of Malay-Indonesian Islamic and mystical literature. This does not mean that other Middle Eastern or Asian elements did not play roles in the formative period of Malay Islamization. However, the emphasis was on highlighting Persianate aspects in the Malay-Indonesian context and providing underexamined manuscript evidence from there. Through this analysis, it became apparent that Persian as well as Shīʿī materials had been in the possession of Malay-Indonesians, some of whom had practised, recited or distributed them.

The second part of my research (Part II) will pay particular attention to underexamined Middle Eastern (Arabic and Persian) manuscripts which clearly confirm the active presence of Iranians and Persian Shīʿīs of India not only in Thailand, Burma, and Bangladesh, but also in Malaysia and Indonesia. The author also argues that the interaction between Persian and Malay is a two-way street; not only did Persian sources affect Malay culture and civilization, but also Malays had the same (if not more) influence on the Persianate world. As such, *the Malay Aspects of the Persianate World* will be the subject of my forthcoming study (part III).

Bibliography

- Shahab Ahmed, *What is Islam?: The importance of being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).
- Joyce Åkesson, *Arabic Morphology and Phonology: Based on the Marāḥ al-arwāḥ by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001).
- S. M. N. al-Attas, "Persian Influences on Malay/Indonesian Islamic Mysticism", in *Some Aspects of Sufism, as Understood and Practised Among the Malays*, ed. Shirle Gordon and S. M. N. al-Attas (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963).
- Alessandro Bausani, "Un manoscritto Persiano-Malese di grammatica Araba del xvi secolo" *Annali dell'Ist. Univ. Orientale di Napoli* 19/29 (1969), 69–98.
- Michel Boivin, "Representations and Symbols in Muharram and Other Rituals: Fragments of Shiite Worlds from Bombay to Karachi" in Alessandro Monsutti, et al. *The Other Shiites: From the Mediterranean to Central Asia* (Berline/Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007), 149–172.
- Vladimir Braginsky, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004).
- Lode F. Brakel, "Persian Influence on Malay Literature", *Abr Nahrain* 9 (1969–1970): 1–16.
- Lode F. Brakel, *The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah* (Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1977);
- Martin van Bruinessen, "Sharia Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate," *Archipel* 50 (1995): 165–200.
- Kristen Brustad, "The Autobiography of al-'Aydārūs (1570–1628)" in *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, edited by Dwight F. Reynolds (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001), 208–215.
- Henri Chambert-Loir, "Les manuscrits malais de Bâle, Lund, Singapour et Paris," *Archipel* 20/1 (1980): 87–98.
- Virginia di Crocco, "Banbhore, An Important River Port on the Ceramic and Glass Routes," *Journal of the Siam Society* 78/2 (1990): 79–89.
- Hendrik K. J. Cowan, "A Persian inscription in north Sumatra," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 80/1 (1940): 15–21.
- Dāstan-e Amīr Ḥamza Šāhib-qirān va 'Umar Umaya*, edited by Mohammad Farsā'i (Tehran: Sa'di, 1370/1991).
- Majid Daneshgar, "A Sword that becomes A Word. A Supplication to Dhū'l-Faqār/Nad-e Ali (in the Middle East and the Malay-Indonesian World)," *Mizan Project* (2017): 1–18.
- Majid Daneshgar, "New Evidence on the Origin of the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah," *Archipel* 96 (2018): 69–102.
- Majid Daneshgar, "An Old Persian-Malay Anthology of Poems from Aceh," *Dabir, Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture* 7 (2020): 61–90.
- Liaw Yock Fang, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, trans. Razif Bahari and Harry Aveling (Jakarta and Singapore: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia and ISEAS Publishing, 2013).
- Hormoz Farhat, *The Dastgah Concept in Persian Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Annabel Teh Gallop's, *Introduction* in "A Jawi Sourcebook for the Study of Malay Palaeography and Orthography," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 43/125 (2015): 13–38.

- Nile Green (ed.) *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca* (California: University of California Press, 2019).
- Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974).
- Rokn al-Dīn Homāyūn-farrokh, "Dasteh-goli Taqdīm be-doustdārān-e Ketāb," *Honar va Mardom* 49 (1345/1966): 41–60.
- Teuku Iskandar, *Catalogue of Malay, Minangkabau, and South Sumatran manuscripts in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1999).
- Peter Jackson, "Abū Saʿīd Bahādor Khan," *Encyclopædia Iranica* I/4 (1983): 374–377.
- Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī, *al-Mūsīqā al-ʿArabiyya* (Alexandria: Maṭbaʿat Jurjī Gharzūzī, 1914).
- Arash Khazeni, "Merchants to the Golden City: The Persian Farmān of King Chandrawizaya Rājā and the Elephant and Ivory Trade in the Indian Ocean, a View from 1728," *Iranian Studies* 51/6 (2018): 933–945.
- Kitāb shināsi-yi āthār-i Fārsi-yi chāp shoda dar Shibh-i Qārā (Hind, Pākistān, Bāngelādīsh)*, 1160–1387/1195–1428/1781–2007.
- Leonard Lewisohn, "The Sacred Music of Islam: *Samāʿ* in the Persian Sufi Tradition," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 6/1 (1997): 1–33.
- Ann E. Lucas, *Music of a Thousand Years: A New History of Persian Musical Traditions* (California: California University Press, 2019).
- Muḥammad Javād Maḥjūb, cited in Farīd Morādī (ed.), *Amīr Ḥamza Ṣāhib-qirān* (Tehran: Sāles, 1393/2014).
- Christoph Marcinkowski, "Persian Cultural Influences in Siam/Thailand", in *Architecture of Siam: A Cultural History Interpretation*, edited by C. Aasen (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Christoph Marcinkowski, "Iranians, Shaykh al-Islams and Chularajmontris: Genesis and Development of an Institution and its Introduction to Siam", *Journal of Asian History* 37/ 2 (2003): 187–204.
- Irene Markoff, "Aspects of Turkish Folk Music Theory", in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music. Volume. 6. The Middle East*, edited by Virginia Danielson, et al. (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 85.
- Geoffrey E. Marrison, "Persian Influences in Malay Life (1280–1650)", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28/1 (1955): 52–69.
- A.C.S. Peacock, "Notes on Some Persian Documents from Early Modern Southeast Asia," *SEJARAH: Journal of the Department of History* (Univ. of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur) 27/1 (2018), 81–97.
- Michael E. Pregill, "I Hear Islam Singing: Shahab Ahmed's What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic," *Harvard Theological Review* 110/1 (2017): 149–165.
- N. B. G. Qazi, *Uthman Marvandi; Lal Shahbaz Qalandar* (Gulberg and Lahore: West Pakistan Branch, 1971).
- Peter G. Riddell, *Malay Court Religion, Culture and Language: Interpreting the Qurʾān in 17th Century Aceh* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).
- Ph. S. Van Ronkel, *De Roman van Amir Hamza* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1895).
- Shahab Setudeh Nejad, "Transmission of Sasanian Arts and other Indigenous Cultural Traditions of Pre Islamic Persia to Southeast Asia", *SPAFA Journal, A Publication of the SEAMEO Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts* 5/1 (January-February 1995): 34–38.
- ʿAlī Seyyedīn, *Pashmīneh- poushān* (Tehran: Nashr Ney, 1389/2010).
- Natalia L. Tornesello, "un Negārestān di Moʿini Joveyni conservato nell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei a Roma," *Oriente Moderno* 15/2 (1996): 351–377.
- George H. Werndly, *Maleische Spraakkunst uit de eige schriften der Maleiers opgemaakt met eene Voorreden* (Amsterdam: Wetstein, 1736).

- Edwin Wieringa, *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts: in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum in Leiden University Library, 1998).
- Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007).
- Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*. Vol. 6 (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007).
- Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 14 (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2019).
- Farouk Yahya, "Calligrams of the Lion of 'Alī in Southeast Asia" in *Islamicate Occult Sciences in Theory and Practice*, edited by Liana Saif, Francesca Leoni, Matthew Melvin-Koushki, und Farouk Yahya (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 454–526.

Examined Manuscripts and Early Printed Volumes

- Ms. 194; *Parliamentary Library of Iran*, Iran
- Or. 1666; *Leiden University Library*, the Netherlands
- Or. 1697; *Leiden University Library*, the Netherlands
- Or. 1698; *Leiden University Library*, the Netherlands
- Or. 5658; *Leiden University Library*, the Netherlands
- Or. 7056; *Leiden University Library*, the Netherlands
- Or. 7360; *Leiden University Library*, the Netherlands
- Or. 8399; *Leiden University Library*, the Netherlands
- Tb 1852 I; *Shoults Collection in the Otago University Special Collections*, New Zealand
- UPenn Oversize LJS 425; *Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts University of Pennsylvania*, United States of America

Contents

Articles

- | | | |
|----|---|------------|
| 1 | Alisher Begmatov: Two Sogdian Toponyms in Arabic and Chinese Sources, and their Attestation as Commodity Terms in Sogdian and Uyghur Economical Documents | 1 |
| 2 | Alberto Cantera: Avestan texts in context (2): the <i>Nērang ī ātaxš abrōxtan</i> and the “eternal fire” | 7 |
| 3 | Henry P. Colburn: A Parthian Shot of Potential Arsacid Date | 35 |
| 4 | Omar Coloru: The city of brotherly love. The language of family affection in the Artaxiad dynasty between the Hellenistic and the Parthian world | 41 |
| 5 | Majid Daneshgar: Persianate Aspects of the Malay-Indonesian World: Some Rare Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library | 51 |
| 6 | Charles G. Häberl: <i>priuš</i> and <i>zur</i> : Two Transliteration Artifacts in the Mandaean <i>Great Treasure</i> | 79 |
| 7 | Charles W. King: The Hunnic attack on Persia: Chronology, context, and the accounts of Priscus and Thomas | 85 |
| 8 | Agnes Korn: Notes on a Middle Persian sound change: Greek Ἀναίτις and features of vowel length | 101 |
| 9 | D. T. Potts: The spurious fifth century date for the cultivation of sugar cane (<i>Saccharum officinarum</i>) in Khuzestan | 111 |
| 10 | Hossein Sheikh: From Mesopotamia to Khotan: Payment clauses in Eastern Middle Iranian languages and their historical backgrounds | 118 |
| 11 | محمد توکلیان: یک امپراطور ناشناخته در نقش برجسته شاپور یکم ساسانی: تنگ چوگان؛ بیشاپور ۳ | 137 |

Reviews

- | | | |
|----|---|------------|
| 12 | Hossein Sheikh: Scheunchen, Tobias. Cosmology, law, and elites in late antiquity: Marriage and slavery in Zoroastrianism, Eastern Christianity, and Islam (Arbeitsmaterialien zum Orient 32). Baden-Baden: Ergon Verlag. 2019. 144 pages. ISBN-13: 978-3956504679. 32,00 €. | 160 |
| 13 | Sun Wujun: Review of Ge, Chengyong [葛承雍]. Hu Han Zhongguo yu Wailai Wenming 胡漢中國與外來文明 [Han and Hu: China in Contact with Foreign Civilizations]. Beijing, Sanlian Shudian. 2019. 5 vols. (in Chinese with English abstract) | 163 |

