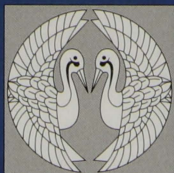


RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
ST.PETERSBURG BRANCH



# Manuscripta Orientalia

*International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research*

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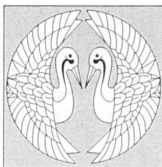
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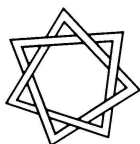
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# **Manuscripta Orientalia**

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

Offering this first issue of the newly born quarterly journal "Manuscripta Orientalia" its founders, members of the research-staff of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental studies, first of all keep in mind one of the most intriguing fields of Orientalistics, that is textology, the discipline dealing with the history of Oriental manuscripts.

The role of manuscripts in the development of human culture, as later the role of printed books, was immense. Manuscripts turned to be an extremely stimulating device of the ancients. For many centuries they served as the main depository of information, greatly contributing to the evolution of human culture by spreading knowledge and varied cultural experience.

One can number dozens of Oriental languages and systems of writing supported by a solid heritage of manuscript tradition. The principal religious systems of the world owe their success and possibility to propagate their teaching to the existence of manuscripts. From Oriental manuscripts we receive much information on the history and the vast cultural achievements of Eastern civilizations.

Oriental manuscripts present the most impressive result of the creative genius of Eastern peoples. They are of great value to the whole mankind, even to those who are not well acquainted with the treasury of Oriental thought and spiritual experience. Orientalists can be proud of their role as the interpreters of this fruitful branch of world's culture. They often acted as the bold discoverers of its most intriguing secrets. It is true that Oriental manuscripts are still full of mysteries unsolved.

Many thousands of these manuscripts are preserved in public and private collections all over the world. Often they are not available even to specialists, not speaking about ordinary readers interested in the literary tradition of the East. One of the primary aims of the editors of this journal — professional orientalists — is to make these manuscripts available to all who need them for their studies.

The editors are well aware of the fact that there are already many periodicals, both world-famous and obscure, dealing with the problem of Oriental manuscripts and manuscript collections. There are even several journals entirely dedicated to the study of Oriental manuscripts. The frames of most of these, however, are limited to some particular field, usually to some "national" manuscript heritage, which means that each of these periodicals deals only with manuscripts produced within corresponding geographical and temporal limits.

The editors of the present journal view their research program in a wider context. Its pages will be offered to all scholars who study all kinds of Oriental manuscripts, be

they Arabic, Turkish and Persian, Chinese, Hebrew, etc. Articles on Oriental textology, palaeography, codicology as well as on philology, history and culture will be published here, provided that these studies are basing upon some Oriental manuscript. The editors believe that it will be useful to collect such articles within the framework of one special periodical. It would present to scholars a much broader view of what has been done in this very special field of research, and of what should be done. We hope that these works, being collected in one journal, will contribute to the comparative study of the phenomenon of Oriental manuscript tradition.

When speaking about the aims of the journal, one can not omit to mention one more important point of the program. I mean the current problems of registration, cataloguing as well as conservation and restoration of ancient manuscripts. It must be mentioned that the pages of our journal are at the disposal of those who specialize in conservation of manuscripts, the priceless literary heritage of the Oriental peoples. Needless to say, all those acting already as potential patrons, rendering their material and technical assistance in the field of restoration and conservation of ancient documents, are welcome to contribute to the journal. When it concerns the safety and the future destiny of Oriental manuscripts, the editors regard it as one of their most important tasks to provide the necessary information on their keeping and restoration.

When founding this new journal of Oriental studies, scholars from the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of the Oriental Studies bear in mind the special position of the St. Petersburg school in Russian orientalistics. Its origin and its traditions go back to the eighteenth century. The Institute, an immediate successor of the pre-revolutionary Russian Asiatic Museum, inherited many thousands of Oriental manuscripts written in more than sixty different languages, including dead ones. It is now settled down in the beautiful building of the Novo-Michailovsky palace on the Neva embankment. Its manuscript treasury is comparable only to the world-famous manuscript collections of the British Museum and Bibliothèque National de Paris.

It is not just a mere coincidence that St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, gradually collected within its walls scholars specializing in the problems of Oriental culture. These scholars working in various fields of Oriental history, linguistics, literature and religion enjoy the privilege of using their own manuscript collection.

Since the foundation of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies its members regarded the description of the manuscripts from this collection, textological studies as well as their translation and publishing as their primary task. By now they have acquired considerable experience in this work. Many books and articles on Oriental manuscripts have been published by them during last years. Unfortunately, since most of these publications are in Russian, they are not available in full measure to scholars from other countries.

Starting the publication of the "Manuscripta Orientalia" in English the editors mean, among their other aims, to introduce the results of the Russian scholars' research on Oriental manuscripts to a broader scholarly audience all over the world. Works by scholars from the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies will be given special attention. We also intend to reproduce in English, the language of our quarterly, the most important works on Oriental manuscripts previously published in Russian or in other languages, which may present problems to Western scholars.

One more important point must be mentioned when speaking about the general program of the journal. The rapid progress of computers and their introduction into all spheres of modern life and science is, naturally, affecting the development of Oriental scholarship. New information technologies applied to the study of Oriental manuscripts open new perspectives in this traditional branch of humanitarian studies. One can expect really impressive results from the use of computers, especially in the field of textology. Being very eager to support this new approach to Oriental studies, the editors would like to use the advantage presented by this new journal to spread more information on the new computer programs developed for the aims of textology and other disciplines connected with manuscripts. Articles written by specialists who apply recent information technologies to Oriental manuscripts are of particular interest to us.

We are happy to inform the readers of the journal, that its every issue is expected to contain a publication dedicated to some manuscript of special artistic or scientific value belonging to the collection of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, with some of its pages or miniatures reproduced in colour. Publications on rare and valuable manuscripts from other collections are

also welcome. Such publications will ensure the distribution of information about most valuable manuscripts preserved in different museums and libraries.

Aiming to achieve the highest professional level in presenting information about Oriental manuscripts, the editors do not want to neglect the needs of those readers who, not being professional scholars, are interested in this subject and wish to be acquainted with the achievements of the Eastern civilization. Reproductions from the masterpieces in the manuscript art published in our quarterly will serve to this purpose.

There is no need to say that the editors will be happy to accept and publish articles submitted by those orientalists whose scholarly interests are focused on studying manuscripts. The only requirement is that the articles should be written in English. Respectfully inviting our colleagues to collaborate in the task of publishing their works dealing with a very special phenomenon, that is the Oriental manuscript, the founders of the "Manuscripta Orientalia" wish to express their highest estimation of the labors of those scholars, who chose the study of Oriental manuscripts their life-occupation. Any contribution made by them to our journal will be accepted as a great honour.

Finally, the editors feel it their pleasant duty to express their gratitude to the Correspondent Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences Boris V. Gidasov and Professor Boris I. Ionin, the founders of the "Thesa" publishing house and the sponsors of our newly born journal, for their financial support of the present project. One can not but feel deep respect towards them for all their efforts and for their profound concern about the state of Oriental studies in the present-day Russia. It is especially significant, that the journal is supported by the national benefactors, who are fully aware of the role of Oriental Studies in the development of science within the wide context of the world culture.

We wish that the publications on Oriental manuscripts presented in this journal would contribute to mutual understanding between different cultures and facilitate the everlasting cultural dialogue. We undertake this work with the feeling of admiration for the art of those who created the manuscripts, as if passing to us through the ages, their worship of the word written and their deep respect of its magic energy.

*Yuri A. Petrosyan, Editor-in-chief*

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## TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

O. Akimushkin (St. Petersburg)

### THE SOURCES OF "THE TREATISE ON CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS" BY QĀZĪ AḤMAD QUMĪ

Almost 50 years ago the scholarly world was introduced to the outstanding document of the Persian literary culture "The Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters" by Qāzī Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Qumī (born 17 rabi' I 953/May 18, 1546), which is a bibliographical dictionary of the "book art", that of calligraphers, painters, decorators and masters of ornamentation [1]. The appearance of such a document was a real sensation: for the first time scholars got an original work, where information on the Persian masters of qalam and brush was arranged chronologically up to the end of the 16th century. The material of the "Treatise" considerably expanded our knowledge about the book painting, the volume of book production, the prestige of this kind of labour as well as the popularity of illuminated manuscripts in Iran and among its neighbors in the Middle Ages.

It should be noted, that the name of the author, Qāzī Aḥmad, was well known to the specialists long before the publication of the Russian and English translations of the "Treatise". He and his two works ("Treatise" and the fifth volume of the chronicle "Khulāṣat al-tawārikh") were discussed at length in articles by W. Hintz, B. Zakhoder, C. Edwards, Zohreh Da'i-zadeh, Sh. Qadiri, Gh. Sarvar, H. Nakhchevani and A. Suhayli-Khwansari [2]. The author of the present article has written already on the stages of the making of this work [3], which survived in two versions (1004/1596 — "Treatise" and around 1016/1607 — 8 — "Gulistan-i hunar"), which are called conventionally "the Iranian" and "the Indian" [4]. We should note that the first version is present in two variants: that of 1004/1596 (the original) and of 1007/1598—99 (a considerably expanded original version) [5]. At present we know three copies of the "Treatise", i. e. of the first version, in two variants (Museum Salar Jang, Haidarabad, India, call number T-K.1; the State museum of the Arts of the Peoples of the Orient (GMINV), Moscow, Russia, call number M.Or.156; the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number B 4722. The last two copies present the expanded variant) and eight copies of "Gulistan-i hunar", i. e. of the second version (Museum

Salar Jang, Haidarabad, India, call number T-K.2; the former Library of Saltanati, Teheran, Iran, call number 2286 [6]; six copies belonging to the private collections of Z. Da'i-zadeh (India), A. Iqbal, H. Nakhchevani, M. Bayani, A. Suhayli-Khansari and A. Gulchin-i Ma'ani (Iran). The last three are copies from H. Nakhchevani's manuscript) [7].

As it was mentioned above, the contents of the "Treatise" is a biographical dictionary of the masters of hand-written book (excluding binders) [8]. According to the established professional tradition, Qāzī Aḥmad included there the famous masters of previous generations adding to this pantheon some of his contemporaries. For this purpose he chose only those craftsmen whose work was highly appreciated during their lifetime by connoisseurs, professionals and the patrons of art. It should be noted that the composition of the "Treatise" is close to the prefaces of albums (*muraqqa'*) — collections of works arranged like concertina or made of separate folios (*qit'eh*), which had on one side artistically composed samples of writing by one or several calligraphers, on the other — miniatures or examples of calligraphy. The borders of such a folio, as well as the space between the samples, were filled with the exquisite decorative ornamentation. It is well known that albums of this kind were widely spread among the author's contemporaries belonging to the elite circles.

In other words, the accurate composition, structure and architectonics of the "Treatise" (masters of the classical "six" scripts, *ta'liq*, *nasta'liq*, painters, masters of the "book craft") obviously prove that Qāzī Aḥmad was planning his work within the limits of some well-established genre. Alongside with the fact that his work greatly reminds of a verbose preface to an extensive never-to-be-completed album overloaded with facts and details, Qāzī Aḥmad became the founder a new trend of Persian biographical literature — the biographical dictionary of the masters of manuscripts in a broad context [9]. It is already ascertained that evristics is one of the main components of

the source-analysis of written documents regardless of their genre. It is expected to reveal the sources of the document, its relation to earlier documents, the scale and volume of borrowed facts and materials, its influence on the later documents, etc. This is of special significance if applied, in particular, to the Persian medieval documents, since most of the medieval authors, following their specific idea on the authors' rights and intellectual property, often did not mention their predecessors, whose works and materials were borrowed by them. We have many examples of this in the history of Persian literature. Examples of the opposite are also present (the latter even grow in number in the course of time). Our author was not an exception. There are no references to the sources he used; this research was left to the following generations. Still, he mentioned the poetic work on calligraphers by Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi, apparently because it is included completely into his "Treatise" [10]. Here we shall mention the manuscript sources which were used by Qāzī Aḥmad, and which we managed to identify.

1. "Risāleh" ("The Treatise-address"). The composition does not have the author's title and is identified as "Risāleh-i Ādāb al-khaṭṭ" or "Širāṭ al-suṭūr". "Risāleh" was written in 920/1514 in Meshhed for Muḥammad-Hashim Husaini, the nephew of the author, when Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi was 84 years old. The famous and outstanding Persian calligrapher in the *nasta'liq* style Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi was born in Meshhed in 836/1432—33 [11] and died there on 10 rabī' I 926/February 29, 1520. Later his name was used to indicate the real master of the artistic script. He left a great heritage of calligraphically written copies and individual samples (*qif'eh*).

According to the manuscript from the National Library, St. Petersburg, (call number: Dorn 454) the Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi's autograph of "Risāleh" contains 273 *bait*s and is divided into 34 chapters [12]. This text incorporated by Qāzī Aḥmad into his "Treatise", into its first version, contains 269 *bait*s both in the copy of the GMINV (ff. 31b—42a) and of the SPb FIV RAN (ff. 36b—48b). In these copies of "Risāleh" seven *bait*s of the autograph are missing (81, 97, 104, 184, 188, 207, 212) and three *bait*s are added after the 11th, 33d and 137th *bait*s. The text of the GMINV copy is divided into 30 chapters, while of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (SPb FIV RAN) copy — into 28 chapters. The text of Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi's "Risāleh" in the second version of Qāzī Aḥmad's "Treatise", i. e. "Gulistan-i hunar", includes 278 *bait*s and is divided into 30 chapters. In comparison with the autograph it has 6 additional *bait*s (according to the edition of Aḥmad Suhaili Khwansari 34, 112—113, 124—125, 143) [13] and the 8th *bait* is missing (according to the mentioned edition — between 210th and 211th *bait*) [14]. At present it is difficult to state whether these interpolations and omissions appeared according to the author's will, or were they the result of bookowners' and copyists' work. It is also possible that the National Library's copy is not the only existing autograph of Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi. During six years after he had finished "Risāleh" and till his death the author was returning to his work editing and polishing its contents, adding to the text or simply copying it. In this case textual differences between the undated autograph of the "Risāleh" and the text used by Qāzī Aḥmad in the two versions of the "Treatise",

as well as the text of other copies preserved in several world manuscript depositories, could be explained as the authors corrections.

2. "Muqaddimeh-i muraqqa'-i Amīr Ghaib-bik" ("An introduction to the album of Amīr Ghaib-bik"). This title is conventional, and for the first time was suggested by the Iranian scholar and specialist on calligraphy Maḥdi Bayani [15]. Working in the Istanbul libraries he found separate and mixed parts of this "Introduction" in two albums (*muraqqa'*) kept in the depository of Top-Qapi-seray (Khazineh 2156 and Khazineh 2161). He has made a selective "exact" publication of some fragments from the "Introduction" and "Conclusion" (*khātimeh*) [16]. According to M. Bayani, the famous master of calligraphy mir Sayyid-Aḥmad (died in 986/1578—79) [17] from Meshhed was not only the compiler of the album, which took him three years (971—973/1563—66), but was responsible for its whole making: "he added to it *dibācheh* ("preface"), *muqaddimeh* ("introduction") and *khātimeh* ("conclusion"), which he composed and copied in his elegant handwriting" [18]. For certain formal reasons and contrary to M. Bayani's opinion, we can not identify mir Sayyid-Aḥmad Mashhadi as the author of the "Introduction". According to the published fragments, the samples of calligraphy and paintings were collected by Amīr Ghaib-bik himself — an influential person at the court of Tahmāsb I (1524—76) — with the help of a group of competent specialists and recognized masters [19]. Moreover, the last paragraph of the "Introduction" (just before Sayyid-Aḥmad's remark in the colophon) [20] says that Ghaib-bik was the author of this "Introduction". It should be mentioned, however, that the calligrapher himself in his remarks [21] wrote that he only copied the text (*katabahu*), but not that he compiled it.

Mir Sayyid-Aḥmad calls Amīr Ghaib-bik "the inspirer and initiator" of the album. It is quite true, since Amīr ordered the calligrapher to create the album.

He could, moreover, propose his terms concerning the contents and time limits. Then, after it had been completed, he presented the album to Tahmāsb I in whose presence the problems of the history of calligraphy and painting were often discussed. The process of its making could be seen as follows:

year 971/1563—64 — the masters of decorative ornamentation (*naqqāshān*) and restorators-designers (*waṣṣālān*) finished the decoration and composition of script and painting (*qif'eh*). They arranged everything according to the established order of composition.

Year 972/1564—65 — Sayyid-Aḥmad finished writing the "Introduction". He mentioned it in his remark to the colophon.

Year 973/1565—66 — he compiled and wrote the "Conclusion" (*khātimeh*) to the whole album, putting into it a chronogram (*tārīkh*): *itmām-i in zibā muraqqa'* [22] — date when the work was completed [23]. There is no doubt that Qāzī Aḥmad had the opportunity to hold the album in his hands and to get acquainted with the "Introduction" which he later used in his work. But this time he distributed separate parts and fragments of the "Introduction" over different sections of his "Risāleh", mostly into *dibācheh*, *muqaddimeh*, and *khātimeh* (see the comparative table below) [24]. When doing this Qāzī Aḥmad made some editorial work, mostly stylistic changes,

compositional correspondence, but he had never mentioned the source from which he borrowed.

It is most remarkable that neither Amīr Ghaib-bik, nor Sayyid-Aḥmad worked on the "Introduction", and none of them was the author. One of them committed, as we may say now, "literary robbery". It seems that this was done by Amīr Ghaib-bik, since he is mentioned as the author of the "Introduction" copied by Sayyid-Aḥmad.

It appears that in 964/1557 in Qazwin the court declamator or reciter of epic and heroic stories (*qisṣekhkhwān*) Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad finished an introduction [25] to his album. He compiled it on his own initiative for shah Ṭahmāsb I. Qutb al-Dīn arranged the samples of artistic script and miniatures by his contemporaries, masters of qalam and brush, in chronological order [26]. We know nothing about what happened to the album. The introduction by Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad-*qisṣekhkhwān* came survived in three copies [27], one of which (from the Milli library in Teheran) [28] was published by H. Khadivdjam in Iran in 1967 [29]. This work is not directly indicated in the text, but before *basmala* it is called "Risāleh-i khaṭṭ va khaṭṭātān va naqqāshān" ("The treatise about script, calligraphers and painters"), where Qutb al-Dīn mentions 60 masters of calligraphy and painting without giving any biographical data. The comparison of the fragments of the "Introduction" published by M. Bayani and the "Risāleh" text (according to Milli 691) shows that they are almost identical [30] and differ only in three important points. First, Bayani's text is missing the Qutb al-Dīn's remark about his meeting with Bihzād (died in 942/1535–36). Second, the name of Qutb al-Dīn in the author's colophon is substituted there for the name of Amīr Ghaib-bik. Third, the last *qif'eh* of the "Treatise" is omitted in the text, which contains the chronogram (*tārīkh*) with the final date *farkhandagī* — the date it gives is 964 [31]. Naturally, we do not find the latter in the text of Qāzī Aḥmad, who did not use the work of Qutb al-Dīn, but only Amīr Ghaib-bik's "Introduction".

Another curious detail. It is difficult to say if Qāzī Aḥmad knew that with the "Introduction" he had included into his "Treatise" the fragments of two other compositions about which nothing is said in his work, and which we managed to identify. The first one presents 33 *bait*s from 'Abdī-bik Shirāzī's poem (921–988/1515–1580) "Āyin-i Iskandari", which was finished in 950/1543–44 [32]. The second is a folklore story, originally coming from India, about the treachery of a goldsmith (*zargar*) towards his friend, a painter (*naqqāsh*), and how the latter was avenged. This story became popular through the work of 'Imād Na'arī "Djawāhir al-asmar" [33] and especially due to his stylistic and "elite" edition made by Dhiyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī, which appeared under the title "Ṭūti-nāmeḥ" (730/1329) [34].

3. "Djawāhir al-akhbār" ("The pearls of news") by Būdāq-bik munshī Qazwīnī [35]. Būdāq-bik (born in 916/1510–11) was neither a professional historian or a man of letters, nor was he a court secretary-chronicler who could have access to the state and official documents. Being a secretary-clerk (*munshī*) and an official of the Tax office, he had knowledge and practice necessary for his rank and position. All this enabled him to work as a munshī either in the state offices or in the Sefevī administration. In other words, Būdāq-bik was a typical representa-

tive of the middle-class official bureaucracy. Būdāq-bik began to write his work during the lifetime of Ṭahmāsb I (1524–1576) and, possibly, finished the draft in 982/1574–75 [36]. He was busy with the proof copy, when the monarch died (16 *ṣafar* 984/May 15, 1576) [37]. Because of the assestion of the new *shah* — Ismā'il II (1576–77), he re-addressed his work (ff. 2b–3a) to the latter. At the same time he made some corrections and additions on the margins to those passages of his work which he did not want to rewrite (there are more than 20 additions of this kind, some of them rather voluminous). He described the events that followed the death of Ṭahmāsb I as an eye-witness (ff. 136b, 335a–336a). The revised "Djawāhir al-akhbār" ends with a small chapter specially dedicated to *shah* Ismā'il II (ff. 336b–339b). Ismā'il II assended to the throne on the 27th of *djumādā* I 984/August 22, 1576 (f. 339b), while the manuscript is dated by the end of that month. Hence, the autograph was completed not later than the 30th of *djumādā*/August 25 of the year mentioned [38]. "Djawāhir al-akhbār" is a concise compendium on general history, 90% of it based on the materials of previous and contemporary authors. As a historical document it left almost no trace in the Sefevī historiography of the 16th century. At the same time, the compendium by Būdāq Qazwīnī contains some original, fresh and interesting material — his personal observations as an eye-witness, as well as the stories of the participants of the events described. Unfortunately, such passages are not numerous, among them are:

a) Būdāq munshī's ideas about personality and character of *shah* Ṭahmāsb I (ff. 296a–297b) influenced, by the way, by the opinion of 'Abdī-bik Shirāzī in his "Takmilat al-akhbār" [39];

b) the story about the situation at the court just after the death of Ṭahmāsb I and the following coup headed by Peri-khān-khānum (ff. 135b, 335a–336a);

c) the story about Ismā'il II and his assestion to the throne (ff. 336a–339b);

d) Būdāq Qazwīnī's autobiographical sketch about his career as an official (ff. 315a–316a, 317a);

e) marginal remarks on the state finance, income of the officials, amount of financial grants, price of manuscripts, etc. (ff. 284b, 296a–297a, 315a–316a, 317a–334a–b, 109b–113b);

f) notes on the masters of "book craft" (ff. 106a–113b).

Of special interest to us is the last passage, where 57 masters of calligraphy and 14 painters are mentioned.

These notes were finished by Būdāq munshī in 980/1572–73 (f. 113b). They are written by a professional scribe, who loved and knew the fine points of calligraphy, the art so much admired in Iran. In spite of the fact, that some of his judgments are rather doubtful and bear personal colour, we can not but appreciate his independent and ingenuous opinions about his contemporary masters of brush and qalam. Under his pen these artists appear as ordinary people with all their faults and merits, not as some authorised and canonised characters. Iskandar-bik munshī was the only Persian medieval author who wrote about the craftsmen of the book in the same independent manner [40]. Qāzī Aḥmad used the notes of Būdāq Qazwīnī in both versions of his work, but he did not say a word about the source from which he borrowed over thirty percent of his composition. Qāzī Aḥmad was sometimes retelling or

editing the notes, but in some cases copied them word to word.

It is known that Būdāq Qazwīnī presented his work to Ismā'il II in 984—985/1576—77 in the only existing autograph copy, which till 1017/1608—09 was kept in the court library. We are aware that Qāzī Aḥmad completed his extended variant of the first version of the "Treatise" around 1007/1598—99. Due to his father's official position he had access to the court library, so he definitely could have time and possibility to work over the notes of Būdāq munshī or simply to copy them [41].

4. "Ḥabīb al-siyyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar" ("The friend of the life stories about the data on the representatives of mankind") by Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr [42]. This is a well known historical and biographical work; its third version appeared in India around 936/1530. Qāzī Aḥmad borrowed a historical anecdote about the claims of Timur's grandson Bāysunghur-mirzā (799—837/1397—1433) on the poetic name (*takhalluṣ*) of Shāhī, which had been already used by his famous contemporary poet Amīr Aq-Malik Sabzavārī (died in 857/1453) [43]. The author of the "Treatise" also borrowed the stories about Ma'rūf Khattāt Baghdādī, an outstanding calligrapher in *thulth* and *naskh* scripts who was famous for the speed of coping and who originally worked in Shiraz under Iskandar-sultān (killed in 818/1415), then in Harat as a personal calligrapher of Shāhrukh (807—850/1405—1447) and who could not establish good relations with the mighty Bāysunghur-mirzā in Harat [44].

These passages were partly shortened and stylistically changed by Qāzī Aḥmad.

5. "Tuhfeh-i Samī" ("The gift of Sam") — a well known anthology (*tadhkireh*) of Persian poetry composed by Sām-mirzā Safavī (21 *sha'bān* 923 — *djumādā* II 975/September 10, 1517 — December 1567) [45], the brother of *shah* Tahmāsb I. Qāzī Aḥmad studied this text collecting materials for his own anthology of poets. From the same work he took notes on calligraphers of the *nasta'liq* script style such as Shāh-Mahmūd Nishāpūrī, 'Abdī Nishāpūrī, 'Abd al-Karīm Khwārazmī, Ḥafīz Bābā-Djān, Dūst-Muḥammad Harawī and Majnūn *chapnavīs*-*left-hander* [46]. It is obvious, that working for fifteen years on his text (1002—1016/1593—1608) Qāzī Aḥmad could not but use the information on the masters of the "book craft" collected by his predecessors. It seems, that he used everything he could get. He was not an exception in not making references to the sources he used, since he followed the tradition of his literary colleagues, both previous and contemporary.

The practice of direct borrowing of "anonymous" information and materials, in other words "privatization", especially of prosaic works, not speaking about the works of authors already gone, was not criticized by the contemporary public opinion and was not going beyond the ethic frames of literary circles. The mediaeval Muslim society never formed any common attitude either to this phenomenon, or to the legal mechanism protecting one's intellectual property [47].

## Notes

1. Kāzī Aḥmad Kūmī, "Traktat o kalligrafakh i hudozhnikakh. 1596—1597/1005". (Qāzī Aḥmad Qūmī, *The Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters*.) Introduction, Russian translation and commentary by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow—Leningrad, Isskustvo, 1947). The translation is not complete. Seven pages from "Dibacheh" and "Muqaddimeh" are omitted, as well as two pages between folios 71b and 72a. It should be noted that as early as 1919 the late Prof. A. A. Semenov began to work on his article under titled "The Persian Vasari of the 16th century" devoted to the "Treatise" from the collection of the "Ars Asiatica" museum (now — GMINV) in Moscow. The copy of the manuscript was acquired along with the collection of K. F. Nekrasov, who had purchased it in Iran. The article has not been finished by A. A. Semenov; it contains an introduction and some six lines dedicated to the manuscript. I have got acquainted with this article through the research fellow of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences Malohat Azamova to whom I express my gratitude. See also: B. A. Litvinskij, M. Akramov, *Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Semenov* (Moscow, Nauka, pp. 70—1) where the article is mentioned as an accomplished work.

The first complete English translation of the "Treatise" with additions and corrections according to "Gulistan-i hunar", i. e. the second version, was published 12 years later in the USA. The translation done by Prof. V. F. Minorsky also includes his English translation of the "Introduction" by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder.

2. W. Hintz, "Eine neu entdeckte Quelle zur Geschichte Irans in 16 Jahrhundert", ZDMG, XIV, 3/4 (1935), S. 315—328; B. N. Zakhoder, "Iz istorii khudozhestvennoj kul'tury Irana 16 veka. (From the history of the art culture of Iran in the 16th century)", *Isskustvo*, 5 (1935), pp. 121—36; C. Edwards, "Calligraphers and Artists: A Persian Work of the late 16th Century", *BSOS*, X, 1 (1940), pp. 199—212; Da'i-zadeh, "Tadhkireh-i khushnavisan va naqqashan", *Armaghan*, XIX, 5—6 (1317/1938), pp. 344—5; see also: "Ali-Riza va Riza-yi 'Abbasi", *Ruzgar-i naw*, IV, 5 (1324/1945), pp. 68—71; A. Khwansari Suhayli, "Maktub ba Banu-yi fazileh-i Zuhreh Da'i-zadeh", *Armaghan*, XIX, 5—6 (1317/1938), pp. 437—40; Gh. Sarwar, "History of the Shah Isma'il Safavi", (*Aligarh*, 1939), pp. 11—2; Shamsallah Qadiri, "Khulasat al-tawarikh-i Qāzī mir Aḥmad b. mir Muḥammad Qūmī", *OCM*, XIX, 3 (1943), pp. 43—4; H. Nakhechevani, "Mu'arrafi-yi kitab-i "Gulistan-i hunar"", *Nashriya-yi danishkadeh-i adabiyat-i danishgah-i Tabriz*, IX, 1 (1336/1957), pp. 1—12; "Yak nuskhah-i khatti-yi qadimi-yi irani (Risaleh-i 'ilmi dar bareh-i khushnavisan va naqqashan-i Qāzī Aḥmad)", *Payam-i naw*, 4, pp. 32—6.

3. O. F. Akimushkin, "Traktat o kalligrafakh i hudozhnikakh Kāzī Aḥmada Kūmī. Pervaya redaktsiia. (The treatise on calligraphers and painters by Qāzī Aḥmad Kūmī. The first version.)", *Pis'mennye pamyatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov vostoka (PPiPIKNV)*, 17, 1 (1983), pp. 63—8; "Haidarabadskij "avtograf" Traktata o kalligrafakh Kāzī Aḥmada Kūmī. (The Haidarabad "autograph" of the "Treatise on calligraphers and painters" by Qāzī Aḥmad Qūmī)", *PPiPIKNV* 20, 1, 1986, pp. 98—102.

4. See our article "The Haidarabad 'Autograph'" p. 98. Here under "version" we mean a deliberate interference into the text of the monument done by the author himself or by other person (persons) in order 1. to change its ideological or aesthetic orientation; 2. to modernize its lexicon (or to make look more archaic), if it bears not an occasional, but deliberate character and is done on a large scale (sometimes from the very beginning to the end) in order to satisfy the literary taste of the epoch; 3. to expand the composition with a considerable number of new data not included into author's original version, which considerably changes or extends the subject, topic or



plot of the work. See: D. S. Likhachev, "Tekstologiya. Na materiale russkoi literatury 10—18 vv. (Textology. On the materials of the Russian literature of the 10th—18th centuries)", (Moscow—Leningrad, 1962), pp. 116—7.

5. See our article: "Traktat... Pervaia redaktsiia", p. 66. See also: Y. Porter, "Notes sur le "Golestan-e honar" de Qazi Ahmad Qomi", *Studia Iranica*, 17, 2 (1988), pp. 207—23. The author of this article came to the same conclusions as we had done earlier.

6. B. Atabay, "Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khattī-yi kitābkhāneh-i saltanāmī. Athar-i adabiyāt" (Tehran, 1970), pp. 483, no. 170. The attribution of the fragment is not clear, and it is described under the title "Sharh-i hal-i khattātān" (Biographies of the calligraphers). This fragment dealing with 40 masters of calligraphy (the last one mentioned is Muḥammad-Sharīf) corresponds to pp. 59—61, 84—121, 132—3 of the Teheran edition of "Gulistān-i hunar" (1973). Besides, the manuscript from the Central Library of the Teheran University, inventory number 4283.2 (see: M. T. Danish-Pazhuh, "Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khattī-yi kitābkhāneh-i markazī-yi danishgah-i Tihiran" (Tehran, 1961), xiii, pp. 3252—3), includes two notes from "Gulistān-i hunar": fragment "Risāleh" by Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhādī and "Khātimeh" ("Conclusion") of Qāzī Aḥmad's work. Compare also ff. 45a—55a of the mentioned copy and pp. 68—72, 161—70 of the published edition of 1973.

7. The second version, i. e. "Gulistān-i hunar", was published on the basis of the manuscript from H. Nakhchevani's collection. See: *Gulistān-i hunar. Ta'rif-i Qāzī mir Aḥmad munshi Qumī*. Ba Tashih va ihtimam-i Aḥmad Suhaylī Khwansari (Tehran, 1352/1973), p. LXI. The first variant of the version (Haidarabad, T-K.1) contains information on 144 calligraphers and 40 painters and masters of ornament; the expanded variant of this version (GMINV, SPb Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies) — on 153 and 42 respectively. The second version covers 168 masters of qalam and 39 masters of brush and book decoration. Compare with Y. Porter. *Ibid.*, pp. 216—21.

8. Obviously, the albums (*muraqqa'*) presented no samples of artistic binding, hence the lack of data on the binders.

9. Strangely enough, the first work in the same genre giving great attention to the Persian masters of the "book craft" (mentioning 130 calligraphers of whom 26 were masters of "the six" scripts, 89 in *nasta'liq* style and 15 in *ta'liq* style, as well as 43 masters of miniature, ornament, decoration and binding, — altogether 173 masters) appeared on the Ottoman ground. The Turkish writer, poet, biographer and historian Mustafā-'Alī Chelebi efendi (948—1008/1541—1600) produced his work "Manāqib-i hunarvarān" ("The Deeds of the Talented") in 995/1586—87, i. e. ten years earlier than Qāzī Aḥmad. This work was inspired by the treatise on 52 calligraphers "Risāleh-i qutbiya" written in 994/1585—86. Its author was a well known calligrapher mawlānā Qutb al-Din Muḥammad Yazdī, Persian by origin, who lived in Baghdad in 974/1566—67. Sulṭān Murād III (982—1003/1579—95) came across that book and decided to have it translated into Turkish. Mustafā-'Alī realised the wish of the sultan, added and considerably extended the Qutb al-Din's treatise, not avoiding serious mistakes and blemishes. See: Cl. Huart, "Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman" (Paris, 1908), pp. 6—7, 86—7, 235; Mustafā-'Alī, *Manāqib-i hunarvarān*. Edition of Mahmud Kamal-bik (Stambul, 1926), pp. 12, 53.

10. Qāzī Aḥmad completely incorporated the work of Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhādī into the expanded variant of the first version of his "Treatise" of 1007/1598—99. It is missing in the first version of the Haidarabad copy.

11. For details see: Mahdi Bayani, "Aḥwal va athar-i khushhavisān. Nasta'liqnavisān. (Bakhsh-i avval)" (Tehran, 1345/1966), pp. 41—66.

12. G. I. Kostygova, "Traktat po kalligrafii Sultan-Ali Meshhedi (The Treatise on calligraphy by Sultan-'Alī Mashhedi)", Fasc., Russian translation, *Trudy GPh im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina*, 2 (5), *Vostochnyi sbornik* (Leningrad, 1957), pp. 112—63.

13. "Gulistān-i hunar", 66, 70, 71, 73.

14. *Ibid.*, 75.

15. Bayani, i, p. XV, no. 26; p. 49.

16. *Ibid.*, i, pp. 50—4.

17. See: O. F. Akimushkin, "Kāzī Aḥmad o spiske sochineniia Abd ar-Rahmāna Djami "Lawa'ijh" (Qāzī Aḥmad about the copy of ~Abd al-Rahman Djami. "Lawa'ih")", *Strany Perednego i Srednego Vostoka* (Moscow, 1968), ed. Yu. A. Petrosian, pp. 23—4; Bayani, i, pp. 44—9.

18. Bayani, i, p. 49.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 53—4.

22. The letters in this phrase correspond to numerals, the sum of which is 973 (482 + 61 + 20 + 410).

23. Bayani, i, p. 54.

24. Compare the relation of Amīr Ghaib-bik's "Introduction" to the Qutb al-Din's "Introduction" (first comes a page from M. Bayani's edition, then a page from the manuscript of Milli 691): p. 50: 395, 396; p. 51: 396, 397; p. 52: 397, 401, 402, 403; p. 53: 402, 404, 405, 406.

25. The "Introduction" was definitely written by Qutb al-Din after the album had been finished. This is proved by his phrase: "yādgār-i ishān dar in muraqqa'st" — "The memory about them is in this muraqqa'".

26. The total number (without repetitions) is 60 persons: 20 calligraphers — masters of the classical "six" scripts, 18 masters of *nasta'liq* style, 7 masters of *ta'liq* style and 15 painters.

27. On these copies see: M. T. Danish-Pazhuh, "Sarguzasht-i namahā-yi khushnavisān va hunarmandān", "Hunar va mardum", 86—87 (1348/1960), pp. 38—9.

28. Manuscript of Kitābkhāneh-i Milli no. 691, pp. 393—506. Copyist — Muḥammad-Rizā b. Ḥājji Ṭahmāsb-Qulī-bik, date of copyng — 8 muḥarram 1057/February 13, 1647 (p. 406). See: A. Anvar, "Fihrist-i nusakh-i khattī-yi kitābkhāneh-i Milli" (1347/1968), ii, pp. 196—7.

29. *Sukhan* XVII, 6—7, (1346/1967), pp. 667—76. See also: *The Houghton Shahnameh*. Introduced and described by Martin B. Dickson and Stuart C. Welch. (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1981), i, p. 242, note 3, p. 245, note 3. We could not find the publication of H. Khadivdjian, so we used a xerox-copy of the manuscript no. 691 from the Milli library (pp. 393—406).

30. Here we give a correspondance table between Qutb al-Din's "Introduction" and Qāzī Aḥmad's "Treatise" and "Gulistān-i hunar", i. e. his first and second versions:

"Introduction"	GMINV manuscript	Salar Djang manuscript	Khwansari edition
1	2	3	4
p. 393	f. 1b: 4—7, 11; f. 2a: 1, 4—5.	f. 1b: 4—7, 9—11, 13—15, lacuna.	p. 3: 4—8, 12—14; p. 4: 2—3, 18; p. 8: 12—15.
p. 393	f. 2b: 2; f. 5b: 9—14; f. 6a: 1—5.		p. 9: 1—8.
p. 394	f. 6a: 6—14; f. 6b: 1—8	lacuna	p. 9: 9—23; p. 10: 3—8
p. 395	f. 6b: 9—12; f. 7b: 10—11, 13—14; f. 8a: 1—2; f. 9a: 1—2.	f. 2a: 1, 3—6.	p. 10: 8—14; p. 12: 20—21; p. 13: 3—6; p. 16: 3—7.
	f. 29a: 4—5.	f. 18a: 1—2.	p. 59: 16—17.
p. 397	f. 21a: 11—12; f. 21b: 1—7.	f. 15b: 9—10, 13—19; f. 16a: 1—3.	p. 42: 3—4, 9—12; p. 43: 1—4; p. 128: 4—11.
p. 398	f. 65a: 8—14; f. 65b: 1—14; f. 66a: 1—6.	f. 36b: 1—19 and 7 lines on the borders; f. 37a: 1—5.	p. 128: 14—16; p. 129: 1—16.
p. 399	f. 66a: 7—14; f. 66b: 1—6.	f. 37a: 5—19; f. 37b: 1—5.	p. 129: 17—22; p. 130: 1—9.
p. 400	f. 66b: 7—14; f. 67b: 1—7.	f. 37b: 5—17; f. 38a: 1—8.	p. 130: 10—22; p. 131: 1—5.
p. 401	f. 67b: 7—14; f. 68a: 1—7; f. 68b: 1—2; f. 69a: 1—6.	f. 38a: 8—16; f. 38b: 1—13.	p. 131: 5—22; p. 132: 1—5.
p. 402	f. 69a: 6—9; f. 69b: 1—8; f. 70a: 4—6.	f. 38b: 13—17 and 4 lines on the borders; f. 39a: 1—6, 15—17.	p. 132: 5—12; p. 133: 1—4, 10; p. 134: 12—14.
p. 403	f. 70b: 11—14; f. 71a: 1—3.	f. 40a: 10—16.	p. 138: 3—9.
p. 405	lacuna. See <i>SPb FIV RAN</i> call number B4722 ff. 8b: 1—2; 9a: 1—12.	f. 40b: 12—17; f. 41a: 1—2.	p. 144: 5—22; p. 145: 1—2.

31. See: Qutb al-Din's "Introduction" pp. 402 bottom of page, 405 bottom of page, 406 top of page and M. Bayani, i, pp. 52, 53.

32. See: 'Abdi-bik Shirāzi, "*Āyin-i Iskandari*". Compilation of the text and preface by A. G. Ragimov (Moscow, 1977). Qutb al-Din borrowed 34 *bait*s from these work, Qāzi Ahmad — 33. Compare: 'Abdi-bik p. 103, *bait*s 1879, 1883—6; 1889, 1891—2, 1895; pp. 104—5, *bait*s 1914—8, 1920, 1922—3, 1925, 1929, pp. 106—7, *bait*s 1945—59; p. 109, *bait* 2003 and correspondingly Qutb al-Din's "Introduction" pp. 394, 398, 402—3 and "Gulistān-i hunar" (edition of A. Khwansari) pp. 9, 128—9, 132, 134, 138, 143.

33. 'Imād al-Din Na'ari. "*Zhemchuzhiny besed (The pearls of the night talks)*". Russian translation from Persian by M. N. O. Osmanov (Moscow, 1985), pp. 51—5.

34. Dhiyā al-Din Nakhshabi, *Kniga popugaia (Tuti-nameh) (The book of the parrot (Tuti-name))*. Russian translation from Persian by E. E. Bertel's (Moscow, 1979), p. 37—42. Nakhshabi, as well as Na'ari, substitutes a goldsmith for a carpenter (*durūdgar*).

35. B. Dorn, *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Petersburg*. (Spb., 1852), pp. 288—9, no. 288. See also: Ch. A. Storey, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskii obzor. V trekh chastyakh. (Persian literature. Bio-bibliographical Survey. In three parts.)* Translated from English, edited and completed by Yu. E. Bregel (Moscow, 1972), ii, p. 415—6. On Būdāq munshi see: P. I. Petrov, "*Ob odnom redkom istochnike po istorii sefevidov (About one rare source on the Safavids)*", *SV*, 1 (1956), p. 111—20; R. Savory, "*A secretarial career under Shah Tahmasb I (1524—1576)*", *Islamic studies*, II, 3 (Karachi, 1963), pp. 343—52. The copy 'Dorn 288' from the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, is a complete autograph copy. The second, defective and incomplete copy was included into the reference literature as "Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh" (now kept in Lahore, Pakistan), see our article: "Vtoroj spisok istoricheskogo truda Budaka munshi Kazvini 'Djawāhir al-akhbār' (The second copy of Būdāq munshi Qazwini's historical work 'Djawāhir al-akhbār'))" — *PP i PIKNV*, 16, 2 (1982), pp. 90—5.

36. Manuscript: Dorn 288, f. 296a.

37. *Ibid.*, borders of f. 296a.
38. *Ibid.*, f. 339b.
39. The composition was finished in 978/1570. See: Storey-Bregel, i, p. 404—406; iii, p. 140a.
40. See our articles: "*Iskandar-munshi o kalligrafakh shaha Tahmaspa I (Iskandar-munshi about the calligraphers of shah Tahmasp I)*", KSINA, 39, (1963), pp. 20—32; "*Iskandar-munshi o hudozhnikah vremeni shaha Tahmaspa I Safavi. (Iskanar-munshi about the painters of the shah Tahmasp I)*", Trudy Tbil. GU, 241, (1983), pp. 259—73.
41. Compare notes of Būdāq munshi (Dorn 288, ff. 106a—113b) and corresponding passages from Qāzī Aḥmad's "Treatise" (GMINV, Or. 156): ff. 8a—b, 9a—12b, 13a, 14a—17a, 28b—29a, 29a—31b, 46a—53b, 54a—58ab, 61a, 70ab, 72a—73a, 13a, 21b, 23ab, 24ab; see also the translation by Zakhoder: pp. 66—8, 68—9, 70, 71, 73, 74—6, 76—8, 74, 79, 104, 105, 106—10, 131—7, 137—8, 144—6, 143, 155, 139—40, 143, 155, 139—40, 140—3, 151, 151—2, 152—3, 153, 146—50, 168, 162—3, 182, 182—3, 185, 185—6, 186, 186, 187, 82, 187, 89—90, 90, 91, 91—2, 94, 94.
42. About the author and his works see: Storey-Bregel, i, pp. 379—93; iii, pp. 1398—9.
43. Compare: Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr. *Ḥabīb al-siyyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar*. Ba ihtimam-i Djalal Huma'i (Tehran, 1333/1954), iv, 18—19 and Qāzī Aḥmad, "Treatise", GMINV, f. 15a; translation by Zakhoder, pp. 75—6.
44. Ḥabīb al-siyyar, published by Huma'i, iii, 616—7 and Qāzī Aḥmad, "Treatise", GMINV, ff. 13a—14a; translation by Zakhoder, pp. 71—3. Khwāndamīr took the story about Ma'rūf Baghdādī from 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī. Compare: *Matla' al-sa'dain va mad-jma' al-bahrain*. Ta'lif-i mawlana Kamāl ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī. Djild-i Duwwum. Ba Tashih-i Muhammad Shafī'. Chap-i Duwwum (Lahur, 1368/1949), pp. 589—90. Compare also a beautiful essay on this subject from Dawlatshāh Samarqandī: *The Tadhkiratu' sh-Shu'ara ("Memoirs of the poets")* by Dawlatshah bin 'Ala'u 'd-Dawla Bakhtishāh al-Ghāzī of Samarqand. Ed. ... by E. G. Browne (London-Leide, 1901), p. 429.
45. See: Aḥmad Gulchin-i Ma'ani, "*Tarikh-i tadhkiraha-yi farsī*" (Tehran, 1348/1969), i, pp. 155—7; Ch. A. Storey, "*Persian Literature. A bio-bibliographical Survey*", i, 2 (London, 1953), pp. 797—800, 1395.
46. Compare: *Tadhkireh-i Tuhfeh-i Sāmi*. Talif-i Sām-mürzā Safavi. Tashih va muqaddimeh az Rukn al-Dīn Humayunfarrukh (Tehran, 1976), pp. 133—4, 134, 135, 135—6, 137, 142 and, correspondingly, the "Treatise" (GMINV) ff. 46a—48a, 45b—46a, 28b—29a, 52b—53a, 52a, 45b.
47. In poetry the public attitude to this question was completely different. See: G. E. von Grünebaum, "*Kontseptsiiia plagiata v arabo-musul'manskoi kul'ture. (The concept of plagiarism in the Arab-Muslim culture)*", G. E. von Grünebaum, "*Osnovnye cherty arabo-musul'manskoi kul'tury. Stat'i raznykh let*" (Moscow, 1981), pp. 127—56.

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*M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya*

**A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT OF THE “KĀŚYAPAPARIVARTA-SŪTRA”  
IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH  
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES,  
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

There is a unique Sanskrit manuscript of the “Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra” in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies which continues to attract the attention of scholars since 1926 when A. von Staël-Holstein published its transliteration. The reason of this unusual interest becomes clear if we take into consideration that the oldest part of this sūtra, that is its core, was formed at the earliest stage of development of the Mahāyāna literature (Conze, 1968, p. 302—5; Pāsādika, 1991, p. 59), and that the two most important philosophical schools of Mahāyāna — Mādhyamika and Yogācāra — accepted it as the basic text of their doctrine. On the other hand, the sūtra presents particular interest for the study of moral and ethical rules of Mahāyāna on account of the moral code of bodhisattva for first time worked out and formulated in its text. The code was quoted in many other Mahāyāna texts and held in high respect in Central Asia and the Far East. So far the Tibetan, Mongolian, Khotanese and five Chinese translations of the sūtra were known. Recently one more translation has been found by scholars.

The facsimile of the manuscript has not yet been published. Its text needs a new reading since it became more legible after the restoration of the manuscript.

The task of describing and publishing this popular text caused us to use a great amount of literature. In this paper we try to connect this text with the history of Central Asiatic Buddhism and Buddhist canon to find the link between the formation of the text and the inner processes in Buddhism in the first centuries A.D. when it overstepped the boundaries of India. The analysis of the Buddhist canonical texts written in different languages (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Khotanese) and discovered on the territory of Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) and Tun-huang (Gansu), enables us to find the quotations from the “Kāśyapaparivarta” in several different texts. The character of these quotations seems to clarify the problem of how the main doctrines of Mahāyāna were comprehended in Eastern Turkestan and Tun-Huang as well as their further development.

This paper represents our first attempt to introduce to scholars the facsimile of the manuscript of the “Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra” and to investigate it in terms of the

above mentioned tasks as well. It should be taken into account that those scholars who dealt with the text, were insisting on the necessity of publishing its facsimile. Some of them, like Dr. Daniel Boucher from the Indiana University (Bloomington), tie their further scholarly research with this publication. The facsimile edition has been prepared by me together with Prof. G. M. Bongard-Levin long time ago. We both hope to publish it in a series of books, attached to the Journal “*Manuscripta Orientalia*” as soon as possible.

In the paper we confine ourselves to two problems only: the history of the study of the text and the question of its creation as reflected in the written sources. The solution of the problems seems to be possible due to a series of new studies on the history of Mādhyamika school and Nāgārjuna's works. We suppose to touch the problem of the role of the Buddhist teachers of Eastern Turkestan in the transformation of the former text of the sūtra. It is known that there was the Central Asian version of the sūtra which was used as a basis for the Tibetan and Chinese translations.

The “Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra” (abbreviated further as *KP*) belongs to a small group Mahāyāna's sūtras the existence of which before the second century A.D. is confirmed by a translation into Chinese made during the Han dynasty. Only one complete Sanskrit text of the sūtra was known till now — a manuscript written in the Brāhmī script. It dates back to the 7—8th centuries A.D. and was copied in Khotan. The inventory number of the manuscript is SI P/2, it is preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The manuscript was brought from Eastern Turkestan by the Russian Consul in Kashgar N. Th. Petrovsky at the end of the 19th century.

Comparison with some other fragments of the sūtra belonging the Central Asiatic manuscript collections of Great Britain, Finland and Germany brings us to the conclusion that two versions of the *KP* were current in Eastern Turkestan in the first centuries A.D.: the brief one and apparently the earlier, and extended one, formed later.

Manuscript SI P/2 represents the extended version of the *KP*. Its text was published in transliteration as early as

1926 by A. von Staël-Holstein (Staël-Holstein, 1926). In 1954 V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, while sorting the Petrovsky collection, found folio No. 3 belonging to the same manuscript (Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, 1957, p. 491—5). At present we possess 75 folios of the pothi type: No. 1—30; 32, 33, 37 (between folios 33 and 37 only two folios are missing as a result of a mistake in pagination); 40—50; 52—81 (between folios 50 and 52 no missing — again the scribe's mistake). While publishing his Sanskrit transliteration, A. von Staël-Holstein divided the text after the pattern of the Chinese translations, this is why the paragraphs are present in the Sanskrit text as well. In fact, the Chinese translation of the Song dynasty was the largest among the four known in Staël-Holstein's time. It had 166 paragraphs. The Sanskrit text numbers only 161 paragraphs because of some lacunae. The Sanskrit version was twice translated into European languages: by F. Weller (into German) and by Bhikkhu Pāsādika (into English) [1]. The popularity of the sūtra in Eastern Turkestan, its importance for the Mahāyāna canon which, as it is known, was not codified in India in spite of the activities of such an eminent Buddhist scholar as Nāgārjuna who contributed greatly to that codification, resulted in frequent quoting from the text in various inscriptions, sūtras, śāstras and Buddhist compositions ascribed to different scholars of the first millennium A.D. That is why the quotations were translated many times from Sanskrit as well as from Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese by European, Indian and Japanese scholars. By the way, there is also a translation of the sūtra into Japanese. The bibliography of these translations was made to be the subject of a special paper by Bhikkhu Pāsādika (Pāsādika, 1991). In our bibliography we concentrate on the works not mentioned by Bhikkhu Pāsādika. There is something new in this sea of works devoted to the *KP*. Two Khotanese Saka fragments of the *KP* have been recently discovered by Professor R. E. Emmerick and myself among the manuscripts of the S. E. Malov collection in St. Petersburg. The preliminary dating of the fragments is the 8—9th centuries A.D. One fragment was identified by Dr. P. O. Skjærvø. It probably belongs to the brief version. Facsimile and interpretation of the fragments will be published by Prof. R. E. Emmerick and by the author of the present article in the "Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum", — "Saka Documents VII", Text volume.

The extended Sanskrit version is well known due to the publication of Staël-Holstein. It is supplemented with the Tibetan text from Bka'-lgyur (in transliteration) and with four Chinese translations. The comparison of all these versions show at once that they are differed from each other.

The fact that the brief Sanskrit version has survived, became known as early as 1938 when Kuno Hōryū published two fragments from the R. Hoernle collection (No. 143, S.B.38, and No. 143, S.B.39, the India Office Library, see Kuno Hōryū, 1938, p. 71—110). Later J. de Jong discovered that both fragments could be joined in one folio (de Jong, 1979, p. 247). He also established that the third fragment of the same folio had already been published by J. N. Reuter (Reuter, [1913—8], p. 1—37). It originates from the G. Manerheim collection (Finland). The first two fragments were found in Khotan, possibly in Khadaliq; the Manerheim fragment was brought by him from his expedition to Central Asia in 1906—1908. J. de Jong managed to reconstruct the complete text of the

folio. It bears §§ 128—135 of the *KP* (de Jong, 1979, p. 250—1). This is the folio of the pothi type, 8 lines on each side. Unfortunately, Kuno Hōryū could not see that the two fragments belonged to one and the same folio, but he showed that this Sanskrit version could be connected only with two of the Chinese versions, that is with the translation of the period Western Qin and that of the Jin epoch.

V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky was the next to find out that the fragment published by him also belonged to the brief version. He discovered this fragment (call number SI P/85a) in the Petrovsky collection. This is a folio paginated as the 5th, of the pothi type, 7 lines on each side (Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, 1957, p. 496—500). On the evidence of its palaeography, Vorobyov-Desyatovsky dated the manuscript to the 6—7th centuries A.D. It can be supposed that the manuscript from the R. Hoernle and the G. Manerheim collections, as well as from the Petrovsky collection, belong to one and the same brief version. The main difference of this brief version from the extended one is the absence of gāthās. Paragraphs 14—19 in the Petrovsky manuscript and paragraphs 128—135 in the Hoernle and Manerheim manuscript contain only prosaic texts. The extended version contains verse as well — gāthās following the prose text. The gāthās contain a summary of every prosaic paragraph. There is one more difference. The prosaic parts of the brief version are more contracted than those of the extended one. It is especially evident in § 130 (the Hoernle fragment). It lacks the concluding line, published by Staël-Holstein: "Whoever takes the medicines not suited [for him], though [these medicines are] of help to a rājā, [all the same] will suffer". This text is also missing in the Tibetan translation.

Furthermore in § 131 the following passage containing an important comparison is omitted: "Thus, for example, Kāśyapa, the same precious stone *vaidūrya*, if it is taken out of the heap of sewage, carefully washed, cleaned and wiped [then], it won't have lost its quality as a precious stone. In the same way, Kāśyapa, if a man [even] the little efforts makes for purification from *kleśas* he won't have lost his qualities [keeping] his jewel-like great wisdom" (*mahāprajñā*). The term *mahāmaniratna* is used instead of *vaidūrya-mahāmaniratna* in the remaining part of § 131 of the brief version. The word *vaidūrya* is also absent in the Tibetan translation, as well as the above mentioned passage itself.

Unfortunately, § 133 in the extended version is rather damaged, but one can also notice here some differences. The brief version mentions only "the son of the elder of merchants", while the extended one "son of the elder of the merchants or the rājā's son". But there is no mention of the "rājā's son" in the gāthās of the extended version either. We have also one more discrepancy: the text of the example given in the extended version is closer to the version preserved in the Tibetan translation (gāthās of the extended version have "*bahuśruta... śīlasampanna*", while the text of the brief version has "*duḥśīlavato bahuśruta...*"). These examples are enough to show that the extended version differs from the brief one not only in the absence of gāthās. J. de Jong noticed that the *KP* could represent a rare case when the gāthās were serving a core around which the text of the sūtra had been formed (de Jong, 1979, p. 255). J. de Jong confirms this suggestion by the analysis of the grammatical forms used in the gāthās

and in the prosaic parts. He points out that the latter have not so many errors from the point of view of the Sanskrit Grammar [2].

A fragment of one more manuscript of the *KP* was found in the German Turfan collection (Sander, Waldschmidt, 1980, No. 374). This is a damaged folio of the poṭhi type, 4 lines on each side. Its text contains § 151—153; there are no gāthās in these paragraphs, and it is difficult to decide which version this fragment belongs to. The text slightly differs from that of the Petrovsky manuscript.

As for the Tibetan translation of the *KP* (see Tibetan *Bka'-gyur* of *Sde-dge* edition, *dkon-brtsegs*, No. 87, vol. *cha*, ff.119b—151b), it was made at the beginning of the 9th century A.D. by translators Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde. The Sanskrit title of the sūtra was borrowed from the Tibetan translation. In *Bka'-gyur* the sūtra is called "Ārya-Kāśyapaparivarta-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra". But we are inclined to suggest that the Tibetan tradition reflects the later title of the sūtra which was given to it not earlier than the 7th century A.D. There are the several variants of the title of the sūtra in the Petrovsky manuscript: "Mahāratnakūṭadharmaparyāya" [f.28a(3), 75b(5)], "Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya" [f.81a(2)] [3] and "Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtrāntarājā" [f.79a(3)] or "Ratnakūṭa-sūtrāntarājā" [f.79a(5)] [4].

The earliest translation of the sūtra into Chinese was made in the Han epoch. Staël-Holstein gave the name of the translator as Zhi Lou jia chan. He thought that the translation had been made between years 178 and 184 A.D. The Chinese title of the sūtra is "Yi ri mo ni bao jing". Staël-Holstein rendered it as Sanskrit "[Buddha bhāṣita] vaipulyamaniratna-sūtra" or, in the Sanskrit order of the words, "Mahāmaniratnakūṭa-vaipulyasūtra" (see *Tripiṭaka Taishō*, No. 350; here abbreviated TT). The Han translation is very brief, the way it renders the philosophy of the teaching is rather simplified. It contains no gāthās. The usual incipency "evaṃ mayā śrutam..." is omitted as well.

Two synologists — P. Pelliot (Pelliot, 1936, p. 68—76) and Ōno Hōdō (Ōno Hōdō, 1954, p. 98, 101—2) called the date of the translation into question. The above mentioned date was borrowed from the Chinese Catalogue of *Tripiṭaka*, composed as early as 515 A.D. [see TT, No. 2145, p.6b(17)], but Pelliot still believed the language of the translation to be very archaic. He thought that the translation had been made within the Han period. Ōno Hōdō proposed another dating — the period of the Eastern Qin dynasty (317—420 A.D.), but produced no arguments for it. Some Sanskrit terms, such as *bhagavān*, *cakravartin*, *upāya-kauśalya*, *abhiññā*, are rendered in this translation in the same way, as in the Han translation of the "Aṣṭasahasrika-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra". We have no sufficient proof, however, to connect this Han Chinese translation with the brief Sanskrit version.

The second Chinese translation was made in 265—420 A.D. (the Jin time) by an unknown translator (see TT, No. 351). It consists of one juan and bears the name "Mo huo yan bao yan jing" which can be reconstructed as Sanskrit "[Buddha bhāṣita] mahāyāna-ratnakūṭa-sūtra". The third Chinese translation dates back to almost the same period. In a preface to the sūtra it is said that the translation's title was registered in the Chinese Catalogue of the Western Qin dynasty (384—417 A.D.), the name of trans-

lator unknown. The title of this translation differs from all the rest — "Pu ming pusa huai". It corresponds to the Sanskrit title "Samantabala-kabodhisattva-pariprcchā". This translation was included as chapter No. 112 in the collection of sūtras, titled "Da bao ji jing" — "Ratnakūṭa-sūtra" (see TT, No. 310). This collection of sūtras was rendered completely by the Tibetan translators at the beginning of the 9th century A.D. There is the afterword by the translators (or editors?) at the end of the first volume of the Tibetan section "dkon-drtssegs" of the Tibetan *Bka'-gyur* [vol. *ka*, ff.270a(6)—270b] where it is said that the translation was made from the Sanskrit original. The afterword contains some more information. There it is mentioned that the Tibetan translators saw several collections of Sanskrit sūtras in Khotan in the 7th century A.D., such as "Mahāsannipāta", "Mahāvataṃsaka", "Ratnakūṭa" etc.

The latest translation of the *KP* into Chinese was made in the Song epoch, in the 9th century A.D., by a translator named Shi hu (Skr. Dānapāla?). Its title is "Da jia she zi da bao ji zheng fa jing" (Skr. "[Buddha bhāṣita] mahākāśyapa-pariprcchā-mahāratnakūṭa saddharma-sūtra"). It consists of 5 juans (see TT, No. 352). In this title two names are combined — "Kāśyapapariprcchā" and "Ratnakūṭa", apparently both were current in Eastern Turkestan of that period. There is a Chinese preface to this translation where the translator says that as a pattern for his work he took the composition of the sūtras "Da bao ji jing". He also adds that another Sanskrit copy was available to him, more extensive but still not complete. Staël-Holstein noticed that the above mentioned translation had many mistakes, inaccuracies, and omissions in its text. Its main difference from the other translations may be defined as the extension of the text. The Tibetan translation follows this extended text, but since it was made a hundred years earlier, we can conclude that the extended Sanskrit version came into being already in the 7—8th centuries A.D.

All these four Chinese translations were investigated by F. Weller. He compared them with the Sanskrit version (see: Weller, 1964; Weller, 1966—1; Weller, 1966—2; Weller, 1970).

In the seventies of this century Japanese scholars found one more Chinese translation of the *KP*, the fifth one. It happened to be included as chapter No. 7 in the Chinese translation of the "Ratnamegha-sūtra" (TT, No. 659, p. 276—83). Two Japanese scholars, Takasaki Jikidō (Takasaki Jikidō, 1974, p. 449) and Nagao Gajin (Nagao Gajin, 1974, p. 13—25), discovered this text almost simultaneously. Nagao Gajin established that this Chinese translation was close to the Qin version. He also improved the Catalogue of TT by emending the name of the translator: the translation was made by Subodhi between 557 and 589 A.D.

One folio of the Sanskrit version of another sūtra, that is the "Ratnarāṣi-sūtra", was also found in Eastern Turkestan. It contains the discussion of Buddha with Kāśyapa concerning the ethics (manuscript from the India Office Library, the Hoernle collection, see "Manuscript remains", 1916, pp. 116—21). Here the question about "aṣṭau śramaṇadharmāvaranā" is discussed, including the 12 points which permit to consider an *ārya* to become a *śramaṇa*. The "Ratnarāṣi-sūtra" is also a part of the "Ratnakūṭa" code. There exist its Tibetan (*Bka'-gyur*, *dkon-brtsegs*, vol. *cha*, No. 88, ff.152a—175b) and Chinese translations



("Da bao ji jing", TT, No. 310, sūtra No. 44, the code composed by Bodhiruci).

We can provide some evidence to prove that the name of the *KP* was attached to the sūtra only after the "Ratnakūṭa" code had been composed. These are the following:

1. eighty-six names of different Mahāyāna and Hinayāna sūtras and parts of the Buddhist canon are enumerated in the Buddhist encyclopaedia "Mahāvvyutpatti" (Section "Saddharma-nāmāni", § 65, No. 1325). The *KP* is not mentioned among them, but "Ratnakūṭa-sūtra" is present (No. 1364). The names of 13 other sūtras are also mentioned in this list. All these were collected together in one codex "Ratnakūṭa" only after the 5th century A.D. This date is generally accepted as the time of the codification of "Mahāvvyutpatti". We can assume that at that time the *KP* was still known under the name of "Ratnakūṭa".

2. Ten quotations from the "Ratnakūṭa" are mentioned in "Śikṣa-samuccaya" by Śāntideva (see Bendall, 1901; Bendall and Rouse, 1922). All these are actually quotations from the *KP*. There are also some quotations from the "Ratnārāsi-sūtra" in the "Śikṣa-samuccaya". Śāntideva obviously followed the Indian tradition and used the name "Ratnakūṭa" for the *KP*.

3. A. von Staël-Holstein published the commentaries on the *KP* ascribed to Sthīramati (Staël-Holstein, 1933). They were preserved only in the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The Chinese translation of the commentaries can be reliably dated. This translation by Bodhiruci the younger was made between 508 and 535 (TT, No. 1523). Its title is "Da bao zang jing lun" (Skr. "Mahāratnakūṭa-śāstra"). The Tibetan translation of the commentaries (the beginning of the 9th century A.D., the translators — Jinamitra and Śilendrabodhi, see *Bstan-gyur* of the *Sde-dge* edition, No. 4009, vol. *ji*, ff. 199b—277a) begins with the words: "If [somebody] tells [me]: you want to explain this 'Ratnakūṭa' text, so at first you have to explain, why this [composition], which represents [all] the dharmas, is called 'The Collection of Jewels', [my] answer: that is because all the different Jewels of the Mahāyāna are described there" (f. 200). The text of the commentaries does not contain the name of the *KP*. It is especially interesting that many of the gāthās present in the extended Sanskrit version, are omitted in the commentaries. For example, §128—35 of the text contain no gāthās. There are also no gāthās in the Hornele and Manerheim manuscripts.

4. 20 of 48 sūtras which were included in the "Ratnakūṭa" code (No. 1, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15, 19, 21, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36—8, 41—3, 48) are present in early Chinese translations, made between the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D. Some of them are known in two or even three versions (No. 5, 27, 43). Since these translations did not mention the "Ratnakūṭa" code they were recognized as independent sūtras.

5. Some very important evidence is present in the works of Nāgārjuna, the accepted founder of the

Mādhyamika school (150—250 A.D., see Nakamura, 1980, p. 235). The celebrated anthology of the Mahāyāna scriptures "Sūtra-samuccaya", ascribed to him, represents the first attempt to codify the Sanskrit Mahāyāna canon in the form of āgamas. Unfortunately, it is preserved only in late Tibetan and Chinese translations [5]. Nāgārjuna was the first who applied the term *duṣkaracaryā* — "the course of difficult tasks [undertaken by Bodhisattva]" to Mahāyāna (see "Mahāvvyutpatti", No. 6679; Lindtner, 1982, p. 72—178). To defend the Mahāyāna doctrines from the orthodox śrāvakas criticism Nāgārjuna collected quotations from the most authoritative sūtras available and divided them into 13 main topics. The sūtras quoted by him can be recognized as the earliest sūtras of Mahāyāna. He used 68 sūtras and collections of sūtras, among them "Buddhāvatamsaka-sūtra" (No. 14) and "Mahāsāṃnipāta-parivarta" (No. 29). The list of works in Sanskrit and Tibetan quoted in the anthology was examined by Chr. Lindtner (Lindtner, 1982). "Ratnakūṭa" is omitted there, while 13 other sūtras of the "Ratnakūṭa" code, mentioned in "Mahāvvyutpatti", are present in Nāgārjuna's list. There are 36 quotations used in the "Sūtra-samuccaya". While comparing the list of Nāgārjuna with that of the "Mahāvvyutpatti", one can notice some differences. We suppose, that they appeared due to activities of Tibetan and Chinese editors who tried to identify the names listed by Nāgārjuna with those current in Central Asia and China in the 9—11th centuries A.D. Meanwhile Nāgārjuna's list must be considered as the source of the "Mahāvvyutpatti". While analysing Nāgārjuna list, A. Banerjee reconstructed the Sanskrit names of the sūtras with the help of their Tibetan translations (Banerjee, 1941). Nāgārjuna quoted the *KP* only once, under No. 43. A. Banerjee reconstructed its name basing on the later Tibetan "'Od-srungs-kyi le'u". In the same way the Tibetan and Chinese editors substituted the name of the "Ratnakūṭa" of the "Mahāvvyutpatti" for another one, namely, for the *KP*. If we take into account the "Mūlamādhyamakakārikās" by Nāgārjuna, we shall see that he referred to three more sūtras (see Inada, 1970; de Jong, 1977). The *KP* is among them — Nāgārjuna is quoting it many times, always naming it "Ratnakūṭa". Neither Nāgārjuna himself, nor his commentators mention the name of the *KP* at all.

To sum up, we can state with certainty that Nāgārjuna called the work quoted by him, the very text which later got the name of the *KP*, "Ratnakūṭa". He was not familiar with the "Ratnakūṭa" code, and the sūtras, included later in this code, were quoted by him as independent texts. We may presume that the code "Ratnakūṭa" has not yet been codified in India in the first centuries A.D. It makes us suggest that Eastern Turkestan was the place where its codification occurred about the 7—8th centuries A.D. Of course, there is probably not enough evidence to prove it decisively. But this subject has much to offer and there is still much to be discovered.

## Notes

1. We take into account only the translations of the whole text, see: Weller, 1965; Paśādika, 1977—9. Bhikkhu Paśādika has recently published the paper where the comparison of both translations is made, with special attention to "purely philological or Buddhological concern" (Paśādika, 1992, p. 145).

2. Lin Li-Kouang views this problem differently. He believes that the prosaic part was specially improved and sanskritized later by some editors (or revisers, see Lin Li-Kouang, 1949, p. 167 ff.).

3. The term "dhammaparyāya" (Pali *dhammaparyāya*, Tib. *chos-kyi nam-grangs*) means "sūtra" in the early Mahāyāna texts, cf. the name of the "Saddharmapundarika-sūtra".

4. The term "sūtrānta", Tib. "mdo-sde" means "sūtras as a special type of Buddhist literature". For the term "rājā" cf. the name of another sūtra — "Suvārnabhāsa-uttamarājā-sūtra" where it is also used. This is the name of the sūtras of the greatest authority.

5. Tibetan translation: "Mdo kun-las bsdus-pa", *Bstan-gyur*, section *dbu-ma*, vol. *ki* (31), ff. 148b(1)—215a(6); the 9th century translation. The Chinese translation: "Da cheng bao yao yi lun", TT, No. 1635, translator Fa hu (Skr. Dharmarakṣa), the 11th century A.D. Both translations were used by Bhikkhu Pāsādika to compose a critical text, see Pāsādika, 1989. He is also the scholar to whom the "Sūtra—samuccaya" owes its translation into English: see Pāsādika, 1978—1982.

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ON THREE ANONYMOUS TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS  
FROM THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH  
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES COLLECTION.  
THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORSHIP \*

In the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies manuscript collection there are three Turkish manuscripts so far identified as works by anonymous authors. Two of them are of the same contents and, in the opinion of the authors of the catalogue of the Institute's Turkish manuscript collection, present the work translated into German by W. F. A. Behrnauer [1]. This work contains a collection of counsels which seem to be addressed to a person of the highest rank, to the Sultan himself. One of these two manuscripts (call number C 2339), bears the title "*Nasihât al-mülûk*" (Counsels for Sultans). There is also a later note, most probably by the owner of the manuscript, — "Merhûm ve mağfûrla sultan saadetiyle tahta geçtikte işbu kanûnnâmeyi verdiler" (When the late Sultan Ibrahim, whose sins are forgiven, luckily ascended the throne, he granted these state regulations) [2].

This manuscript was described for the first time in 1897 by Russian turcologist V. D. Smirnov [3]. He thought that the manuscript from the National Library of Vienna translated by W. F. A. Behrnauer, and identical to MS C 2339, was a version of the same work. After studying the text of the St. Petersburg MS V. D. Smirnov came to the conclusion that the work was a collection of reports submitted to Sultan Ibrahim I (1640—8). According to V. D. Smirnov, an unknown author "taught the inexperienced Sultan the rules of governing the state" [4]. The scholar stressed the fact that the work could be composed only by some person of a very high rank, standing very close to the Sultan; it is obvious from the very special manner the author is addressing his sovereign as well as from the way he is treating the subject [5]. Nevertheless, V. D. Smirnov failed to identify the name of the author, although he probably came very close to the solution of the problem.

While studying quite another work on the history of the janissary corps written at the very beginning of the sev-

enteenth century, I had a chance to compare it to MS C 2339, and was fortunate to notice that its text was almost completely similar to that known as the second treatise by Kochibey. It has been translated into Russian by the late A. S. Tveretinova [6]. In her work she used the Turkish edition of the text made by A. K. Aksüt in 1939 [7], not even suspecting that the work she translated was present in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies collection.

The text of A. K. Aksüt's MS was published in Latin transliteration. It is almost identical to the text of MS C 2339 and MS A 319 from the Institute's collection. Certainly, A. K. Aksüt was unaware that his manuscript was not unique. The publisher identified the work basing mainly on the marginal note in the manuscript where Kochibey was mentioned as its author. At the same time, he did not give much information on the manuscript which he considered to be unique. One can only learn that he found it in the library of Mehmed Fatih Djami. A. K. Aksüt probably thought that the information presented by the marginal note was sufficient to identify the author of the text. Indeed, there were some grounds for such a conclusion. I mean that the so-called second treatise by Kochibey in Aksüt's manuscript was attached as a supplement to the undoubtedly Kochibey's treatise on the government of the Ottoman state earlier submitted by him to Murad IV (1623—40). Moreover, it was known that Kochibey wrote another work. It was meant to be presented to Ibrahim I, according to the suggestion made by the nineteenth century Turkish scholar Ahmed Vefik. He thought Kochibey to be the author of the treatise submitted to Ibrahim I [8]. His assumption did not remain unnoticed both by V. D. Smirnov [9] and A. K. Aksüt [10]. For a long time it was believed that the work had been lost. When publishing his manuscript, A. K. Aksüt considered the second part of it to be the lost Kochibey's treatise. The published text in-

\* This is a revised version of the author's article published in Russian in: *Turcologica* 1986. *K vos'midesiatiletin akademika A. N. Kononova* (Turcologica 1986. On the 80th Anniversary of the Academician A. N. Kononov) (Leningrad, 1986.), pp. 211—8.

cludes 19 reports (or rather epistles) submitted to Ibrahim I and dealing with the ways of governing the state [11].

It is very likely that both works by Kochibey were copied by a scribe of the Aksüt's manuscript as one unit. If so, the marginal note might be an additional argument supporting the publisher's assumption.

In his article in the "İslam Ansiklopedisi", Turkish scholar Çagatay Uluçay was also inclined to consider the text of the manuscript published by A. K. Aksüt to be the work written by Kochibey. He remarks that although some doubts concerning the authorship of the work are still there, the comparison of the published text with that of the first treatise by Kochibey submitted to Murad IV, brings one to the conclusion that the author of both parts is one and the same person. According to Uluçay, the first work, as well as the second one have identical structure and are similar from the point of view of the subject. Both present a collection of counsels for Sultans and are marked by the same style of writing [12].

However, this opinion can not be accepted as the final, because there is a publication of another manuscript made by F. R. Unat, its text almost completely identical to that of the Aksüt's manuscript. The former names quite a different person as the author of the work, that is Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha [13]. It is true that F. R. Unat had certain doubts about the authorship, for he was well aware of Aksüt's identification of the work. He admitted that Kochibey could also be the author of the work, but was more inclined to think that its author had been Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha. Asserting that, he was basing mainly on the information provided by the manuscript which gave the name of this Ottoman functionary. F. R. Unat's manuscript has the following note at the beginning: "Kara Mustafa Paşanın sultan İbrahim'e yazdığı kanunlar" ([These] are the state regulations, written by Kara Mustafa Pasha for Sultan Ibrahim) [14]. This note made F. R. Unat suggest that the grand vizier Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha, who was an illiterate man, could employ Kochibey to write the work. It is quite probable that he dictated the text to Kochibey [15], though in my opinion it is not the best solution of the problem. The problem of authorship is made even more difficult by the absence of any information on Kochibey's personality. Kochibey was only the pen-name of the author, not his real name. He was known as the author of the book of counsels submitted to Sultan Murad IV. This work is sometimes called "The First Treatise" by Kochibey. As Mehmed Tahir Brusali asserted on the evidence from a manuscript from the Khedive's Library in Cairo, Kochibey's real name was Mustafa [16]. His nisba: Görüdjeli (or Gömürdjinelî, as V. D. Smirnov puts it) seems to originate from the name of the town of Görüdje (or Gömüldjina, according to V. D. Smirnov), where Kochibey was presumably born. In one of the Turkish manuscripts he is called Kochibey Bosnavî, while in some other sources it is mentioned his wife and son were buried in Görüdje (or Görüjde, that is Goritzija in the former Yugoslavia) [17]. V. D. Smirnov seems to be incorrect when, after Behrnauer, he thought that Kochibey had been a native of Gömürdjina and a Turk [18]. Putting forward such an assumption, V. D. Smirnov kept in mind Kochibey's hatred towards "foreigners" — that was his interpretation of the term *ecnebi*. It is true that Kochibey's first treatise is full of complains about the predominance of the *ecnebis* in the military and state system of the Ottoman Empire. But we

know perfectly well now, that the term *ecnebi* has nothing to do with nationality. In the context of the Ottoman socio-political criticism of the time this term was applied to define one's social position. The theme of many Ottoman writings of the first half of the seventeenth century was the wide penetration of the *ecnebis* into the social strata of the state; until that time, according to the traditional system of social stratification, certain ranks had not been available to them [19].

Mehmed Tahir Brusali, who collected all the available information about Kochibey, considered him to be an Albanian. He derived his name Kochi from the Albanian word *koch*, which means 'red', but this etymological interpretation seems unreliable. Mehmed Tahir thought, as well, that Kochibey had been a *devşirme* system recruit, promoted to the rank of the Sultan's Palace agha. Kochibey was a member of the Ottoman bureaucratic staff from the time of Ahmed I (1603—17) till the reign of Ibrahim I. It is also known that his influence over state affairs was rather strong in the reign of Murad IV, for whom he wrote his famous work on the Ottoman state system suggesting some ways of its improvement. There was also, as mentioned above, some rather vague information about his second work submitted to Ibrahim I. Kochibey died presumably in 1650, at the very beginning of Mehmed IV reign (1648—87) [20].

Returning to the MSS C 2339 and A 319, we can state with certainty that both reproduce the text of the so-called second treatise by Kochibey, published by A. K. Aksüt and later translated into Russian by A. S. Tveretina. Both manuscripts were copied in the eighteenth century. The names of the copyists and the dates are missing. It should be noted that MS C 2339 is dated to A.H. 1059, which corresponds to A.D. 1649. The date presents some problem. It cannot be taken as the date of copy, since it was undoubtedly copied in the eighteenth century. It can be judged on the evidence of paper of the manuscript. I may suggest that the copyist could mechanically reproduce the date of the photograph. However, it was not customary to put down the date of a copy in numerals, as we see it in MS C 2339. It is also possible that the date was written by a copyist by mistake, though, it should be mentioned again, it seems rather strange that it was written in numerals.

The St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection contains one more Turkish manuscript (MS B 2422) described in the catalogue as an anonymous. Its title, written in gold, is "*Kanûn-i Âl-i Osman*" [21]. That is the general name of the work which was copied in *divani* in the eighteenth century. The text of the manuscript is rather richly decorated with headings and separate geographical, as well as administrative names written in red and gold. There are also little gold rosettes over the lines. Unfortunately, the manuscript lacks a colophon, so we do not know the exact time of copying and the copyist's name. The authors of the catalogue point out that the work deals with the administrative system of the Ottoman Empire in the reign of Ahmed I (1603—17). It contains much detailed information and a lot of figures being mentioned. They erroneously date the work (see below) to A.D. 1706/07 [22].

The work consists of two parts. It is interesting that the first part's title, written in gold, — "*Risâle-i kavânin-i Âl-i Osman hulâsa-i mazâmin-i defter-i divân*" — appears only in the preface to the second part [23], as well as the

author's name — Aynî Ali [24]. The work under this title is well known as one composed by Aynî Ali, a state functionary of the time of Ahmed I. After comparing the text of MS B 2422 with that of Aynî Ali's work, which was published by the Turkish scholar Ahmed Vefik in the nineteenth century [25], one can easily guess that it is one and the same work. In the preface to the second part of the work in our MS, titled "*Risâle-i vazîfe-i horan ve merâtib-i bendegân-i Âl-i Osman*", Aynî Ali informs that previously he held the office of the *deftâr emini*, while now he is a *mukabeleci*, that is the state registers' controller. The author also adds that he has already composed a work on the *timar* system of the Ottoman Empire, which he submitted to the grand vizier Murad Pasha [26]. Aynî Ali surely means that "*Risâle-i kavânin-i Âl-i Osman hulâsa-i mazâmin-i defter-i divân*", which constitutes the first part of our MS was his own composition. It is apparent that the two works by Aynî Ali are joined together in MS B 2422. Further on the author says he undertook his task because no one was fully aware of the true conditions of the state treasury expenditures on the palace staff and the regular army salaries. The work, as the author says, was composed by the order of the grand vizier Murad Pasha [27].

This writing by Aynî Ali can be easily dated, since the author informs that he used the salary registers for the *reşen* term of A.H. 1018, that is for October, November

and December of A.D. 1609 [28]. It is known that the grand vizier Murad Pasha went out to the Persian frontiers late in May 1610, as he was appointed a chief commander of the Ottoman army, quartered there. He died in August 1611 in Diyarbekir when discussing peace terms with the representatives of Persia [29]. So, most probably the work was written by Aynî Ali in the period from January to May 1610 and submitted to Murad Pasha before his departure to the war.

The mistake of the catalogue's authors who dated the work to A.D. 1706/07 can be explained by a mere oversight. Evidently, they took the date A.H. 1018 for A.H. 1118, as it is evident from marginal note where the date A.H. 1118 is written in pencil just opposite the date A.H. 1018 of the text.

To sum up, we know now, that the three Turkish manuscripts from the collection of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which are described in the catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts belonging to the collection as anonymous ones, are, in fact, the works written by quite famous authors of the first half of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the so-called second treatise by Kochibey cannot be considered an extremely rare Turkish manuscript. It seems to be a rather popular work of his, which was still being copied in the eighteenth century.

## Notes

1. See L. V. Dmitrieva, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia* (The Description of the Turkic Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies), ii (Moscow, 1975), pp. 109—111; see also W. F. A. Behnauer, "Das Nasihatname: Dritter Beitrag zur osmanischen Finanzgeschichte", *ZDMG* XVIII (1864), pp. 699—740.

2. MS C 2339, f. 01a.

3. *Manuscripts turcs de l'Institut des langues orientales décrits par W. D. Smirnov*, Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales du Ministère des affaires étrangères, vol. VIII, 28 (Saint-Petersbourg, 1897), p. 50.

4. V. D. Smirnov, *Kuchibei Gömürdzhinskii i drugie osmanskie pisateli XVII veka o prichinakh upadka Turtsii* (Kochibey Gömürdzhinsky and Other Ottoman Writers of the Seventeenth Century on the Causes of Turkey's Decay) (Saint-Petersburg, 1873), pp. 33—4.

5. *Manuscripts turcs de l'Institut*, p. 51.

6. A. S. Tveretina, "Vtoroi traktat Kochibeia" (The Kochibey's Second Treatise), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia* VI (1953), pp. 212—68.

7. *Koci Bey risalesi. Şimdiye kadar elde edilmemiş olan tarihi eserinin tamamı*. Eseri bulup tahşiye eden Ali Kemali Aksüt, İstanbul, 1939.

8. *Nizâm-i devlete müteallik Göricele Koçi Beğin saadetli mehabetli rebi' sultan Murad han Gaziye verdiği risâledir*, (İstanbul, A.H. 1277), p. 1.

9. Smirnov, *Kuchibei Gömürdzhinskii*, p. 39.

10. *Koçi Bey risalesi*, p. 11.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Ç. Uluçay, "Koçi Bey", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V, 2 (İstanbul, 1950), pp. 833—4.

13. F. R. Unat, "Sadrazam Kemankeş Kara Mustafa paşa laihası", *Tarih vesikaları*, I, 6 (1942), pp. 443—80.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 444—6.

16. Mehmed Tahir Brusali, *Osmanlı müellifleri*, iii, (İstanbul, A.H. 1343), p. 119.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Smirnov, *Kuchibei Gömürdzhinskii*, pp. 40—1.

19. See e. g. J. Kaldy-Nagy, "The "Strangers" (*ecnebil*) in the 17th Century Ottoman Military Organisation", *Between the Danube and the Caucasus. A Collection of Papers Concerning Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Gy. Kara (Budapest, 1987), p. 165—9.

20. Mehmed Tahir Brusali, *Osmanlı müellifleri*, pp. 119—20; F. Babinger, *Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 184—5; Ç. Uluçay, "Koci Bey", pp. 832—3; *Nizâm-i devlete*, p. 1.

21. For more information on the manuscript see Dmitrieva, Muratov, *Opisanie*, pp. 87—9.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

23. Kanûn-i Âl-i Osman (MS B 2422), f.37a.

24. MS B 2422, f.37b.

25. *Aynî efendinin kavânin risâlesi* (İstanbul, 1864). See also M. Belen, "Essais sur l'histoire économique de la Turquie, d'après les écrivains originaux", *JA*, Ser. VI, IV (1864), p. 243. Later on the works by Aynî Ali were edited, in modern Turkish translation, by Hadiye Tuncer, see (*Kanûnnâme-i Âl-i Osman*) *Osmanlı devleti arazi kanunlar* (Ankara, 1962).

26. MS B 2422, ff.36b, 37a.

27. *Ibid.*, f. 37b; *Aynî efendinin*, p. 84.

28. MS B 2422, f.38a.

29. See *Tarih-i Naimâ*, ii (Kostantiniye, A.H. 1280) pp. 83—4; see also I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii, 2 (Ankara, 1954), p. 364.

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## IBN ABĪ KHAZZĀM AND HIS *KITĀB AL-MAKHZŪN* : THE MAMLŪK MILITARY MANUAL

The article is dedicated to the 15th-century Mamlūk illustrated manuscript on the art of war from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The manuscript is titled *Kitāb al-makhzūn fī dġāmi' al-funūn* (Inv. No. C 686) and represents the work of the 14th-century author Ibn Abī Khazzām.

The creation of the manuscript dates back to the 50s—60s of the 9th/15th century, when Djarbāsh al-Silahdar al-Mālikī al-Ashrafī, a Mamlūk military authority, ordered copies of several works on military art for his library. Following the example of sultan Qa'it-Bey, he ordered also a copy of the *Kitāb al-makhzūn*. The years that have passed since then have scattered al-Ashrafī's library all over the world. Two manuscripts from that library — *Kitāb al-makhzūn* by Ibn Abī Khazzām and *al-Tadbīrāt al-ṣul-tānīyya* by Muhammad b. al-Nasirī (Inv. No. C 726) have been again reunited in the Institute collection.

A. P. Butenev (1787—1866), the Russian envoy to Turkey, bought this manuscript in Constantinople in April 1832; two years later he presented it to the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). According to the inscription on folio 107a of the manuscript, the MS was in Vienna in 1809 and was studied there by Count W. de Rzewusky.

Thus *Kitāb al-makhzūn* became the object of scholars' attention as early as the beginning of the 19th century. The treatise was often quoted and referred to [1]. Two illustrations from the manuscript (fig. 50, 52) were reproduced in Gustave le Bon's book "La Civilisation des Arabes", in the chapter titled "Sciences physiques et leurs applications" in 1884 [2]. In 1936 some other illustrations from the manuscript in photographs (fig. 3, 5, 15) and engravings (fig. 47, partially), as well as a photograph of a fragment of the text (page 80b), were reproduced in V. V. Arendt's article dealing with the so-called "Greek fire" [3]. Two illustrations (fig. 50, 52) were used by A. Y. Hassan and D. R. Hill in their "Muslim technology. An illustrated history", Cambridge University Press (1986).

The treatise represented by our manuscript was popular enough in comparison with other works of the same genre. Its popularity is confirmed, in particular, by the ex-

istence of several copies dating back to the 9th/15th — 10th/16th centuries. The manuscripts mentioned below have different titles and are of different size. Unfortunately, up to now we have been unable to obtain the copies of all the manuscripts. The textological analysis, as well as our attempts to establish any correlations between the existing versions of the text and to find out the main sources of the text, its original title, etc. are basing mainly on the study of the manuscript fragments to which we have access.

At present the following manuscripts are known:

No. 1. The St. Petersburg manuscript titled *Kitāb al-makhzūn fī dġāmi' al-funūn*. It contains 108 folios (the pagination of its 216 pages is of recent origin). The general format of the codex: 30 × 20 cm (the format of the text within the frame is 25.5 × 14.8 cm, there are 15 lines per page) and 83 illustrations. The manuscript represents the whole text of the treatise.

No. 2. The Paris manuscript Ar. 2824 (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris) titled *Kitāb al-makhzūn dġāmi' al-funūn*, copied in 875/1470, apparently for the Mamlūk Sultan Qa'it Bey. The general format of the codex is 30 × 20 centimeters. It has 90 folios with 15 lines per page, 50 illustrations besides the diagrams of manoeuvres. The manuscript contains the whole text of the treatise. 11 folios of this manuscript were published by L. Mercier as a brief presentation of miniatures and text fragments.

No. 3. According to de Slain catalogue, the combined manuscript (Inv. No. Ar. 2826) from Bibliothèque Nationale copied in 986/1578—79 contains the same text. The manuscript contains 112 folios. The general format of the codex: 28 × 19 cm, 21 lines per page, 50 illustrations. The treatise has no title, and its incipit differs from the incipit of the previous one.

No. 4. The so called Cairo-London manuscript. No title, dated to the end of the 15th century (the dating is based on the analysis of its miniatures and paleography). The text is very close to the St. Petersburg version. This manuscript had a really dramatic fate. In 1928 'Isa al-Ma'luf happened to see in Cairo 92 folios from this manuscript (16,5 × 24 cm, 15 lines per page, 46 color miniatures). The folios were bound in casual order. The same year the

manuscript was bought by the French antique dealer Jacob Asheroff. Later he sold three folios from the manuscript to the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, and another three folios — to a private collection (one of them was published by M. Mostafa in "Bustan"). Most of the remaining folios was sold by Asheroff to several collections in different countries. British collector Edmund de Ungern bought most of them in Switzerland, Paris (from Asheroff himself), Cairo (from the collection of Sherif Sabry Pasha) and in other places. Now he has the greater part of the manuscript (78 folios), 3 folios are still preserved in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art (Inv. No. 18019, 18235, 18236). 31 miniatures, 23 diagrams and 10 presentations of different types of weapons from this manuscript are available today. Most of the miniatures were published by M. Mostafa [4].

No. 5. The Istanbul manuscript Ar. R. 1933 from the Topkapi-Saray library. It is titled *Kitāb madjmi' fī 'l-rumh wa-ghayrihi* The manuscript was copied in 871/1466, i. e. nearly at the same time as MSS No. 1 and No. 2. The text is also very close to the text of the St. Petersburg manuscript. It has 97 folios, 17 lines per page, 55 colored miniatures, including 22 diagrams and 10 presentations of different types of weapons.

No. 6. According to C. Brockelmann [5], the catalogue of *Nuri Osmanie kutubhane defteri* mentions manuscript No. 3915 written by one *Khazzām* or Ibn Abi *Khazzām*. At present, unfortunately, we have no other information on it.

No. 7. D. Haldane mentions another manuscript which is close to the Paris MS Ar. 2824 and is preserved in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. The manuscript is not cataloged. We hope that in the nearest future we shall get access to this MS.

The analysis of the available information enables us to come to the following hypothetical conclusions:

As far as we know, M. Mostafa and E. J. Grube, who published the materials of MS No. 4, have never mentioned the St. Petersburg copy. Yet, the comparison of the texts and illustrations (several similar or close codicological features — size, number of lines per page, number of miniatures and their contents) definitely shows that these are parallel copies of the same work made nearly simultaneously. Manuscript No. 4 was intended for, so to say, "utilitarian" use, while the St. Petersburg manuscript was copied for the library of a high Mamluk officer. This conclusion is confirmed by the colophon, miniatures and calligraphy standards of the St. Petersburg manuscript which are more refined than those of the Cairo-London MS.

The St. Petersburg version is also very close to the Istanbul MS (No. 5). The title of the Istanbul copy (*Kitāb madjmi' fī 'l-rumh wa-ghayrihi*) is much more in conformity with the contents of our treatise than its general title "*Kitāb al-makhzūn*". The texts of the manuscripts, however, coincide very closely (though are not identical). Manuscripts No. 1 and No. 5 can represent a different version of the same treatise, distinct from the parallel copies represented by manuscripts No. 1 and No. 4.

On the other hand the two Paris manuscripts (No. 2 and No. 3) differ from the St. Petersburg MS in the manner of presenting the material. They have some discrepancies in terminology and even in the way of describing military exercises. At the same time many passages are almost

identical. It is obvious that the St. Petersburg and the Paris MSS had the same prototype. Probably they are related not as copies or versions of the same treatise but as a prototype and the result of a thorough revision, and even could be treated as two different works by the same author.

Basing on the preliminary analysis of the codicological information (the St. Petersburg manuscript contains more folios than all the others and has almost the same number of lines per page and letters of the same size) and on the correlation of textual differences one can assume that manuscript No. 1, as well as MS No. 2, represent a reworked version of the text.

The full title of the Istanbul manuscript (*Kitāb madjmi' fī 'l-rumh wa-ghayrihi wa fthi kitāb wādh fī-ramy li-l-Ṭabarī*) makes it possible to establish hypothetically one of the main sources of our treatise. It is *Kitāb wādh fī-ramy wa-'l-nashshāb* by Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh Muḥī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1295).

A thorough comparative critical and textological analysis of all known copies of the manuscript available is the subject of our future work. The authors of this article expect that further analysis can produce some interesting and unexpected results.

One of the most interesting problems is that of the authorship. Like the problem of correlations between the existing versions of the text it could be the subject of further studies. We thought it useful, nevertheless, to present the results of our preliminary research in this paper.

The text itself gives no clue to its author's identity. It can be presumably established on the basis of a comparative analysis of several manuscripts.

Ms No. 2 is the only one which mentions the author: *al-shaikh* Muḥammad Ibn *Khizām*. Most studies devoted to our treatise follow de Slane's identifying him with Muḥammad b. Ya'qub Ibn Akhī Khizām. The *shuḥra* of Ibn Akhī Khizām belongs to the dynasty of *al-furūsiyya* authors active in the 3/9th—4/10th centuries [6]. As for Muḥammad b. Ya'qub Ibn Akhī Khizām himself, he was widely known as the author of *furūsiyya* treatises written by the order of Caliph al-Mutawakkil (232—478/47—61). Historical realities and terminology used in our treatise show that it was created in the 8th/14th century (during the so called late Circassian period), but not earlier [7]. No one of the dynasty mentioned could have written the *Kitāb al-makhzūn*.

The abovementioned Muḥammad al-Nasirī, who was the officer of the *halqa*, the guards of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'ban, provided us with some indirect information on this matter [8]. In his works he mentioned, among his contemporaries, another author of the work dealing with the art of war, titled *al-Fawā'id al-jalila fī 'ulūm al-furūsiyya wa-l-rimāya wa amrād al-khail*. His name was Muḥammad b. Ya'qub al-Khuttali, known as Ibn Abi *Khazzam*, who died, according to Muḥammad b. Mangly, before 782/1380 [9]. The subject of our treatise is very close to that by Muḥammad b. Ya'qub al-Khuttali [10]. Another work by this author [11] gives his full name: *al-shaikh al-fāḍil* Muḥammad b. *Khazzam* (or: *Khizām*). The latter variant of *shuḥra* mentioned by the author's contemporary Muḥammad b. Mangly appears to be more reliable. As for the *kunya* "Abū" in the author's name, it is important to note that another author of an *al-furūsiyya* work, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. *Khudhail* (d. 782/1380), mentioned the *Kitāb* by Ibn Abi *Khazzam* in his work [12].

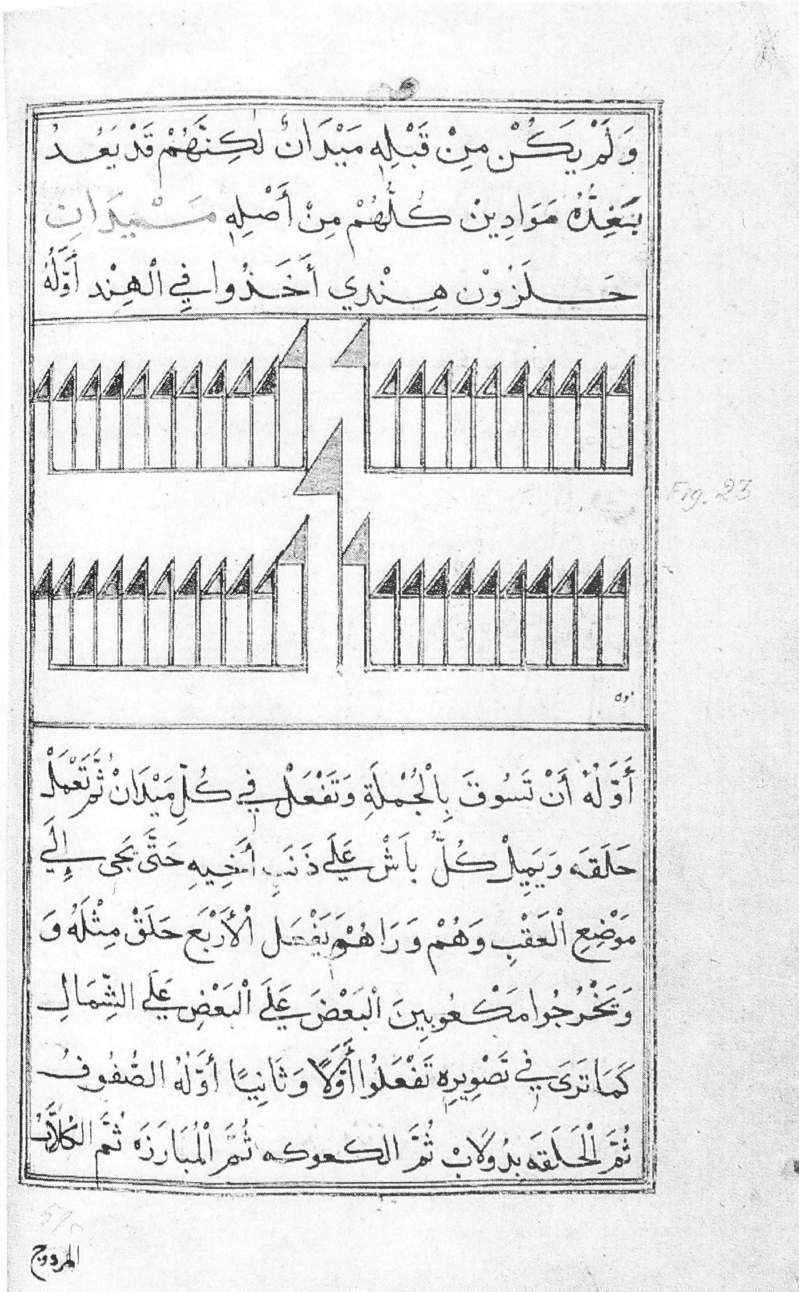
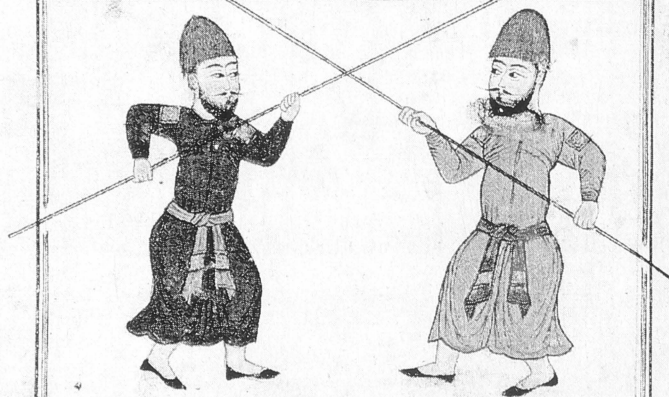


Fig. 1

45

ثُمَّ بِالرَّاسِ ثُمَّ بِالْعَقَبِ وَيَدُقُّ عَلَى رُفْخِ الْغَرِيمِ ثُمَّ يَعِطُّ  
عَلَى السَّيْفِ بِالرُّفْخِ ثُمَّ يَعِطُّ يَمِينًا بِالطَّوِيلِ ثُمَّ يَعِطُّ وَيَنْقُلُ  
وَيَقِفُّ وَيُطَاعِنُ ثُمَّ يَفْعَلُ كَمَا فَعَلَ مِنْ أَوَّلِهِ إِلَى آخِرِهِ  
ثُمَّ يَدْرُسُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ آيَاتًا وَهَذِهِ صِفَةُ اللَّعِبِ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ

Fig. 46.



الَّتِي تُعَرَّبُ فِي الصَّدْرِ وَدُخُولِ الرُّفْخِ الطَّوْقَ لَهُ تَبْطِيلَيْنِ  
أَحَدُهُمَا أَنْ تَضْرِبَ عُنَانَهُ مَعَ يَدِهِ وَالثَّانِي فَيَتَرَسَّ الرُّفْخَ  
فِي صَدْرِ قَوَسِهِ فَلَا يَقْدِرُ يَتَحَرَّكَ هَذِهِ مَسَلَتَيْنِ طَعْنٌ فِي كَمِيهِ  
وَالْآخَرُ طَعْنٌ فِي صَدْرِهِ وَكُلُّ دُخُولٍ فِي الْقَنَاشِ وَالَّذِي طَعْنَهُ  
فِي كَمِيهِ يَلْزَقُ يَدَهُ إِلَى بَاطِنِهِ فَإِذَا أَحْمَلَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ كَسَرَ رُفْخَهُ

Fig. 2



Fig. 3

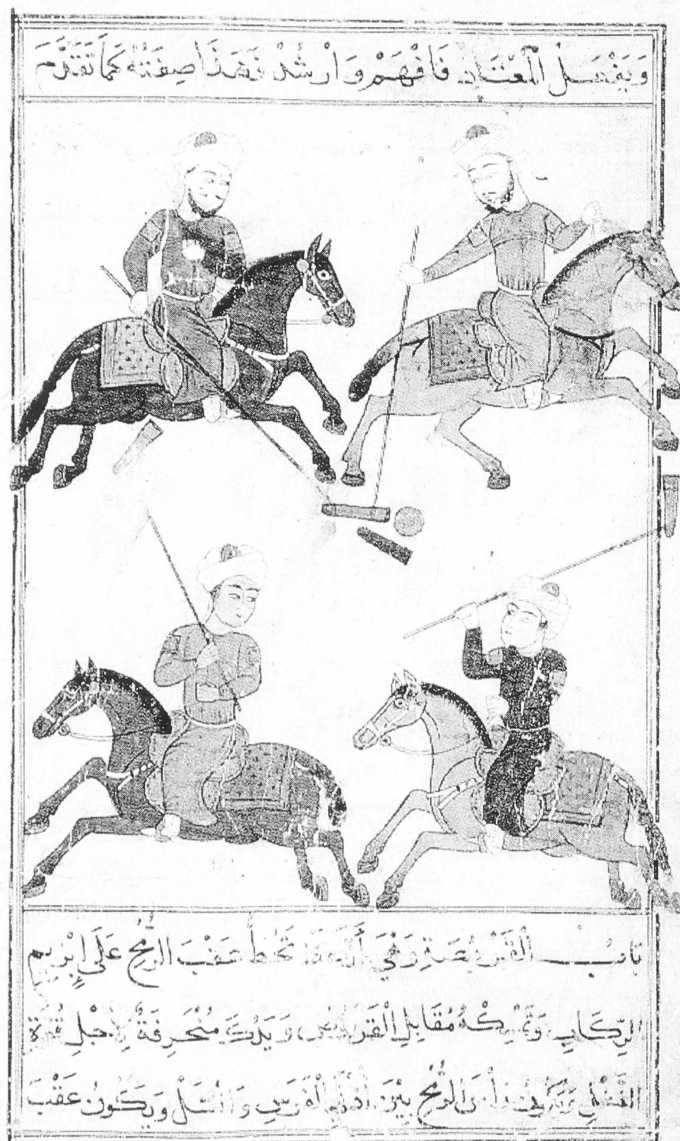


Fig. 4



This mistake has occurred, probably, because the original book by Ibn Akhī Khizām entitled *Kitāb 'ilm al-furūsiyya wa'l-baytara* had been used by Ibn Abī Khazzām as one of his sources, especially when he described exercises with a lance. In this field Ibn Akhī Khizām was a great authority.

Several other works by Muḥammad b. Ya'qub Ibn Abī Khazzām al-Khuttālī, the possible author of our treatise, are mentioned in different sources [13].

As for the treatise itself, one of the problems is: if it is possible to consider this work as the original text written by Ibn Abī Khazzām? Apart from the problem of the role and place of compilation in Muslim medieval literary tradition, we should say that the *furūsiyya* genre itself was very specific. The *furūsiyya* works, being the manuals of the art of war and text-books for arranging military court festivals, constantly contain one and the same descriptions of nearly the same exercises and weapons. Authors-compilers, who widely used the works of their predecessors, might not regard their texts as their personal contribution. Like military manuals, these compositions were intended to preserve the experience and achievements of several generations of war-leaders. It is no mere chance that only one copy of *Kitāb al-makhzūn* mentions the author's name. On the other hand, the combined manuscript Ar. 2826 from Bibliothèque Nationale presents the work of a *kātib* who copied and united under one cover the text of our treatise and that by Lajin al-Husamī al-Ṭara-

bulusī (d. 738/1337—8), titled *Kitāb al-makhzūn li-arbāb al-funūn*. Such a combination of two works in one volume can easily explain how the text of one MS could be taken for a single work under one title.

H. Rabie shows that Lajin al-Tarabulusī's *furūsiyya* treatise "was the original which later *furūsiyya* masters utilized with some variations". He points out also that we knew only one archery master who described the *buttiyya*, and it was Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī [14]. The latter is the author of one of the main sources of the *Kitāb al-makhzūn*. It is obvious that Mamlūk officer Ibn Abī Khazzām al-Khuttālī has written a manual meeting the practical needs of the Sultan guards and mamlūks. It was a kind of a manual for their training, and also for arranging *furūsiyya* festivals. He tried to borrow the best passages from the works of his predecessors, mostly from those by al-Ṭabarī, al-Tarabulusī and Najm al-dīn al-Aḥḍab (the last one was among the best authorities in *funūn al-naft*). He used the name of one of his main sources (the work by al-Ṭabarī) as the title of the manual. Al-Khuttālī was the compiler and the editor of this manual. That is, probably, why his name is not mentioned in our manuscript. He surely added to the work some amount of new materials from his own experience. We hope that while preparing the critical edition of the text we shall be able to find a more definite solution to some of the problems, including the problem of correlation between all the available manuscripts of al-Khuttālī's treatise.

## Notes

1. W. de Rzevsky, *Mines de l'Orient*, v, (Vienna, 1809), pp. 189, 248; Ch. Fraehn, "An die Conferenz der Kaiserlichen Academie de Wissenschaften", *Das Asiatische Museum*, ed. M. Dorn. (SPb, 1846), pp. 450—2; A. Olenin, "Notice sur un manuscrit du Musée Asiatique de l'Académie Imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg", *ibid*, pp. 452—60; M. Reinaud, "De l'art militaire chez les Arabes au moyen âge", *J4*, Quatrième série, XII, Septembre 1848, pp. 193—237; S. I. Romocki, "Geschichte der Explosivstoffe", I, Geschichte der Sprengstoffchemie, der Sprengtechnik und des Torpedowessens (Brl, 1895), S. 76—8.

2. G. le Bon, "La Civilisation des Arabes" (P., 1884), pp. 512—3. Sketches made from the illustration of the Paris manuscript are used here as well (p. 510).

3. V. V. Arendt, "The Greek fire (combat-fire technique before the invention of fire-arms)", *The archives of the history of science and technology*, (in Russian), IX (1936), pp. 183, 195—6, 200—1. See also E. Grube, "Pre-Mongol and Mamlūk painting", *Islamic Painting and the Arts of Book*, ed. B. W. Robinson (L., 1979), pp. 77, 118, note 358; J. T. Reinand & I. Fave, "Du feu grégeois, des feu de guerre et les origines de la poudre à canon" (P., 1845), pl. I, fig. 1 and 8, pl. III, figs. 7—10; R. Ettinghausen, "The uses of spheroidal vessels in the Muslim East", *JNES*, XIV (1965), pp. 218—9; M. Rogers, "Aeolipiles again", *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens. In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, ed. Aslanapa & R. Naumann (Istanbul, 1969), pp. 147—58.

4. On the history of this manuscript and location of its fragments see: E. J. Grube, "Pre-Mongol and Mamlūk painting", p. 117, note 353; Mohamed Mostafa, "An illustrated manuscript on chivalry from the late Circassian Mamluk period", *BIE*, LI (1969—70) pp. 1—13 (English) and pp. 1—14 (Arabic text); *idem*, "Miniature paintings in some Mamluk manuscripts", *BIE*, LII, pp. 5—15, pls. 1—40. M. Mostafa studied this manuscript in details and planned to publish it. By 1979, when Grube's work (Pre-Mongol and Mamluke painting) appeared, the manuscript has not been published. We do not know whether it was published during the past few years. See also: *idem*, "Darstellung des taglichen Lebens in der islamischen Kunst, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der ägyptischen Kunst", *Bustan. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kultur, Politik, und Wirtschaft der islamischen Länder*, II (Wien, 1960), fig. 22, p. 39; *idem*, "Unity in Islamic Art. Guide to the second temporary exhibition", *Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo* (Cairo, 1958), p. 39, figs 36—8, p. 26, Nos. 16—8; E. Grube, "Pre-Mongol and Mamlūk painting", pp. 73—81, 115—9, pl. II, 12 (color), II, 8. Unfortunately, not all of the above mentioned works were available to us during the preparation of this publication. It is evident now, however, many features common to the St. Petersburg manuscript and manuscript No. 3 allow to establish a more exact date for the latter in comparison to the date suggested by E. Grube and B. Robinson ("middle or the second half of the fourteenth century" (or possibly a little later. — Ed.) — E. Grube, "Pre-Mongol and Mamluke painting", p. 81) and to attribute to the second half of 9th/15th century.

5. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, i (Weimar-Berlin, 1898), p. 243; Supplementband, i (Leiden, 1937), p. 432.

6. *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes par M. le Baron de Slane*, (P., 1883—1895), p. 10; 'Aly ben Abderrahman ben Hodeil El Andalousy, *La Parure des Cavaliers et l'Insigne des Preux*, Trad. française précédée d'une étude sur les sources des hippiatres arabes. par L. Mercier (P., Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924), pp. XI—XIII, 435—6; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, i, 243; Supplementband, i, 432.

7. Several chapters of the treatise are dedicated to the formulas of gun-powder and means of throwing flame, as well as to hand fire-arms and artillery. Though *naft* and *bārūd* (gun powder) appeared in the region in 5/11th century, the art of making mixtures for flame throwing, the so-called *funūn al-naft*, developed only in 7/13th—8/14th centuries.

Another evidence supporting dating our text to the late Circassian period could be found on folio 69b of the manuscript, in the description of a special spear with a hook and loop at the end (*al-rumh bi-l-kḥait*) which was designed for throwing down enemy riders from their horses (*ramy al-fāris min al-faras*) (see also folio 82 b). A Mamlūk historian of the late Circassian period, Ibn Iyās, mentioned this weapon in his treatise, describing the Ottoman invasion into Egypt and Syria, as something new and unusual (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾi al-Zuhūr*, ed. M. Mostafa, v (Cairo, 1972), p. 131.

8. De Slane, *Catalogue*, 2832; C. Brockelmann., *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, ii, p. 136; Supplementband, ii, p. 167.

9. Mercier, *La Parure*, 433.

10. Flugel, p. 546.

11. *Kitāb al-kḥail al-baitara*. See: Flugel, p. 546.

12. Mercier, *La Parure*, 433.

13. Mercier, *La Parure*, 435—436.

14. H. Rabie, "The training of the Mamluk *fāris*", *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V. J. Parry & M. E. Yapp (L., 1975), pp. 153—63.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Fol. 110 a. The Exercise of Mounted Formations Called "the Indian Spiral" (*māydan ḥalazūn hindī*) (first stage).

**Fig. 2.** Fol. 145 a. "The Lance Game on the Ground (*luʿb al-rumh ʿalāʾl-ʿard*).

**Fig. 3.** Fol. 177 a. The Warrior with a Lance Performing the "Strike of Buttiya".

**Fig. 4.** Fol. 184 a. The Polo Game.

**UNIQUE SANSKRIT FRAGMENTS OF THE “SŪTRA OF GOLDEN LIGHT”  
IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH  
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
(RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES)**

The unique fragments of the canonical text of the “Sūtra of Golden Light” (Skt. “Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra”) came along with the manuscripts collected in Kashgar by the secretary of the Russian consulate P. I. Lavrov [1]. Now they are included in the Central Asiatic manuscript collection — “Ser India” (SI). In 1915—9 they were examined by N. D. Mironov, a member of the Asiatic Museum staff. At that period academician S. Th. Oldenburg invited N. D. Mironov to work on the manuscripts written in the Brāhmī script. These were brought to St. Petersburg by Russian scholars from East Turkestan or sent from there by Russian diplomats. In 1919 Mironov left Soviet Russia and continued his work in India, China and Europe. Before his departure he only managed to publish his paper on a Sanskrit-Tocharian bilingual fragment of the “Dharmapada” from the M. M. Berezovsky collection [2].

A number of manuscripts in Sanskrit — from the I. P. Lavrov collection, in Khotanese Saka — from the S. E. Malov collection, and in Tocharian — from the M. M. Berezovsky collection, were not available to scholars for a long time, because they were stored in Mironov's archives among his private documents. In 1930 these documents became a part of the ‘Archives of Orientalists’ established as one of the departments of the newly founded Institute of Oriental studies, the immediate successor of the Asiatic Museum.

Only in 1961, when the archives of Mironov were sorted, the above mentioned manuscripts came to the Manuscript Department of the Institute. All the fragments, however, were in a very bad condition, so the keepers were not actually able to touch them. Only in spring of 1994 the conservators of the Institute began to restore these fragments. In the course of restoration several unique manuscripts have been discovered. We were fortunate to identify some of them preliminary before restoration. Among them there are fragments from the “Saddharmapūṇḍarika-sūtra”, the “Prātimokṣa-sūtra” of the Mahāsaṅghika school and the “Suvarṇabhāṣa-sūtra”. Fragments from the latter were chosen to be published first.

To estimate the significance of this find, it is enough to revue the history of the “Suvarṇabhāṣa-sūtra”. Up to now

only two Sanskrit fragments of the sūtra in the Brāhmī script have been published. They were found in East Turkestan and published by R. Hoernle in 1916 [3]. P. O. Skjærvø, who spent much time working on the text, informs us that he has managed to find the fragments of at least 12 copies of the sūtra written in the Brāhmī script in different manuscript depositories. The fragments are scattered all over the world. Now we can add to them our three fragments belonging to two different copies. Like in many other cases, all European scholarly researches of the Sanskrit version of the sūtra were based on comparatively late manuscripts written in the Nepalese script, dating to the 11th century A.D. J. Nobel included them in his publication (see below).

The original text of the sūtra, now including 18 chapters, was created in India in the first centuries A.D. The German scholar J. Nobel (1887—960) indicated that the textual background of the sūtra — its core — around which its whole text had been formed, was the idea of “confession” — “uposatha”, considered in the third chapter of the Sanskrit text. The practice of the confession was one of the focal points of early Buddhism prior to its division into Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. This practice was accepted by Mahāyāna in the first centuries A.D., at the time when the formation of its independent philosophical, religious and cultural tradition took place. At that time Mahāyāna overstepped the boundaries of India and extended its influence on the countries of Central Asia and Far East. This process was connected with the increase of the number of its adepts, as well as with the appearance of new preachers. Popular sūtras were widely used by them, so, step by step, stories about the early rebirths of Buddha Śākyamuni — jātakas — were being added to the “confession” chapter of the “Suvarṇabhāṣa-sūtra”. They were destined to become the basis of one of the most important philosophical doctrines of Buddhism — “Pratītyasamutpāda” — “the chain of causes and effects”. This idea was developed in the sense of Mahāyāna in chapter 5 of the sūtra, devoted to “śūnyatā”. The jātakas, on the other hand, being stories connected with everyday life, were making the preacher's work much easier. One of

the most popular jātakas is about the bodhisattva who sacrificed his own body in order to feed a hungry tigress — to prevent a terrible sin — the eating of her own newly born cubs. In the "Suvarṇabhāsa" this story has been included in its last, the 18th chapter.

After its penetration to Central Asia new stories were added to the Sanskrit text of the "Suvarṇabhāsa". They were closely connected with the people's attempts to use the sūtra to get immediate everyday help. Important was the role of the sūtra in the making of Tantrism. The Tibetan translation of the sūtra gives some evidence on how it happened — in the 'Bka'-gyur' its translation is included in the "Rgyud-bum" — "Tantras" section (see Bka'-gyur of Sde-dge edition, vol. pa, No. 556; vol. pha, No. 557, "Ārya-Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtrendrarāja-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra". In Nepal the sūtra is revered as one of the 9 dharmas [4]. Apart from the above mentioned Tibetan translation, the translations of the sūtra into Chinese, Khotanese Saka, Old-Uighur, Mongolian, Sogdian and Tangut (Hsi-hsia) have survived — some completely, some in fragments. The Chinese translation by Yijing (703 A.D.) and in the old-Uighur and Tangut translations, based on the Chinese one, have a preface, narrating how the sūtra helped the region's ruler Zhang Judao (in Uighur text — Kuo tau) to escape from hell. His sin was in slaughtering much of cattle to arrange a big feast. This story is reflected in a Tangut woodcut of the 12th century, the copies of which are kept in St. Petersburg (call No. — Tang. 376, No. 95) [5].

Chapters 6—11 of the sūtra offer the ways of immediate salvation for believers. According to its text it was considered to be sacred by four mahārājas (lokapāla), goddess Sarasvatī, goddess Śrī, goddess Dṛdhā, the leader of the yakṣas Samjñāya, etc. All of them were said to welcome the "Sūtra of Golden Light" — "The King of the sūtras", and promise their protection to everybody "who will hear, reverence, honor this excellent Suvarṇabhāsa, the king of sūtras". There is a special small chapter in the Nepalese version of the sūtra (No. 9, "Chapter on the Maintenance of the Names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas", translation by R. E. Emmerick), where the 18 names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are numbered. They can provide the believers of the sūtra with the best rebirth. There is also a special preface to the Khotanese translation added in order to explain why the sūtra can give salvation to its believers [6].

We described in details this well known material to draw attention to main point we need to attend to: the most part of the text concerning immediate help of the sūtra and its god-protectors to believers is omitted in our text. It makes us conclude that these parts of the text were in-

cluded later, and our manuscript SI L/11 appears to be the earliest Sanskrit wording of the sūtra.

According to the information received from P. O. Skjærvø [7], the fragments of a similar manuscript have been discovered by him at the British Library, but left unpublished till now. Before the text having been found, it was generally accepted that the earliest version of the sūtra survived only in the Chinese translation by Dharmakṣema (see Tripitaka Taisho, further abbreviated as TT, No. 664). Dharmakṣema arrived in China in 414 A.D.. He could use for his translation the Sanskrit manuscript, brought by him from India, where a version similar to our one might well be contained. This Sanskrit wording was designated in the J. Nobel edition as the "text A". During the 6—7th centuries several Chinese translators undertook the task, but none of their translations of the sūtra came down to us. Judging by the number of the Chinese manuscripts of the sūtra found in Tun-huang, the translation made by Yijing was much sought-after (TT, No. 665). It should be noted that Yijing and the translators of his school treated the Sanskrit original rather freely, interpreting and explaining the text in their own.

The complete Sanskrit text came down to us in the Nepalese manuscripts of the 11th century. It has not yet been published. One of the most authoritative Nepalese manuscripts is at present in holding of Japan and we know that P. O. Skjærvø is preparing its facsimile edition. As to J. Nobel's edition, he had used all of the Nepalese manuscripts known to him, but had published them only in transliteration [8]. There are a lot of obscure passages in the texts, and Nobel tried to make them clear using the Tibetan translations. The earliest one (Nobel called it "Tib.I") seemed to follow the Sanskrit text of the Nepalese manuscripts almost completely. The later Tibetan translation ("Tib.III") was closer to the Chinese translation by Yijing [9].

The study of the Khotanese version of the sūtra enabled R. E. Emmerick and P. O. Skjærvø to offer a suggestion that Khotanese translators had not know the Sanskrit "Text A" and used for their translation "Text B", more close to that of the Yijing translation. Most of the Khotanese fragments almost completely follow the Nepalese Sanskrit wording published by Nobel.

The sūtra is called "Suvarṇaprabhāsa" in the Tibetan translation "Tib.I" and "Mahāvīyutpatti" [10]. The Nepalese manuscripts, Khotanese version [11] and our fragments contain the name "Suvarṇabhāsa" (without -pra-), which must be evidently considered to be primary.

Let us turn now to the description of the fragments from the I. P. Lavrov collection. There is an inscription on the envelope in which these fragments were enclosed, that they have been bought in Khotan.

## SI L/11

Two fragments of the same manuscript of a big size, contain the different parts of the text. Both are related to the right part of folios, but the right edge itself is torn away. The traces of the patches can be noticed, the first fragment bears them on the left, the second one — on the

right. 10 lines each side, the script can be determined as the Indian Brāhmī. According to the criteria proposed by Lore Sander, palaeography permits to date the manuscript from the 5th century. The text is badly effaced and illegible.

## FRAGMENT I (fig. 1, 2)

Size — 14 × 11,5 cm. The text follows the Nobel edition, pp. 116(1)—122(6) [12]. It corresponds to the end of chapter 8, chapter 9 and the beginning of chapter 10 of the Nepalese version. Incompleteness of the text preserved does not allow us to determine the original division of the version into chapters. But it is evident that there is no colophon between chapter 9 and chapter 10. There are a lot of differences between our text and the Nepalese one. Comparison makes us conclude that our version is much

shorter than the Nepalese one. Its relation to the Chinese translation by Dharmakṣema has not been determined at present, so it may be regarded as one of the future tasks.

All the differences from the Nepalese version will be noted in the appropriate places. The translation into English is not given because of incompleteness of the text. The complete context may be easily reconstructed with the help of the English translation of the Nepalese version made by R.E.Emmerick (see note 4).

## Transliteration

*Recto*

1. [X-odyānavare suvarṇadhvajakāpi nāmo sapta ratnāmay[a...  
No. (Nobel), 116(1—2): *prabhodyānavare Suvarṇadhvajānāmnī saptaratnamaya*
2. [x tad-grhaṃ suśodhitam śodayitavyaḥ susnāta ga[tr]e [...ratnaku]-  
No. 116(4): *svagrhaṃ suśodhayitavyaṃ susnātavyaṃ*
3. [suma-guṇasāgara-vaidūrya-kanakagiri-suvarṇa[ka...  
No. 116(5—6): *Ratnakusumaguṇasāgara vaidūryakanakagirisuvarṇakāñcana*
4. ] [ha]devatāya hastena tasya tathāgatasya pūj]  
No. 116(8): *mahādevyā hastena tasya tathāgatasya pūja*
5. [rājasya trṣkrtvaṃ nāmadheyam uccārayitavyaḥ]  
No. 116(10): *sūtrenrarājasya trṣkrtvā nāmadheyam uccārayitavyaṃ*
6. [nānārasabhir-hārāśca vikṣiptavyaḥ tena kālena śrī ma]  
No. 116(12)—117(1): *nānārasasārāś ca nikṣeptavyāḥ | asya suvarṇabhāsottamasya sūtrenrarājasyānubhāvena tena kālena śrī mahādevi* [13]
7. [gatasya 1 namo bhagavato vimalojvalaratanaśmī [14]  
No. 119(10)—11): *tathāgatasya | namo vimalojjvalaratnasuvarṇabhāsaketos*
8. [śmiprabhāsaubhasya tathāgatasya 4 namo suvarṇa]  
No. 119(12)—13): *Suvarṇabhāsagarbhasya tathāgatasya | na-mah suvarṇasataraśmibhāsagarbhasya*
9. [pasya tathāgatasya 7 [15] namo ratnaketos-tathāgatasya 8 ruc[i]]  
No. 120(2): *Mahāpradīpasya tathāgatasya | namo Ratnaketos tathāgatasya | Ruciraketur*
10. [rudito nāma bodhisatva 4 dharmodgato nāma bodhisatvo 5 pu]  
No. 120(4)—5): *Sadāprarudito nāma bodhisattvaḥ | Dharmodgato nāma bodhisattvaḥ | purastimen*

*Verso*

1. [yus-[nāma tathā]gato 3 utarena dumdubhisvaro nāma tathā] [16]  
No. 120(7): *tāyur nāma tathāgataḥ | utareṇa Dundubhisvaro nāma tathāgataḥ |*
2. ] [a]tha khalu dr̥dhā pr̥thividevatā bhagavatam-etaḍ-avocat ayaṃ bha]  
No. 121(2)—3): *atha khalu Dr̥dhā pr̥thividevatā bhagavantam etaḍ avocat | | ayaṃ bhadanta*
3. [tra g[rā]me vāḥ nagare vāḥ nigame vāḥ arāṇyadeśe vāḥ giri-kā]  
No. 121(4)—5): *yatra grāme vā nagare vā nigame vā janapade vā arāṇyapradeśe vā girikāndare*
4. [me vāḥ nagare vāḥ niga[me v]āḥ arāṇyadeśe vāḥ girikāndare]  
No. 121(6)—7): *grāme vā nagare vā nigame vā janapade vā arāṇyapradeśe vā girikāndare*

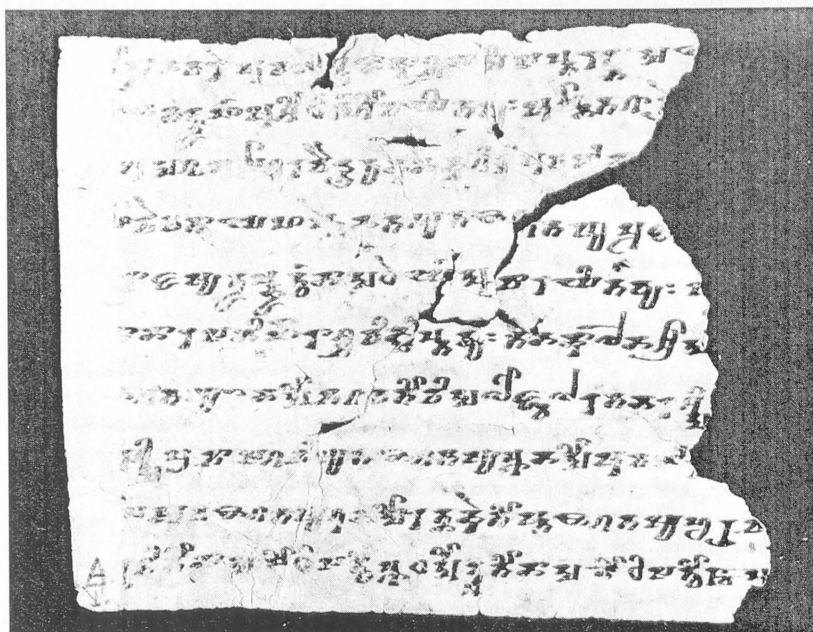


Fig. 1

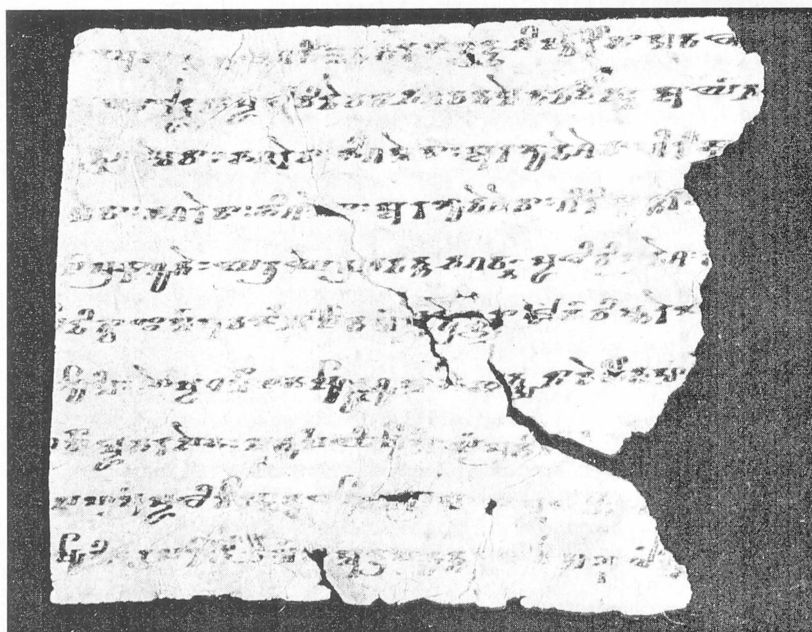


Fig. 2

5. |samprakāśyateḥ yatra yatra bhadanta bhagavan prṥhivi-pradeśaḥ [t]||  
No. 121(8—9): *samprakāśayisyate | yatra yatra ca bhagavan prṥhivīpradeśe tasya*
6. |[s]ādītva imam suvarṇabhāsotamaṁ-sūtrendrarājānaṁ vistareṇa [17]||  
No. 121(11—12): *niśadyemaṁ suvarṇabhāsottamaṁ sūtrendrarājānaṁ vistareṇa*
7. |śyāmiḥ heṣṭa dharmāsanaśyādrśyamanenātṁmabhāvenotamā|  
No. 121(13—14): *āgamisyāmi | ahaṁ dharmāsane gatāsmi adrśyamanenātṁmabhāvenot-  
tamārigena*
8. |dharmāmrtaraseṇaḥ santarpayisyāṁ[i]h samprati|  
No. 122(1): *dharmāmrtaraseṇa samtarpayisyāmi | sampratimānayisyāmi*
9. |sahasraṁ prṥhivī-skandha yāva[d] vajramā[yaṁ] prṥhivī[ta] x|  
No. 122(3—4): *sahasraṁ prṥhiviskandhaṁ yāvadvajramayaṁ prṥhivītalā*
10. |śya[m]i uparito caimam [sa]mudraparyanta prṥhivimaṇḍalaṁ sni|  
No. 122(5—6): *paripūrayisyāmi | uparitaś cemaṁ samudraparyantaṁ prṥhivīmaṇḍalaṁ  
snigdheṇa [18]*

## FRAGMENT II (fig. 3, 4)

Fragment of the same manuscript. Size: 15,5 × 11,5 cm. The traces of a patch are on the right edge. It contains the text of Chapter XVIII — “Vyāghri-parivarta” and follows the text of Nobel edition, pp. 216(1)—221(12). Cf. the

English translation by R.E.Emmerick, pp. 97—99. There are many differences. The text of our fragment is shorter than that of the Nepalese version.

## Transliteration

### Recto

1. |X trame [19] | |atha to rājakumār[o] paramaśokābhibhūto bhāspa|  
No. 216(1): *atha tau rājakumārau paramaśokābhibhūtau bāspapariplutākṣau*
2. |y[u]kta prāvaraṇaṁ kṛṣṭavikṛṣṭāni ca asthāni rudira[k]a[r]d[amā][ni]||  
No. 216(3—4): *yuṣṭam prāvaraṇaṁ kṛṣṭavikṛṣṭāni cāsthāni rudhirakardamāni*
3. |upalabhyorasthāyordhvabāhuvā [20] artasvara bubhuktaṁ [21] xx|  
No. 216(6): *upalabhyorasthāyordhvabāhū ārtasvaraṁ mumucatuḥ |*
4. |h krto [22] yuvābhya kamalāyatekṣaṇaḥ aho vāsmā|  
No. 216(10)—217(1): *{gāthā}: kva vā yuvābhyāṁ kamalāyatekṣaṇaḥ | | 12 aho hi  
asmākam*
5. |pr[a]drakṣyāma viyoga-janma [23] ha | |atha to rājakumāro x|  
No. 217(4): *{the last line of the gāthā}: dāsyāmahe darśanaṁ ambatātayoh | | 13 {Then —  
No. 217(5): aha tau rājakumārau*
6. |parasparā drṣṭvā prcchantiḥ [24] kva kumāra kva kumāra itiḥ [25]||  
No. 217(7): *parasparaṁ drṣṭvā papracchuḥ | kva kumāraḥ kva kumāra iti |*
7. |x cchidymāno dantotpātaṇaṁ ca kriyamāṇaḥ traya kapota|  
No. 217(9—10): *stanau cchidyamānau dantotpātaṇaṁ ca kriyamāṇaṁ trayah kapota*
8. |yā sahasā pratiprabuddhaḥ xx cintāparā babhūvaḥ | |k[im] [26] |  
No. 218(1—2): *hrdayā sahasā prativibudhya cintāparā babhūva | | kim*
9. |taḥ iha duḥkha kurvanti 'ngā [spurati ca] naya[nam] svastān[am]||  
No. 218(4)—219(1): *sūcayatiḥ | duḥkhaṁ kurvanti me 'ngā sphurati ca nayanam  
svastānaṁ*
10. |brantahrdayā praviśa devānaṁ xx yāma xxx kumār[am]||  
No. 219(3—4): *saṁbhrāntahrdayā praviśya devyā nivedayāmāsa | devī kumārāparicārahā  
kumāram*

### Verso

1. |hrdayāḥ bhāspakulanaya xxx rājā x abhigamya xx |  
No. 219(5—6): *hrdayā bāspakulanayanavadanā rājānaṁ abhigamyovāca*
2. |yukto 'smi pr[i]yasutai[h] [v]ya xx atha devāyam [27]-āśvāsāyāmāsa|  
No. 219(8—9): *vyukto 'smi priyasutena | | aha rājā devīm āśvāsāyāmāsa |*



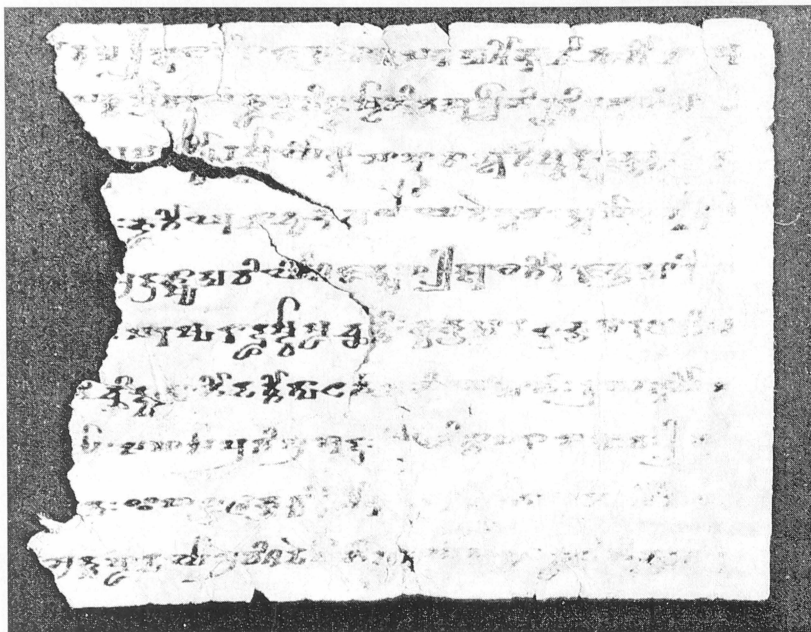


Fig. 3

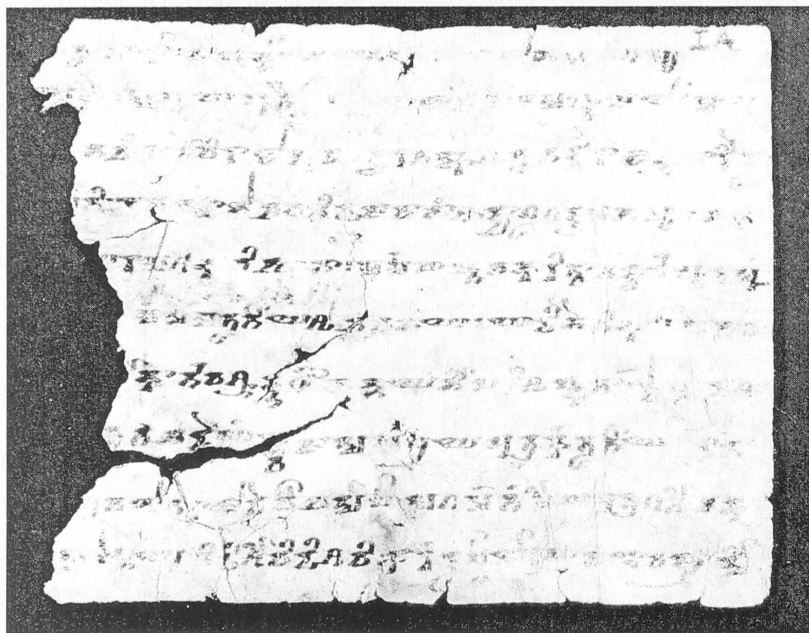


Fig. 4

3. ]nacirādevo rājā ada[rśa] durata āgacchat[au] dvau rājaku[mā]rau dr[  
No. 220(1): *atha nacirād eva rājā dadarśa dūrata āgacchantau rājakumārau dr̥ṣṭvā*
4. ]iti eva[m] narāṇā[m] bhavati tu sa vināṁśād [28]-yādṛśa durmanasyah nanu[  
No. 220(4—6): *pr̥t̥ir [29] evaṁ narāṇāṁ bhavati sutaviyogād yādṛśaṁ daur-*  
*manasyam | nanu*
5. ]paramaś[o]kābhībhitāḥ marmahasta ca karitvā [30] tad-vartasvara mu[  
No. 220(8): *atha devī | paramaśokābhībhitā marmahasteva karabhī ārtasvaram mumoca |*
6. ]maṁ sama tṛtīya śubhatanayaḥ yadi neti kāyo me ta x[ [31]  
No. 220(11): *me samas tṛtīyaḥ śubhatanayo yadi naiti kanyaso me | | 16*
7. ]-okārtav-aśrū durdhāvan-nayano [32] pariśuṣkatālvoṣṭhādaśa [   
No. 221(2—3): *śokārtāv aśrudurdinanayanau pariśuṣkatālvoṣṭhādaśa navadanau*
8. ]te ca dehaṁ kva sa mama priyaputrakam tṛtīya h[r]da[ [33]  
No. 221(5—7): *paripīḍyati ca dehaṁ kva sa mama priyaputras tṛtīyo hṛdayam*
9. ]śravanena rājādevī ca mohām-agamaṁtaṁ [34] moha putragato [35] ca ka[  
No. 221(8—9): *sahaśravanena rājā devī ca moham upagatāḥ mohapratyāgatāś ca karuṇa-*  
*saram*
10. ]nvā sneyuni [36] diśo vidiśa vikāram dr̥ṣṭvā yāntrahata iva drumo [37] [   
No. 221(11—12): *māṁsa snāyuni diśo vidiśaś ca keśān vikirṇam dr̥ṣṭvā vā tahatāv iva*  
*drumau*

### SI L/10 (fig. 5, 6)

The fragment of some other manuscript, pothī folio, 22,5 × 7,5 cm, the edges are damaged. There are several lacunas on the folio. 7 incomplete lines each side. Traces of pagination: f. No. 68(?). The script can be determined as Indian Brāhmī. According to palaeography it can be dated

to the 6—7th centuries. The text follows Nobel edition, pp. 113(2)—114(3). It contains a part of chapter 8 — “Chapter about [goddess] Śrī”. See English translation by R. E. Emmerick, pp. 51—52.

### Transliteration

#### Recto

1. xxatināmāya [xxxxxxxxxxxx]ndra-rā xxxx vividhā xxxx  
No. 113(2): *rātrīdivasānyatināmāyeta itaś ca suvarṇabhāsottamāt sūtrendra-rājān nānā*  
*vidhāni padavyān-*
2. janāni cinteyāti vyaparikṣeya[tū] [x]p[ā]layāti [38]. yena ayaṁ suvarṇabhā[s]uttamam sūtre-  
No. 113(3): *janāny upanāmayet vyaparikṣeta yenāyaṁ suvarṇabhāsottamaḥ sūtre-*
3. ndrārājā teṣa buddha xx sahasro x[u]kta kuśalamūlānaṁ satvānām arthāya ciraṁ jambud-  
vipe pra-  
No. 113(4): *ndrarājas teṣāṁ buddha sahasrāvaruptakuśala-mūlānāṁ sattvānām arthāya*  
*ciraṁ jambudvipe pra-*
4. [ca]reyāti na ca kṣipraṁ antardhāpeyāti satvā ca imaṁ suvarṇabhāsuttamam sūtrendra-rā-  
No. 113(5): *caret | na ca kṣipraṁ antardhāpayet | sattvāś ca suvarṇabhāsottamaṁ*  
*sūtrendra-rā-*
5. [ja] xxxxxxxx [a]nekaṇi ca [ka]lpā-koti-niyuta-śata-sahasrāṇi acintika. divyamānuṣyēkā  
No. 113(6): *jānaṁ śṛṇuyur anekāni ca | kalpakotiṇiyutaśata sahasrāṇy acintyāni*  
*divyamānuṣyaka-*
6. xxxxxxxxxxxyāti xxx antardhāpeyāti [s]u[bh]i[kṣa] ca prādurbhaveyāti satvā x  
No. 113(7): *ni sukhāni pratyānubhaveyuh durbhikṣaśca antardhāpayet subhikṣaś ca*  
*prādurbhavet | sattvāś*
7. {the line is torn away}

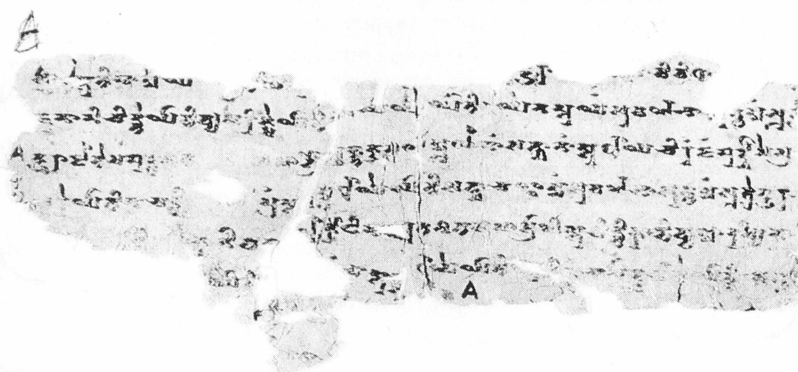


Fig. 5

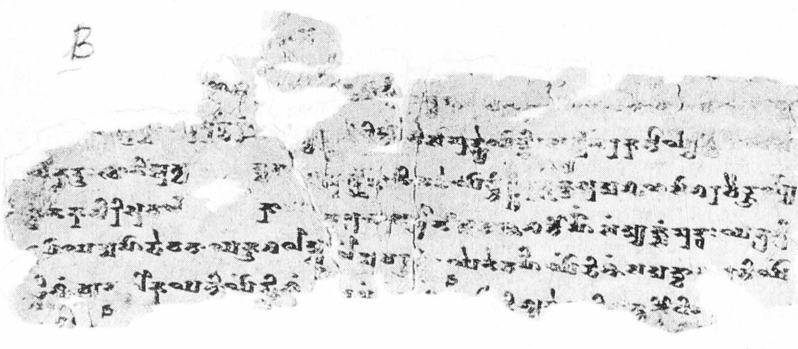


Fig. 6

## Verso

1. {the line is torn away}
2. {the line is torn away}
3. xxxx adhva[ni] anuttarāṃ [sam]ya[ksambo]dhi abhisambuddhyeanti. sarvva[sya] naraka-  
tīryakyo[niyama]  
No. 113(10): *anāgate 'dhvani cānuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyeran | sarva-  
narakatīryagyoniyama-*
4. [l]o[ka]-duhkhāni atyanta. [sa] mucchīnāni bha[v]e[ya]nti | | ratnakusumaguṇasāgaravaiḍ  
ūrya-  
No. 113(11): *lokaduḥkhāny atyantasamucchināni bhavayur iti | | ratnakusumaguṇasāgara-  
vaiḍūrya-*
5. kanakagirisuvarṇakā[ñca]naprabhāsa-śrīr-nāma tathāgatorhaṃ sammyaksambuddhaḥ yatra  
śrī-  
No. 113(12): *kanakagirisuvarṇakāñcanaprabhāsaśrīr nāma tathāgato 'rhaṃ samyaksam-  
buddhaḥ | yatra śrī-*
6. yāya mahādevatāya kuśala-mūlaṃ avaruṭṭaṃ. yenetarhi yāṃ diśāṃ samanvā[ha]rati yāṃ  
No. 113(12)—114(1): *yā mahādevatayā kuśalamūlaṃ avaruṭṭaṃ | yena itarhi yāṃ yāṃ  
diśāṃ sa samanvāharati | yāṃ*
7. [d]iśāṃ vya[pa]lokayati yāṃ diś[a]ṃ [up]asaṃ xxxxxxxxāṃ diśyane [kā]ni [sa]tvā-koṭi[ni]  
No. 114(2—3): *yāṃ diśāṃ avalokayati | yāṃ yāṃ diśāṃ upasaṃkramati | tasyāṃ tasyāṃ  
diśy anekani satvakoṭīnīyutaśatasahasrāṇi*

## Notes

1. P. I. Lavrov, the secretary of the Russian consulate in Kashgar during the first decade of the XX century. He enjoyed finding old manuscripts and artifacts. All the antiquities collected by him was sent to St. Petersburg, to the Russian Committee for Central and Eastern Asia Studies.

2. N. D. Mironov, "Iz rukopisnykh materialov ekspeditsii Berezovskogo v Kuchu" ("From the manuscripts brought from Kucha by the Berezovsky expedition"), *Mélange Asiatique* 14 (St. Petersburg, 1909—10), pp. 97—112.

3. R. Hoernle (ed.), *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*. Facsimiles with Transcripts, Translations and Notes (Oxford, 1916), pp. 108—15.

4. R. E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of Golden Light, Being a Translation of the Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* (Oxford, 1990), p. XII.

5. The woodcut is published: *The Lost Empire of the Silk Road. Buddhist Art from Khara-Khoto (X—XIIIth century)*, Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation (Electa, Milan, 1993), No. 77.

The Uighur version of the preface is published by S. E. Malov: Latin transcription, translation into Russian. See: S. E. Malov, *Pamiatniki drevnetiurkskoi pis'mennosti. Teksty i issledovaniia* ("The monuments by the Old-Turkish writing. Texts and investigations", Moscow—Leningrad, 1951), pp. 145—61.

6. English translation of the preface was made by P. O. Skjærvø and published by R. E. Emmerick: *The Sūtra of Golden Light*, pp. 115—6.

7. The author would like to express his gratitude to M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya for this information received by her directly from P. O. Skjærvø.

8. J. Nobel, *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra, Das Goldglanzsūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus* (Leipzig, 1937).

9. Tib.I — the Tibetan translation of the first half of the 8th century A.D., see *Bka'-'gyur, Sde-dge* edition, section *Rgyud-'bum*, vol. pa, No. 556. Two other Tibetan translations were made in the first part of the 9th century, they are Tib.II and Tib.III. Tib.II is not much differed from the first translation. Tib.III follows the Chinese translation by Yijing. Nobel was the one who published Latin transliteration of all the three: *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra, Das Goldglanz-Sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus, Die tibetischen Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch*. Vol. I, *Die tibetischen Übersetzungen* 2 (Leiden-Stuttgart, 1944), *Wörterbuch Tibetisch-Deutsch-Sanskrit* (Leiden, 1950).

10. See the Buddhist Encyclopaedia "Mahāvīyūtpatti", No. 1339.

11. See H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts I* (Cambridge, 1945), pp. 232—57.

12. The Nobel edition is unfortunately absent in the libraries of St. Petersburg. The comparison of the text at hand with the Nobel edition was made, according to my request, by M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya at the time of her stay in Hamburg in September, 1994.

13. There is not the text in our fragment following 12 lines of Nepalese version on p. 117 of the Nobel edition, 8 lines of that on p. 118 and 7 lines on p. 119, including the colophon of the chapter 8. There is only the end of the first name of bhagavān, by which the chapter 9 of Nepalese version starts. The figures after the proper names are absent in Nepalese version. Because of the vagueness of the Nepalese manuscripts J. Nobel reconstructed the proper names on p. 119(10—3) according to the Tibetan translation. The Sanskrit text of our fragment made it possible to clarify some these names. So the most important differences are the absence of the passage on the aid of the goddess Śrī to believers and the dhārāni which must be pronounced to invoke this goddess. Another difference is the absence of the colophon of chapter 8. As we can conclude, this chapter was not separated from chapter 9.

14. Nobel reconstructed this name according to the Tibetan translation as *Vimalojjvalaratnaraśmiprabhāṣaketu*. Our fragment does not confirm this reconstruction.

15. *Mahāpradīpasya tathāgatasya* is not the seventh name in the Nepalese version, but the eighth one; accordingly *Ratnaketur* is the ninth one.

16. After the fourth name chapter 10 evidently begins in our manuscript. There are 5 additional lines in the Nepalese version [No. 120(8—12)] and the colophon of chapter 9. In this text it is explained that the glorification of the above mentioned names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas will help to receive the best rebirth.

17. The text of our fragment was apparently shorter than that of the Nepalese version.

18. Cf. the English translation of the Nepalese text: R. E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of Golden Light*, pp. 52—6.

19. We could not correspond the end of this word with the Nepalese version.

20. Skr. — *asthāya* “standing” (Absol.) in the Nepalese manuscript is replaced by Prakrit *utthāya*.

21. *bū* — in *bubhuktaṃ* is inserted under the line; this word means “found; became in possession” (Perf. periphr.), in the Nepalese version it is replaced by *mumucatuh* “uttered, emitted”.

22. The word *kyta* “made” is absent in the Nepalese version, instead there is *trīyaḥ kva* in previous line, and the translation of this text must be: “where is the third one of you, he, whose eyes are long like [the petals] of the lotus?” (translation by R. E. Emmerick).

23. *viyoga-janma* — “the loss of life”, there is the direct hint to the death of the prince, or it means “the loss of the [new] birth”. We have an absolutely different text in the Nepalese version, cf. “*mahīpradēse maraṇaṃ na jīvitam*”: R. E. Emmerick translated it “[better for us] in this part of the earth would be death than life” (p. 98). According to our fragment, it would probably be better to translate this text as “There is death in this part of the earth, no life”.

24. In our fragment — *prcchanti*, 3, Pres. Pl., in the Nepalese version — *papracchuh*, 3, Perf. Pl.

25. The text of our fragment is much shorter.

26. The beginning of a gāthā.

27. There is apparently a slip of the pen in our fragment: *devāyam*, Dat.Sg. *devāya* “to the king”, in the Nepalese version — *devim*, Acc.Sg., Fem., — “the queen”.

28. *vināśād* or *vanāśād*, there is apparently a slip of the pen, instead of *vināśād*, Abl.Sg., “from the loss”. In the Nepalese version — the other text: “*sutta-viyogād*” — “from the loss of son”.

29. The first line of the gāthā No. 15. This gāthā might be shorter in our fragment, there are some differences here.

30. There is a difference in meaning: “*marmahasta ca karivā*” — lit. “making the hands become weak”, “weakening the hands”, the text of the Nepalese version — “*marmahateva karabhī*” — “like she-camel smitten in her vital part” (translation by R. E. Emmerick).

31. Text of the gāthā No. 16, last line, the difference: “*yadi neti kāyo me*” — “if my body is not [in my possession]”, in the Nepalese version — “*yadi naiti kanyaso me*” — “if my youngest does not come”.

32. In our fragment — “*aśrū durdhāvan-nayano*” — “with the pupils full with the tears [which] cannot be dried”; in the Nepalese version — “*aśrudurdinanayanau*” — “their eyes clouded by tears”.

33. Text of the gāthā No. 17.

34. In our fragment — “*mohām-agamaṃtam*” — “becoming rigid (or “in a mist”), [they turned] in immobility”; in the Nepalese version — “*moham upagatāḥ*” — “became senseless”.

35. In our fragment — “*moha putragato*” — “the sense went out to the son”; in the Nepalese version — “*mohapratyāgatāśca*” — “[as they] had returned to [their] senses”.

36. A slip of the pen: instead of *snāyini*.

37. In our fragment — “*yāntrahata iva drumo*” — “as the roots of the tree (lit. “the device which keeps”) are torn away”; in the Nepalese version — “*vā tahaṭāv iva drumau*” — “like trees buffeted by the wind”.

38. This text is omitted in the Nepalese manuscript.

### Illustrations

Fig.1. SI L/11, fragment I, recto.

Fig.2. SI L/11, fragment I, verso.

Fig.3. SI L/11, fragment II, recto.

Fig.4. SI L/11, fragment II, verso.

Fig.5. SI L/10, recto.

Fig.6. SI L/10, verso.

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# TO THE HISTORY OF ORIENTAL TEXTOLOGY

*E. Kychanov*

## WEN-HAI BAO-YUN: THE BOOK AND ITS FATE

At the beginning of the 18th century there was a wide discussion on the problem of instituting the post of the professor of Oriental languages within the Academy of Sciences. In connection with this discussion M. V. Lomonosov resolutely declared: "Because of our neighbourhood (*i. e.* Russia's Asian neighbours) we need not just one professor, but an Oriental Academy will prove to be useful". These words are still true, because in our days the Oriental influence on the development of Russia is still strong.

After the Asiatic Museum had been established within the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1818, purchase, preservation, publication and study of Oriental manuscripts and incunabulae became one of the principal trends of Orientalistics in Russia. In fact, the Asiatic Museum was the direct predecessor of the present-day St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental studies. Both in the 19th and the 20th centuries it was impossible to carry out successful Oriental politics without understanding and knowledge of the history and culture of the peoples of the East. At the same time, from a purely scholastic point of view, penetration into history, culture, linguistics, literature of the peoples of the East is crucial for a deeper understanding of human heritage as a whole. This scholastic work, bringing together peoples and continents, adds to the reputation of Russian science for services in preservation of the cultural heritage of Oriental peoples. This work is even more important if we take into account, that some cultural monuments have not survived in their native countries, such as China, India, Japan, in spite of their long cultural tradition. Who could believe that an unknown version of the popular Chinese novel "The dream of the Red Mansion" would be discovered in the collection of Chinese block-prints in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies. One more example: some books which belonged to Japanese sailors, shipwrecked by the Kamchatka shore, are now the only evidence on what common people liked to read in the 18th century Japan. It is not surprising therefore, that the Tangut manuscripts of unique value are available in the collection of the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies.

The history of the study of the script and literature of the Tangut state Xi-xia (982—1227) is rather mysterious and enigmatic. It is true both of the books and the people.

Tragic was the faith of the Tangut state and people: according to the will of the Eternal Heaven, which they so deeply revered, the invincible Chingis-khan found his end during his conquest of Xi-xia. The consequences of this event were rather unhappy for the Tanguts: the Mongols, possessed by sorrow, expressed their grief in massacre and total destruction of the Tangut state. Though by the end of the 16th century the Jurchen people resurrected as the Manchu, the Tanguts, the indigenous population of Xi-xia, could never recover as a nation and became a part of the Muslim population of Ning-xia — now the Autonomous region of the Gansu province of China. By the 16th century even the buddhist remnants of the Tangut civilization seem to have disappeared.

On August 1, 1900 the troops of the eight allied powers — Britain, France, the USA, Japan, Germany, Austria, Russia and Italy — entered Beijing. The Manchu court fled from the capital.

Three members of French Embassy: Paul Pelliot, Fernan Bertrand, and M. Morisse were rummaging a pile of books thrown out of the White Pagoda. Among these they found five books written in unknown script, in gold ink on dark-blue and white paper leaves. Bertrand and Morisse shared those books between them. Bertrand kept his books as a souvenir. After his death his widow had all the books sold away to different persons. Later the books were purchased by the Guymet museum. Judging by the type of the books M. Morisse suggested, that these were Buddhist texts. The type of engraving which preceded the main text as well as several Chinese signs that accompanied the unknown script, brought him to the conclusion that this was the famous "Lotus sutra". M. Morisse bravely started to compare the Chinese and the unknown text, thus continuing the task that had been once undertaken by some Chinese [1]. He succeeded in establishing the meaning and approximate pronunciation of about 300 characters of the unknown script. The latter was defined by M. Morisse as

the script of Xi-xia or the Tanguts. He also made the first contribution into the study of the grammar of the language and identified the ideographic character of the script, which had been designed after the Chinese pattern. He published the results of his research in 1904 [2].

It should be taken into account, that it was M. Morisse and none other of the future experts in Tangut studies, who actually deciphered the script (if not to mention the certain marks on the text, that were made by someone else, probably a Chinaman.) All further developments in the field of the Tangut studies took place after the discovery of the Tangut-Chinese and Chinese-Tangut dictionary of Gule Mao'ai (compl. 1190) found by P. K. Kozlov in the dead city of Khara-Khoto.

Much was written about the famous Russian traveller and explorer of Inner Asia P. K. Kozlov. Along with his outstanding achievement in natural sciences, his discovery and excavations of the dead city of Khara-Khoto present a great contribution to humanitarian studies. Among the Russian travellers there were two more — G. N. Potanin and V. A. Obruchev — who were aware of the rumours of a ruined and abandoned city somewhere in the lower reaches of the Edzina river. The discovery of the city lost in the south of the Gobi desert looked a promising task. It urged the Imperial Geographic Society of Russia to launch a new Mongol-Sichuan expedition. Among the tasks set before P. K. Kozlov was the location of the city lost in sands.

In Mongolia P. K. Kozlov came to know, that many Mongols were well aware of the dead city. A fine dinner and a gift of gramophone inspired one of the local chieftains to provide the expedition with a guide to Khara-Khoto. In March 1908 five members of the expedition and two Mongols left for Khara-Khoto on twelve camels. They reached their destination on April 1 and stayed there till April 13. These were the days of extensive research and excavations to some extent hindered by the lack of archaeological background of the participants. As P. K. Kozlov himself noted in his "Diary", those days were full of "digging, crushing, and breaking". The finds were not located and described systematically. Kozlov even was absent from Khara-Khoto for several days. Besides the discovery of a number of objects of Buddhist material culture, Kozlov was inspired by a "large collection of well preserved scripts and documents" [3]. Obviously, the discovered texts were written in Chinese and Tangut. But neither P. K. Kozlov nor his companions had any knowledge of the Chinese language and writing, therefore it was impossible for him to "penetrate into the mystery of the scripts" right on the spot.

On April 10, staying outside Khara-Khoto in Torai-Ontsa valley, P. K. Kozlov wrote a letter to the secretary of the Geographic Society A. A. Dostoevsky. The letter was sent to Russia together with the objects found. In this letter P. K. asked academician S. F. Oldenburg and prof. P. S. Popov to examine the Khara-Khoto finds [4].

In December 1908 in the Guidui valley of North-Eastern Tibet (modern Heyin, Qinghai prov.) P. K. Kozlov received a reply from the deputy president of the Geographic Society A. V. Grigoriev. Kozlov noted in his diary: "A. V. Grigoriev in the capacity of the deputy president informed me ... about my undertakings and their results in Khara-Khoto. Actually it is the Tangut capital of Xi-xia, which existed in the 11—14 centuries. It seems,

that the Geographic Society is very happy about this discovery. They suggest, that on my return way I should visit the historical town again to add something new to the materials already discovered and transported to Petersburg" [5]. The diary note is confirmed by a draft letter to the Secretary of the Royal Geographic Society in London. P. K. Kozlov informed the Society that the third phase of his expedition will be dedicated to "additional and more detailed survey of the dead city of Khara-Khoto. In the meanwhile I've received a letter from the deputy president of Russian Geographic Society. Having examined the scripts and other documents, that I forwarded to Petersburg, he hurries to congratulate me that Khara-Khoto, I discovered is Xi-xia, the capital of the The Tangut kingdom which existed in 11—14 centuries... When You, Sir, will receive this letter, I will be on my way to southern Mongolia, and two months later will probably reach my beloved ruins of Xi-xia" [6].

With all respect to my colleagues, I still can not understand, who and why came to the conclusion that P. K. Kozlov had "found" the capital of Xi-xia state. As early as 1833 a large monograph by Rev. Hyacinth "The History of Tibet and Kokonor" appeared. The book contained vast Chinese materials on the history of Xi-xia. By the time of P. K. Kozlov's expedition the Tangut capital was identified as the city of Ningxia (modern Yinchuan). Still, the magic of "the discovered capital" continued to attract human imagination even much later (see the works by L. N. Gumilev).

From the Tangut sources we know now, that Khara-Khoto was a frontier fortress of Xi-xia, an inferior place settled with exiled criminals. It was, however, important as a citadel on the northern border of Xi-xia. The town was destroyed not by the Mongols but by the Chinese in 1374, during the Chinese-Mongol wars that took place in the course of the establishment of the Ming dynasty in China.

Following the order of the Geographic Society P. K. Kozlov returned to Khara-Khoto by the end of May 1909.

The 4th of June: "At 10 in the morning through the dusty mist we finally saw the grey walls of Khara-Khoto, and half an hour later entered the fortress and camped not far from the Western Gate by the corner of the North-Western suburgan... [7] From the very first day we started to find texts, mostly in Chinese, paper money notes, pottery and kitchenware, ancient tools, utensils, etc.". We have absolutely no idea, what Khara-Khoto is going to present us. Last time, at least, we have quite extensively examined the site itself and the surroundings of Khara-Khoto. Now we find no more coins, beads or metal decorations. Standing on the walls of Khara-Khoto one can see the beauty and convenience of its location. In the N-W region was the residence of the prince, along the northern, western and southern walls there were temples and stupas. ... In the south-western region — gardens and small vegetable fields, ... in the south-eastern corner — horse-stables and the garrison quarters. ... The main avenue is running straight towards the high building in the center. This building was encircled by another finally leading straight towards the Eastern Gate [8].

Judging by his diary, P. K. Kozlov was sometimes absent from the site of excavations; finds, even special ones, were not located on the plan of the city. P. K. Kozlov had

some idea of how the Tibetan script looked like, but apparently was not able to distinguish between the Chinese and the Tangut characters. It all looked similar to him.

Since excavations within the city limits were not producing the desired number of finds, P. K. Kozlov sent some people to survey its outskirts and also decided to open a big stupa standing on the right bank of the dry river-bed, about 400 meters from the western wall. The stupa was 10 metres high and consisted of the basement, the middle part and the conic dome damaged either by time or by robbers (*i. e.* there had been earlier attempts to open the stupa).

On June 12 the expedition began to excavate the stupa, where as we can assume, the major part of the Tangut books was found. These excavations made P. K. Kozlov famous as the discoverer of the Tangut books and manuscripts.

"The 30th of May. After inspecting the Mongols working, I joined my companions, who were examining one of the biggest stupas 200 sazhen (400 m.) to the west of the town. The survey proved, that it was rich in buddhist images and Chinese texts. Much of them were moved to the camp by 9 A. M., therefore I left the site immediately and went to the camp to sort them, clean off dust and prepare to pack. Like the stupa excavated last year, this one contained all kinds of books, pads, scrolls, icons. Found a very ancient mandala. One may assume, that a section of the stupa's dome collapsed and threw down the statues; or probably they were thrown there from the beginning, as well as books, scrolls and icons" [9].

The excavations of the stupa took nine days and were finished by June 20th. The books were moved to the camp on a big tar canvas and sorted there. Since no one in the expedition knew Oriental languages, this sorting "by shapes and formats" or by other criteria unknown to us, is one of the reasons for the chaos in the Tangut collection, which we are still not able to overcome. P. K. Kozlov himself attended the excavations rather irregularly. Only one diary note dated June 15, describing the interior of the stupa has survived: "Today I took a walk to the stupa, to find out how many archeological objects still remains there, and came to the conclusion, that my guys were right, saying that we had taken no more than a half. In the upper part of the stupa everything is clear, big wooden and clay images in sitting postures are arranged around the wall, and in the middle — books and texts, big and small, in covers and folders, pads and scrolls" [10]. If we compare two diary notes dated June 12 and June 15 we shall see, that in the course of the excavations P. K. Kozlov wrote sometimes about books chaotically "thrown" into the stupa and sometimes about books arranged in some order in front of the images. Later, when the news of the Khara-Khoto finds ("the pearl of my investigations in Inner Asia", as Kozlov himself once wrote) became known to the world, and Kozlov became world-famous, he became more inclined to think, that everything within the stupa had been in perfect. "Opened the famous stupa. It was full of treasures. When we removed the top we saw books in silk covers, standing in hundreds on shelves in complete order. Found more than 2000 books" [11]. At present we may presume, that both sides of this contradictory estimation of "chaos" and "order" were equally true. At the bottom of the stupa, "on the floor", as Kozlov said, a grave was found, occupying the area of 3 × 4 m, belonging, as later estab-

lished, to a female. Wooden and clay images were "sitting" around the deceased and books were arranged in front of them for their reading. Icons (thangkas) were hanging on the walls. The natural-size images were of exquisite style. On July 19 P. K. Kozlov noted in his diary: "I enjoy the sight of the exquisite heads of the images while writing. Some of them are made so artistically that look almost alive". "Judging by the completion of the images one can see that the artist had a sense of classical beauty" [12]. The freshness and brightness of the colors of the icons found in the stupa were surprising. But as soon as the icons were touched or moved, the paints were peeling off.

At the top books and objects could be in disorder. Probably, something could be added to the stupa after the funeral, especially in winter and spring 1226, on the eve of the Mongol invasion. From P. K. Kozlov's diary we know that two stupas were opened, and there were some finds within the town limits. We may suggest, that a number of buddhist texts were put into the stupa after the funeral, as a precaution before the possible invasion.

On July 19 P. K. Kozlov left the following note: "I would like to take everything but have no resources to do so". Some part of the objects he could not take with him he buried in sand. There is only one note in the diary that contains some directions on the location of this burial: "Before we left Khara-Khoto, we took out the remaining part of our treasures and buried in sand by the descent from the fortress, to the south of the stupa, close to the wall". P. K. Kozlov could not find these things during his second expedition to Mongolia and Khara-Khoto in 1923—1927, and it is possible that these objects, especially the outstanding sculpture that was inside "the famous stupa", are still there.

Originally, everything that P. K. Kozlov brought from Khara-Khoto was stored in the Geographic Society. On January 29, 1910 P. K. Kozlov wrote to S. Th. Oldenburg from Moscow: "All the Khara-Khoto materials are stored meanwhile in the free upper rooms of the Society. A. I. Ivanov and V. L. Kotvitch are involved in its sorting. Ivanov has found a dictionary that provides a possibility to decipher the script of Xi-xia [13]. ... The question of the future destiny of Khara-Khoto is not yet settled. I, personally, incline in favour of the Academy or the Asiatic Museum. Hope. You have the same views, don't You?" [14]

Everything went according to his expectations. All books and manuscripts were handed over to the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences, the direct predecessor of the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies. Icons, sculpture, etc. first went to the Ethnological Department of the Russian Museum. Later they were transferred to the Hermitage.

Thus "Wen-hai bao-yun" was placed in the Asiatic Museum. This Museum at first was located in a group of buildings adjacent to the St. Petersburg Academic Center on the University embankment 5. Later the Museum was transferred to the new building of the Academic Library. In 1930 it became the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences. Here the manuscripts and books from Khara-Khoto survived the siege of Leningrad. After the war they were moved to their present location — to Dvortsovaya embankment 18.

Initially prof. A. I. Ivanov was involved in sorting and identifying the manuscripts. Besides "Fan-han he-shi



zhang-zhong zhu" he discovered Tangut explanatory dictionaries — "The Homophones" (Tong-yin) and "The Sea of Scripts" (Wen-hai) and also thematic dictionaries. It is hard to say whether "Wen-hai bao-yun" was among the dictionaries identified by A. I. Ivanov. In his paper dated to 1918, "The Monuments of the Tangut Writing" A. I. Ivanov mentions: "I. A dictionary of the Tangut signs arranged according to their initial sounds (labial, palatal, alveolar) without detailed explanations. II. A dictionary of the Tangut signs compiled after the pattern of the famous Tang dictionary "Guangyun" and titled "The Sea of Scripts". III. A thematic one (with no title)" [15], *i. e.* A. I. Ivanov mentions here the three dictionaries: "The Homophones", "The Sea of Scripts" and "The Mixture of Signs". "Wen-hai bao-yun" — "The Precious Rhymes of the Sea of Signs" is not mentioned here.)

By 1918 A. I. Ivanov compiled a Tangut-Chinese-Russian dictionary covering 3000 characters. The dictionary was submitted to the Academy of Sciences Publishing House, but the publication was cancelled because of the civil war in Russia. On February 9, 1935, A. I. Ivanov wrote in a letter to V. M. Alexeyev: "It is a pity, that Nevsky has not examined my manuscript, which had been left in the Academy and remained there from 1919 till 1922, when I took it back because of my decision not to write anything again. My manuscript bears the marks of being taken and returned". This dictionary disappeared probably in summer 1937, when A. I. Ivanov was arrested as a Japanese spy. As the investigation claimed, he had been recruited by the Japanese intelligence during the Russian-Japanese war of 1905. He was arrested as the head of the group of orientologists (his student N. A. Nevsky was also among the arrested in autumn 1937 in Leningrad. At the beginning of the 60s the Leningrad Institute of Oriental Studies officially addressed the KGB (State Security) for any information about Ivanov's dictionary. The reply was that KGB archives did not possess this manuscript.

After the October revolution, A. I. Ivanov was involved in diplomatic service in China. Later he lived in Moscow. He was no longer involved in the Tangut studies. After N. A. Nevsky had returned from Japan, A. I. Ivanov abandoned "the Tangut affairs" completely.

A. I. Ivanov was N. A. Nevsky's teacher of the Japanese language along with Yoshitomi Kurano and G. I. Dolya. He was also the supervisor of N. A. Nevsky's work during the first years of his stay in Japan — Nevsky went there at the beginning of his university career. Later they met in Beijing in 1925. During this meeting, probably under Ivanov's influence, N. A. Nevsky decided to devote himself to the study of Tangut texts.

Until the end of the 20s continuous studies of the Tangut manuscripts were going on in the Asiatic Museum. At the time when this work was handed over to A. A. Dragunov, there rose unbelievable rumours, that besides the "Fan-han he-shi zhang-zhong zhu" there existed one more Tangut-Chinese dictionary and a Tangut-Tibetan dictionary. On February 13, 1930 in his reply to the V. M. Alexeyev (who at that time was the keeper of Far-Eastern manuscripts), A. I. Ivanov wrote: "When sorting the Tangut collection, I came across no other bilingual Tangut-Chinese texts (*i. e.* different from Fan-han he-shi zhang-zhong zhu. — E. K.). It is quite obvious, that if there were any other dictionaries, I would have made them known to the public... Finally, I must say that: 1. I

regret that my efforts to compile the dictionary were lost in vain; 2. that N. A. (Nevsky. — E. K.) could not find the things in the Museum in their proper places. ... In Beijing, for instance, N. A. has seen 1. photographs of a Tangut-Tibetan bilingua, which he successfully published. Its original is in the Museum. 2. Three dictionaries — they are all in the Museum, one of them in several copies, if I'm correct".

Thus we don't know, if the first investigator of the the Tangut collection A. I. Ivanov has seen the dictionary "Wen-hai bao-yun".

Since 1930 N. A. Nevsky started his research of the Tangut collection and Tangut texts. We know nothing about N. A. Nevsky's contacts with A. I. Ivanov after his return to Leningrad in 1929. The situation itself was rather puzzling: by that time sinology in Leningrad was under total control of academician V. M. Alexeyev, who was also N. A. Nevsky's University professor. A. I. Ivanov had long been V. M. Alexeyev's rival since the time of their joint professorship in the University. V. M. Alexeyev patronage over N. A. Nevsky, whom he considered the best of his students, distracted from the Tangut studies both A. I. Ivanov, who lived in Moscow, and A. A. Dragunov, engaged in the Tangut studies at the end of the 20s and later becoming famous as a student of Chinese linguistics.

We know, that "Wen-hai bao-yun" was found by P. K. Kozlov in the dead city of Khara-Khoto, though we don't know where exactly — probably in the "famous stupa". The dictionary, together with all other manuscripts and books, arrived to St. Petersburg, where the whole collection was handed over to the Asiatic Museum. There were no traces of this dictionary until 1990.

This dictionary was not included into the list of dictionaries, identified by A. I. Ivanov. According to N. A. Nevsky's preface to the publication of "the Xi-xia signs with Tibetan transcription", in summer 1925 in Beijing Ivanov gave N. A. Nevsky seven photographs of the texts with Tibetan transcriptions discovered by V. L. Kotvitch in the covers of the Tangut books and two dictionaries: "The Homophones" and "Wen-hai za-lei".

It is most intriguing, that after his return to Leningrad, when he became the only keeper of the Tangut collection, N. A. Nevsky was using the originals of the texts with Tibetan transcription and the dictionary "Wen-hai bao-yun", but never registered any of these most important texts in the inventory.

Nevsky in his article "The history of the Tangut studies" says: "Besides this (Wen-hai. — E. K.) dictionary (xylographic) the Asiatic Museum also possesses a manuscript titled "The precious Rhymes of the Sea of Scripts", which was most likely compiled on the basis of the dictionary described above. This dictionary is just a list of ideographs, with no explanations (only few ones and the analysis of graphics are provided), but phonetic groups with common coefficients are separated from each other by a circle, like in all other Tangut dictionaries. The dictionary consists of two parts: the first includes all the rhymes of the level tone (97 altogether) with all the related ideograms, and the second part combines the rhymes of the so called "rising tone" (shang-sheng) and the "falling tone" (ru-sheng). Their number is 86. Since the last pages of the dictionary are missing and the introduction survived only partially, it is hard to say, if there were any other tones in

the Tangut language, like the so called "dropping tone" (qu-sheng)" [16].

N. A. Nevsky mentioned this dictionary once more in the paper "Materials for the study of the Tangut Pronunciation". It was in his archives, published posthumously in "Tangutskaya philologia" in two volumes. There N. A. Nevsky says, that because "Wen-hai" and "Wen-hai za-lei" have not survive in their original state, there is a number of signs, that are difficult to attribute to any particular rhyme and tone. Further he continues: "Fortunately, in the Institute of Oriental studies there is a manuscript with a list of characters arranged as a dictionary, which we are currently discussing, titled "The precious Rhymes of the Sea of Scripts" or, in more fully, "Bai-shang-guo da-wen-hai bao-yun". This manuscript is not well preserved, its final part is missing. The book appears to consist of two parts: the first part contains the signs of the level tone, the second — the signs of rising and falling tones. Both parts start with the list of rhymes — the first with the rhymes of the "level" tone, the second — with "rising and falling" tones. The ideograms attributed to the rhymes follow the list of rhymes in the same way as in "The Sea of Scripts" but, unlike the latter, "The Precious Rhymes" provide almost no explanations; the structure of few characters only is analyzed and semantics — just superficially. "The Precious Rhymes" could better be called a list of ideograms, compiled as a reference book but not a dictionary". Further N. A. Nevsky suggested that the title "The Precious Rhymes of the Sea of Scripts of the Great State of the descendants of those who descended from the White High" was the full title of "Wen-hai" dictionary and "Wen-hai bao-yun" had been compiled by someone for his private use. N. A. Nevsky concluded: "'The Precious Rhymes" are especially important to us, being almost the only source of knowledge about the rhymes not belonging to the "level" tone" [17].

Why didn't N. A. Nevsky include this dictionary into the inventory? Why was this dictionary considered lost for a long time? These are the questions that require an answer.

N. A. Nevsky fully recognized the importance of this dictionary and used it. Probably it was the bad condition of the manuscript that prevented N. A. Nevsky from listing it in the inventory. There is N. A. Nevsky's petition dated March 28, 1936, where he is asking to provide financial resources for preservation of the Tangut manuscripts and xylographs:

*"To the director of the department of manuscripts  
of the Institute of Oriental studies  
of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR  
from N. A. Nevsky*

#### Petition

Being engaged in sorting and study of the Tangut collection, which is unique in the world due to its richness, I met with several difficulties of quite external nature, i. e. a substantial part of the manuscripts and some of the xylographs practically can not be opened or unscrolled because they stuck together due to the reasons of time, or probably because they were once wet. Some other manuscripts fall into pieces if unscrolled, because the glue is no longer effective, etc. Therefore I address You a petition with a request to take care about providing the resources

necessary to improve the unsatisfactory condition of manuscripts, their conservation and preservation.

28.3.1936

N. Nevsky [18]".

Before the World War II almost none of the Tangut manuscripts were restored. We may think that N. A. Nevsky has not registered the dictionary in the inventory only because of its bad condition and the urgency of its conservation. This is the reason why the dictionary, together with the fragments of Tangut texts with Tibetan transcription, appeared in the private archives of the Petrov family where they were discovered in 1990.

Vsevolod A. Petrov (1896—1955) candidate (Ph.D) of biology was born in St. Petersburg into a family of a conservatory professor. He was well educated, his major field was paleo-botanics, he knew seven foreign languages. In the 1920—1930s he spent many seasons in Central Asia and the Caucasus, his particular interest was in the rubber-bearing plants. In 1936 he received his degree of the 'candidate of biology' in the Moscow University. At the beginning of the 1940s he became interested in samples of ancient paper and in the problems of restoration and preservation of ancient books in general. In 1941 his paper "The analysis of ancient Mongolian paper as a monument of material culture" was published in "The communications of the Institute of History of Material culture" [19]. For this analysis samples of paper from Khara-Khoto were taken, probably Mongol manuscripts and Yuan notes. The basic idea of the article is, that though ancient Mongol paper do not contain cellulose as its component, traces of coniferous cellulose are nevertheless present in it, because the Mongols used to intersperse their manuscripts with juniper needles for better preservation. In 1940 V. A. Petrov came to work in the Document preservation laboratory of the Academy of Sciences as a member of the senior research staff. Since January 1941 he also worked in the Institute of the History of Material Culture. In February 1942 he became the chief supervisor of the photographic laboratory and the preservation laboratory of the Institute [20].

There are documents, testifying that V. A. Petrov had access to the manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies and that his activities there were directed by the famous expert in Arabic studies, academician I. J. Kratchkovsky. In January 1942 V. A. Petrov informed the provisional director of the Institute of the History of Material Culture S. N. Babikov that as a member of the research-staff of his Institute he was "carrying out a research on paleobotanical materials as well as on the monuments of ancient oriental literature. This research was conducted from the point of view of history of technology of the original manuscript materials belonging to the Institute of Oriental Studies. The work was supervised by academician I. J. Kratchkovsky". V. A. Petrov further informed that at that time this work was "conserved" and asked the director to transfer him to the Library of the Academy of Sciences where the Institute of Oriental studies was located, to be able to continue his studies there [21].

In the personal record which was issued for V. A. Petrov by a commissioner of the Institute of Oriental studies A. N. Boldyrev, a famous iranologist, it is mentioned that "comrade Petrov was involved in all activities

connected with the preservation of the property of the Institute" [22].

Finally, during the siege of Leningrad V. A. Petrov was responsible for preservation of all of the book and document funds belonging to the Academy which were left in Leningrad [23]. The manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies were available to V. A. Petrov. In 1943 he prepared to deliver a paper on the forged Khotanese codes from the Central Asiatic collection. The paper was delivered later, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of academician I. J. Kratchkovsky, and published after V. A. Petrov's death [24].

The dictionary "Wen-hai bao-yun" was found in 1990 when V. A. Petrov's widow, O. P. Petrova (specialist in Japanese studies) was moving from one apartment to another.

O. P. Petrova (Korshunova-Solovieva), 1900—1993, was born in Irkutsk. In 1925 she graduated from the Irkutsk University as an expert in Japanese studies. In 1930—32 she worked as an assistant professor in the Far-Eastern University (in Vladivostok). Later, together with her first husband N. V. Soloviev she moved to Leningrad where she became a teacher of Japanese in the University and the Naval Academy. Since 1942 she also worked in the Institute of Oriental studies. Her husband N. V. Soloviev had died during the first year of the siege of Leningrad (1941—1942), and on April 10, 1943 she married V. A. Petrov. Between 1953 and 1960 O. P. Petrova was employed as the professor of Japanese philology of the Leningrad University.

On the 20th of July 1955 V. A. Petrov suddenly died of heart-attack in Uzhgorod. Since 1960 till her retirement O. P. Petrova has been working in the Leningrad Institute of Oriental studies. In the 1930s she personally knew N. A. Nevsky, and in the end of the 1950s participated in the preparation of Nevsky's papers for publication. She translated from Japanese his article, titled "A Short Research into the Grammar Particles of the Tangut Language". When she became aware that the sorting of the Tangut collection was resumed, she entrusted the manuscript to the author of the present paper.

She probably did not know that among the papers of her late husband there were some valuable materials from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies: the dictionary "Wen-hai bao-yun", the Tangut texts with Tibetan transcription, the above mentioned fake Khotanese codes and a great number of Yuan money notes. All these materials were found suddenly when she, old and sick as she was, was moving into another apartments from her old flat. Or, possibly, she could know about these manuscripts, but

was afraid to return them, being afraid to spoil her late husband's reputation. Her own position was also rather uncertain, since her relations with the former director of the Institute, academician I. A. Orbeli were far from being friendly.

The manuscripts were handed to the professor of Japanese philology of the University V. N. Goreglyad by his post-graduate student S. Bulantsev, who helped O. P. Petrova to her belongings. V. N. Goreglyad forwarded the texts to the Manuscript Department of the Institute, their lawful owner..

\* \* \*

Now the dictionary is registered in the inventory of the Tangut collection under No. 8364. Before the conservation its general characteristics were: manuscript, a pad, 26 × 20,5—21 cm. Approximately 85 pages. It was difficult to establish the exact number, because the manuscript was really in a bad condition, many of its pages stuck together. Text: 7 lines per page, 7—10 explained characters per line. Standard script, black ink, written with a reed or wooden calamus. The characteristic trait of the book is that each page is combined of three separate sheets. When the glue disintegrated, the book began to crumble. The text is divided into two *juans*. Juan 1 contains the ideograms of the level tone, juan 2 — of the rising and falling tones. Fragments of the preface are also extant.

After the restoration the number of full pages turned to be 90. A number of smaller fragments also survived. Now the pages are separated, each page is divided into two standard pages covered by protective film.

The manuscript bears no date. If it is a copy of "The Sea of Scripts" dictionary, then the manuscript must be dated after the 1130s. The preface mentions the name of emperor Ren-zong (1124—1193, reigned 1139—1193). Since his 'sacred name' is mentioned, it is most likely that the manuscript was produced after 1193.

Now the dictionary is being studied and prepared for publication by a Japanese scholar, prof. Nishida Tatsuo, a famous linguist, expert in Xi-xia phonetics. Soon the unique monument of Far-Eastern philology will be presented to the public. Tangut philologists, following the main trend of Chinese linguistics, attained remarkable achievements in the development and propagation of their language, script and literature. The publication of "Wen-hai bao-yun" will allow us to make one more step towards phonetic reconstruction of the Tangut language.

## Notes

1. N. A. Nevskii, "Ocherk istorii tangutovedeniya (Survey on the history of Tangut Studies)", *Tangutskaya filologiya. Issledovaniya i slovar' v dvukh knigakh*, 1 (Moscow, 1960), p. 22.
2. M. J. Morisse, "Contribution preliminaire a l'étude de l'écriture et de la langue Si-hia", *Mémoires presentées par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions*, I, vol xi, 2 (Paris, 1904).
3. Archives of the Geographic Society, fund 18, item. 1, No. 63.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 52.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 156.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 50.
7. "Dnevnik Mongolo-Sichuan'skogo putestvestviya 1907—1909 (A Record of the Travel to Mongolia and Sichuan)", Archives of the Geographic Society, fund 18, item. 1, No. 156.

8. *Ibid.*
  9. *Ibid.*, fund 18, item. 1, No. 157.
  10. *Ibid.*
  11. *Ibid.*, fund 18, item. 1, No. 65.
  12. *Ibid.*, fund.18, item. 1, No. 157.
  13. *i. e.* Tangut-Chinese dictionary “Fan-han he-shi zhang-zhong zhu”.
  14. Archives of the Academy of Sciences, fund. 208, item. 3, No. 274
  15. A. I. Ivanov, “*Pamyatniki tangutskogo pis'ma (Monuments of the Tangut Writing)*”, *Izvestiya Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk*, VI (1918), p.799—800.
  16. N. A. Nevskij, “*Tangutskaya filologiya (Tangut philology)*”, I, p. 23.
  17. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 129—30.
  18. Archives of the Academy of Sciences, fund. 152, item. 1, 1936/15
  19. V. A. Petrov, “*Analiz drevnej mongol'skoy bumagi kak pamyatnika material'noi kultury (The analysis of the ancient Mongol paper as the monument of material culture)*”, *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury AN SSSR* (Leningrad, 1941), pp. 86—91.
  20. Archives of the Institute of the History of Material Culture, V. A. Petrov's personal record, fund 35, item. 1, No. 239.
  21. *Ibid.*
  22. *Ibid.*
  23. *Ibid.*
  24. V. A. Petrov, “*Poddel'nye hotanskie kodeksy v sobranii rukopisej Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk (Fake Khotanese codes in the Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies Collection)*”, *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia*, XVI (1958), pp. 220—31.
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## PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

*M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya*

### TIBETAN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 8—11TH CENTURIES A.D. IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

This survey is opening a series of publications of manuscripts, manuscript fragments and documents of the 8—11th centuries A.D. preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which can be regarded as a separate collection. Several scholars will take part in this work, including the author of this paper, Dr. R. N. Krapivina and Dr. Tsuguhito Takeuchi (Japan). This collection for a long time was not available to specialists. Its formation took place between the last quarter of the 19th century and 1925. The collection is not uniform. It was compiled of manuscripts and documents brought to St. Petersburg by two expeditions from Eastern Turkestan and from North-Western China — of academician S. Th. Oldenburg (1909—10 and 1914—5) and of P. K. Kozlov (1909), and of those collected by Russian scholars and diplomats in Tun-huang, Turfan, Khotan, Miran and Khara-Khoto. At present about 150 items belonging to different funds of the Manuscript Department make up this collection. The origin of only three parts of the collection is known exactly: Tibetan scrolls from Tun-huang, received in 1913 [1]; Tibetan wooden documents, bought in Miran, in the region of the Lobnor lake, in 1914 by S. E. Malov [2]; 10 items brought by the S. Th. Oldenburg's expedition in 1909—10. Most of the fragments are included into the Chinese Tun-huang fund and the fund of Tangut (Hsi-hsia) manuscripts and blockprinted books from Khara-Khoto (North-Western China). A group of Tibetan materials which occurred among the Chinese and Tangut manuscripts was picked out while sorting these funds. It is still not clear how they happened to be there: whether they were once a part of the Tun-huang library or were hidden in the "Big Mound" (suburban) of Khara-Khoto when it was sealed in 1227. It is quite probable, however, that they were placed there by the members of the archaeological expeditions. Both expeditions — of Oldenburg and of Kozlov — brought back not only fragments found in the Tun-huang library and the Khara-Khoto suburban, but collected in the vicinity of these sites as well. Kozlov's expedition collected some manuscript fragments among the ruins of the city of Khara-Khoto destroyed by

the Mongol army but actually left by its inhabitants some centuries later. It is known that as early as the 13th century the Mongols published some Buddhist canonical text in the Tangut language. The Tangut script was in use till the middle of the 16th century — it is evident from business documents of the Yuan dynasty and unique 14th century Mongolian manuscripts found among the Tangut manuscripts. Only a small part of Tibetan fragments extracted from the bindings of Tangut manuscripts can be identified exactly as once belonging to the Big Mound hoard. As for the Tun-huang fund, the manuscripts brought by Oldenburg from Turfan, namely from Tuyuk-mazar in 1909—10, were included there too. The period of restoration and description of these collections lasted for a long time. It resulted in replacing some fragments from the Khara-Khoto fund into that of Tun-huang. In some cases we can not find out precisely where these fragments come from: from the Tun-huang library, Turfan, the Big Mound of Khara-Khoto or from the ruins of the same city. Some Tibetan fragments are stored in the Central Asian (Ser-Indian) fund: Russian consul in Kashgar N. Th. Petrovsky and Russian consul in Urumchi N. N. Krotkov, as well as S. E. Malov, made their contributions to the manuscript collection of the Asiatic Museum, the immediate predecessor of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. A great number of the above mentioned manuscripts still require restoration; they are in a very bad condition, especially the Tibetan manuscripts from the Khara-Khoto collection and the Malov manuscripts. There are two boxes of the Malov collection with manuscripts not even sorted because of their bad condition. They contain about 20 fragments of the pothi type and parts of scrolls. The only criteria for dating these Tibetan manuscripts are provided by palaeography and orthography (there were certain orthographic peculiarities in the 8—9th centuries). We mean here the specific semicursive script of the "Tun-huang type" used in the majority of the manuscripts, or the small cursive script which can be found in the 10 per cent of the manuscripts. As for orthography, there were some special forms like *-my-* instead of *-m-*; the use of *da-drag*s; no difference be-

tween the use of the particles *-pa* and *-ba*. We can also point out some grammatical peculiarities, for example, the auxiliary verb *mchis* "to be" used instead of *yin*.

In the following list we enumerate all the Tibetan materials of our collection:

1) 214 scrolls from Tun-huang. They were delivered to St. Petersburg in 1913. As L. S. Savitsky supposes, they were sent by N. N. Krotkov [3], the Russian consul in Urumchi.

2) Tibetan fragments and inscriptions on the Chinese manuscripts from the Chinese Tun-huang fund that include 40 items. One manuscript is of particular interest as it bears the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese text of "*Avalokiteśvarasūtra*" (?) on the back side of the Chinese scroll F-325 (71 lines) [4]. Its initial part is missing. The Tibetan manuscript can be dated not later than the 9th century. This text might be useful for the reconstruction of Chinese phonetics, that is why its publication is extremely desirable [5]. Most of the inscriptions on the Chinese manuscripts are the exercises in calligraphy, some titles of the sūtras or some quotations from them are written. They have not been studied sufficiently, it is possible to find some business or librarian documents among them which deserve to be published [6].

3) Tibetan manuscripts and manuscript fragments from Khara-Khoto usually referred to under the code XT. It is a result of misunderstanding (the Russian abbreviation for "Khara-Khoto, Tibetan" — "Hara-Hoto, tibetskij"). Among them:

a) 70 fragments (XT-1—XT-70) included into the inventory by A. S. Martynov in the late sixties. Many of them are not restored. They were shown to several Tibetan and Chinese scholars who, however, failed to identify them. One half of the fragments is written in cursive script, the other one — in Tibetan formal *dbu-can*. There are two business documents among them, one of them — XT-4 — will be published in the present Journal by Tsuguhito Takeuchi. Five documents were published by L. S. Savitsky in the exhibition Catalogue "The lost empire of the Silk Road. Khara-Khoto" [7]: XT-5 (business document), XT-16b (1 folio of the "*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*"), XT-23 (block-printed maṇḍala with a wild boar), XT-21 (block-printed maṇḍala with a tortoise) and XT-67 (a Buddhist canonical text, a block-printed copy-book made by a Chinese engraver). All these need thorough investigation.

b) 16 Tibetan manuscript fragments and drawings (No. XT-71—XT-86) found while sorting the Tangut manuscripts. All of them are in a very bad condition and are in need of cleaning and restoring. One of these finds (XT-71) is a coloured maṇḍala painted on several paper sheets fastened with glue. The paper is flaking. The size of the maṇḍala is approximately 27 × 41 cm, it is wound onto a stick and cannot be unrolled completely. There seems to be a picture of Heruka on the maṇḍala, the focal part of the maṇḍala is occupied by a lotus-flower with the text of dhāraṇī around it and on its petals. The fragments of some other coloured drawing with the planet deities have the number XT-79. There are two account documents (XT-77, XT-78) and one document dealing with taxation (XT-80) in the collection. The latter is in a good condition and is now going to be published. Among other items — there are fragments of Buddhist manuscripts of the pothi type, written in semicursive script. They contain texts concerning the worship of different local deities. One of them (XT-72)

is bearing the title: "*kha-bar-ma'i gtor-chen-gyi dbu'o*". The manuscript consists of 7 odd folios, the text is incomplete. Folio No. 10 contains a coloured illustration with two key underlines: *zhi-ba'i gtor-ma* and *pha-rol-gyi byang-bzogs*.

c) About 10 folios of the "*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*" (64 × 30 cm) written on dense paper were taken out of the bindings of Tangut manuscripts. They were folded in two and now need urgent restoration. Until recently they had no inventory numbers.

d) Another group of Tibetan fragments taken out of the bindings were presented to the Asiatic Museum by Kozlov himself in 1915. They are glued on 11 big folios of white paper and marked as "Supplement 2". There are 15 fragments in cursive script (Koz. 1—Koz. 5) and 16 fragments in formal *dbu-can* (Koz. 6—Koz. 11). One packet with 7 unglued fragments of the same type is attached to the folios (Koz. 12). The fragments have been only preliminarily surveyed, most of them contain some Buddhist texts. Only one seems to be of particular interest (Koz. 1). This is a fragment in semicursive script of the "Tun-huang type". It may contain some historical records.

e) 10 big fragments are included in the Ser-Indian fund. These were brought by S. Th. Oldenburg from his first expedition to Eastern Turkestan and may come either from Turfan or Tun-huang. Their call numbers are SI O/136—O/145. Some fragments belong to Buddhist sūtras, dhāraṇī, commentaries (SI O/136, O/137, O/138, O/139, O/144). We have also found letters (SI O/141, O/142, O/143) and a divination text (the so-called "*mo-divination*", SI O/145).

4) 4 Tibetan manuscripts were sent to St. Petersburg from Eastern Turkestan by N. Th. Petrovsky: SI P/125b, P/133, P/134 and P/135. A complete business document from Khotan (SI P/135) is one of the most interesting in this collection. It is now being prepared for publication by the present author. Another document (SI P/125b) has been only partly preserved. One folio containing some Buddhist text of a commentary (SI P/133), was cut in several parts and then bound in a copy-book. It attracts attention by its dense brown polished paper, which looks like parchment. Such kind of paper is unusual in Tibetan manuscripts. Fragment SI P/134 is a folio of the pothi type, it contains some text in verse resembling the "*Lalita-vistara*": the story about the choice of the place of birth.

5) 59 separate folios and 24 sewn into a copy-book are kept in the N. N. Krotkov collection (SI Kr. XVIIa/4). S. E. Malov brought similar folios from Miran (TD-56b). They contain blockprinted text of "*dharmakāya- [śāriṇ]-kārikā*". As Tsuguhito Takeuchi evidently pointed out, these are not quite block-printed texts, but stamps [8], and were used as the magic-spells inserted into Buddhist sculptures and small reliquaries — stūpas.

6) 57 Tibetan wooden documents, as it was said above, come from a separate collection bought by S. E. Malov in Miran village on June 17, 1914. The collection was transferred from the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Soviet Academy of Sciences to the Asiatic Museum only on March 20, 1925. The call numbers of the documents are TD/1—TD/56. V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky was the first, who not only described this collection, but also published four of its documents [9]. The documents can be dated back to the middle of the 8th — middle of the 9th

centuries. They contain some military dispatches and letters dealing with the supply of provisions to the Tibetan military garrison in the fortresses "Big Nob" and "Small Nob". The letters are addressed to Zhong-Zhang (lit. "Hill", the region of modern Mazar-Tagh), where the Tibetan Army, which occupied Eastern Turkestan, had its headquarters. There are also two fragments of Tibetan business documents on paper (Old-Uighur, Khotanese Saka, Sanskrit and Chinese manuscripts form the rest of the collection). One of the Tibetan documents is in a very bad condition and can hardly be restored. Another one —

M/11,2 — is legible; it contains a document concerning an adoption or hiring of a boy. Judging by the proper names, the document was composed in Khotan at the time of the military supremacy of the Tibetans in Eastern Turkestan. It will be published in the next issue of the present Journal. We have published the Tibetan document XT-4 from Khara-Khoto, prepared by Tsuguhito Takeuchi. The work on the document was finished in May, 1994. Soon after that, at the beginning of 1955, his book "Old Tibetan contracts from Central Asia" appeared [10]. This document is not included in the book mentioned.

### Notes

1. L. S. Savitskii, *Opisanie tibetskikh svitkov iz Dun'huana v sobranii Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* ("Description of the Tibetan scrolls from Tun-huang in the manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences", Moskva, 1991).

2. V. S. Vorob'ev-Desiatovskii, *Kollektsiia tibetskikh dokumentov na dereve, sobrannaia S. E. Malovym* ("The collection of Tibetan documents on wood assembled by S. E. Malov"), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniia* ("The Proceedings of the Institute of Oriental Studies"), 6 (Moskva, 1953), pp. 167-75.

3. L. S. Savitskii, *ibid.*, p. 4.

4. See *Opisanie kitaiskikh rukopisei Dun'khuauskogo fonda Instituta narodov Azii*, pod red. L. N. Men'shikova, vyp. 2. ("A Description of the Chinese manuscripts from Tun-huang in the manuscript collection of the Institute of the Asian peoples", the editor-in-chief L. N. Men'shikov, 2, Moskva, 1976), No. 2953. The Chinese text is dated back to the 6—7th centuries, it contains the Vinaya text.

5. Cf.: F. W. Thomas, S. Miyamoto and G. Clauson, "A Chinese Mahāyāna catechism in Tibetan and Chinese characters", *JRAS* (1929), pp. 37—71. W. Simon, "A note on Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription", *BSOAS* 21 (1958), pp. 334-43. B. Csongor, "Some Chinese texts in Tibetan script from Tun-huang", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 10 (1960), pp. 97—140. Takata Tokio. *Tonkō shiryō ni yoru Chūgokugoshi no kenkyū. Kyūhachi seiki no Kasei hōgen* (A historical study of the Chinese language based on Tun-huang materials: The Hexi dialect of the ninth and tenth centuries, Tokyo, 1988).

6. The list of call numbers of the Chinese Tun-huang fragments bearing some Tibetan text: Dh.112, Dh.5179, Dh.5500, Dh.5672, Dh.6396, Dh.6554, Dh.6562, Dh.6721, Dh.7222, Dh.7230, Dh.7759, Dh.8542, Dh.8655, Dh.9533, Dh.9722-11, Dh.10243, Dh.10382—Dh.10385, Dh.14095—Dh.14107, Dh.14110—Dh.14112, Dh.17435, Dh.18308.

7. *The Lost Empire of the Silk Road. Buddhist Art from Khara-Khoto* (X—XIIIth century). Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation, (Electa, Milan, 1993), No. 83—7.

8. Tsuguhito Takeuchi, "On the Tibetan texts in the Otani collection", A. Haneda (ed), *Documents et Archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale* (Kyoto, 1990), pp. 203-14. See section 3, 7, No. 6027-70.

9. V. S. Vorob'ev-Desiatovskii, "Tibetskii dokument na dereve iz raiona ozera Lob-Nor" ("Tibetan wooden document from the region of the Lobnor lake"), *Epigrafika Vostoka*, VII (1953), pp. 70-5. *Idem*, "Tibetskie dokumenty na dereve iz raiona ozera Lob-Nor". II ("The Tibetan wooden documents from the region of the Lobnor lake. 2."), *Epigrafika Vostoka*. VIII (1953), pp. 77—85.

10. Tsuguhito Takeuchi, *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia* (Daizo Shuppan, Tokyo, 1995).

## KH. TIB. 4 (XT-4): CONTRACTS FOR THE BORROWING OF BARLEY

Kh. Tib. 4 contains Old Tibetan loan contracts [1] for the borrowing of barley [2]. The manuscript is currently located in the Kozlov Collection, where it is assigned the number XT (*i. e.* Khara-Khoto, Tibetan) 4 according to the hand-written list of the Tibetan texts in the Kozlov Collection [3].

Both the right edge and the bottom edge of paper are torn off. The remaining paper measures 18,3 × 26,5 cm. Besides, there are four very small fragments which are considered to be parts of the same manuscript. But they are too small to locate. The texts are written only on one side, leaving the verso side blank. There are two texts, which we

shall call text *A* and text *B*. Both texts are loan contracts. Text *A* is almost complete with thirteen lines and a private seal of the borrower, except that the right end of each line is missing for one to four letters [4]. As for text *B*, however, only two lines are partially legible due to damage to the paper. Both texts were apparently written by the same hand at the same time. Though the given names of the creditors differ, they share the family name (安).

Both the names of persons concerned and the thousand-districts they belonged to clearly indicate that the contract was written in Dunhuang, in spite of the fact that it is currently grouped with the Kozlov Collection [5].

## TEXT

*A*

- 1 | | 'brud gi lo'i dbyar | | an [chu]ng legs gyi nas rgya shegs gnyis sh[i]g
- 2 stong sar gyis sde he'u dar tse | gyis snga g.yar du 'tshal te 'bul ba'i dus ni la[xx]
- 3 ston sla 'bring po ma [gu]m tshun cad ['bul ba]r bgyis | | dus der ma [xx]
- 4 [xxu] zhig ['tsha]l te phul du ma btub na gta' ma khang sa stong pa [lho byang xx?]
- 5 lnga dang shar nub du cheg nyis shu mchis pa gta' bzhag pa yang zha[l la | xx?]
- 6 gyur cig gis bsnan te | dngos bsgyur dang bcasu kho na'i sgo nas phyi phyugs [dang]
- 7 nang rdzas ci la bab kyang rung ste | rang lug[su] shog rgya 'di su [chad par 'phrogs]
- 8 na yang zhal mchu ma mchis par bgyis | | brgya [xxxxx?]
- 9 gzhi la ma mchis sam phan phun du gyur na khas l[e]n [xxx?]
- 10 kho na'i chung ma dze'u za bur tse mchid gyis 'tshal zhi[ng] [xxx?]
- 11 bar bgyis | | pa'i dpang la [wa]ng kim kang dang cang ldong le [xxxx?]
- 12 cang tsin hing la stsogs pa'i dpang rgya dang kho na'i sug rgya [x?]
- 13 ma 'jub 'tshal btap pa' |
- 14 (a round vermilion seal with an inscription:) he'u da[r] tse

*B*

- 1 | | 'brug gi lo'i dbyar | | im hing kog gi nas rgya sheg
- 2 rgod sar gyi s[d]e dze'u [x] [keng? tse? gis] [
- 3 . . . . .
- 3 de ante dus cancellavit. 10 ma post na'i cancellavit.



## TRANSLATION

## A

- 1—2 In the summer of the dragon year, He'u dar-tse of the Stongsar [thousand]-district borrowed in advance two Chinese *shag* of barley of An chung-legs.
- 2—3 As for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made no later than the end of the middle autumn month [of this year].
- 3—6 It is decided that in case [the borrower] should not [repay] by that time [or if] he is unable to repay due to [conspiring], the security, ... a vacant house [and] land of ... five... from south to north and twenty *cheg* from east to west, which has been deposited as security..., will also [be forfeited?...] and [the amount of payment] will be doubled (*lit.* will be added by one),
- 6—8 and that, having made the object [double], the outdoor wealth cattle, indoor treasures, whatever [property there is] may [be forfeited] from the household of the debtor to the creditor himself as [is decided] in this bond, against which [the borrower] should not start any lawsuit.
- 8—11 It is decided that if [the borrower] is not at his home place, or if he is in bad condition, the guarantor, Dze'u-za (i. e. a wife from the Dze'u family) bur-tse, the wife of the debtor, is to take responsibility and [repay].
- 11—13 As witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of Wang kim-kang, Cang ldong-legs(?), Cang tsin-hing and so on, and the finger-size-measure of the debtors are hereby affixed.
- 14 (a private seal with an inscription of the borrower:) he'u dar-tse.

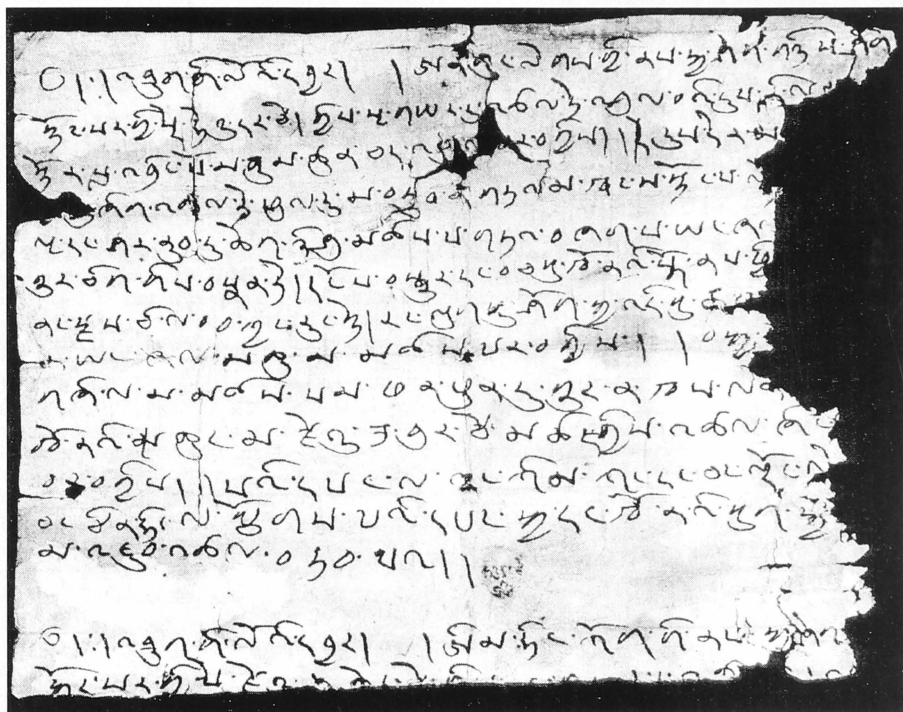
## B

- 1 In the summer of the dragon year, Dze'u [keng-tse?] of the Rgod-sar [thousand]-district [borrowed][...] Chinese *shag* of barley from (*lit.* of) Im hing-kog[

## COMMENTARY

## A

- 1 An [*chu*]ng legs: The creditor. He has a Chinese family name (安) and a Tibetan given name.
- 2 He'u dar tse: The borrower. His name, a Chinese family name with a Chinese given name, may be restored as 侯達子.
- 2 la[n: The missing part may be restored as la[n 'di'i] "of this year".
- 3—4 dus der ma[xxxxu]zhig '[tsha]l te: The missing parts may be restored as dus der ma [phul lam gya gyu] zhig '[tsha]l te "If [the borrower] does not repay at the time [limit] or if he conspires [not to repay]", according to the formula.
- 4 khang sa stong pa: "vacant house [and] land". Though it is not impossible to read *khang-pa* "house" instead of *khang-sa* "house [and] land", palaeographically *sa* is more probable. Besides, the following description of the size of it appears to be that of a land rather than a house.
- 4—5 [lho bya][ngXX?] Inga dang shar nub du cheg nyis shu: this seems to be a description of the size of the land for security. *Cheg* used as the unit of measurement, but is not known elsewhere.
- 5 zha[l la]: *Zhal* does not fit the context here. From a comparison with parallel expressions (e. g. "P[elliot tibetain] 1115", I suspect it may be an erroneous spelling for *yal* "forfeit".
- 6 gyur cig gis bsnan te: The literal rending of the clause may be "having been added by one gyur", but its meaning is not very clear. I tentatively interpret the clause as a paraphrase of the stereotyped expression, meaning "having made [the amount] double".
- 7 rang lug[su]: This phrase, meaning "to [the creditor] himself", is in contrast with the phrase *ring-lugsu* "to the commission". See p. 30 of T. Takeuchi "Old Tibetan Loan Contracts", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 51 (1993), pp. 25—83.
- 7 shog rgya 'di su [chad par 'phrogs]: I interpret *shog-rgya* "paper-contract, bond" as referring to this context. 'Di-su may be a mixing up of the instrumental case 'dis and the locative case 'di-ru, either one of which makes sense in this context. As for [chad par 'phrogs], only legible letters are *cha* and *o*; the other letters are restored by the present writer.



*Fig. 1*

- 10 *Dze'u za bur tse*: Wife of the borrower. She is from the *Dze'u* (曹) family. She has a Chinese given name (bur-tse < 佛子?).
- 10 [xxx?]: The missing part may be restored to [mjal] "pay".
- 11 [wa]ng kim kang: A witness. His name may safely be restored to Chinese (王金剛)
- 11 Cang ldong le[xxxx?]: A witness. His Tibetan given name may possible be reconstructed as ldong-le[gs]. His family name is Chinese (張).
- 12 Cang tsin hing: A witness. He has a Chinese family name (張) with a Chinese given name (進興?).
- 13 ma 'jub 'tshal: 'Jub must be an error for 'dzub (= mdzub) "finger". The phrase does not make sense as is, and may be considered a collapsed form for 'dzub-mo-tshad "finger-measure".

## B

- 1 *Im hing kog*: The creditor. He has a Chinese family name (陰) and a Chinese given name.
- 2 *Dze'u [keng-tse?]*: The borrower. He has a Chinese family name (曹) and a Chinese given name.

## Notes

1. For more details on the Old Tibetan contracts in general, see T. Takeuchi, "Old Tibetan Loan Contracts", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 51 (1993), pp. 25—83, and T. Takeuchi, *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia* (Daizo Shuppan, Tokyo, 1995).

2. This text has never been published, nor has its existence been mentioned before. I studied this text during my visit to the Institute in 1990.

3. The Tibetan texts of the Kozlov Collection are placed together in a box. There is a hand-written provisional list. According to the list, the texts were numbered in 1967 from XT-1 through XT-70. Among them, I found four Old Tibetan manuscripts: *i. e.* two Buddhist texts and two documents. One document is a contract that concerns us here and the other is a *glegs-tshas* text (cf. § 4.2). The contract is considered to have been written and most possibly unearthed in Dunhuang in spite of its bearing a XT number (cf. fn. 5 below).

4. Although the right edge of the first line is also torn off, no letters seem to be missing judging from the context; in other words, only the first line is complete. This helps us count the number of missing letters in the following lines.

5. It is enigmatic to find a manuscript from Dunhuang among the Kozlov Collection, because the Kozlov Expedition did not visit Dunhuang. When I asked about this to Prof. Men'shikov during his visit to Kyoto, he suggested a possibility that some mistakes and confusion figured during the process of arrangement, classification and preservation of the manuscripts brought by different expeditions at the Institute. If such is the case, I would infer that this manuscript was originally brought by the Oldenburg expedition who is known to have visited Dunhuang, and was mistakenly placed into the Kozlov Collection. Among the Oldenburg Collection I have found, among others, two Old Tibetan letters, one of which apparently belonged to the period of *Gui-yi-jun*, and an Old Tibetan *mo*-divination text (see the paper by M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya in the present Journal).

## Illustration

Fig. 1. Tibetan business documents XT-4 (Kh. Tib. 4).

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# ***ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES***

*Val. V. Polosin & Efim A. Rezvan*

## **THE ASIATIC MUSEUM PROJECT: 1. DATA-BASE ON MUSLIM SEALS**

### **I**

The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Russia, is the oldest center for oriental studies in the country. Its history dates back to November 11 (23), 1818, when the Asiatic Museum was founded within the framework of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences.

The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is famous today for its collection of ancient and medieval oriental MSS, the largest in the Russian Federation. It can only be compared to the collections of the British Library and Bibliothèque Nationale. The collection includes 30 funds, the total amount of MSS is 85 thousand units. Here one can find texts produced in the Near, Middle and Far East, as well as from Innermost and South Eastern Asia, written in sixty languages and dialects on different sorts of paper, parchment, leather, palm leaf, birch bark, wood, metal, stone — practically on all materials ever used for writing. Some of the funds of the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies are unique or very rare. Among them there are the collections of Tangut secular and Buddhist MSS, Old-Khwarezmian business documents, the best European collection of the Tibetan MSS and block-printed books, MSS representing the written tradition of the Karaites of the Crimea, a collection of Muslim MSS created in the late Middle Ages in the regions of the Volga river, the Caucasus and Central Asia [1].

In August 1992, according to the results of an open competition, the Ministry of Science, High School and Technology of the Russian Federation took the decision to start sponsoring the project "Asiatic Museum" presented by the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The aim of the project is to produce a data-base on the MSS collection of the Institute as a part of the future

net of data-bases to be created in the principal museums and research centers of St. Petersburg. For some time the "Asiatic Museum" project was sponsored by the Russian Foundation for Fundamental Researches.

It will be a three level computer description of all the MSS collections. The differences between the levels are connected with the scope of description and the degree of access freedom to the information via the network. The first level represents basic information on a MS, which is almost common to all the national manuscript traditions. The second includes image files of incipit and some other elements of a MS as well as the block of codicological information. The questions which are posed by a scholar to a MS on the second descriptive level are common to all the MSS within the corresponding national tradition. The third level of description can be connected with any specific approach to this or that kind of manuscripts or any of their features. On the second and third level it will be possible to use national languages for the description [2].

It was decided to start the creation of the "Asiatic Museum" data-base with nearly ten thousand Arabic [3] and ten thousand Tibetan MSS from the above mentioned collection. The latter will be described by Russian scholars together with the Asian Classics Input Project (USA, Dr. Michael P. Roach, Director).

Unfortunately, because of the shortage of funds we have to begin the work not with the general description, but with the two data-bases of the third level. The paper by Efim Rezvan which was presented at the Durham University in December 1993 was devoted to one of them — the data-base on the early Qur'an MSS [4]. A computer data-base on seals in Muslim manuscripts is the subject of the present paper.

## II

Only few catalogues of Muslim manuscripts mention the existence of the owner's seals in MSS. Usually the description of seals is confined only to their owner's names and their date (if these are available in their legends). Meanwhile, our preliminary statistics shows that nearly one forth or even one third of Muslim MSS have one or several imprints of their former owner's seals. This rich historical and cultural material is omitted while describing the MSS. In our opinion, this practice has a bad influence on the development of Muslim sphragistics as a whole.

At present, we can hardly speak about the sphragistics of the Near and Middle East of the period after the Muslim expansion [5].

In Western Europe and Russia interest for Muslim seals rose in the 18th century. It became even greater in the 19th century. But only at the end of the 20th century, after the first catalogues of individual collections had been published, there appeared the possibility to examine the problem in a new perspective. The year 1981 added 138 Muslim seals from Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris [6] to the 72 published by J. Hammer-Purgstall in 1850 [7]. Afterwards 155 waqf seals from the Turkish collections (1984) [8] and 67 seals and 175 imprints of Bukhara seals (1987) [9] were published by Turkish and Soviet scholars. L. Kalus recently announced the publication of nearly 200 seals from the collections of the Ashmolean museum in Oxford. 605 seals from the Hermitage collection (St. Petersburg, Russia) were catalogued but only 70% of the inscriptions are deciphered by now [10]. The publication of several other collections seems to be expected in the near future. It should be taken into account that several seals were published separately [11].

Publication of seal-matrices is very complicated and laborious. It is connected not only with reading many legends of a very specific calligraphy and contents, but also with the necessity of arranging them in some system based on the chronology and geographic attribution of the objects. To do this now when Muslim sphragistics is "non existent" is really a difficult task.

The imprints of owner's seals present an independent object of research and description within the frames of Muslim sphragistics. In comparison with seals-matrices they have a special advantage. Pages of manuscripts bear much more imprints of seals in comparison with the number of seal-matrices preserved in museums and private collections. That is why the study of imprints can give us a much more detailed picture of how their shapes and styles were changing in the course of time and from region to region. Being a part of a manuscript, imprints still exist in the necessary historical and cultural background which was lost by seal-matrices [12].

The task of reading a legend seems to be the most complicated. Most often they bear the names of persons never mentioned in any other source. For example, two oval seals with the legends: "al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāhi 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Salām. 1199 H." and "Muḥammad Shākir b. Aḥmad Shāh Madjkaravi" seem to have nothing in common except their shape. The imprints of these seals were found in manuscripts C 2023 and C 2027 of our collection. With the help of written additions to these manuscripts we can find out that the above mentioned seals belonged to a grandfather and his grandson. Thus the second

seal can be dated to the middle of the 19th century. The owners of both seals were Russian subjects and this fact enables us to continue the biographical research if necessary [13].

The vastness of the seal-imprints repertoire and the possibility of research on them within wider historical and cultural context (manuscript background) make the imprints of owner's seals a really important sphragistic source. This special selection of seals will be of great importance for the research on Muslim seals in general. It could help in establishing significant dates and locations and thereby stimulate the description of the museum's seal collections. On the other hand the proposed data base will give the possibility to verify dates and locations of many Muslim manuscripts from different collections.

The proposed data base will contain the following two principal points: 1. Basic "passport" data on a MS: country, city, library, shelf code, and number of the folio with seal-imprint; other folios of the manuscript with the same imprint or other manuscripts with the same imprint are also taken into account marked with the sign of special inquiry. 2. Image file (representation of the seal imprint, scale sufficient to see the details).

To classify the imprints according to any of their features or groups our data-base will contain the following points: 1. Form of the imprint (round, oval, rectangle, square, almond shaped, hexagonal, octagon, rhomboid, etc.). 2. Dimensions (in millimeters). 3. Type of seal: a) intaglio (text in white); b) embossed (text in black or other color); c) combined (texts in white and other color). 4. Seal legend (full text in original language; undeciphered words will be marked by dots; standard note for illegible legend will be "illegible"). 5. Scallop of the seal (Y/N) 6. Name of the seal's owner (taken from the legend) 7. Motto (aphoristic part of the legend, if present) 8. Date engraved on the seal 9. Shape of the cartouche with text (according to the numbered templates, for brevity) 10. Belonging to waqf (Y/N) 11. Additional notes (important mainly for the compilers of the data-base: bibliographical data if published; existence in other manuscripts of imprints close in this or that point to the imprint described — important for the typology; existence of the same imprints in the manuscripts from other collections; biographical data of the owner of the seal, etc.).

We decided not to reserve special sections for the description of such important characteristics of imprints as different types of seal's fillet and decorative elements. The typology which is not far advanced as well as the absence of generally accepted terminology make it impossible. Nevertheless image files will give the possibility to obtain full information about the elements of the imprint mentioned above (not in the automatic mode, but in the way of free sorting and comparison of the imprints; typological observations of this kind will be mentioned under Point 11).

Every described seal adds new information to the history of this or that manuscript and the biography of its owner. It is not important even whether this person is mentioned in historical sources or not. According to the famous Russian scholar V. S. Lublinsky, "it is necessary to study and publish indexes of names even of a "secondary"

and "third rate" former owners of books, as well as lists of their books, even of insignificant ones. Only after the appearance of such publication chains, series, spheres and regularities will start to reveal themselves among the poor infinity of isolated, single or accidental facts" [14].

In connection with separate MS collections often stored as museum collections of rarities, this approach seems to be of great importance. Modern collections are only the result of destruction and disunity of medieval private and public libraries as well as of centuries long movements of manuscripts from one city or country to another. As for the previous state of these masses of MSS, all modern collections have accidental repertoire and all are a complement to each other. Only due to the study of seal

imprints it became possible to collect the 62 Arabic MSS titles from the library of Muhammad Pārsā (d. 822/1420) scattered about the depositories of St. Petersburg (Russia), Kazan (Russia), Tashkent (Uzbekistan), Dushanbe (Tadjikistan) and Paris (France).

Only a unified data-base embracing all possible seals and imprints can be of primary importance. Bearing in mind such a perspective for the project we can predict with confidence that it will be significant contribution to the formation of Muslim sphragistics in general, to the identification of hundreds and thousands of illegible imprints, to the study of miniature calligraphy and its special style, to the research of problems connected with the medieval libraries in the Muslim Orient.

## Notes

1. Basic information on the funds and bibliography see in: Val. V. Polosin, "Fondi rukopisei i staropechatnih knig, aktovih i epigraficheskikh materialov na yazykah narodov sovetskogo i zarubezhnogo Vostoka v SSSR (Funds of the MSS, incunadulae, statements and epigraphic materials written on the languages of Soviet and foreign East in the USSR)", *Archaeographia orientalis. Materiali vsesoyuznogo rabochego soveschaniya po problemam vostochnoy arheografii*. Leningrad, 1—4 marta 1988 g (Moscow, 1990), pp. 183—9 (In Russian).

2. The project was presented in 1990 at the Table Ronde organized by Prof. J. Hamesse in Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium. For details see: E. A. Rezvan, I. G. Tikhonova, "Bazi dannih po rukopisnim sobraniyam: problemi i perspektivi", *Vostok/Oriens. Afro-aziatskie obitshchestva: istoriya i sovremennost'*. 6, (1992), pp. 109—13 or in *idem*: "The Databases on Manuscripts' Depositories: The Problems and Perspectives (on the beginning of the Programme)", *Databases on the History of Eurasia in the Middle Ages*. Issue 1, (Moscow, 1992), pp. 55—63.

3. Detailed information and bibliography see in: *Bibliografiya arabskikh rukopisej (Bibliography of the Arabic Manuscripts)*. Sostavlena I. B. Mikhailovoj pri uchastii A. B. Khalidova..., (Moscow, 1982), pp. 230—41.

4. See: E. A. Rezvan, "The Data-base on Early Qur'an MSS: new approach to the text history reconstruction", *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference and Exhibition on Multi-Lingual Computing (Arabic and Roman Script)*. 10—12 December, 1992, (Durham, 1992), 3.3.1—18 or *idem*: "The Qur'an between textus receptus and critical edition", *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*. Ed. by J. Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992), pp. 34—51.

5. See: A. A. Ivanov, "Muslim Sphragistics: State-of-the-Art and Prospects of Studies", *Oriental Historical Source Studies and Special Historical Subjects*. Fasc. 1 (Moscow, 1989), pp. 236—246.

6. L. Kalus, *Catologue des cachets, bulles et talismans islamiques* (Paris, 1981).

7. J. Hammer-Purgstall, "Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, Perser und Turken", *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische classe*. Bd. 1 (Wien, 1850), S. 1—36.

8. G. Kut and N. Bayraktar, *Yazma eserlerde wakif mühürleri* (Ankara, 1984).

9. K. Kurbanov, *Buharskie pečati XVII—nachala XX vekov* (Bukhara seals of the 17th—20th centuries) (Tashkent, 1987).

10. Ivanov, Op. cit. p. 239.

11. See: e. g.: N. I. Veselovskij, "Persten'-pechat' Miran-shaha mirzy, syna Tamerlana" (Ring-seal of Miran-shah mirza, son of Tamerlan), *Kaufmanskij Sbornik* (Moscow, 1910), p. 229—34; A. A. Bykov, "Pechat' fatimidskogo khalifa Zahirā" (Seal of the Fatimid khalif Zahir), *Zapiski Kollegii vostokovedov*, T. 5 (Leningrad, 1930), pp. 201—19; A. A. Ivanov, "Pechat' Gauhar-Shad (Seal of Gauhar-Shad)", *Strani i narodi Vostoka*, X (Moscow, 1971), pp. 199—201. According to the preliminary estimations of A. A. Ivanov nearly 140 published works are devoted to Muslim seals.

12. See illustrations in: *Localities and Dates in Arabic Manuscripts. Descriptive catalogue of a collection of Arabic manuscripts in the possession of E. J. Brill*, compiled by P. S. van Konigsveld and Q. al-Samarrai (Leiden, 1978), p. 62, No. 91; p. 104, No. 183.

13. For more details see: Val. V. Polosin, "Four Muslim Seals from Tataria", *St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies*, VII, 1995 (in print).

14. V. S. Lublinski, "Kniga v istorii chelovecheskogo obitshchestva (Book in the History of the Human Society)", *Sbornik izbrannykh knigovedcheskikh rabot* (Moscow, 1972), p. 257.

# PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

A. Alikberov & E. Rezvan

## 'ADJĀ'IB AL-MAKHLŪQĀT BY ZAKARIYĀ' AL-QAZWĪNĪ (d. 682/1283): 16th-CENTURY ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT FROM THE ST. PETERSBURG ACADEMIC COLLECTION

### Brief Presentation

Among the masterpieces of the Muslim manuscript art preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, there is a splendidly illuminated 16th-century Arabic copy of the famous cosmography *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* ("The Marvels of Creation and the Rarities of Existence") by Abū Yahya Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (600/1203—682/1283) [1].

Al-Qazwīnī is one of the most famous authors of the *'adjā'ib* genre of Muslim literature. He is often compared with such celebrated authors as Herodotus and Plinius. His works, and particularly his *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, translated later into Persian and Turkish, greatly influenced the world's outlook of the Muslim Orient [2].

Geographical frames of the *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt* cover the Near and the Middle East, Central and South-East Asia, China, India, Ceylon, the Caucasus and countries of the Mediterranean, North Africa, Andalusia, etc. Al-Qazwīnī visited many countries travelling with trade caravans. He also recorded many stories told by pilgrims, merchants and dervishes. Some of these stories and descriptions are based on some fantastic oral tradition; one of the author's aims was to amuse his readers. The work presents the whole picture of the universe, planets and constellations, angels and monsters, spheres of the air, water and earth, "strange" people, as well as the vegetable and animal kingdoms...

The manuscript (inventory number D-370) was purchased in 1914 in Athens through the intermediary of Georges Gues. It is dated by 988/1580 and contains 231 folios (some folios are missing). The size of its pages is 34.5 × 24 cm. The text is framed with blue, red and two golden lines, the latter are traced with thin black lines; the surface occupied by the text measures 24.5 × 18.1 cm. There are 22 lines per page, written in calligraphic classical black naskhi characteristic of the Persian scribes' style of the period. Red ink and enlarged letters were used to

mark all the key words. The titles of the chapters are written in dark blue and gold.

The colophone, written in black ink on the last page is in the same handwriting as the main text; it contains the date of copying and the name of the copyist — al-'Ibād al-dīn b. Madjd al-dīn al-Isfahānī.

The binding with a flap, which is as old as the manuscript itself, is made of paper sheets closely pasted together and covered with dark-brown leather. A stamped golden frame is decorating the binding on both sides. An applique device is skillfully set in the centre of the binding. It has a quasi-ellipsoid form with a stamped plant pattern against the gilded background.

There are six imprints of the three owners' seals and few dated marginalia on the first page of the manuscript. Two imprints of the biggest seal belong to al-Sayyid Muḥammad 'Arif al-Rushdī, three others — to some person named 'Afifa. The last seal belongs to one 'Ibād Allāh. Many people are mentioned in marginalia as the owners of the book (*sāhib hazā 'l-kitāb*). Among them the above-mentioned 'Afifa (1147/1733—4), 'Ibād Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Djahrumī (1269/1851—2), Ḥadjī Muṣṭafa b. Ḥadjī Yahyā Katkhodayī (1289/1872—3).

The manuscript is richly illuminated. It contains decorative *'unwān*, 11 astronomic tables and 4 drafts of the spheres of heaven, 25 star charts and 426 miniatures. Their size vary between 80.0 × 22.0 (fol. 76 b) and 30.0 × 18.7 cm. (fol. 230b). As a rule, they are not framed. The palette looks vivid and rich. The drawings reveal a bold and firm hand. The repertoire of the miniatures is typical of the other known *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt* [3] manuscripts.

Even a superficial examination of the handwriting and miniatures leaves little doubt that the manuscript was copied and illuminated somewhere in the region of Baghdad — Tabriz. The manuscript is waiting for a thorough and detailed analysis which will establish its place within the iconographic tradition of illustrating *'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt*.

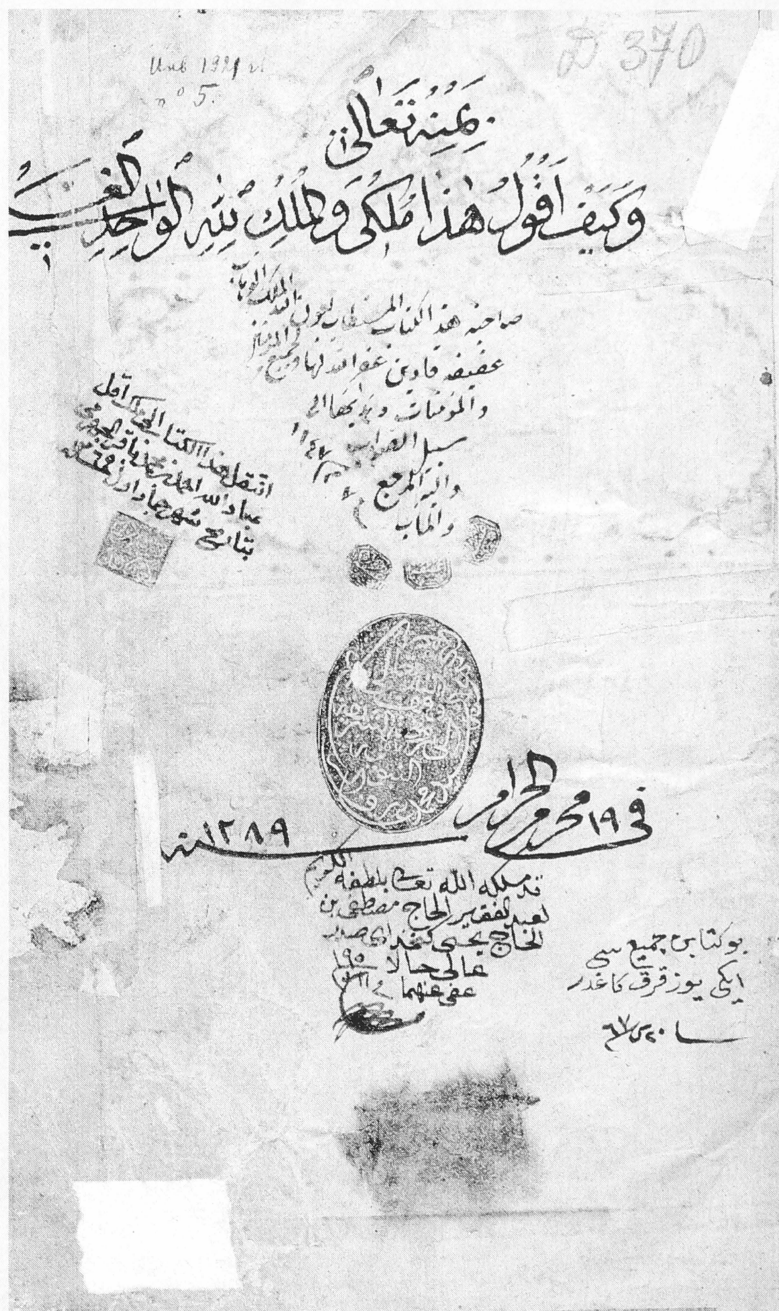


Fig. 1





Fig. 2



Fig. 3

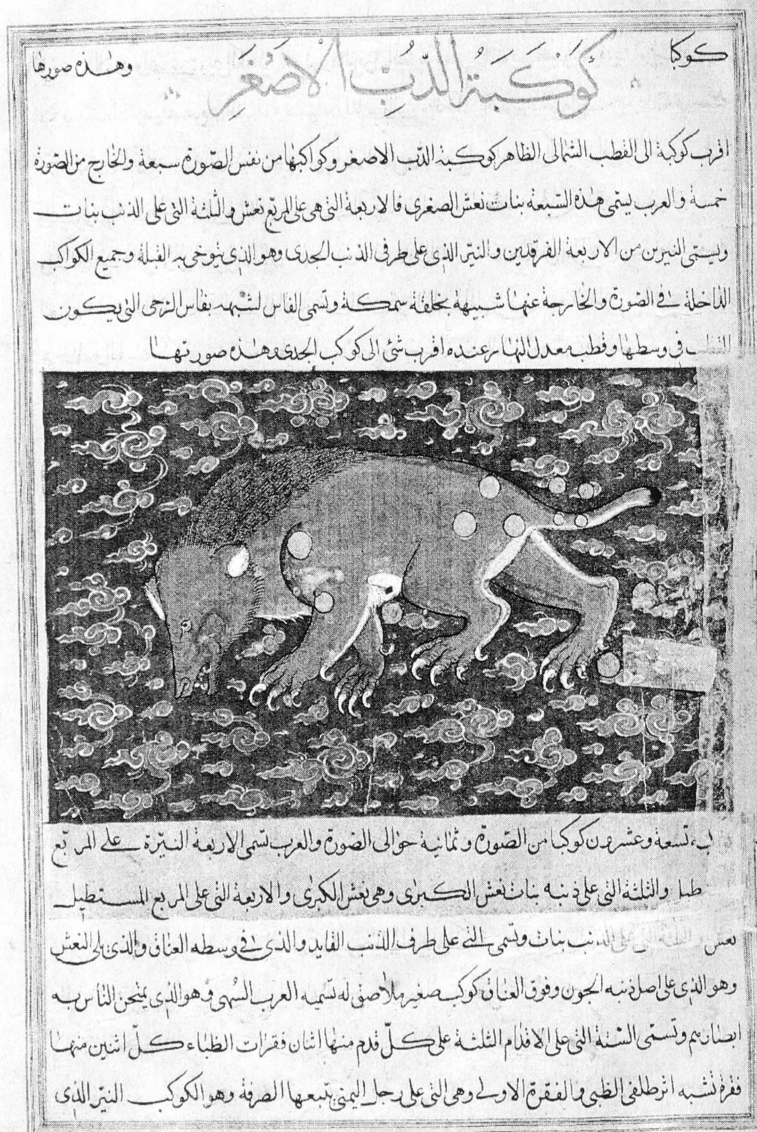
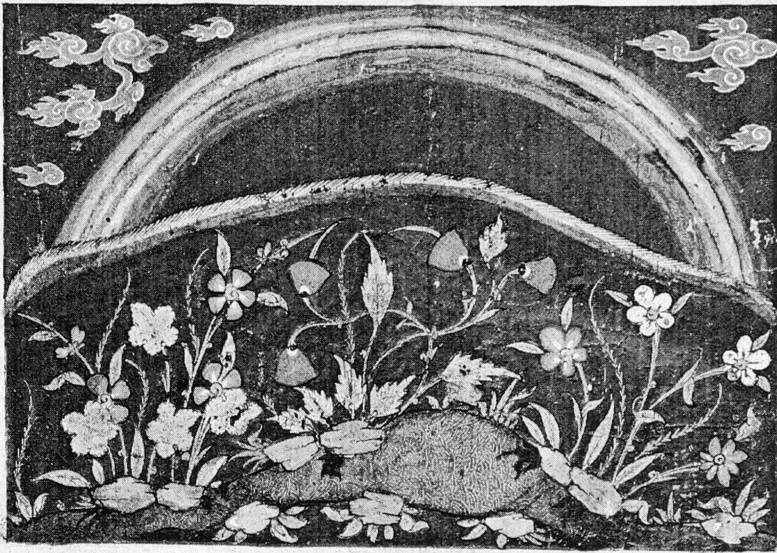


Fig. 4





فان لم يكن وراء الاجزاء الصغيلة التي حدثت بعد المطر والبحار جسم كثيف لايظهر قوس قزح لان الاجزاء شفافة  
 ينقذ شعاع البصر فيها كالبلور اذ جعلته في مقابلة الشمس من غير ان يكون وراء جسم كثيف لا يعكس فيه  
 شعاع البصر قال بعضهم سبب اختلاف الوانها في بعضها من الشمس وبعدها فان ما يرى منها احمر فقتر به  
 من الشمس وما يرى منها اصفر فانه ابعد من الاحمر وما يرى ارجوانيا فبعيد من الشمس ومحاظ الظلمة وما يرى  
 كراثيا فمركب من الصفرة والارجوان او النقيضين وما يرى قوس قزح بالليل في الحمام اذا كان هواءا رطبا و  
 في الحمام مثل شمع وحكي الشيخ الرئيس انه قال رايت قوس قزح في هواء الحمام لا على سبيل الخيال بل كانت الوان  
 حقيقة فكان الناظر ينقل من مكان الى مكان والالوان باقية بجاهلها قال الفاضل عمر بن سهلان رحمه الله عليه  
 سبب ذلك وقوع ذلك ضوء الشمس على زجاج الحمام الملون وانعكاسه الى حائط الحمام والحائط يلون بلون الزجاج  
 الصقيل وذلك لون حقيق لا يختلف بانفصال الناظر وحكي الشيخ الرئيس ايضا قال كت على الجبل الذي بين باورد ووطون  
 وانه من اعلى الجبال وكانت السماء مكتوفة وكان في وسط الجبل بئر وفي الارض تحاب والنهر في وسط التحاب

Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



فاذا اصابتها دخان وبر الثعلب نفع في الحال واذا دخل البيت بدخان العلق هلك ما في البيت من الابل والبقر  
 والبعوض واذا ترك العلق في فارورة حتى يموت ثم سحق وتطلى به الموضع الذي نبت شعره لا ينبت بعد البتة  
 صنف من الذواب الصدفية توجد في المياه القايمه ببلاد الهند حتى غثابت الناردين وتوجد  
 بارض بابل ايضا وهو اعجب من الحيوانات له بيت صدف يخرج منه وجلد ارق شئ وله راس واذا نال  
 وعينان وفوقه اذ دخل بيته يحسبه الانسان صدفة فاذا خرج بيته ينساب وتجربته معه فاذا حقت  
 المياه في الصيف تجتمع ورائحه عطر لان هذا الحيوان يرتقي الناس دين واذا اخبر بها ينفع من الصرع واذا  
 اخبر مجلور ماده الاسنان واذا ذرر ماده على حرق النار نفعه نفعاً عظيماً  
 قالوا انه كفرس البر واكثر عرفاً وذنباً واحسن لوناً وطاوفاً مشقوق كحافر البقر وجشته اكثر من الحمار بفيل  
 قال الجاحظ انه في بابل مصر ياكل الفساح اكلاً ذريعاً ويقوى عليها بقوى طاهره وربما يخرج هذا الفرس  
 من الماء وينزل على فرس بري فينولد بينهما فرس في غاية الحسن حتى ان الشيخ ابا القاسم المعروف بكركان  
 رحمه الله وهو من مشايخ خراسان نزل على طرف ماء وكان معه حجر فخرج من الماء فرس ادهم عليه فخط  
 يضركل ادهم ونزل على حجر فولدت مهر اشبهها بالفحل عجيب الصوق فلما كان ذلك الوقت عاد الى ذلك  
 الموضع مع الحجر والمهر فاما طبعاً في مهر اخر فخرج الفرس من الماء وشتم مهر ساعة ثم وشب في الماء ونبتعه المهر  
 فكان الشيخ يداود ذلك الموضع مع الحجر لاجل مهرها فسقى ابا القاسم كركان قال عمر بن سعيد فرس الماء  
 بمصر يودن بطولع النيل بأشروطيه فانهم حيث وجدوا اثر خافهم عرفوا ان ماء النيل ينهي الى ذلك الموضع اما  
 خواص ايزائه فذكر طلال سنه  
 فيشدين به وجمع البطن يزول  
 وجعه وان قوماً من السودان  
 يسكنون شاطئ النيل من الحبشة  
 فيشربون الماء الكدرويا يكون  
 السمك الذي في بصرهم المنص قد  
 فيشدون ضرر هذا العليل

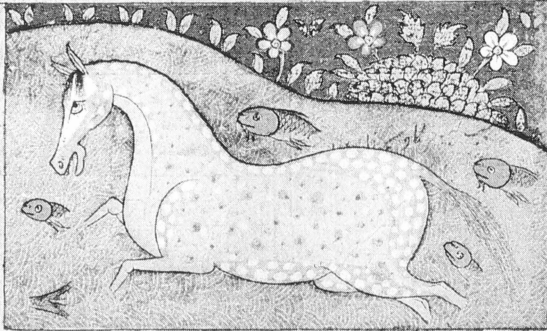


Fig. 8



Fig. 9



خصوصاً إذا كان عفيفاً **يق** هي الشجرة المعروفة قال صاحب الفلاحة إذا انتفعت نواة البني في عصا  
 الورم فزرعت ليثم منها رايحة الورد ومن ثمرتها ورقها وإذا انتفعت في غسل ولين ثم تجفف وزرع طاب ثمرتها واجلوت  
 ورقها السدد الذي يغسل به الرأس والبدن يقوى  
 الشعر يمنع انتشان ويطوله صغها يذهب  
 الحار ويحمر الشعر غسلا لابه ثمرتها حلوة ومضف الحلو  
 منها يمنع النزف والاسهال الكاين من ضعف المعدة  
 إذا قلى ورق مع نواها تقع نفعاً يتنا **مخل**  
 شجرة مباركة من عجائبها أنها لا تؤجد إلا في بلاد  
 الاسلام وهذا من جملة ما كرم الله تعالى بها  
 الاسلام فان بلاد الحبشة والنوبة والهند بلاد خاق  
 خليفه لوجود الخلل ولا يثبت فيها شيء من  
 وانه لما عمتنا لأنها خلفت من فضل طينة آدم صلوات الله عليه وهي تشبه الانسان من وجع منها استقامه  
 الفد وطوله وعدم الانواء والعقد في صلها واغصانها  
 وامشاز الذكر عن الانثى وانها لو قطع راسها هلكت و  
 اختصاصها بالفلاح من بين سائر الاشجار ولطعمها  
 رايحة نطفة الانسان وكفراه كشمية الانسان والنجاة  
 الذي على راسه لو اصابه افة نلف الخلة كما لو اصاب  
 دماغ الانسان افة وإذا قطع منها غصن ارجع مثله  
 كما لو قطع عضو الانسان وعليها ليف كشعر  
 الانسان قال صاحب الفلاحة إذا كان نخلة لا يثمر فليعد  
 احد الى فاس ويضربها ويقول لعين اني اريد قطع هذه الخلة لأنها لا يثمر فيقول الاخر لا تفعل فانها شجرة حسنة  
 يثمر في هذه السنة فيقول الرجل انها لا يعمل شيئاً ويضربها ضربة ثنتين او ثلثة والاخر يسكت يدع ويقول لا تفعل واصبر عليها



Fig. 10

## Notes

1. Besides the above-mentioned manuscript there are also three other copies of 'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt in the Institute collection. The oldest one — E-7 — was copied in the 14th century; B-1727 represents only a part of the text — it was copied in 989/1581; C-594 is dated by 1147/1733. See: A. U. Pope (ed.), *A Survey of Persian Art*, (Oxford, 1939), pl. 854; E. Kuhnel, *Persische Miniaturmalerei*, (Berlin, 1959), pl. 12; J. A. O. Badiée, *An Islamic Cosmography: The Illustrations of the Sarre Qazwini* (Ph. D. Thesis, The University of Michigan, 1978), pl. 93.

2. On al-Qazwini and his works see: *Studies on Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī* (d.1283), i-ii,. Collected and reprinted by Fuat Sezgin, (Frankfurt am Main), 1994.

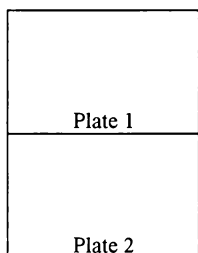
3. On the characteristic repertoire of the miniatures in al-Qazwīnī's Cosmography see: S. Carboni, "The London Qazwini: An Early 14th-Century Copy of the 'Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt", *Islamic Art*, III, 1988—1989, p. 18—27.

## Color plates:

## Front cover:

Fol. 34a. The Archangel 'Izra'il, 160 × 124 mm.

## Back cover:



**Plate 1.** Fol. 13b. The Planet Venus, 225 × 145 mm.

**Plate 2.** Fol. 35b. The Angels of the Second Heaven, 171 × 94 mm.

## Black and white illustrations

**Fig.1.** Fol. 1 a. of the manuscript.

**Fig.2.** Fol. 1 b. of the manuscript.

**Fig.3.** Fol. 12 b. The Planet Mercury ('utārid), 84 × 72 mm.

**Fig.4.** Fol. 16 a. The Little Bear (*al-dibb al-asghar*), 172 × 100 mm.

**Fig.5.** Fol. 56 a. The Rainbow (*qaws qazah*), 172 × 12 mm.

**Fig.6.** Fol. 64 b. The Human-Headed Fish, 88 × 44 mm.

**Fig.7.** Fol. 74 b. The Crocodile (*timsāh*), 173 × 108 mm.

**Fig.8.** Fol. 79 b. The Water-Horse (*faras al-mā'*), 122 × 73 mm.

**Fig.9.** Fol. 129 b. Ebony Tree (*abnūs*), 90 × 70 mm.

Citron (*utruj*), 83 × 87 mm.

**Fig.10.** Fol. 143 b. Lotus (*nabiq*), 90 × 89 mm.

Date Palm (*nakhl*), 89 × 89 mm.

## BOOK REVIEW

**"*Rasā'il al-Ḥikma*" I—XIV ("Poslaniya mudrosti" I—XIV): Iz družskikh rukopisej CPbF IV RAN (A 173). Faksimile rukopisi; predisloviye, issledovaniye (gl. II, III), izbranniye perevody s arabskogo, glossariy M. A. Rodionova; gl. I issledovaniya Val. V. Polosina". — SPb.: Tsentr "Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie" 1995. — 272 s.**

**"*Rasā'il al-Ḥikma* ("The Epistles of Wisdom"). Publication of the text, selected Russian translations, introduction, commentary and glossary". St. Petersburg, 1995 (272 p.).**

The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg Branch) in cooperation with the St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies, Publishing House (founded in 1992), have issued recently the book which represents the first publication in a new series "Pamyatniki kul'tury Vostoka. Sankt-Peterburgskaya nauchnaya seriya" ("The monuments of culture of the Orient. St. Petersburg scientific series"), offered by the Institute and based exclusively on materials from its rich collection of oriental manuscripts. The main aim of this series is the publication of unique or rare manuscripts from the Institute's collection.

The book is devoted to the 11th century Druse religious canon formally named *Rasā'il al-Ḥikma*<sup>1</sup> and consists of three chapters: *Ch. I* "Druse manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies" (by Val. V. Polosin); *Ch. II* "A survey of the Druse faith" and *Ch. III* "*Rasā'il al-Ḥikma* as a historical and cultural phenomenon" (both written by M. A. Rodionov.). It also includes a short editor's preface, the Russian translation of four *rasā'il* and a glossary of religious and philosophical terms (about 110 items) — all by M. A. Rodionov, as well as a summary in English. The main part of the book (202 of its 272 pages) is a facsimile of the manuscript A-173 from the Institute's collection.

This publication is valuable from many points of view. It is the first Russian edition of the Druse canon — the ba-

sic source of the Druse faith: the manuscript A-173 includes the first 14 of the 111 *rasā'il* forming the canon<sup>2</sup>. It is supposed that these epistles go back to the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim (d. 411/1021) and Hamza b. 'Alī (d. 433/1042), the founders of the Druse religious system. The excellent Russian translation is worth special attention. At the same time, the publication is of great importance to the world orientalia in general. One can find only few publications of selected texts and translations from the canon<sup>3</sup>. These publications do not include facsimiles, which in some cases are preferable for scholars. The supplement contributed by Val. V. Polosin is the first detailed description of all Druse manuscripts from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies (there are 12 manuscripts representing all the canonical texts and a number of medieval writings on the Druse religious system)<sup>4</sup>. In spite of many publications on the history and ideology of the Druses, there is not still serious complex study of their manuscript tradition. The author insists that the creation of a general catalogue of Druse works is one of the most urgent tasks in the field of modern Arabic and Islamic studies. He shows also the possible ways to realize it.

Apart from one unfortunate misprint on page 9 (two lines of preface are repeated), there are some minor remarks. It is not clear, for instance, why *rasā'il* I, II, IV and V were distinguished from the rest and chosen for translation; anyway, the reason for this selection is not explained. The epistles devoted to the basic Druse doctrines and "truths" (*al-ḥaqā'iq*), and to their interpretation (see folios 31a, 37b, 54a, 76b of the facsimile) seem to us much more important and worthy of translation.

The statement that *rasā'il* I—XV represent the "core" of the Druse canon, appears to be rather questionable, even though they are connected with the names of the founders. The cover of the book, contrary to its running title, has no indication that it represents only a part of the whole canon. The title *Rasā'il al-Ḥikma*, given on the cover, does not

<sup>1</sup> None of the manuscripts representing the Druse canon or its various parts, have title, except for the one from München (*Rasā'il al-Ḥikma*, 13—14).

<sup>2</sup> According to the list by Silvestre de Sacy, who was the first to classify all the *rasā'il* of the canon. See his *Exposé de la religion des Druzes* (Paris, 1838), ii.

<sup>3</sup> S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, (Paris, 1826) ii; some translations from the canon are included in his "Exposé de la religion des Druzes". See also: M. G. S. Hodgson, "Duruz", *EI*, 2nd. ed., II, p. 634.

<sup>4</sup> *Rasā'il al-Ḥikma*, 10—34.

reflect the real contents, which can hinder the publication of other canonical texts in this series<sup>1</sup>.

The term "*al-tawhīd*" is used by M. Rodionov as a synonym of the Druse faith (pp. 35, 48, 65—6, 68, etc.). But '*ilm al-tawhīd*' is eponymous not only of their faith, but also of Ash'ari's *kalām*. The Druses, like the Isma'ilis, from whom they separated, adopted many points of the doctrine of the God's unity (*tawhīd*) and attributes (*sifāt Allah*) from *kalām*<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, all the Muslims consider themselves *al-muwahhīdūn* and identify themselves, in general terms, with *ahl al-tawhīd*. Following the Druse tradition, the author identifies "*ta'wīl*" with Shi'ism (p. 67), while in reality it is the method of symbolic and allegorical interpretation of the Qur'an (in opposition to

*taqlīd* "clothing with authority"). It was widely used not only by Shi'a authors, but also by the Ash'aris, Shafi'i and Hanbali Sufis, Isma'ilis and many others. Moreover, not all Shi'is use *ta'wīl* to interpret the Qur'an: for example, the Zaydites, in contrast to the Imamites, do not identify themselves with *ahl al-ta'wīl*. The latter term is close to *ahl al-bāṭin*, which is a self-definition of the Isma'ilis.

These minor remarks do not concern the essence of the problem considered in the book and therefore can not reduce its significance. We hope that the authors will succeed in publishing all the remaining texts of the Druse canon. This really will be a valuable contribution to Druse studies.

A. Alikberov

**Giacomella Orofino. *Sekoddeśa*. A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translations with an Appendix by Raniero Gnoli on the Sanskrit Text. — "Serie Orientale Roma", LXII, Roma, 1994.**

The study of written sources in the languages of India, Central Asia and Far East has the strong and profound tradition in Italy. The school founded by Giuseppe Tucci is successfully maintained by his pupils and followers. The book considered here testifies to the fact convincingly. This book presents the starting point of a big project aimed at the study of the Kālacakra school. It was set in 1991 under the guidance of Prof. Raniero Gnoli. Two forthcoming volumes will contain commentaries on "*Sekoddeśa*": "Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Texts" (part 1) and "Critical Edition of the Tibetan Texts" (part 2). The translation of the Sanskrit text reconstructed by R. Gnoli, along with that of three commentaries will be included in the third volume (see p. 128).

G. Orofino has already acquired the reputation of a good specialist in textology after her paper "Divination with Mirrors. Observations on a Simile found in the Kālacakra Literature" delivered at the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Fagernes (Norway), in 1992 (see "Proceedings of the 6th Seminar", vol. 2, Oslo, 1994, pp. 612—28). To evaluate the significance of Orofino's work, few words should be said about the Kālacakra system and some problems connected with its studies in Europe.

Though the Kālacakra system was being examined by scholars from the very beginning of the 19th century, it is still hardly possible to say anything definite about the place and the time of its creation as well as about the interpretation of its philosophy. The Kālacakra school seems to be

conceived not only as "the culmination of medieval Indian Buddhism before its decline", as Orofino truly states (p. 9), but as some specific teaching having its particular aim. In the texts the Vajrayāna was substantiated as a sacred system, that was later evolved in Central Asia and Tibet. Under the threat of being absorbed by other religious systems, especially after Buddhism had been influenced by some dogmas of Mani's teaching, Christianity and Islam, the efforts of Indian Buddhist philosophers was concentrated on creating and codifying the esoteric system addressed to the elite, but not to the common believers of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. The development of the new system started beyond the boundaries of India, where the Vajrayāna had appeared about A.D. 1000 (see: D. S. Ruegg, "Problems in the Transmission of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Western Himalaya about the Year 1000", *Acta Indologica* 6, 1984, pp. 369—81). The texts of the Kālacakra system were never consolidated in the Indian literary tradition due to the time shortage, but, judging by a fair amount of quotations from it in many other Buddhist works, the Kālacakra was highly esteemed. Some Sanskrit commentaries on the Kālacakra literature, along with the texts of the Kālacakra system itself, were partly translated into Tibetan and Chinese.

The tasks set before the author of the book were the following: 1) to analyse the generally accepted theories about the place and the time of the creation of the Kālacakra system; 2) to bring together as many as possible Tibetan translations of the "*Sekoddeśa*"; 3) to evaluate these translations as well as the editors' part in the formation of the system; 4) to reveal possible differences from the Sanskrit original — linguistic mistakes and terminological errors. One of the aims of the work is to enable the reconstruction of the Sanskrit text.

<sup>1</sup> The texts of the whole canon are in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg: Ms A-175 includes 25 texts (XV—XL); Ms A-177 — 15 texts (XLI—LV), etc. (See: Val. V. Polosin, *Druse manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies — Rasā'il al-Hikma*, 10—34).

<sup>2</sup> The specification of the Druse interpretation of this term is based on the assumption that caliph al-Ḥakīm himself represented Allah in His unity; that's why Hamza b. 'Alī called this religion *al-tawhīd* and al-Ḥakīm himself was called "Our Lord" by his followers (See: B. C. de Vaux, "Druses", *EI*, I, 1075—7).

Orofino accomplished this difficult task, though in the Introduction she puts it more modestly: "In completing this edition my aim was to present a text confirming with the readings and the meaning of the various commentaries... both in Sanskrit and Tibetan" (p. 38).

Let us now turn to the data adduced by Orofino in her Introduction. "Sekoddeśa" is one of the parts of the basic texts of the Kālacakra school — "Paramādibuddha" or "Mūlakālacakratāntra", initially containing about 12 000 stanzas. The Sanskrit text of the "Paramādibuddha" is almost completely lost. It is also not clear whether it was ever translated into Tibetan. In her critical edition Orofino managed to use all the available versions of the Tibetan Kanjur — 7. Apart from the well known block printed texts, she used some rare manuscript copies, which had not been involved into the study of Kālacakra earlier ("Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur", "Stog Palace Manuscript Kanjur", "Them spangs-ma Kanjur" from the Ulan Bator Library, as well as the London and Tokyo copies of the Manuscript Kanjur). She found that two different translations of the "Sekoddeśa" were represented in these Kanjur versions. Their appearance was connected with some political and social events in Tibet in the 11th century. One of these translations — "Text A" ("Bro" after the name of the translator) was made in the second half of the 11th century, whereas the second one — "Text B" ("Rva" by the same reason) was made by the end of the 11th century. There is much difference between the translations. According to Orofino, the second translation, though of a later period, has preserved a number of archaic forms and its language appears to be much more clear. Comparing all the manuscripts and xylogrphs available, Orofino managed to ascertain that the Eastern tradition of translations rendered the Sanskrit original better than the Western one, which goes against the accepted evaluation of the two traditions.

It is worth noting that some considerations of Orofino are of great value. First of all, she seems to have correctly determined the place of "Sekoddeśa" in "Paramādibuddha". It formed a part of its fifth chapter. In the first half of the 11th century, however, "Sekoddeśa" was circulated in North India as an independent text. It allows us to suggest, that the "Sekoddeśa" was included in "Paramādibuddha" much later, at the final period of the codification of the Kālacakra. We can get some information about its structure only from the Tibetan authors of the 14th century (namely from Bu ston). It is quite possible, that the complete text of Kālacakra never reached Tibet, its manuscripts being destroyed in India in the course of the wars which overwhelmed the country after the 10th century. Secondly, Orofino confirms the J. Newman's opinion on the date of the text: its codification took place between 967

and 1026, — "403 years after the Hijra (mlecchendravarṣam)" (pp. 15-6). This dating makes us think that the introduction of the sexagenary cycle in Tibet in A.D. 1027 could be connected with the appearance of the text not long before that time (p. 23). Finally, Orofino supports the J. Newman's hypothesis about the Indian origin of "Sekoddeśa" and the Kālacakra system and rejects H. Hoffmann's assumption about their Central Asiatic provenance. It is known that H. Hoffmann suggested to consider Eastern Turkestan, namely the territory of the Uighur State Khocho, as a place where the Kālacakra system had originated. In support of his view Hoffmann adduces the position of Buddhism which preserved its authority there as late as the 14th century in spite of Islam's invasion into the lands all around the State beginning with the 10th century. Still the question about what part of Northern India was a place where the ideas of Kālacakra had been formed into one system — whether it took place in North-Eastern India (Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Himalayan parts of Kashmir, Nepal) or in North-Western India, where the Muslim attacks on it were particular violent — is not answered yet. Orofino has proved to be a bold scholar when choosing such a difficult subject of investigation and demonstrated the brilliant knowledge of the whole volume of literature in question. She has managed to pick out full information from the Tibetan sources that conclude it explicitly or implicitly. Her work is a valuable contribution to the study of the Kālacakra literature. It will certainly serve as a fundamental writing for the scholars interested in Kālacakra system formation.

The Sanskrit text containing 174 verses follows the critical Tibetan text. It has been reconstructed by Prof. R. Gnoli. The method chosen by him for reconstruction seems to be optimum. In his brief Introduction (pp. 127—8) Prof. R. Gnoli adduces all his arguments for this reconstruction as well as all his methodical principles. He points out a body of written sources involved by him in order to reconstruct the text. We are quite sure that until the original Sanskrit text is not found (if ever), the reconstruction supposed by R. Gnoli will serve as an important and essential base for any investigator of the "Sekoddeśa". Everyone who knows what a difficult task a reconstruction of the lost Sanskrit text is, can't but highly appreciate the work of Prof. R. Gnoli. Incidentally one can recall in this connection the remarkable works on reconstruction the Sanskrit logical texts of the pre-Dignāga period by Giuseppe Tucci. We have also no doubt that the complete realization of the Prof. R. Gnoli's plans will do the field a great service.

**E. Tyomkin,  
M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya**

*Istoriia Choidzhid-dagini*: Faksimile rukopisi. Transliteratsiia teksta, perevod s mongol'skogo, issledovanie i kommentarii A. G. Sazykina. Moskva: Nauka, 1990 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXXVII; Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka, XC) (*The Story of Coijid-dagini*: Facsimile and Transliteration of the Mongolian Text, Translation into Russian, Research and Commentaries by A. G. Sazykin. Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1990. — 253 pp. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXXVII; Literary Monuments of the Orient, XC).

This publication presents a Mongolian approach to the problem which inspired all thinkers and poets — the posthumous existence of man and the retribution for the deeds done. Whatever land or nation we take human thought always elaborated the most vivid and impressive images of tortures experienced by sinners in their afterlives. *The Story of Coijid-dagini* is no exception. Its plot is very simple: a woman dies and is taken to hell where she is shown all kinds of punishments imposed on sinners in accordance with their unrighteous deeds in the previous lives. Finally, Erlig qayan — the King of hell, sets her free so that she could narrate her unique personal experience to people thus bringing them on the path of virtue. This *Story* originates from Tibet where similar stories about "those who have returned from the other world" (Tib. 'das-log) were not uncommon both among Buddhists and Bon-pos. The Tibetan original of the *Story* entitled *dMyal ba mi yul gyis sa mtsham shi bson gñis kyi bang chen bka'i 'phrin pa gling sa chos skyid bar do'i gnas su byon nas 'khor 'das*

*kyi rgyal po chen po'i dkar nag dbye ba'i 'bras bu'i rnam thar mdor bsdu* is preserved in the Tibetan collection of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number Tib. B. 9217). The work forms a part of a rare xylographic edition which presents the collection of eleven stories about posthumous existence of the various celebrated persons.

While preparing his publication, Dr. A. G. Sazykin made a thorough examination of all the manuscripts and wood-block editions of the *Story* available in the collections of St. Petersburg, Ulan Bator, Kyzyl, Elista and Ulan Ude. The data obtained from publications about the copies of the *Story* belonging to other collections, are also given. It can be added that there is also a copy of the Buryat wood-block edition of the *Story* in the St. Petersburg University Library (call number Mong. C 261).

Different versions and translations of the *Story* are collated and identified in the introduction. On the basis of his examination, Dr. A. G. Sazykin has chosen for publication a manuscript copy of the *Story* which is a translation from Tibetan by Blo-bzang legs-bshad dar-rgyas. This manuscript belongs to the library of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number C 24). In Dr. A. G. Sazykin's opinion, this version is the oldest one and dates back to the 17th century.

The book in question would be interesting not only to orientologists but to general readers as well. The translation of the text, an important source on the history of religion, makes a good reading.

V. Uspensky

*Katalog Peterburgskogo rukopisnogo "Gandzhura". Sostavlenie, vvedenie, transliteratsiia i ukazateli Z. K. Kas'ianenko. Moskva: Nauka, 1993 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXXIX; Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka, CII) (Catalogue of the St. Petersburg Manuscript of the Mongolian bKa'-gyur. Compilation, introduction, transliteration and indexes by Z. K. Kas'ianenko. Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1993. — 382 pp. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXXIX; Literary Monuments of the Orient, CII).*

Everyone who has ever dealt with the problems related to the Buddhist Canon faced the difficulties arising from its immense volume surpassing that of the Bible or the Qur'an. The catalogue compiled by Prof. Z. K. Kas'ianenko is the fruit of her many years painstaking work on the Mongolian *bKa'-gyur* in 113 volumes, i. e., the collection of works ascribed to the Buddha himself.

The Tibetan *bKa'-gyur* was assembled in the 14th century and came down to us in several versions. Its Mongolian translation was made in 1628—9 by the order of Ligdan qayan, the last one in the lineage of the Great Qayans of Mongolia. The manuscript of *bKa'-gyur* dating to that time was discovered in 1892 in Inner Mongolia by the brilliant Russian scholar A. M. Pozdneev. He was later engaged in the matters connected with the acquisition of the

manuscript on behalf of the St. Petersburg University. Though the fact of this acquisition has been mentioned in the Russia's greatest pre-revolutionary Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopaedia, the *bKa'-gyur* became accessible to scholars only a hundred years later with the publication of the catalogue by Prof. Z. K. Kas'ianenko.

The general design of the catalogue is modeled after the catalogue of the printed Mongolian *bKa'-gyur* by L. Ligeti (Budapest, 1942—4). But while the printed Mongolian *bKa'-gyur* of 1718—20 which is closely related to Peking editions of its Tibetan original, so the works it contains are easy identifiable, in the case of the St. Petersburg manuscript this task is much more complicated. For example, it contains some works from the *bsTan-gyur*, such as No. 879, 880: 'Jig rten bzhaq pa (Peking edition, No. 5587); No. 881: *rGyu gdags pa* (*ibid.*, No. 5588); No. 882: *Las gdags pa* (*ibid.*, No. 5589).

In brief, the work accomplished by Prof. Z. K. Kas'ianenko is a substantial contribution to the studies of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, of which the Mongolian *bKa'-gyur* is a special case. There is no doubt that this publication will stimulate new studies of the Buddhist literary heritage by making its most valuable texts easily accessible.

V. Uspensky

*Me'or 'aiin* ("Svetoch glaza"). Karaimskaja grammatika drevneevreiskogoazyka po rukopisi 1208 g. Faksimile. Izdanie teksta, perevod s drevneevreiskogoazyka, issledovanie i kommentarii M. N. Zislina. Moskva: Nauka, 1990 (Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka, XCVI) (*Me'or 'ayin* ("The Light of Eye")). Karaite Hebrew Grammar. The Manuscript of 1208. Facsimile, edition of text, Russian translation from Hebrew, research and commentary by M. N. Zislin. Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1990. — 215 pp. (Literary monuments of the Orient, XCVI).

The publication contains a philological study and the text of the Hebrew grammar-book "*Me'or 'ayin*" (Light of Eye), which forms a part of one of the unique Hebrew manuscripts from the A. Firkovich collection. At present it is preserved in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg [Evr. II A 132/1]. The manuscript was written by scribe Jehudah ben-Jacob ben-Jehudah in the town of Gagry (GGR; apparently it can be identified with the town of Gagry on the shore of the Black Sea, Georgia).

The publication consists of the following parts: Introduction; "Light of Eye" (*i. e.*, Russian translation of the text); Commentaries; Supplements (a List of terms and a List of abbreviations); the Text; its Facsimile, and Summary.

In the introduction M. Zislin presents a brief survey of the standard of Grammar knowledge and the development of Hebrew methodology of studies, a brief paleographic description of the manuscript. Basing on the philological study of the text, M. Zislin is suggesting the date of its composition, its location, and the creed of its author. In M. Zislin's opinion, this grammar-book was composed in the Byzantine Empire in the late 11th century. It was addressed to a reader non familiar with the Arabic language (Arabic was the basic language of the Hebrew grammarians of the 10—12th centuries). The work was composed, in many aspects, under the influence of the grammatical works by Abu al-Faraj Harun ibn al-Faraj (the first half of the 11th century).

The Russian translation of the work is notable for its utmost accuracy. The commentary contains extensive bibliography, takes into account possible variants, explanation of linguistic terms, a detailed argumentation on the variants of translation chosen by the author.

The publication of the text in the modern Hebrew script is an important supplement to the facsimile. It must be interesting to the students of paleography and it will be helpful for the further study of the text.

*Sh. Iakerson*

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## Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts must be written in English.

Manuscripts must be clearly typewritten with numbered pages, double linespacing and wide margins throughout. Italic and bold typeface should be avoided. Use underlining where text is to be italicised. The title should be as brief and informative as possible. The institute at which the work has been done should be indicated at the head of each paper. Authors are requested to include their e-mail address if one is available.

## Submissions

Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Editor-in-Chief: Professor Dr. Yuri A. Petrosyan, St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 18 Dvortzovaya nab., 191186, Saint-Petersburg, Russia, E-mail: orient@ieos.spb.su

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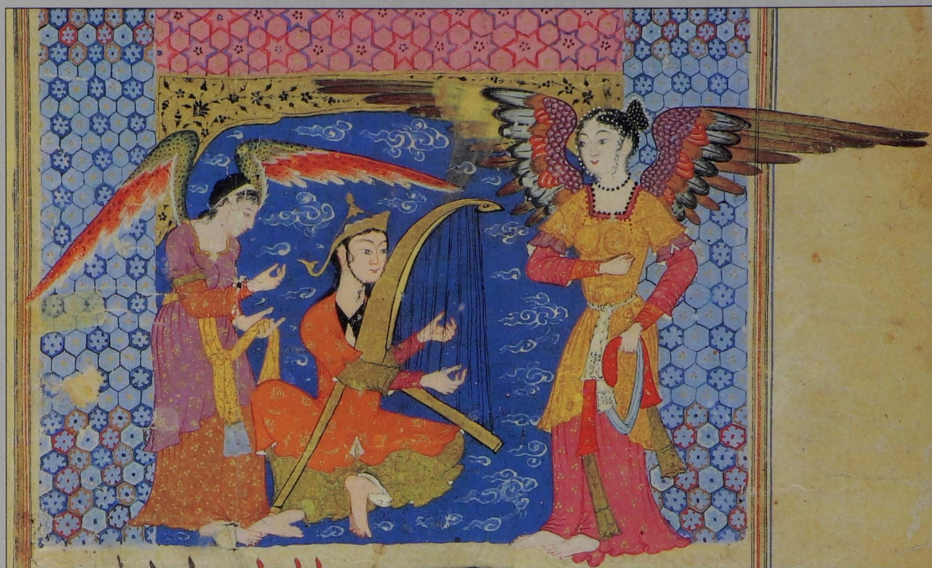


Plate 1



Plate 2