Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 1 No. 2 October 1995

CONTENTS

**Colour plates: "Iskender-nāme" by Aḥmedī (1334/35—1412/13), MS C133 from the collection
of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (see p. 47—61).**

F r o n t c o v e r :

Fol. 58a. Iskender and Gülshah, 10.7 × 10.9 cm.

B a c k c o v e r :

Plate 1. Fol. 93b. Iskender Slaying a Dragon, 10.7 × 13.2 cm.
Plate 2. Fol. 140b. The Poet Aḥmedī (?), 10.7 × 14.3 cm.
Plate 3. Fol. 249b. The Religious Dispute in the Presence of Sultan Orkhan, 10.7 × 14.7 cm.
Plate 4. Fol. 254a. The Murder of Sultan Murad I, 10.7 × 14.3 cm.

Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. **1** No. **2** October 1995

Manuscripta Orientalia

Copyright

Printing and distribution

Subscriptions

Printed in Finland

E. I. Kychanov

UNIQUE TANGUT MANUSCRIPTS ON MORAL
AND ETHICAL REGULATIONS IN THE TANGUT SOCIETY

Each society requires an idea or a system of ideas, which make its existence reasonable. Different cultures follow different religious systems (polytheism, monotheism, the Heaven as the supreme divine power of the Chinese and Central Asian cultures), but no culture is able to avoid the problem of supernatural. Common ideology unite the whole society or some of its strata, providing the basis of its existence, regulating the society, explaining to ordinary people its origin and destination.

It will not be an exaggeration to say, that one of the basic ideas propagated by the extant Tangut texts was the concept of "hsiao", traditionally rendered as "filial piety", or , in a broader sense, the reverence of the younger towards the older, and the elder's love towards the younger. The Chinese classic on "hsiao", the "Hsiao-ch'ing", attributed to Confucius himself, states: "The filial piety is the root of all goodness. You receive your body, hair and skin from your father and mother — so, you dare not do any harm to them — that is the foundation of filial piety. To establish yourself on the Way, to glorify your name through generations to come in order to demonstrate to the world the goodness of one's father and mother is the supreme implementation of filial piety" [1]. Confucius instructed: "A young man must be an obedient son in his parents' home, an industrious laborer outside, careful and trustful in his speech, hospitable and polite to his relatives. If there are any resources left after he answered all these requirements, these resources must be devoted to learning" [2]. And: "It is not likely to happen, that people devoted to filial piety and reverence to their elders would start a riot. A decent man concentrates on the foundation. When the foundation is strong, there emerges the Right Way. Filial piety and respectfulness to the elder — that is the basis of humanity in this world" [3].

Though the concept of "hsiao" included love of the elder towards the younger, the foundation of "hsiao" was the love of children for their parents, the reverence of the younger generation for the elder generation, as well as the respect of the lower classes towards superior social strata, obedience of a subject to his ruler. The concept of "hsiao" is universal, but only in China and in the Far-Eastern cultures it was carefully investigated and accepted as a philosophy. Initially the concept of "hsiao" implied a non-

Chinese idea of reverence, devotion, service and obedience of children to their parents. Children respect and obey parents, parents love children and take care of them. Confucius instructed: "Be tender and tolerant while dealing with parents. If you see, that your intentions contradict theirs, still obey and do not go against their desires. Though you may be exhausted, still dare not be angry with them" [4]. And further on: "While your father is alive, follow his wishes, when your father is dead, follow his deeds, if within three years you do not change your father's ways, you may be called the one who fulfilled his filial duty" [5]. V. A. Rubin once wrote: "Confucius attributed crucial importance to filial piety, since he considered it to be the foundation of all other merits, first of all of humanity. According to Confucius, among the family merits respect for the elder brothers (t'i) holds the second place. Since in his time those, who fed their parents were considered model children, Confucius complained: "Dogs and horses are fed too. If it is not done with deep reverence, what is the difference?" ...Confucius believed that pity must be expressed in obedience to parents in conformity with the "li" principle while they were alive, and in a proper funeral and due sacrifices on their graves when they were dead" [6]. A Chinese scholar Hsie Wu-wei wrote, that the doctrine of "hsiao" "penetrated into every corner of Chinese life, penetrated into all the activities of the Chinese people" [7].

In a very remote past the doctrine of "hsiao" was transferred from the family relations into the sphere of relations between a ruler and his subjects. "Staying in the family, revere the elder, being on service, devote yourself to the ruler" [8]. Confucius instructed: "Filial piety starts with the service and continues in the service to the sovereign" [9]. "A man receives the order of Heaven... At home there are family relations between father and son, elder and younger. Outside there are relations between a ruler and the subject, the higher and the lower" [10].

The Tangut state of Hsi-hsia (982—1227) emerged on the western border of the Sung China. The culture and ideology of this multinational state included three major components: the traditional culture of the Tanguts (and also Chinese, Tibetans, Uighurs), the culture and ideology of Buddhism, and the general culture and ideology of the Hsi-hsia state and society. As for the dominant Tangut

nation, its most deeply rooted ideological strata were connected with the concepts of the origin of the nation and the genealogy, both real and mythical, of the ruling dynasty. Buddhism was the dominant religion, even if not proclaimed as such. It fulfilled the task of bringing together and unifying the polyethnic elements of the society through common beliefs (Buddhist texts that were considered to be of all-state importance were published in the Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan languages). Buddhism protected the dynasty and the state and provided ritual services for everyday life (birth, funeral ceremonies, prayers etc.). It was the Tangut state, where the institution of "ti-shi" (the imperial preceptor in Buddhism) first emerged. Later it was introduced in the Mongol Yuan Empire. This fact testifies to a deep penetration of Buddhism into the sphere of state affairs.

To strengthen family relations, to regulate connections between the elder and younger generations, between a ruler and his subjects, the Confucian doctrine of "hsiao" was used. Since this doctrine was non-ethnic, it was able to bring together various peoples, as well as all Buddhist and non-Buddhists schools. We may be sure that a certain number of Nestorian Christians and Moslems resided within the Hsi-hsia territory. Since the doctrine of "hsiao" took no serious notice of any ethical and religious divergence, it united the citizens to serve the needs of the state and the dynasty.

Among the monuments of the Tangut script, discovered in the dead city of Khara-khoto, there are several text dedicated to the propagation of the doctrine of "hsiao". First comes the translation of the "Classics of Filial Piety" — "Hsiao-ch'ing". As it was established by N. A. Nevsky, the preface to this treatise had been dated by 1095. In his paper "The Tangut Scripts and its Funds" N. A. Nevsky wrote: "...the Confucian ethics, its basic idea being to teach a ruler to rule and his subjects — to obey, was also transplanted to the Tangut soil". Judging by "The History of the Sung", the Tangut emperor Yuan-hao (1032—1048) was the first to start the translation of the Chinese classics. It was probably by him that the classical book on the filial piety — "Hsiao-ching" and ancient classical dictionary "Ehr-ya" have been translated. Among this kind of books in our collection, we can mention a secondary translation of the "Hsiao-ching" with commentaries. This manuscript is almost complete (only the end of the last 18th chapter is missing). The text is written in a cursive script and is hardly comprehensible, and it is also quite difficult to figure out the name of the author of the commentary. However, the detailed examination of the basic text, which turned out to be the so called "new text" (ch'in-wen), helped to become used to the manner of the translator and to read through the author's preface. The colophon of the preface is dated by the second year of Sheng-shao (1095), there it is mentioned that the author of the commentary was a famous Sung scholar Lui Hui-ching, to whom belongs also the text of a commentary on "Chuang-tzu", found in our collection. The name of the translator is not mentioned anywhere [11].

After the publication of the chinese classics in Tangut translation [12] by Prof. V. S. Kolokolov and myself Prof. E. Grinstead translated the preface to "Hsiao-ch'ing" into English [13]. There it is mentioned, that "Hsiao-ch'ing" contains Confucius's discourses with Tseng Shen. Lui Hui-ching advocates the idea, that if love and respect prevail in each family, peace and tranquillity will spread like an

ocean. He also believes, that Tseng Shen is the ideal follower of "hsiao" and serves a model for the generations to come. Even the fire of Chin (a hint on the burning of Confucian books in the reign of Chin shi huang-t'i) could not burn "hsiao" out of the hearts of the Chinese. "Hsiao" is the imitation of the ways of the perfect ancient rulers, it is a proper conduction for sacrifices both on the state level, in the Mingtang temple, and in town and village temples. E. Grinstead also mentions, that the preface is dated by the 10th month (31.10—10.11) of the second year of Shaosheng, i. e. November 1095.

Unfortunately, a whole chapter on "hsiao" from the "lei-shu" — "The Wood of Categories" has not survived. Originally it probably belonged to the second juan of the text. As the publisher of this text K. B. Keping suggests, only one page of this chapter has survived [14]. But for us it is important to mention, that such a chapter existed at all.

One more book devoted to the "hsiao" histories has partially survived (only the last, 3d chapter is available). The book is titled "The Newly Collected Notes on Love to the Younger and Piety to the Older". It was compiled by Tsao T'ao-an, who held the position of "one receiving orders" (cheng-zhi) in the Administration of the Capital Region, a full-time tutor in the High School of Tangut script. Tsao T'ao-an compiled another book, whose title may be translated as "On Decent Behavior", or, following N. A. Nevsky, as "Notes on Virtuous Conduct" (or, perhaps, to be even more correct "Notes on how to behave in conformity with the benevolent power of te"). N. A. Nevsky wrote about this monument: "The Tanguts themselves produced compilations from various Chinese books in order to instill into students the Chinese Confucian ethics. Such is a manuscript compilation in our collection titled "The Newly Collected Notes on Love to the Younger and Piety to the Older". This book represents a compilation of various stories about decent sons, brothers, women, collected from different dynastic histories. The compiler of this book was probably a Chinese, whose name was Tsao Tao-an or Tao-le. Original Tangut books of this sort resemble these compilations. They are full of quotations from the Chinese classics on moral subjects. These quotations were also published xylographically in a separate volume" [15].

To the same group of texts N. A. Nevsky attributed "Notes on virtuous conduct". According to his suggestion this compilation was probably "prepared especially for the emperor himself and for the highest noblemen, since it is dedicated to the raising of an ideal Confucian monarch since his earliest age etc." [16].

Concerning "The Newly Collected Notes on Love to the Younger and Piety to the Older", we should note that K. B. Keping, the publisher of the text, believes that this book "is not a translation of a specific Chinese text, but a compilation of a number of stories, extracted from various Chinese sources and then translated into Tangut" [17]. This idea is probably true, but still the existence of such a collection, once popular, but now not extant, can not be fully denied. The collection of "hsiao" stories from Tunhuang testify to this.

Another Tangut lei-shu, titled "The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints", was supposed to play an important role in the propagation of "hsiao". This book is an official government edition, dated 11 July 1182. The structure of

the text resembles the structure of an explanatory dictionary. First comes the basic concept, printed in large characters, then come two lines of a commentary, printed in smaller characters. In those cases when "hsiao" is touched upon, it is explained through episodes, borrowed from Chinese books. These episodes begin with the formula "long time ago", "once" and are rendered in brief form, with no reference to the source. What is most important, is that basic concept of this compilation is concentrated on the principal characteristics of "hsiao". All the rest is omitted [18].

In "The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints" we encounter "hsiao" as a state doctrine. "There are three forms of hsiao: its supreme manifestation is the action of the ruler. The ruler under the Heaven spreads the benevolent power of te and raises hsiao and ritual (li) in the World. If hsiao and li spread all over the state, this is the hsiao of the ruler. Next comes the hsiao of officials. If someone sincerely and meritoriously follows the laws and li, does not have a bad reputation, does not seek awards from his ruler, reverently serves his parents, then this is the hsiao of an official. If strong and able people use their strength and abilities in filial piety and service to their parents, this will be the manifestation of hsiao of the people of the state".

Among the officials special importance was ascribed to the military exercises. A man had to be able to handle weapons and to fight, everybody was obliged to serve in the army — both strong and weak, because the army service makes the weak stronger.

The "decent people", the literati, were able to "estimate the merits of Chinese books", including books on "hsiao". They "follow the teaching of Buddha, adhere to "hsiao", they are reserved and serve there, where they are sent by a ruler". The real treasurers of "hsiao" were people full of humanity (ren). Once Confucius was asked: "What is humanity?" He replied: "To Love people". Confucius explained the contents of humanity in his famous maximum: "Do not do to the others what you do not wish to be done to you" [19].

"Hsiao" was to be fully applied to family affairs. The "hsiao" of parents implies that mother takes care of her child in her womb, thinks only of good while she is pregnant, "carefully walks and sits", forgets about herself producing a baby and swaddles and bathes the baby after he is born. Father takes care of children, "thinks of how to feed and dress them, makes them study, looks that they are no less descent and brave than other children, helps them to win good fortune".

Parents teach daughters motherhood, the skill of making clothes and dress properly. "The sons over fifteen years old are taught how to bring home a wife, parents make them learn the martial arts", "teach them to control their body, to avoid the disasters of fire and water, to protect against shameful diseases".

The "hsiao" of children towards their parents included a permanent reverence of the parents, since the merits of them are higher than the Heaven itself. A child is obliged to take care of his health. Since the body is given to him by his parents, he should not damage his "bones and flesh". Children possessing filial piety "should take a boat to cross the river, so that not to disturb their parents by anxious thoughts, whether they will cross successfully or not". A child should be brave in combat or carrying out his parent's

order. "Children that revere their parents never talk about the difficulty or impossibility of the parent's order. Even if the order is deadly dangerous, they do not avoid it and do not violate the order". Dutiful children must refrain from committing crimes, especially from those punished with death.

A permanent service to parents is the children's duty. Children "wake up early, before the cocks sing, reverently prepare clothes and shoes for their parents, keep close to their father and mother. When parents wake up, children offer them clothes and shoes, in mild voice ask about the state of their health". "In winter provide them with a warm room", "in the evening, when father and mother go to bed, wish them a good sleep".

Children should do their best not to disturb their parents by anything — neither by their health problems nor by deeds and behavior. They leave home only if parents allow, obey their father's and mother's orders, never violate the parent's will, do not utter evil or dirty words. If parents enjoy longevity, children are happy too. Those children who follow "hsiao" should not remind their parents of their old age.

Children must always seek work. When they grow up, they should work or enter state service, but not fool around and spend life in idle joy. The one who does not serve or work does not deserve the name of a dutiful son. "The children, who revere their parents do not loose their good fame in those places, where they are sent. They await the ruler's orders and sincerely follow them. They are attentive at service, make friends with each other, are trustful and sincere, bravely fight in combat. The dutiful children are those, who fulfill these five duties and do not defame their parent's name". "A man must follow the established orders, be sincere and devoted to the service. If he holds an official position, then he is capable to settle affairs. When he seeks the love of his relatives, he should be sincere. When the ruler sends him to the enemy settlement, he should behave bravely and courageously".

Children should not use the family properties without their parents' permission, and when they grow up and have their own family they should not leave their parents, if they do not agree. "If children avoid pliable speech and say "yours" and "ours" about the family property, they will not win the name of dutiful children even if they kill a sheep every day and invite the parents to the feast". In full accordance with such views, the law prohibited a son to go away from his parents against their will. For such deed one could be sentenced to one year of penal servitude. Also a violent use of the family properties by children and by other members of a family was subject to criminal penalty [20].

Dutiful children must respect all elders; it was strictly prohibited to curse and swear in their presence. In everyday life it was forbidden to occupy the place, where one's parents sat or slept. To put on parent's clothes or talk about the way parents were dressed was considered disrespectful. If a son's career was more successful than his father's and if he was offered a higher rank than his father had, the son was obliged to reject it politely.

"When parents are sick, their children are possessed by sorrow, do not comb the hair, do not put on new clothes, do not make singing and dancing, do not drink wine or take delicious food, do not express joy or rage but engage themselves in preparations of a medicine to cure the dis-

ease. When the parents take the remedy, dutiful children personally offer it to them". "When parents die, their children do not confine their duties to the days of remembrance and the three years of mourning, but even after that term continue to carry out the duties of reverence".

The doctrine of "hsiao" paid great attention to relations between elder and younger brothers. "Elder brother loves the younger, the younger reveres the elder". Brothers support each other just like arms and legs do. They treat the other men of their generation like brothers, love the younger and revere the elder.

Brothers do not leave their family unless it is necessary, do not raise property separately. The younger does not try to exceed the elder in rank, while the elder is alive. Brothers are obliged to live in harmony.

The "hsiao" of nephews required that they should revere their father's brothers, *i. e.* their paternal uncles, who were considered the closest relatives after the parents themselves. Nephews must not exceed the rank of their paternal uncles. The reverence of maternal ants also came after parental reverence. Maternal uncles were connected with the mother "the source of birth", therefore the nephews had to revere them also. Maternal uncle was supposed to protect his nephews, the children of his sister.

As far as women are concerned, they had their specific regulations of "hsiao". A woman was considered to play an important role in the family harmony. A woman should be decorated with four merits: good behavior, good speech, beauty and industry. "They say that a woman must speak in soft and pleasant voice, must look at ease fulfilling her duty, be always bright and cheerful, be able to carry out all work assigned to a woman".

A woman was supposed to obey "the three": "Staying in her mother's home, she should obey her father and brothers, after marriage she obeys her husband and after he is dead, she obeys her sons". "A girl, while at home, replies "I obey" to her father's order, after she gets married says "I obey" to the father and mother-in-law's orders, she replies "I obey" and remembers all the orders well". The text of "The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints" provides us with an example of female beauty: "The shapes of a woman's body are not similar. If a woman is not small, her face is white, lips are red, teeth are white and straight, hair is black and shining, eyes are clear and joyful, her deeds are noble, speech is tender, she is smart, walks and sits beautifully, then we say that she possesses all the three features of noble conduct: filial piety, respect to the friends and obedience to the elder".

In a big family where were several married brothers, daughters-in-law were required to respect each other. If this was not so, then naturally, there happened quarrels.

The "hsiao" of the daughter-in-law to her parents-in-law was the same as the children's reverence to their parents. "A daughter-in-law wakes up early, before the dawn. She combs her hair, puts her clothes and shoes on and stays close to her parents-in-law. As soon as they wake up, she waits for their directions, offers them water and towels to wash themselves, waits for orders, offers tea and wine, cooks tasty food". A daughter-in-law waits upon her husband's mother "politely asks about the state of her health, asks: "Are You well?" and prepares everything the mother-in-law likes and enjoys".

As for a son-in-law, he was supposed to revere his parents-in-law as his paternal uncle and maternal aunt. Once

in a season, as the ritual required, he offered reverence to them and waited for their directions.

At the same time, the wife's parents were not required to treat their son-in-law like their natural son, because "even a good son-in-law, however industrious he is in revering the parents of his wife, can not be compared with their own son, even if he is evil".

Married sisters, if they were able to do so, were required to help their brothers. In difficult circumstances they were requested to take care of their nephews as of their own children.

When choosing a wife, a young man was supposed to take into consideration not only the girl's beauty, but first of all her character and behavior. A husband was to give orders, and his wife had to obey. A wife was expected to do her best to produce sons (in folklore a man who had no sons was considered childless : "If you got ten daughters, you won't avoid the name of a childless"). A wife should not be jealous if her husband has other women (*e. g.* concubines in noble and wealthy families). She was supposed to treat the children of concubines as her own children.

Such were the "hsiao" principles, which the members of the Tangut society were required to follow.

As it was mentioned above, in the encyclopedia "The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints" every item was illustrated with an example from literature. Here we offer some of these examples: first the Chinese original version is provided, then comes its Tangut rendering.

The "hsiao" of daughter-in-law: "Wang Tzu was a man from Hoyen. In the years K'ai-yuan (713—741) he participated in a military expedition to Hu-chou and stayed away for ten years. His new wife was extremely reverent to the elders. The family was poor and she had to weave and make shoes every day to earn her living. Her husband's mother suffered from tuberculosis for a long time. Someone said: "If you manage to get human flesh, eat it and you will survive". The daughter-in-law heard his words and sliced a piece of flesh from her hip and offered it to Wang Tzu's mother. She took it, and the decease soon passed away. The governor of Ho-nan submitted a report..., and both mother and daughter-in-law were awarded honorary titles, and their deeds were recorded in annals" [21].

"In ancient times there lived a daughter-in-law, very reverent to the elders. Her mother-in-law had long been sick. She was treated with different medicines, but none of them were effective. A doctor said: "If she takes human flesh, she will survive". The reverent daughter-in-law secretly sliced a piece from her right hip, cut it into small pieces and offered to her mother-in-law. The mother recovered, but the daughter's wound festered and was very painful. Once the mother asked why the daughter looked so unwell. The really reverent daughter-in-law replied: "While the mother-in-law was sick, I, your daughter-in-law, cut a piece of flesh from my hip. Because of the wound I look so bad". The mother examined the wound and said: "Are there still daughters so reverent?" and cried. Because of the great merit, the daughter's wound healed. The ruler came to know about this and awarded the daughter a honorary title and her name became wide-known".

Original Chinese stories could circulate in more or less detailed versions. The Tangut authors omitted names and dates, so a Tangut reader not familiar with the Chinese

literature, could imagine that the whole story comes from the history of his own Hsi-hsia state.

One more example: "Lao Lai-tzu. A man from Ch'u. At the age of seventy [he] never called himself old in order not to hurt his mother. [He] put on a coat of many colors to show that he was a child and to make mother happy. He even played child's games before his mother and slept on his belly, or was sleeping together with the mother by the feet of his benevolent nurse. He twisted legs and arms and cried like a baby. The ruler of Ch'u came to know about this and awarded him a gift of gold and appointed him a ling-yi, but Lai-tzu rejected the appointment" [22].

"In ancient times there lived a son eighty years old. His parents were a hundred years old. To demonstrate his piety, this son was playing like a baby. After his father had died, filial piety became his supreme goal. The ruler came to know about this and invited him to come, but he did not, also rejected all titles and awards and dwelled in mountains. He spent the rest of his life, demonstrating the piety to his source and warmth".

Such stories, both real and imaginary, are quite numerous in Chinese dynastic histories and various collections of "hsiao" stories. For example a son covers his mother while she is asleep with his own body to protect her from mosquito bites; mother often punished her son beating him with a stuff and he never cried. Once he cried because he realized that his mother became weak and could not beat him strong anymore and soon would die. Some stories are fantastic: a mother (or a grandmother) was sick and wanted to eat some bamboo sprouts in winter . Her son (grandson) cried, because he could not fulfill her wish. Suddenly bamboo grew out of ice. There is a similar story with a fish appearing on ice once out of the blue. There is a story about a daughter, who persuaded a tiger to eat herself instead of her father. Such were the sources from which Tangut authors selected didactic examples. Sometimes there occur references to the Tangut mythology.

"Revere your father and mother" — thus was the instruction of our ancestors. Respect of children towards their parents, older relatives, especially elder brothers and sisters, relatives of father and mother (first of all towards paternal and maternal uncles and aunts) was in the past characteristic of almost every nation. And not only in China the obligation to respect the elder was transferred to relations between a ruler and his officials or subjects. But in China this universal rule, rooted in the regulations of behavior from the level of animal communities, was incorporated into the national philosophical teaching and developed through more than two thousand years, absorbing both general concepts and practical examples, not always imaginary, from the rich Chinese history. Thus a specific literary genre of "hsiao chuan" came into being. This genre dealt mainly with the biographies of those who were especially adhered to the regulations of filial piety. Since the 4th century A.D., after Buddhism had penetrated to China, Buddhist ideas came into a conflict with "hsiao". A monk-hermit abandoned the world and dwelt in a monastery, thus breaking his family relations, refused to prolong his race and to some extent renounced the state. His asceticism harmed his body. Therefore Confucians accused Buddhism of "three harms" — *i. e.* of the body, of the family and of the state. Family was the foundation to which Chinese ideology used to compare the state; in its turn family was compared to the Universe. Diplomatic documents and in-

ternational treaties of the 1st millennium A.D. often contain the formula "The Universe is one family", and China's relations with the outside world were expressed in terms of family relations of the Chinese emperor with the ruler of a neighboring country. These relations were defined as connections between "father and son", "grandfather and grandson", "uncle and nephew", etc. It would have been wrong to consider this system ineffective — more than that, it was often supported by real marriage connections — Chinese princesses were married to the rulers of neighboring states.

It is well-known, however, that Buddhism safely adapts itself to local circumstances. To reject the accusation of the violation of "hsiao", Chinese Buddhists announced that Buddhism, in fact, was the ultimate manifestation of "hsiao", since Buddhism spreads love and respect on all living beings and cares about the universal salvation. Thus "hsiao" left the confines of family, of state and even ... the realm of mankind [23]. Chinese Buddhist of the 4th century Sun Ch'o declared that the doctrines of Buddha and of Confucius were the same, but "Confucius cured the evil which is right on the surface, while Buddha cleared its source" [24]. There appeared a Chinese apocrypha — "Sutra on the Power of Family Love".

Both in the everyday life and in the realm of ideology Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism coexisted and by the Sung period (contemporary with the existence of the Tangut State) constituted an integrated entity of "san-chiao", *i. e.* of the above mentioned three teachings. This triple unity served as the spiritual basis of medieval Chinese society. In the "hsiao" literature and treatises this teaching does not come across Buddhism which is quite evident from the monuments of Tangut literature. In real life, however, Buddhism and "hsiao" amalgamated — for instance, such a respected and popular ritual as the distribution of Buddhist texts accompanied the order of funeral ceremonies and other mourning rituals conducted by dutiful "hsiao" — full sons. It was practiced even by the members of the imperial household. "Hsiao" manifested itself in the wish of good reincarnation in the Pure Land of Amitabha for deceased parents.

It should not be omitted that in the sphere of state activities "hsiao" produced certain negative impact. Family relations interfered into local administration system, the community became divided according to the family principle, in the central administration "hsiao" resulted in the practice of giving privileged appointments to relatives. This was accompanied by the custom of hereditary appointments. The state apparatus was thus damaged by family corruption. Chinese legal regulations were modified to fight against it. Such norms as regular rotation of officials (once in three years), prohibition on service in the native area, marrying a subject, loans from a subject, etc. were adopted by the Tanguts [25]. At the same time the popular morals of "hsiao" contained many useful ideas.

The breakdown of family links usually results in moral degradation of a society as the whole. "Hsiao" turned out to be effective in the industrial and postindustrial societies — the current success of Japanese economy, the industrial growth of the South-Asian countries with their large Chinese settlements and strong Chinese capital — Taiwan, Hong-Kong and Singapore, even successful reforms in the mainland China could be partially explained by "hsiao". Application of family relations to the relations within a

company or an enterprise (the owner, manager is treated like a father) devotion to one's company (*i. e.* the second family), care of the owners about their personnel impregnated with the spirit of "hsiao" (examination of their family situation, common feasts, etc.), agreement of an employee to limited one week leave (it is considered shameful not to fully exhaust oneself for the benefit of the second family-company) make their work very effective. This special effectiveness can hardly be achieved in such countries of Europe, the USA, Russia. "Hsiao" and individualism can hardly coincide. Their clash is still in the future. This item is especially crucial for Russia, where again we have a discussion on what is better for the country: society-

community and communal coexistence or individualism and market economy rooted in it.

As for the Tangut state, we can make several conclusions:

1. The Tangut society adopted the doctrine of "hsiao".

2. Being Buddhist in character, the Tangut society saw no principal contradictions between "hsiao" and Buddhism.

3. "Hsiao" managed to exist in harmony with the traditional Tangut clan ideology.

4. The state itself attached crucial importance to the propagation of "hsiao". This is surely testified by the available now Tangut literary monument.

Notes

1. *Bian'wen' o vozdaianii za milosti. Rukopis' iz dun'huanskogo fonda Instituta Vostokovedeniia* (Pienwên about Requital for Favor. A Manuscript from the Dunhuang Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies). Part 1. Facsimile edition, research, translation from Chinese, commentaries and tables by L. N. Men'shikov — Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka (Literary Monuments of the Orient, XXXIV) (Moscow, 1972), p. 72.

2. V. V. Maliavin, *Konfutsiĭ* (Confucius) — Zhizn' zamechatel'nykh liudeĭ (Lives of Illustrious Personalities) (Moscow, 1992), p. 146.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

4. L. S. Perelomov, *Konfutsiĭ, zhizn', uchenie, sud'ba* (Confucius, Life, Teaching, Fate) (Moscow, 1993), p. 216.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

6. V. A. Rubin, *Ideologiia i kul'tura drevnego Kitaia (chetyre silueta)* (Ideology and Culture of the Ancient China. Four Silhouettes) (Moscow, 1970), p. 26.

7. V. V. Maliavin, *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

8. *Bian'wen'*, p. 73.

9. *Drevnekitaĭskaia filosofiia. Epokha Han'* (Ancient Chinese Philosophy. The Han Period) (Moscow, 1990), p. 281.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 148—9.

11. N. A. Nevsky, *Tangutskaia filologiia. Issledovaniia i slovar' v dvukh knigakh* (Tangut Philology. Research and Dictionary in Two Volumes), i (Moscow, 1960), p. 85.

12. *Kitaĭskaia klassika v Tangutskom perevode* (Chinese Classics in Tangut Translation. Lun-yu, Meng-tzu, Hsiao-ch'ing). Facsimile edition, preface, dictionary, indices by V. S. Kolokolov and E. I. Kychanov — Literary Monuments of the Orient, IV (Moscow, 1966), p. 10.

13. Eric Grinstead, *Analysis of the Tangut Script* — Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series, 10 (Lund, 1972).

14. *Les kategoriĭ. Utrachennaia kitaĭskaia leishu v Tangutskom perevode*. (The Wood of Categories. A Lost Chinese Leishu in Tangut Translation). Facsimile edition, introduction, translation, comments, indices by K. B. Keping) — Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka (Literary Monuments of the Orient), XXXVIII (Moscow, 1983), p. 26.

15. N. A. Nevsky, *Op. cit.*, pp. 35—6.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

17. *Vnov' sobrannye zapisi o liubvi k mladshim i pochtenii k starshim* (The Newly Collected Notes on Love to the Younger and Piety to the Elder). Facsimile edition, introduction, translation and comments by K. B. Keping — Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka (Literary Monuments of the Orient), XXXVII (Moscow, 1990), p. 9.

18. Wang Ch'ung-ming and others, *T'un-huang bianwen ch'i*, 2 (Beijing, 1894).

19. *More Znachenii ustanovlennykh sviatymi* (The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints), Tangut Collection of St. Petersburg Branch the Institute of Oriental Studies, Tang 32

20. V. V. Maliavin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 192—3.

21. *Izmenennyĭ i zanovo utverzhdennyĭ kodeks deviza tsarstvovaniia Nebesnoe Protsvetanie* (Changed and Newly Adopted Code of Laws of the Period of Heavenly Prosperity). Facsimile edition, translation and notes by E. I. Kychanov. In 4 vols. — Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka (Literary Monuments of the Orient), LXXXI (Moscow, 1989) — vol. 1, p. 309—10.

22. Wang Ch'ung-ming, pp. 909—10.

23. Shih Ch'ue-shou, *Hsiao tzu chuan, Congshu chicheng* (Shanghai, 1935), p. 17.

24. V. V. Maliavin, "Buddizm i kitaĭskaia traditsiia" (Buddhism and Chinese Tradition), *Ethics and Ritual in Traditional China* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 268—9.

25. *Izmenennyĭ kodeks ...*, pp. 309—10.

E. N. Tyomkin

FRAGMENTS OF THE "SADDHARMAPUṆḌARĪKA-SŪTRA" IN THE I. P. LAVROV MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

The paper continues the publication of Sanskrit manuscripts from I. P. Lavrov collection, which we started in the first number of "Manuscripta Orientalia".

Judging by the number of copies found in Eastern Turkestan, the "Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra" played an important part in the diffusion of the Mahāyāna doctrines in Central Asia and China and enjoyed a wide popularity, especially in the 5th—8th centuries. The so-called "Kashgar manuscript" found by N. Th. Petrovsky is generally known. Its facsimile has been twice published and serves a basis for investigating the Central Asian version of the sūtra [1]. The manuscript was written in a book Brāhmī script, current in the southern oases of Eastern Turkestan during several centuries (mainly, in the 5th—8th centuries). Beginning from 1985 about 100 fragments of the sūtra were published in Russia, most of these coming from the Petrovsky collection as well [2]. More than 5 different copies of the sūtra were recognized among them. Apart from two fragments of the Lavrov collection which we are going to consider in the paper, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya is publishing another two fragments of the sūtra in the same number of the journal. These come from S. E. Malov's collection and belong to two different manuscripts. We may hope that some more fragments of the sūtra will be identified in the St. Petersburg manuscript collection in the future.

The Central Asian version of the sūtra is recognized in the greater part of the published fragments. The Petrovsky manuscript represents a classical sample. Simultaneously with the Central Asian version one more Sanskrit version was circulating over Eastern Turkestan. It came down to us in several eleventh century Nepalese manuscripts. They were used by H. Kern and B. Nanjio in their publication of the text of the sūtra in the "Bibliotheca Buddhica" series (further referred to as BB) [3]. The new name of the variant appeared after the discovery and publication of the Gilgit manuscripts of the "Saddharmapuṇḍarīka", that is the Nepalese-Gilgit variant [4]. We are publishing new fragments of the sūtra with a view to promote the study of this variant.

In the Lavrov collection two fragments of the Nepalese-Gilgit variant of the sūtra are kept under call number SI L/12. Both belong to the same manuscript. According to the palaeographic criteria suggested by Lore Sander, its script can be determined as "Turkistanischer Gupta-Typ (Schrifttypus III), Alphabet q" [5].

FRAGMENT 1 (fig. 1, 2)

A fragment of a folio of the pothi type, 17 × 7.5 cm. The left edge is torn off. Judging by the traces of glue, there was a patch along the left edge. There are 6 lines on each side. Some lacunae are present in the central part of the fragment.

The text belongs to chapter 12 (in the Central Asian version — chapter 13) of the sūtra — "Utsāhana- parivar-tah". It follows the version of the "Bibliotheca Buddhica". Below we compare four versions of the text: one of our manuscript; one of the "Bibliotheca Buddhica", p. 267, lines 12—269, line 1; one of the Gilgit manuscript, group B, pp. 247(13)—248(5), and, at last, one of the Petrovsky manuscript, ff. 257a(1)—258b(1).
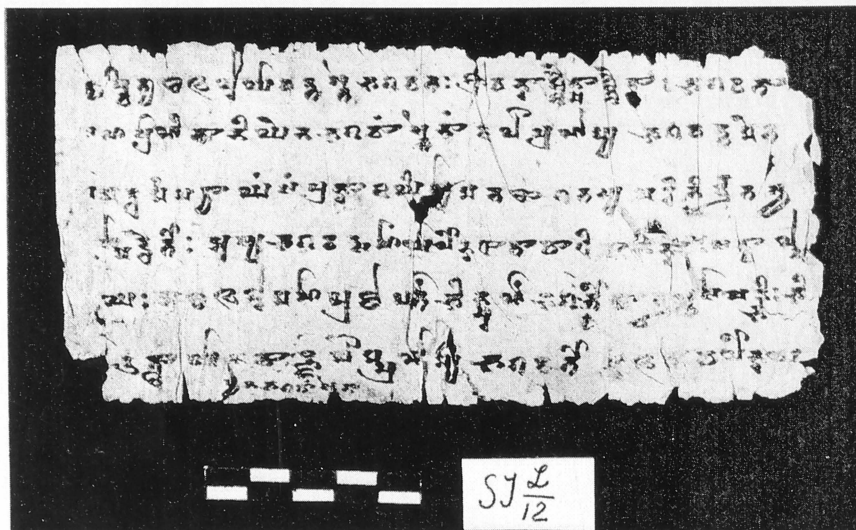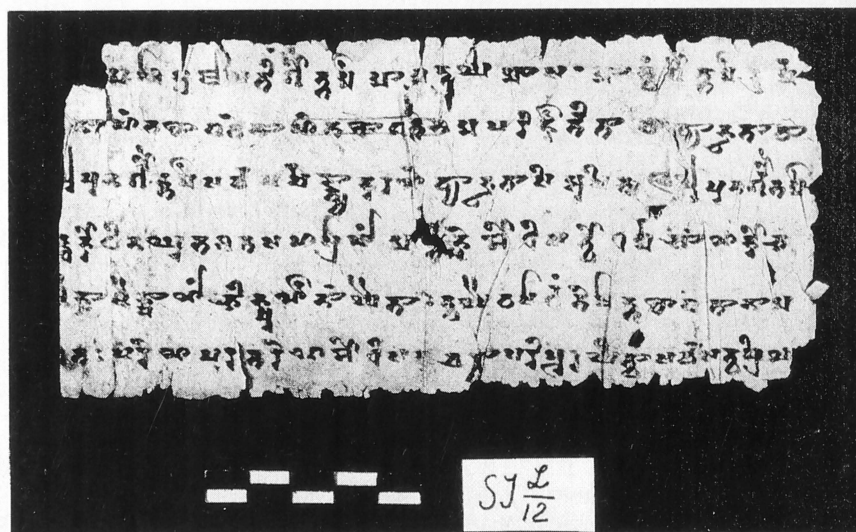
Fig. 1, recto

Fig. 2, verso

Transliteration

Recto

1.]tuṣvityatha khalu yāvantas-te bhagavataḥ śrāvakā śśaikṣāśśaikṣāḥ bhagavatā
    BB., p. 267,line 12: *lokadhātuṣviti | atha khalu yāvantaste bhagavataḥ śrāvakāḥ*
    śaikṣāśaikṣā bhagavatā
    Gilgit Ms., 2, p. 247, lines 13—14: *lokadhātuṣv ity* [||] *atha khalu yāvantas te*
    bhagavataḥ śrāvakā śaikṣāśaikṣā...[ga]vatā
    Petrovsky Ms., 257a (1—2): *lokadhātuṣu. atha khalu yā(tt)akās te bhagavataḥ*
    śravakāḥ śaikṣāśaikṣā ye te bhaga(va)tā

2.]sahasrāṇi tāni yena bhagavāṃstenāṃjali praṇāmya bhagavantam-eta
    BB., 268 (1—2): *bhikṣusahasrāṇi sarvāṇi tāni yena bhagavāṃstenāñjaliṃ praṇamyya*
    bhagavantametadūcuḥ |
    Gilgit Ms., 2, 247 (15—16): *bhikṣu-sahasrāṇi sarvāṇi tāni yena bhagavāṃs tenāñjalīn*
    praṇamyam etad ūcuḥ [||]
    Petrovsky Ms., 257a (5): *bhikṣusahasrāṇi (bhaga)vantam etad avocur* {two lines (3, 4)
    contain the text missed in the Nepalese-Gilgit version}

3.]p[ī]man-dharmaparyāyaṃ saṃprakāśayiṣyāma tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya
    BB., 268 (2—3): *vayamapīmaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ saṃprakāśayiṣyāmastathāgatasya*
    parinirvṛtasya paścime
    Gilgit Ms., 2, 247 (16—17) : *vayam apīmaṃ dharmaparyāyam sam...[s]vāmahe*
    tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya paścime
    Petrovsky Ms., 257a (6): *vayam apīmaṃ dharmaparyā(ya)ṃ (tath)āgatasya*
    pari(n)ir(v)ṛ(ta)syemasmin

4.]smāddhetoḥ asya bhagavan-sahāyā lokadhātāvādhi[m]ānikāḥ satvālpa
    BB., 268 (4): *tatkasya hetoḥ | asyāṃ bhagavansahāyāṃ lokadhātāvadhimānikāḥ*
    sattvā alpa
    Gilgit Ms., 2, 247 (18—19): *tat kasya hetoḥ* [||] *asyāṃ bhagavan sahāyāṃ lokadhātāv-*
    ādhimānikāḥ sattvā : a...
    Petrovsky Ms., 257a (7)—257b (1): *tat kasya hetor imasmin bhagava(n sa)he*
    lokadhātāvadhim(ā)nikā(ḥ satvā ano)ka(lpa)nabahulā.

5.]yaḥ atha khalu mahāprajāpati bhikṣuṇi bhaga[va]to [m]ātṛsvasā ṣaḍbhiḥ bhi
    BB., 268 (6): *yāḥ || atha khalu mahāprajāpatī gautamī bhagavato mātṛbhaginī*
    ṣaḍbhirbhikṣuṇīsahasraih
    Gilgit Ms., 2, 247 (20—21): *[ā]r* [|||] *atha khalu mahāprajāpatī g[au]tamī bhagavato*
    mātṛsvasā ṣaḍbhir bhikṣuṇī-sahasraih
    Petrovsky Ms., 257b (2—3): *yā(h) atha khalu mahāprajāpatī bhikṣuṇī bhagavato*
    mātṛsvasā. ṣaḍbhir bhi(kṣu)ṇīsahasraibhi.

6.]utthāyāsanā {below the line: d-yena bhagavāṃs-tenā}ñjālīṃ praṇāmyā bhagavato
    [mu]kham avalokaya
    BB., 268 (7): *utthāyāsanādyena bhagavāṃstenāñjaliṃ praṇamyya*
    bhagavantamullokayantī
    Gilgit Ms., 2, 247 (22—23): *utthāyāsanād yena...[lī]n praṇamayya bhagavantam*
    ullokayantī
    Petrovsky Ms., 257b (4—5): *utthāy' āsa(n)ād yena bha(ga)vāṃs tenāṃjalim*
    praṇāmayitvā bhagavatau 'bhimukhā bhagavato 'dhimātraṃ mukham
    avalokayaṃtyaḥ

Verso

1.]mahāprajāpatiṃ gauttamīmā[ma]ntrayimāsa. mā tvaṃ gauttamī durma
    BB., 268 (8—9): *mahāprajāpatīṃ gautamīmāmanttrayāmāsa | ki tvaṃ gautami*
    durmanasvinī
    Gilgit Ms., 2, 247 (24—25): *mahāprajāpatīṃ gautamīm āmantrayāmāsaḥ* [||] *mā tvaṃ*
    gautami durmanasvinī
    Petrovsky Ms., 257b (6—7): *mahāprajāpa(t)ī(ṃ) (g)o(tam)ī (mā)mantrayati sma. mā*
    heva tvaṃ gotamī daur(manasv)i(n)ī

2.]nāham tathāgatenāham {is deleted: tathāgatena} ma parikīrtitā vā vyākṛtā vā
   BB., 268 (9—10): *nāhaṃ parikīrtitā vyākṛtā cā*
   Gilgit Ms., 2, 247 (25—26): *...tena parikīrtitā vyākṛtā cā*
   Petrovsky Ms., 257b (7)—258a (1): (*nāhaṃ tathāga)tena [na]*
   (nāma)dheyaparikīrtanavyākaraṇena v)y(āk)r(tā anuttarāyāṃ)

3.][l]u punar-gauttamī sarva-parṣadvyākaraṇe vyākṛtāsi api tu khalu punar-gautamī
   BB., 268 (10—11): *lu punargautami sarva-parṣad-vyākaraṇena vyākṛtāsi | api tu khalu
   punas-tvaṃ gautami*
   Gilgit Ms., 2, 247 (26)—248 (1): *lu punar gautami sarva-parṣadvyākaraṇena
   vyākṛtāsi | api tu khalu punar gautami tvam*
   Petrovsky Ms., 258a (2—3): *lu punaḥ gotamī (sar)v(aparisadv)y(āka)raṇena me
   go(ta)mī iyaṃ pariṣa(d vyā)k(r)tā 'nuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau. api tu (g)otami
   idas tvam*

4.]ddha koṭi-nayuta-śata-sahasrāṇāmmantike bodhisatvo dharmabhāṇako bha
   BB., 268 (11—12): *ddha koṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇāmantike bodhisattvo
   dharmabhāṇako bhaviṣyasi |*
   Gilgit Ms., 2, 248 (2): *ddha-koṭī...[sa]hasrāṇāṃ antike bodhisattvo dharmabhāṇako
   bhaviṣyasi /*
   Petrovsky Ms., 258a (4—5): *ddhakoṭinayutaśatasahasrāṇāṃ sāntike bodhisatva
   dharmabhāṇako bhaviṣyasi.*

5.][ś]aikṣāśaikṣāṇāṃ bhikṣuṇīnām yaitā. tvayaiva sārdhaṃ teṣān-tathāgatānām-a
   BB., 268 (13—14): *śaikṣāśaikṣāṇāṃ bhikṣuṇīnāṃ tvayaiva sārdhaṃ teṣāṃ
   tathāgatānāmarhatāṃ*
   Gilgit Ms., 2, 248 (3—4): *śaikṣāśaikṣāṇāṃ bhikṣuṇīnāṃ tvayaiva sārdhaṃ teṣāṃ
   tathāgatānāṃ antike*
   Petrovsky Ms., 258a (6—7): *śaikṣāśaikṣāṇi bhi(kṣu)ṇī(nā)ṃ (tva)yai(va) (s)ardham
   (t)e(s)āṃ (bu)ddhanāṃ bhagavatāṃ sāntike*

6.]taḥ pareṇa paratareṇa bodhisa[tva] caryā paripūrayitvā sarva satva-priya
   BB., 269 (1): *pareṇa paratareṇa bodhisattvacaryāṃ paripūrya sarvasattvapriya*
   Gilgit Ms., 2, 248 (4—5): *pareṇa paratareṇa bodhisattva-caryāṃ paripūrayitvā
   sarvasattvaprya*
   Petrovsky Ms., 258a (7)—258b (1): (*ta)taś ca (pa)reṇa (b)o(dh)i(sa)tvacaryāṃ
   paripūrayitvā paścime samucchraye sarvasatva(priya)*

FRAGMENT 2 (fig. 3, 4)

A fragment of the same manuscript, 8,5 × 8 cm, right and left edges are torn off, 6 lines on each side.

The text belongs to chapter 14 of the Nepalese-Gilgit version, "Boddhisattvapṛthivivivarasamudramaparivarta". The number of this chapter in the Petrovsky manuscript is 15, its title is "Pṛthivisamudgatabodhisatva-parivartaḥ".

The text survived only in the Gilgit manuscripts of group *A*.

See: BB., p. 300, lines 2—16;
Gilgit Ms., 2, pp. 101(23)—102(14);
Petrovsky Ms., ff. 288a(1)—289a(6).

Transliteration

Recto

1.]dakṣinī kṛtvā ca nāna[
   BB., 300 (2): *dakṣinīkṛtya nānāprakārair*
   Gilgit Ms., 2, 101 (23—24): *dakṣinīkṛtvā nānāprakarair*
   Petrovsky Ms., 288a (1—2): *dakṣinīkṛtvā nānāprakārebhiś*

2.] vantamnca prabhūtaratnam-abhimukh[
   BB., 300 (3—4): *°vantaṃ ca prabhūtaratnaṃ tathāgatamarhantaṃ
   samyaksambuddhamabhisammukham*
   Gilgit Ms., 2, 101 (25—26): *°vantaṃ ca prabhūtaratnaṃ tathāgatam arhantaṃ
   samyaksambuddham abhimukham*
   Petrovsky Ms., 288a (4): *°vantaṃ ca prabhūtaratnaṃ tathāgatam arhantaṃ
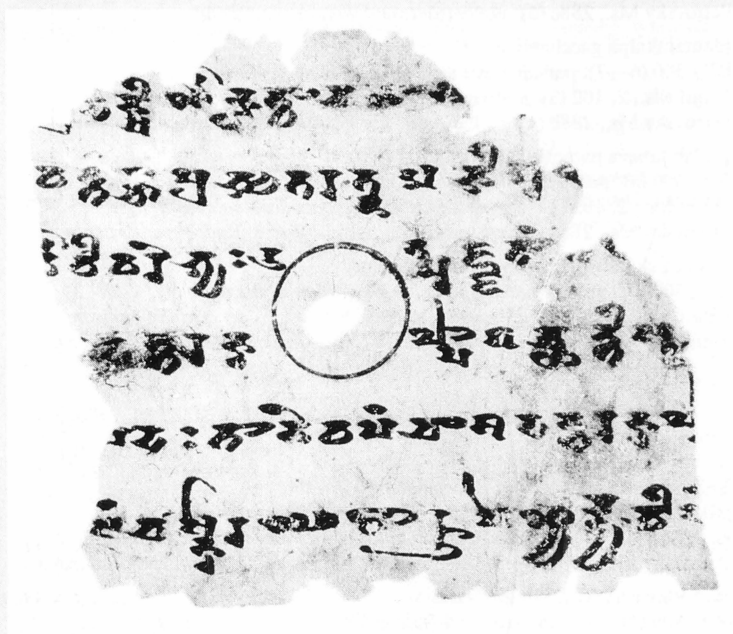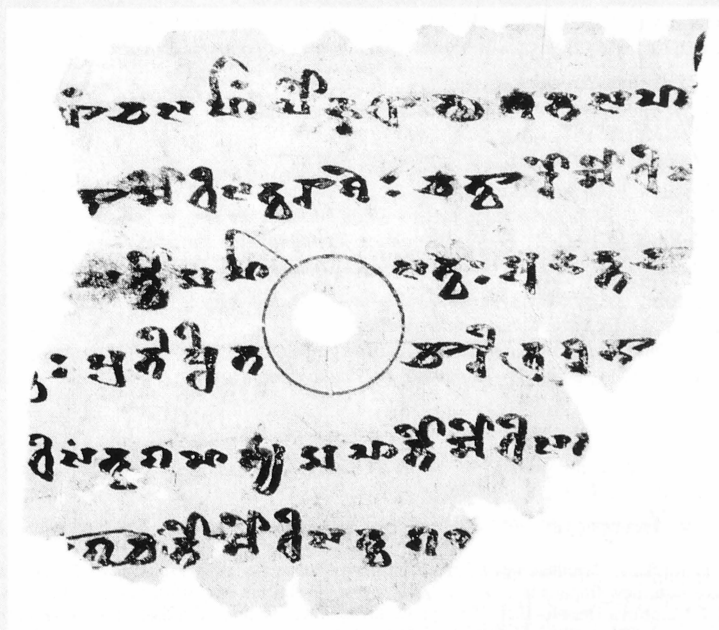   samyaksambuddhām abhimukhā*

Fig. 3, recto

Fig. 4, verso

3.   ]vī-vivarebhyaḥ unmajjatām [
     BB., 300 (5): *vī-vivarebhya unmajjatāṃ*
     Gilgit Ms., 2, 102 (1—2): *vī-vivarebhya : unmajjatāṃ*
     Petrovsky Ms., 288a (6): *vī-vivarāntarebhya unmajjaṃtānāṃ*

4.   ]dantarakalpā gacchanti sma [
     BB., 300 (6—7): *pañcāśadantarakalpā gacchanti sma |*
     Gilgit Ms., 2, 102 (3): *pañcāśad antarakalpā gacchanti sma |*
     Petrovsky Ms., 288b (1): *pañcāśada[śada]bhyantarakalpā gacchaṃti sma.*

5.   ]sadaḥ tāneva paṃcāśadantarakalp[ā] [
     BB., 300 (8): *parṣadastāneva pañcāśadantarakalpāṃ*
     Gilgit Ms., 2, 102 (4—5): *pariṣadas tān eva pañcāśad antarakalpā[ṃ]s*
     Petrovsky Ms., 288b (3): *pariṣadaḥ tān paripūrṇapañcāśadabhyantarakalpāṃs*

6.   ]sam ca skāra yathārūpenyar[dh]yabhisaṃ[
     BB., 300 (9): *saṃskāromakarodyathārūpeṇarddhyabhisaṃ*
     Gilgit Ms., 2, 102 (6): *abhisaṃskāram akarod yathārūpeṇa ṛddhy-abhisaṃ*
     Petrovsky Ms., 288b (5): *abhisaṃskārṣīt ta[dya]thā rūpeṇar(d)dh(y)abhisaṃ*

Verso

1.   ]māṃ ca sahāṃ lokadhātu-śata-saha[srā] [
     BB., 300 (10): *smemāṃ ca sahāṃ lokadhātuṃ śatasahasrā*
     Gilgit Ms., 2, 102 (7): *imāṃ ca sahāṃ lokadhātu lokadhātu-śata-sahasrā*
     Petrovsky Ms., 288b (6—7): *sarvāvantaṃ saho lokadhātuḥ lokadhātuśatasahasrā*

2.   ]ta bodhisatvarāśeḥ catvāro bodhisa[
     BB., 300 (11—12): *mahato bodhisattvarāśeścatvāro bodhisattvā*
     Gilgit Ms., 2, 102 (9): *mahato bodhisattva-rāśeś catvāro bodhisattvā*
     Petrovsky Ms., 289a (1—2): *(mahato bo)dhisatvarāśeś catvāro bodhisatvā*

3.   ]satvo mahāsatvaḥ anantacā[
     BB., 300 (13): *bodhisattvo mahāsattvo 'nantacāritraśca*
     Gilgit Ms., 2, 102 (10): *bodhisattvaḥ [|] anantacāritraśca*
     Petrovsky Ms., 289a (2—3): *bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ anantacāritraś ca*

4.   ]ḥ pratiṣṭhita cāritraśca-nā [
     BB., 300 (14): *supratiṣṭhitacāritraśca nāma*
     Gilgit Ms., 2, 102 (12): *pratiṣṭhitacāritraśca nāma*
     Petrovsky Ms., 289a (4): *pratiṣṭhitacāritraśca nāma*

5.   ]dhisatvaganasyā mahato bodhisat[
     BB., 300 (15): *bodhisattvagaṇasya mahato bodhisattvarāśeḥ*
     Gilgit Ms., 2,102 (13): *bodhisattvagaṇasya mahato bodhisattvā-rāśe*
     Petrovsky Ms., 289a (5): *(bodhisatvagaṇasya) tasya mahato bodhisatvarāśe(ḥ)*

6.   ]{deleted: gava}to bodhisatvaga[
     BB., 300 (16): *mahato bodhisattvagaṇasya*
     Gilgit Ms.,2,102 (14): *mahato bodhisattva-gaṇasya*
     Petrovsky Ms., 289a (6—7): *mahato bodhisattvaga(ṇa)sya*

Notes

1. See Hirofumi Toda, Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, *Central Asian Manuscripts, Romanized Text* (Tokushima, Kyoiku Shuppan Center, 1983).

2. M. I. Vorob'ova-Desiatovskaia, "Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, novye fragmenty", *Pamiatniki indiĭskoĭ pis'mennosti iz Tsentral'noĭ Azii* ("Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, new fragments", *The Indian Literary Monuments of Central Asia*), 1 (Moscow, 1985), pp. 77—160; G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorob'ova-Desiatovskaia, "Novye sanskritskie teksty iz Tsentral'noĭ Azii", *Tsentral'naia Aziia. Novye pamiatniki pis'mennosti i iskusstva* ("New Sanskrit texts from Central Asia", *Central Asia. The New Monuments of Writing and Art*) (Moscow, 1987), pp. 6—18; idem, "Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra (2 fragmenta)", *Pamiatniki indiĭskoĭ pis'mennosti iz Tsentral'noĭ Azii* ("Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra (2 fragments)", *The Indian Literary Monuments of Central Asia*), 2 (Moscow, 1990), pp. 269—76; E. N. Tomkin, "Neizvestnye sanskritskie fragmenty iz Tsentral'noi Azii" (Unknown Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia), *Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie* (*St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies*), 5 (St. Petersburg, 1994), pp. 418—47.

3. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, eds. Prof. H. Kern and Prof. Bunyo Nanjio (St. Petersburg, 1912) — Bibliotheca Buddhica, X).

4. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Manuscripts Found in Gilgit*, ed. and ann. by Shoko Watanabe, 1—2 (Tokyo, 1975), (in references to transliteration — "Gilgit Ms."); O. von Hinüber, *A New Fragmentary Gilgit Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (Tokyo, 1982).

5. Lore Sander, *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung* (Wiesbaden, 1968), Tafl. 29—40.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. SIL/12, fragment 1, recto.
Fig. 2. SIL/12, fragment 1, verso.

Fig. 3. SIL/12, fragment 2, recto.
Fig. 4. SIL/12, fragment 2, verso.

Valery V. Polosin

TO THE METHOD OF DESCRIBING ILLUMINATED
ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS*

The publication of two fine catalogues — by F. Dé-roche [1] and by G. Schoeler [2] — marks the beginning of a new stage in descriptive arabistic archaeography, the development of a new branch of this discipline, practically non-existent before but prepared, sometimes consciously, sometimes by intuition, by several publications appearing during the last decades. We bear in mind the shift of archaeographic interests from texts represented by some particular copies to manuscripts as they are, which means a basic renewal of the object described in catalogues of Arabic manuscripts.

A period of some confuse of the genre [3] producing a series of catalogues with too simplified descriptive schemes [4] which preceded the birth of this new tendency was followed by the appearance of descriptive works marked with certain innovations [5]. This tendency is most clearly revealed in the catalogues by F. Déroche and G. Schoeler. Due to the specific interests of their authors and, to some extent — to a great number of codicologically significant photographic illustrations supplementing the descriptive part, these catalogues became really significant as publications of objects of material and artistic culture [6]. Without these photographic supplements the catalogues would have lost much not only in volume but first of all in their scientific and methodological significance.

Among the practical results of the appearance of catalogues, where much space is dedicated to the description of decorative elements present in manuscripts, was the understanding (which came, partly, due to their appearance) of how little has been done so far by arabistic archaeography in the field of describing illuminated manuscripts [7].

In view of this current re-orientation of archaeography it is time to admit, that among the reasons for archaeographers' insufficient activity there were difficulties arising in the process of making a verbal description of decorative elements. There are no Arabic terms (or, at least, such have not been revealed so far), and the current European terminology is not well adapted to describe the realities of Islamic manuscript-art. The available classification of decorative elements is unstable and is not international [8].The authors of catalogues encounter much more difficulties in this field than those art-historians who, judging by their works, have something to do with the object of our investigation. This is confirmed once more by the catalogues by F. Déroche and G. Schoeler: answering

the natural demand of scholarly audience for new knowledge, they could not or were not willing to ignore the presence of decorative elements in Arabic manuscripts, even if they are using the language of art history rather than of descriptive archaeography to define them. For this reason it would have been difficult to imagine, if not for the photographs illustrating the catalogues, what could these "verbal portraits" of decorative elements mean. But illustrations are expensive, often it is not possible to produce them because of various technical difficulties. The result is, that investigators, who usually follow the steps of catalogue-makers, are denied the possibility to search for and select their materials from catalogues. We must admit, that by the present time the decorations of Arabic manuscripts as a specific branch of applied art have been studied and described rather superficially and, moreover, selectively. It means that materials required for a full-scale study of this branch of art by art-historians are not quite prepared for them by arabists-archaeographers. A variant of such preliminary study is submitted here to the attention of the reader.

The Berlin manuscript [9], which interested me with its frontispiece, had been already, at least three times, considered by specialists. For the first time — because of its binding. Then M. Weisweiler included its brief and specific description into his monograph on medieval Islamic bindings [10]. Then it was exhibited, and its description appeared in the exhibition catalogue, in the chapter on book-decorations (Ornamentaler Buchschmuck) [11]. Finally, its full description was included into the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts by G. Schoeler mentioned above [12]. There it attracted my attention, partly because of the character of its illuminated pages [13], but, first of all — by the reproduction of its title page or, better to say, its frontispiece *(fig. 1)*.

The main part of this frontispiece represents a figure which often occurs among decorations of Arabic manuscripts — "a square between two rectangles" (my definition). Its three components are bound together with one rectangular frame. On the left, on the outer side of the frame, it is adjoined by two circular medallions arranged on the horizontal axes of the two rectangles and by a semi-circular medallion on the horizontal axis of the square. Each of the rectangles contains a cartouche with text (the title of the book). A large octofoil is set in the center of the

square, having by its four sides four small eight-petal ro-settes.

It turned up, that this composition had regular quanti-tative characteristics making its verbal description more definite. If we take for the length-unit the height of the rectangle in the three-fold figure "square between two rec-tangles", then the side of the square will be equal to three such units, and the relation between the sides of the rec-tangle framing the whole composition may be character-izes precisely as 5 to 3.

There is no reason to presume that this proportion is a trick of fate. As we shall see later, the author of the fron-tispiece composition was exploiting this very ability of the longer (vertical) side of the frame to be divided into five equal sections. The first and the fifth section he made into the heights of the two symmetrical rectangles holding the square between them, the third (central) section — into the diameter of the semi-circular medallion, the second and the fourth, adjoining the central one, he left as two equal "quiet" zones noticeable for the very reason of absence of any other mark (*fig. 1*).

This, however, does not exhaust the possibilities of a formal verbal description. If we draw diagonals within the two rectangular figures of the frontispiece — its frame and the square within it (*fig. 2*), we shall see something never discussed before by the investigators of Arabic manu-scripts: the whole background of the frontispiece composi-tion expressively revealing its geometric character. The discovery of this geometric background creates more com-fortable conditions for further analysis — a possibility to make a formal description and interpretation of the secon-dary elements of the frontispiece: the octofoil, the rosettes around it, cartouches and medallions.

The octofoil in the middle of the frontispiece appears now as a figure strictly centered in relation to all its sides. Its center coincides with the point of intersection of the four diagonals. The octofoil itself blends with a circle, its radius equal to 1/5 of the height of the frontispiece, i. e. its diameter is equal to 2/5 of this height. This hypothetical circle in its turn can be regarded as blending with some square, its angles marking the centers of the four rosettes. Lines connecting the neighboring centers make the sides of this phantom square, which are also equal to 2/5 of the height of the frontispiece. In that way the space left be-tween the sides of the large square (3/5ç3/5) and the octo-foil (= the sides of the phantom square) is equal to 1/10 of the height of the frontispiece. The radius of the semi-circular medallion on the horizontal axis of the frontispiece is also equal to 1/10 of this height.

The measure of 1/10 is also used for symmetrical rec-tangles placed above and below the square component of the triptych. It makes one half of their height, marking the axis lines upon which, as we have mentioned, the circular medallions are set. On the intersection points of the longer diagonals with these axis lines lie the centers of the semi-circles rounding the butt-ends of the cartouches . On the same axes, at the same distance of 1/10 from these centers, lie the centers of the semi-circles (arches) of the second row, also involved in rounding the butt-ends of the car-touches. Their radius is also equal to 1/10 of the height of the frontispiece.

This rather boring enumeration of the details of the frontispiece is necessary to feel how easy and simple it was for the artist to operate, in fact, with just one section equal

to 1/5 of the height of the frontispiece. Sometimes he was enlarging it (two, three, five times) — to build up larger elements, sometimes reducing — twice (for the semi-circular medallion, petals of the octofoil, rounding of the cartouches, etc.), four (circular medallions), eight (round-ing of the cartouches) or even sixteen times (rosettes).

After all this there is no need to come back to the question, if the proportion 5:3 was chosen deliberately or not. It is clear that preliminary calculations made a part of the creative method of the artist. In this case, however, the calculations were not arithmetical. The matter is, that the proportion indicated was the necessary condition of con-structing the frontispiece considered here, even if its ne-cessity was of a limited nature, not going beyond certain border and ending at a comparatively early stage of the artist's work.

It was, in fact, enough to select a frame, its sides relat-ing as 5:3, to ensure a spontaneous (i. e. not requiring any preliminary calculations) division of the rectangle into the figures of the frontispiece described above. The graphic way of solving this problem most probably applied by the artist could be the following.

Four concentric circles are drawn around the center of the rectangle (*fig. 3*). The first one, its radius equal to a half-length of the height of the rectangle, when intersect-ing the diagonals, gives the points which should be con-nected with a line to find the radius of the second circle. The intersection points of the second circle with the sides of the rectangle, if connected by pairs, divide the area of the rectangle forming the required threefold composition "square between two rectangles". The height of each of the two rectangles will be equal to one-fifth, and the side of the square — to three-fifth of the height of the original rec-tangle. In this way the proportions of the main figures of the composition are established in the most natural way — by graphic construction, not otherwise.

The further development of the frontispiece is ensured in the following way. The intersection points of the first circle with the sides of the rectangle indicate the axes of the minor rectangles [14]. The intersection points of the third circle with the diagonals of the square correspond to the centers of the rosettes. The fourth circle is reserved for the octofoil in the center of the frontispiece.

It turns up that the artist was solving a standard geo-metric problem. But the possibility of confining (fully or partly) a manuscript decoration to the solution of some standard geometric problem is very important for descrip-tive archaeography, because it may produce favorable conditions for an adequate verbal description of the object. The suggested criteria help to distinguish the general and the particular features of the object and in this way to de-velop the existing system of definitions, reducing the de-pendence of a description on its illustrative supplements. The constructive character of the new criteria is revealed in their ability to stimulate development not only in archae-ography but even beyond its limits. Let us take the present case. Finding out, that the artist was solving a standard problem of dividing a rectangle proceeding from the inher-ent characteristics of this rectangle, we may ask, when, where and by whom these characteristics had been re-vealed? Was the problem described here really a standard problem (i. e. were similar problems usually solved by other artists)? Here we approach the range of questions belonging to the sphere of the history of science and of
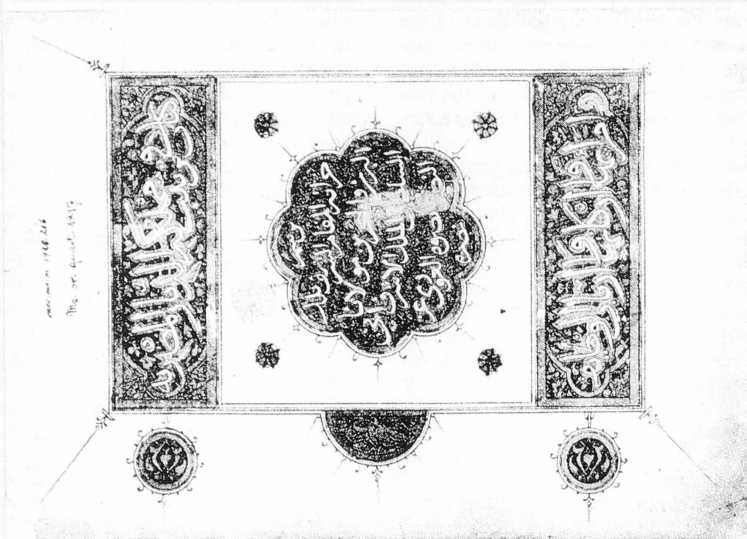
Fig. 1
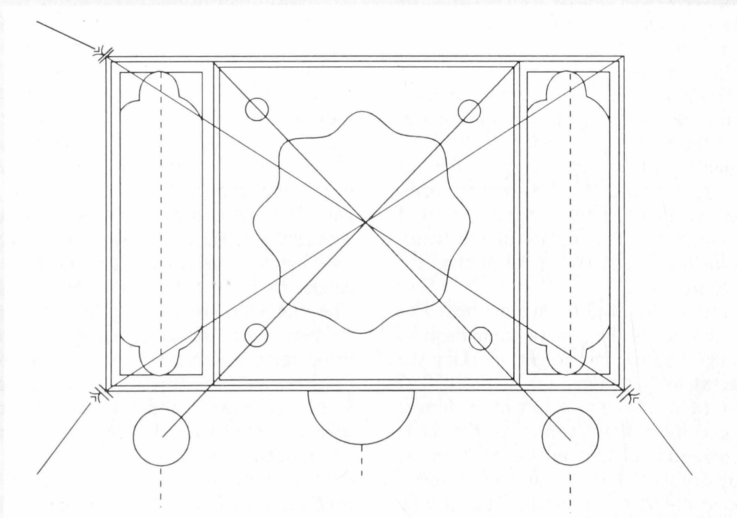
Fig. 2

applied arts. To answer them, it is necessary to start from the beginning, surveying the available decorative elements of manuscripts which, as we have mentioned earlier, are not recorded by the majority of catalogues [15].

We are lucky with the problem described here — even now we can state definitely that the Berlin manuscript (dating to the beginning of the 10th/16th century [16]) is not the earliest example of a rectangular composition 5:3. The same problem was being solved in a manuscript of 391/1000 copied in Baghdad by the famous calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwāb [17]. During the five hundred years separating the two manuscripts this problem could be solved many times by different artists. We may expect that some of the decorations created by them have survived and will be discovered. Let us turn now to the sample found in the Dublin manuscript [18].

There is no resemblance between it (*fig. 4*) and the frontispiece described above. Their geometric background is, however, the same (*fig. 5*), which allows us to omit the repetition of the analysis done in the former case. Let us consider therefore the differences between these two decorations and their significance for descriptive archaeography.

Two artists select for their work rectangles of the same format, then apply the same method to mark their longer sides — first two sections on the opposite ends, each equal to 1/5 of the length of the rectangle, then the remaining three sections in the middle. What is common in both cases is confined to this procedure. We shall never find out the name of its inventor because of its great antiquity. After that follows the individual creative work of the artists. At this second stage the individuality of the artist gets enough space to express itself. The two examples given here (*fig. 1* and *4*) demonstrate, how different can be two patterns deriving from the same starting point. It clearly shows, that general and auxiliary components must be somehow differentiated in an archaeographic description.

To comment this conclusion we return again to our first manuscript and its frontispiece. Beginning to work on it the artist apparently had some general and rather original idea. Under its influence his gambling with the one fifth of the height of the frame became the leit-motif of the whole composition. He played a "two boards game" simultaneously filling the space of the rectangle with the maximum number of figures and using the maximum possible number of derivatives from his standard measure (one fifth of the height) containing a hint on the characteristics of the rectangle of the format selected. If we estimate his work from this point of view, we must recognize it a masterpiece. In spite of its obvious simplicity and transparent compo-

sition (making a pleasing sight) it includes over thirty components characterized by one fifth of the height of the frame or the multiples of this measure (sides of all rectangular figures, diameters of three medallions, four rosettes, octofoil, eight components rounding cartouches, etc., up to decorative arrows projecting to the margins from the four corners of the frontispiece). This is what is called the limit. And it is not easy to surpass it on the way selected by the artist. As for the disguised manner in which the artist's idea is submitted and the apparent absence of a key to this idea — that was in conformity with the spirit of the time. Educated people highly valued various riddles and enigmas, many of them were hidden in verse and in literary works. It was pleasant to find them, and to be able to make them. The art of decorating manuscripts, as we now see, was also subject to this fashion.

The exquisite way used by the artist to build up the frontispiece is urging us to remind the reader that the Berlin manuscript was made for the Mamluk sultan Kānsūh al-Gaurı (906—922/1501—1517) [19]. After his downfall it was considered worthy to be included into the library of the Ottoman sultan Selim I (918—926/1512—1520) [20].

Among the motifs inducing me to write this article was my eagerness to demonstrate the possibilities of quantitative methods when applied to the analysis of artistic decorations. The results obtained in this way enable us to make a more precise and informative description of the object considered than anything achieved before in this field. May be, we even could expect in the future that a description created on the basis of quantitative analysis will make the expensive photographic supplements to catalogues unnecessary, transferring them from the sphere of descriptive archaeography to that of "publicative" archaeography.

This division between publishing objects of art and their description should not, however, disturb the synchronous process of development of these two processes, now embodied in the form of a "catalogue with a photographic supplement". Quantitative analysis requires many samples, as well as the use of such a "rough" instrument as gauge. The established rules of keeping and copying manuscripts practically exclude the possibility of making all these preliminary measurements on originals. Then the originals must be substituted on scholars' desks for their copies — precise and available in the number required (like Xerox copies made from fine reproductions). From this point of view the publication of objects becomes the preliminary condition of improving the methods of quantitative analysis and of obtaining basically new materials on the history of medieval Arab applied art (as well as Muslim art in general). The truth of this statement is proved by this ve-
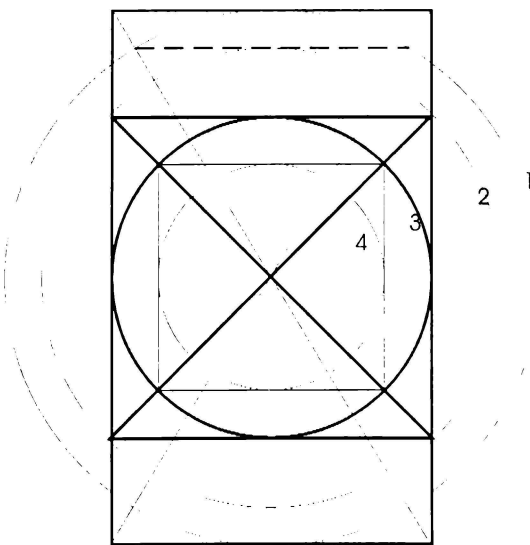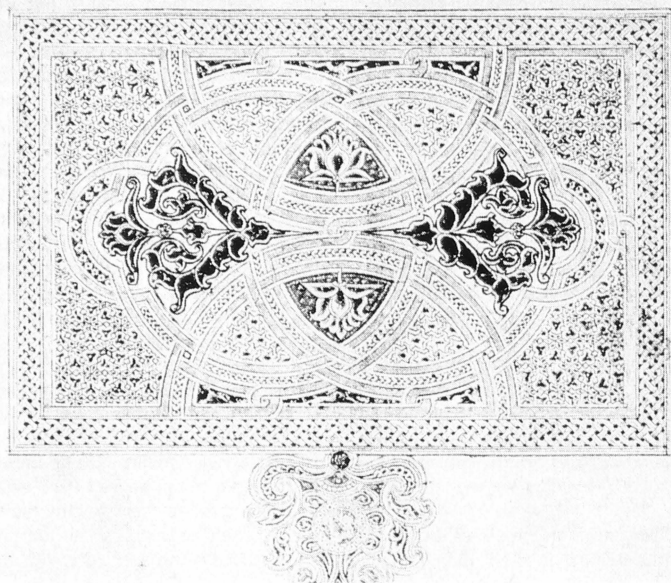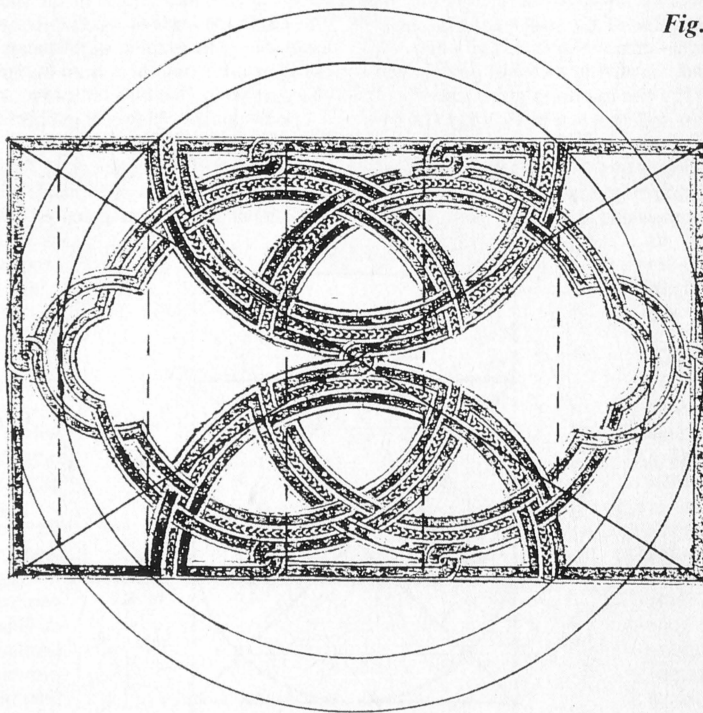

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

ry article: its author had no choice between his desire to write it using the materials of the St. Petersburg manuscript collections — and the necessity to be content with foreign materials available through publications. It happened, because none of our samples of Arab manuscript art have been published, and it is not possible, under the present circumstances, to improve the situation.

Connecting the problem of publishing samples of book-decorations with the task of improving the way of describing illuminated manuscripts by introducing new methods, the author would like to stress the necessity of changing the style of publishing these samples. Quantitative methods require information of the highest precision.

It is time to introduce into Arabic studies what archaeologists have been practicing for a long time: to reproduce objects of codicological interest with a scale [21]. To check the scale on reproductions it will be useful to include the measurements of one or two prominent components of a decoration into their description (this concerns also catalogues of manuscripts). In the present-day practice the functions of such control measurement are fulfilled only by the size of manuscript folios indicated in most catalogues. This, however, is given with a different degree of precision. Besides that, margins are often "cut" on a reproduction, which eliminates the only evidence of its real scale.

Notes

1. F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran. Du Maghreb à l'Insulinde* (Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Deuxième partie: Manuscrits musulmans, Tome 1, fascicule 2) (Paris, 1985).

2. G. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Bd. 17. Reiche B, Teil 2) (Stuttgart, 1990).

3. Here I have in view the limited number of catalogues published during this period rather than the length of the period itself.

4. *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda section) in the Garret collection, Princeton University Library.* By R. Mach (Princeton, New Jersey, 1977); *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia. Kratkiĭ katalog* (The Arab Manuscripts from the Institute of Oriental Studies. A Brief Catalogue), ed. A. B. Khalidov, pt. 1—2 (Moscow, 1986) etc. Attributing these catalogues to a special group we were taking into account not the inner motifs of their authors or the circumstances of their work, but only the place held by these catalogues on the evolutionary scale of the descriptive genre. This evolution has never been treated in the arabistic literature, which makes it worthy of a special consideration, in connection with the development of computer catalogues in particular.

5. The best examples are the already mentioned catalogues by F. Déroche and G. Schoeler, also the two volumes by R. Sellheim, *Materialen zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte.* Teil 1—2 (Wiesbaden-Stuttgart, 1976—1987) — Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Bd. 17. Reiche A, Teil 1—2.

6. Photographic supplements to catalogues of Arabic manuscripts were used at first to collect paleographic materials — to enable the dating of manuscripts containing no dates by handwriting. It was connected with the preferential orientation of arabistic archaeography towards text-publishing. The orientation has changed, but the supplements are still made, in most cases, as paleographic albums.

7. A catalogue by A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Illuminated. A Handlist of the Korans in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin, 1967) — is, probably, the only work written in this genre. We should not forget, of course, that there is a number of exhibition catalogues, but their main task is not the description but the selection of illuminated manuscripts from the total number of books. Descriptions given in works dedicated to illuminated manuscripts are brief, their function is supplementary. The general survey of this literature is given in: D. James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks* (New York, 1988), p. 12—3. Pages 219—49 contain the descriptions of 73 illuminated copies of the Koran.

8. This problem is considered in my article "*Hudozhestvennye 'unvany v arabskikh rukopisiakh*" (Decorative '*Unvans* in Arabic Manuscripts) — in print.

9. Berlin. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbezitz, Ms. or. quart. 1817.

10. M. Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 88, no. 28.

11. *Islamische Buchkunst aus 1000 Jahren. Ausstellung der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kultbezitz. Berlin: vom 25 März bis 24 Mai 1980 in Berlin, vom 9 October bis 23 November im Wissenschaftszentrum in Bonn* (Berlin, 1980), p. 45, no. 018.

12. G. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften*, p. 162—5, no. 161; Abb. 83—6.

13. The description was done by Dr. Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer (Saarbrücken) who helped G. Schoeler to describe the illuminated manuscripts included in the catalogue (Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften*, p. X).

14. The axis line is dividing the height of the minor rectangles in half. Knowing this, it is possible to construct them not implying the second circle.

15. Sometimes there are rare exclusions. The Catalogue of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy omitting, for the sake of brevity, many other characteristics (even the size of folios), is regularly mentioning the presence of 'unvans and frontispieces.

16. This date is founded on the exlibris of the Mamluk Sultan Ḳanṣūh al-Ġauri and the stamp of the Ottoman Sultan Selim (see below, notes 19 and 20).

17. A. J. Arberry, *op. cit.,* p. 15, no. 41, pl. 26 [MS. 1431].

18. Besides Arberry's catalogue (see note 7) it is reproduced on p. 14 of D. James' book (see note 7). James is defining it as a "finispiece" — according to its position in the manuscript.

19. G. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften*, p. 165.

20. *Ibid.*, The stamp of Selim I on folio 1a is reproduced in the supplement to the catalogue, Abb. 83—4.

21. The first (but still the only) example of this attitude is the catalogue by F. Déroche mentioned above.

Illustrations

Fig. 1—2. Ms.or.quart.1817, fol.1a (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung). Frontispiece and its geometric background.

Fig. 3. Some peculiar geometric properties of the rectangle 5:3.

Fig. 4—5. Ms.1431, fol.285a (The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin). Finispiece and its geometric background.

TO THE HISTORY OF ORIENTAL TEXTOLOGY

O. F. Akimushkin

TEXTOLOGICAL STUDIES AND THE "CRITICAL TEXT" PROBLEM

Modern textology is based upon the historical method. It means that we must take into account, that any document appearing in certain social and historical environment, comes to us changed by different corrections, alterations or comments made by book-owners, copyists and editors (who, sometimes unconsciously but in some cases deliberately, changed the text, answering the social demands of their time). The whole life of a document till the appearance of its last variant, as we get it, should be considered in the aspect of its historical environment, its social, political and ideological atmosphere, the circumstances of its author's life, as well as the lives of its later modificators and 'co-authors'. True is the statement made by D. S. Likhachev, that "the history of any text is, to some extent, the history of its creators " [1].

For this reason the publication of documents, making them comprehensible to a modern reader, should be just one of the tasks of a textologist. His work includes many other aspects, which make it even more difficult. First, the history and the life of the text in question should be reconstructed, then follows the reconstruction of the text itself — as closely as possible to the original or to the version supported by its most reliable and authentic copies. This method does not exclude the formal classification of its variants, comparison of similarities and differences, establishing common protographs and drawing of genealogical schemes. But this kind of classification no longer presents the main task of modern textology. The subsequent work of scholars on literary sources or historical studies would have been impossible without the results and conclusions of textological research. To sum up, the work of a textologist forms a basis for all further studies.

The new aims of textology, not limited just to the publication of a verified text, make new demands of the investigator's scholarly "equipment". "A good textologist must have a wide attitude to the object of his research. The more he is employing paleography, archaeography, history, literary and artistic studies, the more convincing and irrefutable become his arguments " [2]. And even more: "A textologist should become a historian of literature, social sciences and of everyday life; he must know the history of the church, paleography, archaeography and philology. This is the minimum" [3].

These words of D. S. Likhachev coincide with the statements of E. E. Berthels: "Publication of a document is neither mechanical nor technical work. This is a special type of a complicated research work. Before starting it, one should learn about its author, his place in the history of literature and the place of the document among the author's works, as well as his vocabulary and style... A philologist must be at the same time a historian, a linguist and a specialist in literature. Without this knowledge all his work will be in vain" [4]. These words are absolutely true. The whole experience of those orientalists who work with manuscripts proves it. It is true that not every philologist can be a textologist, *i. e.* a specialist who has mastered the whole range of methods for the study of a text, of its history and of all alterations made during its existence. There are many examples when this truism was ignored or neglected. It was considered not so long ago that the publication of a document was an easy task confined to mechanical registration of differences between two or more copies. An extremely complicated and wearisome textological task was given to young specialists, yesterday students, who were not ready for this kind of work. It was thought that the peculiarities and secrets of this science could be discovered in the process. As a result, such work was condemned to failure from the very beginning.

Let us turn to the primary abilities required of a textologist. One should:

1. have a good knowledge of the language, especially of the time when the document he is studying originated; he must know the peculiarities (sometimes dialectological) of the language of the region where the document was written;

2. be able to read texts in different scripts used at different periods and for different purposes, *i. e.* to know paleography, as well as the orthographic system of these scripts. For iranologists these are, first of all, the classical Arabic "six scripts" (*muhaqqaq, rayhān, riqā', tawqī', naskh), ta'līq and nasta'līq* with their cursive modifications like *shekesteh-i ta'līq and shekesteh-i nasta'līq*;

3. be aware of historical lexicology and dialectology (especially the vocabulary of the region and of the time when the document was written). A textologist must know

the language of the documents of that period, that is to be well-read, and to know the peculiarities of the genre and of the literary etiquette of the time;

4. know the style and phraseology of the author in question, as well as the whole range of his works;

5. form a clear idea of the history of the text, recognize the author's additions and those made by others, distinguish variants, versions and wordings in order to choose the best copies for a critical publication;

6. know the historical background that led to the origin of a new author's (or non-author's) version or variant (expanded or abridged), etc.;

7. know the historical toponymics, everyday realities, special (for example, poetic), social, economical, theological and religious terminology.

Along with all this, a textologist should keep in mind:

a) the author's ethics and moral principles, his attitudes and behavior . This refers to the study of variants which appeared at a later date;

b) the sources used by the author, their origin and environment;

c) other sources where the text in question is cited; contemporary works (especially their early copies) often help to reconstruct the original text [5].

This is how I see the methodological apparatus of a textologist — the investigator of manuscripts.

Approaching a document a textologist must clearly see the aims and problems of his research, as well as the audience to which his publication is addressed. It is obvious, that different scholars prefer to solve different problems. A linguist, for whom the oldest copy reflects the earliest language forms, is interested in the publication of all existing variants of the text — that is to be able to follow the history of the language and the evolution of graphics and orthography. Students in literature and history are much more interested in the history of the text: the earliest copy alone will not solve their problems. For them the publication of the earliest copy is not a solution, since it does not necessarily preserve the oldest text of the document (the same concerns textological variants). If for a linguist it is preferable to have an exact publication of the text, that is a facsimile publication retaining all the peculiarities of its script and language, other scholars need a corpus of reviews with all stylistic, lexical, phraseological, etc., peculiarities referring to all available copies of the text. The earliest version of the text alone will hardly satisfy them, because they have different tasks.

To sum up, scientific publications even of one and the same document can be addressed to different readers, and those who prepare them should not mix together all possible methods in one publication. Thus one should not include orthographic differences present in different copies into a text under preparation or into a reference corpus, since this makes the future work with the text much more complicated [6]. As it is proved by the works of Prof. Dj. Matini (Iran) on the Persian historical orthography, most of the known old manuscripts (of the 11th—14th centuries) never followed any stable and fixed orthographic system [7].

It should be noted, that any work preceding the publication of a literary monument is quite different from a

work on a historical narrative, as well as that one on a vast epic or poetic composition (*mathnawī*) is different from a publication of small poetic forms (*dīwān*). The last case becomes rather complicated if we do not have the author's own *dīwān*, but the one composed posthumously by his friends, colleagues or admirers of his talent. If the author's collection (like *safīneh, djung, bayāz*) had not been available to them, we can not be sure that all they have collected really belongs to the same author. The poet wrote his verse, they were distributed and collected by his admirers, colleagues, etc. Some of them included into their albums all his poems, others — only what they liked. There were collectors of poems written in certain genre or form, or on certain subjects only. These albums were copied and distributed all over the country. To make the story short, it was a usual process, a cultural "chain reaction".

To illustrate our statement, let us take the *dīwān* of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Hāfiz (d. 1389). It is known that the poet has not composed his complete *dīwān*. It was collected by one Muḥammad Gulandām from Shiraz (probably a legendary figure). In his preface he complains that Hāfiz had paid little attention to his poetic heritage, so later it was necessary to look for his verse everywhere with the help of the poet's friends and admirers. On the other hand, in seven of his *ghazals* the poet himself refers to a collection of his poems (*safīneh*). It is probable, that this collection was actually used as a foundation for his posthumous *dīwān*. At present we know 14 dated copies of this *dīwān* and of collections of poems by Hāfiz that differ in size and number between 43 *ghazals* (manuscript no. 555 of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Tadjik Academy of Sciences) to 496 *ghazals* (manuscript no. 3822 of the Nuri Othmaniyya Library). These were copied between *shawwāl* 805 / April 1403 (Tadjik copy) and 825 / 1421— 1422 (Nuri Othmaniyya copy). The difference in the number of *ghazals* is great. For example, the *dīwān* of *radjab* 813 / November 1410 (Aya Sofia no. 9945) contains 455 *ghazals*, the *dīwān* of 822 / 1419 (Rewan Koshku, no. 948) has 442 *ghazals*, the above mentioned *dīwān* of 825 / 1421—1422 — 496 *ghazals* [8]. At the same time there is still something to be added from the remaining 11 copies [9]. This proves, that the nucleus of the "Dīwān-i Hāfiz" was rather stable; on the other hand, it continued to expand during the first 30 years of the 15th century. Depending on the place from where the manuscripts of the "Dīwān" originated, this process was going on with different speed. This fact is proved by the most competent scientific publications of "Dīwān-i Hāfiz" made in Iran in 1941 by A. Ghani and M. Qazwini (495 *ghazals*), in 1977 by R. 'Uyuzi and A. Behruz (507 *ghazals*) and in 1980 by P. Natelkhanlari (486 *ghazals*).

Here lies the most difficult work for a textologist who can not neglect any *ghazal* that bears the *takhallus* of Hāfiz. Speaking in modern terms, the poet did not sign his *dīwān* for "publication". It means, that to answer the question of the authenticity of Hāfiz's poems, the whole complex of literary (including phraseological, lexical and stylistic), textological, historical and philological analysis must be applied. How many agonizing doubts, rejected hypothesis, long-lasting and thorough search are behind this! Fortunately, many representatives of the Persian classical literature collected their poems with a view of making their own *dīwāns*, thus leaving a proof collection for publication. While a poet is still writing his verse, he reviews his old

collection, thus creating a new version (or variant) of his *dīwān*. It contains all his poems written before a certain period of time. The difficulties presented by such collections become evident, when it turns up, that the author, for some personal reasons, omitted in his new version certain poems present in the earlier one. It could be done for many reasons: time-serving, political situation, ideology, even self-criticism. The poet could include also revised versions of his old poems. We can not be sure that the order of poems, as they are arranged in a *dīwān*, really coincide with their real chronological order. In any case, a thorough research of the poetic heritage of 'Alisher Nawā'i (1441—1501) by late Prof. H. Suleyman has shown that the "age" definitions of his Turkish poems are rather conventional; Nawā'i's four *dīwāns* contain poems written at different periods of the poet's life [10].

The same apparently happened to all *dīwāns* compiled and divided into separate books by their authors when they were already past their prime, like the *dīwāns* by Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī (1253—1325) and 'Abd al-Rahman Djāmī (1414—1492).

We think, that the most reasonable solution of this problem is, first of all, the study and publication of the earliest versions of *dīwāns*. Only after a thorough research and comparison of the available copies (or even better — of all copies), of their relation and ties, of the history of the text and its versions, etc., a textologist may define the character of the text to be published. In this case, the aim of this publication could be:

1. a text which is as close as possible to the author's original version (an autograph, copies compared with the autograph, or copies that can be traced back to the autograph present special cases [11]);
2. the text of a reliable authorized version or variant. If it can not be surely distinguished, then one of the versions belonging to the same period;
3. a text which is close to the copies made within some definite period, let us say in the 13th century (like "Shāh-nāmeh" by Firdowsi. Vol. 1—9. Moscow, 1960—1971). In this case of great importance are copies (or a list of copies) that survived from that period, which could serve as a good basis for the future research work;
4. as the first stage, the revelation of the latest version among a series of edited and abridged variants of the basic texts, *i. e.* of the initial text, when the authorized text itself, as well as any of its intermediate variants, are not available. This is the most complicated case: the task here is not to get the author's text immediately, but to go through several stages: first the latest version or variant is established; basing upon it the previous one can be found, etc. The most evident example is the multi-layer Persian translation of the Arabic text of "Tarīkh-i Bukhārā" by Narshakhi, which was subject to several (not less than four) changes, reductions, wordings, additions and revisions [12].

Special attention should be paid to the term "text version". In my opinion, academician D. S. Likhachev gives a clear and, at present, apparently the only correct definition of this term: "... versions are united not through similar mechanical mistakes and common passages, but by certain ideas, stylistic principles, etc. Every version of a literary monument is not a mechanical stage of its life, not the re-

sult of common mistakes transferred from the arch-type into its copies (as considered by those textologists who follow mechanical principles in their analysis) but the result of conscious and deliberate activities of one of the scribes" [13].

Consequently, a version is a definite and stable period in the development of any text. For this reason one should not put together different versions of one text. It is not acceptable, since every version is worth to be studied and then published. Unfortunately, all the large-scale publication projects of our Institute which I know, like "Djāmi' al-tawārikh" by Rashid al-Dīn, "Khamseh" by Nizāmī Gandjawi, "Shāh-nāmeh" by Firdowsi, and smaller publications, like "Gulistān" and "Būstān" by Sa'dī done by R. M. Aliev (not speaking about other publications made in our country), go against the rules of textual criticism and of textology itself. No matter how thoroughly they are done, how thoughtful and convenient are the reference footnotes, how many correct readings were discovered, and how many text riddles solved, they do not withstand criticism from this point of view [14].

I am not going to discuss the method of choosing copies for future study, it is enough to say that in this field Russian orientalists-textologists have created a reliable and strict system (I mean E. E. Berthels, A. N. Boldyrev and their disciples, most of them iranologists and turcologists).

It is well known, that the most popular and widely read monuments of the classical Persian literature have reached us in hundreds of copies. Usually these contain corrupted texts, which sometimes wander very far from the authorized versions. These texts have failed to withstand the burden of time and popularity. And what should be done by a textologist whose main rule is an obligatory study of all available copies for choosing the best text? For instance, how to approach "Shāh-nāmeh" when there are nearly 600 copies from different periods? Or "Dīwān-i Hāfiz" represented by nearly 450 copies? Or "Khamseh" by Nizāmī, of which there are nearly 220—230 copies (or nearly 600, if to count copies of separate poems)? Or "Būstān" and "Gulistān" by Sa'dī — nearly 150 and 330 copies correspondingly? An innovation method has been found by A. A. Romaskevich (see endnote 14) and then developed by E. E. Berthels while working on the texts of "Khamseh" and "Shāh-nāmeh" [15]. Its main idea was to analyze, besides the available early copies, also the best copies of those made later, say in the 15th and 16th centuries. Naturally, this method does not give a hundred percent guarantee that nothing is omitted. (For example, the Florentine manuscript of "Shāh-nāmeh" of 1217 is very similar to that of 894 /1489, of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin). Nevertheless, this principle (which I can define as "the principle of correction") forms a solid methodological basis for the science of textology: first any text is studied from its earliest copies, and its history is unveiled (its versions belonging to different stages, gradual changes, restorations, etc.), then the best copies are selected, and after that it is possible to choose the type of publication. This method, unfortunately, has been only proclaimed but not actually introduced into practice (as we have mentioned, the publications listed above had joined the available versions in a surprising manner. The text of "Djāmi' al-tawārikh" by Rashid al-Dīn suffered less than the others — see note 14).

To sum up, the principal mistakes were:

1. at the first stage not enough attention was given to the text of the copies that had been chosen a priori. Investigation into the history of the text was started only after the text had been compiled. Before compiling the text the editor should have already known what versions or variants, and referring to what copies, he would take;

2. the spell of the earliest texts, a desire to collect as much as possible of them almost forgetting about the history of the text. Though the oldest copies often give different versions (especially multi-layer documents), all found were brought together;

3. the text of documents was not studied in a complex. In this matter not the facts themselves are important, but their place in a system, their correlation and connections between them. The latter may help to find relations between different readings of separate versions;

4. "objective-passive and subjective-active approach to the text" has been proclaimed [16]. This emphasized subjectivism in choosing "correct" readings not supported by philological research.

All this could have been avoided if not for "a brake through the open door" of textological problems. Many of these have been long time ago solved by textologists working in the field of Russian and Classical studies. One should only refer to their experience, summarized by D. S. Likhachev in his "Textology", which could be equally applied to Oriental documents — if to keep in mind their specific features and peculiarities.

After the necessary analytical and research work a textologist (a linguist, or a specialist in literature or history) should choose the kind and type of the future publication. This he must follow without any deviation. The classification of these types may look in the following way:

1. the choice of the best only copy. The text may bear only corrections of obvious mistakes done by the scribe. It means, that the conception of "investigator's choice" must be abandoned;

2. the selection of the best and satisfactory copy as the basic one. It is allowed to introduce better readings and corrections from other copies into the main text. (We may note that the number of positive reviews on the publications of one version is not numerous. Compare the publications of Rashid al-Din, Firdowsi, etc.);

3. the basic text group may include several copies with similar texts, dating within a limited period of time or going back to the same protograph. Other manuscripts should be used to correct and specify readings and to register principal differences in reference indexes;

4. a compilation of the text (resulting from its critical analysis) and selection of the best readings from many copies — when it is impossible to give priority to any of them. A classical example of this is the publication of the "Memoirs" by Vāsifī excellently done by A. N. Boldyrev. After a long-lasting and tedious work he proved that Vāsifī had written several draft variants of his "Memoirs" but produced no final authorized version.

I would like to stress once more, that the choice of kinds and types of publications is preceded by a thorough study of the text in order to reveal its history. The whole textological apparatus, of which I spoke above, is widely used here. All these types are characterized by an impor-

tant feature: criticism of the text represented in separate copies implies the selection, comparison, analysis and synthesis of all possible readings, as well as their strict documentation.

If we turn to Russian publications (and not only Russian), we may see that their title pages bear definitions like: 1. critical, 2. scientific and critical, 3. unified critical, 4. unified text. Let us see what is hidden behind these terms, and if there are any criteria for them. Do these definitions correspond to the methods spoken above?

What is a "critical text"? This is a technical term used in textology referring to a text at its definite historical stage. It is compiled by a scholar according to the task set before him (see above). For this work one must use the textological apparatus of critical definition, analysis, comparison, synthesis of preferable readings along with a strict system of reference to them in reference notes. This term shows what kind of scientific work has been done on the copies of the text. In this way this term defines the text thoroughly processed by a textologist. And this is all! But scientific approach must be present in all the four methods of text-processing mentioned here. A scientific publication can not exist without it. At the same time, we can not say definitely, that one method corresponds to a critical text, another method — to some other type. Who and when has decided that a critical text is the one composed on the evidence of one or two basic copies, a unified-critical — on the materials of three-four or a group of basic copies, a unified text — on the materials of numerous copies (when there is no basic text)? Why five or seven copies that are taken as basic can not produce a critical text? I think, that this technical term which defines the kind of work done on the text, should not be mixed up with the method of research or the type of publication.

In the same way, a critical text should not be opposed to a unified text, because, on one hand, a unified text is the result of a critical approach, on the other hand, I do not know any publications of a document (no matter how it is defined) that do not contain reference notes with readings from the basic text. This fact has also been noticed both by E. E. Berthels [17] and A. A. Romaskevich [18]. I am sorry to state, that all prepared texts contain elements of different readings.

Such a definition like "scientific and critical text" is nothing but a tautology, since a scientific approach to a text is equal to a critical approach. All the above mentioned methods of preparing a text for publication must be scientific and, consequently, critical. The difference lies only in the methods and the type of publication, but the approach is the same — scientific. Obviously, one should abandon the practice of individual characteristics, because these definitions (including "a unified text") have little to do with the real scientific process. We may justly say: "publication of a text" [19] keeping in mind that this is a scientific publication with an introduction on the method of research, history of the text (its versions and variants) from the time of its creation till the moment of its publication (or till some certain stage in its history). It should be followed by a corresponding apparatus [20] indicating different readings, interpolations and scribe's mistakes. Only in this case we can avoid contradictions and subjectivism at the same time. Speaking about facsimile publications, *i. e.* a photographic reproduction of one of the text copies, we should say :"a facsimile publication of the text" [21] (if

it is not preceded by a scientific introduction on its history, and on the aims of the publication). This term can be applied to a printed text publication of some copy without any textological, philological, literary, or historical research.

Finally, I would like to note, that mistakes in textological research (alongside with its achievements) are natural. These failures make a logical stage in the development of science. Some 30—40 years ago text research was per-

formed only by a narrow circle of philologists. Now hundreds of specialists are working on texts. A great interest in the national history and culture is growing in the Oriental countries. They are interested in their heritage which had survived in the form of written documents. Naturally, the role of textology is growing considerably, since its aim is to discover these monuments and to satisfy the great interest of the Oriental peoples in their national treasures.

Notes

1. D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiia. Na materiale russkoĭ literatury 10—18 vekov* (Textology. On the Materials of the Russian Literature of the 10th—18th centuries) (Moscow, Leningrad, 1962), p. 23.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 549.

4. E. E. Berthels, "Voprosy metodiki podgotovki kriticheskikh izdanij klassicheskikh pamiatnikov literatur Blizhnego i Srednego Vostoka" ("Methodological problems of preparing critical publications of the classical literary monuments of the Near and Middle East"), *Pervaia vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia vostokovedov. Tezisy dokladov i soobshcheniĭ* (Tashkent, 1957), p. 237—42.

5. The example of such a correction could be the reading of one *bait* from Sa'di's "Gulistan" suggested by R. M. Aliev and of the same *bait* (more precisely, of one word) that is given by Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abdallāh Shīrāzī, wildly known as Vaṣṣāf, in his historical work "*Tadzziyat al-amṣār wa tazdjiyat al-a'ṣār*" (dated 712 / 1313). R. M. Aliev suggested to read it *makhdūmī* ("servant"). V. F. Minorsky pointed out to the erroneous interpretation of this *bait* and gave a correct reading of Vaṣṣāf's word as *mahbūbī* — "nice creature". The same *bait* is given by Vaṣṣāf in a complete poem of Sa'di in its translation into Arabic. See V. F. Minorsky, "Teksty persidskikh klassikov" ("Texts of the Persian classics"), *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta narodov Azii*, 65, (1964), pp. 105—11.

6. We can take, for example, the publication of "*Djāmi' at-tawārīkh*" by Rashīd al-Dīn where "the old forms of some words appearing in the earliest manuscripts" were preserved in the text. See A. Ali-zade, "Ot sostavitelia nauchno-kriticheskogo teksta" ("The Critical Text Compiler's Preface"), *Fazlullah Rashid-ad-din. Dzhami-at-tavarih*, iii (Baku, 1957), p. 3. On the other hand, graphemes of the Persian alphabet listed in the Arabicized form are given there in modern transcription (*ibid.*, pp. 3—4). There is no link between the first decision and the following one.

7. The research and conclusions of Prof. Dj. Matini are of great interest to paleographers. He proved that it was practically impossible to date manuscripts precisely (*i. e.* within 25—50 years) relying upon the "old orthography". This way of dating is not precise and exact. See Dj. Matini, "Rasm al-khatt-e farsi dar qarn-e pandjom-e hidjri", *Madjalleh-e daneshkadeh-e adabiyat-e daneshgah-e Mashhad*, *sal-e sevvom*, 2—3 (1346/1967), pp. 159—206; "Tahavvol-e rasm al-khatt-e farsi az qarn-e sheshom ta qarn-e sizdahom-e hidjri", *ibid.*, *sal-e chaharom*, 3 (1347/1968), pp. 125—62.

8. See *Dīwān-i Ḥāfīẓ. Bar asas-e seh noskheh-e kamel-e kohan-e mo'arrekh ba salha-ye 813, 822 and 825 hidjri-ye qamari. Ba tashih-e Dr. Rashid 'Uyuzi va Dr. Akbar Behruz* (Tabriz, 1977), pp. 15—21.

9. The dates of these copies are: 807/1404—1405, *rabī' II* 808/October 1405, 810/1407—1408, 811/1408—1409, *radjab* 813/November 1410, 813—814/1410—1412, 816/1413—1414, 12 *rabi' I* 818/May 20, 1415, 821/1418, 822/1423—1424 (the copy of Khalkhali) 836/1432—1433, and 817—838/1414—1435.

10. Hamid Suleyman, *Tekstologicheskoe issledovanie liriki Alishera Navoi* (Textological study of the poetry of 'Alisher Nawā'i), *Avtoreferat dissertatsii doktora filologicheskikh nauk* (Tashkent, 1961), pp. 27—9.

11. It seems that the best publication of the autograph is a facsimile publication with a scientific preface. This is used by many scholars, though there are some exceptions (usually rather rare). We mean the publication of three poems from the first "Khamseh" of the Persian poet 'Abdi-bik Shīrazī (1515—1580), prepared by Azerbaijan scholar Abu-l-Fazl Rahimov after the autograph dated May 13, 1578, which also includes the text from "Kulliyāt" (Collected works) by the same author, copied in 969/1561—1562. The latter was used "to show both variants and the later work by the poet on his poems" (see "*Abdi-bik Shirazi. Haft akhtar*". The text prepared by A. G. Rahimov (Moscow, 1974), p. 11; "*Āyīn-i Iskandarī*". Compilation of the text and preface by A. G. Rahimov (Moscow, 1977), p. 7). But this is not evident to the reader. It is true that A. G. Rahimov published the autograph of 1578, but the formal registration of various readings, missed or added *baits* from "Kulliyāt" does not seem to be convincing, even if at first it looks quite fundamental. The problem is, that in the preface the investigator of the three poems — "*Majnūn va Laylī*", "*Haft akhtar*" and "*Āyīn-i Iskandarī*" (Moscow 1966, 1974, 1977) — had to follow the history of both variants of these poems, to show their differences, not leaving this to textologist and historians of literature. Consequently, a useful and necessary publication was not completed.

12. O. I. Smirnova, "Nekotorye voprosy kritiki teksta ("Sbornik letopisej" Rashid ad-Dina, "Shah-name" Firdousi i "Istoriia Bukhary" Narshakhi)" ("Some problems of text-criticism: "A Collection of Chronicles" by Rashid al-Dīn, "Shāh-nāmeh" by Firdowsī and "The History of Bukhara" by Narshakhi"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*. 1968 (Moscow, 1970), pp. 164—5.

13. D. S. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 116—7, 120, 122, 124.

14. According to A. A. Romaskevich, the work on the text of "Djāmi' al-tawārīkh" by Rashīd al-Dīn was started in 1936 and completed in 1940. Seven copies were used, which were organized in three groups:

1) the 14th century manuscript of the State Public Library in Tashkent (now in the Institute of Oriental studies of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences, no. 1620) and the manuscript of the *Topkapu Sarayı* Library in Istanbul (Revan Köşkü, no. 1518) copied in October-November 1317;

2) manuscript no. V.3.1 of the National Library (St. Petersburg) dated June 20, 1407; manuscript Add. 7628 of the British Museum (London) dated not later than 1433; the manuscript of the Teheran Museum dated May 25, 1596;

3) manuscript D66 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies, the Russian Academy of Sciences, dated 1576, and the manuscript of the Bibliotheque Nationale (E. Blochet dates it to the 14th century, though it seems that it was copied not earlier than the middle of the 15th century, see A. A. Romaskevich, "Introduction", *Fazlallāh Rashid al-Dīn. Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*, iii, pp. 7—14).

The first group represents the first authorized version which was finished by Rashīd al-Dīn on the 25th of April, 1305. The second group is the second author's version of 1310, and the third is the version revised by Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥāfīẓ-i Abru (d. in 1430), a historian

of the time of Shāhrukh (1405—1447). Though the published text is based on the manuscripts of the first group, readings from the 2d and 3d groups were also inserted. It would have been better not to include the readings of the 3d group into the reference notes at all — this made the text more complicated and overloaded with readings from non-authorized version. The readings of the 2nd group should also have been registered. Little is said in the introduction about the history of the second authorized version, about its stylistic peculiarities and factological additions.

The same happened to the publication of the five poems ("Khamseh") by Niẓāmī Gandjawī. This work was accomplished in 1939—1941 by a group of scholars of the Azerbaijan Branch of the Academy of Sciences directed by E. E. Berthels. He made a very important conclusion on the history of these texts: "manuscripts copied after the 16th century are practically useless for the work on the text", see E. E. Berthels, "Rabota nad tekstom Nizami", *Izbrannye trudy. Nizami i Fuzuli* ("Work on the text of Niẓāmī", *Selected works. Niẓāmī and Fuẓūlī*) (Moscow, 1962), p. 459. For this reason ten copies of the text (four of them of the 14th century) and the publication of Vahid Dastgerdi (Teheran, 1934—1938) were selected. Of these manuscripts six were followed in most cases, forming two groups, their texts representing two versions already current in the 14th century. The first group was represented by three 14th century copies (1362, 1365 and 1375—1376) and by one 15th century copy (1493). To the second group belonged one copy of the 14th century (1366) and one copy of the 15th century (1411). Their description is given in the article by E. E. Berthels. The copy of 1362 was used as the basic text. In this case the methodological principle is broken: two versions were put together. Consequently, we got a unified text of the two versions.

At present the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences is preparing the poems of Nizami for publication. This task is very urgent, since now we have solid background for the preparation of the text: there are 13 copies of Niẓāmī's "Khamseh" of the 14th century in the libraries of the world: of 718/1318—1319, 763/1362, 765/1364, 766/1365, 767/1366, 773/1371—1372, 777—778/1375—1376, 779/1377—1378, 786—788/1384—1386, 788/1386—1387, 788—790/1386—1388, 790—793/1388—1390, 796/1393—1394. It should be noted, that it is time, when we must reject the method of preparing the text of "Khamseh" only on the basis of its copies. Niẓāmī himself never planned to write "Khamseh" in one stroke. It appeared and was developed during a long period of time. His poems were assembled as a "collection" not by the author himself but after his death. A different problem are the "answers" and *naẓīreh* to his poems written by the other poets, who planned to write them in the form of "Khamseh" from the very beginning. I think, that we can come much closer to the author's original, if we start publishing the earliest copies of separate Niẓāmī's poems. By the way, the oldest copy of "Iskandar-nāmeh" is dated by the 27th of *djumādā II* 631/March 30, 1234, that is nearly a quarter of a century after the poet's death; and the oldest manuscript of "Makhzan al-asrār" I know was copied on the 9th of *muharram* 710/June 8, 1310.

"Shāh-nāmeh" by Firdowsī. The work on this great epic was started in the beginning of the 1950s by a group of scholars of the Institute of Oriental studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, under the guidance of E. E. Berthels. After his death (in 1957) it was continued by the editorial board. Four principal copies were chosen: manuscript Add. 21103 of The British Museum, London, dated 675/1276—1277, manuscript Dorn 329 of the National Library, St. Petersburg, of 733/1333, manuscript C 1654 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies, of 849/1445; manuscript C 822 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies, of the middle of the 15th century. For a detailed textological analysis of these manuscripts see: A. E. Berthels, L. T. Guzaliyan, O. I. Smirnova, "Novoe izdanie Shah-name" ("A new publication of Shāh-nāmeh"), *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk*, 13 (1955), pp. 3—12. Moreover, the Arabic translation of the epics was used — the one made by al-Fath al-Bundārī in 1218—1227. The basis for the publication was quite reliable (which is proved by the following research), though it could have been supported by two or three dated copies of the 14th century. The purpose of this publication was the reconstruction of the text available in the 13th century. Even though many existing copies of "Shāh-nāmeh" were not used, I can not dare to say that the textological principle was broken. At that time, and even now, this task was impossible. Anyway, the compilers were not very thorough in choosing the copies since they have registered only two versions (see E. E. Berthels, "Voprosy metodiki...", p. 240). They have not determined whether these were authorized or non-authorized versions. Only later M. N. Osmanov in his article "Otnositel'no nekotorykh dat zhiznennogo puti Firdousi" ("Concerning some dates in the life of Firdowsī") has recognized two authorized versions of 384/994—995 and of 400/1009—1010 (*Kratkie soobstcheniia Instituta Vostokovedeniia*, 65 (1964), pp. 132, 134). Following the differences between these two versions A. E. Berthels supposed that they gave ground for distinguishing "two versions of "Shāh-nāmeh edited by Firdowsī himself". See A. E. Berthels, "Ot sostavitelia", *Firdousi. Shah-name. Kriticheskij tekst.* ("From the compiler", *Firdowsī. Shāh-nāmeh.* Critical text), ix (Moscow, 1971), p. 8. These words appear in the preface to the last volume! But the case is much more complicated. Besides the two authorized versions, another one, let us call it "the southern version", was clearly determined. Its text is represented in the copies of the National Library (Dorn 329) and of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies (C 1654). This is a non-authorized version of an authorized text by Firdowsī, of 400/1009—1010. Finally, the most important discovery, as demonstrated by L. T. Guzaliyan, (see "Ispravleniia v drevneishei rukopisi Shah-name" ("Corrections in the earliest manuscript of Shāh-nāmeh"), *Istoriko-filologicheskiĭ zhurnal*, 2 (Erevan, 1972), pp. 77—98) is that the scribe who made the London copy of 675/1276—1277 used two copies of the protograph. One of these was the abridged authorized version of 384/994—995, the other — the expanded version of 400/1009—1010.

Strictly speaking, the readings of this manuscript can not serve the basis for the reconstruction of the initial text. It is possible to say, that at least three versions are joint in our publication of "Shāh-nāmeh" (1960—1971). As the result we do not have the text "as it was at the beginning of the 13th century" — which was the aim of those who prepared the publication. It turned out to be a combined text of the beginning of the 14th century. Nevertheless, I may confirm that it is the best text ever prepared in the history of Iranian studies, and that it is much more reliable than its previous publications. I think that now, when we have enough experience, we should continue this work. For this purpose we must assemble the fifteen dated copies of the 14th century and two copies of the 13th century. These are the already mentioned London copy and the recently found Florence copy (unfortunately, only the first volume of "Shāh-nāmeh") dated by 30 *muharram* 614/March 9, 1217. To these manuscripts I can also add the text of "Shāh-nāmeh" from Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (Ms. Or. 2.4255) copied in 894/1489, which is very similar to the Florentine manuscript. After studying and comparing all these copies, using the experience of the work on "Shāh-nāmeh", a scholar can reconstruct the text of one of the authorized versions (possibly of 400/1009—1010) as it was known at least in the second half of the 12th century.

"Gulistan" by Sa'di. The text of this popular composition was prepared and published by R. M. Aliev in 1959 in Moscow. In this case the main task of textology (*i. e.* a research on the history of the text, its versions and variants) was neglected. Though nine copies were formally used by R. M. Aliev, no appropriate research was done on the versions of the text. The same spell of looking for "the oldest" copy with the best text led the scholar away from publishing one of the three distinguished versions: the one of the beginning of the 14th century (not of the end of the 13th century as assumed by the editor), or the combined version of 1385, or a separate version of the 14th century that is represented in several copies of the 16th century. R. M. Aliev's conclusions are: none of the used copies "could rep-

resent the original author's version, though being very close to it" (see R. M. Aliev, "Gulistan Sa'di i kritika teksta" ("Gulistān Sa'dī and text criticism"), *Uchenye zapiski Insituta vostokovedeniya AN SSSR*, 19 (1958), p. 97). This is why the editor followed "the principle of active and critical choice in looking for the best reading among all suggested variants". (*Ibid.*, p. 97). It means that readings from different versions are mixed up in the published text. "Gulistan" by Sa'di is a multi-layer text consisting of different versions, renovations, changes and corrections, which we distinguish as the most difficult case in textology. As there is no autograph, one should approach the original text starting from the latest, non-authorized version towards an earlier one, till he comes to the version closest to the original text.

The same can be said about the publication of Sa'di's "Būstān" made by R. M. Aliev in Teheran in 1968. The editor could not avoid the temptation of putting together all early copies, though he knew that these were four non-authorized versions of the text (the first and the second are *pre-Bīsutūn*, the first *Bīsutūn* of 726 / 1326 and the second *Bīsutūn* of 734 / 1333—1334). Actually, the editor had to take the versions with the most clear and stable text, make a research and publish it, *cf.:* R. M. Aliev, "Predislovie", *Sa'dī-nāneh (Būstān)* — ("Introduction", *Sa'dī-nāmeh. Būstān*) (Teheran, 1968), pp. 13—57.

15. E. E. Berthels, "Shāh-nāme i kritika teksta" ("Shāh-nāmeh and text criticism"), *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie*, 1 (1955), pp. 94—5.

16. R. M. Aliev, "Volia issledovatelia i problema metoda sostavleniia kriticheskogo teksta" ("Investigator's will and the methodological problem of compiling a critical text"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*. 1968, p. 9.

17. E. E. Berthels, "Voprosy metodiki...", pp. 240—1.

18. A. A. Romaskevich, "Introduction", pp. 12—3.

19. For example, *Fazlallāh Rashīd al-Dīn. Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*. Part 3. Publication of the text by A. Ali-zadeh.

20. It is considered that the main criteria of a "critical text" is the presence of references on different readings. Do not we have the same apparatus in the "unified" or "unified-critical" text publications where non-correct readings are registered? Such an apparatus is the sign and the component of text criticism. It gives a preferable reading and reflects the history of the text, changes in its style and language form the time of its creation up to a certain historical moment.

21. For example, *Fazlallāh Rashīd al-Dīn. Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*. Facsimile publication by K. Jahn, ii.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

THE S. E. MALOV COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

The famous Russian scholar Sergei Efimovich Malov (1880—1957) began his scientific career with two business trips to Eastern Turkestan and Western China. The first one, aimed to study the languages and life of the Turkish tribes, took place in 1909—1911. At that time Malov visited Chuguchak, Urumchi, Turfan, Khara-Khoja, Hami, Suzhou, Gansu. His trip continued from April 1909 till July 1911. During his second trip (May 1913—August 1915) Malov explored a larger territory: he visited the Lob-Nor region, Aksu, Yarkend, Khotan and Kashgar. Among the results of his trips was a collection of Oriental manuscripts, bought or found by Malov among ancient ruins. These manuscripts were partly handed over to the Asiatic Museum, but some of them came to the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, in charge of which another famous turkologist V. V. Radloff was in 1894—1918. Among the manuscripts brought by Malov there were several Uighur manuscripts, which he had been studying for the long time and keeping at home. Three of them he presented to the Manuscript Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies as late as 1952 (after they had been published), eleven more manuscripts were transferred to the Manuscript Department from the Archives of the USSR Academy of Sciences only after the death of the scholar, when his materials were sorted in 1983. The final point in the description of the Malov manuscripts was put only by 1994 when we managed to organize a partial restoration of the recently newly obtained documents.

The review of the Malov collection was delivered by Prof. R. E. Emmerick and the present author in their joint paper "New manuscripts in the S. E. Malov collection" at the International Symposium "Annemarie von Gabain und die Perspektiven der Turfanforschung" (8—13.12.1994). It will be published in Proceedings of the Symposium. Since the newly found manuscripts in Khotanese were the subject of the paper, we thought it relevant to return to this collection presenting its brief survey along with several samples of manuscripts in Sanskrit and Tibetan.

Though the manuscripts brought back to St. Petersburg by Malov were in the several languages, only the Turkish ones, namely the manuscripts written in Old Uighur, became the subject of a special scholarly research. The rest were put into boxes and left there for the long time. Only one series of Tibetan wooden documents, transferred to the Asiatic Museum from the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in 1925, was preliminary described by V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky. These documents are also mentioned in our paper in the first issue of the "Manuscripta Orientalia" [1]. We intend to publish some of them in its future issues.

For the time being the Malov collection includes 138 manuscripts and fragments which are kept under the call numbers: SI M (Ser India, Malov), SI MA (Ser India, Malov, from Archives), TD (Tibetan documents) and Dh. (Dunhuang). The current principles of division of the Malov manuscripts are certainly wrong, but they reflect the history of the study of the collection.

1. *Manuscripts under call numbers SI M and SI MA*

a) SI M/1—SI M/7. This group of manuscripts in Old Uighur was first listed in 1953—1954 by turkologist L. V. Dmitrieva. Most of them published and well known to scholars. One of the most valuable Uighur manuscripts in the world is preserved in this collection under call number SI M/1 — it is the famous manuscript of "Altun Jaruk" or "Suvarnabhāsa-sūtra", copied in the 17th century, the most complete one among those we know. In spite of the fact of the publication of its text, set up in typed form by V. V. Radloff and S. E. Malov in 1913—1917 [2], the

manuscript continues to attract the attention of scholars, because the facsimile of its text is still not published.

b) SI MA/1—SI MA/11 — Old Uighur manuscripts, transferred from the Archives of Malov in 1983; they were listed by M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya in 1994.

Thus there are 18 manuscripts in Old Uighur in the Malov collection. A more detailed description of them will be published in above mentioned paper by R. E. Emmerick and M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya.

c) During the last five years the restoration of non-Uighur manuscripts has been carried out. It made the Khotanese and Sanskrit manuscripts available for study. The Khotanese manuscripts prevail — there are 38 items, 60 fragments in all: SI M/1(doc.), M/8, M/9 (2 fragments), M/10 (2 fragments), M/11.1, M/12, M/13 (15 folios and fragments), M/14 (3 fragments), M/15 (2 fragments), M/20 (2 fragments), M/22, M/25—M/29, M/30 + M/34 + M/36 (1 folio), M/31 (2 fragments), M/32, M/33, M/35, M/37, M/38 (2 fragments), M/39 (4 fragments), M/40—M/45, M/47, M/48, M/50—M/53. The facsimiles of ten these documents have been already published by R. E. Emmerick and the present author in "Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum", the rest are included in the third volume of this edition [3]. 22 items of manuscripts in Khotanese contain Buddhist texts, among them — the unique fragments of the "Suvarnabhāsa-sūtra" (M/13). In comparison with the already known fragments they enable a further study of the problem of the underlying Sanskrit original and greatly enlarge the vocabulary of the later Khotanese language. Fourteen other fragments are business documents, two of these — excerpts from letters of Buddhist monks. It is necessary to mention seven fragments of Khotanese business documents which remain unrestored because of their very bad condition. Their restoration is labor-consuming, but accomplishable task. We are not sure if these seven frag-

ments belong to seven different documents, or if some of them can be joint together.

d) As for the Sanskrit manuscripts they present the following eight items: SI M/16—M/19, M/21, M/23, M/24 and M/46, in all 12 fragments. More will be said about them below.

e) Malov brought some fragments of Tibetan manuscripts on paper, written in semicursive *dbu-can*, commonly used in Khotan and Dun-huang. Both pothi and Chinese scrolls are represented. They can be dated to the middle of the 8th—11th centuries. 12 of them are not restored and even not cleaned. It is possible that some of them should be dated to a later period. We can preliminary identify several scroll fragments as containing the "Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra" in its Central Asian variant [4]. One fragment (M/49) apparently belongs to a business document, but it can hardly be sufficiently restored to be legible. Another one is restored and is published below (M/11.2).

In this way we have now 53 call numbers for this part of the Malov collection: SI M/1—SI M/53. Meanwhile in reality there are 54 items of manuscript fragments: a mistake was made when ciphering and the first Khotanese business document was marked as SI M/1, the same number was given to the Uighur "Suvarnabhāsa-sūtra". So we had to add the word "doc." to the call number of the document.

2. *Tibetan wooden documents under call numbers TD*

The Tibetan wooden documents were surveyed by V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky in 1953—1954. There are 57 items in this part of the collection. As it was mentioned above, their description can be found in the papers by

V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky and also in the paper by the present author in the first issue of the journal. It contains a bibliography as well.

3. *The Chinese manuscripts (Dh.)*

Chinese manuscripts and fragments of the scrolls were brought by Malov to the Asiatic Museum from Turfan in 1909—1911. They are very similar to the Dunhuang manuscripts. This gave a reason to include them into the Chinese Dunhuang manuscript collection. Their exact provenance is unknown. These 16 Chinese fragments can be dated to the 5th—11th centuries, most of them contain passages from Buddhist sūtras and shāstras. The largest of them — two fragments under call number Dh. 290. Their

size is 90×28 cm (71 lines) and 17×28 cm (13 lines). Their description is included into the first volume of the Catalogue of the St. Petersburg Chinese collection under numbers 3a, 349, 580 (?), 601 (?), 809 (?), 938—942, 1134, 1176,1182,1446, 1526, 1537 [5].

Here we are publishing four Sanskrit fragments of the collection and one Tibetan document. All these materials are presented to the readers for the first time.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

As we have mentioned, eight items of the collection contain 12 fragments of manuscripts in Sanskrit. Most of these can be on the evidence of their palaeography dated to the 5th—9th centuries [6]. The texts are written in a variety of South Turkestan Brāhmi script and belong to different Buddhist sūtras. We can identify four fragments, the longest ones, the rest await further research. The fragments which we are transliterating below add to our knowledge of

two sūtras: "Mahāprajñāpāramitā" and "Saddharmapundarīka". Two scholars devoted their life to the study of these sūtras. If E. Conze can be considered the godfather of the "Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra", the Japanese scholar Hirofumi Toda is certainly the godfather of the "Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra". This is why we make a good use of the works by these scholars in our publication.
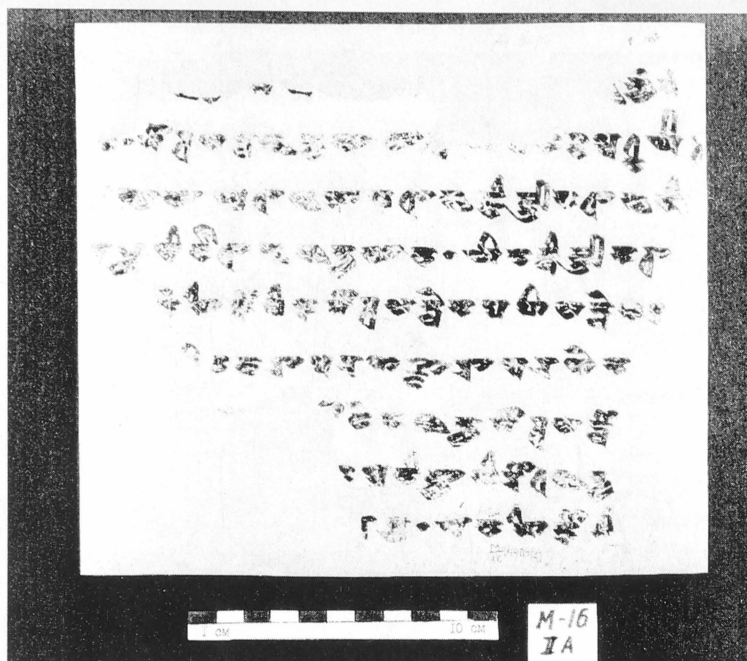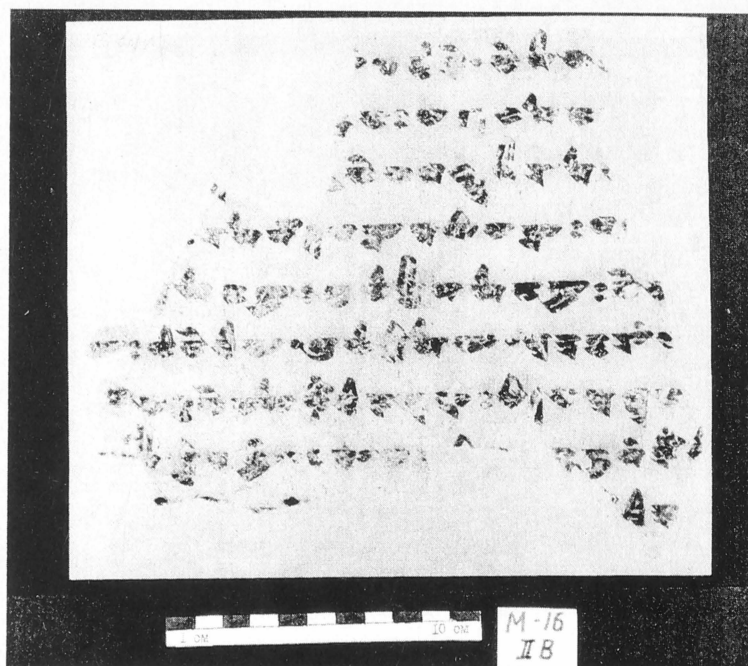
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

"Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra"

1. SI M/16.1 (fig. 1, 2)

A fragment, 24×17.5 cm, three edges are torn off. Though the fragment is restored, its text is badly effaced. There were nine or more lines on each side. The manuscript is dated to the 8th century. The terminological *mātṛkās* of the text prove that it belongs to the "Aṣṭasahasrika-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra", but its exact identification makes a problem. The terms used in the fragment are discussed in chapters 8 and 9 of the sūtra. These are the following: *viśuddhi* "purity", *viśuddhatvā* "purity", *abhinirvṛtti* "rebirth", *an-abhinirvṛtti* "it does not reproduce itself" [7]. Unfortunately, we do not have the R. Mitra's edition of the sūtra to make a better identification. This preliminary publication might be useful for studying a large number of similar fragments scattered over the manuscript depositories of England, Germany, France, etc.

Transliteration

Recto

1. {Illegible}
2.]na xxxxx [
3.]x tta viśuddhatvā da xx[
4.]p[s]yan-abhisamayādharma-viśuddhi x[
5.]śuddhir-iti. āha anabhinirvṛttir-bha[
6.]putra āha kasyānyatta viśuddhatvā da[
7.]syān-abhinirvṛtter-anabhinirvṛ xx -r xx[
8.]nabhinirvṛttir-dharma-viśuddhir-i[t]i [
9.]anyanna [v]i[ś]uddhatvācchāra[

Verso

1.]x padhā x-mntu(?) svabhā[
2.]anutpattir-bhadanta bhagavan x[
3.]bhagavan anutpattiḥ rūpa-[dh]ā[t]au[
4.]putrānutpattir-dharma viśuddhyāḥ rūpa-dh[ā][
5.]x var-dharma-viśuddhir-bhagavāṃ nāma a[
6.]bhagavan nājānābhidharma viṣu[
7.]x bhiddharma-viśuddhi[
8.]-ā -i jā x -ā[
9.]x[

2. SI M/16.2 (fig. 3, 4)

A fragment, 22×18.5 cm, three edges are torn off. The fragment is restored. There were nine or more lines on each sides. The manuscript can also be dated to the 8th century. The text might be identified as containing a passage from the "Aṣṭasahasrika-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra". The question of its exact place is not yet solved. A number of terms, such as *ākāśa-dhātu* "space element", *vāyu-dhātu* "wind element", *vijñāna-dhātu* "consciousness element", *pṛthivī-dhātu* "earth element" as well as *vidyā-nirodha* "stopping of existence (or knowledge)" are explained in chapter 29 of the sūtra. The second context where the terminological *mātṛkā* "ab-dhātu-tejo-dhātu-vāyu-dhātu-ākāśa-dhātu-vijñāna-dhātu" is mentioned, belongs to the "Kauśika-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra" [8]. This sūtra is preserved in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan, it represents a compilation of 21 fragments. It is therefore likely to be very late. E. Conze regards it as "the Tantric phase of the prajñāpāramitā" literature [9]. The text of our fragment is not faithful to the Tantric one. Consequently we give the transliteration of the fragment, fairly understanding the susceptibilities of such a publication and considering it only as a preliminary one, to promote further investigation.

Transliteration

Recto

1.]...x nyaṃ bi[
2.]x bodhisatva śūnyatā vā xxxxt adhvayārdh[
3.]tu. vāyu-dhātu [ā]kāśa-dhātur-vijñāna-dhātu vi[
4.]x pṛthivi-dhātu śūnyatā ca. yāvad-vijñāna-dhā[
5.]vam hi kośika bodhisatvena mahāsatvena x[
6.]-ā va jarāmaraṇar-jārāmaraṇena[
7.]x dena śūnya bodhisatvo[
8.]x ma vidyā-nirodha śūnya[
9.]x śca. evaṃ hi kośi[

Verso

1.]x mantike. teṣi ca x[
2.]x vaḥ samudapita[
3.]tena ṣatsu pārami[
4.]rapi bodhisatvā mahāsatvāḥ ṣa[
5.]yitavyāḥ pratiṣṭhāpayitavyāḥ te ca[
6.]x ḥ niveśitā. pratiṣṭhāpitā. anuttarāṃ-s[
7.]vocat tenāpi kauśika munuḥ sadhu ca suśruta[
8.]-au kleśanyam yathā xxxx rūpam kauśi[
9.]...[kau]śika[

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra

1. SI M/16.3 (fig.5,6)

A fragment, 24 × 13.5 cm, left and right edges are torn off, 7 lines on each side. The fragment is restored. The script can be determined as "Late South Turkestan Brāhmī" (see note 6), which enables us to date the frag-ment to the 8th century. It contains the text of chapter 3 of the "Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra" and completely follows the Central Asian version of the sūtra represented in the N. Th. Petrovsky manuscript, ff. 69b(3)—70a(2) [10].

Transliteration

Recto

1.]satvarahasyam na samanusmarasi anirvr[
2.]-āṃ pūrvikāmcaryāṃ praṇidhānaṃ nānā buddhā[
3.]m[i]dam saddharmapuṇḍarikam dharmaparyāyam s[ū][
4.]rigraham śrāvakānām saṃprakā[
5.]gate dhvanya prameyeṣu[
6.]x evam-eva saddharmaṃ dhāra[
7.]dhisatvacaryāṃ pa[

Verso

1.]x rha[ṃ] samyaksaṃbuddh[
2.]ru[sa]damyasārathi śāstā de[
3.]tiputra bhagavato pa[
4.]syati. samaṃ ramaṇiyāṃ prā x[
5.]rnapuṣkalatayā samanvāgatam pa xx[
6.]paripūrṇaṃ ca vaiḍūryamayaṃ ca tasmiṃ[
7.]sutrāṣṭāpadikrtam sarvatra[

Differences

recto 2: praṇidhānaṃ nānā buddhā; *the Petrovsky manuscript*, f.69b(4—5): praṇidhānaṃ nā buddhā-.

2. SI M/17 (fig. 7, 8)

A fragment, 24 × 9.5 cm, the right half of a folio, the upper edge is damaged. The same type of script and the same date as in the previous case. The text continues that of the previous fragment, only seven lines between them are missing. It closely corresponds to the text of the Petrovsky manuscript, ff. 70b(2)—71a(4).

Transliteration

Recto

1.]x mahāpṛthivı bhaviṣyati. suvarṇa xxxx
2.]x kṣā bhaviṣyamti sapta ratnamayās-te ca xxx
3.]laḥ samarpitāḥ [sa]mapalaṃkṛtāḥ so 'pi śāradva[ti]
4.]n-samyaksaṃbuddhas-trınyeva yānānyārabhya dharmaṃ de[śa]
5.]tra sa tathāgato na kalpakasāde samutpatsyati.

Verso

1.]xtrıṇi yānānyārabhya dharma deśayiṣyati. mahā
2. śara]dvatıputra sa kalpo bhaviṣyati. tat-kim manyase śāradva
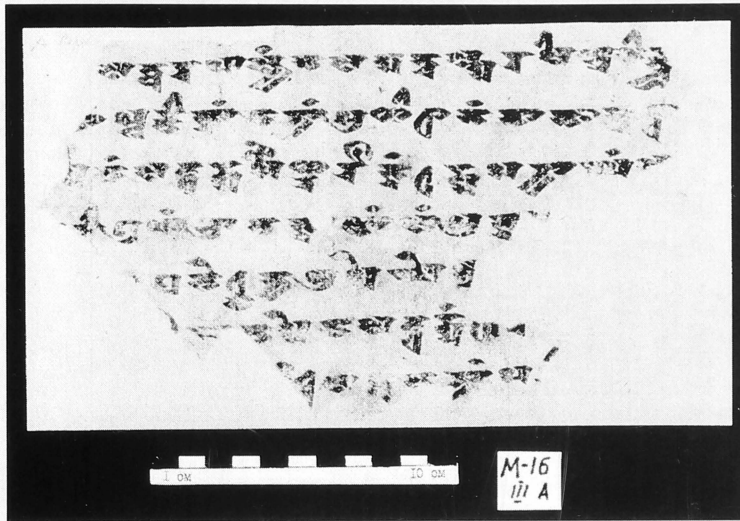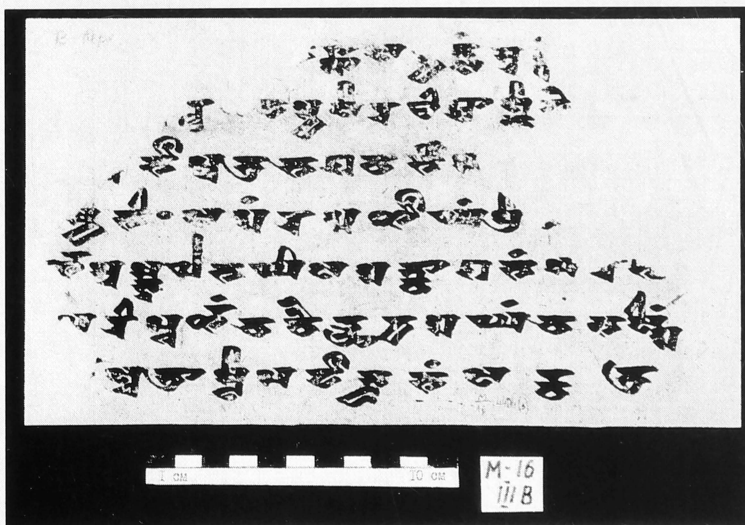
Fig. 5
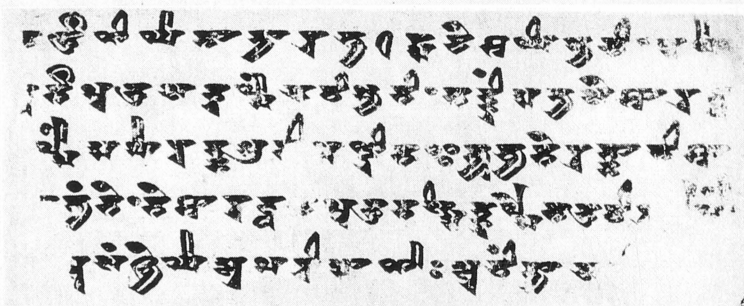

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

3. ka]lpo mahāratnapra[t]imaṇḍita ityucyate ratnāni śā
4.]x cyaṃte. te śāradva[ti]putra tasmin-kalpe tatra vira xx lo
5.]asaṃkhyeyā aparimāṇāḥ acimtya xxxx

Differences

recto 5: *samutpatsyati*, the same in the Petrovsky manuscript. Editor-in-chief of the text Hirofumi Toda inserted here akṣara -*nna*- : *samutpa[nna]tsyati* (f. 70b6). Our manuscript does not confirm this addition, even if it is correct from the grammatical point of view.

verso 1: After *dharma deśayiṣyati* — the sign of full stop. In the Petrovsky manuscript, f. 71a(2) — no sign.

verso 3: *ityucyate*, with no sign of full stop; *cf.* the Petrovsky manuscript, f. 71a(2): there is the sign of full stop.

verso 4: *te*; this akṣara is absent in the Petrovsky manuscript, f. 71a(2).

verso 5: aparimānāḥ; *cf.* the Petrovsky manuscript, f. 71a(4): aparimāṇā.

A TIBETAN DOCUMENT

As it was promised in our paper in the first issue of the journal, we are publishing here one document of the Malov collection, SI M/11.2 (*fig.* 9).

A fragment, 13,5 × 9 cm, 9 lines, the back side is blank. The text is faded. The script can be determined as the Dunhuang type semicursive, it enables to date the document to the second part of the 8th century, that is the time of Tibetan supremacy in Eastern Turkestan. The names of the persons acting in the document contain the term *Li* "the Khotanese". It makes it possible to think that the document originated from Khotan. This suggestion is further confirmed by the signature, present in the document: it contains Tibetan akṣaras in book hand *dbu-can* script, placed in the same way like in Khotanese document SI M/11.1 (see *fig.* 10). May be, both documents were written in one and the same office, somewhere in Khotan.

The subject of the document is not clear because of its bad condition and the loss of its larger part. We may suggest that it is dealing with an adoption or hire of a boy named *khye'u Li Khar śig.*

Transliteration

1. // bya ka ka lo`i dgun sla gsum[
2. [khye]`u li khar śig // byis bi sa dad gyis[
3. x na `ong (?) ste mchissa // bi sa dad gyi khyim[
4. xx pos byas pa rmas na // khye`u mchis na[
5. xxxg bcu gsum gi gla min du yu[
6. xx zhal mchu ma mchis par bgyis //[
7. xxx bcad pa ro langs (?) na yang myi bstsa [l]|
8. xxx[su]g rgyas btab pa`i dpang la / li `bu[
9. ...b]tab pa // CHA RJA ste

Translation

1. In the third winter month of the crow bird year...
2. young boy Li Khar śig // byis Bi sa dad...
3. ...being came is present // the household of Bi sa dad...
4. ...[somebody] made [and] if he asks // if the young boy is present...
5. ...the payment of thirteen... [must be given?] by silk cloth
6. ...should not start any lawsuit//...
7. ...is decided [and] if even remains are reached (?), is not bestowed...
8. ...the private seal of ... as witness is affixed / Li `Bu...`s...
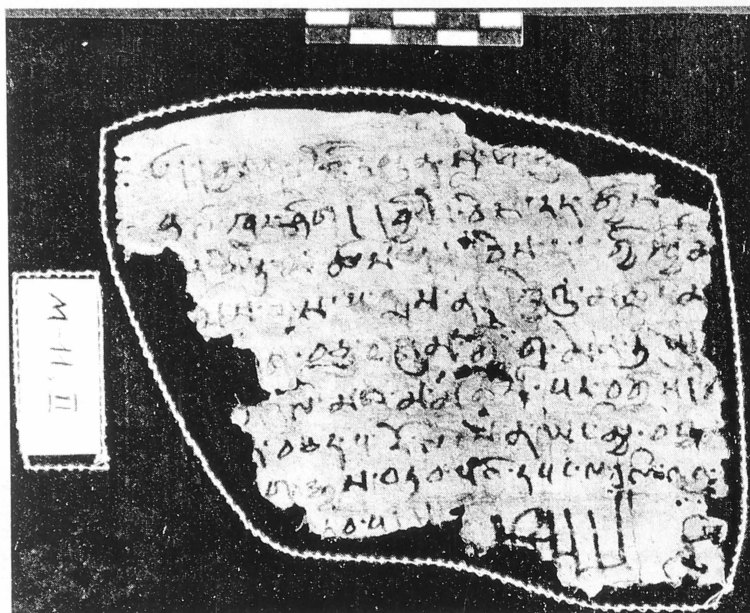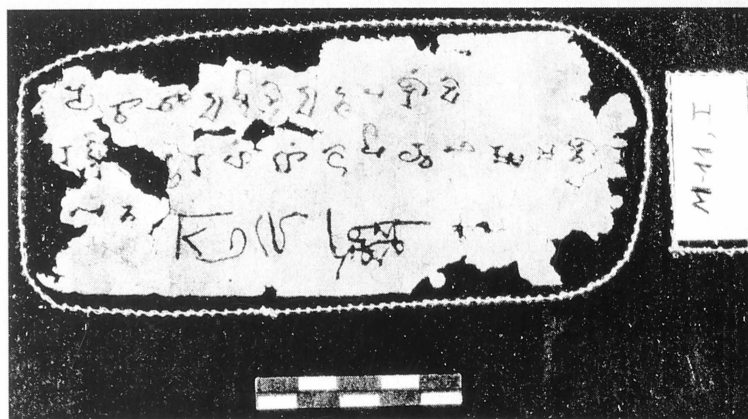9. ...[private seal] is affixed // CHA RJA ste

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Commentary

1. *bya ka-ka*: *lit.* "the crow bird", as a dating formula is not known elsewhere. Tib. *ka-ka* "crow" = Skr. *kaka* of the same meaning. *Cf.* Khotanese document SI M/1 (doc.): *kra-ga salya* "in the year of the cock" [11].

2. *[khye]'u Li Khar śig*: the ethnic name *Li* "the Khotanese" is used as his family name; the given name — Khar śig, might be a rendering of the Khotanese name *Kharäsanä* (P.2027.9—66) or *Kharajsijsi* (Or. 11344, 8, *recto*).

2. *byis bi sa dad*: *byis = byis-pa* "little child, young boy" or a family name, *cf.* Takeuchi, 39r01' [12]. *Bi sa dad* as a given name otherwise is unknown.

6. *zhal mchu ma mchis par bgyis*: a formula accepted in Tibetan business documents, *cf.* Takeuchi, 21A08 [13].

7. *...ro langs na*: we could not understand this text. It is unlikely to have Vetäla in such a context.

8. *...[su]g rgyas btab pa*: a formula accepted in Tibetan business documents, *cf.* Takeuchi, 37r07 [14].

8. *li 'bu. ...*: the name of a witness, his family name is *Li*, "the Khotanese", *cf.* line 2.

9. *CHA RJA ste*: aksaras *cha* and *rja* are written in a book variant of *dbu-can* script, *ste* is written in a Khotanese cursive variant of the Brāhmī script used in Khotanese business documents. *Cf.* document SI M/11.1, signed with aksaras *ku* and *ja* in Tibetan *dbu-can* script, followed by one aksara containing a ligature of several letters: *no, sha, nga, ba, ma*. It can be the signature of an officer, designed after the Chinese pattern. The Tibetan document corresponds with this in Khotanese to a degree beyond coincidence. *Cf.* also Takeuchi, text 41 [15].

Notes

1. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, "Tibetan manuscripts of the 8th—11th centuries A.D. in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, I, 2, (July, 1995), pp. 46—8.

2. V. V. Radloff, S. E. Malov, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa (Sūtra "Zolotogo bleska")*. Tekst uigurskoĭ redaktsii (*Sūtra of the "Golden Light"*. Text of the Uighur Version) — Bibliotheca Buddhica, XVII, 1—2 (St. Petersburg, 1913); 3—4 (Petrograd, 1914); 5—6 (Petrograd, 1915); 7—8 (Petrograd, 1917); V. Radloff, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXVII, 1, 3 (Leningrad, 1930).

3. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. *Saka Documents VII*: St. Petersburg collections, eds. Ronald Emmerick and Margarita Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, vol. 1, Facsimiles (London, 1993); vol. 3, Text Volume (London, 1995).

4. See M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, "Tibetan manuscripts of the 8th—11th centuries A.D....", p. 47.

5. *Opisanie kitaĭskikh rukopiseĭ Dun'huanskogo fonda Instituta narodov Azii*, pod red. L. N. Men'shikova, (A Description of the Chinese Manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Manuscript Collection of the Institute of the Asian Peoples, ed. L. N. Men'shikov), fasc. 1 (Moscow, 1963).

6. We can refer to the works by Lore Sander on Indian palaeography. We use the criteria suggested by her in a series of papers. In our case her paper "Brāhmī scripts on the Eastern Silk Roads" was most useful. Two our fragments SI M/18 and SI M/21 are written in a script similar to that on Plate 15: "Early Turkestan Brāhmī, type *b*", the script of the other fragments looks like that on Plate 19: "Late South Turkestan Brāhmī". See the above mentioned paper in: *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 11/12 (1986), pp. 159—92.

7. E. Conze, *Materials for a Dictionary of the Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (Tokyo, 1967).

8. E. Conze, "Tantric Prajñāpāramitā texts", *Sino-Indian Studies V*, 2 (1956), pp. 115—8.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

10. See *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Central Asian Manuscripts, Romanized Texts, ed. Hirofumi Toda (Tokushima, 1983), pp. 36—7.

11. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. *Saka Documents VII...*, vol. 1, Facsimiles, pl. 137a.

12. Tsuguhito Takeuchi, *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia* (Tokyo, 1995), pp. 275—6.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 205—6.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 268—9.

15. *Ibid.*, pl. 41.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. SI M/16.1, recto	**Fig. 6.** SI M/16.3, verso
Fig. 2. SI M/16.1, verso	**Fig. 7.** SI M/17, recto
Fig. 3. SI M/16.2, recto	**Fig. 8.** SI M/17, verso
Fig. 4. SI M/16.2, verso	**Fig. 9.** SI M/11.2
Fig. 5. SI M/16.3, recto	**Fig. 10.** SI M/11.1

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

K. Lagally

USING T_EX AS A TOOL IN THE EDITING OF MULTI-LINGUAL SOURCES

1. Introduction

The recent availability of relatively inexpensive powerful computer systems opens up a host of new possibilities for many fields, among them *e. g.*, research on Oriental languages. Due to industrious collecting activities a wealth of written material has been accumulated whose evaluation by traditional means might, given the available human resources, take decades or even centuries. Much of the necessary work is of clerical nature, and could well be automated, once the material is in machine-readable form. But the necessary software is usually not available, or not affordable, and will probably have to be developed from scratch, preferably in a cooperation between Orientalists and computer experts. Also the encoding of the data is a manual process that should have to be performed only

once, and some prior consideration is advisable to avoid the necessity of duplication of effort.

As an example, imagine the building of a catalog for a large number of Arabic manuscripts. This could possibly be handled by using one of the available bilingual word processors. But the data format used will probably be private and not easily accessible, and since these tools are geared towards generating a printed version only, there is no easy way to include additional descriptive information which could otherwise be used for further evaluations.

In the sequel we present some recommendations which we believe can be helpful, and report on first results of their application.

2. On data encoding

We believe there is a basic distinction between data and text, the latter viewed as a pattern of ink on paper, or some other physical representation. If the text can be understood at all we can derive from the pattern individual words that are connected into sentences and, hopefully, convey some meaning. This activity is commonly called *reading*, and extracts structural and semantic information from the pattern itself. When we encode the text as data to be processed and evaluated further we frequently are not only interested in the pattern itself but also in this additional information now available; the pattern itself may even be of little interest depending on the application, if some equivalent external representation can be reconstructed.

Reading and encoding the text is only a first, sometimes laborious step, and is often done at a point of time where not all further evaluation steps are known. Thus it is advisable to encode the information in a way that can be processed by, and transmitted between, various different computers and software systems. Our choice is obviously

influenced by the rapidly evolving state of technology and emerging standards, but we may expect future developments not to invalidate current solutions.

At the time of this writing the main limitation is the inability of many electronic mailing systems to reliably transfer anything but plain 7-bit ASCII data [1], which on the other hand can be processed by virtually any computer system now available. Thus this code is an obvious starting point, and fortunately all more powerful encodings proposed since contain it as a genuine subset, with unchanged meaning.

ASCII is primarily intended for encoding English texts, but it can equally well be used for transliterating other languages by a suitable re-interpretation and, if necessary, using more than one code byte for a character of the language in question. This can be done in a multitude of ways, and standards for switching the character mapping [2] have already been issued.

Should the restriction to 7 bits disappear soon we may also use the ISO 8859-x family of extensions to 8 bits per

character catering individually for the needs of various European languages, plus Arabic [3] and Hebrew [4]; but as these codes overlap we still have to indicate the coding used locally within multi-lingual documents, as also in the case of an ASCII transliteration.

Switching to longer code words of 16 or more bits as proposed, *e. g.*, in [5] will not solve all problems, but might introduce a considerable overhead. With the exceptions of Far Eastern languages the alphabets needed are of moderate size, and the benefits of not having to indicate the encoding will probably not offset an increase in size of the data files by a factor of 2, especially since, as we shall show, we usually want to add other descriptive information anyway.

We thus advocate to stay, for quite some time from now, with a rather primitive encoding, supplemented by a sufficient amount of descriptive information.

3. Symbolic markup

Up to now we were only concerned with the encoding of the text proper. Devising a notation for the additional structural and semantic knowledge looks hopeless at first and seems to require clairvoyance, since the future processing needs cannot even be guessed. But indeed some progress is possible.

Once we consider the coded text as a linear sequence of code symbols, any additional knowledge about it can be described by a set of attributes assigned to the individual symbols, or to ranges of symbols. We might not yet for every attribute know how to process it further, nor even its exact meaning; but we certainly know whenever attributes are different, and this is all we need now. The main issue when encoding the data is to preserve all the information then available; exploiting it can come later.

A sufficiently powerful mechanism that does not require the a priori knowledge of a taxonomy of features, consists of some means of denoting ranges of code symbols, and a mechanism of associating the *name* of an attribute or a set of attributes to such a range. We need a sufficiently rich repertoire of names such that differing attributes or sets of attributes can be denoted differently. The names are arbitrary, and their interpretation needs only to be fixed much later whenever the data will be evaluated, and for different evaluations we may well use different interpretations as required. We only have to agree on the basic format of the markup to distinguish it from the text proper. This basic idea is called *symbolic markup*.

Symbolic markup is not a new idea but has been used in several contexts for some time, and we shall briefly review two of its special applications. In doing so we shall skim over many details, simplify grossly, and also deviate from the customary terminology.

3.1. *SGML*

The idea of SGML, for "Standard Generalized Markup Language" [6], originated within the printing industry with the goal to help separate the logical structure of a document from the details of its external printed representation, and thus ease the production process. It soon turned out that its possible scope is much wider, and one of its variants, HTML, has important applications in the distributed Hypertext system called the World-Wide Web [7].

The basic markup mechanism in SGML works as follows: a range of characters carrying an attribute A is delimited by a start tag ⟨A⟩ and an end tag ⟨/A⟩. Instead of a single attribute A may also denote an attribute class, and in this case the start tag also carries an indication of the actual member of the class, and/or additional descriptive information. The set of possible tag identifiers is fixed for any document type by some formal definition not described here, but due to the class mechanism the set of possible attributes is virtually unbounded.

[8] stresses the usability of symbolic markup for capturing arbitrary information also outside of the production of documents. The main difference to our approach seems to be that for a SGML document the complete syntax of the markup used must be put down beforehand in a Document Type Definition, whereas we propose to postpone this step until the actual processing.

3.2. *T_EX*

T_EX [9] is a program written by D. E. Knuth to support high quality computer type-setting of text and mathematics. It is in the public domain, and compatible implementations exist for a large range of computing systems. T_EX will take care of all the visual formatting including line-breaking, hyphenation, formatting of formulas, page layout etc. The output produced is completely device independent and may be viewed on a computer screen display or also directed to a large range of output devices, provided that appropriate device driver programs are available.

T_EX provides a large number of markup commands for controlling the typesetting process, and a powerful macro extension mechanism that enables the user to introduce new markup tags and define their meanings arbitrar-

ily, so that symbolic markup is easily possible. T_EX can also be (mis)used as a portable general purpose data processor.

Due to the extensibility of T_EX a number of macro packages have been developed to cater for special applications, among them:

❑ $\mathcal{A}_{\mathcal{M}}\mathcal{S}$-T_EX (*see* [10]), *supplying an additional set of mathematical symbols;*

❑ L^AT_EX [11], *providing styles for several common document classes and supporting the logical structuring into chapters and sections, building a title block, positioning figures and tables, and managing cross references, index information, a table of contents etc.;*

❑ Ml-T$_E$X [12], *some multi-lingual extensions for European languages;*

❑ Babel [13], *a package supporting language-specific processing for more than 20 languages;*

❑ ArabT$_E$X [14—17], *catering for right-to-left languages such as Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Pashto, Hebrew etc. with full support of diacritics and vowels, ligatures, and also the common standard transcriptions*.*

❑ *A number of further packages, e. g., for including graphics, are described in* [18].

Most of these packages may be combined to make use of all the additional features provided, and further extensions may be defined freely. [19] strongly advocates using symbolic markup in document design.

3.3. *Abstract Data Bases*

In some respects our approach is related to using a data base system but there are some marked differences. In a data base system, the information is stored as a collection of records consisting of a fixed number of fields; for every field the meaning and the format is determined a priori by a data base scheme. In contrast to this we advocate having an undetermined number of ranges of symbols with some attributes assigned to them, and we may introduce new attributes at any time. Also we do not require the data to be a collection of subunits with basically the same structure, even if this may frequently be the case. So we could simulate a classical data base system easily, but our approach is much more general, and could be called an "abstract data base".

Of course, because we leave most the structure and the interpretation of the text unspecified, we cannot expect our data to be usable directly for any specific evaluation, and to process them by any given application program we will have to do some preprocessing first. Fortunately, the preprocessing task will be rather well-defined, consisting mainly of omitting information presently of no interest, and reformatting the remaining data according to the needs of the application program. Whenever the format of the input data required as well as the relevant structure of our abstract data base can be described by a formal grammar, we can automatically generate the preprocessing program by any of several existing generator systems, *e. g.*, Lex [20], YACC [21], or WRG [22]; and in many cases the reformatting task will be fairly trivial so we might rather write the preprocessor from scratch.

4. Recommendations and Guidelines

From the considerations given above we derive the following recommendations on how to devise a coding scheme suitable for capturing a structured text while also preserving the known associated information.

❑ *Decide on the basic encoding of the text.*

❑ *Decide on the method and the format of the markup.*

❑ *Assign markup tags arbitrarily, and document their meaning. Take care to mark up portions of text with different meanings differently.*

❑ *Try to capture all the available structure information about the text. Concentrate on the logical structure*

and do not worry about the layout, except if it carries essential information.

❑ *Do not omit any available information that has no apparent use. It might become important and useful later, if it is preserved now.*

❑ *Rely on the computer to perform clerical tasks efficiently when given enough information; but remember that it is not intelligent, and that you will have to do the thinking.*

❑ *Do not worry about efficiency of processing. Computers can be expected to continue getting faster.*

Some of these recommendations may sound obvious and trivial. According to our experience they are not.

5. An application

We have tested the viability of our approach within an ongoing project [23] of compiling a dictionary of Greek loanwords within Arabic. A central requirement is the ability to print Arabic, Greek, Syriac or Hebrew, and Latin script, and we decided to use and, if required, extend the author's ArabT$_E$X system.

In addition to printing we wanted to automatically generate several indices sorted according to the collating sequences of the various languages used, and this proved feasible. We found that the necessary preprocessing could easily be handled by T$_E$X itself plus some existing system routines.

---

* The ArabT$_E$X package is freely available for scientific and private applications. It can be downloaded from ftp.informatik.uni-stuttgart.de in the directory /pub/arabtex/. For other ways of acquiring it, contact the author.

5.1. Input encoding

As we decided to use T_EX for all processing, we will use the basic T_EX conventions [24]. This means the coding used will be 7-bit ASCII [25] both for text and for markup. In T_EX a markup command is distinguished by a name consisting of Latin letters and preceded by an inverse slash, and, if required, followed by parameter strings included in curly braces; one of them might be the range of symbols the markup command applies to. In addition to the standard T_EX commands we shall define additional symbolic commands as required.

We next take the intrinsic structure of the available input data into account. Presently they reside on a large number of index cards, each of which carries the information available about a specific Arabic lemma. There are main entries describing words derived from Greek directly or via some intermediate steps, and secondary entries that describe writing variants and refer to some main entry.

We represent these data as a possibly unordered sequence of text blocks in free format. Every text block starts with a markup command of the form \alemma {the lemma} followed by the descriptive information and closed by an empty line (for ease of editing only). The descriptive information may contain components in several languages that are marked up by \ar {Arabic text}, \gr {Greek text}, \sy {Syriac text}, \he {Hebrew text} as required; other languages, *e. g.*, Coptic could be added. Presently we did not distinguish the European languages occurring but could easily do so. In addition there are a few more symbolic tags like \see for pointers to other entries, \var for denoting variants, \cod for referring to sources, and a few more. Note that we distinguish between \alemma and \ar as their roles are different, and in the same way we denote *e. g.*, a Greek lemma and an explanation in Greek differently. Greek text is mapped to 7-bit

ASCII using the encoding proposed by Silvio Levy [26] and supported by GREEKT_EX, another extension to T_EX freely available [27]. For Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew we use the standard encoding implemented in the Arab T_EX system; it is a linearised variant of the ZDMG transliteration [28, 29] that uses no diacritical marks and can easily be handled using a standard computer keyboard.

The following example is typical; we made liberal use of white space to keep the input data which might have to be edited, human readable:

```
\alemma {qAbUs}
JA 1886 (1) 460.
\see \ar {qwA—tUs} (ib.)

\alemma {qAbIl}
\gr {k`aphloc} \from \syr {qpIl`}
ZDMG 1897 (51) 470.
der Kleinh"andler, Speisewirth:
\ar {mi—tl insAn —dAhib fI al-sUq `inda al-qAbIl
ya^sum al-^siwA`— wa-al.tabI—h}
```
"`Wie ein Mensch welcher auf dem Markte bei [dem] Speisewirth vorbeigeht und den Duft der gekochten und gebratenen Speisen riecht`".

```
\alemma {qAtismA}
\gr {k`ajisma} pl. \ar {qAtismAt}
GRAF VERZ. 86
```
"`Kathisma in der Psalmeneinleitung`".
```
\var \ar {qA.tsmA} (pl. \ar {qA.ssmAt}), \ar {kAtsmA}.

\alemma {qAtsmAt}
GRAF VERZ. 86
\see \ar {qAtsmA} (ib.)
```

5.2. Printing the text

If we want to print a listing of the data in dictionary format we have to write a small driver program in the T_EX macro language that will determine the general output format, and that will assign to all undefined tags as their meaning the required external representation by calling some T_EX or Arab T_EX routines. Then it will read the input data file

and let T_EX process it to do the formatting. As presently no Syriac font is available we substituted Hebrew temporarily.

The resulting output for a sample page is given in the appendix. The correspondence with the encoding example should be obvious.

5.3. Sorting

Up to now we have assumed that our input data are sorted according to the Arabic lemma, obeying the standard Arabic collating sequence. In the long run this will not remain so and we shall have to re-sort. Now we exploit the fact that any Operating System known to us provides a sorting routine that can sort the lines of a text file according to the standard ASCII collating sequence, and we transform our input file into another one that when sorted mechanically will contain the entries in the required sequence. There is another T_EX macro program that interprets the same data in a different way: instead of producing formatted output, it will read the data one complete entry at a time, filter out

the lemma, and compute an alphabetic sorting key from its internal Arabic representation that is available within ArabT_EX. Now we copy the entry to an output file and prepend to every line a new tag of the form \key {the key}; and this new file can be processed by the standard sorting routine. The additional tag will not interfere with the printing process if in that context we define its meaning as producing no output at all. Thus we can use our sorted file as a new version of our input data, and whenever sufficiently many new data have been added, we re-process the file, compute keys for the new entries, keep the already existing ones, and re-sort again.

5.4. Compiling indices

For compiling an index, say, on the Greek terms, from the same data set some more processing is required, but this task is simpler. We again process the data one entry at a time but only keep those entries that contain a Greek component (these are the main entries), and build a new output file containing for each main entry just the following items: a sorting key (again hidden within the argument of a tag, but this time computed from the Greek lemma), the

Greek lemma itself, and the Arabic lemma. This file can be printed by an obvious variant of the printing program described above.

For indices on other languages we proceed analogously, and we can even build a retrograde index by processing the internal representation of the Arabic lemma in reverse order. We have already tried this, and it proved to be surprisingly easy.

5.5. Further processing

Among the lines given we could rather easily open up the way for other evaluations of the same data. We could, *e. g.*, search for lemmata in several languages, build concordances, collate versions of the same basic text for identifying variants, or derive a differently formatted file suitable for loading into a sufficiently powerful data base system.

None of this has yet been done, but we also see no basic difficulties apart from the work to be expended in

writing the necessary programs. We found T_EX, as it is geared towards text processing from the outset, especially suitable for comparable tasks, but we cannot deny the fact that using the T_EX macro language for programming is far from trivial, and other methods more widely known could be substituted.

5.6. Discussion

Our present mechanism, while it proved usable, has some apparent drawbacks. One problem is that for any new way of processing we have to do some non-trivial programming; this, as we believe, is inherent. Using T_EX macros for programming was locally convenient, as we had some experience, but is not mandatory; other techniques could be used as well. The fact that the parts in Oriental languages are coded in a transliteration helps editing using a very

simple plain text editor, but is not essential. The encodings for the various languages are logically independent of each other, and could easily be changed, even automatically, if some multi-language editor were available. We may even use different encodings for parts in the same language at the same time provided we keep them distinguishable by different markup tags.

6. Conclusion

Our experience has shown that encoding quite heterogeneous data in a way that preserves the available meta-information, enabled us to perform a variety of related but quite diverse automated processing tasks on the same abstract data base, without any manual re-encoding necessary. The programming effort required and the processing load invested were not trivial, but we believe that the costs incurred were reasonable given the fact that some of the tasks had, to our knowledge, never been attempted successfully before.

We generally believe in the benefits of cooperation, also between fields as diverse as Orientalistics and Computer Science; and we expect the cost of computing power to continue to decrease rapidly. Our main concern is to reduce, as far as possible, the amount of labour that cannot be delegated to a machine, in order to liberate humans from mechanical chores and to enable them to concentrate on tasks where they can exploit their specific abilities.

- ق -   Das Specimen

قاطاطير BBH 843 paen., 1049.10 ⇐ (ib.)

قاثوليق καθολικός MAF 129.9 وهو الجاثليق ويكن تحت يد البطريق ومقام الجاثليق في حضرة الامام ببلاد العراق مدينة السلام فيكن تحت يد بطريق فاتوليق , قاتوليق var. أنطاكية ; OC 1979 (63) 79,80 n.22 مابوكين var. قاتوليق , كاتوليق ⇐ كاتوليق . جاثوليق

قابوس فايوس AG 2.54.5 ⇐ (ib.)

قادرتين SUWAIDI 235a.15-b.3 ⇐ قادرس DIOSK/DIET 1.22.14 - 2.1. Nr. 44.

قادرس κέδρος DIOSK/DIET 1.22.14-2.1. Nr. 44. (Zeder, Cedrus Libani A.Rich) وهو الشربين „das ist die Zeder". قادرتيس SUWAIDI 235a.15 - b.3 (ib.); cod. قادرس

قادن FI 1.252.22 فادن ⇐ (ib.)

قادوس κάδος ZDMG 1896 (50) 617, ib. 1897 (51) 300, 325. „Eimer". JA 1886 (1) 431, ib. 1913 (2) 383 „pot". „ne signifie guère 'conduit, tuyau' que dans le Maghreb" ⇒ DOZY 322-323; قَدَس (Hiğaz) ZDMG 1897 (51) 325.

قادون FI 1.252.22 فادس ⇐ (ib.)

قاذون QT 19.2 قودرس ⇐ (ib.)

قارابس κάραβος ART. 235.10 ... السمك قارابس يسمّ الذى مثل ⇐ قارب

قابوس فوائوس (ib.) ⇒ 460. (1) JA 1886

قابيل κάπηλος < (syr. קפילא) ZDMG 1897 (51) 470. der Kleinhändler, Speisewirth: مثل انسان ذاهب في السوق عند القابيل يثم الشواء والطبيخ „Wie ein Mensch welcher auf dem Markte bei [dem] Speisewirth vorbeigeht und den Duft der gekochten und gebratenen Speisen riecht."

قاتما κάθισμα pl. قاتسمات GRAF VERZ. 86 „Kathisma in der Psalmeneinleitung". var. قاطسما (pl. قاصسمات), كاتسما.

قاتسمات قاتسما GRAF VERZ. 86 ⇒ (ib.)

قاتكسيسمات κατοιχήσεις HIPA 2.474.7. ⇒ الفليكسيسمات cod. (ib.) مصطاغوجيات الفلينكسيسمات ؟الفليكسات ؟

قاتوليق pl. قتلقة GRAF VERZ. 86 var. قاثوليق ⇒ MAF. 129.9 ; فقاليقوس (ib.)

قاثاراسيس καθαίρεσις < (syr. קתרסיס) GRAF VERZ. 86 Amtsenthebung, Absetzung. ⇒ قثرس GRAF VERZ. 87

قاطاطير ZAHRAWI 68b.9 ⇐ (ib.)

قاطاطير καθήτωρ ZAHRAWI 68b.9 ≈ الالة ; HINDU cod. قاطاطير ; التى تسمى قيل مجوف يدخل في الاحليل 163.5. اذا احتبس البول بسبب حجر وقع في عنق المثانة او سدة او علق دم . FRAENKEL, FREMD 261; BBH 843 paen; 1049.10 var. قاطاطين

Notes

1. International Organization for Standardization. *Information processing — ISO 7-bit coded character set for information interchange.* ISO 646.

2. International Organization for Standardization. *Information processing — ISO 7-bit and 8-bit coded character sets — Code extension techniques.* ISO 2022.

3. International Organization for Standardization. *Information processing — 8-bit single-byte coded graphics character sets — Part 6: Latin/Arabic alphabet.* ISO 8859—6, 1987.

4. International Organization for Standardization. *Information processing — 8-bit single-byte coded graphics character sets — Part 8: Latin/Hebrew alphabet.* ISO 8859—8, 1987.

5. The Unicode Consortium. *The Unicode Standard. Worldwide Character Encoding. Version 1.0, Volume 1.* Addison-Wesley, Reading, Mass., 1991.

6. International Organization for Standardization. *Information processing — Text and Office Systems — Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML).* Technical Report ISO 8879, ISO Geneva, 15 October 1986; Amendment 1, 1 July 1988.

7. Tim Berners-Lee et al. The World-Wide Web. *Communications of the ACM*, 37(8): 76—82, 1994.

8. Joan M. Smith. *SGML and Related Standards.* Ellis Horwood Ltd., New York, 1992.

9. Donald E. Knuth. *The $T_EX$book*, volume A of "Computers & Typesetting". Addison-Wesley, Reading, Mass., 1984.

10. Barbara Beeton. Mathematical Symbols and Cyrillic Fonts Ready for Distribution. *TUGboat*, 6(2): 59—66, 1985.

11. Leslie Lamport. LATEX, *a Document Preparation System. User's Guide and Reference Manual.* Addison-Wesley, Reading, Mass., second edition, 1994.

12. M. J. Ferguson. A Multilingual T_EX. *TUGboat*, 6(2): 57—58, 1985.

13. Johannes Braams. Babel, a Multilingual Style Option for Use with LATEX's Standard Document Styles. *TUGboat*, 12(2): 291—301, 1991.

14. Klaus Lagally. ArabTEX — Typesetting Arabic with Vowels and Ligatures. In *EuroT$_E$X '92, Proc. 7th European TeX Conference*, pages 153—172, Prague, Czechoslovakia, September 14—18, 1992.

15. Klaus Lagally. ArabTEX, a System for Typesetting Arabic. In *ICEMCO92, Proc. 3rd International Conference and Exhibition on Multi-lingual Computing (Arabic and Roman Script)*, pages 9.4.1—9.4.8, University of Durham, UK, December 10—12, 1992.

16. Klaus Lagally. ArabTEX, a System for Typesetting Arabic. User Manual Version 3.00. Report 1993/11, Universität Stuttgart, Fakultät Informatik, 1993.

17. Klaus Lagally. How to extend ArabTEX to handle Hebrew, 1994. Unpublished internal Notes.

18. Michael Goossens, Frank Mittelbach, and Alexander Samarin. *The LATEX Companion.* Addison-Wesley, Reading, Mass., etc., 1984.

19. Leslie Lamport. LATEX, *a Document Preparation System. User's Guide and Reference Manual.* Addison-Wesley, Reading, Mass., second edition, 1994.

20. M. E. Lesk. Lex — a Lexical Analyser Generator. Computing Science Technical Report 39, AT&T Bell Laboratories, Murray Hill, N.J., 1975.

21. S. C. Johnson. Yacc — Yet Another Compiler Compiler. Computing Science Technical Report 32, AT&T Bell Laboratories, Murray Hill, N.J., 1975.

22. Klaus Lagally. WRG — ein neuer Generator für Top-Down-Parser mit automatischer Fehlerbehandlung. Report 1990/01, Universität Stuttgart, Fakultät Informatik, 1990.

23. Nikolai Serikoff. A Project to Build a Multi-Lingual Dictionary of Greek Loan-Words within the Arabic Language, 1994. Personal communication.

24. International Organization for Standardization. *Information processing — ISO 7-bit coded character set for information interchange.* ISO 646.

25. Donald E. Knuth. *The $T_EX$book*, volume A of "Computers & Typesetting". Addison-Wesley, Reading, Mass., 1984.

26. Silvio Levy. Using Greek Fonts with T_EX. *TUGboat*, 9(1): 20—24, 1988.

27. K. J. Dryllerakis. GREEKTEX. Available electronically via the InterNet from the Comprehensive TEX Archive Network (CTAN), 1994. A set of Greek fonts, associated macros and documentation; based on fonts devised by Silvio Levy and Yannis Haralambous.

28. Deutsches Institut für Normung e.V. *Umschrift des Arabischen Alphabets.* DIN 31 635, 1982.

29. International Organization for Standardization. *International System for the Transliteration of Arabic Characters.* ISO/R 233 — 1961.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

I. E. Petrosyan

AN ILLUSTRATED TURKISH MANUSCRIPT
OF "ISKENDER-NĀME" BY AḤMEDĪ

In the collection of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies there is an illustrated manuscript of the poem "Iskender-nāme" by Aḥmedī (1334/35—1412/13), written in old Anatolian Turkic at the end of the 14th century. The poem composed after the most popular work by Nizami is one of the earliest samples of Turkic Anatolian literature and presents great interest from many points of view. The life and conquests of Alexander the Great commemorated in the vast literary tradition of the Near East enjoyed an immense popularity among the Oriental peoples beginning from the ancient times. It is therefore hardly surprising that the subject was taken by the renowned Turkish poet of the 14—15th centuries Ahmedi, who wrote his own version of Alexander the Great romance in verse for his patron — the Germiyan ruler Suleyman (1377—1387). The poet, soon after his work had been accomplished, found a new patron at the court of the Ottoman ruler Bayezid I (1389—1402) to whom he intended to present his poem with an additional section dealing with the history of the Ottoman dynasty. The disaster near Angora (Ankara), where the Ottoman army of Bayezid was defeated in 1402 by the troops of Timur (1370—1405), made him change his plans, because of Bayezid's captivity and death soon afterwards. The poet presented his work to the son and successor of Bayezid, Suleyman (1402—1410), who became the third powerful patron of Aḥmedı and a true judge of his poetical talent [1].

The very vein of the poem, similar to the epic character of the tales of "Shah-name" by Firdousi with its rich iconographic tradition, demanded some illustrations to be made. Unfortunately, only few 15th century manuscripts of Ahmedı's poem have come down to us, and it is very significant that the earliest one, dated from 1416, contains twenty miniatures [2].

Only three of these miniatures, according to Metin And, match in style the date of the manuscript's execution [3], while the others are older than the manuscript itself. As specialists point out they were modeled on the miniatures executed in Baghdad in the 13th century [4]. Another illustrated copy of Aḥmedı's poem, which was made in the 15th century (1475), is also known. The manuscript is preserved in one German collection [5]. Unfortunately, I was not able to see this copy and to make any judgment on the style of its painting.

Among the great number of manuscripts of this poem by Aḥmedı which have survived, there are many illustrated copies executed in the 16th century, mainly in Shiraz and Herat. Two of them belong to the manuscript collection of

the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental studies. In this paper I aim to present only one of these, since its provenance, dating and iconographic features provide some problems. As for the artistic style of the manuscript under call number B 277, it was copied in Shiraz in A.H. 948 (A.D. 1541/42) by the prominent Shirazi calligrapher Muhammad Katib for Khazan Shah Kuli Beg, probably a representative of the Turkmen Zulkadir dynasty by that time deprived of the supreme power in its principality. In any case, the commissioner of the copy is named Zulkadir in the manuscript's colophon [6]. O. F. Akimushkin considers Khazan Shah Kuli Beg to be the emir (prince) of the above-mentioned Turkmen tribe [7]. The manuscript's miniatures represent the mature and exquisite late Shirazi style, greatly influenced by the Herat school of painting.

Turning to another illustrated manuscript of Ahmedi's poem "Iskender-nāme", which is kept in the Institute collection under call number C 133, it should be noted that it presents many problems. To begin with, there is no colophone, which makes its attribution rather difficult. The manuscript came to the collection in 1864. Its previous owner, I. M. Tolstoy, was known in pre-Revolutionary Russia as a collector of antiquities. The manuscript has an old Oriental cardboard binding, covered with bright brown leather. The upper and lower covers of the binding are decorated with medallions in the corners and in the center, with stamped filigree floral designs, and with small figures of hares and foxes (?) placed in each corner. The filigree work preserves traces of original gilding. The binding also has a stamped border frame, once also gilded. The stamped patterns of the inner part of the cover are not visible because of a sheet of paper glued over it during restoration of the manuscript before it came to Tolstoy's collection.

Manuscript bindings of this type are well known in the 15th—16th centuries in the Near and Middle East, as well as in Central Asia, especially in the Timurid period. Bookbindings of this kind were made in the 15th and early 16th centuries in Yazd, Shiraz, Herat, Tabriz, as well as in Baghdad [8]. The binding of our manuscript was made, most probably, in the late 15th century, which is confirmed by the date of its miniatures (one of the points we shall try to prove here).

Manuscript C 133 has 289 folios. Each folio measures 25.5×16.0 cm. The text is arranged in two columns, which are framed by two thin black lines. The space between them is gilded. The text measures 18.5×11.0 cm. There are 15 lines per page. The columns of the text are separated by two rows of double vertical black lines. The

space between the lines is gilded. The text of the manu-
script is written on dense, cream-colored Oriental paper.
There is a little label in the upper right corner of the inner
part of the cover, which testifies that the manuscript was
displayed at the International Exhibition of Persian Art in
London in 1931. It is evident from this label, that the
manuscript was then attributed to the book art of Persia.
There are also three Oriental seals on folios 1a and 289a.
The seal on folio 1a has an almost illegible inscription:
"Tevfik (?) M...yir bek (bey?)". The other two ellipsoid
sealings on the last folio of the manuscript are erased so
that they became illegible. Only the words "Han ... Mu-
hammad..." can be distinguished on one of them. The
manuscript has Oriental pagination. The first folio of the
manuscript had been restored before it was acquired by
I. N. Tolstoy, most probably in the East — besides its new
Oriental-style colored *unvan* it has the initial part of the
text reconstructed. The second, original folio of the text
has survived, even though its upper edge is lost, so that
some *beyts* on both sides of folio 2a are missing. The dam-
aged folio is glued over a new sheet of European paper. As
a whole, the condition of the manuscript is not bad, though
there are many evident signs of its being often read. For
example, some faces in the miniatures are deliberately
erased or have black lines below the necks — to show the
negative attitude of the reader to certain personages. Some
folios of the manuscript are illuminated in a special way.
The *beyts* are arranged crosswise (see *fig. 1*) and are richly
decorated, according to a fashion of manuscript illumina-
tion characteristic, in particular, of the 15th century Shiraz
manuscripts of the Timurid period. The manuscript is
written in almost calligraphic *nastalik*, with headings of
sections written in red and gold. The whole text is vocal-
ized, as it was practiced in manuscripts representing the
works of the early Ottoman poetry.

The manuscript contains 40 miniatures which bear no
artists' signatures. The attribution of the miniatures can
provide a reliable foundation for the dating of the manu-
script and for establishing its origin. For this reason I think
it important to describe all the miniatures as they are rep-
resented in our manuscript.

1) f. 9a — the first miniature (10.7 × 8.3 cm) depicts a
feast on the occasion of Iskender's birth, arranged by his
father Feylekus. He is shown sitting in a garden, encircled
by his courtiers and musicians. A nurse on the left is
showing the swaddled new-born Iskender to his father. In
the foreground our attention is drawn to a tray with blue
and white Chinese bowls, which one can see on the
Timurid miniatures from Shiraz and Herat. The miniature
seems to have been executed by an experienced artist, well
acquainted with Persian models.

2) f. 12a (10.7 × 7.4 cm) — Iskender is depicted talk-
ing with Aristotle, Hyppocrates, Plato and Socrates. This
miniature seems to be executed by the same painter and in
the same style. Only one detail — a house with a red-tiled
roof in the center the picture, betrays its Ottoman origin.

3) f. 28b (10.7 × 10.9 cm) — the right part of the
miniature is damaged by dampness. On the left Iskender is
depicted sitting. In the foreground one can discern a cock,
picking grains, and a house with a red-tiled roof. The sub-
ject of the miniature may be connected with the famous
episode with the envoys of the Persian king Darius. Ac-
cording to the legend the ambassadors of Darius told
Iskender that the Persian king had an army innumerable

like grains. In response Alexander asked to bring him a
cock and some grains. The cock picked the grains. So Al-
exander made the envoys understand, that the army of Al-
exander would gain a victory over the Persian troops.

4) f. 33b (10.7 × 11.0 cm.) — a battle between the
Persian army of Darius (Dara in our text) and the army of
Iskender is depicted. The style of the miniature is com-
pletely Persian, modeled on the early Timurid iconogra-
phy. Only one detail is worth our special attention. I mean
the manner of depicting the draped edges of the main
mounted figures' cloaks. Such kind of the draperies are
very similar to those which one can see in Byzantine mosa-
ics or Byzantine miniatures [9].

5) f. 35b (10.7 × 10.7 cm.) — the miniature depicts a
scene of execution of two persons named Makhar and
Makhyar (*fig. 2*). They are hung on ropes tied to a very
carefully depicted cross-beam. The figures of the executed
and the executors are smaller in comparison with a rather
strange looking personage. He wears a red headgear, which
looks similar to those which we see in the miniatures of
our manuscript illustrating the section of the poem dealing
with the history of the Ottoman dynasty. This headgear
looks very Ottoman. The manner of depicting somewhat
enlarged figures of the Ottoman personages in the minia-
tures illustrating non-Ottoman subjects, is known, for ex-
ample, in the 16th century Ottoman manuscript of Rawzat
al-Safa by Mir Khwand (d.903/1498) [10]. This peculiarity
in the Turkish miniatures has been noted by
G. M. Meredith-Owens. In his opinion it could happen ei-
ther because another painter was employed to make them
or because of the patriotic feelings of the miniaturist. An-
other example when personages of different size appear in
one miniature will be mentioned below. It is nevertheless
difficult to explain the fact that an Ottoman-looking figure
emerges in a miniature, depicting a non-Ottoman subject. I
find no explanation to this iconographic peculiarity,
though I am inclined to think that two different painters
were involved in illustrating the manuscript. One of them
was, so to say, responsible for the Ottoman vein of the
paintings meeting the taste of the person who had ordered
the manuscript.

6) f. 52b (10.7 × 10.9 cm) — a fortress in Sistan be-
sieged by the troops of Iskender is shown in the minia-
ture (*fig. 3*). The painter succeeded in demonstrating the
vigorous atmosphere of the battle. A figure of a bombardier
is particularly expressive. He is shown standing near his
siege-machine, picking up a missile from the ground. It
should be noted that such realistic and vigorous manner is
characteristic of the Ottoman miniature painting school. It
is very likely that this miniature was executed by an Otto-
man painter. He aimed to strengthen the impression of the
battle by depicting two cannons, their barrels visible in the
slots of the fortress wall.

7) f. 58a (10.7 × 10.9 cm) — the miniature (see the
plate on the front cover) depicts a rendezvous between
Iskender and Gülshah. It was executed most probably by
the Ottoman painter too. The enlarged and a bit stretched
figures of the personages are shown near a castle. The
right proportions between the castle and the human figures
are not maintained. It is true, that this feature was charac-
teristic of the early Timurid Shiraz style, though the per-
sonages of this miniature look even bigger than in the
Shiraz models. The most striking detail of this miniature
is the manner of depicting the castle's window-openings

Fig. 1

بس خیانت در زبون نایه گرگ   چون مقدر در ورد روزی ملک

زخمن داراب اولمیشید زار   اول زمان که آصلده داره ماهبار

برنفس قلمشدی تنلک رو حدن   وقت چون یکمشد اول مجروحدن

سیکه زخم اوزنلری قلدی تنباه   دیدک آکا که ذوالقرنین شاه

بو خبر چون اده آکه اولدی شاد   سرکرچه اولمشدی امیدی جمله باد

برد میسه عمرجی بیک یلجه اولا   کیش کم دشمندن اول شکر تلا

Fig. 2

سبستان شهرين اندر يِر حصار | ہر یکادن قوبد جنك و کیرو دار
پہلوانلر کوس حربی اورد لر | رعدد وزب منخنبقی قودلر
تیرانداز ایک یزبک نا مور | نبخطا او قلاری شو بلا کم قدر

قصدا ندر یِر حصاری آلمغا | زدرو اندرو بازویلہ ویان قلمنا
دیلدیلر تیر باران ایدہ لر | شویلہ کہ اوخی شہرن باران ایدہ لر
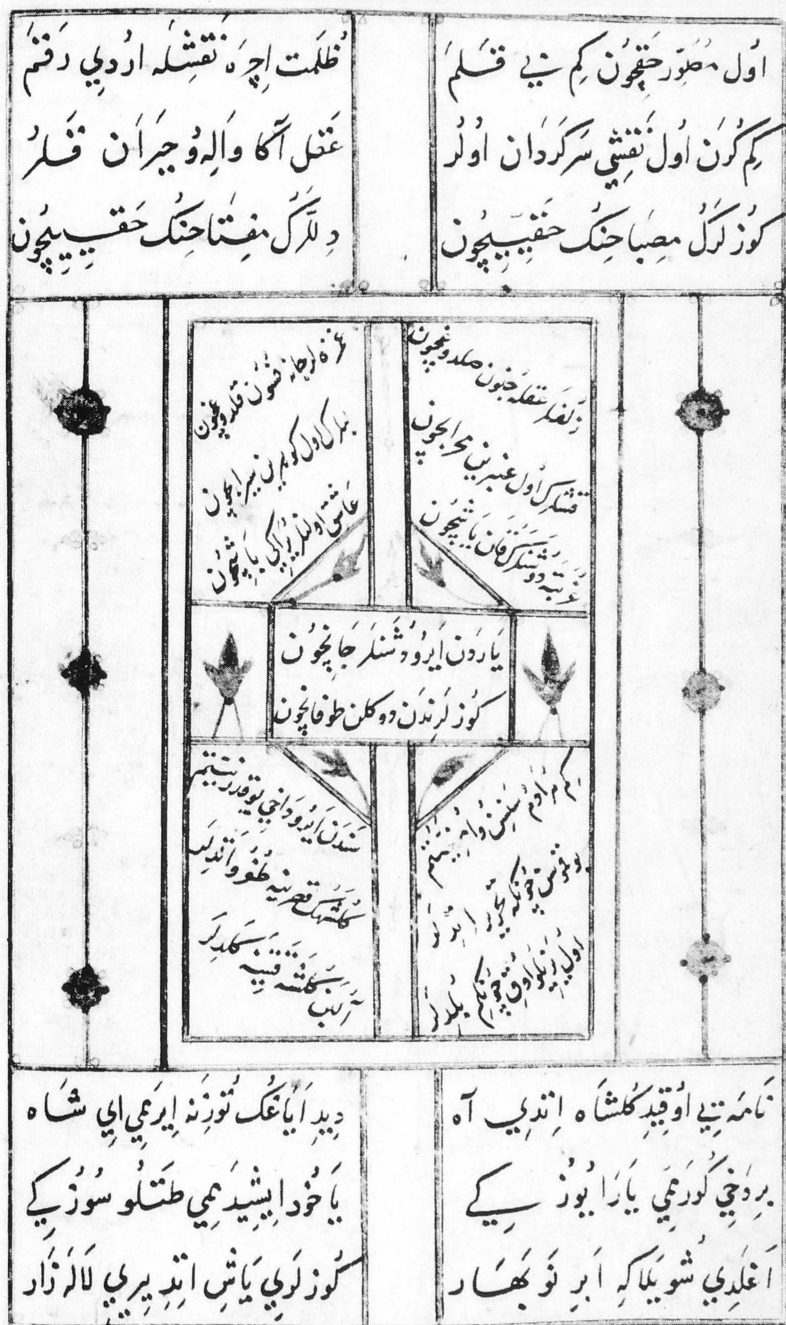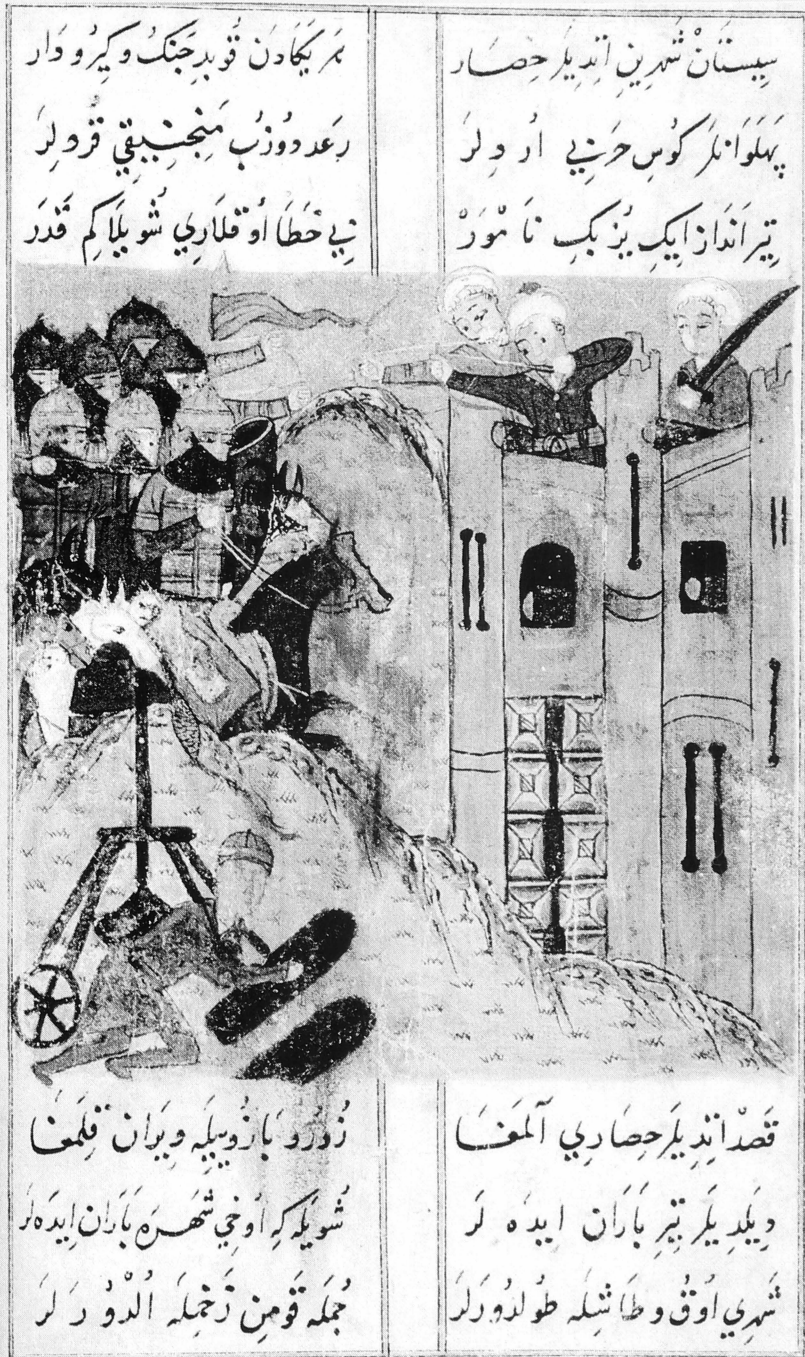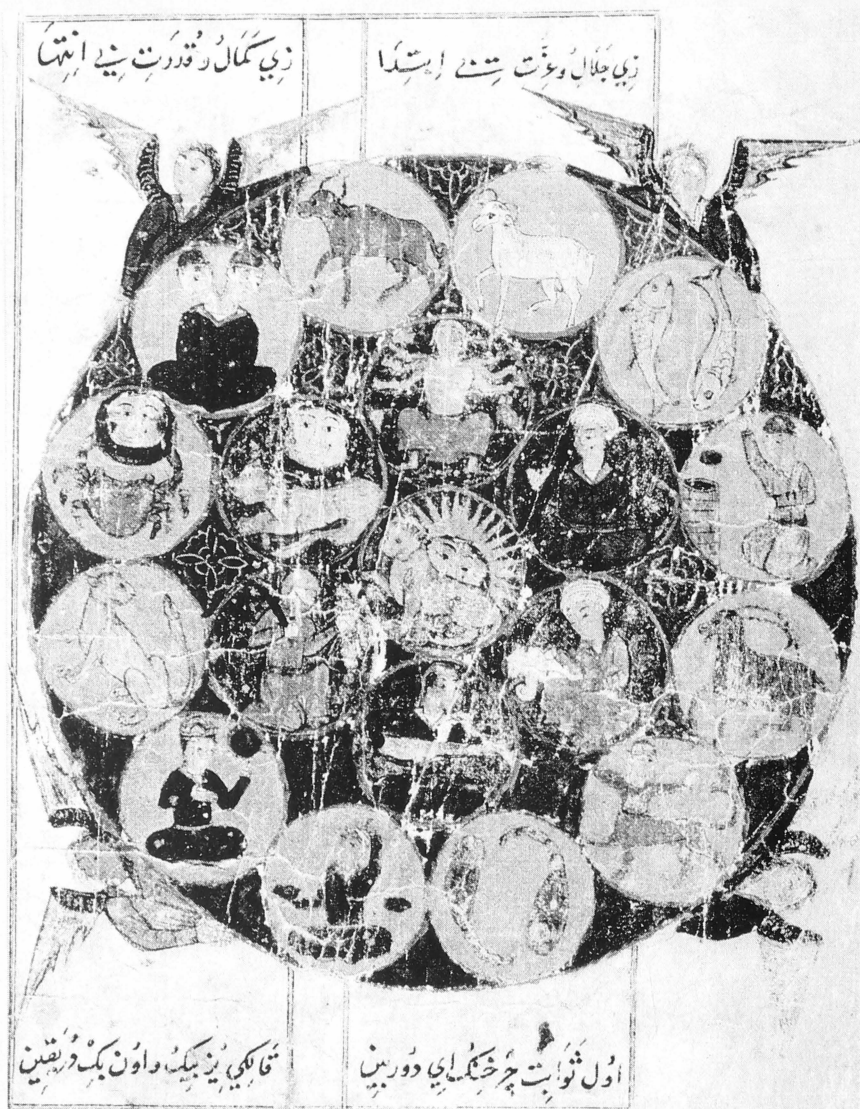شہری اوق وطاشلہ طولدردلر | جملہ قومن زخملہ الدوردلر
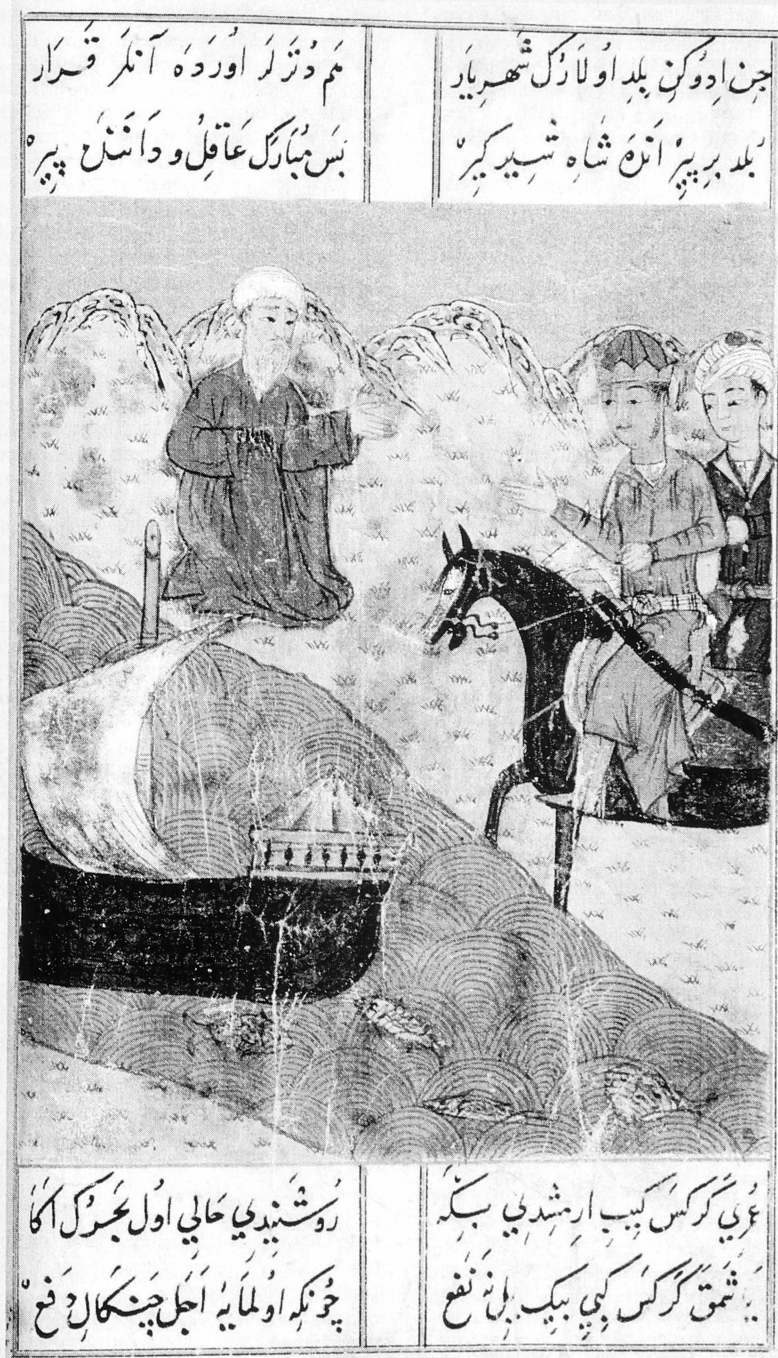
Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

shown in perspective, as we can see both in Byzantine mosaics and in Byzantine miniatures; it also occurs in the medieval European paintings. One may suggest that the miniaturist was acquainted with European iconographic models.

8) f. 64b (10.7 × 10.7 cm) — the miniature is executed completely in Persian style and depicts the encounter of Iskender with the envoys of Kayd (?). The iconography of the miniature betrays the influence of the Shiraz, Tabriz and Herat styles of painting. Cloaks with parts of fur linings thrown over one shoulder, long sleeves hiding the arms of the envoys, are worth noting in this connection.

9) f. 67b (10.7 × 10.9 cm) — the miniature, depicting the scene of Iskender's encounter with a sage is executed wholly in the Persian style of the late 15th century Timurid painting. One can see a tree in blossom, a flying magpie in the sky, a tent, under which Iskender is sitting on the throne.

10) f. 74a (10.7 × 11.8 cm) — the encounter of Iskender with the same (?) sage is shown in the miniature. The intense yellow of the wise man's scarf over the collar of his blue cloth produces an extremely sharp impression of the intellectual acuteness of their conversation. The miniature depicts an interior. A house with red-tiled roof is also visible. It is the only Ottoman detail in the miniature which as a whole is executed in the Persian style.

11) f. 75b — the miniature represents Macrocosm, shown in the form of a circle with twelve other smaller circles within it along the circumference (*fig. 4*). The twelve circles are provided with Zodiac signs drawn against gold background. There are another seven inner circles with zodiacal and cabalistic signs and pictures. Four angels are depicted looking out from behind the large circle (two in the upper part of the miniature and two in its lower part). The diameter of the large circle is 14 cm, and of the smaller circles — 2.9 cm.

12) f. 80a (10.7 × 10.9 cm) — a conversation between Iskender and Kayd (?) is depicted in this Persian style miniature, which is not in good condition..

13) f. 81b (10.7 × 10.9 cm) — an artist demonstrating his skill before Iskender. E. Kh. Nuriakhmetov erroneously interpreted it as a scene where Iskender is accepting gifts from Kayd. The miniature is also in bad condition, though one can clearly see, that is it painted in the Persian style.

14) f. 83b (10.7 × 12.3 cm) — a court scene in interior. One can see a musician playing the lute. A throne, its lower part draped, attracts attention. Similar representations of thrones are characteristic, for example, of Ibrahim's Shah-name of the Timurid period [11]. It should be noted that the early Shiraz style of the Timurid epoch reveals itself in the miniatures of our manuscript. One detail, a lying cat in the foreground, reveals its relation to the Tabriz miniature models. Images of cats appear in the 14th century Tabriz paintings, as we can observe it, for example, in some miniatures of the Demotte Shah-name [12]. But this may be not a direct influence. It could come through the Shiraz school of painting, which borrowed a lot from the Muzaffarid and Jalayirid school of book illumination.

15) f. 84b (10.7 × 10.9 cm.) — the miniature depicts a hunting scene. Iskender is shown hunting lions. There is nothing remarkable in the miniature painted in the Persian style. But it lacks the refined manner of drawing characteristic of the Persian school. Its range of colors is not so

wide. The form of the tree depicted in this painting may deserves special attention. It has a bifurcated blue crown. The miniature is damaged.

16) f. 85b (10.7 × 14.6 cm) — another hunting scene. One can see Iskender striking a snow leopard. Gazelles and one more snow leopard are shown nearby. The miniature is executed in the classical Persian style. Only one detail is worth mentioning. I mean a tree that is depicted with one half of its crown painted green while the other is blue. Here, as one can assume, the artist tried to produce the chiaroscuro effect, which betrays his knowledge of the European manner of painting. One detail of the painting reveals its Ottoman origin. In the left upper corner of the miniature a dog's head is visible along with the figures of huntsmen. It represents a special kind of hunting-dog, very large, of white and black color. Similar dogs appear later in a miniature depicting Sultan Bayezid's hunt, in the late 16th century manuscript of Lokman's "Hüner-name" [13]. The miniature is in a bad condition.

17) f. 89b (10.7 × 13.2 cm) — the miniature shows a battle of Iskender with an army of the Indian king Fur. The miniature is executed in the early Timurid style, which served a model for our painter. In the foreground we can see scattered members of slaughtered warriors, a usual element when battles are depicted in the Timurid Shiraz and Herat paintings of the 15th—16th centuries. Only one detail, a very special manner of depicting the draped edges of cloaks worn by the main personages, is remarkable.

18) f. 93b (10.7 × 13.2 cm) — Iskender is depicted slaying a dragon (see *plate 1* on the back cover). Iskender is sitting in a carriage and is ready to strike the dragon which, meanwhile, is swallowing a horse. The picture produces the impression of reality, because the carriage and the horse are depicted with much detail, half of the horse disappearing in the dragon's mouth. The gesture of Iskender, lifting his hand with a sword in it, also adds certain liveliness and spontaneity to the picture. Another detail, attracting attention, are the nails, fastening cross-beams in the upper part of the carriage. It may be worth mentioning that the two large wheels of the carriage have one 7 and the other 8 spokes. The general impression is that the miniature was executed by the Ottoman painter.

19) f. 100b (10.7 × 13.2 cm) — the miniature shows the arrival of Iskender at the Ramini island (*fig. 5*). There, as the story goes, Iskender had an encounter with an old hermit, who is depicted sitting by the shore. The representation of a ship is most interesting detail in this miniature. The ship has a European-fashion rostrum. It seems that the miniaturist has depicted the ship, modeling it on the real Turkish vessels. It must be added that the ship, because of its rostrum and sails blown by the wind, looks vivid.

20) f. 119b (10.7 × 15.3 cm.) — a battle scene (see *fig. 6*). It depicts Iskender's fight with an army of the ruler of Kashmir. The miniature reveals the Persian miniature style of the Timurid period. There are no Ottoman detail but the way the edges of the clothes of the main mounted personages are depicted.

21) f. 121b (10.7 × 13.2 cm) — the miniature represents Iskender's encounter with strange semi-human monsters. They have elephant's and dog's heads. The influence of the Persian iconography of the subject is evident.

22) f. 130b (10.7 × 15.6 cm) — a battle between Iskender's army and the army of monsters is depicted in

the miniature executed in the classic Persian style. The miniature is in a bad condition.

23) f. 131b (10.7 × 15.6 cm) — the miniature depicts a fantastic scene where a gin sitting on Iskender's shoulders is being slain by an angel. The Persian-style miniature is damaged.

24) f. 140b (0.7 × 14.3 cm.) — the miniature (see *plate 2* on the back cover), executed after the Persian classical models, shows two persons talking. One of them holds a cup of wine in his hand. The miniature illustrates the section titled "Münadjat" ("The Night Prayer"), which is a lyrical digression of the author — Ahmedī. It is possible to suggest that the poet Ahmedī is shown here talking with his night guest. This miniature, in which only one detail betrays its Ottoman origin, that is a picture of a house with a red-tiled roof, is executed in the classical manner with many borrowings from Persian models. For this reason it looks very Persian, even refined. The dark blue sky with gold stars and a crescent greatly strengthens this impression.

25) f. 146b (10.7 × 15.6 cm) — the siege of Farayn by Iskender's troops is shown. The miniature depicts a fortress and warriors on its walls and around it. Three mountain ridges, among which the fortress with narrow arrow-slits is visible, are producing the impression of reality. The Ottomans often besieged mountain fortresses when they were conquering the Balkans. The warriors besieging the fortress are shown clad in short cloaks reaching their knees. The realism of the miniature falls well within the Ottoman tradition of realistic miniature-painting.

26) f. 147b (10.7 × 13.0 cm) — the subject of this miniature is the imaginary execution of Kaydafa's son Kandarush. The miniature is of little interest but for one detail, a special kind of drapery covering the lower part of the throne. It is borrowed from the early Timurid miniature-painting of Shiraz, as has been already mentioned.

27) f. 150b (10.7 × 13.3 cm) — this miniature is wholly executed in the Persian style. It depicts the reception of Iskender by Kaydafa. The story goes that Iskender came to Kaydafa disguised as an envoy expecting not to be identified by her. But Kaydafa showed Iskender his portrait, thus giving him to understand that she knew who he was. One detail of the picture is worth mentioning. This is the figure of a servant who holds a beautifully draped piece of red cloth (a present to Kaydafa?).

28) f. 157b (10.7 × 15.9 cm) — the miniature (see *fig. 7*) shows an encounter of Iskender's ship with some other ship. The way the ships are depicted is very realistic. Not only the "Ottoman" rostra of the ships are shown, but also their planks. The sails of the ships are taken in. The picture of the ships' encounter is emphasized by a special manner the ships are arranged. One more detail is worth mentioning. I mean the image of a tree, bending under the wind — one more realistic detail. Obviously the painter wished to show that the weather was stormy. Finally, the miniaturist depicted the sailors of one of the ships (the one on the left) wearing tall red caps, similar to those worn by the Ottoman sailors — azebs. Thus the painter created a fantastic situation admitting the possibility of Iskender's ship meeting one of the Ottoman navy. Such situation might, however, seem natural for a medieval man with his very special understanding of time and space, especially when illustrating a work of literature. In our opinion, the miniature was executed by the Ottoman painter.

29) f. 168b (10.7 × 13.3 cm) — the miniature executed after a Persian model represents the false king Zakhhak. The miniature is in a bad condition.

30) f. 176a (10.7 × 13.0 cm) — the hero of the Persian epic, Siyavush, making his last arrangements with Farangis, is depicted. Farangis wears a very peculiar tall gold headgear with a short transparent veil behind, reaching her shoulders. This headgear looks very Ottoman, or even European (such kind of transparent veils behind a headgear were in fashion in the late 15th century), although it is difficult to find out any other Ottoman detail in Farangis' dress, as well as in this Persian-style miniature as a whole.

31) f. 184b (10.7 × 13.1 cm) — this Persian-style miniature depicts the famous combat between Isfandiyar and Rustem. Like in other miniatures illustrating this subject, Isfandiyar is shown striking Rustem, his sword piercing Rustem's eye. The miniature is in a bad condition.

32) f. 242a (10.7 × 13.3 cm) — king Ashraf and his daughter. The attitude of the woman is strikingly natural and realistic. She sits bending her right knee and coupling her arms over it. The style of the miniature is Persian.

33) f. 249b (10.7 × 14.7 cm) — this miniature (see *plate 3* on the back cover) illustrates the section of the poem dealing with the history of the Ottoman dynasty. It depicts the Ottoman ruler Orkhan (1324—1362), sitting on a throne encircled by his retinue. The headgears of the personages draw special attention. These tall red and white caps, which we have seen in some other miniatures, present a peculiar replica of the Ottoman caps known from history, though it should be admitted that they differ slightly from those that one can see in later indisputably Ottoman paintings. The painter of this miniature was probably familiar with the real history of the Ottoman state. In this case the artist was most probably representing a religious dispute. Two groups of people are shown in the foreground, sitting against each other. Their gestures reveal the subject of the scene. It is known, that Orkhan was greatly interested in the matters of religion. According to the historical tradition, he was an ardent propagandist of Islam in his lands. He was an organizer of many religious disputes with representatives of other creeds [14]. One detail is notable in this miniature — the enlarged figures of the personages standing on both sides of the Ottoman ruler, who sits under a tent. The miniature is most probably executed by the Ottoman miniaturist, though Persian influence can be easily seen.

34) f. 254a (10.7 × 14.3 cm) — the miniature (see *plate 4* on the back cover), which was formerly interpreted by E. Kh. Nuriakhmetov as Murad's encounter with Christians, is, in fact, an illustration of a well known historical episode — the murder of the Ottoman ruler Murad I (1362—1389) by a Serb soon after the battle of Kosovo (1389). In our manuscript it is the most original miniature. Murad, with his bodyguards and courtiers behind him, is depicted being stabbed by a personage clad in a very peculiar garment. The long sleeve of his cloak has a little opening for a hand. His headgear is very similar to those which we see in the Ottoman miniatures of the 16th century representing Ottoman mounted warriors, originating from the European part of the Ottoman state — Rumeli [15]. The murderer is shown piercing Murad's heart with his sabre. All figures are enlarged. No other miniatures of this kind, depicting the murder of this Ottoman

ruler, are known in the manuscripts of Aḥmedi's "Iskender-nāme" from the St. Petersburg manuscript collections. One can assume that the miniature has been executed by the Ottoman painter.

35) f. 256b (10.7 × 13.3 cm) — the Ottoman ruler Suleyman (1402—1410) is presented in this Persian-style miniature. Suleyman is shown sitting on a throne under a tent, encircled by his courtiers and bodyguard. A house with brown tiled roof is an Ottoman element in the picture. There is some disproportion between the sitting and standing figures.

36) f. 264b (10.7 × 13.3 cm) — the miniature (see *fig. 8*) shows Iskender paying a visit to a monk in a monastery. The monastery, depicted in a realistic manner, with a brown tiled roof and a domed tower, bears a striking resemblance to its real prototype — the Byzantine church. The windows of the domed tower and of the main part of the monastery are shown in perspective. This image creates an impression that the painter copied it from some real architectural form. The enlarged figures of Iskender and of the monk, who is dressed wholly in black, contribute to the expressiveness of the picture. The monk's figure was erased by one of the Muslim readers of the manuscript. The miniature is most likely executed by the Ottoman miniaturist.

37) f. 268a (10.7 × 17.4 cm) — the miniature (see *fig. 9*) was interpreted by E. Kh. Nuriakhmetov as a representation of the mysterious *'Ad* people, mentioned in the Qur'an [16]. Most probably, however, it illustrates one of the fantastic episodes of the poem, telling about Iskender's visit to the Ka'aba. The picture of the Ka'aba, covered with special black cloth — *kiswa*, on its both sides there are Turkish minarets with pointed roofs, is looking not Persian, but Ottoman. The windows of the minarets, as well as their masonry are distinguishable. One more detail is worth mentioning: arrow-slits in the wall of the fortress. They are drawn in perspective. In the left upper part of the miniature one can see the figures of Iskender and of his servant, offering a sacrifice (a sheep with its neck cut, blood pouring from it). A group of half-naked and bare-headed people watching the sacrifice is seen on the left. The miniature is most evidently executed by the Ottoman master.

38) f. 278a (10.7 × 13.0 cm) — the miniature depicts Iskender visiting the tomb of a celebrated warrior, who won many victories and conquered many lands. There is nothing unusual in depicting a tomb pavilion rested on four pillars but for one striking detail: the representation of a quiver with arrows, a sword and a water-skin (?) belonging to the buried man, hanging on the pillars of the tomb. These pagan details are of much interest. They demonstrate the fact that the painter considered it important to reflect the historical practice of the remote past. At the same time it is known from the Turkish history of the Seldjukid period, that some of the most celebrated Turkish military leaders were buried together with their garments and arms [17]. This miniature was most probably executed by the Ottoman painter.

39) f. 280a (10.7 × 14.2 cm) — prophet Hizr drawing the water of life from a spring with his jug. This picture was meant to illustrate futility of man's hope to find immortality, which only prophet Hizr was able to attain. This is the principal idea of the poem. The image of Hizr draws special attention, since he is depicted dressed in a short red

European-fashion cloak fastened on the neck, with a gold nimbus of sanctity around his head. This image is very similar to the images of Christian saints as they are presented in Byzantine mosaics and miniature painting. This miniature was, most probably, also painted by the Ottoman miniaturist.

40) f. 284a (10.7 × 13.2 cm) — mourning over Iskender. Many features are borrowed from Persian prototypes — it was one of the most popular subject in the East. The relation to the previous iconography of the scene in pre-Timurid and early Timurid miniature painting is evident. Unfortunately, the figures of those who are lamenting over Iskender on the right, are damaged by moisture. The miniature was most probably executed by a painter working in the Persian manner.

The analysis of the miniatures of our manuscript brings us to the conclusion that they were painted by two masters who worked, most probably, at the Ottoman court atelier in the second half of the 15th century, — by that time the mature Ottoman style of miniature painting had not yet been formed. It is proved by signs of Byzantine influence, as well as by many Ottoman features reflected in our miniatures.

One of the artists, who painted the miniatures of our manuscript, was evidently intimately acquainted with the earlier Persian iconography and worked in the Persian style, using the achievements of the early 15th century Timurid school of miniature painting, which had borrowed much from the Muzaffarid and Jalayirid painting. The second artist worked in the same manner, being also acquainted with the Persian models. His brush, however, was less refined but more vivid. One can see that both painters enjoyed much more artistic freedom than the Ottoman miniaturists of the 16th century, wholly influenced by the refined painting style flourishing under the Safawi dynasty. It is well known, that after the wars of the Ottoman ruler Selim I (1512—1520) with the Safawi state, many Persian painters were brought to Istanbul and continued to work there as court painters.

The style of our miniatures reflects a very special period in the development of the Ottoman painting, when its own original manner was emerging. It can be clearly observed, in spite of the presence of many features borrowed from more refined and mature Persian samples. It has been already mentioned, that in our miniatures the early Herat and Shirazi styles are especially perceptible. It is, however, difficult to find out the exact samples of Persian painting which influenced the late 15th century Ottoman miniatures. Artists working in the Ottoman state in the 15th century were well acquainted not only with the Timurid painting, but also with the European manner, — mainly through intermediary of Byzantine art. We have some information on the arrival of a group of Central Asian artists at the Ottoman court in the 15th century, as well as on the visit of Gentile Bellini, an Italian painter from Venice, to the court of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (1451—1489) [18].

Many elements of our miniatures testifying their Ottoman provenance re-appear in the later Ottoman painting of the 16th and 17th centuries, which became more mature and exquisite. But the Persian influence seems to be no less considerable. It is very likely that the originality of the early Ottoman miniature painting was the result of the work of many painters of European origin, who contributed
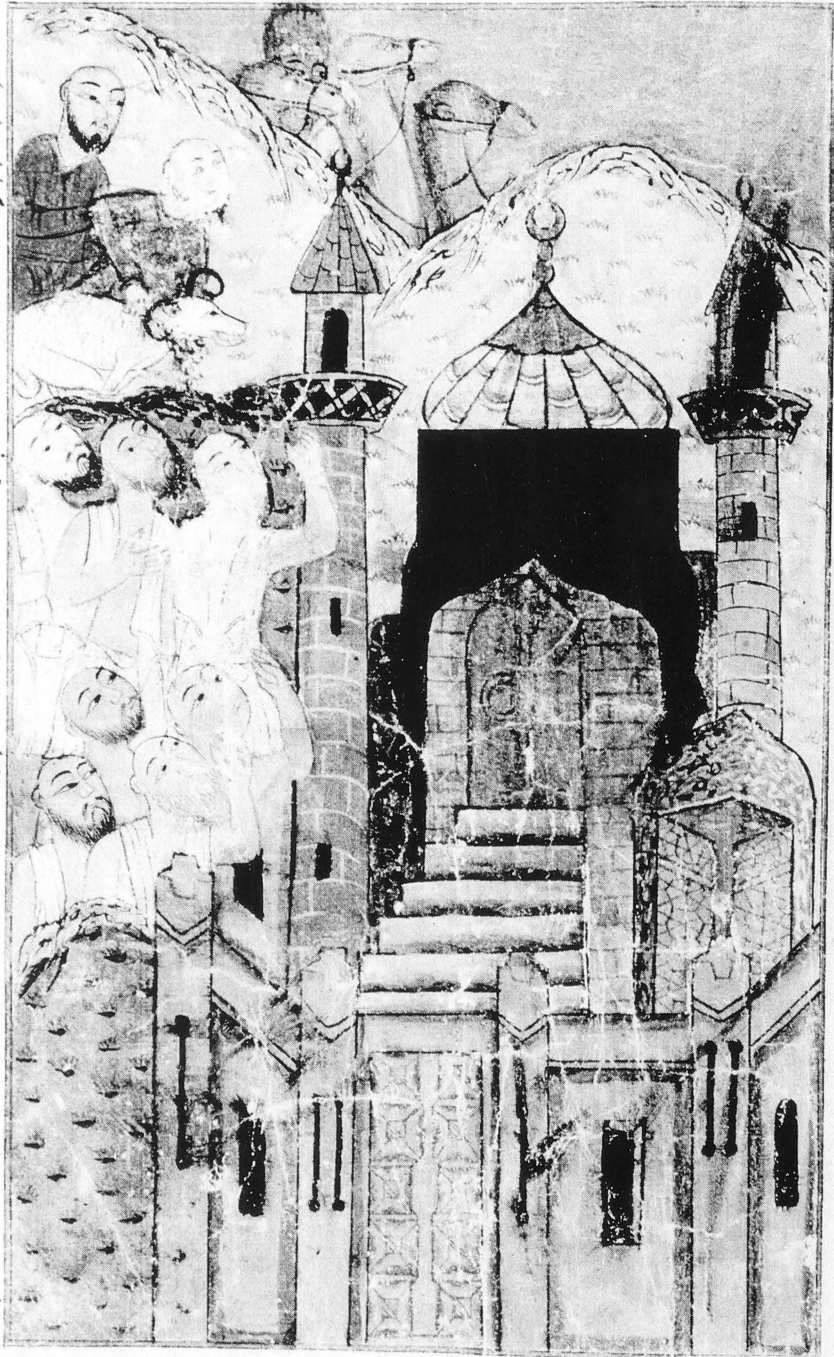
Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

much to the development of the Ottoman art, creating a strangely attractive mixture of two different styles, the European and the Oriental one. The miniatures of the manuscript of "Iskender-nāme" by Aḥmedī which is preserved in the collection of St. Petersburg, represent the most interesting stage of the Ottoman art. Their style is marked by a charming simplicity and naive realism, which almost wholly disappear in the 16th century. What was considered imperfect by the contemporaries, who highly appreciated the refined Persian art of miniature applies to the artistic taste of a modern observer, who finds a strange beauty in the disproportional and enlarged figures in these miniatures, with their limited pallet and barren landscapes creating the feeling of space.

Notes

1. About Aḥmedī and his works see, W. Björkman, "Die altosmanischen Literatur. Die klassisch-osmanische Literature", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 417—9; T. Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild des altosmanischen Dichters Aḥmedī unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Diwans* (Freiburg, 1973); N. S. Banarlı, "Aḥmedī ve Dâsitân-ı tevârih-i mülûk-i Âl-i Osman", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* VI (1939), pp. 49—176; I. Ünver, *Aḥmedī. Iskender-nāme* (Ankara, 1983).

2. The manuscript is preserved in Bibliothèque National de Paris (Suppl. turc 309), see G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures* (London, 1969), p. 30, also M. And, *Turkish Miniature Painting. The Ottoman Period* (Ankara, 1974), p. 15.

3. M. And, op. cit., p. 15.

4. *Vers L'Orient...* (Paris, 1983), p. 12.

5. See M. Götz, *Turkische Handschriften*, ii (Wiesbaden, 1968), no. 488.

6. MS B 277 from the collection of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental studies, f. 259a. It was acquired from N. P. Kondakov in 1900.

7. See *De Bagdad à Ispahan. Manuscrits islamiques de la Filiale de Saint-Petersbourg de l'Institut d'Etudes orientales, Academie des Sciences de Russie* (Catalogue d'exposition à Musée du Petit Palais. 14 octobre 1994—8 janvier 1995) (Milan, 1994), p. 209.

8. O. Aslanapa, "The art of bookbinding", *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia. 14th—16th centuries*, ed. B. Gray (London, 1979), pp. 66, 70, 76, 78, 80, 85; see also M. Aga-Oglu, *Persian Bookbindings of the Fifteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1935), p. 3; *Obraztsy Kalligrafii Irana i Sredneĭ Azii* XV—XIX vv. (Samples of calligraphy of Iran and Central Asia in the 15th—19th centuries), eds. I. A. Orbeli, A. N. Boldyrev and A. L. Troitskaia (Moscow, 1963), p. 7.

9. See, *e. g.* D. T. Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (London, 1959), pp. 20, 80.

10. G. M. Meredith-Owens, "A copy of the Rawẓat al-Ṣafā with Turkish miniatures", *Painting from Islamic Lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson (Glasgow, 1969), p. 112.

11. S. Walzer, "The Topkapu Saray manuscript of the Persian Kalila wa-Dimna (dated A.D. 1413)", *Painting from Islamic Lands*, pp. 78—9.

12. See, *e. g.* O. Grabar, "Notes on the iconography of the "Demotte" Shāh-nāma", *Painting from Islamic Lands*, p. 41.

13. M. And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*. The Ottoman Period (Istanbul, 1982), p. 61.

14. See, *e. g.* G. M. Prokhorov, "Prenie Grigoriia Palamy"s khiony i turki" (Grigory Palama's dispute with "Hions and Turks"), *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoĭ Literatury* XXVII (Leningrad, 1972), pp. 329—69; there is even an assumption, that Sultan Orkhan intended to create some kind of syncretic religion in his state — see N. Tsviatkov, "Kiem vieprosa za taka narechenite iudeistvuvashti na Balkanite prez Srednite vekove" (On the so-called Judaic-minded in the Medieval Balkans), *Godishnik. Obshtestvena Kulturno-Prosvetna Organizatsiia na Evreite v Narodna Respublika Bielgariia*, godina 21 (Sofia, 1986), p. 54. E. Kh. Nuriakhmetov interpreted this miniature as a picture of Orkhan, encircled by his courtiers and bodyguards, see E. Kh. Nuriakhmetov, ""Iskander-name" Akhmedi v rukopisnykh sobraniiakh Leningrada" ("Iskender-nāme" by Aḥmedī in the Leningrad Manuscript Collections), *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta narodov Azii*, 69 (Moscow, 1965), p. 146.

15. See, *e. g.* Meredith-Owens, "A copy of Rawẓat al-Ṣafā", p. 114; also K. Hegyi, V. Zimanyi, Az osman birodalom Europaban (Budapest, 1986), pl. 50.

16. E. Kh. Nuriakhmetov, "Iskander-name", p. 146.

17. S. Tekindağ, "İzzet Koyunoğlu Kütuphanesinde bulunan Türkçe yazmalar üzerinde çalışmalar I", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, XVI (Istanbul, 1971), p. 138.

18. On the history of the early Ottoman miniature painting see Meredith-Owens, op. cit.; And, ops. cit.; G. Fehérvári, "An illustrated Turkish Khamsa of Niẓāmī", *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest, 1978), pp. 323—37; N. Titley, "Three recently acquired illustrated Ottoman Manuscripts in the British Library", *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. T. Majda (Warsaw, 1990), pp. 247—52.

Illustrations

Front cover:

fol. 58a. Iskender and Gülshah, 10.7 × 10.9 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. Fol. 93b. Iskender slaying a dragon, 10.7 × 13.2 cm.
Plate 2. Fol. 140b. The poet Aḥmedi, 10.7 × 14.3 cm.
Plate 3. Fol. 249b. The religious dispute in the presence of Sultan Orkhan, 10.7 × 14.7 cm.
Plate 4. Fol. 254a. The murder of Sultan Murad I, 10.7 × 14.3 cm.

Illustrations in the text of the article

Fig. 1. Fol. 55b. A sample of the manuscript's page illumination, 25.5 × 16.0 cm.
Fig. 2. Fol. 35b. A scene of execution, 10.7 × 10.7 cm.
Fig. 3. Fol. 52b. Besieging of a fortress, 10.7 × 10.9 cm.
Fig. 4. Fol. 75b. The Macrocosm picture, diameter of the large circle is 14 cm.
Fig. 5. Fol. 100b. Iskender's arrival at the Ramini island, 10.7 × 13.2 cm.
Fig. 6. Fol. 119b. Iskender's fight with an army of the ruler of Kashmir, 10.7 × 15.3 cm.
Fig. 7. Fol. 157b. An encounter of the ships in the sea, 10.7 × 15.9 cm.
Fig. 8. Fol. 264b. Iskender paying a visit to a Christian monk in a monastery, 10.7 × 13.3 cm.
Fig. 9. Fol. 268a. Iskender visiting the Ka'aba, 10.7 × 17.4 cm.

BOOK AND SOFTWARE REVIEW

L.S.Savitskiĭ. *Opisanie tibetskikh svitkov iz Dun'khuana v sobranii Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR (A Description of the Tibetan Dunhuang Scrolls in the Manuscript Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences).* **Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1991. — 128 pp.**

The book by L. S. Savitsky was edited as late as 1991 and at the time of publication at least did not attract a special attention of scholars because of the well known texts, represented in these Dunhuang manuscripts. It deals with 202 scrolls of the "Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra" and 10 small scrolls of the Dunhuang version of the "Prajñāpāramitā-hrdaya-sūtra". Both sūtras are well presented in the manuscript collections of France, Japan and, especially, England. As the samples of manuscripts, successfully produced in Dunhuang in the first millennium A.D., they are, no doubts, unique, and Savitsky did an excellent job producing from the standpoint of codicology elaborately detailed volume. The book is at its best in describing every single scroll with all its characteristics, such as: dimensions; defects; structure, colour and quality of its paper; colour and consistence of ink; illumination; marks of correction etc. The photos of 92 excerpts of the scrolls provide the book to demonstrate the hand of each of 92 copyists whose names are mentioned in colophons. The book is also supplied with two indices of the proper names of the scribes and those of correctors. They add considerably to the value of the present publication. The whole amount of proper names, enumerated in the colophons, reaches up to 150. These people were all involved in copying of the Tibetan Buddhist texts in Dunhuang in the 8th—9th centuries.

It seems that a new life of the book by Savitsky started only in 1995 when the book by Tsuguhito Takeuchi "Old Tibetan contracts from Central Asia" (Daizo Shuppan, Tokyo) was published. The indices to the Savitsky's book newly sounded on account of an information obtained from the business documents published by Takeuchi. The most part of the documents was composed in the Dunhuang region in the same period. They seem to give a possibility to see the living people behind the dead names mentioned in the Savitsky's book. The people occupied their own places in the social structure of the Dunhuang region played their role in the business life. Now the names of the scribes and correctors of the Dunhuang manuscripts may be analyzed from the quite different point of view:

1. The structure of the names shows that the most of their bearers belong to the non-Tibetan ethnic groups, mainly to the Chinese. Their family names render the names of Chinese clans (see Table 13 "Chinese family names in Tibetan transcription", Takeuchi, *ibid.*, p. 130).

2. The given names are, as a rule, Tibetan or mixed — Tibetan and Chinese (see Table 12 "Names types in Old Tibetan documents", Takeuchi, p. 129).

3. Ten proper names in the list of scribes by Savitsky coincide completely to those in the business documents by Takeuchi: *Kwag-stag-rtsan, Cang-zhun-zhun, Cang-lha-legs, Je'u-hwa-'do, Dze'u-hing-tsin, Wang-rma-snang, Wang-gYu-rton, Wang-hva-tshe, Wang-hing... and Hwa-hwa-hwa.* It is not unlikely that they belong to one and the same persons.

4. In this case the analyses of their role, fixed in the business documents, shows that they belong to a well established social group of local inhabitants who possess a rather high social influence. Thus, five of the ten persons are mentioned as witnesses under the bargains, two (*Cang-lha-legs* and *Wang-hva-tse*) as creditors, one (*Wang-rma-snang*) as an officer (head of *tshan*), another person (Wang-hing...) is referred as surety and the last one (*Je'u hwa-'do*) — as guarantor. The copying of the sūtras might be their religious donation — Skr. *"deva-dharma"*.

All said above inspired us to put a special attention to the Savitsky's book as a source containing some information, valuable to comprehend the social structure of the Dunhuang region in the 8th—9th centuries.

The Tibetan transcription of the Chinese names mentioned in the colophons might provide a new material for the study of medieval Chinese phonetics.

E. Tyomkin

E. P. Lebedeva, L. M. Gorelova. *Sidi Kur: sibinskaia versiia "Volshebnogo mertvetsa" Teksty v zapisi V. V. Radlova* (*Sidi Kur: The Sibe-Manchu Version of the "Bewitched Corpse" Cycle Recorded by V. V. Radlov*). **With transliteration and English introduction by Giovanni Stary. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag in Kommission, 1994 (Series: Aetas Manjurica. 4).**

European scholars pursuing Manchu studies have joint their efforts in the German-Italian series "Aetas Manjurica" dedicated entirely to the problems of the Manchu language, culture and history. In 1987 the first volume of the series appeared. Starting from the second volume this series became a German-Italian-Russian joint work coordinated by an international board. This made it possible to include articles written in Russian. This is the reason why the Russian monograph considered in this revue appeared in the series of the well-known Harrassowitz publishing house.

The book is addressed first of all to Western scholars. In the preface G. Stary explains the aim of this publication: ""Aetas Manjurica" agreed, then to print the research work in its entirety, among other reasons for that of the intellectual properness of so doing. We would neither add, substract or otherwise alter a jot: we would not try to up-date it using subsequent research, be it European- or Chinese-based.... We decided that any Western specialist has the means to hand of understanding a Russian text" (p. 1).

Since the whole work is written in Russian, the editorial board considered it necessary to include the Latin transliteration of the Sibe-Manchu text (pp. 283—323) to help non-Russian reader to decipher the Russian old Academic transliteration of the original text. The transliteration is done by G. Stary according to the system used in the works of S. Kałużyński (See: Die Sprache des mandschurischen Stammes Sibe aus der Gegend von Kuldscha. Warszawa, 1977).

"Sidi Kur: The Sibe-Manchu Version of the "Bewitched Corpse" Cycle" prepared by E. P. Lebedeva and L. M. Gorelova includes several main chapters. It opens with a sketch on the history of the Sibe people based mainly on the research of Russian scholars and archive materials (pp. 7—18). It is followed by a linguistic study on the Sibe dialect of the Manchu language written on the material of the "Sidi Kur" text (pp. 19—103), a vocabulary (pp. 106—224), a Russian translation of "Sidi Kur" and the "Kirgiz story" (pp. 225—82) and a facsimile reproduction of the text copied by V. Kotvich from the original manuscript by V. V. Radlov [90 pp.].

The survey of the linguistic study and the Russian translation of "Sidi Kur" was done by E. P. Lebedeva more than 30 years ago. But in the 60ties, on one hand, there was not much academic interest towards this subject, on the other, the former Soviet Academy of Sciences could not find means to publish it. Now the development of international cooperation and the growing interest towards Manchu studies finally made it possible to publish the book. The linguistic sketch was revised and supplemented by L. M. Gorelova with some new materials from J. Norman (Sketch of Sibe Morphology. — Central Asiatic Journal, no. 3, 1974) and K. Yamamoto (A Classified Dictionary of Spoken Manchu. Tokyo, 1969) studies of the Sibe. She has also compiled a fine Sibe-Russian vocabulary of the text,

and made a Russian translation of the "Kirgiz story". The authors did not use the latest Japanese publication of the "Kirgis story" (see: Jiro Ikegami. W. Radloff's Texts of the Ili Dialect of Manchu: A Kirgiz Story, 1—2, in: Sapporo University, Women's Junior College Journal, XII, no. 32, Sept. 1988, pp. 1—16, and no. 14, Sept. 1989, pp. 17—30) as well as numerous Chinese works dealing with this subject (for publications on the Sibe dialect at least till 1988 see: G. Stary. Manchu Studies. An International Bibliography. Vol. 2. Wiesbaden, 1990, pp. 749—54). This could be justified, if we accept the linguistic part only as a study of the language of one definite text. I would like to point out that the authors rightly call Sibe a dialect of Manchu, while in scholarly literature, especially in China, we may often see that this dialect is called the "Sibe language". The European tradition often uses the term "Sibe-Manchu language", stressing that it is a variant of Manchu.

In the main part concerning the morphology of the Sibe dialect the authors speak about nominative and verbal parts of speech, as well as adverbs and auxiliary words that include postpositions, conjunctive words, particles, adverbial and auxiliary parts of speech. Some space is given to reduplication and alliterating words. This classification was suggested in the works of A. V. Avrorin on the grammar of the Nanai language [see: A. V. Avrorin. *Grammatika nanaĭskogo iazyka* (Grammar of the Nanai Language). Vol. 1—2. Moskva—Leningrad, 1959—1961] (on other classification-systems of Manchu parts of speech see: J. Norman. Sketch of Sibe morphology. — CAJ, no. 3, 1974; E. Haenisch. Manchu-Grammatik mit Lesestüken und 23 Texttafeln. Leipzig, 1961 and others). The nominative group includes: 1. names of persons, 2. names of subjects, 3. names of quality, 4. numerals (p. 33). The names of persons differ from the names of subjects only by their attribution to a human being (p. 35). The traditional grammar unifies these groups in one substantive part of speech that includes nouns referring to persons (and having their own suffix system) and to subjects (see the grammar of Chinese and of other languages based on the same patterns). The names of quality (p. 39—42) actually include traditional adjectives.

The morphological research is followed by some remarks on the Sibe phonetics, its vowels, consonants and a correlation between Sibe and written Manchu (pp. 21—30).

After the chapter on linguistics comes a Sibe-Russian vocabulary of "Sidi Kur" and the "Kirgiz Story" in which the authors refer to the works of K.Yamamoto, O. A. Ivanovsky and the Comparative Tungus-Manchu Dictionary edited by V. I. Cincius (Vol. 1—2. Leningrad, 1975—1977). This is actually the first printed Sibe-Russian vocabulary especially useful when reading spoken-language materials, most of them recorded by Russian scholars at the beginning of this century. This vocabulary follows the tradition of modern lexicographic works (see: G. Stary. Taschenwörterbuch Sibemandschurisch-Deutsch. Wiesbaden, 1990; Jin Ning. Sibe-English Conversations. With foreword, edited by G. Stary. Wiesbaden, 1993).

As I have mentioned above, the Latin transliteration and the facsimile of the text are of special value for European readers. As the authors state in their preface, they present Radlov's text copied by V. Kotvich. They also mention, that the original text recorded by Radlov is kept partly in the Archives of Orientalists among the papers of

2.

Записи

маньчжурскихъ пословицъ

(акад. шрифтомъ)

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

A. O. Ivanovsky (Fond 20, opis' 1, no. 17). This file contains the Sibe texts of several stories, among them of "Sidi Kur", "The Kirgiz Story", "The Voyage from Kashgar to Kuldzha". All these were recorded by Radlov according to the Russian academic transliteration system on folded sheets of yellowish paper (18 × 22.5 cm), in black ink. It is not a complete text of "Sidi Kur", it starts from the middle of the second story (pp. 15—6 of the reproduced copy). As the authors note, for a long period of time Radlov's text was considered to be lost, and the only known copy was the one made by V. Kotvich (pp. 1—2). This very copy is reproduced in the book under review. Though the review genre usually does not include facsimile reproductions, still I use the advantage of my position in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies to take Radlov's text from our Archives and present one of its pages here (see plate 1 and 2). As one can see, the handwriting of V. V. Radlov is rather difficult, so the facsimile by Kotvich and the Latin transliteration given in the book could be of much use.

This publication of the Manchu version of the famous "Sidi Kur" is valuable for many other reasons: the original text may be useful for comparative literary studies, moreover, this composition is present in Kalmyk-Oirat and Mongolian versions. One can make a textological research on the history and development of this text. The work by E. P. Lebedeva and L. M. Gorelova is a valuable contribution to the international Manchu studies. The publication of these unique Sibe-Manchu materials confirms the value of Russian archives. It also clearly proves that research-work in this field should be done on international scale.

Fig. 1. A title "Recordings of the Manchu stories in Academic script" in V. V. Radlov's handwriting.

Fig. 2. Manchu text in transliteration done by V. V. Radlov. The beginning of the 5th story of "Sidi Kur" (it refers to p. 46 of the Kotvich's copy and pp. 302—3 of the Latin transliteration in the book under review.)

T. Pang

O. F. Akimushkin. *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopiseĭ instituta vostokovedeniia.* **Fasc. 10. Poeticheskie sborniki, al'bomy. Moskva: Nauka, Izdatel'skaya firma "Vostochnaia literatura", 1993** *(The Description of the Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies.* **Anthologies of Poetry, Albums. Vol. 10. Moscow: "Vostochnaya Literatura" Publishing House, 1993. — 300 pp.**

Those who are interested in the History of the Middle East, in its Literature and Culture may be happy to hear about the appearance of the fascinating Catalogue by Dr. O. Akimushkin (the book was prepared for publication more than ten years ago), which can be read both for pleasure, as well as to get information, by specialists in the field of codicology and manuscriptology and by amateur orientalists. It maintains the high standard set by the earlier volumes in this series in accordance with the scheme, established by Russian orientalists under the supervision of Dr. Miklukho-Maclay in 1953.

The publication is the 10th volume of the series "The Description of the Persian and Tajik MSS of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences", which contains data on 57 works in 58 MSS from the St. Petersburg branch collection (the anthology by ʾAbd al-Karim Fazli is represented in two copies). The MSS were made in Central Asia, Iran, Turkey, Afganistan, Eastern Turkestan and Southern Russia (the Volga region).

Most of the anthologies and albums (the corresponding terms in Persian — bayaz, jung, safina, majmuʿa) were written in Persian, in early Persian or in Tajik. Some of the albums of Central Asian origin have poems in Azerbaijan and Uzbek. There are also bilingual works, composed in Iran — in Kurdish, Turkish, Chaghatay and in various local dialects. Chronologically the described MSS vary be-

tween the 15th century and 1914. The earliest one dates back to zu-l-qaʾda 935/July-August 1529 (no. C 860/Catalogue no. 3), which is a wonderful illuminated copy, richly decorated, with two miniatures characteristic to the Mawerannahr school of the first half of the 16th century — which is testified by its script and binding. The copy called "jung" and "majmuʿa" represents a collection of short poems — ghazals by 11 poets: Khusraw Dihlawi, Hafiz, Jami, Kamal Khujandi and others. It was made by famous Herat calligrapher Mir ʾAli al-Husayni al-Katib Haravi, evidently for the Court Library in Bukhara.

Being a well-qualified manuscriptologist, Dr. Akimushkin has thoroughly reviewed more than 140 manuscripts before choosing 58 of them, which satisfy the main aim of the Description — all the works, represented in the MSS albums were to be the works of the genre of little form (ghazals, rubaʿi, mathnawi, short examples of the ornamented prose).

The publication contains an introduction, a list of abbreviations, a list of works, a list of MSS and indices:

    1. index of authors, commentators, and of those mentioned in the annotations;

      2. index of titles;

      3. index of geographical names;

      4. index of copyists;

      5. index of places of copying;

      6. index of MSS owners;

      7. index of clients/customers;

      8. index of binders;

    9. correspondence index between the number of the MSS and the number of the description;

     10. index of dates;

     11. index of collections;

     12. index of illuminated MSS.

The Norman Ross Publishers (NY, USA) are planning to reprint "The Persian/Tajik Catalogue of MSS" with the English introduction, addenda and corrigenda by Dr. Akimushkin. This welcome and valuable new edition is probably destined to remain one of the principal reference sources for orientalists and will stimulate further studies for many years to come.

F. Abdullaeva

Izvedat' dorogi i puti pravednykh. **Pehlevilskie nazidatel'nye teksty. Vvedenie, transkriptsiia tekstov, perevod, kommentarii, glossarif i ukazateli O. M. Chunakovoĭ** (*To Know the Ways and Routes of the Righteous*. **Didactic Texts in Pahlavi. Introduction, Transcription, Translation, Commentaries, Glossary and Indices by O. M. Chunakova). Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1991. — 192 pp. (Literary Monument of the Orient, XCIV).**

The book under the intriguing title represents the publication and a translation into Russian of the so called "small" didactic Pahlavi texts. They are included in the manuscript known as MK (the 14th century A.D.) which was published by a Pharsee scholar J. Jamasp-Asana (J. Jamasp-Asana. Pahlavi Texts, 1—2, Bombay, 1897, 1913). About one half of the 40 published stories and fragments belong to didactic literature — Pers. *handarz*. They were composed by priests and mentors — the adepts of the Zoroastrian doctrines, this is why they include a number of religious instructions and aphorisms on ethics, which determine the behavior of their adepts in the material sphere of this world (*getig*) aimed at obtaining eternal happy life in the ideal, non-sensual sphere (*menog*).

As far as we know, nobody in Russia have ever published *handarz* texts. Meanwhile in India (in the new native land of Zoroastrians — Pharsees), Iran and even in Europe more than thirty published translations into European and Eastern (Gujarati, Persian) languages, containing separate stories of this genre, have appeared by now. The period of their active translation began in the second part of the 19th century. The book by Chunakova might be regarded as the first successful experiment in the scholarly research of this genre of Persian literature in Russian science.

The publication follows the international rules generally accepted when publishing Pahlavi texts: transcription and translation of twenty *handarzes* with a detailed introduction, commentaries on the texts, a complete glossary, indices, the list of written sources, bibliography and English summary (for Western readers).

We may say that the book by Chunakova appeared just in time. I mean the present-day rapidly increasing interest towards the spiritual culture of Eastern peoples. It can be accounted for a big variety of Eastern religious and ethic systems represented in the Eastern culture. For a common reader, who is interested in learning but has no patience to wade through the original and the scholarly commentaries, the translation of the text and the Introduction can provide some intellectual enjoyment of the Near Eastern "wise literature". As for specialists in Oriental studies (historians of literature, linguists, historians of religion), the transcription of the text, explanatory and critical commentaries, glossary, as well as the exactness of the translation are of particular interest.

Our review would have been incomplete, if we do not mention some author's oversights which we have noticed while reading the book. Some of them seem to be principal, the rest could be explained either by the absence of some important scientific publications in our libraries or by misprints. Thus, the author omitted the history of *handarz* texts' study in Europe and in the East while analyzing their plots in the Introduction. Bibliographical references appear to be insufficient to cover the contribution of different investigators to the study of the didactic literature. It is worthwhile to mention a collection of spiritual *handarz* texts addressed to an advanced Zoroastrian reader. This collection is included in the sixth book of "Denkard" published by Israel scholar Sh. Shaked (The Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages (*Denkard* VI) by Aturpat-i Emetan, Transl. by Shaul Shaked. Boulder, Colorado, 1979, (Persian Heritage Series, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater, 34).

There is no list of errata, which makes it impossible to discover the reason why a whole sentence in the translation of the text of HP1 (*Pad hamag kar ud dadestan rastih ud bowandag-menisnih weh*) is missing. Besides that, *dev Wizars*, a prominent figure in Zoroastrian demonology, is called *Atzarsem* in the translation (p. 68).

There may be some other remarks on the inadequate translation of some terms. These, however, do not diminish the achievements of Chunakova in the field of studying medieval Persian texts.

A. Kolesnikov

L. Iu. Tugusheva. *Uigurskaia versiia biografii Si-uan'-tsziana.* **Fragmenty iz leningradskogo rukopisnogo sobraniia Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR** (*The Uighur Version of the Life of Hsüan Tsang.* **Text Fragments from the Leningrad Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences).** **Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1991. — 591 pp.**

In the 4th century B.C. the Hellenistic world of the Mediterranean discovered an unknown universe, before that time deeply concealed in the heart of Asia. This universe had already inherited in much degree the rich culture of the Empire of Alexander the Great and of his successors. The Inner Asia and Northern India, as well as the Mediterranean lands, formed one common geopolitical system with a vast communication net where regional cultures influenced and enriched each other[1]. In the 2nd century B.C. the Great Silk Road not only connected many Eurasian states, but also formed the three super-civilizations of Antiquity: the Mediterranean, the Serindian and the Far Eastern. On the routes laid by trade caravans, embassies and diplomatic missions, besides those who pursued pragmatic aims of immediate benefit, some very different persons had appeared. These were the missionaries of the World-religions, undertaking long journeys in search for truth and in order to spread their corresponding religious doctrines. Buddhist pilgrims, who brought the Teaching to the Han Empire, were the first among them. China had never before been influenced so much by any foreign culture. The immense success of Buddhism in China, where it was easily accepted, even gave birth to a conception regarding China and the Chinese state as something being on the outskirts of the habitable world — something quite contradictory to Chinese mentality as a whole. India was accepted for the indisputable center of the world, where the religious exploits of Buddha Shakyamuni had taken place. This explains the great wish of those, who devoted themselves to the Teaching of Buddha in China, to visit India. It resulted from search for truth and self-perfection.

Pilgrimages of the Chinese to the native country of Buddha, starting in the second half of the 3d century, gave birth to the hagiographic literature in the 4th and 5th centuries (it is enough to mention the Life of Fa Hsian in "The Biographies of Renowned Monks"). In the 6th and 7th centuries there was a new demand for expanding the repertoire of the original Buddhist texts on philosophy, resulting from a profound study of main Indian sources. The aim of the Chinese most famous "Tripitaka Master", Hsüan Tsang, who spent 17 years in his travels (629—645), was the acquisition of the text of Yogacharabhu-mishastra, the basic work on the Mahayana yogachara school of philosophy.

Being an aristocrat by birth, a man of various talents, as well as of strong will and determination, Hsüan Tsang had a great influence on the people, even on those who were far from the ulterior truths of the teaching of Buddha, like the kaghan of the Western Turkic Empire Ton-jabghu (618—630) and his son, the governor of Kunduz.

After his travels had been finished, Hsüan Tsang succeeded in devoting his activities both to the aims of the Teaching, his primary interest in life, and to the political interests of the T'ang Empire. After he came back to China, he translated into Chinese many Sanskrit texts of the Abhidharma section, introducing some innovations into the principles of translation of the Buddhist literature. He also founded a school of his own corresponding to the Indian school of Yogachara. But his life-work became "The Records of the Western World", which represents a detailed account of his travels to India. It was, most probably, based on his traveling-journal notes. Modeled on the traditions of the geographical accounts of the Chinese dynastic chronicles, the "Records", at the same time, implied the idea, that the ultimate success of the Teaching depended on the prosperity of the peoples he could observe during his travels, as well as on their degree of morals. It should be noted, that the "Records" became the first summary account of the geography, economics and politics of the Western areas, *i. e.* the countries to the west of Tun-Huang of the T'ang epoch. In the military doctrine of Tai-tsung (627—650) a special place for these countries was reserved. It is very likely, that the consent of Tai-tsung to compose a preface to the works by Hsüan Tsang was inspired by this interest. The "Tripitaka Master" was honored with a reception in the Emperor's palace, where he was most kindly treated by the Emperor. Hsüan Tsang was offered a princely title and the post of a counselor. Though Hsüan Tsang rejected this proposal, in his conversation with Tai-tsung he expounded his views on the matters of government. He also made his appraisals of Tai-tsung's political actions and achievements, revealing his intimate knowledge not only of the philosophy of Buddhism, but of the Confucian doctrine as well. According to modern scholars, Hsüan Tsang greatly influenced Tai-tsung's views, especially his religious policy[2].

A strong desire to glorify the exploit of Hsüan Tsang, as well as to tell about his new deeds and fame inspired his disciples, Hwui-li and Yen-tsung, to compose the biography of their Teacher, titled "The Life of the Tripitaka Master of the Great T'ang Empire, [the Keeper] of the Three Treasures of Tzu En Monastery". The translation of this work, usually referred to as "The Biography", had appeared before his other work "The Records" was translated into European languages (its French translation, made by S. Juliene, appeared 140 years ago). It consists of ten sections, five of which, written on the basis of "The Records", represent an abridged account of his travels, while the other five tell about the religious exploits of the Teacher and his glorification after his return. "The Biography", as well as "The Records", became the subject of a scrupulous study on the part of a whole generation of European orientalists interested in the history of Central Asian and Indian civilizations. However, it should be noted that long before the translations of the Hsüan Tsang's works into European languages appeared, the biography of the "Tripitaka Master" had been translated into Turkic in Beshbalik, one of the two capitals of the Uighur state in Eastern Turkestan. It had continued between the middle of the 9th and the

---

[1] S. G. Klyashtornyĭ, A. A. Kolesnikov, M. K. Baskhanov, *Vostochnyĭ Turkestan glazami evropeĭskikh puteshestvennikov* (Eastern Turkestan by the Eyes of European Travelers) (Alma-Ata, 1991), pp. 7—30.
[2] *Perspectives on the T'ang*, eds. A. F. Wright and Twitchett (New-Haven, London, 1973), pp. 243—57, 265—96.

13th century. Shingko Sheli Tutung, whose role in the history of the Uighur state was great, became the translator of the "Biography". His translation appeared in the second half of the 10th or at the beginning of the 11th century. Shingko Sheli became known as the translator of at least two other most important Buddhist writings. As one can judge by his title, Shingko Sheli Tutung was the head of the Buddhist church administration of his region. The title *sheli* (*sheli* is the Chinese equivalent of Sanskrit *acharya* — "teacher", "spiritual tutor") tells about his high position in the church hierarchy[3]. His strikingly profound comprehension of most difficult texts on philosophy, alongside with their masterly translation (or adoption) into Turkic (Uighur), his intimate knowledge of historical, as well as of geographic realities, which distinguishes his works, give evidence of his extraordinary personality, whose exploits are being expected to be evaluated in full measure. The author of the work reviewed, L. Iu. Tugusheva, is the first scholar, who has discovered the fragments of the Uighur translation (or the Uighur version) of the "Biography" in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental studies (the Russian Academy of Sciences). She succeeded in identifying them among other fragments of the Uighur collection and in determining their place in the structure of the text. Believing that only one manuscript of the work has survived (though not autograph), its parts are kept now in the manuscript collections of Paris, Peking and St. Petersburg, L. Iu. Tugusheva has ascertained that the St. Petersburg fragments represent parts of the 5th, 6th, 8th and 10th sections of the "Biography".

In 1980 L. Iu. Tugusheva published and translated into Russian the fragments of the 5th section preserved in the St. Petersburg collection, while other fragments of the same section had been published in 1935 by A. von Gabain[4]. The publication of all St. Petersburg fragments of the "Biography" in facsimile, along with their translation into Russian, transcription of the text and notes, was made by L. Iu. Tugusheva in 1991. After the publication made by A. von Gabain, other fragments of the "Biography" were published and translated into German by Geng Shi-min, Feng Jia-Sheng, K. Röhrborn, H.-G. Klimkeit, J.-P. Laut and P. Zieme. Simultaneously with the publication made by Tugusheva, a complete publication of all the fragments of the 7th section of the Uighur version appeared. It was prepared by K. Röhrborn[5]. The fragments of this section are missing in St. Petersburg collection.

A solidly founded preface to the publication of the fragments from St. Petersburg, made by L. Iu. Tugusheva, contains a thorough study of the principles and of the style of Shingko Sheli's Uighur translation of the "Biography". The author makes a full evaluation of what was done by the Uighur translator and tells about the school of translation of Chinese Buddhist literature into the literary Turkic — the school which was founded by him. The author also considers some historical and geographical questions, which are of much importance for the problem of the Turkic translation. In particular, L. Iu. Tugusheva devotes some pages of her preface to the enigmatic word-combination *türk jochul bodun*, interpreting it as "Turkic nomadic people". Shingko Sheli employed this word-combination as equivalent of the ethnonym *Hsiung-nu*, Huns of the Chinese original. At the same time he translated the term "the people of shan-yü" (*i. e.* "people, ruled by shan-yü" — the sovereign of the Huns) of the Chinese original as *Kirghiz*. The ethnonym *Kirghiz*, used by Shingko Sheli, implies the Kirghiz from Enisey, that dominated the steppes of Central Asia between 840 and 924.

The publication made by L. Iu. Tugusheva in 1980, besides the Russian translation of the Uighur version, includes a commented translation into Russian of the Chinese original of the same section of the work, made by L. N. Men'shikov. A comparison of the two perfect translations appears to be very useful for all those who study the history of ancient and medieval Central Asia. Therefore the publication of all the fragments we know at present, as well as their translations into one of the European languages alongside with the translation of the Chinese originals and necessary commentaries, seems to be a matter of great importance for many scholars. Surely, a scholarly project of such complicity would be possible only in case of close cooperation within an international team of turkologists and sinologists.

S. Klyashtorny

---

[3] J. R. Hamilton, "Les titres šäli et tutung en ouïgour", *JA*, CCLXXII, 3—4 (1984), pp. 425—37.

[4] *Fragmenty uĭgurskoĭ versii biografii Siuan'-tsziana*. Transkriptsiia, perevod, primechaniia, kommentarii i ukazateli L. Iu. Tugushevoĭ (The Fragments of the Uighur Version of the Biography of Hsüan Tsang. Transcription, translation, notes, commentary and indexes by L. Iu. Tugusheva) (Moscow, 1980).

[5] *Xuanzangs Leben und Werk*. Teil 3. Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VII. Heransgegeben, übersetz und kommentiert von Klaus Röhrborn (Wiesbaden, 1991) — Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, 34.

ADOBE ACROBAT 2.0 AS A MEDIUM FOR ELECTRONIC PUBLISHING IN ARABIC STUDIES: SOME INTERIM REMARKS (MACINTOSH VERSION)

Producer:

Adobe Systems Incorporated
1585 Charleston Road
P.O. Box 7900
Mountain View, California 94039—7900
USA
☎ 1-415-961-4400
fax: 1-415-961-3769

System Requirements:

❏ *68020 or greater processor*
❏ *Version 7.0 or greater system software*
❏ *2 Mb of application RAM for Acrobat Exchange and Acrobat Reader*
❏ *6 Mb of application RAM for Acrobat Distiller*

A computer program that prints any Arabic font perfectly, handles Latin diacritic fonts without problems, and functions on virtually every platform would seem to be more than one could ask for today. But this is what Adobe has come close to providing us with. My comments on this software are necessarily of a tentative nature. I have worked only a short time with Adobe Acrobat, and an upgrade which may eliminate some of the problems mentioned here is scheduled to be released soon. I am indebted to Pia Haugerud of Software Plus A/S, Oslo, for help with a number of problems I encountered while preparing this report.

Adobe Acrobat technology is already beginning to be used widely in electronic publishing in Western languages, not only for articles but also for longer works. The PDF (portable document format) files that the Acrobat family of programs produce and read are not a substitute for the HTML files that are the standard on the World Wide Web. HTML files are hardly larger than text files, and most images they may "contain" are in fact linked documents that can be skipped when net communication is slow. PDF documents, on the other hand, tend to be large, and the more fonts and images they have embedded in them, the larger they get. Usually it is possible to read them on the Internet, but it is best to download them to a local network or to one's own personal computer.

Unlike HTML files, PDF files offer all the formatting and detail of printed documents, and when printed out, they can be indistinguishable from a printed version of the same document. This holds not only for images and colors or for diagrams and tables but also for Arabic text and Latin diacritic fonts, regardless of platform. Any program that can produce a PostScript file, whether word processors like Word or Nisus or page layout programs like al-Nashir al-Sahafi, can, with the help of Adobe Acrobat, produce an identical PDF file that can be displayed on screen or printed out on the Macintosh, Unix, Windows, and DOS platforms. Pagination and line definition will be the same on all platforms.

For those who only wish to view and search PDF documents, access to the necessary software is free. Adobe Acrobat Reader, which can display documents on screen and print them out exactly as they look in the original word processor or page layout version, and which moreover possesses a simple searching tool, can be downloaded without charge from Adobe's Web site (http://www.adobe.com/). Acrobat Reader is also scheduled to be packaged together with the next version of the widely used Internet browser Netscape.

The companion program Acrobat Exchange permits, with the help of the accompanying "Writer", the creation of PDF files directly from simpler word processor files. It also enables one to create links, both to Acrobat and other files, including Web (HTML) documents, recorded sounds, and video clips. Even if one prefers to read from paper, therefore, the screen version of a document will in some cases have to be open to take advantage of these added "footnoting" dimensions. Exchange likewise makes it possible to perform more complex searching, including some Boolean searching, when a search index has been produced with the separately sold program Acrobat Catalog. Acrobat Exchange is not recommended by Adobe for producing PDF documents from page layout files, nor, as far as I can determine, is it suited for producing them from word processor files containing Arabic text or Latin diacritic fonts.

Acrobat Distiller is capable of producing PDF files from far more complicated originals, including page layout files. This program "distills" the much smaller PDF files from PostScript files, while must be produced first. Both Distiller and Exchange can embed fonts used in the original computer file, but Distiller, according to the manual (p. 36), does it more economically. Distiller is in any event the only option of the two that is relevant for Arabic studies at the present time, since it is the only one that can satisfactorily reproduce the necessary scripts and diacritics. PDF files from either Distiller or Exchange can be read by the Reader.

The array of fonts that can be distributed without restriction in PDF files is impressive. Adobe fonts as well as fonts owned by Linotype-Hell AG, International Typeface Corporation, Agfa-Gevaert, Fundición Typográfica Neufville, and Monotype Typography, Ltd., may be embedded in Adobe PDF files and distributed freely. Permission may be needed to distribute PDF files containing other embedded fonts, and persons using fonts from other sources should consult the font supplier.

What are the drawbacks? Essentially they are two: the normally rather considerable size of PDF documents and some unsolved problems with searching for and copying Arabic text and, in many cases, Latin diacritics.

The PDF documents that Acrobat Distiller creates from PostScript files, or from PC "PRN" files, tend to be cumbersomely large if fonts are embedded in them, especially "unusual" fonts like Arabic. It takes a great deal of time to download such files from the Internet, and a number of operations, including searching, will be slow. However PDF files can be very small indeed without the fonts, often not much larger than the original word processor file. Fortunately one has to open only a single file with the appropriate fonts embedded (it does not have to remain open) for Acrobat Reader properly to display Arabic and European diacritic fonts in files that do not have them embed-

ded. Consequently only one file in a group has to be big. Screen display of Arabic, which can be irritatingly slow on less powerful machines, does not seem to speed up with the reduction of file size. However it should be possible to achieve some improvement by raising the memory assigned to the Adobe Type Manager program (the full version ATM 3.8, or ATM 3.8 LE, which comes with the Acrobat software) to 1 Mb. This is done from within ATM, not from the Macintosh "Information" window. One may also raise the memory allowed for Acrobat Reader from 2 to 4 Mb.

There is a particular problem with Arabic, in that Distiller automatically embeds, according to the manual, "non-ISO Type 1 fonts — that is, fonts with nonstandard character sets" One must specifically instruct the program not to embed the Arabic fonts in order to reduce the size of the document. Otherwise the file may run as much as 40 kb to 50 kb per page. Instructing the program not to embed fonts works as long as Distiller is running on the platform on which the original file was produced, but I have not yet managed to get it to work with Arabic fonts in files imported from another platform. (I have "distilled" some Word for Arabic 6.0 PostScript and PRN files from a PC. The problem may be that I failed properly to identify the PC font names.)

The other major drawback in Acrobat Reader and Acrobat Exchange is that the word or text string search feature performs only imperfectly with special Latin characters in upper ASCII, such as Orientalist diacritics, and hardly at all with Arabic characters. For reasons I have not been able to determine, upper ASCII searching in Exchange seems to be slightly more effective than in Reader. (My comments here are limited to the word/text string search feature built into both of these programs. They do not necessarily apply to the separate search engine made by Verity which comes packaged with Exchange and which requires indexes prepared with Adobe Catalog, a program I have not used.) Typing a character in the Find dialogue box does not always convey the right character to the computer. Copying and pasting works somewhat better but is still unreliable. Moreover the latter is an unwieldy procedure, since single words are the smallest units that can be copied in Acrobat. It should be pointed out, moreover, that the search feature treats each variant of an Arabic letter and each ligature contained in the character set as a separate character. The fact that the various shapes are not reduced to their common denominators augments the diffi-

culties associated with searching Arabic text exponentially. Future improvements in the program, or the arrival of Unicode, will presumably help to remedy this problem.

A serious related problem is that special characters, and more importantly Arabic text, cannot be copied out of an Acrobat PDF file and pasted into a word processor document with satisfactory results.

One quirk is that the Arabic fonts used in PDF files produced on a Macintosh have to be disabled or removed from the Macintosh system folder while reading or printing out. Another is that certain diacritics and Arabic letters do not show up on the Macintosh screen (but only if the original document was produced on a Macintosh), although they print out with no trouble. The PC displays on screen and prints out both its own Arabic and that produced on a Macintosh with no problems. (These remarks apply only to Macintosh and PC files converted to PDF on a Macintosh. I have not tried converting files from either platform on a PC.)

CONCLUSION

Adobe Acrobat 2.0 PDF software makes it possible to display (usually) and print out (always) not only graphics and tables but also all relevant special characters and Arabic type styles. It should moreover be possible to keep the size of the majority of files relatively small, provided readers have at least one document in their possession which contains all the necessary fonts. PDF files relating to Arabic studies are nevertheless often likely to be too large to be viewed conveniently over the Internet. In many cases it will be advisable to download files before viewing them. Given the difficulties presently involved in searching for or copying Arabic and Latin diacritics in PDF files, material published in this format should perhaps for the time being be accompanied by a parallel HTML or text document in which Arabic letters and special Latin characters are identified by discrete codes.

This review was first made available on the Internet on the lists Reader (31.08.95) and Itisalat (15.09.95), and the original is preserved in electronic form and in hard copy in the Archive of Electronic Publications of the Section for Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures, University of Bergen (http://www.hf-fak.uib.no/institutter/midtspraak/aep.htm).

Joseph N. Bell
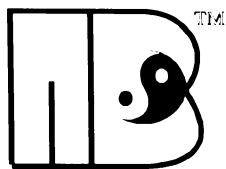
Центр "Петербургское Востоковедение"
St.Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies

The St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies is a new Russian non-profit publishing house set up in St. Petersburg in 1992. The publishing programme of the St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies includes several large scale publication series: «*Orientalia series*», «*Archives of the Russian Oriental Studies*», «*Myths, Epos, Religions of the East: Bibliotheca Universalia*», etc.

«MONUMENTS OF THE CULTURE OF THE EAST:
ST. PETERSBURG ACADEMIC SERIES»

The purpose of the last series of the facsimile publication is to promulgate rare and unique Oriental manuscripts, documents, xylographs, etc. kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, and other St. Petersburg depositories. Different criticism and scientific translation will also come into the world in this series.

Vol. 1. *Rasail al-Hikma (The Epistles of Wisdom)*. Publication of the facsimile text, selected Russian translations, introduction, commentary and glossary by M. A. Rodionov and Val. V. Polosin. St. Petersburg, 1995. 224x144 mm. 272 pp. ISBN 5-85803-035-1.
Vol. 2. *The Twelve Kingdoms*. Publication of the facsimile text, Russian translation, introduction and commentary by K. Yu. Solonin. St. Petersburg, 1995. 224x144 mm. 216 pp. ISBN 5-85803-011-4.

ST. PETERSBURG CENTRE FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES PERIODICALS:
ST. PETERSBURG JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

The edition gives a broad panorama of a present-day of ancient and mediaeval East research. This periodical publishing articles, translation, bibliographies, reviews, archive materials written by various specialists has no analogues in Russia. It is issued at least two times a year. By this time six volumes have already been published.

- **Vol. 1** St. Petersburg, 1992, 398 pp.
- **Vol. 3** St. Petersburg, 1993, 456 pp.
- **Vol. 5** St. Petersburg, 1994, 632 pp.
- **Vol. 2** St. Petersburg, 1992, 398 pp.
- **Vol. 4** St. Petersburg, 1993, 492 pp.
- **Vol. 6** St. Petersburg, 1994, 704 pp.

KUNSTKAMMER. ETHNOGRAPHIC PAPERS

This journal set up in 1993 is a new periodical devoted to traditional culture of the peoples of the world. The journal publishes materials about Kunskammer, the oldest Russian museum, and other museum stocks of St. Petersburg, as well as research articles dedicated to every-day life and traditions of the peoples of the world. The journal is issued three times a year, by the moment, six publications have already been printed.

- **Vol. 1** St. Petersburg, 1993, 232 pp.
- **Vol. 4** St. Petersburg, 1994, 392 pp.
- **Vol. 2—3** St. Petersburg, 1993, 492 pp.
- **Vol. 5—6** St. Petersburg, 1994, 496 pp.

COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF THE EAST, annual, 28 vol., and others

St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies:

18 Dvortsovaya nab., St. Petersburg, Russia, 191186
Mailing Address: PO Box 125, St. Petersburg, Russia, 195256
Tel.: (812) 311 62 83, fax.: (812) 183 53 81
e-mail alimov@petvost.spb.su

Please send your book-orders to:

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ. BUCHHANDLUNG ANTIQUARIAT.
Taunusstraße 5, Postfach 29 29, Wiesbaden, Deutschland-65019.

KUBON UND SAGNER. BUCHEXPORT-IMPORT GmBH.
Heßstraße 39/41, Postfach 34 01 08, München, Deutschland-80328.

A&T INTERNATIONAL.
6440 N Damen Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60645-5632, USA

AUTHORS

Dr. *Firuza I. Abdullaeva* — Professor of Persian at the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, specialist in the Iranian Philology and Islamic culture. Author of the series of works in the field.

Prof. Dr. *Oleg F. Akimushkin* — Head of the Dpt. of the Middle East and Group of the Kurdish studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history of Persian culture, history of Iran, Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, author of the series of monographs and articles.

Prof. *Joseph N. Bell* — Professor of Arabic and Head of Section for Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures, University of Bergen, Bergen, Norway. Specialist in Muslim intellectual history and Sufism. Author of several books and series of articles in the field.

Prof. *Sergey G. Kliashtorny* — Head of the Turkish and Mongolian Studies Dpt. of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the ancient and medieval history and culture of Turkish peoples, author of the monographs and series of articles in the field.

Dr. *Ali I. Kolesnikov* — Senior Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, author of the monographs and series of articles devoted to the history and culture of early medieval Persia.

Prof. Dr. *Evgeniy I. Kychanov* — Deputy Director of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history and culture of China and the Tangut Empire, author of the series of monographs and series of articles in the field.

Dr. *Klaus Lagally* — Prof. of the Institut für Informatik, Universität Stuttgart, Germany. Specialist in operating systems, programming languages, computer typesetting, author of the series of publications and software products.

Dr. *Tatiana Pang* — Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, author of the series of works devoted to the Manchu manuscript heritage, culture and philology.

Dr. *Irina E. Petrosyan* — Senior Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, author of the monographs and series of articles devoted to the history and culture of the Ottoman Empire and its manuscript heritage.

Dr. *Valery V. Polosin* — Senior Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, expert in the field of the Arabic manuscript tradition in its various aspects, author of the monograph and articles.

Dr. *Edward N. Tyomkin* — Head of the Manuscript Dpt. of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history of ancient Indian culture and mythology, Central Asian philology, author of the series of monographs and series of articles.

Dr. *Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya* — Supervisor of the Manuscript Dpt. of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history and philology of ancient Central Asia, author of the series of monographs and series of articles.

Notes to Contributors

Submissions

Plate 1

Plate 2

Plate 3

Plate 4