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## CONTENTS

<i>TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH.</i> . . . . .	3
<b>V. Livshits.</b> Sogdian Buddhist Fragment KR IV/879 No. 4263 from the Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies . . . . .	3
<b>Valery Polosin.</b> Muslim Bindings with <i>al-Khālidiyānī</i> Double Borders . . . . .	9
 <i>TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION</i> . . . . .	 13
<b>E. Tyomkin.</b> On the Term <i>Itihāsa</i> and the Problem of the Structure of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> Text . . . . .	13
 <i>PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS</i> . . . . .	 19
<b>O. Vasilyeva.</b> Oriental Manuscripts in the National Library of Russia . . . . .	19
<b>O. Frolova.</b> Some Notes on the Arabic Manuscripts and Collections in the Library of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg University . . . . .	36
<b>A. Sazykin.</b> The Collection of Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs in the Ethnological Museum of the Republic of Tuva in Kyzyl . . . . .	44
 <i>ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES.</i> . . . . .	 50
<b>H. Braam, M. Vandamme.</b> A Robust and Versatile Solution for the Digital Publication of Manuscript Materials . . . . .	51
 <i>PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT.</i> . . . . .	 56
<b>A. Khalidov.</b> A Unique 14th Century Literary Anthology Manuscript from Baghdad . . . . .	56
<b>A. Sazykin.</b> Illustrated Manuscript of “One Hundred Thousand Verses” in the Mongolian Fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies . . . . .	62
 <i>BOOK REVIEWS.</i> . . . . .	 64

### Colour plates:

#### Front cover:

The inside of the manuscript's front cover (on the left): Čudabandaka (Skt. Cūḍāpanthaka; Tib. Lam-phran-bstan), “The Great Yum”, MS, vol. 5 (call number K 24), 15.0 × 16.0 cm.

#### Back cover:

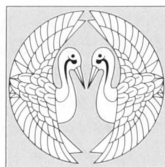
**Plate 1.** The inside of the back cover (from left to right): 1. Esru-a (Skt. Brahmā, Tib. Tshangs-pa); 2. Bigar (Skt. Śiva, Tib. ?); 3. Qormusta (Skt. Indra, Tib. brGya-byin), “The Great Yum”, MS, vol. 5 (call number K 24), 52.0 × 15.5 cm.

**Plate 2.** The inside of the front cover (on the left): Inggida (Skt. Aṅgaja, Tib. Yan-lag-'byung); (on the right) Bagula (Skt. Bakula, Tib. Ba-ku-la), “The Great Yum”, MS, vol. 4 (call number K 24), 53.0 × 15.5 cm.

**Plate 3.** The inside of the back cover (from left to right): 1. Qayanggiru-a (Skt. Lohakhaḍga Hayagrīva, Tib. Rta-mgrin lcags-ral-can); 2. Beiḡi Maq-a-kala (Skt. Aghora Mahākāla, Tib. Beg-tse); 3. Coytu Ōkin tngri (Skt. Ekamātā Shrī Devī, Tib. Ma-cig dpal-ldan lha-mo), “The Great Yum”, MS, vol. 4 (call number K 24), 52.0 × 15.5 cm.



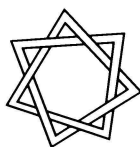
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# TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

V. A. Livshits

## SOGDIAN BUDDHIST FRAGMENT KR IV/879 NO. 4263 FROM THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES \*

The fragment published here is one of the largest in the Sogdian fund of the Manuscript department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The fragment was identified as Sogdian in 1952 [1]. It came from the collection of N. N. Krotkov, Russian consul in Urumchi. In 1908—1912 a number of manuscripts and works of art were donated by N. N. Krotkov to the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia. The manuscripts were later transferred to the Asiatic Museum (at present St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) [2].

A. N. Ragoza, who found a brief description of two Krotkov's collections made by C. G. Salemann, notes that the main part of the collection acquired by the Russian Committee in 1908 consisted of Uighur and Chinese texts. There were also 29 Sogdian texts in this collection [3]. At present, after repeated inventorying of the Serindia fund (SI), it turns impossible to establish precisely which particular Sogdian fragments came with the collection of 1908. According to the evidence provided by A. N. Ragoza, which is basing upon old call numbers of the fragments, we may presume that some of these fragments are preserved now under the call numbers Kr IV/703, inv. No. 3450; Kr IV/706—715, inv. Nos. 3453—3462; Kr IV/ 717—718, inv. Nos. 3464—3465; 3 Kr/24, 26—30, inv. Nos. 3757, 3759—3763 (old call numbers 3 Kr S 5, 3 Kr S 4, 3 Kr S 2, 3 Kr S 4 bis, 3 R S 3 [4].

The second Krotkov's collection was a collection of manuscripts donated by him to the Academy of Sciences in 1909. It included 82 fragments, most of them being Uighur and Chinese and only 3 Sogdian [5]. Their present call numbers in the manuscript collection are 2 Kr/10—11, inv. Nos. 3657—3658 and 2 Kr/81, inv. No. 3724.

The total number of Sogdian fragments in Krotkov's collection is around 100 — these are fragments of Sogdian

translations of Buddhist and Manichaean texts. The first one who published four Manichaean fragments (in Manichaean script) from this collection was C. G. Salemann, the publication being a facsimile of the texts with transliteration in Hebrew script [6].

Of the Sogdian Buddhist fragments of Krotkov's collection one large fragment was published in the 1920s by F. A. Rosenberg, one of the first Russian sogdologists (fragment Kr IV/823, inv. No. 3570) [7]. Later this fragment was published once more by A. N. Ragoza [8].

The aim of A. N. Ragoza's work (1980) was the publication of all Sogdian fragments originating from East Turkestan, now preserved in the Central Asian fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection. Ragoza published about 130 fragments [9], 87 of them — from Krotkov's collection. Photographs of all the transliterated and translated fragments are given (unfortunately, in many cases they are not sharp enough). The publication includes also a linguistic commentary and a glossary.

A detailed review of Ragoza's publication is given in three works by N. Sims-Williams [10]. Valuable notes on the reading, translation and interpretation of several St. Petersburg fragments were made by Y. Yoshida [11].

For some unknown reason four fragments coming from Krotkov's collection were not included into the publication by Ragoza. One of these fragments is written in Manichaean script, the other three — in Sogdian letters. The longest and the most significant of the last three is fragment Kr IV/879, No. 4263 [12]. The publication of this fragment is the subject of the present article.

The fragment (*fig. 1*) is a part of the scroll 52.2 cm long and 29 cm wide (thin Chinese paper tinted yellow). On the reverse side it bears a text in Uighur. The Sogdian text on the obverse numbers 39 lines in black ink drawn in neat

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\* This article was written with the financial support from the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Fund.





Fig. 1

cursive script by the hand of a professional scribe. It is characteristic of the palaeographic tradition of the Sogdian Buddhist manuscripts of the 8th—9th centuries from East Turkestan and Dunhuang.

Spacing between the lines is 1.2—1.3 cm. Of the 39 lines of the Sogdian text lines 1, 2, 35—39 are the most damaged. The fragment represents a passage from a Sogdian translation of some unknown Buddhist work [13].

### Transliteration [14]

- (1) [            ](t) skwn yr'w (β) [
- (2) βryn'w wy pwt'y pr(?) [
- (3) kδ'm m'z'yx kwtr(y ZY?) 'sty Z(Y) kt'm pδβry ZY cw šn s'rstyh 'st[y rty?]
- (4) šm'xw xypδ krz wrz ZY 'k'cy šw'mnty wrcwnyh myδ xcy c'n'w ZK
- (5) syc'kk βrwzty ZY šm(')x xypδ š'str ywk ywxs'mnty myδ m'n'wk
- (6) xcy c'n'w wr'γ-y wnxr cym'nty cw ny'z-'nk'w'y 'sty šm'xw kw h
- (7) βc'npδy xwyštr s'r 'nδ'yšny myδ 'yšδ' c'nw xw 'tr pr'n'k 'kw
- (8) xwyr rwxšny'k s'r 'nδ'yšny šm'xw cw mrtxm'yt 'yšδ' p'rZY ptkwn
- (9) wyn m'ny δrδ'yc 'mrz-y 'yšδ' mn' ry(ty) c'γwn'k rxnt' skwn
- (10) 'wy βc'npδy xwyštry prnw 'nγ(')wnc ptz-y'm'c kwn'y-cyk w'xš w'β'y
- (11) šwδ' šwδ' pyšt mn' s'r nw-p'šy L' βyrδ' c'n'w xw pmys'r
- (12) x(w)t'(w) mwn'w w'xš wγtw k'ry ywn'yδ wytr kw š'ykn s'r tys rt[y]
- (13) wy(šntw) ptkwn-wyn'yt γmy pt'(y)[δy] p'r'xs'nt šyr 'z-rt'y w'št(n)t
- (14) šβ'r(')y [ZY] c'wn xwt'w š'ykny nyz'yn(t) [15] m'δ w'β'nt r(..) [    ]
- (15) n' šyš'ymn ywn'k [?]šxy 'nx'w xy(δ) δ'r'mn tym 'yw prwr[ty        ]
- (16) sγtm'n kw xwt'w s'r pr wy(n) šw'ymn rty ywn'yδ wytr'nt kw m'z'yx
- (17) mry s'r pr 'nc'n w'šnt kδ'c L' šyštnt rty šn xw šmnw
- (18) xwt'w m'(k)[?] n'βcykty m(')n '[s](t) ZY myšn tyrtyt kw šw'(y)nt /
- (19) yγ'rty xwrt βyr'nt cyw[y]δ 'nβ'nty 'nw'štw 'skw'nt: [16] wyδ'γty
- (20) pr 'yw žmnw xw pmys'r xwt'w c'wn r'ckr'y knδy βyk s'r nyz-ty kw βynwβ(n)
- (21) snkr'm s'r šw' skw(n) 'wy βγ'n βxtm pwt'y s'r pr nm'cw ZY pr wyn
- (22) rtyšw wyš('nt) tyrtyt (sγ)tm'n r'δh p'y'nt ZY š(y) myδ'n r'δy
- (23) [w'š]nt rty xw <p> [17] ksy-sr'w(?)-'n'k [18] β('z-) 'kh 'sky s'r syxwy'nt
- (24) (sγ)tm'n wnxr wn'nt (m)'δ w'β('nt) c'β' c'β' m'z'yx xwt'w'
- (25) pr kwtr ZY pr pδβry wyn'mn[t]y (sky) δynd'rty L' s'št ptmy't rty
- (26) [xy]pδ m'ny šm'r m'z[ 'y]xw (x)[w]t'w' yw'r xw k'wδ'm šmny ZY c'wn wyny
- (27) p'r'γz β't ZY c'wn xw kwtry m'z'yxw (β)'t 'sp'yncy nyz-ty pcm'ry xcy
- (28) p'š ZY škš'pt γr(β)'kyh xwnx s'št ptm't w'n'w tk'wš γwt xw
- (29) šy'tr xcy kt'r m'x rty βγ c'n'w xw 'yw wrc'wnyh kwn't m'x 'δw
- (30) kwn'ym k'n c'n'w: xw 'δw wrc[ 'wnyh kwn](')t m'x ctβ'r kwn'ymk'n 'wy
- (31) s'r 'yδcw L' 'wz'ymk'n rty [        ]mnt pxcw'y wyn ZY tk'wš
- (32) [ptz?]m'ntyh βn px'rš't m'x 'yny 'yw 'γδy 'sp'yn rty šn xw pmys'r
- (33) [xwt]'w m'δ w'β 'δw prwrt'y β' cw mn' s'r mwn'w w'xš wγtw δ'rt rty
- (34) 'zw pt'wtδ'r'm c'n'w: cš(t)yk y'w(r) w'βδ' c'wn m'k't-cyk 'wt'ky βyk s'r
- (35) βškr'mk'n tyrtyt(y)n'k 'm'rzy pr [        ](..'m) ZY z'y nw('rt.....)[    ]
- (36) sxwnw'ZY wγtw k'ry: ywn'yδ pym(s)[ 'r xwt'w        ]
- (37) rty nwkr wyšn tyrtyt [        ]
- (38) rty ywn'yδ kw xypδ 'n(w)[ 'z'k        ]
- (39) [        ](.) ZY (m'δ)[        ]

Translation <sup>1191</sup>

- (1) ] “he ... (his) body [
- (2) in sign to Buddha ..... [
- (3) To what great family, to what rank do you belong <sup>1201</sup>, and what is their excellence?
- (4) Your miracles and magic in going to the sky are no more <sup>1211</sup> miraculous than
- (5) the flights of a sparrow. Your instructive *sāstras* and teachings are like
- (6) the cawing <sup>1221</sup> of a raven. Is there any difference between them? That you are supposed to be
- (7) teachers to the Lord of the World <sup>1231</sup> is like (the statement) that a moth <sup>1241</sup> is
- (8) the teacher of light for the sun. What kind of people you are, how dare you, with sinful
- (9) looks and (sinful) mind, dirty as dung (?), \*fat (?), in my presence
- (10) thus speak a fight making word to His Majesty, the Lord of the World?
- (11) Go away. Go away, not to invoke on yourself my (even greater) displeasure”.
- (12) After the King Bimbiśāra <sup>1251</sup> spoke this, he immediately went to the palace (and) entered (it). And
- (13) those heretics remained despised and humbled, they were very much distressed (and)
- (14) ashamed. They went out of the King's palace and said: “[        ].
- (15) Let us not be scattered. Let us endure this grave anxiety. Let us once more,
- (16) all (of us), go to the King to see (him)”. Immediately they made their way towards a great
- (17) forest. They stayed for a rest (there), (but) all the time they were not breaking up <sup>1261</sup>.
- (18) The King of their monks <sup>1271</sup> persuaded (?) <sup>1281</sup> the inhabitants of Magadha <sup>1291</sup> that if they go (further) with the heretics,
- (19) they would get plenty of food. For this (very) reason they were standing together <sup>1301</sup>.
- (20) Then once the King Bimbiśāra went out of the city of Rājagṛha <sup>1311</sup>, he
- (21) was going to the monastery <sup>1321</sup> of Veṇuvana <sup>1331</sup> to see and to pay reverence to Buddha, the godliest (of) the gods <sup>1341</sup>.
- (22) And the heretics were all guarding the road (to the monastery ?) and were standing in the middle of the road.
- (23) They raised (their) lean (?) arms
- (24—25) and all wailed, saying: “O Great King, it is not fitting that you despise (?) brahmins <sup>1351</sup>, (who are) higher than yourself by birth, greatness (and) appearance.
- (26) Think with your own mind, o Great King, if monk Gautama is really
- (27) excellent in contemplation, if he is really of a great family and if he can be taken for a (real) wandering monk? <sup>1361</sup>
- (28) (You) should estimate his instructions and commandments. It is necessary to be regarded also
- (29) if he is better than we. And, o Lord, should he perform one miracle, we shall perform two,
- (30) likewise, should he make two, we shall make four.
- (31) We shall in no way be lower (?) than him. Look with no obstacles and examine it,
- (32) so that your disgust (at our teaching) could be removed. Fulfill this only wish of ours”.
- (33) And then the King Bimbiśāra said to them: “It is the second time these words are spoken to me, and
- (34) I have tolerated it. (But) when you say it for the third time, I shall expel (you) from the land of Magadha,
- (35) (you), heretics, \*fat(?) [.....], provocative (to?) the land .....”.
- (36) After speaking (these) words: immediately the [King] Bimbiśāra [        ]
- (37) And then those heretics [        ]
- (38) and immediately towards their assemblage [they went (?),        ]
- (39) [        ] and thus [said (?)]        ]

## Commentaries

Line 3: *pδβr-* “stage, rank, (social or spiritual) status”; *s’rstyh* “beauty, greatness, superiority”, cf. CSogd. *s’rst* “beautiful” (C 2 12 R 17).

Line 4: *’k’c* (from Skt. *ākāśa*) “space, emptiness, sky, heavenly sphere”.

Line 5: *syč’kk* “sparrow”, in the same meaning also in SCE 318, 352, 353, *syčkk* SCE 131; cf. Yaghn. *sič’a* “sparrow, small bird”, *sič’āk* “sparrow” (YaT 321). The same stem in Sogd. *syč-* (Fem. *syčh*) “goose” testified in SCE 130, 352 and in inscriptions-dipinti on the Afrasiab murals.

Line 7: *βc’npδy xwyštr*, lit. “teacher, elder of the world”, hence from “Lord of the World” (the appellation of Buddha), the calque of Skt. *lokajyeṣṭha*, Chinese *sh’i’tsun*, cf. *Padm.* 18, *Dhy.* 14, 121, *Dhu.* 138, 235, etc., see D. N. MacKenzie, *BSTBL II*, 76. — *’yšδ’* (also below) — flexion of 2 Pl. Opt. rather occasionally appearing in Sogdian Buddhist texts and originating, according to I. Gershevitch (*GMS* § 754), from a combination of 2 Sg. *iš* “thou art” and suffixal morpheme *-θa-*; cf. CSogd. 2 Pl. *’yšt* “you are”.



Line 9: *δrδ'yc* “dung”, a variant form to BSogd. *δrt'yc*, *δrtyc*, MSogd. *δrtyc* “dung, fertilizer”?, cf. Wakh. *δart* “fertilizer”, Khwar. *δrc* “dung”. — *'mrzy* (‘*m'rzy* in line 35) “fat, plump”, from OIr. *\*ā-marza-* “having a belly”, Avest. *marəzāna-* (*\*mrzāna-*) “stomach”? It is the first time, as far as I know, when this word appears in Sogdian texts. Less probable is the etymological link with OIr. *\*marz-*, Avest. *marəz-* “to touch”, BSogd. *nm'rz-* “to touch upon”, MParth. *nm'rz-*, Khwar. *prnz-* of the same meaning, Mid.P. *marzidan*, *marz-* “to touch upon, copulate”. The presence in OIr. dialects of several homonymic verbal stems *\*marz-* may be presumed already when comparing Avest. *marəz-* with Khot. *ttumalyś-* “to eat, devour” and Khot. *nimalys-* “to smoothen, sharpen” (Emmerick, *SGS*, pp. 39, 54—5).

Line 10: *w'β'y* Inf. Pres. depending on *rxnt* “you dare”.

Line 11: *nwp šy* “displeasure, irritation”, a combination of the privative prefix *nw-* (*GMS* § 1161) “without-”, “dis-”, “un-” and the noun *p šy* “honour, respect”, from OIr. *\*pādraka-*, cf. BSogd. *p š* along with *p'δr* (*SCE* 544), MSogd. *p š*. — *pym's'r xwt'w* “King Bīmīśāra”. In St. Petersburg fragment L 89 [37] written, doubtless, in the same handwriting as the fragment published here, *m'ku'wt'kh* is mentioned (to be read this, instead of *mkt'wt'kh* by Ragoza, line 5) “the land of Magadha” (Skt. *Magadha*), of which King Bīmīśāra was the ruler. The capital of Magadha, the city of Rājagṛha, is also mentioned in fragment L 81, line 14 (*r'ckry knōyh* “in the city of Rājagṛha”). King Bīmīśāra also appears in L 81 and L 40. The handwriting of L 81 is identical to that of L 89, fragments L 35a, 35b, 36, 40, 49, 50, 52 are also written in the same hand. All these are, doubtless, parts of one manuscript to which belongs also the fragment published here. Their relative location is the subject of further studies. What is clear now, is that these fragments belong to some unidentified Buddhist work relating (possibly, in its first part) the dispute between Buddha and heretic Upaka (*'wp'k*, Skt. *Upaka*, who is mentioned in L 40, lines 3, 10). Buddha in this work is called several times “Monk Gautama” (Skt. *Gautama śramaṇa*, in Sogdian *k'wδ'm šmny* in our fragment, line 26, also in L 49, lines 1, 3; L 81, line 9) and once — Śākyaputra (Sogdian *š'k(y-z')t'k*, lit. “the Son of Śākya”, in L 52, line 16). The place of the disputes is the city of Rājagṛha. King Bīmīśāra, who was present at the disputes, is expelling from the city and from the land of Magadha Upaka, the heretic, and his followers (cf. N. Sims-Williams, *The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad*, [1], p. 235).

Line 13: *ptkwn-wyn'k*, *°wyn'()*, lit. “having heretic views”, cf. *Intox.* 20. — *ymy* “despised, despicable” (also in CSogd.), on the meaning of this word see W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* XI, p. 481, note 1; *GMS* § 1060, note 1.

Line 14: *šβ'r'()* — lit. “(with) shame”.

Line 15: *šy's'ymn*, 1 Pl. Pres. (Subj. or Opt.) of *šy's-* “to disperse, be scattered; to be separated” (*GMS* § 540), cf. Khwar. *šš-*, Passive stem of *š š-* “to scatter, disperse”. The name of one of the 7th century Sogdian kings, Šyšpyr, testified on coins and in Chinese texts, may be, possibly, interpreted as “one, whose religion is scattered” > “one who spreads (Zoroastrian?) creed”. — *šxy* (stem *šx-*) “firm, hard”, MSogd. *šxy*, *šxyr*, *šxt'h*, see *GMS* §§ 1197, 1204, also Henning, *Sogdica* (London, 1940), p. 20. — *'nx'w*, also BSogd. *'nxw(h)* “trouble, anxiety” (cf. *VJ* 218, etc.: *rt'y šy ZKh 'nxwh mnt'r'xs* “and his anxiety became oppressive”). Spelling *'nx'w* in our fragment (z with a dot below would have been expected for *'zx'w*) supports the reading *'nxw(h)* suggested by E. Benveniste for *VJ*, cf. *GMS* § 403, note 1. — *δ'rmn* “we shall endure”. For variants of flexion *-ymn*, *-mn* in the published text cf. *šy's'ymn* (15), *šw'ymn* (16).

Line 16: *mz'yx mry* “great forest” corresponds, obviously, to Skt. *Mahāvāna*.

Line 18: *'[s]t* — this reconstruction of the verbal form (*'[st*, lit. “he took”) seems to be dictated by the preceding *m'n* “1) reason, mind, 2) spirit, state of mind”; *m'n* “s-” “to persuade, win over”.

Line 19: *y'y'rt* (MSogd., CSogd. *y'yrt-*) “vast, wide”, speaking about food — “plentiful”. The word is supposed to come from OIr. *\*vi-ḡta-* (*GMS* § 138), cf. Yaghn *yaxt* “wide” (?).

Line 25: *ptmy't* — the context shows definitely that this Past Infinitive form derives from a verb like “to despise, humiliate, disgrace”. The Pres. stem of this verb should be *\*ptmy(-)*, as far as we know, it is not testified in any of the published Sogdian texts. Etymology? Any connection with *ptm'y-* “measure” (Past *ptm't-*, line 28) seems impossible, likewise the explanation of *ptmy't* as the secondary form of Past Infinitive deriving from Pres. *ptm'y-*.

Line 27: *'sp'ync* “inn”, MSogd. *'spnc-*, *'spync*. For the combination *'sp'yncy nyzty* cf. *kty'ky nyztk* (*Dhy.* 5), also standing for Skt. *pravrajita*.

Line 28: *škšp't*, Skt. *śikṣāpāda* “teaching, instruction, commandment”.

Line 31: *'wz'ymk'n*, this form should be 1 Pl. Fut. of the verb *\*'wz-*, first time testified in our text. Its supposed meaning is basing only on the context.

Line 32: *'sp'yn* — 2 Sg. Imperat. of a verb appearing here for the first time. Connected with OIr. *\*us-parnaya-* “to fill, fulfil”?, cf. Sogd. *'spwrn-*, *spwrn-*, MSogd. *spwrn-*, *'spwrn-*, CSogd. *spwn-* “full” from *\*us-prn-*.

## Notes

1. Its full call number is SI Kr. IV/879, year 1952, inv. No. 4263.

2. *Protokoly Russkogo Komiteta po izucheniiu Srednei i Vostochnoi Azii* (The Reports of the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia), No. 2 (1908), p. 4; No. 3 (1909), pp. 3—4; No. 3 (1910), pp. 2—3; No. 2 (1911), p. 18; No. 3 (1911), pp. 21—2; No. 5, p. 31; “Protokoly Istoriko-filologicheskogo otdeleniia ot 16.IX. i 4.XI. 1909 g.” (“The reports of the Historical and Philological department of September 16 and of November 4, 1909”), *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk*, Ser. VI, vol. III (1909), pp. 1084, 1170; inventory numbers of the Asiatic Museum — II 4 (1904—1908), 2668; II 5 (1909—1913), No. 1799. See also A. N. Ragoza, “K istorii slozheniia kollektsii rukopisei na sredneiranskikh iazykakh iz Vostochnogo Turkestana, khraaniashchikhsia v Rukopisnom otdel' LO IV AN SSSR” (“On the history of the collection of manuscripts in Middle Iranian languages from East Turkestan preserved in the Manuscript department of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences”), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Ezhegodnik. 1969* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 244—61; *eadem*, *Sogdiiskie fragmenty Tsentral'noaziatskogo sobraniia Instituta vostokovedeniia* (Sogdian Fragments of the Central Asian Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies) (Moscow, 1980).

3. Lists of the Asiatic Museum — C 10, the first collection of N. N. Krotkov.
4. Ragoza, *Sogdiiskie fragmenty*, p. 8.
5. Lists of the Asiatic Museum — C 10, the second collection of Krotkov; Ragoza, *Sogdiiskie fragmenty*, p. 8, note 18.
6. Fragments Kr IV/838, 840, inv. Nos. 3585—3587 (old call numbers S 38, S 39), see C. Salemann, "Manichaica III", *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk*, Ser. VI, vol. IV (1912), pp. 27—9.
7. F. A. Rosenberg, "Un fragment sogdien bouddhique du Musée Asiatique", *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk*, Nos. 15—17 (1927), pp. 1375—98. In the inventory of the Manuscript department one Sogdian Buddhist fragment from the collection of S. F. Oldenburg is ascribed by mistake to Krotkov's collection (Kr IV/873, inv. No. 3620). It was published by Rosenberg, see F. A. Rosenberg, "Deux fragments sogdien bouddhique du Ts'ien-fo-tong du Touen-houang (Mission S. d'Oldenburg, 1914—1915). I: Fragment d'un conte", *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* (1918), pp. 817—42 (see also Ragoza, *Sogdiiskie fragmenty*, fragm. 92, pp. 62—3, 165, Pl. LI).
8. Ragoza, *Sogdiiskie fragmenty*, fragm. 71, pp. 49—50, 152, Pl. XXXVIII.
9. There are 120 fragments, according to Ragoza's numeration, but sometimes several fragments are given under one number.
10. N. Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad. [I]", *BSOAS*, XLIV/2 (1981), pp. 231—40; *idem*, "The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad. II: Mani at the court of the Shahanshah", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* (Detroit), New Ser., IV (1990), pp. 281—8; *idem*, "The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad. III: Fragments of the Xwāstwānīft", *Manichaean Studies I. Manichaica Selecta*. Studies presented to Prof. J. Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, eds. A. von Tongreloo and S. Giversen (Lovanii, 1991), pp. 323—8.
11. Y. Yoshida, "Buddhist literature in Sogdian", *Studies on the Inner Asian languages* (Kobe), VII (1991), p. 108 (in Japanese); *idem*, "Notes on Buddhist Sogdian texts", *Studia Grammatica Iranica*. Festschrift für H. Humbach, hrsg. von R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjaervo (Münich, 1986), pp. 513—8.
12. According to the inventory list, this number was assigned to the fragment in 1952.
13. On the contents of the fragment and on its connection with several fragments published by Ragoza in *Sogdiiskie fragmenty* see my commentary to line 11.
14. In transliteration partly preserved letters are given in brackets, those missing completely and restored — in square brackets; a hyphen shows that there is no link with the following letter.
15. Or *nyzy'nt* (?).
16. The sign of colon in the text, also lines 30, 34, 36.
17. The letter is crossed out by the scribe.
18. Or *°sr'y-* (?).
19. The translation is literal, line by line.
20. Lit. "is there".
21. "thus".
22. "voice".
23. *I. e.* of Buddha.
24. Lit. "the insect of fire".
25. *pym's'r* — Sogdian transcription of Skt. *Bimbisāra*.
26. Lit. "scattered, dispersed".
27. Corresponds to Skt. *Māra* (?).
28. Lit. "took the mind" (?).
29. Sogd. *m'k't*.
30. Lit. "were joining".
31. Sogd. *r'ckr(')y* for Skt. *Rājagṛha*.
32. *snkr'm* — Sogd. adaptation of Skt. *saṃghārāma*.
33. *βynwβn* — Skt. *Veṇuvana*.
34. Sogd. *βy'n βxtm* "the godliest (of) the gods" corresponds to Skt. *devātideva*.
35. Sogd. *δynd'r* is used in the meaning "brahman" along with the adapted *pr''mn*.
36. Lit. "gone away from the inn" — Sogd. transmission of Skt. *pravrajita*.
37. Letter L (= Leningrad) marks, following Sims-Williams, the fragments published by Ragoza in *Sogdiiskie fragmenty* (see above).

### Illustrations

Fig. 1. The Sogdian Buddhist fragment KR IV/879 No. 4263, 52.2 × 29.0 cm.

## MUSLIM BINDINGS WITH *AL-KHĀLIDIYĀNĪ* DOUBLE BORDERS

The introduction of the methods of quantitative analysis into the study of Islamic bindings is producing results, which promise considerable progress in this field in the nearest future. Like in other cases considered in my previous two articles [1], the advantages gained by applying these methods can be explained by the very nature of Muslim decorative art, where symmetry and proportions always played a prominent part.

*Fig. 1* shows the upper cover of a manuscript belonging to the Topkapı Sarayı Library in Istanbul [2]. O. Aslanapa, who published the cover, describes it in the usual way: the manuscript “has a lacquer binding with gold painting on a black ground. The cover has a central medallion with pendants and quarter medallions decorated with *rūmī*, clouds and *hatāyī*. The area between these shows symmetrical decoration of fine spiral forms, peonies, *hatāyī* and birds which look like pheasants. The same motifs are employed on the lower cover” [3].

Some decorative elements not mentioned in the description of the binding cited above are considered in the present article. These are the two rectangular borders set one within the other (*fig. 1*). On *fig. 2* they are displayed as a principal scheme free from all other components of the decorum.

Measurements of the binding, made from the photograph published by O. Aslanapa, show that the inner sides of the smaller border form the so-called “double square”, *i. e.* a rectangle with sides relating as 2:1 (ABCD on *fig. 2*). The inner sides of the larger border also form a rectangle (A'B'C'D'), its sides relating as 5:3. As far as I know, the presence of proportional rectangles, the relation between their sides expressed in whole numbers, has so far never been recorded in the descriptions of decorative bindings [4]. As there is no evidence on this phenomenon in literary sources, we should consider the possibility of having here an occasional construction involving two rectangles with their sides relating as 2:1 and 5:3 by pure chance. The question would have never been answered if it were just a single case. By the present time, however, I know at least nine bindings with decorative patterns involving a double square set within a rectangle proportioned as 5:3 (see the list below). But even the existence of many examples does not solve the problem completely.

In theory there is always a possibility to set within the A'B'C'D' rectangle a whole series of double squares, each time changing the absolute length of their sides. For

this reason even if the proportion itself, being nine times repeated in binding decorations, ceases to be an exclusion, the absolute size of the rectangles could still be dictated by pure chance. In this case there would have been nothing to write about.

In our case, however, we deal with a construction with a permanent configuration of its elements, since their actual dimensions are interdependent. The same features are present in a whole series of bindings. It means that the binding pattern described here should be considered as a special construction, which we may define as a *al-Khālidiyānī* double border. Its qualities are striking.

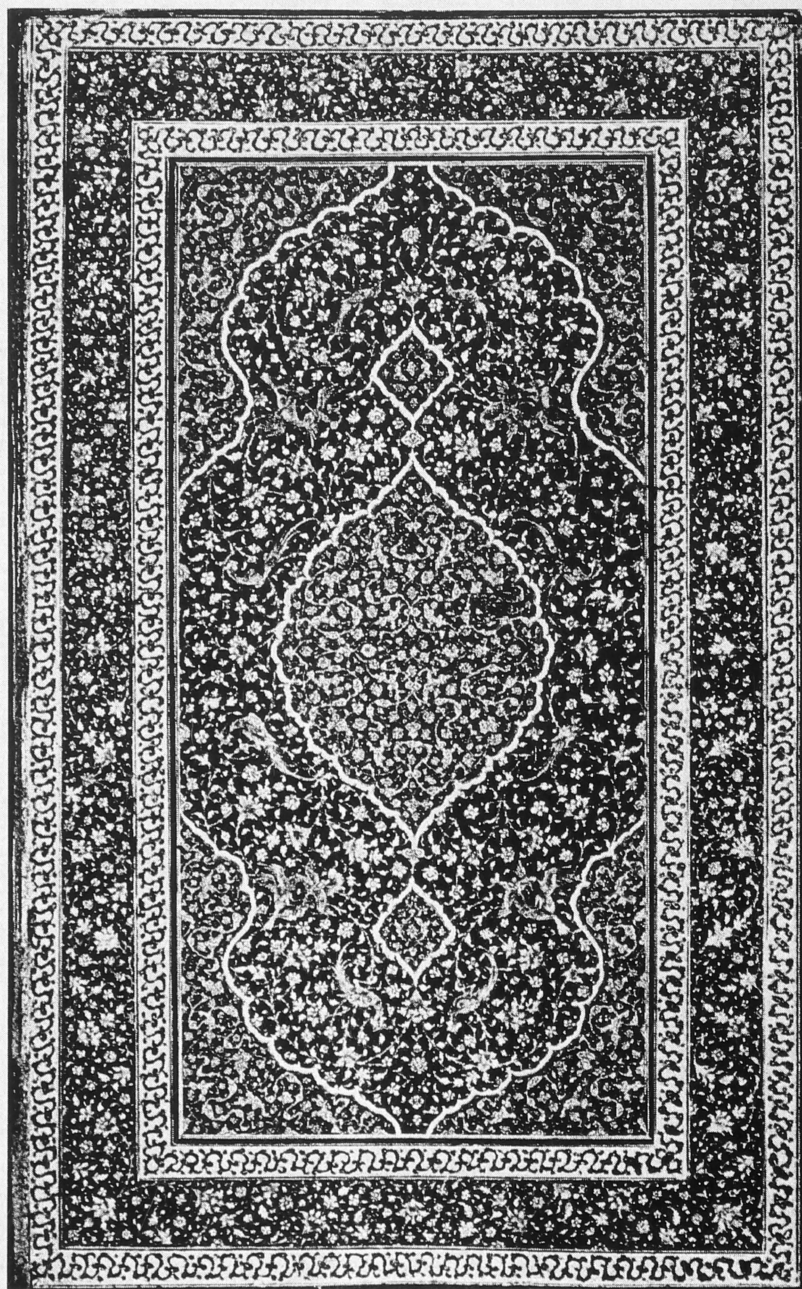
The long sides of the rectangles forming the double border reveal a stable proportion of 6:5, while the correlation of the short sides is  $6^2:5^2$ , *i. e.* they are related as the squares of the same numbers. This “Pythagorean” proportion, graceful and at the same time significant, makes it impossible to build more than one double square within a rectangle proportioned as 5:3. This only possible double square can not therefore be an occasional construction, it could not as well be repeated on a series of bindings by pure chance. It removes all doubts which arise when first approaching the *al-Khālidiyānī* double border [5].

The binding we are considering here (*fig. 1*) was reproduced with no scale, and no measurements were given in its description, which makes it difficult to support our analysis with calculations. The reader, however, can check the author's conclusions by measuring the photograph reproduced in the article and making his own calculations. It will be enough to verify the proportions suggested here — it gives you an exclusive chance to see how slight were the deviations made by the artist who drew the double border [6].

Now, when we are sure that the well-proportioned double border really exists as one of the components of the decorative pattern of book-bindings, let us return to the upper cover of the Istanbul Manuscript and to its description. Taking into account the nature of its rectangular borders, it becomes possible to make a more sophisticated description of its decorative pattern.

Four corner pieces set within the central (smaller) rectangle define the outlines of the figure which quite often appears on decorated Islamic book bindings. Along with the central medallion and its pendants it forms a logically motivated group deserving a distinct character-



*Fig. 1*

istic as a figurative component of the general pattern. The double border, as a constructive component of the decorum, is treated separately for the reasons explained above. All the rest — the decorative arabesques covering the whole surface of the binding, which form the background upon which the border and the central figure are arranged, can be distinguished as the third descriptive component [7].

The ties between these three decorative components are so loose, they are so autonomous in their physical and artistic unity, that we may classify large groups of bindings by any of them. From the constructive point of view, *i. e.* by the presence of the *al-Khālidiyānī* border, we may attribute to one group the following bindings: two bindings published by O. Aslanapa [8], one published by D. George and (once more) by G. Schoeler [9], and six from the album by Kemal Çig [10]. By the figure outlined by corner-pieces the same bindings (but for the one published by George and Schoeler) can be attributed as well to another group, which includes also many bindings from Çig's album and from other publications not fitting into the first group [11]. Finally, if we take into account the stylistic characteristics of arabesques, the same nine bindings of the first group might be divided not into two sub-groups (as by the second criterion), but into several different classes. It is evident that the description of the three components requires a differential attitude: each component should be described within the limits of its own terms and notions. The *constructive* component requires a mathematical description, the *figurative* — a formal one, the *stylistic* component should be described in the language of art history. At the same time it should be admitted that decorative patterns of book bindings are usually viewed as something whole, and that the structural analysis of such amalgam is just a way of studying monuments of decorative art. The double border, when it is present in a decorative composition, evidently becomes the dominating element. It determines the size of the figurative component and, to some extent, has influence on the division

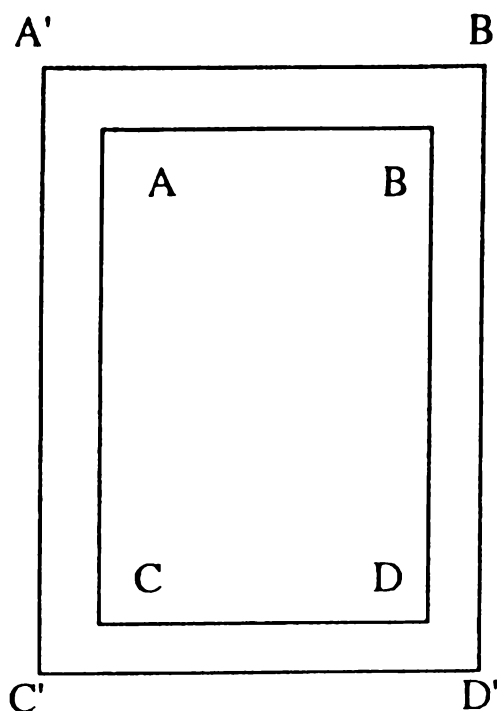


Fig. 2

of the surface of a book cover and, finally, on the character of its background.

Defining at the beginning of the article the border rectangles through the relation of their sides (5:3 for the larger rectangle and 2:1 for the smaller one), we were trying to fix the reader's attention on the difference of their format. Meanwhile the double *al-Khālidiyānī* rectangles have a common measure making it possible to demonstrate not only their shape but their relative size as well. These proportions can be expressed in whole numbers as 5:3 for the larger rectangle and 4:2 for the smaller rectangle. In other words, reducing each of the sides of the larger rectangle by 1/6 we get the double square, its dimensions determining the size of all other decorative elements (central medallion, corner pieces, etc.).

As for the decorative component, it is filling the space left on the book cover after the constructive and figurative components have been set. The field left to be filled with arabesques is already divided by the former settings into distinct areas. Now the artist is free to decide, if he wants to cover them with uniform patterns [12], to exercise his imagination inventing individual designs for each piece [13], or to combine both methods [14].

In fact, here are only two free areas: the double square in the centre and the space left between the two *al-Khālidiyānī* rectangles [15]. It is, however, quite enough to ensure such a variety of decorative designs, that their constructive uniformity becomes almost indistinguishable. As it often happens when we deal with ancient technologies, we sooner or later come towards the question: when the double border of this kind first appeared on Muslim bindings. At present there is not enough information to answer it. In all the nine cases I know the authors, who published the manuscripts, date them between 1492 [16] and the 19th century [17]. Most of these bindings are so similar in style that, if studied with more attention, they may turn to be more closer in time to each other.

## Notes

1. V. V. Polosin, "To the method of describing illuminated Arabic manuscripts", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1, 2 (1995), pp. 16—21; Val. V. Polosin, "Frontispieces on scale canvas in Arabic manuscripts", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 11, 1 (1996), pp. 5—19.

2. al-Ḥusaynī, *Dīwān*, MS, Herat, 897/1492, Topkapı Sarayı Museum (call number E.H. 1636).
3. O. Aslanapa, "The art of bookbinding", *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia: 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. B. Gray (Paris—London, 1979), p. 63. A black-and-white photograph of the binding is reproduced on p. 58, fig. 29.
4. There is a special section in the work by M. Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 10–1. Proportions expressed in whole numbers may indicate the use of some definite measure of length, which is interesting also from the point of view of historical metrology.
5. Our doubts were not completely groundless: there is one case where rectangles proportioned as 5:3 and 2:1 are combined, which does not answer the double border rule defined above. This is the binding of the Berlin manuscript Hamilton 1 published in the exhibition catalogue *Islamische Buchkunst aus 1000 Jahren Ausstellung der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin*, ed. Hars Kurio (Berlin, 1980), p. 43.
6. This same figure appears on 25 bindings reproduced in the album by Kemal Çig cited below — note 10, on 4 bindings published by G. Schoeler — note 11 and one binding in the exhibition catalogue mentioned above (note 5). One of the possible methods of checking the proportion is the following: we measure one of the sides of one of the border rectangles (AB, BC, A'B', B'C'), let it be AB. The length of all other sides is established by calculation, each time the result is verified by measuring the corresponding side on the photograph of the binding. In this way, by multiplying the length of AB by 1.44 (which corresponds to  $6^2:5^2$ ), we get the length of A'B'. By multiplying the length of A'B' by 1.6666 (corresponding to 5:3) we get the length of A'C'. Dividing the last number into 1.2 (proportion 6:5) we establish the length of AC, the last of the elements in question. This test illustrates the necessity of giving the measurements of at least one or two distinctive features of decorative patterns in publications, see Polosin, "To the method of describing", p. 21. Having the measurements of at least one of the elements of a double border pattern makes it easier to study it, even if it is reproduced with no scale.
7. I have already mentioned the necessity of distinguishing the multi-layer character of Islamic decorative patterns in one of my earlier works, see Polosin, "To the method of describing", p. 19.
8. Aslanapa, "The art of bookbinding", p. 58, fig. 22; p. 71, pl. XVI.
9. *Islamische Buchkunst*, p. 27, zu No. 10 — reproduced in colour; *Arabische Handschriften*, Teil 2, beschreiben von G. Schoeler unter Mitarbeit von H. C. Graf von Bothmer, T. Duncker Gökçen und H. Jenni (Stuttgart, 1990), Abbild. 124 (Ms. or fol. 3326 — black and white reproduction).
10. K. Çig, *Türk kitap kapları* (Istanbul, 1971), p. 32, resim (illustration) VI; p. 36, resim X; p. 38, resim XII; p. 47, resim XXI; p. 52, resim XXVI (defective); p. 53, resim XXVII (defective).
11. Aslanapa, "The art of bookbinding", p. 68, pl. XII; p. 69, pl. XIII; p. 70, pl. XV; p. 72, pl. XVII; p. 76, fig. 33; see also *Arabische Handschriften*, Teil 2, Abbild. 100, 112, 113, 120.
12. Çig, *Türk kitap kapları*, p. 53, resim XXVII; p. 32, resim VI.
13. Çig, *Türk kitap kapları*, p. 47, resim XXI; *Islamische Buchkunst*, p. 27 (in colour). The reproduction of the same cover in *Arabische Handschriften*, Teil 2, Abbild 124 (black and white photograph).
14. Çig, *Türk kitap kapları*, p. 38, resim XII.
15. The vertical and the horizontal sections of this space on the mathematical model of the *al-Khālidiyānī* double border are of slightly different width. To make it more even along the whole perimeter of the double border the binder had to correct slightly the size of the "ideal" rectangles. These deviations from the ideal proportions are, however, too insignificant to be taken into account.
16. See note 2.
17. Ibn Kamāl Pāsha (d. 940/1533), *Tafsīr surat al-mulk*, MS, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kunstbesitz, Berlin (call number Ms. or. fol. 3326), its binding published twice, see note 14.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** External side of upper cover, lacquer with gold, Ḥusaynī, *Dīwān*, MS, 897/1492, Herat, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul (call number E.H. 1636). Courtesy of the Topkapı Sarayı Library.

**Fig. 2.** *Al-Khālidiyānī* double border (principal scheme).



# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. N. Tyomkin

## ON THE TERM *ITIHĀSA* AND THE PROBLEM OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA* TEXT

In modern dictionaries the word *itihāsa* is defined as “narrative, legend, history”. Lexicographers usually suggest the simple etymology: *iti ha āsa* “thus, truly, it was”. By Kṣīrasvāmin (the 11th century) it is said: “*iti ha āsīd yatreti itihāsaḥ, itir evamarthe, haḥ kilarthe*” [1].

What attracts our attention to the term *itihāsa* is its meaning as it was really understood by an educated person in Ancient India. Unfortunately, the available reference-books and special works do not clear up this problem [2]. It seems to me, however, that Ancient Indian scholarly texts may help us to establish quite reliably the principle special meanings of the word *itihāsa* being actual for the educated people of Ancient India.

Thus, in *AK* it is said: “*itihāsaḥ purāṇṛttam*” (“[The word] *itihāsa* indicates some event which took place in the ancient times”). Maheśvara in his comments on *AK* explains the meaning of *purāṇṛtta* through *pūrvacarita* — “deeds of the ancient, deeds of the ancestors”. In the same way it was explained by Kṣīrasvāmin. It is clear in this case that the event, which had taken place in the past, the deed of the forefathers described by the word *itihāsa*, was accepted as a real event (*iti ha āsa* — thus, truly, it was) [3]. So, we can define the first meaning of the word *itihāsa*: some event which took place in the ancient times, a deed performed by the ancestors, some “historical” fact which is beyond doubt.

Patañjali, however, is stating in *Mbh* that *itihāsa* belongs to the sphere subject to the Word. He says: “...*mahān hi śabdasya prayoga-viśayaḥ. Sapta-dvīpā vasumatī trayo lokāś-catvāro vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ ...vākovākyaṁ itihāsaḥ purāṇaṁ vaidyakaṁ ity-etāvān śabdasya prayoga-viśayaḥ*” (“Wide is the sphere where the word is used. [This is] Earth with seven continents, [all] the three worlds, the four *Vedās* with *vedāṅgās*, dialectics, *itihāsa*, *purāṇa*, medication — so wide is the sphere where the word is used”) [4]. This passage makes us think that *itihāsa* is not just some “historical” fact, but also some text. But what kind of text? Kaiyata in his comments on the passage from Patañjali cited above is answering this question in the following way: “*pūrvacarita-saṁkīrtanam itihāsaḥ*” (“*itihāsa* is a complete (*saṁ-*), or adequate, narrative (*kīrtana*) about the deeds of

the ancestors”) [5]. This definition is confirmed by Śaṅkara, who illustrates it with the legend of Urvaśī and Purūravas [6]. It gives us the right to establish the second meaning of the word *itihāsa*: an adequate description of the events which took place in the ancient times, or of the deeds performed by the ancestors. If these events or deeds were believed to be authentic, as something which took place in reality, then, obviously, the descriptions adequate to these “historical” facts were treated as doubtless and authentic.

It is noteworthy that we find in Maheśvara's work an etymological explanation different from *iti ha āsa*, which, for some reason, has never been taken into account by scholars. He says: “*itihāsaḥ itiheti pāramparyopadeśe' vyayam tad aste' smin. āsa upaveśaṇe adhikaraṇe ghaṇ*” (“[the compound] *itihāsa* [consists of two words. The first one] — *itiha* — unchangeable, indeclinable word (*avyayaṁ*). [It is used to indicate] what is present (*tad aste' smin*) in traditional knowledge (*pāramparyopadeśe*). [The meaning of the second one] — *āsa* — [is equal to] *upaveśaṇe* [which means “in its place”. It is known that] the meaning of the location [is produced by the affix] *ghaṇ* (= *a*)” [7].

The explanations provided by Maheśvara also, in their turn, require comments. Maheśvara divided the compound *itihāsa* into *itiha* and *āsa*, where *itiha* is an indeclinable word formed by two parts (*iti* + *ha*), which indicates the contents of traditional knowledge, while *āsa* = place, i. e. it is a noun formed from the stem *as* by the formative affix *a* (Pāṇini is indicating it with the coding word *ghaṇ*). According to *P*, III, 3, 121, the affix *ghaṇ* forms masculine nouns from stems ending in consonants, which indicate location (or instrument). Meanwhile the initial (or the first) vowel of the stem is elevated to the highest degree (*vrddhi*): *as* (= to be, take place, be located) + *a* (*ghaṇ*) = *āsa* (= place). This very procedure was meant by Maheśvara when he was citing Jayāditya: “...*adhikaraṇe ghaṇ*...” [8]. In this way, according to Maheśvara, *itiha* + *āsa* — (initially) — is a definitive compound of the *bahuvrīhi* type, meaning “[that] which is present in traditional knowledge”. It is not that Maheśvara is inventing anything. He is basing upon the

authority of Amarasimha. In *AK* it is said: “*pāram-paryopadeśe syād aitihiyam itiha avyayam*” (“*aitihiya* or *itiha* [is that what is] present (*syād = tad aste' smin*) in traditional knowledge (*pāram-paryopadeśe*). [*Itiha*] is an indeclinable word (*avyayam*)”). Maheśvara is developing this definition given by Amarasimha in the following way: “*aitihiyam itiha dvayam pāram-paryeṇa loka-paramparayā ya upadeśas tasmīn. itihetyavyayam itiheti nipātasamudāyas tatrābhavam aitihiyam*” (“*aitihiya* and *itiha* — both [these words mean] knowledge (*upadeśas*) subsequently transferred as a heritage (*pāram-paryeṇa*) through a number of generations (*lokaparamparayā*), [that] what (*ya*) [is present] in it (*tasmīn*). [The word] *itiha* — an indeclinable word. *Itiha* — [it is] a combination of particles (*nipātasamudāyas*). [The word] *aitihiya* is a derivative (*tatrābhavam*) [from *itiha* and is of an equal meaning]”) [9].

In the second passage of his comments Maheśvara is actually giving the explanation of Jayāditya on *P*, V, 4, 23. In this *sūtra* Pāṇini states that with the help of the secondary (*taddhita*) formative affix *nya* (= *ya*) it is possible to form from a number of words, *itiha* among them, derivative names retaining the original meaning. The initial (or the first) vowel is elevated to the highest stage (*vṛddhi*). In this way *itiha* + *ya* = *aitihiya*. Jayāditya says: “*anantādibhyaḥ svārthe nyaḥ pratyayo bhavati itiha aitihiyam. nipātasamudāyo' yam upadeśapāram-parye vartate...*” (“[To form derivative names from words] *ananta*, etc., preserving their original meaning (*svārthe*) there is [affix] *nya*. [Thus, for example], *itiha* + [*nya*] = *aitihiyam*. [*Itiha*] is (*ayam*) a combination of particles (*nipātasamudāyo*), [and this combination means that, what] is present (*vartate*) in traditional knowledge (*upadeśapāram-parye*)”) [10].

Let us turn now to the word *upadeśa*. In *AK* there is no special entry on it. Its primary meaning is “training, discipline, education”. The context of the definitions given by Amarasimha, Jayāditya and Maheśvara leaves, however, no doubt that in these texts *upadeśa* is identified with that traditional knowledge which was transferred from a teacher to his pupil. There is a wonderful saying by Vācaspati-miśra on this account: “*upadīśyate' nenetyupadeśo vākya-jñānam tad-artha-jñānam vā abhidhiyate tatra vākya-jñāna-pramānya-pakṣe tad-artha-jñānam phalam*”, (“*upadeśa* [is a saying] by which means (*anena*) the transmission of knowledge (*upadīśyate*) is realised; [by this word] is indicated (*abhidhiyate*) both the knowledge of the saying (= *vākya-jñānam* = of its verbal side), as well as the understanding of its meaning (= *tadartha-jñānam* = of its sense). There [in *NS* 1, 1, 7] the cognition (*jñāna*) of the saying [is considered] as the source of right knowledge (*vākya-jñāna-pramānya-pakṣe*), and the understanding of its meaning as the [ultimate] result [of the act of comprehending]”) [11].

We may assume, evidently, that *itihāsa* = *pāram-paryopadeśa* = traditional knowledge accumulated through ages, transferred from generation to generation, from a teacher to his pupil, strictly safeguarded from corruption and losses. This is the third meaning of the word *itihāsa*.

The authority of traditional knowledge is so high in a traditional society that Ancient Indian scholarship elevates it to the rank of an authentic source of cognition of the truth, i. e. *itiha* = *aitihiya* = *itihāsa* = *pāram-paryopadeśa* =

*āptopadeśa* = *śabda* = *pramāṇa* [12]. This is the fourth meaning of the word *itihāsa*.

The exclusive part of traditional knowledge in Ancient India, methods of its preservation, the reproduction of traditional personality are discussed in all details in one of the last works by V. S. Sementsov [13].

The reasons we have presented above are expressively confirmed by Kauṭīlya: “*sāmgyajurvedāḥ trayas-trayī, atharvavedetiḥāsa vedau ca vedāḥ*” (“The three *Vedās* — *Rig*, *Yajur* and *Sāma* [are usually called] *trayī* (the Trinity). [Besides *trayī* there are also] *Atharvaveda* and *Itihāsa*. [These are] also *Vedās*”) [14]. Consequently, the whole bulk of texts coming under the term *itihāsa* was considered by Ancient Indian scholarship (personified by Kauṭīlya) to be equal in authority to the sacred texts of the *Vedās*. It is necessary to take into account that the four *Vedās* enumerated by Kauṭīlya present distinct codes of texts. Apparently, the *Itihāsa*, placed by Kauṭīlya in the same row with the four traditional Vedic codes, appeared before him as a definite collection of texts, as a stable code [15].

What kind of texts might this code include? Kauṭīlya gives the answer to this question. The list of these texts is given in the chapter, where Kauṭīlya is surveying the circle of knowledge the future ruler is supposed to master. Just in this passage Kauṭīlya reveals the contents of the *Itihāsa*, which should be thoroughly studied by any warrior, statesman or ruler, who wants to be sure of himself and to be able not to lose his way in various practical activities. Kauṭīlya says: “*pūrvam ahar-bhāgam hasty-aśva-ratha-praharaṇa-vidyāsu vinayam gacchet. paścimam itiḥāsa-srāvaṇe. purāṇam itivṛttam ākhyāyikodāharaṇam dharmasāstra arthasāstra ceti itiḥāsaḥ*” (“The first part of the day [prince] should spend exercising his skill in driving an elephant, a horse, a chariot, and his skill in arms. The rest [of the day let him spend] listening to *Itihāsa*. [Tales] of the deeds of the forefathers (*purāṇam itivṛttam*), narratives containing [instructive] examples (*ākhyāyikodāharaṇam*), instructions (*sāstra*) in the customs and [secular and religious] laws, in managing a household and ruling a State — [all this] is *Itihāsa*”) [16].

This text is very important and noteworthy, as it reveals the traditional notion concerning the principal contents of the traditional knowledge which was actual for a *kṣatriya* and a ruler, a layman and a prince. The comprehension of this passage from Kauṭīlya suggested here is different from those so far known (cf., for instance, Shamasastri: “*Purāṇa, Itivṛtta* (history), *Ākhyāyikā* (tales), *Udāharaṇa* (illustrative stories), *Dharmasāstra* and *Arthasāstra* are (known by the name) *Itihāsa*” [17]; Oldenburg: “*Itihāsa* — is: *Purāṇas, Itivṛtta, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharmasāstra* and *Arthasāstra*” [18]; Kangle: “The *Purāṇas, Itivṛtta, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharmasāstra* and *Arthasāstra*, — these constitute *Itihāsa*” [19]).

These “translations” are practically identical, not counting the explanations in brackets provided by Shamasastri. The translators evaded the necessity of explaining the terms they dealt with by giving them in transliteration, so the word *itihāsa* received no explanation. They took the word *purāṇa* for a noun, but it could be an adjective as well — “old, ancient”. If we assume that the word *purāṇa* appears here as a term defining a special class of early medieval literary works (or some distinct work of this class) most expressively represented by the eighteen great *purāṇas*, this suggestion would be incorrect: in the 1st century A.D.

Kautilya could not be familiar with the works, of which the earliest one, as most scholars think, appeared only in the 3d century A.D. [20]. We find the word *purāṇa*, indicating some narrative, in the Vedic texts, in the early *Upaniṣads* and in the *Mbh*, but it is never mentioned there as a part of *itihāsa*, as something belonging to *itihāsa*. On the contrary, in these texts the word *purāṇa* often appears side by side with the term *itihāsa*, indicating some kind of narrative close to *itihāsa* but at the same time distinct from it [21]. So, to provide an adequate reading of the word *purāṇa* in the given text, we have only to accept its adjective meaning: *purāṇa* = *purā* = *pūrva* = “old, ancient”. It is evident that the word *purāṇa* appears here as a definition to *itivṛttam*. *Itivṛtta* literally means something “which happened (*vṛtta*, cf. *iti ha āsa*) in this way (*iti*)”, i. e. some event, action or deed accepted as real. In this way *purāṇam itivṛttam* = some event which really took place in ancient times. It is easy to notice that *purāṇam itivṛttam* of Kautilya = *purāvṛttam* of Amarasiṃha = *pūrvacaritam* of Kaiyata and Maheśvara = events which took place in the ancient times, the deeds of the ancestors. Let us go back now to what, according to Kautilya, a prince should listen to in the second half of the day. *Purāṇam itivṛttam* is present in this list. But it must be some text, if it is possible to listen to it. It means that *purāṇam itivṛttam* in Kautilya's definition = [a narrative] about the events which actually took place in the ancient times, about the deeds of the ancestors, i. e. that which Kaiyata called *pūrvacaritasamkīrtanam*.

Let us consider now the composite *ākhyāyikodāharaṇam*. In the translations cited above it is understood as a compound word of the *dvandva* type, a simple enumeration of the components making it: *ākhyāyikā*, *udāharaṇa*. In this case, however, *ākhyāyikā* and *udāharaṇa* taken separately, in their meaning, correspondingly, “story”, “narrative” and “example”, look as if accidental, unjustified in the context of Kautilya's definition. This is, however, not the only possible way of reading this compound. It could be read also as a compound of the *karmadhāraya* type: *ākhyāyikodāharaṇa* = *ākhyāyikā* — *udāharaṇa* = story-example = narrative-instruction, i. e. some narrative containing guidance, instruction. Hence from “narratives containing [instructive] examples” — the experience of the past generations significant and important for the education of the future ruler.

In the compound words *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* the word *śāstra* implicitly retaining its meaning “knowledge”, “science”, nevertheless appears here also in its original meaning: *śāstra* = *upadeśa* = instruction, since the whole passage from *AS* cited above is concerned with the process of educating a young man. In the Ancient Indian tradition this process implied the word addressed by a teacher to his pupil.

If we look carefully at the definition given by Kautilya, it is easy to discover there all the four meanings of the word *itihāsa* enumerated above: 1) *purāṇam itivṛttam* = *purāvṛttam* = *pūrvacaritam*; 2) *pūrvacarita-samkīrtanam*; 3) *pāramparyopadeśa*; 4) *pramāṇa* (= the source of right knowledge for the future ruler). We may assume, apparently, that Ancient and Medieval India, at least during the time between Kautilya and Maheśvara, preserved a clear and uniform notion of *itihāsa* as of a certain stable code of texts in which the historical experience of the ancestors (taken in a wide sense) had been recorded — literary, aesthetic, ideological, social, political, etc.

What is left now, is to discover this code in the literary heritage of Ancient India. To avoid possible mistakes one should enquire first, in which of the ancient code of texts the stories of the deeds of the ancestors — *kṣatriyas* and *brahmins*, of the great victories and defeats of heroes and warriors, of ascetic practice of the saints, about the inhabitants of the three worlds are represented most fully? Which collection of ancient texts includes, besides the stories of the past, plenty of information on the customs and law, on household matters and economy, social predestination of people and people's estates, royal power and statesmanship, moral duty and salvation, on the ways of investigating and comprehending the world? Which collection of ancient texts, besides the *Vedās*, was so much respected in India that its authority was thought to be equal to that of the *Vedās*? Finally, was there in the cultural heritage of Ancient India any code most fully corresponding to the notion of the Ancient Indians about traditional knowledge with all the richness and variety of its contents, with close connection and unity of its parts, to the notion of *Itihāsa*, of *Itihāsaveḍa*? As soon as we put the question in that way, the answer comes on itself. Definitely, there is such a code present in all its variety, richness and unity both of form and contents — it is the great *Mahābhārata*, which has no equals. It was correctly perceived by the brilliant Indian scholar P. V. Kane when considering the definition of Kautilya cited above (though in no connection with the synonymic link provided by Amarasiṃha-Maheśvara: *itiha* = *aitihya* = *pāramparyopadeśa* = *itihāsa*): “It appears that Kautilya meant by “*itihāsa*” a “*Mahābhārata*” more or less very like the extent one, which describes itself as the best of *itihāsas*, as a *Dharmaśāstra*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Kāmaśāstra* and as *Kārṣṇaveda*” [22].

We find one more confirmation of all said above in Maheśvara's comments on “*itihāsaḥ purāvṛttam*” of Amarasiṃha. He wrote: “*purāvṛttam dve pūrvacaritasya Mahābhāratādeḥ*” (“[The word] *purāvṛtta* has two [meanings]: 1) deeds of the ancestors; 2) *Mahābhārata* — [the narrative on the deeds of the ancestors] which has no equals”) [23]. “...Has no equals...” — it corresponds in the text to *ādi*. In this case it is impossible to take *ādi* for the usual “etc., and so on” in translations. First of all, there is really nothing equal to *Mahābhārata* neither in India nor in the whole culture of the world. Next, Maheśvara is speaking about two meanings only, not more. In this case we should understand *ādi* as *prathama* = incomparable, having no equals (which, in fact, is true) [24]. It could have been assumed, of course, that *Mahābhāratādeḥ* was just some particular case of *purāvṛtta* (= deeds of the ancestors), i. e. “the great [battle] of the descendants of Bharata”. But in this case the statement of Maheśvara about the two meanings of the word *purāvṛtta* becomes senseless — it would have been easier to say then *purāvṛttam pūrvacaritasya Mahābhārateti*. M. Monyer-Williams, in complete conformity with Maheśvara, writes in his dictionary, that *purāvṛtta* can mean both some event which took place in the past and a story about that event. M. Winternitz, considering the meaning of the word *Mahābhārata*, writes that it presents an abbreviation of *Mahābhāratākhyāna* [25]. P. A. Grintser in his fundamental monograph on the Indian Epic mentions that the majority of scholars admit that in Sanskrit texts the word *Mahābhārata* appears only as the name of the great epic poem of Ancient India [26]. Finally, let us remember

that *itihāsa* = *purāvr̥tta* = *pūrvacarita*, but also = *pūrvacaritasamkirtana*.

All this is quite enough to recognise that *itihā* = *aitihya* = *pāraṃparyopadeśa* = *itihāsa* = *Mahābhārata*. Thus we get the fifth meaning of the word *itihāsa* — *Mahābhārata*.

To define the collection of traditional texts distinct from *itihāsa* (= *Mahābhārata*) the Indian tradition used the term *aitihya* (deriving from the same source as *itihāsa*, from *itihā*). CS says: "...*aitihyaṃ nāma āptopadeśo vedādi*" ("...the word (*nāma*) *aitihya* [indicates] knowledge narrated by the authority (*āpta*), the *Vedās*, etc.") [27]. Then Cakrapāṇidatta comments on this: "*alaukikāptopadeśa aitihiya-padenocyate ity-āha vedādir iti*" ("the word *aitihya* indicates knowledge coming from a non-worldly authority. [In CS] it is said: 'The *Vedas*, etc.'") [28]. Then he explains: "*āptopadeśa-śabdā-tu dvividhaḥ paramāptabrahmādi-praṇītas tathā laukikāptapraṇītaś ca. 'aitihya' śabdena paramāpta-praṇīto varuddhaḥ laukikāpta-praṇītaś ca śabdaikadeśarūpaḥ satyaprakāra-vihito jñeyah*" ("The word *āptopadeśa* [has] two [meanings]: [knowledge] given by the supreme authority (*paramāptapraṇīta*), by Brahma and other [gods]; knowledge coming from a worldly authority (*laukikāptapraṇīta*). It should be taken into account (*jñeyah*), that the word *aitihya* embraces (*avaruddhaḥ*) both [knowledge] given by the supreme authority and by the worldly authority. [Each of these kinds of knowledge] has its distinct degree of truthfulness (*satya-prakāra-vihito*), presenting the part of the meaning of one and the same word (*śabdaikadeśarūpaḥ*) — [*aitihya*] [29]. The combination *brahmādi* can be explained as *brahma-ādi* and transferred as *vedādi*. It appears rather tempting because of the words cited above: "*alaukikāptopadeśa ... vedādir iti*". However, *brahmādi* can be read also as *brahmā-ādi*, where Brahman is the God-Creator. We prefer the last reading, because in the context of Cakrapāṇidatta's comments there is an obvious opposition: *alaukika* — *laukika* (unworldly — worldly), or *apauruṣeya* — *pauruṣeya* (divine — human). In *Suśrutasaṃhitā* we find: "*athātas tantra-yuktim adhyāyam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ yathovāca bhagavān dhanvantariḥ (suśrutāya)*" ("Further we shall narrate the chapter on *Tantra-yukti*, as it was told [to Suśruta] by Lord Dhanvantari") [30].

Now we must say some words on the "authenticity" of traditional knowledge. Traditional mentality accepts traditional knowledge (*aitihya*, *itihāsa*) without any doubt. According to Cakrapāṇidatta, this knowledge has the status of truthfulness (*satyaprakāravihita*). CS defines the word *satya* in the following way: "*satyo nāma yathābhūtaḥ santyāyurvedopadeśāḥ...*" ("the word *satya* [indicates something] adequate to the reality, [for example] the instructions (knowledge) which are present in the *Ayurveda* (*i. e.* in medical texts)") [31]. In this way *aitihya*, taken as a whole, has the status of the source of right knowledge in the same way as *itihāsa* (*Mahābhārata*). CS testifies: "...*hetur nāmopalabdhikāraṇaṃ tatpratyakṣamanumānamaitihyam-aupamyam ity-ebhir hetubhir yad upalabdhyaṭe tat tattvam*" ("...the word *hetu* [here indicates] the source of knowledge (*upalabdhikāraṇam*). Namely (= *tat*), direct perception (*pratyakṣam*), inference (*anumānam*), traditional knowledge (*aitihyam*), assimilation (*aupamyam*). [The knowledge] which is developed (*upalabdhyaṭe*) due to these mentioned above (*ityebhir*) sources of knowledge (*hetubhir*) — it (*tat*) [this knowledge] is authentic

(*tattvam*)" [32]. In this case *hetu* = *pramāṇa* = the source of right knowledge. The context leaves no place for doubts. *Aupamyā* = assimilation [33]. By the way, in the history of the Ancient Indian theory of knowledge the text cited here is probably the earliest we know. Evidently, to define the source of right knowledge (as well as certain definite sources of knowledge) CS is using terms (*hetu*, *parikṣā*, *aitihya*, *aupamyā*) which stand much closer to the beginnings of Indian epistemology, of which no texts have survived to the present day [34].

S. Dasgupta, noticing that "CS is describing *aitihya* as *āptopadeśa*" (= *pramāṇa*) expressed his doubt in connection with such identification: "...ordinarily *aitihya* is considered in Indian philosophy as being 'tradition' or long-standing popular belief, different from *āptopadeśa*" [35].

However, the texts (CS, AK, Maheśvara, Cakrapāṇidatta), as we have seen already, testify that *aitihya* is not only "long-standing popular belief", but "traditional knowledge" taken as a whole. So, *aitihya* (= *āptopadeśa* = *śabda*) = *pramāṇa*. It naturally fits the context of Ancient Indian epistemology at the early stage of its development. Later, in the works of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, which represent the further stages, it naturally disappears with the same ease as an archaic relic [36].

Now it seems proper to sum up our most important observations. The term *itihāsa* can stand for: 1) a real or supposedly real historical fact; 2) a complete and adequate description of this historical fact, *i. e.* something accepted as a historical narrative; 3) traditional knowledge accumulated and preserved by a number of generations; 4) a source of right knowledge; 5) *Mahābhārata* as the treasury and the source of right knowledge. All these meanings are organically connected. It is easy to notice it, if we look at them carefully. The first and the second meanings of *itihāsa* are willingly accepted by scholars and rise no objections. In the texts *itihāsa* most frequently occurs under these very meanings. The application of the term to *Mahābhārata* is also not alien to sanskritologists, moreover that the epic often defines itself in this way [37]. More embarrassing and unexpected is the other synonymic chain: *itihāsa* = *itiha* = *aitihya* = *pāraṃparyopadeśa* = *Mahābhārata*, naturally resulting from what has been considered above. This unexpectedness, however, is only superficial. Why, after all, should we doubt the etymology suggested by Maheśvara: *itihāsa* = *itiha* + *āsa*, where *itiha* = *aitihya*, and *āsa* = *upaveśana*? Why *itihāsa* = *iti ha āsid* is acceptable, and *itiha* + *āsa* is not? Maheśvara was basing upon the opinions of outstanding ancient authorities like Pāṇini, Amarasiṃha, Jayāditya. Their testimony is confirmed by Caraka, Kaṭīya and Cakrapāṇidatta. Should we admit that all these scholars dared to put forward ideas contradicting all cultural achievements of their time? Did not the definition of *Mahābhārata* as the "Encyclopaedia of Ancient Indian culture" become a common phrase in Indology? So the idea of *itihāsa*, of *Mahābhārata*, as the receptacle and treasury of traditional knowledge, should not be taken just for some unjustified invention of Maheśvara. On the opposite, the etymology presented by Maheśvara developed upon long-standing traditional views on *Mahābhārata*. It gives a well-founded philological explanation of these traditional views. In this way the only really surprising thing left is that two and a half millennia ago *Mahābhārata* was accepted by the Ancient Indians as the store of traditional knowledge addressed to a layman, *i. e.* as *itihāsa*. At the same time it was

not denied the title of *ākhyāna*, and its artistic form was also recognised [38].

European science which rightfully estimated *Mahābhārata* as an epic, *ākhyāna*, has been long rejecting its other nature — that of *itihāsa*, the embodiment of traditional knowledge. Meanwhile the Indians, the creators and “consumers” of the epic, were in no way worried by the diversity of its nature. The presence in the poem of text dealing with political doctrines or with salvation appeared to them as natural as tales of battles and human passions.

In our view all great epic cycles of the world born in the artistic form had, from the very beginning, and for a long time preserved one more function — that of the treasury of traditional knowledge. Only the Ancient Indians, with their usual consistency, developed the potential of knowledge inherent in the epic towards its logical conclusion, creating this enormous and unique epic structure.

Not only story-tellers and singers, *kṣatriyas-sūtas*, took part in its creation, but, so to say, the very heroes of the epic — brahmins, divine sages those to whom belonged the place of honour in the Indian Pantheon, tutors of the gods and demons, those who accumulated and preserved knowledge. It is known, they are the honourable personages of the epic along with warriors, the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. Word and knowledge were their weapons; their main actions were their sayings containing traditional knowledge and instructions (*upadeśa*). There is no wonder then, that knowledge and instructions occupy so much place in *Mahābhārata*. It was present there from the very beginning, so right were those Russian investigators of *Mahābhārata*, not only methodologically but also historically, who recognised the organic unity of its heroic and didactic natures [39].

### Abbreviations

- AD — Cakrapāṇidatta, *Āyurveda-Dīpikā*, see CS.  
 AK — Amarasiṃha, *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana (Amarakośa) with the Commentary of Maheshvara Amarakośaviveka*, ed. V. Jhalakikar (Bombay, 1907).  
 AKU — Kṣīrasvāmin, *Amarakośa-Udghātana. The Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana (Amarakośa) of Amarasiṃha*, ed. K. G. Oka (Poona, 1913).  
 AŚ — *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, revised and edited by R. Shama Sastri (Mysore, 1919); *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, translated by R. Shama Sastri (Mysore, 1929); *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra. Part 2*, English translation by R. P. Kangle (Bombay, 1963); *Arthashastra ili Nauka politiki*, perevod s sanskrita. Izdanie podgotovil V. I. Kal'ianov (“*Arthaśāstra or the Science of Politics*”). Translation from Sanskrit. Ed. V. I. Kalyanov (Moscow—Leningrad, 1959).  
 CS — *The Charakasamhitā by Agnivesha with the Āyurveda-Dīpikā Commentary by Chakrapāṇi Dutta*, ed. V. K. Dātar (Bombay, 1922).  
 Kāśikā — *A Commentary on Pāṇini's Grammatical Aphorisms by Pandit Vāmana and Jayāditya*, ed. Bāla Śastri (Benares, 1898).  
 Mbh — *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, ed. F. Kielhorn (Bombay, 1880), i.  
 NS — Gautama, *Nyāya-sūtras*, ed. B. D. Basu (Allahabad, 1913).  
 P — Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, edited and translated by Sh. Ch. Vasu (Allahabad, 1891—1898).

### Notes

1. AKU, 28. II.
2. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index* (Delhi, 1958); R. N. Salletore, *Encyclopedia of Indian Culture* (Delhi, 1989), ii; F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London, 1928), pp. 34—6; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmashastra* (Poona, 1962), v, pt. 2, pp. 815—9.
3. AK, I, 6, 4; 35, 13—14; AKU, 28.12.
4. Mbh, 9.20—23.
5. *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya with Kaiyata's Pradīpa and Nāgeśa's Uddyota*, ed. S. D. Kudala (Bombay, 1917), i, 65.9—10.
6. *The Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad with the Commentary of Śaṅkara Ācārya (Śaṅkarabhāṣya)...* (Calcutta, 1849), 456.1—3.
7. AK, I, 6, 4; 35.13—14.
8. Kāśikā, 220.14.
9. AK, II, 7, 12; 169.2—3, cf. Keshava (17th cent.): “*pāramparyopadeśa syād aitihiyam itiha avyayam*”, see Keśava, *Kalpadrakośa* (Baroda, 1928), i, 76, 68.
10. Kāśikā, 462.4—6.
11. Vācaspatimiśra, *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyatīkā*, ed. G. Sh. Tailanga (Benares, 1919), 135.23—24.
12. CS, III, 8, 6 (25, 33); NS, I, I, 7; Vācaspatimiśra, *op. cit.*, 135.23—24.
13. V. S. Sementsov, “Problema translatiis traditsionnoi kul'tury na primere sud'by “Bhagavadgity”” (“The problem of transmission of traditional culture: the example of “Bhagavadgītā””), *Vostok-Zapad* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 5—32.
14. AŚ, 7.7, cf. AŚ, Shamasastri (English translation), p. 6; AŚ, Oldenburg (Russian translation), p. 17; AŚ, Kangle (English translation), p. 8. Śāntiparva is calling *Mahābhārata*, in the name of Vaiśampāyana, the fifth *veda*.

15. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 819.
  16. *AŚ*, 10.13—15.
  17. *AŚ*, Shamasastri (English translation), p. 10.
  18. *AŚ*, Oldenburg (Russian translation), p. 20.
  19. *AŚ*, Kangle (English translation), p. 12.
  20. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 161; S. G. Kantawala, "Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra: some observations", *Prof. J. H. Dave Felicitation Volume. Bhāratiya Vidyā* (Bombay, 1987), XLV—XLVII, Nos. 1—4, p. 34; cf. L. Rocher, *The Purāṇas* (Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 100—3.
  21. Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, II, 4, 10; Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VII, 1—2 in *The Upaniṣads*, ed. V. P. Vaidya (Bombay, 1922); *Mbh*, i, 9.20—23; P. A. Grintser, *Drevneindiiskii epos* (Ancient Indian Epic) (Moscow, 1974), pp. 22—3, 33; Rocher, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
  22. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 819; see also "Mahābhārata" on itself, I, 1, 15—26; I, 2, 31—32 in *Mahābhārata*, the critical edition (Poona, 1933), i; see also D. Schlingloff, "Fragmente einer Palmblatthandschriften philosophischen Inhalts aus Ostturkistan", *Festschrift für Erich Frauwallner* (Wien, 1968), pp. 323—7. This fragment, dating to the beginning of A.D., contains the oldest known mention of Śāntiparva, the 12th book of *Mahābhārata*, the most theoretical and philosophical.
  23. *AK*, I, 6, 4; 35.14, cf. Keśava: "itihāsaḥ purāṇvṛttam ākhyānaṃ bhāratādikam". See Keśava, *Kalpद्रुकोśa*, i, 444, 53.
  24. *AK*, III, I, 80; 270.4—5.
  25. M. Winternitz, *The History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta, 1963), i, pt. II, p. 278.
  26. Grintser, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
  27. *CS*, III, 8, 6 (33).
  28. *AD*, 264.13.
  29. *AD*, 264.20—22.
  30. *The Sushrutasamhitā of Sushruta with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Śrī Dalhanācārya*, ed. J. T. Ācārya (Bombay, 1915), 65. 1—2.
  31. *CS*, III, 8, 6 (30).
  32. *CS*, III, 8, 6 (33).
  33. *CS*, III, 8, 6 (34). On *upamāna*-identification see Annambhaṭṭa, *Tarka-saṅgraha. Tarka-Dīpikā*, translation from Sanskrit and commentary by E. P. Ostrovskaya (Moscow, 1989), pp. 174—5.
  34. *CS*, I, II, 17; III, 8, 6 (25).
  35. S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1932), ii, pp. 375—6.
  36. Dīnāga, *Nyāyamukha*, English translation from Chinese by G. Tucci (Heidelberg, 1930), p. 50; Dharmakīrti, *Nyāyabindu* (Petrograd, 1918), I, 2—3. — Bibliotheca Buddhica, vol. VII; Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic* (Leningrad, 1932), i, p. 72; E. N. Tëmkin, *Mirovozzrenie Bhamahi* (Bhāmaha's Thought) (Moscow, 1975), pp. 41—2.
  37. Grintser, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
  38. *Mahābhārata*. The Critical Edition, i; I, 2, 235—241.
  39. Grintser, *op. cit.*, p. 330; Ya. V. Vasil'kov, *Nekotorye problemy izucheniya "Mahabharaty"* (Some Problems of the Study of *Mahābhārata*) (Leningrad, 1974), pp. 16—7; S. L. Neveleva, "Mahabharata". *Izuchenie drevneindiiskogo èposa* (*Mahābhārata*. The Study of the Ancient Indian Epic) (Moscow, 1991), pp. 6—23.
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# PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

O. V. Vasilyeva

## ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF RUSSIA

### 1

On May 27, 1995, the National Library of Russia (formerly the Imperial Public Library) has celebrated its 200th anniversary [1]. The idea of organising a state book storehouse for common people belonged to Catherine the Great. It was Catherine who approved the project after which architect E. Sokolov built the library in St. Petersburg at the junction of Nevsky Prospekt and Sadovaya Street. Even the formation of the library's stocks was connected with Catherine the Great. As early as 1795 she ordered Generalissimo A. V. Suvorov to bring from Warsaw the collection of Zalusski brothers. (Later, in 1923, all the books from this collection were returned to Poland. Most of them perished during the Second World War, among them 17 manuscripts in various Oriental languages).

The manuscript department ("Depot of manuscripts") of the Public Library was established on March 14, 1805. This event was connected with the acquisition of the collection made by P. P. Dubrovsky, a former official at Russian embassy in France. He brought from Europe about 900 Western, 103 Oriental, 50 Old Russian and 20 Greek codices, as well as numerous archive materials. The latter included documents and autographs of many famous people [2].

The Oriental part of the collection acquired by Dubrovsky (later he became the first curator of the "Depot of manuscripts") mainly came from the library of the Saint Germain Abbey. There are some rare and lavishly decorated manuscripts, the most interesting among them being the "Purple Qur'ān" copied in the 12th—13th centuries in North Africa. The text is written in silver ink on purple-dyed paper (the colour of the pigment is close to purple, though its spectral characteristics are different).

The official opening of the Imperial Public Library took place on January 14, 1814, in the reign of Alexander I. Thus, the grandson had realised the idea of his great grandmother. The first considerable acquisition of the new library was the collection of 40 Oriental manuscripts which belonged to P. K. Frolov, director of the factories in Barnaul (Altay). This collection (including, besides Oriental manuscripts, 160 Old Russian codices) was bought by the library in 1817. Among the most important manuscripts of this collection the anthology of Arabic verse made by the order of the Mamluk Sultan Sha'bān II (not later than 1376)

and the *Kulliyāt* by 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī with 25 miniatures are to be named.

None of the three manuscript-collectors whose books formed the foundation of the manuscript department of the library, namely, Zalusski (Poland), Dubrovsky (most of his books were acquired in France) and Frolov (Russia) had any special interest in Oriental manuscripts. Nevertheless, the rate of Oriental materials in their collections was comparatively high (Dubrovsky — 10%, Frolov — 20%). It means that at the end of the 18th—beginning of the 19th century numerous Oriental manuscripts — Chinese, Indian, but most of all in Arabic script — were already coming to Europe and in particular to Russia. Many of the subjects of the Russian Empire were familiar with different Oriental languages. At the same time Russia has common borders with a number of Eastern countries and there were constant trade and diplomatic relations between Russia and these countries.

In 1828 a collection of lavishly decorated Persian manuscripts was purchased in Ardabil for the Imperial Public Library by General-Lieutenant P. K. Suchtelen who brought it to St. Petersburg. These manuscripts originate from the *waqf* of Sheikh Ṣafī Mosque in Ardabil and include 166 literary and historical works which were selected with the assistance of the mosque's *mufī* [3]. It is interesting that the manuscripts acquired by Suchtelen belonged once to Shah 'Abbās I.

Soon after 1829 the library was enriched with 148 manuscripts from Ahaltshi (Georgia), with 42 manuscripts from Erzerum and 66 manuscripts from Adrianople (Edirne). In 1829 18 illuminated manuscripts were presented to Nicholas I by Khusrav-Mirzā, the grandson of Faṭḥ 'Alī-shāh, who brought them to St. Petersburg as a reparation for the murder of A. S. Griboedov, Russian ambassador to Teheran.

In 1831 archimandrite Peter (P. Kamensky), the head of the tenth Russian Orthodox mission in China, presented to the library 48 block-prints in Chinese, Manchu and Mongolian languages.

In the mid-19th century it was decided to make a catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts. The project directed by Academician B. A. Dorn resulted in the publication of this catalogue in 1852 [4]. The descriptions of 900 manuscripts

written in 23 languages were made by Ch. D. Fraehn, F. F. Charmois, I. F. Gotwald (Arabic studies), M. I. Topchibashev (Iranian studies), I. I. Berezin (Turkish studies), M. I. Brosset (Caucasian studies), Z. F. Leontyevsky (Sino-logy), German scholar R. Rost (Indian studies), etc.

Collections which came after 1852 were usually kept as separate funds. Small collections or collections containing books in several particular languages were used to form "new series" classified by language. Manuscripts were either donated or bought. Since the library was Imperial, it was never short of money and donors. Along with Russian diplomats, officers, scholars and missionaries, scholars from other countries helped to form the collection as well. In 1858 the library acquired a large collection of manuscripts, Greek papyri and palimpsests, including also books in Arabic, Syriac, Georgian, Old Hebrew and Coptic. The owner of this collection was German byzantologist K. Tischendorf, who had assembled it during his two voyages to the Near East. This purchase was paid by Alexander II on the request of the director of the Public Library, baron M. A. Korf. Alexander II also sponsored Tischendorf's third trip to the East in search of Greek and Oriental manuscripts. Altogether Tischendorf's collection consists of 200 items.

In 1862, "by the highest order", the library has bought the so-called "First collection of Firkovitch". This collection includes 1500 Hebrew, Arabic and Karaite manuscripts on leather, parchment and paper. Among these manuscripts was the famous "Cairo Bible", the most ancient complete copy of the Old Testament, dated by 1010. A. S. Firkovitch, a scholar, traveller, archaeologist and passionate collector, assembled a new collection during his second voyage to the Near East. One of his principle sources was an old manuscript-depository in Cairo *kenasa*. For a thousand roubles he paid to the Karaite community Firkovitch selected from its manuscript-depository (*geniza*) numerous fragments of different manuscripts.

Samaritan manuscripts (about 1000 items) from his second collection were sold to the library in 1870. The main part of Firkovitch's collection (15 thousand manuscripts and fragments) was kept in Chufut-Qala in the Crimea, where he spent the last ten years of his life studying and describing his treasures. This enormous collection was finally bought by the library from Firkovitch's heirs in 1876. It is one of the most valuable collections of Hebrew manuscripts in the world.

Many valuable acquisitions were made in the 1860s—1870s. In 1864 the heirs of French orientalist J. J. Marsiellès, the participant of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, sold the most valuable part of his collection to the library — 132 manuscripts of the 8th—10th centuries written in Kufic script. Two years later N. V. Khanykov, a diplomat and orientalist, sold his collection of 160 Arabographic codices. Two splendid collections came to the library from the Russian ambassadors to Persia, namely, D. I. Dolgoruky, I. O. Simonich, and his son N. I. Simonich. Among the manuscripts acquired from Dolgoruky there were: 1) a Zoroastrian treatise in Pahlavi; 2) a translation of the "History" by Ṭabarī made in 1480 in the *kitāb-khāna* (library) of the Timurid ruler Shāhrūkh and of his son Bāysunqur; 3) a treatise by the Arab astronomer al-Šūfī with drawings of constellations, and many other fine illuminated manuscripts.

Two small collections were bought by the library in 1868 — 56 Kurdish manuscripts came from A. D. Zhaba, the Russian consul in Erzerum, and 99 drawings by Chinese and Russian artists were acquired from Z. F. Leontyevsky, member of the tenth Russian Orthodox mission in China.

The expanding of Russian borders in Central Asia brought to the Public Library numerous Central Asian manuscripts. Their official donator was K. P. Kaufman, general-governor of Turkestan, while the actual task of collecting manuscripts and other "scholarly materials for scientific societies" was entrusted to orientalist A. L. Kun, who served under Kaufman from 1868 to 1876. That was the time when the "Kaufman Collection" of the Public Library was formed (later it was divided among several funds). In 1870 the library acquired an old Qur'an, which, according to the legend, formerly belonged to Caliph 'Uthmān. In 1917 by a special decree signed by V. I. Lenin it was returned to the Muslim community (now it is preserved in the Spiritual Centre for the Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in Tashkent). The archives of the *khāns* of Qoqand and Khiva, which had come to the library in 1875, were transferred to the Central Archives of Uzbekistan in 1962. Now in the library there are about 300 of the manuscripts donated by Kaufman. Most of them are later copies made in the 18th—19th centuries.

In 1875—1876 two collections of Arabographic manuscripts were acquired: 39 items, which formerly belonged to F. I. Erdman, Professor of the Kazan University, and 17 items — to General-Major A. K. Heinz.

The beginning of systematic scientific forming of the Oriental funds is connected with the name of V. D. Smirnov, Professor of the St. Petersburg University. During his three scientific trips to the Ottoman Turkey (1875, 1879, 1893) he was commissioned by the library to buy manuscripts from the book-bazaars of Istanbul and Bursa. Smirnov was an outstanding scholar — a historian, linguist, and palaeographer. That is why none of the 97 manuscripts he brought from Turkey were casual acquisitions. However, most of them represent copies for common people (not masterpieces of decorative art), though one of these manuscripts attracts attention with its 42 Turkish miniatures.

Members of the clergy contributed to the manuscript fund of the library as well. In the first half of the 19th century it was archimandrite Peter (Kamensky) who was already mentioned above, in the second half of the same century there were bishop Porphyry (Uspensky) and archimandrite Anthonin (Kapustin). Besides Slavonic and Greek books and fragments, their large and prominent collections included numerous manuscripts in a number of the Oriental languages. Porphyry spent 18 years in the Near East as a member of the Russian Orthodox mission. Among his manuscripts there are 23 in Arabic (the earliest one is the Gospel of 1036 written on parchment), 3 Syriac, 4 Georgian, 1 Coptic, and 1 Turkish.

Archimandrite Anthonin, who almost for thirty years remained the head of the Russian Orthodox mission in Jerusalem, combined his religious duties with Biblical archaeology and with collecting ancient manuscripts. The main part of the collection he bequeathed to the library consisted of Hebrew-Arabic, Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts (13) and various fragments (1176). This part represents a separate fund, while other Arabic, Armenian, Syriac

and Ethiopian manuscripts he left to the library were added to the "new series".

The formation of the Armenian and Georgian funds should be considered separately. In 1880 "The Collection of Great Prince John" — 360 codices and 76 documents of the time when Georgia had been annexed by Russia — was bought from prince I. G. Gruzinsky, the grandson of great prince John Bagrationi (178 of these manuscripts were returned to Georgia in 1923). In 1892 1 Armenian and 17 Georgian manuscripts were bought from A. N. Gren, Privat-Docent of the Kiev University, and in 1896 — 25 Georgian manuscripts from historian M. P. Sabinin. 44 Armenian codices were transferred to the library from the Armenian-Catholic church in Kamenets-Podolsk.

Private collections represent another source of formation of the library's stocks. As a rule, private collectors were selling their books to the library. The price they were asking for often was lower than the real price of a manuscript. Sometimes the library received books as presents from the collectors. Usually these gifts were single manuscripts or small collections, like, for example, 6 manuscripts in Hindi and Sanskrit which belonged to the Hindus living in Russia. These were donated to the library in 1869 by historian P. I. Sawaitov. In the history of the Public Library the most prominent gift of Oriental materials from a private person was the collection of Indian manuscripts gathered by Prof. I. P. Minaev during his three voyages to India. According to his testament, the collection of 320 manuscripts, 75 of them being written on palm-leaves, was donated by his nieces V. P. and A. P. Schneider.

The first prominent acquisition of the 20th century was the collection of "*Qāḍī-askar* books" transferred to the library from the Simferopol (the Crimea) archives by the order of the Ministry of Internal affairs. It represents the surviving part of the archives of the *khāns* of the Crimea — 121 books containing copies of official documents coming from the office of the judges of the Muslim Supreme Court.

A comparatively small but valuable collection of Persian manuscripts came to the library from the Hermitage in 1913. It was a gift from the *amir* of Bukhara to Nicholas II on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty.

After the revolution of 1917 the funds were expanded mainly by occasional acquisitions and donations. A number of manuscripts were transferred to the library from other institutions by the decision of the government. Over a thousand manuscripts in 17 Oriental languages came to the library between 1917 and 1995. The first donation of the Soviet period was made by the eminent writer A. M. Gorky who in 1919 presented a copy of the Qur'ān and the Armenian translation of his "Falcon Song". In the same year a collection of 42 manuscripts in Turkish, Arabic and

Persian was donated by Yu. N. Danzas. Twenty years later, in 1939, the library bought 75 codices from A. I. Tamay, a native of Makhachkala. These manuscripts, most of them written in Arabic, reflect the spiritual life of Daghestan of the 17th—early 20th centuries.

Many Arabic, Persian and Hebrew manuscripts came to the library after the Second World War. A large collection of Arabographic manuscripts (103 items) were bought in 1964 from a collector in Kazan (who preferred to stay anonymous). The oldest manuscript of this collection is of 1312.

Professor V. A. Krachkovskaya (the widow of Academician I. Yu. Krachkovsky) gave to the library not only her husband's private library (25 thousand volumes) and furniture from his study, but also his manuscript collection consisting of 80 manuscripts, most of them in Arabic. The books were given to the library in 1971 and 1974. Krachkovsky's collection included many literary works, among them the autograph of "A Description of Russia" by Sheikh Ṭanṭāwī, the Professor of Arabic in the St. Petersburg University in 1847—1861.

In 1976 by the decision of the Ministry of Culture of the Ukraine 122 Arabic, Turkish, Karaim and Hebrew manuscripts were transferred to the library from the Bakhchisarai Historico-Archaeological Museum. Islamic manuscripts of this collection formerly belonged to the libraries of the *khāns* of the Crimea and to the Zinjirli *madrasa*, while Hebrew and Karaite books came from a manuscript-depository in Chufut-Qala.

In the 1960s—1970s V. V. Lebedev, member of the library staff, undertook several archaeographic expeditions to Makhachkala, Astrakhan, Eupatoria and Tashkent, bringing back 16 manuscripts.

Last years' acquisitions deserve special attention [5]. Here we would like to name only the most important items, like the collection of S. N. Khanukaev from St. Petersburg consisting of 26 items, and some Persian manuscripts of the 14th—16th centuries. The most valuable acquisition is an illuminated copy of al-Būṣīrī's poem *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* made in the 14th century. In 1490 this poem was donated by the Mamluk Sultan Ashraf Abi Naṣr al-Dīn Qā'itbay to the *waqf* of the *madrasa* he founded himself.

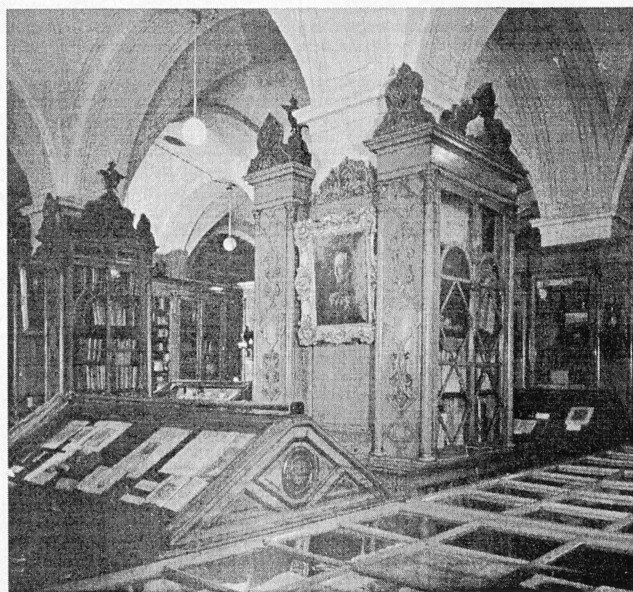
Recent acquisitions demonstrate the tendency which is characteristic of the last two centuries as well — we mean the predominance of Near Eastern and Middle Eastern materials.

Today the total number of Oriental manuscripts in the National Library of Russia exceeds 26 thousand, 19 thousand of them are Hebrew manuscripts, about 4 thousand — Islamic, while the rest are written in the languages of India, Far East, Caucasus, etc.

## 2

Oriental manuscripts (codices), fragments, drawings, block-prints and documents are divided among 47 funds created at different times and for different reasons [6]. Chronologically the manuscripts extend from the 10th century B.C. (Ancient Egyptian papyri) up to the 20th century A.D., while geographically they cover a vast territory from Spain to Japan, from St. Petersburg to Ethiopia. The collection serves as a good illustration of the development of

script and manuscript traditions in the East, the cradle of the first civilisations. One of the permanent exhibitions of the manuscript department demonstrates not only the variability of scripts but also the materials used for writing and artistic designs decorating Oriental manuscripts. Texts written on papyrus, leather, parchment, birch-bark, palm-leaves, plaques of wood and metal, paper, silk and canvas, decorated with patterns and illuminated, show the cultural

*Fig. 1**Fig. 2*

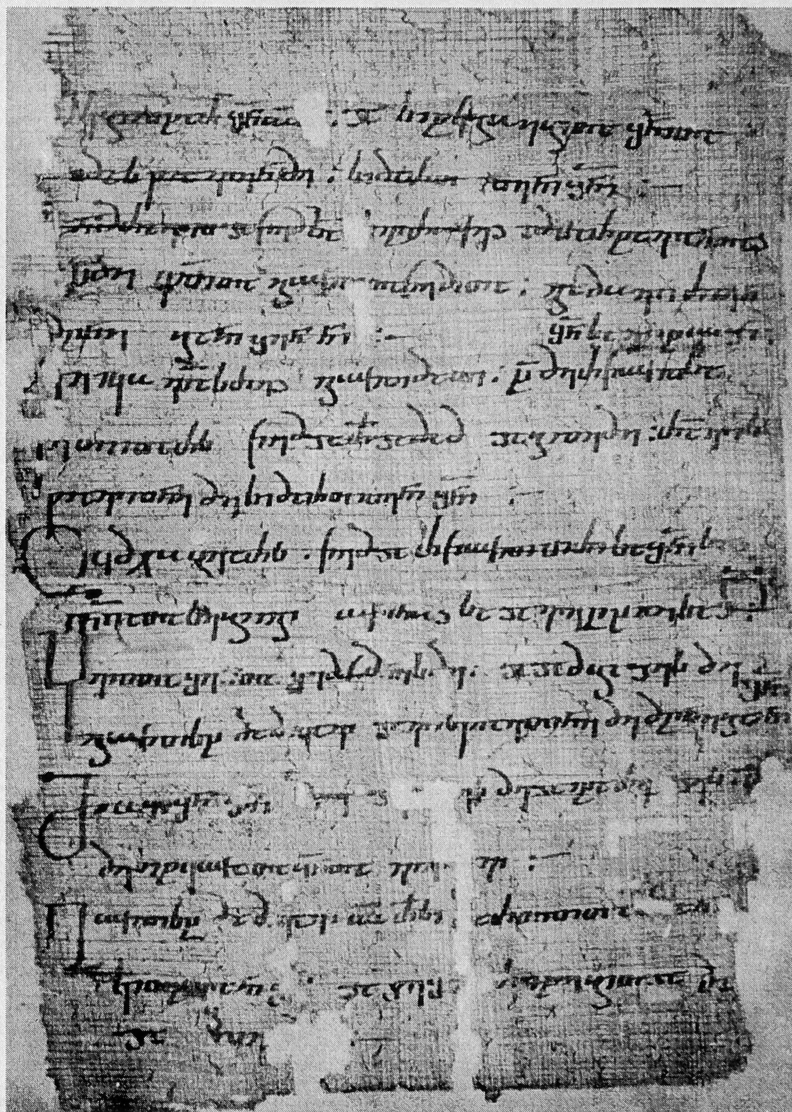


Fig. 3





Fig. 4

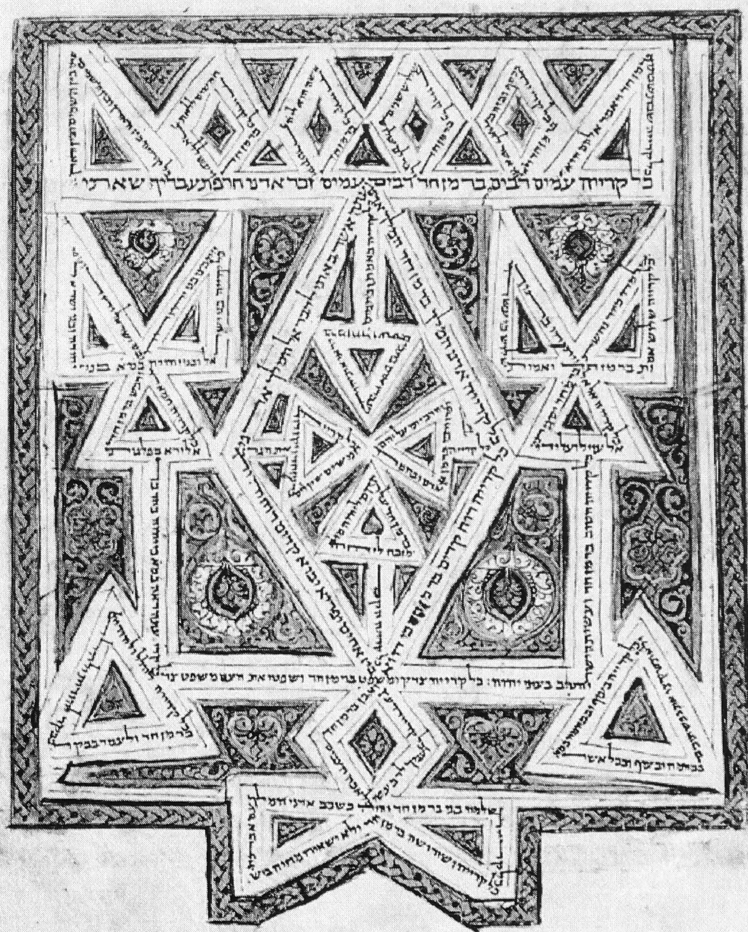


Fig. 5



and historical significance of the literary monuments of the East.

The East is not only the cradle of ancient civilisations but often it is regarded as the motherland of the world religions as well. The collections of Jewish, Christian, Muslim and Buddhist manuscripts in the Public Library give a perfect possibility to survey the Oriental funds from the confessional point of view. Such an approach to the history of book-making seems to be quite justified. Thus it is quite obvious that the design of Arab Christian manuscripts has much more in common with that of Greek-Byzantine, Syriac, and Coptic books than with the decorative patterns of Arab Islamic manuscripts.

The geographic provenance of a manuscript is of no less importance than its language or confessional character. For example, Hebrew manuscripts from European countries can well be considered within the European manuscript tradition; manuscripts in Arabic copied and circulated in Turkey have much more to do with the Turkish than with the Arab tradition.

**Jewish manuscripts in Old Hebrew** are concentrated in the funds of Firkovitch and Anthonin, besides that the collection of Firkovitch includes about 7 thousand manuscripts in **Arabic** written in Hebrew script and about 700 Arabographic Hebrew books. The main part of his collection is Karaite manuscripts — *i. e.* books written or copied by the followers of the Karaite sect in Judaism. Among the most valuable Hebrew books with the exception of the already mentioned Bible of 1010 written on parchment (Codex Petropolitanus or the Cairo Bible), we have at our disposal an illuminated Bible of 929, a complete copy of the Bible made on paper in the 10th century, and an ancient scroll of the Torah on dark brown leather. The materials of the Public Library were used by V. V. Stasov and D. H. Ginzburg who had jointly published an album of Jewish ornaments [7]. Unfortunately, patterns from manuscripts created in Europe were almost completely ignored in this world-famous publication. Meanwhile the Public Library has a copy of the Bible with two illuminated head-pieces close in colours and gilding to the 15th century Italian miniatures. A prayer-book of the 15th century (it came in 1861 from the library of the Hermitage) is decorated with floral and animal head-pieces. Drawings of plants and animals decorate the Bible copied in Germany. In general, manuscripts of European origin (Ashkenazic) are much less numerous in our collection than those originating from the Near East or from Spain (Sephardic). Unfortunately, a few number of Eastern Jewish bindings hinders the study of this side of book-art. As for the sorts of parchment, paper, ink and handwriting (not to mention rare works), the funds of the library provide a good foundation for investigators. Last few years French and Israeli scholars have been working on the catalogue of the most ancient dated (not later than the 14th century) Hebrew manuscripts of the National Library of Russia. This publication will introduce new data on Hebrew palaeography. Undoubtedly the Hebrew manuscripts deserve a special survey (it will be dealt in [8]).

**Manuscripts of the Christian Orient** (translations of the Old and New Testament, liturgy, books on theology, hagiographic literature, historical and literary works) are represented both in old and new copies [9]. Of the 40 Syriac manuscripts 13 date to the first millennium. The oldest

one, a translation of the "History of the Church" by Eusebius, is dated to 462.

Coptic manuscripts include 64 items dating between the 10th and the 18th centuries. Some of these items represent small fragments of parchment leaves. There are also 32 Ethiopian manuscripts in Gehez and Amher dating between the 16th and 19th centuries. Some of them have decorated head-pieces, many have wooden bindings covered with stamped leather. One 15th century Gospel is illuminated.

Many Georgian and Armenian prayer books and Gospels are decorated with miniatures and ornaments. The library has 105 Armenian manuscripts of the 11th—20th centuries and 237 Georgian manuscripts. The oldest of them are two papyrus folios with the Psalms dating to the 8th—9th centuries and an illuminated manuscript with the Four Gospels of 995.

Oriental Christian manuscripts were much influenced by the Byzantine book art. This influence reveals itself in miniatures, decorative patterns and bindings. The famous "Byzantine twist", a characteristic woven pattern is to be seen in the decoration of different Christian books, while the "Calvary" (cross) stamping can be found on Coptic and Armenian bindings. Although Greek-Byzantine manuscripts are not to be classified as Oriental manuscripts, their significance for the development of the book-culture of many nations gives us all grounds to mention them in our paper. The National Library of Russia has the world-famous collection of 904 Greek manuscripts of the 4th—19th centuries. Among them are fragments of the 4th—5th century papyri, the "Purple Gospel" of Mark of the 5th century, fragments of the 4th century Codex Sinaiticus (the Codex was sold in the 1930s to the British Museum), the "Trapezund Gospel" of the 10th century, fragment of the Gospel of Luke of 1043 with a parallel Arabic translation (another part of the same codex belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris).

Among the 100 Arab Christian manuscripts the most noteworthy are four illuminated New Testaments (the oldest is of 892), the apocrypha "Dispute between Christ and Satan" of 895—896, Greek-Arab palimpsest of the 9th century.

Two of the four Persian Christian manuscripts were written by European missionaries, two are Persian translations of the Four Gospels, one of which is copied at the end of the 17th—early 18th century by an Armenian (Sargis Luch ibn Amir Malik). The binding of the last one is Persian, but its damaged part shows that the leaves of the book were fastened by raised bands, what was not characteristic of the Islamic manuscript tradition but was quite common for Christian binders.

The Tatar Christian manuscripts are represented by the two volumes of "The Conversion of the Saracens to Christianity" by Anthony Stahovsky, the metropolitan of Tobolsk and Siberia (1726), and by two copies of a treatise on the recognition of the Christian Church by Islam.

European missionaries were very active in China. There is a large list of Catholic block-prints, composed in 1831 (most probably by archimandrite Peter Kamensky). The members of the Russian Orthodox mission in China also translated into Chinese and published several Christian works. These block-prints have the same appearance as ordinary Chinese xylographs. The National Library of Russia has 84 Christian Chinese manuscripts and block-prints

which are kept in two places — in the manuscript department and in the department of Asian and African literature.

**The lands of Islam** developed their own tradition of shaping manuscripts influenced, first of all, by their reverent attitude to the written word as the third manifestation of God. The dominating role of calligraphy and high demands of the styles of writing have elevated the calligraphy art to an extraordinary height. Excellent samples of geometrically verified and harmonious handwritings can be found in different regions and at different periods, e. g. in the Mamluk Egypt, in Iran under the Timurids and the Safavids, in India under the Moghul dynasty, in Central Asia and the Ottoman Turkey, etc. Special styles were created in such Islamic centres as Daghestan and the Volga region. Such a variety was consolidated into a single entity by the Arabic script, which naturally came into use with the adoption of Islam and recognition of the Qur'ān as its principle book. Despite all these specific regional features it is often not easy to define to what particular region or period some of these features belong. The traditional "imitativeness", deliberate, even though creative, reproduction of samples established earlier either in one's own country or in other cultural centres, constant appeal to the achievements of one's own state or of the neighbouring countries — all these factors have shaped Islamic book even more tightly into a single cultural phenomenon. Even the language does not always indicate the origin of the manuscript, since many Muslim peoples, from Africa to India, were writing in Arabic, Persian was used in Central Asia, Turkey and India, while Uzbek and Turkish works were copied in Iran.

Constant migrations of books and of the artists, who made them, also contributed to the development of patterns and methods of book-decoration, to the creation of a single "Islamic book concept". It could be defined as the harmony of all the components of the book: paper (usually sandpaper); composition — both in space (a certain correlation between the text and the margins) and in colour; decorative patterns (frontispieces, *'unwāns*, head-pieces), miniatures and binding. Of major importance was the palette: the combination of coloured and glittering ink, margins, gold, multicolour patterns and miniatures, stamping (often gilded) of leather, or colours of lacquered bindings affected the reader on the level of subconsciousness. The aesthetic function of Islamic book was no less significant than its informative function. It proves to be that, as a rule, the higher was the social level of the reader to whom the manuscript was addressed, the lower was the significance of the information provided by the text. The aesthetic demands of "educated commoners" were completely satisfied by mass production of good quality copies.

The art of Islamic manuscript is well represented in the Public Library. Among 2000 Arabic codices and fragments there is a whole collection of Kufic Qur'āns formerly belonging to J. J. Marseilles. Most of these manuscripts, coming from the oldest mosque of Cairo built in 643 by 'Amr ibn al-Ās, date to the 8th—11th centuries. Among the old Qur'āns there is a 10th century illuminated copy made on paper. Eight so-called Mamluk manuscripts of the 14th—15th centuries represent the most valuable items of the Arabic fund. Two of them formerly belonged to the *madrasa* of Sultan Naṣr al-Dīn Qā'itbay. One Christian service book of the 13th—14th centuries (The Sanctification of the City of Alexandria by the Patriarch) in Coptic with Arabic translation, is also decorated in the Mamluk

tradition. The combination of "Islamic" illumination with "Christian" contents reveals the fact that the confessional factor is not always the dominating one. Sometimes regional features characteristic of the neighbouring community prevail over the original indigenous traditions of manuscript-decoration. Of the original Arabic manuscripts noteworthy is one volume of "Geography" by al-Idrīsī (14th century, 37 maps). Among the Arabic manuscripts copied in Iran there are: 1) a treatise on constellations by al-Šūfī (1616, 76 miniatures and drawings); 2) "The Hundred Names of Allah"; 3) separate samples of calligraphy (*qit'a*) collected into albums (*muraqqa'*). A considerable number of Arabic manuscripts in the Public Library were copied in Turkey, Central Asia, and Daghestan. All these manuscripts are well-done "everyday" copies.

The number of fine illuminated Persian manuscripts is so huge that any attempt to enumerate even the most valuable of them is doomed to failure from the beginning. Of a thousand manuscripts 135 are decorated with miniatures — beginning with the *Shāh-nāma* of 1333 [10] up to the poetry of the first half of the 19th century. Different schools are represented here, namely, of Herat, Shiraz, Qazvin and Mashhad, Maverannahr and, especially, of Tabriz. Miniatures in two copies of the Khusraw Dihlawī's poem "Leila and Majnun" executed in the Tabriz style are ascribed to Bihzād. Several miniatures in *Gūy wa Chawgān* by 'Arīfī copied by Shah Tahmāsp in the days of his youth are attributed to Sulṭān Muḥammad, while two tinted drawings from *Dīwān* by Shāhī can be ascribed to Muḥammadi, a miniaturist from Tabriz. One album-*muraqqa'* contains several signed miniatures by the famous artist from Isfāhan Riḍā'ī 'Abbāsī. Moghul miniatures are also well represented in the same album. Several manuscripts from the collection of the *amir* of Bukhara are illustrated with Kashmir miniatures. The fund includes samples of many famous masters of the *qalam*: Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī (the autograph of his treatise on calligraphy) [11], Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūri, Mir 'Imād.

Persian manuscripts impress not only with their miniatures, calligraphy and decorations but with their bindings as well. In keeping with the rules of harmony, the book-cover, its initial purpose being to protect the manuscript, developed into a piece of fine art. Persian cardboard-paper bindings were covered with leather, which was either decorated with stamped medallions, often gilded, or bore some composition — a kind of stamped miniature. Iran produced also such a phenomenon as lacquered binding: decorative pattern or miniature painted on the binding were covered with lacquer. There are combined covers: gold stamped medallions on black lacquered background with tiny gold ornamentation.

Some of the Turkish manuscripts in the Public Library are decorated after the Iranian tradition. These are mainly works either of the Uzbek poet 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī or of the Turkish poet Aḥmadi (Ahmedi). Most of the 400 Turkish codices of the 15th—20th centuries were copied in Turkey and in Central Asia for common readers. Kurdish manuscripts (56 items, 18th—19th centuries), are similar in appearance to Turkish manuscripts.

Islamic manuscripts are represented in the Public Library not only by codices but also by different documents: *firmāns* of the Shahs of Iran and of the Ottoman Sultans, *waqf* documents, contracts, letters, court registers, etc. Among the finest samples of decorated official documents

is the charter granted by the Turkish Sultan Osman II to the family of a Jewish woman named Cyra [12]. It is written in exquisite *divānī* script and decorated with a multicolour *tughrā*-monogram.

It is difficult to consider books from the Far East and from South-East Asia from the point of view of their religious attribution. Only Buddhist literature can be treated as a single phenomenon. One of the characteristic features of Buddhist manuscripts from India to Kalmykia are long horizontal folios deriving their shape from the leaves of the palm-tree. Palm-leaves were not bound but tied together with a cord through holes made on both sides, they were kept between two wooden panels. Manuscripts written on paper and block-prints basically retained the same shape (but without cord), though other forms also may appear.

Indian manuscripts are most fully represented in the library: there are about 400 of them, written in different languages (Sanskrit, Pali, Hindi, etc.), on paper (Indian and European) and on palm-leaves (90 items), on canvas and even on metal plaques. There are manuscripts with miniatures — representations of deities. Of special interest is an album containing 76 drawings of the Bengal school (water-colour and Indian ink covered with lacquer). The same can be said about an album of miniatures of the Deccan school representing the rulers and officials of Golconda. The oldest Indian manuscript is of 1430.

Tibetan manuscripts (161 items) date between the 18th and the 19th centuries. Among the most interesting is a fragment of a small poem on birch-bark. There is also the *Mahāyāna-sūtra* written in gold on black leaves concealed between gilded panels. Four *thanka* are included in this

fund as well. Mongol (39 items) and Kalmyk (14 items) manuscripts and xylographs also date between the 18th and the 19th centuries.

Far Eastern materials are not abundant in the funds of the library. The only exception is the Chinese fund formed mainly by Russian missionaries. There are about 300 Chinese, 70 Manchu and 60 Japanese manuscripts, block-prints, drawings, maps and other documents of the 18th—20th centuries, which are kept not only in the Oriental fund, but in the Russian funds as well. Of great interest are albums with ethnographic drawings.

Our survey of the funds would be incomplete if we do not mention some “exotic” manuscripts, like Indonesian (3 items, 2 of them written on bark), Siamese (4 items, written on folded black paper) and Chaldean. The main item of the last fund is a convolute of 6 papyrus and 7 paper leaves. The papyrus contains text in an unknown language written in special characters. Paper leaves (paper of the end of the 15th—early 16th centuries) contain what is supposed to be a Latin translation of the “Chaldean” text — a letter from rabbi Ismael to lawyer Moses dated A.D. 33. However, already in the 19th century the scholars doubted the authenticity of this document.

It should be added that private archives of several prominent orientalists and translators from Oriental languages, namely, M. M. Bernstein, A. F. Margolin, A. L. Troitskaya, A. N. Samoïlovich, N. N. Martinovich, L. H. Vilsker, A. G. Shprintsin, are also preserved in the manuscript department.

### 3

The library means not only funds, but also librarians, specialists in conservation and readers. All these people in different ways do their best to prolong the life of the old manuscripts. Many famous orientalists of the past worked in the Public Library [13]. One of the first Russian orientalists, Iakynth (Bichurin), was its honorary librarian. In 1829 he composed “The Register of Chinese and Manchu Books of the Imperial Public Library”, which includes a description of the block-prints of the manuscript department [14].

Honorary librarians, Academicians F. F. Charmois and Ch. D. Fraehn worked on the description of the Ardabil and Akhaltsihe collections, Profs. O. I. Senkovsky, F. Demonge and M. D. Topchibashev were also invited to work on the collection. This project was accomplished in 1832. The catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts was presented to Nicholas I, who ordered to print it in Russian and in French. This publication never came into being. However, later its data were used by B. A. Dorn in his catalogue of 1852 (see above). Dorn's catalogue included also the description of Armenian and Georgian manuscripts made by Acad. M. I. Brosset (worked in the library in 1841—1843) and the description of Arabographic manuscripts made by the corresponding member of the Academy I. F. Gotwald (worked in the Public Library from 1841 to 1849). Dorn worked in the library from 1844 to 1869. Being the head of two sections — the Oriental section (printed books) and the section of theology, he also was taking part in the everyday routine work.

Prof. V. D. Smirnov worked in the library in 1874—1908 as a volunteer and from 1909 as a librarian and the

head of the Oriental department. Noticeable traces of his activities were left in the department of manuscripts as well. The descriptions of manuscripts he made are published in the Library Reports. They could have formed a whole volume of the catalogue of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts which the library was receiving during the 48 years Smirnov spent in it. Smirnov was well acquainted with the Muslim manuscript tradition, he was an expert in Islamic literature, history and culture. His descriptions reflect his profound knowledge, intuition and excellent understanding of palaeography.

At the same time, between 1872 and 1919, in the library worked semitologist A. Ya. Harkavi, the first orientalist to be enlisted to the library staff. His services were required in connection with the acquisition of the Firkovitch collection of Hebrew manuscripts. During his stay in the library Harkavi had not only sorted and described the collection of Anthonin and over 11 thousand books and fragments from the Firkovitch collection, but also he had published two catalogues [15], several manuscripts from the collection of the library and a great number (several hundred) articles and papers in Russian and European periodicals. The sphere of his interests included the history of the Jews, Hebrew literature, ethnography, the history of Jewish sects, of the Karaites and the Khazars, the history of the Jews in Russia. Harkavi, being “of Jewish creed and coming from the lower middle-class of Novogrudok” (Byelorussia), achieved the rank of State Councillor, was awarded the order of St. Stanislaus, St. Anna and St. Vladimir and the Spanish order of Isabella the Catholic.

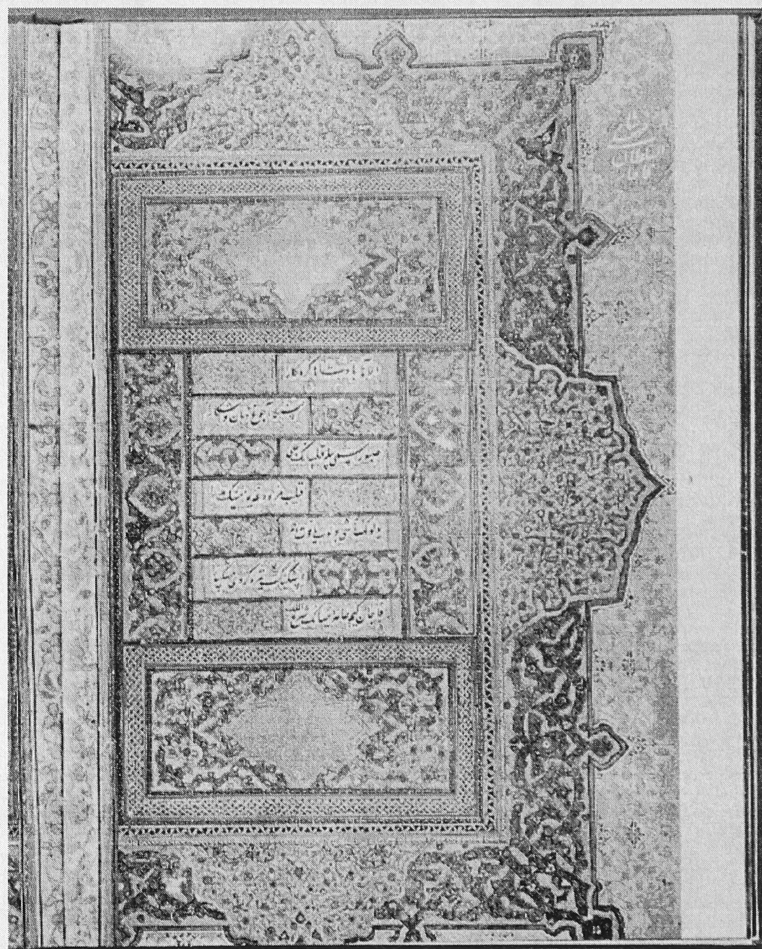
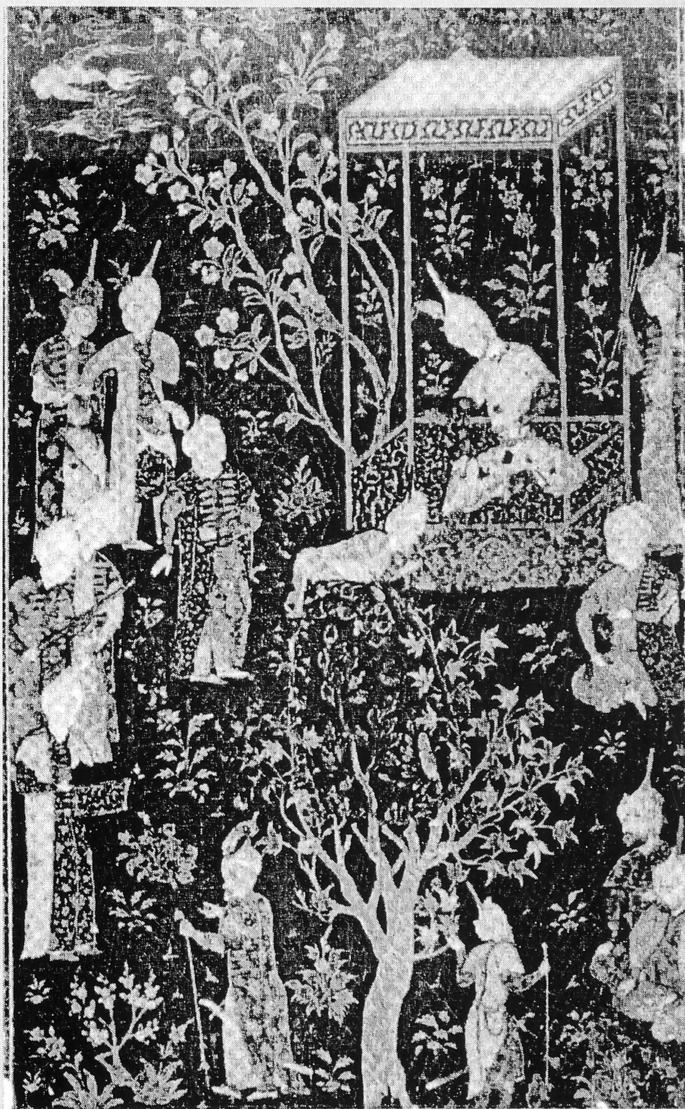


Fig. 6







*Fig. 9*

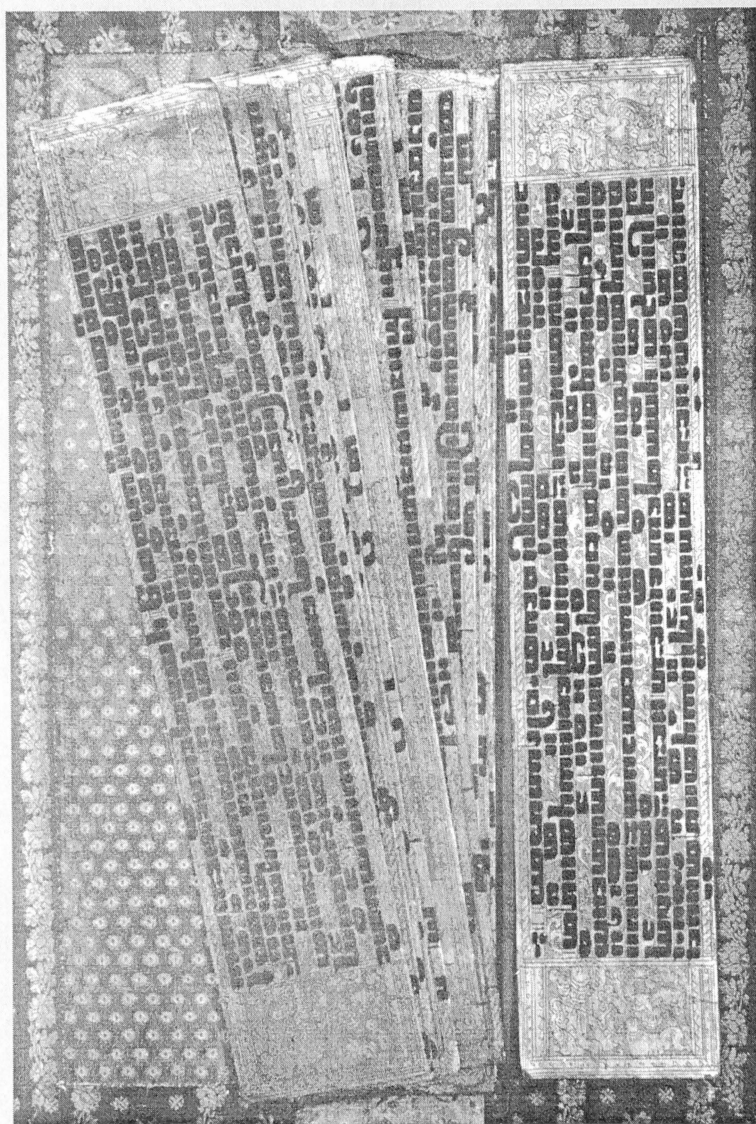


Fig. 10



Though Harkavi spent all his life describing Hebrew and Arabic-Hebrew manuscripts, he never became their official keeper. Usually only one librarian was responsible for giving manuscripts to the readers. From 1844 it was A. F. Bychkov, who later (1868) became the director of the Public Library. He was succeeded by his son, I. A. Bychkov, who stayed in this office till 1944. Both the father and the son were slavists, but they were also well acquainted with all the funds of the manuscript department. Bychkov served as a consultant to many orientologists, such as P. K. Kokovtsev, A. Ya. Borisov, B. A. Turaev [16], N. D. Mironov [17], V. V. Barthold, N. Ya. Marr. Marr became the first (and so far the only) orientalist to be the director of the library (he stayed in this office between 1924 and 1930). Such prominent scholars as N. V. Pigulevskaya (between 1922 and 1928) and I. I. Ravrebe (from 1931 to 1937) worked in the department before the war. Pigulevskaya made the catalogue of Syriac manuscripts preserved in the libraries of Leningrad [18], Ravrebe continued Harkavi's work on Hebrew manuscripts.

During the war (1941–1945) the funds of the manuscript department were evacuated from Leningrad to Melekh (Ulyanovsk district). Despite all the efforts made by the librarians the conditions of the books' keeping were not always good because of constant changes of temperature and humidity. After the war the collection of Firkovitch was re-arranged by K. B. Starkova. In 1950–1958 A. L. Troitskaya, who worked in the manuscript department, described the archives of the *khāns* of Qoqand [19]. Her successor was G. I. Kostygova, who resumed the publication of the *Vostochnyi Sbornik* ("Oriental Collection", its first issue came out in 1926) and prepared the catalogue of Persian manuscripts [20].

In the 1950s–1960s turkologist L. V. Dmitrieva, egyptologist V. I. Evgenova, copologist A. I. Elanskaya [21], arabist A. I. Mihaylova, indologist V. S. Vorobyev-Desyatovsky, kurdologist M. B. Rudenko [22], mongolist E. N. Sankrityayana, specialist in Georgian

studies R. R. Orbeli and armenologist K. N. Yuzbashyan were invited to catalogue the funds. At that time a number of survey articles on the funds and several new catalogues were published by them. Much has been done on the catalogues of Arabic and Hebrew materials by V. V. Lebedev. He published the catalogue of Arabic documents and Arabic literary works written in Hebrew script [23].

In the 1990s K. S. Yahontov published two catalogues, one of Manchu and the other of Chinese manuscripts and xylographs in the Public Library [24]. Scholar from Sri Lanka Handurukande helped to make the list of Indian manuscripts on palm-leaves. The catalogue of Samaritan documents was prepared by L. H. Vilsker who worked in the department of Asian and African literature [25], while the catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts was compiled by V. M. Platonov [26].

During the two hundred years of the existence of the Public Library not only several catalogues of manuscripts were prepared, but a number of facsimile-editions, a lot of monographs and articles were published as well [27]. A few publications on Persian art do not include reproductions of miniatures from the manuscript department. Hebrew manuscripts often attract the attention of scholars, starting from the famous Bible of 1010, which became the base of the Bible's edition made by Kittel and Kahle [28]. Up to now five issues of the "Oriental Collection" have appeared [29]. The "Codicological Collection" dedicated to the study of Oriental bindings is expected soon. Oriental codicology is a new trend which began to develop after the institution of a specialised division within the manuscript department — a codicological laboratory provided with modern equipment [30]. The department, which includes Russian, Slavonic, Greek, Western and Oriental funds, provides a unique opportunity for comparative codicological studies. Collected and preserved by several generations of scholars, librarians, missionaries and officials, manuscript treasures of the National Library of Russia have become a part of the Russian culture and history.

## Notes

1. During 200 years of its existence the library changed its name several times. From 1795 up to 1810 it was called the Imperial Library, up to 1917 — Imperial Public, up to 1925 — Russian Public, up to 1932 — State Public Library in Leningrad, up to 1992 — Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public, since 1992 — National Library of Russia. On the history of the library see *The National Library of Russia, 1795–1995* (St. Petersburg, 1995).

2. On the formation of the funds see V. V. Lebedev, O. V. Vasil'eva, "Iz istorii formirovaniia vostochnykh rukopisnykh fondov GPB" ("On the history of formation of the State Public Library funds of Oriental manuscripts"), *Vostochnyi Sbornik*. Gosudarstvennaia Publichnaia biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, fasc. 4 (Leningrad, 1990), pp. 10–31.

3. For more detailed information see Yu. E. Borshchevskii, "Istoriia priobreteniiia Ardebil'skogo sobraniia rukopisei Rossiei" ("The history of acquisition of the Ardabil collection by Russia"), *Formirovanie gumanisticheskikh traditsii otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 204–17.

4. *Catalogues des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Imp. publique de St. Petersbourg*, ed. B. Dorn (St. Petersburg, 1852); reprinted in Leipzig in 1978.

5. O. V. Vasil'eva, "New acquisitions of Oriental manuscripts into the National Library of Russia" (forthcoming).

6. V. V. Lebedev, O. V. Vasil'eva, "Vostochnye rukopisnye fondy Publichnoi biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina", ("The Oriental manuscript funds of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library"), *Archaeographia orientalis: Materialy Vsesoiuznogo rabochego soveshchaniia po problemam vostochnoi arheografii*. Leningrad, 1–4 marta 1988 (Moscow, 1990), pp. 93–119.

7. D. Ginzburg et V. Stassof, *L'ornement hebraique* (St. Petersburg, 1886); reprint: *Illuminations from Hebrew Bibles of Leningrad* (Jerusalem, 1989).

8. O. V. Vasil'eva, B. I. Zaikovskii, "Hebrew manuscripts in the National Library of Russia" (forthcoming).

9. O. V. Vasil'eva, "Khristianskie rukopisi Vostoka v Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteke" ("Christian Oriental manuscripts in the National Library of Russia") (forthcoming).

10. A. T. Adamova, L. T. Gyuzalyan, *Miniatiury rukopisi poëmy "Shahname" 1333 goda* (The Miniatures in the *Shāh-nāma* Manuscript of 1333) (Leningrad, 1985).
11. G. I. Kostygova, "Traktat po kalligrafii Sultan-Ali Meshhedi" ("A treatise on calligraphy by Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi"), *Vostochnyi Sbornik*. Gosudarstvennaia Publichnaia biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, fasc. 2 (Leningrad, 1957), pp. 111—63.
12. Published by V. D. Smirnov in *Vostochnye Zapiski* of the faculty of Oriental Languages of the St. Petersburg University (St. Petersburg, 1895), pp. 35—78.
13. On the orientalist working in the library see *Sotrudniki Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki — deiateli nauki i kul'tury: Biograficheskii slovar'* (The Staff of the Russian National Library — Specialists in Science and Culture: the Biography Dictionary), vol. I: *Imperatorskaia Publichnaia biblioteka: 1795—1917* (The Imperial Public Library: 1795—1917) (St. Petersburg, 1995).
14. In 1929 private archives of Iakinth — his translations of Chinese works with comments on them — came to the library as a part of the collection of Alexandro-Nevskaya Lavra.
15. *Katalog der hebräischen und samaritanischen Handschriften der Kais. Öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*, Bd. I: A. Harkayi und H. L. Strak, *Katalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der Kais. Öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*, Bd. 2: A. Ya. Garkavi, *Opisanie samaritanskikh rukopisei, khroniashchikhsia v Imperatorskoi Publichnoi biblioteki. Opisanie pergamentnykh rukopisei samaritanskogo Piatiknizhii i perevodov k nemu: Varianty k samaritianskomu Targumu* (A Description of Samaritan Manuscripts Preserved in the Imperial Public Library. A Description of the Samaritan Pentateuch Written on Parchment and of its Translations: the Samaritan Targum's Versions) (St. Petersburg, 1875).
16. B. A. Turaev, *Ėfiopskie rukopisi v S.-Peterburge* (Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg) (St. Petersburg, 1906).
17. N. D. Mironov, *Katalog indiiskikh rukopisei Rossiiskoi Publichnoi biblioteki: Sobranie I. P. Minaeva i nekotorye drugie* (A Catalogue of Indian Manuscripts in Russian Public Library: I. P. Minaev's Collection and Other Ones), fasc. 1 (Petrograd, 1918).
18. N. V. Pigulevskaia, "Katalog siriiskikh rukopisei Leningrada" ("A catalogue of Syriac manuscripts in Leningrad"), *Palestinskii Sbornik*, fasc. 6 (69) (Leningrad, 1960).
19. A. L. Troitskaia, *Katalog arkhiva kokandskikh khanov XIX veka* (The Catalogue of the Qoqand Khans Archives) (Moscow, 1968).
20. G. I. Kostygova, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina: Alfavitnyi katalog* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library: the Alphabetical Catalogue), fasc. 1—2 (Leningrad, 1988).
21. A. I. Elanskaia, "Koptskie rukopisi Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina", ("Coptic manuscripts in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library"), *Palestinskii sbornik*, fasc. 20 (83) (Leningrad, 1969).
22. M. B. Rudenko, *Opisanie kurdiskh rukopisei leningradskikh sobraniĭ* (A Description of Kurdish Manuscripts from the Leningrad Collections) (Moscow, 1961).
23. V. V. Lebedev, *Arabskie dokumenty IX—XX vv.: Katalog* (Arabic Documents of the 9th—20th Centuries: A Catalogue) (Leningrad, 1978); idem., *Arabskie sochineniia v evreiskoi grafike: Katalog rukopisei* (Arabic Works Written in Hebrew Script: A Catalogue of Manuscripts) (Leningrad, 1987).
24. K. S. Iakhontov, *Man'chzhurskie rukopisi i ksilografy Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina: Sistemicheskii katalog* (Manchu Manuscripts and Block-Prints of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library: a Systematic Catalogue) (Leningrad, 1991); K. S. Iakhontov, *Kitaiskie rukopisi i ksilografy Publichnoi biblioteki: Sistemicheskii katalog* (Chinese Manuscripts and Block-Prints of the Public Library: Systematic Catalogue) (Leningrad, 1993).
25. L. H. Vil'sker, *Samaritanskii dokumenty Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina: Katalog* (Samaritan Documents of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library: a Catalogue) (St. Petersburg, 1992).
26. V. M. Platonov, *Ėfiopskie rukopisi v sobraniakh Sankt-Peterburga: Katalog* (Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Collections of St. Petersburg: a Catalogue) (St. Petersburg, 1996).
27. For example, V. V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Slovar' dzhagataisko-turetskii* (Chaghatay-Turkish Dictionary) (St. Petersburg, 1868); *Me'or 'aiin* ("Svetoch glaza"): *Karaimskaia grammatika drevneevreiskogo iazyka po rukopisi 1208 g.* Faksimile. Izdanie teksta, perevod s drevneevreiskogo iazyka, issledovanie i kommentarii M. N. Zislina (*Me'or 'ayin* ("The Light of Eye"). Karaite Hebrew Grammar. The Manuscript of 1208. Facsimile, edition of the text, Russian translation from Hebrew, research and commentary by M. N. Zislin) (Moscow, 1990); Abdurrahman Dzhami, *Salman i Absal'*, ed. K. S. Ayni, with introductory articles by K. S. Ayni and M. M. Ashrafi (Dushanbe, 1977).
28. *Biblia Hebraica*, eds. R. Kittel, P. Kahle (Stuttgartiae, 1937).
29. In 1926, 1957, 1972, 1990, 1993.
30. D. O. Tsyppin, O. V. Vasil'eva, "Codicological analysis of manuscripts by means of modern optico-electronic methods and some issues of restoration", *Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on the Care and Conservation of Manuscripts. Copenhagen, Oct. 14—15, 1995* (forthcoming).

## Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** The National Library of Russia.

**Fig. 2.** The Manuscript Department.

**Fig. 3.** "Psalter", Georgian papyrus, 8th—9th centuries (call number G.N.S. 10), 20.0 × 15.0 cm.

**Fig. 4.** Apostle Luke, miniature from the Gospel in Arabic, 1036 (call number Dorn 1), 17.0 × 12.0 cm.

**Fig. 5.** "Cairo Bible", 1010, Masorah (commentary) as an ornament (call number B. 19A), 34.0 × 30.0 cm.

- Fig. 6.** 'Alī-shīr Nawā'ī, an early *Diwān*, 1465—1466, Herat. Calligrapher Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhādī (call number Dorn 564), 33.5 × 23.0 cm.
- Fig. 7.** "Purple Qur'ān", 12th—13th centuries, North Africa (call number Dorn 41), 24.0 × 16.0 cm.
- Fig. 8.** al-Ṣūfī, "Treatise on Constellations", 1606, Nain (Iran) (call number A.N.S. 191), 24.0 × 14.0 cm.
- Fig. 9.** Persian lacquered book cover, 16th century, Tabriz (call number P.N.S. 267), 33.0 × 21.5 cm.
- Fig. 10.** *Kammavāca*, a treatise on duties of Buddhist monks and nuns (in Pali language), 18th—19th centuries. Metal gilded plates (call number I.N.S. 26), 10.0 × 50.5 cm.
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## SOME NOTES ON THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS AND COLLECTIONS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ORIENTAL FACULTY OF THE ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY

From the very foundation of the St. Petersburg University in 1819, before the establishment of the Oriental faculty here, the Arabic language was among disciplines taught at the University. It is from that time that Arabic manuscripts began to come into the University Library. Initially, they were not numerous. In 1845 they numbered only four copies (Nos. 28, 30, 31, 32)\*, including some works which were important for educational purposes:

1. a work on Arabic grammar — a commentary on the famous *Unmūdḥaj* (call number 31e);
2. a work on logic, *Ādāb al-Munāẓara*, by the Turkish encyclopedist Tāshkupri-zāda (call number 32a);
3. a theological work, *Al-Ḥizb al-A'ẓam wa al-Wird al-Afkām*, by 'Alī al-Qārī, a native of Herat (call number 28a);
4. *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* by al-Dimīrī (call number 31c);
5. a work on rhetoric dealing, in particular, with metaphor (call number 31f).

Another two Arabic MSS came into the library in 1846, but the main part of the manuscript fund of the Oriental faculty began to form only after the establishment of the faculty when the University of Kazan and the Odessa Richelieu Lycée transmitted to St. Petersburg a large collection of Oriental MSS with many Arabic ones in it. The collection which came from Kazan was the largest one. It is not surprising, as at that time the Kazan University was the centre of teaching Oriental languages, primarily the languages of Muslim peoples. The transmission of the manuscripts took place thanks to helpful support by M. N. Musin-Pushkin, a representative of the glorious Russian family. As to the establishment of the Oriental languages faculty (now the Oriental faculty) at the St. Petersburg University, it was connected with the closing of the related faculties in Kazan and Odessa.

Among the collections of Oriental manuscripts which came into the Oriental faculty library was a collection of A. K. Kazem-Bek (1802—1870). He was born in Derbent

(Dagestan). After his father's moving to Astrakhan in 1821 he had made acquaintance of some Christian missionaries from Scotland and under their influence adopted Christianity. Afterwards A. K. Kazem-Bek taught Arabic, Persian and Turkish at the Kazan and St. Petersburg Universities. He was the first Dean of the Oriental languages faculty of the St. Petersburg University. It is interesting that the great Russian writer, Lev Tolstoy, studied Turkish and Arabic under his guidance when at the Kazan University. After Kazem-Bek's death, in 1871, the St. Petersburg University bought many manuscripts from his collection.

A major part of these MSS was dedicated to Islam. As to their owner, Professor I. N. Berezin wrote about him: "in Western Europe there was no such a connoisseur of Islam and Muslim law as Professor Kazem-Bek". He also called him the patriarch of Russian Orientalistics [1]. I. N. Berezin noted: "The name of Kazem-Bek will be pronounced respectfully till Oriental studies be continued, and these studies will never end" [2].

Most of the manuscripts from Kazem-Bek's collection are works on Muslim theology and law. The principal study by Kazem-Bek, entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Wiqāya*, was dedicated to the Muslim law as well. Among the Arabic MSS from Kazem-Bek's collection there are some works of literature and folklore, e. g. a folk tale about the legendary hero of the Arab-Byzantine wars, Sayyid al-Baṭṭāl (call number 599) [3]. This tale, being a part of the Arabic folk novel about Fāṭima Dhāt al-Himma, is most popular among the Turkic speaking Muslim peoples. It draws special attention because it gives a peculiar Muslim woman's image. This image seems to be a kind of social-psychological paradox, as the woman appears here as a hero, a warrior-defender of her people, but not a modest resident of the *ḥaram*.

The Kazem-Bek's collection also comprises some works dedicated to the actual political and historical problems of his lifetime. These works lay at the basis of his studies on Shī'ī dogmatics and the Babi movement in Persia.

\* Numbers in brackets correspond to the call numbers indicated in the Catalogue which was published in *Sankt-Peterburgskoe vostočkovedenie* in 1995.

Another important collection which came into the Oriental faculty was the collection of Arabic manuscripts belonged to Professor of the St. Petersburg University Shaykh Ṭaṇṭāwī (1810—1861), a native of Egypt. His life and works had been described in a famous book by I. Yu. Krachkovsky (1883—1951) [4]. Shaykh Ṭaṇṭāwī was a scholar of wide interests. The manuscripts from his collection prove it. Among them one can find extremely rare works on the Egyptian dialect. One of these is the unique vocabulary of the dialect by Yūsuf al-Maghribī, entitled *Daf' al-Isr 'an Kalām Ahl Miṣr*. The copy represents the autograph compiled at the beginning of the 17th century (call number 778). This work by Yūsuf al-Maghribī was studied by I. Yu. Krachkovsky, V. I. Belyaev (1902—1976), and, under the guidance of the latter, by an Egyptian scholar 'Abd al-Salām 'Awwād [5]. Not long ago it was also studied by N. A. Gaynullin, a post-graduate of the Oriental faculty.

The vocabulary contains one anecdote which seems to confirm the importance of folklore materials for Oriental studies, since it demonstrates the attitude of the Muslim to their religion, as well as their deep belief in its main dogma and prescriptions. As a rule, these anecdotes are full of folk humour and mockery at excessive piety and quoting of the Qur'ān in quite inappropriate situations. Such anecdotes are very popular among the Muslim peoples even today.

Yūsuf al-Maghribī's anecdote runs as follows:

"A very funny story happened to me. [Once] we were reading a story in which it was said that one man, when receiving his guest, offered him a chicken, provided he would eat nothing without citing the Qur'ān in support of his action. The guest took [the chicken's] chest, saying: "We shall strip away all rancour that is in their breasts" (7, 43)\*. After that he took [the chicken's] wing and said: "No bird flying with its wings" (6, 38). My friend noted, turning to me: "What would he say if he wanted to eat a sauce?". I answered at once: "And it is said: Who is enchanter?" (35, 27). And it was in our youth and without ceremonies" (fol. 55).

That is the anecdote dating from the early 17th century. But it is still current among the Arabs nowadays. In Jordan, for instance, the story is told as follows:

"Three men decided to eat a chicken and had agreed that each of them, before eating, should cite an appropriate verse from the Qur'ān. The first one, after having eaten [the chicken's] legs, said: "And one leg will be joined with an another" (75, 29). The second, after having eaten [the chicken's] neck, said: "The freeing (the neck) of a slave" (90, 13) while the third could recall nothing. After that they put aside what remained of the chicken and went to bed. The third [man], being hungry, could not fall asleep for a long time. Finally he ate what had remained of the chicken and only after that fell asleep. In the morning his friends saw nothing but the chicken's bones. The third [man] confessed that it was he who had eaten [the chicken]. Then the first two [men] asked him whether he had cited an appropriate verse [while eating the chicken]. "Yes", he answered and quoted [the following]: "Then the visitation from thy Lord visited it, while they were sleeping (68, 19) and made them like green blades devoured" (105, 5).

It is worth noting that among the MSS of the Oriental

faculty, which formerly belonged to the collection of Shaykh Ṭaṇṭāwī, there is one written in archaic Maghrib script. The MSS written in this script are very rare in European depositories. The manuscript comprises some works on Sufism. Among them there is a treatise titled *Kitāb al-Durar al-Manthūra fī Zubad al-'Ulum al-Mashūra* (call number 757a) by Egyptian Ṣūfī 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, studied by Professor of the St. Petersburg University A. E. Schmidt (1871—1939) [6]. The MS containing the above-mentioned writing by 'Abd al-Wahhāb includes two other unique Ṣūfī works by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Yamānī — *Hujjat al-Sa'āda* and *'Ayn al-Ḥaqīqa* (call numbers 757k and 757i).

Among the manuscripts from the Ṭaṇṭāwī's collection one can find also rather rare works or copies. One of them represents an excellently exercised and most complete copy of a writing by Ibn 'Arabī (call number 6851). There is also a work by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Shurunbābī, who is quite unknown in the Western world. It is dedicated to the conception of *waḥdat al-wujūd* ("unity of existence" or "unity of being") [7]. One MS could also be of some interest for scholars. I mean a treatise by the same author dealing with the problems of faith and miracle — *Bulghat al-Salāma fī al-Imān bi al-Karāma* (call number 685x).

The Ṭaṇṭāwī's collection also includes his own works written in Arabic. Among them there are some verse composed after the patterns of folk poetry:

ad-dahru kulluh 'ibar li-l'āqil il-fakkār  
ḥukmum 'alaynā wi shaḥṭaṭnā burūr wi-bḥār  
ṣabrun 'alā dahrinā lammen yikūn ghaddār  
halbatta mā yaṣṭaliḥ wi-t'ūd lammetnā  
wyigū-l-ḥabāyib yihnnūnā wi nimlā-d-dār [8].

#### [Translation]:

There are edifications in fate for [those] who think and  
are intelligent.  
The sentence [of fate was imposed on] us after lands  
and seas had separated us.  
Be patient with [your] fate [even] when it is  
treacherous!  
It may be [that] it will change [its attitude to us],  
our friends will come back then,  
Those whom we love will come and make us happy,  
and we shall fill [our] home with joy.

It is interesting that Shaykh Ṭaṇṭāwī was the author of a number of odes and elegies written by him in honour of some members of the Russian Royal Family of the Romanovs. The MSS of these works by him are preserved in the same collection of the Oriental faculty.

A number of MSS from another collection, of A. O. Mukhlinsky (1808—1877), are also kept there. These MSS which comprise some works dealing with Arabic literature, folklore and religion are of much importance. Some of them may be considered as very rare and special. One could mention first of all the MS which contains a translation of the Qur'ān into Byelorussian-Polish. The word-for-word translation of the Arabic text goes together with commentaries on it [9].

This translation of the Qur'ān originates from the Lithuanian Tatars living on the borders of Byelorussia,

\* Translations of the Qur'ān according to A. J. Arberry. *The Koran Interpreted*, 2 vols. (London—New York, 1955).

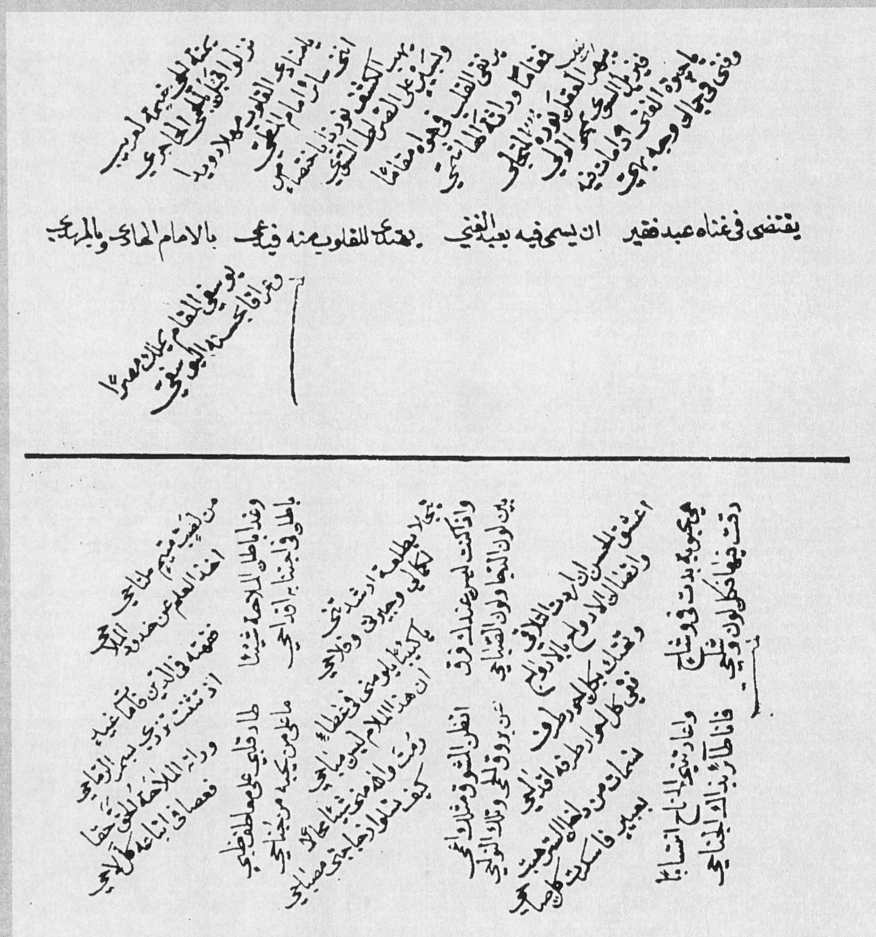


Fig. 1

الطائر الجراد ناد ولا يسمع من الجاع وسام البنية  
 ومحمد الواد  
 واحد فواد من جبال اسفاكل جبلين للظلمتين من  
 الطائر العظيمة الخدين والابن المعظم  
 ولا تغادر اقامته هده في قند عذر انك الخلب  
 العين احسان البدر  
 ومن السامح العيون ايا اعلا والمهيب ما فيها  
 الغير الا لاهل قار  
 كافي خافي عيني اصحابه في رغب  
 لا تطرق حين من طبع العين ان شراب  
 الفان  
 لا تتركه في ذراع العلق لا يبقو ليتم  
 القاف المستعجب  
 والزم على الندى ان التاء بشرفه غناه عابا يد  
 الكاف لربنا بين السومها سودا كما يتنا  
 من جلاير قاتل يسوره على اللام الشجر  
 وفراذ اعظم ايام الرب وقدر الجوده  
 واجام من لم معصده يكن للام خصيص  
 والفطن البير ليند خازمير الرب اذا اضابه  
 والظلمه  
 الطائر الجراد ناد ولا يسمع من الجاع وسام البنية  
 ومحمد الواد  
 واحد فواد من جبال اسفاكل جبلين للظلمتين من  
 الطائر العظيمة الخدين والابن المعظم  
 ولا تغادر اقامته هده في قند عذر انك الخلب  
 العين احسان البدر  
 ومن السامح العيون ايا اعلا والمهيب ما فيها  
 الغير الا لاهل قار  
 كافي خافي عيني اصحابه في رغب  
 لا تطرق حين من طبع العين ان شراب  
 الفان  
 لا تتركه في ذراع العلق لا يبقو ليتم  
 القاف المستعجب  
 والزم على الندى ان التاء بشرفه غناه عابا يد  
 الكاف لربنا بين السومها سودا كما يتنا  
 من جلاير قاتل يسوره على اللام الشجر  
 وفراذ اعظم ايام الرب وقدر الجوده  
 واجام من لم معصده يكن للام خصيص  
 والفطن البير ليند خازمير الرب اذا اضابه

Fig. 2





وقال يمدحه ويهنيه بعيد النور رحله  
 الغيث ان خص احبنا فجو كبحاص  
 دوا الجري فراق ان يكفك عام  
 والميت من فوق باسك سالم الانعام  
 والدهر لما شئت الحاجة افي النور  
 اليك في كل عام يجتدي الانعام  
 وقال ايض يهنيه بعيد الامسى  
 يا بركة المجديا من كل الامام  
 لا زال خلفك بسبك والنور  
 وابوك يا سلا وراح اكناه حمام  
 والدهر لما شئت الحاجة افي النور  
 اليك في كل عام يجتدي الانعام  
 عند الفرق ما التحت فوق الغصون حمام

Fig. 4

Lithuania, and Poland. A. O. Mukhlinsky was interested in the literary monuments written in their milieu and could acquire the MSS, as he was a native of Poland. He had graduated from one of the Polish gymnasiums and the Vilno (now Vilnius) University. These works are very important both for the studying of Slavonic literature and more profound understanding of the literary and cultural connections of this region peoples. These literary monuments seem to assume much more importance if we take into account that a great number of them had been lost during the World War II. The biggest depository of them, a collection of L. Krichinsky in Poland, was destroyed during a bombing of Warsaw while its owner had been executed by shooting in the war period [10].

Among the MSS of Muchlinsky's collection, which are preserved in the library of the Oriental faculty, there are those dedicated to the Catholic dogma and to the Druze faith. One manuscript includes a collection of Egyptian folk songs of the first three decades of the last century [11]. It was known that one of the folk songs influenced a piece of work by the great Russian poet A. S. Pushkin. The original text of the very song is now available due to this MS [12].

Among the MSS from the collection of Mukhlinsky one can find: a number of poetic works by 'Abd al-Ghānī al-Nāblusī (the early 17th century), some of them written in a very special way of "figure verses" [13]; the famous *Dīwān* by Ibn al-Fāriḍ known under the name of the "Arabic Sultan of Lovers [for God]" (call numbers 787, 874); the verse by al-Ṣaṭfī, a nineteenth century Egyptian poet who is only slightly known to scholars (call number 892).

There is another collection of Arabic MSS in the Oriental faculty library, previously belonged to A. A. Romaskevich (1885—1942), a great enthusiast of collecting and studying of Oriental MSS. Romaskevich's collection comprises MSS on alchemy (a treatise by Ibn Bashrūn entitled *Kitāb Sirr al-Kīmā* — call number 1192d), astronomy, medicine (a work by Hippocrates) and philosophy. One work from his collection is dedicated to the legendary history of Caliph Khālid ibn Yazīd and of a monk Maryānis — *Qisṣat Khālid ibn Yazīd ma'a Maryānis al-Rāhib* (call numbers 1192c, 1192h). It should be noted that A. A. Romaskevitch was a great connoisseur of Oriental MSS. He had a particular love for them and worked much at his collection of MSS.

Many most prominent scholars took part in collecting of Arabic MSS which later came into the library of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg University. Among them were I. Yu. Krachkovsky, N. I. Veselovsky, V. F. Girgas, M. T. Navrotsky and V. A. Zhukovsky. Many other people

were also involved in this process: a student Plakhov, who brought some MSS from the Kirghiz steppes; a merchant Suleyman Burnayev, who presented to the Oriental faculty some MSS of the works by Ibn Sinā, e. g. *Kitāb al-Shifā' fī al-Mintaq* (call number 62), and by al-Qalqashandī (a fragment of *al-Inshā'*) which is of much importance for the history of Russia, etc.

Many MSS from the Oriental faculty were described and studied by Professor V. I. Belyaev who was the author of a special article on the subject [14]. It should be noted that indices of the Arabic MSS had been published earlier by V. R. Rozen and C. G. Salemann [15]. MSS from the Oriental faculty collection were intensively studied by such eminent scholars as V. G. Tiesenhausen and V. V. Barthold, and by many others. But it was I. Yu. Krachkovsky who had contributed greatly to these studies. He published many works dealing with Arabic MSS and with the writings they contain. Being a great expert in them, I. Yu. Krachkovsky, as early as 1943, wrote his famous work "Nad arabskimi rukopisiami" ("At Arabic Manuscripts") which was published shortly afterwards (Moscow—Leningrad, 1945). This book introduced to scholars many valuable and rare Arabic MSS which he came across during his long journey to Syria and Egypt in 1908—1910. One can mention another prominent expert in Arabic manuscripts, A. B. Khalidov, who, in particular, studied MSS from the Oriental faculty library and published the results of his studies in a special book [16].

It is worth noting that the presence of Arabic MSS in the library is of much importance for pedagogical purposes as well, as it permits to offer some special courses and seminars to the students. One of them is named "The Description of Arabic Manuscripts". First it had been introduced by the late Professor V. I. Belyaev and after his death was continued by Professor A. B. Khalidov.

The collection of the Arabic MSS which is preserved in the library of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg University, apart from its great scholarly value, also testifies to the fact that the Arabs contributed immensely to the world culture heritage. According to one of the experts' opinion, "the results of the Arab scholars' literary activities are reflected in the enormous amount of works (about some hundred thousand) and manuscripts (not less than 5 million) which were current... These figures are so imposing that only the printed book epoch presents comparable materials" [17].

The Oriental faculty collection, though not very numerous, is of some special value, as it makes students be interested in the Arabic cultural heritage and be proud of the speciality they have chosen.

## Notes

1. See A. K. Rzaev, *Muhammed Ali M. Kazem-bek* (Moscow, 1989), p. 13.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
3. See O. B. Frolova, "The Seyyid al-Baṭṭāl novel in a manuscript at the Leningrad University library", *Graeco-Arabica*, V (1993), pp. 19—22.
4. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Sheikh Tantavi Professor S.-Peterburgskogo universiteta* (1810—1861) (Leningrad, 1929).
5. Yūsuf ibn Zakariyā al-Maghribī, *Daṣ al-Iṣr 'an al-Kalām Ahl Miṣr* (Snatie bremini s rechi zhitelei Egipta). Faksimile rukopisi, predislavie i ukazateli A. S. Awwāda ("The Throwing a Burden off the Egyptian People's Language"). Facsimile of the manuscript, preface and indices by A. S. 'Awwād (Moscow, 1968).

6. A. E. Schmidt, *ʿAbd al-Wahhāb-ash-Shaʿrānīy (um. 973/1565) i ego kniga rassypannykh zhemchuzhin* (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565) and His Book of Scattered Pearls) (St. Petersburg, 1914).

7. See O. B. Frolova, "Sufiiskii rukopisnyi traktat o edinstve bytiia (po materialam biblioteki Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta)" ("A Sufi manuscript treatise on Unity of being as reflected in the materials preserved in the St. Petersburg University library"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, V (1994), pp. 111–28.

8. Mouhammad Ayyad el-Tantavy, *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 190.

9. See A. K. Antonovich, *Belorusskie teksty, pisannye arabским pis'mom i ikh grafico-ortograficheskaya sistema* (Byelorussian Texts Written in Arabic Script and Their Graphic-Orthographical System) (Vilnius, 1968).

10. V. P. Demidchik, "Pamiatniki belorusskoï literatury, pisannoï arabским pis'mom, i legenda o nochnom voznesenii Mukhammada" ("Byelorussian literary monuments written in Arabic script and a legend about Muḥammad's night ascent to heaven"), *Problemy arabskoï kul'tury: Pamiati akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo* (Moscow, 1987), p. 243.

11. O. B. Frolova, "Rukopisi biblioteki vostochnogo fakul'teta LGU 'Mawāwīl' ('Narodnye pesni')" ("Mawāwīl (Folk Songs), a manuscript from the Oriental faculty of the Leningrad State University"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. Ezhegodnik 1974* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 110–36, 341–60.

12. O. B. Frolova, "Egyptian folk songs in the unique manuscripts of the St. Petersburg University library", *Dialectologia Arabica. A Collection of Articles in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Heikki Palva* (Helsinki, 1995), pp. 90–1.

13. Abd as-Sattar Sayyid Ahmed, O. B. Frolova, "Sbornik stikhotvorenii siriiskogo poeta Abd al-Gani an-Nabulusi (1641–1731) po rukopisi, khraniashchiesia v Vostochnom otdale biblioteki Leningradskogo universiteta" ("A collection of poetry by a Syrian poet Abd al-Ghānī al-Nābulūsī (1641–1731) in a manuscript preserved in the Oriental Department of the Leningrad University library"), *Problemy arabskoï kul'tury: Pamiati akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 15–9.

14. V. I. Beliaev, P. G. Bulgakov, "Arabskie rukopisi sobraniia Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta" ("Arabic manuscripts in the collection of the Leningrad State University"), *Pamiati akademika Ignatii Iulianovicha Krachkovskogo* (Leningrad, 1958), pp. 21–35.

15. C. G. Salemann, V. R. Rosen, "Spisok persidskim, turetsko-tatarskim i arabским rukopisiam biblioteki Imperatorskogo St. Peterburgskogo universiteta" ("A list of Persian, Turkish-Tatar and Arabic manuscripts preserved in the library of the St. Petersburg Royal University"), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, vol. II (1887), pp. 241–62; vol. III (1888), pp. 197–222; also see *Arabskie rukopisi Vostochnogo otdela Nauchnoï biblioteki Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*. Sostaviteli O. B. Frolova, T. P. Deriagina (Arabic Manuscripts in the Oriental Department of the St. Petersburg State University library. Compiled by O. B. Frolova and T. P. Deriagina) (St. Petersburg, 1996).

16. A. B. Khalidov, *Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia*. Avtoreferat doktorskoï dissertatsii (Arabic Manuscripts and Arabic Manuscript Tradition. An Abstract of the Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philology) (Leningrad, 1983).

17. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

## Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Fol. 79b–80a of *Dīwān ʿAbd al-Ghānī al-Nābulūsī* (call number 878/cat. number 352).

**Fig. 2.** Fol. 30 of *Risāla fī tasmiya ḥurūf al-muʿjam* by Abū Ṭayyib al-Andalusī (Abū Jābir) (call number 739/cat. number 417).

**Fig. 3.** Fol. 9v–10 of *Risāla fī anwāʾ al-mashrūʾāt wa ghayr al-mashrūʾāt* by Luṭf Allah al-Kidānī (call number 255a/cat. number 406).

**Fig. 4.** Fol. 138v of *Dīwān Ibn Maʾtūk* (call number 819/cat. number 341).

## THE COLLECTION OF MONGOLIAN MANUSCRIPTS AND XYLOGRAPHS IN THE ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF THE REPUBLIC OF TUVA IN KYZYL

The collection of the Tuva Republic Ethnological Museum includes 938 Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs [1]. By the type of script this collection can be divided into two parts, the Oirat and the Mongolian.

The Oirat part is represented by only eight manuscripts written in the Zaya-pandita "clear script". Most of these Oirat manuscripts are of a comparatively late date — not earlier than the beginning of the 19th century. Only one of them (M-659/834) titled *Blaman yurban baqši birman yurban nasutu küiken*, which contains a record of one of the epic narratives about Chingis-khan [2], can be dated to the 18th century.

In the Oirat part of the collection there is also a collection of maxims ascribed to Chingis-khan, which is titled *Oyouni tülküür kemëkü sudur* (M-658). Four manuscripts written in "clear script" are Buddhist treatises, including canonical *Xutuqtu ölzöi dabxurlaqsan kemëkü yeke kölgöni sudur* (M-776) [3] in the Oirat Zaya-pandita translation; a collection of spells (*dhāraṇīs*) *Ekeyin zürken tarni* (M-835); a collection of works including a prayer of repentance and Buddhist precept in verse titled *Maniyin tayilbuur* (M-572) and finally a small didactic narrative *Getülgeqçi Padambayin zokōqsan zürükiyin altan erikin kemëkü šastir* (M-280).

Two Oirat manuscripts can be classified as books on fortune-telling. One of them *Manzušriy menggeyin toli* is a manual of astrology (M-884), the other — *Šazayayin keleni sudur* (M-657) — deals with omens.

The Mongolian part of the collection including 930 items can be divided into two parts: printed books (most of them xylographs) and manuscripts. Printed books may be subdivided, according to their origin, into Peking and Buryat xylographs and modern metaltype printed books.

There are only 23 Peking xylographs in the collection. Almost all these are taken into account in the well-known work by W. Heissig [4]. Among them are: an edition of "Geser-khan epic" (M-621) [5], *Subhāṣita* (M-130) [6], and "The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarasba" (M-140) [7].

Some of the numerous Peking editions of the Buddhist canonical texts are represented, such as *Altan gereltü* (M-624, M-744) [8]; (M-141, M-915) [9]; (M-131) [10], *Pañcarakṣā* (M-622, M-745) [11]; (M-135/936) [12], *Üliger-ün dalai* (M-139) [13].

There are also some treatises on medicine block-printed in Peking — *Dörben ündüsün* (M-137, M-625, M-626) [14] and *Lhan-thabs* (M-746) [15].

Among the well-known Peking editions of the collection there is one neither described in the work by Heissig nor mentioned in any catalogues of Mongolian manuscripts and block-printed books. It contains a treatise from *Ganjur* titled in Mongolian (fol. 1) — *Naiman jayū-tu sudur orosiba* and in Tibetan — *Mdo-sde brgyad brgya-pa bzugs-so*. On folio 2b there is another Mongolian title of the work: *Qutuy-tu doloyan tegünčilen iregsed-ün erten-ü irüger-ün delgerenggüi ilyal neretü yeke kölgön sudur* (M-1) [16].

One Peking edition of this treatise was known before. According to Heissig, it appeared in 1736—1737 [17]. But unlike the previously known xylograph containing 106 printed folios with no colophon by a Mongolian translator, the recently discovered book has 101 folios and a versified colophon, where its translator — Mani badra-sagar-a (Mañibhadrasāgara) and its editor — Bilig-ün dalai of Urat are mentioned, as well as its exact date — 1723 [18].

The Mongolian part of the collection also includes 50 Buryat xylographs representing 44 editions of the second half of the 19th—early 20th century.

Among the known and most formidable in volume Buryat xylographs we can mention comments on *Čayan lingqus-un baylay-a* (M-105) [19], *Köke qoyolai-tu saran köküge neretü sibayun-u tuyuji* (M-101, M-767) [20], *Čoyijid dagini-yin tuyuji* (M-96, M-661) [21], treatises from the *Ganjur* [22] and the *Danjur* [23], works of non-canonical Buddhist literature: *Lam-rim chen-mo* by bTsong-kha-pa (M-116) and a commentary on this work — *Bödhi mör-ün ferge-dür angqan-a oyun sudulqu* (M-660), an illustrated edition of hymns *Ariy-a-balo-a Noyoyan Dara eke Čayan Dara eke maytayal* (M-97), a sermon by Padma Sambhava against wine-drinking (M-664) [24], the history of Buddhism in Mongolia — *Degeđu šasin erdeni ber Mongyol oron-i tügegülügšen uy-i üjegülügšen* (M-106) [25], two grammar-books of the Mongolian language [26]. The rest are small, containing only several folios, block printed booklets with Buddhist prayers, sermons and Mongolian primary textbooks.

Even among this modest number of Buryat xylographs [27] it turned possible to discover several editions represented neither in St. Petersburg nor in any other collections of Mongolian manuscripts and block-printed books. Most of these books only increase the number of the earlier known Buryat editions of certain works, like, for example, xylograph M-142: *Itegel yabuylqu-yin yosun*, published in 1877 by ubaši Lubсан Badma [28], xylograph M-121: *Degedü nom sanayulqu möngke busu-yin nertü*, or xylograph M-733: *Amyulung-tu Sukavadi-yin oron-dur töröl-i bariyçi irüger degedü oron-u qayalyan-i negegçi*.

There is, however, one xylograph in the Tuva Museum collection containing a number of treatises on the use of keeping Buddhist oaths, which we never happened to see before. This book (M-143) has no general title. It contains abstracts from the medical work *Lhan-thabs*, from *Subhāṣita* by Sakya-pandita and from the epistles of two saint Buddhist *lamas* [29]. Doubtless interesting is one block-printed illustrated Mongolian primary textbook (M-470) which is missing, as far as I know, in other manuscript collections.

Beside xylographs the Museum collection has two Buryat editions printed in the modern way. Both are missing in all other collections of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs known to us. One of them, *Ečge eke-yin ači qariyulqu yosun* (M-682), is a translation from Tibetan by Buryat *gelun* Chojin [30], the other — canonical *Qutuytu vajir-iyar oytoluyçi ner-e-tü yeke kölgen sudur* (M-435) [31].

Neither of the two editions provide any information on the time and place of their origin. It is possible to suggest, nevertheless, that both were printed in the Atsagad datsan (monastery), where at the beginning of this century "a European-standard typography with movable letters was set up" [32].

As we see, the Mongolian fund of the Tuva Museum includes 75 printed books. The remaining 855 items are manuscripts. Usually the abundance of manuscripts in any Mongolian fund definitely speaks in its favour, because the original examples of Mongolian literature — fiction, works on history, Mongolian versions of Indo-Tibetan fairy-tales and legends, translations of Chinese novels — all these genres continued in manuscript tradition rather than in printed books.

At the same time we must admit that in the Mongolian fund of the Museum there is not much to add to what we already know about Mongolian literature. It could be explained by the fact that the Tuva Museum collection originated not from a persistent quest of rare or valuable literary sources, as in the case of the collections of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg University and of the early collections of the Mongol manuscripts and xylographs of the Manuscripts Fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

The main part of the Mongolian collection (as well as of all other collections of the Museum manuscripts fund) was formed by manuscripts from the Buddhist monasteries of Tuva. Several private libraries included into the collection were, as a rule, rather small; these contained mainly manuscripts dealing with the rites and daily activities of Lamaists. Some books came as gifts or were acquired from private owners. The origin of some of them is quite special. For example, in a note added to one of the manuscripts of "Comments on the Use of Diamond Sutra" (M-275) it is

mentioned that "the book was donated by Kyrgoche Kekoola on April 20, 1971. He found it in the Kurgurtuk cave, the site of Uruk-chyl, by the Kargy river".

The sources, from which the collection was formed, determined its contents. Most of the manuscripts are either manuals of Buddhist rites, Buddhist moral treatises or books dealing with daily economic and household activities.

So far there are no traces of any chronicles or at least genealogical records. No records relating to administrative or legal practice are present. Translations from Chinese are represented by separate chapters of the novel about monk Tsi-gun (M-628). Its Mongolian version was very popular and this work is already well-known to Oriental scholars [33].

Records of the Mongolian epic and folklore also do not contain anything new. Besides the Oirat version of one of the legends about Chingis-khan mentioned above, this section includes a manuscript of one of the chapters of the "Geser-khan epic" (M-729) and sixteen manuscripts of the didactic work *Oyun-u tülkegür* ("The Key of Reason") [34].

The section of Tibeto-Mongolian narrative literature is also comparatively small, moreover that most of the manuscripts contain works well-known by other copies, in large numbers present in many manuscript collections of the world. Among these are *Subhāṣita* (M-133, M-527), "Comments on the Drop of Nectar Nourishing People" (M-535), "The Story of Gesne-khan" (M-132), "The Story of Chojid-dakini" (M-94, M-95, M-301), "The Story of Green Tara-ke" (M-65) and "The Story of White Tara-ke" (M-67, M-333). There are also several manuscripts of a later (including 22 chapters) Mongolian version of "Comments on the Use of Diamond Sutra" (M-147, M-443, M-758) [35].

Of the original Mongol literary compositions "The Story of Naranu-Gerei" (M-506, M-629) and "The Story of Güsü-lama" (M-89) are present in the collection, the last one — the only known manuscript besides those belonging to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection [36]. There is also the gnostic tale *Čayasun Sibayun* by Mongolian poet Ravjai (M-261, M-385). Well-represented are various "shaman" texts on rites and rituals (55 items).

It covers practically the whole range of subjects distinguished and classified by N. N. Poppe when describing similar manuscripts preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [37].

Among the specific features of this collection is the abundance of manuscripts relating to the cult of lands and mountains, among them the mountains of the Altai range (M-174, M-305, M-308, M-639) and of Tannu (M-229, M-239, M-586, M-610, M-821). At the same time works describing the ritual of evoking the spirits of the dead [38], so widespread among the Buryat Shamans [39], are not represented at all.

Another interesting feature is that in the Tuva collection we managed to find only one manuscript describing rites connected with cattle-breeding: *Aliba mal-un dalaly-a sudur* (M-198), while works on hunting rituals are represented by thirteen manuscripts dealing with the ritual of consecrating fowling bags — *Tanjuy-a takiq sudur* (M-191, M-234, M-336, M-569, M-808), burning incense to the hunter's gun — *Buu-yin sang-un sudur* (M-190) [40], prayers to Manahan-tengri, the lord of wild beasts and the



patron of hunting — *Manaḡan Ingri-yin sang-un sudur* (M-227, M-247, M-248, M-334, M-531, M-581) [41].

Even more extensive is the section of Buddhist cult and ritual literature. It includes such well-known Buddhist ritual textbooks as *Bar-do thos-gros* ("The Book of the Dead"), represented by numerous manuscripts, as well as by printed versions (M-215, M-221, M-481, M-747, M-763, M-778) [42], "The Rites of the Worship of the Seven Buddhas" (M-85, M-748) [43], and a dozen more books of the same kind. Especially numerous are records of prayers, hymns, spells, etc. used in Buddhist ritual practice. There are about 170 similar short texts in the Mongolian fund of the Tuva Museum.

Like in the previous case, it should be mentioned that, while some compositions are represented by a large number of manuscripts, the whole repertoire of this part of the collection is rather limited. Thus half of the 84 manuscripts with Buddhist prayers contain *Itegel* [44], "the first door leading to Buddhism", as it is defined by Buddhist preachers. Eight manuscripts contain prayer *Yum čüng-un quriy-angyui* [45], and six manuscripts — *Arban burqan-u tang-garay* (M-4, M-150, M-570, M-616, M-617, M-656).

This specific feature becomes even more evident when we survey the manuscripts of Buddhist hymns (*maytaval*), where of forty six manuscripts fifteen include "Hymn to All Buddhas" [46], twelve — "Hymn to Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī" [47] and eleven — "Hymn to White Tara-ke" [48].

Among the books of spells (33 manuscripts) most contain abstracts from *gZungs-bdus* — a collection of spells many times published in Peking [49]. Of the great number of spells, which became a part of the literary heritage of the peoples of Central Asia, and which they considered to be an effective remedy from all kinds of evil, we most often come across spells against malicious slander — *Qara kele ama-yi amurlıyuluyči tarni* (M-60, M-195, M-452) [50], spells striking the enemy — *Yeke küčütü altan quyay* (M-20, M-173, M-364, M-484, M-602, M-683) [51], and spells protecting cattle from diseases — *Rimanda terigüten morin-u jıryuyan jüil* (M-226, M-240, M-243, M-564, M-824) [52].

Canonical Buddhist literature in the Tuva manuscript collection is represented by voluminous copies of well-known Peking xylograph editions of *Üliger-ün dalai* (M-755) [53] and *Thar-pa chen-po* (M-81) [54]. There is, however, a manuscript containing the text of *Thar-pa chen-po* translated by Altan-Gerel-ubaşı, which is rare and never been published in Peking (M-777) [55].

The rest are short canonical compositions in large numbers present in all Mongolian manuscript collections. Of the texts included into *Ganjur* most numerous are *Bilig baramid* (14 copies) [56], *Včir-ıyay oytaluyči* (11 copies) [57], *Čayan šikürtei* (11 copies) [58], and *Bodisadovayin unal namančılal* (10 copies) [59].

Non-canonical dogmatic Buddhist literature and commentaries are represented only by several manuscripts, among them *Lam-rim chen-mo* (M-136) and comments on it (M-652), a copy of an Urga xylograph describing the Buddhist paradise (M-765) [60], as well as several manuscripts commenting on the formula "öm ma-ñi pad-me hüm" (Mongolian spelling of the Sanskrit formula) (M-289, M-471, M-491, M-918).

Works on Buddhist ethics and didactic literature are represented much better. There are works already known by St. Petersburg collections, like *Kümün-ü nom surtayal*

*bayarlan quramlayči kemekü* (M-654, M-734, M-916) — a didactic work (*suryal*) written in 1830 by Alašan Iharamba Agvang Dandar, or didactic work composed in the genre of a conversation between an old man and a youth: *Ebügen jalayı qoyar ügüeldügsen ügen-ü tobči* (M-906). There are also sermons by Padma Sambhava composed in the form of *śāstra*: *Boyda Pa-damba blam-a-yin jokiyaısan altan erike neretü śāstır* (M-152, M-877) and his sermon on the evil of drunkenness — *Arikin-u namtar nomlayısan śāstır* (M-90, M-91, M-92, M-93, M-145) [61].

Among the didactic works not represented in the St. Petersburg collections is one more sermon by Padma Sambhava: *Badma Sambau-a baysı ber Bsöng-sudubčing qayan-u nomlayısan śāstır* (M-326, M-390, M-501, M-588, M-699) and two treatises on the influence of one's action on his future incarnations: *Ingri-yin köbegün üle-yi bütügeğči ber qoyıtu amitan-u uqayan-u qarangyui-yi arıyan negeğči neretü sudur* (M-416, M-487, M-749, M-856, M-898) and *Ariıyan oron-du ködölkü ary-a-yi sudur* (M-206, M-592, M-761).

Some other sermons present in the Tuva collection, like *Furban erdeni-yin surıayulı neretü sudur* (M-41, M-852, M-860, M-933), *Lobon-midjid-dorji-yin surıal* (M-509, M-879), *Lisičati qayan-u surıayulı* (M-51), are also missing in St. Petersburg. In Tuva the only known record, the sermon on the evil of tobacco-smoking by Rje-bcun dam-pa Khutukhtu of Urga, is preserved (M-325) [62].

The genre of epistles-prophecies of Buddhist saint (*lama*), which became especially popular among the Mongol peoples in the late 19th—early 20th centuries [63], is represented in the Tuva collection by 28 items. Prophecies of this kind were usually circulated in manuscript form [64], block-prints are very rare. In the Tuva collection there is one copy of the printed book titled *Dalai blam-a Tal-sangjamso-yin ayıladyısan lujung* (M-504), printed in Mongolia in 1922 [65]. It contains one of the epistles of the seventh Dalai-lama (1708—1757).

It should be noted that this is the only sample of an epistle by the head of the Tibetan Church found in the collection. There are also several copies of prophecies by lCang-skya Khutukhtu of Peking — *Ĵangjıy-a qutuytu-yin tarqaysan jarlıy* (M-279, M-400, M-401, M-584, M-823, M-854, M-866). Other manuscripts contain prophecies by Rje-bcun dam-pa Khutukhtu of Urga [66].

Hagiographic literature is represented by only two manuscripts. One of these (M-743) is the life of Padma Sambhava [67], the other (M-756) — the life of Neyji-toyın [68].

Buddhist cosmological literature is represented by three manuscripts of *Čiqula kereglegči* (M-82, M-237, M-711) and by two copies of *Byarong Ka-šör suburyan-u tuıyji* (M-71, M-739) — a description of Buddhist holy places.

One of the special features of the Mongolian manuscript fund of the Tuva Museum is the considerable amount of various reference-books, including books on astrology and fortune-telling, textbooks on philology and medicine, which make up almost a half of the whole fund.

The largest section is "Astrology. Fortune-telling. Omens". It includes 290 items. To the same kind of literature belong calendars (8 manuscripts), which usually contain astrological data, and instructions on composing calendars. This section includes only manuscripts, even such a popular astrological reference-book as *Eldeb kereg-tü qas qayurčay* known in many Peking editions [69] is present

there only in manuscript form (M-653, M-772, M-773, M-775, M-864, M-873). Of the astrological treatises the most popular were those dealing with the influence of solar and lunar eclipses on human fortune, for example, *Nara sara baraydaq-yi üjekü sudur* (M-23, M-413), and *Nara sara ükükü-yin ür-e-yi üjegülkü sudur* (M-44, M-277, M-411, M-414, M-872, M-929), or describing the position of stars and planets — *Doloyan yaruy-un sudur* (M-415, M-448, M-528, M-545, M-829, M-919, M-920). There are many books containing lists of lucky and unlucky days, months and years [70].

Books on fortune-telling describe its different forms: divination by ram's shoulder-blades — *Dalua-[n]u tölge-yin sudur* (M-47, M-709), by black and white stones — *Çilayun belgedekü* (M-909), *Siluyun-u tölge* (M-483), by beads — *Dar-a eke-yin egüden-eçe eriken-ü tölge* (M-48, M-327) and by lots — *Lhamo-yin (Çoytu Ökin ingri-yin) šoo yeke kölgen sudur* (M-341, M-393, M-442, M-492, M-539, M-549, M-674, M-688, M-706), fortune-telling by means of five coins — *Ariy-a-balo-yin tabun joyos-un tölge-yin sudur* (M-740) and nine coins — *Yisün joyos-un merige-yi tus tus orsiyulbai* (M-177), by the six syllables of the "öm ma-ñi pad-me hüm" formula — *Mani-yin tölge sudur* (M-9, M-178, M-179, M-373, M-486, M-926) and by the eight combinations (*küli*) — *Naiman küli-ün üjel-ün sudur* [71].

There are many manuscripts explaining various omens. The most popular way of divination was by croaking of crows and magpies: *Keriy-e šayaşayai-yin kelen medekü sudur* [72], by birds' flight and dogs' barking (M-339), by the trembling of human body's parts: *Bey-e tataqu-yi üjekü sudur* (M-358, M-379, M-812).

There are also dream-books: *Jegüden-ü sayin mayu-yi üjekü sudur* (M-161, M-170, M-251, M-270, M-412), *Yeke mergen jegüden tayilbur* (M-412, M-447, M-718) [73] and lists of evil omens: *Nayan nige mayu iru-a üjekü sudur* (M-236, M-237, M-498, M-701, M-702, M-784, M-838).

All these astrological and fortune-telling books deal with a variety of subjects. First of all, it is one's destiny in the present rebirth and in the future reincarnations — there is a whole series of texts dealing with the fortunes of the dead: *Erdeni-tü altan saba* [74]. Most of the manuscripts, however, consider the problems connected with the everyday life of nomadic cattle-breeder.

There are reference-books explaining how to distinguish various sorts of soil and water: *Ğajar-yin šinji sudur* (M-80, M-320, M-372, M-496, M-717, M-862), divination about lost property and cattle: *Adayusun mal ed tavar bayşan üjekü sudur* (*Tabun daginis-un mergen sayin üjel-*

*ün sudur*) [75], on the days appropriate for wooing and marriage: *Beriyin üjel* (M-253, M-837, M-848).

Other questions considered in the fortune-telling books are lucky and unlucky days for travelling (M-18), for shearing and castrating cattle — *Mal imnekü jasaqu-yi üjekü sudur* (M-296, M-465), trimming child's hair — *Üsün abqu-yin edür üjekü sudur* (M-155, M-156, M-497), trade — *Qudaldu qadalduqui edür inu* (M-849) and many other aspects of life.

The section "Philology" is comparatively small and rather monotonous. It includes mainly Mongolian primary textbooks (60 items). There is just one manuscript with the *ali-gali* alphabet invented in 1587 by Ayuşi-güşi to transcribe foreign words — *Qadamal-un gyalı isüg bürin-e tegüs oroşıba* (M-555). Mongolian works on grammar are also represented by only one manuscript of *Jirüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi* (M-900).

Manuscripts containing works on medicine are few. Besides separate chapters extracted from *Dörben ündüsün* [76] there are two copies of block-printed Peking edition of the work on pharmacopoeia *Büküne tusalaqu eldeb jüil em-ün nayiraly-a* (M-39, M-770) [77], several therapeutic reference-books: *Degedü yeke otaçisun qayan Dgon-mčög Bandar-un jokiyaysan jayun ekitü gün narin ubadis-a-yin üge* (M-547, M-630), *Aliba em dom-un jüil* (M-6, M-541, M-591), and abstracts on the treatment of certain diseases: *Aliba çiken-ü em-ün nayiraly-a* (M-204), *Nidün ebedçin-i anayaqu ary-a* (M-840, M-938).

Summing up our survey of the Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs in the Tuva Museum, it should be mentioned that it does not, of course, give a complete picture of the spread of Mongolian literature among the population of Tuva. On the evidence of its contents we may just make a preliminary conclusion that of literary works in Mongolian the most widely circulated were "folk Buddhist" treatises including didactic works, narratives and moral essays, as well as various reference books covering many aspects of everyday life, economy, rites and religion of the population of Tuva.

There is still much to be done to reconstruct the history of the literary culture of Tuva, to understand the character of its connections with the neighbouring Mongolian peoples and to estimate its contribution to the culture of Central Asia.

This publication is just one step on the way of exploring the literary heritage accumulated in Tuva during the past centuries. Tibetan and Tibeto-Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs of the Tuva Museum are still waiting to be investigated.

## Notes

1. Besides Mongolian manuscripts the funds of the Museum include a vast collection of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs and a small collection of Tibeto-Mongolian bilingual manuscripts.

2. The Mongolian versions of this epic are titled either *Jayidan qar-a ere üker-tü köbegün tuuşi*, see A. G. Sazykin, *Katalog mongol'skikh rukopisei i ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Catalogue of Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs from the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow, 1988), Nos. 59, 62, or *Güüşi neretü bayşı-yin tuuşi*, see *ibid.*, Nos. 61, 15, pp. 481—6.

3. L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol imprimé*, i (Budapest, 1942), No. 791.

4. See W. Heissig, *Die Pekingler lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1954).

5. *Ibid.*, No. 35.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 138.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 130.

8. *Ibid.*, No. 57.

9. *Ibid.*, No. 176.
10. *Ibid.*, No. 177.
11. *Ibid.*, No. 9.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 97.
13. *Ibid.*, No. 71.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 125.
15. *Ibid.*, No. 106.
16. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, i, No. 135.
17. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke*, No. 901.
18. Abural tere boyda-yin nomlaysan naiman jayutu kemekü ene sudur:  
Ayay-q-a tegimlig toyin-u yosun-i jasaday-iyar bariyçi *Urad Bilig-ün Dalai*:  
Ayalyuçi *Gunga Odser-ün üy-e-dür Mani badr-a sagar-a toyin-u* orçiyu-luysan-i:  
Asuru olan Töbed Mongyol-un biçig-üd-lüge tokiyalduyul-un:  
Ese ayilaldun tusburi boluysan-i inu olan merged-eçe asqaju:  
Endegü kiged ilegü dutayu-yi inu ariyudqan jäsaju:  
Erkin šasin kiged amitan-u tusa boltuyai kemen joriju:  
Eldeb jüil qotola tegüsügen Beyijing qota dotor-a engke ejen sayuju:  
Üjügülüçi Sigemüni burqan nom-un kürdün-i ekilen orçiyuluysan modon morin jil-eçe:  
Ürgülji qoyar mingyan jiruyuan jayun tabin on-dur kürügen:  
Ülemji qamuy-i mandayuluyçi *Nayiraltu töb qayan* erdeni sayurin-a erkesigsen terigün on:  
Üjesküleng-tü bolayçi kemekü jil-ün margasir sarayin sineyin anqan-a edür keb-tür bütügebei.
19. Sazykin, *Katalog mongol'skikh rukopisei*, No. 359.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 262.
21. *Ibid.*, No. 317.
22. *Qutuy-tu vačir-iyar oytaluyçi nereti sudur* (M-117, M-662), *Qutuy-tu qoos sudur-un nom-un jüil* (M-103).
23. *Bôdhi-sadu-a cary-a avatara* (M-114), *Enedkeg-ün nayan dörben siddi-ten-ü čidig* (M-102).
24. D. Endon, A. G. Sazykin, "Ođno iz tibeto-mongol'skikh didaktičeskikh sočinenii o proiskhozhdenii vodki i vrede p'ianstva", (A Tibeto-Mongolian didactic work on the origin of vodka and on the harm of drinking"), *Mongolica. In memoriam Acad. B. Ya. Vladimirtsov. 1884—1931* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 232—51.
25. Sazykin, *Katalog mongol'skikh rukopisei*, No. 490.
26. *Jürken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi üsüg-ün endegürel-ün qarangyui-yi arilyayçi oytaryui-yin mani* (M-108), see Sazykin, *Katalog mongol'skikh rukopisei*, No. 1332: 1. Also *Mongyol üsüg-ün ilyal-i üjegülüçi todorqai toli* (M-109), see *ibid.*, No. 1347.
27. For instance, in the funds of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, only in the new part of the Mongolian collection (press-mark Q) there are more than 2.500 Buryat xylographs, among which we have fixed over 450 editions, see A. G. Sazykin, "K kharakteristike sobraniia mongol'skikh rukopisei i ksilografov Leningradskogo otdeleniia Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR (shifr Q)" ("Some notes on the Mongolian manuscript and xylograph collection in the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences (press-mark Q)"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, vol. XV (Moscow, 1981), pp. 56—60.
28. Colophon on folio 7a: Itegel yabuylqu-yin yosu egüni ubaši *Sglobjang Badam-a* ber nom-un öglige arbidqaqu-yin tula yal üker jil-ün usun baras sar-a-yin temür bičin edür keb-tür seylebei.
29. *Em-ün sudur Lhan-tabs-un qorin yisüdüki kijig-ün bölög-eçe. Idam bisilyaqu-yin egüskel-ün jerge-yin sudur-ača. Saska-yin sayin nomlal-ača. Ljangsky-a Rolbiy Rdörje-yin gegen-ü jarliy-ača. Yônga-gjin Yišis Rgyalmečan-u gegen-eçe.*
30. Colophon on folio 10b: Ačitu ečege eke-yi sanan qariyulqu silüglel-i bay-a nasutan-u surulçaqu-yin tula eke Töbed sudur-ača Mongyol Buriyad-un kelen-dür niyčegülen gelüing *Čôs-gjin* kemegdekü ber orçiyulba.
31. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, i, No. 771.
32. *Lamaizm v Buriatii XVIII—nachala XX v.* (Lamaism in the XVIII—early XX Centuries Buriatia) (Novosibirsk, 1983), p. 77.
33. B. L. Riftin, V. I. Semanov, "Mongol'skie perevody starinykh kitaiskikh romanov i povestei" ("Mongolian translations of old Chinese novels and stories"), *Literaturnye svyazi Mongolii* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 264—6.
34. M-52, M-70, M-167, M-187, M-208, M-250, M-282, M-349, M-396, M-440, M-443, M-517, M-533, M-562, M-562, M-645, M-896.
35. A. G. Sazykin, "Mongol'skie versii rasskazov o pol'ze *Vadzhrahchkhediki*" ("Mongolian versions of the stories about benefits of *Vajracchedikā*"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, vol. XX (Moscow, 1986), pp. 72—3.
36. A. G. Sazykin, "Die mongolische 'Erzählung über Gösü-Lama'", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, XVI (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 113—4.
37. N. N. Poppe, "Opisanie mongol'skikh 'shamanskikh' rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia" ("A description of the Mongolian 'shaman' manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies"), *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*, I (1932), pp. 151—200.
38. C. R. Bawden, "Calling the soul: a Mongolian litany", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 25 (1962), pp. 81—103.
39. Poppe, "Opisanie", pp. 191—5, Nos. 1—6.
40. D. Yondon, "Incense offering to firelock's deities West Mongolian shamanist", *Studia Mongolica*, VI, fasc. 16 (1978), pp. 139—47.
41. A. Sárközi, "A Mongolian hunting ritual", *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, XXV (1972), pp. 191—208.
42. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke*, Nos. 28, 29.
43. *Ibid.*, Nos. 8, 75.
44. M-3, M-28, M-49, M-54, M-55, M-66, M-68, M-184, M-203, M-228, M-252, M-283, M-284, M-287, M-293, M-304, M-310, M-321, M-340, M-381, M-421, M-431, M-434, M-439, M-485, M-500, M-558, M-566, M-587, M-669, M-672, M-681, M-692, M-700, M-704, M-715, M-724, M-794, M-822, M-885, M-908, M-927.
45. M-13, M-153, M-223, M-271, M-319, M-348, M-604, M-833.

46. This title placed only in one manuscript from the collection of the Museum (M-201). In other specimens of this hymn we find either *Arban doyşid-un maytayal* (M-171, M-266, M-571) or *Gangjuur-yin quriyangyui sudur* (M-36, M-386, M-398, M-507, M-512, M-676, M-689, M-820, M-842, M-878).

47. The most widespread in Mongolian literature title of this hymn, *Manjuşiri-yin maytayal*, also used in the sole manuscript of the Tuva collection (M-366). The last eleven copies bear the title: *Ganggi lodoi* (*Ganggi baldandoi*) *kemekü sudur* (M-50, M-76, M-347, M-399, M-423, M-589, M-599, M-644, M-703, M-851, M-928).

48. M-285, M-318, M-453, M-511, M-593, M-641, M-687, M-719, M-737, M-816, M-830.

49. Heissig, *Die Pekingler lamaistischen Blockdrucke*, Nos. 13, 49, 67, 72.

50. L. Ligeti, "La collection Mongole Schilling von Canstadt à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut", *T'oung Pao*, XXVII (1930), No. 3588 (XXXVII).

51. *Ibid.*, No. 3588 (XII).

52. *Ibid.*, No. 3588 (XLV—XLIX).

53. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, i, No. 1103.

54. *Ibid.*, No. 1021.

55. Ts. Damdinsuren, "XVII зууны екһнii үеiiн орчуулалгх Altangerel үвшiiн тухай зарим медее", *Studia Mongolica*, V, fasc. 9 (1966), pp. 10—3.

56. M-165, M-269, M-306, M-313, M-455, M-459, M-532, M-556, M-668, M-686, M-708, M-725, M-731, M-818; cf. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, i, No. 162.

57. M-272, M-536, M-537, M-666, M-696, M-697, M-751, M-753, M-754, M-762, M-874; cf. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, i, No. 771.

58. M-309, M-445, M-462, M-505, M-510, M-548, M-612, M-642, M-720, M-741, M-941; cf. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, i, No. 208.

59. M-8, M-79, M-303, M-408, M-554, M-632, M-693, M-712, M-780, M-910; cf. Ligeti, *Catalogue*, i, No. 836.

60. W. Heissig, K. Sagaster, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten* (Wiesbaden, 1961), No. 496.

61. D. Ėndon, A. G. Sazykin, "Tibeto-mongol'skaia didakticheskaia literatura o vrede p'ianstva" ("Tibeto-Mongolian didactic literature on the harm of drinking"), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 3 (1984), p. 46.

62. A. G. Sazykin, "Iz istorii tibeto-mongol'skoĭ didaktiki" ("On the history of Tibeto-Mongolian didactic literature"), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 5 (1988), pp. 103—4.

63. "Spisok materialam Ts. Zhamtsaranova i B. Baradiĭna" ("A list of materials belonging to Ts. Zhamtsaranov and B. Baradiyn"), *Izvestiia Imperatorskoĭ Akademii nauk*, XXII, 3 (1905), pp. 056—7.

64. See A. Sárközi, *Political Prophecies in Mongolia in the 17—20th Centuries* (Budapest, 1992).

65. Colophon on folio 6b: Mongyol ulus-un dotor bičig-ün küreycleng-ečē *Olan-a ergügdegsen-ü* arban qoyaduyar on-dur nige mingyan tabun jayun qubi-i keblegölün yaryabai.

66. *Boyda Jibčun-Damba-yin jarliĭ* (M-38, M-64, M-209, M-493, M-690, M-881), *Vačir-a Dar-a boyda gegen-ten-e naimaduyar duri-yin suryayuli* (M-162, M-317, M-344), *Boyda Taranata Jibajung-Damba qutuytu-yin olan amitan tusa-yin tulada nayidabar tar-qaysan jarliĭ* (M-72, M-417).

67. Cf. Heissig, *Die Pekingler lamaistischen Blockdrucke*, No. 25.

68. Cf. *ibid.*, No. 95.

69. *Ibid.*, Nos. 211, 217—219.

70. *Edür üjekü sudur* (M-297, M-827, M-892), *Erdeni-tü qayirčay neretü naran-u sudur* (M-871, M-895), *Edür-ün sayin-u mayu-yi üjekü sudur* (M-185, M-207), *Güny-a duyig-un dotor-ača yaruysan edür üjekü sudur* (M-19, M-29, M-199, M-307, M-454, M-793, M-803), *Arban qoyar jil-ün kürdün-ü sudur* (M-218, M-299, M-361, M-420, M-813), *Arban qoyar jil-ün üjel* (M-188, M-883), *12 jil-ün ibegel qarsi-yin üjekü inu* (M-891, M-894).

71. M-30, M-186, M-267, M-298, M-331, M-332, M-383, M-449, M-451, M-513, M-685, M-799.

72. M-11, M-21, M-31, M-194, M-345, M-357, M-563, M-677, M-831, M-847.

73. G. Kara, "De l'oniromancie Mongole", *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection* (Budapest, 1978), pp. 127—40.

74. M-26, M-182, M-183, M-216, M-256, M-352, M-444, M-503, M-655, M-769, M-788.

75. M-9, M-37, M-176, M-179, M-337, M-477, M-561, M-649, M-675, M-797, M-804, M-805, M-819.

76. M-86, M-87, M-88, M-598, M-651, M-665, M-764, M-937.

77. Heissig, *Die Pekingler lamaistischen Blockdrucke*, No. 214.

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## ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

In 1995 different institutions started the publication of the CD-ROM series connected with the handwritten heritage. The "Memory of the World" program of UNESCO was presented as the realisation of the new approach to safeguarding documentary materials and as the first step in creating the decentralised interactive world library. The first issues of the series will contain the manuscripts and early printed books of the Prague National Library, those of Sofia, the Radzivil Chronicle stored in the Library of the Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg, Russia), Memoria de Iberoamerica, the San'a' manuscripts, and the manuscripts preserved in the Kandilli Observatory in Istanbul. Some of the above-mentioned CD-ROMs are already published.

The colleagues from SS Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, in cooperation with Ukrainian programmers of the "Diamed" Company (Donetsk), have published two CD-ROMs containing correspondingly the richly decorated 13th century manuscript of the Qur'ān and about 15 thousand images of the Balkan Tetraevangelia, as well as a number of the Qur'āns dated from the 12th—17th centuries.

This year, within the project "Asiatic Museum. Treasures from St. Petersburg Academic Collection of Oriental Manuscripts (CD-ROM Series)", at least two very interesting manuscripts from the collection are expected to be published. The first of them is the "Secret Visionary Autobiography" of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617—1682). His work is an outstanding specimen of Tibetan spirituality, being both the record of Dalai Lama's years-long visionary experiences and a description of the most esoteric rituals of Tibetan Buddhism as well.

The second CD-ROM publication will contain a three-volume manuscript of great importance from both the textological and codicological points of view. It appears to represent one of the earliest Arabic translations of the Bible, as well as the oldest copy of such a translation. The manuscript was transcribed in Damascus in 1236 from the original executed in Antioch in 1022. In 1913 it was presented to the Russian Tsar Nicholas II by Gregory IV, the Patriarch of Antioch.

In one of the next issues of *Manuscripta Orientalia* we hope to publish our first observations about the work on the project. Publishing the paper of our Dutch colleagues, which is connected with another joint project on digital publication of 8 Rabghūzī MSS from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, we would like to propose to all interested in the problems connected with CD-ROM publication to take part in the discussion by sending us their articles, comments, or even short remarks on the subject. In continuation of the tradition of the "Correspondent Round Tables" (see *Manuscripta Orientalia*, I, 3 (1995), pp. 47—58) it seems to be very helpful to use this fruitful form of exchange of opinions and to publish the corresponding material in one of the next issues of the journal.

It is really interesting to discuss some technical aspects of the CD-ROM production connected with the problems of the input of the material, the approaches to the problem of the rights protection, Internet possibilities, the necessity and volume of "multimedia entertainment" of different kind to be included in the purely scholarly publications. And last but not least, it would be of some use to consider the problems of CD-ROMs distribution and the questions of marketing. It is odd enough, hundreds of CD-ROM publications were presented at 1995 Frankfurt Book Fair, but during my stay in New York in December 1995 I was unable to find even one of them.

I am sure that now, when many CD-ROM projects are on their way, the discussion of the topics mentioned above, as well as of those connected with the problem in general, could be of some use to the readers of *Manuscripta Orientalia*.

*Efim Rezvan,*

author and coordinator of the project  
"Asiatic Museum. Treasures from St. Petersburg Academic  
Collection of Oriental Manuscripts (CD-ROM Series)"

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*H. Braam, M. Vandamme*

## **A ROBUST AND VERSATILE SOLUTION FOR THE DIGITAL PUBLICATION OF MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS**

### **I. Introduction**

The rich text tradition of Rabghūzī's "Stories of the Prophets" is of great importance to turkology and islamology. Besides comprising very old and unique language monuments, the corpus represents also a unique cross-section of the development of the Chaghatay language and religious culture from the 14th century up to the end of the 19th century. The London MS of Rabghūzī's "Stories" was published in transcription with a translation, glossary, and indices in 1995 [1]. The RMC (The Rabghūzī Manuscript Corpus) project is the natural complement to this edition by taking into account all other existing major MSS. Effi-

ciency reasons force us, however, to publish the materials in a digitalized photographic way on CD-ROMs and not in the form of a critical edition like the London MS.

This corpus will greatly enhance the study of the linguistic developments of the 14th century pre-Chaghatay dialects all through the Classic Chaghatay period up to the modern languages of Central Asia at the beginning of the 20th century.

It is of no less importance that the corpus will present a rich source for the study of the development of Islam in Central Asia from the 14th up to the 20th century.

### **II. Criteria**

As the solution should be open to future developments (at present information technology is changing very fast) and should operate not only locally but also in wide areas, it is important to draw up first a list of criteria to be met:

1. Robustness (usage, media-conservation, distribution)
2. Openness (technology, contents, organisation)
3. Scalability
4. Standardisation
5. Versatility (usage, security)

#### *1. Robustness*

The media used should be simple and cheap to conserve; the production of the CDs must be simple, without need of extra programming or engineering.

#### *2. Openness*

**a) Concerning Technology:** solutions must be platform independent (*i.e.* run without problems on DOS-Windows, Macintosh and Unix systems); solutions must be easy to adapt to future technological developments.

**b) Concerning Contents:** solutions must support both addition of new data and adaptation to new standards.

#### *3. Scalability*

Solutions must support the growing process of turning a small project into a larger one.

#### *4. Standardisation*

This issue concerns the central problem of creating information systems. Information cannot be easily retrieved or shared if it is not represented when using a set of common standards.

There exist industrial standard compression formats (GIF, JPEG) which are being used now. The software solution must accept such standards.

#### *5. Versatility*

Various access strategies must be possible when using the *same* software; use of the software should be easy, without need of a printed manual, as well as of difficult codes. It must be possible to secure the information by means of passwords in order to discourage illegal copying [2].



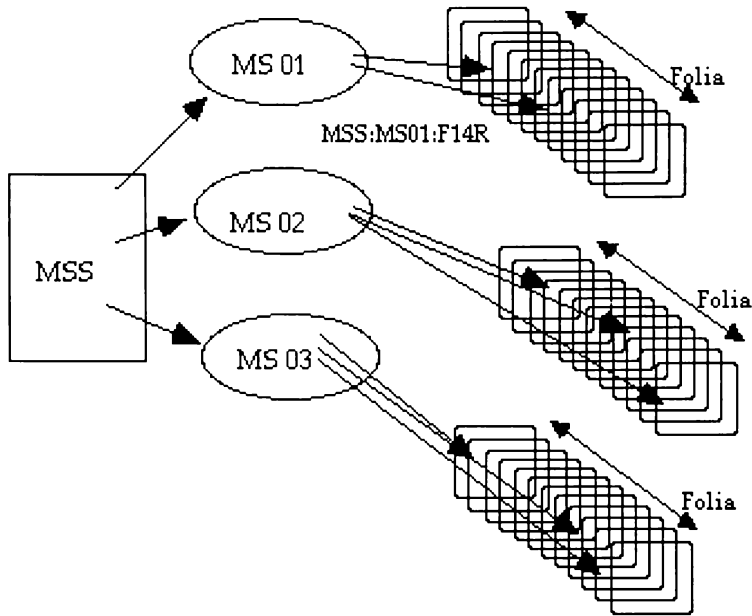


Fig. 1

### III. Project Analysis

#### A) Information and access structures

We deal with a number of MSS of the same text. The texttree can be considered as the most basic representation of the MSS on which all other text descriptions depend. The hierarchy of the texttree corresponds to the hierarchy of the written textual materials of the MSS (Text, MS, Leaf, Line, Word, Character), not to the genetic stemmatological hierarchy.

A net can cut up a text in portions on all different levels of the texttree — we can impose a net on the level of text-lines (collation of poetry), on the level of leaves (different copyists), or on the narrative level. Every net is essentially a paradigm imposed on a text [3].

Our text consists of a series of cycles about the pre-Islamic prophets (like Adam, Solomon, Moses, and Jesus). These cycles are made up of the autonomous stories. Each story can be divided into substories.

So, the solution sought for must support at least the same representation of the texttree and must allow the application of different networks superposed on the texttree (fig. 1).

#### B) Requested functionality of the system

To put all MSS data on a disk, when using CD-ROM techniques, we need tools for the next functions:

- 1) creation of digital images of the MSS
- 2) digital manipulation of the images, including compression
- 3) graphical screen presentation of the images, including digital magnification
- 4) complex linking of multimedia materials (text, images, sound, animation) [4], according to the texttree and the networks
- 5) easy navigation by the users.

### IV. Solution

For the creation of digital images of the MSS and their subsequent manipulation any industrial standard software can be used [5].

Although a CD-ROM can contain a lot of data, there is a limit: in these days about 600 Mbytes. The size of an uncompressed image file is a function of: the size of the im-

age; the resolution (the number of pixels caught in an inch of the original); the colour quality. High resolution high quality colour images can be very large, tens of Mbytes.

So in order to maximise the number of images on a single CD some decisions are to be made. And here we face a few trade-offs:

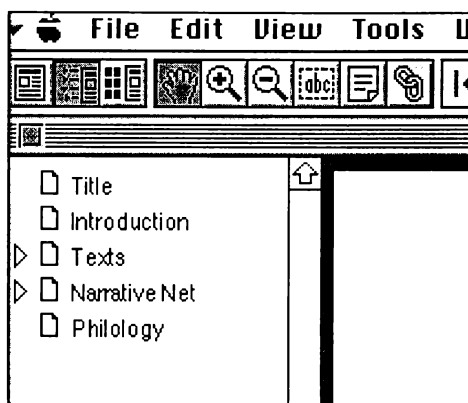


Fig. 2

— high quality colour takes much more space than 256 grey scale images;

— low resolution (resulting in small files) leads to unclear images or images that cannot be enlarged to become readable;

— very high compression may lead to a loss of data (resulting in unusable images).

After some experimenting we came to the conclusion that in this case an optimal solution is reached by scan in 256 grey scale images. The material concerned is not illuminated at all. Some parts of the text is written in colour. These small parts can be scanned in full colour and added (using hyperlinks) to the grey version. The space profit is high because of the quadratic effect of using high quality colour.

It makes no sense to use very high resolution, (for instance, 1200 dpi) images if one does not intend to have a high quality reproduction for conservation purposes. In this

case, usage by scholars reading the texts is envisaged, and a medium resolution of 100–150 dpi (depending on the handwriting of the MS) suffices. Besides, it is quite possible to use images in different resolutions on the same CD. So one can add a very high resolution picture of some small intricate portion of a leaf. Finally, Medium-high to High JPEG compression proved to give the best results in sharpness, possibility of enlargement and minimalisation of image size [6].

The **Adobe Acrobat 2.0** software gives us an industrial standard solution for all what we wanted above, while meeting the criteria mentioned in II. Sequential (browsing) and hierarchical entry methods (texttree and networks) are supported using the Acrobat feature of *bookmarks*: pointers to a specific location in a text or an image.

Adding small coloured fragments to a grey image is very simple and transparent in use.

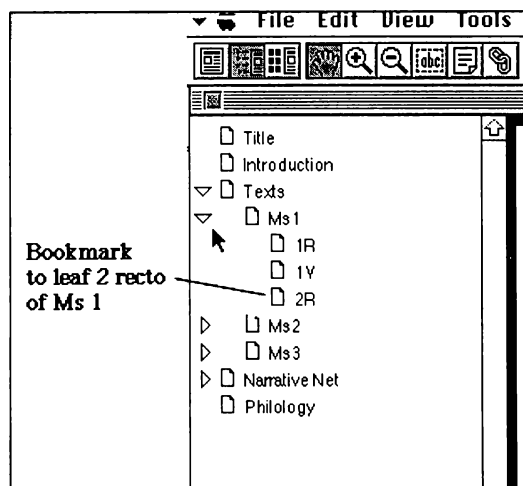


Fig. 3

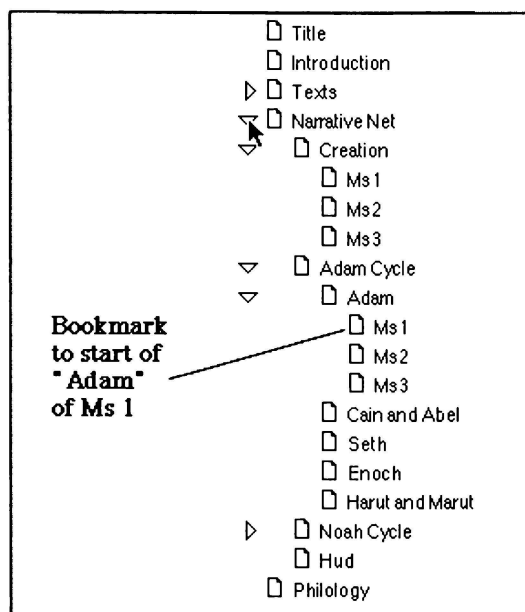


Fig. 4

Although not occurring in the analysis, the software supports hypertext and hyperlinks (from a location on a page (image or text) to another location (on a different page)), too. An important advantage of this software is that it allows the publication of electronic documents using fonts not present at the computers of the readers; this is an important fact in the publishing of oriental materials (fig. 2).

The little triangle shows that the hierarchical *bookmarks* are hidden (fig. 3).

Double clicking the icon to the left, for example, of 2R results in the presentation of the image of leaf 2 recto of Ms1 on the screen. It is possible to open simultaneously two or more images in order to compare them.

The same mechanism to describe the texttree (MSS, MS, Leaf) is used to implement the narrative network (fig. 4).

Double clicking the icon to the left of Adam will result in the presentation of the image of the leaf of Ms1 on which the story of Adam of the Adam cycle begins. In this way one can open two different versions of a story (if they are present on the same CD).

The Acrobat Reader software supports sequential browsing: **First** (presents the first page), **Last** (presents the last page), **Next** (presents a following page), **Back** (presents a previous page). It also supports to retreat on your steps if you have used any *bookmarks* or hyperlinks, since these are of course none-sequential (fig. 5).

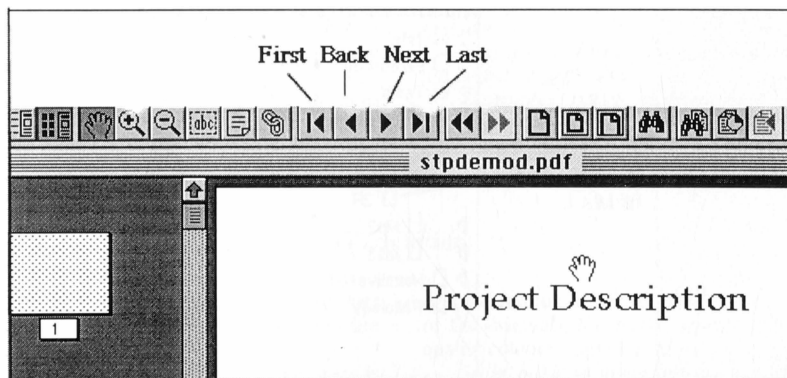


Fig. 5

## V. Summary

We describe a way to develop a robust system for the digital publication of Chaghatay manuscript materials. An analysis of the information structure involved is given, and

criteria for possible solutions are discussed. Finally, a concrete solution using standard software is presented and discussed.

## Notes

1. Al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets, Qışaş al-Anbiyāʾ. An Eastern Turkish version*, critically edited by H. E. Boeschoten, M. Vandamme, S. Tezcan, with the assistance of H. Braam and B. Radtke (Leiden, 1995), i; Al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets, Qışaş al-Anbiyāʾ. An Eastern Turkish version*, translated into English by H. E. Boeschoten, J. O'Kane and M. Vandamme (Leiden, 1995), ii.

2. Cf. H. Braam, M. Vandamme, "Using Robust CD-ROM techniques in the preservation and disclosure of Oriental Manuscripts", Paper read at the 1st *JOICA* conference (Moscow 1995), in print.

3. For a more detailed analysis see M. Vandamme, H. Braam, "In search of formal identity and difference: considerations based on collating some Turkic manuscripts", *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 3 (1988), pp. 32—40.

4. Sound and animation, of course, not applicable here.

5. In our case, **Adobe PhotoShop 3.0**.

6. For example, an image of  $14 \times 24$  cm, 300 dpi, 256 grey takes in eps format 4660 Kb, in the Acrobat pdf format, using JPEG high compression, takes 353 Kb. But this resolution is high in comparison with the goal. It can be magnified 8 times, and this is in most cases unnecessary. A normal resolution will be 150 dpi, a  $14 \times 24$  cm picture then takes 1343 Kb in eps, and only 153 Kb in pdf, high JPEG compression. So, a single CD could take about 3500 of such images. The pdf files were created using the **Acrobat Distiller 2.0** software, the PDFWriter extension lead to less good results.

## Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Texttree showing the hyperlink access connections from the MS-descriptors to the folia and the simple next/previous leaf access orderings.

**Fig. 2.** A table of contents.

**Fig. 3.** A part of the "Texts" *bookmarks* uncovered (by clicking on the triangle).

**Fig 4.** The narrative *bookmarks* shown for the Adam Cycle.

**Fig. 5.** Acrobat Toolbar: sequential functionality, and other tools like magnification.

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# PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

A. B. Khalidov

## A UNIQUE 14TH CENTURY LITERARY ANTHOLOGY MANUSCRIPT FROM BAGHDAD

Arabic literature is rich in anthologies. The tradition of composing literary anthologies has a long history. It came into existence at a very early stage of literary development and continued through many centuries, till the time of cultural renovation of the Arab world in the 19th century. The earliest anthologies were made most probably in the first half of the 8th century, under the last Umayyads, at the same time when the first records of the oral Arab tradition came into being — both of the old and the recent, some of it folklore, some created by individual authors. None of these first collections have survived, though some of their materials are preserved in later anthologies.

There are different kinds of Arabic anthologies. Several principle types can be distinguished. For example, a collection of verse by one poet — his *diwān*, where poems can be arranged: by rhymes; in the alphabetic order; by the length of poems, beginning with the longest and ending in single lines; by the subject, in the chronological order; and, finally, by a combination of different principles.

In anthologies which include works by several different poets materials can be arranged: by the tribal origin of the poets (tribal *diwāns*); by the subject — love-poems, war-poems, hunting-poems, feast-songs, odes, etc.; by the time of the authors' lives or the place of their birth; by the type of the occasion on which the poems were composed. There were also collections of model poetic works.

All types of poetic anthologies could be supplemented with the lexical and grammar comments, on the lives of the poets, on the occasions on which the poems were written. Sometimes the volume of these comments exceeded that of the verse, growing into independent philologico-biographical treatises.

There were anthologies of prose as well. But while poetry was a purely Arabic phenomenon in spirit and origin, with dominating individualistic features, prose for the most part was translated from other languages and remained anonymous, or was artificially tied to some famous name, often didactic, illustrating certain moral sentences. It was devoid of any characteristic ethnic or even confessional features. Prose was translated from Persian, Syriac, Greek, it included texts going back to even more remote literary

traditions — Iranian, Ancient Near Eastern, Mediterranean. Translated prose was often arabicised — not only the language, but also the personages and social types were affected. Prosaic narratives written either in plain prose or exquisitely rhythmic were often interwoven with poetic lines.

Among the favourite genres of Arabic literature were anthologies of verse and prose mixed in various proportions. New anthologies were constantly created in different parts of the Muslim world. Materials from earlier collections were transferred to new anthologies, while the old ones were forgotten and lost. Most of the popular anthologies appeared in print in the 19th—20th centuries, finds of manuscripts containing new works of this genre now became rare.

Of this kind of rarities one manuscript (call number B-99) belonging to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies attracts special attention. Its florid title is built upon the image of a garden — *Zuhār al-riyāḍ wa-nuzah al-murtāḍ* ("Flowers of the Gardens and the Pleasure of Those Who Walk There"). This anthology was composed by one Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Ṣubayḥ al-Shanbakī (al-Shunbukī?) al-Asādī. His name becomes known only from this manuscript, there is no mention of him elsewhere. What we have is his autograph, where the compiler is reporting from time to time on the progress of his work. He worked in the City of the Peace, *i. e.* Baghdad, in A.H. 769/A.D. 1367—1368.

In the preface (fol. 1b) the compiler tells us the following: "Into this book I include wonderful stories of different kinds selected by me, and examples of verse, so that they may serve a reminder to him who opens this book and reads it, to make this book his permanent companion, so it could brighten up his leisure hours with a conversation. It is not divided into chapters, because it is made from borrowed passages recognisable by references; the name I gave it is metaphoric, close in spirit [to its contents], namely ... I divided it into two parts: prose and poetry". Here the preface is interrupted by a lacuna, as one or two folios next to the first one, but not more, are seemingly lost.

The following text contains occasional references to literary sources or oral tradition from which the author was borrowing his materials, as well as titles and subtitles, as if the author was not sure whether to introduce any system of classification into his work or not. The contents of the manuscript is the following:

Fol. 4a: *Fī-l-thabat wa-l-ta'annī* (On endurance and not being in haste).

Fol. 6b: *Fī-l-mawadda wa-l-'adāwa* (On love and hate).

Fol. 9a: *Fī madḥ al-ḥayā'* (In praise of modesty).

Fol. 10a: *Fī ḥtirām amr al-akābir* (On respect towards the orders of the great).

Fol. 10b: *Fī-l-shafā'a* (On mediation); also *Fī-qaḍā' al-ḥāja* (On fulfilment of the requirement).

Fol. 11a: *Fī-l-dayn* (On debt); also *Fī-l-shajā'a* (On bravery).

Fol. 19a: *Min kalām al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī* (Of the sayings of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī).

Fol. 21b: *Mukātaba* (From correspondence).

Fol. 23a: *Min kalām amīr al-mu'minīn* (Of the sayings of the Commander of the Believers ['Alī]).

Fol. 33b: Sayings of 'Alī under the same title.

Fol. 66b: *Naqaltu min majmū' mā ḥādhā šuratuḥu, al-mukhtār min Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir* (I borrowed the following from an anthology, selected from the "Book of Enlightenment").

Fol. 73a: *Fawā'id wa-multaqaṭāt shattā naqaltuhā min majmū' naẓman wa-nathran* (Useful instructions and different selected passages which I copied from an anthology in verse and prose).

Fol. 85b: The words of the compiler — "The first part is complete".

Fol. 86a: *Al-Faṣl al-thānī fīmā akhtāruḥ min al-manẓūmāt, fāmīn dhalika mā akhtāruḥ min kitāb tarjamtuh kitāb Jāmi' al-maḥāsin wa-hwa abwāb* (The second part including verse I selected. In particular, those selected by me from a book which I named "A Collection of the Beautiful", which is divided into chapters). Here it is mentioned also that at that time, i. e. A.H. 769, the author was in Baghdad, and that he was beginning this part with the praise of Allah.

Fol. 89a: *Wa-min dhalika mā-akhtartuh min shi'r al-qāḍī Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk al-Miṣri* (Here come the poems by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk al-Miṣri I selected).

Fol. 94a: *Wa-min dhalika mimma akhtartuh min shi'r al-Šāhib Fakhr al-Dīn Abī-l-Muẓaffar 'Alī ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ* (Here also come the poems by al-Šāhib Fakhr al-Dīn Abī-l-Muẓaffar 'Alī ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ I selected).

Fol. 108a: *Wa-min dhalika multaqaṭāt* (And also what was selected).

Fol. 112b: *Naqaltu min khaṭṭ al-sayyid Tāj al-Dīn ibn Mu'ayya* (I borrowed what had been recorded by sayyid Tāj al-Dīn ibn Mu'ayya).

Fol. 114b: *Mimmā ltaqaṭṭuh min al-ash'ār min kitāb Naṣā'is al-kalām fī-l-murāsālāt wa-hwa mu'ajjam wa-l-ash'ār allatī fīhi mu'arraba yuḍfī Ḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Ḥmad li-Nakhsḥab al-Samarqandī* (Poem extracted by me from the book "Gracious Speeches in Exchange of Messages" which was in Persian, also poems by Nakhsḥab al-Samarqandī supplemented, being partly translated into Arabic, by Ḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Ḥmad). The author mentions that this work was done by him in "al-Mash-

had" — "the place of martyrdom" (meaning, obviously, al-Kāzimayn). On fol. 118b, at the bottom, he indicates that abstracts from the named source come to an end here.

Fol. 119a: *Wa-mimmā anshadaniḥ al-mawlā l-sayyid al-naqīb Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Mu'ayya al-Ḥasanī* (Of the verse recited to me by sayyid al-naqīb Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Mu'ayya al-Ḥasanī).

Fol. 131b: *Wa-min bāb al-ghazal min al-kitāb al-madhkūr* (Lyric verse from the above mentioned book). Several books were named above, so it is not quite clear, which one was meant here by the compiler.

Fol. 134b: *Naqaltu min Kitāb al-Mathālith wa-l-Mathānī li-Šafī al-Dīn ibn Sarāyā* (What I borrowed from the "Book of Triple and Double Rhymes" by Šafī al-Dīn ibn Sarāyā). Here the author again mentions that he was at that time (A.H. 769) in Baghdad, "in the glorious ribāṭ", and at the bottom of fol. 137b he marks the end of quotations from the "above mentioned anthology".

Fol. 140b: *Mimmā asma'anīḥ al-sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥmad ibn al-Zaydī li-nafsīḥ* (From what has been recited to me of his own verse by sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥmad ibn al-Zaydī). The author mentions, once more, that he was in Baghdad.

Fol. 141a: *Wa-min dhalika mā akhtartuh min majmū' min manẓūmātīḥ* (Some more of his verse selected by me from an anthology).

Fol. 143a: *Wa-min dhalika mā ltaqaṭṭuh min al-juz' al-awwal min kitāb Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-'aṣr jam' Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamid al-Iṣfahānī* (To here belongs also what I have selected from the first part of the book "Hidden in the Palace and Opened in Our Time" composed by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamid al-Iṣfahānī).

Fol. 146a: *Multaqaṭ min ash'ār al-mansūba ilā Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya* (A selection of verse ascribed to Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya). This selection ends on fol. 147b, which is marked with the word *tammat*.

Fol. 155b: *Mimmā naqaltu min kitāb Al-'Iqd* (Borrowed by me from the book "Necklace").

Fol. 161b: *Wa-min kitāb Al-'Iqd fī-l-ḥadāyā* (More from the book "Necklace" on presents). On the same page below: *Tamma mā akhtartuh min al-juz' al-sādis min kitāb Al-'Iqd* (The end of what I have selected from the book "Necklace").

Fol. 162a: *Wa-min dhalika multaqaṭāt* (To here also belongs the selection).

Fol. 162b: *Mimmā anshadaniḥ Tāj al-Dīn Mu'ayya* (From what has been recited to me by Tāj al-Dīn Mu'ayya).

Fol. 168b: *Wa-naqaltu min ṣaḥr kitāb ḥudḥifat isnāduḥ* (I also copied from the reverse side [of the last page] of a book with no chain of its transmission).

Fol. 170 b: *Wa-naqaltu min khaṭṭ Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Najjār* (I also borrowed from what [has been copied] in the handwriting of Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Najjār).

Fol. 171b: *Wa-mimmā naqaltu min majmū' bi-khaṭṭ Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Najjār al-muḥaddith* (Borrowed by me from the anthology copied in the handwriting of Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Najjār, expert in *ḥadīth*). The author explains that he stayed "in the place of the martyrdom", evidently in



al-Kāzimayn near Baghdad, and that the chain of transmitters of the anthology was either cut off or lost.

Fol. 182a (below): the author marks that here ends his abstracts from the anthology of Ibn al-Najjār, and that he stayed in *madrasa* al-Marjāniya in Baghdad in A.H. 769.

Fol. 182b: *Wa-naqaltu min majmū' ākhar* (I borrowed also from a different anthology). The same vague subtitle we find on fol. 184a.

Fol. 185a: *Wa-mimmā samī'tuh li-l-sayyid al-mushār ilayh* (I heard also from what belongs to the *sayyid* named above). Tāj al-Dīn ibn Mu'ayya is apparently meant here.

Fol. 191b: *Fī madh' arbāb al-ṣanā'i' wa-qāl mu'allif al-majmū' alladhī naqaltu minhu wa-hwa Abū Manšūr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Tha'ālībī* (In praise of the representatives of [different] crafts, and said the compiler of the anthology from which I borrowed, that is Abū Manšūr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Tha'ālībī). On the same page (below) the end of quotations from this anthology is marked.

Fol. 192a: *Wa-min dhalika al-Risāla l-Hātimiya mimma ullifa min kalām al-ḥakim Aristātālīs wa-mā wāfaqahu 'alayh naẓman Abū-l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī* (To here also belongs the "*Hātimiya* Epistle" composed of the sayings of wise Aristotle and of what corresponds to them in the verse by Abū-l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī). Interchanging quotations from Aristotle (or pseudo-Aristotle) and al-Mutanabbī end on fol. 198a with a mark that the compiler was copying from an original full of mistakes. Further, on fol. 201a, a selection of verse by Ibn Ḥayyūs and by other poets comes.

Fol. 203a (below): *Naqaltu min khaṭṭ al-shaykh Najīb Allāh ibn Yahyā ibn Sa'd* (I copied from the autograph by *shaykh* Najīb Allāh ibn Yahyā ibn Sa'd).

Fol. 204b: *Naqaltu min mawā'iz Ibn al-Jawzī min al-manẓūmāt* (Edifications by Ibn al-Jawzī in verse borrowed by me).

Fol. 205b: *Naqaltu min Ta'rikh Ibn Anjab* (I copied from the "History" by Ibn Anjab). In the middle of fol. 206b it is marked that here end verse quotations from that work. After that follow again edifications by Ibn al-Jawzī and some poetry. At the end of the manuscript, on fol. 209a, the author informs that he finished it in the month Dhū-l-ḥijja 769/July 1368.

Thus, among his sources the author-compiler is naming *Kitāb al-Iqd*, obviously, the anthology composed in the 9th century by the Arab-Spanish author Ibn 'Abdrabbihī (d. 940); *Majmū'* by Abū Manšūr al-Tha'ālībī (d. 1038), which is most probably the well-known anthology by this author from Khorasan *Yatimat al-dahr*; *Kharidat al-qasr wa-jaridat al-aṣr*, the anthology made by Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1201); *Kitāb al-Mathālith wa-l-Mathānī* by the mid-13th century poet and writer Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī; *Al-Mawā'iz* by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200), a famous hanbalī preacher, historian and writer. The life-time of Ibn al-Najjār, expert in *ḥadīth*, and of the author of *Ta'rikh*, Ibn Anjab, mentioned by the anthology's compiler, is unknown. It is also unknown the time when *Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir*, *Kitāb Jāmi' al-maḥāsīn*, *Kitāb Nafā'is al-kalām fi-l-murāsālāt*, the latter being a work in Persian with some Arabic verse included, and *Al-Risāla l-Hātimiya*, mentioned without indicating their compiler's names, were composed. Even more vaguely it is said about some

"anthologies" (fols. 73a, 182a), about which the compiler informs that one was written "in his own hand" by Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Mu'ayya al-Ḥasanī (fols. 112b, 119a), or "recited" to the compiler, or "written in his own hand" by Najīb Allāh ibn Yahyā ibn Sa'd (fol. 203a) and by Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Zaydī (fols. 140b, 141a).

Each of the structural components of the manuscript, indicated as a passage from the corresponding source or merely marked with a title, includes numerous small prose works, like proverbs, short stories or narratives (fols. 2a—85b) and quotations of verse (fols. 86a—209a and few quotations in the first part). Prose miniatures and quotations of poetry are usually introduced either by the name of the author (real or legendary), or by indefinite "someone", "one poet", "another one", "it is said", etc. The number of names mentioned is rather considerable. One can number many dozens of them. Among the Arab poets we find the *jāhili* (pre-Islamic), early Islamic, working under the Umayyads and the Abbasids, as well as those who worked after the elimination of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad — Labīd, al-Nābigha, Zuhayr, Jamīl, al-Akḥṭal, Dhū-l-Rumma, al-Farazdaq, Jarīr, Qays ibn al-Khaṭīm, Kushājīm, Kuthayyir, Yazīd ibn Mu'awīya, al-Majnūn, Bashshār, Nuṣayb, al-Aṣma'i, al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, Abū Tammām, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, Sa'id ibn Humayd, Ibn al-Rūmī, al-Babbaghā, al-Buḥturī, Abū Nuwās, al-Ṣanawbarī, al-Mubarrad, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Abū Firās, al-Mutanabbī, al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, al-Wa'wā, al-Bustī, Abū-l-'Alā, Abū-l-'Atāhiya, Masdūd, al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī, Khīṣ Bīṣ, al-Khubzaruzzī, Manšūr ibn al-Ḥallāj, Ibn Harma, Ibn Aflah, Muḥammad al-Abīah, al-Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād, Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadānī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sarāqustī, Miḥyār, Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir, Rabī'a al-'Adawiya, Layla al-Akhyaliya, al-Raḍī, al-Qaḍī al-Jurjānī, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Abī-l-Muzaḥḥar, al-Qarrāh, 'Umāra ibn 'Aqīl, al-Sakhāwī, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mu'ayya, etc. Among the authors of wise opinions and sayings, or the performers of noble and extraordinary deeds we find Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Jesus ('Isā ibn Maryam), Alexander the Great, Buzurjmīhr, Anushirwan, Luqmān, al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir, the messenger of Allāh Muḥammad, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, Abū-l-Dardā, al-Zuhri, al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, Mu'āwiya, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, al-Manšūr, al-Ma'mūn, Hārūn al-Rashīd, Sahl ibn Hārūn, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, etc.

The manuscript has 209 folios, plus two folios next to the binding at the beginning and the end. The size of the folios: 22 × 14.5 cm, but it is likely that their edges were trimmed when the manuscript was bound. Each page has 20—23 lines, the field occupied by the text is 18 × 10 cm, though it often goes beyond this conventional frame. Often, when there was no place left for some quotation, the compiler-copyist used the margins, writing it along the page, arranging 2—8 lines in one, two, or even three columns, for the most part, beginning with fol. 86. There are also corrections on the margins by the author, who evidently continued to work on the manuscript after the main text had been written.

The paper of the manuscript is dense and glossy, of medium thickness, of Oriental manufacture. The text is written, for the most part, in black Indian ink, titles and separate words — often in red ink. The handwriting is of

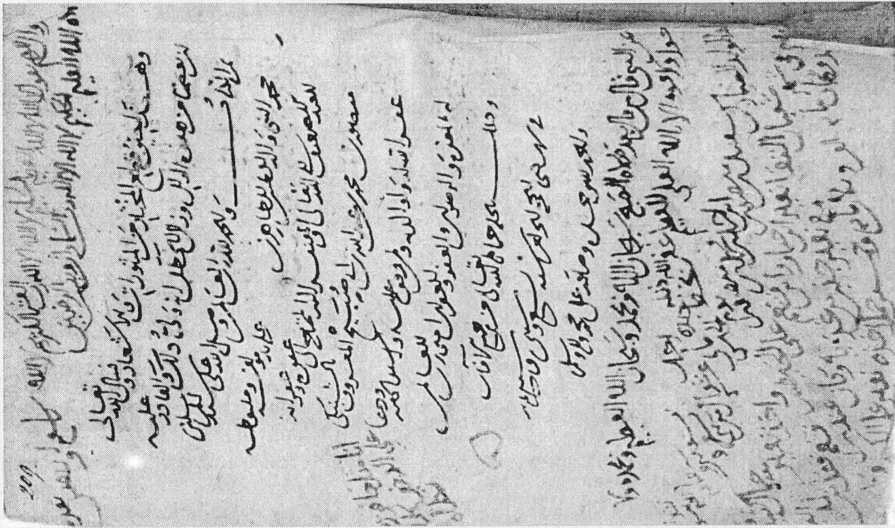


Fig. 2

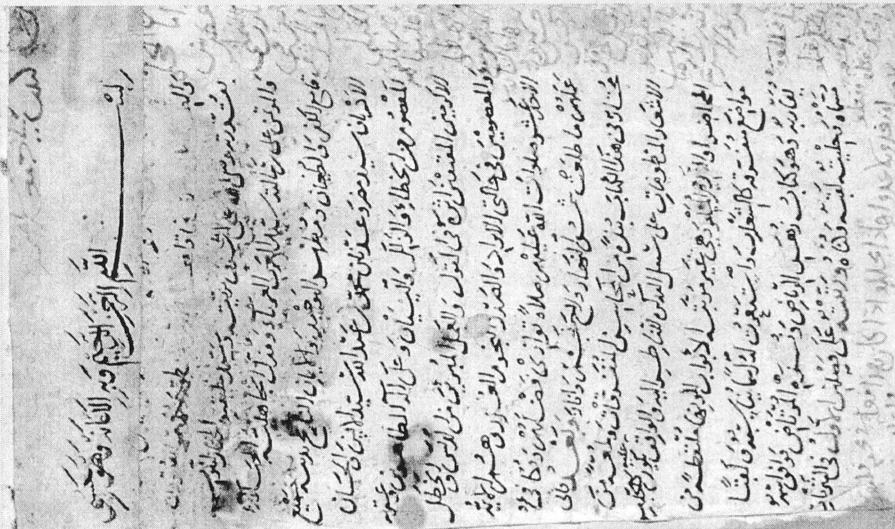


Fig. 1

medium size, regular, sometimes tending to become cursive, letters are densely set, vertically elongated. Poetic lines have diacritic marks.

The cover of the manuscript is Oriental, made of cardboard, of the *muqawwā* type, with a leather back and flap, which dates to a later time than the manuscript itself. The manuscript has suffered from careless use and bad keeping — one or two leaves, next to the first one, are missing; the flap of the binding is missing, too; the upper part of many leaves were damaged by moisture and stuck together, so the text there became not very clear. It is especially characteristic of the upper edges of the folios in the first half of the manuscript. One of its former owners took care to restore the manuscript: torn leaves and some holes are mended. As a whole, the state of preservation of the 600-year old manuscript is satisfactory.

Neither the author nor his work are mentioned by any reference-books on Arabic literature. At the same time the greater part of the materials present in the manuscript are already well-known from other sources which are frequently much earlier than our MS. These materials seem to provide nothing principally new, though they can be used as parallel texts when comparing is needed. The most interesting fact is that the book was created in ravaged Baghdad, only the shadow of once glorious capital of the medieval empire. From its very foundation in A.D. 762 Baghdad was the cultural centre of the Muslim world, where literary activities and intellectual life were concentrated, and where great material resources and cultural monuments (including manuscripts) were accumulated through ages. Truly, the city had often suffered from internal strife and from the rivalry between Muslim rulers, but its devastation by the Mongols of Hulagu in 1258 came as an irrecoverable blow. Muslim writers and scholars were either massacred or ran away, libraries were destroyed, manuscripts burnt or thrown into the Tiger. Fortunately, some of them were evacuated, mostly to Meraga and Tabriz. Our manuscript was composed 110 years after this devastation of the city, when the power of the Ilkhans became weak, and the central part of Iraq came under the control of the Jalairid Uways, the son of Ḥasan Buzurgh, but only several decades before the next catastrophe, the invasion of Timūr at the end of the 14th century. So, it is a rare evidence demonstrating the form, in which literary activities continued in the city at that time, and what literary sources were available then.

Besides the heritage of the past, the manuscript contains several pieces of poetry written by the author himself (fols. 108a, 164b, 168a), as well as some contemporary literary materials extracted from anonymous anthologies or received from Tāj al-Dīn ibn Mu'ayya, Najīb Allāh ibn Yaḥyā, Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Zaydī (see above), the

question concerning these anonymous anthologies demands special research though.

The first page (fol. 1a) is filled, apart from the title, by records left by the previous owners of the manuscript and by its readers. One of the first after the author comes (his relative?) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Kutubī (?), in whose family the manuscript remained for a long time. On fol. 209a there is a record left by his grandson Sa'īd ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Aḥmad, dated to A.H. 799/A.D. 1396—1397. Several records, some of them dated, on fols. 1—18 are also made in his hand. For instance, there are household records, like on fol. 3b: *inbā'at al-ḥinṭa rub' riṭl bi-dīnār wa-l-tamr nisf riṭl* (wheat was sold, quarter of a *riṭl* for one *dīnār*, [as for] dates — half of a *riṭl*). Here prices on the main products are recorded, extremely expensive in the year of famine. Some deal with historical events (fol. 5b): *fī shahr rajab thānī wa-thamānī mi'a rakiba l-sultān Aḥmad ilā Qarā Yūsuf ilā balad al-Mawṣil wa-rāḥ minhu Qarā Yūsuf ila Baghdād* (In the month of Rajab 802/February—March 1400 Sultan Aḥmad advanced against Qarā Yūsuf towards Mosul, and Qarā Yūsuf left it for Baghdad). This record refers to the Jalairid ruler Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aḥmad and the ruler of the Turkoman dynasty Kara Koyunlu [1].

On fol. 6a one can read the following: *akhadha Lank al-Shām fī shahr rabī' al-awwal min sana thalāth wa-thamān mi'a waṣal hukm ilā Dimashq* (Lank captured Syria in the month of Rabi' I, of year 803/October—November 1400, an order came to Damascus). Here the western campaign of Timūr to Iran, Iraq, Syria and Anatolia is mentioned. It should be noted that the records are fragmentary, roughly made, but documentary, so they may be of use to an historian.

On fol. 62a there is a record of the death of one Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn al-Tayyārī, in the month of Rajab of 839/January—February 1436), while on fol. 175b a reader, Muḥammad Maḥdī al-Sulūkī (?), left his signature. One of the readers numerated the pages (verbally), in the upper left corner, in large script, with many mistakes and corrections.

The manuscript comes from the first (the main) part of the collection belonging to J. L. Rousseau, former French diplomat working in the Near East at the end of the 18th—beginning of the 19th centuries. He stayed as a French consul in Cairo, Haleb, Damascus and Beirut. The collection was acquired by the Asiatic Museum in 1819 (its stamp is present on fol. 1a). The manuscript is mentioned in Rousseau's catalogue of the collection. Later the manuscript was described by the author of this article [2].

### Notes

1. Cf. K. E. Bosvort, *Musul'manskie dinastii* (The Islamic Dynasties), translation from English by P. A. Giaznevich (Moscow, 1971), pp. 221, 215.

2. See *Katalog arabskikh rukopisei Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts of the Institute of Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. 1: A. B. Khalidov, *Khudozhestvennaia proza* (Literary Fiction) (Moscow, 1960), pp. 80—2, No. 88; see also *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Arabic Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences), ed. A. B. Khalidov, Pt. 1—2 (Moscow, 1986), No. 9061.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Fol. 1b of *Zuhar al-riyād wa-nuzah al-murtād* by Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Ṣubayḥ al-Shanbakī (al-Shunbuki?) al-Asadī (call number B-99), 14.2 × 22.1 cm.

**Fig. 2.** Fol. 209a of the same manuscript, 14.2 × 22.1 cm.

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## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF "ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND VERSES" IN THE MONGOLIAN FUND OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

The canonical work "One Hundred Thousand Verses" (or "The Great Yum", Skt. *Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā* in one hundred thousand *ślokas*) takes up 12 huge volumes in the Peking edition of the *Ganjur* in the Mongolian language. In the manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies it is represented by two block-print editions and by four manuscripts. Both xylographs and three of the manuscripts are illuminated [1]. Generally, in books of this kind deities of the Buddhist pantheon are represented on the first and the last (additional) pages of each volume, which is common for block-printed editions and manuscripts containing Buddhist canonical texts.

The copies of the "Great Yum" from St. Petersburg are especially valuable for the study of the history of Buddhist iconography and of Mongolian iconography in particular. The matter is that all the copies of this work belonging to the Mongol collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies differ both in the number of illustrations (from 24 to 112) and the contents of the pantheon they represent. Besides, the miniatures are of different quality and executed in different techniques.

In our view, the most interesting are one of the copies of the block-print edition of the "Yum" and two of the manuscripts. The 12-volume block-print edition was produced in Peking in 1714 (Xylograph K 1, No. 1 of the collection). On the first leaf of each volume there are two monochrome engravings representing Buddhas. The last leaves of all volumes represent four *mahārājas*. One more copy of the same edition (K 1, No. 2) is different from the first one, primarily because all its engravings are artfully coloured and gilded. Besides that, on its last leaves we find,

apart from the four *mahārājas*, representations of four other Buddhist deities.

One of the illustrated manuscripts of the "Yum" (Q 401) was first described in the G. Kara's "Books of the Mongol Nomads". He points out that the water-colour icons of the 12-volume manuscript of the "Yum" are artfully painted, among them portraits of historical personages [2]. They are executed in 8—10 different colours selected in conformity with the rules of iconography, with exquisite taste. The above mentioned portraits of historical personages depict Tszonhava, the reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, and the supreme hierarchies of the Tibetan church — Dalai Lama and Pañchen Lama.

One manuscript of "The Great Yum" in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number K 24) may be viewed as most artfully illuminated. It was copied, according to its colophon, in 1676. This manuscript is really unique, as its illustrations represent a very original pantheon which finds no parallels in other manuscripts or block-print editions. All the miniatures are executed with great artistic taste and look exquisite (see illustrations to the paper on the front and back covers). Unfortunately, only eleven of the twelve volumes are present in the collection. Volume three is missing, the last illuminated leaf of the first volume is lost, too. In all, we have at our disposal 21 illuminated leaves representing 53 personages of the Buddhist pantheon. One may only regret this loss (no less than 8 miniatures), because this copy presents the most perfect example of professional icon-painting among all the other illustrated Mongolian manuscripts preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

### Notes

1. A. G. Sazykin, "Illustrirovannye rukopisi i ksilografy "Sta tysiach stikhov"" ("Illustrated manuscripts and xylographs of "One Hundred Thousand Verses""), *Kniga Mongolii. Al'manakh bibliofila*, Fasc. 24 (Moscow, 1983), pp. 229—32, 16 Plates.

2. D. Kara, *Knigi mongol'skikh kochevnikov (Sem' vekov mongol'skoi pis'mennosti)* (Books of the Mongol Nomads. The Seven Centuries of Mongol Script) (Moscow, 1972), p. 133.

## Illustrations

### *Front cover:*

The inside of the manuscript's front cover (on the left): Ādabandaka (Skt. Cūḍāpanthaka; Tib. Lam-phran-bstan), "The Great Yum", MS, vol. 5 (call number K 24), 15.0 × 16.0 cm.

### *Back cover:*

- Plate 1.** The inside of the back cover (from left to right): 1. Esru-a (Skt. Brahmā, Tib. Tshangs-pa); 2. Bigar (Skt. Śiva, Tib. ?); 3. Qormusta (Skt. Indra, Tib. brGya-byin), "The Great Yum", MS, vol. 5 (call number K 24), 52.0 × 15.5 cm.
- Plate 2.** The inside of the front cover (on the left): Inggida (Skt. Aṅgaja, Tib. Yan-lag-'byung); (on the right) Bagula (Skt. Bakula, Tib. Ba-ku-la), "The Great Yum", MS, vol. 4 (call number K 24), 53.0 × 15.5 cm.
- Plate 3.** The inside of the back cover (from left to right): 1. Qayanggiru-a (Skt. Lohakhaḍga Hayagrīva, Tib. Rta-mgrin lcags-ral-can); 2. Beiji Maq-a-kala (Skt. Aghora Mahākāla, Tib. Beg-tse); 3. Čoytu Ökin tngri (Skt. Ekamātā Śrī Devī, Tib. Ma-cig dpal-ldan lha-mo), "The Great Yum", MS, vol. 4 (call number K 24), 52.0 × 15.5 cm.
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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in SS Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia, Bulgaria. Ḥadīth Sciences. Compiled by Stoyanka Kenderova. London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1995, 459 pp., with 8 Plates.*

Since last five years Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation proved to have been one of the most effective structures in the world doing a lot to support cataloguing, restoration, research and publication of Islamic manuscripts. One can mention the success of the publication of four-volume "World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts" (the final volume of English edition appeared in 1994, the Arabic one will be published in 1996). Following this project the Foundation has initiated a program to bring to light the contents of so far uncatalogued collections of Islamic manuscripts. Al-Furqān has already published handlists of the Library of Makkah al-Mukarramah and several private libraries in Yemen. The Foundation supporting activities in this field were a success in Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal or are near to be successfully terminated by the publication of the catalogues and handlists of several important public and private collections. The expansion of the handlisting work with the financial support of the Foundation is expected to take place in Benin, Chad, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Togo, the Republic of South Africa, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Albania, and Pakistan. The full catalogues of the collections in Byelorussia, Lithuania and Tatarstan are being prepared now as well. The work under review has also been done within this important project.

The collection of the Islamic manuscripts (Arabic, Persian and Turkish) of the Oriental Department of the SS Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia was formed soon after the Library's foundation in 1878 with the acquisition of 2,485 manuscripts and old printed books from the Library of Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha in Samokov. In 1888 the collection was enriched with another 650 manuscripts and old printed books from the Library of Osman Pazvantoglu of Vidin. A significant part of manuscripts has been acquired in the following years from the *waqf* libraries in Küstendil and Sofia, from the state and municipal institutions of many towns, as well as from private collections.

At the end of 1993 the total number of Oriental manuscripts was 3,698. The most numerous is the collection of Arabic manuscripts, which numbers more than 3,000 items. The Turkish collection includes about 500 manuscripts, while the Persian one — about 140.

The manuscripts represent a wide scope of Islamic science and literature. These are the copies of the Qur'ān and works on exegesis, *ḥadīth*, theology, law, and philosophy, works on history, geography, literature and language, etc.

Many scholars contributed to the compiling of the general catalogue of the Islamic manuscripts of SS Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia. A Bulgarian scholar Boris Nedkov devoted about twenty years of his life (from 1942 to 1960) to the describing of 450 Turkish manuscripts representing 350 works (unfortunately, his catalogue has remained unpublished). It should be noted that among those who participated in the work on the collection was a Russian scholar A. Shishmanov, a pupil of the famous arabist I. Yu. Krachkovsky. In 1913 he described 37 Arabic and one Persian manuscript of the Pazvantoglu library collection.

'Adnān Darwish from Syria, after his six months' work in the Sofia National Library in 1963, published a two-volume catalogue (the first volume in 1969 and the second — in 1974) containing 1,025 codices (Qur'ān, *tafsīr*, works on geography and literature). Furāt Muḥammad Mahdī al-Jawāhirī from Iraq made, between 1965 and 1967, about 1,830 short card descriptions of nearly 900 codices. Another specialist from Iraq, Yūsuf 'Izz al-Dīn, published in 1967 a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, which includes 141 codices on history, geography and literature. The catalogue of Arabic manuscripts with a description of 95 copies of the Qur'ān was compiled and published by a Bulgarian scholar G. Petkova-Bozhanova in 1977. A little earlier, in 1973, the catalogue of the Persian manuscripts of the collection was prepared by Jamshīd Sayyār, who described 118 manuscripts representing 75 works.

However, many years had passed till the catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts on *ḥadīth* sciences was published. Its author, a curator of the Islamic collection of the SS Cyril and Methodius National Library Dr. S. Kenderova, is well known to specialists for her contribution to the studies of the Ottoman (Turkish) archival documentary materials of the same Library. In the Catalogue under review she is meticulously following the traditional practice of describing of Arabic manuscripts.

The Catalogue comprises 243 descriptions representing 124 works which are preserved, either completely or in fragments, in the Library. The material is divided into four parts: 1) *Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*; 2) *Al-Ṣiḥaḥ al-Sittah* (The Six Greatest Collections); 3) Other collections; 4) *Arba'ūn Ḥadīthan* (Forty *Ḥadīths*) Collections. The author describes

each item in the utmost detailed way. Her standard pattern includes elements providing the exhaustive information on an item, which is arranged in five basic units:

I. Presentation of the work, the author and the particular manuscript as a copy of the work (including obligatory information about the work/copy and author/copyist, short description of the work, copy, its incipit and excipit);

II. Physical description of the manuscript (number of folios/pages, text size, text frames);

III. Palaeographic and codicological characteristics (information on paper and watermarks, ink, script, marginal and interlinear notes, decorations, binding, vocalisation of the text, etc.);

IV. Provenance and previous ownership of the copy, its history (entries, marginal notes, seal impressions, purchase and ownership recordings, *waqf* dedications are mentioned);

V. References.

The Catalogue is rounded off with twelve indices. They include the following:

1. Index of titles (in Latin script).
2. Index of titles (in Arabic script).
3. Index of authors, compilers and commentators.
4. Index of copyists.
5. Index of former owners.
6. Index of *waqf* dedications.
7. Index of other persons mentioned in manuscripts.
8. Index of geographical names.
9. Index of *waqf* libraries.
10. Concordance between the call numbers of the manuscripts and their description numbers.
11. Table of dates of copying.
12. Index of incipits.

The book is notable by its high level of production. It is also supplemented with 15 colour and 4 black-and-white Plates.

Dr. Stoyanka Kenderova (who prepared her PhD thesis in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies under the guidance of Prof. Oleg Bolshakov) may be praised for the depth and range of her scholarship which enabled her to produce an excellent work. We are glad to note that the Catalogue under review maintains the high standard of the series of works sponsored and published by al-Furqān.

We are also glad to point out the growing activities of our colleagues from SS Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia in presenting their collections' treasures. It is known that they have recently arranged the exhibition of the Qur'āns from the collection (the exhibition catalogue entitled "The Holy Qur'ān Through Centuries" was also sponsored by Al-Furqān). The publication of two CD-ROMs, one containing a richly decorated 13th century Qur'ān and the other — many hundreds of images of Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, Walachian and Moldavian Tetraevangelia, as well as the 12th—17th centuries Qur'āns, should be mentioned, too.

Finally, we cannot but share the expectations and hopes of Sheikh Aḥmad Zakī Yamānī, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, the International Advisory Council and the Board of Experts of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, who, in the preface to Dr. S. Kenderova's Catalogue, noted that all the works to be published in this series would promote a greater awareness of the collections they describe and would be a great step towards the more profound study of this priceless manuscript heritage.

*F. Abdullaeva and E. Rezvan*

***Manuscripts from the Himalayas and the Indian Subcontinent.* Catalogue 17. Sam Fogg Rare Books. Catalogue by Sam Fogg and Bob Miller. Photography by Matt Pia. Typesetting, Page Artwork and Printing by Titus Wilson and Son, Kendal, Cumbria. London: 1996, 161 pp.**

The publication under review is a special type of a catalogue of Oriental manuscripts which came to Europe in the last few years through private collectors. As a rule, people travelling in the East enjoy buying various rarities, Oriental manuscripts among them, from local traders. The attention of non-specialists is attracted first of all by illuminated manuscripts. Illustrations — drawings, schemes, miniatures, are the only thing which allows this kind of collectors to estimate the contents of what they are buying. In our days, when Eastern medicine, philosophy and especially astrology and magic became more popular than the achievements of Western science, collectors' interest in the subjects enumerated above became even stronger. To evaluate from the scientific point of view the manuscripts which come to the European market and to provide the collectors with right recommendations is a very important task. Such recommendations not only allow to estimate the real value of many private collections, they help also to un-

derstand the achievements of Oriental culture accumulated and reflected in the manuscripts.

The Catalogue is definitely helpful to the solution of these problems. Its makers — Sam Fogg and Bob Miller — published a detailed description of manuscripts originating from Tibet, Nepal and India, which may be of some interest to specialists.

179 items are presented in the Catalogue, of these 177 are manuscripts, block-printed books, religious paintings on paper and textiles, miniatures, etc. Two items (No. 13 "Prayer Wheel" and No. 41 "Buddhist inscribed brass vase, record of a religious donation") are objects of material culture. All descriptions are made by professionals. The most prominent experts from Europe and India were invited to describe and classify manuscripts and objects of art, among them Dr. Lore Sander from Berlin, a famous palaeographer, one of the authors of the six-volume *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts from East Turkestan*; Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams from London, expert in medieval manuscripts from Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, as well as in the Middle Iranian languages and scripts; Dr. Ulrich Pagel working on the description of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs of the British Library; Dr. Jane Singer, specialist in Sino-Tibetan iconography; Dr. Ian Alsop, expert in the

Nepalese manuscript tradition and iconography, and several other scholars. Due to their participation in the making of the Catalogue every manuscript is provided with a strict scientific description of its contents, state of preservation, writing material, script, language and dating. Besides this factual data the descriptions include vast excursions into history and culture, which help to imagine the manuscripts within the general cultural context of the period and the region to which they belong.

The descriptions of the manuscripts are arranged by regions. Within this regional division the manuscripts are described in the chronological order. Sanskrit manuscripts are also classified by their subjects and genres. A special place belongs to fragments written in a special kind of Indian Brāhmī. They most probably originate from the region of Banyan or Gilgit where they were immured in a stupa or in some other Buddhist monument. They can be dated between the 1st and 7th centuries. Among other Sanskrit manuscripts we find traditional ancient and medieval Indian texts — fragments of the Vedas and comments on them, epic, *purāṇas*, Buddhist *sūtras*, *tantras*, treatises on Yoga, fragments from the Jaina and Sikh literary tradition. Books in New Indian languages — Hindi, Urdu, Panjabi, Orya, Telugu, Tamil, Cannada, Malayalam, Singalese — are also present.

Finally, the Catalogue under review includes Islamic manuscripts in Persian and Arabic: 11 in Persian (Nos. 163—165, 167, 168, 170—175) and two in Arabic (Nos. 169, 176).

Estimating the lists of manuscripts from the point of view of their contents, it should be mentioned that they represent well-known works of the ancient and medieval Indian and Tibetan literatures. At the same time every manuscript should be considered as a unique phenomenon of culture. Among the manuscripts described in the Catalogue some are exclusively interesting either from the point of view of their palaeography and early dating, or as samples of illuminated book-art. These are:

No. 1: a Dunhuang copy of the Tibetan *Aparimitāyur-sūtra* of the mid-8th century. Similar copies are present in the libraries of England, France and Russia, all with colophons containing the names of those who were involved in the making of manuscripts. These names, together with the names mentioned in the 8th—9th centuries business documents, expand our knowledge of the prosopography of the region and of its ethnic history (see our review of the book by L. S. Savitsky in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1, 2 (1995), p. 62).

No. 16: a Nepalese manuscript on paper (the 15th or early 16th century) contains the text of "Procedure to Appease Those Who Seize" (Skr. *Badhagrahaṇa*), with 14 miniatures, depicting a *graha* leaning over and attacking a patient in a sleeping-bag or quilt. These demons are closely connected with deities of the planets and constellations injuring the people.

No. 17: a manuscript on palm-leaf, dated from the 16th century. Sanskrit in Newārī script. It contains the devotional miscellany including the *Devimahātmya*. MS is interesting because of its 32 coloured miniatures depicting a number of deities and goddesses and because of their floral ornament.

No. 26: a manuscript on paper, dated from the 18th century, the Sanskrit and Newārī languages. It contains the

*Aśvaśāstra* ("A Treatise on the Nature and Illnesses of Horses"). The text is illustrated with 49 fine miniatures. They use deep colours with solid contrasting ground colours, with details added in black ink.

No. 40: a manuscript on palm-leaf, dated by the authors of the Catalogues back to the 11th century ("early Bhujimol calligraphy"). It contains the complete text of the "Praise of the Great Goddess", the *Devimahātmya*. It is almost the earliest copy of the composition very popular all over India, which gave rise to the huge literature.

As for the Muslim manuscripts of the Catalogue, it should be noted that the series of the Muslim art exhibitions, which have recently taken place in Geneva, Paris, New York, Berlin, Lugano, Sofia, and Salzburg and were dedicated, wholly or partly, to the Muslim calligraphy and miniature art, demonstrate the growing interest towards the art heritage of the Muslim civilisation. This interest contributes considerably to the rise of prices to the corresponding strings of the leading auction houses.

The part of the Catalogue, which presents the Mughal style and many manuscripts from India (Nos. 163—179) written in Persian, is of a special interest. In this connection we would like to draw readers' attention to a miniature from the well-known mid-15th century dispersed manuscript of the *Khamsa* by Amīr Khusrav Dihlawī (other folios can be found in the museums of London, Washington, Montreal, Los Angeles, Seattle, Kansas City, Worcester, and in some private collections) and to a miniature from the 16th century *Bābur-nāma* manuscript (from the collection of H. Kevorkian). Among most interesting manuscripts one can mention the 17th century copy of Zakariya al-Qazwīnī's *Ajā'ib al-Makhlūkāt* from Deccan, which contains 302 miniatures and an interesting world map. The 17th century *Tashrīḥ Maṣū'irī* ("Anatomy of Maṣūr") is also notable. Three drawings of it has recently been published in colour in a very interesting and helpful "Oriental Medicine. An Illustrated Guide to the Asian Arts of Healing", edited by J. Van Alphen and A. Aris (London, 1995). The Catalogue comprises a description of two other interesting manuscripts: a) richly decorated poetic miscellany with twelve miniatures by Indian artists (nine 17th century miniatures executed in the Indianised Ṣfahān style, as well as the early 19th century Qājār calligraphy and illumination); b) a very large luxurious Kashmiri Qur'ān dated by 1864 and provided with a beautiful lacquer binding (one of the largest so far known) and with a *tafsīr* by Mullā Ḥusayn Wā'iz al-Kāshifī. The Qur'ān also contains marginal notes giving information on a number of verses, words and letters in each *Sūra*, according to five *qir'at* (!).

It should be noted that many manuscript collections of India, Afghanistan and Iran are rather poorly described, and their treasures are but vaguely known to scholars. Some small collections in provincial centres and villages, which are stored in temples and shrines, have never been studied at all. In this sense the Catalogue under review will definitely serve an additional source of our knowledge on such an extensive field as Oriental manuscripts. Due to the Catalogue a lot of interesting and rare copies, which came to Europe during the last few years, are brought to light.

Finally, it should be added that the polygraph quality of the Catalogue is excellent.

M. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya and E. Rezvan

A. H. Aleeva. *Puteshestvie Ismail aga v Indiiu (Issledovanie iazyka tatarskikh putevykh zapisok XVIII v. "Ismail aga seyahetname")*. Kazan: 1993, 166 str.

**The Voyage of Ismā'il Aghā to India. A Study of the Language of the 18th Century Tatar Traveller's Records. *Ismā'il Aghā siyāhat-nāmasī*.** Kazan: 1993, 166 pp.

The publication by A. H. Aleeva includes a facsimile reproduction of the Arabographic text of the records written by Ismā'il Bikmuhamedov, a Tatar merchant from Orenburg, its translation into Russian and its study from the point of view of its language and as a cultural phenomenon. This work represents a description of a voyage to India undertaken by the author in the second half of the 18th century. It is written in prose and it belongs to the popular in the Islamic genre of *siyāhat-nāma*. The most noteworthy is that Ismā'il Aghā travelled to India as a member of a caravan specially commissioned by the Russian government.

Unfortunately, the autograph of the records is missing. Its popularity is, however, confirmed by the existence of numerous copies. It stands very close to Muhammad Amīn's *Siyāhat-nāma*, a Tatar writing created in the last quarter of the 18th century. Both works, which attracted scholars' attention as early as the 19th century, were first published by the typography of the Kazan University in 1862.

A. H. Aleeva emphasises the active part of the Tatars as intermediaries between Russia and the countries of the East. Many dragomans and interpreters of the Moscow Chamber who draw documents in the Turkish language were the Tatars. A whole group of them served in the Embassy Department in Moscow in the 17th—18th centuries. After the foundation of Orenburg in the 1730s the centre of international trade between Russia and the East gradually shifted from Astrakhan to Orenburg. The Tatars from the Kargaline *sloboda* (district near Orenburg) began, besides their main occupation as traders, to serve as interpreters for trade caravans going with them as far as India. Gradually the Tatars from Kazan also became involved in these activities.

In the "Travels" by Ismā'il Aghā he describes his voyage to India in 1751 with the trade caravan of 'Abdullā Khayalīn. It is evident from the text that the initial aim of this expedition was trade. Later, however, when the caravan reached Bukhara, an order from the Russian government to reach India and to fulfil a diplomatic mission was received. The author describes in detail his route (Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, India, Arabia, Ottoman Turkey), customs of the peoples he encountered on the way and various cultural monuments.

According to Ismā'il Aghā, the caravan stayed in Delhi for nine months. Then the political events in India prevented the author from going back home by the usual route, so finally he reached Istanbul. There, with all his money lost, Ismā'il Aghā spent 25 years of his life before he could come back to Russia. The records are written in the Old Tatar language with much use of colloquial Tatar expressions affecting both its lexicon and its grammar.

Revealing the history of the text, Aleeva notes that when it was first published in Kazan in 1862 (presumably

by G. Sablukov), some unknown copy, now missing, was used. One more (incomplete) publication, which also appeared in 1862, was made by Russian orientalist I. N. Bezzin who based upon two copies. Then followed other editions. The last one (before the publication by A. H. Aleeva) was undertaken in 1989 by the same author as an edition for lay readers, made after the version of the text from the Manuscript Department of the Library of the Kazan University (No. 311).

The present publication is basing upon nine surviving manuscripts of the records. Four of them belong to the Library of the Kazan University, two are from the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, one — from the Manuscript Department of the Institute of Language and Literature named after G. Ibragimov, of the Academy of Sciences of Tatarstan, one is preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of Bashkortostan, and one originates from the private collection of M. I. Ahmetzyanov, a member of the staff of the Institute of Language and Literature named after G. Ibragimov. This last copy was discovered by its present owner in the course of his archaeographic research in the city of Kazan. The earliest copy, that of the Library of the Kazan University (No. 311), has been selected by Aleeva to serve the core of her publication.

The textological analysis undertaken by Aleeva shows that considerable changes were often made while copying the text. The collation of the copies demonstrates numerous discrepancies related both to the lexicon and grammar. Aleeva presents the analysis of the phonetic system of the Tatar language, as it is transmitted by the Arabic script, and of the morphological characteristics of the work. Its grammatical structure, according to Aleeva, reveals features inherent in the Kypchak and the Oghuz linguistic groups, with Kypchak elements predominating.

Much attention is given to the lexicon of the composition, its major part being the Turkic-Tatar words. There are, however, also many Arabic and Persian loan-words (27% — Arabic, 11% — Persian). It is noteworthy that there are only three cases of Russian loan-words. These are words for "sergeant", "soldier", and "anchor". At that time, as Aleeva comments, Russian loan-words could be found only in official documents or in letters. Their almost complete absence in the text of the records marks its difference from the Tatar documents of the time of Emelyan Pugachev's rebellion (the end of the 18th century), where the number of Russian loan-words is considerable.

Basing upon her analysis of the Turkic-Tatar lexicon of the records, Aleeva points out that most of these words are still actively used in the modern Tatar literary language, though some of these words appear in the text in the Oghuz phonetic variant.

At the end of her publication A. H. Aleeva enumerates the principal conclusions basing upon her thorough linguistic analysis of the text. These conclusions are of much importance to the study of the Tatar language, in particular to the comparatively little known stage of its development in the second half of the 18th century.

I. Petrosyan

**Khrestomatiia po Islamu.** Perevody s arabskogo, vvedeniia i primechaniia. Sostavitel' i otvetstvennyi redaktor S. M. Prozorov. Moscow: Nauka, 1994, 238 str.

**Islam Reader.** Translations from Arabic, introductions and commentaries. Compiled and edited by S. M. Prozorov. Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1994, 238 pp.

The first part of the *Islam Reader*<sup>1</sup> was published in 1994 in Moscow by the publishing house "Vostochnaya Literatura" (Oriental Literature). It contains translations (with detailed commentaries and introductory articles) of several original Arabic texts representing different genres of Muslim religious literature<sup>2</sup>. The need for such a collection of texts has long been there, especially since textbooks on Arabic literature and language are scarce, and the demand for young specialists in the field of Islamic studies is growing. The appearance of this book should be viewed therefore as a prominent event in scholarly life. There is practically no experience with creating similar text selections, neither in Russia, nor in Western countries. It should be noted that the idea of publishing a similar selection of texts in English translation is much approved by our colleagues from other countries<sup>3</sup>.

Materials included in *Islam Reader* represent a wide range of problems connected with the study of Islam. All aspects of traditional Islamic studies are present: the origin of Islam (fragments from *Sira rasul Allah* by Ibn Hishām, etc.), Qur'anic texts and exegesis (98th *Sūra* and commentaries on it made by representatives of different schools and sects), the Sunna of the Prophet (passages from Ibn Baṭṭa al-'Uqbārī), dogmatic literature (chapter from '*Usul al-din fi-l-qalam*', the book by the Shafiite *faqih* and Ash'arite theologian al-Baghḍādī; the '*Aqida* or "Creed" by Ahmad b. Hanbal, the eponymous founder of the Hanbalite school of law and theology), Sūfī literature (chapters from the classical *Kitāb al-luma'* by Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj al-Tūsī), Muslim law (chapters from one of the earliest works on *fiqh* — *Kitāb al-Kharāj* by Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb). These wide and successfully selected materials not only make it possible to teach students how to work with corresponding sources, but also give some idea of Islam in general and its forms developing in the Muslim world for over a thousand years. In this connection this publication may be interesting not only to students but also to specialists in such fields as history, Oriental studies, and philosophy.

It is noteworthy that not only Arabic printed texts and translations are included, but also fragments of manuscripts. These are pages representing different manuscript traditions and different genres of Islamic religious literature: the Qur'ān, *tafsīr*, collections of *ḥadīth*, works of Ṣūfīs, etc.). The manuscripts are written in different scripts — from comparatively easy to read Kufic Qur'āns and clear *naskh* to almost illegible cursive writing of marginal notes. The inclusion of these materials not only helps make the student familiar with the Arab manuscript tradi-

tion but also gives him some practice working with manuscript texts. In some sense this last task is quite new, usually textbooks and collections of selected texts were not required to confront it. However, the presence in Russia, first of all in St. Petersburg, of large collections of Arabic manuscripts demands the introduction of this kind of training — at least at the initial stage.

From this point of view most impressive chapter of the book is "The Qur'ān and Its Exegesis" by E. Rezvan. It includes the 98th *Sūra* of the Qur'ān and a representative selection of 12 *tafsīrs* by different authors. The chapter is provided with the following reproductions of manuscript fragments:

1. 2 folios of an early Kufic Qur'ān manuscript dated from the 8th—9th centuries (parts of *Sūras* 96—98);
2. 2 folios from a Qur'ān written in Maghribī script (*Sūra* 98);
3. 2 folios from the *tafsīr* by al-Zamakhsharī (commentary on *Sūra* 98) written in easily legible *naskh*;
4. 2 folios written in middle-size *naskh* from the *tafsīr* by al-Bayḍāwī (explanation of *Sūra* 98) containing numerous marginal additions. The copy was made in 698/1299;
5. 2 folios of the same type from the *tafsīr* by al-Jalālayn (explanation of *Sūra* 98), manuscript of 925/1519.

The inclusion of similar materials into textbooks of this kind, preferably in high quality reproductions, should be encouraged.

During a discussion of the book under review in Bergen in the May of 1995 (in which Efim Rezvan, Joseph Bell of the University of Bergen, and Dr. Michael G. Carter of New York University took part) the idea of making a series of similar textbooks devoted to different genres of medieval Arabic literature was considered. However, the suggested series would be different from *Islam Reader* in being not just a collection of texts borrowed from different works, but a series of publications, each of them dedicated to one specific genre or to one author. The whole idea was to some extent inspired by the chapter on the Qur'ān and its exegesis. A separate issue of this chapter (with a slightly expanded foreword) could serve as a pattern for the suggested series. The necessity of producing such a series of textbooks is evident. Textbooks of this kind are few not only in Russia but also in Western countries. We invite all specialists working in the field of the Arabic language and literature to take part in this project or in its discussion<sup>4</sup>. We are ready to undertake all preliminary and editorial work. Only the question of funding remains open. The issues could be printed either in St. Petersburg or elsewhere, original forms would be prepared in St. Petersburg. Our project offers a very flexible forum for making the results of research-work available to students (as well as for a wide range of specialists in other disciplines). Practically every Arabist can compile a textbook of this kind on the basis of

<sup>1</sup> The book had been submitted to printers several years ago, however, its publication was detained by technical and financial problems connected with the reconstruction of the publishing business in Russia.

<sup>2</sup> The second part of the book containing texts in Arabic is forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> Of the textbooks on Islam most closely resembling the *Islam Reader* there is *Textual Sources for the Study of Islam*, ed. and trans. by A. Rippin and J. Knappert (Manchester, 1986), which gives translations of the corresponding texts into English.

<sup>4</sup> We shall be happy to get any suggestions connected with this project, which is now in its preliminary stage. Our e-mail address is: "orient@icos.spb.su".

the sources he is studying. The number of issues is unlimited, if we take into account the many genres existing in Arabic literature and the multitude of works written in the Arabic language.

Let us consider now the conditions which textbooks of this kind should meet. Needless to say, a thorough selection of materials is required, as well as a high level of editing and printing.

## I. THE TEXTBOOKS SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING OBLIGATORY ELEMENTS

### 1. Parallel texts

a) Arabic original typed in clear easily legible font, preferably with diacritic marks in all difficult cases which could be interpreted in several different ways (passives which are not evident and the like).

b) Translation into Russian (or/and into English). Translations should be clear, philologically precise and close to the original (almost literal, though the grammatical rules of the language into which the text is translated must be respected). Paraphrases are inappropriate for the purpose of the series. When a translation of a poetic or *adab* work is done, it can be presented in a more "artistic" form, but only after the parallel word-by-word translation of the same text and preferably at the end of the book.

### 2. Manuscript text

It is preferable or, from our point of view, even necessary, to include facsimile reproductions of the Arabic manuscript text. There is no need to reproduce the whole text selected, but at least several pages should be present in the book. This will give the reader some idea of the Arab manuscript tradition and will make him see how the text in question was embodied in material form. It would be useful in this connection to reproduce folios from different manuscripts and to give the first and the last page of one of the manuscripts. Such reproductions will make the book more interesting and will introduce more variety into the process of education. They can help the student feel the pulse of real life.

### 3. Commentaries

Commentaries should be thorough and detailed, giving the student a complete idea of the material he is dealing with. All notions, terms, names and place-names occurring in the text should be commented. Even well-known terms and names which could be left without comment in an ordinary critical edition of a text must be taken into account. On the other hand, the commentaries should be more detailed than usual — to provide the student with positive information on the history, language and cultural environment of the genre he is working on. At the same time commentaries of this kind could be interesting to specialists in related fields, like the history of Medieval Europe, who are not so well acquainted with the realities of the Oriental world. Finally, from the point of view of pure scholarship,

since the number of medieval Arabic treatises translated into European languages is not huge, one cannot overestimate the importance of any new publications introducing new materials

### 4. Introduction

The introduction is expected to contain information on the following aspects:

a) Genre, its characteristics in detail and a short history. Specific genre features of the work in question, etc.

b) The author: his life and work; in what historical and literary environment his works were created (especially the work considered in the textbook).

c) Time: information on the historical period considered in the text in question (this concerns first of all works on history, works of the *adab* genre relating to historical events, and the like). It would be reasonable to give a detailed historical survey of the period considered in works on history.

### 5. Vocabulary

It is preferable, though not obligatory (because the Arabic text is supplemented with a parallel translation), to include a vocabulary. The creation of a complete vocabulary of the text would of course be a complicated and time-consuming work. It is quite possible, however, to make a concise vocabulary in the process of translating and editing the text, including the most important and difficult to understand groups of words:

a) Special terms — philological, historical, philosophical, etc. — with a detailed explanation of their meaning and use.

b) Rare words which the potential reader (not only a student) could not be expected to know. The range of selection is wide enough: one can either include only words missing in standard Arabic dictionaries (for the Russian reader the dictionary by Baranov) and present only in Arabic explanatory dictionaries or in large European dictionaries (Lane), or just all words which do not occur very frequently (or words most probably unknown to students).

c) Well-known words which occur in the text in a specific meaning (if a dozen of meanings for some word are known, but in the text it is present only in one rarely used meaning), words which in this particular context require a very careful selection of European equivalents, and other unusual cases.



## II. SELECTING TEXTS

The principle quality required of the text is its representativeness:

1. The text selected must be a characteristic representative of the genre in question to make the reader (student) familiar with the principal features of the genre as a whole.

2. The author of the text selected should be one of the principal representatives of the genre in question. The same concerns the work itself: it should be an outstanding work within the genre as a whole as well as among the works of the chosen author.

3. When dealing with a work the length of which makes it impossible to give the full text — a chronicle, a work on geography, a collection of *adab* — the section selected for translation should be logically complete. It must be a finished narrative, geographical description, philosophical essay or description of some historical event or period. Even if a series of fragments is given, they must be logically connected, presenting some aesthetically consistent whole, not just a book of quotations.

4. The text itself should contain information of some value, so that the student could not only learn how to read texts of this kind, but also get useful data on the subject matter (historical events, description of lands, cities and peoples, religious dogma, philosophy, linguistic phenomena, etc.). As for literary texts — *adab* and poetry — the texts selected should, on one hand, give some idea of the different sides of the author's creative activities, on the other — of the genre in question.

All the above notwithstanding, a given issue should not necessarily include only texts written by the same author. A different principle may be applied, for example, a collection of texts by different authors presenting a consistent description of a certain phenomenon. Ten *mu'allaqas* by different authors also present a consistent whole (actually, even a smaller number would be enough to illustrate this particular genre).

The chapter by Efim Rezvan in *Islam Reader* meets practically all the requirements listed here. It gives a clear idea of the Qur'ān and its place in the Muslim tradition during more than a thousand years — from its interpretation in the 8th century (*tafsir* by Muqātil b. Sulaymān) to the most recent concepts of the Muslim Brothers (*Fī Zilāl al-Qur'ān* by Sayyid Qutb). The 98th *Sūra*, which Rezvan uses as an example, is one of the most important and complicated parts of the Qur'ān (a fact which was noticed by practically all authors of *tafsirs*). It is important not only theologically but also on practical, political level: the way of interpreting the words of the Qur'ān relating to non-Moslems (first of all — “the people of the Book”), has never been just pure theory. Much in the practice of relations with non-Muslim states and with heterodox communities within *dār al-Islām* depended upon the way Qur'ānic sentences (especially of the 98th *Sūra*) were interpreted. On the other hand, established practice to some extent influenced the way the *Sūra* was interpreted. This complicated double-sided process was developing at different levels: social practice influenced ideology and ideological innovations modified social practice.

The selection of *tafsirs* is also quite representative. It makes it possible to trace the development both of the notions and concepts commented, as well as of the genre itself, reflecting changes not only in Muslim theology but also in the society and in social consciousness in general. A number of works representing the principal stages of the making of Islamic exegesis and theology are cited (the *tafsir* by Muqātil b. Sulaymān standing at the beginning of this genre; the work by al-Ṭabarī, the most prominent work of this kind, which sums up both the development of Islamic exegesis in general and that of “commentary based on tradition” in particular; the most popular *tafsir* of the later Middle Ages and of modern times, the *Tafsir al-Jalālayn*, which is the peak of the development of the genre, the so-called “Arabic translation of the Qur'ān”; and the works of one of the most prominent Arab reformers Muḥammad ‘Abduh and the ideologist of the Muslim Brothers Sayyid Qutb). The whole spectrum of trends within Islam is represented: purely Sunni *Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Bukhārī and the *tafsir* by the Shafiite *fakih* and commentator al-Bayḍāwī; Shiite *tafsir* by al-Ṭabarsī and the Mu'tazilite commentary by al-Zamakhsharī; the *tafsir* of the prominent Ash'arite al-Rāzī, the Sūfī commentary by al-Tustarī (the earliest composition of this kind containing allegoric explanation of the Qur'ānic text) and by Ibn ‘Arabī. The technical aspect of the chapter is also perfect: the translation is precise, with detailed commentaries and an introduction containing a survey of the history of the genre and an analysis of the principal problems and notions present in the 98th *Sūra* of the Qur'ān. There are also introductory articles dedicated to each of the *tafsirs*. Very important are the reproductions of pages from several manuscripts which give some idea of how the Arab manuscript tradition developed (and at the same time a good introduction for students who wish to learn to read different scripts). All this provides a linguistic and theological basis for future work with the sources of this kind.

A collection of texts from medieval Arab geographers along the same lines is being planned by the present reviewer. It will include passages by different authors describing some part of the caravan route from Khorasan to Baghdad. A series of texts describing the same part of the route can, on one hand, demonstrate the characteristic features of medieval Arab geography and, on the other, show how the principles of selecting and rendering materials were developing from the early works on geography by Ibn Khurdādhbih, Qudāma, Ibn Rusta, and al-Ya'qūbī to the “classical school of Arab geography” represented by such writers as al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hawqal, and al-Muqaddasī. Readers will be provided with the necessary materials for them to attempt their own reconstruction of the trade route (which makes the learning process more entertaining). Taking into account the specific character of the contemplated edition, it must include, besides the texts, translations, commentaries, and facsimile reproductions of pages from different manuscripts, as well as several maps from medieval works and a reliable modern map of the area described<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> It would be best, perhaps, not to use the most recent maps showing the landscape considerably changed, but maps from the beginning of the century with no modern features present. Many of the roads in the Middle-East, for instance, were still following the course of medieval caravan tracks at the beginning of this century.

Another example, this time of a text belonging to one author, is a collection I am preparing of passages from *Al-Kāmil fī-l-tārīkh* by Ibn al-Athīr dedicated to the history of Syria, Palestine, al-Jazira and Iraq in the second half of the 11th—beginning of the 12th centuries. The materials selected so as to meet all the requirements listed above. Ibn al-Athīr is a first-rate historian, one of the prominent representatives of Arab historiography (he can be compared only with al-Ṭabarī, if we take into account the range of materials he records and the way he uses them). *Al-Kāmil fī-l-tārīkh*, moreover, is a characteristic and a very good example of an Arab chronicle. It is written in clear language characteristic of this genre. Passages selected for the textbook refer to a limited period — from the acme of the Seljuk Empire (the arrival of Ṭughril Beg in Baghdad in 1055) to its decline and fall and the appearance of the Crusader states. This era, for which the work by Ibn al-Athīr is the

principle source, was one of the crucial periods in the history of the Middle East. The rise of the Seljuk Empire brought many changes in the social, political and economic life of the whole region. It is impossible to underestimate the significance of these changes, no matter how different the views of scholars on their nature (from “gradual evolution” to “revolutionary rupture”) may be. At the same time it was the beginning of the Crusades, a new stage in the history of the Mediterranean region. The appearance of *Islam Reader* is a contribution to the development of Arabic studies in general and to the educational infrastructure required to train new specialists in one of the traditional fields of Oriental studies — Arabic manuscripts — in particular. Moreover, as I have tried to point out, it sets an example for a number of useful projects.

A. Matveev

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## Notes to Contributors

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## Submissions

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Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3

