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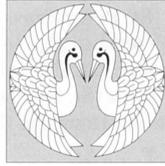
Front cover:

Kim Jungyn (Kisan), “[Band of musicians] playing”, the drawing No. 24 from the album preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number B-35), China ink and water-colours, the second half of the 19th century, 14.0 × 21.5 cm.

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- Plate 1. Kim Jungyn (Kisan)**, “That is how officials (= eunuchs?) in charge of security and palace's tidiness look like (?)”, the drawing No. 37 from the same album, China ink and water-colours, 14.0 × 21.5 cm.
- Plate 2. Kim Jungyn (Kisan)**, “This is how the officials clad in formal red garments and hats decorated with gold (for a morning audience) look like”, the drawing No. 54 from the same album, China ink and water-colours, 14.0 × 21.5 cm.
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- Plate 4. Kim Jungyn (Kisan)**, “Officials attached to the sovereign”, the drawing No. 35 from the same album, China ink and water-colours, 14.0 × 21.5 cm.

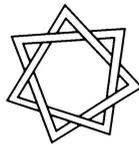
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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

T. I. Sultanov

MU'IZZ AL-ANSĀB AND SPURIOUS CHINGĪZIDS

In Oriental studies, like in all other branches of science, there are many traps into which a scholar can fall. One of these traps are the established opinions of the former and present scholarly authorities. The second volume of "A Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde" [1] published by the famous Russian orientalist W. G. Tisenhausen contains translations of long passages from *Mu'izz al-ansāb* ("The Book in Praise of Genealogies") — one of the most important sources on the genealogical history of the Chingīzid and the Timūrid families in the 13th—15th centuries. When I compared the translations with the text of the original, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, I discovered that the published translations of the abstracts contained most serious mistakes distorting the genealogical history of the Chingīzids, as well as the whole picture of internal dynastic and political relations in the Chingīzid *ulūses*.

It would have been proper to consider the problem of the spurious Chingīzids, the supposed male descendants of Chingīz Khān who never really existed, much earlier. They came into being by mistake, when in 1941 the second volume of the "Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde" was published, containing the translation of the early 15th century Islamic work *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. The Persian original of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, however, of which no copies were to be found in the former Soviet Union, became available to the author of this article only recently. Spurious Chingīzids were discovered by pure chance, when I compared the translations published in the above mentioned "Collection of Materials" with corresponding passages in the original Persian text of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. The total number of these spurious Chingīzids is really striking. Not to tease the reader any more I shall turn now straight to the subject of my article, going back not only to the 15th century, the time when *Mu'izz al-ansāb* was written, but two centuries earlier, to the time of the foundation of the Empire of Chingīz Khān.

The conquests of Chingīz Khān (d. 1227) and his immediate successors resulted in the creation of Eke Mongol Ulus (The Great Mongol State) spreading from the Yellow Sea in the east to the Danube and Euphrates in the west. It was natural that the Empire which consolidated so many different peoples, tribes and states of the Far East, Middle East and Eastern Europe could not continue for a long time.

Already by the 1260s the Mongol Empire became split into four *ulūs*-states ruled by *khāns* — the descendants of Chingīz Khān. These independent and rivaling states were:

1. The Golden Horde, to which belonged the Great Steppe (Dasht-i Qipchāq of the Muslim sources), from the River Irtysh in the east to the Danube in the west. This state was ruled by the descendants of Jūchī (d. 1227), the elder son of Chingīz Khān.

2. The Chaghatāy state, which included Māwarānnahr, Semirechye, East Turkestan (Kashgharia). It took its name from Chaghatāy (d. 1242) the second son of Chingīz Khān.

3. The Hūlāgūid state created in Iran by Hūlāgū Khān (d. 1265), the son of Tulūy, the fourth son of Chingīz Khān. Hūlāgū and his descendants bore also the title of *ilkhān*, therefore in scholarly works the Mongol rulers of Iran are often called the Ilkhāns (Ilkhānids).

4. The state in Mongolia and China, with its capital first in Kaiping, then in Beijing. It was ruled by another line of the descendants of Tulūy (d. 1233), namely the descendants of the Great Khan Qubilāy (d. 1294), brother of *ilkhān* Hūlāgū. This state got the official Chinese name — the Yuan Empire.

Each of these four states had its own destiny. The descendants of Tulūy who ruled in China (the Yüan Empire) were assimilated by the Chinese. The Jūchīds, Chaghatāyids and Hūlāgūids became converts to Islam, the creed of their subjects. The descendants of Tulūy remained in power in Mongolia proper till the 17th century, in China, however, they ruled only till 1368, when the Mīng dynasty came into power. The last *ilkhān* Abū Sa'īd died in 1335, the Hūlāgūid state in Iran disintegrated between 1336 and 1353. The Chaghatāyid dynasty ceased to exist in East Turkestan at the end of the 17th century. The Jūchīds, however, continued to rule in Dasht-i Qipchāq and in the neighbouring regions for a very long time — till the middle of the 19th century.

The works of Muslim authors of the first decades of the 14th century used the Turkic word *ūghūl* or *ūghlān* — literally meaning "son", "child" — to define the members of the Jūchīd, Chaghatāyid or Hūlāgūid dynasties. The term "prince" was used as a title, *i. e.* male descendant of the "Golden Family" of Chingīz Khān, and in this meaning the word *ūghlān* (*ūghūl*) comes only after proper names. From the 1330s—1340s the Arabic word *sultān* becomes the title

most widely used in relation to all members of these dynasties. Within the context of the present article it is important to take into account, that in the Jüchid and Chaghatâyid states the title *sultân* was applied to all princes of the blood, also to princesses, and that the title could be placed both before the name of its owner and after it.

Muslim sources are exclusively important for the study of the history of the Mongol Empire — both at the time of its unity and after its disintegration into several independent states. They are written in different languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkic), different in form and appearance, structure and contents. Among these historical works there are special genealogical books (*nasab-nāma*) containing the genealogical history of the “Golden Family” of Chingiz Khān. To this group of works belongs *Mu'izz al-ansāb fī shajarat salātin Mughūl* (“The Book in Praise of Genealogies in the Lineage of the Mongols”) [2] — the subject of the present article.

The author of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* is unknown. Turkish author Ahmed Zeki Validi Togan suggested that its author had been, possibly, the famous court historian of the Timūrids Hāfiz-i Abrū (d. 1430) [3]. No facts, however, have been found so far to confirm this suggestion.

Mu'izz al-ansāb was written in Persian in 830/ 1426—1427 at the court of the Timūrid Shāhrukh (d. 1447) in Herat. As for the motives which urged the anonymous author to undertake the writing of such a specific historical work, in the foreword to the book (written in a mixture of prose and verse) he is telling the following: “In these days, in the year 830 of Hīgra (1426—1427), Shāhrukh-Bahādurkhān (sic!), let Allah prolong his reign and his authority, ordered to make, finding a comprehensible way of narrating materials, a book on genealogy (*nasab-nāma*), verifying anew the genealogical history *Shajara-i ansāb-i salāt in-i Mughūl* containing the names of his ancestors as well, and supplementing it with [the names of] their descendants born in the later times. In conformity with its contents the present manuscript (*in nuskhā*) got the name *Mu'izz al-ansāb* (“The Book in Praise of Genealogies”). After the genealogical history of the Mongol Sultans comes the genealogy of the ancestor of Amīr Timūr Qarāchār-nūyān of the Bārās tribe. If any new evidence on this subject appears in the future, let them supplement the present genealogical tables” [4].

To this appeal of the court historian of Shāhrukh some person responded (his name also unknown) who continued the genealogy of the Timūrids to the beginning of the 16th century, *i. e.* to the very end of this dynasty.

In this way we got a rare book, where under one cover materials on over a thousand descendants of Chingiz Khān and several hundred Timūrids have been collected.

The famous reference book by Ch. A. Storey, in Russian translation supplemented to much extent by Yu. E. Bregel, mentions three manuscripts of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* preserved in Paris, London and Istanbul [5]. In fact, as it was established in 1990 by American scholar John E. Woods, the manuscript of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul presents a copy of a different, earlier genealogical history composed by one Hūsayn, the son of 'Alī-Shāh. J. E. Woods comes to the conclusion that there exist only two manuscripts of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* [6]. Now, however, even this data appears to be out of date. Two more manuscripts of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* were found in Aligarha (India) by Shiro Ando [7].

So, by now the following four manuscripts of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* are known:

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; the manuscript is very fine and well preserved. This is the manuscript I used. According to what is indicated on the fly-leaf, the manuscript contains 161 folios. In fact, however, it has 164 folios, because folios 5, 116, and 137 have additional leaves. Folios 27b, 53b, 54a, 56b, 58a, 114a, 124a, 144a, and 149a are blank. The script is clear and beautiful *nasta'liq*. Many ethnic names and proper names are drawn in a rather hesitant hand. The scribe was probably not too familiar with the names of the Turko-Mongol nomadic tribes and with the Mongol and Turkic proper names. He often could not comprehend them in the original, therefore he was simply tracing them (often with no diacritic marks).

It is unknown where the Paris copy of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* has been made. It was copied by some unknown scribe in the first decades of the 16th century. It changed hands several times. One of them was, according to the owners' records, some al-Riyādī, who lived in the first half of the 16th century. He bought this fine manuscript in Istanbul. The name of its other owner was Isma'il al-Shahīd b. Fidā'i. His record is dated by the month of Shawwāl 1007/May 1599. There is one more record on folio 1a containing the name of Abū Bakr Rustam ibn Aḥmad al-Shirwānī. He was a famous Ottoman bibliophile (d. 1722/23). In 1142/1729—1730 the manuscript was acquired in Istanbul by Abbot Sevin. Then it came to Paris, to Bibliothèque Nationale [8].

2. London, the British Museum; defective manuscript, probably of the 18th century, written in not easily legible Indian *shikasta* script [9].

3. Aligarh, The Aligarh Muslim University; the sequence of folios is broken, with a later pagination. The manuscript dates to the reign of the Moghul emperor Bahādūr-shāh I (1707—1712) [10].

4. Aligarh, The Aligarh Muslim University; the manuscript is in two volumes. The pagination of the second volume containing the genealogy of the house of Timūr starts anew from page one [11].

None of the four manuscripts contain any mention of the names of their copyists or of the exact dates and places when and where they were made. The anonymous author of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* does not indicate directly his literary sources. His usual reference is: “That is what the truthful Turkic historians say...” (or “the Moghūl historians”, “historians of the Khān's family”). Only once, when he is telling about Esugei-bahādūr, the father of Chingiz Khān, he refers to *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* by the famous historian of the Ilkhāns Rashīd al-Dīn” [12].

The investigations made by A. Z. V. Togan, Karl Jahn, Sholen A. Quinn, John E. Woods, Shiro Ando, and other scholars prove that the part of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* dedicated to the Chingizids was borrowed from *Shu'ab-i panjgānah* (“Genealogy of the Five Peoples”) by Rashīd al-Dīn. He composed *Shu'ab-i panjgānah* between 1306 and 1310. The book is dedicated to the genealogies of the ruling dynasties of the “Five Peoples”: Arabs, Mongols, Jews, Christians-Franks, Chinese. Most of its texts is formed by abstracts from the second volume of *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* by the same author, but with some additional historical data. The anonymous author of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* omitted the genealogies of the Arabs, Jews, Chinese and Franks but borrowed from *Shu'ab-i panjgānah* the genealogical tables of

the house of Chingīz Khān and added the genealogies of the Chingīzids up to the beginning of the 15th century along with those of Tīmūr and the first Tīmūrīds [13].

Another literary source used by the author of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* was, possibly, the genealogical history by Ḥusayn b. 'Alī-Shāh, dedicated to the house of Chingīz Khān and Tīmūr, also composed in the Tīmūrīd environment but somewhat earlier than *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, most probably in the reign of Khalīl Sulṭān (1405—1409). It has no title. The manuscript of this genealogy is preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul. It was studied by J. E. Woods [14].

Mu'izz al-ansāb became known to specialists as early as the 1820s when it was studied by the famous Swedish orientalist K. d'Ohsson. Since that time it was used by many western scholars, most of them, however, were only reading it and using materials from this most valuable source in their research work. Only in the very last years *Mu'izz al-ansāb* became the object of special attention. J. E. Woods worked through and in 1990 published the English translation of the second part of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* — the genealogy of the house of Tīmūr [15]. In 1992 the voluminous monograph by Shiro Ando also specially dedicated to the study of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* appeared [16]. It laid the foundation for the study of the social and ethnic history of the Tīmūrīd state basing upon the materials of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*.

Of Russian scholars probably only W. G. Tisenhausen (1825—1882) and V. V. Barthold (1869—1930) were directly familiar with the Persian original of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. V. Barthold, in particular, published in 1898 an abstract from the Paris manuscript of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* [17]. W. G. Tisenhausen made a trip over Europe in 1880, its aim being to collect evidence on the Golden Horde from European manuscript funds. He made extensive abstracts from the works of many Muslim authors, including the copy of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Abstracts from the last source were studied by him, translated and, for the reason of convenience, arranged as notes and supplements to the translation of Rashid al-Dīn. Tisenhausen, however, has failed to publish these materials during his lifetime. The abstracts and translations made by him were published only in 1941, under the editorship of A. A. Romaskevich and S. L. Volin [18]. An awkward incident, however, took part in connection with this publication. Either by an oversight of Tisenhausen himself, or of the publishers of his materials on the history of the Golden Horde, regrettable mistakes crept into the abstracts from *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. To understand how could it happen, let us turn again to the Persian original of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*.

In the introductory part of his work the anonymous author of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* explains in all detail the princi-

ples after which genealogical materials are arranged in the principal part of the text. To make things clear, he writes tables and other graphic figures and schemes are used in the present genealogy book. Thus the names of the male descendants (*i. e.* each separate name of the princes of blood) are set within circles, the female names are arranged within rectangular frames. The names of those princes who attained the supreme power and became rulers are set within rectangles formed by double frames and with large double circles below them intended for their portraits (there are no portraits in the Paris manuscript of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, all the large circles are empty). On the right of the names and portraits of sovereigns the names of their *amīrs* and nobles are arranged (often with comments on their family and tribe), on the left — the names of their wives and concubines (also with notes on their origin). By the name there is also a memorandum containing the dates of its owner's birth and death, regnal years and other historical data. Male and female descendants of the rulers are indicated in the middle of the page, *i. e.* the names of their children are written within small circles, and the names of those princes who later became rulers are marked with double lines [19].

For some reason in Tisenhausen's publication in the abstracts from *Mu'izz al-ansāb* the main principle of arranging genealogical materials was not followed, namely, in the Persian original the names of the princes of blood (*awlād*, after the terminology of the source) are marked with a circle (large or small, with a single or a double line) while the names of the princesses of blood (*unāth*) are set within a small rectangle. This distinction was disregarded in the translation — in this way dozens of princesses of the family of Chingīz Khān, as if by magic, turned into princes. These very princes, who were actually princesses, and who made their way into history due to the erroneous attitude of the translator, are defined in the present article as "spurious Chingīzids".

I had no possibility, of course, to compare all abstracts from *Mu'izz al-ansāb* published in the "Collection of Materials" by W. G. Tisenhausen with the original Persian text. I took only several passages from those pages of the publication to which scholars refer most often. My "expanded" translation, as you may see, are much different from the translation made by Tisenhausen. This difference can be easily explained: Tisenhausen does not decipher the graphic figures and schemes given in *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, moreover, in many cases the lines linking figures with the names of someone's children with the one containing the name of their father, which continue from one leaf to another, became mixed up. The names of the spurious Chingīzids in Tisenhausen's translation are given in italics.

Tisenhausen [20]

The genealogy of Urūs-khān is divided into three sections: **A.** The progeny of his son Toktakia, **B.** The progeny of his other son Timur-Melik, **C.** The progeny of his third son Koyurechak or Koyrichak.

A. Toktakia had 6 sons: 1) *Bahshibiy*, 2) *Sevdi*, 3) *Tatli*, 4) *Anike-Bulad*, 5) *Buguchak*, 6) *Tengriberdi*. Of them

Mu'izz al-ansāb [21]

Urūs-khān had 15 children: 8 sons and 7 daughters. The names of his daughters are (each name framed by a square; in the general list of the children of Urūs-khān they come as the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th child — *T. S.*): 1) *Shukur* (or *Sheker*), 2) *Tūghlūbiy*, 3) *Irān-biy*, 4) *Sūdū-biy*, 5) *Minglik-Turkān*, 6) *Oghlān-biy*, 7) *Mingli-biy*.

The names of his sons are (these are marked with a circle or double circle; in the general list of the children of Urūs-khān they come as the 1st, 2nd, 3d, 4th, 5th, 13th, 14th, 15th child — *T. S.*):

The first son of Urūs-khān — *Tūqlāqiyā* — he reigned (his name is set within a double-line rectangle linked to a large double circle — *T. S.*). He had three daughters:

Buguchak was the father of 4 sons: 1) Muhammed, 2) Ahmed 3) Aliya, 4) *Imen-biy*. The other five are shown as childless.

B. To Timur-Melik 12 sons are ascribed [22]: 1) Seyid-Ali, 2) Seyid-Ahmed, 3) Tokta-Pulad, 4) Tugluk-Pulad, 5) *Shukur*, 6) *Tuglu-biy*, 7) *Iran-biy*, 8) *Sudu-biy*, 9) *Menglik-Turkan*, 10) *Oglan-biy*, 11) *Mengli-biy*, 12) Kutlu-Buka [23]. Of them the third (Tukta-Pulad) had 2 sons: 1) Togai-Pulad, 2) Saray-Pulad, the fourth (Tugluk-Pulad) — also 2 sons: 1) Ak-Pulad, 2) Berdi-Pulad, the twelfth (Kutlu-Buka) — 4 sons: 1) Jing-Pulad, 2) Kutuchak 3) Yadgar, 4) *Nusret*.

C. Koyurchak was the father of 3 sons: 1) Borak-khan, 2) *Rakiya*, 3) *Pa-yende-sultan*; the last two childless, while the first one (Borak-khan) had 4 sons: 1) *Seadet-bek*, 2) Abu-Said, 3) Mir-Kasim, 4) Mir-Seyid

1) Yahshī-biy, 2) Siwdī, 3) Tātli (each name is set within a square — *T. S.*) and three sons (their names are set within circles — *T. S.*): 1) Anike-Bülād; 2) Būghūchāq — he had three sons and one daughter in the following order: a) Muhammad, b) Ahmad, c) 'Alī, d) Imen-biy (the first three names are set within circles, the last one — within a square — *T. S.*), 3) Tengriberdi.

The second son of Urūs-khān — Sayīd-'Alī.

The third son of Urūs-khān — Sayīd-Ahmad.

The fourth son of Urūs-khān — Tūqtā-Pulād. The last one had two sons: a) Ṭaghāh-Pulād, b) Sarāy-Pulād (each name is set within a circle — *T. S.*).

The fifth son of Urūs-khān — Tūghlūk-Pulād. He had two sons: a) Aq-Pulād, b) Berdi-Pulād (each name is set within a circle — *T. S.*).

The sixth son of Urūs-khān — Qutlū-Buqā. He had three sons: a) Jing-Pulād, b) Qutūchāq, c) Yādgar (each name is set within a circle — *T. S.*) and one daughter named Nuṣrat (the name is set within a square — *T. S.*).

The seventh son of Urūs-khān — Tīmūr-Malik; he reigned (his name is set within a rectangle framed with a double line and linked to a large double circle — *T. S.*).

The eighth son of Urūs-khān — Qūyūrchūq. He had two daughters: 1) Pāyanda-sulṭān, 2) Ruqīya (each of the names is set within a square — *T. S.*) and one son named Barāq. Barāq reigned (his name is set within a rectangle framed with a double line and linked to a large double circle — *T. S.*). This Barāq had 4 children: daughter Sa'ādāt-bik (her name is set within a square) and three sons in the following order: Abū Ṣa'īd, Mīr-Qāsim and Mīr-Sayīd (each name is set within a circle — *T. S.*)

In this way, due to a grave misunderstanding, one of the most popular in scholarly circles of the post-war period collections of materials dedicated to the history of the Golden Horde became infected with “viruses” carrying misinformation. From this primary source they penetrated into special works affecting the historical reconstruction of many scholars who used these materials. Thus a whole branch of Oriental studies came to a dead end. The way out is evident — one should turn back. In this particular case it means — back to the primary source, to the Persian original of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies has a very good microfilm made from the fine and well preserved Paris manuscript of this work. We may only hope that in the nearest future some orientalist will undertake this hard but, under the present circumstances, necessary labour of translating and publishing the first part of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* containing the genealogy of the Chingīzids of the 13th—beginning of the 15th centuries.

Finally, I would like to add the following. In the Manuscript Fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies there is a rare Turkic manuscript titled *Tawārikh-i guzida-i nuṣrat-nāma* (“Selected Stories of the Book of Victories”) written around 1504 in Central Asia. This work is interesting from many points of view. It includes chapters containing detailed genealogies of the Jūchīds and the Chaghatāyīds of the 13th—beginning of the 16th centuries which should and must be used when working over the corresponding sections of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. The anonymous author of *Nuṣrat-nāma* ends the genealogy of the Chingīzīds in the following way: “in the present genealogy it is mentioned, what became known from different chronicles, also what comes from the oral tradition. Every one, who comes to know additional information about their descendants, should include it into the list of names presented here” [24]. The question, if *Mu'izz al-ansāb* was among the sources used by the author of *Nuṣrat-nāma* still has no answer.

Notes

1. *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordy*. Tom 2. Izvlecheniia iz persidskikh sochinenii, sobrannye V. G. Tizengauzenom i obrabotannye A. A. Romaskevichem i S. L. Volinym (A Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde. Vol. 2. Abstracts from Persian works collected by W. G. Tisenhausen and edited by A. A. Romaskevich and S. L. Volin) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1941).

2. This title is given by V. Barthold. E. Blochet gives *Mu'izz al-ansāb fi shajarat al-ansāb*. Other authors refer to it as simply *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, see, e. g., Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskiĭ obzor*. Chast' 2 (Persian Literature. Bio-bibliographical survey. Pt. 2.), translated from English, re-worked and supplemented by Yu. E. Bregel (Moscow, 1972), p. 818.

3. A. Z. V. Togan, “The composition of the history of the Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, VII/1 (1962), pp. 68—9.

4. *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Department des Manuscrits. Persan Ancient Fonds, fols. 1b—2b. (I would like to express my gratitude to American scholar Beatrice Forbes Manz who helped me to get a microfilm of this manuscript). The date mentioned in the excerpt is written out in Persian. On the other hand, A.H. 829 is mentioned on fol. 23b as the current year. In this case, too, the date is written out, but in Arabic.

5. Ch. A. Stori, *Op. cit.*, pp. 818—9.

6. J. E. Woods, “The Timurid dynasty”, *Papers on Inner Asia*, No. 14 (1990), p. 2.

7. Shiro Ando, *Timuridische Emire nach dem Mu'izz al-ansāb. Untersuchung zur Stammesaristokratie Zentralasiens im 14 und 15 Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 14, 17—9.

8. *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fols. 1a—161a; Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
 9. C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879), i, p. 183; J. E. Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
 10. Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—8.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 18—9.
 12. *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 5b.
 13. A. Z. V. Togan, *op. cit.*, pp. 68—70; K. Jahn, "The still missing works of Rashid al-Din", *Central Asiatic Journal*, IX (1964), pp. 113—22; Sh. A. Quinn, "The *Mu'izz al-Ansāb* and *Shu'ab-i Panjgānah* as sources for the Chaghatayid period of history. A comparative analysis", *Central Asiatic Journal*, XXXIII/3—4 (1989), pp. 229—53; J. E. Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, pp. 19—20.
 14. Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
 15. J. E. Woods, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—61.
 16. Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—337.
 17. V. V. Bartold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia* (Turkestan in the Time of the Mongol Invasion), Pt. 1. Texts (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 158—9.
 18. *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordyy*. See Introduction, p. 7, also the main text, p. 29, ff., especially pp. 60—3).
 19. *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 2a—2b.
 20. *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordyy*, pp. 62—3.
 21. *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fols. 26a—27a.
 22. The "12 sons" of Tīmūr Malik indicated here are actually the children of Urūs-khān. In the Paris manuscript of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* Tīmūr-Malik is shown as childless. It is clear why. According to Naṭanzī, the author of *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh-i Mu'ini* (composed in 1413) Tīmūr-Malik was a great lover of pleasure, fond of drink and debauchery, he "slept till the midday". All this made his political rival more sympathetic in the eyes of his subjects, so "the greater part of the ulus, team after team, went over to Toqtamysh". Tīmūr-Malik lost his power and along with it — his life, see S. G. Kliashornyĭ, T. I. Sultanov, *Kazakhstan, istoriia trëkh tysiacheletii* (Kazakhstan, Chronicle of Three Millennia) (Alma-Ata, 1992), pp. 201—2.
 23. There is a note made by Tisenhausen or by his editors: "The arrangement of names in the manuscript of *Mu'izz* is not clear, it is possible that some of the enumerated 12 sons of Tīmūr-Malik should be considered as sons of Urūs-khān" (*Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordyy*, p. 63, note 1).
 24. *Tawārikh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma*, manuscript of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, call number B 745, fol. 128a. Medieval Muslim authors often appeal to their readers urging them to continue their work, see T. I. Sultanov, "Struktura musul'manskoĭ istoricheskoi knigi. Metod analiza" ("The structure of the Muslim historical book. The method of analysis"), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, No. 2 (1989), p. 43. See the English translation of the article in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/3, December, 1995 (1995), pp. 16—21.
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EARLY MEDIEVAL UIGHUR RECORDS FROM EAST TURKESTAN*

The one-page short texts of different contents from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection, which is published here, belong to the marginal area of literature and business. They can be conventionally described by the term “records” neutral in relation to their genre. Among them are an incantation written on a leaf of paper, household records of expenses and income, writing exercises. Taking into account the scarceness of evidence on the life of the region (especially in the early medieval period), from which they come, records of this kind may serve a valuable source of information.

Four texts are presented in this publication. The first one contains the names of persons in whose name, as we may suggest, the text was written. It contains a wish to overcome difficulties in the earthly life (*samsāra*). It appears in the form of an elegant verse composed according to all the rules of versification accepted at that time. The text is supplemented with a Sanskrit incantation (*dhāraṇī*) transformed after the Uighur fashion. It is titled “The Jewel of Chintāmaṇi”, probably after the name of the famous incantation cited in Buddhist works. It starts with the usual elements characteristic of this kind of incantations: *oom* (Skr. *ōm*) — the solemn confirmation of a prayer [1] and *šrin* (Skr. *śrī*) — the sign of the beginning of the lit-

urgy [2]. The text is interesting, first of all, as a characteristic example of East Turkestan poetry and an evidence of the use of poetic forms in the everyday language of that time.

The second text can be defined as a literary exercise. It consists of seven repeated lines (which can be reconstructed as two) expressing the admiration on seeing the mount of Karakorum. The Karakorum range is located in the southwestern part of East Turkestan. From the early medieval Uighur dominion in East Turkestan with its principal cities of Turfan and Beshbalyk it was separated by the Takla-Makan desert. Nevertheless, as we see, this mountain range was at that time well known to the Turkic population of the region. It bore the same name as it bears now and was the source of the equal admiration. It should be taken into account that the name of Karakorum could be a metaphor applied to any high mountain. But even in this case the presence of the name in early medieval texts is noteworthy.

Texts 3 and 4 may be attributed to the category of household documents, records of income and expenses of certain people and communities. Many of the persons named in text 4, as well as in text 1, bear the title of *šila* — “monk, priest”. It is possible to suggest that the text deals with the distribution of property belonging to some religious community.

TEXT 1 (SI KR I 6) [TEXT A AND B]

Text A

- (1) *qiyisingdu šila*
- (2) *boşuy baxši*
- (3) *taybido šila*
- (4) *šabido šila*
- (5) *čintamani čin ārdini mindā bar ārip*
- (6) *čiyay āmgāgin tāginmiš-mn sansar-ta*
- (7) *yorip činin bilip tamumiš*
- (8) *ārsār-mn qaqmaqi yārip*
- (9) *čiyay āmgāgin kidgāy ārdi*
- (10) *hodum-tin ariy*

Text B

- (1) *oom šarin trma ... anbay-a anbay-a yll(?)*
- (2) *yišuda vačir-a-a-a naz-a(?) birakirdi*
- (3) *barisuda šrin nama yatuda*
- (4) *šrin tatagada nirvana xr-a mančuširi*
- (5) *bari sutidan ubaday-a iti(?) xa-a*
- (6) *šarin tatagada xatay-a xar-a xar-a(?)*
- (7) *oom xta xiri bakina nirvana ///*
- (8) *murti yng (?) išv(a)r-a mx-a vača (? yne?) šarin ///*
- (9) *drama krka alana su barisuda ///*
- (10) *drma tatu nirvana xrva-a ///*

* The article was written with a financial support of the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Fund.

Translation

- (1) Kyisyngdu-shila
- (2) Boshugh-bahshi
- (3) Taibido-shila
- (4) Shabido-shila
- (5—10) Being in possession of the true jewel of Chintāmaṇi but (still) remaining in *saṃsāra* I have experienced the suffering of the unhappy ones. If I could comprehend the truth to become [perfect (?)] renouncing rage, then suffering would have left my pure body.

After that follows the text of the transformed Sanskrit incantation.

The verse and the incantation are written on a leaf of rough paper 26.0 × 22.0 cm, of medium density, darkened by time, with no water marks.

The alliteration and rhyme allow to divide the text into versified lines in the following way:

- (1) *Āntamani ċin ārdini mindā bar ārip*
- (2) *ċiṅṅay āngāgin tāginmiš-mn sansar-ta yorip*
- (3) *ċinin bilip tamumiš ārsār-mn qaṅmaṅi yārip*
- (4) *ċiṅṅay āngāgin kidḡay ārdi bodumtīn arīy*

The verse is composed professionally. Not only all the requirements of the versification technique are answered,

but there are even traces of refinement: the initial alliteration covers not one but the first two tunes of the line, the intersecting accord involves the first three tunes of corresponding lines, which allows to speak of a kind of initial rhyme: *ċin* (lines 1 and 3) and *ċiṅṅay* (lines 2 and 4). The intersecting final rhyme involves, besides affixed accords, also the elements of the stem. One of the inventions of the author was the juxtaposing in the row of rhymed elements of the verb *yorip* with the adjective *arīy* — the accord *rip//riy* was a rare type of rhyme in the verse of that time. As a rule, all the lines have the same number of stressed syllables.

All but one names enumerated at the beginning include the element *šila*. From East Turkestan Uighur business documents of the corresponding period it is known that this word was used in two meanings: a) as a proper name; b) religious title, monk [3]. Three of the persons named in the text have this element in their names, which means that it appears here not as a proper name but in its second meaning — “monk”. It is possible then to suggest that this benevolent poem, strengthened by incantation called *Āntamani ārdini* (“The Jewel of Chintāmaṇi”), was composed by those in religious service. (In *sūtra* “Altun Yaruq” is given another text of the *dhāraṇī* with similar name [4]). It confirms that such knowledge as the technique of versification, etc. was an essential part of the education of this social group.

TEXT 2 (SI KR I 145)

- (1) *sī kūśānċig taṅlaṅċiṅ qra qorum*
- (2) *taṅ ārūr . ol qra qorum taṅ ārip*

Translation

(1—2) ... appears the wonderful, bringing into amazement the mountain of Karakorum. (2) This mountain of Karakorum ...

The text is written on white thin paper, 21.5 × 19.5 cm, with dense vergé — 8 lines per 1 cm.

The repetition of the same lines possibly indicates that it was an exercise in writing. At the same time it is evident that the text is written in clear well-developed cursive script, following all the rules of orthography including the omission the sign for the vowel *a* before sonorous consonants (*qra* in the name of Karakorum), which suggests a certain level of familiarity with the rules of spelling.

The text is too fragmentary to understand whether it was simply an expression of admiration or was it connected with the cult of mountains practiced in Central Asia. The absence of any additional indications makes both variants possible.

TEXT 3 (SI KR IV 606)

- (1) *kūñit-kā iki satir*
- (2) *tört baḡir kūmiš birti .*
- (3) *[kü]ši-kā sākiṅ yarim baḡir*
- (4) *kūmiš birti yana toṅuz*
- (5) *baḡir kūši-kā birti*

Translation

- (1) To (buy) sesame (= on sesame) he gave two satyrs
- (2) and four bakyrts of silver,
- (3) to (buy) incense (= on incense) he gave
- (4) eight and a half bakyrts of silver, and nine more
- (5) bakyrts he gave on incense.

The record is made on light thin non-glossy paper with vergé (4 lines per 1 cm) and sealed. The size of the fragment is 14.5 × 15.5 cm. It becomes clear from the text that the word *baḡir*, which in many Turkic languages occurs in the meaning of “copper”, was already used in the early medieval Uighur not only in its main meaning but also as a definition of a money unit. Halves of this denomination could be used in transactions. The specific feature of this particular record is that it was made not in the name of the first, but of the third person, probably someone in charge of similar transactions.

1 кепре а

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Cyrillic, on a rectangular fragment of aged paper. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The paper shows signs of wear, including dark ink smudges and a small rectangular white label with the letter 'I' on the right side.

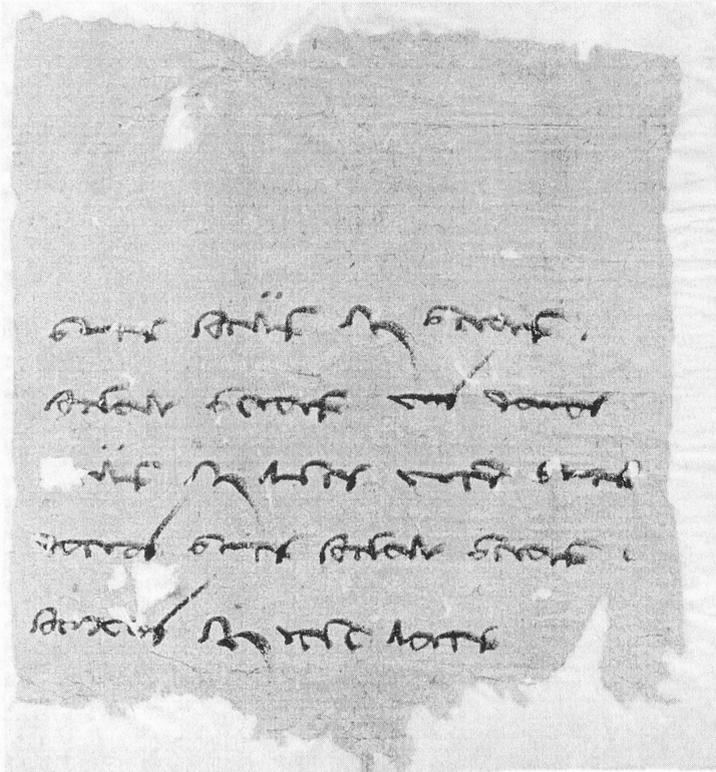
2 кепре б

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Cyrillic, on a rectangular fragment of aged paper. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The paper shows signs of wear, including dark ink smudges and a small rectangular white label with the letter 'б' on the right side.

Fig. 1

Handwritten Uighur script on a fragment of paper. The text is arranged in several lines, with some lines starting with a large initial letter. The script is a form of Old Turkic. The fragment includes several lines of text, some of which are partially obscured or faded. The text appears to be a list or a series of entries, possibly related to a record or a document. The fragment is numbered '146' in the top right corner and '145' in the bottom right corner.

Fig. 2



Handwritten text on a fragment of a manuscript, consisting of five lines of cursive script. The text is difficult to decipher due to the style and the fragmentary nature of the document.

Fig. 3

TEXT 4 (SI KR I 420)

- (1) *siŋgünsün šila-taqi qon-ning bir ygrmi ming iki yüz llll*
 (2) *miš yüz yana ygrmi qoyn on säkiz ming biš yüz qaunpu bi(r)lä tlll*
 (3) *ygrmi ming säkiz yüz ygrmi qaunpu-ta öz läbi tisi(?) läbi ülll*
 (4) *lüg tört ming alti yüz altmiš biš qaunpu šib sävigsuraz(?) šila lll*
 (5) *ming biš yüz tatar a(n)gsi(?) -qa üč yüz sämiz šila-qa üč ming iki lll*
 (6) *qirq (?) . nom quli a(n)gsi(?) -qa üč yüz altmiš . bodula šila-qa tä(?) lll*
 (7) *'kä ming biš (?) tamada šila-qa obudi šila-ka mungsašila-qa lll*
 (8) *ming üč yüz borıybay(?) -qa tört yüz yitmiš . satrba lll*
 (9) *šila-qa ming üč yüz altmiš šäli quli šila-qa ming*
 (10) *yüz alig . qasudu šila-qa ming alti yüz yitmiš*
 (11) *biš qasudu tu-qa üč yüz . taqi ming qaunpu*
 (12) *mängä birsär yätär (?)*

Translation

(1—4) Of the remaining by Sengyunshun-shila, belonging to Kon (?) eleven thousand two hundred ... one hundred, and also (due) for twenty sheep eight thousand five hundred measures of cloth, also along with twenty thousand eight hundred twenty measures of cloth, his share and the pupil's share (is) four thousand six hundred sixty five measures of cloth, (4—6) to Shib Sevigsuraz Shila (5) (should be given) one thousand five hundred, to Tatar Angsi (?) — three hundred (measures), to Semiz-shila — three thousand thirty two, (6—8) to Nom Kuly Angsi (?) —

three hundred sixty, to Bodula-shila and Te... — one thousand five (?), to Tamada-shila, Obudi-shila and Mungsha-shila ... — one thousand three hundred, (8—10) to Boryghbai — four hundred seventy, to Satrba///-shila — one thousand three hundred sixty, to Shelikuly-shila — one thousand one hundred fifty, (10—11) to Kasudu-shila — one thousand six hundred seventy five, to Kasudu(tung) — three hundred, and (11—12) if they give me one thousand measures of cloth in addition, it will be enough (?).

The text is written on grayish non-glossy paper of medium density, vergé — 5 lines per 1 cm. The size of the leaf is 26.0 × 13.5 cm.

To indicate the amount of property due to the people mentioned in the text the term *qaunpu* is used, which is most probably one of the graphic variants of the corresponding term *quanpu* (*qanpu qunpu*) indicating the unit for measuring textiles which occurs in Uighur documents

of that time [5]. Textiles were often used as means of payment, the equivalent of money. In one Uighur document it is mentioned that the price of a plot of land which required one *šiy* and four *küri* of seeds was equal to 3,500 measures of cloth [6]. The comparison of this data with the records published here shows that shares due to some of the persons mentioned in the document could exceed the price of such valuable property as a plot of arable land.

Commentaries

Text 1(A), line 7. The meaning of the verbal stem *tamu-* has not been established so far. It could be connected with the affirmative *tamu* recorded in the *Divân* of Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, see Kāshgarlı Mahmud, *Divânü lügati 't-türk* (Tıpkıbasım) (Ankara, 1990), 211.

Text 1(A), line 8. *qaqmaqi* is considered here as a later modification of the standard form *qaqimaqi*, but it is just one of the possible variants of the version of its origin.

Text 4, line 1. *qon* in the *Divân* of Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (see Kāshgarlı Mahmud, *Divânü lügati 't-türk*, 156, 504) is recorded as a dialectal variant of the standard *qoyn* "sheep". It is hardly possible, however, that a dialectal form appears along with the standard one (line 2) in one text.

Text 4, line 3. *lab* "donation, offering", see P. Zieme, "Uigurisch lab "Spende"", *Altorientalische Forschungen*, VI (1979), pp. 275—7.

Text 4, line 6. In the word *šila* the arch of the letter *l* is omitted.

Text 4, line 7. The word *ming* is written by the side of the line.

Text 4, line 11. Judging by its position *tu* is possibly an abbreviated form of the title *tutung*, see P. Zieme, "Sur quelques titres et noms des bouddhistes turcs", *L'Asie Centrale et ses voisins* (Paris, 1990), p. 136.

Notes

1. W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London, 1937), p. 343b.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 101a.

3. N. Yamada, *Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte*, herausgegeben von Y. Oda, P. Zieme, H. Umemura and T. Moriyasu (Osaka, 1993), ii, p. 284.

4. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (Sutra zolotogo bleska). The text of the Uighur version, eds. V. V. Radlov and S. E. Malov, fasc. 1—2 (St. Petersburg, 1913), p. 130, lines 10—19. — *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XVII.

5. Yamada, *Sammlung*, ii, p. 277.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Index of Proper Names

bodula šila 4, 6	qasudu šila 4, 10	šabido šila 1a, 4
borıybay 4, 8	qasudu tu 4, 11	šäli qulı šila 4, 9
boşuy baxşı 1a, 2	qıysıngdu 1a, 1	šib sävıgsuraz(?) šila 4, 4
mungša šila 4, 7	satrba// šila 4, 8—9	tamada šila 4, 7
nom qulı angı(?) 4, 6	sämiz šila 4, 1	tatar angı(?) 4, 5
obudi šila 4, 7	singünsün šila 4, 9	taybido šila 1a, 3

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Text 1 (*A* and *B*), call number SI Kr I 6, 26.0 × 22.0 cm (13.5 × 22.0 cm; 12.5 × 22.0 cm).

Fig. 2. Text 2, call number SI Kr I 145, 21.5 × 19.5 cm.

Fig. 3. Text 3, call number SI Kr IV 606, 14.5 × 15.5 cm.

Fig. 4. Text 4, call number SI Kr I 420, 26.0 × 13.5 cm.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

A. S. Matveev

ARABIC SOURCES ON RUSSES AND SLAVS: PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT

Oriental sources provide some of the most important evidence when it comes to the early period of Slavonic and Scandinavian history. The information they contain does not, however, lie on the surface: it is hidden under a thick cover of "cultural layers", through which it is not so easy to penetrate. Even if we put aside the complicated composition of these sources, problems connected with the origin, transition and dating of information, which could be solved by the traditional methods of textual analysis, these sources still possess much of what is determined by the cultural and literary tradition and by the general characteristics of their authors' mentality. Problems of this kind usually do not attract special attention of scholars, partly because they appear too evident, partly because of a lack of interest to such questions. However, if we ignore the specific features of Arabic literary works and of the tradition they follow, we shall never be able to comprehend adequately the information they contain.

The inadequacy of our understanding of the Muslim evidence on Eastern Europe is aggravated when scholars have to use out-of-date translations of the sources and commentaries made in the late 19th—early 20th century [1]. Besides, there are still traces of the positivist attitude to interpretation of the texts, when all textual information is accepted as some sort of "reality" only to be "explained" and "identified" with something which is already known. (This tendency is especially evident when some place-names are mentioned in the texts.)

Most often the evidence presented by the sources has little to do with "reality". It is more like some subjective "virtual reality" which develops according to its own laws, where facts filtered through the medieval consciousness of the author become amalgamated with the standard patterns inherent in the Muslim culture. It is possible to distinguish, conventionally, several levels of such interaction.

1. First of all, the author, and later his audience, are affected by established stereotypes of perceiving events and phenomena. Particularly, it concerns the perception of "alien" and "foreign", which is never taken "as it is" but always interacts with the already existing cultural stereotypes. In this way any new information received by the

culture is transformed — sometimes beyond recognition — according to the rules of already existing patterns.

Thus, for example, "Russes" (al-Rūs), *i. e.* Normans, who appeared in the Muslim West, in Spain, became known under the name of "al-Majūs", *i. e.* "Magi", "fire-worshippers". The use of this term, due to its obvious irrelevancy, gave rise to many scholarly controversies. Actually, the Russes were pagans at the time when they first appeared, and in the system of concepts established among the Spanish Muslims all pagans were associated, first of all, with the Persian "Magi", Zoroastrians [2]. When a new unknown people, non-Christian and non-Judaic, so, consequently, pagan (nothing else could have been imagined), came into view, one of the inherent cultural models was put into action, which associated Russes with fire-worshippers. The very fact that they cremated their perished comrades served to confirm this identification. The standard ideas existing in the Arab culture about "Magi" were applied to the real Russes, and the practice of cremation was taken for some element of the Zoroastrian cult. As a result, the stories about Russes practicing fire-worship as their principle — even their only — religion came into being. Later, other "pseudo-information" from the traditional stock of ideas about Zoroastrians was added: for example, that Russes used to marry their sisters and mothers. It is obvious that there is no use to look for the background of these stories in actual Scandinavian history — their origin is connected not with real facts, but only with stereotypes existing within the environment where the work in question was created. However, even these stories may contain some real information, namely, that "al-Majūs" were cremating their dead. Even if we knew nothing about this custom from other sources, this evidence of the Muslim authors still could be believed (or, at least, accepted as possible), because there is nothing like this in the accounts of the real Zoroastrians. Thus, the existing stereotype makes the authors, on the one hand, supplement new evidence with facts from the established tradition, and, on the other hand, adjust the reality to the existing pattern, "seeing" what did not actually take place at all (in this case — the fire-worshipping of the Russes).

This attitude is characteristic not only of Muslim authors. A similar phenomenon can be found in the reports of Western authors on Muslim faith and mosques. Stories about Saracens worshipping the idol of Muḥammad in their "mahumerias" wander from one 12th–13th century work to another. They are told even by those authors who lived or stayed for a long time in the Latin Orient [3]. The latter obviously could not have failed to notice that there were no idols at all in the mosques, though the traditional cultural stereotype of viewing the "infidel" Saracens as pagans made them see something absolutely different from the reality. Moreover, this is not an exception, but a very common phenomenon, however, often not easily recognisable. This kind of "mistake" may not be evident at all, if we do not know some different point of view.

2. The next level of interference — closely connected with the former one — is the influence of the literary tradition on the way of perceiving, understanding and describing the events and phenomena interesting from the point of view of a Muslim author. It makes him accept — and keep citing in his works — what he knows as "real", even if he never saw it himself. The medieval author was basing his opinion on the postulate: "it is known, consequently it must be so in reality", — even if his personal experience was — or rather "could be" — suggesting something quite different. His way of thinking was as follows: "I have met no dog-headed people, but I read about them, I know about them, so, perhaps, I just failed to notice them there". Any personal experience in this case becomes useless, if it is not confirmed by the tradition. This specific feature of medieval mentality is more evident — and well-known — in the field of Natural Sciences [4], though it is no less characteristic of other spheres of culture. It manifests itself in Arabic literature, including works on history and geography.

A typical example of such influence of the literary tradition we find in the book of one of the most impartial and truthful "eyewitness" authors — Ibn Faḍlān. He is citing a well-known standard description of how short the summer nights are in the northern lands: the interval between sunset and sunrise is so little that there is hardly enough time for a pot of water to start boiling, if you put it on the fire at sunset [5]. This metaphor is potentially apt, but it can in no way be applied to the latitude of Volga Bulghār, especially in the middle of May (Ibn Faḍlān arrived at Bulghār on the 12th of May). Surely, this piece of information was included in his work under the influence of the literary tradition — because the reader was waiting for this story. If it was missing, it could have been taken as a sign of the author's ignorance. The medieval author had to follow the established rules of compiling of a literary work, and it was required of him to produce a standard set of facts on the subject in question, even if his personal experience did not coincide with them. Moreover, any attempt to dispute — let alone deny — traditional knowledge would give to the author the reputation of a "liar".

On the other hand, the issue is not only that the author is creating his story in conformity with the established tradition. He often "sees" in conformity with it, which makes things even more difficult. Thus, Ibn Faḍlān writes about his meeting the muezzin of the Bulghār mosque, who excused himself for missing the night prayer [6]. After the famous story of the "boiling pot" the muezzin explained, that the time between the last but one prayer (at sunset) and the first (at sunrise) was so short that there was physically

no possibility for him to make one more prayer. He said that he had been staying awake at night for a whole month in the fear of missing the sunrise. The muezzin claimed, moreover, that before that there had been even shorter nights than the one when his misbehaviour was discovered by Ibn Faḍlān — an even more obvious lie, because in the months before May nights are longer, not shorter. In spite of his personal experience, however, Ibn Faḍlān tends to believe all that, since this story corresponds to the established tradition. For the medieval author and his reader (or listener) the "seeing" of the external world was replaced by its "recognition": the recognition in real objects — or events — of an "archetype" existing in culture and, through it, in individual consciousness.

3. The third level affecting the real information provided by Muslim authors is connected with the rules of the given literary genre. To some extent it is related to the second level, though its character is more specific and secondary. If the first two concern the object represented, the third one affects the way of representation and dictates the style of the work, standard techniques and patterns, obligatory elements of the narrative, etc. Each genre develops its specific ways (1) of selecting materials and (2) of narrating them. If we pay no attention to the genre, it becomes impossible to establish what kind of information the source in question may contain and how authentic it could be. Thus, it is still possible to believe the records — rather rare ones — left by eyewitnesses, such as Ibn Faḍlān, — though even in this case not without some reservations. Often, when the observer is not able to understand what he sees, either he perceives something corresponding not to reality but to the "cultural model" which has something in common with what he is observing, or he does not notice the thing at all — takes no account of it or omits it in his narrative as "doubtful" or "unimportant". Moreover, this kind of information can be easily lost afterwards, in the process of recounting, because it is not easy to relate what is not properly understood. The interpretation of the texts belonging to other genres is even more difficult.

Turning to the evidence about Russes and Slavs in Muslim chronicles, one should recognise that, in general, it is quite reliable. But the scope of information given by these historical works is rather limited — they are concerned mainly with the raids of the Russes into Muslim territories. The familiarity of the authors with the "scene of events" to some extent guarantees the authenticity of this information. But even there the "level of the adequacy of perception" should be taken into account — such as standard corrections of the number of invaders or of their victims. The exaggeration of the number of enemies — which was quite normal for the eyewitnesses — is also one of the characteristic features of Muslim works. It was done to stress the importance of a victory over the enemy or to explain a defeat. These exaggerations quickly turn into literary cliché. However, this phenomenon was unnoticed for a long time by the 19th century scholars who accepted fantastic figures brought forward by medieval authors.

The geographical works contain the greater part of information on Russes and Slavs, though the level of their authenticity is quite different. More reliable is the evidence presented in the works of the Muslim geographers of the "Classical School" and of some of their predecessors, such as Ibn Khurdadbah. However, their information is more or

less precise only for the territory of the Arab Caliphate, because for its description they could use materials from the state offices (*diwāns*), numerous stories told by merchants and travelers, — as well as their own observations. But even this is not fully accurate. It was an obligatory feature of all medieval Arabic literature, including geographical works in particular, to reproduce any information collected by predecessors — without any criticism, even without any corrections basing upon personal experience, — as it made the work more “fundamental”. Thus, it is possible to come across a description of some city which had long ceased to exist by the time the work was written [7]. New information penetrated into these works with great difficulty, interwoven with old accounts. As a result it is often difficult to distinguish between different layers of information included in one narrative. Innovations based upon personal experience were still not considered to be of self-sufficient value, the significance of authorities in the field of literary work was much more important.

This is the reason why, when we are dealing with Islamic geographical works, we encounter serious chronological problems: it is difficult to assign the evidence to an exact period since it often wanders from one work to another. The earliest version, of course, can be taken for the *terminus ad quem*, but the *terminus a quo* still remains unknown — the original work, the source, could still be older than the earliest surviving record by several centuries.

These characteristic features of the works of medieval Arab authors become even more evident when they deal with alien materials. While more or less reliable information is provided for neighbouring lands, such as the Byzantine Empire, the Caucasus or South Italy, their ideas of Central Europe, Bulghār and the Khazars are rather vague. The “corpus of facts” concerning Central Europe owes its origin mainly to the Byzantine Empire, so it becomes less and less accurate as we going further away from its borders. The most adequate information was on Bulgaria and the Bulgarians, for whom there was a special term — “Burjān”.

The Arabs knew even less about Eastern Europe; the little information they had mainly concerned the Eastern Slavs. It is no wonder if we take into account that the main source of this information was Russes — and Muslim merchants dealing with them. The former appeared in the Bulghār on the Volga and in the Caspian zone already in the mid-9th century, as the trade road “from Varangians to Arabs”, generally, is older than the famous one “from Varangians to Greeks”. The most characteristic non-Scandinavian element of their bands were Slavs, most probably the so-called “Ilmen Slavs” (“Slovene”). In consequence, we have even more evidence on the Novgorod zone than on the Kiev one. Besides — as the Arabic sources rather often mix together information from the “Caspian corpus” on Slavs and the “Byzantine” one — we should also keep in mind that information on pagan Slavs, especially on the Slavs in connection with the Russes, refers, as a rule, to the Eastern Slavs (mainly, “Slovene”). As for the information on Christian Slavs, it concerns Southern and, to some extent, Western Slavs in Central Europe included in the Byzantine sphere.

As for Western and Northern Europe, their knowledge does not go beyond isolated facts, which often have little to

do with reality. Frequent references by modern scholars to the work by al-Idrīsī creates an illusion that Western Europe was relatively well known to the Arabs. This part of al-Idrīsī’s work, however, — unlike the rest of his book — is non-traditional, based upon his own knowledge as a person belonging to the court of the Norman prince of the 12th century Sicily.

The Arab authors constantly reproduce several traditional groups of facts, which practically do not allow one to trace any changes taking place in Eastern Europe. Modern interpretations of this information are nothing but hypothetical. In general, the notions about the Russes, which predominate in the Muslim geographical literature, were formed at the time of their first appearance — from the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century, when all East European trade routes came under their control and when they, as an independent power, penetrated as far as Bulghār, the Caspian sea and the Byzantine Empire. The same pattern of making a cultural stereotype on the basis of first contacts, we have encountered in Muslim Spain. In the East the situation was less tense — there Russes first appeared as more or less peaceful traders, not as terrible conquerors. It made possible a closer acquaintance with them, so the stereotype which developed after the first contacts turned out to be closer to reality. The foundation of the Russian state in Kiev, and gradual assimilation of the Russes-Normans by the Slavs, however, remained almost unnoticed — or rather neglected — by the Arab authors, who still relied mainly on the evidence and stereotypes of the 9th—early 10th centuries: the transmission of any new information was much hindered by the established tradition. Consequently, it is hardly possible to distinguish any more recent data in the Arabic sources.

In connection with the subject of the present article it is important to take into account one special genre of Islamic literature — a description of the wonders of the world, *‘ajā’ib* (“marvels”). It is closely connected with the geographical works and with the so-called *adab* genre [8]. The main function of the *‘ajā’ib* stories was to entertain the reader or the listener — though providing him, simultaneously, with some “scholarly” information [9], which is characteristic of Arabic literature in general, with its main goal “to instruct while distracting”. Consequently, the *‘ajā’ib* literature paid little attention to authenticity of the information, being concerned mainly with something extraordinary, odd or curious, like ancient edifices (basically, those of antiquity) and other “marvels of the world”. Precise details were often omitted, as they were thought to be too boring for the reader. Works of the *‘ajā’ib* genre actually stand closer to “fiction”. Descriptions were adjusted to the existing literary cliché, function of which was to stir the imagination of the audience. Hence numerous stories about gold and precious stones appeared, presenting everything hyperbolically: speaking about an idol they say that it was made of pure gold; if a mountain is mentioned, it appears as the highest one, etc. Thus, they do not contain any precise details, only information of the most general character.

To demonstrate what kind of analysis should be applied to the evidence preserved in the works of this kind, let us take one of the passages from *Murūj al-dhahab* by al-Mas‘ūdī as follows:

“On the sanctuaries (“sacred houses”) of the Slavs” [10]

§ 1386. There were “houses” in Slavonic lands, which they glorified. Among them was a “house” they had on the mountain, which was said by the philosophers to be one of the highest mountains of the world. There is information about this “house” concerning the method of its construction, arrangement of the types of its stones, and their different colours; about holes made there on its top, how the sun rises in these holes; about gems installed in it and marks drawn there, which indicate future events, about how those gems warn of events before they occurred; and about the appearance of sounds from its top for them (*i. e.* for the Slavs), and what happens to them when they hear those [sounds].

§ 1387. And a “house”, which some king of theirs established on the black mountain, [and] which was surrounded with marvellous waters of different colours and tastes, useful in all [ways]. They had there a great idol representing a man [11] who bent forward, looking like an old man with a stick in hand, who is moving with it the bones of the dead laid in “boxes” [12]; there were drawings of

different types of ants under the right foot, and of the very black ravens of the *ghudāf* variety and other kinds under another [foot]; and marvellous drawings of different types of Ethiopians and Negroes.

§ 1388. Another “house” is on a mountain of theirs, surrounded by a gulf (or a strait) of the sea. It was built of red coral and green emeralds, with a great dome in the middle, under which there is an idol, the members of whom are of four stones: green chrysolite, ruby, yellow carnelian, and white crystal; his head is of red gold. Against him [stands] another idol, like a maid, as if she is offering [animal] sacrifices and millet [13]. This “house” is said to be founded by a wise man they had in ancient times. We have already mentioned in our books [14] his story, and what he had done in the land of Slavs, and what he had made as regards ruses, tricks and cunning machinations [15] by which he attracted their hearts, bound their souls, and dragged their minds despite the vicious nature and inconstant character of the Slavs [16].

This story is characteristic both as a narrative and as an object for interpretation. Usually, the sanctuaries described by al-Mas’ūdī are identified with the West Slavonic temples, especially the one located in Arcona. The only foundation for this identification, however, is that Arcona is known to modern scholars, because the text itself — very vague and fantastic in details — gives no ground for such interpretation. The scholars who studied this account usually chose between two approaches: a complete denial of its historical value or an absolutely free and random explanation without taking into account the nature of the source and its peculiarities. As a result, a Russian scholar A. Y. Garkavi thought, for instance, that al-Mas’ūdī had given a description of the Buddhist temples in the Himalayas [17], while F. Westberg decided that this passage was dealing with the Northern Caucasus and that “al-Ṣaqlība” means “Osetins” in the context. As for the detailed work of A. P. Kovalevsky, he supposes that al-Mas’ūdī was describing the Western Slavic temples on the Baltic seaside and the Black Mountain on the upper stream of the River Chermosh in the Carpathians [18].

The above examples of scholarly interpretation demonstrate that, on one hand, this account was studied outside the context of al-Mas’ūdī’s work; and that, on the other hand, it was accepted *a priori* that if some object or place-name is mentioned, it should exist in reality and could be identified with something. When the source is understood and interpreted in this way, the information it contains turns into a “set of bricks”, from which everyone may construct whatever he wants. Meanwhile the facts reported by Muslim authors can be used only in the context of the source in question together with the entire corpus of Muslim data on Eastern Europe, on one hand, and in the context of Arabic literature and culture as a whole, on the other.

Let us go back now to the analysis of the passage from al-Mas’ūdī. The first thing to be taken into account is the genre of this work. *Murūj al-dhahab* is a complicated historical and geographical composition, and its genre is not so easily definable. It contains an authentic and detailed de-

scription of real events, of which the author himself was the eyewitness or which he wrote down from first-hand witnesses (such as an account of the Caspian expedition of the Russes [19]). However, the story about Slavonic sanctuaries is a typical example of the *‘ajā’ib* genre. It contains generalised information processed by the author according to the rules of this genre. So, the most of descriptive details — such as the careful description of different types of precious stones, gold, and the like — should be interpreted as the attributes of the *‘ajā’ib* genre, not as relevant information.

Then, if we take into account the context and the way of presenting the information, any identification of the described phenomena with some particular object is basically senseless, because the text describes a typical notion of Slavonic sanctuaries present in Arab culture, not some singular object. The non-specified, general character of the description is confirmed by the structure of the whole section dealing with this matter. Al-Mas’ūdī starts with a general notion of the “sanctuaries”, then considers similar “honoured houses” among different peoples: Zoroastrians (fire-temples), Romans, Greeks, Slavs, etc. The descriptive pattern, a sort of abstraction, is the same in all cases: several “concrete” sanctuaries are selected, embodying what is typical of the culture described. The narrative about Greek temples, for example, is given as a description of three monuments; as for others, they are not even mentioned, though the author obviously knew that their number — even within the Caliphate territory — was much greater.

On the other hand, the very suggestion that it is possible to find in the text some information about a remote Western Slavonic object looks quite fantastic. Such a concept can be explained only by the absence of any true understanding of the scope of the Arabic geographical literature in general. The majority of European capitals and big cities are not mentioned there [20] — even the evidence on Kiev and Novgorod, which were comparatively nearer, is very uncertain, — let alone a description of these places. Moreover, there is no other evidence that Arabic authors knew Baltic Slavs at all. As for Kovalevsky’s attempt to

place these “temples” in the Carpathian mountains, it is still quite unlikely, as the Arabs had only a vague idea about those lands relatively far from the Byzantine Empire which “provided” the Muslim geographers with the information on adjoining territories (for this zone there is only seriously garbled lists of Slavonic tribes, such as that of al-Mas’ūdī [21]).

Besides all that is mentioned above, the information of al-Mas’ūdī was permeated with characteristic Arabic astrological ideas and conceptions of the fire- and idol-worshippers’ temples. On the one hand, these concepts were based on Qur’ānic and early Muslim traditional descriptions of the Harranian “Sabians” and Zoroastrians. On the other hand, it was strictly connected to the later philosophical tradition which interpreted Paganism in an astrological way. Of the more important philosophers of this type was Abū Ma’shar, known in Europe as Albumasar, and his followers. In the end of the section on the “temples” al-Mas’ūdī mentions the work of Abū Ma’shar *Kitāb al-ulūf* (“The Book of the Thousands”) as one of the sources of information on the “temples and the great structure, which was constructed in the world every thousand years. Besides, Ibn Māziyyār (Bāziyyār – the conjecture of Pellat), the disciple of Abū Ma’shar, has told about that... And other authors besides them — who lived before them and afterwards — had narrated a lot about what was built and about marvels of the Earth” [22].

Thus, some part of the information of this section was derived from the works of Abū Ma’shar and his followers, though it is not clear to what extent: obviously, it is true about specific kinds of “millennium temples”, as for other information it could be borrowed from other authors as well. The basic notion of this astrological school — that the stars and planets rule the world, and that the religions of all ancient people were a kind of star-worship — seems to be not accepted by al-Mas’ūdī himself who more likely followed the traditional idea of the pagans as fire- and idol-worshippers [23]. However, the more common astrological ideas widespread in that period can be found in *Murūj al-dhahab*. Consequently, it is important to take into account that the new information on the alien peoples and territories which appeared in Muslim East in the 9th—10th centuries, was permeated not only with traditional patterns concerning fire-worshippers and pagans in general, but with relatively new astrological ideas as well.

Thus, it is possible to trace a series of traditional astrological concepts in the chapter in question. First of all, there is the standard notion that the parts (“quarters”) of the world are under influence of the corresponding planets, which could be supported by Abū Ma’shar’s ideas about planet-worshipping by the pagans. Consequently, all the attributes of these astrological deities could be applied to “their” lands. The North — al-Jarbī, the fourth quarter of the world, — was connected, according to al-Mas’ūdī, with Saturn (*zuḥal*) [24]. As for Saturn, he was the lord of all the black, as it is possible to derive from the verses mentioned by al-Mas’ūdī:

Their elder is heavenly Saturn, great chief, strong king.
His nature is blackness and coldness, the black colour
of the soul in grief.
His influence [affects] the Negroes (*al-zindj*) and black slaves
(*al-‘abīd*), then lead and iron [25].

Correspondingly, the North — and their peoples — were considered to be comprehensively connected with the “black”, and this pattern, duly, was applied to the Slavs. As a result, the chapter in question includes Negroes — an absolutely fantastic and otherwise unexplainable idea — and, subsequently, the other black creatures like ravens and ants (the latter, however, owe their origin, as well, to another literary tale concerning the gigantic ants who dwell the coasts of the “Sea of Darkness” (*i. e.* Atlantic Ocean) and devour travelers [26]). Therefore all this information of al-Mas’ūdī is due to the Muslim astrological tradition and has nothing to do with real Slavs, so any attempt to consider this data as evidence, *e. g.* of traces of Slavic totemism, would be senseless.

It is also worth mention that the general ideas concerning the symbolic and magical meaning of the gems and precious metals can be easily found in the given passage. Besides all above, it seems to be very likely that the holes in the top of the first described “house” were considered by al-Mas’ūdī as a “tool” for the astronomical/astrological observation of the sky. Mention of such “windows” can be found in other chapters of the book as well (*e. g.* in the description of the Antioch temple where it was noticed that once a year the newly born Moon appeared in one of the special upper “doors” of the building [27]).

Thus, the only sort of information which we can extract from the passage in question is some general idea of Slavonic sanctuaries as it existed in Muslim culture. To some extent, however, this culture could correctly reflect certain realities of the alien culture it described, as its source was, usually, a rendering of an eyewitness’ narration about something quite typical of the described culture. The place of receiving the information could be the zone of intensive trade contacts — probably, Bulghār on Volga or Khazarian Itil, — where a Muslim merchant could hear a story about Slovenian “sanctuaries”. The story-teller himself seems more likely not to have been one of the worshippers in these “sanctuaries”, but an eyewitness-foreigner — a Rus or some non-local Slav.

What, in this case, is the positive information present in the story? It is as follows:

(1) In Slavonic lands there are (2) sanctuaries (3) located on mountains [in all three cases], in which (4) human-shaped idols were installed [in two cases]. In two cases the mountains (5) are surrounded by water. There are also (6) “precious” stones in those sanctuaries which are arranged in a special way [in two accounts]. Besides that, (7) by the feet of one idol there are special boxes containing bones of the dead [the second story]. All the rest should be considered as an influence of the standard patterns of Arabic literature and specific features of medieval Muslim mentality.

1) The first fact leaves no reason for doubt. There was a clear distinction between the Slavs and, *e. g.*, the Russes in Arabic literature, especially in the works of al-Mas’ūdī. Besides, as it was mentioned, in such a context, usually, Arab authors meant the Eastern Slavs (more often the “Slovene” of the Novgorod area).

2) “Sanctuaries” (lit. “honoured houses”) — is a common definition applied to all pagan shrines described by al-Mas’ūdī, be they real “temples” or just “holy places”. There is no reason to assume that they were actual “houses” [28] (*i. e.* buildings with walls and a roof). The author simply

could not imagine a sanctuary without any walls, so he calls them all “houses”. As for the description of “marvellous holes” in the roof of the first “house” it is no less fantastic than the “foretelling” of its magic precious stones and drawings. It can be, very likely, an influence of the Arabic astrological ideas which associated those sanctuaries with “star”-worshipping. Thus, the story itself gives no foundation for looking for temples constructed of stone or wood in Slavonic lands. However, the very connection of the sanctuaries in question with some “astronomical” elements of the cult may be — to some extent — relevant, but this question is quite uncertain and requires further analysis.

3) The story about mountains also can be accepted without reservations. In other stories about “sanctuaries” mountains are normally not mentioned, *i. e.* it can not be explained as some literary stereotype. Meanwhile the height of these mountains can be no more than an exaggeration — one of the elements of the ‘*ujā’ib*’ genre. On the other hand, this is an example of the interference of the standard literary geographical notion derived from the works of Ptolemaeus about some “high mountains” in the “land of al-Ṣaqāliba”, which replaced the Ptolemeian “Germany” in the Arabic geographical tradition. A usual scholarly identification of those mountains with the Carpathians is no more than a purely conventional thing, because the notion of them was already quite vague and uncertain in the works of Ptolemaeus; as for the Arabic tradition, it became nothing but literary cliché without any relation to reality. So, they could equally be either mountains or high hills. The latter is more probable, taking into account the typical character of the phenomenon described, which implies the absence of other “sanctuaries” in Slavonic lands (otherwise they would have been mentioned). Therefore there is no reason to locate the object described by al-Mas’ūdī in the Carpathians, about which the Arabs knew practically nothing, — let alone the attempt to identify it with some concrete place, as Kovalevsky suggested [29].

Besides that, a purely linguistic misunderstanding could take place when an Arab was listening to the tale of the primary informer; the Slavonic(?) term used in the original story, which may have had a wider range of meanings, could have been understood as a “mountain” (*jabal*), though actually it could have been used to indicate a high “hill”.

4) The presence of “human-shaped” idols raises no doubts, as it is one of the specific features of the narrative. As for the concrete details of the description of the “bent old man” with a stick and the idol representing a maidservant, they look like pure literary “decoration”. Perhaps, the latter may be considered as an indication of the possibility that there could be a main idol and a secondary one (or ones).

5) The water surrounding the sanctuaries, along with its miraculous nature, is most probably also a literary borrowing, though this evidence should not be completely ignored. But if there was really some water behind this story (in the second case these are simply “waters”, in the third — a gulf or a strait), it could mean only that the sanctuaries were located near some “water” — a river or a lake, — less probably by the “sea”. We have to take into account that, according to Arabs’ views, the Slavs, as well as all other Northerners, were living on the shore of the “exterior sea” surrounding the dry land. It affected the interpretation of

new information, turning any “water”, wherever it was mentioned in the original story, into “sea”. Besides, the waters, marvellous and “useful in all ways,” can be a reflection of some real “sacred waters” (spring, pool, etc.) near the described sanctuaries.

6) The presence of the stones in the sanctuaries is quite possible, as it is not a necessary traditional element of temple description, though their “preciousness” — all those gems and gold — obviously belongs to the peculiarities of the genre. Besides, the author and his readers could not, basically, imagine a probability of installing quite ordinary stones in such a sacred place. As for their relation with “foretelling the future”, “sorcery” and some astronomical observation, it can be relevant to some extent, but it is impossible to tell anything precise on the basis of the source itself, as this information may be no more than a reflection of traditional Muslim ideas on the relation of pagans — and Slavs in particular — with “astrological” worship.

7) There is no doubt about the presence of burials in a sanctuary — possibly in some kind of “boxes”, — by the feet of the idol or, at least, on the top of the hill. Judging by the context, not everyone was buried there, but only some, rather small part of the population. It is probable also that cremation was meant, as it would hardly be possible to “move the bones of the dead with a stick” if they were from ordinary inhumations. The practice of cremation, moreover, was, in Muslims’ view — according to the traditional pattern — characteristic of that region, so, perhaps, there was even no need to put stress on what was already evident. This information in general is trustworthy, as it is too unusual to be a literary cliché or some traditional idea. Nor is this produced by an astrological tradition. The suggestion of Kovalevsky that the “dead” are mentioned as “gloomy attributes” because of the above connection of the North with all of its blackness is nothing but overstatement not supported by the text [30]. And it obviously could not have been invented by al-Mas’ūdī himself; medieval authors could repeat absolutely fantastic stories, but they were not expected “to invent” them.

Thus, the analysis of the evidence given by Muslim authors, in view of their specific cultural environment and the way they accepted the facts told by their predecessors, allows us to distinguish some corpus of reliable information about the Slavs who worship idols set on the top of the “mountains”-“hills”, perhaps with some stones installed there, that these are their only shrines, and that at least some of these “hills” are used at the same time as burial places.

In my opinion, it is possible to locate this description. The only cultural phenomenon which may correspond to it is the so-called *sopka* borrows of North-western Russia (the “Slovene” lands of the “Novgorod area”), which are high mounds that look like natural hills. According to al-Mas’ūdī, on the top of some of these mounds idols were supposed to stand. Besides that, some people could be buried there, probably members of the “local élite”. This last feature, however, requires a more detailed historical and archaeological investigation: it could also be interpreted, for example, as a sacrifice; besides, the members of quite different social groups could be buried on different levels of such *sopkas* [31]. Anyway, it must have been a typical phenomenon of the 9th—first half of the 10th century in order to have been evident to the primary informer of al-Mas’ūdī.

به مياه عجيبة ذات ألوان وطعوم مختلفة عامة المنافع وكان اسم خيبر صم عظيم
 على صورة رجل فذاخذ على هيئة شيخ بيده عصي يركب بها عظام الموتي من النواويس
 وتحت رجله اليمنى صور لا نوع من الرمل وتحت الأخر خرابيب سود من صور الغداف
 وغيرها وصور عجيبة لارتفاع الأحابيش والترخ وبيت اخر لهم على جبل يسمونه
 خليج من البحر قديني باحجار المرجان الأحمر واحجار من الزمرد الأخضر وفي وسطه
 فيه تخها صم اعضاؤه من حواهر رقيقة من زبرجد اخضر وياقوت احمر وعقيق
 اصفر وبلور ابيض ورأسه من الذهب الاحمر وياقوت صم اخر على صورة جارية
 وكان يقرب له فرايين ودخن وكان يئيب هذا البيت الى حكيم كان لهم في قديم
 الزمان فذاتنا على خبده وما كان من امره بارض المتعالية وما احدك فهم من
 ان يكون الخيل والمخاريق المصطنعة التي اجتذب بها قلوبهم ومكان بها نفوسهم
 واسترق بها عقولهم مع شراسة الصنافية واختلاف طباعهم فمما سلف من
 كتبنا

البار الحاس والتوفي ذكرينوت معظمة وهياكل مشرفة

للصنافية وغيرها وغير ذلك مما خلق بهذا الباب للصنافية هياكل على اسم الجواهر
 العنقية وهو هيكल العنق ولا يرى اشاروا الى العنق الاول والثاني وقد ذكر
 صاحب المنطق في المنطق في المقالة الثالثة من كتاب النفس العنق الاول والثاني
 والعنق الثاني وذكر ذلك باسطنوس في كتاب النفس في شرحه لكتاب النفس الذي
 علمه صاحب المنطق وذكر العنق الاول والثاني الاسكندر الذي ذكره في المقالة
 افردها في ذلك قد ترجمها النحاش بن حنين ومن هياكل الصنافية هيكل اتسلسل
 وهيكل الصورة وهيكل النفس وهذه مدورات الشكل وهيكل رجل مسدس وهيكل
 الزهرة مثله في جوف مربع مستطيل وهيكل القمر مثل الشكل وللصنافية فيما ذكرنا
 رموز واسرار يخفونها وقد حكى رجل من ملكية النصارى من اهل طران يعرف
 بالحمارك بن سباطه للصنافية الحرائين اشيا ذكرها من قرايين يتربو بها من الحوان
 ودخن لتكويب يجرون بها وتغيره لك مما استغنى عن ذكره من حافة التطويل
 والذي بقي من هياكلهم المعظمة حيران الى هذا الوقت وهو سنة اثنين وثمانين
 وثمانية بيت له يعرف بمدينة حران بباب الرقة طلوع بيتا وهو هيكل ازرابي لهم
 عليه السلام وللقوم في ازرابيه كلام كثير ليس كتابنا هذا موضع له ولا بن عيشون
 القاضي الحرائي وكان ذاهمهم ومعرفة وكان وفاته بعد الثلاث مائة قصيدة طويلة
 يذكر فيها مذهب الحرائين المعروفين بالصنافية ويذكر فيه البيت وما تحته من
 السرايب الاربعة المتخذة لادواع صور الاجسام التي جعلت مثلا للاجسام المتناهية

فجعل المسلمون موضعه سوتيا بنذرهم من قد وثب فيه من الرجال الروم
 اذا ورد ومن البر والبحر وكانوا يعظمونه ويقربون فيه الغزاليين فخرت عند مجي الاسلام
 وقيل ان قسطنطين الابن من هيلابني الملكة الظهيرة ادى النصرانية هو الخرب ه
 لجد البيت وكان فيه الاصل من الذهب والفضة وانواع الجواهر وقيل ان هذا
 البيت هوبيت عدينة انطاكية على مسيرة الجامع وكان هيكلا عظيما والعمامة
 تزعم ان الذي بناه سقلايوس وهو في هذا الوقت سنة اثنين وثلاثين وبلايئة
 سوف يعرف بسوق الجزارين واليزارين وقد كان ثابت بن قدة بن كرايا الصابي
 الحارثي حين وافا المعتضد في سنة تسع ومائتين ومائتين في طلب وصيف الخادم
 راي ثابت هذا الهيكل فالتزمه وعظه على ما وصفنا والبيت الثاني من بيوت
 اليونانيين هو بعض تلك الاهرام التي سبلا مصر وهو يري من انسطاط علي
 اميال منها والبيت الثالث هوبيت المقدس على ما زعم القوم والسبعة
 انما تخبر ان داود عليه السلام بناه وتمه سليمان بن داود بعد وفاة ابيد صلي
 الله عليه ولم والجوس تزعم ان الذي بناه الضحان وله سيكون في المستقبل
 من الزمان خطب طويل ويقعد فيه ملك عظيم وذلك عند ظهور شوتيز على نرة
 صفتها كذا وكذا وعنده من الناس عدد كثير واقاصيص تدعيها الجوسه في هذا
 المعنى واختلاط طين بل تنزهه كتابنا عن ذكره

الباب الثالث والستون في ذكر البيوت العظيمة عند اول الروم

كانت البيوت العظيمة عند اول الروم قبل ظهور من النصرانية بيت بيلاد المعروف
 بمدينة برطاجية وذلك اسم بلاد القيرطين وهي ارض الاقريطية وبنائه باواع
 الرخام وبني على اسم الزهرة والبيت الثاني باقريطية وهوبيت عظيم عند هم
 والبيت الثالث بقند ونية وامرده مشهور في التثبيد وما كان من امره عند ونية
 وقد اتينا على اخباره واجار غيره من البيوت فيما سلف من كتبنا

الباب الرابع والستون في ذكر البيوت العظيمة عند الصفا لينة

كان في ديار الصفا لينة بيوتنا تعظمها منها بيت كان لهم في الجبل وهو الجبل الذي
 ذكرته الفلاسفة انه احد حيايا العالم العالمة وهو البيت الذي له خبر في كنيسته
 بنايه وترتيب انواع الحجارة واختلاف الوانها فيه الهائلة والحجارة المقسومة
 وما اورد في من الجواهر والاداء المرسومة فيه الدالة على الكليات المستقلة
 وما تفرد به تلك الجواهر من الحوارك فبكونها وقابور اصوات من احوالها وما
 كان يلجئهم عند سماع ذلك وبيت اتخذ بعض ملوكهم على الجبل الاسود تحيط

Fig. 1 (continuation)

Besides that, the 9th century *sopkas* are mainly huge mounds standing on the high bank of the Volhov River. It was difficult not to notice them from the river — furthermore it was virtually impossible to by-pass this area when moving from the north to the south (*i. e.* from the Baltic Sea to the Volga or to the Black Sea). They made the impression of real “mountains” standing upwards amidst the surrounding flat plain. (Besides, there are some “sacred springs” not far from the complex of the *sopkas* of the Staraya Ladoga on the River Volhov).

It is virtually impossible to distinguish more precisely the period, when this information was received, and this is quite common problem for this kind of source. The work itself was written by al-Mas'ūdi in 332/943, and revised in 336/947 and 345/956, but the original account could be much earlier. If this description has indeed its origin in the works of Abū Ma'shar, as was supposed by Kovalevsky [32], the data in question would reflect the realities of the middle and the third quarter of the 9th century [33]. In such a case the above *sopkas* of the River Volhov were probably indicated, as the greater part of these huge mounds was constructed in the 9th century. If al-Mas'ūdi's narrative was based on the information derived by the author from his conversations with Muslim merchants, when he was traveling in the Southern Caspian area, the description reflects the notion of all the *sopkas* of the Novgorod zone. In any case, neither variant contradicts the proposed interpretation.

In this way the evidence of Muslim authors, if correctly interpreted in the light of archaeological facts, may give us valuable information on the functions of East Slavonic *sopkas* in the early Slavonic culture, in which they served as sanctuaries and places of burial. There is no place here to bring forward all available archaeological evidence to confirm it. It is enough to mention that recently obtained archaeological data correspond with the evidence of al-Mas'ūdi. The archaeological investigations during last dozen years seem to confirm this interpretation. Several excavated mounds of *sopka* type revealed traces of post-hole and “surface burials” (*i. e.* bones remnants from cremations) — such as that on the top of the mound in Dubo-

viki [34] or on some *sopkas* of the Rivers Oredej [35] and Lovat [36]. An oak “box” with cremated bones — a parallel to al-Mas'ūdi's description — was found on a *sopka* by the village of Skovorodka (Strugokrasnenskiy region of the Pskov district) [37]. Besides that, if we regard the *sopkas* as cult centres, it is possible to suggest that the “traces of funeral feast” often mentioned by archaeologists should be interpreted as traces of animal sacrifices, as described in the third account of al-Mas'ūdi. It does not exclude, however, the possibility of a funeral feast as well, but even in such a case its religion function was similar to the sacrifice mentioned by al-Mas'ūdi.

Anyhow, it is clear, that the *sopkas* could not be exclusively burial places, as their number is obviously insufficient for this. The commoners were most probably buried in some other way, such as, for example, the “cremation on the surface of the earth” [38]; as for the *sopkas*, they could be reserved for a higher social stratum, possibly, for local — or, *e. g.*, supra-tribal, “central”, — aristocracy. There is no wonder, therefore, that the Arab authors report on the cult functions of the *sopkas* [39].

In this way, based upon the evidence of al-Mas'ūdi confirmed by archaeological data, we may suggest that in the system of the East Slavonic culture the *sopkas* functioned, first of all, as cult centres, not only as burrows. (The latter idea, considering the *sopkas* as almost the only burial places of the Novgorod Slavs, was current in archaeological literature about ten years ago, when I first suggested my present explanation of the relevant passage from al-Mas'ūdi.)

Thus, the example brought forward here demonstrates that the evidence of Muslim authors can be used to expand the database on the history of Eastern Europe and its population. However, the process of extracting this information implies, on the one hand, a very special attitude to the sources in question; it can be successful only if we take into account the cultural patterns and mental stereotypes of the environment in which they were created. On the other hand, being rather vague and uncertain, the derived information requires some other archaeological or historical confirmation to be safely used for historical reconstruction.

Notes

1. For example, the only Russian translation which can be “safely” used by non-orientalists, with no risk of misunderstanding its context, is the works by A. P. Kovalevsky, see his *Puteshestvie Ibn Fadlana na Volgu* (The Voyage of Ibn Faḍlān to the Volga (Moscow—Leningrad, 1939) and *Kniga Akhmeda Ibn Fadlana o ego puteshestvii na Volgu v 921—922 gg.* (The Book of Ahmed Ibn Faḍlān on his Voyage to the Volga in 921—922) (Kharkov, 1956)). Also see B. N. Zakhoder, *Kaspiiskii svod svedenii o Vostochnoi Evrope* (The Caspian Corpus of Evidence on Eastern Europe), Pt. 1—2 (Moscow, 1962—1967).

2. That was practically the only type of “pagans” — except the almost fabulous and, anyhow, less important Harranian “Sabians” — encountered by Muslims in the course of their conquests.

3. S. I. Luchitskaia, “Arab glazami franka. Konfessional'nyi aspekt vospriiatiia musul'manskoĭ kul'tury” (“Arab by the eyes of the Frank. The Confessional Aspect of Perceiving Muslim Culture”), *Odysseus* (Moscow, 1993), pp. 26—31.

4. For example, constant reproduction of certain erroneous views of ancient authors on animals and plants, endless copying of hand-craft “recipes”, etc.

5. *Puteshestvie Ibn Fadlana na Volgu*, p. 71. A similar account is included, for example, in the work of al-Mas'ūdi *Murūj al-dhahab. Les prairies d'or*, ed. Pellat (Beirut, 1965—1979), § 457 (henceforth cited as Pellat), who, evidently, did not know the book of Ibn Faḍlān.

6. The main task set before Ibn Faḍlān, a secretary of the diplomatic mission, was to control how the prescriptions of Islam were followed in recently converted Bulghārs and to give advice on religious matters. His power, as a Muslim authority, was quite considerable, naturally, the muezzin was in fear of being punished for his negligence.

7. A perfect example of this kind is the Geographical Dictionary of al-Yāqūt, which contains the description of a number of cities and villages that ceased to exist in the 13th century. The author included in his book passages from the earlier authors alongside the contemporary information. Al-Yāqūt traveled a lot and, thus, could know that those places did not exist anymore — or were in decline, — though he often did not point it out, as he considered it unimportant (he mentioned occasionally that some towns were destroyed by the Mongols, however, that is not a rule, but rather an exception).

8. The rich *adab* literary tradition included information on Arabic poetry, genealogies, history, geography, etc. Its aim was to provide the reader with all the knowledge necessary for a cultured person.

9. Its purely entertaining function became prevalent only in the period of the decline of medieval Arabic literature, *i. e.* from the 14th century.

10. Pellat, ii, chapter 66 (§§ 1386—1388), pp. 389—90. I give here my literal translation of this chapter.

11. Some St. Petersburg manuscripts, for example, the manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (under call number D-157 (see *fig. 1*) and D-175) contain a variant *zihāl*, *i. e.* “Saturn”, instead of *rajul* (“man”), though none of printed editions accessible to me gives this form. Some Russian scholars (A. Y. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i russkikh* (Muslim Authors Account on Slavs and Russes) (St. Petersburg, 1870), p. 139 and A. P. Kovalevskii, “Al-Masudi o slavianskikh iazycheskikh khramakh”, *Voprosy istoriografii i istochnikovedeniia slaviano-germanskikh otnoshenii* (Moscow, 1973), p. 80) accepted this variant. It seems to be virtually impossible, however, to establish at which stage this variant appeared: it is a common mistake from the point of view of Arabic script and the copyist could do it quite easily. We cannot reject this interpretation of the text, however, it is very unlikely that we will ever be able to establish with assurance the original word used by al-Mas'ūdī. Anyhow, we would be able to suggest which variant is more probably right only after comparing most of surviving variants of this text.

12. This word was used to indicate Christian coffins, Egyptian sarcophagi, etc. Here it means probably some “reservoir” or “box”, where the bones of the dead were placed.

13. That is the interpretation of the editor, but — in case of another vocalisation — it could mean “the smoke” (of the sacrifice).

14. Al-Mas'ūdī meant his longer books which have not survived.

15. This is the same word as in the § 1386 (*al-makhāriq*), but its meaning seems to be different in this place (“machinations, ruse”, not “holes”).

16. The last sentence reflects a typical “scientific” idea on the origins of idol-worship. A more detailed explanation was given by al-Mas'ūdī at the beginning of the chapter on sanctuaries (for example, Pellat, § 1371).

17. A. Y. Garkavi, *Skazaniia musul'manskikh pisatelei*, p. 171.

18. Kovalevskii, “Al-Mas'ūdī o slavianskikh iazycheskikh khramakh”, pp. 84, 86.

19. Pellat, §§ 459—461.

20. Except some information about Italy and Rome, the only evidence on Western European cities at that time was a vague reference in *Murāj al-dhahab* by al-Mas'ūdī (Pellat, §§ 910—911) to 150 cities and the capital of all Franks (*i. e.* Europeans) — Bawīra, which, possibly, corresponds to Paris (conjuncture “Barīza”, see *EI*², III, p. 1044, is quite probable). As for the account of Ibrāhīm b. Ya`qūb (of 354/956) on Western Europe, it was preserved only in relatively late Western Muslim, tradition and merely partially, as a quotation in the work of al-Bakrī (the second half of the 11th century), but in the East it was not even known (the “Cosmography” of al-Qazwīnī cited by al-Bakrī is a much later work which dates to the end of the 13th century).

21. Pellat, §§ 905—909.

22. Pellat, §§ 1419.

23. Though, for example, Kovalevsky, who studied this narrative, considered that al-Mas'ūdī followed Abū Ma'shar in this respect (see A. P. Kovalevskii, “Al-Mas'ūdī o slavianskikh iazycheskikh khramakh”, p. 83).

24. Pellat, § 1330.

25. Pellat, § 172.

26. Kovalevskii, “Al-Mas'ūdī o slavianskikh iazycheskikh khramakh”, p. 83.

27. Pellat, § 418.

28. Initially the word *bayt* meant “tent”; later it was applied to “house, dwelling, structure” in general.

29. Kovalevskii, “Al-Mas'ūdī o slavianskikh iazycheskikh khramakh”, pp. 84, 86.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

31. The *sopkas* were rather complicated structures, composed of several levels of stone constructions covered by soil.

32. Kovalevskii, “Al-Mas'ūdī o slavianskikh iazycheskikh khramakh”, p. 82.

33. Abū Ma'shar died in 272/886 when he was about one hundred years old (*EI*², I, p. 139.)

34. Excavated by Sergey Kuzmin in 1990—1991, see Sergeĭ Kuzmin, “Sopka okolo derevni Novye Duboviki” (“*Sopka* by the village Novye Duboviki”), *Arkheologiya i istoriia Pskova i Pskovskoi zemli* (Pskov, 1992), pp. 52—5.

35. Sergeĭ Kuzmin, “Oredezhskie sopki” (“The Oredezh *sopkas*”), *Naselenie Leningradskoi oblasti: Materialy i issledovaniia po istorii i traditsionnoi kul'ture* (Leningrad, 1992), pp. 16—26.

36. Excavated by Konetsky, see S. Y. Konetskiĭ, “Novye issledovaniia v urochishche Gubenskaia Luka” (“New investigation in the Gubenskaya Luka *urochishche*”), *Novgorod i Novgorodskaiia zemlia: Istoriia i arkheologiya* (Novgorod, 1992), pp. 20—4.

37. Excavated by Sergey Kuzmin in 1988, see Sergeĭ Kuzmin, “K voprosu o pogrebal'noi obriadovosti kul'tury sopok” (“On the problem of burial rites in the archaeological culture of *sopkas*”), *Arkheologiya i istoriia Pskova i Pskovskoi zemli* (Pskov, 1989), pp. 48—50.

38. Corresponding "superficial burials" were found recently, see, for example, Sergeĭ Kuzmin and Elena Mikhaĭlova, "'Gruntovyĭ" mogil'nik u derevni Kotorsk'" ("Ground" burial place by the village of Kotorsk"), *Drevnĭ Pskov: Issledovaniia srednevekovogo goroda* (St. Petersburg, 1994), pp. 50—2.

39. Similarly, for example, the principal function of the Egyptian pyramids was not "burial" but "cult". The very existence and the size of the pyramids and the cult ceremonies connected with them ensured the prosperity of Egypt.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj al-dhahab*, a manuscript from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number D-157), A.H. 1148/A.D. 1735—1736, fols. 155b—156a, 22.0 × 32.5 cm.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

Yu. A. Petrosyan

THE COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES AND ITS INVESTIGATION

The foundation for the vast collection of Oriental manuscripts in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences was established in 1818 with the foundation of the Asiatic Museum by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. It became a priceless treasury of knowledge, a source of information on the history and cultural heritage of the East. Among its eighty thousand manuscripts written in 65 living and dead eastern languages there are many unique and rare literary works and historical treatises which help scholars to reconstruct the events of the past and the everyday life of the Oriental peoples in the Ancient and the Medieval times.

The Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences [1], collecting, classifying and cataloguing of Oriental books and manuscripts becoming its main function, has made a remarkable contribution to the development of Oriental studies in Russia. Not only professional Museum curators and scholars took part in its collecting activities, but also state officials, diplomats, travelers and amateur collectors of antiquities [2]. Collectors' donations were not the only source nourishing the Museum. Beginning with the 1890s the Asiatic Museum turned to have been the leading scientific centre which provided the research support for numerous expeditions to Central Asia and the Caucasus organized and carried out by the Russian Geographical Society and later by the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia. The discoveries made by Russian geographers and archaeologists in Central Asia revealed numerous unique texts. The manuscripts recovered by S. F. Oldenburg in Eastern Turkestan and Dunhuang (the expeditions of 1909—1910 and of 1914—1915) formed the Dunhuang fund of Chinese manuscripts. Manuscripts collected by S. E. Malov and N. N. Krotkov constituted the Uighur manuscript fund. The unique collection assembled by N. F. Petrovsky included rare Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts and various texts in the Saka, old Tibetan, and Tocharian languages. P. K. Kozlov, a famous Russian traveler, discovered a whole Tangut (now a dead language) library (the expedition of 1907—1909).

At present the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which was founded in 1930 on the basis of the Asiatic Museum, presents the largest in Russia and one of the most prominent world collections of Oriental manuscripts. The study of these sources containing invaluable data on the political, social and spiritual history of the East allow us to estimate the contribution made by the Oriental peoples into the treasury of the World Civilisation. To be exact, the collection of the Institute comprises 85,639 items. These are manuscripts and fragments (50,201 items, including 35 papyri fragments), xylographs (32,877), and documents (1,393). All these texts and manuscripts are distributed over the following 31 funds: a) 25 manuscript funds, including not only manuscripts, but the block-prints as well; b) 1 fund of xylographs comprising Chinese block-prints; c) 1 fund of official documents; d) 1 fund of works of art (including albums); e) 1 fund of estampages; f) 1 cartographical fund; and g) 1 photo- and microfilm fund.

Among the manuscripts preserved in the collection there are Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang — 19,092; Arabographic manuscripts (Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Afghan, Kurdish, etc.) — 9,774; Serindica (Uighur, Sanskrit, Saka, Sogdian, Tocharian, etc.) — 4,652; Tangut — 4,600; Mongolian — 4,067; Hebrew — 1,251 (including 24 scrolls); Indian (Sanskrit, Pali, new Indian languages) — 624; Georgian — 590; Chinese (fund "Nova") — 379; Armenian — 410; Manchurian — 296; Chinese from Khara-Khoto — 139; Ethiopian — 119; Japanese — 113; Korean — 56; Judaica-Persica — 44; Syriac — 34; Samaritan — 40; Egyptian and Coptic papyri — 35; Malayan — 13 (a part of Arabographic manuscripts), etc.

The collection also comprises numerous xylographs: Tibetan — 21,789 (including 3,143 doublets); Mongolian — 3,442; Tangut — 3,765; Chinese — 4,581; Japanese — 683; Manchurian — 860; Chinese (from Khara-Khoto) — 206; Korean — 156. There are also 1,393 Arabographic (Persian, Turkish, Arabic) documents, 195 works of art and 973 estampages.

The distinctive feature of the Institute collection is the presence of several unique funds: monuments of Tangut literature (8,361), Sogdian documents from the mount Mug (77), Old Uighur texts (4,000), Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, ancient Buddhist Sanskrit and Saka texts and a collection of Tibetan manuscripts from Khara-Khoto.

All the collection's materials can be divided into two groups. The first one includes all manuscripts, documents and xylographs written in the languages living in our days: Iranian, Turkish, Arabic, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchurian, Indian and others. To the second group belong texts in dead languages: Egyptian and Coptic papyri, Syrian, Samaritan, Sogdian, Sanskrit, Saka, Tocharian, and Tangut manuscripts and documents, as well as Tangut xylographs.

The period of collecting materials continued till the end of the 1930s. The admirable collections formed in the course of 120 years remained to be little known beyond a close circle of specialists. Only few of these funds were available to scholars through concise catalogues, irregularly published lists of new acquisitions and several survey articles.

In 1951 the staff of the Institute started to work on the scientific catalogue of the whole collection basing upon the principles of describing manuscripts developed by that time. This labour-consuming program had been accomplished by the 1970s. Two types of scientific description of the funds have been produced: complete thematic and concise thematic or alphabet lists. The optimal way would be to have a published concise alphabet catalogue of each fund containing all basic data on its manuscripts along with special detailed descriptions arranged by subjects: history, biography, hagiography, etc. By now we have concise catalogues of the Arabic and Persian-Tadjik manuscript funds, of the Chinese xylographs, of approximately one fifth of the manuscripts from Dunhuang and the catalogues of the Mongolian and Tangut manuscripts (the last is in print) [3]. Other funds are represented by detailed catalogues [4], not counting numerous surveys, lists and articles. In this way approximately 95% of the funds have been catalogued.

Taking into account the experience acquired in the course of the work on the manuscripts and the contents of the funds, the project of producing a special work regarding the development of the Oriental manuscript-tradition in different historico-cultural regions could be realized. A joint monograph in two volumes "Manuscript in the Culture of the Peoples of the East" has been published recently by a group of scholars, members of the research-staff of the Institute [5]. There are also several monographs and articles investigating the manuscript-tradition of different Oriental peoples written by other scientists. Among them there are the work by A. B. Khalidov dedicated to Arabic manuscripts [6]. The work by V. V. Kushev on Afghan manuscripts has also appeared, where, on the materials of the collection of the 18th—19th centuries Pashto manuscripts, the author is demonstrating the development of the Afghan literary and manuscript tradition [7]. The study of the manuscripts of the collection underlined appearing a number of researches on the cultural history of the Arab countries and of Medieval Iran [8].

Much has been done during the last few years to reveal, study and publish the most valuable historical and literary

works of the collection. No investigation into the past can be fruitful without a detailed study of the literary sources describing social and cultural traditions of the peoples of the East, moreover that these traditions are still preserved in many Oriental countries. In this connection modern developments in the field of Islamic studies are of special importance. These works provided materials for the recently published collective monograph "Islam. A Reference Encyclopaedia", where many aspects of the history of Islam are elucidated.

More than a quarter of a century ago a special publication series devoted to the most important texts has been founded on the initiative of Academicians B. G. Gafurov and I. A. Orbeli, and of the chief editor of the Oriental Literature department of the "Nauka" publishing house O. K. Dreier. Since that time it has been recognised and welcomed by scholars from many countries. About 150 texts have been published in this series. Now this work is continued by the recently established publishing centre "Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie" directed by its founder I. A. Alimov. From 1994 this centre is publishing manuscript texts in the series "Monuments of Oriental Culture (St. Petersburg Scientific Series)" [9].

More than sixty years ago N. A. Nevsky began to explore the unique fund of Tangut manuscripts. By now many Tangut texts have been deciphered, which made it possible to reconstruct the history of the Tangut state in the 10th—13th centuries. The Tangut fund (8,365 items), manuscripts and xylographs from the above mentioned collection discovered by P. K. Kozlov, still continue to provide evidence on the history and culture of the Tanguts. Recently a fundamental study of the Tangut law has been accomplished by E. I. Kychanov [10].

The publication of the Tangut translation of the famous Chinese military treatise *Sun-tzu* was prepared by K. B. Kepping. The publication is even more important, taking into account that this version of the original writing has been lost. Another publication by the same author is worth noting. It is the Tangut translation of the Chinese anthology *Lei lin* ("The Forest of Categories"), its original also lost. It provides rich materials for reconstructing the grammar of the dead Tangut language [11].

The study of the Tangut materials resulted in the appearance of several works on the Tangut culture, among them the book by A. P. Terentyev-Katansky dedicated to the Tangut xylograph and manuscript tradition [12]. It should be mentioned that all works by the St. Petersburg Tangutologists receive wide response from scholars both in Russia and abroad. One of the most prominent publications of the past years, the great Tangut explanatory dictionary "The Sea of Letters" [13], was reprinted in China in 1983 with many additions and vast commentaries.

The Dunhuang fund, the collection of Chinese and of a small number of Old Uighur, Tibetan and Saka manuscripts, constantly attracts scholars' attention. In the course of the last two decades many of these texts has been published by the Institute team of sinologists directed by L. N. Menshikov. The first results of this project were highly estimated by scholars. The project received the award of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1964.

Two of these publications deserve special mentioning. The first one is the publication of four scrolls of a previously unknown 9th century Chinese literary work of the

pien-wen genre — Chinese folk novels — prepared by L. N. Menshikov [14]. It is an important contribution to the studies of Chinese medieval literature and ideology. The other one, made by L. I. Chuguyevsky, is the result of many years of his work on the Chinese economic documents of the Dunhuang fund [15]. These documents provide evidence on the development of social and economic life not only in the Dunhuang region but also in China and in Central Asia in general. They reveal to us many sides of human life, as it was more than a thousand years ago: how plots of land were rented or sold, how movable and immovable property was exchanged or bought, what regulations were there in Buddhist monasteries and in lay communities settled around. In 1991 the Institute undertook, jointly with the Shanghai publishing house “Ancient Book”, the publication of the whole corpus of Dunhuang manuscripts from the collection. The first five volumes of this fundamental edition have already appeared.

The fund of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs has been waiting for a long time to be explored. Only recently a small group of specialists has accomplished the inventory of the fund. From 1994, on the initiative of Dr Michael Roach (U.S.A.) the making of the digital electronic catalogue of the fund has been started. A group of Tibetan monks is taking part in this work under the direction of L. S. Savitsky and V. L. Uspensky. Now the making of the catalogue is on the way. Meanwhile the plans for its study are being drawn and the most valuable works are prepared for publication. Recently a facsimile edition of one unique xylograph and of a manuscript has appeared containing a collection of lyric poems by Tsanyan Jamtso, the Sixth Dalai Lama, Tibetan poet of the late 17th—early 18th century [16]. This collection of poems seems to be the only known book of Tibetan lay poetry. It should be added that this year V. Uspensky has published an article dealing with another Tibetan manuscript — the illustrated text of the Fifth Dalai Lama’s “Secret Visionary Autobiography” [17].

The collection of ancient Buddhist texts from Chinese Turkestan is really unique. It contains records of Buddhist literature in several ancient languages — Sanskrit, Saka and Tocharian — made in the 5th—9th centuries A.D. Its scientific value is all the more significant, because even in India, whence from Buddhism had originated, none of these records have survived. Indologists from St. Petersburg continue the work on this collection started by Academician S. F. Oldenburg. Publications of some of the texts appeared already in several Russian and European scientific journals. Recently G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya have published a number of Indian texts from Central Asia [18].

The study of the manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan revealed many new facts about the peoples inhabiting Central Asia in the Ancient and Early Medieval period and about their migrations. Several texts in Khotanese-Saka and Tocharian have been published, developing the study of these dead languages, as well as several canonical books of the two major branches of Buddhism — the Hināyāna and the Mahāyāna — previously known only in Chinese and Tibetan translations. These texts prove that in the 5th—9th centuries East Turkestan was the main centre of the Buddhist teaching, whence from it was introduced to other regions of Asia. It also played an important part in the propagation of Indian literary and cultural traditions.

In the fund of Sogdian texts an important place belongs to the collection of documents found in 1932—1933 among the ruins of a fortress on the Mount Mug, 120 km east of Samarkand. These documents deciphered and published in the 1930s—1960s constitute a very important source on the history of Central Asia in the Pre-Islamic period (the second half of the 7th—early 8th century) and on the economics, social relations, religion and culture of Sogd in the Early Medieval time [19]. These documents are still attracting the attention of linguists, historians and archaeologists. They help to interpret the data collected from archaeological excavations and to understand the contents of some newly discovered Sogdian texts. Recent investigations into the grammar of the Sogdian language, which present an important contribution to Oriental philology, are also basing upon the texts from the Mug fortress [20].

Another part of the Sogdian fund, the collection of Sogdian manuscript fragments from East Turkestan, owes its origin to the activities of Russian diplomats in the late 19th—early 20th century and to the discoveries made by the Russian expeditions directed by S. F. Oldenburg. Most of these fragments belong to Sogdian translations of Buddhist and Manichaean texts. The publication of the Sogdian materials from Central Asia preserved in the collection was accomplished in 1980. At present the investigation of these materials and their publication are being carried out by the specialists of the Institute [21].

Among the works of the last years the reading and publication of the ancient Khwārazmian documents on leather and wood coming from the excavations of the palace of Toprak-kala (3d century A.D.) should be mentioned. This work, started in the 1950s by S. P. Tolstov, was accomplished by V. A. Livshits [22]. The documents are now preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. They provide new evidence on the character of social relations in Central Asia in the Early Medieval Period.

The study of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts expands our knowledge of the history, economic development and culture of the states and peoples of the Near and the Middle East, and of Central Asia. The translation of the “Book on Creeds and Sects” by al-Shahrastānī, a 12th century Muslim theologian, has appeared in the series “Literary Monuments of the East” [23]. This work is a concise encyclopaedia of religions and religious teachings widespread among the peoples of the Near East and the Mediterranean in the Early Medieval Period. Al-Shahrastānī’s work is most important for understanding the cultural development of the Muslim society of that time. The translation is basing upon the Cairo edition of the treatise; one of the earliest copies of this work belonging to the collection of the Institute enabled the translator to verify the text and to improve the translation of several passages.

New possibilities for the study of the medieval history of Khazakhstan and East Turkestan were opened by the publication of the “Chronicle” by Maḥmūd Churās (17th century) [24]. The publication is basing mainly upon the Persian manuscript from the Russian State library in Moscow. Over 60 Persian manuscripts from the collection of the Institute allowed to provide it with a vast commentary on the text by Maḥmūd Churās, making it an important contribution not only to textology but also to philology and to the history of Central Asia.

經傳告長者子善德汝行請維摩詰

得疾

尊世當余之時乃告善德長者才呼名
字禪那而俯近奉其聖仰而如來入平而
專聽虛心吾為維摩臥病我見若若
纏病思向拜而如渴待漿常傳言而如繩
索扣吾使從頭勒命從舍利弗等个擁
詞我逐次弟親至自殊勒位中人謙退
皆言少辯盡道虧才報向者各說本因
在對者咸彰過比差詣彼物心道不任
佛使宜可暫傳衡命須差俊彦今善

Fig. 2

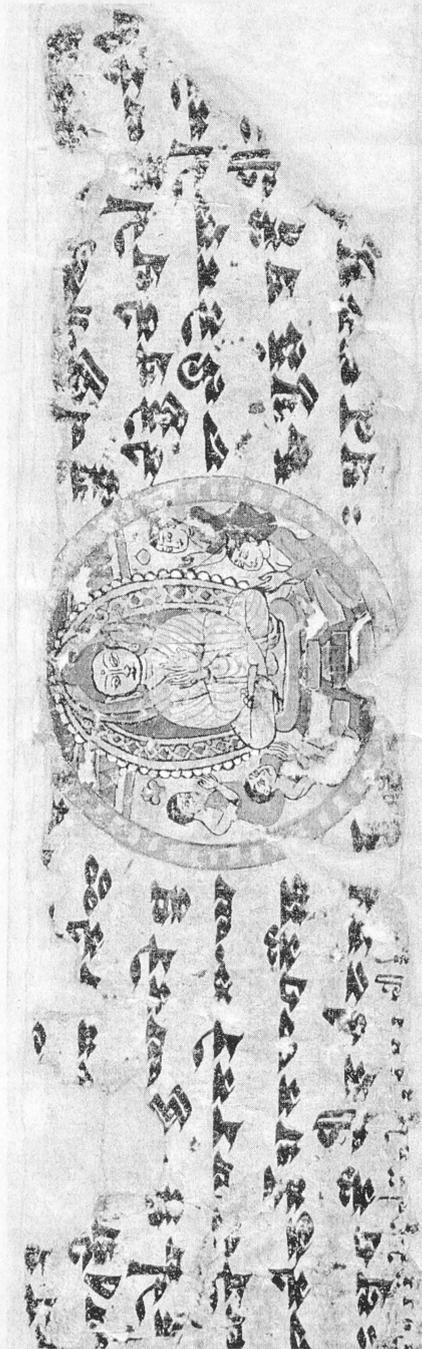


Fig. 3

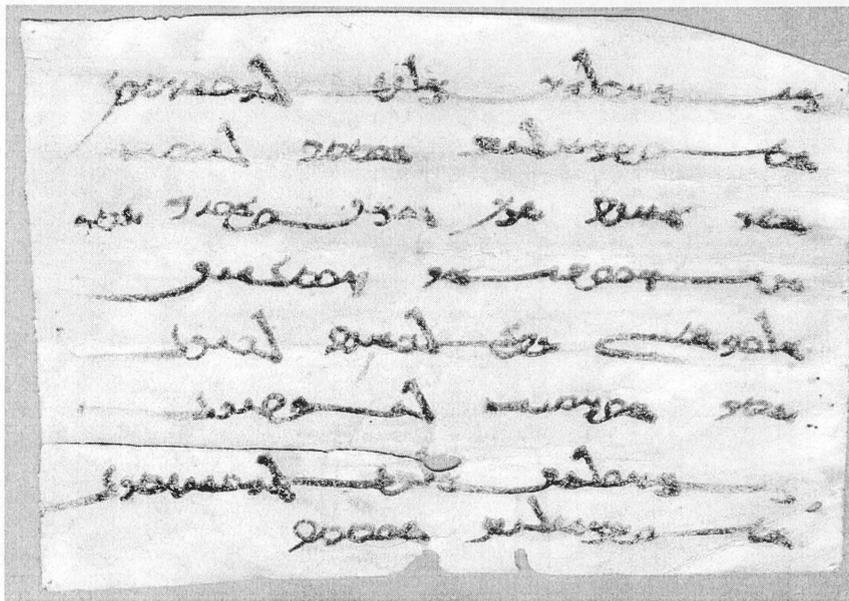


Fig. 4

A rare Turkish treatise on the history of the Janissary corps — the text of the original with a Russian translation and commentaries — has recently been published by I. Ye. Petrosyan. It expands our knowledge of the military, political and economic system of the Ottoman Empire in the late Medieval Period [25].

A series of publications by M. A. Salahetdinova on *Sharaf-nāma-i shāhi* ("The Book of Shah's Glory") is introducing a new source on the history of Central Asia of the second half of the 16th century. The book was written by Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanīsh from Bukhārā. The publication with a Russian translation and translator's commentaries is basing upon the manuscript of the Institute collection [26]. This work presents many new facts on the political history of Central Asia, it may help to understand its ethnic history, especially the history Uzbek and the Khazakh peoples. A Persian manuscript containing the memoirs of Barnābādī, a Herat landlord, written at the beginning of the 19th century, has been published. This work is a valuable source for the history and culture of Afghanistan in the 17th—18th centuries [27].

The examples brought forward here do not cover the whole range of works connected with the description and study of the manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Oriental textology, as we know by the experience of many years of work over manuscripts, makes the foundation of almost all important studies of the history and the cultural heritage of the East. It is evident that the publication of any new text, especially if it is rare or unique, be

it a chronicle, a treatise on philosophy, a canonical religious text or a poem, is significant far beyond the frames of purely textological work. As a rule, publications of this kind stimulate historico-cultural studies and often open new directions in the field of oriental studies. The results of the Tangut, Dunhuang and Sogdian studies mentioned above confirm the importance of textology within the multiform system of oriental studies.

The scholars of St. Petersburg working in the field of oriental textology realise the scientific and public significance of their work. Numerous reviews on their works, especially if these are publications of new texts, which appear in Eastern countries testify to the wide public interest towards the results of their investigations. There are many cases when publications of Oriental texts made in Russia were reprinted in other countries.

Our foreign colleagues and representatives of public circles, who often visit the Institute in St. Petersburg, recognise the significance of the efforts of its staff to preserve the collection, as well as the importance of their scholarly activities. Every new article, every publication of a literary or historical text is accepted by the peoples of the East as a sign of attention and respect towards their culture and their traditions. Now old manuscripts serve the case of improving relations between different peoples, help them to better understand each other. The realisation of this public significance of their work was always and is still inspiring all those who dedicated their life to the study of Oriental manuscripts.

اما بعد ناظران در بلاغت را وفاق است و راقمان غرض فصاحت را اتفاق که علمین
 که فصوص آیات و نصوص و آیات موضوع آن فن تواند بود و فراید نواید آن و مولود غلبه
 آن زیاد و از اینست که بشیرین زبانی قلم و سکر فغانی رقم سخن حسن قیصر و حدیث
 لطیف سخن بر آن ادا تواند نمود انکه و سهم نویست هم کهن است سخن است درین سخن سخنیت
 و ازینجاست که کلام بحر نظام ملک علام تم اگر که و عه انعام نیک است بر عیبت و کلام
 درین باب تقد کان فی قصصهم عذره لا ولی الا لایب ستم
 جبهانیت روشن با نواران تاریخ دانست اخبار دهر که چون بود در پیش اطوار دهر
 تاریخ از نسیب یا و رسیل خبر یا بدایت از جزو کل تاریخ دوران از یاد پرد
 که تحت سیلان جهان با دبرد ز تاریخ در ملک بر دیندی که همیشه کی بود و کا و پس کی
 و در مطالع تواریخ مجمل فایده که روی میدهند اینست که چون در قرون و ادوار و پس نون
 اطوار ثواقین رشیع مقدار و سلاطین با اقدار تاملی و اتقی و تعلی شانی نمایند و بکن ادرک
 و مین فهم در آنک دریا بنده که تضار لیف ایام و تقاریر شهر و اعوام بر آن فرود حجت فرجام
 ابقا نکرد و جز آن نیک و بد و اخبار خیر و شر فیا نه بر صحایف روزگار و در صغایح لیل و نهار
 نقش پذیرند اگر از انبای ملوک و اشرفند در این جهان داری و طریقت که مکار و نیک
 بر پیوم و عادات ایشان نمایند و در نرم و نرم بقواعد و مر اسپم آن فیه رفیع المکان اقبانند
 و اگر از نسیب یا رضنا و بد بکن آن شامل خوب و خصایل هر خوب که سپرد فقر مجرب و کرم و فدکیه
 مجاین بشیم است محلی و متعلق کردند و عجایب تقیبات را سپر مایه سپاری و پوششیا ری
 شمارند و مشیوه هر ضیعه را است کاری را بهب رست کاری شناخته سپر مفاخرت بر
 افزاند ندر با درستی سحر کا ه شام سپر بر سیلیمان علیه السلام
 یا خورشید کی که بر باد فرست اشک آنکه با دانش دانست نموده میشود که منزه روی او به
 خاکباری بی اعتباری شمس بن میر محمد التجاری ابن القلیب فی المپاک و الحاری
 با وجود تعب طلب وجد حکم کتب و ادب در شانه تحصیل علوم و مینیت و تکمیل معارف
 یقینیه در ریجان جوانی و عقولان زندگانی همواره صورت است این معنی بر لوح اندیش چهره

Fig. 5

Notes

1. On the history of the Asiatic Museum see B. Dorn, *Das Asiatische Museum der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg* (St. Petersburg, 1946); *Aziatskii Muzei Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk. 1818—1918* (The Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 1818—1918) (Petrograd, 1920); *Aziatskii Muzei — Leningradskoe otdelenie Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (The Asiatic Museum — the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, 1972).

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Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** "The Sea of Letters", a xylograph (call number Tang. 14, No. 212), 12th century, fol. 57b, 17.5 × 28.5 cm.
- Fig. 2.** "Pien-wen about Wei Mo-chie", a scroll (call number F 252), 10th century, the beginning of the text, 24.0 × 20.5 cm.
- Fig. 3.** *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, a manuscript (call number SI P/12 + 13), 7th century, the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh chapters, fol. 146b, 20.0 × 9.0 cm.
- Fig. 4.** A Sogdian document (leather), call number A 3, 8th century, the letter of Sogdian King Dēwāštīč, 10.5 × 13.5 cm.
- Fig. 5.** Hāfīz-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī*, a manuscript (call number D-88), 16th century, fol. 3a, 19.5 × 33.5 cm.

ORIENTAL DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS OF A. P. BERGÉ IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

The fund of documents of the famous Russian orientalist A. P. Bergé (1828—1886) preserved in the archives of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies includes a collection of documents and letters in several Oriental languages (Persian, Arabic, Turkic) — over 200 items. The main part of the collection, approximately 90%, is formed by Persian documents. These documents are of much interest both from the point of view of Iranian studies (the vocabulary of the documents' language and the letter style, structure and arrangement of business documents of the 19th and, to a lesser extent, of the 18th century, lexicon of the last century, now out of date or no longer used, etc.) and in a wider sense from the point of view of the investigation of the Russian-Persian relations in the 19th century, of the social and economic life of Iran under the first Qājārs. None of these materials have ever been published, neither in the *Akty Kavkazskoi Arkheograficheskoi Komissii* (Acts of the Caucasus Archaeographic Commission) of which Bergé had been the chief editor from 1866 till his death, nor in any other known periodicals.

The Persian part of A. Bergé's collection consists of forty leaves of different formats, each of them representing a single letter or document, and of six "scrolls" of documents and letters glued one to another, often with no logical connection with neighbouring documents, which makes the impression of a random selection. The smallest scroll contains 3 documents, the longest one — 70 documents. There is also a distinct group of letters in Arabic and a series of documents in Persian, Arabic and Turkic, which have nothing to do with official documents and correspondence. A contour portrait of a Persian dignitary, with a calligraphic inscription attached to it, can be mentioned as well.

The variety of the Oriental part of the fund and its informative value do not allow to characterize it briefly and in general terms. It could be done in a summary description, where more attention is given to the Persian part of Bergé's fund.

A description of the Oriental part of the fund of A. P. Bergé:

1. A series of 13 official documents and letters, most of them dated. The social status of their authors and of those to whom they were addressed varied significantly. Among the most important documents are the five *farmāns* of Faṭh 'Alī-shāh and Naṣīr al-Dīn. The first two, dated correspond-

ingly A.H. 1228/A.D. 1813 and A.H. 1238/A.D. 1822—1823 deal with the ratification of expenses within the country. The other three, of the second half of the 19th century, present records of Persian awards given to Russian subjects. The *farmān* of Naṣīr al-Dīn of Rabī' II 1277/October—November 1860 confirms that the director of the Moscow military hospital Lieutenant-General Nestor Myasoedov was awarded the insignia of "Lion and Sun" of the first grade with chain. As for A. P. Bergé himself, he was awarded twice. His first "Order of Lion and Sun" of the second grade was granted with the *farmān* of the Sha'bān 1270/May 1854. The same order, but this time with star, was obtained by him on the 3d of Jumādā I 1281/4 October 1864. The royal *farmāns* are attested with signatures and seals of several Iranian officials. No less significant is the safeguard warrant given to General N. A. Khanykov (the famous Russian orientalist) and the officers of his suite for their voyage to Khurāsān. It is dated by Shawwāl 1274, *i. e.* May—June 1858 and attested with the seal of Mirzā Aqā-khān, at that time the prime minister of Iran.

Among the other documents of the same group there are:

— Two official letters addressed to Iskandar-khān, the *ḥākim* of several districts of Iran, concerning the decision on disputes about property in some villages under his jurisdiction. One of them is dated by A.H. 1270/1853—1854 (*fig. 1*), the other has a more precise date — the 7th of Ṣāfar 1270, *i. e.* 9 November 1853.

— A private letter addressed to a Russian subject Adar (?) Lev Fedorovich or, possibly, corrupted Adolph Petrovich Bergé (?) dated by Rabī' I 1270, *i. e.* December 1853. The author of the letter is recognised by the impression of his seal. It is one "khalifā Ṭātūs" (artisan Tatos?).

— A business letter addressed to a merchant Khwāja Kālūs, not earlier than A.H. 1258/A.D. 1842.

— A business letter addressed to Mirzā Ibrāhīm-khān, not earlier than A.H. 1243/1827—1828.

— A document attesting the rights of each of the three persons — Khwāja Kālūs, Mirzā Gevorg and Muḥammad Qāsim-bik — to own one third of the inheritance left by Qāsim-bik's mother. The text is confirmed by seals of several people, among them two impressions with the name "Muḥammad Kālūs" and the date — A.H. 1252, *i. e.* A.D. 1836—1837. Below the text is the actual date of the

document — Dhu'l-Hijja 1270, *i. e.* August—September 1854. On the other side of the document there is a text in Armenian with the date 1854.

— A private letter by Imām-Qūlī to the head of merchants Khwāja Kālūs, not earlier than A.H. 1273/A.D. 1856—1857. The date is on the stamp of the sender.

2. Accounts of the expenses of the Qarābāgh copper mines in 1841—1842, in Persian and Armenian (24 leaves).

3. Scroll under call number C V, three business letters glued together. The letters deal with financial transactions of Khwāja Kālūs. One of the letters, undated, is addressed to him. In the other two, written around A.H. 1269/A.D. 1852—1853 and on the 11th of Ramaḍān 1268, *i. e.* 29 June 1852, his name is mentioned in the text.

4. A scroll of 4 leaves making one document. On both sides the joints are stamped with the seals of the persons attesting the validity of the document. It contains an account of expenses from Rajab to Shawwāl 1258/August—November 1842.

5. Scroll C IV, originals and copies of official documents (7 items). Four of them are court decisions on debts and civil cases, the other three — orders of the Shāh of Iran to provincial authorities to ensure the freedom of movement of Russian subjects (in one case it concerns a pilgrim to Mecca, in the other two — the officials of the Russian General Consulate in Tabrīz and of the Russian Embassy in Tihṙān). The documents are dated — the earliest is of Rabī' II 1259, *i. e.* April—May 1842, the latest — of Ramaḍān 1269, *i. e.* June—July 1853.

6. Scroll C III of 9 documents and letters, five of them dated. The earliest letter is addressed to Sulaymān-khān Ashraf. The stamp-seal of the sender has the date A.H. 1244/A.D. 1828—1829. It deals with financial accounts connected with the Russian Embassy. The other four, judging by the dates at the end of the documents and relative dates of stamp-seals, were written between A.H. 1269 and A.H. 1271/October 1852—April 1855. Their contents is different. There is an appeal of Khwāja Kālūs to the Supreme Court, documents concerning conscription, leave from the service, a supplication addressed to the district *hākīm* asking for help (with a postscript in Armenian and Armenian stamp), financial accounts, a note explaining why and how money was stolen from foreigners in caravanserais, a request concerning a reward to be given to an interpreter for honest work.

7) Scroll C II including 51 documents and letters. If sorted by dates, they can be divided into three main groups:

a) Dated exactly, by day, month and year or by month and year only — 14 items;

b) Having a relative date, when only the year is indicated at the end of the document, or some date or dated event is mentioned in the text, or with some date on the stamp of the sender of the letter on its back (which means only, that the letter was written not earlier than the date on the stamp seal) — 27 items;

c) With no direct indications of date — 10 items.

The earliest letter in the scroll bears the date A.H. 1222, *i. e.* A.D. 1807—1808, on the stamp of the sender; the latest one with a date was written on the 10th of Safar 1269, *i. e.* 23 November 1852. The latest one with a relative date is stamped with a seal marked A.H. 1280, *i. e.* A.D. 1863—1864. The documents are arranged at random, there is no chronological or thematic order. They were formed into a scroll at a later date (after 1864 at least), after

they had lost their practical significance. It is testified by the fact that senders' stamps at the end of the documents confirming their authenticity are often covered by the next sheet of paper glued over them.

It is possible to distinguish groups of letters addressed by one person to different people or of letters by different authors sent to one man. Often these materials are concentrated in one place, though sometimes they are mixed with other documents. From this point of view, ideal is the arrangement of letters by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Taqī sent from St. Petersburg to his native city of Tabriz, which come at the end of the scroll (Nos. 45—51). One of them is addressed to his wife. None of the letters are properly dated — only the day of the month and of the week is mentioned in the text, but not the year. In three cases synchronous dates of the Gregorian calendar are indicated — 28th of June, 20th of May and 9th of June, but also without indication to the year. On the back side all letters are stamped with the sender's seal bearing the date A.H. 1243, *i. e.* A.D. 1827—1828 — the earliest chronological border for them. However, while knowing the days of the week in the text, it is possible with the help of synchronological tables to find the exact dates of sending.

Business letters by another person sent to different addressees approximately at the same time — Rabī' II—Jumādā II 1255/June—August 1839 can be found both at the beginning and in the middle of the scroll (Nos. 1—4, 17, 18). They are written by one and the same hand and stamped with the seal of their author.

The volume of the scroll allows to sort letters by the names of those to whom they were addressed. Six letters were sent to Mirzā Jāni Lashkarnawīs (?) (Nos. 32, 37—40, 42), two — to Amīr Niẓām to Syria (Nos. 22, 23), four — to historian Mirzā Aḥmad (the same as Khwāji Mirzā Aḥmad) (Nos. 1, 17, 19, 24). Four letters on blue paper are addressed to Iranian dignitaries. The names of recipients are not often indicated on the obverse side of the letters. Usually they are replaced by a formula of a friendly or respectful official address. These names can be found on the other side of the page — usually the full name and titles of the recipient are indicated. The name of the sender or of the office from which the letter comes can be established by the text of the private or official stamp attesting the document. Some letters have neither addresses on the back side, nor stamps, which makes them anonymous. These are interesting only from the point of view of their lexicon and style.

The documents and letters of the scroll deal with various subjects. Two letters concern different aspects of Russian-Iranian relations: one is addressed to the first deputy of the General Consul (in Tabrīz?) — an Iranian is asking for an audience; the other is safeguarding the interests of a Muslim Russian subject in Iran (No. 5).

But the major part of the documents deal with Iranian problems: a copy of the Shah's order to the governor of Azerbaijan to produce records of expenses, different applications, legal cases, requests to make an investigation, reports on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Kerbela, letters concerning official appointments and promotions, official and private correspondence, etc.

8. Scroll C I of 72 leaves contains 70 documents, 32 of them dated, 10 have relative dates, 28 with no dates. The earliest document is dated by Shawwāl 1190, *i. e.* November—December 1776, the latest — by Rajab 1270, *i. e.*

April 1854. In this scroll there are many documents of the beginning of the 19th century. One of them (a decision of the Shariat court on property matters, No. 20) has two dates: 26 Dhu'l-Hijja 1229, *i. e.* 1 December 1717 and near it, numerically — A.H. 1219, *i. e.* A.D. 1804—1805. The first date, doubtless, is a mistake. It is evident from the similar context of the neighbouring documents which can be surely dated to the beginning of the 19th century, moreover that the names of the evidence attesting the decisions of several Shariat courts are the same as in the document with the improbable alternative date.

At three points (after Nos. 35, 47 and 49) the scroll is torn. C I is different from C II not only by its size and by the presence of earlier documents and letters but also by the formal variety of its parts. Different is the format of its documents (folio, 2/3, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4 and even 1/6 of a folio), the quality and colour of paper (white, yellowish, light green, blue). Some of the letters are written on European paper with different water marks. The most important thing, of course, is the variety of documents it contains.

It opens with a series of letters addressed to the officials of the Russian General Consulate, to Russian subjects resident in Iran or to Iranians having business relations with them. One letter (No. 5) is addressed directly to the General Consul, another (No. 7) to a "Count", the third one (No. 8) to a "Baron". Personal names are not mentioned, only titles, but knowing the date of the letters it is easy to identify them. A letter sent to a Christian merchant in Tabriz Aka Kalus (whose name is mentioned in several other documents) concerns his dispute with shahsevens (No. 3); on the other side of the letter there are two impressions of an Armenian stamp-seal with the Russian letters *Г* and *П* and the date — 1825. One letter (No. 1) is a part of a correspondence with Iranian authorities concerning a dwelling house for the mission of the General Consulate and an orchard adjoining it. Another deals with some property acquired from a Russian subject, Christian Qara-bik. (No. 2).

This uniform group of 6 documents is interrupted by other materials.

One interesting group of documents presents verdicts of the Shariat court on the cases connected with property and inheritance (Nos. 17—21, 67). The earliest one is of 11 Rajab 1214, *i. e.* of 9 December 1799, the last one — of Rabi' I 1228, *i. e.* of March 1813. One of their specific features is the presence of numerous stamps (up to 15 impressions) from the personal seals of those participating in the case or attesting the authenticity of the documents. The 19th century Iranian sphragistics can be regarded as an independent field of study. Materials from the fund of A. P. Bergé provide abundant information on the style and palaeography of Iranian private seals used by different social groups.

It is possible to suggest that the verdicts of the Shariat court concern one and the same place, since the names of several counter-agents and evidence are repeated in several documents (Muhammad Shafi' b. Muhammad Shafi', Ismā'il Muhammad, Faḍlallāh b. Muhammad Ismā'il). Close to the court verdicts stand a will (No. 22) and an act on the transition of immovable property (No. 24) confirmed by the Shariat court; the names of the main participants and evidence are the same as in the court verdicts.

The names of the correspondents and participants demonstrate, that many documents of the scroll C I are connected, directly or indirectly, with the towns Shirāz and

Jahrūm in Fārs, in the south of Iran. Recipients in Shirāz are: Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn 'Arab (Nos. 26, 37—39), Fātima Sulṭān-bikūm (No. 34), rūzakhān Sayyid Naṣrallāh (No. 51), Mahdī Ibrāhīm (No. 63); recipients in Jāhrum: Muḥammad 'Arif (No. 53) and Karbalāyī Ibrāhīm (No. 54). *Nisbas*: Qurbān 'Alī Shirāzī (Nos. 31, 27, 28), Shafi'-khān Shirāzī (No. 22 — identical with the well-known Muḥammad Shafi', whose name appears on his seals), Ḥasan 'Alī Shirāzī (No. 70), Muḥammad Ṭāqī Shirāzī (No. 16) indicate to the provenance of a great deal of the document. The residents of Shirāz or people originating from Shirāz (judging by their *nisbas*) appear in a quarter of all documents in scroll C I.

There are not many letters addressed to relatives — about 10%. Business and household documents predominate: suits of different kinds, letters reminding of payments, agreements, reports on trade, etc. Stories about pilgrimages to the Holy Places of Islam also occur among these papers.

Judging by the character of the transactions mentioned, the sums and the profession of the people involved (trader in hay, baker, butcher, grosser, money-exchanger), most of them were taking place in the middle-class environment, among traders, artisans and businessmen. The style of private and business letters testifies to a high enough level of education of their authors.

9. Separate and occasional texts in Persian, Arabic and Turkic in no way related to official correspondence, private or business letters. All are undated. These include:

a) a fragment of Persian verse on 4 folios; b) a collection of verse by Sayfī — 8 folios; c) a mourning elegy by Wāthiqī — 1 folio; d) exercise in calligraphy (Persian and Arabic) — 1 folio each; e) versified prose or a love-poem in Persian — 1 folio; f) a fragment of an astrological text (in Arabic and Turkic) — 1 folio; g) an explanation of Arabic grammar terms for Turkic-speaking students (in Arabic and Turkic) — 1/2 of a folio. To the same group should be added a fragment of a manuscript in one of the Turkic dialects (2 folios) and the text of *Darband-nāma* in Azeri (12 folios). These last two texts also have no date.

10. Texts in Arabic. Most of these are letters addressed to Count M. T. Loris-Melikov (1825—1888), the military governor of south Daghestan, and to two officials of his administrations by the *madrasa* students from the villages of Daghestan (12 items on 12 folios). Only two letters bear the date — Muḥarram 1277, *i. e.* July—August 1860.

Four other texts have religious contents: the last leaf of the Qur'ān manuscript of the 17th—18th century; a religious treatise copied in A.H. 1148/1735—1736 — 4 folios; a fragment of a manuscript of Daghestan provenance — 2 folios; different religious sayings in Arabic translated into one of the Turkic dialects — 2 folios.

11. The attention of art historians will be doubtless attracted by the original contour portrait of an Iranian dignitary. An inscription made by A. P. Bergé testifies that it is the "portrait of Sardār-qūl made with the nails of the thumb and the small finger by Muḥammad Qāsim". Below the portrait — the signature of the Persian artist — "Muḥammad Kāzim, and the date A.H. 1278", *i. e.* 1861—1862. The name of Muḥammad Kāzim occurs in one of the documents of scroll C I (No. 28) among the participants of the transaction of the 10th of Jumādā I 1262, *i. e.* of 6 May 1845. It is difficult to say, if he was the same person or not. There is no reason to exclude the possibility of their iden-

tity because the scroll and the portrait could come from the same archives.

A separate leaf attached to the portrait bears a calligraphic inscription executed in the same technique as the portrait (*i. e.* with finger-nails), it contains the sumptuous title of the dignitary.

The summary description of the fund proves that the documents, letters and texts from the Oriental part of the fund of A. P. Bergé in the archives of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies present considerable interest and deserve a thorough study and publication.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. An official letter addressed to Iskandār-khān, the governor of Hurmuzgard district of Iran. Fund 6, list 1, No. 39, 23.0 × 34.0 cm.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

E. A. Rezvan, N. S. Kondybaev

NEW TOOL FOR ANALYSIS OF HANDWRITTEN SCRIPT *

In the end of 1980th a group of scholars from St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences) started realization of the "Asiatic Museum" project [1]. The goal was to produce the data-base on the manuscripts preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute as a step towards the creation of the hierarchy of expert systems on different kinds of Oriental manuscripts.

The data-base had to present the three level computer description of all manuscripts from the collection. The differences between the levels were connected with the depth of description and degree of access freedom to the information via network. The first level represented the basic information on a manuscript which is nearly common to all the national traditions (see *Table 1*). The second level had to be enriched by image files of incipit and some other elements of the manuscript, as well as by the block of codicological information. The questions that are posed by a scholar to the manuscript on the second level of description are common to all manuscripts within the national tradition (see *Table 2*). On the second and the third level national languages for description were expected to be used [2].

The third level of computer description (see *Table 3*) had to deal with the group of manuscripts within the national tradition (for example, Qur'an or Bible manuscripts within the Arabic and Hebrew traditions correspondingly) or with certain elements of a manuscript (for example, paper, binding, script, etc.) [3].

It was decided to start the creation of "Asiatic Museum" data-base with ten thousand Arabic and ten thousand Tibetan manuscripts. The Qur'anic manuscripts had been taken as the pilot group of MSS for the realization of the third level description [4].

One of the main problems in the modern Qur'anic studies is connected with the estrangement of the analysis of Muslim tradition from the description and study of the Qur'anic manuscripts [5]. In this connection the creation the data-base on Qur'anic manuscripts written in the variety of angular scripts commonly described as Kufic and early cursive variant of the Arabic script like *hijazi* or *ma'il* seems to be the only way to reconstruct the real picture of the early text history of the Qur'an. Such a data-base would be not only a simple computer catalogue, but a highly important research tool as well. It could be viewed as the first step on the way to the realization of the idea of the expert system on Qur'anic manuscripts (see *Table 4*).

Owing to unique information gathered by German and French scholars [6], we know that even when one deals with the scripts looked very much alike, it is only necessary to trace the shape of final *qaf* or *mim* to distinguish the hands. It was proposed also to add to the script description the analysis of the shape of *alif* and several ligatures. In this connection new possibilities have been opened with the automatization of graphic recognition. Scanning may be used for the purpose of automatic or semi-automatic comparison of the letter shapes and various fragments of illustration.

The approach described below is connected with an attempt to create the software for this purpose. Since the software proved to have been fruitful tool for the shape analysis of nearly any script (for instance, Norwegian runes), we decided to present here the basic mathematical description of the approach. We hope that this would be of some use for our colleagues who cope, as far as we know, with close tasks in different research centers.

* * *

Selection of the separating parameters for automatic classification of images is a significant problem of recognizing the image. These parameters should provide an es-

sential symbol information about object being displayed as an image. The set of parameters depends on selection of an image representation model. These models are built with

* The realization of the project became possible only because of the energy of Professor Joseph Bell and financial support of the Bergen University and the Norwegian Center for the Computing in Humanities (special thanks to Dr Espen S. Ore), as well as due to the grant of the Secretariat for Cultural Exchange Programmes (KAS) of the Research Council of Norway.

the help of the analysis of object's structure and are based on such parameters as contrast, brightness, shape and texture. The most important parameter for a symbolic image is its shape characteristics. Therefore it is these characteristics that are used in many algorithms of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) [7]. The analysis of object's structure is a matter of some difficulty and takes much of CPU time because of different styles of symbol writing.

One of the goals of the present paper is to define the object-classification parameters which describe an object as a whole. These parameters can be obtained using the maximum entropy approach. There are two factors contributing to this approach:

Statistical model of symbolic image

A symbolic image is normally considered within a limited domain of plane referred to as symbol perimeter (SP). Assume that a symbol picture is scaled to the dimensions corresponding to SP and appropriately processed prior to recognition.

Now we will consider a symbol picture having distortion of structure's elements caused only by different style of writing.

SP dimensions are $I_x \times I_y$.

Let us define a function for SP:

$$C(x_i, y_i) = \text{Abs}(x_0 - x_i) * \text{Abs}(y_0 - y_i) \quad (1)$$

where x_i, y_i are current coordinates; x_0, y_0 are coordinates of SP's center.

This function is a weighing one having the following properties:

$$1) \quad C(x_0, y_0) = C(x_0, y_i) = C(x_i, y_0) = 0.$$

2) Points of one and the same weight ($C(x, y) = \text{Const}$) belong to a hyperbolic curve.

$$3) \quad \int_0^{I_x/2} \int_0^{I_y/2} C(x, y) dx dy = \frac{I_x^2 \cdot I_y^2}{64}.$$

We divide symbol picture over n_x cells. The relative position and number of cells depends on contour of symbol.

Now each cell has coordinates (x_i, y_i) and weight of $C(x_i, y_i)$, the total weight of an image on the given picture being as follows:

$$\sum_{i=1}^n C(x_i, y_i)$$

where summation proceeds over cells having brightness differing from zero.

Function $C(x, y)$ can be interpreted as a value of deviation of cell coordinates from center of SP. By virtue of this function we can estimate the value of distortion (tension, compression, inclination) for the symbol image structure's elements.

Let us consider a symbolic image. It is located on n cells of SP and has coordinates (x_i, y_i) . For each cell we will assign its rate of appearance on symbol picture considered

— "image is a set of s-invariant probability measures P defined on image algebra" [8];

— the principle of maximum entropy reads that for drawing the inference based on incomplete information it is necessary to use such a probability distribution whereat maximum entropy is reached under certain restrictions;

— the above principle enables us to introduce a limiting information of uncertainly, thus making it possible to construct a statistical model of symbolic images, as well as to develop an algorithm for symbolic pattern classification using parameters of this model.

$$p_i = \frac{\omega_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n \omega_i}, \quad i = 1..n \quad (2)$$

where ω_i is brightness (the number of pixels) of i -cell with coordinates (x_i, y_i) .

Then entropy of the given picture is

$$H = - \sum_{i=1}^n p_i \cdot \ln(p_i).$$

Maximization of function $H(p_1, \dots, p_n)$ produces smoothing effects [9], *i. e.* the probabilities p_i and p_j approach each other with the brightness between ω_i and ω_j respectively approaching each other as well.

For pictures of one and the same image we need obeying the constraint on possible probability distributions p_i :

$$\sum_{i=1}^n C_i \cdot p_i = a_s, \quad \text{where } C_i = C(x_i, y_i).$$

It is value of possible image distortion on the given picture.

Finally we have a variation problem:

Define ω_i values, which maximize the function:

$$H = \sum_{i=1}^n p_i \cdot \ln(p_i) \quad (3)$$

under constraints

$$\sum_{i=1}^n C_i \cdot p_i = a_s, \quad \sum_{i=1}^n \omega_i = \omega^0. \quad (4)$$

This is a typical problem of finding the conditional extremum which can be solved by virtue of the Lagrange method of uncertain multipliers [10]. In addition to restrictions (4) it is necessary to use a standard condition:

$$\sum_{i=1}^n p_i = 1.$$

Then we will find extremum of function:

$$J = - \sum_i p_i \cdot \ln(p_i) - \beta \sum_i C_i \cdot p_i - \gamma \cdot \sum_i p_i. \quad (5)$$

The following distribution makes maximum available for function (5):

$$\tilde{p}_i = \frac{e^{-\beta C_i}}{\sum_i e^{-\beta C_i}}, \quad \tilde{\omega}_i = e^{-\beta C_i}, \quad \beta = - \frac{1 + \gamma}{a_s}.$$

This maximum is $-2 * (1 + \gamma)$.

The problem of classification

Criterion of maximum entropy picks up from the p_i distributions, that one which matches the minimum structure information of the symbol image under certain conditions. By virtue of this distribution we can define ω_i values.

Now we can characterize the pictures of one and the same image by the following parameters:

$$1) \ a_s = \sum C_i \cdot \frac{\omega_i}{\sum \omega_i} \quad \text{— extent of possible distortion.}$$

$$2) \ \beta = - \frac{1 + \gamma}{a_s} \quad \text{— coefficient of average measure.}$$

3) Expected value:

$$M\omega_i = \sum \tilde{\omega}_i \cdot \frac{e^{-\beta C_i}}{\sum e^{-\beta C_i}} = \frac{\sum (e^{-\beta C_i})^2}{\sum e^{-\beta C_i}}.$$

4) Variance:

$$D\omega_i = M(\tilde{\omega}_i - M\omega_i)^2 = \frac{\sum (e^{-\beta C_i})^3}{\sum e^{-\beta C_i}} - \left(\frac{\sum (e^{-\beta C_i})^2}{\sum e^{-\beta C_i}} \right)^2.$$

From the stated above we can conclude that these parameters for pictures of one and the same image are nearly equal, thus featuring any class.

By “class” we mean the probability distribution of brightness $\tilde{\omega}_i$ from SP center for primary standard symbol image. This is a distribution whereat maximum entropy is reached under restrictions (4) and with a certain weighing function (1).

For arbitrary symbol picture we compute a probability distribution whereat maximum entropy is reached. Then given picture has another probability description. We compute parameters 1) — 4). The problem of symbol classification is solved by virtue of computation of minimum distance between parameters of a given picture and parameters of primary standard image.

If we take into account the problem of symbol identification, then this approach permits the parameters to be introduced for different symbols inside one and the same class:

— ω_i square deviation of a given picture from $\tilde{\omega}_i$ values of primary standard image:

$$\Delta\omega^2 = \sum (\omega_i - e^{-\beta C_i})^2$$

— deviation of entropy from maximum entropy H_{\max} .

These parameters offer scope for separation of symbolic images corresponding to different handwriting styles and calligraphic writing.

Software development

The development of software implies 3 stages:

— program realization of algorithm for computation of symbol parameters;

— verification of validation and obtaining of experimental results for symbol parameters;

— creation of database for working with different handwritten manuscripts.

At present we have completed the first stage. The software was elaborated on 486DX2-80 computer by

“*Borland Delphi for Windows*”, so it could be used on Mac computers (under Windows for Mac) as well.

Main window of application is shown on *fig. 1*.

We can load and save graphic files (format *.bmp). With the files being loaded, we can correct fragments of a picture: draw, clear and drag (*fig. 2*).

The technique of operation is as follows:

— in one paper of handwritten manuscript we consider one and the same symbol;

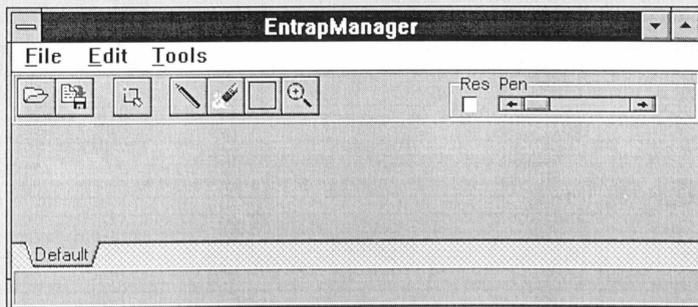


Fig. 1

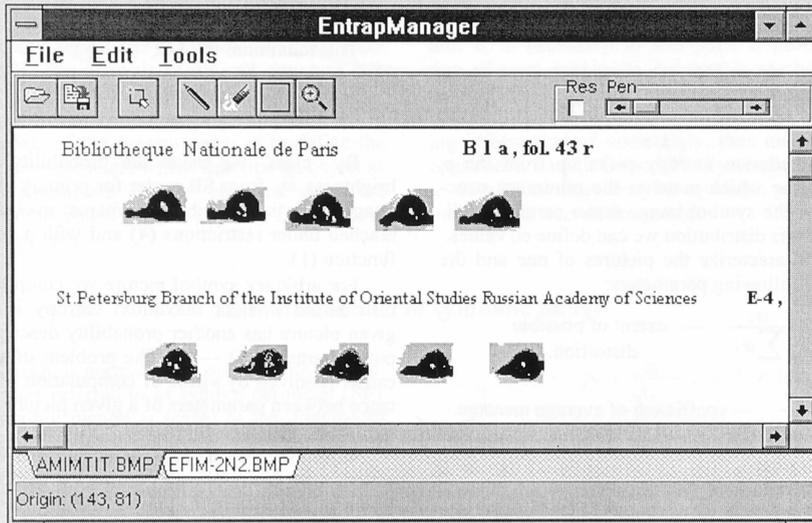


Fig. 2

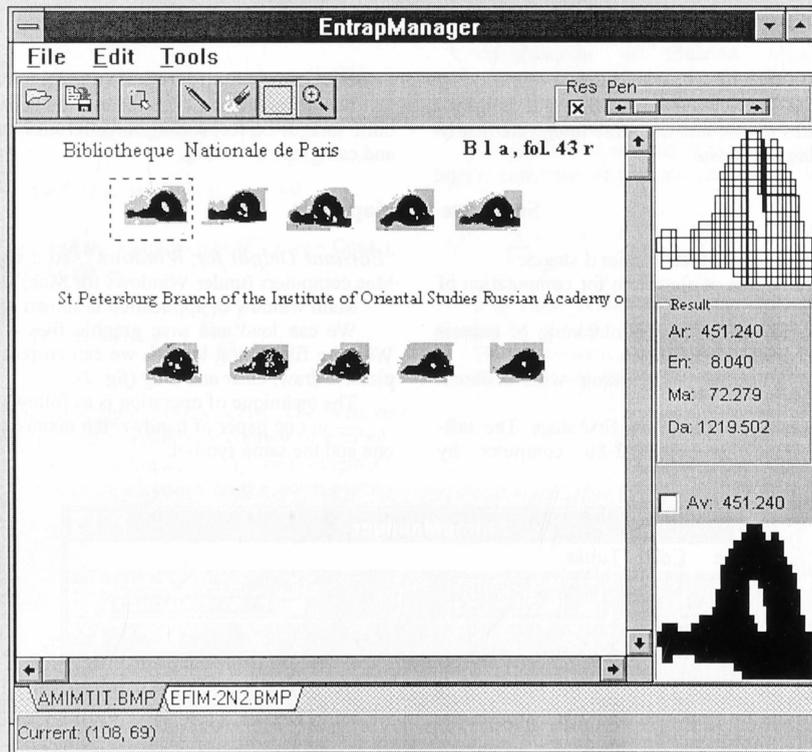


Fig. 3

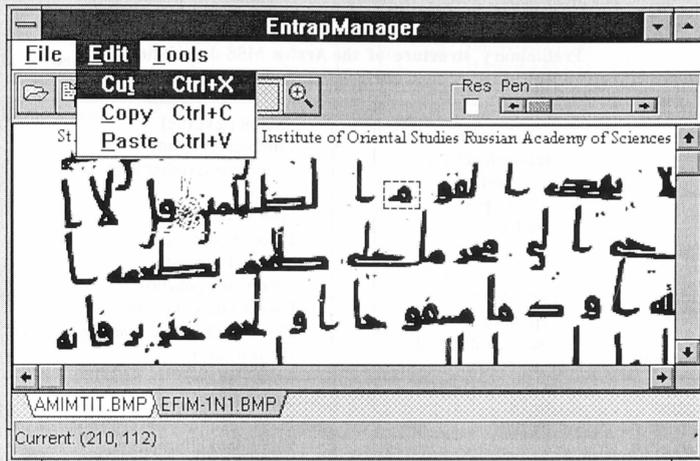


Fig. 4

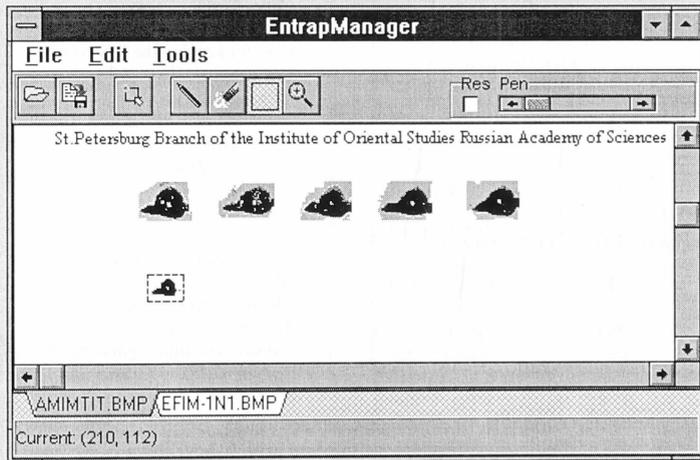


Fig. 5

— this symbol is discriminated from text by a “Rectangle” tool;

— symbol parameters are computed by pressing “Edges” button.

In *fig. 3* we can see the result. Symbol parameters are displayed.

In computing a series of symbols, average of a_s parameter will be shown on screen.

For convenience of research we can cut off necessary symbols from different papers and locate them on one screen (see *fig. 4* and *5*).

Conclusion

The statistical model was described to represent a symbol image and the parameters corresponding to the given image. They were obtained by virtue of this model. These parameters are irrespective of angle of turning.

As the images are compared and discriminated for configurations of the most indeterminate structure, not by their original picture, one can suppose that, due to a

weighing function, these parameters are nearly the same for parameters of symbols of one and the same class and greatly differ from those of diverse classes.

Computation of these parameters is simple and their use makes it possible to develop a high-speed classifying algorithm.

In one of the following issues we hope to publish the results of the first tests conducted.

Tables

Table 1

Asiatic Museum (data-base)
Preliminary structure of the Arabic MSS description
(first level)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Record No. — Record Author — Record Date — Finished level (1/2/3) — Country — City — Library — Shelf number/press-mark <ul style="list-style-type: none"> work = MS <i>majmū'a</i> (folios 000—000) voluminous — Number in the Catalogue — Number of microfilm — Bibliography (GAL, GAS, Graf, etc.) — Author (compiler or translator) (identified or not) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: name, date of birth/death <i>shuhra</i> — Century Title (identified or not) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: title (as in GAL/GAS) title (according to MS) — Unique or not — Autograph or not <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if not: other MSS according to GAS/GAL or other sources — Was published (Y/N) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: bibliographical data — Subject — Incipit (text file) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Excipit (text file) — Complete (yes/no) — Language(s) (other than Arabic) — Date of copying — Place of copying — Name of copyist — Colophone (yes/no) — Owner's notes (yes/no) — Certificates (<i>ijāza</i>, <i>samā'</i>, <i>qirā'a</i>, etc.) (yes/no) — <i>Waqf</i> note(s) — Seals (yes/no) — Acquired from: — Used in publication (yes/no) — Additional information — Number of leaves: — Material: Paper/Parchment/Papyri — Codex/Scroll — Binding (yes/no) — Case for keeping the MS (yes/no) — Ink: colour <ul style="list-style-type: none"> for the main text rubrics verses <i>ḥawāshin</i> etc. — Hand <ul style="list-style-type: none"> for the main text <i>ḥawāshin</i> — Illustrations (yes/no) — Illuminations (yes/no) — <i>Misṭāra</i> (yes/no) — Physical condition (good/satisfactory/bad)
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Table 2

Asiatic Museum (data-base)
Preliminary structure of the Arabic MSS description
(second level)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Record No. — Record Author — Record Date — Finished level (1/2/3) — Country — City — Library — Shelf number/press-mark <ul style="list-style-type: none"> work = MS <i>majmū'a</i> (folios 000-000) voluminous — Number in the Catalogue — Number of microfilm — Bibliography (GAL, GAS, Graf, etc.) — Author (compiler or translator) (identified or not) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> name, date of birth/death <i>shuhra</i> — Century Title (identified or not) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: title (as in GAL/GAS) title (according to MS) — Unique or not (Y/N) — Autograph or not (Y/N) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if not: other MSS according to GAS/GAL or other sources — Published (Y/N) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: bibliographical data — Subject — Arrangement of the text (free description) — Incipit (image file) Incipit (text file) — Excipit (image file)
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(See continuation of the Table 2 on the next page)

Excipit (text file)

- Complete (yes/no)
 - if no:
 - incomplete at the beginning
 - at the end
 - number of folios missing
- Language(s) (other than Arabic)
- Date of copying
 - where date comes from:
 - colophone
 - title page
 - marginalia
 - indirect dating (century)
- Place of copying
- Name of copyist
- Colophone (yes/no)
 - if yes:
 - author's
 - copyist's
 - from protograph
 - image file
- Owner's notes (yes/no)
 - if yes: names and dates
- Reader's notes (yes/no)
 - if yes: names and dates
 - folios No:
- Certificates (*ijāza*, *samā'*, *qirā'a*, etc.) (yes/no)
 - if yes: names and dates
 - folios No:
- *Waqf* note(s)
 - if yes: names and dates
 - folios No:
- Seals (yes/no)
 - if yes: folios No:
 - image file(s)
- Acquired from:
- Used in publication (yes/no)
 - if yes: bibliographical data
- Additional information
- Number of leaves:
- Material: Paper/Parchment/Papyri
 - if paper:
 - water-marks (yes/no)
 - if yes: description, bibliography
 - image file
 - if parchment:
 - distinguishable sides-scratching: visible/not visible
 - hair follicles: visible/not visible
 - thickness: fine/medium/thick or combination
 - arrangement of sheets: matching sides/opposite
 - quire starts with: flesh-side/hair side
- Type of MSS (Codex/Scroll)
 - if codex:
 - Format: oblong/vertical
 - Quiring
 - number of gatherings,
 - number of folios in gatherings
 - structure of quires
 - numbering of quires
 - Type of sewing (if possible)
 - Catchword (yes/no)
 - if yes:
 - additional information
- Binding (yes/no)
 - if yes:

- type: Oriental/European
- material: leather/half-leather/cardboard
 - flappered (Y/N)
 - stamping (Y/N)
- Case for keeping the MS (yes/no)
 - if yes: brief description
- Ink: colour
 - for the main text
 - rubrics
 - verses
 - hawāshin*
 - etc.
- Hand
 - for the main text
 - marginalia
- Illustrations (yes/no)
 - if yes: pp. 000—000
- Illuminations (yes/no)
 - if yes: pp. 000—000
- *Mistāra* (yes/no)
 - if yes:
 - one or more
 - if more:
 - folios No-s for each one
 - type of *mistāra*:
 - for the written area only
 - with side ruling

additional information

<i>Mistāra</i> dimensions:	Page 1	Page 2	Page 3
Height	000	000	000
Width	000	000	000
No. of lines	000	000	000

Dimensions*:	Page 1	Page 2	Page 3
Page Height:	000	000	000
Upper Margin	000	000	000
Text Height	000	000	000
Lower Margin	000	000	000
No. of Lines	000	000	000
Page Width	000	000	000
Inner Margin	000	000	000
Text Width	000	000	000
Outer Margin	000	000	000
10 Lines Hgt	000	000	000

* Folios must be taken from the beginning, middle part and the end of the MS.

Proportions:	Page 1	Page 2	Page 3	Average
Page Width/Height	000	000	000	000
Text Width/Height	000	000	000	000
Page Area (.01s.qm)	000	000	000	000
Text Area (.01s.qm)	000	000	000	000
Spatial Proportion	000	000	000	000
Upper/Lower Margin	000	000	000	000
Inner/Outer Margin	000	000	000	000
Upp.+Low./Text Hgt	000	000	000	000
Inn.+Out./Text Wdt	000	000	000	000

Diacritic/Vowel signs in 5 lines: 000
 Linear Density 000 Signs/ 10 cm
 Spatial Density 000 Signs/ 10 cm²

- Physical condition (good/satisfactory/bad
 - + additional notes)
- Additional Bibliography
- Additional notes for the whole MS

Table 3

Asiatic Museum (data-base)
 Preliminary Scheme of Early Qur'ānic MSS Description
 (third level)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Record No. — Record Author — Record Date — Finished <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3rd level (yes/no) — Country — City — Library — Shelf number/press-mark — Number in the Catalogue — Number of microfilm — Bibliography — Incipit (image file) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incipit (text file) — Excipit (image file) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Excipit (text file) — Complete (yes/no) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if fragment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>sūra</i> and <i>āya</i> numbers number of folios missing — Connection with any known regional counting system — Owner's notes (yes/no) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: names and dates — Reader's notes (yes/no) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: names and dates — <i>Waqf</i> note (yes/no) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> who donated commissioned by where donated when donated Hijra date: A.D. date: who copied when copied Hijra date: A.D. date: where copied Formulas: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> at head within the text at end is <i>waqf</i> note contemporary to the text (yes/no) if yes: (limitation of data reliability, if obtained without physical methods) — all <i>waqf</i> notes must form the image file. — Seals (yes/no) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: pages No: image file(s) — Acquired from: — Additional information — Number of leaves — Material: Parchment/Papyri <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if parchment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> distinguishable sides-scratching: visible/not visible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> hair follicles: visible/not visible thickness: fine/medium/thick or combination arrangement of sheets: matching sides/opposite quire starts with: flesh-side/hair side parchment sheets: outer/inner/both <ul style="list-style-type: none"> outer (yes/no) if yes: outer sheet starts with: inner (yes/no) if yes: inner sheet starts with: if papyri: — Codex/Scroll <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if codex: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Format: oblong/vertical Quiring <ul style="list-style-type: none"> number of gatherings. number of folios in gatherings structure of quires numbering of quires Type of sewing (if possible) Binding (yes/no) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> type: Oriental/European material: leather/half-leather/cardboard flappered (Y/N) stamping (Y/N) — Case for keeping the MS (yes/no) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: brief description — Palaeographical Data: shapes of <i>alif</i>, <i>lām</i>, <i>qāf</i>, existing ligatures form image files to be analysed by specialised software. — Ink <ul style="list-style-type: none"> for the main text <ul style="list-style-type: none"> diacritics vowel marks <i>āya</i> separators illuminations and decorations — *** <i>āya</i> separators (yes/no) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: their position: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> between all <i>āya</i> each five <i>āya</i> each ten <i>āya</i> other groups of <i>āya</i> (yes/no) if yes: what groups: if yes (any <i>āya</i> separators): are they contemporary to the text (yes/no) (limitation of data reliability, if obtained without physical methods) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes (any <i>āya</i> separators): what is the shape of separators: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>abjad</i> decorative (form the file of images, which must contain also additional comparative material of ornaments, decorations and illuminations from architectural and written monuments dated by II/VIII—III/X centuries — common file with the points of description marked by ***) — *** <i>juz</i> ' and <i>hizb</i> separators (yes/no) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if yes: are they contemporary to the text (yes/no) (limitation of data reliability, if obtained without physical methods)
---	--

(See continuation of the Table 3 on the next page)

shape: (form the file of images, which must contain also additional comparative material of ornaments, decorations and illuminations from architectural and written monuments dated by II/VIII-III/X centuries — common file with the points of description marked by ***)

— *** decorative *sūra* divisions (yes/no = empty space as separator)

if yes: are they contemporary to the text (yes/no) (limitation of data reliability, if obtained without physical methods)
 shapes: (form the file of images, which must contain also additional comparative material of ornaments, decorations and illuminations from architectural and written monuments dated by II/VIII—III/X centuries — common file with the points of description marked by ***)

— *Sūra* titles (yes/no)

if yes: are they contemporary to the text (yes/no) (limitation of data reliability, if obtained without physical methods)

— *Mistāra* (yes/no)

if yes:

type of *mistāra*:
 for the written area only
 with side ruling

<i>Mistāra</i> dimensions:	Page 1	Page 2	Page 3
Height	000	000	000
Width	000	000	000
No. of lines	000	000	000

— Filling up and preventing exceeding lines:

breaking off the word
 leaving space after last word
 dilation of letters, if yes: what letters
 truncated letters, if yes: what letters

— Diacritic marks (yes/no)

if yes: are they contemporary to the text (yes/no) (limitation of data reliability, if obtained without physical methods)

— Vowel marks (yes/no)

if yes: are they contemporary to the text (yes/no) (limitation of data reliability, if obtained without physical methods)

shape: dots or traditional marks

if dots: what are the colours for

a

i

u

if traditional marks: what are the colours for

a

i

u

— Belonging to any known system of orthography

— *al-qirā'āt* differed from *rasm 'uthmāni*

if yes: *sūra* and *āya* numbers

if yes: to what known system of text transmission it belongs

Dimensions*:	Page 1	Page 2	Page 3
Page Height:	000	000	000
Upper Margin	000	000	000
Text Height	000	000	000
Lower Margin	000	000	000
No. of Lines	000	000	000
Page Width	000	000	000
Inner Margin	000	000	000
Text Width	000	000	000
Outer Margin	000	000	000
10 Lines Hgt	000	000	000

* Pages must be taken from the beginning, middle part and the end of the MS

Proportions:	Page 1	Page 2	Page 3	Average
Page Width/Height	000	000	000	000
Text Width/Height	000	000	000	000
Page Area (.01s.qm)	000	000	000	000
Text Area (.01s.qm)	000	000	000	000
Spatial Proportion	000	000	000	000
Upper/Lower Margin	000	000	000	000
Inner/Outer Margin	000	000	000	000
Upp.+Low./Text Hgt	000	000	000	000
Inn.+Out./Text Wdt	000	000	000	000

Diacritic/Vowel signs in 5 lines: 000

Linear Density 000 Signs/10 cm²

Spatial Density 000 Signs/10 cm²

— Possibility of being early imitation (yes/no) (limitation of data reliability)

— Dating based on the physical methods

— Physical condition (good/satisfactory/bad + additional notes)

— Additional Bibliography

Table 4

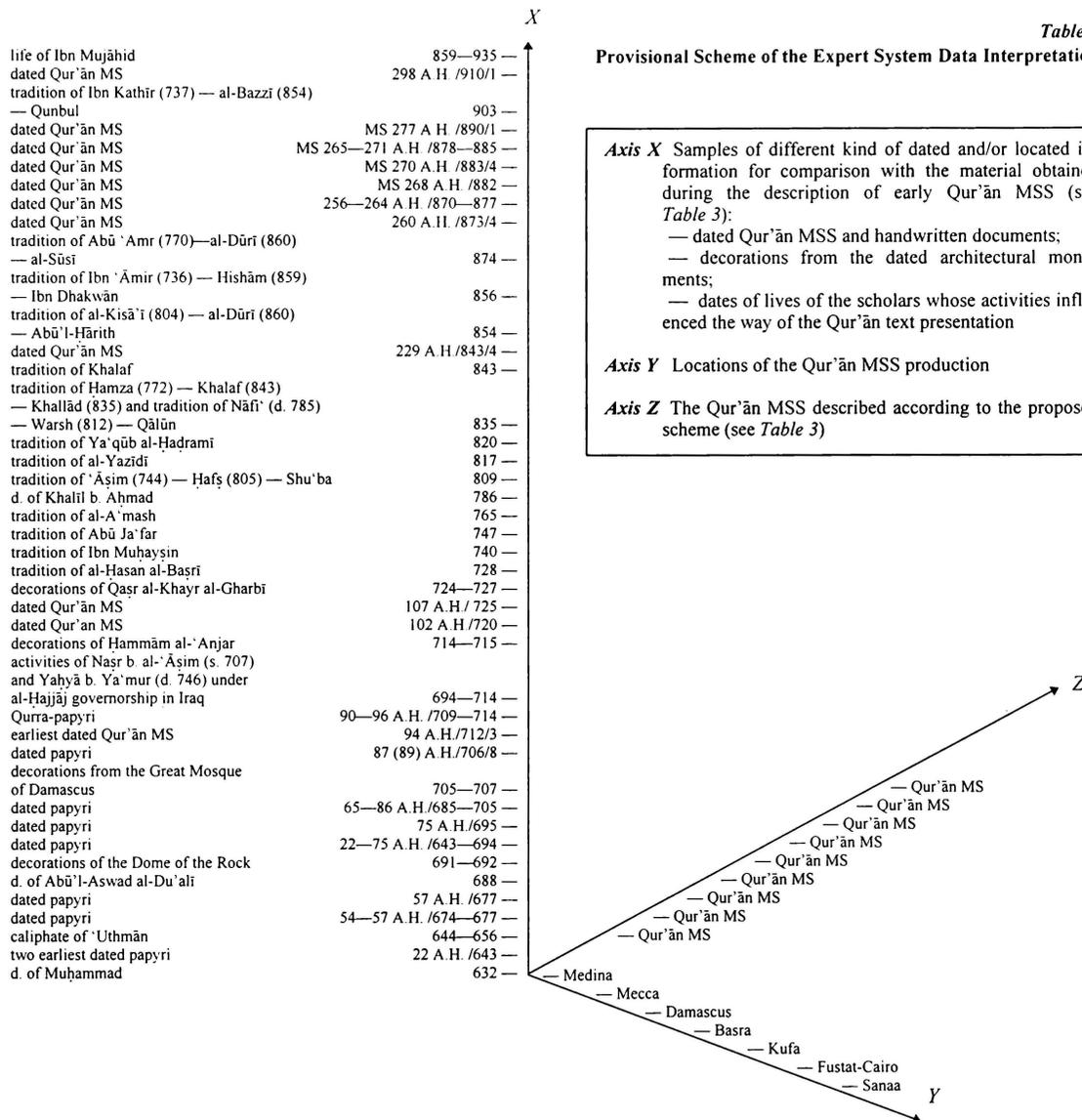
Provisional Scheme of the Expert System Data Interpretation

Axis X Samples of different kind of dated and/or located information for comparison with the material obtained during the description of early Qur'an MSS (see Table 3):

- dated Qur'an MSS and handwritten documents;
- decorations from the dated architectural monuments;
- dates of lives of the scholars whose activities influenced the way of the Qur'an text presentation

Axis Y Locations of the Qur'an MSS production

Axis Z The Qur'an MSS described according to the proposed scheme (see Table 3)



Notes

1. E. Rezvan, I. Tikhonova, "Bazy dannykh po rukopisnym sobraniim: problemy i perspektivy (k nachalu osushchestvleniia programmy)" ("The data-bases on manuscripts' collections: the problems and perspectives (on the beginning of the programme)"). *Bazy dannykh po istorii Evrazii v Srednie veka*, fasc. 1 (Moscow, 1992), pp. 55—63.

2. The schemes for the first and the second levels were jointly proposed by E. Rezvan, Val. Polosin, Vl. Polosin. As for the description of the Qur'anic manuscripts (the sample of the third level description), it was elaborated by E. Rezvan. Codicological information for the third and for the second levels is treated on the basis of approach elaborated within the Hebrew Paleography Project by Professor Malachi Beit-Arié and his colleagues.

3. E. Rezvan, "The data-base on the early Qur'an MSS: new approach to the text history reconstruction", *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference and Exhibition on Multi-Lingual Computing (Arabic and Roman Script)* (Durham, 1992), 3.3.1—3.3.17. Also see *idem*, "Computer methods in Qur'anic studies", *Proceedings of the Conference on Bilingual Computing in Arabic and English* (University of Cambridge, 1990), pp. 1—7.

4. Because of the financial shortages only little part of the project have been realized up to now. About the work on the project see, in particular, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/3 (1995), pp. 47—62 (Arabic OCR project); *ibid.*, 1/1 (1995), pp. 53—5 (the data-base on Muslim seals); *ibid.*, 11/1 (1996), pp. 51—3 (Tibetan data-base) and the present article.

5. E. Rezvan, "The Qur'an between *textus receptus* and critical edition", *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992), pp. 291—310.

6. *Masāḥif San'ā'* (Kuwait, 1985); Graf von Bothmer, "Masāḥif San'ā': Qur'anic calligraphy and illumination as shown in exhibitions in Sanaa and Kuwait", *Ur. International Magazine of Arab Culture*, II (1986); *idem.*, "Frühislamische Koranilluminationen. Meisterwerke aus dem Handschriftenfund der Grossen Moschee in Sanaa/Yemen", *Kunst und Antiquitäten*, I (1986), pp. 22—33; J. Sourdel-Thomin and D. Sourdel, "Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au Moyen Âge", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, XXXII (1964), pp. 1—25; *idem.*, "À propos des documents de la Grand Mosquée de Damas", *ibid.*, XXXIII (1965), pp. 73—85; S. Ory, "Un nouveau type de mushaf", *ibid.*, pp. 87—149; Fr. Déroche, "Collections de manuscrits anciens du Coran à Istanbul. Rapport préliminaire", *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc* (Volume publié à l'occasion du 100^e anniversaire de la naissance de Kemal Atatürk) (Paris, 1983), pp. 145—65.

7. A. Zahour, B. Taconet, A. Faure, "Machine recognition of Arabic cursive writing", *International Workshop on Frontiers in Handwriting Recognition (from pixels to features III)*. Chateon de Banas, France 23—27 September 1991 (Chateon de Banas, 1991): *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference and Exhibition on Multi-Lingual Computing*, Part 7.

8. U. Grenander, *Leksii po teorii obrazov. Analiz obrazov* (Lectures in Pattern Theory. Pattern Analysis) (Moscow, 1992), ii, p. 636.

9. *Rekonstruktsiia izobrazhenii* (Image Recovery), ed. H. Stark (Moscow, 1992), p. 636.

10. R. L. Stratonovich, *Teoriia informatsii* (The Theory of Information) (Moscow, 1975), p. 424.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

M. I. Nikitina

THE ST. PETERSBURG COLLECTION OF DRAWINGS BY KOREAN ARTIST KIM JUNGYN (KISAN)

In the collection of Korean manuscripts in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences there is an album of 55 drawings with no title (call number B-35). The drawings are made in China ink and water-colours on white paper. Dimensions: 14.0 × 21.5 cm. The pagination (in Arabic numerals made in light pencil in the upper part of each sheet) shows that initially the album contained at least 88 drawings. But today the album consists only of 55 drawings the pagination of which was made by the Curator of the MS Fund of the Institute. The difference between the initial pagination and the pagination made in the MS Fund is shown in the *Table 1*.

In the upper right corner of each drawing there is an explanatory inscription in Korean — a horizontal line in black China ink running from right to left. Only two drawings out of 55 in their right upper part under the inscription bear Kisan's personal seal — they are No. 43 and No. 51 (here and below the new pagination is given). The painter's seal is represented by two white characters executed on a quadrangular red background in the style close to *da-zhuan*. These two characters stand for Kisan.

The album was acquired by the Institute from A. L. Levidova in February 1968. In the same year Dr D. D. Elisseyev identified the drawings as belonging to Kisan and the album was given an inventory number [1]. Dr Elisseyev's attribution was tentative, since in the 1960's no one in Russia knew whether "Kisan" was a birth or a pen-name of the artist, as well as whether this name belonged to the painter or to one of the owners of the album [2]. At present it is widely known that "Kisan" was a pen-name of a Korean painter Kim Jungyn, who lived in the second half of the 19th century.

At the end of the 19th century, when Korea became opened for the outer world, first foreigners visited this "Hermit State". It was Kisan whose drawings were used as illustrations to the publication of their traveling journals [3]. Thus Kisan proves to be one of the first Korean painters known to the Old and New Worlds. As early as 1895 his drawings were exhibited in the Ethnographical Museum in Hamburg and even some of them were included into European publications on Korean art. The scholarly interest to Kisan's drawings became even greater after H. F. Junker's work on the artist had been published in 1958 [4].

According to Kim Kwangon, there are nowadays more than 900 paintings which are attributed to Kisan. Mostly they are held in the British Museum (150 items), in the Ethnographical Museum in Vienna (115 items), in the British Library (99 items), in the Danish State Museum (98 items), in the State Ethnographical Museum in Leiden (the Netherlands) (22 items), etc. [5].

In Russia collections of Kisan drawings are held in St. Petersburg (55 items) and in the State Museum of Orient in Moscow (more than 40 items) [6]. Two drawings from Moscow were published [7].

Unfortunately, I had no access to recent publications of Kisan's drawings [8]. That is why I use in my work the album on Korean art titled "The Korean Relics in Western Europe" [9] which provides us with four selections of Kisan's drawings from four European collections (98 drawings) [10] (here and below the term "collection" refers to each of these selections).

Table 1 gives the list of drawings by Kisan preserved in the St. Petersburg collections, with explanatory inscriptions in our translation from Korean.

Table 1

The list of drawings from St. Petersburg collection

Number *	Explanatory inscriptions
1 (1)	고후견투** Playing cards
2 (2)	고씨보물배 Sending wedding presents (?)
3 (3)	양모논미김 Weeding

Continuation of the Table 1

Number *	Explanatory inscriptions
4 (5)	고삼신초 Making straw sandals
5 (6)	이장신갓 Making shoes
6 (7)	양모는노고소할 That is how a performance in masks looks like
7 (8)	고 4 날년희아 Children are flying a kite
8 (9)	고후싹성쇠기거과리 He was so smart that he managed to get an extra crock while shopping 이
9 (10)	고두두마 Playing draughts
10 (22)	이장량마은금 Goldsmith
11 (23)	사강늘바혹며으먹 Beggar-women or needle-traders
12 (24)	고후장타 Threshing
13 (25)	양모는짜뒀 That is how canvas is woven
14 (26)	고후질너물 Spinning
15 (27)	고후종이며 Re-planting rice
16 (29)	람사는하수목 Joiner
17 (32)	고후니말 Laundering
18 (33)	고씨수물경소 Blind fortune-teller
19 (34)	양모는후님걸고 Collecting donations for a shaman ritual
20 (35)	고후곳녀무 A shamaness practicing sorcery
21 (36)	고치육장이낭활삼기 Kisaeng playing chess with a man
22 (38)	고후미드다옷 Ironing clothes
23 (39)	양모는미뒀 Bleaching canvas
24 (40)	고후놀누음소 [Band of musicians] playing
25 (41)	고후질려갈 Digging a field 이
26 (43)	사장무도빛찬 Wandering comb-traders (?)
27 (44)	고라줄터깡 A tightrope-walking itinerant actor-kwangdae
28 (45)	석복관전서 The uniform of the official in charge of the sovereign's safety and responsible for passing his orders
29 (46)	관소는남복을 Court official in a military uniform
30 (47)	고후님동사귀 Itinerant actors collecting fees
31 (48)	희아장뽕 Children selling toffees
32 (49)	사장블락 Peddlers

Continuation of the Table 1

Number *	Explanatory inscriptions
33 (50)	그물을 버는 Lading out the water and pouring it on the rice-field
34 (51)	그 타를 거셈기 <i>Kisaeng</i> playing a <i>komungo</i>
35 (53)	관 조 반극 시군 Officials attached to the sovereign
36 (55)	양보는 가리업당사 In this way a wandering actor carries an actress on his shoulders
37 (58)	양모 관할 That is how officials (= eunuchs?) in charge of security and palace's tidiness look like (?)
38 (60)	그 뒤 기장 Playing chess
39 (62)	그 떡삼점부농 Peasants are eating a midday meal
40 (65)	양모는 리던 옷 Ironing clothes
41 (66)	그 깃물인녀 Women fetching water
42 (69)	그 가로트백그나 Carryng a basket with food to the fields
43 (71)	그 후저제푸녀무 A shamaness performing the <i>phuje</i> -ceremony (feeding spirits)
44 (72)	양모시장물 This is how water-sellers look like
45 (74)	양모는삼실섬 This is how hemp thread is spun
46 (75)	이 장갓 Hat-makers
47 (76)	이 장칼더 Blacksmiths
48 (77)	양모는가돌핏 This is how they grind
49 (78)	그 가양산수도 Hunters go hunting
50 (79)	양모는웁실죽명 Unwinding cocoons
51 (80)	그 치음양성기 <i>Kisaeng</i> playing a zither
52 (83)	그 와혜목 Carving wooden shoes
53 (84)	람사 환가과 Making visits after having passed state exams
54 (87)	양모은뵘복조관금 This is how the officials clad in formal red garments and hats decorated with gold (for a morning audience) look like
55 (88)	이 장이 갈거목 Craftsman carving wooden tableware

* The first number corresponds to the Manuscript Fund pagination, the number in brackets — to the original pagination.

** Facsimile.

All known to us drawings from European museums, as well as from the St. Petersburg collection, have explanatory inscriptions in Korean, which run from right to left. The only exception are the drawings from the State Ethnographical Museum of Leiden which bear inscriptions in Hanmun. The inscriptions are placed in the upper right corner. In case there is a seal, it is set below the inscription.

Seals in red ink bearing the pen-name "Kisan" are executed in the style close either to *da-zhuan* or to *xiao-zhuan* (there is an exception though — fig. 10 from the Leiden collection, with a special seal and two vertical parallel inscriptions in Hanmun and Korean. Kim Kwangon holds this drawing was made by another Korean artist, namely, Kim Nyeho, whose pen-name was Sokch'on) [11].

The drawings by Kisan belong to the genre of *phungsok* — “ethnologic pictures” or “depicting customs”. It is one of the traditional genres of painting in the Far East. Any artist proposing himself as a candidate for Tohwaso — the Academy of Painting founded by the Korean court in 1392 — was expected to be familiar with this genre (as well as with other traditional genres, like *sansu* — “mountains and rivers”, or *hwadzo* — “flowers and birds”, etc.).

The roots of the genre *phunsok* may be traced to the grave wall-paintings, such as Anak 2, Anak 3, Muyonchon, etc., executed in the Koguryo state period (4th—6th centuries). These paintings depict certain scenes from the life of a noble family. The aim of the artist was to imitate the real world which surrounded the deceased, the head of the family who was buried in the grave, during his life, the centre of which he was (his house and out-buildings, official ceremonies, hunting, horse racing, holidays with dancing, wrestling, circus entertainment, etc.). This was practiced in order to make the deceased's soul feel comfortable in another world. Hence the accuracy in representation of interiors, clothes, postures and gestures, etc.

The “golden age” of the *phunsok* genre falls on the 18th century. However, by that time and later, in the following century, an artists' attention to the scenes of everyday life had already been determined by another reason. It was the time when Korean culture had began to take interest in the real world as a whole and in a human being as well. This tendency revealed itself in the development of a

special intellectual trend named *sirhak* (“Real Knowledge”). At that time Korean literature and art began to reflect Korean nature and Korean life, and certain democratic and realistic tendencies in Korean literature and art came into being. These trends are also evident in painting, especially in the “depicting customs” genre. The outstanding masters in this genre, such as Kim Hongdo (pen-name Tanwon; 1745—1805) and Sin Yunbok (pen-name Hewon; 1758—1820?) in their paintings have excellently mirrored the spirit of the time.

The works of Kim Hongdo are considered to be the culmination of this genre. He was a great master, both an excellent portraitist and a master of expressive drawing in ink and water-colours, who worked in a free sketchy manner. With soft humour he depicted the life of common people skillfully arranging numerous personages in a composition. The expressiveness of postures, dynamics of gestures, individual facial expressions of personages — everything demonstrates his painting from life. In the second half of the 19th century Kim Jungyn — Kisan seems to have continued the tradition of his great predecessor.

Now let us turn to our album and try to define its place among the other European collections of Kisan's drawings. We shall do it by comparing the drawings from the album with those preserved in four different European collections [12] treating them as a single unit (or as a statistic totality — see *Table 2*). Thus we have to deal with five collections represented by 153 drawings.

Table 2

List of collections

Collection	Number of Drawings	Number of Tables
1. St. Petersburg	55	1, 3, 4
2. Danish State Museum	55	5, 6, 15, 16
3. British Library	20	7, 8
4. British Museum	13	9, 10
5. State Ethnographical Museum in Leiden	10	11, 12
Total:	153	13, 14

Now let us concentrate on two points: the contents of the drawings and the number of personages in a drawing.

The drawings from the collections were classified according to the themes. We have singled out 12 themes, basing on the contents of the drawings and the explanatory

notes. We have divided these 12 themes enumerated in *Table 3* into two principal groups:

1) themes connected with production or exchange of commodities (themes 1—6);

2) themes in no way connected with production or exchange of commodities (themes 7—12).

Table 3

The distribution of drawings from the St. Petersburg collection by themes

Theme	Quantity		Numbers of drawings *
	items	%	
1. Everyday life	3	5	41) 42) 48)
2. Agriculture	6	11	3) 12, 15, 25, 33, 39

Continuation of the Table 3

Theme	Quantity		Numbers of drawings *
	items	%	
3. Weaving	8	15	13) 14) 17) 22) 23) 40) 45) 50)
4. Craft	8	15	4, 5, 10, 16, 46, 47, 52, 55
5. Industry	2	3	44, 49
6. Trade	5	9	8, 11) 26) 31, 32)
7. Ritual	6	11	2, 18, 19, 20) 43) 53
8. Play	7	13	1, 7, 9, 21) 34) 38, 51)
9. Theatre	5	9	6, 24, 27, 30, 36
10. Costume	5	9	28, 29, 35, 37, 54
11. Study	—	—	—
12. Punishment	—	—	—
Total:	55	100	55

* Here and below numbers of drawings representing women are marked with a sign of bracket —). There are 21 drawings (38%) representing women.

A thematic division is always conventional and our approach may be also considered as but a conventional one. Thus, taking into account that in Korea the production of textiles was a purely female occupation, we pick out a separate theme — “Weaving” — where all kinds of work on textiles are represented — from the “birth” of a thread up to laundering and ironing clothes. Rather vague is the distinction between “Ritual”, “Play”, “Theatre” and “Costume”. Anyway, we included into the “Ritual” theme the drawings depicting shamanesses, a blind fortune-teller, and a candidate making visitations after having successfully passed state exams, but we did not include here the mask dance drawing.

Tables 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11 show the distribution of the drawings of the five European collections in accordance with our thematic classification. The distribution of drawings of the St. Petersburg collection see in Table 3.

Most of the drawings from the album are connected with the production or exchange of commodities — 32 drawings, *i. e.* 58% of their total number. The remaining 23 drawings, *i. e.* 42%, correspond to themes 7—10 which are not connected with production or consumption. The theme “Costume” is included into the themes 7—10, since all the five drawings represent officials clad in ceremonial garments, performing their duties at the court or going to see the sovereign, *i. e.* this theme is actually connected with ritual and public activities. As far as the theme “Costume” is concerned, it is worth to mention that representatives of the nobility, besides the 5 drawings already classified as “Costume”, are also depicted in drawings 9, 21, 53.

Drawing 53 depicts a man making visitations on the occasion of having passed state exams. State exams in medieval Korea required many years of hard labours. A lucky candidate could get a high post in administration. In other words, this drawing, like the five classified as “Costume”, represents a man employed by the state. Members of the nobility “relaxing” are also depicted in two drawings (9 and 21 — playing draughts and playing chess with *kisaeng* respectively). In total, representatives of the nobility appear in 8 drawings, which make 15% of their total number, the remaining 47 (85%) represent commoners.

The drawings classified as “Theatre” show only the activities of wandering actors, dancers and musicians, no spectators or listeners are represented. There are also no listeners in drawings 34 and 51 related to the “Play” theme, where a *kisaeng* playing musical instruments is shown. Strictly speaking, it is not a performance but a music lesson given by a professional performer to her friend. Only in one case a spectator is present — in drawing 9 (“Playing draughts”).

It seems that we can state our album gives a picture of different strata of the Korean society — from the lowest classes (wandering actors, *kisaengs*, shamans, itinerant traders) up to court officials, though the nobility does not occupy too much place there. The thematic range of our album testifies to the priority of the depicting of labour. The dominating idea of our collection is a man's complete absorption in labour.

Now let us sort the drawings of the album by the number of personages in a drawing (see Table 4).

Table 4

The distribution of drawings of the St. Petersburg collection by the number of personages

Number of personages	Quantity		Numbers of drawings
	items	(%)	
1	10	18	4, 8, 10, 13, 14, 16—18, 33, 50
2	32	58	3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28—31, 34, 35, 37—49, 51, 52, 54, 55
3	11	20	2, 7, 20, 25, 27, 32, 36, 47, 53
4	1	4	1
6	1		24
Total:	55	100	55

The total number of personages in all drawings is 117. The average number is 2.1 personages per drawing.

The *Table 4* shows that compositions with two personages predominate in the album (58%), and that there is approximately the same number of compositions with one and with three personages — 18% and 20%. It appears that the artist was trying to limit the number of personages representing the minimum just sufficient to give the idea of one

“technological process”, or one sort of professional activity. There are no drawings in our album depicting two or more “professional” themes simultaneously.

Let us turn now to the collection of the State Museum of Denmark. *Table 5* shows the thematic aspect of this collection.

Table 5

The distribution of drawings from the Danish State Museum by themes

Theme*	Quantity		Numbers of drawings
	items	%	
1. Everyday life	6	11	5) 45) 46) 52) 53) 55
2. Agriculture	4	7	1) 2, 3, 4)
3. Weaving	3	5	11) 12) 16)
4. Craft	5	9	8) 9) 10, 13, 14
5. Industry	3	6	6, 7, 15
6. Trade	1	2	54)
7. Ritual	15	27	17) 18, 19) 20, 21, 22) 23, 24, 27) 29, 42, 43, 44, 50, 51)
8. Play	8	15	25) 26, 28) 30) 31, 32, 33, 49)
9. Theatre	3	5	34, 47) 48)
11. Study	4	2	40, 41
12. Punishment	5	9	35, 36) 37, 38, 39
Total	55	100	55

* Here and below themes which are not represented in the collection are omitted in the *Tables*. There are 26 (47%) drawings representing women.

One can notice a certain thematic discrepancy between our album and the Danish collection: in the last one “Costume” is missing, while in our album there are no

“Study” and “Punishment”. Our album contains 32 drawings representing various industrial activities (58%, themes 1—6), in the Danish collection — only 22 draw-

ings (40%). Thus it seems that labour theme in Danish collection does not occupy as much place as in our collection.

Now let us consider the number of personages represented in the drawings from the collection of the Danish State Museum (Table 6).

Table 6

The distribution of drawings from the Danish State Museum by the number of personages

Number of personages	Quantity		Numbers of drawings
	items	%	
1	1	2	24
2	2	4	3, 13
3	5	9	8, 14, 45, 49, 52
4	12	22	2, 6, 9, 10, 11, 16, 22, 30, 38, 39, 46, 55
5	8	14	1, 4, 5, 12, 23, 29, 53, 54
6	4	7	7, 15, 27, 51
7	2	4	33, 37
8	8	14	19, 21, 25, 36, 40, 44, 48, 50
9	1	2	17
10	3	5	18, 34, 47
11	4	4	35, 43
12	3	5	26, 28, 41
14	1	2	42
15	2	4	20, 32
17	1	2	31
Total:	55	100	55

The total number of personages in all drawings is 367. the average number is 6.8 personages per drawing.

It is noteworthy that the number of personages depicted in the drawings of the Danish collection significantly differs from that of our album. Compositions with many personages (the average number is 6.8) definitely predominate there. While in our album most of the drawings depict only two persons (58%), drawings with four, five and eight figures in the Danish collection make 50%, and drawings with two personages — only 4%.

Let us compare now some drawings with the same topic in both collections. Drawing 4 from the Danish collection represents the scene of thrashing. 4 persons are thrashing, one woman is watching them. In our album this operation is performed only by two persons (drawing 12). The same can be said about the drawing "Hat-makers" (Danish collection No. 10 — our album No. 46), representing respectively 4 and 2 personages. One more example can be given, that is a drawing "Kisaeng playing chess with a man" (Danish collection N. 30, our album No. 21). There are four persons in the Danish drawing (two playing chess and two watching them) and only two persons playing chess in our album.

These and other examples demonstrate that the operations represented are shown within a certain natural or social context (see *Tables 15 and 16*). Thus, while in drawing 12 from our album the object of thrashing is just a symbol outlined with several strokes and lacking any background, in drawing 4 from the Danish collection we see two rows of ten sheaves laid on the ground by a high fence; there are trees behind the fence, on a staircase by the gates a woman is watching the workmen.

The comparison of our album with the Danish collection made us come to the conclusion that our album deals with a set of modules:

1. The modules represented in our album in the Danish collection can be linked together and then inserted into a certain landscape. This is the most complicated case. A characteristic example may be drawing 1 from the Danish collection, its composition basing upon the topic of drawings 3 and 25 (of our album) joined together. The same is true for drawing 16 (of the Danish collection) where one can see the personages from drawings 17 and 44 of our album set within a landscape with one more figure added.

2. In the Danish collection there are drawings combining together two different topics in a rather mechanical way. In some cases one of these topics is to be found in our album. In the drawing 13 from Denmark, which depicts a joiner and a carpenter, the joiner is obviously "taken" from drawing 16 of our album; in drawing 12 (the Danish collection) we find personages from drawing 45 of our album; in drawing 11 (the Danish collection) we can see the personages from drawing 23 represented in our album; and drawing 54 (the Danish collection) shows a family of wandering traders, which we can observe in drawing 32 of our album. Two independent explanatory inscriptions in the drawing 54 (the Danish collection) confirm that the composition of this drawing was made up of two different topics.

3. In the Danish collection there are examples of complicated compositions in which we can single out the core which corresponds to one of our drawings: the subject represented in a concise form in our album is expanded into

a complex composition comprising many personages in a drawing from Denmark. For example, the drawing 50 (the Danish collection) represents a shamaness and her attendants. The core of this drawing appears in our drawing 20. Drawing 23 (the Danish collection) depicting a procession of 5 persons is comparable with drawing 2 from our album where three persons are shown. Finally, drawing 34 (the Danish collection) representing a circus troupe (altogether 10 persons) is directly connected with our drawing 27 where 3 persons are shown.

The comparison of the drawings from the St. Petersburg album with the collection of the Danish State Museum demonstrates that despite their being equal in number, they differ notably. At the same time these two collections are close to each other by both common topics and personages.

As for the collection of the British Museum, the distribution of its drawings by themes is shown in *Table 7*.

Table 7

Distribution of drawings from the British Museum collection by themes

Theme	Quantity		Numbers of drawings
	items	%	
4. Craft	9	45	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) 16
5. Industry	2	10	13, 14
6. Trade	4	20	9, 10) 11) 12
7. Ritual	2	10	19, 20
9. Theatre	2	10	15, 17
12. Punishment	1	5	18
Total:	20	100	20

Drawings with female personages — 3 (15%).

Table 7 demonstrates that the thematic range of this collection is not so wide as of the former two: only six themes out of 12 possible are represented here. Drawings of the first thematic group, dedicated to industrial activities and trade, predominate in this collection: 15 drawings of

20, which makes 75% (the same is characteristic of the St. Petersburg album).

Now let us consider the number of personages in the drawings from the British Museum (*Table 8*).

Table 8

Distribution of drawings from the British Museum by the number of personages

Number of personages	Quantity		Numbers of drawings
	items	%	
1	3	15	7, 11, 19
2	13	65	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20
3	11	20	2, 7, 20, 25, 27, 32, 36, 47, 53
4	4	20	4, 15, 17, 18
Total:	20	100	20

The total number of personages represented is 45, the average number of personages per drawing is 2.2.

The *Table* shows that the drawings from the British Museum mostly represent two personages — these make 65% comparable with 60% of drawings from our collection, and likewise the number of personages in a drawing is motivated by the “technological requirements”.

Seven drawings from the British Museum represent the same topics as some of the St. Petersburg drawings, *i. e.* 35% of the drawings find parallels in our album. These are drawings 1, 2, 4, 12, 14, 16, 20 (corresponding to numbers 52, 4, 47, 31, 49, 5, 18 of our album). However, in 3 cases (drawings 2, 4, 20) the number of people represented in these drawings from the British Museum is by one more than in corresponding drawings from St. Petersburg (drawings 4, 47, 18), *i. e.* one can trace the same tendency

of increasing the number of personages within the frames of one and the same topic as has already been observed with concern to the corresponding drawings from the Danish State Museum.

In comparison with the St. Petersburg collection, the British Museum collection is more limited in its themes, nevertheless these collections have some common features (we mean the proportion of drawings depicting professional activities, a comparatively small number of personages in each drawing and the similarity of the topics of the drawings).

The thematical aspect of the British Library collection is shown in *Table 9*.

Table 9

The distribution of the drawing from the British Library by themes

Theme	Quantity		Numbers of drawings
	items	%	
1. Everyday life	1	8	13
2. Agriculture	1	7	1)
5. Industry	1	8	6
7. Ritual	1	8	5)
8. Game	3	23	2, 3) 4)
9. Theatre	1	7	7)
11. Study	1	8	12
12. Punishment	4	31	8, 9, 10, 11
Total:	13	100	13

There are 5 drawings with female personages, which makes 5 (38%).

Table 9 shows that in the collection of the British Library only 8 themes out of 12 are represented. Only 3 drawings (23%) belong to the first thematical group (themes connected with production or exchange of commodities), whereas remaining 10 (77%) drawings belong to the second thematical group (themes not connected with production or exchange of commodities).

As to the coincidence of the topics in both collections, only the drawing 7 from the British Library collection cor-

responding to the drawing 30 from our album may be named. The drawing 7 depicts itinerant actors extorting money from a young *yanghan*. This drawing is of a special interest for us, since it is a more complicated version of the drawing 30 from our album, which is absolutely unrecognisable without this parallel.

Table 10 shows the distribution of drawings from the British Library by the number of personages.

Table 10

The distribution of the drawings from the British Library by number of personages

Number of personages	Quantity		Numbers of drawings
	items	%	
2	4	31	1, 4, 6, 13
3	7	54	2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
4	2	15	3, 7
Total:	13	100	13

The total number of personages in all drawings is 37, the average number is 2.8 personages per drawing.

Table 10 shows that compositions with three figures predominate in the collection of the British Library, the average number of personages per drawing is 2.8. In all cases with the exception of drawing 3 the number of personages represented is motivated functionally (either by ritual or the process of torture).

The smallest collection of Kisan's drawings belongs to the State Ethnographical Museum of Leiden. The distribution of the drawings by themes is represented in Table 11. Of all possible themes only 3 are present. The first group of themes makes 90%. Only drawing 9 from the Leiden collection corresponds by topic to drawing 44 of the St. Petersburg album.

Table 11

The distribution of the drawing from the State Ethnographical Museum in Leiden by themes

Theme	Quantity		Numbers of drawings
	items	%	
4. Craft	7	70	2, 3) 4, 5, 7, 8, 10
5. Industry	2	20	6, 9
7. Ritual	1	10	1)
Total:	10	100	10

There are 2 (20%) drawings representing women.

The distribution by the number of personages in the Leiden collection is shown in Table 12. Compositions with

two and three figures make the greater part of the collection — 70%.

Table 12

The distribution of the drawings from the State Ethnographical Museum in Leiden by number of personages

Number of personages	Quantity		Numbers of drawings
	items	%	
1	1	10	8
2	4	40	2, 5, 9, 10
3	3	30	3, 4, 6
4	1	10	7
5	1	10	1
Total:	10	100	10

The total number of personages is 27, the average is 2.7 figures per drawing.

Now we can summarize the thematic characteristics of all the available collections of drawings (see Table 13)

Table 13

The comparison of the collections by themes of the drawings

Theme	Numbers of Collections*					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	items	%
	Number of Drawings						
1. Everyday life	3	6	—	—	—	9	6
2. Agriculture	6	4	—	1	—	11	7
3. Weaving	8	3	—	—	—	11	7

Continuation of the Table 13

Theme	Numbers of Collections*					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	items	%
	Number of Drawings						
4. Craft	8	5	9	—	7	29	19
5. Industry	2	3	2	1	2	10	7
6. Trade	5	1	4	—	—	10	7
7. Ritual	6	15	2	2	1	26	17
8. Play	7	8	—	3	—	18	12
9. Theatre	5	3	2	1	—	11	7
10. Costume	5	—	—	—	—	5	3
11. Study	—	2	—	1	—	3	2
12. Punishment	—	5	1	4	—	10	6
Total:	55	55	20	13	10	153	100

* Numbers of collections correspond to their names as shown in Table 2.

Table 13 shows that the first thematic group (themes 1—6, connected with production or exchange of commodities) includes 53% of all drawings, while 47% belong to the second group (themes 7—12, in no way connected with production or exchange of commodities). It means that both groups are of equal importance for the “depicting customs” genre as a whole.

At the same time there is a considerable proportional difference between these groups within different collec-

tions. In our collection drawings of the first group make 58%, in the British Museum — 75%, and in the British Library — only 8%. Thus it is quite clear that drawings for the last two collections were deliberately selected by subject.

Now we should consider the five collections from the point of view of the number of personages represented. In order to do this we have to summarize in Table 14 the data of Tables 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12.

Table 14

Comparison of the collections by the number of personages in the drawings

Number of personages	Numbers of Collections*					Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	items	%
	Number of Drawings						
1	10	1	3	—	1	15	10
2	32	2	13	4	4	55	36
3	11	5	—	7	3	26	17
4	1	12	4	2	1	20	13
5	—	9	—	—	1	10	6
6	1	3	—	—	—	4	3
7—17	—	23	—	—	—	23	15
Total:	55	55	20	13	10	153	100

* Numbers of collections correspond to Table 2.

Table 14 shows that out of the 153 drawings of all five collections the most frequent are compositions with two personages (36%). It is twice as much as compositions with three figures and three times more than drawings with one

or four personages. Compositions with many figures (from 7 to 17) make only 15% (they all belong to the Danish collection).

In comparison with other collections the “density of population” in our album and in the British collections is minimal — respectively 58% and 65% are drawings depicting two personages. It seems that the predominance of drawings with two and three personages is characteristic of the “depicting customs”. As to the Danish collection, this

predominance is not characteristic of it. Moreover, this collection has such peculiarities which are not found in the other ones — we mean the elements of landscape and certain animals depicted in the drawings (see *Tables 15 and 16*).

Table 15

The distribution of drawings from the Danish State Museum by the presence of landscape

Numbers of drawings	Elements of landscape, their number in drawings						
	Mountains	Fields	Trees	Shrubs	River	Bank	Structure
1		4	2	3			—
2		1	1	1			1
3		1	—	—			—
2		1	1				1
5		—	—		—		1
7					1	—	—
15	—				1	1	
16	1		—		1	1	—
24	1		2		—	—	1
29	1	—	—		1	1	—
32	—	1			—	—	—
35		—					1
36							1
39							1
55							1
Total:	3	8	6	4	4	3	8

Table 16

The distribution of drawings from the Danish State Museum by the presence of animals and by their number

Numbers of drawings	Species			
	cow	falcon	dog	horse
3	2	—	—	
6	—	1	2	
11		—	1	—
14			—	1
18				1
42				1
45				1
Total:	2	1	3	4

Thus, the *Tables 15* and *16* show that in the Danish collection there are 15 drawings with landscape, which makes 27%, and 7 drawings with animals — 13%. The set of these elements is very limited. One can notice that in some of the drawings the landscape elements and the animals are actually functional. The roof in drawing 5 is protecting the grinding mill from rain, structures in drawing 55 represent a bath. The team of oxen in drawing 3 draw a plough, the horse in drawing 14 is aimed at displaying the efforts of blacksmiths who shoe it.

The Danish collection noteworthy for the considerable number of personages represented in its drawings and for the presence of animals and of the elements of landscape. Nevertheless, it answers all the requirements of the "depicting customs" genre, representing one of its specific branches. As far as we can see, similar drawings are present in the P. von Mollendorf's collection [13] and in the Moscow collection [14].

Thus, we have made an attempt to describe the St. Petersburg album from the point of view of the contents of its drawings and the number of personages represented in comparison with the other four European collections. One of the specific features of our album is, on the one hand, the presence of the "Costume" theme missing in other collections and, on the other hand, the absence of "Study" and "Punishment" theme (present in other collections: almost one third of the Moscow collection of drawings is dedicated to different kinds of corporal punishment [15]).

As for the thematic and the topic aspects of the collections, we can state that the St. Petersburg collection and the four European collections are mutually complimentary. The internal link between our and other collections is revealed by the fact that 27 drawings out of 55 from our album are devoted to the same topics as the drawings from the other four European collections.

The *Tables* given above show that:

1. The St. Petersburg album, despite some missing items, represents a valuable collection of Kisan's drawings, which could be attributed to "depicting customs" genre.

2. There were two distinct development trends in this "depicting customs" genre. One of them (tendency A) most clearly manifests itself in the Danish collection where elements of landscape, animals and, as a result of these peculiarities, highly detailed compositions of the drawings can be seen. The other one (tendency B) is represented by the St. Petersburg collection where lack of landscape and animals produces a concise composition of the drawings which could be regarded as modules for composing more complicated constructions.

So far we were not discussing the artistic aspect of the drawings from the St. Petersburg collection, now we will fill the gap. The characteristic features of the drawings from this collection are somewhat "technological orientation", briefness in the expanding of the idea, the lack of landscape elements, as well as of animals and persons directly involved in the process of labour or some other kind of activities. As a result, the principal figure in the drawings proves to be "the man of action". It should be also emphasised that none of the drawings in our album shows a man in his private life, which makes the significance of the female images even greater. There are 21 drawings (38%) depicting women in our album. They are also shown in

connection with different kinds of labour: either as "professionals" (shamaness, *kisaeng*, itinerant actor/trader), or in the process of their ordinary female work such as spinning, weaving, laundering, carrying water, etc. Even the family life — a rare theme in the drawings — is depicted as an element of a hard work process. For instance, the drawing 3 shows a married couple engaged in weeding, the drawing 48 — in grinding. And in the drawing 32 a couple of petty traders with a child travelling from village to village is depicted, etc.

The everyday life of a farmer's family seems to be shown in drawings 39 and 42, if taken together. In the drawing 39 one can see two farmers having their midday meal in the field. They are sitting on the ground, in front of each of them there are three bowls of food, on the foreground we see their working implements, a brazier and a wide low basket. The same basket is depicted in the drawing 42 ("Carrying to the fields a basket with food"): a young woman leading a little boy and carrying this basket on her head is shown. A piece of cloth, which covers the basket, is of the same light blue colour in both drawings. Thus we can conclude that there is certainly a link between these two drawings.

The fact that a man and a woman represent a family is revealed only in the work they are doing together. The emotional contact between them is not visible at all. The artist seems to demonstrate his indifference with concern to emotional sphere of what he depicts in the drawing. A certain dryness, therefore, can be seen in female figures drawn by Kisan.

In this connection it is worthy to compare our drawing 13 ("That is how canvas is woven") with the well-known work by Kim Hongdo on the same subject [16]. In our drawing a middle-aged woman is sitting by a weaving loom. Her image is rather schematic, her figure seems clumsy and her face is too big and lacks individuality. One gains an impression that the technical side of weaving (the loom and the shuttle) is of much more interest to the artist.

There is also a female-weaver in the drawing by Kim Hongdo. He depicts a nice-looking young woman with lively eyes clad in wide garments. She is absorbed in her work. Her disarranged hair and strong hands familiar with this kind of work emphasise the feeling of an energetic action. Her posture is free and natural. Behind her a standing old woman (perhaps, her mother-in-law) with two children is shown. The old woman with warm sadness watches the work of the young one, probably recollecting her own youth. It is quite obvious that these two women are not only bound by their family but also by close emotional ties. The features of the old woman's face (the projected cheek-bones and heavy chin), not schematic but very personal, notably differ from those of the young woman. The drawing seems to hint that some particular persons are represented here. A genre scene in the European sense of the term occurs to a mind when looking at the drawing.

Returning to the drawing 13 from our album, we have to state that Kisan, who no doubt was inferior in his art to Kim Hongdo, still was a real artist who in his drawings fulfilled all the requirements of the genre within the mentioned tendency B. The woman didn't interest the artist at all. It was much more important for him to stress the "technological side" of the work process he depicted.

But still, in those cases when Kisan wants to express some human feelings, he succeeds in doing that fully even within the limited frames of the genre. The drawing 39, where the farmers are depicted, could be given as a characteristic example. The drawing produces an impression of special liveliness. The farmers are shown here completely exhausted by hard work done.

The same capacity to express human feelings can be traced in five drawings referring to the theme "Costume". This theme seems to leave no space for the emotions, still the artist finds his way to show them. First of all we would like to emphasise the fact that the drawings are very colourful. Because the album has never been exhibited, the colours preserved their original brightness and density. As to the costume itself, it is displayed from all sides in such a way that the spectator receives complete information on it. (When an European looks at these drawings, it never occurs to his mind that the artist's aim was only to give an idea of a court official costume.) The drawings show scenes from court life: for example, two officials meeting each other or walking together. The expression of their faces and emotions they display are quite different: in one case they are shown peacefully talking (drawings 28, 29, and 54), in other — arguing (drawing 35). Two smiling officials are bowing in front of the third one, who is obviously more esteemed, but not present in the picture (drawing 37).

Earlier we have already pointed out the absence of spectators in the drawings representing "Theatre" theme in our album. A representative example is drawing 24 depicting a band of six musicians playing. There are neither any listeners or spectators, nor dancers or actors. Six is the maximum number of figures in the drawings of our album and this coincides with the number of musicians forming the band. The six figures are arranged in a circle with two drums depicted on the foreground. Three flutes and a fiddle are directed towards a certain point within the circle of musicians. Such an arrangement of instruments in the drawing strikingly resembles a flying bird. It should be noted that to the same point is directed the drumstick in the hands of the drummer sitting in the right part of the foreground as if this extended drumstick would cross the imaginary bird. The impression of a close emotional link between the musicians is achieved by the way they look at each other: the feeling of some intimacy existing between the two drummers on the foreground, as well as between the two flautists on the background appears while observing the scene. The turn of the head away and the cunning look of the flautist sitting in the middle of the right part of the circle just strengthens the impression of the musicians'

union. It makes the scene even more vivid. In my view, this drawing may be regarded as a true masterpiece.

The above-mentioned tendency B in the "depicting customs" genre, which represents a set of modules singled out earlier, can be traced in all other European collections. However, among the "itinerant" subjects we will never find exact copies: there are always differences in depicting faces, postures, gestures, etc. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that the pen-name "Kisan" was used by a number of artists.

The development of the "depicting customs" genre was greatly influenced by the market demands. The end of the 19th—beginning of the 20th century, as it is known, was the time of Korea's becoming open for visitors from abroad. At that time drawings in the "depicting customs" genre provided information on the country, its population, and traditions. They played the same part that modern photographs play nowadays. It is worth noting that drawings were specially ordered by foreign diplomats, missionaries, as well as by the members of their families. Kisan, for example, made drawings for Admiral R. Schufeldt (one of the first Americans in Korea) and for J. Geil, missionary and orientalist [17]. The drawings were given as presents. Thus, according to one of the accounts, P. von Mollendorf has received his collection of Kisan's drawings as a gift from King Kojon during his stay in Seoul in 1882—1897 [18]. One collection was brought to Russia by an unknown officer after the Russian-Japanese war of 1904—1905 [19]. These were the channels by which Kisan's drawings penetrated into the West.

The preliminary analysis of the drawings by Kisan in the St. Petersburg collection brings us to the following conclusions:

1. The artistic value of the collection is beyond doubt.
2. The collection may be considered as an important part of the European collections of Kisan's drawings.
3. The collection reflects a certain development of the "depicting customs" genre in the second half of the 19th century (I mean the "tendency B" discussed above). On the one hand, the topics were minimised to a "module" form, on the other, "technological" limitations sometimes were counterbalanced by the creative imagination of the artist.
4. The comparison of the St. Petersburg collection with the collections of Kisan's drawings preserved in different European countries shows that there were probably several artists who worked under the pen-name of Kisan.
5. The St. Petersburg collection, along with other European and Korean collections, could provide abundant materials for more profound study of Kisan's heritage and stimulate appearing of new investigation approaches.

Notes

1. The Inventory Book on Korean manuscripts from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, p. 189.
2. L. R. Kontsevich, L. E. Eremenko, Review of *Alte koreanische Bilder. Landschaften und Volksleben* by Ki-San (Leipzig, 1958) in *Problemy Vostoka*, 3 (1959), p. 202.
3. C. A. Boudewijn Walraven, "Korean genre paintings in the Netherlands and around the word", *Korea Journal*, XXIII/1 (1983); *The Korean Relics in Western Europe* (Seoul, s. a.), pp. 396—8.
4. About this publication see L. R. Kontsevich, L. E. Eremenko, *op. cit.*
5. C. A. Boudewijn Walraven, *op. cit.* pp. 403, 410—7.
6. L. R. Kontsevich, L. E. Eremenko, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

7. O. N. Glukhareva, *Koreiskoe iskusstvo s drevnosti do kontsa XIX v.* (Korean Art from the Ancient Times up to the End of the 19th Century) (Moscow, 1982), Plate 200; N. A. Kanevskaia, *Iskusstvo Korei* (Art of Korea) (Moscow, 1990), Plate 13.

8. *The Korean Relics*, pp. 400—17.

9. See *The Korean Relics*.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 261—82.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

12. See *The Korean Relics*.

13. See Ki-San, *Alte koreanische Bilder. Landschaften und Volksleben*.

14. L. R. Kontsevich, L. E. Eremlenko, *op. cit.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

16. Tanwon Kim Hongdo, *Hanguk-ui mi*, vol. 21 (Seoul, 1987), p. 107.

17. *Hanguk minjok munhwa tebekkva sanjon* (Seoul, 1993), p. 916.

18. L. R. Kontsevich, L. E. Eremlenko, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Colour plates

Front cover:

Kim Jungyn (Kisan). “[Band of musicians] playing”, the drawing No. 24 from the album, 14.0 × 21.5 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. Kim Jungyn (Kisan). “That is how officials (= eunuchs?) in charge of security and palace’s tidiness look like (?)”, the drawing No. 37 from the album, 14.0 × 21.5 cm.

Plate 2. Kim Jungyn (Kisan). “This is how the officials clad in formal red garments and hats decorated with gold (for a morning audience) look like”, the drawing No. 54 from the album, 14.0 × 21.5 cm.

Plate 3. Kim Jungyn (Kisan). “The uniform of the official in charge of the sovereign’s safety and responsible for passing his orders”, the drawing No. 28 from the album, 14.0 × 21.5 cm.

Plate 4. Kim Jungyn (Kisan). “Officials attached to the sovereign”, the drawing No. 35 from the album, 14.0 × 21.5 cm.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Khotanese Karmavibhaṅga by Mauro Maggi. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Serie Orientale Roma, vol. LXXIV. Roma: 1995. — 130 pp., 16 Plates.

Over the last ten years Khotanese studies again became one of the principal trends of Oriental studies, mainly due to the works of Professor Ronald E. Emmerick and his pupils and followers. The book under review has proved to testify to this.

The volume presents an edition containing transliteration, translation into English, commentary and facsimile of the old Khotanese version of the Buddhist text known as *Karmavibhaṅga*, ("Classification of Acts") which is a compendium on moral rules ensuring all the good things of this life and a favourable rebirth. This work written in Sanskrit in the first millennium A. D. was translated into a number of languages, including Tibetan, Chinese, Kuchean and Sogdian. The relation between the Sanskrit and the Pali texts are not taken into account.

The publication is basing upon 17 fragments of *Karmavibhaṅga* (*KV*) belonging to the India Office Library (London) and one fragment from the Harvard University Library (Cambridge, Mass.). They first were published in transliteration by Professor Harold W. Bailey in 1956 and 1963 ("Khotanese Texts 3" and "Khotanese Texts 5"). Professor Ronald Emmerick initiated the scholarly research of the fragments after his identification of five unpublished fragments in the Francke-Korber collection of manuscripts rediscovered by G. Gropp in 1981 in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Münich). Dr Mauro Maggi continued this work successfully: he succeeded in identifying another six fragments of the same collection and one new fragment in London.

It is the first time that these 12 fragments are published together with those discovered previously. The principal task of finding the appropriate place for each fragment in the Khotanese text of *KV*, which survived only in extracts, has been brilliantly solved by Dr Maggi. He managed to join together a number of *KV* fragments from the Oriental and India Office Collections, as well as from the British Library and the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde. The result of this elaborate work is a large part of the Khotanese text that was hitherto unknown, namely, twenty-nine manuscript fragments coming from twenty-one folios. The bad state of preservation of the fragments created additional difficulties to the editor. Some of the fragments are hardly legible and the text can be traced only by intuition.

While comparing the existing versions of *KV*. Dr Maggi came to the conclusion that the Khotanese *KV* was not identical with any of the known versions. To show all the peculiarities of the Khotanese *KV* and its differences from other versions Dr Maggi divided the publication into two parts: the so called "diplomatic" text and the "critical" text accompanied by an English translation and the corresponding Sanskrit text. He has suggested also his own reconstruction of the Khotanese version to provide the reader with a continuous text. Following the edition by S. Levi (*Mahākarmavibhaṅga* (Le grande classification des actes) et *Karmavibhaṅgapadeśa* (Discussion sur le *Mahā Karmavibhaṅga*): textes sanscrits rapportés du Nepal, édités et traduits avec les textes parallèles en sanscrit, en pali, en tibétain, en chinois et en koutchéen, Paris, 1932). Dr Maggi made a supplement to the Levi's "Tableau comparatif", including the Khotanese data in his list of texts in the languages mentioned above. The publication is provided with four concordances which enable to realise the structure of the Khotanese text in relation to the Sanskrit version, the order of the published fragments in paragraphs and the relation of the newly published fragments to the publication made by Bailey.

Dr Maggi's commentaries support his readings of the Khotanese text and aimed to improve the interpretations suggested earlier. The editor of the fragments has taken into account scholarly works dealing with the subject published over the last years, as well as the Sanskrit and the Tibetan parallel texts. Some new Khotanese grammatical forms and set expressions are reflected in the commentary (for example, commentary to § 2.6, containing the first occurrence in Old Khotanese of the phrase *haṃśas-jivata rruya* — "to be about to lose (one's) life", attested only in Late Khotanese *haṃśyai dūkhautta āṃ jīvye rūya* — "being distressed, I am about to lose [my] life". See also the commentary of §§ 3.5; 7.10; 15.4; 30.1—2; 54.5 etc.).

The book is also provided with a "Khotanese glossary" (pp. 119—28) and a "Sanskrit-Khotanese Index" (p. 129).

The work done by Dr Maggi presents a valuable contribution to Khotanese studies and a step forward in our understanding of the making of the *KV* text and its history. By its context *KV* should be attributed to the group of literary works dealing with fortune-telling and astrology, so popular in Central Asia in the first millennium A. D. Although some of the surviving *KV* texts bear traces of Buddhist influence (especially of Buddhist ethics), they doubtless contain also pre-Buddhist notions of good and evil current among the peoples of Central Asia. This, probably, explains

the presence of different versions of the text. The new version studied and published by Dr Maggi makes a valuable contribution not only to Khotanese studies but to Oriental studies in general. Finally, we are happy to say that the

“Serie Orientale Roma” again surprised us with an excellent primary source publication.

M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

Koran. Perevod i komentarii D. N. Boguslavskogo. Publikatziia E. A. Rezvana pri uchastii A. N. Weiraukha. Moscow—St. Petersburg: Tzentr Peterburgskoye Vostokovedeniye — Izdatel'skaya firma Vostochnaya Literatura RAN, 1995. — 567 str.

The Qur'ān. Translation and Commentary by D. N. Boguslavsky. Publication by E. A. Rezvan in collaboration with A. N. Weihrauch. Moscow — St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Center for Oriental Studies — Academic Publishing House Vostochnaya Literatura, 1995. — 567 pp.

The present translation of the Qur'ān published jointly by St. Petersburg and Moscow Publishing houses has really a difficult history. It was made around 125 years ago by Lieutenant-General Dmitriy Nikolaevich Boguslavsky (1826—1893), a Russian orientalist and diplomat. Together with Gordiy Semionovich Sablukov (1804—1880) he shares the laurels of the first Russian translation of the Qur'ān, which was made directly from Arabic. The personality of D. N. Boguslavsky is very typical of the generation of the nineteenth-century Russian orientalists whose scholarly investigations were closely connected with their official military or diplomatic activities. Boguslavsky had graduated from the higher artillery school and later gained his learnings in Oriental studies from Professors and teachers at the Oriental Office of the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Soon he became a recognised authority in the field. He was also known as accompanying the famous Sheikh Shamil in his trips about Russia. Doubtless, Boguslavsky played an important part in Russian policy in the north of the Caucasus in the 1850s and was let into many its secrets. D. Boguslavsky also held the post of the first dragoman (interpreter) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later at the Russian Embassy in Istanbul. It was certainly there, in Ottoman Turkey, that his interest in the Qur'ān arose and his work on the translation of the Qur'ān was started.

The translation by Boguslavsky, as well as his commentaries on the text, though highly appreciated after his death by such authoritative orientalists as V. R. Rosen and I. Yu. Krachkovsky, remained unpublished for a long time. As far back as 1888 the widow of Boguslavsky submitted to the Russia Academy of Sciences her application for the publication of the Qur'ān's translation made by her husband, but met with a refusal. After that the traces of his handwritten translation had been lost. Fortunately, in 1928 the autograph of Boguslavsky's translation was found and purchased by Academician I. Yu. Krachkovsky. After his death in 1951 it was transmitted to the Archives of the USSR Academy of Sciences (fund 1026, description 1, files 210—211).

In 1989—1990 the manuscript was thoroughly studied and prepared for publication by one of the leading Russian experts in the Qur'ānic studies, E. A. Rezvan (in collaboration with A. N. Weihrauch who did a great deal of technical work when preparing this publication). It was the time of an “explosion” on the Soviet book market, when numerous private Publishing houses came into being and hundreds of books, which would have never been allowed by Soviet censorship, appeared, including those dealing with religious matters.

A real outburst of interest in world religions in the USSR in the late 1980s made the Publishing houses be more active in editing literature on Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. A special attention was paid then to the extant translations of the Qur'ān. High literary merits and a vast commentary made the translation of Boguslavsky especially attractive for the publishers.

D. N. Boguslavsky was among the pioneer generation of those in Russia who did their best to make the text of the Qur'ān available for general readers. He made a lot to render an intelligible and coherent text, though we are not aware of the original Boguslavsky followed in his translation. One can only guess, as I. Yu. Krachkovsky points out, that he used one of the numerous Kazan editions of the Qur'ān, or that of Flügel-Redslob (beginning with 1834). The translation made by Boguslavsky reads extremely well and, what is notable, it preserves the very texture and flavour of the original.

A great merit of the publication is the comprehensive essay by E. A. Rezvan on the Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies. It bears a title “The History of the Qur'ān and its Exegesis” (pp. 517—42). One can find here the basic data on the history of the shaping of the Qur'ān, its structure and peculiarities, a history of Qur'ānic exegesis and the main stages of Qur'ānic research in the West and Russia. There are also some supplementary notes concerning the place and significance of the work by D. N. Boguslavsky in the history of Qur'ānic studies in Russia. The essay by E. Rezvan, though recycling much of the material known, might be considered as a valuable contribution to the subject, as it helps the reader to better understand this most important religious text in a wide context of Islamic history. The author does not restrict himself by a general survey of what is known about the text of the Qur'ān and its history. He also gives an account of numerous problems the scholars encounter when studying the text of the Qur'ān, as well as of some controversies which took place in the field in the recent years. It is surprising enough, in his short essay Dr Rezvan leaves almost no topics concerning the Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies untouched. His profound knowledge of the subject and valuable scholarly remarks deserve a special praise both of general readers, who seek to more information on making Islam and its sacred text, and of specialists.

Apart from the translation and commentaries, this publication comprises also the notes by D. N. Boguslavsky on the French translation of the Qurʾān made by A. D. Biberstain-Kasimirski (pp. 506—8), which the manuscript contains. An article by I. Yu. Krachkovsky entitled “Translation of the Qurʾān made by D. N. Boguslavsky” (pp. 509—16 of the present edition) is also added to the publication. This article was written in 1937 and published eight years later in the third issue of the annual *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* (pp. 293—301). In the article I. Yu. Krachkovsky gives the description of the manuscript, analyses the peculiarities of the commentaries made by Boguslavsky, reveals the merits and faults of the translation, and indicates the translator’s main mistakes and inaccuracies. Detailed materials concerning the life and works of D. N. Boguslavsky can be found in the informative article by A. N. Weihrauch also published in the book under review (pp. 543—7).

It is important to note that the translation and commentaries made by Boguslavsky are based on interesting and only vaguely known late Ottoman-Turkish exegetic tradition. As Dr Rezvan points out, the importance of publishing such kind of the Qurʾān’s translations is explained by the very nature of the Qurʾānic text. The genuine significance of it is much more broader than the literal one. The text had always acquired its additional senses, as it was influenced greatly by a creative field of associative ideas and images born in the mind of its readers and listeners. Naturally, the range of these associations varied greatly in different times and in different social strata. As Dr Rezvan believes, the investigations of the Qurʾān and Muslim exegesis in a diachrony, as a particular perception of the Qurʾānic text in the Muslim world, might be of much use in reconstructing the history of the text. He notes that numerous commentaries on the Qurʾān reflected a rich spectrum of political and religious beliefs, as well as of cultural biases of their authors. Thus, in Dr Rezvan’s opinion, G. S. Sablukov’s translation, published in Kazan in 1878, reflected, to some extent, Tatar perception of the Sacred Book. As for General Boguslavsky, the first his translation was to reflect, as Dr Rezvan holds, the understanding of the Qurʾān in Ottoman Turkey.

In his preface to the translation Boguslavsky says he used in his work the Ottoman-Turkish commentary on the Qurʾān made by Ismāʿīl Farrukh (d. 1840), who compiled his writing in 1246/1830—1831. *Tafsīr al-mawākib* by Ismāʿīl Farrukh, published in Istanbul in 1870, constituted a basis of Boguslavsky’s comprehension of the Qurʾānic text. So one could say that the translation of the Qurʾān by Boguslavsky depended greatly on the authors which were used by Ismāʿīl Farrukh. They are, for instance, al-Bayḍawī, al-Kashshāf al-Zamakhsharī, and many others. As I. Yu. Krachkovsky points out, Ismāʿīl Farrukh’s writing was, in its turn, a compilation (or a translation) of the Persian

commentary on the Qurʾān made by Husayn Wāʿiz. If so, it is difficult to share Dr Rezvan’s belief that Boguslavsky’s translation gives the “Turkish Qurʾān”, though there is no doubt that it gives some notion of the Ottoman-Turkish interpretation of the Sacred Text as it was understood by the authors of Ottoman *tafsīrs*.

At the same time Dr Rezvan rightly points out that the approach of D. N. Boguslavsky, who depended on his Ottoman source, seems to be close to that of Biberstain-Kasimirski, the author of a famous French translation of the Qurʾān, who spent some years as an interpreter in the East. The situation was also similar with E. Wherry, who published his English commentary on the Qurʾān in four volumes, basing on Muslim exegetic writings popular in India.

The book under review is supplied with an index which lists Arabic, Turkish and Persian terms, personal and geographical names, as well as titles which were transliterated (or transcribed, to be exact) by D. N. Boguslavsky according to the rules accepted in his time. His transcription is supplemented by modern transliteration. The edition is also supplied by the marginal notes indicating the *hiẓb* and *juʿ*’ liturgy partition of the text.

Taking into consideration the traditional character of Boguslavsky’s commentaries and the literature merits of his translation, we can assert that the Muslims of Russia obtain an authoritative translation of the Qurʾān which answers nearly all their demands. It should be noted that the translation, commentaries and contents of the articles included in the publication were approved by the present imām-khatib of the St. Petersburg Friday mosque, Sheikh Jaʿfar b. Naṣībullāh Ponchayev.

The publication of the translation which represents the life work of D. N. Boguslavsky might be regarded as a monument to his activities as a diplomat and a translator. He was among the most worthy representatives of the Russian society of the second half of the nineteenth century, who were deeply interested in Oriental cultures and most active in propagating their heritage.

The publication follows the style of the editions of the nineteenth century. The cover of the book, made of veal leather, is lavishly decorated with golden and silver tooling. It is excellently produced. The book printed on tinted paper has only one hundred copies, each bearing its own number. It is worthy a note that the high level of the book’s production was noticed by specialists. The book had a good press and gained a special diploma on the first St. Petersburg Book-Fair held in 1995.

It is a great merit of the present publication that it has made this Russian translation of the Qurʾān accessible for the readers. In my view, students of the Qurʾān and of the history of the text have cause to be grateful to the editors. I am sure that it will help to gain better insights into the text of the Qurʾān.

Yu. Petrosyan

Mongyolcud-un yal takily-a-yin sudur orosibai. Bulay nayirayulun jokiyaba. Kökeqota: Öbür mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a, 1995. — 15, 6, 642 pp.

The Book on the Cult of Fire Among the Mongols. Compiled by Bulag (Bao Ligao). Huhehot: The People's Publishing House of Inner Mongolia, 1995. — 15, 6, 642 pp.

The present book is an anthology of old Mongolian texts dedicated to various aspects of fire-worship. This religious practice was not uncommon for many peoples; but as Professor Bulag justly stresses, for the Mongols, whose natural environment was always severe, the availability of fire in many cases meant physical survival, and its absence — inevitable death. For this, and for many other reasons, fire remained the object of worship among the Mongols from times immemorial.

The all-embracing Buddhist conquest of Mongolia in the sixteenth century could not undermine this ancient belief. Fire-rites (Mong. *yäl-un takily-a*; Tib. *me mchod*) even came to be performed by Buddhist clergy. Some of the most celebrated learned Mongolian *lamas* attempted to link the rites of folk religion with Buddhist practice. Almost all the texts published in Professor Bulag's anthology reveal ancient Mongolian beliefs clad in Buddhist garments.

The texts printed in the type-set Uighur-Mongol script were taken by the compiler from different sources: from several published anthologies, as well as from writings preserved in different libraries of the Inner Mongolia. A considerable number of the texts come from the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies where Professor Bulag had an opportunity to work in 1989.

The anthology is divided into five sections: 1) texts on rituals of fire-worship (pp. 1—150); 2) texts on fire-worship, prayers and incantations (pp. 151—485); 3) in-

cantations used when offering a sacrifice to fire at wedding ceremonies (pp. 487—532); 4) local rituals of fire-worship as performed by different Inner Mongolian tribes (pp. 533—98); 5) addenda comprising a collection of legends on fire-worship and a didactic work on fire by Mer-gen-gegen Isidanjanvangjil. Every text is annotated, information on its origin is also provided.

Pages 10—29 contain the text entitled *Tal-i takiqu-yin jang üile bayasqulang-un yarqu-yin oron kemekü orosiba* (The Ritual of Fire-Worship, titled "The Source of Joy"). It is published after an incomplete Chahar xylograph from St. Petersburg (call number C 292), its last page missing. This page is not very informative though, as a complete copy of this text in the St. Petersburg University Library (call number Mong. D 296) shows. The author's name is given there as Sumadi Sila (Skt. *Sumatisīla*), which is in fact the Sanskrit translation of the name of the Chahar gebši Lubsang Tsultem (Tib. Blo-bzang tsxhul-khrims; 1740—1810), one of the most celebrated learned Mongolian *lamas*. This text is followed (pp. 30—9) by another one by the same author, where his name is given in its standard form. Noteworthy is the fact that there is a third work on this subject written by Lubsang Tsultem in Tibetan, titled *Me lha mchod tshul* ("The Method of Sacrificing to the God of Fire"), found in the fifth volume of his collected works (*gsung-'bum*). These three works were composed independently.

In the preface to the book under review Professor Bulag writes that the aim of his anthology is to provide scholars with available materials and to contribute to the traditional culture of his people (p. 13). He has succeeded in both aims: his book is very useful to every Mongolist studying the traditional culture of the Mongols. Due to his publication many extremely rare texts became available to general Mongol readers.

V. Uspensky

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Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts must be written in English.

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

Submissions

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



Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3



Plate 4