# Manuscripta Orientalia

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**COLOUR PLATES**

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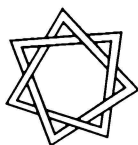      the same manuscript, fol. 132a, 7.7 × 7.8 cm.

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# TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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## UNKNOWN SANSKRIT FRAGMENTS FROM CENTRAL ASIA

### I. DIDACTIC FRAGMENTS

This fragment is preserved in the Central Asian fund of the manuscript department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies under the call number SI B/24, 14. It was found in the region of Kucha, at the site of On Bash Minuj by Russian explorer M. M. Berezovsky in 1907.

The size of the fragment: 9.0 × 8.0 cm. It is a part of a *poṭhī* type folio of brown paper, its left and right edges are missing. On each of its sides it has eight lines in Sanskrit, which are written in the fourth century Indian Brāhmī script. Since this and the next text form no recognizable context, for this reason we give here only transliteration.

### Transliteration

#### Recto (?)

1. ...] *śr[ ]pam. śrīr-hatāha* X [
2. ...] *sya ca viniggrahaḥ etat-pavittram* X [
3. ...] *dāṃ laṅghāyanti ca. pānaṃ prasaktā* X [
4. ...] *svargāc-ca varcānām strī-pprasaktā* [ ]*i* [
5. ...] *-tr-bhyaśca bharataṛṣabha.anyabhyā* [*ṃ*] [
6. ...] *syān-naḍo naiṣadha-puṅgavaḥ yudhiṣṭhira* [
7. ...] *sata marati vardhanam asatā mattra jā* [
8. ...] X X *varātake vyasanādhi* X X [

#### Verso (?)

1. ...] X X *jitā doṣāni hatā ssa* [
2. ...] X ⊕ *puruṣo* [1] *na sukhaṃ vindate kvacit tall* [
3. ...] *prajñayāpāyitaṃ budhaḥ śrutena teja* [
4. ...] *puttram-āttra-jño vicakṣaṇaḥ aśakyaṃ* [
5. ...] *lobhād-aiḍa* ⊕ *purūravāḥ brahmasva* [
6. ...] *sya vaśago bhavat sobhinad-bhāratī* [
7. ...] X *śśriyaman-uttamām vadhaṃ duryodhana* [
8. ...] X X *dutaḥ lobha* ⊕ *prajñāma*[*ma?*] [

There is another fragment linking to the first one, from the same manuscript but of another leaf, the right side of a *poṭhī* type folio. The paper, the script and the handwriting are the same. It is smaller than the first one: 7.5 × 7.0 cm. Of the eight lines only seven have partly survived.

### Transliteration

#### Recto

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. ...] X X | [10] |
| 2. ...] *bhūya evābhivardhate.* | [11] |
| 3. ...] *-[ni?]tvā jaya-parājayau* | [12] |
| 4. ...] *ya paṇḍitair-ap[r]atyakṣitam* | 1[3] |
| 5. ...] *ptato yuddhaṃ pravartate.* | 14 |
| 6. ...] *ṣo X-i kaścanaḥ* | 15 |
| 7. ...] *līyasām.* | [16] |
| 8. ...] *ṣiṇaḥ* | 17 |

#### Verso

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. ...] *kṣaṇaḥ* | 1[8] |
| 2. ...] *[t]tarāḥ* | 19 |
| 3. ...] X *d-* X X *śyati.* | 20 |
| 4. ...] X *diśo gacchanti tadgatāḥ* | 21 |
| 5. ...] *yuddhamabhikāṃkṣase.* | 22 |
| 6. ...] *yaṃ prāpya naśyati.* | 23 |
| 7. ...] *[catu] sviṅśatimaḥ* | 24 ⊕ 24 |
| 8. ... X X X X X X X X | |

Judging from the signs dividing words and phrases, it is a versified text. The second fragment confirms this suggestion: it is the right side of the folio, where all the verse lines are numbered according to the manuscript tradition. The text of the first fragment, if we reconstruct its contents, presents a moral essay warning against gambling and boundless gluttony. The names of Nala, Yudhiṣṭhira, Purūravas and Duryodhana, the famous personages from the Mahābhārata, are mentioned in connection with these vices. The first two were notorious for the sufferings they encountered due to their addiction to dice, the other two had to pay heavily for their greed. Both stories are from the Mahābhārata. The text is most remarkable, because it is the only surviving one, as I know, from East Turkestan where the names of the heroes of the Mahābhārata are mentioned. The story of Purūravas is told in the first book of the Mahābhārata, the story of the unlucky gambler Yudhishthira — in the second book, the story of Nala — in the third book. The fifth book of the Mahābhārata tells how Duryodhana's boundless greed gave rise to the great battle where he was defeated and slain.

The text makes us believe that in the first half of the first millennium A.D. the Mahābhārata and its stories were already well-known in East Turkestan. Probably, it was written by a native of the land, whose mother tongue was Saka, as one can judge from the duplication of consonants which is not characteristic of Sanskrit. Being connected with the plots and the characters from the Mahābhārata, our text is no doubt linked to those small fragments of Sanskrit texts from Central Asia, from the area of Kucha [2], which mention the fifteen books of the Mahābhārata, among them the twelfth book, Śāntiparva, with its political theories and philosophy [3]. As early as 1962 P. V. Kane suggested that the Mahābhārata, as we know it now, had been already known to Kauṭilya [4]. Our text, as well as the publications by Dieter Schlingloff, confirm this suggestion. The fragments published by D. Schlingloff should be dated, judging from the palaeographic data, to the first or to the second century A.D. Our text is most probably of the fourth century A.D. In this way we come to the conclusion that the text of the Mahābhārata, evidently in written form, was widespread at that time in the northern oases of East Turkestan, where it was popular and much respected.

## II. FRAGMENTS OF *SADDHARMAPUṆḌARĪKA-SŪTRA*

After the restoration of N. F. Petrovsky's collection it became possible to publish the last nine pages of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*SP*), thus making all the fragments of this *sūtra*, which are preserved in the collection, available to scholars. It should be noted that it was one of the most popular *sūtra*s in Central Asia and the Far East. Beginning from the first century A.D. and till the present time this *sūtra* was much respected by the adherents of Buddhism. Its texts were studied and published in different Oriental languages, translated into several European languages. It is of much importance for the study of Buddhist philosophy, since it contains the principles of Mahāyāna. Besides, it is the first text to expound the doctrine of the Three Chariots and to define the status of Bodhisattva. The development of its texts in India, Central Asia, China and Japan has a long history which is reflected in numerous manuscript copies written in at least eight Oriental languages. The oldest copies dating to the first millennium A.D. were found in Gilgit, East Turkestan and Dunhuang. The study of these texts makes now a special branch of Buddhist Literary Criticism.

These studies show that by comparing manuscripts written in different languages it is possible to trace the development of the text of the *sūtra* through the first millennium A.D. They reveal four periods of its making, which took place between the late first century A.D. and the end of the second century A.D. Twenty seven chapters of the *sūtra* have been formed by A.D. 150 [5]. The further development of the *sūtra* can be traced by means of the juxtaposition of its two versions, the Central Asian and the Indian one. The Central Asian version has survived in Sanskrit, Khotanese and Chinese manuscripts of our collection. The second one — in manuscripts found in Nepal (later eighteenth—nineteenth-century manuscripts and fragments on palm leaves dating to the eleventh century) [6] and Gilgit (in the 1930s) [7], as well as in Chinese translations made by Kumarajiva, which are preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts in our collection. Although in the last years many texts of the two versions have been made available to scholars, their relation and the chronology of both their making and development are still not quite clear. So the introduction of every new manuscript, even though its text is almost completely identical to some of the texts published earlier, always adds something new to the history of its making and circulation.

Most of the known Sanskrit manuscripts and fragments of *SP* are kept now in the manuscript department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. One of them, the so-called "N. F. Petrovsky's Kashgar manuscript" (this name stuck to the facsimile publication of the manuscript is conventional, strictly speaking it should be called "Khotanese"), is almost complete (it contains 459 folios). This manuscript comprises the principal text of the Central Asian version which has been published in facsimile [8] and in Latin transliteration [9].

All further investigations of *SP* are based upon this text. The facsimile edition appeared first in India and later was reprinted in Japan. Russian scholars also contributed to the study of *SP* by publishing 87 folios from 8 different manuscripts containing the Central Asian version [10] and 3 folios of the Gilgit-Nepalese (Indian) version [11].

The present publication deals with 9 folios and fragments of one manuscript preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection (call numbers SI P/67 and SI P/74). They contain the Central Asian version of the *sūtra* which follows the text of N. F. Petrovsky's Kashgar manuscript (SI P/5). Basing upon the linguistic analysis of its four Khotanese colophons (to chapters II, V, XV and the final one), it is possible to date it to the ninth—tenth century [12], though the palaeography of its vertical Central Asian Brāhmī (the so-called South East Turkestan or Khotanese Brāhmī) allows a wider dating, starting from the fifth century A.D. It is rather difficult to date Central Asian manuscripts by their palaeography, because between the fifth and the tenth centuries the "regular" Khotanese Brāhmī script remained very stable.

Palaeographic dating should always be supported by the analysis of the manuscript's orthography and language. Judging from its palaeography, language, orthography, and textual peculiarities, we may consider its dating either earlier or later or contemporary with the "Kashgar" manuscript. By its palaeography the manuscript can be dated to the seventh or to the eighth century, though texts' data make us think that it is later than the "Kashgar" manuscript. As for the language, both the prototype and the manuscript published here were copied by a Saka-speaking scribe, which is confirmed by the duplication of consonants *rr* and *tt* not characteristic of Sanskrit.

## Characteristics of the manuscript

Manuscript of the *pothī* type, folios 54.5 × 14.0 cm, text on both sides, seven lines on each page. Yellowish tinted paper with prominent vergé.

The text is identical to that of the "Kashgar" Manuscript: there are no contextual differences. Errors, differences in spelling, grammatical flexions and punctuation are considered in each case. One of the regular orthographic features of this manuscript, which makes it different from the "Kashgar" manuscript, is the use of *au* instead of *o*: *bhaujana* instead of *bhojana*, *ghauṣa* instead of *ghoṣa*, *tathāgatau* instead of *tathāgato* (N. sg. instead of *-aḥ* before a number of consonants), etc. Six folios have pagination, one folio and two fragments are not paginated.

1. Folio 11 (almost complete, the upper right corner is missing, lacuna in the middle), 54.5 × 14.0 cm, corresponds to fols. 14a (5)—15a (5) of the "Kashgar" manuscript, passage from chapter I;

2. folio 12 (left half), 13.0 × 14.0 cm, corresponds to fols. 15a (5)—16a (4) of the "Kashgar" manuscript, passage from chapter I;

3. folio 28 (complete), 54.5 × 14.0 cm, corresponds to fols. 31b (5)—32b (7) of the "Kashgar" manuscript, passage from chapter I;

4. folio, no pagination (complete), 54.5 × 14.0 cm, corresponds to fols. 143a (5)—144a (5) of the "Kashgar" manuscript, passage from chapter VI;

5. folio 82 (complete), 54.5 × 14.0 cm, corresponds to fols. 178a (7)—179b (3) of the "Kashgar" manuscript, passage from chapter VII;

6. folio 120 (left half), 32.5 × 14.0 cm, corresponds to fols. 218b (6)—219b (7) of the "Kashgar" manuscript, passage from chapter X;

7. folio 121 (left half), 36.5 × 14.0 cm, corresponds to fols. 220a (1)—221a (1) of the "Kashgar" manuscript, passage from chapter X;

8. fragment from the middle of a folio, closer to its left border, no pagination, 16.0 × 14.0 cm, corresponds to fols. 326a (5)—327a (6) of the "Kashgar" manuscript, passage from chapter XVII;

9. fragment of the right part of a folio, no pagination, 20.0 × 14.0 cm, corresponds to fols. 303b (6)—304b (6) of the "Kashgar" manuscript, passage from chapter XVI.

## Transliteration

### No. 1 (folio 11)

#### Recto

1. *pta-phalāś[c]āprāpta-phalāśca te 'pi sarve saṃdṛśyaṃte sma. ye ca te[ṣu] bu[ddha]-kṣetreṣu bodhisa X X X*
2. *satvā [a]neka vividhāraṃbaṇaiḥ śravaṇādhim-ukti-hetu-kāraṇaiḥ upāya-kuśalā X X X X*
3. *ryāṃ caraṃti* [13]*. te 'pi X X X dr[śyaṃ]te sma. ye ca teṣu buddha-kṣetreṣu buddhā bhagavaṃta. pa X X X X X*
4. *'pi sarve saṃdṛśya[ṃ]te X. [ye] ca teṣu buddha-kṣetreṣu buddhā bhagavaṃtaḥ\** [14] *parinirvṛtās-teṣāṃ [dhā]tu-stupā-*
5. *ni sarvāṇi ratnamayā X [a]ṣeṇa saṃdṛśyaṃ[t]e sma. yathā pūrvāyāṃ diśāyāṃ saṃdṛśyaṃte* [15]*. evaṃ*
6. *pūrva-dakṣiṇāyāṃ diśi. e[vaṃ] dakṣiṇasyā[ṃ] diśi. evaṃ dakṣiṇa-paścimāyāṃ diśi* [16]*. evaṃ paści-*
7. *māyāṃ diśi* [17]*. evaṃ paścimottarāyāṃ diśi. evaṃm-uttarāyāṃ diśi. evam-uttara* [18]*-pūrvāyāṃ*

#### Verso

1. *diśi. evaṃ heṣṭimāyāṃ diśi. evaṃm-uparimāyāṃ diśi saṃdṛśyaṃte sma. atha* [19] *maitreyasya bo-*
2. *dhisatvasya mahāsatvasya X X nāṃ ca bodhisatva śata-sahasrāṇāṃ-etad-abhavat mahānimi-*
3. *tta-prātihāryaṃ khalvimaṃ bhaga[va]tā tathāgatenārhatā samyaksaṃbuddhenopadarśitam ko nvatra he-*
4. *tur-bhaviṣyati. kaḥ X [ya]ḥ\* kiṃ kāraṇaṃ yat-bhagavatā idam-eva rūpaṃ mahā[ni]mitta-prā-*
5. *tihāryaṃ* [20] *kṛtaṃ bha[ga]va X samādhi samāpaṃnna imāni caiva rūpāṇi ma X X -ā-*
6. *dbhutācintyātulyā* [21] *[mahā]rrddhiprātihāryāṇi saṃdṛśyaṃte. kinnu khalvaham-idam-a X X X X*
7. *ccheyaṃ X prabhavatīdam-arthaṃ visarjayituṃ tasyaitad-abhavat ayaṃ khalu mama X X X*

## No. 2 (folio 12)

### *Recto*

1. *mārabhūtaḥ pū* [
2. *pūrvāṇi ca maṃjuśri* [
3. *ddhānām-idam-eva rū* [
4. *na mahādharma-sāṃka* [
5. *tathaiva tāsāṃ ca* X [
6. *nāga-yakṣa-gandharva* [
7. *to mahānimitta* [

### *Verso*

1. *prāptānām-eta* [
2. *hāryāvabhāsa* [
3. *ṇam ityatha khalu mai* [
4. *nā[ṃ] pariṣadām-i* [
5. *ya prāptas-tasyāṃ ve* [
6. *kaḥ pratyayo yene* [
7. *ṣṭā-daśa buddha-kṣe* X [

## No. 3 (folio 28)

### *Recto*

1. *[atidarśanī]yā [ra]śmi[p]r[a]bhā vena vināyakasya 9 de[v]ā [ma]nuṣyā bahu nāga-yakṣā-gandharva tatrāsura ki[nna]-*
2. *rāś-ca. ye cā[bhi]yuktā sugatāna pūjayā dṛśya[ṃ]ti pūjenti te* [22] *lokadhātuṣu. 10 buddhāśca dṛśyaṃti sva-*
3. *yaṃbhuvaḥ* [23] *suvarṇayūpā iva darśanīyāḥ vaiḍūryamadhye 'va suvarṇabiṃbaṃ pariṣāya ma-*
4. *dhye pravadanti* [24] *dharmam* [25] *tahi śrāvakā[nāṃ ga]ṇanā na vidyate tāvāpramāṇāḥ sugatāna*
5. *śrāvakā. ekaika kṣetrasmi vināya[kānāṃ] dṛś[y]aṃti raśmi- prabhadarśanena 12 vīrye upe-*
6. *tāśca akhaṇḍaśīlā rakṣaṃti śīlaṃ maṇiratna* X X X *[su]gatā[na] dṛśyati* [26] *bahūni putrā viharaṃti*
7. X *parvata[ka]ndareṣu 13 sarvasvadānāni paritya* X X X X X X *[dh]y[ā]nabalāśca vīrāḥ bahubaudhisa* [27].

### *Verso*

1. *[t]v[ā] y[atha] gaṃgavālīḥ* [28] *sarve ca dṛśyaṃti jinasya* X X X X X *a[n]imjamānāśca ave[dha]mānāḥ kṣā-*
2. *[ntyāṃ] sthitā dhyānaratāḥ samāhitāḥ* * *dṛśyaṃti* X X X X X *nāna orasāḥ dhyānena ye prasthita*
3. *agrabodhim 15 bhūtaṃ padaṃ śāntam-anā* X X X X *j[ā] namānāśca prakāśayaṃti* [29] *deśenti dharmaṃ*
4. *bahulokadhātuṣu sugatānubhāvā* X *[ya]m-īdṛśī kryā 16 dṛṣṭvā* [30] *ca tāḥ pariṣa cata-*
5. *sra tāyināṃ candrārkadīpasya idaṃ prabh[ā]vaṃ harṣasthitāḥ* * *sarvi* [31] *bhavitva tatkṣaṇaṃ anyonya* [32] *pṛcchaṃ-*
6. *ti kathaṃ nu etam. 17 acirasya ca so nara-deva-pūjitaḥ* * *samādhito vyutthitu lokanāyakaḥ va-*
7. *raprabhaṃ p[u]tra [ta]da 'dhvabhāṣīd yo bodhisatvo vidu dharmabhāṇakaḥ* * *18 lokasya cakṣuśca gatiṃ ca tvaṃ vi[d]u*

## No. 4 (folio with no pagination)

### *Recto*

1. *riṣyasi amṛtenāsma siṃcitvā vyākariṣyasi no jinaḥ* * *2 du[r]bhikṣādāgataḥ kaścit puruṣau la-*
2. *bdhva bhaujanam* [33] *pratikṣe[d] bhūya ucyeta hasta prāptā' sma bhaujanai* [34] *3 evam-evautsukā hyasme hīnayā-*
3. *na-vicintayāḥ* * *durbhikṣe yatha bhukṣārthau* [35] *buddhayānaṃ kathaṃ labhet 4 na ca tāvāsma saṃbuddho*
4. *vyākaroti mahāmuniḥ yathā hastasmi prakṣiptaṃ na tad bhūṃjīta bhaujanam* [36] *5 evāsma*
5. *utsuka bhagavan na[ṃ] śrutvā ghauṣam-uttamam-vyākṛtā ya[da] bheṣyāma tadā* [37] *bheṣyāma nirvṛtāḥ 6*
6. *vyākarohi mahāvīra hitaiṣī anukampakaḥ api nau* [38] *daridracintāyā-m-a[n] taṃ asyā[n] narārṣabha [7] a-*
7. *tha khalu bhagavāṃs-teṣāṃ mahāśrāvakānāṃ sthavirāṇāṃ* X X X X X X *cetaḥ-prativitarkam ā-*

### *Verso*

1. *jñāya punar-eva sa[rvā]vantaṃ bhikṣusaṃgham-āma[ṃ]trayāmāsa.* X X X X X *bhikṣava. prativeda-*
2. *yāmi* [39]. *ayam me bhikṣavau* [40] *mahāśrāvakaḥ sthavirah subhūtis-triṃśānām-e[va] buddha-kauṭi* [41] *-nayuta-śa-*
3. *ta sahasrāṇī* [42] *sāntike satkāraṃ kariṣyati. gurukāraṃ mānanā[ṃ] pūjanām arcanām-apaca-*
4. *ya[nāṃ] kariṣyati. sarvatra [ca] brahmacaryaṃ cariṣyati. sarvatra ca baudhisatvacaryāṃ* [43] *samu-*
5. *dānayi[ṣya]ti. sa teṣāṃ buddhānāṃ bhagavatām idam-eva rūpam-adhikāraṃ kṛtvā paścime*
6. *kāle paścime samucchraye paścime ātmabhā[va] prātilābhe yaśas-ketur-nāma tathāgatau* [44] *'rhan samyak-*
7. *saṃbuddho loke utpa[tsyati.] vidyācaraṇa-saṃpanna[ḥ] s[u]* X *to lokavid-anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ*

## No. 5 (folio 82)

### Recto

1. *puraskṛtāyad-idaṃ pūrvasyāṃ [di]śi abhiratyāṃ lokadhāto akṣubhyo nāma tathāgatorhān-samyaksaṃbuddho merū-*
2. *kūṭaśca nāma tathāgatau 2* [45] *pūrva-dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi bhikṣavaḥ siṃhaghauṣau* [46] *nāma tathāgataḥ siṃdhvajaś-ca nāma*
3. *tathāgatau 2 //* [47] *dakṣiṇāyāṃ diśi bhikṣava ākāśapratiṣṭhitau* [48] *nāma tathāgatau* [49] *nitya parinirvṛtaś-ca nāma*
4. *tathāgatau //* [50] *dakṣiṇa-paścimāyāṃ diśi bhikṣava indradhvajau* [51] *nāma tathāgatau* [52] *brahmadhvajaś-ca nāma tathā-*
5. *gatau //* [53] *paścimāyāṃ diśi [bhikṣa]vaḥ amitāyur-nāma tathāgatau* [54] *sarvalokadhātur-upadravauttīrṇa-pratyuttī* [55]-
6. *rṇaśca nāma tathāgataḥ* [56] *// paścimauttarasyāṃ* [57] *diśi [bhi]kṣavas-tamālapatracandanagandhābhijñau* [58] *nāma tathāga-*
7. *taḥ merukalpaś-ca nāma tathāgataḥ* [59] *// uttarāsyāṃ diśi bhikṣavau megheśvaradīpau* [60] *nāma tathāgatau* [61]

### Verso

1. *megheśvararājā ca nāma tathāgata 2//* [62] *uttarapūrvasyāṃ diśi bhikṣavaḥ sarvalokādīptabhaya[man]yi-*
2. *tavidhvaṃsanakarau* [63] *nāma tathāgatau* [64] *'rhāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ* aham ca bhikṣava etarhi śakyamunis-tathā-*
3. *gatau* [65] *'rhān-samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ ṣoḍaśamauma[dh]y iha sahe lokadhātāva[?]nuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim-abhisaṃbu-*
4. *ddhaḥ 16 // ye punas-te bhikṣava-sta[dā] 'smākaṃ śrāmaṇera-bhūtānāṃ tasya bhagavataḥ śāsane X*
5. *satvā dharmaṃ śuśruvuḥ ekaikasya baudhisatvasya* [66] *bahūni gaṃgā-nadī-vālikā-samāni satva-kauṭina-* [67]
6. *yuta-śata-sahasrāṇi yānyasmābhiḥ śrāmaṇerabhūtebhiḥ* [68] *pṛthak-pṛthak-samādapitāni paripāci-*
7. *tāni cānuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau tānyetāni bhikṣavaḥ anyāpi śrāvaka-bhūmyām-api sthitā*

## No. 6 (folio 120)

### Recto

1. *prativedayāmi te. bahūni mayā bhaiṣajyarājā X X X [*
2. *bhāṣita pūrvāṇi bhāṣiṣyāmi* [69] *ca sarveṣāṃ* [70] *bhaiṣajyarāja dh [*
3. *dharmaparyāyaḥ sarvaloka-vipratyayanīyaḥ [*
4. *bhaiṣajyarāja abhijñā-ādhyātmikaṃ dharmaharasyam X [*
5. *daṃ sthānam anācakṣita-pūrvaṃ. tatkasya hetauḥ* [71] *bahuj [*
6. *ryāyaṃ ti[ṣṭa]tau 'pi tā* [72] *tathāgatasya prabhikṣiptaḥ* [73]. *kah pu [*
7. *[tu] khalu punar-bhaiṣajyarāja tathāgata-cīvarebhi. pra[cchanna] [*

### Verso

1. *nya-lokadhātu-sthitebhiś-ca tebhis-tathāgatebhir-avaloki [*
2. *balaṃ bhaviṣyati* [74] *kuśalamūla-balaṃ ca praṇidhāna-balaṃ [*
3. *ś-ca bhaiṣajyarāja te kulaputrā vā kuladuhita [*
4. *rdhā[na]ś-ca te kulaputrā bhaviṣyaṃti. ye imaṃ dharma [*
5. *dhāsyaṃti* [75] *udgṛhṇiṣyaṃti. dhārayiṣyaṃti. likhi [*
6. *guru-kariṣyaṃti mānayiṣyaṃti pūjayiṣyaṃti* [76] *pareṣā[ṃ] ca [*
7. *[pṛ]thivī-pradeśe imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ bhāṣiṣyate vā. likhy [*

## No. 7 (folio 121)

### Recto

1. *r-vā tatra bhaiṣajyarājya pṛthivī-pradeśe* [77] *tathāgatasya caityaṃ [*
2. *m-uccaṃ pragṛhītaṃ* [78] *na cātra tathāgata-śarīrāṇi dāta X [*
3. *bhaiṣajyarāja tatra pṛthivī-pradeśe tathāgata-śa [*
4. *pṛthivī-pradeśe imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ bhāṣyate* [79] *vā [*
5. *saṃdarśiyate vā [saṃ]gāyīyate vā saṃprakāśīyī [*
6. *gataṃ vā tiṣṭhet tatra ca teṣu stūpeṣu satkāraḥ kar [*
7. *pūjanāṃ vandanā karaṇīyā* [80]. *sarva puṣpebhi sarva [*

Fig. 2



Fig. 1
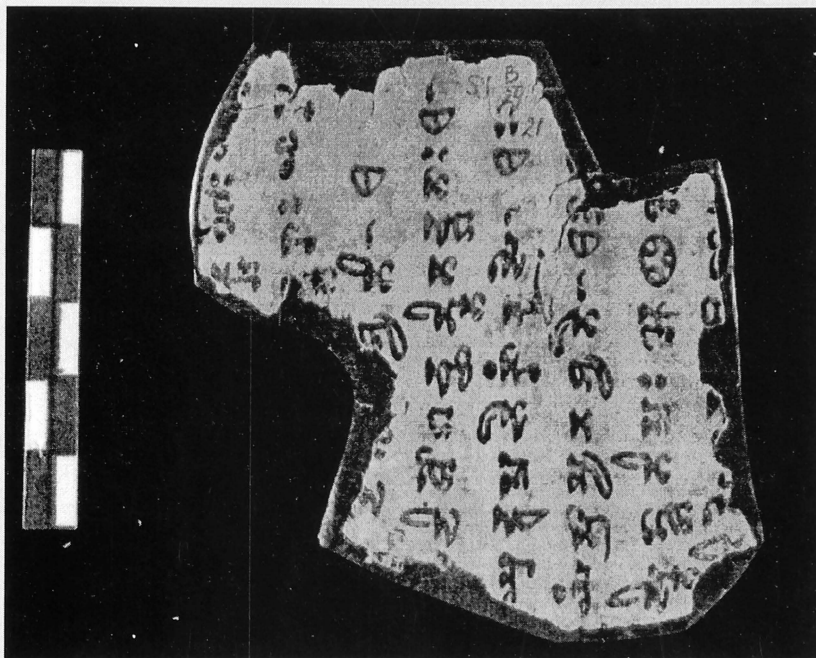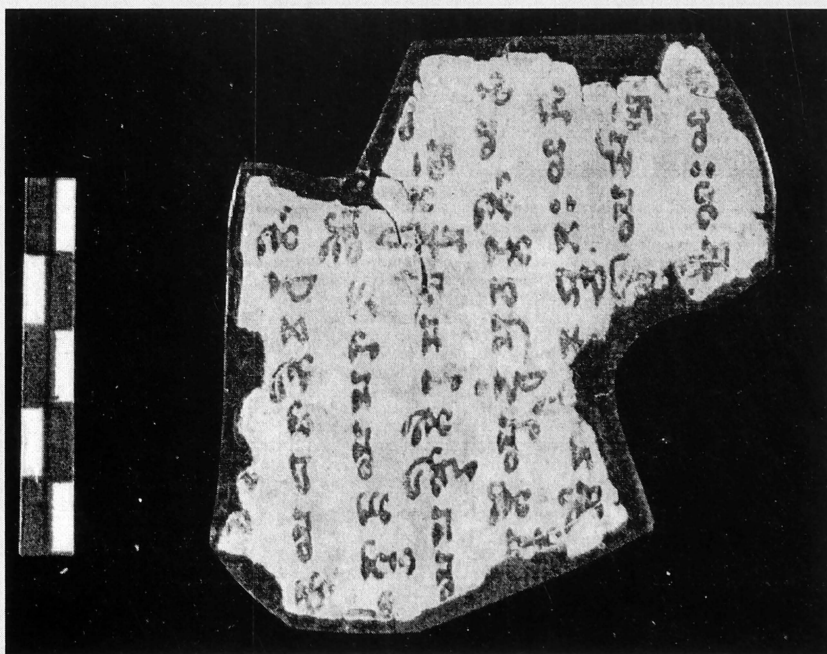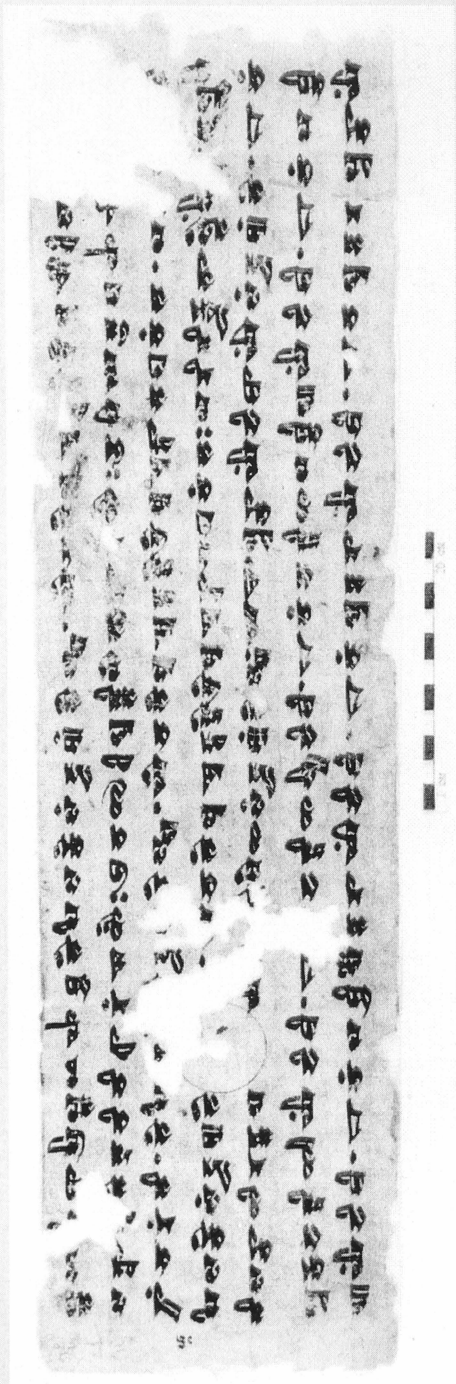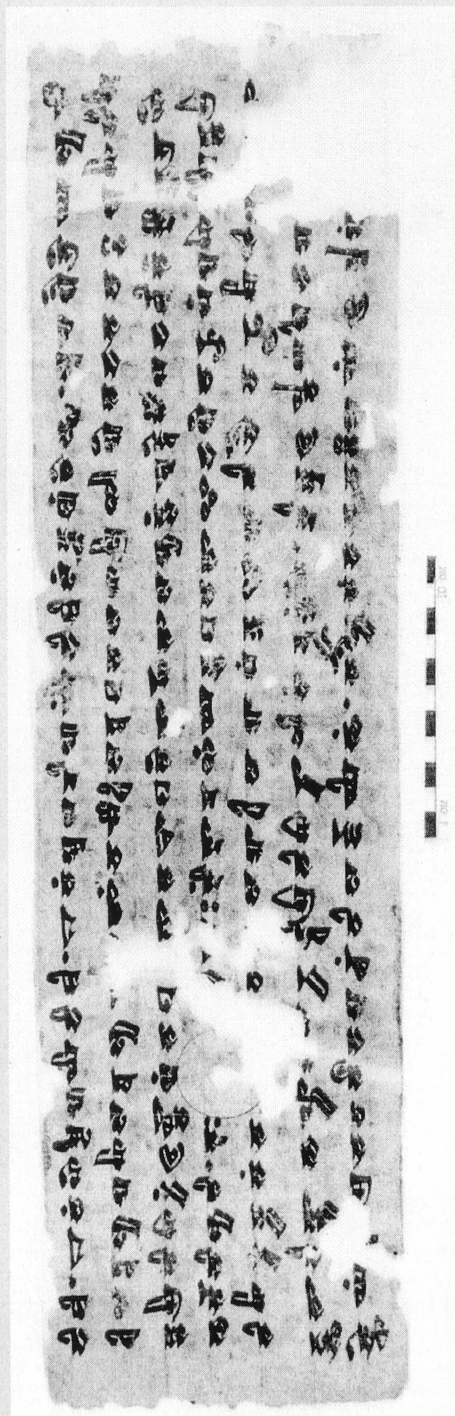
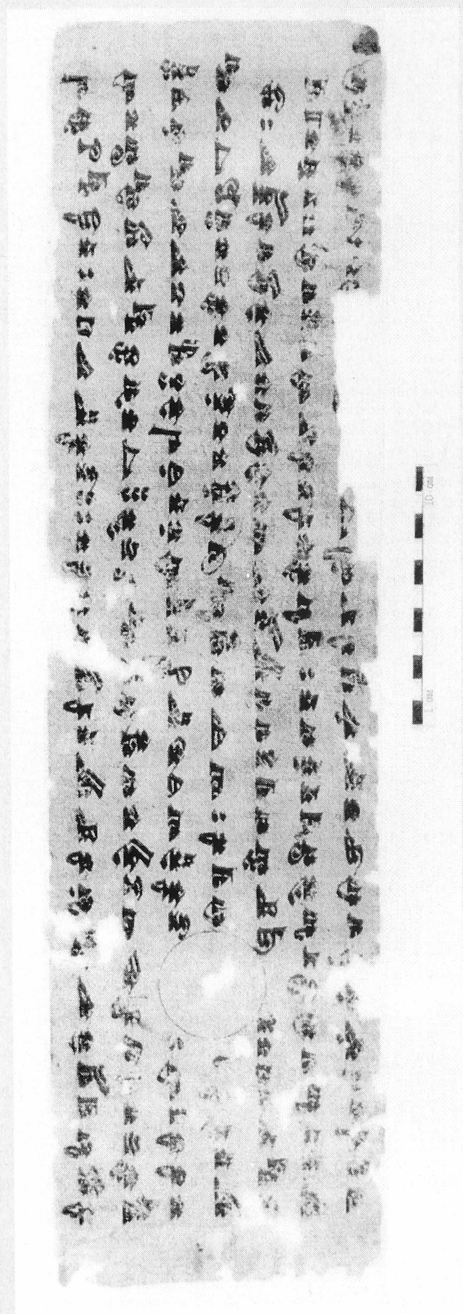Fig. 4



Fig. 3

Fig. 5



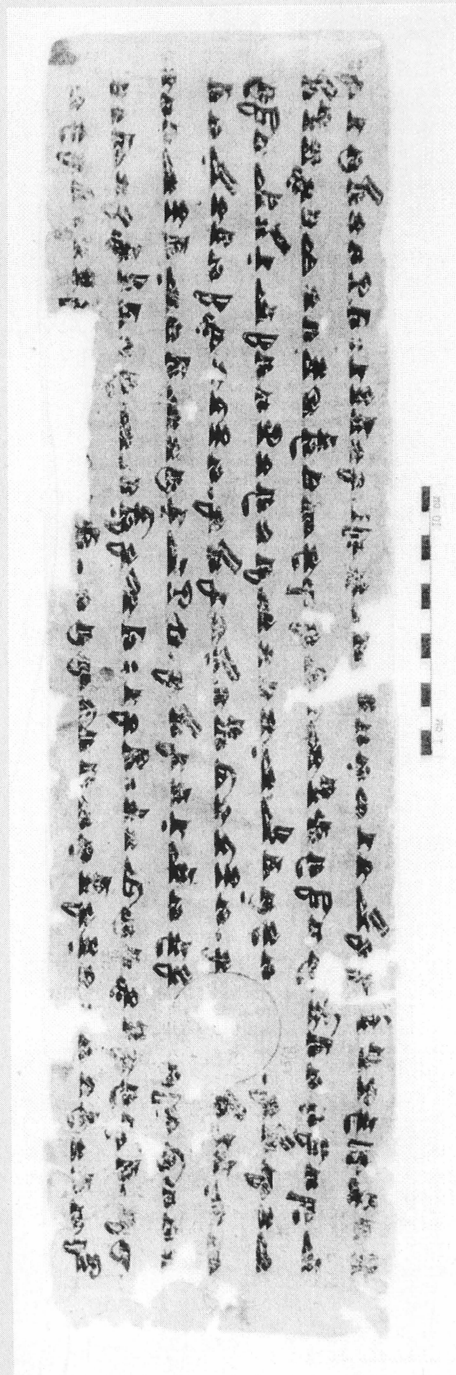Fig. 6

*Fig. 8*



*Fig. 7*
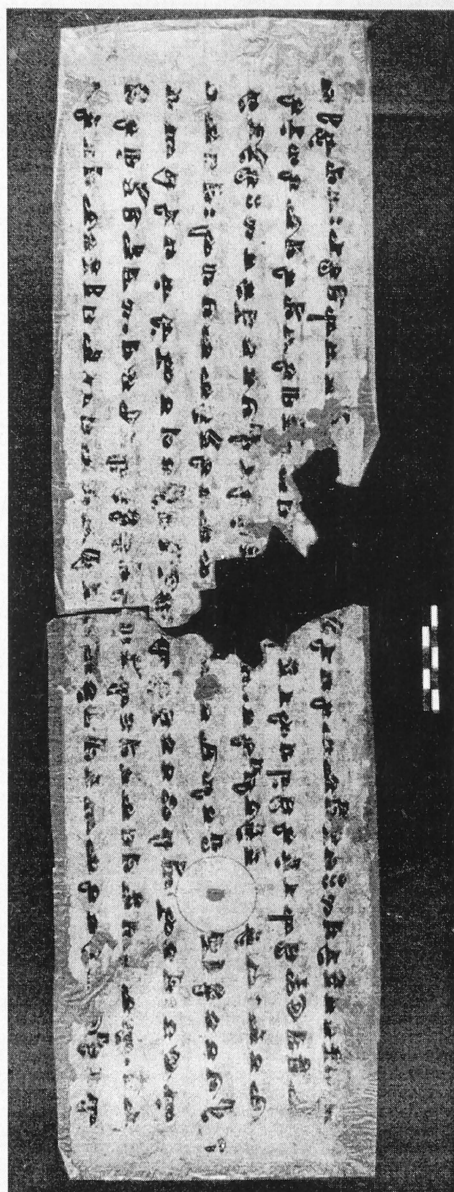
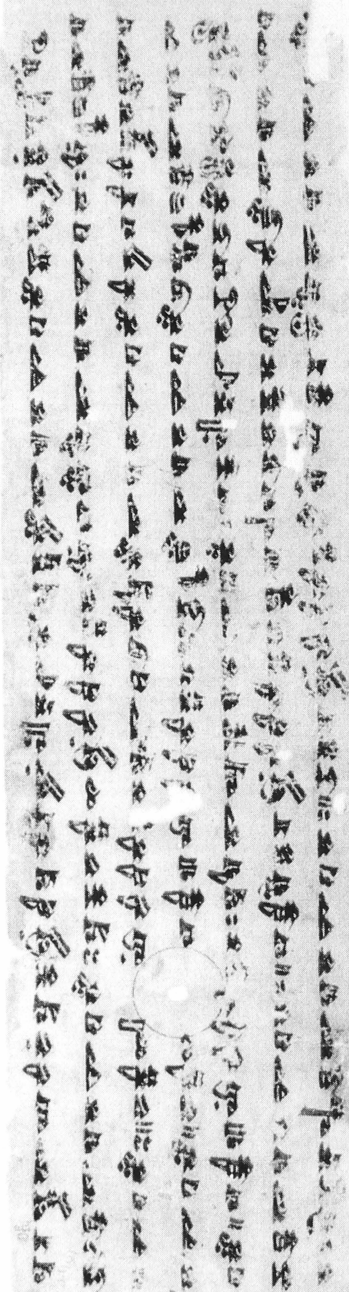*Fig. 9*



*Fig. 10*

*Fig. 11*

*Fig. 12*

Fig. 13
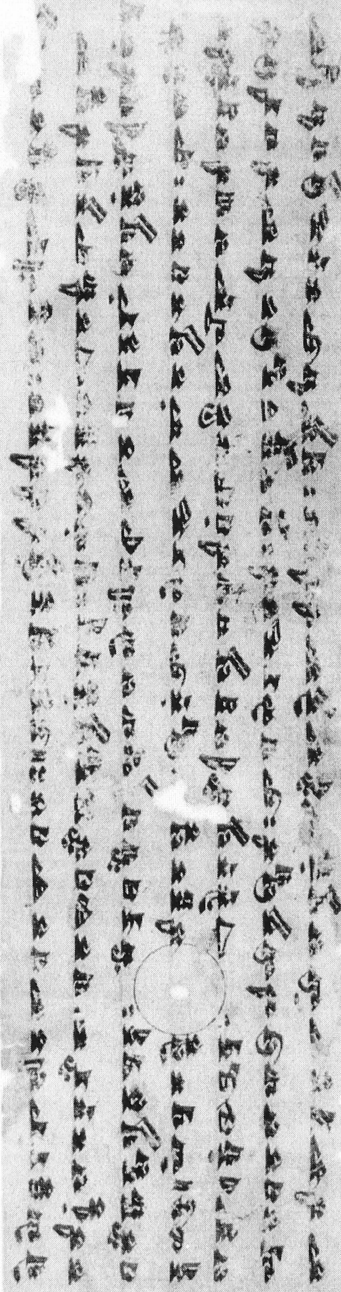


Fig. 14

*Fig. 15*
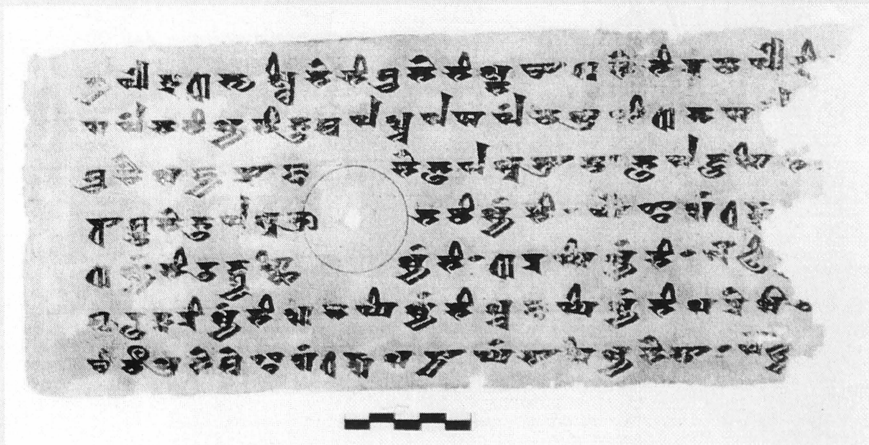


*Fig. 16*

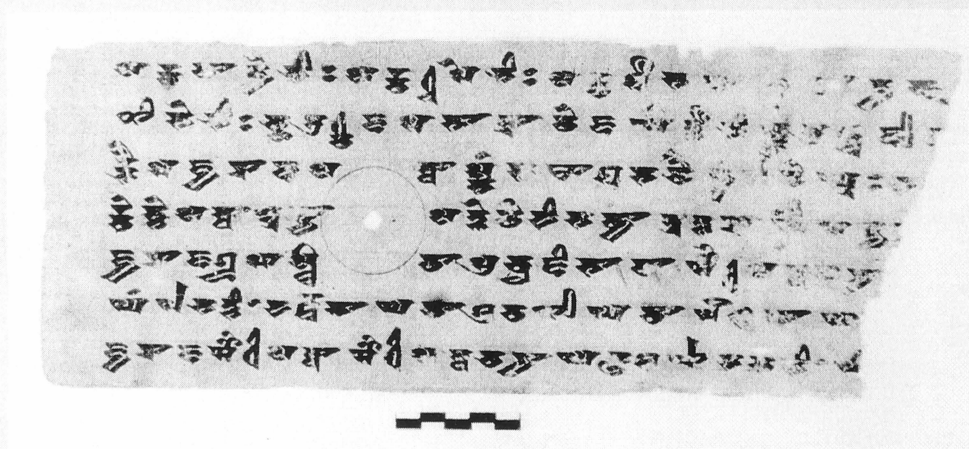*Fig. 17*



*Fig. 18*

*Fig. 19*



*Fig. 20*
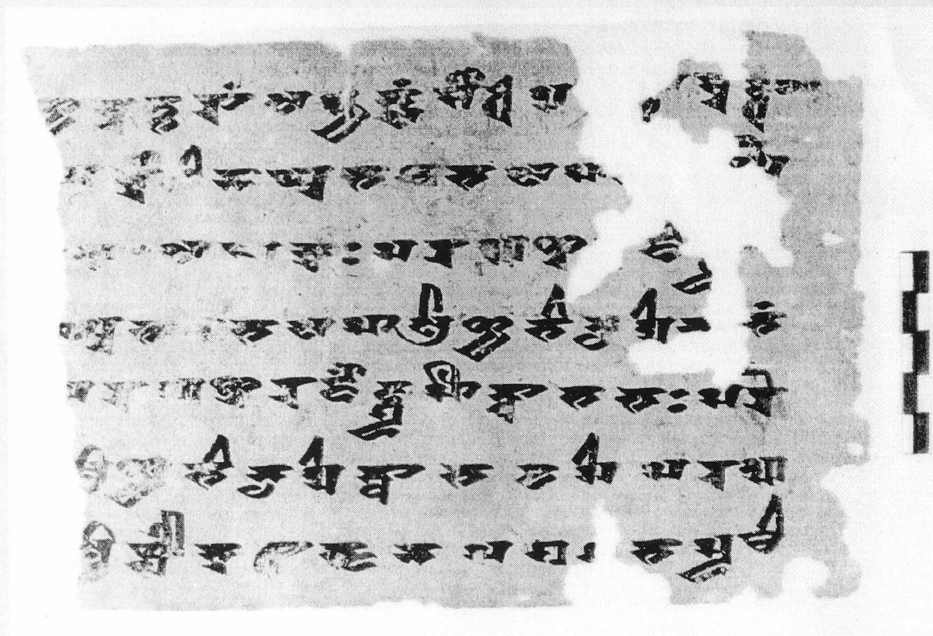
*Fig. 21*
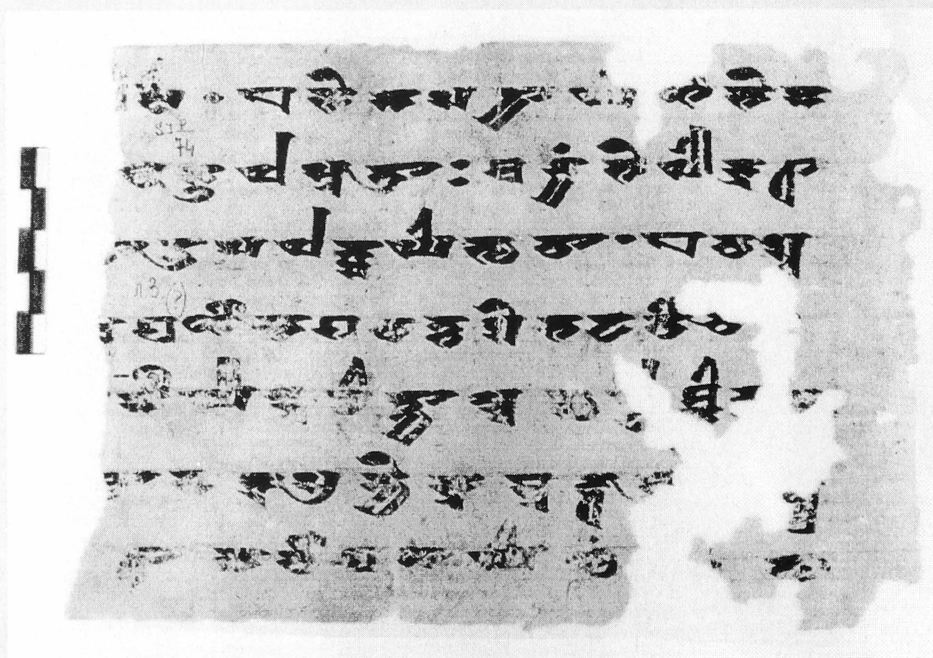


*Fig. 22*

*Verso*

1. *sarva-vādyebhiḥ\* sarva-dhūpebhiḥ sarva-gīta[nāṭyavā]dyatū* [
2. *ṇitebhiḥ cchatra-dhvaja-patākā-vejayantībhis-tatra pūjā* [
3. *r-bhaiṣajyarāja satvās-taṃ tathāgata-cai[tyāṃ. labheyuḥ da]* [
4. *rve tte* [81] *satvā abhyāsanne veditavyānuttarāyāṃ samyak* [
5. *jyarāja gṛhasthā vā pravrrajitā vā baudhisatva-carya[m]* [
6. *yaṃ labhanti. darśanāya vā śravaṇāya vā likhanāya* [
7. *jyarāja baudhisatvā baudhisatva-caryāya* [82] *kuśalā bhava[ṃ]ti. yā* [

## No. 8 (fragment of a manuscript, no pagination)

*Recto*

1. X X X X X X X X *bhavanti* [83]. *vistīrṇṇa* [84]. *vipulā* [
2. X X X X X X *Xtprāsādām* [85] *aṣṭatalocchrātām* [86]. [
3. X X X X X X *naṣaṇḍopaśobhitām* [87] *caṃkramasthā* [88] [
4. X X X X *hu śayyāsanaupastabdhāt* [89] *kh* [
5. X X X X X X *sukhopadhāna pratimaṇḍitām* [90] *ste* [
6. X X X X X X *s[ra]ṇani vā. koṭyau vā* [91]. *koṭi-śat* [
7. X X X X X X X *ca vihārā mama saṃmukhaṃ saha* [92] [

*Verso*

1. X X X X X X X *vedayitavyaṃ* [93] *saha* [94] *śrāvaka* [
2. X X X X X *-v[ā]. vācayed-vā. deśayed-vā* [95]. [
3. X X X X X *nam-etebhiḥ parinirvṛtasya stūpam* [96] X [
4. X X X X X *va ca* [97] *dharmaparyāyaṃ dhārayamā* [
5. X X X X X *bhir-vvāḥ* [98] *prajñāyā vā saṃpādeya* [99] [
6. X X X X X X X *aparimāṇam-aparyantam tad-ya* [
7. X X X X X X X *ṇaṃ. pūrvveṇa* [100]. *dakṣiṇena* [101]. *pa* [

## No. 9 (fragment of a manuscript, no pagination)

*Recto*

1. ...]*ṇyānuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim-a[bhisaṃ]buddhā.* [102]
2. ...][*ya]- koṭinayuta-śata-saha[sreṣu] ye*
3. ...]*ta.sa ekaḥ* [103] *paramāṇu[ra]j[odg]ṛ[hī]*
4. ...]*yuta-śata-sahasrāṇyatikrramit[vā] taṃ*
5. ...]*paramāṇurajodgṛhītvā tataḥ pare-*
6. ...]*srāṇyatikramitvā tadapi paramā-*
7. ...]*stā[ṃ] ye lokadhātūn-apaga[ga?]taprṭhi-* [104]

*Verso*

1. ...]*si.etena paryāy[e]ṇ[ai] tena*
2. ...]*tha kulaputrāḥ śakyam te lokadhā-*
3. ...][*v]ā upalakṣayitu* [105] *vā.evam-u-*
4. ...][*va]gaṇo bhagavantam-etad-avoca[t]*
5. ...]*nīyā acintyā atulyās[c]i[ttabhū]-*
6. ...]*śrāvaka pratyekabuddhajñ[ana]sth[i]-*
7. ...]*dhātavo gaṇayituṃ XXtu*

## Notes

1. Akshara *pu-* is written below the line, under the separation mark ⊕. In the following two cases when the same separation mark is used the first akshara of the next word is also placed below the line.

2. Von Dieter Schlingloff, "Fragmente einer palmblatthandschrift philosophischen inhalts aus Ostturkistan", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd und Ostasiens und Archiv für indische philosophie*, XII—XIII (1968—1969), pp. 323—7.

3. *Idem*, "The oldest extant parvan-list of the Mahābhārata", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXIX/2 (1969), pp. 334—7.

4. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, v, pt. 2 (Poona, 1962), p. 819.

5. Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism. A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (Tokyo, 1980), pp. 186—7.

6. These manuscripts make the foundation of the publication of the *sūtra* text in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* series (vol. X), see *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, ed. by Prof. H. Kern and Prof. Bunyu Nanjio (St. Petersburg, 1912). The eleventh-century Japanese manuscript on palm leaves, brought to Japan from Tibet, was used in the publication by U. Wogihara and C. Tsuchida: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram.*

Romanized and Revised Text of the Bibliotheca Buddhica Publication by consulting a Sanskrit Ms. and Tibetan and Chinese Translations (Tokyo, 1934—1935); republished in 1958. About an attempt to combine the Nepalese and the Central Asian Version see also *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram*, with N. D. Mironov's readings from Central Asian Mss., revised by Nalinakṣa Dutt. — *Bibliotheka Indica*, 276, No. 1565 (Calcutta, 1953).

7. The Gilgit manuscripts were published and used both in facsimile and in Latin and Devanagari transliteration in the following works: P. L. Vaidya, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, 6 (Darbhanga, 1960) — in this publication the Gilgit manuscripts were used only to mark different readings; **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka** *Manuscripts Found in Gilgit*, ed. and ann. by Shoko Watanabe, i—ii (Tokyo, 1975) (cited below as the Watanabe publication: two Gilgit manuscripts — *A* and *B*, from the Indian Collection, and seven folios — *C*, from A. Stein's collection, preserved in the British Library, have been published here); O. von Hinüber, *A New Fragmentary Gilgit Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (Tokyo, 1982) — a publication of 29 folios from the manuscript which was found by the Kaul Shastri expedition (now in the Pratap Singh Museum in Srinagar).

8. **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra**, *Kashgar Manuscript*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra. — *Śatapiṭaka*, CCXIX (New Delhi, 1976); reprint: Tokyo, 1977.

9. **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra**, *Central Asian Manuscripts*. Romanized text, ed. with introduction, tables and indices by Horofumi Toda (Tokashima, 1981); reprint: 1983 (cited below as Toda's publication).

10. M. I. Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia, "Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra (novye fragmenty)" ("*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, new fragments"), *Pamiatniki indiĭskoĭ pis'mennosti iz Tsentral'noĭ Azii*, fasc. 1 (Moscow, 1985), pp. 78—160. — *Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka*, LXXIII, I, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXXIII — a publication of 85 folios from six manuscripts, in Russian; G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia, "Saddharmapundarika-sutra (2 fragmenta)" ("*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, two fragments"), *Pamiatniki indiĭskoĭ pis'mennosti iz Tsentral'noĭ Azii*, fasc. 2 (Moscow, 1990), pp. 264—86 (the same Russian series).

11. G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia, "Novye sanskritskie teksty iz Tsentral'noĭ Azii" ("New Sanskrit texts from Central Asia"), *Tsentral'naia Aziia. Novye pamiatniki pis'mennosti i iskusstva* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 6—18.

12. The language of the colophons has been studied by P. E. Emmerick on a special request from Prof. Toda. The results were communicated to Toda in a private letter, see **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra**. *Central Asian Manuscripts*, p. XII (Introduction).

13. Henceforth the Kashgar manuscript is referred as *K*. Here in *K* 14a (17) — no fullstop.

14. Here and below asterisk * indicates that a separation mark (fullstop) is replaced by visarga.

15. *K* 14b (3) — *sma* after *samdṛśyamte* in the transliteration of the Kashgar manuscript was probably inserted by Toda in agreement with the previous passage. In our text *sma* is also missing.

16. *K* 14b (4) — no fullstop.

17. *K* 14b (5) — no fullstop.

18. *K* 14b (5) — *uktapūrvayāṃ* (lapsus calami?).

19. *K* 14b (6) — after *atha* in transliteration Toda inserted *khalu*. This word is also missing in our text.

20. *K* 15a (3) — *prābhihāryaṃ* (obviously lapsus calami).

21. *K* 15a (3—4) — °*ādbhutāni* [*a*] *cintyā-tulyā*[*ni*]. Toda inserted -*ni* in transliteration to bring it to conformity with the previous word. In our manuscript -*ni* is also missing.

22. In the manuscript, a (2) — *pujenti te*, like in the Gilgit manuscript published by Watanabe (p. 15, line 35); in *K* — *pujottama*.

23. *K* 31b (7)—32a (1) — *svayaṃsvayambhuvaḥ*.

24. *K* 32a (1) — *pravadaṃti*.

25. Numeral 11 (the number of *gātha*) after *dharmaṃ* is omitted, cf. *K* 32a (1).

26. *K* 32a (4) — *dṛśyaṃti*.

27. *K* 32a (6) — *bahubodhisa-*.

28. Evidently, lapsus calami, instead of *gaṃgāvālikaḥ*, cf. *K* 32a (6).

29. *K* 32b (2) — *prakāśyanti*.

30. *K* 32b (3) — *drriṣṭvā*.

31. *K* 32b (4) — *sarva*.

32. *K* 32b (4) — *anyaunya*.

33. *K* 143a (6) — *bhojanam*.

34. *K* 143a (7) — *bhojane*.

35. *K* 143a (7) — *bhukṣārtho*.

36. *K* 143b (2) — *bhojanam*.

37. *K* 143b (3) — *bheṣyāma*[*ta*] *tadā*.

38. *K* 143b (4) — *no*.

39. *K* 143b (6) — fullstop is omitted.

40. *K* 143b (6) — *bhikṣavo*.

41. *K* 143b (7) — *-koṭi-*.

42. *K* 143b (7) — *sahasrāṇāṃ*.

43. *K* 144a (2) — *bodhisatvacaryāṃ*.

44. *K* 144a (4) — *tathāgato*.

45. *K* 178b (2) — *tathāgato*, numeral is missing.

46. *K* 178b (2) — *si*(*ṃ*)*haghoṣo*.

47. *K* 178b (3) — *tathāgato*, numeral is missing.

48. *K* 178b (3) — *ākāśapratiṣṭhito*.

49. *K* 178b (4) — *tathāgato*.

50. *K* 178b (4) — *tathāgato*, numeral is missing.

51. *K* 178b (5) — *indradhvajo.*
52. *K* 178b (5) — *tathāgato.*
53. *K* 178b (5) — *tathāgato* 2.
54. *K* 178b (6) — *tathāgataḥ.*
55. *K* 178b (6) — *upadravotti* [*r*]*napratyu*[*t*]*ti-.*
56. *K* 178b (7) — after *tathāgataḥ* — 2//.
57. *K* 178b (7) — *paścimottarasyām.*
58. *K* 179a (1) — °*abhijño.*
59. *K* 179a (1) — after *tathāgataḥ* — 2//.
60. *K* 179a (2) — *megheśvaradīpo.*
61. *K* 179a (2) — *tathāgato.*
62. *K* 179a (2) —Toda restored in transliteration: [*t*]*tathāgata*[*ḥ*].
63. *K* 179a (3) — °*karo.*
64. *K* 179a (3—4) — *tathāgato.*
65. *K* 179a (4) — *tathāgato.*
66. *K* 179a (7) — *bodhisatvasya.*
67. *K* 179a (7) — *-koṭi-.*
68. *K* 179b (1) — *bhūtebhi.*
69. *K* 218b (7)—219a (1) — obviously lapsus calami. The scribe has omitted a part of the line: *-rvāṇi bhāsiṣya-.*
70. *K* 219a (1) — *sarveṣāṃ teṣām.*
71. *K* 219a (4) — *hetor.*
72. *K* 219a (5) — *tiṣṭhato 'pi tathāgatasya.*
73. *K* 219a (5) — *prabhikṣipto.*
74. *K* 219b (1) — after *bhaviṣyati* — a fullstop.
75. *K* 219b (5) — after °*dhasyaṃti* — a fullstop.
76. *K* 219b (6) — *guru-kariṣyaṃti. mānayiṣyaṃti. pūjayiṣyaṃti.*
77. *K* 220a (1) — after *-pradeśe* — a fullstop.
78. *K* 220a (2) — after *pragṛhītaṃ* — a fullstop.
79. *K* 220a (4) — *bhā*[*si*]*syate.*
80. *K* 220a (7) —⟨*nu*⟩*karaṇīyā*, no fullstop.
81. *K* 220b (4) — *te.*
82. *K* 221a (1) — *bodhisatvā.*
83. *K* 326a (5) — after *bhavanti* no fullstop.
84. *K* 326a (5) — *vistirṇā.*
85. *K* 326a (6) — *prāsādā.*
86. *K* 326a (6) — *aṣṭatalocchatā*, no fullstop.
87. *K* 326a (7) — °*vanaṣaṇḍopaśobhitāś.*
88. *K* 326a (7) — *caṅkramasthā-.*
89. *K* 326b (1) — *śayyāsanopastabdhāḥ.*
90. *K* 326b (2) — *pratimaṇḍitās-te.*
91. *K* 326b (3) — *kautyau vā*, no fulstop.
92. *K* 326b (5) — *sammukhaṃ śrāvakasaṃgha.*
93. *K* 326b (6) — after *vedayitavya* — a lacuna.
94. *K* 326b (6—7) — after *vedayitavya* — a lacuna.
95. This line is lost in *K.*
96. This line is lost in *K.*
97. *K* 327a (2) — *eva*[*ṃ*].
98. *K* 327a (3—4) — *vā.*
99. *K* 327a (3) — *saṃpādayet.*
100. *K* 327a (6) — *pūrveṇa*, no fullstop.
101. *K* 327a (6) — *dakṣiṇena*, no fullstop.
102. *K* 303b (6) — °*saṃbuddhasya*, no fullstop.
103. *K* 304a (1) — *ekaṃ.*
104. *K* 304a (6) — *apagatapṛthi.*
105. *K* 304b (2) — *upalakṣayituṃ.*

## Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Frag. 1, SI $\frac{B}{24, 14}$, recto.   **Fig. 3.** Frag. 2, SI $\frac{B}{24, 14}$, recto.

**Fig. 2.** Frag. 1, SI $\frac{B}{24, 14}$, verso.   **Fig. 4.** Frag. 2, SI $\frac{B}{24, 14}$, verso.

Fig. 5. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(1)}$ , recto.

Fig. 6. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(1)}$ , verso.

Fig. 7. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(2)}$ , recto.

Fig. 8. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(2)}$ , verso.

Fig. 9. SI $\frac{P}{67\,(12a)}$ , recto.

Fig. 10. SI $\frac{P}{67\,(12a)}$ , verso.

Fig. 11. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(3)}$ , recto.

Fig. 12. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(3)}$ , verso.

Fig. 13. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(4)}$ , recto.

Fig. 14. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(4)}$ , verso.

Fig. 15. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(5)}$ , recto.

Fig. 16. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(5)}$ , verso.

Fig. 17. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(6)}$ , recto.

Fig. 18. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(6)}$ , verso.

Fig. 19. SI $\frac{P}{67\,(12b)}$ , recto.

Fig. 20. SI $\frac{P}{67\,(12b)}$ , verso.

Fig. 21. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(7)}$ , recto.

Fig. 22. SI $\frac{P}{74\,(7)}$ , verso.

*G. Stary*

# A MANCHU DOCUMENT FROM 1663 CONCERNING THE IMPERIAL PALACE IN SHENYANG

In any times it was a difficult and expensive enterprise to maintain and preserve great architectonic complexes like the Imperial Palace in Shenyang, China. Nowadays, modern technology gives a precious help in conservation activity, while in ancient times different materials now out of use had to be employed.

An example of what was needed to paint the rooms which were added behind the *Qingninggong* 清寧宮 in Shenyang in 1663 is found in a Manchu document, a report to the Emperor made by Fiyanggū 費揚古, head of the *Neiwufu* 內務府, and by the dignitaries Niyahan 尼亞罕, Šanghing 尚興、Indari 音達哩, Šemi 施密

and Lio Bang-gui 劉邦貴. Its date corresponds to June 5th, 1663 [1].

The list contains 39 entries, among which is the exact number of sieves, brooms and buckets needed. The most interesting entries are the different colours and other construction materials used for this work, altogether more than 10,000 kg.

Sometimes the translation is difficult because of some Manchu technical terms which cannot be found in any dictionary. However, the document is a very unusual and rare evidence for the history of Shenyang's Imperial Palace, and allows us to look deeply inside the old palace-building techniques.

## Transcription

*Dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun i booi amban Fiyanggū sei gingguleme wesimburengge.*

*Hese be baire jalin: booi weilere jurgan i alibuhangge. meni jurgan. dangse be baicaci. duleke aniya*

*Genggiyen elhe gung ni amala nonggime araha orin nadan giyan i boo be. nirume ioleki sembi sehe wesimbuhede.*

*Hese. ishun aniya weile sehe be gingguleme dahafi. te meni jurgan nirume iolere de baibure okto i jergi hacin be bodoci tungnio ilan minggan sunja tanggū juwan gin. tuze ilan tanggū susai emu gin. toseng orin nadan gin. piyal fulgiyan boihon juwe tanggū nadanju gin. se sirge ninggun gin juwe yan. suwayan giowanze juwe ninggun da. muke amdun ilan tanggū nadanju jakūn gin. guwa el fun emu tanggū gūsin gin. diyan hūwa emu tanggū gin. ding fun emu tanggū gin. el lioi emu tanggū gūsin gin. da lioi duin tanggū gin. io hūwang jakūnju gin. cing fun emu tanggū gūsin gin. teng hūwang juwan ilan gin. fiyan emu minggan ilan tanggū turha. cinuhūn juwe tanggū dehi emu gin. hūwangdan ilan tanggū nadanju jakūn gin. [be]he ilan gin. san lioi dehi gin. sahaliyan ku ninggun gin. fekšun orin gin. mei hūwa cing emu tanggū susai gin. amba fulgiyan feigin jakūnju kuwai. amba suwayan feigin nadanju sunja kuwai. feigin latubure nimenggi emu tanggū gin. yoohan emu gin sunja yan. asu boso jakūnju emu. solho hooša susai nadan afaha. deijire moo duin minggan nadan tanggū juwan gin. moo yaha ninggun tanggū gin. fuka jakūnju. sisku juwan juwe. erku juwan uyun. muke tatakū duin. hūnta juwe tanggū nadanju gin. jima malanggū nimenggi susai duin gin. maise ufa juwe minggan emu tanggū ninju gin. šanggiyan doho ilan minggan sunja tanggū juwan gin baibumbi sembi seme alibuhabi: erebe amban meni gisurehengge. jima malanggū nimenggi. maise ufa. doho. muke amdun. deijire moo. moo yaha. sisku. erku. muke tatakū be. dorgi harangga jurgan ci gaifi baitalara ci tulgiyen gūwa hacin be boigon i jurgan ci gaifi baitalakini sembi: amban meni cisui gamara ba waka ofi gingguleme wesimbuhe.*

*Hese be baimbi:*

*Elhe taifin i jai aniya duin biyai gūsin*

*booi amban bime uju jergi hiya emu jergi nonggiha amban Fiyanggū:*
*amban Niyahan:*

*booi weilere jurgan i icihiyara hafan bime emu jergi nonggiha amban Šanghing:*
*amban Indari.*

*aisilakū hafan amban Šemi:*
*amban Lio Bang-gui:*

# Translation

Respectful report of Fiyanggū, Director of the Imperial Household Department, and others, in order to ask for an Imperial Order:

after our Board has examined the documents delivered by the Imperial Board of Works, containing the report on the painting of twenty seven rooms added last year behind the "Genggiyen Elhe Gung", and in respectful execution of the Imperial order to start the work next year, our Board has now calculated the [following] colours and other things needed for painting:

| | |
|---|---|
| Oil form seeds of "Aleurites cordata" (*tungnio*) | 3510 *gin* (2123,5 kg) [2] |
| Clay used for boiling oil (*tuze*) | 351 *gin* (212 kg) |
| Yellow shell-powder (*toseng*) | 27 *gin* (16,3 kg) |
| Red slate-powder (*piyan fulgiyan boihon*) | 270 *gin* (163,3 kg) |
| Raw silk (*se sirge*) | 6 *gin* 2 *yan* (3,7 kg) |
| Yellow coarsely woven raw silk (*suwayan giowanze*) | 16 *da* (25,6 m) |
| Water-glue (*muke amdun*) | 378 *gin* (228,7 kg) |
| White powder called "Melon powder" (*guwa el fun*) | 130 *gin* (78,6 kg) |
| Indigo (*diyan hūwa*) | 100 *gin* (60,5 kg) |
| White lead-powder (*ding fun*) | 100 *gin* (60,5 kg) |
| Dark green (*el lioi*) | 130 *gin* (78,6 kg) |
| Bright green (*da-lioi*) | 400 *gin* (242 kg) |
| "Oily" brimstone (*io hūwang*) | 80 *gin* (48,4 kg) |
| Calomel (*cing fun*) | 130 *gin* (78,6 kg) |
| Gamboge (*teng hūwang*) | 13 *gin* (7,8 kg) |
| Rouge (*fiyan*) | 1300 doses |
| Cinnabar (*cinahūn*) | 241 *gin* (145,8 kg) |
| Yellow lead ore (*hūwangdan*) | 378 *gin* (228,7 kg) |
| Ink (*behe*) | 3 *gin* (1,8 kg) |
| Powdered green (*san lioi*) | 40 *gin* (24,2 kg) |
| Black soot (*sahaliyan ku*) | 6 *gin* (3,6 kg) |
| Alum (*fekšun*) | 20 *gin* (12,5 kg) |
| Plum blossom colour (*mei hūwa cing*) | 150 *gin* (90,7 kg) |
| Big red gold leaves (*amba fulgiyan feigin*) | 80 pieces |
| Big yellow gold leaves (*amba suwayan feigin*) | 75 pieces |
| Glue to stick the gold leaves (*feigin latubure nimenggi*) | 100 *gin* (60,5 kg) |
| Cotton (*yoohan*) | 1 *gin* 5 *yan* (0,8 kg) |
| Net[-like] cloth (*asu boso*) | 81 sheets |
| Korean paper (*solho hoošan*) | 57 sheets |
| Fire-wood (*deijire moo*) | 4710 *gin* (2849,5 kg) |
| Charcoal (*moo yaha*) | 600 *gin* (363 kg) |
| Jars (*fuka*) | 80 |
| Sieves (*sisku*) | 12 |
| Brooms (*erku*) | 19 |
| Waterbuckets (*muke tatakū*) | 4 |
| Hemp (*hūnta*) | 270 *gin* (163,3 kg) |
| White sesame oil (*jima malanggū nimenggi*) | 54 *gin* (32,6 kg) |
| Corn flower (*maise ufa*) | 2160 *gin* (1306,8 kg) |
| White lime (*šanggiyan doho*) | 3510 *gin* (2123,5 kg) |

We, the dignitaries, have discussed this matter and we [propose to] take white sesame oil, corn flower, lime, glue, fire-wood, charcoal, sieves, brooms, and waterbuckets from [our] Court Ministry; beyond these, all other things should be taken from the Board of Revenue.

But we, the dignitaries, cannot manage it on our own initiative. [Therefore], we have made a respectful report, asking for an Imperial order.
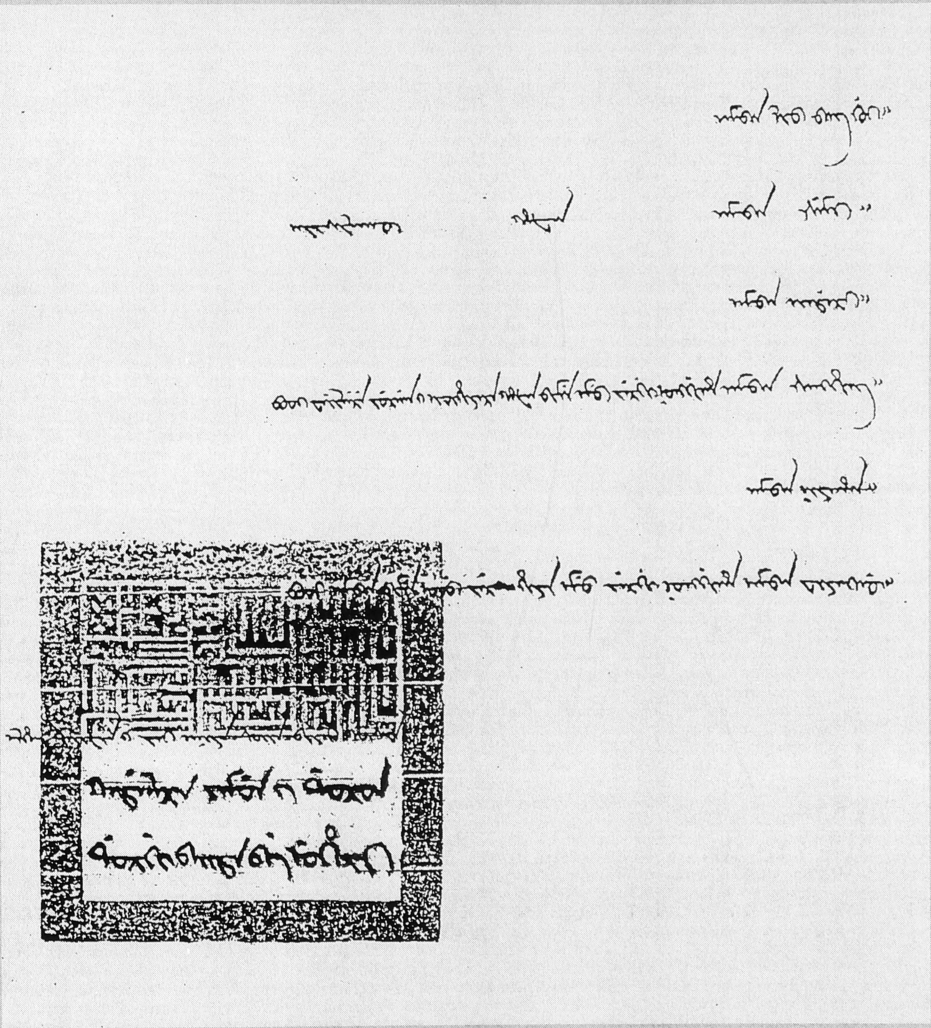
Fig. 1

*Fig. 2*

Fig. 4

The 20th day of the 4th month of the 2d year of Elhe Taifin.

Dignitary Fiyanggū, Department Director, Imperial Bodyguard of the first rank, [with] one rank added, [and] dignitary Niyahan.

Dignitary Šanghing, Department director of the Imperial Board of Works, [with] one rank added, [and] dignitary Indari.

Dignitary Šemi, Assistant Department director, [and] dignitary Lio Bang-gui.

* * *

The main problem in analyzing this document consists in the identification of the materials requested: the most part of the terms used there is of Chinese origin, and therefore is difficult to be identified without the ideograms. Some other terms are in "technical Manchu" and are not found, as we have already pointed out, in the eastern or western dictionaries. Therefore, their identification is an enrichment of Manchu lexicography and gives to this document a special linguistic value which could be added to its importance as a historical document of the early Qing dynasty.

*tungnio* < Chin. 桐油 *tongyou*

*tuze* < Chin. 土子 *tuzi*

*toseng* < Chin. 陀僧 *tuoseng*

*piyal fulgiyan boihon* < Chin. 片 *pian*, "slate", + Ma. "red clay/earth"

*se sirge* < Chin. 生絲 *shengsi*

*suwayan giowanze*: Ma. "yellow" + < Chin. 絹子 *juanzi*

*guwa el fun* < Chin. 瓜兒粉 *guaer fen*

*diyan hūwa* < Chin. 靛花 *dianhua*

*ding fun* < Chin. 定粉 *ding fen*, i. e. modern 白鉛粉 *baiqian fen*

*el lioi* < Chin. 二綠 *erlü*

*da lioi* < Chin. 大綠 *dalü*

*io hūwang* < Chin. 油磺 *youhuang*

*cing fun* < Chin. 輕粉 *qing fun*

*teng hūwang* < Chin. 籐黃 *tenghuang*

*fiyan*: Ma. "red paint" ~ "rouge" (Chin. 胭脂 *yanzhi*); the given units are called *turha* (lit. "blot, dab"); the translation "dose" seems to be more adequate.

*hūwangdan* < Chin. 黃丹 *huangdan*

*san lioi* < Chin. 散綠 *sanlü*

*mei hūwa cing* < Chin. 梅花青 *meihua qing*

*fuka*: Ma. "jar"; hitherto found with this meaning only in expressions like 瓮城 *wengcheng* "[a jar-like] enceinte in front of a city wall".

## Notes

1. This document is kept in the Library of the *Zentralasiatisches Seminar*, Boon University. The author wishes to thank its director, Prof. Dr. Michael Weiers, for the permission to study and publish it.

2. The following Manchu units are mentioned:

*gin* = *jin* 斤 (≈ 605 g),

*yan* = *liang* 兩 (≈ 37,3 g),

*da* = *tuo* 庹 (≈ 1,6 m),

*turha* = *pian* 片 ("dose"),

*kuwai* = *kuai* 塊 ("piece"),

*afaha* = *zhang* 張 ("sheet").

## Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** A Manchu report (*wesimburengge*) to Emperor Kangxi, a document of Bonn University, the Library of the *Zentralasiatisches Seminar*.

**Fig. 2.** The same document (*continuation*).

**Fig. 3.** The same document (*continuation*).

**Fig. 4.** The end of the document.

# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

## THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD:
## I. THE PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTING ANCIENT
## ARABIAN COSMOGONIC AND ANTHROPOGENETIC LORE

For an adequate interpretation of the concept of the world as reflected in the Qur'ān it is necessary first of all to understand in what way the Qur'ānic ideas are linked to the corresponding system of notions, traditions, and symbols of the pre-Islamic culture of Arabia. This link but occasionally appears as a direct inclusion of corresponding notions into the system of early Islamic culture. Usually we come across statements negating the foundations of the pagan Arabian culture and at the same time explaining the ideas introduced by the Qur'ān as a restoration of the forgotten creed of the ancestors [1]. These notions, however, usually contained only a new interpretation of the principal cultural elements of the past. Sometimes this link has a more complicated structure, especially when it comes to the system of cosmogonic and ethnogenetic myths included into the Qur'ān.

The Qur'ānic ideas connected with the origin of mankind have been described, to some extent, in several works [2]. P. A. Gryaznevich, who studied the system of corresponding notions reflected in *jāhilīyya* poetry, in Arabic tribal ethnonyms and in the Qur'ānic text, came to the conclusion that there had never been any common Arabic myth, or any Arabic myth at all dealing with the origin of mankind or of the world as a whole [3]. The available sources allow us to state that in pre-Islamic Arabia there was no notion like the Primal Man or "the primary ancestor" current among the pagan Arabians. The history of every clan or tribe was being derived from a certain, usually deified, ancestor. This determined the discreteness of ethnic consciousness, which was the characteristic feature of the pagan Arabian ideology.

Certainly, Arabian Christians and Jews were familiar with the Old Testament ideas on the origin of the human race and the primary ancestor Adam. We can take for example the *qaṣīda* ascribed to the poet-Christian 'Adī b. Zayd, which presents a narrative very close to the passages from the Genesis telling about the creation of the world and the mankind [4]. 'Adī b. Zayd's text as a whole leaves us no doubt about its pre-Islamic origin. One of its passages is especially noteworthy. Verses 11—12 of the *qaṣīda* correspond to Gen. III.1: "Now the serpent was more subtil (*'rum*) than any beast of the field which the

Lord God had made". There is, however, a strange deviation from the Old Testament text in 'Adī b. Zayd's poem:

And the serpent was spotted (*raqshā'* — "black-and-white")
when it was created,
Like you see the image of a camel or a she-camel...

It is worth noting that the verse that follow this passage are again close to the verse of the Bible.

The Hebrew *'rum* ("more subtil") is replaced in the Arabic text by *raqshā'* ("spotted"), one of the traditional appellatives for a serpent in the pre-Islamic poetry. If we take into account that Arabic *a'ram''* corresponding to *'rum* in the text of the Bible meant "spotted (black-and-white)", when applied to a serpent in *jāhilīyya* poetry [5], it explains the use of the term *raqshā'* — the synonym of *a'ram''* [6]. In this way the "subtil" serpent became "spotted". This transition evidently leads the poet to associate the serpent before its punishment by God with a camel, to whom the appellative *raqshā'* could also be applied [7]. All this brings us to the conclusion that, first of all, the text ascribed to 'Adī b. Zayd is authentic, and that it goes back directly to the Hebrew text.

Similar "mistakes" might probably explain some other strange features present in the Qur'ānic lore deriving from the Old Testament tradition.

So we read in 'Adī b. Zayd's poem:

(7) He accomplished his creation in six days
And in the last of them created the man.
(8) And He called to him [rising] his voice: "Adam!",
and he answered him,
Because into the body created [by Allah] the breath
of life had been placed.
(9) Then He gave him Paradise, for him to live there,
And made wife for him, creating her from his rib.

To this very tradition Muḥammad appealed in his sermons. The Old Testament image of "Adam the forefather", which had developed many centuries before due to the victory of monotheism in a different cultural and ethnic environment, featured for a while in the centre of Muḥammad's disputes with his opponents. Muḥammad again and again speaks about Adam: Allah had made

a covenant with Adam (20 : 115/114), but being urged by Iblīs "Adam disobeyed his Lord and so he erred" (20 : 121/119) and was expelled from Paradise (20 : 123/ 121—123/122). In His mercy, however, "Thereafter his Lord chose him, and... He guided him" (20 : 122/120). The Prophet is speaking about the danger of temptation coming from Iblīs, who said to Allah: "if Thou deferrest me to the Day of Resurrection I shall assuredly master his (Adam's) seed (*dhurrīyya*), save a few" (17 : 62/64).

Muḥammad's sermons testify to a remarkable change. Numerous primary ancestors are replaced by one common forefather — Adam. The very application to this image demonstrates that before Muḥammad's preaching most of the Meccans had no idea of a common ancestor, *i. e.* the social notion of "mankind" was also unknown to them. In Muḥammad's sermons preached not long before the Hijra his audience is more and more frequently addressed as *yā banī adam* — "O sons of Adam!". (7 : 26/25; 27/26, 31/29, 35/33; 36 : 60).

What were the views Muḥammad was arguing against? The extant sources definitely prove that in the pagan environment of pre-Islamic Arabia there were still remnants of the ancient mythological ideas about the origin of the Primal Man from "the root, the sprout of raw clay" (*'irq al-tharā*), from the "mother-earth" (cf. Qur'ān 22 : 5), from the damp layer of earth (*al-tharā*) feeding the roots of plants; from dust (*turāb*, see Qur'ān 3 : 52). The motif of the "Primal Man-clay", which appears in the Qur'ān (6 : 2), is not present in pre-Islamic poetry.

Most important in connection with the further development of the subject is the notion of a stone being turned into a human being, of the birth of a man from a stone-rock. A number of Arabian tribal ethnonyms connected with the worship of stones symbolizing primal ancestors, as well as of rocks embodying pagan deities, reflect the existence of such ideas [8].

It should be mentioned also that the word *npsh* (*nfs*, cf. Arab. *nafs* — "soul", from *tanaffasa* "to breathe") was used in Nabatean and South Arabian epigraphics, in graffitti from Central Arabia, to indicate gravestones, which were expected to "represent the soul, *i. e.* the personality of the dead" [9]. There is a series of pre-Islamic legends concerning the "reverse process" of a man being transformed into a stone. Comparative mythology testifies that this kind of inversion goes back to a stable idea of the "direct process" of a man originating from a stone.

Most popular is the legend of Isāf and Nā'ila [10]. The story tells that a man called Isāf and a woman Nā'ila, both of Yemenese origin, made a pilgrimage to Mecca. When they were alone in the sanctuary they became inflamed with passion, sinned, and were immediately turned into stone. They were carried out of the Ka'ba and installed by the sanctuary. Their location is differently indicated in the sources. Most often one of the stones is placed by the Ka'ba, the other one — by the Zamzam well. The shape of the stones vaguely resembled human figures. Sacrificial blood was poured upon them. T. Fahd [11] takes this story for a later moralizing legend directed against temptations offered to pilgrims by those, who, having no ritually pure dress, performed sacred rites completely or almost naked [12]. Basing upon the information provided by al-Azraqī that these stones had formerly been standing on the hills of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa embodying the cult of Ba'l and Ba'la, the scholar came to the conclusion that the

bringing together of these idols by the Zamzam well could mark the foundation of the Meccan sanctuary. The sacrifices formerly made on the hills were offered now by the well, and the two stones could symbolize here the two hills.

Among the people of the Ṭayyi' tribe there was a legend about Ajā' and Salmā, at some points similar to that of Isāf and Nā'ila. A man named Ajā' b. al-Ḥayy fell in love with Salmā who was a married woman from his own tribe. She had a nurse 'Awjā', in whose house they used to meet. Once the husband of Salmā and her brothers took the lovers by surprise. Ajā' and Salmā tried to escape, but were caught. Salmā was put to death on a mountain which received her name, 'Awjā' was killed on another mountain and Ajā' — on the third one. These mountains, including the third one, black rock, which resembled a human figure, got the names of the murdered [13].

There is another legend of the same kind. According to it, along the road used by pilgrims on the way from Mecca to the mount 'Arafāt there were stones called al-Niswa ("Women"). One woman who was unfaithful to her husband became pregnant. When she was there, on the road, she happened to bear a child in the presence of two other women. The three women immediately turned into stones [14].

The next legend is connected with South Arabia. Ibn al-Mujāwir [15] tells that there, at the site called Naqīl, were two stones — two women turned into stone, their reproductive organs could be seen regularly shedding blood. Also, the Ḥaḍramawt idol al-Jalsad was a great white rock with a black top resembling a human face. Al-Jalsad was worshipped in all Arabia, even among the Mahrians. T. Fahd explains the etymology of the idol's name as derivation from *jalmad* ("rock" — "strong man") [16]. Although this name easily fits the common metaphoric scheme (cf., for instance, Russian кремень "flintstone" — "strong man"), one should take into consideration that for the primitive or magic consciousness a name was not just a conventional sign but the integral part of the object to which it was attached.

The common elements of all these legends, which are widespread over the whole of Arabia (in Hijāz, Najd, in the south of the Arabian Peninsula), are: (i) a criminal coitus; (ii) turning into stone as a punishment for adultery (in the case of Isāf and Nā'ila — for the desecration of a shrine); (iii) the worship of the stones which came into being in this miraculous way.

Comparative mythology demonstrates that many anthropogenetic and cosmogonic legends include the story of the "original sin" which fertilized people and all other living beings [17]. It is not a mere chance that the element of "criminal coitus" appears in the legends cited above. Before Islam often the process of childbirth itself at its different stages was becoming the object of sanctification. There was the cult of reproductive organs.

On the other hand, the worship of rocks and stones as the dwelling of deities (suffice it to remember the Black Stone of Ka'ba) was certainly related to the worship of stones as primal ancestors, which is confirmed by numerous ethnonyms of the *banū jandal* — "the sons of rock" type. Comparative mythology testifies to the connection of these views with the myths of creation telling about the origin of man from stone. These myths were widespread in particular among the nomad Semites dwelling in rocky steppes and on plateaux [18]. All this brings us to the

conclusion that the legends cited above possibly go back to the original layer of anthropogenic and ethnogenic mythology of the inhabitants of Arabia, reflecting the stage of its development far gone from the archaic notions connected with the understanding of anthropogenesis as of "spontaneous transformation of stone into man without any participation of the God's will or action" [19].

The idea of man originating from stone is never explicitly stated in the Qur'ān, though there are certain hints present in several passages: "Then your hearts became hardened thereafter and are like stones, or even yet harder; for there are stones from which rivers come gushing, and others split, so that water issues from them, and others crash down in the fear of God" (2 : 74/69) [20]; "then fear the Fire, whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for unbelievers" (2 : 24/22, see also 17 : 50/53).

In our opinion, the system of these mythological notions was absorbed both by the Qur'ān and by the ideology of the early Islam, though in a modified form. It is known that Islam inherited the ritual of *hajj*, providing it with a new foundation connected with the Bible history. It is known that ritual is more conservative than mythology, though often with the change of ideology the same ritual could be provided with a new mythological foundation [21]. This happened to the system of mythological notions connected with *hajj*.

What is especially interesting is that the pagan ritual connected with the worship of Isāf and Nā'ila is taking its roots, as we were trying to demonstrate, in the ethnogenetic mythology of Arabia. The analysis of some of the features of the cult of Isāf and Nā'ila, of the appellatives applied to their names, proves that its mythological foundation changed several times. T. Fahd [22] demonstrates that at some stage the worship of Isāf, the god of wind and rain, whose appellative was Nahīk Mujāwid al-Rīh ("power which brings abundant rain with wind") and of Nā'ila, the deity of fertility, was related to the agrarian cult. Later Isāf (etymologically — "collector", "keeper") and Nā'ila ("receiver of gifts"), after their images had been installed by the temple treasury-well Zamzam, became its guardians. Finally, according to the Muslim tradition, the meeting of Adam and Ḥawwā (Eve) after their expulsion from Paradise took place by the mount of 'Arafāt. There they dwelled for a while and there their first child was born to them. Muzdalifa is also connected with the names of the forefathers [23]. The appearance of the Zamzam well and one of the rituals of *hajj* — running (*sa'y*) between the hills of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa — are connected with the names of Ḥajar and of the forefather of northern Arabs, Ismā'īl, the ancestor of their eponym 'Adnān. It was the realization of the idea that the ritual of *hajj* was connected with a **repetition** of what had been there at the dawn of human history, that this very place was in some way connected with the story of the Primal Man and the forefather of the inhabitants of Arabia (let us remember the al-Niswa women turned into stone by the 'Arafāt mount and the connection of the al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa hills with the cult of Isāf and Nā'ila).

It is also important to recall A. Hocart's remark that myth is a part of ritual and ritual — part of myth. Myth is describing the ritual, and the ritual is staging the myth [24]. The Qur'ān, when it insists on the necessity of performing *hajj* as a ritual obligation of a Moslem, thus establishes a **link** between the new ideology and the system of mytho-

logical notions which developed around the worship of the Mecca shrine in the *jāhilīyya* time: "Safa and Marwa are among the waymarks (*al-mashā'ir*) of God; so whosoever makes the Pilgrimage ('umra) to the House, or the Visitation (*hajj*), it is no fault in him to circumambulate them; and whoso volunteers good, God is All-grateful, All-knowing" (2 : 158/153); "but when you press on from Arafat, then remember God at the Holy Waymark (*al-mash'ar al-ḥarām*), and remember Him as He has guided you, though formerly you were gone astray" (2 : 198/194).

It is unknown when the name of Adam became associated in the people's minds with these places and with the stages of the *hajj* ritual [25]. As the Old Testament ideas on the origin of man were widespread among monotheistic Arabians, it is quite probable that the Ḥanīfs [26], whose devotion to the performance of the *hajj* ritual is marked by the Muslim tradition, could link some of its steps with the name of Adam even before Muḥammad's preaching.

It is noteworthy that such an association indicates the contemporaries of the Prophet to have been familiar only with the **echo** of the ancient Arabian myths of creation. By the time of the rise of Islam the erosion of the system of ancient Arabian cosmogonic ideas had been almost accomplished. The Qur'ān only reflected the final stage of this long process.

The way the terms *adam* and *banū adam* are employed in the Qur'ān, as well as a number of other Qur'ānic terms [27], confirm that Qur'ānic ideas on the origin of man, which were gradually developing through the whole period of Muḥammad's prophetic activities, reflect a complicated process of interaction of different ideological trends, a singular combination of both the Old Testament lore and ideas produced by inter-Christian disputes of that time overlaying the original Arabian ideological stratum. The development of the system of principal Qur'ānic notions which implied God — "Creator", people — "sons of Adam", the sanctuary of Mecca — "the House of Allah", etc., also turned to be connected with the image of Adam.

All this took place against a very complicated social and ideological background of Arabia in the sixth and early seventh century (gradual consolidation of Arabian tribes into one nation, transition from the tribal stage of organisation to territorial, from paganism to Islam, development of the State, etc.). As early as the end of the seventh—beginning of the eighth century in the works of genealogists and commentators of the Qur'ān there appears a joint genealogy of the tribes of Arabia going back to "forefather Adam" [28]. In this way the Arabs "joined the family" of the other peoples of the Bible, their history became part of the world history, and the Arabs themselves became members of the humankind (*banū adam*). In this respect they were becoming no less "civilised" than the peoples conquered by them.

Penetrating beyond the limits of Arabia, Islam entered the field which for many centuries had been cultivated by different monotheistic systems. There, first of all in Syria and Iraq, under the circumstances of intensive inter-ethnic and inter-confessional contacts, took place the final formation and record of the dogmatic and legal system of Islam and of its "sacred history". The strong ideological pressure of this all-embracing system of values, which absorbed the cream of the principal cultural elements of the *jāhilīyya* period, its aim being to justify the new role of the Arabs in the

"civilised world", had terminated the long process of disintegration and erasure from the collective memory of the old "barbaric" traditions. First of all, it affected the principal cosmogonic and anthropogenetic myths, the core of all ancient and medieval ideological systems. Due to their significance, however, the ideas of this kind could not vanish without a trace. Their presence is evident in the ritual of *hajj* recorded by the Qur'ān.

# Notes

1. See I. Sh. Shifman, "O nekotorykh ustanovleniiakh rannego islama" ("On some of the regulations of early Islam"), *Islam. Religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 36—43.

2. See Th. Frankl, *Die Enstehung des Menschen nach den Koran*, (Prag. 1930); D. Bakker, *Man in the Qur'ān* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 1—27; J. Bouman, *Gott und Mench im Koran* (Darmstadt, 1977); O. Izutzu, *God and Man in the Koran* (Tokyo. 1964); I. N. Vinnikov, "Koranicheskie zametki" ("Qur'ānic notes"), *Issledovaniia po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960); P. A. Griaznevich, "Razvitie istoricheskogo soznaniia arabov" ("The development of the historical consciousness of the Arabs"), *Ocherki istorii arabskoĭ kul'tury V—XV vv.* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 75—155.

3. Griaznevich, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—90.

4. 'Adī b. Zayd al 'Ibādī, *Dīwān*, compiled by Muḥammad Khabbār (Baghdād, 1965), No. 103. Cf. Gen. I: 1—3, 6, 7, 14, 16, 26, 28, 31; II: 7, 8, 16—18, 22; III: 15—17.

5. See, for example, A. Lewin, "A vocabulary of the Hudailian poems", *Humaniora*, XIII (Goteborq, 1978), p. 284, also E. H. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Pt. 1—8 (London, 1863—1893), 2026.

6. [al-Ḥuṭej'a], *Der Diwan des Ǧarwal b. Aus al-Ḥuṭej'a*, bearb. von I. Goldziher (Leipzig, 1893), No. 89 : 5.

7. Lane, *op. cit.*, 1135.

8. Griaznevich, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

9. I. Sh. Shifman, *Nabateĭskoe gosudarstvo i ego kul'tura* (The Nabatean State and Its Culture) (Moscow, 1976), p. 105; G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1975), p. 333; I. P. Veinberg, *Chelovek v kul'ture drevnego Blizhnego Vostoka* (Man in the Culture of the Ancient Near East) (Moscow, 1986), p. 88.

10. On the earliest version see [Ibn al-Kalbī], *Kitāb al-Aṣnām 'an Abī-l-Mundhir Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sa'ib al-Kalbī bi tahqiq al-ustādh Aḥmad Zakī* (al-Qāhira, 1963), p. 16.

11. T. Fahd, *La panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, (Paris, 1968), pp. 103—9.

12. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, (Strasbourg, 1966) p. 128.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

15. [Ibn al-Mujāwir], *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionialis* (extr. de *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*), ed. O. Lofgreen, i (Leiden, 1954), p. 150 ff. See also Fahd, *La divination*, p. 15 ff.

16. Fahd, *La panthéon*, p. 86; S. A. Frantsuzov, "Ėtnoreligioznaia situatsiia v Khadramaute v VI—VII vv." ("Ethno-religious situation in Ḥaḍramawt in the sixth—seventh centuries"), *Khadramaut. Arkheologicheskie, ėtnograficheskie, istoriko-kul'turnye issledovaniia — Trudy Sovetsko-Ĭemenskoĭ kompleksnoĭ ėkspeditsii*, i (Moscow, 1995), pp. 316—7.

17. See L. A. Abramian, *Pervobytnyĭ prazdnik i mifologiia* (Primitive Feast and Mythology) (Erevan, 1983), p. 112.

18. The ideas of the origin of man from stone and of petrifaction as a punishment for a broken taboo are reflected in particular in Hurrian and Hittite mythology. They are also widely represented in Greek myths (the story of Deucalion and Pyrra, the myth of Niobe). Reflections of these ideas are present in the Prophetic books of the Bible (cf. Isaiah, LI. 1; see Griaznevich, *op. cit.*, p. 84). Thompson's index provides us with abundant comparative material: the motif of a man being turned into a stone or rock for breaking a taboo (St. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, new enlarged and revised edition, i—v (Bloomington, 1956), C 961; D 230), as well as the idea of creating man from stone and of the origin of mankind from a rock (*ibid.*, A 1245; A 1234.2).

19. Griaznevich, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

20. A. J. Arberry's translation of the Qur'ān is used in the present article.

21. Abramian, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

22. See Fahd, *La panthéon*, pp. 106—8.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 241, n. 2.

24. A. M. Hocart, *The Life-Giving Myth and Other Essays* (London, 1970), p. 22.

25. The Muslim tradition identifies *al-mash'ar* and *al-ḥarām* with a small mound in Muzdalifa, six miles from Mecca, between Mecca and 'Arafāt, for more details see C. Pansera, "Alcune precisazioni sull' espressione al-Mash'ar al-Haram", *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XXXIV/1—5 (1949), pp. 74—7. There the "Mosque of the sacred grave" is located, see A. Kamal, *The Sacred Journey, Being Pilgrimage to Makkah* (London, 1964), p. 84. The term *mash'ar* had probably been applied to this sacred mound long before the coming of Islam. The same name was also applied to a certain stone between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa worshipped before Islam as well (Fahd, *La panthéon*, p. 238, No. 3). Now the term *al-mashā'ir* is applied to different stages of *hajj*. The connection of some elements of *hajj*, like putting on special garments, ritual trimming, etc. with pre-Islamic ritual practice testifies to the acceptance of *hajj* as a complete ritual system by Islam.

26. Adam as the name of the forefather appears a number of times in verse ascribed to poet-Ḥanīf Umayya b. Abu'l-Ṣalt, see Umayya b. Abu'l-Ṣalt, *Dīwān* (Baghdād, 1975), Nos. 21, 45; No. 50 : 1; No. 95 : 3. It is noteworthy that the name *'dm* was widely used in northern Arabia long before Islam (second—fifth centuries A.D.). Lankester Harding recorded 109 cases of its use in Safaite inscriptions (see Lankester Harding, *op. cit.*, p. 32). The stem *'dm* belongs to the main fund of Semitic roots, it is connected with such notions as "earth", "red colour", "skin", "man", see I. Diakonoff, "Earliest Semites in Asia", *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* (Berlin, 1981), p. 52; I. M. D'iakonov, "Praotets Adam" ("Adam the forefather"), *Vostok*, I (Moscow, 1992), pp. 51—8. In the pre-Islamic Bedouin poetry the word-form *adam*, similar to the Qur'ānic one, could be used to indicate such notions as "dark", "white", "brown", see Th. Nöldeke, *Belegwörterbuch zur klassischen arabischen Sprache*, hrsg. von J. Kraemer, Bd. 1 (Berlin, 1952), p. 14. It is clear in this

connection why Arab authors, such as, for example, al-Jawālīqī (see von W. Spitta, "Die Lucken in Ǧawālīkī's Mu'arrab", *ZDMG*, XXXIII, pp. 208), considered the name Adam, along with the names Ṣāliḥ, Muḥammad, Shu'ayb, an original Arabic name, in opposition to the names of other prophets: Ismā'īl, Ibrahīm, Isḥāq, Ilyās, Idrīs. Numerous different etymologies of the name were, however, suggested, see *ibid.*, p. 25; also I. Goldziher, *Studen über Tanchum Jeruschalimi* (Leipzig, 1870), p. 12, No. 4).

27. See E. A. Rezvan, *Ètnosotsial'naia terminologiia Korana kak istochnik po istorii i ètnografii Aravii na rubezhe VI—VII vv.* (Ethno-Social Terminology of the Qur'ān as a Source on the History and Ethnography of Arabia at the Turn of the Sixth—Seventh Centuries), PhD Thesis (Leningrad, 1984); E. A. Rezvan, "Adam i banu Adam v Korane — k istorii poniatiĭ "pervochelovek" i "chelovechestvo" ("Adam and *banū adam* in the Qur'ān — to the history of the notions the "Primal Man" and "mankind"), *Islam. Religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, pp. 59—68.

28. Sozomenes, who lived in the first half of the fifth century, in his "Historia Ecclesiastica", already mentions that "Arabs are called "Ismailites" after their origin, after their "forefather" Ismail, the son of Abraham" (cited after Pigulevskaya, see her *Araby u granits Vizantii i Irana v IV—VI vv.* (Arabs on the Byzantine and Iranian Frontiers in the Fourth—Sixth Centuries) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1964), p. 41).

# PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

*O. V. Vasilyeva*

## THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF RUSSIA: NEW ACQUISITIONS OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS IN 1992—1996

The National Library of Russia (henceforth NLR) has a valuable collection of Oriental manuscripts (about 26 thousand items), mainly Hebrew and Arabographic codices and documents. The predominance of the Near Eastern and Middle Eastern materials here, which the author of the present article had a chance to note elsewhere [1], is a feature characteristic of the collection of the NLR as a whole. It also reveals itself in acquisitions of 1992—1996. During this period 4 Hebrew, 1 Georgian and 43 Arabographic (Arabic, Persian, Old Uzbek, Turkish) manuscripts, 4 block-prints (3 Japanese and 1 Chinese) and 1 Chinese painting have been acquired: in 1992 only one item came to the library, in 1993 — 5, in 1994 — 21, in 1995 — 22, and in January 1996 — 4 items. When comparing with the Russian [2] and West European acquisitions of the same period, the Oriental ones demonstrate an obvious tendency of constant increasing. Such a phenomenon can be explained by the recent changes in economic situation in the country, which make the owners part with their family rel-

ics. First of all the owners part with the Oriental objects, since these materials usually proves to be less significant for them. As a rule, those who sell Oriental manuscripts do not know the languages in which they were written. At the same time the financial capacities of the NLR make it the only purchaser of Oriental manuscripts in St. Petersburg. Another significant factor for increasing the number of Oriental manuscripts is the renewal of archaeographic activities; we mean not outside ("field") work, but that within the city, by means of establishing contacts with manuscript collectors and their heirs.

In the reports of The Imperial Public Library (the former name of the NLR), which have been published since 1808, the new acquisitions are presented as the following: first the gifts (collections or single manuscripts) are named, as well as the names of their donators; then a list of collections and manuscripts purchased by the NLR goes (the names of the former owners usually are not mentioned). Here we follow the same scheme [3].

## Donations

1. E. K. Sagidova, head of the Department of National Literatures of the NLR, donated two 19th century manuscripts formerly belonged to her father, turkologist Abdul-Karim Sagidov:

   a) a collection of works in Turkish containing treatises on *shaykh*s, versification, instructions on reading and orthography, verse on the meaning of letters and on the correct way of writing them;

   b) a collection of verse by different authors in the Tatar language.

2. N. N. Neelova donated two parchment leaves from a Georgian manuscript, apparently a collection of copies of documents which belonged to some noble Georgian family. The manuscript was most likely a family chronicle copied and illuminated with multicoloured miniatures on its bor-

ders. It was perhaps executed in St. Petersburg in the second quarter of the 19th century. The parchment leaves contain a fragment from a document dealing with the return of Tarkhān, the son of Aghām-aghā, from Persia to Tbilisi. Because of his great services performed to his country Tarkhān was pardoned by the Georgian Tsar, and a sword — a sign of an ancestral honour and glory — was presented to him. The fragment has no date and the Georgian Tsar is not named.

3. A scroll of the *Torah* (Exodus, 35.6 — to the end) in Old Hebrew, which was brought for expertise from the Kengisepp (a town on the Russian-Estonian frontier) customs and left to the Library. It was written at the end of the 19th—early 20th century on whitewashed parchment.

## Library's Purchases

### Collections

1. Two manuscript anthologies (late 18th—early 19th century) and a lithograph in Arabic, presenting a collection of comments, glosses and supra-comments to the most popular Islamic work *Al-'Aqā'id al-'aḍudiyya* by 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-'Ijī, copied in Central Asia. Many of its

pages bear additions and corrections which are written in the text or on the margins; there are some extra folios glued into the book with supplements from other commentaries. Its owner, most likely a theologian, apparently used these books for his investigations or perhaps worked on his own

commentary on *Al-'Aqā'id*. The seller of the books maintains that they belonged formerly to ballerina O. A. Petrushina (her signatures in blue ink are present), who brought them from Central Asia after the Second World War.

2. Fragments of two *Qur'ān*s, and of two works on theology in Arabic and Persian, were also brought from Central Asia. Formerly they belonged to a zoologist living in Central Asia in 1934—1937.

3. A small but fine, from the artistic point of view, collection consisting of one Arabic and three Persian manuscripts, the last being wonderful examples of medieval Iranian book-art:

a) *Kulliyāt* (collected works) by Sa'dī copied in a specific script and decorated with head-pieces of unusual forms. It can be dated to the end of the 14th century. In the funds of the NLR there is a manuscript of the *Kulliyāt* by 'Imād Faqīh executed in the same style, with a date corresponding to A.D. 1370 [4].

b) *Tīmūr-nāma* by Hatīfī, copied in 1531 by Mīrzā Muhammad. One miniature and a leather binding with stamped central medallion have survived.

c) *Khamsa* by Nizāmī copied in the middle of the 16th century and decorated after the tradition of the Shīrāz school, with numerous head-pieces in the text and with three frontispieces. The margins of frontispieces are covered with golden and blue floral ornament. Unfortunately, it contains only three of the five poems. It seems that once the manuscript was divided into two parts and each of them was sold separately.

d) *Qur'ān*, 18th century, Turkey. The lower part of the lacquered cover with floral ornament on golden background has survived.

Judging by the paper used to restore the manuscripts, this small collection represents a part of some 19th century European collection. The last owners of these manuscripts obtained them just before the Second World War, along with printed books having nothing to do with the East.

4. A collection of manuscripts belonging formerly to S. N. Khanukayev (1907—1982), a famous collector of works of Oriental art. Despite the fact that almost all his life he spent in Leningrad, he retained his interest in chased works, which is especially characteristic of his native land, Daghestan. Later the range of his interests had widened and he began to collect objects of Russian and European art. Besides he assembled a considerable number of Oriental manuscripts — about thirty items, including separate miniatures. Unfortunately, the collection was dispersed after his death. We managed to restore the manuscript part of this collection:

a) *Tūtī-nāma* by Diyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī. The manuscript was acquired in a second-hand bookshop. The copy was made at the end of the 16th—early 17th century in India. It contains nine early Moghūl miniatures which are not contemporary with the manuscript. Most likely they were taken from another copy of the same work and glued into the manuscript.

21 manuscripts, 2 lithograph posters and 1 printed book were sold to the library by the heirs of the collector. Among these materials there are 3 Persian manuscripts with miniatures. The manuscripts have black leather bindings:

b) a collection of *bayāds* and verses by different authors, which dates to 1829, containing 13 miniatures;

c) the *Dīwān* by Hāfiz of the 1820s—1830s, with 5 miniatures;

d) *Qissa-i Yūdhāsaf wa Bilawhar* (or *Būdāsaf wa Bulūhar*), a Persian translation of the Arabic version of "The Tale of Varlaam and Ioasaf" taken from *'Ayn al-hayāt* by Muhammad Bāqir, 1829, with 9 miniatures.

Two manuscripts, copied after the Persian manner, date to the 16th century:

e) the poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by the Turkish author Hamdī, copied in 1523 by Mustafā b. 'Umar al-Brūsawī. Calligraphic *nasta'līq*, varnished paper of different tinges;

f) a treatise on prayer in Arabic with a parallel translation into Persian. Some missing leaves were replaced later.

A considerable number of Khanukayev's manuscripts came from Central Asia:

g) the most interesting item is a collection of works on *fiqh*, grammar and mathematics in Arabic, copied in April—July 1793 in Bukhārā, in the Qūlībābā Kūkaltāsh *madrasa* by Muhammad Sharīf Balkhī. Its binding was made by the same person (it bears stamped medallions "made by Muhammad Sharīf"). The manuscript is decorated with 15 *'unwān*s, the text with golden speckles has a multicolour frame;

h) the poem *Muhīt-i a'zam* by Bīdil, in Persian, copied "one hundred years after the death of the author", *i. e.* in 1233/1817—1818 by Mullā Muhammad 'Ālim;

i) a collection of poems by different authors in Persian and Old Uzbek. Copied in 1887 in Khujand;

j) a collection of poems in Uzbek, containing *Hikmat* by Ahmad Yasawī and the *Dīwān* by Shāhidī. The first half of the 19th century;

k) a compound manuscript of 1916, containing *Ahtam-nāma*, an Uzbek rendering by Sayqalī of the Tadzhik poem, as well as different verse and fragments of two treatises in Arabic;

l) the second part of the Persian work *Maktūbāt-i imām-i rabbānī* by Badr al-Dīn al-Sirhindī. Composed by 'Abd al-Hay b. Khwāja Chākir-i Hisārī. 18th century;

m) commentary on the *Qur'ān* in Arabic by an unknown author. The beginning and the end of the manuscript are missing. 19th century;

n) a collection of abstracts from different works in Arabic, the beginning of the 20th century.

Central Asian manuscripts are written, as a rule, on locally manufactured paper (yellowish white, varnished, with wide uneven vergé) in a specific Central Asian *nasta'līq*. Most of them have *muqawwā*-bindings with thick cardboard covers, lacquered and decorated with stamped central pieces and medallions.

Two manuscripts of Khanukayev's collection were copied in Turkey on an European paper:

o) a Turkish translation of a Persian treatise on poetry written in 1624. The copy was made on Austrian paper at the end of the 18th century. Restored and bound in the 19th century;

p) an Arabic work on the Muslim law by an unknown author. The beginning and the end of the manuscript is missing. Late 18th—early 19th century.

Four manuscripts came from Daghestan. They are distinguished by a peculiar kind of script, frequent use of red ink and large letters marking chapters and paragraphs, as well as by a rough friable paper of greyish colour:

q) commentary in Arabic by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Ardabīlī on the grammatical work *al-Unmūdhaj*

by al-Zamakhsharī. 17th century. Black leather binding with stamped central piece, medallions and corner-pieces. On the flap of the binding it is stamped: "Let not the hand of an infidel ever touch it" and the date — A.H. 1189/A.D. 1775—1776. Restoration of the 18th—19th centuries;

r) a treatise on the principles of Islam in Arabic by an unknown author. The beginning of the manuscript is missing. 18th century;

s) two 18th century copies of the Arabic work *Minhāj al-'ābidīn ilā jannati rabbi-l-'ālamīn* by al-Ghazālī. Torn leather bindings with flaps.

Besides these items Khanukayev's collection includes a fragment of a parchment scroll of the *Torah* (Deuteronomy, 17.2—21.23); two colour lithographed posters — training appliances on Arabic calligraphy for the Tatar schools (Kazan, 1900—1901); a book with 12 colour illustrations printed in Japan — "Le bras de l'Ogre" — a French translation by J. Dautermer (No. 18 of the "Les contes du vieux Japon" series); and at last a Persian lacquer miniature of Qājār style on cardboard and a lacquered casket of papier-mâché with 19th century miniatures bought in a curiosity shop.

5. Several manuscripts bought from a Moscow collector, three of them, according to the legend, formerly belonged to Academician I. Yu. Krachkovsky (his collection of Islamic manuscripts is now preserved in NLR):

a) a treatise on astrology in Arabic, by an unknown author. Written and copied in 1737. Acquired by Ulrich von Setzen in Cairo in 1808;

b) *Manār al-anwār fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by Hāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Nasafī, in Arabic, of 1666;

c) *Gulistān* by Sa'dī, copied in Central Asia in the late 18th—early 19th century.

From the same collector also came three remarkable, from the artistic point of view, items:

d) a Chinese painting on a silk scroll "A *lizhi* Branch" (china ink and water-colour) by Chan Du (1763—1844) from Hanzhou (the pen-name of Tian Shu Mei). There is a text written by the painter explaining what plant is depicted, where it grows, and of what taste its fruits are;

e) a manuscript executed in the *muraqqa'*-album style, after the Persian tradition, obviously in Turkey, in the second half of the 16th century. It contains fragments from the

*Diwan* by Hāfiẓ and separate lines from a *mathnawī*-poem about Alexander the Great. Hāfiẓ's *ghazals* were copied by Mīr 'Alī al-Kātib in the middle of the 16th century. They were later put into a frame consisting of lines from the poem and glued within multicolour borders decorated with golden ornament. The binding is covered by dark brown leather with gilt central piece, medallions and corner-pieces; the inside is of brown leather with gilded leather net laid upon a coloured central piece, corner-pieces and medallions ("filigree decoration"). On the first folio there are owners' handwriting by 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *kāḍī al-'askar* of Rumelia (the supreme judge of the European part of the Ottoman Empire);

f) the most remarkable and valuable acquisition made by the library is a manuscript coming from the same collection. It is a splendidly illuminated *takhmīs* [5] of the famous Arabic poem in praise of Muḥammad *Qaṣīdat al-burda* by al-Būṣīrī. The name of the person who ordered the manuscript is written on the front page in whiting within a golden rectangle — Qulumṭay al-dawwādār (the keeper of the ink-pot — a high-rank official of the Mamlūk court). On the margins of the same page there is a *waqf* record (testament) telling that on 16 Dhū'l-qa'da 895/1 October 1490 Mamlūk Sultan Ashraf Abū Naṣr Qāyit-bāy (1468—1494) "in agreement with the law left this manuscript to the students seeking for knowledge, and made its abode in the *madrasa* he founded, on the condition of not taking it from the above mentioned *madrasa* except on the security of a deposit". The record is testified by 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad al-Baqalī [6]. The reverse of folio 1 is decorated with a golden *'unwān*. Each stanza is adorned with two golden flower-rosettes. On the last leaf there is a golden disk with a colophon within it, containing the name of the copyist — Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, known as al-Ḥusāmī, and the date that can be read as the last day of Jumādā I 748/7 September 1347. The text is written in scripts of different types and sizes (*muḥaqqaq* and *naskh*), in black and red ink, on dense varnished yellowish-white paper. The binding of the manuscript is also remarkable. It has a blind-tooled dark-brown leather cover and a flap decorated with "netted" and gilded "nail" stamped patterns. The manuscript bears traces of a restoration-work. It is in an excellent condition and its facsimile edition can be easily executed.

## Other acquisitions

1. The *Dīwān* by Hāfiẓ, copied in 1878 in Central Asia, in a claret cardboard *muqawwa*-binding with stamped medallions containing the name of the binder — Mullā ... Muḥammad.

2. A Persian translation of the work on the history of the Ghaznavids — Sebuktegin (977—997) and his son Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd (998—1030), written in Arabic by Abū Ja'far al-Jabbār al-'Utbī. Translated into Persian by Abū'l-Sharaf Nāṣiḥ al-Munshī al-Jārbādaqānī. The copy was made in Iran in the second half of the 19th century.

3. Two parchment scrolls of *Megillōth Esthēr* in Old Hebrew. 19th century.

4. Drawings by Katsushika Hokusai, a famous Japanese painter, — a manual for his pupils. A Japanese block-print of 1878.

5. "The Life of the Faithful Vassal Anao and of the

Men of Honour". An illustrated Japanese block-print of 1885 put in a calico cover with a later metal plaque representing the Orthodox St. Nicholas wooden cathedral in Harbin. It was built by Russians at the beginning of the 20th century and ruined in the 1960's during the Cultural revolution in China.

6. "The History of the East Zhou Kingdoms", a Chinese block-print of 1887, which contains the eighteenth-century novel, in two volumes, each comprising six separately bounded parts. With illustrations.

7. A 19th century Turkish coverlet of organdi-silk embroidered in silk and gold with decorative patterns and phrases in Arabic.

Despite the fact that some of the newly acquired manuscripts were already restored in the East, as well as in the West (including Russia), mostly they are in a bad condition and need a thorough restoration. It is connected not only
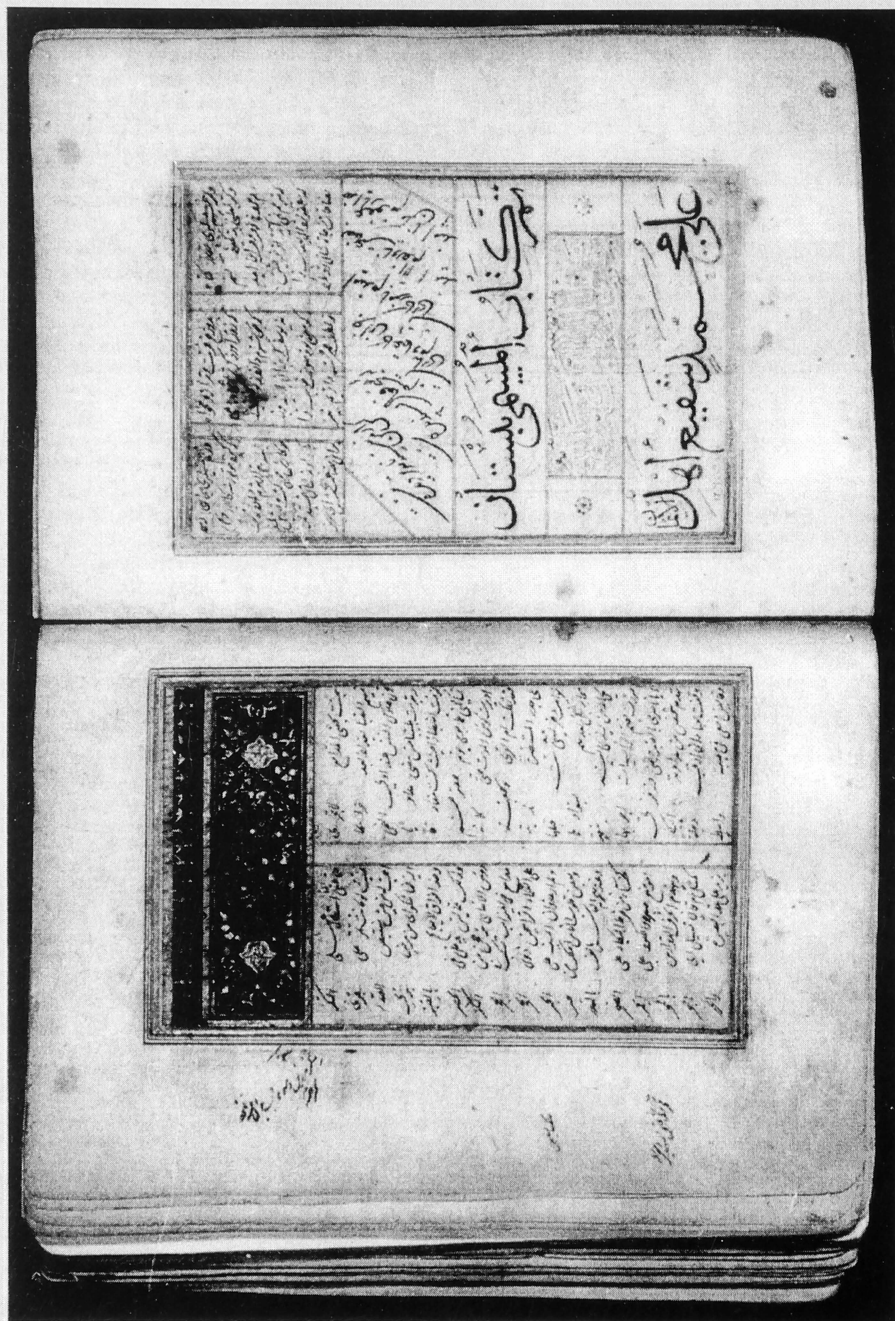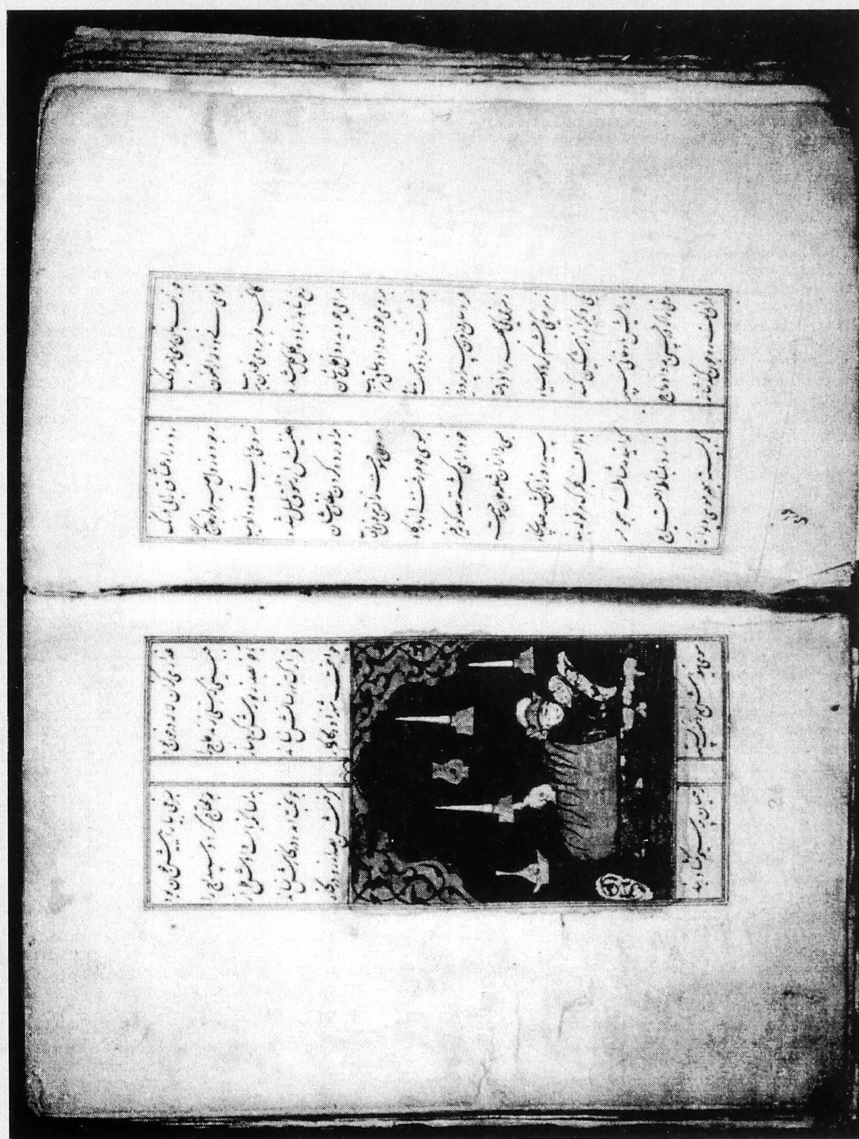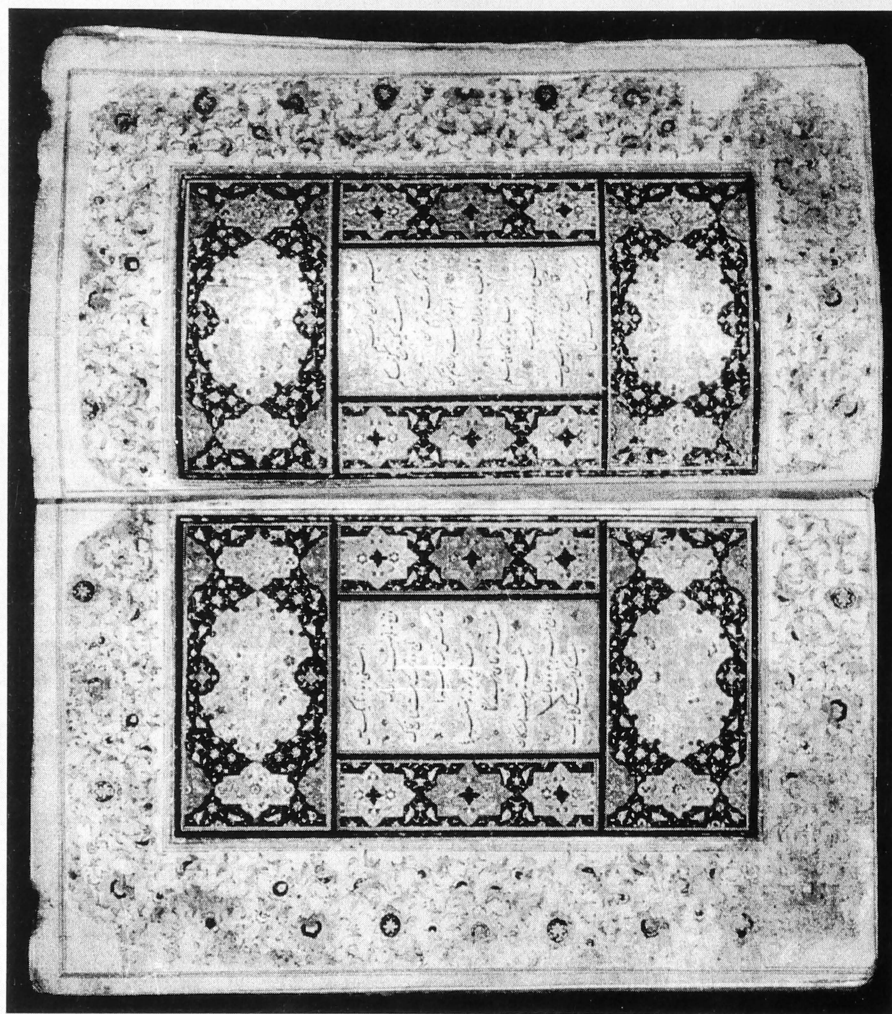
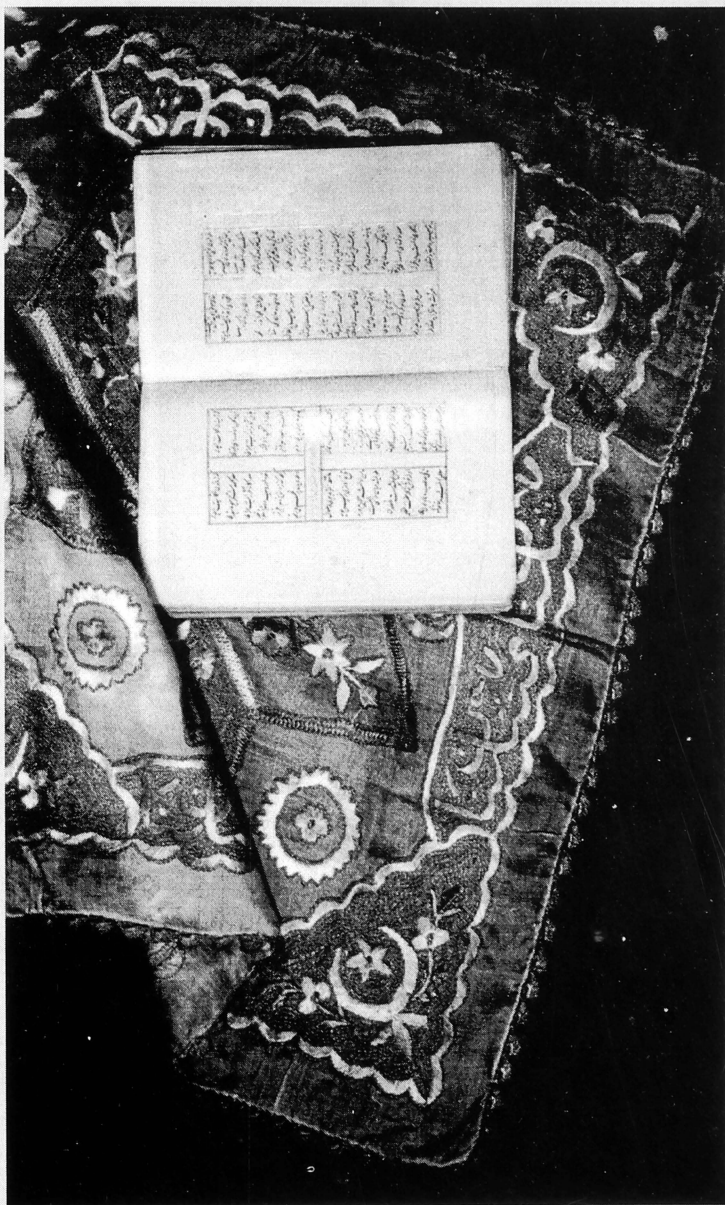*Fig. 1*

*Fig. 2*
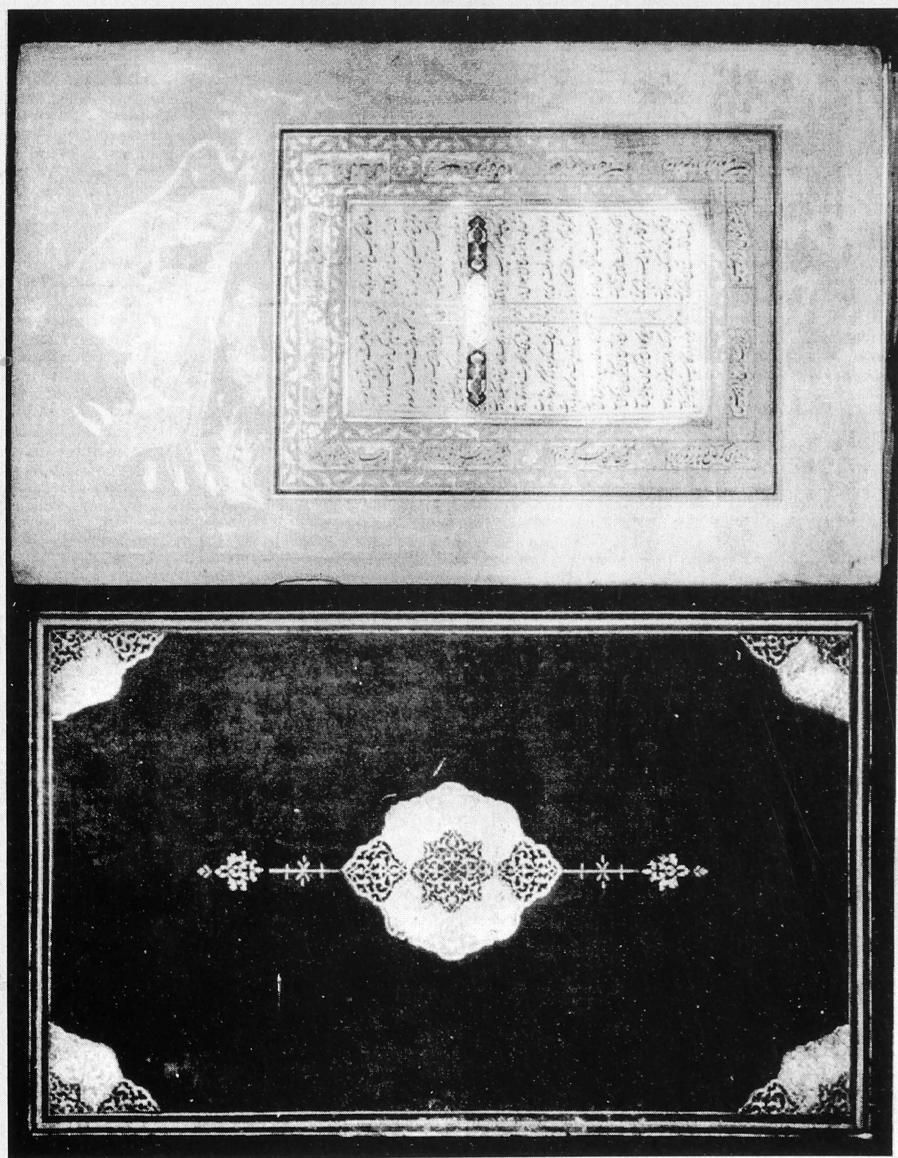
Fig. 3

*Fig. 4*

*Fig. 5*

*Fig. 6*

Fig. 7

*Fig. 8*

*Fig. 9*

with their wrong preserving, but also with their intensive usage by readers.

It should be noted that in St. Petersburg there are still many Oriental manuscripts left in private possession. It is rather amazing, that they have survived the revolution of 1917, that they have not been used as a fuel during the siege of Leningrad in 1941—1944, and that they were not just thrown away. We can hardly expect new items coming directly from the East, and that means that our task is to collect, preserve and study everything that is available now.

We are grateful to those who have brought to the NLR these precious remnants of the historical past irrespective of the fact whether these people had devoted their lives to the collecting of Oriental items or just had kept them at home and thus preserved them from destruction.

## Notes

1. For more detail see our article "Oriental manuscripts in the National Library of Russia", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/2 (1996), pp. 19—35.

2. We take into account only codices, not archive materials.

3. In some cases we rely upon the consultations made by Professor O. F. Akimushkin, Professor L. N. Menshikov and Dr. Val. V. Polosin.

4. Two pages from *Kulliyāt* of 'Imād Faqīh (call number Dorn 406) are published in the article by O. F. Akimushkin and A. A. Ivanov "The art of illumination", *The Art of the Book in Central Asia: 14th—16th centuries* (Paris—London, 1979), pp. 41, 43.

5. *Takhmīs* — a special poetical device when three extra lines are added to two original lines of some author.

6. There is a similar testimony record on another Mamlūk manuscript in the NLR (call number Dorn 103). According to its exlibris, it also belonged to Sultan Qāyiṭ-bāy. The upper part of the leaf with the original *waqf* record was cut off and replaced with a piece of paper with new *waqf* record, which tells that the manuscript was given to the Ahmadiya mosque in the Georgian town of Ahaltsihe.

## Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Kulliyāt* by Sa'dī, late 14th century (PNS, No. 551), 24.7 × 17.5 cm (restored in 1994 by N. B. Lebedeva).

Fig. 2. *Tīmūr-nāma* by Hatīfī, of 1531, copied by Mīrzā Muhammad (PNS, No. 550), 21.5 × 13.0 cm.

Fig. 3. *Khamsa* by Nizāmī, mid-16th century (PNS, No. 552), 30.0 × 17.5 cm.

Fig. 4. *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Hamdī, of 1523, copied by Mustafā b. 'Umar al-Brūsawī (Khanu-kayev, No. 3), 16.8 × 10.0 cm and the Turkish coverlet of organdi-silk embroidered with silk and gold (ANS, No. 651), 47.0 × 47.0 cm.

Fig. 5. *Takhmīs* of *Qasīdat al-burda* by al-Būsīrī, of 1347, copied by Muhammad b. Husayn, known as al-Husāmī (ANS, No. 656). The front page, 31.0 × 21.5 cm.

Fig. 6. Fragments from *Dīwān* by Hāfiz (copied by Mīr 'Alī al-Kātib) and separate verse from *mathnawī* about Alexander the Great, of the 16th century (PNS, No. 555). A sample of the manuscript's page and the inside of the binding, 29.5 × 18.0 cm.

Fig. 7. *Tūtī-nāma* by Diyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī, late 16th—early 17th century (Khanukayev, No. 1), 26.0 × 15.5 cm.

Fig. 8. "A *lizhi* Branch" by Chan Du, late 18th—the first half of the 19th century (KNS, No. 187), 61.0 × 25.0 cm, with borders 98.0 × 43.0 cm.

Fig. 9. Illustrations from "Le bras de l'Ogre" printed in Japan (Khanukayev, No. 25), 15.5 × 10.5 cm.

*N. N. Tumanovich*

# PERSIAN FOLKLORE MATERIALS IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

In the Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies Persian folklore is represented by many genres. There are epic stories, long romantic narratives, entertaining stories, legends, lives of saints, anecdotes, proverbs, etc. The way the collection of Persian folk stories was formed in the funds of the Institute (formerly Asiatic Museum) was almost the same as the making of many other Oriental collections in Russia. Among the 152 volumes formerly belonging to J. Rousseau, which in 1819 laid the foundation of the Persian fund, there was already one manuscript anthology of *hikāyat*s made, judging by its palaeography, by the order of its French owner (manuscript B 260).

In the first three quarters of the 19th century only single records of folklore were coming to the library: in 1845 two manuscripts came from the library of the Scholarly Committee of the Ministry of Finance (the total number of volumes transferred from there to the Asiatic Museum was 13); in 1852 one was received from Kazan after the death of Ch. D. Fraehn; in 1873 one was sent from Tashkent by the order of General K. P. Kaufmann (along with other 17 manuscripts); in 1880 — one manuscript was received from London from a book-seller B. Quaritch. Between 1890 and 1897 the collection was enlarged by 10 items which were coming from Central Asia — from local collectors A. L. Kun, J. J. Lutsch and D. M. Gramenitsky, also due to a special trip to Central Asia undertaken by the keeper of the Asiatic Museum K. G. Salemann (the total number of Persian manuscripts acquired at that time was 175). In the first decade of the 20th century the Museum acquired an interesting specimen sent by N. N. Muravyev from the Transcaucasian region and a copy brought from Kāshghar, from the Russian consul N. F. Petrovsky (the total number — 17 and 29 volumes correspondingly).

Of vital importance for the formation of the *hikāyat* collection was the mission of V. A. Ivanov to Central Asia, mainly to Bukhārā. Among more than 600 Persian-Tadzhik manuscripts bought by him in the 1910s there were 12 volumes containing folklore stories. V. Ivanov himself considered that this group of "folk, almost exclusively anonymous, often not quite grammatically correct compositions" were the most interesting among the manuscripts he acquired [1]. In fact, only from this moment we may speak about any collection of Persian folklore in funds, *i. e.*

of the range that makes it possible to realise the characteristic features of the genre, to compare the contents of distinct works and copies with similar works present in other libraries.

During the last few decades the collection was considerably expanded due to acquisitions from private owners, the activities of special archaeographic expeditions and transition of manuscripts from other institutions. At present the fund of the Institute has a compact but representative enough collection of Persian *hikāyat*s. It includes one large anthology containing 56 stories, three — with 15—18 stories, one — with 10 stories, eight combined manuscripts contain 4—7 stories, eight more — 2—3 stories, and, finally, there are seventeen manuscripts with only one story. There are, as a whole, around 150 works in approximately 200 copies. The rich manuscript collections of Tashkent and Dushanbe are only partly listed in the catalogue, also fragmentary is the information on manuscripts preserved in Iranian collections. The analysis of acquisitions and donations to our collection shows that during the last hundred years there was no deliberate search for manuscripts containing Persian folk stories. The fund was formed at random, mainly due to acquisitions of whole libraries and manuscript collections from "amateur antiquarians". Some of these collections contained one or two manuscripts of *hikāyat*s, though often none were present. For example, in the chronological index of acquisitions made by the Asiatic Museum between 1852 and 1873 thirty new items added to the fund are enumerated, and there was not a single collection of *hikāyat*s among them [2]. Obviously, at that time Russian orientalists were not paying much attention to them. It should be taken into account that for a long time the significance of the Persian folklore, especially of *hikāyat*s, was not recognised by most both European and Iranian scholars — the last ones began to work on this subject only from the middle of the 20th century. According to the current theories, masterpieces of "fine" literature were descending to common people in adapted versions and circulated among them in oral form. Of all folklore genres preference was given to voluminous heroic epic stories and "novels", the main task being the identification of the author and of the region whence from the plot had originated. There was a strict distinction between literary fiction and oral folk narratives,

so a *ḥikāyat* recorded in the 16th or 17th century by a not very much educated Persian or Tadzhik was standing in the middle between literary fiction and "base" folklore.

An example can be cited here. At the end of the 19th—beginning of the 20th century intensive search for "antiquities" was taking place in the region of Kāshghar, which in the 16th—18th centuries had been involved within the sphere of Iranian culture. Many interesting finds were made, including manuscripts, which were transferred to the Asiatic Museum. This lot of manuscripts contained only one collection of folk stories (manuscript A 103 described below). For many decades it had been kept there, attracting no one's attention, and only now its value became evident.

Gradually expanding their sphere of interests, Russian scholars established a new direction of their research — the study of Persian folklore and of folk stories in particular. Articles by V. A. Zhukovsky, especially his work on "Shemyakin Court of Law" [3], where two versions of the Persian story were compared, also served this purpose. Then S. F. Oldenburg published an article considering the same subject, where 24 versions of the tale were taken into account, including three Indian and nine Russian ones [4]. He also analysed several literary versions of *Sindbād-nāma* [5]. It is noteworthy that in the last case the author, who was basing his study upon the texts of Persian manuscripts sent to St. Petersburg from London, thought it necessary to look through the manuscript of the Asiatic Museum (present call number C 809) containing the folk version of *Sindbād-nāma*. Oldenburg enumerates 18 versions of "Fablo Constant du Hamel" [6]. The same line was continued by A. A. Romaskevich [7].

In 1911 Anti Aarne suggested the scheme of recording "international folk tales" soon generally accepted by specialists. There was an increase of interest towards folklore then. In Iran folklore materials were intensively collected in the period by A. A. Romaskevich, by Danish scholar A. Christensen and by Mr. and Mrs. Lorimer from Britain. In all three cases the results of their investigations have been published, but the work done by A. A. Romaskevich is especially impressive. In 1913—1914 he surveyed the central and the south-eastern regions of Iran, where he recorded around 60 folk stories in different dialects, in 1919—1920 he verified the translations before publishing them.

The publication, however, appeared only in 1934. In a brief introduction the author analysed his observations on the ways the plots were circulated, variations depending upon the circumstances and the personality of the storyteller, shared some of his ideas for the first time applied to this field of scholarship. Besides that, A. A. Romaskevich contributed his materials to the "data bank" developed by Aarne-Andreev [8].

Meanwhile, as the amount of folk materials was growing, the need to put them into some system was becoming more and more urgent. In this connection different schemes were suggested by E. E. Bertels (1934), Yu. E. Borschevsky (1963), and I. S. Braginsky (1977). Their formal divisions into genres are, however, open to criticism, and have not yet been accepted by those who study folklore [9].

Not going into details, suffice it to say that each of the three prominent scholars distinguished folk story as an independent genre, no matter how different they defined it.

The author of this article felt the necessity to make definition of the genre of folk story when taking part in the compiling of the complete Description of Persian and Tadzhik manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies. This catalogue aimed at "demonstrating the significance of each manuscript and making this collection more accessible to a wider circle of specialists" [10].

It often turned to be not an easy task to specify the genre of many literary works. In the manuscripts these folk stories are defined as *ḥikāyats*, *qiṣṣa*, *dastān* (the story of a brick-maker in manuscripts B 256, No. 33, B 4496, No. 7, and B 254, No. 1 is presented as a *dastān*). In one case the story of Sulaymān and Sīmurgh (in prose) was called a *qaṣīd* (manuscript D 420, No. 2).

Considering the contents of the stories, there can be stories of everyday life, satire, lyric or romantic stories, fantasy, legendary, adventure and erotic stories. In scientific and popular literature they are called either novels (E. E. Bertels) or tales (many of the Russian translations are titled in this way), or fablio (S. F. Oldenburg). For convenience sake we use here general terms like "folk story" or "entertaining story", or, which is most often used in Persian, *ḥikāyat*.

For a novel the stability of its title is characteristic — usually after the name of its hero. From the point of view of the way its plot is built a novel has much in common with a *ḥikāyat*, though it is two or three times larger in volume, with a more complicated plot and a greater number of personages. Often a frame-composition is used (subject-frame embracing inset stories). In our manuscripts these last ones are defined, as well as stories, as *dastāns*, *ḥikāyats* or *qiṣṣas*. However, the word *nāma* (literally — "narrative") is applied only to novels or larger epic works, but not to stories: *Ḥikāyat-i Bakhtiyār* (manuscript C 1839), *Dastān-i Bakhtiyār* (manuscript B 4496, No. 18); *Bakhtiyār-nāma* (manuscript A 100).

There is a number of works of a "frontier" genre. Short stories or anecdotes — two or three folios — were not excluded from the Description if they were coming within a collection of stories. On the other hand, long narratives, like *Nūshāfarīn* were classified as novels and were not included into the Description, even though the distance separating an abridged version of a "novel" of this kind from expanded versions of the *Sayf al-Mulūk* type is insignificant, be it its volume or contents (in this case it was taken into account, to what genre the work in question was usually attributed in special literature).

Stories about Sulaymān, Jesus, the Seven Sleeping Youths of Ephesus, should have been, in fact, classified as legends; these, however, were circulated along with stories about *shāhs* (Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, 'Abbās and other celebrities). In this quality they were included into authorised thematic collections like *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyat* by Muḥammad 'Awfī (early 13th century). At that time, consequently, as well as in the 19th century (the time of our manuscripts) these legends were accepted as stories about real persons.

Dealing with such a flexible material as Persian folk tales, one cannot do without certain conventions. Besides the indefinite nature of the genre itself, both the titles of these works and the names of the heroes are changing from copy to copy. Thus in the story about a brick-maker the hero is called either Muḥammad Mū'min from Iṣfahān (B 256, No. 33), or Shāpūr from Kārzarūn (A 103), or Sāliḥ (B 4496, No. 7), or Mas'ūd from Fārs (B 254, No. 1).

The specifics of the genre made us introduce into the scheme of description certain changes and additions. Principally new was the approach to each story, no matter how short it was, as to an independent work with a bibliographic section attached to it. The absence of any author and the inconstancy of titles and heroes' names left the only possibility to identify a story — its plot. Therefore, each *ḥikāyat* (including inset frame-stories) was annotated, all the proper names and place-names being necessarily mentioned.

Entry "type-subject" introduced into the scheme of description indicated the place of the plot in the folklore of the peoples of the World (the usefulness of this was already evident to Romaskevich). Meanwhile the further division of plots into motifs, suggested by S. Thompson, was rejected — in a coded form the materials were becoming inaccessible to non-specialists. Entry "Compare" makes it possible to trace any changes of the plot in question during the last 150—200 years: some of the plots recorded in our manuscripts in the 18th—19th centuries continued to circulate in oral form, judging by the records made in the middle of the 20th century in Iran, Central Asia, Turkey, India and other countries of the region. Russian translations of Tadzhik, Balochi, Kurdish, Persian, Indian and Turkish tales have been published [11].

Only two manuscripts of the collection we can surely date to the 17th century. These are MS D 352 copied in 1037/ 1627—1628 and MS C 1839 dated by the 12th of Ṣafar 1088/17 April 1677 [12]. There is a suggestion that the Indian manuscript B 256 was also made at the end of the 17th century. Other manuscripts containing folk tales and novels are of a later date — 18th—19th centuries. Coming from different parts of Asia, they outline the borders of the Persian-speaking world of the preceding period. Manuscripts containing *ḥikāyat*s came to the Asiatic Museum mainly from Central Asia — from Bukhārā, Samarqand, Tashkent, Ūsh, Qoqand. There are five copies from Iran — from Shīrāz, Kāshān, from the region bordering upon Iraq; two manuscripts are from India; Kazan, Kāshghar and Northern Afghanistan (Balkh), each provided one manuscript.

The greater part of these manuscripts are written on Oriental paper (sometimes different sorts of paper are used in one volume), only the manuscript from Kazan formerly belonging to Ch. D. Fraehn and four brought from Iran are written on European paper. One manuscript from the collection of J. L. Rousseau (B 260) bears water mark "Z. Whatman", one from the collection of V. A. Ivanov (B 254) — "1781". V. V. Radloff's manuscript is written on paper of Russian manufacture with water mark "Г. А. 1832". For the exception of the Kazan manuscript and two manuscripts (C 1401 and A 762) from Ivanov's collection written in ink, in all other cases China ink with infrequent inclusions of cinnabar is used (C 126 — red cinnabar, C 1455 — crimson, C 809 — yellow ink).

Of the scripts the scribes gave preference to *nasta'līq* which was most widely used in all regions, especially its Central Asian version (more angular than its Iranian version). Individual features of handwriting can be traced in some manuscripts — clear *nasta'līq* (A 103, B 260), large (C 173), loose (A 762, C 1839), with elements of *shikasta* (C 3700, C 380, etc.). A special kind of *nasta'līq* current under the Great Moghuls (1526—1856) is characteristic of Indian manuscript B 256, the Kazan manuscript (B 264)

demonstrates a characteristic Tatar *nasta'līq* with elements of *naskh* and *shikasta*.

There are five cases when the names of copyists are mentioned. One Urganjī (*i. e.* born in Urgench) copied *Bakhtiyār-nāma* (A 100); Mīrzā 'Abd al-Sām b. Mīrzā Pāyguzār Salīm-bāy — a long story about 'Ādil-khān and four *darwīsh*es (B 2157); Mullā Ḥusayn Walad-i Mullā Sulaymān Khūqandī — the story of Sayf al-Mulūk (B 4495); Muḥammad Ṣādiq Walad-i Muḥammad Ḥasan — two stories about a thief and a judge and about Sīmurgh and Sulaymān (D 420); Mīrzā Muḥammad Walad-i Ḥājjī Muḥammad Mashhadī — the story of a brick-maker and *Bakhtiyār-nāma* (B 254). In the last two cases the work was probably done by the order of some Europeans — on paper of European and Russian manufacture correspondingly. It should be also taken into account that the signature of Muḥammad Walad-i Ḥājjī Muḥammad Mashhadī appears on folio 112b of the compound manuscript, while the stories start from folio 113a, *i. e.* the signature may refer to another work — a treatise on theology bound under one cover with the stories.

There are not many decorations in the manuscripts: coloured frames (C 809, D 352, D 420), floral designs (B 266, B 4471, C 380). Tinted paper and coloured speckles are used sometimes, giving more liveliness to the pages.

There are many marks and corrections, even children's drawings are present (C 126). Among additional inscriptions there are names of the former owners of manuscripts, some of them with dates: Mullā Ni'matjān Muḥammad-ūghlī, 1873 (in Uzbek, C 2038), Mullā Mas'ūd Firdaws (C 2419). Most of the manuscripts are defective, with lacunae, torn pages, dots, holes, damaged by worms, etc.

In several cases the manuscripts came to the Manuscript Department with missing or damaged covers — manuscripts B 3700, C 1202, B 4083, C 2159. Now only nine of the manuscripts in collection have their original bindings — A 100, A 762, A 254, C 1401, C 1839, C 2038, D 351, D 420, D 421. Most of them have characteristic Central Asian bindings — *muqawwā*. They were made of cardboard paper covered with glossy paper of different colours, with stamped medallions, frames, corner pieces and backs of textile or leather. One of the characteristic features of the *muqawwā* bindings is the relation of the sides — approximately 2 : 1. There is not only ordinary green *muqawwā* in the collection, but also of red, orange, tobacco cherry or blue colour. Stamped medallions sometimes contain the names of the binders: Muḥammad Sharīf (C 1640), in some cases with dates: Mīr 'Ādil Khwāja 1275/1858—1859 (B 2180); Mīr Muḥammad 1263/1847 (C 809); sometimes with more expanded legends: "Made by the binder Yūsuf Khwāja 1254/1838—1839 (C 126); made by Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir, the binder; there is even a kind of incantation: "1268/1851—1852, let everything end successfully". Stamps on the binding of manuscript C 667 reflect the transferring of the book from one craftsman to another. One of its medallions runs: "O Allah! Safeguard Muḥammad Yūsuf, 1283/1866—1867", another: "Binder Khwājī Qādir b. Khwājī Ibrāhīm Kāshgharī, 1288/1871—1872". The binding of manuscript B 4471, besides the name of the binder — Mullā Ḥakīm b. Mullā Muḥammad Raḥīm, is covered with moral sentences. Some of them are almost erased, in some separate words only are legible. The surviving three sentences give some idea of their general style: "O Shah! Let you prosper a thousand years", "There are thou-

sand hours in one day, there are thousand years in one hour", "Do me a favour, bless my name".

Some manuscripts contain one, two or even three separate stories which came there by pure chance — where there was some free space: on the margins (C 2447) or on free pages (C 380). Compound manuscript C 1401 contains a book of a smaller format with a story (there is also a treatise on medicine and fragments from Ṣūfī works, etc.).

Manuscript D 352 is arranged in a different way. There are two poems, *Sindbād-nāma* by Muḥammad al-Ẓahīrī al-Samarqandī and several other works of the same kind. The story of Ṭāhir from Baṣra organically fits into this collection of texts. Manuscript D 420 follows the same pattern, poetic works prevailing among the examples of fiction collected there. It is quite natural to find among them the story of a thief and a judge and of Sulaymān and Sīmurgh. Manuscript B 4471 — a collection of poetic works by different authors in Persian, Tadzhik, and Uzbek — culminates in the story of Beauty and Love.

Some general idea is traceable in other convoluted manuscripts, even if it is not so evident there as in thematic collections of texts. Manuscripts C 693 contains two stories — the story of Tamīm Anṣārī and the story of water-bearer Adham, which are close to the genre of "lives". The same volume contains also a book on fortune-telling by the names of prophets, a dream-book, a book on letter-writing, verse, etc. The whole manuscript is executed after the same pattern. It is quite possible that it was made by some one's order; its contents even makes it possible to imagine, what kind of person its owner was. It could be a wealthy and religious man, who wished to have under one cover several works useful in the everyday life and at the same time entertaining.

One or two stories, making less than one tenth of the manuscript, only confirm the notion of a general idea cementing its different parts. If there are more stories, they become the compositional axis of the whole volume. In a small selection (C 2159) five short stories about Sulaymān are supplemented with comments on Qur'ānic sayings in Arabic. In spite of the difference in language it reflects the thematic uniformity of the manuscript. The same pattern is used in manuscript C 1455 containing five short stories about pious people. To make the collection more uniform the compiler of the volume shifted the emphasis of the first story: he removed its hero — 'Ādil-khān — to the second plan and stressed the social status of the *darwīsh*es. Abstracts from hagiographic literature, "lives" of archangels Gabriel and Michael, Ṣūfī treatises, prayers and short works on theology and ethics were gently linked to the folk stories represented in the volume.

Cultural and aesthetic functions of folk stories are most fully embodied in volumes containing exclusively works of this genre. The best example of this are the interweaving and supplementing each other Central Asian copies B 4496, C 1640, C 2419 and C 809 made approximately at the same time and within the same region. The most voluminous — B 4496 — contains 18 works: 15 stories and 3 novels. It is very close to C 809 — the titles of the stories are the same, the text contains the same mistakes, the same words are written in cinnabar. C 809 is probably later than B 4496, consequently it could either be copied from the last one, or both manuscripts had the same protograph. Unfortunately, C 809 is incomplete — only the first four works are present there.

The connection between MSS C 2419 and C 1640 is confirmed by the similarity of the texts of three stories, which have the same omissions of words. The order of *hikāyat*s is different, which makes us think that the two manuscripts had one protograph. The comparison of MSS C 1640 and C 2419 on one hand and MS B 4496 on the other gives the following results: 15 works in C 1640 have 7 parallels in B 4496, of 10 works of C 2419 only one corresponds to B 4496. If we compare B 4496, C 1640 and C 2419 with similar collections of stories in the libraries of Tadzhikistan and Uzbekistan, we get a more detailed picture basing upon more than ten manuscripts [13]. It is suffice to mention that 12 plots of our B 4496 have all the 12 parallels in Tadzh. 167, 9 parallels in Tadzh. 141, 10 parallels in Uzb. 311 and 9 parallels in Uzb. 1469 [details on the MSS's call numbers see in note 13]. As a rule, the texts are very close, the titles and the names of heroes are the same. Coincidence may be traced: a group of seven stories in Uzb. 311 appears in the same order in Uzb. 1469, in the same way as C 809 partly copies B 4496, and C 2419 repeats the omissions and mistakes of C 1640.

B 4496 is a characteristic representative of the genre. We may even say that in the 19th century a group of stories close to the one we have in this collection was "circulated" in Central Asia (which is confirmed by the comparison of our C 809 with Tadzhik and Uzbek manuscripts). B 4496 seems to have been made by a copyist. It is most likely that the text was dictated to him, since many mistakes characteristic of a not well educated Tadzhik recording by ear can be noticed. The contents of B 4496 as an optimal variant for a middle-class reader and for mass declamations deserves more attention.

The most striking feature is the uniformity of the stories, most of them titled after the names of their heroes: *Hazār-Gīsū wa Muslim-shāh*, *Sulaymān wa Gulfām*, *Khujasta wa Māriyā*, etc. The plot of 10 stories is built after a scheme of four or five cardinal points: 1) the hero or heroine travel against their own will (as a rule, because of the sudden falling in love); 2) a series of adventures, including transformations; 3) actions of "assistants", the indispensable personages of these stories; 4) additional difficulties, fulfilment of all conditions; 5) the happy end. The pattern is standard, even the plots are more or less similar, which is characteristic of Persian literature in general. What makes the stories entertaining are fantasy (wonderful salvation, healing, resurrection, finding of a magic item or assistant) and dynamic action (storm, combat with a monster, shipwreck, lightning-quick flight from one part of the earth to another). Some stories emphasise on details and episodes, rather than the main plot. Among the 15 stories of B 4496 two (5th and 15th) are actually just two versions of one and the same plot. They appear like two different *hikāyat*s only due to some different episodes and different names of the personages. Sometimes one and the same motif appears in all possible forms. The theme of a prophetic or magic dream is especially important in B 4496 — the plot of every third story there is basing upon it. Stories collected in manuscript B 4496 present a reminiscence of folk literature of different historical periods. The most ancient stratum is reflected in the novels *Haft wazīr* and *Bakhtiyār-nāma*. Scholars think that their plots go back to Indian or to Pahlavi literature [14]. Several plots are known by the Arabic cycle "Thousand Nights and One Night". In one of the stories, for the first time in the course of many years' work

over manuscripts from the collection, "the Kingdom of Kabūl" was mentioned. For an illiterate Tadzhik or Uzbek this name could be in some way connected with real historical events — the victorious expedition of Tīmūrid Bābur to Kabūl and Delhi at the beginning of the 16th century and the foundation of the Empire of Great Moghuls. Up to the middle of the 19th century it nourished cultural relations between India and Central Asia. The growth of European influence in the East, not only political but cultural as well, finds reflection in fantastic stories involving "Frank" (*i. e.* European) princesses. The subjects of the stories collected in manuscript B 4496 remained popular and continued to circulate in oral form in the 20th century. It is confirmed by records made by N. P. Ostroumov, A. A. Romaskevich, the Lorimers and other folklorists [15].

Manuscripts C 1640 and C 2419 attract our attention, because the name of their compiler is mentioned there. "O Allah! In the full extent of your mercy and compassion and by the wisdom of your existence bring to the goal of both worlds this unhappy and miserable Qārī Ṣādiq and all faithful Muslims and Muslim women" — is written on folio 10b of C 1640. Some other sayings which occur in the text, like "Told the truth and gave his soul" (fol. 191b) or "Punish or reward, as you wish" (fol. 200a) also belong to Qārī Ṣādiq. In the fifth volume of "The Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences", under No. 3702 there is some "Collection of Anecdotes" copied by one Qārī Raḥmatallāh Wāḍiḥ [16]. It is difficult, however, so say something definite about this Qārī (or these Qārīs) before we compare their handwriting.

The stories included into C 1640 are typologically close to those in B 4496; almost half of them are textual parallels. Noteworthy is the replacement of the name of the sovereign in the 10th story of this manuscript. Its plot — about a faithful friend — is known by the "Thousand Nights and One Night", but in our variant Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (A.H. 786—809) is replaced by Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī (A.H. 997—1030). His name appears in all the five Tadzhik and Uzbek parallels we managed to found. It points to an old, probably several centuries long East-Iranian tradition behind this version. The main part of C 1640, about three quarters, is made by four novels. Two of them, about Mihr and Māh and about Ḥātam Ṭāy, are well-known by Tadzhik and Uzbek parallels, though in our collection they are present only in manuscript C 1640. Taken together, the novels fully enough characterise the genre and composition of this kind of folk literature.

Manuscript C 2419 starts with the compiler's introduction praising Allah, the prophets and all other Muslim saints — which is characteristic of works on history or major literary works, bur not of collections of stories. We may suggest three ideas in this connection. First of all, it could be a manifestation of its proximity, even of imitativeness, to manuscript C 1640. Second, the collection opens with the novel *Shīrzād wa Gulshād*. Unlike other folk novels, it exists in a single version. Its refined narrative, plenty of verse in the text and especially a reference to Iṣfahān as the capital (from 1598) makes us date the work to the 17th—18th centuries. The author of this literary version is unknown, but he doubtless existed in the comparatively recent past [17]. The composition was, consequently, accepted as a literary work, so it was appropriate to provide it with a foreword. Third, we can not exclude, that the

compiler wanted to attract attention to his part in assembling this unusual collection of stories (7 of the 8 stories of C 2419 stand outside the usual circle of tales popular in Bukhārā, almost half of them are "framed" narratives).

The compiler of C 2419 makes one of the heroes not a Rūmī, as he is called in other manuscripts of our collection, but a native of Marw, which is more in conformity with the geographical environment of the story mentioning Balkh, Qandahār, Nīshāpūr and other cities well known to the natives of Central Asia.

A rather special manuscript from East Turkestan — A 103 — came to our collection in 1909. The parcel sent by the Russian consul in Kāshghar N. F. Petrovsky included 29 volumes. A 103 was probably in a very bad condition before restoration. Some of the leaves fell out. It is also evident that folios 67, 68, 253, 260, 309, etc. were inserted after the main text. Some of the leaves stuck together. That is probably why K. G. Salemann, the chief keeper of the Asiatic Museum and a great expert in Islamic manuscripts, registered A 103 as "a collection of 15 stories" [18], while actually there are 18 stories (this error was corrected in 1964). The manuscript most likely had a leather binding, as well as other manuscripts which came in the same parcel. Their paper, script, size, the number of lines per page were almost the same. N. D. Mikluho-Maklay, who described the manuscripts, states that they had "Oriental bindings of cardboard paper covered with stamped leather" [19]. The cover of A 103 was probably so damaged that in 1954 they had to give it a new binding. Characteristic is the format of the binding — the relation of its sides is, unlike *muqawwā*, 3 : 2.

A 103 is unique, because it includes only *ḥikāyat*s. They are almost of the same length — around 20 leaves in a small-size volume (text 14.5 × 7 cm, 13 lines, written in clear *nasta'līq*). There are not many parallels to the stories it contains in the Central Asian manuscripts of our collection (B 4496, C 1640, C 2419), while Tadzh. 141 provides 13 parallels and Tadzh. 167 — 16. Five stories in A 103 not only coincide but even follow in the same order as in Uzb. 3675 and Uzb. 4484. The following observations were made by the comparison of A 103 with Uzb. 3985.

A 103 includes 18 stories, Uzb. 3985 — 17 stories following in the same order. There is only one story in A 103 (the third one), which is missing in Uzb. 3985 — a short anecdote about a misunderstanding between a man and his wife. The fourth story in A 103 has no title, it starts with the words: "The third story. They say that in the city of Baghdad ...", *i. e.* the anecdote mentioned above was not taken into account by the copyist who usually did his work rather mechanically. It means that initially there was no anecdote in A 103, which included 17 stories like Uzb. 3985. In this way we discovered two identical collections of stories. The presence of identical collections of stories has never so far been recorded in catalogues or known to students of folklore. One can conclude that not only single *ḥikāyat*s or small groups of them were circulated, but whole collections of them, accepted as real artistic works in their compositional unity.

The contents of A 103 appears at first to be not much different from the contents of our Central Asian manuscripts. Most *ḥikāyat*s tell about different adventures of their heroes. There are, however, some important differences. Fantasy, the core of Central Asian stories, is almost missing or auxiliary in the manuscript. The flying trunk in

*Fig. 1*

the 13th story of A 103 is not the axis of the plot, its loss even makes the hero happy. The *parī* from the 5th story is made of moon light, she does not eat and drink, but like a mortal woman she can love and suffer, be jealous. She gives birth to a son who is half man, half *parī*. In the story of Khudādād and his 99 brothers fantasy is required only for the happy end, where "evil is punished, and righteousness is triumphant" (the 9th story). The events take place not in fantastic lands but in real life. Noteworthy is the belief in the righteous king. In the epilogue the representative of the supreme authority is giving their due to all villains, a whole gallery of them: viziers, judges, governor, market authority, lawyer, etc. While in Central Asian stories the heroes are usually princes or princesses, in A 103 they are often commoners, cunning or lucky people, often craftsmen — weavers, carpenters, brick-makers, builders, jewellers. Heroines of A 103 are enterprising and faithful, but if circumstances demand they can be vengeful and treacherous.

The geography of A 103 is also different. Of placenames close to Central Asian only Balkh and Khorasan are mentioned. Most of them go back to the "Thousand Nights and One Night" — Baṣra, Baghdād, Mawṣil, Misr, Maghrib; purely Iranian — Shīrāz, Fārs, Bām, Kirmān. The course taken by the hero of the 11th story: Daryābār, the Oman Sea, Chīn, Hindūstān, Zangibār, Farang, Rūm, Shām, Maghrib — outline the real medieval sea-route through the Mediterranean, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

The geographic range of the manuscript, its decorative style, its Persian language with no traces of Tadzhik dialect conforms that A 103, even if created in Central Asia, was made not in the local Bukhārā traditions but in East-Iranian, characteristic of C 1640 considered above, where the name of Hārūn al-Rashīd is replaced by that of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. A 103 can be dated to the 18th century, but the roots of the *ḥikāyat*s collected there go back to an earlier period, the time when Iran and Central Asia were one whole, with Persian language and Iranian culture dominating the whole region. The town of Kāshghar, whence from manuscript A 103 originates, remained in the 17th century a transitional point on the trade route from Central Asia to the Far east. Caravan routes were also connecting Kāshghar through Balkh and Iṣfahān with the Persian Gulf. Trade connections developed along with cultural exchange. The compiler of A 103 (or of its protograph) selected of the fund of *ḥikāyat*s circulating in the area between Asia Minor and India 17 stories most popular among tradesmen and craftsmen. What unites them is the female theme: at least 14 *ḥikāyat*s of the collection should be considered from this point of view. It was enough to turn the collection of stories into a single whole. The composition of the manuscript also adds to this impression of unity: a calm narrative comes after a dynamic plot, a playful joke is followed by contemplation on the essence of life; the volume terminates in the theme of destiny. The harmony of manuscript A 103 makes it distinct from all other collections of stories preserved in the funds of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

### Notes

1. Arkhiv vostokovedov (The archives of orientalists of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies), fund 18, list 1, item 14, fol. 3.

2. *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR. Kratkiĭ alfavitnyĭ katalog* (Persian and Tadzhik Manuscripts of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Concise Alphabetic Catalogue). Pt. II. Indexes and supplements (Moscow, 1964), pp. 144—5.

3. V. A. Zhukovskiĭ, "Persidskaia versiia "Shemiakina suda"" ("The Persian version of "Shemyakin Court of Law""), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, V (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 157—78.

4. S. F. Ol'denburg, "Shemiakin sud" ("Shemyakin Court of Law"), *Zhivaia Starina*, vol. I, fasc. 3 (1891), pp. 183—5.

5. S. F. Ol'denburg, "O persidskoĭ prozaicheskoĭ versii "Knigi Sindbada"" ("On the Persian version of *Sindbād-nāma*"), *Al-Muzaffariya* (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 253—4, 276—8.

6. S. F. Ol'denburg, "Fablo vostochnogo proiskhozhdeniia. III. Constant du Hamel" ("Fablio of the Oriental origin. III. Constant du Hamel"), *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia*, New Series, No. 5 (1907), section 2, pp. 46—82.

7. A. A. Romaskevich, "Persidskie versii fablo Constant du Hamel" ("Persian versions of the fablio Constant du Hamel"), *Sbornik v chest' akademika S. F. Ol'denburga* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 443—50.

8. *Persidskie narodnye skazki* (Persian Folk Tales). Selection, translation, notes and introduction by A. A. Romaskevich (Moscow—Leningrad, 1934); A. Aarne, *The Types of the Folk-Tale* (Helsinki, 1928); N. P. Andreev, *Ukazatel' skazochnykh siuzhetov po sisteme Aarne* (Index of Folk-Tale Subjects after the System of Aarne) (Leningrad, 1929).

9. E. E. Bertel's, "Persidskaia "lubochnaia" literatura" (Persian "Lubok" Literature). *Sbornik v chest' akademika S. F. Oldenburga*, pp. 83—93; Yu. E. Borshchevskiĭ, "Persidskaia narodnaia literatura" ("Persian Folk Literature"), *Plutovka iz Bagdada* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 5—26; I. S. Braginskiĭ, "Ob "Iranskoĭ skazochnoĭ éntsiklopedii"" ("On "Iranian Fairy-Tale Encyclopaedia""), *Iranian Fairy-Tale Encyclopaedia* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 5—15.

10. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Tadzhik and Persian Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1955).

11. N. N. Tumanovich, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Persian and Tadzhik Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 6. Folklore: Entertaining Stories and Novels (Moscow, 1981); S. Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (Copenhagen, 1955—1958), i—vi.

12. The earliest date occurring in the manuscripts is 977/1569—1570 in manuscript C 380 containing two stories. Not these, however, are dated, but a historical treatise occupying the main part of the volume. In compound manuscript A 860 there are dates 994/1585—1586 and 998/1589—1590, but they also refer to other works (there are 14 of them), but not to the story of Anūshīrwān.

13. We have a description of manuscripts in the Tadzhik library named after Firdawsī: call number 167, of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences, call number 141 (made by Yu. Salimov) and of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, call numbers 310, 311, 312, 1469, 3534, 3676, 3985, 4654 (made by Yu. Borschevsky).

14. On the bibliography of the novels see N. N. Tumanovich, *Opisanie*, pp. 114, 109.

15. See *Persidskie narodnye skazki*, note 8; N. P. Ostroumov, *Skazki sartov v russkom izlozhenii* (Sart Tales in Russian Rendering) (Tashkent, 1906); also see *Persian Tales*, trans. by Lorimer (London, 1919).

16. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ Akademii nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR* (The Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1960), v, p. 150, No. 3702.

17. The copy of *Shīrzād wa Gulshād*, after which the English translation was made, contains no verse. There are also textual differences, see *The Palace of Nine Pavilions, The Three Dervishes and Other Persian Tales and Legends*, transl. by R. Levy (Oxford, 1926).

18. K. G. Saleman, "Musul'manskie rukopisi vnov' postupivshie v Aziatskiĭ Muzeĭ v 1909—1910 gg." ("Muslim manuscripts recently acquired by the Asiatic Museum in 1909—1910"), *Izvestiia Impatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk*, Series VI, vol. V (1911), p. 255, No. 61.

19. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Tadzhik and Persian Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 2. Biographies (Moscow, 1961), Nos. 196, 197, 202, etc.

## Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** *Jāmi' al-hikāyāt*, a manuscript from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection (call number A 103), 18th century. The fourth\* chapter entitled *Hikāyat-i Hārūn al-Rashīd wa wazīr-i ū Faḍl ibn Rabī' wa Abū 'l-Qāsim Baṣrī*, fols. 68b—69a, 11.5 × 17.5 cm.

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\* The copyist of the manuscript has mistakenly enumerated the fourth chapter as the third one.

# ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS
# AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES
## Correspondence Round Table

## ITISALAT DISCUSSION OF CD-ROM PROTECTION/PIRACY PROBLEM

In *Manuscripta Orientalia*, vol. 2, No. 2 (1996), the article "A robust and versatile solution for the digital publication of manuscript material" by Hansje Braam and Marc Vandamme (Utrecht University) was published. The discussion of some ideological and technical problems concerning CD-ROM editions of the manuscript heritage, which are being realized now in several libraries and research centers, was proposed there. The information about the similar program of the Vatican library (IBM technical and software support) shows that the idea of using digital technologies for this purpose has a good future.

Nearly simultaneously with the publication in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, the subscribers of ITISALAT (The Internet Forum on Arabic Computing) started discussion on the protection of CD software against piracy. The discussion seems to be a real success of ITISALAT. It is so interesting that we decided to propose correspondence on the problem to the attention of the *Manuscripta*

*Orientalia* audience which is much wider than that of ITISALAT.

Among the most active participants of the discussion we have to mention George N. Hallak, ARAMedia Group, Arabization & Software Center, who initialized the discussion; Adrian Brockett, Quest MultiMedia; Abdel-hadi, Systems Engineer/Nike; Andrew Freeman, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan; Alec McAllister, Arts Computing Development Officer, Computing Service, University of Leeds.

You may remember that issue No. 3 of vol. 1 (1996) of *Manuscripta Orientalia* also contained the material connected with the ITISALAT (it was Arabic/Farsi OCR that was discussed). Proposing the present discussion, we would like to wish all *Manuscripta Orientalia* and ITISALAT subscribers an outright victory over piracy and pirates, who sometimes intend not only to steal our work but also to destroy our private life.

A bas les piratos!

*Efim Rezvan,*
*Manuscripta Orientalia Deputy Editor-in-Chief*

**Paul Roochnik**, *ITISALAT Moderator*

*We have been working very hard on our upcoming release of a CD-ROM in English, French, and Arabic for Windows and Mac. Our developers are utilizing Adobe's Acrobat 2.01 (.pdf) technology.*

*We are writing to you requesting your help and recommendations for means of protection and security of our work on the CD-ROM against piracy.*

*We kindly ask you to advise us if you know of such a product. If so, please post or e-mail the source of such product or company that works best with Acrobat, preserving the integrity of our work.*

*In case this is the wrong place to request such information, please advise of a good source to contact for such information.*

*Thank you,*

**George N. Hallak**

*We protect our CDs with "Laserlock" technology which is proving very effective. The games industry is using it more and more. It works on both hardware and software levels... You can't copy to another CD. You can copy to a hard disk BUT you have to have the original disc in the CD drive to run your program. We'll be happy to forward any further information.*

**Adrian Brockett**

The Middle East Market is infested with pirates, when my principals called me from Beirut, they had that in mind. Pirates are very creative, and I do not have a direct answer to your question, not understanding the difference. If you have two separate solutions, please post or e-mail to me... Who knows what the publisher, in Beirut, is thinking... They are looking into all kinds of solutions.

One, consumer friendly, way is lower the price of the CD to under $40.00 (?), deeming it invaluable for the pirates to copy, master, or whatever. Please, keep the information flowing... Thank you.

*George N. Hallak*

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There's isn't much you can do about this. Hackers/crackers are more creative than copy protection guys. If you want a simple cheap copy protection idea from me for a CD, fill the CD with 650 meg of files. Some files belong to the program and some are useless. If the pirate wants to copy the CD, he better had a lot of hard drive space and tons of floppies. Forget modem transfers. If he's clever, let him figure out which files are genuine!

You don't need that high tech of Laserlock. You can't write to a CD, therefore, what you can do is to try to write to the CD, if it failed then you have an original CD.

*Abdel-hadi*

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It's not been so simple (or cheap) in our experience.

Firstly, with the software we need (to cut hybrid discs) your idea means that we would have to have at least a further 650 meg on our hard disk (in addition to the 650 you propose) every time we would want to cut a new alpha or beta.

Secondly, you would have to give the junk similar names to the real programs and mix them right in with the real programs, or else any copier will immediately see which are the programs to copy and which are not. If you mix in junk, however, it causes you endless headaches updating and backing up, and even worse, it is more than likely to slow down your CD at final run-time.

Moreover, if you do have a really desirable program that's going to bring pirates good money, then a full CD won't stop them. It might stop the casual home user, but not the professional — and those are the people we really want to stop.

I still think Laserlock is the best protection around at the moment. It's not particularly expensive either.

Keeping the price of the CD low, as George Hallak says, is also a good policy, but not on its own (without protection) unless you're prepared to sell for next to nothing, because if you have a killer product that will sell in large numbers, the profit for the pirates will still be attractive, even if they sell it for 10 dollars. I heard the other day of a CD for sale in Saudi apparently for as little as 15 Riyals and it contained Sakhr's Al-Qari' al-Ali, plus a whole bunch of other Sakhr products and some of our earlier KC programs (before we started protecting them). The Al-Qari' al-Ali is apparently fully functional! As far as KC is concerned, we're looking on it is a compliment and some free advertising for our later products!

A bas les piratos!

*Adrian Brockett*

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That sounds like the best idea I've heard so far in this forum concerning this issue.

The other thing that the entire US software industry seems to have opted for is to make your application difficult enough to use that it requires a complete copy of the manual in order to use it effectively. If they copy the software they still can't use it until they get a good copy of the manual.

Printing pirate manuals is always a lot easier to trace (or so it seems) than furtive diskette/CD-ROM copying.

Piracy is still an issue in the US. When everybody ended up with a hard drive, in the mid-80s, it seemed like the pirates were going to win, and us, programmers, were going to have to write our software as a free public service from now on. Here are some of the techniques in use that make piracy more difficult:

1) put a hardware device on the printer/serial/mouse port with an ID string at a specific hardware location addressable on that device. If the device is not attached to the proper port, with the proper ID byte, with the correct value in that byte, the software prints out a nasty message and refuses to run;

2) embed a user's ID function into the program. If the user has not typed in his user's ID that was printed on the packaging the software won't run;

3) no registered user's ID, no technical support. PERIOD;

4) make user's pay for technical support. They need proof of purchase and a user's ID string to apply for technical support;

5) educate folks on the dangers of SW viruses and teach them that part of practicing "safe hard drive data" is to only use software that has been properly purchased (or only pirate software which you have seen come out of the shrink wrap);

6) encourage your (fellow) employees to only use properly purchased software;

7) encourage your local law enforcement folks to enforce the copyright laws;

8) don't use pirated software.

If you want more specific advice than that or me to actually put some real time and energy into it, well ..... what I can I say that doesn't sound horribly mercenary.

*Andrew Freeman*

*1. You mean a dongle. I don't know, but they seem pretty useless. There are companies out there, whose sole purpose is selling software that crack dongles. Their ads are right next to the dongle guys like Everlock, Rainbow, etc. You won't believe how simple this can be. There was once the famous one byte crack for AutoCad's 3D Studio. Many companies abandoned them because they caused too many problems.*

*2. You mean something like a serial number. The same idea. Copies are distributed with the original serial number in a text file. There are even serial number generators that spit out dozens of serial numbers that work.*

*3. Hackers have their own networks of support.*

*4. The same as above. Plus you can post questions in Usenet, Compuserve, etc., and you will get support from fellow users and teach support. Nobody asks you if you're a legitimate user.*

*5. Hackers are usually technically very versatile. They know more about viruses than we do. In fact, they are the ones that create them. With virus checkers, users would feel safe.*

*6. Illegal copies are everywhere.*

*7. They are too busy fighting violent crimes. Plus it's too difficult to get a warrant to search a place.*

*8. Don't use pirated software.*

**Abdel-hadi**

---

*How can a pirate crack the "dongle" as you call it, without being forced to manufacture a duplicate device?*

*My point on piracy with regards to self-discipline and encouraging self-discipline in my peers is, I think, the solution which has born the most fruit in the US. I don't have any pirated software on my hard disk, I currently don't know anybody else with pirated software on their disk... The last three places I have worked, using pirated software was reason for dismissal.*

*These are just thoughts. Just another though, pirated software cannot thrive without an environment which tolerates it.*

**Andrew Freeman**

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*You change the program so that the program doesn't use the dongle anymore, rendering it useless.*

*I don't know anyone who does NOT use any kind of pirated software. Whether they are copies of some commercial software or unregistered shareware.*

**Abdel-hadi**

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*In the UK, software theft is seen as no different from any other sort of theft: people can go to prison for using pirated software.*

*Three or four years ago, a member of staff at a UK Higher Education establishment was sentenced to (if I remember correctly) 6 months in prison for doing so. Since then, not one of my colleagues has been found to use pirated software. Even the real beginners in computing know that it is simply not an option. Students are routinely warned that software theft will lead to expulsion from the university.*

*Quite apart from legal punishments, it is in the interest of universities themselves to be like Caesar's wife: not only innocent, but beyond all possible suspicion. If suspicion ever arises we will lose all the excellent deals which allow us to use legal software at educational discount prices.*

**Alec McAllister**

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*Pirates in the Middle East are the ones who sell your work. If there are fools who are willing to use up 650 MB of their hard disk, to get a recipe, they are welcome to it...*

*We did use "garbage files" as a filler with our 3 CD titles and lowered the retail price...*

*There are so many good tricks that I learnt from posting my question. Utilizing Adobe's Acrobat technology in the upcoming release, (sorry guys, it is called "Attabkh El-Arabi") we are able to, and are looking at what Adobe has to offer. In Adobe's downloadable 3.0 release, there is a section about Encryption and such, that our technical guys are evaluating, as we speak.*

*Thanks to all the people who contributed... Please, carry on with the debate...*

*Cheers,*

**George N. Hallak**

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*Hard drive space is cheap these days. A 2.1G drive costs $300. So 650 Megs is less than $100. Plus you can reuse that space.*

*The main drawback of my idea is that the CD might be slow searching for the correct file. Are you loading many files? Updating and doing other maintenance is not a big problem. You're using an installer.. right? Let it do the hard work for you.*

*Tell me exactly, who are you targeting? The home user, who has a limited hard drive space and who will think that copying a 500 Meg+ is not worth it, or the professional hacker, who will crack your software no matter what you use. There's no bulletproof copy protection. I can personally give your CD to teenage crackers who will crack it just for the fun. If you look around, you will probably find crackers who can handle Laserlock. What does it do exactly? Fingerprints the CD?*

*Does Laserlock require that the CD is in the drive? Your CD has a volume name. Your program reads that volume to verify that the correct CD is in the drive. Try to write to it and check to see if it has been written the way you intended to. If it hasn't, you have a CD. You can't write to a CD.*

*Abdel-hadi*

---

*Dear Abdel-hadi,*

*I'll take up your challenge! Send me your address and I'll send you a CD and please send me back a copy as soon as your hackers have got one working ... 1998?*

*If by fingerprint you mean some special unique identifier, then no. They call their disfigurement of the disc a "watermark". It is in non-standard form, so the disc cannot be copied in its entirety on to another disc.*

*Laserlock DLLs work on a lower level than volume names.*

*I'm beginning to sound like a Laserlock salesman! Forgive me, I just want to make sure I'm getting what I've paid for.*

*Al-Mutanabbi was said to have been an inveterate copier and so was Beethoven, apparently, so it's nothing new.*

*Adrian Brockett*

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*I am sure that the major factor why Arabic (and other language) desktop publishing software has not kept pace with that of English language software is primarily due to the lack of enforcement in these countries.*

*Adapting USA and International Copyright Laws, honoring Licensing Agreements are the first steps to curbing this piracy... Without a "bite" in the laws, who will take software developer rights seriously?*

*Countries that do not adapt these laws should face actions from individual (host software) countries and international community. By protecting the rights of the developer, EVERYONE will benefit with less costly and more abundant software options...*

*Mark*

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*U.A.E, Saudi Arabia and Egypt have cracked down software pirates. Closed down some shops and probably prosecuted them. So they are in the right tracks. Although there will always be underground activity, for the most part they can't do what they used to do in public.*

*No more computers sold and load with pirated software. No more selling copies publicly.*

*Abdel-hadi*

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*Companies develop software to make profit. With profit, comes the part where a big company has an obligation towards the part of the world community it is serving.*

*People of the Middle East and other countries, like in South America, they brag, publicly, about pirating an expensive software. In Beirut, the Microsoft representative is selling both versions (pirated and original) of Microsoft products on shelves next to each other!*

*It is not only the responsibility of the Lebanese government, alone, nor the honorable volunteering of not using Pirated software; it is also the responsibility of companies like Microsoft and others to help those talented pirates to their side, by subsidizing products going to an area of the world, where the per capita income is far less than the originating country of the software. The average PC user in USA pays $39.99 for Windows 95 (after the rebate, currently at Staples). While the Arabic user will have to shed $174.00 (?). What sort of logic is that?*

*The law is on the books, the resources to enforce it are not there. It may not be practically feasible for big Companies to subsidize such ventures. That what is called, "lack of vision"... If there is not an instant profit, they will not do it, such companies have no one to blame but themselves.*

*On the other hand, piracy can break a small developer like Arabization and Software Center. I hope the above will not be misconstrued as "pro-pirate", on the contrary; and please, remember who started this thread, in the first place.*

*Virtually,*

*George N. Hallak*

*I didn't know it's $39.99... $50.00 rebate? They can afford to go that low because they sell millions of it. They sell a few hundreds or a few thousands of the Arabic version. I am not sure if even Microsoft makes any money out of the Arabic version.*

*Abdel-hadi*

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*Speaking as a practicing Software Engineer, I have three observations to make:*
*1) developing software is hard work, requiring an enormous amount of training, skill, perseverance, effort, blood, sweat, tears, knowledge, patience, connections in the industry, and some amount of luck;*
*2) I don't think that there really is any method of keeping software out of the hands of a dedicated "Piracy Industry". Anything that a developer can do to make it difficult to copy, a "cracker" can unravel given enough time and resources, not to mention the occasional disgruntled employee from the target company. A mega-giant like Microsoft can take the hit, by jacking up their prices, a first time start-up company will not survive under these circumstances, unless they can somehow buy off the pirates or sell enough copies before the pirates crack the protection scheme to cover most of their expenses to keep the investors happy or... well, I can't imagine what;*
*3) most of the software which I have written has ended up on a ROM, so, really, piracy was not much of an issue, although, occasionally for certain markets, we would do things like scramble the data pins going into the ROM. Keeping track of that kind of stuff just made the task of producing quality software that much more difficult.*
*I guess what I'm aiming at is that the current situation does not make it very inviting for small-time investors and developers to set up shop in the Middle East. I even would want to argue that it is helping contribute to the "brain-drain". I have lost any thought of wanting to live and work in the Middle East supporting myself as a software engineer since coming to a full understanding (in the last week) of the nature of the SW piracy industry in the Middle East. I guess I will now be forced to support myself on Fullbright grants and do any linguistic studies mostly as an outsider.*
*There is no easy solution, but this here "piracy industry" is not helping things in the long run.*

*Yours,*
*Andrew Freeman*

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*That is not censorship... It is a much needed protection for the developers. ASC stopped using dongles because customers did not like them, and can cost to the software.*

*George N. Hallak*

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*Hello fellow netizens,*
*I sort of dread re-opening this particular thread but the idea came to me in the shower, and it has been stewing in my head now for about a week. So, here it is.*
*The latest and humblest software protection scheme:*
*1) the software is only available over the WEB;*
*2) the software does not come complete ready to run, the user has to dial into a BBS/WEB/INTERNET site and use his license ID number to download a small piece in order to activate the software. Only the first one to call in with that ID number gets activated, every other caller is simply "Shoot! Out of Luck" hereinafter referred to as SOL;*
*3) the application will only run from the hard-drive, and keeps a few counters laying around which keep track of how many times each menu option has been accessed. The application writes itself and these variables cleverly imbedded in cryptic assembly language code back out to disk every time it runs. These data structures are CRC, or some other integrity checking scheme, tagged for evidence of tampering. Also stored is the track and cylinder information for where on the disk the application has been stored;*
*4) at load time the application figures out where it is on the disk, if this does not match the stored information, it writes zeroes over the image stored on disk. It also attempts to find any other copies of the application on any other disk in the system and tries to write zeroes over them as well;*
*5) the user needs to dial in about once a month to get his menu counters reset to whatever we decide is reasonable. When any menu counter gets decremented down to zero the software refuses to run;*
*6) whenever the software writes itself back out to disk it also writes out the date encrypted. If the boot date is earlier than the stored date the software refuses to run;*
*7) to discourage folks from tampering with this scheme, some the values written out to disk are an encrypted CRC of the entire binary image. If the stored CRC doesn't match the calculated CRC the software refuses to run;*
*8) the first thing the software does, when it loads itself, before it responds to any keyboard input, it trashes all the menu counters, dates and CRCs which are stored in the disk image. This is to discourage folks from rebooting the machine rather than exiting by saying "quit", in a nice orderly fashion. This basically means that, if the machine crashes while the software is running, the user needs to dial into the vendor with his license/ID number and repair his disk image;*
*9) at regular intervals the software will force the user to re-download a significant piece of the application, which of course has had features added and been re-linked in a different object file order;*
*10) if the time elapsed since the last dial-up refresh of menu entry counters is more than 30 days the software will disable all menu options except for the "Call Home and Update Software" option;*
*11) one of the pieces of data stored, when it writes itself back to disk, is the old CRC for the entire image — if the new CRC ever matches the old CRC it refuses to run;*

*12) sort of related to #9, if the last run date is more than 30 days older than the current machine date the software will disable all menu options except for the "Call Home and Update Software" option.*

*I think there might be hole in the system having to do with saving the first-time image and always using that one, but then you need to write a utility to make sure it gets stored in the same location every time, which I foresee as a serious headache on any busy system, and you need to run with a bogus date always.*

*If this really becomes a problem, then*

*13) The software needs to call into the vendor every time that it runs, if anything has been tampered with the software refuses to run, i. e. menu counters are not being updated. If the software is being used more than 480 hours in a month, it gets shut off.*

*I think this is basically an elaborate but workable way to establish control over the application's executable image. I hate it, because it means taking a chance with writing non-portable code, tailored to the different disk controllers which can exist on whatever platform your code runs on. It boils down to at least one hardware specific disk controller object code library for each disk controller for each operating system that doesn't directly supply disk location data. My experience has been that, in the long run, non-portable code is non-professional code.*

*My guess is that since Norton's Utilities can do what it does for any disk out there for both the MAC machines and the PC/DOS machines, it only means writing one operating system specific library per operating system and not a proliferation of one-library-per-Disk-Controller/per operating system horde of libraries.*

*One big drawback is that in places like Cairo where the average consumer can't make long-distance phone calls from his/her flat, you have to set up a local distributor with a BBS, who, of necessity, will have all the control over the local licensing and updating schemes. This is a potential leak in the system.*

*The other option would be to route a private T1 line out of the country through an International trunk, which I'm not sure is possible or legal or economically feasible ... I am giving up this idea into the public domain as a public service.*

*Anyway, it's obviously a lot of work, but I would be interested in hearing:*

*a) if anyone has tried anything like this;*

*b) if anybody can think of a way around it;*

*c) if anybody is going to try it.*

**Andrew Freeman**

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*Humblest software protection scheme! It's an overwhelming way, and people will hate it.*

*So most users (also your customers) are out. This holds well in the Middle East where few have WEB access.*

*A disk defragmentor will render your software useless, because it will change the software physical location unless you make it unmovable. With all your schemes you mentioned. something is bound to get wrong and by Murphy's law, it will. Too much headache.*

**Abdel-hadi**

# PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

*O. F. Akimushkin*

## A MANUSCRIPT OF *YŪSUF WA ZULAYKHĀ* BY JĀMĪ
## IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH
## OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Among numerous manuscripts preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies there is an illustrated one (call number B 2325) which represents the famous poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Jāmī. In my view, it is worthy a note of specialists, since it is executed in the Qājār style of the manuscript miniature painting, which has hitherto been but poorly studied. Before giving a description of the manuscript some words should be said about this work by the outstanding Persian poet.

The poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (817—898/1414—1492), which was completed by him in 838/1483, comprises 4,000 *bayt*s, or 8,000 lines. It was dedicated to the Tīmūrid ruler in Khurāsān Ṣulṭān Ḥusayn and represents the third part of the poet's famous *Khamsa* finished by him on 8 Dhū'l-Qa'da 889/27 December 1484.

As one can judge from the place the poem occupies in the *Khamsa* composition, as well as from the poem's metre (*hazaj*), judging also from the words by Jāmī himself, who tells in the second part of one of the poem's chapter about the motives which lay behind his work, the poem was aimed to replace, and had really replaced, the poem *Khusraw wa Shīrīn* occupying traditionally the corresponding place in *Khamsa*. Jāmī, quite transparently, points to this circumstance, saying:

> The power of Shīrīn and Khusraw has become decrepit,
> With rapture I shall enthrone a new *khusraw*.

That is the end of the turn of *Laylī wa Majnūn*,
The other will be brought forward by me [1].

In fact, this poem by Jāmī is a versified commentary on "the most beautiful tale" of the twelfth Sūra of the Qur'ān, which is entitled "Yūsuf". This poetical commentary was composed by Jāmī in the pure Muslim mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) vein. It is known that the poet was a celebrated mystic and one of the connoisseurs of *taṣawwuf*, who contributed greatly to the elaboration of its theory. The main point of Jāmī's poem is his interpretation of the *taṣawwuf*'s notion of spiritual love. The Qur'ānic story of Yūsuf is treated by Jāmī only in symbolic and abstract way. Spiritual, lofty, and non-sensual love for the Divine Beauty is presented as the best mean to comprehend God and to attain the union with the Truth. That was the path of Zulaykhā who, moving from her sensual love and passion for Yūsuf to purely spiritual love, attains ultimately the true knowledge by adopting Islam.

The poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Jāmī had won an extreme recognition and become widespread in Iran, Central Asia, Kashmīr, and India in the Great Moghul age. More than three hundred manuscripts of the poem, which came down to us, testifies to its great popularity among the Muslim peoples, a refined language of the poem having contributed much to the popularity. No less than twelve poets, following Jāmī, wrote their versions of the poem.

### A description of the manuscript

The manuscript contains 150 folios. The folios' size: 20.6 × 13.1 cm. The text is written in two columns, 14 lines each, and framed with gold and black Indian ink line (*taḥrīr*). The written surface: 15.3 × 7.1 cm. The hand is cursive *nasta'līq* with noticeable elements of *shikasta* script. It is obvious that the manuscript was copied out by a professional copyist. The text is written in black, the headings — in red Indian ink. The manuscript has Oriental (custodia, *ḥāfiz*) and European pagination.

Paper: European, white and dense, well glossy. Watermarks can be seen on the paper: the design of a large vase, of a basket with the eight-ray star in the centre and with a trefoil in the upper part. On folios 38 and 113 there are water-marks with Latin inscription — LEVELRATTO, on folio 115 — BC & C.

The manuscript is exquisitely illuminated. As it has already been mentioned, its folios have gold and black Indian ink *taḥrīr*, as well as a similar but a little broader text frame. On folios 1b—2a there is a frontispiece (15.6 × 7.9 cm on fol. 1b and 15.7 × 7.9 cm on fol. 2a) which is lacking the side vertical cartouches and general frame line.

The arrangement of pages reveals three different parts — a usual cartouche with wave-lined edges in the upper part of the pages and rectangular one in the lower; between these ones the third part — the text comprising four lines, separated by golden stripes (*tarsī*ʿ) and dotted line in black Indian ink along the edges (*mushdandān*), is placed. The palette of miniatures is not very rich, gold, dark red, and blue predominating. The cartouches contain floral designs (flower buds). The margins are also decorated with the designs of convolvuluses, interweaving of which produces a sort of decorative rhombuses and ovals.

The binding of the manuscript is made of painted leather covered with slightly goldish lacquer. Exterior and interior of the binding are beautifully decorated. The bordeaux colour of exterior, painted on grounded leather, tones with the black and gold frame stripes of *ṭarīq*. There is the *turunj* in the centre, and two palmettes (*sarturunj*s), against black background of which a coloured floral design is made.

The interior of the binding is painted green on grounded leather. There are also border gold lines and spirals on the inner surfaces of the cover. The flower of narcissus in blossom fills the centre of each of these surfaces.

The manuscript is unbound a bit. The lower cover of the binding is slightly torn. Because of a copyist's oversight the heading of one of the poem's section remained unfilled (fol. 3b). The inner edge of fol. 41 is torn off. There is also a hole on the margins of fol. 103. The manuscript had been once rebound, the binding being by mistake turned upside-down.

The manuscript comprises the whole text of Jāmī's poem. There is no colophon in the manuscript, so it lacks the date of its execution. However, in the centre of a lower rectangular cartouche of the frontispiece, on fol. 2a, numeral 122 can be discerned, which may be considered as the date of the completion of manuscript's illumination. It may be 1202/1787—1788 or 1220/1805—1806. The last date seems more preferable, since it corresponds to the palaeographic data of the manuscript.

The copy was executed in Iran at the very beginning of the Qājār rule, most probably, in Isfahān. The special way of its execution and illumination is characteristic of the commercial style of the Isfahān school of that period.

## The miniatures of the manuscript

There are ten miniatures in the manuscript. All of them are placed within the text frame and don't run out of it.

1) fol. 42a (8.1 × 7.8 cm). Ceremonial reception of Zulaykhā on her arriving in Miṣr.

2) fol. 56a (7.0 × 7.8 cm). Fettering of Yūsuf by his villain brothers before dropping him into the well.

3) fol. 61a (8.2 × 7.8 cm). Merchants rescuing Yūsuf on their way to Miṣr with a caravan.

4) fol. 63a (5.8 × 7.8 cm). Yūsuf being sold by the merchants among the merchandise presented to Zulaykhā.

5) fol. 72a (8.8 × 7.8 cm). Yūsuf shepherding Zulaykhā's flock of sheep.

6) fol. 80b (6.7 × 7.8 cm). Zulaykhā sending Yūsuf as a gardener to her gardens.

7) fol. 90b (8.9 × 7.8 cm). Zulaykhā bringing Yūsuf to her Seventh Palace where he rejects her courting.

8) fol. 102b (7.7 × 7.8 cm). Zulaykhā's maidens struck by the beauty of Yūsuf, some of them being fainted.

9) fol. 128a (9.1 × 7.8 cm). Yūsuf returning to his native land and paying no attention to Zulaykhā who came to see him off.

10) fol. 132a (7.7 × 7.8 cm). Obeying heavenly command Yūsuf who marries Zulaykhā after her adopting Islam.

All of the miniatures represent the Qājār style of the manuscript book painting in Iran, namely, its early stage of development. The style took its name after the Qājār dynasty in Iran (1779—1925), under which court painting underwent some essential changes. From the chronological point of view, the style coincides partly with the period of the Qājārs' reigning, since its origin goes back to the late eighteenth century. Its zenith falls in the 20s of the nineteenth century, and the style had decayed to the 60s of the same century.

In its early period the Qājār style borrowed (and had successfully assimilated) much from its predecessors — the Afshārid (1736—1795) and Zand (1750—1794) styles of Persian miniature painting. It adopted many elements of the European painting technique — treatment of light and shade, demonstration of subjects' volume and perspective, putting a landscape in the background of a miniature, which the Persian painters began to use in their work, first at the court ateliers and then in the provinces, as far back as the late seventeenth century.

It should be noted that the most characteristic feature of the Persian painting in the eighteenth century was an obvious decay of the art of book-painting and of illuminated manuscript as a whole. It is hardly possible to explain this phenomenon by the internal political situation in Iran, with its instability, turmoils, and internecine wars, for many Persian painters continued to work at that period, creating their pictures, executed in the easel painting technique, and numerous albums (*muraqqaʿ*) where, using usual methods of European painters, they made on separate folios miniature portraits and copies (in colour) of European engravings and pictures. They also painted various art items made of lacquered papier-mâché or of wood: pen- and mirror-cases, incense boxes, manuscripts bindings, and so on. It seems that introduction of European painting technique into the art of Persian miniature had resulted in appearing of a somewhat disharmony in the artistic unity of Persian manuscript book which followed the two-dimensional convention. The principle of plane depicting and the two-dimensionalness always reigned both in artistic arrangement of manuscript's folios and in classical Persian miniature. That gave illuminated Persian manuscript its special charm, unity, and national peculiarity. Consistent introduction of European painting technique gave rise to a certain eclecticism which destroyed the absolute harmony of Persian manuscript as a piece of art. Most likely, it was soon understood both by the masters, who created the Persian manuscripts, and by the audience that worshipped the art of manuscript book. The European painting style which penetrated into the Persian art looked much more natural and harmonious in other articles of art than in such a traditional

thing which an illuminated Persian manuscript was. The Persian masters, with their refined sense of art, revealed it soon, and the new style had rapidly come to decay.

As it has already been noted above, the miniatures illustrating the text of the poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Jāmī are typical of the early Qājār style as it can be judged from their eclectic combining of painting methods of two different art traditions. The European elements can be clearly seen in the entourage of the scenes depicted and in the cloths of the personages as well. In the background of many of the miniatures one can also see landscapes with trees presented in perspective (fols. 61a, 72a, 80b, 128a). It

is very characteristic, too, that among the colours used contrast and rich orange, violet, yellow, pink, and green, without half-tints, are predominating. The picture of interior in the miniature on folio 90b, executed under the evident European influence, draws our special attention. Portière and curtains in the upper part of the door and on the windows are very significant.

We can suggest that both the miniatures and the manuscript were most probably executed in Isfahān, or they may have been made at the very beginning of the nineteenth century by a master who worked in the Isfahān early Qājār style.

## Notes

1. Jāmī, *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā*, a manuscript from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number B 2325), fols. 15b—16a.

## Illustrations

### *Front cover:*

Zulaykhā's maidens struck by the beauty of Yūsuf, a miniature from the manuscript *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Jāmī (call number B 2325), fol. 102b, 7.7 × 7.8 cm.

### *Back cover:*

**Plate 1.** Merchants rescuing Yūsuf on their way to Miṣr with a caravan, a miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 61a, 8.2 × 7.8 cm.

**Plate 2.** Yūsuf shepherding Zulaykhā's flock of sheep, a miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 72a, 8.8 × 7.8 cm.

**Plate 3.** Zulaykhā bringing Yūsuf to her Seventh Palace where he rejects her courting, a miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 90b, 8.9 × 7.8 cm.

**Plate 4.** Obeying heavenly command Yūsuf who marries Zulaykhā after her adopting Islam, a miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 132a, 7.7 × 7.8 cm.

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Chyŏk Syŏngui chyŏn. Kwŏnji tan* (Povest' o Chĕk Sĕnye. V odnoĭ tetradi). Iz koreĭskikh ksilografov Sankt-Peterburgskogo filiala Instituta vostokovedeniia RAN. Faksimile ksilografa. Perevod s koreĭskogo, predislovie, kommentariĭ, prilozheniia i ukazatel' A. F. Trotsevich. Sankt-Peterburg: Tsentr "Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie", 1996, 230 str.

*Chyŏk Syŏngui chyŏn. Kwŏnji tan* (The Story of Chyŏk Syŏngui in One Part). A Korean block-print from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. Facsimile. Translation from Korean, introduction, commentary, addenda, and index by A. F. Trotzevich. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies, 1996, 230 pp.

The text of "The Story of Chyŏk Syŏngui" represents one of the vernacular novels which was edited as a block-print in the nineteenth century. The credit for collecting these novels belongs to a well-known English orientalist W. G. Aston. Now this collection is preserved in the Manuscript Fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.

The collection consists of seven volumes which have European bindings. Every volume comprises three to five literary works, most of them representing the vernacular novels. The texts of the novels were very popular, and at present they exist in numerous manuscripts and block-prints. In my view, every edition is of great interest to specialists, as it provides new information on the history of the text. Publication of "The Story of Chyŏk Syŏngui", in its turn, can give some new findings in the area of Korean studies.

The work by Prof. Trotzevich contains the facsimile of the Korean text, its translation into Russian, the author's introduction, commentary, addenda and index. The author points out the misprints of the original edition and deciphers a number of Chinese passages written down in Korean phonetic alphabet.

The introduction by Prof. Trotzevich is devoted to a comparison of "The Story of Chyŏk Syŏngui" to a Buddhist *jātaka* "The Friend of Evil" from the 4th *kwŏn* of chapter 6 of "Buddha Ta-feng pien's Requital for Favours Sūtra". The comparison of these two writings enables Prof. Trotzevich to trace the way an alien plot was transformed in the Korean novel. The hero, whose name is present in the title of the novel, goes through a whole series of sorrows, shows his unusual abilities and ultimately receives his re-

ward. It is worthy noting that in the Korean novel the place of action is changed. Instead of the Indian city of Varanasi the Chinese Anp'yong appears. The Korean version differs also from the textual point of view: the reason for searching the pearl is quite different in the above-mentioned *jātaka*, where it is everyone's happiness, while in the novel it is the rescuing of the hero's mother. Syŏngui's sacrificing his life for the health of his mother represents the Confucian model of behaviour of a devoted son. As Prof. Trotzevich points out, all the changes of the original Buddhist plot have been caused by following the laws of the Korean vernacular novels. The *jātaka* never fails to emphasize the ultimate goal of searching the pearl, the inner sense of the deed: the pearl is expected to bring prosperity to the people.

Prof. Trotzevich states that the novel demonstrates mostly the interest in the hero's personal fate. His deeds are shown to be necessary for attaining the well-being of the people and for establishing order among them. That is why the novel stresses the deed itself, as well as the ultimate reward. The pearl becomes useless after it finds its way to the hero's mother and rescues her. The novel is aimed to show that the State and its people begin to flourish only due to Syŏngui's strict following the model of Confucian behaviour, and not because the pearl has been found.

The Korean novel, as Prof. Trotzevich believes, reveals ideas which differ from those of the *jātaka*. The Buddhist idea of goodness towards all living creatures, and of necessity to forgive even bitter enemies, has been replaced in the novel by the idea of devotion to parents and of punishment to those who destroy harmony and order.

The author of the publication studies also the background of the novel and shows its relation to the Korean myth of death and birth of the god of fertility. Prof. Trotzevich draws special attention to the problem of the origin of two personages' (brothers') names. She supposes that the names could be a result of the transformation of Korean reading of Chinese characters for these names. Thus the Friend of Goodness, *i. e.* Syŏnu, has become Syŏngui, while the Friend of Evil, *i. e.* Agu — Hyangui. Just as the surname Chŏk has originated from Syŏk, in original — Buddha.

The publication by Prof. Trotzevich is a valuable contribution both to the study of Korean literature and to the history of culture of the Far Eastern peoples. Needless it to say that the facsimile edition of the text makes it much more available to a scholarly audience.

*M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya*

**T. G. Mgaloblishvili.** *The Klardzheti Anthology.* **Tbilisi: 1991, 496 pp. (in Georgian, with an English summary).**

A new book by a well-known Georgian scholar presents a publication and a complete codicological and source analysis of one of the oldest Georgian manuscripts, a collection of liturgical texts, homilies for the most part. Such a collection, along with lectionary and tropology, answered the demands of Christian liturgical service through a whole year. The Klardzheti anthology dating to the tenth century contains Georgian translations of homilies by the Fathers of the Church like John Chrysostom, Ephraim the Syrian, Severianus of Gevali, Cyrill of Jerusalem, as well as original Georgian works by Grigol Diakvani (the Deacon) and Ioane Bolneli. In all, there are 63 texts covering the second half of the liturgical year.

The Georgian liturgical text collections were described by scholars several times before. Among the predecessors of T. G. Mgaloblishvili were such renowned authors as A. Shanidze, who published the eighth-century Hanmet collection and the Sinai collection of 864, I. Abuladze, who was the first to recognize the importance of these texts and who developed the program of their investigation, J. Haritt and M. van Esbrok, who analysed Georgian liturgical texts in comparison with Greek and Oriental collections of liturgical texts and homilies.

Unlike her predecessors, T. G. Mgaloblishvili aimed at producing not only a scholarly publication but a monograph on the Klardzheti collection of texts, revealing the original Georgian works and comparing them to other texts from similar anthologies, identifying homilies translated from other languages in relation to their archetypes, establishing the primary core of the anthology and tracing later inclusions, studying the specific features of the liturgical calendar of the Klardzheti anthology.

The first chapter of the monograph presents a complete palaeographic and codicological description of the Klardzheti anthology. In T. G. Mgaloblishvili's opinion, the manuscript might be produced in South Georgia around 980s—990s. Marginal notes the manuscript contains allow to trace its history through several centuries, before it came to the collection of the Institute of Manuscripts named after K. S. Kekelidze.

The second chapter is devoted to the original homilies like "The Conversion of Kartli to Christianity" by Grigol Diakvani and the "Nine Words" by Ioane Bolneli. The greater part of the second chapter is concerned with the study of life and works of the last author. Mgaloblishvili's predecessors suggested different dates for his life — from the sixth—seventh and to the beginning of the eleventh century. After investigating a variety of materials (evidence of literary sources, epigraphics and manuscripts), the author of the work under review came to the conclusion that Ioane Bolneli had worked in the first half of the tenth century. Observations over existing manuscripts allowed her to suggest that the works of Ioane Bolneli had been connected with the Tao-Klardzheti and the Jerusalem-Palestine literary schools. Special notice in her system of arguments is taken of the Lent Sunday sermons created by the Georgian author. An eight-week cycle of the Lent services, as distinct from the earlier seven-week cycle, is characteristic of the ninth—tenth century Georgian liturgical manuscripts. The emergence of the eight-week cycle can be traced to the early tenth century, and it is connected with the name of

Ioane Bolneli. T. G. Mgaloblishvili is inclined to see the influence of the old Jerusalem tradition in Bolneli's homily on the renovation of the Jerusalem churches. This influence could be explained by the Georgian author's use of archaic liturgical texts which, by the end of the tenth century, had been no longer employed in the official Byzantine church literature. In Mgaloblishvili's opinion, Ioane Bolneli was well acquainted with the ancient sources and with the manner of writing of the early Christian authors. When creating a cycle of his own original sermons, he treated them in the spirit of his time.

The most important part of the monograph is the third chapter where translated homilies, which make up the major part of the Klardzheti anthology, are considered. It should be noted that 53 of the 63 sermons are translated texts. The aim of the author was to compare the texts of the manuscript with the versions of the same works represented in other Georgian anthologies, on the one hand, and in their sources composed in other languages, on the other.

The analysis of the distinctive features of the translations (renderings of proper names, place-names, passages from the Scriptures as well as grammar and syntax forms) brings the scholar to the conclusion that the language of the originals was Greek. Because of the Georgian translators' close following the original Greek liturgical texts, it is now possible to reconstruct the old versions of the Greek homilies, later lost or re-worked to fit the frames of the developing Byzantine literature and theology.

In the first part of the third chapter T. G. Mgaloblishvili is considering the particular features of the homilies' versions represented in the Klardzheti anthology: divergencies within one version and differences in certain parts of versions. She also points out the cases when parts of homilies turn into distinct versions or when different homilies are combined into one text. The same methods were used by the compilers of the Greek liturgical anthologies. Their practice became a pattern for Georgian men of letters, who employed similar methods both in translations and in their original writings. The same practice was usual not only in Georgia but also among Georgian scribes in Palestine, beginning from the tenth century, and even earlier.

The second part of the third chapter is dedicated to homilies which survived in one version only. The most difficult cases were those where the original was missing, or the divergencies between the translation and the original were too great. To the first group belong some of the sayings ascribed to Ephraim the Syrian, John Chrysostom, Severianus of Gevali, and apocryphal works on the Transfiguration and the Assumption. To the second group belong sermons by John Chrysostom, Athanasius of Alexandria, John of Damascus and two apocryphal works on the Assumption.

On the evidence of the translator's errors, as well as specific Greek stylistic features present in the text, T. G. Mgaloblishvili assumed that all these go back to the Greek archetype, and that a number of theological and liturgical hints in the Georgian translations reflected the oldest Jerusalem Church service practice of the fifth—sixth centuries.

The next paragraph of the same chapter deals with homilies deriving from Greek originals and closely following them. This group of texts has been already studied by

M. van Esbrok who considered them to be an example of classical translations. Mgaloblishvili confirmed the suggestion made by this Belgian scholar about the Greek origin of these translations. She even made one more step in this direction by proving that the translator had been fixing the Greek pronunciation characteristic of the Jerusalem-Palestinian environment. It allowed her to suggest that the Georgian translations were deriving from now extinct texts which had been circulated in Palestine. In our opinion, the reflection of the specific Palestinian Greek pronunciation could testify as well that the translations were made in that very part of the Christian world. One of the most important conclusions of the scholar is that the texts which consist the core of the Klardzheti anthology were included into the collection not later than in the fifth—sixth century, since their Greek versions were not circulated after that period, being replaced by other texts, and that the archetype of the Georgian collection of texts originated from Palestine.

The scholar is providing one more argument in favour of the last suggestion basing upon the liturgy calendar of the Klardzheti anthology. This homiliarium containing sermons on the church feasts of the second half of the year cycle is unique, for it is based upon a calendar for which no Greek parallel is known. The author is not considering the whole liturgical cycle of the Klardzheti anthology, she is taking into account only certain feasts which reflect the oldest period of the Jerusalem church service. Among them are the Nativity of John the Baptist. The sermon dedicated to this saint falls on 24 and not on 25 June as accepted later.

The book under review contains also a special essay on the "Vardoba-Atenagenoba" feast. Unlike K. S. Kekelidze and M. van Esbrok, who connected the name of this feast with the Armenian vardavar and attributed its inclusion into the Georgian liturgy to the time of the Armenian-Georgian religious unity, Mgaloblishvili holds that each of the two Christian countries accepted and adapted it independently, having borrowed it from the common source — the pagan Feast of Roses of Asia Minor. In Georgia it became Atenagenoba, in Armenia — "transfiguration". The author makes an assumption that the substitution of Atenagenoba for Vardoba could take place in the second half of the fifth century, and it was connected with the Syro-Palestinian tradition.

To the old Jerusalem roots goes back also the feast of the Recovery of the Holy Cross — the 10th of the month Vardoba in the Klardzheti anthology. Basing upon a complicated historical and textological study, including the verification of the date of the legend on the Recovery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, and on the analysis of information on the feast in Georgian and Armenian sources, the author advances an interesting hypothesis that the archetype of the legend of the Cross and the introduction of this feast might be connected with the Jewish-Christian environment of Jerusalem of the early third century.

The Greek and Syriac versions of the legend were formed on the basis of this old archetype in the fourth—fifth centuries. By the mid-fifth century the Greek version of the Recovery of the Holy Cross legend completely replaced the Palestinian tradition and 14 September was recognized as the official date of the Cross feast. Only by chance in one eighth-century Greek version of the legend the initial date of the feast — the 20th of Artemision — has survived. This date appears in the old Georgian version of the legend going back to the lost Greek original of the late fourth—early fifth century.

The theme of contacts between Christian Kartli and the Syro-Palestinian region is continued in the fifth chapter entitled "Historical Realities Reflected in the Anthology". The author demonstrates the significance of Georgian anthologies for the study of the early period of Georgian Christianity, when evidence taken from liturgical texts is confirmed both by historical sources — literary texts like the Life of St. Nino, the Testament of King Mirian, the Martyrdom of Abo Tbileli — and by archaeological works revealing Christian burials of the second—third centuries.

T. G. Mgaloblishvili develops her point of view on the spread of Christianity in Georgia, that long before its official recognition the adepts of this creed, of the Jewish-Christian orientation, were propagating in Kartli the traditions of the Jerusalem Church. Later, due to certain changes in the religious situation, all traces of their activities were deliberately erased in Georgian sources. T. G. Mgaloblishvili believes that only comparative study of the oldest historical and liturgical sources will allow to reveal the archaic features of Georgian Christianity and to date them. Her work shows that some problems connected with the introduction of Christianity in Kartli should be reconsidered. In her opinion, there were two main Christian trends co-existing in the fourth century — the old Jewish-Christian one and the new — Hellenistic or, to be exact, Byzantine. To that time translations of liturgical texts of the older, Jerusalem period, belong. The Klardzheti anthology is interesting to scholars not just from the point of view of textology and history of literature. It provides us with materials on the earliest Georgian translations and original literature, on the history of the Georgian Church and on other Eastern Churches. It also allows us to reconstruct some peculiar features of the church service of the Jerusalem period, which were no longer existing in the Byzantine time.

The monograph by T. G. Mgaloblishvili presents the results of her long and scrupulous work on the Klardzheti anthology. It is not only the first publication of this important liturgical source, which is based upon the tenth-century manuscript, it is the first time when a manuscript of the so-called traditional contents has been thoroughly studied and analysed in all its aspects. T. G. Mgaloblishvili, in our opinion, has successfully proved the possibilities of this method. It may serve a model for other scholars working on similar manuscripts.

*E. Mescherskaya*

**A. Desreumaux.** *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de manuscrits syriaques.* **Paris: 1991, 286 pp.**

The work published by French scholar A. Desreumaux in co-operation with F. Brickel-Shatonneau is warmly welcomed by all Syrologists. The author of the monograph works in the Centre for the Study of Religious Scriptures of the Practical High School of Paris. He also takes part in the programs of the Centre on the Study of Hellenistic Judaism and the Origin of Christianity. In scholarly circles A. Desreumaux is known for his wide range of interests and subjects of his studies. These include Syrian epigraphics and palaeography, the history of Syro-Melkite Christian communities, archaeological works on the site of Hirbet-Samra in Palestine. His permanent interest is research in the field of Christian apocryphal literature — he is one of the most active fellows of the International Association on the Study of Christian Apocryphal Texts.

The book by A. Desreumaux appeared as a publication of the Institute for Research on and History of Texts. Owing to this institution the reference-book was made after the pattern of M. Richard's *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1949 — 1st. edition; Paris, 1958 — 2nd edition), in accordance with the aims and tasks of the Institute. Unlike M. Richard, who was basing upon the established tradition of making reference-books on Greek manuscripts going back to the eighteenth century, A. Desreumaux for the first time created a manual summing up all the information available on Syriac manuscripts accumulated in several centuries. The need of such a reference-book has long been felt by all Syrologists.

The task of the scholar was the more difficult because of the thousands surviving Syriac manuscripts (and there are tens of thousands). Some have never been described, and not all the available descriptions, which are present in catalogues, answer all modern requirements. The main task of the reference-book's compiler was to give a full list of places where Syriac manuscripts (for the exception of parchments and papyri) are stored, and to supplement it with a bibliography of catalogues, articles and even short notes describing these manuscripts or funds.

The bibliography is arranged in chronological order, which makes it possible for a scholar to observe the sequence of research irrespective of different authors' opinions or their conformity with the modern views. The author is specially mentioning that he does not include in his catalogue manuscripts in Karshuni, *i. e.* those written in Syriac script but in the Arabic language. In his view, these group of manuscripts deserves a separate study. The bibliography does not also include works published in Arabic.

The reference-book consists of four parts where the available data on Syriac manuscripts is classified by the three features: subject, country, and collection. The first register gives the names of the countries, cities, libraries and collections which have Syriac manuscripts. The addresses of the libraries are provided as a rule.

It is in the second part dealing with subjects, which includes 211 entries, we encounter Desreumaux's greatest weakness. The failure is recognized by the author himself who, in his foreword to the book, complains that this kind of classification by subjects is not productive and is out of date, taking into consideration the present level of research. We cannot, however, agree with the author's general statement on the archaic character of the method. The real fault of the second part is that it is evidently incomplete. It could have been improved by the recognition of one of the characteristic features of the medieval literature — its anonymity. Besides proper names and place-names the author could have included into his list the titles of certain works surviving in Syriac manuscripts. So far this part includes only different versions of the Scriptures in Syriac. The third register presents bibliographical data sorted by countries (50 titles). The fourth and the largest part (596 titles) presents bibliographical data sorted by countries and collections including, when possible, information on the number of manuscripts, their contents, dating, the presence of miniatures etc. As a supplement to the main list there is a list of collections now missing. In all, A. Desreumaux succeeded in assembling information on 393 libraries in 239 cities and 29 countries.

The author admits that his reference-book is still far from being perfect or complete. He invites other scholars, not only Syrologists (publishers of texts, codicologists, palaeographers, art-historians), but many other specialists as well, in particular, orientalists and experts in Hellenistic studies, who deal with Syriac texts in their studies, to co-operate with him. It is impossible, of course, to form any adequate idea of the world fund of Syriac manuscripts without a direct (de visu) exploration of libraries and collections. Still, even in its present state, the reference-book is very helpful, as it allows to solve a lot of practical questions. It will be an indispensable guide for scholars in the sea of Syriac manuscripts.

This publication is informative and stimulating. The author has opened up vistas for future exploration, for the creation of works on the history of Syriac script, manuscript production, circulation of manuscripts, as well as of studies on the role of Syrian literature and culture in the history of the world civilization.

*E. Mescherskaya*

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# PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Mongyolcud-un γal takilγ-a-yin sudur orosibai*. Bulaγ nayiraöulun jokiyaba. Kökeqota: Öbür
   mongγol-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.

<div style="text-align:right">by <em>V. Uspensky</em>       No. 3, p. 72</div>

*Chyök Syöngui chyön. Kwönji tan* (**Povest' o Chěk Sěnye. V odnoĭ tetradi**). Iz koreĭskikh ksilografov
   Sankt-Peterburgskogo filiala Instituta vostokovedeniia RAN. Faksimile ksilografa. Perevod s
   koreĭskogo, predislovie, kommentariĭ, prilozheniia i ukazatel' A. F. Trotsevich. Sankt-Peterburg:
   Tsentr "Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie", 1996, 230 str.

*Chyök Syöngui chyön. Kwönji tan* (**The Story of Chyök Syöngui in One Part**). A Korean block-print
   from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian
   Academy of Sciences. Facsimile. Translation from Korean, introduction, commentary, addenda,
   and index by A. F. Trotzevich. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies, 1996,
   230 pp.

<div style="text-align:right">by <em>M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya</em>       No. 4, p. 65</div>

T. G. Mgaloblishvili. *The Klardzheti Anthology*. Tbilisi: 1991, 496 pp. (in Georgian, with an English
   summary).

<div style="text-align:right">by <em>E. Mescherskaya</em>       No. 4, p. 66—67</div>

A. Desreumaux. *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de manuscrits syriaques*. Paris: 1991,
   286 pp.

<div style="text-align:right">by <em>E. Mescherskaya</em>       No. 4, p. 68</div>

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## Notes to Contributors

## Submissions

Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3



Plate 4