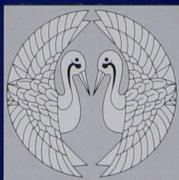


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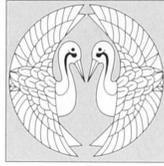
Winding up threads into balls, 17.7×26.5 cm, an illustration to the anonymous manuscript *Higashi Ezo iko*, Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

Back cover:

Plate 1. The Ainu loom, 38.2×26.5 cm, an illustration to the anonymous manuscript *Higashi Ezo iko*, Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

Plate 2. The weaving process (*attush-kar*), 38.2×26.5 cm, an illustration of the anonymous manuscript *Higashi Ezo iko*, Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

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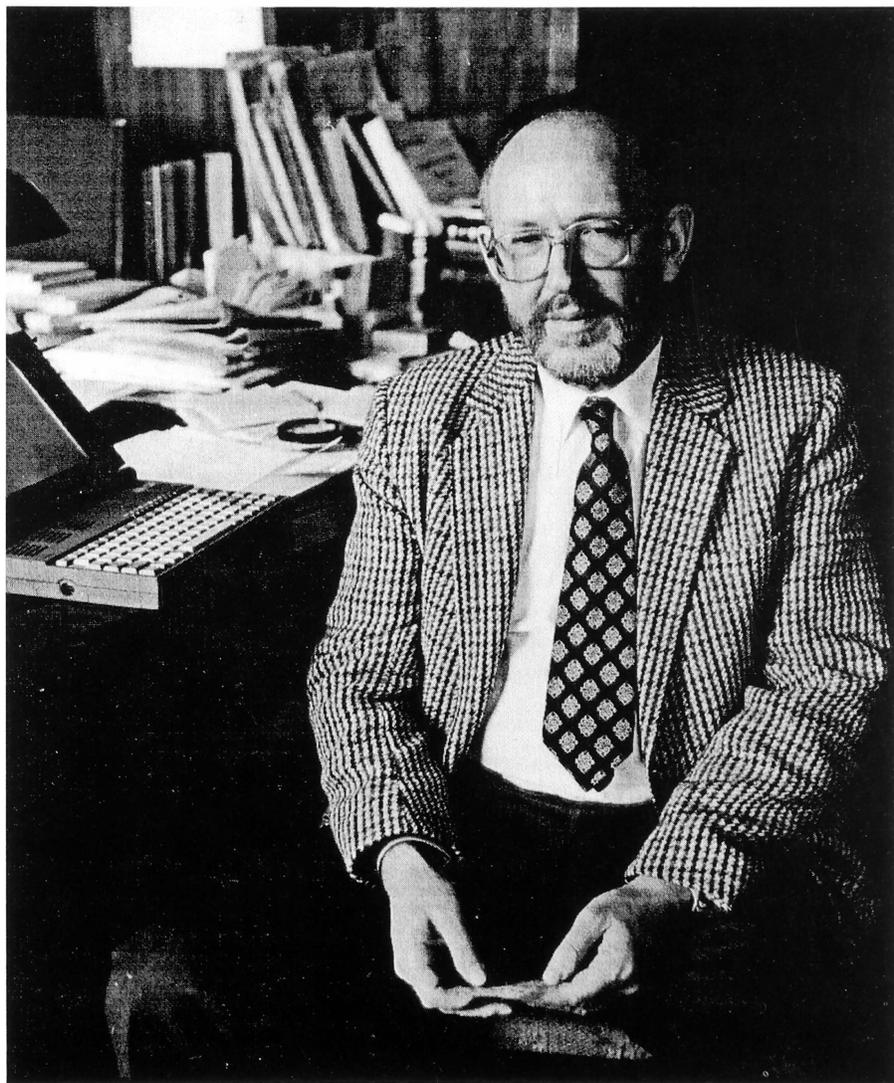
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*The Editorial board of Manuscripta Orientalia
dedicates this volume to
Professor Ronald Eric Emmerick,
outstanding scholar in the field of Iranian, Indian and
Tibetan studies, on the occasion of his 60th birthday.*



Professor R. E. Emmerick working on Khotanese Saka manuscripts in the Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES BY RONALD ERIC EMMERICK: 1992—1996

Compiled by *Mauro Maggi*

The present bibliography covers books and articles published from 1992 up to the end of 1996 and is intended to supplement the bibliography appended to the second edition of R. E. Emmerick's *Guide to the Literature of Khotan* (Tokyo, 1992 = *Guide*²) covering the years 1965—1993. For each year first the books are listed in alphabetical order, then the articles in journals and miscellaneous volumes, and finally the articles in encyclopaedias.

1992

(see also *Guide*², p. 60)

A Guide to the Literature of Khotan, 2nd ed. thoroughly revised and enlarged (Tokyo, The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992), ix, 61 pp. — *Studia Philologica Buddhica*. Occasional paper series, 3.

“Tibetan databank management with personal computers”, *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, vol. II: *Language, History and Culture*, ed. Ihara Shoren and Yamaguchi Zuihō (Narita-shi, Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), pp. 439—43.

1993

(see also *Guide*², p. 61)

(With Margarita I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja) *Saka Documents VII: the St. Petersburg Collections* (London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993), 24 pp., 159 pls. — *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, pt. 2, vol. 5.

“Boys' and girls' in Khotanese”, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n. s., 7 (*Iranian Studies in Honour of A. D. H. Bivar*) (1993), pp. 51—4.

“Indo-Iranian concepts of disease and cure”, *Journal of the European Ayurvedic Society*, 3 (1993), pp. 72—93.

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1994

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1995

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“Khotanese *bārātandā*”, *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies Held in Bamberg, September 30th to October 4th, 1991 by the Societas Iranologica Europea*, ed. Bert G. Fragner et al. (Roma, IsMEO, 1995). — Serie Orientale Roma, 73, pp. 163—7.

“On the St. Petersburg folios of the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*”, *Au Carrefour des religions: mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux* (Bures-sur Yvette, Groupe pour l'études de la civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1995). — Res Orientales, 7, pp. 51—66.

1996

The Sūtra of Golden Light: Being a Translation of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, 3rd (revised) ed. (London, Luzac, 1996). — Sacred Books of the Buddhists, 27.

(Ed.) *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang: Vorträge der Tagung 'Annemarie v. Gabain und die Turfanforschung', veranstaltet von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (9—12.12.1994)*, hrsg. von Ronald E. Emmerick et al. (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1996), xii, 417 pp. — Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 1.

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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Mauro Maggi

TWO REINTERPRETATIONS IN THE KHOTANESE *SUDHANĀVADĀNA*

The Khotanese *Sudhanāvadāna* is a very pleasant narrative text, but its interpretation is made difficult by the occurrence of several *hapax legomena* and by a partly corrupt textual tradition. It tells of the love of prince Sudhana and the *kinnarī* princess Manoharā, their separation, Sudhana's journey to the land of the *kinnaras* in search of his wife, and their final reunion (Sudhana was the Buddha in a former birth). The work was translated into English by Harold W. Bailey in 1966 and a German translation of Sudhana's journey, improving on Bailey's, was provided by Almuth Degener in 1986. As a matter of fact, though Bailey's pioneering interpretation is on the whole still reliable, some progress can be made in many points. Here I wish to deal with two problems and to point to their respective solutions, that are to be found in a hitherto unrecognised Indian loanword and in a more accurate reading of the manuscript.

The first problem is found in a kind of summary of the difficulties Sudhana is going to face (not translated by

Degener) that precedes, in MSS C and P, the narration of his journey in search of Manoharā. The journey consists of the following stages (cf. Degener 1986, 22):

1. departure for the Himavant;
2. encounter with the monkey;
3. encounter with the snake;
4. encounter with the *kāmarūpin-rākṣasī*;
5. encounter with the vulture-shaped *rākṣasī*;
6. crossing of the alkali rivers;
7. arrival at Kinnara-dvīpa guarded by five hundred *yakṣas*.

I read and provisionally translate the summary as follows: roman script = letters not clearly visible; [] = restoration of a lacuna; <> = editor's supplement where the MS has no lacuna; [[abc]] = deletion by the copyist.

Transliteration

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (1) | C | <i>ttu pada paṣṭa avala dīmana śuka</i> |
| | P | <i>ttu pada paṣṭe avala d[ī][252]mana śūka</i> |
| (2) | C | <i>kūṣṭa [167] <hvī>vaṣau vara hajsara naiṣṭa</i> |
| | P | <i>kūṣṭa hvīvaṣau vara hajsara naiṣṭa</i> |
| (3) | C | <i>vaṣanaurau yakṣau nāvau' jsa grrayse dūāha</i> |
| | P | <i>vaṣanaurau [253] yakṣau nāvau' jsa grrayse dūāha</i> |
| (4) | C | <i>gara kaicai rakṣajsā [168] jsa grrayse strrahai'</i> |
| | P | <i>gara kaicai raha'kṣajā [254] jsa grrayse strrahe'</i> |
| (5) | C | <i>ttāja b<ā>ysaṇa kṣārīnā ṇāva</i> |
| | P | <i>ttāja bāysaṇa kṣārīnā ṇāva</i> |
| (6) | C | <i>khve na nāsiya grra u tsiya vā nū</i> |
| | P | <i>[255] khve na [[bā]] nāsiye grra u tsiye vā nva</i> |
| (7) | C | <i>[169] havamana gara jsāve ...</i> |
| | P | <i>havamana ga[256]ra vī jsāve ...</i> |

Translation

(1) Thus, (if) he sets out alone for *avala dīmana*, (2) where there exists no place for human beings (3) (but there are) terrible troubles because of poison-women, *yakṣas* (and) *nāgas*, (4) mountain clefts terrifying due to *rakṣasas* and stiff, (5) streams, forests, alkali rivers, (6) if he does not take from you (-e) the advice (I am giving him) and comes after (me), (7) he goes to mount Himavant ...

I am leaving the words *avala dīmana* untranslated as they are still in need of a convincing explanation. Bailey printed C *avaladīmana* and P *avala[]mana* in both editions of *KBT* and translated the compound tentatively as “Alakā abode?” deriving *avala-* < **alava-* from Skt. *alakā-*, Kubera’s city, and regarding *dīmana-* as meaning “house, abode” (Bailey 1966, 511 and 528, see also *Dict.* 152 s.v. *damāna-*). However, the meaning of *dīmana-* is not established for certain and *avala-*, if an Indian loanword, admits of several explanations due to the ambiguity of *-v-* and *-l-*. I presume that *avala dīmana* refers not to the goal of Sudhana (Kinnara-dvīpa) but to the regions where Sudhana undergoes the tests (or, elliptically, to the tests themselves) “where there exists no place for human beings”. Accordingly, *dīaha* must be a substantive (“troubles”) referring to one of the elements characterising the region crossed by Sudhana and contrasting with the absence of conditions favourable to humans there, not an adjective as in Bailey 1966, 511 (“distressful”).

What I wish to discuss here is, however, the word (3) *vaṣanaurau* that occurs only in this passage. The verse where it occurs was translated by Bailey as “dangerous, with *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, terrifying, distressful” (Bailey 1966, 511). Initially, he derived *vaṣanaurau*, “inst. pl. adj. epithet to *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, from **ava-ṣana-bara-*, to Av. *ṣānaya-* ‘to wrench’” (Bailey 1966, 528—9). However, this etymology is unsatisfying from a semantic point of view and raises phonological difficulties because OI. **ṣ-* results in Kh. *ṣ-* (see Emmerick 1989, 215). (Note that, if the word were an adjective accompanying *yakṣau nāvau’ jsa*, the translation should have been “with dangerous *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, terrifying, distressful”.) In *Dict.* 379, Bailey suggested accordingly a derivation from **vi-xšana-bara-* “bringing wide destruction”, accepting O.Pers. *a-xšata-* as to O.Ind. *ṣatā-*, *ṣaṇōti* “to injure” and the meaning “destructive”, and rendered *vaṣanaurau yakṣau nāvau’ jsa grrayse* by “terrifying with destructive *yakṣa*-goblins (and) *nāga*-serpents”. The new etymology solves the problem of *-s-* and is semantically more suitable, but raises another problem because OI. **vi-* results usually in Kh. *bi-* or *ggu-*, whereas a continuation *vi-* (hence *va-*) is quite doubtful (cf. *SGS* 241).

Because the word escapes a satisfying Iranian etymology, we are justified in considering the possibility that it is a loanword. Of course, the loanword, disguised under its Late Khotanese spelling, may not be apparent immediately. However, it is hardly to be doubted that our *vaṣanaurau* is the inst.-abl. pl. of **viṣa-nāri-*. This I would regard as a loanword from an unattested Skt. compound **viṣa-nāri-*, literally “poison-woman” (or possibly as a hybrid compound formed by Skt. *viṣa-* “poison” and Kh. *nāri-* “woman” on the model of Skt. *viṣa-kanyā-* or *viṣa-kanyakā-*, see below). The *-a-* instead of *-i-* in the first syllable may be compared with e. g. C 121 *KBT* 25 = P 186 *KBT* 17 *namadrū* from *nimamdrūnā-* “invitation”. The spelling *-nau-* for *-nā-* is not unexpected, though the forms of Kh. *nāri-* “woman” occurring in *Sudhanāvādāna* C and P are consistently spelled with *-ā-*, because *ā* is frequently spelled *au* in MSS C and P not only before

labials (cf. C 126 *KBT* 25 = P 193 *KBT* 17 *naraume* from *narām-* “to go out” but also e. g. C 123 *KBT* 25 *binau* = P 189 *KBT* 17 *binauna* from *bināna-* “musical instrument” or C 136 *KBT* 26 = P 207 *KBT* 18 *sauna* from *sāna-* “enemy”).

Although the Sanskrit compound is not to be found in the standard dictionaries, it is a quite plausible equivalent of Skt. *viṣa-kanyā-* or *viṣa-kanyakā-* that is glossed by Monier-Williams as follows: “a girl supposed to cause the death of a man who has had intercourse with her” (*MW* 995). Evidence supporting the proposed interpretation is provided by the subsequent development of the narration. In fact, as the *yakṣas* in the passage we are considering anticipate the five hundred *yakṣas* guarding Kinnara-dvīpa and as the *nāgas* anticipate the encounter with the snake, so the poison-women anticipate the encounter with the *kāmarūpin-rākṣasi* “who through passion entices beings, at the last destroys them” (after Bailey 1966, 512). Thus, *vaṣanaurau yakṣau nāvau’ jsa* are three coordinated substantives in the instrumental-ablative plural: “because of poison-women, *yakṣas* (and) *nāgas*”.

The second problem is in *Sudhanāvādāna* C 220—221 *KBT* 30 (the passage is not contained in MSS A and P) that was read *te hve sa jaṣtā sahyā ai’ṣtū sira* {*dā*} *dāṣṭa ṣtauna* by Bailey in both editions of *KBT*, where he emended *dāṣṭa* to *isāṣṭa* “calm”. The emendation, however, was abandoned by Bailey 1966a, 531, who preferred to keep the otherwise unattested *dāṣṭa* that he read in the manuscript: “*dāṣṭa* honoured (?), the dittography of *dā* makes the change to *tsāṣṭa*—calm unlikely; it has been taken to connect with *das-* to get in Av. *dāsta-*”. Accordingly, he translated the passage under consideration as “He said to her, Queen, may you be able to endure, content, honoured” (p. 513). Possibly, Bailey took *sahyā* as 2 subj. mid., but the verb *sahy-* is active (see *SGS* 132), so that *sahyā* is better understood as 1 ind. act. (with *-ā* for LKh. *-ū(m)* etc., see *SGS* 191) coordinated with *ai’ṣtū*.

He repeats the connection with Avestan *dāsta-* in *Dict.* 157 s.v. *dāṣṭa-* and 426 s.v. *sira-* where, however, he rescues the initially expunged {*dā*} introducing the reading “*siradā-dāṣṭa* ‘rich in contentment’ (if correctly interpreted supporting the second component *dāti-*)” (p. 426). However, the suffix *-tāti-* becomes *-dāti-* only if the base lexeme ends in *-da-*, *-na-* or *-ysa-* (see Degener, *Suffixe* 276).

In fact, there is no dittography of *dā*: the copyist, after writing *sira*, was about to write *dā* but, as soon as he had written the consonant sign *da* without the vowel mark, he realised the omission of *sa*, corrected *da* to *sa* and went on writing the subsequent *akṣaras dā* and *ṣta* thus obtaining the adjective *sadāṣṭa* “content”, a variant spelling of *saṃduṣṭa-*, a well-known loanword ultimately going back to Skt. *santuṣṭa-* “satisfied, contented”, cf. LKh. *Rāma* 121 *KT* 3.70 *saṃduṣṭa*, *JS* 5v2 (18) *saduṣṭā*, OKh. Z 12.57 *asaṃduṣṭā* “discontented”. The Late Khotanese spelling with *-ā-* occurs also in P 2928.37 *KT* 3.106 *sadāṣṭa hamye bīhī* “he became quite content”. Accordingly, I read and translate the passage as follows: *te hve sa jaṣtā sahyā ai’ṣtū sira sadāṣṭa ṣtauna* “Thus he said to her: ‘O Queen, I endure (and) persist happy (and) content’”.

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Abbreviations of Khotanese texts as in Emmerick 1992. The following sigla have been adopted for MSS of *Sudhanāvādāna*: A = P 2957.3—161, C = Ch 00266.44—223, P = P 2025.80—267.

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JS — M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava or "Praise of the Buddha's Former Births"* (Philadelphia, 1955).

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KT 1—7 — H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian Studies Being Khotanese Texts* (Cambridge, 1945), i; (1954), ii; (1956), iii. Vols. 1—3 were republished in one volume (1969; repr. 1980); (1961), iv; (repr. 1979); (1963), v; (repr. 1980); (1967), vi; (1985), vii.

MW — M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899).

SGS — R. E. Emmerick, *Saka Grammatical Studies* (London, 1968).

Z — R. E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta: a Khotanese Poem on Buddhism* (London, 1968).

TIBETAN EIGHTH-CENTURY DOCUMENTS ON WOOD FROM MIRAN

To reconstruct the history of East Turkestan in the eighth—ninth centuries it is necessary to take into account not only Chinese literary sources — official chronicles and documents, reports, memoirs of Chinese pilgrims, etc., but also documents written in the languages of the natives of the land, the aboriginal population of East Turkestan. Only in this way we can gain insight into political, social and economic relations of that time.

A considerable number of written sources of this kind have been introduced into circulation during the last years. The eighth-century Tibetan documents on wood considered in this article belong exactly to this group of written sources. Their introduction is important in many respects. First of all, these documents provide direct evidence on the lives of Tibetan garrisons in occupied territories, on all difficulties and problems they had to encounter. This material cannot be replaced by any chronicle. Second, these documents provide valuable information on the administration of the occupied territories, its bureaucratic institutions, on the system of accounts and management. The analysis of person and place names gives some idea on the ethnic composition of the Tibetan army as well as on the confessional association of its soldiers. The documents give the actual location of Tibetan garrisons on the territory of East Turkestan, the directions in which goods, mainly provisions, were transported; by the time required for their delivery one can estimate the distance between different garrisons and the practicability of the roads. Finally, these documents are the only and the earliest monuments of the Tibetan language of the seventh—ninth centuries. This language was close to the one spoken in daily life, not yet affected by the influence of other languages, like Sanskrit and Chinese, from which Tibetan pandits were beginning at that time to translate Buddhist scriptures.

The collection of Tibetan documents on wood (call number TD — Tibetan documents, TD-1—58) considered here is preserved in the Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences [1]. This collection actually includes 57 documents on wood, of which 53 are written in Tibetan cursive *dbu-can* script, two documents (TD-31a and TD-31b) — in North Turkestan Brāhmī script in Tocharian B (Kuchine) language, one is a piece for gambling or divination with dots — from one to six — drawn on its sides in China ink; two wooden plaques (TD-56a and TD-56b) are blank.

The collection was acquired from the natives by S. E. Malov during his second expedition to East Turkestan (1913—1915) when he was commissioned by the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and East Asia to collect materials on the Turkic tribes. The exact date of the acquisition is known — June 15, 1915. It took place in the settlement of Miran near the Lobnor lake. Initially the collection was preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg—Leningrad. On 20 March 1925 it was transferred to the Asiatic Museum (in 1930 transformed into the Institute of Oriental Studies).

The site of Miran, when N. M. Przhevalsky first surveyed and mapped it in 1878 (under the name “Ruins of an Old City”) [2], presented ruins of a Tibetan fortress built at the time of the Tibetan domination in East Turkestan. Twice, in 1907 and in 1913—1914, it was investigated by the second and the third British expedition directed by A. Stein who undertook excavations there and discovered about 1,500 similar Tibetan documents written on wooden plaques.

Our wooden plaques, acquired by S. E. Malov, were most probably found by the natives at the same site. Judging by their appearance and by the person and place names mentioned in the texts, they should belong to one of the archives (Tib. *yid-dkar-chag* “register of letters”) of the Tibetan military garrisons on the territory of Miran, to the south of the Lobnor Lake. Among the geographical names mentioned in the documents are the following: Minor Nob, identified with Miran (see below), Greater Nob — the modern Charhlyk, Shing-Shang or Shong-Shang, the medieval name of the fortress where the headquarters of the Tibetan army were located, not far from the present-day Mazar-Tagh (in Khotan).

The first description of the collection was published in 1953 by V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky [3]. In the same year he also published four documents of the collection — TD-23 [4], TD-24, TD-15, and TD-18 [5]. Hungarian scholar G. Uray, who wrote a review of this publication [6], estimated it very highly, marking that it was actually the first scholarly publication including all necessary components: facsimile of the documents, their description, transliteration of the Tibetan text, its translation into Russian, and commentaries. V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky intended to continue his work on the documents, but his untimely death interrupted it. From that time there was no one in the Academy to undertake this difficult work. Besides the difficul-

ties of deciphering archaic Tibetan script and language, of which there are no special dictionaries, the interpretation of the contents also presents a number of problems. The toponymics of the Lobnor area, as well as that of the whole East Turkestan, is still far from being properly studied. The reading and interpretation of the documents from Malov's collection is possible only within the context of contemporary documents of the same contents written in other languages of East Turkestan: Chinese, Kroraini, Khotanese Saka, Tocharian, and Old Uighur.

Our attempt to resume the study of the Tibetan documents from Malov's collection does not pretend to solve all these problems. This article opens a series of publications of separate documents we are able to explicate. The publication of the whole collection will be undertaken jointly with Prof. Tsuguhito Takeuchi and will take several years.

What is the place of the documents from Malov's collection among Tibetan written sources of the same group? At present we know two prominent collections of the eighth—ninth century Tibetan documents, the collection of A. Stein and the collection of P. Pelliot. The documents and manuscripts brought by A. Stein from East Turkestan are written on paper as well as on wood. They come from Miran, Mazar-Tagh, Dunhuang, and from other places. Their description, along with precise location of the finds, was made by A. Stein himself [7]. Stein had published a number of photographs of the manuscripts as illustrations to his books, which, for a long time, remained the only facsimile reproductions of Tibetan documents from East Turkestan. But the first study of these documents was published by A. Francke even before the appearance of Stein's publications, in 1914. Later he also commented on Stein's Tibetan finds in the volume of "Serindia" [8]. The translation of about 400 documents into English and their study, first of all of the historical evidence they contain, was made by F. W. Thomas. He started the publication of his work in 1927 in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and accomplished it in 1934, producing in all 6 issues [9]. Neither Francke nor Thomas were reproducing the documents' facsimile. Thomas gave only their Latin transliteration, translation into English and commentaries. Documents on wood in his publication were not separated from documents on paper. Later his work on the documents was reprinted as a separate volume [10].

Only in 1986 Chinese scholars Wang Yao and Chen Jian published their monograph dedicated exclusively to documents on wood [11]. In their publication 464 documents are presented in modern Tibetan lettering and in Latin transliteration. The documents translated into Chinese are supplied with commentaries. Modern equivalents are suggested for some archaic words and terms. The weak point of the publication is the absence of a good facsimile — the scholars managed to provide only 16 plates with photographs of 116 documents earlier reproduced by Stein and Thomas. The quality of the plates is rather low, so the documents are practically illegible. The volume has no indices. As far as we know, the publication does not cover all documents from Stein's collection. Many still remain unpublished. Prof. Takeuchi is working now on the catalogue of Tibetan documents in the British Library where the collection of A. Stein is preserved. The documents published by Wang Yao and Chen Jian deal mainly with the system of land use in East Turkestan at the time of the Tibetan domination. We could not find a single docu-

ment there similar to those in our collection. It looks like most of our documents contain official and private correspondence and reports, their language is quite different being closer to the everyday colloquial language.

As for the collection of P. Pelliot, there is no mention in publications of any documents on wood there. Prof. Takeuchi told us that he had seen wooden plaques in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. As for other Tibetan manuscripts of this collection, including business documents on paper, those have been published in facsimile in two volumes in 1978—1979 by Ariane Macdonald (Spanien) and Yoshiro Imaeda [12]. This publication includes 65 Tibetan documents classified by their contents into the following groups: i) administrative (8); ii) business—commerce, deals, financial documents (14); iii) legal (12); iv) other (1). In 1995 came out the volume on Tibetan business documents on paper published by Prof. Takeuchi [13]. This publication covers 58 documents from the collections of A. Stein, P. Pelliot and Sven Hedin in the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm [14].

The study of the documents from Malov's collection demonstrates that by their appearance, script, and language they could be compared with the documents on wood from the region of Miran already published in the editions enumerated above. By their contents they do not, however, overlap the former, but make an important supplement to the information they contain. The same can be said about the shape of the wooden plaques. Our plaques allow not only to describe the outward appearance of Tibetan documents, but also the ways they functioned.

The plaques differ in size depending on their contents. The principle two sizes are: ca. 9.0×1.5 cm and ca. 20.0×3.0 cm. In length the texts vary from one word or name to three lines. Texts could continue on the sides or on the reverse. Most plaques have a round hole on the right, which might explain the way they were kept: they were possibly put on a string. Some plaques do not have a hole, but have grooves on the left side — pairs of plaques were most probably tied together with a cord. Some of the plaques evidently served a cover for such a pair; they bear an address: to whom, where and from whom the letter was sent. These plaques also have a cavity with traces of clay — to seal a pair of plaques.

Most documents are rectangular plaques with a hole for a cord in the right side. By their contents they can be divided into two groups: short tablets up to 11 cm long bearing one or several words. These are possibly coupons or identity cards which could also be used to receive provisions (TD 1, 4, 5, 6—12, 19, 22). Other plaques, up to 26 cm, bear texts of several lines, often on both sides (TD 13, 14, 16, 17, 23—29, 32, 36, 50, 52, 53, etc.).

The upper covers of double documents are not numerous, only 3 pieces (TD 2, 18, 15). It is possible to suggest that some of the plaques were making a pair: TD 37, 49. As for TD 56a, a plaque with incisions but with no text, it could be a cover, but there is no address on it. Only one document (TD 44) is different from the others by its shape. It is a small tablet, neatly cut, with rounded corners and a straight projection along the upper edge. It could be someone's letter since it contains a request written in extremely polite style.

There are different opinions concerning the origin of the shape of Tibetan documents on wood. V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, like many of European scholars, saw the



Recto



Verso

Fig. 1

prototype of Tibetan plaques in Chinese documents on wood and bamboo, which became widespread in East Turkestan beginning from the Han period. However, considering documents on wood written in other languages, we may find closer parallels. The archives of the State of Kroraina (the mid-third—mid-fourth century A.D.) contains a great number of double documents consisting of the main plaques with texts of letters or orders written on them and of wooden covers bearing addresses. The documents were tied with a cord and sealed with a clay sealing set in a cavity made in the cover. A. Stein was the first to take notice of the specific shape of documents on wood from Kroraina. He published a reconstruction of such a pair of plaques bound together (a drawing, not a photograph). A similar pair of plaques is exhibited in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. Among the Chinese documents on wood of the same period and coming from the same territory no plaques of this shape have been found so far. It makes us think that this specific form of documents was invented in Kroraina. When, however, one begins to consider the history of this short-lived small State, it becomes clear that it inherited someone's well-developed tradition. Two peoples could claim the honour of being its inventors: Indians, who made up the majority of the population of Kroraina, and Iranians. The State of Kroraina came into being as a splinter of the disintegrated Kushan empire. It could inherit the traditions of its chancellery as well as the very shape of documents. The Kharoshthī script and the North-West Gandhāri Prakrit, which had served as official language in the Kushan empire, were also borrowed from there. The Kushans, in their turn, were the successors of the Achaemenid empire in the field of their bureaucratic traditions and practices. It makes us suggest that the peoples of East Turkestan, who at the beginning of A.D. stayed in close contact with the Kushan empire and were politically dependent on it, borrowed their chancellery traditions from the Achaemenids. This very shape of documents was later accepted from Kroraina by the Tibetan conquerors.

The tradition of making documents on wooden plaques continued in East Turkestan till the time when wood had finally been replaced by paper. At the time of the Tibetan occupation of East Turkestan paper was already widely used in China, but in East Turkestan it was imported and therefore expensive. It should be taken into account also that the Tibetans closed the routes for Chinese trade caravans, and the import of paper was cut off. For this reason between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the ninth century paper was used only in Buddhist monasteries for copying sacred texts, and there its use was strictly accounted.

In this connection we may suggest a solution of one more question, put once by V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovskiy, which deals with the status of the Tibetan documents. The scholar suggested that these were draft documents to be later copied on paper and delivered correspondingly. We think now that he was mistaken. First, the contents of these documents is of local character. Besides, their shape, especially the presence of a hole for a cord, allows to think that they functioned for a long period of time. Evidently, we deal not with drafts, but with original documents. Similar Khotanese Saka and Tocharian documents on wood functioned in the same way as documents on paper, the only difference was that their texts were briefer.

The text of Tibetan documents was arranged in a certain order. The message started after the marks ཨ|| or ཨ||:| in the upper left corner. Colons : , dots in the upper part of the line (like in Modern Tibetan between syllables), the sign of *shad* | and double *shad* || were used as punctuation marks. No special rules of their use were followed, everything was determined by the contents of the text.

The documents are written in different handwritings: neat and calligraphic or crude and unskilled. The same concerns the orthography. Taking into account the complicated phonetic system of the Tibetan language and, possibly, different dialects and different level of education of those who wrote the documents, these particular features of the language of the documents appear quite natural. One should not forget that Tibet developed literacy only in the middle of the seventh century.

Those documents which we consider to be identity cards or food coupons are usually written in a more accurate way. These were probably written by a garrison scribe. Letters and reports look as if they were written by their authors themselves.

The orthographic features of the Tibetan language in the mid-eighth century, which make it possible to date manuscripts and documents with high precision, have been sufficiently described in works on Tibetan grammar. The principal ones are the presence of the so-called *da drag* and of subscript *y* in syllables with formatting consonant *m*. Other documents, however, reveal some extra orthographic features (of which it would be expedient to say in commentaries to distinct documents) like the writing of *y*- and *nga*- as one syllable (see, for example, document TD 18 published by V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovskiy).

Below we publish one of the documents from Malov's collection (TD 25). It is the first publication of this document. Document TD 25 represents a rectangular plaque: 14.0 × 1.5 cm. There is a hole in the right side of it. Text on both sides is partly worn out (see *fig. 1*).

Transliteration

Recto

1. ཨ:| *bring: bzang:¹ dang: stag: snya:² gnyis: la: | khong: tsas³*
2. *springo': | ngan. bu: shong: shang:⁴ khal:⁵ phye. dang*

Verso

1. *gsum:⁶ 'ong nang. nob.chen⁷ phor. byong. gu: dang*
2. *gcig.nang:⁸ dang: gcil.la:⁹ sa.la[s] gsheg¹⁰*

Translation

To *Bring-bzang* and *Stag-snya*, both. *Khong-tsa* is writing. We came (to) *Shong-Shang* with two and a half *khal*. [Then we] arrived at *Great Nob* and gave ten [*khal*](and) left this place and went away from there.

Commentaries

¹ *bring-bzang* — “one who is well tolerable”. It is evidently one of Tibetan names, but in Modern Tibetan we have a different form: *'bring-bzang*. The name does not occur anywhere else.

² *stag-snya* — “the tiger’s ear”. It is a typically Tibetan name of the pre-Buddhist period, cf. Takeuchi, *Old Tibetan Contracts*, Table 11, p. 128 (see below — Notes).

³ *khong-tsa*. This man has both a Chinese family name and given name. About *khong* cf. Takeuchi, *op. cit.*, Table 13; see also document No. 35, *ibid.*, p. 263, commentary, 4.

⁴ *shong-shang* — “a high place, a chain of hills, ridge”. It seems that the document gives a good etymology of the name *Shing-Shang*, which is well represented in the Tibetan documents. There is the Khotanese Saka name *Gira (Gāra)* in Khotanese documents, its etymology completely corresponding to the Tibetan name — “Hill”. *Shing-Shang* is known as the name of the headquarters of the Tibetan occupation army in East Turkestan.

⁵ *khal* — “cart”, a measure of weight. Cf. Takeuchi, *op. cit.*

⁶ *khal phyé dang gsum* — “two and a half *khal*”. Cf. Takeuchi, *op. cit.*, document No. 32A, pp. 253—4.

⁷ *nob-chen-phor (Loc.)* — “at *Nob-chen-po*” alias “at *Great Nob*”. P. Pelliot and A. Stein identified this name with the *Carhlyk* oasis, see P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, p. 770 and A. Stein, *Serindia*, p. 469 (see below — Notes).

⁸ *gu dang gcig nang* — “gave ten [*khal*]”, i. e. “nine and one”.

⁹ *gcil-la = bcil-la (?)* — “abandoning”.

¹⁰ *sa la gshég = sa-las gshégs (?)* — “went away from [this] place”.

Notes

1. M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, “The S. E. Malov collection of manuscripts in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/2 (1995), p. 30.

2. N. M. Przheval'skiĭ, “Ot Kul'dzhi za Tian-Shan' i na Lob-Nor” (“From Kulja beyond Tien Shan and to Lobnor”), *Izvestiia Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva*, XIII (1878), map to p. 32.

3. V. S. Vorob'ëv-Desiatovskii, “Kollektsiia tibetskikh dokumentov na dereve sobrannaia S. E. Malovym” (“A collection of Tibetan documents on wood assembled by S. E. Malov”), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*, VI (1953), pp. 167—75.

4. V. S. Vorob'ëv-Desiatovskii, “Tibetskii dokument na dereve iz raiona ozera Lob-Nor” (“A Tibetan document on wood from the region of the Lobnor Lake”), *Èpigrafiika Vostoka*, fasc. 7 (1953), pp. 70—6.

5. V. S. Vorob'ëv-Desiatovskii, “Tibetskie dokumenty na dereve iz raiona ozera Lob-Nor. II” (“Tibetan documents on wood from the region of the Lobnor Lake. II”), *Èpigrafiika Vostoka*, fasc. 8 (1953), pp. 77—85.

6. See G. Uray's reviews of V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovskiy's “Tibetskii dokument na dereve iz raiona ozera Lob-Nor” (“A Tibetan document on wood from the region of the Lobnor Lake”) and “Tibetskie dokumenty na dereve iz raiona ozera Lob-Nor. II” (“Tibetan documents on wood from the region of the Lobnor Lake”), *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, IV/1—3 (1955), pp. 304—7.

7. A. Stein, *Serindia* (Oxford, 1921) — finds from Miran, see pp. 348, 460—2, 468—70; other documents on pp. 162, 1279—80, also Pl. CLXXII); *idem*, *Innermost Asia* (Oxford, 1929) — finds from Miran, see pp. 127, 1055; other documents on pp. 92, 101, 173, 1084—7, also Pl. CXXX).

8. A. H. Francke, “Notes on Sir Aurel Stein's collection of Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan”, *JRAS* (1914), pp. 37—59. *Idem*, in *Serindia*, pp. 1460—6.

9. F. W. Thomas, “Tibetan documents concerning Chinese Turkestan”, *JRAS* (1927—1934).

10. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Pt. I (London, 1935).

11. Wang Yao, Chien Jian, *Tufan jiandu zonglu* (Beijing, 1986). The edition represents a summary description of the Tibetan wooden documents.

12. Ariane Spanien and Yoshiro Imaeda, *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale complétés par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum* (Paris, 1978—1979), i—ii.

13. Tsuguhito Takeuchi, *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia* (Tokyo, 1995).

14. See my review of the book by Takeuchi in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/1 (1996), pp. 66—7.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Document TD 25 (14.0 × 1.5 cm), recto and verso.

THE LIBRARY-WORKSHOP (*KITĀBKHĀNA*) OF BĀYSUNGHUR-MĪRZĀ IN HERAT

It is hardly possible in our days to find a scholarly work dedicated to the history of culture, calligraphy, miniature painting or manuscript production in general in Iran, Afghanistan, and Mawarannahr of the fifteenth century, not mentioning about the remarkable library-workshop founded in Herat by the famous grandson of Timūr, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bāysunghur-mīrzā (21 Dhū'l-hijja 799—7 Jumādā I 837/15 September 1397—20 December 1433) [1].

There is no doubt that the *kitābkhāna* already functioned at the court of Bāysunghur-mīrzā by 823/1420, because calligrapher Kamāl al-Dīn Ja'far Tabrizī and miniaturist Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh [2] already worked there at that time. That, however, was the year when Bāysunghur-mīrzā brought from Tabriz to Herat several masters of manuscripts. Among them Dūst-Muḥammad al-Kātib names Sīdī Aḥmad Naqqāsh, Khwāja 'Alī Muṣawwir and *ustād* Qawām al-Dīn Mujallid Tabrizī [3], i. e. an illuminator, a painter and a book-binder. That was the beginning of the most brilliant period in the history of the library-workshop assembling within its walls the best masters of book art, who created unique illuminated manuscripts for their patron. The point is that Bāysunghur-mīrzā created the *kitābkhāna* exclusively for his private use, to satisfy his personal demands.

Like a magnet the workshop attracted gifted artists from all over the Middle East. It became a real centre of book production, making illuminated manuscripts on request. Moreover, it had soon developed into a centre of arts and crafts. F. Martin, a Swedish diplomat and one of the pioneers in the field of medieval Persian manuscript study, even surnamed the *kitābkhāna* “the Bāysunghur Academy” (1912). This name was accepted and became popular both in European and in Russian scholarly literature. Although it sounds attractive and striking, it is not quite correct.

Dawlatshāh Samarqandī calls the workshop *kitābkhāna* [4]. It was a library of Oriental type along with a workshop (atelier) where, under the supervision of a management-director — *kitābdār*, masterpieces of manuscript art were specially created for the patron. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr [5], Dūst-Muḥammad al-Harawī [6] and Abū Naṣr Sām-mīrzā [7] define it in the same way in their works — in the *kitābkhāna* they saw only an atelier performing the functions enumerated above. At the same time a junior contemporary of Bāysunghur, historian 'Abd

al-Razzāq b. Ishāq al-Samarqandī (1413—1482), who marked Bāysunghur's profound interest in the art of book and applied arts (combined with really professional attitude), gives no definition to the workshop. He mentions only that along with “masters of book” (calligraphers, illuminators, miniaturists, book-binders, etc.) there worked goldsmiths (*zargarān*), joiners (*najjār*), masters of inlay work (*khātambandān*) and mosaic (*kāshītarāshān*), specialists in chasing, engraving and other kinds of metalwork (*ḥaddādī*) [8]. It is only natural that the authors of special treatises on the art of calligraphy and book art regarded some of the craftsmen of the *kitābkhāna* as the members of the elite, especially those whom the tradition had already made models for imitation, surrounding their names with an aura of wonderful legends where reality was so closely mixed with fantasy that often it is just impossible to separate them.

The evidence of the sources as to what kind of craftsmen worked in the *kitābkhāna* is different. 'Abd al-Razzāq names several calligraphers: Mawlānā Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn al-Harawī, Mawlānā Ja'far Tabrizī, Mawlānā Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn Aḥzar, Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abdallāh and Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Shaykh Maḥmūd, one illuminator (*naqqāsh*) Sayf al-Dīn Waḥīdī, and one miniaturist (*naqqāsh*) Ghiyāth al-Dīn of whom we spoke above [9].

Dawlatshāh names Ja'far Tabrizī, titling him *sarāmad-i kuttāb* (“the leader of calligraphers”), and artist Mawlānā Khalīl Musawwir, who was “the second Manī” [10]. At the same time, according to his words, there were forty masters working in the *kitābkhāna*.

Dūst-Muḥammad al-Kātib confirms the evidence of 'Abd al-Razzāq and Dawlatshāh, adding to their lists 'Alī Musawwir (an artist), illuminator Sīdī Aḥmad and book-binder Qawām al-Dīn Tabrizī [11].

In 1587 Turkish writer, historian and biographer 'Alī Chelebī Efendī in his work *Manāqib-i hunarwarān* (“Lives of the Men of Art”) named twenty five persons who worked in the *kitābkhāna* of Bāysunghur. The list is full of obvious errors. It contains the names of five artists not yet born at the time when the *kitābkhāna* already functioned. Besides that, there are names of the men of letters and *nadīms* from Bāysunghur's closest retinue, such as Amīr Aq-Malik Shāhī Sabzawārī (d. 1453), Muḥammad Kātibī Turshīzī (d. 1436), Yahyā Sibak Nishābūrī (d. 1448), and others [12].

The evidence mentioned above (but for the list of 'Āli Chelebī Efendī, which we do not take into account as evidently incorrect) allows to suggest that the *kitābkhāna* of Bāysunghur was not just an atelier producing illuminated books. It looks more like a network of royal workshops specialising in different arts and crafts (*kārkhāna*, *buyūtāt*) employing a considerable number of highly qualified specialists. Today, 563 years after the death of its founder, we are fortunate to be able to gain insight into the life of the *kitābkhāna*. This opportunity is provided by a unique document having survived from that time [13]. It is a kind of official report (something like modern formal account), '*arḍadāsh*t, submitted to Bāysunghur by the director of the workshops (in the text they are called *kitābkhāna*), most probably by Kamāl al-Dīn Ja'far Bāysunghurī Tabrizī, approximately between the end of 1427 and the beginning of 1431. This document was discovered by Prof. Zeki Veledi Toğan in *Jung-i Ya'qūbī* (its other name is "Fātiḥ Album") in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (Istanbul, MS H. 2153, fol. 98a). He reported of his find in 1948. Over a quarter of a century had passed, however, before the document was published in Turkey [14].

The contents of the document leaves no doubts that the *kitābkhāna*, by the standards of that time, was a grand enterprise. It was organised on a scale worthy of Timūr himself, the grandfather of its founder and creator. People of different professions connected with arts, artistic crafts and architecture worked there. In this respect the information provided by 'Abd al-Razzāq is correct. At present we are concerned mainly with those masters whose professions were connected with the production of illuminated manuscripts, since a detailed analysis of the whole document goes beyond the frames of this article.

So, the director-manager of the *kitābkhāna* (that person could only be Ja'far Bāysunghurī, because, as stated in all sources, it was he who held this office under Bāysunghur-mirzā) reports on the work done by all craftsmen of the *kitābkhāna* (who and how is occupied with what kind of work) towards the day when the document was written. He enumerates 25 members of the staff, including himself and gives a brief account of their work on manuscripts. The following masters of "book craft" are mentioned:

1. Five calligraphers — Mawlānā Shams, Mawlānā Quṭb, Mawlānā Sa'd al-Dīn, Mawlānā Muḥammad-i Muṭahhar and the author of the "Report" ('*arḍadāsh*t). Since these people are well-known, their names can be easily identified.

2. Two artists — Amīr Khalīl and Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh. Their names also present no difficulties. More problems arise with the identifying of other masters of the *kitābkhāna*.

3. Thirteen illuminators and decorators of manuscripts (*naqqāsh*, *mudhahhib*, *jadwalkash*) — Mawlānā 'Alī, Mawlānā Shihāb, Maḥmūd, Khwāja 'Aṭā, Ḥājji, Khatāy, 'Abd al-Salām, *ustād* Sayf al-Dīn, Khwāja Mir Ḥasan, Mir Shams al-Dīn b. Khwāja Mir Ḥasan, Mawlānā Shams, *ustād* Dawlat-khwāja, Khwāja 'Aṭāy Jadwalkash.

4. Three book-binders (*mujallid*) — Mawlānā Qawām al-Dīn, Ḥājji Maḥmūd and Khwāja Maḥmūd.

5. Two artists working on patterns (*tarrāḥ*) — Khwāja 'Abd al-Raḥīm and Mir Dawlatyār. These artists were de-

veloping patterns further applied to objects of different materials (leather, textiles, carpets, faience, tiles, etc.)

Speaking about the books which at that time were "in work", the author mentions nine manuscripts and names those masters working on them: five calligraphers, three binders, two artists, one decorator of coloured bands framing the text and five illuminators, all together sixteen persons. These manuscripts are the following:

1. *Gulistān* by Sa'dī. Artists — Amīr Khalīl and Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn, illuminators — Mawlānā Shihāb and Khwāja 'Aṭā.

2. *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī. Calligrapher — the author of the "Report" Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī, illuminator — Mawlānā 'Alī, decorator of coloured frames — Khwāja 'Aṭāy, binder — Mawlānā Qawām al-Dīn.

3. *Rasā'il*. Calligrapher — Mawlānā Shams, artist — Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn, binder — Ḥājji Maḥmūd.

4. *Rasā'il-i khatṭ-i Khwāja*. Binder — Khwāja Maḥmūd.

5. *Dīwān-i Khwāju [-yi Kirmānī]*. Illuminators — Maḥmūd and Mawlānā Shams, decorator of frames — Khwāja 'Aṭāy.

6. *Tārīkh [-i Jahāngushā-yi Juwaynī]*. Calligrapher — Mawlānā Sa'd al-Dīn, illuminator — Khwāja 'Aṭā, decorator of frames — Khwāja 'Aṭāy.

7. *Tārīkh-i Ṭabari*. Calligrapher — Mawlānā Quṭb.

8. *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī. Calligrapher — Mawlānā Muḥammad-i Muṭahhar.

9. *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* [by Mīr Fakhr al-Sādāt]. Calligrapher — the author of the "Report" Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī.

Besides that two accomplished albums of verse (*kishfī*) are mentioned, on which had worked correspondingly illuminators Mawlānā Shams and 'Abd al-Salām, while illuminators Ḥājji and Khatāy still worked on two other similar albums.

As far as it is known, 19 manuscripts from the library of Bāysunghur have survived to the present day. On fol. 1a they bear *shamsa*-exlibris: "*ba rasm-i khazānat al-kutub* (or *kitābkhāna*) *al-Sulṭān al-a'ẓam al-a'dal al-akram Ghiyāth al-salṭanat wa'l-Dīn Bāysunghur Bahādūr khān ...*". Of this number two manuscripts were sent to Bāysunghur as a gift, they have nothing to do with his workshop [15], but the other seventeen were executed in his atelier. The first list of the survived manuscripts was made by a well-known British expert in Persian miniatures B. Robinson [16]. It enumerates 12 manuscripts (including the two mentioned above), the other seven were identified by the author of this article. These manuscripts are the following:

1. *Tāj al-mā'athir* by Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nishābūrī (Library of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg University, No. 578), calligrapher — Quṭb al-Dīn b. Ḥasan-shāh al-Kirmānī, 25 Shawwāl 829/31 August 1426 (fol. 289b). Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mirzā.

2. *Tarjuma-yi tārikh-i Ṭabari* by Bal'amī (St. Petersburg, the National Library of Russia, PNS 49), calligrapher — Quṭb al-Dīn b. Ḥasan-shāh al-Kirmānī, Herat, 20 Jumādā II 833/16 March 1430 (fol. 497a). Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mirzā.

3. *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī (Tehran, Malik Library, No. 6531), calligrapher — Muḥammad [b.] Muṭahhar Nishābūrī, Herat, Sha'bān 833/May 1430 (fol. 438b).

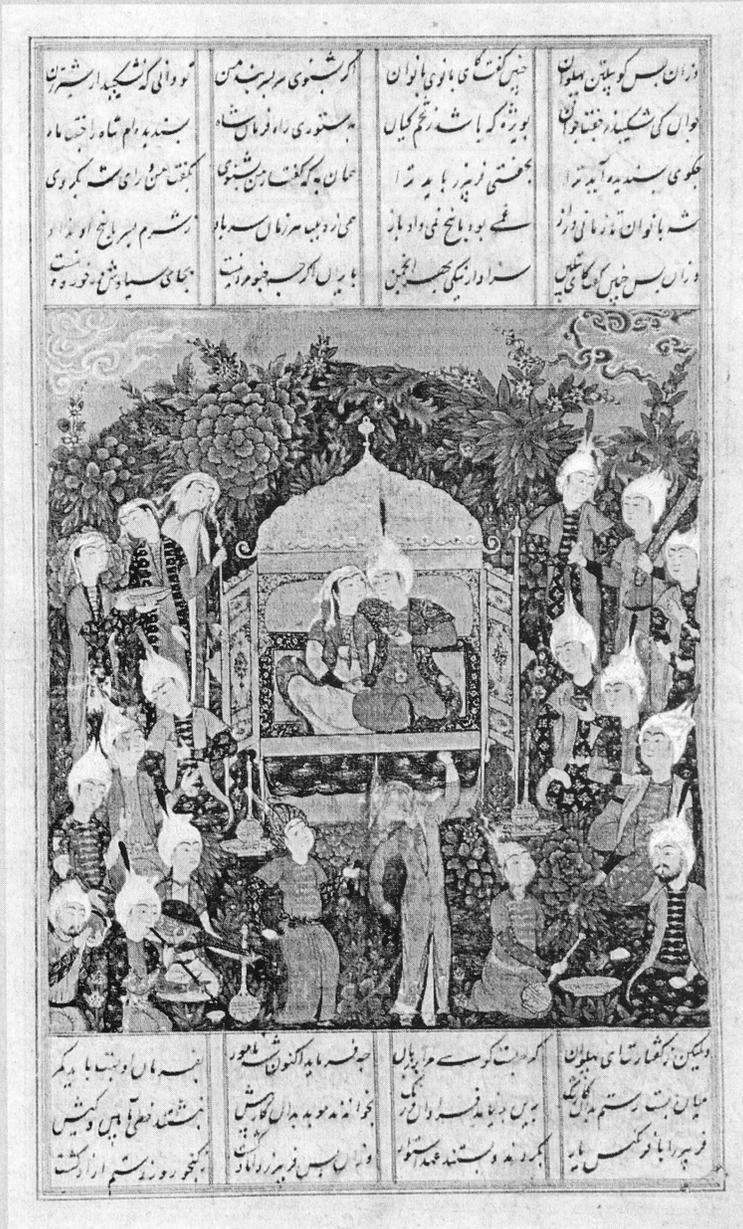


Fig. 2

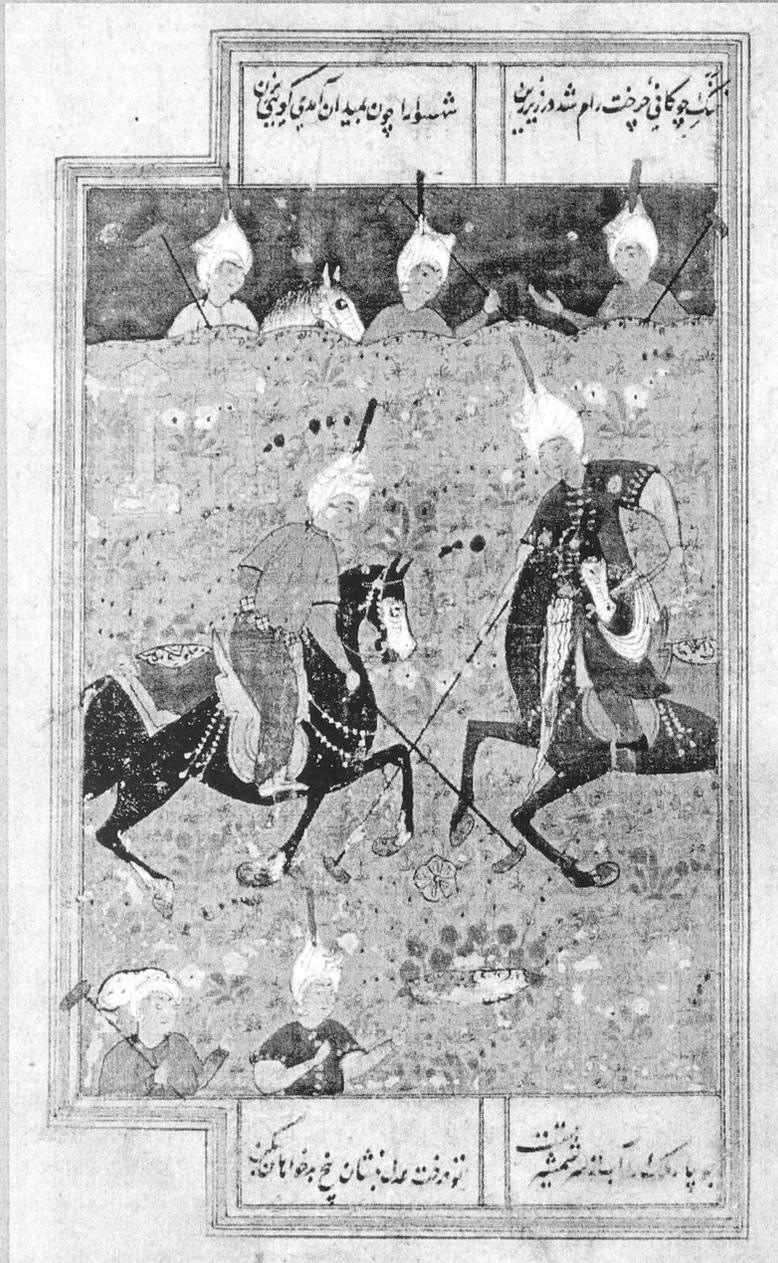


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

4. *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* by Juwaynī (St. Petersburg, the National Library of Russia, PNS 233), calligrapher — Sa'd [al-Dīn] al-Mashhadī, Herat, the late Rabī' I 834/December 1430 (fol. 279a). Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

5. *Tārīkh-i Iṣfahān* by Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (London, the British Library, Or. 2773); calligrapher — Ja'far Bāysunghurī, the late Sha'bān 834/early May 1431. Fol. 2a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

6. *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣrallāh (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 362), calligrapher — Ja'far, Herat, 834/1430—31 (fol. 172a). Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

7. *Majma' al-tawārīkh* by Ḥāfīz-i Abrū (St. Petersburg, the National Library of Russia, Dorn 268). Only the first two parts (*rukṅ*) of the work. Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

It is amazing that of the nine manuscripts "in work", mentioned in the "Report" by their titles, at least five have survived. These are:

1. *Gulīstān* by Sa'dī (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, No. 119), calligrapher — Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī, Herat, 830/1427. Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

2. *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī (Tehran, Saṭṭanātī Library, No. 716), calligrapher — Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī, 5 Jumādā I 833/30 January 1430 (fol. 350b). Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā. It is mentioned in the colophon that the copy was made by his order [17].

3—5. *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā-yi Juwaynī* and *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī were mentioned above (see Nos. 2, 4, 3 correspondingly) [18].

The death of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā was taken by the masters of the *kitābkhāna* as their private loss. Some of them, jointly with their patron's *naḏīms* and men of letters belonging to the narrow circle of his confidants, composed a collection of mourning elegies conventionally titled *Bāysunghur-nāma* (Tebriz, Milli Library, No. 2967). It was copied by the famous Ḥāhīr al-Dīn Aẓhar in 837/1434 (*tārīkh* in the colophon, fol. 26b, written by one Mawlānā Muḥammad). Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Rukn al-Dīn 'Alā al-Dawla, the son of Bāysunghur [19].

After the death of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā the whole workshop passed into the hands of his elder son and successor 'Alā al-Dawla [20]. After the turmoils caused by the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447 the atelier partly suffered disintegration, partly was transferred to Samarqand by Ulughbek-mīrẓā. After his death in 853/1449 it finally ceased to exist [21]. Most of the craftsmen left Mawarannahr and moved to Iran or to Herat (like calligraphers Aẓhar and Ṭabbākh) [22]. Such was the end of that wonderful community of masters, creators of the masterpieces of manuscript art. We still admire their works, of which the peoples now inhabiting that whole region can be duly proud. Originally being just an artificial union of representatives of different Iranian schools of calligraphy and miniature painting, the *kitābkhāna* developed in the course of their joint

work a special school of pre-Bihzad painting in Herat and laid the foundation of the Khurāsān tradition in calligraphy. The flourishing art of illuminated manuscripts, which we find in Herat half a century later, at the end of the fifteenth—early sixteenth century, was basing upon this tradition.

Taking into account most precious information on the work of Bāysunghur's atelier, which the "Report" comprises, it would be worthy to pay special attention to this document. The question arises if there were the names of the sender and the receiver in the text of the '*arḑadāsh*? What immediately attracts attention when one carefully studies the document, first published in facsimile by T. Lentz and M. Lowry along with its formal description, is its unusual size — 46 cm (by the vertical axis) and the absence of *basmala* at the beginning of the "Report". The last one is most unusual. It could be explained, of course, by its upper edge becoming so worn out in the course of time that they had to trim it neatly. For this reason the first lines of the "Report" happen to be written very close to the upper edge of the document.

In our opinion, it is obvious that the document must have comprised the names of the sender and the receiver, as well as *basmala*. There were strict rules of conducting official correspondence at that time. The sender, well aware of all particulars of these rules, could not even dare to think about any frivolity when addressing a person of a high rank, even if he belonged to the closest retinue of his patron. Besides, before the middle of the fifteenth century the following expediting practice was widely employed in the east of the Iranian world: the final copy of an official document was, starting from its end, wrapped into a scroll (*tūmār*), so that the outer edge of the scroll coincided with the beginning of the document itself. On the other side of this edge they indicated the names of the one, to whom it was addressed, and of the sender. Sometimes even the name of the messenger-courier was written, if the contents of the document was of special importance. Then the scroll was placed in a special wooden case with a hinged cover ('*arḑchūba*'), which was neatly tied with a ribbon, usually up to nine circuits, its ends fastened with a wax or wafer seal. After that it was entrusted to the messenger to be delivered [24].

In case of our document, the absence of *basmala* and the arrangement of the text close to the upper edge makes one think that initially it was written on a longer sheet of paper. It is known that the higher was the status of the receiver, the longer was the scroll chosen to write to such a person — it was an established sign of respect towards his high position. The "Report" was most probably written on a sheet of paper one canonical cubit long (*dhar'* = 49.875 cm), though at present its length is 46 cm. If this suggestion is correct, it means that almost 4 cm of the document are missing, whence the absence of *basmala* at the beginning of the document and of the names of the addressee and the sender on its other side, written by its upper edge. One should bear in mind that this part contained a sample of handwriting and the signature of the famous calligrapher — Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī, therefore it could be cut to be set into a *qit'a* for some collector or connoisseur of calligraphy. The *qit'a* could also come to some album where it possibly remains till the present day.

Notes

1. For more information on this enlightened and gifted Tīmūrid see my article “Bāisunghur-mirza i ego rol' v kul'turnoi i politicheskoi zhizni Khorasanskogo sultanata Timuridov v pervoi treti XV veka” (“Bāysunghur-mirzā and his role in the cultural and political life of the Khorasan sultanate of the Tīmūrīds in the first third of the fifteenth century”), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, fasc. 5 (1994), pp. 143—68, with bibliography.

2. Calligrapher Ja'far Tabrizī appeared in Herat even earlier: he came to the court from Shīrāz through Yazd. On 16 Dhū'l-Qa'da 822/4 December 1419 Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh, as a representative of Bāysunghur-mirzā, left Herat as a member of the embassy sent by Shāhrukh (d. on 25 Dhū'l-Hijja 850/13 March 1447) to the court of China. He was ordered to keep a diary of the whole journey recording everything worthy of attention. This diary is known in two versions. The first is cited in *Majma' al-tawārikh (rukn 4)* by historian Hāfīz-i Abrū, see K. M. Maitra. *The Persian Embassy to China* (Lahore, 1934), text and English translation; see also *Zubdat al-tawārikh*. Tālif-i Hāfīz-i Abrū, ba taṣhīh-i sayyid Kamāl-i Hājj sayyid Jawādī (Tīhrān, 1372/1993), ii, pp. 792—3, 817—65. In the last edition the date of the departure of the embassy — 6 Dhū'l-Qa'da 822. The second version is given by 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī in his *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*. The text and its French translation see in E. Quatremere's *Notice et extraits des Mss. de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autre bibliothèques*, xiv (Paris, 1843), pp. 308—41, 387—426.

3. O. F. Akimushkin, A. A. Ivanov, *Persidskie miniatury XII'—XVII vv.* (Persian Miniatures of the 14th—17th centuries) (Moscow, 1968), p. 9, No. 17.

4. *The Tadhikirati sh-Shu'arā' ("Memoirs of the Poets") of Dawlatshāh bin 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Bakhtishāh al-Ghāzi of Samarqand*, ed. E. G. Browne (London—Leyden, 1901), p. 350.

5. Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar fi akhbār afrād bashar*. Ba ihtimām-i Jalāl Humā'ī (Tīhrān, 1333/1954), iv, pp. 47, 57, 59, 160.

6. Düst-Muḥammad al-Kātib Harawī, *Muqaddima*, manuscript H. 2154 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı), fols. 15b—16a.

7. Sām-mirzā Ṣafawī, *Tadhkira-yi tulfa-yi Sāmī*. Ba taṣhīh wa muqaddima az Rukn al-Dīn Humāyunfarrukh (Tīhrān, 1355/1976).

8. *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn wa majma' al-bahrayn*. Tālif-i mawlāwī Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī. Chāp-i duwzum. Jild-i duwzum. Ba taṣhīh-i Muḥammad Shaḥī' (Lahore, 1368/1949), pp. 2—3, 654—5. At the same time his interest in art and calligraphy did not prevent him from harshly treating the famous master Ma'rūf Khaṭṭāḥ Baghdādī, the teacher of his favorite Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Harawī, from 818/1415 staff member of the court library of Shāhrukh. Bāysunghur-mirzā ordered to imprison the artist in the basement of the Ikhtiyār al-Dīn fortress in Herat. Before that he was several times taken to scaffold, as if to be executed, though no direct evidence of his participation in the conspiracy against Shāhrukh of 830/1427 had been found (but for the fact of his acquaintance with Aḥmad-i Lūr). Probably, the whole episode was due mainly to the private animosity of Bāysunghur towards the calligrapher, who had dared, after keeping “good paper” sent to him by Bāysunghur for making a copy of *Khamsa* by Niẓāmī for over a year, to send it back, thus refusing to carry out the “high commission”. For more details see 'Abd al-Razzāq, ed. Shaḥī', ii, Pt. 1, pp. 589—90. Khwāndamīr (see ed. Humā'ī, iii, pp. 616—7) and Qāḍī Aḥmad, see *Kāzi Aḥmad. Traktat o kalligraḥkhi i khudozhnikakh. 1596—97/1005* (A Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters. 1595—97/1005), introduction, translation and commentary by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow—Leningrad, 1947), p. 71, borrowed this passage from 'Abd al-Razzāq, slightly “embellishing” it. Cf. also *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, from sayyid Jawādī, ii, p. 915 ff.

9. Ed. Shaḥī', ii, Pt. 2—3, pp. 654—5, 660.

10. Ed. Browne, pp. 350, 340; Dawlatshāh marks him among the four extraordinary talents living in Herat under Shāhrukh. According to Dawlatshāh, “at that time there was no one equal to them in the inhabited part of the world”.

11. Düst-Muḥammad, fols. 5a—5b, 8a—8b.

12. Maḥdī Bayānī, *Athār wa aḥwāl-i khūshnawīsān. Nasta'liḥnawīsān*, i (Tīhrān, 1345/1966), pp. 117—8.

13. Doubts in the authenticity of the “Report” were expressed by Prof. P. Souček. In her paper, delivered at the international conference of 1977 in Edinburgh, she suggested that the “Report” had been written in Samarqand after the death of Bāysunghur (see P. A. Andrews, “The tents of Timur. An examination of reports on Qurultay at Samarkand, 1404”, *Art of Eurasian Steppelands* (University of London, 1978), pp. 167, 179; E. Grube, “School of Herat, 1400—1450”, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia* (London, 1979), p. 177). I do not know what actually led Prof. Souček to this conclusion. The very fact that five of the nine manuscripts mentioned in the “Report” have survived to the present time (I worked on four of them myself — they all have the *shamsa*-exlibris of Bāysunghur-mirzā on the first page and they all had been copied exactly by those calligraphers who are indicated in the document) makes me disagree with her opinion.

14. The *'ardadāshu* text with a translation and commentary (not always precise) was published in Turkey in 1976 (see M. Kemal Özergin, “Temürlü sanatına ait eski bir belge. Tebrizli Dja'far'ın bir Arzı”, *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, VI (1976), pp. 471—518); in Iran in 1977 (see Aḥmad Pārsā-yi Quds, “Sanadī marbūt ba fa'āliyatā-yi hunari-yi dawra-yi Tīmūrī dar kitābkhāna-yi Bāysunghuri-yi Harāt”, *Hunar wa mardum*, No. 75 (1977), pp. 42—50; the text of the document (on p. 43) is reproduced from the Turkish publication; the typed text is on pp. 49—50) and in USA in 1989 (see Thomas W. Lentz and Glen Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision. Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington—Los Angeles, 1989), p. 160). In the same edition (pp. 364—5, Appendix I), the English translation of the “Report” by W. Thackston is published. See also *A Century of Princes. Sources on Timurid History and Art*, selected and translated by W. M. Thackston (Cambridge, Mass. 1989), pp. 323—8. The information provided by the “Report” was used (concerning the construction of the “sovereign's tent”), translated and commented by P. A. Andrews in his “The tents of Timur. An examination of Reports on Qurultay at Samarkand, 1404”, pp. 167—9; also by Oktay Aslanapa, “The art of bookbinding”, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia* (London, 1979), p. 59, where Aslanapa enumerated all masters of bookbinding mentioned in the “Report” and narrated the contents of those parts of the document dealing with their work. Finally, T. W. Lentz suggested his own translation of the “Report” into English, supplementing it with a brief commentary, see Thomas W. Lentz, *Painting at Herat under Bāysunghur ibn Shahrukh*, PhD thesis of 1985 (Ann-Arbor, 1986), pp. 147—54, 481—8.

15. Those are: *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* by Jūzjānī (MS, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Petermann I. 386), calligrapher — Aḥmad b. Mas'ūd al-Rūmī, Herat, 814/1411—12. The name of Bāysunghur is written in gold in the colophon (fol. 155b): “The Anthology of Persian Poets”

(MS. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum Islamische Kunstabteilung, J 4628), calligrapher — Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī, Shīrāz, 823/1420. The name of Bāysunghur is in the *shamsa*-exlibris (fol. 1a).

16. B. W. Robinson, "Prince Baysonghor's Nizami: a speculation", *Ars Orientalis*, No. 2 (1957), pp. 383—91 (list on pp. 384—5).

17. A facsimile reproduction of the "Bāysunghur's" foreword, colophon, 22 miniatures and illuminations of the manuscript was made in Tehran in 1971, see *The Shah-nameh of Firdawsī. The Baysonghor Manuscript: An Album of Miniatures and Illuminations Completed in 833 A.H./1430 A.D. and Preserved in the Imperial Library* (Tehran, 1971). This edition was prepared by B. Grey.

18. I was lucky to work on four of the five listed manuscripts in Tehran (Nos. 2—3) and in St. Petersburg (Nos. 4—5).

19. Persian elegies by the following authors were included into the anthology: 1. Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ja'far known as Khaṭṭāt (fol. 2a); 2. Mawlānā Zāhidī (fol. 5a); 3. Jalāl Kirmānī (fol. 66); 4. Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Yūsuf known as Amīrī (fol. 8b); 5. Mawlānā Luṭfī (fol. 10a); 6. Mawlānā Walī (fol. 12b); 7. Mawlānā Āsafī (fol. 13b); 8. Wāhidī (fol. 18a); 9. Munshī (fol. 22a); 10. Mawlānā Muḥammad (fol. 28b), who wrote *tārīkh* with the date of making the copy: *rahmatu Allāhi 'alayhi abad* (= 648 + 67 + 115 + 7 = 837).

20. Dūst-Muḥammad, fol. 8b.

21. *Ibid.*, fol. 9a.

22. 'Abd al-Razzāq, ed. Shaḫī, ii, 2—3, pp. 655, 660.

23. Lentz and Lowry, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

24. See my article "Fragmentsy dokumentov s Vostochnogo Pamira" ("Fragments of documents from the East Pamirs"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. 1972* (Moscow, 1977), p. 131.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. "Siyāwūsh Playing Polo with Afrāsiyāb". A miniature from *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī (fol. 140a), manuscript D 184 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, dated by 5 Muḥarram 931/2 November 1524 and copied in Tabrīz by calligrapher Muḥammad al-Harawī. The miniature is attributed to Sulṭān-Muḥammad Tabrīzī, 21.8 × 18.3 cm.

Fig. 2. "The Joint Feast of Farīburz and Farangīs". A miniature from the same manuscript (fol. 195b). The miniature is attributed to Sulṭān-Muḥammad Tabrīzī, 15.7 × 14.7 cm.

Fig. 3. "Polo Game". A miniature from *Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ* (fol. 140a), manuscript B 1200 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, dated by 939/1532—33 and copied by calligrapher Muḥammad [b.] Qawām al-Dīn Shīrāzī, Shīrāz commercial style, 13.6 × 7.9 cm.

Fig. 4. "A Scene of Hunting". A miniature from the same manuscript (fol. 81a), Shīrāz commercial style, 13.5 × 7.8 cm.

Fig. 5. "The Fight of Rakhsh with a Lion Guarding Rustām". A miniature from *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī¹¹ (fol. 46b), manuscript C 1654 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, dated by Ramaḍān 849/December 1445 and copied by calligrapher Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn, Shīrāz—Yazd painting school, 11.2 × 12.1 cm.

Fig. 6. "The Battle of Bārzū against Iranians". A miniature from the same manuscript (fol. 143a), Shīrāz—Yazd painting school, 18.0 × 15.5 cm.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: II. THE MIRACLE OF THE BOOK (THE QUR'ĀN AND PRE-ISLAMIC LITERATURE)

According to the traditional point of view, the Qur'ān as a literature work remains aside of the main trends of the literary activities of the Arabians, being connected with them only by the use of the common language and *saj'* as a literary form. No serious attempt was undertaken, however, to study the Qur'ānic text in connection with the literary tradition preceding or contemporary with it. Meanwhile this attitude, in our opinion, could elucidate not only the specific features of the contents and the form of the Qur'ān but also explain some key points of the understanding and interpretation of the Qur'ān by medieval Muslim authorities.

In the mid-1980s Andrew Rippin implored to view the text of the Qur'ān within the continuum of literary experience [1]. The main stress, however, was put by him on the necessity of exploring the Qur'ān within the literary tradition it had created, first of all the *tafsir* literature, taking into account the changes in the perception of the Qur'ānic text which had occurred in the course of centuries.

Recognising the fruitfulness of this approach for the study of the history of Islam and of the Muslim civilisation as a whole, we would like to observe the place of the Qur'ānic text not within the literary tradition it created, but within the one which produced the Qur'ān.

Everyone knows that the Qur'ānic text as a historical, cultural and literary phenomenon has not come out of nowhere. By the seventh century the literary tradition of the Inner Arabia was already several hundred years old; different texts had been created and circulated there. Only a small part of the literary works of the last pre-Islamic century has survived, being conveyed through a later tradition. Those are for the most part tribal poetry, tribal lore, proverbs and sayings (*amthāl*) and small fragments of religious texts. Let us try to define each of these types of texts, making a simplified model of the real situation.

Tribal poetry was called tribal for that very reason that it served the interests of one clan inconsistent with the interests of others. A poet was the herald of his tribe, the

embodiment of its public opinion and the protector of its interests. The term *shā'ir*, as it is known, at that time meant not only poet but also wizard; his connections with the other world he used to practice magic arts — to harm the enemy and to help his kinsmen. That was how the traditional genres — *hijā'* (satire, abuse), *madh* (panegyric), *fakhr* (self-praise) — functioned [2].

Poetry, as a rule, was directed outside but was preserved and transferred within the tribe, being its valuable property which they were proud of, which they exposed as a banner, when trading with other tribes, and used as a weapon in the forum of justice. This function of poetry ensured the development of the common language of literature, a kind of inter-tribal poetical *koinē*.

Arabian lore which is preserved in *Ayyām al-'Arab* ("The [Battle] Days of the Arabs") was also, like poetry, a pure tribal phenomenon. Unlike poetry, however, the legends were directed not outside but mainly inside, being a way of preserving and conveying the collective historical experience of the ancestors, a record of tribal history. Much of this lore is a collection of precedents going back to the stories of tribal arbitrary judges. Here the experience important both for the tribal unit and for inter-tribal relations was refined. The "external" function of the *Ayyām* was not, however, the dominating one. It was first of all one of the foundations upon which the tribesmen were realising their unity. Arabian lore in the *Ayyām* was, to some extent, a factor of ethnic consolidation and ethnic distinction. Tribal lore included poems and war-songs, orations made by tribal war-leaders (sing.: *qā'id*, *ra'īs*, *'aqīd*), tribal chiefs (sing.: *sayyid*), fiery orators (sing.: *khātib*) [3], soothsayers (sing.: *kāhin*, *'arrāf*), arbitrary judges (sing.: *ḥakam*), texts of treaties between tribes.

Though the *Ayyām* were recorded only in the second century A.H./eighth century A.D. and the manner of rendering the material was distorted by the literary standards of that time, it is still possible to consider them, as a whole, as a very reliable source preserving both the

contents and the most important elements of the verbal textual form [4].

Proverbs and sayings (*amthāl*) also had their place within the frames of the functional unit of tribal poetry — tribal lore [5]. The term *mathal* was applied to actual proverbs, sayings of proverbial type, wise sayings, formulae. *Amthāl* preserved the memories of outstanding events: achievements of the ancestors, failures of the enemies. Their functions could be similar to those of *hijā'* or *madh*, for a proverb is the most coded unit appearing in speech and, at the same time, the shortest poem [6].

One of the characteristic features of the classical Arabic *amthāl* is the abundance of proper names. *Amthāl* praised the merits of fellow-tribesmen, preserving their names in the peoples memory ("More generous than Khātim", "... than Ka'b b. Māma") [7]. They sarcastically laughed at the faults of the enemies, quickly turning the names of the most odious persons into a cliché ("More greedy than Mādir") [8]. *Amthāl* were often taken for a kind of a final reference to some well-known but missing story, being initially the moralising core of the story itself. Or, on the other hand, a proverb could be the core of a tale, it could open or terminate some narrative about real or imaginary events, "never existing but quite possible epic" after the laconic statement by Yuri Olesha [9].

Poetry often played with proverbs, and felicitous poetic lines were turned into proverbs. *Mathal*, as a rule, was going along with a concise commentary easily developing into a short story which had much in common with tribal lore [10]: "Faster than Khudāja, a man from Banū 'Abs. He was sent by the 'Absites, when 'Umar b. 'Umar b. Ghuds had been killed, to warn their people" [11]. "More stupid than Rabi'a al-Bakkā' ("Mourner"). This is Rabi'a b. 'Āmir b. Rabi'a b. Ṣa'ṣa'a. Being a man, he saw his mother under her husband and began to cry, thinking that he was killing her. Therefore he was weeping and crying, and they told him: 'The easiest "death" for a woman is under her husband'" [12].

There were, of course, many proverbs and sayings neutral in regard to relations between tribes. Most of them, however, were also preserved and transmitted within the frames of the tribe, implying some persons known to their contemporaries, events of the tribal history, reflecting the circle of external contacts, specific features of the language and of the tribal culture. It is only natural that in the oldest of the survived *amthāl* collections *Kitāb al-amthāl* by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī (eighth century), the texts of *amthāl* are grouped by their tribal provenance, not by their subjects as in later anthologies [13].

A somewhat different group is formed by didactic sayings dealing with ethics in general. There are testimonies that "leaves" (*ṣuḥuf*) of similar sayings were circulated in pre-Islamic Arabia, ascribed to the legendary Luqmān b. 'Ād al-Mua'mmar al-Hakīm ("The Long-lasting", "Sage"), and also possibly to a historical personage, arbitrary judge Tamimite Aktham b. Ṣayfī — "the Sage of the Arabs (*hakīm al-'Arab*)" [14].

The extraordinary wisdom of Luqmān was praised by Imru'l-Qays, Nābigha, al-A'shā and Ṭarafa [15]. He was believed to be one of the builders of the Mārib dam [16]. According to the tradition, Muḥammad was once shown a scroll which contained the wisdom of Luqmān [17]. The absence of the actual texts and the obscurity of the tradition do not allow to define their place in the general context of

pre-Islamic literature. They were possibly linked in some way with religious texts.

Of the last ones much less has survived to the present time than of poetry, tribal lore and *amthāl*. There is only one explanation of that: early Islam and the Qur'ān, being the results of the development of social and religious consciousness of the Arabian society, were the negation of the preceding experience. This expressed itself, in particular, in almost complete disappearance of pre-Islamic religious texts. Nevertheless, often through indirect evidence, we are able to form some general idea about their role and their main components.

The *kāhin* tradition existing in Arabia before Islam often attracted the attention of scholars, who took notice of its proximity to a number of Qur'ānic revelations [18].

The problem of the existence of Arabic translations of the texts of the Bible circulated in pre-Islamic Arabia produced a considerable number of works, even though it is still far from any definite solution. Not going into the details of the discussion [19], let us consider only several facts. The Christian character of the most ancient known Arabic inscriptions allows to suggest that the system of writing which we know as Arabic was probably developed (like many other similar Oriental systems) by Christian missionaries somewhere in the region of al-Ḥira or al-Anbār [20]. It is not by pure chance that among those who were the first to write in Arabic the tradition names Zayd b. Ḥamād (ca. A.D. 500) and his son, the famous poet 'Adī b. Zayd, who lived in al-Ḥira [21], and that the best speaker of the pre-Islamic past was Quss b. Sā'ida, who was also connected with Arabian Christians (possibly — of Najrān) [22].

In Damascus four parchment leaves were found with the Arabic text of the 77th Psalm written in Greek script. The scholar who published it dates the text to the ninth century; such specialists, however, as Bernard Levin and Nabia Abbot consider that it possibly could be dated back to the sixth century [23]. A. Baumstark thought that some of the manuscripts containing Arabic translations of the texts of the Scriptures could be attributed to the pre-Islamic period. G. Graf and S. Griffith actively argued with him [24]. There is some indirect evidence that as early as the fourth century liturgy in Arabic, including corresponding texts from the Old and the New Testament, could be served in Iraq, Syria and in Ḥimyarit South Arabia [25]. The verse by pre-Islamic poets, especially by poets-monotheists, contain numerous parallels with the Bible which deserve special attention [26].

The almost word-by-word parallelism of the Qur'ānic *āyyāt* corresponding to the text of the Scriptures (21, 105 — Ps. 37:29; 5, 45 — Ex. 21:23—25; Lev. 27:17—20; 7, 40/38 — Matt. 19:24) is evident.

Preliminary observations over the Arabian epic lore recorded by the Qur'ān and accepted by the early Islamic exegetics demonstrate that these legends had possibly undergone Christian editing in the pre-Islamic time. In this case, however, a special investigation is required.

There was also a mysterious pre-Islamic sect of Sabaeans (*al-Ṣābi'a*), their name traditionally explained as "those who are reading or writing books". It is noteworthy in this connection that Muḥammad himself was initially called *al-Ṣābi'* [27].

It is important to take into account that in Arabia, where "religious" was in many aspects a synonym to

"ethnic", sacred texts of this kind served the interests of those ethno-social groups which belonged to a corresponding confession. The specific form of the sacred text's existence was to a great extent determined by the ethnic disunity of the Arabians.

Possibly in al-Hira, Najrān, Yathrib or somewhere else, there circulated certain sacred texts in Arabic recorded in the Hebrew or Greek script (the imperfection of the Arabic script revealed itself much later, in the early history of the Qur'anic text). A large number of terms of Ethiopian or South Arabian origin present in the "Christian fragments" of the Qur'an points, in our opinion, to the South of Arabia as the principal source of Christian preaching in Hijāz. Here one can recollect also the Ethiopian Hijra [28]. The extant sources, however, testify that legends, stories and themes from the Bible or around the Bible circulated in Arabia first of all in the word-of-mouth form.

On the eve of Muḥammad's appearance and at the time of his preaching there were people in Arabia who recognised the principle of monotheism though did not consider themselves Christians or Jews. Some of them, who were not claiming a direct contact with the God and were not going into ecstatic trances, were known, evidently, under the name of *ḥanīfs*. Others were denounced by the Muslim tradition as "false prophets". There was also an intermediate variant — Muḥammad's adversary, poet Umayya b. Abi'l-Ṣalt was half-*ḥanīf*, half-false prophet. Musaylima, Sajāh, Tulayḥa, al-Aswad, Ibn Sayyād were preaching to their adepts. After Umayya a *diwān* of poems ascribed to him has been left. The analysis of these verse and some indirect evidence on the "false prophets" allows us to make an important conclusion: the texts they created were from the start addressed to a very limited audience. Musaylima addressed the inhabitants of Yamāma, his Ḥanafite fellow-tribesmen; Sajāh, the prophetess, spoke to the nomadic Tamimites; Tulayḥa, who acted in Najd, addressed the Asad tribe, al-Aswad looked for his followers among the people of Yemen, Ibn Sayyād's audience were the Jews of Yathrib — people of his own creed; Umayya was the *shā'ir* of Banū Thaḳīf. It is almost impossible, however, to say anything definite about the sermons they made at that time. The little that survived doubtless points to the *kāhin* tradition.

So, what was common for all these types of texts circulated in Arabia of Muḥammad's time: tribal poetry, tribal lore, *amthāl* and sacred texts? They all existed mainly in oral form, first of all within the frames of the community fellow-tribesmen, accumulating cultural and religious traditions of the tribe, its collective experience, events of its history and memories of those who took part in them. Though poetry implied authorship, by its functions it, as well as the other kinds of texts mentioned above, was standing close to folklore. According to the definition of specialists in folklore, it implies a group digesting and sanctioning it, ensuring its preliminary censorship by the community [29], although all folklore texts, at least the texts of the tradition in question, describe one and the same world [30].

The sermons of Muḥammad remained very close to such texts while he was still addressing only his kinsmen. But as long as they rejected his summons more and more fiercely, Muḥammad, being convinced in the truth of his prophetic mission, began to look for followers outside

Mecca. His considerations about the origin of mankind were connected with this search. Then came the realisation of the fact that all people were the sons of Adam (*banū Adam*) [31].

The logical outcome of the development of external events, as well as of the ideas of the prophet himself, led to the Hijra, marking his final break with his fellow-tribesmen and the appearance of a new starting point in his preaching. Muḥammad began to address a potentially unlimited audience, while the functional features of the pre-Islamic literature were determined by the tribal discreteness of the population of Arabia. A distinctive step forward took place: from poetry the Qur'an inherited its main external function, the function of a weapon connected with the notion of the magic power of verse. That was the way Muḥammad's sermons, summons and curses were viewed by his contemporaries — as a weapon able to bring him victory. What made them even more powerful, was that in the consciousness of Muḥammad's contemporaries they belonged not just to some poet connected with the powers of the other world, but to the most powerful deity. The victories of Muslim arms helped to confirm the belief in the magic power of Muḥammad's sermons. The magic *sūras* of the Qur'an (112, 113, 114), curses on Abū Lahab and other enemies (111, 108), were naturally connected with the corresponding functions of the pre-Islamic poetic tradition. Like poetry, the Qur'an was using the language understood everywhere in Arabia. The similarity of their artistic methods, the unity of their system of images is doubtless, several *sūras* demonstrate the use of the poetic metre of *rajaz* and of traditional subject motifs.

Often the Qur'an maintains a direct dialogue with poetry, borrowing from it its imagery and passion. *Sūra* 80: 34—35 is speaking about the Last Judgement: "... the day when a man shall flee from his brother, his mother, his father, his consort, his sons ..." [32]. And here comes a fragment of a war-song survived in one of the narratives of the *Ayyām al-'Arab* cycle, dealing with a battle: "And the one of you who will flee, will flee from his wife, from the one under his protection, will flee from his friend!" [33].

The Qur'an inherited also the essence of the tribal lore, thus becoming the foundation upon which Muslims realised their new community. The idea of blood-succession (we are fellow-tribesmen, we share the same blood, the same ancestor, the same heroes) was replaced in the Qur'an by the succession of spirit (we are of the same creed, we share the same sacred law given us through the Prophet, the leader of our community; our history is the history of God's appeal to his people through his prophets). Here the religious experience of the Arabian Jewish and Christian communities was employed. This deep link between the Qur'an and the lore of the *Ayyām* cycle basing upon the same way of comprehending events looks especially important. There are many cases when Muḥammad is building his system of arguments in favour of the new creed upon precedents: the destruction — punishment of ancient peoples, the role of prophets-missionaries, etc.

Qur'anic oaths and *idhā* passages demonstrate evident parallelism with the language, style and inner logic of the corresponding texts in the treaties between pre-Islamic tribes.

In the text of the alliance concluded by the grandfather of Muḥammad 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the chiefs of Banū 'Amr of Khuzā'a we read the following: "They contracted

and covenanted together for as long as the sun rises over (Mount) Thabir, as long as camels cry yearning in a desert, as long as a man performs the lesser pilgrimage to Mecca, an alliance for time without end, for all time, which sunrise will further confirm, and night-darkness add to its terms" [34].

It is not so difficult to find parallels in the Qur'anic text: "By the fig and the olive and the Mount Sinai..." (95, 1—2). "When the sun shall be darkened, ... when the pregnant camels shall be neglected ..." (81, 1—4). "By the Mount ... by the House inhabited (= Ka'ba — E. R.) (52, 1—4). "By the white forenoon and the brooding night" (93, 1—2).

Amthāl were widely used by Muḥammad [35]: "We have indeed turned about for men in this Koran every manner of similitude (*amthāl*); yet most men refuse all but unbelief" (17, 89/91; see also 18, 54/52; 30, 58; 39, 27/28). *Amthāl* were cited by the Prophet also in confirmation of his arguments — to his followers, and in polemics — against his opponents (13, 17/18; see also 16, 60/62). The last ones were paying back in the same coin (17, 48/51): "Behold, how they strike similitudes (*amthāl*) for thee, and go astray, and cannot find a way!"

The use of *amthāl* in sermons was not always felicitous. It produced caustic remarks from the opponents and made Muḥammad go into additional comments: "God is not ashamed to strike a similitude even of a gnat, or aught above it. As for the believers, they know it is the truth from their Lord; but as for unbelievers, they say, 'What did God desire by this for a similitude (*mathal*)?' Thereby He leads many astray, and thereby He guides many; and thereby He leads none astray save the ungodly..." (2, 26/24).

Muḥammad is stressing his exclusive right to use *amthāl* (16, 74/76): "So strike not any similitudes (*amthāl*) for God; surely God knows, and you know not". Then follow the *amthāl* struck by Allah (16, 75/77—76/78).

Recent events, victories and defeats of Muslims and of their adversaries in the context of Muḥammad's preaching were turned into examples, models, moralising stories and divine edifications: "God has struck a similitude (*mathal*): a city that was secure, at rest, its provision coming to it easily from every place, then it was unthankful for the blessings of God; so God let it taste the garment of hunger and of fear, for the things that they were working" (16, 112/113). Thus the fate of Mecca, formerly prosperous and flourishing, then suffering in consequence of its confrontation with Muḥammad, became, first for the listeners of the Prophet and then for the readers of the Sacred Book, an example of God's design preserved for peoples edification.

Muḥammad employed the *amthāl* known to his audience, endowing them with new meaning. His sermons were gaining acuteness and vividness: "The likeness of those who have been loaded with the Torah, then they have not carried it, is as the likeness of an ass carrying books" (62, 5).

Sometimes only a comparison of the Qur'anic text with the survived *amthāl* can shed light on the contents of the Qur'anic fragment considered traditionally to be difficult for interpretation: "And be not as a woman who breaks her thread (*naqaḍat ghaḍlahā*), after it is firmly spun, into fibres, by taking your oaths as mere mutual deceit, one nation (*umma*) being more numerous than another nation (*umma*). God only tries you thereby; and certainly He will

make clear to you upon the Day of Resurrection that whereon you were at variance" (16, 92/94).

The anthologies of *amthāl* [36] preserved the following *mathal*: *akhraqu min nāqida ghaḍlahā* (variant — *akhraqu min nākitha ghaḍlahā*) — "More stupid than she who broke her thread". This quite traditional proverb current in the pre-Islamic time became overgrown with details after it had been fixed by the Qur'ān. Commentators even mention the name of this Quraishite woman: Umm Rayta bint Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra. The *ayya* in question most probably deals with the conflict which developed in Medina between the *muhajirūn* (*umma* here stands for "group") and the *anṣār* (another *umma* — group), threatening to undermine the position of Muslims as a whole. Citing the well-known proverb Muḥammad means to say: "So much effort wasted to bring us together. Any schism, any quarrel between Muslims are only to the advantage of our enemies. Do not become like that stupid woman who worked so hard and was left with nothing!"

It is important to notice that in the use of the *mathal* form, in the appeals to associate and compare which go through all Muḥammad's preaching, a specific form of thinking is revealed, when not a logical construction but subject image and simile served as an argument.

The tradition connected with the use of moralising sentences of more general character was also absorbed by the Qur'ān. Especially interesting in this connection are *ayyāt* 13/12—19/18 of *sūra* 31 going back, evidently, to the sayings of Luqmān circulated before Islam: "And when Lokman said to his son, admonishing him, 'O my son, do not associate others with God; to associate others with God is a mighty wrong'. (And We have charged man concerning his parents — his mother bore him in weakness upon weakness, and his weaning was in two years — 'Be thankful to Me, and to thy parents; to Me is the homecoming. But if they strive with thee to make thee associate with Me that whereof thou hast no knowledge, then do not obey them. Keep them company honourable in this world; but follow the way of him who turns to Me. Then unto Me you shall return, and I shall tell you what you were doing'.) 'O my son, if it should be but the weight of one grain of mustard-seed, and though it be in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, God shall bring it forth; surely God is All-subtle, All-aware. O my son, perform the prayer, and bid unto honour, and forbid dishonour. And bear patiently whatever may befall thee; surely that is true constancy. Turn not thy cheek away from men in scorn, and walk not in the earth exultantly; God loves not any man proud and boastful. Be modest in thy walk, and lower thy voice; the most hideous of voices is the ass's'".

It is important to note that nowhere in the Qur'ān there is any mention of any connection between Luqmān and the tribe of 'Ād, of his longevity or his participation in the building of the Mārib dam. At the same time it is possible to notice some parallelism between the Qur'anic texts and the aphorisms of Aḥīqar (Arab. al-Ḥayqār = Russ. — Акыр Премудрый — "Akir the Wise") [37] going back to the Ancient Near East tradition. Pre-Islamic Christian poet 'Adi b. Zayd [38] also mentions al-Ḥayqār. Probably even before Islam wisdom of that kind coming to Arabia from outside could be associated with the name of Luqmān. It is easy to distinguish here the proper elements of the Qur'ān, which declare monotheism, the obligatory character of

prayer, submission to the rules and limitations accepted among Muslims. The traditional form of moralising sayings ascribed to Luqmān the Sage was filled with ideas important for the Prophet.

This situation is characteristic of the Qur'an as a whole. It reflects a complicated tangle of ideas, legends, scenarios and images coexisting in the culture and religious consciousness of the population of pre-Islamic Arabia. By the beginning of the seventh century many of those legends and images, going back to the cultural fund common for the Ancient Near East and having numerous parallels in the Bible and in the apocryphal literature formed around the Scriptures, were accepted in Arabia as native, became connected with local cultural heroes. In many cases when Muḥammad was making just a reference to a subject well-known to his audience, he, at the same time, introduced a number of elements corresponding to his aims or to the general pathos of the sermon. Depending on the circumstances the stress was made either on the Arabian element or, in other cases, like in the *āyyāt* connected with Luqmān, the background motif could be the unity of the ancient wisdom bringing together Muslims and the men of the Scriptures.

The Qur'an had also incorporated a significant amount of religious lore deriving from the circle of the Bible and circulated, as we have seen, in different forms long before Islam. These, now Qur'anic, tales should not be regarded just as borrowings from the Old Testament and apocryphal literature, or from the contemporary Christian literature of the Prophets' time (like the legend of "The Seven Sleeping Youths" or "The Romance of Alexander"). What was borrowed in most cases was only a form used to embody the ideas preached by Muḥammad.

Let us illustrate it by two examples. *Sūra* 19, 5—6 presents the prayer of Zakariyā, indirectly it goes back to the corresponding passage (Luke, 1) of the Gospels: "And now I fear my kinsfolk (*al-mawālī*) after I am gone; and my wife is barren. So give me, from Thee, a kinsman (*walī*) who shall be my inheritor and the inheritor of the House (*āl*) of Jacob" (cf. 4, 33/37). The term *āl* indicates here "the individual stock", the line of the ancestors and the descendants of Ya'qūb (Jacob), and the word *mawālī* means *mawālī raḥm*, the members of the same '*ashira*, i. e. those, who according to the pre-Islamic legal practice, had the right to inherit the property of one of their kinsmen. This passage tells about the unwillingness of Ya'qūb (Jacob) to leave his heritage to indirect blood relatives. He is dreaming about preserving everything within individual stock (*āl*). Here we have a conflict between *āl* and '*ashira* characteristic of the mercantile environment of Mecca and having nothing to do with the New Testament story. Muḥammad is re-working the story from the Gospels, giving it a new meaning which his audience could easily understand. Making Zakariyā speak these words, he is creating a precedent for the solution of the conflict situation constantly arising in the mercantile society of Mecca.

One more example. In *sūra* 38, 21/20—22/23 Muḥammad is retelling the Old Testament story (2 Kings, 12, 1 ff.) about Dāwūd (David) and prophet Nathan: "Has the tiding of the dispute come to thee? When they scaled the Sanctuary, when they entered upon David, and he took fright at them; and they said, 'Fear not; two disputants we are — one of us has injured the other; so judge between us justly, and transgress not, and guide us to the right path.'

'Behold, this my brother (*akh*) has ninety-nine ewes, and I have one ewe. So he said, "Give her into my charge"; and he overcame me in the argument.' Said he (David), 'Assuredly he has wronged thee in asking for thy ewe in addition to his sheep; and indeed many intermixers (*al-khulaṭā'*) do injury one against the other ...' "

The term *al-khulaṭā'* used here indicates the circle of kinsmen, who, according to the tradition, could have common property, in this particular case — cattle. They are called "brothers" (sing.: *akh*), and though the term *akh* could also mean fellow-tribesman, here it most probably stands for real brothers. Within the frames of the story from the Bible Muḥammad is inserting a situation characteristic of the Mecca society: disintegration of patriarchal family, unequal division of property among its units — brothers, who are becoming enemies and do injury one against the other.

The list of similar examples could be long. Practically all Qur'anic stories about prophets and patriarchs of the Scriptures describe the situations faced by Muḥammad in Mecca and Medina [39]. The Qur'anic story of Ibrāhīm (Abraham) was filled by Muḥammad with absolutely new contents: he made Ibrāhīm a *ḥanīf*, the destroyer of idols. Stories from the Bible were used to motivate the cult of Ka'ba, etc. That was what we call the Qur'anic lore, legends founded upon the old tradition but filled with new contents.

As we have already mentioned, Muḥammad had united in his own person several traditional social functions formerly belonging to different people (*qā'id*, *ḥakam*, *sayyid*, *shā'ir*, *khāṭīb*, *kāhin*). In his sermons, which make the text of the Qur'an, he could, when it was necessary, accept any of these functions, re-working, re-interpreting and melting together the existing forms and traditions. Not aiming at making a complete list of the corresponding *āyyāt* (which means to sort much of the Qur'anic text) [40], let us bring just several examples. Muḥammad's prophesy (101; 30, 1—6/5), early *sūras* with oaths (89—93, 95, 100, 103, etc.) go back to the *kāhin* tradition [41]. The Qur'an contains direct regulations of military character (8, 15—16) reminding of the orders given by *qā'id*. A number of *āyyāt* (4, 7/8—13/17, etc.; see also 13, 37) appeared in the Qur'an due to the attempts of deciding (like a *ḥakam*) quarrels and disputes arising among the members of the community. A number of *āyyāt* remind of the performance of a *sayyid* (59, 7; 4, 3) and a *khāṭīb* (9, 1—29). According to Ibn Hishām [42], after the subjugation of Mecca Muḥammad appeared before his kinsmen as a *khāṭīb*. The comparison of the Qur'an with the Medina treaty reveals parallelism between some of the *āyyāt* and its articles [43]. In each particular case Muḥammad was moulding his sermons into the forms required by the tradition. It explains much of the stylistic diversity of the Qur'an.

In that way the Qur'an unified practically all types of texts current in pre-Islamic Arabia. They became bound together by the common form of the Prophet's revelation. However, the Qur'an was not just reproducing familiar patterns. By melting together in his sermons those different types of texts Muḥammad re-considered and re-worked the existing tradition preserving at the same time its principal elements. Along with a new expanded view on the audience it brought forth a basically new type of text. It would have been a grave simplification to confine all stylistic variety of the Qur'anic texts to the influence of specific functional

forms of verbal activity. A particular form of organisation was inherent in Muḥammad's sermons, especially in those he delivered in Medina. They included not only the revelation itself, but its interpretation as well.

By the end of Muḥammad's stay in Mecca, after numerous sermons had been delivered and their character definitely formed, there appear in the Qur'ān summons to create anything similar to the Qur'ān, and the Qur'ān itself was declared a miracle (*āya*).

To the period of A.D. 620–622, i. e. just before and immediately after the Hijra, belongs a whole series of such verse: "Or do they say, 'He is a poet for whom we await Fate's uncertainty?'... Or do they say, 'He has invented it?'... Then let them bring a discourse like it, if they speak truly" (52, 30–33) [44]. Evidently, the adversaries of the Prophet, among them Umayya b. Abī'l-Ṣalt or Quraishite Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith who, according to the tradition, searched for wisdom in the sacred books of Jews, Christians and Persians, could easily produce something similar to a *sūra* (2, 23/21) or ten *sūras* (11, 13/16), as Muḥammad demands in his sermons [45]. *Sūra* 18, full of numerous stories and legends, was possibly an answer to Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith [46]. The Qur'ān testifies that among Muḥammad's adversaries there was someone who claimed: "I will send down the like of what God has sent down" (6, 93), and those who listened to his sermons were saying: "We have already heard; if we wished, we could say the like of this; it is naught but the fairy-tales of the ancients" (8, 31, see also 6, 25), or "it is not the speech of a poet (*shā'ir*)... nor the speech of a soothsayer (*kāhin*)" (69, 41–42). Why then Muḥammad thought it possible to challenge his adversaries in that way? They could, of course, compose or recite

qaṣīdas, legends or religious stories, but every Qur'ānic *sūra* was considered already as a part of a whole, and the whole "Divine word" was then something new in shape and quality, a miracle for Muḥammad himself and for his followers. It developed from the former tradition inheriting its essence, it was comprehensible and therefore even more wonderful: "Say: 'If men and jinn banded together to produce the like of this Koran, they would never produce its like, not though they backed one another'" (17, 88/90).

It becomes evident that the text of the Qur'ān was genetically connected with the corresponding pre-Islamic tradition marking a new stage of its development. It was only natural therefore that the notion of *i'jāz al-Qur'ān* — the miraculous nature of the Qur'ān, impossibility of imitating it, appeared in the Muslim dogma. Traditionally it is accepted that this notion developed in the course of polemics around the nature of the Qur'ān, its eternal and "uncreated" character, as well as in the course of the struggle of Islam against Christianity and Judaism, when it had to prove the truth of Muḥammad's prophetic mission and the advantages of the Muslim religious teaching. One should look for the sources of the purely Islamic dogma of the impossibility of imitating the Qur'ān in the historical environment where it developed (similar notions are missing in the dogmatic systems of Christianity and Judaism).

We hope that further studies of the development of the Qur'ān within the frames of Arabian cultural tradition will allow to trace how the new ideology came into being, to give an adequate interpretation of some specific features of the Qur'ānic sermons which to a great extent affected all further developments of Islamic ideology.

Notes

1. A. Rippin, "The Qur'an as literature: perils, pitfalls and prospects", *British Society of Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*, X/3 (1983), p. 4.

2. I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i (Leiden, 1896), p. 17.

3. In Gibb's opinion, only al-Jāhīz in his *Al-bayān wa'l-tabiyyīn* preserved samples of Arabic eloquence which are most close to the original, see H. A. R. Gibb, "Arabiyya. Early Arabian Literature", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., i (Leiden, 1986), p. 585.

4. Fr. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952), pp. 17–22.

5. Some evidences prove that throughout the fourth and the fifth centuries there existed in Arabia the practice of composing of so-called "Books of the Tribe" (*kitāb [diwān] al-qabīla*) intended to record the achievements of the tribe and putting together the poetry composed by tribal poets and *ayyam* material (I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, 1984), pp. 448–55).

6. R. Iakobson, *Jazyk i bessoznatel'noe* (Language and the Unconscious), Russian edition (Moscow, 1996), p. 97.

7. Abū Sa'īd (Abū Sa'd) Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Abī, *Kitāb naṣr al-ḍurr*, manuscript C-679 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 27a, 11; fol. 26a, 13.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 26a, 4.

9. Iakobson, *op. cit.* p. 98.

10. It has been proved that most of the stories supplementing *mathal* were of a later origin, see R. Sellheim, *Die Klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörteransammlungen ins besondere die des Abū 'Uбайд* (The Hague, 1954), pp. 27–44, though they could be there from the start but in a different form, with other names, etc.

11. Abū Sa'īd, *op. cit.*, fol. 27a, 2.

12. *Ibid.*, fol. 26b, 4.

13. Sellheim, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

14. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii (Halle, 1890), pp. 204–5; Sellheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 41, 141; N. Abbot, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. Vol. II: Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition* (Chicago, 1967), pp. 5–6; D. Gutas, "Arabic wisdom literature: nature and scope", *JAOIS*, CI (1981), pp. 50–4, 57–8.

15. J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin—Leipzig, 1926), pp. 133–5.

16. B. Heller — (N. A. Stillman), "Luḡmān", *EI*, 2nd ed., vi (Leiden, 1986), p. 811.
17. Ibn Hishām, *Al-sīra al-nabawīyya*, i (al-Qāhira, 1955), p. 427.
18. E. A. Rezvan, "Proročestvo i religioznoe vdokhnovenie v Islame (k probleme nauchnoĭ interpretatsii fenomena proročeskikh otkrovenii Mukhammada)" ("Prophecy and religious inspiration in Islam: to the problem of scientific interpretation of the phenomenon of Muḥammad's prophetic revelations"), *Traditsionnoe mirovozzrenie u narodov Perednei Azii* (Moscow, 1992), pp. 39—59.
19. N. Abbot, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. Vol. I: Historical Texts* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 46—50; Carra de Vaux — [G. C. Anawati], "Injil", *EI*, 2nd ed., iii (Leiden, 1986), p. 1205; Ch. Rabin, "'Arabiyya. (II). The Literary language. (I). Classical Arabic", *idem.*, i, p. 564). In the introduction to Origen's Hexapla (third century A.D.) it is mentioned that the author used in his works translations of the Bible into Chaldean and Arabic. The first one meant Syriac, what Origen defined as Arabic is not clear, see A. F. L. Beeston, "Background topics", *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A. F. L. Beeston, T. M. Johnstone, R. B. Serjeant, and G. R. Smith (Cambridge, 1983), p. 23; Shahid, *op. cit.*, pp. 418—9, 422—30, 515—7.
20. N. Abbot, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script and its Qur'anic Development* (Chicago, 1939), p. 5.
21. Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghāni*, ii (al-Qāhira, 1345), pp. 100—2.
22. A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, (Vienna, 1971), ii, pp. 7—33; Shahid, *op. cit.*, pp. 409—22; Ch. Pellat, "Ḳuss b. Sā'ida", *EI*, 2nd ed., v (Leiden, 1986), p. 528.
23. Beeston, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
24. A. Baumstark, "Das Problem eines vorislamischen christlichen arabischen Schrifttums in Arabischer Sprachen", *Islamica*, IV (1931), pp. 562—75; S. Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic: an enquiry into its appearance in the first Abbasid century", *OC*, LXIX (1985), pp. 126—67.
25. Shahid, *op. cit.*, pp. 435—43.
26. E. Rezvan, "The Qur'an and its world: I. The Problem of reconstructing ancient Arabian cosmogonic and anthropogenetic lore", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/4 (1996), pp. 30—4. N. Abbot, considering the way to solve the problem of the existence of the pre-Islamic Arabic Bible, suggested a combined study of passages from the Bible cited in the seventh—tenth century Arabic manuscripts. In our opinion, even if we take into account the problem of falsification, it would be of great interest to analyze the corresponding verse of pre-Islamic Arabic poets.
27. N. Abbot, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. Vol. II: Quranic Commentary and Tradition* (Chicago, 1967), p. 7.
28. M. B. Piotrovskii, "Ob ētiopskoĭ khidzre" ("On Ethiopian Hijra"), *Ėtiopskie issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1981).
29. P. G. Bogatyrev, *Voprosy teorii narodnogo iskusstva* (Questions of the Theory of Folk-Art) (Moscow, 1971), p. 232.
30. G. A. Levinton, "Zamechaniia k probleme literatura i folklor" ("Notes to the problem literature and folklore"), *Trudy po znakovym sistemam*, VII (Tartu, 1975), p. 77. A typologically close situation we find in medieval Japan with its similar relations between Shinto folklore and Buddhist preaching, see A. N. Meshcheriakov, "Izobrazhenie cheloveka v ranneiaponskoĭ literature" ("Image of man in early Japanese literature"), *Chelovek i mir v iaponskoĭ kul'ture* (Moscow, 1985), p. 29.
31. Rezvan, "The Qur'an and its world: I", pp. 31—2.
32. Here and below we use the translation of A. Arberry.
33. *Ayyām al-'Arab fi'l-jāhiliyya*. Ta'lif Muḥammad Aḥmad Jād al-mawlā bak, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, Muḥammad Abu'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (al-Qāhira, 1942), p. 32.
34. Translation by R. B. Serjeant who concluded that the text's "generar tenor, language and circumstances furnish no cause that it is not basically authentic", see R. B. Serjeant, "Pacts and treaties in pre-Islamic Arabia", *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge, 1983), i, pp. 129—30).
35. As far as we know, Fr. Buhl's "Über Vergleichen und Gleichnisse im Qur'an" in *AO*, II (1924), pp. 1—11, dedicated to the Qur'anic *amthāl*, remained for a long time the only serious work on this subject. There is also a number of medieval Muslim works dealing with *amthāl* in the Qur'an and Ḥadīth (Sellheim, *op. cit.*, p. 20). This subject is one of the most popular among the modern Muslim scholars, see *Mawsū'at al-amthāl al-Qur'āniyah*. Ta'lif Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf (al-Qāhira, 1993—1994); Muḥammad Jābir Fayyād, *Al-amthāl fi'l-Qur'an al-karīm* (Baghdād, 1988); Samīḥ 'Āṭif Al-Zayn, *Al-amthāl wa'l-mithl wa'l-tamāthul wa'l-muḥulāt fi'l-Qur'an al-karīm majma' al-bayān al-ḥadīth* (Bayrūt, 1987). A serious attempt to consider the Qur'anic *amthāl* within the general context of semantic, structural and stylistic features of the Qur'anic phraseology was undertaken by V. D. Ushakov in his *Frazeologičeskaia Korana* (Phraseology of the Qur'an) (Moscow, 1996), pp. 100—13. Of great practical use is his Index of Qur'anic Phraseology (*ibid.*, pp. 167—88).
36. *Madjma' al-amthāl li-Abi'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī al-ma'rūf bi'l-Maydānī* (al-Qāhira, 1310), p. 172; Abū Sa'īd, *op. cit.*, fol. 29b, 16.
37. F. C. Conybeare, J. R. Harris, A. S. Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar* (Cambridge, 1913), p. lxxvi (Arabic text, pp. 4, 11).
38. Th. Nöldeke, "Untersuchungen zum Achikar-Roman", *AGW Gott., Phil.-hist. Kl., N. F.*, XIV/4 (1913), pp. 25, 37; H. L. Starck and P. Balerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*, ii (Munich, 1956), p. 587; B. Heller — (N. A. Stillman), *op. cit.*, pp. 811—2.
39. M. B. Piotrovskii, "Koranicheskie skazaniia kak istoriko-kulturnyĭ pamiatnik" ("Qur'anic lore as a monument of history and culture"), *Vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia po problemam arabskoĭ kul'tury pamiatii akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo* (Abstracts of papers), (Moscow, 1983); *idem.*, *Koranicheskie skazaniia* (Qur'anic Stories) (Moscow, 1991).
40. This approach could be very fruitful and deserves a special study.
41. Ibn Habīb, *Al-Munammaq fi akhbār quraysh* (Ḥaydarābād, 1964), p. 107; R. B. Serjeant, "Early Arabic prose", p. 125.
42. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 414—5.
43. R. B. Serjeant, "Early Arabic prose", *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, p. 134.

44. Passages from *sūra* 52, 30—33 and *sūra* 17, 88/90 cited below, although incorporated into the *sūras* composed before the indicated period, are actually of a later date, see *Koran, perevod i kommentarii* I. Iu. Krachkovskogo (The Qur'ān, translation and commentaries by I. Yu. Krachkovsky) (Moscow, 1963), p. 600, note 1; H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches in the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran* (London, 1902), pp. 70, 144.

45. The term *sūra* stands here for brief single-term revelations making the foundation of Muḥammad's sermons. Here *sūra* is not equal to the present-day chapter of the Qur'ān, see E. A. Rezvan, "Issledovaniia po terminologii Korana: *sūra*; 'abd ('ibād, 'abīd) Allāh, ummāh — 16 : 121/120" ("Studies in Qur'ānic terminology: *sūra*; 'abd ('ibād, 'abīd) Allāh, ummāh — 16 : 121/120"), *Problemy Arab-skoi kul'tury* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 219—22.

46. H. T. Norris, "Qissas Elements of the Qur'ān", *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, p. 252.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

T. A. Pang

MANCHU COLLECTIONS IN PARIS

The historians, bibliographers, sinologists, and manchurists already know that a great number of Chinese materials, among which were many in the Manchu language, was brought to Europe mainly in the eighteenth—nineteenth centuries. The Manchu part of the principal European collections has already been described in different catalogues [1]. The French collections were mentioned in the article of Prof. Kanda Nobus [2], followed later by a Manchu catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale [3] and a title-list of the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises [4].

The Manchu collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale (a successor of Bibliothèque du Roi) was formed gradually starting from the end of the seventeenth century, and its detailed history is well presented by Mme Marie-Rose Séguy in the preface to the "Catalogue du fonds mandchou". The catalogue, compiled by Jeanne-Marie Puyraimond under the guidance of Prof. Walter Simon, was published in 1979. It includes 294 entries which provide a description of 82 manuscripts. According to the number and repertory of the blockprints and manuscripts, this Manchu collection is comparable only with that at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, and of the British Library in London [5]. It was a general opinion that almost all Manchu books in France were concentrated in the Bibliothèque du Roi as a central library. In 1970 the British Prof. W. Simon initiated a revision of the old catalogue, as well as compilation and publication of the new one.

The second biggest Oriental library in Paris belongs to the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, and the title-list of its Manchu collection was published by H. Walravens in 1976. These were the two collections known to the scholars, and during the last 20 years nobody has raised the question if other depositories in Paris may contain the books in Manchu. Having an honour to receive the six-month Diderot grant of Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in 1995—1996, the author of the present article had an opportunity to work on different Oriental collections of Paris, and the preliminary results of this research are presented in this article.

The history of the Manchu collections, as well as the history of the Manchu studies in France, like in other European countries, is closely connected with the interest to China. That is why we shall trace the origin of the principal Manchu collections (mainly of the Bibliothèque Nationale

as the biggest and most important one) in connection to the famous French sinologists who made a great contribution to the Manchu studies as well.

The history of Oriental studies in France is traditionally started in 1685 when the first French Jesuit missionaries stepped on board of the ship "l'Oyseau" bound to China. They reached Peking only in 1688. It was a group of six Jesuits known as "Mathématiciens du Roi" — specialists in mathematics, astronomy, natural history, geography, cartography and philology — who were sent by the French king Louis XIV to China for collecting the Chinese materials and introducing the European science to China [6]. Among the members of the first French Jesuit missions were Father Joachim Bouvet (1656—1730) and Father Jean-François Gerbillion (1654—1707) who were joined by Joseph-François-Marie-Anne de Moyriac de Mailla (1669—1748), as well as by Dominique Parrennin (1665—1741) [7]. They quickly acquired a good command of the Chinese and Manchu languages and were the first to acquaint France with the culture of the Manchu court in China.

The first forty-nine volumes of Chinese blockprints were brought to Paris by J. Bouvet as a gift of the Chinese emperor Kangxi to Louis XIV in 1693 and were registered in the Royal Library on May 27 and June 2, 1697 [8]. These books started the Royal collection of the books, manuscripts, drawings, and maps from China. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Oriental collection numbered about 2,000 volumes mainly consisting of diplomatic gifts to the French court, items from the collection of the abbot Jean-Paul Bignon (1662—1743), who was the director of the library since 1719, books from the *Congrégation des Missions Étrangères*, books from Father Jean-François Foucquet (1663—1740) and from the *Compagnie des Indes*. The first catalogue of the Royal library "Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae" was printed in 1739. The earliest research on the Manchu language in Europe was printed in France in 1696. It was "Elementa Linguae Tartaricae" by the Jesuit Father F. Verbiest published in "Relations de divers voyages curieux" [9].

During the eighteenth century the books were sent from the French mission mainly by Father Jean-Joseph Amiot (1718—1793), who had lived in China for 42 years, and like many of the missionaries died in Peking [10]. He

was the first to write the Manchu grammar in French [11] and to acquaint Europe with Manchu historical documents and Manchu court shamanism. His name is closely connected with Louis-Mathieu Langlès (1763—1824), a professor of Oriental languages (including Manchu) and the head of l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, which was founded in 1795, replacing the school of interpreters opened by Louis XIV in 1669. At the same time he was a curator of Oriental collection of the Royal library. It was Langlès who published the manuscripts of Amiot, which the latter had sent to Paris. The French translation of the famous *Han i araha Mukden i fujurun bithe* ("Ode to Mukden") by emperor Qianlong [14] was a real sensation of the time and was much discussed in the intellectual circles of Europe. Langlès continued his studies on Manchu court shamanism, and in 1804 he published a French translation of *Hesei toktohuha manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe* under the title "Ritual of the Tatar-Manchus, Compiled by Order of the Emperor Qianlong, and Preceded by a Preliminary Speech Composed by the Sovereign, with the Drawings of the Main Instruments of the Shamanistic Cult; a Work Translated by Experts, together with the Texts in Original Letters" [15]. It was Amiot who compiled the first Manchu-French dictionary which was published by Langlès in 1789—1790 [16] and discussed by him in 1799 [17].

The development of Manchu studies and the growth of the Far Eastern collection in Paris at the beginning of the nineteenth century were closely connected with the name of Julius Klaproth (1783—1835), one of the most distinguished European Orientalists of his time who, for several years, worked in the Royal library. He strongly opposed the publications of Langlès, finding his translations not exact or far from the original text. His criticism of Langlès' work are found in the "Lettres sur la littérature mandchou" in the third volume of his "Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie" [18]. In Paris Julius Klaproth published his "Chrestomatie mandchou" comprising the new critical translation of the "Ode to Mukden" [19]. After his death the Royal library bought the Oriental collection of Klaproth among which there were 21 blockprinted texts and 8 manuscripts in Manchu.

At the same period the French sinology was started at the Collège de France with the creation of the chair for the Manchu and Chinese languages and literature in 1814. The first chair belonged to J.-P. Abel Rémusat (1788—1832), both an outstanding sinologist and the pioneer in comparative studies in the field of the Altaic languages [20]. In 1815 he published the program of his lectures entitled "Programme du cours de langue et de littérature chinoises et de Tartare-Mandchou, précédé du discours prononcé à la première séance de ce cours". One of his students and successors in the chair at the Collège de France was Stanislas Julien (1797—1873) who continued the Manchu studies of A. Rémusat [21]. Being an assistant curator of the Oriental collection, he bought some Manchu manuscripts for the Royal library from the archives of the late Prof. Rémusat.

The largest Oriental acquisition of the Library was made at the beginning of the twentieth century and was connected with Paul Pelliot (1878—1945) who brought from his Far Eastern expedition 78 blockprints and manuscripts in Manchu [22].

Since the first French missionaries had a task to study the culture of the Manchu dynasty in China, it is not surprising that among the books they sent to the French court were numerous historical, classical and administrative

documents of the Qing China, as well as literary works and dictionaries. Most of them appeared in the Bibliothèque Nationale in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries during the stay of French mission in China. Many of the documents bear the notes and explanations of the famous French scholars of that time.

One of the unique manuscripts in the Manchu collection of the Royal library is a dictionary *Tongki fuka aki hergen i bithe* ("Book without Dots and Circles") which was compiled by the order of Qianlong in 1741 to register different Manchu words written without diacritic marks in the documents prior to the script reform of 1632. The other known copy of this dictionary exists only in the Library of Ulan Bator (Mongolia). It was published in 1959 [23]. The French copy, sent to Langlès by Amiot from Peking, bears some inscriptions written by both of them.

The Jesuit Father D. Parrennin, who had an outstanding knowledge of the Chinese, Manchu, and Latin languages, was one of the advisers to emperor Kangxi and his sons on the questions of European science and culture. By the order of this emperor he compiled his famous "Anatomie Mandchoue" based on the Latin texts of Thomas Bartholin and Pierre Dionis. One copy of this text is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale and bear the title *Wargi namu oktosilame niyalma beye giranggi sudala nirugan i gisun* [24]. This masterly written manuscript includes 135 illustrations. Since it has many corrections on the folia borders and inside the text, it seems to be one of the last variants prior to the final copies. One of the final copies (call number 2009) under the title *Ge ti ciowan lu bithe* is found in the Library of the Museum of Natural History in Paris (Bibliothèque Centrale du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle). The history of this copy goes back to 1723 when by the order of the emperor Kangxi three copies of the text were made for his Imperial libraries and the fourth was sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris. This copy is now kept in the Museum and consists of eight fascicles bound in yellow silk covers with woven design of butterflies. The blank sheet before the Manchu text of the first fascicle is filled with a letter of P. D. Parrennin to the Royal Academy of Sciences which proves that this copy was specially made to be delivered to France. Here we publish the text of this letter which is written in old-style French:

A Messieurs De L'academie Royale Des Sciences.

Messieurs

vous seres peut etre surpris qu'on vous envoie de siloing un traité d'anatomie, un corps de medecine, et des questions de phisique écrites en une langue qui ne vous est pas connues, l'étonnement cessera, quand j'aurai eü l'honneur de vous dire, qu'il n'est pas necessaire que vous sachiez lire pour entendre ces 8 volumes, il suffit de vous advertire Mrs que ce sont vos propres ouvrages que je vous renvoie habilles a la Tartare, ce sont vos pensées, vos ingenieuses decouvertes, dignes fruits de cett'application continuelle, qui a mit les sciences et les beaux arts dans ce haut point ou nous le voions, quiarevelli ches nos voisins le gout de l'étude vrayment utile et agreable; ils ont scü profiter de vos premiers soins, par les traductions quils ont fait de nos ouvrages; mais parce que nos volumes se multipliaient tous les ans; plusieurs ont mieux aimer se donner la peine d'apprendre la langue françoise pour puiser dabort et par eux memes dans la source, que d'attendre qu'une main chari-

table mais toujours trop lente, leur ouvri l'entrée de nos trésors.

L'empereur de la Chine déjà si célèbre en Europe même, et si habile, a se servir de connaissances du dehors, n'a pas cru être obligé d'apprendre notre langue pour en profiter, il a vu que le plus court et le plus aisée pour lui étoit de me charger de rendre en sa langue naturelle, et en détail, ce dont je ne lui avoit Mrs parlé qu'en abrégé dans la conversation.

C'est Mrs qu'il foudrait vous rendre conte des ordes de ce prince et de la manière que je les ai euaucé, je vais le faire dans un cayer separé et de papier plus fort que celui des tomes tartares dont la délicatesse ne scauroit souffrir sans être endommagée tous les mauvais traitements et les fréquentes visites des curieux, ce cayer pourra passer de main en main parmi vous autres Mrs; pendant que le corps de l'ouvrage servira d'ornement a votre Bibliothèque et de marque certaine que j'ai du moins voulu vous faire plaisir, et vous assurer qu'on ne scauroit être avec plus d'estime et de respect.

Messieurs,

*votre tres humble
et obeissant serviteur
Dominique Parrenin
de la Compe de Jesus*

Pekin

1r may 1723.

Father Parrenin had been working on the "Anatomie" probably from 1710 to 1715, when he got an order from the emperor Kangxi to supplement the writing with a work on poisons and remedies, which took the title *Baicara ba be tucibume gisurehengge*. The order is dated by *Elhe taifin i susai duici aniya aniya biyai orin jakün de* (28th day of the 54th year of *Elhe taifin* = March 3, 1715). It is followed by the report of D. Parrenin to the emperor, which is lacking the date (fasc. 8) [25]. With this work Parrenin had been occupied for some years more and completed it possibly around 1722 when the emperor Kangxi died. The emperor himself checked and corrected every page of the work which Parrenin had to deliver to him every tenth day. The corrections are summoned in the Museum copy in the 4th fascicle (*Taşarabure melebuhe hergen be ejehengge* — 18 ff. without pagination) to the texts of the first four *debtelin*, in the 7th fascicle (*Taşarabuha hergen be ejehengge* — 3 ff.) to the fifth—seventh *debtelin*, in the 8th fascicle (*Taşarabuha melebuhe hergen be ejehengge* — 4 ff.) to the eighth *debtelin*. White slips on the covers of fasc. 1—4 have inscription: "Anatomie", of fasc. 5—7: "Pathologie", of fasc. 8: "Physique. Maladies des Femmes". The copies of the "Anatomie Mandchoue" by Parrenin, which are preserved in these two libraries in Paris, deserve a special study. As to the copy from the Royal Library in Copenhagen, it was published in facsimile in 1928 [26].

The Bibliothèque Nationale has a rather representative collection of religious texts written in Manchu by the Jesuit Fathers Matteo Ricci, João Soeiro, Giulio Aleni, Francesco Brancati, Luigi Buglio, Joseph Marie Anne Moyria de Mailla, Alexandre de la Charme, Xu Guangqi (Paul) [27]. Some of their works are fairly rare in the other libraries of the world. The history of the Jesuit mission in China is reflected in two important documents which we find in this

library. One of them is "Brevis relatio eorum, quae spectant ad declarationem Sinarum imperatoris Kam Hi circa coeli, Cumfucii, et avorum cultum, datam anno 1700. Accedunt primum, doctissimorumque virorum, et antiquissimae traditionis testimonia. Opera PP Societ. Jesu Pekini pro evangelii propagatione laborantium" [28] printed in Peking in Manchu, Chinese, and Latin. It includes Fathers' statement of Chinese rites and customs, together with the Kangxi's approving edict of 1700. The original statement was sent to the Pope with the explanations that the Chinese rites were secular in nature. "Brevis relatio" contains an account of the circumstances prior to and after the statement. The other copies of this text are found in the Archives Françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus (GBro.109). The other document relating to the Jesuits in China is the so-called "Red decree of Kangxi" — a letter in Manchu, Chinese, and Latin dated Kangxi 55th year, 9th month, 17th day (October 31, 1716). In this letter missionaries, who had been sent to Europe, are asked to return back to China [29]. It was signed by 17 Jesuit Fathers. The copies of both documents were sent to Europe and are found in almost all the countries which had their Jesuit missions in China. According to the published catalogue, the Bibliothèque Nationale has 5 copies of the "Red decree", and one of them has been recently reproduced in the book by M. Cohen and N. Monnet "Impressions de Chine" [30]. In their commentaries on the document the authors mention that only three other copies exist in the collections of London, Wolfenbüttel (Germany) and Stockholm. To these we may add 6 copies in the libraries of Italy and Vatican [31], one in the Lilly Library of Indiana University (Bloomington, USA), and one in Tešin (Poland) [32]. In Paris we have found two other copies of the emperor Kangxi's decree. One copy is kept at the Archive Françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus (call number GBro. 110-8). It has an owners' inscription in black ink at the bottom of the document: "*Hoc folium est unum ix impressis ix mandato Imperatoris sinensis, et ab eode sparsis. Dia (?) meâ manu, ex officij sigillo. Pekini 16 Aug. 1717 Pr. Nicolaus Gianpriama Soc. Jesu Notarius Apostolicus*". The second copy is preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Observatoire de Paris (call number B. 1.11.8). In all, there are 7 copies of the "Red decree" in Paris.

Many of the French Jesuits were astronomers who worked at the Board of Astronomy of the Qing court, making calculations of the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, of the positions of the stars and planets, as well as compiling the Chinese lunar calendars. The Paris libraries have in their holdings the astronomical works dating back to the times of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, who was appointed by the emperor Kangxi as the Vice-Director of the Board of Astronomy in 1668. From this time on the calendars were compiled along the Western methods of calculations [33]. The Bibliothèque de l'Observatoire de Paris (B. 1.11.4) and Archive Françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus (Br. 151) have copies of the table of lunar eclipses in Peking, Shenyang and 14 provinces of China and Korea during the night on Kangxi 10th year, 2nd month, 15th day = March 25, 1671. The table was compiled by F. Verdinand Verbiest: *Elhe taifin i juwaci aniya. juwe biyai tofohon de. fulahün koko inenggi dobori biya be jetere nirugan* with the Latin title: *Typus eclipsis lunae Anno Christi 1671 Imperatoris C'am Hy decimo, die XVto Lunatiæ, id est, die XXVto Martij; ad meridianum Pekinensem; nec non imago adumbrata diuersorum digitorum in*

horizonte obscuratorum. in singulis imperij Sinensis prouincijs, tempore quo Luna in singulis orbiturauctore P. Ferdinando Verbiest, Societis Jesu, in Regia Pekinensi, Astronomiae praefecto [34].

The earliest calculations of the positions of the planets in 1680 are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 214). The Bibliothèque de l'Observatoire de Paris has 5 calculations of the lunar and solar eclipses for 1732—1735, while the Bibliothèque Nationale has a good collection of the calendars, the earliest dating to 1769 and the other — between 1823 and 1890, with some omissions (Nos. 192—217). Most of them were brought by P. Pelliot from his Far Eastern expedition. The library of the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises has also a collection of 10 calendars for the period of 1889—1910. Judging from this material, the Paris libraries have 33 different items of astronomical calculations some of which are presented in duplicates (46 in total).

As it was mentioned above, the library of the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises (IHEC) has a title-list of its Manchu collection, which was compiled by H. Walravens. According to this list, there are 57 entries, some of which contain descriptions of several different works. When checking this collection, we have counted 72 blockprints and 17 manuscripts, either only in Manchu or bilingual. Most of the books in the collection are the Manchu translations of the Chinese classical and historical texts, as well as a number of Manchu or Manchu-Chinese dictionaries. The manuscripts in this library represent students' translations of the classical Chinese works bearing the teacher's corrections (E IV 4-9, 4-10, E IV 5-4 to 5-10), as well as different kinds of Chinese-Manchu (E III 5 -3, E IV 5-1 to 5-4) and Manchu-Mongolian (E IV 7-3) dictionaries.

Next door to the IHEC library is the library of the Société Asiatique known for its rich collection of the Far Eastern books. Among unidentified Oriental materials there were four metal capsules with four silk scrolls wrapped in English newspaper "Sunday Times" issued in London on July 1, 1928. These capsules were kept untouched since the time they had been brought to the library. The four scrolls, up to 4 meters long, turned out to be the Manchu-Chinese imperial diplomas attesting nobility rank (*abkai hese forgon be aliha* or *g'ao ming*). They are written on silk which is mounted on paper and equally divided into 5 parts (82 cm each) painted in different colours. The colour of the silk from left (the Manchu text) to right (the Chinese text) is yellow, white, black, blue, red. The text begins with the woven in formula of the imperial decree, which is followed by a hand-written text concerning the person whom it is given to. Over the dates there are big imperial seals with the legends in Manchu *Hese wesimbure boobai* and Chinese *Zhi gao zhi bao* ("Seal for the issue of an Imperial Ordinance") [35].

The first diploma certifies that a hereditary title of the seventh grade — *baitalabure hafan* — was conferred on the officer Fuka on August 4, 1649, and was approved by the decree on May 25, 1650. The following decrees are dated by May 6, 1652; September 29, 1657; May 9, 1672; June 30, 1710; June 21, 1716; December 17, 1723 and March 23, 1735. They confirm the hereditary title of its owner's descendants and deal with the promotion of them to a higher rank. There are 8 decrees in all.

The second diploma concerns with the honorary title of *tuwarašara hafan* (of the 8th grade), which was given to

the official Dandai on December 25, 1636, for the successful military campaigns, and with the later received hereditary title *baitalabure hafan* (of the 7th grade). Dandai's elder brother Nomtu was given both of the titles, as well as the hereditary title of *adaha hafan* (of the 6th grade) on September 16, 1642. Their descendants inherited these titles and received a new one of *ashan i hafan* by the orders dated April 6, 1650; April 17, 1651; ...1652; January 7, 1681, and January 8, 1725. The text of the last decree is illegible. Its date is *Hüwalyiasun tob i ilaci aniya jorgon biyai ice ninggun* (*Hüwalyiasun tob* 3d year, 12th month, 6th day = January 8, 1726). There are 8 decrees in all.

The third diploma grants the title of *tuwarašara hafan* to the official Heiyenen on May 15, 1646, and later promoted in the following 5 decrees to his descendants till 1684.

The fourth diploma in Manchu is called *Abkai hese g'aoming* and in Chinese *feng-tian gao-ming* ("Patent by Ordinance [of the emperor, who is] entrusted by Heaven"). It was given to Hūwang Yün-lung for his being a filial son and taking perfect care of the graves of his parents. For this he was awarded the title of *dudu ciyanši*, his salary being raised. His father Hūwang-gung and his mother, from the Chen clan, were posthumously rewarded with one more grade for their having brought up such a filial son. The diploma is dated by January 30, 1681. Two imperial red seals in both languages are present in both the Manchu and Chinese text. The silk scroll is divided into 14 parts (around 31 cm each) painted in yellow, red, dark grey, brown, white, yellow, red, grey, brown, white, yellow, red, dark grey, and white. The left back side of the scroll is decorated with red silk with woven in golden phoenixes in blue-green-grey clouds.

These diplomas seem to be the earliest known in the European libraries. Since they were preserved in the families, one can trace the sequence of receiving hereditary ranks from the ancestor (whose victorious military campaigns are often described in decrees) up to the last person who kept the diploma [36].

The collection of the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes (now l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales — INALCO), the first director of which was Langlès (from 1796 to 1824) [37], was mostly arranged for the needs of students. At present its library — Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire des Langues Orientales (BIULO) — has 23 blockprints and one manuscript of the incomplete Chinese-Tibetan-Manchu dictionary. Among the earliest blockprints there is a complete copy of the dictionary *Daicing gurun i yooni bithe* which is also available in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Nos. 66—70). This is the earliest known dictionary of the Manchu language written by Shen Qiliang in 1683, including *Manju bithei j'i nan* ("A Guide to the Manchu Language"), and it provided a basic material for further dictionaries and text-books.

A collection of 13 Manchu blockprints is also preserved in the Bibliothèque Asiatique des Missions Étrangères. These materials were brought by the missionaries in China and Mongolia probably at the end of the last century. Most of them represent dictionaries, seven of which are in three languages: Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese.

A rather valuable collection of Manchu materials is discovered in the library of the Musée Guimet in Paris. The Museum was founded in 1889 as an Asiatic Museum in the

city of Lyon. Later it was transferred to Paris. Being known for its outstanding collection of Oriental pieces of art, the Museum has also in its holdings a big library on the history of art and culture. Among the books transferred to Paris there were Chinese blockprints and manuscripts including some Manchu texts. They have not hitherto been studied or identified. With the kind help of the head of the Museum library Mr F. Macouin it turned to be possible to single out Manchu materials and make a catalogue of this collection [38]. There are 13 blockprints and 4 manuscripts in Manchu in all. They were acquired by the Museum in different time and from different persons among which were Italian sinologist Antonio Montucci (1762—1829) [39], professor of the Chinese language at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes and an interpreter at the French embassy in Peking Arnold Vissière (1858—1930), linguist Alphonse Pinart (1852—1911).

As it was mentioned above, this collection includes four manuscripts: all of them deal with the early history of the Manchus. The oldest of them, which is lacking a title (No. 61 625), consists of 71 folios and has no pagination. It comprises twenty-six episodes from the Chinese and early Manchu history, as well as several notes on the Buddhist and Confucian ethics. It has neither date nor information on its author. The text is written in old Manchu orthography: a script without dots and circles used before the reform of 1632. The beginning of the manuscript is marked with the *birga* sign (“big circle”) [40], which usually indicated the beginnings of the chapters, paragraphs or even the whole books, as it is used in this manuscript. Every episode here is marked by a simple circle, being most likely the evolution of the *birga* sign.

Similar to this manuscript is the text of an early Manchu blockprint of 41 folios (No. 61 626) which represents a collection of twenty-one episodes mainly from the Chinese history, especially related to the Jurchen Jin dynasty. Several brief notes on the Buddhist and Confucian ethics are also included like in the previous manuscript. The text is printed on an old paper and in old orthography without dots and circles. Like in the manuscript No. 61 625, the beginning of the text is marked by *birga* sign, and the episodes are starting with the circle, too.

The second precious manuscript in the library of the Musée Guimet (No. 61 624), on 33 folios, has no pagination. It is a collection of twenty-two episodes from the early Manchu history, which were originally collected by Erdenibakshi (d. 1623) [41], as it is mentioned at the end of the preface: *doro ere sain gisun be erdeni bakši biheleme daiha* (fol. 6b). Several episodes are almost identical to

those found in the blockprint No. 61 626. Unlike documents mentioned above, this text is written in a reformed Manchu script with dots and circles officially introduced in 1632. Nevertheless, certain words are written according to the old orthography. The occasional corrections and changes were made later by an unknown person.

The other two manuscripts belong to the period when the Manchus have established the Qing dynasty in China and started there military campaigns to the north and north-west. The first one — *Dorgi tulergi wang beile ci fusihün bithe coohai geren hafasai gashūha bithei dangse* (No. 61 003) — comprises 175 folios. These are the registration of confessions in committed crimes, as well as the texts of allegiance oaths taken by all civil and military officials, beginning from the outside and inside princes and *beile*. Some of the oaths are signed by groups of people, often more than by 100 persons (see, for example, fols. 31b—33a). In all, there are 48 texts in Manchu, Chinese, and two of them in Mongolian (fols. 130a—136a; fols. 156b—160b). The earliest one is dated by *ljishün dasan i juwan jakūci aniya aniya biya ice ninggun* (*ljishün dasan* 18th year, 1st month, 6th day = February 4, 1661 (fol. 1a)) and the latest one — by *Elhe taifin i jai aniya ilan biyai juwan de* (*Elhe taifin* 2d year, 3d month 10th day = April 17, 1663 (fol. 162b)). The confession of the Jasak wangs *Tulergi goloi jasak i wang se akdulame gashūrengge* (fols. 109a—129b) is written in Manchu without Chinese translation, the Mongolian texts are not translated either.

The documents concerning the imperial campaigns against Galdan and the conquest of Xinjiang are presented in the fourth manuscript *Beye dailame wargi amargi babe necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon i bithe* (No. 61 621). The library possesses only the fifth volume of the whole set, which includes the 17th—20th fascicles related to the period from *Elhe taifin* 34th year, 11th month (December 6, 1695—January 1, 1696) to *Elhe taifin* 35th year, 2d month (March 3—April 1, 1696). A detailed description of all the Manchu documents in Musée Guimet is published in *Arts asiatique* [38].

Since the period of time for this research was rather limited, and there were some difficulties even in searching for the books which were not asked by the readers at least for several decades, we can only suppose that there may be some other libraries which should be studied as well. After having checked the above mentioned Oriental libraries, we can preliminary establish a number of Manchu manuscripts and blockprints found in Paris in the following table:

Depositories	Manuscripts	Blockprints
Bibliothèque Nationale	82	212
Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises	17	72
Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire des Langues Orientales	1	23
Musée Guimet	4	8
Bibliothèque Asiatique des Missions Étrangères	—	13
Bibliothèque de l'Observatoire de Paris	—	13
Société Asiatique	4	—

Depositories	Manuscripts	Blockprints
Archive Françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus	—	3
Bibliothèque Centrale du Museum Nationale d'Histoire Naturelle	—	—

Notes

1. G. Stary, *Manchu Studies. An International Bibliography* (Wiesbaden, 1990), i, pp. 1—15. See also W. Fuchs, M. Gimm, "Verzeichnis der manjurischen Bücher in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Cambridge (Wade Collection)", *Aetas Manjurica*, 2 (1991), pp. 14—41; "Die manjurische Sammlung der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen", *ibid.*, pp. 42—116; M. Gimm, "Verzeichnis der manjurischen Bücher in der Bodleian Library zu Oxford (Sammlung Backhouse)", *Aetas Manjurica*, 3 (1992), pp. 42—72.
2. Nobuo Kanda, "Present state of preservation of Manchu literature", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (the Oriental Library)*, No. 26 (1968), pp. 81—6.
3. J. M. Puyraimond, *Catalogue du fonds mandchou*, (Paris, 1979).
4. H. Walravens, "Übersicht über die Mandjurica im Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises", *Zentral-Asiatische Studien*, 10 (1976), pp. 615—24.
5. According to the published catalogues, the Manchu collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies numbers 249 manuscripts and 337 blockprints, see M. P. Volkova, *Opisanie man'chzhurskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (A Description of Manchu Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow, 1965); *Opisanie man'chzhurskikh ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Manchu Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies), Fasc. 1 (Moscow, 1988), and the British Library has in its holdings 37 manuscripts (out of 51 preserved in London) and 226 blockprints (out of 332 preserved in London), see W. Simon and H. G. H. Nelson, *Manchu Books in London. A Union Catalogue* (London, 1977).
6. V. Alleton, "Présentation de la sinologie française. Association Européenne d'études Chinoises", *Newsletter*, 2 (1988), p. 5.
7. For the bio-bibliographical data of the Jesuit missionaries see L. Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine. 1552—1773* (Chang-hai, 1932), i.
8. J.-M. Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
9. [F. Verbiest], "Elementa Linguae Tartaricae", in M. Thevenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (Paris, 1696), ii.
10. The French Jesuits who died in Peking were buried in the so-called "French Cemetery" at Zhengfusi. The cemetery was destroyed several times and now the tombstones of J. Bouvet, J. F. Gerbillon, D. Parrennin, J. De Mailla, J. M. Amiot, and of others are stored in the Peking Museum of the Stone-Carving Art opened in the garden of the Wutasi Temple. For details see G. Stary, "A brief note on the 'rediscovery' of some French Jesuits' tombstones", *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, XVII (1995), pp. 27—8.
11. J.-J. M. Amiot, "Grammaire tart are-mantchou", *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, XIII (1788), pp. 39—73.
12. J.-J. M. Amiot, "Monument de la conquête des Eleuths", *ibid.*, I (1776), pp. 325—400; "Monument de la transmigracion des Tourgouths des bords de la mer Caspienne dans l'empire de la Chine", *ibid.*, pp. 41—418; "Lettre du P. Amiot, missionnaire de la Chine, sur la réduction des Miao-tsée, en 1775", *ibid.*, III (1778), pp. 387—422; "Mort et funérailles de l'impératrice mère", *ibid.*, VI (1780), pp. 346—373; *Art militaire des Chinois, ou recueil d'anciens traités sur la guerre* (Paris, 1772); 1782 [*Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, VII].
13. J.-J. M. Amiot, "Rituel des Tartares Mantchous déterminé et fixé par l'Empereur comme chef de sa religion", *Journal des sçavans avec des extraits des meilleurs journaux de France et d'Angleterre*, No. 65 (Amsterdam, 1773), pp. 112—27.
14. J.-J. M. Amiot, *Éloge de la ville de Moukden et de ses environs* (Paris, 1770); the Manchu original text is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, see Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, No. 110.
15. L. Langlès, *Rituel des Tartars-Mantchoux, rédigé par l'ordre de l'Empereur Kien-long, et précédé d'un discours préliminaire composé par ce souverain; avec les dessins des principaux ustensiles et instrumens du culte chamanique; ouvrage traduit par extraits du tartar-mantchou, et accompagné des textes en caractères originaux* (Paris, 1804). The Manchu original text is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, see Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, Nos. 231—232. The other copy is in the library of IHEC (manuscript of the text E IV 1—2, and printed drawings E IV 5—8a).
16. J. J. M. Amiot, *Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou-Français* (Paris, 1789—1790), i—iii.
17. L. Langlès, "Notice des livres Tartars-Mantchou de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Première partie. Dictionarium Latino-Sinico-Mantchou", *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi, et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Institut royal de France*, VI/An. 7 (1799), pp. 581—606. See also Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, No. 282.
18. J.-H. Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie* (Paris, 1824—1828), i—iii. See also H. Walravens, "Manjurica curiosa", *Aetas Manjurica*, 2 (1991), pp. 221—9.
19. J.-H. Klaproth, *Chrestomatie mandchou* (Paris, 1828); reprint (Osnabrück, 1985).
20. A. Rémusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares* (Paris, 1820); "Recueil nécessaire des mots sanscrits, tangutains, mandchous, mongols et chinois", *Fundgruben des Oriens, bearbeitet durch eine Gesellschaft von Liebhabern*, IV (1814), pp. 183—201; "Sur un vocabulaire philosophique en cinq langues, imprimé à Péking", *Mélanges Asiatiques*, I (1825), pp. 153—83; *Notice sur le dictionnaire intitulé "Miroir des langues mandchou et mongole"* (Paris, 1838); see also his "Explication d'une inscription en caractères chinois et en caractères mandchous, gravée sur une plaque de jade qui appartient au Cabinet des Antiques de la Bibliothèque de Grenoble", *Journal du département de l'Isère*, No. 6 (1812).
21. S. Julien, "Les deux frères, conte mandchou", *Revue orientale et américaine*, 5 (1861), pp. 137—47; "Bibliographie tartare. Traductions mandchous d'ouvrages chinois", *Mémoires de la société des études japonaises (chinoises, tartares, indo-chinoises et océaniques)*, VIII (1889), pp. 5—19; see also G. W. Thayer, "Julien's Manuscript Dictionary of the Manchu Language", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XL (1920), pp. 140—1.
22. On Manchu matters see P. Pelliot, "Le véritable auteur des 'Elementa linguae tartaricae'", *T'oung Pao*, 21 (1922), pp. 367—86; "Encore à propos des 'Elementa linguae tartaricae'", *T'oung Pao*, 24 (1925—1926), pp. 64—6.
23. For reprint edition see "Tongki fuqa aqu xergen-i bitxe", *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum Instituti Linguae et Litterarum Comitetti Scientiarum et Educationis Altae Reipublicae populi mongoli*, vol. V, sac. 1 (Ulan Bator, 1959). The French manuscript (see

- Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, No. 109) was studied by a Hungarian scholar C. Melles in "Un vocabulaire du mandchou préclassique. Le Tongki fuqa aqū xergen-i bitxe", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XXIX/3 (1975), pp. 335—80; XXX/1 (1976), pp. 69—120; XXX/2 (1976), pp. 209—43; XXX/3 (1976), pp. 309—29.
24. Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, No. 289.
25. The text of this decree and the work itself are published by A. O. Ivanovskii, *Man'chzhurskaia khrestomatiia* (Manchu Reader) (St. Petersburg, 1895), pp. 56—82.
26. *Anatomie mandchoue*. Fascimilé du manuscrit no. II du fonds oriental de la Bibliothèque royale de Copenhague, ed. par V. Madsen, text trad. par Vilhelm Thomsen (Copenhague, 1928), 15 pp., 90 pl.; "A Clod-Hansen. Die mandshurische Übersetzung von Bartholin's Anatomie", *Skandinavisches Archiv für Physiologie*, 18 (1906), pp. 321—22; J. B. de C. M. Saunders, F. R. Lee, *The Manchu Anatomy and its Historical Origin*. With annotations and translations (Taipci, 1981).
27. Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, Nos. 234—254, 262—264.
28. Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, Nos. 255, 256, 291.
29. Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, Nos. 257—261.
30. M. Cohen, N. Monnet, *Impressions de Chine* (Paris, 1992), pp. 118—9.
31. G. Stary, *Opere mancesi in Italia e in Vaticano* (Wiesbaden, 1985), Nos. 55, 56, 61, 62, 63.
32. J. Kolmaš, *Karel Slaviček, SJ. Listy z Číny do vlasti. A jiná korespondence s evropskými hvězdáři (1716—1735)* (Praha, 1995). Tab. 4—7 and commentary.
33. For the calendar controversy see L. Kessler, *K'ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch'ing Rule. 1661—1684* (Chicago—London, 1976), pp. 58—64.
34. H. Walravens, "Vorhersagen von Sonnen- und Mondfinsternissen in mandjurischer und chinesischer Sprache", *Monumenta Serica*, 35 (1981—83), pp. 431—84.
35. See also W. Franke, "Patents for hereditary ranks and honorary titles during the Ch'ing dynasty", *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 7, fasc. 1—2 (1942), pp. 38—67; H. Walravens, *Catalogue of Chinese Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine* (London, 1994), Nos. 197—199.
36. W. Simon, H. G. H. Nelson, *Manchu Books in London* (London, 1977), 1.34—1.41; Puyraimond, *op. cit.*, No. 293.
37. *Cent-cinquantième de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales. Histoire organisation et enseignement de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales l'ivantes* (Paris, 1948), p. 7.
38. T. A. Pang, "Catalogue des livres mandchous de la bibliothèque du Musée Guimet" (with the introduction by F. Macouin), *Arts asiatiques*, 51 (1996), pp. 150—5.
39. H. Cordier, "Les études chinoises sous la Révolution et l'Empire", *T'oung Pao*, XIX (1918—1919), pp. 59—103; H. Walravens, *Antonio Montucci 1762—1829. Lector der italienischen Sprache, Jurist and gelehrter Sinologe* (Berlin, 1992). — Han-pao tung-ya shu-chi mulu, 42.
40. For explanation of this sign see M. Wiers, "Zu mongolischen und mandchurischen Akten und Schriftstücken des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung* (Sankt Augustin, 1983), p. 15, footnote 49.
41. For Erdeni-bakshi see A. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, 1943), i, pp. 225—6.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

Val. Polosin, E. Rezvan

TO THE CD-ROM EDITION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ARABIC BIBLE

A month ago Decadi Publishers Ltd Oy (Helsinki, Finland) started distribution of the first issue of the CD-ROM Series "Asiatic Museum. Treasures from St. Petersburg Academic Collection of Oriental Manuscripts" attached to the journal *Manuscripta Orientalia*. Within the frames of this series the publication of the "Secret Visionary Autobiography" of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617—1682) was prepared by Dr Vladimir Uspensky. It provides a great deal of new information indispensable for students of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism. The first judgments prove that the new publication of this outstanding specimen of Tibetan spirituality was met with interest by our colleagues.

The second CD-ROM publication is expected to contain a three-volume manuscript of the Arabic Bible, which is of great importance both from the textological and codicological points of view. The manuscript (D 226) is preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. It pretends to be the earliest and, at the same time, the fullest collection of Biblical texts written in Arabic.

Usually, the Arabic manuscripts containing the texts of the Scriptures were not lying in the scope of interests of specialists in Arabic studies, being analyzed mostly within the aims of Oriental Christianity research. But it occurs sometimes that the interests of the scholars working in both of the fields meet owing to the special features of this or that manuscript. The St. Petersburg Arabic Bible appears to be such a manuscript. The circumstances surrounding the history of the text seem to be of much interest. To begin with, in 1925, Father Alberto Vaccari, Professor at the Istituto Pontificio Biblico, published his study of the Vatican manuscript containing the text of the Arabic Bible (call numbers ar. 467 and ar. 468) [1]. This manuscript was of prime importance, as it was used as a base for the famous Rome edition of 1671, which for the first time fully presented the printed text of the Arabic Bible. Father Vaccari succeeded in establishing the provenance of the Vatican manuscript. It was ordered by the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Eliano and executed in Țarābulus (the Lebanese Tripoli) in 1579. Giovanni Battista Eliano had a task to find the full text of the Arabic Bible in order to prepare the first printed edition intended for distribution among the Arabs. As Fa-

ther Vaccari has discovered, the Bible brought back to Vatican by Giovanni Battista Eliano was transcribed from a manuscript, **part of which** (the Second Book of Maccabees) was, in its turn, copied out in 1238 from the original executed in Antioch in 1022.

By the time of Vaccari several manuscript Arabic Bibles containing different parts of the Scriptures text were known. Furthermore, the investigations of Vaccari enabled him to come to the important conclusion. He regarded the Vatican manuscript of 1579 to represent the first codification of the text of the Arabic Bible. He also thought that different parts in the Vatican codex were copied from different originals.

It was in the same year of 1925 that the important article of Father Vaccari was read by I. Yu. Krachkovsky. Only one year earlier the Russian scholar published his description of a three-volume Arabic Bible which was transcribed in 1238 from the Antioch original of 1022 [2], so he immediately paid attention to the abundance of similarities in the Vatican manuscript and the St. Petersburg one.

After testing the text of the St. Petersburg manuscript against two photographs of the folios of the Vatican codex, I. Yu. Krachkovsky disputed Vaccari's conclusion. In an article entitled "The original of the Vatican manuscript of the Arabic Bible" the scholar noted: "Even if we put aside a rather serious written evidence for the translation of the whole text of the Bible into Arabic, which was made in the ninth century, the decisive argument would be the very existence of **original of the Vatican manuscript**, which was transcribed in 1238, **came to our days and is stored now in the Asiatic Museum (D 226)**" [3]. If the suggestion by I. Yu. Krachkovsky on the St. Petersburg Arabic Bible is right, which seems to be most probable, the St. Petersburg codex is 340 years older than the Vatican one, though it is not easy to challenge the priority of the Vatican codex widely accepted now [4]. It should be added also that the St. Petersburg manuscript is considered to be the oldest Arabic arrangement of the Biblical texts within one version.

Most part of the St. Petersburg manuscript (the whole corpus of the "Old Testament") was copied from the Antioch original of 1022 by one monk Pimen in Damascus in A.D. 1235—1238. The manuscript bears a lot of notes of its own and readers, which are helpful in restoring its his-

٢٥
 قدس رب الكل بالجلا. وافصل لسان نيقنود المناق وامرهم ان يقطعونه ويخرجونه لطبوع السما
 وبرى المبعوض ثالوا بين طيبي الصيخرا وسجروا كلهم للرب صاحب السما الجبار وقالوا امازل هو
 الذي حفظ مكانه لئلا يتجسّن. وانه سب جسّد نيقنود من النجومه وارب وعرفت لخر الشان
 انحاس معونه الرب وانهم تعاهروا المشوع القلب انه الى قط لا ينبتا دكر هذا اليوم ٥
 وريتم هذا اليوم في ثلثه عشر من اذار الذي هو الشهر الثاني عشر من اجل هذا يدعوا لسان انبيا من قبل
 يوم واحد لنام مودحى كدلا هو لا تمهيت على هط نيقنود. ومن هذه الاثمه احدها الهل
 المدنيه المتضعين وايضا اناس الان امسكت كلمتي وان محسن مقاتلي تركيات هو لا هذا هو
 ارادنى انا ايضا. واركت ايضا انفتت شيئا وتقدمت قلته على نسيبه الشان ايضا الشرب الخمر
 وحله والما وحله لكانا ردين فاما ان هو من جهما للشم والماجينيد فرج القلب وتم النعمه هكذا
 ايضا ركسات الاقاويل تعرج قلوب الذين سمعوه ٥

ابوها هنا كان الزاع من السرا الثاني ولربنا دلا هنا الحمد والمنه على ذلك
 كثيرا دائما

ونقل من نسخة لسب بمدينة انطالياه الرسول الشريسيه ٥
 تبايع سبته الفوجسماه ولسن كراينا ادم
 وكان الزاع من هن النسوة العرا الاوسط من شباط سنه
 سفالف وسع ما نوسه واربعين لاينا ادم
 والس مع الله دايمنا وعلينا رحمة امين

قوله

٩٨٣

ان يصيف هلاك شجون وعروج واصحابها ثم يقطع كلامه عند انتهائه الى ذكر نزولهم في عمل باب
 وابتداء السفر هـ

تختصر السفر الرابع من التوراه بعون الله
 ونيايكم

وعلى بني يهودا اخشون بن عميناداب. وعلى
 بني اسيلخر شنساك بن صوعر. وعلى بني
 زبولون اليك بن طون. وبني يوسف على بني
 افرايم اليشع بن ميهوده. وعلى بني منشا جميل
 بن فوصور. وعلى بنيامين ابيده بن جرعون
 وعلى بني جاد الياساف بن عزوال. وعلى بني
 نفتالي اجيدع بن عيان. هؤلاء وصناديد الجماعة
 وعطما اسباط ابايهم وروسا الوفي بني اسرائيل
 ثم انطلق موسى وهرون هؤلاء القوم المعدون
 باسمائهم فجمعوا الجماعة كلها في اول يوم من الشهر
 الثاني فعدوا بيوت ابايهم وكل قبائلهم باسمائهم
 من عشرين سنه فما فوق ذلك برؤسهم
 كما امر الله موسى فعدهم في ثيه سنينا ٥
 فكان بن زوبيل جراسر اسراييل والاهم في
 قبائلهم لبيت ابايهم باسمائهم وعدد رؤسهم
 كل ذكر من عشرين سنه فما فوق ذلك
 كل حامل سلاح في بني اسرائيل فكان عدد
 سبط زوبيل سنه واربعمائة وخمسة وبع
 وبني شمعون لنفسهم لبيت اسمهم وقبائلهم
 باسمائهم وعدد رؤسهم من عشرين سنه
 وما فوق ذلك كل حامل سلاح في بني اسرائيل



السفر الرابع من التوراه
 سفر العدد
 وهو سنه وعشرون اصحاحا
 الاصحاح الاول

وكلم الله موسى وقبه الزمان في ثيه سنينا
 في اول يوم من الشهر الثاني في السنه الثانيه
 من خروج بني اسرائيل من ارض مصر وقال احص
 عدد رؤس جماعة بني اسرائيل كلهم لعشائبرهم
 وقبائلهم وبيوت ابايهم بعدد الاسماء من عشرين
 سنه واعلى من ذلك كل حامل سلاح في بني اسرائيل
 وعلمت واطاك هرون لقبوهم وليخر معل
 من كل سبط رجل هو اسراييل ابيه وهو اسما
 الرجال الذين يقبون معكم على بني زوبيل اليسوع
 بن شارور وعلى بني شمعون صوبيل بن صوده

Fig. 2

الله
المجلى

طرح في هذا الكتاب وختم معانيه وداعى لصاحبه
بطول البقا وعلو الارتفاع وعمل الخطا الجرم القوي في
النهى مكارهين بمدينه حاه لله وهو نيل فضل كل
من تامله له الاسطر الحفوه يدعو كانه القبر
بالمغوه ليكون له نظيره كذا الواعد الصادق
في مواعيله وهذا الكتاب المبارك برسوخانه
الحذوم المكرم للوقر المبجل المحترم الخائف من
الله تعالى العالم بوصاياه لتفقه المرح العزير
والركن الحزين حليل الساده العا ونديم الفلاسفه
والحكما الشيخ الموقر عيسى بن محمد الجوم السبع
الفقيه موسى مرتبنا وهو مختص مرتبه
لنفسه ولاولاده بدينه طرابلس الخ
بكل ارفاهه عن مال كالدوام سرفه ام خيل
عليه بجلده طاب الله لرحمة عن مال كد يكون
ذلك الشخص تانبا كان محروم مفروض من كذا
الله وغضبه وسخطه يكون خلا عليه
ومفروض من الجامع العبد ومطل من هبه
سبح ومن في القبر ويكون حط مع
صالي السبح والويل من في القبر ذلك حبه
ذلك وحبره بار اللسان يعبر في ايام المراكه
سبعه الان سبعه وسون لدم المواقي السبعه
شهر رمضان شهره ثمانه سون وسبعه عمه
اخذ الله العاقرة في سبعه سون ٥

الله
المجلى

طرح في هذا الكتاب وختم معانيه وداعى لصاحبه
بطول البقا وعلو الارتفاع لعقري رؤسا الهننه
نفا يوحى كرم من قاروا وعاد و يوسر كل من نص
في هذه الاسطر الحفوه يدعى كانه بالنعوذ بحا زبدت
ذلك الواعد الصادق في مواعيله وهو برسم
مخدوم منا شيخ المكرم المحل الموقر المحترم الخ
لسه علي العالم بوصاياه لتفقه شيخ عيسى بن
الشيخ موسى مرتبنا وهو مختص مرتبه
مبارك عليه وهذا الكتاب المبارك بنسبه الجوم السبع
كتب العتق والحديث وهو موند لحاظ
طرابلس الخ فصل يفرغ عن كذا او يفرغ او يسفر
وتخفه او يتحل بحيا شيطان وخفيه يكون محروم
مؤثر من كذا السبح من السبع محرم للذم ورحمة
وكبر خضع يودع لاداع وسين السبح وصالي المسيح
ومعدانان رايزوم والويل من الويل من في القبر
ذلك وكنت تانبا من كذا السبح
شهرين الثاني سنة سون لدم المواقي السبعه
انضال السلام للوفقه طاب شهره ثمانه سون
شهره وسبعه عمه واجبره سون لدم المواقي السبعه

الله
المجلى

الله
المجلى

Fig. 3

٤١٢
 وقال لهم لا تخافوا من الكلدانيين القهرا في الارض
 واحطوا بملك بابل فيخس البحر. وفي الشهر السابع
 حاسم عيل من شنباتا من اسمعيل من ذرع المملكة
 وعشرون رجلا معه. فقتلوا حزقيا ومات. و
 ايضا اليهود والكلدانيين الذين كانوا معه بصيفيا
 وقام جميع سعب الارض من الصغير حتى الكبير
 وجميع رؤوس الجيوش فارتضوا مصر لانهم فرغوا
 من الكلدانيين. وفي سنة اثني عشر في شعبه

وعشرين من الشهر من ذرع ملك بابل في السنة الاولى
 التي ملك رفع راسه من ارض ملك هوذا واخرجه
 من السجن وسلك معه حزقيا ورفع كونه فوق
 كرسي الملوك الذين معه في بابل. وبذل البوس
 اساره واكل حزقيا قدامه دايما جميع الايام
 في حياته وعلى ما يدته دايما يعطاه من قدام
 ملك بابل في كل يوم كالايام
 حيا

في تدعي اسرائيل
 من تحب الطاعة و...

تم كتاب سفر

ملوك بني اسرائيل ويهوذا

تسعيه رعوثة المايه

وليسمى عند العبرانيين قابا واحدا

رحم الله النسخ والناقل لان نقل هذا الكتاب مضبوط
 نوعا بالنسخة الى غيره من النسخ وهو اصح من جميع الكتب
 المنقول الى العربية اذ بها العبد الجديد فانه اصح من الاصل
 المطبوع في حلب قديما وفي ما يرضنا الشور حديثا ومن
 كانه النسخ الموجوده خطأ فزعم انه على نسخة علي بن
 حور وهو من ملوك المسلمين
 اللهم انك تعلم
 مطر ال...
 سب
 ذلك

Fig. 6

tory. In particular, for some time the manuscript was held by a certain 'Isā b. Mūsa and his descendants. In 1618 Sulaymān b. Jirjī *al-kātib*, the founder of the famous literary family of al-Yazījī, donated it as a *waqf* to the Belemend monastery (in the vicinity of Tripoli), where it was stored till the end of the nineteenth century. In 1913 this manuscript, along with a collection of Arabic Christian manuscripts, was gifted to the Russian Tsar Nicholas II by Gregory IV, the patriarch of Antioch, in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty. In 1919 it was transferred from the Tsar's library in Winter Palace to the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences).

Unfortunately, despite the St. Petersburg manuscript was thoroughly described, it was not studied in full. It should be mentioned that not all of the scholars agreed with I. Yu. Krachkovsky that not only the Book of Maccabees in the manuscript but the whole "Old Testament" was copied from the Antioch original of 1022. Even the fact that the Vatican Arabic Bible was copied from the manuscript preserved in St. Petersburg was questioned by G. Graf. The latter held Vaccari's opinion that the Antioch original was the photograph of the Book of Maccabees solely [5].

One should bear in mind that the discussion on the both Bible manuscripts took place not in the very favourable political conditions. I. Yu. Krachkovsky could use the St. Petersburg manuscript and was able to collate the text of the St. Petersburg codex with the Vatican one only against the two above-mentioned photographs. Meanwhile, his op-

ponents were familiar with the Vatican codex, but knew practically nothing of the St. Petersburg manuscript of the Arabic Bible which was not available to them. In their investigations they could employ only the photographs from the third volume of the St. Petersburg manuscript. As they pointed out, "in spite of the repeatedly efforts it was impossible to receive from Leningrad the photographs of the first two volumes" [6].

Now, for the first time, the CD-ROM facsimile edition makes the St. Petersburg manuscript accessible in all its entirety, thus giving the fascinating possibilities to resolve the old scholarly dispute and to re-assess the whole volume of existing material in order to solve a variety of textological and cultural problems.

The new IBM / MAC hybrid CD-ROM contains the full contents of all three volumes (around 1,600 pages presented in colour). The material is organised along the usual patterns of the arranging of a book and has its hierarchical structure. The software includes the capabilities for quick and careful search, presentation and study of the material. Friendly interface allows to organize the screen and adds to the standard Windows functions some original (Zoom picture, etc.). It is supplied with the sound track — fragments from the Orthodox liturgy in Arabic. We do hope that the new edition will provide not only new scholarly possibilities to conduct textological, codicological, and linguistic research but will also enable all those interested in manuscript heritage of the Orient to get in touch with the real masterpiece of manuscript tradition of the Arab Christians.

Notes

1. A. Vaccari, "Una Biblia araba per il primo gesuita venuto al Libano", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, X/4 (Beirouth, 1925), pp. 79—104.

2. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Arabskie rukopisi iz sobraniia Grigoriia IV, patriarkha antiokhiiskogo (kratkaia opis')" ("Arabic manuscripts from the collection of Gregory IV, patriarch of Antioch: a concise description"), *Selected Works* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960), vi, p. 428, Nos. 1—3 (first published in 1924).

3. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Original vaticanskoĭ rukopisi arabskogo perevoda Biblii" ("The original of the Vatican manuscript of the Arabic Bible"), *ibid.*, p. 473. In the passage cited I. Yu. Krachkovsky is referring to his article "O perevode Biblii na arabskiiĭ iazyk pri khalife al-Ma'mune" ("On the Arabic translation of the Bible at the age of caliph al-Ma'mun"), *Khristianskiiĭ Vostok*, VI (1918), pp. 189—96.

4. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Città del Vaticano, 1944), i, pp. 89—92.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Manuscript D 226, vol. 3, fol. 13b, 30.5 × 23.0 cm, the colophon of the scribe Pimen.

Fig. 2. Manuscript D 226, vol. 1, fol. 74b, 30.5 × 23.0 cm, one of the miniatures (9.0 × 7.5 cm) illustrating the book of Numbers. Evidently the scribe planned to execute at least 26 miniatures, but only ten (in black and white) were actually made. Moreover, five of them had been cut later.

Fig. 3. Manuscript D 226, vol. 1, fol. 56b, 30.5 × 23.0 cm, two reader's notes dated by 1538 and 1561 and containing details of the manuscript history.

Fig. 4. Manuscript D 226, vol. 1, fol. 96b, 30.5 × 23.0 cm, the beginning of the book of Deuteronomy with the note of Iġānāniyā, grandson of the Antioch patriarch Makariyūs, dated by 1672.

Fig. 5. Manuscript D 226, vol. 1, fol. 116a, 30.5 × 23.0 cm, folio with colophon containing the date 1236 and several other details of the manuscript history.

Fig. 6. Manuscript D 226, vol. 1, fol. 210b, 30.5 × 23.0 cm, folio with the note of Athanāsīyūs, metropolitan of Beiruth, dated by 1806 and evaluating the importance of the manuscript.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

A. M. Kabanoff

ON AN ANONYMOUS MANUSCRIPT HIGASHI EZO IKO

The collection of pre-modern Japanese manuscripts and wood-block prints in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains a lot of valuable materials on the Hokkaido and Sakhalin (Karafuto) Ainu. Some of them are well-known and exist in hundreds copies throughout the world, but a few items are rare or unique. The *Higashi Ezo iko* ("Posthumous Notes on the Eastern [Hokkaido] Ainu") is an anonymous and undated manuscript (call number C-201, 19.0 × 26.5 cm) not mentioned neither in the *Kokusho sōmokuroku* nor in any other available catalogues. Unfortunately, this is only a part (vols. 7—8) of a larger work describing the life and customs of the Ainu who dwelt in the eastern part of Hokkaido [1]. By its content one may conclude that the author had in his disposition a number of drawings executed by a first-class artist who supplemented them with his own explanations. All the illustrations are in colour, printed on single attached leaves, the explanatory text providing a link between them. Volumes 7 and 8 contain correspondingly fifteen and seven illustrations.

The copy was initially registered in the Russian Geographical Society on 15 May 1881 as received from A.V. Grigoryev and preceded by the inscription: "The *Higashi* (or *Shingashi*) *Ezo ikoo*. Parts 7 and 8 (I was not able to find other parts). It is unknown by whom and when it was written. It belongs to the Tayasu family related to the Tokugawa clan (the former Shoguns). It was bought by chance in Tokyo in the spring of 1880 for two yens (= 4 Russian roubles)". The exact date when the manuscript came to the Asiatic Museum (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) is unknown.

Volume 7 (*attush no bu*) deals with the traditional Ainu technique of making clothes. There are nine types of Ainu garments: *jittoku* [2] (*shitok?*), *sharambe* (B. *sarambe* — soft clothing from birch fibres), *chimippu* (B. *chimip*), *attush*, *itarappe*, *mōuri* (B. *mouru*), *rapuri* — feathered dress (B. *rap* — feathers), and *keru* (cloth made of grass). According to the author, *jittoku*, *sharambe* and *chimippu* are festive garments worn only on special occasions, they resemble Japanese embroidered brocades. They are said to be brought from Santan (the River Amur region) or from the Karafuto island. *Attush* and *itarappe* are produced from elm-bark fibres and are widely used by the Ainu.

The technique of making the specific Ainu clothes called *attush* is described in detail. *Attush* is produced from

elm (*opew*; B. *at-ni*) fibres turned into threads. The inner bark of elm-tree is peeled off by men and women in the early spring. Then plates of bark are soaked in water (often in swamps or hot-springs) till they become soft. This process is called *atsuon* (see *plate 3*). Afterwards they are separated into thin layers and each layer is divided into thin threads. The process called *ahunkaru* (B. *ahun* — a thread) is shown in a picture where a woman winds up threads into balls (*kataki*; B. *katak*) while watching a baby in a cradle (see illustration on the front cover). Weaving called "making the *attush*" (B. *attush-kar*) (see *plate 2* on the back cover) is also performed by women who use a primitive loom consisting of a wooden frame with bamboo sticks set into its opposite edges (see *plate 1* on the back cover). With special combs called *kakarikemu* (B. *ka* — thread; *kar* — to wind up; *kem* — needle) they unwind warp and woof threads of elm fibres across the spikes until they are formed into firm, rather narrow pieces of cloth (B. *attush-karu-okere*) which are later sewn together. The ready garment is called *attush-waka-waka* (B. *ukau-ukau* — to sew). The sewing of sleeves — *tosha waka-waka* (B. *tusa ukau-ukau*) — requires special attention. The garments, embellished with ornamental embroidery called *attush-miambe*, were not intended for everyday use; clothes from animal skins and bird feathers were used instead.

The *mōuri* (B. *mouru* — chemise) is a sack-like sort of undercloth. According to the description, it was made from skins of sea-lions and worn mostly by women. *Uri* (B. *uru* — skin) are made of bear-skin, deer-skin, and skins of other animals. *Rapuri* (feathered dress) (B. *rap* — feathers) was mostly made from wing-feathers of cormorants (B. *uriri*). There is also a description of garments made of grass (hemp) — *mosei*, *nihai*, *munhai* and *kūso*, similar to the traditional Japanese straw raincoats (*mino*).

The volume 8 (*ukaru no bu*) gives a description of the popular Ainu custom called *ukaru* (B. *ukara*), which was a sort of amusement ("beating with clubs"), a way to settle grudges between men, and a punishment for offenders. In the last case it is applied in a more severe manner. This volume deals also with different punishments used among the Ainu for offenders of community regulations (like adultery, intruding houses or theft). Sometimes a grudge was settled by a club fighting between two disputants, and the victor was granted the right to take all "precious



Plate 3



Plate 4

objects" (swords, utensils, and ornaments held in a household for generations) belonging to his adversary. In other cases a criminal was beaten with a club on his bare back by the man who had suffered from his actions, as it is shown on one of the illustrations. The Ainu preferred not to apply the capital punishment believing that a partial disfigurement of a body and pain are more harsh than death. The *itorasuke* (B. *etu-raske*) habit of cutting one's nose as a punishment for a very serious crime, like adultery, was a common practice. In doubtful cases some types of ordeals (B. *saimon*) were in use as well. A person was put into a cauldron with hot water or forced to immerse a hand into boiling water.

There are drawings of six types of clubs — *shuto* (B. *shitu*) used for fighting and games called *ukaru* (or *ukikkara*), which are supplemented with detailed explanations (see *plate 4*). Any sort of hard wood could be used to make *shuto*-clubs of different shapes. Some of them, those used as a defensive weapon during travels, are the "mallet-like" (*ru-oi shuto*). There were *ji-ayu-ushi-shuto* (*ji/shi* — wart [B. *eremutambu*]; *ayu* — to cut with pain [B. *ayo* — an exclamation of pain]; *ushi* — to bear [B. *ush* — to put on]) called "warted clubs", because they were supplanted with notches similar to warts and were used for fighting. *Akamu-shuto*, or cart-like clubs (B. *akamu* — ring), had

their upper part carved in a form of several rings that resemble cart's wheels. *Raraka-shuto* (B. *rarak* — smooth; slippery) are smooth clubs without any special notches. *Kejuoi-shuto* (*ke* — fur + *fu* — thin; sparse; + *oi* — thing) was a special kind of clubs bound round with thin stripes cut from the skin of sea-animals, mostly of sea-lions (*todo*; B. *toto*).

The descriptions are interesting not only from ethnographic point of view, they have certain linguistic value as well. The anonymous author provides a number of etymological explanations of terms (not always corresponding to the standard meanings of the Ainu words given in dictionaries) that might be taken as an evidence of his first-hand knowledge of the Ainu vernacular. Japanese transcriptions of the Ainu words in the text are in some cases slightly different from the corresponding Hokkaido or Sakhalin equivalents that may be explained either by the author's poor knowledge of the vernacular or by dialectal variations. The information provided by the manuscript, along with perfect linear illustrations, though fragmentary, is of great importance for the reconstruction of many aspects of the life and customs of the Ainu people in the pre-modern age. One may only hope that the missing parts of this unique manuscript still survive unnoticed somewhere.

Notes

1. O. P. Petrova and V. N. Goreglyad in their *Opisanie iaponskikh rukopisei, ksilografy i staropechatnykh knig* (A Description of the Japanese Manuscripts, Xylographs and Old Printed Books), fasc. 1 (Moscow, 1963), p. 167, erroneously state that the work describes the Kuril Islands Ainu, but the content disproves it.

2. The Ainu words are given as they are transcribed by the Japanese author. The corresponding more conventional Ainu forms have been borrowed from J. Batchelor's *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* (Tokyo, 1926), and in that case are preceded by the letter B.

Illustrations

Front cover:

Winding up threads into balls, 17.7 × 26.5 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. The Ainu loom, 38.2 × 26.5 cm.

Plate 2. The weaving process (*attush-kar*), 38.2 × 26.5 cm.

Inside the text:

Plate 3. The soaking of elm-bark fibers (*atsuon*), 38.2 × 26.5 cm.

Plate 4. The club-fighting game (*ukaru*), 33.5 × 26.5 cm.

ORIENTAL ICONOGRAPHY: SEMANTICS

K. F. Samosyuk

THE GUANYIN ICON FROM KHARA-KHOTO

The Guanyin icon from Khara-Khoto, now in the Hermitage Museum [1], is the only painting I know where the image of the Bodhisattva of Compassion is combined with what appears, at the first glance, as a “genre” scene: Tanguts dancing and playing musical instruments by an open grave, horses standing near the grave-pit, a banner (*bunchuq*) behind them. This composition has no parallels among any Chinese or Central Asian pieces of art I know [2]. This article presents an attempt to explain the semantics of the icon within the contexts of the Buddhist artistic and religious tradition and the Tangut culture.

The Tanguts, people of Tibetan origin, settled the area of the Great Bow of the Yellow River in the eighth century. In 1038 [3] their State developed into the Tangut empire — Xi Xia. The geographical position of the Xi Xia State was the crucial factor determining the main trends of its cultural life. China, the Kithan empire of Liao (916—1125), later the Jurchen State of Jin (1115—1264) bordered upon the Tanguts on the east and north-east. Tibet, which in the eleventh century again made its appearance in the cultural and religious sphere of life, was their southern neighbour. On the west there were the Uighur khanates which flourished in the tenth—eleventh centuries, and on the north — the Tatar and Mongolian tribes and the Turks, from which the Miñag people received the name of Tangut. The territory of Ordos and the Gansu corridor had a complicated history. It inherited much of its culture from the lands north of the Great Wall inhabited by Chinese, as well as by Turks and different other tribes.

The Tanguts themselves well realised their intermediate position. It developed long before the tenth—eleventh centuries. In the lands to the west of Dunhuang, in East Turkestan, there came into being a culture different from anything else. Influenced, in its turn, by the cultures of India, Iran, Sogd, and China, it retained its own individual face. It is noteworthy that the collection of archaeological finds from the site of Khara-Khoto fully reflects the context of the Tangut culture as well as all its Central Asian features.

The artistic style, the sources of which are traceable in the ninth and tenth-century art of Dunhuang and which could be better defined as Central Asian, is the style of a group of Tangut works of art. It is interesting to follow what combination of elements allows us to attribute some work of art to this group. It is easy to notice a kind of

eclecticism on the level of purely superficial combination of Chinese, Tibetan, and other artistic features. Thus, for example, flat and bright backgrounds, not characteristic of Chinese taste, combine with a purely Song asymmetric “one-angle” composition of the icon “Reception of the Righteous Soul in the Pure Land of Buddha Amitābha” painted after Chinese patterns, which is represented in the Hermitage Khara-Khoto collection (accession numbers X 2410, X 2411). Besides, Buddha Amitābha and *dhyāni*-Buddhas in the upper row, depicted in the Tibetan style, combine with purely Chinese interpretation of “The Pure Land” and with figurines of monks looking as if they were borrowed from Tibetan *tangka* (the patterns decorating the backs of the thrones on which they are seated are similar to Tibetan ones, see X 2419, X 2335).

The second type of combination of the Tibetan and the Chinese is a purely mechanical inclusion of the Chinese iconography elements into the Tibetan-style icon. For instance, in the icon “The Medicine Buddha” (X 2332) the Bodhisattva of the Sun is holding a pre-Buddhist Chinese Sun symbol — a three-footed raven, and the Bodhisattva of the Moon — a disk with the image of the Moon Hare. Chinese iconography of planetary deities (a non-Chinese cult) is repeated in the Tibetan “*Maṇḍala* of Planets” from Khara-Khoto. Chinese, Tibetan, and native elements coexist in the icons of the Guardian of the North and of the God of Wealth Vaiśravaṇa-Kubera. A good example is provided by engravings from Khara-Khoto.

The third type of contacts between different cultural features is the technique of painting: a Tibetan-style *tangka* could be painted on silk — the material used by Chinese painters; or otherwise — a Chinese icon could be painted on cotton.

The fourth case is provided by those works of art, the perfect plastics of which organically accommodate elements of foreign decorative patterns, like the Tibetan-Nepalese “Green Tārā” woven in Tangut workshops and decorated with Chinese patterns in such a way that they do not break the impression of unity and harmony of the whole (X 2362).

The question arises if combination of elements of different cultural traditions is possible not only on the formal artistic level, but on the more profound level of their meaning. This very article presents an attempt to explain the contents of the Guanyin icon from different aspects —



Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3

Chinese, Tangut, Kithan, and Turkic, as well as to provide interpretation, when possible, of every detail and to demonstrate its non-incidentality character.

By its style the icon belongs to the Chinese artistic tradition (see *plate 1*). The figure of the Bodhisattva asymmetrically shifted towards the right is seated on a rock in the *lalitāsana* posture. Guanyin is represented as a man, not in the female form later accepted in China. He is wearing a crown with the Buddha Amitābha in the centre — *huafo*. A pond with lotuses is depicted before the rock. Behind the Bodhisattva's back there is a regular-shaped rounded *mandorla* representing the lunar disk, the iconographic feature of the Shuiyue, the "Water-Moon" embodiment, i. e. of the Moon reflected in Water. The Bodhisattva is represented against the background of the rock and bamboo. To the left of him, on a five-step stone pedestal there is a *kunḍika*-bottle set in a six-petal glass bowl. The bottle holds a willow-branch. To the left of the figure of Guanyin there is a shrub with red and white peonies. In the upper left corner the companion of Guanyin — Shancai-tungzi, Indian Sudhana — is represented (see *plate 2*). These motifs and their iconography constitute the Chinese stratum of the icon [4].

The origin of the Shuiyue-Guanyin image remains unclear and the interpretation of its meaning is speculative. The accepted view is that similar compositions go back to the painting executed by the famous Tang artist Zhou Fang (730—800) [5]. He might be the actual creator of the composition not directly connected with the text describing the appearance of the Bodhisattva. Zhang Yangyuan, who wrote his "Notes" half a century after the death of the artist, used the character *chuan* ("to create") instead of the usual *hua*, which he applied when describing works of art.

The popularity of the image at that time is confirmed by the verse by Bo Jui (772—846) — "In Praise of the Picture "Bodhisattva Moon-Water" [6]. I fully accept the interpretation of the meaning of the "Reflection of the Moon in Water" image in the Buddhist context as of the symbol of the illusory nature of the world [7] and in the Chan school context. However, considering the independence and the great popularity of the Guanyin cult in China, the appearance of the new iconography of the Bodhisattva in the eighth century could be explained from the point of view of the Chinese Taoist culture. *Shui* ("water") and *yue* ("Moon") in the system of Taoist symbolism are the signs of the female principle *Yin* and of the night when the full Moon is shining. Such understanding of the image could be possibly one of the reasons for the effeminisation of Guanyin on the Chinese soil [8].

The Guanyin icon was ordered by a respectful son, who is represented in the icon, to commemorate his late mother, as the inscription on the banner from Dunhuang (now in Musée Guimet [9]) testifies. Professor Yu is citing the story of one Qu Fengda, who lived in the eighth century and read *sūtras* in memory of his late wife on the seventh and on the hundredth day, as well as on the first and the third anniversary of her death. The "Shuiyue Guanyin" *sūtra* was read by him on the seventh day [10]. It is noteworthy that besides the three paintings mentioned above Water-Moon Guanyin also appears, in the same iconographic and compositional schemes, in two engravings described by Prof. L. N. Menshikov [11]. They were believed to protect from "the eight evils" (TK-90, see *fig. 1*) and from execution (TK-117). In that way the Shuiyue-

Guanyin's representation was connected with the cult of the dead relatives and was thought to protect from misfortunes, so there is nothing new found here with regard to this particular iconography.

The banners from the Dunhuang sealed cave demonstrate one more iconographic type of Guanyin functioning as a bodhisattva showing the way — Yinlu pusa [12]. In this case the function of Guanyin is the same as in the icons with the "Reception of the Righteous Soul in the Pure Land of Buddha Amitābha", where Bodhisattvas Guanyin and Dashizhi meet the believer in his other birth and convey him to the "Pure Land". M. L. Pchelina interpreted the Shuiyue-Guanyin from Khara-Khoto as Yinlu pusa, that is "The One Who Shows the Way" (translation by M. L. Pchelina) [13]. The presentation of Yinlu pusa includes a banner with a staff (or with no staff). A lotus stem is serving as a shaft in the last case. Prof. Whitfield notes that the banner originates most possibly from the west. It is *bunchuq* of the nomadic Turks. In our icon from Khara-Khoto an oversized *bunchuq* is shown behind the horses.

A similar banner—"bunchuk" is held by the "black horseman" in an illustration to the "Sūtra of Ten Kings" from Musée Guimet [14], who is the herald of the Lord of the Underworld. He is thought to save some of the sinners from the tortures of Hell. Also, an icon from Musée Guimet, reproduced in the exhibition catalogue "Serinde, Terre de Bouddha" (No. 252b), depicts the Bodhisattvas Guanyin, Dizang (Kṣitigarbha) and the Ten Kings. As it was demonstrated by Dr J. Gies, the part of Dizang in this rare composition was to "liberate" the souls going through the Ten Kings' judgement, while the part of Guanyin — to inspire hope in the future being reborn in the Pure Land of Amitābha [15]. The pairs of banners from Dunhuang, which are held by standing Bodhisattvas-Guanyin, seem also to be one of the attributes of Yinlu pusa — "The One Who Shows the Way" [16].

The images of Shuiyue-Guanyin and Yinlu pusa are purely Chinese creations, which have no direct parallels in the texts of the *sūtras*. The Khara-Khoto Guanyin possibly presents a contamination of two iconographic models having neither iconographic nor textual equivalents. So the image of Shuiyue-Guanyin Bodhisattva in its embodiment of "The Reflection of the Moon in Water" sitting on the Potlaka mount is the primary one for the interpretation of the Khara-Khoto icon. The function of Guanyin — to serve a guide to the "Pure Land" of Amitābha — is connected with the death of a righteous person and with the memorial feast. The other function of the Bodhisattva, the most usual one — to give children and to help in childbirth — is related to life [17].

It is possible to suggest that the dual nature of the image related to death and life is reflected in the colour of the peonies. White is the colour of mourning, of virginity not yet awoken to life and fecundity, of sleeping "non-life". Red is the colour of marriage and love. In the Shijing, in the verse "In the third moon, at the time of Picking Orchids festival" a young man is giving his beloved one peonies as the sign of love and life [18]. The Chinese word for "peony" consists of character *mu* ("male plant") and *dan* ("red"), i. e. a red peony is the symbol of the male principle *Yang*, of life and fertilisation. A white peony is represented in another icon from Khara-Khoto [19] depicting two women-donators, their family-names — Bai and Gao. Lady Bai is offering white peonies to Bodhisattva (though in the

inscription it is said that she is offering peach blossom — *taohua*), the symbol of virginity of the bride Gao. In icon X 2438 one of the donors is offering red peonies to Guanyin [20]. It is not quite clear how peonies were introduced into the iconography of Bodhisattva Guanyin in Khara-Khoto, was the offering of peonies connected with some text or remarkable event or only with their Chinese symbolism.

The willow branch in a vase becomes the attribute of “Water-Moon” Guanyin, later an independent embodiment of the Bodhisattva. In the opinion of Yu Chun-fang, the willow branch replaced the lotus of Avalokiteśvara in the fourth century after the publication and translation by the Tiantai school of one esoteric *sūtra*, where Buddha was explaining that one should invoke Bodhisattva Guanyin by offering him a willow branch and pure water [21]. In the Chinese tradition willow symbolised spring; besides that it had the ability to protect from evil. Growing by the water, it symbolised, as well as water and the Moon, the female principle [22]. The willow branch was merged into the Buddhist iconography possibly due to its magic attributes.

As mentioned above, in the Guanyin icon the open bowl and the bottle with the willow branch are set on a five-step “table” made of stones, the surface of each step being painted red. Is it by a pure chance that the table, which replaced in our icon the traditional “Chinese” rock with numerous holes, has this five-fold composition and is painted red? Or should it be regarded as a kind of an altar or a variant of the custom known in the steppes, as well as in Tibet, to set piles of stones surmounted with shafts by cross-roads? Unfortunately, we are unable to answer this question [23].

As to Guanyin — Water-Moon depicted in the icon, he is guiding the righteous one to the Pure Land of Amitābha. The righteous man burning the incense, who is invoking the Bodhisattva, is attended by a boy standing on a cloud. In the three-fold vertical composition of the icon this scene occupies the middle register — between the real earth and the Bodhisattva's place of dwelling (see *plate 4*).

The position on the cloud shows that the righteous one has already died, and that the icon depicts not the invoking of the Bodhisattva but the actual voyage to the Pure Land. The righteous is clad in a green robe decorated with large gold medallions filled with dragons — the imperial symbol [24]. He has a high headgear with folded sides and golden branch in front of it, and shoes. It should be mentioned that in six icons from Khara-Khoto (X 2531, 2400, 2436, 2438, 2416) noble donors are shown wearing shoes, unlike the Tanguts represented in our icon and in icon X 2456. The garments of the donor testifies that the person represented is one of the Tangut emperors. “Portraits” of the Tangut emperors are represented, in my opinion, also in several other icons [25]. It has been proven by Prof. L. N. Menshikov that the members of the imperial family and the emperors had been represented in the illustrations to the *sūtras* commissioned by them. The figure of the boy attending the emperor still remains unexplained. In engraving X 2531 from Khara-Khoto the emperor is also followed by a boy. The two boys-attendants do not look like servants: Chinese paintings usually depict servants serving their masters, i. e. performing some action clear to the observer. In both cases the boys are just standing, their hands folded. So far I can not suggest any interpretation of these figures.

So, the late righteous person in our icon appears to be the Tangut emperor, and the scene in the lower left part of the icon gains a special sacred meaning. As it was already mentioned, there are two horses standing by the open grave, two musicians and two dancers performing funeral rites [26]. It is noteworthy that the scene is represented as if it is taking place on the very edge of the earth: this small real space of the lower register of the composition is set off against the “space” of the upper world. It is depicted as if looked upon from above, from the point of view of the Bodhisattva. The motifs and attributes of the scene require a detailed interpretation. One of the dancers and the harpist [27] have a *tufa* hair-style — clean shaven back and crown of the head, a fringe in front and two locks above the ears. This hair-style was introduced by the first Tangut emperor and reformer Yuanhao in 1033. He borrowed this hair-style from the Kithans and obliged the whole population of the country — Tanguts, Chinese, Uighurs, and Tibetans — to shave their heads along this pattern. This icon provides almost the only example of *tufa* hair-style in the whole Khara-Khoto collection of painting. There are few examples of *tufa* in engravings from Khara-Khoto in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [28].

Two other personages, a dancer standing, his back to the observer, and a flute-player are shown in the icon, the first one has two plates or locks hanging behind, the second one wears a flat “Tibetan” cap. Both figures are characteristic of East Turkestan. In the “Portrait of the Tangut Emperor” mentioned above the attendants have similar flat caps with protective veils hanging behind. It is difficult to say how long the *tufa* hair-style was in existence among the Tanguts. I do not think it was very durable [29]. In other icons or engravings the Tanguts are shown either with loose hair or wearing hats. Besides, the reform of Yuanhao was an intrusion “from above” into the Tangut customs. The *tufa* hair-style is a weighty argument for dating the icon — after 1033 and before 1124 — the year of the downfall of the Kithan empire on which the Tanguts were dependent.

Turning to the horses standing by the edge of the grave, which are depicted in our icon (see *plate 3*), it should be said that a representation of a grave can be seen in a painting on the west wall of the Kaihua temple in the Gaoping region of the province of Shaanxi, but I have found no other representations of grave pits. The painting is dated to the Song period [30]. The horses are intended for a sacrifice. One of them, the white one, is greasing peacefully. The other one is black, big, with large head and short neck, prominent eyes, square nostrils and a specific mane. It has a rich harness — a mask [31] and a breastplate. The black horse is standing still. While there is nothing special about the white horse, the black one looks “festive”.

In the “New Code of Laws” of the Tanguts introduced in the second half of the twelfth century the sacrifice of a horse is mentioned twice. As sacred animals (along with bulls and cows) they were sacrificed to the Spirits of the Sky in the Old Imperial Palace. At the same time, special article of the Code prohibits to sacrifice horses to the dead [32]. There is no contradiction between the articles, because two different levels of sacrifice are meant. In the first case it is the sacred level, in the second — the common one. A law prohibiting to sacrifice horses most probably appeared because horses were the principal article of the trade of the Tanguts who followed their ancestral custom to



Plate 4

bury horses along with their master. The scene represented in the icon could mean either a violation of the law — because the emperor is going to be buried — or the event took place before the prohibition of the horse sacrifice.

As to the banner (*bunchuq*) which is shown in the icon behind the horses, it presents a very long shaft with an elaborately shaped pointed top and a red tassel, with a multicoloured ribbon running around the shaft. In the steppes *bunchuq* always remained the symbol of military authority [33]. The shaft is disproportionately high. In the composition of the icon it links the lower register — the earth — with the upper one, the realm of the Bodhisattva to where the righteous one is striving to get. The funeral rites are performed on his account. It is known also that among the Tanguts funeral feast was accompanied with music and dancing [34].

The semantics of shaft's representation in the icon needs some additional remarks. Noteworthy is the function of a shaft described in the "Chronicle of Xi Xia". According to it, if lovers committed suicide, their bodies were transferred to a rock upon which "a shaft one *zhang* high (3.2 m)" was set, and it was announced that the dead would "fly to the sky" [35]. In this case the shaft is not just indicating the place on the rock. It could be identified with a link between the earth and the sky, which enabled the dead to reach the sky. That was the way by which our "righteous emperor", led by Guanyin along the "road" — *lu*, was going to reach the sky. I suppose that this road is represented in the icon by the *bunchuq*. A *bunchuq*, or a banner, also high rocks or trees, could embody the so-called "external spirits" or the "seats of life". Even bodhisattvas have their own "external souls" or "lives". As R. Stein indicates, on the three hills of Lhasa, which are the seats of Bodhisattvas Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, three banners are set, known as the "trees of life" [36]. A physical connection between the earth and the sky was achieved in the Tibetan (and not only in Tibetan) [37] mythology by means of the rope *dmu*. It was also associated with rainbow [38].

In the Gesar epic, the hero of which belongs equally to Tibet and to Central Asia in the widest sense, including the Mongols, the expression "horse-wind" is applied to the deities of the vital powers. The "horse-wind" was represented as a banner. It bore the inscription: "The Master of the banner of victory, the "wind-horse", the great lord of the gods of warriors, the conqueror of the evil, the best of men, Gesar, be our mighty god of the people. Set the wind pillars towards the sky, fasten the rope — *dmu* of long life". In the same epic, in its Mongolian version, Gesar is ascending to the gods of the sky and to his grandmother by a ropeladder. Another episode deals with his sending his horse to the sky. The horse is carrying in its mouth the soul of Gesar's wife, i. e. it acts as a mediator between the earth and the sky in the situation connected with death.

It is known that horse-racing around graves were practiced among the Uighurs during the funeral feasts. S. P. Nesterov used the Kirghyz ethnographic materials to explain the ritual meaning of horse-racing by the graves immediately after the funeral, on the fortieth day and then a year later. The winner galloped towards the tent (*yurt*) of the dead, pulled the shaft of the banner from the earth, broke it and threw it into the fire. The act of breaking the shaft meant the end of the mourning period for the dead man's relatives, i. e. his soul was finally leaving this world.

The principal part in this ritual was reserved for the horse of which it was said that "he broke the banner of mourning" [39].

In that way, the representation of the *bunchuq*-banner and of the sacrificial horses in the icon reflect the Tibetan and Turkic or, better to say, the steppe stratum of the depiction.

The connection of the Tanguts with the mythological culture of Central Asia, with the steppes, was determined by the common environment and by regular contacts.

In the Turkic environment music, dancing, ritual merry-making as well as copulation were connected with the funeral cycle and funeral rites. Vital behaviour was supposed to avert death. Horses were killed on the day the man's death to enable his soul to reach the other world [40].

Thus, the Guanyin icon combines different features, borrowed from the cultures of the peoples surrounding the Tanguts, with some particular event from the history of Xi Xia. Chinese style, iconography, symbolism go with Tibetan. Central Asian in general, as well as with Turkic and Mongolian features (*bunchuq*, horses, grave), which were inherent, as it becomes evident now, in the Tanguts — Tibetans by their origin and "Central Asians" ("The Ordos People") by the place of their habitation. The cultural processes taking place among the Tanguts' neighbours — the Kithans — are also inseparable from the general Central Asian ones [41]. Considering this complex of cultural elements in the icon, I come to the conclusion that it is more proper to speak not about mutual influence — Turkic, Tibetan or Chinese — on the Tanguts, but about the unity and succession of traditions within the cultural sphere of Central Asia and the multiple orientation of the Tangut culture. This "many-sided" tendency became even stronger when the idea of the independent Tangut state, of "its own way", came into being. When making their own state and establishing its prestige among the neighbours the Tanguts required not only the Chinese cultural model, not only Buddhism as a vital element of State policy [42], the revival of their own traditions and mythology, but also the inclusion of themselves into the cultural sphere of the Central Asian peoples. S. N. Nekudov has demonstrated how the same process developed in similar circumstances among other peoples of the steppes [43].

Surely, one icon, even endowed with such a deep and complicated semantics, does not allow to make general conclusions. But there are other proofs of the cultural unity of the Central Asian — Ordos peoples. One can mention, for example, the white garments of the Tangut emperors, the same they had in Tibet and in the independent "Kingdom of the Golden Mountains" (founded in 905), the founder of which titled himself "The Son of the Sky Clad in White" [44]. Moreover, according to K. B. Kepping, the binome Bai Gao (White and High) of the name of the Tangut State was the name of a mountain [45]. It is known that in the Turkic tradition, "from the mythological point of view" the centre of the realm was often imagined as a mountain [46]. Therefore, one cannot exclude the possibility that the Tanguts named their State after the name of a mountain, following the Turkic tradition which we observe in the Kingdom of the Golden Mountains, as well as among the Kithans and the Jurchens. All this makes us conclude that the Guanyin icon from Khara-Khoto preserved in the Hermitage Museum could be regarded as an additional argument proving this cultural unity.

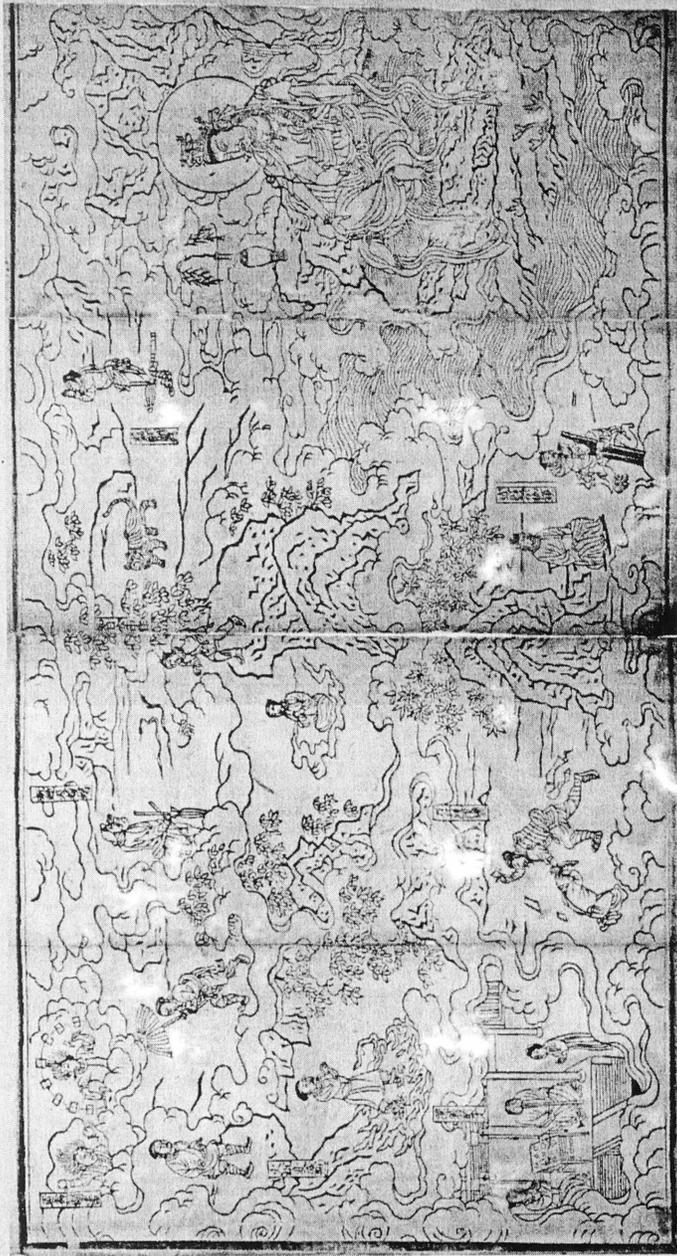


Fig. 1

Notes

1. No. X 2439, 101.5 × 59.5 cm, scroll on silk. The most recent publication is by M. L. Pchelina see an exhibition catalogue *Lost Empire on the Silk Road*, ed. M. Piotrovsky (Milan, 1993), No. 46. See also her article in the same catalogue "The Chinese style paintings from Khara-Khoto" (p. 91). M. L. Pchelina dates the icon to the Southern Song period (1127—1279). In her opinion, the iconography of Guanyin is eclectic, combining the features of Shuiyue — "Moon in Water", of the "Guanyin with a willow branch" and the "White-robed" Guanyin. The functions of the Bodhisattva, as defined by M. L. Pchelina, are those of Yinlu pusa — "Showing the Way". She also suggests that the principle deity here is Guanyin who is invoked to ensure a rebirth in the Pure Land of Buddha Amitābha.

2. The scene represented here is unique. However, it is worth to take notice of the representations of Bodhisattva Guanyin on other Tangut paintings where familiar historical and literary personages act as donors. These are icons and paintings with Guanyin where on the left of the deity appears the famous Tang monk Hsüan-tsang who in the seventh century made a pilgrimage to India. In the twelfth—thirteenth centuries in the *huaben* and *shohua* stories, created under the impression of his *Xiyu ji* ("Records of the Voyage to the West"), there appear episodes representing Hsüan-tsang and his companion, monkey Sun Ukung, see Duan Wenjie, *Dunhuang shiku ishu lunwen ji* (Gansu, 1994), p. 445: reproduction — in Shi Jinpo, Bai Bin, Wu Fengyun, *Xi Xia wenwu* (Beijing, 1988), Pl. 34. Hsüan-tsang is shown dressed as a monk, with his head clean-shaven. The representation of Sun Ukung leaves no doubt that he was an ape. This last one is significant, because in the Khara-Khoto collection there is an icon representing the same Bodhisattva and two donors offering red peonies (accession number 2438, see also *Lost Empire*, No. 47, p. 93). In 1993 Pchelina came to the same conclusion as Prof. Duan Wenjie, though the icon from the Hermitage shows not a monk with an ape, but an official with an attendant, the last one in no way looking like an ape, rather like someone from the lands of the Southern Seas. His appearance is exotic from the Tangut point of view — his skin is dark, his hair — blond. He wears shoes and a scarf. In my opinion, there is no way to tell definitely who the two companions represented in the icon could be. These are probably some real persons in some way helped by the Bodhisattva.

3. E. I. Kychanov, *Ocherki istorii Tanguskogo gosudarstva* (Essays on the history of the Tangut State) (Moscow, 1968), p. 132. See also Shi Jinpo, *Xi Xia wen hua* (Ch'angch'un, 1987); Ruth Dannel, *The Xi Xia. The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, 1994), vi.

4. Shuiyue Guanyin is represented in icons from A. Stein's collection, see R. Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: the Stein Collection in the British Museum* (Tokyo, 1982—1985), ii, Pl. 19, 52; from the collection of P. Pelliot, see *Serinde — Terre de Buddha* (Paris, 1996), Pl. 211, 268, pp. 279, 372. All are dated to the tenth century. In cave 237 in Dunhuang, in those of its parts which were painted after the Tangut conquest, i. e. after the 1030s, there are also two paintings representing Shuiyue Guanyin, see Shi Jinpo, Bai Bin, Wu Fengyun, *op. cit.*, Pl. 32. They are present in the Yulin caves of the Tangut time, see *ibid.*, Pl. 33, 34. In Khara-Khoto there are three paintings depicting Shuiyue Guanyin.

5. Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* (Shanghai, 1963), pp. 204, 67.

6. Duan Wenjie, *op. cit.*, p. 242. In the lexicon of the poet Bo Jui the word "Moon" occurs quite frequently. In his poem "In the Pavilion to the West of the Pond" we read: "The Golden Moon drowned in the autumn pond".

7. *Serinde*, p. 280; Chun-fang Yu, "Guanyin. The Chinese transformation of Avalokiteśvara", *The Latter Days of the Law*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Spencer Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 156—7.

8. The suggestion about the possibility of a Taoist interpretation of the Moon and Water was also made by S. J. Claude Larre in "L'esprit Taoiste des Peintures Bouddiques Chinoises", *Mahayanist Art after A.D. 900. Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia*, 2 (London, 1977), p. 85.

9. *Serinde*, Pl. 268, p. 372.

10. Chun-fang Yu, *op. cit.*, p. 156. Chun-fang Yu, who read this *sūtra*, notes that it contains passages from the "Dhāraṇī of Great Compassion" and does not present an independent work. It does not explain the iconography of the "Moon-Water" Guanyin. See also Chun-fang Yu, "Images of Kuan-yin in Chinese folk literature", *Chinese Studies*, 8/1 (1979).

11. L. N. Men'shikov, *Knizhnaia graviura v kitaiskikh izdaniakh iz Khara-Khoto* (Book-Engravings in the Chinese Editions from Khara-Khoto), forthcoming. I am grateful to L. N. Men'shikov for his kind permission to use his unpublished work. The engravings belong to the Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies: 1) TK 117 — the engraving is preceding the text of *Gao wang Guanshiyin jin*, though, according to L. N. Men'shikov, it does not illustrate the *sūtra* "On the High King Guanshiyin", it illustrates a foreword to the *sūtra* in this edition, which is missing in *Tripitaka*. The foreword tells how one man escaped from being executed by reading the *sūtra* one thousand times. The engraving shows a man with a sword broken into many pieces. The scholar dates the edition to the second half of the twelfth century; 2) TK 90 — according to Men'shikov, it dates from 1189. The engraving illustrates the same *sūtra*. Scenes are showing escape from different perils and misfortunes. Though the composition of the two engravings and the attributes of Bodhisattva are similar to those of the Khara-Khoto icons, there is no prominent circular aura characteristic of Shuiyue Guanyin around the figure of the main personage. Therefore, I cannot say if the engravings represent a popular composition — Bodhisattva on the Potalaka mountain — or it is Shuiyue Guanyin. In the catalogue *Serinde — Terre de Buddha*, Pl. 211, p. 280. Guanyin without any prominent "moon-aura" is defined as "Moon-Water" Guanyin.

12. Two banners from the British Museum are published by R. Whitfield, *op. cit.*, Pl. 9, 10. The third one belongs to Musée Guimet, see *Serinde*, Pl. 251.

13. *Lost Empire on the Silk Road*, p. 91.

14. *Serinde*, Pl. 251.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

16. *Ibid.*, Pl. 241, p. 320; see also A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan* (Berlin, 1912), p. 304, fig. 617. From the description of the wall-painting in the cave it is evident that it represented Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (Chinese Dizang), a tree with a ladder against it on the left and birds being let free. The tree and the ladder — a link between the earth and the sky — perform the same function as the banner on our icon. Birds (hawks) among the Kithans and Turks were symbolising human souls. Though we

know that the notion of "soul" is missing in the Buddhist teaching, primitive beliefs and folk traditions were penetrating into Buddhism and were accepted by it.

17. The archetype of Avalokiteśvara in Hinduism is Śiva, the god of creation and destruction, of life and death.

18. Shijing, *Izbrannye pesni* (Selected Songs), trans. by A. A. Shtukin (Moscow, 1957), p. 113; D. Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China. New Year and Other Annual Observances during Han Dynasty. (206 B.C.—220 A.D.)* (Princeton, 1975), p. 274. In the medieval Korean novel "Three Prophecies for Lady Sondok" it is told how the Tang emperor sent to the widowed and childless Queen of Silla a picture representing red, white and purple peonies. The flowers produced no scent — a hint on the loneliness of the Queen. "If a woman is really beautiful, men are roaming around; if a flower is full of odour, bees and butterflies hurry towards it". The symbolism of the colours is clear: red — the colour of life, white — the colour of death and mourning, purple — the colour of widowhood, see *Koreiskie predaniia i legendy* (Korean Lore and Legends), trans. by A. F. Trotsevich (Moscow, 1980), p. 114. I am grateful to Prof. Trotsevich for her referring me to this subject.

19. No. X 2435. *Lost Empire*, Pl. 49. The inscription is the following: *Baishi tao hua. Xinfu Gao shi yin jiang xiang* ("Lady Bai is offering the peach-blossom. The bride Lady Gao is burning the incense"). On this inscription see also K. B. Kepping, "The official name of the Tangut empire as reflected in the native Tangut texts", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/3 (1995), p. 27. Kepping is connecting the names of Bai and Gao with the official name of the Tangut State (Bai — "white", the female principle, Gao — "high", the male one). The interpretation of the name Gao seems to be somewhat complicated.

20. No. X 2438. *Lost Empire*, Pl. 47, see also note 2.

21. Chun-fang Yu, *op. cit.*, p. 154; Ding Fubao, *Foxiue daci dian* (Beijing, 1984), p. 1206.

22. The neighbours of the Tanguts, the Kithans, had a special ritual of shooting at a willow tree accompanied by prayers for rain. The emperor himself was shooting twice, the highest officials — once, see Ye Lungli, *Istoriia gosudarstva kidanei* (History of the Kithan State) (Moscow, 1979), p. 529.

23. R. A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization* (London, 1972), p. 206.

24. *Izmenennyi i zanovo utverzhdenyi kodeks deviza tsarstvovaniia Nebesnoe Protsvetanie (1149—1169)* (The Revised and Newly Endorsed Codex of the T'ien-sheng Era. 1149—1169). Text, translation from Tangut, investigation and comments by E. I. Kychanov (Moscow, 1988), i, p. 362.

25. K. F. Samosiuk, "Portrety tangutskikh imperatorov" ("Portraits of Tangut emperors"), *Abstracts of Papers in Memory of Academician B. B. Piotrovsky* (St. Petersburg, 1994); *Lost Empire*, p. 83—6.

26. This suggestion was made by T. V. Grek.

27. The harp belongs to the type originating from Iran widespread along the Silk Road. This type is represented beginning from the middle of the sixth century, it is of no significance for dating our icon. The following two things should be, however, taken into account: 1) the flute-harp duat, and 2) the bent handle of the harp attached to its side. Such kind of handles are not registered by Bo Lawergren, see "The spread of harps between the near and the Far East during the first millennium A.D.: evidence of Buddhist musical culture on the Silk Road", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, IV (Kamakura, 1994/95), fig. 3F, 4C, F.

28. Some of the engravings were described by A. P. Terentyev-Katansky in his book *Material'naiia kul'tura Si Xia* (Material Culture of Xi Xia) (Moscow, 1993), pp. 89—91. Fig. 8 is reproducing one of them. The Kithan origin of the hair-style is beyond doubt, see An Zhiming, "To the problem of the ethnic attribution of the ancient Chzhalaïnor burial grounds", *Inner Mongolia*, No. 5 (Wenwu, 1964), p. 42; Tamura Yusuzo and Kobayashi Tukiō, *Tombs and Mural Paintings in Ch'ing Ring Liao Imperial Mausoleums* (Tokyo, 1952—1953), ii, etc.

29. A. P. Terentyev-Katansky also comes to the conclusion that this fashion was not lasting, see his *op. cit.*, p. 90.

30. *Zhonggo meishu quanshu* (Beijing, 1988), xiii, Pl. 34, 38.

31. I am indebted for this example to M. G. Kramarovskiy.

32. *Izmenennyi i zanovo utverzhdenyi*, i, p. 436, article 329; iv (Moscow, 1989), p. 177, article 1362.

33. S. A. Pletneva, "Pechenegi" ("The Petchenegs"), *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR*, No. 62 (1958), p. 197; G. A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy pod vlast'iu zolotoordynskikh khanov* (Nomads of Eastern Europe under the Rule of the Golden Hord Khans) (Moscow, 1966), p. 35.

34. E. I. Kychanov, *Ocherki istorii*, p. 74.

35. *Xi Xia ji shi benmo*, composed by Zhang Jian (Guangxi, 1875—1908), cited after Kychanov, *ibid.*, p. 74. The Tanguts evidently had different funeral rites. The one mentioned above is similar to the Tibetan and Mongolian, when the corpse was left in the steppe.

36. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

37. Also in Central Asian and the Far Eastern mythology. In one medieval Korean novel the first ruler of the Karak state descended from Heaven on a rope of dark violet colour, see *Koreiskie predaniia i legendy*, p. 54.

38. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

39. S. P. Nesterov, *Kon' v kul'takh turkkoiazychnykh plemën Tsentral'noi Azii v èpokhu srednevekov'ia* (Horse in the Cults of the Turkic-Speaking Tribes of Central Asia in the Medieval Period) (Novosibirsk, 1990), p. 59. More remote associations are connected with the pair of horses in the icon representing two deities of the Turkic pantheon — "the god of roads on a skew-bald horse" and "the god of roads on a black horse". According to S. G. Klyashtorny, see his "Mifologicheskie suzhetny v drevneturkikh pamiatnikakh" ("Mythological subjects in Old Turkic monuments"), *Turkologicheskiĭ sbornik. 1977* (Moscow, 1981), p. 196, one of them gives a man "god's blessing — soul", the other is "restoring and arranging" the State. Both are the messengers of Tengri, the supreme god of the Old Turks. They are always travelling, connecting the upper and the lower world.

40. J. P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux d'après les documents écrits* (Paris, 1963), p. 169, cited after E. Tryjarski, *Zwyczajne pogrzebowe ludów tureckich na tle ich wierzeń* (Warszawa, 1991), pp. 172, 233.

41. Nekliudov, *op. cit.*, pp. 187—8.

42. On the role played by Buddhism in the making of the State, see Ruth W. Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High. Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu, 1996).

43. Nekliudov, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
44. A. G. Maliavkin. *Uigurskie gosudarstva v IX—XII vv.* (Uighur States in the Ninth—Eleventh Centuries) (Novosibirsk, 1983), pp. 57—8.
45. K. B. Kepping, *op. cit.*
46. Nekliudov, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

Illustrations

- Plate 1.** Bodhisattva Guanyin (No. X 2439), silk, 101.5 × 59.5 cm, the State Hermitage Museum.
Plate 2. Guanyin's attendant Shancai-tungzi (Skr. Sudhana), a detail.
Plate 3. Two horses standing by the open grave, two musicians and two dancers performing funeral rites, the scene in the lower part of the icon, a detail.
Plate 4. The righteous man, attended by a boy, on his way to the Pure Land of Amitābha, a detail.
Fig. 1. Guanyin protecting from "the eight evils". An illustration, on folios 1—4, to the *Guanshiyuintsing* (*Avalokiteśvara-sūtra*). Chinese xylograph TK-90 from Khara-Khoto, engraved in A.D. 1189, from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 44.0 × 23.0 cm.
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SYMBOLISM IN PERSIAN RUGS

It is a common mistake to assume that Oriental rugs can be identified by their designs or symbols alone. While it is true that certain symbols are closely associated with specific localities or weaving groups, it would take an exceptionally confident person to identify a rug without confirming their opinion by carefully checking the weave, materials, and dyes. This is especially true today, due to a substantial number of high-quality Persian copies coming onto the market from India, Pakistan, and the Balkan countries. This article attempts to discuss the most common design elements and symbols used in Persian rugs, their meanings, and the region of the origin. This discussion of themes and symbols will hopefully serve as an aid in the identification of Persian rugs.

The symbols and designs of the rug do give information about its weaver. What was she/he wishing to say through the selection of symbols and design? Were they selected purely for aesthetic reasons or were they influenced by factors in his/her personal life, culture, or religion? Or, perhaps, the weaver was trying to connect to the past by using symbols that hold ancient, traditional meanings.

Over the years many different design elements and motifs have been used in Persian rugs. Some have had special symbolic significance attributed to them. The mystique of Persian rugs owes a lot to the tales and fables that have been built up around the different design elements. Even though designs, motifs, and colors have little or no particular significance today, there are traditional interpretations associated with them. According to early historians [1], the tribes from whom the Saljūqs were descended used heraldic devices derived from zoomorphic and totemic motifs, as well as the *tamgha* (brand mark) employed by each tribe to identify their flocks.

Religious and political turmoils have had significant influences on the design and symbols of the Persian rugs. Symbols with a deep religious meaning for one group or sect may have a completely different meaning for another. A human or animal figure was rarely woven into a rug made by Sunnite Moslems; they were strict in their interpretation of Koran law forbidding the use of figures that represent living creatures [2]. However, D. Black argues that this is a misconception and although the ban is influenced by religion, it is rare, but not unknown, to find living forms represented on rugs made for use in the mosque. By contrast, the Shiite Moslems freely used figures of humans and animals woven in the prayer rugs used in the mosques.

The above analysis suggests that form, as well as the most basic organization of the rug, is influenced early on by theme.

One of the most common themes in Persian rugs is **Floral**. The image of a lush garden is one that is deeply rooted in both the religious and cultural heritage of the Persian design. In a region of the world where water is a precious commodity, it is perhaps not surprising that the garden, with an abundance of flora and fauna, is the Muslim symbol of paradise. The weavers were further inspired by their belief in the Islamic afterlife [3], which promises that the faithful will dwell in paradise. Floral themes are generally divided into three categories of **All over floral**, **Garden**, and **Panelled** design [4]. **All over floral** designs feature floral forms without the addition of a medallion, vase, or other primary motif. The **All over floral** design is not, strictly speaking, a design. Rather, it is the name used to describe any pattern that has no focal point. **Garden** design is usually based on the formal gardens of ancient Persia with their abundance of flora separated by pathways and ornamental panels. In **Panelled** design the field is divided into panels or compartments containing individual motifs.

The **Herati** design derives its name from the town of Herat (now in Afghanistan), where it is said to have originated. It is composed of a single floral head within a diamond framework flanked by four outwardly curling leaves. It is a motif widely used in Persia, and it is thought to symbolize the small fishes that, at the time of the full moon, come up just beneath the surface of the water to swim in the moon's reflection [5]. It is sometimes referred to as **Mahi** (Persian word for fish). The motif is usually employed in either an all over medallion-and-corner format. Rugs with **Herati** theme are made by numerous workshops throughout Persia, but are most closely associated with those from Khorassan, Kurdistan, Farahan, Hamadan, and Tabriz.

One more design, originated in Persia, is called **Boteh**. Its origins are extremely obscure, and there is still considerable debate as to whether it was first used in Persia or India. A. Jerrehian [6] suggests that it may have come to Persia via ancient Egypt as an ear of wheat, representing immortality. The **Boteh** motif is commonly used across the base of the prayer arch together with flowers as part of the symbol for the garden of paradise. In the green highland area of Seraband, located in the West-southwest of Persia, weavers seldom use any other pattern, so that the name Seraband has come to be used not only for pieces produced in this

region, but to describe the all-over **Boteh** design [7]. It derives its name from the Persian word for "a cluster of leaves" which it only partially resembles. Some researchers have suggested that it represents a stylized version of such diverse objects as a pine cone, a cypress tree, a leaf, a foetus, a male sperm and Zoroastrian flame [8]. We see the design in western tie, and there is no denying its international appeal.

Prayer rugs have been used in Muslim countries for centuries and are an integral part of the religious experience of the Islamic world. An orthodox Moslem is expected to pray 5 times a day on a clean spot facing the Holy city of Mecca. The design affords an extremely convenient way of ensuring that this direction is obeyed. In its simplest form the prayer rug is a rectangle design woven parallel to the edges of the rug. The most common version has its corners angled off at one end to form a pointed arch, a mihrab. Prayer rugs made by nomadic tribes or in small Persian villages often have centers which are either plain and undecorated or are filled with small stylized flowers and stars, or they may have a stylized tree of life, symbolic of the garden of paradise. According to Bosley, the **tree of life** represents eternal life [9]. This design is woven mainly in the towns of Isfahan, Qum and Tabriz where they produce remarkably lifelike trees. The trees grow from the base of the rug, starting just within its borders and continuing to fill the entire field. The leafy branches are spread and dotted with flowers and birds. Often there will be a stream or pool at the foot of the tree and, perhaps, a few small animals. The tree-of-life is based on one of the oldest and most universal of all religious and mythological symbols, pre-dating both Islam and Christianity [10]. References to a "tree-of-life" as the connecting link between the human and heavenly worlds are found in diverse cultures throughout Europe and Asia. In Islam it symbolizes the bridge between paradise, the world of men and the world above [11], and still retains a religious significance.

Vase is applied to a number of compositions using a vase or group of vases as the principal design element. The motif was probably introduced into Persia from China [12], where it had been used for centuries as a symbol of peace and tranquility and has subsequently been adapted intact by the Islamic weaver. It is a "one way" design, and the vase is shaped like a Grecian urn [13] which may or may not have handles. The vase is at the foot of the rug beneath an archway and is filled with flowers, usually with roses, with the tallest flower in the center reaching up towards the top of the arch — a variation of the tree-of-life design. Vase symbols generally are found in two forms, **Floral Vase** or **Zel-i Sultan**.

The depiction of people and animals is far less common in the East than it is in the West. **Pictorial** designs based on scenes taken from life, history, or mythology are largely confined to workshop rugs from Persia, in particular, Kerman, Tabriz, and Kashan. **Hunting design** features either human figures engaged in a formal hunt or predatory animals pursuing their prey and is frequently found in Qum and Isfahan rugs.

A **Medallion** design can be anything based around a dominant central form and is the most frequently encountered scheme in rugs. It is used in every conceivable shape and is perhaps the most popular single element in the Oriental rug repertoire. According to J. Summers [14], the center point of the medallion represents the eye of an all-

seeing deity. It is believed that the design is based on the lotus flower which has always been regarded as sacred, growing as it does with its roots in rank mud and its blossom turned to heaven.

Considering the theories concerning the origin of medallion, the solar symbols seem to be the earliest, together with certain zoomorphic signs. As D. Black believes [15], the traditional Asian ideas about the Universe seem to have developed quite naturally from simple observation. He argues that in very early times men, who watched the sun rise in the east and then pass overhead from east to west, acquired a sense of direction. Then, as they faced the rising sun at dawn with their arms outstretched in anticipation of a new day, the bilateral symmetry of their bodies would have made them aware of the other principal directions, north and south. This led to the drawing of cross-shaped designs to represent the four Directions and, by extension, the World itself. Then, later, when they thought of the four intermediate directions, the X upon the cross gradually developed into the symbol of an eight-petalled flower which has been used at the center of rug medallions to mark the focal point of Creation.

U. Schurmann [16] divided the medallions into two broad categories: medallion-and-corner and Amulet/medallion. **Medallion-and-corner** is sometimes referred to as the "book-cover" or Koran design evolved during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from leather covers used to bind the Koran [17]. This type of medallion was inspired by the inside of a mosque dome. **Amulet** possesses an overtly heraldic quality and appears to come from some ancient tribal emblem [18]. The Amulet Medallion is distinguished from medallion-and-corner schemes by the totemistic quality of the forms and frequent repetition of the dominant motif.

Following are the meanings of some of the symbols used in Persian rugs, meanings which have been passed down through thousands of years [19]:

The resting eagle — the high-mindedness of the spirit;
 The eagle in flight — good fortune;
 The hunting-dog — glory and honor;
 The leopard — bravery;
 The lion — power;
 The peacock — Divine protection;
 The phoenix — immortality;
 The sun — radiant light, lucidity;
 The tree of life — understating, truth;
 The blade of the sword — strength, virility;
 The heron — Divine grace;
 Feathers or entwined birds — conjugal happiness;
 The fish — undying love;
 The dove — peace;
 The camel — wealth, happiness;
 Cypress tree — life after death.

P. Liebetrau [20] suggests that many of these symbols may have held a particular meaning long ago, but, in all probability, they were simply meant to represent animals, flowers, fruits, and plants. The scholar further implies that with innumerable repetitions throughout the centuries, most of these motifs have lost any originally intended meaning they may have had. Each weaver changed them little by little to serve his/her own purpose. However, there are those, among the students of the symbolisms in Persian rugs, who take a different view.

Historians like Wilhelm von Bode [21] and Arthur Upham Pope [22], agree that the symbolism in rugs is almost unintelligible. As with all ideographics, the meanings contain variations and ambiguities. Each sign taken by itself can be translated after a fashion, but the association and combination of many of them, according to the mode in which they are set, is practically a lost language.

It should be added that nowadays a nomadic or a semi-nomadic weaver would tend to weave either what he/she sees, translating it into characteristic formats, or what he/she has been taught. The village weaver, on the other hand, typically weaves what is ordered, according to the cartoon. Each rug is a separate work of art and should be considered individually.

Notes

1. See *The Macmillan Atlas of Rugs and Carpets*, ed. D. Black (New York, 1985), pp. 26—41.
 2. J. Summers, *Oriental Rugs: The Illustrated Guide*, (New York, 1978), pp. 37—811.
 3. H. Haack, *Oriental Rugs: An Illustrated Guide* (London, 1960), pp. 32—9.
 4. L. Allane, *Oriental Rugs: A Buyers Guide* (New York, 1985), pp. 81—9.
 5. C. Bosley, *Rugs to Riches: An Insiders Guide to Oriental Rugs* (New York, 1980), pp. 68—77.
 6. A. K. Jr. Jerrchian, *Oriental Rug Primer* (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 37—8.
 7. See Bosley, *op. cit.*
 8. *Idem.*: U. Schurmann, *Oriental Carpets* (London, 1979), pp. 15, 27—8.
 9. See Bosley, *op. cit.*
 10. Allane, *op. cit.*
 11. See R. De Calatchi, *Oriental Carpets* (Secaucus, 1967).
 12. See Allane, *op. cit.*
 13. Bosley, *op. cit.*
 14. J. Summers, *Oriental Rugs: World Buyers' Guide* (New York, 1994), pp. 33—43.
 15. See *The Macmillan Atlas*.
 16. Schurmann, *op. cit.*
 17. Summers, *Oriental Rugs: World Buyers' Guide*.
 18. Schurmann, *op. cit.*
 19. De Calatchi, *op. cit.*; Summers, *op. cit.*; *The Macmillan Atlas*.
 20. P. Liebetrau, *Oriental Rugs in Colour* (New York, 1980), pp. 18—9.
 21. W. von Bode, *Antique Rugs from the Near East* (Braunschweig, 1958), pp. 81—2.
 22. A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (London—New York, 1938), iv, pp. 112—3.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Kıbrıs İslâm Yazmaları Kataloğu. Hazırlayanlar Ramazan Şeşen, Mustafa Haşım Altan / Cevat İzgi. Giriş Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu. İstanbul: 1415/1995, XLI, 86 pp. (in Turkish), LII, 630 pp. (in Arabic), 14 Plates (facsimile).

The Catalogue under review published in Istanbul contains a description of Oriental manuscripts preserved in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The text of the Catalogue is preceded by a Foreword of the President of the Republic, Rauf Denktaş, who is describing the cultural and political aim of the publication as an attempt to make the "new generations" acquainted with the important evidence of the presence of the Turkish civilisation on the island of Cyprus.

The Catalogue is the result of the project realised within the frames of the agreement between İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, directed by Prof. Dr. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, and Millî Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, directed by Mr Mustafa Haşım Altan.

The publication comprises an Introduction which deals with the history of Cyprus from the ancient times till the present day, written by Prof. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu. The main attention in it is devoted to the time after the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottoman Turks in 1570 when the island became one of the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Prof. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu stresses the fact that soon after the conquest numerous mosques, medrese, tekke of Şüfî brotherhoods and other Islamic institutions appeared on the island. The author of the Introduction mentions that the first information about the Oriental manuscripts preserved on Cyprus was given by Dr İsmet Parmaksızoğlu in his concise catalogue (including about 100 items) in 1964. The Introduction gives the description of the Cyprus mosques and institutions, where the manuscripts are preserved, and a list of donators of manuscripts.

At present the principal depositories of Oriental manuscripts on Cyprus are: a) Sultan II. Mahmud Kütüphanesi (at the time of the making of the Catalogue it was not available for general use) where the main part of the manuscripts preserved on the island is concentrated; b) Library of the Selimiye Camii; c) Millî Arşiv of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus; d) Library of the Laleli Camii.

The description of the manuscripts is made after the following scheme: i) full title of the work; ii) its sequence number in the Catalogue; iii) full name of the author, the

date of his death (both after the Hijra and after the European calendar); iv) volume number (if it is a part of some work); v) the incipit; vi) the close of the work; vii) collection mark and the work's call number; viii) layout; ix) the colophon; x) additional notes and records, if present, including *waqf* records; xi) bibliographic references.

The Catalogue is divided into two parts. The first one which includes the description of Turkish manuscripts is written in Turkish (in Latin transcription, for the exception of the incipit and close of the works, which are given in Arabic script). The second part, written in Arabic, completely repeats the main body of the Catalogue but for the description of Persian and Arabic manuscripts proper, which follow the general scheme.

The Catalogue describes 1,260 codices (about 1,800 works) from Sultan II. Mahmud Kütüphanesi; 200 codices (around 230 works) from the library of Selimiye Camii; 6 volumes from the library of Laleli Camii; and, finally, 68 codices (about 217 works) from Millî Arşiv. There are also the indices of authors and works' titles.

Of the whole number of about 2,255 copies of works 1,948 are written in Arabic, 211 — in Turkish, and 96 — in Persian. The most important manuscript collections belong to the libraries of Sultan II. Mahmud and Selimiye Camii, which contain rare or even unique manuscripts. Among the important Arabic manuscripts are, for instance, the work by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī al-Sharīf al-Hamadānī (d. 780/1378) *Kashf al-usrār fī rasam maşāḥaf al-amşār*. A comparatively old copy of this work transcribed in *ta'liq* in the fourteenth century belongs to Sultan II. Mahmud Kütüphanesi (No. 17, p. 21 in the Arabic part of the Catalogue). In the collection of the same library there is an old copy (of 19 Shawwāl 633/26 June 1236) of the vocabulary by the famous Arabic lexicographer Abī Naşr Ismā'īl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. 393/1002—03) titled *Kitāb tāj al-lughat wa şīḥaḥ al-'Arabīyya* (No. 583, p. 320). It is an explanatory dictionary of the Arabic language following the completely new system of arranging the material suggested by the author's uncle, al-Fārābī. It should be noted that a significant part of the Arabic manuscripts described in the Catalogue are religious works.

Among the Persian manuscripts there are writings of several well-known Persian authors like Sanā'ī (d. 1130—31) — a manuscript of 1580, Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. about 1273), Shabistarī (d. about 1320—21) — a copy of his Şüfī

poem *Gulshan-i raz* of 1455—56, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), etc. Of some interest are the copies of the famous *Mathnawī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī executed just several decades after his death (No. 1048, pp. 546—7). It is worth noting that though the authors of the Catalogue included among the rare manuscripts a copy of the *Dīwān* by poetess Jahān Khātūn, the contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ and a female representative of the Injū dynasty, copies of this work are present also in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı), in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), and in the University Library of Cambridge. As for the Cyprus *Dīwān*, it was copied by one 'Abd Kamāl Thānī in the seventeenth century (No. 1052, p. 549).

The description of the Turkish part of the catalogue is somewhat disappointing. Among the Turkish manuscripts we find practically no rare or unique writings. They are represented by well-known names and comparatively late copies. Of a considerable interest, however, are collections of *fatwās* dating to the seventeenth century, which can be regarded as a valuable source on the social history of the Ottoman Cyprus. These are *fatwās* by sheykhūlislam Yahyā Efendi (d. 1643), Bahā'ī Efendi (d. 1653), 'Alī Efendi (d. 1691), and others. Of the famous Turkish authors there are works by poet Sheykhī (d. 1430), by a representative of the 'ulamā class Ismā'il b. Ahmed

al-Anqarawī (d. 1630) whose works are well represented in the libraries of Cyprus, by the outstanding 'ulamā and authors Kemal Paşazade and Ahmed Yazici-oğlu.

It is to be regretted that the names of the Turkish authors and of their writings lack Arabic transliteration which would be of a help for the user of the Catalogue. It is also regrettable that in the descriptions' references there is no mention of the catalogues published in the former USSR. Unfortunately, the Catalogue is also lacking the technical information on the codices, i. e. information regarding the bindings, the paper, etc.

Nevertheless, despite these points the Catalogue under review is interesting not only because it has done the field a great service, but also because it provides valuable information on the development of manuscript collections on Cyprus after the Ottoman conquest. It should be noted that the Introduction by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, which precedes the Catalogue, provides priceless information on those who formed the cultural environment of the Muslim society of the island and made an important contribution to the preservation of this valuable manuscript heritage. The Catalogue will no doubt be of great use to all those who work on Oriental manuscripts.

I. Petrosyan

Peter Zieme. *Altun Yaruq Sudur, Vorworte und daserste Buch. Edition, Übersetzung der alttürkischen Version des Goldglanzsūtra (Suvārṇaprabhāsottamasūtra). Turnhout, the Brepols Publishing House: 1996, 230 pp., with 88 Plates. — Berliner Turfantexte, XVIII.*

The Old Turkic literary tradition and culture of writing reached its peak in what appears to be a sphere lacking in originality, in the field of translation. Meanwhile the impressive amount of translated texts, first of all of religious treatises — Manichaean, Buddhist, Christian — allowed the thin layer of Turkic intellectual elite, formed in the ninth—tenth centuries in the oasis-cities of Kansu and East Turkestan, to make acquaintance with the highest achievements of philosophy and literature of the ancient civilisations of India, China, Iran, and of Christian Orient. The process took a very short time, and the background of it was purely confessional. Needless to say, without a very high level of adaptation of a different linguistic mentality to the already established Turkic literary language and to the changing, in the course of several centuries, imperial standards of the *imago mundi* the development of that new civilised environment by the Turks would have been impossible.

In the confessional environment of the Uighur state of Qocho (ninth—thirteenth centuries), the first Turkic state with a developed urban culture, a special role was played by Buddhism. In those very lands, in the cities of the Turfan oasis, in the northern capital — Beshbalyk — and in the nearby Dunhuang, with their mature intellectual life, there developed the activities of a group of superb translators working in numerous Buddhist monasteries and convents. They started with translation into Turkic of those works which had already been translated from Sanskrit into Sogdian — it has been demonstrated recently by Jens-Peter Laut who analysed the text of the Uighur translation of *Maitrisimit*¹. Soon, however, in the tenth or at the beginning of the eleventh century Buddhist clerics of Turkic origin turned to the Buddhist texts translated into Chinese, incomparably more abundant and varied. The most famous and prolific of the creators of the Turkic Buddhist translations was Šingqo Šāli Tutung. He was the one who translated the most significant and popular Buddhist *sūtras*².

Sūtras addressed to monks and laymen were the most widespread texts of the Buddhist canon. They were most frequently translated into the languages of the Great Silk Route — Chinese, Tibetan, Sogdian, Khotanese Saka, Tocharian, Turkic, and later into Mongolian. Numerous manuscripts and blockprints with *sūtras*, more often in

¹ Jens-Peter Laut, *Der frühe türkische Buddhismus und seine literarischen Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 1—12. — Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, Bd. 21.

² On the personality and works of Šingqo Šāli Tutung see P. Zieme, "Šingqo Šāli Tutung — Übersetzer buddhistischer Schriften ins Uigurische", *Tractata Altaica* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp. 767—73; J. Hamilton, "Les titres šāli et tutung en ouïgour", *JA*, CCLXXII/3—4 (1984), pp. 425—37.

fragments, have been discovered in the oases of East Turkestan and Kansu. The reconstruction, on the basis of these fragments, of the whole picture of the Buddhist culture and of the corpus of Buddhist scriptures of Central Asia became the task and aim of several generations of European and Japanese scholars. A prominent place among them belongs to the orientologists of Germany and Russia.

One of the most popular texts in the Buddhist environment of China and Central Asia was *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* ("The Sūtra of Golden Light") which held a prominent position in the Mahāyāna tradition. Not being much different in its metaphysical core from the rest of the Prajñāpāramitā literature, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* is most explicitly treating such fundamental for Mahāyāna notions as emptiness (*śūnyatā*), the supreme Absolute of the world, the unlimitedness of the life of Tathāgata Buddha, the Bodhisattva method of meditation. But what was more attractive for a general reader, the "mass consumer" of Buddhist writings, was the narrative side of the *sūtra's* contents — colourful and rich in emotion numerous life- and quasi-historical stories not directly instructing the reader and listener in the rules of Buddhist ethics. These very stories, novels from everyday life and *avadāna*-legends, gave didactic persuasiveness and plainness, though illusive, to the most complicated philosophic speculations. The aphorisms, sayings and proverbs, numerous ritual prescriptions and "practical" magic formulae coming along with them were making the foundation of the confessional behavior, of the general notions about this world and of the ways of coming into contact with it. Due to that constant replenishment of the *sūtra* with episodes of this kind, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* was constantly swelling through the whole active period of its functioning in the religious practice, which is most clearly testified by the surviving Chinese translations of the *sūtra*.

The first of them, made at the beginning of the fifth century by Tan Wu-qian (whose Sanskrit name was Dharmakṣema), contained four *chuans* (in the Turkic translation of *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* the term *ülüs* — "part, section" is used, in European translations — the term "book"). The second Chinese translation, by Bao Gui (about A.D. 600) contained already eight *chuans*. As to the third translation (A.D. 703) by I-jing, it numbered ten *chuans*. Upon this last translation the Turkic version was founded, known as *Altun Yaruq Sudur*. That is what is written in the colophon of this version: "Scholar from Beshbalyk Šingqo Šāli Tutung translated [this] anew from the Tabgach (i. e. Chinese) language into the Turkic Uighur language"³. The translation was accomplished, according to J. Hamilton, in 1022.

Only one relatively complete copy of the translation is known, the one of 1687 belonging to the Manuscript Fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. One part of this manuscript was bought by S. E. Malov in one of the villages near Suchzou (Kansu), the other one was presented to him by the governor of Suchzou. Like the third Chinese translation the Uighur version consists of ten books preceded by a foreword (Old Turkic *sū* from Chinese *hsü*). Each book is divided into several chapters (Old Turkic *bölik*). The St. Petersburg manuscript has 675 folios, 22—25 lines per folio⁵. In 1913—17 the manuscript was published by W. W. Radloff and S. E. Malov in composed Uighur type. In 1930 appeared a partial translation of the text into German made by W. W. Radloff⁶. It turned up later that the publication of the Uighur text in composed type is not always satisfactory and that a facsimile edition was still required.

Another collection of Uighur texts containing fragments of manuscripts and blockprints of *Altun Yaruq Sudur* is the Turfan fund in Berlin. Unlike the St. Petersburg manuscript, the fragments from Berlin come from different copies. They were acquired at the beginning of the twentieth century in different parts of the Turfan oasis, and they go back to no less than twenty manuscripts and xylographs, the facts which are marked in a new publication of the foreword and the first book (two chapters) of *Altun Yaruq Sudur* recently made by Peter Zieme (pp. 15—9).

It is noteworthy that this new edition was preceded by a whole series of publications (some of them in Russian) by the author of the monograph⁷. This new and complete edition of the parts mentioned above crowned many years of meticulous study and comparison of dozens of fragments, their attribution, finding their place in the text, juxtaposition with the corresponding passages of the Chinese original, reading, interpreting and commenting, which required not only profound erudition in the field of Old Turkic philology, sinology and Buddhist studies but great scientific intuition as well.

First of all Peter Zieme undertook a facsimile publication of all fragments (including 139 identified by himself) of *Altun Yaruq* available in the Turfan fund, established their place in the structure of the work and provided the transliteration of the Turkic text of the published parts of the *sūtra*. After a circumstantial survey of the history of the study and publication of *Altun Yaruq* (special attention is given to the edition made by C. Kaya)⁸, the author gives a detailed characteristics of the foreword and the first book of the *sūtra* and then reconstructs the text, basing upon the St. Petersburg manuscript as well as upon the correspond-

³ K. B. Keping, "Dun'khuanskiĭ tekst predislovia k Suvarṇaprabhāsa" ("The Dunhuang text of the foreword to *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskoe issledovanie*, 1972 (Moscow, 1977), pp. 153—5.

⁴ S. G. Kliashstornyi, "Pamiatniki drevneturkskoĭ pis'mennosti" ("Monuments of Old Turkic writing"), *Vostochnyiĭ Turkestan v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov'e. Ėtnos, iazyki, religii* (Moscow, 1992), p. 326. Citing after the St. Petersburg manuscript; in the colophon of the Berlin manuscript the word "Uighur" is missing.

⁵ See also the description of the St. Petersburg manuscript in L. Iu. Tugusheva, "Rannesrednevekoviaia uĭgurskaia rukopisnaia kniga" ("Early medieval Uighur manuscript"), *Rukopisnaia kniga v kul'ture narodov Vostoka*, ii (Moscow, 1988), pp. 364—5.

⁶ *Suvarṇaprabhāsa (Sūtra of Golden Light)*. Text of the Uighur version, eds. W. W. Radloff and S. E. Malov. — *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XVII, 1—8 (St. Petersburg—Petrograd, 1913—1917); *Das Golden Sūtra*. Aus dem Uigurischen ins Deutsch überetzt von W. Radloff — *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXVII, 1—3 (Leningrad, 1930).

⁷ P. Zieme, "O vtoroiĭ glave sutry "Zolotoiĭ Blesk"" ("On the second chapter of the "Golden Light" *sūtra*"), *Turcologica. K semidesiatiletiu akademika A. N. Kononova* (Leningrad, 1976), pp. 341—7.

⁸ C. Kaya, *Uygurica Altun Yaruq*, giriş, metin ve dizin (Ankara, 1994).

ing parts of the text from the Turfan collection. Peter Zieme had the opportunity to study the St. Petersburg manuscript — in this particular case he was assisted by Dr Simone Raschmann. The text of the foreword and of the first two chapters of the first book is given in transcription and supplied with a German translation, textological and terminological commentary and, where it is possible, with the parallel text of the Chinese original. Results of the comparative study of the published texts are summarised in two concordances, the edition is supplemented with a glossary and a detailed terminological index systematically arranged, providing the reader with corresponding Sanskrit and Chinese equivalents of Old Turkic terms.

The discussion about the relation between the Turkic translation and the Chinese original (or originals) should probably be considered here in brief. P. Zieme has no doubts that the Uighur translation was made from the Chinese version by I-jing, which, however, is quite obvious. He definitely rejects the suggestion made by R. Finch that Šingqo Šāli Tutung could use the Sanskrit original of *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* or its Khotanese Saka or Kuchine (Tocharian) version⁹. However, it is still an open question

whether Šingqo Šāli Tutung could be familiar with some other Chinese translations. Citing the suggestion made by K. Röhrborn¹⁰ on the possibility that the Uighur translator might be familiar with some other version of I-jing's translation, or that he was treating the Chinese text too freely, P. Zieme comments that the foreword and the first book of *Altun Yaruq* provide no arguments for any suggestions of this kind (pp. 14—5). One should remember, however, that A. von Gabain in the review of the publication by Ch. Ehlers (*JRAS*, 1988, Pt. 1, p. 98) did not exclude the possibility that some passages of the Old Turkic text were going back to the more ancient Chinese translation of A.D. 600. What is evident, anyway, is that only studies as profound and thorough as the one demonstrated by P. Zieme (but covering the whole text of *Altun Yaruq*) will probably give the final answer to the question and terminate the discussion. Meanwhile the monograph by P. Zieme remains an exceptionally valuable work combining academic precision with outstanding intuition. It is a model of publication and textological study of the Old Uighur manuscript.

S. Klyashtorny

⁹ R. Finch, "Chapters XVI and XVII from the Uighur *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* (*Altun Yaruq*)", *Türklik Bilgisi Araştırmaları*, XVII (1993), p. 102.

¹⁰ K. Röhrborn, "Šūnyāvāda und Vijñānavāda. Zentralasiatische Resonanzen eines Schulstzeits", *Ural-Altische Jahrbucher*, N. F., Bd. 5 (1985), p. 132.

The Baburnama. Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor. Translated, edited and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston. New York—Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 472 pp.

It is not long ago that my review of the edition of *Bābur-nāma*¹ published in Japan by Prof. Eiji Mano² appeared on the pages of *Manuscripta Orientalia*. Now I hold in my hands a new edition of *Bābur-nāma*, which has just come out in the USA. It looks as if the destiny of some writings is to attract scholars' attention in the course of many years. The work by Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (1483—1530) is definitely one of them. This Muslim ruler, the descendant of Timūr, who ascended his father's throne in Farḡāna when he was eleven, became extremely famous among his contemporaries as well as later generations not only as a statesman but also as the author of memoirs known as *Bābur-nāma*. His own life, so rich in events, provided him with vast materials for his literary activities. At the very beginning of the sixteenth century Bābur was forced to flee away from Central Asia to Afghanistan under the pressure of nomadic tribes from Eastern Dast-i

Qibchāq (the modern steppes of Kazakhstan). Finally he settled in India where he founded a new Muslim state, the Empire of the Great Moghuls (1526—1858).

The personality of Bābur has long since attracted the attention of scholars. It was primarily due to his own work presenting the portrait of this Muslim ruler with expressiveness and details unusual in Islamic literature. The "Records" of Bābur depict an extraordinary and gifted personality and a prominent statesman. At the same time *Bābur-nāma* is a masterpiece of Turkic prose. Neither before nor after Bābur was there anyone writing in Central Asian Turkī with such expressiveness and force. There is no wonder that new and new scholars apply to his work, an important source on political, social and cultural life of Muslim peoples. *Bābur-nāma* in many respects a unique monument of literature, allows us to reconstruct the picture of the spiritual life of medieval Muslim society and to see a lively portrait of the outstanding personality, one of those who affected the course of historical events.

The publication of *Bābur-nāma* undertaken by Prof. Thackston is a translation of the text published by the same author in 1993³. The information about the translator

¹ See *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/1 (1996), pp. 67—8.

² Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābur-nāma* (*Waqā'i*). Critical edition based on four Chaghatay texts with introduction and notes by Eiji Mano (Kyoto, 1995); Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābur-nāma* (*Waqā'i*). Concordance and classified indexes by Eiji Mano (Kyoto, 1996).

³ Wheeler M. Thackston, *Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Mirza. Baburnama*. Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian Translation (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), i—iii.

presented in the publication is that "Wheeler M. Thackston is Professor of the Practice in Persian and other Near Eastern languages at Harvard University, where he has taught Persian and Arabic for over twenty years. He is the author of numerous books and articles on the languages, literatures and cultures of the Near East".

The translation of the text of *Bābur-nāma* (in the edition it occupies pp. 33—447) is preceded by a Foreword, written by Milo Cleveland Beach, the Director of the Freer Gallery of Art and of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and by three sections by Prof. Wheeler M. Thackston himself. These are Acknowledgements (p. 8), translator's Preface (pp. 9—19), the Chingizid and Timūrid Background of Iran and Central Asia (pp. 20—31). The translation is also supplemented with: Chronology, Selected Glossary, References, Index of Persons, Index of Places. The translation is provided with commentaries arranged on the margins of the main text. The book is well-illustrated, lavish Oriental miniatures, fine photographs (nineteenth—twentieth centuries) of different sites and fortresses described in *Bābur-nāma* are present in the edition.

A complete revelation of the advantages and faults of the new translation requires, naturally, a certain amount of time. I would like only, not going into details, to attract scholars' attention to the new edition. Judging from the first impression, Prof. Thackston's translation gives a very close rendering of the Turkic original. At the same time certain passages and statements made by him require corrections.

Thus, for example, Prof. Thackston is accepting the widespread in scientific literature but out of date view that Bābur's "Records" were first translated into Persian under Akbar (1556—1605). In this connection I would like once more to attract scholars' attention to the manuscript preserved in Tehran, in the Saṭānatī Library (No. 2249), which is dated by 935/1528—1529 and contains a copy of *Bābur-nāma* and the earliest known copies of Bābur's principal works assembled under one cover (*kulliyāt*) made in the lifetime of the author⁴. (He died on 6 Djumādā I 937/26 December 1530, the date December 21, 1530, indicated by Thackston is wrong). *Bābur-nāma* occupies the fourth section of the manuscript (pp. 457—1012). The Turkic text of *Bābur-nāma* written in black Indian ink is vocalised. There is also its literal translation into Persian, written in red ink between the lines of the Turkic text.

According to his own words, Prof. Thackston faced certain difficulties when translating dates of the Muslim

calendar into the European system. Since complains of this kind often appear in literature, I would like to cite here the corresponding passage by Thackston and to make comments on it: "Dates in the original text are given, of course, in Hegira years and months. ... Western dates have been calculated through the most reliable conversion tables and computer programs, but, as is usual in these conversions, the days of the week do not always coincide. For instance, Babur records "Wednesday the thirteenth of Dhu'l-Qa'da" in 932. That date converts to August 21, 1526, but, according to the tables, in 1526 the twenty-first of August fell on Tuesday, not Wednesday. There seems to be no way to reconcile these discrepancies, and the days of the week have therefore been left as Babur wrote them, on the assumption that he knew better than a modern conversion table what day of the week it actually was" (p. 16).

It is true that when we convert Hegira dates into the European system, there sometimes occurs a discrepancy within one day. It happens not because of some mistake made by the Muslim author or because of the faults of our method of calculation, but due to a different way of reckoning the time of the day in the Muslim and in the European tradition. To avoid such mistakes one should bear in mind that while in the European tradition a new day of the week begins at midnight and ends in 24 hours, in the Muslim tradition it begins immediately after the sunset and continues till the next sunset. In this way different parts of each day of the Muslim week coincide with two days of the European calendar. Thus, for instance, if some event took place on Wednesday, according to the Hegira date, it turns to be Tuesday when converted into the European calendar (see the passage cited above). It means only that the author is speaking about the event which took place on Tuesday of the European calendar (after the sunset), but, according to the Muslim calendar, it was already Wednesday. Such cases provide us with a rare opportunity to verify the chronology of the events up to several hours.

The translation of the "Records" of Bābur made by Prof. Thackston should be considered an important contribution to the study of the text of *Bābur-nāma*. I hope that the studies of the text, which were undertaken both in Russia and abroad, including the critical edition of *Bābur-nāma* made by Eiji Mano, provide a solid base for a more perfect scientific edition of the "Records". I do believe that one of the Russian scholars will soon undertake this task.

T. Sultanov

⁴ T. I. Sultanov. "O prizhiznennom avtoru spiske "Zapisok" Babura" ("On the copy of the "Records" of Bābur made in the lifetime of the author"). *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XI/III godichnaia nauchnaia sessiia LO IV AN SSSR*, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1985), pp. 72—6; T. I. Sultanov, "Obstoiatel'stva i vremia napisaniia "Babur-name"" ("The circumstances and the time of writing of *Bābur-nāma*"). *Tiurkskie i mongol'skie pis'mennye pamiatniki. Tekstologicheskie i kul'turovedcheskie aspekty issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1992), pp. 91—3.

V. D. Ushakov. *Frazeologija Korana*. Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 1996, 203 str.

V. D. Ushakov. *Phraseology of the Qur'an*. Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 1996. 203 pp.

Throughout the Islamic world the Qur'an is accepted as a sacred code embodying religious, legal, ethical, moral, social, and other regulations which are believed to have been given in a perfect, unsurpassed form and style. The Arabic language of the Holy Book, with its rhythmic, structure and enormous expressive ability, is regarded as the very speech of God as revealed through the prophet Muhammad. It has always played a significant role in the development (and the preservation) of written Arabic. Alongside pre-Islamic poetry, the Qur'an is the earliest written monument of Arabic literature and culture, and it begins a long and extremely rich tradition of belles-lettres, theology, and linguistics.

From the time of the great expansion of the Arab Muslim tribes and the founding of a huge Islamic empire, the Qur'an became a central and permanent object of medieval scholarly research. It was studied from a variety of points of view, and virtually all different aspects of the text were taken into consideration. The religious, legal, and social systems put forward in the Qur'an, as well as the systems of esthetics and rhetoric of which it makes use, have been the subject of works written over a period of many centuries, but special attention has always been paid to the language of the book. Medieval Arabic scholars have left us profound and detailed studies concerning different aspects of the linguistic merits of the Qur'an. They were interested in peculiar or rare words and expressions, and they studied thoroughly all phonetic, grammatical, semantic, and stylistic features and characteristics of the Holy Book, as well as the inimitability of its language.

Modern scholars also show a particular interest in both the language and style of the Qur'an. Applying new approaches and most modern linguistic methods, they make their studies, confirming or revising the ideas and theories of their predecessors. A number of recent investigations have been focused on the nature of the Qur'an's idiomatic expressions, word combinations, figures of speech, aphorisms, proverbs, and the like.

Dr Ushakov's book on Qur'anic phraseological formations is one of the most recent studies in the field and represents a significant step forward, since it not only summarizes the work made by traditional Arab scholars but also gives a new and well organized survey of the different kinds of set expressions in the Qur'an. The importance of the monograph lies also in the special attention it gives to the "style-forming" nature of various phraseological collocations and, in general, to the role of the system of figurative techniques in the Qur'an. In order to corroborate his views and his method of organization of the material, the author does not restrict himself only to Qur'anic expressions. He takes into consideration idioms, phraseological collocations, sayings, and proverbs which were common throughout the classical age of the Arabic language, from the sixth to the twelfth century A.D. In addition, Dr Ushakov often refers to the Bible and to ancient customs and beliefs of the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula to demonstrate how much in the Qur'an is a continuation of a long tradition. At the same time the author stresses

the enormous influence of Qur'anic phraseology on modern Arabic.

The book comprises an introduction and five chapters followed by a summary and a supplement. In his introduction (pp. 6—14) Dr Ushakov gives a short review of current approaches in modern linguistics to the study of phraseology (idiomatic expressions) and states his adherence to recent Russian theory in this area. He defines his goal as the study of the phraseology of the Qur'an both as text and as recorded speech. Thus he deals with various phraseological collocations, idiomatic word combinations and phrases, aphorisms, and proverbs providing the examples not only of written language but also of spoken one, with its special features. Chapter one (pp. 14—25) covers the problem of how classical Arabic lexicology and rhetoric treat petrified (fossilized) collocations and phrases, the ways they were created, and the importance of their correct usage. The author presents mainly the views of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī about the mechanisms of phrase formation. In chapters two (pp. 25—44) and three (pp. 44—100), the author gives a detailed structural and semantic analysis of phraseological units as such, nominal and verbal phraseological collocations and sentences, suggesting strict rules for distinguishing between collocation and sentence, a delicate and so far unresolved problem in Arabic.

Chapter four (pp. 100—27) is dedicated to aphoristic sayings of proverbial nature and to proverbs as such, while chapter five (pp. 127—55) deals with artistic similes. The author's analysis of Qur'anic phraseological collocations reveals the frequent occurrence of kinematic and somatic phraseological units, nominal and semi-idiomatic verbal periphrases, and extended artistic similes. These stylistic elements, especially the kinematic and somatic collocations, are primarily used to express the inner world of feelings, emotions, and experience, which are strongly connected with man's attitude towards religion. The author's observations on the semantics of the words preferred in Qur'anic phraseological collocations are interesting and helpful. Moreover, his detailed presentation of the different ways of structurally organizing sentences describing the same situation and his extended study of the synonyms rendering several abstract meanings in the Qur'an should be considered a contribution to the development of a new approach. Dr Ushakov also discusses how the use of semi-idiomatic periphrases, which express subject-object relations from different angles, enables a reader to assess situations and their participants differently. His study demonstrates that all these elements play a very important ideological and stylistic role in the text of the Qur'an.

The author of the book constantly points to the reasons behind the use of certain phrases in their more "literal" meaning, the repetitions, or, for example, the prevalence of imperative forms, relating them to the normative and prescriptive nature of the Holy Book. His observations are helpful in demonstrating, on the basis of linguistic (lexical, grammatical, syntactic) and stylistic criteria, the sententious and didactic nature of the set expressions in the Qur'an in comparison with those of poetry and "everyday life" from the same period. The difference between them, as Dr Ushakov stresses, is as well a function of the deep philosophical, esthetic, and religious content of the Qur'an, the expression of which also requires special stylistic tech-

niques. Non-Qur'ānic set expressions, as the author shows, are built on a more concrete and direct perception of the world.

The supplement (pp. 167—96) deserves particular mention because it lists most of the phraseological collocations in the Qur'ān and indicates where they occur in the text. All of them are translated.

Dr Ushakov's study, with its expanded linguistic and stylistic analysis of the phraseological aspects of the text of

the Qur'ān, is an important contribution to the elucidation of the role of figurative techniques in this remarkable piece of literature. The results and the conclusions he presents are interesting and important not only for the study of the phraseology and style of the Qur'ān, but also for further comparative and diachronic studies in the field of Arabic phraseology in general.

L. Torlakova



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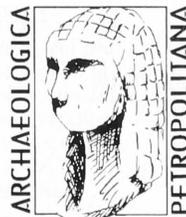
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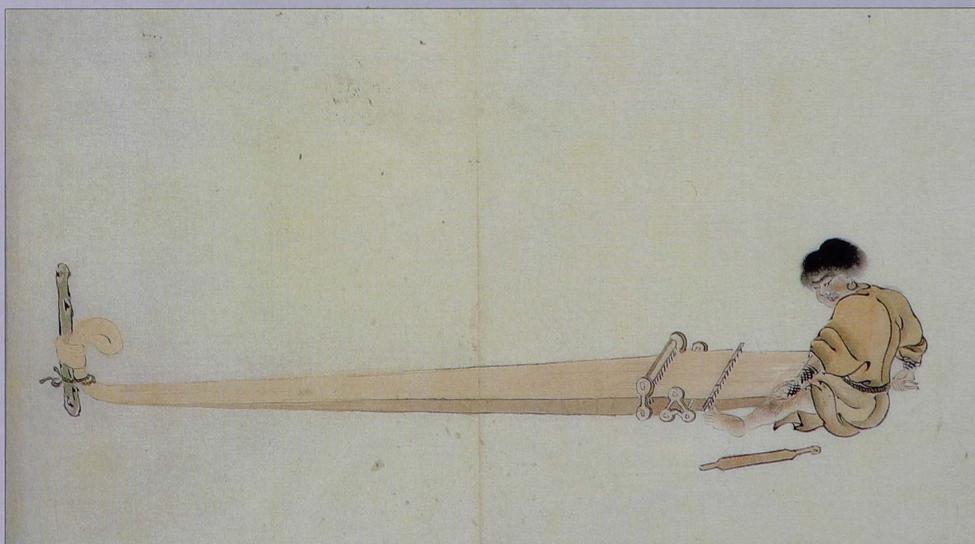


Plate 2