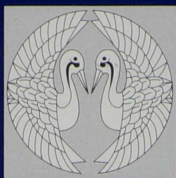


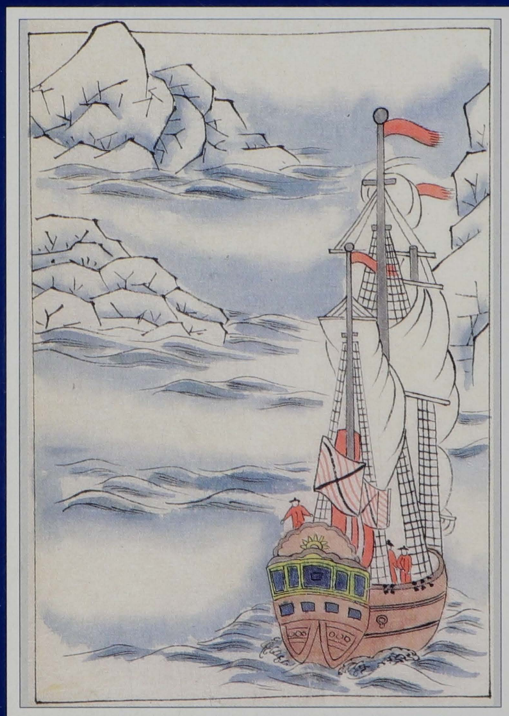
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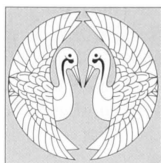
Front cover:

"A Ship Among the Blocks of Ice", a colour drawing from the book 2 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (C 191), fol. 14a, 14.0 × 20.5 cm.

Back cover:

"Theatre in the Capital of the Russian Empire", a colour drawing from the book 11 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (C 191), fols. 11b—12a, 32.5 × 26.5 cm.

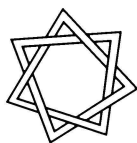
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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Val. V. Polosin

ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS: TEXT DENSITY AND ITS CONVERTIBILITY IN COPIES OF THE SAME WORK*

I

The copyist of manuscript C 2114 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [1] has made a mistake. Being probably distracted for a while from his work he then resumed copying of a passage already done by him earlier. Due to this mistake we, for the first time, get some definite material and an opportunity to discuss the regularity of individual handwriting in medieval Arabic manuscripts.

Fig. 1 shows two neighbouring pages of the above-mentioned manuscript. The right one (fol. 250b), starting from the last word of the thirteenth line and to the end of the page, contains the text repeated on the next page (fol. 251a) — it is crossed out by the scribe. Both passages take the same number of lines — 22, which makes our find significant as the first and so far the only evidence testifying to the stability and balanced density of handwriting within a single Arabic manuscript.

It is true, of course, that the volume of the text revealing this quality of handwriting is too small to make any far-going conclusions. Still, however, it is much more representative than it may appear [2], and we do not overestimate the proving value of the discovered twin-texts. It is enough at least to presume that the density of handwriting in Arabic manuscripts was well-balanced. As for the required full-scale system of arguments, one should admit that any search for longer twin-texts in manuscripts does not promise much. We may try therefore to test the reliability of our suggestion "from the opposite". Let us make several first steps in this direction.

Manuscripts C 958 and C 711 from the same collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies present two copies of the same work — *Durar al-hukkām fī sharḥ Ghurar al-ahkām* by Mullā Khusraw (d. 885/1480) [3]. One of them (C 711) is incomplete at the beginning, but the remaining text appears in the second copy (C 958) already from the 15th line of its first folio (compare figs. 2 and 3), which means that in manuscript

C 711 only one leaf is missing, with not more than 23 lines of the text [4].

Estimating by codicological methods the maximum possible size of the *lacuna* in manuscript C 711 (not more than 23 lines) we may verify the reliability of our suggestion on the even density of the manuscript text by calculating the size of the same *lacuna* arithmetically.

If the density of handwriting is really a constant value for each manuscript, then the density of two copies of the same text may be compared through linear (line by line) extension of these records — these last can be expected to be proportional in the same way as the proportion of their corresponding density. Let us verify this by calculations. The text taking the first 23 lines in manuscript C 711 (see fig. 4) occupies approximately 22.2 lines in C 958, running from line 15 of folio 2b to line 20 of folio 3a (see figs. 2 and 3), which means that the handwriting of C 958 is slightly more dense (1.036 times) than in C 711 ($23 : 22.2 = 1.036$). This value presenting the relation of two densities is the instrument for the further conversion of linear text volumes (lines, pages, folios), known by one manuscript (in our case — C 958), into corresponding volumes of a different copy of the same work (C 711).

The comparison of the initial parts of manuscripts C 958 and C 711 (see figs. 2 and 4) shows that the missing part of the text in C 711 takes 14 full lines and approximately three quarters of the 15th line in C 958. In all, it makes 14.75 lines. In C 711 it should have taken 1.036 times more space, namely 15 or 16 lines ($14.75 \times 1.036 = 15.28$ lines).

It is less than the normative volume for one page, for which the standard in C 711 is 23 lines, as the preliminary ruling of the MS proposed. The difference between the results of our calculations and the ruling requirements of the manuscript should not, however, undermine our trust in the validity of these calculations. It was evident from the start that the missing text could not occupy a whole page. The

* The present article represents the English translation of my paper published in Russian in *Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie*, V (1994), pp. 202 — 20, with two additional notes included.

explanation is very simple and obvious: probably there was a coloured pattern ('*unwān*') above the text occupying the space reserved for the first 7 or 8 lines. The beginning of the second copy of the same work is decorated with '*unwān*' (see *fig. 2*) [5].

The case considered here in confirmation of the convertibility of manuscript texts is, of course, elementary, i. e. it could have been interpreted with the same results without any calculations. We selected it to enable the common sense of the reader-specialist to follow the mathematical conversion of the text from one volume into another when discussing the method suggested here. Let us consider now a more complicated case, also, however, with a quite predictable size of the *lacuna*. Another pair of manuscripts from the same collection — C 2114 and C 2023 (see *figs. 5* and *6*) [6] — can be taken for this purpose.

The first of these manuscripts (C 2114) is defective — the beginning is missing. The number of the missing folios may be estimated by its pagination, which has been done twice at different periods. One is quite recent, probably done when describing the manuscript for the catalogue, the earlier one had been made either by the scribe or by one of its former Muslim owners, obviously before the beginning of the manuscript was lost. A sample of the two paginations can be seen on *fig. 1* at the upper left hand corner, where the present folio 251 of the manuscript is numbered as folio 271 in Arabic. The difference in numbers allows to suggest that 20 folios at the beginning of the manuscript are missing, i. e. two full blocks (*kurrāsa*) of 10 folios each. This suggestion basing upon the old foliation we are going to verify by calculations, once more testing the practicability of the method.

Like in the former case, to estimate the conversion coefficient of density, we are taking a fragment of text common for the two manuscripts. The fragment selected this time is shown on *fig. 5* (C 2023, fol. 22b, line 26 — fol. 23a, lines 1—27) and *fig. 6* (C 2114, fol. 1a). The comparison of the two records of this fragment (35 lines in C 2114 and 33 lines in C 2023) gives the conversion coefficient — $35 : 33 = 1.06$. We can notice also that C 2023 has a more dense text. Now we can approach the estimation of the volume of the missing text in C 2114.

The text missing in C 2114 ends on the 26th line of folio 22b of C 2023 taking in the last one approximately 22 folios. It makes 1364 lines (44 pages, 31 lines on each page). The first page of the manuscript (fol. 1a), however, bears no text, i. e. 31 lines should be subtracted. On the last page (fol. 22b) only 25 of 31 lines corresponding to the

lacuna should be taken into account. Making these corrections we find that the text missing in C 2114 is equivalent to 1327 lines of C 2023. Now, using the conversion coefficient, we can estimate the size of the *lacuna* in its own measure units: $1,327 \times 1.06 = 1,406.6$ lines. With the normative of 70 lines per folio (35×2) for manuscript C 2114 we find the right and, what is important, the expected answer: 20 folios ($1,406 : 70 = 20.08$ folios).

In this way the suggestion of the loss of 20 folios by manuscript C 2114 has been confirmed. It is absolute, if speaking of the number of the leaves of paper bearing the text, or relative, taking into account the text itself — actually, the value estimated was the volume of the text. The matter is that, according to the general rule, the first page of the manuscript could not bear any text, so we could have expected our calculations to show not 20 but 19.5 leaves. It means that, when converting the text, the mistake made around 2.5% of its volume.

Is this error acceptable, or is it too big? In our case, when we actually analyse the contents of the manuscript by blocks, it makes no problem at all. A text written on 39 pages or on 40 pages would equally require 20 leaves of paper. It is, moreover, too early now to discuss errors natural when calculating the volume of a non-typed (handwritten) text. Taking into account the part of psychosomatic factors in the process of writing, one can foresee that the very presence of these errors and their distribution by size following some definite pattern are inevitable. One may happen to compare texts made by scribes of different skill, experience, and even temperament. It is difficult, on the other hand, to estimate the part played by the cursive nature of the Arabic script which is able to be compressed and decompressed without losing its natural appearance, i. e. these changes are practically undetectable by human eye. At the same time, there are definitely factors maintaining the density of the script within certain limits, especially when it concerns the work done by a professional scribe. One of the most important factors was using of a ruled pattern for the future text, which made the scribes work out a habit for a standard line.

The pattern for ruling Arabic manuscripts (*mistara*) has been described as early as the last century, in particular by English Arabist E. W. Lane (1801—1876): "Paper is ruled by putting underneath it a piece of cardboard paper with cords (*mistara*) glued across it and pressing it slightly" [7]. This primitive but effective device, once widespread over the Muslim East, is directly related to the subject of the present article.

II

The application of *mistara* introduced an important feature into the shaping of a manuscript. It ensured the same length of lines, their equal number and the same distance between them on all pages of the book. It created a number of practical conveniences and possibilities doubtless used by medieval scribes. Let us consider some of them.

First of all, it is the estimation of the volume of text in collections of verse (*diwāns*). The length of the line is of no significance here, because each verse (*bayt*) occupies a single line, never going to the next one. What is variable and significant in different copies is only the number of lines

per page. In this way a manuscript of 250 folios with a 25-line *mistara* will give us 25 *bays* per page, 50 *bays* for a single folio and 12,500 *bays* for the whole manuscript (in fact, up to 12,500 *bays*) [8].

Since every *bayt* takes only one line in the manuscript, hence from follows the rule: the number of *bays* in the manuscript corresponds to the number of lines, and, *vice versa*, the number of lines corresponds to the number of *bays*. This simple relation turns collections of verse into a special category of manuscripts: calculations over them produce results freely convertible from one *mistara* to another with no additional information required. For this rea-

son, versified text in a 21-line manuscript, as compared with the above-mentioned versified text of 250 folios with a 25-line *misṭara*, will occupy not 250 folios but 596 pages, i. e. 298 folios ($12,500 : 21 = 595.23$ pages; $12,500 : 42 = 297.6$ folios). In a 19-line manuscript the same text will take 329 folios (658 pages), etc.

The convertibility of the formula "the given number of folios by the given number of lines each" from one *misṭara* to another is applicable only for versified texts. In this very field we are going to provide an example of its real use. It is the fourth/tenth-century bibliographic work *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990).

In the foreword to one of the chapters of *Fihrist*, which, citing its title, "contains the names of new, as well as early Muslim poets, also evidence on the number of their verse that were introduced into circulation", Ibn al-Nadīm writes: "We ourselves aim to present the names of the poets and the amount of poetry written by each poet among them, especially by the more recent ones, and also the variations occurring in their poems, so that whoever desires to collect books and poems can have this information and an insight into the matter. If we say that the poetry of a certain man fills ten leaves, we mean Sulaymānīyah ones, holding twenty lines, I mean on each side of the leaf" [9]. After this introduction the author names a great number of Arabic poets, giving in the account system mentioned above, i. e. in *sulaymānī* folios, exact or approximate figures representing the amount of verse written by them, though one should think that the anthologies actually circulated could have different number of lines on their pages [10].

One of the practical consequences of this connection between the contents of Arabic manuscript (i. e. text) and its material embodiment (manuscript folio) was the possibility to adjust the volume of a new manuscript when making a copy — to estimate beforehand the required amount of paper and ink and in that way to affect the expenses of production. Though, one of the principal factors making the price is still not quite clear, we mean the scribe's labour. Was it estimated directly from the executed copy (considering the length of its lines, the number of lines per page, and the total number of folios) or by converting to the price of a conventional folio, like the *sulaymānī* folio which appears in *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm?

Prosaic texts can not be converted in the same way. The reason for this is the very characteristic of *misṭara* which in the former case was of no significance — the length of the line.

The matter is that in prosaic texts, unlike in verse, the length of the line is not an account unit indifferent to the length of the textual fragment. In this case the length of the line is no longer a self-standing unit measuring the completeness or incompleteness (defectiveness) of the whole text, the instrument of getting the quantitative estimation of the text in question as a sum of units-lines. Prosaic text, of course, is also divided into *misṭara* lines. It has, however, no internal measure like the metrical unit which in the first case determined both the length of the line and the equal total number of lines in all copies of the poetic work in question. Prosaic text is divided into lines after the external, and for this reason irregular measure — the length of the line in this or that *misṭara*. Versified text always gives the same total number of lines, no matter what kind of *misṭara* is used. Prosaic text gives a different number of lines, depending on different *misṭaras* [11].

Prosaic lines, however, can also be converted, as it has been demonstrated above.

In spite of the different width of different letters of the Arabic alphabet the text of Arabic manuscripts reveals the ability to maintain approximately the same number of letters in all lines of a whole codex. This number is only slightly shifting around some numeral presenting an average value for the lines of the given codex [12]. This quality, so far as I know never mentioned in literature, allows to convert prosaic texts from one *misṭara* to another.

The method of finding the average density for one line of the text is the usual one. As for the conversion coefficient also required in this case, it presents a proportion expressing the relation between the average density of the text in the lines of two manuscripts, juxtaposed copies of one and the same work. The way of obtaining this value could be either abstract or relevant. When applying the abstract method we first find (by characters-letters) the average density of the text (handwriting) in the lines of two juxtaposed manuscripts, then we calculate the conversion coefficient itself by dividing, say, the greater value of density into the smaller one. The relevant method omits the first stage (working out the average density), namely: one and the same fragment of text is selected in two copies (its volume is taken at random, but with a whole number of lines, pages or folios in one of the manuscripts, accepted as a unit of measure); then, like in the first case, the greater value is divided into the smaller one; the figure obtained is the conversion coefficient we were looking for.

It is impossible, unfortunately, to demonstrate the convertibility of prosaic texts using published, i. e. available to everyone, materials. The matter is that facsimile reproductions of manuscripts, of which there are many now, and which could have been used to arrange a public demonstration of the method, all these are publications of unique manuscripts. To demonstrate the method and the way it works we need at least two copies of one and the same work. That is why the mistake made by the copyist and reproduced at the beginning of this article was so fitting.

It is possible to presume that medieval scribes used the convertibility of prosaic texts, like in the case with versified texts, also mainly to estimate the amount of paper required for making a copy with a different *misṭara*. We do not know how it actually worked in those times, but now specialists can use the convertibility of texts to achieve other aims, for example, to locate quickly selected fragments from some work in any manuscript or printed edition. Textologists and those who work on literary sources constantly encounter such problems, and a conversion coefficient for each pair of manuscripts may be used, if necessary, as a concordance of their pagination. A search for the same fragments by looking through numerous pages of "blind" text (with no paragraphs, etc.) in many cases would be less productive.

The best way to develop the method of converting text from one *misṭara* to another is to work on a scholarly publication of Arabic sources involving several manuscripts at once. In this case the problem can be studied indirectly, not distracting one's attention from other tasks but ensuring a more profound study of current materials along separate lines, within the frame of the standard set of operations forming the technique of preparing a critical text.

Not all manuscripts and all texts within them are equally convenient for the study and practical application

of the text convertibility effect. The two most important manuscripts of *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm (Paris, No. 4457 and Dublin, No. 3315) are "inconvenient". The matter is that the density of text in them is uneven on different and sometimes on the same pages — against the rule of proportionality declared above. The entire blame for that should not be laid on the copyists. It happens mainly due to the uneven character of the textual materials: usually condensed records of the lives of Arabic authors or deliberately expanded long lists of their works. Besides, one of the manuscripts contains here and there vast free spaces reserved for supplements by the author of *Fihrist* himself and preserved in the copy made directly from the autograph. But even in similar cases it is possible, within certain frames, to apply conversion coefficients. I shall try to demonstrate it by solving one peculiar problem which arose when preparing a new scholarly publication of the above mentioned *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm.

Nine folios (fols. 10a—18b) of the Paris manuscript No. 4457 show a handwriting different from that of the rest of the book. It means definitely that the corresponding folios had been lost and the missing part was restored by a different scribe. What attracts our attention is the number of leaves lost and restored later. It is sufficient to presume that a whole block (*kurrāsa*), i. e. having an even number of folios, fell out of the manuscript. But what was its original volume? Blocks, as we know, could be of 8, 10 and 12 folios.

After some analysis it becomes clear that a *kurrāsa* of 8 folios should be omitted. The amount of text on the nine "restored" folios is too huge to be set on the original eight. It can be proved in the following way.

The field occupied by the text is practically equal both in the original and the restored part of the manuscript (though there are some slight differences we are going to consider below). Though the actual size of the text field is not indicated in the published description of the Paris manuscript, and the manuscript itself is not, unfortunately, available to me, it is possible to see from the photocopy I have due to the courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris that the text fields are of the same size. The manuscript was photographed in the Library by two pages per one frame, so there are two cases when the original and the restored pages appear within one frame of the field (fols. 9b—10a and 18b—19a). It means that they were photographed simultaneously from the same distance. Prints from the film were made frame by frame in the laboratory of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which ensured equal scale for neighbouring pages on the prints. It is possible therefore to compare the dimensions of the text fields, using only a ruler and not taking the actual scale into account. That was what we did for coming to the conclusion mentioned above.

The dimensions of the two *misṭaras* turned to be almost equal. The number of lines is the same — 16 lines per page. Taking into account these equal parameters, it becomes evident from the start that the copyist of the restored part has failed to arrange the text within 8 folios. Even though his handwriting is more dense, he had to use one more folio, i. e. 32 lines (following the *misṭara*), plus 4 additional lines which he added to the last folio disturbing its original ruling. That was what actually took place. Eight 16-line *misṭara* folios make 256 lines, 9 folios make 288 lines, while the actual record took 292 lines — 36 lines more than

it could have been in a *kurrāsa* of 8 folios. Four extra lines were added exactly to the last folio of the restoration (fol. 18a—b), which demonstrates that the copyist of the restored part was striving to set the text not within 8 but within 9 folios. He succeeded, miscalculating only by four lines.

The same is confirmed by the analysis of the density of the text of the restored part, which is evidently higher than in the rest of the manuscript.

Since the method of a similar analysis has never been demonstrated anywhere, and the volume of the text in question is comparatively small (9 leaves), we would like to demonstrate the density of the text in detail, which in other cases will be doubtless omitted, being dissolved in general formulas (see *Table*).

The *Table* is presenting all possible characteristics of the text density of the restored part: the number of characters-letters for each line of its 18 pages, average density for each particular page (horizontal rows); for a more precise tracing of the dynamics of handwriting the same is done for groups of corresponding lines (columns) [13]; finally, it is marked how often and where the scribe was going beyond the borders of his own ruling-*misṭara* (column "Notes", also columns for the 17th and the 18th line).

It is evident from the *Table* that the density of the text is fluctuating, reaching its maximum on folios 12a, 15b, then on the last 4 pages of the restored part (fols. 17a, 17b, 18a and 18b) [14]. The increase of density is achieved, especially on the last folio (18a—18b) also by extending lines (i. e. by going beyond the *misṭara* frame) and by increasing the number of lines on the last page from 16 to 18 (i. e. also by breaking the frame in the vertical direction). Finally, it should be taken into account that the *misṭara* frame of the restored part was overloaded with text: 41.8 characters per line (see *Table*) against 37.75 characters per line [15] in the main part of the Paris manuscript.

So, we once more come to the following conclusion: the scribe was striving hard, manipulating with the density of handwriting, to arrange the text within the given 9 folios. There was no way to fit the text into 8 folios having the same *misṭara* as the rest of the Paris manuscript. It was not possible even to arrange it within 9 folios, if he had followed the *misṭara* strictly.

Evidently, the initial text replaced by the present restoration occupied 10 folios (following the rule of the even number of folios in one block)?

Now let us reckon the volume of the restored part of the manuscript in the characters of the Arabic alphabet (the total sum of lines multiplied by average density): (18 pages \times 16 lines $+ 4$ lines) \times 41.8 characters = 12,205.6 characters. Taking the density of the original, which is equal to 37.75 characters (see above, note 15), we find that this volume is equal to 323.3 lines of the lost original part (12,205.6 : 37.75) or to 20.2 of its pages (323.3 : 16), i. e. around 10 folios. The extra 0.2 of a page, the inevitable error in reckoning, make only 3 lines of text.

In the case of the Paris manuscript the demonstration of convertibility does not possibly require such a detailed analysis. The question of the size of the *lacuna* restored in the manuscript is important, however, in a different context — the study of *Fihrist*, filiation of its copies and the authenticity of its text. The matter is that to establish the critical text covered by the restored *lacuna* we have only two manuscripts — Paris No. 4457 and Dublin No. 3315.

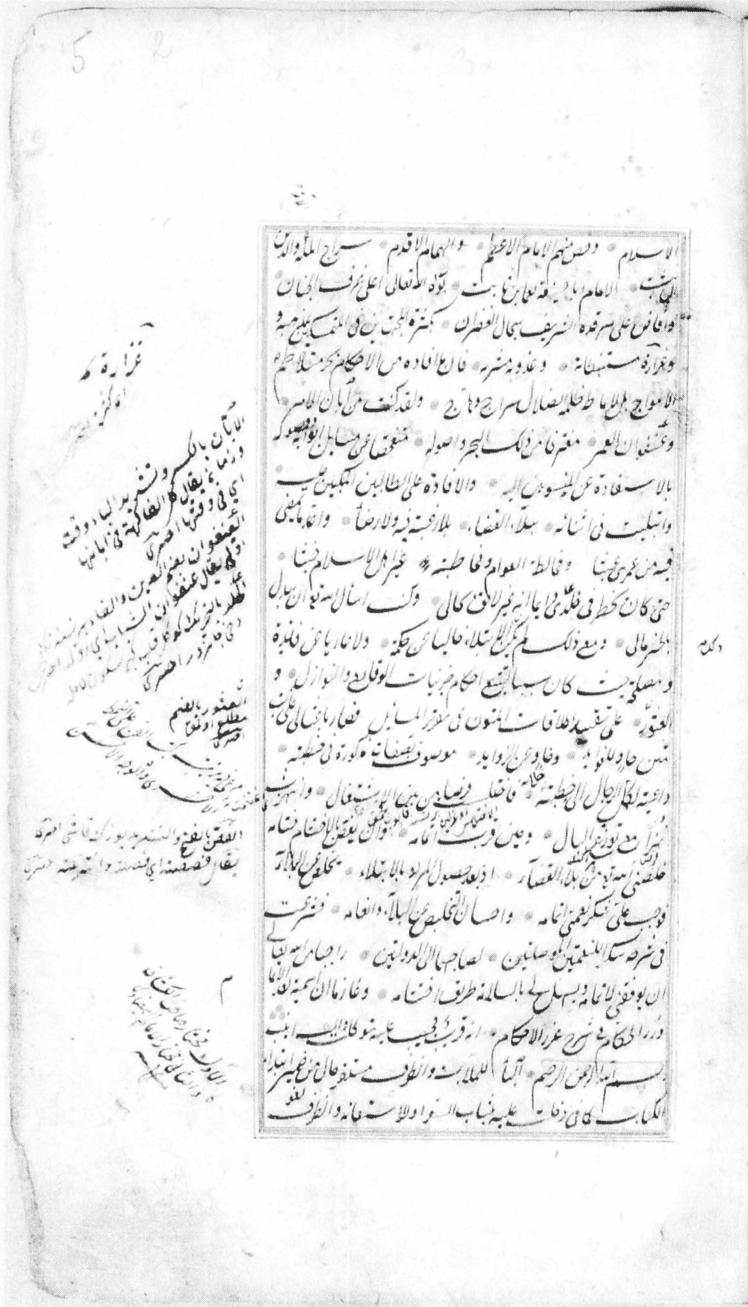


Fig. 3

٢٣ 23a

لأجامع العجم الخارج لوجوب الغسل من مكانه وليرتفع عن الفرج العاجل
 إلى الخارج الخارج لأغسل عليها وبعد كان يبيح الفقهاء أبو جعفر وشيخ الإمام الطوسي
 رحمهما الله في حملوه ابن عبد الله امرأة قالت معني يا بني في المراد في اليوم مرة واحدة
 من نفسي ما بعد إذا سجدت روي في ذكره لأغسل عليها رجل وأمرأة ناسا فلما استيقظا
 ومدا منها بينهما وكلاهما منهما يسكن الاحتذاء ويذكر أن الذي منه كان الإمام أبو بكر محمد
 بن الفضل رحمه الله يقول لوجوب الغسل عليهما وهو الأصح ما ومن المشايخ رحمهم الله من قال
 أن كان الماء غليظا ينجس فهو من الرجل وإن كان دقيقا يصفر فهو من المرأة الرجل إذا صار
 مغسوبا عليه ثم أفاق ووجد من دما على ثيابه أو ثوبه فلا يغسل عليه ولذا لما سجدت
 إذا أفاق ووجد من دما على ثيابه أو ثوبه فلا يغسل عليه وليس هذا كاللوم والله أعلم
 من هذه الفضل في المدفقات اختلف المشايخ رحمهم الله في
 سبب وجوب الغسل إذا قال بعضهم سبب وجوبها الجنابة وقال بعضهم سبب وجوبها
 إرادة ما خرج عليه سبب الجنابة ولها في بيان ما صح عليه ما سبب الجنابة في النوع الذي يبيح
 هذا النوع كسجد رجمه الله في الأصل الذي يبيح في غسل الجنابة من الماء صحت حديث
 جابر رضي الله عنه أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كان يغسل يداه قبل أن يركع
 فغسل يديه عليه وسلم وكان يركع في من هو جالس في الركعة والصلاة فماتته
 أو قال كل رجل يصفق من وهذا قول الإمام أحمد رحمه الله وقال أبو يوسف
 رحمه الله الصلاة خمسة أركان وثلاث ركعات وهو قول الإمام الشافعي رحمه الله وسبب في
 بيان ذلك كتاب الصوم أن شاء الله تعالى وهذا الأقول الجنابة الإضافة فانه إذا قصد
 الوضوء سجد سدا وكل ذلك ليس بقدر لا يبيح بل يستعمل من الماء فقد وما يقصد
 غسل القدمين ولا بأس أن يغسل الرجل والمرأة من الماء بعد حديث عائشة رضي الله عنها
 قالت كنت أنا ورسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم نغسل من الماء واحد وأنت أقول لا يبيح
 في وهو يقول يبيح إذا أحببت المرأة فمدا رخصا الخبير في اختيار أن سجدت اغتسلت
 لأن فيه زهبا رقة طيف وأمر الله سيد المرسلين وأن سجدت اغتسلت الإعتناء على النظير
 لأن الاعتناء بالنظير من سجد من إذا الصلوة إلى تزيين الحرب إذا اعتناء على النظير
 إلى وقت الصلوة لا بأس ذلك أن المعصية من الطهارة الصلوة وبني لا تمك من
 الصلوة فكان بها أن لا يغسل في صلوة في أي الحديث رحمه الله من ماء الاعتناء
 على الوضوء وكذا ما وصو بها عليه كاستلو فقرة وفي وصايا الفتاوى عن محمد
 بن مسلمة رحمه الله أن على المرأة في الماء الذي يغسل به المرأة ثوبا ودرعها من الوضوء والغسل
 عليه أن يشترط لها الماء الوضوء والغسل فلا يلزمه الوضوء الدوا قال محمد وهذا قوله
 احتجنا بتم الله وقد قيل ينبغي أن يجب عليه ما الاعتناء والشيء عليه الوضوء لأنه سبب
 لوجوب الاعتناء عليها إماما هو سبب لوجوب الوضوء عليها لوجوب الوضوء بإيجاب الله

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مشهورة ثم يخرج المني فعلى قول الإمام أبي حنيفة ومحمد رحمهما الله يجب الغسل خلافاً لما يروى
 رحمه الله الشافعي إذا احتلم فلما انفصل المني عن مكانه عن شهوة استيقظ وأخذ بأعضاءه
 حتى تكسر شهوته ثم أخرج منه المني الثالثة إذا جامع امرأة فجمادى والعرج فلما انفصل
 المني عن مكانه عن شهوة أخذ بأعضائه حتى سكنت شهوته ثم أخرج المني فعلى قول الإمام أبي حنيفة
 الغسل خلافاً لما يروى رحمه الله الرازي إذا جامع امرأة وأغسل قبل أن يولد به بان
 يخرج منه نطفة المني وجب الغسل عندهما وكذلك إذا أخرج مذي أو جمعوه قبل أن يولد به بان
 يغسل أو قام ثم أخرج المني أنه لا يغسل عليه وفي الأجسام لو جامع وأغسل قبل أن
 يولد ثم صلى ثم بان فإنه بعد الغسل عندهما ولا يبعد الصلوة بالاحلاف وإذا بان فخرج
 من ذكره مني فإن كان ذكره منتفراً فغسله الغسل وإن كان منكسراً فغسله وضوءاً
 الغسل لأن الحاجة ليس ما يبل هو حدث حدث ومما يستفصل بطريقين المني مسابيل
 الاحتلام إذا استيقظ الرجل وجد على فراشه أو لحقه بدلاء وهو يريد أن يحتلم أن يريق
 المني أو يريق المني أو شك أنه مني أو مذي فعليه الغسل وليس هذا الحجاب الغسل
 بالمذي بل الحجاب الغسل بالمذي لأن سبب خروج المني منه وهو الاحتلام فالغسل هو خروج
 المني من بطون الأعضاء التي هي في اللهاية لا في الرحم فلو كان في الرحم فلو كان في الرحم
 وان يريق المني أو مذي أو شك أنه مني أو مذي فغسل عليه وإن رأى اللهاية لم يريقه لو الاحتلام فإن يريقه
 مذي أو يحسب الغسل وإن يريق المني فغسل عليه لأن سبب خروج المني منه هو الاحتلام فلو كان في الرحم
 يبين أن يقال بأنه مني وروى بطون المذلة مبل هو مذي حقيقة والمذي لا يوجب غسل
 وأن شك أنه مني أو مذي قال أبو يوسف رحمه الله لا يجب الغسل حتى يتيقن بالاحتلام
 وكان لا يجب الغسل هكذا إذا خرج الإسلام ومحمد الله وأدرك الاحتلام ولو لم يولد إلا
 غسل عليه لظاهره فلو صلى الله عليه وسلم من احتلام ولم يولد إلا فلا يغسل عليه قاله
 القاضي الإمام أبو علي السمعاني رحمه الله ذكره هشام في نوادره عن محمد رحمه الله أنه استيقظ
 الرجل في أحليله مبالاً ولم يولد له فغسلها إن كان ذكره منتفراً قبل اليوم فلا يغسل عليه
 أي ولا يغسل عليه إلا إذا يتيقن أنه مني وإن كان ذكره ساكناً قبل اليوم فلا يغسل عليه فغسله
 الغسل قاله الحسن الإيماني رحمه الله هذه المسئلة يذكرها في كتابها والناس عن أفعالهم
 فغير أن يحفظ وأدناهم الوكيل فاعلموا أوقالها أو ما شيا فتر استيقظ ووجد السائل هكذا
 وما لو نام مضطجاً سواً وأد الغسل الوكيل والغسل المني عن مكانه لا ينظم بغيره على رأس الغسل
 فلا يغسل عليه لأن خروج هذا لا يتحقق إلى تزيينه له بل يزمه الوضوء بغيره ولو بان المني من هذا
 الموضع من إفراجه احتلمت ولم يولد له فلا يروي عن محمد رحمه الله في غير رواية أو يروي أنها إذا
 تدرك الاحتلام والاحتلام والاحتلام فغسلها الغسل وإن لم يولد له فلا يغسل عليه فغسله
 رحمه الله أن قال الإمام سفيان رحمه الله ولا يوجب هذه الرواية لأن الشافعيان أن
 مني المرأة يخرج من الدخول ليس الدخول وفي ظاهر الرواية يستلزم الخروج من العرج الدخول

الحكم

Fig. 5 (continuation)

Table

Absolute and average characteristics of text density in the Paris manuscript 4457 (in characters—letters)

Fols.	Line 1	Line 2	Line 3	Line 4	Line 5	Line 6	Line 7	Line 8	Line 9	Line 10	line 11	Line 12	Line 13	Line 14	Line 15	Line 16	Line 17	Line 18	Average number of lines per page	Notes
fol. 10a	41	29	46	38	37	47	44	41	42	47	50	44	41	45	41	42			42.2	longer lines
fol. 10b	35	37	43	41	33	39	31	23	39	43	41	45	40	38	37	44			38.0	standard lines
fol. 11a	41	46	43	41	39	44	44	39	43	44	42	38	44	48	41	50	—	—	42.9	longer lines
fol. 11b	47	49	54	39	29	42	42	21	50	43	27	14	46	41	47	43	—		39.6	longer lines
fol. 12a	47	41	45	45	46	43	45	31	46	46	49	43	43	43	48	46	—		44.2	longer lines
fol. 12b	43	41	42	47	46	43	42	41	13	41	26	16	46	45	49	43	—	—	39.0	longer lines
fol. 13a	41	36	20	41	45	42	41	52	47	37	44	44	44	23	31	36			39.0	longer lines
fol. 13b	see note 13																—	—	—	longer lines
fol. 14a	50	51	46	43	44	39	50	44	49	42	36	41	37	39	28	16	—		40.9	standard
fol. 14b	0	21	41	40	36	39	38	45	45	43	37	42	46	37	44	46	—	—	40.0	standard
fol. 15a	40	35	44	35	33	42	27	46	44	37	46	42	43	42	46	36	—	—	39.9	standard
fol. 15b	47	48	45	39	51	44	48	50	23	0	50	42	46	47	50	42	—		44.8	standard up to 6th line
fol. 16a	see note 13																		—	longer lines
fol. 16b	35	39	40	42	10	0	35	40	31	39	45	37	38	45	47	34		—	37.2	longer lines
fol. 17a	47	36	48	43	56	39	49	44	54	45	51	47	19	0	0	44	—	—	44.4	standard
fol. 17b	49	41	49	47	45	44	49	51	40	44	34	0	48	34	0	46	—	—	44.3	longer lines
fol. 18a	38	0	50	57	52	60	48	47	45	41	48	52	50	57	54	59	44	46	49.8	longer lines 6—10
fol. 18b	44	44	50	42	46	46	46	34	17	42	39	51	52	46	0	51	43	39	43.0	longer lines
average	43.0	39.6	44.1	42.5	40.5	43.5	42.5	40.5	39.5	42.2	41.5	39.9	42.6	42.0	43.3	42.4	43.5	42.5	41.8	—

The first one, as it is known, contains 9 restored folios of unknown origin. Only a part of this text can be collated with the second, Dublin manuscript — there also, as if on purpose, the text is interrupted by a *lacuna*. The two overlapping *lacunae* place several pages of the text of *Fihrist* beyond the reach of textual criticism, they are represented now only by one anonymous restoration. The authentic character of this fragment can be confirmed only by quantitative arguments: the correspondence between the size of the *lacuna* and the division of the manuscript by blocks and folios.

Taking this last into account, we can put the obtained results to a test in one more way — through the Dublin manuscript. First let us find conversion coefficients for the two sets of texts: 1) the original text of the Paris manuscript and Dublin manuscript; 2) the restored part of the Paris manuscript and the Dublin manuscript. In the first case it will be 44 lines of the Paris manuscript (fol. 8b, line 4—9b, line 16) and 30.5 lines of the Dublin manuscript (fols. 4b—5a) giving the conversion coefficient of 1.44 (44 : 30.5). In the second case these are 16 lines of the restoration (fol. 10a) and the corresponding text of 12.5 lines in the Dublin manuscript (9.5 lines of fol. 5a and 3 lines of fol. 5b), which gives the conversion coefficient of 1.28 (16 : 12.5). Now we convert the text of the restored fragment (18 pages of 16 lines each) to the *mistara* of the Dublin manuscript, which has 25 lines: $18 \times 16 : 1.28 = 225$ lines (or 9 full pages), and then convert this result to the *mistara* of the Paris manuscript: $225 \times 1.44 : 16 =$

$= 20.28$ pages. In this way, reckoning the text of the restored fragment through the second (Dublin) manuscript we get the same result — 10 folios and 4.5 lines (reckoning error).

What attracts our attention in these last calculations is the conversion coefficient in the pair “restoration — Dublin manuscript” (1.28). In its “unwrapped” form it appears as the proportion 32 : 25, which reminds the ruling of the same texts — 32 lines make 2 pages of the restored fragment, 25 lines — a full page of the Dublin copy of *Fihrist*. It is more than evident that this relation is not just occasional. The scribe of the restored part was probably looking for the easiest way to fill the *lacuna* exactly, fitting it to the surrounding text. Finding that the 225 lines he was expecting to copy made 9 full pages, he decided to accept the closest exact number of pages multiple by 9, i. e. 18. Now he had only to check that every 25th line of the original was going to correspond the very last line on the reverse side of each folio of the copy he was making (i. e. the 32nd line) [16]. The comparison of the restored part with the Dublin manuscript shows that that was exactly the way of adjusting the density of handwriting, after each 25th line of the Dublin copy. This last one was most probably the photograph from which the restored part was copied.

With this discovery we approach a new for textology and study of sources category of direct evidence and arguments provided by the methods of quantitative analysis of manuscripts, which are also new in Arabic studies.

Notes

1. On manuscript C 2114, see *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia. Kratkii katalog* (Arabic Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Concise Catalogue), ed. A. B. Khalidov, Pt. I (Moscow, 1986), p. 189, No. 3849.

2. Two folios once opening the 26th *kurrāsa* of the manuscript, preceding fol. 251, are cut out (without any loss to the text). This *kurrāsa*, previously having 10 folios like the rest, now has only 8 (3 in the first half, five — in the second). Fol. 251 is its first leaf. The missing folios probably also contained repeatedly copied text.

3. On both manuscripts, see *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia*, p. 224, No. 4731 (C 958) and p. 223, No. 4717 (C 711).

4. In Arabic manuscripts text usually starts from the verso side of the first folio, the recto side either performs protective functions or is reserved for the title of the work or for their owners' records. The ruling of 23 lines per page is maintained through the whole manuscript.

5. The suggestion of the presence of an *'unwān* on this page makes us hope that the first leaf missing in the manuscript still exists somewhere. Formerly there was a fashion among collectors and those trading in manuscripts to collect illuminated leaves, cutting them from manuscripts. Some of these leaves have already come to museums and libraries, some still wander from auction to auction; see E. J. Grube, *Persian Painting in the Fourteenth Century: A Research Report* (Napoli, 1978), p. 12, n. 30. If our leaf has survived, there exist numerous features available to identify it: its size, width of the text (line), the number of lines, the last word on the page, as well as the whole text on it, the width of the main frame of the *'unwān* (corresponding to that of the text), and even that gold and blue are the dominating colours of the pattern (the colours of the frame surrounding the text of C 711).

6. On these manuscripts, see *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia*, p. 189, No. 3849 (C 2114) and No. 3850 (C 2023).

7. E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1871), I, p. 265. It is noteworthy that a *mistara*-like instrument performing the same function was discovered comparatively recently among the Old Believers (Starovers) in Siberia; see N. N. Pokrovskii, “O drevnerusskoj rukopisnoj traditsii u staroverov Sibiri” (“On Old Russian manuscript tradition among the Siberia Starovers”), *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury (Instituta russkoj literatury AN SSSR)*, XXIV (1969), pp. 396—7, with a drawing. This article was translated into English, see N. N. Pokrovsky, “Western Siberian scriptoria and binderies: ancient traditions among the Old Believers”, trans. from Russian by J. S. G. Simmons, *The Book Collector*, XX/Spring 1971 (1971), pp. 20—1 and pl. 1.

8. In some cases pieces of poetry in Oriental *dīwāns* are preceded by a brief prosaic introduction of one or two lines. This “admixture” taking a number of lines in a manuscript ruins the complete coincidence of the two account units we declare here. In every case this “admixture” should be estimated individually.

9. *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm. A Tenth Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, ed. and trans. by Bayard Dodge (New York—London, 1970), I, p. 351; for the Arabic text, see *Kitāb al-Fihrist. Mit Anmerkungen hrsg. von G. Flügel, nach dessen Tode besorgt von J. Roediger und A. Mueller*. Bd. I, den Text enthaltend, von J. Roediger (Leipzig, 1871), p. 159: 18—20.

10. It is possible that a far echo of this most simple characteristic of the volume of manuscripts through account units of paper (folio) and text (line) is the never explained but sometimes appearing in descriptions of Arabic manuscripts manner to express the volume

through two rather far related features, for instance: “48 folios (...) of 21 lines per page”; see I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Selected Works) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960), vi, p. 507.

11. Exclusions from this rule are very rare, but still they do exist. One of them is Ismā'il b. al-Muqrī's work '*Unwān al-sharaf al-wāfi fī l-fiqh wa l-tārīkh wa l-naḥw* etc. (GAL II, 190, § 10, 1; SB II, 254, § 10, 1, 1). It is a prosaic text with a fixed length of lines, like in verse. On this unusual literary work, see my paper “Arabskoe srednevekovoe sochinenie-krossvord” (“The Arabic medieval composition-crossword”), *Rossiia i arabskii mir. Nauchnye i kul'turnye sviazi*, fasc. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1996), pp. 47—55, especially pp. 50—4.

12. It is more evident here than in versified texts that the real text unit is not the line of a manuscript but the number of characters-letters it contains. Line is just a particular form in which this unit is realised in this or that manuscript. To some extent, possibly, with the feeling of this measure of text the absence of spans between words in manuscripts is connected. The introduction of spans could have possibly led to disappearance of the conversion effect to which this article is dedicated.

13. Folio 13b containing verse, which should be counted by line, and folio 16a with samples of Old Persian writing different from Arabic are excluded from reckoning by letter in the *Table*. Also excluded are 9 lines reserved for samples of other non-Arabic alphabets but left blank (zero mark in the *Table*). All these passages were not taken into account when working out average characteristics. Later, however, when converting, for example, the whole text of the restored part, all these omissions were replenished according to the average text density; it possibly affected the errors which every time occur in calculations.

14. It is enough to look at the cycled fluctuations which are specially underlined in the *Table*. These extremities and other less prominent fluctuations of density can be explained not by some natural unstableness of the scribe's handwriting but by the specific character of his task. He was not just copying the text, like in other cases, but inserting it within the frames set not by himself but by the size of the *lacuna*. In this way he had to keep watch on the gradually diminishing paper space maintaining the balance between it and the remaining portion of the text. In this position corrections of the density of handwriting are inevitable.

15. The density of handwriting of the principal scribe of the Paris manuscript is reckoned in the following way: on fol. 9b (page before the restored part) there are 16 lines containing in all 600 characters ($600 : 16 = 37.5$ characters per line). On fol. 19a (after the restored part) there are also 16 lines containing 608 characters ($608 : 16 = 38$ characters per page). The average is — $1,208 : 32 = 37.5$

16. If he selected a different *mistara*, say of 21 lines, the calculations would be the same. The conversion coefficient — $42 : 25 = 1.68$; the number of lines in the copy — 225×1.68 ; the number of pages in the copy — $225 \times 1.68 : 21$, the number of folios — $225 \times 1.68 : 42$; the number of characters in one line of the copy is 1.68 times less than in the original. Not to go beyond the limit of 18 pages, when making a copy, the scribe was striving every 25th line of the original to correspond to the last, i. e. to the 42nd line of each folio of the copy.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Ibn Māza (d. ca. 570/1174), *al-Muḥīt al-burhānī fī l-fiqh al-nu'mānī*. Manuscript C 2114 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, vol. I, fols. 250b—251a.

Fig. 2. Mullā Khusraw (d. 885/1480), *Durar al-hukkām fī sharḥ Ghurar al-ahkām*. Manuscript C 958 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 2b.

Fig. 3. The same manuscript C 958, fol. 3a.

Fig. 4. Mullā Khusraw (d. 885/1480), *Durar al-hukkām fī sharḥ Ghurar al-ahkām*. Manuscript C 711 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 1a.

Fig. 5. Ibn Māza (d. ca. 570/1174), *al-Muḥīt al-burhānī fī l-fiqh al-nu'mānī*. Manuscript C 2023 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, vol. I, fols. 22b—23a.

Fig. 6. Ibn Māza (d. ca. 570/1174), *al-Muḥīt al-burhānī fī l-fiqh al-nu'mānī*. Manuscript C 2114 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, vol. I, fol. 1a.

MANUSCRIPTS OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S WORKS IN DAGHESTAN

Daghestan, once a northern province of the Arab caliphate, maintained, despite its later decline, commercial and cultural relations with Muslim countries of the Near and Middle East for many centuries. As a result, it became a place, where works of Arabic literature were widely spread. Oriental manuscripts, documents and epigraphical materials, which survived in this region, are hardly known to specialists even in the Russian Federation and the former USSR. Comprehensive and systematic exploration of the Daghestan Republic in this respect was carried out more or less regularly during last 25—30 years. The main centre there in which Oriental manuscripts and other written documents are gathered and studied, is the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences) in Makhachkala. Its numerous yearly expeditions to *ouls* (villages), district centres, and towns bring new materials and interesting finds. However, their publications are rare, being limited to several articles and one catalogue of selected manuscripts [1], so much is to be done in the field.

A major part of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in Daghestan are those which were produced in the country itself by local students, *'ulamā'*, amateurs, and professional *kātib*s. Mostly they were copied in the last three centuries, but the tradition of their copying goes back to earlier times. The art of Daghestan masters of paper manufacturing, book copying, and book binding had its own local peculiarities. Of course, there are also Arabic manuscripts which were brought to Daghestan from other parts of the Muslim world. The oldest of them are connected with the Saljūq rule when numerous *madrasas* were founded and were flourishing. This is especially evident in the case of al-Ghazālī's works, copies of which are described in the present article.

Written sources provide evidence that many persons originating from Daghestan received education in the Saljūq Baghdād. Among them were, for instance, Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān b. al-Musaddad b. Aḥmad al-Darbandī (d. after 500), known as *faqīh Baghdād* because he lived in this city for some time, attended lectures on law by *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 486/1083) and was a pious *faqīh*; Abū Bakr Muhammad b. 'Āshir al-Shirwānī al-Darbandī, who studied law in the famous *madrasa* al-Nizāmīya (recorded by al-Asnawī), and Ḥakīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥakīm al-Khunliqī al-Darbandī, an authoritative *shāfi'ī* *faqīh*, who studied Islamic law with al-Ghazālī and lived afterwards in Bukhārā, where he died in 538/1143—44 [2]. According to

Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī [3], another *madrasa* al-Nizāmīya was founded in Daghestan, in the settlement of Tsakhūr. It is noteworthy that in 1987, not far from Tsakhūr (!), a manuscript copied out in 694/1295 in *madīnat al-salām Baghdād fī-l-madrasa l-Nizāmīya* was found, which contains the *Sharḥ* by Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī on *al-Tanbīh fī-l-fiqh* by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī. The Institute of History, Language and Literature in Makhachkala has in its holdings a number of other manuscripts connected in this or that way with the famous al-Nizāmīya in Baghdād and with the activity of its teachers.

This paper is limited to the available data on copies of works by al-Ghazālī. By titles are known more than 400 writings of Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (451—505/1059—1111), the famous theologian, jurist, Ṣūfī, preacher and didactic writer, but only a dozen of those became popular and were widespread in numerous copies. First of all it is a voluminous *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and its parts. In Daghestan there are only five writings of this author, preserved in manuscripts, which deal with *shāfi'ī* law, theology and Sufism: *Ihyā'*, *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*, with a systematic exposition of theology, *Minḥāj al-'ābidīn*, which gives a summary of the theory of Sufism and was possibly attributed to the famous author, *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, containing a short account of rules of daily life prescribed for a faithful Muslim, and *al-Wajīz* — a manual of *shāfi'ī* law.

(١) احياء علوم الدين

1. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/909). 195 fols. Size: 24.4 × 17.0 cm. 17 lines per page. Thick, light-cream, polished paper of Oriental manufacturing. Bold *naskh*. Dark brown ink, here and there light-brown. Custods on the first 13 fols. The pagination of later origin. Binding with a flap is of light-brown leather, stamped with simple lines. The condition of the MS is fine, for the exception of a few worm-eaten folios. The MS contains the following fragments of the work — one *kitāb* from *Rub' al-muhlikāt* (fols. 1b—42b):

كتاب زم الغرور وهو الكتاب العاشر

and two *kitābs* from *Rub' al-munjiyāt*. The first *kitāb* on fols. 43b—87b:

كتاب التوبة وهو الاول من ربع المنجيات

The date at the end is given as follows (fol. 87b):

وذلك تاريخ ليلة العشرين ليلة الخميس من شهر ذي القعدة
سنة ست وثمانين وحمس ماية بمدينة السلام بغداد

20 Dhū'l-Qa'da 586 corresponds to 19 December 1190.

The second *kitāb* on fols. 88b—194b:

كتاب الصبر والشكر وهو الكتاب الثاني من ربع المنجات

It ends with the words containing the date:

واتفق فراغه في الليلة السابعة من ذي الحجة سنة ست و
ثمانين وخمسية

7 Dhū'l-Hijja 586 corresponds to 5 January 1191.

This old manuscript was brought to the Institute from the expedition to the inner regions of Daghestan and originates from Ousisha, the village in the Akousha district, but the year of its acquisition was not fixed. In many cases dots of letters are omitted in the MS, some words are written in an unusual way. Unfortunately, the computer-program does not permit to demonstrate all the peculiarities of this and of other manuscripts.

2. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/3). 416 fols. Size: 39.5 × 28.0 cm. 40 lines per page. Thick, light-cream paper of Oriental manufacturing. Large-size *naskh*, vocalised only on several pages at the beginning. Black ink, words like *kitāb*, *bāb*, etc. are singled out in red. Text is enclosed in frame of double red rules. The custods are put throughout. Pagination was added much later. Leather binding. The condition of the MS is fine.

The MS contains the full text of the *Ihyā'* (all four *rub's*). The endings of each *rub'*, sometimes of *kitābs* as well, are dated; for instance, we read on p. 169:

تم ربع العبادات و يتلوه في المجلد كتاب آداب الاكل هو
الكتاب الاول من ربع العبادات فرغ من تحرير وقت العشاء
ليلة الاثنين من شهر ربيع الاخر على يد العبد الضعيف
الفقير الى رحمة الله وغفرانه ادريس بن احمد غفر الله لهما
ولجميع المسلمين ... سنة ستة وتسعمائة

The month Rabī' II in 906 began on the 25th of October 1500. As mentioned on p. 341, the copying of *Rub' al-'ādār* was completed in 906, while on p. 538 it is said that *Rub' al-muhlikāt* was finished in Rabī' II 909/September—October 1503. On p. 743 the ending reads as follows:

آخر كتاب المحبة والانس والشوق

i. e. excerpt from *Rub' al-munjiyāt* was completed in A.H. 911 which began on 4 June 1505.

On p. 837 it is said:

فرغ الساطر من التسطير بحمد الله الإكرام يوم الاربعاء
وقت العصر الثالث عشر من شهر ذي القعدة العبد الراجي
الفقير المحتاج الى عفو الله ادريس بن احمد في قرية
اقوشاه من قرى غازي غمق غفر الله له ولبن نظر فيه
التاريخ اثني عشر وتسع مائة من هجرة النبي عليه السلام

13 Dhū'l-Qa'da 912 corresponds to 27 March 1507. Thus, the book had been copying during six and a half years, from 25 October 1500 till 27 March 1507.

This manuscript was acquired in 1948 at the village Akousha in the Akousha district. There is a note on p. 3:

من كتب اقوشى

The MS belonged to the mosque of this village. On p. 838 it is mentioned that *jāmi'* of Akousha possessed 147 books in 1194/1780. All of them are enumerated by titles.

Two points related to the toponymy in the colophon need an explanation. The place-name of the village (or rather the small town) — Aqūshāh (written with three dots under ق) — is now the centre of the administrative district Akousha, inhabited by the Dargin people. Three dots under the Arabic letter ق here are meant in the MS to denote an uvular aspirated affricate of the Darginian language as distinct from the usual ق. As to the place-name غازي غمق, it is the historical region Ghazikumukh, the main part of which is occupied now by the Lak district with the village Kumukh as its centre. Earlier it also bore the name Ghazikumukh or Qazikumukh.

3. The manuscript was kept in Turakari, a separated farm of the village Urari in the Akousha district, by the relatives of Husin Alibekov (sic), who died in 1980. The MS was discovered during Institute's 1988 expedition by A. Shikhsaidov, A. Isayev, and D. Gadjiyeva.

293 fols. Size: 38.5 × 27.0 cm, 27 lines per page. Yellowish paper of local manufacturing. The paper is of uneven density. Bold *naskh*. Shining black ink. Binding of Oriental manufacturing with a flap, light-brown leather with stamped lines. The condition of the MS is good for the exception of a few folios.

The copy contains the first half of *Ihyā'* and ends with the second *rub'* of the writing. In the colophon we read:

تم الكتاب من الكتب الاحيائية وهو اخر ربع العبادات ويتلوه
في المجلد الذي يليه كتاب شرح عجائب هو الكتاب الاول من
ربع المهلكات وهو الربع الثالث من احياء علوم الدين صنفه
الشيخ الامام محمد بن محمد بن محمد الغزالي الطوسي ...
وقد فرغ الكاتب من كتابته ضحوة يوم الجمعة العشرين
من شهر الله المبارك ذي الحجة في سنة تسعمائة على يد
اضعف عباد الله و احوجهم الى رحمة ربه الغني هرون بن
احمد الشيريني غفر الله عنهما

The date mentioned, 20 Dhū'l-Hijja 900, corresponds to 11 September 1495. The manuscript has been recently transferred to the village Urari, where it is kept by Tayyib Magomedov. Al-Shirīnī is a *nisba* derived from Shari, the name of a village in the Dahadayev district.

4. Manuscript discovered by the same expedition in 1988, in the above-mentioned Turakari. It is also kept by Tayyib Magomedov of Urari.

413 fols. Size: 36.5 × 28.5 cm, 23 lines per page. White paper of uneven density, yellowish or brownish on borders. Legible *naskh*. Shining black ink, headline words in red ink. Oriental binding of dark brown leather. Manuscript is badly damaged.

The text begins with the first *kitāb* of *Rub' al-muhlikāt* and ends as follows:

تم الكتاب و بتمامه كمل احياء علوم الدين ... وقع الفراغ من
كتابته يوم الاثنين السادس عشر ربيع الاخر و تاريخ في
سنة من السنين تسعمائة وثلث من هجرة سيد المرسلين

على يد اضعف عباد الله هرون بن احمد من قرية
شيرين غفر الله لهما ولجميع المسلمين

16 Rabī II 903 corresponds to 12 December 1497. There is a record on the MS about its belonging to the main mosque of Urari:

من موقوفات الجامع مسجد الارارى

5. Manuscript fixed by us in 1984 in the private library of Magomedzapir Zakaryayev in the village Moughi of the Akousha district.

Size: 40.5 × 28.0 cm. White paper of local manufacturing and of uneven density. No pagination.

The MS includes *Rub' al-ādāt*. While copying it, the scribe بن منت المهي حضر (كذا) by name mentions several dates, which testify that the process of transcribing of this MS took about half a year, from Šafar till Sha'bān 1084 — that is, from May till November 1673. There are several other MSS in the collection of M. Zakaryayev, which were copied by the same Hiḍr (sic), son of Minnat from Moughi. At the cemetery of this village, an epitaph on the grave of the scribe still exists:

صاحب القبر حضر بن منت

No date is mentioned, but it can be established approximately from the records cited with concern to the copying of al-Ghazālī's work.

6. Manuscript in the private collection of Magomedzapir Zakaryayev from Moughi includes a part of *Ihyā'* and the first half of the lexicographical work by al-Jawharī *al-Šahāh*. The name of the copyist is not mentioned, but he can securely be identified as Hiḍr, son of Minnat from Moughi.

Size: 30.0 × 20.0 cm. Thick, rough paper of local manufacturing. No pagination. Binding of leather stamped with lines.

7. Manuscript kept in the village Dibghalik of the Dahadayev district (the private collection of Sharip Musayev; d. 1980). It was inherited by his son Rajap Musayev. Previously it belonged to the mosque of this village.

Size: 28.5 × 18.4 cm. 19 lines per page. Dense, darkened paper manufactured in Daghestan. Black ink. Wide margins mostly filled with glosses and memoranda. No pagination. Binding of dark-brown leather, in good condition.

The colophon reads as follows:

قَدْ وَقَعَ الْفَرَاغُ مِنْ كُتُبَةِ جَزَاءٍ مِنْ أَحْيَاءِ عُلُومِ الدِّينِ الْمُسَمَّى
بِذِكْرِ الْمَوْتِ لِلْغَزَالِيِّ مِنْ يَدِ الْعَبْدِ الضَّعِيفِ الْذَّالِيلِ الْمَذْنُبِ
الرَّاجِي إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ الْغَنِيِّ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ مُحَمَّدٍ جَعَلَهُمَا اللَّهُ
يَوْمَ الْحَشْرِ تَحْتَ الْعَرْشِ فِي سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَسَبْعِينَ بَعْدَ الْإِلْفِ
فِي شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْمُبَارَكِ شَوَّالٍ فِي يَوْمِ التَّسْبِئِ وَقَدْ الْعَصُرُ
عِنْدَ مَوْلَانَا الْإِمَامِ الْكَامِلِ الْعَادِلِ الْعَارِفِ الْقَاضِي شَمَّى

The month of Shawwāl in 1079 A.H. began on the 4th of March 1669 A.D.

8. A single sheet with a note, which was discovered during the 1979 expedition of the Institute [4]:

تُنْتُ كِتَابَ ذِكْرِ الْمَوْتِ مِنْ كِتَابِ أَحْيَاءِ عُلُومِ الدِّينِ مِنْ شَهْرِ
اللَّهِ الْمُبَارَكِ رَجَبِ سَنَةِ اثْنَيْ وَسَبْعِينَ وَثَمَانِيَةً وَكَاتِبِهِ
يُوسُفُ الْكَبْشِيُّ

The date mentioned is Rajab 872/January—February 1468, and the *nisba* al-Kubashī indicates an origin of the copyist from the village Koubachi (the Dahadayev district), renowned for its goldsmiths.

9. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/2388). Its origin is unknown.

150 fols. Approximate size: 26.2 × 18.2 cm. 13 lines per page. Thick cotton paper of dingy-greyish colour and of uneven texture. Large-size, vocalised Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Several words and signs in red ink. Custods. No pagination. Binding of shine dark-brown leather is damaged.

The end:

تَمَّتْ كِتَابَ ذِكْرِ الْمَوْتِ مِنْ كِتَابِ أَحْيَاءِ عُلُومِ الدِّينِ قَدْ فَرَّغَ مِنْ
تَسْوِيدِ يَوْمِ الْارْبَعَاءِ مِنْ شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْمُبَارَكِ جُمَادِ الْأَوَّلِ فِي
سَنَةِ سِتِّ عَشَرَ وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ وَكَاتِبِهِ إِيْدَى بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ الزُّهْرَكَرَانِي

The month of Jumādā I in 916 A.H. began on the 6th of August 1510 A.D. The *nisba* al-Zirihgirānī points to the origin of the scribe from the village Koubachi.

(٢) منهاج العابدين

1. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/1732). Besides this work (pp. 1—308), the MS includes various excerpts, sermons, *ḥadīths* (pp. 309—17), *Kitāb Ta'lim al-muta'allim* by Abū Ja'far 'Uthmān b. 'Umar al-Zarbūnī (pp. 317—41), a *qaṣīda* (pp. 342—3), *Kitāb al-ādāb al-dīniya* (pp. 344—91), *ḥadīths* (pp. 391—440).

Size: 19.5 × 14.0 cm. 14—17 lines per page. Thick, light-cream, polished paper of uneven density. Clear Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink, words like *bāb*, *faṣl*, *qāla*, *thumma* are singled out by overlining in red. The colophon is enclosed in a figured frame of two red rules. Regular custods. Recent pagination. New binding of leatherette.

The colophon reads as follows:

قَدْ فَرَّغَ مِنْ كِتَابِ مَنَاجِ الْعَابِدِينَ بَعْدَ الْعِشَاءِ الْآخِرَةِ مِنْ
شَهْرِ رَبِيعِ الْآخِرِ فِي سَنَةِ ثَلَاثٍ وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ عَلَى يَدِ الْعَبْدِ
الضَّعِيفِ الْحَقِيرِ الْفَقِيرِ أَدْرِيسَ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ الْأَغُوشَاهِي

Al-Aghūshāhī here is a *nisba* to be derived from the name of the village Akousha/Aqousha/Aghousha. The date, Rabī II 903, corresponds to November—December 1497. Copying of the *Ta'lim al-muta'allim* was finished on 2 Sha'bān 898/19 May 1493 by the same Idrīs, son of Aḥmad. There is also a note about purchasing of the MS and its donation into *waqf*:

أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَقَدْ اشْتَرَيْتُ هَذَا الْكِتَابَ بِمَالِ الْوَصِيَّةِ لِفَرْدُوسِ بَنْتِ
شَيْخٍ عَلَى وَاقِفِهَا وَفَقَا صَحِيحًا عَلَى طُلَّابِ الْعِلْمِ مِنْ
قَرِيَةِ أَسْبِيشِي مِمَّنْ كَانَ أَهْلًا هَذَا الْعِلْمِ ... بِشَرْطِ أَنْ يَسْتَفَادَ
مِنْهُ فَائِدَةٌ

2. Manuscript in possession of Charak Oumarov, an inhabitant of Akousha. Participants of Institute's 1984 expedition had an opportunity to look it through cursorily.

Thick, white, slightly darkened paper. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Leather binding. On fols. 1—2 there is a biographical note concerning al-Ghazālī's learning.

The colophon:

في شهر شعبان الاعظم سنة الف وثمان و اربعين ... على
الغزيري ابن احمد في قرية الزرهكران في المسجد
الكبرى

The month of Sha'bān in 1048 began on the 8th of December 1638. The *nisba* al-'Azīrī seems to be derived from the name of the Darginian village Itsari of the Dahadayev district, while Zirihgeran mentioned is an older name of Koubachi.

Another note is found on the last page of the MS:

قد اشترى هذا الكتاب المسمى منهاج العابدين على بن ادم
من ابي بكر الدنقسي بابدال منهاج الطالبين في الف
و مائة و خمس و ثمانين

The date A.H. 1185 corresponds to A.D. 1771—72. Al-Dunqissī is a *nisba* to be derived from Duqqul. This is the Lakian name of the modern village Arakul of the Rutul district.

3. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/57).

Fols. 1—155a in a volume contain also the *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān* by al-Ghazālī. Size: 29.3 × 20.2 cm. 18 lines per page. Thick, light-cream, polished paper of local manufacturing and of uneven texture. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Regular custods. The first 5 folios and 6 folios at the end contain excerpts from various works. Leather binding with a flap.

The title on the first page:

كتاب منهاج العابدين الى الجنة من تاليف الشيخ الإمام حجة
الاسلام ابي حامد بن محمد بن محمد الغزالي الطوسي ما
كتبه الامام محمد بن سلمان

After the colophon there is a note of an owner written in different hand:

هذا من كتب محمد كدل كتبه الفقير حبيب

The last name, Ḥājīrī, is given here in the Avarian form — Hajiyaw.

4. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/2379).

Thick, glossy, light-cream paper of local manufacturing and of uneven density. Regular custods. No pagination. Colophon is enclosed in the coloured frame of white, blue and black rules:

قد فرغ من كتاب منهاج العابدين الى الجنة بعد ظهر من
شهر ذو القعدة في سنة ست و ستين بعد الاف من هجرة
النبي على يد ... محاد بن سل الوكلى في مدرسة ملا محمد
بن محمود

Dhū'l-Qa'da in 1066 A.H. began on the 21st of August 1656 A.D. Sulla (from Sulaymān, with a tick above the letter "س") is a name met among the Lakians. A *nisba* mentioned is connected with the place-name Wikhli (it is written with 3 dots under the letter "ك"), which is the name of a village in the Kulin district of Daghestan.

5. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/60).

295 fols. Thin, shining, white, factory-made paper. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Regular custods. No pagina-

tion. Damaged Oriental binding of brown leather, with stamped lines. A flap, back cover and a few folios at the beginning are missing.

Copying of the MS was finished on 24 Rajab 1069/ 15 April 1659 in a village al-Khumayd (?), or possibly Himeydi, not far from Derbent. The name of the scribe is erased. There is a note of the owner of the MS:

و صاحبه مرز بن عمر بن علي بن محمد

The last 6 folios are filled with various notes, *ḥadiths* and prayers.

6. Manuscript in the private library of Abdulla Abbasov of the village Gapshima, fixed by the 1979 expedition of the Institute.

The colophon:

قد طبقت على المحبرة باتمام هذا الكتاب ... في وقت العشاء
في ليلة الخميس من اول شهر الله المبارك ذو الحجة في
مسجد عزد عند استاد محمد ابو صبيح في سنة سبع
و ثمانين و الف من هجرة النبي

Dhū'l-Hijja in 1087 A.H. began on the 4th of February 1677. The village Ourada still exists in the Shamil district of Daghestan.

7. Manuscript in the private collection of Tajidin Tavkayev of the village Kulija in the Kaytak district, fixed by the 1968 expedition.

Thick, white paper of local manufacturing. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink.

Colophon:

تمت الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب منهاج العابدين من يد العبد
الضعيف نكو بن شربوط في مدرسة مولانا الإمام
الفاضل الكامل افضل الفاضلين اشرف المحققين المعظم
بالعلم والعقل عمر قاضي في قرية جقي في يوم الاثنين
وقت الضحى في شهر الله المبارك جماد الاخر التاريخ الف
و ثمانون وثمانية من هجرة النبي

Jumādā II in 1088 A.H. began on the 1st of August 1677.

8. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/1766).

194 fols. Size: 20.6 × 14.5 cm. Thick, polished, yellowish paper of uneven texture. Daghestani vocalised *naskh*. Black ink, several words are singled out in red or silver ink. Regular custods. Worn out leather binding.

The work contains also *Kitāb a'lām al-hudā* (fols. 195—224) and a note on buying of a plot (fols. 225—226).

Colophon (fol. 194b):

قد فرغ هذا الكتاب منهاج العابدين يوم الاحد في شهر ربيع
الاخر كتبه حسن ابن علي كشى ... التاريخ الف اربعة ثمان
سنة

The month of Rabī II in 1084 A.H. began on the 16th of July 1673.

9. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/318).

147 fols. Size: 26.9 × 18.7 cm. 14 line per page. Thick, white, slightly yellowed paper of local manufacturing in a very bad condition. Legible Daghestani script. Black ink.

Regular custods. Leather binding with a plain stamping, left lid missing.

Colophon (fol. 145a):

قد وقع الفراغ من تحرير النسخة الشريفة المسماة بمنهاج العابدين إلى الجنة يوم السبت قبل الزوال في شهر ربيع الاخير على يدى العبد الضعيف محمد بن ابي بن ابي بن حسين في مدرسة هُزْدَل في قرية على قليج عند استادنا الامام الفاضل الكامل في العلوم مل محمد بن عمر من قرية زِدَى ... في تاريخ سنة الف و تسعون و ثلث

The month of Rabī II in 1093 A.H. began of the 9th April 1682.

هُزْدَل، بثلاث نقط فوق زاء — و ثلاث نقط تحت لام، زِدَى بثلاث نقط فوق زاء — which are nowadays the Avarian villages Gh'otsal and Tsada in the Khunzakh district. Last folios (145b—147b) are filled with various citations, *hadiths*, and notes on buying and selling.

10. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/58).

143 fols. 23.0 × 14.5 cm. 18 lines per page. Thick, smooth, yellowed paper of local manufacturing and of uneven density. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Binding with a flap is of dark-brown stamped leather. The first page contains birth-dates and notes from 1188/1774—75 till 1246 1830—31.

There is also a notice as follows:

صاحبه و مالكة الحسن بن محمد المنتمى الى الاقوشى

At the end of the MS we find a simple statement: *qad tamma*, without naming the copyist, but he is very likely to be Muhammad, son of Salmān, mentioned in No. 4. The last 3 folios are filled with an untitled text, the end of which reads as follows:

قد تم الكتاب المسمى بطف المعان (؟) من يد بحدن الاقوشى

The name Bagand mentioned here is very popular among the Darginians.

11. Manuscript in possession of Malla Magomedov from Gapshima in the Akousha district.

Thick, white, slightly yellowed paper. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink.

The end:

قد وقع الفراغ من تسويد تحرير منهاج العابدين بيد الحقير ... محمد بن محمد الغموقى في شهر الله المكارك صفر في ليلة السبت وقت ثلث الليل

The MS bears no date, but most likely it dates back to the eleventh/seventeenth century. There is a note: كتب من كُتب مسجد الطنطى where Tanti is the name of a Darginian village in the Akousha district.

12. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/2465).

About 150 fols. Size: 19.5 × 16.0 cm. 11 lines per page. Thin, shining, white European paper. Black ink. No pagination. No binding, the first folios are missing.

The end:

تمت الكتاب من يد ... محمد علي بن محمد بن علي بن عمر ابن مل غفر الله ... في مدرسة مولانا امام ... دَمَد بن علي

... في قرية هجلى في ناحية قرخى تميت الكتاب ... المسماة بمنهاج العابدين صاحبه ومالكه محمد علي بن محمد في قرية ارهال في ناحية بصرخى في يوم ثلث في شهر الله المبارك ربيع الاول بعد صلوة الظهر

"Hjly" is the village Ghotchob in the Tcharodin district, *nāhiya* denoting here a community, or union of rural communes. "Qrkx" or "Qrākh" is situated in the same district, and "Bşrkhy" (with 3 dots under "ب" and "ص") is the settlement of Tleyserukh in the Tlarotin district.

٣) الوجيز

1. Manuscript in the private collection of Magomed-zapir Zakaryayev from Moughi in the Akousha district.

Thick, greyish Oriental paper. Binding of stamped leather.

The title:

صاحب هذا الوجيز محمد بن ملا علي بن الد كتاب الوجيز صنفه الامام ... الغزالي

Some "Books" (*kitābs*) of the work are followed by dating notes by the scribe, the first one preceding the *Kitāb al-bay'*:

تم ريع الاول من عبادات لباب الوجيز يوم السبت في اخر وقت الظهر في اثني عشر يوم من شهر شوال من شهور رحمة سنة تسع و سبعمائة

Many points of the letters are omitted. Another note goes after the *Kitāb al-farā'id*, preceding *Kitāb al-nikāh*:

تم ريع الثاني وهي نصف من لباب الوجيز في اول وقت العصر من يوم الاثنين وست عشرين يوم من شهر سوال من شهور حجة سنة تسع و سبعمائة على يد العبد الضعيف الى رحمة ربه اللطيف احمد بن ابراهيم ابن خليل المعروف كاكَا ابن عبد الرحمن ابن ادريس رحمة الله

A note preceding the *Kitāb al-jirāh*:

تم ريع الثالث من لباب الوجيز وهو ثلثان في وقت الظهر يوم الثلاثاء ستة يوم من شهر دى القعد من سهور حجة سنة تسع و سبعمائة (؟)

At the end:

و قد تم ريع الرابع ليكون تمام اربعة الارباع من كتاب الوجيز في يوم الخميس وقت الظهر في خمسة عشر يوم من شهر دى القعدة من شهور حجة سنة تسع و سبعمائة على يد ... احمد بن ابراهيم ابن خليل المعروف ابن عبد الرحمن ابن خليل بن دويراي (دونراي؟) ادريس

The final note by the copyist:

... يوم الخميس في خمسة و عشرين من شهر رمضان و اتمت يوم الخميس في خمسة عشر يوم من دى القعدة من شهور حجة سنة تسع و سبعمائة صاحبه ايضا كاتبه احمد ابن ابراهيم ابن خليل المعروف كاكَا القيصرى

Notice of the owner of the MS:

هذا الكتاب المبارك الشريفة الى اضعف العباد و احوج

الناس الى رحمة الله تعالى الياس بن اسماعيل في تاريخ
سنه من شهر المبارك ربيع الاول ثلاثه و اربعين و سبعمانه

Throughout his work the copyist gives the dates corresponding to 15 and 25 March, 7 and 16 April of 1310 A.D., while owner's notice is dated by 4 August 1342.

The MS comprises also an historical note of 21 lines concerning the events in Daghestan in the late fourteenth century and connected with the name of Tīmūr (Tamerlan) [5]:

بيان ليوم ليوم الغد فان الامير على بالجاه تيمور لين دخل
الى قري دركه بالحاربة العامة فخصع رقاب الامم لشوكة
عظيمة فقهر الناس و المال و قتل الرجال و النساء و اقام
الحكام و الامرا على القري و النواحي و اقام من بينهم
وليا على قرية موحة دحه بن بغ و دفع هذا الكتاب بيده
ليحكم به بين الناس بالعدل و الانصاف في يوم الثلث من
شهر (٩) هذه السنة ٧٩١

The year A.H. 791 began on the 31st of December 1388, but Tīmūr was **not** in Daghestan that year. Probably the copyist has mistakenly put 791 instead of 797. In the margins of another Arabic MS, containing *Kanz al-rāghibin fī sharḥ Minhāj al-tālibin*, there is a note about coming of Tīmūr to Daghestan. In it the year 797 is mentioned [6], which may confirm our assumption [7].

2. Manuscript in the private collection of Magomed Sulaymanov. It was fixed by Institute's 1980 expedition.

Size: 29.0 × 20.0 cm. No pagination.

Colophon:

... في شهر جمادى الاول في يوم الخامس و هو يوم
السبت كتبه الفقير المحتاج الى عفو الله تعالى محمد بن
سليمان تاريخ سنة ثمان مائة و اثنين من هجرة النبي و قد
تمت كتاب الوجيز محمد بن سليمان بعد ما قد فرغ من
كتاب الوجيز وقت الظهر قد كتب ثلاثة اشهر

8 Jumādā I 802 mentioned here corresponds to 6 January 1400.

3. There is also information about a manuscript, copied by Shaykh al-Mālik b. Mūsā al-Dāghistānī in 848/1444—45 — see M. Gaïdarbekov, "Khronologicheskie vypiski po istorii Dagestana" ("Chronological excerpts on the history of Daghestan") — in archives of the Institute (Fund 3, No. 1/236, vol. IX, p. 19).

٤) جواهر القرآن

1. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/745).

The work in question occupies 165 folios of the total 170. Size: 29.5 × 20.6 cm. 16 lines per page. Thick, polished, slightly yellowed paper of local manufacturing. Legible Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Regular custods. Binding with a flap is of plain stamped leather.

The title in the MS:

هذا كتاب المسمى جواهر القرآن

The end:

قد فرغ من تحرير هذا الكتاب و اسوداده ... أحمد بن محمد
بن شعبان الاغوشي ... في سنة الف و اربعمائة و ثمانين

The year A.H. 1084 corresponds to A.D. 1673—74.

2. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/57, fols. 155b—276b; see above — *Minhāj*, MS No. 3).

The title in the MS:

كتاب جواهر القرآن صنفه الغزالي لما كتبه محمد بن سلمان
بن حج (يعني حاجي) عمر

The end:

من يد ... محمد ابن الملك الكوكبان الكريمان سلمان
ورزمك (أو ورزمل بثلاث نقط على لام) ... عند استاذنا
ومولانا الامام الهمام عبد القادر بن علي ... في تاريخ سنة
غمنو ١٠٩٦ قد تم في قرية كرتلي

The month of Dhū'l-Qa'da in 1056 A.H. began on the 9th of December 1646. Karata is an Avarian village in the Ahvah district. Muḥammad, who copied two works by al-Ghazālī, was, as recorded by local experts on Arabic literary tradition in Daghestan, a son of Salmān, 'ālim from Kudali, and grandson of ḥājī 'Umar, qādī of Karata.

3. Manuscript in the private library of Abdulla Abbasov from Gapshima, fixed by Institute's 1979 expedition.

Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. No pagination. Undated. Copied by تكي ابن سلطان في قرية ملكي في مدرسة سليمان. Mulebki is the name of a Darginian village.

4. Manuscript in the collection of the mosque of Argvani in the Gumbet district, fixed by Institute's 1980 expedition. A local copy of the work. Undated, though the MS looks fairly new. The name of the scribe is missing.

5. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/2392).

Size: 18.1 × 19.2 cm. 14 lines per page. Thick, polished, light-cream paper of local manufacturing and of uneven density. Daghestani vocalised *naskh*. Black ink. Regular custods. No pagination. Binding with a flap, of dark-brown stamped leather, with cartouches; the front cover is lacking.

The title in the MS:

كتاب جواهر القرآن وكتاب الاربعين الامام ... الغزالي الطوسي
لما كتبه ... محمد بن فلان الوري العموقي

The end:

قد فرغ العبد الضعيف ... محمد من وري من ناحية الغمقي
... في اخر ايام العشرين من شهر المبارك ذي حجة المنخرط
في سلك شهر سنة تسع و ثمانين و الف من هجرة سيد
المرسلين ... عند استاذنا مولانا الامام الهمام ملي محمد بن
قاضي شعبان العبودي الاواري في مدرسته

The month of Dhū'l-Hijja in 1089 A.H. began on the 14th of January 1679. The village Uri at present enters the Lak district. Molla Muḥammad was the son of Sha'bān (d. 1077/1666—67) from Oboda, the famous 'ālim in Daghestan, who founded his own *madrasa* where later many widely known 'ulamā' studied.

There is also a note on fol. 1a:

من موقوفات حسن محمد لمسجد الجامع الاراري

Urari is the name of a Darginian village in the Dahadaye district.

يعبر عن السبب الذي اوقع الموافقة بين الصنيع وبين الفكر الذي هو سبب
الخبر توفيقاً اذا التفت اليه هو التوفيق بين الادة وبين المعنى الذي هو طاعة بافعلة
في الاجرة وفيه وحديث طويل جداً عن ابن عباس في العلم كرم الله وجهه
يا ابيه الحسين احبوا العلم كحبي علي فقلت عمن بني علي قال عمن بني علي
عليه السلام والفرق بين العقلة والشكر فحفظ الحقائق وحجمها بالباطل ومقت
العلم او من عسى ان يكون عقل جازع عن الرعي وغربة الاماني فقلته لحسنه
والعلمانية وبذلك من الله عالم بالحاسب فمما ذكره بيان لبعض اثار العقلة
عن الشكر وهذا القدر في التوفيق كلف فاذا كان الصبر كذا من اثاره
التيه فلا بد من بيان الصبر منذ كونه كتاب مفرد ان شاء الله تعالى
في كتاب التوفيق يملوه كتاب الصبر والشكر ان شاء الله

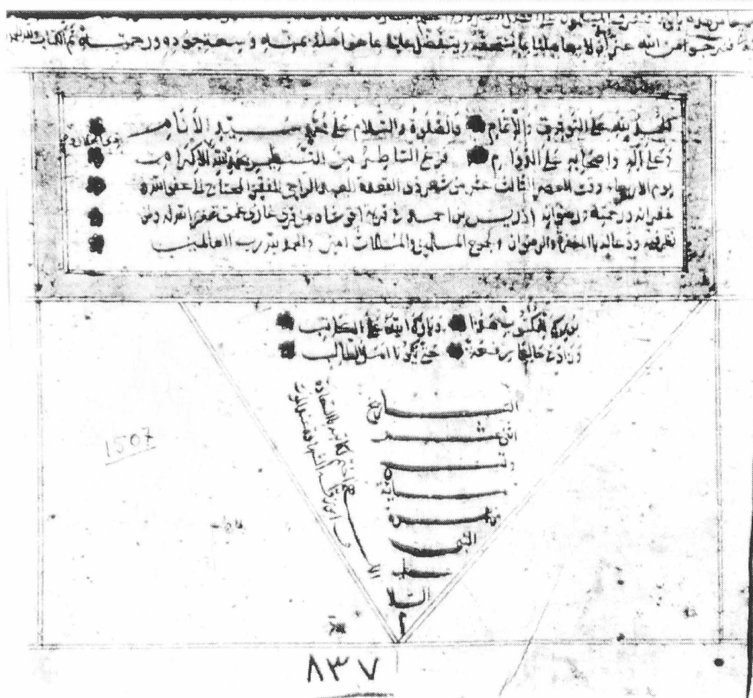


Fig. 3



Fig. 5



Fig. 6 (continuation)

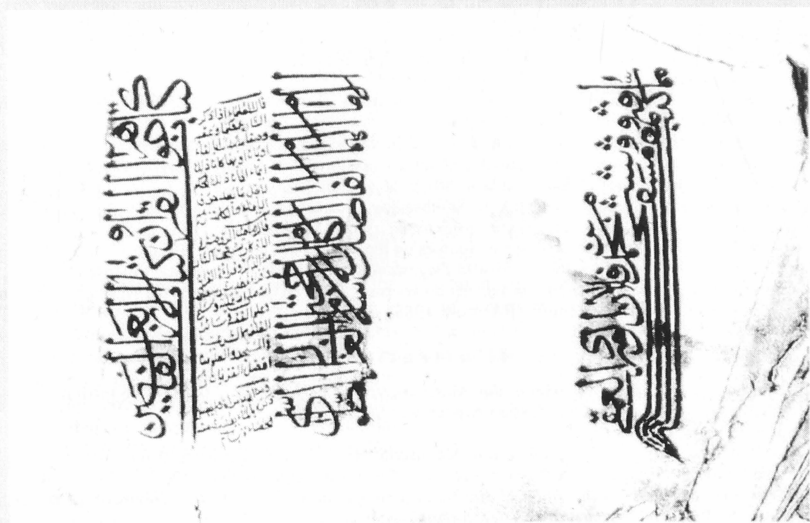


Fig. 6

6. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/416).

142 fols. Thick, white paper of local manufacturing. Clear Daghestani *naskh*, partly vocalised. Black ink; singled out words are overlined or encircled in coloured ink. Broad margins are filled with numerous notes. Recent pagination. Binding with a flap, of dark-brown stamped leather, with cartouches; the front cover is lacking.

A note on the title-page:

من كتب الحقيق تراب الاقدام محمد بن القاضي شعبان
الغبوي صاحبه محمد القاضي

Colophon on fol. 140a:

قد وقع الفراغ من كتابة هذا الكتاب المسمى بجواهر القرآن
العبد الحقيق محمد بن قاضي شعبان عبد استادي و
مولاي الامام الفاضل ... محمد بن محمد من قرية مقرخي

The date of copying, 1069 A.H., is written in figures and letters. The year 1069 A.H. began on the 29th of September 1658. The place-name Mqrkhy might be probably identified with the village Mugurukh in the Charodin district.

7. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, 1 2386).

Size: 26.0 × 20.0 cm. 13 lines per page. Thick, light-cream paper of local manufacturing. Clear Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink, several words are singled out in red ink.

Regular custods. No pagination. Binding of stamped leather, with cartouches. The front cover and a few folios at the beginning are missing.

Not all of the words in the colophon are legible, only these ones:

قد وقع الفراغ من تسويد جواهر القرآن المنسوب البحر
المحيط المشهور بالغزالي ... في شهر الله المبارك ذي القعدة
عند استادنا مولانا الامام الفاضل الكامل العالم ذا العلوم
كلها ... بن محمد شوقي (?) من يد العبد الحقيق الفقير اقل
التقوى ...

Judging from the paleographical features, the MS may be dated to the eleventh/seventeenth century.

٥ بداية الهداية

Manuscript in the private collection of Abdulla Abbasov from Gapshima (see above *Minhāj*, MS No. 6).

The title on fol. 1a:

كتاب بداية الهداية صنفه الامام الغزالي

The end:

...[تم] الكتاب في يوم الثلاثاء في شهر الله المبارك محرم
سنة ثمان وثمانين و الف من هجرة النبي

The month of Muḥarram in 1088 A.H. began on the 6th of March 1677.

Notes

1. A survey of the Oriental, mostly Arabic MSS, in Daghestan see in M. Saidov, "Dagestanskaia literatura XVIII—XIX vv. na arab-skoi iazyke" ("The eighteenth—nineteenth centuries Daghestani literature in Arabic"), *Trudy XXV Kongressa vostokovedov* (Moscow, 1963), II, the same in Arabic: Muḥammad Sa'id ibn Jamal al-Dīn, "al-Ādāb al-'arabiya fi Daghīstān" in *Majallat kulliyat al-adab of the Baghdad University* (1963), No. 6. See also *Katalog arabskikh rukopisei Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury Dagestanskogo filiala A.N. SSSR* (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Daghestan Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. I (Moscow, 1977), and G. G. Gamzatov, M.-S. Saidov, A. R. Shikhsaidov, "Sokrovishchnitsa pamiatnikov pis'mennosti" ("A treasure-house of script"), *Ezhgodnik iberisko-kavkazskogo iazykoznaniiia*, vol. IX (Tbilisi, 1982), pp. 203—23.

2. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Leipzig, 1867), II, p. 478.

3. Zakariya Ben Muhammad Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's *Kosmographie*, Zweiter Theil. Die Denkmäler der Länder, hrsg. von F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1848), p. 405.

4. A. R. Shikhsaidov, M.-S. Saidov, T. M. Aitberov, A. A. Isaev, G. M. Ozaev, G. M. Mirzamagomedov, "Itogi arkhograficheskoi ekspeditsii" ("The results of an archeographical expedition"), *Materialy sessii, posviashchennoi itogam ekspeditsionnykh issledovaniĭ v Dagestane v 1978—1979 gg. Tezisy dokladov* (Makhachkala, 1980), p. 41 (a preliminary report).

5. Russian translation of this note was published by A. R. Shikhsaidov, "Arkheograficheskaia rabota v Dagestanc" ("Archeography in Daghestan") in *Izucheniie istorii i kul'tury Dagestana: arkheograficheskii aspekt* (Makhachkala, 1988), p. 12.

6. *Vostochnye istochniki po istorii Dagestana* (Oriental Sources on the History of Daghestan) (Makhachkala, 1980), p. 110.

7. On sojourn of Timūr's armies in Daghestan, see *Istoriia Dagestana* (The History of Daghestan) (Moscow, 1967), I, pp. 207—9; also *Istoriia narodov severnogo Kavkaza s drevneishikh vremen do konca XVIII v.* (The History of the Northern Caucasus Peoples from Earliest Times up to the End of the Eighteenth Century) (Moscow, 1988), I, pp. 214—7.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. Manuscript No. 1/909 in the holdings of the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences), fol. 1b.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. 87b.

Fig. 3. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. Manuscript No. 1/3 in the holdings of the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences), colophon.

Fig. 4. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. Manuscript preserved in the village Dibrghalik of the Dahadayev district (the private collection of Sharip Musayev; d. 1980), colophon.

Fig. 5. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Minhāj al-'ābidin*. Manuscript No. 1/57 in the holdings of the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences).

Fig. 6. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*. Manuscript No. 1/2392 in the holdings of the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences), the title folio and the last page containing colophon.

ON THE DATE OF *AL-ŞİĤĀĤ AL-'AJAMIYYA*'S COMPOSITION

Among a significant group of Persian dictionaries composed in the medieval Middle East a special place belongs to *al-Şiĥāĥ al-'Ajamiyya*. A certain priority of this work was determined presumably by the following factors: i) it is probably one of the oldest surviving Persian-Oghūz (Azerbaijani) dictionaries; ii) a considerable volume of Persian vocabulary is represented there (over five and a half thousand lexemes); iii) practically every author working on lexicography used this work [1]; iv) judging by the number of the surviving copies (about 40), the dictionary was well-known and was circulated among different social groups.

The dictionary contains a wide range of the common and everyday Persian words along with a whole layer of Arabic words which became interwoven into the fabric of the Persian literary language. The dictionary is not supplied with quotations from poems to confirm the meaning of the words. This last means that it was not designed to be a dictionary of rhymes but, as it is marked by its author in a brief introduction in Arabic, it was intended to give a precise meaning and explanation of a Persian word in Turkic.

Besides this introduction the dictionary actually consists of two parts (*qism*) and a supplement (*tatimma*). The first part is a dictionary of nouns, the second — of infinitives, while the supplement provides brief explanations of the grammatical structure of the Persian language, focusing mainly on the conjugation of Persian verbs. It is not necessary to consider here in all detail the structure of this lexicographic work — this information one can find in reference-books and in numerous catalogues [2]. The work was published in Tabriz in 1983 by Professor Ghulām-Ḥusayn Bigdilī on the basis of a single copy from the University Library of Bratislava (Slovakia) [3].

The controversy which arose around rather vague evidence of the seventeenth century Turkish bibliographer Ḥājī Khalīfa concerning the authorship of the dictionary (none of the existing copies reveal the name of the author) [4] was decided in favour of a famous scholar originating from Nakhichevan (Azerbaijan), Fakhr al-Dīn Hindūshāh b. Sanjar Şāhibī Gīrānī Nakhchiwānī. He stays in the history of Persian and Azerbaijan culture as a connoisseur of Arabic, a historian, lexicographer, and writer. Among his works is the anthology of Arabic poetry *Mawārid al-adab* composed in Tabriz in 707/1308. In 724/1324 he wrote a historical treatise — *Tajārib al-salaf* containing two parts. The first one is a translation from Arabic into Persian of the historical section of *Kitāb al-Fakhrī* by Ibn al-Tiqtāqa (701/1301). The second part is an original writing that contains much additional informa-

tion on the history of the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt, on the Buwayhids, and the Seljukids in Iran [5].

The date of birth of Hindūshāh is considered to be unknown, as well as the exact date of his death. He died presumably in 730/1329—30. There is, however, a reason to believe that he had died after the accomplishment of *Tajārib al-salaf*, but before 728/1327—28, since his son, the famous *munshī* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (b. 687/1288 in Nakhchiwān) mentions him as “departed to the other world” in his Persian explanatory dictionary entitled *Şiĥāĥ al-Furs* (2,300 entries) which he began in 728/1327—28.

Until recently a number of specialists in Turkic and Iranian studies were dubious of Hindūshāh's authorship of *al-Şiĥāĥ al-'Ajamiyya*, suggesting that its author had been either one *shaykh* Yahyā al-Amīrī al-Rūmī al-Qurashī or Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr 'Alī Barkawī (or Birghilī). The latter died in 981/1573—74. According to the same Ḥājī Khalīfa, he compiled a work under the same title. If we accept the last point of view [6], then the Persian-Turkic dictionary *al-Şiĥāĥ al-'Ajamiyya* should have been composed in the middle of the sixteenth century. In this case, it cannot be regarded as one of the earliest Persian-Oghūz dictionaries.

The controversy, however, may be settled in a very simple way, if evidence of a man of letters, a scribe who lived 500 years ago, be taken into account. Owing to his careful attitude to his work and to the text of the protograph he was ordered to copy, we have all necessary information on the subject. That scribe, one Mīr Ḥusayn, in the middle of the month of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 878/early May 1474 made a copy of a volume (preserved now in the Library of the Cambridge University, call No. L1. 6.10) folios 1b—106a of which were occupied by the dictionary *al-Şiĥāĥ al-'Ajamiyya*. In this volume Mīr Ḥusayn had copied out the colophon by the author of the writing that runs as follows:

“With the good assistance and help [of Allah] accomplished is *al-Şiĥāĥ al-'Ajamiyya*, without which no one striving to get the knowledge of the Persian language can do, be he a youth or a grown-up, after the sunrise on Tuesday, at the end of the noble month of Dhū'l-Ḥijja of the year 677, let Allah help the author of this work and all other Muslims”.

Now, due to the scribe Mīr Ḥusayn, we can safely say that Hindūshāh Nakhchiwānī accomplished his lexicographic work on Tuesday, 8 May 1279, and that the old controversy is settled at last.

Notes

1. The most famous of these are: a) *Shāmil al-lughāt*, composed ca. 900/1496—97 by Hasan b. Ḥusayn Qarā-Ḥiṣārī; b) *Lughāt-i Ḥalīmī*, composed in 917/1511—12 by Luṭfallāh b. Abī Yūsuf al-Ḥalīmī; c) *Lughāt-i Ni'matallāh*, composed not later than 947/1540—41 by Ni'matallāh b. Aḥmad al-Rūmī.
 2. On the catalogues and the work see, C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (Leiden, 1984), iii, pt. 1, pp. 7—8.
 3. Call No. TD 13. See *Arabische, türkische und persische Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava* (Bratislava, 1961), p. 497, No. 549.
 4. Ḥājjī Khalīfa calls this work *Ṣiḥāḥ al-'ajam*, attributing it to Hindūshāh al-Nakhchiwānī. He mentions also that two versions of the work are known to him — “the old and the new one”. The beginning of the work quoted by Ḥājjī Khalīfa is identical with the beginning of the “anonymous” dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-'Ajamiyya*.
 5. This work is published in Iran by Amīr Ḥasan Rawḍātī (Isfahan, 1360/1981). It is supplemented with a facsimile of a mid-15th century manuscript.
 6. The most straightforward and systematic presentation of this point of view appears in the most recent publication dealing with this problem, see Sayyid Muḥammad and Muḥīt Ṭabāṭaba'ī, “*Ṣiḥāḥ al-'Ajam*. Kitāb-i nawsākhta wa nāshinākhta”, *Āyanda*, IX/12 (1362/1984), pp. 895—903.
 7. See *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge* by Ed. G. Browne (Cambridge, 1896), p. 253, No. 170. Ed. G. Browne is quoting the whole colophon, but his reading of the name of the scribe and of the date is incorrect: “Rasūl b. Ḥusayn, 868 A.H.” He does not quote the author's colophon reproduced in the copy — probably he did not realise its significance.
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THE OIRAT (KALMYK) VERSION OF “THE STORY OF GÜSÜ-LAMA”

In the Mongol literature of the seventeenth—early twentieth centuries there were several works describing “visions” of the Buddhist hell [1]. These works came into being for different reasons at different places and in different periods of time. Among them we find an Indian legend about Maudgalyāyana (Molon-Toyin) [2], Tibetan “The Story of Choijid-dagini” [3], Mongol “The Story of Naranu-Gerel” [4] and “The Story of the Maiden Fair Lotus” [5] created under the influence of the Chinese novels. The subject of “visions” of hell has been many times used in the novels of the “Commentaries on the Use of Vajracchedikā (the Diamond Sūtra)” [6].

There circulated among the Mongol peoples a comparatively brief story about a visit to the Buddhist hell. It was more known under its short title “The Story of Gūsū-Lama”. In the opinion of Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, who acquired one of the manuscripts of this work in Buryatia and donated it to the Asiatic Museum (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences), it was “an example of purely folk religious literature at the early stage of the spread of Buddhism among the Buryat people” [7].

The other seven manuscripts of the story, written in Old Mongol script and preserved in the Manuscript fund of the above-mentioned Institute, also originate from Buryatia [8]. A copy of “The Story of Gūsū-Lama” has been found also in one of the manuscript collections of Tuva [9].

A search we made in the rich manuscript funds of Ulan-Bator produced, however, no copies of the said work, nor it is mentioned in any of the available catalogues of Mongolian manuscripts.

Until recently there has been no evidence if this work was familiar at all to the Western Mongols (Oirats). It is not mentioned anyway in H. Luvsanbaldan's ““Clear Script” and its Monuments” which includes a long list of materials from Mongolia written in the Zaya-pandita script [10].

The only copy of “The Story of Gūsū-Lama” written in “Clear Script” is found in the Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [11]. There is no record about its origin and the time when it came to the collection. We may only suggest that it was copied in Kalmykia, because, according to the available evidence, the Oirat version had been circulated there in the past [12].

When comparing the Buryat and the Oirat (Kalmyk) versions one can notice a number of textual divergencies. Besides deliberate re-working of the text manuscript C 391 contains numerous mistakes, omissions of words, sometimes of whole passages, which makes the text rather incoherent and obscure. Presenting here the transliteration of the Oirat version of “The Story of Gūsū-Lama”, we considered it necessary to indicate all omissions and mistakes of the copyist, as compared with the text of the work preserved in one of the seven Buryat manuscripts from the Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [13].

Transliteration

(1a) *Töböd-di-yin xutuqtu Gūsū blama nirvān boluqsani tuuji oršibo.*

(1b) *Töböd-di-yin xutuqtu Gūsū blama nirvān boluqsani aji nirvān boluqsan xoyino teqši burxani oron-du ese kürči doroqši tamu-du öü ese kürči: tere xo-yoriyin dundadu xōsun tamu-du unaji tegēd unaq-san-yēn xoi-no medeji: yurban er-den-i-yi sanaḡi omḡ maḡi padme huḡi: kemēn ungšād zūreken-dēn sed-kiji sanaqsan-yēn tulada: öndür oulayin beldü yar-či dēḡši yarči üzetele nigē ada-biḡi tenggeri-dü tul-jī bai-xu mösün uulan üzegē-debei: basa tere köttöldü emegen kümün-dü zolyoji: blama zarliq bolboi ai emegen ere mö-sün uula youni tula bütüqsen oula bui geji asaqbā: tere emegen xo-riu öḡüülebei: xutuqtu Gūsū (2a) blama či ese medeqsen buyu: xoyor zayāni dundadu mösün oula geqči ene bui: xutuqtu Gūsū blama asaqbā: emegen tere köttöl däre yeke xui [C 236: qoriyan] doto-ro xamuq bügüde arātani beye üzegdebe: tere youn bui (geji) asaqbā: tere dēdū altan körgö youn bi geji asaqbā: töüni dorodu xoyitu yuuli[n] körgö youn bi geji asaqbā: töüni dorodu zes körgö youn bi geji asaqbā: töüni dorodu tömür körgö youn bi geji asaqbā: cayān ca'ng deledüqči bürē tataq-či nom ungšiq-či zuryān [ü]zü-gi töloji nāduqči xamuq bla-ma baḡdi-yin xuraq-san cuulyān youn bi geji asaqbā: basa töüni cādu cayān bayišing dotoro yeke kengger-ge deledüqči: youn bi geji asaqbā: nādu ye-ke (2b) dalai youn bi geji asaqbā: basa dorodu xara[n] gyui körgö youn bi geji asaqbā: tere emegen xa-riu öḡüülebei: bi ükēd dolōn on bolboi bi: či blama sünesün-yēn beye-ēce xayačuul-jī abči odxui-yi ese üzebüci ē: či tere köttöli bü dāri dārixula mou bui buyān keḡiq yurban er-*

deniyigi iteqeq-çi nigen üzüür-tü çing sedkil bariqsan kümün dâri-xula yai ügei bi: töün-êce busu kilincetü ami-tan dari-xula xamuq bügüdê arâtan zouxu zam bui: tere dëdü al-tan kõrgö burxani yazar-tu od-xu zam bui: töüni (xoi-tu) youli[n] kõ rgö umara zügüvin Abidabâ burxani buyan xurâxu yazartu odxu zam bui: töüni dorodu zes kõrgö yuçin yurban tenggeri-yin yazar-tu odxu zam bui: töüni dorodu tömür kõrgö Erliq xân-du odxu zam (bui): tere cang deledüqçi büre tataqçı nom: ungşiqçi zuryân [ü]züqçi tölöji (3a) nâduqçi xamuq ulus blama bañdiyın xurâqsan çuulyân uridu amidu caqtân blama bañdi xoyor xamuq erkin [-irgen] ulus bügüdê xamtı buyan üyiledü-qseni küçün-yêr jir-yaqsan udxu inu ene bui: tere cayân bayışing dotoro yeke: kenggerge deledüqçi Erliq xâni beye tere tenggeri bui: nâdu yeke dalai nere inu şesün da-lai bui: basa tere xutuqtu Güsü blamadu emegen ögüülebei: tere tömür kõrgöyın zam-yêr odxu çi Erliq xându zolyo: tamuyın erke yeke buyu: öçüü-ken buyu: üzeji zolyo: töüni xoyino xutuqtu Güsü blama tömür kõrgöyın zam-yêr yarçi üzeqdetele xutuqtu Güsü blamayın xoyino-êce ere eme olon kümün daxaji iretele tere tö-mür kõrgö xubil-ji kil-yasuni çinên bolji tere tere olon ere eme kümün gişkiküdü tere: (3b) kilyasun tasuraji tamu-du unaji tere kõrgö xubilji kilyasuni çinên boluqsan udxu inu tere bui: uri-du amidu caqtân kilincê keqsan blamayigi dorom-jiloqşon yurban erdeni-yin-gi ülü bişireqçi amitani kilyasun kõrgö tere bui: tere xutuqtu Güsü blama tömür kõrgöyın zam-yêr odxu-ji: Erliq xâni xâlyadu kürçi bayıba: töüni xoyino Erliq xân uq[tu]ji ireji zolyobo:: tere xutuqtu Güsü blamadu Erliq xân zarliq bolboi: amidu zayâni mungxaq a-mitan yaqça kümün mingya nasulaxuyın çinên sanaji kilincê olo keji bu'i: blama nomi xudal bui: geji keleük bui: oluqsan zöqsön-yên baraq-daxu (4a) çinên ülü sanaxu bui: [ü]müsüqsen debil-yên eleküyın çinên ülü sanaxu bui: morin-yên ükükyün çinên ülü sanaxu bui: bi töüni tu-lada zöb-tü buruu-tui-gi ilyayâ geji xoyor zayâni dumda souqsan bui: bi xutuqtu Güsü blamadu Erliq xân zarliq bolboi: çi amidu zayâni erkin [-irgen] ulustu suryâl kelê jiryal-tu burxani yazar-tu odboi bi geji kele zobolong-tu ta-muyın yazartu odboi bi geji kele:: nom buyani keqsan kümün-ni beye inu tenggeri-yin dëre niyur inu na-rani gereldür adali bui: nom buyan ügei kümüni inu tamuyın dotoro: niyur inu zouraqşan (4b) şabar-tu adali bui: Erliq xându Güsü blama zarliq bolboi: tere câdu çusu-tu yeke dala 'i dotoro olon kümü-ni toloyoi üzeqdeji bayınam tere youni tulada tegeji bayıxu bui: geji asaqbâ:: basa tere câdu cayân taladu ide-kü ügei ümüskü ügei ou-xu ügei olon kümün ü-zeqdem: idekü ügei-dên yazar uxıji sounam tere uxuqsan xuryıni eleji buyouduni kürçi buyou-ni eleji toxoi-duni kürçi toxoi-ni eleji müren-düni kürçi bayınam: tere: youni tulada tegeji bai-xu bui: geji asaqbâ: töün-êce nâdu olon kümüni basa üzeqdeji bayıxu youn bui: köl inu cöm muxur bayınam tere youni (5a) tulada tegeji bayıxu bui: geji asaqbâ: basa yeke dalayın tende olon kümün ü-zeqdem: amani [C 236: iman-i] çinên alxutu alxu ya-daxu költöi ai-liyın tödü terigüütü: oulayın tödü beyetü asuri narin kilyasuni çinên xölöi-tu olon kümün üzüqdem tere: youni tulada tegeji bayıxu bui: geji: asaqbâ: töüni dorodu xarang-yui yazar-tu olon kümün xoxuı ezei axai yoyô yoyô abai axai geji bayınam: tere youni tulada tege-ji bayıxu bui: geji asaqbâ: basa zöün tali olon kümün xuraji çuq-laji bayınam (5b) nom ungşixui-yi sonos-xu bişi: şibineldüji bayınam: tere youni tu-lada tegeji bayıxu bui ge-ji asaqbâ: xutuqtu Güsü blamayın xoyino Erliq xân zarliq bolboi:: tere çusu-tu yeke dalai dotoro olon kümüni toloyoi üzeqdeji bayıqçı tere xoyor kümüni xö 'r-dumda cusur üge keleqçi xobloqçi alaldıji yabuqsan kümüni toloyoi genei oqtoloji çusuni (urusçi) dalai boluqsan udxu ' inu tere bui:: tere câdu dergedüki olon kümün üzeqdeji yazar uxı-ji souxu udxu inu ene bui: blamadu amidu:: (6a) caqtân idên undan ümüskü züüküi-yi xayıralan yabuji töüni tula idekü üdesü ü-gei uxıxı ügei ümüskü ügei ülü oldoxu bolxuyın udxu inu ene bui: töüni tula yar inu eleji möri-dü kürüqşeni tere bui: töüni nâdu tuladu olon kümün muxur boluqsani amidu caqtân blamayın ö-mönö-êce köl-yên jiyıji burxani nomi kölgöni giş-gi-leji yabuqsani tula köl ügei boluqsan udxu inu tere bui: basa tere yeke dalayın câdu amani [C 236: iman-i] çinên al-xutu alxun yadaxu költü ai-liyın caq terigüütü oulayın caq beyetü asuri narin kilyasuni câdu xölöi-tu boluqsan udxu inu: altan mönggön idên bayırı (6b) xaram-laqsani biridti töröq-sön udxu inu tere bui: nâdu dorodu xarangyui yazariyın olon kümün yoyô xoxuı xala-xai yäkiyâ axai abai geji yasa-luqsan udxu ' erüütü tamu geqçi tere bui: (uridu amidu caqtân ecege-yoyân alaqsân kümüni ene erüütü tamu geqçi-dü urayaxu udxu ' ene bui::) basa yosu ü-gei amitan ami tasuluqsani tu-la tamudu unayaxu udxu inu tere bui: zöüküle olon kümün şibineldüji bayıqçı amidu caqtân nom inu [g]-şixui-yi ungşäci yabuqsan blamayigi blamayın zarligi bişi bui: geji sanaqsan kümüni çikindı inu xayıluqsan şiremü çudxıxı doun doun-yên ülü sonos-çi şibineldükü udxu inu ene bui: basa tere xutuqtu Güsü blama Erliq xându zarliq bolboi: bi Erliq xâni zarliq-yêr amiduyın zayâni ergen [-irgen] ulustu suryâl kele-sü bi: tende tamu-du odçi sayın mou-gi üzeji irêd: (7a) zarliq bolsı: tende kürüqşeni xoyino şiremün toyon-du: olon kümüni çinaji bayıxui-yi tamuyın ezêd-êce asaqbâ: youni tula çınaxu bi geji asaqbâ: çınaxu-du yası maxanı ö-börö öbörö iljireqşen-dü blama öbörö-yên beyebên metü sanaji öröşöji tere xutuqtu Güsü blama uyıljı tamuyın ezêd keleüküdên xutuqtu blama çi youni tulada uyılanai çi geji asaqbâ: xutuqtu Güsü blama zarliq bolboi: ene kümüni şiremün toyon-du çınaxui-gi üzüji uyılabaı bebe: blama youni tula uyılaba: ene uri-du amidu caqtân süme burxani ebdeji nom erdeni-yi tüleji doroljiloji [-doromjiloji] yabuq-sani tula çınaxu udxu inu tere bui: xutuqtu Güsü blama canân odçi üzetele şöbögö oula-du [zoun] nayıman tö-mür: (7b) degegi deqşi xandoulji dëdü degëdü kümü ölgüji dorodu degëdü salkındı kiy-skeji bayıxu-du san-jıl zaji bayıxu-du inu zu(ru) qdaji kiyime boltolo: tataji bayıxui-yi xu-tuqtu Güsü blama tedeni beye abxu-du yasın ü-sün inu turçi xocorçi töüni xoi-no basa edegçi ki-rödöji urtu nüdüji sü-kes-yêr colgıji tärmedeji uyıljı çürkıraji bur-kıraji bayıxui-yi xutuqtu Güsü blama üzüji röbên (?) ebeçi döqşın bur-xani zäreke tarni sedkiji [C 236: usu] tarnıdaçı cacuxu-du te-re nayıman xaluun tam 'ui-gi xösun bolıyoji tamu-êce tonilyöji burxani yaz-artu kürgebei:: basa tere töüni câna üzetele (8a) küyitön tamudu unayäji lingxo metü kürüqşeni xoi-no tamuyın-nara yarangxui [-xarangyui] urida xou tataji abxudu arasun üsü 'ni torçi xo-corçi töüni xutuqtu Güsü blama üzeji öröşöji usu tarni-daji cacuxudu nayıman küi-tön tamu-êce yarçi basa gesüşüni xoi-no tamudu unayäqsadi bur-xani yazartu zäji öqçi::

ilgebe:: basa xutuqtu Gösü blama basa xarangyui yaza-riyin tamu-du odçi: yeke dou doulaji urgşixu-du yurban erdeniyyin kücün-yër xarangyui tamui-gi gegën bolyoji töüni cāna üzetele xayircaqtu tamu-du kürçi tere xayircaq-tu tamuyin [=tamuyin xayircaq] nelligë nêji üzebe basa üzeküdü xayir-(8b)-caq dotoroki olon kümüni nigen nigen-yën ideldüji kebtéküi-yi xutuqtu Gösü blama üzeji tere: tamuyin ezêd-êce asaqbā: tere tamuyin ezêd kelekü-dën uridu amidu caqtān [C 236: ene tamu dотора idilçejü kebtëgçi amitan ber urida amidu büküyin jayayan-dur bey-e bey-e-yin ed-iyen idege-yi adal mal-i ary-a jali qudal qayurmay-iyar qongijü idilçigsen-iyer: edüge qayırçay-tu tamu-dur unaju öberün öberün bey-e-yi idelçejü kebtëg-sen-ü udq-a tere bui kemebe: qutuy-tu Gösü blam-a nigen ekitü nom ungşiqui-dur qayırçay-ud inu ebderçü böged: tere tamu-yin amitan-i tonilaju burqan-u yajar-i jıyaju ilgebei: basa qutuy-tu Gösü blam-a tegünçe çınayşı odbasu: bayasun şigesün-ü dumda olan kümün-i kebtë-küin idelçejü qutuy-tu Gösü blam-a üjged: tere tamuyin ejed-êce asayubai: tede amitan yayun-u tula teyimü boluysan bui kemebesü: tamuyin ejed ügülerün] uridu amidu: caqtān blama burxani bu-zarlaji yabuqsani tulada şesün bāsuni dunda tō-toqsoni udxa inu tere bui: basa xutuqtu Gösü blama cāna üzetele olon eme xurāji uran [-C 236: dörbön] kümün-yër tömür ulayıyaji dörbön züq büri tataji şoukinatala xārijı souxui-yi xutuq-tu Gösü blama üzeji ta-muyin ezêd-êce asaqbā: te-re tamuyin ezêd keleküdën uridu amidu caqtān altatu mönggötüyigi ümüsümüi altatu [=amitatu] idēni ideji ali-yën ü-lei-yi sayışāji yabuqsanam (9a) tula xārixu udxa inu: tere bui: basa xutuqtu Gösü blama nigen ekitü nom nomloxu-du züq büri tataji dörbön kümün barıxu yarıyā aldaji tamu-êce tonilyoji burxani yazartu zāji ögçi ilgebe:: basa xutuqtu Gösü blama: töün-êce cāna üzetele maliyin tamu-du kürçi tere mal usu üzeküle oun ülü çidaxu öböşü üzeküle iden ülü çidaxu xutuqtu Gösü blama üzeqsen-dü tere tamuyin zergedü altan mal'ıai-tu burxani olon aqsanajı: tere altan malay'ıai-tu burxani-êce xutuqtu Gösü blama asaqbā: çı eyimi xutuqtu burxan söjü [-souji] bögötölö ene mali youni tula tamudu unayāba: çı gebe:: tere altan malayıai-tu burxan xutuqtu Gösü blamadu xa-riu (9b) ögüülebei: uridu ami-du caqtān kilinceyin: kücündü tamu-du unaqsanı ud'xa inu tere bui:: (kemebe) xutuqtu Gösü blama ni'gen (ekitü) nom nomloxu-du tere tamu-êce tonilyoji burxani yazartu tura töüröl-bei: tere xutuqtu Gösü blama tende-êce xa-rıjı ireji Erliq xāni xālyadu kürçi soutala Tang-yudiyin Nirzamca blama nirvā[n] bolji oqtorıyoyin dëgüüber adabişi yeke çimën yarçı oxdui-yi Erliq xān sonočı ars'lan terigüütü küböün-yën ilgebe ars'lan terigüütü elçi Erliq xān-du ireji kelebe: tere uri-du amidu caqtān er[ke]tü blama aqsanajı: yeke tamui-yi xōsun bolyoji naran yaruqsan metü ödö bolji odbo: bi asa-qxudān iyimi yeke tamui-yi (10a) xōsun bolyoji odxu ken neretü kümün bui geji asaqbā: bi:: tere Tangyudiyi Nirzamca blama zarlıq bolboi: amidu caqtān xatıujın: diyān soqlatıyibi tere kü-çüni tula oqtorıyoyin dëgüür ödö bolxu mini ene bui geji zarlıq bolji yabuba: basa ni-gen bars terigüütü çid-kür ireji Erliq xān-du ügë kelebe: xoi-no-êce mini buyan-tu: blama ödö bolji āşın amidu caqtān zurıyān [ü]züq tümen temesün ungşiq-san aqsanajı töüni udxa inu morin üker-tü açıjı odui zes körgö-dü kürçi odui tere (zurıyān) [ü]zügiyin kücünü tula xamıq amitan yuçın:: (10b) yurban tenggeriyyin-neriyyin dëre tataji: abçi yarba: geji tere bars terigüütü çidkür Erliq xān-du ayılad-xaba: Erliq xān zarlıq bolboi teyimi yeke blama nada zolyo-tuyai geji yadaqşı mürgüji bayıbai: nigen cayān kümün nigen xara kümün xoyor Erliq xāndu zolyoboı burxan zarlıq bolxudān cayān kümün xara kümün xoyor kilincë ügei bui: geji kelebe: çidkür keleküdën ene xoyor kümüni ki-lincë inu olon bui geji kelebe: Erliq xān zarlıq bolxudān burxan çidkür xoyor bulā=duuni çı cayān kümün çı nada ügën kelege-be:: (11a) bi: tere cayān kümün kele-küdën bi amidu caqtān noyon kümün belei bi nada kilincë ügei gebe: tenggeri burxan-du takil örgülei bi yuyıyacı-du kümün-dü jui-laya ögü-lei bi zoun nayıman nom biçi-bei bi: basa Erliq xān zarlıq bolji: kelekü-dën ene kümün itegel ügei kümün bayınam gebe: biçi'çin biçiç nêji üzeji keleküdën buyanı olon bayınam geji ke-lebe: tolıdu üzeji çı(ng)nüürtü çingneji üze-ji üze kükdü tabın nai-man nomi nigen kilin-cë-luya teneg bolji: basa Erliq xān [zarlıq] bolboi: ene cayān kümün sayın itegel-tü kümün bayınam (11b) zarim kümün xara beyën ükükyün çinën ülü sanajı bayınam ed barān-yën ülü eleküyin çinën ülü sanajı unuqsan morin-yën eceküyin çinën ülü sanajı yurban erdeniyyin-yi sanaxu-la töüni açı üre inu ene bui: cayān sedkil-tü kümün-lügë ali kümün nigen çü burxan-du şü-tüküle ende cuululcaji umara zügiyin Abi-dabā burxani yazartu kürkü bui: basa Erliq xān zarlıq bolboi: xara kümüni ese itege-ji biçiçini biçiç nêji üzebe: basa çing-nöür-tü çingneji üze-be: töüni xoyino üze-küdü uridu amidu (12a) caqtān buyan üyiled-küdü dara [-dura] ügei Sanji burxan blama xoyor-tu mürgükü dura ügei mürgü-kü kümüni ülü tälaji ya-buqsani tulada tamu-du unayāba geji keled-ül-be xara sedkil-tü kümüni-ni ken zöbşö ji tede bügüdë arban nayıman tamu-du orkixu udxa inu ene bui: Erliq xān-du cayān eme xara eme xoyor zolyoji burxan zarlıq bolxudān ene xoyor eme-dü kilincë ügei bui: uridu amidu caqtān buyan burxan nomdu du-ratai: geji çidkür keleküdën üküülkü kilin-cën inu olon bui: gebe: burxan blama nomi ü-gei geji kelebe: Erliq xān zarlıq bolxudān burxan (12b) çidkür xoyor bulāldunam çı cayān eme ügën kelege-be: tere cayān eme kelekü-dën bi uridu amidu caq-tān dolōn köbüte be-lei bi dolōn buyan üiledbei: bi burxani takim belei bi toyidi kündüleji belei bi: mini xoi-no do-lōn küböümini dolōn buyan üyiledkü bui: geji ke-le-be:: Erliq xān zes körgö-yin zam-yër yuçın yur-ban tenggeriyyin-neri-yin yazartu ilgebe:: xara emei-yi biçiçin biçiç nêji keleküdën ene xara eme uridu amidu caqtān blama bur-xani doromjıloji yabuqsan aji xarangyui mingyan kilincë üyiledçi yabuqsani tula xarangyui tamu-du unayāxu udxa ene bui: Erliq xān zarlıq bolboi: bi ene zöb-(13a)-tü burrutıı-yi ilya-ya geji ene xoyor zayāni dumda souq-san bui bi: xutuqtu Gösü blama çı amidu za-yāni ulustu surıyāl ke-le-bebi: buyan kıqsen kümüni burxani yazartu tö-röülkü mini ene bui: xarangyui mungxag üyiled-küle xara sedkil-tü kü-müni xarangyui tamudu or-kixu ene bui: geji kelebe: xutuqtu Gösü blama xarjı iretelë inu xo-yor zayāni xör-dumdu endeki emegen zolyobo xutuqtu Gösü blama zarlıq bolboi: ai emegen uridu zayān çini mini eke belei çı ödügë ene zayādu burxani yazartu tö-röükü geji: xarjı odsu xu-tuqtu Gösü blamayın Erligiyin zakā tögüşbē::

(13b) Ene nomi Atuyur biçiıbei ene ödür yurban: nom büttübei.

Translation

(1a) A Story about the Deceased Saint Tibetan Gösü-Lama

(1b) The saint Tibetan Gösü-lama died. On his death he did not reach the land of Buddhas, did not go to the Lower Hell, but fell to the Hell of Void between them. On falling down [he], due to his contemplation about the Three Jewels and the incantation of *om maṇi padme hum*, penetrating [into its meaning], reached the slopes of a high mountain. Ascending higher up he saw a mountain completely of ice, which seemed to support the sky. On that slope he met some old woman. Lama asked: "Oh, old woman, what this mountain of ice has been made for?" The old woman answered: (2a) "Saint // Gösü-Lama, don't you know? [It] is called "The Ice Mountain between Two Rebirths".

Saint Gösü-lama asked [again]: "Old woman, on that slope, within a huge enclosure, all have the appearance of beasts of prey. What is that? What is the high golden bridge over there? What is that lower bridge of yellow copper behind it? And lower there, what is that bridge of red copper? Below it, what is that iron bridge? What is that gathering of lamas and monks who are merrymaking, beating cymbals, trumpeting, reading sacred books and counting six syllables (*maṇi*)? What is the white house behind them where they are beating a great drum? Closer // (2b) here, what is this great sea? What is that gloomy bridge there below?"

The old woman answered: "Seven years had passed since the time I had died. I see that you also, lama, detached your soul from your body. Do not go to that slope. If you go, it will be bad. The virtuous ones and those who respected and firmly remembered about the Three Jewels, even if they go there, no harm will befall them. All the other sinful creatures, if they go there, all will turn into beasts of prey. That high golden bridge conducts to the land of Buddhas. The bridge of yellow copper, which is behind it, leads to the realm of the virtue of Amitābha, the Buddha of the northern quarter. The bridge of red copper leads to the realm of thirty-three *tengris*. The lower[most] iron bridge leads to Erlig Khan. As for the gathering of all these lamas, monks and laymen, who are merrymaking there, // (3a) beating cymbals, trumpeting, reading sacred books and counting six syllables (*maṇi*), before, when they were alive, the lamas, monks and all the people — all together — were performing virtuous deeds. That is why they have a blissful existence. In that white house stays a *tengri* in the appearance of Erlig Khan beating a great drum. The sea which is closer here is called "The Sea of Urine". // And the old woman also said to Gösü-lama: "Going by that iron bridge you will meet Erlig Khan. You will see if the power of Hell is great or little, and [then] meet [Erlig Khan]".

After that saint Gösü-lama went by the iron bridge. But as soon as he went forth, a multitude of men and women followed him. But that iron bridge became thin as a hair, and when that great number of men and women stepped on it. (3b) it broke, and [they all] fell down to Hell. This is the reason why the iron bridge became thin as a hair. For those living beings who committed sins in their lives, abused lamas and were not respecting the Three Jewels, the bridge of hair [is designed].

Saint Gösü-lama went by the iron bridge and approached the gates of Erlig Khan. Erlig Khan came to meet him and spoke to saint Gösü-lama: "In their lives stupid living beings and men commit numerous sins thinking that they will live a thousand years. Saying that lamas and the sacred teaching are lying, they do not think about the loss of what they have gained. // (4a) They think that their dress will never be worn out and their horse will never fall. To distinguish between the true and the false I am staying here, between the two kinds of rebirths". [After that] Erlig Khan ordered saint Gösü-lama: "Take my admonishment to all the people now living. Tell them that you have visited the blessed land of Buddhas and the realm of torturous Hells. The body of a righteous man is better than [the body] of a *tengri*. His face is like sun-shine. The body of a man who performed no virtuous deeds is in Hell. His face is like a mixed // (4b) clay.

Gösü-lama asked Erlig Khan: "There, far away, what are these heads of numerous people amidst the great sea of blood? What for are they [placed] there? Further on, in the white plains, many people are seen having no food, no drink, and no clothes. Those who have no food are sitting, scraping the earth. Their fingers are torn to wrists. Their wrists are torn to elbows. Their elbows are torn to shoulders. What for it is done to them? What is the multitude of people closer here? Why have they been left with no legs? (5a) // By the great sea a multitude of people is seen. Their mouth is [like a pea], their feet are not able to walk a step, their heads are huge as a house, their bodies are huge as a mountain, their throats are like the thinnest hair. What for was it done to them? Below them, in a sombre realm, numerous people are crying 'Oh, dear! Oh, dear!' What for it is done to them? To the left [of them] there gathered many people. (5b) // They do not hear the recitation of sacred books, [but are only] whispering. What for it is done to them?"

After saint Gösü-lama had [asked about it], Erlig Khan said: "Those heads of many people visible in that sea of blood are the heads of those who, when alive, by spreading slander among people were making them commit murder. When [the slanderers] were beheaded for that, this sea was formed by the streams of blood. The reason why there, further on, numerous people are sitting and scraping earth, is the following. In their lives, // (6a) having food, drink, and clothes, they were giving neither food, nor drink, nor cloth to lamas because of their greed. For that their arms are torn to the shoulders. The stumps who are closer here, in their lives were stretching their legs in the presence of lamas and trampling over the sacred writings of Buddha. That is why they were left with no legs.

Those who are sitting by the great sea, their mouth small as a pea, with feet unable to walk a step, whose heads are huge as a house, whose bodies are huge as a mountain, whose throats are like the thinnest hair, were in their lives greedy for gold, silver, goods, and food. // (6b) That is why they were reborn as *birds*.

Closer here, in the sombre realm, many people are crying: 'Oh! Oh, father! Oh, mother!' This is the Torturous Hell. In their lives these people have murdered their fathers, also they were lawlessly taking lives of living beings. That for they collapsed into the Torturous Hell. The multitude of people, who are whispering on the left, in their lives were not following the instructions of lamas, who were reading sacred books. That for melted cast iron was poured into their ears. That is why they whisper not hearing a sound".

Saint Gösü-lama addressed Erlig Khan again: "By the order of Erlig Khan I shall go and take your instructions to the people living. [But first] I shall go to Hell and see what is good and what is evil". // (7a) When he reached the [Hell], he [saw] how a great number of people were boiling in a cauldron of cast iron, asking the masters of [that] Hell: "What for are we boiling?" When boiling meat was falling off from bones. Saint Gösü-lama was distressed and began to cry, as if his own body [was boiling there]. "Saint lama, why do you cry?" — asked the masters of [that] Hell. Saint Gösü-lama answered: "I cry, because I see those people boiling in a cauldron of cast iron". "They are boiling, because in their lives they used to destroy monasteries and buddhas' images and were abusing and burning sacred relics".

Saint Gösü-lama went further and saw how on a mountain [named] "Awl" // (7b) [C 236: a hundred and] eight hooks were raised with a man hanging on each. When strong wind blew, they were swinging and falling into pieces like hemp husk. When saint Gösü-lama touched their bodies, bones and hair fell off. After that they were restored to life, sawed, pounded in a mortar and cut with axes. [All] were crying, weeping and wailing. Seeing this, saint Gösü-lama considered the secret incantation of the fearsome Medicine Buddha, sprinkled holy [water] and devastated those eight Hot Hells. Liberating [all] from Hell, he sent them to the land of Buddhas. Then, looking into the distance, // (8a) Gösü-lama saw how those falling into the Cold Hell were becoming lotus-like. When they were dragged out from Hell, their skin and hair were falling off. In his mercy saint Gösü-lama sprinkled holy water, brought everyone out from the Cold Hell and, after instructing them, sent the fallen ones into the land of Buddhas.

Then, upon coming to the Dark Hell, saint Gösü-lama [saw people] crying loudly. Reciting [a prayer], by the power of the Three Jewels he illuminated the Dark Hell. Then he went to the Box Hell. Opening a gash in that devilish box and looking inside // (8b) he saw that numerous people were lying in the box, devouring each other. Seeing that, saint Gösü-lama asked the masters [of that Hell] about [the reason of their suffering], and the masters of the Hell answered: "[Supplemented from manuscript C 236 — All living beings lying and devouring each other, in their former lives were feeding, acquiring property, food and herbs by cunning and trickery, cheating each other. That is why now, falling into the Box Hell, they are lying there, devouring each other". When saint Gösü-lama recited the Sacred Book, the boxes fell apart. On liberating the living beings of that Hell he sent them to the land of Buddhas.

Then saint Gösü-lama went further and came upon numerous people immersed in urine and excrement. Seeing this, saint Gösü-lama asked the masters of that Hell: "What for these living beings are here?" "[These], in their former lives, were abusing buddhas and lamas. That for they are thrown into excrement and urine".

Looking further, saint Gösü-lama saw how, on bringing together numerous women, [C 236: four] men, heating iron red-hot, are stretching out and cauterising [them]. Saint Gösü-lama asked [about the reason for their suffering] the masters of [that] Hell, and the masters of the Hell answered: "They are cauterising them, because in their former lives they were decorating themselves with gold and silver, and were eating delicious food". // (9a) Saint Gösü-lama again recited the principal Sacred Book. The four men dragging [those women] apart let them go. Liberating [them] from Hell, saint Gösü-lama sent [them all] to the land of Buddhas.

Then saint Gösü-lama reached the Hell of animals. Those animals, seeing water, could not drink, seeing grass, could not eat. Looking around, saint Gösü-lama [noticed] by that Hell numerous buddhas in golden headgears. Saint Gösü-lama asked one of [those] buddhas in golden headgears: "Why, at the time when you, saint buddha, are sitting [here], these animals are being thrown into Hell?" "But they were overthrown into Hell for the sins they had committed in their lives" — answered that buddha in a golden headgear. // (9b) Saint Gösü-lama recited the principle Sacred Teaching, liberated those [animals] and sent them to be reborn in the land of Buddhas.

[After that] saint Gösü-lama came back and sat by the gates of Erlig Khan. At that time Erlig Khan heard the noise produced by a Tangut lama [named] Irdjamts, who died and was ascending to Heaven. [Erlig Khan] sent his lion-headed son [to have a look]. The lion-headed messenger came back and reported to Erlig Khan: "In his life he was a powerful lama. Now he is proceeding, devastating the Great Hell and rising there the sun. When I asked // (10a) the name of the man, who was devastating the Great Hell, that Tangut lama Irdjamts answered: 'In my life I have shown firmness staying in meditation. Due to this I now go to Heaven'".

There came also a tiger-headed devil and reported to Erlig Khan: "A virtuous lama is following me. In his life he innumerable times recited the six syllables (*mani*). Loading horses and cows he is going by the bridge of red copper. By the power of those six syllables he led all the living creatures // (10b) [to the realm] of thirty three *tengris*". When the tiger-headed devil thus reported to Erlig Khan, he said: "We should meet such a great lama", and coming out he bowed.

[After that] a white and a black man were brought to Erlig Khan. The buddha [who brought them] reported: "The white and the black man have no sins". The devil [who came with them] said: "These two men have numerous sins". Then Erlig Khan ordered: "A dispute arose between the buddha and the devil. [Therefore] you, white man, speak". // (11a) The white man told: "In my life I was a *noyon*. I have no sins. I made offerings to buddhas and *tengris*, gave alms to beggars, copied one hundred and eight sacred books".

Erlig Khan ordered again: "They say that this is not a virtuous man. Scribes, look in the record, how many virtues does he have". When they looked at a mirror and weighed on scales, it turned that in fifty-eight books there was only one sin after him. Erlig Khan said: "This white man is truly virtuous. // (11b) Some people never think that their mortal body will die, that their property will wear out, their horses will get tired. If, however, one meditates upon the Three Jewels, the use that will come is this: every man with pure thoughts, who respects Buddha, comes to the northern realm of the Buddha Amitabha".

[Then], by the orders of Erlig Khan, not trusting the black man, they looked in the record, weighed on scales and reported: "In his life // (12a) he was not inclined to perform good deeds. He disliked people worshipping buddhas and lamas. Therefore he is plunged into Hell". On discussing, they plunged the man with the black soul into eighteen hells.

A black and a white woman were brought to Erlig Khan. The buddha [who brought them] reported: "These two women have no sins. In their lives [they] were respecting virtue, buddhas and the Sacred Writing". The devil argued: "There are numerous mortal sins on them. They did not believe in buddhas, lamas and the Sacred Writing".

"A dispute arose between the buddha and the devil. [Therefore] speak you, white woman" — ordered Erlig Khan. // (12b) The white woman told them: "I had seven sons in my life. I performed seven good deeds. I made offerings to buddhas, respected monks. After my [death] my seven sons will perform seven good deeds". Erlig Khan sent her by the bridge of red copper to the realm of thirty-three *tengris*. [Then] the *[erliks]* looked through records on the black woman and reported: "Because in her life this black woman humiliated buddhas and lamas, committed a thousand black sins, [she] will be thrown into the Dark Hell".

[After that] Erlig Khan said: "I stay here between the two kinds of rebirths to distinguish between the true and the false. You, o saint Gösü-lama, // (13a) take to the living people my instructions. Virtuous people will be reborn in the land of Buddhas. Dark, evil-minded people committing follies will be thrown into the Dark Hell".

When saint Gösü-lama was going back [to the world of the living], then [on the road] between the two rebirths he met an old woman. Saint Gösü-lama said: "Oh, old woman! In your former rebirth you were my mother. In this rebirth you will be reborn in the land of Buddhas". [And] on saying this, he returned [home].

This is the end of the messages of Erlig [Khan] and of saint Gösü-lama.

(13b) This book has been copied by Atugur. On this day he made copies of three books.

Notes

1. W. Heissig, *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1972), i, pp. 87—146.
2. *Molon Toyin's Journey into the Hell*, trans. by Altan Gerel, introduction, transcription, text in facsimile by Lörincz (Budapest, 1982). — Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta, T. VIII; *Oiratskaia versiiia "Istorii o Molon-toyine"* (The Oirat Version of "The Story of Molon-toyin"), text in facsimile, transliteration, translation from Oirat, commentaries and study by N. S. Yakhontova (St. Petersburg, 1996). — Pamiatniki Pis'mennosti Vostoka, T. CVIII, Bibliotheca Buddhica, XLI.
3. W. Heissig, "Zum Totentanzmotiv in Zentralasien: eine neue mongolische Version von Čoyiçid dakini-yin namtar", *Zentralasiatischen Studien*, III (1969), pp. 129—207; *Istoriia Choidzhid-dagini* (The Story of Choyjid-dagini), facsimile of the manuscript, transliteration of the text, translation from Mongolian, study and commentary by A. G. Sazykin (Moscow, 1990). — Pamiatniki Pis'mennosti Vostoka, T. XC, Bibliotheca Buddhica, T. XXXVII.
4. Ć. Damdinsüring, "Monyol uran jokiyal-un degeji jayun bilig orošibai", *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum*, XIV (Ulaanbayatur, 1959), pp. 227—47; A. G. Sazykin, D. Ėndon, "Ranniaia versiiia "Povesti o Naranu-Gerel" (rukopis' F 244 iz sobraniia Leningradskogo otdeleniia Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR)" ("The early version of "The Story of Naranu-Gerel": manuscript F 144 from the collection of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences"), *Studia Mongolica*, XII (20), fasc. 3 (Ulan-Bator, 1987), pp. 34—106; A. G. Sazykin, "Mongol and Oirat versions of the description of Naranu Gerel's descent to the Buddhist hell", *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, XLII/2—3 (1988), pp. 281—306.
5. Heissig, *Geschichte*, pp. 100—4.
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PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

A. Muminov

THE FUND OF ARABOGRAPHIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE MUSEUM-TRUST "AZRET-SULTAN" IN THE CITY OF TURKESTAN

The Turkestan region is one of the cultural centres which are of special interest for the study of regional forms of Islam. Its original Islamic culture, which developed on the north-eastern border of Muslim world, went through a long course of evolution. In the first half of the twentieth century, however, Muslim tradition was exposed to a severe test. Its adherents were persecuted, the religious institutions and buildings destroyed. Manuscripts from rich public libraries, including that by the Mausoleum of Khwāja Aḥmad al-Yasawī (d. 562/1166—67), were either destroyed or transferred to central archives and libraries, some of them came to private owners. By 1977, when within the frames of the program for founding the Museum-Trust began to collect surviving manuscripts, there was not a single book left in the library of the Mausoleum.

The Museum-Trust "Azret-Sultān" in the city of Turkestan was opened on 30 September 1978. In search for manuscripts the directorate of the Museum organised several expeditions to different regions of Central Asia. Many books came to the Museum in 1978—1979. The manuscript fund of the Museum was expanded due to the acquisitions made by above-mentioned expeditions, donations of pilgrims, and of local dwellers. In 1991, after which practically no new acquisitions were made, the manuscript fund numbered 65 codices and 140 lithographic books.

There were no attempts to separate manuscripts and printed books, they were registered in the same inventory-book. They were and are still stored in one room with other objects belonging to the Museum. Unfortunately, the conditions under which the books are stored do not answer any

requirements. Some investigation into the contents of the manuscripts was undertaken by a museum-curator Kh. Imajanov. Several books that had no binding were bound then. While surveying the manuscript fund, I discovered that some of the manuscripts had been damaged in the process of binding, and that four of them had not been registered at all. The manuscripts were intended to be exhibited, but there were no plans to make them available to the readers. There was, correspondingly, no information about the funds of the Museum in scholarly publications.

The manuscript fund of the Museum numbers 65 volumes containing 136 copies of 82 works. Of these 50 are written in Arabic, 25 — in Persian, 7 — in Turkic languages. The small number of codices in Turkic is surprising enough, though it may be explained by the desire of the donors to keep the writings in their native tongue in their private collections. By the evidence of one of them, Muzaffar Shalapov, who now works in the Museum, books in Turkic make no less than a half of his own private collection. He keeps these books for his children.

The fund includes works dealing with the following disciplines:

1. the Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies;
2. *ḥadīth*;
3. dogmatics;
4. *fiqh*;
5. logics;
6. philology;
7. poetry;
8. *mutafarriqāt*.

1. The Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies

This part of the fund includes 8 copies of the Qur'ān, 2 works on recitation of the Qur'ān — *Wuqūf-i Sijāwandī* by Muḥammad b. Tayfūr al-Sijāwandī (d. ca. 560/1165) and *al-Durr al-furīd fī'l-tajawīd* by Ḥāfiẓ Kalān al-Bukhārī, one book of comments on the Qur'ān — *Ḥadā'iq*

al-ḥakā'iq fī kashf asrār al-daqa'iq by Mu'in al-Dīn al-Harawī al-Farāhī (d. 907/1501—02) and one treatise written in the *faḍā'il* genre — *Risāla dar khawāṣṣ-i suvar-i Qur'ān-i karīm*.

2. *Ḥadīth*

Two well-known writings — *Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ* by al-Tabrizī (d. 740/1339—40) and *Mukhtaṣar jāmi'* by al-

Jurjānī (d. 816/1413) — represent this branch of Islamic scholarship.

3. Dogmatics

Among 12 works on Islamic dogmatics (*kalām*) there are popular in Central Asia works — *al-Fiqh al-akbar* by Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), *al-'Aqā'id al-nasafiya* by al-Nasafi (d. 537/1142), *al-'Aqā'id al-'aḍudiya* by al-Ījī (d. 756/1355) and authoritative commentaries on them by

al-Taftāzānī (d. 732/1390), al-Khayālī (d. after 862/1498), al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1067/1657), etc. Of special interest is the widespread in Central Asia *madrasa* textbook *Awwal-i 'ilm* by Mīrzā Sulaymān and *Aḥwāl-i qiyāmat* by Kazakh scholar Shādī Töre (d. 1932).

4. Fiqh

This section is represented exclusively by works on Hanafite *madhhab*. Numerous copies of *Mukhtaṣar al-wiqāya* by 'Ubaydallāh b. Mas'ūd (d. 747/1346) should be noted (9 manuscripts); *Fiqh al-Kaydānī* (4 copies) by Luṭ fallāh al-Nasafi (d. ca. 750/1349) and their translations into Persian (3 works). There are also copies of *al-Hidāya fi*

sharḥ al-bidāya by Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghinānī (d. 593/1197); *al-Farā'id al-sirājīya* by al-Sijāwandī (12th century); *Sharḥ al-wiqāya*, *al-Tawḍīḥ fī ḥall ghawāmid al-tanqīḥ* by 'Ubaydallāh b. Mas'ūd; *Hayrat al-fuqahā* by 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Bukhārī; *Majmū'a-yi mas'ala* by al-Ḥusaynī, etc.

5. Logics

Works on logics make a considerable portion of the fund. These are popular works *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya* and *Ḥikmat al-'ayn* by al-Kātibī (d. 675/1276); commentaries and super-commentaries on them made by al-Rāzī

(d. 766/1364), by al-Ījī, al-Harawī (d. 1101/1689), al-Siyālkūtī; *Tahdhīb al-mantiq wa'l-kalām* by al-Taftāzānī, *Sullam al-'ulūm* by al-Bihārī (d. 1119/1707), etc.

6. Philology

Works on philology make the largest group in the fund. All these works, even those written in Persian, deal with the questions of Arabic grammar, lexicography and rhetoric. These are well-known works — *al-'Awāmil al-mi'a* by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078); *Ḥarakāt al-i-rāb*

and *Faṣl fī'l-ḥurūf* from *Muqaddimat al-adab* by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144); *al-Kafiya* by Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249); *al-Fawā'id al-ḍiyyā'iya* by al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492), etc.

7. Poetry

This part includes monuments of Persian and Turkic verse. These are *Munājāt wa-naṣā'ih* by 'Abdallāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1088); *Manṭiq al-tayr* by Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār (killed in 627/1230); *Dīwāns* of Ḥāfiẓ al-Shīrāzī (d. 791/1389), of

al-Ṣā'ib (d. 1081/1671), of Mashrab (the second half of the 17th—early 18th century), of Ṣūfī Allāhyār (d. between 1133—1136/1720—23), etc.

8. Mutafarriqāt

In this part medicine and mathematics are represented each by one treatise — *Kifāya-yi mujāhidīya* by Maṣnūr b. Muḥammad (15th century) and *Khulāṣat al-ḥisāb* by al-'Āmilī (d. 1030/1621). It includes also a popular among the students of Central Asian *madrasa* work *Chahār kitāb*, an autograph of a unique work describing the cycle of pil-

grimage to the holy places of Turkestan and local rules of *ziyārat* — *Turkistān bayānī* by M. Ṣafā'bekulī (1904—1982). The author originating from Northern Kazakhstan was the first to make a record of the old Kazakh traditions of making a pilgrimage to the holy sites of the region.

* * *

Collections of Friday sermons (*khuṭba*), personal prayers (*du'a*'), stories about the Prophet (*ḥikāyāt*) current among the local ministers of religion deserve special attention.

The oldest manuscript of the fund registered under No. 411 was copied in 992/1584 by Ḥāfiẓ Mīrzā Muḥammad b. Khwāja Mīrak Muḥammad al-Samarqandī. Two manuscripts (No. 188/57 and No. 188/64) are of the eighteenth century. All other manuscripts were copied in the nineteenth century.

The manuscripts represented in the fund of the Museum-Trust "Azret-Sultān" come from different parts of Central Asia. Most of these works were used as textbooks in the Central Asian primary school (*maktab*), in secondary and high religious school (*madrasa*) [1]. The fund can be significant for the study of the intellectual life of the educated part of the Central Asian society in the late nineteenth—early twentieth century. It can be used in a seminar, like "Describing Arabographic manuscripts" for the students of the recently founded International Kazakh-Turkic University named after Kh. A. Yasavi.

One should take into account that in the Turkestan region of the South-Kazakh district there are many rich private collections of Arabographic manuscripts and documents. The ones we have seen belong to Ja'far Mamenov, Akram Habibullaev, Bahadūr Sapiev, Nasīr Hamrakulov,

etc. Recently the Institute of Ethnophilology and History of the Peoples of Kazakhstan by the International Kazakh-Turkic University named after Khwāja Aḥmad al-Yasawī started a program of collecting, sorting, and publishing old manuscripts.

Notes

1. [V. P.] Nalivkin, *Svedeniia o sostoianii tuzemnykh madrasa v Syr Dar'inskoĭ oblasti v 1890—91 uchebnom godu* (Information on the State of the Native Madrasas in the Syr-Darya District in the 1890—91 Academic Year) (Tashkent, 1916); N. P. Ostroumov, *Islamovedenie. Vvedenie v kurs islamovedeniia* (Islamic Studies. Introduction to the Course of Islamic Studies) (Tashkent, 1914), pp. 109 — 113, 193 — 7.
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ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

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PROGRAMMING OF TEXTS CONCEPTUAL TREATMENT

Introduction

Computer representation of knowledge is an actual but not yet solved problem of historical investigations methodology. The huge volume of knowledge in the humanities is presented, as a rule, in the form of texts. In historical investigations the texts of the literary monuments written in ancient languages as well as pieces of ancient scripts serve as the principal source of information. The problem of scientific knowledge formalisation is thus connected with the problem of computer representation of semantics of natural language texts and their conceptual modelling.

Within a wide scope of the problems relevant to the modelling of communications employing a natural language (NL), we are taking interest, first of all, in a special case of the NL communications, which aims at the accumulation, systematisation, and the conceptual modelling of the texts in a concrete objects area. This process is meant to create a sublanguage with a formalised semantics, providing computer "understanding" of the texts in a given sphere of communications. It is the process of creating a problem-oriented sublanguage where a user of the knowledge base is to determine main practical and communicative objects of information accumulation.

The studied approach to the use of the model of understanding of a NL-text requires realisation and investigation of two level-interrelations of a user with the knowledge base created by him. One of them, conventionally denoted as the "level of formation of communication sphere", is used in those cases when the base should be upgraded by a set of primary objects, in order to ascertain their properties

or initial states, to complete a conventional list of semantic linkages, to introduce certain scripts or initial rules for the performing of plausible reasoning necessary for the text understanding. This is the level for communications employing formal means of interaction with the knowledge base. The next one (the NL-level) assumes exchange with the base using a problem-oriented sublanguage as well as automatic — that is, performed by the base analyser, extraction of conceptual information from the text.

In this paper we consider the formal means of interaction with the knowledge base on the level of creation a communication sphere. At the base of determining of the means under consideration lies a view on the knowledge base of a humanitarian investigation as on the system of hypertext formatted as an electronic card catalogue. In a number of works [1] were published the backgrounds of the general approach to creation of such a system and were considered certain elements of the technique of semantic encoding of NL-texts (with the example of employing the V. V. Martynov's semantic primitives [2]). The means of exchange with the knowledge base considered in this work are determined as a language for recording the texts content and for programming their conceptual treatment (a formal language). Using a definition "conceptual treatment" we follow R. Shank [3] and assume the procedures of the text analysis and synthesis, which are based on the scope of definitions and their interrelations created beforehand and upgraded in the process of the analysis.

1. The Formal Communication Language

In our approach to the definition of the formal language we were guided by the following requirements to the practical representation of the means of interaction with the knowledge base:

a) the formal language is a part of the general set of means for the description of a linguistic processor, the "carrier" for the problem-oriented language;

b) in the framework of this language, the means of hypertext (formation and requests at the reading), the philological toolkit of a humanitarian investigation (creation of thesauruses and lexical pointers, determination of semiotic juxtapositions and synonyms series), the means of control over factographical data bases, and the means of definition of a problem-oriented sublanguage (description of infor-

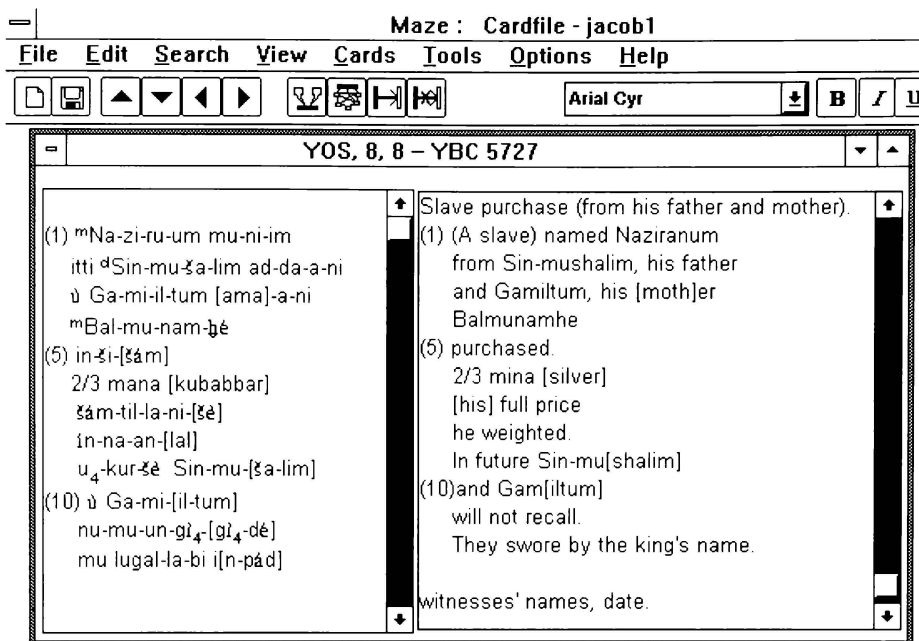


Fig. 1

mational structures of "conceptual memory" and of algorithms of message analysis) are integrated in a common complex.

The information in the card catalogue is represented by a scope of cards [4]. The structure of a card, the route for dividing information contained in it into separate elements (windows) are determined by the card pattern. For any element of the pattern one points its label, position in the card, and the type of information written in it (text or image). Further we consider only the elements possessing a text information. One card may keep several different texts. In *fig. 1* is given an example of the card with two texts (reproduced from the V. A. Yacobson card catalogue [5]).

The text in a fragment of a card may be considered as:

a) "inscription" — that is, a text where all features of its graphic representation are essential,

b) "message" — that is, a chain of characters possessing an informational content regardless the font used for any certain character.

The following types of relations between the cards are possible [6]:

a) to a given card a set of other cards may be juxtaposed — that is, it may be defined as an entry;

b) a given card may be included into various entries;

c) hypertext may be constructed to include a card into an entry (the hypertext means a tree-like net with a given inclusion of the card as its root and the branches of the card being named — a branch corresponds to a transition name in the hypertext).

A message is extracted from an inscription by transformation of its code into an alphabetical representation [7]. Such a transformation is defined by a special informational structure — the card catalogue alphabet. This structure assigns a list of images to a given character in various fonts.

For a given message may be determined a pathway for the dividing the parent mark chain into sets of marks with emphasising some of them (key words) and their interpretation. The sets of marks may be emphasised by either a user (by means of special graphic means for the emphasising, e. g., combining the images colour and attributes), or computationally (by determination of the text syntax). The emphasised mark sets, or precisely, their inclusions into a given text, may be saved in the system dictionaries.

The texts written in the formal language belong to a certain type of messages for computational treatment by the system. Further, we consider structure and methods for the treating of the formalised messages.

2. Objects and Relations

The formalised messages contain factographic information and instructions for its treatment. All acquired information is accumulated in the conceptual memory sys-

tem, where it is integrated into a unified informational complex of the knowledge base. Treatment of the accumulated information according to the instructions given is ini-

tialised by inquiries to the conceptual memory. The latter may be considered as a united hypertext where, along with the data extracted from the messages, location of the messages in the hypertext and the routes between the messages are also fixed. Information is represented in the conceptual memory in a normalised (canonical) form.

Correspondingly, with this concept we differ external and canonical representations of messages. In this section we consider general structure and elements of external messages.

The messages are recorded as a sequence of sentences of the formal language. A sentence may either introduce a certain object or group sentences into a new object (conceptualisation), or be an instruction determining relations between various classes of sentences. The sentences are separated by the mark “;”.

The sentences may be denoted by numerals or alphabetical characters. The sentences dealing with numbers are recorded in the syntax form identical with the commonly accepted (we are not going into details of these records here). The chains of alphabetical characters considered as an object (not as designation of an object) are separated by the mark “.”. Further we consider the sentences concerning individual objects, conceptualisation, and instructions.

The *individual objects* are the essences *a priori* supposed as:

- a) always having a designation (one, or several synonyms);
- b) capable to be considered either as an element of a certain ensemble or as an ensemble comprising a scope of elements.

In addition, an object may be considered as relationship or as one of the elements of this relationship, all relations being regarded as asymmetrical.

The objects designations are recorded as a tentative sequence of alphabetical characters separated by the language spacers or brackets “[” or “]”. The record $S1 := S2$ denotes that $S1$ and $S2$ are equivalent, $S1$ and $S2$ being different designations of the same object.

We consider the sentences as fragments of hypertext with the common contents. Therefore there is a possibility of a local and general designation of an object, the same general designation being used in various messages corresponds to one and the same object.

A local designation of an object is inherent in the message where it is used. Within a message one local designation corresponds to one object. In different messages similar local designations corresponds to different objects. The local designations have complex structure represented by a pair (designation) (message name) — along with the object designation a message is given, where the character is localised. In its turn, the message name joints designation of a card and, possibly, designation of the text on the card (when the card contains several texts). The following convention is accepted: a card designation is always prefaced with the prefix “#”. A message name in local notation may be given by the prefix “#” alone if the current message is only assumed.

A record of type $E1 : E2$ establishes that the elemental object $E2$ ($E2$ is considered to be an element in this relation) belongs to the ensemble object $E1$ ($E1$ is considered to be an ensemble). We will further assume that $E2$ object concretises $E1$ object (that is $E2$ presents an example, or a concretisation of $E1$).

A record $E1(E3)$ defines that the ensemble object $E1$ has an attribute $E3$.

More complex record, $E4(E3, E5)$, establishes that $E5$ is value of the $E3$ attribute of the elemental object $E4$, and that possibly there is an ensemble object E not indicated in the record and therefore unknown. In respect of the E , one may state that $E4$ specifies it, while $E3$ is its attribute. In other words, $E4$ specifies an unknown object E with the attribute $E3$, the value of the latter is $E5$.

Finally, a record $E1 : E4(E3, E5)$, being a statement concerning $E4$, evidently points to the existence of an object $E1$ with a specimen $E4$ and with the value $E5$ of its attribute $E3$.

The pairs:

(object-ensemble) : (object-element), (1)

(object-ensemble) ((object-attribute)), (2)

and triad:

(object-element) ((object-attribute). (value)) (3)

are suggested to be *terminal statements*. The object-element in the terminal statement (1), object-ensemble in (2) and object-element in (3) are *main objects* of these statements. The convention on the main object allows us to record the sets of terminal statements in a compact form of the language sentences. In particular, the sentence $E1 : E2 : E3$ is equal both to $(E1 : E2) : E3$ and to the set $E1 : E2; E2 : E3$, and the sentence $E1 : (E2 : E3)$ is equivalent to $E1 : E3; E2 : E3$. With the traditional convention on the use of parentheses, we are free enough to combine statements when making a sentence of them in language is necessary.

EXAMPLE 1. The content of the card represented in fig. 1 may be given by the following formal message:

```
# [YOS8,8—YBC 5727] :=
{legal document : agreement : D# (object_
of_agreement.purchase-sale : P#,
obligation.(oath : K#));
family : F#(son.Naziranum#, dad.Sin-mushalim#,
mother.Gamiltum#);
P#(seller.(S# := {Sin-mushalim#, Gamiltum#}),
buyer.Balmunamhe#, merchandise.Naziranum#,
price.(silver : C#(unit.mina, amount.2/3));
K#(obliger.S#, to_the_name.king (name),
oath_object.P#))}.
```

Note that interpretation of the message is invariant in respect of the order of sentences.

It is often necessary (or convenient) to consider a set of sentences as an integral object. In the above example the Sin-mushalim# and Gamiltum# pair is one and the same subject of the agreement. When the set of statements taken into brackets { }, it indicates that this set should be accepted (and fixed) as an integral object. Following R. C. Shank [8], we designate such an object as *conceptualisation*.

Conceptualisations may be evident or differing by the form of its record. An evident conceptualisation is designated as

(designation) := {(conceptualisation)}

(the symbol sequence “:= ” means “this is”).

Conceptualisations may be joined by links, e.g., of “cause-result” type. Thus in common cases a conceptualisation record has the following syntax structure:

```
(conceptualisation) := { {set of
statements} } | { (conceptualisation) (link)
(conceptualization) }.
```

The links designations are not determined and their number is not evidently restricted. The fact that an object is designated at the junction of two conceptualisations indicates that the given designation corresponds to a link.

EXAMPLE 2. By designating relations of mutual determination (causal) as “ $R \Leftrightarrow R$ ” we are capable to describe the fact of sale as mutually causal facts of change in owning:

```
{ {owning_change : Y1# (from_whom.S#,
to_whom.Balmunamhe#, ownership : Naziranum#) }
R  $\Leftrightarrow$  R {owning_change :
Y2# (from_whom.Balmunamhe#, to_whom.S#,
ownership : silver : C# (unit.mina, amount.2/3)) } }.
```

3. Semantemes and Guide bar

The *semantemes* [9] is a next type of statements of the language, which is used when a class of specimens should be determined and the new class structure should be defined through what was defined earlier. A semanteme construction has the form:

```
{ (semanteme designation) : (variable)
((attribute_1) (variable_1), ..., (attribute_k) .
(variable_k)) := [(a sequence of sentences)].
```

In this construction, the (semanteme designation), (attribute_1), ..., (attribute_k) denotes objects, and (variable), (variable_1), ..., (variable_k) denotes variables.

EXAMPLE 3. Using the semanteme construction, we may define the class of the objects purchase-sale on the basis of definition of the class of objects ownership_change:

```
{ purchase-sale : !X1 (seller : !X2, buyer : !X3,
merchandise : !X4, price : !X5) :=
[ {ownership_change : !Y1 (from_whom : !X2,
to_whom : !X3, ownership : !X4) } R  $\Leftrightarrow$  R
{ownership_change : !Y2 (from_whom : !X3,
to_whom : !X2, ownership : !X5) } ];
```

The semanteme essence becomes clear if one consider the inquiries to conceptual memory connected with it. In response to the inquiry

```
? purchase-sale !Z1 (seller : !Z2, buyer : !Z3,
merchandise : !Z4)
```

the conceptual memory neglects the corresponding semanteme. However, when the inquiry

```
? ownership_change : !X (from_whom : !Y1,
to_whom : !Y2, ownership : !Y3)
```

is obtained, the conceptual memory will take into account the semanteme containing the object ownership_change

The inquiries to the conceptual memory have a form of sentences with mark “?”. For example, the sentence ? ownership is considered as an inquiry to the conceptual memory: is there an object in it designated as ownership. The answers allowed are “yes” or “not”. More interesting is the inquiry which has a form of logical function (predicate). For example, the sentence ? ownership : !X assumes that from the conceptual memory will be obtained all concretisations of the object ownership. The possible answers are more essential in their positive parts: “yes, !X = Naziranum, !X = silver..., end” or “not”.

In the example of inquiry we used !X as the function variable. Variables are special objects of the conceptual memory. Their designations include prefix “!”. The range of their definitions comprises the assembly of objects in the conceptual memory in its current state. The variable designations are localised within a sentence where they used. The possible statement are !X = E (the value of variable !X is the object E), !X \neq E (not E), !X = !Y, !X \neq !Y (the values of the variables are equal or unequal).

and to response will consider the facts of purchase-sale attempting to extract an information on the ownership_change.

A semanteme points to the conceptual memory how to attempt achieve a target of the proposed search by analysing the facts integrating this goal. Semanteme controls an “ascending” search of the target.

Guide bar (procedures), unlike semantemes, control “descending” search of target: use of a guide is initiated by turning to its left part which is to be determined. The guide structure:

```
{ (guide designation) : (variable)
((attribute_1) . (variable_1), ..., (attribute_k) .
(variable_k))  $\Leftarrow$  [(sequence of sentences)], ...,
[(sequence of sentences)];
```

The notation “ \Leftarrow ” means “follows from”. In a concrete guide the attributes of determined object may be omitted.

EXAMPLE 4. Conceptual memory will establish the fact of the slave selling from the facts given in Example 1 if the following guide bar will be inputted in it:

```
man : !Z  $\Leftarrow$  [(man : !Y1; family : !Y2 (!Y3, !Y1,
!Y4, !Z)); [purchase-sale (seller : !Z);
[purchase-sale (seller : !Y := !Z)];
[purchase-sale (buyer : !Z)];
slave_sale : !X (merchandise : !Y)  $\Leftarrow$  [purchase-sale : !X (merchandise : !Y); man : !Y];
```

The first guide of the guide bar establish that when even one of members of a family is man, hence, other members are men too. A seller and a buyer also are men. According to the second guide, the purchase of a slave corresponds to the event when the object of purchase-sale is a man.

Recursion in guide bar is allowed.

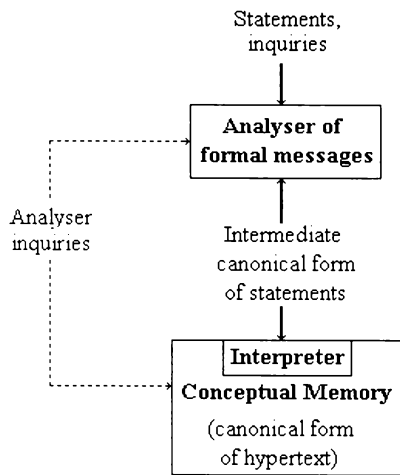


Fig. 2

Hypertext is formed in the conceptual memory from the formal messages extracted from the catalogue cards. Above we considered the external (input) format of the messages. The scheme of treatment of a message written in a catalogue card is shown in fig. 2. The input information goes to the analyser input, which tests its syntax and transforms it into the intermediate *canonical form*.

The result of analysis is treated by the interpreter integrated into the conceptual memory. It is convenient to consider the input information for the interpreter as a continuous flow of statements and inquiries. A statement points to the interpreter to include its content into the conceptual memory hypertext as supplementing information. An inquiry points to the interpreter to examine whether the inquiry content true and to complete it by examples from the conceptual memory.

The canonical form of messages is obtained by transformation of input statements into the sets of terminal statements. Some of these transformations were considered in the preceding section, another will be given below. Note that the intermediate canonical form saves the results of

4. Canonical form of message representation

analysis in the terminal statements keeping unchanged external notations to an object. Unlike this, in the conceptual memory the external names inherent in the objects are transformed into unique internal records. To them are added relations which define the correspondence between the external and the internal notations. The defining of such relations is one of principal tasks of the interpreter.

The following constructions of terminal statements are allowed:

a) simple terminal: $t1 : t2$ is concretisation, $t1(t2)$ is attribute, $t1(t2, t3)$ is the attribute value, $t1 = t2$ is equal, $t1 \neq t2$ is not equal, and ' $t1$ ' := $t2$ denotes an object;

b) conceptualisation: $t1 \{t2\}$, $t1 \{\text{simple terminal}\}$, that is, the conceptualisation contains either an object, or a simple terminal construction;

c) link: $t1 \{t2, t3\}$.

Here $t1, t2, t3$ labels the places which in the construction examples are replaced either by internal notations to the object, or by variables.

When the internal notation to the object is essential, we will record it as ' notation '.

A few words concerning the canonical form structure. The message card being a conceptualisation is simultaneously a "moveable" unit of the hypertext. Records of all other conceptualisations are limited by the card in which they are recorded (regardless of information related to the objects defined as the general).

EXAMPLE 5. Suppose the formal message of the card #C contains the conceptualisation

$$\{ \{C1 : C2 (C3, C4 : C5)\} \Leftrightarrow \{C6 : C4\} \};$$

The canonical form of this message in the conceptual memory will be written as:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{'\#C'} := \text{'\#C'}; \text{'\#C'} \{ \text{'C1'} := \text{'c1'} \}; \text{'\#C'} \{ \text{'C2'} := \text{'c2'} \}; \dots; \\ \text{'\#C'} \{ \text{'C6'} := \text{'c6'} \}; \text{'\#C'} \{ \text{'\Leftrightarrow'} := \text{'c7'} \}; \text{'\#C'} \{ \text{'c8', 'c9'} \}; \\ \text{'c8'} \{ \text{'c1'} : \text{'c2'} \}; \text{'c8'} \{ \text{'c2'} (\text{'c3', 'c5'}) \}; \text{'c8'} \{ \text{'c4'} : \text{'c5'} \}; \\ \text{'c9'} \{ \text{'c6'} : \text{'c4'} \}. \end{aligned}$$

Semantemes and guides are represented in the canonical form by the corresponding conceptualisations, which terminal elements (in the defining part of a semanteme and defined part of a guide) are labelled to indicate belonging to a guide or to a semanteme.

5. Conceptual memory

The conceptual memory is a triad

$$CM = \{G, F, I\},$$

where:

G denotes sets of terminal statements in canonical form, semantemes, and guide bar, forming together the hypertext general information,

F denotes the hypertext fragments (messages and conceptualisations),

I is the interpreter, represented by a set of functors.

The interpreter functors transform statements inputted into the conceptual memory into allowed values of parameters of the predicates of one of three types:

T-predicate points to relations between the individual objects,

C-predicates points to belonging of a T-predicate to a conceptualisation,

PC-predicate scans over conceptualisations.

The predicates are saved in the form of terminal statements. They assign "true" or "false" to a set of values of their own parameters. The predicate is true if the conceptual memory contains a given set of parameters.

T - predicates:

'(name)' := !X means that the !X variable may take as its value all objects with a defined external name; to each of external names its own predicate is assigned.

!X := e means all external names of a given e object; to each of the e objects its own predicate is assigned. The latter is supported for the case when the predicates defined by structures are constructed for each of the objects designated as e in the structures.

e !X is concretisation of the e object.

!X : e means the objects concretized by e.

e (!X) means attributes of a given object. !X (e) means all object with a given attribute.

e (!X, !Y) is combination of (attribute) . (value) for a given object.

C - predicates:

e !X, e !X : !Y, e !X (!Y), e !X (!Y, !Z),
e !X, !Y

The essence is clear from the records.

PC - predicates:

!X {e}, !X {e1 : e2}, !X {e1 (e2)},
!X {e1 (e2, e3)}, !X {e1, e2}

mean conceptualisations containing given object or relation.

The general information G of the hypertext is represented by an ensemble of T- and PC-predicates in the current state of conceptual memory, the F-fragments are represented by C-predicates.

The aim of the search performed by the interpreter has canonical form and is represented by a set Q (t₁; ...; t_k),

where t_i (1 ≤ i ≤ k) is either a predicate or a constant in a form of terminal element. An inquiry is considered as a conjunction of predicates, and equality of the latter to true or false is determined from the conceptual memory in the current state. The target of the search is changed every time when upon calculation of the next t_i predicate it obtains the value labelled as belonging to a guide or to a semanteme. In such a situation, the interpreter interrupts calculations initialised by current target, saves the state of the search of this target to be able return to the search in future, and constructs a new target.

Suppose R {r₁; ...; r_m} ← D {d₁; ...; d_n} is a guide to which belongs t_i predicate, that is, in the R set there is the r_j coinciding with the t_i within precision up to designation of variables. The use of a guide in correspondence with a known algorithm (see, e.g., [10]) precedes by a procedure of formation of a call to the guide of selecting the t_j elements (i ≤ j ≤ k) in Q, which current values will be obtained as a result of application of R guide. While performing this procedure, the interpreter makes the following:

a) unitises variable in the Q and R sets and changes variables by values if the latter are known [8],

b) labels all t_j in Q as capable to be calculated by the R guide if there is r_w (1 ≤ w ≤ m) in R, with the internal name identical t_j.

As a new target is selected one of disjunctions of D set not yet calculated.

For the semanteme S (s₁, ..., s_m) := D {d₁, ..., d_n} the procedure of formation of call is analogous, except selection of t_i is performed over the D set, and that the new target is a S set.

Conclusion

We are sure that integration of hypertext and means for relevant description of its fragments in a common conceptual memory is appropriate for the natural representation of analytical work with texts.

In this communication we paid attention mainly to the description of the formal tools for the encoding a text essence and the functional memory operating. Out of this framework remained important problems of automatic (that is, according to the guide bar) formation of the hypertext elements and treatment of nonformal messages (analysis of NL-texts and collection of dictionaries). The problem of automatic formation of pathways in the hypertext

undoubtedly may be solved. The questions connected with the NL-texts analysis, extraction of formal messages from the latter, form a body of the following step of this research.

The approach to formal description of a text essence employed in this work is based on the use of clausal logic form. The constructions "concretisation-attribute" included into the language to a great extent are treated as form of syntax representation of relations between objects. Consequently, the structure of relations between objects described by these constructions is not rigid and may be supplemented by new elements of description.

Notes

1. G. V. Lezin, K. K. Boiarskii, A. I. Popova, "Sistematizatsiia informatsii: semanticheskoe kodirovanie tekstov" ("Systematisation of information: semantic coding of texts"), *Trudy mezhdunarodnogo seminara Dialog'96 po komp'iuternoï lingvistike i ee prilozheniam* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 131—6; K. K. Boiarskii, G. V. Lezin, A. I. Popova, V. V. Sokol'skaia, "Sistema predstavleniia znaniï MAZE: elektronnaia kartoteka" ("A system MAZE for representation of knowledge: electronic card catalogue"), *Informatsionnye tekhnologii v gumanitarnykh i obshchestvennykh naukakh. Sistema MAZE: predstavlenie znaniï v gumanitarnykh issledovaniakh* (St. Petersburg, 1995), pp. 13—22.

2. V. V. Martynov, *Universal'nyi semanticheskii kod: USK-4. Preprint* (Universal semantic code: USC-4. Preprint) (Minsk, 1988).

3. R. Shenk, *Obrabotka kontseptual'noi informatsii* (Conceptual Information Processing) (Moscow, 1980). The publication represents the Russian translation of R. C. Shank's work published in Amsterdam—Oxford in 1975.

4. Boiarskii, Lezin, Popova, Sokol'skaia, *op. cit.*

5. V. A. Iakobson, "Komp'iuternaia assiriologiia (k postanovke problemy)" ("Computer Assyriology: the problem definition"), *Informatsionnye tekhnologii v gumanitarnykh i obshchestvennykh naukakh*, ed. B. L. Ovsyevich, fasc. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1996), pp. 3—9.
6. Boiarskii, Lezin, Popova, Sokol'skaia, *op. cit.*
7. E. A. Kanevskii, E. N. Klimenko, "Slovar' kak sredstvo analiza teksta" ("A dictionary as a tool for the text analysis"), *Informatsionnye tekhnologii v gumanitarnykh i obshchestvennykh naukakh*, ed. B. L. Ovsyevich, fasc. 3, pp. 28—34.
8. Shenk, *op. cit.*
9. I. A. Mel'chuk, *Opyt teorii lingvisticheskikh modelei "smysl \Rightarrow tekst". Semantika, sintaksis* (Experience in the Theory of the "Essence \Rightarrow Text" Linguistic Models. Semantics, Syntax) (Moscow, 1974).
10. M. Branokhe, "Upravlenie pamiat'iu v realizatsiiakh Prologa" ("The memory management of PROLOG Implementations"), *Logicheskoe programmirovaniye*, ed. V. N. Agafonov (Moscow, 1988). The publication represents the Russian translation of M. Bruynooghe's writing edited in *APIC Studies in Data Processing*, vol. 16, eds. K. L. Clark and S.-A. Tamlund (London, 1982).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. A card example.

Fig. 2. A scheme of messages treatment.

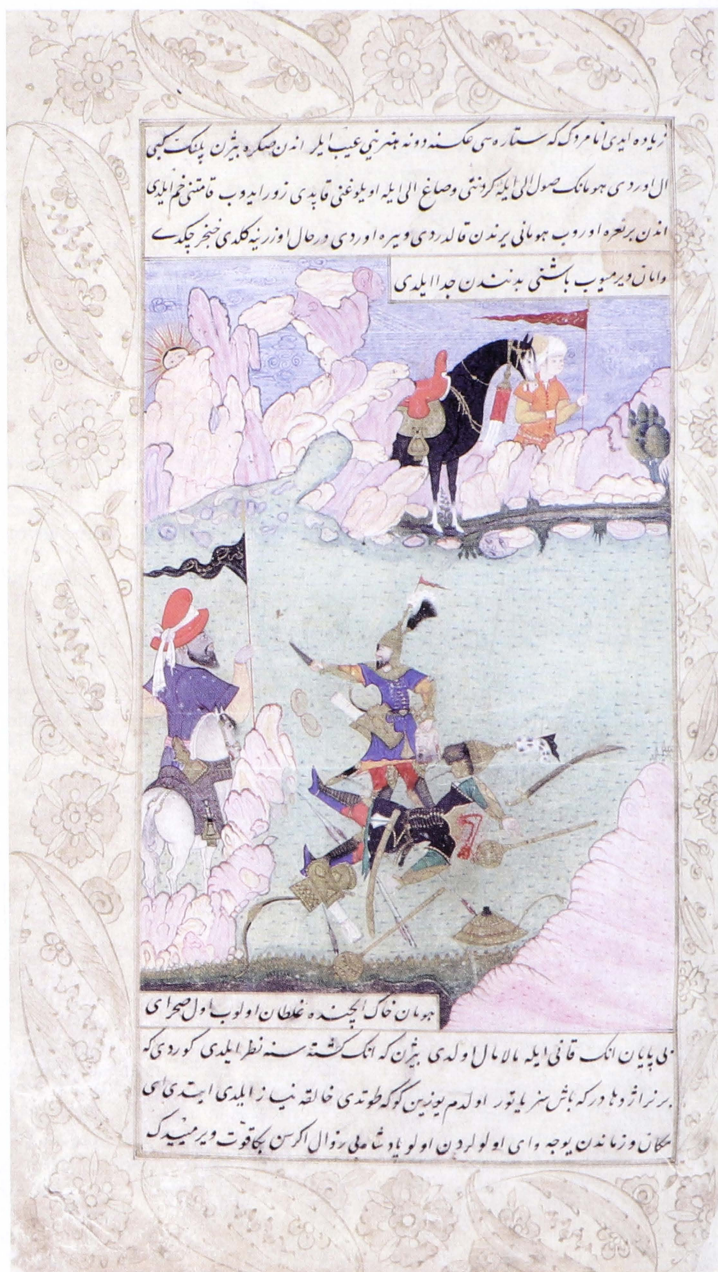


Plate 1

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

F. I. Abdullaeva

A TURKISH PROSE VERSION OF FIRDAWSĪ'S *SHĀH-NĀMA* IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY*

The collection of Oriental manuscripts in the St. Petersburg State University Library cannot compare with famous St. Petersburg manuscript depositories, such as the National Library of Russia and the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences). Islamic manuscripts in the University are now concentrated in the Oriental Department of the University Library which serves the needs of the Oriental Faculty of the University. The teaching of three Oriental languages — Arabic, Persian, and Turkish — had been provided since the foundation of the Imperial St. Petersburg University in 1819, and a significant amount of books and manuscripts in these languages began to come to the University from different sources.

In the middle of the nineteenth century manuscripts came from three large depositories: from the Imperial Kazan University, the Lycée de Richelieu in Odessa, and the 1st Gymnasium of Kazan. Manuscripts from these three places remain the most valuable part of the collection. All were registered in the lists of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, made by the University scholars. The first was compiled and published by C. Salemann (1849—1916), with the help of Baron V. R. Rosen (1849—1908) in 1888 [1], the second one was edited by Professor Alexander Romaskevich (1885—1942) in 1925 [2]; and the last, a catalogue of the newly arrived or newly discovered Persian and Turkish manuscripts in the University collection, was prepared by Professor A. Tagirdjanov (1907—1983) in 1967 [3].

It seems rather strange that the manuscript we would like to discuss in the present article [4] was mentioned only in the last list of 1967. It is also difficult to imagine that Salemann, who won his fame as an extra-thorough librarian, would have omitted it in his edition. Be that as it may, the earliest information on this codex in the University Library is contained in the 1967 catalogue by Professor Tagirdjanov. The MS has been registered under the title

Tarjuma-yi nathrī-yi Shāh-nāma. Jild-i duvvum (call number 1378) [5]. One can easily assume that it is the translation of the celebrated *Shāh-nāma* by Abū'l-Qāsim Firdawsī-yi Tūsī, popular at the Turkic courts to such extent that during the last Saljuqs, for instance, even the town walls of their capital were adorned with Firdawsī's verses [6].

It is well known that Turkish literature in the early Middle Ages was greatly influenced by literature of Persia and partly of Mawarannahr. Turkish court poets had a good command of the Persian and Arabic languages and were well trained in Persian and Arabic poetry. Probably it was one of the reasons why Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* was translated into Turkish rather late, as compared, for example, with the brief Arabic version of the poem dated back to the beginning of the thirteenth century. This was made between 615/1218 and 623/1227 by the Arabic historian Qawām al-Dīn al-Bundārī, who dedicated his work to the Damascus ruler Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā (d. 1227) [7].

As far as I know, there are two Turkish translations considered to be among the earliest ones so far survived [8]. A versified Turkish translation was made by Tātār 'Alī Efendī in 916/1510—11 for the Mamlūk Sultān Qansūh Ghūrī (r. 1501—17) [9]. According to Ch. Rieu, G. N. Meredith-Owens and others, the author of this version calls himself either Sharīf or Sharīfī [10], or Sharīf Amīdī [11], or Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Amīdī [12], or Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī [13]. He finished his work on Monday 2 Dhū'l-Hijja 916/2 March 1511.

The second Turkish version of *Shāh-nāma* (in prose) was observed by A. A. Romaskevich in his article published in a special volume on the occasion of the 1000th anniversary of Firdawsī. As Romaskevich believed, the translation had been executed in 1030/1621—22 by some Maḥdī, a court official of the Ottoman Sultan Osman II (1618—22) [14]. This information of Romaskevich was

* I would like to thank Eleanor Sims, Ernst Grube, Tim Stanley, Efim Rezwan, Adel Adamova, and Oleg Akimushkin for reading an earlier draft of this paper and making many helpful comments and valuable references. Their help has led to many improvements. They are, of course, in no way responsible for the paper's shortcomings. I am also grateful to Tamara Deryagina of the Oriental Department at the St. Petersburg State University Library and to Aleksey Pylev of the Department of Turkic Philology at the St. Petersburg State University for their help and cooperation.

most likely based on the MS in question from the St. Petersburg State University Library, but the scholar was not correct when mentioning both the name of the author of the writing and the date of its compilation.

In the introduction which our MS contains there is the name of the author of this translation of Firdawsī's poem. He calls himself Madhī (fol. 2b). This name is also mentioned on the last folio (373b) as the name of the composer of the work.

The copy has the dedication to Sultan Osman II. On fol. 124a the title of the book is mentioned as *Kitāb-i 'Uthmān-khān*. The "Story of Iskandar" is concluded by a poetical dedication to the same Sultan 'Uthmān-khān (fol. 174b):

خاتمه داستان اسکندر
که عثمان خان عدالت ترین
شهنشاه عادل دل و دادگر
اودر پادشاه زمان و زمین

The epilogue comprising the praise of Sultan Osman (fol. 373b) presents another evidence that the volume was finished in the reign of Osman II:

خاتمه کتاب در وصف شهنشاه زمان حضرت سلطان عثمان خان بن احمد خان

لك احمد اي كردگار اناام
که لطفکله شهنامه اولدی تمام
کمالکله ایردی کماله کتاب
سوزوم اولدی بر بی زوال افتاب
بولوب سلطنتده بو شاه امتداد
اولور نامی عالمه خیرله یاد
جهانکم سلطان عثمان خان
اولور تیغ همته کشورستان
او شاهنشاه دادگر کیم قصا
ویرر هر فرمان ایدرسه رضا
او شاهنشاه بحر و بر کیم قدر
نه حکم ایسه ائی اجرا ایدر
او خاقان اعظم که مغفور چین
اولور استاندنه عبد کیمین

So we can assert that the author of the Turkish prose version of *Shāh-nāma* was a compiler named Madhī who made his work for Sultan Osman II in 1621–22, shortly before the tragic death of this ruler.

On fol. 373b there is a colophon where the name of the transcriber and the date of copying of the MS are given:

تحریرا فی اواسط شهر ربیع الاول من شهر سنه ثلثون و الف من الهجرة النبویه علیه افضل التحیه حرره الفقیر الحقیر ابراهیم الشہر بجوری غفر ذنبه

— that is, the MS was finished in the middle of Rabi' I 1030/December—January 1620—21 by Ibrāhīm Jawrī (Turk. Cevrī).

The MS from the St. Petersburg University Library deserves special attention because of at least two reasons. The very fact that the illustrated codex comprises the Turkish translation of *Shāh-nāma*, dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan Osman II, is interesting to a high degree. It is known that this sultan, who was the first to attempt to abolish the Janissary corps, inefficiency of which was evident as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, and, according to some accounts, to transfer the Ottoman capital to Egypt, was extremely unpopular among his court officials. His final execution in 1622 might be regarded as a result of this utmost unpopularity. The writings dedicated to this sultan are very few. The translation is among those few ones. Judging from the praise of Osman by the author of the translation, a *takhalluṣ* of the latter, Madhī (from *madh* — "praise"), was not accidental at all. Most likely, the author was one of those few high-ranking Ottoman officials who approved the politics and activities of this sultan.

That the author of the translation was a court official is proved also by the fact that the MS was transcribed by one of the most famous Turkish calligrapher Ibrahim

Cevrī (fol. 373b), and it is the second reason why the MS can present a special interest to the students of the Turkish manuscripts.

Certainly, Ibrahim Cevrī (d. 1654) is an outstanding figure in the history of the Turkish art and literature of the seventeenth century. He was born between 1595—1600 and received good education, judging from his early appointment as *kātib* (secretary) at the Imperial Chancery and his connection to the famous *Şūfis*, *mawlawī* Shaykh Ismā'īl Anqarawī, as well as to a representative of the Melamī-Bayramī order, Sarı Abdullah Efendi. His link with *mawlawī* order is also confirmed by his learning the art of calligraphy from the *mawlawī* *darwish*.

Ibrahim Cevrī's life proves his being an extraordinary person. His work as a secretary was not long. It is known that as early as 1620, when he was about 20—25 years old, he copied the *Mathnawī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī for Head of the State Chancery (Dīwān-i Humāyūn), *ra'is al-kuttab* Emir Çelebi Efendi. It must have been a great success, since Ibrahim Cevrī retired soon and became a professional transcriber who earned his living by copying manuscripts for most eminent Ottoman court officials. The account has survived that he could copy 1,000 *bayts* within one day and earn 1,000 *akçe*. He is known to have copied *Mathnawī* twenty-two times, and several writings in prose of great volume, such as *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, *Kunh al-akhbār* by 'Alī, and, as we can see, Madhī's translation of Firdawsī's poem.

Ibrahim Cevrī was not an ordinary copyist, he was a great master of calligraphy who invented a new script known as *shikasta-yi ta'liq* (Turk. *talik kırmısı*). Manuscripts copied by him were highly appreciated, as seen, for example, from the fact that the Ottoman Sultan Selim III (1789—1808) presented a copy of *Mathnawī* transcribed by Ibrahim Cevrī to the famous poet and *mawlawī* Shaykh Ghālib (1757—1798).

It is worth noting that Ibrahim Cevrī was also a poet, an author of *Dīwān* (38 copies survived), of several poems (*mathnawī*). A great many of his writings and manuscripts copied by him are preserved in the manuscript collections throughout the world [15].

All this makes our MS of the Turkish translation of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* especially noteworthy. It is all the more so since the MS contains miniatures.

The history of the MS is fairly mysterious. Its provenance is not quite clear. The leaves of the book are lacking any Oriental owners' seal. On the fly-leaf one can see an *ex-libris* with illegible but rather characteristic signature. The same signature we encounter in the MS from the Muslim collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences). This manuscript contains an Arabic military treatise under the title *Kitāb al-makhzūn fī jāmi' al-funūn* by Ibn Abī Khazzām (call number C 686) [16]. The treatise has similar *ex-libris* with the signature by the same hand: "Ex Bibliotheca Orientali Wenceslai" that belongs to Prince W. Rzewuski, a famous traveller and collector of Oriental rarities. It is known that in 1808 he brought from the East some very valuable items. It is most probably that among them was a manuscript comprising the above-mentioned treatise.

In the description of Turkish manuscripts of the Institut des Langues Orientales of St. Petersburg (at present these MSS are preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection) published by

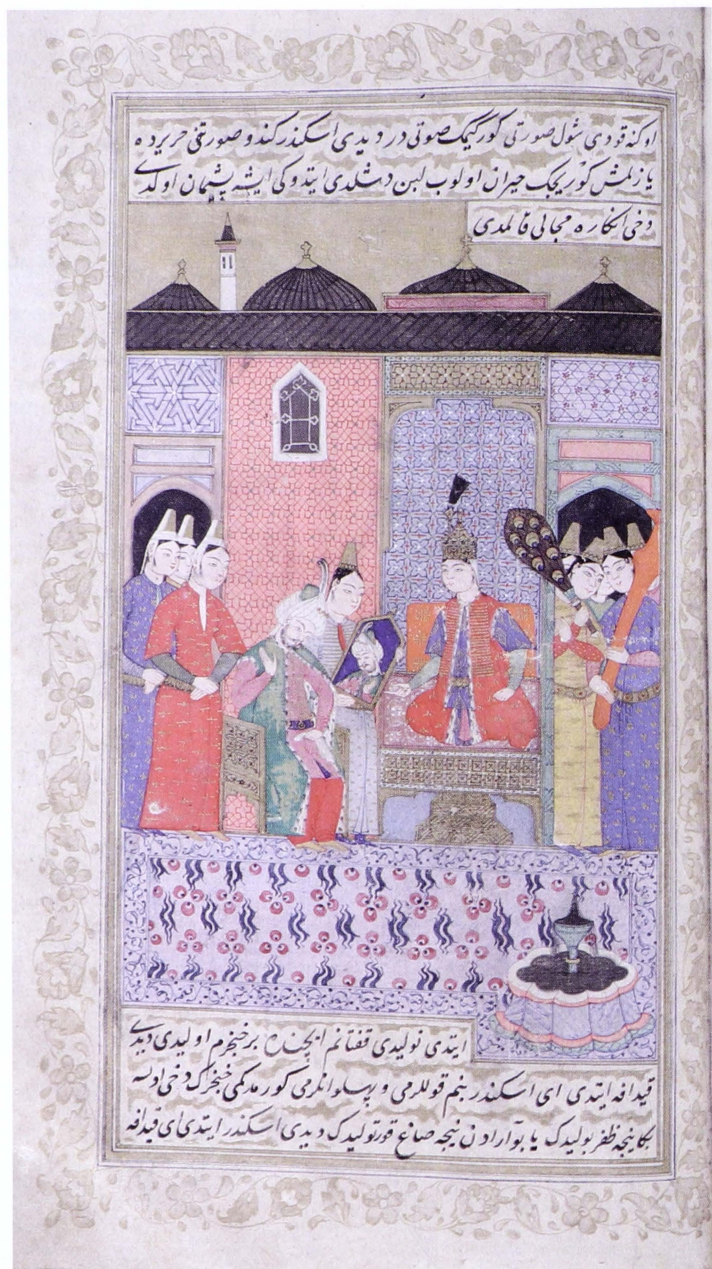




Plate 3

V. D. Smirnov in 1897 there is a mention of the MS of the Turkish translation of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* which at that time was found in Odessa [17]. According to the evidence of Smirnov, this MS was preserved in the collection of the Musée de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie [18]. The description of the copy made by Smirnov leads us to conclude that it is the same MS that we describe here, in this article. We can only guess at what time it was brought to St. Petersburg. Most probably it was sold or donated by the Museum to the Lycée de Richelieu in Odessa and afterwards, as a part of the Lycée collection, was transferred to the St. Petersburg University Library.

The MS represents only the second of the two volumes of the Turkish translation in prose. The codex contains the stories of Kay-Khusraw, Isfandiyyār, Gushtāsp, Farāmāz, Bahman, Dārāb, Dārā b. Dārāb, Iskandar, Shāpūr, Tāyir, Mānī ("Mānī-naqqāsh"), Yazdigird b. Shāpūr, Bahram Ghūr, Fīrūz, Qubād b. Fīrūz, Khusraw Nūshirwān, Khurmuzd, Bahram Chūbīna, Khusraw Parwīz, Khusraw and Shīrīn, and Yazdigird. Most likely the translator used the Persian text of *Shāh-nāma* which comprised numerous interpolations, the largest being the writing well-known as *Bahman-nāma*.

The structure of the work is as follows. First the author gives a versified passage from the main body of Firdawsī's text in Persian; and after that he gives his adaptation of the poem in Turkish, commenting on and decorating plentifully the text in prose with Turkish verse.

Three leaves in the codex are missing (between fols. 32 and 33, 110 and 111, 215 and 216). The last folio contained probably a miniature referring to the section entitled داسیتان ملوک طوایف. In all, there are 373 folios in the MS. The size of the folios: 36.0 × 23.0 cm, and the surface occupied by the text measures 29.0 × 14.9 cm.

There are 23 lines per page. The text written in large-size *nasta'liq* is framed with gold and black rules. The margins of the pages containing miniatures are covered with floral designs made in gold and silver. The text is written in Indian ink, the key words are in cinnabar.

The paper is of two kinds: thick, white Oriental paper of high quality and thin, creamy and yellow-tinted European paper (for the restored passages). To protect the illustrations, thin blue, green, brown and white paper with poutseaux, verger and a water-mark (the filigree emblem of a trefoil with letters "N", "Z", and a castle with banner) was inserted into the volume.

The binding is European, of cherry-brown leather mounted on cardboard. During restoration, the leather of the previous binding, also European, was patched on the outer side of the covers with a border of gilt-stamped floral motifs border.

Incipit:

بنام خدای زمین و زمان که بخشید بر خسروان عزویشان...

Excipit:

وجودی سعادتله موجودی اول کنش کیبی هنم سختی مسعود اول...

The MS is remarkable with its fine miniatures. In all, there are 29 miniatures and an *unwān* performed by a professional hand, unfortunately, anonymous. It is even possible that the miniatures were made by several artists. Since this copy was most likely intended to be presented to the Sultan himself, it may be assumed that the miniatures were

created by the artists from the workshop of one of the most prominent painters of Sultan Osman II's reign where Naqqāsh Hasan, Aḥmad Naqqāshī, Qalandār Pasha and Mīr Sa'īd Muḥammad (Mehmet) worked [19].

The tradition of illustration of Firdawsī's poem was several centuries old by the early seventeenth century. During this period some illustrations became almost obligatory for all artists, independently of their school or their individual attitudes. For instance, such episode as "Rustam warding off the stone thrown at him by Bahman" (cf. e. g. a miniature on the same subject in the MS from the Dorn collection in the National Library of Russia [20]) was pictured quite traditionally. Rustam was shown in a unnatural pose, with the leopard helmet on his head (see miniature in our MS on fol. 94a). The miniature illustrating an episode with Isfandiyyār slaughtering the dragon (cf. e. g. a corresponding miniature from *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, published by Sotheby's and Aboulala Soudavar [21]) was also almost identical in numerous copies of Firdawsī's work.

Despite a number of investigations dedicated to Turkish painting has appeared recently [22], Ottoman painting, rare in western and especially in Russian collections, has not received sufficient reflection. We cannot but share the opinion of Ernst Grube that the very special qualities of the Ottoman style of painting set it apart from any other school in the Islamic world. It differs greatly from both the lyrical grace of the Persian miniatures and the detailed perfection of Mughal painting. Notable also is the fact that Byzantine painting, as well as European, in particular, Italian one, had but insignificant effect on the Ottoman art of painting since the time of Gentile Bellini's visit to Istanbul around 1477 [23], or between 1479 and 1481 [24]. Although the influence of Italian painting was considerable during Mehmet II's rule (r. 1451—1481), it was strong in the genre of portrait painting alone.

The Persian style most noticeably influenced the Ottoman painting beginning from the early sixteenth century and attained its zenith to the end of the century. The channel of this influence was not only the Persian artists and numerous Persian manuscripts brought to Istanbul by Selim I (r. 1512—1520) as a result of his campaigns against Safavid Iran. The models for Ottoman artists were also luxurious Persian manuscripts presented to Ottoman sultans. It is known that the splendid illuminated *Shāh-nāma* (the famous Edmond Arthur Houghton *Shāh-nāma* [25], dating back to ca. 1522—1540 [26]) was sent in 1566—67 by Shāh Tahmāsp (1524—1576) to Selim II (r. 1566—1574) as a gift on the occasion of the Sultan's ascending the throne. A Safavid delegation of 320 officials and 400 merchants arrived then in the Ottoman capital with presents laden on thirty-four camels. A list of the gifts was made by Ottoman officials. The Qur'ān (supposedly copied by Imām 'Alī; d. 661) and a copy of the *Shāh-nāma* decorated with 258 miniatures (its copying had taken twenty years) were shown as the most precious items of these gifts [27].

In February 1594, Sultan Murād III (r. 1574—1595) had got amongst the other gifts from 'Abdallāh II, who was sent as an ambassador of Uzbek-khān, another fine copy of the *Shāh-nāma* dated by 1564—65 and illustrated with twenty-eight miniatures made in the Bukharian style of that time. In September 1619, Shāh 'Abbās (1587—1629) sent to Sultan Osman II several manuscripts richly decorated

with miniatures, together with other valuable gifts, such as elephants, a panther, and rhinoceros [28].

Copies of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* performed by Turkish artists have been catalogued by M. And. A major part of them is now preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum (8 MSS), in the Library of the Istanbul University (3 MSS), in the British Library (1 MS), in the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd (1 MS), in the New York Public Library, the Spencer Collection (1 MS) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (1 MS), and in the Uppsala University Library (1 MS). In all, there preserved six hundred miniatures [29]. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences) possesses two more copies of the versified Turkish translation of *Shāh-nāma* dating back to the seventeenth century (call numbers: B 3690 — first volume, E 8 — full copy). In both of them Sharif Amidī is named as the author of the writings. MS E 8 has two miniatures made by rather dainty hand [30]. They are not mentioned by M. And.

As was mentioned, our MS contains 29 miniatures the list of which we are giving here. They are typical of the seventeenth-century Ottoman miniature painting that absorbed many elements of various schools of Persian painting. In Dr Akimushkin's opinion, all the miniatures of the manuscript were produced in the manner close to the Shīrāz commercial style. Some of them, however, represent the style suffered a great influence of Tabriz, or rather Qazwīn. The miniatures related to this last one are marked in our list with a "Q" (the figures in the brackets are given to single out the peculiarities of the miniatures inside this group, reflecting probably the individuality of the artists):

- 1) fol. 6a — "Bizhan killing Hūmān";
- 2) fol. 12b — "Gūdarz killing Pīrān" (Q 3);
- 3) fol. 20b — "Kay-Khusraw killing Shīda";
- 4) fol. 50b — "Gushtāsp leading captured Ilyās to Qaysar" (Q 3);
- 5) fol. 61a — "Battle between Iranians and Turanians";
- 6) fol. 78b — "Battle of Isfandiār with the Dragon";
- 7) fol. 94a — "Rustam warding off the stone thrown at him by Bahman" (Q 2);
- 8) fol. 116a — "Rustam and Zivāra fallen in the wolf trap. Rustam killing Shigad who has hidden behind a platan";
- 9) fol. 135b — "Bahman ordering to finish off Farāmarz shoot by the arrows" (Q 3);
- 10) fol. 146a — "Pashutan persuading Bahman to free Zāl";

- 11) fol. 157b — "Barzīn Āzar defeating the Black Man" (Q 3);
- 12) fol. 170a — "Bahman perishing in the Dragon's throat" (Q 3);
- 13) fol. 193a — "Iskandar defeating Fūr";
- 14) fol. 196a — "Iskandar at the court of Qaydafa";
- 15) fol. 205a — "Iskandar listening to Isrāfil";
- 16) fol. 233a — "Shāpūr destroying the Qaysar's camp" (Q 1);
- 17) fol. 239a — "Bahrām Ghūr hunting";
- 18) fol. 243a — "Bahrām Ghūr's enthronement after his killing the lions";
- 19) fol. 258a — "Bahrām and Shingil watching *chawgān* players";
- 20) fol. 276a — "Nūshirvān assaulting the Rūm citadel";
- 21) fol. 289a — "Arrival of the Khāqān's daughter to Nūshirvān";
- 22) fol. 296b — "Buzurjmihr at the court of Nūshirvān guesses the riddle of the Rūm envoy";
- 23) fol. 309a — "Hurmuzd appointing Bahrām Chūbīna the commander of the battle with the Shāh Sāva";
- 24) fol. 315a — "Bahrām Chūbīna defeating Sāva" (Q 4);
- 25) fol. 329b — "Bahrām Chūbīna being pursued by Khusraw Parwīz who kills his horse with the Gustakhim's arrow" (Q 1);
- 26) fol. 338a — "Angel Surūsh saving Khusraw Parwīz";
- 27) fol. 346b — "Bahrām Chūbīna's fighting with the Kappī lion" (Q 2);
- 28) fol. 356b — "Khusraw and Shīrīn";
- 29) fol. 368a — "Shepherd of Khusraw killing Yazdigird"

This article is not aiming to give a full scholarly analysis of the miniatures presented in the manuscript. Our aim was much more modest — that is, to call attention of specialists to this most valuable illustrated Ottoman copy of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* preserved in the St. Petersburg University Library. Taking into account that Ottoman illustrated manuscripts are not numerous and every item is of great interest to the scholars, we decided to give a description of the MS in this article. We hope that this brief presentation will attract the attention of all those interested in the field.

Notes

1. C. Salemann, V. Rosen, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Universitatis Litterariae Petropolitanae adservantur* (St. Petersburg, 1888).
2. A. A. Romaskevich, *Spisok persidskikh, turetsko-tatarskikh i arabskikh rukopisei biblioteki Petrogradskogo Universiteta* (List of the Persian, Turkish-Tatar, and Arabic Manuscripts in the Petrograd University Library), *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom muzeu Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk*, I (Leningrad, 1925).
3. A. T. Tagirdzhanov, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhiksikh rukopisei vostochnogo otdela biblioteki LGU* (Description of the Persian and Tajik Manuscripts from the Oriental Department of the Leningrad State University) (Leningrad, 1967).
4. Manuscript (call number 1378) from the St. Petersburg State University Library, henceforth *MS 1378*.
5. Tagirdzhanov, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
6. *Literatura Vostoka v srednie veka. Turetskaia literatura* (Literature of the Orient in the Middle Ages) (Moscow, 1979), p. 343.
7. J. Mohl, *Le livre des Rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdousi* (Paris, 1838), i, p. XCII; M. A. Zajackowski, *Turecka Wersja Sah-name z Egiptu Mameluckiego* (Warsaw, 1965); N. Lugal, *Şehname tercümesi* (Istanbul, 1956), p. XX; Storey mentions another name for the author of the Arabic translation: al-Fath b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bundārī — see Russian edition of C. A. Storey's work (Moscow, 1972), vol. II, p. 746.

8. It is interesting that in the Persian manuscript of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, discovered by Professor Piemontese in the Central National Library of Florence, dating back to 30 Muḥarram 614/9 May 1217, there are above-linear glosses and translation into Ottoman Turkish. This incomplete at the beginning and at the end copy appeared in Rome at the time of Pope Gregory XIII (1502—1585), then it was transferred to Florence where it had been preserving, under the title of *Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pārsī*, for several centuries, see Jalāl Khāliqī Muṭlaq, "Mu'arriḥi wa arzyābi-yi barkh-i az dastnawishā-yi Shāh-nāma", *Irān-nāma*, sāl-i siwum, pp. 380—1.

9. N. Atasoy, "1510 tarihli Mamlūk Şehnâmesinin Miniatürleri", *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, (Istanbul, 1968), pp. 49—69; N. Atasoy, "Un manuscrit Mamluk illustré du Şahnâme", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, I (1969), pp. 151—8 and plates I—XIV; E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam. Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, 1981), pp. 19—20. In the Sotheby's catalogue of 1969 one leaf with a miniature "Rustam mounts Rakhsh" from the manuscript of the Turkish version of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* (copy dating from the second half of the sixteenth century) is represented, see Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Highly Important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures. The Property of the Kevorkian Foundation*. December 1, 1969, lot 104.

10. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1888), p. 153; G. N. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures* (London, 1969); Norah M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India*. The British Library Collections (London, 1983), p. 147.

11. Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, (Istanbul, 1338/1919—20), p. 256.

12. L. V. Dmitrieva, *Katalog turetskikh rukopisei* (Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts) (Moscow, 1980), p. 69.

13. Atasoy, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

14. A. A. Romaskevich, "Ocherk istorii izucheniia Shāhnāma" ("A survey of the history of studies on the *Shāh-nāma*") in *Firdawsī. 934—1934* (Leningrad, 1934), p. 28.

15. About İbrahim Cevrî, see H. Ayan, "Cevrî İbrâhîm Çelebi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1993), vii, pp. 460—1; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. III, pt. II (Ankara, 1954), p. 561.

16. A. Alikberov, E. Rezwan, "İbn Abî Khazzām and his "Kitāb al-Makhzūn": the Mamlūk military manual", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, I/1 (1995), pp. 21—8.

17. W. D. Smirnow, *Manuscripts Turcs de l'Institut des Langues Orientales* (St. Petersburg, 1897).

18. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

19. M. And, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1987), p. 32; Titley, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

20. It is worth noting that the composition of the miniature "Rustam warding off the stone thrown at him by Bahman", painted by Pîr Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ between 1642—1645, which is considered to be a fine sample of the Isfahan school, — cf. L. T. Giuzal'ian, M. M. D'iakonov, *İrânskie miniatüry v rukopisakh Shakh-namê leningradskikh sobraniî* (Iranian Miniatures in the Manuscripts of *Shāh-nāma* from the Leningrad Collections) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1935), table 44 — is entirely identical in details to our miniature. See also M. M. Ashrafi, *Persidsko-tadzhikskaia poeziia v miniaturakh XIV—XVII vekov. Persian-Tajik Poetry in the XIV—XVII Centuries Miniatures (from USSR Collections)* (Dushanbe, 1974), p. 119.

21. Sotheby's, December 9, 1975, lot 352; A. Soudavar with a contribution by Milo Cleveland Beach, *Persian Courts. Selection from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York, 1992), p. 164.

22. And, *op. cit.*; Atasoy, *op. cit.*; N. Atasoy, F. Cagman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1974); *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts* (London, 1981), and others.

23. E. Grube, *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th Century in the Collection of Hans P. Kraus* (New York, 1973), p. 205.

24. W. Lillys, R. Reiff, E. Esin, *Oriental Miniatures (Persian, Indian, Turkish)* (London, 1965), p. 77.

25. Modern provenance: Baron Edmond de Rothschild; inherited by his son, Maurice, grandson, Edmond Arthur Houghton, Jr.

26. B. Gray, *Persian Painting*, 2nd edn. (London, 1977), p. 138; Titley, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Soudavar, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

27. Soudavar, *op. cit.*, p. 164 and 250.

28. Titley, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

29. And, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

30. Dmitrieva, *op. cit.*, pp. 69—70.

Illustrations

Plate 1. "Bīzhan Killing Hūmān", miniature from the *Tardjuma-yi Shāh-nāma*, a manuscript (call number 1378) in the St. Petersburg State University Library collection, fol. 6a, 21.5 × 15.0 cm.

Plate 2. "Iskandar at the Court of Qaydafa", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 196a, 24.0 × 15.5 cm.

Plate 3. "Bahrām Ghūr Hunting", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 239a, 26.1 × 15.0 cm.

Plate 4. "Arriving of the Khāqān's Daughter to Nūshirwān", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 289a, 29.4 × 20.8 cm.

Plate 5. "Buzurjmīhr at the Court of Nūshirwān Guesses the Riddle of the Rūm Envoy", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 296b, 29.3 × 19.4 cm.

V. N. Goreglyad

THE MANUSCRIPT OF *KANKAI IBUN* IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

On the 26th of October 1804 the sloop *Nadezhda* commanded by I. F. Krusenstern entered the Nagasaki bay. The embassy of N. P. Rezanov to Japan was on board. There were two pretexts for sending a Russian embassy to the Tokugawa Japan which avoided external contacts: a letter from the Japanese authorities given in 1793 to Adam Laxman with a permission to send a Russian ship to Nagasaki to negotiate about the opening of trade relations between the two countries [1], and the coming back to their native land of four Japanese sailors from among those who had been carried to Russia by the ocean streams in 1794.

The desire of Russian merchants to establish trade connections with Japan was characterised by the minister of commerce Count N. P. Rumyantsev in his report to Alexander I in the following words: "The very nature, by placing Russia contiguous to Japan and bringing the two empires together by seas, gives us an advantage and convenience in trade before all other commercial powers, towards which, it appears, our merchant class is waiting only for the approval of the government" [2].

The four Japanese sailors taken by the *Nadezhda* to Nagasaki came from the crew of the *Wakamiya maru*. They spent in Russia nearly ten years. Their ship departed from the port of Isinomaki on the Pacific shore of the Honshū Island (the Miyagi prefecture) at the end of 1793 with a cargo of timber, rice and other goods belonging to the Sendai family. The cargo was intended for Edo, the shogun capital of Japan. The crew of the ship numbered 16 people, including Captain Heibei. When the ship entered the open sea, it was overtaken by a typhoon, lost its rudder and a mast. Its hull was damaged and it went out of control. Drawn by winds and sea currents the ship drifted for about six months and by the summer of the next year was washed ashore at one of the Andreyan Islands in the north-eastern part of the Aleutian Archipelago. During the ten months spent by the sailors among the Aleuts they lost Captain Heibei, became familiar with the natives and established contacts with the agents of the Russian-American Company on the Aleutian Islands.

On a ship which belonged to the Company the Japanese travelled to Okhotsk, whence from, in three groups, they were taken first to Yakutsk and then to Irkutsk. There

they stayed during eight long years. Two more Japanese sailors died in the course of these wanderings, four of them became Orthodox Christians. Starting from 1754, in Irkutsk by the Navigation School there was a School of Japanese language transferred there from St. Petersburg. Several Japanese, who were carried by storms towards the Russian shores some years before, were living there.

In 1803 the Japanese were summoned from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg, where Emperor Alexander I gave them an audience. After that four of the Japanese sailors, whose health were good and who did not convert to Christianity, received a permission to return to their native land on a Russian ship. Their names were Tsudayu, Gihei, Saheida and Tajūrō. The fifth was Zenroku, whose command of Russian was better than that of his companions, and who was taken on board as an interpreter (he was baptised as Peter Kiselev and had no intention to come back to Japan) [3].

The 450-ton sloop *Nadezhda* commanded by Captain-Lieutenant I. F. Krusenstern started its 16-month voyage from the port of Kronstadt in the morning of July 26, 1803. Its course was through Copenhagen, Plymouth, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Santa Catharina (Brazil), around the Cape of Horn, by the Marquesas and the Hawaiian Islands to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski and Nagasaki. That was the second time the Japanese travelled around the world [4].

At the beginning of 1805 the Japanese sailors were taken to their native land and handed to the authorities of Nagasaki. Nine months later they were brought to Edo. All that time they were kept under guard in a special lodging near the sea. On the 20th day of the 12th moon of year 2 of the Bunka era (January 8, 1806) the sailors were received by head of the Sendai clan Date Chikamune who was only ten years old [5]. Two months later the clan authorities ordered two of their vassals to interrogate the travellers in all detail and to make a record of what they could tell about life abroad, about Russia and about their voyage on a Russian ship. These talks (interrogations) continued for forty days.

The principle work — the method of questioning, subjects, checking of the evidence provided by the sailors (mainly by Chinese and Dutch books and by consulting

Daikokuya Kōdayū who had also spent in Russia about ten years) was done by Ōtsuki Gentaku. The role of the second member of the commission, Shimura Hiroyuki, was confined mainly to recording the sailors' answers on paper.

Ōtsuki Gentaku (his other pen-names: Bansai, Moshitsu, Confucian nickname — Shikan, personal name — Shigekata; 1757—1813) was a clan physician, "expert in Holland", head of the first Japanese private school of *rangaku* ("Dutch sciences") Shiba Rando (Dutch Pavilion in Shiba), author of numerous translations (over 300 *maki*) and literary works.

Shimura Hiroyuki (pen-names: Tokuji, Shikikei, Moan, Kikukaku Shinken; b. 1769) was also a *rangakusha* of the Sendai clan, at the end of his career — presumably a tutor to the head of the clan.

To identify different data (like distance in European measures, calendar dates, legends on available European maps, etc.) and to make drawings illustrating his work Ōtsuki Gentaku drew many people specialising in corresponding fields.

The principal result of questioning was the appearance in 1807 of a formidable manuscript titled *Kankai Ibum* ("Remarkable Facts about the Seas Surrounding [the Earth]"). The work is divided by subjects into 16 *maki* (in copies — 15). The drift of the *Wakamiya maru* is described there after the story told by the sailors, as well as their life in different parts of Russia, from the Aleutian Islands to St. Petersburg, and the story of the voyage of the *Nadezhda* from Kronstadt to Nagasaki. Evidence on continents and countries, their geographical co-ordinates and relative location are taken from literary sources. The introduction to *Kankai Ibum* contains information about the Russian Empire evidently unknown to the sailors.

"Russian land is the land relating to the European continent about which it was spoken earlier. If we consider the opinions which were there in the past and which are current now among different people, in our country even quite recently, in the years of An-ei — Temmei (1772—1788 — *V. G.*), they knew not where the land named "Oroshia" was located. Still this name was there on the people's lips. They said, it was Moskovia, about which it had been spoken both 150 and 100 years ago.

The Old Man Hakuseki [6] in his "Brief Notes on the Five Things" [7] indicated that it was more than 14,200 *ri* away from Japan (at the end of the Min [8] period this name was pronounced as Mosygaewaia)...

This land is famous for its hides. Barbarian ships were bringing the products of this land to our country, and ours, receiving them as gifts, began to call them "merchants' hides". That is why this sort of leather (the one from which purses and boxes for keeping plants are made) is called in the world — by Indians, Lilliputians and Persians — *amakawa* [9], but is also called *mosukobia*. In that way the word *mosukobia* is the name of a sort of leather, and many do not know now that it is also the name of a land. They say that this Mosukobia was first the name of the capital and then became the general name of the country. They say that the present name of the whole country is Ryusia, also Oroshia, they also say Oroshiiskoi...

This land is a monarchy, located in the north-west of Europe mentioned above. Over a hundred years ago a certain man flourished in this land as a wise prince. He performed his duties, seeking goodwill of different countries. After he had added to his possessions lands on the north-

east, up to large territories in Siberia (located to the north of Chinese Dattan), which is on the Asian continent, its ultimate borders reached Kamchatka. In the last years its people have relations with the Ainu islands [10] on our north-east..." [11].

The whole body of the work is divided into the following parts: books 1—3 — the story of the adventures of the crew of the *Wakamiya maru* from her departure from the native port to the stay of the sailors in Irkutsk; book 4 — food and dress of the Russians; book 5 — temples, administration, military class, punishments, money; book 7 — measures of length and distance, measures of weight, musical instruments, agriculture, trade, medicine, fishes, animals and wild beasts, counting; book 8 — Russian-Japanese vocabulary arranged by subjects; book 9 — the voyage of the 13 sailors from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg; book 10 — the audience given by Alexander I, the sailors' stay in St. Petersburg; book 11 — preparations for sending four of the sailors back to their native land; books 12—13 — the voyage from Kronstadt to Nagasaki; books 14—16 — stay in Nagasaki, different notes.

The process of the actual work with the sailors is described in the introduction to the work by its authors as follows: "... The two of us (in the text a disparaging equivalent 'two vassals' is employed — *V. G.*) were given a secret order: it was ordered to ask them about all details of this event from its very beginning to the end.

According to that, starting the whole thing in that moon, we were summoning the sailors to one of the houses of an isolated estate by the step of the Atago hill [12], day after day recording their answers to our questions. Shigekata asked questions on the story of their wanderings, and Hiroyuki, sitting nearby, kept the records. Thus in a whole 40 days have passed.

We stepped over that year, spring came — the middle decade of the second moon [13]. We were given rest, after which we listened to and recorded everything which had happened to the sailors, beginning from their departure from their native prefecture to their return to their native land — their voyage to a foreign land and back and their twelve-year stay there. That made the draft records.

In the present records there are many omissions, since it was impossible to go into every detail — these undeveloped and ignorant poor creatures looked inattentively and listened inattentively both when they entered the Russian lands as well as on their way back by the sea, when the sails of their return were raised.

This state of things could not satisfy us. Shigekata again and again asked important questions in the same order, and again he received no answer to them..." [14].

Apart from the record of the sailors' answers, supplemented with the evidence of written sources, a huge amount of editorial work was done in arranging parts of the book, avoiding repetitions, etc. After the work had been accomplished, it was submitted to the clan authorities.

The manuscript "Remarkable Facts about the Seas Surrounding [the Earth]" is known now in many copies. The most authoritative (close to the autograph) are the manuscripts of the Parliament Library, the Library of the Cabinet, the Internal Library of the Palace Department, The Tōyō bunko Library, the Waseda University Library and, naturally, from the private library of the Ōtsuki family [15]. The aim of scholars is to trace the filiation of these manuscripts and, when possible, to construct the stems.

There are weighty arguments making us think that the manuscript of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is one of the most authoritative and close to the autograph.

The active spread of the copies of the work was to a great extent connected with the tension in Russian-Japanese relations because of the failure of N. P. Rezanov's mission. Enraged by this failure the Russian envoy sent a "Memorandum" to the shogunate government:

"I, the undersigned Full Chamberlain and Cavalier of His Royal Majesty, Sovereign and Emperor Alexander I, Nicholas Rezanov, am declaring to the Japanese Government:

1. That at the time of my presence in Nagasaki I asked in the name of His Majesty the Tsar for a trade agreement, for which the Japanese government had given a permission to Laxman, sent in 1792, but then, by the intrigues of its minister... changed its word and refused.

2. This action made me demonstrate to the Japanese government that the Russian Emperor did not need much effort to bring this Empire within the rules demanded by respect to the neighbouring friendship of a person so high standing as that of my sovereign the Emperor of All Russia ..."

The following part of the "Memorandum" contained demands to punish the guilty, to make excuses to "my most kind sovereign", to open a port "to where one can come for trade" at Matmai (Hokkaido) and not to spread Japanese authority to the north of Matmai. In case of "one more disrespect" Rezanov threatened the Japanese with "pernicious measures and irrecoverable losses" [16].

The Japanese authorities, naturally, in no way reacted to the "Memorandum".

On the 8th of August 1806, staying on board of the *Juno*, N. P. Rezanov gave secret instructions to her captain, Lieutenant N. A. Khvostov, which included the following:

"1. To enter the Aniwa bay and, if any Japanese vessels are found there, to destroy them; to capture healthy and good for work people, and those disabled to let go to the north end of Matmai, telling them that they should never dare to come to the Sakhalin, which is a Russian territory, but coming for trade, for which the Russians will ever be ready. When taking captives, preference must be given to artisans and craftsmen.

2. To keep the Japanese captives from there under strict guard on your ship, but not to distress them, telling that for them it will be better than before, and therefore to let them keep all their property and to take them all to Novo-Arkhangelsk ..." [17].

Other instructions were no less resolute than the ones cited. Resolute were also the actions taken by Lieutenant N. A. Khvostov and Midshipman G. I. Davydov (commander of the tender *Avos*) who eagerly carried out the secret instructions of N. P. Rezanov.

Next year, after Khvostov and Davydov had ravaged Japanese factories, stores and temples on the South Sakhalin and the Kurils, the shogun government moved regiments of the Tsugaru, Nanbu, Sendai and Aizu clans to the north of the Ezo Island, the South Sakhalin and to other lands bordering upon Russia. Seven hundred soldiers of the Aizu clan were stationed on the Sakhalin; some Japanese scholars also went there inspired by the possibility to describe the northern islands and to persuade the Japanese in the reality of the Russian threat. There was, naturally,

an unusual growth of interest towards literature containing information about Russia, first of all towards *Kankai Ibun*. It continued through the following decades, instigated by the persistence of the Western Powers knocking at the closed doors of Japan. The Japanese became even more interested in Russian affairs after the conclusion of a treaty between the two countries at the beginning of October 1854 and especially after the 1858 Treaty on Trade and Friendship and the establishment of a Japanese diplomatic mission in St. Petersburg.

In the course of preparations for the opening of the Japanese embassy to Russia the Japanese authorities began to assemble reference materials for the embassy library. *Kankai Ibun* held a prominent place among these materials.

All books of the *Kankai Ibun* manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number C 191) bear the stamp (representing a chrysanthemum) of the Japanese embassy to the Russian Empire. Among the documents belonging to the Institute there are no records about the time and the circumstances under which the manuscript came to the Asiatic Museum (under that name the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies was known in 1818—1930). We may, however, presume that it was donated to the Institute in 1918, when the Japanese embassy and other foreign diplomatic missions moved to Moscow, following the Soviet government which had moved there not long before that.

The presence of the embassy stamp and the absence of any other stamps in the manuscript may testify that the manuscript was not taken from any library or collection but was specially copied for the Japanese embassy to the Russian Empire. There are several features demonstrating that it could not be the autograph by Ōtsuki Gentaku or Shimura Hiroyuki. Taking into account, however, the official character of the book collection of the embassy, it is possible to suggest that most authoritative protograph has been selected.

As for the protograph, the following features of our manuscript point to its existence:

1. The text of the manuscript is executed in different handwritings. Evidently, those who were assembling materials for the embassy library were given strict time limits, so they entrusted the copying to several scribes.

2. The presence of numerous errors in the transcription of foreign words, foreign personal names and place-names is noteworthy [18]. It can reflect not only the mistakes made by the informers, but testifies also that some of the *katakana* characters in the protograph were written not clearly enough (*oyuni* instead of *ogoni* — "fire", *ivoruka* instead of *igoruka* — "needle", *meshinishi* instead of *meshinin* — "lower middle-class man").

3. There are also several omissions of fragments present in other manuscripts of *Kankai Ibun* [19], differences in transcription of foreign words, the presence of homophones.

The mistakes made by the Japanese scribes who copied the manuscript were of different types. Synonymous substitutions most often occur in the hieroglyphic text; in words written in syllabic scripts (*hiragana*, *hentai-gana*) — grapheme is replaced by its hieroglyphic prototype or one conclusive verbal form is replaced by another. Cases when one syllabic system of writing is replaced by another can not be classified as scribes' mistakes: graphic

variants could reflect nothing more than the personal taste of the copyist.

In manuscripts describing foreign lands copyists' mistakes most often occur in transcriptions of foreign words, including personal names and place-names. The same fully refers to *Kankai Ibun*.

The comparison of our manuscripts with the printed editions by Sugimoto and Miyazaki by this feature provides data for tracing their stem. The record of foreign words and names in the 8th book of the work allows, as it appears at first glance, to arrange the three sources in the following order: the edition by Sugimoto — the edition by Miyazaki — our manuscript. Arguments for this conclusion are the following:

1. Mistakes in writing *katakana* graphemes by the similarity of their shape are more frequent in the manuscript: *Kangeri* for *Angeri* (England) — in both editions; *Jigō ranze* for *Nōgōranze* (New Holland) — in the edition by Sugimoto (the edition by Miyazaki contains the same mistake as the St. Petersburg manuscript); *Oroshiika* for *Oroshiia* (Russia) — in both editions.

2. The omission of voicing marks (which often occurs in manuscripts of the Tokugawa period) in transcriptions of foreign words: *Horutogari* for *Porutogari* (Portugal), *Isuhan* for *Isupan* (Spain) — in both editions.

Also, a combination of these two kinds of mistakes takes the transcribed word into a puzzle: *Tōfuranarashita* for *Dōburanadeshita* (the Cape of Good Hope) — in both editions.

3. That the manuscript described here was copied from a not quite legible protograph is evident from the transcription of the combination of words "one month" — *oron meisetsu* where syllable *ro* is provided with *nigori* (voicing mark, which in this case is meaningless), while on the left of it syllable *ze* is written by the same hand (i. e. *jzen meisetsu*). Meanwhile in the editions by Sugimoto and Miyazaki it is clearly written: *jzen*.

The presence of *lacunae* contributes a lot to the problem of the filiation of the manuscripts of *Kankai Ibun*. However, the principle question is that concerning the protograph of our manuscript. Omissions of several characters in it could be a result of the oversight of the scribe (in this particular case, however, it is not a good explanation). But already in the foreword to the work [20], between the words *Kanaria* and *Amerika*, the manuscript has 20 lines of the text missing in both editions. This fragment tells about the voyage of the *Nadzedda* across the Atlantic Ocean.

The Miyazaki edition (300 copies) was based upon the so-called Mishima book which, in its turn, is basing upon the "Ishii book". For this last, obviously, the text of the Ōtsuki family library was used, along with two or three other copies [21].

As for Sugimoto Tsutomu, he used for his edition the manuscripts of the Parliament Library and of the Cabinet Library [22].

When translating the work into modern Japanese Ikeda Akira used mainly the copy of the Palace Library (a well-preserved manuscript of 1829 copied by one hand from the protograph of 1810) along with several other authoritative copies from Tokyo manuscript collections [23]. Even in his edition the fragment mentioned above is also missing [24].

Either several authoritative copies of *Kankai Ibun* are not authentic or, which is more probable, this work has at least two versions by the author himself.

It should be noted that it was not seldom that, as a result of multiple copying, comments made by the author or the owner of the manuscript were incorporated into the main text. In such cases the interpolation usually represents a kind of explanation of the preceding text or its supplement. In our case, however, the fragment missing in all other editions presents a natural transition from one sentence to another and removes the odd interruption existing in the copies used for printed editions. In other words, none of the published copies or copies used for making the editions of Miyazaki, Sugimoto and Ikeda, could be the protograph of our manuscript. Even cursory observation of peculiarities of its text bring us to this conclusion.

The special features of our manuscript and its somewhat isolated place among published manuscripts reveal themselves in particular in book 8 (lexicon). The matter is not that in the St. Petersburg manuscripts some words are either omitted, like Russian *железо* (zhelezo) — "iron" or *серебро* (serebro) — "silver", or misplaced, like *ворота* (vorota) — "gates", or that voicing marks are missing there (all these faults could be easily explained by the oversight of the copyist), but that it contains transcriptions of Russian words reflecting their pronunciation more precisely than they are given in printed editions. Meanwhile the manuscript provides sufficient evidence that the copyist was not familiar with the Russian language.

The Russian word *товарищ* (tovarisch) — "comrade" is given in the manuscript as *tawarashi*, while in Sugimoto's edition it is *taurashi* (Miyazaki and Ikeda — *tawarishi*), the word *богатый* (bogatij) — "rich" — *bakatoyo* (Sugimoto — *hakatoyo*); *мачта* (machta) — "mast" — in the manuscript — *mashita*, Ikeda gives *majita*, Miyazaki and Sugimoto — *majiku*.

In this way the first impression of the origin of our copy turns to be wrong.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Japanese had little experience in transcribing foreign words. In the early medieval period the transcription of Sanskrit words was practised by Japanese Buddhists, and of Chinese words — by a wider circle of educated people. In the Edo period they recorded Dutch words. The experience acquired at the time of the first contacts with the Europeans was lost already by the middle of the seventeenth century.

The study of the St. Petersburg copy of *Kankai Ibun* shows that it is of a great value for the history of the text. It can be not only translated into Russian but also laid at the base of a critical edition, thus opening new possibilities for textological studies.

Illustrations to the manuscript deserve special attention. Drawings of everything the sailors saw in the course of their long voyage were made by the authors from their words. After draft drawings had been made, the sailors suggested all possible corrections, made remarks of different kind. The drawings were then modified accordingly. There were different subjects related to Russia and to their voyage from Kronstadt to Nagasaki. The illustrations contained in our manuscript are of special value for all interested in the field. No doubt, they could become the object of a separate study.

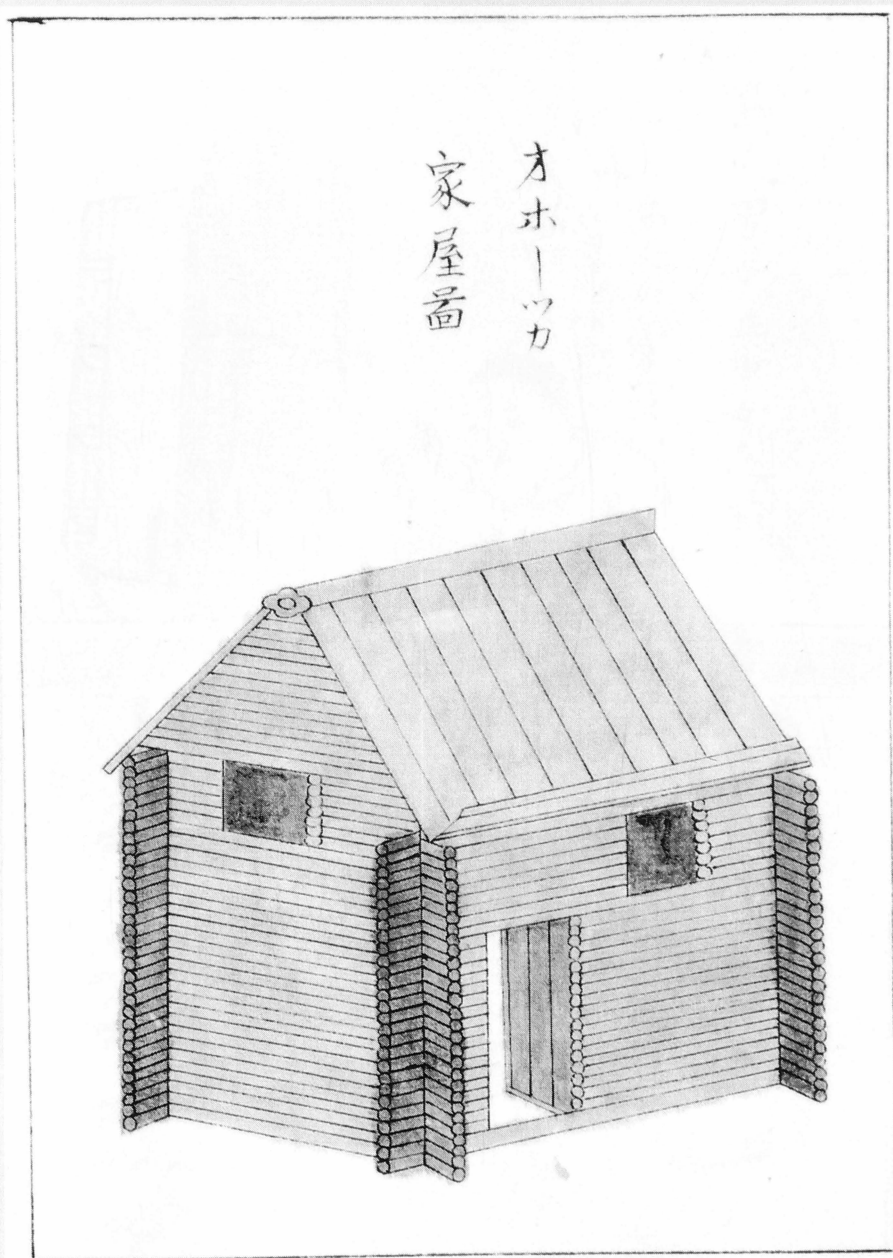


Fig. 2

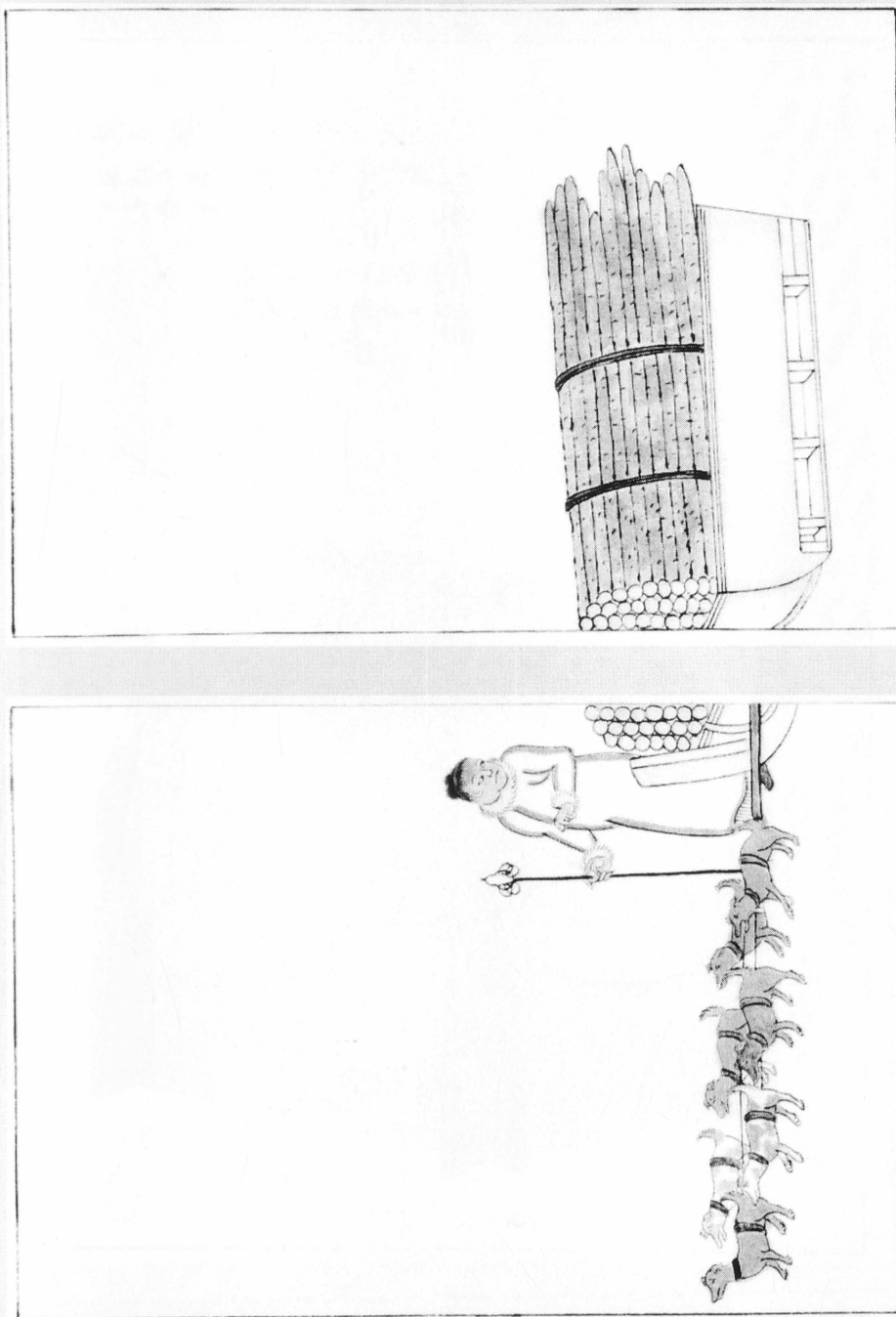


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Notes

1. As it was recorded by A. Laxman in his "Description of the Voyage", in the chart received by him from Japanese officials on the 23d of January 1793, it was said: "If on your side there would be any new enterprise, you may proceed with it there [i. e. to Nagasaki]". See V. M. Golovnin, *Zapiski flota kapitana Golovnina o priklucheniakh ego v plenu u iapontsev v 1811, 1812 i 1813 godakh, s priobshcheniem zamechanii ego o iaponskom gosudarstve i narode* (Memoirs of the Captain of the Navy Golovnin about his Adventures in Japanese Captivity in the Years 1811, 1812, and 1813, with his Supplementary Notes on the Japanese State and People) (Khabarovsk, 1972), p. 487.
2. See "Rossiisko-Amerikanskaia Kompaniia i izuchenie Tikhookeanskogo severa" ("Russian-American Company and the study of the north of the Pacific Ocean"), *Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 1994), pp. 49.
3. There were constant quarrels between Zenroku and his compatriots on the way. Rezanov left him at Kamchatka, not daring to take him to Japan, where Zenroku could lose his life if denounced by his former friends.
4. Ikeda Akira is writing, however, that the four passengers of the *Nadezhda* were the first Japanese to make such a voyage, see Ikeda Akira, *Kankai Ibun* (Tokyo, 1898), p. 316. The first one was actually the voyage of a 500-ton European-type ship *San Bonaventura* (built probably under the directions of Will Adams) with a mixed Japanese-Portuguese crew of 68 people undertaken in 1613—1620. Its course was: Tsukinoura (Miyagi, Japan), the Aleutian Islands, California, Akapulko (Mexico), the Straits of Magellan (probably around the Cape of Horn), Seville (Spain), Naples (whence from the captain went to Rome, to see Paul VI), the Cape of Good Hope, Java, the Philippines, Macao, Japan. Soon, however, Christianity was prohibited in Japan, so this voyage was hardly mentioned.
5. Three of the four sailors were present at the audience given by Date Chikamune. The fourth one, Tajuro, who had attempted a suicide in Nagasaki, was still too weak to come.
6. The Old Man Hakuseki — Arai Hakuseki (1657—1725), a Tokugawa scholar, author of works on Japanese history, geography, folklore and language. He was a counsellor and tutor to the Tokugawa shoguns.
7. "Brief Notes on the Five Things" — *Gojiryaku*, a work by Arai Hakuseki.
8. Min — a Chinese dynasty, 1368—1644.
9. *Amakawa* — a Japanese term for leather.
10. At the end of the eighteenth—early nineteenth century the northern part of the Honshū Island, Ezo (Hokkaido) and the Kurils were numbered by the Japanese among those inhabited by the Ainu people.
11. *Kankai Ibun*, manuscript C 191 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection, book 1, fols. 11a—12a.
12. Atago — a hill with a Shinto shrine in the area of Shiba in Edo (now the Shiba park in the Minato-ku region of Tokyo).
13. The 2nd decade of the 2nd moon of the 3d year of the Bunka era began on 20/8 March 1806.
14. *Kankai Ibun*, manuscript C 191 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection, book 1, fols. 5b—6a.
15. The difference between the popularity of *Hokusa monryaku* by Katsuragawa Hoshu and of *Kankai Ibun* is striking. The first one was created by the orders of the shogunate government, the second — by the initiative of the Sendai clan. To what extent these works were open to the public was also probably decided at different levels.
16. "Rossiisko-Amerikanskaia Kompaniia", p. 115.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
18. As D. S. Likhachev points out, "mistakes made by a scribe when reading his original could be connected with the palaeographic features of the handwriting or with the physical state of the original", see D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiiia* (Textology) (Leningrad, 1983), p. 65.
19. The author had a chance to see copies of *Kankai Ibun* preserved in several manuscript collections of Japan and to collate the St. Petersburg manuscript with the editions by Ikeda Aikira — see *op. cit.*; by Miyazaki Eiichi — see Ōtsuki Gentaku, Shimura Hiroyuki, *Kankai Ibun*, ed. Miyazaki Eiichi (Tokyo, 1976); and by Sugimoto Tsutomu & Iwai Noriyuki — see Ōtsuki Gentaku, Shimura Hiroyuki, *Kankai Ibun honbun to kenkyū*, eds. Sugimoto Tsutomu and Iwai Noriyuki (Tokyo, 1986).
20. Sugimoto's edition, p. 16, line 7, left; Miyazaki's edition, p. 45, line 5, left.
21. Ikeda's edition, p. III.
22. Sugimoto's edition, p. XVII.
23. Ikeda's edition, p. IV.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 11—2.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"A Ship Among the Blocks of Ice". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* (C 191), fol. 14a, 14.0 × 20.5 cm.

Back cover:

"Theatre in the Capital of the Russian Empire". A colour drawing from the book 11 of the same manuscript, fols. 11b—12a, 32.5 × 26.5 cm.

Inside the text:

- Fig. 1.** "The Aleuts with Harpoons on the Dinghy of Leather". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the same manuscript, fols. 5b—6a, 28.0 × 41.0 cm.
- Fig. 2.** "A Dwelling House in Okhotsk". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the same manuscript, fol. 15b, 14.0 × 20.5 cm.
- Fig. 3.** "A Dog Team". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the same manuscript, fols. 16b—17a, 28.0 × 41.0 cm.
- Fig. 4.** "An Aleutian Family (husband, wife, and daughter)". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the same manuscript, fol. 3a, 14.0 × 20.0 cm.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Mirza Mukhammad Khaïdar. *Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*. Vvedenie, perevod s persidskogo A. Urunbaeva, R. P. Dzhaliłovoï, L. M. Epifanovoï. Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo "Fan", 1996, 727 str.

Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar. *Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī*. Introduction, translation from Persian by A. Urunbaev, R. P. Djalilova, L. M. Epifanova. Tashkent: "FAN", the Publishing House of the Republic of Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences, 1996, 727 pp.

The work by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar *Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī* was always highly appreciated by all scholars who studied the history of Moghūlistān of the second half of the fourteenth—first half of the sixteenth century. The appearance of its new edition with a translation into Russian is no doubt a remarkable event. Moreover that the author of the work himself was such a gifted and prominent figure, that, in our opinion, his personality deserves special consideration. It is difficult to refrain from mentioning that Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar was a close relative of the famous Oriental author and the founder of the Great Moghūl dynasty (1526—1858) Bābur (d. 1530). The mothers of Bābur and Mirzā Ḥaydar were sisters.

Muḥammad Ḥaydar himself, or, as he called himself, Mirzā Ḥaydar, came from a very influential and noble Dūghlāt family. In the fourteenth—sixteenth centuries his ancestors were powerful *amīrs* enthroning and dethroning princes of the ruling dynasty in the eastern part of the Chagatay empire — the territories of the present-day Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan and Xin-jiang — or Moghūlistān, as all these lands are named in the medieval Muslim sources.

Mirzā Ḥaydar was born in 905/1499—1500 in Tashkent, which at that time belonged to the ruler of Moghūlistān Maḥmūd-khān. The mother of Mirzā Ḥaydar was a daughter of the Moghūlistān ruler Yūnus-khān (1462—1487). The famous husband of her sister, Bābur, as well as Moghūl *khān* Sulṭān Sa'īd (who ruled in Kashgaria in 1514—1533) showed active interest in Mirzā Ḥaydar's life and career. He received a good Muslim education, becoming well-versed in literature, different branches of science, arts and crafts according to the standards of that time. Being endowed with poetic gift he wrote poems in Turkī

and Farsī with equal fluency. Besides his outstanding literary abilities he was at the same time a gifted military leader and a man of great personal bravery.

Mirzā Ḥaydar's noble origin and personal abilities determined his official career: he was close to the *khān's* court, under Sulṭān Sa'īd he held prominent offices in the Moghūl state. On the *khān's* command he several times led campaigns into Badakhshān, Kāfiristān, Ladaq, and Tibet. After the death of his patron, Sa'īd-khān, his fortune, however, changed. The throne of Yārkend was occupied by Sa'īd-khān's son 'Abd al-Rashīd, who was extremely hostile to the Dūghlāt tribe. It became dangerous for Mirzā Ḥaydar to stay in his own country, so he decided to move to India, to the successors of Bābur. He spent some time wandering in Tibet Minor, then arrived in Lahore. In 1541, Mirzā Ḥaydar managed to conquer Kashmīr by a military ruse and established a practically independent state there. Here, in Kashmīr, his famous work *Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī* was written in Persian between 1542 and 1546.

In a foreword to his work Mirzā Ḥaydar explains the reason which made him take the pen. He writes that in his youth he became familiar with the tradition about the Moghūl *khāns* narrated by old men, and later became involved in many historical events. "Looking back", writes Mirzā Ḥaydar, he realised that no one who knew those stories and could tell about those events had been left. Thus developed the idea to create a work dealing with the history of the Moghūl *khāns* and their tribes after their conversion to Islam supplemented with what the author had heard from trustworthy story-tellers and with what he had seen himself in the course of his life. In the introduction to his work Mirzā Ḥaydar does not avoid the usual for medieval authors self-disparaging words of his modest literary abilities, when he writes that only all these above mentioned circumstances could force him to start "dragging [my] worthless pen over the whiteness of paper"¹.

The main contents of *Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī* is the story of the eastern branch of the Chaghataids (the descendants of Chaghatāy, the second son of Chinghiz-khān, who died in 1242), the internal strife within the *ulūs* which resulted in the rise of the Dūghlāt tribe and its rule in East Turkestan. Being the principle source on the history of Moghūlistān in the second half of the fourteenth—first half of the sixteenth century *Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī* contains also rich and often

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī*, a manuscript C 395 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 102a.

unique materials on the history of several Turkic peoples of Central Asia, as well as on Tibetans, Kāfirs and the inhabitants of Kashmīr.

Not going beyond the frames of the usual medieval view on history as the sphere of actions exclusively of rulers, military leaders and dignitaries, Mīrẓā Ḥaydar is nevertheless more broad-minded in his observations and estimations than most medieval historians. Rendering the Moghūl historical tradition and narrating the events of his own life he appears as a keen observer of human characters, marking characteristic features of historical figures and events. In his *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, as well as in the "Memories" of his famous relative Bābur, we find a curious human document reflecting a vivid impression of that politically unstable period in the history of Central Asia. Mīrẓā Ḥaydar never loses a chance to describe his own impressions of different events, as well as the impressions of those people who were close to him. Their individual tune is extremely valuable for reconstructing the whole picture of human perspective at that time crucial for the history of the greater part of the Asian continent.

The personality of Mīrẓā Ḥaydar and his historical work did not remain unnoticed. This is how the author and his work were estimated by a late sixteenth—early seventeenth century Iranian-speaking author Amīn b. Aḥmad Rāzī: "From him came to the world good deeds, he was of many and high talents; his spelling was blameless, his style clear, [and] his verse gracious. He was of outstanding courage and bravery and an artful military leader... His *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* written for Rashīd-khān, the ruler of Kāshgar, is known universally"².

Tārīkh-i Rashīdī by Mīrẓā Ḥaydar Dughlāt doubtless became very popular in the East. The manuscript tradition connected with this work is rich and variable. At present more than thirty copies of his historical work are known. Passages from *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* are often cited by many Muslim authors, there are also several translations of this work into Turkī³.

The work by Mīrẓā Ḥaydar considerably influenced the development of Oriental studies in Europe. Beginning from the early nineteenth century every scholar working in the field of the medieval history of Central Asia and North India had to apply to this important source. In 1895, by the efforts of N. Elias and E. Ross the work by Mīrẓā Ḥaydar was translated into English and published with a foreword, a vast introduction and a supplement⁴. In 1973 this translation was reprinted in Panta without any changes.

As for Oriental studies in the former Soviet Union, the discussion about the necessity of a complete translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Russian has been going for several decades. Time went, but the translation of this unique source on the history of Central Asia did not appear. Fortunately, at the very end of the twentieth century, the first Russian translation of Mīrẓā Ḥaydar's work was published.

This important task has been fulfilled by prominent Uzbek scholars A. Urunbaev, R. P. Dzhalilova, and L. M. Epifanova.

The basic manuscript used for the Russian translation is the copy of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* from the manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences (No. 1430). In the course of their work the translators used also three copies of the Persian original of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* from St. Petersburg. Textological variants are marked at the bottom of every page, notes to the text follow each chapter separately.

The survey of all achievements and faults of the Russian translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* requires a lot of work. It is enough to mention here that the translation is very precise and easy to read. At the same time, in my opinion, the style of the Russian version of the text is more dry than the Persian original, losing much of its beauty in this Russian translation.

It should be mentioned also that the Introduction to the translation and notes are not free from errors. It is enough to mark here the most obvious of them. It is said in the Introduction that "besides the historical work there is also a Turkic treatise on geography in verse, *Jahān-nāma*, also by Mīrẓā Ḥaydar" (p. 9). But the statement calls for comment. True, Mīrẓā Ḥaydar Dughlāt was not only a talented historian but also a fine poet. His treatise in verse entitled *Jahān-nāma* was discovered by pure chance among Martin Hartmann's manuscripts in the State Library of Berlin (Berlinische Staatliche Bibliothek) (Ms. Oz. Oct. 1704) in 1924 by Z. V. Toḡan, who was the first to study it⁵. He discovered, first, that the manuscript marked in M. Hartman's index as untitled and anonymous actually represented an unknown work by Mīrẓā Ḥaydar named *Jahān-nāma*; second, that Mīrẓā Ḥaydar had used *takhalluṣ* Ayāz; that, finally, the subject of the poem was a fairy-tale about prince Fīrūz-shāh and princess Perizād. However, though *Jahān-nāma* contains information of geographical, historical and autobiographical character, the work the main subject of which is the story of a prince and a princess can hardly be assigned to the genre of geographic literature.

It is mentioned in the Introduction that the whole text of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrẓā Ḥaydar came to light in the English translation made by E. Ross (p. 14). Meanwhile the translation by E. Ross presents an *abridged* translation of the work. Omissions are marked by the translator himself in footnotes (see, for example, E. Ross' translation, pp. 342, 397, 400, etc.). Long rhetoric periods and verse were usually abridged or omitted; sometimes longer passages are left out — all inserted treatises, a chapter on prominent historical figures from Herat, author's conclusion to the second book (*daftar*), etc.

Further, in footnotes to the edition under review we read that Dasht-i Qipchāq was a vast territory, in the elev-

² Amīn b. Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iklim*, manuscript C 605 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 520a.

³ T. I. Sultanov, "'Tārīkh-i Rashīdī' Mīrẓā Ḥaydar Dughlāt (literaturnai istoriia sochineniia)" ("Tārīkh-i Rashīdī by Mīrẓā Ḥaydar Dughlāt. The literary history of the work"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 116—35.

⁴ *The Tārīkh-i Rashīdī by Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia. An English Version.* Edited with Commentary, Notes and Map by N. Elias. The Translation by E. Denison Ross (London, 1895).

⁵ A. Z. Validi, "Ein Türkisches Werk von Haydar Mirza Dughlat", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies London Institution (University of London)*, VIII/4 (1937), pp. 985—9.

enth—fifteenth centuries embracing all the steppes from the Dniester to the River Irtysh. Here the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq is meant, i. e. steppes to the east of the Volga. It would have been reasonable to mention here that Dasht-i Qipchāq was usually divided into two parts: the Western Dasht-i Qipchāq and the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq. The Western Dasht-i Qipchāq spread from east to west from the River Yaik (the Ural) to the Dniester, from south to north — from the Black and the Caspian Sea to the city of Ükek (its remains located near modern Saratov). The borders of the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq were marked by the Irtysh on the east, on the west — by the Yaik, on the north — by the River Tobol, on the south — by the Lake Balkhash and the territories adjoining the middle course of the Syr-Darya.

The following note is made to the name of Shāhībēk-khān: "Muhammad Shaybānī-khān, grandson of Abū'l-Khayr-khān (b. 855/1451—d. 916/1501) (a misprint here, for "1501" read "1510" — T. S.). In the 1480s became the leader of the Uzbek state and achieved the conquest of Mawarannahr. The founder of the Shaybānīd dynasty" (p. 620, note 6 to Chapter 26). Unfortunately, the translators are repeating here an out-of-date opinion, therefore this passage requires a new and a more expanded note.

Shāhībēk-khān, a descendant of Shibān or, according to P. Pelliot, of Sibān, the junior brother of Baty, son of Juchī-khān, son of Chinghiz-khān. Shāhībēk-khān was the elder son of Shāh-Budāq-sultān. He was born in 1451. According to Binā'ī and Khwāndamīr, his mother's name was Aqzoī-begim and she was "of the line of Altān-khān". The personal name of this prince was Muḥammad. It is known that in the Muslim East a complicated system of names went hand-to-hand with a noble origin, so a complete name of a grown-up person could include three to five or even more components. According to Binā'ī, Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanish and Yūsuf Munshī, when Muḥammad was just born, his grandfather Abū'l-Khayr-khān gave him a honorary name (*lakab*) — Shāhbakht. His other names, which he received later, were Abū'l-Faṭḥ, Shāhībēk-khān, Shidāk-khān. Shāhībēk-khān was one of the most educated men of his time and a poet famous in literary circles. Because he was a descendant of Shibān-khān, writes the *khān* of Khiva Abū'l-Ghāzī (also

a descendant of Shibān, son of Juchī, son of Chinghiz-khān), as a poet he took the pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) of Sheybānī. In V. V. Barthold's opinion, the reason for turning the name Shibān (Sibān) into Sheybān (Shaybān), whence from originated Sheybānī (Shaybānī) was the existence in the Muslim world of a popular nickname identical with the name of one of the Arabian tribes, the name of the famous theologian al-Shaybānī, whose full name was Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (749—805). The full name of Shāhībēk-khān, as it usually appears in the sources, was Abū'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Sheybānī-khān.

At the very beginning of the sixteenth century the descendants of Shibān, son of Juchī, son of Chinghiz-khān, led by Muḥammad Sheybānī-khān moved to the south from Dasht-i Qipchāq, conquered Mawarannahr and founded there an independent state — the khānate of Bukhārā. Muḥammad Sheybānī-khān had three sons: Tīmūr-sultān, Khurramshāh-sultān, Abū'l-Khayr-sultān (according to a different source, the third son of Shāhībēk-khān was named Suyūnch-Muḥammad-sultān). The direct descendants of Sheybānī-khān himself never ruled anywhere, so there was no Sheybānīd (Shaybānīd) dynasty. Sheybānī-khān, his children, his grandfather Abū'l-Khayr-khān, etc., they were all Shibānids (Sibānids), i. e. the descendants of Shibān (Sibān) son of Juchī, son of Chinghiz-khān. In that way, contrary to the popular opinion, Shāhībēk-khān the Shibānīd was not the founder of the dynasty: he was the founder of the Shibānīd state in Central Asia (1500—1598), with its capital first in Samarqand, then in Bukhārā, nothing more⁶.

There are other minor mistakes and omissions in the publication reviewed here, which, however, in no way diminish its merits. My observations are not intended as criticisms but simply as items of information. It is fortunate that due to thorough labour of the editors, A. Urubbaev, R. P. Dzhalilova, and L. M. Epifanova, we have now a comprehensive Russian translation of the principal source on the medieval history of Central Asia and one of the most outstanding sixteenth-century historical works written in Persian.

T. Sultanov

⁶ S. G. Kliashtornyĭ, T. I. Sultanov, *Kazakhstan. Letopis' trekh tysiacheletii* (Kazakhstan. A Chronicle of Three Millennia) (Alma-Ata, 1992), pp. 243—9.

Catalogue of Acehnese Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other collections outside Aceh. Compiled by P. Voorhoeve in co-operation with T. Iskandar. Translated and edited by M. Durie. Leiden University Library (Legatum Warnerianum) in co-operation with Indonesian Linguistics Development Project (ILDEP). Leiden: 1994, 391 pp. — Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti, XXIV.

In 1994, in *Codices Manuscripti* series issued by Leiden University this book whose history goes back at least to 1906 was published. It was in 1906 that a publication of the great Dutch orientalist C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857—1936), dealing with the history of Acehnese literature, appeared.

On his return from Aceh in 1892, the scholar prepared a report on the religious and political situation in the country for the Dutch East Indian government. The first two parts of the report were published under the name "De Atjehers" a year later, while the English translation of the work entitled "The Acehnese" came to light in 1906. The second chapter of Volume II of this work dedicated to the description of the Acehnese literature set the standard in the field.

Forty years later Dr P. Voorhoeve (specialists in Arabic and Islamic studies know him as the author of the "Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts" which was published in 1957), at that period a curator of Oriental collections in the library of Leiden University, and formerly linguist of the Dutch government in Java and Sumatra, started the project which

was terminated successfully only in 1994. Together with the Indonesian scholar Dr T. Iskandar, Voorhoeve has conducted a survey of all manuscripts in the Acehese language, kept in the collections outside Aceh, viewing to publish his work as a catalogue. In 1983, J. J. Witkam took the initiative of publishing this catalogue in English. After many modifications and additions had been made, the Dutch version of the book was translated into English by M. Durie, who not only translated and typed the work on a word-processor but also added much valuable information to it, which was a result of his own studies. The work was finally published in 1994, and the students in the field received the bibliographical complement to C. Snouck Hurgornje's history of Acehese literature they were so long awaiting for.

In the preface to the Catalogue (p. 17) its compiler mentions six main sources of the work:

- 1) C. Snouck Hurgornje's list of MSS sent from Aceh to the Museum of the Batavia Society;
- 2) H. T. Damsté's catalogue of Acehese MSS in the Museum for the Tropics in Amsterdam;
- 3) a typewritten catalogue of the Jakarta Museum collection and the Djajadiningrat collection;
- 4) Voorhoeve's typewritten catalogue of the collection in the Leiden University Library;
- 5) Voorhoeve's published and unpublished notes about several Acehese MSS from other collections;
- 6) T. Iskandar's description of MSS from the Damsté's collection.

The materials stored in the Leiden University Library, Amsterdam Municipal University Library, Amsterdam Royal Institute for the Tropics, Antwerpen Ethnographical Museum, Breda Ethnographical Museum "Justinus van Nassau", Djajadiningrat Collection of Jakarta, National Library (Jakarta), Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Kuala Lumpur), National Museum of Ethnography (Leiden), the British Library, School of Oriental and African Studies (London), Musée de l'homme (Paris), Ethnographic Museum (Rotterdam), Utrecht University Library, the Military Archives in The Hague and in the private collections of G. W. J. Drewes, M. Durie, T. Iskandar and Sikkema are described in accordance with the systematic Snouck

Hurgornje's survey of Acehese literature and divided as follows:

- 1) literature transmitted orally;
- 2) hikayat Ruhé;
- 3) epic hikayats;
- 4) original treatises;
- 5) fiction (romantic works);
- 6) fables relating to animals;
- 7) religious works (legends relating to the pre-Muhammedan period);
- 8) religious works (legends relating to the Muhammedan period);
- 9) religious works (books of instruction and edification);
- 10) miscellanea.

A major part of the items described consists of copies and transliterations of the originals made for C. Snouck Hurgornje, Hoessein Djajadiningrat and others, so there is often no need in codicological data to be present.

Section "Plates with notes" (pp. 319–62) contains 19 black-and-white reproductions of MSS' pages, sometimes provided partially with transliteration. The compiler even gives us a remarkable "portrait gallery" of the persons significant for the Acehese studies: of Dokarim (Abdulkarim), who was a composer of the heroic poem dedicated to the struggle of the Acehese against Dutch (see Catalogue, pp. 59–62), C. Snouck Hurgornje, Teungku Mohamed Noerdin, who was Hurgornje's assistant in collecting Acehese MSS, Dr Hoessein Djajadiningrat, and H. T. Damsté (pp. 358–62).

The detailed indices prepared by R. G. Tol and A. G. P. Janson (pp. 363–90) and a concordance named "Conspectus of Codex and Catalogue Numbers" (pp. 261–302) widen essentially the possibilities of using the Catalogue.

The work is a result of one hundred years of the efforts and activities of those engaged in studying Acehese MSS (see in particular a vast bibliography in the "References", pp. 301–18). Intended to be a bibliographical tool to make the manuscripts available for further study, the Catalogue may in effect be considered an important supplement to C. Snouck Hurgornje's writing on Acehese literature.

E. Rezvan

Stefano Carboni. *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic Art*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York: 1997, 48 pp.

Though the Catalogue under review that was published in conjunction with the exhibition "Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic Art", held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York from February 4 through August 31, 1997, is not voluminous, it is none the less of great interest for many specialists in the field of Islamic art and culture. Taking into account that the principle domain of interests of *Manuscripta Orientalia* covers a vast range of manuscript heritage investigation, including Oriental iconography as represented in Oriental manuscripts, the Catalogue, despite its special role to be a guide to the exhibi-

tion's items, could make service to the journal's readers, since it represents a valuable piece of scholarship. Needless to say, the compilation of a guide to the exhibition of Islamic art has always been the task that requires great knowledge in many fields of Oriental studies. In my view, the author has demonstrated his vast erudition in describing most precious items of Islamic art represented at the exhibition and in presenting a comprehensive survey of Oriental astrology in general.

The very idea of such kind of an exhibition, the aim of which is to show pieces of Islamic art dedicated to astrology, seems to be a fortunate one. Such a special approach, first, enables the public to make more profound acquaintance with priceless treasures of the Metropolitan Museum, and, secondly, makes a great service to Islamic scholarship,

because it draws specialists' attention to most ambivalent sphere of Islamic art as represented in astrology images.

The work by Dr Stefano Carboni comprises: i) a short but very valuable introductory article providing a scholarly survey of Oriental astrology, which shows the place it occupied in Islamic history, in particular, in the Arabic one; ii) the description of the specimens of Islamic art, which contain astrology images; iii) and a helpful bibliography. The Catalogue is supplied with the black-and-white photos of the exhibits described.

The author points out that in the medieval Islamic world the science of astrology was based on a knowledge of astronomy which was inherited by the Arabs from the Greek writings. Dr Carboni succeeded in clarifying the role of astrology in Islamic artistic production, its significance as both a decorative device and a powerful cosmological talisman. The author also gives an exhaustive description of astrology images in various specimens of Islamic art, coins, and manuscript miniatures. The last ones, to all appearances, play but a little part in the exhibition. That is all the more regrettable since there exist enormous material on the subject hidden on the pages of Islamic manuscripts which offer a lot of iconographical enigmas relating to astrology. One may only suggest that it was the lack of corresponding manuscripts under hand that miniatures were drawn on so poor a scale.

Nevertheless, it is a great success of Dr Carboni that he has employed so fruitfully medieval Muslim writings on astrology, without which much would be almost obscure when deciphering most complicated "language" of astrology images in numerous pieces of Islamic art. It is lucky that the author of the Catalogue combines in his work profound scholarship in medieval Muslim literature with his excellent knowledge of Islamic art in general.

It should be noted that the descriptions (20 in all) of the items are most informative and seem to be almost exhaustive providing many precious details which could be of much use to scholars working in the field. Apart from giving a detailed explanation of the astrological images, the author provides us with useful information on the relevant terms and traces the origins of some astrological images. It is no doubt that everyone dealing with Islamic iconography will borrow much after examining the exhibition and making acquaintance with the Catalogue compiled by Dr Carboni. One could only envy the visitors of this exhibition to have a chance to see the pieces of art presented at it and to get so abundant information on the role of astrology in Islamic society.

It is a fortunate device of Dr Carboni to provide some of the descriptions of the items with charming citations from the writing of the famous Muslim scholar and astrology Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, entitled *Kitāb al-mawālīd*, which would certainly excite curiosity of the exhibition's visitors. Given the great interest the people show in astrology nowadays, the device appears to be most appropriate. As for specialists, they will also read these passages with interest, not only because the most popular Muslim writing on astrology is being cited, but also because the citations reveal some special features of mentality of the Islamic society with concern to astrology and astrological beliefs.

Despite its special role, astrology can be viewed as one of the most creative and interesting branch of medieval Islamic thought and culture in general. I think that the theme of astrology in the Middle East deserves a special investigation, since it might contribute to our knowledge of medieval Islamic mentality. The Catalogue produced by Dr Stefano Carboni, with his deep penetration to the subject, could be a step in this direction.

I. Petrosyan

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Notes to Contributors

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Submissions

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