# RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES ST.PETERSBURG BRANCH

Manuscripta Orientalia

75ESA



# Manuscripta Orientalia

# International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 3 No. 3 November 1997





75ESA St.Petersburg-Helsinki

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## Printing and distribution

Printed and distributed by Dekadi Publishing Ltd Oy, Helsinki, Finland

#### Subscriptions

The subscription price of Volume 3 (1997) (*ca.* 288 pages in 4 issues) is US\$ 210.00 for institutions and US\$ 187.00 for individuals including postage and packing.

Subscription orders are accepted for complete volumes only, orders taking effect with the first issue of any year. Claims for replacement of damaged issues or of issues lost in transit should be made within ten months after the appearance of the relevant issue and will be met if stocks permit. Back issues are available for US\$ 50 per issue.

Subscription orders may be made direct to the distributor: Dekadi Publishing Ltd Oy, PO. Box 976, FIN-00101 Helsinki, Finland. Tel. +358-9-638 119, Fax +358-9-638 441. Also to the publisher: 14 Dobrolyubov St., apt. 358, 197198 St. Petersburg, Russia. Tel./Fax +7(812)238-9594, E-mail bi@thesa.spb.su.

ISSN 1238-5018

Printed in Finland

# TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

E. I. Kychanov

# "THE ALTAR RECORD ON CONFUCIUS' CONCILIATION", AN UNKNOWN TANGUT APOCRYPHAL WORK

The work in question was discovered by the well known Russian scholar N. A. Nevsky (1892–1937) at the beginning of the 1930s. In his paper "The Tangut script and its collections", published in 1935 and devoted to the Tangut manuscripts in the then Institute of Oriental Studies in ideas, the Tangut absorbed Daoism too, for the quotations from Lao-zi, Zhuang-zi, Lie-zi, Huainan-zi are abundant ... in the collection of quotations. Also, there is a number of translations of small apocrypha claiming the victory of Daoist ideas over Confucianism and at times depicting Confucius and his disciple Zi Lu as being fairly ridiculous. But such works are scarce in our collection. The "Records on the Altar of Confucius" [1].

It is not quite clear why N. A. Nevsky has not included this composition in the inventory. By 1959, when the author of the present article was commissioned to continue the inventory of the Tangut part of P. K. Kozlov's Khara-Khoto collection, a manuscript of the "Records" had been listed among not discovered items. My 35-years work in the manuscript fund makes me conclude that despite its frequent moves, from the Russian Geographic Society to the Asiatic Museum, and later from the Institute of Oriental Studies, then located on the premises of the Academy of Sciences Library, to the new lodgings on Dvortsovaya embankment, 18, no item has been lost. Everything ever mentioned by the previous students of the collection --A. I. Ivanov, V. L. Kotvich, N. A. Nevsky, A. A. Dragunov, and Z. I. Gorbacheva - has been re-found in the manuscript fund. The text in question was also rediscovered later, identified by the present author and listed in the inventory under No. 3781. Afterwards, when bringing together scattered fragments of various writings, it was given call number Tang. 426, No. 3781.

The text represents a "butterfly"-bound manuscript containing 72 pages. The pages measure  $8.0 \times 13.5$  cm, 5 lines per page with 9 characters per line. As is usual in such manuscripts, the text written in a half-cursive script is present on recto folios only. The paper is grey, thin, of bad quality. The edges of the manuscript are crumpled, bent, or torm off, which makes it difficult to read the text. At the end of the manuscript the title of the composition — "The Altar Record on Confucius' Conciliation, one *juan*" — is mentioned again. Until recently, the book was in quite unsatisfactory condition. After restoration, done in the studio of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, its condition is good (see *fig. 1*).

Only a few leaves with the text copied out by Nevsky from this Tangut composition, and with Chinese equivalents provided by him, survive from the time of the scholar's work on the text, so the present article is in fact the first attempt to give necessary information about this most interesting Tangut work. It should be noted that Nevsky's judgement that it represents an apocryphal work containing criticism of Confucian ideas, and that it might be a translation from Chinese, turned out to be correct.

"The Altar Record on Confucius' Conciliation" (the name "Records on the Altar of Confucius' Conciliation", which was given to the writing by Nevsky, is also acceptable) tells us the story of the meeting of some one who is called in the text the Old Man (*laoren* in Chinese) with Zi Lu, one of Confucius' disciples, and with Confucius himself. I retell here only the principal contents of the composition.

The Old Man, who came from far away (it is not said whence exactly), was decorating an altar. Unfortunately, no information about this altar is provided in the text despite its mention in the title of the work. When Confucius' disciple Zi Lu appeared in the story, the Old Man was leaving the altar singing, which made Zi Lu anxious that this singing would disturb his Master Confucius, who was not far off. Not willing to speak to Zi Lu, the Old Man approached the tree on the river bank, where he went on with his singing and dancing. Then Zi Lu came up to him and said: "Old Man, you are in the old age, your hair is grey, but neither your sons nor grandsons accompany you. And you have no staff to rest your hand upon. Why, having left your house, are you wandering alone in the deserted area in the time when not everyone ventures to come here?" He also told the Old Man that his Master Confucius was not far from them

On hearing out Zi Lu, the Old Man closed his eyes and said nothing. Zi Lu therefore raised his voice and the Old Man became frightened, opened his eyes and said at last: "My reverence for the Commander! My reverence for the Commander!" Zi Lu felt himself offended and said: "I am an educated man and versed in etiquette. Why are you calling me Commander and bowing before me?"

The Old Man answered: "You, Zi Lu! Your body is tough and strong. You have a clear and resolute voice, your speech is as the wind howls — "Ugh, ugh" — and your face is fierce. Who is so arrogant, is he really an educated man?" After that the Old Man remarked that here, in the South, educated people conduct themselves in a different fashion.

Then Zi Lu stepped in front of the Old Man and asked him respectfully what the rules of etiquette (li) in the South were. The Old Man explained to him that in the South in the relations between a Master and his disciple, the one at the top does not claim to be a ruler. Being wealthy, he does not keep his treasure secret, and being poor, does not rob and steal. The strong one does not oppress the weak. It is believed that telling the truth, reverence for the old, love for the young (xiao), and faithfulness (zhong), are true treasures". After that the Old Man declared that Zi Lu cannot be considered an educated man and asked Zi Lu about his Master. Zi Lu said: "Confucius has established hymns, taught eloquence and rules of etiquette (li). He composed the book Lun-yu, improved the rules of dispute, the relations between the ruler and his officials, the high and low. He has established the rites of offerings to Heaven and Land. Accompanied by three thousand people, he travelled all the states over and established there the rules of etiquette (li). His fame exceeds all the limits. These are the virtues of my Master Kong!"

The Old Man asked: "Could your Master become the ruler of the state, be a help to the emperor?" Zi Lu was at a loss for an answer and the Old Man went on: "In olden days all people were notable for their reverence for the old, love for the young (xiao), and faithfulness (zhong). The ruler governed his people by the heavenly virtue (de), while the people were devoted to the ruler. That is why, though the ruler and state enjoyed tranquillity, no songs of praise were heard anywhere. The state was rich, but nobody talked about this. The rules and customs of etiquette (li) were kept everywhere ... The people were prosperous and proved to act in accordance with their nature, ... behaved themselves properly without knowing the ruler's laws. Later, etiquette (*li*) was changed by the rulers, they put on the suit of armour while governing the state. And acting wildly, like beasts, they deprived the Celestial Empire of its former tranquillity. This is the reason for calamities and the beginning of bloody wars".

Further the Old Man explains to Zi Lu that "laws of life ... are inculcated independently, by themselves". It is like a spider that "does not explain how his web was made". He added that "to demand etiquette be kept or the Way of saintly Sages ... be restored is a vain enterprise". He also said that his Master Confucius, be he affected by the ills of life, would be incapable of overcoming them.

These words of the Old Man made Zi Lu suffer. Deep in thought, he returned to his Master.

Confucius was then playing the lute. He noticed Zi Lu was worried and asked him: "Why do you look so sad?" Zi Lu told him about his meeting with the Old Man and about his words.

Confucius got angry. He called Zi Lu too young to understand the very essence of his Master's teaching. He also clarified that if the matter concerned the essence of the notion *Dao*, what was concealed did not manifest itself. After that Confucius desired to see the Old Man. He went to the river and saw a boat and the Old Man in it, dressed in a robe of grass and straw hat. He was murmuring something. Confucius listened to him attentively and heard him saying: "I am in sorrow, I am in sorrow, a stupid man. The stupid man now has reason to seek love, now that the reasons for greed and anger have disappeared. Am I asleep or awake?"

The Old Man pushed off from the bank with the pole to go away, but Confucius asked the Old Man not to leave him. The Old Man obeyed. Then Confucius approached him and said: "My family name is Kong, my personal name is Qiu. Ten li away from here there is a town, that is my state ... I heard golden, pleasing words. My soul is enlightened because of your convincing words. I would like to descend and attend you ... By making good and learning books one cannot understand what Dao and de are. Worthless rules (shi) and etiquette (li), can they be compared with the great Dao of a hermit? ... I have found the sacred wise Way (Dao). In former times I travelled all over the world, I explained the laws (fa) to the rulers, established the rules of etiquette (li) necessary for governing the state. They did not understand at once what I was speaking about ... I am now over 69 years old, and I want to retire and study!"

The Old Man replied: "Your humanity, duty, the rules of etiquette (li), knowledge, faithfulness — I don't know what they are. I composed a song of my own, I am pouring out wine, drinking it, enjoying myself, and making merry amid fog and clouds".

Confucius answered: "I heard that it was not easy to find a light pearl in the sea. Is it possible to understand the Heavenly Way (Dao) at once?" And he bowed his head and cried. Then the Old Man laughed and said: "The Great Dao is formless and soundless. It establishes the order in the world, ... determines what is to be found or lost. Why is it so difficult to find? You must make yourself free from your passions and wishes. If you receive knowledge of Dao from the bottom of your heart, you will become pure ... If your body works hard, you will find Dao fully ... Laziness of your body will lead to losing Dao ... And if you find it, you will be the master of your own ... Look in your own heart, if there is joy in it, do act then ... A man who seeks to perform deeds is like moonlight reflected in the water ---when the water is clean, the Moon is visible; when the water is dirty, the Moon is invisible. If your heart is pure, you become the master of your own, you become fearless, joyful, ... you do not feel your old age, you become young. You are sitting and the fields in front of you turn into the sea. You are standing, in deep contemplation, and become the master of the sea waters. You need nothing of the outer world. From your self, from your own heart you obtain what you need".

After these words the Old Man pushed off from the landing-place, sailed a bit and then turned round to Confucius: "Adhere to this truth. That is what is known as adherence to the truth".

In the words of the text, "knowledge came to Confucius, his heart became enlightened and obtained its foundation". He even had sung the following song of his own:

Inexhaustible is knowledge of Heaven and Earth.

Though I created the art of eloquence (cai)

and rules of etiquette (*li*) like those of the olden days, I did not act in accordance with the Way (*Dao*),

So I have lost my good fortune, I taught a false teaching all over the countries, Leading three thousand disciples, I reached the bank of the river, But I did not care ... to ask about the crossing. I am now ceasing my teaching and renouncing my former

delusions.

Unfortunately, in retelling the contents of the work, I was forced to omit those passages of the text where it was corrupt and completely incomprehensible because of numerous lacunae, or where the translation presented insurmountable difficulties. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that the core of the narration in the Tangut text is close to that in the 31st chapter in Zhuang-zi. It contains an account of Confucius and his disciples who once took rest among apricot-trees. The account runs that an old fisherman came up to them to listen to Confucius' playing the lute and singing. When Confucius finished his song, the old man asked his disciples, Zi Gong and Zi Lu, about their Master. Zi Lu told him that he was a native of the Lu realm and that his family name was Kong, while Zi Lu said that Confucius was "a devoted and faithful man", that he "carried out humanity and duty", "improved etiquette and music", and "was busy with regulating the rules of decency".

Then the fisherman learns that Confucius does not possess any land and is not a counsellor to the ruler, after which he leaves the company, saying: "He may be a humane man, though I am afraid he will be unable to protect himself. Burdening his mind so much, exhausting his body, he is destroying what is true in him. Oh, how far away did he move from the Way!"

Zi Gong told his Master about the old man and Confucius decided to talk to him. He reached the fisherman at the lake when he was about to sail away in a boat. Confucius asked the old man to give him instructions. He then complained that he was 69 years old, that he had been studying from an early age but had met no one who would be able to present him High Teaching. The fisherman said that Confucius was on the wrong way, for, not being invested with the authority of the ruler, and not being an official, he was improving etiquette and music on his own, thus being busy with what had nothing to do with him. He also advised Confucius to take to self-perfection.

The contents of the Tangut text and the above passage in Zhuang-zi, particularly when it deals with the fisherman's instructions, seem to coincide only partly, though at times both of the texts are rather close to each other. It concerns also the passage in Zhuang-zi containing a discourse on true feelings. Here I present this discourse in translations by V. V. Malyavin and L. D. Pozdneeva:

> "False tears will move nobody. False anger, be it even most terrible, will frighten no one. False love, if even plenty of smiles are there, will remain without response. True sorrow is silent. But it causes a feeling of sorrow in others, without one sound being produced. True anger does not reveal itself, but it makes one afraid of it. True love will be mutual without any smiles" [2].

> "Affected tears will not produce grief even when in sorrow. Affected anger inspires nobody with fear even before the great. False love reveals no concord even in smile. When in true sorrow, one does not express his grief loudly but is plunged in his sor

row silently. When in true anger, one does not demonstrate it outwardly, but inspires fear in others. When in true love, true concord reigns, smiles being unnecessary" [3].

One can compare these translations with the following passage in our manuscript:

"False anger inspires nobody with fear. False intimacy makes distant. Artificial tears do not cause sorrow, artificial merry-making brings no joy. Why is that? Because all this is inspired by man himself, and all invented by man on his own cannot be a norm of etiquette (li). What makes others truly frightened does not reveal itself. True tears cannot make one glad, true joy cannot make one sorrow" [4].

It should be noted that despite the resemblance the passage in the Tangut text and the text in Zhuang-zi differ slightly from each other. First, while the discourse dealing with the nature of the true in Zhuang-zi is addressed to Confucius, that one in the Tangut text is addressed to Zi Lu. Secondly, "four calamities" ("misfortunes" in Malyavin's translation or "evils" in the translation by Pozdneeva) are mentioned in the words addressed by the Old Man to Zi Lu. Besides, if these "calamities" are only mentioned in the Tangut text, there is a detailed account of them in Zhuangzi. And in our manuscript it is Confucius and Zi Lu who take part in the conversation with the Old Man, in Zhuangzi they are three: Confucius, Zi Lu, and Zi Gong. Above all, the Chinese text lacks the name of the place where the meeting with the old fisherman takes place, an apricot-tree grove is mentioned solely. The Tangut text makes mention of a town in the state of Confucius, and one can guess that the meeting takes place either in the Lu realm or somewhere not far from it.

Is it possible to suppose that the Old Man of the Tangut text is Lao-zi? As is known, there exists a controversy about a possible meeting of Confucius with Lao-zi. Of the recent works touching on the problem we can refer, for example, to one in which both traditional Chinese and Western scholarship are brought together. In his book entitled "Lao Zi. The book and the man", the Chinese scholar Paulus Huang, who works at present in Finland, argues that meetings of Confucius with Lao-zi took place in fact. He even dates them. According to him, the first was in 535 B.C. when Confucius was 17 years old, the second --in 522 B.C. when he was 30, the third - in 501 B.C. when Confucius was at the age of 51, and the last one - in 495 B.C. when the Master was 57 [5]. The Tangut text and Zhuang-zi tell us that Confucius met the Old Man at the age of 69, i.e. their meeting could occur in 483 B.C.

It is usually denied that the fisherman in the 31st chapter in Zhuang-zi can be identified as Lao-zi. The Russian scholar L. D. Pozdneeva considers him to be merely an anonymous person. As for V. V. Malyavin, he provides no comments on the subject. The Tangut text tells us nothing about the Old Man's occupation, though we cannot state it with certainty, since first folios (or, possibly, one folio) in our manuscript are missing. We are only told that the meeting of Confucius with the Old Man takes place at an altar. However, a conversation between them seems to hint at the origin of the Old Man from the South, for he explains to Zi Lu what an educated man originating from the South



should be. It is known that Lao-zi was a native of the southern state Chu, so there is some ground for identification of the Old Man with Lao-zi.

Not being an expert in the biographies of both Confucius and Lao-zi, as well as in the question of their meetings, real or mythical, I would not, however, completely deny the possibility of identifying the Old Man with Lao-zi. Surely, the text of the 31st chapter in Zhuang-zi is employed in the Tangut text only as a plot invention aimed at the criticism of Confucian teaching and the establishment of Lao-zi's views. Regrettably, we are unable to compare the text of the 31st chapter in Zhuang-zi with that in the Song edition which is contemporary to the Tangut state Xi-Xia (982-1227). This version of Zhuang-zi, comprising commentaries by Lu Hui-qing, has been discovered among Tangut manuscripts and block-prints in Khara-Khoto. But the manuscript of Zhuang-zi found there is, unfortunately, lacking the 31st chapter. At the same time, this find could be only one more proof of the popularity of the Daoist ideas in the Tangut state.

The Tangut text poses one more problem unsolved so far. It is not clear whether it represents a Tangut translation of the Chinese writing of the same title, which has not come to us, or an original Tangut work, composed, or more exact, compiled by Tangut adherents to Daoism, with borrowing made from the 31st chapter of Zhuang-zi.

It seems impossible to solve this problem at the present state of our knowledge of Tangut script and its links with Chinese literature of the period. Nevertheless, my own experience in the field of the Tangut literature studies makes me think that we still do not have an original Tangut writing but a Tangut translation of some not extant Chinese work. It should be added also that it remains obscure whether this hypothetical Chinese work was an original composition or a hitherto unknown version of the 31st chapter of Zhuang-zi. In the near future the author of the present article plans to make a full Russian translation of the Tangut text in question and intends to publish it in facsimile with the necessary research and commentaries.

## Notes

1. N. A. Nevskii, Tangutskaia filologiia. Issledovaniia i slovar' v dvukh knigakh (Tangut Philology. Investigations and a Dictionary in Two Books) (Moscow, 1960), i, p. 87.

2. Zhuang-zi, Le-zi, in Russian (Moscow, 1995), p. 266. - Filosofskoe nasledie, vol. 123.

3. "Mudretsy Kitaia. Yang Zhu, Le-zi, Zhuang-zi" ("The sages of China. Yan Zhu, Le-zi, Zhuang-zi"), Peterburg. XXI vek (St. Petersburg, 1994), p. 346.

4. "The Altar Record on Confucius' Conciliation", a manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number Tang. 426, No. 3781, pp. 22–3.

5. P. Huang, Lao Zi. The Book and the Man (Helsinki, 1996). - Studia Orientalia, 79.

#### Illustrations

Fig. 1. "The Altar Record on Confucius' Conciliation", manuscript Tang. 426, No. 3781 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, p. 34 (after restoration),  $8.0 \times 13.5$  cm.

# I. V. Kulganek

# MANUSCRIPTS AND SOUND RECORDS OF THE MONGOL-OIRAT HEROIC EPIC "JANGAR" IN THE ARCHIVES OF ST. PETERSBURG

The Mongol-Oirat Heroic Epic "Jangar", one of the outstanding monuments of the world literature, remarkable for the richness of its contents and the perfection of its artistic form, has been studied for more than two hundred years, the sources of this study being connected with St. Petersburg.

From St. Petersburg came those scholars — A. Bobrovnikov, K. Golstunsky, V. Kotvich, A. Pozdneev, and B. Vladimirtsov — who took notice of this epic and inspired interest towards it in Russia and in Europe. Later, when it became studied from the points of view of linguistics, history, and history of literature, there developed a distinct scientific branch — "Jangar" studies.

At present the archives of St. Petersburg have in their holdings manuscripts written in Old Mongol script, in Zaya-pandita script and in academic transcription, as well as material in Russian and sound records, representing mainly the initial stages of the study of this epic. The principal centres of Mongolian studies at the beginning of the twentieth century in St. Petersburg were the St. Petersburg University and the Asiatic Museum (later transformed into the Institute of Oriental Studies, at present the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies), therefore most of the material on "Jangar" was concentrated in these institutions.

In the course of the twentieth century Russian scientific institutions were re-organised several times, manuscripts were transferred from one place to another, their call numbers were changed. The result is that the information on these material found in scientific publications does not correspond to the real state of things. The aim of this article is to provide precise information on the present location of the manuscripts of "Jangar", both those studied or mentioned earlier as well as those so far never considered in scholarly publications.

In St. Petersburg is preserved the first record of the text of "Jangar", the one brought from Kalmykia by N. I. Mihaylov, fellow and member of the staff of the Russian Geographic Society. In 1855, this version was first translated into Russian and published in *Vestnik Russkogo Geo*graficheskogo Obshchestva (the Bulletin of the Russian Geographic Society), on the request of the ethnographic section of the Society, by A. Bobrovnikov, Master of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy. In a critical review, which followed the translation, Bobrovnikov for the first time characterised "Jangar" as "an original, rare and veritably folk piece of literature" praising the idea of nomadic glory and the deeds of heroes, which is not recited but sung, accompanied by musical instruments [1].

Until recently the exact location of the said record remained unknown. In 1979, however, the Kalmyk scholar V. Tserenov discovered in the archives of the Russian Geographic Society the manuscript containing 1,800 versified lines, titled "Songs and Fairy-Tales of the Kalmyk People of the Astrakhan District, the Bagatsokhurov Ulus" [2]. It should be noted that he found there also one more manuscript, close by its contents to the first one.

After the publication of Bobrovnikov's translation scholars' interest towards the manuscript increased. In 1862, professor at the St. Petersburg University K. Golstunsky recorded several chapters from a Torgut janyarčin in the Kalmyk steppes. Manuscripts with his records are preserved now in the manuscript fund of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg University under call numbers O-544 and F-64. They bear the titles "Jangar, Maloderbet record, 1862, the 9th of August" and "Jangar, 1863" correspondingly. The first one contains three chapters of the epic: (i) Song on the victory over Šar Birman; (ii) Song on the capture of Jangar by the Khan of the Heaven; and (iii) On wrathful Šara Gürgü. The second manuscript contains only two chapters: (i) On wrathful Oara Kines, and (ii) On wrathful Manyas. In 1864, K. Golstunsky produced a lithographic edition, in Zaya-pandita script, of the text of the chapters "On wrathful Qara Kines" and "On wrathful Šara Gürgü" [3]. Later these chapters were included by A. Pozdneev into his "Kalmyk Textbook" [4]. In 1911, he supplemented its next edition with the song "On wrathful Manyas". The "Song on the victory over Sar Birman" and the "Song on the capture of Jangar by the Khan of the Sky", recorded by K. Golstunsky, were re-discovered only in 1970 by the Kalmyk scholar A. Kichikov who made an abridged translation of these chapters into Russian [5].

A valuable contribution to the task of collecting, publishing and investigating the songs of "Jangar" was made

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Fig. 1

by one of the leading Russian mongolists of the first half of the twentieth century V. Kotvich. In the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies there are two manuscripts of "Jangar" (call numbers D-64 and E-82) titled Zaluu boqdo Byanyar gegči nereni döčin tümen xāni nutuqtu daraqdal ügei dörbön oron-du tuuji bolba and Zambutibiyin kiqsin zaluu boqdo Byangyar geqči nereni döčin tümün xāni nutuqtu daraqdal ügei dörbön oron-du tuuji bolba.

The first manuscript has, on the inner side of its cover, a label inscribed — "Of Georgy Stepanovich Lytkin. The Kalmyk manuscript of "Jangar" acquired around 1927 from the widow of Prof. Pozdneev. Kotvich. 9/VIII-29". This Oirat manuscript presents a copy-book in a European cover. It comprises 147 pages written in black and brown ink on Russian paper. The second one contains only 12 *bothi* pages also written on Russian paper in black and brown ink [6].

In 1908, a pupil of V. Kotvich, N. Ochirov, a student of the St. Petersburg University, made several trips into the Kalmyk steppes and recorded ten songs of "Jangar" in the Russian academic transcription from the renowned storyteller Eliaan Ovla. Later these records were transformed into Zaya-pandita script and published by V. Kotvich in a lithographic edition in 1910. The original record of these songs in transcription with corrections made by Kotvich were initially preserved in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg under call number [J]-330, Nova-2. As a result of the re-arrangement of the Institute's manuscript fund in 1949-1953, when all personal archives of the academicians of the USSR were transferred to the principal Academic Archives, materials belonging to V. Kotvich were transferred, jointly with those brought by I. Yu. Krachkovsky from the Vilnus Karaim Historico-Ethnographic Museum, to fund 761 of the Archives of the Academicians of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Now material belonging to V. Kotvich includes 67 items, those related to "Jangar" have call number  $\Phi$ . 761, on. 2, No. 8.

Sound records made by N. Ochirov (songs performed by Eliaan Ovla) were also several times transferred from place to place. At present they are stored in the soundrecord archives of the Institute of Russian Literature (The Pushkin House). Recently Kalmyk student of music V. Shivlyanova discovered that two cylinders (No. 3165 and 3166) preserved among the collection of B. Vladimirtsov did not belong to this collection but had come there by chance at the time of the removal of the soundrecord archives from the Asiatic Museum first to the folklore section of the Museum of Archaeology, Anthropology and Ethnography, then — to the Pushkin House. These cylinders contain records of the song "The Marriage of Hongyor", it is a continuation of the record of the song made by N. Ochirov on nine cylinders preserved in his private collection. Evidently, these two cylinders also belong to Ochirov's collection [7].

In the following years "Jangar" attracted the attention of several St. Petersburg mongolists, among them A. Burdukov, B. Vladimirtsov, A. Kozin, G. Sanzheev.

In connection with the celebration of the 500th anniversary of "Jangar" in 1940 S. Lipkin made a verse translation into Russian of eleven songs of the epic. The personal archives of Orientalists preserved in the archives of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contain material related to different stages of the making of this translation. Under call number p. I, on. 3, No. 82 we find several songs sent by S. Lipkin to N. N. Poppe, at that time the chief of the Mongolian Department of the Institute. to be reviewed, also a letter by N. Karimova, the secretary of the Department of the creative work of the peoples of the USSR, estimating the translation. Besides that, there is a typed Kalmyk text of "Jangar" (call number p. II, on. 3, No. 377), titled "B. Basangov, "Jangar", Kalmyk epic, 271 pp.", made by B. Basangov, a famous Kalmyk writer, playwright, and a student of life and customs of his native people.

The manuscripts, transcriptions, and sound records of "Jangar" enumerated here are classical records, from which began the process of collecting and studying of this epic. Later it became a regular practice in Kalmykia and Dzungaria (The Chinese People's Republic), which is testified by many conferences on "Jangar" and *janyarčin* held there.

St. Petersburg, however, still remains the cradle of "Jangar" studies as separate branch of Mongolian philology. Its archives are not exhausted, and it is proved by recent discoveries which will attract to this field new generations of scholars.

#### Notes

1. A. A. Bobrovnikov, "Dzhangar, kalmytskaia narodnaia skazka" ("Jangar, a Kalmyk folk tale"), Vestnik Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva. 1854, 5/12 (1855), pp. 2-30.

2. V. Z. Tserenov, "Zhangaryn eh bichgiĭn tuhaĭ", Aman zokhiol sudlal, XIV/5 (Ulan Bator, 1987), p. 183.

3. Ubashi khun-taĭdzhiĭn tuudzhi, narodnaia kalmytskaia poėma Dzhangara i Sidditu kiuriĭn-tuuli, izdannaia na kalmytskom iazyke K. Golstunskim (Ubasi qun taijī-yin tuyujī, a Folk Kalmyk Poem "Jangar" and Siditu kegüri-yin tüli, edited in the Kalmyk language by K. Golstunsky) (St. Petersburg, 1864).

4. A. M. Pozdneev, Kalmytskaia khrestomatiia (A Kalmyk Textbook) (St. Petersburg, 1892); 2nd ed. 1907; 3rd ed. 1911.

5. A. Sh. Kichikov, "Dzhangarovedenie. Itogi izucheniia" (""Jangar" studies. Results of investigations"), Problemy altaistiki i mongolovedeniia (Moscow, 1974).

6. A. G. Sazykin, Katalog mongol'skikh rukopiset i ksilografov Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR (A Catalogue of Mongolian Manuscripts and Block-Prints in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow, 1988), i, p. 30.

7. V. K. Shivlianova, "Kollektsiia valikov B. Ia. Vladimirtsova v Pushkinskom Dome" ("The V. Ya. Vladimirtsov collection of sound records in the Pushkin House"), Mongolika, fasc. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1994), p. 88.

#### Illustrations

Fig. 1. The manuscript *Д*-64 of "Jangar" acquired by V. Kotvich in 1929 from the widow of A. M. Pozdneev (at present in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies), p. 73, 16.5 × 21.0 cm.

# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

# THE QUR'ÀN AND ITS WORLD: III. "ECHOINGS OF UNIVERSAL HARMONIES" (PROPHETIC REVELATION, RELIGIOUS INSPIRATION, OCCULT PRACTICE)\*

Among the most important aspects of the traditional worldview of Muslim peoples is the idea that it is possible to establish contact with certain higher forces, with divinity. This concerns not only contact with God through prayers for help in the everyday affairs of "this life" and for the mitigation of retribution in the after-life. Such is the contact accessible to "mere mortals." But the prophets, the saints (*awlīyā*'), Şūfī *shaykhs* and Shi'ite *imāms* also establish contact with God, and this "contact" is of an entirely different nature. To this latter realm belong the ecstatic and occult practices which form an important part of popular Islamic belief.

Recent years have witnessed renewed interest in the problem of analysing and describing phenomena which are traditionally designated by terms such as trance, possession, ecstatic states or the somewhat more neutral phrase "altered states of consciousness" (ASC). Today this question attracts ethnographers as well as scholars of religion and psychologists. Aided by the methodological apparatuses of their fields, they are attempting to make sense of the phenomenon of ASC as such. In its current definition, it includes the socially and culturally determined possibility that a number of changes can take place in human consciousness, which have extremely serious consequences both for our particular interpretations of reality as well as for the character of our self-perception [1].

The rapid growth of interest in the problem of ecstatic states and the significant achievements in the understanding of the mental mechanisms through which they arise are linked with the tumultuous expansion and serious gains made by psychiatry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In analysing known descriptions of ecstatic states, specialists tried to discover in them as many features An analysis of the corresponding ideas and behavioural stereotypes is, in our view, important if we are to understand and to interpret adequately the traditional principles underlying the cognition of reality, the particularities of a traditional world-model, and the interrelation of an ideal standard and actual religious practice.

Before turning to the sources of these ideas, the analysis of which is of great significance for understanding the problem as a whole, it is necessary to dwell at least briefly on how phenomena of this sort are treated by contemporary religious studies and a number of adjacent disciplines.

1

of a pathological character as possible. Parallels with cases described in psychiatry were considered sufficient explanations for phenomena in question. Ecstatic states were most often linked to hysteria [2]. Nonetheless, E. Linderholm noted that the tendency toward ecstatic states was directly connected to the deepest layers of the human psyche, and that such states could arise spontaneously or be consciously triggered. A person's sense of space and time could vanish in such a state, although subconscious mental activity continued. He wrote about the key particularities common to such states among members of various cultures and religions (which are connected with the "switching off" of a number of aspects of "external culture" in the course of the trance) as well as about those characteristics undoubtedly influenced by cultural surroundings [3].

The role of psycho-physiological factors in conditioning ecstatic states was most fully investigated by E. Arbmann in the third volume of his essential study. Nonetheless, he concluded that ecstatic states cannot be fully explained as hysterical trance, despite the obvious similarities in their basic manifestations [4].

<sup>\*</sup> The first Russian version of the article was published in *Traditzionnoe mirovozzrenie u narodov Peredneĭ Azii* (Traditional World Outlook of the Peoples of Western Asia), eds. M. A. Rodionov and M. N. Serebriakova (Moscow, 1992), pp. 20–33.

The socio-cultural aspect of the problem began gradually to attract more and more attention, especially after the middle of the 1950s. Materials important for understanding the specific nature of ecstatic states and their place in traditional cultures were obtained by Erica Bourguignon and the members of her group. After researching occurrences of these phenomena in almost 500 ethno-cultural situations, they concluded that in nine out of ten cases traditional cultures are typified by existence of one or more stereotypes connected with ASC [5]. On the basis of this material, Bourguigon concluded that the phenomenon of ecstatic states is, in essence, an individual negotiation of a social situation with the help of the behavioural models or social roles characteristic of a given culture [6].

An attempt to unite the psycho-physiological and socio-cultural approaches is demonstrated by research published in a 1977 collection edited by V. Crapazano and V. Garrison [7]. In his research on the phenomenon of ecstatic states, Crapazano constantly stresses the interconnection of individual social needs of the individual, psychophysiological particularities and the set of models offered by society for the realisation of those needs. Since he considers that in the culture of each traditional society there is a system of behavioural stereotypes and social relations connected with ecstatic states, he suggests that we view such states in the context of normal psychological processes [8].

By employing role theory to explain the phenomenon of ASC, T. Sarbin and V. Allen were able to hypothesise a "scale of intensity governing the body when roles are assumed". The intensity can vary from zero to extremely high, when a person is almost entirely enveloped by the role assumed. Ecstatic states are a part of this process. In particular, the authors concluded that the precisely regulated ritual side of ASC is intended to hinder their excessive duration, which can present dangers for the body [9].

A.-L. Sikkala, who has researched the phenomenon of Siberian shamanism, also employed **role** theory. She concluded that a person with a completely normal nervous system can be a shaman. In her opinion, the shaman's trance is typified by a delicate balance between the deep envelopment of the shaman in his **role** and the demands and expectations of his audience [10].

Thus, if ecstatic states were originally treated exclusively from the vantage point of mental pathology, a gradual and growing shift has taken place toward viewing them as a part of complex socio-cultural algorithms, toward explaining them from the vantage point of normal psychology. At issue is the intensification of various psychological mechanisms to a certain maximum point. Individual psychological traits — in particular, a creative bent [11] — aid this intensification, as do a system of religious and cultural stereotypes which correspond to the role assumed, and the setting (particular ritual practices, weather conditions, the time of the day, the expectations of the audience, etc.) [12].

The results of this research can be applied to an analysis of the available material, primarily Qur'ānic, on the prophetic revelations of Muhammad and will, in our view, help us toward a satisfactory interpretation of this material.

2

Muhammad belongs to that number of historic figures whose lives continually attract the attention of historians. Dozens of published works give various answers to the question of who he was: a prophet, a creative figure endowed with exceptional sensitivity to the social needs of his society and genuinely convinced that Allah was sending down revelations, or a clever politician who skilfully used "revelations" of his own fabrication for his own purposes. For the most part, the second description is frequently applied to the Medina period of his prophetic activity, while the first is applied to the Meccan period. On this subject, special attention has been paid to early Muslim tales of Muhammad's vocation and his prophetic revelations, as well as to the corresponding Qur'ānic fragments.

Byzantine polemicists already claimed that the special states into which, according to tradition, Muhammad fell, were epileptic seizures. In 1843, G. Weil followed their lead in his biography of Muhammad, which remained popular for many years not only in academic circles, but with the reading public [13]. A. Sprengler, a doctor by profession, authored another work in the same vein [14], which, in the words of a contemporary, A. Kramer, succeeded in creating "the only entirely successful portrait of the religion's founder, one free from all legendary embellishments" [15]. Yet he wrote of Muhammad's hysterical seizures, describing his condition as **hysteria muscularis**.

This approach to explaining the phenomenon of Muhammad's prophetic revelations can be explained by two circumstances: first, the highly negative attitude toward the "false prophet Muhammad" present since medieval times (the psychological phenomena which accompanied

the visions of Christian mystics were not termed pathological). Secondly, as was noted above, medical psychology of that time, which for the most part studied mental states which had advanced to the pathological stage, also viewed various borderline states as pathological. However, already in 1905, Hautsma refuted the theory of Muhammad's epileptic and hysterical seizures [16]. This view was supported by V. V. Barthold [17] and developed by T. Andrae, who made this problem the object of special study [18]. The latter [19], and after him many other scholars [20] recognised that the theory of pathological states could not be applied to Muhammad. Besides that, within a broad context, the identity of the psychological aspects of Muhammad's prophetic revelations with the states of the Old Testament prophets, Christian saints and mystics, some nineteenthcentury religious preachers, African and Asian sorcerers, shamans and poetic inspiration has been realised. I. N. Vinnikov in a brilliant work [21], which, unfortunately, remains practically unknown to Western scholars, not only revealed in Muhammad's ecstatic practice features typologically inherent in shamanism but also demonstrated that the two stories about the summons of Muhammad reflected different notions of the way of obtaining a prophetic gift (the active and the passive form of summoning) which go back to different stages of the religious-social consciousness of the Arabian population. The last conclusion has so far not been considered in the works of Western students of Islam

M. J. de Goeje's opinion [22], supported by V. V. Barthold [23], that Muhammad's visual illusions described in the Qur'ān could be explained by a special atmospheric effect, has not been generally accepted by specialists. It is evident that the explanation of these visions by a special hypnotic state characteristic not only of Muhammad, is closer to the real state of things [24].

The Islamic tradition on the vocation of Muhammad was also critically reconsidered in the works of Richard Bell [25], who followed the hypercritical trend in Islamic studies characteristic of the second half of the nineteenththe first quarter of the twentieth century. Bell revealed contradictions between different versions of this tradition and the compositional diversity of Qur'anic fragments which recount Muhammad's visions. Although he accepted the reality of the very fact of the visions, which were interpreted differently by Muhammad at different stages of his prophetic career, Bell nevertheless failed to distinguish the social and religious specification of the two groups of narratives considered by I. N. Vinnikov. Fatra - the interruption of contact between Muhammad and God --- was interpreted by Bell as a reminiscence of the real start of Muhammad's prophetic activities - a period of secret preaching.

The hypercritical approach to the Islamic tradition, though it did not find general support among scholars, nevertheless made them deal with it with greater caution. It appears clear now that the traditions about the vocation of Muhammad and of his "communion" with God preserved

A. Poulain, who specially studied and classified religious visions, distinguished external and internal ones. External visions consist in comprehending visual objects and hearing words, the object pronouncing them is, however, not visible. Internal visions can be classified into imaginative and intellectual. The first ones reach one's consciousness directly as images, the second ones are mental links with no words [29].

Visual visions are described and considered by the Prophet in  $\bar{a}y\bar{a}t$  53 : 4—18 and 81 : 22—25:

"This is naught but a revelation revealed, taught him by one terrible in power, very strong; he stood poised, being on the higher horizon, then drew near and suspended hung, two bows'-length away, or nearer, then revealed to his servant that he revealed. His heart lies not of what he saw; what will you dispute with him what he sees? Indeed he saw him another time by the Lote-Tree of the Boundary nigh which is the Garden of the Refuge, when there covered the Lote-Tree that which covered; his eye swerved not, nor swept astray. Indeed, he saw one of the greatest signs of his Lord".

"Your companion is not possessed (*majnūn*); he truly saw him on the clear horizon; he is not niggardly of the Unseen"\*.

These visions were in detail analysed in special works [30].

The other possibility of communicating with God considered by the Qur'an are dreams. Context analysis [31] demonstrates that the term ru'ya ("vision") applied in the description of the spiritual experience of Muhammad himself (17:60/62, 48:27), as well as of Yūsuf (12:43) and Ibrahīm (37:105), indicates mostly a "vision in a dream". It was in his dream that Muhammad was transcertain notions characteristic of that time and, correspondingly, the ideas of the Prophet himself, on the way of creating that kind of "communion". The Qur'anic testimony on the doubts and diffidence of the Prophet at the early stage of his activities clearly demonstrate that Muhammad himself, as well as his environment, could accept the authenticity of his prophetic mission only by recognising its conformity with their own ideas of prophetic vocation.

Richard Bell's pupil W. Montgomery Watt, who accepted the Islamic tradition with much caution, nevertheless recognised the authenticity of its principal points. He considered Muhammad a man with a special kind of creative individuality. He collaborated with a specialist on Western mysticism to explain the specific features of Muhammad's prophetic experience [26].

A significant advance in the study of the phenomenon of Arabic prophecy was made by M. B. Piotrovsky, who saw behind scattered facts about the activities of Arabic "false prophets" a whole prophetic movement typologically close to the activities of the Old Testament prophets. He came to the conclusion that the Arabic "prophecy" had been a regular stage of social and ideological development characteristic of the Middle East [27]. Of principal importance also is his conclusion that the process was socially determined, "when  $k\bar{a}hins$  and  $k\bar{a}hin$ -like figures grew into preachers and leaders of a different kind" [28].

3

ported to the "remotest mosque" (17:1) (fig. 1), in a dream the victory over the Meccans was promised him and the possibility of making *hajj* with his followers (48:27): "God has indeed fulfilled the vision (*ru'ya*). He vouchsafed to His Messenger truly: 'You shall enter the Holy Mosque, if God wills, in security, your heads shaved, your hair cut short, not fearing'. He knew what you knew not, and appointed ere that a nigh victory". It should be taken into account that in the last case the vision was either accompanied by words or was perceived entirely through hearine.

An analysis of the Qur'ānic texts shows that the "contact" with God by hearing was the principal form of communication between the Prophet and God; the Prophet perceives both visions and the words of Allah with his heart (*qalb*) (26: 193—194).

The Qur'ān contains the recurring idea that man is to be comprehended as a unity of three primary components: "hearing, sight, and heart" (16:78/80): "And it is God who brought you forth from your mother's wombs, and He appointed for you hearing, and sight, and hearts (*alsam'a wa-l-abşāra wa-l-af'idata*), that haply so you will be thankful (see also 23:78/80; 67:23). Heart is considered in this case to be the repository of man's intellect (22:46/45): "What, have they not journeyed in the land so that they have hearts to understand with (*qulūbun ya'qilūna bihā*) or ears to hear with (*adhānun yasma'ūna bihā*)? It is not the eyes (*al-abṣāru*) that are blind, but blind are the hearts (*al-qulūb*) within the breasts".

In that way — "by heart" — the sounds which were coming, as it appeared to Muhammad, from without, were perceived by him as speaking directly in his consciousness.

The analysis of words derived from the stem why, which forms the principle Qur'anic terms used in the sense

<sup>\*</sup> Hereafter the A. J. Arberry translation of the Qur'an is used.



Fig. 1

of "inspiration", "revelation" shows that when they are used in connection with a human being they appear as notions implanted into human consciousness in verbal form, which could later be reproduced in one's native tongue (42:7/5). This imposition is something principally different from direct verbal contact: "It belongs not to any mortal that God should speak to him, except by revelation (*wahy*), or from behind a veil" (42:51/50). The last case concerns Mūsā; another passage tells that "unto Moses God spoke directly (*kallama ... taklīmān*)" (4:164/162).

It is important to note that the visions of Muhammad were also accompanied by inspiration: "... revealed  $(awh\bar{a})$  to his servant that he revealed  $(awh\bar{a})$ . His heart (qalb) lies not of what he saw; what, will you dispute with him what he sees?" (53 : 10—11).

Metrically organised speech was firmly associated with the idea of other-worldly contacts. Before Islam there were several people in Arabia who pretended to maintain connections with the powers of the other world and who would chant metrical texts supposedly inspired by supreme forces and expected to produce magic effects. Among them there were the fortune-teller (kāhin), tribal preacher (khātib) and poet (shā'ir). Combining in his own person several social functions formerly belonging to different people Muhammad performed as well the functions of prophet, preacher and poet of the Muslim community. Muhammad's opponents repeatedly denied his prophetic mission, citing the similarity of his preaching and behaviour with the words and deeds of kāhins, khātibs and shā irs. According to the tradition, a spirit  $(jinn\bar{i})$  could throw a pre-Islamic poet to the ground, pressing his chest with its knees [32], which corresponds with the stories of Muhammad's personal experience. The following words are ascribed to the contemporary and panegyrist of the Prophet, poet Hassān b. Thābit: "Many a well made poems resounded through the night, which I received coming down from the air of the sky (wa-qāfiyatin 'ajjat bi-l-laylin razīnatin talaqqayatu min jawwi-l-sammā'i nuzūlahā). Further the poet is speaking about the Qur'an: "The one who does not speak poetry (lā yantuqu shi'ra 'indahu) sees it and is unable to say something similar" [33].

The Prophet's adversaries also charged that he was inventing his "revelations", that he was a "possessed" man  $(majn\bar{u}n)$ , who, according to the ideas of that time, spoke words inspired by supreme forces (68:51), that he was a "wizard"  $(s\bar{a}hir)$  or "enchanted"  $(mash\bar{u}r)$  (10:2; 17:47/50). The Prophet denied these accusations and received a special revelation (69:40—46): "it is the speech of a noble Messenger. It is not the speech of a poet  $(sh\bar{a}ir)$  (little do you believe) nor the speech of a soothsayer  $(k\bar{a}hin)$  (little do you remember). A sending down from the Lord of all Being. Had he invented against Us any sayings, We would have seized him by the right hand, then We would surely have cut his life-vein and not one of you could defended him".

In this connection it should be mentioned that in the Qur'ān none of Muhammad's opponents compares his behaviour with the actions of 'arrāf ("fortune-teller", or "soothsayer"), who, unlike the  $k\bar{a}hin$ , was always the initiator of contact with the deity [34].

 $K\bar{a}hin$ ,  $kh\bar{a}tib$ , and  $sh\bar{a}'ir$  differed not only in the level of their "contact with the deity", which could occur in verbal form, but also in the form of the contact and the character of their speech. Stylistic analysis of the Qur'ānic text shows that Muhammad's sermons included forms characteristic of the performance of each of these persons [35]. Evidently inheriting their social functions and the style of their preaching, the Prophet was obliged also to inherit the special forms of their behaviour in this specific situation. It possibly explains the variety of forms (*al-kayfiyyāt*) of "contacts" with God already noted by medieval Muslim scholars. Al-Suyūţī (1445—1505) enumerates five such forms, other theologians — up to ten [36].

Through an analysis of the Qur'an and the early Islamic tradition it is possible to reconstruct the main features of the psychological phenomenon which Muhammad viewed as prophetic inspiration (*wahy*).

Most often the revelations came at night, "before dawn" (97 : 5; 53 : 1). Muhammad felt their approach by his special state. They could come in a dream or in waking reality so that he could distinguish in his mind certain words and sounds which he could later reproduce in his native tongue. Sometimes these revelations were accompanied by a light similar to "the shining light of dawn", which appealed to pre-Islamic notions of contacts with supreme forces [37]. In those moments Muhammad experienced ecstatic states, often painful: he tossed convulsively, felt blows which set all his being attemble, his soul seemed to leave his body, foam came from his mouth, his face turned red and pale in turns, he would sweat even when it was cold. The last feature is stressed most often [38].

Most often, especially at the initial sage, the revelations came unexpectedly. In the course of time the Prophet evidently learned to accelerate the approach of similar states by wrapping his head or by slowly reading the Qur'an at night, submitting to a kind of self-hypnosis [39]. It was prohibited, however, to accelerate or to incite the coming of a revelation consciously: "Move not thy tongue with it to hasten it; Ours it is to gather it, and to recite it. So, when We recite it, follow thou its recitation. Then Ours is to explain it" (75:16-19). Muhammad considered the words received in this way as coming from the celestial book containing the words of Allah (35:31/28; 18:27/26). In the course of his prophetic activities his ideas about the actual power which conveyed the revelations changed. At first he had thought that he was listening to the words of Allah himself, later the notion of a spirit ( $r\bar{u}h$ , 26:193; 42:52), of Jibrīl (figs. 2, 3), the conduit of revelations, came into being.

In 1981, in the Tartu collection of papers "Works on Sign Systems" there appeared an article by T. M. Nikolaeva considering reflections of the psychological aspects of poetic inspiration in the verse by nineteenth-twentieth century Russian poets [40]. The author used about 140 poems by A. Pushkin, M. Lermontov, E. Baratynsky, F. Tyutchev, A. Fet, V. Solovyov, K. Balmont, A. Blok, A. Bely, I. Annensky, A. Ahmatova, M. Tsvetaeva, N. Zabolotsky, B. Pasternak, O. Mandelshtam, B. Ahmadulina. All of the poems mention certain inexplicable sounds. The poets speak of a certain "secret realm - not sound, not colour, nor colour, nor sound"; "they seem to me complaints and groans ... one all-conquering sound arises" (Ahmatova); "the far-off, secret sound of indistinct entreaty" (Blok); "unearthly echoings of universal harmonies" (Sologub); "a three-starred, scattered peal" (Balmont); "an unknown, wingless, awful call" (Blok); "a dream-world voice" (Tsvetaeva); "an orchestra of other-worldly violins" (Blok);





"a rain of symphonies" (Belyi); "a rolling, rippling chime" (Balmont).

The poets hear these sounds at specific times, between "dusk and dawn". We find "scarlet twilight" (Blok); "the dying light of sunset" (Sologub); "foul-weathered, misted evening" (Tyutchev), "thick and sleepless night" (Pasternak), and "the hour of sunrise" (Balmont).

As for the source of the sound, something misty and unreal is cited — "from the spheres of unearthly haze" (Balmont), "in this mad mist" (Blok) (cf. verses of Hassān b. Thābit, see above); celestial bodies — "far-off Syrius atremble" (Balmont). Sometimes the source of the sound is located in the poet himself — "singing — the boiling of blood" (Mandelshtam). In some cases it is a certain fiery element — "the spirit wept, and in the starry deep the fiery sea was parted, and someone's dream in whispers spoke of me" (Blok).

T. M. Nikolaeva writes that "most probably the element of fire and flames was in some complicated way combined with the scarlet mist embracing a poet in his precreative period and with an insistent noise growing into rhythm" [41].

Sounds were often perceived during periods of insomnia and unrest — "in those days when the soul is trembling full of worldly troubles" (Blok), when the poet is under strain, expectantly awaiting a creative burst: "I wait for the call, I wait for the answer" (Blok); "thus I prayed: quench my dark thirst for singing" (Ahmatova).

Various creative reactions take place: "but in vain it weeps and prays" (Tyutchev); "I blaze and burn, I struggle and soar, in languors of extreme endeavour" (Fet); "a burnt to ashes layer of worlds lives within my budding ear" (Bely); "but now the words were heard... and lines came easily, dictation to a snow-white notebook" (Ahmatova); "but I forgot what I would like to say, the unfleshed thought returns to realms of shadow" (Mandelshtam).

Though it is important to take into account the possible influence of poetic patterns, we get in general the following picture of a special psychological state characteristic of many poets: at a certain time, "between the sunset and the dawn", entering a specific pre-creative mood, when either fiery-scarlet colours predominate, or there is night-glitter, or, just after sunset, with its gloomy mist and dark-blueand-red shades, the poet perceives certain sounds, which could be both bright and clear or indistinct and deadened (depending on the time of the day). The source of these sounds he either feels in himself, or somewhere near, or they come from remote celestial spheres. The emotional reaction that follows may then either develop into a period of creativity or into a spiritual crisis [42].

It is plain that a comparison of these materials with the Islamic tradition describing the character of Muhammad's prophetic revelations allows one to speak about the psychological resemblance of the different forms of "contacts with God" to the emotional reaction described [43]. One can remember also that the Ancient Greek poets claimed that they were *musoleptos*, i.e. their souls were possessed by the goddess of song. We recall as well the concept of religious and poetic inspiration developed by Plato, with its similar treatment of artistic and prophetic inspiration, the amazing closeness of the Genicasthetic concept created by eighteenth—nineteenth century German philosophy and romantic poetry to the Islamic idea of prophetic gift (*nubuwwa*) [44]. Psychological research demonstrates, that a man in a special "transitional state", connected with a specific induction of the right hemisphere of his brain, can take the images created by his imagination for a special kind of communication. Besides that, the distinctive features of the neurotic-psychological strain described here have much in common with the description of Muhammad's revelation states. What takes place in similar states is "a process of reconstruction of the functional activity of one's body, when the achievement of the desired result could be ensured by the functioning of the body as well as by the functional state of its separate sub-systems" [45].

The rhythm and structure of many revelations, the appearance of "mistakes, errors in the grammar and syntax of sayings" [46] are also apparently connected with the Prophet's neurotic-psychological strain at the time when he was preaching or having a revelation, which led to a certain destabilisation of the process of making verbal constructions. These peculiarities of Qur'anic language inspired both the incredibly intricate explanations of medieval Muslim exegetes and entire theories of Qur'anic language [47]. They can, however, be convincingly explained if one takes into account the peculiarities of Muhammad's emotional state, the nervous and mental tension which accompanied the "revelation". This state led to a certain "destabilisation of the process of oral communication" [48].

Visions and psychological states new to Muhammad came to him when he was in a state of inner tension caused both by the events of his private life as well as by the realisation of the closeness and inevitability of the great catastrophe — the Last Judgement, by his eagerness to help his relatives and members of his tribe. Becoming sure of his prophetic mission --- much of this belief instigated by those same visions described by the Qur'an - Muhammad started to behave according to the behaviour patterns worked out by society for those people who pretended to "connections" with God. These archetypes included also a set of phenomena expected to take place in the course of such revelations. Muhammad's consciousness included one of the principal provocative forces - the demand to follow archetypes accepted for the social roles he performed. Different forms of Muhammad's contact with God were of the same psychological contents and were connected with his acceptance of the corresponding functions belonging to kāhin, shā'ir, and khāțib. Evidently, the states experienced by Muhammad, as described above, were connected with the same psychological mechanism — he was a man with a special psychological structure similar to those of many creative personalities who have left a significant trace in the history of the world.

Legends about Muhammad's mission were created among a circle of people who remembered the stories told by the Prophet or had been present at the time of some of his revelations. These legends were later unconsciously modified in conformity with then current views on prophetic missions. That is how the version of the active form of Muhammad's call came into being — answering the behaviour of 'arrāfs' — Arabian fortune-tellers, whose practice it was to "send an enquiry" to the gods. This tradition definitely contradicts the whole pathos of the Qur'ānic sermon: there it is many times repeated that Muhammad was only a transmitter of Allah's will; any attempts to incite or enforce a revelation were condemned. Meanwhile, the version of the passive reception by Muhammad of his prophetic gift is confirmed by the whole totality of Qur'anic materials.

The practice of Muhammad's reception of prophetic revelations was thus connected with the system of corresponding ideas then circulating in pre-Islamic Arabia. It should be taken into account also that in the sixth—seventh centuries many settled inhabitants of Arabia shared Jewish and Christian ideas of the connection between man and God. They could in some way have influenced the notions considered here.

In the Jewish environment of Muhammad's time there was a belief that God, after he had ceased to send his prophets to the world, could reveal his will to some people, making them sensitive to a kind of echo of certain words and sounds (*bat qol*) expressing his intentions. It is the lowest level of prophetic revelation. In this way future events could be predicted, though no new laws could be established through *bat qol*, nor could the old ones be interpreted. One of the features of *bat qol* which distinguishes it

After the death of the Prophet, as the dogmatic system and the law of Islam became more and more complicated, the development of the notion of prophetic revelation (wahy) took place. It was formed, in particular, in the course of disputes about the createdness of the Qur'ān (khalq al-Qur'ān) [51].

The idea of prophetic revelation developed by classic Muslim philosophy goes back to the Platonic concept of religious-poetic inspiration (recognised in Europe only during the Renaissance) — its influence on the formation there of the theory of poetic inspiration was decisive. This evidently explains the difference between the corresponding European and Islamic cultural paradigms. While in the West the idea of the mystic contents of poetic inspiration coexisted with the idea that any comparison between poetic and religious (Christian) inspiration at the same level was impossible, in Islam, within the framework of the theory of the "inimitability of the Qur'ān" (*'ijāz al-Qur'ān*) it turned out to be possible to consider the "artistic form" of the Qur'ān through direct comparison of the sacred text with poetic, i.e. "profane" texts [52].

In the works by Muslim mystics in the Shi'ite environment there were attempts to explore the difference between prophetic gift (nubuwwa) and saintliness (wilāvva). One of the fundamental features of this difference was that prophesy was dependent upon divine revelation (wahy), while saintliness was connected with inspiration (*ilhām*). While the famous historian and exegete al-Tabari (838-923) had explained the term wahy, when it was applied to prophets, as synonymous with ilhām, in later times ilhām became a stable term for the religious inspiration of saints (awlīyā'), Sūfī shaykhs and Shi'ite imāms. It was discussed, in particular, by Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī (1149/50-1209) who also distinguished between wahy - inspiration and vision - and wahy - direct contact with God. According to al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), a saint (walī) could posses knowledge unknown to a prophet  $(nab\bar{i}')$ , though the first one could not comprehend the knowledge of the Divine Law. The fundamental difference between ilhām al-walī (cf. bat qol) and wahy al-nabi' is that the first is preordained for the walī himself while the second one is socially significant, being addressed to all people [53].

from real prophesy was that it was not spoken in Hebrew [49].

The āva 51/50 of Sūra 42 cited above (wahy... kallama taklīmān) could be a reflection of the idea of the two "levels" of contact with God. However, it did not find any further development in the Qur'an. Its appearance was, apparently, the result of some polemics with the Jews. Muhammad argued that what Jews thought to be the second "level" of communication with God also corresponded to real prophetic status. Evidently the Jews, even if they recognised the possibility of Muhammad's "contact" with God, his revelations coming in Arabic (46:12/11) [50], could regard the voice he heard only as *bat a\bar{o}l*, i.e. the lowest level of prophecy. This led to a definitive rejection of Muhammad's prophetic status, of the new religious and social norms instituted through his revelations. Eventually, it ended in a complete break with the Jews and helped to establish the Qur'anic idea of prophesy based mainly on the pre-Islamic traditions of Arabia.

4

The entire set of notions and patterns considered here was developing in Islam in conformity with the rule formulated by I. Lewis in his fundamental work "Ecstatic Religion". According to this law, as the religious system was developing and becoming more complicated, and the position of religious authorities more firm, there was more and more animosity towards ecstatic practice [54]. The opposition of the Sunni theologians to the religious practice of  $S\overline{u}fis$ , especially to its extreme ecstatic forms ( $maw\overline{a}j\overline{i}d$ ), did not, however, hinder the growth of  $S\overline{u}fi$  influence [55]. Ecstatic and occult practices became widespread in popular Islam, both in its Sunni and especially its Shi'ite forms [56].

Sorcery (sihr) is a special field where ecstatic practice flourished in popular Islam. Since the time of the Prophet sorcery had been denounced, but ideological controversy in medieval Islam brought forth very different opinions. Among the followers of the Prophet were people who, according to the Qur'an, considered him a wizard (sahir) or enchanted (mashūr) and his preaching - sorcery given to him by someone (sihr yu'thar). Those people claimed also that sorcery had been unknown to their ancestors [57]. As we have just seen, original Arabian magic practice was connected with persons designated by the terms kāhin, 'arrāf, shā'ir, majnūn. Sihr in the Our'an was connected first of all with Egypt (there are several descriptions of the contest between Mūsā and the wizards of the Fir'aun (for example, 7:113/110) and with Babylon (2:102/96)). The idea that sihr (sorcery) was connected with Babylon was common for the Near East and the Mediterranean. It is present in the Ancient tradition and in the Bible (Ex. 47:11).

According to the Qur'ān (2:96), sihr was received from Allah by two angels in Babylon — Hārūt and Mārūt. The guardians of this occult knowledge were shaytans, who taught it to men. In the course of the Arab conquests the Muslim state annexed the lands where occult practices had been most widespread. Those were, first of all, Egypt and Mesopotamia. By the tenth century a number of corresponding Byzantine, Persian and Indian works on occultism were translated into Arabic. This knowledge was integrated during the formation of classical Arabic culture and became one of its distinctive features. Egypt became the centre of occult studies in the caliphate — "the Babylon of wizards", as Ibn al-Nadīm called it in the tenth century. The corresponding pre-Islamic tradition continued there for a long time. Later this centre shifted, probably towards the lands of North Africa. It was possibly, connected with the activities there of *darvish* orders, the widespread distribution of Sufism, which included in its system occult knowledge along with the heritage of Black Africa. In Arabic folklore, in particular in the tales of the "Thousand Nights and One Night" black Africans and natives of Maghrib most often appear as wizards. This shift was also reflected in folklore: Berber magicians were gaining the upper hand over Egyptian ones.

The connection of occult knowledge with the development of Sufism also manifests itself in the idea that the supreme achievement of divine magic was the cognition of "the greatest of the names" (al-ism al-a'azam) of Allah, which could become known only to divine messengers and prophets. They thought that with that name it was possible to kill and resurrect, to go to any place and to perform any miracle. The attitude of Muslim theologians to sihr developed not only under the influence of the Qur'an but also in disputes over the existence of saints (awlīyā') and miracles (mu'jiza, āva, karāma). Mu'tazilites regarded all miracles as sihr. Later, however, (between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries) the notions of sihr and miracle became more distinct. They began to distinguish two kinds of magic: the lawful one (al-tarīga al-mahmūda — "the approved way") and the forbidden (al-tarīqa al-madhmūma — "the disapproved way"). The first one was thought to go back to Adam and his daughter Anaq, to Sulayman (Solomon) and to Jamshīd of Persian myths. The second one takes its roots from Iblīs, who gave this knowledge to Baydāha, his daughter (or his son's daughter). Magic as such was based on a wizard's link with jinns. People who practised "lawful" magic (al-mu'azzimūn — "enchanters") achieved the same aim by submitting to Allah's will, by seeking his help. Those who practised "forbidden" magic (al-sahara — "sorcerers") established connections with *jinns* through evil deeds. In the Muslim world this practice was forbidden and punished with death.

Mu'tazilites, as well as Hanafites and Shafi'ites, thought that "forbidden" magic could not change the nature of things, as it was confined to affecting the human senses by various means, such as drugs, incense, etc. This point of view, however, never became dominant. Magic actions of this kind became known as *al-sīmīyya* (from *sīma* — "sign, feature, quality"). "Real" magic was denoted by the term *al-ruhānī* ("spiritual"), in its turn it was divided into "high" ('*ilwī*) or "divine" (*rahmānī* — "of the Merciful One") and "low" (*suflī*) or "devilish" (*shaytanī*) magic. A number of the most primitive magic actions based neither on astrology nor on "lawful" magic were called '*ilm al-ruqqa* ('the science of spindle"), i.e. women's work), probably, a distortion of the term '*ilm al-ruqva* — "the science of sorcery".

Al-Ghazālī, like other theologian-traditionalists, denounced all kinds of magic, though he did not doubt the possibility of establishing contacts with *jinns* and using their power to interfere with worldly matters. In spite of the disapproval of the Sunni theologians, magic practices and occult knowledge still make up one of the most important features of the traditional culture of all levels of Arabic-Muslim society. Moreover, small talismanic Qur'āns or talismanic sheets covered with the Qur'ānic citations. as well as the Qur'ān fragments ( $\bar{a}ya$ , Sūras, and collections of Sūras), took a great part of Muslim occult practice.

The phenomenon of the Qur'ān cannot be adequately explained without constantly bearing in mind that the Sacred Book derives from any source but God, that it was sent down to the Prophet in a miraculous way [58]. The Qur'ān itself is the main miracle of Islam. On the other hand, the role of the Qur'ān in the everyday life of millions of Muslims, its significance for the Muslim magic and occult practice is so great, that the phenomenon of Qur'ān could be properly evaluated if only all these matters are taken into account. One of the next papers in this series will be specially devoted to this aspect of the existence of the Qur'ān.

# Notes

1. "Ecstasy research in the 20th century" (an Introduction to Religious Ecstasy Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Religious Ecstasy Held in Abo, Finland, on the 26th—18th of August, 1981, ed. Nils G. Holm (Stockholm, 1982), p. 9. Also see here the rich bibliography on the subject. Hereafter cited as Holm, "Ecstasy research".

2. See, for example, P. Janet, De l'angoisse à l'extase: un délire religieux, la croyance (Paris, 1986); idem., De l'angoisse à l'extasc. les sentiments fondamentaux (Paris, 1988); E. Kraepelin, Psychiatrie (Leipzig, 1915), iv; T. Ribot, Les maladies de la personalité (Paris, 1924); E. Linderholm, Pingstsörelsen (Stockholm, 1904); E. Andrae, Mystikens psykologi (Stockholm, 1926).

3. Linderholm, op. cit., pp. 11-21.

4. E. Arbmann, Ecstasy or Religious Trance (Uppsala, 1970), iii , p. 45.

5. E. Bourguignon, "Introduction: a framework for the comparative study of Altered States of Consciousness", Religion, Altered States of Consciousness and Social Change (Columbus, 1973), p. 11.

6. E. Bourguignon, Possession (San Francisco, 1976), p. 41; I. M. Lewis, Ecstatic Religion (Harmonsworth, 1971), pp. 86, 120.

7. Case Studies in Spirit Possession, eds. V. Crapazano and V. Garrison (New York, 1977).

8. V. Crapazano's Introduction to Case Studies in Spirit Possession, pp. 19-20.

9. T. Sarbin, V. Allen, "Role theory", *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, eds. G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Menlo Park, 1968), pp. 489-92.

10. A. L. Sikkala, The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman (Helsinki, 1978), pp. 28-31, 340-3.

11. Holm, "Ecstasy research", p. 24.

12. Ibid., pp. 22-4.

13. G. Weil, Mohammad Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre (Stuttgart, 1843).

14. A. Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed (Berlin, 1861-1865), i-iii.

15. Cited after V. V. Bartold, "Musul'manskiĭ mir" ("The Muslim world"), Sochineniia (Moscow, 1966), vi, p. 277.

16. Bartold, op. cit., p. 284. Cf., however, O. G. Bol'shakov, Istoriia Khalifata (The History of the Caliphate) (Moscow, 1989), i,

p. 238, No. 104, citing the opinion of professor of psychotherapy E. A. Lychko: "All features characteristic of Muhammad's fits are symptomatic of temple epilepsy" (also pp. 96-7). 17. V. V. Bartold, "Islam" (Islam), Sochineniia, vi.

18. T. Andrae, "Die Legenden von der Berufung Muhammeds", Le Monde Orientale, VI (1912), pp. 6-18. Also see his Mohammed. Sein Leben und sein Glaube (Goetingen, 1932); English edition: T. Andrae, Mohammed. The Man and his Faith (New York, 1936). The English edition is used by the author of the present article.

19. Andrae, Mohammed, p. 69.

20. A. Guillaume, Islam (Edinbourgh, 1954), p. 25; W. M. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca (Oxford, 1953), pp. 52-8; idem. Muhammed. Prophet and Statesman (Oxford, 1961), pp. 18-9.

21. I. N. Vinnikov, "Legenda o prizvanii Mukhammada v svete etnografii" ("The legend of the summons of Muhammad in the light of ethnography"), Sergeiu Fedorovichu Ol'denburgu: k 50-letiiu nauchno-obshchestvennoi deiatel'nosti (1882-1932) (Leningrad, 1934).

22. M. J. de Goejc, "Die Berufung Mohammed's", Festschrift Th. Nöldeke (Giesen, 1906), i, pp. 1-5.

23. V. V. Bartold, "K voprosu o prizvanii Mukhammada" ("To the question of the summons of Muhammad"), Sochineniia, vi, pp. 615-6.

24. Andrae, Mohammed, p. 65. Ahrens has a different point of view which did not find support among specialists. In his opinion, Muhammad's visions were caused by hallucinogenic drugs, see K. Ahrens, "Muhammad als Religionsstifter", Der Islam (1935), p. 24.

25. R. Bell, "Mohammad's visions", Muslim World, XXIV (1934), pp. 145-54; idem., "Mohammad's call", ibid., pp. 13-9.

26. Watt, op. cit., p. 54-5.

27. M. B. Piotrovskiĭ, "Mukhammad, proroki, lzheproroki, kakhiny" ("Muhammad, prophets, false prophets, kāhins"), Islam v istorii narodov Vostoka (Moscow, 1981), p. 15.

28. Ibid. p. 12.

29. A. Poulain, Graces of Interior Prayer (London, 1928); cf. Watt, op. cit., p. 54; Andrea, Mohammed, p. 64.

30. See Poulain, op. cit.

31. The Qur an, 12:43-44: "And the king said, 'I saw a dream seven fat kine, and seven lean ones devouring them; likewise seven green cars of corn, and seven withered. My counsellors, pronounce to me upon my dream (ru'ya), if you are expounders of dreams (alru'ya)'. — 'A hotchpotch of nightmares!' they said. 'We know nothing of the interpretation of nightmares (*al-ahlām*)'". Cf. also  $\bar{a}y\bar{a}t$  21:5 and 7, where it is spoken about Muhammad himself and, correspondingly, the word *ahlām* and the verb wahā ("to inspire") are used: Andrea, Mohammed, pp. 37ff.; Bell, op. cit., pp. 145-54; R. Paret, Muhammed und der Koran (Stuttgart, 1957), pp. 44-6.

32. Andrae, Mohammed, p. 59. Also see M. Zwettler, "A mantic manifesto: "The Sura of The Poets" and the Qur'anic foundations of prophetic authority", cd. James L. Kugel, Poetry and Prophesy. The Beginning of a literary tradition (Ithaca and London, 1990), pp. 75-119. Modern Egyptian scholar Nasr Abū Zayd traced, following Ibn Khaldūn, the existing parallels between the visions (ru'ya) of Muhammad and the creative experience of a poet. The publication of this work resulted in repression against the scholar in his native land, which made him emigrate, see Nasr Hāmid Abū Zayd. Mafhūm al-nass, Dirāsa fī 'ulūm al-Qur 'ān (Al-Qāhira, 1990), pp. 52-9. Also see Navid Kermani, "Dic Affäre Abu Zayd. Eine Kritik am religiösen Diskurs und Ihre Folgen", Orient, XXXV (1994), pp. 25-49; S. Wild, "Die andere Seite des Textes: Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd und der Qur'an", Die Welt des Islams, XXXIII (1993), pp. 256-61; also S. Wild's Preface to The Qur'an as Text (Leiden, 1996), pp. IX-XI, and "Arabic poetry", ZDMG, Supplement III, 2 (XIX Deutscher Orientalisierung) (1977), pp. 700-8.

33. The Diwan of Hassān b. Thābit, ed. H. Hirshfeld (London, 1910), p. 34.

34. T. Fahd, La divination arabe (Strassbourg, 1966), p. 62.

35. It would, however, be a great simplification to reduce the entire stylistic diversity of the corresponding Qur'anic texts to the influence of special forms of ecstatic speech activity of kāhin, shā'ir or khātib. In examining the language of the Qur'ān from the vantage point of the indissoluble aspects of the tripartite formula "what is said, by whom, in what state?", it is possible to detect in it an "emotive aspect", which reflects Muhammad's state when he preached, and an "indicative aspect", which reflects the group and individual status of the Prophet himself, his listeners and opponents at one moment of another of his prophetic activity. See V. I. Golunov, "Rech', emotzii i lichnost'. Problemy i perspektivy" ("Speech, emotions and personality. Problems and perspectives"), Rech', emotzii, lichnost': Materialy i soobshcheniia (Leningrad, 1978), pp. 3-4. Here one should pay special attention to the rhythm and structure of the "revelations", to the significant number of grammatically and logically incomplete phrases, to the presence of "rough spots" and errors in the grammaticalsyntactic formulation of his utterances. About it see Golunov, op. cit., p. 10 (also see below, note 48 of the present article).

The distinctive forms of "sacral language" can apparently be traced by juxtaposing the length of various "revelations", the number of compound and complex constructions, of words with a positive or negative connotation and so on (see, for example, G. V. Nikolaeva, "Vzaimosviaz' lichnostnykh i rechevykh osobennosteľ v situatzii emotsional'nogo napriazheniia" ("Interconnection of personal and speech peculiarities under conditions of emotional stress"), Rech', emotsii, lichnost', pp. 75-81.

The adaptation of special methods for the phonetic analysis of language structure to the peculiarities of our material also offers interesting possibilities, as these methods allow one to reveal the emotional tone of individual utterances. See A. P. Zhuravlev, "Zvukovaia organizatzija rechi kak odin iz sposobov eč emotzional'noj okraski" ("Sound speech organisation as one of the ways of its emotional complexion"), Rech', emotzii, lichnost', pp. 97-101.

36. I. Goldziher, Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie (Leipzig, 1896), i, p. 205.

37. Andrae, Mohammed, p. 66.

38. A. Guillaume, op. cit., p. 30.

39. J. C. Archer, Mystical Elements in Mohammed (New Haven, 1924), pp. 72---6; W. M. Watt, op. cit., p. 58.

40. T. M. Nikolaeva, "Iz plamia i sveta rozhdennoe slovo" ("The word born from flame and light"), Tekst v tekste. Trudy po znakovym sistemam, XIV (Tartu, 1981), pp. 65-81.

41. Ibid., p. 68.

42. Ibid., p. 89. Cf. Josef Brodsky's remark: "... How do I write? I simply don't know. I think that a poem begins with a certain noise, a hum, if you will, with its own psychological nuance. That is, there is a certain sound in it which, if not really a thought, then at least expresses a certain relation to things. And when you write, you try more or less to get closer to this hum on paper in a certain rational fashion. Besides, I think that it is not a man who writes a poem, it is always the former poem that composes the next one. That is why the main task which stands before the author is probably to avoid repeating himself. For me, each time this hum begins, there is something new in it ..." - the quotation is taken from "Nikakoi melodramy ..." ("Not at all melodramatic ..."), a conversation with Josef Brodsky conducted by journalist Vitaly Amursky in Iosif Brodskii razmerom podlinnika (Josef Brodsky, Original Stature). A collection dedicated to his fiftieth birthday (St. Petersburg, 1994), p. 118. Cf. also Brodsky's remark: "The writer of poetry writes because language suggests or simply dictates the next line. At the beginning of a poem, the poet, as a rule, does not know how it will end. Sometimes he is very surprised at the result is sometimes better than he expected; his thought sometimes goes farther than he had hoped. This is the moment when the future of a language intervenes in its present. As we know, three types of knowledge exist: analytic, intuitive, and the method used by the biblical prophets — revelation. Poetry is distinguished from other forms of literature by its simultaneous use of all three (tending primarily toward the second and third), for all three are present in language. Sometimes, with the aid of a single word, a single rhyme, the writer of a poem succeeds in reaching a place he has never been — farther, perhaps, than he intended. First and foremost, the writer of a poem writes because the composition of verses immensely accelerates consciousness, thought, one's sense of the world. Having experienced this acceleration once, a person is no longer capable of refusing to repeat the experience. He becomes dependent on drugs or alcohol. Someone in a similar state of dependency on language is, I think, a poet" (Josef Brodsky's address on receiving the Noble Prize. Cited from V. Ufliand, "Ot poeta k mifu" ("From the poet to the myth"), *idem*., p. 174).

Cf. also J. L. Borges' comment: "Music, the feeling of happiness, mythology, faces on which time has left its mark, twilight or landscapes at times — they all either say or want to say something which we should not lose. That is why they exist. This proximity of **revela**tion (my emphasis — *E. R.*) is, possibly, an aesthetic phenomenon" — in Russian edition of Borges' writings: *Kollektsiia: rasskazy, esse, stikhotvoreniia* (Collection: Stories, Essays, Poetry) (St. Petersburg, 1992), p. 310.

43. Andrea, Mohammed, p. 60.

44. Navid Kermani, "Revelation and aesthetic dimension: some notes about apostles and artists in Islamic and Christian culture", *The Qur'ān as Text*, pp. 214–24. Cf. the conclusion by A. Guillaume: "All the Hebrew prophets were poets" — see his *Prophesy and Divination among the Hebrews and Semites* (London, 1938), p. 243.

45. T. A. Nemchin, Sostoianie nervno-psikhologicheskogo napriazheniia (The State of Neuro-Psychological Strain) (Moscow, 1983), p. 128.

46. Golunov, op. cit., pp. 3-12.

47. E. L. Nosenko, Osobennosti rechi v sostoianii emotzional'noĭ napriazhennosti (Peculiarities of the Speech in the Situation of Emotional Tension), (Dnepropetrovsk, 1975); N.V.Vitt, Rech' v kriticheskoï situatzii: predvaritel'nye materialy eksperimental'nykh issledovanii po psikholingvistike (Speech in Critical Situation: Preliminary Results of the Experimental Studies in Psycho-Linguistics) (Moscow, 1974); N. Ahlberg, "Some psycho-physiological aspects of ecstasy in recent research", Religious Ecstasy, pp. 63-73; O. Wikstrom, "Possession as a clinical phenomenon: a critique of the medical model", idem., pp. 87-102.

48. K. Vollers, Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im Alten Arabien (Strassburg, 1960). Marmarajī, "Tarīqa fī-l-`ilm", Al-Mashrik, 29/8 (1931), pp. 274—6.

49. A. Polak, "Bat kol", Encyclopaedia Judaica (Jerusalem, 1972-1982), iv, p. 323-5; L. Katsnelson, "Bat-kol", Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia (St. Petersburg, n. d.), iii, pp. 896-9.

50. P. A. Griaznevich, "Razvitie istoricheskogo soznaniia arabov (VI–VIII veka)" ("The development of historical consciousness of the Arabs in the sixth—eighth centuries"), Ocherki istorii arabskoĭ kul'tury X–XV vv. (Moscow, 1987), pp. 75–155.

51. J. van Ess, "Verbal inspiration. Language and revelation in classical Islamic theology", The Qur'ān as Text, pp. 177-94.

52. N. Kermani, "Revelation", pp. 221-2; I. J. Boulatta, "The rhetorical interpretation of the Qur'an: 'i jaz and related topics", Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford, 1988), pp. 139-57.

53. F. Jadaane, "Révélation et inspiration en Islam", Studia Islamica, XXVI (1967), pp. 32—3.

54. I. Lewis, op. cit., p. 34.

55. About ecstatic practices in the Sūfī environment see in detail in Religious Ecstasy, pp. 226-40.

56. See B. A. Donaldson, *The Wild Rule. A Study of Muhammadan Magic and Folklore in Iran* (London, 1938). On one of the links between ecstatic religious practice and political activity in modern Iran see J. Hjarpe, "The *Ta'ziya* ecstazy as political expression", *Religious Ecstasy*, p. 167-77.

57. The Qur'ān, 10: 2; 17: 47/50; 28: 36; 38: 4/3.

58. When this article was ready for publication, I received information about the publication of the papers presented in 1995 at the Strasbourg conference devoted to a topic very close to that of the current article (*Oracles et Propheties dans l'antiquite. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg*, 15 - 17 Juin 1995, ed. Jean-Georges Heintz, (Paris, 1997). — Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grece Antiques, vol. 15). The publication proves the growing interest of the scholarly community in the topic. The papers presented at the conference covered a broad historical and geographical ranges: Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Semitic world-Hebrew Bible, Christianity, Islam, Grecce and Rome. Of prime importance for us are the presentations of T. Fahd's "De l'oracle à la prophétie en Arabie" (pp. 231–41) and R. G. Khoury's "Poésie et prophétie en Arabie: convergences et luttes" (pp. 243–58).

#### Illustrations

- Fig. 1. "The Night Journey of Muhammad and the Ascent to Heaven", a later miniature from the early sixteenth-century manuscript C 1674 of *Khamsa* by Nizāmī preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 3b, 21.2 × 13 cm. The depiction is connected with Sūra 17: 1 and 17: 93/95.
- Fig. 2. "Jibrīl", a miniature from the fourteenth-century manuscript E 7 of 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt by Abū Yahya Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 36a, 28.4 × 21.8 cm.
- Fig. 3. "Jibrīl", a miniature from the manuscript D 370 of 'Ajā' ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā ib al-mawjūdāt by Abū Yahya Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī of 988/1580 preserved in the collection of the St Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 33a, 24.8 × 18.7 cm.

# S. G. Klyashtorny

# ABOUT ONE KHAZAR TITLE IN IBN FADLÂN

Ibn Fadlān, an Arab author well informed about Khazaria, while describing its political system after his visit to the Khazarian capital Itil in 922, names (after the sacral ruler, the great Khaqan, or Qağan) only three high-ranking officials of the state. According to Ibn Fadlān, these three, "being the deputies", the author says, of each other in hierarchical succession, are (i) Khaqan Bek (Qağan Beg) actually ruling over the country; (ii) Kündür Qağan; and (iii) javšiğar (?). The Arab author says nothing about the functions the last two performed in the state. Both Kündür Qağan and javšiğar are mentioned in the final section of the famous "Book" of Ibn Fadlān, which is missing in the unique Meshhed manuscript of this writing but present in the Mu jam al-buldān by Yāqūt who abundantly cites Ibn Fadlān's work [1].

The word kündür (kundur), after numerous unsuccessful attempts to determine its origin, has remained unexplained on the basis of Turkic languages. As for the title *javšiğar*, mentioned by Ibn Fadlān, its interpretation created some special difficulties because of a lack of clarity in its reading.

Two alternative readings — *javšiğar* and *javišğar* were suggested by the Russian scholars A. P. Kovalevsky and I. Yu. Krachkovsky correspondingly. The first was the translator of Ibn Fadlān's work into Russian, while the second was the editor of the first publication of this translation in which the Meshhed manuscript had been taken into account. In the commentaries to this translation an opinion, once offered by Ch. Frehn, who considered the term a variant of the Turkish word *çavuş* (*çauş*) denoting "a police and war official", was supported [2]. Subsequently, A. P. Kovalevsky suggested another reading of the word, *javišğir* ~ *čavišğir*, considering it to better correspond to the harmony of vowels characteristic of the Turkic languages [3].

The obscurity of the term employed by Ibn Fadlān stimulated Z. V. Togan and A. Zajaczkowski to undertake further investigation. The scholars have singled out two components of the lexeme: jav and sigar, and suggested conjectures which, however, contradicted the spelling of the word attested in Yāqūt's work [4]. The conjectures were deservedly acclaimed by P. Golden who accepted the reading *javašigar* [5]. However, the divergences of the word's spelling in eight surviving manuscripts of the *Mu'jam al-buldān* are minor and concern only vocalisation and diacritical marks [6].

Meanwhile, it is possible to propose, without infringing upon the spelling given in the work, another reading of the word — *jav šunĝar*, not *jav šiĝar*. In this case, its rendering presents no difficulty. We can find the Turkic word *šunqar* ~ *šonqar* ("falcon", "gerfalcon") in al-Khwārazmī (10th century) — as *šunqar*, in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (11th century) — *šunqar*, in *Muḥabbat-nāma* (13th century) *šunqar* [7].

The initial part in the word — *jav*, or *čav*, as A. P. Kovalevsky read it more precisely afterwards — apparently traces back to the Old Turkic *čavlī* ("falcon", "hunting bird"), recorded in one of the Yenisey inscriptions (8th— 9th centuries), and, later, in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī. It is interesting that in the Qūtādghū Bilik (11th century) there is a mention of a court official title — *čavlī beg* (verse 4068) [8].

Judging from the usual system for designating the highest officials in Khazaria, the term used by Ibn Fadlān has been given in an abbreviated form, and the full form can be reconstructed as cavsunqar [beg] ("head of the royal falcon hunting"), which is completely identical to the title cavli beg attested in  $Q\bar{u}t\bar{a}dgh\bar{u}$  Bilik by Yūsuf Balāsāgūnī who names cavli beg among the highest dignitaries in the state of ilek-khans.

The context of the passage in Ibn Fadlān where the term in question is employed enables us to assume that the "deputies" of *Qağan Beg*, namely, *Kündür Qağan* and *čavšunğar beg*, fulfilled administrative functions similar to those of army commander and of  $h\bar{a}jib$  in the Qarakhanid empire.

#### Notes

2. [A. P. Kovalevskii], Puteshestvie, pp. 167, 184.

3. A. P. Kovalevskii, Kniga, p. 269.

<sup>1. [</sup>A. P. Kovalevskii], Puteshestvie Ibn-Fadlana na Volgu (Ibn Fadlān's Travel to the Volga) (Moscow, Leningrad, 1939), p. 84; see also his Kniga Akhmeda ibn-Fadlana o ego puteshestvii na Volgu v 921—922 gg. (Aḥmad Ibn Fadlān's Book on His Travel to the Volga in 921/922) (Kharkov, 1956), p. 146.

4. A. Z. V. Togan, Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht (Leipzig, 1939), p. 261; A. Zajaczkowski, Ze studiow nad zagadnieniem chazarskim (Krakow, 1947), p. 35.

5. P. B. Golden, Khazar studies (Budapest, 1980), i, pp. 191-2.

6. Ibid., p. 191.

7. Drevnetiurkskii slovar' (The Old Turkic Dictionary) (Leningrad, 1969), p. 525; G. Clauson, An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish (Oxford, 1972), p. 838; G. Doerfer, Turkische und mongolische Elements in Neupersischen (Wiesbaden, 1963), i, p. 360.

8. Drevnetiurkskii slovar', p. 142; Clauson, op. cit., p. 397; R. R. Arat, Kutadžu biliž (Istanbul, 1979), iii, p. 128.

# **PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS**

**O.** M. Yastrebova

# RECONSTRUCTION AND DESCRIPTION OF MĪRZĀ MUĻAMMAD MUQĪM'S COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF RUSSIA

The reconstruction of the Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm's collection was started with a Persian manuscript containing several works on Sufism (call number PNS 39). It drew our attention thanks to the list of partly abriged book-titles written in a nice small-size nasta līq. The writing is entitled: السامى كتابها بدست ما بودكى ("Names of the books that have been in our possession") (fol. 1b).

Besides, the owner of the manuscript has marked fols. 2b and 447a with the prints of his two seals dated by 1273/1856-57 and 1278/1861-62 and containing his name - Muhammad Muqīm. The small treaties in the margins of fols. 2b-89a and 302a-303b are written by the same hand as the list on fol. 1b. They are dated by different months of the year 1285/1868-69, the full name of the transcriber is given as Mīrzā Muhammad Muqīm b. Muhammad Amīn-jān Kīshī. On fol. 2a he writes about the acquisition of the manuscript which "used to go from one hands to another" until he bought the book containing the work by Husayn Wāʻiz Kāshifī (d. 910/1504-05) entitled Rashahāt 'avn al-hayāt highly appreciated and admired by him. In addition he calles himself "the most neglected dog" of the khwājagān (the history of this Sūfī order is described in Kāshifī's work).

Thus, we can see that Mīrzā Muhammad Muqīm b. Muḥammad Amīn-jān Kīshī has left quite many traces of his ownership of the manuscript. The question arose whether it was possible to find other manuscripts from his collection listed on fol. 1b of PNS 39 (29 items). While attributing these manuscripts we used the owner's inventories (4 more such lists slightly differing from that of PNS 39 were found in other Muḥammad Muqīm's books), as well as his seal-prints. It turned out that a greater part of this collection was preserved till now in the National Library of Russia (NLR).

The seal-prints belonging to Muhammad Muqīm are of three types:

1) the first one, the earliest and at the same time the simplest in decoration, has the shape of a rectangular measured  $0.9 \times 1.2$  cm. It bears the inscription "Muhammad Muqīm" in *naskh* and the date 1273 (1856—57);

2) the second one, dated by 1278(1861-62), is an oval, its area being  $1.4 \times 1.7$  cm, with an eight-pointed star and with the words in *nasta*  $l\bar{l}q$ : accent area constant of the words in*nasta* $<math>l\bar{a}q$ : ("Muhammad Muqīm is  $d\bar{a}ghd\bar{a}r$ " (branded or brokenhearted));

3) the last seal is oval-shaped with *nasta*  $l\bar{l}q$  inscription "Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm 1279". The area of the seal is  $1.4 \times 1.7$  cm. The date corresponds to A. D. 1862—63 (see Appendix 1).

In two other manuscripts, PNS 198 and PNS 321, all the three types of seal-prints are used, the fact confirming that all of them could belong to one person.

23 manuscripts from Mīrzā Muḥammad's library with his seal-prints or other signs left by the owner are found in the National Library of Russia, five of them having the owner's brief inventories. In the present paper we give a table of the identified manuscripts with their descriptions are usually very short, comprising an abridged title of the work (or works) in the book. Sometimes the owner mentions the name of the author, copyist, presence of illustrations or illumination, the beauty of the script, and the size of the MS: if the manuscript is of dimensions like TNS 9 or PNS 1, the owner mentions that it is  $z_{SOM} = 0$  double-folio size (see *Appendix 2*).

Some of the manuscripts in question had been previously identified in the Catalogue by G. P. Kostygova [1] as belonging to the "Kaufman collection". Their description was given in the Library's Printed Report of 1871. That year 98 manuscripts were transferred to the Imperial Public Library (at present NLR) by K. P. von Kaufman, the governor-general of Turkestan in 1867-1882. All these manuscripts were partly found in the Palace of bek after the capture of the town of Shahrisabz, and partly bought by A. L. Kun whose commission was to collect manuscripts, other hand-written documents and ethnographic materials in Central Asia [2]. Description of only 25 of the 98 above mentioned manuscripts are given in the Report, 8 of them originate from the Muhammad Muqim's collection, namely PNS 175, PNS 309, PNS 192, PNS 180, PNS 285, PNS 219, PNS 205, PNS 315 [3].

We can, therefore, assume that the whole Mīrzā Muqīm's collection was in Shahrisabz at the time when the town was captured by the Russian troops. Thus we fix the date of the entrance of all the manuscripts of the Muḥammad Muqīm's collection, including those not mentioned in the Report.

From the dated owner's marks we can also judge about the approximate time of Muhammad Muqīm's ownership of the collection. All the marks, including dates of the seals, were made between 1856 and 1869. He was certainly a book-lover, judging by the fact that all his manuscripts were carefully wrapped in cloth. Below we give the description of manuscripts from the collection of Mīrzā Muḥ ammad Muqīm b. Muḥammad Amīn-jān Kīshī, following the order of titles in PNS 39's list.

# 1. PNS 20

The manuscript is entitled in the list as تفسير مولانا تفسير حقايق الدقايق (PNS 39) معين بخط نزكي خودشان (PNS 169), etc. It is to be found in all the five lists. The title's translation is "Commentary on Qur'ān (*tafsīr*) "The Gardens of the Truth" by Mawlānā Mu'īn and copied by his own hand".

III + 152 fols.,  $29.0 \times 18.5$  cm. Thick Oriental paper, 31 lines per page. Persian text of the commentary is written in *nasta* '*līq*, black ink; Arabic phrases are in *naskh*, in red ink. The titles of the Sūras are in large-size *thuluth*, red or black ink with black diocritical marks. The codex has a nineteenth-century Central Asian binding and seems to have been in a very poor condition before the restoration: some folios at the end of the manuscript are missing, while the first ones are badly damaged. It looks as if the book was lacking a binding for a long time. All folios are more or less damaged by damp. On fols. 121b and 149a the dates of completion of the corresponding parts of the *Tafsīr* are given.

Mu'īn al-Dīn b. Sharaf al-Dīn Hājjī Muḥammad Farāhī Harawī is known as the author of the commentaries on the Sūras Yūsuf and Fātiḥa and of the book named Ma'ārij alnubuwwa. The tafsīr on the above-mentioned Sūras was intended to be a part of the work titled  $Had\bar{a}$  'iq al-haq $\bar{a}$  'iq. But this manuscript contains only commentaries on Sūras al-Ra'd, Ibrāhīm, al-Hijr, al-Naḥl, Bani Isrā'il, al-Kahf, Maryam (only the beginning). All of these commentaries are not mentioned in Storey's reference-book [4]. The authorship is anyway confirmed by colophons: on fols. 29a and 121b. In both cases the first part of the author's laqab (al-Mu'īn) had been first erased and then written again in different hand. Besides in commentary on Sūra Bani Isrā'il (fol. 74b) the author mentions that he wrote a great deal about Mi'rāj in his book called Ma'ārij al-nubuwwa.

Two dates concerning the copying of the MS are given in the text — 13 Muharram 911/16 July 1505 (fol. 121b) and 23 Rabī' 1 911/24 August 1505 (fol. 149a) — that is, shortly after the author's death. The manuscript may have been copied from some autograph, since the colophon on fol. 121b states that the  $tafs\bar{n}r$  was written in the hand of its compiler: يلمين هذه السورة الكرعة على يد جامعه... وأنا عبد الفقير الصنعيف... المعين السكين.

There are Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints, of the first and second types, on fols. 121b and 149a, and one more seal-print on fol. 130b belonging to Mīr 'Umar b. Mullā

# 2. PNS 194

In the list of PNS 39 it is described as نفحات الانس In the list of PNS 39 it is described as نحوتين خطى ("*Nafaḥāt al-uns* most beautifully written"), other lists add: معرير يافته ("having frames from the beginning to the end") in PNS 169 and احسنترين in the best handwriting on *mīrī* paper") in PNS 281 and 321.

III + 556 + II fols.,  $23.5 \times 12.0$  cm. White, glossy Oriental paper, 15 lines per page. Beautiful calligraphic *nasta līq*, the titles are in *naskh*, in red ink. 'Unwān on fol. 11b. The MS has a binding of red leather with a flap, stamped central medallion, pendants, and frame. 2 blank leaves at the beginning and 4 at the end.

This compound manuscript represents a collection containing the *fihrist* of the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (817—898/1414—92) (fols.1b—10a), Jāmī's work itself (fols. 11a—554a), and 'Abd al-Ghafūr Lārī's Supplement to the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* written in the margins by the same scribe. The text of Jāmī's work is enclosed in a gold frame. The text in the margins is decorated with geometrical and floral designs.

Apart from two seal-prints of Muhammad Muqīm (second type, fols. 11b, 556b), there is one more seal-print on fol. 10a with the legend: "Mīr Ni'matallāh b. Shāh Awliyā 1227" (the date corresponds to A.D. 1812). There are also several notes in the codex, which could have been left by Muhammad Muqīm himself:

fol. Ia: "Present at the majlis of Bahādur Khudāyār bīk Kāmil-jān, Bābā-jān, Mīrzā Muqīm-jan";

fol. I (at the end): a prayer;

Mīr Dūst and dated by 1115/1703-04.

fol. IIIb: a prayer written by Mīrzā Muqīm and a note which reads that in Şafar 1286/May—June 1869 he donated 1 *tanga* and 3 *mīrī* to the Great mosque (*masjid-i kalān*).

#### 3. PNS 39

The manuscript is described in the lists by its contents. In PNS 39 it is mentioned simply as رشحات (*Rashaḥāt*), other lists mention the titles of the works contained in this compound MS.

II + 453 + II fols.,  $29.0 \times 17.5$  cm. White, glossy Oriental paper, 19 lines per page. Text in a gold and blue

frame of about  $19.0 \times 8.2$  cm. On fols. 304-453 area within the frame is scattered with gold.

Claret-coloured *muqawwā* binding with gilt medallions and pendants. There are also stamped gilt medallions, pendants, and corner-pieces on the inner side of covers, which are painted in green, yellow, black, red, and grey. Contents:

 fols. 2b—303a: Rashahāt 'ayn al-hayāt by 'Alī b. Husayn al-Wā'iz Kāshifī. It was copied on 30 Jumādā II 1240/19 February 1825 by 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Marghinānī (fol. 303a);

2) fols. 304b—397b: Manāqib-i Ghawsiya by Muhammad Şādiq Shihābī Sa'dī Qādirī. This is the biography of the qādirīya order's founder, 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī, also copied by 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Marghinānī (fol. 397b);

3) fols. 400b—497a: *Sharh-i lawā'iḥ al-asrār*, a commentary on Jāmī's theological treatise the *Lawā'iḥ* by 'Imād al-Dīn. Though the name of the scribe is lacking in the colophon, the commentary was obviously copied by the same person who transcribed the previous two works.

There are several smaller treatises copied in the margins by Muhammad Muqīm, the owner of the manuscript:

1) fols. 2b—7b: *Risāla dar sharāyiţ-i dhikr*, a treatise about *dhikr* in *naqshbandiya* order, by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, copied for Sayyid-zāda, the ruler of Jīlān, in Shawwāl 1285/January—February 1869;

 fols. 7b—13a: Risāla-yi sharh-i baytain-i Mathnawīyi Mawlawī, a commentary by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī on two bayts from Mawlānā Rūmī's (d. 672/1273) poem Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī). Copied in Shawwāl 1285/January—February 1869;

3) fols. 13a—15a: *Risāla-yi sharh-i bayt-i Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī*, a commentary by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī on one *bayt* by Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī (d. 725/1325). Copied in Shawwāl 1285/January—February 1869;

 fols. 15b—46b: Risāla-yi dar sharh-i Rubā 'iyyāt, a commentary by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī on his own Rubā 'iyyāt. Copied in Shawwāl;

5) fols. 47a—82a: *Sharh-i asmā'-i Allāh*, a treatise on the names of Allah. Copied in Dhū'l-Qa'da 1285/February—March 1869. (Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm might be the author of the treaty) [5]; 6) fols. 82b—89a: Risāla-yi taṣawwuf, a writing on Sufism. Unfinished;

7) fols. 302 a—303b: qaşīda and three rubā i on khwājagān. The writing comprises the date of completion of Rashaḥāt. Copied by Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm b. Muhammad Amīn-jān Kīshī in 1285/1869.

Besides these works there are several poems on fols. 1a (one of them in Muḥammad Muqīm's hand) and on 447b— 453b. This codex, purchased in Sha'bān 1285/1868—69, must have been very dear to its owner, who praises the work containing in it (*Rashaḥāt 'ayn al-ḥayāt*) as follows (fol. 2a):

در تاریخ شعبان العضم سنه ۱۲۸۵ بودکه فقیر بی بضاعت و غریب خال از استطاعت خادم درویشان العبد اللذنب خداوند رحیم میرزا محمد مقیم این نسخه میمون و مسوده بشرافت مشحون را که محتوی بر حکایات فیض علامات حضرات خواجکان نقشبندی و مزین عتلهای سترک مشایخ ترک رضوان الله علیهم اجمعین است و مسمی برشحات عین الحیاتست الحق کتابیست نایاب و هر لفظ آن کوهریست جهانتاب از بی بصرئ خریداران دست بدست میکشت بنا بران این مخلص دلریش عقیدت کیش که از وفور اخلاص خودرا کمترین از سکان خواجکان داشته و رقم محبت این طایفه عالیه را بر لوح ضمیر خود مینکاشت بامید خورسندی روح برفتوح عزیزان که متضمن نجات در این است با نقد جان خریداری فرمود امید میدارد که در یوم نشور در زمره محشور شود

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints, of first and second types, are seen on fols. 2b and 447a. There is also an inventory of his library on fol. 1b.

## 4. PNS 198

صحيفت الاحكام تحقيق الحرام بخط عصمت الله ("Sahīfat al-ahkām tahqīq al-harām in 'Iṣmatallāh's hand").

56 fols.,  $24.5 \times 18.0$  cm. Oriental paper, 23 lines per page. Red and blue frame:  $18.5 \times 12.0$  cm. Central Asian *nasta* līq, black ink. Arabic phrases in red. Copied in Rabī I 1192/March—April 1777 by Mīrzā 'Işmatallāh Munshī al-Bukhārī (fol. 56b). Brown leather binding with inscription in the pendants: 'amala Kamar bin 'Abd al-Amīn Mullā. The cover is not attached to the MS. The MS contains the work on fiqh by Muhammad Sharīf al-Husaynī al-Bukhārī Sahīfat al-ahkām wa tahqīq al-hqārām. On fol. 1a there is an inventory of Muhammad Muqīm's collection (29 titles), and a note made in his hand. Here he writes of his high appreciation of this work in the very similar terms as in PNS 39 and mentions that the MS was bought for 12 dirhams.

There are also Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of all the three types on fols. 1a, 1b, 2a, and 56b.

# 5. PNS 286

In the inventory mentioned as شرح اوراد فتحية, or (in PNS 281) . قصة شرح اوراد (PNS 281

140 fols.,  $20.2 \times 13.0$  cm. Oriental paper, 13 lines per page. Text area:  $14.0 \times 7.0$  cm. Nasta līq, black ink, the lines above the Arabic quotations in red ink. Copyied in 1272/1855-56 (fol. 140b). The book contains Sharh-i Awrād-i fatḥiya, a commentary by Muḥammad Ja'far Ja'farī on 'Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥusaynī Hamadānī's (d. 786/1385) Awrād-i fatḥiya. A muqawwā binding with coloured medallions.

On fol. 140a there is a Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the first type.

# 6. PNS 169

In PNS 39 mentioned as محفل آرای محمود ترکمان (*"Mahfîl-arā* by Maḥmūd Turkmān").

I+128+I fols.,  $26.5 \times 15.5$  cm. Oriental paper, 17 lines per page. Nasta 'līq, black ink, double red frame. Red lines above names, Arabic phrases and some other words. Headings of the chapters and the words *hikāyat*, *bayt*, etc. in red ink. Green *muqawwā* binding with stamped medallions and pendants. In the pendants there is an inscription: Faqīr-i qādir-i 'Āshūr Muḥammad Ḥasan ... Aḥ madī.

The book contains a collection of entertaining stories divided into four chapters. On fol. Ia there is a title *Mahfil* $ar\bar{a}$  written in a hand different from that of the basic text. Barkhwūrdār b. Maḥmūd Turkmān Farāhī who lived in the reign of the Safavid ruler Sultān Ḥusayn (1694—1722) is known as the author of the collection entitled *Mahbūb al*qulūb. In the introduction to it the author writes that during several years, when living in Isfahān, he collected about

. بهار دانش In all of the lists is titled as

286 fols.,  $26.0 \times 15.5$  cm. Glossy Oriental paper, 17 lines per page. Nasta 'līq, black ink, headings in red ink. Green muqawwā binding with claret-coloured medallions and pendants. Both pendants and medallions bear inscriptions with dates. In medallions: ما عاقبة خيرياد ٢٢٠٩; in pendants: ٢٢٦٩ عمل ملا عبد القادر صحاف ٢٢٩٩. The dates are correspondingly 1843 and 1848—49.

. تاريخ عبد الله خاني In the inventories is given as

1+352 fols.,  $25.5 \times 15.5$  cm. Mostly white Oriental paper, but also leaves of blue Russian paper with the watermark "1819". 17 lines per page, *nasta 'līq*, black ink, headings in red ink. Copied in Düshanba-qūrghān in Rajab 1241/February—March 1826 (fol. 352a). A *muqawwā* binding of claret colour with green stamped medallions and

In all the five lists this MS is mentioned as ديوان دو ورقه امير نوايي.

522 fols.,  $47.0 \times 26.0$  cm. Grey paper of local manufacturing, 25 lines per page. Calligraphic *nasta 'līq*, the text in two columns. Leather binding of crimson colour with stamped golden medallions and pendants, lettered: "*'amal* 

دوورقه جنك ازهر نوع كتابها In the lists is given either as لنهر نوع كتابها ("Collection of different books of two-folio size") or as ثقير ("Collection of different books in the hand of this poor one").

445 fols.,  $54.0 \times 31.5$  cm. Glossy Oriental paper, 29 lines per page. Nasta'liq, the text is copied out in different hands. The area of the text:  $35.0 \times 19.0$  cm. Blue and four hundred stories in a book *Mahfil-arā* which was divided into introduction, eight chapters and conclusion. After that Barkhwūrdār Maḥmūd Turkmān lived in Farāh, Harāt, and Mashhad and finally had lost his book during one of the military campaigns. Then he compiled another book entitled *Mahbūb al-qulūb*.

The present MS contains the stories that are found also in Turkmān's *Mahbūb al-qulūb*, though there are only four chapters, and neither introduction nor conclusion are present. The book begins directly with the story about Maḥmūd Ghaznawī and Ayaz, which is contained in the fourth  $b\bar{a}b$ of *Mahbūb al-qulūb*'s introduction.

On the inner side of the upper cover of the binding there is an inventory (27 titles) written in Muhammad Muqīm's hand. The verses on fol. Ia—b are written in different hand.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the first and second types on fols. 1b and 128a.

# 7. PNS 214

The MS contains the collection of entertaining stories compiled in 1060/1650 by Shaykh 'Ināyatallāh Kanbū (d. 1088/1677) (fols. 3b—283b). There are also a *ghazal* by Jāmī (fol. 1a); *rubā*'i and one *bayt* (fol. 2a); a poem by Nadīm (fol. 2a); several *bayts* by Bīdil (1054—1133/ 1644—1720) and a *ghazal* by Sa'īb (d. 1080/1670), the latter in Muḥammad Muqīm's hand (fol. 3a); poems by Nawā'ī (d. 906/1501) (fols. 284b—285a).

One Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the third type on fol. 3b.

# 8. PNS 205

pendants. The MS contains *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* by Hāfiz Tanīsh b. Mīr Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, which deals with the history of 'Abdallāh-khān Shaybānī (991/1583—1006/ 1598).

One Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the third type on fol. 3b.

9. TNS 9

*Mīrzā Faydallāh şaḥḥāf*". Copied in 1281/1864—65 (fol. 3a).

The manuscript contains four  $D\bar{v}w\bar{a}ns$  by Mīr 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī (fols. 1b—519b) and several poems by Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm himself written in his own hand (see fig. 1).

# 10. PNS 1

red frame. Copied in Shahrisabz (fol. 62) in 1281/1864—65 (dates are on fols. 62a, 287a, 445b). Crimson leather binding similar to that of TNS 9 also made by Mīrzā Fayd-allāh.

The codex contains the work by Mu'īn al-Miskīn  $Ma'\bar{a}rij$  al-nubuwwa. The third ruqn of it and the part of the fourth ruqn are copied out by Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm. His signiture is on fol. 287a, but the MS is lacking his seal-prints.

تيمورنامه مولانا هاتفی (*Tīmūr-nāma-yi Mawlānā* Hātifī) or simply تیمورنامه (*Tīmūr-nāma*).

VI + 156 fols.,  $21.5 \times 14.0$  cm. White Oriental paper scattered with gold, 13 lines per page. Calligraphic *nasta 'līq*, text is in two columns:  $15.0 \times 7.5$  cm. Margins are of thinner white Oriental paper. Copied in Shawwāl 1000/July—August 1592 (fol. 156a). The codex has green leather backbone. The inner and outer sides of the binding has stamping. The binding is painted in red, green and gold (outer surface), and in claret and gold (the inner surface of the cover — central medallions alone). The name of the binder is 'Abd al-Hakīm b. Mullā Qalandar şaḥhāf.

The book contains *Tīmūr-nāma* by 'Abdallāh Jāmī Hātifī (d. 927/1520—21).

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the second and third type on fols. 2a and 156a.

# 12. PNS 285

یکمجلد کتاب بخط میر علی وبدیکر خوشنویسان "Collection of different books by Mīr 'Alī and other calligraphers").

160 fols., about  $23.5 \times 14.0$  cm.

This book presents a number of extracts written in calligraphic script and taken from different manuscripts — restored, remargined and bound. The collection starts with several samples of *Chihil hadīth* by Jāmī belonging to different calligraphers:

1) fols. 2b—8a: Chihil hadīth by Jāmī copied by Majd al-Dīn 'Alī al-Qūsī in Jumādā II 990/June—July 1582 in Shīrāz. 'Unwān on fol. 2b. Text is enclosed in frame:  $14.5 \times 8.0$  cm. Small and large-size nasta'līq. After introduction three lines in Arabic with Persian translation (fols. 3b—8a) written (diagonally) between the lines. The space free from the text is decorated with floral scrolls and flowers designs against the gold and blue background. White margins of thick European paper.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the second and third type on fols. 2b and 8a;

2) fols. 9a—14b: Chihil hadīth by Jāmī. Yellowish Oriental paper, text area of pink Oriental paper:  $14.7 \times 10.5$  cm. Large-size nasta 'līq, Persian translation diagonally between the lines, in black ink, tahrīr. Each page has three lines of Arabic text in red ink, with black diocritical marks.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the third type on fol. 14 b;

3) fols. 15b—20b: *Chihil hadīth* by Jāmī copied by Mīr Sālih al-Kātib.  $21.5 \times 13.0$  cm, thick, blue Oriental paper scattered with gold. Blue margins. Persian text in small-size *nasta līq*, each page has three lines in Arabic written in *nasta līq* of larger size.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the third type on fols. 15b and 20b;

4) fols. 21b—26b: *Chihil hadīth* by Jāmī copied by Muhammad Şālih al-Kātib. '*Unwān* on fol. 21b, margins of good Oriental paper of different colours. Text area on fol. 21b:  $15.5 \times 8.5$  cm, on other leaves:  $16.0 \times 8.5$  cm. The text is arranged in the same way as in Nos. 1 and 2.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the third type on fol. 26b;

5) fols. 27b—42a: Inshā'yāt copied in Herat in 974/1566—1567. White Oriental paper,  $15.3 \times 8.0$  cm, 5 lines per page. Margins of red paper, calligraphic shikasta.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the third type on fol. 42a;

6) fols 43b—48a: Du'ā-i Imām Hujjat al-Islām, a prayer by Imām Ghazālī. Copied in Bākharz in Ramadān 995/August 1587 by Sultān Muhammad Kātib. On fols. 43b—44a — Persian introduction in naskh, enclosed in frame of golden floral scrolls. 'Unwān on fol. 43b. Fols. 44b—48a — large-size muhaqqaq, 5 lines per page. Creamy Oriental paper; about 15.0 × 9.5 cm (fols. 44—48), margins of blue Russian paper. Black and red ink. The verses are ornamented with golden rosettes (with red dots).

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the first type on fol. 48a;

7) fols. 49b—54a:  $du'\bar{a}$  and  $mun\bar{a}j\bar{a}t$  copied by Sa'd al-Dīn Khuwāfī in Ramadān 998/July—August 1590. First and last lines in muhaqqaq, middle line in thuluth, golden and blue paint. The rest ten lines in small naskh, in black ink. The verses are ornamented with golden rosettes with red dots in the centre. The colophon on fol. 54a in  $tawq\bar{t}$ script.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the third type on fol. 54a;

8) fols. 55b-87b: Sharḥ-i asmā' Allāh, copied in 1249/1823-24.

9 lines per page, calligraphic *nasta 'līq*, black ink. Some words in the text are in red colour. Text in gold and blue frame: about  $15.0 \times 7.0$  cm.

Three seal-prints on fol. 55a. Two of them are illegible. On one of them the legend can be discerned: "Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Sayyid Aḥmad Khwāja, 1257". (The date of 1257 corresponds to 1841—42).

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the second and third type on fols. 55b and 87b;

9) fols. 89b—93a: Zafar-nāma-yi Buzurjmihr, one more sample of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's handwriting. Largesize nasta 'līq, 7 lines per page:  $15.5 \times 9.0$  cm. Pink paper scattered with gold. Margins of different colours, 'unwān on fol. 89b.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the third type on fol. 93a;

10) fols. 94b—113a: *Fāl-nāma-yi Qur'ān-i majīd*, copied in the nineteenth century. 13 lines per page, gold and blue frame. On fol. 94b a nineteenth-century '*unwān* (Iran?).

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the second and third type on fol. 113a;

11) fols. 114 b—119a: *Tuhfat al-wuzara*, which bears the name of 'Alī Mashhadī. *Ta'liq*, 8 lines per page, '*unwān*, small chapters (*bab*) are separated by golden rosettes. Margins of thick Oriental paper coloured in pink, yellow, and blue with golden splashes.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the third type on fol. 119;

12) fols. 120b—131a: *Risāla dar madhammat-i bid'at*. White Oriental paper, 13 lines per page. *Nastaliq*, black ink. The names, Arabic quotations, and some other words in red, blue, and gold. '*Unwān* on fol. 120b.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the third type is in fol. 131a;

13) fols. 131b—133a: *Tafsīr al-abrār*, copied by Mīrzā 'Abd al-Rasūl b. Mīrzā Muḥammad in 1269/1852—53;

14) fols. 133b—157a: *Hāl-nāma* by 'Ārifī, copied for the library of Sultān Khwāja 'Abdī-Khwāja b. Khwāja Sa'd b. Khwāja Muhammad Islām by Fūlād Muhammad b. Yār Muhammad al-Bukhārī in Şafar 1007/September—October 1598.

Brown paper with golden semis, margins of blue Russian paper, 12 lines per page. Calligraphic *nasta* 'līq. Text in two columns, within thin white, red, green, blue, and gold frame. Headings are in gold cartouches. On fols. 138a and 153a there are two rather rudely painted miniatures.

Three Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the third type on fols. 133b and 157a;

15) fols. 158b and 159a: two mashqs, one of them signed by Muhammad Karīm Shāmlū, 1178/1764—65.

A seal-print with the name of Muhammad Ibrāhīm and the date -1188/1774-75.

'Unwāns on fols. 21b, 43b, 89b, 133b.

# 13. PNS 317

ديوان مولانا شوكت or ديوان ملانا شوكت مع قصايد (*Dīwān* by Mawlānā Shawkat''). 181 fols., 19.0 × 11.5 cm. Oriental paper, 13 lines per

181 fols.,  $19.0 \times 11.5$  cm. Oriental paper, 13 lines per page. Text in two columns. Copied on 8 Rajab 1150/ 1 November 1737. *Muqawwā* binding is also dated by 1217/1802—03, the name of the master is Muḥammad Sharīf şaḥḥāf. The MS contains  $D\bar{i}w\bar{a}n$  of Muḥammad Isḥāq Bukhārī (d. 1107/1695—96) whose takhalluş was Shawkat (fols. 1a—170a). On fols. 170b—181b there is a collection of poems by different authors, such as Shawkat, Mashrab (17th—18th centuries), Qāsimī Dīwāna (17th century), Şā'ib, Nāzim (d. 1081/1670), etc.

# 14. ANS 243

صلوات شفا الأمراض بخط يونس خواجه ("*Salawāt shifā al-amrād* in Yūnus Khwāja's hand").

I + 148 + (10 blank) fols.,  $19.8 \times 12.0 \text{ cm}$ . European paper of blue colour and Oriental paper:

fols. 1b—16a — 5 lines per page in large-size nasta ' $l\bar{l}q$ , black ink. Text in red, gold, and blue frame: 16.5 × 9.0 cm. On fol. 16a there is the signature of Yūnus Khwāja;

fols. 17b—116a — 9 lines per page, calligraphic nasta 'līq. Text in double golden, blue, and red frame, 'unwān on fol. 17b. Copied by Yūnus Khwāja;

fols. 117a—148b — small treaties, extracts, and fragments from different works on medicine, religion,  $had\bar{n}th$ , *taşawwuf*, etc. Copied by Muhammad Muqīm. The dates are present: 1283/1866—67 on fols. 118a, 137a, 141b and 1285/1868—69 on fol. 148b.

The first part of the MS, transcribed by Yūnus Khwāja, contains the Sūra *Ya Sin* (fols. 1b—16a) and the work entitled *Şalawāt shifā al-amrād* (fols. 17b—116a).

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the second type on fols. 15a, 17b, and 116a.

## 15. PNS 298

مناقب غوسيه

80 fols.,  $20.0 \times 12.0$  cm. Yellowish, glossy Oriental paper (paper on fols. 44 and 51 of pink colour), 16 lines per page. Cursory *nasta* '*līq*, red and blue frames. *Muqawwā* binding painted in red and green with gild stamped medallions and pendants.

The MS was copied in 1157/1744 by Bū 'Alī for Khān Muḥammad. The first leaf was added in the nineteenth

century, and the text on it was probably written by Muhammad Muqīm.

The book contains *Qisas* al-Husaynī composed by Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. al-Bāqī al-Bukhārī. There are two seal-prints on fol. 77b, one of them is Muḥammad Muqīm's (the first type). The legend of the second seal-print is illegible.

# 16. PNS 180

# خمسة امير خسرو دهلوى

II + 287 + 1 fols.,  $25.5 \times 17.5$  cm. Thin, glossy Oriental paper and thin European paper of different colours, 19 lines per page. Text in two columns, golden and blue frame:  $19.0 \times 11.5$  cm. Fine *nasta'līq*, headings in red ink. Five 'unwāns (fols. 2b, 54b, 122b, 193b, and 233b). Also copied by Bukharian calligrapher Yūnus Khwāja in 1280/1863— 64 (fol. 53b). Central Asian binding of thick green leather with stamped medallions and pendants bearing the name of the master: Mīrzā Faydallāh sahhāf. The book contains five poems — *Khamsa* — by Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī.

No seal-prints, but additions made in Muhammad Muqīm's hand can be seen on fols. Ia and 287a. On fol. Ia there is a *qaşīda* of 42 *bayts* "in praise of the Prophet", dated by 1282/1865—66. On fol. 287a we find a *mu'ammā* containing the date when the copying of the book was finished (1281/1864—65), with the explanation where Muhammad Muqīm calls himself the author of this *mu'ammā*.

# 17. PNS 296

جهل ناموس ابو توراب نخشبي I + 216 fols., 20.0 × 13.0 cm. Thick, glossy Oriental paper of yellowish colour, 13 lines per page. Cursory nasta'līq, some words in red ink. Copied on 30 Rabī' II 1126/14 May 1714. Mugawwā binding of green colour with gild stamped medallions and pendants.

تاريخ راقم ديكر مع انيس الاشاق

("Another history by Ragim with the Anis al-Ushshaq"). The word "another" is used here, since there is one more "History" by Ragim in the inventory which, however, is not found in our collection.

277 fols. + (5 blank fols. at the beginning) + (4 blank fols, between fols, 250 and 251) + (5 blank fols, at the end), 27.5 × 27.7 cm. Grey Oriental paper, 15 lines per page. Central Asian nasta'līq, black ink, headings and dates in red. Copied in 1281/1864 (fols. 250a and 277a). Muqawwā

I + 232 fols.,  $24.5 \times 16.0$  cm. Glossy Oriental paper,

frame: ca.  $16.5 \times 9.0$  cm. 'Unwān on fol. 1b. The last three

leaves were added in 1286/1869-70, most obviously together with the new mugawwā binding which bears the name of the master: Mīrzā Faydallāh sahhāf.

17 lines per page. Folios 198-200, 17 blank folios at the The MS contains Shawahid al-nubuwwa li-taqwiyat end, and 7 blank leaves at the beginning of thin Oriental yaqīn ahl al-futuwwa by 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī. paper of later time. Nasta'līq with Arabic quotations in naskh, some words in red ink. Text within golden and blue

On fol. 1b Muhammad Muqīm's seal-print of the first type (on the 'unwān).

# 20. PNS 321

19. PNS 192

شواهد نبوت

بيدلجه مع مثنوى ناظم و قصايدات 478 fols., 20.0 × 12.0 cm. Fols. 1—456 — thin, white, glossy Oriental paper and European paper of different colours, fols. 457-475 (two leafs stuck together) - thick European paper of different colours. 13 lines per page: fols. 6b-127a, 138b-344b - in two columns, fols. 128b-138a - in tree columns, fols. 346b-455a in four columns.

Mostly fine calligraphic small-size shikasta. Copied by Yūnus Khwāja Kātib from Bukhārā. On fols. 5b-92b and 346b-455a text in gold and blue frame. Two 'unwāns on fols. 6b and 346b. There are two signatures of Yūnus Khwāja on fols. 345a and 455a. The first signature has the date - 1278/1861-62.

Contents:

1) fols. 2b-5b: tarjī band by Muhammad Muqīm; a poem by the same author, and another poem by Anwarī (d. 585/1189 or 587/1191). Copied by Muhammad Muqim;

2) fols. 6b-93b: Dīwān by the famous Persian poet 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil;

3) fols. 94b-137a: qaşīdas by 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil;

4) fols. 138b-345a: another Dīwān by Bīdil;

5) fol. 345b: a prayer dated by 1283/1866--67;

6) fol. 346a: the inventory of Muhammad Muqīm's collection;

7) fols. 346b-455a: Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā by Nāzim Harawī b. Shāh Ridā Sabzawārī;

8) fol. 455b: a poem in Uzbek copied by Muhammad Muqīm;

9) fols. 456a-475b: rubā'iyāt by different authors;

10) fols. 476-477: poems copied by Muhammad Muqīm.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of all the three types on fols. 93b, 94a, 137a, 345a, and 455a.

# 21. PNS 219

# شرح نزهت الارواح

330 fols., 24.0 × 14.0 cm. Oriental and European paper of white, red, pink, and blue colours. The MS is copied in one hand, however, the number of lines per page varies in different parts. There is also text in the margins. Fol. 64 b bears the date of copying - Safar 1221/April-May 1806, the place-name Kīsh, and the name of transcriber -- Tursūn Muhammad b. Nazr Muhammad. There are also two other dates: 1222/1807-1808 (fol. 246a) and 7 Dhū'l-Hijja 1223/24 February 1809 (fol. 253a). Mugawwā binding of

The book contains Chihil nāmūs by Diyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī (d. 751/1350-51). The beginning is missing.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the first and second types on fols. 1b and 219b.

claret-coloured binding with green medallions and pen-

fols. 1b-250b: Tārīkh-i Rāqim by Sharaf al-Dīn

fols. 251b-277a: Anīs al-ushshāq by Hasan b.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the first and second

# 18. PNS 175

dants.

Contents:

'Alam b. Akhūnd Mullā Farhād;

types on fols. 1b, 250b, and 277a.

Muhammad Sharaf Ramī.

green colour with gild stamped medallions, pendants and black, red, and yellow frames. The pendants are with the name of the master: Mīrzā Faydallāh sahhāf.

Contents:

1) fols. 1-3: different poems in one of which the name of 'Ashūr 'Alī is mentioned. The poem on fol. 3a is devoted to the months of the Muslim lunar calendar;

2) fols. 4b-64b: Nuzhat al-arwāh by Rugn al-Dīn Husaynī b. 'Ālim Husaynī, known as Fakhr al-Sādāt Husaynī (d. 718/1318 or 729/1329). 19 lines per page, also text in the margins;

3) fols. 65b-178a: Dīwān by Muhyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī. Text in two columns, 21 lines per page;

فتوح الحرمين or فتوح الحرمين الشرفين or فتوح الحرمين المصور

138 fols,  $26.5 \times 16.5$  cm. Thick Oriental paper. The book presents a collection of several works copied in different, rather cursory Central Asian scripts. There is the date 1246/1830-31 on fol. 53b and the names of two transcribers are mentioned: Hājjī 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Rahīm (on fol. 123a), and Qurbān Karāmī Hājjī Sayyid (on fol. 53b). Muqawwā binding with medallions and pendants painted in different colours.

Contents:

1) fols. 2b-8b: lexicon (farhang) of the Dīwān of Hāfīz;

2) fols. 9a-53b: Futūh al-haramāin, a poem by Muhyī al-Dīn Lārī (d. 933/1526). There are 14 miniatures depicting the holy places in Mecca and Medina. Copied in

4) fols. 65b-72b: Maktūbāt by Muhyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Oādir Gīlānī (the text is written in the margins);

5) fols. 73b-104a: Tuhfat-i Qādirī, a biography of Muhyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī;

6) fols. 180b-246a: Dīwān by Hāfiz (d. 791/1389). Text in two columns, 21 lines per page. Also text in the margins;

7) fols. 246b—253b: Farhang-i Dīwān-i hadrat-i Hāfiz, a glossary to the Dīwān by Hāfiz. 21 lines per page, also text in the margins;

fols. 254b—327: Dīwān by Jāmī.

The manuscript has no seal-prints. It was identified only by the detailed description of its contents in PNS 39 (see Appendix 2, No. 30).

# 22. PNS 189

1247/1830-31, the transcriber Qurban Karamī Hājjī Sayyid;

3) fols. 54b--104a: Wizā'i Madīna comprising 7 plans of the holy places in Medina;

4) fols. 105b-123a: Fadā'il-i Makka wa Madīna, a writing on the pilgrimage to Hijāz, with the name of the transcriber on fol. 123a - 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Rahīm;

5) fols. 124b-133a: farhang of three parts (matlabs), which comprises idioms;

6) fols. 134b—138b: al-Nugat mukhtasar al-wigāya by 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd b. Tāj al-Sharī'a.

Two seal-prints of the second type on fols. 53b and 104a. A mashq written in 1247/1831-32 by 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Marghinānī is attached to the inner side of the upper cover.

# 23. PNS 315

ديوان مولانا وحشى I + 222 fols., 19.5 × 12.5 cm. Glossy Oriental paper covered with gold and silver splashes. Calligraphic nasta'līq. Text in three columns, blue and golden frames. In the columns close to the margins lines are situated diagonally. Five 'unwāns (fols. 1b, 68b, 136b, 152b, and 180b). The end is missing, lacunae after fols. 6, 135, 184, 189, and 220. Nineteenth-century restoration. Muqawwā binding made by Mīrzā Faydallāh şahhāf (see fig. 2). The MS comprises Kulliyāt by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bāfqī Wahshī.

Contents:

- 1) fols. 1b-52a: gasāvid;
- fols. 52b—68a: qit'a, marāthī;

3) fols. 68b—136a: ghazaliyāt, rubā 'iyāt, tarkībbands;

- 4) fols. 136b-152a: the poem Hull-i barin;
- 5) fols. 152b-180a: the poem Farhad wa Shīrīn;
- 6) fols. 180b-220b: the poem "Nazīr wa Manzūr;
- 7) fols. 221a-222b: hijā'.

Muhammad Muqīm's seal-prints of the third type on fols. 68a, 136a, 180a, 150a, and 222b.

Analysing the discovered manuscripts from the collection of Muhammad Muqīm, and those mentioned by the owner but not found in the library, we reveal that the circle of topics covered by the collection is very wide: tafsīrs, hadīth literature, legends about the prophets, works on figh, religious treatises, writings on Sufism, 4 books on history, entertaining prose, and poetry. The collection produces an impression that its owner sought to bring together the samples of almost all literary genres existing. One can also notice that the choice of the books has some local peculiarities. Here we find the works dealing with the Central Asian rulers, Sufi orders, powerful in this region, and poems by poets popular in Central Asia.

16 of the 23 manuscripts from the collection have the precise date of copying. All of them cover the period from sixteenth to nineteenth century, the earliest being Mu'in Miskīn's tafsīr entitled Hadā'iq al-haqā'iq (PNS 20), and the latest --- Ma'ārij al-nubuwwa by Mu'īn Miskīn (PNS 1) and Dīwān by 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī (TNS 9), both copied in 1864-65. PNS 1 and TNS 9 both are of a very big format and their bindings were made in the workshop of Mīrzā Faydallāh.

More than a half of the manuscripts were copied in calligraphic scripts, nine of them have the name of the copyists:

PNS 39 — 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Mu'min Marghinānī, Muḥammad Muqīm;

PNS 198 — Mīrzā 'Ismatallāh Munshī al-Bukhārī;

PNS 1 — one of the copyists is Muhammad Muqīm;

PNS 298 — Bū 'Alī;

PNS 219 — Tursūn Muhammad b. Nāz Muhammad;

PNS 180, PNS 321, and ANS 243 — the famous nineteenth-century Bukharian calligrapher Yūnus Khwāja.

The MS PNS 285 should be marked out especially, since it presents a collection of illuminated works and the samples of calligraphy of the sixteenth—nineteenth centuries.

Almost all the manuscripts have leather or pasteboard Central Asian bindings, 8 of them bear the name of the master. Of these 8 bindings 6 have the stamp with the name of Mirzā Faydallāh şaḥḥāf (PNS 1, PNS 180, PNS 192, PNS 219, PNS 315, and TNS 9). This master seems to have been very prolific one at the time preceding the capture of Shahrisabz, and probably some time after it also. Preliminary examination shows that there are no less than 13 his bindings in the holdings of the Manuscript Department of the NLR. The workshop used to make bindings both for new and old manuscripts which needed restoration (for example, PNS 315).

Unfortunately, we couldn't find any information concerning the owner of this collection in literary sources, and actually we didn't pursue this aim. It was most interesting to extract some knowledge about the collector from the codices of his own.

It is known that his full name was Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm b. Muḥammad Amīn-jān Kīshī (PNS 39). Most probably he originated from Kīsh (the old name of Shahrisabz), or lived there for a long time as his *nisbā* shows. Evidently he was in Kīsh shortly before the capture of the town, for that is the place where his manuscripts were acquired. He might be a scribe or a secretary by profession, or simply an educated man as the title *mīrzā* shows. In any case he had a professional handwriting by which he copied out some works in PNS 39, ANS 243, and PNS 1. On fol. I of PNS 194 he wrote as a sort of exercise a formula usual in official documents: "Present at the *majlis* of Bahādur Khudāyār bīk Kāmil-jān, Bābā-jān, Mīrzā

The contents of the library indicates that he was an educated person of versatile interests. He was especially concerned with the matters of religion. Religious works take a major part of his collection. It is worthy a note that most of the works transcribed by him are of religious or Şūfī contents. In many manuscripts we can see prayers written in his hand. Strange is, however, the fact that, according to the inventories, he had not a complete copy of the Qur'ān in his library (or, possibly, if he had one, he didn't consider it necessary to mention).

But the literary interests of the collector were not limited only to writings on religion and mysticism. There were also several historical works in his collection — Tārīkh-i Rāqim, Tārīkh-i 'Abdallāh Khānī, Tīmūr-nāma by Hātīfī and several copies of works related to entertaining literature, such as Bahār-i dānish by Shaykh 'Ināyatallāh Kanbū and the book which Muhammad Muqīm calls "Mahfil-arā by Sayyid Mahmūd Turkmān".

He seems to have been also a great lover of poetry, his favourite poets being 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil, Shawkat, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī. Muhammad Muqīm was not only a connoisseur of literature, he wrote verses himself. Some of them are represented on the blank pages of MSS TNS 9 (Dīwān by 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī) and PNS 321 (Dīwān by Bīdil). The verses are mostly poems of traditional lyric contents, but one of them can provide us some information about the author. It presents a playful dialogue between the author and his beloved who asks him questions about his origins. The answers are for the most part given in a negative form: "I am not from Jām, I am not from Bām", etc. But the author also says: "I am Kīshī by origin, I am from Qarāqūl". Probably Muhammad Muqīm had lived for some time in the Qarāgūl area of the Bukhārā emirate. Further, we learn from his answers that he was Taiik (not Uzbek or Turkmen). This fact seems to be confirmed by almost a total lack of manuscripts in Arabic and Old Uzbek (except for ANS 243 and TNS 9).

Presumably Muhammad Muqīm's favourite poet was 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil. His devotion to this author Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm expresses in the same poem copied in TNS 9:

> نیستم لیك بشىعر دیكران هـم مایل هستم از جان دل خویش بنده بیدل

I am not inclined to the poems of other people, From the whole of my heart I am Bīdil's slave.

Muḥammad Muqīm is also an author of a quatrain representing the chronogram on a completion of copying of Amīr Khusraw's *Khamsa* (PNS 180), provided with his commentary on how to decipher it. This manuscript was copied in 1863—64 by Yūnus Khwāja.

Muhammad Muqīm showed interest in manuscripts not only from the point of view of their contents. Certainly, he also paid much attention to the quality of scripts and MSS' decoration. Mīrzā Muqīm must have been an admirer of calligraphy. Among his 23 codices there are 3 (PNS 180, PNS 321, and ANS 243) copied by a well-known calligrapher Yūnus Khwāja who also originated from Kīsh [6]. The calligrapher was his contemporary. And here we must once more mention MS PNS 285 presenting a number of samples of calligraphy, as well as illuminated extracts taken from the sixteenth—seventeenth centuries manuscripts, which were restored and bound as one codex. As mentioned above, Muhammad Muqīm ordered new bindings for old and damaged manuscripts.

So the reconstruction of the private library of Muhammad Muqīm gives us a rare possibility to have notion of the repertory of reading of a nineteenth-century educated Tajik, inhabitant of the Bukhārā emirate.

Apart from the Shahrisabz portion, the Kaufman collection includes also manuscript collections of the Khiva and Kokand  $kh\bar{a}ns$ , which entered the library correspondingly in 1874 and 1876. As a whole, the Kaufman collection amounting about 300 codices and 200 documents presents can serve a valuable source for the study of book culture in the nineteenth-century Central Asia.





The first type seal-print



The second type seal-print



The third type seal-print
Nos.	Titles	Call. Nos.	PNS 39	PNS 169	PNS 198	PNS 281	PNS 321
1.	کلام ا لله بغلی				+		
	کلام ا للہ محرر مزین		+				
2.	نفسير مولانا معين بخط نزكي خودشان	PNS	+	-			
	تفسير حقايق الدقايق دست خط نزكي حضرت مولانا معين	20		+			
	تفسير مولانا معين بخط مبارك خودشان				+		
	تقسير حقايق الدقايق دست خط مولانا معين نيز از خودشان					+	
	تفسير حقايق الدقايق دست خط مولانا معين تفسير نيز از خودشان						+
3.	هفتيك		+				
	هفتيك كلام الله			+	+	+	+
4.	نفحات الانس نحوترين خطي	PNS	+				
	نفحات الانس نحوترين خطى سر تا سر تحرير يافته	194		+			
1	نفحات الانس محرر نحوترين جطى				+		
	نفحات الانس مولوی جامی در احسنترین خط بکاغذ میری					+	+
5.	رشحات	PNS 39	+				
	رشحات من عين الحياة	39		+			
	رشحات لوايح مناقب غوثيه و بحاشيه او شرح رباعيات و شرح				+		
	همای عطار						
	رشحات و مناقب غوثيه لوايح دريكمجلد و بحاشيه نزهت الارواح					+	
	شرح رباعیات از مولوی جامی						
	رشحات ومناقب غوثيه لوايح و بحاشيه او نزهت الارواح شرح						
	رباعیات ازمولاوی جامی رساله در بیت مولانا رومی که اول مثنوی						+
6.	صحيفت الاحكام تحقيق الحرام بخط ميرزا عصمت الله	PNS 198	+				
	صحيفت الاحكام تحقيق الحرام دست خط ميرزا عصمت الله منشى			+			
7.	شرح اوراد فتحيه	PNS 286	+	+	+		+
	قصه شرح اوراد					+	
8.	محفل آرای محمود ترکمان	PNS 169	+				
	محفل آرای سید محمود ترکمان			+			
	مخفل آرا				+		
9.	بهار دانش	PNS 214	+	+	+	+	+
10.	متن نزهت الارواح		+	+			
	نزهت الارواح				+		

Appendix 2

Nos.	Titles	Call. Nos.	PNS 39	PNS 169	PNS 198	PNS 281	PNS 321
11.	تاريخ عبدا لله خانی	PNS 205	+	+	+	+	+
12.	حبيب السير		+			+	+
	تاريخ حبيب السير			+			
	حبيب السر				+		
13.	دیوان دوورقه امیر نوایی	TNS 9	+		+		
	دیوان امیر نوایی			+			
	ديوان دوورقه نوايي					+	
	ديوان نوابي						+
14.	دوورقه جنك از هر نوع كتابها	PNS	+				
	جنك از هر نوع كتابها بدست خط فقير			+			
	جنك دوورقه		_		+	+	+
15.	تيمورنامه مولانا حاتفي	PNS 309	+	+	+		
	تيمورنامه	507				+	+
16.	يكمجلد كتاب بخط ميرعلى و بديكر خوشنويسان	PNS 285	+	+			
	جنك بخط مير على و خوشخطها ديكري				+		
	یکمجلد جنل دست خط میرعلی					+	+
17.	ديوان مولانا شوكت	PNS 317	+				
	ديوان شوكت			+		+	+
	دیوان شوکت مع قصاید و دیوان میر علی				+		
18.	تاريخ راقم		+	+	+	+	+
19.	محبوب القلوب نوايى		+	+			
	محبوب القلوب				+	+	+
20.	ديوان ميرزا بيدل حاشيه دار		+				
	ديوان ميرزا بيدل			+			
	ديوان ميرزا بيدل مع حاشيه				+		
21.	صلوات شفا الامراض	ANS 243	+		+		
	صلوات الشفا الامراض بخط يونس خواجه			+			
	صلوات الشفا بخط يونس خواجه					+	+
22.	صلوات دلايل الخيرات		+	+	+		
23.	مناقب غوثيه محبوبيه	PNS 298	+	+			
	مناقب غوثيه				+	+	+

Nos.	Titles	Call. Nos.	PNS 39	PNS 169	PNS 198	PNS 281	PNS 321
24.	<b>م</b> مسه امیر خسرو دهلوی	PNS 180	+	+			
	لحمسه امير خسرو	180			+	+	+
25.	جهل ناموس ابو توراب نخشبی	PNS 296	+	+	+		
	جهل ناموس	250				+	+
26.	تاريخ راقم ديكر مع انيس الاشاق	PNS 175	+	(+)			1
	تاریخ راقم و رساله انیس الاشاق در یك بحلد				+		
27.	دلایل الخیرات دیکر		+				
	دلايل الخيرات مع شرح قصايدات شريف				+		
	دلایل الخیرات صلوات کبیر در یکمجلد					+	+
28.	شواهد نبوت نحوترين خطى	PNS 192	+				
29.	بیدلجه مع مثنوی ناظم و نکات و قصایدات	PNS 321	+				
	ديوان بيدل مثنوى ناظم نكات مع قصايد	521				+	
	ديوان بيدل مثنوي ناظم نكات مع قصايد دست خط يونس خواجه						+
30.	شرح نزهت الارواح	PNS 219					
	دیوان حضرت محی	217					
	دیوان حضرت خواجه						
	دیوان مولوی دامی م قصاید						
	فرهنك حضرت خواجه						
	مكتوبات						
	مقامات						
	أین هفت کتاب در یك بحلد		+				
	شرح نزهت الارواح					+	+
31.	فتوح الحرمين المصور	PNS 189		+			
	فتوح الحرمين الشرفين				+		
	فتوح الحرمين						+
32.	ديوان مولانا وحشى	PNS 315		+			
	دیوان مولانا وحشی مع قصاید و				+		
	ديوان وحشى مع قصابد						+
33.	شرح معما					+	+
34.	رساله در بیت مولانا رومی که اول مثنویست					+	
35.	رقعه (؟) دلایل الارواح					+	+
36.	طبّ يوسف				+		

# Notes

1. Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi "Novoĭ serii" Gosudarstvennoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki im. Saltykova-Shchedrina (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the "New Series" in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library: the Alphabetical Catalogue) (Leningrad, 1973), p. 34, No. 100 (PNS 175); p. 81, No. 239 (PNS 180); p. 146, No. 437 (PNS 192); p. 61, No. 189 (PNS 309); p. 144, No. 430 (PNS 205).

2. About the Kaufman collection, see O. Vasilyeva, "Oriental manuscripts in the National Library of Russia", Manuscripta Orientalia, II/2 (1996), pp. 19-35.

3. Otchet Imperatorskoĭ publichnoĭ biblioteki za 1871 god (Printed Report of the Imperial Public Library of 1871) (St. Petersburg, 1872), pp. 14 (Б), 16 (Д), 18 (H, O, Π), 19 (P), 20 (Ц), 21 (Ч).

4. A. Storey, Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey, Section I. Qur'ānic literature (London, 1927), pp. 11-2, No. 19.

5. G. I. Kostygova, Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Gosudarstvennoï Publichnoĭ biblioteki im. Saltykova-Shchedrina (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts in the Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library: the Alphabetical Catalogue) (Leningrad, 1989), p. 18, No. 49.

6. Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseš Akademii nauk Uzbekskoš SSR (A Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences), ed. A. A. Semyenov (Tashkent, 1963), vi, Nos. 4186, 4564, 4568, 4728.

# Illustrations

- Fig. 1. Folio 520 of manuscript TNS 9 with verses by Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm written in his own hand, 47.0 × 26.0 cm.
- Fig. 2. Muqawwā binding made by Mīrzā Faydallāh şahhāf, bearing his signature, manuscript PNS 315, 20.7 × 13.0 cm.

# MANUSCRIPTS CONSERVATION

M. Blank, N. Stavisky

# CONSERVATION OF MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA\*

The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York is the repository of one of the great collections of source material for Jewish studies. It includes manuscripts, *genizah* fragments, incunables, sixteenth to twentieth century broadsides, a unique collection of *ketubot* (marriage contracts), *Megillot Esther* (Esther scrolls), archival material, graphics, and rare printed books from the sixteenth century to the present time. The Library is used extensively by international scholars as well as faculty and students of the Seminary.

# 1. Maimonides Material

Over the ages, Jewish communities have followed an established custom whereby worn texts, containing God's name, are not discarded but are gathered in a designated place called a genizah, usually prior to collective burial. Over one hundred years ago, the value of such a depository was discovered in the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustat, old Cairo. The astounding thing was that this hidden collection contained not only sacred texts, but a whole gamut of documents -- literary works, poetry, scientific and grammatical texts, philosophical treatises, letters written by both historical personalities and ordinary people, ketubot (marriage contracts), commercial inventory records and legal documents, and lost or previously unknown works such as those relating to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ecclesiasticus. These contents shed a new light on a period of Jewish history, particularly in the Islamic world, dating from about the tenth century C.E., about which very little was previously known.

The first significant collector of *genizah* material was a Russian Karaite, Abraham Firkovich, active during the 1860s. His collection was later sold to the Imperial Russian Library in St. Petersburg. In 1897, Professor Solomon Schechter, the primary discoverer of the *genizah*, acquired by far the greatest number of *genizah* documents which are now at Cambridge University. The Seminary collection contains approximately 30,000 fragments [1], the bulk of which were purchased from the great Anglo-Jewish collector Elkan Nathan Adler (1861—1946) in 1923. Adler, an inveterate traveler and lawyer, was among the first laymen to appreciate the significance of the *genizah* fragments he acquired during two trips to Egypt, in 1888 and 1895— 6, prior to Schechter's acquisition.

This paper describes some selected methods and mate-

rials used in the conservation of three types of objects in the

collection: Maimonides genizah fragments, a German thir-

teenth century Mahzor (a holy day prayer book), and

a fourteenth century Spanish Haggadah. While the tech-

niques described are well known in the United States, they

are probably less familiar to practicing conservators in

other countries. Though not every stage of the conservation

process is described, we hope the selection will be of inter-

est to our European colleagues.

In 1996 and 1997, the Library undertook the conservation of 23 manuscript fragments from manuscripts by Moses Maimonides (1138-1204) and his descendants. Maimonides — who was born in Cordoba, Spain and who died in Fustat, Egypt — was a philosopher, codifier and commentator on Jewish law and texts, a renowned physician, and the seminal figure in Jewish life during the posttion project had been almost completed, an additional fragment was found and identified.)

All 23 fragments originate from the Cairo genizah, with two coming from Schechter's own collection, a gift to the Seminary from his widow Mathilde. This famous letter, signed by Maimonides himself, solicits funds from the

<sup>\*</sup> The authors wish to thank the following people for their help and encouragement: Dr Mayer Rabinowitz, Librarian of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America (J.T.S.L.); Rabbi Jerry Schwarzbard, The Henry R. and Miriam Ripps Schnitzer Librarian for Special Collections, J.T.S.L.; Sharon Lieberman Mintz, Assistant Curator of Jewish Art, J.T.S.L.; Dr Jay Rovner, Manuscript Bibliographer, J.T.S.L.; Evelyn M. Cohen, Assistant Professor of Art History, Stern College for Women, Yeshiva University, New York; Deborah M. Evetts, Book Conservator, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Patricia Reyes, Mellon Conservator, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Dr I. P. Mokretsova and V. Z. Grigorieva, organizers of the Moscow Conference; and Shalom Lipner, for his editing.

community to free Jewish hostages taken captive in the Egyptian town of Bilbays in 1168 by the crusader king of Jerusalem, Amalric. Other items, all from the Adler collection, include a fragment from Maimonides' "Guide for the Perplexed", two draft pages of his *Mishneh Torah*, various responsa, a letter congratulating Maimonides on his second marriage, and various documents and compositions connected with Maimonides and his descendants, or associated with them.

Twenty-two items are on paper; one is on parchment. The sizes vary greatly, from  $8.5 \times 8.5$  cm and  $20.5 \times 28.9$  cm to  $42.0 \times 14.0$  cm, with many variations in between. The paper is generally gray-beige, with no distinct chain or laid lines. An examination of one document with a polarizing microscope indicated that the fiber was hemp. Sheet formation is generally uneven, with clumps of fiber indicating poor beating. Most fragments have been abraded, with numerous tears, cracks, folds and holes. The pH varied between 5.0 and 7.0.

The ink is black, occasionally brownish-black, and appears to be iron-gall. It is generally stable when tested with a drop of deionized water and blotted with filter paper. Very few fragments showed sensitivity to water when tested in this manner. The whole group was soiled with grime and stains of unknown origin, and many appeared to be water stained. Some were repaired (or rather, held together) with crude patches, yellowed paper tape and/or pressure sensitive tape (*figs. 1, 2*).

In the late 1950s, eleven fragments were covered on both sides with silk crepeline. The silk was adhered with a flour paste [2] under strong pressure, and was now a brownish color. The silk often veiled the text, and the strong pressure left an imprint of the textile's weave on the ink itself. The paste changed the texture of the originally soft paper by making the sheet extremely stiff. After consultation with the curators and outside conservation colleagues, it was decided to remove the deteriorating silk.

The preferred technique was to remove the silk crepeline when dry, peeling it off the sheet with the aid of tweezers and scalpels. The disadvantage in this method what that the stiff layer of adhesive remained embedded in the paper, though it was later reduced with damp blotter cleaning. There were also some stubborn documents which did not allow the peeling away of the silk.

A test was made on one document to remove the silk after humidification with damp blotters through Gore-Tex [3]. A sheet of protective lens tissue, followed by the Gore-Tex, the smooth side down, was laid on the object. Damp blotters were placed on top of the Gore-Tex, which was then covered with a Plexiglas sheet lightly weighted to both enhance contact between the object and the moist blotters, and to avoid water evaporation. Frequent inspection ensured the removal of the silk after 10—15 minutes, when the paste was adequately humidified and softened. In one case, while the silk came away easily, ghost writing was visible on the fabric.

When the ink was stable, the fragment was protected with lens paper and damp blotter "washed" between several layers of slightly moist filter paper on recto and verso. A lightly weighted Plexiglas sheet was laid on top. Frequent inspection and changes of soiled filter paper indicated the extraction of stains and degradation products from the paper, and proved to be a very gentle and effective method of cleaning. The paste layer on previously silked items was also reduced, though not completely removed. The paper became more flexible and the inter-fiber bonding strengthened as a result of the humidification process.

Most of the unsilked documents were cleaned in textfree areas with Groomstick [4], a soft, kneadable and malleable eraser primarily composed of vulcanized rubber with a neutral pH. The advantages of gaining access to even very minute areas without touching the letters of text are obvious. Particles of dirt are trapped in the Groomstick and when used with a very light touch, no discernible residue is left. The fragments appeared fresher after the removal of the surface dirt.

Unsightly paper patches were removed with a poultice of 4% methyl cellulose [5] which softened the adhesive, applied over a swatch of thin Japanese tissue or lens paper for easy removal. Sometimes the poultice was mixed with 0.001% amylase enzyme [6]. Paste residue was removed with home-made bamboo and Teflon spatulas. A final local rinse on the suction disc ensured total removal of any remaining adhesive or enzyme.

The suction disc was also useful in the removal of pressure sensitive tape, and particularly stubborn stains.

Tears were usually repaired with Japanese tengujo paper impregnated in our lab with 5%—10% sturgeon glue [7]. Tengujo paper is made of kozo fibers, and is both strong and quite transparent. The paper is laid onto a Mylar [8] support, pasted out with warm isinglass, and left to dry. We cut the repair patch with a scalpel directly on the Mylar which was placed over the document on a light box, taking great care not to pierce the mylar itself. The repair patch was peeled off the Mylar, activated with a tiny bit of dilute paste, laid down over the tear, and then weighted down with a small weight over hollytex [9], blotter and Plexiglas. Holes were repaired with compatible papers, usually tinted with water-color, or with fiber fills, and the document was humidified and flattened between hollytex, blotters, Plexiglas and weights.

Each object, including the one written on a parchment support, was inlaid in a handmade hemp and cotton paper called Akbar (fig. 2), made by Griffen Mill specifically for the conservation of Islamic documents [10]. The fragment was laid on a light box and protected by a sheet of mylar, with a sheet of Akbar paper positioned on top. The contours of the object were lightly traced in pencil. After removing the Akbar paper, a sharp scalpel cut away the center shape about a millimeter beyond the pencil tracing. The fragment was placed in the Akbar frame, and attached with thin strips of isinglass paper following the contours of the document and overlapping both the original and the inlay by about a millimeter. Should it ever be necessary to remove the fragment from the inlay, this can be easily accomplished. The inlay technique makes it possible to examine the document without actually touching the original paper.

The Library's curators required certain specifications to be met for the final housing, designed and executed by Deborah Evetts [11]. These were that the fragments be well protected and that, while access to scholars would be assured, no damage to the documents would ensue. The housing was to provide ample protection during possible transportation to other institutions for exhibition purposes while, at the same time, presenting an aesthetically pleasing appearance. A mat assembly, front and back, was constructed from two laminated 4 mil. cream-colored museum quality boards with windows cut out. Mylar film, which is



inert, covers the windows but does not actually touch the object, since it is attached between the two walls of the double board; this space protects the ink from the static electricity of the mylar. Both recto and verso can easily be examined through the windows on either side. The mat is bound into an elegant linen-covered folder, and several folders of the same size are kept in specially made boxes, seven boxes in all.

# 2. Esslingen Mahzor

An interesting story is connected with the identification of the Esslingen *Mahzor*. During a visit to the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana. Amsterdam, in the summer of 1989, Evelyn M. Cohen, the then Curator of Jewish Art at the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, viewed a slide presentation including a page of the Esslingen *Mahzor*. Cohen recognized its close resemblance to a manuscript in the Seminary's collection that was lacking a colophon and, indeed, the two volumes — an ocean apart — turned out to be the first and second parts of the same oeuvre. Evelyn M. Cohen and Emile G. L. Schrijver have described the codicology and decoration of the manuscript in great detail [12].

The Esslingen *Mahzor* is a High Holy day prayer book written on calf parchment by the scribe Qalonimus ben Judah in the town of Esslingen, near present day Stuttgart, Germany. The colophon states that the *mahzor* was completed on 28 Tevet 5050 (12 January 1290), which makes it the earliest signed, dated and localized German manuscript known. These types of *mahzorim* were primarily intended for the use of the *hazzan* (cantor) in the synagogue, and generally contained the community's prayers and *piyyutim* (liturgical poems) for the holidays.

Most of the text is written in Ashkenazic square script, though some liturgical instructions and glosses appear in semi-cursive script. The ink is black, occasionally with a reddish-brown halo, and is probably a mixture of iron gall and carbon ink. Initial words are often decorated in red and/or black, as are dragon-like and floral motifs. A few illuminated pages (*plate 1*, see p. 49) are painted in bright gouache, in blue, yellow, pink, brown and green colors.

The Seminary copy, which has 17 quires and 135 leaves, is probably missing the first quire. The pages measure  $46.2 \times 35.2$  cm, generally with 26 lines per page. Over the course of 3 re-bindings, the pages have been cropped at the head and tail, and up to the prick marks on the outer margins.

The manuscript had six overlays adhered to the original pages. They were written in a greyish-toned ink and in a different hand from the original: three on goat parchment and three on calf.

Both volumes were bound in identical, eighteenth-century, tight-backed brown calf leather over pasteboard bindings. The New York manuscript had a detached upper board, a partly missing spine covering and unraveled sewing. More seriously, the inappropriate tight back with its glued up spine was causing cockling and distortion of the pages, potentially endangering the stability of the text and decoration. A decision was therefore made to re-bind the volume out of house, in a style compatible with the period of the manuscript; the disbinding and treatment of the pages were to be done in house.

The manuscript was, on the whole, reasonably well preserved. The first leaves were badly soiled, and the codex pages displayed general grime, accretions and stains. Cockling, creasing and flaking ink were apparent. Some of the holes and tears were in danger of being extended as the leaves were flexed and turned, and a few areas of corrosive ink which had eaten through the support caused concern. There was an abundance of white, brown and grey candle wax stains throughout the volume. Bloom on the text (especially on the large letters), which turned out to be the re-depositing of crumbled wax deposits, was a serious problem likely to get worse with the passage of time.

Tears and holes deemed unlikely to be extended were not touched. However, tears which had not been previously stitched or repaired, and holes caused by corroded ink, were repaired with gold-beater's skin. Goldbeater's skin [13], a transparent membrane prepared from the lining of a cow's stomach, is degreased with acetone and then rubbed with pumice powder or Fuller's earth. It can be toned, before mounting onto Japanese paper with a 3% solution of Klucel G (hydroxypropylcellulose) in ethanol for easier handling. An appropriate patch is cut out and adhered to the damaged area with parchment glue, usually from both sides. Later, the paper laminate can be removed, leaving a transparent repair. An infill of Japanese paper, such as Kitakata, can occasionally be sandwiched in between the two layers of goldbeater's skin.

The whitish bloom mentioned above, evident to the naked eye on most pages, especially on the oversized letters that frequently appear in the text, diminished the clarity of the scribe's clear black strokes on the cream parchment. When examined under a Nikon stereo microscope, it was clear that the deposits, sometimes in the form of a thin film. sometimes as tiny droplets, were caused by wax deposits. The obvious source was the cracking and powdering candle drippings evident on many pages. Although we had originally intended to leave the wax undisturbed, as evidence of the use and history of the *mahzor*, we decided to carefully remove the large drops of wax mechanically, with bamboo spatulas, to avoid future obfuscation of the text. Passing a Magic Rub eraser over the bloom of the large letters restored their black appearance, by consolidating the wax and changing the refractive index.

The six overlays previously mentioned had been stuck to the original leaves with animal glue adhesive [14]. Damp blotters were therefor applied to the overlays through a sandwich of hollytex and Gore-Tex, covered with Plexiglas and weights, and left to humidify and loosen the glue for two to five hours.

The overlays were then carefully peeled off to reveal the underlying text. As much of the thick layer of glue as possible was removed from both surfaces with Teflon spatulas and cotton swabs. The separated sheets were stretched and flattened between hollytex, dry blotters, Plexiglas and weights, leaving the conjoint leaf untouched.

The uncovering of the original text after hundreds of years seemed very dramatic to us, but it turned out that the hidden text contained only slight textual variations or



changes in the order of certain passages, possibly indicating that the codex had been physically removed to another town where the order of liturgy was slightly different.

The overlays were hinged onto their original positions

ferent. binding, in a style appropriate to the period of the manuscript. **3. Graziano** Haggadah
ning of the a strip of curtain weights [16] was lightly draped over the

by Deborah Evetts, thus enabling scholars to view both the

original and emended texts. Evetts also executed a new

Probably written in Spain, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Graziano Haggadah takes its name from its eighteenth-century Italian owner, Rabbi Abraham Joseph Solomon Graziano of Modena. A description of the manuscript and its peregrinations prior to its acquisition by the Jewish Theological Seminary from the collection of Elkan Nathan Adler has appeared in a study by Evelyn M. Cohen [15]. The text, read at the festive seder table on Passover, recounts the biblical epic of the exodus of the Jewish people from Egypt. This particular manuscript, with initial letters, decorations (plate 2, see p. 52) and illustrations richly illuminated in gouache, silver and thickly-cushioned gold leaf on gesso, is written in black and brown ink in Sephardic square script. It consists of 35 parchment leaves,  $25.0 \times 19.0$  cm, and had been re-bound in a brown leather binding. The Haggadah is heavily soiled and stained with wine, which possibly occurred during the seder when it is mandatory to drink four cups of wine.

The immediate and most serious problem was the extensive flaking and loss of both ink and pigment, dramatically visible during examination under a stereo microscope (fig. 3). Loose flakes of paint moved when barely touched by a soft sable brush or sharpened bamboo stick. The instructions of the curators were that both the pigments and ink be consolidated without disbinding the volume.

Parchment scraps were cut into small 1 cm squares and soaked overnight in distilled water. They were then covered with fresh water and simmered over low heat in a double boiler for about 5 hours, with the scum being constantly skimmed off. The resulting solution was filtered through several layers of cheesecloth, and poured into ice cube trays to set.

A book cradle was constructed out of foam core in order to support the *Haggadah* during consolidation, and a strip of curtain weights [16] was lightly draped over the open leaves to keep them in place and prevent them from disturbing the area being treated [17]. Parchment size was diluted until barely tacky when tested between the thumb and middle finger. A few drops of ethanol were added to break the surface tension. This solution was kept at a warm temperature in a small beaker that was placed in a small pyrex dish half filled with water placed on a small hot plate (of the sort usually used for keeping a cup of coffee warm).

The consolidation was carried out under a Nikon stereo microscope, at a magnification of between 10 to 30 times. A very fine, long-haired sable brush (size 00) introduced a small amount of ethanol into the area to be consolidated; this was followed by another brush loaded with warm parchment size. The brush was applied under the loose flakes of pigment and around the perimeter of the losses, and the relaxed and loose paint was drawn down to the parchment support by capillary action. Sometimes this procedure had to be repeated a few times. On the occasions when the flakes of paint did not return to the plane, they were coaxed into position with the help of a beveled minibamboo stick or Teflon spatula, through a strip of siliconized mylar, once they were almost dry. No size was brushed or sprayed on the surface of the manuscript. There was no visible change of color to the treated areas, neither was any surface sheen introduced (fig. 4). The success of the consolidation was monitored under the stereo microscope by gently running a pointed bamboo stick or porcupine quill over the treated area.

This method of consolidation is extremely timeconsuming and requires a fair degree of skill and patience. The fact that parchment size is compatible with the original fabrication of the manuscript was a significant factor in our choice of consolidant, and the results of this painstaking process of conservation appear quite satisfactory.

# Notes

1. Jay Rovner, "The computerized genizah cataloguing project of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America", Shofar, 8/4 (Summer, 1990).

2. A starch test with 0.13 g iodine in a solution of 2.6 g potassium iodide in 5 ml water, diluted to 100 ml before use, gave a positive result, indicated by a deep blue color. See "Spot tests in the American Institute for Conservation", *Paper Conservation Catalogue*, 7th edn. (October, 1990), p. 26.

3. Membrane of expanded polytetrafluoroethylene laminated onto polyester felt. W. L. Gore Associates Inc., Elkton, Md. 21921.

4. Purchased from TALAS. 568 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10012. See Conservation Catalogue, op. cit., 8th edition (1992), pp. 22-3.

5. 400 centipoises. Sigma Chemical Company, P. O. B. 14508, St. Louis, Mo. 63178.

6. Sigma a-Amylase, Type IIA, Catalogue No. A-6380. Sigma Chemical Company.

7. T. Petukhova and S. D. Bonadies, "Sturgeon glue for painting consolidation in Russia", *Journal of the American Institute of Conservation*, 32/1 (1993), pp. 23–31, and Sarah Foskett, "An investigation into the properties of isinglass", *SSCR Journal*, 5/4 (November, 1994), pp. 11–4.

8. Polyester plastic film made by Du Pont.

9. Spun-bonded polyester, purchased from TALAS.

10. Purchased from Falkiner Fine Papers, 76 Southampton Row, London WC1 4AR, England.

11. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

12. Evelyn M. Cohen and Emile G. L. Schrijver, "The Esslingen Mahzor: a description of the 'New Amsterdam' and 'Old Amsterdam' volumes", Studia Rosenthaliana, 25/1 (1991).

13. Purchased from Z. H. de Groot, Heemraadssingel 255a, 3023 Rotterdam.

14. A positive reaction to a Biuret test for the presence of protein (2% copper sulphate followed by 5% sodium hydroxide) gave a blue color.

15. Evelyn M. Cohen, "The Graziano Haggadah", Outlook, 64/3 (1994), pp. 16-8.

16. Purchased in the notions department of John Lewis, Oxford Street, London WIA1EX.

17. The techniques described were learned from Abigail Quandt, during an internship by Nellie Stavisky at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, during the winter of 1995. Any errors of description are the responsibility of the authors alone.

# Illustrations

- Plate 1. Illuminated page of the Esslingen Mahzor, MS 9344, fol. 2r (see p. 49).
- Plate 2. Graziano Haggadah, MS 9300, fol. 23v, decoration (see p. 52).
- Fig. 1. Letter of Moses Maimonides to Rabbi Pinchas ha'Dayan in Alexandria, describing his extremely arduous daily schedule, MS 8254.14 (before treatment).
- Fig. 2. The same letter (the process of inlaying; transmitted light).
- Fig. 3. Microphotograph of flaking ink, Graziano Haggadah.
- Fig. 4. Graziano Haggadah, fol. 32r (after consolidation).

# ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

P. Zemanek

# **CORPUS LINGUISTICS AND ARABIC**

The corpus linguistics can be characterized as a computeraided analysis of large amounts of texts stored in a machine readable form, which provides empirical data on the language that can be used for further interpretation. The number of corpora (text and speech) and lexical databases available is constantly increasing, as well as the number of institutions that are active in this field. It is of course natural that corpus linguistics is going to witness a fast growth in the near future. That is why it is certainly going to affect the Arabic studies. In this article, we would like to have a look at the possibilities, problems and perspectives of corpus linguistics and Arabic. At the current stage, most of the remarks will be connected with the construction of a corpus.

The fast developments in this field have been so far limited mostly to European languages, where the number of corpora available and those under construction is considerably high. Nowadays, almost every European language has got its own corpus or has such a corpus under preparation. Projects like the Bank of English [1], British National Corpus [2], and many others show the direction in which the corpus linguistics goes today, i.e. first of all quantitative growth, offering researchers more reliable statistical data.

The corpora that are available today can be divided into several types, according to the text type, annotation type and according to their use.

The corpora according to text type are:

1) Balanced corpora that consist of different genres of size proportional to the distribution of a certain text type within the language in question. An example of an attempt to construct a balanced corpus is the Brown Corpus.

2) Pyramidal corpora range from very large samples of a few representative genres to small samples of a wide variety of genres.

3) Opportunistic corpora: their method of the texts acquisition can be characterized by "take what you can get". This makes their construction easier, but, on the other hand, can have consequences for the reliability of the results. It is believed that a huge size of such a corpus avoids the problems with the representativeness of the sample. Sometimes, they are also called "monitoring corpora".

Corpora divided according to annotation type are:

1) Raw, i.e. that text is only tokenized and cleaned [3], no additional tagging is done.

2) PoS tagged: Raw text is annotated with syntactic category at word level (part-of-speech tagging).

3) Treebanks: PoS tagged text is annotated with skeletal syntactic structure. Typically a parse grammar is defined. Corpora are automatically parsed. Parse trees are selected and if necessary corrected by human annotators. Word strings for which no parse tree is found by the grammar are either omitted or manually annotated.

4) Linguistically interpreted corpora: this type of corpora aims at deliberate annotation of various kinds of linguistic information. In a sense the treebanks can be considered a subtype to the linguistically interpreted corpora.

The third criterion that can be used for the corpora classification is their use, where we get the corpora used for training, mostly statistical models for natural language processing and speech processing; corpora used for testing, i.e. for evaluation of statistical models after training.

Besides, there are also corpora used for speech recognition or speech generation. Such a type of corpora is of minor importance for Modern Standard Arabic as a primarily written language. The corpora of speech in Arabic will be rather limited to the dialects, as is the case with the CALLHOME corpus of Egyptian Arabic speech [4].

The developments of corpus linguistics in connection with Arabic are not that many at present. There are some corpora that are used for research, but most of them are only in a raw form, i.e. they are not tagged for the morphological, syntactical or other type of linguistic information. According to my knowledge, the only corpus so far which has been announced to be fully tagged for both morphological and syntactical information is currently not available for research [5].

On the other hand, it seems that there is time for a start in the Arabic corpus linguistics. There are possibilities of obtaining large amounts of Arabic texts in electronic form. There are several Arabic newspapers that offer their data on CDs ( $al-Hay\bar{a}t$ , London, etc.) or on the Internet ( $al-Ra\bar{y}a$ , Qatar; al-Watan, Qatar, etc.), and several other products where Arabic texts can be obtained. Besides, the Arabic OCR has reached an acceptable standard for cleanly printed texts in modern, computer-generated fonts [6]. This means that the primary condition necessary for a computer-aided analysis of Arabic texts is fulfilled.

For analysis of such a type of data, there is currently no specialized linguistic program available, but there is a number of linguistic software available that can be used for analysis. The basic requirements for a program to be used for analysis of Arabic texts are in fact limited to the use of the whole set of upper ASCII, and preferably a possibility of defining one's own sorting order [7], but there might be a problem, especially with the DOS-based programs, in viewing the results. This may lead to using the software for the analysis, but for interpretation of the results, a software capable of viewing Arabic texts has to be used. This may not be the most comfortable way of work but it meets the second necessary condition for a computeraided analysis of a language.

The Semitic languages like Arabic present for a computer aided analysis of texts a special challenge. The difficulties lie in several points which to a considerable degree influence the type of an ideal corpus of Arabic. These problems are mainly in the special character of the graphemic representation, which is limited mostly to consonants and long vowels. The vocalization signs for short vowels, gemination, case endings, etc., are used only occasionally. This considerably restricts the information in the text and increases the ambiguity of such a type of a text. Another problem is morphotactic, i.e. that certain types of synsemantic words can be added to an autosemantic word in its traditional definition, and these form in its graphemic representation a single string without explicitly marked morphological boundaries.

It is relatively difficult to determine an exact proportion between the graphemes of a vocalized and non-vocalized text, since the ideal cases, i.e. the texts completely free of vocalization signs, are relatively rare. Almost every text has at the most ambiguous places at least some indication of the way the text should be read, especially indications of a passive reading or gemination. On the other hand, it can be argued what a fully vocalized text is. In the so-called substandard norm we witness frequent omission of the case endings and elision of the indefinite article. This fact leads to unclear frontiers on both sides. Nevertheless, when confronting completely non-vocalized text with the fully vocalized one we get the proportion of 1 : 1.584, i.e. the nonvocalized text contains about 63% of the information comprised in the fully vocalized text [8].

Such an increased ambiguity has its consequences on what type of information should be tagged. For dealing with the vocalization, there are several ways of solving this problem. First, it is possible to fully or partially vocalize the text, which would bring the processing of Arabic close to the natural language processing of other types of languages, but, on the other hand, would take the analysis away from what is a basic characteristics of Arabic graphemic representation [9]. Secondly, it is possible to add a fully vocalized form of the token as a tag. It is as laborious as the first solution, and the two solutions are quite close to each other. On the other hand, the solution with only tagging the grammatical information together with a root information would be sufficient for a construction of a vocalized form.

Regarding the type of the Arabic morphology, this ambiguity is even more deepened. The concept of it is based on the so-called consonantal root, which forms the semantic base, and an actual word is derived from it by addition of the vocalic pattern and affixes. For example, the root drs ( $\iota_{\iota_{u}}$ ) is connected with the concept of study and vocalized forms like darasa "to study", durisa "to be studied", darsun "lesson, lecture", madrasatun "school" are examples of the actualization of this root. The first three words are moreover in the non-vocalized text represented by the string drs ( $\omega$ ). The root is also used in European dictionaries of Arabic as the sorting criterion and the real words are ordered under this morphologico-semantic abstraction. In the real text, these consonants are usually surrounded (and in some cases even divided, in case of infixes) by other graphemes. The root consonants can be further changed by assimilation or in case of the so-called weak radicals even elided. This further impedes the identification of the root and its look-up in the dictionary and demands a thorough knowledge of the Arabic derivation system.

According to recent estimations [10], there are about 5,000 roots used in the current Arabic texts, and about 400 derivational patterns, most of them are further ambiguous. On the other hand, there is no root that would make use of all the derivational possibilities. Every root combines only with a smaller group of these patterns, in average 17—18.

Almost every form based on the root is further ambiguous. Only very little number of patterns are fully unambiguous and most of the forms have more possibilities of vocalization. The number of these possibilities usually varies from 2 to 5, but, in extreme cases, it can reach a considerably high numbers. For example, the sequence y'd (jet  $(a_{2}, a_{2})$ ) can be interpreted as belonging to several roots:

— root 'dd (acc) "to count": verb forms: indicative, subjunctive, apocopate;

— root 'wd (عود) "to return": verb forms: apocopate, apocopate of the 4th verbal stem;

— root w'd (gae) "to promise": verb forms: indicative, subjunctive, apocopate.

Altogether, this sequence has 8 possible vocalizations, and this number can be doubled by the use of the passive form (i.e. 16 possibilities). Even more possibilities has the sequence t'd (i=0), where thanks to the fact that Arabic does not formally distinguish in the imperfect verb forms between the 2nd person masculine singular and the 3rd person feminine singular, the number of the possibilities would then be again doubled, i.e. 32 possible forms altogether.

Regarding to the problems mentioned above we assume that the root information is also one of the essential types of information to be contained in a corpus of Arabic. It would certainly be very useful to get some tools that would be able of a (successful) root analysis, but the fulfilment of such a requirement is not met today.

As it has been pointed above, there are also synsemantic words, like particles, prepositions and pronouns, that are prefixed or suffixed to the autosemantic words, based on the root. This means that the concept of a word as one string is seriously changed in the Arabic script. A string can not only form a word, but can consist of several morphological units, like prepositions, the actual word, and suffixed personal or possessive pronouns.

The words that can be prefixed to the word are first of all: the definite article, prepositions (bi-, li-, wa-, etc.), various types of particles (fa-, la-, sa-, etc.). As it was the case above, also here we have a possibility of ambiguity. Sometimes the question whether the first letter belongs to the word or is a prefix to the word can have several solutions, as there is a number of biliteral roots in Arabic that can be identical with the rest of the roots with initial b for example [11].

The suffixed words are limited to personal pronouns only, that can be suffixed both to nouns and verbs. The ambiguity here is not as big as in the preceding case, but still is present, especially in the singular form of the pronouns. The roots beginning with b and ending with h are four in Hans Wehr's dictionary [12], and three of them can be ambiguous, i.e. interpreted as both having h as the final radical or having h suffixed as a pronoun.

Such a situation shows that it would be very useful to have some kind of morphological information available so that these difficulties can be overcome. One possibility is mentioned in Beesley 1996 [13], and it is an automatic morphological analyzer, that should be able to provide the information on the morphological boundaries of the strings and the root. Another possibility, which can be used in corpus linguistics, is to tag the corpus also for morphological information in such a way that it can be used when necessary.

Let us now have a look at basic quantitative data. The figures given here are deducted from a corpus of 100,000 words, from a newspaper news, and most of them are only in a raw form, without more sophisticated analysis, and thus are to be taken only for orientation.

The text corpus consisting of 100,000 words contains only 21,059 tokens [14], and of them, 12,165 occur only once, i.e. 57.7% of the whole corpus consists of isolated tokens. The frequencies between 2 and 10 form another 35.4% of the tokens, i.e. altogether 93.1% of the tokens. These data are summarized in the following table:

# Table 1

Frequency	Number	%	Frequency	Number	%
1	12,165	57.7	6	445	2.1
2	3,179	15.1	7	300	1.4
3	1,471	7	8	238	1.1
4	873	4.1	9	188	0.9
5	632	3	10	163	0.7

The distribution of tokens frequency lower than 10

We have tried to count the number of verbs in the tokens appearing more than 10 times, i.e. of 1,558 tokens. The whole number of verbs appearing in this set is 196 [15], but this number contains also various representations of verbs, there are, for example, 9 forms of the verb کان, 8 forms of the verb قام, etc., which means that the actual number of various verbs will be considerably lower. The following table shows the 10 most common verbs together with their various manifestations:

### Table 2

Nos.	Verb.	Frequency	Manifestations
1.	قال	588	(15) تقول ,(27) وتقول ,(36) يقول ,(37) ويقول ,(53) قالت ,(116) قال ,(292) وقال (12) قالوا
2.	کان	378	(20) سیکون ,(24) کانوا  ,(30) یکن  ,(38) یکون  ,(47) وکانت  ,(51) تکون ,(141) کانت
			(11) سىتكىن (16) تكن
3.	اكد	155	(11) واكدت ,(12) تؤكد ,(12) يؤكد ,(14) اكدت ,(51) اكد ,(55) واكد
4.	اشار	146	(11) وتشیر ,(12) تشیر (16) یشار ,(22) واشارت ,(75) واشار
5.	تم	144	(68) سيتم ,(22) تتم (41) يتم (68) تم
6.	قام	133	(25) يقوم ,(27) قام ,(29) قامت ,(52) تقوم
7.	عمل	108	(11) عملت ,(19) يعمل ,(23) تعمل (55) عمل
8.	ليس	94	(23) وليس ,(25) ليست, (46) ليس
9.	يمكن	73	(73) يكن
10.	اضاف	69	(11) واضافت ,(58) واضاف

### The 10 most frequent verbs



The table clearly shows that it is only the most common words that appear in a 100,000 words text with frequency big enough to draw some conclusions on their behaviour [16]. It is to be expected that less common verbs will need much bigger corpus to provide enough data on their use in the language.

These types of difficulties more or less determine the shape of a corpus of Arabic. It is obvious that for more sophisticated analysis, the corpus should be tagged, and the minimum requirements for the tags types are: (i) tagging morphological boundaries; (ii) part-of-speech tags; and (iii) providing the root information. The size of the corpus has to be relatively big, as showed the analysis of some characteristics of a 100,000 words text, which obviously provided enough information only on the most common words. The example of the Brown corpus of English (1 million words) shows that even such a size is not big enough for a proper analysis of a language, and in case of Arabic as a flectional language it is clear that the frequencies of especially verbs would be much less. It is quite

probable that, e.g., for a lexical studies, even a corpus consisting of 10 million words might not be big enough.

This lead us to the decision to start work on a corpus of Arabic [17], aimed at modern standard Arabic, especially from the last 30 years. The projected size of the corpus is now 30 million words, and we assume that this size might be big enough even for lexical studies. The basic characteristics of the corpus would be: a balanced corpus with tags for morphological boundaries, part-of-speech, and root.

As the corpus is projected as a balanced one, we will try to cover as many varieties of Arabic as possible, i.e. we will gather texts from all major regions of Arabic, i.e. the Arabic Maghreb, Mashreq, and the Gulf area. It will cover both texts from periodicals (newspapers, magazines) and books, and will try to find a balance between various language styles.

Below, there is one of possible shapes of the corpus, certainly not free of problems and points that have to be further discussed.

1	a	bl	e	3

Number of the token	Token	Morphological boundaries	PoS tag [18]	Root
0001	وكان	و-كان	VPBe	کون
0002	الخلفاء	ال-خلفاء	NNP	خلف
0003	من	من	Ргер	
0004	الجهة	ال–جهة	NPS	وجه
0005	الاخرى	ال-اخرى	NAs	،خر
0006	يعرفون	<u>ي</u> عرفون	VIP3m	عرف
0007	حاجة	حاجة	NNS	حوج
0008	لأمراء	ال–أمراء	NNP	ءمر
0009	المسلمين	المسلمين	NNP	سلم
	الى	الى	Prep	
0011	رضاهم	رضا-هم	NNsP	رضو

### Notes

1. A constantly growing commercial project of a monitoring corpus of English. Available at the University of Birmingham. A number of words in the corpus announced in summer 1996 was 320 million.

2. A project directed by the Oxford University Press, a balanced 100 million words corpus.

3. I.e. only the control characters are eliminated, only headlines and paragraphs are possibly marked.

4. The CALLHOME Egyptian Arabic corpus of telephone speech, available from the Linguistic Data Consortium, University of Philadelphia, consists of 120 unscripted telephone conversations between native speakers of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. For more details, cf. the LDC Home page (http://www.ldc.upenn.edu).

5. This corpus has been developed by the Sakhr Company (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, (http://www.sakhr.com). According to my knowledge, it is available only internally for the company.

6. E.g., the 3rd version of Sakhr's Automatic Reader offers acceptable results even without the necessity of training the fonts. Besides, there are products offered by Caere (Arabic OmniPage) and TexPert for Macintosh. In the reviews that appeared in the electronic discussion lists (especially ITISALAT), the Sakhr's product seems to be superior to the other ones. According to my own experience, with quality printouts the success rate can reach 99%, requiring only very little postprocessing.

7. The last requirement is not really serious, since the character sequence on both DOS/Windows and Macintosh platforms more or less retain the character order of the Arabic alphabet.

8. The completely non-vocalized text in the extent of 1,000 graphemes resulted in our analysis in 1,584 graphemes of its fully vocalized counterpart, i.e. with the representation of all the short vowels, endings, and geminated consonants. 9. This might not be that serious for a linguist, but it is impractical in two aspects. First, the acquisition of new data would be very laborious, and secondly, any practical applications might fail to analyse real Arabic texts.

10. Kenneth R. Beesley, "Arabic finite-state morphological analysis and generation". Paper read at COLING-96, Copenhagen, August 1996, 6 pp.

11. The ambiguous cases can be quite numerous, for example, in Hans Wehr's dictionary, the roots beginning with bj are 8 and of them, 6 can be interpreted as consisting of the preposition bi- and a biradical root.

12. Hans Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic. An enlarged and improved version of Hans Wehr's Arabisches Woerterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart, English translation by J. M. Cowan (Wiesbaden 1961–1994).

13. Beesley, "Arabic finite-state morphological analysis and generation".

14. The "token" here is understood as any string between two spaces. This certainly means that there are strings that contain more than one word, i.e. there are strings that consist of prefixes (prepositions, particles, etc.), word and suffixes (suffixed pronouns), as it has been described here above. Another fact worth of attention is that these tokens do not distinguish between various types of parts of speech, i.e. one token can represent both verbs and nouns. This has also been mentioned here above.

15. This number is a number of various verb forms appearing in the set. There are certainly strings that can be interpreted as both verbs or nouns, but since they can be interpreted as both, it can be assumed that these strings, at least to some extent, represent also verbs.

16. It is obvious that the types of verbs here correspond very strongly with the type of the text used for the collection of data. Most of the verbs are typical for a political news type of text.

17. From 1997, this project is supported by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic, under the name Thesaurus Linguae Arabicae.

18. The tags used here are only provisional, there are still problems to be discussed. E.g., there is little difference between names and adjectives in Arabic, quite often a word can serve both as a noun or an adjective. Another problem is the representation of affixed words, and there are many other issues that will need a careful consideration.





Plate 1

# PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

L. N. Menshikov

# AN ALBUM OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE FAMOUS CHINESE NOVELS

Among the Chinese manuscripts of the so-called "Nova collection", preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, there is an Album (call number H-13) containing sixty miniatures. The first forty-five of them depict the characters of the famous Chinese novel "Three Kingdoms" (三國演義) by Lo Guan-zhong (14th century A.D.). The last fifteen are illustrations to another famous novel — "A Dream in the Red Chamber" (紅樓夢) by Cao Xue-qin (1713—1764).

The Album represents a typical book produced in China. It contains sixty sheets of thick, dense, white paper, measuring  $22.0 \times 31.5$  cm. The same type of paper is used for the front and back covers. The front and back covers are of patterned silk glued on paper. The sheets are folded in two and sewn so that the folds of the sheets face the outside, while the edges of the sheets are hidden in the back of the Album.

The Album bears no common title. There are the following records on the front cover:

1) κum. — an abbreviation written in black ink at the top right corner (a remainder of a former call number);

2)  $U_{HG}$ . 365 — the 1937 call number, written in violet ink by K. K. Flug.

3) *Uhb. 1953, No. 339* — call number written in violet ink by M. P. Volkova.

There is also a stamp with the legend *Uncmumym Bocm.* AH CCCP ("The Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences").

The current call number of the Album (H-13) is placed on the back of the binding.

At the bottom of the front cover it is possible to see the traces of a lost label measuring  $11.0 \times 7.5$  cm. This size corresponds to that of the labels (ex-libris) which were used in the manuscript depository of the Asiatic Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry. It allows us to assume that the Album was transferred to the Asiatic Museum (and after that to the manuscript fund of the present St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies where it is preserved now) from the Asiatic Department in 1864, together with some other manuscripts, after the Department had been closed. If so, the first record mentioned above may be a remainder of the call number given to the Album in the full inventory of the books transferred from the Asiatic

Department and the 1937 inventory, made by K. K. Flug in the Asiatic Museum, are lost. The card catalogue of the "Nova collection", made by K. K. Flug, is luckily extant, but it contains only scanty information on the manuscripts.

The recto of the Album sheets comprise water-colours measuring  $15.2 \times 19.5$  cm. The employment of pale, transparent paints is their general feature. The following paints are used: light blue, grey, yellowish, light green, applegreen, light brown, beige, pink, and purple. The contours of drawings are outlined in dark grey, almost black paint. Some details, such as the eyes, headgears, haircuts, grips of weaponry, the toes of footwear, etc. are painted in bright blue, red, green, brown, and black.

Water-colours illustrating each of the novels display distinctive features. Illustrations to the novel "A Dream in the Red Chamber" are distinguished by details of interiors and landscapes which are depicted more thoroughly. For example, the bamboo leaves and leaves of other plants are especially notable in this respect. This attention to detail is lacking in the illustrations to the novel "Three Kingdoms", where interiors and landscapes are only scarcely elaborated. The "Three Kingdoms" illustrations focus on garments and some other objects which are depicted in a clear-cut dark grey line. They contrast with other details of water-colours. As for the illustrations to "A Dream in the Red Chamber", they lack such contrasts and look more gentle and refined. Colour contrasts in the "Three Kingdoms" water-colours are much sharper.

The illustrations to the "Three Kingdoms" are provided with inscriptions on the upper margins, made by brush in a standard *kay* script. They are extensive and provide characteristics of heroes. The inscriptions betray the firm skilful hand of the scriber. At times Chinese characters are not written in traditional fashion (for example, 曽 instead of 暫; 諡 instead of 謚; 献 instead of 獻 etc.).

One can see the same type of inscriptions in the illustrations to "A Dream in the Red Chamber", but they are executed in a smaller script which seems to be more elegant (possibly, the scribe was a woman). The inscriptions give only the names of the novel's characters and their Manchu equivalents. These inscriptions take up only a part of the upper margins' space. They are framed, while the inscriptions to the "Three Kingdoms" have no frame.

The above mentioned peculiarities allow us to conclude that there were two different painters, who had their individual vision of how to illustrate the genre scenes of the novels, but both of them seem to have belonged to one and the same school.

A characteristic feature of the Album is an explanatory text in Russian on the bottom margins of fols. 1—20. Its script betrays the calligraphy of the end of the eighteenth century. The Russian inscriptions are made in pen. The Album also has Russian pagination at the upper right corner, above the pictures. The script of Russian inscriptions seems to be very close to that of Z. F. Leontyevsky (1799—1874), who was among the participants of the Peking Orthodox Mission in 1821—1830. The script of the journal he kept

# Illustrations to the novel "Three Kingdoms" (fols. 1-45)

The novel by Lo Guan-zhong "Three Kingdoms", devoted to the events that took place at the end of the second century A.D., begins with the Yellow Bandages revolt (184), describes the turmoil which ensued after this revolt and led to the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 and disintegration of the Chinese state into three separate kingdoms: Wei (to the North of the Yangzi River), Shu (at present the territory of the province Sichuan), and Wu (to the South of the Lower Jangzi). The novel ends with the events immediately before the reunification of China into the Jin state in 264. It has been popular in China so far, its plots having been used in many theatre performances and folk literature.

during this mission gives certain grounds to consider the Album's Russian inscriptions as belonging to Z. F. Leontyevsky [1].

The Album could be dated to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It is known that the novel "A Dream in the Red Chamber" was first published in 1791 and was republished in 1822. B. L. Riftin considers, with reason, that the illustrations in the Album are very close both in their composition and execution to those in the first illustrated publication. The Album may have already been in existence by 1830.

The "Three Kingdoms" novel was perceived as a colossal historical work, the heroes of which had been acknowledged as the historical personages. Its characters are mentioned in historical sources. Illustrations to it in the Album depict these extremely popular Chinese characters.

To give information on the illustrations to the novel and the inscriptions in question (see below), we arrange material as follows. First, Chinese inscriptions are given (under No. 1), then their English translation goes (No. 2). After that an English translation of the inscription in Russian is provided (No. 3), and, finally, some comments by the author of the present paper are given (No. 4).

1\*

- 1.利國孔夫子名丘字仲尾謚號至點師
- The Lie-guo period. There is the Teacher Kong named Qiu. His surname is Zhong-ni, a posthumous title "The Maiden Teacher [who] Attained Perfect Wisdom".
- 3. A philosopher, whose name is Confucius. He was born in 550 B.C. He created a moral philosophy and lived only 73 years.
- 4. Confucius (Kong Qiu), the most venerated philosopher in China, author of an ethical and political teaching which formed the basis of the ideology of the Chinese political system. The extraordinary place of Confucius in the history of China may be the reason for his depiction in the Album. He does not appear among the characters of the novel.

2

# 1.秦始皇诚周逸彤梵書坑儒後死沃丘

- 2. Shi-huang of the Jin dynasty. He destroyed the state Zhou, replaced the tripod, burnt books, buried scholars, then died in the Shaqiu district.
- 3. Qing-she-huang. An emperor who ruled in China in ca. 200 B.C. In the first year of his reign he burnt all books extant in China until then. In the sixth year he began to erect the Great Chinese Wall separating China from the Northern Tartaria.
- 4. Shi-huang of the Jin dynasty (246—210 B.C.) does not appear in the novel. His depiction may have been included in the Album because he was one of the tyrants whose activity was highly disapproved by Chinese tradition.

3

# 」伏生濟南人因書遭火後獨生所計論語

- 2. Fu Sheng, a native of Jinan. After the burning of books, he was the one who knew "Talks and Statements" by heart.
- 3. Fu Sheng lived in the reign of Qing-she-huang; he burnt books. History tells that this old man was of great learning.
- 4. Fu Sheng (b. 260 B.C.), a scholar who, according to Chinese tradition, knew by heart not the "Talks and Statements" by Confucius, but "A Book of History" (Shang shu). By the reign of emperor Wen-di, from the Han dynasty (170—157 B.C.), the scholar was at the age of 90. However, he was able to dictate the text of the book in the wording valid up to now. This hero also does not appear in the novel (see fig. 1).

# 1. 姓瘾名武字子卿奉使單于被用於沙漠

- One who bears the family name Su, the name Wu, surname Zi-qing. He was sent to shanyu and suffered many misfortunes in the Shamo desert.
- 3. Su-wu. This brave man was an ambassador to Tartaria. He is praised by history for his faithfulness to his emperor and love for his country.

<sup>\*</sup> Presentation of Chinese characters in the present article reflects their arrangement in the original.



4. Su Wu (140-60 B.C.), a diplomat, who was sent in 100 B.C. as an ambassador to the leader (shanyu) of the Xiongnu or Huns. This shanyu captured Su Wu and kept him in captivity during 19 years. He had to pasture goats. However, the shanyu was unable to make his prisoner serve him and let him come back to his native land. This character does not appear in the novel.

5

# 1. 曹大家性聪敏脆诗書皇后贵人皆尊為師

- 2. Cao-Dajia, quick-witted by nature, conceived Shi-ji and Shu-ji. The empress and her court ladies venerated her as a teacher.
- 3. Cao-dajia, a woman renowned for her learning and poetry. For some time she was a teacher of the empress and her court ladies.
- 4. Cao-dajia, who also had the name Ban Zhao (33—103), a sister of the famous historian Ban Gu (32—92). She was first a wife of Cao Shi-shu (whence her surname Cao). After her husband's death she was taken to the imperial palace to teach the empress and her court ladies. Her brother died before her, and it was she who completed "The History of the Han Dynasty", started by him \*.

### 6

# 1. 姓 劉 名 備 字 立 德 誠號 昭 烈 皇 帝 漢忠山 蘇 後

- One who bears the family name Liu, the name Bei, the surname Xuan-de, a posthumous title empress Zhao-lie, a descendant of Han Jing-wang from Zhongshan.
- 3. Zhao-lie-di. He was a descendant of prince Ding-wang who hid in the mountains. He was good at military art, brave and wise, which helped him, together with some of his most faithful confederates, to stop the uprisings described in the Chinese book San-guo-zhi and to proclaim himself emperor, etc.
- 4. Liu Bei (d. 223; r. 221—223) was a descendant of the Han emperor Jing-di (r. 156—141 B.C.), of some collateral line. He had risen at the time of the suppression of the Yellow Bandages revolt. After the fall of the Han dynasty he proclaimed himself emperor of the Shu (Han) kingdom which existed up to 264. In the novel he is accompanied by his two faithful sworn brothers, Guano You and Gang Fe. The book entitled *San-guo-zhi* ("The History of Three Kingdoms") was written by Chen Shou (233—297).

### 7

# 1. 牲闆名羽字雲長諡漢壽亭候山西 辭良人氏

- 2. One who bears the family name Guan, the name Yu, the surname Yun-chang, a posthumous title Han Shouting hou, a native of the Zianliang district in the Shenxi province.
- 3. Guan-gong, a general and companion of emperor Zhao-lie-di mentioned above. He is praised until now for his bravity and cunning.
- 4. Guan yu (160-219), a sworn brother and one of the main companions of Liu Bei. In the eleventh century he was officially proclaimed God of War (Guang-gong, or Guan-di). The temples dedicated to him are found all over China.

### 8

# 1. 姓張名飛字翼德諡號漢桓候直棟涿州人氏

- One who bears the family name Zhang, the name Fei, the surname Yi-de, a posthumous title Han Huan-hou, a native
  of the Zhuozhou district in the Zhili province.
- 3. Zhang-fei, a general of the emperor Zhao-lie-di. He is praised by the Chinese for his fearlessness and power.
- 4. Zhang Fei (d. 221) was a sworn brother of Liu Bei and his closest companion. Liu Bei, Zhang Fei, and Guan yu are the central characters of the novel before their death.

### 9

# 1. 劉玄徳夫人糜氏抱的是太子阿斗諡昭烈皇后

- 2. A wife of Liu Xuan-de, lady Mi, embracing crown-prince A-dou. Her posthumous title empress Zhao-lic.
- 3. Mi-fu-ren, the lawful wife of emperor Zhao-lie-di with the heir to the throne on her knees.
- 4. The wife Mi, mother of A-dou, the heir of Liu Bei on the throne. He succeeded Liu Bei and was on the throne from 223 to 263. Several chapters of the novel are devoted to the history of his lucky escape from enemies.

### 10

# 1.姓諸葛台亮字孔明漢承相諡號武候伏龍

- One who bears the family name Zhuge, the name Liang, the surname Kong-ming, the first counsellor in the Han dynasty, a posthumous title — Wu-hou, [i. e.] who throwns down dragons.
- 3. Zhu-ge-liang, the prime minister of emperor Zhao-lie-di. As the Chinese say, this man's learning reached the heavens, while his courage and fearlessness were like genuine adamant.
- 4. Zhuge Liang (181-234), a talented commander, a Taoist, recognised as a magician and wizard, who was in the service of Liu Bei and his successor in the Shu kingdom (Han). He was the first counsellor (*chengxiang*) in the Shu kingdom. From his appearance on the pages of the novel he becomes its central character. Zhuge Liang is one of the most popular heroes who overcame his enemies through foresight and ingenuity rather than by arms.

# \* The characters depicted on illustrations 1—5 are not mentioned in the novel. One may assume that they have been included in the Album to remind readers of their good or bad actions, in order to contrast them with the deeds of the novels characters.



# 11

1. 牡馬名超字孟起號五虎上将西凉馬騰之子。

- One who bears the family name Ma, the name Cao, the surname Meng-qi, nicknamed "Five Tigers General". He was a son of Ma Teng from the Western Liang state.
- Ma-chao, a conqueror of the Western Tartars. He possessed extraordinary strength and helped emperor Zhao-lie-di in suppressing revolts.
- 4. Ma Chao (176-222), a son of Ma Teng who was killed by Cao Cao in 212 and who was the commander successfully pacified the tribes of so-called "Western barbarians", Di and Qiang. Ma Chao was fighting against Cao Cao, joined Liu Bei and contributed greatly to the establishment of his power. In the novel he is among the commanders called the "Five Tigers Generals". The mention in the Chinese inscription of the Western Liang state is not correct, as well as the statement that Ma Chao was the conqueror of the Western Tartars (it was his father who pacified them).

# 12

1. 姓黄名忠字漢昇號五虎上将南 陽人 氏

- One who bears the family name Huang, the name Zhong, the surname Han-sheng, a nickname "Five Tigers General", a native of Nanyang.
- 3. Huang-zhong, a brave and faithful companion of emperor Zhe-lie-di.
- Huang Zhong (d. 220), a character of the novel, an old warrior who joined Liu Bei. He was one of the "Five Tigers Generals".

### 13

1. 姓趙召雲字子龍號五虎上将真定常山人

- 2. One who bears the family name Zhao, the name Yun, the surname Zi-lun, a nickname "Five Tigers General", a native of Changshan in the Zhending district.
- 3. Chao (sic!)-yun, a wise and powerful general of emperor Zhao-lie-di. He was endowed with such a remarkable strength that he could lift a canon weighing one thousand puds [2] with one hand.
- 4. Zhao Yun (d. 229), a commander under Liu Bei, first successfully fought against the generals of the Wu kingdom and afterwards against the Wei kingdom (see below). According to the novel, he played the main part in the salvation of A-dou, the emperor's heir, from the generals of the Wu kingdom. He also is mentioned as one of the "Five Tigers Generals". His remarkable strength is described in the novel where it is said that he could lift a bronze tripod weighing 500 jins (about 250 kilograms).

# 14

1. 姓殿名統字士元道號鳳雛先生官拜耶師

- 2. One who bears the family name Pang, the name Tong, the surname Shi-yan, a Taoist nickname "Teacher Feng-chu a Nestling of Phoenix". As official he was appointed an instructor of the army.
- 3. Pang-tong, a man of learning with whom emperor Zhao-lie-di consulted on military problems. He was considered a companion of Commander-in-Chief.
- 4. Pang Tong (179-214), a military counsellor to Liu Bei before his enthronement in the Shi kingdom. Following Pang Tong's advise, Liu Bei settled in the lands of the present province Sichuan and conquered the city of Chengdu there. He was killed, struck by a random arrow.

## 15

# 1. 姓姜名維字伯約諸葛亮弟子後終於王事

- 2. One who bears the family name Jiang, the name Wei, the surname Bo-yue, a pupil of Zhuge Liang. He was killed having kept his faithfulness to the emperor.
- 3. Jiang-wei, a brother (sic!) and companion of the renowned commander Zhu-ge-liang.
- 4. Jiang Wei (202-264), a commander who first served in the Wei kingdom and subsequently moved to the Shu kingdom. After the death of his teacher Zhuge Liang, he was put at the head of the Shu army. In 263, following his emperor, he surrendered to the ruler of the Wei kingdom and was soon executed for his participation in the conspiracy aiming at the restoration of the Shu kingdom.

# 16

1. 姓張名松劉章之臣其才諸書以覧過日不忘

- One who bears the family name Zhang, the name Song. An official of Liu Zhang. He was renowned for his capacity not to forget a word from what he had read for the first time.
- Zhang-song. This man was endowed with a remarkable memory and quick wit, that is why he remained in [people's] memory.
- 4. Zhang Song (early 3rd century A.D.), an official of Liu Zhang (d. 219), who let Liu Bei enter Sichuan and surrendered Chengdu to him. He was remarkable for his extraordinary memory (see *fig. 2*).

17

1. 姓程名畿 漢昭烈帝之臣官居祭酒 没於王事

 One who bears the family name Zheng, the name Ji. An official of the Han emperor Zhao-lie-di. He was in charge of pouring out wine. He perished faithful to the emperor.



3. Cheng-ji. History praises his faithfulness to his emperor.

4. Cheng Ji (d. 221), an official who first served Liu Zhang, but in 219, together with him, joined Liu Bei and was put in charge of "pouring wine on the altar of ancestors". He was killed in the war with the Wu kingdom, having prevented the enemy from entering the Shu kingdom.

# 18

# 1.姓博名彤昭烈帝之臣官居彖謀困平吴没於王事

- 2. One who bears the family name Fu, the name Tung, an official of emperor Zhao-lie-di. He was a member of the Council, took part in pacifying the Wu kingdom and perished at his post.
- 3. Fu-tang (sic!), a brave and faithful general of emperor Zhao-lie-di.
- 4. Fu tung (d. 221), a commander of Liu Bei's army during his expedition to the Wei kingdom. After Liu Bei had been defeated, Fu Tung was left to cover his withdrawal. Fu Tung refused to surrender and was killed.

19

# 1.姓孫氏劉玄徳夫人東吳孫權之妹其性階級

- 2. The wife of Liu Xuan-de. Her family name was Sun, she was a younger sister of Sun Quang from Eastern Wu, and was a wise and faithful woman by nature.
- 3. Sun-fu-ren, the second wife of emperor Zhao-lie-di. She did not leave her husband at the most dangerous moments of war, following him everywhere. And seeing great disorders in her country, she committed suicide. She threw herself into the river and drowned.
- 4. The wife Sun known under the name Sun Quan (early 3rd century A.D.), a younger sister of the founder of the Wu kingdom. She was given in marriage to Liu Bei to strengthen an alliance with him. When the peace between the Wu kingdom and Shu was broken, Sun Quan wanted his sister to remain with him, but she turned out to be able not only to return to her husband to Shu but even to bring the crown-prince with her, who became the second emperor of the Shu kingdom.

# 20

# 1.性曹名操字孟德諡號魏王其子曹丕篆漢

- One who bears the family name Cao, the name Cao, the surname Meng-de, a posthumous Wei title wang. His son Cao Pei succeeded him on the Han throne.
- 3. Cao Cao, the main rebel against emperor Zhao-lie-di, who devastated the state with cruelty. He is notorious in China for his deeds. Exclusively because of his malice he hacked to pieces one physician whose name was Hua-tuo.
- 4. Cao Cao (150-220), an outstanding poet, commander, and statesman. Both in history and the novel he is represented as a man of great talent, but as an absolutely immoral person, a treacherous, cruel and merciless man. For example, taking revenge for his father's death, he slaughtered the people of three districts. The killing of the physician Hua Tuo was only one of his numerous crimes. The legends devoted to the Three Kingdoms are full of blame of him \*.

# 21

- 1. 姓夏侯台惇其人勇猛困戰左目中箭拔矢吞勝
- 2. One who bears the family name Xiahou, the name Dun. This man was so brave that when in battle an arrow struck his left eye, he pulled out the arrow together with the eye and swallowed it.
- Xiahou Dun (d. 220), one of the commanders and adherent to Cao Cao. He took part, with success, in the campaigns of Cao Cao against his enemies and proved to be an effective governor. The story with the swallowed eye plays a special part in the novel.

# 1.肖彧 為曹操謀士因曹加九錫諫言不從而死

- Xunyu was a counsellor to Cao Cao. When Cao Cao [decided] to add nine rings (to his sceptre L. M.), Xunyu dissuaded him [from] his intention, but without success and was [therefore] killed.
- 3. Xun Yu (163-212), a counsellor to Cao Cao who helped him to attain a high position at the court. However, when Cao Cao appropriated the title of wang of the Wei kingdom and added nine rings to his sceptre, he was against it. His attempt to dissuade Cao Cao from this action resulted in his disgrace. Finally, Xun Yu committed suicide.

### 23

# 1 首攸與荀彧叔姬皆為謀士国諌言自刎而死

- 2. Xun You and Xun Yu, uncle and nephew, both of them were counsellors [to the emperor]. After his reproaching Cao Cao, [Xun You] cut his own throat and died.
- 3. Xun You (157-214), a counsellor to Cao Cao, an adopted son of Xun Yu. He was in the service of the last emperor of the Han dynasty, but afterwards attached himself to Cao Cao and won a number of victories under him. The Chinese inscription provides incorrect information on Xun You. He did not commit suicide but was killed during a campaign against Sun Quan.

# 24

# 1.张遥字文遗為曹操先锋 其人 智勇雙全

2. Zhang Liao, [his] surname [is] Wen Yuan. He commanded advanced detachments under Cao Cao. This man attained perfection both in wisdom and courage.

<sup>\*</sup> The 20th illustration in the Album is the last with a Russian inscription, so hereafter we provided only English translation of Chinese inscriptions (under No. 2) and our own comments (under No. 3).



3. Zhang Liao (169-222), a commander who attached himself to Cao Cao, won numerous victories over his enemies and pacified the rebellious Wuhuan tribe. He contributed greatly to the military victory over Sun Quan in 215, and died during the second campaign against the Wu kingdom (see fig. 3).

### 25

# 1. 郭嘉為曹操謀士年三十歲卒後遺計定潦

- 2. [Guo] Jia was a counsellor to Cao and died at the age of 30. After [his death] the Liao kingdom was pacified according to the plan elaborated by him.
- 3. Guo Jia (170-207), at first served Yuan Shao, but subsequently joined his opponent Cao Cao. He was put in charge of "pouring out wine" in the army. Following his advice, Cao Cao was able to win ten victories over Yuan Shao. Guo Jia died when he was 37, not 30. It is said in the novel that he devised a plan for destroying Liao (the kingdom of Yuan Shao). This plan was carried out after the death of Guo Jia.

### 26

# 1.許楮為曹操大将人號為虎庭其人最勇

- 2. Xu Chu was a senior commander under Cao Cao. The people called him "A Mad Tiger". This man was the most courageous.
- Xu Chu (his dates are unknown), one of the generals in Cao Cao's army, who won a number of victories over this ruler's enemies. He was renowned for his bravery.

# 27

# 1.孔融字文舉北海太守其人多學好家

- Kong Rong, [his] surname Wen Ju, the governor of the Bei Hai region. This man was renowned for his learning and hospitality.
- 3. Kong Rong (153-208), a famous author of both verses and prose. He was a member of the circle named "Seven Persons of Talent of the Years of Jian-an", which was headed by Cao Cao and his sons. He angered Cao Cao with his satirical writings and was therefore executed by Cao Cao. During the Han dynasty he was a governor of the Beihai region.

### 28

# 1.典章為曹操大将其力過人箭射死尸卵酮

- 2. Dian Wei was a senior commander under Cao Cao. He possessed extraordinary strength. His body, struck by an arrow, did not fall [to the ground].
- 3. Dian Wei (his dates are unknown), a legendary commander under Cao Cao. They said that each of ten spears thrown by him successively had reached his enemy. The scene of his death when his body struck by an arrow does not fall to the ground is impressive in the novel.

## 29

# 1.周瑜字公瑾年十三歳拜為吳水軍督都

- 2. Zhou Yu, [his] surname Gong Jin. He was appointed a governor of the Wushui region at the age of 30.
- 3. Zhou Yu (175—210), a commander, statesman, and musician. He was in the service of Sun Ce (175—200), the elder brother of the founder of the Wei kingdom, and after that — in the service of Sun Quan. It was he who commanded the famous Red Wall rocks battle (208) and who won a decisive victory over Cao Cao.

### 30

# 1.百丈晋征西将軍與鍾會取川偷渡際平

- 2. Deng Ai, a general in the Jin kingdom, who had the nickname "Conqueror of the West". Together with Zhong Qui he conquered the Chuan region, having secretly crossed the river near Yinping.
- 3. Deng Ai (197-264), a general in the Wei kingdom under its last rulers. Together with Zhong Gui (225-264) he headed a campaign against the Shu kingdom (Chuan, or Sichuan). As a result, in 263, the Shu kingdom was joined to the Wei kingdom. This event made it possible subsequently to unite the country into the Jin empire (264-420). He was executed (slandered) by Zhong Gui.

### 31

# 1. 禰衡 (instead of mistakenly 稱 衔) 守正平其人聪明諸書結曉罵専而死

- Ni Heng, [his] surname Zheng-ping. This man was clever, learned all books and was killed [because of his] reproaching Cao Cao.
- 3. Ni Heng (173-198), a poet in the service of Cao Cao, who steadily exposed his injustices. Finally the poet was executed. The novel tells that he was executed after he once appeared naked with a drum and began to reproach Cao Cao.

### 32

# 1.含輅字公明通曉易數善相法能知±死

- Guan Lu, [his] surname Gung-ming. He completely comprehended calculations in the "Book of Changes", was skillful in magic [and] was able to foretell his own death.
- Guan Lu (208-255), a famous astrologer and fortune-teller. In Chinese folk literature he is mentioned in numerous stories related to the Three Kingdoms period.

# 33

# 1. 姓華名陀神醫 照成人後因治病被齷綜

- 2. One who bears the family name Hua, the name Tuo, a fabulous physician from Qiaocheng. Subsequently was killed by Cao Cao for his ability to cure diseases.
- 3. Hua Tuo (2nd—3rd centuries), a famous physician who is considered one of the creators of Chinese medicine. He lived about one hundred years. He had cured Cao Cao who suffered from sever headaches. When Cao Cao once again fell ill, the physician could not reach him immediately, for he was treating his own wife at that moment. It made Cao Cao furious and he had the physician thrown into prison, where he subsequently died. Chinese tradition has ascribed to him, probably by mistake, the authorship of a composition entitled "The Book about Internal Organs".

### 34

# 1.姓董名卓渎臣挾天子與纂漢室後被品前被

- 2. One who bears the family name Dong, the name Zhuo. A dignitary of the period of the Han Dynasty. He captured the Son of Heaven and made his residence the Han palaces. Later Lü Bu killed him.
- 3. Dong Zhuo (k. 192), took part in suppressing the Yellow Bandages revolt, after which he became the all-powerful figure at the court, having declared himself emperor. The other participants of the suppression were discontented with it and finally he was killed by his adopted son Lü Bu.

# 35

# 1.姓吕名布字奉先諡號温候先弑丁原後武董卓

- 2. One who bears the family name Lü, the name Bu, the surname Feng-xian, a posthumous title hou of the Wei Kingdom. First he killed Ding Yuan, then — Dong Zhup.
- 3. Lü Bu (ex. 198), a commander under the Han dynasty. First he was in the service of governor-general Ding Yuan in Jingzhou, who started his struggle against Dong Zhuo. However, Dong Zhuo managed to win Lü Bu over, and the latter killed Ding Yuan. Then Dong Zhuo made Lü Bu his adopted son. But afterwards, as the novel runs, Dong Zhuo quarrelled with Lü Bu over one of the concubines and Lü Bu killed his foster-father. In 198 Lü Bu was defeated by Cao Cao and strangled by him.

# 36

# 1. 蛇蝉王氏吕布夫人王允散妓献計般董卓

- 2. Diao-chan from the Wang family, the wife of Lu Bu. She was a singer to Lu Bu, being presented to him by Wang Yun with a secret mission to kill Dong Zhuo.
- 3. Diao-chan, one of the characters of the novel, a figure unknown in Chinese history. As for Wang Yun (137—192), being a constant opponent of Dong Zhuo, he attempted to overthrow Dong Zhuo several times without success. At last, he presented him a singer from his own house whose name was Diao-chan. But she fell in love not with the old Dong Zhuo, but with his adopted son Lü Bu. That is why the real rivalry emerged between the foster-father and Lü Bu. As a result, Dong Zhuo was killed by the latter.

### 37

# 1.姓孫名權吳大帝字仲謀父孫堅兄孫策鎮守江東

- 2. One who bears the family name Sun, the name Quan, the great emperor of the Wu kingdom. His surname was Zhongmou. His father Sun Jian and an elder brother Sun Ce owned Jiangdong.
- 3. Sun Quan (182-252, r. 222-252), the founder and main ruler of the Wu kingdom. His father Sun Jian (155-191) and an elder brother Sun Ce (175-200), after the Yellow Bandages revolt having been suppressed, governed Jiangdong (afterwards the Wu kingdom). Sun Quan is one of the central characters in the novel who is shown struggling against Cao Cao.

### 38

# 1.太史慈孫權手下戰將與曹兵大戰 陣沒

- 2. Taishi Ci, a commander under Sun Quan. He died on the battle-field in the great war against Cao Cao.
- 3. Taishi Ci (166-206), an official and commander first in the service of Sun Ce, and later of Sun Quan. He was killed in the war against Cao Cao.

### 39

# 1.左奏字元放道號鳥肩先生因戲賣化鰓而去

- 2. Zuo Ci, [his] surname Yuan-fang, a Taoist name "The Teacher Black Horn". When mocking Cao Cao, [he] turned himself into a crane and flew away.
- 3. Zuo Ci (late 2nd early 3rd centuries), a Taoist magician, the author of a book dealing with the creation of an elixir of life. Legend reads that once, when he was fishing at the feast of Cao Cao, the latter gave orders to catch him, but he went through a wall and disappeared.

# 40

# 1.魯肅字子說與周瑜共扶孫權後為督都

- 2. Lu Su, [his] surname Zi Jing. Together with Zhou Yu [he] supported Sun Quan, later [he] became a commander.
- 3. Lu Su (172-217), a commander in the Wu kingdom, an ally of Zhou Yu in the victorious war of 208 against Cao Cao. After the death of Zhou Yu, he headed the army of Sun Quan.

2. Lü Meng, [his] surname — Zi-ming, a commander of advanced troops of the Eastern Wu kingdom. Dressed in white clothes, he crossed the River Jiang and succeeded in capturing the Jingzhou district.

41

3. Lü Meng (178—219), a commander under Sun Quan, participated in the victorious Red Wall battle against Cao Cao. He was known as a man of great erudition. After the death of Lu Su, he headed the army of the Wu kingdom and conquered the Jingzhou district, occupied by Liu Bei. In this battle Guan Yu was killed.

# 42

# 1. 黄盖字公覆 献苦肉計破曹軍於赤壁

- 2. Huand Gai, [his] surname Gung-fu. By "presenting bitter meat" to Cao Cao, he defeated his troops in the Red Wall battle.
- 3. Huang Gai (his dates are unknown), a commander of Sun Quan, who previously was in the service of his father. He was a participant of the Red Wall battle. He also burnt the navy of Cao Cao. After that the army of Wei was utterly defeated.

### 43

# 1.甘寧字與露先佐黃後侍孫人呼錦帆賊。

- Gan Ning, [his] surname Sing-ci. At first he helped the Huang family, then was in the service of the Sun family. People called him "A Thief with a Brocade Sail".
- 3. Gan Ning (k. 215), at first served Liu Biao (144—208), then his ally, after that became an ally of Sun Quan. He participated in the war against Cao Cao and in the capture of Jingzhou. In 215 he was killed in an unsuccessful battle for Hefei.

### 44

- 1.姓于名吉道號太平清嶺道人被孫策戰
- One who bears the family name Yu, the name Ji, a Taoist nickname "Taoist from the Taiping-qingling Mountains". He was killed by Sun Ce.
- 3. Yu Ji (ex. 196), a Taoist, a renowned physician and magician. He treated his patients with charmed water. Sun Ce executed him for some disciplinary fault.

# 45

# 1. 司 馬懿 扶魏文帝曹丕官居司禹後子弑魏帝

- 2. Sima Yi was an ally of Cao Pei, Wen-di from Wei. He was in charge of a groom (sima). Later it was his son who killed the emperor of Wei.
- 3. Sima Yi (179-251), one of the commanders of the Three Kingdoms period. He was in the service of Cao Cao. In the novel he emerges as the main opponent of Zhuge Lang. Under Ming-di (r. 227-239), Cao Pei's successor, he was his confidant. Under one of the last emperors of Wei, Sima Yi headed a conspiracy in which his sons took part. His grandson Sima Yan (236-290; r. 264-290) killed the last ruler of Wei, united the country and founded the Jin state.

# Illustrations to the novel "A Dream in the Red Chamber"

"A Dream in the Red Chamber" is the most famous Chinese novel which contains an account of the rise and decay of the rich and long Jia family. The novel describes its everyday life and contains many fantastic elements. According to Chinese tradition, the author of the novel, Cao Xue-qin, described the history of his own family in it. Its main character is Jia Bao-yu, but a great number of other persons are acting in it too, including twelve young women called "Twelve Hairpins". Almost all the illustrations in the Album dealing with this novel, except the first two and the last one, depict these twelve women. The feature of this group of illustrations is the presence of Manchu equivalents to Chinese inscriptions on the upper margins of every folio \*.

46

- 2. A high-spirited stone, a divine oriole. The "Red Chamber" starts with this.
- 3. The novel starts as follows: after the stone had been kept in the hands of goddess Nu wa, it became endowed with divine power. It could increase and diminish its size, speak and move by itself. The story runs that a Taoist Kong Kong and Buddhist hermit Miao Miao found it and made inscriptions on it. After that the main character of the novel, Bao-yu, was born with this stone in his mouth. This very stone is depicted in the illustration.

1. 122345

47

王睿姑仙幻察

- 2. A celestial fairy Jing-huan and Bao-yu.
- 3. Once young Bao-yu fell asleep and dreamed. He was walking about the Heaven called "An awakening from Dreams" with its fairy Jing-huan and found a table where the fates of "Twelve Hairpins" were written.

\* Under No. 1 we give here a Chinese inscription, then its English translation (No. 2), and our own comments (No. 3).

1.2(2

66

- 2. Jia Yuan-chun.
- 3. Bao Yu's blood sister, the eldest of his sisters who have the character *chun* ("spring") in their names. In the novel she is a wife of the emperor, the circumstance which explains the prosperity of the family. After her death the decay of the family begins. In the illustration she is depicted visiting her family.

49

48

春迎曹

去元雪

- 1. 之 f 乀 2. Jia Ying-chun.
- The second of the sisters whose name includes the character *chun*. In the novel she is a cousin of Bao-yu. After Jia Yuan-chun's death, she marries a man whom she does not love and soon dies.
   50
  - LL 春探雪
- 1.2.2.2
- 2. Jia Tan-chun.
   3. Jia Tan-chun, the third of the above mentioned sisters. She and Bao-yu had one father. Jia Tan-chun was the most talented of the sisters and was distinguished by her pride and firm morals, even when her family fell into decay.
- 1.2 \* 2
- 2. Jia Si-chun.
- The fourth of the sisters, Bao-yu's cousin, who was a painter. According to the novel, she was the sister who avoided life misfortunes (see *fig. 4*).
- 1.5222

纨李

春惜百

- 2. Li Wan and Jia Lan.
- 3. The wife of Jia Zhu (an elder brother of Bao-yu) and their son Jia Lan are shown in the picture. The novel tells that Jia Lan's father died young, and his mother devoted all her life to bringing up her son.
  53
- 1. 生方子 酸酸亚
- 2. Wang Si-feng.
- 3. The wife of Bao-yu's cousin Jia Lan. She was a practical woman full of energy, who was occupied with the family's household. When the family fell into decay, she and her daughter found shelter in the house of one old common peasant woman whom Wang Si-feng had helped before. On falling ill, Wang Si-feng returned to her family to die among her people.
- 1. 2 3
- 2. Oiao-iie.
- 3. A daughter of Wang Si-feng and Jia Lan. In the novel she is a little girl adored by her grandmother Shi, head of the family. They both are depicted in the illustration.
- 1.2.33
- 2. Qin Ke-qing.
- 3. The wife of Jia Rong (near relative of Bao-yu) who died young. In Bao-yu's dream, she is the celestial fairy Jing-huan reborn.
- 1. 1 8 %

56

- 2. Xue Bao-chai.
- 3. Bao-yu's cousin who was considered a clever, gifted and reasonable woman. The family had chosen her as a wife of Bao-yu. In old China the people, bearing different family names, could get married, even if they were near relatives. The marriage of Xue Bao-chai and Bao-yu was not happy. Bao-yu was in love with another girl and was married by fraud. Having learned that he was deceived, Bao-yu abandoned Xue Bao-chai.
- 1. 艾片弓 玉熊林
- 2. Lin Dai-yu.
- 3. A cousin of Bao-yu, loved by him, who was a clever, gifted, but unhealthy and unbalanced girl. On learning that Baoyu has married another woman, she dies of grief. In the picture Lin Dai-yu is shown speaking to a parrot.

57

58

55

# 54

姐巧

鄭可奏

釵寶薜

言相史



3. The second cousin (granddaughter of grandmother Shi) of Bao-yu, who bore a different family name. Her role in the novel is not quite clear, she appears only at times. The water-colour depicts her falling asleep on the stone bench in the garden after she had drunk some wine.

# 59 玉宵玉妙

- 1. 🕻 🖇 🖇 🖇
- 2. Miao-yu and Bao-yu.
- 3. Miao-yu, a Taoist nun living in the garden of the Jia family. On meeting her there Bao-yu listens to her didactic and consoling talks. One of these meetings is depicted in the illustration.

### 60

1. 99636643

人真渺渺士进空空

- 2. Taoist Kong Kong and a righteous monk Miao Miao.
- 3. These two characters appears in the novel at the key moments: for example, when they find a stone and make inscription with the text of the novel on it; when Bao-yu, as if gone mad, throws the stone away; when Bao-yu's father meets his son after his disappearance after the unlucky marriage.

# Notes

1. See Archives of Orientalists in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, file 42, opis' 2, No. 9. Zakhar Fyodorovitch Leontyevsky, on his return from China, entered the staff of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Ministry of Russia as an interpreter from Chinese and Manchu. He published a series of works in the field of Chinese studies, translated into Chinese the famous "History of the Russian State" by N. M. Karamzin, taught Chinese in the St. Petersburg Commercial college. He is known also as the author of a vast Chinese-Russian dictionary which was unfortunately not published. A manuscript of this dictionary is preserved in the above mentioned Archives, see *Kitaïskii leksikon, sostavlennyĭ Zakharom Leont/evskim. Frazeologicheskiĭ kitaïsko-russkiĭ slovar'. Po kliuchevoĭ sisteme* (A Chinese Lexicon composed by Zakhar Leontyevsky. Phraseological Chinese-Russian Dictionary after the *Kay* Sign System). This dictionary contains two thousand pages, see Archives of Orientalists, file I, opis' 1, No. 73.

In 1866, Leontyevsky retired and moved to the city of Yaroslavl, of which he was a native. About him see P. E. Skachkov, *Ocherki istorii russkogo kitaevedeniia* (Essays on the History of Chinese Studies in Russia) (Moscow, 1977), pp. 134—8. It should be noted that the students, who were sent by the Asiatic Department to the Peking Orthodox Mission, on returning home used to bring books and manuscripts, bought by them, to the Library of the Asiatic Department. It may have been Leontyevsky who brought the Album to the Asiatic Department in 1832, on his return to St. Petersburg. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the explanatory notes to the illustrations, which seem to have been made by Leontyevsky.

The transcription used in these notes differs from that proposed by lakinf Bichurin and was generally accepted at that time. As is known, Leontyevsky disagreed with it and had elaborated his own transcription system, which was used by him in these explanatory notes. See Skachkov, op. cit., pp. 419–20.

2. The old Russian measure of weight pud is equal to 16 kilograms.

# Illustrations

### Front cover:

"Ni Heng (173—198), a poet in the service of Cao Cao". Illustration No. 31 to the novel *Three Kingdoms* from the Chinese Album H-13, 15.6 × 19.6 cm.

# Back cover:

- Plate 1. "A high-spirited stone, a divine oriole". Illustration No. 46 to the novel A Dream in the Red Chamber from the same Album, 15.5 × 19.6 cm.
- Plate 2. "Shi Ziang-yun falling asleep on the stone bench". Illustration No. 58 to the novel A Dream in the Red Chamber from the same Album,  $15.2 \times 19.6$  cm.
- Plate 3. "Lin Dai-yu speaking to a parrot". Illustration No. 57 to the novel A Dream in the Red Chamber from the same Album, 15.5 × 19.5 cm.

### Inside:

- Plate 1. "Guan yu (160—219), a sworn brother and one of the main companions of Liu Bei". Illustration No. 7 to the novel *Three Kingdoms* from the same Album, 15.5 × 19.7 cm (see p. 53).
- Plate 2. "Cao Cao (150—220), a poet, commander, and statesman". Illustration No. 20 to the novel *Three Kingdoms* from the same Album, 15.4 × 19.5 cm (see p. 56).
- Fig. 1. "Fu Sheng (b. 260 B.C.), a Chinese scholar". Illustration No. 3 to the novel *Three Kingdoms* from the same Album, 15.6 × 19.5 cm.
- Fig. 2. "Zhang Song (early 3rd century A.D.), an official of Liu Zhang (d. 219)". Illustration No. 16 to the novel *Three Kingdoms* from the same Album, 15.5 × 19.6 cm.
- Fig. 3. "Zhang Liao (169–222), a commander under Cao Cao". Illustration No. 24 to the novel *Three Kingdoms* from the same Album, 15.6 × 19.5 cm.
- Fig. 4. "Bao-yu's cousin, a painter". Illustration No. 51 to the novel A Dream in the Red Chamber from the same Album,  $15.6 \times 19.5$  cm.

# **BOOK REVIEWS**

A Buddhist Terminological Dictionary. The Mongolian Mahāvyutpatti. Edited by Alice Sárkozi. In collaboration with János Szerb. — Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 130. Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, 1995, XXIV, 836 pp.

The Sanskrit-Tibetan terminological dictionary Mahāvyutpatti, compiled in Tibet at the beginning of the ninth century to translate the sacred Buddhist texts, was afterwards translated into Chinese, Mongolian, and Manchu. It is not surprising that it drew the attention of many Orientalists who worked in various fields of scholarship. The beginning of the investigation and publication of the Mahāvyutpatti dictionary can be traced to the first half of the nineteenth century, and about two dozen works dealing with Sanscrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions of the dictionary have appeared since then.

As Alice Sárkozi points out, the Mongolian version of the Mahāvyutpatti dictionary "was ... neglected for a long time" (p. VII), that is the reason why until recently the dictionary material in Mongolian could be discovered only in a few facsimile publications which constituted, as a rule, abridged versions of the dictionary. The "Mongolian Mahāvyutpatti", published by the Hungarian scholar Alice Sárkozi, thus presents the first work dealing with the Mongolian version of the Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary in particular.

Dr Sárkozi based her publication on the Mongolian part of the Mahāvyutpatti manuscript which was purchased by V. P. Vasilyev in Peking in the late 1840s. At present, this manuscript (No. 25147) is preserved among the Tibetan materials in the library of the Oriental department of the St. Petersburg State University. The reason this particular manuscript, which is well known to specialists thanks to its facsimile publication (see *Quadrilingual Mahāvyutpatti, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese-Mongolian Lexicon of Buddhist Terms*, New Delhi, 1981), has been preferred to any other is not only because it is unique, but first of all because it comprises the earliest known Mongolian version.

In the course of time essential corrections were made in the text of the original Mongolian translation of the dictionary represented in the St. Petersburg manuscript so that in many instances the original terms have been crossed out and the new ones inserted. All of these interpolations are shown by Dr Sárkozi in the footnotes. In 1749, the Mahāvyutpatti was incorporated into the Peking block-print of the Tanjur in Mongolian where a later, reformed stage of the Mongolian language is seen. This new version of the dictionary is included by Alice Sárkozi in the main body of the publication under the letter "T".

Preparing the text of the Mongolian Mahāvyutpatti for publication, Dr Sárkozi took into account one more manuscript version of the dictionary which was found in one of the Ulan Bator collections. The Mongolian text is close to the version which was included in the Tanjur. Therefore, orthographic features, as well as text variations, of the Ulan Bator manuscript are fixed in the footnotes as commentaries on the block-print version of the dictionary.

Judging from the numeration used in the publication, the volume under review must include 277 topic sections covering 9,565 dictionary entries. These numbers, however, need some correction, since it becomes obvious in particular that the number of chapters should be shown as 279, because two additional chapters turned out to be duplicates (see Nos. 127a and 238a). As for the number of entries, they, on the contrary, must be less than 9,565. The reason for these discrepencies is that when preparing the Mongolian part of the dictionary for publication Dr Sárkozi made use of the numeration employed in the two-volume publication made by R. Sakaki in 1925 (Mahāvyutpatti, Bon-Zô-Kan-Wa Shi Yaku Myô-gi Tai-Shū, Kyoto) which contained Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions of the Mahāvyutpatti. Taking Sakaki's numeration as a model, Dr Sárkozi aimed at making it easy to find Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels. As she points out in the introduction to her publication, the numeration chosen strictly follows the model, "even taking over its faults" (p. IX).

However, the "faults" in Sakaki's publication are quite numerous. The less harmful among them are thirteen instances of confusion in the sequence of the dictionary entries. More frequent and rather disappointing are omissions in the numeration. According to our calculation, not less than 133 omissions were made by R. Sakaki. Moreover, in twenty-three cases one entry is shown under two, three (Nos. 4873—5, 5978—80), or even four (Nos. 3930—3, 6740—3) numbers. By contrast, under one number (No. 230) ten entries are shown. Besides, duplicate numbers can be discovered (Nos. 1055 and 2347), as well as numbers that contain no information at all (Nos. 3823, 3887, 5334, and 5335). It also seems indefensible that the names of the topic sections have been included in a general numeration of the dictionary material.

As a result, if all these disagreements and errors inherent to the work by R. Sakaki are taken into account, the true number of dictionary entries in it should be shown as 9,126. It should be noted also that this number is a peculiarity of Sakaki's publication, since all hitherto known Mongolian translations of the dictionary represent, with no exception, abridged versions of the text. Thus, for example, a blockprint edition of it (version "T") includes 8,871 entries, while an earlier version in the St. Petersburg manuscript comprises only 7,368 entries.

The most noticeable reduction of the text in the St. Petersburg manuscript can be seen in chapters 239—42 dealing with mathematical terms, and in chapter 273 covering various lexical material which was taken from the texts of the Vinaya, one of the parts of Buddhist canon. Of 618 dictionary entries that constituted the original version of these chapters the St. Petersburg manuscript includes only 52.

Apart from the considerable reduction of several chapters in the text, another feature of the St. Petersburg manuscript is the complete absence of eleven topic sections (chapters 86—92, 274—7). These omissions, comparatively small, include 157 dictionary entries in all. Most part of them (80 entries) contain names of diseases.

However, there is an even more abridged version of the Mahāvyutpatti which includes only 1,010 entries taken from 66 topic sections of the original text of the dictionary. It was edited for the first time as a block-print in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese in Peking in the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a Buryat block-print of the same version appeared, but it was, naturally, lacking Manchu and Chinese translations.

A comparison of the original Sanskrit-Tibetan text of the dictionary with the translations of the Mahāvyutpatti which came to light later outside Tibet, enables to reveal obvious results of the efforts of its translators. They were keen to reduce the dictionary's volume and make its contents fit the main designation of the translations, namely, to be a guide to interpreting sacred Buddhist texts first and foremost.

Although the Mahāvyutpatti is traditionally called a "Buddhist terminological dictionary", one must not forget that the range of its lexical material is actually much wider than the Buddhist terminology proper. It includes a number of sections which do not directly concern Buddhist teaching. These are, for example, the chapters which comprise a wide range of terms including state offices, civil occupations, the relationship categories, the names of human body organs, food, cloth, adornment, trees, and flowers. The dictionary also contains the names of numerals, parts of twenty-four-hour period, seasons, as well as the names of colours, stars, and planets.

In the above-mentioned sections experts in the Mongolian language can find a great deal of what has been achieved by former Mongolian lexicography. But the most valuable and useful information is certainly preserved in the sections dealing with Buddhist terminology proper. The vastness and variety of the Buddhist terms, arranged in the dictionary strictly in accordance with the systematisation rules elaborated in Buddhism, allow one to consider the Mahāvyutpatti a kind of Buddhist encyclopaedia which became an invaluable guide to translators of sacred texts.

With the publication of the Mongolian version of the Mahāvyutpatti, at last all benefits of this dictionary can be estimated by specialists in Mongolian studies whose scholarly interests lie in the sphere of research and publication of the Buddhist literature translations representing one of the most extensive but least known branch of Mongolian literature.

One of the contributions of Dr Sárkozi's work is that a sure guide in the sea of classifications of Buddhist philosophy has now appeared, which can be used by specialists in Mongolian studies. If necessary, users of the dictionary are now able to attribute or comment this or that Buddhist dogma without painful and ineffective searching in an extensive literature on Buddhism.

To the benefits of the present publication could be ascribed information the author provides about four versions of the Mongolian translation of the Mahāvyutpatti. Thanks to this, philologists now possess valuable and sufficiently clear material for studying the terminology developments and the emergence of a new religious-philosophical Mongolian vocabulary.

The translations published by Alice Sárkozi are of special interest for studying the history of Mongolian terminology, since all of them came to light in the period when many novations took place in Mongolian literature, and the process was completed only in the eighteenth century by the eventual formation of the classical written Mongolian language. Formerly, in the transitional period, especially in the seventeenth century, the new and old often coexisted, which is, for example, very characteristic of the early Mongolian version of the dictionary preserved in the St. Petersburg manuscript. Here one can find "some old, rare words, preserved from Middle Mongolian" (p. IX). In this manuscript we can find mostly Mongolian transcriptions of the Indian names and epithets of Buddhist deities, the names of Indian towns and mountains, which is more typical of old, pre-classical Mongolian translations of Buddhist writings.

In the course of reforming the written language, old translations were fundamentally revised. As the wellknown expert in Mongolian literature Prof. Gy. Kara puts it, "they were purged not only of half-forgotten words and archaic grammatical and orthographic forms, but also of many Uighur borrowings and Indian proper names ... which were from that time on translated from Tibetan. These translations were frequently literal, and hence incomprehensible to Mongol readers" (the citation is taken from a work by Gy. Kara, written and published in Russian, see his "Books of the Mongolian Nomads", Moscow, 1972, p. 69).

The results of such changes in the written Mongolian language, which are obvious already in the St. Petersburg manuscript, and even more evident in the block-print edition of the dictionary (version "T"), where, for example, instead of former Indian proper names we find, almost without exception, their Mongolian equivalents.

These translations, however, like other translations of earlier manuscript version of the dictionary, are far from comprehensible on every occasion. Moreover, they are often not correct at all, and it forced Dr Sárkozi to consult repeatedly the Sanskrit-Tibetan original to give correct renderings of dubious words or words distorted by Mongolian translators so that relevant Mongolian definitions in each of such occasions could be provided. The results of efforts by A. Sárkozi, in collaboration with J. Szérb and G. Bethlenfalvy, to reveal and eliminate the faults of Mongolian translations of the Mahāvyutpatti are reflected in numerous commentaries in the footnotes where, most carefully, "special features" of all Mongolian versions of the dictionary are fixed. And every time special features are given necessary and authoritative interpretation.

Unfortunately, a technical mistake has crept into this part of the publication. In two (not large) passages a discrepancy between the numeration of the footnotes and that of the notes in the principal text (footnote 6 on p. 593 — footnote 13 on p. 603; footnote 4 on p. 620 — footnote 9 on p. 625) has appeared. This, however, does not cause much difficulty in using the dictionary. One must simply bear in mind that the footnotes corresponding to entries 8997-9138, 9373-448 are given numbers which are larger by one than relevant note numbers given in the text. But it is only a single fault in a publication worthy a note. As a whole, the work may be considered a model of such kind of a publication.

The high level of scholarship, thoroughness, and conscientiousness of the author contribute greatly to the accuracy and rationality with which the transcription of the text has been made. This feature of the publication is very important, taking into account the ambiguity of certain characters in the Mongolian alphabet, lack of consistency in their employment, a variety of diacritical systems, and abundance of borrowing from other languages. Thanks to the authoritative transcription of a vast lexicographical material, made by Dr Sárkozi, it is now possible to eliminate previous disagreements in transcribing texts written in Old Mongolian. It should be especially noted that all Mongolian terms in the publication are provided with English translations. Naturally, this part of the work presented some difficulties, since it demanded from the author not only a brilliant knowledge of languages but solid and extensive learning in

Naturally, this part of the work presented some difficulties, since it demanded from the author not only a brilliant knowledge of languages but solid and extensive learning in Buddhism, too. Dr Sárkozi succeeded in both these tasks, we are glad to say. Otherwise it would be impossible, when translating the Mongolian versions of the dictionary, to give adequate and exact English equivalents of many terms and phrases which stand isolated in the text. The same can be said about translating rather complicated, and at times elaborately expressed, Buddhist religious-philosophical notions. No doubt, the invaluable help of Prof. Kara, "who read through the whole text, proposed many improvements to the translation and corrected not a few errors" (p. IX), played an important role in the obvious achievements of the publication.

The publication is provided with a very helpful alphabetical index (pp. 639—836) where the dictionary material of the version of the St. Petersburg manuscript and of the block-print mentioned above (version "T") are completely taken into account. It goes without saying that the presence of the alphabetical index greatly facilitates using the dictionary and widens the sphere of its practical employment.

To sum up, we can state with satisfaction that the work under review represents a lexicographical writing of value which fulfils all requirements. Doubtless, it will rightfully occupy a deservedly high place in a series of extremely important publications of Mongolian literature. Scholars will be deeply indebted to Alice Sárkozi for her valuable contribution to the field of the Mongolian studies.

A. Sazykin

# A. Muminov. Katalog Arabograficheskikh rukopiseĭ muzeia-zapovednika "Azret-Sultān" v gorode Turkestan. Turkestan: Mura, 1997, 139 str.

# A. Muminov. Catalogue of Arabographic Manuscripts in the Museum-Trust "Azret-Sultān" in the City of Turkestan. Turkestan: Mura, 1997, 139 pp.

In the paper presented to the conference "Islam and the Problems of Inter-Civilisation Interaction", Moscow, 1992, Dr St. Prozorov, the teacher of the author of the publication under review<sup>1</sup>, stressed the necessity of investigating "the nature of interaction between the general dogmas of Islam

and their regional modifications"<sup>2</sup>. He also pointed out that only within the framework of such a research would it be possible to find "the key for understanding the mechanism of functioning of Islam as an ideological system"<sup>3</sup>. The work under review might be regarded as a first step in that direction, providing important material for such an investigation which is declared to be one of the most important aims of Islamic studies in the present day Russia<sup>4</sup>.

The publication of Dr Muminov's article entitled "The fund of Arabographic manuscripts in the Museum-Trust "Azret-Sultān" in the city of Turkestan" in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, vol. 3, No. 2, 1997, an issue devoted to the collection of Arabographic manuscripts of the Museum-Trust

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 1991, Dr Muminov presented his PhD dissertation entitled "Katā'ib al-a'lām al-akhyār al-Katāwī (um. v 990/1582 g.) kak istochnik po istorii islama v Maverannakhre (III/IX—VIII/XIV vv.)" (Katā'ib al-a'lām al-akhyār by al-Katāwī (d. 990/1582) as a Source for the History of Islam in Māwarā' al-Nahr in A.H. 3rd-8th/A.D. 9th—14th centuries) — in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies under the guidence of Dr St. Prozorov.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> S. M. Prozorov, "Islam edinyĭ, islam regional'nyĭ" ("Unified and regional Islam"), Islam i problemy mezhtsivilizatsionnogo vzaimodeĭstviia, maĭ 1992 g. Tezisy dokladov i soobshcheniĭ (Moscow, 1992), p. 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> St. Prozorov, E. Rezvan, A. Alikberov, "Islam na territorii byvsheĭ Rossiĭskoĭ imperii" ("Islam on the territory of the former Russian empire"), *Vostok/Oriens*, 3 (1994), pp. 145-8. Within the framework of the above mentioned project a new edition of the Russian reference book *Islam* is forthcoming. It will contain a series of articles devoted to the history of Islam in the lands of the former Soviet Union. Dr Muminov is among the most active participants of the project.

"Azret-Sulțān" in the city of Turkestan<sup>5</sup> (opened in 1978 at the Mausoleum of Khwāja Aḥmad Yasawī, d. 562/1166— 67), makes it unnecessary to discuss here in detail the contents of the work under review. However, there are several points in this work which are sufficiently important to merit the special attention of students in the field.

First of all, the very existence of the "Azret-Sultān" collection of Arabographic manuscripts reveals that the manuscript tradition was not fully interrupted in Central Asian Republics in the Soviet period despite the Bolshevik revolution and decades of atheistic rule there. The catalogue provides description of 136 manuscript copies of 82 works, copied out between 1584 and 1981 (!), which were discovered and acquired during several expeditions to different regions of Central Asia (manuscripts, previously preserved at Yasawī Mausoleum for many decades, "dissolved" in various state and private collections nearly without traces). Manuscripts collected in the Museum-Trust "Azret-Sultān" demonstrate that, up to the beginning of 1930, the tradition of copying the works connected with Islamic heritage was alive in Soviet Central Asia (no printed copies of the works were accessible at that time).

The collection in general (the Qur'an and Qur'anic studies, hadīth, various religious writings, fiqh, logic, philology, poetry; mutafarriqāt) covers a wide range of works in Arabic, Persian, and Chaghatay, popular among the students of the Central Asian madrasas. That is the reason why the works on philology make up the largest part of the collection. Most of them, even those written in Persian, deal with questions of Arabic grammar, lexicography, and rhetoric. The author of the publication points out that people, who easily sold or donated their Arabic or Persian manuscript, were rather hesitant about parting with manuscripts written in Turkic, which they understood pretty well, wishing to preserve these manuscripts for their children.

Among the most important works described in the Catalogue one can mention the autograph of the unique work concerning the cycle of pilgrimage to the holy places in Turkestan and the local rules of ziyarat (Turkistān bayānī) by Sadīq Sapabek-ulī (1904—1982). The author, a native of northern Kazakhstan, was the first to describe the old Kazakh traditions of making pilgrimage to the holy sites of the region. Surely, this work deserves being published, since it is the unique testimony of an almost lost tradition. Until recently only a few texts, which can be used by specialists, have been published [6].

Manuscripts of the collection are described by Dr Muminov in accordance with the standard, a fully formalised scheme of 27 points, which makes it easy to create a computer data-base of the collection. The work is supplied with a number of Indices (pp. 114—26) of works' titles, personal names, toponyms, concordance of call numbers and description numbers, dates of copying, places of copying, names of copyists, and names of bookbinders, most helpful to the users of the Catalogue.

The palaeographic features of the manuscripts can be observed on 11 black-and-white facsimile reproductions at the end of the book (unfortunately, because of a quite common typographical mistake one of the photos is turned upside-down).

We are very much indebted to the author of the Catalogue, since little is known about traditional script and Islam in Central Asia of the Soviet period. The work presented by Dr Muminov, which provides valuable source material, can help to fill the gap and shed more light on the subject.

# E. Rezvan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A. Muminov, "The fund of Arabographic manuscripts in the Museum-Trust "Azret-Sultān" in the city of Turkestan", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 111/2 (1997), pp. 39-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For texts describing the hajj tradition flourishing in the Volga region and Russian Central Asia, see, for example, G. Sablukov, Rasskazy mukhammedan o Kible (Muslim Accounts on Qibla) (Kazan, 1889); see also Ifim Rīzfān, al-Ifajj qabla mi'a sana. Al-rihla alsirrīyya li-l-dābit al-rūsi 'Abd al-'Azīz Dawlītshīn ilā Makka al-mukarrama, 1898—1899 (Beyruth, 1993) being an Arabic translation of Efim Rezwan's work entitled Hajj Hundred Years Ago: the Secret Mission of Russian Officer 'Abd al-Aziz Dawlitshin to Highly Honoured Mecca, 1898—1899, pp. 265—73.

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# Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts must be written in English.

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

# Submissions

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



Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3

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