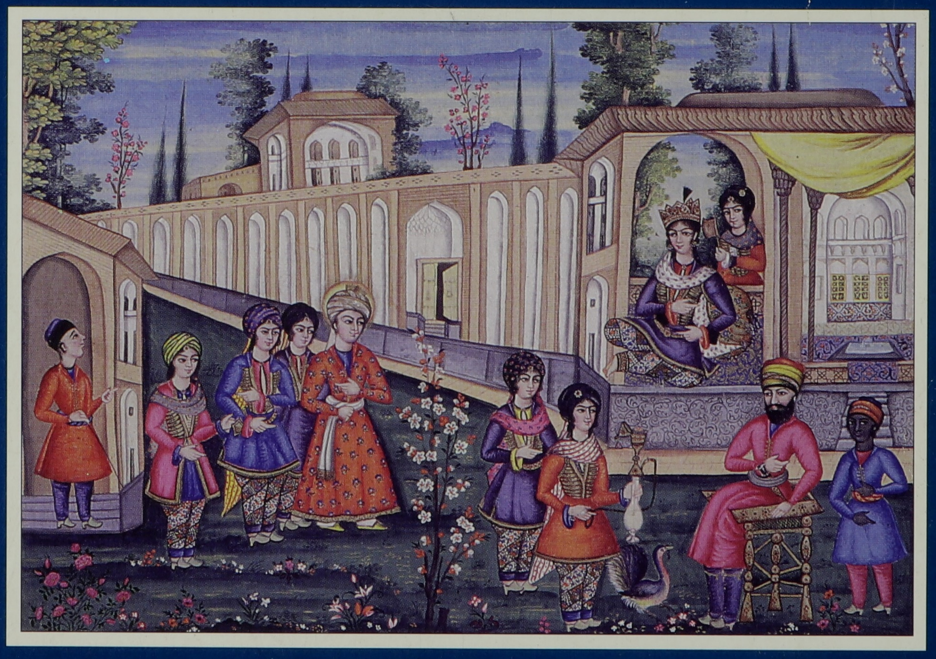
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH

Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 4 No. 3 September 1998



TSESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

Manuscripta Orientalia
Vol. 4 No. 3 September 1998
TSESA

CONTENTS

Front cover:

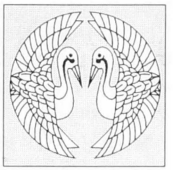
"Zulaykhā recognises in Yūsuf, who is led as a slave before the Pharaoh's palace, the youth whom she saw in a dream". Miniature to the poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. *Gulshan*, manuscript E 12 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 203b, 37.0 × 27.2 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. "Wedding celebrations of the young ruler of Ḥalab and Gul". Miniature to an untitled poem by Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Muḥammad Riḍā, the same manuscript, fol. 116a, 36.8 × 29.0 cm.

Plate 2. "Yūsuf, rescued from the well, among the members of the merchant Malik's caravan". Miniature to the poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, the same manuscript, fol. 202a, 36.3 × 25.2 cm.

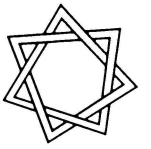
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 4 No. 3 September 1998



TSESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

Manuscripta Orientalia

Subscriptions

The subscription price of Volume 4 (1998) (*ca.* 288 pages in 4 issues) is US$ 230.00 for institutions and US$ 200.00 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 directly to the Editorial Board (Fax +7(812)311-51-01 or E-mail: orient@ieos.spb.su) or to the publisher — Thesa, 14 Dobrolyubov St., office 358, 197198 St. Petersburg, Russia (Tel./Fax +7(812)238-95-94, E-mail: bi@thesa.spb.su).

For further information, colour variants of the most part of black-and-white illustrations, and subscription forms, please, visit our web site under: http://www.thesa.ru.

ISSN 1238-5018

Printed in Finland
Ykkös-Offset Oy

The Editorial Board of **MANUSCRIPTA ORIENTALIA**

dedicates this volume to

Professor Nishida Tatsuo,

outstanding scholar in the field of linguistics and Tangut studies,

on the occasion of his 70th birthday

November 26, 1998 marks seventy years since the birth of Professor Nishida Tatsuo, a well-known linguist in international Oriental studies circles and an outstanding specialist on Tibeto-Burman languages. Prof. Nishida Tatsuo was born in the city of Osaka. During the Second World War he endured hardships and the terror of intense bombings. In his words, these experiences remained with him for the rest of his life. Bombing partially destroyed the building of the Institute of Foreign Languages in Osaka, where Prof. Nishida studied after completing secondary school. On March 31, 1948 he graduated from the Osaka Institute of Foreign Languages, at present the Department of the Chinese Language at the Osaka University of Foreign Languages. One of his teachers was Prof. Ishihama Juntaro, who collaborated with N. A. Nevsky on reviving the study of texts written in the dead Tangut language. To this aim, articles on Tangut studies jointly authored by Ishihama Juntaro and N. A. Nevsky appeared in 1927 and 1930. It was Prof. Juntaro who suggested Tangut studies — the study of the language and literature of Hsi Hsia — to his talented student as a promising field.

Nishida Tatsuo came to the University of Kyoto on 1 April 1948 and stayed there until 1992. After his retirement he continued his work there as professor emeritus. Prof. Nishida earned his first degree in 1951 and his doctorate in 1962. From 1956 on he taught on the Philological Faculty of Kyoto University, attaining the status of full professor in February 1972.

Prof. Nishida's first study was dedicated to a well-known inscription in Chü-yung-kuan, the Tangut text of which he investigated. In May 1959, he received the award of the Japanese Academy for his work. In March 1962, Prof. Nishida defended his doctoral dissertation "An Analysis of the Literature of Hsi Hsia and a Study of the Hsi Hsia Language". The publication in 1960 of A. N. Nevsky's two-volume "Tangut Philology" served as a great support to Prof. Nishida in his scholarly pursuits. In 1964—1966, Prof. Nishida published his two-volume "Study of the Language of Hsi Hsia", for which he received the Imperial Award of the Japanese Academy.

The publication of these works by N. A. Nevsky and Prof. Nishida represented a new stage in the study of the Tangut language and the texts written in Tangut. Prof. Nishida was the first to undertake the reconstruction of the phonetics of the Tangut language. Later, after many researches in this field had appeared, he introduced changes in his study on Tangut phonetics in 1983.

Prof. Nishida was the first to posit a complete system of actual phonetic equivalents for Tangut written signs. All subsequent works in the field would have been impossible without his valuable contribution. In 1968, the "Grammar of the Tangut language" by M. V. Sofronov appeared. The scholar employed a large number of new Tangut original sources. Relying on Prof. Nishida's work, M. V. Sofronov presented his own phonetic reconstruction of the dead Tangut language. This was followed by reconstruction of initials and finals by Shi Jin-bo, Ne Hung-in, and Huang Zheng-hua in the republication of the dictionary "Sea of Signs", as well as by the reconstruction of Li Fan-wen. It should be noted that a single, generally accepted phonetic reconstruction of the Tangut language and system for the transcription of Tangut texts is lacking to this day.

As concerns the grammar of the Tangut language, those few scholars who have come after Prof. Nishida Tatsuo took as their starting point the original grammatical observations of Prof. Nishida, at times supporting and sometimes disputing his conclusions.

Tangut studies, to which Prof. Nishida dedicated several monographs and dozens of articles, did not represent the entirety of his scholarly interests. He is the author of more than 150 works, including more than 20 monographs. Prof. Nishida gained renown as a major specialist on Tibeto-Burman languages, publishing his research in a series of dictionaries of the *Hua-yi yi-yu*, the translation bureau of the Chinese Ming dynasty.

The academic career of Prof. Nishida developed very successfully. In 1972, he became the head of the linguistics department of the Philological Faculty and a member of the Kyoto University council; in January 1978, dean of the Philological Faculty; in 1979, President of the Japanese Society of Linguists. From 1986 to 1992, Prof. Nishida was the director of the Central Library of the University of Kyoto. After his retirement, he served as vice-president of the University of Kyoto from 1992 to 1994 and as a professor at the National Centre of Scientific Information Systems in the Japanese Ministry of Education and Culture. In January 1994, for his "contribution to linguistic research", Prof. Nishida received the Asahi prize.

Prof. Nishida's greatest service to scholarship lies in his enormous contribution to the history and comparative study of Tibeto-Burman languages as well as the study of certain rare languages. At the beginning of his career, during his work in Thailand, Prof. Nishida discovered the Bisu language. He also established the existence of Tosu, a previously unknown language.

The overwhelming majority of Prof. Nishida's works are published in Japanese. For this reason they are, unfortunately, insufficiently familiar to specialists working in Tibeto-Burman languages. In Russia Prof. Nishida is known primarily as a Tangut specialist. He is also a great friend of Russian scholars who work in the field of Tangut studies. During his numerous visits to the Saint-Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies Prof. Nishida conducted intensive research in the collection of Tangut manuscripts and old-print books, translating and publishing several texts. In the days of great financial embarrassment in the post-communist Russia, Prof. Nishida offered both moral and financial support to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. He was one of the first abroad who welcomed the appearance of the *Manuscripta Orientalia* and joined its board of advisors.

As a historian by training, the author of these remarks is not capable to evaluate in full Prof. Nishida's scholarly legacy. However, my investigations in history would have been impossible without Prof. Nishida's profound Tangut studies. His books continue to be of great help in my work. I share Prof. Nishida's views on the nature of Tangut script and highly appreciate his translations from Tangut. His valuable observations on the Tangut language are invariably helpful. I must also confess that I have always valued the personal friendship between Prof. Nishida and myself.

Prof. Nishida has young students in Tangut studies, not to mention numerous students in general linguistics. They will continue the endeavour initiated by their teacher.

The Editorial Board of the **Manuscripta Orientalia**, my Russian colleagues in Tangut studies and the staff of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies warmly congratulate Prof. Nishida Tatsuo on his seventieth birthday and wish him good health and long life. And we all say, 'Dear Prof. Nishida, as before, we are awaiting from you new works'.

Prof. ***E. I. Kychanov***

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

E. I. Kychanov

TANGUT BUDDHIST BOOKS: CUSTOMERS, COPYISTS, AND EDITORS

In the colophons of Tangut-language books from the dead city of Khara Khoto, references have survived to more than 400 people involved in ordering Buddhist books, copying them, editing (collating) them, or carving boards for woodcut editions. An analysis of this information is of interest not only to specialists, but to all scholars who study the processes by which manuscripts and early print materials were created the world over.

In the course of working on this paper, the author studied over 160 references to customers, 125 references to copyists, 10 references to carvers and 14 to editors (collators), who are mentioned in the Tangut materials found in Khara Khoto. In the form of brief information about the social and professional status of these people we have first-hand data about those individuals who made possible the appearance of Buddhist books in the Tangut (Xi Xia) language.

It is known that Buddhist books from Khara Khoto in the Tangut language belong entirely to the time of the Tangut state of Xi Xia (982—1227). There are no books in P. K. Kozlov's collection which date from the Yuan dynasty or from the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The earliest Buddhist book among those dated is from 1084; the latest is from 1222. Although texts which date from 1226 have been discovered in the famous *suburgan*, the major source for the collection, it is generally accepted that the construction of the *suburgan* dates to 1222 or a little bit later. Buddhist books were placed there during the burial of a distinguished person. It is possible that various non-Buddhist books made their way to the *suburgan* later, under threat of invasion by Chingiz Khan; such books were placed above the burial site and the Buddhist books. This is possibly the reason why P. K. Kozlov asserted that in the placement of books in the *suburgan* he observed chaos (above) as well as strict order (below).

In all likelihood, a woman was buried in the Khara Khoto *suburgan*. L. N. Menshikov holds that this could be the empress Lo, a Chinese woman, widow of the well-known emperor Ren-xiao. She allegedly found herself in exile in Khara Khoto after his death. We have no information on empress Lo's exile from the capital, and the assumption of L. N. Menshikov, if tempting, requires additional argumentation. Empress Lo is mentioned only twice in Tangut texts. On a folio of the *sūtra Fo shuo changahan jing* we find a stamp in red vermilion which contains the following: "Dedicated to the task of teaching pure truth, the widow empress Lo of the Great state [of the descendants of those who came from] the White Heights. She made an addition to the already existing Great *Tripiṭaka* in the Tangut language. The newly copied [*sūtra*] is located in the monastery's archive of *sūtras*. Heavenly prosperity unto the ages upon what is read and those who make sacrifices". The xylograph edition of the *sūtra* titled *Ren wang hu go boruo bolomido jing* indicates that this *sūtra* was distributed by the empress Lo in 1194. This is, in our view, still insufficient basis to claim that empress Lo was buried in the *suburgan*.

It is well known that participation in the reproduction of Buddhist canonical texts was recognized as a service which improved the believer's *karma*. For this reason, the customer was the central figure on the every-day level of distributing Buddhist books. His money made possible the acquisition of paper, brushes (*qalam*), and Indian ink; he paid for the work of copyists. The customer had to be a man of means, although we have references to orders for a single *juan* of *sūtra* submitted by a group of people, or orders for a copy of a section or half of a *juan*. References to many customers consist only of their names. There is also a sufficient number of cases where we learn about the social position of the customer. (We do not discuss here the emperors of Xi Xia as customers of copies and editions, or the distribution of *sūtras* to the population).

Thus, we find the following among customers: monks — 31 persons (slightly less than half of all customers). Among them: 6 persons who left their families (it is said of one of them that he left his family at age 12); 5 *śramaṇas*; 4 followers of *dhyāna*; 2 hermits; 1 *āyuṣman*; 2 nuns; 1 person "accepting orders" in the administration of Buddhist *saṅgha*; 1 prior; 1 "expert in texts"; 1 "student of the pure faith"

Among those customers about whom we learn more, one seventh are women. Aside from nuns, they were: 8 individuals simply called "lady"; 1 lady with the title *fu ren* (madame); 1 "woman of faith".

A significant number of the customers are simply called "virtuous people" (cf. Chin. *shan ren* 善人) — fervent Buddhists, monks and lay-people who observe all the precepts of the faith. Degrees of virtue were designated as follows: those beginning a virtuous way of life, "those entering into virtue", "those approaching virtue", those who have "some virtue", and "friends of virtue". Clearly, the term "virtuous" and phrases "virtuous man", "virtuous man of faith", "virtuous son" designated individuals who had attained virtue. The most successful in virtuous deeds were "those who create virtue", as well as "those who increase virtue". 24 customers are mentioned as "virtuous" in some context. We cite examples of their titles: "one who has approached virtue, a guide" (a guide for those occupying a mid-rank position in the administration of Xi Xia), "a monk who left his family and has approached virtue", "a monk, a virtuous man", "a *shrāmaṇa*, a virtuous son," "a monk, a virtuous and honored *āyuṣman*", "a virtuous monk", "a virtuous man, a follower of *dhyāna*", and so on.

To elucidate the origins of the Buddhist books found in the *suburgan*, it is important to consider all references to the city of Khara Khoto. Among the customers, we find 11 people or residents of Khara Khoto, or people who placed orders in Khara Khoto (see *Table 1*).

Table 1

Won Ngiu-ru	an individual of "some virtue"	1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
Gkha-xwa Ndon-ndzin-gkheiu	"master"	—	*Sūtra* of the Peacock
Lion Zhie-nia-wai ("Blooming Khara Khoto")	servant of the inner palace chambers	1172—1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
Mesi Ney Svey (Shan Min)	monk	1172—1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
Ngwezhwei Gkhey-lkhiuo	shipping manager	1158	*Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra*
Ngwe-ngwe Ti-kkhwa	master, clerk, servant of the inner palace chambers	1180	*Sheng da cheng shou hu da qian go jing*
Ngwe-zhwei Shan-nie	border emissary, "march commander"	—	*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*
Ngwo-zhe ndon-ndzhin-shie	—	1172—1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
Ngwo-zhe Ndon-ndzhin,	"who has approached virtue", monk who left his family	1172—1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
Putskhie	*śramaṇa*, follower of *dhyāna*	1201	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
Tskhazhwei	—	1172—1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*

Among these eleven customers, inhabitants of Khara Khoto or people who placed orders in this city, we find 3 monks, 3 clerks, 2 so-called "masters" (one of whom is a clerk), 1 soldier (border emissary, march commander), and one whom we might call a pious Buddhist, or the individual of "some virtue". Information about two people is missing. "Master" was a special social category among residents of Xi Xia, which, in our view, included people with independent households — land-owners and farmers. One customer held the position of shipping administrator. He worked in the transport administration, which controlled shipments of grain collected as tax in addition to, it seems, the mail. The soldier was a border emissary, which fits with the border location of Khara Khoto, and a senior officer in the "march command". Two customers were servants in the inner palace chambers. They were not, in our opinion, people who lived in the capital. Rather, they administered crown lands in Khara Khoto and conducted various business connected with the needs of the court.

Among the *sūtra*s copied in Khara Khoto on customers' orders, we find copies of such large works as *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (copies dating from 1172—1179 and 1201), *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra* (copied in 1158), *Mahāparanirvāṇa-sūtra* (no date). I believe that we can state with certainty that some of the Buddhist books from the *suburgan* were locally produced. Furthermore, among the copyists — that is, those directly involved in filling customers' orders — seven persons were also from Khara Khoto (see *Table 2*).

Table 2

Won Ngiuru-tskhi-wan (also a customer)	individual of "some virtue"	—	*Kongque jing*
Ldie-tsai Lkhiwe-pkhe-ldie	a monk who left his family	1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
Lion Mban-shiu-ngen	—	1162	*Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra*
Mingpu Shian-ndie	Chinese	1172—1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
Ngwemi Gkhie-shie	glorious wise *paramita*, servant of the inner palace chambers	1172—1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*
Putsie	*śramaṇa*, follower of *dhyāna*	Year of the horse (1198 or 1210)	*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*
Pkhin-shio Shion	—	1172—1179	*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*

Among the 127 copyists of whom we know, 22 were monks, one an "imperial scribe", 6 held the title of "holder of the brush". Two copyists from the Shizhou-Ganzhou region took part in a copy of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* of 1152—1156. It seems that one copyist of this *sūtra* was from Tibet. He is mentioned under the year 1153 and it is said of him that he is "a teacher, a hermit, one who takes his place among the followers of *dhyāna* of Tibet". One monk, with the religious name Bao Min, who also copied this text (1153), held the title "one who has gained vision at the Heavenly *wang*". It is unclear to me whether this means that he was a personal servant of the emperor. There are indications next to the names of three copyists that they were Chinese; one of the copyists was a woman (1173). A monk by the name Hui Hu was apparently related to the imperial family; it is said of him that this is an "individual of the emperor's family". One should note the monk and copyist Jie ta, who held the high title *fa shi* (teacher of Canon Law). It is said of one copyist that he knew how to write in gold — he was a "writer in gold". One of the copyists encountered in our texts made a note, which describes his work: "Copying is difficult work. But one gains strength when people see what was written [by you]".

The board-carver was an important figure in the production of xylograph editions. We encounter references to 10 names with the dates 1084, 1168 and 1206. As a rule, there is no information on the status or social position of the carvers. It is only said of one that he was a servant of the inner palace chambers. One can assume that the carvers were frequently simple craftsmen.

Sacred texts were checked before copying, during the copying process and after copying. There are many notes confirming that the texts are identical and that they were checked one, two and even three times. We know the names of 34 editors (collators), two of whom were also from Khara Khoto. These are Ngwemi Wemi (17), an individual who bore the family name of the emperors of Xi Xia, and Pu Gkha-wa (18) mentioned under 1172—1179 in connection with the preparation of the Khara Khoto copy of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. Among the editors, three persons held the high title *go shi* (state mentor), one held the title *fa shi*, and two *chan shi* (mentor in Chan). One was a superior (the monastery is not indicated). The editor Tsiei Ldiei-gkhia (20) was the teacher of the emperor's grandsons. Three editors worked as senior officials in the administration of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, two as deputy senior officials in the administration of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, and two occupied the next position in the hierarchy after senior and deputy officials in the administration, being "accepting orders". Some of the editors were officials in secular administration: one served at the ranks of head of a desk and work-organiser for the sentry-guard of the administration of the capital department (Zhungxingfu); another served as head of a desk and administrative organiser for publishing books in moveable type; yet another editor was the head of a workshop and head of a desk in the same administration (1216). The teacher of the emperor's grandsons served at the same time (or held the honorary title) of "accepting orders in the administration of cattle-breeding." He also held an academic degree, evidently obtained through state exams. Among the editors with academic training was the monk Fa Bao, who held the title "teacher of the three Tangut teachings". One can suggest that this means simply the Chinese *san jiao* — Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism. As for their places of residence, it is possible that some of them were from the capital. It is known that the noted *śramaṇa* De Hui, who also worked as an editor, was from a residence in the Helanshan Mountains. Two editors were from the monastery "Peoples' Salvation", one of the few monasteries mentioned in Tangut texts. Thus, as was the custom, all of the editors were educated people of high social status.

It should be added that once a book was in use, it would wear out. We encounter more than a few books which were restored still at the time of the Xi Xia state. The name of only one restorer has reached us: Lion Kion-kay (19), mentioned under 1176.

Thus, we can state that the colophons on the pages of Buddhist books from Khara Khoto are an important source of valuable information on how the books were made, how *sūtra*s were "multiplied" (not on the state level, but in the ordinary every-day Tangut life).

The Tangut materials found in Khara Khoto testify that the customer paid for the copy, or for part of the text if it was a voluminous text. There were "general customers" and "partial customers". We know of 78 people who paid for a single copy of one *juan*. It is also known that 11 people paid for a copy of *juan*s 71—80 of the *Da fang guang fo hua yan jing sūtra* — five of them together ordered *juan*s 71, 78, 79 and 80; six ordered a single *juan* each (*juan*s 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77). Each gave as much as he could. Unfortunately, we do not have information on the concrete costs of copying, if copies were indeed produced for pay.

The name of the customer was indicated on the pages of the reproduced sacred text, since the ordering of Buddhist text was considered as a pious deed.

If we do not take into consideration those who cut the paper and prepared the ink, then the copyist was the main figure in producing books. This had to be a literate man with good handwriting, an exact and assiduous individual. The role of the copyist retained its importance in the xylographic printing of books. Only moveable-type printing, an enormous advance in the reproduction of books made in China in the eleventh century, reduced the role of the copyist in the publication of books to practically nil. This method of book-printing was known and used in Xi Xia, although for reasons which remain unclear the employment of this method was limited.

As for the role of editors and collators, we know a rare case of their work from a note at the end of one of the texts. This note reads: "A sign is missing above".

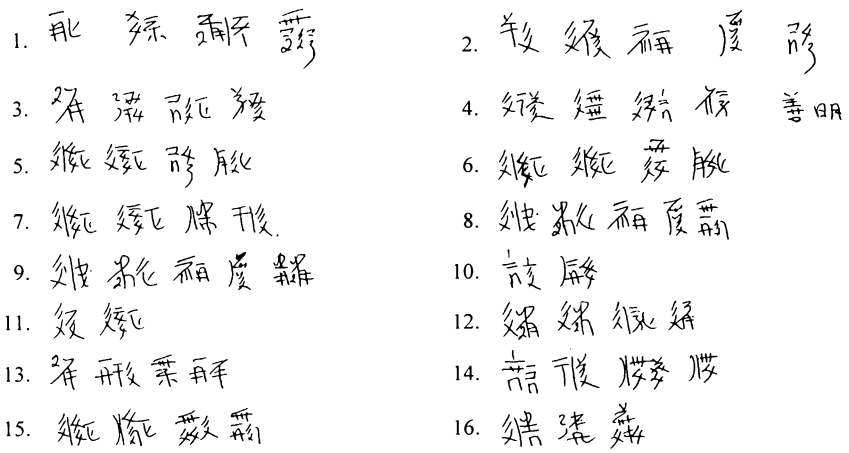
As said above, Buddhist manuscript books from the famous *suburgan*, be they a part of the empress Lo's library or entirely unrelated to this empress, were of local manufacture, all were produced in the city of Khara Khoto. I believe that in the current paper I have put forward arguments, persuasive enough, in favour of this statement. It is interesting, Khara Khoto, this third-rate city on the borders of the Tangut State, a place of exile for prisoners, saw intensive work on the production of Tangut Buddhist books for almost a century and a half. Logic suggests that such a rich collection of Buddhist books might existed in the Kidan and Jurjen languages, though this thesis demands further argumentation.

Anyway, the *suburgan*'s survival to the beginning of the twentieth century is a matter of chance. Without it,

scholarship would have at its disposal a limited number of texts and, consequently, show but little interest in what we now term Tangut studies. Contrary to popular wisdom, books do burn, and humanity has endured enormous losses throughout history. Perhaps the ruin and denial of the old provided natural conditions for the assertion of the new. However, this serves a week consolation and in no way simplifies the task of culture historians. In any case, the contents of the *suburgan* show the striking difference between what was reconstructed from surviving fragments and what became known on the basis of the investigation of those intact and integral materials which found their way into scholarly hands.

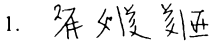
Appendix

List of Customers and Copyists

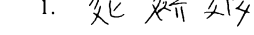


List of Editors

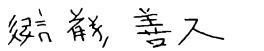
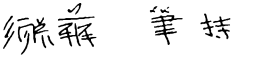
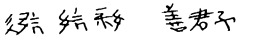
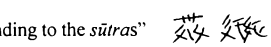
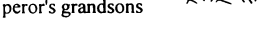
List of Restorers

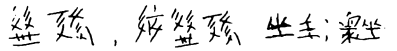
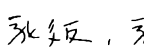
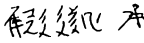
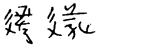
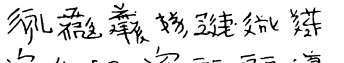
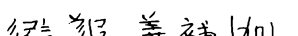
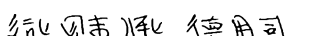
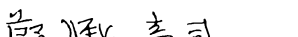
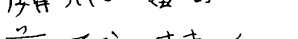
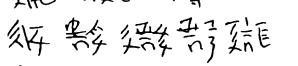
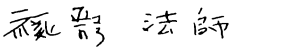
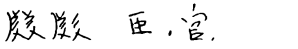


Others
(teacher of the emperor's grandsons)



Glossary

āyuṣman	
"entering into virtue"	
go shi	
"holder of the brush"	
virtuous	
virtuous man	
"friend of virtue"	
dhyāna	
"tending to the *sūtras*"	
imperial scribe	
march commander	
some virtue	
monk	
nun	
organizer	
mentor of the emperor's grandsons	

superior	
possessing an academic degree	
border emissary	
"congratulating virtue"	
"approaching virtue"	
"accepting orders"	
editor	
relative (of the ruler)	
collator of texts (editor)	
servant of the inner palace chambers	
creating virtue	
head of a desk	
head of a desk in the administration of printing books with moveable type	
increasing virtue	
administration of the Buddhist *saṅgha*	
administration of cattle-breeding	
shipping administration	
teacher of the three Tangut teachings	
fa shi	
master	
official	
śramaṇa	
emissary	

K. J. Solonin

THE MASTERS OF HONGZHOU IN THE TANGUT STATE

The Tangut collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies preserves two Tangut manuscripts with practically the same title — "Notes on the Basic Intentions of the Masters of the Hongzhou Lineage" [1]. One of the manuscripts, call number Tang 112, No. 2540, is somewhat more extensive than the other and bears a broader title — "Notes on the Basic Intentions of the Masters of the Hongzhou Lineage with Explanation and Commentary" [2]. It presents in effect an expanded version of Tang 111, No. 2529. As my earlier research has demonstrated, both of the texts are in fact identical. The present paper will focus on the more detailed text, which comprises a rather extensive commentary, i.e. Tang 112, No. 2540.

The dimensions of the manuscript under discussion are about 15.0 × 22.0 cm. The manuscript contains approximately 18 characters per line. The basic text is written in large characters, while the commentary is written in smaller characters. This lengthy version contains 23 butterfly pages and the smaller one only about 5 pages.

Surprisingly, the text written in large characters in Tang 112, No. 2540, which corresponds to the contents of Tang 111, No. 2529, does not constitute a single, logical exposition. This section of the "Notes" is a collection of statements and explanations, sometimes fairly lengthy, rather than the coherent text we find in Tang 111, No. 2529.

Elsewhere, the author of the present paper has made a general survey of the text of the "Notes" [3]. Here I present some additional observations on the contents of the manuscript.

Origin of the Text

It is fortunate that in both the versions the text has been preserved in full. From the colophone of the lengthier version we even learn the name and birthplace of the original commentator. According to this colophone, the commentary (註) was composed by a *śramaṇa* Fa-yong, a native of a place called *Yuanxiang* [4].

Although the colophone of the Tangut text has survived, it bears neither the date of its compilation nor a hint at the origin of the text in general. Judging from the paper, the manuscript can be dated, like other Khara Khoto findings, to the mid-twelfth century. The abridged text in Tang 111, No. 2529 has no colophone at all. The person of Fa-yong is not mentioned in any of the Chinese biographical sources known to me. However, some observations concerning the time of the compilation of the original text can be made on the basis of the text itself [5].

The "Notes on the Basic Intentions of the Masters of the Hongzhou Lineage with Explanation and Commentary" reflect, in the main, a later development of the basic ideas of classical Chan-Buddhism in the late Tang period, namely, the concepts of Ma-zu Dao-yi (馬祖道一; 709—788) and his disciples — Huangbo (黃檗; d. 850) and Baizhang (百丈; 720—814). The latter is mentioned in the text. The founder of the teaching, Ma-zu, preached mainly in the area of Hongzhou in Jiangxi, whence the title of the school: the "Hongzhou line". This term seems to have been invented by Guifeng Zong-mi (圭峰宗密; 780—841). It was used in the so-called "Chan Chart" by Zong-mi, which contains an analysis of various schools and teachings contemporary to the author, whose aim was to unite the rites of Chan with the doctrinal teachings [6].

Since our Tangut text mentions both Baizhang and Ma-zu and bears a title linking its author, whoever he might be, with the tradition of Zong-mi (and with Buddhism as a whole in the north-west China), it appears reasonable to date the compilation of the "Notes on the Basic Intentions" to the mid-ninth century and not earlier than 788, for the text mentions, if vaguely, the posthumous title of Ma-zu — Daji (大寂 — "The Great Tranquillity"), which Ma-zu received in that year. No other names are mentioned in either text, which would enable us to date the text to a later period. Moreover, there is some ambiguity concerning the nature of the text, which seems to deny any connections with Zong-mi's teaching and lacks mention of his writings. Nevertheless, the connection of the texts with Zong-mi's thought leaves little room for doubt: the "Notes" seem to share both some of the concepts characteristic of Zong-mi's tradition and his general search for the unity of doctrinal Buddhism and Chan — i.e. for harmony between the schools and the doctrines (宗教一致).

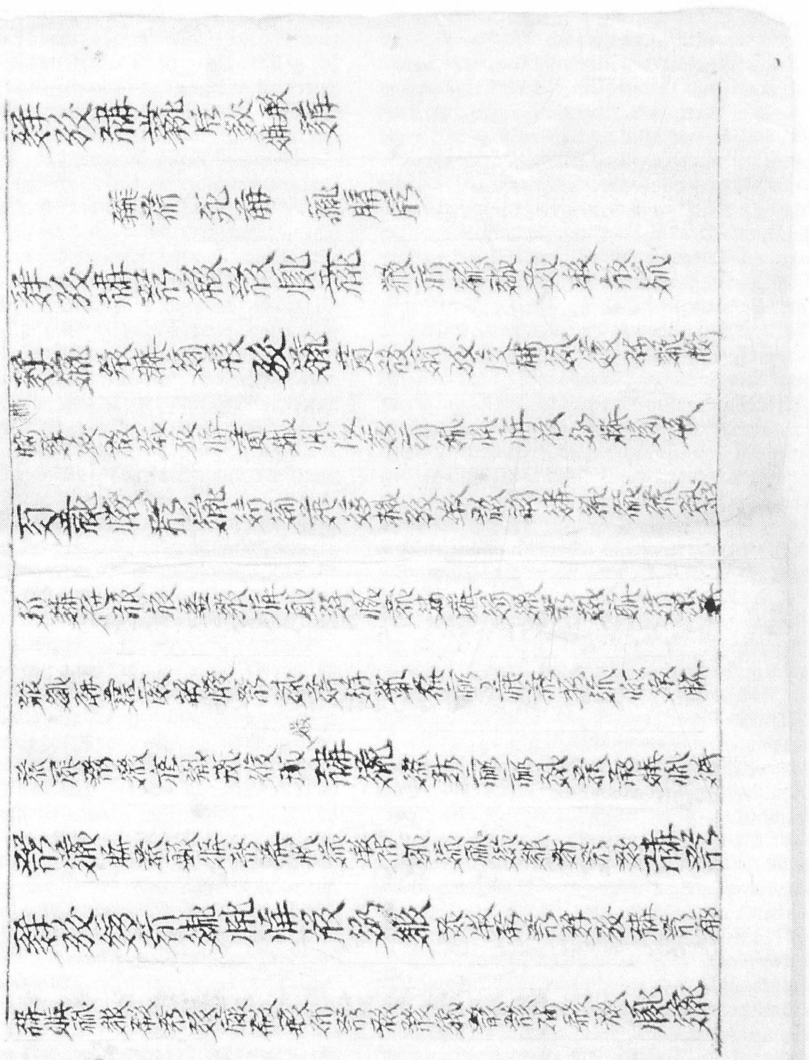


Fig. 1

Contents of the "Notes"

The Tangut text under discussion is quite extensive. Here I shall limit myself to the basic ideas it contains. To obtain an adequate understanding of the contents of the "Notes", it is necessary to provide some information on the religious and cultural circumstances under which Buddhism developed in north-west China in the ninth—twelfth centuries.

It is quite obvious now that no such thing as "Chinese Buddhism" ever existed as a unified entity except in the minds of scholars. It was different in different regions and at different periods, every time presenting a blend of various traditions, beliefs, and local cults. It had its own local religious centres in various areas of China. One can clearly discriminate between central-southern Buddhism, i.e. the schools of Ma-zu and Shitou, and the northern or north-west variant of the Buddhist faith. The latter comprised the doctrines of Huayan and esoteric Buddhism. As for the development of Chan, for certain historical and geographical reasons, the synthetic school of Guifeng Zong-mi, centred in the Straw Hut Temple in Shenxi, was predominant [7]. It is now obvious that after Huichang persecution of Buddhism in the 840s the lineage of Zong-mi was not interrupted, but continued to develop both in its place of origin and in the Tangut State, where it became extremely popular [8]. Many works by Zong-mi were translated into Tangut; some of them have survived both in Chinese and Tangut versions [9]. At the same time, there are treatises which do not belong to Zong-mi but closely follow his thought and ideas, with Zong-mi's writings frequently quoted in them. Such is "The Mirror" (鏡), which has been discussed elsewhere [10].

There are also several texts which, while not connected directly with Zong-mi, demonstrate a dependence on his thought, especially as concerns bringing Chan together with the doctrines. Such is, to my mind, the case with the text of the "Notes". The problem that existed was in fact the problem of shift: the initial efforts to unite Huayan and Chan of Heze Shen-hui (河澤神會; 686—760) were abandoned because of the decline of Shen-hui tradition; furthermore, the followers of Zong-mi turned to the increasingly prominent school of Ma-zu. Such was the case with Zong-mi's disciple Pei Xiu (裴休; d. 860), once the Tang prime-minister, who turned to the teaching of Huangbo and became the publisher of his works [11]. The "Notes", though not linked to Pei Xiu directly, probably represent the same school of thinking.

The "Notes" begin with a traditional explanation of the meaning of the word "Hongzhou" and notes on Ma-zu's biography and appearance, which seem to agree with all other surviving records [12]. The account of his early career, however, differs slightly from the traditional one; Ma-zu is said to have taken monastic vows under a certain "*vinaya* master Yuan", who is mentioned only once. Furthermore, the commentator of the "Notes" seems to discriminate between Ma-zu and Da-ji, though the latter was, as mentioned above, the master's posthumous title. For some unknown reason, Fa-young treats the name as though it refers to a different person.

Further, the text holds that Chan contemplation was studied by Ma-zu under Huairang Er-san, who probably stands erroneously for Nanyue Huairang (南嶽懷讓; 677—744), Ma-zu's actual master. The process of Chan study is described in this way: "[Ma-zu] has obtained the mysterious seal of mind from Huairang Er-san and gained knowledge that everything [possesses] true reality, and [thus] has acquired perfection. After that his disciples appeared like a [multitude] of clouds ".

This note suggests that Ma-zu is represented here as a follower of the "sudden enlightenment and gradual perfection", i.e. as a follower of Guifeng Zong-mi's tradition. Fa-yong further notes: "The [Hongzhou] doctrine is in that which all living beings possess — the direct, clear, and wise mind ... since its masters elaborate their 'straight' teaching (of the innate identity of the individual mind with the Buddha-nature — *K. S.*), it is precisely they who are the teachers who transmit [what is] most important". Basing himself on the idea that "everything is true", i.e. that each mental phenomenon contains in itself the completeness of the Buddha-nature, Fa-yong remarks: "From the beginning the people have no misconceptions", thus claiming the priority of Chan over doctrinal Buddhism, which is in full accordance with Hongzhou teaching.

As was mentioned above, the text of the "Notes" is a collection of records of the school, with commentaries interwoven. Though it is not possible to reconstruct the original text in every instance, we may conclude, relying on the brief version, that the first part of the text presents an adequate exposition of Ma-zu's teaching. The most interesting section begins with a statement on the necessity of studying "the two main points of the teaching — man and *dharma*" (i.e. the Buddhist teaching) — a dichotomy formulated by Zong-mi in his "Chan Preface". Its employment in the "Notes" provides indirect evidence of a certain connection between Guifeng's line and the tradition represented in the "Notes". Zong-mi's assertion is that "it is hard to approximate *dharma* through the people but easy to join the people through *dharma*" [13].

The problem of man and *dharma* requires special attention. Briefly, the dichotomy stresses the necessity of doctrinal learning, i.e. *dharma*. On the one hand, *dharma* is considered a changeless criterion of truth, regardless of the individual's state of mind; on the other hand, it is a particular role played by particular individuals who transmit the Teaching. Transmitting the *dharma* from mind to mind is the role of the Chan master. Consequently, the Teacher and his Teaching constitute the union, which forms the essence of harmonious teaching.

Further, the "Notes" turn to the exposition of the relationship between substance and its manifestations, namely, between "virtue" and "reward". The text reads: "[IF WE] DO NOT RELY ON THE WORDS OF THE TEN THOUSAND SAGES, WHAT IS LEFT TO RELY UPON THEN?" The commentary of the compiler, Fa-yong, is as follows: "[According] to the intention of the doctrine under consideration, [you] should not believe in what you hear and [should] perfect [your] faith in the benevolent ties of the Buddha family. [In this case] the fruit of heaven is achieved. Why? [The reason is that] the principle of Chan is the summit ... of the *dharma* treasure of the Buddhas of the three periods, [which is] the heart of the teachings of all the sages". The "Notes" continue: "EVERYTHING IS TRUTH. This implies that the supreme instrument of a single mind dwells in its uniqueness, having no equals to itself. THE INITIAL EQUALITY, THE NON-DUALITY OF OPPOSITES. Additionally: the

question: 'What is the single characteristic [of this]?' [The answer]: 'It is virtue'. Is it that substance dwells in the five *skandhas*? Considered directly as a whole, substance is one in and of itself. What does it contain? If deeds originated from virtue, no virtue would originate from substance. What is the ultimate sense of deeds and virtue? The answer: 'Substance and deeds are purity. True substance is not subject to attachment or vice. Thus, that is why one speaks of virtue coming from substance. The *dharma*s manifested do not differ from each other and they all are nothing but the virtue coming from deeds'" [14].

In my view, the most interesting portion of Fa-yong's notes cited above are the passages which reveal the close relation of Chan thought to the whole of Chinese Buddhist philosophy, notable for its special attention to the problems of substance and non-duality. The lengthy discourse on the interrelations of substance, virtues, and deeds tends to elucidate the initial equality of all the phenomena with the help of the Huayen concept of *ti-yong* (體用). The main purpose of the basic text is to connect Ma-zu's idea that "everything is true" (i.e. that every manifestation of mental activity is ontologically valid), with the traditional Huayen outlook or even to refer to the *ti-yong* concept as the foundation of Ma-zu's thinking. It is interesting that Zong-mi accused the Hongzhou line of misunderstanding the concept of *ti-yong*, which was evident to him from their notion that "everything is true".

Zong-mi believed that the Hongzhou teachers did not discriminate between the pure and deluded mind. To avoid this, Fa-yong developed the idea of the double manifestation of substance, with the first level of manifestation being the "deed" and the "virtue" being the manifestation of the latter and not of substance itself. Consequently, everything, be it pure or not, is related, directly or indirectly, to the initial purity. This idea of Fa-yong introduced a certain mediator between the initial purity and worldly delusion, not separated from each other but existing in unity, without purity of substance suffering any damage. Thus "everything is true" and *ti-yong* concepts could have coexisted without contradicting one another. The invention of such a highly sophisticated doctrine was important to Zong-mi's followers, who sought to establish their teaching as the doctrinal basis of Chan, rather than to the Hongzhou line.

The "Notes" also quote a *gātha* of Baizhang. Nothing similar to this Tangut *gātha* has survived in extant Baizhang texts. Taking into consideration the nature of Baizhang's religious activity as a Chan adept, it is hard to imagine that he was overly concerned by the problem of interrelations or mutual dependence of substance and phenomena. It is more likely that Baizhang's name was merely used for the purpose of authority.

We read in the "Notes": "THUS BAIZHANG UTTERED A *GĀTHA*, namely, explained different meanings in order and respectively demonstrated the totality of truth and turmoil. If substance, deeds, and virtues lack duality, then in their relation to the Buddha they do not exist from the [very] beginning. True mind is primordially wise and tranquil, [hence] the mind does not exist from the beginning. Manifestations are non-dual, they are encompassed by the deeds [and] liberated by substance; thus it is said that everything is true. For this reason, two paths — substance and deeds — are obvious. THE EXISTENT: [that means] that there is nothing which is not the principle. ALL *DHARMA*S, [namely], the unchangeable principle, POSSESS THE EMPTINESS OF FORM [which is] the virtue of following the causes".

It is easy to recognise in this last thesis the particular Huayen concept of true reality remaining unchangeable and yet subject to changes. The existence of *dharma*s is interpreted in the text through their union with the true principle, in other words from the point of view of the absolute. *Dharma*s possess reality and in their worldly mode they are empty and constitute a phenomenal plurality, the principle being manifested through their constant motion. *Dharma*s thus retain their principal existence, which does not deny their phenomenal emptiness, and vice versa [15]. Only empirical being is an illusion of a special kind — the supreme existence of true reality manifests itself through it.

The passages and discourses quoted above, however concise they may seem, offer some evidence to evaluate the "Notes" as a Chan-Huayen text, seeking to unite Chan practices with the basic Huayen doctrines to create a perfect teaching again. In any case, I would like to return to the original text in order to demonstrate the key idea more clearly. Elsewhere, the Tangut text reads: "BASIS AND DEEDS DO NOT EXCLUDE EACH OTHER. Following self-nature is an ancient way. [Concerning] the contradiction [between basis and deeds] someone said [that] the source was Chan. Though Chan is the source, if the path of perfection is followed without full contemplation of the doctrine, contradiction arises between your way and the way of attaining [enlightenment]. [But] if only the practices are used, would it not contradict the secret seal of mind transmitted by Bodhidharma? The answer: '... if complete contemplation of the Teaching on the path of perfection occurs, the [distinct] features of duality will escape you because of your understanding that everything is true. That is the Dao. As was said before, that which never changes contains no contradiction'".

This part of the text clearly stresses the necessity of uniting Chan with doctrinal knowledge, which would prove efficiency of Chan practices. The Huayen concept of true reality bringing forth all the variety of phenomena, while remaining unchangeable, is now used in the text to support the predominantly Chan concept of direct identity of mind with the Buddha. Thus was Huayen explanation of Ma-zu's assertion that "every meeting is Dao" [16].

Other phrases in the "Notes" seem to support the supposed proximity of our text to the Huayen tradition and conform to the spirit of establishing the "round teaching". These are: "THE CHAN MASTER JUE-HUI [17] ATTAINED THE ENLIGHTENED MIND, [he] awakened outside the words (of doctrinal teachings — *K. S.*) [and] not relying on the words. He became attached to that which was outside the words, and did not desire to follow the words. [THIS IS AS IF] HE OPENED HIS RIGHT EYE, LEAVING HIS LEFT EYE CLOSED. Those who follow only the words or exclusively what is outside the words are equally non-enlightened. They lack a part of the teaching, and this has [always] generated sin. If one follows this strictly, there will be no one among people without perfect wisdom". The text goes on to elucidate the doctrine of mutual interaction of Chan and the teachings in creating a perfect unity.

To demonstrate a certain connection between the contents of the Tangut text and Huayen thought, I would refer to the following passage: "ALL *DHARMA*S ARE *DHARMA*S OF TRUTH, [i.e.] all *dharma*s pertain to the *dharma*s of truth and not to different *dharma*s established by means of

deviation from the truth. ALL NAMES ARE NAMES OF TRUTH. The origin from the single name [implies that this is] the name of the total truth (total reality — *K. S.*) and not the name relating to the variety of real names established on the account of a subdivision of true reality. For example, from a single grain of wheat ten thousand dishes are prepared, but all of them are wheat".

The general meaning of the above discussion is quite transparent; all phenomena derive from the single true reality and their worldly existence rests on the principal of linking with this reality, but not on that of its division. This general idea is similar to the Huayen concept of the relationship between a particular phenomenon and the total reality as they are rendered in Fa-zang's "Golden Lion of Huayen" and Zong-mi's "Chan Preface". There is also a certain similarity in the parables used by the authors, though Zong-mi's parable treats gold instead of wheat [18].

Any analysis of the "Notes", even one as brief as that presented in this paper, would be incomplete without a discussion of the relationship between the main concepts treated in the text and the doctrine of Heze Shen-hui. Fortunately, the text itself provides some material on the problem: "QUESTION: WHAT IS *DHARMA* TRANSMITTED FROM MASTER TO PUPIL IN THE SCHOOL OF THE FOUNDING MASTER HEZE? The explanation has always been clear and well-known, though living beings inquire into the [nature] of true substance on the basis of contemplation that follows the words. [These], however, do not discriminate between white and black. With regard to the "precious seal of great antiquity", [it implies] a non-duality of [contemplation following the words] and contemplation following what is beyond the words [19]. Is there any difference between the views of Da-ji (大寂 Ma-zu), [who establishes] the realisation of self nature through the presence of external characteristics, and the views of Heze? The answer is: '[The difference] both exists and does not'. Why? According to Da-ji, everything exists truly. Therefore, there is no difference. ... Is there any true substance in that? From the point of view of existence (i.e. worldly existence of phenomena), [both] sages and fools exist, [consequently] it is not possible for enlightenment to be brought about — what is the use of that? Reverend Śākya had attained full and perfect enlightenment and attained the mind of the *dharma* realm. If the full vision of self is acquired once, self and the Buddha will essentially constitute no difference. Living beings are not enlightened and are subject to retribution. According to the law (rite — *K. S.*), there are distinctions between the masters".

Thus, the Tangut text seeks to demonstrate the ultimate unity of the doctrines of Ma-zu and Shen-hui, since both masters deal with the realisation of the innate Buddha-nature, ever-present in mind. According to the "Notes", the two teachings are identical in substance, but differ in their manifestation. Thus a consequent line of Chan teachings amalgamation is developed, as well as the problem of establishing the "orthodox" Chan had is solved: the shift from Shen-hui to Ma-zu is regarded as of no principle significance, because both the masters are equally true and are teaching the same "Buddha-nature". This fact testifies to efforts to update Zong-mi's views to the changing reality of late Tang and Sung Buddhism, and at the same time to an effort to preserve the key function of Huayen philosophy.

Furthermore, there is something that causes Fa-yong's views to differ from Zong-mi's main intention. For the Master of Guifeng, Huayen philosophy served as the basis for further constructions, while for Fa-yong it had lost much of its original value and was preserved by him only in its explanatory function, but not as some "ultimate theory" or constructive ideology. No harmony of Chan and teachings existed anymore; Chan became dominant. The evidence for that is that Huayen concepts in the "Notes" were attributed to Chan masters, but not to Huayen authorities — neither Zong-mi nor anyone else is mentioned in the Tangut text.

This analysis, brief as it may seem, shows that the lineage of Zong-mi did survive in Xi-Xia. It took a new direction; efforts to combine the approach of the Ma-zu line with Huayan doctrinal foundations were made there. Although the origin of the "Notes" is probably Chinese, the text could be understood and appreciated only in Xi-Xia, with its long-lasting interest in Huayan. The "Notes" deviate from classical Zong-mi's views in many points, thus representing a new development of his thought, Chinese in origin, but flourishing in Xi-Xia. If Chinese Buddhism was destined to transform into some sort of native Tangut Buddhism, the Chan-Huayan trend might have been crucial in the process.

Notes

1. Tang 111, No. 2529; Tang 112, No. 2540.

2. 洪州宗趣註開明要記. Here and further in the paper the Chinese equivalents of original Tangut names and titles are referred to. In our previous publications the title of the text was translated in a slightly different way, but the variant used here sounds more adequate.

3. See K. Iu. Solonin, "Po povodu chan'-buddiĭskikh tekstov iz Tangutskogo sobraniia SPbF IV RAN" ("Concerning the Chan-Buddhist Texts in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies Tangut Collection, Russian Academy of Sciences"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, fasc. 7 (St. Petersburg, 1995), pp. 390—412; K. J. Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi and the Buddhism in Xi-Xia", *The Chung-hwa Journal of Buddhist Studies* (pre-print). The discussed text is also cited by Nishida Tatsuo in his list of Buddhist writings, preserved in St. Petersburg, see 西田龍雄西夏文華嚴經, vol. 3.

4. 法勇. This is in fact a transcription of the Chinese equivalent of the original Tangut name. In fact, the discussed person could as well have been a Chinese. Since Buddhist monastic names are rendered here into Tangut semantically rather than phonetically, it seems more convenient to use the Chinese transcriptions than the Tangut ones. The same is true of the situation with geographical names. The place-name *Yuanxiang* remains obscure, therefore it is rendered here in italics (possible Chinese 源響).

5. Here and elsewhere, by the "original" we mean the text of the shorter version and that part of the lengthier version which is written in large characters.

6. For "The Chan Chart" of Zong-mi, see P. Gimello, "Sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation", *Sudden and Gradual Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu, 1987), pp. 304—7. In the St. Petersburg Tangut Collection this work of Zong-mi is present both in Chinese (TK-254) and Tangut (Tang 227, No. 5172) versions. Occasionally, the extant Tangut version contains

Zong-mi's discourse on the nature of Hongzhou teachings. See Solonin, "Po povodu chan'-buddiĭskikh tekstov", pp. 407—8; also *idem*, "Guifeng Zong-mi".

7. For a discussion on the nature of north-west Chinese Buddhism, see Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi"; also *idem*, *Ucheniia i religioznaia praktika shkol kitaĭskogo buddizma v tangutskom gosudarstve Si-Sia* (Teachings and Religious Practice in Chinese Buddhism in the Tangut State), abstract of PhD thesis (St. Petersburg, 1996), pp. 18—9. A surprising piece of evidence on the popularity of Huayan tradition in the Tangut State came unexpectedly; this school was mentioned as the equivalent for Buddhism as a whole in the so-called "Big Ode" of the Tangut, which could be considered an "official" source of knowledge on Xi-Xia. See *More znacheniĭ, ustanovlennykh sviatymi* (The Sea of Meanings Ascertained by Saints). Publication of the text, translation from the Tangut, study, commentary and appendices by E. I. Kychanov (St. Petersburg, 1997), p. 223.

8. For an analysis of Tangut texts related to the tradition of Zong-mi, see Solonin, "Po povodu chan'-buddiĭskikh tekstov", pp. 396—400; also *idem*, "Guifeng Zong-mi".

9. The list of Zong-mi's works from the St. Petersburg Tangut collection can be found in Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi".

10. For a discussion of the nature of "The Mirror", see Solonin, "Po povodu chan'-buddiĭskikh tekstov", pp. 405—11. Full translation is given in Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi".

11. The relationship between Pei Xiu and Chan schools deserves a special discussion. Preliminary discussion of the point see in Solonin, "Po povodu chan'-buddiĭskikh tekstov", p. 407 and *idem*, "Guifeng Zong-mi". In effect, Zong-mi composed some works of his own, which were also translated into Tangut.

12. The description of Ma-zu's appearance, in particular, of two wheel-shaped spots on his heels, seems to occur in all the sources dealing with Hongzhou matters.

13. See K. J. Solonin's Russian translation of the "Preface to the Collection of the Explanations of the Chan Sources" by Zong-mi (Part 1), in *Buddhism in Translations*, vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1993), p. 110.

14. I.e. a trychotomy of substance, virtue, and deeds.

15. The Huayan formula for this interrelation is much simpler: 隨緣不變不變隨緣.

16. 每遇即道 in Chinese rendering.

17. 覺慧, an unidentified person.

18. "Preface to the Collection of the Explanations of the Chan Sources" by Zong-mi, trans. by K. J. Solonin (see n. 13), p. 114.

19. Chinese equivalents of the Tangut signs are 隨語 and 語外禪.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. "Notes on the Basic Intentions of the Masters of the Hongzhou Lineage with Explanation and Commentary", manuscript Tang 112, No. 2540 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 1b—2a, 15.0 × 22.0 cm.

I. Ye. Petrosyan

THE *MAWLID-I NABĪ* BY SÜLEYMĀN ÇELEBĪ AND ITS TWO VERSIONS

Among the Turkish manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is a late eighteenth-century copy of a *mathnawī* poem written by the Turkish poet Süleymān Çelebī (Sulaymān Chalabī; 1351—1410) and known by the title *Mawlid-i Nabī*. The manuscript has a leather binding with a gold imprint in the centre — a medallion with floral ornamentation — and a border of small rosettes (on the outer side of the binding) with a fully gilded impressed drawing on the inner side. The dimensions of the folios are: 21.0 × 16.4 cm. The text occupies a space of 14.0 × 10.0 cm and is copied in black Indian ink in two columns framed by a gold border. The text is vocalised and each page contains 11 *bayt*s. In all, the copy contains 1,204 lines of poetry. The manuscript was acquired in 1962 from relatives of the collector and Orientalist S. M. Shapshal [1].

The title of the work is given in the manuscript directly beneath the *unwān* in red ink in the form *Mawlūd-i Nabī*. The paper is European, with watermarks; it is thin and glossy. The handwriting is *naskh*. The manuscript consists of 30 folios. The end of the work is on fol. 29b. Folio 30a contains a prayer of good wishes marked with the date 27 Ramaḍān 1250/27 January 1835 (the month is indicated only by the letter *rā'*).

The work, written at the very beginning of the fifteenth century, has survived in numerous copies from various times. It is dedicated to the life of Muḥammad, more specifically, to glorifying him as the greatest and last of the prophets. The modest manuscript kept in the St. Petersburg collection is of interest as it represents one of the last in a series of copies going back to the oldest surviving manuscript. This oldest copy dates to 920/1514—15 and is held in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul. The distinctive feature of this oldest copy and the version it contains is the presence of a concluding section dedicated to Muḥammad's daughter, Fāṭima.

We know that the autograph of Süleymān Çelebī's poem has not survived. The Turkish scholar A. Ateş, the author of a scholarly edition of the poem, based his edition not on the oldest manuscript but on a later copy dated to 967/1558—59, now held in the library of the Mehmed Fatih Mosque in Istanbul. The manuscript chosen by A. Ateş for his edition lacks the section dedicated to Fāṭima [2]. In the view of the scholar, this section of the poem, present in the oldest copy, is obviously an interpolation and could not have belonged to Süleymān Çelebī himself [3]. The absence of the section on Fāṭima is a basic feature which marks one of the two extant versions of the poem. A. Ateş observes that this section is written in a different poetic meter than the main body of the work and differs from it lexically. Not intending to take issue with the scholar's conclusion, we note only that the whole of the text published by Ateş is diverse both in the poetic meters employed and in its linguistic features. In a study which precedes the publication of Çelebī's poem, Ateş stresses also the distinctly Sunnī character of the text created by the poet. This element, more than any other, seems to compel the scholar to doubt Süleymān's authorship of the section which tells of Fāṭima and 'Alī, although he nowhere postulates this directly.

Taking into account that the section in question is, in essence, the key element in distinguishing the two extant versions of the poem, it is important to pay special attention to the origins of the supposed interpolation and the time of its possible incorporation into the text of the poem. It should be noted that the independent and persistent existence of two versions over a long period of time, along with the lack of the autograph, as well as the presence of an oldest copy which supposedly does not represent the author's version, make the task of reconstructing the original text practically insoluble. To this one should add the extremely scarce information on the author and the fact of the work's great popularity. The text of the poem exists not only in an enormous number of copies, but has been maintained in oral form as well. It is obvious that the exceptional popularity of the poem contributed to the appearance of various additions, changes and interpolations, and variant groupings of the text's parts. Taken together, these factors played an important part in creating a new hypertext, which differs substantially from what was once written down by Süleymān Çelebī.

With all due credit to the thorough work performed by A. Ateş, whose aim was to reconstruct an original text, one must say that the critical text he in effect presented seems to remain far from that of the original — the field for interpolations and editorial corrections was too broad. In these conditions, it would be more fruitful to study all of the component parts of the extant hypertext as represented by all of the existing copies of the poem. While this may not bring researchers any closer to solving the problem of

reconstructing an original text, it can help us to illuminate more accurately the history of the work and the cultural and historical circumstances which made certain interpolations possible. In any case, such study enables us to understand the reasons for the appearance of this or that interpolation. Viewed in this fashion, each manuscript of the poem represents a unique stage in the emergence of the hypertext and contains a valuable information on the history of Süleymān Çelebī's work.

In connection with the textological problems which face scholars of Eastern manuscripts, the problem of reconstructing the authorial text seems to be extremely complicated. As a whole, the work of text researchers has shown that the exact reconstruction of the original text of a work which exists in numerous copies and has at least two versions is hardly possible at all. A critical text constructed with the proper employment of all known methods of textual criticism merely brings us closer to the original text. We can, however, never be sure that this is the text that was written by the author. Russian textology provides a telling example of this in the work of the brilliant scholar A. A. Shakhmatov who failed to reconstruct the original text of the famous Russian chronicle "Tale of Bygone Years" [4]. Despite his marvellous command of the methodology of textological work, he was compelled to abandon his attempts in the end.

One can say the same about the efforts of Arabists who, for example, have struggled with the task of reconstructing the original text of the Qur'ān as it was first recorded. We see, however, that even the employment of the cleverest computer programs does not bring us nearer the goal. It seems to be impossible in principle to reconstruct the text destroyed by the Caliph 'Uthmān [5]. Surely, this does not exclude some instances when textological work can lead to the reconstruction of an original text [6].

Returning now to the text of Süleymān Çelebī's poem, the St. Petersburg manuscript of the *Mawlid-i Nabī* is only one of the latest in a long series of copies which go back to the oldest 1514/15 copy of the work. Unlike the manuscript chosen by Ateş, the St. Petersburg copy contains a section on Fāṭima, a feature that marks the version which can be traced to the oldest manuscript of the poem [7]. The very fact of the long-standing parallel existence of two versions, with or without the section on Fāṭima, each represented in a large number of copies, is of much interest. One may assume that a preference for one or the other version depended on the social milieu in which the poem circulated. Judging from the good wishes expressed toward the masters (*ustādlar*) and *pīr*s, or *shaykh*s, traditionally influential among craftsmen, as well as toward the Muslim soldiers as a whole [8], the St. Petersburg manuscript was executed in craftsmen circles. This circumstance, in my view, can shed some light on the extremely vague history of the text composed by Süleymān Çelebī.

Much remains a mystery both in the biography of the poet and in the history of his work's creation. Only a very small amount of the information we possess can be considered reliable. The text of our manuscript lacks any biographical information on the author, while the text published by A. Ateş is a bit more informative in this connection. Among the *bayt*s of the version published by Ateş one can find the following:

> This happened in the year eight-hundred-twelve,
> This work was finished then in Bursa, oh, *akhī* [9].

And further:

> His life thus squandered, this hodja,
> He reached his sixty and became an elder [10].

The first of the *bayt*s quoted indicates that the poem was completed in 812/1409—10 in Bursa, the Asiatic capital of the Ottoman State, when Süleymān Çelebī was sixty years old. Consequently, he must have been born in 752/1351. The address to the *akhī*-reader hints at Süleymān Çelebī's connection with the *akhī*s.

The Ottoman *tezkireci* Laṭīfī (d. 1582) provides but scanty information on the poet. He maintains that Süleymān Çelebī was the son of Haci Ivaz Pasha (Ḥājjī 'Iwaḍ Pāshā), an eminent Ottoman official, and that the poet's brother was Atayi ('Aṭā'yī), also a poet [11]. This information is, however, refuted by Muṣṭafā 'Alī (1541—1599), who reports in his *Kunh al-akhbār* that the poet's grandfather was Shaykh Maḥmūd, who, according to Ottoman tradition, was descended from the family of the famous fourteenth-century Anatolian *akhī* Shaykh Edebalı (Adabālī) [12]. According to this tradition, the poet's father was Aḥmad Pasha, a mysterious figure in many ways [13]. As for Laṭīfī, he reports that Süleymān Çelebī was the disciple of the renowned Emīr Sulṭān (1368—1429) [14]. Information has also survived that the poet was the *imām* of the Ūlū Jāmi' mosque in Bursa built by the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I (1389—1402). Ateş holds that the latter circumstance gave rise to later reports that Süleymān Çelebī was the *imām* of the Sultan Bāyazīd himself [15].

A tradition preserved by Laṭīfī tells us of the circumstances which accompanied the creation of Süleymān Çelebī's poem. This tradition, well-known to specialists, could be of some interest to those examining the text of the poem and its author. According to Laṭīfī, during one of his sermons the *wā'iẓ* of the mosque in Bursa gave his comment on Qur'ān 2 : 285: "We make no division between any one of His Messengers" [16]. Citing this passage in the Qur'ān, the preacher announced that there are no distinctions between the prophets and that he does not place the Prophet Muḥammad above Jesus Christ. The *wā'iẓ*'s commentary was intended to stress the equal force of the prophetic mission among the founders of both Islam and Christianity.

In Laṭīfī's account, this view was immediately disputed by a certain Arab present during the sermon. He announced that while he was not an expert in exegesis, he nonetheless felt that the Qur'ānic passage should be taken as meaning that there are no varying levels of prophecy, which in no way implies that the prophetic missions of Muḥammad and Jesus are equal. In support of his claims, the Arab cited another passage from the Qur'ān: "And those Messengers, some We have preferred above others" [17]. Laṭīfī adds that those present all took the side of the *wā'iẓ*. Irritated, the Arab departed for Egypt, later for Aleppo, and received from local theologians a *fatwā*, which confirmed the correctness of his position in the dispute with the *wā'iẓ*. Then a phrase follows in Laṭīfī's account which is seemingly unconnected with the main thrust of the incident in the mosque: "At that time Süleymān Çelebī was writing [his] *Mawlid*" [18].

Laṭīfī's account permits the supposition that it was in fact the dispute about the supremacy of Muḥammad's prophetic mission which provoked Süleymān Çelebī to write

his poem *Mawlid-i Nabī*. The English scholar E. J. Gibb, who considered the entire tale apocryphal from beginning to end, held that it aimed to demonstrate the fanaticism of the Arabs as perceived by the Turks [19]. However, this explanation seems to be unsatisfactory. Even if one regards the tale to be apocryphal, it has the value of accurately conveying the religious atmosphere of the period. Many Ottoman authors were influenced by the creative spirit of the age, which can be explained by the practical needs of the young Ottoman State. It had absorbed numerous recent Byzantine subjects well trained in Christian theology, which gave birth to an active dialogue between two competing religions. Religious disputes were extremely popular in Ottoman circles of the time. History has preserved records of such disputes conducted as early as the reign of the Ottoman ruler Orkhān (1324—1362). One such dispute is attested in the account of Grigorius Palamas, a famous Byzantine theologian who was captured by the Turks and spent about one year in the Ottoman State. Among the questions discussed in the dispute was that of the prophetic mission of Jesus Christ and of Muḥammad. Palamas quotes one of the questions the Turks asked him: "The Sovereign wishes to ask you why it is that we accept Christ and love him, honour him and consider that he is the Son and Breath of God, that we consider his Mother to be close to God, yet you do not accept and love our Prophet?" [20].

Also, the fifteenth-century author Constantine of Ostrowitza considered it necessary to report on religious disputes which took place among the Turks. Captured by the Turks, he was forced to adopt Islam and lived for a long time in the Ottoman State as a soldier in the artillery detachment. Constantine reports about frequent religious gatherings (or discussions) in which the *'ulamā'* and representatives of Ṣūfī orders took part. According to Constantine of Ostrowitza, during these discussions, questions of Muslim theology, which the Turks considered important, were treated. A favourite theme in such discussions was the prophets venerated by Muslims, among whom Jesus was the most important after Muḥammad. In conveying the essence of these disputes, Constantine writes in particular that: "Some [among participants of the discussion] recognise Our Lord Jesus Christ as a prophet; others as a prophet who stood above; others as he who on the Day of Judgement will be the highest prophet of God, creator of the heavens and the earth" [21]. Constantine also notes the special interest of the disputants in Jesus Christ, who figured in many theological discussions which juxtaposed him with Muḥammad. Here is one utterance of a disputant, a "main *'ālim*", as cited by this author: "Jesus is in heaven in body and in soul; he is the only one who will not die, but will live for ages unto ages. Muḥammad was in the heavens in body and in soul, however, he remained on the earth" [22].

According to Constantine of Ostrowitza, who on the whole describes life in the Ottoman State quite accurately, serious questions of Muslim theology intermingled at these gatherings with legends current among ordinary folk. This allowed themes of a purely folkloric nature to arise in these disputes. Thus, Constantine conveys a view he heard that "when the Christian faith began, the Lord God chose eight-hundred camels which are a sort of invisible spirit; they go every night and remove bad Muslims from our (Muslim — *I. P.*) burial grounds and carry them to the burial grounds of infidels (i.e. Christians — *I. P.*). They also remove good infidels and carry them to our burial grounds. Thus, the good unbelievers will rise together with our Muslim community, and the bad Muslims will stand before God with the community of unbelievers on the Day of Judgement" [23].

Even tales of such a character reveal Muslim theologians' efforts to assert the superiority of Islam over Christianity, which reflects the fierce competition between the two faiths in the fifteenth-century Ottoman State. In conveying the general atmosphere of the religious gatherings, at which he was present, Constantine of Ostrowitza notes the emotional atmosphere of the disputes. Thus, he reports that the Turks present at one of the disputes in the end "raised a tumult" and "began to aim books at each other, so that I thought that they intended to fight with one another" [24].

The passionate nature of religious life and the spirit of particular creativeness in intellectual life during the first half of the fifteenth century necessarily affected all spheres of Ottoman culture, with individual religious searching being no exception. It seems that Süleymān Çelebī, a man of his time, reflected this atmosphere in full, using his natural poetic talents to create a work glorifying the creator of the Muslim religion. However, as frequently occurred in Muslim literature, Süleymān Çelebī made use of an already existing literary text on the theme.

The poem by Süleymān Çelebī, dedicated to Muḥammad, shows clear traces of literary dependence on a text created in Asia Minor not long before the appearance of the poem *Mawlid-i Nabī*. Its author was Muṣṭafā al-Ḍarīr, who in the fourteenth century compiled a work on the life of Muḥammad. The work is a five-volume compilation which used as source material works by Ibn Hishām (d. 213/828 or 218/833), Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, and others. The composition was intended for the Mamlūk Sultan al-Manṣūr 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī (1376—1382). However, it was completed already during the reign of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalaḥ al-Dīn Ḥajjī II (r. 783/1382 and 791/1389) [25].

The literary model on which Süleymān Çelebī based his work is written in prose and includes a large number of verses in Arabic and Turkish. The poetic form chosen by Süleymān Çelebī is no doubt a tribute to the existing Ottoman literary tradition of the period. It is distinguished by a special attachment to the genre of *mathnawī*. We know that in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, even dictionaries were sometimes compiled in poetic form. Suffice it to cite the dictionary *'Uqūd al-jawāhir* by Ahmed Daî (Aḥmad Dā'ī), which consists of 650 *bayt*s. It was written for the Ottoman prince Murād, the future Ottoman Sultan Murād II (1420—1451, with intervals). The work was a brief, poetic reworking of the well-known dictionary of Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwaṭ [26].

It is interesting to note that Muṣṭafā al-Ḍarīr's work is separated from Süleymān Çelebī's poem by little more than two decades. That means that copies of popular literary works circulated in a very short time.

The dependence of Süleymān Çelebī's poem on al-Ḍarīr's text in subject, literary form, and lexicon is not absolute, and Süleymān Çelebī displays a significant degree of freedom in his work, as was the general practice among Muslim authors who based their compositions on popular writings. But some features make both works rather close. For example, both Muṣṭafā al-Ḍarīr and Süleymān Çelebī demonstrate their devotion to folkloric and fantastic details. These are especially numerous in the section which tells of the Prophet's birth. It is clear that the authors borrow much from Muslim hagiographic literature.

In order to solve the problem of the two main versions of the poem by Süleymān Çelebī and his authorship of the section dedicated to Fāṭima, which is present in the oldest copy, it is important to know what place this figure occupies in Muṣṭafā al-Ḍarīr's work. We know that the fourth volume of al-Ḍarīr's composition is largely dedicated to Muḥammad's daughter, her birth, the circumstances which surrounded her marriage to 'Alī, and other episodes in which Fāṭima is the main character. A manuscript of this volume, abundantly illustrated with miniatures and dated to 1594/95, is held in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. Fāṭima is the character depicted in many of these miniatures [27]. One may assume that the text of Süleymān Çelebī's poem could have contained a section dedicated to Muḥammad's daughter for that simple reasom that Muṣṭafā al-Ḍarīr's work lay at the base of the poem written by Süleymān Çelebī. Surely, the corroboration of this assumption requires some additional support.

It should be noted that the mere fact of writing a work on the life of Muḥammad was generally regarded as an act of piety. The author of such a work aimed to save his soul and to cleanse himself of all that is sinful. The life of Muḥammad, the most pious of all Muslims, served for his followers as a model for righteous behaviour and greatly influenced religious souls. This holds especially true for adherents of Ṣūfī *ṭarīqat*s with their mystical attitude of mind and their strong individual religious feeling. As for Muṣṭafā al-Ḍarīr, he was evidently a Ṣūfī, as his *nisba*, *al-mawlawī*, indicates.

Was Süleymān Çelebī a Ṣūfī as well? A. Ateş answers this question in the negative, stating that there are no signs in the poem of the poet's adherence to Ṣūfīsm [28]. In the form in which it has reached us, the poem in effect does not postulate directly a single tenet of any known Ṣūfī order. However, the text of the poem reveals some particular traits. A. Ateş explains these traits exclusively by the poet's personal piety [29]. The *bayt*s, which attract our special attention in this connection, are the following:

Oh, what can I say, who forswore Your commandment,
Who turned of the path You bequeathed.

Without remnant I cast to the wind barren years,
I, who indulged every whim of my soul.

Unaware the whole time of my life's higher purpose,
Now, at life's end, I am taught.

Hair and beard grey, my soul blackest black,
No deed can now whiten the darkness.

A mutinous slave with a face which is black,*
A sinner this grave has the world never seen.

In no matter or deed did I bend to Your will,
The straight path, which You showed us, I scorned.

There is not a sin, which I have not committed,
Not once did my lips form "Alas" for my sins.

My faults exceed number, my sins exceed measure,
Among all my deeds none is righteous.

All my actions — lies, falsehood, hypocrisy **,
I sinned every day, every night.

In the path of the Truth, I took not a step,
And the path of the spirit I scorned in my fear.

No deed of mine was worthy of my Lord,
All deeds of mine were knavery and tricks.

I gave no thought to the death, which awaits me,
And left aside obedience for sin.

Not once did I speak of the life yet to come,
Not once did I think — what awaits after death?

But now, with my life at its end,
Death is the sum of my thoughts.

Some of my doings have now come to light,
Though many cruel things remain veiled.

Judge not on appearance — assess me no worth,
I know well the price of my actions.

My deeds and my nature are hidden to all,
Though He knows, who is the Great Mystery.

He knows all I have done, undertaken, committed,
Though the mercy of Him hides my deeds.

And if that which was hidden were now to appear,
No doubt, they would stone me to death.

He who in surety knows all in me,
Will, I must hope, grant me mercy.

May God protect from the loss of His grace,
From death without earning forgiveness [30].

The *bayt*s cited, only partially represented in the St. Petersburg manuscript, betray Süleymān Çelebī's closeness to the views of the *malāmī*s. Typical of them was a refusal to accept any form of outer piety [31]. Early representatives of this branch of Islam were Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Salma al- Ḥaddād (d. 877 or 881), Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥīrī (d. 910/11), and several others. They taught that the main task of a person who accepted their teaching was to perfect himself, to cleanse his heart and thoughts, to strictly observe the *sunna*, and to imitate the life of Muḥammad as a model of behaviour for all the Muslims. The *malāmī*s held that these activities should remain an internal matter, hidden from the eyes of others, as they were known to Allah in any case. Moreover, representatives of the Nīshāpūr *malāmī*s went so far as to recognise the possibility of outwardly sinful conduct if a person was pious within, pure of heart and thought. The Baghdād branch of *malāmiyya* recognised as the most terrible form of hypocrisy hypocrisy before oneself and saw sin in the possibility of being blinded by one's own sanctity. It was characteristic of the adherents of *malāmiyya* to express their exaggerated submission to divine will and to recognise their own nullity. The goal toward which one should strive was immersion in meditation on divine oneness during which one's own existence completely vanished [32].

For adherents of later *malāmiyya*, the distinguishing features of their faith were self-deprecation and a heightened sense of one's own sinfulness, a disapproval of the self. Viewed in this light, the composition by Süleymān Çelebī of a poem on the life of Muḥammad, which displays an exceptionally powerful sense of the author's repentance of his sins and stresses the idea of God's oneness, clearly shows the

* I.e. "I lack my honour".
** *riyā'*.

poet's dependence on the views of the *malāmī*s. It should be noted that in the St. Petersburg copy the *bayt*s of repentance are present to a lesser degree. The personal element in them is not as distinct as in the version published by A. Ateş. The admission of sinfulness sounds here rather like the collective repentance of a community praying to Allah for mercy [33].

We know that the world-outlook boundaries of *malāmiyya* were very broad. Unlike other institutionalised *ṭarīqat*s, *malāmiyya* existed mostly as a "secret brotherhood" [34]. Besides, representatives of this branch in Islam could belong to any religious group or school. As O. F. Akimushkin points out, the teaching was particularly appealing to Ṣūfīs and craftsmen [35]. Prof. Akimushkin's observation is of much value for elucidating the history of the text created by Süleymān Çelebī. Below we shall consider the question in more detail. Here we note only that the *malāmī*s were especially influential in the Ottoman State at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when *Mawlid-i Nabī* was written by Süleymān Çelebī. There is even information that adherents of *malāmiyya* took part in the broad religious and social movement headed by Bedreddin Simavi (Badr al-Dīn Simāwī), or Bedreddin Simavna kadısı-oğlu.

To elucidate the personality of Süleymān Çelebī, it is also important to note that, according to extant tradition, Süleymān Çelebī was a disciple of Emīr Sulṭān Bukhārālı. The latter was an exceptionally influential figure in the early Ottoman State. Of Emīr Sulṭān we know that he arrived in the Ottoman principality during the reign of Bāyazīd I (1389—1402). A *manakib-nāma* dedicated to Emīr Sulṭān records, on the basis of his own words, that he was a seventh-generation descendent of the twelfth *imām*, Muḥammad al-Mahdī [36]. Emīr Sulṭān's claim of descent from the most mysterious of the Shi'ite *imām*s unambiguously points to his Shi'ite sympathies, which could only be realised in the Sunnī Ottoman State by means of Ṣūfīsm. Emīr Sulṭān, who acquired numerous disciples in Bursa, even married one of the daughters of Sultan Bāyazīd I. As E. J. Gibb believed, Emīr Sulṭān had belonged to *khalwatiyya* [37], a widespread *ṭarīqat* which was formed in north-west Iran at the end of the fourteenth century. This brotherhood arose and functioned at first in a Turkic environment, having adopted a number of ideas from the Central Asian school of mysticism represented by Aḥmad Yasawī. It is worth noting that *khalwatiyya* absorbed many of the *malāmiyya* views. The representatives of *khalwatiyya* considered themselves a Sunnī brotherhood, although their teaching was initially closely tied to Shi'ism [38].

Of course, the question of Süleymān Çelebī's possible connection with *khalwatiyya* through Emīr Sulṭān requires additional research, which is greatly complicated by the absence of authentic information. However, even a cursory glance at the facts cited here provides certain food for thought. The repentant excerpt from Süleymān Çelebī's poem cited above appears to fit in well with the *malāmiyya* views.

In further analysing the text of Süleymān Çelebī's poem, one cannot pass over the excerpts betraying the poet's dependence on the thought of the famous Ibn al-'Arabī (1165—1240). The influence of Ibn al-'Arabī's teaching is clearly seen in the opening section of Süleymān Çelebī's poem. It is especially evident in the poet's presentation of the first act of Gods creation of the world:

What He, the Highest, first created,
And is first amid his creations,

Is the Spirit of Muṣṭafā *, fashioned first,
With the love of his Munificent Creator.

And if there is good fortune,
Gentle nature, good intentions,

Truth gave him this, and made him perfect,
More noble than all those who came before.

His will brought forth all things, both visible and hidden,
All in the firmament, on earth, and in the heavens,

But if Muḥammad had not been created,
Earth and heaven would have never been [39].

In these *bayt*s Süleymān Çelebī follows the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabī who taught that the "essence of Muḥammad" was Allah's first creation. This thinker was the first to use the term *al-insān al-kāmil* (the Perfect, or Universal man), whose presence, according to Ibn al-'Arabī, is a guarantee of the Universe's existence. "The essence of Muḥammad", Ibn al-'Arabī holds, found successive realisation in the persons of the prophets, messengers and saints [40]. Following Ibn al-'Arabī in this, Süleymān Çelebī develops his thesis in the following *bayt*s:

Because Muḥammad was the instrument of God,
The Most High granted Adam his repentance,

And Noah found salvation from the flood,
Because this miracle ** took place before his birth.

And Jesus did not die but rose to heaven,
For he was of Muḥammad's kin, a prophet.

The staff which Moses wielded in his hand
Became a serpent to the glory of Muḥammad.

Because the Friend of Allah *** bore Muḥammad's bond,
For him made Allah paradise from fire.

All of this for love of him,
These graces in his name [41].

The poet gives also exposition of another point in Ibn al-'Arabī's teaching. He writes about the everlasting "light of Muḥammad" [42]. In the thirteenth century this notion received profound development in the writings of this Ṣūfī philosopher who acquired an immense popularity in the Ottoman State. Ibn al-'Arabī linked the concept of the "light of Muḥammad" with the idea of the everlasting existence of the "the truth of Muḥammad". Following the ideas of the philosopher, Süleymān Çelebī writes in his poem:

When the Most High created Adam,
He thus adorned the world.

He bade the angels kneel before His creature,
Endowing him with all that He could give.

He marked the brow of Adam with the light of Muṣṭafā,
[And] said: "Know, this is the light of My Own love!"

* Muṣṭafā — "the Chosen One", one of the epithets of the Prophet Muḥammad.
** I.e. the creation of the spirit of Muḥammad by God.
*** That is Ibrāhīm (Abraham).

He placed this light on Adam's brow,
Which light has touched so many fates.

Know, this light was on the brow of Eve,
It rested there for many months and years.

When Shith * was born to Adam, He passed the light to him,
That it might shine, embellishing his brow.

This light He passed to Ibrāhīm, to Ismā'īl,
And others, far too numerous to count [43].

The lines quoted above lead us to assume that Süleymān Çelebī was under the strong influence of Ibn al-'Arabī's thought. One should stress that the name of Ibn al-'Arabī was closely associated with the *malāmiyya* ideas both among the *malāmīs* themselves as well as in wider circles. As V. R. Holbrook notes, Ibn al-'Arabī's numerous references to *malāmiyya* in his *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* were frequently cited by representatives of this branch of Islam to define their *ṭarīqat*. Holbrook also notes that the *malāmīs* were known as extremists in recognising the famed principle of *waḥdat al-wujūd* ("the oneness of being"), formulated by Ibn al-'Arabī. Long before the appearance of this Ṣūfī philosopher, however, one of the most important distinguishing characteristics of *malāmiyya*'s adherents was meditation on divine oneness [44].

To sum up, we have two principal versions of Süleymān Çelebī's poem. One of them, published by A. Ateş, is distinguished by (i) a number of *bayts* betraying the obvious *malāmiyya* basis of the poem; (ii) obvious dependence on Ibn al-'Arabī's thought; (iii) the absence of a concluding section dedicated to Fāṭima. The second one, represented by the St. Petersburg manuscript which can be traced to the oldest 1514/15 copy of the work, contains a smaller number of repentance *bayts*. They are distinguished by a less personal tone. This version contains also a section on Fāṭima.

In my view, the text written by Süleymān Çelebī comprised originally both highly emotional repentance *bayts* reflecting the *malāmiyya* sympathies of the poet and the section dealing with Fāṭima as well. While there is no problem with the presence of the repentance *bayts* in Süleymān Çelebī's poem, which are present, albeit only partly and in a somewhat altered form in the version represented by the St. Petersburg manuscript, the presence or absence of the section on Fāṭima in the text of the poem offers some difficulty. However, one may assume with certainty that this section could well have been written by Süleymān Çelebī if we take into consideration the text of Muṣṭafā al-Darīr, which provided a basis for the poem. As is mentioned above, a significant part of Muṣṭafā al-Ḍarīr's work deals with Fāṭima and 'Alī. The presence or absence of the section on Fāṭima in the manuscripts representing the main two versions might be explained by the poem's circulation in different cultural milieux, namely, in craftsmen circles or among *'ulamā'* and Ṣūfīs influenced by the ideas of *malāmiyya*.

The veneration of 'Alī and Fāṭima was traditional in craft circles in Asia Minor. 'Alī was considered the patron of the numerous craft guilds which formed the organisation of Anatolian *akhīs*. Craftsmen made up the broadest mass readership of that time for authors who did not write at the behest of a dynastic patron. As was mentioned above, the St. Petersburg manuscript, which contains the section on Fatima, has a conclusion entitled *Du'ā'-yi munājāt* with good wishes toward master craftsmen — *ustādlar* [45]. It is also worth mentioning that the surviving tradition about Süleymān Çelebī ascribes to him, in one fashion or another, ties to the world of *akhīs*. Thus, Laṭīfī indicates, albeit erroneously, that the poet's father was Haci Ivaz Pasha, who was a hereditary *akhī*. We know of his sons that they were also *akhīs* [46]. Muṣṭafā 'Alī, though refuting the information provided by Laṭīfī, traces the poet's lineage back to the Shaykh Maḥmūd. But, according to tradition, Maḥmūd was descended from the family of Edebalı, a well-known *akhī shaykh* in Asia Minor [47]. The direct addresses to *akhīs* in the poem seem to confirm this alleged tie between the poet and the *akhīs*:

This happened in the year eight-hundred-twelve,
This work was finished then in Bursa, oh, *akhī* [48].

In one of the *bayts*, contained in our manuscript and addressed to God, we read:

I, *akhī*, seek to reach You,
I hope You forgive me my sins [49].

Also, the basic distinguishing feature of the poem by Süleymān Çelebī is its religious elation, a passionate appeal to Allah to save the soul of a sinner. We learn from the description of the *akhīs* of Bursa left us by the Arab traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭā, who visited the city in 1331, that they were distinguished by a special spirit of religious exaltation and exaggerated piety [50]. Of interest in this connection is Ibn Baṭṭūṭā's account of the Muslim preacher from Bursa, Majd al-Dīn Qūnawī, whom he met at a gathering of Bursa's *akhīs*. The traveller reports that this preacher led the life of an ascetic, fasting every three days and spending on his needs only what he earned himself. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭā, he had neither home nor property and spent nights in the cemetery. He delivered such inspired sermons that certain listeners **repented** publicly after them [51]. But is not Süleymān Çelebī's entire poem shot through with repentance and does it not call upon listeners and readers to repent? Prominent in Ibn Baṭṭūṭā's account of Bursa's *akhīs* are evident religious devotees distinguished both by heightened religiosity and an exceptional concern for personal salvation and the salvation of other believers. In this connection, we must note the refrain concluding each section of Süleymān Çelebī's poem. It is filled with deep religious feeling and hope for the salvation of sinners:

If you wish to be delivered from the fire,
With love and sorrow offer up [your] prayer!

All these observations allow us to suppose that the poet meant his poem to be read primarily in craftsmen circles. The highly charged religious feelings and intensive spiritual life which influenced the atmosphere in Ottoman society during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were, up until the final rout of Bedreddin Simavi's movement, characteristic of the *akhī* environment and craftsmen circles. Characteristic of these circles was also a special attitude toward the figure of Fāṭima.

We know that Fāṭima played a special role in Muslim beliefs. Islamic folklore, which did not recognise strict

* Shith — the son of Adam, one of the ancestors of Muḥammad as related in Ibn Hishām's biography of the Prophet.

Sunnī or Shi'ite frameworks, included Fāṭima among its most popular characters. Constantine of Ostrowitza, who was well familiar with the folk beliefs of the Ottoman Turks, notes that Fāṭima was considered a "great enchantress" who possessed the ability to grant sharpness to 'Alī's sabre [52]. Under a certain Christian influence, the cult of Fāṭima was enriched with a number of themes which go back to the cult of the Virgin Mary. Fāṭima's epithet, *al-Batūl* (the Virgin), provides vivid evidence of this. This epithet is also used in reference to Fāṭima in the section dedicated to her in the St. Petersburg manuscript [53]. It seems only natural that Süleymān Çelebī, who followed in his work Muṣṭafā al-Ḍarīr's writing, with its stress on the figure of Fāṭima, wished to make his poem popular in the *akhī* audience. That might be the reason why he included in his composition a special section dedicated to the daughter of Muḥammad. The folkloric character of legends about Fāṭima, which circulated among the people, may have caused the poet to use a special verse form in this section. However, this special verse form serves as the principal argument of A. Ateş, who rejects Süleymān Çelebī's authorship in relation to the section on Fāṭima. In my view, the problem of the lexical, grammatical, and stylistic features of the section in question requires further examination. Here it is only important to note that Ateş employs one more argument to prove the section dealing with Fāṭima could not have been written by Süleymān Çelebī. The scholar stresses the fact that in many copies of the poem the section in question comes after the concluding part of the work. We should point out, however, that in the earliest of the surviving copies the section on Fāṭima comes before the conclusion of the poem, and this copy is no exception [54]. Note, in the St. Petersburg manuscript the section dedicated to Fāṭima concludes with the same refrain which distinguishes parts of the work undoubtedly written by Süleymān Çelebī.

If one accepts the thesis of Süleymān Çelebī's authorship in relation to the section on Fāṭima, a question arises: why is this section missing in another version of the poem. To answer the question, one must take into account that the oldest copy in which the given section is missing dates to 967/1558—59. That is, it was copied soon after the conclusion of the long-term religious and military confrontation (1514—1555) between Shi'ite Iran and the Sunnī Ottoman State, which ended in victory for the Turks. The reasons for this confrontation were not only religious. But one must admit that the religious rivalry was exceptional and it is most probable that this very circumstance spurred the appearance in the second half of the sixteenth century of a manuscript of Süleymān Çelebī's work cleansed of all traces of alleged Shi'ism. This manuscript was purified of the concluding story of Fāṭima and 'Alī. The version represented in this purified manuscript may have begun circulating primarily in *'ulamā'* and Ṣūfī circles with their particular fears of being blamed for Shi'ite sympathies. This very version also preserved an extremely prominent note of personal repentance in the text.

The other version, with the section dedicated to Fāṭima, continued, however, to circulate among readers who were primarily craftsmen and, in a later period, most likely Janissaries. In the St. Petersburg manuscript we encounter an appeal to pray for the Muslim soldiers and for all those taken captive by infidels. Thanks to the existence of the Bektāshī order, especially influential among craftsmen and Janissaries, there was no fear of accusations of Shi'ite heresy despite Bektāshī's pronounced Shi'ite sympathies. In this version, retaining the section on Fāṭima and intended for community readership, the *malāmiyya* elements of the poem gradually disappeared, being replaced by a less personal tone of repentance verse.

Notes

1. The description of this manuscript is given in L. V. Dmitrieva, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia* (Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies). Fasc. 3: Poetry and commentaries on poetry, poetics (Moscow, 1980), p. 34.

2. Süleyman Çelebi, *Vesîletü'n-Necât.* Mevlid, yazarı ve Mevlid hakkında araştırmalar ile birlikte bilinen en eski elyazması nüshalara göre bastıran A. Ateş (Ankara, 1954), henceforth cited as Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi.*

3. Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi*, p. 63.

4. See A. A. Shakhmatov, *"Povest' vremennykh let" po Lavrent'evskomu spisku* (The "Tale of Bygone Years" in the Lavrentyev Manuscript) (St. Petersburg, 1910).

5. See E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i koranistika" ("The Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies"), *Islam. Istoriograficheskie ocherki* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 7—84.

6. O. I. Smirnova, "Nekotorye voprosy kritiki teksta ("Sbornik Letopiseĭ" Rashid ad-Dina, "Shakh-name" Firdousi i "Istoriia Bukhary" Narshakhi)" ("Some problems concerning the critiques of texts: "Compendium of Cronicles" by Rashīd al-Dīn, "Shah-nāma" by Firdawsī and "History of Bukhārā" by Narshakhī"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Ezhegodnik, 1968* (Moscow, 1970), pp. 155—65.

7. The version lacking the section dedicated to Fātima was edited by F. K. Timurtaş, see *Süleyman Çelebi, Mevlid.* [*Vesîlet-ün-Necât*], hazırlayan F. K. Timurtaş, 3. baskı (Istanbul, 1980).

8. Manuscript B 4614 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 29a.

9. Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi*, p. 26. Here and elsewhere the translation is given in blank verse for aesthetic reasons; it does not, however, significantly depart from the original text.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

11. *Latîfî tezkiresi*, hazırlayan M. İsen (ankara, 1990), p. 62.

12. Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi*, p. 23; see also İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı tarihi (Ankara, 1961), i, pp. 561—2.

13. Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi*, p. 23.

14. *Latîfî tezkiresi*, p. 62.

15. Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi*, p. 27.

16. The Qur'ān, 2 : 285 (here and elsewhere the Qur'ān's translation by A. J. Arberry is used).

17. The Qur'ān, 2 : 254.

18. *Latîfî tezkiresi*, pp. 62—3.

19. E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900), pp. 234—5.

20. G. M. Prokhorov, "Prenie Grigoriia Palamy 's khiony i turki' i problema 'zhidovskaia mudrstvuiushchikh'" ("The dispute of Grigorius Palamas 'with Khions and Turks' and the problem of 'those devoted to Judaism'"), *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoĭ literatury*, XXVI (Leningrad, 1972), p. 368.

21. *Zapiski ianychara. Napisany Konstantinom Mikhaĭlovichem iz Ostrovitsy* (Notes of a Janissary, Written by Constantine Mikhaylovich of Ostrowitza), introduction, translation and commentaries by A. I. Rogov (Moscow, 1978), pp. 42—3.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *İstanbul Kitaplıkları Tarih-Coğrafya yazmaları katalogları. I. Türkçe tarih yazmaları*, 5. fasc.: Biyografiye ait eserler: a — Siyerler (Istanbul, 1945), pp. 404—5. For Muṣṭafā al-Ḍarīr and the history of his texts, see also V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, with an Introduction by J. V. S. Wilkinson (Dublin, 1958), No. 419, pp. 30—1. See also Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Library* (London, 1888), pp. 38—9.

26. G. Kut, "Ahmed-i Dâî", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1989), ii, p. 57.

27. See Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

28. Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi*, p. 42.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 33—4.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 124—5.

31. For details, see V. R. Holbrook, "Ibn 'Arabi and Ottoman dervish traditions: the Melâmî supra-order", *Journal of the Muhyiddin ibn 'Arabi Society*, IX (1991), pp. 18—35.

32. E. È. Bertel's, "Proiskhozhdenie sufizma i zarozhdenie sufiĭskoĭ literatury" ("The origins of the Ṣūfism and Ṣūfī literature"), *Izbrannye trudy. Sufizm i sufiĭskaia literatura*, pp. 30—2.

33. Manuscript B 4614 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 18a.

34. Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: the Classical Age. 1300—1600*, 2nd edn. (London, 1995), p. 191.

35. O. F. Akimushkin, "Malāmatiĭa" ("*Malāmatiyya*"), *Islam. Èntsiklopedicheskiĭ slovar'* (Moscow, 1991), p. 155.

36. Information on Emīr Sulṭān is drawn from *İstanbul Kitaplıkları Tarih-Coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, fasc. 6 (Istanbul, 1946), p. 528.

37. Gibb, *History*, p. 232.

38. O. F. Akimushkin, "Khalvatiĭa" ("*Khalwatiyya*"), *Islam. Èntsiklopedicheskiĭ slovar'*, p. 267.

39. MS B 4614, fol. 2a—2b.

40. A. Knysh, "al-Insān al-kāmil", *Islam. Èntsiklopedicheskiĭ slovar'*, p. 101.

41. MS B 4614, fol. 2b.

42. I. P. Petrushevskiĭ, *Islam v Irane v VII—XV vekakh* (Islam in Iran between Seventh to Fifteenth Centuries) (Leningrad, 1966), p. 264.

43. MS B 4614, fol. 3a.

44. Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

45. MS B 4614, fol. 29a.

46. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, pp. 566—7.

47. See *ibid.*, pp. 560, 562. See also Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi*, p. 24.

48. Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi*, p. 30.

49. MS B 4614, fol. 28a.

50. [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa], *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. AD. 1325—1354*, translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti by H. A. R. Gibb (Cambridge, 1962), ii, p. 450.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Zapiski ianychara*, p. 37.

53. MS B 4614, fol. 28b.

54. Ateş, *Süleyman Çelebi*, p. 66.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: VII. TALISMAN, SHIELD, AND SWORD

The fifteenth to eighteenth centuries in the Muslim world were marked by increased confrontation between Islamic states and their enemies, by inspiring military victories and crushing defeats, by the gain and loss of vast territories, by the gradual weakening of Islamic state formations and by the continued successful expansion of Islam as an ideology. These centuries saw the great victories and death of Tīmūr, the victorious conclusion of the reconquista in Spain, the fall of Constantinople and the huge territorial gains of the Ottomans in Europe, the emergence of the Great Moghūl state in India, the disappearance of the Mamlūk state, the victory of the Portuguese and the Turkish siege of Vienna, Russian victories and Ottoman defeats, Napoleon's arrival in Egypt... These events were accompanied by important changes in ideology and religious main streams. In the world of Islam the growing influence and spread of Ṣūfī teachings were of prime importance.

In the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, the role of wandering Turkic *darwīsh*es and Central Asian *bābā*s undergone exceptional growth in the states of Asia Minor, the advanced post of Islam on the approaches to Europe. The brotherhoods, which endowed battle with religious symbolism and marked additions to their ranks with special formulas of initiation, abetted a significant rise in the number of soldiers on the fronts of the Holy War and heightened the degree of ideological confrontation. Tens of thousands of Ṣūfīs felt that to sacrifice one's life while defending the path of one's *shaykh* represented only the most paltry degree of dedication. They not only accompanied the army and maintained the morale of warriors, but themselves took part in battles. A great number of them fought, for example, in the last siege of Constantinople in 1453.

The brotherhoods actively participated in armed conflicts between Muslims as well. During an inspection of his troops in 1516, before the decisive encounter with the Mamlūks which would grant the Ottomans centuries of control over Syria and Egypt, Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī was accompanied by the leaders of the Badawiyya, Qādiriyya, and Rifā'iyya beneath the banners of their respective brotherhoods [1].

From the fifteenth century on, we see the increasing involvement of Ṣūfī brotherhoods in political processes. The descendents of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī (d. 1334), founder of the Ṣafawiyya brotherhood which gave rise to a powerful religious movement, established control over the main territories of Persia, founded the Ṣafawid dynasty and proclaimed Twelver Shi'ism the state religion. Ismā'īl I, the founder of the dynasty, transferred his power to the Great Deputy of the head of the order. Members of the Ni'mat-Allāhiyya order, closely connected with the Ṣafawids, headed a number of provinces in the new state. At practically the same time, the Naqshbandiyya order gained control over significant territories in India, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Brotherhoods professing a mixed Ṣūfī-Shi'ite doctrine began to play an ever greater role on the enormous territory from the Balkans to Persia. The broad expansion of Shi'ite ideology, state-sponsored in a number of instances, the flourishing of Persian artistic culture, which took place under strengthened Shi'ism, introduced many new elements to Islam. At times these were of revolutionary import both in their content and in the form of their expression.

The success of Ṣūfī teachings, their transformation into "folk Islam", led in particular to a growth in the role of the magical in everyday life. A world of forebodings, prophecies, dreams and symbols created an atmosphere of *khānagāh*. Rituals, music and singing, specific systems of rhythmic movement, fragrances and narcotic substances were used to attain special states of consciousness. A special role was played by the magic of numbers and words, by colours and smells, incantations and spells.

All of this could not but influence the outward appearance of the Sacred book of Islam, the nature of its use, and the demands placed upon it by the new era. Manuscripts of the Qur'ān were ordered in accordance with new preferences. Literature on the Qur'ān underwent significant changes.

1

It was at this time that numerous talismanic Qur'āns appeared [2]. Such, for example, are an oval Qur'ān dated to 1692; a Qur'ānic scroll approximately four meters in length and 6 cm in width, where the text of the Qur'ān is written into *āyat al-kursīy* (seventeenth century); a somewhat later scroll, where the text of the Qur'ān is already

written into the traditional Shi'ite greeting (*durūd*). A seventeenth-century copy where the first and last five lines of each page begin with the same letters highlighted in red ink — for example, ن–ا–م–ف–ي ... ي–ف–م–ا–ن — is possibly more than just an exercise in calligraphy [3].

Special prayers were placed with increasing frequency at the beginning or end of Qur'ānic manuscripts [4]. Magic rules sometimes were found in manuscripts in place of or together with introductory or concluding prayers. Thus, the beginning of a manuscript from the first third of the eighteenth century contains the rules of *istikhāra* (*fī tarīq istikhāra*) — entrusting the choice between two or more decisions to Allah; divine will would manifest itself either in a dream or through rhapsodomancy. At the end are prayers and rules of *khatm al-ahzāb* (*fī tarīq khatm al-ahzāb*) [5].

The use of certain *sūra*s and *āyāt* for magical purposes became a widespread practice (see *Table* on pp. 26—30) [6]. Works appeared which accord these questions special treatment, usually with reference to the authority of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq [7].

Āya 2 : 255 (*āyat al-kursīy*), 9 : 129 (*āyat al-'arsh*), and the first and last three *sūra*s of the Qur'ān acquired special popularity in this sphere. Furthermore, *sūra*s 113 and 114 even received the name *al-mu'āwwidhatāni*, stressing their protective character. A combination of parts rather than the full text of this or that *āya* was frequently used in amulets and incantations.

It is important to note that certain *āyāt* and *sūra*s were used in performing magic actions as only one of the elements of a talisman or incantation, and **mostly** together with the names of Allah, which were thought to have great magical power, the names of the prophets, the four main angels — Jibrīl, Mikā'īl, 'Azrā'īl, Isrāfīl, a large set of special magic formulas, etc. *Āyāt* and entire *sūra*s were frequently written into magic squares, independently (*fig. 1*) or together with a set of magic numbers. A number of other texts also existed; they were used for magic purposes in the same fashion as the Qur'ān, replacing it in talismans and incantations. Foremost among these was the well-known *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* by Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Buṣīrī (1212—1294) [8].

The use of certain *āyāt* and *sūra*s for magical purposes had a number of special features. The person performing the magic usually had to be in a state of ritual purity. Qānūn I, Qānūn II, and Tishrīn II were recognised as the best months for performing magic actions, other months being named for various rituals. Friday was considered the best day of the week; to a lesser degree, Sunday and other days. The magic action usually demanded repetition, as a rule 3 or 7 times.

When performing magic, certain *āyāt* and *sūra*s were read aloud (one usually had to turn to face the *qibla*) or were written down. In this case, fragments of the Qur'ān could be written not only on paper, but on such materials as silk, a piece of a prepubescent girl's clothing, gazelle or lion skin, earth, silver, gold, crockery, mirrors, an old comb for a woman, camel bones, the skin of a dead horse, part of a burial shroud, various parts of the human body, etc. In place of ink, musk, saffron, rose water, apple or grape juice, or even the blood of a hoopoe were used [9].

For example, in order to learn what was in a woman's heart, on Monday night a man was supposed to write *āya* 4 : 41 on his palm with the blood of a hoopoe. At night, he was to place his palm on the woman's breast. After this, she was supposed to begin speaking openly [10]. For the same purpose, it was necessary also to write *āyāt* 2 : 40—42 on a piece of a prepubescent girl's clothing. Five hours after the onset of night, one had to place the piece of fabric with the writing on the breast of the sleeping woman [11].

In order to find a hidden or lost object, one had to write *āyāt* 2 : 72—73 and all of *sūra* 26 on a piece of paper and tie it to the neck of a white cock with two combs and let it roam about the room. It was supposed to stop at the place where the necessary object was located. One could also find a buried object by writing *āya* 2 : 127 in a square with four boxes on white silk and tying the silk to the neck of a white cock. After writing the same on a cup, one wiped it clean with rainwater, which had fallen in Nīsān. One then poured this water out in the general vicinity of the object and released the cock. It was supposed halt where the object was buried [12].

In order to stop bleeding, one had to write the first part of *āya* 3 : 144 together with the words —

انقلب يا آدم بالف لا حول و لا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم

and certain letter combinations —

هح هح لح هح لح هح لح هح هح لحطاس هي حطاس هي

and place the note between the brows of the afflicted individual [13], etc.

The widespread mystical cult of Muḥammad and the *imām*s led to the appearance among introductory and concluding prayers of special appeals to the Prophet, the rightly-guided caliphs, and the *imām*s. It became possible, for example, to preface *sūra*s with explanations in Persian (ascribed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq) [14] or to place a portrait of 'Alī on the back cover of a binding [15], or to equip a miniature which adorned a secular manuscript with an explanatory inscription to the effect that this "miraculous creation tells of the meaning [of the words] 'do they not consider how the camel was created'" (Qur'ān, 88 : 17) (that is, a miniature-*tafsīr*!) [16].

Fig. 1

Table

Examples of the usage of various *āyāt* and *sūras* in occult practice [1]

Nos. of *āyāt/sūras* Persia	Specific usage of *sūras* and *āyāt*	Nos. of *āyāt/sūras* Maghrib
1	To prevent all illnesses. To fight all illnesses. Especially: headaches, eye diseases, ear diseases, fever, pimples, paralysis, spasms of facial muscles, sciatica, rheumatic back pain, weakness, apathy, failing memory, freckles. In case of accident, snake bite, grief, fear. To protect against indisposition and danger incurred by travel over water and in the desert. For attempts to gain fame or obtain the favor of the powerful of the world. For wishes and to attain spiritual, material, familial well-being.	
2	Epilepsy, expulsion of evil spirits, fear, weaning children, fever.	
2 : 1—5	To acquire knowledge.	
2 : 16—20	To inflict harm on a foe, tyrant.	
2 : 25	To obtain a good harvest of fruits.	
2 : 30—2	To rob people or *jinns* of their power.	
2 : 40—2	To experience portentous dreams. To discover what a woman conceals in her heart.	
2 : 54	Inflicting harm on a foe, tyrant.	
2 : 60	To combat thirst while traveling and indigestion.	
2 : 67—9	To force a sleeping person to tell the truth.	
	To force someone to come to you.	2 : 72
2 : 72—3	To find hidden or lost things.	
2 : 74	To end spousal conflicts. * To force a man to forget a woman with whom he has fallen in love. To increase the milking capacity of domestic animals. To increase the quantity of water in streams and reservoirs.	* 2 : 69
2 : 81	To strip an enemy of reason or to weaken his memory.	
2 : 102	To sow conflict between husband and wife.	
2 : 127	To find hidden or buried things.	
2 : 143	Against evil which stems from evil spirits or people.	
2 : 148	To find a stolen thing or to catch a runaway slave.	
2 : 249	When hunting snakes, scorpions; against mosquitoes, bedbugs, and other parasites.	
2 : 255	To prevent all illnesses. Against fever. To protect people from misfortune. To gain access to a ruler. * To ensure the favor of influential individuals. To prevent an enemy from approaching the city.	* 2 : 55
2 : 255—7	Against evil spirits. In case of impoverishment. To increase revenues.	
2 : 259	To heal any illness. In case of balding. To increase a harvest of fruits.	
2 : 267	To end spousal conflict.	
3 : 7—9	To improve memory, sharpen reason.	
3 : 8	In case of stomach pain.	
3 : 17—9	To prevent diabolical temptation and evil thoughts. To gain rhetorical ability.	

[1] First column: *āyāt/sūras* numbers are given according to *Khawāṣṣ-i āyāt wa manāfi'-i-sūr-i-nabiyyāt* by 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn. See A. Christensen, *Xavāṣṣ-i-āyāt. Notice et extraits d'un manuscrit persan traitant la magie des versets du Coran* (København, 1920), pp. 7—11, 30—67. The work presents occult practices common in Persia in the sixteenth—nineteenth centuries. Third column: *āyāt/sūras* numbers are given according to E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), pp. 166, 168, 213—7, 223—96. The work is devoted to the occult practice in North Africa. Throughout, we have replaced Flügel's numeration of *āyāt* with that of the Cairo edition. The use of particular fragments of *āyāt* in occult practice is not indicated specially in the current *Table*.

Continuation of the ***Table***

Nos. of *āyāt*/*sūras* Persia	Specific usage of *sūras* and *āyāt*	Nos. of *āyāt*/*sūras* Maghrib
3 : 35—7	To ease birth. To calm and lull a crying child. To increase the milk of a nursing mother.	
3 : 38—40	In case of infertility.	
3 : 73—4	Aid in obtaining one's daily bread, finding work for an unemployed person. To win a woman's love.	
3 : 111—2	For victory over an enemy.	
3 : 126	For victory over an enemy.	
3 : 126—8	To turn a place into a desert.	
3 : 144	In case of bleeding, menoragis. Against evil spirits and people. To neutralize the effect of a talisman.	
	Against all illnesses.	3 : 154
3 : 169—71	To acquire laudable moral qualities (learnedness, courage, piety).	
3 : 173—4	To defend against evil which stems from influential persons.	
3 : 200	Against drunkenness.	
4 : 23	To separate lovers who are committing adultery. To free someone from sexual desire. To deprive someone of [sexual] potency.	
4 : 41	To learn from a sleeping woman what is in her heart.	
4 : 148	To cause dumbness.	
	To discover treasure.	5 : 18
5 : 24	To prevent someone's departure.	
	Against the insinuations of evil spirits.	5 : 64
6	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To become invisible.	6 : 25
6 : 44—5	To weaken the power and might of a tyrant.	
6 : 63—4	To protect against indisposition and dangers incurred by travel over water.	
	To help a person mad with love.	6 : 73
6 : 122	Against the plotting of enemies and their curses. * To inflict dumbness.	* 6 : 122
7 : 38	So that an enemy might remain longer in prison.	
7 : 43	To reconcile enemies.	
	To exorcise *jinns*.	7 : 54—137
	To discover treasure.	7 : 55
7 : 57—8	To protect fruit trees from parasites and pests.	
	Against nightmares.	7 : 201
	For good marksmanship.	8 : 17
	Against jealousy among the wives of one man.	8 : 62
9	Against thieves and bandits.	
	To save a sinking ship.	9 : 43
9 : 46	To catch a thief or runaway slave. * In case of epilepsy, to "imprison" the spirits which cause the seizure.	* 9 : 46
	To gain access to the powerful of the world, to protect oneself from slander, death by fire, etc.	9 : 129
9 : 128—9	To protect livestock from wolves.	
10 : 31	To ease birth. In case of ear diseases.	
11 : 82	To weaken the power and might of a tyrant.	
	In case of epilepsy, to "imprison" the spirits which cause the seizure.	12 : 12

Continuation of the ***Table***

Nos. of *āyāt*/*sūras* Persia	Specific usage of *sūras* and *āyāt*	Nos. of *āyāt*/*sūras* Maghrib
	To obtain the love and favor of someone, including an influential person.	12 : 31
12 : 91—3	Against eye illnesses.	
	To ensure a woman's faithfulness.	13
13 : 11	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To increase miraculously the amount of butter in a skin.	13 : 17
14 : 12	In case of aching joints, eye complaints. To heal a person possessed by *jinns*. * Against parasites.	* 14 : 12
	To exorcise *jinns*. To render someone mute.	14 : 32
	In case of epilepsy, to "imprison" the spirits which cause the seizure. Against thieves.	15 : 9
15 : 17	To prevent all illnesses.	
15 : 87—8	To achieve reconciliation. To cool one's ardor for a woman with whom relations are forbidden.	
16 : 10—3	To protect livestock, crops, fruit trees.	
16 : 14—6	For success in hunting.	
	To become invisible.	16 : 108
	To become invisible.	17 : 39
	To prevent sheep from falling ill.	17 : 82
18	Against a tyrant who is distant from the true faith. To discover treasure.	* 18
	To prevent complications in birth.	18 : 14
	Against the insinuations of evil forces.	18 : 21
	To prevent complications in birth.	18 : 25
	To become invisible.	18 : 57
	To preserve a girl's virginity until marriage.	18 : 71
19 : 1	Against evil forces. To gain prosperity. For success in love and friendship.	
19 : 5—15	To ease conception.	
	To gain the favor of influential persons.	20 : 39
	To become invisible.	20 : 46
	To gain the favor of influential persons.	20 : 67
21 : 25—9	Against a tyrant.	
23 : 12—4	To grant a woman the ability to give birth.	
	To become invisible.	23 : 115
	Against headaches.	25 : 45
26	To find hidden or lost objects.	26
	To exorcise *jinns*.	26 : 63
	In case of diseases of the heart, liver, spleen.	26 : 78—80
	To exorcise *jinns*.	27 : 30—1
	To exorcise *jinns*.	27 : 39—40
	To cause illness in someone else.	27 : 50—2
	To cross great distances in the blink of an eye.	28 : 22—4
	To discover treasure.	27 : 64
31 : 16	To gain knowledge of secret things in a dream.	
	To discover treasure.	31 : 33
32 : 16	To increase miraculously the amount of grain in a storehouse.	

Continuation of the ***Table***

Nos. of *āyāt*/*sūras* Persia	Specific usage of *sūras* and *āyāt*	Nos. of *āyāt*/*sūras* Maghrib
	To exorcize *jinns*.	34 : 12—3
34 : 18—20	For success in a search for treasure or veins of ore.	
	To prevent complications during birth.	35 : 41
36	To prevent all illnesses. * To force someone to come to you.	* 36
	To become invisible.	36 : 9
	Against sheep diseases.	36 : 29
36 : 58	When hunting snakes, scorpions; against mosquitoes, bedbugs, and other parasites. Against death by fire or drowning. To prevent madness. To cause a baby to stop crying.	
37 : 7	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To increase miraculously the amount of grain in a storehouse.	38 : 54
	To cross great distances in the blink of an eye.	39 : 67
41 : 12	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To increase miraculously the amount of figs, dates and raisins in a place of storage.	41 : 53
44	To prevent all illnesses.	
	For success in hunting and fishing.	45 : 13—4
	To separate adulterers.	45 : 34
	Against the insinuations of evil forces.	46 : 25
	To exorcise *jinns*.	46 : 29—32
48	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To force someone to come to you.	48 : 1—3
	Against all illnesses.	48 : 29
	To discover treasure.	52 : 27
	Against the insinuations of evil spirits.	54 : 45
	For victory over an enemy in war.	54 : 46
	To exorcise *jinns*.	54 : 50
55	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To preserve a girl's virginity until marriage.	55 : 19
	To become invisible.	55 : 33
	Against epilepsy, to "imprison" spirits which cause seizures.	56 : 27
	Against epilepsy, to "imprison" spirits which cause seizures.	56 : 41
	To exorcise *jinns*.	56 : 76—80
57	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To cause enemies to flee.	58 : 21
	In case of stomach pain.	59 : 21
59	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To separate a husband from his wife.	59 : 2
59 : 22—4	Against tumors. In case of liver diseases.	
67	To prevent all illnesses. * To compel someone to come to you. * To discover treasure.	* 67
	For flourishing trade.	71 : 10—2
	Against locusts. To discover treasure.	72
	To preserve a girl's virginity until marriage.	72 : 1
	Against thieves.	75

Continuation of the ***Table***

Nos. of *āyāt*/*sūras* Persia	Specific usage of *sūras* and *āyāt*	Nos. of *āyāt*/*sūras* Maghrib
	* Against epilepsy; to "imprison" the spirits which cause the seizure.	76 : 29
78	To prevent all illnesses.	
	When swallowing leeches.	79 : 31
	When swallowing leeches.	79 : 46
	To sow discord among friends.	80 : 1—6
	To sow discord among friends.	83 : 1—3
	To become invisible.	85 : 2
85 : 20—2	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To force someone to come to you.	86
	In case of disease of the heart, liver, spleen.	86 : 1—8
	To preserve a girl's virginity until marriage.	86 : 2
	Against dangers which arise in the night, on water, in trees.	87
	To discover treasure.	91
	In case of disease of the heart, liver, spleen.	94 : 1—3
	To improve memory, sharpen reason.	96 : 5
97	In case of phlegm, convulsions, diseases of the liver. * To become invisible.	* 97
	To induce dissent between evil people.	99
	To sow discord between friends.	99 : 1—6
111	To prevent all illnesses.	
112	To prevent all illnesses. In case of eye disease. To gain spiritual, material, familial well-being. * Against all forms of sorcery.	* 112
113	Spiritual, material, familial well-being. To prevent all illnesses. * Against all forms of sorcery.	* 113
	To sow discord between friends.	113 : 1—2
114	Spiritual, material, familial well-being. To prevent all illnesses. * Against all forms of sorcery. * To ensure the safety of a place where valuables are hidden.	* 114
letters of light [2]	In case of eye disease, epilepsy. To calm someone's anger. To prevent indisposition or dangers incurred by travel over water, across the desert. To assure work for an unemployed person. For success in love and friendship. For material well-being. To find a husband for a young girl.	
basmala	In case of illness. * Against headaches. * To present oneself in worthy fashion before the powerful of this world. * To destroy an oppressor. To neutralize [the effects of] sorcery.	* *basmala*

In this time, Qur'ānic episodes became an indispensable part of Muslim miniatures. In the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries manuscripts, which primarily contained poetic works in some fashion or other connected with Qur'ānic themes, a significant part of the Qur'ānic text was illustrated (taking into account the repetition of themes in the Qur'ān). Even the most cursory examination of available publications confirms this. Widely illustrated, in particular, were

[2] The letters of light are 14 letters in the Arabic alphabet (ا, ل, م, ص, ر, ك, ه, ى, ع, ط, س, ح, ق, ن) which in various combinations precede a number of *sūras* (2, 3, 7, 10—15, 19—20, 26—32, 36, 38, 40—46, 50, 68). The significance of these letters has not yet been convincingly explained.

the story of Yūsuf (*sūra* 12), the *mi'rāj* (17 : 1, 60), the Qur'ānic tale of Sulaymān and Queen of Sabā', and the *jinn*s, birds, beasts and wind which obeyed the Prophet (21 : 78—81; 34 : 12—14; 38 : 36—40; 27 : 15—45) [17], the story of Iskandar (18 : 83—98) [18], the story of Ādam (2 : 33—34; 36; 7 : 19—25; 20 : 115—122) [19], the story of Ibrāhīm (37 : 102—113) [20], the story of Mūsā (7 : 103—110; 26 : 22—35; 20 : 17—23; 27 : 10—12; 28 : 30—32) [21], the tale of Yūnus and the whale (21 : 87—88; 68 : 48—50; 37 : 139—148; 10 : 98; 6 : 86; 4 : 163) [22], the story of 'Īsā (3 : 45—46; 61 : 14) [23]. Moreover, the illustrations frequently **developed** Qur'ānic themes, taking their cue in this from popular interpretations [24]. If one recalls that at first it was forbidden even to include the titles of *sūra*s in a copy of the Qur'ān, as they were not part of the divinely revealed text, then the changes which took place later appear even more striking.

It was an age of commentaries and supracommentaries. Quite typical of the spirit of the time, for example, was the appearance of a richly ornamented manuscript (dated to the late sixteenth—early seventeenth century), in which the Qur'ānic text is surrounded by four other texts carefully arranged in separate margins: a Persian work on the *asbāb al-nuzūl*, the well-known *tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī, the Persian-language *Tafsīr-i Ḥusaynī*, and an Arab work on the rules of recitation [25]. This formed a unique encyclopaedia in which the Qur'ān itself already plays a subordinate role: one reads not the Qur'ān, but about it. While in such collections the latter is the main text, it remains **only one of a number** of texts sacred in nature.

It should be added that a large number of copies of the Qur'ān with parallel translations into Persian, Turkish, Urdu and other languages came to light in this period, which indicated the growing importance of national languages in the religious sphere [26].

Collections of 9, 8, 7, 6, 5 and 4 popular *sūra*s became more and more common [27]. These usually included *sūra*s 36, 48, 55, 67, 78. The appearance of such collections has been established already for the twelfth century. The Kraus collection (USA) contains a small-format manuscript (15.6 × 10.9 cm) which is a type of prayer-book consisting of a selection of *āyāt* from *sūra*s 7, 8, and 9 [28]. From the fifteenth century on, however, such manuscripts became significantly more common. In a functional sense, in the practice of Ṣūfī brotherhoods, they were in essence substitutes for the text of the Qur'ān.

Earlier, in the thirteenth—fourteenth centuries, scrolls with micrography [29], texts with parallel translation [30], small-sized volumes [31], and selections of several *sūra*s [32] were also created. What is important is that in the time under discussion here such publications were produced on a mass scale.

2

Museum collections have preserved for us numerous examples of Qur'ānic texts inscribed on the surfaces of various types of arms used by Muslim warriors [33]. Extant examples produced on virtually the entire territory of *dār al-islām* convincingly demonstrate that from the mid-fifteenth century on craftsmen who produced arms more and more frequently added Qur'ānic inscriptions to their work: battle-axes [34], shields [35], armor [36], elbow-guards [37], swords and sabers [38], helmets [39], daggers [40], chamfrons [41], and other martial objects [42]. Surely, this does not mean that earlier implements entirely lacked Qur'ānic inscriptions. But from the mid-fifteenth century onward, this practice became a **mass** phenomenon.

The addition of inscriptions to weaponry was itself a special magic ritual. According to *khawāṣṣ-i āyāt*, it was obligatory to conduct this ritual at 6 PM on a Friday. The inscriber had to complete the procedure on an empty stomach and in a state of ritual purity [43]. The appearance of special talismanic shirts worn under a coat of mail has been also established toward the end of the fifteenth century. Their surface was entirely covered in writing (the text of the Qur'ān, in full or in part, pious formulas, magic squares, etc.) [44]. Magic squares usually contained four letters or the even numbers 4—2—8—6. Such squares, called *badūh*, were frequently inscribed on the blade of a sword next to the name of the craftsman who fashioned it [45].

Special octagonal manuscripts of the Qur'ān which were affixed to standards [46] also appeared at this time. Individual Qur'ānic phrases and formulas on the standards of Muslim armies (frequently consisting only of the words *Allāh* or *'alam Allāh*) were replaced by extended texts. A Qur'ānic text could also be written into the upper portion of a standard in the form of a palm (*khamsa*, the "hand of Fāṭima", a traditional protection of magical significance) [47]. A special talisman which included *āya* 54 : 46 could also be affixed to the standard. Such a talisman could be placed in the commander's turban as well [48].

Worthy of special comment are a number of extant Ṣafawid helmets reproducing the basic elements of the *tāj-i Ḥaydarī*. According to tradition, *shaykh* Ḥaydar, father of Shāh Ismā'īl, the found of the Ṣafawid State was told by angels in a dream to place in his headgear a twelve-sided baton cut from red scarlet. Each side of the baton was to symbolize one of the twelve Shi'ite *imām*s. It was for this reason that Ṣafawid warriors received the title *qizilbāsh* ("red head" in Turkish). Many Ṣafawid helmets of damask steel, made in imitation of *tāj-i Ḥaydarī*, had a twelve-sided baton at their apex and were adorned with a circular band of inscriptions (*āyat al-kursīy* — 2 : 255, *āya* 61 : 13, followed by "Oh Muḥammad! Oh 'Alī") [49].

The repertoire of Qur'ānic texts inscribed on arms was rather limited. These usually consisted of part of *āya* 61 : 13 "help from God and a nigh victory", *āyat al-kursīy* (2 : 255), and the *āyāt* which follow, the short last *sūra*s (105, 109, 110, 112—114). The use of *āya* 68 : 51, which was employed against the "evil eye", has also been attested [50].

Qur'ānic fragments — "pictures of the word of God" — in mosques performed the same functional role as paintings in Christian churches. These fragments formed a distinctive semiotic system, which provided, in particular, a religious-mythological picture of the world [51]. The role of Qur'ānic texts on Muslim standards is comparable to the role of icons depicting saints on the banners of Russian armies; Qur'ānic texts on armour are paralleled by depictions of the saints placed, for example, on arms carried in Muscovy [52].

For the medieval warrior, sacred depictions and texts served as talismans which gave his weapons special striking

or defensive power. It was as though he wore two suits of armour: one was "earthly", the other was linked with higher forces and provided miraculous defence against the enemy's arrows, sword, or lance.

Worthy of attention is the fact that when inscribed on various weapons, used in amulets and incantations, Qur'ānic texts were frequently employed together with other religious texts (for the most part, the epithets of Muḥammad, 'Alī, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and magical and pious formulas, which usually originated in Ṣūfī or Shi'ite tradition). One finds here a parallel with the practice noted above of adding to manuscripts of the Qur'ān prayers or magical texts and with the appearance of collections which brought together several *sūra*s and other religious texts [53].

The Qur'ān becomes both talisman and weapon; the weapon is both ennobled and strengthened by the Qur'ān. Such a Qur'ān became one of the characteristic elements of this contradictory time, an age of military expansion and calls for meekness and retreat from the world, an age of defeats on the field of battle and victories in the souls of the newly converted, an age of ever greater diversity within Islam ("theoretical" — "practical"; "official" — "popular"; "basic" — "national-specific") and its fortification through the triumph of that diversity.

Notes

1. Ibn Iyās, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt*, trans. by W. N. Solomon (London, 1921), p. 41.

2. Practically all large collections contain manuscripts of the Qur'ān created during the period under discussion. In this connection, among the collections noted here, especially rich is that of the Salang Jung Museum and Library, see M. Ashraf, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Salang Jung Museum and Library*. Vol. II: The Glorious Qur'ān, its Parts and Fragments (Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India, 1962), henceforth Hyderabad.

3. See correspondingly Hyderabad No. 105/Catalogue No. 107; 240/Catalogue No. 101; No. 245/Catalogue No. 161 = No. 244/Catalogue No. 169); No. 173/Catalogue No. 95.

4. See, for example, Hyderabad No. 119/Catalogue No. 132 dated by 1776 = No. 146/Catalogue No. 148; No. 112/Catalogue No. 115, dated by 1713; also collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, B 354, dated by 19th century.

5. Hyderabad No. 13/Catalogue No. 163; also National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Ar. N. S. 1.

6. The *Table* includes fragments or the full texts of *āyāt* from 68 *sūra*s used in occult practice. This does not mean, however, that fragments of *sūra*s not included in the *Table* were not employed in occult practice. Proof of the latter is found, in particular, in the almost entirely different usage of *āyāt* and *sūra*s in Persia and the Maghrib. The list represents an interesting source of information on the desires and strivings, illnesses and fears of millions of Muslims at various times in Persia and the Maghrib. For instance, the "Persian list" seems to demonstrate a high level of social tension, judging from many magic methods for combating "tyrants". What is interesting is that the "tyrants" were undoubtedly familiar with the possibility of such forms of magical retribution.

7. See A. Christensen, *Xavāṣṣ-i-āyāt. Notice et extraits d'un manuscrit persan traitant la magie des versets du Coran* (København, 1920). — Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historik-filologiske Meddelelser, III, 4. This work concentrates on an analysis of a Persian manuscript dated to 1818—19. The manuscript contains a work which is titled in the foreword *Khawāṣṣ-i āyāt wa manāfi'-i-sūr-i-nabiyyāt*. The same foreword tells that the work was written by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and was translated into Persian by 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad in 1520.

8. Al-Buṣīrī's famous *qaṣīda* was dedicated to self-deprecation, as well as to praising the Prophet and his miracles. According to tradition, the partially paralysed poet composed it and loudly recited it after praying. Once, in his dream, al-Buṣīrī saw Muḥammad, who, by dressing him in his cloak (*al-burda*), healed the poet. Word of the miraculous healing soon spread. The story tells that the poem became extremely popular and was regarded as possessing supernatural power. It came to be used in amulets, it adorned the walls of public buildings, it was read along with *sūra*s of the Qur'ān at burial ceremonies. Late Ṣūfī authors actively composed commentaries on al-Buṣīrī's poem. These works frequently became independent theological treatises, see R. Basset, *La Bordah du cheikh al-Busiri, poème en l'honneur de Mohammed* (Paris, 1894); see also I. Goldziher's review of the work by R. Basset in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XXXI (1896), pp. 304—11.

9. Christensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 13—5.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 47, MS fol. 33b.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 35, MS fol. 18a.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 39, MS fols. 20b—21a.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 46, MS fol. 31a.

14. Hyderabad No. 112/Catalogue No. 115, dated by 1713.

15. Hyderabad No. 119/Catalogue No. 132, dated by 1776.

16. See, e.g., a miniature on the well-known episode of "Fighting camels", included in the *Muraqqa'-i Gulshan* from the Gulistān Library in Teheran, cf. A. T. Adamova, "Ob ikonografii siuzheta 'boriushchiesia verbliudy'"("To the iconography of the motif of 'fighting camels'"), *Ėrmitazhnye chteniia 1986—1994 gg. Pamiati V. G. Lukonina* (St. Petersburg, 1995), pp. 200—5.

17. Qur'ānic accounts of Sulaymān and the Queen of Sabā', of the *jinn*s, birds, beasts and wind which obeyed the Prophet are found, for example, in the frontispieces to the 15th—16th century manuscripts of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* (cf. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H 768, dated by 1485, fols. 1—2; H 1510, dated by 1501, fol 502; A 3559, dated by 1560, fols. 1—2; H 750, fols. 1—2; Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. Pers. 1955, fols. 1—2). See also L. N. Dodkhudoeva, *Poėmy Nizami v srednevekovoĭ miniatiurnoĭ zhivopisi* (Niẓāmī's Poems in Medieval Miniature Painting) (Moscow, 1985), pp. 101—2. Widespread were the scenes "Sulaymān and the Queen of Sabā' on the throne" (State Hermitage, UR 999, dated to 1532—1542, fol. 210); "Sulaymān receives the envoys of Bilqīs", miniature to the *Shāh-nāma* by al-Firdawsī, dated to 1570 in the private collection (Los Angeles), see Sulaymān Muṣalīḥa, *Qisas al-tawra fī-l-rusūmāt al-islāmiyya* (Maṭḥaf Isrā'il, al-Quds, 1992), p. 43; "Sulaymān and his *jinn*s" (for example, British Library, Or 14 140, MS of *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* by al-Qazwīnī, 14th century, fol. 100 a).

18. For example, "Iskandar builds a wall to defend the people from the Yājūj and Mājūj", miniature to Niẓāmī's *Iskandar-nāma*, dated *ca.* 1400 (British Library, Or. 13 529, fol. 32); miniatures to Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H 786, dated by 1446, fol. 309; Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 1112, dated by 1450, fol. 320). See also Dodkhudoeva, *op. cit.*, pp. 285—6.

19. For example, "The angels worship Ādam", miniature to Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*, dated *ca.* 1570 (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, B. 146/K. 423, fol. 14); "The expulsion of Ādam and Ḥawwā' from paradise", miniatures to the *Ḥadīqat al-su'adā'* by al-Fuḍūlī, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. Turc. 1088, fol. 9b; Brooklyn Museum, New York, 70.143, dated by 1602—3; Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 4321, dated by 1593—4; cf. R. Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Mazda Publishers, 1990), pp. 100—5.

20. For example, "The sacrifice of Ibrāhīm", miniatures to 16th—17th century manuscripts of *Ḥadīqat al-su'adā'* by al-Fuḍūlī (British Library, Or. 12 009, fol. 19b, Ms. Or. 7301, fol. 19b; Brooklyn Museum, New York, 70.143, fol. 20a); "Ibrāhīm is thrown into the fire", miniatures to 16th—17th century manuscripts of *Ḥadīqat al-su'adā'* by al-Fuḍūlī (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Ms. 85, 237.35; Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. Turc. 1088, fol. 17a); cf. Milstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 101—5.

21. For example, "The transformation of Mūsā's staff into a serpent", 17th—18th century miniatures to *Qisas al-anbiyyā'*, in a private collection (London). See *Qisas al-tawra*, p. 31.

22. "Yūnus and the whale", 16th—17th century miniatures to *Ḥadīqat al-su'adā'* by al-Fuḍūlī, in private collection (London). See: *Qisas al-tawra*, p. 45.

23. "'Īsā and the apostles", miniature to Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*, dated to 1562—3 (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 794/K, fol. 36b.

24. See *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet. Mi'rāj Nāmeh*, introduction and commentaries by M.-R. Ségui (London, 1977); R. Ettinghausen, "Persian Accession miniatures of the fourteenth century", *Islamic Art and Archaeology*, collected papers, prepared and edited by M. Rosen-Ayalon, with introduction by O. Grabar (Berlin, 1984). Without going into detail on the level of sacredness in such Muslim miniatures, we note the well-grounded view of the Russian scholar A. E. Bertel's, who studied two of the most complete cycles of miniatures to the *Mi'rāj-nāma* which have reached us (the "Istanbul album"; miniatures created before 1335 in Sulṭāniyye Library, on the territory of today's Iran; and the Paris manuscript of the *Mi'rāj-nāma* in Uighur, completed in Herat in 1436). As A. E. Bertels points out: "Despite a large number of features they contain which are common to all miniatures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we are inclined to consider them part of the sacred art of Iran both in content and in form. The latter was evidently derived from spiritual experience based on tradition", see A. E. Bertel's, *Khudozhestvennyĭ obraz v iskusstve Irana IX—XV vekov (Slovo, izobrazhenie)* (Symbols and Metaphors in the Persian art of the 9th—15th Centuries: Poetry, Images) (Moscow, 1997), p. 342.

25. Hyderabad, No. 99/ Catalogue No. 347.

26. ***Persian***: Leyden, Or. 510 and Or. 1217; St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C 185; National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Dorn. 12; Ar. N. S 2; Ar. N. S. 4. ***Turkish***: Leyden, Or. 504; National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Dorn. 39. ***Urdu***: Hyderabad No. 68/Catalogue No. 303. ***Jawa***: Leyden, Or 2997. ***Makassar***: Leyden, N. B. 52. ***Belorussian and Polish***: St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, D 723; Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, Nos. 893, 867, 868, 1315. One can add to this a number of translations of the Qur'ān carried out by the Moriscas in Spain. In outward form, these copies with parallel Spanish translation in Arabic writing are quite reminiscent of manuscripts with other Muslim parallel translation. See C. Lopez-Morillas, *The Qur'ān in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sūra 79* (London, 1982).

27. **9 *sūras***: Hyderabad No. 26/Catalogue No. 248; No. 25/Catalogue No. 49; No. 24/Catalogue No. 250; **8 *sūras***: No. 29/Catalogue No. 251; No. 90/Catalogue No. 252; No. 28/Catalogue No. 253; No. 30/Catalogue No. 255; **7 *sūras***: No. 27/Catalogue No. 254; No. 31/Catalogue No. 257; No. 32/Catalogue No. 258; No. 34/Catalogue No. 259; No. 36/Catalogue No. 260; No. 33/Catalogue No. 261; **6 *sūras***: No. 64/Catalogue No. 262; No. 39/1/Catalogue No. 263; No. 48 /Catalogue No. 264; No. 37/Catalogue No. 265; No. 81/Catalogue No. 266; **5 *sūras*** (*Panj-sūra*): No. 79/Catalogue No. 256; No. 60/Catalogue No. 267; No. 44/Catalogue No. 268; No. 64/Catalogue No. 269; No. 63/Catalogue No. 270; No. 45/Catalogue No. 271; No. 38/Catalogue No. 273; No. 68/Catalogue No. 274; No. 69/Catalogue No. 275; No. 49/Catalogue No. 276; No. 70/Catalogue No. 277; No. 74/Catalogue No. 278, see also: Catalogue Nos. 279, 280, 281—307; **4 *sūras***: No. 87/Catalogue Nos. 308—310. See also National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Ar. N. S. 207, 218.

28. *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th century in the collection of Hans Kraus*, by Ernst J. Grube (New York, 1973), pp. 43—5.

29. For example, Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 6088, No. 359, Egypt (?), dated to *ca.* 1400.

30. For example, items from the collection of Nasser Khalili (henceforth, Khalili), Qur 573, Eastern Iran or Northern India, 1269; Qur 587, Anatolia (?), 1330—1350.

31. For example, a 30-part Qur'ān, dimensions 4.7 × 3.7 cm, Iraq (?), 1352—53 (Khalili, Qur 370).

32. For example, collection of *sūras* 2, 6, 18, 34, 35 (Khalili, Qur 242, Shiraz 1336—1354).

33. A number of such examples can be found in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, ed. by Elgood (London, 1979), henceforth, Elgood. See also *The Arts of War: Arms and Armour of the 7th to 19th C.* — The Nasser Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, XXI (henceforth, Khalili Arms). The materials analysed in these publications are sufficiently representative. In the main, they encompass Ottoman Turkey, Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, Persia, and Muslim India.

34. Such axes were frequently used in Ottoman Turkey for ceremonial purposes. In Persia they played a religious role during the rites of *darwīshes*. It is for this reason that a large number of surviving examples of such axes are adorned with texts from the Qur'ān. For example, battle axe (Persia, 1735/36) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (Elgood, p. 240); battle axe (Persia, 1735/36) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13; 18 : 39; 68 : 51—52; all of *sūra* 110 (Elgood, pp. 123—4); battle axe (Turkey, late 15th century) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (Elgood, p. 115); battle axe (Turkey, *ca.* 16th century) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (in part) (Khalili Arms, No. 58); saddle axe (Iran, late 18th century) — Qur'ān, 9 : 56 (part); 3 : 126 (part); 8 : 10 (part); 11 : 88 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 94) .

35. Shield (Persia, 1805) — Qur'ān, fragments of *sūras* 109, 112, 113, 114 (Elgood, p. 18); shield (India, *ca.* 1500), Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part), 18 : 46 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 47); shield (Persia), Qur'ān, 68 : 51—52 (Tsarskosel'skaia kollektsiia, see *Indian and Oriental Armour*, by Lord Egerton of Tatton, London, 1970, p. 4, n. 1).

36. Armor (Persia, late 18th— early 19th centuries) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13; 2 : 255—257; 40 : 44; 11 : 90; 110 (in full); 113 (in full); 114 (in full) (Elgood, pp. 6—11); breastplate (Turkey, 16th century) (Khalili Arms, No. 38), Qur'ān, 17 : 84 (part); shoulder plate (Turkey, 16th century), Qur'ān, 2 : 255 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 39).

37. Elbow guards (Persia, 1711) — Qur'ān, 16 : 13 (Elgood, pp. 13—15); elbow guard (India, *ca.* second half of the 18th century) — Qur'ān, 2 : 255; 21 : 87 (part) — 88; 105 (in full), (Khalili Arms, No. 106).

38. Sword (Egypt, Syria, 17th century) — Qur'ān, 2 : 255 (*Islamic Arms and Armour*, Riaydh, 1992, p. 43); saber (India, 1745—50) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 82); saber (India, 19th century) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part); 12 : 64 (part); sword (Persia, 18th century) — Qur'ān, 16 : 13 (part) (*Indian and Oriental Armour*, by Lord Egerton of Tatton, p. 53, n. 1).

39. Helmet (Persia, 18th century) — Qur'ān, 2 : 255 (Elgood, 12); part of a helmet (Egypt, Syria or Turkey, 16th or 17th century) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 56); helmet (Iran, 19th century) — Qur'ān, 2 : 255—256, 257 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 79).

40. Dagger (Iran, 1800—1801) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 83); dagger (Iran, end 18th—19th century) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 85); dagger (Iran, beginning 19th century) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 90).

41. Chamfron (Anatolia or Iran, late 15th—16th century) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 45).

42. Silver case for a bow of the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmed I (1603—1617) decorated with fragments of Qur'ānic texts (without indication) — (Elgood, p. 203); belt fittings (Iran, 18th century) — Qur'ān, 110, 113 (in full) (Khalili Arms, No. 91).

43. Christensen, *op. cit*, p. 45 (fol. 30a of the manuscript).

44. Talismanic shirt (India, late 15th century) — the entire text of the Qur'ān (Hyderabad, No. 177/Catalogue No. 15); talismanic shirt (India, late 15th century) — entire text of the Qur'ān (Hyderabad, No. 178/Catalogue No. 16); talismanic shirt (possibly Iran, 16th or 17th century), many Qur'ānic fragments and Shi'ite formulas (Khalili Arms, No. 33); talismanic shirt (possibly Iran, 16th or 17th century) — prayers, incantations, numerous Qur'ānic fragments, including *sūras* 1, 48, 112, 114 in full, *āyāt* 2 : 255, 24 : 35, and many Shi'ite formulas (Khalili Arms, No. 34). The publishers promise a forthcoming edition of other talismanic shirts in volume XII of the Khalili collection, entitled "Science, Tools and Magic".

45. According to one of the traditions, Badūh was the name of an Arabian merchant who acquired *baraka* as a result of his piety and grew rich. A magical square such as the following

٤	٦
٨	٢

was frequently used in seals (for example, to seal a letter sent to a distant destination).

46. Khalili, Qur 371, Iran or Turkey, 1450—1500; Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 449 (No. 534), Iran, 1582; National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Dorn. 35; Hyderabad No. 232/Catalogue No. 43.

47. D. Nicolle, *Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour* (Caceres, 1976), pp. 141—4. Cf. banner (Turkey, 17th century) — Qur'ān, 4, end of *āya* 95—96 (Khalili Arms, No. 59); banner (Turkey, *ca.* 1820) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 66); 4, end of *āya* 95—96; 112 (in full); top of a banner (Iran, *ca.* 17th century) — Qur'ān, 112 (in full) (Khalili Arms, No. 77); upper section of a banner in the form of *khamsa* from the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, see *The World of Islam. Faith, People, Culture*, ed. by B. Lewis (London, 1992), p. 203. Among the earliest examples of this practice in the Christian world is the famed *labarum*, the banner of victory with a Christogram which, according to accounts, accompanied the Emperor Constantine the Great during his battle at the Mulvi bridge (A.D. 312).

48. E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), pp. 239—41.

49. Abolala Souvardar, *Art of Persian Courts. Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (Seattle, 1981), No. 54, p. 150.

50. According to tradition, Muḥammad blinded an evil *sākhir* with its help. See *Indian and Oriental Armour* by Lord Egerton of Tatton, p. 54, n. 1.

51. E. Dodd and Sh. Khairallah, *The Image of the Word: A Study of Qur'ānic Verses in Islamic Achitecture*. 1. Texts and photographs; 2. Indexes (Beirut, 1981).

52. Thus, the helmet of the Grand Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century, bears not only the inscription "Oh Great Archistrateg Michael, help your servant Feodor", but depictions of the Archangel Michael, St. Basil, St. George, St. Theodore and God the Almighty. See *Russian Arms and Armour*, ed. by Yu. Miller (Leningrad, 1982), pl. 1. Among the rings, which form a German-produced coat of mail (*ca.* 1400), is a brass ring with a series of monograms: the letters *M* and *AM*, that is, "Maria" and "Ave Maria". See H. L. Blackmore, *Arms and Armour* (New York, 1965), p. 9. European swords bore inscriptions of sacred content such as "✝ *In nomine Domini* ✝" (*ca.* 1100, Viking grave in Finland). See E. Oakeshott, *The Archaeology of Weapons* (Woodbridge, 1960), pl. 30; pp. 206, 215—17; see also Blackmore, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

53. In this connection, it is telling that the authors and publishers of catalogues include Qur'ānic talismanic shirts both among arms (Khalili Arms) and manuscripts (Hayderabad).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Sūra* 112 written into a magic square. A composite manuscript entitled رسائل متفرقة اكثرها فارسية (call number 678) from the collection of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, Iran, 17th century, fol. 142.

MANUSCRIPTS CONSERVATION

N. M. Brovenko

AN ARABIC BIBLE IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES: THE PROBLEMS OF RESTORATION

The manuscript of the Arabic Bible (D 226) preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies was brought to Russia in 1913 and presented to Nicholas II by Gregory IV, Patriarch of Antioch, on the three-hundredth anniversary of the Romanov dynasty [1]. The Patriarch gave as gifts 42 manuscripts which entered the Personal library of His Majesty. In 1919, the manuscripts were transferred to the Asiatic Museum, the predecessor of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The Bible was translated in Damascus in 1236 by Sabbas Lavriot, whose secular name was Pimen of Damascus. The translation was made from a manuscript copied in Antioch in 1022. The 1022 copy was executed by two copyists and adorned with a rather crude miniature in the first volume [2].

The manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is the oldest full copy of Biblical texts translated into Arabic. Earlier known versions contain only translations of individual sections. The manuscript contains 757 folios and is bound in three volumes (I — 254 fols.; II — 233 fols.; III — 270 fols.). Their dimensions are 32.0 × 23.0 cm. The folios were presumably restored and bound in the mid- or end of the nineteenth century. Tears, losses, worn edges, and grooves were glued over with rag paper; the fly-leaves are also fashioned from such paper. The bindings of the volumes are European, stitched with four cords, with sealed backs and covered in black leather. The cover is decorated with a cold-pressed blocking featuring parallel lines, which form a border and a rhombus. The centre contains a composite rosette with spirals and small stars at the edges. It seems that the folios were originally of large format, as the pages do not have an upper margin and the text is located too close to the binding; the folio dimensions are 30.0 × 21.6 cm.

The paper of the manuscript is thick (0.3 mm), grey-yellowish in colour, and glossy. The ink is black (although it has turned reddish) and red. Many of the letters are half-erased with time. The text is in two columns on both sides of the folios.

One of the folios in the first volume, namely folio 4, drew our special attention. It was pasted together from two sheets (henceforth cited as fols. 4-I and 4-II) between which was inserted a groove of white rag paper. In the upper right corner of the reverse side of this single fol. 4, that is fol. 4-IIb, a square was cut out and white rag paper similar to that in the groove and fly-leafs was pasted in. The outer lower corner of the folio was separated into its layered components by a curious reader who, glimpsing letters within, attempted to uncover them. He was, however, unsuccessful; a layer of paper covered the letters. During conservation work on the manuscript the attempt was made by the author of the present article to separate the pasted-together folios and discover the unknown text.

At first, research was conducted on the composition of the paper in terms of fibre and connective material. A sample was prepared for analysis by removing the products of pulp oxidation and adhesive substances; the paper then took on a white colour. It became clear that the basic pulp is made up of hemp, but with significant variations — folio 4-I consists of 75—80% hemp, 15—20% cotton, and approximately 5% wool fibres and animal fur.

Folio 4-II is in composition nearly the same as folio 4-I, with the addition of groups of downy plucked fibres of wool (with follicle bulbs) and, as an admixture, fragments of silk fibres. This difference in the composition of the paper impelled us to continue our research on other folios of the manuscript in order to answer the question: which of the folios, 4-I or 4-II, is analogous in composition to the other folios in the book? Samples were taken from fols. 61, 71, 162, and 254 of the first volume. The result was that all were analogous in composition to fol. 4-I. In all folios the hemp and cotton were not a product of the textile pulping process. It is obvious that to produce the paper, plant material was employed directly. Evidence for this is provided by the presence in the samples of such structurally non-fibrous elements as bast cultures and cotton, for example: vessels, segments of capillary vessels, short tracheids with pointed tips, etc. [3].

Thin-layered chromatography and microchemical analysis showed that the connective material in the paper mass consists of starch and animal glue, located in large quantities in the upper layers of the paper. Also present are extremely small particles of vermilion. X-ray fluorescent analysis established the presence of mercury in the compo-

Fig. 2

Fig. 1

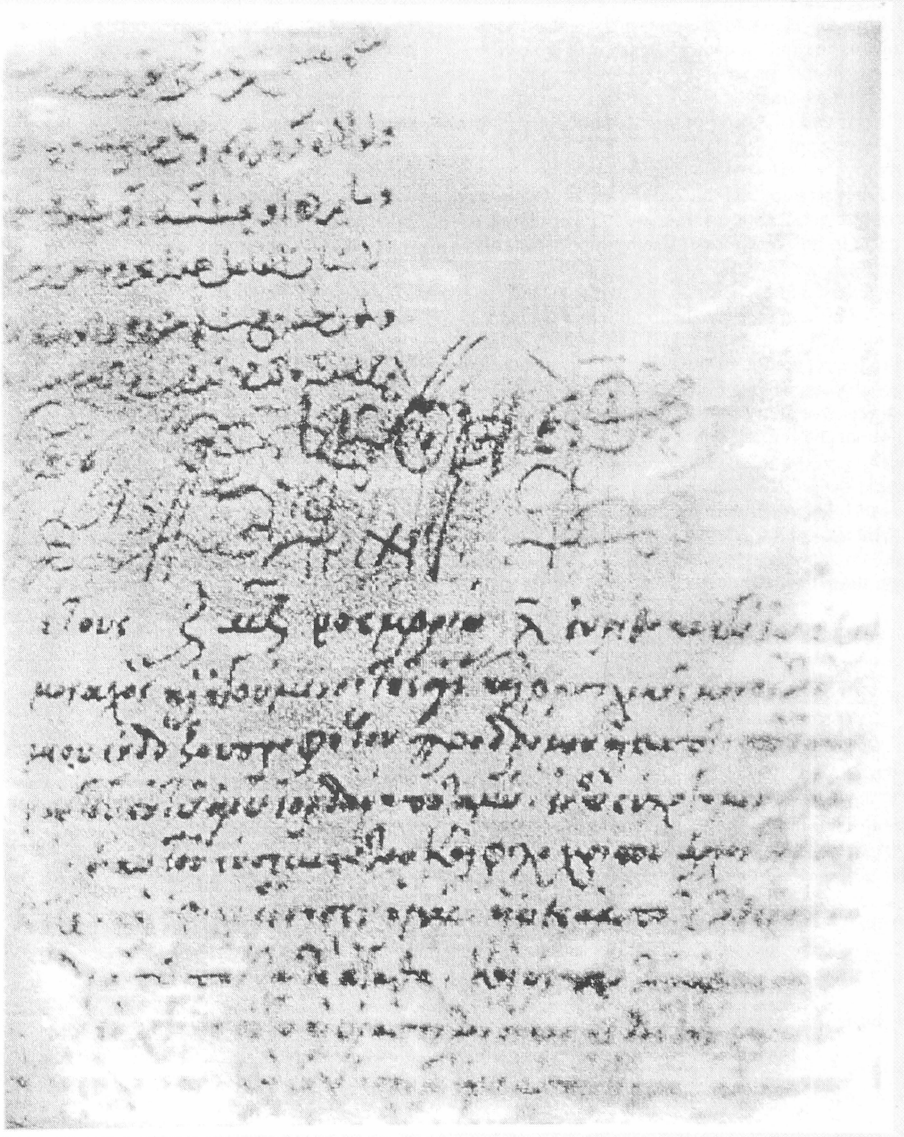


Fig. 3

sition of the paper of fol. 4-II (perhaps in the paint or in the connective material) [4].

The analysis showed that the paper in fol. 4-II differs from the other folios in the first volume of the Bible. It also became clear that it was impossible to employ moistening in separating the folios. A steam pencil was therefore used. First the edges of the folios were separated from the binding of the book and removed from the fold. The separation then proceeded from the edges to the centre. Progress was extremely slow, as the thin stream of steam was directed between the paste and paper of fol. 4-Ib for only 3 or 4 seconds. After that the paste was carefully removed with a scalpel. When a gap of 1 to 2 mm was formed, the steam and scalpel were applied again. At least one hour was required to remove a section of 1—2 cm^2. The paste between fols. 4-I and 4-II was applied thickly and unevenly, leaking into the text in places. As a result, it was impossible to remove the paste in full, as the brief steam action was insufficient to exert a loosening effect deep within the paste and the effect of intermingling between ink pigments and paste was too great. Furthermore, moistening the paper and swelling in its connective material could bring damage. This could lead to the separation of the paper into layers, the deformation of the component fibres and the loss of ink pigments on the reverse side of the paper. We were especially concerned about the red ink which had a weak connection to the paper.

The work has led to an unexpectedly discovery on the reverse side of fol. 4-II of two separate notes — ten lines of Greek text and six lines in Arabic. The Greek text is located in the lower section and is cut short on the final line. The Arabic is on the left of the centre and the upper line is cut off. Between them is a fairly complex ornamental illumination. Numerous traces of paste partially cover elements of the letters or even entire letters.

Chemical analysis showed that the Greek text is written in ink based on charcoal from burnt bones with water-soluble connective material of a protein (albuminous) nature. The Arabic text is written in ferro-gallous ink prepared on the basis of an aqueous extract of nut-gall combined with ferrous salts. The connective material is also water-soluble and of a protein nature.

The paste used to paste together fols. 4-I and 4-II is protein-based (animal). Added to it were chalk (as an antiseptic) and phenol, which as a result of ageing darkened and gave the paste a rose colour. Once dried, the paste is very hard, monolithic, and holds firmly to the paper and ink. It can only be loosened with a large quantity of warm water. In removing the paste, we would risk losing letters. Taking into account the organic nature of the paste, however, we can see the inscriptions in full under infrared light [5].

One may suppose that fol. 4-II appeared in the manuscript of the Arabic Bible after 1236. The first and last pages in books usually suffer the most wear over time. It is possible that fol. 4-II was inserted into the manuscript to replace a destroyed or lost folio. The Greek and Arabic inscriptions were also made before the restoration of the folios (taking into account the fact that the lines are cut short) and were later pasted in during binding, probably at the client's request.

The reconstruction and translation of these inscriptions by specialists will, we hope, add some interesting information to what we know about this Arabic Bible.

Notes

1. For the description of the Bible, see Val. Polosin, E. Rezvan, "To the CD-ROM edition of the St. Petersburg Bible", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (1997), pp. 40—7.

2. I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, "Arabskie rukopisi iz sobraniia Grigoriia IV, Patriarkha Antiokhiĭskogo" ("Arabic manuscripts from the collection of Gregory IV, Patriarch of Antioch"), *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960), iv, pp. 422—44.

3. Chemical research was carried out in the Hermitage studio by L. S. Gavrilenko and B. A. Miklaychuk.

4. X-ray fluorescent analysis was conducted in the studio of the State Russian Museum by S. V. Sirro.

5. Infrared inspection and photographing was conducted in the studio of the State Russian Museum by S. I. Bogdanov and S. V. Sirro.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. The Arabic Bible, manuscript D 226 (vol. 1) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Recto of fol. 4-II in the process of restoration and after separation of a later glued sheet, 32.0 × 23.0 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, vol. 1. Verso of fol. 4-II with inscriptions in Arabic and Greek (after separation of a later glued sheet).

Fig. 3. The same manuscript, vol. 1. Verso of fol. 4-II with inscriptions in Arabic and Greek (after separation of a later glued sheet), infrared photographing.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

A. S. Matveev

VISUAL ARTS AND COMPUTING. WORKS OF ART AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF WARFARE: A DATABASE PROJECT*

This article is dedicated to a database project, which has been started in connection with the study of *Early Persian miniatures as a source for the history of Mongol warfare*. The main goal was to elaborate a computer processable means of describing the military equipment represented in works of medieval art. Then the information from these works could be entered into a database, making it possible to link this data to the scanned images of the warriors and arms depicted. It is hoped that it will be a first step towards establishing a large-scale database of comparable data from medieval Middle Eastern works of art in general. At present the main task is to produce a *conception* of such a database.

As this approach to the study of military history is relatively new, and such databases seem to have never been attempted before, some introductory remarks are required, — both on the "compatibility" of works of art with database specifics and the possibility of applying a computer approach to visual materials, as well as on ways of using "the visual" in historical reconstruction.

* * *

The past decade has witnessed a boom in the development of computing in the humanities, one of the main forms of its application being the *database*. Emerging first of all as a linguistic tool, such databases gradually spread to other fields. In the early 90s the solving of most of the problems, caused by the technical difficulties of writing systems inherent to Oriental languages, has allowed, e. g., the creation of a number of complicated Arabic and Arabic-English databases. The diversity of such databases, however, cannot hide their common feature: all of them are dealing with *text* par excellence — literature, treatises, periodicals, even colloquial speech recorded and transcribed. It is, of course, not surprising, as the text can be *directly* converted in to the computer form and entered in a database, then easily processed and used for a subsequent research.

The same situation can be seen not only in computing, where it is quite natural, but also in the field of general history, which is concerned, almost exclusively, with the *text*. The text itself, however, is not the only source of information; the *visual* is quite significant as well. Despite the obvious importance of the *visual* in history, the approach to visual materials characteristic of works on general history tends to be basically inappropriate. In most of these works the *visual* enjoys a minor role as "illustration" to the "main" theme. Half a dozen miniatures or drawings are tacitly supposed to help a reader to "understand better" the subject in question, but one can hardly find any trace of the author himself using this kind of material. It is even odd how little attention is paid by "pure" historians to the miniatures in manuscripts in comparison to their texts. Moreover, critical editions of medieval sources are usually not provided with *any* visual material, and most of the miniatures from the manuscripts are not published at all — or published *separately* in books on art history. For the original readers, however, *both* were important, being two sides of one coin. Thus it is not a good idea to separate them now, especially when we are dealing with the medieval period, for which sources are not so abundant.

Though such questions, related to the basic features of artistic materials, are obvious and familiar for an art historian, it is not the case when general historians are involved. How many specialists, while using the medieval chronicles, bothered to look at their miniatures, published in books of another "domain" of historical knowledge? Even taking into account a characteristic ignorance of the right hand about deeds of the left one, it is still rather difficult to understand

* This research became possible thanks to the generous financial support of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and Caledonian Research Foundation. I am also thankful to Dr. Carole Hillenbrand of Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, and to the staff of Special Collections Department of the Edinburgh University Library, for their assistance. Besides, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. David Nicolle for his constant help, and to Prof. Robert Hillenbrand for his most helpful criticism.

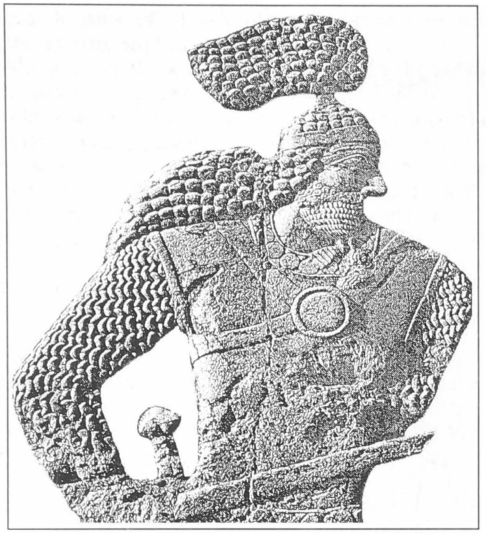


Fig. 1, a

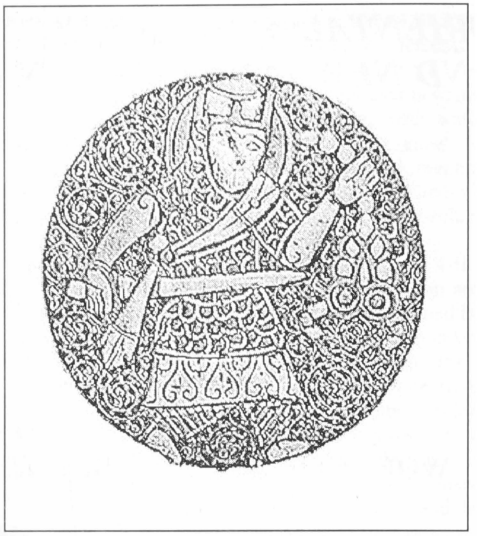


Fig. 1, b

Fig. 1, c

Fig. 1, d

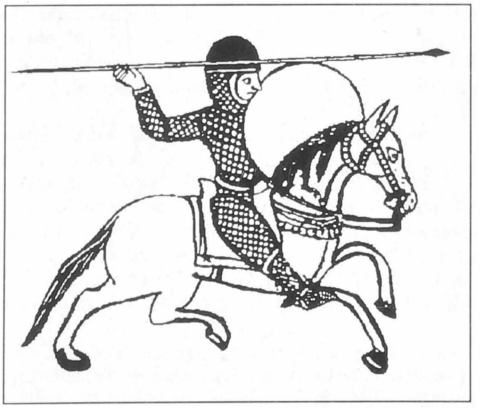


Fig. 1, e

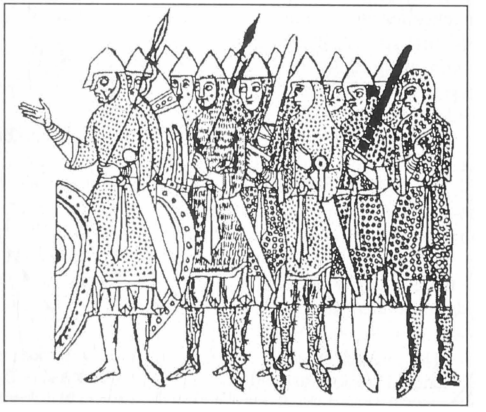


Fig. 1, f

how such valuable material seems to be carefully avoided by historians. Moreover, even military historians and archaeologists who study medieval arms tend to be reluctant to accept information from art sources, generally considering it unreliable.

Of course, the visual has its own "language", differing from the verbal one, and it requires a special approach. It is not, however, something specific of the visual, but rather a common feature of *any* text. A literary text, for example, has a great number of conventions — even in modern fiction, let alone in the medieval literature. All written sources have their own language. They cannot be understood "directly" and require knowledge of the rules, codes and conventions of the particular genre, as well as peculiarities of perception of the outer world by their creators. The facts filtered through the conventions of the genre and the medieval consciousness of the author become amalgamated with standard patterns and ideas inherent in his culture, thus resulting in something more akin to subjective "virtual reality". The latter, however, has little to do with the "historical reality" that a historian is looking for. Thus, verbal sources require a very specific approach to break through all the levels of "garbling" — which is not less difficult than coming to understanding the message produced by visual materials.

* * *

Considering the visual as a sort of a *text* to be understood and interpreted, we have to pay, first, a special attention to its language and its *conventions* — as we have to do when analysing every specific genre of the verbal text. Such conventions can be seen on all levels of both verbal text and visual image structure. In modern literature, for instance, we accept without even noticing such conventional things as rendering the characters' thoughts by grammatically com-

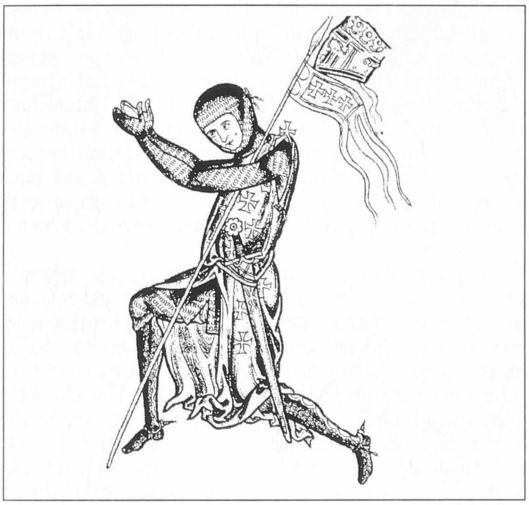


Fig. 1, g

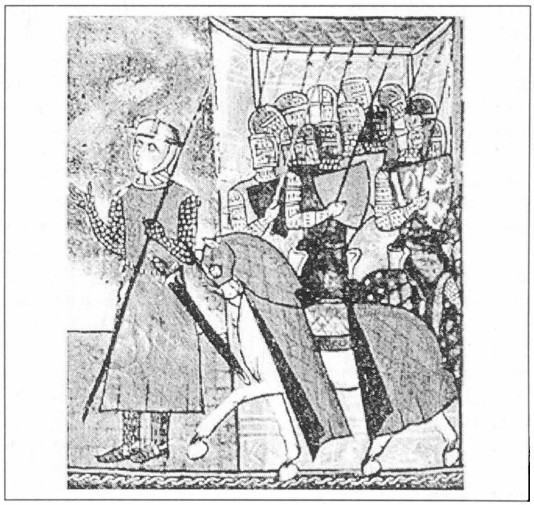


Fig. 1, h

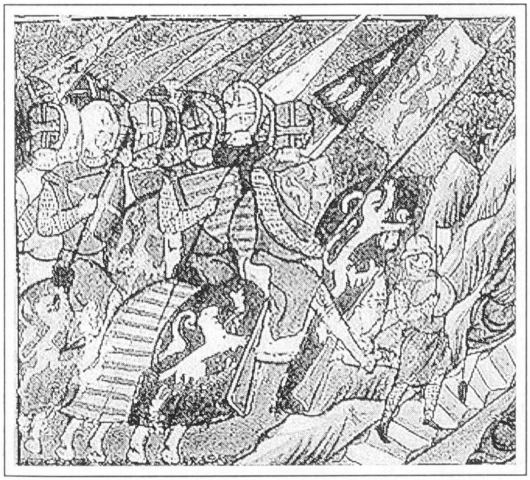


Fig. 1, i

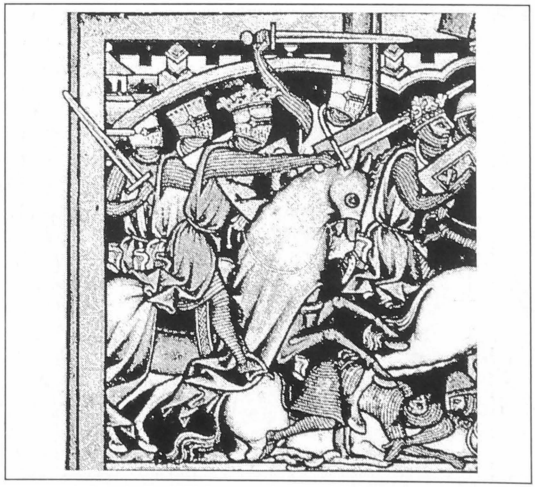


Fig. 1, j

Fig. 1, k

pleted sentences, though in reality no human thought has a fixed grammatical shape. The conventions are even more important for the way visual arts represent their objects, as even realistic painting differs considerably from photographic images, let alone the real life. As for a deeply traditional medieval art, the relationship between image and reality is much more complicated, especially in miniature painting that is heavily dependent on the text illustrated. Its hierarchic and symbolic world cannot be understood without knowledge of its specific rules. For instance, if the presence of a pet in a modern portrait can be merely a way of making a more vivid image, in medieval pictures it carried some important message. Thus, the squirrel, for instance, indicated the faithfulness of a portrayed European lady while the rabbit in an Islamic miniature showed the good fortune of the hero [1]. Similarly, famous hunting scenes on Sasanian silver dishes [2] by no means were just "sporting". An animal hunted by a king was not merely some poor doe bound to be killed, but a personification of king's luck, *farn*, a symbol of his good fortune and kingship. Failing to catch such a game meant loosing his kingly position, and even his life.

On the level of practical means of representation, the stylistic and other conventions involved are even more strict, especially when we are dealing with medieval miniatures. The level of stylisation is extremely high, so it is not always possible to apprehend the object depicted without knowledge of such conventions. Thus, for example, some blue semicircles with dark brown enhancement appear on the top right of a miniature from the Edinburgh manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's "Compendium of Chronicles", showing al-Muntaṣir traversing the Jayḥūn [3]. Taking into account a similar traditional Chinese convention for rendering water, it is possible to understand that the artist meant that the river was frozen — except for some small opening of "running water", thus indicating mid-winter for the event referred.

Fig. 2

Representation of military equipment, for example, chain-mail, differs greatly and depends on many factors ranging from difference in the material, from which the object of art was produced, to local cultural traditions (see examples in *fig. 1, a—k*). It is an extremely rare case when we have iron chains clearly shown, like on the Sasanian relief at Fīrūzābād [4] (see *fig. 1, a*), normally it is just some sort of convention. For instance, the Bayeux Tapestry warriors wear mail coats rendered as a square-like or circle-like holed net [5] (see *fig. 1, d*). Medieval Western European miniatures often show them as dotted strips or strips with short perpendicular lines (see *fig. 1, f, h, i*), sometimes even as simple squared surface (see *fig. 1, e*), while on the miniatures of fourteenth-century Shīrāz school they appear as scale-like tunics [6] (see *fig. 1, c*). Even modern reconstruction are bound to adopt some conventions for rendering mail texture — usually criss-crossed steel-like greyish lines sprinkled with white sparks indicating reflecting light (as it is, anyhow, virtually impossible to portray every link — at least it is a labour-consuming and pointless procedure).

Unawareness of such conventions can result in serious mistakes. Thus, dotted strips covering warriors on two inlay scenes of the early thirteenth century gates of the Suzdal cathedral (Russia) can be easily misunderstood as rendering rivets of nomadic lamellar armour (a variant similar to later European coat-of-plates) — as has been done, for instance, by Arendt and followed by Thordeman [7] (see *fig. 1, k*). A comparison with contemporary West European materials, where there is no doubts about the nature of the armour depicted, helps to avoid such misinterpretation.

The difficulty of penetrating such conventions can be seen on another characteristic example. Describing one of the types of Mongol "soft-armour" — *khatangku dehel* —

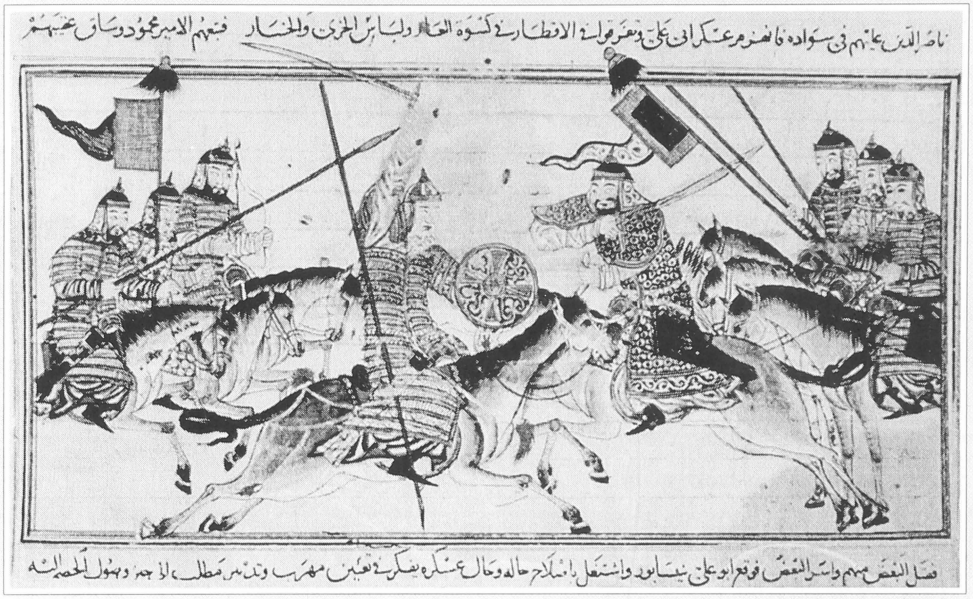


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

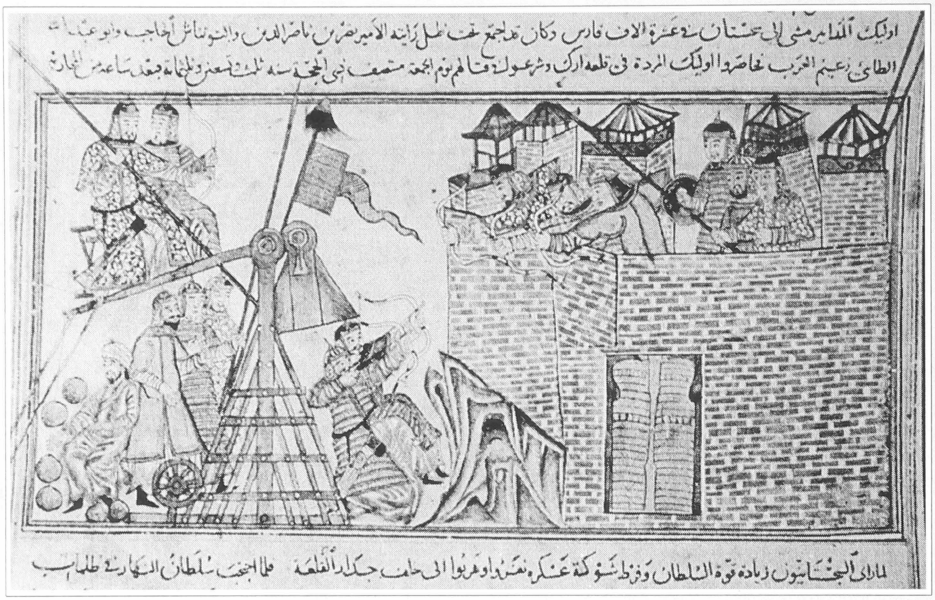


Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Michael Gorelik believed he had discovered its strengthened variant on the basis of a miniature from Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscript [8] (see *figs. 2* and *3*). It depicts a warrior in a coat ornamented by hexagons with a dot in the middle of each. The scholar understood it as rendering of hexagonal iron plates "with a securing pin or knot in the middle of each hexagon, placed between two layers of soft material which was stitched around the plates" [9]. The analysis of the other Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscripts miniatures show, however, that it was merely one of the typical patterns of Chinese *textiles* used both for garments and furniture [10], such as covering of thrones, or an elephant "saddle cloth" as shown on *fig. 4*.

All this explains the difficulties faced by a historian who attempts to use such materials for a historical reconstruction — and, to some extent, justifies his reluctance to do so. Unlike photographic pictures, a *direct* use of medieval visual images is seldom possible, a special study of such conventions being required in order to understand their meaning. For the history of military equipment this can be done through comparison of rendering similar objects in different traditions of the visual arts, different styles and even cultures. Persian miniatures, for instance, can be more easily deciphered if compared with Chinese or Japanese drawings, which are often more neat and clear. To cite an example, one can mention a quiver in an earlier Chinese drawing [11], where some features of Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscripts large deep quivers (tube-like in form) — obviously of a similar type — are represented more clearly. The quiver is open, and one can observe the construction of its covering, which can only be guessed on the basis of Persian miniatures [12] (see *fig. 5*), and the position of the arrows inside with feathers up. The late thirteenth-century Japanese "Mongol Invasion Scroll", contemporary to the event depicted, gives some examples of heavily armoured Mongol cavalrymen [13], who are quite similar to those appeared in the above 1306 Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscript from Edinburgh and other manuscripts belonged to the early fourteenth-century *Rashīdiyya* miniature school of Tabrīz. The importance of this scroll is due not only to some additional detail concerning helmets and lamellar "aventail" construction, but first of all because it is one of the major parallel evidences which *prove* the authenticity of the image of Mongol army shown in the Tabrīz miniatures.

Visual material from later periods can also be helpful, as such later pictures, because of different reasons such as another approach to rendering objects depicted, stylistic features, technique, or merely a size of the image, can show some specific details more clearly. Thus, for instance, if one tries to reconstruct the open-type quivers represented in Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscript, one can only make more or less plausible guesses, because of the small size of the objects in question and the technique involved. The clearest image of such a quiver can be found on fol. 15b (see *fig. 6*). However, if we compare them with other materials, such as later Persian miniatures or even a line drawing by Herberschtein, the mid-sixteenth-century German traveller who depicted weaponry in an armoury in Russia, where the same quiver pattern was borrowed from the Mongol or other nomadic neighbours, the construction of these quivers will become obvious (see *fig. 7, a, b*). Both a rather strange front "window" and a no less surprising furry tail were designed to prevent arrows from slipping from the quiver and, simultaneously, to separate them, as this made them easier to grasp while galloping.

A comparison of pictures with written sources, giving verbal descriptions of military equipment, helps a great deal in their understanding. Thus, for instance, a detailed description of the Mongol lamellar armour given in the "History of the Mongols" by the Papal ambassador Plano Carpini, who visited the Great Khān in Mongolia in 1246, provides a good basis for interpretation of contemporary artistic material. A Chinese scroll of the Mongol period (late Sung or Yuan) depicting the story of Lady Wen Ch'i [14] captured by nomads in the Han period, not only shows the same lamellar cuirasses of the warriors as described by Plano Carpini, but also depicts their horse armour the construction of which closely follows Carpini's description. Two different ways of describing the same object complement each other, adding some new details and clarifying others.

Archaeological finds are even more important, as they provide real prototypes for the arms and armour depicted in miniatures, meanwhile the miniatures help us understand the usage of the inevitably dissembled equipment found in an archaeological context. For example, a late thirteenth-century Mongol armour found in Tuva, includes several slightly curved narrow (*ca.* 1.5 cm) iron strips, 12—15 cm

Fig. 7, a

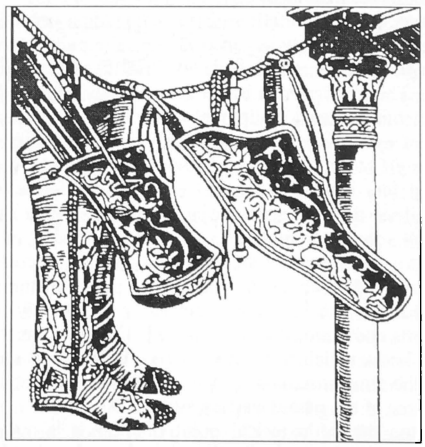


Fig. 7, b

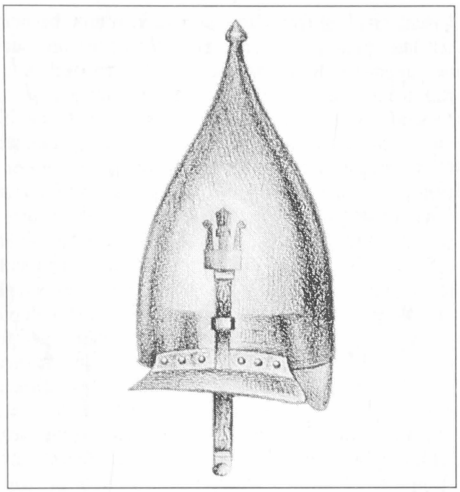


Fig. 8

long, with small holes on their edges. These puzzled me when I started the study of this armour. An assumption of Dr. Gorelik that they were used as shoulder-protection [15] is implausible, as their curvature is so insignificant that no shoulder can match it. They would have had to be curved much more acutely to follow the shape of a human arm. A comparison of these pieces with the visual material, however, shows that they were parts of a "lamellar aventail" similar to those represented in Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscript [16] (see *fig. 4*), which explains their unusual shape (they were curved just enough to follow a large semicircle of the helmet edge). On the other hand, these finds clarify construction of this kind of neck-protection depicted in the miniatures, as the pictures themselves, being in some respects rather schematic, did not give all the details necessary for the reconstruction.

Museum collections of later period arms and armour are also very helpful. Thus, a helmet of the Sulṭān Barsbāy from Louvre [17] (see *fig. 8*) perfectly explains an extremely strange trapezium-like shape of the helmet peaks of the *Rashīdiyya* miniatures, which is very difficult to interpret on its own. Even if we take into consideration the existing convention of showing an object perpendicular to the surface of the picture as going up, not forward, these peaks still look quite strange as they are broader to their end whereas one would expect them being semicircular. The example of the above helmet shows that it was indeed the shape of such iron peaks. As for the dots above these peaks they were clearly meant to represent rivets fastening the peak to the cupola of the helmet.

The above comparisons make possible not only the creation of a more reliable reconstruction of the equipment in question, but also helps explain the images in the miniatures themselves, such as details of the construction of armour, which are rarely completely comprehensible in the works of art alone.

* * *

Even the above few examples show how wide is the spectrum of the sources involved. Such a study requires collecting together a huge amount of different materials, handling of which is an extremely difficult task. Besides, the pictures in question, as well as applied arts objects, are dispersed among many manuscripts and collections, some of them not easily accessible. Thus, using a computer tool such as a database remains the only practical way to accomplish the task of collecting, storing and handling the information provided by works of arts. In the case of the present research, it entails using works of art of the Mongol period as a source for the history of contemporary warfare.

Work on the interpretation of the information provided by miniatures has already begun (see, e.g., the publications of Dr. David Nicolle, where huge material has been gathered [18]). Thus, a first step towards understanding the development of military equipment — namely, selecting a number of *examples* of arms and armour — has already been made. Of course, work in this direction should be continued, and the database form of storing this information would facilitate the process, making it possible to add new materials as soon as they appear. On the other hand, it is now time to make another step, namely to try to acquire some *statistical* data about the weaponry of each historical period and area. The latter can help not only identify the types of arms and armour which *existed* in the given period, but also to know which of them were *typical* for it, thus establishing the army *standard equipment*, which was, in turn, a major factor of the whole warfare system.

From the purely historical point of view it is not of great importance what sort of military equipment *existed* in the area under consideration, but only which of them were in a *wide use*. Unfortunately, the difference between an *occasional* application of some weapon and its real *importance* in warfare of the period is not always understood by historians. Thus, for example, in a recent article concerning the military technology aspect of the First Crusade, John France states that the Muslims possessed virtually the same equipment as Franks [19]. A real abyss, however, lies between a certain familiarity with and an occasional use of, for example, large kite-shaped shields in the Middle East, and the *actual use* of them in large numbers on the battlefield. The fact that the Arabs and Turks of the Middle East also *possessed* some heavy equipment does not mean its equivalent *application* on the battlefield against Frankish *par excellence* heavy cavalry.

In order to understand this aspect of the problem, knowledge of the *frequency* of depicting of various types of arms and armour is indispensable, and to achieve this goal a database is an extremely helpful tool. To what extent this statistical material reflects reality is another matter: the question of *reliability* of this *image* requires additional historical analysis, which would include comparison of this image with archaeological data, written sources, other artistic materials, and the like.

Thus, the miniature painting of the Crusading states, for instance, depended greatly on Byzantine patterns until the second half of the thirteenth century, thus reflecting the features of the Byzantine — or even late Roman — army, rather than the realities of the Crusaders' own troops. For the Īlkhānid Persia, on the other hand, the miniature painting seems to indicate a general tendency. It would be

strange to assume that in the case of *Rashīdiyya* miniatures court artists had depicted something quite different from the reality. There was no single reason to do it this way: no influential tradition to follow (as opposite to the case of the Crusading states), as a new artistic *tradition* was being established under the *īlkhāns*. Both pre-Mongol Middle Eastern and Far Eastern miniature schools are stylistically quite different from *Rashīdiyya* painting, and represent *different* type of warriors and arms.

Here it is worth mentioning, that the amount of pre-Mongol Middle Eastern visual materials relevant for military history is often underestimated, and is substantial enough to produce a comprehensive picture of the military equipment of the first half—mid-thirteenth century. In addition to a number of scattered materials of applied and fine arts, there are two major artistic sources for the period, namely a bulk of illustrations to the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and, no less important but sometimes overlooked because they belong to a Christian tradition, the miniatures from Syriac gospel books [20], which also show soldiers and military equipment. These sources give a general picture of warriors wearing mostly mail-coats and bearing straight swords — though lamellar armour and sometimes curved sabres appear as well. This image is, obviously, quite different from that of *Rashīdiyya* warriors, who have no mail and no straight swords *at all*. Thus, as in this particular case we have no indication that the miniatures in question show something different from the Īlkhānid army, we have no choice but to give them a "benefit of doubt", accepting them as a genuine *attempt* of the artists to represent a current situation. This opinion is also supported by other historical and archaeological data, which further indicate the reliability of these visual sources.

I have to stress, however, that there is no question that an army represented in works of art — even if it was *meant* to be a contemporary army — is the *same* as it was in a given historical period. The relationship between the art and reality was much more complicated, and requires a special analysis in *every* particular case.

In any event, these statistics would prevent us from making such groundless suggestions as that "the pictorial record confirms this lack of shock weaponry" by Mongols [21]. The basis for such a statement was, evidently, a random selection of miniatures in the book of Philips [22], the latter being also generally praised in historical literature for its "excellent black and white illustrations" [23]. This selection, excellent as it is, by no means reflects the real situation in the visual arts of the period in question. Moreover, *all* the Persian miniatures given in this edition — though being good *illustrations* to *a* book — are practically irrelevant as regards the study of the realities of the Mongol period itself. Most of the pictures are from two relatively late manuscripts of "Compendium of Chronicles" by Rashīd al-Dīn: Supplément Persan 1113 from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and Ms. D 31 of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta [24], both copied early in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, i.e. a century after the collapse of the Īlkhānid power in Iran. One can argue that the miniatures, though quite Tīmūrid in style, are seemingly copied from older manuscripts, but they are, nevertheless, heavily influenced by contemporary Tīmūrid art [25]. All this makes it impossible to rely on image of the Mongol army represented by these miniatures. Other pictures — three from the Diez A Album, Berlin [26], and one from Hazine 1654 [27], Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, though earlier, still belong to the second half of the fourteenth century, thus by no means being particularly reliable sources. The only one *contemporary* material in the Philips' book is originated from the above Japanese "Mongol Invasion Scroll", but the sections selected represent Korean auxiliary infantry, not Mongols. Thus, how can one rely on such materials at all? The only reason of using this selection is, obviously, the total lack of a collection of the *adequate* material.

* * *

The database of the Mongol arms and armour represented in the Edinburgh manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn is intended to be a first draft of a full-scale database of military equipment shown in works of art of the Mongol period, and is being used for an evaluation of the proposed approach to the subject (see below an example of the typical "list" of warriors' description on *Table*).

It takes the form of a questionnaire — a list of "questions" for the image of every warrior depicted, thus producing a computer processable (in a simplified "Yes-No" form) description of his weapons and armour. It will also be linked to a linear drawing of such a warrior. Thus clicking on any single "cell" of the table will allow the user to jump immediately to a relevant drawing. And *vice versa*, it will be possible, for example, to click on the first warrior on a miniature and be switched to the relevant database page with the description of his arms and armour.

The second line of connection will link such a "one-warrior table" with general tables containing information about all persons depicted on a single miniature and, then, in all the miniatures of the manuscript. The next level of generalisation includes cross-linked general tables for a series of manuscripts, e.g. from one miniature school (like the *Rashīdiyya* of Tabrīz, of which the above Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscript is the best example, or the Īnjū school in Shīrāz of the second quarter of the fourteenth century), then of all the manuscripts of a single historical period, for example, the Mongol period.

Another set of links will join the miniature database with those dealing with ceramics, metalwork, textiles, and also with an archaeological database, including museum objects (see *Scheme*). The creation of such applied arts and especially non-pictorial databases is, of course, a future task; and a generalised method of description of those objects needs be developed in due course. The general concept of a database system, however, has to be elaborated now — in order to provide the miniature database with all the necessary hyperlinks — disabled for the time being — to be used later. The flexibility of such "hypertext" edition allows providing the database with a set of links which can be activated when a new material becomes available.

Another important facility of the database will be a set of "filters" allowing a user to select a level of generalisation. The description of every individual warrior — i.e. a set of questions to answer — from one manuscript and even from the series of manuscripts belonged to one *school of painting* should be the same. Despite the difference in artistic level, taste, and personal preferences — or variance in

the customers' requirements — there was always much more in common than was different in the works of artists from the same school, including their attitude towards the material portrayed. This makes it possible to use the same questionnaire for the miniatures of one school, though the level of completeness of the answers would vary from manuscript to manuscript, as it is merely a general tendency. Besides, in some cases, we have the miniatures added to a manuscript in different periods of time [28]; thus it may happen that miniatures from one manuscript have to be described separately, according to their stylistic affiliation.

My work with this database showed that it is virtually impossible to elaborate a set of questions equally suited all miniature schools — let alone works of applied arts and archaeological data — unless they are only very general questions. Thus, e.g., the level of detail shown on early fourteenth-century *Rashīdiyya* school and 1330s Shīrāz school miniatures is so different, that half the articles in the questionnaire specific for the Rashīd al-Dīn's database will remain "blank" if we apply them directly to Shīrāz manuscripts. The solution, to my mind, lies in the creation of at least 3 levels of generalisation, which will be possible to choose from the database Menu.

1st level. General information about military equipment:

(a) type of warrior (cavalrymen/infantrymen, etc.);
(b) offensive arms (bow, spear, sword, mace, etc.);
(c) defensive arms:

— general (armoured/unarmoured; with/without helmet; carrying shield/without shield, etc.);
— type of armour (lamellar, coat-of-plates, mail, etc.);
— type of shield (small or large), and the like.

It will be possible to compare this information on all levels of database connections, as the difference in style or material used by various arts cannot seriously affect these *general* characteristics. On the other hand, this type of filtering will allow the acquisition of general statistics about the composition of the army depicted and the weaponry used in some particular period.

2nd level. More detailed description of military equipment, including particular types of arms and armour involved, e.g. the exact shape of the shield (kite-shaped or round, or oval; with or without umbone, etc.) or helmet (composite or one-piece, with or without nose-guard, spike, feather decoration, etc.).

This information can be compared on a "one miniature school" level, and in most cases on the level of the "miniatures of one historical period" as well. It gives a good basis for comparison of particular types of arms and armour used in the epoch. To some extent the comparison can be attempted on the level of miniatures of different periods, as the difference in ways of depicting military equipment is not overwhelming. In the latter case, however, some parts of the descriptions will not coincide, as some difference in the questionnaire will inevitably occur.

3rd level. Particular features of military equipment characteristic of miniatures from *one school of painting*, such as *Rashīdiyya*, for example.

This sort of information concerns the peculiarities of the period or the area depicted, e.g. types of armour decoration, construction of helmet or particular forms of face protection, etc. This data is more detailed, more specific and deals mostly with a "fashion" of the equipment used, not with its "essence". For instance, a type of helmet decoration, though quite interesting in itself, is not particularly important from a general military point of view, as it does not enhance the protective abilities of this piece of equipment. These details are quite important, however, for the studying of military and cultural cross-influences, as they indicate the migration of "fashions", types of weaponry in general and, in some cases, of military élite as well.

Besides, there are other problems that make it necessary to apply a high level of detail. First, it is not always clear what exactly the artist meant by some feature depicted (as in the case of the above Mongol-Mamlūk helmets), so it should be noted and entered into the database, with a view to understanding it later, while comparing it with other information. On the other hand, in some cases, especially when the armour is involved, we will inevitably have a section of "unclear" cases. Secondly, even in the case of some obvious details it is not always possible to decide whether it is important or not. Some small details of decoration, for instance, may turn to be of technical significance, such as the above "window" on the quiver, which in many other miniatures may look like merely a sort of ornamental decoration. Or alternatively, they might indicate some feature that can help identify the origins or dating of the equipment depicted. Consequently, it is safer to include more information than less, but to apply filters for general analysis.

It is worth mentioning that although the proposed example of a questionnaire was designed for *Rashīdiyya* miniatures, it also includes some general features which are not completely relevant to them (e.g. there are no face-protection depicted in these miniatures at all, but it is still mentioned among the "questions"). The reason behind it is an attempt to produce something more general, which could be used as a *basis* for further database development — in view of applying it to other similar materials such as the "Demotte" *Shāh-nāma* of the 1330s.

An important advantage of such a database is the possibility of searching through all levels — and subsequently of retrieving the required information. For example, if one is interested in sword development, one can look through all occurrences of swords in the works of art of some period — or throughout the whole period covered by the database. Consequently, one can retrieve the data needed — whether the percentage of swordsmen in the army of Īlkhāns "as depicted in works of art", or a list of drawings of swords used in the same period, even information concerning the shape of the blade or hilt. The question of the historical reliability of such statistics, as already mentioned, is another matter. The purpose of the database is merely to give an *easy access* to the material in question, and provide guidance, not to generate ultimate "answers".

Table

I. General information about the manuscript:	
1. Shelf mark of Ms.	Or. Ms. 20 (or Arab 20)
2. Library/Collection	Edinburgh University Library
3. Author	Rashīd al-Dīn
4. Title	*Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* ("Compendium of Chronicles" or "World History")
5. Date	A.H. 706/A.D. 1306—07
6. Place	Tabrīz, Rashīd al-Dīn's scriptorium in Rab'i-Rashīdī
7. Style/Miniature school	Tabrīz School (*Rashīdiyya*)
8. Number of miniatures	70
9. Number of battle/ march scenes	23

II. The miniature (A – general information):			
1. Location of the miniature		Or. Ms. 20, fol. 19 R	
2. Artist (if known)		attributed by Race to the "Master of the Battle Scenes", though it is rather uncertain (besides, the very attempt to identify a single author in *Rashīdiyya* atelier seems to be basically irrelevant)	
3. Author of outline drawing		Aleksey Fedorovsky; edited by Alexander Matveev	
4. Subject of the miniature	a. Battle scene		
	b. Army on march	×	Alexander the Great (al-Iskandar) extends his realm into northern regions perpetually shrouded in fog
	c. Hunting scene		
	d. Court life		
	e. Others		

(B — Description)

			Total	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
5. Warriors & others	cavalrymen	light					
		heavily-armoured	**4**	×	×	×	×
		senior officer					
		"prince"	**1**	×			
	dismounted cavalrymen	light					
		heavily-armoured					
		senior officer					
		"prince"					
	elephant-rider	senior officer					
		"prince"					
	infantrymen	light					
		heavy					
	Bedouin						
	mahout (elephant-driver)						
	engineer						
	prisoner						

Continuation of the ***Table***

	court noblemen								
	"king"								
	civilian								
	elephant								
	manjanīq (mangonel, trebuchet)	"pulling" type							
		counterweight type							
	other								
	composition of opposite armies	1st army			**4**	×	×	×	×
		2nd army							
6. Armour	armoured				**4**	×	×	×	×
	unarmoured								
a. ***Shape***	**long**				**4**	×	×	×	×
		coat-like	with front opening	straight					
				volute-shaped					
				with clasps					
			with non-front opening	back opening	straight				?
					volute-shaped on the top half				
				sides opening					
				unclear	**3**	×	×	×	
			unclear		**1**				×
			(sewing line on the back)		**1**				×
		poncho-like with sides-openings							
		cuirass with side-openings and attached leg-pieces							
		others							
	short								
		with sleeves							
		without sleeves							
		others							
b. ***Sleeves***	**long**								
	middle				**4**	×	×	×	×
		leaf-shaped, mid-forearm long							
		rectangular/ trapezium, elbow long			**4**	×	×	×	×
		non-visible							
	short								
	hem decoration	"plumes" (Chinese type)			**1**	×			
		last strip covered by silk	curves						
			squares		**1**				×
			others						

Continuation of the ***Table***

c.: Type of armour				**4**	×	×	×	×
1.Lamellar	not covered by cloth			**2**	×			×
	mixed type:							
	composed of	1 covered/1 uncovered in turn						
	covered by silk/	2 covered/2 uncovered in turn		**2**		×	×	
	not covered strips	others						
	hem decoration	last strip covered by ornamented silk	curves	**1**	×			
			squares	**1**				×
			others					
		others						
2. Coat of plates								
3.Covered by cloth (coat of plates?)	monochrome	plain						
		with golden curves over the cloth						
	ornamented	type 1: leaves						
		type 2: leaves & flowers						
		type 3: curves						
		others						
	chequered-like structured material							
	with some rows of small circles (rivets?)	on the sleeves						
		on the waist						
		on the lap						
4. Leather coat								
	plain							
	decorated							
	others							
5. Made of leather strips								
	plain							
	decorated							
	others							
6. "Soft armour" (padded or quilted)								
	plain							
	decorated							
	others							
7.Unclear								
d. Armour-supporting shoulder-belts	buchle shape	square/ rectangular		**1**	×			
		oval						
		flower-shaped						
		others						
		without buchle (with rivets?)						
7. Garments	"tunic" (shirt-like long-sleeved undergarment)			**2+2**?	×	×?	×?	
	surcoat with lapel folded over the chest							
	ghalabiya							
	cloak							
	ankle-long skirt-like robe							

Continuation of the ***Table***

	kilt-like short skirt (*fūta*)							
	trousers							
	other							
8. Shoes	boots				**2+2?**	×	×?	×?	
	"slippers"								
	leg wrappings								
	bare-footed								
9. Helmet					**4**	×	×	×	×
	one-piece				**4**	×	×	×	×
		plain							
		with small round plates (rivets?)	around top		**1**			×	
			along rim		**1**		×		
			above pick						
			1 plate in the centre						
			3 plates in the centre						
			others						
		covered by silk (or painted?)	curves						
			others						
	composite								
		4 pieces							
		6 pieces							
		8 pieces							
		multi-pieces							
	leather								
	unclear								
Front-edge	peak (upturned front-edge)	decoration	plain						
			ornamented						
		location	above helmet rim						
			overlapping helmet rim	plain					
				with narrow rim					
	arches cut over eyes		without rim						
			narrow rim		**1**			×	
			volute-ended narrow rim						
			narrow rim with decorated band above it		**1**		×		
			broad rim with decorated band						
	straight rim		broad	plain					
				decorated					
				with dots (rivets?)	**1**	×			
			narrow						
			volute-ended narrow						
	leaves above the narrow rim				**1**				×
	reinforced/ decorated centre of the rim								
	others								
Top	spike-base	round							
		flower-shaped			**4**	×	×	×	×
		fleur-de-lis shaped							

Continuation of the ***Table***

		single-voluted						
		double-voluted						
		without base						
	spike	curved backwards	in the centre	**4**	×	×	×	×
			on the front					
		upright						
		plumes						
	without spike							
	sides-plumes (Chinese type)			**1**	×			
10. Face-protection	protected							
	unprotected			**4**	×	×	×	×
	mask							
	half-mask							
	half-mask with mail aventail							
	nose-guard							
	others							
11. "Aventail"				**1**	×			
	mail							
	lamellar							
	plates							
	laminar			**1?**	?			
	leather							
	cloth							
	covered by cloth (silk)	plain						
		ornamented	curves					
			leaves					
	brim	single-brimmed						
		double-brimmed						
	shape	open, semi-circle	open on the front	**1**	×			
			open on the back(?)					
		closed, circle	short and tight					
			long and broad					
12. Ear-guards				**1**				×
	rectangle/ trapezium	one-piece						
		lamellar						
		plates						
		leather						
		covered by cloth/	plain	**1**				×
			curves					
			leaves/ flowers					
			others					
	round	plain leather						
		leather with small round metal plates						
	others							
	non-visible			**2**		×	×	

Continuation of the ***Table***

13. Gorget				**4**	×	×	×	×
	material	mail						
		lamellar						
		plates						
		leather						
		cloth						
		covered		**4**	×	×	×	×
		by	plain	**2**			×	×
		cloth	plain with a row of small round plates or rivets	**2**	×	×		
		(silk)	curves					
			leaves/ flowers					
		unclear						
	shape	circle		**2+1**?	×?	×		×
		trapezium-like (i.e. convention for semi-circle)		**1**			×	
14. Head dress	"Seljuk" crown							
	'imāma							
	cap	Mongol cap with turned-up brim (type A)						
		double-brimmed (type B)						
		fur-brimmed (type D)						
		dome-like cap (type C, "beehive" type)						
		fur-brimmed with feathers (type F)						
		flat-topped hat, Chinese type (type E)						
		others						
	head kerchief							
	bare-headed							
15. Shield				**1**+2?		?	?	×
	visible side	outer		**1**				×
		inner						
	round	umbon	with umbon					
			without umbon					
			not visible					
		decoration	plain					
			ornamented					
	kite-shaped			**1**				×
	triangular							
	others							
	with a heraldic emblem	"heraldic lion"		**1**				×
		others						
	location	in hand						
		attached to the back		**1**				×
	non-visible			**2?**		?	?	
16. Belt	with belt			**1**	×			
	without belt			**2**			×	×
	not visible			**1**		×		
	leather	very broad		**1**				×

Continuation of the ***Table***

		broad							
		narrow							
		with boucle							
	twisted cloth								
	others								
17. **Straps**	straps pending from belt	type of attachment to the belt	riveted						
			forked						
		one (for bow-case)							
		pair (for quiver)	both – plain leather straps						
			2nd – leather strap with attached rope						
	belt extension strap								
18. **Sword**					**4**	×	×	×	×
	straight sword								
	straight sword with upturned handle								
	sabre	slightly curved			**4**	×	×	×	×
		curved							
	location	in hand			**3**		×	×	×
		in scabbard			**1**	×			
19. **Scabbard**	rectangular-ended				**2+2?**	×	?	?	×
	semi-circle ended								
	others								
20. **Mace**					**1**	×			
	shape	trapezium-like			**1**	×			
		rectangular							
		round							
		oval							
		bull-headed							
		others							
	pin	with a pin			**1**	×			
		without a pin							
	edges	6 edges							
		8 edges			**1**	×			
	non-visible								
21. **Spear**									
	length	long (4 m)							
		middle (3—3,5 m)							
		short (2—2,5 m)							
	spear-head	broad	leaf-shaped						
			oval-like						
			others						
		small (armour-piercing)	oval-like/	plain					
				with 1 "band"					
				with 2 "bands"					
			triangle-like						
			others						

Continuation of the ***Table***

		non-visible							
		with a "loop"							
	with an elephant-guiding hook								
	with a tassel in the middle								
	location	in hand							
		hung (upright)							
		dropped (on the ground)							
22. Standard/ banner									
	rectangle banner + triangle pennant								
	rectangle banner + 3 triangle pennants								
	plain								
	with a heraldic symbol	"heraldic lion"							
		others							
	with an inscription								
	on the shaft with end-tassel								
	on the spear								
	not visible								
23. Bow	with bow					**1**+2?		?	?	×
	without bow					**1**	×			
	not clear					**2**		×	×	
	bow	in hand								
		in bow-case								
		in bow-case, but not visible				**1**				×
24. Bow-case	plain									
	ornamented	golden flower with leaves								
		others								
25. Quiver										
	type	closed	long tube-like	plain (vertical lines only)						
				with short perpendicular lines		**1**	×			
				ornamented						
				with a loop for pending	plain					
					ornamented					
			others							
			open (shooting position)							
			closed (transporting position)			**1**	×			
		open	plain							
			decorated							
			with a "window"							
			with a furry tail							
			non-visible							
	number of arrows in quiver		4							
			5							
			6							
			7							

Continuation of the ***Table***

		unclear (for closed type)		**1**	×			
Arrow	arrow in hand	shooting						
		carrying						
	arrow-head	broad						
		small armour-piercing						
26. Saddle	pommel	plain		**3**	×		×	×
		ornamented						
		one-piece		**2**	×			×
		composite	2 sectors	**1**			×	
			3 sectors					
	cantle	plain						
		ornamented						
	back-turned saddle			**1**				×
27. Saddle cloth	plain	with plain fringe						
		with round plates on the fringe		**2**	×			×
	ornamented	with ornamented fringe						
		curves						
		leaves						
		waves						
28. Saddle flap	plain	with plain fringe		**2**	×			×
		with round plates on the fringe						
	ornamented	curves						
		leaves						
29. Reins	in hand			**3** +1?	×	?	×	×
	dropped							
	not visible			**1**		×		
30. Horse-harness	leather strips	plain		**3**		×	×	× *
		decorated with small round plates		**1**	×			
	tassels	on the front		**1**	×			
		pendant under the neck						
		on the back	on the top	**1**	×			
			on the sides					
31. Others	(pendant ribbons attached to the warrior's neck or back)			**1**				×

* With several plates on the back straps.

* * *

The database will encompass 2 major sections linked together: database of scanned images and textual database, the latter mostly in the form of tables (see *Scheme* — the "General scheme of the Database project").

I. Scanned images.

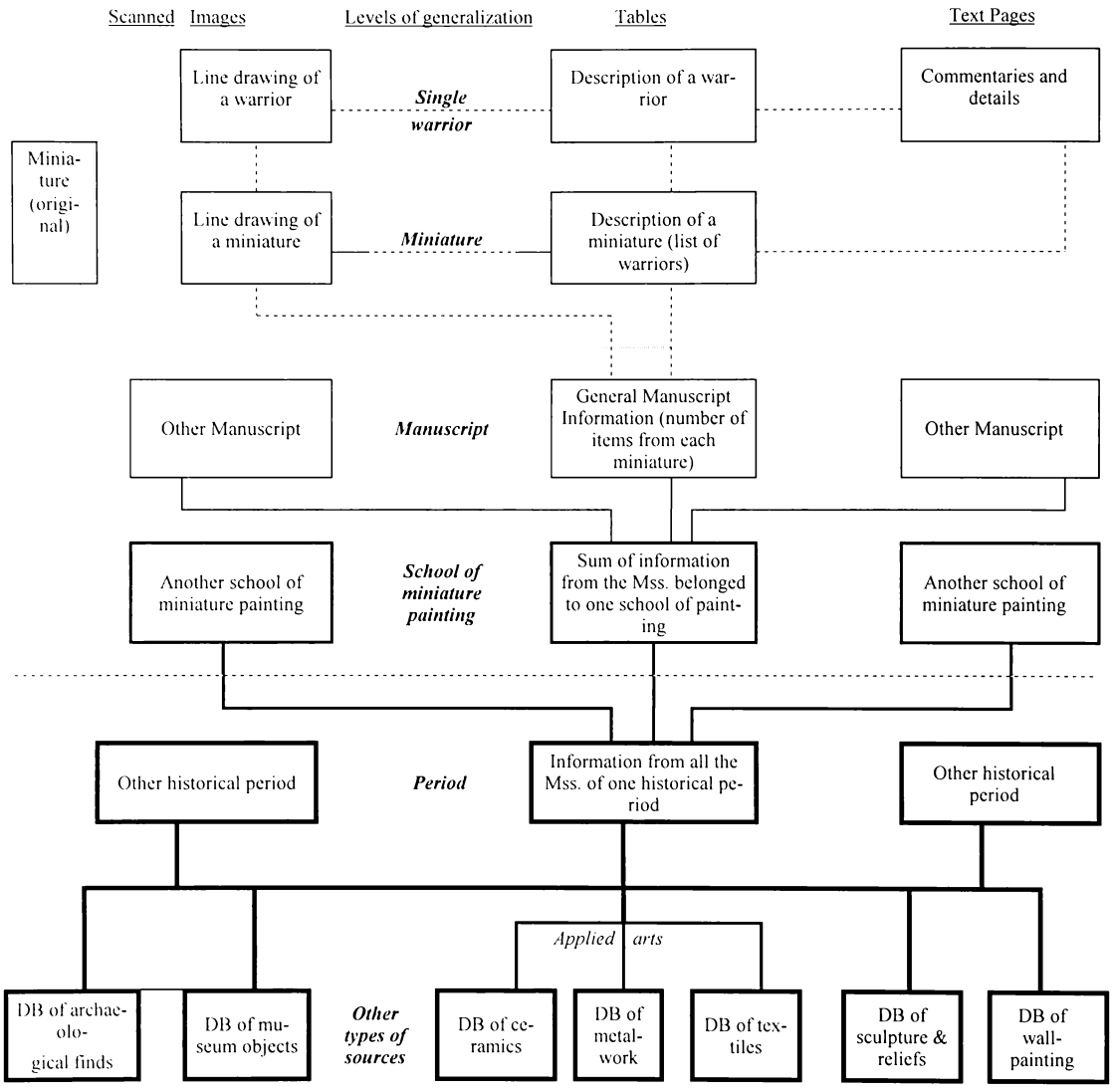
The basis of the whole database is an image of a warrior depicted in a miniature. It takes a form of a scanned line drawing made on the basis of miniature, cross-linked to the line drawing of the whole miniature.

A scanned image of the miniature itself — whether coloured or black-and-white — is, of course, quite helpful, but it is seldom available in reality. Thus, if possible, it will be provided, and gradually more will be adding when such material becomes available. On the other hand, linear drawings can be even more helpful from the point of view of the history of weaponry, as they represent an analysis (a "deciphering") of the "raw material" provided by the image [29]. Besides, they are much easier to deal with on the computer, being more legible than images of the miniatures themselves, especially on the screen.

One should not forget, however, that these line drawings are a sort of "translation" of miniature material, thus — as all translations! — being only one of the possible interpretations, and, by definition, they can not be 100 % reliable. Thus, in some cases the original *must* be consulted,

Scheme

General scheme of the Database project



which means that theoretically all the originals, in due course, should be included in the database [30]. It is also vital to indicate the name of the author/maker of such a drawing-interpretation, exactly as in the case of a literary translation.

The difference and similarities of such "interpretations" can be seen on *fig. 9, a, b* where different renderings of the same miniature (see *fig. 9, c*) are represented. Despite all the differences, however, the interpretations are quite close to each other — and to the original — thus showing a basic possibility of their use for the proposed database. On the other hand, the difference in authors' approaches and interpretation can also be noted. Besides, one can see the difference of the amount of information provided by different variants of reproducing basic material: outline — colour reproduction. (Note that all the drawings and black-and-white pictures were in computer form (as scanned images) being taken from the computer database, and their quality is almost as good as if reproduced from the original drawings or photographs.)

II. Textual database.

The textual part of the database consists of several levels of tables and some textual descriptions associated with them. All these tables will be cross-linked and connected to the database of scanned images.

The basic unit is the description of a single warrior in the form of a table connected to the scanned image of this warrior, and also to the full miniature description, and to the

Fig. 9, a

Fig. 9, b

Fig. 9, c

whole miniature image. Besides, relevant "cells" of the table will also be linked to some text-pages (like ordinary footnotes) with necessary comments and verbal descriptions of some particular features. For example, in the case of describing the helmet of the 3rd warrior to the left on fol. 114b of Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscript (see *fig. 3*) some additional information about its colour and that it was initially erased by the artist before being re-painted, will be enclosed. All this information, though not particularly significant from a general historical point of view, must be noted, as it is important for the miniature painting itself.

* * *

The last remark concerns the question of accessibility of such a database. On the one hand, it can be stored and distributed in the CD-ROM form. On the other hand, as the database is planned to be based on principles of a hypertext edition, it will be easier to connect it, in due course, to the World Web, thus making it also available on-line.

Notes

1. See, e.g., Hazine 841, fol. 19b from *Warqa wa Gulshāh* manuscript, showing Gulshāh escaping from the citadel of Rabī'. The rabbit depicted in the miniature indicates the good luck of the heroine — A. Daneshvari, *Animal Symbolism in Warqa wa Gulshah* (Oxford, 1986), p. 17, fig. 10.

2. See, e.g., *Sasanian Silver: Late Antique and Early Medieval Arts of Luxury from Iran*: August-September 1967, the University of Michigan Museum of Art. Text prepared by Oleg Grabar (Ann Arbor, 1967), pls. 1 — 10.

3. Or. Ms. 20, fol. 122b (lower) — pl. 52 in the Rice-Gray edition; see also D. T. Rice, *The Illustrations to the "World History" by Rashid al-Din*, ed. Basil Gray (Edinburgh, 1976).

4. See, e.g., *Arts of Persia*, ed. R. W. Ferrier (New Haven, London, 1989), pls. 8—9, where the knights wear clearly carved chain-mail shirts.

5. *The Bayeux Tapestry: the Complete Tapestry in Colour*, with introduction, description and commentary by David M. Wilson (London, 1985).

6. See, e.g., Ms. Dorn 329 in the National Library of Russia: A. T. Adamova, L. T. Guzalyan, *Miniatiury rukopisi poėmy "Shah-name" 1333 goda* (The Miniatures of the Poem *Shāh-nāma* of 1333) (Leningrad, 1985), pl. 13 (fol. 77b), pl. 15 (fol. 97a), pl. 18 (fol. 123b), pl. 21 (fol. 152a), pl. 23 (fol. 152b, upper), pl. 24 (fol. 152b, lower), pl. 25 (fol. 153a, upper), pl. 26 (fol. 153a, lower), pl. 27 (fol. 153b, upper), pl. 29 (fol. 154a, upper), pl. 31 (fol. 154b), pl. 42 (fol. 274a), pl. 50 (fol. 363b).

7. W. B. Thordeman, *The Armour from the Battle of Wisby: 1361* (Stockholm, 1939—40), i, pp. 288—9, figs. 291—2 (the figures are based on line drawings made by Prof. Arendt in his "Zur Geschichte des Lamellenharnischs im XII – XIV Jahrhundert in Russland", *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, NF 5 (1936), fig. 2, p. 149). See also A. N. Kirpichnikov, *Drevnerusskoe oruzhie* (Old Russian Arms), fasc. 3 (Leningrad, 1971), fig. 22. — Arkheologiia SSSR: Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov, vypusk E1-36). Cf. *fig. 1, k* of the current paper.

8. Or. Ms. 20, fol. 114b (Rice-Gray, pl. 43). Cf. *fig. 3* of the current paper. Dr. M. Gorelik in his "Oriental armour of the Near and Middle East from the 8th to the 15th centuries as shown in works of art", *Islamic Arms and Armour*, pp. 58—9, fig. 122, however, indicates in error that this miniature belonged to the 1314 Royal Asiatic Society manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn, now in Nasser Khalili's collection. This manuscript was recently published by The Nour Foundation in its series *Nasser D. Khalili's Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. 27, see Sheila S. Blair, *Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World* (London, 1995). One can only dream that a much more important Edinburgh manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn would appear some time in such a wonderful edition.

9. Gorelik, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

10. See Or. Ms. 20, fol. 115b, fol. 116b, fol. 126b, etc.

11. W. Watson, *The Arts of China to AD 900* (Yale University Press, 1995), p. 197, fig. 315.

12. See, e.g., Ms. Or. 20 fol. 124b (cf. *fig. 5* of the current paper), which is a rare example when the quiver is open and even the arrows can be seen inside it. However, the picture is so schematic in this respect that one can hardly realise what it was meant to be.

13. "Mongol Invasion Scroll", Tokyo National Museum. See, e.g., publication of this fragment in B. Smith, *Japan. History in Art* (London, 1971), pp. 106—7. Note that this particular piece of the scroll was not represented in the quite often cited Philips' book about Mongol empire, see his *The Mongols* (London, 1969).

14. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1973 (1973.120.3). This is a famous scroll published in various books, see, e.g., B. Smith, Wan-go Weng, *China. A History in Art*, rev. ed. (New York, 1979), pp. 176—7.

15. M. V. Gorelik, "Mongolo-tatarskoe oboronitel'noe vooruzhenie vtoroĭ poloviny XIV — nachala XV vv." ("Mongol-Tatar defensive arms in the second half of the fourteenth — early fifteenth centuries"), *Kulikovskaia bitva v istorii i kul'ture nasheĭ Rodiny* (Moscow, 1983), p. 253, pl. 4.

16. Or. Ms. 20, fol. 123b, 1st and 4th cavalrymen on the left; 5th and 6th cavalrymen on the right (cf. *fig. 4* of the current paper); fol. 127b, last cavalryman on the right, also infantryman; possibly, fol. 19a, 1st cavalryman (cf. *fig. 9, c* of the current paper).

17. No. 6130 (on the exposition). From the arsenal of the St. Irène Church, Topkapı.

18. Esp. his *Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour* (Madrid, 1976); *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050-1350* (New York, 1988), 2 vols.; *Medieval Warfare Source Book* (London, 1995—96), 2 vols.; "Arms of the Umayyad era: military technology in a time of Change", *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th centuries*, ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997), pp. 9—100.

19. J. France, "Technology and success of the first Crusade", *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 163—76.

20. See, e.g., British Museum Add. 7170; Vat. Syr. 559, fol. 135, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican.

21. J. M. Smith, "'Ayn Jalut: Mamluk success or Mongol failure?", *HJAS*, 44/2 (1984), pp. 319—20.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 320, n. 36. E. D. Philips, *The Mongols* (London, 1969).

23. D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford, 1986), p. 207.

24. Though it is virtually unavailable in Calcutta, one still can see black-and-white photographs of its miniatures in the Warburg Institute, University of London.

25. The depiction of the warriors — with a notable absence of typical one-piece arm-guards (*bazuband*) invented in the last quarter of the fourteenth century — differs from ordinary Tīmūrid manuscripts. Nevertheless, a serious influence of a later tradition can be seen — for instance, from the comparison of the scene of the siege of Baghdad with its prototype, fortunately, known to us in this particular case, see Album Diez A, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, fol. 70.

26. Album Diez A, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

27. This manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn was copied in 717/1317, but the miniatures were added much later.

28. It happened far too often that the miniatures were added some time after the manuscript itself was copied — or even much later, as in the above case with 707/1317 Rashīd al-Dīn's manuscript from Istanbul. On the other hand, the later miniatures can be copied from an older manuscript, thus making the question of dating them — and particularly the realities represented — even more complicated.

29. See, e.g., the line drawing from a Shīrāz school miniature (*fig. 1, c*). The original is slightly damaged and basically not so easy to "read".

30. However, one has to be realistic: any reproduction of the miniatures themselves is not an easy problem to solve, because of both a copyrights question and high expenses of their reproducing. It means that in reality the full-colour scanned images will be seldom available for including into the database, at least in the near future.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Examples of rendering the chain mail.

a — A warrior from the Sasanian relief at Fīrūzābād — after *Arts of Persia*, ed. R. W. Ferrier (New Haven—London, 1989), pl. 8; ***b*** — An allegorical figure of Scorpio from a medallion on an inlaid brass writing box, Mosul, *ca.* A.D. 1200—50 (Franks Bequest, British Museum); ***c*** — A warrior from a miniature in *Shāh-nāma* (Ms. Dorn-329 of the State Public Library, St. Petersburg, fol. 153 a lower — line drawing by Aleksey Fedorovsky; ***d*** — A typical Norman cavalryman from the Bayeux Tapestry; ***e*** — A cavalryman from a miniature in the "Beatus of Liebana" manuscript, Spain, *ca.* 1220 (Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, Ms. 429); ***f*** — Warriors of Nabuchadnezzar from a late twelfth-century miniature from William of Auxerre's "Commentaries" on the "Lamentations" of Jeremiah; Austria, possibly copied at Seitenstetten (Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 30, Baltimore). It is a good example showing different ways of rendering chain mail on one miniature (dots, parallel rows of short lines, and circles); ***g*** — A knight from a miniature in the "Westminster Psalter", *ca.* 1250 (British Library, Royal MS 2A XXII, fol. 220): one of the most typical Western medieval conventions for rendering chain mail; ***h*** — Some warriors from the miniature "Holofernes before Nebuchadnezzar" ("Histoire Universelle", London, British Museum, Add. 15268, fol. 179 b): another typical variant of rendering chain-mail in West European miniatures; ***i*** — Some warriors from the miniature "The siege and capture of Antioch", from "The History" of William of Tyre (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fr. 9084, fol. 53 a); ***j*** — Some warriors from the miniature "Saul destroys Nahash and the Ammonites", Maciejowski Bible, France, *ca.* 1240—50 (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M. 638, fol. 23 b): an attempt of actual "portraying" the mail texture; ***k*** — Outline of two inlay scenes from the early thirteenth-century gates of the Suzdal cathedral, Russia (drawings by Prof. W. Arendt, — from W. Bengt Thordeman, *The Armour from the Battle of Wisby: 1361* (Stockholm, 1939—40), i, p. 290, figs. 291—292).

Fig. 2. A line drawing of a warrior wearing a coat (perhaps, a sort of coat-of-plates) covered by patterned cloth (silk?) — from a miniature of Rashīd al-Dīn's "Compendium of Chronicles", Edinburgh University Library, Or. Ms. 20, fol. 114 b (from M. Gorelik, "Oriental armour of the Near and Middle East from the 8th to the 15th centuries as shown in works of art", *Islamic Arms and Armour*, pp. 58—9, fig. 122). See pl. VII for the original.

Fig. 3. Rashīd al-Dīn's "Compendium of Chronicles", Edinburgh University Library, Ms. Or. 20, fol. 114 b.

Fig. 4. Rashīd al-Dīn's "Compendium of Chronicles", Edinburgh University Library, Or. Ms. 20, fol. 123 b.

Fig. 5. Rashīd al-Dīn's "Compendium of Chronicles", Edinburgh University Library, Ms. Or. 20, fol. 124 b.

Fig. 6. Rashīd al-Dīn's "Compendium of Chronicles", Edinburgh University Library, Or. Ms. 20, fol. 15 b.

Fig. 7. Some examples of rendering the open-type quiver.

a — After a later fifteenth-century brush drawing from Tabrīz (?); ink on paper, 22.4 × 28.3 cm; Album Diez A, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, fol. 72 Seite 13 — see, e.g., publication in J. M. Rogers, "Siyah Qalam", *Persian Masters: 5 Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (Bombay, 1990), p. 22, pl. 2; ***b*** — S. Herberschtein, *Moscoviter wunderbare Historien* (Basle, 1567), p. 173 (a fragment from the engraving "Arms and armour of Muscovites").

Fig. 8. Helmet of the Sultan Barsbāy, Louvre, No. 6130 (drawing by Alexey Fedorovsky).

Fig. 9. Outlines of cavalrymen from a miniature in Rashīd al-Dīn's "Compendium of Chronicles" (Edinburgh University Library, Or. Ms. 20, fol. 19 a).

a — An outline of the 4th cavalryman made by David Talbot Rice (from David T. Rice, *The Illustrations to the "World History" by Rashīd al-Dīn*, ed. Basil Gray (Edinburgh, 1976), p. 14, fig. 8); ***b*** — An outline of the 4th cavalryman made by David Nicolle, see *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050—1350* (New York, 1988), i, p. 708, fig. 386 AJ); ***c*** — An outline of the cavalrymen made for the database (by Aleksey Fedorofsky, edited by Alexander Matveev) *.

---

* Note, that the 2nd variant is being reproduced after the original drawing provided by the author, as its reproduction in the above mentioned paper edition is too small to be used for our purposes. An attempt to convert it — by scanning — into a computer form appropriate for the database led to disappearing of all the tiny details, because the resolution of the scanner — and also the screen — is limited, being lower than that of a good quality paper edition. It means that the outline drawings made in view of entering them into a computer database should not possess too small details — especially, too fine lines with a small space between them. Two parallel web-like lines with a hairbreadth gap between them will inevitably be stuck together by scanner, though they may come out in a paper edition. These limitations, obviously, should be taken into account when working on a computer database. For a drawing which size is some half of a standard A4 page, however, this problem is normally non-existent, as the image is already large enough to be scanned properly.

Otherwise, the differences between those examples are quite limited, which shows a basic possibility to rely on them in many cases. The only one important thing should be mentioned here. On the 3rd drawing the lamellar structure of the armour is slightly "stressed" — in comparison to other two variants. There are some reasons behind this decision. The upper level of the pigment on the actual miniature is slightly damaged, and the original "ladder-like" structure cannot be seen now on the whole surface of the armour (how it looks now can be seen best on the 1st drawing). Nevertheless, one can trace this structure when looking close at the original, as the white pigment background of the short vertical lines shown in the 3rd drawing is still preserved (i.e. those vertical lines are still legible, but they are white now). Unfortunately, white colour lines practically disappear on the reproductions of this miniature, and only thin black horizontal lines remain clear.

Though the last judge, obviously, is an actual manuscript page, it is still possible to use such outlines as its substitution, at least for general purposes.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

O. F. Akimushkin

AN ENTIRE LIBRARY IN A SINGLE BINDING

The manuscript anthology *Gulshan* held in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies was compiled and executed by Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Muḥammad Riḍā whose pen-name was Mahjūr [1]. The manuscript is undoubtedly a rarity. It could be regarded as a notable work in the history of Persian manuscript books. The manuscript is outstanding in at least three respects. First, the copy presents a vast anthology of Persian literature of the tenth—eighteenth centuries, with special attention to the seventeenth—eighteenth centuries poets. In particular, the work of Mahjūr was characterised by heightened interest in small-scale poems (*mathnawī*) generally written on concrete themes drawn from life. *Mathnawī*s make up 66 of the total number of 103 poems. Second, the manuscript contains 100 miniatures illustrating various works. They are eclectic in style, including features and echoes of the Iṣfahān school of the late seventeenth—early eighteenth century, as well as of the traditions of the age of Nādir-shāh (r. 1736—1747), the Zands and the early Qājārs. Finally, the copy is striking in its impressive dimensions — 69.5 × 48.8 cm. One should note that the large- and extremely large-format Qur'āns which were created in Iran and neighbouring countries were a familiar, if relatively rare, phenomenon [2]. As for secular manuscripts of such dimensions, they were created in Iran apparently only on the rarest occasion. In addition to the copy under discussion here, I know only two: (i) *Fāl-nāma* [3] and (ii) *Būstān-i khiyāl*, compiled by Mīr Muḥammad Taqī al-Ja'farī al-Ḥusaynī Aḥmadābādī [4].

In the present article I limit myself to a brief general survey of the contents of the *Gulshan* anthology, a codicological description of the manuscript, a general description of the miniatures it contains and the scenes depicted [5]. But, first, some words about the compiler of the manuscript must be said here. The author of a catalogue of Persian collections, Aḥmad Monzawī, names Mīrzā Kāẓim Mahjūr Hamadāni as the compiler of the anthology [6]. The exact dates of his life are not known. However, judging from a note on one of the pages of the manuscript, he was alive on 5 Sha'bān 1199/13 June 1785 [7]. We have practically no other information about this person, with the exception of what he himself reports in the notes and annotations he made in the present manuscript. A poet, a literary and cultural figure, he undoubtedly received a good education. He was, for a time, probably in the service of the Qājār *khān*s, or at least connected with them in some fashion. In any case, on fol. 956a we find one *qiṭ'a* he had written much earlier in honour of Muḥammad Ḥasan-khān's (1127—1172/1715—1759) victory over Āzād-khān Gilzāyī, the former military commander of Nādir-shāh, when Āzād-khān Gilzāyī seized control of certain regions in South Azerbaijan. In a poem on fol. 334b, he notes that the collection is dedicated to a certain Nawwāb-khān.

Gulshan is an extremely valuable anthology; Mahjūr worked on it for about eight years. It is distinguished by a strikingly diverse selection of works written by poets of the eleventh—eighteenth centuries in various genres and forms. The manuscript containing the anthology is an entire portable library in a single binding. The book was transcribed in parts which were afterwards bound without keeping the chronological order: for example, fol. 10a contains the date of 1198/1783—84; fols. 24a and 31a — 1191/1777—78; fol. 71a — 1193/1779—80; fol. 110a — 1195/1781—82; fol. 124b — 1192/1778—79, etc. The significant number (46) of folios, approximately 5% of the total, remained unfilled. This is far too many and would not have occurred if the manuscript had been copied in order, folio after folio.

The anthology contains 103 poems and prose works of various lengths and genres by 47 authors; the compiler placed works by 23 of the authors among other genres. The authorship of 17 poems (or fragments) has remained unestablished. Moreover, Mahjūr placed the following selections at various places in the copy: (i) *ghazal*s by 58 authors, including 21 authors already noted in other genres of poetry (fols. 116—24a, 32b—89b, 96a—98b, 225a—229b, 238a—252b, 255a—263b, 346a—347b, 349a—351b, 354a—361b); (ii) *qaṣīda*s by 20 authors, including 12 repeated names (fols. 24b—31a, 270b, 273a—277b, 352a—353b, 374a—378b, 379a—380a); (iii) *qiṭ'a*s by 22 authors, including 12 repeated names (fols. 90a—95b); (iv) *rubā'ī*s by 116 authors, including 28 repeated names (fols. 362a—373b). In addition to the works of Persian authors, the collection includes works in Āzarbayjānī (Fuḍūlī, Khāwarī, Ḍamīrī), Chaghatay (Nawā'ī), and Kurdish (Aḥmad Khānī, Afrād). A number of poems represented are written in Gūrānī, Lārī, Pushtū, Gilyakī, Hindī; written in Arabic script are four lines in Georgian and two fragments in Armenian, six lines each. All are vowelled.

Among the most famous authors whose works are represented in the manuscript are Sa'dī Shīrāzī, Ḥāfiẓ, Khwājū, Jāmī, Anwarī, 'Aṭṭār, Salmān Sāwajī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, to name but a very few. It is important that apart from the writings of these famous authors, a great number of works by minor poets are present as well.

The poems of each poet are generally arranged by genre and are in alphabetical order according to rhyming syllables. Extracts from *dīwān*s of *ghazal*s and *qaṣīda*s are specified before the *basmala* or in the colophon. However, no obvious system is followed in the text arrangement, be it chronology, genre, or composition. One should note that a significant number of the large poems, for example, of Firdawsī, Nawā'ī, etc. are given in fragments, as are many of the long *qaṣīda*s. As for the *ghazal*s, they are usually found in full, although sometimes with cuts which range from two to five *bayt*s. In some instances, the compiler contented himself with only the opening (*maṭla'*) and closing (*maqṭa'*) *bayt*s. Represented in the anthology in this fashion are the *ghazal*s by Qudsī, Bīgāna, Sālik, Nāṣir-'Alī, and many others.

The careful, scrupulous work of the compiler-copyist who sought to provide a reliable text deserves special attention. He frequently expresses his regret that he does not possess the protograph with the authentic text of the work being copied (fols. 87b, 116a, 232b, 402a, etc.). This seems to explain the missing text in works by Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ, Rūḥ al-Amīn, Nizārī, Jāmī, Fayḍī and Muḥtasham, as the manuscript was always carefully checked after copying. It also seems that when Mahjūr received new copies, he used them to make additions to already recorded verses and provided the text with variant *miṣrā'*s and *bayt*s, noting repetitions, etc. (e.g., fol. 56a).

The most valuable aspect of the *Gulshan* is the significant amount of space (approximately half of the text) it allots to works by poets of the seventeenth—eighteenth centuries who wrote in Iran and India. Their works largely include *mathnawī*s not lengthy and written to described ordinary events. It should be noted that Persian poetry of the period demonstrates heightened interest in this type of event-based *mathnawī*. Poems become much shorter and their subject matter becomes more earth-bound and connected with everyday life. They no longer take as their basis the exploits of heroes or deeds of mythical monsters, etc. Instead, they are dedicated to ordinary human concerns and feelings even in those cases where poems are written on traditional themes in imitation of the classics (e.g., *Chāh-i wiṣāl* by Shu'la). When composing his *mathnawī*s and prose, Mahjūr, who was a representative of the Iṣfahān cultural circle of the second half of the eighteenth century, preferred simpler and less elaborate language. One can say that the *Gulshan* provides rich and interesting material for the study of Persian poetry of the seventeenth—eighteenth centuries. The *Gulshan* can also serve as most valuable source for studying the *bazgasht* literary movement, a contemporary of which was the compiler of the current anthology.

The manuscript was executed in Iran. Although dates are abundant in the copy, there is some vagueness about its exact dating. Muḥammad Kāẓim left 27 dated notes from 30 Dhū'l Qa'da 1191/30 December 1777 to 5 Sha'bān 1199/13 June 1785 (fols. 24a, 380a). For some reason, absent in these dates are 1194/1780 and 1196/1781—82. Probably, these were the years of the compiler's ailment or engagement in some other enterprise.

The manuscript contains 459 folios (plus one folio endpaper). It is provided with Eastern pagination (custodes, written in numbers and words are in the upper left corner of the recto folio). The text dimensions are 57.2×38.2 cm. The first 20 folios bear a border of two gold strips (one thin, one thick); further the border is a single, thin, red band. While prose texts consist of 47 lines per page, poetry is arranged in 8 columns with a varying number of lines in each, from 28 to 48 (there are generally 45—47 lines per page). Thin, dense, well polished paper, greyish-yellowish in colour, was manufactured in Iran. The text is written in black Indian ink. Authors' names, titles of works, sections and chapter headings in large works are written in red ink. The hand is sure, accurate, and professional. It is a large eighteenth-century *nasta'līq*, with *shikasta* elements. Utterances in Arabic and citations from the Qur'ān are written in clear *naskh*. A *miṣṭar* was used in copying.

The Eastern binding of stiff leather was covered in black leatherette during European restoration. The back is of thin black leather. The inner sides of the covers are pasted over with thin brown morocco leather with tooled gold border around the edges. The copy was also restored in Iran (cf. fol. 306), when fol. 1a was written anew and torn folios and margins were pasted together. A detailed table of contents was drawn up at that time and bound into the beginning of the manuscript. It provides the titles of 238 works (including extracts from *dīwān*s and collections) represented in the anthology.

In its present form, the manuscript does not seem to have been completed (cf. fol. 374a, where only one *bayt* from a *qaṣīda* by Fayzī is given); there is no beginning, although fol. 1b was finished later, during restoration, and there is no ending. Moreover, there is a lacuna of one folio after fol. 178; the stitching has come partially undone. A number of folios are torn near the binding: fols. 1, 2, 59, 98, 99, 322, 459; the edges of folios 1, 2, 18—39, 306, 459, and others were trimmed and pasted, although the body of the text did not suffer in this process. The following folios are blank: fols. 1a, 10b, 11a, 25b, 31b, 32a, 47b, 48a, 54b, 55a, 71b, 72a, 81b, 109b, 112a, 116b, 117a, 125a, 134b, 140a, 155a, 183b, 184a, 196b, 197a, 212a, 230b, 280a, 287b, 288a, 300a, 308a, 321b, 335a, 345b, 362a, 380b, 382a, 388b, 389a, 402b, 406a, 417a, 429b, 430a, 444b, 445a. By all appearances, the copy has remained unfinished.

Miniatures

The manuscript is lavishly decorated with 100 miniatures. All of them are drawn on paper in special places in the text left blank for this purpose by the copyist. Watercolours, gold leaf, and silver were used. The miniatures are by two or three artists who must have been schooled in Shīrāz or Iṣfahān. All of the miniatures are exclusively eclectic in style and a significant number of them reveals a two-dimensional approach. Many of them betrays elements characteristic both of the Iṣfahān school of the late seventeenth—mid-eighteenth century, with its evident borrowings

from European art — chiaroscuro depicting, reduced perspective — as well as of late-Zand miniature painting, whose style was followed in the early Qājār period. The first influence is reflected in the specific treatment of tree foliage, the depiction of the sky with several brush-strokes of blue paint, as well as in non-bold attempts to convey the size of buildings with chiaroscuro and perspective. The second found expression in the bright palette used to depict individuals, in the varied forms of head-dress (from the fashion of the Nādir-shāh rule to that of the early Qājār periods), in the cut of garments about the waist, and in a noticeable absence of costly jewellery. On the whole, the work of the artists demonstrates the lack of individual style, which reflects the decline of the book miniature as an art form in Iran at the close of the eighteenth century.

Scenes depicted in the miniatures

I. From the *Dīwān* ("Collection of poems") by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, who bore the pen-name Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389).

1. "A Ṣūfī, a *maykhāna*-keeper, and a waiter over a jug of wine", fol. 45a, 18.0 × 28.4 cm.

II. *Gul wa bulbul*, the poem by Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Muḥammad Riḍā, compiler and copyist of the current *Gulshan* anthology, who bore the pen-name Mahjūr (he was alive in 1199/1785).

1. "Two nightingales (one is free, the other in a cage) praising a rose", fol. 99b, 37.0 × 26.8 cm.

III. *Jang-i fīl*, the poem by Abū Ṭālib Hamadānī, who bore the pen-name Kalīm (d. 1062/1652).

1. "Awrangzab, son of Shāh-Jahān defeating with his blade an enraged elephant", fol. 107a, 36.5 × 24.3 cm.

IV. Poem of an unestablished author, dedicated to the Ṣafawid Shāh 'Abbās II (r. 1052—1077/1642—1666).

1. "Shāh 'Abbās hunting onagers in Māzandarān", fol. 108b, 36.8 × 23.3 cm.

V. Untitled poem by Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Muḥammad Riḍā (cf. No. II).

1. "The son of Ḥalab's ruler encounters the beauty Gul, the ruler of Ray", fol. 113a, 37.0 × 24.3 cm.
2. "Disguised as a merchant, the crown-prince of Ḥalab admires Gul sleeping in a garden", fol. 114b, 36.7 × 24.2 cm.
3. "Wedding celebrations of the young ruler of Ḥalab and Gul", fol. 116a, 36.8 × 29.0 cm (see *Plate 1* on the back cover).

VI. *Laylī wa Majnūn*, the poem by Maktabī Shīrāzī (d. after 928/1521—22).

1. "Laylī and Majnūn in school", fol. 118b, 36.1 × 35.1 cm.
2. "Battle between Nawfal's detachment and warriors from the tribe of Laylī", fol. 121a, 37.1 × 36.0 cm.
3. "Majnūn over the body of Laylī", fol. 124a, 37.0 × 29.0 cm (see *fig. 1*).

VII. *Subḥat al-abrār*, the poem by Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who bore the pen-name Jāmī (817—898/1414—1492).

1. "The departure of the Sovereign and his retinue for a hunting", fol. 128a, 37.0 × 26.4 cm.
2. "A beauty throwing from the roof of her house an old man who is in love with her", fol. 130a, 36.7 × 24.2 cm.
3. "An Arab merchant speaking in his tent with a Ṣūfī and an Ethiopian slave", fol. 132b, 36.5 × 23.0 cm.

VIII. *Ḥamla-yi Ḥaydarī*, fragments of the poem by Mīrzā Muḥammad Rafī' b. Mīrzā Maḥmūd Mashhadī, who bore the pen-name Bādhil (d. 1123/1711—12).

1. "'Alī defeating Ṭalḥ with a blow of the sword Dhū'l-fiqār in the presence of Muḥammad", fol. 146a, 36.7 × 31.5 cm.
2. "'Alī defeating a blasphemer during the battle of Uḥud", fol. 149a, 36.8 × 33.5 cm.
3. "Led by Jibr'īl, 'Alī cuts a Jewish hero in two with a sword", fol. 153b, 37.0 × 31.6 cm.

IX. Fragments from the poetic epic *Shāh-nāma* by Abū 'l-Qāsim Manṣūr Ṭūsī, who bore the pen-name Firdawsī (*ca.* 329 — *ca.* 416/940—1025).

1. "The night-time attack of the Turanians, led by Pīrān, on the camp of the Iranians, led by Ṭūs", fol. 158a, 37.1 × 31.4 cm.
2. "Rustām killing the hero Ashkibūs with an arrow", fol. 160b, 37.0 × 31.0 cm.
3. "Rustām, in pursuit of the fleeing Shingil-shāh, fells him with a sword", fol. 163a, 37.0 × 31.5 cm.
4. "Rustām killing the White div with a mace", fol. 165b, 37.0 × 36.0 cm.
5. "Rustām, seized with grief, over the dying Sahrāb", fol. 166b, 36.6 × 31.2 cm.
6. "Kay-Khusraw killing Shīde, son of Afrāsiyāb", fol. 169a, 37.0 × 29.2 cm.
7. "Kay-Khusraw amusing himself in the palace of Afrāsiyāb in the company of his concubines", fol. 171b, 37.1 × 34.6 cm.
8. "Kay-Khusraw crossing lake Zara in his campaign against the fortress Gangdīz", fol. 173b, 37.1 × 30.6 cm.
9. "Rustām, roasting an onager on a spit, turns away with his left foot a rock thrown at him by Bahman, son of Isfandiyār", fol. 176b, 36.4 × 32.4 cm (see *fig. 4*).
10. "Sīmurgh treating Rustām, who is pierced by the arrows of Isfandiyār, and explaining to him how to win his foe", fol. 179b, 37.5 × 28.0 cm.
11. "Rustām killing Isfandiyār by piercing his eyes with a double-tipped arrow", fol. 180b, 37.1 × 35.8 cm.
12. "Mortally wounded, Rustām, who has fallen into a pit-trap for wolves, pierces Shaghād, hiding behind the trunk of a tree, with an arrow", fol. 182a, 36.8 × 39.5 cm.

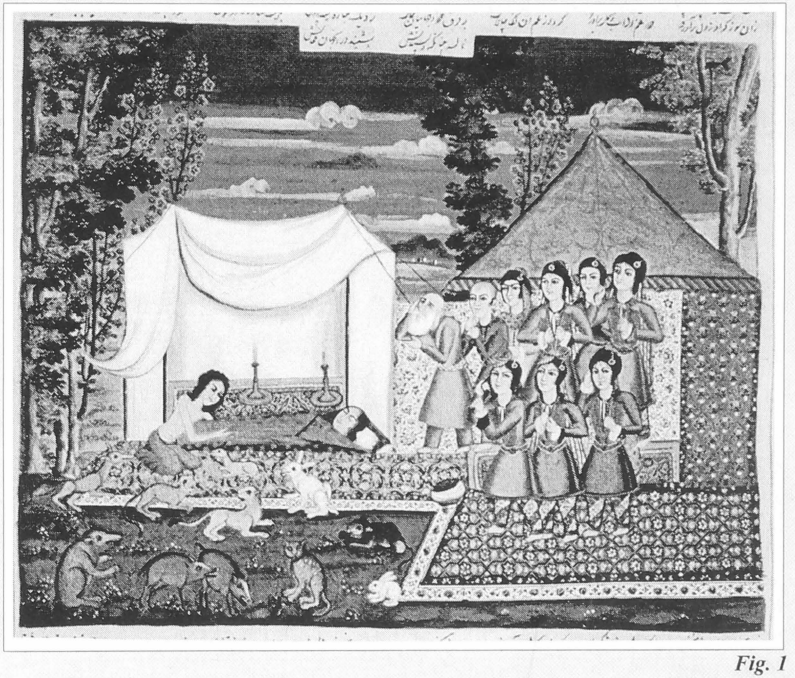


Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

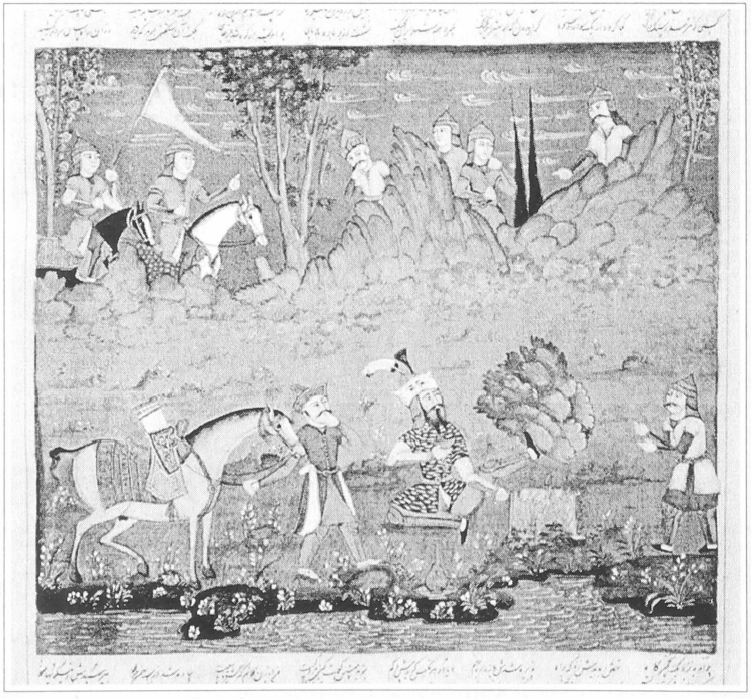


Fig. 4

X. *Bustān*, the poem by Mushrif al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh Shīrāzī, who bore the pen-name Sa'dī (d. 691/1292).

1. "A poor *faqīh* in the company of his prospering colleagues at the home of a rich *qāḍī*", fol. 190b, 36.2 × 28.7 cm.
2. "A wise physician appealing to the son of an *amīr*, whom he once healed, and being denied his request", fol. 194b, 37.0 × 28.0 cm.

XI. *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā*, the poem by Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (cf. No. VII).

1. "'Azīz, the ruler of Egypt, meeting Zulaykhā on her coming to Egypt", fol. 200b, 37.0 × 30.3 cm.
2. "Yūsuf, rescued from the well, among the members of the merchant Malik's caravan", fol. 202a, 36.3 × 25.2 cm (see *Plate 2* on the back cover).
3. "Zulaykhā recognises in Yūsuf, who is led as a slave before the pharaoh's palace, the youth whom she saw in a dream", fol. 203b, 37.0 × 27.2 cm (see front cover).
4. "Beautiful slave-girls visit Yūsuf working in the palace garden", fol. 204b, 37.0 × 27.7 cm.
5. "Zulaykhā receiving Yūsuf in the seventh hall of her palace, decorated with her portraits", fol. 205b, 37.0 × 26.6 cm.
6. "Zulaykhā presenting Yūsuf to the Egyptian wives", fol. 206b, 37.0 × 28.0 cm.
7. "Zulaykhā visiting Yūsuf in prison", fol. 207b, 37.3 × 27.0 cm.
8. "Summoned by 'Azīz from prison, Yūsuf interprets the pharaoh's dream", fol. 208b, 37.0 × 26.7 cm.
9. "The wedding of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā", fol. 209b, 37.0 × 26.7 cm.
10. "Zulaykhā dying from grief on the grave of Yūsuf", fol. 210b, 37.0 × 25.0 cm.

XII. *Sharaf-nāma-yi Iskandar*, the poem by Abū Muḥammad Ilyās Ganjawī, who bore the pen-name Niẓāmī (*ca.* 537—606/1142—1209).

1. "Iskandar celebrating his victory over the Zinjis and Nubians", fol. 214a, 37.0 × 26.5 cm.
2. "Iskandar and the dying Dārā", fol. 216b, 37.0 × 27.2 cm.
3. "The wedding of Iskandar and Rawshanak, daughter of Dārā", fol. 217b, 37.0 × 26.6 cm.
4. "Nūshāba, queen of the Amazons, showing Iskandar his portrait", fol. 218b, 37.0 × 26.0 cm.
5. "The depiction of Iskandar on the hunt performed by a Persian artist who took part in a contest of painters from Rūm and China", fol. 221a, 37.0 × 26.8 cm.
6. "Iskandar observing a Chinese slave-girl's fighting with the Ruses", fol. 222b, 37.0 × 24.4 cm.
7. "Iskandar in the company of Chinese concubines", fol. 223b, 37.0 × 25.6 cm.

XIII. *Mathnawī* by a *miyān* Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, who bore the pen-name 'Alī (d. 1108/1697).

1. "The artist meeting the *amīr*'s son, with whom he fell in love after seeing him in a dream and whose portrait he created", fol. 231a, 19.3 × 17.1 cm.
2. "The artist presenting his work to the *amīr*'s son", fol. 231b, 19.4 × 17.1 cm.
3. "The artist burning himself on a fire after his passion and love were rejected", fol. 232a, 19.0 × 17.9 cm.

XIV. *Sūz wa gudāz*, the poem by Muḥammad Riḍā Khabūshānī, who bore the pen-name Naw'ī (d. 1019/1610—11).

1. "An Indian princess burning herself on a funeral pyre together with the body of her husband", fol. 234a, 37.0 × 26.7 cm.

XV. *Nigāristān-i Chīn*, the poem by Sayyid Aḥmad, who bore the pen-name Sanad (second half of the 11th/17th century).

1. "The *imām* Ḥasan, with a green covering over his face, at the funeral of the daughter of the Chinese *khāqān* and her beloved", fol. 236a, 37.0 × 26.5 cm.

XVI. Fragment of a poem in Turkī, *Sadd-i Iskandarī* by Niẓām al-Dīn Mīr 'Alīshīr, who bore the pen-name Nawā'ī (844—906/1441—1501).

1. "Iskandar supporting the head of the dying Dārā", fol. 272a, 37.0 × 29.8 cm.

XVII. *Makhzan al-asrār*, the poem by Niẓāmī Ganjawī (cf. No. XII).

1. "The Sulṭan Sanjar and a complaining elderly weaver", fol. 283b, 36.5 × 26.7 cm.
2. "The caliph's barber in his pride asking for the hand of his daughter", fol. 286b, 36.8 × 25.3 cm.
3. "Landscape depicting probably the countryside outside of Iṣfahān, fol. 287a, 37.0 × 25.3 cm.

XVIII. *Haft paykar*, the poem by Niẓāmī Ganjawī (cf. No. XII).

1. "Bahrām Gūr demonstrating to his favorite harpist-singer, Fitna, his skill with the bow during a hunt for gazelles", fol. 290a, 37.0 × 27.7 cm.
2. "Bahrām Gūr in the Black Castle, listening to the tale of the Indian princess Furāq", fol. 291a, 19.2 × 23.4 cm.
3. "Bahrām Gūr in the Yellow Castle, listening to the tale of the Turkmen princess Yaghmānāz", fol. 292b, 19.1 × 20.7 cm.
4. "Bahrām Gūr in the Green Castle, listening to the tale of the Khwārazmian princess Nāzaparī", fol. 293b, 19.1 × 20.0 cm.
5. "Bahrām Gūr in the Red Castle, listening to the tale of the Slavic princess Nasrīnnūsh", fol. 294b, 19.4 × 21.1 cm.
6. "Bahrām Gūr in the Blue Castle, listening to the tale of the Maghribī princess Ādharīyūn", fol. 295b, 19.0 × 20.0 cm.
7. "Bahrām Gūr in the Sandal-Wood Colour Castle, listening to the tale of the Rūmī princess Humāy", fol. 296b, 19.0 × 21.6 cm.
8. "Bahrām Gūr in a White Castle, listening to the tale of the Iranian princess Durūstī", fol. 297b, 19.1 × 23.3 cm.
9. "While hunting, Bahrām Gūr encounters a shepherd punishing his dog for friendship with a she-wolf — by hanging it", fol. 298b, 37.0 × 26.8 cm.

XIX. *Sāqī-nāma*, the poem by Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Turshizī, who bore the pen-name Ẓuhūrī (d. 1025/1616).

1. "While hunting, the Shāh encounters an old woman complaining of his servants who took all of her birds for the Shāh's falcons", fol. 303b, 36.5 × 28.1 cm.
2. "A tree, which brought misfortune to the emperor of Rūm, being uprooted in an instant by a storm, thus accomplishing what people had been unable to do", fol. 306b, 37.0 × 28.0 cm.

XX. *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*, the poem by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Mūsawī Iṣfahānī, who bore the pen-name Nāmī (d. 1204/1789—90).

1. "Khusraw defeating mutinous Bahrām Chūbīna", fol. 312a, 37.0 × 28.7 cm.
2. "Khusraw's encounter with Shīrīn accompanied by her girl-servants", fol. 312b, 37.1 × 26.5 cm.
3. "Shīrīn visiting Farhād", fol. 317a, 36.8 × 27.9 cm (see *fig. 3*).
4. "Khusraw at Shīrīn's castle", fol. 319b, 37.0 × 26.7 cm.

XXI. *Mathnawī* by a poet with the pen-name Sa'īdā, a contemporary of Shāh 'Abbās II (1052—1077/1642—1666).

1. "A noble youth attacked by a lion and saved by his friend", fol. 328b, 36.8 × 27.9 cm.

XXII. *Laylī wa Majnūn*, the poem in Azarbayjānī by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Baghdādī, who bore the pen-name Fuḍūlī (d. 963/1556).

1. "Laylī and Majnūn fainting upon seeing one another", fol. 337b, 37.0 × 26.9 cm.
2. "Majnūn giving his clothes to a hunter in exchange for a gazelle the latter has captured", fol. 338b, 37.0 × 26.8 cm.
3. "Nawfal's fighting with the warriors of Laylī's tribe", fol. 339b, 37.0 × 25.9 cm.
4. "A mendicant bringing Majnūn, in chains and singing a *ghazal*, to the camp of Laylī's tribe", fol. 340b, 37.0 × 25.7 cm.
5. "Laylī visiting Majnūn in the desert, where he is surrounded by wild beasts", fol. 343b, 37.0 × 29.0 cm.
6. "Majnūn dying from grief on Laylī's grave", fol. 344b, 37.0 × 27.0 cm.

XXIII. *Rawḍat al-anwār*, the poem by Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī Kirmanī, who bore the pen-name Khwājū (679—753/1281—1352).

1. "Sulṭān Malik-shāh encountering an old woman who tells him that his hunting destroys the fields of his subjects", fol. 386a, 37.0 × 35.5 cm. [8]

XXIV. *Gul wa Nawrūz*, the poem by Khwājū Kirmanī (cf. No. XXIII).

1. "The battle between Nawrūz and Salm", fol. 394b, 36.8 × 27.9 cm (see *fig. 2*).
2. "The feast of Qayṣar of Rūm in honour of Nawrūz", fol. 397a, 37.1 × 29.0 cm.
3. "Nawrūz, combating with the Rūmīs, throws Qayṣar from an elephant and kills him", fol. 399a, 36.4 × 31.4 cm.
4. "Festive meeting of Nawrūz and Gul", fol. 401a, 36.8 × 25.7 cm.

XXV. The first part of the poem *Farhād wa Shīrīn* by Kamāl al-Dīn Bāfqī, who bore the pen-name Waḥshī (d. 991/1583).

1. "Shīrīn's encounter with Farhād", fol. 405b, 19.2 × 23.3 cm.

XXVI. *Laylī wa Majnūn*, the poem by Niẓāmī Ganjawī (cf. No. XII).

1. "Grasping the ring of the Holy Ka'ba, Majnūn entreats Allah to make his love for Laylī even stronger", fol. 408b, 37.1 × 28.0 cm.
2. "Nawfal's fighting with warriors of Laylī's tribe", fol. 410a, 37.0 × 29.2 cm.
3. "Majnūn's mother visiting her son to persuade him to return home", fol. 413b, 37.0 × 29.2 cm.

XXVII. *Maḥmūd wa Ayāz*, the poem by Muḥammad Ḥasan Khwānsārī, who bore the pen-name Zulālī (d. *ca.* 1031/1621).

1. "Ayāz the cup-bearer dancing before Maḥmūd at a feast", fol. 420b, 37.1 × 26.8 cm.
2. "Filled with joy, Maḥmūd sees Ayāz, whose execution he had not long ago ordered in a fit of anger, alive and unharmed on the wall of the palace", fol. 422a, 36.8 × 28.3 cm.
3. "Maḥmūd's battle with the troops of the ruler of Kashmīr", fol. 424b, 37.0 × 27.7 cm.
4. "Maḥmūd on his deathbed", fol. 428b, 37.0 × 31.2 cm.

XXVIII. *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā*, the poem by Farrakh Ḥusayn b. Shāh-Riḍā Sabzawārī Ḥarawī, who bore the pen-name Nāẓim (1016—*ca.* 1082/1607—1672).

1. "Zulaykhā with her servant-girls in the bath", fol. 434b, 37.0 × 26.4 cm.
2. "In the name of their father, Yūsuf implores his brothers to have mercy on him", fol. 437a, 38.6 × 28.0 cm.
3. "Zulaykhā presenting Yūsuf to the Egyptian wives", fol. 440a, 36.8 × 31.2 cm.

XXIX. *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*, the poem by Niẓāmī Ganjawī (cf. No. XII).

1. "Shīrīn examining a portrait of Khusraw", fol. 447b, 37.0 × 28.3 cm.
2. "Khusraw observing Shīrīn's bathing", fol. 448b, 36.8 × 26.4 cm.
3. "The battle between Khusraw and Bahrām Chūbīna", fol. 451a, 36.6 × 25.7 cm.
4. "Farhād saving Shīrīn and his horse", fol. 453b, 36.5 × 27.6 cm.
5. "Khusraw before the palace of Shīrīn", fol. 455b, 37.0 × 28.0 cm.
6. "Joyous feast after the reconciliation of Khusraw and Shīrīn", fol. 458a, 36.5 × 25.3 cm.

Notes

1. The manuscript (call number E 12) was acquired by the Asiatic Museum, the predecessor of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, in 1919 from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. See A. F. Rozenberg, "Spisok musul'manskikh rukopiseĭ, postupivshikh v Aziatskiĭ Muzeĭ za pervoe polugodie 1919 goda" ("List of Muslim manuscripts acquired by the Asiatic Museum during the first half of 1919"), *Izvestiia Rossiĭskoĭ Akademii Nauk* (1919), p. 488.

2. Qāḍī Aḥmad Qumī mentions a craftsman, 'Umar Aqṭā', who made for Tīmūr (1336—1405) a Qur'ān in which each line was one *dhar'* in length, that is 49.8 cm. See *Calligraphers and Painters. A Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad son of Mīr-Munshī (ca. A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)*, trans. from the Persian by V. Minorsky (Washington, 1959), p. 64. We note examples of several large-format Qur'āns which have reached us: **(i)** the so-called Qur'ān of 'Uthmān or the "Samarqand Qūfic Qur'ān", thought to have been copied in Iraq in the first half of the eighth century. See A. F. Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Imperatorskoĭ Sankt-Peterburgskoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki" ("The Qūfic Qur'ān of the Imperial St. Petersburg Public Library"), *Zapiski vostochnogo otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, VI (1891), pp. 69—133. Its dimensions are 68.0 × 53.0 cm. It was published in facsimile in Petersburg as a full-size book in 1905, thanks to the efforts of S. I. Pisarev; **(ii)** the Qur'ān, somewhat smaller in size (63.0 × 55.5 cm), held in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale. It was also copied in the first half of the eighth century. See de Slaine, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1883—1895), p. 87, No. 314 (Suppl. 150 Iii); **(iii)** a copy of the Qur'ān executed in the 1420—1430s by the son of Shāhrukh (d. 1447), Bāysunghur-mīrzā (1397—1433). The copy is of simply grandiose dimensions (each folio measured 177.0 × 101.0 cm). 11 folios have reached us; they are copied in *muḥaqqaq*. See Aḥmad Galchīn-i Ma'ānī, *Rāhnāma-yi Ganjīneh-i Qur'ān* (Mashhad, 1347/1968), No. 59, p. 129; **(iv)** the Qur'ān copied in a hand close to *rayḥān* in about 1430 by a brother of Bāysunghur-mīrzā, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. Today it is held in the Pars Museum in Shīrāz. The dimensions are 65.0 × 45.0 cm.

3. This copy (59.0 × 44.5 cm) was created in Qazwīn in the *kitābkhāna* of Tahmāsp I (1524—1576) in the 1560—70s. The manuscript has not reached us, but nearly 28 separate folios have been preserved with miniatures covering the entire page. One such miniature is held in Geneva at the Museum of Art and History (1971—107/35).

4. The second part, entitled by the author *Mu'izz-nāma*, includes volumes 3—6 (about 1,000 folios) of this huge, "folkloric" work. It is held in the Majlis Library in Tehran. Its dimensions are 50.0 × 75.0 cm. See Muḥammad Ja'far Maḥjūb, "Būstān-i Khiyāl", *Īrān-nāmeh*, II/1 (Autumn 1983), p. 49.

5. For details, see O. F. Akimushkin, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia Rossiĭskoĭ Akademii Nauk* (Description of Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 10: Poėticheskie sborniki, al'bomy (Poetry collections, albums) (Moscow, 1993), No. 11, pp. 55—100.

6. *A Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, comp. by Aḥmad Monzawī (Tehran, 1351/1972), iv, p. 3082.

7. *Gulshan*, manuscript E 12 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 380a.

8. This miniature was published in colour. See V. Lukonine, A. Ivanow, *L'Art de l'Iran* (St. Petersburg, 1995), No. 249, pp. 246—7.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"Zulaykhā recognises in Yūsuf, who is led as a slave before the Pharaoh's palace, the youth whom she saw in a dream". Miniature to the poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Gulshan*, manuscript E 12 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 203b, 37.0 × 27.2 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. "Wedding celebrations of the young ruler of Ḥalab and Gul". Miniature to an untitled poem by Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Muḥammad Riḍā, the same manuscript, fol. 116a, 36.8 × 29.0 cm.

Plate 2. "Yūsuf, rescued from the well, among the members of the merchant Malik's caravan". Miniature to the poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, the same manuscript, fol. 202a, 36.3 × 25.2 cm.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. "Majnūn over the body of Laylī". Miniature to *Laylī wa Majnūn* by Maktabī Shīrāzī, the same manuscript, fol. 124a, 37.0 × 29.0 cm.

Fig. 2. "The battle between Nawrūz and Salm". Miniature to *Gul wa Nawrūz* by Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī Kirmanī known as Khwājū, the same manuscript, fol. 394b, 36.8 × 27.9 cm.

Fig. 3. "Shīrīn visiting Farhād". Miniature to *Khusraw wa Shīrīn* by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Mūsawī Iṣfahānī known as Nāmī, the same manuscript, fol. 317a, 36.8 × 27.9 cm.

Fig. 4. "Rustām, roasting an onager on a spit, turns away with his left foot a rock thrown at him by Bahman, son of Isfandiyār". Miniature to *Shāh-nāma* by Abū 'l-Qāsim Manṣūr Ṭūsī known as Firdawsī, the same manuscript, fol. 176b, 36.4 × 32.4 cm.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mauro Maggi. *Pelliot Chinois 2928. A Khotanese Love Story*. Roma: 1997, 88 pp., 4 Plates. — Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, LXXX.

The book under review here is dedicated to the memory of Sir Harold Walter Bailey (1899—1996). Not only Mauro Maggi, but also all those working with Khotanese texts are indebted to Sir Harold for his investigations in this field. He was one of the firsts to undertake the study of the Eastern Iranian Khotanese language in which texts, discovered at the close of the nineteenth century in East Turkestan, were written. This outstanding scholar has published, in addition to his numerous philological and historical studies, transliterated editions of nearly all Khotanese surviving texts from manuscript collections in England, France, Sweden and America. That were, first, Bailey's students who continued the study of these texts. Now, a third generation of scholars has appeared — the students of Prof. R. E. Emmerick. To this group belongs Dr. Mauro Maggi.

In recent years, Mauro Maggi has shown himself to be a well-trained scholar in the field of Khotanese literature. In 1995, in addition to the book under consideration here, he published in the same series "The Khotanese *Karmavighaṅga*". Maggi's work on two manuscripts first introduced to the scholarly community by Bailey has provided an important source for enriching dictionaries of the Khotanese language. This quickly bore fruit: in the third volume of "Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese" (Vienna, 1997) a great deal of the entries (76 out of 209) belongs to Dr. Maggi. Many of these entries were drawn from "A Khotanese Love Story".

The book under review presents two texts written on the reverse of a Chinese scroll. One of them, consisting of three incomplete lines, is the opening formula of an official letter and represents an example of Khotanese epistolary style from the tenth century A.D. The second is an untitled *avadāna*, hitherto unidentified, which follows the formula in lines 4—41 of the same manuscript. The Khotanese text is unfinished — half of the final folio of the scroll contains no text. The unsure hand and large number of errors and corrections led Maggi to believe that the scroll was used for pedagogical purposes.

The first to turn his attention to this text was Bailey, who published a transliteration in "Khotanese Texts", 3, pp. 105—6. A facsimile was published in 1985 (Huang Yongwu, *Dunhuang baozang*, 125, Taibei). In his book, Maggi has republished the facsimile on the basis of photographs he received from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris).

The writing — Brāhmī cursive of the Khotanese variety — offers significant difficulties. Despite Bailey's presenting the transliteration of the text and his including some words from it in the "Dictionary of Khotan Saka" (Cambridge, 1979) and in a number of his articles, many obscure passages still remain. Maggi overcame these independently. The language of the Khotanese text under discussion also presents difficulties, many of the words being *hapax legomena*. The division of the text into words and sentences, ambivalence of many Khotanese words required deep immersion in the context and a profound knowledge of the historical phonetics of Iranian languages. It appears that Maggi has dealt successfully with all difficulties. The interpretation of the text he presents, the grammatical commentary which demonstrates the correctness of his views, and the glossary are on a high level. The work of the scholar is worthy of great respect. It should be added that the 122 titles cited by the author do not simply demonstrate Maggi's familiarity with the literature — the book's pages provide extensive lists of matching contexts from the sources cited. See, for example, the commentaries to 3b (p. 42): *haryauna varaṣte* ("he experienced ... pleasures") and Old Khotanese (henceforth, OKh.) *biśśunye hayirūṇe varāśāre* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, 10, 50).

In order to prove the correctness of his derivations for a number of words, Maggi provides lists of all attested grammatical forms of the given word from other texts. Thus, in commentary 3d (p. 44) he lists all grammatical forms of the word *maṇḍaï* ("woman") to prove that his reconstruction of its root is correct. In commentary 9d (pp. 53—4), he cites all contexts in which the word *ttuka* is used: *ttuka* > * *ttaunaka* > *ttaunāka-* > * *ttuṃka* > *ttuka* ("fat", "strong"; a variant interpretation is proposed by R. E. Emmerick). Moreover, with the aid of complex textual analyses, Maggi has succeeded in reconstructing the meanings of such *hapax legomena* as *baysānyä* ("splendid") and *brrūka* > * *brrūnaka* > *brrūna* ("splendid"). In many cases, the commentaries provide corrections to the textual divisions proposed by Bailey: for example, 19d (p. 74), instead of *īrauda* ("drunken", "intoxicated") Maggi reads *ī rauda* ("by the king"). In commentary 21a (pp. 75—9), with the aid of contextual references the scholar proves *vachauste* to stand for "he wished" and not "let fall" or "threw down" as was proposed by Bailey. Also, Maggi offers his interpretation of text P 2958.117, which differs from that of Bailey in his "Khotanese Buddhist Texts", p. 42.

Bailey's readings are revised in many instances, yet doubt must persist in two cases. My knowledge of Buddhist Sanskrit texts does not permit me to support Maggi's read-

ing *namau* ("Homage!" — an introductory word) for *nada* in line 4 (commentary on pp. 38—40). In my view, R. E. Emmerick's suggestion seems more in keeping with the context: *nadä* in place of *nada* (most probably copyist's error) < OKh. *nonda* ("with reverence", "in homage"). As far as I know, in the standard formula of the *sūtra*s opening, *namau* is not attested at this place in the text.

Further, verse 19 (commentaries on pp. 53—4) is dealing with *aumaca*, a minister of the king Prasenajit, described here as he who is "without noble qualities", according to the interpretation of *alakṣäṇa*, suggested by Maggi. In Buddhist Sanskrit texts, however, *alakṣaṇaka* (Khot. *alakṣäṇa*) does not mean "without noble qualities", but is generally used as an epithet for a worthy man who does not possess the thirty-two signs of the Buddha. F. Edgerton renders this epithet as "a near-Buddha" (see his "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary", p. 67). Besides, in the given context, "strong" appears preferable to "fat" for *ttuka*. Finally, *gūhau* ("the ox") in verse 10 — where Maggi appears to reconstruct the root correctly as *gūhana-* ("ox-like"), also connotes respect. In Buddhist Sanskrit *vṛśabhata* ("bull-like quality") is attested as an epithet of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, which could be rendered as "lordliness" or "majesty", while in Vedic Sanskrit *vṛśabha* is a sobriquet of such gods as Indra. In this regard it seems also mistaken to interpret this word in the given context as "foot-soldier", as Maggi proposes in volume 3 of his "Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese".

This minor criticism in no way diminishes the significance of the edition under review. Dr. Maggi's work testifies to the advent of a new stage in the study of Khotanese texts. Treating the labours of his predecessors with all due respect, the scholar evaluates their achievements critically and makes numerous precious corrections. The historical phonetics of Iranian languages, which until recently was the chief criterion for reconstructing the meanings of many words, is combined in Maggi's works with the juxtaposition of all occurrences and usages of a given word in all known contexts. Context is one of the most important criteria for understanding certain words. Furthermore, the employment of texts in other Middle Iranian languages and in Sanskrit and the effort to situate Khotanese texts in the general cultural context of East Turkestan Buddhism is exclusively fruitful.

We need only thank the scholar for his valuable contribution. This is a work of vast erudition, where so many controversial issues are involved. One must be also grateful to the "Rome Oriental Series" for publishing extraordinarily interesting texts which are so vital to the scholarly community.

M. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya

Maria V. Toropygina. *Descriptive Catalogue of Japanese Books in St. Petersburg University. A Catalogue of the Arisugawa Collection.* Tokyo: Benseisha, 1998, 112 pp.

The collection of wood-block prints and manuscripts held in the library of St. Petersburg University, which were catalogued by Maria Toropygina, a Japanese studies librarian at the Library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, is of great historical and cultural value. It was the Japanese prince Arisugawa (1835—1895) who ordered to send a collection of Japanese wood-block prints and manuscripts to St. Petersburg University. Prince Arisugawa was an outstanding personality in the history of the nineteen-century Japan. He was among those who joined the anti-Shogunate movement to restore the Emperor's power. In 1870, after the Shogunate was abolished he was appointed Minister of Military Affairs and afterwards played an active role in public affairs. In 1882, Prince Arisugawa visited the United States and Europe. The Prince's visit to Russia took place in September. Here, in Russia, he had an audience at the Russian Tsar Alexander III (r. 1881—1894). It is after this visit to St. Petersburg that Prince Arisugawa made his generous donation to St. Petersburg University.

The collection of Japanese wood-block prints and manuscripts donated was meant to introduce Japanese culture to the students of the Japanese language courses at the University. The composition of the collection represented many branches of Japanese culture; among the books were vocabularies and explanatory dictionaries, textbooks, works of literature with necessary commentaries, works on philology and geography, all dated mainly to the eighteenth century. Among these was a famous hundred-volume *Dainihon shi* ("History of the Great Japan") by Tokugawa Mitzukuni.

The significance of the collection rests on at least two factors. First, an analysis of the collection provides an opportunity to determine the "cultural foreign policy" of Japan's ruling elite, that is, to reveal the fashion in which Japan wished to appear to the world at the end of the nineteenth century. It is immediately obvious, for example, that one of the major components of Japanese culture, that is, Buddhism, is not in effect represented in the collection. Secondly, the collection is valuable for the rarities it contains. This primarily concerns manuscripts. Of special importance among them is the manuscript of *Owari meisho wakashu*, a collection of poems connected with the province of Owari. Suffice it to say that only a single manuscript of this collection has been discovered in Japan.

A catalogue to a comparable collection at the Catholic University of Leuven, given as a gift by the Emperor Showa during his time as heir to the throne, appeared as early as 1926. The catalogue to the Arisugawa collection is drawn up in conformity with modern standards of cataloguing, since the science of description of Japanese manuscripts has progressed greatly in recent decades. Previously, there existed only a list of books, drawn up by Andō Kensuke [1] and

[1] Andō Kensuke (1854—1924) — a Japanese governmental official, who in 1876 joined the diplomatic staff and was sent to Russia. In 1881—1884, he taught the Japanese language at St. Petersburg University. It was he who let Prince Arisugawa know about the Japanese courses at the University.

published in 1893 without scholarly description. It is only with the appearance of the current catalogue that the books in the collection have entered scholarly circulation in the true sense.

The catalogue comprises an Introduction, the Guide to the contents of the catalogue, the catalogue's entries, the List of book-titles and Indices of personal names, publishers and book-sellers, and a Selected reference bibliography. The catalogue also contains an Afterword (in Japanese), written by Yamazaki Makoto, a professor at the Institute of Japanese Literature, who helped with his advice to the author of the catalogue and, in his turn, was a photographer of the books in the collection.

The catalogue provides descriptions of 247 items. Each one is described in the following fashion: (i) number of the description; (ii) call number; (iii) reference to the list of books drawn up by Andō Kensuke; (iv) title of the book; (v) author, copyist, editor; (vi) type of copy; (vii) date of publishing (copying); (viii) publisher; (ix) place; (x) number of scrolls/volumes, size of the book, number of pages, presence of border, type of writing, colour and design of cover, language used, information on foreword and afterword, presence of stamps belonging to the owner(s), marginalia; (xi) presence of illustrations and their type; (xii) artist or engraver; (xiii) additional information; (xiv) reference to the standard and more complete catalogue of Japanese books, *Kokushō Sōmokuroko*.

It appears that the author has taken into consideration practically all major principles of cataloguing wood-block prints and manuscripts used in contemporary Japanese studies. One should note that the appearance of a catalogue made on such a high level by a Russian researcher is not a frequent occurrence. Among M. V. Toropygina's predecessors one can only cite the authors of a description of Japanese manuscripts, xylographs and old-print books from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies published in 1964—1971: O. P. Petrova, V. N. Goreglyad, Z. Ia. Khanin, and G. D. Ivanova. The latter edition was published in Russian and was lamentably little known to foreign scholars.

The Afterword by Yamazaki Makoto, structured in the manner of Japanese texts, is rather an essay with a welcome element of narrative vitality. We learn not only of the work he performed together with M. V. Toropygina, but also of the free time they enjoyed together when a bottle of Georgian wine, Mukuzani, could serve as an ideal means of curing physical fatigue.

In my view, the catalogue could have benefited from more careful proof reading. A large number of misprints spoils the general impression of the catalogue. They occur, however, largely in words the correct spelling of which can be deduced easily. As a whole, the production of the catalogue is excellent, though one would like to see higher-quality black-and-white photographs accompanying each entry. However, these shortcomings are only minor. One can only welcome the appearance of this catalogue. Now no one has reason to complain that the books in the Arisugawa collection have "fallen out" of scholarly view because of insufficient information.

A. Mescheryakov

AUTHORS

Prof. Dr. ***Oleg F. Akimushkin*** — Head of the Department of the Middle East and Group of the Kurdish studies at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history of Persian culture, history of Iran, Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, author of a series of monographs and articles.

Mrs. ***Nadezhda M. Brovenko*** — Conservator at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, author of several publications on Eastern manuscripts conservation and restoration.

Prof. Dr. ***Evgeniy I. Kychanov*** — Director of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history and culture of China and the Tangut state, author of a series of monographs and numerous articles in the field.

Mr. ***Alexander S. Matveev*** — Postgraduate student of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, personal student of Prof. Joseph Bell at the University of Bergen, author of a number of articles devoted to Arabic medieval history.

Prof. Dr. ***Alexander N. Mescheryakov*** — Leading Researcher at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history and culture of Japan, author of numerous articles and monographs in the field.

Dr. ***Irina E. Petrosyan*** — Senior Researcher at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, author of three monographs and a series of articles devoted to the history and culture of the Ottoman Empire.

Dr. ***Efim A. Rezvan*** — Deputy Director of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Arabic and Islamic studies, author of a number of monographs and articles dealing with Russian-Arab relations, the history of Islam and Oriental studies computing.

Dr. ***Kirill J. Solonin*** — Researcher at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Far-Eastern philosophy, anthropology and culture, author of monographs and a series of articles in the field.

Dr. ***Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya*** — Supervisor of the Manuscript Department at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, expert in the history and philology of ancient Central Asia, author of monographs and a series of articles in the field.

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

---

ISSN 1238-5018

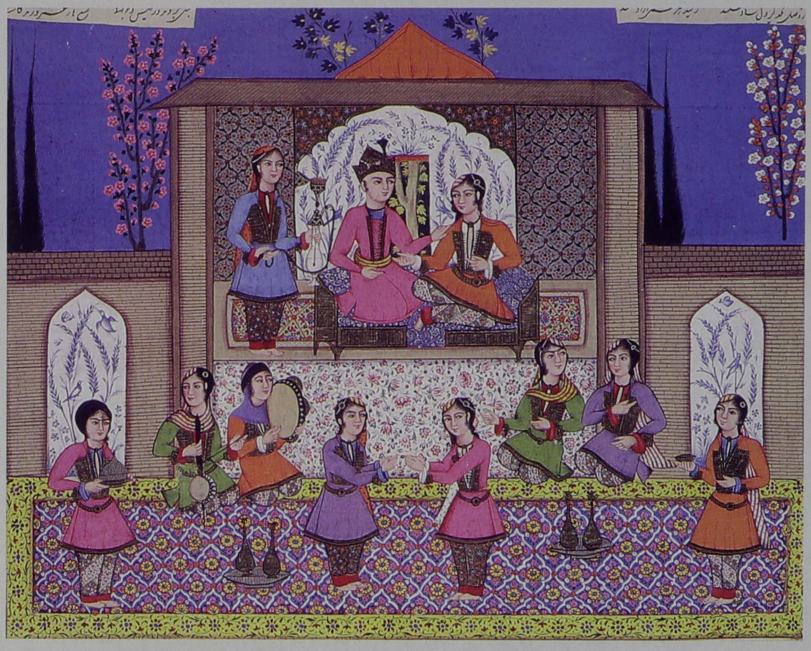


Plate 1

Plate 2

Manuscripta Orientalia
Vol. 4 No. 3 September 1998