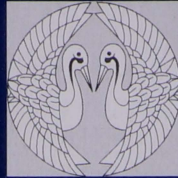


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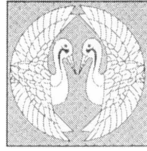
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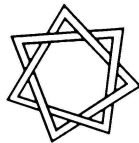
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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Georges-Jean Pinault

ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS IN TOCHARIAN B FROM THE BEREZOVSKY AND PETROVSKY COLLECTIONS

The bulk of the Tocharian literature consists of literary and sacred texts, all of Buddhist content, with the exception of one Manichean text, which however conforms to Buddhist patterns of thought and phraseology. But since the first discoveries and expeditions in the oases of East Turkestan, north of the Takla Makan desert, other texts have come to light too, that are of secular or profane nature, written on paper or wood. These are book-keeping records of monasteries, business correspondence, administrative reports, receipts of gifts to the monasteries, caravan-passes, etc. Several inscriptions have also been found on the walls of the caves, most of them graffiti, in addition to legends of paintings and historical proclamations. All these profane texts are composed in Tocharian B [1]. Since the pioneering study of Emil Sieg about monastery records of the Berlin collection [2], several important contributions must be noted [3].

Some secular documents from the Berezovsky and Petrovsky collections belonging to the Asiatic Museum (at present, St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) were studied by the French Indologist Sylvain Lévi in 1913, through a favour granted by his friend and colleague S. F. Oldenburg. All these manuscripts are now in the possession of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Margarita Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, an inventory of the Tocharian documents of the St. Petersburg collections is now available [4], and it was possible to the present author to identify and to study interesting manuscripts in February 1998. The fragmentary nature of most of the extant material poses considerable difficulties of interpretation. But instead of quoting excerpts of those manuscripts in biased ways, it appears useful to make the decipherment and translation of complete manuscripts available as quickly as possible so that other scholars can make use of this material and propose their own contributions.

The five manuscripts published thereafter for the first time were acquired in the Kucha region, but their exact finding place is unknown. Most probably they were bought from local people, since they bear marks of Chinese seals.

Four belong to the Berezovsky collection (SI B Toch./9, 11, 12, 13) and one — to the Petrovsky collection (SI P/117). The manuscript SI B Toch./10, which belongs to the same series of five complete “business documents”, will be published later. According to their contents, those manuscripts can be arranged in two sections: (i) monastery records concerning deals in smaller livestock (SI B Toch./9, 11, 13); and (ii) administrative documents registering men, as posted at watch-towers (SI P/117) or as aged men (SI B Toch./12). Furthermore, SI B Toch./13 is in effect the leaf following SI B Toch./9.

These manuscripts share general features of secular documents of this type. First, they are written on large leaves of rough paper, not on *pothī* leaves as literary texts generally are. Second, the script is not the formal variety of the Central Asian Brāhmī script of the Northern Silk Road, but the non-formal variety, so-called “cursive”, which is written quickly, although the individual *aḥṣaras* are not connected. Third, the language they are written in is not the correct literary language of non-secular texts, but a lower form of Tocharian B, with many forms close to the spoken everyday language of that period. Some facts appear at first sight, and have been already recorded [5], for instance, genitive sg. *lānti* instead of *lānte* (“king”) and forms of the numerals with cluster reduction, such as *šwer* instead of *štwer* (“four”), *šuk* instead of *šukt* (“seven”), *ok* instead of *okt* (“eight”). In addition, the existence of dialectal features ought to be considered. Finally, the records use stereotyped administrative formulations. Even if those texts are supposed to have been transcribed without much care, the scribes tried to be accurate as to the concrete datas concerned; and the blank spaces help to mark out the general structure of the documents.

The precise dating of these manuscripts is impossible, but the comparison with dated documents, such as the caravan-passes, allows to assume that they were written in the seventh century A.D., or eighth century A.D. at the latest. The texts do not mention the Kuchean kings of the first half of the seventh century A.D., Suvarṇapuṣpa and his successor Suvarṇadeva, they can therefore be tentatively placed in the second half of that century.

The signs for transliteration used in the present article are the usual ones: – for a missing *aḱṣara*; + for a missing part of *aḱṣara*; /// for a destroyed portion of the document;

() for restored passages; [] for uncertain readings. The broad transcription of Tocharian is used in the notes and in the commentaries*.

I. Monastery Records on Livestock

1. **SI B Toch./9** (see fig. 1). Size: 28.7 × 36.8 cm. Tocharian B. Cursive script. Paper. The left border is slightly damaged at line 2.

TRANSLITERATION

1. *wi kṣuṃntsa kṣemārcune lānti mewyai¹ pikulne ṅuñce śwer_ᵛ
meñantse ne sāñk_ᵛ śānta keś_ᵛ*
2. *[t]essa² keśa post_ᵛam te yiknesa moko ṅwetakke ♦ ccākkare ♦
sañkatāse te yikne-*
3. *sa śānta parra³ spāwāṣar_ᵛ⁴ ♦ sañkatāse kwañpe śiñkrontse aṣicce
alaṃ wāsta pku-*
4. *we_ᵛ śaiyye plyeñksa wi cakamṃma piś tom_ᵛ yapta⁵*
5. *sañkatāse lestāñe camil_ᵛamntse aṣicce alaṃ wāsta pkuwe_ᵛ śaiyye
plyeñksa wi cakamṃma pi-*
6. *ś tom_ᵛ [ya]pta⁶ ♦ sañkatāse ♦ ccākkare ywārppai yparwe catilente
aiyye alaṃ*
7. *śaiyye wsar[e] ṣeme⁷ sañkatāse wāmṣṣintse aiyye alaṃ
pkuwe_ᵛ śai-*
8. *y_ᵛe wasa wi cakamṃma śātresa⁸ ṅwetakke aiyyāna śānta wāya
wi*
9. *⁹śkañce śa_ᵛk śwerne ypay¹⁰ moko ratkakullente
ccākka-*
10. *re ṅayuykṣentse¹¹ pakata aiyye alaṃ pkuwe_ᵛ śaiyye wasa ṣeme¹² [I]*
11. *cena_ᵛ śa_ᵛk śwerne kapyāri śrāyā_ᵛ klaiyna orocce kemesa asamntse
ṣaṅā_ᵛ ṣārwai śśa-*
12. *wār_ᵛ ♦¹³ parwe kṣuṃntsa kṣemārcune lānti piñke meṃne
ṅwetakke yikweñe tarme¹⁴ yparwe*
13. *kippāntse śaiyye wasa X¹⁵ alaṃ aṣicce ce śaiyye raktakule perisa
wāya*
14. *sañkatāse lyiwāntse aiyye alaṃ pkuwe_ᵛ śaiyye wasa |
wāsta pkusai |tomtsaisa¹⁶ |*

Textual remarks

¹ The reading is certain. This word — oblique sg. of *mew(i)yo* (“tiger”) — was misread as *maiyyai* by Sylvain Lévi [6].

² The first consonant of this word is partly destroyed, but this is the most probable reading. The word is the 3 sg. active preterite of the verb *tā-* (“to put”), in the well-known syntagma *keś tā-*, complemented with a direct object: “to take into account” [7].

³ The geminate in the *aḱṣara rra* is marked by a transversal arc of circle; this peculiar usage is known from other profane documents, for instance, from the caravan-passes [8].

⁴ New verbal form, 3 pl. active preterite causative of the verb *spāw-*, the meaning of which was given as uncertain by W. Krause [9]. This verb recurs in SI B Toch./11, line 2: *spawāre-ñ*, 3 pl. active preterite, but non-causative. The basic verb is intransitive, as shown by the latter occurrence, and also by the occurrence of the present, 3 sg. middle, *spowotrā*, in a broken context: H[oernle] 149.81 a 3: *tseñketār spowotrā* (“arises [and] subsides”), if it is taken as the antonym of the verb *tseñk-* (“to arise”); to the latter form one could previously add the privative *aspāwatte*, *aspawatte*, translated by W. Krause as “unversiegbar” (“inexhaustible”) [10]. In the St. Petersburg documents, the sentence containing *spāw-* gives a general heading to the subsequent operations, which involve selling and giving various animals of smaller livestock (*śānta*) to several individuals. Those animals belonged previously to the reserve of the Community (Skt. *saṅgha*, reflected by the loanword *sāñk*; cf. SI B Toch./9, line 1). The death of some animals is also recorded, with the verb *sruk-* (“to die”; cf. SI B Toch./11, lines 7 and 17). Therefore, it seems likely that the verb *spāw-* means “to subside, to diminish”, and its causative can be translated as “to withdraw, to draw away”, which is enforced here by the preverb *parra* (“away, off”).

* I had the privilege of discussing a preliminary study of the first three documents (section I) with Prof. Werner Winter who offered many useful criticisms and suggestions. Final responsibility for the contents remains, naturally, mine.

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Fig. 1

⁵ Sic! For *yap-sa*, perlative sg. of the word *yap* ("barley") with an epenthetical consonant (see line 6). This word is followed by a blank space till the right border, around 12 cm long.

⁶ The first *akšara* of the word has been unnecessarily corrected in *ypa*, probably by a different hand.

⁷ This word is followed by a blank space, about 6 cm long.

⁸ This word is followed by a blank space, about 3 cm long.

⁹ The text begins only at 12 cm from the left border. Here starts the record for the "tenth" (*škante*, oblique masc. sg. *škañce*) month.

¹⁰ The reading is certain. The expected form is *ypoy*, as first member of a compound, from **yāpōy*, of the noun *yāpoy* ("land, country"). The compound *ypoy⁴-moko* is attested as such on the *recto* of a wooden tablet (SI P/139d, line 4, dated on the basis of the king Suvarṇapūṣpa's mention to the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.), which had been partially transcribed by Lévi [11]. One finds also the nominative pl. *ypoy-mokonta* at the beginning of an official record about frauds (PK DA M. 507(37), 2). This *ypoy-moko* occurs again in SI B Toch./11, line 14, and in SI P/117, line 1, both transcribed below. But *ypay-moko* is not due to a mere miswriting, since it recurs in SI B Toch./13, line 2, on the following leaf of this document. It is possible that the form results from the influence of the plural *ypauna*, or of the corresponding form Toch. A *ype*, which triggered **ypai* as reversed equivalent of the monophthongized form in *-e*.

¹¹ The reading of this name remains partly uncertain, but, by comparison, *ṅa* and *kṣa* seem more likely than *ya* and *ṣṣa* as the first and third *akšara* respectively. The meaning of the following word, *pakata* (or *pakana* ?), is unknown, so that any translation of this passage is impossible.

¹² One may hesitate between the number "1", confirming simply *ṣeme*, and the dot as marking the end of a rubric. This mention is followed by a blank space, about 3.5 cm long, till the right border.

¹³ The dot is followed by a blank space, corresponding to the span of an *akšara*.

¹⁴ The separation of word remains unclear, but it would be gratuitous to take *yikveñetar-me* as a verb form. The word *tarme* belongs to the local onomastic stock (cf. *tarmatte*, etc.).

¹⁵ The *akšara ṣe* (beginning of *ṣeme* — "one" — oblique masc. sg.) has been erased.

¹⁶ In the first ligatura of this word, one may read *no* as well as *to*, as usual in the documents in cursive script. This is a new word, which designates probably a female animal, since it is preceded by oblique sg. feminine *wāsta-pkusai*. In several documents reflecting more faithfully the spoken Tocharian B language, one finds *om* (or *aum*) instead of *au* before nasal, e.g. *kom* for *kaum* ("day"), *katkomña* for *katkauña* ("joy"), etc. Therefore, the final part, *-omtsaisa*, can be interpreted as *-auntsai-sa*, perlative sg. of a well-known type of adjective, type *perne_u* ("brilliant") or *tallā_u* ("miserable"), feminine nominative *pernauntsa* and *tallauntsa*, oblique *pernauntsai* and *tallauntsai* [12]. A very tentative suggestion would be to connect the presupposed derivative **ite_u* with the adjective *ite* ("full, filled"), and the resultant meaning of the feminine would be "pregnant", i.e. "with filled womb".

TRANSLATION

(1) In the year two of the reign of the king Kṣemārjuna, in the year of the Tiger, on the fourth day of the ninth month, the Community (2) took into account the [mass of] small domestic animals. The results of the count are as follows: The elder Ņwetakke, CCākkare and Saṅghadāsa (3) have diminished as follows [the amount of] the small domestic animals. Saṅghadāsa sold to the Kwañpe Šiṅkro an caprine animal, male, twice combed (4) for 250 pounds of barley. (5) Saṅghadāsa sold to Camil Lestāñe (?) a caprine animal, male, twice combed for (6) 250 pounds of barley. Saṅghadāse [and] CCākkare ... first gave to Catile an ovine (7) animal, male, one. Saṅghadāsa gave to Wāmṣṣi an ovine animal, male, combed, (8) for 200 pounds of grain. Ņwetakke brought two ovine animals.

(9) On the fourteenth day of the tenth month, CCākkare gave to the country-elder Raktakule (10) ... an ovine animal, male, combed, one. (11) On the same fourteenth day, the workers, old men [and] women, have consumed their own wool, of one goat with large teeth. (12) In the year one of the reign of king Kṣemārjuna, in the fifth month, Ņwetakke ... first (13) gave an animal to Kippā, a male, caprine; Raktakule brought this animal [as compensation] for a debt. (14) Saṅghadāsa gave to Ljiwā an ovine animal, male, combed, for a pregnant [ewe](?), twice combed.

2. SI B Toch./13 (see fig. 2). Size: 28.3 × 15.2 cm. Tocharian B. Cursive script. Paper. The document covers the beginning of a leaf, with insignificant rips, except for the last line.

TRANSLITERATION

1. wārsañe¹ taryāka ne ccākkarentse [m]uryesa² wara³ ṣalāssi
klyinaṣṣim⁴ tu yparwe ypa-
2. y⁵ moko raktakulentse ccākkare ṣitaintse⁶ yoṣaiṣ, wāsta pkusai
ā_u wasa l
3. wi kṣumntsa kṣemārcune lānti rapaññe meṃne yapkontse yaitkorsa
ṣattālya⁷ sa-
4. ṅkatāse po[h]lālaraiṣentse⁸ aiyyāna śānta wasa śwāra t_unek_ṣ⁹
wi oro-
5. c[c]e [k]emesa awi 2 sana wāsta pk(u)sa l ṣe ā_ṣ yriye l

Capitulum SJ 13.702
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[Handwritten Tocharian B script on a fragment of paper, with two small rectangular stamps or markings.]

Fig. 2

Textual remarks

¹ The complete formula for dating would be *wārsañe memne*; *wārsañe* (correct form *wārsaññe*) is the name of the eleventh month, while *rapaññe* (cf. line 3) is the name of the twelfth month. It is obvious that this leaf offers the direct continuation of the document SI B Toch./9, which contains the records of smaller livestock for the ninth and tenth month of the same year, the second regnal year of the king Kṣemārjuna.

² Perlativ sg. of a new word, of uncertain meaning. It is unlikely to interpret it as an abstract meaning “order, will”, or the like, since we know the stereotyped expressions for that. One can suppose that the perlativ case concerns an object through which the water flows towards some field or pasture, hence “irrigation canal, ditch”. This word is most likely a borrowing from Sogdian *mwry* ‘y (“canal”) [13].

³ If one admits a careless writing of the final consonant, it would be more probable to find the word *war* (“water”). The next word is clearly the infinitive causative of the verb *sāl-* (“to throw, to release”) [14].

⁴ The reading is safe; it is less likely to read *klyinaššām*, which would be the 3 sg. active of the present of the verb *kli-* (“to be obliged to”) [15]. It is actually the expected form of the imperfect, *klyinašši*, followed by a suffixed pronoun referring to the 3rd person singular. The sentence seems to refer to the well-known practice of controlling and distributing the water among inhabitants of a village. It is perhaps as a compensation for this service that CCākkare made the donation of one animal (line 2).

⁵ Sic! About *ypay-moko*, for *ypoy-moko*, see above (remark No. 10) with concern to manuscript SI B Toch./9, line 9.

⁶ For the first *aḡsara* of this word, a reading *pi* is excluded. Therefore, one cannot find here the word *pito*, oblique sg. *pita* (“price”) [16]. The form *yošai-š* is allative sg. of a noun, the oblique sg. of which is attested in PK DA M. 507(21).12, in a broken context, as complement of the verb *yām-* (“to do”). It is probably an abstract, connected presumably with the verb *yok-* (“to drink”), hence “to absorb water”.

⁷ As usual, one can consider to read alternatively *śantālyā*. New word, of unknown meaning; in the first reading, it recalls superficially the noun *śaktālye* (“semen”) [17]. An assimilation **śaktā*° > *śattā*° is possible. Would this mention refer to sowing time, and to the distribution of seeds to farmers?

⁸ The second *aḡsara* contains a rare ligatura, which indicates a non-Indic name. The element *laraiyše* belongs to the onomastic local stock, using many derivatives of the adjective *lāre* (“dear”).

⁹ This form results from the addition of the emphatic particle *-k* to the demonstrative adverb *tune* (“in it, therein”), locative sg. of the anaphoric pronoun *tu*. It was already known from a document of the Otani collection.

TRANSLATION

(1) On the day thirty of the *wārsañe* [month], in the ditch (?) of CCākkare the water was to be released. Thereupon (2) CCākkare gave to the country-elder Raktakule for the irrigation (?) of the ground (?) one ewe, twice combed. (3) In the year two of the king Kṣemārjuna, in the *rapaññe* month, on order of the duke, [there was] sowing (?); Saṅghadāsa (4) gave to Pohlālaraiyše four ovine animals, namely two (5) ewes with large teeth, 2, one [ewe] twice combed, 1, one male lamb, 1.

3. SI B Toch./11 (see fig. 3). Size: 27.5 × 42.0 cm. Tocharian B. Cursive script. Paper. The left margin is extant, but the right border is lost lengthwise, with deckle-edged paper, so that some *aḡsaras* are missing at the end of several lines.

TRANSLITERATION

1. 14 *kṣuntsa*¹ *yśuhkwā*² *lānti śaiyye pikulne ṅuñce memne keša*
postam te [y]i(k)n(esa)///
2. *nta*³ *spawāreñ* *tulse*⁴ *keš*_ṅ///
3. *u*wāšši *orocē kemesa ā*_uw⁵ *wāya sanai ariweṃ wāya wi wāstā*[z] ⁶///
4. *ā*_ṣ *wāya sanai*⁷ *paiytiñe sutate perisa ā*_uw⁵ *wāya*///
5. *sa*⁸ *šle yari*⁹ *te*_p *kwāmtse pelykiṃ wāsta pkuweš*_ṅ
*alā*_u *plyeñ*[kuwa]¹⁰///
6. *aššice wāsta pkuweš*_ṅ *alam ikaṃ wi caḡam*¹¹ *keneksa* ♦
rapañ[ñ]e¹²///
7. *mesa ā*_uw *sruka sana*¹³ *cauši šwāra śānta wāya wāstār*_ṅ
pkuwe[š] *śa*(m)¹⁴///
8. *śānta šamsi śaṅke śka śem*_ṅ *śānta wāya wi šeme aiyye ššeme*
ašši[c]e wā¹⁵///
9. *weššam alawom*¹⁶ *śaḡkwāke śaṅke śānta wāya wi ašiceṃ wāsta*
*[pk](u)*¹⁷///
10. *šeme šawāre wāsta pkuweš*_ṅ¹⁸ *šaiḷe yapkoñe yaitkorsa śānta*
wāya///

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Fig. 3

11. k_{λ}^{19} *aiyyāna*²⁰ *tarya sanai ā_w oroce kemesa še ā_λ wāsta pku*²¹
12. *simā śānta wāya wi aṣiceṃ wāsta pkuweṣṣam*²² *kippā aṣice*
śai[yy](e)///
13. *me*²³ *pkuweṣ*²⁴ *cauṅkwi śānta wāya wi wāsta pkuweṣṣam*
*alawom*²⁵ *///*
14. *cinasene*²⁶ *śaiyye wāya ṣeme aṣṣice wāsta pkuweṣ*²⁷ *ypoy*
mo[k](o)///
15. *camndre*²⁸ *aṣice śaiyye wāya ṣṣeme pkuweṣ*²⁹ *ṣtempeṅk_ule tarya*
*(p)ku(s)[ai]*³⁰ *///*
16. *wāya sanai*³¹ *///*
17. *srukauwa śānta śa_k tarya ka ṅk[e] l[o]*³² *neṣam omorkaṅe*
*[sa]ntap_λ*³³ *yāmuwa ṣuk_λ ///*

Textual remarks

¹ Before the word for the regnal year (*kṣum*), one does not find the cardinal numeral, but the bare number signs, as in other documents which are carelessly written; see below SI P/117, line 1.

² The reading of the king's name is certain. This name does not show any conceivable connection with Sanskrit onomastics. Strange as it is, it is a genuine Kuchean name, even if borrowed from another language, possibly Chinese. As a matter of fact, it recurs very clearly in inscriptions from Kyzyl (cave No. 95), which I had the opportunity to decipher in May 1995.

³ Restore (*śā*)*nta*, maybe preceded by a word referring to the owner, the Community, possibly a form of *saṅkrāmāññe*, derivative of *saṅkrām* (Skt. *saṅghārāma*).

⁴ Sic! One expects *tuntse* of *tuntse* for the genitive sg. of the demonstrative pronoun. One can explain this form by careless writing (*anusvāra* missing) or by phonetic assimilation, as elsewhere [18]. The phrase *tu(n)tse keś* ends the introduction of the record: it is followed by a blank space, about 15 cm long.

⁵ The form is written in a peculiar way: there is a *virāma* stroke between *ā* and *u*, with *u* and *w* joined in a ligatura, seemingly in order to enforce the consonant character of the final sonorant. The pronunciation should be non-diphthongal, also /*āw*/. The same word is written as *ā_w* in line 11, but as *ā_u* in line 2 of SI B Toch./13.

⁶ After this word, the lacuna covers about four *aṣṣaras*. To be completed as *wāstār* (*pkuweṣṣam*), according to the information given in lines 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, and probably 9.

⁷ This word is followed by a blank space, around 3 cm long.

⁸ To be completed as (*oroce keme*)*sa*, according to the information given in line 11, and probably also in 7.

⁹ This word is followed by a blank space, around 4 cm long.

¹⁰ The preceding words form an incomplete sentence, since one expects the mention of the price after the verb *plānk-*, causative “to sell” [19]. The money or the produce (grain, fabric) obtained in exchange is expressed in the perlative case; the lacuna may have contained three of four *aṣṣaras*.

¹¹ This form is attested elsewhere, and is the plural of a term *cak*, which ought to be different from *cāk*, since the latter is a measure of volume for liquids and grains. This name is part of a threefold decimal system, borrowed from Chinese: *śāṅk* [X], pl. *śāṅkām* (around 1.0355 l.), 10X = *tau*, pl. *towā*, 100X = *cāk*, pl. *cakanma* [20]. The following word, *kenek*, designates a “cotton fabric”, and not a “shroud” as given in Krause and Thomas [21]; it is matched by Toch. A *kanak*, which is well attested in the third act of the Buddhist drama *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka* [22] and is translated in Old Uighur by *böz* (“cotton fabric”; “Baumwollstoff”). Accordingly, *cak* is a measure of length, and has its exact counterpart in Uighur *čiy*, which is used to measure pieces of *böz* [23]. Both words are parallel borrowings from Chinese *chi* (“foot” = one third of a metre), which had a final *-k* in Late Middle Chinese [24].

¹² There is place for several *aṣṣaras* at the end of the line; after the name of the twelfth month (*rapaññe*), it is not necessary to restore *memne* — “in the month”. The obvious link with the beginning of line 7 is given by (*oroce ke*)*mesa*.

¹³ This word is followed by a blank space, around 2.5 cm long.

¹⁴ In the lacuna the type of domestic animal (ovine/caprine) and the number were certainly expressed, all in four syllables approximately. The beginning of the next line starts a new sentence.

¹⁵ It is easy to connect this syllable with the beginning of the next line by restoring *wā(stār pku)weṣṣam*. Note that in the preceding enumeration, the scribe has written the second occurrence of “one” (*ṣeme*, oblique sg. masc.) with a geminate initial consonant. This usage has no clear motivation, but recurs in line 15.

¹⁶ This word is followed by a blank space, around 2 cm long.

¹⁷ To be completed as *wāsta pku(uweṣṣam)*, without any place for more syllables in the lacuna. Therefore, at the beginning of next line, *ṣeme śawāre wāsta pkuweṣ* (understood *aṣice*) make a complete sentence. The plural subject of the preterite active 3 pl. *śawāre* (“they ate”) is found in the previous sentence: the word *śākwāke* is probably a name, coordinated with *śāṅke* (possibly borrowed from a Skt. name, either Śāṅka or Śāṅkha) without any particle. The trouble resides in the verb *wāya*, 3 sg. active preterite of *āk-/wāy-* (“to bring”), instead of the 3 pl. *wayāre* [25]. It is possible that the scribe had been influenced by the repeated mention of the singular, *wāya*, in the preceding lines 3, 4 (twice), 7, 8.

¹⁸ This word is followed by a blank space, 2 cm long.

¹⁹ As the introduction of an enumeration, one can restore (*t_une*)*k*, after SI B Toch./13, line 4.

- ²⁰ The *akṣara na* is preceded by an erased sign.
- ²¹ Here ends the enumeration. This word is followed by a blank space till the end of the line. According to the usage of SI B Toch./13, lines 4—5, the enumeration should be entirely in the nominative case; the oblique sg. *sanai* looks wrong, instead of nominative sg. *sana*. But it is probable that such an error was triggered by the plural *aiyyāna tarya* (scil. *śānta*), which is ambiguous.
- ²² This word is followed by a blank space, 3 cm long.
- ²³ One can easily restore the compound (*ṣe*)*me pkuweṣ*, and at the end of the preceding line the lacuna allows place for some *akṣaras*, probably *wāya*, the expected verb of the sentence.
- ²⁴ This word is followed by a blank space, about 3 cm long.
- ²⁵ End of a rubrique, according to the blank space which follows this word at the end of the line.
- ²⁶ Cinasena = Skt. Jīnasena.
- ²⁷ This word is followed by a blank space, 3 cm long.
- ²⁸ This is clearly the end of the name of the *ypoy-moko* (“country-elder”), borrowed from a compound Sanskrit name, with *candra* as second member.
- ²⁹ This word is followed by a blank space, 3.5 cm long.
- ³⁰ The lacuna contained the noun of a female domestic animal, according to the forms *-pkusai* and *sanai*, both oblique sg. feminine, possibly *ās* (“goat”), since the preceding animal mentioned was also a caprine.
- ³¹ End of a rubrique, followed by a blank space till the end of the line, 20 cm long.
- ³² The reading remains quite uncertain.
- ³³ This sequence of *akṣaras* is problematic as to its form and meaning. It is probable that *omorkaṇe santap* constitutes a fixed expression, with an adjective singular as first term. The syntagma is constructed with the verb *yām-* (“to make”); it designates a produce obtained from the small domestic animals after death, possibly a fabric made from the skin.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the year 14 of the reign of the king Yśuhkwā, in the year of the Sheep, in the ninth month, the results of the count are as follows: ... (2) [the amount of] the smaller livestock has been diminished by me. Of that the [detailed] account [is]: (3) Uwāṣṣi brought one ewe with large teeth [and] he brought two rams, twice (combed), (4) [and] he brought one goat. Sutate of Paiyti brought a ewe [as compensation] for a debt, (with large teeth), (5) with a lamb. According to the will of Tep Kwām, I sold one wether, twice combed, (...) (6) a caprine, male, twice combed, for 22 feet [of] cotton fabric. (In the month) *rapāññe* (7), one ewe, with (large teeth) died. Cauṣi brought four small domestic animals, twice combed (...). (8) Śaṅke came here in order to count the small domestic animals. He brought two animals, one an ovine, one a caprine, [both] twice (9) (combed), castrated. Śākwāke [and] Śaṅke brought animals, two caprine, twice comb(ed) ... (10) one (...) they ate, twice combed. Śaile brought animals on the order of the duke (...) (namely) (11) three ovinines, one ewe with large teeth, one male (lamb), twice combed. (12) Simā brought animals, two caprines, twice combed. Kippā one caprine animal, ... (13) once combed. Cauṅkwi brought animals, two twice combed wethers. (14) Jīnasena brought an animal, one caprine, twice combed. The country-elder (15) *-candra* brought a caprine animal, once combed. Štempenkule brought (16) one (female), ..., thrice combed. (17) Small domestic animals that died are thirteen indeed left over (?). ... have been made ... seven.

Commentary

HISTORICAL AND AGRICULTURAL DATA

These three leaves have many common features. The first two belong to the same record. The texts are monastery accounts, which record incomings and withdrawals concerning smaller livestock. The animals, exchanged for various goods (grain, cotton fabric, etc.) or used as compensation for a debt or for some service, are precisely defined, since their value depends on their age, sex, and the amount of fine wool they have. It is not possible to study all the scope of information these extremely interesting documents provide. They confirm, as a whole, the view of the important economic role of the Kucheana monasteries.

The date of the first record refers to the king Kṣemārjuna. This name, borrowed from Sanskrit, recurs in other documents: an inscription G-Su 34 from Subashi near Kucha [26], several Berlin fragments (B 486, from Kyzyl, and other unpublished documents). The compound names with *arjuna* as second member seem to be characteristic of the royal family of Agni (Yanqi, alias Karashahr), as argued by Lüders [27] and Lévi [28]. Unfortunately, it is not possi-

ble for the moment to establish with certainty the relationship between these kings and the royal family of Kucha, whose chronology is better known [29]. We know that Suvarṇadeva ruled from 624 till 646 and his father Suvarṇapuṣpa was in charge already in 618.

Besides the king, other authorities also appear in these records. The term *ypoyypay-moko* (“country-elder”) is a determinative compound; it refers probably to a local ruler who had authority on the people of the territory (see below the commentary on the manuscript SI P/117). It was rather vaguely defined by Fr. Bernhard as the “name of an administrative position” (“eine Amtsbezeichnung”) [30]. Furthermore, the simple title *moko* (“elder”) is well attested in the caravan-passes [31] as well as in the monastery accounts: oblique sg. *mokom*, genitive sg. *mokontse*; the regular nominative pl. is *mokoñ* (according to the pattern of *klyomo*) [32], but one finds also *mokonta*. It is possible that the *ypoy-moko* was at a higher level in the hierarchy of officials. In several occurrences, one finds the plural, implying

that those men acted collectively, as a council or senate. The usage and meaning of *moko* recall those of the *kitsaitsa* in the Kroraina Prakrit documents [33]: his functions were of judicial nature, and he was member of a sort of council of elders. The noun *kitsaitsa* reflects a more archaic form than Toch. B *kitsaitse* ("old"), while Toch. B *moko* is matched by Toch. A *mok* ("old"). Therefore, the translation as "elder" seems to be appropriate.

The adjective *yapkoñe* (SI B Toch./11, line 10) and the genitive sg. *yapkonise* (SI B Toch./13, line 3) imply the existence of a title **yapko* (translated above as "duke") which is attested for the first time in Tocharian B. It recalls inevitably, while being adapted to the Tocharian phonology, the well-known Central Asiatic title *yabgu*, reflected by several forms in numerous languages: Old Turkic *yabyu* [34], Bactrian *zaoo* for the Kushān (Yuezhi) rulers, Prakrit (Kharoṣṭhī) *yavuga-*, *yaiia-*, Gk. ζαοου [35]. According to the Chinese sources, the chiefs of the five Yuezhi tribes bore this title. In a Tocharian A fragment kept in the Musée Guimet, *yāppāk* occurs as the title of a Uighur donor, being obviously a borrowing from Turkic *yabyu*. This occurrence does not give an independent evidence for a genuine Tocharian title. Our Tocharian B texts clearly show that in the Tocharian-speaking area a *yabgu* coexisted with a king (Toch. B *walo*, genitive sg. *lānte*). Presumably, there were several *yabgus* under the authority of the king, or the *yabgu* was a representative of the king in some matters of the royal administration, as his "grand duke" or "vizier". Be that as it may, the title *yabgu* enjoyed a great expansion in Central Asia, beyond the Kushān kingdom, and one should add now the Tocharian B piece of evidence.

The texts show several items of the terminology used by the stock-breeders of that time in the Tocharian-speaking area. It is not surprising that some aspects elude us. Since the taxonomy was self-evident for the speakers, they could use abbreviated expressions. In order to reconstruct at least a part of this lexicon, it is necessary to compare texts from various sources. Some items can be understood only by reference to a text from the Paris collection (PK LC I), which I published in 1997 [36], as well as from numerous wooden tablets found recently in Kyzyl, hitherto unpublished. However, I had the opportunity to study this material in May 1995.

I will not dwell on topics that I already discussed extensively [37]. The generic term for "smaller livestock" (Latin *minus pecus*) is Tocharian B *sānta* which shows a plural suffix with collective value; it is clearly not restricted to "sheep", as alleged in Krause and Thomas [38], but includes both ovines and caprines, excluding the rest of cattle, bovines and equines (Latin *maius pecus*). This term has a singulative, *śaiyye*, which refers basically to a "representative of the mass of small domestic animals", either ovine or caprine. This point is proven by the collocations *aiyye śaiyye* ("small domestic animal pertaining to sheep") and *ašicce śaiyye* ("small domestic animal pertaining to goats"). These secondary adjectives *aiyye* ("ovine") and *ašitstse*, or *ašīye* ("caprine") qualify also the collective term, hence *aiyyāna sānta* ("mass of smaller livestock consisting of sheep"), the detail of which is given afterwards; the parallel **ašiyāna sānta* is matched by Tocharian A *āšīñ(i) šoś* ("small domestic animals pertaining to goats") [39]. In our lists of animals, the ovines stand always before the caprines. Furthermore, *śaiyye* may designate, without being qualified, the unmarked member of the bipartite concept of *sānta*

(ovines plus caprines), also the "sheep". It is so used in the datation formula as the noun corresponding to Chinese *yang* (Skt. *paśu*), one of the Twelve Animals of the zodiac. The Chinese term refers primarily to the sheep, and secondly to the goat as well. It is interesting to note that in the Kroraina documents from the third century A.D. the term *paśu* is also ambivalent, covering both ovine and caprine [40]. I would suggest that it is the Prakrit wording for a concept similar to that of Toch. B *śaiyye* in the local language.

The animals are also classified in the texts according to sex, age, and other characteristics that were important for stock-breeders. Since I hope to discuss those rather intricate problems elsewhere, I stress here only the main facts which show a striking parallelism of the terminology for ovines and caprines. My solutions agree only partially with assumptions that have been published by Schmidt without much argumentation and with less documentation [41]:

1) The mature animals are distinguished according to sex: *ā_yw/āw* ("ewe"; oblique identical to nominative sg.), nominative pl. *awi*; *ās* ("goat"; oblique identical to nominative sg.), genitive sg. *asamtse*; the "ram" (uncastrated male ovine) is designated probably by *arive* (cf. Latin *ariēs*). The term *alā_y*, masculine, oblique pl. *alawom*, hence nominative pl. *alawoñ*, concerns both caprines and ovines. It designates most likely the castrated male animal, also the "wether" for the sheep. It follows in part the inflection of the type *klyomo* [42]; stem **alāwōn-*, with nominative sg. **-wō* > **-wu* > *-u*, as in Toch. B *ku* ("dog") < **kwōn*, and the outcomes of stems with suffixes **-wom-* and **-wos-* (see the past participle).

2) There are, like in other languages, specific terms for young, immature animals (less than one year old): *yriye* ("lamb"; oblique sg. *yari*, nominative pl. *yriñ* (written *yrim*)); **śro* ("kid"), nominative pl. *śroñ* (attested in one wooden tablet on display in the Hermitage Museum, Room No. 352). Those animals are further distinguished according to sex, as proven by the adjectives of appurtenance (here in the feminine) *alam-śrotaña* ("pertaining to male kid") vs. *klaim-śrotaña* ("pertaining to female kid"), and *klaī-yritañña* ("pertaining to female lamb"), and by the syntagmas *klaīyina śroñā* ("female kids"; in the same tablet of the Hermitage Museum), *āl yriye* ("male lamb"), nominative pl. *alyi yrim* (PK LC I). The adjective *āl*, oblique sg. *alam*, is used also to designate older male animals, both caprines and ovines. It follows the inflection of ancien *-i-* stems [43], exemplified by *sām* ("enemy") and *tsem* ("blue"). The seemingly likeness between *āl* and *alā_y* is a mere illusion. The occurrences in SI B Toch./11, lines 5—6, and 8—9 prove that *alā_y* ("castrated"; either ovine or caprine) and *ašicce ... alam* ("caprine male") vs. *aiyye alam* ("ovine male") refer in effect to different realities.

3) The distinction of age is implicit in the mention of castration and is further indicated by a syntagma common to both ovines and caprines, females (ewe, goat) and males (ram): *orocce* (or *orocce kemesa*). It means literally "with a large tooth", with the perlocative sg. of the noun *keme* ("tooth") being used. There is no need to render a homonymous noun **keme* as meaning something else, to justify an *ad hoc* meaning [44]. This mention refers to the growth of the permanent teeth, namely the central incisors, which are the well-known criterion to distinguish mature ruminant animals. The singular is not so disturbing, instead of the dual or plural, since the dental system is symmetrical, so

that the expert stock-breeder needs only to touch one single incisor to make sure of the erupting of the permanent teeth.

One key notion of the economic vocabulary concerning livestock is indeed *šārwai* present in SI B Toch. 9, line 11, and — more frequently — in the Kyzyl documents. The nominative sg. is *šarwiye*, oblique sg. *šārwai*, nominative pl. *šarwaiñ* (written *šarwaiñ*; henceforth the word will be quoted under the oblique sg. form). This noun (feminine) belongs to a well-known type of inflection [45]. It designates some produce obtained from sheep and goats, as shown by the adjectives *asamntañai* (“from she-goat”), *awamntañā* (“from ewe”), etc. Furthermore, it is qualified also by the adjectives applied regularly (see the texts above) to ovines and caprines: *šeme-pkusai*, *wāsta-pkusai*, *tāryā-pkusai*. About *šārwai* is said that it is given to various people, but mostly to women (*klayiyna*) or to monastery servants (*kapyāri*), as payment for some work, or as something to be worked on. It is also delivered to the monastery. Despite its appearance as direct object of the verb *šu-šwā-* (“to eat”), it is not something “edible” by people: the verb *šu-šwā-* can be used in the general sense of “to consume”, as shown by the numerous occurrences in the monastery accounts [46].

The regular references to the animals from which the produce is obtained show that its quality depends on some characteristics of those animals. The identification to “dung, droppings”, as Schmidt proposes [47], is far from any probability, since animal dung is used currently in Central Asia as fuel or as building material. Its source is of course not restricted to ovines and caprines, and one can wonder about such a great stock control of animal droppings under the care of monastery agents. A regular produce, which is common to sheep and goats and of great importance to stock-breeders, is in fact the fleece or the wool. This hypothesis allows, by the same token, to understand the adjectives *X-pku*, with *X* as a multiplicative number and *-pku* as the past participle of a verb *pāk-*: sg. masc. nominative *pku*, obl. *pkuweš*, fem. nom. *pkusa*, obl. *pkusai*, pl. masc. nom.

pkuweš, obl. *pkuweššām*, following a well-known inflection type [48]. The root in question can be neither *pāk-* (“to cook, to ripe”; the past participle *papeku*), nor *pāk-* (“to plan, to contemplate”) [49]. If those adjectives had indicated the age of livestock, as proposed by Schmidt [50], would they be restricted to one, two or three years? For stating the age of people, Tocharian uses possessive compounds with derivatives of the noun for “[cyclic] year” — *A p₂kāl*, *B pikul* as second member, *A wiki-puklyi*, *B ikām-pikwalaññe* (“with twenty years”). But the age of animals is rather established by external characteristics, as seen above (permanent teeth, castration, fertility, etc.). I propose to render *pku* as “combed”, from a technical verb *pāk-* (“to comb, to pluck out”; Indo-European root **pek-*) [51], which can qualify both the animals and the produce therefrom. Note, Tibetan uses similar expressions to distinguish different qualities of wool (*ba*): “the first coarse plucking of wool; the second, of the finer wool; the third, of the finest” [52].

Various domestic animals, special breeds of goats and hairy sheep, shed their hair during the moulting season. One may assume that the Tocharians did practice the plucking or combing of hairy animals as they moulted. This old method of removing underwool from moulting sheep, goats, yaks, camels is still used in northwest China, Tibet and Mongolia [53]. Therefore, *šārwai* designates the wool that sheep and goats shed during the moulting season: it is harvested by plucking or by combing. Actually, this word can be etymologically connected with the root (**skēH₂i-/*skH₂ei-*) of English *shed* (Old English *scēadan* — “to separate”), Skt. *chā-* (*chyaṭi*) [54], by assuming a proto-form **skiH₂(d)-ru-* > **skyaru-* > **ššāru-* (“what is shed”), which received later in Proto-Tocharian a very common secondary suffix, with collective value. This last proposal remains open to discussion, but through the semantic identification of *šārwai*, we gain a rather coherent and realistic view of the texts.

II. Registration of men

1. SI P/117 (see fig. 4). Size: 29.2 × 39.8 cm. Tocharian B. Paper. Cursive script. Judging by the size and the general arrangement, the leaf is complete. There are several holes in the paper, impeding the reading of some names. The ductus is fine and geometrical, and it is very likely that the scribe used a pen, instead of a brush, as in most profane documents.

TRANSLITERATION

1. 21¹ *kšuntsa*² *yāše lānti pa*[t]³ [pi]*kulne oktañce ikām šene ypo*
*moko wrau*⁴ *po ypo-*
2. *yntse*⁵ *ārtarsa šwāra pwārane šaumoše paušye*⁶ *lau putkār, cai*
mokšarāmše puwaršā,
3. *šāmna* | *kerentsile* | *kkercipile*⁷ | *ptāmparre*⁸ | *catile* | *mikkišone* |
ykāmñā, | *kwa-*
4. *ppale* | *šānkale* | *kercapiške* | *k[e]pautile* | *capišakke* | *kepautile* |
ciṭre
5. | *puttamitre* | *soṭarkāne* | *mitraiyšē* | *laraciwe* | *oktale* |
puñicamndre | (*šānkauptē*)⁹
6. | *kepautile* | *tarmasene* | [ku]*mpāntiške* | *kutsawa*[n] *putamitre* |
palāke | *cinase-*
7. *ne* | *mikkinayšē* | *nwetakke* |¹⁰

Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Tamil, arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The script is dense and cursive. There are two small square red stamps or seals, one located in the middle of the text and another near the bottom right. At the bottom right of the page, there is a small printed reference number: "MS. N. 59".

Fig. 4

8. *cai kwañye puwarne šāmma | caukile | puluške | malakke | wrau | cinatewe | ka-*
9. *ccināk_λ wrau | kolti | palamtte | ś[i]ñkiške | kercapiške | ortonāk_λ | šiñki-*
10. *ške | puñyisene | mašuta | apārše wrau | larutti | koppesale | laressa-*
11. *le | sañkatāse | cami_λ | — — ¹¹mpaiyse | pi[s]sure | perнау | puttaiyse | śi-*
12. *ñklo | nawarā — [|] ¹²capeś_λ | casene | ¹³*

Textual remarks

¹ As in SI B Toch./11, line 1 (see above), the bare number signs replace the cardinal numeral before the word for the reign year (*kšum*).

² Sic! There is a hole upon the *aḱšara kšu*, and it is not excluded that the expected *anusvāra* was lost.

³ This reading is the most likely. The term *pikul* (“year”) is usually preceded by one of the names of the Twelve-Animals cycle according to the Chinese popular calendar that had been adopted by the Tocharians since the first centuries A.D. [55]. Those animals are: Rat, Ox, Tiger, Hare, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Cock, Dog, Pig. The Berlin text B 549 provides a bilingual list — Sanskrit-Tocharian B (a 5—7) — studied extensively by Lüders [56]. The form *pat* does not appear in this list. But Tocharian B, *pat* (pl. *pañma*) is known as the noun meaning “stūpa” [57]. But what could “a year of the stūpa” mean? However, the formula of our document is confirmed by the mention *pat pikul* in an inscription from Kyzyl (cave No. 222), which I had the opportunity to consult on the spot after a previous publication [58].

⁴ The verb of the sentence is *putkār*, 3 pl. active preterite of the verb *putk-* (“to divide”) [59]; accordingly, the name Wrau refers to a second subject, which does not agree with the official title *ypoy-moko* designating an anonymous first person. The name Wrau recurs later in the document (see lines 8, 9 and 10), but this fact is of no special significance. Other people used to bear the same name: for instance, Kercapiške (lines 4 and 9), Kepautile (lines 4 (twice!) and 6).

⁵ The ligatura has been corrected by the scribe, who had previously written simply *ntse*, without *yod*.

⁶ The word *paušye* (pl. *paušyenta*) was already known from several business documents; the alleged meaning is given as “contribution, tax” (German “Abgabe, Steuer”) [60]. In its occurrence in the Berlin text B 33 a 6, *ypoye paušye* (“... of the country”), with *ypoye* as derived adjective, is mentioned among several duties of a householder, just after *lānte spaktām* (“the service of the king”). In our manuscript, we find also that the *paušye* is required and organised by the “elder” (*moko*), responsible for the country (*ypoy*, basis of the adjective *ypoye*). In this context the term is determined by the adjective *šaumō-še* (“consisting of men”); therefore, the translation by “tax” does not fit. The notion seems to refer to some duty to which individuals of the kingdom were bound; it is closer to the medieval practice of *corvée*. The men called for service realise collectively this duty.

⁷ The geminate of the first syllable is certain.

⁸ The *aḱšara rra* does not show here the transversal arc of circle as a supplementary marking of the geminate [61].

⁹ This name has been coarsely erased, without being replaced by another name.

¹⁰ This stroke is followed by a blank space, more than 17 cm long, till the right border of the leaf. This blank space marks the end of the first list.

¹¹ Two *aḱšaras*, without superior vowel marking, are lost in a hole.

¹² One catches sight of the vertical stroke, so that the next name is complete, and the preceding name is lacking a single *aḱšara*.

¹³ This stroke is followed by a blank space, more than 13 cm long, till the right border of the leaf. Again, this blank space marks the end of a rubric.

This document SIP/117 gives basically two lists of names, the first from line 3 through line 7 (27 names, one being suppressed), the second from line 8 through line 12

(27 names). The names are clearly separated by one single vertical stroke (*dañḍa*). It is sufficient here to give the translation of the introductory sentences.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the year 21 of the reign of the king Yāše, in the year of the Stūpa (?), in the eighth [month], on the twenty-one, the country-elder [and] Wrau, along the border (2) of the whole country, have posted separately to the four fires the men being in service. These [are] (3) the men for the Mokšarāma fire: ...

(8) These [are] the men at the Kwañye fire: ...

Commentary

A Kuchean king named Yāše was already known from inscriptions of Kyzyl Karha (cave No. 25), which are dated by the 22th year of his reign [62]. This name is borrowed from Skt. *yaśa*, or is abbreviated from a compound name having this lexeme as second or first member [63].

The key for understanding this document lies in the noun meaning “fire”, Tocharian B *puwar*, pl. *pwāra*. Besides the locative pl. *pwāra-ne* (line 2), one finds the allative sg. *puwar-s* (end of line 2) and the locative sg. *puwar-ne* (line 8), both preceded by different adjectives. Those “fires” have no religious significance and do not give any evidence for a cult of fire. They designate signal-fires that were used in order to send messages from one garrison to the other. This primitive telegraphic system is well-known from the Chinese sources accounts of the surveillance of the frontiers against foreign invaders, but the practice is not exclusively Chinese and goes back to very ancient times [64]. Its existence in East Turkestan is documented by the numerous ruins of watch-towers that have been found [65]. In this region, the military and administrative organisation was admittedly influenced by the Chinese empire. The system used signals of smoke during the day and signals of fire during the night. The Chinese term *fēng* [66], meaning precisely “alarm-fire” and referring to a “watch-tower”, designates originally the stacks of wood lit to produce heavy smoke for signal purposes in day time.

One may assume in Tocharian the same metonymy in the usage of *puwar* (“fire”), specialised in meaning “signal-fire”, and extended to designate a “watch-tower” on the top

of which the stake was lit in case of danger. The “four fires” (line 2) refer to four places along the frontier of the kingdom. This manuscript records the names of the men that have been enrolled to take care of the surveillance at the frontier; the service included certainly the gathering of wood for the fires, and implied taking turns for watching night and day over the border. The text gives the names of the men posted at two fires, which are identified by the locality nearby. The lists of the men posted at the two other fires were written on a following leaf. It is certainly not by chance that the number of men conscripted for each fire is the same, to wit 27. Different men can share the same name (Kercapiške, Kepautile, Wrau, etc.). The grand total of men for the four fires altogether would amount to 108, an auspicious number. Besides the peculiar usage of *puwar* (“fire”), we get the meaning of the new noun *ārtar* (line 2), in the relative case, which apparently can be rendered as “frontier, border, limit”; it can be etymologically related to Latin *ōra*, Hittite *arha-* (“edge, rim, limit, boundary, confine(s)”), etc.

We gain also more information about the functions of the *ypoy-moko* (“country-elder”), already discussed above. He did not have any religious functions and was responsible for all matters related to the peace and security of the territory, and one may assume that those “elders” had power of police and justice. Their functions implied the control of people that were bound to some service or corvée, like guarding the frontiers, and they were entrusted with punishing people who do not perform their duties.

2. SI B Toch./12 (see fig. 5). Size: 29.0 × 19.6 cm. Tocharian B. Cursive script. Paper. The document is not complete: only the upper part of the leaf is left. There are several rips, particularly in the right border, and the last line is almost entirely mutilated. The writing is peculiar, and unique in the series SI B Toch./9—13: the geometrical ductus is fine and it seems that the scribe used a pen instead of a brush. This scribe has also observed the difference between the *akšaras ta* and *na*. The overall style is actually very close to that of SI P/117 (see above), and it is not excluded that both manuscripts had been written by the same hand.

TRANSLITERATION

1. *cai ñwai riši śrāyā, kalañku ♦ ketsutaišye ♦ kercapiške ♦ tsakune ♦ satyawārme ♦ citre-*
2. *rapaške ♦ cinaupte ♦ citrasene ♦ šiñkiške ♦ puttašile ♦ erkañciške ♦ mākkokke ♦ raktatāse (♦)*
3. *mikicandre ♦ caukilaiše ♦ erkañciške ♦ calaiške ♦ tarmatte ♦ ettukāne ♦ korakke ♦ catile ♦*
4. *kercapiške ♦ piñaute ♦ pañw[ai]ššārše¹ korakke ♦ motisāre ♦ šaiyle ♦²*
5. *cai ostuwāši śrāyā, ♦ yatiške ♦ yataiše ♦ turkāne ♦ kumpānte³ ♦ stukile ♦ sañkopte!!!*
6. *ndre⁴ ♦ mikiššone ♦ supriye ♦ tarmatte ♦ mikinare ♦ perñita ♦ aṃttule ♦ swamitre [♦] + i⁵!!!*
7. *kāñyake ♦ kalañko ♦ catewe ♦ casene ♦ pāllentakke ♦ sumitre ♦ kepautiške ♦ raktat[e]we ♦*
8. *+ au — — [l]e — + e + e + e [k]i + i [l]e [♦] + i + i [š]e⁶ p[u]ñā + e + e⁷ + e [m]e [c]a!!!*

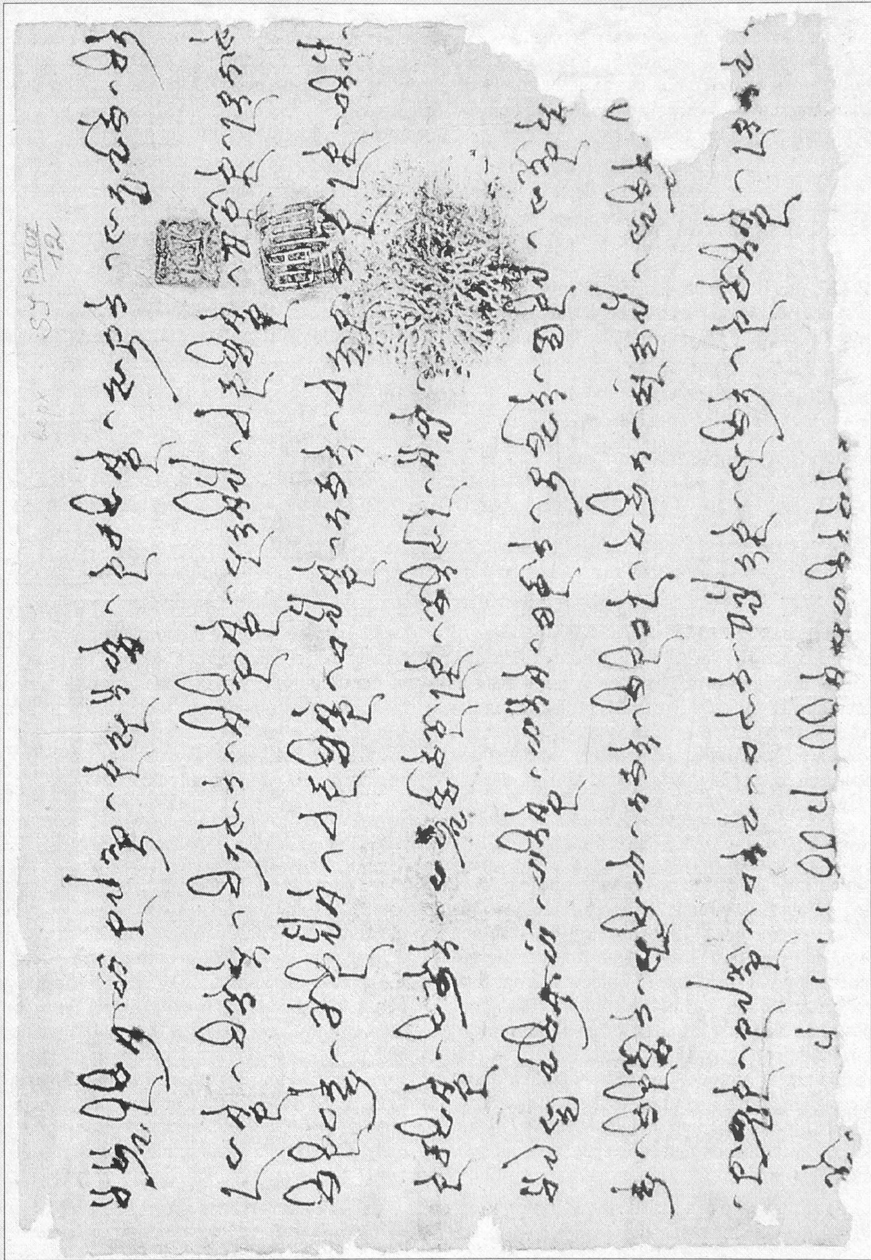


Fig. 5

NOTERA

Textual remarks

¹ The reading of the vowel of the second syllable remains uncertain; one can consider alternatively to read it with vowel *-e*, showing a very large line.

² The dot is followed by a blank space, about 8 cm long, till the right border of the leaf. This blank space marks the end of the first list.

³ One may hesitate between this reading and Kumpätte.

⁴ End of a compound name with probably *-(ca)ndre* as second part, hence borrowed from a Sanskrit name ending in *candra*, as Guṇacandra, Jñānacandra, etc. [67]. The lacuna at the end of the preceding line allows place for the dot and three syllables. The form Sañkopte is a complete name as such, probably borrowed from Skt. Saṅhagupta.

⁵ One catches sight only of the vocalisation of the *akṣara*; judging from the space till the border of the leaf, this is the first syllable of a trisyllabic name.

⁶ A reading [*śk*]e can also be considered. Both syllables would fit for the end of a name. The following dot is lost.

⁷ One can restore *puña(s)e(n)e* as well as *puña(t)e(w)e*, the two names being borrowed from Sanskrit Puṇyasena and Puṇyadeva respectively. The first is already attested [68].

Like **SI P/117**, this document consists mainly of lists of names. The first list runs from line 1 through line 8, the second from line 9 till the end, which is lost. The names are

separated by a little arc of circle, analogous to the sign which is used as dot in literary manuscripts. Here follows the translation of the short introductory sentences:

TRANSLATION

(1) These [are] the aged men of the New City: ...

.....

(9) These [are] the aged men of the houses: ...

Commentary

The first list contains 27 names, and the second, which is incomplete, more than 28. The last line shows no trace of an introductory sentence similar to the preceding ones. The "aged men" (*śrāy*, nominative pl.) have been listed according to their location. If "houses" (*ostuwa*, pl. of *ost*) is not the given name of some place in the country, the derived adjective *ostuwā-ṣi* (nominative pl.) means perhaps that these old people had to stay in their isolated houses, outside

the built-up area. Why those "aged men" are listed in this way? One may assume that they were discharged from some duties: for instance, they could not be put on the active list of the military service. Or the old men, like the women, attested in other documents, were bound to other specific duties of peacetime, for example, handicraft or the like. This manuscript testifies again to a relatively strict control of the society by the administrative power.

* * *

An additional interest of the documents studied above lies in the high number of names that occur therein. In the present context, it is not possible to develop the resulting contribution to Tocharian onomastics. One can identify immediately numerous compound names borrowed from Sanskrit, which are expected in a Buddhist culture. One finds also names based on Sanskrit lexemes, probably abstracted members from compounds, with Tocharian suffixes. Finally, there are names without any Indic tonality: those names are either indigenous, genuine Tocharian names, or borrowings from Chinese, Sogdian, Khotanese, and Uighur. Such a medley of multifarious names is typical of all profane documents.

The study of Tocharian onomastics is still in the stage of infancy, and the first task is to collect systematically this material [69]. The documents under discussion offer such a great number of new concrete facts that it is difficult to interpret them wholly. They deserve further study by comparing other Tocharian texts, which must be published in their entirety, and by using the evidence of other languages and cultures of the same epoch in Central Asia. Judging from the data that have been already discussed, one can say that the St. Petersburg Kuchean documents are indeed of utmost importance for our knowledge of the history and society of the Tarim basin in pre-Islamic time.

Notes

1. See my general survey of the Tocharian literature in G.-J. Pinault, "Introduction au tocharien", *Lalies*, 7 (Actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature, d'Aussois, 27 août—1^{er} septembre 1985) (Paris, 1989), pp. 12—9.

2. E. Sieg, "Geschäftliche Aufzeichnungen in Tocharisch B aus der Berliner Sammlung", *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, II/2 (Berlin, 1950), pp. 208—23.

3. References are given in G.-J. Pinault, "Aspects du bouddhisme pratiqué au nord du désert du Taklamakan, d'après les documents tochariens", in *Bouddhisme et cultures locales. Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations* (Actes du colloque franco-japonais de septembre 1991) (Paris, 1994), pp. 86—90.

4. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, "The ancient manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan in the St. Petersburg Collection: some results of recent research", *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 7 (1997), pp. 205—12.
5. See references in Pinault, "Aspects du bouddhisme", p. 89.
6. S. Lévi, *Fragments de textes koutchéens (Udānavarga, Udānastotra, Udānālakāra et Karmavibhaṅga) publiés et traduits* (Paris, 1933), p. 23. — Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, II.
7. Cf. G.-J. Pinault, "Terminologie du petit bétail en tokharien", *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia*, vol. 2 (Kraków, 1997), p. 181, with references.
8. Cf. G.-J. Pinault, "Epigraphie koutchéenne", in *Sites divers de la région de Koutcha* (Paris, 1987), p. 84. — Mission Paul Pelliot. Documents archéologiques, VIII.
9. W. Krause, *Westtocharische Grammatik*. Bd. I: *Das Verbum* (Heidelberg, 1952), p. 303.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 43; for the discussion of the forms as known till now, see J. Hilmarsson, *The Nasal Prefixes in Tocharian. A Study in Word Formation* (Reykjavík, 1991), p. 36. — *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies. Suppl. Series*, Vol. 3.
11. S. Lévi, "Le "tokharien B", langue de Koutcha", *Journal Asiatique*, II (XI^e série) (1913), p. 320, n. 1.
12. Cf. W. Krause and W. Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*; Vol. I: *Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1960), § 242, p. 155.
13. Cf. B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary (Sogdian-Persian-English)* (Tehran, 1995), No. 5552, p. 222.
14. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
16. W. Krause and W. Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*; Vol. II: *Texte und Glossar* (Heidelberg, 1964), p. 211.
17. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 244.
18. Pinault, "Terminology", p. 177.
19. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
20. Cf. Sieg, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Pinault, "Aspects du bouddhisme", p. 93.
21. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 186 ("Leichentuch").
22. Cf. Ji Xianlin, W. Winter and G.-J. Pinault, *Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka of the Xinjiang Museum, China* (Berlin—New York, 1998), pp. 220 and 284. — *Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs*, 113.
23. Cf. S.-Ch. Raschmann, *Baumwolle im türkischen Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 44. — *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altica*, Bd. 44.
24. See E. G. Pulleyblank, *A Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver, 1991), p. 56: Karlgren, 794a.
25. Cf. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
26. Cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", pp. 132 and 152.
27. H. Lüders, "Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan", *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (1930), pp. 24—8.
28. Lévi, *Fragments*, p. 22.
29. Cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", p. 85.
30. Fr. Bernhard, *Die Nominalkomposition im Tocharischen*, Diss. (Göttingen, 1958), p. 168.
31. Pinault, "Epigraphie", pp. 77, 193.
32. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. I, § 238, p. 153.
33. Cf. Th. Burrow, *The language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 82.
34. See G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 873; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Bd. IV (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 124—36. — *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission*, Bd. XXI.
35. Gholam Djelani Davary, *Baktrisch*. Ein Wörterbuch auf Grund der Inschriften, Handschriften, Münzen und Siegelsteine (Heidelberg, 1982), p. 297.
36. Pinault, "Terminology", pp. 176—84.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 185—204.
38. See Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 246.
39. See now Ji Xianlin, Winter and Pinault, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and 38.
40. See Th. Burrow, *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1940), p. 27 (No. 151), p. 102 (No. 519), p. 131 (No. 633). — James G. Forlong Fund, XX.
41. Kl. T. Schmidt, "Liebe und Sexualität im Spiegel der tocharischen Sprachzeugnisse", in *Eros, Liebe und Zuneigung in der Indogermania* (Akten des Symposium zur indogermanischen Kultur- und Altertumskunde, 29.—30. September 1994), hrsg. von Michaela Ofitsch (Graz, 1997), pp. 244—6.
42. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. I, § 238, p. 153.
43. Cf. *ibid.*, § 184, p. 131 for the substantives, § 234.1, p. 151 for the adjectives.
44. Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 245, where a second **keme* ("womb") is suggested.
45. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. I, § 187, p. 133.
46. Cf. Pinault, "Aspects du bouddhisme", p. 108, about the past participle *šešu* in PK DA M. 507 (8), in the formula *saṅkantse šešu* ("consumed by the monastery").
47. See Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 245, and 259.
48. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. I, § 245.2, p. 157.
49. Cf. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
50. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
51. J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern—München, 1959), p. 797.

52. H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London, 1881), p. 367.
53. Cf. M. L. Ryder, "The evolution of the fleece", *Scientific American*, 256/1, January (1987), p. 105.
54. See Pokorny, *op. cit.*, pp. 919—22.
55. Cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", p. 81, also *idem*, "Aspects du bouddhisme", p. 94.
56. H. Lüders, "Zur Geschichte des Ostasiatischen Tierkreises", *Philologica Indica* (Göttingen, 1940), pp. 741—8.
57. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 206.
58. Pinault, "Epigraphie", pp. 127 and 177.
59. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
60. Cf. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 214; see also E. Sieg and W. Siegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B. Heft 1: Die Udānālañkāra-Fragmente* (Göttingen, 1949), Glossar, p. 144.
61. For this variation in writing, cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", p. 84.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
63. For examples, see *ibid.*, p. 188.
64. Cf. E. Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental* (Oxford, 1913), pp. XI—XIII.
65. For the description, see A. Stein, *Serindia* (Oxford), pp. 749—54.
66. Pulleyblank, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Karlgren, 197r.
67. Cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", p. 188.
68. *Ibid.*
69. For the names attested in caravan-passes and inscriptions, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 187—9.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** SI B Toch./9. Monastery record in Tocharian B in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 28.7 × 36.8 cm.
- Fig. 2.** SI B Toch./13. Monastery record in Tocharian B of the same collection, 28.3 × 15.2 cm.
- Fig. 3.** SI B Toch./11. Monastery record in Tocharian B of the same collection, 27.5 × 42.0 cm.
- Fig. 4.** SI P/117. Administrative report in Tocharian B of the same collection, 29.2 × 39.8 cm.
- Fig. 5.** SI B Toch. 12. Administrative report in Tocharian B of the same collection, 29.0 × 19.6 cm.

*M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya,
E. N. Tyomkin*

FRAGMENTS OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS ON BIRCH-BARK FROM KUCHA

Among the Central Asian materials in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which were discovered and acquired in East Turkestan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Sanskrit manuscript fragments on birch-bark are of special interest. In all likelihood, they were copied in India in the first centuries A.D. and found their way to East Turkestan during the first stage of Buddhism's expansion in the region. A comparison of these fragments with the fragments on birch-bark and palm leaf from the Turfan collection in Germany shows that they are similar both in palaeography and content. Palaeography data allow us to date the fragments of both collections to the Kushan and post-Kushan period. On the basis of contents, the fragments could be divided into several groups, among which the most frequently encountered are excerpts from the Buddhist philosophical canon — the *Abhidharma-piṭaka*, medical texts, *sūtras* from the *Sūtra-piṭaka*, *jātakas* and *avadānas* — extracts from the *Sūtra-piṭaka* and *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

In sum, the St. Petersburg collection contains around 100 fragments of manuscripts on birch-bark which seem to belong to no more than 10—12 manuscripts. The majority of the fragments were acquired by N. F. Petrovsky, the Russian consul in Kashghar. Several fragments from Kucha were brought by M. M. Berezovsky. We know that N. F. Petrovsky usually bought manuscripts from the local population, and the original place of their discovery remain obscure. His shipments frequently consisted of small fragments of birch-bark intermingled with fragments of palm leaf; the first inventory of the collection marked them as manuscripts on palm leaf. For example, call number SI P/43 is common to 10 fragments of various manuscripts of which three are copied on birch-bark and the remainder on palm leaf. Of these three fragments, one, with text on both sides, belongs to a manuscript of medical content; the two others, insignificant in size and with text only on one side, remain

unidentified. The five fragments under call number SI P/31 were published by S. F. Oldenburg [1]. They are copied on a thick bast layer of birch-bark. A part of scroll SI P/32a — from the same layer of birch-bark, dimensions 7.3×57.0 cm — was also published by Oldenburg [2]. This manuscript contains the *Mahāsahasrapramardini*, which constitutes one of the texts of the *Pañcarakṣā*.

The current publication includes four fragments held under call number SI P/16. In contrast to his usual practice, in this particular case N. F. Petrovsky indicated that these fragments originated from Kucha. In all, 32 fragments are held under this call number. It appears that they belong to three separate manuscripts. The folios of these manuscripts were originally pasted together from two or three thin layers of birch-bark. At present, the bulk of these fragments have come apart. Fortunately, we have succeeded in putting together four larger fragments from the smaller pieces.

Fragment No. 1 was originally two-layered; we were able to unite six separate pieces and to restore fully one layer. The second layer, the reverse side of the folio, contains a number of crumbled places and lacunae. The extant layers were so brittle and fragile that it was only with great difficulty that we managed to join them. Then the fragment was preserved between two plates of glass [3]. Fragment No. 2 consists of two parts and only one layer of birch-bark. It seems that the third fragment belonged originally to a three-layered folio: two layers have survived, but there is no text on the reverse side. The fragment is put together from two pieces with a minor lacuna between them. A small scrap from this fragment has also survived. Finally, the fourth fragment consists of a single layer of birch-bark put together from two pieces. As a result, we were able to join ten of the largest fragments. The remaining 22 tiny fragments apparently belong to three manuscripts — two are two-layered and one is three-layered. Unfortunately, we have not succeeded in putting them together.

FRAGMENT NO. 1

The dimensions of this two-layered fragment are 16.5×7.0 cm. It represents the left half of the folio with an aperture for stitching located 10 cm from the left edge. Text is found on both sides, eight lines each. This is in all likelihood the original number of lines. The *recto* and *verso* sides

(see *figs. 1 and 2*) were determined approximately; a part of the birch-bark layer on the reverse side is missing. The writing is Indian Brāhmī, type II, early Gupta.

It seems that the text contains a summary of excerpts from Śrāvakayāna's *Vinaya-piṭaka*. This is supported by the

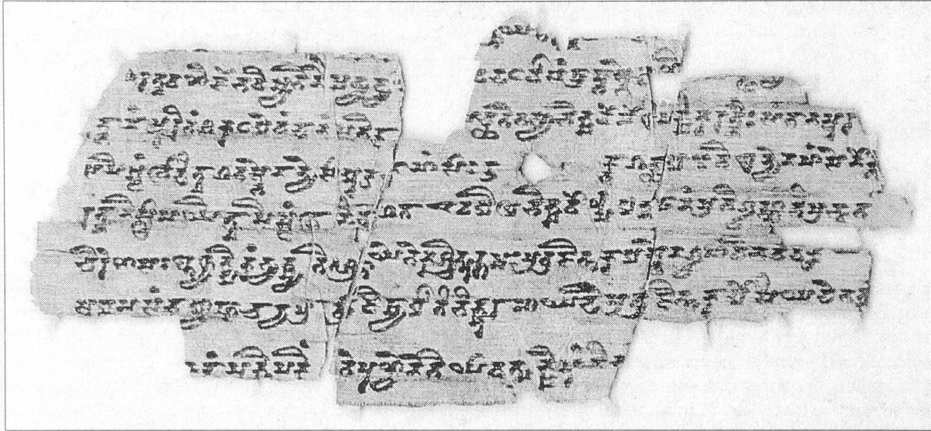


Fig. 1

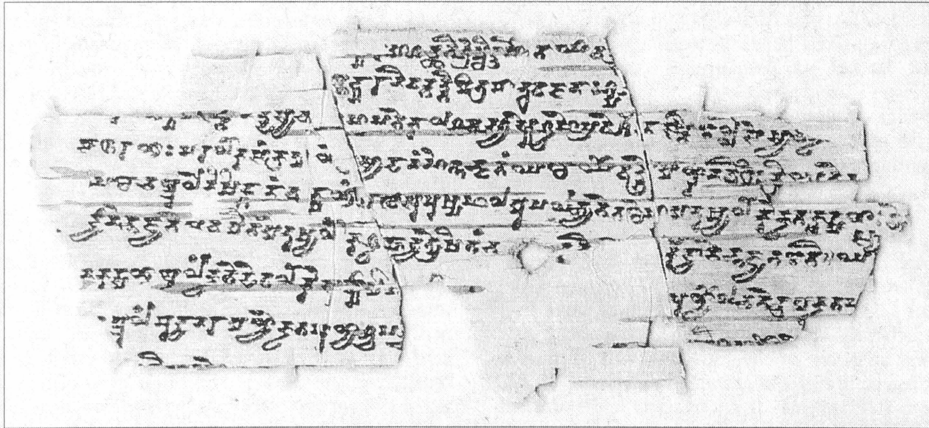


Fig. 2

content of the fragment, to the extent that we were able to ascertain it despite significant lacunae in the text. The text contains several appeals from the Buddha to monks — *bhikṣavo* (*recto*, 3, 5, 8). Setting forth on the path of the Teaching, in accordance with the Śrāvakayāna, is mentioned: *recto* (6) — *kaścit-puruṣaḥ pravrajitu kāmas*, the same — *recto* (7). Finally, beginning with the word *śrūyate* (“they say”, “it has been heard”), we find individual parables evidently uttered by the Buddha for the monks on the necessity of offering gifts for monks and the community, justifying this practice as a basic merit which aids a better reincarnation: see *recto* (3) — *śakaṭam-evam dānaṃ ... yacchati*; *verso* (4) — *dānaṃ hetu ... bhūtaṃ*, etc.

One can distinguish three parables on the *recto* side: lines 1—3 — parable of the merchant who traded in jewelry — *ratna-vaṇija*. The city Aṭavī is mentioned. Lines 4—6 contain a parable about *hamsaḥ* or *hamsāḥ*. Lines 6—8 hold a parable about a man who wished to gain *pravrajya* — “initiation into *upāsaka*”.

Two parables were probably on the *verso* side: one (see line 1) is about the daughter of the head of the merchants — *śreṣṭhi-duhitā*. The second evidently begins in the fifth line and continues until the end of the fragment. It tells of someone who offered gifts in the form of flowers and fruits and in his rebirth left the “world of people” — *manuṣya-loka* (lines 5 and 6) and was born into the “beautiful world of the gods” — *alamṛte devaloke* (line 7).

TRANSLITERATION

Recto

1.] ... [śr]ūyat[ī] [
2. X *ratna-vaṇijo bhaviṣyati naiṣadyajya* X X X X *dad-aṭavī samprāptas-te vaṇi[ja]* [
3. [sa]ntānaṃ pūritaṃ śakaṭam-evam dānaṃ patirca X [ya]cchati tasya bhikṣavo bodhipakṣika-ratnaiḥ samtāna-pūri[
4. *sa piṣṭam khāditvā gatas-tenānye samudraka-hamsā ukta gacch[ā]ma-iti anyena hamseno* X t [
5. *ratnaṃ nisthāpayitvā piṣṭam khāditvā gatā evamithā¹ bhikṣavo 'lpam -annaṃ dānaṃ pratigrhṇati prabhūta* [
6. [a]cireṇa saḥ adhyātmikam vyakṣati || śrūyete² kaścit-puruṣaḥ pravrajitu kāmas -tena gr̥ha-vibhava-v[ā]stu X [
7. *s-tam-upasamkrāmyā-āha-ācārya pravrajisyāmi-iti bhikṣur-āha yadi pravrajitu kāmo siyad-etad* X [
8. X X X X X *daṃ p[r]atipak[ṣ]i[ka] te puṇyeneti yavat-p[r]akṣiptaṃ bhikṣ[avo]*

Verso

1. X X mā gacchati śreṣṭhi-duhitā yāva [
2. *sta dvvārā nivartanti mātra bāndhavajanāḥ śma[*
3. X X X X X X *t-nandasya cā ... ha pate kāla-gatasya svve gr̥he praveṣo nāsti illise syād* X [g]r̥ [
4. *sa dhāraṇāḥ paraloka-samkramaṇe* X *sya dānaṃ hetu bhūtaṃ yathā vaktre maṇḍana-vidhiḥ kriya* [e] n X [
5. *yathā cā mūle niṣiktānāṃ vakṣaṇāṃ [su]kha supuṣpa-phalam-upalabhyate tatheha manuṣya-loke kṛta-karmaṇasyaḥ de* [
6. [ko]dyāne bhujyata evam-eta manuṣya-loka gr̥hādyat-preṣitaṃ bha[]ti X X kodyāne bhujyata iti || ya [
7. X *karmaṇa alamṛte devaloke sa svvā ma[]i ... puṇyo labhane 'rthamakṛta* X [
8. X *mūlaṃ-udyāna-ramaṇye kṛta puṇyaśca pa* X [

¹ Instead of *evam-yathā* ?

² Instead of *śrūyate* ?

FRAGMENT NO. 2

Dimensions: 11.0 × 6.0 cm. It is an ordinary layer of birch-bark, broken off on the right and left (see *fig. 3*); it is quite possible that the upper and lower edges are missing. Seven incomplete lines of text have survived on one side. In accordance with the classification proposed by Lore Sander, the writing can be classed as Indian Brāhmī, type II, early Gupta.

The text provides explanation of the term *śūnyatā-samādhi* (in the manuscript — *śūnyatā-samādhi*). According to the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* (Nos. 1541—1544), this term is part of the matrix *śūnyatāsamādhi*, *apraṇihitāsamādhi*, *ānimitāsamādhi*. An analogous text is kept in the Turfan collection in Germany [4].

TRANSLITERATION

1.] *Xm-avakrāmati darṣana-māрге paṃcadaśasu citta-kṣaṇeṣu srota āpa[nna]* [
2.] *vat-parityaktā. yoūtayā śūnyata[yā] samanvāgataḥ pratyutpannēpi* [
3.] *[a]vasthāsya śūnyatām samādhiṃ niṣṛtya niyāmam-avakrāmati.*
samudayābhip[
4.] *nyātotpādita nirodhitā kṛtā praṇidhitam ca saṃmukhi bhūtam yovā*
pra[tyutpa] [
5.] *X nirodhitā vā parityaktā na samanvāgataḥ kāsyavasthāsya praṇihitā*[ta
6.] *pati phalaṃ prāpya pūrvavadyāvad-akopyatām prati*[
7.] *X [śu]nyatayā samanvāgato 'tīta*[

FRAGMENT NO. 3

The dimensions of this three-layered fragment of two joined pieces with a small lacuna between them: 16.5 × 7.0 cm (see *fig. 4*). The fragment represents the left part of the folio and contains 10 lines of text on one side. The writing is Indian Brāhmī, type II, early Gupta. A scrap from the fragment (3.0 × 2.0 cm) has also survived, although it could not be joined to the others.

The fragment contains a text analogous to that of fragment No. 1. Line 1 evidently contains the end of a parable designated by the number 10. Further, a new parable begins; its name has not been preserved. A certain “daughter” is mentioned (line 5) who *pravṛddha-*

snehāśruṣoṣa — “dried the tears with great tenderness”, most likely of her elderly parents. Apparently, she also offered gifts (*dhanam-ādāyā*, line 4) for the sake of rebirth in a different world (*lokāntara saṃkramaṇe* ‘*rthasya pradāna-mṛtenānyonyu*, line 5).

This parable ends on line 10 and a new one begins. Its title is *Māndhātā*, which is the name of the ruler-*cakravartin* (*cakravartin-rājā*) from former times, who was considered one of the early incarnations of the Buddha Shakyamuni. His name is repeatedly mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* and *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*. In the *Divyāvadāna*, *avdana* No. 17 indicated with his name.

TRANSLITERATION

1.] : 10 : *mam* [
2. *X X X X X vyāvanāgatass¹ samayas-tāva ... suhrdbhir-vṛtaḥ*
āpṛcchanti va bāndha[vajanāḥ] [
3. *dy[th]nu [ly X X ndena kīla rājñā cintitama ... denonmukha*
mukhaṃ nārī-janaṃ prasthi [
4. *pi veṣe sthāpita vānyadi² kaścid-dhanam-ādāyā ... pya mā[yā]yuṣo*
dīpasyeva nāṣa-[vijana]-sama[ye] dv[
5. *duhitar³ pravṛddha-sneh[ā]śruṣoṣa X X X [i ... lokāntara saṃkramaṇe*
'rthasya pradāna-mṛtenānyonyuhā [
6. *mukhe prakṣiptaṃ tadidānīm ma X ... [r[i X X X X X X X X X*
prāyamav[i]cca [
7. *nidhir-labdho na hi nirdhana* [
8. *pto na tu nidhir-labdha ityathā* [
9. *bhaviṣyati dhānaṃ paratra ne* [
10.] *e X m = māndhātā X*

¹ Two letters *s* are written in a single *aḥsara*, a third — in the word *samaya* — is located above the line.

² Instead of *vānyādi* ?

³ Instead of *duhitā*, N. sg. from *duhitṛ* ?

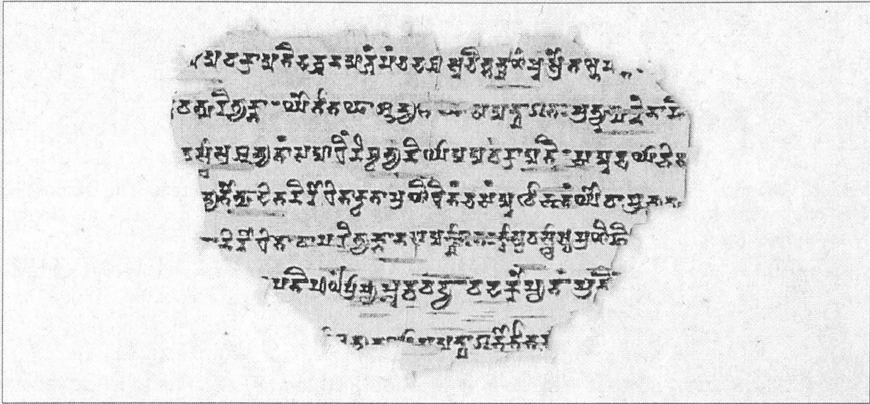


Fig. 3

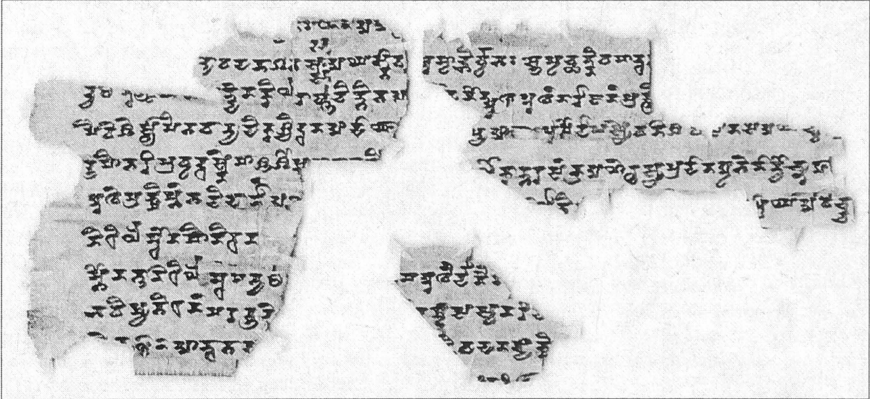


Fig. 4

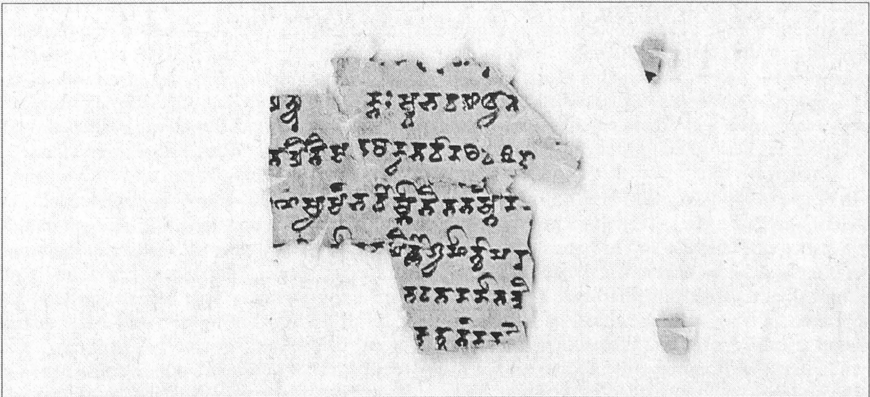


Fig. 5

SCRAP OF FRAGMENT NO. 3

1.] X ba mukhair-*ḍīnaiḥ* [
2.] *ṣṭraṃ sa sva na roc* [
3.] [] *i vadanasyākṣi* [
4.] X X X X

FRAGMENT NO. 4

The dimensions of the fragment are 6.0 × 4.5 cm. Brāhmī, type II, early Gupta. This is possibly an excerpt from a *sūtra*. In the fragment the term *svabhāva* is discussed. The fragment is one-layer birch-bark one side of which contains nearly seven lines (see *fig. 5*). The writing is Indian

TRANSLITERATION

1.] X X X X [
2.] *m[i]tyuktaḥ svabhāvam-ākhyāt[am]* [
3.] *tam-iti sa tathā kṛta vānatha¹-v[i]ṣ[u]d[dh]ā* [
4.] *ṇasya sambhavo 'stīti tatas-tena* X [
5.] X X X X X *mito grhītvā parā* [
6.] *tava tā na nīta mi* [
7.] *kṛtvā taṃ na X* [] *e* [

Notes

1. S. F. Ol'denburg, "Otryvki kashgarskikh i sanskritskikh rukopisei iz sobraniia N. F. Petrovskogo" ("The excerpts from the Kashghar and Sanskrit manuscripts from the N. F. Petrovsky collection"), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, XI (1899), pp. 214—5, text 10, table X.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 215—8, text 12, table XIII.

3. The work belongs to N. M. Brovenko, a conservator at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

4. See K-939, fol. 1[32], mentioned in *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 1, No. 15.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Fragment No. 1 (*recto*), 16.5 × 7.0 cm.

Fig. 2. Fragment No. 1 (*verso*).

Fig. 3. Fragment No. 2, 11.0 × 6.0 cm.

Fig. 4. Fragment No. 3, 16.5 × 7.0 cm, and a scrap of fragment No. 3, 3.0 × 2.0 cm.

Fig. 5. Fragment No. 4, 6.0 × 4.5 cm.

¹ Instead of *vānātha* ?

THE REDISCOVERY OF YONGZHENG'S LETTER OF 1725 TO POPE BENEDICT XIII*

During my last visit to the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies in summer 1998, due to the courtesy of the keeper of Manchu holdings, Dr. Tatyana A. Pang, I could make acquaintance of a trilingual document written in Manchu, Chinese, and Latin (call number C 31). It is probably the original letter, sent by the Emperor Yongzheng to Pope Benedict XIII, in

reply to his letter of congratulations on occasion of Yongzheng's accession to the throne. The circumstances that surrounded the dispatching of the letter are a well-known chapter in the history of Missionary relations between the West and China. They have been exhaustively summarised by Antonio Sisto Rosso already in 1948. We read in particular:

“Benedict XIII, learning from optimistic reports by Pedrini and others of the accession of the Yung-chêng Emperor and of his good disposition toward the missionaries, decided to send to China five missionaries: two Carmelites — Gotthard Plaskowitz of St. Mary and Ildefonso of the Nativity — and three Franciscans. He entrusted to Plaskowitz, as head of the group, rich gifts and two Breves for the Emperor; in one Breve he congratulated the Sovereign on his accession, and in the other requested him to free Appiani and Guignes. Gifts and Breves were to be presented through Fathers Perroni and Romei, Propaganda Procurators in Kuang-chou and Pei-ching respectively.

The five missionaries, who left Roma in mid-October 1724, had to part at Oostende for lack of accommodation on board, and thus the Carmelites arrived at Kuang-chou alone on July 24, 1725. There Perroni let the Governor General handle this affair through the highest Boards and forward the Carmelites to Pei-ching as Legates on August 18. The legates, who reached their destination on October 22, two days later were announced to the Emperor, while both Breves were filed with the Board of Rites. Despite subsequent explanation about the true qualifications of the Fathers who came to stay as missionaries, the Emperor wanted to receive them as Legates, which he did in admitting them to a Palace audience on November 7, and then promptly dispatching them home.

On November 13, the Emperor answered the first Breve with a courteous letter; and on November 18 he issued the reply to the second granting the release of Appiani and Guignes. Early that morning the papal gifts were delivered to the Eunuchs of the Imperial Villa, and at noon, after performing the customary prostrations, the Envoys were admitted to the imperial presence. The Sovereign ordered the Envoys seated, while the others knelt down. He said that he appreciated the congratulations on his accession and the condolence on his father's demise expressed in the first papal letter, and that, with reference to the second letter, he had pardoned Pedrini whom his father had confined solely for his stand on religious matters. Then Fr. Plaskowitz entreated the Emperor to let the missionaries preach in the provinces as before. Taken by surprise, the Emperor began a long discourse on religious issues and set forth the reasons for denying the request.

There was nothing else for the Legates to do but hasten their return. On November 26, they were granted a farewell audience, and the next day they received from the Board of Rites the Imperial gifts and replies for the Pope. ...” [1].

The Chinese documents concerning this event has long become available in the English translation by Lo-shu Fu; it comprises (i) a memorial of the “Viceroy of Liang-Kwang, K'ung Yü-hsün”, which announces the Legates' arrival at the Court; (ii) a note on the audience granted by the Emperor and recorded in the *Yongzheng Shilu* (ch. 25, p. 11a); (iii) the Emperor's reply to the Pope's first *Breve* (*Shilu*, ch. 37, pp. 6b—7a), which is the “courteous letter” mentioned by Rosso and dated by November 13 (according to the registration in the *Shilu*); (iv) K'ung Yü-hsün's report of the Legates' departure; (v) the Emperor's answer to the

Pope's second *Breve* concerning the release of two missionaries, L. Appiani and A. Guignes (*Shilu*, ch. 45, pp. 32b—33a) [2]. A copy of this **second** letter exists also in the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, and has been published in facsimile by Rosso (with an English translation), in addition to extant Italian, French and Latin translations [3].

The *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* keeps also a copy of the Emperor's reply to the **first** papal *Breve* (the above-mentioned “courteous letter” of November 13), which is identical, as Rosso believes, to that registered in the *Shilu*, with the exception of “a few variants”. This *Shilu* record

* I am grateful to Dr. Margarita Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, Supervisor of the Manuscript Department, for making this document accessible for analysis and publication.

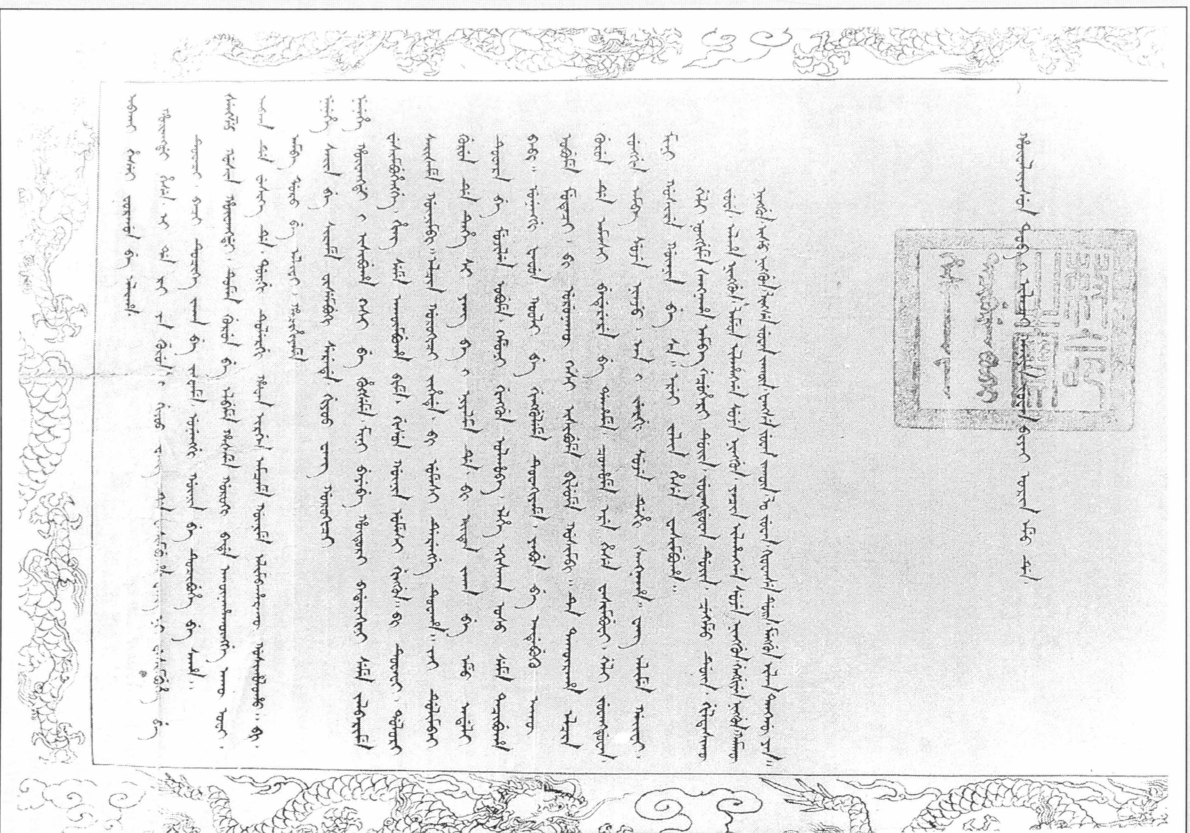


Fig. 1

was translated into English at least three times — by E. Backhouse and J. O. Bland, by Rosso, by Lo-shu Fu, and others [4].

The official letter with the Emperor's answer to the Pope's first *Breve* was delivered to the Legates, as Rosso states, a day after their farewell audience which took place on November 26. But this is precisely the document unexpectedly discovered in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It is dated by “Anno Christi 1725 die 25. Novemb.”, i.e. one day before the farewell audience. The letter is written

Yu Xiyang jiaohua wang Bonadiduo. Lan zou bing jin gong fangwu

諭西洋教化王伯納地嘒覽王奏並進貢方物

“Edict to the King of Religious Culture of the Western Ocean, Bonadiduo (Benedict):
Looking at the King's message and the local products brought as tributes...”

In the Chinese version of the Imperial letter the Pope's personal name is substituted by the expression “King of the Religion of the State of Italy”, while the term “popo” is altered, instead of *jiaohua wang* (“King of Religious

in Manchu, Chinese, and Latin on yellow paper framed with black dragons. It measures 200.0 × 57.0 cm and bears three red bilingual seals (11.0 × 11.0 cm) with the legend — *Hese-i tacibure boobai / chi-ming zhi bao* 敕命之寶 — printed over the dates.

On the whole, the two Chinese texts do not differ much, except for the introductory formulation and the ending where additional gifts are listed in the Imperial message solely.

The *Shilu* registration (ch. 37, p. 6b) begins as follows:

Culture”) common *jiao wang* (“King of Religion”) is employed. In addition, the character for *gong* (“tribute”) is eloquently cancelled:

Feng. Tian cheng yun Huangdi chiyu Yidali guo jiaowang. Lan wang zou bing jin fangwu

奉天承運皇帝敕諭意達里亞國教王覽王奏並進貢方物

The letter's short sentence “The King of the Religion submitted to the Throne a message from far away” (*jian-wang yuanxing chen zou* 教王遠行陳奏) is changed in the *Shilu* and reads as follows: “The residence of the King of Religious Culture is extremely far away; he sent special envoys who brought a message to be submitted to the Throne” (*jiaohua wang dichu ji yuan. te qian shichen ji zhang chen zou* 教花王地處極遠特遣使臣齊章陳奏). Four lines later, the sentence “We will extend our favours” (*en* 恩) is given in the *Shilu* as “We will extend our affection” (*ai* 愛). The text in the Emperor's message reads that the gifts for the Pope are simply “given” (*xi* 錫), while in

the *Shilu* they are said to have been “bestowed” (*ci* 賜), which indicates a more lofty style. All these small but significant changes, made by the compilers of the *Shilu*, clearly show how the original documents were “corrected” in accordance with the rules of official Confucian historiography to underline the Emperor's higher position as a Universal Ruler.

The hitherto unknown Manchu version literally follows the Chinese text. As one of the curiosities we may cite the Manchu rendering of Chinese *Yidaliya* (Italy), which is given here as *l-da-ri-ya* instead of usual *l-da-li-ya*. We present here the transliteration of the Manchu text of the letter:

Abkai hesei forgon be aliha.

hūwangdi hese. i da ri ya gurun-i giyoo wang de wasimbuha: wang ni wesimbuhe be /

tuwaci. baci tucike jaka be jafame. unenggi gūnin be tucibuhe be saha: /

Šengzu gosin hūwangdi tumen gurun be elbime hašame goroki bade akūnahakūngge akū ofi. /

abka de wesike de. dorgi tulergi hafan irgen amcame gūnime alimbaharakū gosiholoho: bi. /

amba doru be alifi. hacihiyame /

nenehe sain be sirame wasimbuki serede. giyoo wang gorokici /

nenehe hūwangdi-i isibuha kesi be hukšeme mini beyebe hūhuri badarakini seme jalbarime /

wesimbuhengge. hing seme akūmbuha bime. gisun gūnin umesi ginggun: bi tuwaci. dolori /

sašame gūnimb: elcin gorokici jihede. bi umesi derengge tuwaha: jai dulimbai /

gurun de tehe si yang ba-i niyalma de. bi eiten jaka be emu adali /

tuwara be mujilen obume. kemuni ginggun olhoba. elhe ekisaka oso seme tacibuha /

babi: unenggi fafun kooli be gingguleme tuwakiyame. yabun be endebuku akū /

obume muteci. bi urunakū kesi isibume bilume gosimbi: te takūraha elcin /

gurun de amasi bederere be dahame. cohome ere hese wasimbufi. geli juwangduwan. /

junggin amba suje ninju. an-i jergi suje dehi šanggaha: wang alime gaifi. /

mini gosire gūnin be sa. erei jalin hese wasimbuha:

geli unggime šanggaha amba gecuhuri duin. juwangduwan duin. cekemu duin. giltasikū /

juwe. alha ninggun. lamun ilhangga suje ninggun. yacin ilhangga suje ninggun. genggiyen ninggun. kamkū /

ninggun. isu ninggun. lingse juwan jakūn. fangse juwan jakūn. lo juwan. kiyowanse duin. menggun ilan tanggū yen: /

Hūwaliyasun tob-i ilaci aniyaj juwan biyai orin emu de.

TRANSLATION *

Edict of the Emperor who received the Fate by Heaven's order, issued to the King of the Religion of the State of Italy.

Looking at the message of [You,] the King, I saw the expression of honest thoughts and accepted the local articles.

When the Benevolent Emperor Šengzu, who, submitting and protecting, reached far places in ten thousand countries, ascended the Heaven, all the officials and peoples inside and outside [the Empire], when remembering [him], felt intolerable grief.

When I received the Great Rule and announced that I would strive to follow [my] predecessor's good [example, You,] the King of the Religion, submitted from far away a message [saying that], grateful for the favours obtained by the prior Emperor, You are praying for my own prosperity. [Your] words and thoughts are extremely sincere and very respectful. When I look [at the message], feelings of appreciation arise inside [me].

When [Your] envoys came from so far away, I treated them with great honor.

[For what concerns] the people from the Western Ocean living in the Middle Kingdom: I always taught [them] — according to [my] principle to treat all in the same way — to be respectful and careful, peaceful and calm; if they observe attentively the right laws and rules and do not commit wrong actions, I will surely bestow favours [upon them], and protect and love [them].

Since these envoys are returning now to [their] country, I gave [them] this special Edict and — as a gift [for You] — sixty pieces of coloured satin with gold threads interwoven, brocade and great satin, as well as forty pieces of common silk. In accepting this, o King, take cognisance of my loving thoughts.

For this reason this Edict was issued.

Furthermore, the [following] gifts were also sent: four pieces of great brocade, four pieces of coloured satin, four pieces of Japanese satin, two pieces of silk brocade, six pieces of satin, six pieces of blue coloured silk, six pieces of dark coloured silk, six pieces of bright [silk], six pieces of brown silk, six pieces of black satin, eighteen pieces of damask, eighteen pieces of pongee, ten pieces of silk gauze, four pieces of taffeta, three hundred ounces of silver.

The third year *Hūwāliyasun tob*, tenth moon, twenty-first day.

TEXT IN LATIN

*Mandato Cæli hodiernus
Imperator
verba transmittit
ad Kiaó Vañ Regni Italie
(ad Sum'um Pontificem)*

Videndo, o Rex, quæ ad me retulisti, resque Regni Tui, quas mihi obtulisti, sinceritatem cordis Tui cognovi. Pater meus Imperator, cum omnia Regna, etiam remotissima, protectione complexus fuerit, indè contigit, ut cum è vivis excessisset, omnes sivè Mandarinini, sivè populi, tum Imperij, tum exterorum, desiderio illius commoti, profusis lacrymis persecuti sint.

Mihi verò thronum subeunti ratum fuit totis viribus bona cæpta prosequi, et amplificare. Summus Pontifex accepta à Patre meo beneficia mente revolvens, mihi continuam precibus appretatur felicitatem suâ è longinquo epistolâ, quæ sanè apicem attingit, cuius mens, et verba reverentiæ plena sunt, hanc corde læto laudavi.

Quos è disjunctissimâ regione misisti viros honorificentius habui. Quod vero spectat ad Europæos hospitantes in Sinis, Ego Imperator universa, quasi unum quid, sinu complectens, docui aliquando eos reverentiam cautelam, et quietam agendi rationem; si possint Leges Imperij reverenter observare, et nihil sit in eorum agendi modo reprehensibile, Ego Imperator certè beneficijs comulabo, fovebo, amabo.

Per missos autem viros, ad regnom reverentes, expressè hæc verba transmittito, simulque auro, et bombyce intertexta primi ordinis serica sexaginta, secundi verò quadraginta, dono. O Rex, hæc accipe, meumqè in Te benevolum animun noscito.

*Iterum trado serica
dicta Ta muon tuon 4.
Chuam tuon 4.*

* The translation proposed here is as literal as possible to convey the spirit of the Chinese court bureaucratic language.

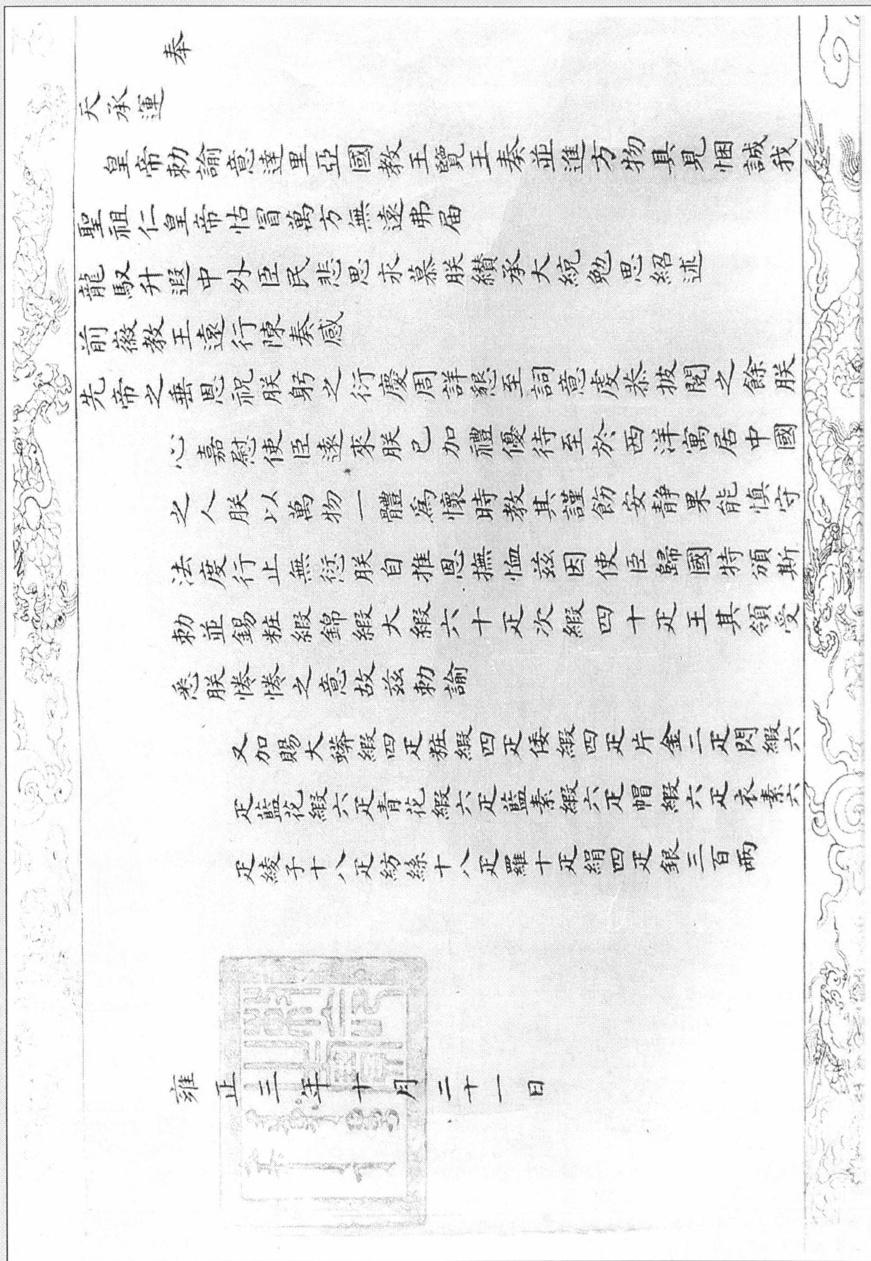


Fig. 2



*Reposita in Bibliotheca Du Montis S. Stefano Borghini
Secretaria della S. Congregazione Propaganda quibus di
17 - Roma 1774.*

Mandato Caeli hodiernus

Imperator
verba transmissit
ad Kiaó Vam Regni Italia
(ad Summum Pontificem)

Videndo, o Rex, quia ad me retulisti, resque Regni tui, quas mihi obtulisti, sinceritatem cordis tui cognovi. Pater meus Imperator, cum omnia Regna, etiam remotissima, protectione complexus fuerit, inde contigit, ut cum e vivis exisset, omnes sine Mandatarum, sine populi, tum Imperij, tum exterorum, desiderio illius commoti, profusus lacrymis procecuti sint.

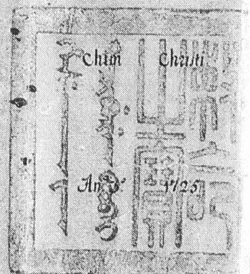
Mihi vero thronum subeunti ratum fuit totis viribus bona capta prosequi, et amplificare. Summus Pontifex, accepta a Patre meo benivolentia, reverenti, mihi continuam precibus appetatur felicitatem sua, et longinquo Spidola, que sane apteum attigit, cuius mens, et verba, reverentia plena sunt, hanc corde lato laudavi.

Quos in disjunctissima Regione misisti viros honorificentius habui. Viro vero spectat ad Europaeos hospitantes in Sina, Ego Imperator universa, quae unum quid, sinu complectens, docui aliquando eos Reverentiam, cautelam, et quietam agendi rationem; si populi Lego Imperij reverenter observare, et nihil sui in eorum agendi modo reprehensibile, Ego Imperator certe benesicij comitabo, jovebo, amabo.

Per misisti autem viros, ad Regnum revertentes, expressi haec verba transmittit, simulque viro, et bombyce intertextu primi ordinis sericeo sexaginta, secundi vero quadraginta, dono. O Rex, has accipe, meumque ia te benevolam animum nescito.

Yum Anno

Iterum trado sericea
dicta Tu tuon tuon 4
Chuam tuon 4
Vo tuon 4
Lien kin 2
Xen tuon 6
Lan hoa tuon 6
Cim hoa tuon 6
Lan su tuon 6
Mao tuon 6
Y su 6
Lin su 18
Tam su 18
Lo 10
Xuen 4
Item 300 uncias argenti



Luna die

decima 25

die 21 Novemb.



Fig. 3

Vo tuon 4.
Pien Kin 2
Xen tuon 6.
Lan hoa tuon 6.
Cim hoa tuon 6.
Lan su tuon 6.
Mao tuon 6.
Y su 6.
Lim çu 18.
Fam su 18.
Lo 10.
Kiuen 4
Item 300 uncias arenti

Yum chim An.° 3° Lunæ decimæ die 21
Anno Christi 1725 die 25. Novemb.

The Latin translation deserves our attention for the method and way it renders the Manchu/Chinese text. The content of the Latin version generally does not differ substantially from those in Manchu and Chinese, but the diver-

gency in style and formulation is necessarily determined by European rules of etiquette. This can be clearly seen from the opening formula of the Latin version, which reads:

By the Mandate of Heaven [being] now
 the Emperor
 sends these words
 to the *Kiaó Vañ* of the Kingdom of Italy
 (to the Supreme Pontiff)

The Imperial “Edict Issued” (*Hese wasimbuha/chiyu* 敕諭) is translated with the more adequate **verba transmittit** — “sends these words”. The translators maintained the Chinese/Manchu term for “pope”, *Kiaó Vañ* (*giyoo wang / jiao wang* 教王 — “King of the Religion”), which surely could not be translated literally into Latin, though this term is explained in brackets in the following line to give the Latin designation for the “Supreme Pontiff”. Already the first sentence of the Imperial message is a good example of how the Manchu/Chinese text was paraphrased:

“Looking, o King, on what You communicated to me, and on the things of Your Kingdom which You sent to me, I came to know the honesty of Your heart.”

In the next sentence, the Manchu/Chinese designations of the late Emperor Kangxi are rendered with “My father the Emperor” who, because of his paganism, could not “ascend the Heaven” (*abka de wesike*) [5], but simply “abandoned the living” (*è vivis excessisset*). Furthermore, we read that Kangxi’s protection reached “all kingdoms, even the farthest” (*omnia Regna, etiam remotissima*), not “ten thousand countries”. The text reads:

“When my Father the Emperor, who embraced and reached with his protection all kingdoms, even the farthest, left the living, all mandarins and people in the Empire and outside of it were moved with affection for him and remembered [him] with profuse tears.

When I succeeded to the Throne, I confirmed that I would continue and increase with all [my] forces [his] good actions. The Supreme Pontiff, keeping in mind the benefits received from [my] Father, [informed me] in his eminent letter coming from far away that he is praying for my continuous happiness. [This letter] is full of reverent

feelings and words; this I have appreciated with joyful heart”.

When mentioning the two Fathers, the Jesuit translator, who knew their real status of ordinary missionaries, used the term *viros* (“men”), while in both Manchu and Chinese texts they are qualified as *elcin / shichen* 使臣, i. e. “envoys”. The text further reads:

“With reference to the men You sent from a very distant region, I treated them in a very honourable way. Concerning the Europeans hosted in China, I, the Emperor, embracing with care everything as a single thing, taught them to act with reverent caution and calm mind; if they reverently observe the Laws of the Empire, and nothing reprehensible is [seen] in their way of acting, I, the Emperor, will surely bestow favours [on them], protect and love [them].

Through the men sent [to me], who are returning to [Your] kingdom, I expressly send these words, and at the same time I present [to You] as a gift sixty [pieces] of silk interwoven with gold and silk of first quality, and forty [pieces] of second quality.

O King, accept these [gifts], and know of my favourable mind toward You.”

For obvious reasons, the Manchu/Chinese final formula — “For this reason this Edict was issued” — remained without translation. The date above the seal is given in Latin according to the Chinese calendar (“On the third year of Yum Chim [Yongzheng], the tenth moon’s 21st day”), followed also by the Christian date (“The year of Christ 1725, the 25th day, November”).

Interesting also, from a linguistic point of view, is the list of additional gifts (missing in the *Shilu*), which are transcribed according to their Chinese names:

“Furthermore, I handed down [the following pieces of] silk called *Ta muon tuon* (< *da mang duan* 大蟒緞) — “Great snake [=dragon] satin”: 4.
Chuan tuon (< *zhuang duan* 粧緞) — “coloured satin”: 4
Vo tuon (< *wo duan* 倭緞) — “Japanese satin”: 4
Pien Kin (< *pian jin* 片金) — “silk brocade”: 2
Xen tuon (< *shan duan* 閃緞) — “satin”: 6
Lan hoa tuon (< *lan hua duan* 藍花緞) — “blue coloured silk”: 6
Cim hoa tuon (< *qing hua duan* 青花緞) — “dark coloured silk”: 6
Lan su tuon (< *lan su duan* 藍素緞) — “light-blue silk” [6]: 6
Mao tuon (< *mao duan* 帽緞) — “hat-silk” [7]: 6
Y su (< *yi su* 衣素) — “black satin”: 6
Lim çu (< *ling zi* 綾子) — “damask”: 18
Fam su (< *fang si* 紡絲) — “pongee”: 18
Lo (< *luo* 羅) — “silk gauze”: 10
Kiuen (< *juan* 絹) — “taffeta”: 4
 Also 300 ounces of silver.”

The compilers of the Latin text are unknown, though they may have been the Jesuits who, at that time, worked at the Court as interpreters and translators — first of all, the French Jesuit Dominique Parrenin. His close collaborator, Antoine Gaubil, mentioned the envoys and the papal *Breve* in a letter dated October 27:

“Les deux envoyés du Pape sont deux Carmes déchaussés fort jeunes. Ils apportent des présents et deux brefs. Je n’ay vu que la liste des présents. [...] Les présents et les Brefs ne seront pas offerts par les 2 Carmes. Nous les offrirons en corps à l’Empereur...” [8].

From this is clearly seen that these Jesuits were involved in the diplomatic exchange. They were the ones to submit the letters to the Emperor (“Nous les offrirons”), evidently as experts of the Latin language.

And last but not least, we should mention a curious remark in Italian, written above the Latin text. It runs as

follows: “Riposta in Biblioteca da Mons.re Stefano Borgia Segretario della S. Cong.ne di Propaganda questo dì 29. Giugno 1774”, — i.e. “Placed into the Library by Monsignor Stefano Borgia, Secretary of the Holy Congregation for the Propaganda [of the Faith], this day, 29 June 1774”. The Library mentioned must be that of the “Propaganda” and not the Vatican Library, since the famous “Borgia Cinese” collection found its way there only in 1902. This record seems to give an answer to the remark of Antonio S. Rosso, who, analysing the Chinese copy kept in the Vatican Library, wrote that “The original, allegedly kept in the same [Vatican] Library, is not available now” [9]. It appears that this original was never available at the Vatican Library. Actually, it was given to the **Propaganda Fide** in 1774, from where for some unknown reason, and on an unknown date, it found its way to the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Study.

Notes

1. A. S. Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China* (s. l., 1948), pp. 216—9, with detailed bibliography and source material quoted in footnotes 8—12.
2. See Lo-shu Fu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644—1820)* (Tucson, 1966), i, pp. 142—5. For the *Breve*, see R. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum* (Freiburg i. Br., 1931), vii, No. 3047.
3. Rosso, *op. cit.*, pp. 399—403. For the Vatican copy, see Takata Tokio, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits et imprimés chinois de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. A Posthumous Work by Paul Pelliot* (Kyoto, 1995), p. 57, “Borgia Cinese 516.17”. — Italian School of East Asian Studies, Reference Series, 1 (ed. Antonino Forte).
4. E. Backhouse and J. O. Bland, *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking* (London, 1914), pp. 307—8; Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.*, pp. 143—4; Rosso, *op. cit.*, pp. 396—7. See also A. H. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin* (Berkeley—Los Angeles, 1942), pp. 173—4. For the copy kept in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, see Takata, *op. cit.*, p. 56, “Borgia Cinese 516.6”. It should be noted that some of these translations from Chinese are rather paraphrases than real translations, sometimes misleading with concern to the missionaries’ activities in China. For detecting the exact meaning of this letter, cf. the literal translation of the Manchu version.
5. In the Chinese text, the Emperor’s death is as usual expressed with the formula “he ascended [the Heaven] on a dragon-coach” (*longyu shengxia* 龍馭升遐).
6. The Manchu text has only *genggiyen* (“bright”).
7. Here, the Manchu text has the specific term *kamkū* (“a brown silk used for hats”).
8. R. Simon, *Le P. Antoine Gaubil S.J. Correspondance de Pékin 1722—1759* (Genève, 1970), p. 92.
9. Rosso, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Fragment of the Manchu part of the letter.

Fig. 2. Fragment of the Chinese part of the letter.

Fig. 3. Fragment of the Latin part of the letter.

A TIBETAN TEXT ON THE RITUAL USE OF HUMAN SKULLS

The use of human bones and skulls in the practice of Tibetan Buddhism is a well-known practice, and it has been the subject of both textual and field research. It was also noticed that a large portion of information on these exceptional religious objects was transmitted orally from practitioner to practitioner and from craftsman to craftsman.

A detailed study of the subject based both on Tibetan texts and field research is given in A. Loseries-Leick's "The Use of Human Skulls in Tibetan Rituals" [1]. This article also contains a useful bibliography and illustrations, therefore, here we shall limit ourselves to only general notes on the subject. What is known much less is the iconography dealing with the ritual.

Rosaries of skulls are the common attributes of fierce deities. The human and animal skulls rituals are abundantly described in the illustrated work entitled "The Secret Visionary Autobiography" which was written by the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617—1682). A manuscript of this most distinguished esoteric work of the Fifth Dalai Lama is held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [2]. The illustrations to this work in the manuscript from the collection of Lionel Fournier in Paris were exhaustively studied by Samten Gyaltsen Karmay [3].

A rather recent case dealing with the human skulls religious ritual is attested with concern to Gombojab Tsybikov (1873—1930), a well-known Russian Tibetologist and traveller of Buriat origin. According to a Mongolian custom, after his death his body was not buried but placed on the ground in a solitary area. However, an unexpected thing had occurred: his head was soon stolen. It was because Tsybikov's skull most likely met the requirements of human skulls ritual [4].

It should be noted that Russian chronicles contain records related to the ritual use of human skulls. Thus we know from the story about Kievan Prince Svyatoslav (d. 972), one of the first rulers of Russia, that after he had been killed in the battle by the Pechenegs, a Turkic-speaking tribe on the steppe borders of the Russian state, the Pechenegs made of his skull a bowl overlaid with gold [5]. Human skulls were generally employed by Turkic tribes in ceremonies. Such kind of stories are numerous in Russian chronicles and histories. According to the information kindly provided by Professor Christopher Beckwith, the using of human skulls was a widely spread element of ancient and medieval Central Eurasia culture. The practice is especially noteworthy among the nomadic peoples of the steppe region.

To return to the iconography of the subject, interesting illustrations are also contained in one of the Tibetan manuscripts held in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number B 16 470), which draws special attention. It is a Tibetan text containing seven folios (44.7 × 8.7 cm) dedicated to the use of human skulls. This small composite manuscript must have been copied by a Buriat lama in Eastern Siberia, as it is written on paper of Russian manufacturing and has a remark in Mongolian. The anonymous lama was most probably a composer of this book. Its Tibetan title is *Ka pa la mchod tshul bzugs so* ("A Method of Skull-Offering"). The book consists of three parts:

1. The text proper (fols. 1—4a: 2) called *Thod pa rin po che'i dngos grub 'byung ba'i mchod pa* ("Offering of the Precious Skull [Creating] the Source of Attaining Prosperity") (fol. 1b). This text is written in the style characteristic of a canonical Buddhist work, with a Sanskrit title at the beginning. It is ascribed to "Nāgārjuna, the master of skull-offering" (*thod-mchod slob-dpon Klu-sgrub*). The text represents a version of the work translated by W. W. Rockhill [6]. It comprises instructions and *mantras* for performing the ritual of skull-offering to obtain long life and prosperity. No such work is found in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. In the *bsTan-gyur* (Beijing Edition, No. 2590), there exists a small anonymous work the title of which — *Thod pa mchod pa'i cho ga! Kapāla-pūjā-vidhi* — seems to be very close to that of our text. However, the contents of both the writings are entirely different.

2. Instruction for the performance of the same ritual as transmitted by Tibetan teachers (fols. 4a: 2—5a: 3). This text is provided with a small colophon which runs that it was written by a certain dge-slong 'Jam-dpal who could not find a complete book on the subject and compiled his work on the basis of several new books.

3. Pictures of different kinds of human skulls with some explanatory notes (fols. 5b—7b). Eight skulls are marked with a *swastika* (figs. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18). A note in Mongolian also says that these are the "eight good skulls" (*naiman sayin gabala*). On fol. 7b there are thirteen small pictures of different signs present on human skulls as well as an explanatory text to fig. 11.

The pictures of skulls are the most interesting part of this small work, since they give an idea of the approach towards the examining of human skulls by practitioners of the religious ritual. These pictures are reproduced here with the original Tibetan explanatory notes.

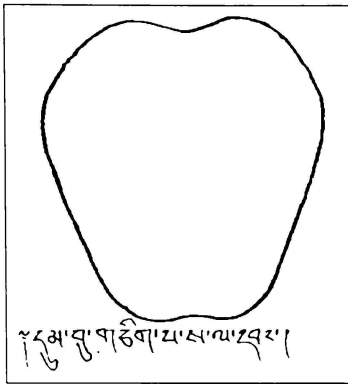


Fig. 1. One-sectioned skull; [the one who possesses it] will rule the earth [7].

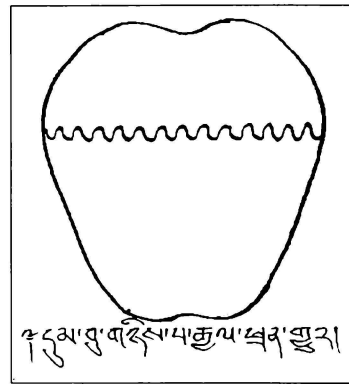


Fig. 2. Two-sectioned skull; [the one who possesses it] will become a local ruler.

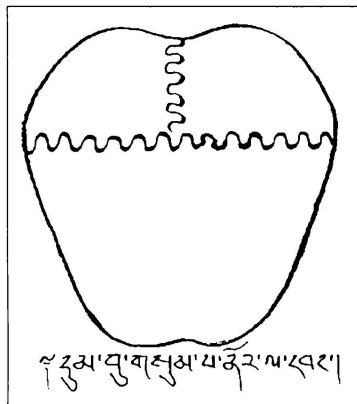


Fig. 3. Three-sectioned skull; [the one who possesses it] will obtain wealth.

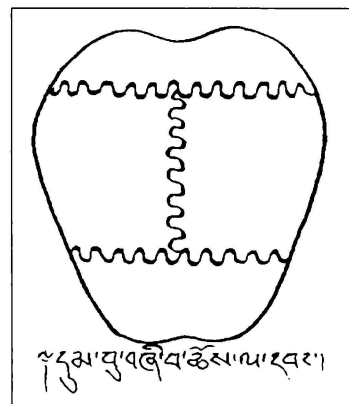


Fig. 4. Four-sectioned skull; [the one who possesses it] will be powerful in Religion.

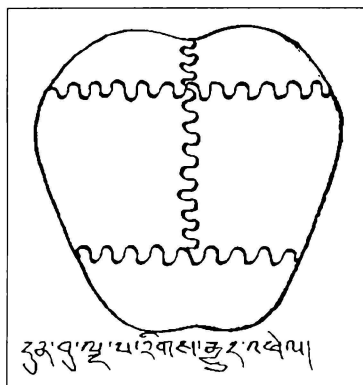


Fig. 5. Five-sectioned skull; the posterity [of the one who possesses it] will spread.

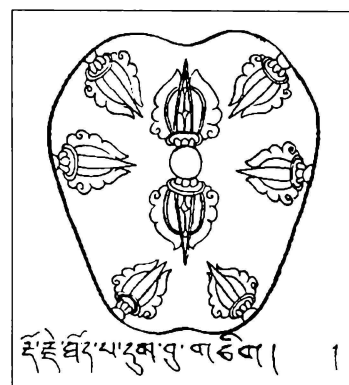


Fig. 6. One-sectioned "vajra skull".

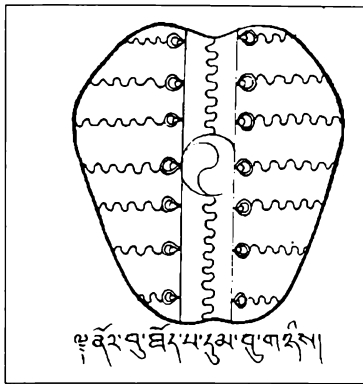


Fig. 7. Two-sectioned "jewel skull".

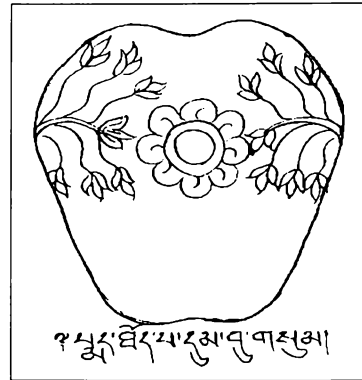


Fig. 8. Three-sectioned "lotus skull".

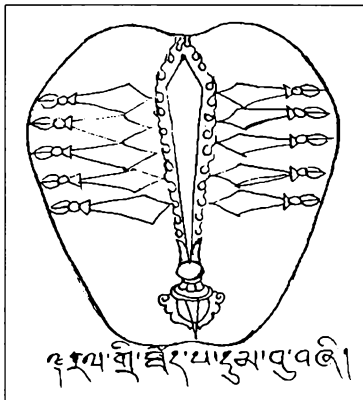


Fig. 9. Four-sectioned "sword skull".

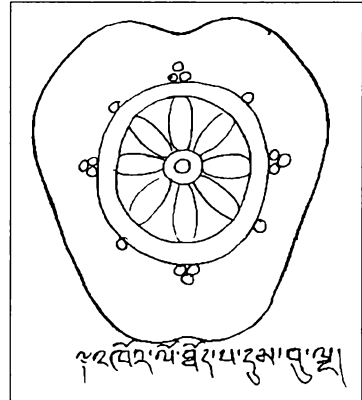


Fig. 10. Five-sectioned "wheel [of the Law] skull".

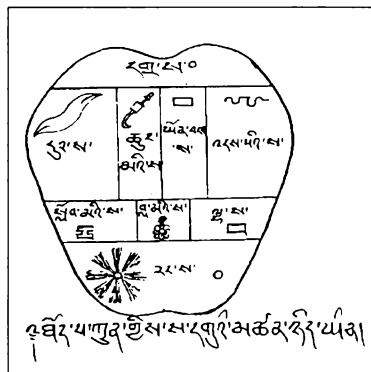


Fig. 11. Outline of the "nine places" of every skull [8].

These nine are (from top to bottom and left to right): 1. enemy place (*dgra sa*); 2. cemetery (*dur sa*); 3. wife's place (*chung ma'i sa*); 4. alms-giver's place (*yon bdag sa*); 5. death place (*'das pa'i sa*); 6. disciple's place (*slob ma'i sa*); 7. teacher's place (*bla ma'i sa*); 8. deity's place (*lha sa*); 9. one's own place (*rang sa*). Short explanations about the auspicious signs, which can appear on these nine places, are given on f. 7b (they are also drawn on fig. 11). E.g., it is good if on the enemy place there is a grave-pit; if on the wife's place there is a picture of the "Eight bringers of good fortune" (*bkra shis rdzas brgyad*); if on the alms-giver's place there is a protuberance resembling any of the four continents (*gling bzhi*), etc.

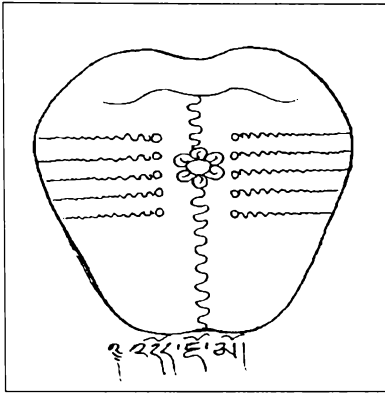


Fig. 12. [Skull with the image of] the wish-fulfilling cow (*kamadhenu*).

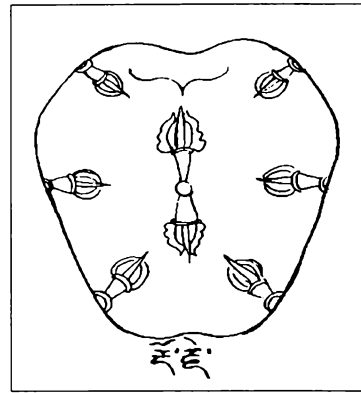


Fig. 13. [Skull with the image of] the vajra.

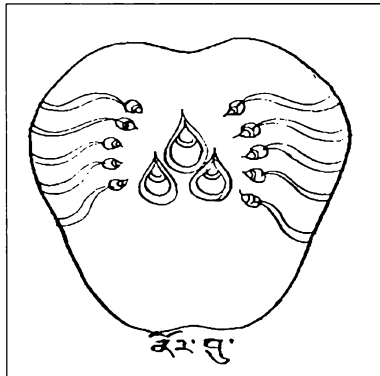


Fig. 14. [Skull with the image of] the jewel.

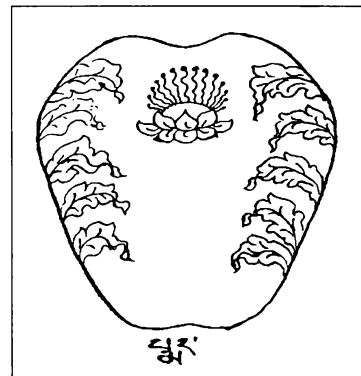


Fig. 15. [Skull with the image of] the lotus.

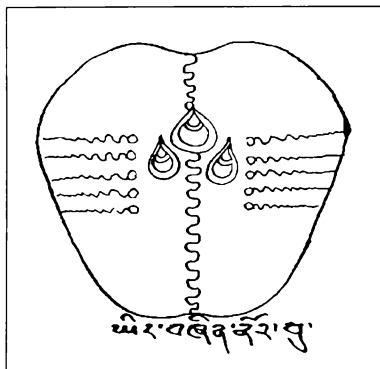


Fig. 16. [Skull with the image of] the wish-fulfilling jewel (*cintamani*).

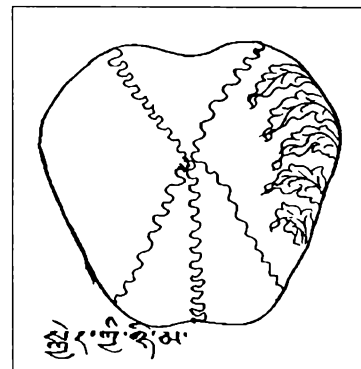


Fig. 17. [Skull with the image of] the radiant Sun.

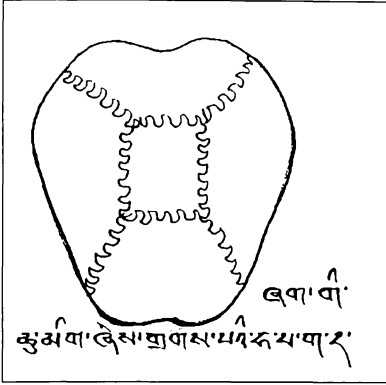


Fig. 18. [Skull with the image of] melted butter spring [9].

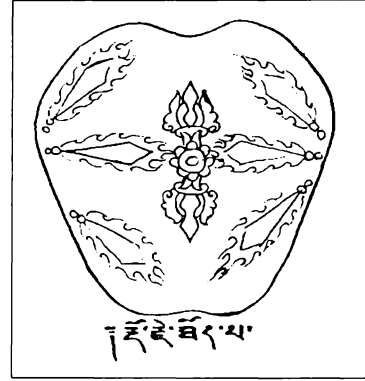


Fig. 19. Vajra skull.

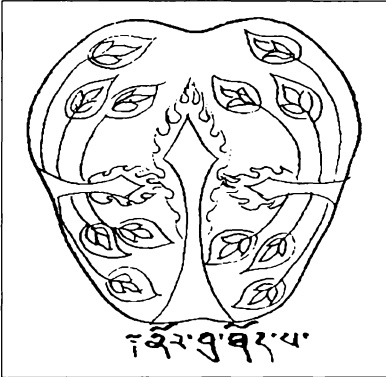


Fig. 20. Jewel skull.

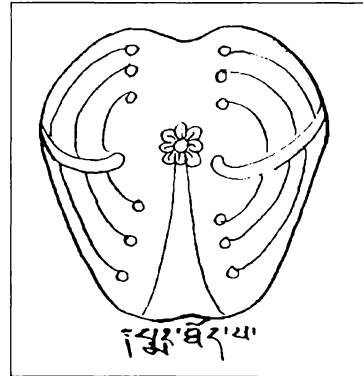


Fig. 21. Lotus skull.

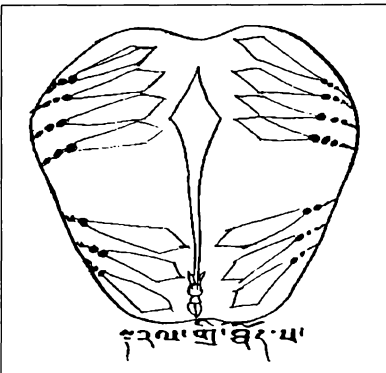


Fig. 22. Sword skull.

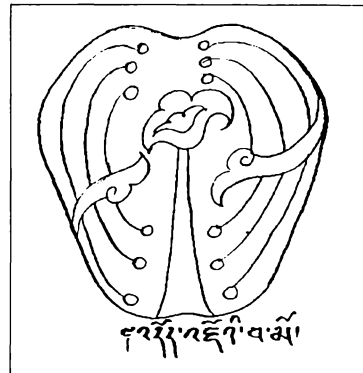


Fig. 23. [Skull with the image of] the wish-fulfilling cow (*kamadhenu*).

Notes

1. See A. Loseries-Leick, "The use of human skulls in Tibetan rituals", in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989* (Narita, 1992), i, pp. 159—73.
 2. For the description of the manuscript and the work, see V. Uspensky, "The illustrated manuscript of the Fifth Dalai Lama's "Secret Visionary Autobiography" preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/1 (1196), pp. 54—65. See also the St. Petersburg manuscript on CD-ROM: *The Secret Visionary Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama*. Publication with Introduction by Vladimir Uspensky. St. Petersburg: Thesa Publishing Co., 1996.
 3. See Samten Gyaltzen Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection* (London, 1988).
 4. Sergeĭ Markov, *Obmanutye skital'tsy* (Deceived Strangers) (Moscow, 1991), p. 35.
 5. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopiseĭ* (All Russian Chronicles) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1959), xxvi, p. 20.
 6. W. W. Rockhill, "On the use of skulls in Lamaist ceremonies", *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* (1888), pp. XXIV—XXXI; the translation of the corresponding passage of the text is found on pp. XXIX—XXXI.
 7. For the powers bestowed by different kinds of skulls, cf. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. XXVIII.
 8. For a more detailed variant of this skull division, see Loseries-Leick, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
 9. This translation is tentative; I was unable to identify the word *ha-pa-ga-da*.
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TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: VIII/1. *CONTRA LEGEM SARACENORUM*: THE QUR'ĀN IN WESTERN EUROPE

The Qur'ān is a text which occupies the central place in a religious-philosophical system which has for fourteen centuries played an important role in human history. From the moment of its appearance, it was, in essence, interpreted and studied primarily in the context of competing political-ideological and confessional interests and in conditions of a centuries-long confrontation between the Christian world and the world of Islam.

The ideological necessity of study of the Qur'ān was a constant condition both in the choice of approaches to the sacred book of Islam and in its interpretation. Up through the present, the religious affiliation of the author of this or that study has influenced in the most direct fashion his

evaluation of the Qur'ān as a historical-cultural document. Past centuries have seen mankind endure a multitude of ideological shifts and cultural revolutions, mass political and religious movements have followed one after the other, philosophical conceptions and schools have become popular only to be forgotten, cultural orientations and priorities have changed. In one fashion or another, all of this found its expression in shifting approaches to the Qur'ān. To a great extent, the basic stages in the history of the study of the Qur'ān in Europe, the evolution of methodologies for studying and understanding this text, have been reflected in the history of its publication and translation.

* * *

By the second half of the seventh and eighth centuries, Islam had already started to become an inalienable part of the histories of Western Europe — Spain, the Mediterranean islands — as well as the Balkans and Eastern Europe (Khazaria, the Bulghārian kingdom, part of the lands of the Golden Horde, the Northern Black Sea, the Crimea, the Northern Caucasus). Available facts allow one to speak of the practically simultaneous emergence of two traditions of Qur'ānic study — inter- and extra-Islamic. The success of the Arab conquests, effected beneath the banner of Islam, forced Christian authors to turn to the sacred book of the Muslims, which was seen as the main source for information about Islam as a whole. Christian polemicists at the time of the conquests included in their works what information they possessed about the Qur'ān, as well as translations of genuine citations or expositions of fabricated citations [1]. John of Damascus (d. 750), who lived in Syria and until his acceptance of vows served the Umayyad Caliphs, left the first polemic work against Islam to have reached us. As a result of the moderate policies pursued by the Umayyads in relation to the “people of the Book” and his belief in the profound superiority of Christianity to the religion of the barbarian-conquerors, the polemic written by John of Damascus does not yet display a strident political-religious orientation. Considering Islam a heresy, he disputed the theoretical “delusions” of Muslims [2], who in

turn proclaimed the Christian Bible “altered and deprived” after the revelation of the Qur'ān. At the same time, representatives of conquered peoples who had been converted to Islam introduced their own scholarly traditions into the study and interpretation of the Qur'ān. The research of John Wansbrough has convincingly demonstrated once again the frequently decisive influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition on the emergence of Muslim exegesis, although his conclusion that the Qur'ān and early-Muslim *sīra-maghāzī* literature represent two versions of a Judeo-Christian polemic, adapted to the Arabic language and Ḥijāz environment [3], cannot of course be accepted [4].

Modern research has shown that a Greek translation of the Qur'ān existed in Byzantium in the tenth century; the earliest date for its probable appearance is the beginning of the ninth century. An analysis of extant Qur'ānic citations in the works of Byzantine polemicists allows one to assume that the translator of the Qur'ān into Greek was, in all likelihood, a bilingual individual of Arab descent from the Latin areas of the Empire [5]. Later, anti-Muslim treatises by Syrian polemicists, for example, the Jacobite bishop Dionysius bar Ṣalībī (d. 1171), included genuine or imagined fragments of the Qur'ān in Syriac translation [6].

Also, the significant number of extant manuscripts of Jewish-Arab theological works, fragments of Qur'ānic manuscripts in Hebrew writing, and Jewish polemical works

permit us to speak of a broad familiarity with the Qur'an and its study among Jews [7].

The first attempts to translate and study the Qur'an in Western Europe belong to a period when Europeans had mustered enough strength to oppose the Islamic world, which had previously evoked in them fear, envy, or even fascination. The sharp rise in the number of translations of works written in Arabic, which followed the capture of Toledo in 1085 by Christians, reflected a growing interest on the part of Europeans in the achievements of Arab-Muslim culture. People appeared who were capable of carrying out translations in accordance with the demands of the era. Robert the Englishman (Robert of Ketton, or Robertus Ketenensis), archdeacon of Pamplona, and Hermann of Carinthia undertook in Spain the translation of Arab works on astrology and meteorology. Europe was girding for the second crusade, and around 1142, at the behest of Peter the Venerable (1092—1156), abbot of the Monastery of Cluny, they completed the first translation of the Qur'an into Latin with the aid of a certain "Saracen Mohammed". The group of translators brought together by Peter the Venerable, which also included Peter of Toledo and Peter from Poitiers, also translated for him an entire series of works. These were a selection of *ḥadīths*, Muslim legends about the Prophet, *Masā'il 'Abdallāh b. Salam* — the dispute between the Prophet and a Jew — and two polemical treatises. Basing himself in the main on these translations and writing in the style of *ecclesia militans*, Peter the Venerable drew up a summary and refutation of Muslim dogma which, together with the writings of Pedro de Alfonso (d. 1140), represents the first European work on Islam. Together, they played an enormous role in the formation of European views of Islam [8].

It was no accident that the first Latin translation of the Qur'an appeared at the Monastery of Cluny. At that time, it was one of the most important centres of Christian ideological opposition to the world of Islam. The practically wartime conditions in which the monastery existed are well illustrated by the seizure in 972 of the head of the monastery by Muslims in an Alpine pass. It was only 62 years later that the victory of Christian forces in North Africa allowed the monastery to recoup the ransom it had paid to the Muslims. During the following century, the monks of Cluny made great strides in unifying Christian forces against Islam. To abbot Peter the Venerable belong, however, the following words: "I attack you not as is frequently done, with the aid of arms, but with the aid of words, resorting not to force, but to reason, not to hatred, but to love" [9].

The second Latin translation of the Qur'an was completed in 1209—1210 by Mark of Toledo on order for Archbishop Don Rodrigo Jimenes de Rada (ca. 1170/80—1247). The archbishop's request pursued then-current political and missionary goals. In addition to the Qur'an, the work by Mark of Toledo contained translations of a series of writings by Ibn Tūmart (d. ca. 1128), Almohad "Mahdi". Unlike Robert the Englishman and his assistants, who, in accordance with their understanding of the translator's task, strove to correct a text they deemed "barbarous", rendering 114 *sūras* as 124, Mark of Toledo tried to translate literally. In difficult instances, he was inclined to leave the translation unclear rather than add his own interpretation. In his translation, Mark also retained the titles of the *sūras*, which were omitted by Robert the Englishman. In an extensive introduction, which Mark of Toledo prefaced to his work, he

does not once mention his predecessors' translation, although he must have known of its existence. This is, perhaps, an indication of his dissatisfaction with the work of Robert the Englishman and Hermann of Carinthia. Really, of this translation of the Qur'an Robert's later compatriot Humphrey Prideux (1648—1700) wrote as of "an absurd epitome of it, ... whereby the Sense of the Original is so ill represented, that no one can by one scarce anywhere understand what is truly meant by the other" [10]. Be that as it may, Mark of Toledo knew well of what he wrote. He cites the Qur'an and *ḥadīths* with ease, and includes the views of Muslim authorities as well. Mark's translation, which surpassed the work of his predecessors, remained, however, unpublished. For many years it did not receive proper recognition from theologians and historians [11]. On the whole, those early Latin translations were, in essence, retellings and reworkings of the text primarily intended to prove the inadequacy of Muslim claims to the possession of a Sacred text. Furthermore, Christian "refutations" were frequently based, intentionally or not, on an erroneous understanding of the text.

Like Christian authors, who actively employed the "devil's law", or "textbook of violence" in their anti-Muslim polemics, Muslim authors cited the sacred books of the Christians in polemical fashion as well. As a matter of fact, Muslim authors' familiarity with Biblical texts was greater than their opponents' knowledge of the Qur'an. The sacred books of the Christians and Jews were viewed within Islam as revealed by God but distorted by people. However, they provided one of the sources for the interpretation of the Qur'an. Through centuries Muslim authorities relied in their works on the labours of converts to Islam from Christianity and Judaism who had brought to Muslim theology a profound knowledge of the sacred texts they had once professed. The key difference was that if social consciousness in Christian Europe rejected Islam wholly, for Muslims, Judaism and Christianity were merely waystations on mankind's path to the truth proclaimed in the Qur'an [12].

The fall of Constantinople in 1453, though sharply increased the "Turkish threat", coincided with the triumph of Renaissance thought remarkable for its interest in the great culture created by Europe's Muslim neighbours. Nicolaus Cusanus (1401—1464) even recommended reading and studying the Qur'an "in order to reveal the evangelical truths hidden in it" [13]. His Franciscan friend, Juan de Segovia (1400—1458), a pacifist, who was chosen as anti-pope in 1440, decried the distorted image of Islam stemmed largely from Robert the Englishman's translation of the Qur'an. In 1455, in the monastery of Ayton in Savoyen, he undertook with the aid of a certain *faqīh* 'Isa b. Jabir an attempt to translate the Qur'an into Latin and Castilian [14]. He also set himself the task of finding in the Qur'an those sections which could be adopted by Christians. It was for the first time that the idea of Christian-Muslim dialogue was put forward.

The interest in Eastern wisdom and the Kabbala, which was characteristic of Italian humanists, primarily of the followers of the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463—1494) whose famous "nine-hundred theses" were condemned by the papal curia, gave birth to another Latin translation of the Qur'an. It was ordered in Spain, in 1518, from a certain Johannes Gabriel Terrolensis by Cardinal Edigio da Viterbo, an admirer of Pico della Mirandola's

ideas. It is believed that a number of corrections to this translation belong to the famed Leo Africanus. Only one manuscript of this translation has survived; it is held in Milan and has not yet been published [15].

While these translations remained practically unknown, the work of Robert the Englishman and Hermann of Carinthia won more fame. The further history of their translation was bound up with the Reformation in Europe in the fifteenth—seventeenth centuries. It was used by numerous Christian philosophers, theologians and polemicists for over 600 years [16], though such outstanding European Orientalists as J. J. Scaliger (1540—1609), Th. Erpenius (1584—1624), and A. Reland (1676—1718) called attention to the translation's imperfection.

The fifteenth—seventeenth centuries witnessed also the bloody wars between the Christendom and the Ottoman Empire which by the first half of the sixteenth century had succeeded in expanding its possessions in Europe to their maximum extent. The siege of Vienna was a shock to the Europeans, almost as profound as was the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The image of the Saracen was replaced by the image of the Turk (see *fig. 1*) whose religious fanaticism seemed even more menacing.

In the period of Catholic counter-reformation which was gaining ever greater hold of Italy, the first European edition of the Arabic text of the Qur'ān (Venice, 1530), carried out by Paganini Brixiensis [17], was destroyed almost as soon as it appeared. This act was only one in a series of similar incidents which culminated in 1557 when the "Index of forbidden books" was sent out by the papal curia. The "Index" included the most significant works of Renaissance writers. Earlier fear of the growth and spread of heresies also led to repeated bans (four in the thirteenth century alone) on the reading of the Vulgate. The fears of the Holy See are more easily understood, if one recalls the "cult" of Muḥammad among the Templars, the above-mentioned interest of Renaissance thinkers in the cultural achievements of the Islamic world, and the heretical Unitarian movement, which rejected the Trinity.

During this period, the initiative in polemics with Islam, as well as the study of Muslim faith, passed to Protestant theologians and publicists. Theodore Buchman (Bibliander) (1504—1564) published almost the entire *Corpus Toletanum* (or *Collectio Toletana*), including the translation of the Qur'ān, an entire series of anti-Islamic polemical treatises (among them the *Cribatio Alcorani* by Nicolaus Cusanus — 1401—1464), and historical and geographical works on Turkey. This unusual encyclopaedia on Islam and Ottoman Turkey appeared in 1543 in Basel, which was permeated by an atmosphere of religious and cultural tolerance [18]. The publication was made possible, however, only after the personal intervention of Martin Luther [19]. The appendices in the work included an epistle of Pope Pius II (1405—1464) to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II (r. 1451—1481), which invited the latter to adopt Christianity, as well as an appeal from Luther and Philipp Melancton (1497—1560).

Despite the indubitably polemical pathos of Bibliander's edition, he himself noted Islam's role in the great mission of spreading monotheism among the pagans. He was also the author of a work, remained in manuscript though, in which he appeals to all Christians, Jews, and Muslims with a greeting and wishes of peace and prosperity "in the name of God, our Lord" [20]. Such views were quite widespread in the period. The distinction between Islam and

monotheistic religions was regarded as not so significant and insurmountable. The irreconcilable Luther, for example, considered Islam as a form of Judaism, while Erasmus (1469—1536) and Guillome Postel (1510—1581) viewed Muslims half Christian.

Although Bibliander did not know Arabic well enough to correct the Toledo translation, he went about his work with great attention to detail. The editor had at his disposal several manuscripts of the Qur'ān, including that with noted *al-qirā'āt* in the margins (it has survived in the University library at Basel) [21]. He also added some annotations to the translation he published.

It seems striking that the first print editions of the Arabic text and translation of the Qur'ān in Europe appeared, in order, only 14 and 27 years after the first print edition of the Greek text of the New Testament. It was produced by Erasmus, also in Basel, in 1516.

A tradition of Muslim translations of the Qur'ān existed in Europe as well. Manuscript fragments of a translation of the Qur'ānic text into Muslim-Spanish (*alhamiada*) have survived, which dates to the sixteenth century [22]. One can mention also Byelorussian-Polish translations, executed in Arabic script and carried out in the Tatar community in the fifteenth—seventeenth centuries, of which I am planning to relate in my next publication. It is possible that similar translations existed in Sicily, too.

Only four years after the appearance of the Basel edition, an anonymous Italian version was produced in Venice. According to the title, the translation was made "directly from the Arabic"; in fact, it reproduced the Bibliander's edition. The renowned humanist and publisher Andrea Arrivabene carried out the publication. In 1554, however, the Venetian inquisition forbade the reading of the Qur'ān. Two other versions of the book appeared only in the first half of the seventeenth century, one German (translated from the Italian by S. Schweigger; 1551—1622), and one Dutch, without naming the author [23]. The Dutch anonymous translation was reissued twice, in 1659 and 1664, when, despite the Turks' defeat at St. Gotthard, fears of Ottoman expansion were greatly increased. The apocalyptic mood, occasioned by the approach of the "diabolical" year 1666, was then general in Europe. New editions of both the Latin original and the translations continued to appear.

The theme of Islam became even more actual in Europe during internal conflicts between Catholicism and the Reformation. Each side strove to prove its "orthodoxy", and accusations of "resemblance to Islam" sounded frequently in the mutual polemics against "Turko-Papism" or "Calvino-Turkism". On 15 April 1521, Sorbonna condemned Luther's 95 theses, calling them "more depraved" than the Qur'ān. In the eyes of Protestants, Muhammad and the Pope were "two heads of the Antichrist" [24]. A by-product of this atmosphere of mutual intolerance was an increase in anti-Islamic propaganda (see *fig. 1*).

The next step in the study and translation of the Qur'ān was taken in the seventeenth century Catholic France, by that time tolerant toward the Huguenots [25]. This country, then home to P. Gassendi (1592—1655), the foe of medieval scholasticism, and R. Descartes (1596—1650), the founder of rationalism, was where the public thrilled to al-Sid, hero of the wars with the Moors in the tragedy of P. Corneille (1606—1684). In 1647, a French translation of the Qur'ān carried out by diplomat and Orientalist André du Ryer (?1580—?1669) was published in Paris. Although already



Fig. 1

at the moment of its appearance this translation did not fully satisfy accepted scholarly requirements (certain rearrangements, abridgements, and liberties were made by the translator, tied to the Bibliander's text) [26], the French version of the Qur'ān evoked great interest. In a short time, du Ryer's work went through at least five editions in Paris and Amsterdam and was also later translated in England (1688), Holland (1698), somewhat later in Germany, and, finally, in Russia (1716). The Vatican's response under Pope Alexander VII (1599—1667) was to decree by a council of Roman censors a ban on the publication and translation of the Qur'ān [27]. However, after the Arabic text of the book was published in 1694 by the Protestant theologian and Orientalist Abraham Hinkelmann [28], the Vatican finally realised the uselessness of a ban which granted the Protestants the upper hand in anti-Islamic propaganda.

In Padua in 1698, Ludovico Marracci (1612—1700), confessor of Pope Innocent XI (1611—1689), published a Latin translation and Arabic text of the Qur'ān based on the collation of several manuscripts. The Arabic text was arbitrarily divided into small fragments and followed by a translation equipped with commentaries and excerpts from Arabic *tafsīrs* both in the original and Latin translation, and then by a refutation [29]. The quality of this translation was incomparably higher than those, which had come to light before, but the form of the edition prevented it from gaining widespread popularity. The appearance of such a fine translation in Italy was no accident, as Italy had long enjoyed the most highly developed commercial and cultural contacts with the Muslim East. Italy, with her rich libraries, boasted a superb scholarly tradition encumbered only by ideological prohibitions. However, with the appearance of the Marracci edition, it seemed that the Holy See had regained its position of leadership in the study and refutation of Islam. But Christian Reineccius (1668—1752), a German Protestant, recovered the initiative for Protestant scholars by releasing a convenient edition which included only the text of the Marracci translation and an aptly composed introduction [30]. Marracci's work ushered in an entire series of new translations of the Qur'ān into European languages.

The Enlightenment's vivid interest in Eastern exotica, the great success of Antoine Galland (1646—1715), who was the first translator of "1001 Nights" (1704), Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, as well as harsh attacks on religious intolerance, contributed greatly to a new growth of interest in Muslim culture. It is in that period of the flourishing of French culture that Voltaire wrote his well known tragedy "Mahomet, ou fanatisme", in which he depicted Rome through Mecca. Despite this fact, the play received the blessing of Pope Benedict XIV (1675—1758), and later earned an admiring response from Napoleon, who nonetheless rebuked the author for "prostituting the great character of Mahomet in base intrigues" [31]. Then Goethe created the "West-Östlichen Divans" and, influenced by the "Vie de Mahomet" of J. Gagnier (1732), conceived a drama in which the founder of Islam is portrayed as a pantheistic philosopher [32].

In England, which had played such a key role in the Enlightenment, it was G. Sale (?1697—1736), a first notable English Arabist, who made an English translation of the Qur'ān [33] annotated from the Muslim commentators, in particular by al-Bayḍawī, al-Suyūṭī, al-Zamakhsharī and from other authors [34]. The *tafsīr* of "al-Jalālayn" was also employed by him. This translation and the "Preliminary

Discourse", which prefaced it, for many years set the standard for the study and understanding of the Qur'ān in Europe. The work was translated into German (1746), French (1770) and Russian (1792). In the "Preliminary Discourse", J. Sale tried on the basis of materials available to him at the time to describe the phenomenon of Islam, which arose in pagan Arabia, a location which experienced significant religious influences from without. It was with the aid of J. Sale's works that Voltaire familiarised himself with the Qur'ān.

An evident weakening of the Ottoman State in the eighteenth century resulted in a gradual retreat from the identification of Islam with the Ottoman Empire. Polemical elements in the works of European authors began to give way to a more scholarly approach to Islam. The expression of interest in Islam was now safe, a development which was reflected in unusual fashion in the appearance of works which criticised certain phenomena in the European religious and philosophical sphere from "the point of view of a Turk" or "in the words of a Persian" (for example, Ch. Montesquieu's (1689—1755) "Lettres persanes", published in 1721). At the same time, apologetic works directed against official Catholicism were published in Europe. Islam was viewed as the most rational of religions and the faith, which best corresponded to the deism espoused by the ideologists of the Enlightenment. In publicistic works of a different sort, critics of Islam often continued to aim their barbs at Catholicism. Secular translations of the Qur'ān which appeared at that time were already based on a desire not to refute, but to understand Islam, which no longer put fear into the hearts of Europeans.

A translation of the Qur'ān "in a romantic vein" was completed in 1783 by C. E. Savary (1750—1788) [35]. Representatives of romanticism, eager to free themselves from the "encyclopaedia" spirit, turned to antiquity, Biblical history, the crusades, and the East. In keeping with this tendency, F. R. Chateaubriand (1768—1848) created his "L'itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem" (1811), where delight at the achievements of the Muslim Middle Ages went hand in hand with a sharply negative attitude toward the Muslim world. A sense of the self-sufficiency of European culture grew stronger and stronger. Politically, this was linked to the ideology of the French Restoration. The emergence of a colonialist ideology was paralleled in Oriental studies, which displayed an ever-greater tendency toward Eurocentrism [36]. The French translation of the Qur'ān produced by A. B. Kasimirski (1808—1887) appeared at a time when France's expansion into Algeria required more accurate information about Islam. This translation became one of the outstanding achievements of French Arab studies [37]. E. M. Wherry's popular four-volume commentary on the Qur'ān (London, 1882—1886) [38], connected with the Indian Qur'ānic tradition, stood in the context of the British colonial interests. To this tradition belong also the Russian translations of D. N. Boguslavsky and G. S. Sablukov.

Thanks to Sylvestre de Sacy (1758—1838), author of the well-known "Grammaire arabe" and "Chrestomathie arabe", the centre of Arabic and Islamic studies in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century became the École des langues orientales in Paris, which drew nearly all outstanding nineteenth-century scholars of Islam there for study. But the methodological views of Qur'ānic researchers at the time were formed largely under the influence of the famed Protestant school of Biblical studies which arose

in Germany. They now applied to the text of the Qur'ān methods which had previously been acceptable only for Old and New Testament. This achievement, however important it might be, had another side: the Qur'ān came to be seen as a *chose en soi*, in isolation from the society and cultural milieu in which it had arisen. But the nascent tendency toward an understanding of the unity of cultural processes had been shown as well, which led to another extreme — the absolutisation of mutual influences. Thus, under the influence of ideas of cultural comparativism, the Old Testament, and then the Qur'ān, were pronounced “the result of all-encompassing imitation and borrowings from surrounding cultures and literatures” [39]. Works in the vein of cultural comparativism — by A. Geiger, K. Gerock, G. Weil, T. Nöldeke, H. Hirshfeld, J. Barth, J. Horovitz and his students — appeared in the era of the critical study of the Qur'ān, with this approach long being predominant in Qur'ānic studies [40]. This did not excluded negative pre-conceptions toward the sacred book of Islam demonstrated by European researchers under the influence of their religious and philosophical convictions.

The emergence in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century of classical philology with its particular tasks and methods influenced greatly all branches of philology. In conjunction with the successes of German Biblical studies, it led to the pre-eminence of German scholars in the study of the Qur'ān, a trend established in the nineteenth century. First, Gustav Flügel published a new, correlated text of the Qur'ān (1834) and then a concordance to it (1842); they retained their value until the mid-twentieth century. A number of publications were edited by G. Red-slob (1837, 1855, 1867), who continued the work of Flügel [41]. Naturally, Germany did not stand aside the main political trends of the epoch and actively pursued her colonial policies. The “Islamic card” was one of the most important elements of this policy abundantly borrowing the achievements of the practical and the academic sides of Oriental studies [42]. As it often happened in history, most pragmatic needs of politics led to the promotion of these studies in the country. The Qur'ānic studies were no exception. Germany gave birth to a generation of scholars whose contribution to the study of the Qur'ān is difficult to over-estimate.

In 1927, G. Bergstreser and A. Jeffery together developed a plan for a critical edition of the Qur'ān, since the Flügel edition of the Qur'ānic text had revealed the complex character of the textological problems in this area. The text published by Flügel did not contain an apparatus criticus and the scholar did not follow any single Muslim tradition of textual transmission. The principles he employed in preparing his publication have remained unclear up to the present day.

The plan for a critical edition developed by G. Bergstreser and A. Jefferey in 1927 included (i) excerpting from various sources Qur'ānic variants; (ii) finding and publishing manuscripts of basic works by Muslim authors on the problems of Qur'ānic readings (*al-qirā'āt*), and (iii) creating a photo archive of the oldest copies of the Qur'ān and their study. The scholars intended to base their text on that of Hafṣ (which also served as the basis for the Egyptian edition), but to take into account the characteristics of *ṣaj'* in publishing it. They also planned to number the *āyāt* in accordance with both the Muslim tradition and Flügel. The text was to contain pausal signs and, in the

margins, references to “parallel passages”. The apparatus criticus was to have been located at the bottom of the page and consist of references to hundreds of variants of the text with a three-tiered chronological indication of their source: earlier than the tradition of the “seven readings”, belonging to that tradition, or later. They also hoped to indicate the school (or schools) to which “readings” belonged.

The scholars planned also to release in a separate volume an “Introduction” which would replace the “Geschichte des Qorans” by T. Nöldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergstreser, and O. Pretzl. A third volume would have contained an extensive commentary on the apparatus criticus. Certainly, the authors understood the impossibility of taking into account all existing variants, but they planned to work in the main sources on the issue. A fourth volume would have provided a dictionary to the Qur'ān. Although an enormous amount of preparatory work was done, for a variety of reasons the authors were unable to bring their project to completion [43].

The problem of a critical edition was further complicated by the crisis in the methodology of Islamic studies sparked by the hypercritical approach to the Muslim tradition evinced in works by a number of scholars, pre-eminent among them I. Goldziher. This approach, occasioned mainly by the growing influence of positivism on the methodology of the social sciences, came as a reaction to the works of R. Dozy and his students, which relied on an uncritical interpretation of the information provided by the Muslim tradition [44]. I. Goldziher and his followers convincingly demonstrated that the greater body of the Muslim tradition arose in an era separated from the age of the Prophet by quite a number of years. They proved the tendentiousness of the Muslim tradition, a tradition linked with religious and political struggles within the Caliphate, and the indubitable influence of those tendencies on Islamic exegesis [45]. This cast doubt both on the authority of the *tafsirs* as an appropriate interpretation of the Qur'ān and on the Muslim tradition regarding the history of the text's formation. Sylvestre de Sacy, G. Weil, and H. Hirschfeld questioned the authenticity of certain *āyāt*, while Paul Casanova expressed doubt in the veracity of the text as a whole [46]. The necessity of conducting research on the Qur'ān in a spirit independent from the Islamic tradition became generally recognised. This was the approach which provided the basis for the work of Richard Bell (1876—1952), who laboured against a backdrop of the triumphant ideas of German Biblical studies, primarily the “Tendenzkritik” of J. Wellhausen and the form-critical method.

R. Bell's “The Emergence of Islam in its Christian Environment” served for him as the stimulus for the renewed study of the structure and chronology of the Qur'ānic text [47]. Bell was the first to look at the composition of the Qur'ān in connection with Muḥammad's actual activities in the propagation of Islam. In Bell's view, each *sūra* represented a combination of short revelations put together either by Muḥammad himself or later, during the Qur'ān's bringing together. This approach allowed Bell to reinterpret the task of establishing the chronology not of individual *sūras*, but of their fragments. He summarised the results of his research in a two-volume translation of the text equipped “with a critical review of the arrangement of *sūras*” [48]. Although in the long run many of his conclusions were not confirmed, and the approach itself evoked sharp criticism in

the Muslim world, from today's vantage point Bell's contribution to Qur'ānic studies seems enormous [49].

Translations of the Qur'ān which predate Bell in the main went back to the Muslim tradition and consequently reproduced the understanding of the Qur'ān characteristic of the age and socio-cultural environment of this or that Muslim exegete or group of authors. R. Bell and I. Krachkovsky (1883—1951), R. Blachère (1900—1973), and R. Paret (1904—1983), working in different locations, arrived almost simultaneously at a translation methodology based on their original scholarly deductions.

The publication of the "Cairo edition" of the Qur'ān, which became for all intents and purposes canonical, and the simultaneous appearance in Turkey of a Turkish translation of the Qur'ān without parallel Arabic text signified the victory of a new tendency within the Islamic world, which, by the 1930s, had earned the whole approval of al-Azhar. Translations of the Qur'ān into European languages executed in Muslim countries began to appear. Two such translations into English (by M. Pickthall and Yūsuf 'Alī) gained great popularity [50].

Qur'ānic studies and translations of the Qur'ān after the Second World War were to an ever greater degree connected with two basic trends. These were striving to explain the Qur'ān by means of the Qur'ān itself and a recognition of the importance of analysing the Qur'ānic text with reference to linguistic material, both pre-Islamic and contemporary, to the Qur'ānic text. The most significant achievements in this area were of R. Blachère and R. Paret [51], to each of whom his own translation of the Qur'ān belonged. R. Paret's translation, based on a comparative study of word usage within the Qur'ān, is considered today as one of the most reliable translations. He synthesised the results of his text analysis in "Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz" [52]. As for R. Blachère, his translation is based on his study of pre-Islamic Arabian poetry and abundantly employs it to clarify "obscure passages". Finally, one should mentioned no less popular translation of the Qur'ān into European language, namely, the English translation by A. Arberry [53]. An index to it made by H. Kassis, and a brief commentary was written by W. Montgomery Watt [54], who also occupies a prominent place among modern specialists in Islamic studies. To him belong the most authoritative work on Muḥammad, a two-volume monograph [55], and a number of works on the history of Islam and Qur'ānic studies.

The emergence in nations within the traditional sphere of Islam of an independent national and historical-cultural consciousness, a process which accompanied their liberation from colonial dependence, and the increasingly prominent role of Islam in political and ideological struggle, led to an explosive rise in the number of Muslim publications on Qur'ānic studies both in Eastern and European languages. Their authors dealt with themes traditionally treated by Muslim scholarship and responded to the most important works of European scholars [56]. The majority of works which analyse various Qur'ānic stories were (and are) created with the aim of providing a basis for contemporary Muslim socio-economic and political theories by developing what is called Qur'ānic philosophy. Christian-Muslim dialogue, especially after the Second Vatican Council (1962—1965), led to the appearance of many works by both European and Muslim authors which are, in the main, dedicated to a comparative analysis of Biblical and

Qur'ānic legends and the question of how they arose and were established [57].

Of interest in this connection is the joint translation of the Qur'ān undertaken by the Christian O. Pestle and the Muslim A. Tijānī [58] with the aim of improving relations between the European community and the Muslim population of North Africa. The translation has been republished several times and remains popular. In new political circumstances, the Muslim tradition of Qur'ānic study, which never really broke off in Europe, is now undergoing a new phase of its development. The most interesting representative of a new generation of Muslim scholars is Muḥammad Arkoun, whose works stand on equal footing with the accomplishments of Western hermeneutics, taking into account both the virtues and flaws of European Qur'ānic studies [59]. Viewing the Qur'ān in the context of contemporary historical-cultural and political-ideological problems, Muḥammad Arkoun attempts to develop new methods of understanding it, juxtaposing the approaches of European scholars with the methods of traditional exegesis [60].

In a paper delivered at the International Congress for the Study of the Qur'ān dedicated to the beginning of the fifteenth century of the Hijra (Canberra, 1980), William Graham followed W. M. Watt [61] in noting a new tendency in Qur'ānic studies, which will, in his view, continue to gain strength. Citing Boris Pasternak's observation that only in talentless books are people divided into two camps in such a way that they remain unconnected and that in real life everything is interconnected, Graham remarked that an ever greater number of scholars, both in the Western and Muslim scholarly traditions, are attempting to overcome the limitations of "Muslim authoritarian traditionalism" and the "rationalism of the Western Enlightenment". Graham proposes designating the new approach to the Qur'ān by the term "humane scholarship". It is based first on the scholar's conscious submission of his conclusions to well-founded criticism from a scholarly community not only unfettered by the limitations of any single cultural or religious tradition, but also enriched by an understanding of their fundamental diversity. Second, it implies the clear recognition of the limited nature of any single approach and the tasks that scholars set for themselves. Finally, while this approach is founded on an analysis of phenomena, which in principle are rationally comprehensible, its adherents avoid a one-sided view of the nature of being and its ultimate comprehensibility. In the words of W. Graham, medieval Muslim thinkers sometimes understood this better than many contemporary scholars both in the East and the West. He cites the *aqīda* of al-Qushayrī: "The manuscript [of the Qur'ān] was created in all of its component parts. It is entirely unnecessary for it to be eternal merely because it contains the recorded words of God, just as a mosque is created and should not be considered eternal only because in it one serves God" [62].

The years, which followed W. Graham's remarks at the conference, have been marked by a dramatic rise in the influence of fundamentalism in the Muslim world and a sharp reaction in the West to these events. While this has inevitably led to an increasing number of publications written in the spirit of narrowly tendentious approaches, work along the lines suggested by W. Graham continues as well. Thus, the attempts to explain the Qur'ān with reference to the Qur'ān itself, which is typical, for example, of the work of R. Paret, have parallels in the medieval Muslim tradition.

Today they are viewed as the basic means of interpreting the Qur'ān (*al-Qur'ān yufassiru ba'duhu ba'dan*) by one of the most interesting contemporary *mufasssirs*, 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān bint al-Shāṭi' [63]. She is the widow of Amīn al-Khūlī (d. 1967) and has continued his work after his death. The latter employed a method he termed the "literary approach to the interpretation of the Qur'ān" (*al-minhaj al-adabī li-l-tafsīr*). The appearance in the West of a series of works on the Qur'ān and Islamic ritual is also indissolubly bound up with these tendencies [64]. In sum, the undeniably innovative works of J. Wansbrough noted above, which evoked much serious discussion, are also dedicated to problems of Christian-Muslim interaction. Unfortunately, the fate of Salman Rushdie, the forced emigration from Egypt of the scholar Naṣr Abū Zayd occasioned by his publication of research on the Qur'ānic text [65], and the threats A. Rippin has received from a Muslim fanatic, testify to the development of opposite tendencies in the Muslim world.

Recent years have seen an increased understanding of the fact that even the most accurate and appropriate translation of the Qur'ān possible today carried out with the deepest possible penetration into the structure of the work's conceptual apparatus would offer readers and scholars only one of many possible "Qur'āns". The Qur'ān occupied and continues to occupy such a key position in the religious and socio-political life of the Arab-Muslim world that its interpretation in various historical periods and in various socio-cultural settings is of significant independent interest. Thus, translations based on the Muslim tradition which also bear traces of the translator's individual character and the culture to which he belongs deserve to be made independent objects of study.

At present, the Qur'ān has been translated into the majority of European and Asian languages and into certain African languages. This is linked not only to development within Qur'ānic studies, but also to the growth of Islamic proselytising. The two currents of the Muslim Aḥmadiyya movement have played an especially important role in this. Approximately 250 full and partial translations, many of which are available on the Internet, have already been published [66]. Muslim countries have been on the forefront of issuing electronic editions of the Qur'ānic text and indices to it. The "Cairo edition" put together by Muslim authorities is today universally accepted as the *textus receptus* [67].

Contemporary Western Qur'ānic studies, which live "in the light of James Joyce and deconstruction", display a striving characteristic of post-modern reading sensibilities "to privilege the reader's experience and to pose a whole new set of questions and to speak of things such as poetics, rhetoric and ideology of the Qur'ān and to situate the text within the mythic context of the Near Eastern religious milieu" [68]. Past decades have witnessed increased attention to the discussion of methodological problems [69]. Recourse to new approaches is the only way to achieve new results in the analysis of a limited reservoir of basic information. A. Rippin is now at work on an introduction to the scholarly study of the Qur'ān which aims to provide a focal point for future research on the scripture in the same way that T. Nöldeke's famous "Geschichte des Qorans" did when it was first published in 1860. The "Qur'ānic Encyclopaedia" [70] currently being prepared by leading specialists in Qur'ānic studies should provide a fine summation of the study of the Qur'ān in the twentieth century.

Notes

1. J. Vernet, "La tafsīr au service de la polémique antimusulmane", *Studia Islamica*, XXXII (1970), pp. 305—9; A. Th. Houry, "Le Dieu du Coran et le Dieu d'Abraham d'après les polémistes byzantins", *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, LV (1971), pp. 266—70.
2. D. J. Sahas, *John Damascus on Islam* (Leiden, 1972); R. Bell, "John of Damascus and the controversy with Islam", *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, IV (1913—1922), pp. 37—8; see also: R. Dwardin-Terminat, *Étude historique et comparative de traduction du Coran*. Doctorat de 3ème cycle sous direction de monsieur le professeur David Cohen (Paris, 1987), ii, p. 390.
3. J. Wansbrough, *Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford, 1978), p. 45. See also *idem*, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford, 1977).
4. See G. H. A. Juynboll's review of H. Khalifa, *The Sublime Qur'ān and Orientalism*, London—New York, 1983, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XLI (1984), p. 521.
5. N. I. Serikov, "O nekotorykh aspektakh podkhoda k issledovaniuu arabo-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii X—XI vv. v sovremennoi zaru-bezhnoi istoriografii" ("On certain aspects of the approach to research on Arab-Byzantine relations in the tenth—eleventh centuries in contemporary historiography abroad"), *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, LXIV (1983), p. 250; E. Trapp, "Gab es eine byzantinische Koranuber-setzung?", *Athenai*, II (1980—1981), pp. 7—17.
6. A. Mingana, "An ancient Syriac translation of the Kur'ān exhibiting new verses and variants", *Bulletin of John Reindolds Library*, IX (1925), pp. 188—235; J. R. Harris, *The New Text of the Kur'ān: on some variants from the received text of the Kur'ān pre-supposed by the Syriac extracts included in the discourse against the Mohammedans by Dionysius bar Ṣālībī*, and published by A. Mingana under the title "An Ancient Syriac Translation of the Kur'ān Exhibiting New Verses and Variants", *Bulletin of John Reindolds Library*, X (1926), pp. 219—22; G. Bergstrasser, *Die Geschichte des Qorantexts*, i—ii (Lepzig, 1926—1929), pp. 97—8.
7. V. V. Lebedev, *Arabskie sochineniia v evropeiskoi grafike* (Arabic Works in European Alphabets) (Leningrad, 1987); M. M. Weinstein, "A Hebrew Qur'ān manuscript", *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, X (Cincinnati, 1971—1972), pp. 19—43.
8. J. Kritzack, "Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'ān", *Islamic Quarterly*, II (1955), pp. 309—12; *idem*, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964); M.-Th. d'Alverny, "Translation and translators", in R. L. Benson and G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 421—62; H. Bobzin, "Latin translations of the Koran. A short overview", *Der Islam*, LXX (1993), pp. 193—206. See also A. Abel, "Réflexions comparatives sur la sensibilité médiévale autour de la Méditerranée au XIIe siècle", *Studia Islamica*, XIII (1960), pp. 23—41; J. Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident* (Paris, 1963); E. Privat, "Islam et chrétiens du Midi (XIIe—XIVe s.)", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, ed. E. Privat (Toulouse, 1983), p. 18; *Pierre Abelard. Pierre le Vénérable. Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en Occident au milieu du XIIe siècle*: Abbaye de Cluny. 2 au 9 juillet 1972 (Paris,

1975); R. W. Southern, *Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: the Making of Image* (Edinburgh, 1960); M. Rodinson, "The Western image and Western studies of Islam", *The Legacy of Islam*, eds. J. Schacht and C. E. Bosworth (Oxford, 1984). N. V. Zhuravskii, *Khristianstvo i islam* (Christianity and Islam) (Moscow, 1990) pp. 31—2.

9. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, p. 231.

10. Cited after P. M. Holt, "The treatment of Arab history by Prideux, Ockley and Sale", in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London—New York—Toronto, 1962), p. 293.

11. M.-T. D'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Âge", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, XXII/XXIII (1947/1948), pp. 69—131; M.-Th. D'Alverny, G. Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart", *Al-Andalus*, XVII (1952), pp. 124—31.

12. The level of Latin translations of the Qur'an could not even be compared with that of the early Christian Arabic translations of the Bible. See, for example, manuscript D 226 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (copy of 1238 from the Antioch original of 1022). See Val. Polosin, E. Rezvan, "To the CD-ROM edition of the St. Petersburg Arabic Bible", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (1997), pp. 40—7. See also H. Hirschfeld, "Mohammedan criticism of the Bible", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XIII (1900—1901), pp. 222—40; C. E. Padwick, "Al-Ghazali and the Arabic versions of the gospels", *Muslim World*, XXIX (1939), pp. 130—40; G. Lecomte, "Les citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'oeuvre d'Ibn Qutaiba", *Arabica*, V (1958), pp. 34—46; A. A. Chafri, "Christianity in the Qur'an commentary of Tabari", *Islamochristiana*, VI (1980), pp. 105—48. M. H. Ananikian, "Tahrif or the alteration of the Bible according to the Moslems", *Muslim World*, XIV (1924), pp. 61—84.

13. N. Rescher, "Nicholas of Cusa on the Qur'an: a fifteenth century encounter with Islam", *Muslim World*, LV (1965), pp. 195—202; L. Hagemann, *Der Kur'an in Veständis und Kritik bei Nicolaus von Kues* (Frankfurt/M., 1976).

14. Only the preface to this work has reached us. It was published in 1952 by D. Cabanelas. See *idem*, *Juan de Sigovie y el problema islamica* (Madrid, 1952).

15. The manuscript is held in the Ambrozian library, Milan, call number Ms D. 100. Guiliemo Raimondo de Moncada, who taught Hebrew to Pico della Mirandola, made yet another unfinished Latin translation of the Qur'an. Copies of this work are held at the Vatican (Cod. Vat. lat. Urb. 1384) and in libraries in Venice, Padua, Vienna, and Paris.

16. H. Bobzin, "'A Treasury of Heresies'. Christian polemics against the Qur'an", *The Qur'an as Text*, ed. St. Wild (Leiden, 1996), p. 159.

17. J. M. Langii, *Dissertatio de Alcorani prima inter Europaeos editione Arabica ante sesquaeulum et quod excuivit in Italia per Paganinum Brixiensem facta*, sed issu Pontificus Romani abolita, 1703; J. B. Rossi, *De Corana arabico ventis Paganini typis impresso ... XVI dissertatio* (Parmae, 1806). A copy of this work, which was thought to have been completely destroyed, was discovered in 1989 by Prof. Sergio Noja in the library of an Italian monastery. See "Iktishāf awwal ṭab'a li-l-Qur'an al-Karīm fī Rūm 1537—1538 m.", *al-Manhaj*, LIII/491 (September/October 1991), pp. 283—5.

18. Mahumetis, *Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae doctrina ac, ipse Alcoran ...* Haec omnia in unum volumen redacta sunt opea et studio Theodori Bibliandri (Basel, 1543). The book came out in three parts, each with its own title page.

19. H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Wiesbaden, 1997).

20. G. Bergmann, *Die Herausforderung des Islam* (Stuttgart, 1980), pp. 29—30.

21. Call number Ms. A III 19. See Bobzin, "A Treasury of Heresies", p. 161.

22. C. Lopez-Morillas, *The Qur'an in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sūra 79* (London, 1982); a bibliography on the question is given on pp. 99—102.

23. Italian edition: *L'Alcorano di Macometto, nel qual si contiene la dottrina, la vita, i costumi, e le leggi sve*. Tradotto nuovamente dall'Arabo in lingua Italiana (Venice, 1547). See C. de Frede, *Chistianita e Islam tra la fine del medio evo e gli inizi dell'eta moderna* (Napoli, s.a.), pp. 63—7; German edition: *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, Das ist: der Türcken Alcoran Religion und Aberglauben (Nürnberg, 1616); Dutch edition: *De Arabische Alcoran, Door de Zarazijnsee en de Turcksche Prophete Mahomet* (Hamburg, 1641) (the place of publication is fictitious).

24. H. Bobzin, "Martin Luthers Beitrag zur Kenntnis und Kritik des Islam", *Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, XXVII (1985), pp. 283—9.

25. P. Martino, "Mahomet en France au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles", *Actes du 14ème Congrès international des orientalistes* (Alger, 1905).

26. *L'Alcoran de Mahomet*. Traduit d'Arabe par André du Ryer (Paris, 1647). See D. G. Pfannmüller, *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur* (Berlin—Leipzig, 1923), pp. 214—5; Dwardin-Terminaut, *Étude historique*, i, p. 443. D'Alverny considers that André du Ryer was familiar with the translation by Mark of Toledo. See Bobzin, "Latin translations", p. 201.

27. Alexander VII's actions led to the decline of the Collège de la Propagation which was founded in Rome, in 1627, by Pope Urban VIII (1623—1644). It had become one of the most important European centres of Oriental studies.

28. A. Hinckelmann, *Alcoranus Muhammedis ad optimorum Codicum fidem edita* (Hamburg, 1694). See H. Braun, "Der Hamburger Koran von 1694", *Libris et litteris*. Festschrift für H. Tiemann (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 149—66; C. Aboussouan, "Le Coran: l'édition imprimée de Hambourg", *Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900 (Exposition)* (Paris, 1982), pp. 135—6.

29. *Alcorani textus universus ...* exarabico idiomate in latinum translatus ... auctore Ludovico Maraccio (Patavii, 1698). See G. Levi della Vida, *Aneddoti e svaghi arabi e non arabi* (Milano—Napoli, 1959), pp. 193—210; E. D. Ross, "Ludovico Marracci", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, II (1921—1923), pp. 117—23; C. A. Nalino, "Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell'opera di Ludovico Maracci sul Corano", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, VI—VII (1931), pp. 303—49; P. Brockway, "The second of volume I or Maracci's *Alcorani textus universus*", *Muslim World*, LXIV (1974), pp. 141—4.

30. *Muhammedis Filii Abdallae Pseudo-Prophetae Fides Islamitica, i.e. Al-Coranus ex idiomate Arabico ...* Latine versus ... Cura et opera M. Christiani Reineccii (Lipsiae, 1721). The publication of the Marracci's translation hindered the appearance of another Latin translation prepared by the Franciscan Dominicus Germanus de Silesia (1588—1670), who spent four years in Persia as a missionary. For information on this translation, see M. Devic, "Une traduction inédite du Coran", *Journal Asiatique*, VIIIe série, I (1883), pp. 343—406;

F. Richard, "La Franciscain Dominicus Germanus de Silesia, grammairien et auteur d'apologie en Persain", *Islamochristiana*, X (1984), pp. 91—107. Yet another partial Latin translation has survived in manuscript (Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Ms. C 199); it is attributed to Kyrillos Lucaris (1572—1638), the Greek patriarch of Constantinople. See Bobzin, "Latin translations", p. 202.

31. N. Daniel, *Islam, Europe and Empire* (Edinburgh, 1966), p. 299.

32. See J. Gagner, *Vie de Mahomet*. Traduite et compléee de l'Alcoran des traditions authentiques de la Sonna et de meilleurs auteurs, i—ii (Amsterdam, 1732); K. Mommsen, *Goethe und der Islam* (Stuttgart, 1964).

33. G. Sale, *The Koran Commonly Called Alcoran of Mohammed*, translated into English ... to which is prefixed a preliminary discourse (London, 1734); repr. 1921.

34. Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

35. *Le Coran*, traduit de l'arabe, accompagné de notes ... par M. Savary, I—II A. la Mecque l'an de l'Hégire 1165 (Paris, 1751). See also P. Martino, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Dwardin-Terminaut, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 529—30.

36. C. Grossir, *L'Islam des Romantiques. 1811—1840: du refus à la tentation* (Paris, 1984).

37. M. Arkoun, "Comment lire le Coran?", *Le Coran*, trad. de l'arabe par Kasimirsky (Paris, 1970), pp. 11—36.

38. E. M. Wherry, *A Comprehensive Commentary of the Qur'an: Comprising G. Sale's Translation and Preliminary Discourse with Additional Notes and Emendations together with a Complete Index to the Text, Preliminary Discourse and Notes*, i—iv (London, 1882—1886).

39. V. K. Afanas'eva, I. M. D'iakonov, I. P. Veinberg, "Kultura Perednei Azii v pervoi polovine I tysiacheletia do n. é." ("The culture of Anterior Asia in the first half of the I millennium B.C."), *Istoriia drevnego mira*, eds. I. M. Diakonoff, V. D. Neronova, I. S. Svetsitskaya. Vol. II: *Rastsvet drevnikh obshchestv* (The Heyday of Ancient Societies) (Moscow, 1982), p. 122.

40. A. Geiger, *Was hat Muhammad dem Judentum aufgenommen* (Bonn, 1833); C. G. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran* (Hamburg—Gotha, 1839); G. Weil, *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in den Koran* (Bielefeld, 1844); Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Göttingen, 1860); H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Quran* (London, 1902); J. Barth, "Studien zur Kritik und Exegese des Qorans", *Der Islam*, VI (1915—1916), pp. 113—48; J. Horoviz, "Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran", *Hebrew Union College Annual*, II (1925), pp. 144—227; *idem*, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin—Leipzig, 1926); *idem*, "Judaico-Arabic relations in pre-Islamic times", *Islamic Culture*, III/2 (1929), pp. 161—99.

41. *Coranus arabice*, recensiois Flugelianae textum recognovit iterum exprimi curavit Gustavus Mauritius Redslob (Lipsiae, 1837, 1855, 1867, etc.); G. Flügel, *Concordantiae Corani Arabicae* (Lipsiae, 1842); reprints. 1898, 1979.

42. B. Johansen, "Politics and scholarship: the development of Islamic studies in the Federal Republic of Germany", *Middle East Studies: International Perspectives on the State of the Art*, ed. Tareq Y. Ismael (New York, 1990), pp. 75—90.

43. For details, see E. Rezvan, "The Qur'an and its world: VI. Emergence of the canon: the struggle for uniformity", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/2 (1998), p. 27. In the 1930s, a series of key works by Ibn Khālawayh, al-Dānī, Ibn Abī Dā'wūd was published on the problem of *qirā'āt*. The manuscripts were prepared for publication and frequently sought out in repositories by the same G. Bergstresser, A. Jeffery, and O. Pretsl. See A. Jeffery, "Progress in the study of the Qur'an text", *Muslim World*, XXV (1935), pp. 4—16. A. Jeffery has been at work on the problem of a critical edition since the mid-1950s, see his *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an* (Leyde, 1937); *idem*, "The textual history of the Qur'an", *Journal of Middle East Society*, I—II (1947), pp. 35—49; *idem*, *Index de matériels* (Leyde, 1951); *idem*, "The Qur'an as scripture", *Muslim World*, XL (1950), pp. 41—55.

44. R. P. A. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme* (Paris—Leyde, 1879).

45. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i—ii (Halle, 1888—1890); *idem*, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1920); *idem*, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg, 1925).

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47. R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London, 1926); repr. 1968.

48. R. Bell, *The Qur'an*, translated with a critical rearrangement of the Sūrah's, i—ii (Edinburgh, 1939). R. Bell's commentary was published almost 40 years after the author's death. See R. Bell, *A Commentary to the Qur'an*, i—ii (Manchester, 1991).

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52. R. Paret, *Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz* (Stuttgart, 1971); repr. 1977.

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54. H. E. Kassis, *A Concordance of the Qur'an* (Berkeley—Los Angeles, 1982); W. M. Watt, *Companion to the Qur'an*. Based on the Arberry translation (London, 1967).

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63. 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Rahmān bint al-Shāṭi', *Al-tafsīr al-bayani li-'l-Qur'ān al-karīm*, i (Cairo, 1962), p. 18; reprs. 1966, 1968; also I. J. Boullata, "Modern Qur'ān exegesis: a study of Bint al-Shati's method", *Muslim World*, LXIV/2 (1974), pp. 103—13.
64. Rezvan, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
65. Naṣr Abū Zayd, *Mafhūm al-naṣṣ: dirāsa fi 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* (al-Qāhira, 1990).
66. I. Binark, H. Eren, *World Bibliography of Translations of the Meanings of the Holy Qur'an: Printed Translations 1515—1980* (Istanbul, 1986). Unfortunately, this work, which is largely based on second-hand information, contains many inaccuracies.
67. Rezvan, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
68. Rippin, "Reading the Qur'ān", p. 646. See, for example, the works of J. Wansbrough and M. Arkoun mentioned above.
69. G. R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef, *Approaches to the Qur'ān* (London, 1993); also *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford, 1988), pp 177—98.
70. *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, general editor — Jane Dammen McAuliffe; associate editors — Claude Gilliot, William Graham, Wadad Kadi, Andrew Rippin. Advisory Board: Naṣr Abū Zayd, Muḥammad Arkoun, Gerald Hawting, Fred Leemhuis, Angelika Neuwirth, Uri Rubin (to be published by Brill).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Muḥammad as presented in the miniature to Erlandus Dryselius's *Luna Turcica, eller, Turkeske mäne ...* (Jönköping, 1694), p. 5.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

I. V. Kulganek

MONGOLIAN FOLKLORE MATERIALS IN THE ORIENTALISTS ARCHIVE AT THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Various historical circumstances underlie the fact that an enormous number of Mongolian-language materials have entered the Orientalists archive housed in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. A great deal of them represents Mongolian folklore materials which were collected by several generations of Russian scholars and travellers. The expedition of D.-G. Messerschmidt (1685—1735) to Western Siberia, Dauria and Mongolia in 1720—1727, two expeditions of G. F. Miller (1705—1783) to the east of the Lake Baykal in 1735 and 1741, the travels of P.-S. Pallas (1741—1811) to Orenburg region and Siberia in the 1768—1774 yielded valuable acquisitions to the Russian Academy of Sciences. Another lot of Mongolian folklore materials entered the Academy under Chr. D. Fraehn (1782—1851), who was the first director of the Asiatic Museum (at present, St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). Under C. G. Zalemann (1849—1916), also head of the Asiatic Museum, these materials were supplemented by new precious acquisitions among which were rich folklore collections acquired from the Russian Committee for the Investigation of Central and Eastern Asia. At the beginning of the twentieth century, vast collections were gathered by the renowned Buriat scholars, Ts. Zhamtsarano, B. Baradiyn, and N. Ochirov. A series of archives was also formed from materials donated by relatives, colleagues, and friends of these scholars. All these acquisitions significantly enriched Mongolian studies in Russia.

At present, the Orientalists archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies holds 151 personal archives, 29 subject archives, and rich, though not yet sorted, photo archive. The current arrangement of the archives materials emerged as a result of numerous re-organisations, the most significant of which took place after the Orientalists archive had been joined together with the manuscript collection in 1933. Later, the Orientalists archive was reconstituted as an independent unit (1937). Mongolian folklore materials of the Orientalists archive were utilised in several articles and monographs by both Russian and foreign scholars, such as S. F. Oldenburg, N. P. Zhuravlev, S. A. Kozin, L. I. Chuguyevsky, T. P. Goreglyad, I. I. Iorish, V. Ts. Naidakov, I. D. Buraev, I. V. Kulganek. All these publications were made in Rus-

sian, therefore, the materials for the most part remain unknown to scholars abroad.

The riches of the archive are determined both by an amount of the texts collected and by their great variety. A significant quantity of the folklore material is preserved being divided into three categories, or *разряды* (henceforth abbreviated as *p.*), subdivided into inventories, or *описания* (henceforth abbreviated as *on.*). Those are “Mongolia and Tibet” (11 items) — *p. I, on. 3*; “Buriats and Kalmyks” (7 items) — *p. II, on. 1*; “Materials of individual persons” (3 items) — *p. III, on. 3, 1*. This arrangement of the materials appeared in 1937, when a group of five qualified specialists was invited to put the archive in order. L. B. Modzalevsky, the main keeper of the Manuscript department at the Pushkin House (the Institute of Russian Literature) and a well-known archivist of the time, headed the group then. It was at that period that inventories of the materials as well as a book of acquisitions appeared, and archival funds files containing information on the history of the archives and collections were compiled in that time, too.

The following materials are of especial interest for scholars engaged in Mongolian studies: (i) “Diary of a trip in Northern Mongolia in 1895 by N. N. Shnitnikov”, which contains a detailed description of Mongolia, its nature, climate and geological relief, with several folk songs being included; these were copied down by the author (No. 6/629, quires 1, 2, 3); (ii) “Diary of a trip to Urga by L. E. Zhapov” (No. 7/375); (iii) “Materials by Ts. D. Nominkhanov”, which contains folklore notes on the language of the Derbets of North-Western Mongolia (No. 39); (iv) songs and stories whose recording is attributed to N. F. Pestovsky (No. 356); (v) “Materials gathered for the study of the history and Mongolian language of Zadaga” (No. 47); (vi) folklore texts in “Materials of Mr. Gorin” (No. 14/374); (vii) written recordings of the *uligers* made by A. K. Bogdanov (No. 41); (viii) numerous translations from Mongolian poetry, made by Mr. Igumnov, an official in Irkutsk (No. 27); (ix) an article by T. A. Burdukova on the art of Kalmyk story-tellers (No. 53).

Also of interest is the major part of materials “Buriats and Kalmyks” (*p. II, on. 1*) which contain 392 items. These

consist of administrative correspondence from the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, when a local reform of land-tenure regulations was conducted in Buriatia — applications, sentences, reports, petitions, copies of documentary materials of the steppe *dumas* (councils), personal archives of the *tayishas* and clan elders. Among these are also folklore recordings and materials on folklore. Of primary importance are: (i) "Materials on the folk literature of the Astrakhan Derbets by N. Ochirov", which include more than 200 riddles, sayings and over 50 songs in Kalmyk (No. 344); (ii) materials of B. Tsyrenov (No. 550); (iii) "Materials of G. Khamsghalov, G. Bertagaev and other post-graduate students of the Institute of Oriental Studies" (No. 358); (iv) "Materials of F. V. Muromsky" (No. 346); (v) "Materials of I. Z. Khamaganov" (No. 353); (vi) a work entitled "On the Buriats and Tungus in the frontier cossack corps" by Major K. S. Beznosik, appointed for special assignments to the General Provincial Eastern Siberian Staff; the work contains examples of Buriat poetry as well (No. 32); (vii) "Report on a summer commission to the Kalmyk nomadic encampments of the Astrakhan Province in 1909 by a student A. Borzinkevich" (No. 341). Among those folklore recordings the earliest one is found in "Grammatical and lexical materials on the Kalmyk language, Kalmyk texts of Protestant missionaries ... in Sarept, brought to Petersburg by Gorbakh, son of a Sarept pharmacist, at the beginning of the twentieth century".

Personal archives are no less rich than those mentioned above. The greatest quantity of folklore recordings is concentrated in the following personal archives (henceforth abbreviated as *φ.*): A. M. Pozdnev (φ. 44); Ts. Zhamstarano (φ. 62); B. B. Baradiyn (φ. 87); B. I. Pankratov (φ. 145); V. A. Kazakevich (φ. 63); V. D. Yakimov (φ. 83), and K. F. Golstunsky (φ. 60). Sometimes, the personal archives include materials belonging to other individuals. For example, in B. I. Pankratov's archive we find a number of N. N. Poppe's works on folklore (φ. 145, *on.* 3, Nos. 42, 43, 45) and B. B. Bambaev's diaries (φ. 145, *on.* 3, No. 84). A. M. Pozdnev's archive include materials belonging to A. D. Rudnev (φ. 44, *on.* 1, No. 9). Finally, in Ts. Zhamstarano's archive one can find materials of S. Dylykov (φ. 62, *on.* 1, Nos. 79, 81) and D. Tsendenov (φ. 62, *on.* 1, No. 127).

In sum, the Orientalists archive at the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies numbers 151 items dealing with folklore materials. These represent 3,000 works, constituting a most valuable source for the study of Mongolian folklore. Many of them are unique, being recordings in various dialects of Mongolian, Buriat, and Kalmyk.

Following the classification of types and genre varieties accepted in modern folklore studies, and basing also on elaborated methods of genre distinction in Mongolian folklore by B. Ia. Vladimirtsov, G. D. Sanzhev, Ts. Damdinsuren, G. I. Mikhailov, S. Yu. Nekliudov, K. N. Yatskovskaya, Kh. Sampildenev, P. Khorloo, M. I. Tulokhonov, S. S. Bardakhanova, and Sh. Gaadamba, we can class the folklore materials in the Orientalists archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies as follows: (i) large poetic genres — the heroic epic, *uligers*; (ii) short poetic genres — praise, good wishes, exhortation, speeches, songs; (iii) prose genres — legends, myths, traditions, stories, jokes, parables, tales; (iv) aphoristic genres — proverbs, sayings, riddles; (v) shamanistic

poetry — incantations, appeals, prayers, invocations, curses.

All this clearly shows an enormous richness of folklore materials in the archive. The diversity of the recordings, made by a large number of people at various times and for various purposes, constitutes their main feature. They date mostly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marked by special interest in dialects and folk literature in the scholarly circles of Russia. These texts were recorded in academic phonetic transcription accepted at that period. This transcription took into account palatalization, the duration of sounds, and accent in every concrete pronunciation. This was the transcription employed by Ts. Zhamtsarano, B. Baradiyn, and A. D. Rudnev. Earlier materials, which are preserved in the personal archives of K. F. Golstunsky and A. M. Pozdnev, have come down to us being recorded in old Mongolian. Unfortunately, some of the travellers did not know Mongolian, so they copied down Mongolian words rather approximately, using Russian letters.

Apart from the folklore recordings, which were made during expeditions, the Orientalists archive also contains collections composed on the basis of genre. Some of them, for example, contain only proverbs and riddles (φ. 44, *on.* 1, No. 86), or songs and good wishes solely (φ. 44, *on.* 1, No. 95). Certain collectors arranged their material by dialect, as did, for example, N. Ochirov, who included in a separate notebook riddles and songs in Kalmyk (*p.* II, *on.* 1, No. 333).

There are also materials representing for the most part *uligers* collected by Ts. Zhamtsarano and B. Baradiyn during their ethno-linguistic expeditions to Buriatia and Mongolia, which were organised at the beginning of the twentieth century on behalf of the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia. These materials were the first Buriat folklore recordings, which presented entire works rather than retelling them. Much of what was collected by Zhamtsarano and Baradiyn was published later. In collaboration with A. D. Rudnev, Zhamtsarano published in five issues three volumes of examples of the Mongol tribes folklore. Later, the Buriat Institute of Social Sciences repeatedly borrowed Zhamtsarano's materials in the Orientalists archive. But a number of *uligers*, such as *Yondon khan*, recorded by Zhamtsarano in 1909 from Terentyev in the Kudinsk department, *Bukha noion baavai*, recorded by Baradiyn among the Agin Buriat from Namsrain Aiurzana, which contains 2,230 lines (φ. 87, *on.* 1, No. 20), *Unshin khara khubuun* (φ. 87, *on.* 2, No. 20), and *Baian khuurai khan*, recorded by S. P. Baldaev (*p.* II, *on.* 1, No. 359) still await publication. The value of these recordings seems even greater if one takes into account the academic transcription employed in the majority of them. It provides a high degree of accuracy in the reconstruction of dialectical pronunciation and renders them among the most valuable linguistic sources for the study of numerous Mongolian dialects.

The materials embracing pieces of "small poetic genres" contain an enormous number of works (1,088) both ritual (praise, odes, extolling, good wishes, toasts, exhortation, admonition) and non-ritual (epic, historical, philosophical, and satirical songs which vary in manner, purpose, times, place of performance; 945 songs in all).

The "prose genre" includes traditions, legends, myths, tales, stories, and fables. Among them are etiological legends, such as "On the Origin of Wine" (φ. 29, *on.* 1,

No. 25), demonological stories, such as "Devil" (*φ*. 87, *on*. 1, No. 15 and *p*. II, *on*. 1, No. 342), anthropogenic, such as the "Legend of Maidari, Who Stole a Flower from Shigemuni" (*φ*. 44, *on*. 1, No. 228), hunting tales (*φ*. 62, *on*. 1, No. 12), fables (*φ*. 62, *on*. 1, Nos. 15 and 18). There are also fairy tales of Bigermijid khan which go back to a Sanskrit literary source and were extremely popular for several centuries in Mongolia, Buriatia and Kalmykia (*φ*. 62, *on*. 1, No. 12), genealogical traditions, such as "On the Origin of the Ekhirit and Bulgat clans" (*φ*. 62, *on*. 1, No. 40(6)), several tales about Balan Senge, a wandering monk who fooled the rich, unlucky travellers, and greedy proprietor (*φ*. 62, *on*. 1, Nos. 40(4), and *on*. 1, No. 2).

The "aphoristic genres" category contains proverbs, sayings, and riddles which exist either interspersed with larger forms, such as *uligers* and epic songs, or as separate collections, such as "On Mores" (*φ*. 44, *on*. 1, No. 88), "On Women" (*φ*. 44, *on*. 1, No. 3), "Recordings of Kh. Nominkhanov" (*p*. I, *on*. 3, No. 39a). Most of the examples of this genre were recorded by A. M. Pozdnev — 86 sayings (*φ*. 44, *on*. 1, No. 86) and 97 proverbs (*φ*. 44, *on*. 1, No. 344); and N. Ochirov — 115 Kalmyk proverbs (*p*. II, *on*. 1, No. 344).

Most of the materials embracing shamanistic poetry deal with Buriat shamanism. It includes texts delivered during all types of shamanistic rituals: (i) *duhaalga* (Mong. *satsal*, the ritual of sprinkling) (*p*. II, *on*. 1, No. 343); (ii) *khaihalga* (a more complex ritual, which in addition to sprinkling includes preparatory cleansing by fire and the fragrances of sacrificial food, the hanging of ribbons) (*φ*. 44, *on*. 1, No. 30), (iii) *sakhil* (the next procedure in the ritual, during which incantations are read over an animal and its skin with head and tail, the skin being fixed on a pole; the ritual is only performed with the help of a shaman) (*φ*. 44, *on*. 1, No. 37 and *p*. II, *on*. 1, No. 353). These recordings are particularly valuable, since almost all of them are sup-

plied with commentaries to the text. Such is, for example, the text of an invocation recorded by Khamaganov, which contains a vast commentary (*p*. II, *on*. 1, No. 353). Under call number *φ*. 28, *on*. 1, No. 255, one can find not only the text of the prayer pronounced by the shaman at a wedding evening, but also a description of the entire courtship ritual with the participation of the shaman. In citing funeral services, A. D. Kornakov describes the burial of the Tanjinlama in which the shaman played his important role (*p*. I, *on*. 3, No. 26). Finally, texts of Kalmyk shamans recorded by Ulanov are accompanied by the account of their customs when making sacrifices.

However, the richest material on shamanistic poetry was no doubt collected by Ts. Zhamtsarano. His recordings are 28 texts supplemented by commentaries which explain the texts and describe rituals, such as the "ritual of invoking a soul", "entreating for children", "sprinkles", "on the 12 Fridays", "on the great and small tailgans" (*φ*. 62, *on*. 1, Nos. 15, 18, 40 (quires 1—5)). Of these precious texts only few have been published.

Unfortunately, there is no description of these extremely valuable materials. The author of the present article has compiled a "Catalogue of Mongolian Folklore Materials in the Orientalists Archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies", which includes descriptive articles written in accordance with the accepted rules of processing archive documents. Appended to the Catalogue is a list of archives, a concordance of items and numbers of description, a terminological dictionary of linguistic, ethnographic, literary-critical and religious studies terms, and an alphabetical index of personal names.

We hope that the Catalogue we have prepared will interest all those engaged in Mongolian studies — folklorists, historians, students of religion — and that their interest will help its rapid appearance.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

V. A. Jakobson

COMPUTER ASSYRIOLOGY

1

Assyriology is the branch of Orientalistic which studies the history, languages, and cultures of those ancient peoples which employed cuneiform writing. A specific feature of Assyriology is that it deals with a number of languages not related to one another (with the exception of Urartic and Hurritic, which belong to the same language family). Cuneiform was invented by the Sumerians at the beginning of the third millennium B. C. It was later borrowed from them by neighbouring peoples, either directly or not, who adapted it to their own languages. It is an extremely complex writing system employing several hundred signs, each of which can have several (sometimes dozens) syllabic (phonetic) and up to five or six semantic (ideographic) meanings. It is not difficult to calculate the number of variant readings, which can arise from a combination of only three or four cuneiform signs. The matter is further complicated by the absence of word divisions and punctuation marks in cuneiform — all

signs were written one after the other without any spaces, divided only into lines. Fortunately, certain orthographic rules and grammatical features somewhat facilitate cuneiform reading.

Each cuneiform sign represents a combination of several wedge-shaped marks, which are vertical, horizontal or inclined. These marks were impressed by the scribe with a three-sided stick on a tablet of fresh clay which was then preserved by drying or, less frequently, by baking, as with ceramics. On rare occasion, inscriptions were made on other clay objects as well as on metal and stone. In the latter cases, they invariably imitated inscriptions on clay. At present, the world's museums possess approximately half a million cuneiform texts of varying lengths, ranging from a few signs to thousands of lines. The number of these texts continues to grow.

2

Cuneiform texts are published to ensure specialists access to them. The simplest and least labour-consuming method of publishing such kind of texts would be to photograph them. For a number of reasons, however, readable photographs of cuneiform texts are either difficult or impossible to produce. The holographic method is extremely promising, but only the first steps have been taken in this direction. Therefore, cuneiform texts are currently published in the form of so-called drawings, copies made by hand on paper and then reproduced polygraphically. It is a labour-consuming process which requires highly qualified specialists. Ideally, drawings accurately reproduce the text and all of its individual features: the relative size of the signs, the handwriting of the ancient scribe, damaged spots, etc. Transliteration is employed for direct work with the texts: the text is rewritten in Latin letters and equipped with necessary diacritics. Transliteration is, in a sense, a "translation" of cuneiform into another, alphabetic, writing system. Each cuneiform sign is designated by a combination of Latin letters which convey either the most widely used syllabic (phonetic) meaning of a given sign or its most important ideographic (semantic) meaning in Sumerian.

Such a transliteration is performed in strict accordance with a well-defined set of rules (algorithms) and should be fully reversible, allowing one to recreate the original cuneiform text, if not its outward appearance. This is ensured by taking into account all possible variant readings which can arise as a result of the polyphonetic and polysemantic nature of each sign, as noted above (section 1).

Thus, texts can be published in the following fashions: a) drawings, b) transliteration, c) drawing in conjunction with transliteration. Texts are then cited in transliterations or transcriptions which convey the actual pronunciation of each word in the corresponding ancient language. Only in rare cases, when handwriting or damage cause doubt about a particular reading, is a passage reproduced in drawing form. The final stage of work on a text is a translation, which is as complete as possible (given the condition of the text) and equipped with all necessary commentary. For this reason, texts are ideally published as drawings with transliteration and translation, introducing them into scholarly circulation, after which the texts can be employed for scholarly problems whatever they may be.

3

Each scholar studies those aspects of texts which interest him. He attempts to extract all relevant information from a concrete group of texts selected on a chronological, geographic, linguistic, thematic, etc. basis. To this aim, each Assyriologist draws up a substantial file or files and then augments or restructures them throughout his scholarly career. Such files, drawn up to answer specific questions, inevitably contain an enormous amount of valuable information which cannot be used within a single or even several works. Unfortunately, at the end of their creators' careers, working files are commonly of no practical value: each scholar has his own system of classification and headings, his own system of abbreviations and references, and, finally, his own (too frequently illegible) handwriting. In order to make use of such a file, another scholar would be compelled to expend a great deal of time and effort without any guarantee that they will pay off. Sometimes, it is much simpler to work through the texts anew. To cite an example, the Research group of ancient Oriental philology at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies holds a vast file of the late Prof. A. P. Riftin (1900—1945), an outstanding Assyriologist. His numerous works were based on enormous information extracted from cuneiform texts. To great regret, it is impossible to be used. And each Assyriologist cannot help but mourn the fact that his own card-indices, which cost him such effort and contain so much information that he was not able to use, will one day be waste paper. Up-to-date computers, with their large memories and

high processing speed, allow us to contemplate the possibility of creating was a computerised Assyriological file, rather, a set of interconnected thematic files, copies, transliterations, and translations of all extant texts and archeological materials, which can be a general Assyriological database accessible to all.

Of course, the creation of such a generalised database remains a task for the future. We must start with individual databases drawn up and organised by specific and uniform rules which permit them to be united in the future. The rules should be flexible enough so that changes and improvements can be made if necessary, including retroactive adjustments capable to alter the entire database.

The invention of writing made it possible for mankind to create a collective memory, imperfect and susceptible to damage though. This memory contains only the results of scholarly work. Generally, the preparatory stages of such work (the "rough drafts") are shadowed, albeit they are frequently capable to grant information, the importance and value of which was not always evident for the scholars themselves. Most often such information is lost forever; only in rare cases is it rediscovered, with inevitable losses though. The creation of a general computerised database, or at least a group of individual databases, eliminates this difficulty, making it possible to preserve the totality of valuable information and intriguing process of scholarly thought.

4

At the same time, to create solely databases would mean to use the computer merely as a typewriter or powerful calculator. The capacities of up-to-date computers permit not only to perform logical operations, but to reveal also hidden information, as well as to facilitate making new conclusions on the basis of available information.

Just to cite an example, cuneiform texts such as letters, administrative, commercial, economic and juridical documents mention various individuals. Such references frequently indicate their official positions and genealogical ties. They name also, directly or indirectly, their place of residence, contain information about their material well-being, commercial deals, legal matters, administrative directives relating to them, etc. It is possible to draw up, on the basis of known texts, an individual "dossier" on each of the individuals mentioned therein. It demands first of all identifying these individuals with reasonable accuracy as well as separating namesakes. Although the number of possible names in ancient Mesopotamia was quite large, each historical epoch had several dozen extremely popular names. The figures found in cuneiform documents are usually identified on the basis of name and patronymic, but this is a) not always true and b) people with the same names and patronymics occur, too. To obtain accurate "individualisation", one must turn to secondary factors, such as age, official position, address, names of wife and children, names of relatives, etc. A computer can perform

such identifications quickly and accurately, taking all information into account and pinpointing problematic cases.

Especially important and interesting would be the compilation, where possible, of genealogies encompassing two, three, or more generations on the basis of ties enumerated in the texts. This would permit the subsequent creation of "family dossiers" which account for the material well-being of a given family or clan, changes, the inheritance or non-inheritance of official positions, individual careers, moves, life spans, and a great deal of other information. Obtaining of such genealogical information would be surely a success, the data collected enable us to have more vivid picture of real life in the ancient East. A computer can significantly speed this work and remove the possibility of errors stemming from distraction, oversight, and misunderstanding.

Certainly, the study of large texts presents a much more complicated case. Here one deals with the necessity of revealing and analysing their logical structure, extant variants, and individual characteristics (texts frequently exist in several copies, which differ from one another). The existence of overlapping copies allows one to recover damage-induced lacunae, sometimes in part, and sometimes, with a bit of luck, in full. No less important is the lexical analysis of such texts, and especially the terminology they contain. Finally, it is possible to discover links between certain texts in the form of citations, paraphrases, and direct references.

5

Making of data-entry programs is now a quite routine procedure. Entering drawings (copies) presents no problems too and can be done with a high-resolution scanner. As for entering transliterations and commentaries, it is a fairly complicated procedure. The difficulty is that a number of alphabets — Cyrillic, Latin (with diacritics both above and below the line), and, preferably, Greek and “square” Hebrew — are to be utilized. Though programs for each individual alphabet exist, using them all in a single text presents certain difficulties. These become even greater, if one has to deal simultaneously with three of the alphabets, which are written from left to right, and Hebrew, which is, like Arabic, written from right to left. The problem of ensuring quick

and simple toggling between different writing systems in all of their variations has not yet been resolved.

Unfortunately, programs for textual analysis do not yet exist; their creation is the primary aim of the project under discussion here. Here, we will have to advance step by step, proceeding from simple to more complex tasks and bearing in mind that each step forward can reveal new perspectives, which were previously inconceivable or dimly imagined. In this process, as was noted above, it would be desirable to be able to change and augment our programs as we work, and to do this in such a way that changes and additions affect already collected data.

6

It seems reasonable here to give an example of a relatively standard legal text. The text is representative and gives one a sense of the minimum amount of data which must be entered into the computer, as well as a sense of the

data which the computer can systematize itself and then produce at user request.

a) Each text has its own “passport” which should indicate the following information:

Table

YOS 8, 120

Rim-Sin 40, 20/IX

| Adoption | |
|--|--|
| (1) <i>^mĪ-lī-gi-im-la-an-ni muni</i> | (1) (A person) by the name of Ili-gimlanni |
| <i>ki ni-te-na</i> | from himself |
| <i>^mŠi-ip-^dSin</i> | Shep-Sin |
| <i>nam dumu-ni-šē šu-ba-an-ti</i> | adopted. |
| (5) <i>nam-ibila-ni-šē in-gar</i> | (5) He made him his heir. |
| <i>u_r-kūr-šē u_r-nu-me-a-ak</i> | In the future, at whatever time, |
| <i>tukun-bi</i> | if |
| <i>^mĪ-lī-gi-im-la-an-ni</i> | Ili-gimlanni |
| <i>nam Ši-ip-^dSin ad-da-ni</i> | to Shep-Sin |
| (10) <i>ad-da-mu nu-me-en</i> | (10) “you are not my father” |
| <i>ba-na-an-dug₄</i> | says, |
| <i>ku-šē ba-an-šum-mu-uš</i> | they will sell him for silver, |
| <i>tukun-bi</i> | (but) if |
| <i>Ši-ip-^dSin</i> | Shep-Sin |
| (15) <i>nam I-li-gi-im-la-an-n[i]</i> | (15) to Ili-gimlanni |
| <i>dumu-mu nu-me-en ba-na-an-dug₄</i> | says “you are not my son,” |
| <i>é-nig-ga-ra bar-ra-éd-a</i> | he will lose house and property. |
| <i>mu ^dNannar ^dŠamaš</i> | In the name of the god Nannar, the god Shamash |
| <i>ù ^dRi-im-^dSin lugal</i> | and Rim-Sin the King |
| (20) <i>in-pád-meš</i> | (20) they swore [to this]. |

List of witnesses, date, seal of the first witness.

— name of the edition in full or in generally accepted abbreviation and the number of the text according to this edition (line one, heading);

— museum number of the text (here omitted);

— date of the text in Mesopotamian system of chronology (year in the reign of this or that ruler in accepted

abbreviation, date and month according to the Mesopotamian calendar);

— short description of content (standardised).

It is particularly necessary to obtain the following information from the computer:

- all texts of a particular origin, relating to a particular reign or period within that reign;
- all texts stored in a particular museum;
- all texts which mention certain individuals in one capacity or another.

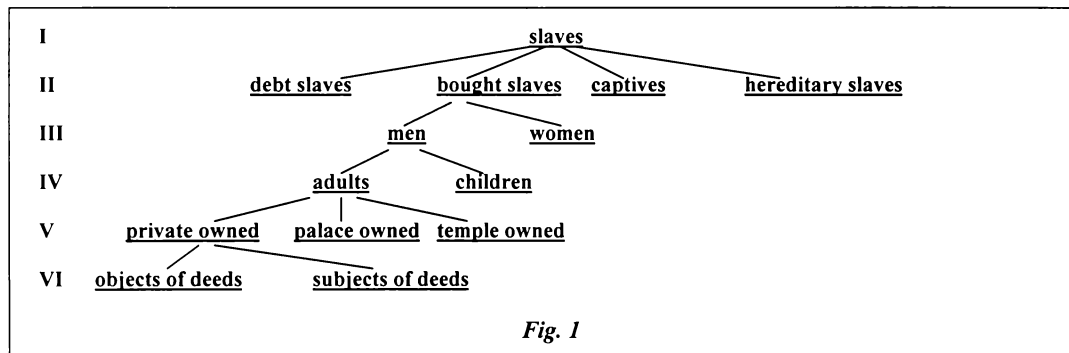
One must be able to obtain from the computer the text in any form, as well as scholarly commentaries on the text. Finally, one must be able to obtain from the database all texts which contain a specific term or word (ideally, even a cuneiform sign or selected group of signs).

b) When a new text is entered, the lists of names and genealogy should be automatically updated. Each name should be linked to the following data: genealogical ties, official positions, place of residence, passports of all texts in which he/she is mentioned and the capacity in which he/she is mentioned (seller, buyer, creditor, debtor, official, judge, witness, slave, lord, etc.). Terms or selected words contained in the text should be entered into lists of terms with an indication of passports for the corresponding texts. One must be able to obtain from the database all of the information enumerated above in any configuration.

7

Since up-to-date computers are not yet able to work with natural language, one must develop a language for the formal description of texts. It is clear that each word in such a language will represent a certain concept, that is, the result of an initial interpretation not only of a given text but of an entire group of texts relevant to a certain question. The entirety of such formal descriptions (formal texts) will form a

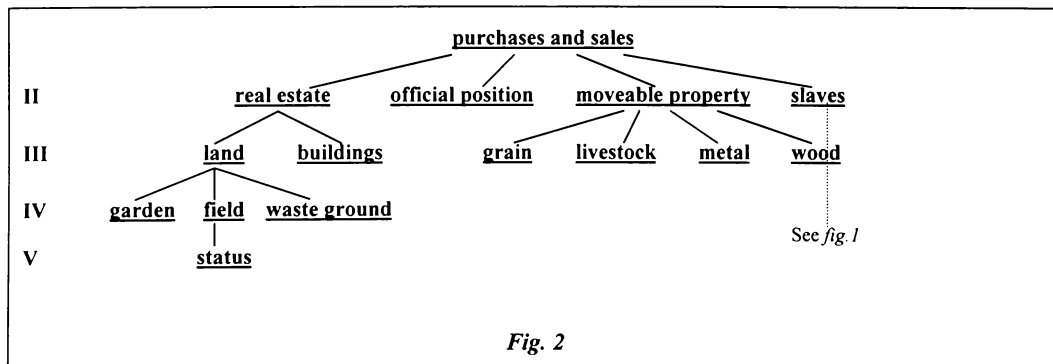
conceptual memory on the basis of which logical operations are performed. The words (concepts) of this formal description are, as a rule, interconnected; this interconnectedness, in conjunction with the semantic volume or level of each concept, assumes the form of a "concept tree" or "matryoshka" of concepts. Here are several examples (see *figs. 1, 2, 3*).

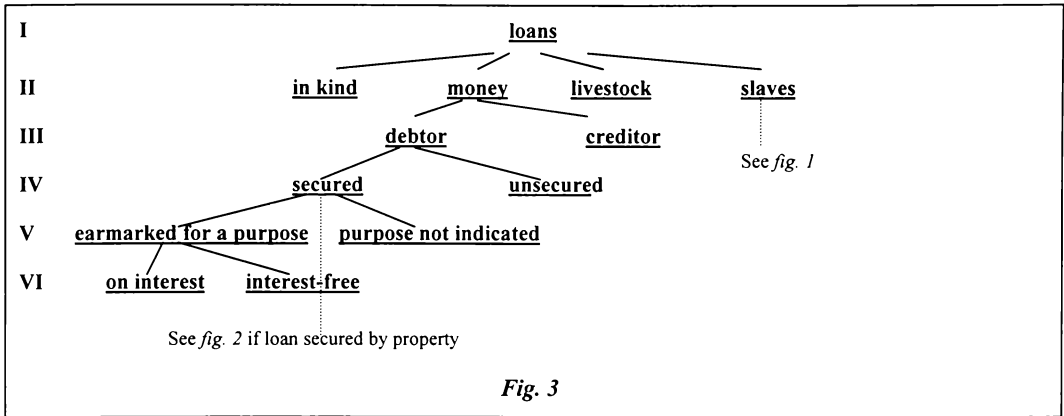


Obviously, level III—VI concepts and higher are related to level I—II concepts. We see from *fig. 2* that, first, trees can "grow together" (the concept of "slaves" recurs) and, second, that the levels are not equivalent. Thus, if levels II—IV concretise the object of a transaction, levels V—VII do not relate to all concepts present in levels II—IV — the tree can be asymmetrical. In this fashion, nearly all concepts are in one form or another interrelated. The "trees" or *matryoshkas* are

themselves concepts, and for this reason they can be reviewed (restructured). The program must make this possible.

It is not accidental that the examples cited here relate to legal texts: such texts have a clearly defined formal structure and are characterized by a fairly limited set of terms and usages. At the other end of the spectrum, literary texts present much greater complexities. All other cuneiform texts lie somewhere between these two poles.





8

In our view, one of the main problems is the amount of work required to develop formal concepts and enter them into the database. Obviously, this must not significantly exceed the amount of work needed to create an ordinary file, or no one will undertake the task.

The foregoing concerns the formal analysis of texts and is evidently realisable in the near future. As for the analysis of their contents, we remain at the level of feeling our way toward new approaches.



PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

Vlad. V. Polosin

A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF AN ILLUSTRATED PSALTER

The present publication aims to draw attention to one of the Christian Arabic manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number A 187). Among numerous extant manuscripts, executed in the Arab Christian milieu, this one is of special interest because of miniatures it contains. Only few of such illustrated codices have come down to us. In addition, the miniatures were performed by the outstanding artist known as Yūsuf Muṣawwir.

The manuscript is written on white European paper with watermarks — three crescents and another one, which I was unable to identify. The folio dimensions are 18.0 X 13.2 cm, but the original folios were trimmed while binding. The text occupies a field of 14.7 X 9.4 cm. The manuscript contains 128 folios with 15 lines per page. Traces of the *mīṣṭara* can be discerned. Structure of the quires [1]: 1 IX (IV + V), 2 X, 3 IX (V + IV, seventh folio is cut off, but there is no lacuna), 4—13 X. Quire marks are written into the upper corners of each first and last page both in words and numerals. There are catchwords in the lower left corner of each *verso* page.

The text is written in calligraphic *naskh* in black ink. The dividers and headings are in red ink, with the exception of Psalm 136, where the heading is in gold. The binding in yellow leather with a gilded border is European. The previous call number of the manuscript is impressed on the spine (part of the word is missing): P[...]auti A 7.

The manuscript contains the text of the Psalter employed in the service of Malkites, one of the four sects of the Syrian Church. The 150 canonical psalms are divided into seven *saḥars* in accordance with the days of the week. Each *saḥar* of the Psalter was to read in a certain day of the week. The psalms are also divided into 20 *kathismata*, or liturgical parts read on particular occasions. The feature of the codex is that it includes the non-canonical 151st psalm as well as ten prayers (*tasabih*).

The manuscript could hardly draw special attention if not the author of its miniatures, who is also its transcriber. The colophon on fol. 127a tells that the manuscript was copied by a well-known calligrapher, translator from Greek, and miniaturist, Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir (was alive in 1650). His full name was Yūsuf b. Antūniyus b. Suwaidān (Swidān) al-Ḥalābi [2]. He was of Greek descent, and as his *nisba* shows,

was connected with Aleppo, one of the centres of culture in Syria. In one of the manuscripts copied by him in 1647, Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir calls himself the pupil of Patriarch Euphymius II (1634—1647). We know also that the artist collaborated later with another patriarch, Macarius (d. 1672). Yūsuf received his sobriquet al-Muṣawwir (“artist”) because of his profession. He was a man of numerous talents and abundantly translated from the Greek. Apart from the illustrated Psalter, another manuscript is known with miniatures performed by him, which is held in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It is *al-Durr al-manẓūr fī tā’rīkh mulūk al-Rūm* [3].

The miniatures of Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, which adorn our Psalter, are extremely interesting. It is clear that the artist follows the tradition of Byzantine book illustrating. Illustrating Bibles and Psalters was a common practice in Byzantium; many copies have come down to us. The depiction of the well-known characters of the Bible in our Psalter are touched by the spirit of melancholy and calm dignity. They seem rather expressive and wholly reflecting the atmosphere of the Old Testament prophets wisdom and love for God. All indicate that the artist was an outstanding master of miniature painting who knew existing tradition perfectly well. Nearly all of the miniatures are well preserved and only a few display some minor crumbling.

The colophon states that the copy was made for a certain Mikhā’l b. al-Khūrī Yūsuf and was completed on 5 October 7158 from the birth of Adam, which corresponds to A. H. 1058/A. D. 1650. Now we can state that the artist, whose dates are unknown, was alive in 1650. The personality of this Mikhā’l b. al-Khūrī Yūsuf remains a puzzle. However, one can assume that the manuscript was not meant to be employed in the public service. Rather the Psalter was executed for the person who stood high in the Syrian Church hierarchy, and it seems that the book was intended to be used in personal worshipping.

The Psalter was acquired in the late eighteenth century by J.-L. Rousseau (1780—1831), the well-known collector and French consul in Aleppo and Tripoli. It was purchased by the Russian government in 1825 as part of the so-called Second Rousseau collection and given to the Asiatic Museum (at present, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) [4].



Fig. 1

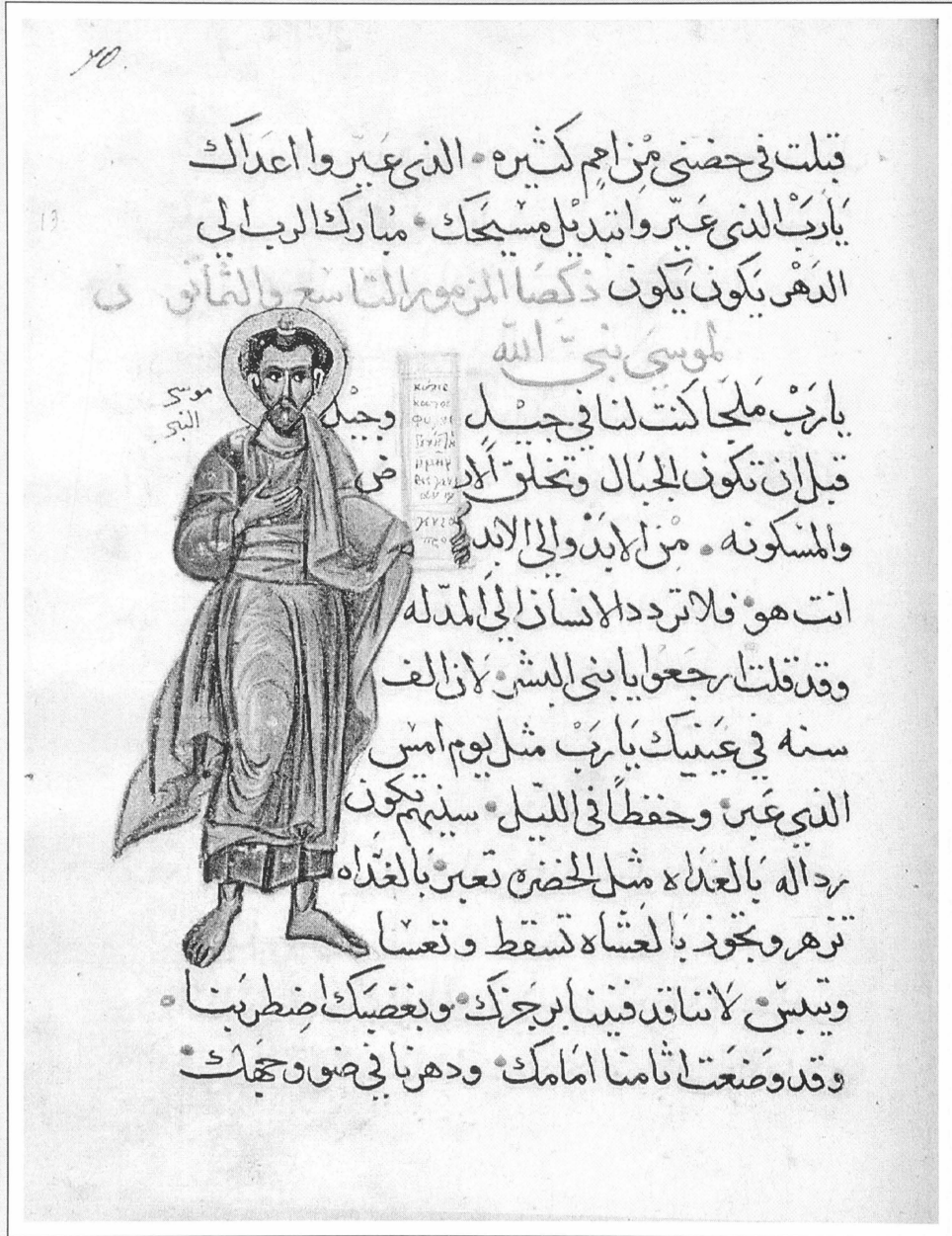


Fig. 2

سبجوا وترتوا له . حدتوا بجميع عجائبه . امتدحوا
 باسمه القدوس . تفرح قلوب الذين يلبسون الرب
 ابتغوا الرب وتشدوا . اطلبوا وجهه في كل حين .
 اذكروا عجائبه التي صنع آياته واحكام فاه . ذرية ابراهيم
 عبده . وبنو يعقوب منتخبه . هو الرب الهنا . وفي كل
 المرض احكامه . ذكر الى الدهر ميثاقه . الكلمه التي
 اوصا بها الى الفجيل . الذي عاهد به لابراهيم .
 وقسمه لاسحق . واقامه ليعقوب مرًا . ولاسرائيل
 عهدًا الى الابد وايلًا . لك
 اعطى ارض كنعان جبل
 ميراثكم . اذ كانوا في عدد
 قليل وسيرون فيهم غربًا .
 فجازوا من امة الى امة . ومن
 مملكه الى شعب اخر . ولم يترك انسانًا يظلمهم . وبكت
 الملوك من اجلهم . لا تمسوا مسحاى . وبناتبيائي لا تماركوا .



ودعا

Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

Contents

Fols. 1b—5a: psalms 1—8; 5b—16b: 9—23 (*saḥar* for Sunday); 17a—35a: 24—45 (*saḥar* for Monday); 35a—52a: 46—69 (*saḥar* for Tuesday); 52a—72a: 70—90 (*saḥar* for Wednesday); 72b—88b: 91—108 (*saḥar* for Thursday); 89a—99b: 109—118 (*saḥar* for Saturday); 100a—115b: 119—150 (*saḥar* for Friday) (thus in MS, Saturday before Friday); 116a: 151; 116b—117b: First Canticle of Moses (Exod. XV, 1—18); 117b—119b: Second Canticle of Moses (Deut. XXXII, 1—43); 120a—120b: Canticle of Hanna, mother of Samuel (1 Sam. II,

1—10); 120b—121b: Canticle of the Prophet Habakkuk (Hab. III); 121b—122b: Canticle of the Prophet Isaiah (Is. XXVI, 9—20); 122b—123a: Canticle of the Prophet Jonah (Jon. II, 1—9); 123a—125a: First Canticle of the three young men (*mubārak anta yā rabb*) (Dan. III, 25—45); 125a—126a: Second Canticle of the three young men (*bārakū yā jamī'a a'māla 'l-Rabb*) (Dan. III, 52—90); 126a—126b: The Magnificat (Lk. I, 46—55); 126b—127a: The Song of Zacharias (Benedictus; Lk. 68—79).

Miniatures

Fol. 1b: *'unwān* and Prophet David (see *Plate 2* on the back cover); 2a: a bird on a tree; 5a: Mary and John of Damascus; 14b: Jesus Christ; 17a: the Prophet David; 28a: Joseph and Mary; 37b: David and Natan; 52a: the Prophet David (see *fig. 1*); 53a: Solomon the Wise; 61b: the Prophet David (see *Plate 1* on the front cover of the present issue); 67a: Mary; 70a: the Prophet Moses (see *fig. 2*); 72b: David; 79b: Gabriel, Raphael, and Mikhael (see *fig. 4*); 81b: Abraham, Isaak and Jacob (see *fig. 3*); 82a: Joseph (son of Jacob?); 93a: Jesus Christ, the good thief, and the

apostle Peter (see *Plate 3* on the back cover); 103b: One-frius, Sabas, Euthymius, Antonius, Jesus Christ, Basil, John, Gregorius and Nicholas; 104a: Aaron; 109b: David in the cave; 112b: the Prophet Zakharyā (see *Plate 4* on the back cover); 115b: David and Goliath (see *fig. 5*); 116b: the Prophet Moses; 117b: the Prophet Moses; 120a: Hanna, mother of Samuel; 120b: the Prophet Habakkuk; 122a: Isaiah; 122b: the Prophet Yohah; 123a: Hananyah, Azariah, and Mishael; 126a: the Annunciation; 126b: Zakhariya; 127a: John the Baptist (see *Plate 1* on the back cover).

Notes

1. Roman numerals indicate the number of the quire; Latin numerals indicate the number of folios.
2. The full name is given in the colophon of an autograph manuscript by Yūsuf in J. Nasrallah's *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban* (Harissa, 1958), i, p. 104.
3. For Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir, see A. I. Mikhaylova, "An illustrated Arabic Manuscript of a Translation of a seventeenth-century Greek chronograph", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/1 (1998), pp. 58—64.
4. The manuscript has been described previously in the following works: V. Rosen, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits arabes du Musée Asiatique*, Première livraison (Saint-Petersbourg, 1881), No. 1; also I. Kratchkovsky, *al-Mashriq*, XXIII, p. 684; Graf I, p. 118 (28).

Illustrations

Front cover:

"The Prophet David and a flock", miniature from the Arabic Psalter (A 187) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 61b.

Back cover:

- Plate 1.** "John the Baptist", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 127a.
Plate 2. *'Unwān* with the depiction of Prophet David, the same manuscript, fol. 1b.
Plate 3. "Jesus Christ, the good thief, and the Apostle Peter", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 93a.
Plate 4. "The Prophet Zakharyā", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 112b.

Inside the text:

- Fig. 1.** "The Prophet David", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 52a.
Fig. 2. "The Prophet Moses", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 70a.
Fig. 3. "Abraham, Isaak and Jacob", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 81b.
Fig. 4. "Gabriel, Raphael, and Mikhael", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 79b.
Fig. 5. "David and Goliath", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 115b.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mikael Persenius. *The Manuscripts of Parts 1 and 2 of Shams al-'ulūm by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī. A Study of Their Relationship*. Uppsala: 1997, 278 pp. — Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia, XIII.

The work under review is Mikael Persenius's dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Semitic Languages at the Department of Asian and African Languages of Uppsala University in 1997. The main objective of the author consisted in establishing the relationship between the extant manuscripts of the Arabic lexicon *Shams al-'ulūm wa-dawā'*,¹ *kalām al-'Arab min al-kulūm* ("The Sun of the Sciences and the Wounds' Remedy for the Words of the Arabs"), compiled by the famous scholar of medieval Yemen, Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178), to prepare a preliminary research for its critical edition.

It seems that a kind of fate hangs over the publication of this masterpiece of Yemenite tradition. Though a selection of texts from the *Shams al-'ulūm*, dealing with South Arabia and compiled by 'Aẓīmuddīn Aḥmad on the basis of some reliable manuscripts, appeared as early as 1916², the edition of the whole body of the lexicon has not been accomplished yet. The first part of the work covering the letters *hamza* to *shīn* was published in 1951 under the supervision of 'Abdallāh al-Jarāfī who used mostly manuscripts from the library of the Imām of Yemen³. But the decision to interrupt the publication was made by the Imām on his learning about the European edition of the same work undertaken by Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen (1866—1953). As for Professor Zetterstéen, he succeeded in editing only two fascicles (down to the end of *jīm*)⁴, as his death prevented

from finishing the project. In 1983, the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage of the Sultanate of Oman undertook the edition of five volumes of the *Shams al-'ulūm*. The publication embraces the text of the lexicon from the beginning to the end of *shīn* and, in all probability, represents a faithful transcription of only one manuscript kept now at Muscat (pp. 29, 70)⁵. Thus the intention of Mikael Persenius to prepare a critical edition of Nashwān's work, following in the footsteps of K. V. Zetterstéen, professor of Semitic languages at Uppsala University in 1904 to 1931, is praiseworthy, being an example of the scholarly continuity in classical Arabic studies, which occurs now rather seldom. M. Persenius's work is the first step in right direction.

The structure of the dissertation fits well the aims of the codicological research carried out by the author. It consists of six chapters, including the Introduction considered as Chapter I, and the critical edition of six texts selected from Parts 1 and 2 of the *Shams al-'ulūm* (Chapter 6). Chapter 2 provides a survey of some important facts of Nashwān's biography, which are extracted mainly from several researches on the life of the lexicon's author (pp. 18—20). However, M. Persenius's list of primary sources dealing with Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī appears to be exhaustive (p. 17).

It should be noted that in the framework of a codicological research M. Persenius's attempt to reveal the real meaning of the proper name Nashwān (p. 19) seems a bit strange. Besides, the etymology he proposes — "he who inquires after the news as soon as it comes" — is not convincing. Possible is the derivation of this name from *nashwān* ("dizzy (with love)"), attested in the 'Absite poetry⁶, or its affinity to the *nisba* form *nashwānī*, which in post-classical Yemeni Arabic means "diligent", "industrious"⁷.

¹ As M. Persenius correctly remarks (p. 23), the reading *diwā'* ("cure", "treatment") attested in some manuscripts fits well this context, and it is difficult to decide which of two variants was original.

² *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-'ulūm*. Gesammelt, alphabetisch geordnet und hrsg. von 'Aẓīmuddīn Aḥmad (Leyden—London, 1916). — E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XXIV. The selection was reprinted in Yemen under the title *Muntakhabāt fī akhbār al-Yaman min Kitāb shams al-'ulūm wa-dawā' kalām al-'Arab min al-kulūm*. Ṭab'a thāniya muṣawwara (San'ā', 1981). — Mashrū' al-kitāb, 8/3. Unfortunately, in his detailed survey of all the previous publications of the *Shams al-'ulūm*, M. Persenius took no notice of this publication, although he gives in his bibliography the names of reprint editions (p. 26—30, 269).

³ Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-'ulūm wa-dawā' kalām al-'Arab min al-kulūm*. Taḥqīq 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jarāfī (Cairo, 1951), i—ii (reprint: Beirut, 1982).

⁴ Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-'ulūm wa-dawā' kalām al-'Arab min al-kulūm*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéen (Leiden, 1951—1953), i, fasc. 1—2.

⁵ Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-'ulūm wa-dawā' kalām al-'Arab min al-kulūm* (Muscat, 1983), i—v.

⁶ VI. V. Polosin, *Slovar' poetov plemeni 'abs (VI—VIII vv.)* (A Vocabulary of the 'Absite Poets of the Sixth—Eighth Centuries) (Moscow, 1995), p. 472.

⁷ M. Pianta, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. Pt. 2 (Leiden—New York—København—Köln, 1991), p. 486.

Unfortunately, the researcher did not notice that the name Nashwān, very rare in Arab genealogies, was rather widespread in the Šafaitic onomasticon in the pre-Islamic period and attested once in Sabaic⁸.

In his work M. Persenius accurately enumerates the writings of Nashwān al-Ĥimyarī (pp. 20—2), even those which are not extant (e.g., an abridgment of the *Kitāb al-Iklil* by al-Ḥasan al-Ḥamdānī) or whose authorship is disputed (*al-Farā'id wa-l-qaḥā'id*). However, among the great variety of subjects on which Nashwān wrote, Persenius did not distinguish the principal contribution of this scholar to the Arabic literature. The researcher did not remark that Nashwān al-Ĥimyarī had compiled the most complete version of the so-called "Qaḥṭānide Saga" (Yemenite medieval epic)⁹. It seems that the significance of Nashwān's works for South Arabian studies, unfortunately, escaped from the author's attention. After the detailed observation of the previous editions of the *Shams al-'ulūm*, M. Persenius makes reference to a number of out-of-date publications, issued by David Heinrich Müller in the second half of the nineteenth century, where the material from the lexicon of Nashwān was employed. Does not the researcher know about the extensive use of the *Shams al-'ulūm* in a large number of studies on ancient Yemen, which appeared after David Müller? Despite the semi-legendary character inherent in the "Qaḥṭānide Saga", some unique data cited by Nashwān al-Ĥimyarī in his lexicographical work have been successfully applied later for the reconstruction of the history of South Arabia. Among recent researches the monograph by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Bāfāqīh, who used the *Shams al-'ulūm* as a valuable source for the pre-Islamic history of the tribal confederation of Khawlān Qudā'a¹⁰ as well as for the origins of the Ĥimyarite dynasty¹¹, is worthy of note. M. Persenius has also left out a very interesting thesis about specific Yemenite words in the works by al-Ḥamdānī and Nashwān maintained and published by Ibrahim al-Selwi¹². His ignorance of the latter is particularly regrettable, since it is closely connected with the subject of the dis-

sertation. The author's disregard of the "local colour" peculiar to this lexicon can have an adverse effect on its new critical edition.

Besides, the list of Nashwān's works enumerated by the author needs some corrections. There is, for instance, under No. 21 a certain treatise on *taṣrīf* (morphology), extant in the unique manuscript (p. 22) originating from the collection of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ayyād al-Ṭaṭṭawī (1810—1861), professor of Arabic at St. Petersburg University from 1847 until his death. It is kept now under call number 785 in the collection of the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University¹³. It was Baron Victor Rosen (1849—1908) who first described this fragmentary copy and attributed it to Nashwān al-Ĥimyarī¹⁴. Then he included the work in the list of manuscripts under the title *Risāla fi-l-taṣrīf*¹⁵. Rosen's attribution was universally recognised and the work has recently entered a new brief catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the above-mentioned collection¹⁶. The thorough examination of this treatise *de visu*, however, clearly demonstrates that it cannot be a work by Nashwān himself or part of such a work, since its compiler says:

إعلم أن نشوان رحمه الله تعالى رتب الحروف في أبواب الكلام كما رتبها عند ذكر أبواب حروف المعجم...

("Know that Nashwān, may Allah — highly exalted be He — have mercy on him, arranged the letters at the ends of the words in the same way as he arranged them mentioning the chapters on the letters of the alphabet ..." — fol. 20a). But it is well-known that the formula *رحمه الله* is used only after the name of the deceased.

True, the comparison of the treatise's structure with that of the *muqaddima* in the *Shams al-'ulūm*¹⁷ gives evidence of some resemblance between them. The title *Risāla fi-l-taṣrīf* does not conform to the fragmentary manuscript of St. Petersburg, since among seven sections extant in the treatise only the first one bears the name *Faṣl fi-l-taṣrīf*

⁸ G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto—Buffalo, 1971), p. 590: *Nšwn*. — University of Toronto. Near and Middle East Series, 8. The Sabaic text Fa 3, where this proper noun has been attested (l. 9), dates from the second half of the third century A.D.

⁹ This high estimation of Nashwān's heritage is generally accepted by the specialists (see, for instance, M. B. Piotrovskii, *Predanie o khim'iariskom tsare As'ade al-Kamile* (The Saga of the Ĥimyarite King As'ad al-Kāmil) (Moscow, 1977), p. 34; *idem*, *Iuzhnaia Aravii v rannee srednevekov'e. Stanovlenie srednevekovogo obshchestva* (South Arabia in Early Middle Ages. The Formation of a Medieval Society) (Moscow, 1985), p. 67.

¹⁰ M. Bāfāqīh, *L'Unification du Yémen antique. La lutte entre Saba', Ĥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt du I^{er} au III^{ème} siècle de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris, 1990), p. 99 & n. 1, p. 102 & n. 10. — Bibliothèque de Raydān, vol. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187 & n. 24, p. 188, tabl. 3 and p. 191 & n. 29.

¹² I. al-Selwi, *Jementische Wörter in den Werken von al-Ḥamdānī und Našwān und ihre Parallelen in den semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1987). — Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde. Serie B: Asien, Bd. 10.

¹³ C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. 1. Supplementband (Leiden, 1936), p. 528, No. 11.

¹⁴ V. Rosen, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Institut des langues orientales* (St. Pétersbourg, 1877), pp. 216—7. — Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales du Ministère des affaires étrangères, 1.

¹⁵ K. G. Zaleman, V. R. Rozen, "Spisok persidskim, turetsko-tatarskim i arabskim rukopisiam Imperatorskogo Sankt-Peterburgskogo Universiteta (okonchanie)" ("The list of Persian, Turkish-Tatar and Arabic manuscripts of the Imperial St. Petersburg University (the ending)"), *Zapiski vostochnogo otdelenia Imperatorskogo Russkogo arheologicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. III, fasc. III (1889), p. 205.

¹⁶ *Arabskie rukopisi vostochnogo otdela nauchnoi biblioteki Sankt-Peterburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kratkiĭ katalog* (Arabic Manuscripts of Oriental Section of St. Petersburg University Scientific Library), compiled by O. B. Frolova and T. P. Deryagina, ed. O. B. Frolova (St. Petersburg, 1996), p. 90, No. 418. The list of bibliographical references enumerated in the catalogue in connection with this manuscript is, however, incomplete. Unfortunately, the catalogue's compilers did not mention a number of works by Carl Brockelmann and Victor Rosen cited above (see nn. 13 and 14 above). Moreover, their reference to the catalogue by Salemann and Rosen contains a mistake (p. 33 is to be corrected to p. 205; cf. n. 15 above).

¹⁷ The contents of this *muqaddima* has been described in detail by M. Persenius (p. 25).

("Section on morphology")¹⁸. The identification of this work as a large fragment of the *muqaddima*, extracted from an abridgment of the *Shams al-'ulūm* compiled under the title *Ḍiyā' al-hulūm* by Muḥammad b. Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī (d. ca. 610/1212—13), can be regarded as well-founded¹⁹. In all probability, this introduction was copied separately as a kind of reference book on Arabic grammar. In any case, the *Risāla fi-l-taṣrīf* should be enumerated among the manuscripts of *Ḍiyā' al-hulūm* in Chapter 3 (pp. 31—8).

M. Persenius has, however, no claim to the completeness of the list of manuscripts which are the abridged versions of the *Shams al-'ulūm* (pp. 31, 37—8)²⁰. His purpose consists in analysing these works from the viewpoint of preparing a critical edition of Nashwān's lexicon itself. As a result, the author established that "a number of the MSS catalogued as containing *Shams al-'ulūm* appeared instead on closer inspection to contain in whole or in part one or the other of the abridgments" (p. 121; cf. also p. 39)²¹. In this connection the author's intention to examine the manuscripts of the *Shams al-'ulūm* in Chapter 4, after a study of the manuscript tradition of this lexicon's abridgments in the previous chapter, seems quite logical.

In my opinion, Chapter 4 which contains a detailed description of 56 manuscripts held now in European, American, Yemenite, Egyptian, Turkish, Indian and other collections constitutes the most important part of the dissertation by M. Persenius (pp. 39—84). The special emphasis is put by the author on the contents of the manuscripts' title pages, colophons, notes related to collation and ownership, as well as on the use of vowel signs, diacritical marks, corrections, and catchwords. The list of those manuscripts appears to be exhaustive. The overwhelming majority of them (41, i.e. approximately 73%) have been available to the author in the form of microfilm copies or photocopies. As for the rest, information about them has been extracted from catalogues or other sources and therefore requires further verification. Nevertheless, the data put together by M. Persenius are quite sufficient for the choice of manuscripts which are to be used in the text edition. It is remarkable that although the subject of the dissertation is restricted to Parts 1 and 2 of the *Shams al-'ulūm*, the researcher has described in Chapter

4 all hitherto known manuscripts containing, wholly or partially, the second half of the lexicon, namely, Parts 3 and 4 (pp. 41—3, 46—8, 52—7, 62—74, 76—8, 81—4).

The most serious question that arises in connection with the work by Persenius concerns the possibility of studying the text of the first half of Nashwān's work independently of its second half. It is obvious that in contrast to voluminous anthologies of fiction or scholarly works on history and geography, the lexicon could normally be used only as a whole, and every owner of library usually tried to acquire all the sections of the book²². Owing to political and social disturbances of the late medieval period of Islamic history, many Muslim libraries were, however, destroyed or dispersed, and separate parts of the *Shams al-'ulūm* turned out to have been divided between various collections. Therefore, it seems that the author's attempt to establish the relationship between the manuscripts which contain only the first and second parts of the work can contribute only little to the real history of the text.

The stemmatic analysis of six sample texts selected by Persenius for his publication (Chapter 5, pp. 85—122) is based on the method of Lachmann and goes back to the theories of "common errors" and "common variants". The *credo* of the researcher is formulated as follows: "The fact that these errors are shared by all of the examined MSS may indicate that they are all descended from the same ancestor" (p. 92)²³. However, convincing arguments against such an approach to text criticism were adduced by the famous Russian philologist D. S. Likhachev²⁴. In his work dedicated to methodology of text criticism, the scholar remarks, for instance, that the same mistakes could be made independently in different copies and, therefore, "the establishment of a genealogy of copies on the basis of the theory of 'common errors' is impossible"²⁵. If so, a detailed stemmatic analysis of every sample text seems useless. Besides, all the six stemmata differ from one another, sometimes considerably, and are rather far from demonstrating real genealogical relations between the manuscripts (pp. 96, 101, 105, 109, 114, 118). The only well-founded conclusion, which follows from Chapter 5, consists in dividing the copies selected for the preparation of the critical text into two fami-

¹⁸ In contrast to the treatise the *muqaddima* consists of four sections. The headings of the first three subdivisions, namely, *Faṣl fi-l-taṣrīf*, *Faṣl fi makhārīj al-hurūf wa-taqṣīmī-hā* and *Faṣl fi abniyat kalām al-'arab*, prove to be identical in both works (see fols. 1b, 12a, 13a). The fourth and last section of the *muqaddima*, entitled *Faṣl fi maṣādir al-aḥwāl*, is the sixth in the treatise (fol. 16a). It is not excluded, however, that in spite of the difference in division into *fuṣūl* the texts of these works are very similar to one another.

¹⁹ During my visit to *Dār al-Makhtūṭāt* in Ṣan'ā' in November 1998, I had a chance to compare the treatise's text with a microfilm of the manuscript of the *Ḍiyā' al-hulūm* from a private Yemenite collection (microfilm No. 166 made in 1983). The observation of the text showed that in spite of a number of different readings, rather limited though, the so-called *Risāla fi-l-taṣrīf* held at the Library of St. Petersburg University is to be identified with the introduction to the abridgment of the *Shams al-'ulūm* written by the author's son, Muḥammad b. Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī. The St. Petersburg manuscript includes almost the whole text of this *muqaddima*, with only the last page lacking.

²⁰ In his list there is, for example, no mention of the manuscript kept in the Eastern Library of al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr under call number 12/2129-*lugha*, which contains part 4 of the *Ḍiyā' al-hulūm* (354 fols; 26 lines per page; 18.0 × 23.0 cm). Cf. *Fihrist makhtūṭāt al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi-l-Jāmi' al-Kabir bi-Ṣan'ā'*, comp. by I'dād Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Isawī, Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Malīḥ (Alexandria, [1976]), p. 442.

²¹ In this respect a parallel with the above-mentioned "treatise on *taṣrīf*" inevitably come to mind.

²² Because of their great size they could often be written by different copyists.

²³ A certain hesitation expressed by M. Persenius in this conclusion ("... may indicate ...") is accounted for the insufficient number of common errors and not for his doubt about the applicability of this method. As he puts it, "because of the small number of detected common errors in the examined texts the existence of a common ancestor cannot be concluded with any certainty" (pp. 92—3).

²⁴ D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologia. Na materiale russkoj literatury X—XVII vekov* (Text Criticism. According to the Material of Russian Literature of the Ninth—Seventeenth Centuries), second edition, revised and enlarged (Leningrad, 1983), pp. 8—24.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16. Acad. Likhachev also observes that some mistakes in manuscripts are connected with the "psychology of errors", common to all copyists, which is still insufficiently investigated (*ibid.*, p. 15 & n. 13).

lies denoted by A and B (p. 121). But such a rough classification could be obtained without drawing stemmata which make the reconstruction of the history of the *Shams al-'ulūm*'s text even more obscure.

The main contribution of the author of the dissertation are six fragments, namely, the preface and five chapters from the Books of *al-tā'*, *al-hā'*, *al-dāl*, *al-rā'* and *al-shīn*, edited critically (pp. 123—233). Their text is published in a very accurate manner and proves to be a good basis for a future edition of the whole lexicon. From the point of view of a specialist in South Arabian tradition, the comparison of those sample fragments with the extracts from the *Shams al-'ulūm* made by 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad seems very interesting. In the articles *al-Tubbat* (Tibet), *al-Tubba'*, *Tabūk*, *al-Rass*, *Shadad* and *al-Shammām*, which are shared by both works²⁶, only one significant different reading has been discovered: from the text of *al-Tubbat*, established by Per-

senuis, the expression *قصيدته الدامغة* used before a poetical quotation was excluded (p. 144)²⁷. It is rather surprising that both versions of such a large article as *al-Tubba'* (*wāḥid al-tabābi'a*) coincide completely²⁸. Probably it would be better for the researcher to study more attentively the works of his predecessors than to spare his efforts for the labour-consuming but inefficient stemmatic analysis.

In spite of several shortcomings and imperfections connected mostly with the methodology of text criticism, the monograph under review is of great value for every scholar who is interested in the life and works by Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī, and in Arabic lexicography in general. The audacious intention of Mikael Persenius to prepare the first critical edition of the whole text of the *Shams al-'ulūm* must be only welcomed.

S. Frantsouzoff

²⁶ Cf. pp. 143—7, 194, 213, 215 in the work under review. See also *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-'ulūm*, pp. 11—3, 41, 53, 57. From the article *al-Rass* only the fragment dealing with the well *al-Rass* was selected by 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad (*ibid.*, p. 41).

²⁷ This variant is, however, cited by M. Persenius in the notes (p. 144, n. 4).

²⁸ Cf. pp. 144—6. See also *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-'ulūm*, pp. 12—3.

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Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3



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