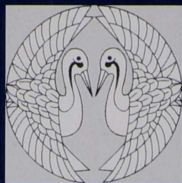


RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH



# Manuscripta Orientalia

*International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research*

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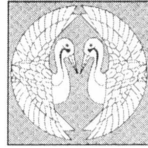
The depiction of Nāgeśvara-rāja, the “king of *nāgas*”, the central figure in the miniature from the first volume of the collection *Sungdui*. Manuscript K 6 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 17th century, lower cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

### Back cover:

**Plate 1.** The depiction of *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī, an embodiment of wisdom, on the left, and of Prajñāpāramitā as a *Yum*- “Mother”, on the right. Miniature from the second volume of the collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, upper cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

**Plate 2.** The depiction of the formidable deity Śrī Maqakala, the central figure, and of Guru Ganbo (Skt. Pañjara Mahākāla), on the left and right, the second volume of the collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, lower cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

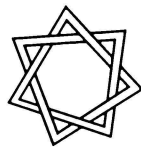
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# Manuscripta Orientalia

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## TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

A. A. Khismatulin

### KĪMIYĀ-YI SA'ĀDAT BY ABŪ ḤĀMID MUḤAMMAD AL-GHAZĀLĪ AL-ṬŪSĪ: SOME TEXTUAL OBSERVATIONS

The works of Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī (1058—1111), the greatest Muslim thinker of the Middle Ages, constitute an extremely valuable intellectual inheritance for contemporary Islam. His numerous well-known works on philosophy, jurisprudence, logic, theology and Ṣūfism allow us to regard him as one of the most prolific authors in the Muslim world. It has been said of al-Ghazālī that if one divides the number of pages he wrote (in works known to us) by the number of days he lived, one finds that he wrote four pages a day [1]. The works by al-Ghazālī have come down to us in numerous manuscripts held in various repositories all over the world. Naturally, the oldest manuscripts are of special interest to specialists, constituting a valuable source for those engaged in text investigations.

The current article is devoted to al-Ghazālī's first composition written in Persian and entitled the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* ("The Alchemy of Happiness"). It should be noted that the oldest known manuscript fragment of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (call number B 4612) is kept in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Judging from palaeographic features of the manuscript, it can be dated to the beginning of the twelfth century. It contains the complete third *rukṇ* of the work (see *fig. 1*) and was acquired by the Institute from the collection of O. L. Vilchevsky (1902—1964).

The manuscript was first described by Vilchevsky himself [2], but an unhappy error prevented him from identifying it as a fragment of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*. Besides, the author's article focused not on the problem of identifying the fragment but on its importance to the reconstruction of the world-outlook of the urban population of Iran in the medieval age. Vilchevsky dated the manuscript "no later than the mid-eleventh century" and failed in identifying the work. He termed its author "the anonymous composer". In a note, however, he came close to his real name and only one step remained to be taken to make the correct suggestion. The late Husayn-i Khadiwjam used the copy while preparing a scholarly edition of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* and confirmed the view of its unique age [3]. To convey a full sense of this precious copy, I present here a brief description of manuscript B 4612, which has not yet been cata-

logued. The manuscript (20.0×15.0 cm) contains 191 folios; originally polished yellow rude thick paper; black Indian ink, *naskh-i Irānī* (see *fig. 2*); text without frame (14.5×10.0 cm); 17 lines per page; cartouches remained unfilled; a twentieth-century restoration of the light-brown binding (pasteboard covered in stamped synthetic leather). On fol. 001a there are two inscriptions (*fig. 3*): the upper one comprises the date (Ramaḍān A. H. 605) and the name — Abī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Amīd; the lower, made on the occasion of the birthday, contains the date ("before breakfast, 25 Rabī' al-Awwal A. H. 584") and the name — Abū Bakr Aṣ'adallāh.

Before treating some questions arising from the examination of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*'s text, let us make a brief outline of al-Ghazālī's life stages. There were three basic periods of his literary activity. The first period is linked to the beginning of his teaching, first in Nīshāpūr and then in Baghdād under the Seljuk *wazīr* Nizām al-Mulk al-Ṭūsī (killed in 1092) [4]. The latter was known for creating on the territory from Syria to Khurāsān numerous *madrasas*, charged with "reanimating" and defending Sunni Islam. In his honour they were called *Nizāmīya*. Nizām al-Mulk invited his countryman from Ṭūs to teach in one of these *madrasas* [5]. In the period of his teaching in 1091/2—1095, al-Ghazālī, wrote a number of works, for the most part on philosophy, jurisprudence, theology and *madhabs*. Toward the end of this period, having studied all of the basic works of his time on theology and philosophy, al-Ghazālī took interest in the works of Ṣūfī authors, which made him a follower of Muslim mysticism. After his stopping the teaching in the *madrasa*, he, for half a year, became a follower of the mystical path. But al-Ghazālī's analytical mind and active nature apparently prevented him from wholly subjugating himself to his *shaykh*, which led to his failure in the area of the Ṣūfī practice, a spiritual crisis, and the scholar's departure from Baghdād [6].

The second period was marked by eleven years-journeying in 1095—1106, of which he spent two years in Syria before departing for other Arab countries. He visited Jerusalem and then completed the *ḥājj*, after which al-Ghazālī returned to his native Ṭūs. From there, he was invited to teach in Nīshāpūr at a *Nizāmīya* by the son of Nizām



al-Mulk, Fakhr al-Mulk. His eleven years of travelling formed the most productive period in al-Ghazālī's life. Between 1097 and 1102, in Syria, Jerusalem, the Hījāz, and in his native Ṭūs, he wrote what is probably his best known and largest work — *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* ("Resurrection of the Sciences of Faith"). With his customary logic and style of argumentation, the scholar provides a detailed examination of absolutely all aspects of the practice of normative Islam as well as the mystical practice which grew out of it at that time.

The third period of al-Ghazālī's life can be designated as his return to teaching at the Nishāpūr *madrasa* in 1106. But this period was very short and continued no longer than five years, until his death in Ṭūs in 1111.

Al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*, completed presumably between 1102 and 1106, appeared together with other works written during the second period of the scholar's life. This work — one of the few written by the author in Persian — was one of the first among Persian-language works on Ṣūfism compiled by a Muslim religious authority. In its popularity among the population of the Iranian world it stands together with the first work on Ṣūfism written in Persian, the *Kashf al-mahjūb* ("Revelation of That Which Is Veiled") by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī (d. between 1072—1077). In fact, al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* significantly surpasses al-Hujwīrī's work in the number of

manuscript copies which have reached us, let alone publications of the *Kīmīyā* which continue to appear. Nearly all large manuscript collections contain at least three or four manuscript copies of the work. The reason is not only the author's fame and authority, but the simple expository style of the writing. It should be also noted the diminishing significance of the Arabic language and the rebirth of Persian-language cultural tradition, a process which began under the Sam'ānids (875—999) with the literary activity of Rūdākī (d. 940/941) and Firdawsī (934—1020) and continued during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Moreover, the dates of copying indicate a constant demand for the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* across the centuries, beginning in the twelfth and continuing to the present. This testifies to its popularity on the intellectual market within the Iranian ethno-linguistic region and even beyond its borders. It should be stressed here that al-Ghazālī, who had previously written only in Arabic — the sacred language of the Qur'ān, Arab science, and international relations within the *dār al-islām* — felt it necessary to compile his work in Persian, addressing quite a different readership.

Leaving aside the numerous lithograph editions of the work which appeared in the nineteenth century, we list here copies of the work preserved at large manuscript collections (see *Tables 1—5*).

Table 1

## Collection of the Russian National Library

Nos.	Century	Catalogue number [7]	Date	Call number
1.	XV	1031	IX/XV century	Dorn 261
2.	XVII	1034	1089/1678	P.n.s. 119
3.	XVIII	1032	1118/1706	P.n.s. 167
4.	XIX	1033	1283/1866—67	P.n.s. 10

Table 2

## Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies

Nos.	Century	Catalogue number [8]	Date	Call number
1.	XII		/[1120—50]	B 4612
2.	XV	3526	900/1495	B 928
3.	XVI	3527	958/1551	B 930
4.	XVI	3780	984/1576	C 1351
5.	XVI	3525	1000/1592	A 314
6.	XVII	3531	1032/1622	B 929
7.	XVII	75 (Addendum)	1111/1699	B 4549
8.	XVIII	3529; 3764	[1200]/1786	B 2385
9.	XIX	3862	[1261]/1845	B 1977

Table 3

## Collection of the National Library of Egypt

Nos.	Century	Catalogue number [9]	Date	Call number
1	XII	1869	576/1180	٤٦ تصوف فارسی
2	XIII	1865	600/1204	٧٢ تصوف فارسی طلعت
3	XIII	1866	689/1290	٢٧٨ تصوف تیمور
4	XIV	1858	774/1372	١٣ م تصوف فارسی
5	XV	1857	835/1431	١٢ م تصوف فارسی
6	XV	1863	855/1451	٦٠ تصوف فارسی طلعت
7	XV	1859	893/1487	١٢ تصوف فارسی طلعت
8	XVI	1860	911/1506	١٤ تصوف فارسی طلعت
9	XVII	1862	1069/1659	٢٣ تصوف فارسی طلعت
10	XVIII	1868	1122/1711	١٢ تصوف فارسی

Table 4

## Collection of the British Library (Indian office)

Nos.	Century	Catalogue number [10]	Date	Call number
1.	XV	1781	905/1499	424
2.	XVII	1782	1020/1611	1414
3.	XVII	1783	1081/1670	2013
4.	XVII	1784	1086/1675	2121
5.	XVII	1785	1087/1676	2856
6.	XVII	1786	1096/1685	1277
7.	XVIII	1787	1173/1759	3149

Table 5

## Collection of the British Library [11].

Nos.	Century	Date	Call number
1.	XIII	672/1274	Add. 25,026
2.	XIII—XV	XIII—XV	Add. 7604
3.	XV	XV	Or. 258
4.	XV	XV	Add.25,841
5.	XVII	1023/1614	Add. 16,809
6.	XVIII	1142/1730	Add. 16,810
7.	XVIII	XVIII	Add.25,842

ما ذریم فدای تو باد از جه خندیده گفت دو مورد  
 از امت من تقیامت پیش رب العزه خصوصت برائو  
 در افتید یکی گویند بار خدایا حسانت من همه  
 خصمان من بردند و مواهیجی نماند خدای عوجل  
 مظلم را گوید هیچیز از حسنه ندارد گوید بار خدایا  
 معصیتها من با و چه حوائت کن پس معصیت وی بر  
 وی نهند و هنوز مظلمتی بماند انگاه رسول  
 علیه السلام اجابگو نیست گفت اینست عظیم روزی  
 و همه کمر حاکمندان باشند که بازی از وی بود  
 کیوند انگاه حق تعالی مظلم را گوید بر نکتا  
 چه بینی بر نکتو گوید یارب شهرهایم بینم از در ست  
 و موضع جواهر و مروارید آیا که این کدام بیغامه  
 و یا کدام صدیقی را و یا کدام شهید را حق تعالی  
 گوید این از است که خرد و بها بدهد گوید بار خدایا  
 بها از کی تواند داد گوید تو گوید بار خدایا نجه  
 گوید بد اخ عفو کنی گوید کدام گوید خیر دست  
 و یکتو و هر دو در بهشت شوید انگاه رسول علیه

Fig. 2

Other collections indicate the similar demand for the *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādāt* by al-Ghazālī.

The *Kīmiyā* appeared not long before the emergence of the many Sūfī brotherhoods which formed on the basis of various Sūfī schools. Such, for example, was the school of Khwājagān, the founder of which, 'Abd al-Khālīq al-Ghijduwānī (d. 1180 or 1220), is considered to have developed the eight principles which later formed the spiritual-religious basis of the Naqshbandīya brotherhood. Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (1318—1389) later added only three provisions to them. These principles are considered the sovereign spiritual product of the Khwājagān school and the Naqshbandīya. However, the text of the *Kīmiyā* formulates in one fashion or another the majority of the principles of the Naqshbandīya-Khwājagān (twelfth — beginning of the sixteenth centuries), though not always as laconically as Kāshifī Wā'iz, the author of the basic hagiographic work on the Naqshbandīya-Khwājagān, the *Rashaḥāt 'ayn al-ḥayāt* ("Drops from the Well-Spring of Eternal Life") [12].

In describing the special principles of spiritual-religious life, al-Ghazālī says that they were arrived at by mystics, "who realized that they appeared in the world for trade. Their deals are with their own souls. The profit or loss from these transactions are paradise or hell" [13]. He defines these mystics as "possessing inner vision" (*ahl-i baṣīrat*) and "great men of faith" (*buzurgān-i dīn*). In other words, although these principles are included in the system of the philosopher's world-outlook, occupying the fourth *rukṇ*, sixth *aṣl* of his work, al-Ghazālī makes it clear that they came into being before him and are not his creation. At other places in the work, al-Ghazālī explains his own views on the Sūfī path, views which differ somewhat from the principles he singles out elsewhere.

Further, both in the *Kīmiyā* and the *Rashaḥāt*, these principles are termed either necessary conditions (*shart*), which must be observed **simultaneously** in order to set off on the path, or stations (*maqāms*) through which he who follows the path (*sulūk*) must pass successively in order to attain the desired goal. In the first case, there is no need for successive order in following the *sharts* either on the path or in explanations. One must simply accept them all at once as a given. But in the second case, the absence of a clearly defined order makes nonsense of the concept of *maqām*. The seemingly illogical nature of this terminological combination is explained only in the *Kīmiyā*: all necessary conditions are set one's soul as to a partner in a game and are set forth once and for all. Later, as the game with one's soul progresses, the participant must successively pass through the stations articulated as conditions.

Al-Ghazālī says the following about the stations:

"They (Sūfīs — *A. Kh.*) have defined for themselves six stations (*maqāms*) — *mushārakat* (partnership), *muḥāsabat* (self-accountability), *murāqabat* (observation), *mu'ātabat* (repentance), *mu'āqabat* (punishing oneself), and *mujāhadat* (inner struggle, exerting efforts)" [14].

All terms are given as 3rd *masdars*, implying interaction (in this particular case, with one's own soul).

We provide here several typical, clearly delineated parallels between the principles of the spiritual life of the Naqshbandīya-Khwājagān as described in the *Rashaḥāt* and the stations indicated in the *Kīmiyā*.

1. *Mushārakat* (partnership, participation) — *hūsh dar dam* (consciousness in breathing):

## Text

### *Rashaḥāt* [15]

رشحه هوش در دم و آن آنست که هر نفسی از درون بر آید که از سر حضور و آگاهی باشد و غفلت بآن راه نیابد < ... > هوش در دم یعنی انتقال نفسی بنفسی میباشد که از سر غفلت نباشد و از سر حضور باشد و هر نفسی که میزند از حق سبحانه خالی و غافل نباشد

### *Kīmiyā* [16]

مقام اول در مشارکت < ... > هر نفسی از انفس عمر گوهی نفیس است که ازوی گنجی توان نهاد در وی مکاس و حساب اولی تر < ... > با نفس خود بگوید که مرا هیچ بضاعت نیست مگر عمر و هر نفس که رفت بدل ندارد که انفس معدود است در علم خدایتعالی و نیفزاید

## Translation

### *Rashaḥāt*

The drop (*rashḥa*). Consciousness in breathing requires that each breath which emanates from within stem from divine consciousness and presence, and that it preclude unconcern < ... > Consciousness in breathing signifies the movement from breath to breath and demands an absence of unconcern and the presence of consciousness. Each breath which one takes must be filled with the Most High and devoid of unconcern.

In illuminating the *mushārakat* station, al-Ghazālī explains that one must set one's soul the condition of always remembering God, just as partners set each other conditions at the beginning of a game. In one of the Indian lithographs, this station is even renamed the station of 'conditionality' (*mushāratat*), which is evidently an error [17]. It is imperative to see to the observance of this condition at each

### *Kīmiyā*

The first station is partnership < ... > Each breath among the breaths in our life is a gem which can enrich [one]. The most important element in this is accounting and [self]-accounting < ... > one says to one's soul: "I have no other wealth than life. Every breath which has been emitted is irreplaceable, and their number, in accordance with the science of the Most High, is limited and cannot be increased ...".

breath, since " ... every breath which has been emitted is irreplaceable, and their number, in accordance with the science of the Most High, is limited and cannot be increased" [18].

2. *Murāqabat* (observation, control) — *khalwat dar anjuman* (alienation from society, solitude within society).



## Text

*Rashaḥāt* [19]

رشمه خلوت درانجمن <...> خلوت درانجمن بظاهر با خلق و بیاطن با حق سبحانه <...> خلوت درانجمن آنست که اشتغال و استغراق در ذکر بمرتبه رسد که اگر بازار در آید هیچ سخن و آواز نشنود بسبب استیلاء ذکر بر حقیقت دل

*Kṭmiyā* [20]

مقام دوم مراقبه است و معنی مراقبه پاسبانی بود <...> و اصل مراقبه آنست که بداند که خدای تعالی بر وی مطلع است در هر چه میکند و می اندیشد و خلق ظاهر وی میبینند <...> بدانکه مراقبه بر دو وجه است یکی مراقبه صدیقانست که دل ایشان بعظمت خدای مستغرق باشد و در هیبت وی شکسته بود و در وی جای اختلافات بغیر نبود <...> کسی باشد که درین جهان مستغرق شود که با وی سخن گویی و نشنود و کسی پیش وی فرا شود اگر چشم باز دارد نبیند <...> این است حال درجه و مراقبه صدیقان که همگی ایشان حق سبحانه مستغرق بود

## Translation.

*Rashaḥāt*

*Rashaḥa*. Solitude within society. <...> Solitude within society is outwardly being with people while inwardly being with God. <...> Solitude within society is when one's occupation with and immersion in the mention of the Most High attains such a degree that if one were to visit the market-place, one would notice neither the voices nor the words, because the truth of the heart is entirely in the grips of *dhikr*.

*Kṭmiyā*

The second station is *murāqabat*. The meaning of *murāqabat* is control. <...> The basis of *murāqabat* is the knowledge that the Most High is informed about all that is committed and thought by him (i.e. the mystic — *A. Kh.*). People see his outer side. <...> Know that *murāqabat* is of two types. The first is *murāqabat* of the sincere, whose hearts are immersed in the grandeur of the Most High and are not able to withstand its awe-inspiring sight. There is no room in them to pay attention to anything else. <...> There are those whose immersion in this world is so great that one addresses them and they do not hear; one approaches them, but they do not see, even though their eyes are open. This is the state of degree, the *murāqabat* of the sincere, when they are wholly immersed in the Most High.

Al-Ghazālī distinguishes two types of the *murāqabat* stations, one of which — the *murāqabat* of the sincere (the *murāqabat-i ṣādīqān*) — is paralleled by the station of *khalwat dar arjuman* in the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān. Both demand total immersion (*istighrāq*) in the mention of the Most High. They attain a level of isolation at which their surroundings, all which is not related to God, are no longer apprehended by the

sensory organs of vision and hearing. One finds an analogy for al-Ghazālī's second type of *murāqabat* in the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān principle of *nigahdāsh*t (preservation, vigilance), as presented in the *Rashaḥāt*.

3. *Murāqabat* (observation, control) — *nigahdāsh*t (preservation, vigilance).

## Text

*Rashaḥāt* [21]

رشمه نگهداشت و آن عبارت از مراقبه خواطرست <...> باید که یک ساعت و دو ساعت و زیاده از دو ساعت آن مقدار که میسر شود خاطر خود را نگاهدارد که غیری بخاطر وی نگذرد

*Kṭmiyā* [22]

درجه دوم مراقبه پارسایان <...> پس کسی که درین درجه بود او را احوال و خواطر و حرکات خویش همه مراقبت باید کرد <...> اول خاطر که در دل آید گوش دارد و همیشه دل را مراقبه میکند تا در وی چه اندیشه پدید آید تا آن اندیشه که بدیدار آید نگاه کند اگر خدای را ست تمام بکند. و اگر در هوای نفس است بترسد و از خدای تعالی شرم دارد و خود را ملامت کند

## Translation

*Rashaḥāt*

The *rashaḥa* of preservation consists of observing one's thoughts. <...> For an hour, or two or more hours, one must guard one's thoughts against the interference of the superfluous to the extent that this is possible.

*Kṭmiyā*

The second stage is the *murāqabat* of the pious. <...> Thus, he who is at this stage must watch all of his states, thoughts and movements. <...> At first, one listens to a thought which appears in one's heart. One always looks after one's heart — and the thoughts arising in it — in order to scrutinize the thought which has appeared. If it is from God, one completes it. But if it stems from the desires of the soul, one is afraid, experiences shame before the Most High, and censures oneself.

Here al-Ghazālī speaks of the *murāqabat* of the pious, who should control all their states, thoughts, and actions. He

stresses in particular constant control of the thoughts which visit one's heart. If these thoughts are from God or about

him, they are permissible; but if they stem from the desires of the soul, then one should feel ashamed before God and blame oneself (*malāmat*). As for the *Rashaḥāt*, it also terms the concept of *nigahdāsh*t control over thoughts and rec-

ommends that one spend as much time as possible controlling them.

4. *Muḥāsabat* (self-reckoning) — *wuqūf-i zamānī* (consciousness of time).

## Text

*Rashaḥāt* [23]

وقوف زمانی نزد صوفیه قدس الله ارواح عبارت از محاسبه است و حضرت خواجه بزرگ قدس سره فرموده اند که محاسبه آنست که در هر ساعتی آنچه بر ما گذشته است محاسبه میکنیم که غفلت چیست و حضور چیست میبینیم که همه نقصان است و بازگشت میکنیم و عمل از سر میگیریم

*Kṭmiyā* [24]

مقام سوم محاسبه است پس از عمل باید که بنده را بآخر روز وقتی باشد در وقت خفتن که با نفس خویش حساب جمله روز بکند تا سرمایه از سود و زیان جدا کند و سرمایه فرایض است و سود نوافل و زیان معاصی

## Translation

*Rashaḥāt*

Among Ṣūfīs — may Allah sanctify their souls — the consciousness of time consists of self-reckoning. Haḡrat-i Khwāja — blessed be his grave — said that self-reckoning is when we take into account each hour which has passed for us: what passed in unconcern, and what with divine consciousness. When we see that it is all wrong, we return and begin anew.

*Kṭmiyā*

The third station is self-reckoning after action. It is necessary that the servant of God have at the end of the day time before going to sleep in order to settle accounts with his soul for the day, in order to separate the capital of profit from the capital of loss. Capital consists of obligatory religious tenets; profit is what is done above and beyond them, loss is violation.

In this case, the *Rashaḥāt* draws a direct parallel between its principle of *wuqūf-i zamānī* and *muḥāsaba*.

5. *Safar dar waṭan* (travel in the place where one lives), as presented in both texts.

## Text

*Rashaḥāt* [25]

رشحه سفر در وطن آنست که سالک در طبیعت بشری سفر کند یعنی از صفات بشری بصفات ملکی و از صفات ذمیمه بصفات حمیده انتقال فرماید

*Kṭmiyā* [26]

و دانستن آن راهیست از طریق بصیرت و مشاهده باطن و باین کسی رسد که از وطن خود مفارقت کند و آنجا که مولد و مسقط الرأس وی بود نایستد و سفر راه دین پیش گیرد و باین وطن نه از شهر و خانه میخوایم که آن وطن قالب است و سفر قالب را قدری نباشد لیکن آن روح که حقیقت آدمیست آنرا قرارگاهی است که از آنجا پدید آمده و وطن وی آنست و ازینجا او را سفریست

## Translation

*Rashaḥāt*

*Rashaḥa*. Travel in the place where one lives means that he who follows the path of instruction (*sālik*) undertakes travel within his human nature, that is, he makes the transition from human qualities to angelic ones, from the blameworthy to the praiseworthy.

*Kṭmiyā*

Knowledge of this path includes both inner vision and inner contemplation. The person who achieves this is he who separates himself from his native realm, leaving the place where he was born and which was his homeland to set off on a journey of faith (*safar-i dīn*). By homeland (*waṭan*) one should understand not a city or house, which are home only to the outer shell, the perambulations of which are worth nothing. One cannot say this about the spirit, which is the truth of man. It (the spirit — *A. Kh.*) has a quiet place from which it came into being. That is its homeland. And from there it undertakes the journey.

Al-Ghazālī does not formulate this particular principle as a station, as in previous cases, although the idea of a spiritual journey is a fundamental one which runs through the entire work as *safar dan waṭan*. In *Rashaḥāt*, in addition to what is found above, this principle is explained by a citation from a famous work on Ṣūfism, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* ("Gifts of Knowledge") [27] by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ

ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (1145—1234/35). The latter founded an independent Arab Ṣūfī school the basic principles of which provided the foundation for the Suhrawardiya brotherhood which later took shape in India. He was a follower of the teachings of al-Ghazālī's brothers — Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, who was responsible for the theoretical, and Aḡmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1126), who took care of the practical side of the



teaching. One can often encounter this work on the margins of *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* ("Resurrection of the Sciences") [28].

Apart from the clearly delineated parallels in the chosen principles of the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān, one should also note the principles of *yādkard* and *wuqūf-i qalbī*, which signify, successively, the mention of God (*dhikr*) and consciousness of the heart. Since *dhikr* as a form of practical exercise was known long before al-Ghazālī — passing the mention of God through one's heart or pronouncing *dhikr* with the heart — there is no need to focus special attention on them in this context, although al-Ghazālī explains both in his *Kīmīyā*.

A comparison of the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān's principles cited with the parallel principles formulated in the *Kīmīyā* does not yield sufficient grounds for considering the former the result of adaptation made by a single man on the basis of a manuscript work. For this reason, it is unlikely that the similarity indicated here should be considered a direct borrowing by al-Ghijduwānī of the principles of spiritual-religious life from the text of al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā*. But a single source in the formulations cited here is evident. Most likely, al-Ghijduwānī learnt of them from his *shaykh*, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (1048—1140), a contemporary of al-Ghazālī. Al-Hamadānī received education together with al-Ghazālī at practically the same time and from the same teachers: Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 1083) and *shaykh* Abū 'Alī Farmadī al-Ṭūsī (d. 1084/85) [29]. It is probable that these two men (or one of them) were the source of the subsequent formation of the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān's principles. But it is also possible that because Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī and Abū 'Alī Farmadī al-Ṭūsī were al-Ghazālī's teachers, the latter gives so detailed exposition of these principles in his work.

One cannot also exclude the possibility that the principles of religious-spiritual life under discussion were adopted by al-Ghazālī from the works of his Ash'arite predecessors, for example, from al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (ca. 781—857), or that al-Ghazālī could familiarise himself with these principles during his extensive travels. They could also be the principles of the *malāmatiyya* movement in Khurāsān, the adepts of which accepted the ideas of al-Muḥāsibī. Whatever the case may be, the fact that al-Ghazālī's work contained a discussion of the principles renamed and adapted for the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān by al-Ghijduwānī only increased the popularity of this Ṣūfī school and, later, brotherhood.

If we accept the fact that the principles of spiritual-religious life under review here were known to mystics before they were formulated by al-Ghijduwānī for the Khwājagān school, then the only new element introduced into Ṣūfī practice by al-Ghijduwānī was the practice of *dhikr* by holding one's breath. According to the tradition, this exercise was taught to him in visions by al-Khiḍr, that is why the brotherhood's tradition considers al-Ghijduwānī *uwaysī*, that is, initiated without the participation of a *shaykh*. Here is how the author of the *Rashahāt* describes this mystical experience:

"Enter the reservoir (*hawḍ*), lower yourself entirely into the water and say with your heart (*dil*): 'Lā ilāha illā Allāhu wa-Muḥammadun rasūlu Allāhi'" [30].

This laconic description plays on two words — the reservoir (*hawḍ*), into which one must lower oneself completely, and the heart (*dil*), with which one must pronounce

the formula. This exercise naturally implies the holding one's breath (*ḥabs-i nafas*, *ḥabs-i dam*), since full immersion (including the head) in water compels one to hold one's breath as well as to assume suitable position under water to disassociate oneself from all outer stimulants, leading to an altered perception of the world.

Despite the seeming simplicity of this exercise's performance, one must consider it in a metaphorical sense, otherwise the question arises whether it was easy to al-Ghijduwānī's numerous followers to find deep reservoirs permitting full daily immersion in Bukhara or surrounding regions. Besides, it is known that Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband did not regard the principle of holding the breath, proposed by al-Ghijduwānī, as obligatory (*lāzim*) [31]. A quotation from the first *'unwān* of al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā*, seems to elucidate the question:

"From the preceding, the virtue of the nature of the human heart has become intelligible and the nature of the path of Ṣūfīs has become clear. Just as one might hear from those who say that the religious science is the curtain which hides that path and could deny it, do not deny these words: the truth is that when one is busy with or immerses (*mustaghraq*) in what has been acquired through the senses, a curtain appears [hiding] the path. As though one were to liken the heart (*dil*) to a reservoir (*hawḍ*), and the senses to five *ariqs* which bring water from without into the reservoir. If you wish for pure water to rise from the depths of the reservoir, then see to it that you release that water in full, closing off all *ariqs* so that it does not return. Deepen the reservoir that pure water might rise from its depths. And, as long as the reservoir is filled with water which flows in from without, pure water cannot rise from within, just as religious knowledge, which bursts out from within the heart, will not be acquired until the gates of the heart are freed from all that comes from without" [32].

As is evident from the excerpt, al-Ghazālī employs the same two words, likening the heart to a reservoir consisting both of pure, ground water from the reservoir itself and of water brought in from without by the five senses.

If one accepts that the exercise proposed by al-Ghijduwānī must be considered as a metaphor, it can be interpreted as follows: the disciple enters into the heart-reservoir and immerses himself fully in its water, which belongs to the heart itself, thus shutting off all outer senses, and pronounces the formula of *dhikr* with the heart. Holding the breath is necessary in order to wholly concentrate attention on the heart itself. Apparently, the same effect is achieved by the mental calculation of the number of repetitions of *dhikr* while pronouncing them, a practice introduced by Naqshband and defined as consciousness of number — *wuqūf-i 'adaḍī* [33].

Since it is possible that al-Ghijduwānī only transmitted a tradition of spiritual-religious life from Abū Ya'qūb al-Hamadānī, one can conjecture that this exercise was suggested to the former during the period of his instruction by the latter, and not earlier.

We can find unreferenced borrowings from al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā* can be found in works by later Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān *shaykhs*, for example, in Muḥammad Pārsā (1345—1420), in his *Risāla-yi qudsiyya* ("Treatise on Holiness") [34]. For example, listed below are several passages on the mention of God, borrowed from the *Kīmīyā* practically without alteration by Pārsā, therefore, they are given here without translation or commentary.

*Risala-yi qudsiyya* [35]

ذکر بر وی مستولی گردد و در دل متمکن شود و معنی کلمه توحید آن معنی که در آن حرف نبود و عربی و فارسی نباشد در دل غالب آید >...< چون زمین دل از خار و وسوس دنیا خالی گردد و تخم ذکر درو و دینت نهاد اکنون هیچ نمائد که باختیار تعلی دارد اختیار تا اینجا بود پس بعد از آن منتظر میباشد تا چه پیدا آید و غالب آن بود که این تخم ضایع نمائد که من کان یزید حث الاخرة نزوله فی حشره >...< و اینجا بود که صورت ملکوت بر وی روشن گردد و ارواح انبیا و اولیاء و جواهر ملائک علیهم الصلوات و التسلیمات و علی الهم اجمعین بصورتهای نیکو نمودن گیرد >...< هر کس را چیزی دیگر پیش آید و درین گرفتن فایده نیست این راه رفتن است نه راه گرفتن

*Kīmīyā* [36]

معنی این کلمه بر دل غالب شود آن معنی که در آن حرف در دل متمکن و مستولی شود >...< نبود و تازی و فارسی نبود که گرفتن بدل هم حدیث بود ... پس آن معنی باید که چون دل از خار و وسوس دنیا خالی گردد و این تخم بنهاد هیچ چیز نمائد که باختیار تعلی دارد اختیار تا اینجا بود بعد ازین منتظر باشند تا چه رود و چه پیدا آید و غالب آن بود که این تخم ضایع نشود که حق تعالی می فرماید من کان یزید حث الاخرة نزوله فی حشره >...< لیکن جواهر ملائک و ارواح انبیا علیهم السلام او را بصورتهای نیکو نمودن گیرد ... در گرفتن آن فایده نبود که این راه رفتن است نه راه گرفتن و هر کس را چیزی دیگر پیش آید

Thus, even these parallels provided allow us to suggest that by the time of the Khwājagān school's emergence, Muslim mystics already possessed principles of spiritual-religious life analogous to those which were later formulated by al-Ghijduwānī for his numerous Persian-language followers.

Further, there is a view that the *Kīmīyā* is but an abridged Persian version of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. This view seems to arose first at the end of the nineteenth century in the description of one of the earliest full copies of the work, stored in the British Museum [37] and dated to 672/1274. Despite the presence of English and German translations of the work [38], from that time until the present this view has made its way from one catalogue to another [39], appearing even in serious researchs [40]. The reason is probably that al-Ghazālī's works have been studied and continue to be studied mainly by Arabists who consider the existence of an abridged translation of the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* into Persian quite natural. On the other hand, one must take into account that translations of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* into, say, English, were undertaken not from the original Persian but from translations into Turkish [41] and Urdu [42]. Besides, Claud Field's English translation is so abridged in comparison with the Persian original, constituting as little as a third of its original size [43], that it hardly provides an adequate sense of the work's contents, although it may be "ideally suited for educational purposes" [44]. True, in the second edition of the translation, a new foreword prepared by Elton L. Daniel appeared. It is significantly expanded with a brief biography of al-Ghazālī, a description of the historical, religious, and intellectual situation during his lifetime (including his influence and significance for the Islamic world), a short analysis of certain questions connected with the *Kīmīyā*, and a good bibliography dealing with al-Ghazālī's works.

As concerns H. Ritter's German translation, one must take into account that it contains a translation only of the first *'unwān* and one short chapter from the second *rukṇ*. The rest consists of the text of the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* abridged by Ritter himself, or as he put it himself: "Der erste Teil *Von der Selbsterkenntnis* ist eine wortliche Übersetzung der ersten 'Eingangs' ('unwān) des *Kimija as-sa'adat*... Das Kapitel über die *Freundschaft und Bruderschaft in Gott* folgt dem arabischen Text der *Ihya*, das Kapitel über die Pflichten gegen Muslimen, Nachbarn, Verwandte und Sklaven wieder ganz dem *Kimija*, der Rest wieder dem arabischen Text. In der *Ihya* entnommenen Stücken sind einzelne Teile, besonders die Belege aus Koran, Hadith und athar, nach dem Vorgangs des *Kimija gekürzt*" [45]. The second edition of Ritter's translation differs from the first in a new foreword prepared by Anne-Marie Shimmel [46].

In other words, in Europe there are to this day no scholarly translations of the *Kīmīyā* despite the numerous full editions of the text which have lately appeared in Iran and the presence of the work's copies in all of the major European manuscript collections. In essence, the contents of the work remain little known to scholars. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the fact that chronologists of al-Ghazālī's works until recently erroneously considered that one of his Arabic-language works, the *Mishkāt al-anwār wa-misfāt al-asrār* ("The Niche for Light and Filter for Secrets") was written after the *Kīmīyā*, in 1106/07 [47], although the text of the *Kīmīyā* contains a direct reference to the *Mishkāt al-anwār* [48]. Some researchers, for example, D. B. Macdonald, considered the *Mishkāt al-anwār* to be al-Ghazālī's last work, locating the period of its composition "à la fin de sa vie" [49], i.e. to the time of the author's final return to Ṭūs (1109—1111), while M. W. Watt believed that "the citations leave a wide margin for the *Mishkāt* but its contents indicate a last date" [50]. The opinion of 'Abd al-Raḥīm is that al-Ghazālī compiled the work "between the year 503 and 505 of the Hijra (A. D. 1109/10—1111/12 — A. Kh.), that is after his last return to Ṭūs" [51]. Finally, sharing this view, Elton Daniel, in his foreword to the 1991 edition of Field's translation of the *Kīmīyā* asserts: "Since the *Mishkāt* is a very late work by Ghazzālī, it would appear that the *Alchimy* should be dated to the final years of Ghazzālī's life" [52], despite the fact that this does not agree with the already established chronology as set forth in the author's own references [53].

Although no one appears to have conducted any special work on a comparative analysis of the *Kīmīyā* and the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, several researchers on al-Ghazālī have recently made cautious comments on the "slightly altered" contents of the *rukṇs* of the *Kīmīyā* in comparison with the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* [54]. Some remarks point to "certain" or even extremely "significant differences". According to Watt, "there are some differences which have not been fully investigated" [55], while Elton Daniel says that "there are... some significant differences between the two works" [56].

As for Iranian scholars, the overwhelming majority of them do not even raise the issue of an abridged version of the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* into Persian under the title *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*. They consider it self-evident that these are two independent works with certain similarities in chapter titles and structure. Here, for example, is only one opinion: "*Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* is similar to *Ihyā' 'ulūm*, both are composed along the same pattern and scheme. However, each supplements the other. In particular, the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*, which Ḥujjat al-Islām (i.e. al-Ghazālī — A. Kh.) wrote in Persian, is probably more important from the point of view of Persian-language people" [57].

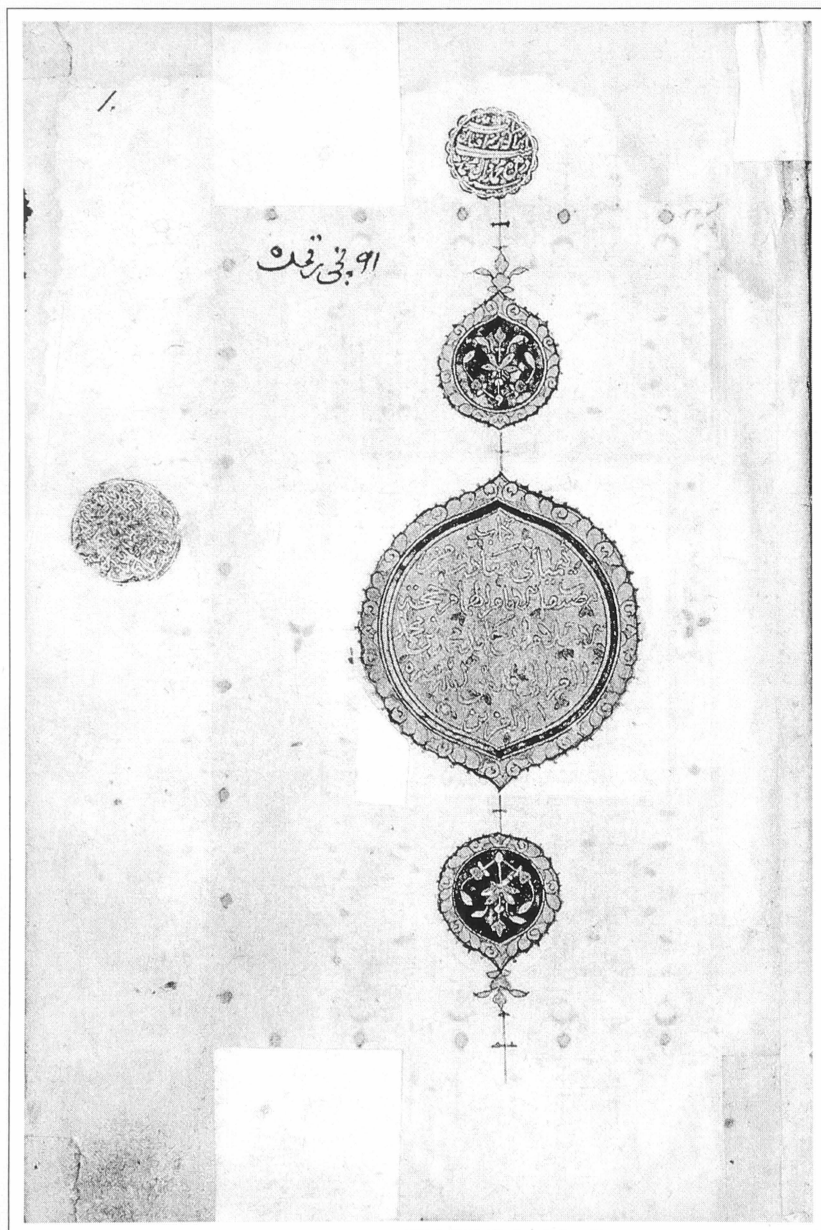


Fig. 4



It is really difficult to imagine that as an adult already well-known in the Muslim world, al-Ghazālī undertook to “repeat” what he had already written, even in abridged form and in a different language. It is true that the subject matter of the *Kīmiyā* in some ways overlaps with the questions treated in the *Ihyā*. But this is not surprising, as both works treat theological, philosophical, and Ṣūfī questions. At times, the author makes references to the *Ihyā* [58]. This is not, however, a reason to consider the *Kīmiyā* an abridgment of the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*. After all, contemporary authors who refer a reader to their own works for further details in no wise consider their later creations to be a “brief reworking” of what they wrote earlier on the same topic. Al-Ghazālī himself points to a difference between the two works: “We spoke about this in more detail in the book *Dhikr al-mawt* (“Comments on Death”) from the book *Ihyā*. Here we limit ourselves (*iqtiṣār*) to an explication of the truth of death, and focus attention (*ishārat*) on...” [59]; or also “anyone who wants to learn in detail about physical torment should consult the *Ihyā*, while anyone who wishes to learn of spiritual torment should consult the ‘*unwāns* of this book ...” [60].

Regarding the wide-spread opinion that *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādāt* is an “abridged” version, or “translation”, into Persian of the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*, it is appropriate here to cite some figures. The approximate ratio of characters in eponymous *rub*’s of the *Ihyā* and *rukns* of the *Kīmiyā* is as follows: for the first *rub* — 1:5.6; for the second — 1:2.9; for the third — 1:3.2; for the fourth — 1:3.8. Thus, in comparison with the *rub*’s, the *rukns* are “abridged” by an average factor of 3.9. If we take into account the volume of the four ‘*unwāns*, the basic ratio will be slightly less, approximately 1:3.6. In other words, assuming that al-Ghazālī set himself the task of translating into Persian the contents of the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*, one must admit that this resulted in a foreign-language summary with theses in which less than one third of the basic work was retained. A quick glance suffices to espy the difference between the two

works, a difference which goes beyond the “brevity” of the *Kīmiyā*. Writing in Persian, it must have cost al-Ghazālī, who knew Arabic well and wrote in it his entire life, no little effort to restructure to some degree his conceptual apparatus and express for the first time on paper his ideas in a language which had hardly been used for this purpose before. To speak and to write are different things, especially when complex philosophical concepts and ideas are at issue.

This is what the author himself says about the “Alchemy of Happiness”:

“In this book ... we will give explications for speakers of Persian, refraining from long and unclear expressions, from difficult and abstruse content, in order to make it accessible. If someone wishes to undertake research and to refine what is discussed here, he should consult books (my emphasis — *A. Kh.*) in Arabic such as the books *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*, *Jawāhir al-Qur’ān* (“Gems of the Qur’ān”), and other works of similar content written in Arabic, as the aim of this book is to be understood by simple people (*‘awām-i khalq*) ...” [61].

Moreover, in the *Kīmiyā*, the author refers readers to such his works as *Ma’āni asmā-yi Allāh* (“On the Meaning of the Divine Names”), which in the Arabic bears the title *al-Maqṣad al-isnā fī asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusna* [62], *Mishkāt al-anwār wa-misfat al-asrār* (“The Niche for Light and Filter for Secrets”) [63], *Bidāyat al-hidāya* (“Setting out on the True Path”) [64], and books on logic [65] and *fiqh* [66]. Furthermore, in all four *rukns* one encounters references to the ‘*unwāns* located at the beginning of the work and lacking in the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn*. This testifies to the cohesion of the work’s conception and its independence from the *Ihyā*.

As another argument, one can pinpoint the author’s own comments on the aims of the *Ihyā* ‘*ulūm al-dīn* and the *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādāt*:

## Text

### *Ihyā* [67]

المقصود من هذا الكتاب علم المعاملة فقط دون علم المكاشفة التي لا رخصة في ابداعها الكتاب وان كانت هي غاية مقصد الطالبين و مطمح نظر الصديقيين و علم المعاملة طريق اليه

### *Kīmiyā* [68]

اما علم مكاشفه آنست كه خدايتعالى را و صفات او و ملائكه و رسل اورا بشناسد و علم معامله آنست كه درين كتاب گفته ايم كه عقبات راه دين است چنانكه در ركن مهلكات گفتيم و زاد راه چنانكه در ركن عبادات و معاملات است و منازل راه چنانكه در ركن منجيات است ...

ازان جمله معلوم شد كه سعادت آدمي در شناخت حق تعالى است و در بندگي او و اصل شناخت بمعرفت آن چهار عنوان حاصل شد و بندگي باین چهار ركن حاصل آيد

## Translation

### *Ihyā*

What is sought after in this book is only the science of conduct, without the science of revelation, which would be impermissible to include in this book, for the latter represents the final goal of seekers and the desired object of the sincere gaze. The path to it lies through the science of conduct.

### *Kīmiyā*

As concerns the science of revelation, it is knowledge of the most High, His qualities, angels, and His messengers. The science of conduct forms the subject matter for this book: those obstacles on the religious path of which we spoke in the *rukn* “harmful things”; the amount traveled discussed in the *rukns* “religious observance” and “conduct”; the stages of the path discussed in the *rukns* “things which save” ...

Thus, it has become clear that human happiness resides in the knowledge of the Most High and in obedience to Him. The bases of [this] knowledge were acquired with the mystical knowledge of the four ‘*unwāns*. And obedience will be acquired with the four *rukns*.

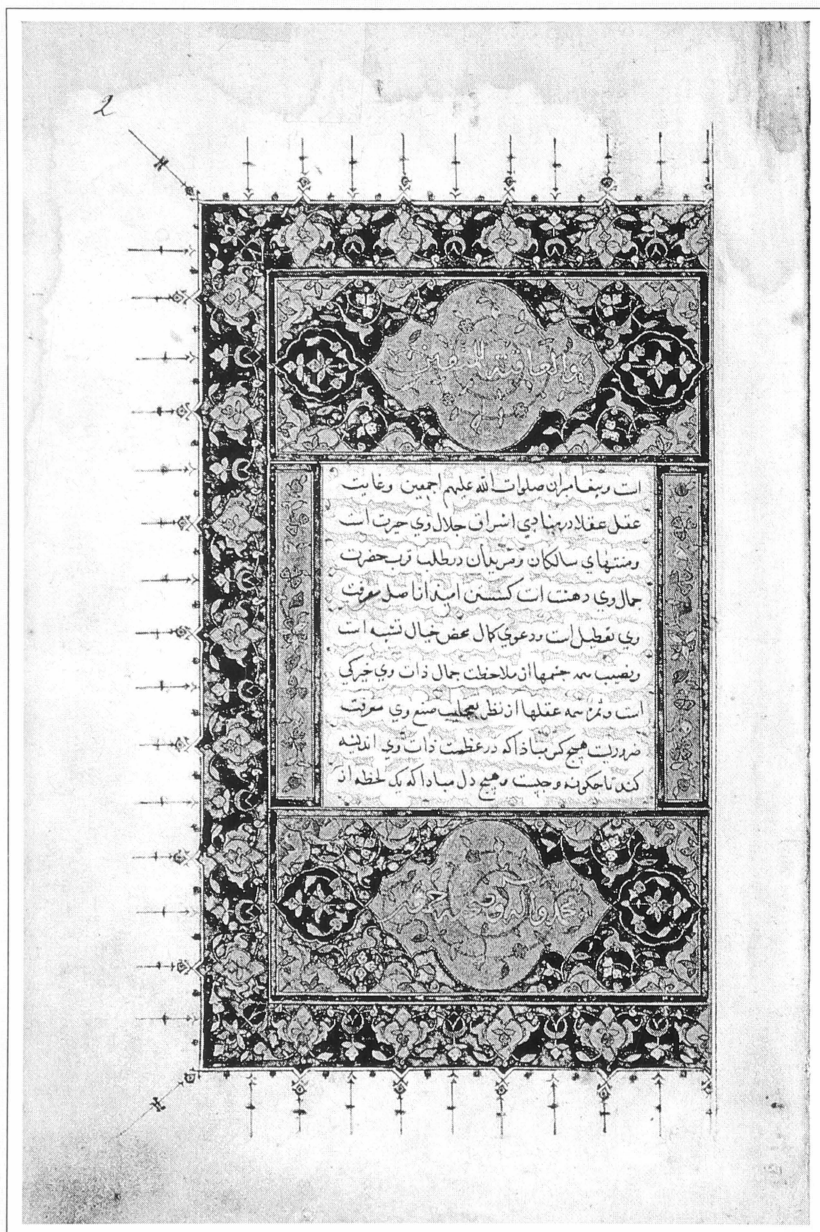


Fig. 5

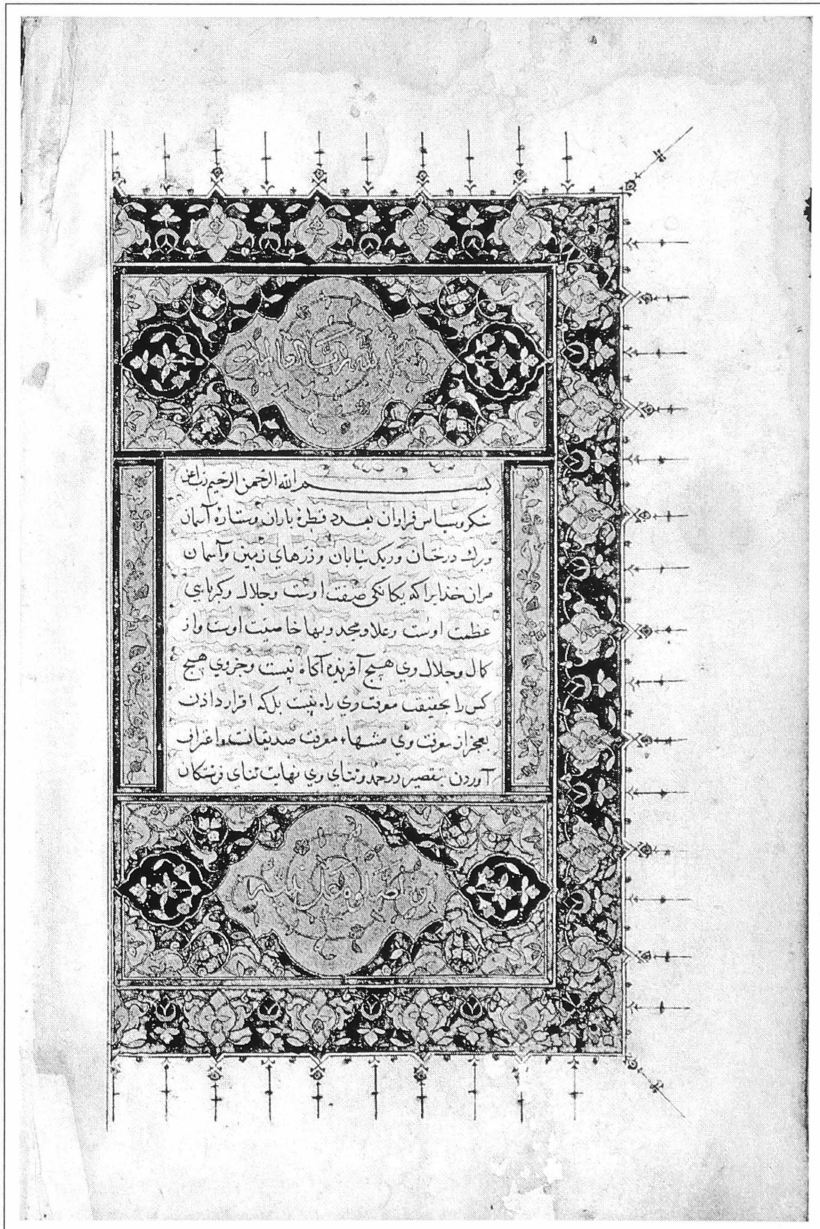


Fig. 6

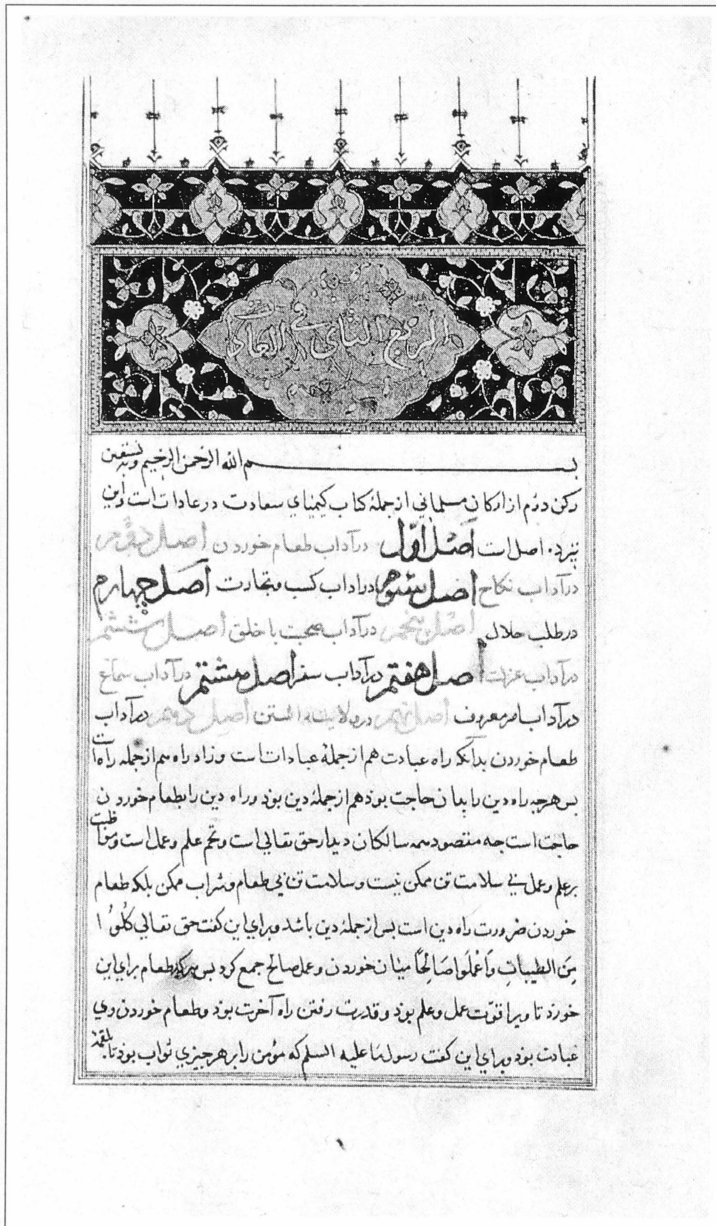


Fig. 7

As the citations show, in the *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn al-Ghazālī does not set himself the task of presenting the science of revelation ('ilm al-mukāshafa), saying that the path to it lies through the science of conduct ('ilm al-mu'āmalā), to which he dedicates his work. In the *Kīmiyā*, he says that the science of revelation is the "knowledge of the Most High, His qualities, angels, and His messengers... the bases of [this] knowledge were acquired with the mystical knowledge (*ma'rifat*) of the four 'unwāns ...". That is, the exposition was structured so that first the 'unwāns treat the science of revelation, while the *rukns* concern the science of conduct. Consequently, the science of conduct is perceived differently, through the prism of mystical knowledge, or the science of revelation. In other words, knowledge of God initially points to a different understanding of the observation of religious duties and the behavioral norms required by Islam and described in the *rukns*. Hence, the title contains the word of Greek origin, *kīmiyā*, which in the middle ages signified the transmutation or transformation of an ordinary substance into something of great value. This is the meaning with which it entered the Persian language [69]. The author himself states a preference for the word *kīmiyā* he employs in the title and explains his understanding of it:

"Inasmuch as the essence of man at the beginning of his formation (*āfarīnīsh*) is imperfect and base, it is impossible to bring it from imperfection to perfect stages without inner struggle (*mujāhadat*) and healing. Just as it is difficult to effect the transmutation (*kīmiyā*) which brings copper and brass to pure, unalloyed gold — and this [art] is not known to all, it is difficult to effect the transmutation of human nature, which belongs to the base animals, into the purity and refinement of the angels in order to obtain eternal happiness, and this [art] is not known to all. The aim of this book's creation is to explain the [four?] components [necessary] for this transmutation (*akhlāt īn kīmiyā*), which, in truth, is the elixir of eternal happiness. Having precisely this in mind, we entitled this work *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādāt*. The noun *kīmiyā* in the title is preferable, as the difference between copper and gold consists of no more than yellowness and hardness, and the fruit of the transmutation is no more than earthly well-being. How much time is allotted to mere earth and what exactly are earthly goods? And the difference between animal and angelic qualities is as between the lowest of the low and the highest of the high. Its fruit is human happiness which knows no end and the enjoyments of which are boundless. Thus, the noun *kīmiyā* would be borrowed and unworthy (*āriyat-ast wa saẓāwār nīst*) except for [the designation of] this book" [70].

Finally, one should note the fundamental differences in the compositional structures of the two works. The *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn is divided into four quarters (*rub*'s), each of which in turn contains ten books (*kitābs*). Nearly all of the books open with an introduction revealing the theme in the form of an apparently original matrix text. It begins with a glorification of Allah, goes on to reveal the concepts introduced, and closes with a glorification of the Prophet. In the *Kīmiyā*, a similarly structured text is explicitly found only at the start of the work and is lacking in eponymous *rukns* and *aṣls* (see below).

It is clear from the preceding that there is no mention of a Persian translation of some concrete Arabic work by al-Ghazālī. It is an independent book written in Persian in an accessible manner to ease the understanding of many com-

plex philosophical and theological questions treated by the author in his numerous works written in Arabic. Nonetheless, the text is distinguished by the impressive logic in making conclusions and deductions, which is characteristic of al-Ghazālī's style of composition.

Structurally, the *Kīmiyā* is divided into eight chapters, four of which have traditionally been viewed in the scholarly literature as a preface. Absent in the *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn, they are found at the beginning of the work and are titled by al-Ghazālī 'unwāns [71]. These are "On self-knowledge" (*Dar shinākhtan-i khūyish*) (fols. 4b—19a), "On the knowledge of the Most High" (*Dar shinākhtan-i Haqq-i Subḥāna wa ta'āla*) (fols. 19a—29a), "On the mystical knowledge of the world" (*Dar ma'rifat-i dunyā*) (fols. 29a—33a), and "On the mystical knowledge of life beyond the grave" (*Dar ma'rifat-i ākhirat*) (fols. 33a—48b). They are followed by four chapters entitled *rukns* ("pillars") by the author. Their titles coincide with the titles of the four *rub*'s ("quarters") found in the *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn, which seems to have misled those viewing the *Kīmiyā* a Persian translation of the *Ihyā'*. Two of these *rub*'s deal with the outward observance of religious commandments and performance from the point of view of the *sharī'a*: 'ibādāt ("religious observances") (fols. 49a—102a) and *mu'āmalāt* ("conduct") (fols. 102b—205a). The other two cover the inner spiritual qualities which a true believer must possess — *mahlukāt* ("that which brings ruin") (fols. 205b—315a) and *munjīyāt* ("that which brings salvation") (fols. 315b—441a). The smallest division of text in all eight chapters is the section (*faṣl*). It is the only division of text found in the first four, while the remaining chapters contain larger subdivisions of the text: *rukn* — *aṣl* (basis) — *bāb* (part) — *faṣl*. Each of the four *rukns* contains ten *aṣls*.

A more detailed analysis of the structure of the *Kīmiyā* reveals that the author did not see the four 'unwāns as a kind of prelude to the *rukns*. Using the term 'unwān, al-Ghazālī had in mind the word's broader range of meanings. The use of the word in the following combinations: *ma'rifat-i 'unwān-i musalmānī*; *nikū-yi zāhir 'unwān-i nikū-yi bāṭin ast*; *amma 'unwān-i ān 'ilmhā ān ast ki*; 'unwān-i *musalmānī* [72] gives one grounds to interpret it as "indicator", "possessive marker", "symbol" or "upper part", "peak". The phrases then read "mystical knowledge indicating submission to God", "outer beauty indicates inner beauty", "however, the mark of belonging to that sciences is...", "indicator of humility before God" respectively. The correctness of this interpretation is confirmed by the translation of the word 'unwān given in the brief glossary to a copy of al-Ghazālī's work dated to 1111/1699, where the compiler interprets it as follows: "'Unwān with *ḍamma* and *kasra*; introduction to the book; the beginning of something; that from which something comes from; that from which something becomes comprehensible and grasped" [73].

The interpretation of 'unwān offered here in many ways determines our understanding of the composite structure of the text. As was noted above, the beginning of the *Kīmiyā* is characterized by a structure which formally resembles a matrix one and which appears to determine the rest of the exposition. In the *Ihyā'* 'ulūm al-dīn, however, such texts precede nearly all of the 40 books. This organization of the text — the essence of the given theme — is typical of especially significant sections, where an ordinary linear exposition is no longer capable of reflecting the full depth or all

aspects of the author's thought. Matrix texts form a certain variety of independent syntactic unit and are based on parallelisms organised along grammatical, semantic and phonetic lines — syntagms. The size of a matrix text is determined by the interplay of textual segments which stand far apart from one another in linear exposition. To achieve this, the subject under discussion is ideally (i) subdivided by the author into a series of identically structured acts (states) (ii) which consist of syntagms equal in number, (iii) linked by parallelisms, and (iv) characterized by the same gradation (ascending, descending, etc.) [74]. By juxtaposing such segments according to the number of syntagms in each act (horizontally) and according to the number of acts themselves (vertically), one arrives at a table or matrix in which the ratio of first and second numbers usually corresponds to the ratio of sacred numbers typical of the author's cultural milieu.

In all likelihood, the basic task of a matrix text is the sacralization of consciousness during reading, the establishment of a certain rhythm. Moreover, one can surmise

that a "familiarity with matrix structures encouraged in attentive readers the ability to think and make decisions" [75].

Such texts are round in various cultural traditions: Christian, Vedic, Buddhist, Daoist, etc. [76]. In Muslim culture, texts functionally equivalent to matrices are known in Šūfi ritual practice as *khatm* [77]. However, outside this ritual practice, in the written tradition, they have not yet received sufficient study. Therefore, the question of how widely and purposefully they were employed remains open.

An example of a matrix structure in al-Ghazālī's *ḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* is for example found at the beginning of the fortieth chapter entitled "On the mention of death" [78]. The excerpt cited below (see Table 7) has very clear boundaries, beginning with the words in praise of Allah and ending with the words *wa-thumma* ("and then"). It is followed by a different segment (not cited here) of rhythmically organized text up to the traditional *ammā ba'd* ("and then"). In Table 7, key elements in the segment's rhythmic organization are highlighted in cursive (in the original) and in boldface (in the translation where possible).

Table 7

١	٢	٣
الحمد لله الذى قصم بالموت رقاب الجبابرة	و كسر به ظهور الأكاسرة	و قصر به آمال القياصرة
الذين لم تزل قلوبهم عن ذكر الموت نافرة	حتى جاء هم الوعد الحق	فأرداهم فى الحافرة
فنقلوا من القصور الى القبور	و من ضياء المهود الى ظلمة اللحد	و من ملاعبة الجوارى والغلمان الى مقاساة الهوام والبيدان
و من التعم بالطعام والشراب الى الصرع فى التراب	و من أنس العشرة الى وحشة الوحدة	و من المضجع الوثير الى المصراع الويل
فانظر هل وجدوا من الموت حصناً و عزاً	و اتخذوا من دونه حجاباً و حرزاً	و انظر هل تحس منهم من أحد أو تسمع لهم ركزاً
فسيبحان من انفرد بالقهر و الاستيلاء	و استأثر باستحقاق البقاء	و أنزل اصناف الخلق بما كتب عليهم من الغناء

#### Actions of Allah (1—3)

الحمد لله الذى قصم بالموت رقاب الجبابرة  
و كسر به ظهور الأكاسرة  
و قصر به آمال القياصرة

#### Disclosure of actions (4—6)

الذين لم تزل قلوبهم عن ذكر الموت نافرة  
حتى جاء هم الوعد الحق  
فأرداهم فى الحافرة

#### Change of location (7—9)

فنقلوا من القصور الى القبور  
و من ضياء المهود الى ظلمة اللحد  
و من ملاعبة الجوارى والغلمان الى مقاساة الهوام والبيدان

#### Change of state (10—12)

و من التعم بالطعام والشراب الى الصرع فى التراب  
و من أنس العشرة الى وحشة الوحدة  
و من المضجع الوثير الى المصراع الويل

#### Result (13—15)

فانظر هل وجدوا من الموت حصناً و عزاً  
و اتخذوا من دونه حجاباً و حرزاً  
و انظر هل تحس منهم من أحد أو تسمع لهم ركزاً

#### Oneness of the subject of action (16—18)

فسيبحان من انفرد بالقهر و الاستيلاء  
و استأثر باستحقاق البقاء  
و أنزل اصناف الخلق بما كتب عليهم من الغناء

#### Translation

<sup>1</sup>Praise be unto Allah, who snapped by **death** the necks of the tyrants, <sup>2</sup>and broke by **it** the backs of the *khusraws*, <sup>3</sup>and limited by **it** the aspirations of the Caesars,

<sup>4</sup>Who, no sooner did **their** hearts cease to mention death abhorrent, <sup>5</sup>then the true promise came to **them** <sup>6</sup>and felled **them** instantly.

<sup>7</sup>And they were taken **from** palaces to graves, <sup>8</sup>and **from** the light of the cradles to the darkness of the burial places, <sup>9</sup>and **from** amusements with girls and young boys to the struggle against insects and worms.

<sup>10</sup>And **from** the enjoyment of food and drink to immersion in dust, <sup>11</sup>and **from** the joy of interaction to the dejection of loneliness, <sup>12</sup>and **from** a soft bed to a harsh defeat.

<sup>13</sup>And look, did they find **against** death any fortitude and strength, <sup>14</sup>and did they acquire **against** it any bar or amulet, <sup>15</sup>and look, will you feel any of them or hear from them any rustle?

<sup>16</sup>Praised be He who is alone in subjugating and conquering, <sup>17</sup>and became a Lord in [his] right to permanence, <sup>18</sup>and disdained the horde of creations in the transience which is their fate



The basic movement within each triad is from worldly life to physical death. Somewhat separate from this movement is the final part, which, by virtue of its exceptional and singular nature is the fulcrum of the passage. But even there "this world" is initially described in terms of its full subjugation to the Creator and finally in terms of the transitory nature of worldly things. Syntagm 9 also stands apart, as it relates to the next series (change of

state) and appears to be in the wrong place. By doing this, the author likely wished to stress the sinful life led by tyrants in general and by the Sassanian *khusraws* and Roman Caesars in particular. The latter are enumerated in the first line in the chronological order of Islam's victories over them. Thus, the excerpt can be expressed in the form of a table (see *Table 8*) which reflects the  $3 \times 6$  matrix structure of the text:

*Table 8*

1	2	3
4	5	6
7	8	
		9
10	11	
		12
13	14	15
16	17	18

1	2	3
4	5	6
7	8	9
10	11	12
13	14	15
16	17	18

For comparison and as an example of matrix structures in the Eastern Christian tradition, one can cite a "word-

weaving" composition by Cyprian (*ca.* 1336—1406), a senior contemporary of Epiphanius the Wise (?—1420):

#### Text

<sup>1</sup> *Исходит* убо от обители <sup>2</sup>и *объходит* округ места она пустынная, <sup>3</sup>и *обретает* место безмолвно на реце, нарицаемой Рата, <sup>4</sup>и ту жилища себе *въдружает*, <sup>5</sup>и труды многи *подемяет*, <sup>6</sup>и болезни к болезнем *прилагает*, <sup>7</sup>и поты *пролиет*. <sup>8</sup>И церковь *въздвизает* во имя спаса нашего Иисуса Христа, <sup>9</sup>и келии *въставляет* въ пребывание приходящей к нему братии (cited from [79]).

#### Translation

<sup>1</sup>For he **goes out** from the dwelling <sup>2</sup>and **walks around** the place, it is desolate, <sup>3</sup>and he **finds** a silent place on the river called Rata, <sup>4</sup>and here he **erects** for himself a place to live <sup>5</sup>and **undertakes** many labours <sup>6</sup>and **endures** hardship after hardship <sup>7</sup>and **sweats** mightily. <sup>8</sup>And he **sets up** a church in the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ <sup>9</sup>and **puts in** it cells for the accommodation of the brothers who come to him.

The analysis of the text conducted by D. L. Spivak reveals its matrix structure, which fits into a  $3 \times 3$  table. Segment 4 is followed by a triad (5—7) which belongs to a dif-

ferent semantic category — "personal efforts". After this come syntagms 8 and 9, which relate to syntagm 4, as is evident from the following *Table 9* [80]:

*Table 9*

Search for a place	1	2	3
Building	4		
Personal efforts	5	6	7
Building		8	9

The text of al-Ghazālī's *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādat* reveals similar structure features in the section opening the entire text. It is evident both from the original and from the translation (see *Table 10* below) that the text is divided into paired,

or binary, syntagms. Each pair is anchored by a structure which, in the majority of cases, consists of a preposition and the copula. Here is the text organised in the form of a table:

Table 10

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		رب اعن	
1	(a) شکر و سپاس فراوان بعدد	قطره باران و ستاره آسمان	
	(b) و برگ درختان و ریگ بیابان		
	(c) و ذره‌های زمین و آسمان		
2	(d) مران خدا را که	پگانگی	صفت او ست
	(e) و جلال و کبریائی	عظمت او ست	
	(f) و علا و مجد و بها	خاصیت او ست	
3	از کمال و جلال وی	هیچ آفریده	آگاه نیست
4	جز وی هیچ کس را	بحقیقت معرفت وی	راه نیست
	بلکه		
5	اقرار دادن بعجز از	معرفت وی	مشاء معرفت صدیقان است
6	اعتراف آوردن بتقصیر در	حمد و ثنای وی	نهایت ثنای فرشتگان (و پیغامبران) است
	صلوات الله عليهم اجمعین		
7	غایت عقل عقلا در	مبادی اشراق جلال وی	حیرت است
8	منتهای ساخکان و مریدان در	طلب قرب حضرت جمال وی	دهشت است
9	گسستن امید از	اصل معرفت وی	تعطیل است
10	دعوی کمال محض	خیال	تشبه است
11	نصب همه چشمها از	ملاحظت جمال ذات وی	خیرگی است
12	نمره همه عقلها از	نظر بعجایب صنع وی	معرفت ضروری است
13	هیچ کس مبادا که در	عظمت ذات وی	اندیشه کند
	تا	چگونه و چه	ست
14	هیچ دل مبادا که یک لحظه از	عجایب صنع وی	غافل ماند
	تا	هستی وی	بچسب و بکی ست
15	(a) تا بضرورت آدمی بشناسد که	همه	آثار قدرت او ست
	(b)	همه	بدایع و غرائب حکمت او ست
	(c)	همه	پرتو جمال حضرت او ست
16	(d)	همه	ازو ست
	(e)	همه	بدو ست
	(f) بلکه		
		همه	خود او ست
17	که هیچ چیز را جز وی	هستی بحقیقت	نیست
	بلکه		
18	هستی همه چیزها	پرتو نور هستی او	ست

## Translation

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, Ruler of the worlds!

<sup>1a)</sup> Great gratitude and gratefulness to the **multitude** of drops of rain and stars in the heavens, <sup>b)</sup> the leaves of the trees and the grains of sand in the deserts, <sup>c)</sup> the specks of dust of the earth and sky. <sup>2d)</sup> To that Lord, the **oneness** of whom is His quality, <sup>e)</sup> the glory and greatness, His magnificence, and <sup>9)</sup> excellence, majesty and sparkle, His special quality.

<sup>3)</sup> **Not one** creation can comprehend His perfection and glory. <sup>4)</sup> **No one** except Him can grasp the truth of His mystical knowledge.

<sup>5)</sup> However, the admission of powerlessness before His mystical knowledge is the awakening of the mystical knowledge of the righteous, <sup>6)</sup> and the admission of negligence in granting to Him praise and glory is the completion of praise by the angels and prophets [may Allah's blessings be upon them all].

<sup>7)</sup> The limit of reason of the intelligent is amazement in the sources of the blaze of His glory. <sup>8)</sup> The end for those who go along the path and for followers in the desire to draw close to His beauty is surprise.

<sup>9)</sup> To despair in the bases of His mystical knowledge is *ta'fil* (i.e. denial that the Creator possesses qualities — *A. Kh.*), <sup>10)</sup> just as to pretend to pure perfection in imagination is *tashbih* (i.e. the attribution of qualities to the Creator — *A. Kh.*).

<sup>11)</sup> The fate of **every** eye from the contemplation of His essence **will be** blindness. <sup>12)</sup> The fruit for **all** reason from the sight of the marvels of His creation **will be** the indispensable mystical knowledge.

<sup>13)</sup> **May God forbid** that in relation to the greatness of His essence one should wonder of what type it is or what it is.

<sup>14)</sup> **May God forbid** that any heart in relation to the marvels of His creation for a moment become careless about with what and with whom is linked its being.

<sup>15)</sup> It is imperative for a person to know that <sup>a)</sup> **everything** is the doing of His might, <sup>b)</sup> **everything** is the marvel and unusualness of His wisdom, <sup>c)</sup> **everything** is the radiance of His grand presence. <sup>16d)</sup> **Everything** stems from Him, <sup>e)</sup> **everything** goes back to Him, <sup>9)</sup> but **everything** is He Himself.

<sup>17)</sup> **Nothing** has true being except for Him, <sup>18)</sup> but the being of **all** which exists is the radiance of His being.

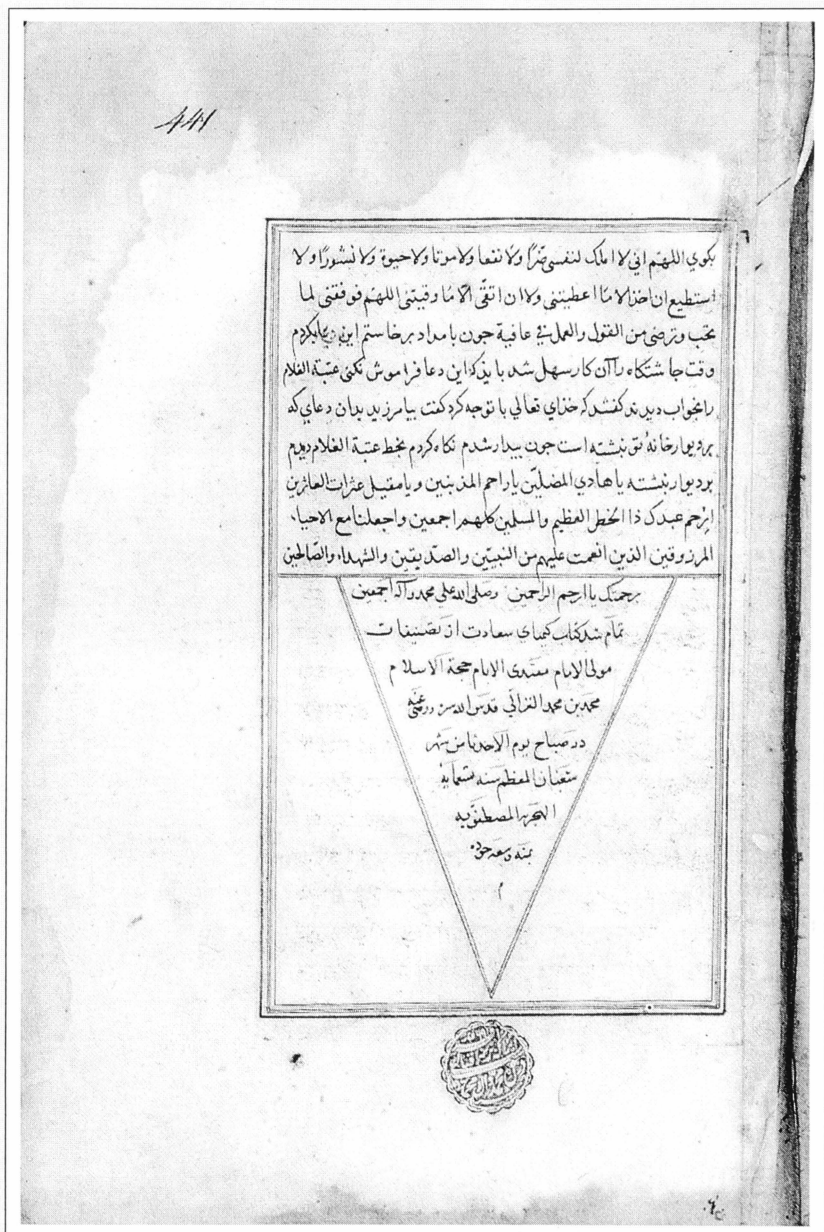


Fig. 8

The first triad (1—2)(3—4)(5—6) is structured in a somewhat unusual way: gratitude to the variety of God's creations goes first, then praise to God's oneness and, finally assertion of his unknowability are given. The gradation within the triad moves from a description of action to the result of that action. The triad ends with a formulaic blessing, as though summing up the passage.

The next triad (7—8)(9—10)(11—12) describes the lot of those who attempt to know the Creator and his creations in two fashions: with reason and with the heart. We find the same movement here.

Finally, the last triad (13—14)(15—16)(17—18) describes that which one must know in relation to the being of the Creator and his creations. A more detailed analysis would await a separate study, but the text as presented here in general form can easily be expressed as a  $3 \times 3$  matrix.

To sum up, the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* is one of the first theological-philosophical, and Sūfī works written in Persian. It is also one of the most popular and best known (if not the most popular) works of such kind, at least within the Iranian ethno-linguistic region, that is, where the Khwājagān school and Naqshbandiyya brotherhood arose. We can state that the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* is not an abridged translation of the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, but an independent work. Further, it should be stressed that al-Ghazālī received his education from the same teachers as the *shaykh* who founded the Khwājagān school. Present in the *Kīmīyā*, in more or less fully formulated fashion, are principles analogous to the principles of spiritual-religious life espoused by the Naqshbandiyya-Khwājagān and one can find direct borrowings from it in the words of *shaykhs* from the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood.

### Notes

1. Ḥaqīqat 'Abd al-Raḥīf, *Ta'rīkh-i 'irfān wa 'arīfān-i Irānī az Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī ta Nūr 'Alī-Shāh-i Gunābadī* (History of Iranian Mysticism and Mystics from Bāyazīd-i Bisṭāmī ta Nūr 'Alī-Shāh-i Gunābadī) (Tehran, 1993), p. 412.
2. O. L. Vičevskii, "Novyi istochnik dlia kharakteristiki mirovozzreniia gorodskogo naseleniia Irana v X—XI vekakh" ("A new source for describing the world-outlook of the urban population of Iran in the tenth—eleventh centuries"), in *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 95—103.
3. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness), ed. Husayn-i Khadīwjm (Tehran, 1996), *ṣafḥa-yi sī-wa-nuh* (= p. 39).
4. G. F. Hourani, "The chronology of Ghazali's writings", *JAOS*, 79/4 (1959), pp. 225—33.
5. G. Makdisi, "Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad", *BSOAS*, XXIV, pt. 1 (London, 1961), pp. 40—1; G. E. von Grunebaum, *Klassisches islam. Ocherk istorii (600—1258)* (Classical Islam. Essay on History (600—1258)), Russian translation from the English (Moscow, 1988), p. 146; Ḥaqīqat 'Abd al-Raḥīf, *Ta'rīkh-i 'irfān wa 'arīfān-i Irānī az Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī ta Nūr 'Alī-Shāh-i Gunābadī*, p. 416.
6. Ḥaqīqat 'Abd al-Raḥīf, *Ta'rīkh-i 'irfān wa 'arīfān-i Irānī az Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī ta Nūr 'Alī-Shāh-i Gunābadī*, p. 410.
7. *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina* (Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts of the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), pt. 2 (Leningrad, 1989), pp. 134—5.
8. *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences), pts. 1—2 (Moscow, 1964), pp. 463, 628.
9. *Fihrist al-makhtūṭāt al-Fārsiyyat. A Title Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the National Library till 1963* (Cairo, 1967), ii, pp. 77—9.
10. H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (Oxford, 1903), i, pp. 975—8.
11. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879), i, pp. 36—38.
12. Wā'iz Kāshifī, *Rashahāt 'ayn al-ḥayāt* (Drops from the Well-Spring of Eternal Life) (Lucknow, 1897). Henceforth cited as Kāshifī, 1897.
13. I employed here the text of the work, as presented in another manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies: Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness), manuscript B 928 (transcribed in Herat in 1495) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 376a. Henceforth cited as MS B 928.
14. MS B 928, fol. 376 b.
15. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 21.
16. MS B 928, fol. 376 b.
17. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness) (Bombay, 1904), p. 364. Henceforth cited as al-Ghazālī, 1904.
18. MS B 928, fol. 376 b.
19. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 23.
20. MS B 928, fols. 377a—378 b.
21. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 25.
22. MS B 928, fols. 378 b—379 a.
23. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 26.
24. MS B 928, fol. 380 a.
25. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 22.
26. MS B 928, fol. 46a.
27. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 22.
28. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Resurrection of the Sciences of the Faith) (Cairo, 1885).
29. Mīr Muṣayyib Mīrkhān Bukhārī, *Kitāb-i maqāmāt mashāyikh* (Book of the Degrees of Spiritual Perfection of the *Shaykhs*), manuscript 854 (transcribed in Bukhara in 1863/64) in the collection of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, fols. 45b—46a; Kāshifī, 1897, p. 6; M. Bouyges, M. Allard, "Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali", *Recherches*, XIV (Beyrouth, 1959), p. 1; 'Abd al-Raḥīf, *Ta'rīkh-i 'irfān*, pp. 404, 423.
30. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 19.
31. Kāshifī, 1897, p. 27.

32. al-Ghazālī, 1495, fol. 14b.
33. A. A. Khismatulin, *Sūfīskaia ritual'naia praktika (na primere bratstva Nakshbandiia)* (The Sūfī Ritual Practice (the Naqshbandiia Brotherhood)) (St. Petersburg, 1996), pp. 73—104.
34. See Muḥammad Pārsā, "Risāla-yi qudsiyya" ("Epistle on holiness"), in *Maqāmāt-i Khwāja Naqshband* (Bukhara, 1910).
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 90—2.
36. al-Ghazālī, 1904, p. 208 (since I am citing the text of Pārsā from a lithograph edition of his work, I found it appropriate in this particular case to employ a lithograph edition of al-Ghazālī's writing).
37. Rieu, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 36—7. Add. 25,026.
38. *Alchemy of Happiness*, by Mohammed al-Ghazzali, the Mohammedan Philosopher, trans. by H. A. Homes (Albany—New York, 1873); *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field (London, 1910); *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel (Armonk—New York—London, 1991); H. Ritter, *Das Alchemy der Glückseligkeit* (1923); H. Ritter, *Das Alchemy der Glückseligkeit* (Düsseldorf—Köln, 1989).
39. Ethé, *op. cit.*, p. 976; *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts in the Uzbek Academy of Sciences), ed. A. A. Semenov (Tashkent, 1952—1967), iii, p. 97; *Fihrist al-makhtūṭāt al-Fārsiyyat*, ii, pp. 79 ff.
40. Ye. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannye trudy: sufism i sufiiskaia literatura* (Selected Works: Sūfism and the Sūfī Literature) (Moscow, 1965), pp. 42—3; I. P. Petrushevskii, *Islam v Irane v VII—XV vekakh* (Islam in Iran from the Seventh—Fifteenth Centuries) (Leningrad, 1966), p. 223; Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī. *Voskresenie nauk o vere (Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn)*. *Izbrannye glavy*. (Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī. Resurrection of the Sciences of Faith. (*Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*). Selected Chapters), trans. from the Arabic, research, and commentary by V. V. Naumkin (Moscow, 1980), pp. 77 ff.
41. See *Alchemy of Happiness*, by Mohammed al-Ghazzali, the Mohammedan Philosopher, trans. by H. A. Homes.
42. *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field (London, 1910) and the 1991 impression of the translation.
43. See *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel (Armonk—New York—London, 1991), p. XXXVIII.
44. See Alexander Knysh's review of *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel, in *The Middle East Journal*, 47/1 (1993), p. 152.
45. Ritter, *Das Alchemy der Glückseligkeit* (1923), p. 3.
46. Ritter, *Das Alchemy der Glückseligkeit* (1989), pp. 6—10. I express my sincere gratitude to Prof. A. D. Knysh (University of Michigan) and Dr. L. Rhehak (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) for providing information on the latest English and German editions of the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat*.
47. W. H. T. Gairdner, "Al-Ghazali's *Mishkāt al-anwar* and the Ghazali-problem", *Der Islam*, Bd. 5 (1914), pp. 121—53; Bouyges, Allard, "Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali", pp. 65—6; 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, *Muallafāt al-Ghazālī*. *Les oeuvres d'al-Ghazālī* (Cairo, 1961), pp. 471—8.
48. al-Ghazālī, 1495, fol. 23b.
49. D. B. Macdonald, "al-Ghazālī", *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (Leyde—Paris, s.a.), ii, p. 157a.
50. M. W. Watt, "al-Ghazālī", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (Leiden—London, 19??), ii, p. 44.
51. 'Abd al-Rafī', *Ta'rikh-i 'irfān*, p. 413.
52. *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel, p. XXXVII.
53. References to the *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* are found in two works by al-Ghazali: *al-Mustasfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl* and *al-Munkidh min al-dīlāl*, see Badawī, *Muallafāt al-Ghazālī*. *Les oeuvres d'al-Ghazālī*, p. 216. The first indicates the time of the *Kīmīyā's* composition as before his return to teaching at the Nishāpūr Nizamiya, that is, before July 1106. Therefore, following G. F. Hourani, we can confidently state that the *Kīmīyā* was written by al-Ghazālī in Ṭūs before his return to Nishāpūr: "Thus *Kīmīyā* can be assigned with some confidence to the years at the *zawiya* at Tus, before the return to Nishāpūr", see Hourani, "The chronology of Ghazali's writings", p. 232.
54. For example, Mohamed Ahmed Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue* (Albany, 1975), p. 159; *Muhammad al-Ghazzali's Lehre von den Stufen zur Gottesliebe: die Bücher 31—36 seines Hauptwerkes*, eingeleitet, übers. und kommentiert von R. Gramlich (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 7.
55. Watt, "al-Ghazālī", p. 1041.
56. *The Alchemy of Happiness*, by Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali, trans. by Claud Field, revised and annotated by Elton L. Daniel, pp. XXXVI—XXXVII.
57. Mujtabā Minūwī, "Ghazālī Ṭūsī", *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi adabiyat wa 'ulūm-i insānī-yi Mashhad*. *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Meched*, 6/2 (1349/1970), p. 283.
58. al-Ghazālī, 1495, fols. 32a, 100a, 326b, 332b and other.
59. *Ibid.*, fol. 33b.
60. *Ibid.*, fol. 437b.
61. *Ibid.*, fol. 4a.
62. *Ibid.*, fol. 14a.
63. *Ibid.*, fol. 23b.
64. *Ibid.*, fol. 99b.
65. *Ibid.*, fol. 21a.
66. *Ibid.*, fol. 119a.
67. al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, 1885, p. 4.
68. al-Ghazali, 1495, fols. 337a and 49a.
69. 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* (Tehran, 1963), No. 191, pp. 490—2; Muḥammad Mu'in, *Farhang-i Fārsī* (The Persian Dictionary (Tehran, 1992), iii, pp. 3157—8.
70. al-Ghazālī, 1495, fols. 2b—3a.
71. Here the text of al-Ghazālī, 1495, is used.
72. *Ibid.*, fol. 49a; al-Ghazālī, 1904, pp. 47, 189, 325, 340, etc.
73. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Kīmīyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness), manuscript B 4549 (transcribed in 1699) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 11a—11b. See also *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, i, p. 628, No. 75 (Addenda).

74. D. L. Spivak, "Matrichnye postroeniia v stile pleteniia sloves" ("Matrix constructions in 'the word-weaving style'"), in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoĭ literatury* (St. Petersburg, 1996), p. 108.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

76. For more detail, see D. L. Spivak, *Iazyk pri izmenēnnykh sostoiianiakh soznaniia* (Language in the Altered States of Consciousness) (Leningrad, 1989), where a vast bibliography is provided.

77. Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya* (Istanbul—Stuttgart, 1994), pp. 188—211; Khismatulin, *Sufiiskaia ritual'naia praktika*, pp. 105—26.

78. al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 1885, p. 408.

79. Spivak, "Matrichnye postroeniia v stile pleteniia sloves", p. 105.

80. For a detailed analysis, see *ibid.*, pp. 105 and 110.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādat* ("The Alchemy of Happiness") by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, the beginning. Manuscript B 4612 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, mid-11th century, Iran, fol. 1b, 20.0 × 15.0 cm.

**Fig. 2.** A sample of *naskh-i Irānī*, the same manuscript, fol. 99b.

**Fig. 3.** Readers' notes, the same manuscript, fol. 001a.

**Fig. 4.** *Kīmiyā-yi sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness) by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, manuscript B 928, Herat, 1495, in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Manuscript folio with the name of the work placed in a round cartouche (blue paint against a gilded background and white paint for the work's name), two palmettes (upper and lower), fol. 1a, 13.7 × 21.0 cm.

**Fig. 5.** The left part of the frontispiece, the same manuscript, fol. 2a.

**Fig. 6.** The right part of the frontispiece, the same manuscript, fol. 1b.

**Fig. 7.** *'Unwān* with the name of the second *rub* (*al-'Ādāt*) of the work, the same manuscript, fol. 102b.

**Fig. 8.** Colophon, the same manuscript, fol. 441a.



## A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI. I. THE *VINAYA* OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS: (PART 2)

The present paper continues the publication of Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali, which is preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The beginning of the publication may be found in *Manuscripta Orientalia*,

V/2, (1999) pp. 27—36. Here we present the transliteration, translation, and commentary of the next folios of the manuscript (fols. 71v—74 v). The system of notes in the present paper follows that employed in my previous publication.

FOL. 71v

### TRANSLITERATION

1. *katamaḥ sa[r]vva-sa[m]y[ā]jana bandhanā anuśaya*  
[*pariyavasthāna*] ...
2. *ayamucyate kleśa-vinayaḥ so saṃṅgamayitavyaḥ samusthā-*
3. *nato ca tatridaṃ samusthāna saṃgamam saṃyojanīye dharme...*
4. *śyīsyā viharataḥ sarve kleśā patapaṃti<sup>1</sup> idaṃ tatra sa[n]ga-*  
*ma]...*

### TRANSLATION

1. how? <sup>[20]</sup> An attachment to all [that is worldly], fetters, habits [and their material embodiment] <sup>[21]</sup> ...
2. [all of] this relates to the collection of rules on *kleśa*. A meeting must be convened, and [at it the monks] will acknowledge [an attachment to worldly things]. Then a meeting [gathers] for acknowledgment, [when] ...
4. someone who lives [in the community must come to terms] with the object of [his] attachment <sup>[22]</sup> [and when] all of the *kleśa* <sup>[23]</sup> are evident. This is when [it is called] a meeting [for the acknowledgment of *kleśa*].

### Commentary

<sup>[20]</sup> As was noted earlier, the term *kleśa-vinaya* is not treated in the *Vinaya* texts which are available to me. The term *kleśa* is found in commentaries on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* (sections *pārājika*, IV, and *pācittiya*, VIII, 2, the text is the same) and is explained as *rāga*, *dveṣa*, *moha*: *kilesapahānaṃ ti rāgassa pahānaṃ dosassa pahānaṃ mohassa pahānaṃ*. A manuscript fragment which touches on *kleśa-vinaya* is a compilation of Abhidharmic works which view *kleśa* as an obstacle on the path to “liberation”, making up, together with *karma*, an inalienable characteristic of the *samsāra*. See also n. 21.

<sup>[21]</sup> The terms *saṃyojana*, *bandhanā*, *anuśaya* are used in the present text as synonyms for *kleśa*. See La Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 1, n. 4. The term *pariyavasthāna* here refers to *saṃyojana*, *bandhanā*, *anuśaya* as their manifestation in life. The term was reconstructed on the basis of *Abhidharma* contexts. See also Edgerton's, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (henceforth, *BHSD*), p. 35. In *Vinayana* literature, the term *saṃyojana* indicates that which the *arhat* must renounce. See “*Mahāvagga*”, V, 1, 20.

<sup>[22]</sup> The term *saṃyojanīya dharma* is used here in the sense of *saṃyojanīya-vastu*, “object of attachment”, see La Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa*, vol. 1, p. 94, chapter II (Commentary to *kārika* 55), cf. also *BHSD*, p. 28, on the use of the term *anuśaya* in the meaning *rāga* and *dveṣa*.

<sup>[23]</sup> *sarve kleśā patapaṃti* lit. “all *kleśa* fall away”.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *patanti*?

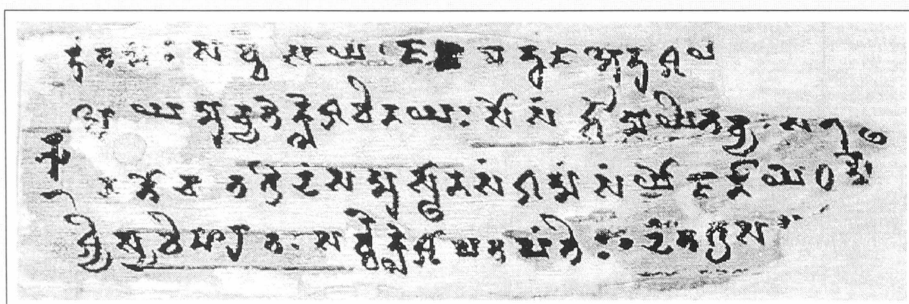


Fig. 1

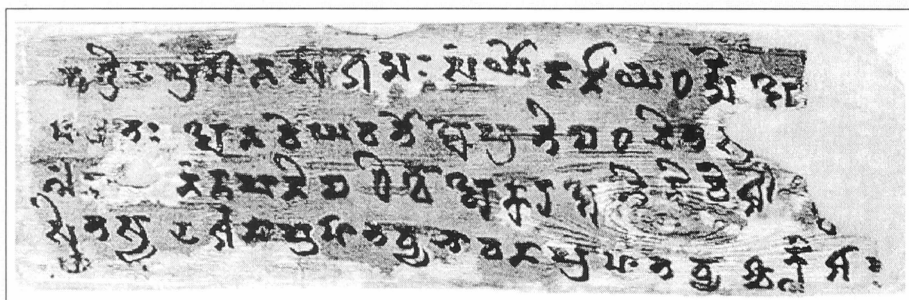


Fig. 2

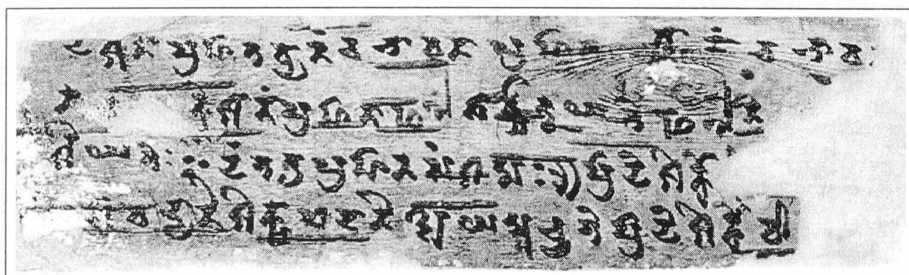


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

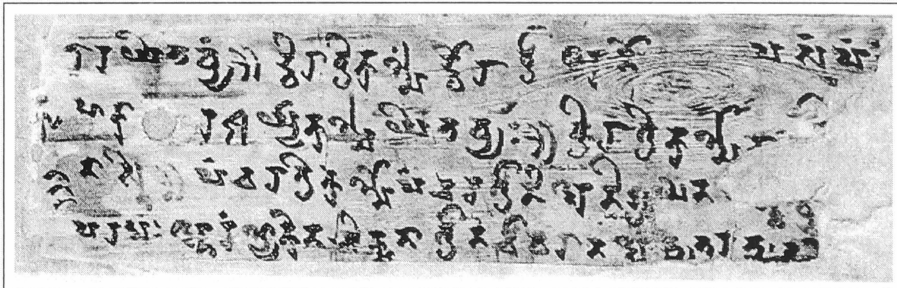


Fig. 5

FOL. [72r]

## TRANSLITERATION

1. *tatrīda[m] prahāna saṃgamah samyojanīye dharme a... [vi]-*
2. *harataḥ anaveghavato apratibadha-citasya... [ava]-*
3. *lambanam upanibadhitvā akara abhiniveśī... [upa]-*
4. *sthitasya darśana-āprahātavya bhāvana-āprahātavyaśca<sup>2</sup>*  
*kleśa[nām prahāna]*

## TRANSLATION

1. Then a meeting [is convened] to renounce [worldly attachments]<sup>[24]</sup>, [when] with the object of attachment ...
- 2—3. a person who lives [in the community must come to terms. If], having taken as a basis a state of consciousness abiding in peace<sup>[25]</sup> which does not resist obstacles<sup>[26]</sup>, [someone who] does not undertake [any] actions [still] has not renounced what is worldly,
4. [but] he who acknowledges [this understands] that [what is worldly] can be cast away with the aid of inner vision<sup>[27]</sup>, and also can be cast away with the aid of meditative concentration<sup>[28]</sup>, then [such acknowledgment is considered a renunciation] of *kleśas*.

## C o m m e n t a r y

<sup>[24]</sup> On the use of the term *prahāna*, cf. “*Vinaya-vastu*” of *Mūlasarvāstivādin*, chapter *Cīvaravastu*, p. 131: ...*sarvasaṃskāragatīm śatanāpātanavikīraṇavādhvamsanadharmatayā parāhatya sarvakleśa-prahāṇādarhatvām sāksātkṛtamiti* (“*arhat*-ness appears thanks to the renunciation of all *kleśas*”). Here and elsewhere, all references to the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* *Vinaya* follow the edition of the Gilgit manuscripts, see “*Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya*”. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, vol. 3, pts. 1 (s. a.), 2 (1942), 3 (1943), 4 (1950) (Srinagar, Kashmir).

<sup>[25]</sup> *anaveghavato*, evidently in place of *anāvegavato*, lit. “residing in peace, undisturbed”, to my knowledge is not encountered as a term in *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma* literature.

<sup>[26]</sup> *apratibadha-cita* (instead of *apratibaddha-citta*), is an *Abhidharma* term: “a state of consciousness which does not encounter hindrances: consciousness which does not resist obstacles”.

<sup>[27]</sup> *darśana-āprahātavya* — an *Abhidharma* term: “that which can be cast away thanks to *darśana*”, where *darśana* is used as a technical term (“regaining sight, inner vision”).

<sup>[28]</sup> *bhāvana-āprahātavya* — an *Abhidharma* term: “that which can be cast away thanks to meditative concentration”.

FOL. 72v

## TRANSLITERATION

1. *darśanāprahātavyānam<sup>3</sup> ca bhāvanāprahātavyānām ca*  
*bhāva[na]...*
2. *na ca kleśanām prahāna phalaṃ sāksikryate phalena...*
3. *rśiyateḥ<sup>4</sup> idaṃ tatra prahāna saṃgamah || prādeśiko*  
*[vinayaḥ katama]*
4. *na sā vadyāni śikṣāpadāni ayamucyate prādeśiko vi[na-*  
*yaḥ]*

## TRANSLATION

- 1—2. They must be cast away with the aid of regained vision and must be cast away with the aid of meditative concentration, [then a full] renunciation of *kleśas* [ensues] ... The result of this is realized<sup>[29]</sup>, and [thanks to this] result ...
3. [a state of true] peace is attained. This is then [called] a meeting for the renunciation [of *kleśas*]. [What is the collection of rules] appropriate [in individual] cases?<sup>[30]</sup>
4. The norms of conduct which do not correspond to [usual] instructions; these [then] are called the collection of rules appropriate in [individual] cases.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *aprahātavyaśca*.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of *darśanāprahātavyānām*.

<sup>4</sup> *Visarga* is used as a dividing sign.

## C o m m e n t a r y

[29] *phalam sākṣikryate* — “the result is realised”, an established *Vinaya* term. *Phala* is used here to mean the final goal of the path (*mārga*). Cf. *Suttavibhaṅga*, IV, 4, 1: *phalasacchikiriya* ‘ti *sottāpatti-phalassa sacchikiriya* *sakadāgāmiphallassa sacchikiriya* *anāgāmi-phalassa sacchikiriya* *arahatta-phalassa sacchikiriya*. As is evident from the text, the final result realised by “he who has stepped into the flow” is *arhat*-ness.

[30] See n. 6 of my previous paper in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2 (1999), p. 33.

FOL. [73r]

## TRANSLITERATION

1. *sarvvatrako vinayo katamaḥ* // *prakṛti so vadyāni śikṣā-*  
[*ni ucyate*]
2. *sarvvatrako vinayaḥ* // *bhikṣu-vinayo katamaḥ k[im] (?)*  
*ucyā-*
3. *te bhikṣu-vinayaḥ* // *bhikṣuṇī vinaya katamaḥ k[im] (?)*  
*ucyate*  
*eka rātri kalpa katamoḥ*<sup>5</sup> *eka-rātri*<sup>6</sup>-*parama bhikṣuṇī*<sup>7</sup> ...

## TRANSLATION

1. What is the collection of rules [applicable] in all cases [31]? The norms of conduct which should be fulfilled
2. [in all] cases — this is what is called the collection of rules for all cases. What is the *Vinaya* for a *bhikṣu*? [What is called]
3. the *Vinaya* for a *bhikṣu*? What is the *Vinaya* for a *bhikṣuṇī*? [What is called that?]
4. What is the rule [33] of one night? More than one night, *bhikṣuṇī*...

## C o m m e n t a r y

[31] *sarvvatraka vinaya* = *sarvvatra-vinaya*, cf. fol. 69b(2). This term may possibly correspond to the Pāli *sabbattha-paññatti*; see n. 6 of my previous paper in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2 (1999), p. 33.

[32] *Bhikṣu-vinaya, bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* — see *Parivāra*, VI, 2: *dve vinaya bhikkhūnaṃ ca bhikkhūnīnaṃ ca*. It seems that the rules which follow, beginning in line 4, make up the basis of the *Vinaya* for *bhikṣu* and the *Vinaya* for *bhikṣuṇī*.

[33] *kalpa* in the present text is used in the sense of “rule, principle, type of conduct” (like the synonym *vidhi, nyāya*). This is a noun formed from the root *kṛp* (“to be well ordered or regulated”).

FOL. 73v

## TRANSLITERATION

1. *dhārayitavyam* // *dvi-rātri-kalpaṃ dvo*<sup>8</sup> *rātri-*  
*anopasampam*[*nena*<sup>9</sup> *sa*]-
2. *hakāra-śayyā-kalpayitavyaḥ* // *tri-rātri-kalpo nā[s]i* [*catur-*  
*rātri-kalpo*]
3. *nāsti* // *pañca-rātri-kalpo pañca rātrīni anīśrayena*  
[*vā*]*stavya*[*m*]... [*śaḍ-rātri*]-...
4. *paramaḥ āraṇṇyakena*<sup>10</sup> *bhikṣuṇā trīnaṃ cīvarāna*[*m*]  
*anyatarānyat*...

## TRANSLATION

1. can hold [34]. The rule of two nights: [only] for two nights
2. may [a *bhikṣu*] make his bed together with one who is uninitiated [35]. [There is no] rule of three nights. There is no [rule of four nights].

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *katamaḥ*?

<sup>6</sup> Instead of *rātri*.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *bhikṣuṇī*.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of *dvi*.

<sup>9</sup> Instead of *rātri-gārānāpasampa*[*nena*]?]

<sup>10</sup> Instead of *āraṇṇyakena*.



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

3. The rule of five nights: [only] for five nights may [a *bhikṣu*] remain without *nīśraya* <sup>[36]</sup>. [The rule of six nights:
4. for longer than [six nights] a *bhikṣu* who lives in the forest, [having left in a village] one of three *civara*.

### Commentary

<sup>[34]</sup> A lacuna in the manuscript makes it impossible to reconstruct the text of this rule, which applies to *bhikṣuni*. The rules elucidated below are a brief reworking of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* or were compiled on the basis of the *Vinaya-vastu*. We find parallels in the *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*.

<sup>[35]</sup> The rule of two nights is based on *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Pāṭyantikā*, 53: *yaḥ punar bhikṣur anupasampannena pudgalena sārddham uttarām [dvī]-rātra[m] sahāgāraśayyāṃ kalpayet pāṭyantikā*. The term *anopasampanna* — lit. “not having undergone the ritual of *upasampāda*”, see below.

*Sahakāra-śayyā* — in the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, published by L. Finot, — *sahāgāraśayyāṃ*. In turn, Finot offers the translation: “If a *bhikṣu* sleeps for more than two nights in the same room with one who has not been initiated...” (see Finot, p. 513). The Pāli text is closer to the text of our manuscript: it contains *sahaseyyam* (I. P. Minaev's edition of *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 12).

<sup>[36]</sup> As formulated here, the rule of five nights is not attested in any of the sources. Rules regarding *anīśrita* — “he who lives without *nīśraya*” are given in compilative form in the *Parivāra*, VI, 5 and *Parivāra*, XV, 1, where five categories of people are enumerated who can live without the protection of a teacher, that is, without *nīśraya*: *pañcaḥ upālī' āngehi samannāgatena bhikkhunā yāvajīvam anisītena vatthabbam*. *katamehi pañcahi uposatham jānāti uposathakammam jānāti, pātimokkham jānāti, pātimokkhudeṣam jānāti, pañcavasso vā hoti atirekapañca vasso va*.

The manuscript, it seems, refers to people who do not fall into these five categories and cannot live without *nīśraya*, but can remain without a teacher for a certain time under special circumstances. Such persons are also enumerated in the *Parivāra*, VI, 5 and XV, 1: *pañcaḥ upālī' āngehi samannāgatena bhikkhunā yāvajīvam nānisītena vatthaddam*. *Katamehi pañcahi uposatham na jānāti, uposathakammam na jānāti, pātimokkham na jānāti, pātimokkhudeṣam na jānāti, unāpañcavasso hoti*.

The term *anīśraya* (in a phrase “without *nīśraya*”) is clarified in the *Vinaya-vastu* (*Pravrajyāvastu*) and in the *Mahāvagga*, I. According to these texts, *nīśraya* (Pāli *nissaya*) is a pupil's dependence on the teacher and the protection the teacher offers the pupil, namely: a) relations between *ācārya* and *antevāsika*; b) relations between *upādhyāya* and *sadhivihārika* (*Mahāvagga*, I, 35, 36). An educated and learned monk should live in a state of dependence on an *ācārya* or *upādhyāya* for five years; an uneducated one should spend his life in this state (see *Mahāvagga* I, 53, 4). There are five cases in which a *bhikṣu* should not live without *nīśraya*: 1) when he does not possess the requisite moral perfection; 2) when he cannot concentrate fully; 3) when he has not yet attained the necessary level of wisdom; 4) when he is not free of attachments; 5) when he has not set out on the path of redemption (see *Mahāvagga*, I, 53, 5).

Exceptions arise in certain cases when a *bhikṣu* may spend a certain time without *nīśraya*: 1) during travel; 2) when ill; 3) if the *bhikṣu* is caring for a sick person; 4) if the *bhikṣu* lives alone in the forest (see the *Mahāvagga*, I, 73). In order to avoid error in the selection of his charge, a teacher has the right to spend 4—5 days observing him, granting his approval of *nīśraya* only after this. This is called the time of “waiting for *nīśraya*” (see the *Mahāvagga*, I, 72).

FOL. [74r]

### TRANSLITERATION

1. *civarena bahisīme vipravastavyam // sapta-rātri<sup>11</sup>-kalpo saplāha[param]...*
2. *glānakena bhikṣunā pratisavanīyāni bhaiśajyāni samni-dhikāra paribhog[e]-*
3. *na paribhoktavyani // aṣṭa-rātri-kalpo nāsti // nava-rātri-kalpo*
4. *nāsti // daśa-rātri-kalpo daśāha-paramam bhikṣuṇā ātireka[m] pātram [na dhārayita]-*

### TRANSLATION

- 1—2. [He cannot] remain without *civara* <sup>[37]</sup>. The rule of seven nights: after the medicines which are supposed to heal the sick *bhikṣu*, [after he] has held [them] for more than seven nights, [they]
3. must be used <sup>[38]</sup>. There is no rule of eight nights. The rule of nine nights
4. does not exist. The rule of ten nights: a *bhikṣu* [cannot hold] *extra patra* for more than ten nights.

### Commentary

<sup>[37]</sup> The rule is based on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Nihsargikā*, 27: (6) *daśāhānāgatāyāṃ pravāraṇayāṃ bhikṣor utpadyeta ... civaram ākāmṣkata tena bhikṣuṇā pratigrhīṭavyam pratigrhya yāvac civara kāla samayā nikṣipta* (7) *vyam [ta]ta uttarām dhārayen nihsargikā* 27 (see Finot, p. 501). A small fragment of this text, albeit with variants, has been preserved in the Berlin manuscript: *yā vipravastavyam tata*

<sup>11</sup> Here and in line 3 should be *rātri* (a slip of the pen).



uttara vipravesen-naissargikā pātayantikā 27 (see G. von Simson, *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādin*, Teil I, Göttingen, 1986, p. 227; a manuscript from Turfan (Murtuq and Sāngim), ED = SHT 538, fol. 18).

In the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* 259, p. 535, No. 8413, this rule is called "sapta-ratrika-vipravesah" — "living for seven (not six!) nights", section *Nihsargikā* — 27".

It is unclear how our text was abridged because of a *lacuna* in the manuscript. Judging by the grammatical form of the subject — *vipravastavyam* — the beginning of the sentence should have been not [ṣaḍrātra]-paramah", but rather ṣaḍrātrāni, as the verb is not negated: "[only] six nights can a [monk] remain without ...".

[38] The rule is based on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Nihsargikā*, 30: yāni tāni bhaga[va]tā glānānām bhikṣuṇām ... yāni bhaiṣajyāni anujñātāni tad-yathā sarpiṣi tailam madhuḥ phāṇitam ... [tā]ni g[ilā]nena bhikṣuṇā sa[n]n[i]dhi paribhojyāni... [u]ttara[m] paribhumjita nihsargikā pātayantika 30. In the Pāli text of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* this rule has been preserved as No. 23: yāni pana tāni gilānānam bhikkhūnam paṭisāyaniyāni bhesajjāni seyyathidaṃ. sappi navaṇitaṃ telam madhu phāṇitaṃ tāni paṭiggahetvā sannidhikārakaṃ paribhuñjitabbāni taṃ atikkamayato nissaggiyaṃ pācittiyaṃ (see Minaev's edition of *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, rule 23, p. 10). In the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* this rule is called *sannidhi-kārāḥ* ("holding, having made a reserve"), see § 259, p. 535, No. 8416, rule 30.

On the basis of our manuscript we can reconstruct the first *lacuna* in the Sanskrit text *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Nihsargikā*, 30, as [prā-risevani] yāni bhaiṣajyāni. The third *lacuna* should evidently be reconstructed as *sannidhi[kārakaṃ] paribho[gena paribhoktavyāni]*.

## FOL. 74v

### TRANSLITERATION

1. vya ātireka[m] cī[va]raṃ p[i]<sup>12</sup> // ardhamāsa-kalpo arddha<sup>13</sup> -  
māsasya atyayena po-
2. sata karttavyam<sup>14</sup> // māsa-kalpo māsaparamam akāla  
cīvaram nikṣipitavtam //
3. dve-māsa-kalpo dve māsāni anīśrayena vastavyam //
4. tre māsā<sup>15</sup> na pravarayitavyam // tre-māsa-kalpo pi  
traya māsam<sup>16</sup> [adhikaraṇam]

### TRANSLATION

1. [and] also extra *cīvara*<sup>[39]</sup>. The rule of half a month: [every] half month [one] must perform
2. the ritual of *uposathi*<sup>[40]</sup>. The rule regarding a month: in one month [one] must surrender [extra] *cīvara* not received on time<sup>[41]</sup>.
3. The rule of two months: one can live without *nīśraya* for two months. The rule of three months:
4. the ritual of *pravraja*<sup>[43]</sup> is not performed for three months. There is [another] rule of three months: for three months

### Commentary

[39] The rule is based on two articles of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Nihsargikā*, 1 and *Nihsargikā*, 21. *Nihsargikā*, 1: niṣṭhitacīvarena bhikṣuṇā uddhrte kathine daśarā[traparamam cīva]raṃ dhārayitavyam tata uttari dhārayen nihsargikā pātayantikā 1. *Nihsargikā*, 21: da[śā]hapara[mam] bhikṣuṇā atiriktaṃ pātraṃ dhārayitavyam tata uttaram dhārayen nihsargikā pātayantikā (see Finot, pp. 490 and 498).

In the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* these rules are called *dhāraṇam* and *pātra-dhāraṇam* (§ 259, Nos. 1 and 21).

[40] The rule on performing the *uposathi* every half month on the day of the new moon or on the day of the full moon is laid out in the *Vinaya-vastu*, section 2 — *Posadhavastu*. We find there a detailed description of the ritual and the number of people who must perform it. Our manuscript uses the term *posata* for this ritual. Other phonetic variants are possible as well: *pośadha* (Gilgit manuscripts), *upośadha*, *[u]posatha* (Pāli), *uposatha* > *upavasatha*. The essence of the ritual is the collective reading of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, three times repeating each misdeed mentioned in it. Listeners repent and are cleansed in the course of the reading. Cf. the *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādin, *Posadhavastu*, pp. 80—1: pośadhaḥ katamaḥ. yo vo mayā bhikṣavaḥ prātimokṣasūtoddeśaḥ uddeśavyaḥ adyāgrama-rdhanāramāsamuddeśavyaḥ.

On the times of reading the *uposathi*, see O. von Hinüber, "Eine Karmavacanā-Sammlung aus Gilgit", ZDMG, B. 119, H. 1 (1969), p. 125: āśādhasya bahulapakṣe bhādrapade tathā kārṭtike puṣye phālgunavaiṣu-khābhyām pośadhakarmaścaturdaśika. On the basis of this text, Hinüber drew up a calendar of three seasons (*ṛtu*) with times for performing the ritual of *uposathi* according to the *pakṣa* (the dark and light side of the moon). See also *ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>12</sup> A copyist's error, instead of *cīvaram pi*.

<sup>13</sup> Instead of *ardha*=.

<sup>14</sup> Instead of *karttavyam*.

<sup>15</sup> Instead of *tri māsā*.

<sup>16</sup> Instead of *māsa*, the agreement is with the masc., although *māsa* above is neuter.

[41] The rule is based on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Nihsargikā*, 3: *niṣṭhitacīvarasya bhokṣor u[ddhr]te [kaṭhine]... mākaṃ[kṣamān]ena [pratigṛhītavyam] pratigṛhya sacet paripūryeta kṣi[pra]ṃ upādāyābhini...vyam no cet paripūryeta māsaparama[m] bhikṣuṇā tac cīvaram ... [par]i-pūryārthaṃ tata uttary ap[i] niṣi[pen nihsargikā pātayanti]kā 3 (Finot, p. 491). In the present text, the term *akāla cīvara* ("cīvara not received on time") has not been preserved, that is, as a gift before the official distribution of clothing at the end of the rain season — *kaṭhinasya āstareṇa*. But it has been preserved in the Pālī text: ... *bhikkhunā paneva akālacīvaram uppajjeyya ākaṅkhamānena bhikkhunā paṭiggahetabbam*... (Minaev's edition of *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, p. 7, rule 3).*

In the *Mahāvvyutpatti* the rule is called *nikṣapah* — "refusal, casting away" (§ 259, p. 533, No. 8387).

[42] In this formulation, the rule is not attested in known *Vinaya* texts. The manuscript does not contain any clarifications about what may permit a pupil to leave his teacher for two months. See n. 6, which enumerates cases in which a *bhikṣu* may live temporarily without *niśraya* (*Mahāvastu*, I, 53, 5).

[43] The essence of the rule is laid out in the *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādin, section 4, *Varṣāvāsavastu*. During the rain season, *varṣa* (for more detail see below), all life in the community comes to a halt, and the community does not gather to perform rituals or review legal matters. The rain season lasts for 3 or 4 months. During this time, the community does not accept new members; that is, it does not perform the ritual of *pravrajyā*. *Pravrajyā* is the ritual of initiating one who wishes to take the path of the Teaching at the first, lowest level. It is described in the first section of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Pravrajyāvastu*. This section was not preserved in the Gilgit manuscripts of the *Vinaya-vastu*. For a detailed description of the ritual of *pravrajyā*, see the *Bhiksukarmavakya*, another manuscript from Gilgit (A. Ch. Banerjee, "Bhiksukarmavakya", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 25, 1949, pp. 22—3).

After undergoing the ritual of *pravrajyā* one becomes an *upāsaka*: one receives *triśaraṇa* and carries out the "vows of one who lives in the [secular] world" (*upāsaka-saṃvara*) and the "five rules" (*pañca śikṣāpādaḥ*). An *upasaka* is not a permanent member of the monastic community, and can live among laymen, followers of the *Dharma*. An *upādhyāya* is appointed as the *upasaka*'s mentor (usually in accordance with the wishes and requests of the *upasaka*); he directs the *upasaka*'s *pravrajyā*. It is only after a certain time that the *upasaka* can be initiated to the second level: *upasampāda*, after which he becomes *śrāmaṇera*. *Śrāmaṇera* receives the right to *niśraya*.

The rule listed in the manuscript is connected with the following text: "Saṃgha, friend, issued a resolution that no one should receive the initiation of the *pabbajjā* during the rain season" (*Mahāvagga*, III, 13). But a further clarification indicates that exceptions to this rule are possible.

### Illustrations

- Fig. 1. Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 71 v, 15.0×5.0 cm.  
 Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. [72 r], 15.0×5.0 cm.  
 Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. 72 v, 15.0×5.0 cm.  
 Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. [73 r], 15.5×5.0 cm.  
 Fig. 5. The same manuscript, fol. 73 v, 15.5×5.0 cm.  
 Fig. 6. The same manuscript, fol. [74 r], 18.0×5.0 cm.  
 Fig. 7. The same manuscript, fol. 74 v, 18.0×5.0 cm.

## SINHALESE PAINTED WOODEN BOOKCOVER UPDATE

Since publication of my paper, "Sinhalese Painted Wooden Bookcovers", in *Manuscripta Orientalia* [1], some additional references containing material on painted and otherwise decorated Sinhalese bookcovers have appeared in the library computer catalogue, or have come to my attention from other sources. The first source is Pratapaditya Pal and Julia Meech-Pekarik's, "Buddhist Book Illuminations"[2]. This source discusses Sinhalese decorative bookcovers. The discussion, though, aside from the interesting narration of stories associated with some scenes on some of the bookcovers shown, is very general in keeping with a broad survey such as this book. Further, it is not always correct regarding what is uncommon on such bookcovers.

Shown in this source are several covers not reported before in American collections. Plate 51 shows in colour the painted insides of painted wooden bookcovers in a private American collection (the Paul F. Walter Collection). Plate 52 (also in colour) shows in colour a set of decorative ivory bookcovers in another private American collection, but the collection is not identified. Figs. 74, 75, and 76 provide two sets of decorative silver bookcovers in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum. The set of bookcovers shown in figs. 75 and 76 (detail of one cover of the set in each figure) is noted to be in the Museum's Herbert Cole Bequest. Shelf numbers or acquisition numbers are not otherwise identified.

Also shown and discussed as fig. 71 a—b are two fourteenth century A. D. wooden bookcovers from a manuscript of the *Sāratthadīpanī* in the British Library, and as fig. 73 the painted insides of two sets of bookcovers with *jātaka* illustrations also in the British Library. Unfortunately, the shelf numbers for these latter three sets of bookcovers are also not given.

The silver set of bookcovers from the Los Angeles County Museum (Herbert Cole Bequest), which are shown in figs. 75 and 76, was earlier published in the 1984 exhibition catalogue by Pratapaditya Pal, et al. [3] Here the inscriptions accompanying each scene on these covers are translated by Prof. Siri Gunasinghe, and they are placed in a general framework by him, thereby providing a detailed description of the covers.

The three sets of bookcovers from the British Library were shown earlier in the 1985 exhibition catalogue [4]. In this source, No. 90 shows and discusses the text of the now much faded outsides of the *Sāratthadīpanī* manuscript and mentions that the insides are painted as well. The photograph is the same as that shown later by Pratapaditya Pal

and Julia Meech-Pekarik. The shelf number is given here as OMPB Or. 6676 (OMPB = Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books). The two sets of *jātaka* covers shown by Pratapaditya Pal and Julia Meech-Pekarik (the second actually of the story of Dhammasoṇḍa, found in various Sinhalese sources) are shown here in a colour photograph, and are written up in Nos. 217 and 218. They are identified as OMPB Stowe Or. 28 and OMPB Or. 2253 respectively. Also shown as No. 220 is a decorative silver bookcover the shelf number of which is identified as OA 1982. 10-8.2 (OA = Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum). The only set of bookcovers among these that I have been able to find earlier reference to is Stowe Or. 28, which is noted in M. de Z. Wickremasinghe's "Catalogue" as his No. 62 [5]. He notes there that these covers were not made for the manuscript they were together with, which was a text of the *Navapaṭalasaṅgraha*, an anonymous work in Sanskrit verse treating the auspicious times for various religious rites, and two fragments of astrological works in Sinhalese prose and poetry interspersed with Sanskrit stanzas. The other bookcovers shown by W. Zwalf do not appear to have been reported elsewhere to date [6].

Another British exhibition catalogue from 1981 by Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, published three sets of bookcovers from Sri Lankan collections [7]. One, No. 105, is just a set of plain wooden bookcovers, or perhaps stained wooden bookcovers in the National Museum Library, Colombo, No. 82/N.10. A second, No. 106, is a set of painted wooden bookcovers on a manuscript formerly in the collection of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Dr. Coomaraswamy passed on in 1947. The manuscript and its painted wooden bookcovers are now also in the collection of the National Museum Library, Colombo, No. 69/H.16. Also shown as No. 107 is a set of decorative ivory bookcovers in the Archeological Museum, Department of Archeology, University of Peradeniya, No. H. 2.

Also in Sri Lanka, P. H. D. H. de Silva's, "Colombo National Museum: Illustrated Guide through the Exhibited Collections", shows for Gallery 9, item No. 139 (p. 82) a set of decorative silver bookcovers [8]. Colour plate 3 shows two sets of painted wooden bookcovers. For one of these sets of bookcovers the painted outsides, for the other, the painted insides are shown with gallery locations, shelf numbers, or acquisition numbers for these two sets of bookcovers given. In addition, in plate 21 of "One Hundred Years, 1877—1977", by de Silva, shows a photograph of a manu-

script of the *Cūllavagga* with bookcovers with painted insides is presented [9]. It remains unclear whether or not this is one of the manuscripts of the *Cūlavagga*, such as MS. 2363, listed in W. A. de Silva's, "Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum" [10]. Further, it has not been possible to locate the manuscripts noted in Lohuizin-De Leeuw's catalogue in this latter source. Shelf numbers are of a different format. As noted in my earlier article, the recording of bookcovers in Sri Lankan sources is poor, though there is clear evidence from photographs and passing mention that painted and otherwise decorated bookcovers are included in the collections.

By far the most significant additional source containing reference to Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers and otherwise decorated bookcovers is the recent "Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine" by K. D. Somadasa [11]. The catalogue contains reference to 469 manuscripts on a wide spectrum of subjects. While the collection has over 90 items on medicine, Buddhist texts and tracts form the major portion of the collection. As in K. D. Somadasa's earlier "Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library", the noting and description of the bookcovers is consistently excellent [12]. Here, though, the descriptions are perhaps a bit briefer than in that catalogue, though nevertheless fully adequate. Also, the type of wood from which the plain bookcovers are made is noted here in only a handful of instances. And the stains used for stained bookcovers are perhaps not as fully noted. Excellent in this catalogue, as in the earlier catalogue, is that stitched palm leaf covers are noted as well.

There are here forty-one sets of painted wooden bookcovers, six with painted insides (one a single colour only). As in my earlier paper, I have placed here an asterisk before the references to manuscripts the bookcovers of which have their insides painted. These forty-one sets of bookcovers are with WS. 14, WS. 23, WS. 27, WS. 51, WS. 55, WS. 59, WS. 60, WS. 62, WS. 63, WS. 64, WS. 65, WS. 67, WS. 69, WS. 70, WS. 72, WS. 74, WS. 77, WS. 80, WS. 84, WS. 96, WS. 97, WS. 99, WS. 100, WS. 103, \*WS. 105, \*WS. 106, WS. 107, WS. 108, \*WS. 113, WS. 115, WS. 116, WS. 117, \*WS. 126, WS. 133, WS. 137, \*WS. 143, WS. 151, \*WS. 198, WS. 218, WS. 281, WS. 300. The set of bookcovers with the insides painted a single colour only is together with \*WS. 126. Of the forty-one sets of painted wooden bookcovers, three are painted a single colour only with the border another colour (WS. 108, WS. 137, WS. 300). Two of these sets of bookcovers are noted to be "bulky wooden covers", one painted an overall red (WS. 65) and one painted with a mixture of green and yellow (WS. 97). One of these sets of bookcovers is atypically described as "black wooden covers, with circles drawn with a pair of dividers" (WS. 80). To be noted is that the bookcovers of WS. 64 are said to be similar to those of WS. 42. This is an error. WS. 42 is together with a set of lac worked bookcovers. Probably, on the basis of one of the colour plates shown in the catalogue, that on p. 362, they should be noted to be similar to those of WS. 51. There is also one set of bookcovers with a design outlined but not painted. This is with WS. 83.

There are in this collection eleven sets of lac worked bookcovers. These are with WS. 35,

WS. 42, WS. 61, WS. 71, WS. 75, WS. 78, WS. 102, WS. 104, WS. 112, WS. 114, WS. 216.

There is one set of incised brass covers, this with WS. 46, and one set of "dark wooden covers" with vine scrolled brass plates nailed on to them, this with WS. 18.

In addition, there are seventeen sets of bookcovers referred to as "dark wooden covers". These are with WS. 11, WS. 34, WS. 48, WS. 52, WS. 54, WS. 95, WS. 122, WS. 127, WS. 132, WS. 135,

WS. 217, WS. 228, WS. 257, WS. 270, WS. 286, WS. 312, WS. 320.

Ten sets of wooden bookcovers described as "dark stained" are with WS. 20, WS. 149, WS. 210, WS. 223, WS. 224, WS. 275, WS. 293, WS. 314, WS. 368, WS. 437. One of these is noted to have fluted borders (WS. 210); two are noted to have bevelled edges (WS. 224, WS. 437), though it is likely that more than this number do in fact have bevelled edges.

Five sets of wooden bookcovers described as "mahogany stained" are with WS. 28, WS. 53, WS. 82, WS. 139, WS. 412.

There are forty-nine sets of bookcovers described as "plain wooden covers" or just "wooden covers". These are with WS. 5, WS. 6, WS. 8, WS. 10, WS. 16, WS. 17, WS. 19, WS. 21, WS. 22, WS. 24, WS. 25, WS. 26, WS. 29, WS. 30, WS. 31, WS. 32, WS. 36, WS. 37, WS. 40, WS. 41, WS. 44, WS. 45, WS. 66, WS. 76, WS. 79, WS. 81, WS. 85, WS. 93, WS. 101, WS. 109, WS. 111, WS. 120, WS. 121, WS. 123, WS. 125, WS. 129, WS. 136, WS. 138, WS. 215, WS. 220, WS. 284, WS. 298, WS. 299, WS. 301, WS. 308, WS. 369, WS. 371, WS. 407, WS. 412. One of these sets of bookcovers is noted to have fluted edges (WS. 412). One set is noted to be "bulky", only one of these covers remaining now (WS. 136). To be noted is that one of the covers of WS. 44 is shown in the colour plate on p. 365. This appears there to be painted black.

For seven sets of bookcovers, the type of wood has been mentioned. Two are ebony, WS. 7 and WS. 128. One is teak, WS. 86. One is satinwood, WS. 131. This set of bookcovers is noted to have bevelled edges. Two of these sets of bookcovers are of kitulwood, WS. 134 and WS. 274. One of these sets of bookcovers is of millawood (WS. 265). In addition, one set of bookcovers is described as "varnished" (WS. 58).

And there are seven sets of stitched palm leaf covers noted to be together with WS. 20, WS. 38, WS. 44, WS. 118, WS. 172, WS. 307, WS. 371. Two of these latter manuscripts are now provided with plain wooden bookcovers as well, which bookcovers are noted above (WS. 44, WS. 371). One further manuscript containing illustrated fragments is wrapped in two palm leaf covers not noted to be stitched (WS. 469).

Colour plates at the end of this catalogue show the outsides of three lac worked wooden covers from WS. 42, WS. 104, WS. 114 (p. 361); the outsides of three painted wooden bookcovers for WS. 51 and WS. 64 (both covers) (p. 362); the outside of one painted wooden bookcover for WS. 105 (p. 363); the painted insides of the two painted wooden bookcovers for WS. 143 (p. 363); and the outsides of two ornamental brass covers for WS. 46 (p. 364). One of the bookcovers of a set described as "wooden outer covers", and appearing to be painted black, as noted above, is also shown with folios from WS. 44 (p. 365).

This clearly is another significant grouping of Sinhalese bookcovers in Great Britain.

It is hoped that this update makes my earlier article in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/4, December 1997, more com-

plete. I am planning to publish the results of my recent work on Sinhalese bookcovers, preserved in other collections in the nearest issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*.

#### Notes

1. See Stephan Hillyer Levitt, "Sinhalese painted wooden bookcovers", in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/4 (December 1997), pp. 3—16, 2 colour plates p. 49, and 52.
2. Pratapaditya Pal and Julia Meech-Pekarik, *Buddhist Book Illuminations* (New York, 1988), pp. 184—91, 194, 198.
3. Pratapaditya Pal, et al., *Light of Asia: Buddha Sakyamuni in Asian Art* (Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 266—9.
4. *Buddhism: Art and Faith*, ed. W. Zwalf (New York, 1985), pp. 73, 75, 154—6.
5. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1900).
6. I have written the British Library to find out whether these manuscripts are in fact reported elsewhere as well, but regrettably they have not responded to my queries. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe catalogued manuscript numbers in the same range as Or. 2253, but he did not catalogue this manuscript it seems. It would have been interesting to know why.
7. Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *Sri Lanka: Ancient Arts Catalog of an Exhibition, Held at the Commonwealth Institute, London, 17 July—13 September 1981, as Part of the Festival of Sri Lanka* (London, 1981), pp. 104—6.
8. P. H. D. H. de Silva, *Colombo National Museum: Illustrated Guide through the Exhibited Collections* ([Colombo], 1976).
9. Cf. P. H. D. H. de Silva, comp., *One Hundred Years, 1877—1977* ([Colombo], 1977).
10. W. A. de Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*, vol. 1 (Colombo, 1938). Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A, No. 4.
11. K. D. Somadasa, *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine* (London, 1996).
12. K. D. Somadasa, *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, 7 vols. (Henley-on-Thames and London, 1987—1995).

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# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

I. A. Alimov

## SONG *BIJI* 筆記 AUTHORIAL COLLECTIONS: PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

### 1

One of the major characteristics of Chinese culture is the continuity of its written tradition development. Over the centuries, canonical texts were copied and supplied with commentary, forming the basis for the concept of learning and laying the groundwork, by virtue of their very existence and ceaseless reproduction, for the emergence of new texts. The appearance of a written work was conditioned (and supported) by the existence of others. In their remarks on ancient events, authors relied on written works; the written text was perceived as the only historical testimony. The rigorous checking of reported accounts is a characteristic feature of Chinese literature; it is especially evident in those works which are traditionally considered historical. In presenting information about people and events in the 史記 ("Historical Notes"), Sima Qian 司馬遷 (?145/135 B.C.—?) frequently adds his own personal remarks, but only at the end of his writing, thus emphasising his objectivity.

A great number of various texts with a special focus on history appeared in China relatively early. The written cul-

ture was greatly supported by the system of administration which existed in ancient China; literacy and a knowledge of certain canonical texts was an obligatory condition for receiving an official position. The system of state exams to fill vacant posts in the administrative apparatus ensured the uninterrupted "production" of state men of letters. A broad knowledge of texts, the ability to interpret those texts and create on their basis new texts were a solid foundation for the further development of written culture both in depth (commentary) and in breadth (new works of prose and poetry, fiction and history, which could or could not have their special subject).

Among the great many Chinese written texts, which have reached us, an important group consists of *biji* authorial collections. These literary works, despite their rather significant quantity and the diversity of the material they contain, have received only scant attention in scholarship [1].

### 2

One must seek the roots of *biji* genre in ancient Chinese historical texts, the oldest philosophical works, and in texts which are today considered prose with well-outlined subject. In their classical form, prototypes of *biji* writings began to appear in the Tang era (618—907), but the *biji* truly flourished during the Song dynasty (960—1279), in a period of rapid rise of Chinese culture, and especially literature. A shift from scrolls to stitched books in quire form, the spread of xylography, and an increase in book production made books available to broad layers of the population as well as easier to use. Education also became more available, due to the 1044 government decree, which announced the establishment of schools in regional and provincial cities. But what is more important, changes also took place in attitudes toward scholarship and the knowledge necessary to pass the exam for the right to occupy a vacant post in the government apparatus. In turn, higher standards appeared,

which led to the appearance of numerous specially arranged selections from various works on a variety of themes (類書, "encyclopaedia").

These general trends could not but affect *biji* collections. It seems that each major Song literary figure and official left us such a collection. Some of them are significant in size and required substantial time and effort from their authors: the material is strictly organised into sections according to the author's interests. Others are small and chaotic, reminiscent of a scholar's preliminary thoughts, observations, notes, and information not included in other works. But even early Song *bijis* tend to be of an encyclopaedic character. Their seemingly chaotic nature may be delusive because we do not fully understand the organisational principles of these texts. Such understanding will come only as the result of the multi-faceted study of *biji* in historical context as a special form of authorial collections.

歸田錄者朝廷之遺事史官之所不記與夫士大夫笑談之餘而  
 可錄者錄之以備閒居之覽也有聞而誚余者曰何其迂哉子之  
 所學者修仁義以爲業誦六經以爲言其自待者宜如何而幸蒙  
 人主之知備位朝廷與聞國論者蓋八年於茲矣旣不能因時奮  
 身遇事發憤有所建明以爲補益又不能依阿取容以徇世俗使  
 怨嫉謗怒叢于一身以受侮于羣小當其驚風駭浪卒然起於不  
 測之淵而蛟鱷鼉鼉之怪方駢首而闖伺乃措身其間以蹈必死  
 之禍賴天子仁聖惻然哀憐脫於垂涎之口而活之以賜其餘生  
 之命曾不聞吐珠銜環效蛇雀之報蓋方其壯也猶無所爲今旣  
 老且病矣是終負人主之恩而徒久費大農之錢爲太倉之鼠也  
 爲子計者謂宜乞身於朝退避榮寵案祠堂本有夾注一作遠引疾去以深戒前日之禍十三字而優  
 游田畝盡其天年猶足竊知止之賢名而乃裴回俯仰久之不決  
 此而不思尙何歸田之錄乎余起而謝曰凡子之責我者皆是也

Fig. 1



Preliminary observations on Song *biji* collections make us to share the views of those modern Chinese scholars who, like for example Zhan Hui 張輝, distinguishes the following features of a *biji*: (i) a complete form freedom — the material it contains may display a certain internal organisation and may be divided into, for example, *juans*, or it may not be organised at all; the collection may be enormous as, for example, 容齋隨筆 by Hong Mai (1123—1202) or it may be quite small; finally, the fragments of which it consists may be significant in size or may represent short notes of a few hieroglyphs; but a nearly indispensable part of *biji* are *shihua* 詩話 fragments (“thoughts on verse”); (ii) the spontaneity of the collection's internal construction, the tacit compositional structure which is declared by the authors themselves in their forewords [2].

Liu Ye-qiu 劉葉秋, the author of the only historical essay on *biji*, describes them similarly, if less concretely: “I feel that the most characteristic feature of *biji* is ‘diversity’ 雜 of content, a lack of links through thematic framing, records of what people themselves heard, while as concerns form — ‘freedom, lack of ties’ 散 — the long or the short, free composition” [3]. As for the content of *biji*, Liu Ye-qiu expresses a rather common opinion, proposing that these collections be divided into 小說故事筆記, i.e. *biji* which

contain fragments with a certain theme, be they small or short; 歷史瑣聞筆記, i.e. collections of unofficial historical information which was either absent in official sources or which augments them; and 考據辨証筆記, i.e. collections on various types of inaccuracies, errors, difficult passages, words, concepts, corrections, adjustments, and explanations.

Another Chinese scholar, Chu Bin-jie 褚斌杰, proposes a similar classification: 小說故事筆記; 野史舊聞筆記, i.e. collections which contain records of a historical nature; 叢考雜辨筆記, i.e. collections which contain observations of a scientific nature made while reading other works, as well as archeological, etymological, and textological observations; and 雜錄叢談筆記, i.e. collections of utterances, jokes, and varied information, in a word, everything that does not fit into the preceding three groups [4].

It should be noted that any division which is based solely on content can be regarded as only conditional, and it is quite difficult to employ the classification cited here when discussing concrete collections [5]. In any case, a separate group of *biji* writings constitute travel diaries and notes made during journeys, which also became widespread under the Song dynasty (they are not under discussion in the present study).

### 3

According to the classification of *biji* collections mentioned above, the majority of Song *biji* collections I have studied must belong either to 歷史瑣聞筆記 or 考據辨証筆記, as is clear from their content. To start with, Song Qi 宋祁 (998—1061), a native of the Northern Song, was the first to employ the term *biji* in the title of his collection the 宋景文公筆記 (“Notes of Master Song Jin-wen”). The text of the “Notes” which has come down to us contains three *juans* comprising 166 fragments. All three *juans* have headings.

The first *juan* bears the title 釋俗 (“Interpretation of customs”). One can identify several relatively clear thematic groups among the fragments of which it consists (in all, there are 32 fragments in this *juan*). The first group are the author's notes and observations on hieroglyphs which are, in Song Qi's view, written or used incorrectly. He provides the correct form and explains why the error arose. He also gives the original form and explains the specifics of various hieroglyphs' usage, citing in support of his view examples from the works of his predecessors which contain these hieroglyphs, including the most ancient texts.

The second group constitute fragments where Song Qi elucidates the meaning of certain words, noting also their history and origins. For example, he mentions the *fanjie* system of conveying the reading of hieroglyphs used in Chinese dictionaries.

Fragments which concern various customs encountered in the Chinese society of Song Qi's day may be considered as the third group, while fragments on poetry which are very reminiscent of early Song *shihua*, where Song Qi expresses his opinions on verses (individual lines) by various authors, compares them, enumerates poets whom he considers worthy or exceptional, constitute the fourth group. The author also cites the views of others on poetry and poets which interest him.

The second *juan* (68 fragments) entitled 考古, which we translate tentatively as “Research on the subject of antiquities”, does not differ fundamentally from the first *juan*. In essence, the work of Song Qi, who was a typical Chinese bibliophile, was concerned with various antiquities, or searches for the original meanings of words and concepts. All of the major themes of the first *juan* are also found in the second one, but the theme of customs is less pronounced here.

The main thematic groups in this *juan* can be distinguished as follows: the first comprises fragments on well-known, primarily Confucian scholars of the past and contemporary to Song Qi. We include here comments on poets and poetry, such as remarks on how one should correctly write the name Bao Zhao 鮑照 (?421—?466). There are also notes on the utterances, as well as the utterances themselves, of various historical figures and acquaintances of Song Qi. One can also find here evaluations of various statesmen.

The fragments in the second group explain why the contemporaries of Song Qi make so many mistakes. Among the reasons indicated is a low level of education, caused in particular by the ignorance of the dictionary 說文解字, where they could find information on the original meanings of certain hieroglyphs. A number of examples illustrate the errors which arise because of such ignorance.

Fragments which clarify passages in various works constitute the third group. These are primarily comments, explanations, and textological commentaries on fragments of text or even individual hieroglyphs from the 漢書 (“History of the Han [Dynasty]”) or clarifications of meaning through Yan Shi-gu's 顏師古 (581—645) commentary on the “History of the Han [Dynasty]”; also found here are remarks on the commentaries of Wan Bi 王弼 (226—249) on the 易經 (“Book of Changes”).

The fourth group of the second *juan* discuss prose with no plot and their authors, both ancient and contemporary to Song Qi. These fragments are of a textological nature and contain evaluations (utterances) by Song Qi or others on certain works or authors.

The final, fifth group contains thoughts on government. Song Qi cites examples of contemporary rulers, for example, the Han Gao-zu (r. 205—195 B.C.), who was, in Song Qi's words, such a wise ruler that his successors could firmly hold the reins of government and experienced no unease. Song Qi is of the opinion that only enlightened people should hold power.

If the first two *juans'* text is more or less uniform, the third, of 66 fragments, conforms entirely to its title 雜說 ("Various remarks"). They comprise relatively extensive remarks on government, on relations between a ruler and his subjects, remarks on the structure of the world and the interrelation of earth and heaven. Far from all of the maxims cited here belong to Song Qi himself, but he does not list his sources. There are also short (from 8 to 20 hieroglyphs) remarks of an aphoristic nature on various topics, like "There is nothing more life-giving than rain and dew, but luxuriant grasses once again grow dry. There is nothing fiercer than hoar-frost and snow, but the pines and cypresses are green in the winter as well".

Four fragments stand apart at the end, they differ from the others in both length and content. These are texts of a personal nature, where we find the text of the epitaph and memorial stela for the author's grave, as well as an address to his relatives with the explanation of what should be done with his body after his death.

Thus, Song Qi's collection presents us with separate essays which do not have a definite subject or share a unifying theme; rather, they are notations (fragments), usually laconic. We find there a free intermingling of purely informational fragments, aesthetic evaluations, poetic verses, aphorisms, and fragments of an autobiographical nature, but works with a definite subject are absent. The "Notes of Master Song Jin-wen" can be compared to a scholar's notes which contain various working materials not used in other works, for example, the 新唐書 ("New History of the Tang [Dynasty]"), to which Song Qi dedicated 10 years of his life. And though these materials do not obviously display thematic categories, one can notice some overriding themes which reflect the author's main interest and to which he repeatedly returns. These are government, correcting errors, evaluating poetic works, etc.

Let us turn now to another authorial collection, 北夢瑣言 ("Short Utterances from [the] Beymen") by Sun Guang-xian 孫光憲. The author lived at the very end of the Tang dynasty, the time of the Five Dynasties, and the first years of the Song dynasty, which determined the basic content of his collection. The "Short Utterances" treats the end of the Tan dynasty and the Five Dynasties. Sun Guang-xian had a special reason to address this time: first, he was an eyewitness to many of the events he recorded, and knew many of the figures in person thanks to his position in society; second, as Sun Guang-xian writes in the foreword to his collection, "under Tang, during the troubles and unrest of the years known as the rule of Guang-ming (880—881 — *I. A.*), rare books disappeared without a trace, and after the emperor Wu-zong (r. 841—847 — *I. A.*), there was desolation and obscurity, and there was no one to tell of the glorious deeds at court and in the provinces". In Sun Guang-

xian's own words, "ashamed at the fragmentary nature of his knowledge", he decided to remedy this omission.

"Short Utterances from [the] Beymen" is a rather extended collection of works possessing a well-outlined subject, in the spirit of an unofficial history. While the whole of the material in the collection is not organised in any thematic fashion, one can nonetheless note a certain grouping of works. For example, the 18th and 19th *juans* collect 23 stories about the late-Tang emperor Ming-zong (r. 926—934). The 7th *juan* contains more than 20 tales on incidents at state exams. Among the heroes of Sun Guang-xian's work are quite a few well-known poets and bibliophiles: Gu Kuang 顧況 (727—815), Bo Ju-yi 白居易 (772—846), Li Shang-yin 李商隱 (812—?858), Pi Ri-xiu 皮日休 (?834—883), Ne Yi-zhong 聶夷中 (837—?884), Du Xun-he 杜荀鶴 (846—904), Lo Yin 羅隱 (833—909), Wei Zhuang 韋莊 (836—910), and others. Furthermore, the fragments dedicated to them are quite extensive and informative. The collections also presents unique information on the Tan emperors and their relatives.

The "Short Utterances from [the] Beymen" also contains stories about the magic world and supernatural beings — the souls of the dead, saints and the immortals, as well as about retribution, but there are not many of these.

Somewhat different is the collection entitled "Story of the Fly-Swatter" 虻史 by Wang De-chen 王得臣. Wang De-chen organises the material in his collection into 44 sections (門) of equal size, however, thematically varied content. These are, for example, 音樂 ("Music"), 治家 ("Running a household"), 任人 ("The service class"), etc. Some sections contain only a single record, for example, 志氣 ("Decisiveness"), while others are rather large and diverse. In all, one can attribute a certain thematic colouring to each of the three *juans*.

The first *juan*, containing 12 sections, brings together fragments which are largely concerned with emperors, the imperial court, and high-ranking officials. The episodes from the lives of the Song emperors (Gao-zu, Shen-zong, Ying-zong) cited here testify to their high virtues and are intended to illustrate wise rule over the Celestial Empire.

The short sections which consist of two—four fragments, like 朝制 ("Institutions at court"), 官制 ("Statutes for officials"), 任人, and other, speak of officials and customs at court and among the upper nobility. Here, as elsewhere in Wang De-chen's collection, the focus is primarily on mid- and high-level officials who are still performing their duties, rather than those who have retired or are not working in an official capacity. The content of these fragments is clear from the section titles: 忠謹 ("Faithful to the ruler and just"), 惠政 ("Merciful government"), 賢德 ("Wise and just"), etc. Wang De-chen displays an interest in well-known people and statesmen as individuals who rule the people and exercise power. It is important to him to stress the qualities which allow such a person to serve and govern in such a way that the people flourish and the state grows rich. Among the high-ranking officials he mentions are such well-known North Song figures as Kou Zhun 寇準 (961—1023), Han Yi 韓億 (972—1044), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007—1072), Fu Bi 富弼 (1004—1083), Ding Wei 丁謂 (966—1037), Fan Zhong-yan 范仲淹 (989—1052). Wang De-chen cites interesting episodes from their official careers. Much is said about just tax policy in the provinces, especially about the tax in tea, in connection with which Zhang Yong 張詠 (946—1015) is for example mentioned.

右歸田錄二卷宋歐陽修撰宋史藝文志入史部傳記類作八卷  
 今所傳文忠公集本及稗海學津討原本皆二卷與陳振孫書錄  
 解題合振孫云或言公爲此錄未傳而序先出裕陵索之其中本  
 載時事及所經歷見聞不敢以進旋爲此本而初本竟不復出王  
 明清揮麈後錄四庫提要誤作三錄則曰歐陽公歸田錄初成未出而序先傳  
 神宗見之遽命中使宣取時公已致仕在穎州以其間所記述有  
 未欲廣者因盡刪去之又惡其太少則雜記戲笑不急之事以充  
 滿其卷帙既繕寫進入而舊本亦不敢存今世之所有皆進本而  
 元書蓋未嘗存之周輝清波雜志所記與明清之說同惟末云元  
 本亦嘗出廬陵集所載上下纔二卷乃進本也四庫提要引清波雜志係內府所藏影宋精本與稗  
海本並作原本亦嘗出鮑氏知不足齋所刊清波雜志作原本未嘗出惟鮑刻出婁江曹彬侯  
 所藏東海鮑氏本後得明姚舜吾寫本校之補錄別志三卷張貴謨序一篇不及庫本爲可據  
 且原文下云廬陵集所載上下纔二卷則彈意在案此三說皆出宋人一云初  
 證元本不止二卷亦以作亦嘗出者於義爲長  
 本竟不復出一云元書未嘗存之一云原本亦嘗出而初稿爲一

Fig. 2

Of special interest in this *juan* is the large section 裡義 ("On the essence of etiquette"), which deals with curious details of official garment: hats, belts, etc.

The second *juan* (17 sections) deals with noteworthy high officials (the erudite and scholarly) and scholarship and knowledge in the broad sense: poetry, elegant speech (*wen*), painting, calligraphy. A number of short sections, such as "Running a household", 碑碣 ("Square and round stelae"), and 書畫 ("Painting and calligraphy"), contain fragments which discuss the exceptional human qualities of historical figures, many of whom were noted above. But they are shown to be exceptional not because of wise acts of governance, but in various happenings of minor importance.

Another large section, 神守 ("Aid from the spirits"), brings together fragments on omens, foretellings, and prophetic dreams. For example, we read of the mother of the Song brothers before their birth, who saw in a dream a man in red who gave her a large gem; before the birth of Song Qi (998—1061), the same man presented her with a "Literary anthology" 文選. This *juan* also contains "Discussion of poetry", which consists of 32 fragments comprising well-known verses from the poetry of Wang De-chen's contemporaries with his clarifications and judgments, utterances and opinions on the verses, the poetry and poetic mastery of Wang De-chen's acquaintances and people he considered authoritative. He cites what he finds curious or not entirely correct (in which case he provides corrections). We find here also verses on the death of Wang De-chen's younger brother.

The third *juan* (15 sections) collects thematically varied fragments such as 古器 ("Ancient utensils"), 戒殺 ("The prevention of murder"), 真偽 ("The true and the false"), 語讖 ("Prophecies"). This *juan* contains the largest number of unusual fragments, often of a supernatural character. The section 奇異 ("The surprising and unusual") cites, for example, a well-known story found in other *bijis* of how Kou Zhun, exiled to Leizhou, appealed to the Heavens with a prayer, cut off a piece of bamboo, stuck it into the ground, and the bamboo put down roots.

The content of the third *juan* is perhaps best reflected by the title of one of its sections: 雜誌 ("Various notes").

Despite this diversity, the overwhelming majority of the fragments in the "Story of the Fly-Swatter" concern officials performing their duties, their service to the state, or certain incidents, at times wonderful; also treated are their utterances, verses, statutes, and the institutions (制) common in their midst.

Wang De-chen's collection, which is essentially 史 ("history"), brings together fairly varied notes of an informational nature: those without definite subject (among which fragments predominate), those with a definite subject (志人小說, jokes), poetic notes. In many of the fragments, the action takes place in the author's place of origin — Anlu — or in places he has been. For the most part, the material does not come from books or texts, but from the author's direct impressions in the form of his personal observations.

This personal element, on the one hand, unifies the disconnected fragments into a single collection; on the other, it renders the content of the "Story of the Fly-Swatter" valuable and unique. The work is without any doubt an important source for the study of culture in Song China, illuminating its most varied aspects, especially the ethnographic.

Lu Fu's 劉斧 collection 青瑣高議 ("Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates") differs considerably from the others. This is perhaps the best-known *biji* collection in Russia (fragments of it were translated by Russian scholars B. L. Riftin and K. I. Golygina). We know very little of the author himself, except his name, or the name with which he signed the collection. We also know that the person who went by that name held the scholarly degree 秀才, meaning that he had passed the first-stage exam for a vacant state post. This allows us to assume that Lu Fu came from a family of officials and was himself preparing for service.

We provide a few brief remarks on the collection's composition. "Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates" consists of three parts: the first two contain 10 *juans* each, while the third — 7. In total, we find here 144 works in various genres. The first part contains 49 of them; the second, 72; the third, 23. One must also note the 36 fragments, which make up the appendix to the main section (in the 1983 Peking edition). The collections combine *chuanqi* 傳奇 novellas, 唐前小說 style prose — which predominates and is about both the miraculous (志怪) and events and people (志人) — subject-less prose (remarks and thoughts), individual poetic works, thoughts on poetry. All of the works included in the collection bear headings which consist of a varied number of hieroglyphs (usually three). Sub-headings of seven signs reveal the content. It should be noted that about one fourth of the works in "Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates" have summaries. It may be that Lu Fu added these summations, which begin with the words 讀曰 or, more rarely, 評曰 ("My judgement is such") to the works of others, and that the presence of such summations indicates that Lu Fu is not the author.

In content and genre, Lu Fu's collection, while displaying the characteristic features of a *biji*, stands apart. Among Song books which have reached us, it is only in this collection that we find many large subject works (*chuanqi* novellas). The "mix of genres", which results from the author's selections, enables us to study various aspects of Song culture: the author surveyed not only actual historical figures, but a number of Daoist saints — Lü Dong-bin 呂洞賓, Han Xiang-zi 韓湘子, and He Xian-gu 何仙姑 — and Buddhist mentors. The subject works, in turn, allow us to discuss the characteristics of world-outlook among Song high officials and bibliophiles, and, more broadly, the mentality of the epoch. The "Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates" is an authorial collection, but is to a large extent a compilation. Hence, we can speak of it as a reflection of the views and biases not only of Lu Fu (as expressed in his selections) but also, in mediated form, the views of the educated classes in Song society on the world and man's place in it.

Bearing in mind to achieve accuracy in knowledge and information, the authors of *biji* collections use sources of three types. The first one comprises written texts they consider trustworthy. Generally, many of these texts have not

come down to us, but owing, for example, to Lu Fu, who included in his collection 14 works by his contemporaries, we know both the texts and their authors' names. The second includes stories of elder contemporaries, usually rela-

tives, mentors or people the author considers authoritative, and, finally, personal research and the impressions of “those who saw and heard” constitute the third type of sources employed. In the last two cases, however, authors of *biji* collections still attempted to re-check the information they received against written texts to which they had access. For example, Gong Ming-zhi 龔明之 (1091—1182) writes in the foreword to his “What I Heard about Central Wu” 中吳紀聞 that his work is based on stories he heard from his grandfather and his acquaintances. “When in my youth I served my grandfather, each time I heard him begin to speak of our ancestors in this region, I listened without distraction”, — he reports. He also uses information received from his father, his colleagues at work, acquaintances and friends he knew from his travels with his father from one place of service to another. The author says: “Upon becoming an adult, I travelled with my father and those who served with him, and these were all well-known people and outstanding scholars”. Finally, information Gun received in the process of teaching or from conversations with friends and colleagues was used as well: “I received information about the days of old from people with whom I became close...”.

Gong Ming-zhi reports that he checked this information with the appropriate written sources and concludes: “None of this is to be found either in the old ‘Book of All the Lands’ or in the ‘Records of Wu Lands’”. Another collection’s author, Wang De-chen describes his method of work as follows: “I received new appointments for 36 years. During that time, I wrote down everything I heard in conversations with my mentors and school-mates, in conversations with guests and colleagues, or what I saw and heard myself”.

The information we can obtain from *biji* collections is in many ways unique. First, because *biji* texts present the personal impressions of their authors and, second, because other sources for this information have simply not survived. Primarily, this applies to information about the authors of *biji* collections — actual historical figures of whom we know only through their works — who are often significant figures in Chinese history. Frequently, we also learn about the relatives of *biji* authors, and the collections are once again our only source. For example, in his collection “From Conversations in Pingzhou” 萍洲可談, Zhu Yü 朱彧 (?1075—after 1119) provides extensive information about Hu and his maternal relatives; he enumerates them and the state posts which the male members of the family occupied. Overall, Zhu Yü’s collection contains such information in 28 fragments. To cite another example, nearly all of what is known about Gong Zong-yuan (10th century) is found in the collection of his grandson, Gong Ming-zhi.

We also find episodes from the lives of well-known historical figures, poorly or completely not reflected in official historical works. They provide additional materials to describe these individuals and sometimes present previously unknown biographical facts. For example, Wang De-chen recounts that Kou Zhun became famous in his youth for being courageous enough to answer, during a drought, the emperor’s question of why there was no rain. Kou Zhun explained that the drought was due to the unjust, rapacious administration of the first minister. The minister was removed and it began to rain. Zhu Yü provides information about the family life of the famed Chinese encyclopedist Shen Ko 沈括 (1029—1093), whose wife “beat him and

dragged him by his mustache along the ground so [violently] that she tore out hair with blood and flesh”. The woman, Zhu Yü comments, compromised the scholars in the eyes of his colleagues; yet Shen Ko stoically endured her behaviour, and his wife’s death so grieved him that he nearly drowned himself.

A curious fragment in Wang De-chen’s collection recounts how temples were built for the ministers Kou Zhun and Fan Zhong-yan in Dengzhou: grateful residents began to make sacrifices there for Kou Zhun’s spirit after his death; Fan Zhong-yan himself decreed the construction of his temple. Wang De-chen writes that “there was at first no god-protector in Baihuazhou, and when Wen-zhen (Fan Chzhun-yan’s posthumous name) was appointed to serve there, he ordered that a shrine be erected. The carpenters began to ask who they should depict in the statue of a spirit, and the lord answered: ‘Why, myself!’ And so they built a shrine for lord Wen-zhen”.

Of definite value for scholars are the many fragments in Zhu Yü’s collection on the regulations for officials of his time, on official dress according to rank, rules for the inheritance of positions by the relatives of high-ranking officials, and other rules (for example, pillows of *rong* fur and rules relating to the ranks which permitted certain officials to sit on certain pillows at certain times).

Authorial collections provide no less interesting, diverse, and unique information on various customs and details from everyday life. For example, the following passage about paper in Song Qi deserves a note: “In ancient times, all books were written exclusively on yellow paper, which is why they were called 黃卷 (“yellow scrolls” — *I. A.*). Yan Zhi-tui writes: ‘All of the books in the Celestial Empire cannot be counted, all of the mistakes cannot be covered over in yellow’. [He speaks of] yellow paint, the same colour as the paper, which was used to correct mistakes. Today they write on white paper, while experts [continue to] correct errors in yellow. The colours do not match. Only Dao and Buddhist works are still written on yellow paper”.

Wang De-chen describes in some detail 折上巾, 牛耳幘 頭 head scarves, the history and production of 藤巾子 hats, woven from reeds, and 紗巾, from crepe, and grass scarves. He also cites a description of the evolution of memorial plates (笏), a requisite attribute of an official at a high audience, their sizes and the material of their manufacture: “The memorial plates of those who wear purple dress are made from ivory”, — he writes — “they are bent at the top and straight on the bottom; for those who wear green dress, they are boards of *sophora* wood, curved at the top and rectangular at the bottom. Boards of ivory were first made short and thick, then long and wide. In the years of Huang-yu, these boards became large and thin, slightly concave; they were called 抱身 (“enveloping the body”). Then, straight boards of moderate size came into use. As concerns wooden boards, they were at first also very thick; now they are thin and are no longer made from *sophora*”.

Information is also frequently of an ethno-linguistic nature, like in Song Qi, who writes: “People in the south call all rivers 江, people in the north 河, because of differences in dialect, the names of the Huai and Ji rivers are not entirely clear”. Several fragments in his collection treat customs common in the Song Shu 蜀 (the modern-day province of Sichuan): for example, old people there were called 瞶, not 老. Or: “Under Qin and Han, they said of

themselves 臣 ("subject"), and the Son of Heaven addressed the *gongs* and *qins* as 君 ("master"). But later this was not done: there was 君 ("ruler") and 臣 ("his subjects").

Ouyang Xiu provides information about Longfeng tea and the cases sewn for it by women of the palace: this type of tea was so valued that the emperor would present it to officials of the capital as an incentive.

Also valuable is information on customs and everyday life in specific places. This is all the more important, because so little has reached us from the Song period. Of primary interest in this regard is Gong Ming-zhi's collection whose title speaks for itself: "What I Heard about Central Wu". The author's attention is focused on the customs, mores, events and historical figures of his native Central Wu (the Suzhou region and Kunshan in the modern province of Jiangsu). Gong Ming-zhi's collection may be considered as a veritable encyclopaedia providing rich information on these places, especially about people who came from U, which is lacking in other sources.

The second *juan* of Zhu Yü's collection gives as well a precious information about the south of Song China, primarily Guangzhou and the foreigners' quarter in that city, the customs service and rules for customs fees, taxation for merchants, and goods. The collection contains one of the first mentions of the use of the compass on Chinese sea-faring ships (the compass and rules for its use were also described in another *biji* collection, "Records of Conversations in Mensi" 夢溪筆談 by Shen Ko).

Of no less interest is the information about the supernatural as presented in *biji*. In Lu Fu's "Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates" a magical world with a complex and

strict hierarchical organisation is shown, and one can find here a partial description of both spheres of the other world — beneath the ground (hell) and the sphere of those who dwell in heaven. Hell is depicted in the story "Chen Shui". Three sections of hell are named: hell where one is roasted, hell where one is boiled, and hell where one is sawed. A strict order prevails in the underworld: officials go about their business, orders are issued, and a chancery functions much as it would in normal life. A newly arrived soul is interrogated and the matter undergoes a detailed review. The degree of guilt is determined and a level of harshness is set for punishment. Afterwards, the soul can be reborn. A certain number of souls reside for a time in an unreborn state (they are called "lost souls"), either because they were buried improperly or because that is the will of the ruler of the underworld. Errors are possible in the "hearing" beyond the grave, but they are usually rectified. One can gain a sense of the hierarchy of the saints from the novella "Lists of the saints from the mountain Cunyufeng", which reproduces an entire table of ranks. The saints move up in the hierarchy by perfecting their *dao* though temporary immersion in the world of people, where their moral sanctity is tested in the sinful temptations of the vanities as in a crucible. Lu Fu writes that the grandees of the world of people are, in the main, temporary incarnations of the saints. When they die, they take up appropriate positions in the heavenly realm. Such information is interesting because, unlike canonical Dao or Buddhist works, it reflects actual beliefs about the supernatural and is closer to the views found among ordinary people.

## 5

*Biji* collections do not constitute an independent literary genre. They can merely be termed writings which are distinguished by a special form for organising an authorial collection. At the base of *biji* writings in China lay collections, which had their individual titles and by which they became known. The collections brought together individual fragments, more or less complete, but usually without their own headings. The person whose name stood on the title page of the collection was primarily the author of the work of a compilation nature: not all of the works included were in fact written by him. A part of the fragments, frequently a significant one, could be borrowed (with partial alterations or without any changes) by the author from his predecessors' collections. The author's contribution lay not in the composition of works, but in the principle of selection. We find the same phenomenon in *biji* collections, which unite in a single collection prose of various genres, intermingled with verses, both plotted and un-plotted. It is in this activity that *biji* authors created a new form of text, one for all practical purposes free of genre limitations.

One of the main characteristics of *biji* is its pronounced penchant to history. Everything must be recorded and preserved so that later generations will be able to compare, correct, or refute information provided. This, together with continuity of the Chinese literary tradition, allows one to study not only the historical events and the details of those events, but also details of details, as well as their transformations and changes in perception. *Biji* authorial collections provide a special opportunity to do this. They are fun-

damentally open texts, absorbing the most varied materials. The information they contain is like a gold-bearing layer of rock: sometimes one finds more, sometimes less.

In terms of the information they bring together, *biji* collections can be conditionally divided into three more or less stable thematic groups: 歷史瑣聞筆記, collections which contain unofficial historical information not found in official historical works or which augments the latter; 考據辨証筆記, collections dedicated to various inaccuracies, errors, difficult passages, concepts, and corrections, adjustments, explanations; 小說故事筆記, i.e. *biji* which contain primarily short fragments of a plotted nature (historical incidents, episodes, notes on supernatural phenomena, etc.). The majority of *biji* collections examined in the present study fall into the first or second group.

*Biji* authorial collections are the most promising sources for the reconstruction of the world of Song China as reflected in the *biji* compositions. We find here none of the chaotic, disorganised elements of ordinary life, for the Song bibliophile was a carrier of the "wisdom of books". Nor do we find the dogmatic constructions characteristic of philosophical theories and religious teachings, for the Song author lived the life of the people and checked his knowledge against it. The confirmation of incidents from everyday life with notes from the works of predecessors and contemporaries is not incidental; nor are the refutations of what is known, the additions and adjustments.

One should note especially a good quality and veracity of the *biji* as a historical source: these are documents re

# 老學庵筆記卷第一

徽宗南幸至潤郡官迎駕於西津及御舟抵岸上御棕頂轎子一宦者立轎旁呼曰道君傳語衆官不須遠來衛士臚傳以告遂退徽宗南幸還京服栗玉並桃冠白玉簪赭紅羽衣乘七寶輦蓋吳敏定儀注云

高宗在徽宗服中用白木御倚子錢大主入覲見之曰此檀香倚子耶張嬪何校作嬪好掩口笑曰禁中用烟何校作脂脂阜莢多相公已有語更敢用檀香作倚子耶時趙鼎張浚作相也

建炎苗劉之變內侍遇害至多有秦同老者自揚州被命至荆楚前一日還行在尙未得對亦死焉又有蕭守毛本作中道者日侍左右忽得罪絀爲外郡監當前一日出城遂免

臨安父老言苗劉戕王淵在朝天門外今都進奏院前然日曆及

Fig. 3



flecting a concrete historical period and providing information on the most insignificant incidents or extensive descriptions of customs common at the time. Therefore, the introduction of Song *biji* authorial collections into scholarly circulation might create a solid source base for those who study the whole variety of China's

material and spiritual life. Unfortunately, *Biji* collections remain insufficiently examined. They seem to have been overlooked because it is a rather difficult task to study this kind of source which needs first of all labour-consuming identification of a variety of texts *biji* collections contain.

### Notes

1. A brief overview of the scholarly literature on this subject and a more detailed classification of *biji* collections by Song authors can be found in the first volume of my monograph, see I. A. Alimov, *Vsled za kist'iu. Materialy k istorii Songskikh avtorskikh sbornikov biji. Issledovaniia. Perevody* (Following the Brush. Materials on the History of Song Dynasty Authors' *Biji* Collections. Research. Translations.), pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1996).

2. 張輝, “散論宋筆記的幾個問題” (“A brief discussion of certain problems connected with Song *biji*”), in 四川大學學報, No. 3 (1989), p. 88.

3. 劉葉秋, 歷代筆記概述 (Historical Essay on *Biji* of Various Eras) (Peking, 1980), p. 5.

4. 褚斌杰, 中國古代文體概論 (An Essay on Ancient Chinese Literary Genres) (Peking, 1990), p. 463.

5. In the first volume of my monograph (see n. 1), I attempted to draw up a list of promising Song collections which can be classified as *biji* on the basis of existing scholarship. This list contains some 60 collections; it will, of course, be amended, mainly through additions.

### Illustrations

Fig. 1. The first page of a block-print edition of the *biji* collection *Gui tian lu* (“The Notes of One Who Returned to the Fields”) by Ouyang Xiu (1007—1072).

Fig. 2. The last page of a block-print edition of the same *biji* collection.

Fig. 3. The first page of a block-print edition of the *biji* collection *Lao xue an biji* (“The Notes from ‘The Small Secluded Monastery Where I Am Gaining Wisdom in My Old Age’”) by Lu You (1125—1210).

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# ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

Sh. Soong-Müller, L. Obi, U. Weigelt

## YAO MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BAVARIAN STATE LIBRARY: THE MUNICH YAO PROJECT

The Bavarian State Library in Munich holds a collection of more than 1.000 Yao manuscripts, originating from China (Guangdong, Guangxi, Guizhou, Yunnan), Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Myanmar. These manuscripts most of which are of religious contents date to the early eighteenth — late twentieth century, and are written in Chinese script. In October 1995, a research project *Written Sources on Yao Religion* was initiated by the Institute of East Asian Studies, Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich [1]. One of the purposes of the project was computer support to cataloguing of the manuscripts with regard to bibliographical information, date, regional origin, and persons mentioned. The resulting catalogue is planned to be published as part of the

series *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, thus making the manuscripts available for international research.

Examination of the manuscripts focused on their role in religious ritual and on the influence of Chinese religion. The quantity of the material allowed insight into relationships and migrations of the owners as well as comparison of different Yao groups and their history. Since the manuscripts cover a wide geographical and historical range, it was possible to compare local traditions and different versions of similar texts. Thus information on the relation of Yao religion to Chinese popular religion and Daoism could be gained.

### I. The Yao

Ethnic identification of the Yao is usually based on linguistic, regional or descriptive criteria, which are often mixed up [2]. On the other hand, the general designation Yao is used without specifying, self-designations being widely ignored. Even linguists do not agree on a clear differentiation between the relevant languages. Up to now the most convincing and consistent classification of Yao languages is that provided by Chinese linguists [3]. They divide the languages spoken by different Yao groups into three branches: Mianjing 綿荊 (with the subgroups Youmian 尤綿 and Jingmen 荊門), Biaojiao 標交 (with the subgroups Biaomin 標敏 and Jiangjiao 講交), and Zaomin 藻敏. There are other Yao groups speaking Miao 苗 (Hmong) languages (e.g. Bunao 布瑙) or Zhuang-Dong 壯侗 (Tai-Kadai) languages (e.g. Lajia 拉加). According to linguistic and cultural similarities, another ethnic group, the She 畚 of Fujian, Guangdong, and Zhejiang, actually should be classified as Yao. In the following the description of groups, languages, and according manuscripts and texts, is based on this classification.

Texts are only known to the authors by the following four Yao groups:

1. Speakers of Youmian 尤綿 (described as Pan Yao 盤瑶 or Guoshan Yao 過山瑶 in Chinese literature) are settling in Eastern Guangxi and Southern Hunan, small groups are also found in Guangdong, the northern regions of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar.
2. Speakers of Jingmen 荊門 (Shanzi Yao 山子瑶 in Western Guangxi as well as Landian Yao 藍靛瑶 in Southern Yunnan and Vietnam) [4] are also settling in the northern regions of Laos, Vietnam, and Myanmar.
3. Speakers of Zaomin 藻敏 (Pai Yao 排瑶) are settling in the Lianshan 連山 area in Guangdong.
4. Speakers of Lajia 拉加 (Chashan Yao 茶山瑶) settle only in a very limited area in Western Guangxi.

Manuscripts written by speakers of Bunao 布瑙 languages are not known to the authors so far.

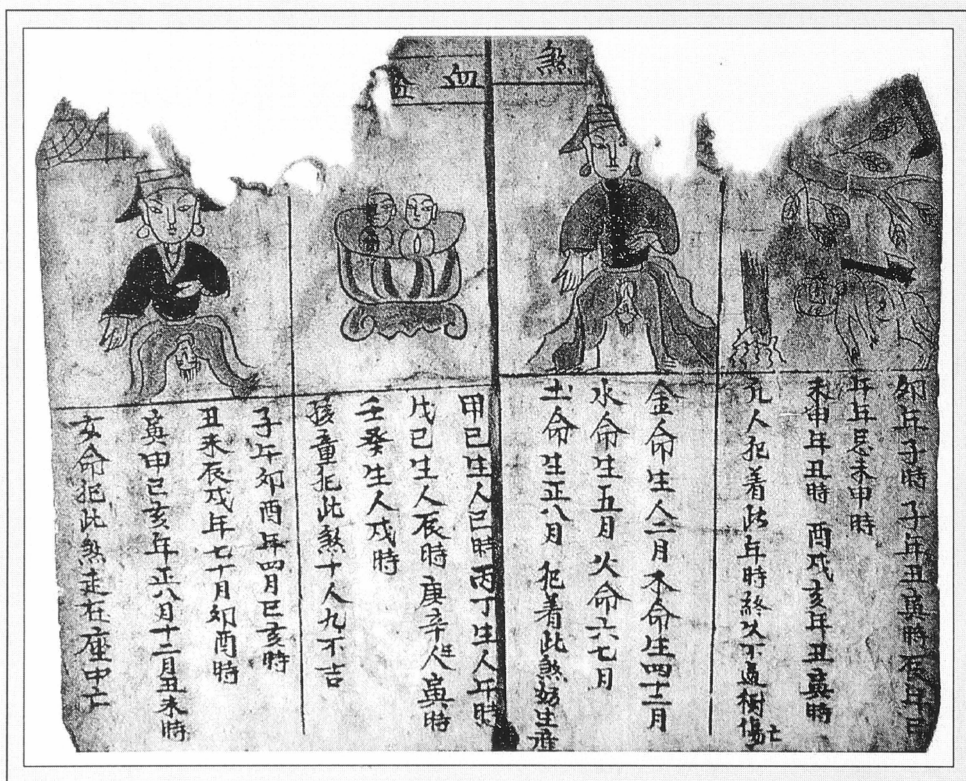


Fig. 1

## II. The Munich Collection

The Bavarian State Library holds only manuscripts of the Landian and Pan Yao. The oldest manuscript in the collection is of Landian origin and dated to the 59th year of the Kangxi-period (1720). The latest manuscripts in the collection date from the 1980s and can be attributed to Pan Yao groups.

The older manuscripts stem from Yunnan and Guangxi, the later ones mostly from Laos and Thailand. Only manuscripts originating from Vietnam cover the whole period of time. This phenomenon is not only to be interpreted as a result of migrations of Yao groups to Southeast Asia. Only scanty information about the "production" of and the "trade" with these manuscripts is available.

The older the manuscripts are, the better is the quality of the paper. The paper of the older copies originating from China and Vietnam is thin, soft, durable, contains less coarse fibres, and is mostly made of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* L.). It shows almost no bookworm damages. Fine parallel stripes indicate the fabrication with the help of bamboo sieves also used in Chinese papermaking. Later books from Southeast Asia are usually made of coarser and more brittle bamboo paper showing more bookworm damages. In one case the wrapping paper of a CARE packet from the Indochina war in the 1970s was used as writing paper, western style notebooks occur in two cases.

The older Landian books usually are square, later ones, especially those of Pan Yao origin, vary considerably in format. While older manuscripts are threadbound in traditional Chinese style with four to six stitches, later ones, from Southeast Asia, are often wrapped in coarse fabric which is fixed to the book with many smaller stitches. A hanger is often attached, allowing the storage of the book at the family altar. In many cases the books were bound for a second time and covers were quite often added later on, sometimes made of pages or covers of older texts. Consequently, the title on the cover may not correspond with the content of the actual text. This can also be due to the fact

that titles were arbitrarily added later on, ignoring the content. The first and last pages of a manuscript are often missing. Dried animal hide as book cover was observed in two cases, and in one case a form of the French colonial postal administration of Laos served as cover.

Only few manuscripts contain original illustrations. These include tables for divination, charms (fig. 2), schemes of altars, tiers of heavens, choreographies for ritual dance, or coloured depictions of birth horoscopes (fig. 1). Most of the illustrations, however, were added at a later date, probably by the same illustrator in order to increase the value of the manuscripts, for the same motifs appear repeatedly in books of different nature and places of origin.

Addenda may contain book-keeping entries. The owners meticulously registered date and kind of loans such as coins, silver bars, opium, domestic animals, grain, and different consumer items given to other persons. Entries about ancestors' dates of death and localities of their graves provide clues to the history and migration routes of certain families. Besides, lists of rituals already performed by the owner and genealogies may be found.

Glosses by later owners in Chinese, Laotian, Thai or other Tai languages mostly give explanations to or the pronunciation of certain characters. They can also be instructions for the performance of the rituals. Next to the titles on the front pages or in colophons dates and names of owners and scribes can be found. Places of origin, if at all, are noted down in formularies for petitions.

Though the texts are written in Chinese characters, there are characters which seem to be indigenous Yao. The use of homophones can already be observed in the older texts, but they are more common in the later ones. Some of them with certainty transliterate Yao, but most of them pertain to Chinese vocabulary. The older manuscripts from China were mostly written in beautiful calligraphy, while the later ones are written with less care.

Stamps of ritual seals in the texts show an immediate relationship between liturgies and Daoist schools.

## III. Classification of texts

Most of the manuscripts in the collection can be assigned to Landian, about 30 per cent to Pan Yao. As a means of classification ritual names mentioned in the

manuscripts proved to be helpful. There are specific names given in ordinations to certain branches of religious Daoism, some of which are linked to specific Yao groups [5].

## IV. Landian / Shanzi Yao

There are two kinds of priests, *Daogong* (道公) and *Shigong* (師公), operating in Landian communities, usually together. They perform different rites, have different responsibilities within rituals and thus use different texts. These classes of priests can be recognised by their ritual names: Dao 道, Xuan 玄, Miao 妙, or Jing 經 were reserved for those who had run through a *Daogong* ordination. *Shigong* ordinations entitled to wear the ritual names Xian 顯, Ying 應, Fa 法, Sheng 勝, or Yuan 院. *Daogong* priests are responsible for communal offerings (*jiao* 醮), rituals of merit (*zhai* 齋), and worship of the ancestors *jiagui* 家鬼. The contents of *Daogong* texts are

similar to those in the Daoist Canon. They consist of canonical scriptures *jing* 經 and liturgies *ke* 科. This text combination cannot be found among other Yao groups. Recitation of the first and most famous scripture of the Daoist Canon, *Duren jing* 度人經 (Scripture of Universal Salvation), is essential for many *Daogong* rituals. *Suqi* 宿啓 (Nocturnal Invocations) are performed in the evening before the commencement of rituals of merit (see fig. 3). The liturgies claim to follow the Chinese *Lingbao* 靈寶 (Numinous Treasure) [6] and *Zhengyi* 正 (Correct Unity) [7] traditions, but also reveal *Tianxin* 天心 (Celestial Heart) [8] and *Quanzhen* 全真 (Perfect Truth) [9]

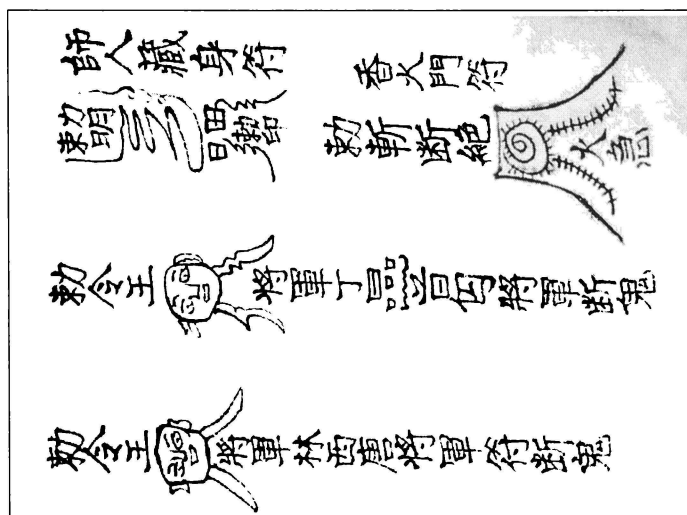


Fig. 2

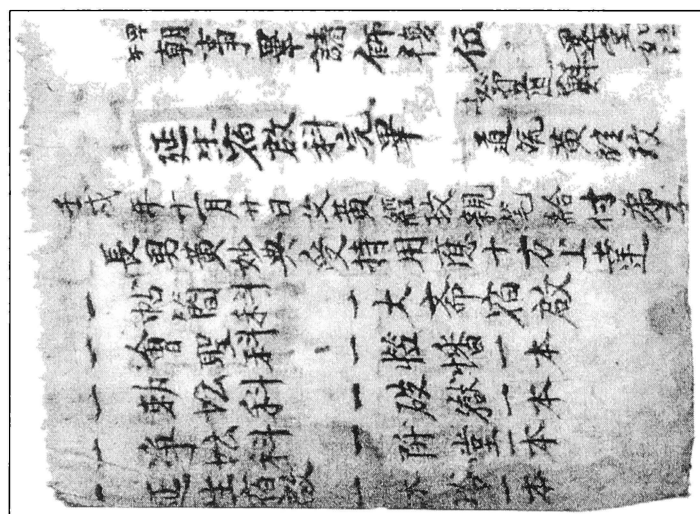


Fig. 3

influences. Only *Lingbao* and *Zhengyi* can be easily recognised as they are usually mentioned together in the opening passages of the liturgies.

The canonical scriptures and liturgical texts can only be revealed and transmitted in connection with a *Daogong* ordination. They are to be used solely by those who are ordained; it is impossible to perform the services of communal offerings and rituals of merit without these two text groups. The possession of sacred scriptures designates prestige and high status of *Daogong* priests.

*Shigong* priests are lower ranked. They perform exorcism and healing rituals. Besides, they are responsible for the rite of *wai gui* 外鬼 (all the spirits excluding the ancestors), for the spirits of the house, as well as rituals for dividing family fortunes.

*Shigong* liturgies are lyrics in seven-syllable verses. Their contents are wholly different from canonical Daoist or *Daogong* texts. They are sung during thanksgiving festivals (*huanyuan* 還願) in honour of the gods King Pan 盤王 [10] or Dimu 帝母 (see fig. 5), and during ordina-

tion, which again can be part of a thanksgiving ceremony. The textual tradition of Landian *Shigong*, in contrast to the one of the *Daogong*, is closely linked to *Meishan* 梅山 Daoism [11]. A specific text group, only found among Landian *Daogong* and *Shigong* priests, is called “Esoteric words” (*miyu* 秘語). *Miyu* give instructions for performing rituals, especially those of ecstatic flights. Among the Landian texts only *miyu* are stamped with ritual seals: *Shigong miyu* contain *Sanyuan kaozhao yin* 三元考召印 (Seal of Summoning and Interrogating of the Generals of the Three Origins), *Daogong miyu* contain seals with the legend *Dao Jing Shi Bao* 道經師寶 (The Treasures Dao, Scripture, and Master) (see fig. 4).

Both Landian *Daogong* and *Shigong* use specific manuals containing formularies for petitions (*biaozou* 表奏) to the gods and spirits. They are to be copied, filled with personal data of participants, burned, and thus sent to the other world.

## V. Pan Yao

The Pan Yao texts in the Bavarian State Library collection belong to the *Shigong* tradition [12]. Their liturgical texts, however, differ considerably from those of the Landian *Shigong*. They rather belong to the *Lüshan* 閩山 [13] than to *Meishan* tradition. It was the holy mountain *Lüshan*, where, according to the texts, the ancestors went to “study the law” (*xue fa* 學法). Pan Yao liturgical texts often contain the seal of the *Lüshan* priests with the legend *Taishang laojun* 太上老君 (Lord Lao the Most High).

While Landian *Shigong* texts mostly consist of seven-syllable verses, in Pan Yao liturgical texts passages in prose are alternating with rhyming passages, charms and empty formularies. They also contain passages belonging to quite different rituals, and only priests know which part to choose for which ritual. They resemble those rituals often termed as “minor rites” (*xiaofa* 小法) by scholars of Daoism. They are mostly concerned with exorcism, healing of diseases, astrological calculations, but also with the “Hanging of the lamps” (*guadeng* 掛燈) ordination, which has to be gone through by all young male members of the community. *Guadeng* is only mentioned for Pan Yao. Most of the relevant texts were issued or copied during these ordinations.

Most of the Pan Yao texts originate from Northern

Thailand and rarely from Guangxi; in general there seem to be more Landian than Pan Yao texts “on the market”. This, however, should not be taken as proof for a less distinct Pan Yao religious culture, for it is frequently mentioned in ethnographic descriptions that many of these texts were transmitted only orally. The rhyming seven-syllable structure and the frequent homophones also indicate a partly oral tradition.

Another textual tradition, mythical epical songs in honour of King Pan (*Panwang ge* 盤王歌), is connected to the Pan Yao. They consider King Pan the highest god who is worshipped as the ancestor of twelve mythical Yao Clans (*Shier xing Yaoren* 十二姓瑤人), while other Yao groups regard him as only one among many others. *Panwang ge* are recited by *Shigong* priests during thanksgiving ceremonies in honour of King Pan. In addition, these texts are used as didactical material for teaching children.

A similar connection to the Pan Yao can also be stated for the pseudohistorical texts known as “Charta of King Ping” (*Pinghuang quandie* 評皇券牒; fig. 6) and “Placard for Crossing the Mountains” (*Guoshan bang* 過山榜). They are reported only for Pan Yao in Hunan and Guangxi. There is almost no mention of such texts for Landian, although similar documents were witnessed among *Shigong* groups of Guangdong, Fujian, and Zhejiang.

## VI. Conclusion

Classification of the Yao manuscripts in the Munich collection revealed that textual traditions follow language boundaries. The first boundary between Yao and Miao languages marks the boundary between “texts” and “no texts”: for none of the Miao (Bunao) speaking groups a written religious tradition could be found [14]. Only the Yao language tradition can be found in the collection. Within this tradition there are two different branches to be distin-

guished, which are connected with the two language varieties, Youmian and Jingmen:

1. While Youmian speakers, Pan Yao, do not seem to have an exclusive *Daogong* textual tradition and no different simultaneous text traditions, Jingmen speakers, Landian Yao, developed two different textual traditions for *Shigong* and *Daogong* priests.

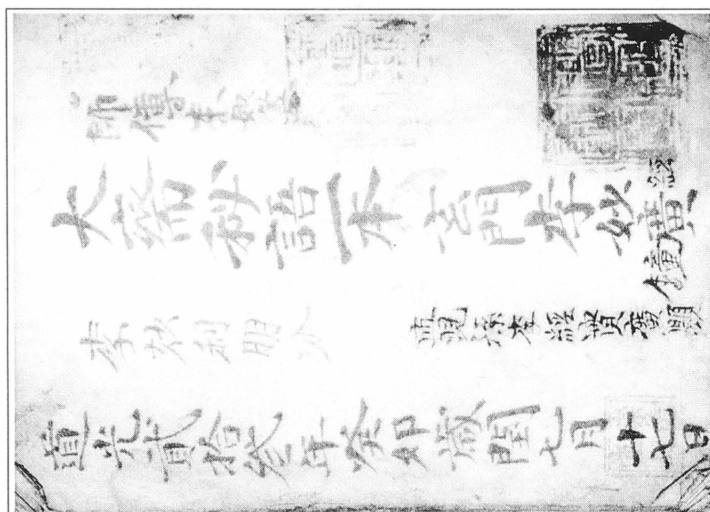


Fig. 4

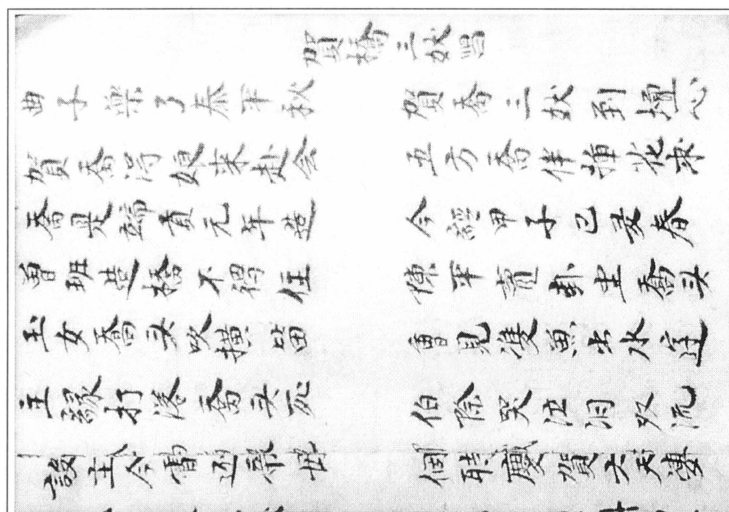


Fig. 5



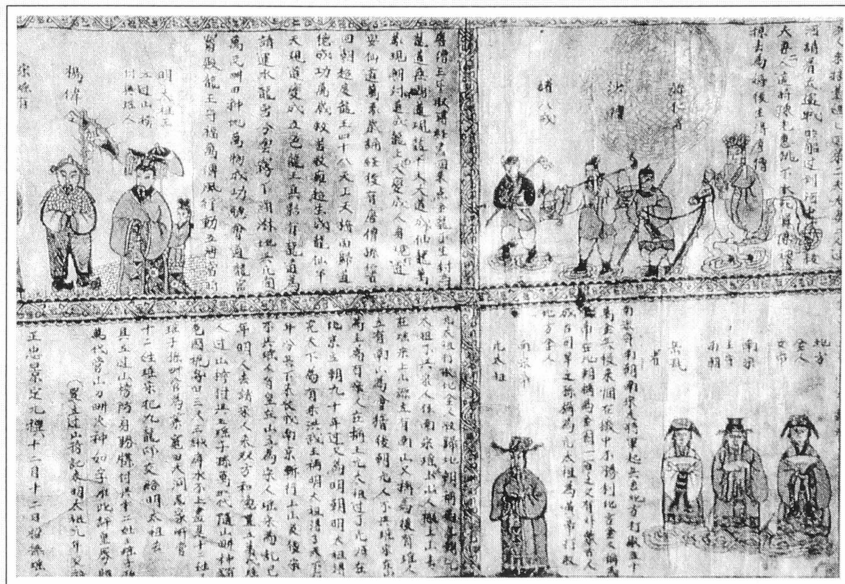


Fig. 6

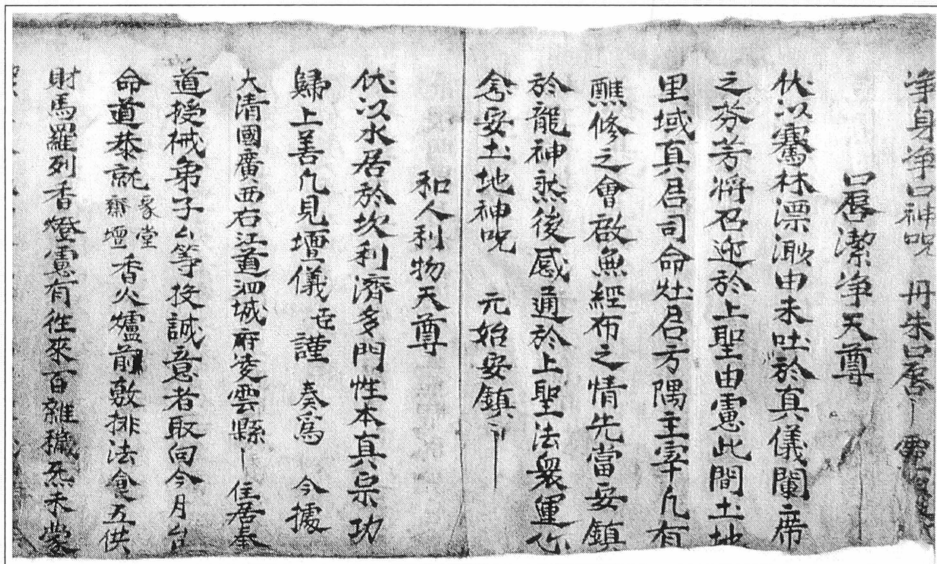


Fig. 7

The Landian *Daogong* tradition is closer linked to written conventions of the *Lingbao* and *Zhengyi* tradition, but also shows traits of *Tianxin* Daoism. A group of liturgical texts for *Daogong* ordination indicates a strong influence of the *Quanzhen* school (see fig. 7). A certain Buddhist influence is evident in texts for death ritual.

2. The liturgical Pan Yao texts generally are closer linked to the popular vernacular *Lüshan* tradition, the prevalent Daoist branch in whole Southchina across ethnic and linguistic boundaries. The Landian *Shigong* tradition is rather linked to *Meishan* Daoism, which is widely spread

further to the north along the River Yangzi.

3. The "great" epical textual tradition as represented in *Panwang ge* and *Pinghuang quandie* is only prevalent in Youmian speaking groups (Pan Yao). The myth of King Pan is linked to their tradition; *Shigong* ordinations are often held in connection with festivals in honour of King Pan. It even seems that the Pan Yao have more insisted in their own mythical epical traditions and refused to accept Chinese orthodox Daoist traditions. This might be the reason for the Pan Yao to call themselves the "orthodox", the "real" Yao.

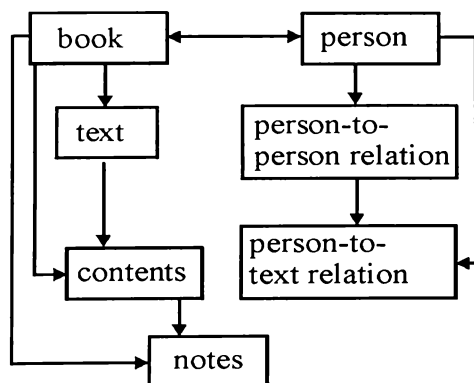
## VII. Database and computer catalogue

The database created for the Munich Yao project primarily served the purpose of compiling a library catalogue of the Yao manuscript collection in the Bavarian State Library. Besides, a catalogue in CD-Rom format is planned to be published. Selection and design of a suitable database for the project were restricted by decisions of the Library, the publisher of the catalogue, and by financial considerations. The database application had to be industrial standard software and to support a relational file structure. In combination with Twinbridge *Chinese Partner Microsoft Access 2.0*, which supports Chinese alongside with German, was used.

The file structure of this database, which contains library-related and text-related information, as well as information on contents and mentioned persons, allows detailed record retrieval (see Table 1). All entries concerning persons, titles, names, places and dates were entered in *Pinyin* transliteration and in Chinese characters. Dates were given according to Chinese as well as European calendar. If possible historical place names were related to contemporary ones.

Table 1

### Database structure



As database parameters were defined by library-internal conditions, the first file *Book* contains mainly library-related information (see Table 2).

Table 2

### File Book

- Record number
- Number of texts contained in the book
- Shelf mark
- Title of book
- Place of origin
- Date
- Where are date/place indicated? (e.g. mentioned on covers, front pages, in the text, in colophons, marginalia, or addenda)
- Book cover (material; marked, e.g. with title, names etc; added later, e.g. consisting of pages or covers of different books; missing)
- Physical condition (manuscript complete or not; folios missing at the beginning or the end; damages)
- Size
- Illustrated (yes / no)
- Seal (yes / no)
- Number of folios and characters per line
- Binding (Chinese / Southeast Asian)
- Material (paper; fabric)
- Used for further research (yes / no)
- Microfilm (yes / no)

The next level of the database structure is concerned with the contents of the manuscript, the text. As one book can contain more than one text several text files can exist for one book file (see Table 3).

Table 3

### File Text

- Record number
- Number of the text within the book
- Title
- Type of text (liturgical, canonical, textbook for children, almanac etc.)
- Pages in the book (from ... to ...)
- Last line
- Number of subsections
- Paginated (yes / no)
- Punctuation (if yes, description)
- Hand
- Marginalia / Glosses
- Languages (other than Chinese)

- Date of the text (if different from date of the book)
- Place of origin (if different from file *Book*)
- Illustration (description), description of seals
- Bibliography
- Subject

Most of the manuscripts contain several, not necessarily coherent, subsections, mostly with entry headlines. The entry headings of each text, indicating version, composition, and completeness, are recorded in the file *Contents* (see *Table 4*).

**Table 4****File Contents**

- Record number
- Number of the text within the book
- Number of entry heading
- Entry heading

Three files are concerned with persons. File *Person* contains only names, possibly dates, regional background and titles, professions etc. of persons; each person is assigned a code number for identification (see *Table 5*).

**Table 5****File Person**

- Code number
- Name
- Ritual name
- Alias
- Sex
- Family name (if other names are not available)
- Regional background (e.g. burial place)
- Dates
- Title / Profession

File *Person to Person relation* contains information on personal relationships. As different relations for each person

might be mentioned, there is one entry for each relationship (see *Table 6*).

**Table 6****File Person to person relation**

- Code number
- Number of relation
- Relation to (code number of relevant person)
- Type of relation (marriage partner, ritual master, brother etc.)

File *Person to text relation* contains information on the relation of a person to certain books (see *Table 7*).

**Table 7****File Person to text relation**

- Code number
- Number of text relation
- Relation to book (number)
- Relation to text (number)
- Text relation (owner, copyist, relative, mentioned in text or addenda)

File *Notes* contains additional descriptions and notes.

This database allows detailed record retrieval, searches on any one field and in combination with other fields. With the help of the file structure, it is possible to search by name, title, folio number, physical condition (for micro-filming purpose), provenance, colophon, date, format, and script, all at the same time, producing detailed retrieval results. It is, for instance, possible to sort out all books belonging to a certain Li family in the late nineteenth century in Vietnam, which are in bad physical condition in order to microfilm them. This kind of data retrieval allows also to sort the entries required for the printed catalogue version.

**Notes**

1. The exhibition "Instructions to the Gods. Religious Manuscripts of the Yao. Southchina, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar" will present the collection to the public from November 4th to December 22nd 1999 and conclude the Project. An exhibition catalogue will be published by Harrassowitz (Germany): *Botschaften an die Götter. Religiöse Handschriften der Yao. Südchina, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar*, eds. Thomas O. Höllmann and Michael Friedrich (Wiesbaden, 1999). Due for publication are a collection of essays concerning the Munich Yao manuscripts and a bibliography of secondary works on Yao studies.

2. For a review of classifications of Yao groups, Yao languages, settlements, and demography, see Lucia Obi, Shing Müller, "Religiöse Schriften der Yao. Überblick über den Bestand der Yao-Handschriften in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek", *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 67/1—2 (1996), pp. 39—42.

3. See Mao Zongwu 毛宗武, Meng Chaoji 蒙朝吉, Deng Zongze 鄧宗澤, *Yaozu yuyan jianzhi 瑶族語言簡志*. (Beijing, 1982). See also Huang Yu 黃鈺, Huang Fangping 黃方平, *Guoji Yaozu gaishu 國際瑶族概述*, (Nanning, 1993), pp. 1—9.

4. In the following both groups of Jingmen speakers are termed "Landian".

5. For the influence of Daoist schools, as testified in the religious manuscripts of different Yao groups, see *Botschaften an die Götter. Religiöse Handschriften der Yao*, eds. Höllmann and Friedrich.

6. *Lingbao* was the first of the Daoist schools to absorb Buddhist influences. Their priests mainly performed *zhai* rituals. Until the nineteenth century, the period which most of the Yao manuscripts in the Munich collection stem from, *Lingbao* rituals and texts were already incorporated into the ritual tradition of the *Zhengyi* school.

7. Most Landian texts relate to *Zhengyi*, which until today is the predominant school in Southchina. Besides, elements of the *Lingbao*, *Qingwei* and *Shenxiao* traditions are to be found.

8. For instance, *Yutang jiaozhu* 玉堂教主 (Patriarch of the Jadehall), the famous *Tianxin* Daoist Lu Shizhong 路時中 (fl. 1158), is mentioned in *zhai* rituals. Other parts of these liturgies suggest a performance of the ritual according to the *Tianxin* tradition.

9. *Quanzhen* is usually regarded as a purely monastic tradition with a strong emphasis on meditative practices. The evidence of *Quanzhen* elements in Landian liturgies implies a different kind of praxis and missionary activities of *Quanzhen* Daoists in the border region between Yunnan and Vietnam.

10. King Pan may refer to Pangu, the mythical creator of the world worshipped in whole China, or Panhu, the dog ancestor of the Yao. Both are mixed up in Chinese as well as in Yao sources.

11. The *Meishan* school is related to the *Tianxin* tradition.

12. Pan Yao perform only ordinations for the rank of *Shigong* and receive the ritual names *Fa* 法和 *Lang* 郎.

13. Many Pan Yao liturgical texts claim to follow the *Zhengyi* tradition, but in fact they reveal a closer relation to the *Lüshan* school, which in turn is linked to the *Tianxin* tradition. In most cases, however, only the Exorcism Bureau of the Northern Pole (*Beiji quxie yuan* 北極驅邪院), the highest *Tianxin* authority, is mentioned.

14. Other cultural traits also seem to follow the same language boundary: Yao groups designating themselves as Mian 勉 (Pan Yao) usually have long been shaped drums (*changgu* 長鼓) and the myth of Pangu, while Yao groups designating themselves as Bunao have bronze gongs (*tonggu* 銅鼓) and the myth of a female goddess Miluotuo 密洛陀.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Birth horoscope illustrating the consequences of an unfavourable date of birth. From *Zongli shu* 總曆書 (Almanac); Pan Yao *Shigong* manuscript, owner Pan Jin Wang 盤進旺, 1888; Bavarian State Library, Cod. sin. 501.

**Fig. 2.** Charms of the Generals of the Three Origins. From *Songwang jiejie shu* 送亡解結書 (Farewell to the Dead), Pan Yao *Shigong* manuscript, owner Pan Jin Sheng Long 盤金陞龍, 1976; Bavarian State Library, Cod. sin. 1029.

**Fig. 3.** Colophon and addendum containing a list of other liturgies in possession of the owner. From *Yansheng suqi ke* 延生宿啓科 (Nocturnal Invocation prior to Ritual for Prolonging Life), Landian *Daogong* manuscript, owner Huang Miao Dian 黃妙典; 1862; Bavarian State Library, Cod. sin. 306.

**Fig. 4.** Front page with title, date, owner and *Daogong* seal. From *Dazhai miyu* 大齋秘語 (Esoteric Words of Great Rituals of Merit); Landian *Daogong* manuscript, owner Li Miao Guang 李妙廣, 1844; Bavarian State Library, Cod. sin. 996.

**Fig. 5.** Seven-syllable verses on a bridge ritual. From *Nantang ke* 南堂科 (Liturgy of the Southern Hall); Landian *Shigong* manuscript, owner Li Yuan Lian 李院蓮, 1833; Bavarian State Library, Cod. sin. 1012.

**Fig. 6.** No title, owner and date, identified as *Pinghuang quandie* 評皇券牒 (Charta of King Ping), Pan Yao *Shigong* manuscript; 1970s; Bavarian State Library, Cod. sin. 700.

**Fig. 7.** Text for ordination *Xin'en ke* 新恩科 (Liturgy of the Newly Blessed); Landian *Daogong* manuscript, owner Li Xuan Zhang 李玄璋, 1750; Bavarian State Library, Cod. sin. 641.

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M.-G. Guesdon

## THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE AND THE UNESCO'S MEDLIB PROJECT: A SEMINAR ON ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS COMPUTERISED CATALOGUING

In December 1998, The Bibliothèque nationale de France and UNESCO conducted a three-day seminar on the computerised cataloguing of Arabic manuscripts in the framework of a project of a Virtual Mediterranean Library (MEDLIB). This UNESCO-initiated project aims to create a virtual information network for the Mediterranean region and to promote co-operation among scholars, researchers, teachers, and other information users and providers. The use of information resources by setting up co-operative mechanisms between information sources and users is also meant, so as to contribute to the scientific and cultural development of the region. UNESCO is now developing other projects in the field of information and books, like *Memory of the World*, to preserve and promote a universal documentary heritage. The other projects are the UNESCO *Network of Associated Libraries (UNAL)* to encourage public libraries to undertake activities related to UNESCO's missions, *Info-Ethics*, *Learning Without Frontiers*, and *Rural Multipurpose Community Telecentres*.

The specific aim of the MEDLIB is to collect on the Internet the documentary heritage of the Mediterranean, either produced by institutions in the region or elsewhere, as well as to establish a domain of co-operation of the North with South for the promotion of a virtual Mediterranean library. The main axes are:

- Access to works in the public domain: the facilitation of access to documents by ways of their digitisation, availability on the Internet and their multilingual indexing.

- Utilisation of the Internet, considered as ideal for the development of information in the public domain, but at present without any standardised rules of access or classification.

- Multilinguism and multialphabetism: facing the great diversity of languages and writing, multilingual thesauri allow a documentary search in one language and retrieval in the same or other languages.

- Norms and standards: the adoption and utilisation of norms and standards is crucial for the library interoperability, the provision and the access of services within an heterogeneous context including different data structures, library and communication systems.

- Human resources and training of both information professionals and information and communication special-

ists for the design, development and operation of library and information applications and services.

The Bibliothèque nationale de France was invited to participate in this project. In June 1998, a group of experts from eight Mediterranean countries was set up. The first result was the creation of an e-mail discussion list ([medlib@unesco.org](mailto:medlib@unesco.org)) dedicated in priority to news concerning multilinguism, standards and software allowing access to databases on the Internet. Different projects have been launched in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Palestine, not all of them about manuscripts.

Among those related to manuscripts, we can mention digitisation of four manuscripts kept in the National Library in Tunisia and a plan for digitisation of manuscripts kept in al-Ḥasaniyya, the Royal library in Morocco. The Bibliothèque nationale de France proposed setting up a seminar on the computerised cataloguing of Arabic manuscripts. France, like many other Mediterranean countries, possesses numerous Arabic manuscripts. It is especially true with regard to the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which holds 7,265 manuscripts. A new catalogue is now in progress, and we are working on its computerisation.

Since no standard exists for the content of manuscript bibliographical notices, Arabic or otherwise, except local traditions and habits, the Bibliothèque nationale de France prepared a unique InterMarc format of description for all documents, books and non-book materials. The specialists on the Arabic manuscripts worked on the inclusion of this type of document in the catalogue based on this format. The format developed makes it possible to take manuscripts' particularities into consideration, first, due to the fact that these materials are manuscripts, secondly to the fact that they are Arabic manuscripts.

The work is now practically completed. In ancient manuscript will be considered as a "type of document", a category noted by a special code in the Guide zone, inducing a particular coded information zone (009) mentioning, for example, the presence of ornaments or paintings. Four types of notice exist: collections, monographs, analytical notices and local data notices. For example, a manuscript containing four texts will be treated in one collection notice for the common elements, four monographs describing the particular elements of each part which, contrary to

the case of the printed book, cannot figure in an analytical notice, since each one has its own date of copy transcribed in the bibliographical address zone (260), and a local data notice describing the transmission of the volume, its binding and localisation. If somebody decided to write an ink recipe on a guard page or whatever, there would be an analytical notice.

We had to define some specific zones for manuscripts, such as for transcribing the incipit or describing the paper, and to give a new interpretation to zones common to manuscripts and printed books. For example, the bibliographical address will contain the place of copy, the date and the name of the copyist. The bibliographical notices will be linked to authority notices for the names of persons, organisations, titles and sometimes subjects. After the completion of the format, we will face another problem the problem of language and alphabet. Describing an Arabic manuscript requires the use of the Arabic alphabet, at least for names of persons, titles and transcriptions of texts which could be several lines long, like incipits and colophons. Although the international standardised transliteration of Arabic characters to Latin characters (ISO 233—2:1993) is quickly memorised by librarians, it difficult for users not familiar with it, be they those who live in an Arabic country but never employed transliteration, or those who are from non-Arab countries but are used to other traditional systems. Those used by the Library of Congress, the Encyclopaedia of Islam, or in Spanish academic papers are more widespread than ISO 233—2, which is relatively better known in France, because one of its variants used in the paper *Arabica* became a standard for scholars. One of the most important reasons, apart from the reader's comfort, is that transliteration is always an interpretation as one is forced to write vowels which generally are lacking in the manuscript.

However, an entirely Arabic description is not conceivable in a French catalogue. It is not only a question of national language: users sometimes consult a description of an Arabic manuscript without knowing Arabic for research related to the history of libraries, the history of paper, the art of binding, illumination, or other subjects non-related to language. Many people have also to consult a catalogue for professional purposes, such as photographers or restorers who are not expected to know all languages written in the library's documents. Therefore, some information in the catalogue will be given twice, in the ISO 233—2 transliteration system and in Arabic characters. As well our present system is unable to provide this possibility, and at least two years are required to develop a system which is able to working with Unicode and to read bibliographical notices representing different types of characters. Bearing in mind that in other libraries, other Arabic-only systems were developed with different items for description, without taking Marc formats into consideration, it was important to think of compatibility between the contents of descriptions, the formats in which they are structured, and the systems, in view of a possible collective catalogue of Arabic manuscripts. It then would be possible to group those interested in cataloguing Arabic manuscripts, in databases, printed or on cards catalogues to discuss the issue of harmonisation with different practices.

As the participants in the expert group were interested in a union catalogue, we proposed to set up a seminar to discuss these issues. One of the aspects related to manuscripts was digitisation. The Bibliothèque nationale de

France has had an experience in this field, even if Arabic manuscripts were not really concerned at that time. So, one day of the seminar had to be set aside for this subject. We called for a participation from libraries in the Mediterranean area, because significant collections of Arabic manuscripts were held there, but first of all from those who took part at the first expert group and showed interest in this question. As the meeting was held in France with participation of Bibliothèque nationale de France's staff, it would be held in French and candidates had to speak French. Finally, the seminar was held in December 1998 with participants from Albania (National Library), Bosnia—Herzegovina (National Library), Egypt (Dār al-Kutub and Biblioteca Alexandrina), France, Lebanon (CNRS Lebanon), Mauritania (one person representing FNSVA: National Foundation for the Safeguard of the Ancient Cities in Mauritania, Unesco and Rhône-Poulenc Foundation), Morocco (General Library and Archives and Hasaniyya Library), Spain (Biblioteca Islamica "Felix Maria Pareja") and Tunisia (National Library). A participation of Algeria (National Library) was expected, but for administrative reasons was not possible. Mr René Cluzel, in charge of the *MEDLIB* project at UNESCO, and members of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in the International Relations Direction, Computer and Bibliographical Co-ordination departments were also participants. Some of these institutions were more involved in cataloguing, others in digitisation projects. Three had developed databases for their catalogues of Arabic manuscripts: Dār al-Kutub in Cairo, National Library and Archives in Rabat and Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, but Cairo's database in the only one working non experimentally at present.

Dār al-Kutub's database has been developed by the ISDC (Information and Decision Support Center) which in Egypt provides technical support to governmental and regional organisations for library automation. It is operating since May 1992 and now contains more than 50,000 references with 7,000 names of authors. The description is quite detailed, with a lot of indexing criteria and some text zones allow a free text description. Author, title, subject, or other criteria are search criteria. These other criteria contain items like material description (paper, ink, dimensions ...), binding, copy (date, name of copyist, style of the script ...), incipit and end of the text, ex-libris, *samā'*, *ijāzat*, *waqfs*, and call number. The bibliographical notices are linked to authors' notices, containing a lot of references to biographical works. The Moroccan database has been conceived with the University of Tübingen, with a common commercial software, Access Arabic/English. No entries are now in the complete database, but a simplified version has been established for the manuscripts of the Qarawiyyin in Fes. The manuscript descriptions were taken from the printed catalogue, with some corrections and additions. A CD-Rom containing the Qarawiyyin manuscripts catalogue and some of its digitised images will be soon published.

These two databases are in Arabic characters only. Another common point is that they are not intended for including in a global library catalogue which contains other types of documents as well. In France, a different choice has been made. The Arabic manuscripts catalogue will be included in the one comprising all documents, although it will be possible to extract this type of document or edition of printed catalogues for consultation. The content-descriptions in the three projects are very different:

in Egypt, the most detailed information is given about authors, in France the codicological aspect is particularly developed. However, none of the three systems is conceived for a network of Arabic manuscript catalogues: one is part of the catalogue of a library and two are special databases. After discussing issues related to content of the catalogues, the existing formats and databases, we should bear in mind this diversity of approach.

The participants in the seminar defined the objective as a unique computerised catalogue available on the Internet. This catalogue has to be compatible with existing systems. UNESCO would produce interfaces between the different local systems and this unique multialphabetic catalogue will help to equip the libraries which need it. The first step is to define the project: to compare the present catalogues of all participants, computerised or otherwise, select the elements of a minimal satisfactory description, dispatch these elements to different zones and structure them in a compatible format. The exchange format Unimarc, in use for printed books, would require some content modifications to give a satisfactory description of manuscripts. The second step is to set up an experimental model.

Another result of the seminar concerns the access to information about collections of Arabic manuscripts and the utilisation of the Internet site *MEDLIB*

([http://www.unesco.org/webworld/build\\_info/medlib.html](http://www.unesco.org/webworld/build_info/medlib.html)) to publicise information about the libraries and collections of the participants, and share knowledge about Arabic manuscripts. Short descriptions of collections, bibliographies will be also put on-line, beginning with a bibliography of publications related to codicology since 1985. Following that, earlier periods will be put on-line, probably with other themes like palaeography or preservation.

A Moroccan colleague proposed a multilingual vocabulary related to manuscripts. The site now contains a presentation of *MEDLIB*, information concerning the discussion list and links: *Websites of archives and libraries in the Mediterranean region*, *On line libraries with full texts related to the Mediterranean* and *UNESCO Mediterranean links*.

The development of this project will depend on participants' commitment. It is open to Mediterranean public or research libraries which did not take part in the seminar for different reasons but contain important collections of Arabic manuscripts. Probably, those which are at the beginning of the process of computerisation of their manuscript catalogue will find this work of interest and those which have not yet begun this computerisation will be able to join a group of institutions which have experienced the same problems. The result could be a fruitful partnership for researchers concerned with Arabic manuscripts.

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# PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

A. G. Sazykin

## A MONGOLIAN MANUSCRIPT *SUNGDUI*

Among the vast ritual and liturgical Buddhist literature in the Mongolian language, which includes translations from the Tibetan carried out in the second half of the sixteenth—seventeenth centuries, the work known to scholars by the short title *Sungdui* (Tib. *gZungs bsds*, Mong. *Tarnis-un quriyangyui*) ("Collection of Incantations") occupies an important place. The Mongolian version was published several times in Peking as a xylograph, hence, copies of various editions are held in many collections of Mongolian print and manuscript books. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is no exception. It holds both Mongolian versions of the collection known at present. These are the Peking xylographs of the *Sungdui*.

The original version is represented in Peking editions present in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies: 1707 (call number K 7-a), 1723 [1] (call number K 7-b), 1727 (call number I 100), and 1729 (call number Q 2581). In the first half of the eighteenth century, a new version of the *Sungdui* appeared, also printed in Peking [2]. Three copies (call numbers H 338, copies 1—2 and Dbl. 2) are preserved at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies as well.

In addition to the xylograph editions of the *Sungdui*, the Mongolian collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies also contains a manuscript of the *Sungdui*'s original version (call number K 6) [3]. The manuscript was acquired by the Asiatic Museum (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) in 1838 as part of the second collection of P. L. Schilling

von Canstadt (1786—1837). It was purchased after the scholar's death from his heirs for forty thousand rubles. Previously, Schilling von Canstadt had bought the collection from A. V. Igumnov (1761—1834) during a scientific expedition to Eastern Siberia in 1830—1832 [4].

In 1781, Igumnov accompanied the seventh religious mission to Peking as an interpreter. While there, he acquired several manuscripts (including the manuscript *Sungdui*) and 96 Peking xylograph editions in the Mongolian language. At present, all of these are stored in the sixth collection of the Mongolian fund of the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [5].

The acquisition of a manuscript *Sungdui* by the Asiatic Museum during the first decades of its existence may be regarded as an event of much importance, since in the subsequent century and a half Petersburg collections of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs were not enriched by a single full manuscript copy of the *Sungdui* [6]. Other manuscripts of the collection are at present attested only at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, which contains a "beautifully executed monastic MS" of one collection [8] and one of the volumes of another [9]. The colophons are lacking in both Copenhagen manuscripts. Their contents, according to the compilers of the catalogue, are the same as the Peking xylographs of the early eighteenth century.

Unlike the Copenhagen manuscripts, the Petersburg *Sungdui* contains a full colophon located at the end of the second volume on two folios with separate pagination. We give here a transliteration of the colophon.

### TRANSLITERATION

[1a] *Asanggi toyalasi ügei galab-ud-dur anu:*  
*Ariyun qoyar çiyulyan tegüskefübür-ün:*  
*Amitan-u tusa-yi ürgüljide bolbasarayuluysan:*  
*Arslan boyda Sigemüni burqan-a bisiren mörgümü::*

*Manglai tere boyda-yin nom-un yosun-i:*  
*Mayad бүтүгекүи ары-а-yin udq-a-yi:*  
*Masi qoyar yosun-iyar bolbasarayuluyci:*  
*Manduyuluyci degedü merged-ün köl-ün linqu-a-dur sögdümü::*

*Ende kijayalal ügei sudur tarni-yin dalai-aça:*  
*Endegürel ügei süsüg-den arad buyan quriyaqui oron:*  
*Egenegte bey-e kelen sedkil-ün sitügen bayiyulqui terigüten-i:*  
*Egüride masi çayan [1b] buyan-u çiyulyan bodi qutuy-un siltayan kemen nomlaysan::*



Fig. 1

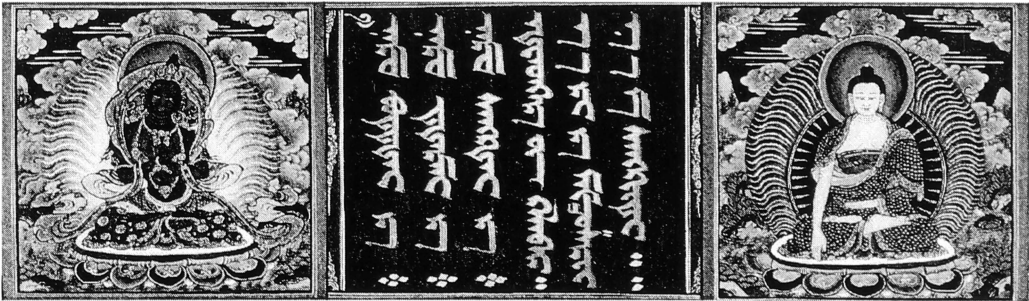


Fig. 2

*Teyimü-yin tula degedü jarliy-un manglai tarnis-un quriyangyui ene sudur-i:  
Tegüs süsüg-tü Ačitu jalan-i janggi mongyolčilan kemen duraduysan-dur:  
Tegünčilen erten-ü merged-ün orčiyuluysan-i nayirayulju Surum orčiyulbai:  
Tegün-eče ülegsen nigen kedün sudur-i Sumadi amogasidi toyin orčiyuluysan buyu::*

*Ene metü arihuysan sedkil-ün Časutu ayulan-ača bayuysan masi čayan buyan-u čiyulyan:  
Egenegte Gangga-yin čidqulang metü masi arbiduyad:  
Endegürel ügei qamuy buyan-u müred-lüge qamtu nigen-e dügürjü:  
Erkin qamuy-yi medegči belge bilig-ün dalai-dur oroldaqu boltuyai::*

*Manglai čidayči burqan-u šasin arban жүг-дүр delgerejü:  
Mayad sasin-i barijči boyda [2a] törölkiten-ü köl-ün lingu-a batu boluyad:  
Manduyuluyci qayan kiged tüsimed engke törö batu bolju:  
Masi yirtincü-ekin engke amuyulang-iyar nasun ürgüljide jiryaqu boltuyai::*

*Ene metü irügel qutuy yuyuysan-u küčün-iyer:  
Egenegte čing bisirel-dü öglige-yin efed eke boluysan qamuy amitan:  
Ene jayayan-u amin nasun urtu boluyad buyan kesig delgerejü:  
Ečüs-čür bodi qutuy-un mör-i sayitur toyulju burqan bolqu boltuyai::*

*Ünen yurban bey-e-yi oluysan burqan-u adistid kiged:  
Ürgülji yegüdkel ügei nom-un činar-un ünen adistid ba:  
[2b] Ülemji qayačal ügei quraysan quvaray-ud-un adistid-iyar:  
Ünemleju joriysan irügel qutuy ödter бүтүкү boltuyai:: ::*

In our manuscript K 6, the date is listed separately after the colophon: *Engke amuyulang-un arban qoyaduyar qarayčin üker jıl-ün namur-un segül sara-yin sayin edür-e tegüsbe* ("Finished on the joyous day of the last autumn month in the year of the black cow, in the twelfth year [of the rule] of K'ang-hsi (i.e. 1673 — A. S.)"). In the connection with this record a question arises — was this the date on which the copying was completed or the date on which the xylograph edition which possibly served as the basis for the present copy was ready? The absence in manuscript K 6 of a publisher's colophon, which invariably accompanied all xylograph editions of the *Sungdui*, leads me to believe that the first assumption is more correct. But it should be taken into account that in all currently known Peking xylographs of the seventeenth century, only in one case both the names of the publisher and donator of the edition are attested [10]. Publisher's colophons began to appear regularly only with the 1707 xylograph edition of the *Sungdui*.

The errors which are encountered in the text of the Petersburg manuscript seem to prove its relation to the Peking xylograph. One of the well-known characteristics of Peking editions in the Mongolian language was a large number of mistakes, some of which may have arisen as Chinese copyists worked with the manuscript to prepare print boards [11]. A lot of orthographic errors appeared in the process of print boards' engraving. As a great connoisseur of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs, Prof. Gy. Kara, remarks, "if the engraver was Chinese, and unfamiliar with Mongolian writing, he easily erred and confused frequently repeated signs which were too simple and monotonous for him, leaving out one of the many 'hooks' or adding an extra one" [12]. To illustrate this observation of the scholar, even the name of the collection's Mongolian translator and compiler, Surum, is given in distorted form [13]. This error was duly reproduced in all subsequent editions of the *Sungdui* [14].

The assumption that a seventeenth century Peking edition of the *Sungdui* existed received unexpected confirmation when a copy of this early edition was found among new acquisitions (shelf-mark Q) to the Mongolian collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Stud-

ies. The copy, unfortunately, not complete, lacks folios with the colophon [15]. But even those present enable us to include this edition among the rarest examples which have reached us from the early period of Peking xylographs in the Mongolian language. A mere comparison of the surviving first folios of the newly discovered xylograph with the first folios of other Peking editions from the seventeenth century makes us come to the conclusion that the xylograph is contemporary to the Peking editions. Three paints which were used in printing — red and black for the text and blue for the ornamental border — are typical of Peking editions of the seventeenth century [16].

The contents of manuscript K 6 of the collection *Sungdui* deserves special attention, since it differs from what we find in later editions of the *Sungdui*. The text in the manuscript is divided into 86 sections containing 164 works, while the 1727 Peking edition, the contents of which came to be known to scholars thanks to the publications of L. Ligeti [17], contains 87 sections with 154 works. Thus, the editions differ in both the structure and arrangement of the materials they include.

Despite its title — "Collection of Incantations" — the work contains not only incantations (*dhāraṇī*), but good wishes, *sūtras*, as well as collections of epithets and names of the Buddha. Furthermore, if the *sūtras* and lists of epithets and names of the Buddha are similar in both aforementioned editions (as they are in all other Mongolian versions of the *Sungdui* known to us), the selection of *dhāraṇī* and good wishes are different in each case.

Manuscript K 6 also differs from later Peking editions in the number of colophons to individual works it includes. In all, the manuscript contains 43 colophons, among which one can discern three basic groups: 5 authorial colophons, 33 colophons of Tibetan translators, and 4 colophons of their Mongolian colleagues [18]. For the xylograph edition of 1727, 21 colophons are attested, among which there are no authorial colophons at all, and only 2 colophons with the names of Mongolian translators are present [19].

Colophons are in canonical works, the majority of which had already been translated from Tibetan by the time

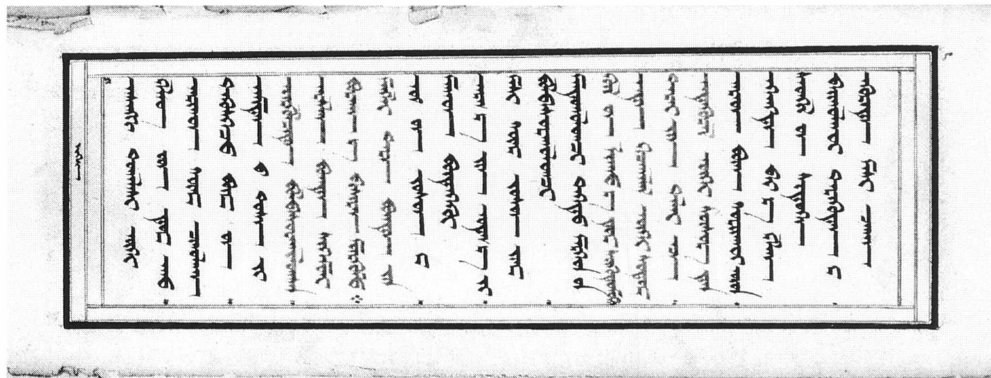


Fig. 3

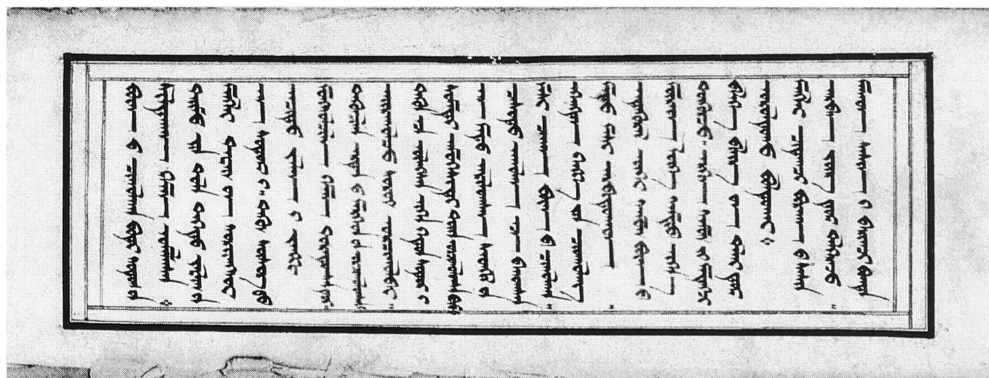


Fig. 4



the Mongolian version of the *Sungdui* was drawn up. Nearly all of them were translated during the time of Ligdan Khan of Tsakhar (1603—1634) while the first version of the *Kanjur* was being prepared in Mongolian. Many of them are found in the manuscript copy of the *Kanjur* from the first half of the seventeenth century with colophons that note the names of Tibetan and Mongolian translators. The most frequently mentioned Mongolian translators whose translations were included both in the *Sungdui* and the *Kanjur* are Dayigun Dayun sikü güsi [20] and Kundga odzer [21].

None of these colophons of Mongolian translators are attested for a single version of the *Sungdui*. The reason for this omission remains obscure: it may be the absence of such colophons in the originals which the collections' compilers employed, or some other reason.

What is remarkable is that all four colophons of Mongolian translators included in manuscript K 6 provide information lacking in all editions of the *Kanjur*. Two of them name Ayusi gülsi, a well-known translator and the creator of the *ali-gali* transcription alphabet [22]. Others list Čid köbegün [23] and Samdan sengge [24] as translators.

In contrast to canonical works, it is much more difficult to identify the Mongolian translators of texts which are not a part of the Buddhist Canon but which are present in the *Sungdui*. One should look for the works translated by Sürüm and Sumadi amogasidi toyin, as is evident from the colophon of our manuscript, among the texts incorporated into the *Sungdui* collection.

Of indubitable interest are the watercolour miniatures in manuscript K 6, which were executed with great mastery. The manuscript contains a total of 10 miniatures placed on the *verso* of the first folio of each volume and on the *recto* of the additional folios (without text) at the end of volumes. In accordance with tradition, all miniatures depict Buddhist deities, the names of which are in eight cases written alongside the miniatures.

Unsigned icons are located on the first folio of each volume and present no difficulties in attribution, as they depict the Buddhas Vajradhara (on the left) and Šākyamuni (on the right) [25], who most frequently adorned the first folios of xylograph and manuscript books.

It was more difficult to attribute the three figures located on the last, additional folio of the first volume, despite

the fact that each icon is equipped with a caption that gives the name of the deity. We succeeded in reading the caption beneath the first icon as “Qa-ra Si-da-da” (?). One may only guess what the author of this explanation bore in mind by this inscription, but the miniature depicts the “lord of the *nāgās*” [26], Nāgeśvara-rāja.

According to extant Mongolian captions, two other icons should depict Śara Garuḍa (on the left) and Ulayan Garuḍa (on the right), that is, the “Yellow Garuḍa” and the “Red Garuḍa”, mythological birds, the mortal enemies of all *nāgās*, whose lord is depicted in the central miniature. A single Garuḍa existed in original Buddhism — the “lord of the birds”, who was later transformed into a series of five (sometimes six) Garuḍas [27]. Naturally, the icons always depict the Garuḍas as terrible birds with frightening, horned (!) heads and a snake in their beaks [28]. The miniatures in the manuscript impart no bird-like features to these figures, and as we were able to establish [29], do not depict Garuḍas at all, but Yamāntaka (on the left) and Hayagrīva (on the right) [30].

The first folio of the manuscript's second volume contains two miniatures, each of which bears a caption. On the basis of the text to the miniature on the left one can only establish that it depicts some sort of *bodhisattva* (*bodistv*). The name of this *bodhisattva*, reproduced in the caption, remains a riddle for us. Nonetheless, there is no problem with identifying the figure, since the attributes (a flower and a book) are those of the deity Mañjuśrī [31].

As for the caption to the icon on the right, *Eke bilig baramid*, it is accurate, as one in fact finds here the personification of “great wisdom which transports [one] to the other shore of being” (Skt. Prajñāpāramitā), always depicted as a female deity.

The central figure on the final, additional folio of the second volume is also presented correctly. The caption reads: Śrī Maqakala (Skt. Śrī Mahākāla). The deities to the left and right on this folio are both designated Guru Ganbo, which is a distorted Mongolian version of the Tibetan Gur Mgon-po (Skt. Pañjara Mahākāla). Thus, this folio contains various forms of the Mahākāla, one of the awesome defenders of the Buddhist teaching [32].

## Notes

1. Such an edition is not attested in the catalogues and descriptions of foreign collections of Mongolian manuscripts.
2. For a list of 126 works included in this edition, see W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache. Materialien zur Mongolischen Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1964), No. 49 (henceforth, Heissig, *PLB*); D. M. Farquhar, “A description of the Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs in Washington, DC”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 1/3 (1957), pp. 175—91.
3. The manuscript has no general heading. 2 volumes: 414 + 401 ff. Folio dimensions: 63.0×21.5 cm. Border dimensions: 50.0×16.0 cm. Each page contains 22 to 25 lines. The text is written in red and black Indian ink with a brush on folios of thick white Chinese paper. Each volume was placed in a cloth-covered wooden cover.
4. L. S. Puchkovskii, “Sobranie mongol'skikh rukopisei i ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR” (“Collection of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences”), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia*, IX (1954), p. 96.
5. A. G. Sazykin, *Katalog mongol'skikh rukopisei i ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR* (A Catalogue of Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow, 1988), i, p. 11 (henceforth, Sazykin, *Katalog*).
6. At the same time, the Mongolian collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies acquired quite a few manuscripts which contained excerpts copied from the most frequently used *sūtras*, and even more often incantations necessary for the conduct of all manner of rituals which were performed at the most varied occasions by numerous “steppe” *lamas*. It seems that such excerpts from the collection were made by lay believers for their own purposes. One can gain a sense of this on the basis of the more than 30



manuscript excerpts from the *Sungdui* in the Mongolian collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Most of them concern incantations which are useful in the everyday life of the livestock breeder. For example, we find there *dhāraṇī* which protect livestock from illnesses and plague, safeguard against slander and calumny, guard people against sickness and untimely death, etc.

7. Here we speak only of the Mongolian version of the *Sungdui*, leaving aside its Oirat version, which always existed only in manuscript form. This entirely separate version of the collection was prepared in the seventeenth century by Namkhai-Jalcan, one of the pupils of the Oirat Zaya-paṇḍita, Namkhai-Jamco. At present, we know of the existence of four manuscript copies of this version of the *Sungdui*, of which three were written in Oirat "clear writing" (see X. Luvsanbaldan, *Tod useg, tuunii dursgaluud*, Ulan Bator, 1975, pp. 236—40, No. 0260) and one in Uighur-Mongolian graphics (see G. Ts. Bilguudey, *Damdinsurengiyn ger muzein mongol nomyn burtgel*, Ulan Bator, 1998, i, No. 670).

8. W. Heissig, C. Bawden, *Catalogue of Books, Manuscripts and Xylographs* (Copenhagen, 1971), p. 229, Mong. 501.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 229, Mong. 487.

10. The 1665 Peking edition of the canonical *sūtra* "*Qutuy-tu yekede quriyaysan erdeni-yin oki-yin toytayal neretü yeke kölgen sudur*" (see Heissig, *PLB*, No. 3). Moreover, the names of the cutters of the print matrices are noted in two early Peking editions (Heissig, *PLB*, Nos. 2 and 8).

11. Here, for example, is how the colophons of the Peking editions of the *Sungdui* establish the names of the three Chinese copyists of the text used to prepare the print boards: Seüse (Se Yu-se), Suyanding (Ssu-yan-ting) (in K 7-a) and Liusiba (in I 100).

12. D. Kara, *Knigi mongol'skikh kochevnikov (sem' vekov mongol'skoï pis'mennosti)* (Books of the Mongolian Nomads: Seven Centuries of Mongolian Literature) (Moscow, 1972), p. 116 (henceforth, Kara, *Knigi*).

13. The name of the man who compiled the Mongolian version of the *Sungdui* is correctly written Sürüm. As Prof. Gy. Kara has informed us, this is a South Mongolian distortion of the Tibetan name Tshul-khrims (Khalkhian Čültem, South Mongolian Sültem > Sülrim > Sürüm).

14. The name of this Mongolian literary figure — written correctly — first appears in the colophon to the above-mentioned 1665 edition (see Heissig, *PLB*, No. 3). Sürüm is also mentioned as a translator in one of the Mongolian versions of the description of sacred objects at the mountain of Wu T'ai-shan (see Sazykin, *Katalog*, Nos. 1647—1649). Later, he was included in the editorial commission to prepare a xylograph edition of the *Kanjur* in Mongolian (see Heissig, *PLB*, p. 41, n. 5).

15. Q 2580/2587, vol. I: folios 1, 67, 68, 84—110, 225—236; vol. 2: folios 14—35, 42, 43, 112—124, 133, 165—168, 178—202; folio dimensions: 64.5×23.5 cm, border dimensions: 53.5×18.5 cm, 29 lines per page, Chinese marginal heading: *shang juan*.

16. Printed in analogous fashion were, for example, fols. 2a in the copies of the 1659 edition of the *sūtra* "*Altan geler-tü*" (in K 20), see Heissig, *PLB*, No. 2, and the 1665 edition of the *sūtra* "*Erdeni-yin oki-yin toytayal*" (in I 90), see Heissig, *PLB*, No. 3, in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The first folios of all five parts of the canonical *sūtra* "*Pañcharakṣā*", published in Peking in 1686, were also executed in three colours (in I 69), see Heissig, *PLB*, No. 9.

17. L. Ligeti, "La collection Mongole Schilling von Canstadt à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut", *T'oung Pao*, 27 (1930), No. 3588 (henceforth, Ligeti, "Collection").

18. One should add to this list the colophon of the Uighur translator which is appended to the "*Sūtra of the Ursa Major*" (*Doloyan ebügen neretü odon-u sudur*). In the sixteenth century, this *sūtra* was translated from Chinese into Mongolian. Uighur and Tibetan translations were executed on the basis of the Mongolian. In the sixteenth century, this Tibetan version was "translated back into Mongolian with a surprisingly large number of Uighurisms and with Mongolian, Uighur, and Tibetan colophons" (Kara, *Knigi*, p. 25). The "*Sūtra of the Ursa Major*" with these three colophons was included in all Mongolian versions of the collection, as well as in the Oirat version of the *Sungdui* (see Luvsanbaldan, *Tod useg*, pp. 239—40, No. 95).

19. Ligeti, "Collection", No. 3588 (XXXVII, LXXVI).

20. *Katalog peterburgskogo rukopisnogo "Gandzhura"* (Catalogue of the Petersburg Manuscript *Kanjur*). Compilation, introduction, translation and indices by Z. K. Kasyanenko (Moscow, 1993), Nos. 373, 380, 390, 391, 395, and 396. — Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka, vol. CII (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXXIX).

21. *Ibid.*, Nos. 158, 178, 180, and 235.

22. K 6, No. V (6) *Qutuy-tu tegünčilen iregsen-ü oroi-ača yarıysan: Čayan sikür-tü busud-ta ütü ilaydaqu yeke-de qariyuluyči degedü bütügsen neretü tarni. Colophon* (fol. 13a): *Tegün-ü qoyin-a Ayusi gülsi bayı: degedü blam-a qutuy-tu Dalai blam-a-yin vür-tur köl-ün ölm[e]i-dür sitüjü: Enekeg Kasmir Töbed yurban sudur-a tokiyalduyulji orçıyulbai*. K 6, No. XXXVII (77): *Včir kilinglegs en yeke qayan: qara kelen aman-i qariyuluyči tarni. Colophon* (fol. 5a): *Rad-nā-pali gülsi duraduyisan-iyar: erdem-tü boyda Dalai blam-a-yin vür-tur köl-ün ölm[e]i-dür sitüjü Ayusi gülsi orçıyulbai*.

23. K 6, No. LIII (112) *Qutuy-tu yurban čoyca kemegdekü yeke kölgen sudur. Colophon* (fol. 14b): *Erkin bodistv-yin aldal-i namāñilaqu: ene dörben küčün tegüsügsen: eyimü degedü yayiqamsiy sudur-i: edüge Mongyol-un ayalu-tur orçıyuluyisan inu:: ayalu udq-a endegü boluyisan-i üjeju: ilayul[y]či Čid köbegün orçıyulba*.

24. K 6, No. LXXXIII (158) *Qutuy-tu ölfei qutuy čoyčalaysan neretü yeke kölgen sudur. Colophon* (fol. 10a): *Samdan sengge Töbed-ün kelen-eče: Mongyol-un kelen-dür orçıyulju orosiyulbai*.

25. We find in the manuscript one of the forms of the Buddha Śākyamuni which is known as Badir ügei Śākyamuni, i.e. "Śākyamuni without *pātra*" (Mong. *badir* < Skt. *pātra* — "cup for the collection of alms"). In the Peking xylograph editions of 1707, 1723 and 1727, the "Buddha" (*bodhisatva*) Mañjuśrī is depicted in place of Śākyamuni. In the xylograph of the second version of the *Sungdui* (H 338), the figure Tsongkhapa is found in this place.

26. *Nāgas* (Skt. *nāga*) — in Buddhist mythology they are gigantic snakes which dwell in the water and in the underworld.

27. Buddha-Garuḍa, Karma-Garuḍa, Padma-Garuḍa, Ratna-Garuḍa, Vajra-Garuḍa. In some cases, Qara Garuḍa ("black Garuḍa") is added to their number.

28. Depictions of the three Garuḍas are found in S. F. Ol'denburg, *Sbornik izobrazhenii 300 burkhanov. Po al'bomu Aziatskogo muzeia* (Collection of Depictions from 300 *Burhans*. From the Asiatic Museum Album), pt. I. Drawings and indices (St. Petersburg, 1903), Nos. 184—186. — Bibliotheca Buddhica, V. A group of five Garuḍas is found on the *recto* folio of the thirty-volume Peking xylo-

graph edition of the *Kanjur* in Mongolian, see L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé* (Budapest, 1942), i, p. 172. This series was reproduced on the additional *recto* folio of the fifth volume of the Peking sixteen-volume xylograph edition of the “One Hundred Thousand *Yum*” (kept in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number Q 2074, item 1).

29. We were able to attribute these three figures thanks to the kind assistance of our colleague, A. A. Terentyev, a Tibetologist to whom we would like to express our sincere gratitude.

30. In the Peking editions of 1707 and 1723, the final additional folio of the first volume displays the four *mahārājas* (guardians of faith and peace): Virūdhaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa, Vaiśravaṇa. In the 1727 xylograph, a separate folio presents Śira Jambala (Skt. Pītā-Jambhala), Esrua (Skt. Brahmā), Qormusda (Skt. Śatakratu), Qara Jambala (Skt. Kṛṣṇa Jambhala).

31. Depictions of Mañjuśrī usually display an additional attribute which is absent in the miniature to manuscript K 6 — the “sword of wisdom” (Skt. *prajñākhadga*), which the divinity holds raised in the right hand.

32. The 1707 and 1723 xylograph editions of the *Sungdui* have on the final folio of the second volume the same depictions of the four *mahārājas* which are found on the final folio of the first volume. They are also present in the 1727 edition, but in a different order: Virūdhaka, Virūpākṣa, Vaiśravaṇa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

## Illustrations

### Front cover:

The depiction of Nāgeśvara-rāja, the “king of *nāgas*”, the central figure in the miniature from the first volume of the collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, lower cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

### Back cover:

**Plate 1.** The depiction of *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī, an embodiment of wisdom, on the left, and of Prajñāpāramitā as a *Yum*- “Mother”, on the right. Miniature from the second volume of the collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, upper cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

**Plate 2.** The depiction of the formidable deity Śrī Maqakala, the central figure, and of Guru Ganbo (Skt. Pañjara Mahākāla), on the left and right, the second volume of the collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, lower cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

### Inside the text:

**Fig. 1.** The depiction of Nāgeśvara-rāja, the “king of *nāgas*” (the central figure) and of Yamāntaka (“The Death Conqueror”), on the left, and Hayagrīva (“One Who Has a Mane”), on the right. Hayagrīva is an Indian deity, borrowed by Tibetan and Mongolian mythology where he is one of the guardians. The deity is connected with the Tibetan Buddhist school rNing-ma-pa. Miniature from the first volume of the collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, lower cover, 63.0×21.5 cm.

**Fig. 2.** The depiction of Buddha Vajradhara, on the left, and of Buddha Śākyamuni, on the right. The depiction is present on the first folio of each volume of the collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, 63.0×21.5 cm.

**Fig. 3.** The collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, second volume, colophon, fol. 1a, 63.0×21.5 cm.

**Fig. 4.** The collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, second volume, colophon, fol. 1b, 63.0×21.5 cm.

**Fig. 5.** The collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, second volume, colophon, fol. 2a, 63.0×21.5 cm.

**Fig. 6.** The collection *Sungdui*, manuscript K 6, second volume, colophon, fol. 2b, 63.0×21.5 cm.



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## BOOK REVIEWS

T. Vinogradova. *A Ritual for Expelling Ghosts: a Religious Classic of the Yi Nationality in the Liangshan Prefecture, Sichuan*. Taipei: Taipei Ricci Institute, 1998, v—xxx, pp. 613, colour photographs.

The Yi (Yizu) are one of the peoples who populate the south of China. Seven million Yizu live compactly in the south-west provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou. The Yizu language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese family of languages and has its own script. Yizu is an ancient people. Already in the third—sixth centuries, the Chinese singled out among the natives of the Yangtze river basin the *man* barbarians, a part of whom were apparently the ancestors of the Yizu. Among the non-Han peoples who lived in the state of Nanzhao in the eighth—ninth centuries, were also ancient Yizu. The history of the Yizu was a constant struggle with the ethnic Han Chinese for survival, national self-identification, and the preservation of their own culture.

Little is known of Yizu culture. Despite their undoubted significance, purely ethnographic field studies ignored texts in the Yi language. Until recently, facsimiles of only a few Yizu manuscripts had been published from the collection of the well-known Austrian scholar Joseph Franz Rock<sup>1</sup>. These editions, however, lack any commentaries aside from “technical” descriptions of the scrolls themselves, and are accessible only to those who can read the Yi language.

The constantly growing interest of both Chinese and Western scholars in the culture and religion of the Yizu<sup>2</sup> could no longer tolerate this omission. The enormous project undertaken by the Taipei Ricci Institute to collect and translate religious texts in the Yi language attempts for the first time to fill this gap. An annotation indicates that the aim of the edition is to aid scholars in forming a complete picture of the religious ideas of the Yizu.

The case with the religious texts of the Yizu is indeed unique, since they were created and recorded directly by those who performed the rituals, the bimo-priests. Bimo texts on a single subject — the expulsion of spirits — were selected for the edition under review here.

The published texts are preceded by the Introduction in English by Benoît Vermander and its Summary in Chinese by the same author. There is also a Summary in Chinese by Bamo Ayi. They tell of the vast preparatory work completed

largely by members of the Meigu Center for the Study of Bimo Culture and the Lianshang Ethnic Research Institute (China). The contributions of the chief archivist and collector, Ggahxat Shyxzzi, copyist Jiphly Tiexssyr, chief translator Motsi Cyhox, and consultant, Prof. Stevan Harrell of Washington University are indicated. Information about the Yi people and their religion is also provided. Yi is not the Yi's own name for themselves, nor is it the traditional Chinese term for them. Benoît Vermander writes of the rumours according to which the character designating Yi was the personal creation of Mao Zedong, who substituted it for another character with the same reading that simply meant “barbarian”. Before Mao, the Yizu were known as Nuosu or Luoluo. They display a significant degree of diversity as a people, speaking six dialects, two of which are closer to the Sisu and Lahu languages than to Yi. One of the dialects has been chosen as the standard for the Yi language and is taught in schools.

The book presents texts by bimo who lived on a single territory. It remains unclear how representative they are of the Yi as a whole, especially since there is evidence that many traditions and superstitions were interpreted variously by the inhabitants of various villages.

In describing the religion of the Yizu, Benoît Vermander does not term it “primitive”, as it represents the result of extended development, of the people. This religion attaches great importance to the written word, and has undergone continuous development as it came into contact with various Han and Tibetan cults.

In the religious system of the Yizu, the bimo are not the only priests; there are also so-called *sunis*, shamans who are not connected with the written tradition. They are invited to less significant occasions than the bimo. The existence of the *sunis*, along with many superstitions, seems to give reason to assume that the bimo's beliefs as reflected in the texts may not represent the actual religion of the Yi.

Benoît Vermander provides a rather schematic description of what he calls the “theology of the bimo”. A certain doctrine of “three souls” exists, but ordinary Yizu could not clearly explain to the scholar the basic sense of the doctrine. These spirits which inhabit the universe are unusually rapacious; the goal of all rituals is to defend the soul from the danger of being devoured, as the soul is like flesh for the spirits.

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<sup>1</sup> *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*. Bd. 7, beschrieben von Klaus L. Janert. T. 4: *Nachhandschriften nebst Lolo- und Chungchia-Handschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1977); T. 5: *Nachhandschriften nebst Lolohandschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1980).

<sup>2</sup> See *The First International Conference on Yi Studies* (Seattle, 1995). Also, the second international conference on Yi studies was carried out in Trier (June, 1998).

The cult of ancestors is well developed and demands offerings. The ancestors are no less rapacious than the evil spirits, and one must feed them as well. Burial rituals are of great significance — the cremation of the deceased is understood as a ritual offering of flesh. After cremation, a bamboo “soul” is prepared which is then dispatched to the ancestors. This is the most important ritual. Cremation and the rituals associated with it are the key to understanding the Yizu religion.

Noting that the description of the rituals themselves is not his task, Benoît Vermader offers ideas for future research in the light of the published bimo texts: the study of Yizu genealogy, comprehensive research into ritual texts and practices, the analysis of examples from daily life, the collection of stories and legends and comparisons with the folklore of other ethnic groups.

The analysis and description of the published texts are the subject of the Chinese Foreword, written by Prof. Bamo Ayi, translator of the texts. Its content is summarised in the English summary.

Ancient Yizu literature distinguishes between secular texts and those of the bimo. The collection of the Meigu Center for the Study of Bimo Culture contains some 115,000 bimo texts. Bimo scrolls are of varying sizes. Paper is wound onto a bamboo stick and placed in a case of leather, cotton, or hemp. Each scroll is equipped with a large heading so that the bimo can quickly find the manuscript necessary at a certain point in the ritual. The bimo scrolls of the Liangshan Yizu display a surprising feature: they are written and read in various directions. Priests write from left to right and from top to bottom; during reading, the scroll is turned 90 degrees to the left in order to move from vertical to horizontal reading, from right to left and top to bottom.

The bimo distinguish between three categories of sacred books: books associated with the cult of ancestors; texts for exorcism, medical texts, and spells against enemies; and, finally, fortune-telling books. We are here presented with excerpts from books of the second category, perhaps because they are the least offensive. Spells against enemies were traditionally written in human blood and for this reason could not be stored in dwellings, but only in special caves.

The exorcism ritual was quite extended. The “big” ritual was performed over the course of nine days; the “small” ritual occupied a single day. The ceremony was conducted at the home of the person who ordered it by the bimo himself, who was assisted by the head of the family and close neighbours. The ritual was accompanied by the sacrifice of black animals.

We turn now to the texts. The edition is a compilation of texts from nine different manuscripts gathered around the city of Meigu. It contains 24 texts of various lengths, from the very long to the very short. The original texts of the bimo manuscripts were specially copied for this edition. Early on, the book contains several photographs of the actual manuscripts, which display clear, easily readable handwriting. The clarity of the writing in bimo manuscripts can be explained by the fact that part of the ritual was performed at night and manuscripts were written so that the priest would be able to read them easily in the dim light of an oil lamp.

The text is published in four columns. The first column is the bimo text copied in the graphics of the Yi language.

The second is the text in international phonetic transcription. The third column contains a literal translation into Chinese, while the fourth — a literary Chinese translation. There are a small number of “obscure passages”, which are left without translation or comment. The book ends with commentary on the texts, though quite limited and dealing mainly with place-names and proper names.

The text is broken down into poetic verses (in the manuscripts the texts form an unbroken whole). Each line contains from 3 to 11 syllables. The Chinese translation tends toward five- to seven-syllable lines, as the translators wanted Chinese readers to grasp the beauty of the original. Segments which represent a single idea are numbered; their quantity fluctuates in various texts from 57 to 1,500.

Unfortunately, in its current form, the edition fails to convey such important elements of bimo manuscripts as drawings and marginal notes made by the priests themselves. The notes contain information about the time and place of a ritual and concrete circumstances relating its performance, for example, weather. The uniqueness and value of the manuscripts can be discerned from the few photographs at the beginning of the book.

The majority of the 24 texts published here deal with the expulsion of spirits of various illnesses which afflict both people and animals: spells against leprosy, birth pangs, madness, incantations against plagues which kill monkeys. There are also texts directed against “social plagues” such as the debauchery of prostitutes. Many verses combat some general danger such as bad luck or surprises. For this purpose there exist incantations against evil and rapacious spirits or aggressive ancestors. These provide the fullest picture of the Yizu pantheon. The final text entitled “The Bimo Offer the Ancestors Sacred Books” contains a great deal of information about the activities of Yizu priests.

All texts, irrespective of their content, begin with the single line “Pure sound of *lan-lan*...” and end with “Quickly, quickly be gone!” For instance, the eighth text contains an incantation against illnesses of the earth, which include fumes, swampiness, gaps and cracks. The pure sound of *lan-lan* indicates that the ritual has begun and that all forces have been marshaled to cast out the “evil of the earth”. There are too many uncontrollably multiplying earthly evil spirits. Left to their own devices, they have spawned grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who have come to exert too strong an influence on good. Therefore, the bimo have penetrated beneath the earth and engaged the earth spirits in battle. In this struggle they are aided by people who live on the territory, adults and children. The monstrous earth demons are assisted by the people's domestic animals, but the bimo succeed in shattering the resistance of the evil forces. The evil spirits are vanquished, but one must remain watchful, for they may return, hence the final words “Quickly, quickly be gone!”

Only the final text, a sort of bimo “encyclopedia”, has a somewhat different structure. It consists of numerous excerpts which begin and end with the standard lines. Each fragment tells of the Bimos' experience in subjugating or expelling various evil forces. The text, however, ends with a line in which these introductory and final words mentioned above are absent; it recounts that the activities of the bimo cannot and should not ever cease.

The books' publishers are convinced that the many years of cooperation with the priests themselves guarantee the accuracy and quality of the Chinese translation of the

bimo sacred books. Unfortunately, there remains the problem that no one can guarantee the accuracy of translations from the Chinese into any other language: the text is too unusual and difficult to understand; it contains too many unfamiliar details, such as names of beings and actions, which allow for at least two interpretations. All of this exacerbates the problems inevitably associated with double translation. Even while reading the text in order to write the present review, the reviewer gained a sense of the complexities which the actual translator encountered. We note that the presence of two Chinese translations — one literal, one literary — eases the task in certain cases. The publisher herself sees the main obstacle to reading and understanding the religious classics of the bimo in the fact that the text

cannot be understood in and of itself. One must know the text's connection to the ritual. Additionally, there is the difficulty of appropriately conveying religious terms in a different language, the language of a different culture. In light of this problem, fears that the reader may fail to grasp the poetic beauty of the original seem less than crucial.

These, however, are problems which face the translators and scholars of religion who will use the book in their work, an issue which the publishers recognise. But the latter have coped splendidly with their task of introducing for the first time into scholarly circulation a religious classic of the Yi people. The rest depends on the concerted work of scholars, on their ability to make the best possible use of the linguistic material which has been placed at their disposal.

*Tatiana Vinogradova*

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## Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts must be written in English.

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

## Submissions

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

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Plate 1



Plate 2