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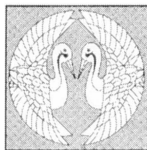
### Front cover:

"The Sultan's repose in nature", miniature from 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, A.D.1486/87, fol. 243 b, 7.7×7.7 cm.

### Back cover:

"Portrait of some Moghol principal or influential grandee sitting in a chair (throne?) with a falcon on his right arm", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 1b, 7.3×14.8 cm.

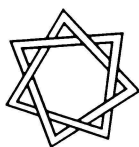
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## TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

J. S. Musaelian

### ON THE FIRST KURDISH EDITION OF THE *SHARAF-NĀMA* BY MULLĀ (MELĀ) MAḤMŪD BĀYAZĪDĪ

The *Sharaf-nāma*, a work by the Kurdish historian Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī, is the only monument on the late medieval history of the Kurds, Kurdistan and the neighbouring countries on record. Written in Persian in late sixteenth century, it is a valuable historical and cultural source, which was repeatedly translated into French, Turkish, Arabic, German and Russian. But it was only in 1972 that the composition was published in Sorani, the southern dialect of Kurdish.

Owing to the "Description of the Kurdish Manuscripts from Leningrad collections", compiled by the late M. B. Rudenko [1], a brilliant expert in the Kurdish language and literature, we know that in the manuscript collection of the National Library of Russia there is a translation into the northern dialect of Kurdish (Kurmanji) of the work by Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī entitled *Tawārīkh-i qādim-i Kurdistān*. The translation which was carried out by the prominent scholar and public figure Mullā (Melā) Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī in the mid-nineteenth century deserves special attention as a very valuable specimen of a literary work performed by an enlightened Kurdish author.

The foreword to the translation, compiled by Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī, contains the name of the eminent Russian Orientalist A. Jaba as an initiator of the translation. In his foreword, Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī briefly informs the reader: "This book by Sharaf-khān is a rarity; there are only two to three scripts in the whole of Kurdistan. I have translated it from Persian into Kurmanji on the request of Mr. Jaba" [2]. After that he says that he translated the book in 1275/1858—59.

Who are these two men — A. Jaba and Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī — whose names are linked inseparably in the history of the Kurdish studies?

August Jaba (1801—1894) was a leading figure in the Kurdish studies of Russia. He entered the Russian diplomatic corps in the East in 1830. In 1856, he was appointed a Russian consul to Erzerum. It was at that time that Academician B. Dorn proposed him to make use of his position to collect and study materials in Kurmanji dialect. Jaba's long stay in Kurdistan gave him a lucky opportunity to learn Kurdish and the life of the Kurds. All his spare time he

devoted to researching and studying materials on literature, language and history of the Kurdish people. He did not stop this work up to his death.

During his stay in Erzerum, A. Jaba could make acquaintance with many persons of Kurdish origin among whom was Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī, a Kurdish *mullā* and scholar, whose assistance in Jaba's studies was truly invaluable.

According to Jaba's source, Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī was born in the town of Bayazid (Turkey) in 1797. He started his studies in his native town and continued them later in Tebriz. Bāyazīdī had read and studied Qur'ān since his childhood and he knew Arabic, Turkish and Persian literature perfectly. After his journey to Persia and Kurdistan, Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī returned to his native town, Bayazid, where he headed a school and soon gained fame among his compatriots. However, the downfall of Pahlūl Pasha — the last of the ruling Kurdish tribe in Bayazid — made him settle down in Erzerum where he began as a teacher and where he enjoyed great respect from his colleagues in the country. Bāyazīdī made pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina after which he got the name of Ḥājī and was held in great respect among the local Muslim clergy. It should also be added that Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī was an authority among Ottoman state officials as well. On several occasions he was authorised to carry on negotiations between the Ottoman government and Kurdish rebel leaders in Bohtān and Khakkari regions. Thus in 1846, *mushir* Ḥāfiz Pasha entrusted him with parleying with the famous Badr-khān-bek who had headed the rebellion in Jazīra against the Sublime Porte. Also, a year later, on the order of Kāmil Pasha, the then ruler of Erzerum, he was sent to Nūrallāh-bek, Khakkari Kurds chief, who was at the head of the revolt against the Ottoman government. His mission was again to parley with head of the rebels on the terms of stopping the uprising. Jaba reports as well that when Khān-Maḥmūd, Badr-khān-bek's brother, arrived in Erzerum, Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī was authorised to meet and escort him. All this proves that Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī was a figure of importance in relations between the Ottoman government and the Kurdish nobility.

There are some grounds to believe that Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazidī had secret ties with the leaders of Kurdish insurgents; he commiserated with their struggle against the government and often carried out government commissions in favour of the rebellious Kurds. For example, the author of an article in the newspaper *Kurdistan* (No. 13, 1898), dealing with Badr-khān-bek's revolt, reports that Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazidī was sent by the Sultan to Jazīra to parley with Badr-khān-bek to stop the uprising of the Kurds. There he promised commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army, Othmān Pasha, that he would try to persuade Badr-khān-bek to stop the revolt and asked Othmān Pasha not to attack Jazīra until his return from Badr-khān-bek. Othmān Pasha, who first opposed Mullā Maḥmūd's plan and did not permit him to go to the insurgents, later let him go but attacked Jazīra without waiting for Badr-khān-bek's answer. The army of Othmān Pasha met, however, a well organised resistance of the Kurdish rebels, which made him conclude that Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazidī had given out the secret plan of the attack to them. When Mullā Bāyazidī returned from Badr-khān-bek and expressed protest against Othmān Pasha's attack on Jazīra, the Ottoman commander ordered to arrest Bāyazidī and convoyed him to Istanbul. He informed the government that Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazidī was an ally of Badr-khān-bek and the traitor of the state. As a result, Mullā Maḥmūd was exiled to Van.

According to Jaba's account, soon after Bāyazidī's arrival in Van a new uprising of Khān-Maḥmūd took place in Khevach, the place of Bāyazidī's residence, not far from Van. As the main suspect Khān-Maḥmūd was put into a prison where he spent 15 days. Only Mullā Maḥmūd's active protection prevented him from a more severe punishment [3]. The incident led to the final loss of trust in Bāyazidī's loyalty on the part of the Ottoman government.

A. Jaba also tells that Mullā Maḥmūd lost his brother, who was a great support to him, during the Crimean War (1853—1856). Also, after this war his son's business in commerce had come to decline. It is in this period that Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazidī became Jaba's "collaborateur pour le kourde" [4].

Thus, following Academician Dorn's advice, A. Jaba, along with his studying the Kurdish language, began to collect manuscripts written in Kurdish. With the assistance of the educated Kurds and Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazidī, who became his most energetic helpmate, the Russian diplomat acquired a number of Kurdish manuscripts and sent them to the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Mullā Maḥmūd was a copyist, translator and author of some works. In late 1856, Jaba brought back a number of manuscripts collected by him to St. Petersburg, among which were the translation into Kurdish of Turkish proverbs copied by Mullā Maḥmūd and a translation of Persian tales.

Some of the manuscripts, which were brought by Jaba, had come out from under Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazidī's pen. Those were manuscripts on history, ethnography, folklore and language of the Kurdish people. In 1858—1859, he copied the Arabic-Persian-Kurdish grammar by 'Alī Teremakhī, who worked at the turn of the seventeenth century, and supplied it with his own preface. Here he provides some facts on the life of 'Alī Teremakhī and mentions some other Kurdish scholars and authors who compiled other grammars. The preface also includes some valuable information about school education and cultural life in Kurdistan. In the same period Mullā Bāyazidī wrote an interesting

work entitled "Kurd's Customs and Manners", the idea of which was communicated to him by A. Jaba [5]. Mullā Maḥmūd is also the copyist and one of the three compilers of the Kurdish-French phrase-book ("Kurdish Dialogues") which was intended to be a Kurdish language manual. This manuscript, completed in 1275/1858—59, has long remained unknown to scholars, although it was among manuscripts kept in St. Petersburg collections. However, Jaba's letter of March, 1876, to Academician B. Dorn contains his mention that he is going to send the manuscript of "Kurdish Dialogues" to St. Petersburg. Only recently the manuscript of "Kurdish Dialogues" was found in the archives of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies when V. F. Minorsky fund was being sorted out. The manuscript found its way here in the following way: in 1913, while in Istanbul, V. F. Minorsky found out that the Jaba's papers had been left with his family in Izmir. Then he asked the Russian consul in that city to make inquiries about the scholar's archive. The consul applied to Jaba's son and that is how Minorsky accounts of the result: "The family willingly sent me the whole pile of the papers, but it turned out that many of the manuscripts had been published in the Academy of Sciences editions. And I could never find out whether there had been a copy of this particular manuscript in the Academy" [6]. This unique manuscript was handed over by Minorsky to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies in May, 1952, where it remained unknown to researchers for long.

The manuscript including over three thousand dialogues (on 476 pages) covers various aspects of the life of the Kurds in Turkey in the mid-nineteenth century. They provide a valuable material illustrating the morals and manners, rites, customs, etiquette regulations of the Kurds as presented by the authors. The texts present talks between two Kurds and contain some historical information, for example, about the Crimean war, Kurdish tribes, their number and settling. In one of the sections entitled "On the knowledge of languages", one can find some biographical material on Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazidī.

In his preface to the French translation of the "Dialogues", which was completed in 1880, Jaba says that he is planning to write a biography of Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazidī. Unfortunately, this biographical work by him has not been found so far.

Jaba, who got his first knowledge of Kurdish literature from Mullā Maḥmūd, was the author of the first French-Kurdish and Kurdish-French dictionaries as well as the dictionary of the Kurdish Khakkari-Rawandi dialects.

After having retired in 1866, Jaba took up residence in Izmir and entirely devoted himself to gathering materials on history, ethnography, literature and language of the Kurds. "I am engaged in a new research of the Kurdish language and literature, and I am working on the translation from Kurdish of a historical book which is the continuation of the history by Sharaf-khān", he wrote in his letter of 30 March, 1867, to St. Petersburg [7]. This letter from Izmir, together with Jaba's French translation (50 pages) of the Introduction to "A New History of Kurdistan" [8], were delivered to the Imperial Academy. There was only very brief information about the work in his letter: "This 'History' was written in 1275/1858—59. There is only one copy of it and it is in my possession. I am going to translate it as soon as I am through with two parts of my dictionary" [9]. The name of

the author of this addition to Sharaf-khān's composition is lacking in the "Introduction", but we know it from the above-mentioned letter of Jaba who reports that "A History of the Kurds", containing 1,000 pages, has been composed on his repeated request by Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī. This work was to be the continuation of the famous *Sharaf-nāma*; Mullā Maḥmūd gave his work the name *Tawārikh-i jadīd-i Kurdistan*.

Jaba did not send to St. Petersburg the Kurdish original from which the French translation of the "Introduction" was made. Nor did he say anything about the sources for this "New History of the Kurds". At the beginning of the "Introduction" Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī simply refers to Sharaf-khān, recounts a legend about the Kurds' origin, talks about their national character, way of life, dialects, and, finally, about the places of their settling. After that the author mentions a Turkish translation of the work carried out in Bidlis of which, according to Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī, only two or three copies exist.

The "Introduction" is followed by the list of names of Kurdistan's rulers beginning from 1785/86 (that is when the author started his narration) up to 1857. This list and the table of contents containing the titles of 12 chapters which make up the work were cited in A. Jaba's letter to B. Dorn of 13 June, 1867.

This work comprises information about the main regions of Kurds settling (from 1785/86 to 1857/58). The author of the work also turns to even more remote periods of Kurdish history, up to Sharaf-khān's epoch. Unfortunately, the fate of the *Tawārikh-i jadīd-i Kurdistan*, compiled by Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī, is still obscure. Its translation into French and the manuscript itself might have remained in Jaba's archives in Izmir.

A. Jaba and Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī together gathered a unique in its completeness collection of Kurdish manuscripts (over 50 items, dictionaries excluded) dealing with literature, folklore, history and language of the Kurds. This collection includes a number of unique manuscripts which contain works by such poets as Ḥāris Bidlīsī, Sālim Ibn Sulaymān (Slemān), Durfīshānī, Ramaḍānī and Murād-khān Bāyazīdī of whom very little was known. Thanks to the manuscripts of this collection, literary versions of the well-known Kurdish legends "Laylī and Majnūn", "Yūsuf and Zulaykhā", "Zambīlfrosh" have come to be known. After these manuscripts had been described in the 60s of the twentieth century, a notable Kurdish scholar, Badr-khān, in his letter to the Russian compiler of the catalogue of Kurdish manuscripts, M. B. Rudenko, wrote that many writings represented by these manuscripts were not familiar to him.

It was in that most fruitful period of his activities that Mullā Maḥmūd completed his Kurdish translation of the *Sharaf-nāma* by Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī. The translation is of great scientific value since it is the only text in the Kurdish language on the medieval history of the Kurds. The surviving manuscript of this translation presents the autograph of Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī. Finally, the language of this Kurdish translation, Kurmanji, mirrors the specific features of the standards of classical Kurdish. Taking into account these circumstances and also the growing interest of the Kurds in historical texts written in their native language, a facsimile edition of the manuscript has been prepared recently [10]. This made the work available for a wide range of Kurdish readers, giving them an opportunity to

familiarise themselves with literary heritage of the nineteenth-century Kurdish scholar.

The manuscript of Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī's translation of the *Sharaf-nāma* contains 257 pages. The translation is preceded by the translator's foreword and the table of contents which however does not always corresponds the chapters in the text. When the facsimile edition of the manuscript was prepared, Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī's autograph was collated with a well-known V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov's edition of Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's work [11] which is, in turn, the publication of a copy of autograph of the *Sharaf-nāma* preserved in the holdings of the National Library of Russia and which dates to 1598 [12]. The collation has revealed a substantial number of variants as regards proper names, place-names and ethnicons, as well as the lack of correspondence with dates and figures, omissions in indicating place-names and even the lack of some chapters. At the same time, the collation showed that a large passage, constituting one page and a half, is missing in the Velyaminov-Zernov's edition. Besides, this passage is extended by additional brief historical and ethnographic material.

All these variants, abridgements, omissions, corrections and additions present in the Kurdish translation may be explained in two ways. First, Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī undoubtedly translated Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's work from other than Velyaminov-Zernov's manuscript. Second, Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī's translation largely reflected his own insight into Bidlīsī's text. It was often his interpretation of the text rather than the translation of it, which is revealed by numerous abridgements. Unfortunately, the translator keeps silence concerning the manuscript of the *Sharaf-nāma*, which he made use of.

Now let us turn to the most characteristic features of Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī's translation in comparison to the Persian text of the *Sharaf-nāma* as presented in the Velyaminov-Zernov's edition. First of all, Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī has substantially abridged the original by deleting all passages written in abundantly ornamented style. Thus he abridged the beginnings of all chapters written in this flowery style, only occasionally leaving in his translation this special authorial manner of Sharaf-khān's writing.

The abridgements Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī made can be divided into three groups: (i) those which do not distort the content of the work (the translator sought evidently to convey the essence of Sharaf-khān's work and, at the same time, to simplify the language of the original to make the text more understandable to the general reader); (ii) the abridgements with omissions of some proper names, geographical and ethnical names, historical facts, which obviously also served the purpose of better understanding the text (this does not exclude, however, the supposition that Mullā Maḥmūd translated from an abridged copy of the *Sharaf-nāma*); (iii) the abridgements made in order to attain austerity of the translation style, which, however, deprives the text the high artistic value inherent in Sharaf-khān's work.

The abridgements made deal mainly with the descriptions of feasts, festivities or tragic events. The Qur'ān citations and verses, cited by Sharaf-khān at the end of the sections, are all omitted. Also omitted are chapters on the Ayyūbids, Khakkari rulers, on the town of Jazīra, the legend about the name of the Khīzān fortress and the foundation of the town of Khīzān, the name of the Darzīnī fortress, a long

passage about the Kurds of 'Attaq, about the rulers of Tarjīl and Bāna, about the name of Bidlis and the foundation and construction of the town of Bidlis, the characterisation of Mawlanā Muḥammad Shīrānshī, the etymology of the word *rozḥkī*, the description of the feast on the occasion of the celebration of Sharaf-khān's son marriage, of a feast at Sharaf-khān's, the description of battle preparation, the beginning of a decree and the beginning of the chapter on Sharaf-khān's son Shams al-Dīn.

On the other hand, there are some additions in the translation which are not found in the original. For example, the *Rozḥkī* tribe's description is given, the location of Sheikh 'Adī's grave is indicated. The translator gives also his own interpretation of the origin of the town's name Shahrizūr and so on. The most interesting and substantial addition is however a passage devoted to the dervish Maḥmūd Kalajīrī. A superb poet well-trained in Persian and Turkish poetry, he was a keeper of the government library. He was also appointed the sanjak-bey of Bidlis by the Sultan's decree. It should be mentioned that this addition devoted to Maḥmūd Kalajīrī is present in a Turkish translation of the *Sharaf-nāma* made by Muḥammad (Mehmed) Amīn Bozarslān, who used in his work the Arabic translation of the *Sharaf-nāma* by Muḥammad 'Alī 'Awnī (1958). Apart from this addition, Bozarslān's translation also contains three additional chapters lacking in both Persian texts published by Velyaminov-Zernov and in the Kurdish translation by Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī. Those chapters are chapter 7 — "On the Zarzā emirs [tribe]", chapter 8 — "On the Astūnī emirs [tribe]", chapter 9 — "On the Dāsnī emirs [tribe]". They are placed in the third section of the second part of this Turkish translation.

There are also some discrepancies in dates and figures. They may be simply slips of the pen by Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī,

but more usual explanation is that the translator worked with a different *Sharaf-nāma* copy. Indications of taxes and gifts received by the rulers, population number and army strength are given in the Kurdish translation in figures (in the original all those are given in Arabic words). The months indications are omitted in the translation. Occasionally, Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī omits the dates, too.

Generally the translator leaves Arabic terms as they are in Sharaf-khān's work, but sometimes Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī substitutes them by Persian and Turkish terms more familiar to the Kurdish reader. Some terms are omitted or translated descriptively. I am not dwelling here on some other minor differences. It may be said that, on the whole, the first Kurdish translation made by Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī conveys the original Persian text exactly.

The translation is of great scientific value, despite all omissions and text abridgements mentioned. Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī's appreciation of Sharaf-khān Bidlīs's work was very high. As he wrote: "Indeed, Kurdistan owes its history to the pen of that man of great learning who is the most outstanding figure of his epoch" [13]. It should be stressed that Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī was he who continued the work by Sharaf-khān by compiling the work of his own — *Tawārikh-i jadīd-i Kurdistan*, in which he made abundant borrowings from Sharaf-khān's remarkable composition.

Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī's translation and his other writings can serve a valuable source for further research of this eminent nineteenth-century Kurdish scholar literary heritage. They provide rich material for studying not only the northern dialect of Kurdish but also the history of the Kurdish people.

## Notes

1. See M. B. Rudenko, *Opisanie Kurdsikh rukopisei leningradskikh sobraniĭ* (Description of the Kurdish manuscripts from Leningrad Collections) (Moscow, 1961).
2. Mela Makhmud Baiazidi. *Tavarikh-i kadim-i Kurdistan* ("Drevniaia istoriia Kurdistan"). T. I. *Perevod "Sharaf-name" Sharaf-khana Bidlisi s persidskogo iazyka na kurdsikh iazyk (kurmandzhi)* (Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī. *Tavarikh-i qadīm-i Kurdistan* ("Old History of Kurdistan"). Vol. I. Kurdish (Kurmanji) translation of Sharaf-khān Bidlīs's *Sharaf-nāma* from the Persian), publication of the text, introduction, indices and the table of content by K. K. Kurdoev and J. S. Musaelian (Moscow, 1986), p. 1 (text).
3. A. Jaba, *Recueil de notices et récits kourdes* (St. Pétersbourg, 1860), p. IX.
4. *Ibid.*, p. X.
5. This manuscript was published by M. B. Rudenko in 1963, see her *Mela Makhmud Baiazidi. Navy i obychai kurdiv [tekst]* (Mullā Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī. The Morals and Customs of the Kurds [Text]), translation, introduction and notes by M. B. Rudenko (Moscow, 1963).
6. The Archive of Orientalists at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, p. III, on. 1, No. 86.
7. Sankt-Peterburgskii Filial Arhiva Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive), φ. 776, on. 2, No. 90, fol. 12.
8. *Ibid.*, φ. 2, on. 1—(1865), No. 20, fols. 52—101. For this composition, see E. I. Vasilyeva, "Kniga po istorii Kurdistan, kotoraiia ostaetsia nenaĭdennoi" ("A book on the history of Kurdistan, which remains unfound"), *Pamiatniki pis'mennosti i problemy istorii i kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, XXIV, pt. 3 (Moscow, 1991), pp. 33—59.
9. *Ibid.*, φ. 776, on. 4, No. 10, fol. 2.
10. Mela Makhmud Baiazidi. *Tavarikh-i kadim-i Kurdistan* ("Drevniaia istoriia Kurdistan").
11. *Scheref-nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes par Scheref, Prince de Bidlis*, publiée pour la première fois ... par V. Véliaminof-Zernof, vol. I (St. Pétersbourg, 1860), p. 339.
12. *Sharaf-khan Bidlisi. Sharaf-name* (Sharaf-khān Bidlīs. *Sharaf-nāma*), translation, introduction, indices and addendum by E. I. Vasilyeva (Moscow, 1967), p. 20.
13. Sankt-Peterburgskii Filial Arhiva Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive), φ. 2, on. 1—(1865), No. 20, fol. 52.

## A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI: I. THE *VINAYA* OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS (PART 3)

The present paper is the continuation of the publication of Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali (see *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2—3, 1999). The beginning of the text on fol. 75 *recto* which opens this part of the publication follows the last line of the text on fol. 74 *verso* of the preceding publication. An analysis of the text on fol. 75 clearly indicates its compilative nature. One and

the same rule is either repeated in various contexts or is given in different fashion; one must turn to arithmetic to prove the identity of these formulas. All of this confirms the presence of several sources, which were used by the compiler. It also seems that he used these texts not from memory, but actually had before him copies of the *Vinaya* rules.

We now turn to the text.

FOL. [75 r]

### TRANSLITERATION

1. *nikṣipitavyaṃ || catu[r]-māsa-kalpo yathā saṃstarikena [bhikṣunā varṣakāntareṣu ja]-*
2. *napadeṣu aṣṭa-māsā-cchane<sup>1</sup> vastavya catvāraṃ ca abhy-avakāṣe || [paṃca-māsa-kalpo] ...*
3. *āstīrna kaṭhine āvāse paṃca māsā kaṭhinānuśaṣaḥ || [ṣaṭ-māsa]-*
4. *kalpo ṣaṭmāsāni adhikaraṇaṃ nikṣipitavyaṃ || sapta-māsa-kalpo [āstīrne]*

### TRANSLATION

- 1—2. One can put off [disputes] on legal questions<sup>[44]</sup>. Rule of the four months: during the period of rains, a *bhikṣu* together [with his] sitting rug must remain under cover in those areas where he has lived for [the preceding] eight months, and in the open air for four months<sup>[45]</sup>. [Rule of the five months]:
3. During the five months after the distribution of the *kaṭhina* in the place where the community lives, the *kaṭhina* [received by the *bhikṣu* is considered] lawful<sup>[46]</sup>. Rule of the
4. [six months]: one can put off [disputes] on legal questions for six months<sup>[47]</sup>. Rule of the seven months:

### Commentary

[44] The rule refers the same situation as the preceding rule. The resolution of all legal questions slated for resolution at the gathering — *adhikaraṇa* (see n. 10) — is put off for the rain season, as [disputes] may disturb the peace of the community and lead to a schism. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, III, 11, 5—13.

[45] In this formulation, the rule includes several elements which are based on various norms of the *Vinaya-vastu*: 1) the “summering period”, the rain period, during which the community must live under a roof, perhaps in the homes of lay-persons who provide shelter, is defined as four months; 2) during this time, it is forbidden to move from place to place; 3) the necessity of bringing one's sitting rug with one for the period of summer time receives special mention; 4) the necessity of spending only four months beneath a roof is stressed; the remainder of the time one is to live out in the open (or “beneath a tree”, see below). We observe each of these rules separately.

1) The summer period is defined in section four of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Varṣāvāsuvastu*. In the Gilgit manuscripts, this section has been incompletely preserved. According to the text of this section, one may leave for summering at two times: a) the early time — “the day

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *aṣṭa-māsāchane*.



after the full moon of month" (= June — July); b) the late time — "a month after the full moon of month *āsāḍha*". Consequently, summering lasted for four months (as in the manuscript) or, in the second case, for three; see *Mahāvagga*, III, 2.

2) The prohibition on moving from place to place is established in the same section of the *Vinaya-vastu*. In special cases (they are enumerated in the *Vinaya-vastu*), a *bhikṣu* could leave the summering place for seven days; cf. *Mahāvagga*, III, 1; 3; 5; 6; 7. A list of cases in which it was permitted to retreat to a neighboring community is preserved in the *Varṣāvastu* of the Gilgit manuscripts (pp. 142, 143). One of these cases, in particular, is the performance of the ritual *upasampāda* over the *śikṣamāṇa*, *śrāmaṇeraka*, *śrāmaṇerikā*. The formula "must remain ... in those areas where he has lived" is linked to a case described in *Mahāvagga*, III, 4, 2: "No one, o *bhikṣu*, can leave that area [where he lives] because he does not want to begin summering on the appointed day. He who proceeds thus commits a misdeed".

3) The rule which relates to the rug is formulated in section 16 of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Kṣudrakaparivarta* (correspondingly, in the *Vinayakṣudraka* of Mūlasarvāstivādin. Cf. *Čullavagga*, V, 18: *na bhikkhave satumāsam nisīdanena vippavasitabbam yo vippavaseyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā'ti* ("No one, o *bhikṣu*, must remain for four months without a sitting rug. He who proceeds thus (remains without a rug) commits a misdeed").

4) Among the four injunctions a *bhikṣu* must perform after he has received *upasampāda* initiation, the fourth is to "live [his] entire life beneath a tree" out in the open. See the *Vinaya-vastu*, section 1 — *Śikṣāpada*. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 30, 4: *rukhamīlaseṇāsaṇam nisāya pabbajjā tattha te yāvajīvam ussāho karaṇiyo. Atirekalabho vihāro adbhayogo pāsādo hammiyam guhā*. See also the *Vinaya-vastu*, section 4, and *Mahāvagga*, III, 12, 5: "no one, o *bhikṣu*, must remain out in the open for the rain season ..."

[46] The rule is based on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Nihsargikā*, 3 (see n. 41) and on the *Kāthinavastu* section of the *Vinaya-vastu*. It should be understood as follows: if a monk has received a *cīvara* as a gift before the official distribution of clothing in the community, then one month after the distribution of clothing he must give up the extra *cīvara*.

The term *kāthina* is used in two meanings in *Vinaya* texts: 1) clothing which is produced by the entire community together, with the observance of special rules, from material donated by lay-persons; 2) already made clothing donated by lay-persons either to the entire community or to individual monks which is distributed at a gathering between all members of the community. Both types of clothing were considered "lawful" (*anuśamsah*), that is, obtained at the stipulated time, as opposed to *akāla cīvara* — clothing not acquired at the proper time (see n. 41).

On the origins of the rules for receiving *kāthina* as *deya-dharma* and removal of limitations during its distribution, see "Gilgit Manuscripts", *Kāthinavastu*, p. 152: *yattivaham bhikṣuṇaṃ sparśavihārārthaṃ dāttrīṇaṃ ca deya-dharmaparibhogārthaṃ bhikṣuṇaṃ kāthinamnujāniyam yasmātpañcānuśamsāḥ kāthināstare. na daśāha paramaṃ na māsaparamaṃ na rātrīpravāsaḥ sāntarottareṇa cīvarena janapadacārikāprakramaṇaṃ yāvadaṭṭam vikālpakacīvaradhāraṇamiti*. Cf. the Pāli, *Mahāvagga*, VII, 1, 3: *anāmantacāro asamādāno-cāro gannabhojanaṃ yāvadaṭṭacīvaraṃ yo ca tattha cīvaruppādo so nasam bhavissati*.

On the term *vikalpaka* (*vikalpita*, *vikalpana*) as applied to *cīvara* ("handing over", "handed over", "transfer"), see O. von Hinüber, "Eine Karmavācānā-Sammlung aus Gilgit", *ZDMG*, B. 119, H. 1 (1969), p. 107.

The distribution of *cīvara* within the community was founded on two *paribodha* — the rights of *bhikṣu* to take part in the distribution of *kāthina*. The first right is called *āvāsa-paribodha* — "the right [on the basis of living] in the place where the community is located (residence)". *āvāsa* is used here as a technical term to designate territory which a given community considers its own and to which all of its resolutions apply (see *Vinaya-vastu*, section 1; cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 7). According to the *āvāsa-paribodha*, all monks who had spent the rain season on that territory have the right to take part in the distribution of *kāthina*, see *Mahāvagga*, VII, 13. The second rule is tied to the condition of the *bhikṣu*'s clothing. In the *Kāthinavastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādin, this provision is absent; there, we find only an enumeration of five types of individuals who do not have a right to *kāthina*: *katamāḥ paṃcabhiḥ avārśiko varṣacchinnaḥ paścimakāṃ varṣāmuḥ-pagato 'nyatra varṣoṣitaḥ śikṣadāttakāḥ* ("Gilgit Manuscripts", p. 154). In another context (p. 157), instead of the last category of persons — *śikṣadāttaka* — we find *asammukhībhūtā*, that is, "those who are not present". The distribution of *kāthina* was accompanied by special ceremonies, cf. *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, § 265, p. 558, Nos. 8681—8687.

[47] This rule is not attested in texts of the *Vinaya* known to us. In all likelihood, it is chronologically linked to the two preceding rules: after the community has finished summering, performed the ritual of *pravāraṇa*, and prepared and distributed *kāthina*, it can undertake the resolution of difficult questions which have accumulated. Clearly, all of the actions enumerated above took on average around six months; hence, the community could not engage in disputes for six months (see n. 39). However, this rule does not fit in with another precept of the *Vinaya* on the two large gatherings of the community with the participation of the *śrāvakas* — *mahāsannipāta*: *kalau dvau samayau śrāvakānāṃ mahāsannipāto bhavati grīṣmānāṃ paścime māse varṣānāṃ paścime māse* ("The large meeting of the *śrāvakas* happens two times — in the last month of summer [and] in the last month of the rain season"). See J. Filliozat, "Fragments du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin", *JA* (1938), p. 43. The first rule on the resolution of legal questions matches well with this rule — "the resolution of legal questions can be put off for three months" — the three months of the rain season intercede precisely between the two times of the "large gatherings" indicated in the text — *śrāvāna*, *bhādrapada*, *aśvayuja*. If the first gathering takes place on the full moon of the last month of summer — *āsāḍha* — and the second on the full moon of the last month of the rain season — *kārttika* — then eight full months should have passed from the second gathering to the first gathering of the next year. The rule of six months can only be accepted if the resolution of legal questions occurred not at general gatherings with the participation of *śrāvakas*, but after it, so that *śrāvakas* would not be witness to conflicts within the community.

1. *kāthine āvāse sapta māsāni akāla cīvara nikṣipitavya || a[ṣṭau]-māsa-ka]-*
2. *lpo yathā samstārikaṇa bhikṣuṇā varṣakāttāreṣu janapadeṣu a...*

3. *abhyavakāṣeṣu vastava*<sup>1</sup> *catvāraṃ cacchane* || *nava-māsa-[kalpo nava mā]-*
4. *sa*<sup>2</sup> *adhikaraṇaṃ nikṣipitavyaṃ* || *daśa-māsa-kalpo nā[sti || eka-varṣa-ka]-*

## TRANSLATION

1. After the *kāṭhina* has been distributed, in seven months *cīvara* not received at the proper time must be given back <sup>[48]</sup>. [Rule of eight] months:
2. After the rain season is over, the *bhikṣu* together with his rug must live for eight months out
3. in the open in rural areas, and for four months beneath cover <sup>[49]</sup>. [Rule] of the nine months: for nine
4. months one can put off [disputes] on legal questions. There is no rule of ten months. [Rule of one year]:

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

<sup>[48]</sup> This rule is linked to the rule of five months (see above) and is founded on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Nihsargika* 3 (cf. notes 41 and 46) and is based on the precepts for the distribution of *kāṭhina*. Clothing donated before the distribution of *kāṭhina* and, evidently, before the rain season, could be kept for five months (one month before the rain season plus four months of the rain season; or: four months of the rain season plus one month). During the distribution of *kāṭhina*, the community could permit a *bhikṣu* to consider this clothing in favor of *kāṭhina*. But after the distribution of clothing was complete, a *bhikṣu* did not have the right to use extra, donated *cīvara*; it was pronounced *akāla cīvara* and had to be returned to the community.

<sup>[49]</sup> The rule is linked to the rule of the four months (see above) and together with it encompasses a year: four months of summering plus eight months of life out in the open (see n. 45).

<sup>[50]</sup> The rule is not attested in other *Vinaya* texts. If one accepts that legal questions were resolved after the second general gathering with the participation of *śrāvakas* (see n. 47), then it is clear that these questions were resolved twice a year — before and after the rain season (12 months — 3 months of the rain season = 9 months).

## FOL. [76 r]

## TRANSLITERATION

1. *lpo eka varṣena bhikṣunā kāṭhinam-astaritavyaṃ*<sup>3</sup> || *dvi-varṣa-kalpo duve varṣāni*
2. *śikṣamānikāya*<sup>4</sup> *upādhyāyika*<sup>5</sup> *samanubandhayitavyaṃ* || *tri-varṣa-kalpo trīni*
3. *n*<sup>6</sup> *varṣāntarikāya*<sup>7</sup> || *catu[r]-varṣa-kalpo catvāri varṣena bhikṣunā niśrayo gr-*
4. *hñitavyaḥ* || *pañca-varṣa-kalpo pañca varṣena bhikṣunā pa[m]-cāhi dharmehi sama[nu]-*

## TRANSLATION

1. In one year, one must distribute *kāṭhina* <sup>[51]</sup>. Rule of two years:
2. a female candidate to become a *bhikṣuṇī* must follow a teacher-*upādhyāya* for two years <sup>[52]</sup>. Rule of three year: the candidacy
3. period (may be extended) to three years <sup>[53]</sup>. Rule of four years: for four years a *bhikṣu* must receive
4. *niśraya*. Rule of five years: after a *bhikṣu* has mastered the five *dharma*s over the course of five years, he

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

<sup>[51]</sup> As most indicated above (see n. 46), the distribution of *kāṭhina* takes place once a year after the rain season. See the *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, *Kāṭhinavastu*, p. 152: *kārtikanmāsād yāvatphālguna māso 'trāntarādāstrīrtakāṭhinānam lābha iti viditvā bhikṣuṇāmanrayate sma*. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, VII, 1, 3.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *vastavyaṃ*.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *māsāni*.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of *kāṭhinam-āstaritavyaṃ*.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of *śikṣamānikāyāḥ*?

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *upādhyāyikā*.

<sup>6</sup> *ni* is repeated by mistake.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *varṣāntarikāyāḥ*?



Fig. 1

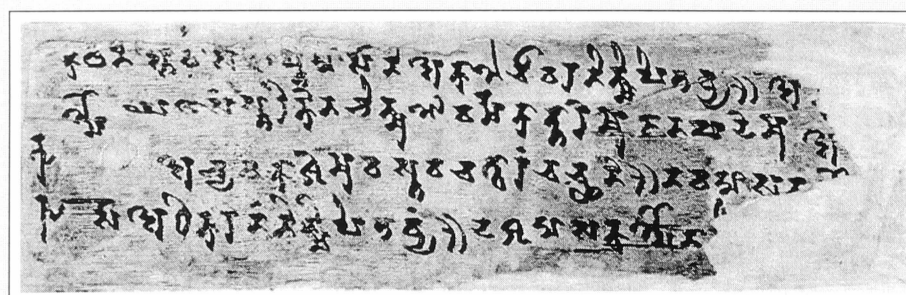


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

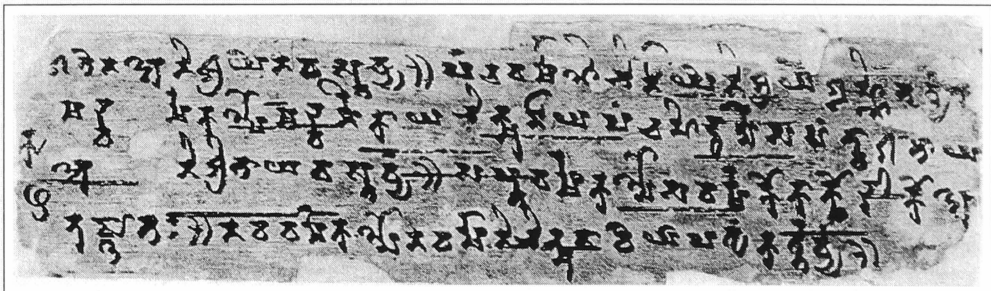


Fig. 4

[52] The candidacy period for *śikṣamānikā* (*śikṣamānā*), women who have undergone the ritual of *pravrajyā* (see n. 43) is set at two years. During those years the candidate must master the “six *dharma*s” (see below) under the direction of a *upādhyāya*. If she manages this successfully, the community must consider the question of accepting the candidate into the *bhikṣuṇī*, that is, the question of *upasampāda*. See *Vinaya-vastu*, pt. 17 — *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya* (correspondingly, *Vinayaśūdraka* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, pt. VI, ch. XXXVII). Cf. *Cūllavagga*, X, 1, 5: *dve vassāni chasu dhammesu sikkhitasikkhāya sikkhamānāya ubhatosamge upasampāda pariye-sitabbā*. On the candidacy period for nuns, see also *Bhikkhūni-vanaya-vibhaṅga*, pt. *Pācattiya*, LXIII—LXVII.

[53] The text appears to contain a grammatical error; it should be *trīni varṣāni āntarāyikāyā*. The rule serves as a continuation of the preceding rule. The term *antarikā* which is used in the manuscript means literally “close, neighboring” (f.); it was evidently written in error in place of *āntarāyikā*. This term is attested in *Vinaya* texts in the combination *āntarāyikā dharmā* (“reasons for delay, halting”). Its use applies to persons who commit various types of errors which delay their “initiation”, see “Gilgit Manuscripts”, vol. III, pt. III, p. 30. See also C. M. Ridding, L. La Vallée Poussin, “A fragment of the Sanskrit Vinaya. Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācānā”, *BSOS*, 1, pt. 3, p. 131. During the performance of the *upasampāda* ritual the future nun reports to the community: “*bhikṣuṇīsamghāt dve varṣe śaḍsu dharmeṣu śaṭ svanudharmeṣu śikṣā śikṣitā*” (“Over two years in the community of nuns I studied six *dharma*s and six *anudharma*s”), after which she asks the community: “*āntarāyikāḥ dharmān*” (“Are there no reasons for delay?”). Cf. also *Mahāvagga* II, 3, 3 and *Cūllavagga* I, 32 (*āntarāyikā dhamma*). The utterance allows one to propose the following translation: “They are delayed for up to three years”, that is, the candidacy period can be extended to three years. See also *Suttavibhaṅga*, *Bhikkhūnivibhaṅga*, *Pācattiya*, LXIII.

[54] The rule is based on the *Vinaya-vastu*, pt. 1 — *Śikṣapāda*. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 53, 4: “An educated and knowledgeable monk must live in dependence on a *acārya* or *upādhyāya* for five years, an uneducated one, for his entire life” (see n. 36). In the corresponding section of the *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins this rule is developed in greater detail than in *Mahāvagga*, I, 53. In particular, the example is given of a monk who is prepared for independent life in four years rather than five, having mastered the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*. The Sanskrit text of this section has not been preserved, but it exists in Tibetan translation. See *bKa’-gyur Derge*, pt. ‘*dul-ba*, vol. *ka*, fol. 71b.

## FOL. 76 v

## TRANSLITERATION

1. *gatena anīśrayena vastavya || pañca varṣāni bhiniye nīśraye*  
*grhṇitavyam ||*
2. *ṣaḍvarṣa-kalpo ṣaḍvarṣikāya bhikṣuṇīya pañcāhi ddharme<sup>1</sup>*  
*samanvāgatāya<sup>2</sup>*
3. *anīśritāya vastavyam || sapta-varṣa-kalpo sa[pta]-varṣako*  
*kākoḍāko a-*
4. *nūjñātaḥ || nava-varṣa-kalpo na[va]-varṣāni bhikṣuṇā veyāpatyam*  
*karttavyam ||*

## TRANSLATION

1. can live without *nīśraya*. [For] the preceding five years [he] must receive *nīśraya* [55].
2. Rule of six years: in six years, a *bhikṣuṇī* who has mastered the five *dharma*s [56],
3. may live without *nīśraya* [57]. Rule of seven years: a seven-year-old boy may chase away crows [58].
4. Rule of nine years: for nine years a monk must serve [a teacher] [59].

## Commentary

[55] The rule logically completes the three preceding rules on *nīśraya*: “of five days”, “of two months”, “of four years” (see notes 36, 42 and 54).

[56] The term *pañca dharmā* should here be interpreted with reference to the following text of the *Vinaya-vastu*, pt. *Posadhavastu* (see “Gilgit Manuscripts”, p. 77): *bhagavānāha. prahāṇa-pratijāgrako bhikṣuḥ sammanitavyaḥ. pañcābhīdharmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ prahāṇa-pratijāgrako bhikṣur asaṃmato na sammanitavyaḥ. sammatāścā- vakasyaitavyaḥ. katamaiḥ pañcabhiḥ. na cchandādgacchati na dveṣana mohan-na bhayād gacchati. jāgrtām jāgrtām prahāṇam na jānāti. ebhiḥ pañcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ prahāṇa pratijāgrako bhikṣuḥ sammatāścavākasaitavyaḥ.* (“Bhagawan said: ‘A diligent, efficient *bhikṣu* who follows the five *dharma*s cannot go unrespected. He who is respected should be advanced [moved forward].’ ‘What are the five [dharma]s?’ ‘[He is] diligent (cf. *acchandagamin*, *BSD*, p. 234 — *M. V.*); lacking [the ability to] hate; not engulfed [by passions]; not [gripped by] fear; [always] in good spirits; does not know fatigue in good spirits. A diligent, efficient *bhikṣu* who follows these five *dharma*s enjoys respect and [he] should be advanced.’”).

[57] The rule of the *bhikṣuṇī* was drawn up in analogous fashion to the preceding rule of *bhikṣu*, although the time of receiving *nīśraya* has been extended to six years. We were unable to find in any *Vinaya* texts mention of times of *nīśraya* for *bhikṣuṇī*.

[58] The term *kākoḍāka* (“chasing away crows”) is not attested in Sanskrit texts in this phonetic form; cf. the Pāli *kākuṭṭepaka* (Tib. *bya-rog-skrod*). The rule is based on a provision about the *pravrajyā* of a boy aged up to 15; it is given in section 1 of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Pravrajyāvastu* (the Sanskrit text has not been preserved). See *Mahāvagga*, I, 51, 1: “I permit you, monks, to perform the ritual of

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *dharmehi*.

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



*pravrajyā* on a boy who chases away crows even if he is not yet fifteen years old". In the Tibetan text of the *Vinaya-vastu*, this rule is cited in a formulation close to that found in the manuscript: "One can perform the ritual of *pravrajyā* on a boy aged seven if he can chase away crows" (*bKa 'gyur*, pt. 'Dul-ba, vol. ka, fol. 85b).

[59] The rule is based on two provisions of the *Vinaya-vastu*: 1) on the obligations of a *bhikṣu* before a *ācārya* and *upādhyāya* (see "Gilgit manuscripts", pt. *Pravrajyāvastu*, pp. 17—8; cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 25, 8—9); 2) on the period of 10 years, after which the *bhikṣu* can himself become a *ācārya* or *upādhyāya*, that is, perform the rituals of *pravrajyā* and *upasampāda*, give *niśraya*, employ the services of a *śrāmaṇerās*, and so forth. See J. Filliozat, Hōryū Kuno, "Fragments du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādins", *JA* (1938), pp. 47—8: *te pi param pravrajyāyisyanti upasampādayisyanti niśrayam dāsyanti śrāmaṇoddeṣam upasthāpayisyanti, idam buddho bhagavān anekaparyāyena vighraha bhikṣūn amantrayate sma, tasmāt tarhy adyāgreṇa paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgatena dasavarṣeṇa sārḍhavihārī upasampādayutavyaḥ* ("Moreover, it is they who will perform the rituals of *pravrajyā* and *upasampāda*, give *niśraya*, take a *śrāmaṇerās* into service" — thus did Bhagawan order the monks, having taking into consideration many circumstances; for this reason, only he who, following the five *dharma*s, [has lived] for ten years after *upasampāda* with [a teacher] as a charge (lit. "in the capacity of a *sārḍhavihārī*"), can then [manage to do all of this]").

## FOL. [77 r]

## TRANSLITERATION

1. *daśavarṣa-kalpo daśavarṣakena bhikṣuṇa pravrajyāpetavya upasampādayitavya*<sup>1</sup>
2. *niśrayo dātavya || daśavarṣa-kalpaṃ pi daśavarṣika bhikṣu-nīya gr̥havustikāya*
3. *ṣaḥi dḍharmehi<sup>2</sup> ṣaḥi anudharmehi<sup>3</sup> dve varṣāni śikṣā śikṣitavyaṃ || ekāda-*
4. *śavarṣa-kalpo nāsti || dvādaśavarṣa-kalpa dvādaśa varṣikāya bhikṣuṇī*

## TRANSLATION

1. Rule of ten years: a monk with ten years' experience can perform the ritual of *pravrajyā*, can perform the ritual of *upasampāda*,
2. can give *niśraya* <sup>[60]</sup>. [There is one] more rule of ten years: a nun with ten years' experience who lives in village must for two years study the rules relating to
3. the six *dharma*s and six *anudharma*s <sup>[61]</sup>. Of ele-
4. ven years there is no rule. Rule of twelve years: a nun with twelve years' experience

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

[60] A repetition of what was said above, see n. 59. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 31, 8: *anujānāmi bhikkhave vyattena bhikkhunā paṭibaleṇa dasavassena vā atirekadasavassena vā upasampādetuntī* ("I enjoin you, monks, that only he who has been a monk for ten years or more than ten years can perform the ritual of *upasampāda*"). Also, *Mahāvagga*, I, 35, 2: *anujānāmi bhikkhave vyattena bhikkhunā paṭibaleṇa dasavassena vā atireka dasavassena vā nissayaṃ dāṭuntī* ("I enjoin, monks, that only he who has been a monk for ten years or more than ten years can give *niśraya*").

[61] The rule for nuns is not attested in the given formulation in either the Sanskrit or Pālī text. It is evidently based on section 17 of the *Vinaya-vastu* of the Sarvāstivādins on the formation of a community of nuns. The Tibetan text, translated from the Sanskrit, has been preserved; it can be viewed as the basis for this rule. See *Vinayakṣudraka-vastu*, *bKa-gyur Derge*, pt. 'Dul-ba, vol. da, fol. 107b (2)—107b (3): *'phags-ma'i dge-'dun-ma-rnams bdag min-'di žes bgyi-ba khyim-ba gnas-pa lo-bcu-lon-pa'am | gžon-nu-ma lo-dcu-brgyed lon-te | 'phags-ma'i dge-'dun-ma-las lo-gāis-su chos-drug dang rjes-su 'bran-ba'i chos drug gsol-na ...* The text describes the ritual of initiation for nuns: "Nuns from the noble community, [listen]: I, so-and-so, a lay-person, have ten years' experience, a young woman. [I am] eighteen years old, and have studied in a noble community of nuns the six *dharma*s and six *anudharma*s for two years ..." As regards the "six *dharma*s and the six *anudharma*s", see *ibid.*, fol. 108a (4—5): *drug-gang-že-na | gcig-bu grong-du mi-'gro-dang | chu-bo pha-rol mi-rgal-lo | skyes-pa-dag dang reg-mi-bya | skyes-ba dang yang gnas-mi gcig | smyan-du 'gyur-ba mi-'bya-ste | kha-na ma-tho mi-bcab-pa'o | rjes-su 'brang-pa'i chos-drug gang-že-na | gser-la sogs-pa'i mi bzang-ste | gsang-ba'i spu-ni brag mi bya | sa-yang brkos mi-bya-žing | glen-pas rtsva-sngon mi gcad-do | byin len-ma byas zas mi bzang | gžan-pa-rnams-ni bza'-mi bya |* ("What are the six [*dharma*s]? Do not go to the village alone. Do not swim to the other shore of the river. Do not touch a man. Do not live under the same [roof] with a man. Do not engage in procuring and do not say sinful things. What are the six *anudharma*s? Do not have gold and other [valuables]. Do not shave the hair of the privy parts. Also, do not dig the earth. Do not cut the green grass by accident. If you have not received alms, do not eat. Do not give food to others").

<sup>1</sup> A slip of the pen — instead of *upasampādayitavya*.

<sup>2</sup> There are some prakritism here and further: instead of *ṣaḍbhi dharmebhi*.

<sup>3</sup> Again prakritism: instead of *ṣaḍbhi anudharmebhi*.

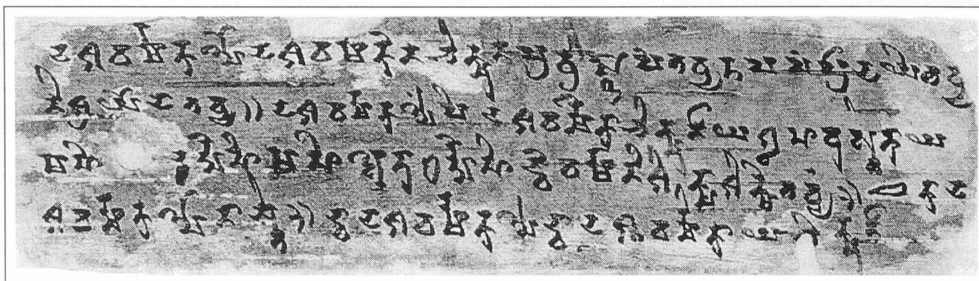


Fig. 5

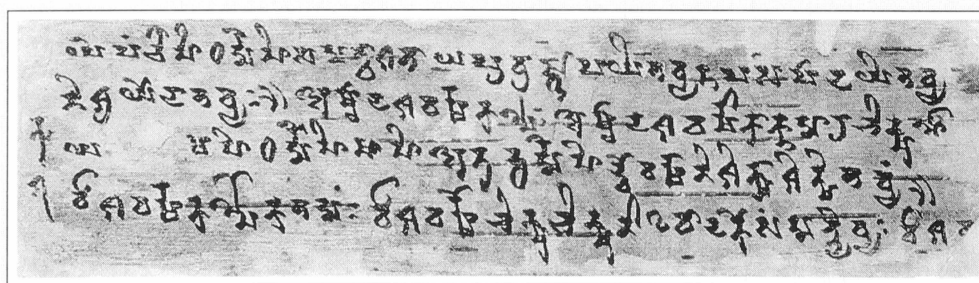


Fig. 6

FOL. 77 v

## TRANSLITERATION

1. ye<sup>1</sup> pañcehi dharmehi<sup>2</sup> samanvāgatāya pravrajyāpayita-  
vya upasampādayitavya
2. niśrayo dātavyaḥ || aṣṭādaśavarṣa-kalpaṃ aṣṭādaśavarṣākā kumāra  
bhikṣuṇī-
3. ya śahi dharmehi<sup>3</sup> śahi anudharmehi<sup>4</sup> dvo<sup>5</sup> varṣāni śikṣā  
śikṣitavyaṃ ||
4. vīśavarṣa-kalpo<sup>6</sup> katamaḥ viśa<sup>7</sup>-varṣo bhikṣu bhikṣuṇī va vādako  
saṃmānyivyaḥ<sup>8</sup> viśa<sup>9</sup>-va-

## TRANSLATION

1. having studied the five *dharma*s, should receive *pravrajyā*, should receive *upasampāda*, [to her] should be given
2. *niśraya* <sup>[62]</sup>. Rule of the eighteen years: an eighteen-year-old girl
3. should study the six *dharma*s and the six *anudharma*s for nuns for two years <sup>[63]</sup>.
4. What is the rule of twenty years? A twenty-year-old monk or nun should announce, a twenty-

## Commentary

<sup>[62]</sup> The rule which relates to a nun of 12 years' experience is not attested in the given formulation in the Sanskrit texts of the *Vinaya*. It is evidently based on a text which has survived in the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayaṣṣudraka-vastu*; it contains a list of questions and answers during the performance of the *upasampāda* ritual in relation to a nun: *bud-med kyang lags | bud-med-kyi dbang-po dang yang-ldan | bud-med khyim-na gnas-pa lo-bcu-gñis-sam | gžon-nu-ma lo-ñi-śur yang tshang-ste | 'di-la chos-gos lha dang lhung-bzad-du yang-ldan | dge-slong-ma'i dge-'dun-gyis 'di-la lo-gñis-su chos-drug dang rjes-su 'brang-ba'i chos-drug bslab-pa phog-ste | 'dis lo-gñis-su chos drug dang rjes-su 'brang-ba'i chos drug-gi bslab-pa-la yang bslabs |* ("I am a woman. I have female sex organs. I lived in a house as a lay-person. I have twelve years' experience. [As an] unmarried girl, [I] have attained the age of twenty. I have five *cīvaras* and *pātra*. In the community of nuns, I studied for two years the six *dharma*s and six *anudharma*s. Over two years, I learned the six *dharma*s and six *anudharma*s"). See *ibid.*, vol. *da*, fol. 112b (6)—113a (2).

<sup>[63]</sup> The rule is based on the text of the *Vinayaṣṣudraka-vastu* which has survived in Tibetan translation. See *ibid.*, vol. *da*, fol. 107b (2)—107b (6); see also n. 61 on a nun with 10 years' experience.

FOL. [78 r]

## TRANSLITERATION

1. rṣa celako upasampādayitavyaḥ viśa<sup>10</sup>-varṣa kumāra  
bhikṣuṇī upasampādayi[ta]-
2. vyaḥ || eka kalpo ekasyā adhiṣṭhānena posata<sup>11</sup> dvikalpo  
dvi vidhena bhājanā<sup>12</sup> śala-
3. ka granenapā<sup>13</sup> mukhaṃ vā pratyaṃśaṃna<sup>14</sup> tri kalpo  
triṇaṃ janānāṃ tre vācikenā posato
4. caru-kalpo<sup>15</sup> caturṇa<sup>16</sup> posataḥ pañcānāṃ pravāranā ||  
ṣaṭkalpo nāsti sapta-ka-

<sup>1</sup> A slip of the pen, instead of -ya — prolongation of the previous line — *bhikṣuṇīya*.

<sup>2</sup> A prakritism — instead of *pañcabhi dharmebhi*.

<sup>3</sup> A prakritism — instead of *ṣaḍbhi dharmebhi*.

<sup>4</sup> A prakritism — instead of *ṣaḍbhi anudharmebhi*.

<sup>5</sup> A slip of the pen, instead of *dve*.

<sup>6</sup> A prakritism — instead of *viṃśativarṣa-kalpo*.

<sup>7</sup> A prakritism — instead of *viṃśati*.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of *samājñayitavyaḥ* (erroneously?).

<sup>9</sup> See n. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Instead of *viṃśati*.

<sup>11</sup> Here and hereafter instead of *uposatha*.

<sup>12</sup> Instead of *bhojanā*.

<sup>13</sup> Instead of *śalākā grahena pi*.

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

<sup>15</sup> Instead of *caturṣkalpo*.

<sup>16</sup> Instead of *caturṇāṃ*.

## TRANSLATION

1. -year-old Buddhist novice should receive *upasampāda*, a twenty-year-old girl-monk should receive *upasaṃ-*
2. *pāda* <sup>[64]</sup>. The rule of the one <sup>[65]</sup>: *uposatha* is arranged for one <sup>[66]</sup>. Rule of the two: food [is distributed] in two ways: by receiving
3. a coupon or by the allotment of a share [immediately] in presence <sup>[67]</sup>. Rule of the three: [given the presence] of three people, the *uposatha* is read with three voices <sup>[68]</sup>
4. Rule of the four: the *uposatha* [is read] by four <sup>[69]</sup>, a group of five [may perform] the *pravaraṇa* <sup>[70]</sup>. There is no rule of the six. Rule of the seven:

## Commentary

<sup>[64]</sup> The meaning of the rule is essentially that of the provision in the *Vinaya* that the ritual of *upasampāda* should not be performed on a person younger than 20. See Filliozat, "Fragments du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādins", pp. 45—6: *idaṃ buddha bhagavān anekaparyāyena vīgarhya bhikkūn āmantrayate sma. tasmāt tarhy adyāgreṇa na ūnadaśavarṣeṇa sārđhavihārī upasampādayitavyah ya upasampādayet uṣkṛtasyāpatti* ("Generalising many cases, thus did the Buddha Bhagawan enjoin the monks; for this reason, in the future no one should perform the ritual of *upasampāda* on a charge (= *sārđhavihārī*) if he is not yet 20. He who performs the *upasampāda* commits the offence of *uṣkṛta*"). Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 49, 6: *na bhikkhave janam-unavisativasso puggalo upasampādetabbo* ("No one, o monks, must perform the ritual of *upasampāda* on a person, knowing that he is not yet 20 years old").

The term *celaka* is attested only in Buddhist Sanskrit in the sense of a "monk who wears linen clothing". In classical Sanskrit, the term *celuka* is used — "Buddhist novice", which seems more appropriate in the given context.

On the *upasampāda* of a nun at the age of 20, see the passage cited above from the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayakṣudraka-vastu*, note 62.

<sup>[65]</sup> The rules which follow are formulated in brief and arranged in ascending numerical order beginning with one (a system designed for memorisation).

<sup>[66]</sup> The rule is based on section 2 of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Posadha-vastu* (vol. III, pt. IV, p. 101): *yasmin bhadanta āvāse eko bhikkūḥ prativasati. tena tadeva posadhe paṃcadaśayāṃ katham pratipattavyam* ("In this region, o holiest one, lives [only] a single *bhikkū*. How should one arrange the ceremony of *uposathi* on the 15th [day]?"). It is explained in the Pāli text that if only a single *bhikkū* remains in the cloister, he still must read the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and perform the *parisuddhi-uposatha*. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, II, 26, 8, 9: "If in some cloister, o monks, on the day of the *uposatha*, there lives a single *bhikkū*, he sweeps the place where the *bhikkū* usually perform [the *uposatha*], the dining area, or the hall, or the space beneath a tree, he brings [to that place] water and food, prepares the seats, places a lamp and sits down ... If they (other monks who have chanced upon the cloister — *M. V.-D.*) do not come, let him concentrate on the thought: 'Today is my *uposatha*'."

<sup>[67]</sup> The rule is based on the first of four injunctions obligatory for *bhikkūs* after the *upasampāda*. The corresponding Sanskrit text has not come down to us. For the Pāli, see *Mahāvagga*, I, 30, 4: "The life of a monk is supported by those pieces of food offered as alms to [nourish him]. You should try to live your entire life in this fashion. The food which is presented to the community or personally to individual [*bhikkū*], invitations, food distributed by coupon, fare [in honour of the beginning] of each full moon, on each day of the *uposatha* or on the first day of the bright side of the moon — [this] is all goes beyond that which is decreed".

*Salākāgraha* (Pāli *salakagaha*) is an established *Vinaya* term — "taking a coupon" (or "tag, ticket"). It is used in two cases: 1) when a *bhikkū* is invited for refreshments or instead of alms is given a coupon which allows him food in "alms houses", that is, in places where a wealthy lay-person provides for the distribution of food to monks; 2) during gatherings of the community to decide difficult questions where votes must be counted, or if one must count the number of *bhikkūs* present at a gathering. In such cases, the counter is identified — *śulākāgrahāpaka* (Pāli *salākāgāhapāka*, see *Cūllavagga*, IV, 9).

<sup>[68]</sup> The Sanskrit text of the rule in the first section of the *Vinaya-vastu* has not survived, see *Mahāvagga*, I, 26, 2, 3: "I enjoin, o monks, that three *bhikkūs* can perform the *pārisuddhi-uposatha*. And [this ritual] should be performed in the following fashion: let an educated, knowledgeable *bhikkū* make the following announcement to the *bhikkū*: 'Listen to me, honourable brothers! Today is the *uposatha*, the 15th day. If the honourable brothers are ready, let them perform the *pārisuddhi-uposatha* before each other'."

<sup>[69]</sup> The rule is based on the first section of the *Vinaya-vastu*, the Sanskrit text has not come down to us, see *Mahāvagga*, I, 26, 1: "I enjoin, o *bhikkū*, that a foursome [of *bhikkū*] can read the *Prātimokṣa*".

The rule can also be explained on the basis of a provision on the legal powers of the community, see *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 199—211, *Karmavastu*: *api tu bhikkūṣaḥ pañca saṃghakaramaṇāṃ svamināḥ. katame pañca. catvāro bhikkūṣaḥ saṃghaḥ. pañcāpi bhikkūṣaḥ saṃghaḥ. daśa bhikkūṣaḥ saṃghaḥ. viṃśatir-bhikkūṣaḥ saṃghaḥ... tatra bhikkūṣavo yatra catvāro bhikkūṣaḥ pravāraṇāṃ. arhatai tatra pañcā dharmena sarvakarmāṇi kartum. sthāpayitvā pañcānāṃ pravāraṇāṃ daśānāṃ upasampādāṃ viṃśatīnāṃ cāvarhaṇam* ("And also, *bhikkū*, five [categories] of the community are empowered to perform official acts: what are [these] five [categories]? A community of four *bhikkūs*. Also a community of five *bhikkūs*. A community of ten *bhikkūs*. A community of twenty *bhikkūs* ... There, monks, where four *bhikkūs* live, in accordance with the *dharma* the community can perform all official acts except for the *pravāraṇā*, [which only] five [can perform], the *upasampāda*, [which only] ten [can perform], and the *avarhaṇa*, [which only] twenty [can perform]").

<sup>[70]</sup> *pravāraṇā* (Pāli *pavāraṇā*) — "ritual of cleansing after the rain season". It is described in the third section of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Pravāraṇā-vastu* (see "Gilgit Manuscripts", III, pt. IV, pp. 117—30), the text has come down to us in fragmentary form. A description of this ritual has been preserved in full in the *Karmavācānā*, see Hārtel, *Karmavācānā*, pp. 122—3: *adya saṃghasya pravāraṇā. mamāpi adya pravāraṇā. aham itthaṃ-nāmā bhikkūṣu bhadanta saṃgham pravārayāmi dṛṣṭena śruteṇa pariśankayā. avavadatu mām saṃgho 'nukampām upādāya. paśyann apāttim yathādharmam pratikariṣyāmi. evaṃ dvir api trir api* ("Today is the [day of] *pravāraṇā* of the community.

Today is also [the day of] my *pravāraṇā*. I, a *bhikṣu* by the name of so-and-so, o honourable ones, perform my *pravāraṇā* before the community. [If someone] has noticed [anything about me], heard, or if [anyone has] a suspicion, tell me, o [members of the] community, without regret. If I see [in this] an offence, I will atone [for it] as is prescribed in accordance with the *dharma*.” Thus [is it repeated] on the second time, and on the third time as well”). Cf. *Mahāvagga*, IV, 1, 13, 14. See also *Vinaya-vastu*, section *Karmavastu*, p. 203 (cf. n. 69).

## FOL. [78 v]

## TRANSLITERATION

1. *lpo sapta cīvarāni trihi dorvvarṇṇa-karanehi<sup>1</sup> dorvvarṇṇi<sup>2</sup> kartavyaḥ || aṣṭa kalpo ahi<sup>3</sup> ja-*
2. *nehi<sup>4</sup> mahāsamāddhi āddhiṣṭatāvya<sup>5</sup> || nava kalpo nāsti daśa kalpo daśahi<sup>6</sup> ja-*
3. *nehi bhikṣu upasampādayitavyaḥ viśahi<sup>7</sup> āvrahitavyaḥ<sup>8</sup> || viśahi jane-*
4. *hi bhikṣuṇī upasampādayitavyaḥ catvārīśahi<sup>9</sup> āvrahitavyaḥ ||*

## TRANSLATION

1. Seven *cīvaras* should be brought to an unsightly colour by re-dying them [into one of] three [colours] <sup>[71]</sup>. Rule of the
2. eight: eight persons may perform the *mahāsamāddhi* <sup>[72]</sup>. There is no rule of the nine. Rule of the ten:
3. the ritual of the *upasampāda* of a *bhikṣu* can be performed [by a community of] ten persons <sup>[73]</sup>. Rehabilitation [after punishment] can be performed [by a community of] twenty persons <sup>[74]</sup>. The ritual of the *upasampāda* of a
4. nun can be performed [by a community of] twenty persons <sup>[75]</sup>. The rehabilitation [of a nun after punishment] can be performed [by a community of] forty persons <sup>[76]</sup>.

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

<sup>[71]</sup> The rule is not attested in this formulation in other *Vinaya* texts. It contains two instructions: 1) the possibility of having on hand seven *cīvaras* at the same time; 2) the necessity of rendering them unsightly.

As concerns the first instruction, it was not possible to find confirmation of it in *Vinaya* texts. The *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins (*Cīvaravastu*, “Gilgit Manuscripts”, vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 3—148) speaks of three *cīvaras*: *tasmāttarhi bhikṣavo bhikṣubhīṣchinnam tricīvaram dhārayitavyamiti* (“For this reason, monks, monks should have on hand three *cīvaras* [sewn from] rags, this is the [resolution]”). We find the same instruction in the *Bhikṣukarmavākya*, see A. Ch. Banerjee, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXV (1949), pp. 21—2: *cīvaram saṃghāṭim adhiṣṭhāmi cīvaram uttarasaṃgaṃ adhiṣṭhāmi cīvaram antavāsaṃ adhiṣṭhāmi* (“I accept the *saṃghāṭi*-*cīvara*, I accept the *uttarasamga*-*cīvara*, I accept the *antavāsa*-*cīvara*”). We also find the same three *cīvaras* in the Pāli *Vinaya*, see *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 20, 2: “I allow you, monks, to have on hand three *cīvaras* without exchanging them; to have clothing for the four rainy months, but to surrender it after this ...”

A nun has the right to use five *cīvaras*, see *Cūllavagga*, X, 1, 2. In the *Mahāvyyutpatti* (§ 271, p. 573, Nos. 8932—8945) 13 terms are indicated for the clothing of monks; among them are five types of *cīvara* which are obligatory for monks and nuns. There are no indications of the times and situations in which one may use the remaining eight types of clothing. It is not out of the question that the rule indicates not the number of *cīvaras* but variations in the material from which they could be made. See, for example, *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 3, 1, 2: “I allow you, monks, six types of clothing: that made of linen, of cotton, of silk, of wool, of coarse fabric, and of hemp”.

The second part of the rule — the necessity of rendering a *cīvara* unsightly in colour — is based on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Pāṭayan-tikā*, 59: “If a monk has received a new *cīvara*, he should employ one of three methods to mar its good colour — dying it blue, grey, or black. If a monk begins to use the new *cīvara* without treating it with one of these three methods, [he has committed the offence of] *pāṭayantikā*”.

<sup>[72]</sup> The rule is not attested in any of the *Vinaya* rules known to us.

<sup>[73]</sup> The rule is based on a provision on the legal powers of the community, see the *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, *Karmavastu* (“Gilgit Manuscripts”, vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 199—211): *yatra bhikṣavo daśa prativasanti. arhati tatra saṃghaḥ sarvakarmāni kartum sthāpayitvā viṃśatīnāmāvarhanam* (“There, monks, where ten (monks) live, the community may perform all official acts except for the *avarhana*, [which] only twenty [can perform]”) (p. 203). See also n. 69.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *tribhiḥ durvarṇi-karanebhiḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *durvarṇi*.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of *aṣṭābhiḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of *janebhiḥ* (Skr. *janaiḥ*) here and hereafter.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *adhiṣṭatāvya*.

<sup>6</sup> Instead of *daśābhiḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *viṃśatibhiḥ*, here and hereafter.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of *āvrahitavyaḥ*, here and hereafter.

<sup>9</sup> Instead of *catvārīṣadbhiḥ*.



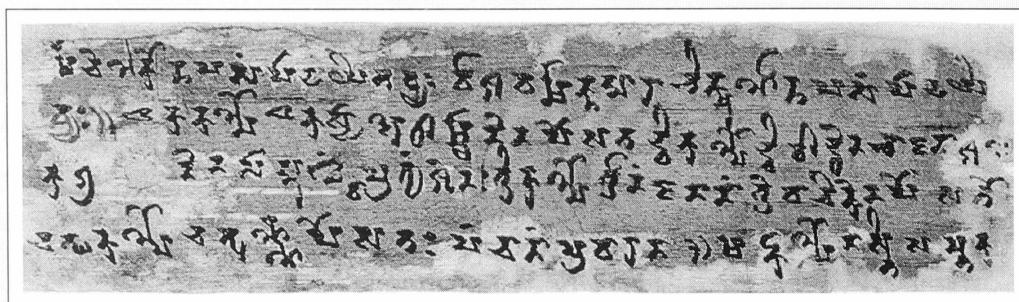


Fig. 7

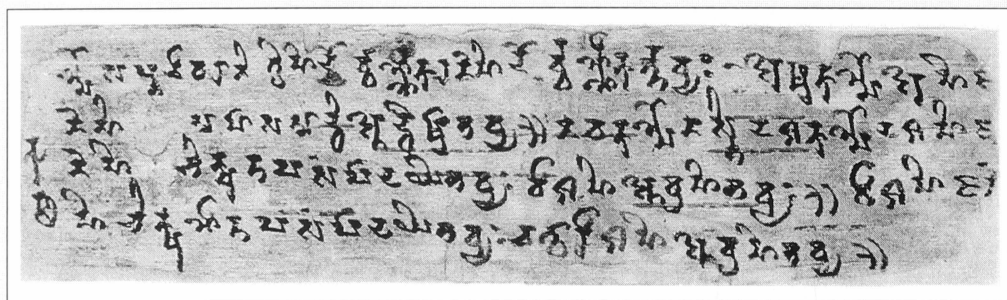


Fig. 8

[74] See previous note, as well as the continuation of the text from the *Karmavastu*, p. 203: *yatra vimśatirbhiṣavaḥ prativasanti uttare ca. arhati tatra saṃgho dharmena sarvakarmāṇi kartum* ("There where twenty or more monks live, the community, in accordance with the *dharma*, can perform all official acts"). See also n. 69.

On the term *āvarhaṇa* ("rehabilitation"), see n. 18.

[75] The rule is not attested in this formulation in any of the *Vinaya* texts known to us. Its explanation should be sought in the description of the ritual of the *upasampāda* of a nun in *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācānā*, see Ridding, La Vallée Poussin, "A fragment of the Sanskrit *Vinaya*", p. 133: *śṛṇotu bhadantā ubhayasaṃghaḥ...ubhayasaṃghād upasampādam yāce. upasampādayatu mām bhadantā ubhayasaṃghaḥ ullumpatu mām bhadantā ubhaya-saṃghaḥ, anugrhnātu mām bhadantā ubhayasaṃghaḥ. anukampatu mām bhadantā ubhayasaṃghaḥ* ("Listen, o noble ones, [listen to the] two communities ... I ask both communities for the *upasampāda*! Induct me, noble ones, both communities; ... save me, noble ones, both communities; be merciful to me, noble ones, both communities; be compassionate to me, noble ones, both communities").

The nun appeals to both communities — to the community of monks, which consists of a minimum of ten members for the *upasampāda* (see n. 73), and to the community of nuns, which must also consist of ten persons to result in a total of twenty.

[76] This rule should evidently be interpreted in the same fashion as the preceding rule: the rehabilitation of a nun was effected by both communities — the community of *bhikṣu*, which must consist for twenty persons for this (see n. 74), and the community of nuns, which must also contain a minimum of twenty persons.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv I on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. [75r], 16.1 × 4.6 cm.

**Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, fol. 75v, 16.1 × 4.6 cm.

**Fig. 3.** The same manuscript, fol. [76r], 18.4 × 5.0 cm.

**Fig. 4.** The same manuscript, fol. 76v, 18.4 × 5.0 cm.

**Fig. 5.** The same manuscript, fol. [77r], 17.6 × 5.0 cm.

**Fig. 6.** The same manuscript, fol. 77v, 17.6 × 5.0 cm.

**Fig. 7.** The same manuscript, fol. [78r], 19.0 × 5.0 cm.

**Fig. 8.** The same manuscript, fol. 78v, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.

## A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT OF THE MEDIEVAL MEDICAL TREATISE *AL-IKTIFĀ'* BY ABŪ-L-MUṬRIB 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN

The collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences) is one of the richest repositories of Arabic-script manuscripts in the world, encompassing over sixty thousand manuscripts and more than forty thousand lithograph works. More than one thousand of them deal with traditional medicine and pharmacology (*ṭabāba*). Among these manuscripts are extremely ancient works by Hunayn b. Ishāq (808—877), Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (865—925), Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (10th century), Abū Rayhān Bīrūnī (973—1048), Najīb al-Dīn Samarqandī (d. 1222), and others. Many of the manuscripts are extremely rare or unique. To the latter belongs, for example, a copy of the work composed by the tenth-century Spanish author Abū-l-Muṭrib b. Ishāq b. al-Khaytham. The full title of the work written in the Arabic language is *Kitāb al-iktifā' bi-dawā' min khawāṣṣ al-ashyā'* ("Book of Satisfaction in Treatment with Special Substances"). Only fragments of this work, translated into Hebrew at various times, have survived. Fourteen copies, which formed the basis for a composite text, were studied by Sh. Markus and Y. Leybovich [1]. The publishers were not able to discover the Arabic originals of *al-Iktifā'* and were compelled to employ the above-mentioned translations [2].

The author's name is cited in various forms in the literature. In the manuscript under discussion here, it is written erroneously as Abū-l-Muṭrib b. Ishāq al-Shayām [3]. In the Catalogue published by the Institute, the author of the description hesitated over the correctness of the final component in the author's name (al-Shayām) and proposed an unconvincing "Nasīm". Another variant of the name is given in the edition on the basis of extant translations into Hebrew: 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn (ben) Ishāq ibn (ben) 'Alī al-Haytham [4].

As concerns the only manuscript of *Kitāb al-iktifā'* in the holdings in the Institute of Oriental Studies of Uzbeki-

stan, it was copied on orange-tinted paper, evidently of Indian origin. The hand is so-called "Indian *nasta'liq*" with relatively regular diacritics. The text is enclosed by a border in red Indian ink. The manuscript contains 27 folios (13.0×35.0 cm). This copy is may be an abbreviation (*mukhtaṣar*) made from earlier and more complete copies. The copyist left his name and the date of copying in the colophon: Yūsuf b. Shaykh Faṭḥ Muḥammad Shamsābādī; Ramaḍān 1129/August—September 1717. The text of the *Kitāb al-iktifā'* is divided into 10 chapters (*naw'*) which, in turn, consist of various sections (*faṣl*).

The author writes about illnesses which afflict various parts of the body ("from the head to the feet"), provides a general description of their symptoms, and then proposes appropriate medications prepared from various plants, minerals, or even substances produced by various animals and insects. Apart from information on diseases the author provides recommendations on the use of the medicines he describes. The instructions are frequently accompanied by references to famous Greek, Roman, or Arabic physicians such as Dioscorides, Aristotle, Hunayn b. Ishāq, 'Alī al-Ṭabarī, and others. But we also find preparations invented by the author, which indicates that he was a practising physician and pharmacologist, a fact noted by the publishers of the translations [5].

In size, the extant Arabic original is somewhat smaller than the surviving translations into Hebrew, although it contains a number of preparations absent in the translations. In any case, the existence of an Arabic version of *al-Iktifā'* provides a lucky opportunity to continue the study of this interesting composition.

Taking into account an exclusive importance of the Arabic text of the unique manuscript under discussion, and in order to acquaint scholarship with it, we present here the translation of several fragments.

### *Faṣl on teeth*

Dioscorides says that if one boils the skin of a snake and washes the ailing tooth [with this decoction], the pain will ease.

Aristotle said: "A special quality of borax (a sodium borate — *M. H.*) is that it is useful in preventing the breakup (i. e. *stomatitis* — *M. H.*) of teeth, tooth decay, [that it] halts pain and aids shine [of the teeth]. He also said that if one crushes cornelian and rubs [the powder] on the teeth, it makes them white, keeps them sharp, and stops bleeding of the gums.

Al-Ṭabarī said: "If one hangs on a child [as an amulet] a shell which has been left by a snail, the child's teeth will appear without pain".







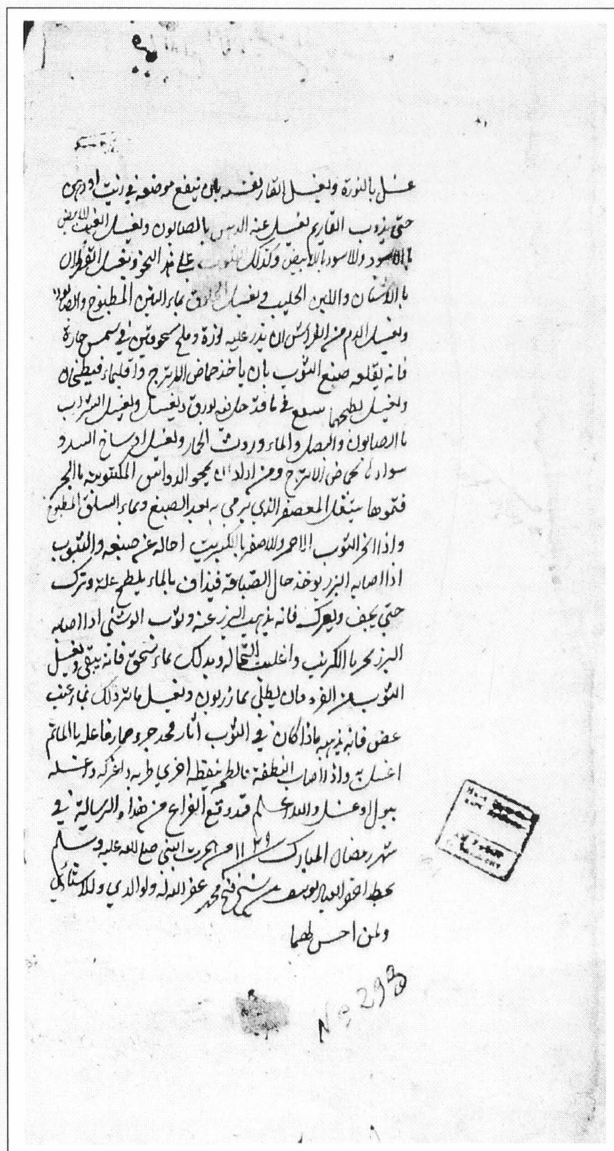


Fig. 3

### *Faṣl on headaches*

Dioscorides said: "After a concussion, it is helpful to take mountain pitch (*mumiye* — *M. H.*)." He also said that the pain which appears after a head cold (i. e. *meningitis* — *M. H.*) can be halted by dripping into the nose a mixture of [powder] of mountain pitch and oil extract of jasmine.

Ṭabarī says that the pain which appears after a head cold will ease if one rubs [the head] with sodium chloride mixed with olive oil. He also said that if one mixes the dried and crushed skin of a hoopoe with water and drips it into the nose, this prevents epilepsy.

Al-Rāzī said: "If one hangs the skin of a hoopoe on a person who suffers from headaches, the pain will ease".

### *Faṣl on forgetfulness*

Al-Ṭabarī said: "If those who suffer from forgetfulness (i. e. *sclerosis* — *M. H.*) will carry on their person the [dried] eye and tongue of a hoopoe, they will remember everything they have forgotten". He also said that forgetfulness will vanish and memory will improve if one takes the dried and crushed tongue of a hoopoe.

Al-Rāzī said that rubbing lion fat on the head prevents forgetfulness.

### Notes

1. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ben Ishāq ben 'Alī al-Ḥaytham, *Kitāb al-iktifā'*, ed., comment., introduction by Sh. Markus and Y. Leybovich (Beersheba, 1984), pp. 3—4.

2. One of the publishers, Shlomo Markus, have recently acquainted with a Catalogue of the Institute's manuscripts where the manuscript under discussion is mentioned and proposed to the present author that this Arabic copy be published (letter of July 7, 1999).

3. Abū-l-Muṭrib b. Ishāq b. Khaytham, *Kitāb al-iktifā' bi-dawā' min khawāṣṣ al-ashyā'*, manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies of Uzbekistan, No. 9777/IV, fol. 41b.

4. See 'Abd al-Raḥmān ben Ishāq ben 'Alī al-Ḥaytham, *Kitāb al-iktifā'*, eds. Markus and Leybovich, pp. 2, 4, 6.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 4—6.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Abū-l-Muṭrib b. Ishāq b. Khaytham, *Kitāb al-iktifā' bi-dawā' min khawāṣṣ al-ashyā'*, manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies of Uzbekistan, No. 9777/IV, the beginning of the text.

**Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, the *fihrist*.

**Fig. 3.** The same manuscript, colophon.

## THE ANCIENT *FENGKUI* 縫續 (STITCHED) BOOKS FROM DUNHUANG\*

Ever since the Han dynasty, as papermaking skills became more widespread, people came to use a wide variety of fibres to produce paper. Consequently, the quality of paper steadily improved. This higher quality paper and its increased production greatly helped the manufacture of books. Due to the need to satisfy the constantly growing social and cultural needs during the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasty periods, the quality of books also improved, inaugurating a new era in the production of ancient Chinese books. Due to the rapid increase in the quantity and use of books, people were no longer satisfied with the simple

scroll format that had evolved from wood and bamboo slips. As people's thinking became more liberated, many new bookbinding formats were created. There was a great flurry of ideas in bookbinding between the Tang and Song dynasties. Proof of this lies in the many different book formats in the Dunhuang collections. There are some booklets within the Dunhuang collection that are considerably different from the traditional Chinese book forms one can see today. Since these books used hemp string for stitching, works composed during the Song dynasty called this form of binding *fengkui* 縫續.

### 1. Previous works regarding *fengkui* books

A Song dynasty author, Zhang Bangji 張邦基, in his work *Mozhuang Manlu* 墨裝漫錄 ("Miscellaneous Writings from the Mozhuang Studio") wrote: "Of book-binding techniques, pasted leaves is best. If after some time the paste loses its effect and the book comes apart, the original order of the leaves can still be found and the book can be put together again as long as the leaves are intact. I have been in possession of many books that have come apart, and have been able to reconstruct them by these means. In the case of *fengkui* binding, it is very difficult to find the original order of the pages again if the thread breaks and the book comes apart. I once had a copy of Mr Dong's 董氏 *fanlu* 繁露 "Many Dews", the pages of

which had become jumbled up. It took me over a year to find the original order of the pages and recover the book's original state. This is the problem with *fengkui* bound books".

There are two bookbinding techniques mentioned above: pasted leaves and *fengkui*. The pasted leaves technique involves pasting the leaves of the book together. (The author of this article will soon be writing on "pasted leaves" book-binding). *Fengkui* binding involves using thread to stitch the pages of the book together. However, there was no explicit description of the *fengkui* binding technique in *Mozhuang Manlu*, it only asserted the difficulty in finding the original order of the pages should the binding come apart.

### 2. Identifying *fengkui* binding

The original meanings of the two Chinese characters *feng* and *kui*: *feng* means to join objects together using needle and thread. The original meaning of *kui* is the beginning and end of a roll of cloth, but here it refers to the spine of the book. (The reason being that apart from the spine, no other part of the book is stitched). Since the exact binding technique of *fengkui* books was not divulged in *Mozhuang Manlu*, it is necessary now to analyse all the kinds of books in the Dunhuang collections that have been bound with thread.

There is more than one kind of thread binding in the books of the Dunhuang collections:

1. The leaves of this kind of book are comparatively thick. They are folded in half to form four pages, and the text follows from one page to the next. The spine of the

book is formed where the folded side of the leaves are stacked together. The leaves of this kind of book are primarily pasted together, but where the paste has lost effect and the leaves have come apart the book is stitched with hemp string. The other three sides of the book are trimmed. The binding technique of this kind of book is highly irregular; there is no particular order to it. There are books stitched in only one place, there are books stitched at either end of the spine, others have been stitched all the way up the spine. Many of these books were discovered at Dunhuang. The national libraries of China, Britain and France have all got such books in their Dunhuang collections.

2. The leaves of this kind of book are comparatively thin. There is writing on one side only. The side without

\*This paper was delivered at the Fourth International Conference "Preservation of Dunhuang and Central Asiatic Collections", held at St. Petersburg, 7—12 September, 1999.

writing is folded in on itself, forming two pages. These leaves are stacked together, the folded ends form the mouth (open end) of the book. A book cover is added, and the other three sides are trimmed. The side of the book opposite the mouth of the book is pierced for string. The most typical example of this kind of book is BnF No. 4521 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The text is Uighur, with some Chinese mixed in. The book is 250 mm high, 182 mm wide, and the leaves had not yet been dried yellow with *Huangbo*. A string of approximately 1 mm thick has been wound around three holes at the spine of the book. Apart from this book only having three holes, there are no significant differences with the four holed thread bound books that can still commonly be seen today.

3. The leaves of this kind of book are comparatively thick. Several leaves are stacked together and then folded to form one "signature" (see fig. 1). Several of these signatures are placed together and stitched with hemp string (see figs. 2–4). The folded and stitched end of the leaves forms the spine of the book. There is a difference with the last two forms of bookbinding: since several leaves are folded together to form signatures, the order of the text from one page to the next will be different. The following is an example of a signature of four leaves stacked and then folded together: if we take the outermost leaf to be leaf  $\alpha$ , then the leaves, from the outermost to the innermost will be ordered  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\chi$  and  $\delta$ . After being folded, each leaf will be split into four pages. After inserting the page numbers, the page would be arranged thus: the four pages of leaf  $\alpha$  will be numbered 1, 2 and 15, 16; the four pages of leaf  $\beta$  will be numbered 3, 4 and 13, 14; leaf  $\chi$  will be numbered 5, 6 and 11, 12; and leaf  $\delta$  will be numbered 7, 8 and 9, 10. Out of all four leaves, only the last has text that follows from one page to the next.

The three different forms of bookbinding mentioned above are all bound with thread, and all the old Chinese books bound with thread commonly seen today are bound in the *xianzhuang* 線裝 (thread binding) format. Some people hold that since *fengkui* books were bound with thread, *Mozhuang Manlu* was simply referring to *xianzhuang* binding. This is not so. The word *xianzhuang* has already become a proper name referring to a particular ancient bookbinding method, and therefore cannot be used as a generic term encompassing all bookbinding techniques that use thread. Owing to this differentiation, I felt it more appropriate to use the name *fengkui*, employed by authors in antiquity, to describe bookbinding formats substantially different to *xianzhuang* binding. Following the social and economic progress of the era, so the bookbinding techniques multiplied also. In the development of a bookbinding method, an early model and the fully developed book might be quite different. However, the basic characteristics of the book should remain the same. To identify a particular bookbinding technique, one must consider many aspects of the book. One should distinguish bookbinding methods by considering their most unique characteristics, characteristics not easily seen in other books. One cannot take a characteristic seen in many different

kinds of book as a means to distinguish different bookbinding techniques. This point can be accentuated by a comparison between *hudie-zhuang* 蝴蝶裝 (butterfly binding) and *baobei-zhuang* 包背裝 (wrapped-back binding). Both books use the same technique in applying a cover around the back of the book, and the outward appearance of the books is exactly the same. Therefore, should we call both of these book forms *baobei-zhuang* (wrapped-back binding)? We cannot. *Hudie-zhuang* (butterfly binding) is so named because its pages move like butterfly wings when the book is opened, and *baobei-zhuang* (wrapped-back binding) is so named because of the cover layer wrapped around the back of the book. Consequently, it is wrong to assume all books that use thread to bind the pages together are *xianzhuang* (thread bound) books.

Most *xianzhuang* books are written or printed on one side only, and the other side is folded in on itself, leaving the written or printed side on the outside. Although the one leaf has been turned into two pages, the text still runs from one page to the other. In the case of the first two examples of thread bound books mentioned above, even if the pages come apart one can still reconstruct the original book by following the text on the leaves. Clearly, these are not the types of thread bound book referred to in *Mozhuang manlu*, whereby the leaves become jumbled up and confused if no longer bound together. The first kind of book mentioned above can be said to be the embryonic form of *xianzhuang* but the second form has all the characteristics of mature *xianzhuang* binding, and can indeed be considered a typical example of such a book.

Is the third example of thread binding the *fengkui* book referred to in *Mozhuang manlu*? As I have described already, this kind of book is bound by stacking several leaves together, folding them and then stitching them together at the folded end. There are books where two sheets or four sheets are folded together, and other books where up to seven or eight sheets are folded together to form signatures. Those books with four sheets per signature are the most common. Or. 8210/S. 5433 kept at the British Library has six signatures of two sheets each (see figs. 6–7). Or. 8210/S. 5458, also at the British Library, has seven signatures of four sheets each; BnF No. 3292 kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France has six signatures of eight sheets each. As I have previously shown, the more leaves there are in one signature, the further apart the text is from one half of a leaf to another (apart from the middle leaf). Therefore, if the thread becomes undone and the leaves come loose, it would be very difficult to find the original order of the leaves again. This kind of book certainly conforms with what Zhang Bangji wrote on the subject in *Mozhuang manlu*: "If after some time the thread breaks and the book comes apart, it is very difficult to find the original order of the pages again..." Consequently, it is possible to make the following conclusion on the description of *fengkui* binding: several leaves are stacked and then folded to form a signature, and several of such signatures are brought together. The folded part of each signature is stitched to the next to connect them all and form the finished book.

### 3. The difference between *xianzhuang* and *fengkui* books

I have already covered the difference in the way the pages are ordered between the two book formats. However,

the external appearance of the two types of book is also very different. The thread of a *xianzhuang* book is sewn on

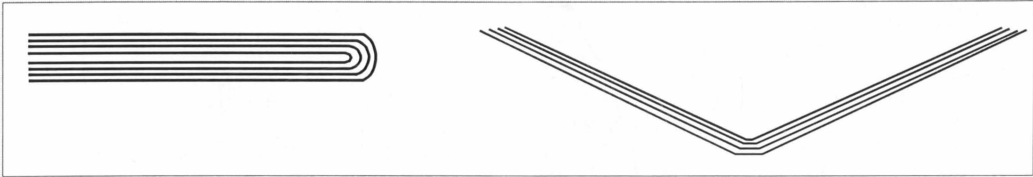


Fig. 1

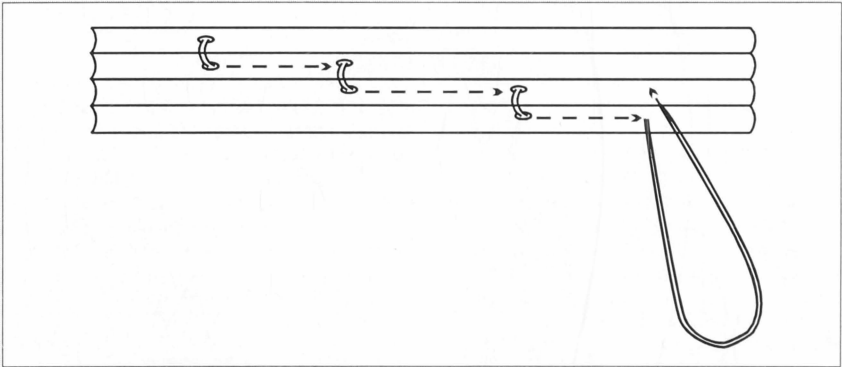


Fig. 2

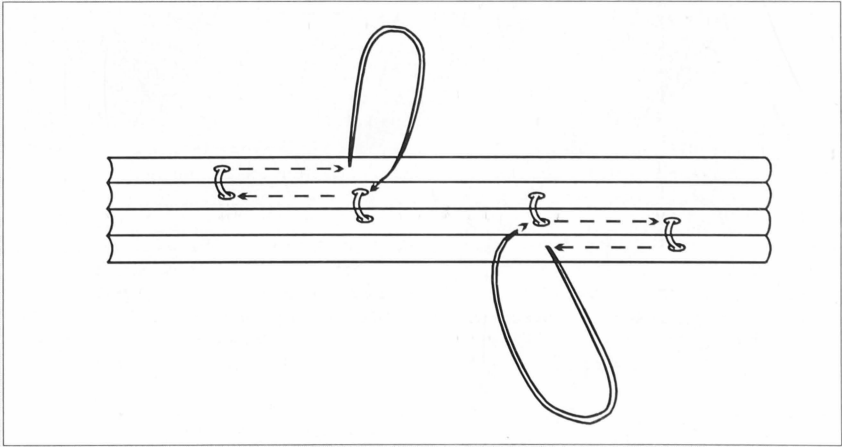
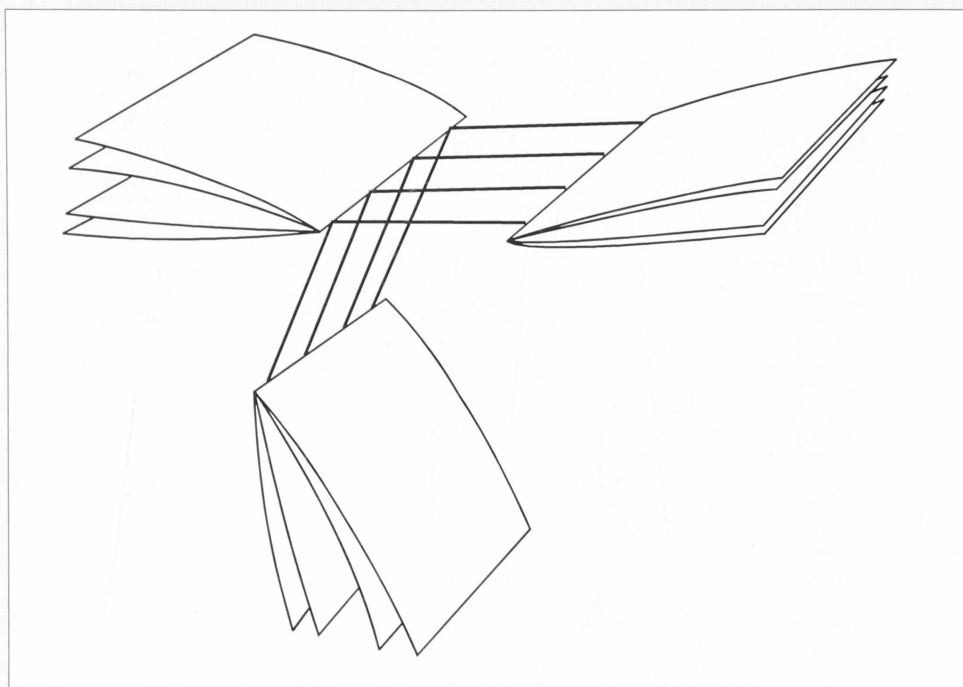
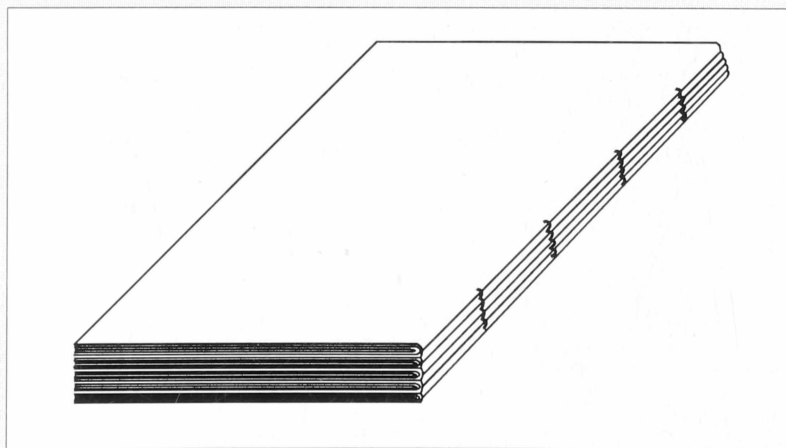


Fig. 3

*Fig. 4**Fig. 5*

the right hand side of the book, on top of the book cover. A lot of thread shows on the exterior of the book, very little thread is sewn through the leaves. The thread is not visible on the inside when the book is opened. In comparison, *fengkui* books are sewn at the spine of the book, and very little thread is visible externally (see fig. 5). However, one can see the stitch work upon opening the book at the spine of the signatures.

The leaves of *xianzhuang* books are all the same size, but they are different in size with *fengkui* books. The leaves of *fengkui* books are trimmed after being bound. Because the leaves are comparatively thick and many are placed together and then folded, the trimming of the leaves mean that although the leaves end up being the same height, they end up having different widths. Measurements taken from the leaves of a signature show that each leaf gets progressively shorter from the outermost to the innermost leaves. The height to width ratio of a *xianzhuang* book is 2:3, but the corresponding ratio of a *fengkui* book is 1:1 to 1:2.

#### 4. The technique of *fengkui* binding

The biggest difference between *xianzhuang* and *fengkui* books is the binding technique. The main binding technique of *xianzhuang* books involves wrapping thread around the spine of the book. But with *fengkui* books the folded section of the leaves are sewn together. In order to explain the technique better, I would like to take the example of a *fengkui* book with four signatures, each with four stitching holes. Hole #1 is pierced near the *tiantou* (head margin) of the book. The other three holes are #2, #3 and #4 the last

of which is pierced near the *dijiao* 地腳 (foot margin) of the book. There is also a big difference in the way the book is written before being bound. The leaves of the *xianzhuang* book are trimmed to size first, and the text is written on the separate leaves one after the other. This is not the case with *fengkui* books: larger sheets of paper are used, the size of which depends on the size of the book in mind. Then the exact form of the book and the order of the pages all have to be decided in advance. Once this has been resolved the text is written on according to the way the paper has been folded. Writing on a folded sheet of paper before being cut into four-page leaves means that the orientation of the text will be different. Moreover, it is very likely that different texts will have to be written on a single four-page leaf. This method of arranging text onto the paper is very similar to the modern technique of typesetting. This was very meaningful conceptual leap for bookbinding techniques of the period. The bookbinding of Or. 8210/S. 5538 at the British Library is proof of this "typesetting" style of bringing text together.

of which is pierced near the *dijiao* 地腳 (foot margin) of the book.

Now let us turn to the exact sewing techniques applied to the book. First, the thread is secured to the needle. Then, from inside the fold, it is sewn through hole 1 of signature 1, leaving enough thread behind to tie a knot. Coming out of hole 1 of signature 1 it is sewn through hole 1 of signature 2 from outside the fold. From there on, the stitching process continues as follows:

Coming out hole 2 of signature 2, it is sewn into hole 2 of signature 3;  
Coming out hole 3 of signature 3, it is sewn into hole 3 of signature 4;  
Coming out hole 4 of signature 4, it is sewn into hole 4 of signature 3;  
Coming out hole 3 of signature 3, it is sewn into hole 3 of signature 2;  
Coming out hole 3 of signature 3, it is sewn into hole 3 of signature 2;  
Coming out hole 2 of signature 2, it is sewn into hole 2 of signature 1;  
Coming out hole 3 of signature 1, it is sewn into hole 3 of signature 2;  
Coming out hole 4 of signature 2, it is sewn into hole 4 of signature 1;  
Coming out hole 3 of signature 1, it is sewn into hole 3 of signature 2;  
Coming out hole 2 of signature 2, it is sewn into hole 2 of signature 3;  
Coming out hole 3 of signature 1, it is sewn into hole 1 of signature 4;  
Coming out hole 2 of signature 4, it is sewn into hole 2 of signature 3;  
Coming out hole 1 of signature 3, it is sewn into hole 1 of signature 2;  
Coming out hole 2 of signature 2, it is sewn into hole 2 of signature 1;

After that the thread is tied in a knot with the beginning of the thread at hole 1 of signature 1.

Judging from the *fengkui* books discovered to date, it appears that there was no fixed binding method and that there was a great deal of variation. For example, Or. 8210/S. 5433 is 91 mm high, 84 mm wide, and is sewn through four holes at the spine. Or. 8210/S. 5446 is 120 mm high, 103 mm wide, and is sewn through six holes at the spine. Or. 8210/S. 5458 is 240 mm high, 70 mm

wide, and is sewn through eight holes at the spine. The number of holes pierced in the spine of the book determines how much stitching is done. The more holes, the more the book is stitched. Although in this respect there is a degree of uncertainty in how the book is stitched, the manner in which it is stitched is unchanging: the first signature is stitched to the one adjacent to it, then the rest of the book is stitched signature by signature in a cycle until the whole book is completed.

#### 5. The reason why *fengkui* binding died out in China

The *fengkui* bookbinding format died out after the Song dynasty. Its demise can generally be attributed to several reasons. After the fall of the Song dynasty the production of books continued to grow and printing became very com-

mon. As I have mentioned above, the production of *fengkui* books require a form of typesetting, which is not at all a straightforward process. The size of paper required is bigger than the standard single sheet per woodblock size, and

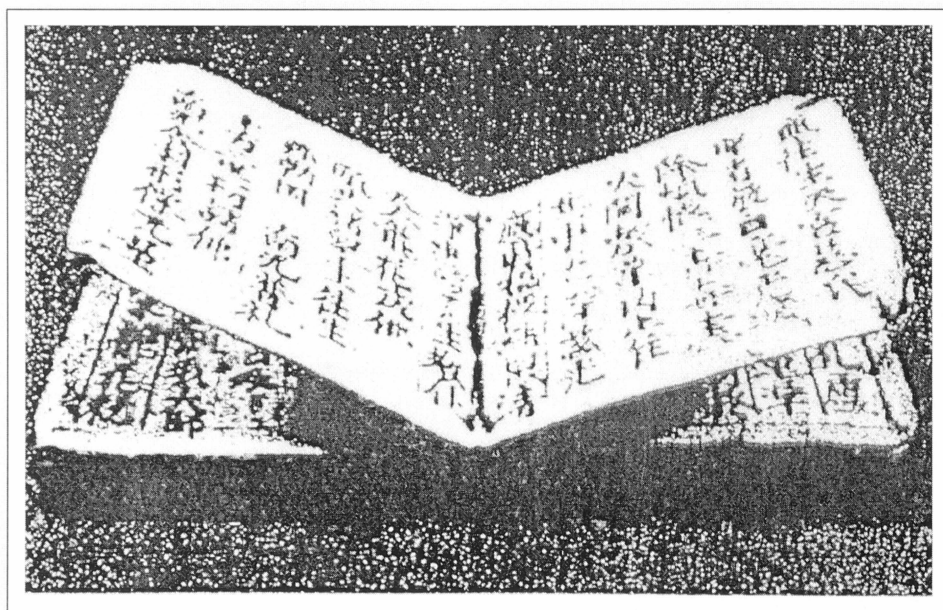
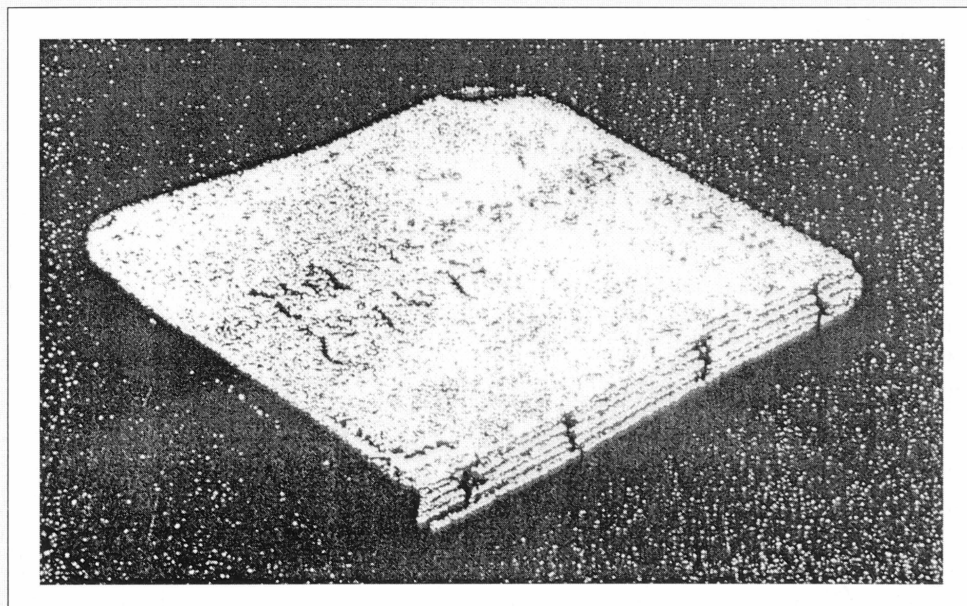


Fig. 6





*Fig. 7*

printing on it is more difficult. Since the traditional single sheet per woodblock manual printing method was predominant at the time, it is little wonder that *fengkui* binding did not have a future.

The production of the *fengkui* bound book is more complex than the butterfly or wrapped-back books. The technique involves more steps and requires a higher level of skill. Compared to *xianzhuang* binding, for example, the time required to make a *fengkui* book is much longer. If it takes longer to make, then the production cost rises. Consequently, during the era of the printed book, when everything was made by hand and the book industry was constantly expanding, the *fengkui* book lacked the ability to compete.

Since *fengkui* books are written on both sides of the page, the paper requires a certain thickness. If the paper is very thin the ink on either side of the page can seep through to the other side. Moreover, the string can easily tear through more delicate paper. Also, during and after the Song dynasty, paper was being made increasingly thin in order to reduce production costs. This increased thinness of the paper meant a corresponding reduction of resilience that made it difficult to satisfy the requirement to write on both sides of the page. Under these circumstances, there is nothing strange about the disappearance from history of the *fengkui* book.

## 6. The significance of *fengkui* binding

*Fengkui* binding was an ancient Chinese book form that was once popular during the Tang and Song dynasties. However, it has not been given recognition for a long time due to the fact that its popularity was comparatively short-lived, and that there are no significant accounts written on the format. Nevertheless, owing to the amount of international cultural communication of that era, it is very possible that *fengkui* binding was taken to other places in

the world. In Japan, it is still possible to see examples of *fengkui* binding. The Japanese made some modifications to the *fengkui* binding technique: only four holes are pierced into the spine of the book, and two needles are used. Each needle concentrates on sewing only two of the holes (one needle sews together hole 1 and 2, the other — holes 3 and 4), thereby developing a new bookbinding format: *hezui* 和綴 (see fig. 3).

## Illustrations

Fig. 1. Sheets stacked and folder together.

Fig. 2. The stitching method of a *fengkui* binding.

Fig. 3. The stitching method of a *hezui* binding.

Fig. 4. Several signatures connected with thread.

Fig. 5. Diagram of the exterior of a *fengkui* book.

Fig. 6. An example of folding sheets, Or. 8210 / S. 5433 at the British Library.

Fig. 7. An example of a *fengkui* (stitched) book, Or. 8210 / S. 5433 at the British Library.

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# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

*I. Ye. Petrosyan*

## PRE-ISLAMIC TURKIC TRADITION IN THE WRITINGS OF THE EARLY OTTOMAN HISTORIOGRAPHERS

A number of Ottoman chronicles compiled after the most impressive political success of the Turks, the capture of Constantinople in 1453, are obviously eulogies which glorify not only Ottoman Sultans but, in no less degree, Islam too. This is particularly true with the writings of Aşık-paşa-zade and Mehmed Neşrî. In effect, Islam played an exclusive role in the formation of the Ottoman state. Islam, a religion which the Turks had come to know and had adopted long before their appearance on the borders of Byzantium, was a key element in the process of Turkic conquest of Asia Minor and the process of state-formation. The scholars has never doubted that the Islamisation of the ruling elite in Anatolian beyliks was complete by the thirteenth — fourteenth century, although many facts indicate that at that time the Anatolian Turkic nobility still retained many pre-Islamic traditions, not to speak of the broad masses, where these traditions, nourished by the constant influx of Turkic tribes, lingered on for centuries.

It is believed that towards the beginning of the sixteenth century the complete victory of Islam in the Ottoman state ideology was indisputable. Really, it is hardly possible to suspect the Ottoman clergy or authors of historical writings of the period in supporting any pagan beliefs which were invariably considered as infidelity. Nevertheless, one cannot but notice some passages in the works by Aşık-paşa-zade and Mehmed Neşrî which can be regarded as a significant compromise in favour of traditional Turkic beliefs: they had little to do with official religious doctrine of the state. These passages are generally evaluated as a common folklore contribution to historical narration made with no special aim except an entertaining effect. However, in our opinion, there must have been some special reason which made those Muslim authors include these passages of folkloric or not wholly Islamic nature in their historical writings.

To illustrate this, let us turn to the texts themselves. In evaluating the historical value of the early Ottoman chronicles, the modern researcher usually turns his gaze away from that part of the work, which records material of a folkloric and mythical nature. They consider it from the viewpoint of its historical reliability [1], though, such an approach narrows the scope of historical research, excluding extremely valuable information which can sig-

nificantly broaden our understanding of the early Ottoman state and its ideology.

Islam was the official religion of the Ottoman state; the ulema class was the guardian and disseminator of the religious values and views in society. But while it had official status, it was not the only ideological "cement" which guaranteed the unity of the state and its Turkic subjects. The role of the traditional cultural legacy and pre-Islamic values and views was still substantial in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first Ottoman historiographers could evaluate it too, and the Ottoman rulers themselves were not free from the influence of this powerful cultural sub-stratum. Both groups could not have failed to take into account this factor and employ it to achieve the state's goals of societal consolidation and strengthening the sultan's authority. In our opinion, that was the reason why folkloric or semi-folkloric materials were included in the chronicles, and not merely because of considerations of artistic form in historical works or holding readers' interest.

To cite some examples, Aşık-paşa-zade tells in his chronicle about a dervish who lived in the area of Keşiş Dağı in the reign of Orhan Ghazi (ca. 1324—1360). The historian tells that there lived in the region a famous warrior-ghazi by the name of Turğut Alp, who had given up martial matters because of old age. According to the story, that was he who offered Orhan to visit this dervish. Orhan himself did not go to him at first, but sent an invitation to visit him at Bursa. He received, however, the following reply: "Dervishes can see the future. They penetrate [what is concealed] and appear only when their prayers are accepted [by God]." It was only later that the dervish himself appeared in Orhan's capital, Bursa, carrying on his shoulders a poplar sapling which he planted by the gates of the Ottoman ruler's palace. Addressing Orhan, who had come to witness the event, the dervish said: "The dervish's prayer has been heard," and after saying a prayer by the tree he had planted, the dervish retreated. The story then tells: "This poplar stands to this day and they remove the dry branches [from it]". According to the same tale, Orhan rewarded the dervish by building a dervish abode and mosque for him, in accordance with the latter's wishes [2].

Although the tale is put strictly into Muslim context, it betrays obvious non-Muslim origins. Indeed, the story appeals to the ideological concepts of the pre-Muslim past of the Turkic peoples and was meant to be intelligible to the reader. Citing this story, Aşık-paşa-zade does not deem it necessary to explain the concealed meaning of the dervish's actions, which must have been clear to the reader. Meanwhile, these actions of the dervish implied both the veneration of sacred trees, practised by Turkic peoples, and the concept of the "world tree" as well. According to the shamanistic beliefs, this "world tree", a mythological poplar with golden branches and broad leaves, grew in the centre of the earth [3]. Its crown was located in the heavens, and the prayers and complaints of people reached heaven through the tree. Viewed in this light, the actions of the dervish, who appears to have been well familiar with shamanistic beliefs, were meant to symbolise the special, central place of the Ottoman capital, the ruler's palace, and an immediate connection between this place and the Heavens.

A non-Muslim sense of the episode is, however, concealed by a Sufi fleur. The special aim of including the episode in the chronicle is evident: the author aims at demonstrating the central place of Orhan's state among contemporary Turkic beyliks in Anatolia as well as to show heavenly protection this ruler receives. Orhan himself is presented in the episode as a Muslim sovereign who graciously accepts the whole ritual which can hardly be termed as a true Muslim. The pre-Islamic Turkic tradition is here clearly placed in the service of glorifying the authority of the Ottoman ruler.

Another noteworthy passage which employs not only the "world tree" motif but also much more old layers of Turkic culture heritage is told by another Ottoman historian, Mehmed Neşrî. In one of his accounts of Osman Ghazi (d. ca. 1324), the historian speaks of a dream which this Ottoman ruler had and which is interpreted for him by the famed sheikh Edebalı. In the dream, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman state sees the moon leaving the breast of the sheikh and entering Osman's own breast; at the same moment, an enormous tree grows from the latter's navel and fills the world, leaving the mountains in its shade. Springs flow among the foothills of these mountains, branching out into streams, watering gardens and filling reservoirs. The interpretation which sheikh Edebalı gives Osman's dream is that he and his descendants have received from God the sultanate, which will, in time, spread over the entire world [4].

The meaning of the dream is clearly explained in the text. Most likely, in this case the signs and symbols of the dream were only vaguely familiar to the Turkic reader, except the image of the "world tree" symbolising the axis of the earth (that is why the tree is shown as growing from Osman's navel). The symbols of the mountain and water streams at its foot were borrowed from ancient Iranian mythology where we find the image of the world mountain from which flow two rivers which encircle all dry land, as it is recorded in the *Bundahishn*. We also find here other Iranian mythological elements. According to the myth, at the base of the mountain lay the vast lake of Vorukasha, where the "world tree" of *haoma* grew by the spring Ardvishura [5]. Surely, the elements of this myth in Mehmed Neşrî's text appear in distorted fashion, but they are woven into the fabric of a historical tale quite naturally. Very ancient beliefs which entered into the mythological ideas of the Turks during their long and close co-existence with Iranian peoples,

later found their way into Muslim writings, preserving these beliefs for centuries. The interpretation which is given in the text of Mehmed Neşrî's chronicle leaves no doubt that the episode was included to exalt the Ottoman dynasty and to demonstrate the high power of the Ottoman state. It is important to note that, in this particular case again, the non-Muslim tradition is put into a Muslim context as an important ideological element in order to glorify the Ottoman dynasty.

One element of the story, the moon, which leaves the body of the sheikh and enters the body of Osman, is difficult to interpret. We know that the moon played an important role in the religious beliefs and mythology of the Turkic peoples. For example, the Uighurs and tribes related to them worshipped the sun and moon (*kün, aj täñri*). In Manichaean texts, a wandering and powerful "Moon divinity" (*aj täñri*) is frequently mentioned [6].

We can cite another two folkloric-mythological episodes, found in Aşık-paşa-zade, which are also of interest. Both concern a tree, a motif which was evidently especially popular among the Turks. The historian tells about Osman's brother, Sarı Yatu, who perished during the Ottoman capture of Byzantine Melangia. On the place where he was killed, writes Aşık-paşa-zade, a pine-tree grows which people call the "shining pine-tree" [7]. One more tree endowed with unusual qualities appears in Aşık-paşa-zade's tale describing another Ottoman battle, fought by Murad I (1360—1389). During the extended siege of a fortress called Belanya (?) in Aşık-paşa-zade's chronicle, Murad addressed God with a request: "May God [himself] destroy [the fortress]." After this, he departs for a "beneficial giant tree" (*devletlü kaba ağaç*), seats himself at its base, leans his back up against its trunk, and sits in this fashion until messengers run up to him with the news that the fortress has collapsed of its own accord. We read in Aşık-paşa-zade: "[Only] the stump now remains of this tree, and a well is found by it" [8].

In both cases, the tree appears in the story as a sacral object which serves as a link to other-worldly forces. The well-known Turkic veneration of large trees [9] is reflected in these episodes. In the first case this element of old Turkic tradition is used by the historian to demonstrate the sacredness of Osman's lineage; in the second, divine intercession which the Ottoman ruler receives with the aid of a giant tree. The utterly non-Muslim content of both tales does not trouble the historian in the least. Moreover, the pre-Muslim religious and mythological legacy — as something familiar and intelligible to a broad readership — is explicitly used once again to glorify the Ottoman dynasty.

Finally, one more episode recorded in Aşık-paşa-zade's work and later repeated by Ibn Kemal in his "History of the Ottoman Dynasty" deserves special attention. It concerns a funeral feast held by Mehmed II (1451—1481) on Kosovo Field during his return from the campaign against Serbia in 1455. The ancestor of Mehmed II, Murad I, was killed by a Serb on Kosovo Field in 1389. Murad's body was transported to Bursa and buried there; however, as Lütü Pasha recounts, a türbe was erected at the place of his death [10]. Lütü Pasha's mention of a türbe should probably be understood as the monument built by Murad's son, Bayazid I (1389—1402). The surviving upper part of this monument, together with a mosque built later, was preserved until recently [11]. One cannot but recall in this connection the old Turkic custom of erecting memorial stelae for members of the ruling family and outstanding

warriors at the place of their death. Most likely, this custom existed later among the Ottoman Turks as well. We know, for example, that a tombstone with a memorial inscription was put up at the place where a relative of Sultan Murad II (1421—1451, with intervals) was killed in the battle at Kunovica Hill in 1444 [12].

Turning now to the episode about Mehmed II, Aşık-paşa-zade recounts that various dishes to be served to all were prepared at Kosovo Field in 1455 after the victorious military campaign of this Sultan [13]. The funeral feast held by Mehmed II at the place where his great-grandfather died seems to be extremely interesting. The feast appears to reflect the ancestor cult and a pre-Muslim Turkic belief that the souls of the dead can fly about and appear to relatives [14]. The ceremony can be seen as an offering to the ancestor, which took place far from Murad's place of burial, where the "soul circulates". An echo of this belief in "flying souls" can be glimpsed in a remark by the above-mentioned Lutfi Pasha, who takes credit for his reform of the *ulaqs* (courier service), writing that it pleased the "wandering" souls of the Sultan Süleyman's fathers and grandfathers [15]. The ancient Turks believed that the souls of their ancestors could influence their living relatives and they attempted to gain their good graces with the aid of lavish feasts. At the same time, the prosperity of the deceased in the next world depended on the abundance of the funeral feast [16].

It should be stressed that the funeral feast was held not at Murad's grave, and it is important that the meaning of the ceremony was transparent to its participants, at least to Turkish warriors and the Sultan himself. Its consolidating effect is evident. It is worth noting that the episode is not of a folkloric character, here we have the well-tested historical fact.

The aim of the inclusion of such kind of material in the writings of the Ottoman chroniclers seems to have been wholly political. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, despite the apparently final victory of Islam, constituting the foundation of the state ideology, Ottoman society, with its not completely lost tribal consciousness, demanded evidently firmer ideological ground.

It should be noted that the process of state-formation, inevitably includes a certain transitional period in the evolution of societal consciousness which is accompanied by changes in ideological orientation, culture, and religious beliefs. The history of the Ottoman state demonstrates it in full measure. A characteristic feature of the Ottoman state's formation was that it took place on lands inhabited by an ethnically foreign people possessing quite different political and religious culture. Besides, the initial sparseness of the Turkic population in the border region, gradually overcome through migration from the interior parts of Asia Minor, demanded more attention to the question of consolidating the state's Turkic population — on whose unity the state's security and potential for future development depended — as well as to the question of increasing the status of Ottoman rulers authority.

The consolidation of the Turkic part of society within the nascent state took place not only with the aid of Islam but also with recourse to the pre-Muslim cultural legacy of the Turkish people, despite the fact that Islam played the dominant role in the formation of the state ideology. The compositions by Aşık-paşa-zade and Mehmed Neşrî reflect this deep concern with the ideological consolidation factor, though not always explicitly. Turkic folklore, pre-Islamic beliefs, up to a certain moment were a good means for the self-identification of the Turkish people. Pre-Islamic tradition was also intended to increase the status of the Ottoman state and its first rulers.

The use of this Turkic tradition in the early Ottoman historiography seem, therefore, to have been absolutely inevitable and necessary. What have usually been considered solely as remnants of an archaic consciousness were one of the most important elements for the construction of the Ottoman state in this early stage of its development. Even with the final victory of Islam as the state ideology, these pre-Islamic Turkic elements did not completely disappeared; they were marginalised by Islam and exiled to Sufi orders, remaining for long an important element of lower mass culture.

## Notes

1. See e.g. Pál Fodor, "Aḥmedî's Dāsitān as a source of early Ottoman history", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XXXVIII / fasc. 1—2 (1984), pp. 41—54.
2. 'Aşık-pâşâ-zâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Othmân* (İstanbul, 1332/1913—14), pp. 20, 46—7.
3. *Traditsionnoe mirovozzrenie tiurkov iuzhnoi Sibiri* (The Traditional World-Outlook of the Turkic Peoples of Southern Siberia) (Novosibirsk, 1989), pp. 71—2.
4. Mehmed Neşrî, *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ. Neşrî tarihi*, hazırlayanlar F. R. Unat, Dr. M. A. Köymen (Ankara, 1949), i, pp. 82—3.
5. *Mify narodov mira* (Myths of the Peoples of the World) (Moscow, 1987), i, p. 562.
6. *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'* (Old Turkic Dictionary) (Leningrad, 1969), pp. 24—5, 326.
7. 'Aşık-pâşâ-zâde, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
9. Cf. O. Turan, "Selçuk devri vakfiyeleri. I. Şemseddin Altun-Aba, vakfiyyesi ve hayatı", *Belleten*, XI/42, Nisan 1947 (1947), p. 216.
10. Lutfi Pâşâ, *Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Othmân*, manuscript of the Vienna National Library, fol. 13 b.
11. *Zapiski ianychara. Napisany Konstantinom Mikhaïlovichem iz Ostrovitsy* (Notes of a Janissary. Written by Konstantin Mikhailovich of Ostrovica), introduction, translation, and commentary by A. I. Rogov (Moscow, 1978), p. 121.
12. I. Irichek, *Istoriia Bolgar* (History of the Bulgars) (Odessa, 1878), p. 473.
13. 'Aşık-pâşâ-zâde, *op. cit.*, p. 146. Following Aşık-paşa-zade, another Ottoman historiographer, Ibn Kemal, also considers it necessary to mention this feast. See Ibn Kemal, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Othmân*. VII. Defter Önsöz, İndeks ve içindekileri hazırlayan Dr. Ş. Turan (Ankara, 1954), pp. 117—20.
14. G.-P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux d'après les documents écrits* (Paris, 1963), pp. 98—9, 117.
15. Lutfi Pâşâ, *op. cit.*, fol. 88 a—88 b.
16. Chokan Valikhanov, "Sledy shamanstva u kirgizov" ("Traces of shamanism among the Kirghiz"), in Chokan Valikhanov, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia* (Moscow, 1986), p. 312.

## PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

### SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE N. F. PETROVSKY COLLECTION IN THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES\*

The manuscript collection gathered by the Russian Consul in Kashghar N. F. Petrovsky (1837—1908) has attracted the attention of scholars from the end of the nineteenth century. Petrovsky began his career in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in June 1882, and, in the same year, he was appointed the Russian Consul in Kashghar shortly after its opening. In 1892, he became Consul General and remained in the post until 1903 when he retired for health reasons.

It was Petrovsky who laid the foundation of the Central Asiatic manuscript collection of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg (at present the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). While he was in Kashghar he sent to St. Petersburg a large number of manuscripts. In 1905, he also presented his valuable private manuscript collection to the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia. After Petrovsky's death, the Russian Academy of Sciences bought from his relatives his extensive library and remaining manuscripts. After having been listed, the overall number of the manuscripts turned to be 582 items. These were manuscripts or fragments in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Tocharian B, Tibetan and Uighur. About 250 items among them were written in Sanskrit. In 1894, Academician S. F. Oldenburg started his systematic publication of some Sanskrit manuscripts fragments. He succeeded in publishing the fragments of 19 Sanskrit manuscripts. The publications were accompanied by the thorough and profound study of these fragments.

It should be mentioned that often only those fragments were edited which had survived better, so that many of the manuscripts remained unpublished. As for the number of facsimiles, it is insufficient.

After two volumes of "The Monuments of Indian Writing from East Turkestan" by Prof. G. M. Bongard-Levin and by the author of the present article appeared in 1985 and 1990 [1], the work on the manuscripts from the collection continued. Dr. E. N. Tyomkin joined in the work later, and he published a number of fragments from the Petrovsky and Lavrov collections. For the time being, we have identified some new materials and fully sorted out the fragments, which made it possible to expand the cart catalogue compiled by V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovskiy in

1955—1956. Today, we are preparing the publication of a short catalogue of the Petrovsky collection.

Following a statistical approach proposed by Prof. Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Klaus Wille and others for their work on the Hoernle collection [2], we describe here the Petrovsky collection. This approach seems to enable us to make some general conclusion concerning a distinctive feature of Buddhist literature which was circulating in Southern oases of East Turkestan in the second half of the first millennium A.D.

If described from the palaeographical point of view, the collection reveals that only six manuscripts (one of them consists of 16 fragments, the others — of one each) are written in the North-East Turkestan Brāhmī script, the rest — in the different forms of Southern Brāhmī. Some of these forms bring them closer to the Gilgit manuscripts. Only a number of small fragments on palm leaves and birch bark contained Kushanian and early post-Kushanian Brāhmī.

Let us turn now to the contents of the manuscripts. It is obvious that in the period in question the texts of Vajrayāna were among those dominant in Southern oases of East Turkestan, and, what is more important, Vajrayāna absorbed a number of local folk beliefs and cults.

The greater part of the collection consists of *dhāraṇīs*, *mantras* and other types of magical literature; there are 34 different copies comprising about 200 fragments (it constitutes about 13 per cent of the collection). The great many fragments belong to the so-called *sūtras* of the *Pañca rakṣā* — ("Five Protections" *sūtras*), representing the cult of five Tantric goddesses venerated as five Mothers. Each of them is attributed to a block of specific magic formulae to invoke them. The fragments of three *sūtras* from the five are found in the collection. These are: *Mahāmāyurividyā-rājñī* ("Great She-Peacock, a Queen of Magic Spells") — fragments in four independent copies [3]; *Mahāsāhasrapramadanividyārājñī* — fragments of five independent copies [4]; and *Mahāpratīsarāvidyārājñī* — fragments of four independent copies [5]. In all, there are more than one hundred fragments of 13 independent copies, which makes about 5 per cent of the collection.

It is worth noting that a great deal of such kind of texts were found in Gilgit, however, all of them represent frag-

\* The work was carried out with the financial support of the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Foundation.

ments of *Mahāpratisarā* texts [6]. The fragments of the *Mahāmāyūrī* text were also discovered as part of the famous manuscript found in Kucha by Lieutenant H. Bower as early as 1890; they were published by R. Hoernle in 1893 [7]. Several fragments of *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī* and *Mahāsāhasrapramadanividyārājñī* constitute part of the German Turfan collection (Nos. 983, 1008, and 1011).

There are also texts of the *Pañca-rakṣā* in Chinese, which are preserved in the Dunhuang collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, but one must admit that they were more popular in the Tibetan cultural area. The *Pañca-rakṣā* texts in Tibetan greatly influenced the further development of Tibetan Buddhism and are of exceptional value at present. The same is valid for the collection of Tibetan manuscripts in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which abounds with block prints and manuscripts containing the *Pañca-rakṣā sūtras*.

Turning now to the manuscripts from the Petrovsky collection, many of them contain the talk of Buddha with *mahāsenapati* of *yakṣas* Māñibhadra which are in close connection with the text of *Pañca rakṣā*. The collection contains 22 fragments in all (call numbers SI P/28 and P/37). The main subject of the talk is how to defend *bhikṣus* and other living beings from the great harm caused by *yakṣas*. The content of the texts makes us conclude that they are of magic character, too. Prof. Bongard-Levin, in collaboration with the Japanese and German scholars, has recently identified one of those texts as containing the text of *Prajñāpāramitā* (see below).

As for the other *dhāraṇīs*, the Petrovsky collection contains the following:

1) *Sumukhanāma-dhāraṇī* in four copies (22 folios) and fragments. The two — SI P/65a (1 folio) and SI P/77 (6 folios) — were published. Two other copies remain unpublished: P/18 (6 folios) and P/75 (7 folios). So far they have been in a bad condition and will be published only after restoration. The recent publication by Klaus Wille of three new fragments of the *dhāraṇī* from the Hoernle and Crosby collections [8] can aid further knowledge of the text. Judging from the full extant Khotanese text of the *dhāraṇī*, one half of the Sanskrit text is now available. What is interesting in the unpublished manuscripts P/18 and P/75 is that they contain a briefer variant of the text. Manuscript P/77 of 6 folios originally contained 18 folios (the last folio with the colophon has survived). Manuscript P/18 of larger size had originally 23 folios (at present we have one folio which is the last but one). Both variants differ not only in *dhāraṇīs*, but in prosaic text as well.

2) *Buddhanāma-sūtra* may be attributed to the same genre. There are 5 copies of the *sūtra* in the Petrovsky collection [9] — about 30 folios and fragments. Three of them were taken into account in the work by Oskar von Hinüber [10]. Two new copies were published by Prof. Bongard-Levin and by the author of the present article in 1990 [11]. The other 3 fragments from the Hoernle and Godfrey collections were published by Dr. Klaus Wille. But only a small piece of the texts of the *Buddhanāma* type came down to us in Sanskrit. The *Buddhanāma sūtras* in Chinese were rather popular. As far as one can judge from the Dunhuang collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, there are three types of *Buddhanāma* texts, some of them with colour illustrations.

3) A lot of exactly non-identified *dhāraṇīs* — 12 copies, about 25 folios [12]. Partly they belong to *Vajrapāñi* and were published by S. Oldenburg (SI P/26—2). The others have not been published yet.

Thus, the *dhāraṇīs* represent the most important part of the Petrovsky collection, and can elucidate some key points of the dissemination of the Buddhist doctrine in Southern oases in the second half of the first millennium A.D.

Another text, though less abundantly represented in fragments in the Petrovsky collection, is *Saddharmapundarika-sūtra*, 27 copies of which constitute about 10 per cent of the collection [13]. At present, ten of them are published. Both versions of the *sūtra* are represented — the Central Asian (mostly) and the Nepal-Gilgit one. It is evident that the *sūtra* was not very popular in the Northern oases, only one folio of it is known in the German Turfan collection (No. 622). On the contrary, the number of the *sūtra*'s fragments among the Gilgit manuscripts is exceptional [14]. Some fragments (unpublished yet) are also found in the A. H. Francke collection; they were described by Prof. R. E. Emmerick in 1984 [15].

It is necessary to remark that the *sūtra* was in a great demands in Khotan, where the local Khotanese had been ordering the Sanskrit copies for themselves. For example, the famous Kashghar manuscript of Petrovsky (SI P/5) has a colophon written in Khotanese at the end of the manuscript as well as three Khotanese colophons at the end of three of the chapters. To cite another example, there are also two Khotanese inscriptions on the bottom margin in manuscripts P/10 and P/7. We learn from the colophon of chapter 23 in a Khotanese manuscript known as “Manuscript E”, or “The Book of Zambasta”, about the possible reason of the absence of the full translation of the *sūtra* into Khotanese (see the Petrovsky collection, SI P/6). The author of this remark complains that the local residents refuse to recognise any text as a Holy Writ unless it is written in Sanskrit. He writes: “I intend to translate it into Khotanese for the welfare of all beings... But such are their deeds: the Khotanese do not value the Law at all in Khotanese. They understand it badly in Indian. In Khotanese it does not seem to them to be the Law” [16].

If we turn now to the Chinese Dunhuang collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, we shall see that *Saddharmapundarika* occupies the second place in the number of copies (after *Vajracchedikā*). The observation of the manuscripts shows that chapter 25 of the *sūtra* which bears the title *Samanta-mukha*, and is devoted to Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, began to be spread as an independent composition as early as the seventh century. In the eighth — ninth centuries, it became one of the most popular texts; a comparatively large number of small manuscripts of the pocket type containing the text of this chapter proves that. They might have been used in everyday life.

The third place is occupied by the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. We have 24 copies, about 50 fragments, which is 9 per cent of the collection [17]. We were wrong in our previous supposition that it is *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* that presents the majority of the fragments in the collection. Closer examination of the last years led us to conclude that the fragments mainly belong to the *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā* — *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā* line. They, as the Japanese scholar Shogo Watanabe has shown, “are variant texts deriving from the same source” [18]. It is possible, therefore, to

assume the existence of an *Urtext* of both *Aṣṭaśā-* and *Pañcaviṃśati-* texts. So far Prof. Bongard-Levin, in collaboration with the Japanese and German scholars, has published only four fragments. The research of one of the fragments has shown that manuscript P/19(1) reproduces the text of the old type, presenting a slightly more developed form than that of the Chinese text which originates from Khotan and which is included in the *Tripitaka Taisho* (No. 221). Besides, as was established by the scholars, manuscript P/19(1) differs from the *Aṣṭaśāśāhasrikā* text found in Gilgit. The scholars identified the text as an old copy of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*.

Thus, the scholarly examination of fragment P/19(1), together with some other fragments surviving, especially in the Crosby collection from Khotan, Francke collection and in some others, permits us now to establish the relationship between the *Abhisamayālamkāra* text and revised on its base texts of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, as well as to determine the time when this revision could occur, and then to pick out the *Urtext* as a collection of the foremost *mātrikās*.

Recently, a group of scholars from Germany, Japan and Russia has succeeded in publishing a complete text of *Nagaropamasūtra* on the basis of texts found in English, French, German and Russian collections [19]. As is said in section 2 of the publication, the first known manuscript of the *Nagaropamasūtra* to come to light was that which was reported by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle in 1897 [20]. Hoernle found part of the manuscript of the *sūtra* among manuscripts, which were sent him from Kashghar by George Macartney in 1896. Afterwards, Hoernle acquired another part which came to him with the so-called Weber manuscript [21]. It was N. F. Petrovsky who was presented the third portion which he sent to S. Oldenburg in St. Petersburg. All the three parts originate from Kucha. As for the Petrovsky manuscript, the call number of which is SI P/33 (3 folios), it contains the text of the end of a canonical part of the *sūtra* and the beginning of the appendix.

The close attention to the *sūtra* was attracted anew by a publication of Fukita Takamichi [22]. It was he who proved that the Pelliot folios, edited by S. Lévi as *Nidānasūtra*, and the Stein folios, edited by La Vallée Poussin and identified by him as *Nagaropamasūtra*, belong to the single manuscript found at Dunhuang. As a result of about one hundred years of scholarly activity, one more valuable text of Hīnayāna, used not only in dogmatic but also as a charm in everyday practice, was put into scholarly circulation.

After picking out the three groups of manuscripts which form more than 30 per cent of the Petrovsky collection, we have taken the view that they can indicate the main directions of the Buddhist doctrine in the Southern oases of East Turkestan in the second half of the first millennium A.D., namely, (i) Vajrayāna; (ii) Mahāyāna school of the "Lotus *Sūtra*"; and (iii) Mahāyāna school of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

The comparison of this set of texts with those in the Gilgit and Turfan collections clearly shows the differences which inevitably appeared as a result of the development of Buddhism in East Turkestan at that time. An observation of these developments leads us to conclude that the following forms of Buddhism became dominant:

1) Hīnayāna, which hold the position in Northern oases where a large number of *sūtras* from *Āgāmas* was found. Particularly, the Sarvāstivāda school was apparently dominant;

2) Vajrayāna and Mahāyāna, with a full set of texts — in the Southern oases;

3) Hīnayāna, with a full set of the *Vinaya* texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, and Vajrayāna making its first steps along with most likely Nalanda's schools and different schools of Mahāyāna — in Gilgit.

Of the remaining part of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Petrovsky collection we may only enumerate here some of manuscripts, which are the most important for the study of *sūtras* versions. First of all, the collection is lacking any *sūtra* of *Āgāmas* with the exception of three folios belonging to the *Nagaropamasūtra*. Surprisingly, we do not find any fragment of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* in the collection; only a few texts of commentaries on the *Vinaya* are present. One of them, with the colophon — *vaṁśāpātākara parivartah caturtha* — remains unidentified. The questions of discipline are discussed there by Buddha and Kāśyapa to whom five hundred *bhikkhus* attend (P/20—1 + P/20—2).

It should be mentioned that two vast texts of *avadānas* are now published. These are the *Śardūla-karnāvadāna* (P/15, 22 fols.) and *Ajitasenavyākaraṇa* (P/63, 24 fols.). Their comparison with those found in Gilgit presents us an interesting result: in both cases copyists copied from the same original; they had made, with only a slight difference, the same mistakes when transcribing *gāthās* and prose text, which excludes a mere coincidence. The publishers of the Gilgit text rectified some of the mistakes, quite unwarrantably yet. For example, they make the following conjecture (the Gilgit Sanskrit text, p. 105, *gāthā* 1): *yadā tvaṁ praviśasi piṇḍapātika vimocaye tvaṁ bahavaṁ hi prāninām* ("When you enter [a city] as an alms collector, you will rescue many living beings..."). Meanwhile the text in both manuscripts runs as follows: *yadā tvayā praviśati piṇḍapātiko vimocaye yaṁ bahavohi prāninām* (luckily, divergences are shown by publishers in footnotes).

Among the Mahāyāna *sūtras* most attention was paid to two of them: *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, six fragments of which were published by Prof. Bongard-Levin [23], and to two versions of the *Kāśyapaparivārta-sūtra* (still unpublished) [24]. If one brings together the fragments from the Petrovsky collection in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, as well as the fragments of the *sūtra* in the manuscript collections of Great Britain, Finland and Germany, an exclusive material for studying the brief, and apparently earlier version of the *sūtra* (and extended one, which took shape later) can be obtained. We have also at our disposal the full text of a *sūtra* whose name is repeatedly mentioned in the text as *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*. The data which can be obtained from a Chinese colophon of this collection of 49 *sūtras*, entitled by their compiler Bodhiruci *Ratnakūṭa* and included in the *Tripitaka Taisho* under number 310, enable us to conclude that the collection of *sūtras* appeared in Khotan not earlier than 706—712 A.D. *Ratnakūṭa*, as is presented in the Petrovsky collection (MS P/2, 73 fols.), happened to be the most popular in East Turkestan, and we find quotations from it in a lot of other *sūtras* and *śāstras* in their translation into Chinese and Tibetan. We can extend the list of the quotations after we have discovered a text, which renders part of the *sūtra* in chapter 12 of the Khotanese "Book of Zambasta" mentioned above. This chapter contains an exposition of the *saṃvara*, "moral restriction", prescribed for Bodhisattvas, with the explanation of the major and minor offences leading to the loss of the *saṃvara*. There is also



the description of circumstances under which innocence can be attained. The Khotanese text is faithful to the Sanskrit one.

Unidentified fragments, which are 23 in all, constitute about 8 per cent of the collection. The identification of at least part of them is still possible. It seems that some of the fragments belong to the same *sūtras* as those in the Turfan collection in Germany, though they remain unidentified there (for example, Nos. 1340 and 1764). Of course, our conclusions concerning priority of Buddhist schools and

texts in Northern and Southern oases of East Turkestan are only preliminary, considering that a great number of manuscripts circulating on the territory of East Turkestan in the first millennium A.D. have not come down to us. Nevertheless, the predominance of the three schools mentioned above — Vajrayāna, “Lotus *Sūtra*” and *Prajñāpāramitā* — is beyond any doubt. In any case, the presents of the texts related to this schools in the Petrovsky collection can do a great service to the study of Buddhism development in East Turkestan.

### Notes

1. *Pamiatniki Indiiskoi Pis'mennosti iz Tsentral'noi Azii* (The Monuments of Indian Writing from Central Asia) (Moscow, 1985—1990), i—ii.
2. *Die nordturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften der Sammlung Hoernle*, von Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Klaus Wille (Göttingen, 1992), pp. 10—63. — *Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften*, II.
3. Call numbers SI P/30, 38, 39, 58 + 59.
4. Call numbers SI P/32, 54 + 56(1), 44a, 44b, 64.
5. Call numbers SI P/40, 41a, 41b + 42.
6. Oskar von Hinüber, *Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften* (Göttingen, 1979), fragments 6, 14, 15, 17.
7. A. F. R. Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscript* (facsimile leaves, nagari transcript, romanized transliteration, and English translation with notes) (Calcutta, 1893), pp. 222—40e.
8. Klaus Wille, *Sanskrihandschriften aus dem Turfanfunden*, Teil 10 (Berlin, 1996), pp. 398—402: “Die Hoernle-Fragments in der Turfan Sammlung”.
9. Call number SI P/60, 61, 70, 71a + 116c + 116sh; L/2.
10. “Dhāraṇīs aus Zentralasien”, *Indologica Taurinensia*, XIV (1987—1988), pp. 231—49.
11. *Pamiatniki Indiiskoi Pis'mennosti iz Tsentral'noi Azii*, ii, pp. 277—92.
12. Call numbers SI P/22, 23, 26, 29, 55 + 56(2), 71b, 72g, 110, 112, 113 (3 fr.), 116b (3 fr.) + 116c (1 fr.), 116i.
13. Call numbers SI P/5, 8, 9, 11, 11(1) + 7, 12 + 13, 10, 20(4), 62(1), 62(10), 62(12), 67(2), 67(3), 67(4), 68, 74 + 67(8), 72b, 76, 79, 82b, 83a, 83b, 90a, 90b(1), 91, 118a, 121e, 151.
14. See Oskar von Hinüber, *op. cit.*, Nos. 44, 45, 47—50. There are also 3 fragments from Srinagar, mentioned there.
15. “Newly-discovered Buddhist texts from Khotan”, *Proceedings of the Thirty-First International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, Tokyo—Kyoto, 31st August — 7th September 1983* (Tokyo, 1984), i, pp. 219—20.
16. See *The Book of Zambasta. A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*, ed. and transl. by R. E. Emmerick (Oxford, 1968), p. 343.
17. Call numbers SI P/19, 20(5), 46a, 62b, g, e, k, v; 67(7), 67(13), 67(14), 72a, 72b, 82a, 83m, n, z; 84a, b, g, d, v; 116o (5 fr.); 123i (6 fr.); 123k, 145, 146 (2 fr.), 147a, 147 + 148.
18. “A comparative study of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā”, *East and West* (1995), pp. 386—95.
19. *The Nagaropomasūtra: an Apotropaic Text from the Saṃyuktāgama*, a transliteration, reconstruction, and translation of the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts by G. Bongard-Levin, D. Boucher, Takamichi Fukita, K. Wille (Göttingen, 1996), pp. 9—131. — *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen*, III.
20. A. F. R. Hoernle, “Three further collections of ancient manuscripts from Central Asia”, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXVI (1897), p. 1, No. 4, pp. 237—44.
21. Oskar von Hinüber, *op. cit.*, fragments 6, 14, 15, 17.
22. Fukita Takamichi, “*Higashi Torukisutan ubu no dokuju kyoten — Nagaropamavyākaraṇa (= Nagarasūtra) to mayoke*” (“A recitation text of the Sarvāstivādins from East Turkestan — the *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa (= Nagarasūtra)* and a charm”), *Annals of the Sanko Cultural Research Institute*, XX (1989), pp. 27—49.
23. Call numbers SI P/88a, 88b, 88c, 88d, 88v, 89. See *Pamiatniki Indiiskoi Pis'mennosti iz Tsentral'noi Azii*, i, pp. 37—64.
24. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, “An unique manuscript of the “Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra” in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/1 (1995), pp. 12—6.

# MANUSCRIPTS CONSERVATION

N. M. Brovenko

## ON CHANGING THE MEANS OF THE BEREZOVSKY COLLECTION STORING\*

The small Berezovsky collection (only 130 items) occupies a special place in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. A rich variety of writing materials — paper, birch bark, silk, palm leaves, wood — and writing itself — upright and slanting Brāhmī, Chinese hieroglyphics — make the documents of this collection particularly interesting. It is therefore not surprising that the Berezovsky collection has always drawn attention of numerous Orientalists. The collection is also distinguished by the fact that all of the manuscripts are identified geographically and topographically. In 1906, M. M. Berezovsky carried out excavations in Kucha, a famous oasis with many temples and monasteries: Kyzyl Minuy, On Bash Minuy, Kyzyl Karga, Tadjit Minuy. Berezovsky scrupulously described his finds and accurately drew up maps and diagrams to show where they had been discovered. The Archive of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains his lists of finds and his sketches (fund 59, inv. 1, items 21, 26). All of the materials collected were carefully processed — manuscripts and fragments were placed in paper bags and envelopes with an indication of their quantity, where they had been discovered, and their material. At the same time, in 1906, many manuscript fragments were placed in acetate pulp film, so-called gelatin, and thick paper was pasted tightly over the edges. (Envelope where fragments SI B/19 are contained has a note about this in Berezovsky's own hand). They have been preserved in this form until the present day. At that time, this means of preservation was considered the best. Unfortunately, the acetate pulp film has undergone changes over time, losing its transparency, yellowing and darkening; it has become cracked, deformed, and bent (see *fig. 1*).

At the beginning of the 1980s, the Berezovsky collection was described by M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya, who provided inventory numbers, clarified and identified many manuscript fragments, noted the quantity of lines, letters, or signs, and indicated dimensions. All material described was put into thematic or linguistic groups and placed in paper bags. However, the physical condition of the manuscripts gave cause for alarm since the paper had grown weak at the edges, loess and clay within the gelatin film scraped at the writing. Of special cause for concern was the condition of the birch bark, an extremely brittle and breakable material;

it cracked and splintered somewhat even from the light contact necessary for work with the texts. As a result, in several envelopes and bags, paper and birch-bark fragments of various sizes had combined with crumbled loess and become unusable for research purposes. This is, for example, the case of fragments SI B/1 and SI B/6 (see *fig. 2*).

The entire Berezovsky collection is stored in five boxes (40.0×20.0×12.0 cm) and several paper bags. A decision was made to separate all of it, removed the fragments from gelatin, clean them when possible, and place them for conservation into melanex plastic. This means of storage is long-lasting, safe, and allows for work with the text such as study, comparison, photography, etc.

Box No. 1 contained 19 items. Envelope SI B/1 contains a note in Berezovsky's hand: "Kyzyl Minuy with one Chinese coin". Later, M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya noted in her description: "Envelope with scattered contents: small manuscript fragments mixed with loess..." The envelope was torn and beneath it, on the bottom of the box, lay numerous small pieces of birch bark. These were added to the scattered contents of the envelope and separated as follows:

- 1) paper and birch-bark were separated;
- 2) birch-bark fragments with several signs or lines were isolated;
- 3) birch-bark fragments with one entire sign were isolated;
- 4) birch-bark fragments with elements of signs were isolated.

In group No. 2, three fragments, similar in handwriting and the colour of the birch bark, with identical fracture lines were identified visually. When assembled, they formed fragment 5.5 cm long with two lines of text (SI B/1, fol. 3). This leads us to believe that a dedicated researcher will in the future be able to reconstruct the ancient text, with the aid of even the tiniest elements of signs (see *fig. 3*).

All materials from the envelope with "scattered contents" — 114 paper fragments and 63 birch-bark fragments — were placed in three sheets of melanex (40.0×40.0 cm).

On envelope SI B/6, with the hand of Berezovsky is written: "insignificant fragments of paper and birch bark".

\* This paper was delivered at the Fourth International Conference "Preservation of Dunhuang and Central Asiatic Collections", held at St. Petersburg on 7—12 September, 1999.

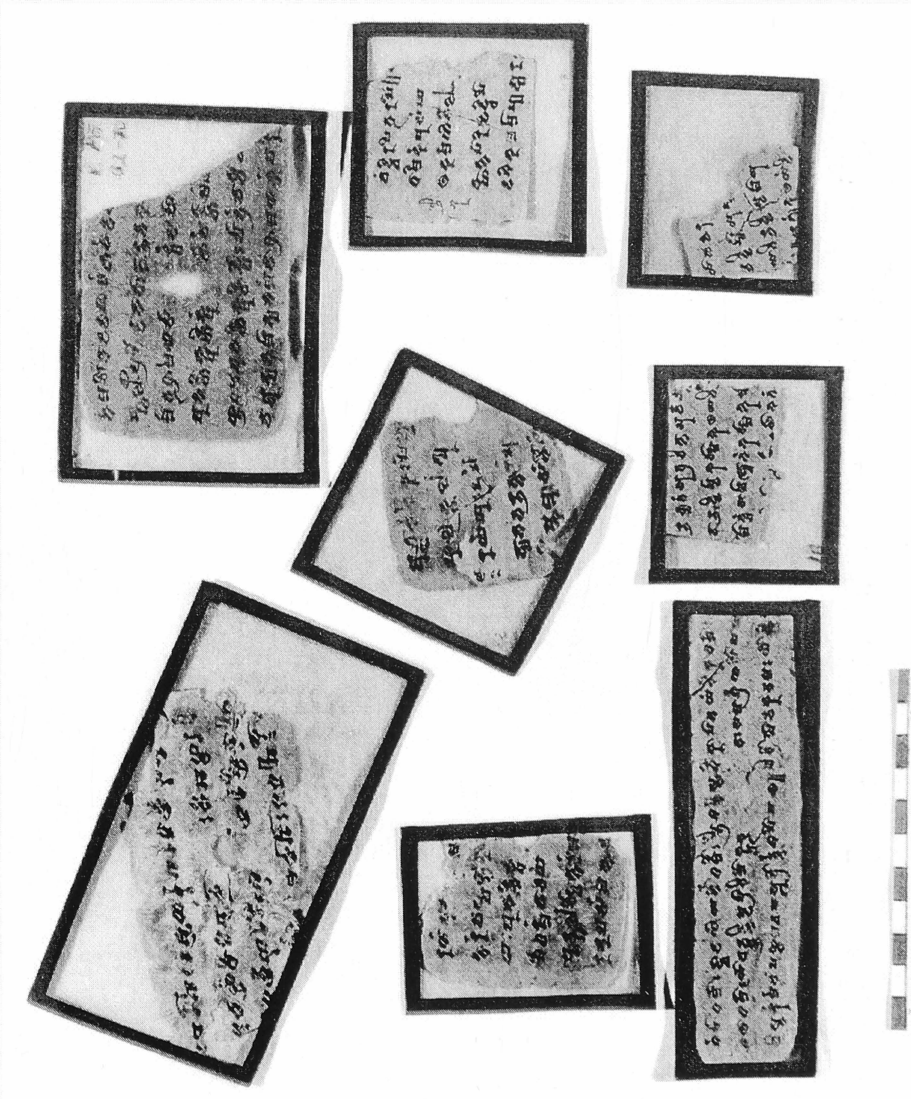


Fig. 1

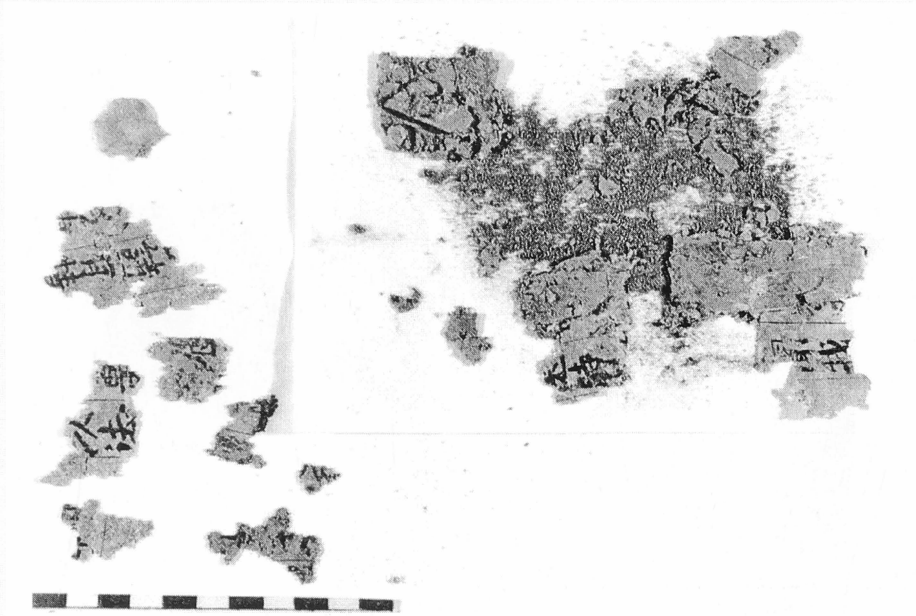


Fig. 2

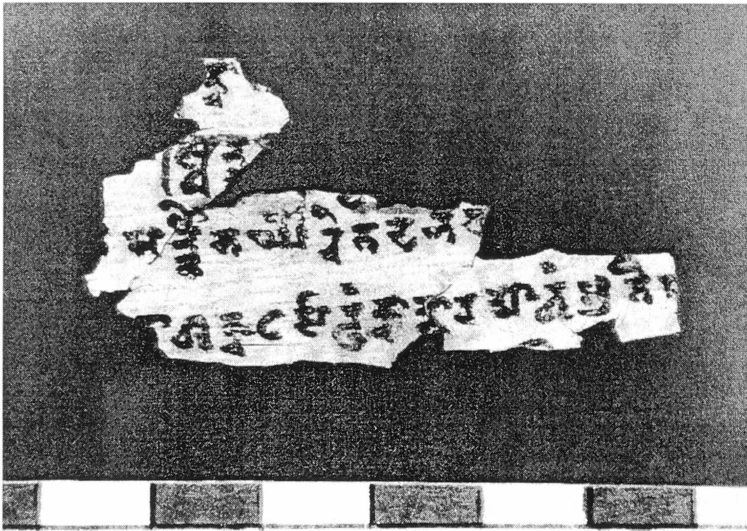


Fig. 3

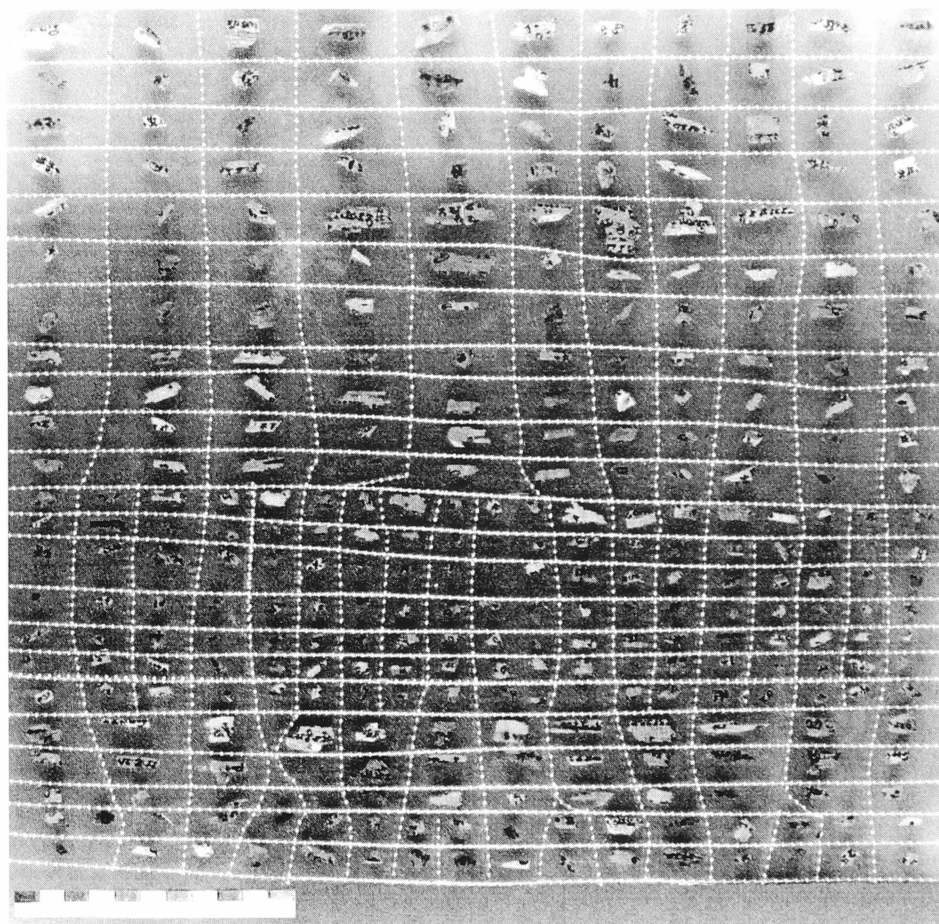
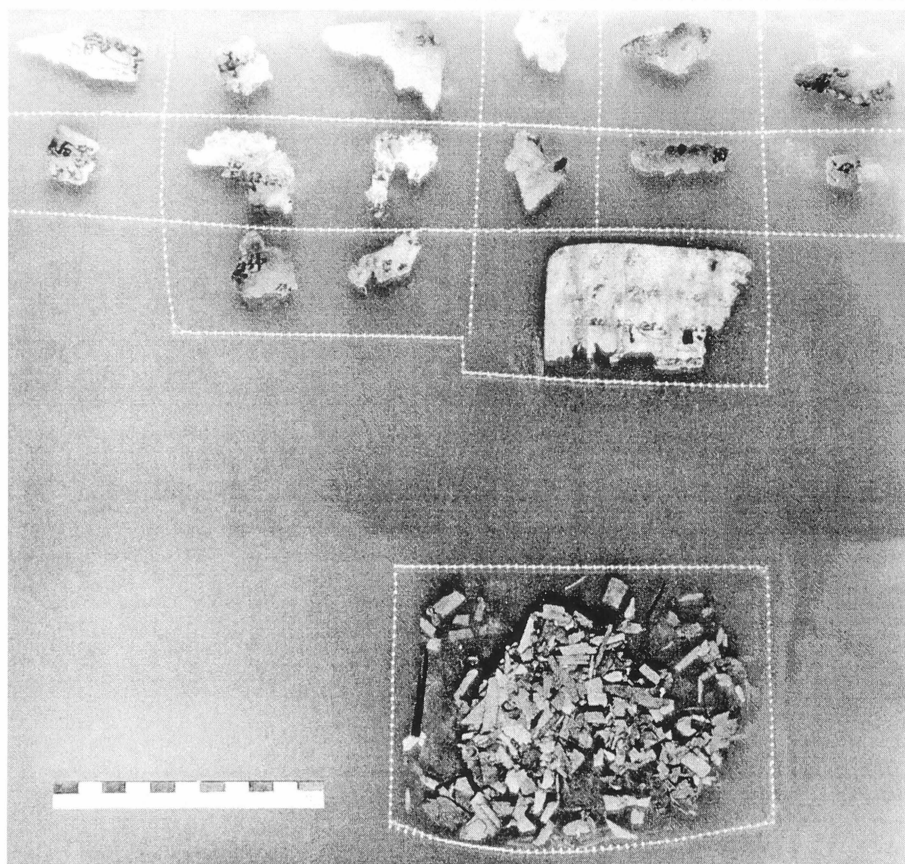


Fig. 4



*Fig. 5*

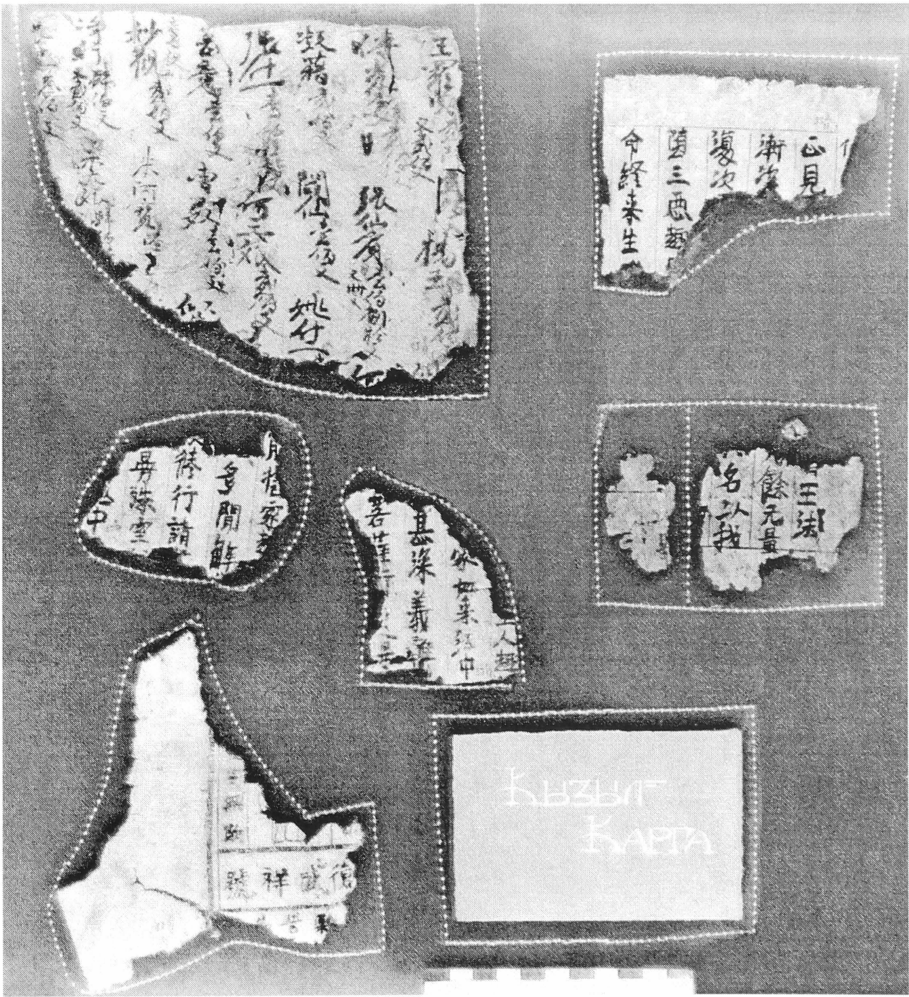


Fig. 6

Inside, we find the folded notebook pages, which enclose the fragments, the following inscription: "insignificant shreds of paper and birch bark". But very little had remained in the notebook pages; most of the contents had fallen to the bottom of the envelope. Collecting this group was difficult because of the loess which had stuck to the birch bark and paper and cemented them together. The task was to separate and clean the fragments. Free-settling dust was brushed and blown off the surface with signs. The cemented sections were usually removed with a scalpel and then cleaned using the scalpel as a scraper. But it was sometimes necessary to accept the loess on those sections where particles of India ink came off even at the touch of a soft brush or with blowing. Many birch-bark fragments were rolled up and broke into pieces when unrolled or straightened. In such cases, a special thin restoration paper with a dry adhesive layer was first applied to the fold (SI B/6, fol. 2). In this fashion, the cohesion of many fragments with a few signs or even lines was preserved.

The paper was also cleaned with a soft brush and air. Only where clay had soaked through the paper and its removal would have destroyed the signs or text were fragments left unrestored (SI B/5, SI B/9). Nine fragments of yellow silk were also found here; they were heavily marred with clay. After separating out birch-bark fragments with signs and elements of signs, a large group remained without signs. This could be a second layer of birch bark or gaps between signs or words and lines. A decision was made to store them in melanex together with the other fragments until they are needed (see *fig. 5*). At present, item SI B/6 consists of 587 birch-bark fragments, 22 paper fragments, and 9 silk fragments.

Berezovsky's note on envelope SI B/7 is as follows: "3 fragments of drawings". Three fragments with drawings on paper had been placed into acetate pulp film which was seriously bent and cracked. Upon removal, the paper was cleaned with a dry brush and straightened. Tear lines on the fragments turned out to be identical; when assembled, they formed part of a single drawing.

The bundle of papers from envelope SI B/8 was gummed together with clay and animal glue; the signs were almost impossible to see. Berezovsky's noted is: "Small fragments of various manuscripts (Brahmi, Chin.)". After cleaning and separation, the paper needed to be reinforced, which was done with the aid of a 1.5% water solution of methyl cellulose. In addition to fragments with Chinese hieroglyphs, the bundle also contained coloured paper without signs. All of this was installed in a single layer of melanex.

Materials of the other fourteen items — SI B/2—4, SI B/9—19 — were, for the most part, stored in acetate pulp film which had undergone serious changes over time. They were all removed from the film, and placed and fixed in melanex (see *fig. 6*).

As a result of this work with the materials from box No. 1 of the Berezovsky collection, the precise total of manuscript fragments was determined. The numbers are impressive: 422 fragments on paper, 650 fragments on birch bark, 11 fragments on silk, and three fragments on palm leaf. All of them were placed on some 34 plates of melanex, affixed, and packed in special paper.

Now it is hoped that the materials from box No. 1 of the Berezovsky collection will be quite safe from damage and become an object of researchers' attention.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Manuscript fragments from the Berezovsky collection in the acetate pulp film.

**Fig. 2.** Manuscript fragments in the process of cleaning and sorting out.

**Fig. 3.** Three birch-bark fragments assembled.

**Fig. 4.** Birch-bark fragments placed into melanex.

**Fig. 5.** Paper and birch-bark fragments, lacking writing, placed into melanex.

**Fig. 6.** General view of manuscript fragments placed into melanex.



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# **ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES**

*Hala Kaileh*

## **A FEASIBILITY STUDY FOR THE DIGITALISATION OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN JERUSALEM**

The digitalisation of documents is a new technology that has recently come to be practised in libraries. It is an extremely important technique for increasing the value of documents, which are part of the national heritage, and manuscripts in particular, by improving access to them and helping with their preservation. This report is a feasibility study of the digitalisation of a collection of manuscripts in Jerusalem.

In the last few years, with the development of new information technology and improvements in communications, especially with the emergence of the Internet, digitalisation has become a technique which seems to be capable to solve many problems of conservation, dissemination of information and its processing. Applied to documents, it can help with their preservation, improving the possibilities of access to them. This new technology offers the best means of close study of manuscripts as well as a means to gain ready access to them from distance. The studies carried out by the author of the present article have established a huge important potential of this technology exists to improve preservation of the national heritage and manuscripts

in particular. Good examples of this are the projects of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and that of the Vatican Library.

Manuscript collections in Jerusalem constitute a very important cultural resource which deserves being preserved as part of the universal cultural heritage and of the Palestinian national heritage as well. The transmission of knowledge is a strategic factor in social and cultural development. For this reason, carrying out a study on the possibility of preserving and safeguarding those manuscripts by using digitalisation technique can be viewed as a very important task, since the new technology enables us to have a good means to present the treasures of the national heritage to everyone. It is of especially importance when there are problems of access as is the case with Jerusalem which has been closed to the residents of the West Bank and the Gaza strip since 1993. At the same time, the political situation in Palestine makes access to Palestine and its cities (in particular, to Jerusalem) impossible for the majority of residents in the neighbouring countries.

### **1. HISTORY AND STATUS OF MANUSCRIPTS**

For centuries Jerusalem has stored very rich manuscript collections, both in Arabic as well as in other languages. It is only natural that the majority of these manuscripts are in the Arabic language, and Jerusalem remains a major centre for Islamic studies. A great deal of these manuscripts have been in private hands until recently, and it is thanks to the efforts of many families that the manuscripts have survived. U. Haarmann [1] mentions that information on manuscripts kept in Jerusalem is recorded in a catalogue dating back to the fourteenth century. However, the most ancient surviving catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in Jerusalem goes back to 1881. According to the *Majallat al-Athār* (Zahlah, Lebanon), it was composed by the priests of the Greek Orthodox Monastery for their collection.

Similarly, during the Ottoman period, the library of the al-Khalīdī family possessed a register (*daftar*) of all their manuscripts, with information on when they came into the possession of the family. It is now evident from these catalogues that a number of the manuscripts has been lost. Indeed, not only manuscripts have disappeared, the whole libraries which were recorded as existing during the British mandate have vanished. According to Conrade and Salameh, these libraries ceased to exist after the war of 1948. The war also forced some families to leave their places of residence, and this may explain the existence of some of these manuscripts outside Palestine, which constitutes a great loss to the Palestinian national heritage, and especially to Jerusalem. At present, most of the remaining

manuscript collections face others problems, such as the lack of resources by families and religious institutions for their conservation and restoration.

The second volume of the "World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts" al-Khalidī [2], published by Al-Furqān (Islamic Heritage Foundation), contains the following information: there are approximately 21 institutions in Palestine which possess Islamic manuscripts in the Arabic language;

the total number of manuscripts there is approximately 11,275; 10,403 of these manuscripts are in Jerusalem, from which 8,476 are in the holdings of Palestinian institutions and 1,927 — of Israeli institutions. The rest 872 manuscripts are found in cities other than Jerusalem: Abu Sinan, Acre, Burquayn, Hebron, Jaffa, Nablus and Tel Aviv.

However, now there is the opportunity to include in this list the collection of the Greek Orthodox Monastery library.

## 2. PRESENTATION OF INSTITUTIONS AND COLLECTIONS

Five libraries, studied here, include 5,650 manuscripts constituting the majority of Arabic manuscripts. The following abbreviations for these libraries are used:

- L1: the al-Aqṣā mosque library
- L2: al-Khalidī library
- L3: Markaz Ihyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī library
- L4: Markaz 'Isāf al-Nashāshibī library
- L5: Greek Orthodox Monastery library

It turned out to have been not possible to include al-Budayrī library which also holds an important collection of manuscripts: it was closed because of administrative and economic problems. However, it is necessary to point out that there is a catalogue of this library, which includes an introduction on the history of the library and a list of 636 manuscripts it possesses. This library is the private property of al-Budayrī family.

### 2.1. THE STATUS OF THE INSTITUTIONS

The institutions covered by the inquiry can be divided into two types. The first takes into account the status of the institution — whether it is under a public tutelage or in private property.

The second type considers the nature of the institutions — whether they are encyclopaedic or specialised. The crossing of these two typologies gives us the results as shown in *Table 1*.

*Table 1*

Typology 1 \ Typology 2	Private	Public
Encyclopaedic	L 2, L 5	L 1
Specialised	L 4	L 3

The table shows that the majority of the institutions that hold these manuscripts (three) have a private status. This situation can be explained by the absence of a Palestinian national state that would be able to unite manuscripts in a national library, as is in most countries, or to place libraries under the public authority which would allow manuscripts to be classified as the national heritage and the inalienable property of the state. Moreover, in the absence of a national state, some families have played and continue to play a decisive role in the safeguard of this patrimony. The expression 'private status' here refers to family libraries or to the institutions created originally on personal or family initiative but subsequently transferred into cultural centres and libraries belonging to religious institutions (monasteries, mosques, etc.).

These institutions sometimes benefit from external financial assistance from other institutions such as cultural foundations or famous funding bodies in the western countries. The collections of these private libraries represent family inheritance (*waqf dhurri*), some of them being very old. For example, L 2 can be traced to the end of the nineteenth century. This library is lodged in a building that dates from thirteenth century, i.e. from the Mamlūk period. L 5

possesses rare collections in ancient languages, while L 4, is specialised in all the subjects relating Jerusalem and its personalities. The latter was founded in 1986 as a part of Dār-al-Ṭifl College. After it was attached to the university of al-Quds in 1992, it came to be known as the Islamic research Centre which existed until 1996. It then achieved an autonomous status and was renamed 'Isāf al-Nashāshibī Centre.

Palestinian families have even played a role in the foundation of some public libraries' collections, as is the case of L 1, whose manuscript collection grew out of family collections. Four different collections were united to constitute the current library: the ancient library of Dār Kutub al-Masjid al-Aqṣā, of shaykh Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1811), shaykh Khalīl al-Khalidī (d. 1941), and the collection of 360 manuscripts in Arabic of shaykh Muḥammad al-Khalīlī (d. 1734). This library was created in 1922 by the High Islamic Legislative Advisory of Jerusalem under the name of Dār Kutub al-Masjid al-Aqṣā in the ancient Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya (school al-Ashrafiyya) established in the fifteenth century by the Mamlūk Sultan Qā'it Bāy. Not all the wealth of the collection has been transmitted to the current library which was opened on 1976 as Al-Awqāf Public

Library. **L 3** is an academic library that also possesses rare and ancient manuscripts. One of its missions is to revive the collections of Islamic manuscripts. The library is at present

under the responsibility of the Palestinian authority and is attached to the University of Al-Quds.

## 2.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE COLLECTION

*Table 2*

Manuscripts Number	Library
(250)	<b>L 5</b>
(400)	<b>L 4</b>
(1246)	<b>L 2</b>
(2000) (MSS and <i>majmū'āt</i> )	<b>L 1</b>
(3700)	<b>L 3</b>

In terms of manuscripts number, **L 1** possesses the second collection after **L 3**. It contains approximately 2,000 manuscripts and collections (*majmū'āt*) which date back to the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods. They cover the following subjects: religion, Arabic language and literature, biography, and mathematics. The most ancient manuscript dates to 450/1058—59. One of the most important manuscripts of this collection is dated by 1228 and is entitled *al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa-l-mahāsin al-Yūsufiyya* (the author of the work is Bahā' al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Rafī' Ibn Shaddād). This manuscript was copied six years before the death of its author.

**L 2** possesses manuscripts that date back to the Ayyūbid, Mamlūk and Ottoman periods. There are 1,246 manuscripts in Arabic, 36 in Turkish and 18 in Persian. Subjects covered by these copies are history, religion, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, pharmacology, and music. The collection of **L 2** originates from the eighteenth century. Its most ancient manuscript was written in 1027/1617—18. This collection contains 70 very rare manuscripts, including 3 that are the only copies in the world. Among them is *al-Akhhār al-mathūra* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaṣan Ibn Durayd that dates to the fourth century A. H.

The fund of **L 3** also goes back to the Ayyūbid and Ottoman periods. It is the most important fund from the viewpoint of manuscripts number. Among 7,000 titles that constitute the funds of this library, there are 3,700 manuscripts

on history, religion, philosophy, Arabic language and literature (syntax), mathematics, astrology and engineering. The library also holds a collection of postcards of Jerusalem of the Ottoman and British Mandate periods. The most important manuscript in the library is a copy of the Qur'ān that goes back to the second century A. H.

The fund of **L 4** contains up to 9,000 titles from which 400 manuscripts relate to Jerusalem. But it also contains works on theology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), philosophy, medicine and biography. These manuscripts go back to the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods. The most important manuscript is *Risālat al-jawāb al-qawīm al-muta'alliq bi-iqtā al-Sā'id Tamīm al-Dārī*. This manuscript is the only surviving copy in the world. It has been published recently.

The manuscripts in **L 5** are the most old and date back to ninth — tenth centuries. The library contains several old and rare collections such as the "Holy Sepulchre", Salbonique, Syriaque, Georgian, Ethiopian collections and the collection of the Mār Saba monastery. 250 of these manuscripts are in the Arabic language and range from the ninth century to the Ottoman period. They cover the following subjects: history, religion, philosophy, Arabic literature. The most important Arabic manuscript is *al-Nāmūs al sharīf wa-l-muṣḥaf al-'ālī al-munīf al-mutaqāmin al-subāt majmū'a al-kibār*. Written on a special paper manufactured from cotton, it was offered as a gift to the Patriarch Basil in the seventeenth century. The only existing catalogue of these Arabic manuscripts goes back to 1901.

## 3. PARTICULAR PROBLEMS

### 3.1. ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIAL PROBLEMS

There is a total judicial void concerning copyright regulation, etc. in Palestine. The institutions which hold manuscripts in Jerusalem also suffer from administrative supervision. The political status of this city, which has still not been determined, puts some Palestinian institutions, as well as their libraries, under organisational and administra-

tive risk. Such is the case of **L 1**. This is part of the Awqāf Organisation, which is under the Jordanian administration. The latter has a great deal of influence on the general situation of the library, and sometimes it can hinder development library projects.

## 3.2. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Table 3

Financial support	Library
Specific manuscripts budget	L 1, L 3, L 4, L 5
Sufficient budget (with no guarantee of the continuation of further financing)	L 2
Modest budget for particular aims	L 1, L 2, L 3, L 5 (fumigation) L 2 (air conditioning) L 4 (sterilisation)

Generally speaking, the five libraries, regardless of their status, suffer from financial shortages. They have no fixed budgets for manuscripts conservation and restoration. However, the situation in L 2, which is a private library, is relatively better than in other libraries. The budget of a private library is usually more flexible, especially if the proprietors are active and motivated to safeguard their family treasure. Thanks to the efforts of one of the members of al-Khalīdī family who resides in the United States, L 2 has been given a grant for the restoration of the manuscripts and for the improvement of their conservation. Unfortunately, nobody can guarantee the renewal of this allowance. Nevertheless, thanks to this grant, L 2 has currently an important programme under way, and it is able to afford costly abroad restoration that reaches 3,700 FF for each manuscript. The overall conservation cost reaches 10,000 FF.

L 5 is financed by the general budget of the Monastery, but unluckily it has no permanent or specified budget. Library finances solely fumigation, which demands 50,000 FF per year. The case of L 1 is a little different, because the Awqāf Organisation which manages the library is still under the Jordanian administration. It is this last that determines the budget. L 1 spends approximately 15,500 FF per year on fumigation.

L 3 is under the Palestinian authority and this one has not yet established a fixed budget for the safeguard of manuscripts. Nevertheless, fumigation expenses reach approximately 91,000 FF per year.

The budget of L 4 is in a stage of reorganisation after the library's detachment from the Islamic Study Centre. Meanwhile, there is a modest budget of approximately 3,300 FF for manuscripts sterilisation.

## 3.3. TECHNICAL PROBLEMS

## 3.3.1. Conservation and restoration conditions

Table 4

Manuscripts conservation	Library
Not satisfactory conservation	L 1, L 3, L 4, L 5
Conservation according to professional criterion	L 2
No restoration	L 1, L 4, L 5
Library restoration	L 3
Abroad restoration	L 2

All five libraries possess microfilm copies of at least some of their manuscripts. L 1 has about 2,000 microfilms of manuscripts, L 2 — 700, L 3 — 700, and L 4 — 100. Manuscripts fund in L 5 is wholly microfilmed and deposited in the University of Jordan (L 5 itself keeps no microfilm copies). It should be noted that, with the exception of L 2, the library buildings are badly equipped for conserva-

tion (i.e. bad air conditioning equipment, etc.), and this creates a dangerous situation as far as the safety of manuscripts is concerned. There is neither thermal insulation nor protection against the humidity in L 2. The situation is even worse in L 3 where manuscripts are preserved in a glass cupboard, without air conditioning and alarm system. L 4 has the only sterilisation machine in the whole West Bank

of Jordan and it is the only process applied to the manuscripts with the aid of this machine. The operation is carried out every three to five years depending on the physical conditions of the manuscript. **L 5**, like **L 3**, preserves its manuscripts in a glass cupboard. Manuscripts in the library are only dusted annually and fumigated.

Although the building of **L 2** is very old, manuscripts there are kept in the best conditions (the best among the five libraries from the viewpoint of conservation). The library is well air-conditioned, it is provided with metal shelves and manuscripts are put in non-acidic cardboard boxes; they are preserved in strong cupboards. Three of the five libraries have no means for any restoration. This is often because of funds shortage.

However, it is necessary to specify the situation. **L 1**, receives yearly allowance from the Jordanian government. Nevertheless, a restoration project, which involves only that part of the collection which is threatened with deterioration, will soon be realised thanks to the help of the Al-Ta'awun foundation (NGO). The detachment of **L 4** from the Islamic Research Centre and its later reorganisation has unfortunately delayed realisation of a similar project in this library.

As to **L 5**, the absence of restoration projects can be explained solely by negligence. Some measures were taken in **L 3** which carries on restoration in its reprography workshop. Finally, **L 2** is the only library with a serious restoration project: all manuscripts which need restoration are sent to London.

### 3.3.2. Communication and conditions of access

*Table 5*

Consultation conditions	Library
Original MS consultation	<b>L 5</b>
Microfilm copies consultation	<b>L 1, L 2, L 3, L 4</b>

*Table 6*

Users category	Library
Teachers and researchers	<b>L 1, L 2, L 3, L 4, L 5</b>
Students	<b>L 1, L 3, L 4</b>
Officials	<b>L 3</b>
Scholars	<b>L 4, L 5</b>

*Table 7*

Users residences	Library
Jerusalem	<b>L 1, L 2, L 3, L 4, L 5</b>
West Bank and Gaza strip	<b>L 1, L 2, L 3, L 4, L 5</b>
The 1948 territories	<b>L 1</b>
Arabic countries	<b>L 1 (Jordan)</b>
Other countries	<b>L 5 (Greece)</b>
	<b>L 5 (United States)</b>

Access problems are similar in all the libraries. Manuscripts are located in strictly determined library premises, and the readers have to go there, which demands special permission. Visa restrictions often make access to manuscripts even more difficult.

**L 4** is the only library that has users statistics. The comparison of the number of users in the period between 1990 and 1996 shows that it has decreased from 924 to 200. This negative trend can be explained by the closure of Jerusalem which prevents the researchers from getting

access to the manuscripts. The same problem faces the users of **L 3**; at present, access is limited to the residents of Jerusalem and especially to the students of the al-Da'wā wa Uṣūl al-Dīn college. A range of users of **L 5** is wider. Every year the library receives approximately 500 researchers of which two-thirds are foreigners from the United States or Europe. It is worth mentioning that it is easier to get access to Jerusalem for a foreign researcher than for a West Banker.

**L 1** functioning as a public library is visited by various users. The Israel-Jordan peace agreement enabled a limited

number of Jordanians researchers to come and consult manuscripts in this library with the permission from the Israeli government. **L 2** is closed now to the public because of a continuing restoration. However, researchers can obtain a microfilm copy of any manuscript they need after paying the cost of microfilm production and postage.

Consulting all **L 2** manuscripts is usually restricted to using microfilm copies. This is the case with the first four libraries: the originals are available only when there is no microfilm copy. Consulting originals in **L 5** is connected with the absence of microfilm copies.

#### 4. DIGITALISATION PROJECT REASON

Digitalisation permits the libraries to solve many problems with concern to manuscripts. These are:

1. The problem of conservation which demands transferring manuscripts into electronic form. This substantially diminishes the damage caused by manuscripts handling, especially when it concerns ancient or fragile materials such as parchment, papyrus, leather, etc. It can also safeguard manuscripts against unlucky accidents or criminal intentions.

2. The access problem: the lack of access produces a serious problem for researchers who live on the West Bank. Existing statistics shows that the majority of the current users are Palestinian from Jerusalem, Israelis or scholars from abroad. The predominance of these groups of researchers cannot be explained by the fact that they are those who solely take interest in manuscripts. No less interest demonstrate potential readership from the West Bank,

Gaza and neighbouring Arab countries, but they are unable to get access to the manuscripts representing their national heritage.

Electronic copies are easier to handle than the originals. Consulting originals is often limited by the nature of the manuscript. For example, it may be a particularly large volume, which makes its using difficult. Other restrictions may be imposed by the libraries because of the manuscript's conditions. Mounting digital manuscripts on a network makes them available for consultation from distance, be that at home or elsewhere. However, extra equipment and some infrastructure is needed in order to employ the advantages of electronic forms.

In support of the digitalisation project, the respondents, to the questions of the interviewer, named three main reasons (the third can be divided into two). The answers are reflected in *Table 8*.

*Table 8*

Library		L 1	L 2	L 3	L 4	L 5
Reason						
Safeguarding against manuscripts' deterioration		X	X		X	
Expenses reducing (or gaining some income)		X			X	
From a distance access facilitating	Closure problem solution	X	X	X	X	
	Gaining Internet value				X	

There is another reason which was indicated in addition to those mentioned above. Some respondents pointed to the economic advantage of digitalisation. The view of our spokesmen for **L 1** and **L 4** was that the digitalisation of manuscripts would save restoration money. On the other hand, using digitalisation provides an opportunity for raising library revenues (selling the CD-ROMs, Web-site access pay, etc.).

The strongest interest in this is shown by **L 4**, may be because the director of the centre, who much travels abroad, is better acquainted with the advantages of this technology.

At the same time, **L 5** shows almost no enthusiasm for this kind of a project. The chief concern, according to the librarian, is the question of priorities. In his opinion, it is necessary to begin with the improving of manuscripts conservation and restoration before any commitment in the digitalisation project is made.

The Librarian in charge of manuscripts in **L 1** mentions the three main reasons without going into the detail of the third (see *Table 8*) since he is a specialist with professional training and wide practical experience. Our respondent at **L 2** bases his view on the need for conservation and accessibility. However, his enthusiasm is

rather restrained because of the reluctance shown by the owners of these manuscripts. They hold that family treasures should be kept out of the Internet while University librarians belief is of no value if it is not available for the

researcher. **L 3** is sensitive about the need to give priority to the usage question. This is probably why his response is confined to the general acknowledgement of the importance of digitalisation as a means of documents access.

## 5. WHO DOES WHAT

The process of digitalisation cannot be restricted to one person, be that librarian, keeper or owner. Such a project usually involves several people, including owners, librarians, researchers, international governmental organisations

and NGOs. It also requires bilateral co-operation. The table below shows the role of each of these actors in making such a project work.

*Table 9*

Who	What	How
Tutors or proprietors	Authorisation	1. Agreement and convention 2. Signature
	Finance searching	Contact with funding organisations
Professional librarians	Administrative Work	1. Costs establishing 2. Bids publicising 3. Depriving catalogues from suppliers 4. Consulting between professionals
	Library work	Priorities defining (determination of deteriorated manuscripts)
	Technical Work	1. Cataloguing and bibliographical classification 2. Equipment and software choice 3. Digitalisation technique choice
Researchers	Scientific work	1. Choice of manuscripts for research use 2. Manuscripts revision 3. Work on documents and comparative research
International organisations	Technical assistance	1. Training of personnel 2. Experts mobilisation
	Material assistance	1. Financial support 2. Equipment supply
International co-operation	Technical assistance	Experts mobilisation
	Material assistance	1. Financial support 2. Equipment supply
NGO	Technical assistance	Experts mobilisation
	Material assistance	1. Financial support 2. Equipment supply

It is worth mentioning that at present, the number of professional staff is extremely limited in all libraries examined. Besides, **L 1**, **L 2**, **L 3** and **L 5** have only one professional librarian, and **L 4** — two. Even these professionals are lacking appropriate training in or knowledge

of digitalisation technique. Therefore, all of them need special training to be able to carry out such a project in the future. On *Table 10* information on professional librarians qualification is shown.



Table 10

Library	Professional librarians	Qualification	Experience term
L 1	1	Master in library science	21 years
L 2	1	Library research counsellor (Professor of history)	5 years
L 3	1	Expert in manuscripts	About 20 years
L 4	2	Manuscripts keeper	12 years
		Manuscripts keeper's assistant (BA in library science)	Less than 1 year
L 5	1	Specialist in library science and literature	5 years

Some of the professional librarians are the authors of bibliographical publications (indexes or catalogues). The curator of L 1 has published several catalogues (of manuscripts in the libraries of al-Aqṣā and al-Budayrī), that one of L 2 is in the process of publishing a four-volume catalogue of the library manuscripts (publication is being prepared with the assistance of the al-Furqān Foundation in London). As for their readiness to the project of digitalisa-

tion, the professional librarians of L 1 and L 4 support the idea completely. Those in L 2, L 3 and L 5 have proposed other measures as an alternative. The research counsellor of L 2 insists on the necessity of protecting the rights of the owners against excessive usage and piracy, especially if the documents are put on the Internet. The librarian in charge of L 5 believes that the restoration of manuscripts in bad conditions must have priority over other measures planned.

Table 11

Attitude towards digitalisation	Library
Unconditional YES	L 1, L 4
YES, but (or NO, except if)	L 2, L 3, L 5

The true picture of the manuscripts digitalisation problem would be incomplete unless we say some words about the topics of the writings represented by the manuscripts in

the libraries under question, which draw the largest attention of researchers. The related information is shown on Table 12. This information is provided by the libraries staff.

Table 12

Topic	Library
Arabic language and literature	L 3
History	L 4, L 5
Palestinian personalities and their biographies	L 4
Religion	L 1, L 3, L 4, L 5
Philosophy	L 1, L 5

## 6. METHODS AND STAGES OF DIGITALISATION PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

### 6.1. ORGANISATIONAL, JUDICIAL AND FINANCIAL ASPECTS

In the absence of an organisation to develop digitalisation and to direct co-operation between the participants, there is a risk to lose all the benefits of the project.

The question arises how to organise all the partners to gain the best results? The Palestinian participants can be inspired by the corresponding experience in other countries

and organisation models used in some successful programs like UNESCO's "Mémoire du Monde". It should be noted that although the owners of manuscripts are of different status, they still have the same interest in digitalisation. Taking into account what was recommended by UNESCO within the above-mentioned program, it would be fruitful if all the Palestinian participants were united within a national committee. Its aim would be the selection of an appropriate digitalisation project, the collection of finances and arbitration of different viewpoints.

The work of this national committee would be placed under the patronage of the Ministry of culture. This national committee would be also assisted by specialised committees as well as by a permanent secretariat responsible for the running of the project and of contacts between the participants and authorities. Two specialised sub-committees could be formed, the first — with a technical and scientific brief (training of specialists, technical file preparation and elaboration of terms and conditions, etc.) — and the second — with an administrative and judicial role (elaboration of contracts, issuing authorisation, etc.).

## 6.2. COMPUTER ASPECT

### 6.2.1. Software

The problem of recognition even of a printed Arabic text is one of the most difficult in the process of digitalisation [3]. Manuscript texts provide much more difficulty. There are about one hundred different styles of Arabic handwriting, among them ten are employed more often. These are *Kūfī*, *thuluth*, *naskhī*, *diwānī*, *riqa*, *taghra*, *Maghribī*, etc. Each of these often are ornamented (see fig. 1). There is also a diversity of each handwriting sizes, which creates the problem of recognition. The differences can also be due to the personal characteristics of a particular hand. Other factors, such as the instrument of handwriting or the nature of the material on which the document is written, can change the shape of the character and complicate the recognition problem [4]. Moreover, manuscripts in the libraries of Jerusalem have suffered great damage in the process of their preservation, which is not surprising in view of their age and the conditions under which they have been kept.

All these reasons make chose digitalisation in mode image, despite the evident shortcomings of this technique. As J. Bouchard points out: "Le mode image est indispensable lorsque des dessins, des formules scientifiques, des

manuscripts, des travaux préalables à l'écriture interviennent dans l'appropriation du document" [5]. At the same time, digitalisation in mode image is more difficult to manage and requires more space for storage. J. Bouchard notes that for a book of 300 pages, 20 million bytes are required in mode image, while the same book occupies only 600,000 bytes in mode text. However, despite these disadvantages, digitalisation in mode image has, on the other hand, undeniable advantages as applied to documents whose value is not only in the text, which is precisely the case of the Arabic manuscripts. The same author states that mode image is also preferable to other modes because it shows the original state of the document. Of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France digital collections 90% of the books were in mode image, and only 10% — in mode text. Digitalisation of ancient documents in mode text is very unsatisfactory, while in mode image it gives a faithful representation of the printed page as it appears on the page. It also well represents the form and even the defects of the paper or the parchment. This is very important in the case of manuscripts, where each detail of form, presentation and physical state can be important for researchers.

### 6.2.2. Equipment

Digitalisation requires two types of equipment. In order to carry out the operation itself a scanner to make images of the manuscript that show its physical characteristics, especially for parchment which is very sensitive to environmental conditions such as temperature and humidity is needed. This scanner must have a camera with the following characteristics: (i) great sensitivity to colour in order to take coloured image without necessitating a quantity of ultra-violet luminous rays that would damage the originals. This type of camera has to be equipped with a very efficient colour filter in order to give an exact copy of the content of the manuscripts; (ii) good adaptability in order to be able to focus on the whole page because of numerous marginal notes. Also, the scanner must be numerical so that it could capture several images because sometimes the manuscripts contains illustrations of different sizes or diagrams; (iii) a support device allowing to alter the position of manuscripts during the digitalisation process so that not to damage the manuscripts bindings. Bindings of manuscripts, in turn, pose problems due to the variety of their sizes and thickness.

Digitalisation requires a "Copystand / easel" to place documents on, to obviate the need to hold manuscripts manually, as not all manuscripts have the same thickness of pages throughout. During the digitalisation process it is necessary to refocus the scanner for each page. This process requires that a sheet of glass is placed over the manuscript in order to flatten the parchment and to allow a good view of the whole page.

To make use of a digital document, a "computer-assisted reading post" is needed, which in turn requires additional equipment in order to function properly, such as printer to make copies, an external computer for typing, and a server to connect the digital manuscripts to the Internet (Daniel Renoult of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France estimates that the memory capacity of a server capable of serving 100 readers is 100 gigabytes).

To conclude, although this study is limited to five libraries, its results can be generalised to include the other libraries which have manuscripts collections in Jerusalem. This is because the five libraries under discussion are typical



Fig. 1

of Palestinian libraries. It is also because the size of the corpus studied is large enough to represent the techniques and scientific and historical characteristics of all Palestinian manuscripts. Digitalisation of the Palestinian manuscripts is absolutely necessary for the reasons of their conservation, and accessibility, not to mention the political risks noted above.

Such a project can be achieved only with a great deal of support both at the national as well as the international level. This would include finances, scientists (software), personnel (training), infrastructure (equipment). Among the international organisations of help in such projects is UNESCO, but there are other organisations more specialised, like ALECSO and ISESCO. A good example of such assistance is UNESCO's program "Mémoire du Monde", which aims at safeguarding and promoting the national heritage in danger as a result of political instability, by the use of new technologies.

The manuscripts of Jerusalem fit perfectly the criteria to be supported by this program. The national participants,

notably the professionals and the proprietors interviewed, have shown a clear willingness to take part in this kind of a project. Nevertheless, they insist on the necessity of this project having a global approach that takes into consideration all aspects of the problem: costs and benefits, judicial aspects, technical and scientific aspects related to the contents of manuscripts, etc.

This research cannot be completed without some consideration of the means of disseminating the manuscripts after their digitalisation. The network, and in particular the Internet, would appear to be the key to this problem. The network is effective in particular at the level of the distribution. In order to diffuse digitised document, the Palestinian libraries have two options. The first is that they unite their digitised data in one database. It is obvious that co-operating in this kind of shared database would reduce the cost and would strengthen the libraries when they negotiate with powerful world servers. The second option is that each library insures its presence on the Internet for itself.

### Notes

1. U. Haarmann, "The library of a fourteenth century Jerusalem scholar", *Dar Majalat al-Athar*, II (Zahlah), p. 438.
2. *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, general ed. Geoffrey Roper (Lobdon, 1993), ii.
3. See E. A. Rezvan, N. S. Kondybaev, "The ENTRAP Software: test results", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2 (1999), pp. 58—64.
4. See *Correspondence Round Table: Arabic/Farsi OCR in Manuscripta Orientalia*, I/3 (1995), p. 47.
5. J. Bouchard, "Des pucés, des livres et des hommes futuribles" (1996), p. 26.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** A sample of ornamented *naskh*, *al-Rawd al-zāhir min sīrat mawlānā al-Sultān al-Malik al-Nāsir* (The Blossoming Garden from the Life of Our Lord, the Sultān al-Malik al-Nāsir) by anonymous author, manuscript B 623 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Egypt, 14th century, fol. 2b, 22.0 × 15.5 cm.

# PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

O. F. Akimushkin

## A COPY OF THE “EARLY *DĪWĀN*” BY JĀMĪ IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Among the rich collection of Persian manuscripts held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, of special note is an illustrated copy of the “early *dīwān*” by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (call number C 1697) [1]. It was acquired in 1920 from M. F. Kostsov. The catalogue of Persian manuscripts published in 1964 [2] contains an extremely brief description of the copy, which boasts seven lovely miniatures [3]. The manuscript is of double interest, both as a fine example of the late-fifteenth-century school of Shīrāz manuscript books and as an exceptionally valuable copy of Jāmī’s *Dīwān*, with extensive addenda made after this early variant of the *Dīwān* had been drawn up. The miniatures which adorn the copy, most of which were executed significantly later, are also noteworthy.

The *Dīwān* opens with a foreword by the author which contains a dedication to Sulṭān Abū Sa’īd and a *mathnawī* praising him [4]:

شاه سلطان ابو سعید که هست  
آسمان پیش قصر قدرش پست

“The Shāh Sulṭān Abū Sa’īd, before  
The palace of whose might the heavens are [brought] low”.

From the viewpoint of the text’s history, this *Dīwān* by Jāmī is of great interest [5]. The foreword to the *Dīwān*, written by Jāmī himself (unfortunately partially lost in the copy under discussion), gives reason to date this collection of poetic works to 867/1462–63. Evidence for this is found in the following quatrains at the end of the foreword:

تا ده بودم بسی زبون افتاده  
تا بیست و سی ز ره برون افتاده  
در چهل و عشا داده چهل سال ز دست  
در پنجه پنجهم کنون افتاده

“Until ten years of age, I was very foolish,  
Until twenty and thirty, I wandered, not [knowing] the path,  
I squandered forty years in ignorance and blindness,  
[And] now [I am] in the palm of fifty [years]”. [6]

Consequently, one can state that this *Dīwān* was drawn up by the poet in 1462/63, long before the appearance of

his first well-known *Dīwān*, entitled the *Fatīhāt al-shabāb* and drawn up, as the poet wrote on numerous occasions, in 884/1479. Manuscript C 1697 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, dated to 1486/87, is an extremely early copy of this “early *dīwān*” by Jāmī made during the poet’s lifetime. True, it is not unique: numerous manuscripts of this poetic collection are found in many collections in Europe and Asia. Even a cursory glance at the catalogues reveals no fewer than 18 extant copies of this variant of Jāmī’s *Dīwān* [7], which testifies to its great popularity.

As has been noted, the *Dīwān* was dedicated to the famed Tīmūrid Sulṭān Abū Sa’īd, who from 1451 to 1458 ruled only Maverannahr, but in November, 1458 brought Maverannahr and Khorasan together under his control and became the sole ruler of the Tīmūrid state with its capital in Herat. Jāmī drew up his *Dīwān* four years after Abū Sa’īd had gained supreme power over the entire Tīmūrid state. At that time, its capital, Herat, was home the poets Jāmī and ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’i, the artist Bihzādī, and many famed calligraphers. Shīrāz, where the copy of the manuscript was made was yet another exquisite centre of the Tīmūrid state; a special school of manuscript books flourished there in the fifteenth century. Manuscript C 1697 is not only an example of this, but also poses researchers a number of riddles which will be discussed later.

In addition to the foreword, the manuscript contains the following sections:

1) *qaṣīdas*, including the famed *Lujjat al-asrār* (written in 880/1475–76), an ode eulogising the Sulṭān Ya’qūb Aq-Qoyūnlū (r. 1478–1490), individual *qit’as* and *na’ats* in praise of Allah, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, his son Husayn, and the family of the Prophet (*ahl-i bayt*), a *tarkībband*, a *tarjī’band* in honour of the Prophet, as well as Ṣūfī secret prayers (*munājāt*). In all, this section contains 19 works (fols. 4a–23a);

2) 833 *ghazals*, which make up the major part of the *Dīwān* (fols. 23b–239b);

3) three *tarjī’bands* (fols. 239b–247b);

4) two elegies (*marthiya*) on the death of Sa’d al-Dīn and the poet’s brother (fols. 247b–251a);

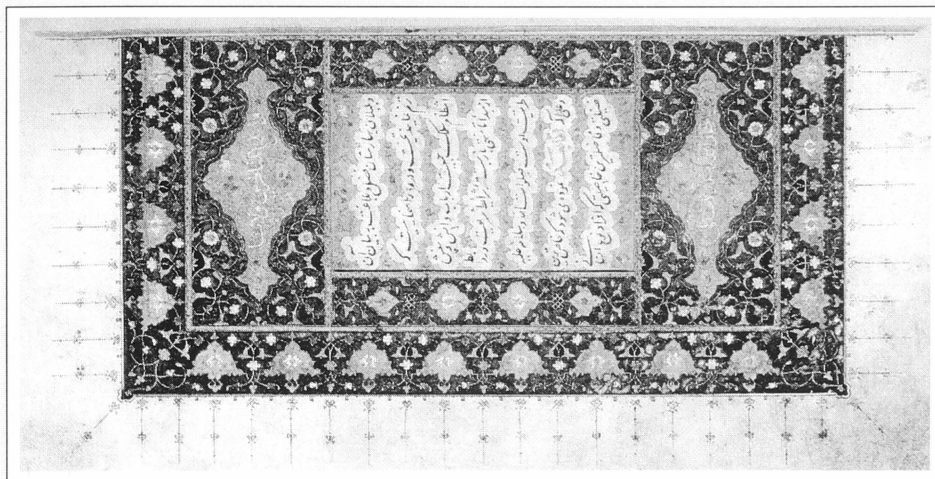


Fig. 1

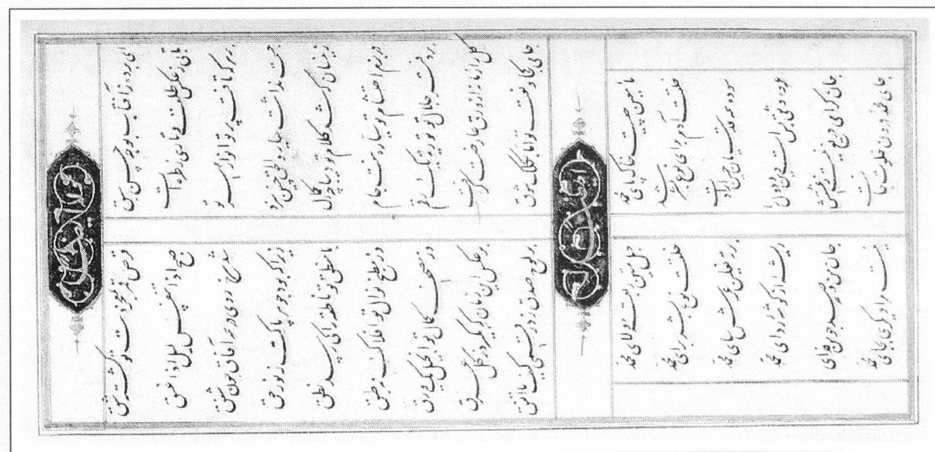


Fig. 2





- 5) *muqāta'āt* — 32 *qit'as* (fols. 251a—255b);  
 6) *rubā'iyāt* — 119 quatrains (fols. 255b—266a);  
 7) *fardiyāt* — 29 individual *bayts* (fols. 265b—267a);  
 8) 73 logograph-*Rabī'ā* (fols. 267b—272a).

The manuscript contains 272 folios, each measuring 14.6×26.0 cm; the text (7.8×17.0 cm) is written in two columns of 17 lines each and is surrounded by a border of three thin lines (two gold and one blue). The columns are divided by vertical gold lines. The concluding *bayt* (*maqta'*) of each *ghazal* is highlighted with gold strips. Each *ghazal* and the smaller poetic works are introduced by a cartouche in which one finds the phrase (also in gold) — *aydan la-hu* ("also his").

The manuscript has a two-folio, full frontispiece (fols. 1b—2a), three-partite horizontally and vertically, framed by a broad, single border with notched cartouches (*shuraf*). Predominant is a muted blue; against this backdrop we find a flourish of *islīmī* adornment in gold and paints (flowers). Folio 23b presents an equally elegant and delicate *'unwān* executed in the same colours. The text on fol. 2a reveals gold patterns between the lines (*tarṣī'*), although they are lacking an outline (*tahrīr*) in Indian ink.

The hand is an outstanding, fine, and elegant *nasta'liq* of the West Iranian school characteristic of Shīrāz from the end of the fifteenth century to the 1630s. The paper is thick, Eastern, produced locally (or in Baghdād), of excellent quality, glossed assiduously several times, with a creamish tint.

The binding is in well-worked, dark-brown leather with the embossed lines of a border around the edges of the chest lids' outer sides, with deeply imprinted vegetable ornamentation in the corners (one fourth of the central medallion). In the centre, we find an oval cartouche with deep imprints (*turunj*) and vegetable ornamentation. The inner sides of the binding's chest lids are adorned with cut corners; in the centre, again, we find an oval cartouche which is larger than that found on the outer chest lids. Leather tracery applique work is pasted against the dark-blue background of this inner central oval and a square, quadrangular Armenian cross is depicted.

The codicological features of the manuscript do not correspond to the style of the miniatures found in it. A study of them gives every reason to assume that they were executed much later. Their attribution was not an easy task, and the solving of the problem granted the author the feeling, familiar to all who study miniatures, of satisfaction one achieves by divining yet another of the small mysteries the Eastern manuscript book so often offers the researcher. The manuscript is adorned with seven miniatures which were pasted into this copy of the *Dīwān* some 200—250 years after it was copied:

These miniatures are:

- 1) "Portrait of some Moghol principal or influential grandee sitting in a chair (throne?) with a falcon on his right arm" (fol. 1b; 7.3×14.8 cm). The miniature is a well-executed copy from the mid-eighteenth century of an Indian miniature of the Moghol school of the 1740s.
- 2) "The exercising of the Sultan's horses in the presence of the ruler and his court" (fol. 12a; 7.5×11.7 cm). Most likely, the miniature was included as an illustration to the *qaṣīda* which Jāmī wrote in honour of Ya'qūb Aq-Qoyūnlū.
- 3) "Shāh's hunt" (fol. 66a; 7.8×7.7 cm), miniature unrelated to the content of the *ghazal*.

4) "Pupils in class at school" (fol. 131a; 7.8×9.5 cm), miniature unrelated to the content of the *ghazal*.

5) "A stop on the path to the *hājī*" (fol. 163b; 7.6×7.8 cm), miniature illustrating one of the *ghazals*.

6) "Feast in open air with musicians" (fol. 195b; 7.7×7.8 cm), miniature illustrating the *ghazal* found on fol. 196a.

7) "The Sultan's repose in nature" (fol. 243b; 7.7×7.7 cm), miniature unrelated to the content of the *ghazal*.

All of the miniatures, with the exception of the one on fol. 1b, are on individual sheets of paper pasted above the text within the latter's vertical border (the miniature on fol. 131a extends beyond the border). The miniatures on fols. 12a, 66a, 131a, 163b, 243b present copies of miniatures of the Shīrāz school of the 1520s—1540s; they were executed at the end of the eighteenth century. Only the miniature on fol. 195b was, in all likelihood, copied from examples of the Zand Shīrāz school of the 1780s. However, it may be original and could date from the same time as the manuscript. The miniature on fol. 1b is a special case; it is on an separate sheet pasted in to replace text which was cut out from the beginning of foreword to the *Dīwān*.

The calligrapher, who made the copy in the month of Rabī' II 892/March—April 1487, was Na'im al-Dīn al-Kātib b. al-Hājī (or Hājī) Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Mudhahhib (colophon, fol. 272a), a Shīrāz master popular at the time. I know of four other copies executed by him. These are:

1) The poem *Mīhr wa-Mushtarī* by 'Aṣṣār-i Tabrizī, dated to Ramaḍān 887/October—November 1483 [8];

2) *Dīwān-i Jāmī*, completed on 1 Rabī' I 893/14 February 1488 [9];

3) *Dīwān-i Amīr Khusraw-i Dikhlawī*, copied in Sha'bān 895/June—July 1490 [10];

4) *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, completed in Rajab 904/February—March 1499 [11]. All of these manuscripts were undoubtedly made to order and are richly illustrated.

Thus, manuscript C 1697 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies presents us with an interesting example of the book art of in Shīrāz. The copy brings together periods separated by centuries: the late fifteenth century and the eighteenth century. The mastery of the manuscript's original creators finds later, but quite organic, artistic reflection in the form of miniatures which date to the modern era. The aesthetic sensitivity of the miniaturist is striking, for he adorned the old manuscript in such fashion that one perceives it as a single artistic whole, which it must have been to the rich man who ordered it. Especially impressive is the manuscript's initial miniature, which depicts an older man sitting in a high-backed chair (throne?) with a falcon on his right arm. The red colour of his cloak and the white of the bird produce an effect of special solemnity which is heightened by the static depiction of the figure. The choice of the colours and the manner in which the old man depicted are intended to stress the nobility of the individual portrayed.

One should note that the miniatures, which were later added to, only enhanced the beauty of an already perfect piece of the art of Shīrāz book production. One is struck by that deep concern with producing an aesthetically perfect manuscript book. It appears that it was precisely this





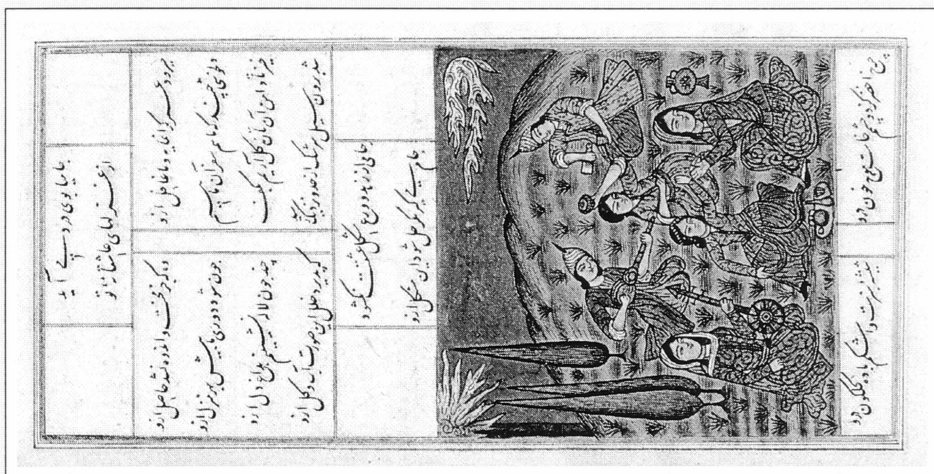


Fig. 7

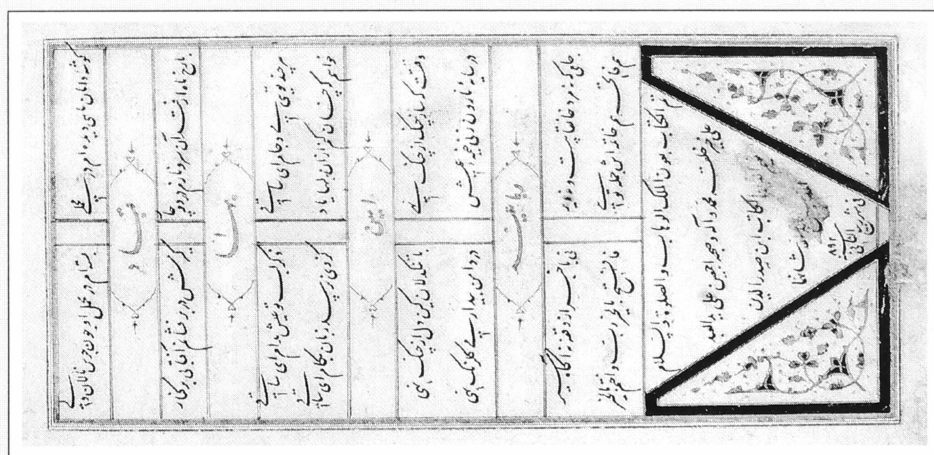


Fig. 8

aesthetic approach which helped the Muslim manuscript book to survive even at that late time when book-printing had become widespread in the East. It is notable that Persian lithographs printed in India already in the nineteenth century reproduce the familiar appearance of a manuscript with its arrangement of text and illustrations [12]. But illustrated manuscripts also survived, reflecting an aesthetic need for habitual miniature painting.

Apart from being a good example of Eastern book art, the manuscript draws attention because of its textual features, too. Strictly speaking, the copy does not contain the text of the *Dīwān*. As was noted above, Jāmī drew up his first *dīwān* only in 884/1479 under the Tīmūrid ruler Ḥusayn Bayqara (r. 1470—1506). Although in the verses which immediately follow the foreword Jāmī calls his collection a “*dīwān of ghazals*” [13], a comparison of various copies of this *dīwān* shows that they differ both in their content and in the number of poems included. In all of the collections we find *qaṣīdas*, *tarkībbaṇds*, *tarjī'baṇds*, *qit'as*, *rubā'īs* and *mu'ammās* which could not have been included in the early *dīwān* drawn up in 1462/63. They appeared only in the *Dīwān* by Jāmī codified in 1479. For instance, we know that the *qaṣīda* entitled *Lujjat al-asrār* was written only in 880/1475—76. Certain other *qaṣīdas* were written by the poet during his *hāj*j in 1472 (The examples can be continued). However, all of these pieces of poetry are present in the “early *dīwān*” of 1462/63.

Yet there is nothing mysterious about this; the particular way in which the poetic collections of noted poets circulated explains everything. It is likely that this first “*dīwān of ghazals*”, drawn up by Jāmī in 1462/63, when the poet

was already 50 years old and when his fame had spread far beyond the borders of Maverannahr and Khorasan, became extremely popular (evidence of this is found in the large number of surviving copies). Lovers and connoisseurs of poetry constantly augmented this collection with the verses that Jāmī continued to compose after 1462—63 for many years until the appearance of his first real *Dīwān* in 1479, which possessed the requisite structure and composition of a *dīwān*. Meanwhile, copies of those “augmented” collections continued to be copied, but with the obligatory inclusion of Jāmī's foreword with the earlier date and the dedication to Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd.

The reconstruction of the original content of this early “*dīwān*” would present a serious difficulty; the question could be resolved only if Jāmī's autograph were discovered. Certainly, a possible solution could be the juxtaposition of the earliest extant copies of this early “*dīwān*” to make a critical edition of Jāmī's *dīwāns*. But even this juxtaposition can hardly solve the problem wholly. It is only clear that the early *dīwān* could not include the overwhelming majority of the *qaṣīdas*, which are dated accurately on the basis of their thematic material and purpose. Jāmī himself calls this early poetic collection a “*Dīwān of Ghazals*”. Besides, the number of *ghazals*, *qit'as*, and *rubā'īs* should be less than that found in the codified *Dīwān* of 1479, while the number of *mu'ammās* should be larger. In all likelihood, the composition and structure of the “early *dīwān*” represented in manuscript C 1679 should have been close to the text contained in the collection of Jāmī's verses described in Muqtadīr's catalogue [14].

## Notes

1. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
2. O. F. Akimushkin, V. V. Kushev, N. D. Miklukho-Maklaī, A. M. Muginov, M. A. Salakhedinova, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkiĭ alfavitnyiĭ katalog)* (Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A Concise Alphabetical Catalogue), pt. I, ed. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaī (Moscow, 1964), No. 1416, p. 203.
3. In the Catalogue, the number of miniatures is erroneously indicated as six.
4. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697, fols. 2a—4a.
5. Many years ago this *dīwān* attracted the attention of the author of the present paper, see O. F. Akimushkin, “K istorii redaktsii pervogo divana Dzhami” (“On the history of a version of Jāmī's first *Dīwān*”), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 4 (1965), pp. 151—4.
6. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697, fol. 4a.
7. See Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
8. F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. Farsça yazmalar kataloğu* (İstanbul, 1961), No. 618 (A 3563).
9. *Sale Catalogue*, Drout-Richelieu, Paris, 6—7 Apr. 1998, p. 71, lot 295.
10. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1881), p. 643a (Or 1215).
11. Karatay, *op. cit.*, No. 512 (M. 504).
12. See O. P. Scheglova, “Lithograph versions of Persian manuscripts of Indian manufacture in the nineteenth century”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/1 (1999), pp. 12—22.
13. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697, fol. 4a.
14. See A. Muqtadīr, *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian MSS in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore* (Calcutta, 1910), ii, No. 185. As was shown by W. A. Ivanow, the copy described in the catalogue is not Jāmī's autograph. Most likely, it is a carefully executed copy of the autograph. See W. Ivanow, “Genuineness of Jāmī's autographs”, *JBBRAS*, X/1—2 (1934), pp. 1—7.

## Illustrations

### Front cover:

“The Sultan's repose in nature”, miniature from 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (miniature unrelated to the content of the text), fol. 243b, 7.7×7.7 cm.

**Back cover:**

"Portrait of some Moghol principal or influential grandee sitting in a chair (throne?) with a falcon on his right arm", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 1b, 7.3 × 14.8 cm.

**Inside the text:**

- Fig. 1.** The same manuscript, left part of the frontispiece, fol. 2a.  
**Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, an example of colour cartouches, fol. 6a.  
**Fig. 3.** "The exercising of the Sultan's horses in the presence of the ruler and his court", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 12a, 7.5 × 11.7 cm.  
**Fig. 4.** "Shāh's hunt", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 66a, 7.8 × 7.7 cm.  
**Fig. 5.** "A stop on the path to the *hāj*" (miniature illustrating one of the *ghazals*), the same manuscript, fol. 163b, 7.6 × 7.8 cm.  
**Fig. 6.** "Pupils in class at school" (miniature unrelated to the content of the text), the same manuscript, fol. 131a, 7.8 × 9.5 cm.  
**Fig. 7.** "Feast in open air with musicians" (miniature illustrating the *ghazal* found on fol. 196a), the same manuscript, fol. 195b, 7.7 × 7.8 cm.  
**Fig. 8.** Colophon, the same manuscript, fol. 272a.
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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Fihrist-i Nusakh-i Khaṭṭ-i Fārsī-yi Ganjīna-yi Insānī-yi Sharqshīnāst-yi Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī. Tashkand (Bakhsh-i awwal az Jild-i awwal — Tārīkh). Zīr-i nazar-i A. Urūnbāew, A. Mūjanī, Sh. Musāew. Tihhrān: Markaz-i muṭālī'āt-i Āsyā-yi Markazī wa Qawqāz, Wizārat-i Umūr-i Khārija-yi Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Īrān — Institū-yi Sharqshīnāst-yi Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī-yi Akādīmī-yi 'Ulūm-i Jumhūrī-yi Uzbakistān, 1376, 122 ṣṣ. The List of the Persian Manuscripts of the Treasury of Abu Raihan Beeroni Oriental Institute — Tashkent. Part I of First Volume. History,<sup>1</sup> 1376/1997, 122 pp.*

*Fihrist-i Nusakh-i Khaṭṭ-i Fārsī-yi Insānī-yi Āthār-i Khaṭṭ-yi Tajīkistān (Jild-i awwal). Zīr-i nazar-i S. A. Mūjanī, A. 'Alīmardān. Tihhrān: Markaz-i muṭālī'āt-i Āsyā-yi Markazī wa Qawqāz, 1376, 370 ṣṣ. The List of the Persian Manuscript of the Tadjikestan Institute,<sup>2</sup> 1376/1997, 370 pp.*

*Fihrist-i Nuskahā-yi Khaṭṭ mawjūd dar Wilāyat-i Badakhshān-i Tajīkistān. Tarjuma-yi Q. Ichībēk, S. A. Khumārōv. Zīr-i nazar-i S. A. Mūjanī. Qūm: Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg-i Ayatallāh al-'Azmā Mar'ashī Najafī, 1376, 140 ṣṣ. The Catalogue of the Manuscripts from the Badakhshan Province of Tajikistan. Transl. by Q. Ichibek, S. A. Xumarov. Ed. by S. A. Moujani. Qum: Large Library of Ayatallah al-Azami Mar'ashi Najafi, 1376/1997, 140 pp.*

*Fihrist-i Nuskahā-yi Khaṭṭ-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Rawnaq — Shahr-i Sabz (Uzbekistān). Ba kūshish Sh. Wahīdow, A. Erkinow. Zīr-i nazar-i S. A. Mūjanī. Qūm: Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg-i Ayatallāh al-'Azmā Mar'ashī Najafī, 1377, 72 ṣṣ. The Catalogue of the Manuscripts from the*

*Rounaqi Library. Shahr-i Sabz (Uzbekistan). Comp. by Sh. Vahidov, A. Erkinov. Ed. S. A. Moujani. Qum: Large Library of Ayatallah al-Azami Mar'ashi Najafi, 1377/1998, 72 pp, with Plates of illustrations (pp. 52—72).<sup>3</sup>*

The idea of reviewing the above-mentioned books occurred to the author after an Iranian delegation of scholars and officials visited St. Petersburg in October, 1999. At the initiative of the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a bilateral Russian-Iranian conference on the availability to Iranian specialists of Russian research on Iranian studies was organised at the Iranian philology chair of the Oriental faculty at St. Petersburg State University. After official greetings offered by Prof. I. M. Steblin-Kamensky, Dean of the faculty and a Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Mr. Harrazi, Iranian Minister of foreign affairs, and M. Safari, Iranian Ambassador to Russia, head of the Iranian delegation — Seyyid Mahmud Mar'ashi Najafi — delivered his paper "Compiling catalogues of Muslim manuscripts in Russia and countries of the CIS. Shortcomings and errors". The topic promised much and was of great interest to Russian specialist working in the field of Islamic manuscripts legacy.

Ayatulla M. Mar'ashi Najafi is the Director of the largest private library in Qum. He is also the inheritor of his father's legacy, also a prominent figure in Iranian society and religious circles. That was M. Mar'ashi Najafi who supported the initiative of Seyyid 'Ali Mujani, Director of the Centre for the Study of Central Asia and the Caucasus to the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to publish in Persian translation a series of catalogues of Muslim manuscripts held in the Russian and former Soviet Union repositories, as well as to compile and publish new catalogues which do not

<sup>1</sup> Viewing a not quite satisfactory English title of the edition, proposed by the editors of the Persian publication, we give here an English translation of the Persian title of the edition: *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts from the Repository of the Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies. Tashkent (volume I, part I — History)*, eds. A. Urunbaev, A. Mujani, Sh. Musaev (Tehran, Centre for the Study of Central Asia and the Caucasus, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran — Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1376/1997).

<sup>2</sup> The English title of the edition can be given as follows: *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts of the Institute of Written Legacy of Tajikistan (volume I)*, eds. S. A. Mujani, A. Alimardan (Tehran, Centre for the Study of Central Asia and the Caucasus, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1376/1997).

<sup>3</sup> The same series also includes the following catalogues: the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies — *Fihrist-i Nuskahā-yi Khaṭṭ-yi Fārsī-yi Mu'assasa-yi Khāwarshīnāst-yi Farhangistān-i 'Ulūm-i Rūsiya. Jam'ī-i az nawisandān-i rūsi*. Mutarjim: A. Ramaḍān (Tihhrān, 1375/1996); the National Library of Russia — G. I. Kostiguwa, *Fihrist-i Nuskahā-yi Fārsī mawjūd dar Kitābkhāna-yi Umūmī-yi Dawlatī-yi Saltīquf Shchidrīn*. Tarjuma-yi A. Ramaḍān (Qūm, 1375/1996).

yet exist in Russian. The project included the republication of catalogues of Muslim manuscripts in the collections of the Russian National Library,<sup>4</sup> the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies,<sup>5</sup> the Institute of the Written Legacy of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and others. The current review gives a short observation of those catalogues which were presented as gifts to the Iranian philology chair at St. Petersburg State University.

One cannot overestimate the importance of the enterprise undertaken by the publishers. Until recently, manuscript descriptions published in Russia have been available in their original form only to a limited circle of scholars who know Russian. Now, all of the necessary information about the vast manuscript collections held in St. Petersburg, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan is accessible to much more vast audience in the Muslim world in one of its widely known languages, Persian.

One should note that the publication, and even re-publication, of such reference literature as catalogues of manuscript collections places heavy demands on the publisher which go beyond time or money. For these efforts to bear fruit, the publisher's work must *a priori* meet exacting requirements. The gratitude of specialist readers — historians, linguists, literary scholars, art historians, and folklorists, who form the chief audience for such editions — is hard won. Their demands are dictated by the traditions which have taken shape in European science to establish a culture of describing manuscripts. This tradition was wholly adopted by Russian scholarship.

The tradition of compiling catalogues of manuscript texts spans the centuries. Space constraints do not allow us to consider in detail Ayatulla Mar'ashi's discussion of the question. In his remarks on the history of the scholarly organisation and description of manuscript collections, he stressed a basic idea which can be formulated in brief as *ex Oriente lux*. There is little reason to dispute the pre-eminence of the East in the emergence of the librarian's profession. But it is also clear that this profession extends back to deepest antiquity, and is almost as old as that of the scribe, or as the book itself. We leave aside, however, this thousand-year history and return to the relatively recent past. The late-nineteenth century saw the appearance in Europe of the first catalogues to describe the largest international collections of Muslim manuscripts — the Imperial St. Petersburg Public Library,<sup>6</sup> the Viennese Royal Library,<sup>7</sup> the Berlin Royal Library,<sup>8</sup> the Library of the British Museum,<sup>9</sup> the Paris National Library,<sup>10</sup> and others. Unfortunately, these catalogues were far from perfect and were not easy to use because of either insufficient or excessive information in the entries for individual manuscripts. The

major shortcoming of most such editions was a reference apparatus insufficiency. Catalogues of a new type appeared in Europe only in the first decade of the twentieth century; their methodology is still employed by modern European researchers to describe manuscripts. Among catalogues compiled along the new patterns one could cite, for example, those published by W. A. Ivanow, who described Persian manuscript collections in India.<sup>11</sup> His admirably informative catalogues are distinguished by a strict thematic division into sections: history, geography, theology, literature, astronomy, medicine, music, etc. But what is more important, they contain a well-developed system of indices: each includes the names of persons, titles of works, subjects, names of copyists, places of copying, and dates of copying. Appendices also indicate the correspondence between call numbers and numbers in the Catalogue, list of manuscripts containing paintings and drawings, list of vignettes, list of calligraphically executed manuscripts.

The description methodology developed by W. Ivanow was employed and further developed by a group of researchers from the Middle Eastern Section of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, who created a concise alphabetical catalogue of Persian manuscripts from the collection of the Institute. One of the catalogue's two volumes consists entirely of indices and appendices. In addition to those proposed by Ivanow, the catalogue includes such headings as a list of autographs, authors' copies, and copies made from them, a list of the collections which formed the basis for the Institute's manuscript collection. Members of the Section went on to publish nine issues of systematic descriptions; they are based on the material in the Brief alphabetical catalogue and compiled in consistent adherence to this methodology.

Unfortunately, the catalogues republished in Iran lack this most helpful apparatus, and it is the most regrettable shortcoming, which distinguishes this edition. The catalogues, which are the same in format, appear at first glance to form a series. The impression seems to be heightened by a single structure for describing items and the catalogues' outward similarity. However, upon closer examination, the reader is compelled to conclude that the only common element is the name of the catalogues' editor. One must admit that there is no internal consistency even within a single book.

The general scheme for describing items is very detailed. It is approximately as follows:

1. Title of work
2. Call number
3. Name of author (with dates when possible)
4. Time of the work's creation (absent in the catalogue of the Rawnaqī collection)

<sup>4</sup> G. I. Kostygova, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina (Katalog)* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library. A Catalogue), pt. I. (Leningrad, 1988).

<sup>5</sup> O. F. Akimushkin, V. V. Kushev, N. D. Miklukho-Maklaï, A. M. Muginov, M. A. Salakhedinova, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta Narodov Azii AN SSSR (kratkiĭ alfavitnyi katalog)* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Peoples of Asia, a Concise Alphabetical Catalogue), ed. N. D. Miklukho-MacLay, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1964).

<sup>6</sup> [B. Dorn], *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg* (St. Pétersbourg, 1852).

<sup>7</sup> [G. Flägel], *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (Wien, 1865—1867).

<sup>8</sup> W. Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der Persischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin von W. Pertsch* (Berlin, 1888).

<sup>9</sup> Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vols. I—III (London, 1897—1883).

<sup>10</sup> E. B. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale*, tt. I—IV (Paris, 1905—1934).

<sup>11</sup> For example, W. Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1924).

5. Subject (absent in the catalogue of the Rawnaqi collection)

6. Incipit (absent in the catalogues of manuscripts at the Tajik Institute and the Gorno-Badakhshan collection)

7. Excipit (absent in the catalogues of the Tajik Institute and the Gorno-Badakhshan collection)

8. Type of handwriting

9. Type of paper (absent in the catalogues of the Gorno-Badakhshan collection and the Rawnaqi library)

10. Name of copyist

11. Date of copying

12. Number of folios

13. Page dimensions (absent in the catalogue of the Gorno-Badakhshan collection)

14. Decorations (absent in the catalogue of the Gorno-Badakhshan collection)

15. Binding (absent in the catalogues of the Uzbek Institute and the Gorno-Badakhshan collection)

16. Name of the binder

17. Defectiveness (absent in the catalogues of the Gorno-Badakhshan collection and the Rawnaqi library)

18. General condition (absent in the catalogue of the Gorno-Badakhshan collection and the Rawnaqi library)

19. Language (noted only in the catalogue of the Rawnaqi collection).

In the Catalogue of Persian manuscripts at the Uzbek Institute of Oriental Studies, which is a partial republication of the Collection of Eastern manuscripts at the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR<sup>12</sup> published in a series of ten volumes at the initiative of Prof. A. A. Semenov (1873—1958) and Prof. A. E. Schmidt (1871—1939), the following structure of description is proposed by the catalogue's editor A.-A. Wilayati, Iranian Minister of foreign affairs (page "six"): title of work, call number, name of author, subject, date of copying, name of copyist, place of copying, number of folios, incipit and excipit, particular features and defectiveness, correspondence to the Russian version of the catalogue. However, the avowed structure is not always followed; it is frequently reduced to the date of copying, type of handwriting, number of folios, page dimensions, and number in the above-mentioned catalogue. It is all the more disappointing since the Russian version is equipped, like the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies' catalogue, with all of the necessary indices and a so-called *mifīāh al-kutub*, an alphabetical list of works in Arabic script.

We now turn to some remarks on each of the editions.

The Catalogue of Persian manuscripts at the Uzbek Institute of Oriental Studies contains approximately 500 descriptions of works on history; it was the publishers' intent to begin a series with the republishing in Persian of the descriptions of this catalogue. In this regard, in addition to the foreword by A.-A. Wilayati, there is also a fairly detailed foreword by A. Urunbaev on the history of the collection's formation. (The collection, the largest in Uzbekistan, holds at present more than 40,000 works and more than 18,000 volumes). Urunbaev provides information not only on the collection's formation but also on the

scholars whose work led to the creation of the Uzbek catalogue. He also writes about the collections of Muslim manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages in Uzbekistan, as well as of the help received from Iranian colleagues while working on the Catalogue (pp. 1—6). The author makes special mention of 7,554 manuscripts which were to be described in the eleventh volume of the catalogue, a volume which was never published. We learn from the foreword that in addition to a volume with descriptions of historical works, the proposed series is slated to include volumes on lexicographic works, medical treatises, and works on the natural sciences.

The catalogue of Persian manuscripts at the Institute of the Written Legacy of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan presents more than 1,500 descriptions from among the 5,750 volumes (13th — 20th centuries) held at the Institute. Although this series is also slated for continuation, the catalogue under review presents descriptions of texts in nearly all branches of knowledge: medicine and pharmacology (pp. 1—17), history, geography, theology (pp. 18—82), lexicography (pp. 72—104), astronomy and astrology (pp. 104—11), anthologies (pp. 111—18), music (p. 118), mathematics (pp. 118—20), the study of the hunt (pp. 120—23), as well as *fiqh*, Sūfism (pp. 133—39), agriculture (pp. 139—41), chess and riddles (pp. 124—33), etc. The catalogue opens with two brief forewords by the above-mentioned Minister of foreign affairs, A.-A. Wilayati, and seyyid A. Mujani, as well as an extensive introduction by the heads of the project to describe manuscripts in Tajikistan, J. Nazari and A. Alimardonov.

The catalogue of manuscripts from the Gorno-Badakhshan region of Tajikistan contains 215 entries. In the main, they describe manuscripts on Ismā'īlism. The discovery of copies of works by Sūfī, and especially Ismā'īlī, authors such as Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, Abū 'Alī b. Sinā, Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī, and others testifies to the extensive spread of this religious school among the local populace. The edition begins with two brief forewords, one by M. Mar'ashi Najar, and one by the translators, K. Ilchibekov and M. Bakoev. They provide basic information on the origins of the collection, its size, particular features, and value. The catalogue itself then follows; it is organised in accordance with the Arabic alphabet without thematic distinctions. The titles of some works are equipped with Latin transcription, often of dubious accuracy.

A cursory glance at the catalogue gives rise to an impression of anonymous authorship. The cover and title page list only the names of the translators and editor (A. Mujani); the authors' names are revealed only in the translators' foreword and the Introduction.

The present catalogue is a Persian translation of a book published by A. E. Bertels and M. Bakoev in Moscow in 1967,<sup>13</sup> a copy of which is held in Mar'ashi's family library. One of the first to travel to Pamir (Shugnan and Badakhshan) to study Muslim manuscripts was E. Zarubin, who brought to St. Petersburg in 1912 the first 11 copies. Six years later, A. A. Semenov augmented this collection with photocopies of another nine manuscripts. The manuscripts constituted part of the Asiatic Museum collection

<sup>12</sup> *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Eastern Manuscript Collection of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences), vols. I—IX (Tashkent, 1956).

<sup>13</sup> A. Bertels, M. Bakoev, *Alfavitnyi katalog rukopisei, obnaryuzhennykh v Gorno-Badakhshanskoĭ avtonomnoi oblasti ekspeditsiei 1959—1963 gg* (An Alphabetical Catalogue of Manuscripts Discovered in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region by the 1959—1963 Expedition), ed. and with a foreword by V. G. Gafurov and A. M. Mirzaev (Moscow, 1967).



(present-day the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). The formation of the Badakhshan section of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection was also aided by W. Ivanow, who brought manuscripts from Afghanistan Badakhshan (Chitral, Sarykol, Khanza, Kunjut).

The major part of the collection described here consists of manuscripts gathered during a five-year expedition conducted in 1959–1963 in mountainous regions of Tajikistan — Shugnan, Ishkashim, Dasht-i Qal'a, Rushan. This expedition led to the acquisition of more than 300 manuscripts (29 of which are described in the catalogue) and lithographs. The Badakhshan collection is of special interest not only to specialists on the history of the Ismā'īlism in Central Asia; among the original works in this collection are many folkloric texts, as well as poetic works by local authors such as the Badakhshan Sūfī poet, artist, astronomer, and musician Mubārak Wakhanī (d. 1905), Shāh Muḥabbat-Shāhzāda (d. 1959), Mūllā Timī, Shamshīr-beg, and others.

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Among the catalogues published under the editorial guidance of M. Mujani is an original edition which first appeared thanks to support from the Mar'ashi Najafi Foundation. It is a description of a private collection of Muslim manuscripts carried out by Sh. Vakhidov and A. Erkinov

(Tashkent State University). The library belonged to the well-known Central Asian copyist and calligrapher, Faydallāh Khwāja b. 'Ināyatallāh Khwāja, also known as Rawnaqī (d. 1978). The Rawnaqī library is located in the city of Shahrīsabz (Uzbekistan). It contains manuscripts of 116 works in 79 volumes and more than 100 lithograph books in Persian (Tajik), Chaghatay (Uzbek), Arabic and Russian. The copies were executed primarily in the late nineteenth — early twentieth century and present a broad range of subjects: books of poetry and prose, collections of treatises on theology, philosophy, history, ethics, Muslim exegesis, Sūfism, and fiction. This catalogue also displays some of the flaws noted above: it lacks both indices and a thematic division of material.

Despite serious shortcomings which the Persian versions of the catalogues reveal one must admit that the whole project is of exclusive importance to those working in the field of manuscript investigation in the Middle East. They are provided with helpful reference works which were unavailable to them until recently. Possibly a further publication of catalogues in Persian needs more careful attitude to reproducing necessary apparatus in general, which can contribute to the future editions value. In any case, I hope that this project, which aims to publish and republish catalogues of Persian manuscript collections on the territory of Russia and the CIS, will be successfully continued in the future.

F. Abdullaeva

N. A. Dobronravin. *Arabograficheskaja pis'mennaia traditsiia Zapadnoi Afriki*. Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, Vostochnyi fakul'tet, 1999, 178 str., ill.

N. A. Dobronravin. *The Arabic-Script Written Tradition in West Africa*. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University, Oriental Faculty, 1999, 178 pp., ill.

Arabic-language and Arabic-script culture in Africa has long been a marginal area within the study of Muslim culture. Recently, however, interest in the subject has been on the rise throughout the world. It is sufficient to mention the journal *Sudanic Africa*, or that the long-awaited "African" issues of *Verzeichnis der orientalistischen Handschriften in Deutschland* are finally appearing, the first volumes of "Arabic Literature of Africa" have been published, and the al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation is publishing catalogues of manuscripts in African collections. Petersburg's Africanists have also joined in the study of this subject. Among works which have recently appeared are A. A. Zhukov's *Suakhili: lazyk i literatura* (Swahili: Language and Literature), St. Petersburg, 1997, and V. Vydrine's *Sur l'écriture mandingue et mandé en caractères arabes*, see *Mandenkan*, No. 33 (Paris, 1998).

The work by Dobronravin is in this row of publications, which appeared recently. As the title indicates, this work intends to pursue the topic on a more general level. The book opens with a brief foreword by O. Redkin. The author's introduction deals with the important concept of

"Muslim languages". It should be noted that the term "confessional languages" has long earned its rightful place, yet still requires clarification. While providing a detailed and multifaceted examination of the term and the phenomenon which stands behind it, the author relies on a vast range of material of the most varied geographic and cultural origins. He also presents an account of the history of his work's composition and the sources which were available to him.

The first chapter — "Arabic writing before and after Latinisation" — provides a thorough treatment of the phenomenon of written literature in general, variants of Latinised writing in particular, the capabilities of the Arabic script in conveying any language, and the extra-linguistic significance of such projects. A detailed history of the question is also given.

The second chapter — "Regional Arabic-script traditions" — is devoted to an even more thorough description of the phenomenon in all areas of the Muslim world. Illustrations accompany the material.

Only in the third chapter (beginning on page 72) does the author turn to "West-African literatures based on the Arabic script". The exposition here also moves from the general to the specific: from the history of the Arabic script's penetration into West Africa to concrete regional systems. The author identifies eight such systems. A surprise is the mention of a West African Arabic-script tradition in the New World.

The last chapter — "Manuscripts in the Hausa language: an overview of collections" — is of special interest to *Manuscripta Orientalia's* audience. True, there is

mention of manuscripts in African languages and variants of their publication in the preceding chapter. Unfortunately, narration here is too condensed. The chapter examines writing materials (wood, paper), ink, storage cases, the paleographic features of Hausa manuscripts and their classification on the basis of distinctive forms and purpose, dating (one of the most difficult questions in the study of African manuscripts), and the geography of distribution. The author here enumerates those places where manuscripts are stored, the extent of cataloguing, and the existence of published editions, beginning with Africa and ending with Europe. A minor sensation awaits us: the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of

Oriental Studies contains several Sudanic manuscripts. Previously, they were erroneously thought to be of Maghribine origin. The book is richly illustrated, which is an aid in acquainting oneself with material that has been little studied.

Here is a volume attesting to the increasing interest in Arabic-script written tradition in West Africa. In the breadth of its material and detail of its exposition, Dobronravin's work extends far beyond the bounds of African studies, and even Islamic studies. It will certainly be of interest to the broad scholarly audience and to those engaged in Muslim literature investigation.

*I. Wojewódzki*

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<sup>1</sup> In this list of contributions, the articles marked by asterisk were prepared with the financial support of the Russian Humanitarian Fund.

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<sup>2</sup> The editorial board of *Manuscripta Orientalia* apologises for an error crept into the name of the reviewed publication. T. Vinogradova is not the author but the reviewer of the book under discussion.

## AUTHORS

Dr. **Firuz I. Abdullaeva** — Associate Professor of Persian at the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, specialist in Iranian philology and Islamic culture, author of several publications in the field.

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

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

Dr. **Mahmud Hasani** — Head of the Codification and Preservation Section at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences, specialist in traditional Eastern medicine and Sufi poetry, author of several monographs and numerous articles.

Miss **Hala Kaileh** — Post-graduate student at the École Nationale Supérieure des Sciences de l'Information et des Bibliothèques (Lion, France).

Dr. **Jaklina S. Musaelian** — Senior Researcher of the Kurdish Studies Group at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Kurdish literature, author of a series of publications in the field of Kurdish studies.

Dr. **Irina Ye. Petrosyan** — Senior Researcher of the Turkic and Mongolian Department at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Turkish history, author of monographs and articles devoted to the history and culture of the Ottoman Empire.

Prof. Dr. **Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya** — Chief Keeper of the Manuscript Fund at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history and philology of ancient Central Asia, author of numerous monographs and articles in this field.

Mr. **Du Weisheng** — Paper and bindings conservator at the National Library of China, Peking, author of several publications in the field of book history and restoration.

Dr. **Igor N. Wojewódzki** — Chief Librarian in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Semitic studies, author of several articles dealing with the history of Islamic and Judaic culture.

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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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